Excavations at Frilford, Berks., 1937–8

By J. S. P. Bradford and R. G. Goodchild

I. THE NOAH'S ARK FIELD

In the autumn of 1937, at the suggestion of Sir Arthur Evans, the Oxford University Archaeological Society undertook the investigation of the barrel-vaulted cellar, reputed locally to be of some antiquity, beneath the Noah's Ark Inn at Frilford. The Inn stands beside the Oxford-Wantage road and is 800 feet to the south-east of the well-known Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon cemetery.[1] It was soon apparent that the cellar had had no structural existence independently from the Inn and did not extend more than a few feet beyond its eastern frontage : there is no reason to suspect that it antedates the Inn.

Meanwhile, trial trenches at the north end of the adjacent long and narrow meadow—on the surface of which, when ploughed, stray finds of Roman pottery and coins had often been made[2]—revealed a well-defined layer of Roman building debris associated with 'ghost-walls', or foundation-trenches from which all masonry had been removed by stone-robbers. Below this was a stratum of dark occupation-earth with an abundance of pottery indicating the presence of an extensive Early Iron Age settlement.

In view of the possibility of continuity of occupation between the pre-Roman and Roman periods it was decided to make a thorough investigation of the site, and with the kind permission of the late Mr. T. Skurray of Abingdon, the owner, and with the constant cooperation of Mr. A. J. Froude, the present tenant of the Noah's Ark Inn, the excavations were continued throughout 1938, under the direction of the writers.[3]

[1] The results of earlier excavations are summarised by the late Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton, *Ant. Journ.* I (1920), 87–97. For more recent discoveries and a revised plan of the cemetery *v. infra*, pp. 54 ff., fig. 12.

[2] *Arch. Journ.*, LIV (1897), 342.

[3] Gratitude is due for the generous grants towards the cost of the work which were forthcoming not only from the funds of the Society, but also from Sir Arthur Evans, from the Administrators of the Haverfield Bequest, and from the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. We would like to thank Miss M. V. Taylor and Mr. D. B. Harden for their help and advice both on the site and at the Ashmolean Museum ; Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler for much valuable data on the distribution of haematite-coated ware ; and Mr. J. N. L. Myres for cooperation on many points of organisation. To Mr. C. H. V. Sutherland, Dr. Felix Oswald and Dr. Wilfrid Jackson we are deeply indebted for reporting respectively on the Roman coins, the Samian ware and the animal bones. In addition further reports have come from the late Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton, who kindly examined the Anglo-Saxon skeleton from Pit B 1, from Dr. F. E. Zeuner on material for soil-analysis, and from Dr. W. J. Arkell on the foreign stone. Those members of the Society who have provided constant help on the site are too numerous for individual acknowledgment, but for their assistance we are nevertheless extremely grateful ; mention must, however, be made of Mr. R. A. H. Farrar, who has also undertaken the publication of the Romano-British coarse wares.

The site lies in a level field, until the last two years arable, on the southern edge of the well-drained ridge which runs in a sweeping arc from Boar's Hill

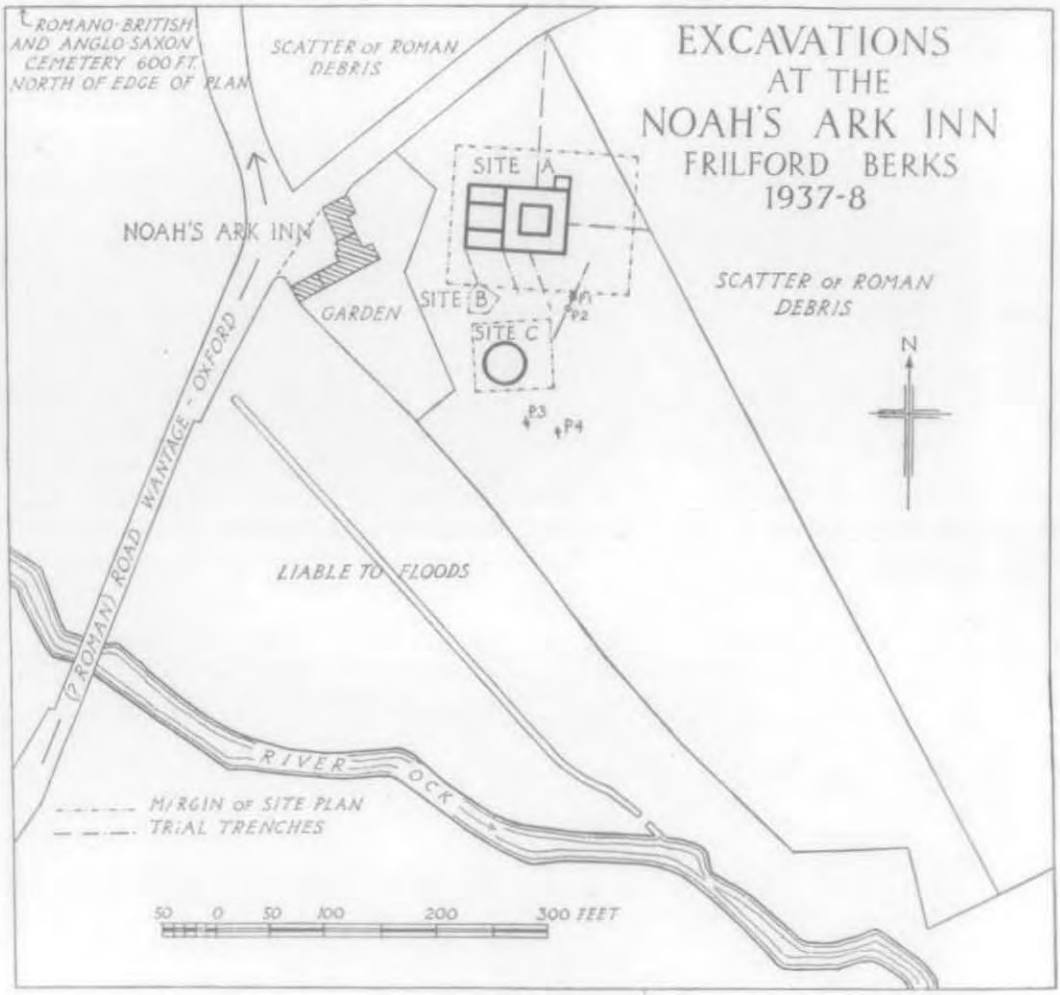


FIG. 1

GENERAL PLAN SHOWING RELATIONSHIP OF SITES A, B AND C, NOAH'S ARK, FRILFORD

P 1–4 are Iron Age pits.

through Faringdon to Swindon. At this point along it, approximately 190 feet above O.D., the natural subsoil is sand with thin seams of clay and a capping of

oolite rock, about 18 inches thick. Less than 100 yards to the south-west runs the river Ock, which, with its tributaries, meanders through the Vale of White Horse to join the Thames at Abingdon. The three sites A, B and C (FIG. 1) lie together at the upper end of the field : the meadows bounding it on the south and south-west are on alluvial soil and liable to floods, and may therefore be dismissed as unsuitable for purposes of occupation.

Site A, nearest the Inn, included a Romano-Celtic temple with secondary annexes, and a large Early Iron Age hut underneath its north-west corner. Site B was chosen as a representative area approximately in the centre of the Iron Age village site, which runs as a narrow band down the western margin of the field ; it produced a Roman coin-hoard and an Anglo-Saxon burial, apparently isolated. Site C was complex, yielding two superimposed circular ritual structures, the first Iron Age and the second Roman in date.

It is possible that even at the northern end of the field all the potentialities of the site have not been completely exhausted, while further excavation in the southern part might well add some details to our knowledge of the Iron Age settlement and possibly reveal further Roman buildings ; but it is unlikely that future discoveries in this field alone will materially affect the historical inferences deduced from the recently obtained evidence.

A. THE EARLY IRON AGE

INTRODUCTION

Roman building debris had already been recorded on the site, but the existence of Early Iron Age occupation had not hitherto been suspected. There had been no previous systematic excavation of an Iron Age site in the Vale of White Horse,[1] and the corpus of nearly 300 rim forms from the ' Noah's Ark ' has proved valuable as a check on sites along the northern fringe of the Berkshire Downs, those on the gravel patches in the neighbourhood of Oxford, and others again on the slopes of the Cotswolds.

The regional context of the site is therefore of some importance : on FIG. 2 the relative density of woodland in this period has been provisionally restored on a geological basis, over a reasonably coherent geographical unit, between the North Berkshire Downs and the southern slopes of the Cotswolds.[2] On this

[1] A small and incomplete series, beginning with A1 forms, was obtained from Lowbury Hill.

[2] We are grateful to Dr. W. J. Arkell for advice on the composition and potentialities of various soils.

1. Norbury Camp.
2. Windrush Camp.
3. Aldworth Camp.
4. Bibury Camp.
5. Ringsbury Camp.
6. Castle Hill Camp.
7. Lt. Coxwell Camp.
8. Badbury Camp.
9. Uffington Castle.
10. Cherbury Camp.
11. Letcombe Camp.
12. Kingston Lisle Camp.
13. Sinodun Camp.
14. Hardwell Camp.

A. Knighton Hill.
B. Blewburton Hill.
C. Allen's Pit, Dorchester.
D. Mount Farm, Dorchester.
E. Radley.
F. Frilford.
G. Hinksey Hill.
H. Rose Hill, Cowley.
I. Old Marston.
J. Woodeaton.
K. Wytham.
L. Yarnton.
M. Cassington.
N. Stanton Harcourt.
O. Stanlake.
P. Calais Farm, Bampton.

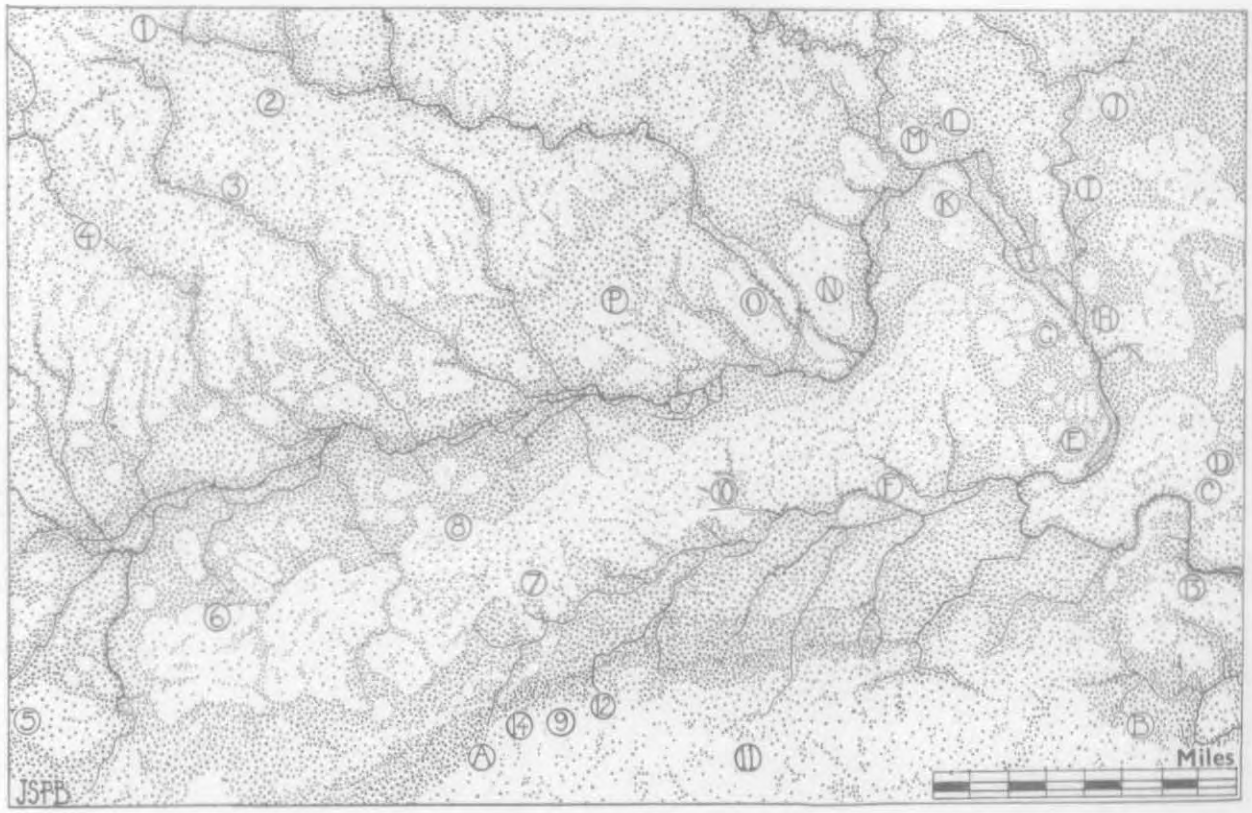


FIG. 2

DISTRIBUTION OF IRON AGE HILL-FORTS AND VILLAGE-SITES IN THE UPPER THAMES VALLEY

The shading shows the relative density of woodland at the time, tentatively restored on a geological basis (p. 5).

the distribution of Iron Age earthworks and occupation-sites has been plotted. In the former category are :

1. Norbury Camp
2. Windrush Camp
3. Aldworth Camp
4. Bibury Camp
5. Ringsbury Camp
6. Castle Hill Camp
7. Little Coxwell Camp
8. Badbury Camp
9. Uffington Castle
10. Cherbury Camp
11. Letcombe Camp
12. Kingston Lisle Camp
13. Sinodun Camp
14. Hardwell Camp

Village- and occupation-sites[1] in this area which have produced pottery, and generally structural evidence of occupation also, are as follows :

A. Knighton Hill
B. Blewburton Hill
C Allen's Pit, Dorchester
D. Mount Farm, Dorchester
E. Radley
F. Frilford
G. Hinksey Hill
H. Rose Hill, Cowley
I. Old Marston
J. Woodeaton
K. Wytham
L. Yarnton
M. Cassington
N. Stanton Harcourt
O. Stanlake
P. Calais Farm, Bampton

Most sites of both types have not yet been systematically excavated, and the almost complete lack of material is felt particularly acutely at the west end of the Vale, and among the Cotswold riverside camps. It is only natural that sites near Oxford should have received the first attention, but the time is rapidly approaching when the relationship of their cultures to those in neighbouring areas, more especially Wessex and Northamptonshire, should be more closely established, and, as a first step, an extensive selection of unpublished types has been prepared for future publication.

It should be noticed that while the Downs, the oolite ridge and the Cotswold slopes have been shown as relatively clear of woodland on FIG. 2, all must have been dotted with copses, woods, and straggling coverts. In contrast, the Vale was backwoodsman's country, and the strip of gault, up to two miles wide below the Downs, must have been something of a deterrent from continual contacts with Wessex. There is scarcely a sherd from the clay lands,[2] though coin distribution shows that, as one would expect, they were far from impenetrable.[3]

On the other hand the oolite ridge, with four earthworks and other occupation-sites strung out along it, must always have been to some extent a cultural corridor with Wessex, sandwiched between the two clay belts, north and south.

[1] To these should be added Long Wittenham and a new site near Hatford, Berks., between Little Coxwell and Cherbury Camps.

[2] In *Berks. Arch. Journ.*, XL, 158, the southern strip of gault was described as ' open grassland ' under prehistoric conditions : on the contrary, it would carry a damp and distinctly heavy forest.

[3] *Berks. Arch. Journ.*, XLII, 75–91.

Cherbury Camp, Frilford and Radley, all at the far end of the ridge, are significantly the most northerly sites that have produced haematite-coated ware in this area: though there is a single sherd from Mount Farm,[1] the effort of crossing the Thames seems to have been too much for this southern cultural tradition.

In the neighbourhood of Oxford the choice of well-drained, lightly-wooded gravel patches, close to the river or on the low hills above its banks, is sufficiently obvious. North-west, in the Cotswold hinterland, generalisation is more difficult from the lack of excavated sites; but the very close relationship of pottery from Chastleton Camp (*Ant. Journ.*, XI, 382 ff.), to Radley (*ibid.* pp. 399 ff.) indicates a general uniformity over this area in the earlier phases. The influence exerted by the Jurassic Zone route, and by Hunsbury in particular, in shaping the local sub-division of 'B' culture is still somewhat obscure. The region between Oxford and Northampton is notoriously, but probably deceptively, barren of occupation-sites. Mr. E. T. Leeds has recently suggested[2] Bronze Age contacts through the intervening forest land along the ironstone ridge between the upper waters of the Cherwell and Nene; and on the whole it is unlikely that this route ceased to be effective in the Iron Age. To the south-east, further down the Thames valley, the pottery from the occupation-site at Southcote, Reading,[3] shows alien characteristics[4] notably among the globular La Tène II forms with tooled decoration; but both in general and in particular there are numerous parallels with material from contemporary Oxfordshire sites.

In general, the Oxford area shows a fairly intensive, though patchy settlement, condemned to partial isolation and cultural stagnation by its rather unfavourable geographical and geological relationship to more developed areas. At first sight the Frilford settlement seemed to differ little from the basic local types of amorphous open villages, as excavated at Mount Farm[5] and Stanlake,[6] or from those whose aerial plans Major Allen has recently presented to us.[7]

THE MAIN SETTLEMENT (SITE B) FIG. 3

Altogether more than 40 drainage and storage pits were excavated, approximately half of which belonged to Site B. Usually they presented few

[1] *Oxoniensia*, II, 24 (Pit *θ*). [2] 'Beakers of the Upper Thames District,' *Oxoniensia*, III.

[3] *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, N.S. III, 43 ff.

[4] They can be paralleled in Hampshire, cp. C. F. C. Hawkes, J. N. L. Myres, C. G. Stevens, *St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester*, fig. 13, AR 3. The considerable influence of La Tène II types at Frilford and Cassington shows such characteristics to be less foreign to this area than was hitherto believed.

[5] *Oxoniensia*, II, 12–40. [6] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1 ser. IV (1857), 92, 215.

[7] Notably the apparent E.I.A. village inside Dyke Hills, Dorchester, *Oxoniensia*, III, pl. xviii.

special features ; most were fairly shallow (FIG. 3 : the depths are given from the top of the oolite rock), and the maximum depth recorded was barely 5 feet. Almost all were circular and the majority were lined with clay and had clay

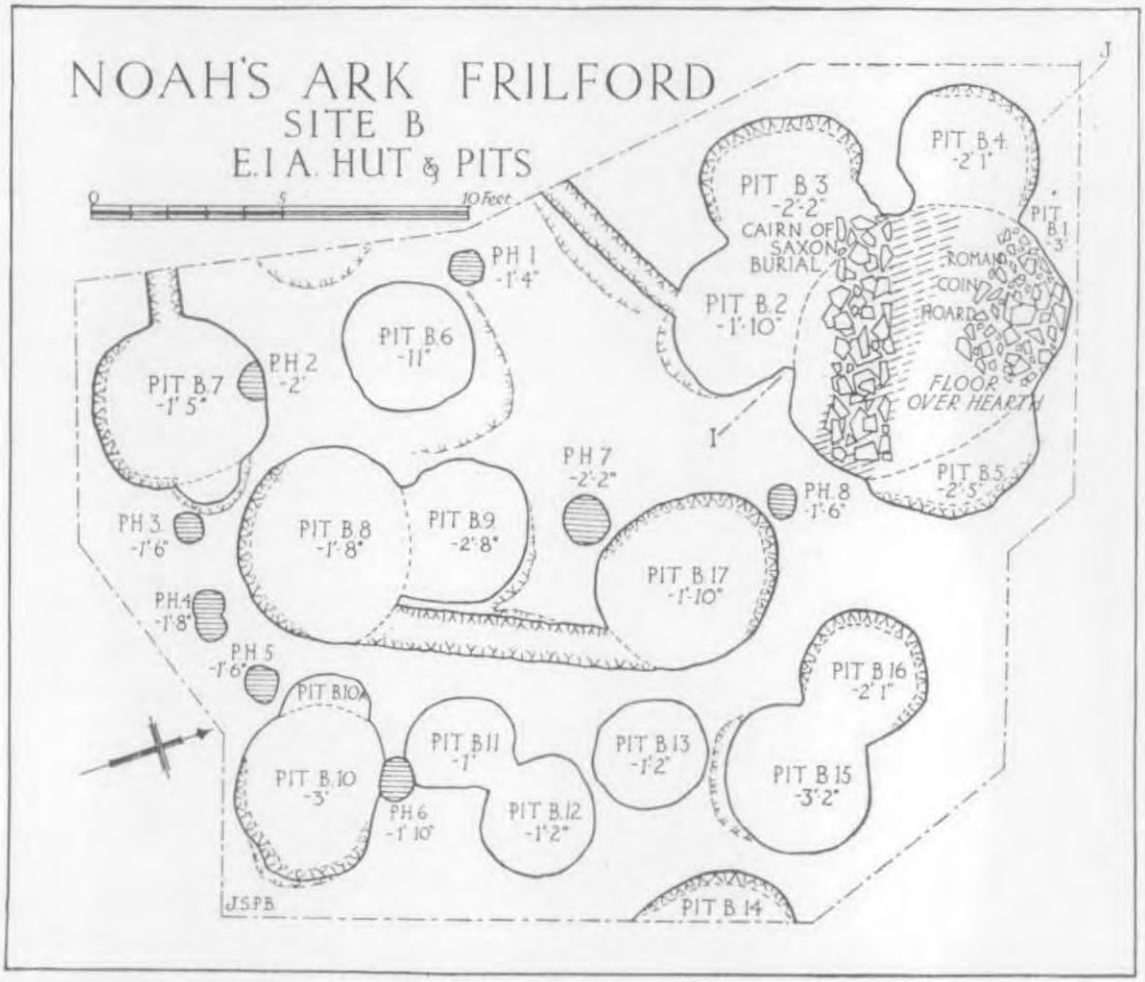


FIG. 3

floors. Pit A 4 (probably a cess-pit : cf. its section, FIG. 10), Pit P 1 (PLATE III, A) and Pits B 1 and 10 were noticeably undercut. The skilful technique of retaining a thin skin of oolite as a floor (Pits A 1, B 6, B 10A, B 11–13, C 1, and C 8) seems

to have been determined by necessities of storage and not to be peculiar to an early or late phase of occupation. The maximum concentration of settlement lay along a belt about 75 feet wide running from north-west to south-east along the western margin of the field, where the oolite rock rises closest to the surface. Eastwards and under the Temple it was far less intense and rapidly petered out. Trial trenches which revealed isolated pits (P 1–4, FIG. 1) were clearly outside the main nucleus.

Superimposed upon Pits B 6–12 (FIG. 3) were the post-holes of a hut-site, the occupation-material in which extended as far as the Roman period[1] but not into it. This polygonal structure was of simple plan, perhaps incorporating Pits B 8 and 9.[2] There was no trace of an interior hearth, and Pit B 1 (cut through the earlier Pits B 2–5), served it as a cooking-pit with a rough stone flooring in the corner. The axis of the hut's roof was indicated by Post-hole 4 which was double, and Post-hole 7, larger than the others (PLATE II, B). Post-hole 8 was probably related to the roofing of the cooking-pit, for the fresh condition of the hearths seems incompatible with exposure to rain. The significance of the scattered late Roman coin-hoard and the intrusive burial of a male Saxon with knife and scramasax will be discussed later, but it should be noted here that the 18 inches of silt which had accumulated since the cooking-pit's disuse contained no sherds of Roman fabric, whence we may infer that at the time of the effective romanisation of the site in the Flavian period (see below, p. 34) the hut on Site B had for some time ceased to be occupied.

Similarly the absence of romanised wares in the fillings of the other pits indicates that before the Flavian period the settlement drifted away perhaps to some nearby site, such as Garford Field to the south, or the vicinity of the cemetery on the north side of the Ock (pp. 57–8). But the continued occupation of the larger and isolated, ceramically-rich hut on Site A for three or four decades after the partial abandonment of the site makes the latter process appear voluntary.

THE LATER HUT (SITE A) FIG. 4

The first evidence of Iron Age and Roman structural continuity came from Site A. Here, under the north-west corner of the Temple and immediately below the make-up layer deposited by the Roman builders, lay a stratum of heavily burnt material up to 18 inches in depth, and uniform in content. There

[1] Although, as a chronological division in Britain, the 'Roman period' starts at A.D. 43, it must be emphasized that at Frilford this date has no cultural significance, effective romanisation being postponed for almost a half-century.

[2] Though indications of surface huts were noted at Mount Farm (*Oxoniensia*, II, 22) and at Hinksey Hill (*J.B.A.A.*, XXXVI, fig. 3), those from Sites A and B at Frilford are the first complete Iron Age house-plans to be published from the area under review.

PLATE I



A

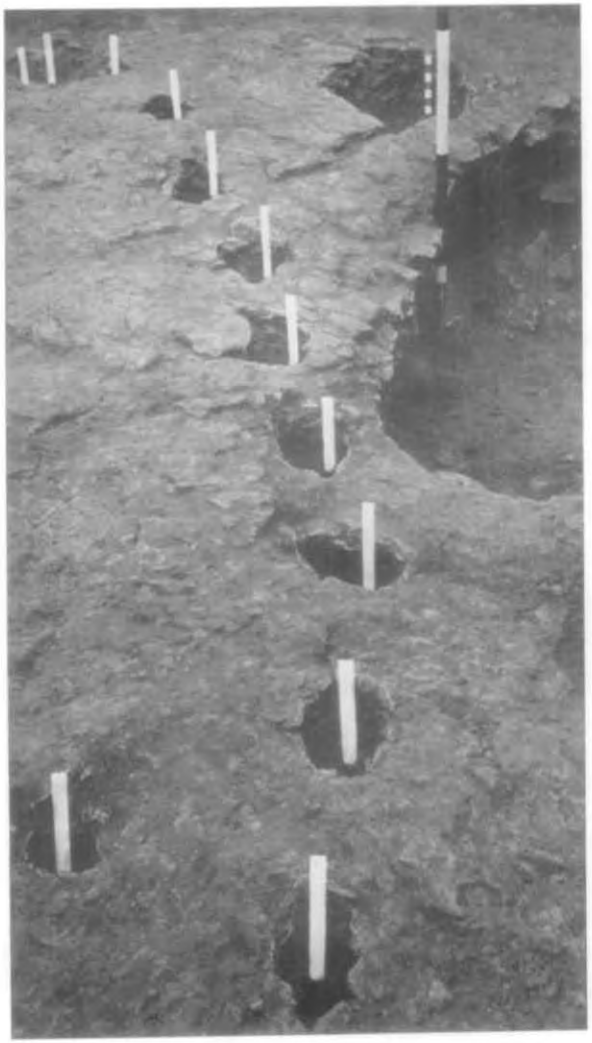


B

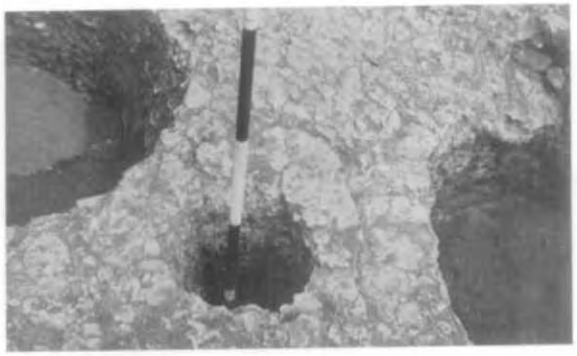
A. Air-view of the site, looking SW., with the archaeological features sketched in in white : on the left, the Noah's Ark field, on the right, the site of the Roman and Saxon cemetery. *Ph. G. W. G. Allen.*

B. Noah's Ark field, Site A : ghost-wall of Temple, with demolition-stratum of Iron Age hut, and superimposed make-up (p. 33).

FRILFORD, BERKS.



A



B



C

A. Iron Age hut, Site A : post-holes 6–17, on NE. side (p. 8).
B. Iron Age hut, Site B : axial post-hole 7 (p. 6).
C. Site B : Iron Age pits B 10–13 and 17 (p. 8).

NOAH'S ARK, FRILFORD, BERKS.

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PLATE III



A



B

A. Pit P1 (p. 7) : for position (on S. edge of Site A) see Fig. 1.

B. Iron Age ritual structure, Site C : post-holes 1 and 2, with sockets and slot for supports (p. 13).

NOAH'S ARK, FRILFORD, BERKS.

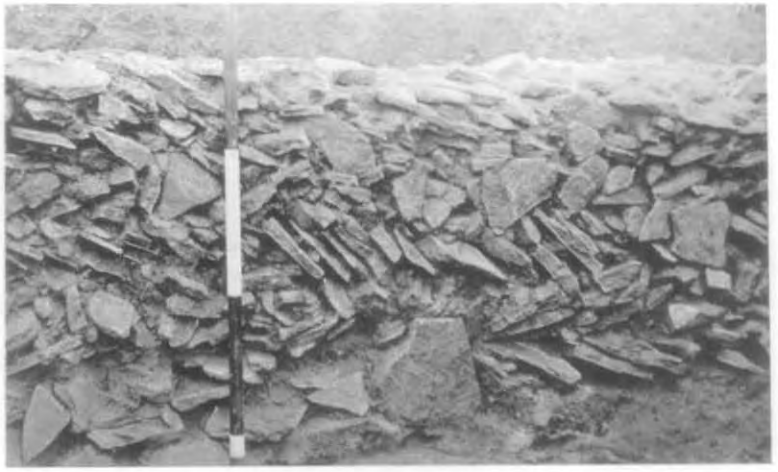
Phh. J. S. P. Bradford.



A



B



C

A. Foundation-wall of Roman Rotunda over the Iron Age ditch (p. 36).
B. Pit X : the votive objects (p. 13) were found on a level with the inch scale.
C. Rotunda : detail of herring-bone foundation-wall (p. 36).

SITE C, NOAH'S ARK, FRILFORD, BERKS.

Phh. J. S. P. Bradford.

was no accumulation of humus between the two strata (PLATE III, A), and the burning must have taken place immediately before the construction of the Temple. The burnt stratum proved to be the collapsed debris of a large hut, built in the last decades of the Iron Age, whose complete plan was recoverable in spite of the disturbance caused by the foundation-trenches of the cella walls of the Temple.

Evidence of structural continuity on the sites of Romano-Celtic temples has long been sought. At Worth, Kent,[1] the sequence of La Tène wares and the votive shields raised hopes that some light might be thrown both on the problem of continuity and on the nature of Iron Age religious practice ; but unfortunately, apart from some indeterminate pits, no structural predecessor of the Roman building was recognised in the area excavated. In his schedule of Romano-Celtic temples in Britain and on the Continent[2], Dr. Wheeler has shown that, while stray pre-Roman coins and La Tène III brooches have been found on a number of these sites, none of the 71 examples known in 1928 had provided conclusive evidence of structural continuity between the two periods, with the possible exception of the Temple of Mercury at Coblenz, where post-holes, apparently of pre-Roman date, underlay the earlier of the two Roman buildings.[3] Nor have subsequent excavations on temple sites materially affected this conclusion.[4]

But at Frilford, though this continuity is demonstrable on both stratigraphical and ceramic grounds with unusual certainty, yet it is equally obvious that the Early Iron Age hut, with its own peculiar characteristics, had no architectural influence on its Romano-British successor.

The house plan was a complex one,[5] with a double interior partition : the entrance lay between the two major Post-holes 33 and 36. Post-holes 34 and 35 probably served to support the former door-post, whilst Post-holes 15A and 16 strengthened the north-east corner. Besides the partition of Post-holes 19–24, there also seems to have been a medial line, represented by Post-holes 7, 24, 28 and 29, dividing the hut roughly in half. As in the case of the hut on Site B a small quantity of daub suggests that this was used in the body of the wall perhaps in conjunction with some form of *pisé-de-terre*, for Dr. Zeuner reports,

[1] *Ant. Journ.*, VIII (1928), 78–86.

[2] 'A Romano-Celtic temple near Harlow, Essex, and a note on the type,' *Ant. Journ.*, VIII (1928), 300–326.

[3] *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XIX (1900), 19, 31.

[4] Compare, however, the ditch inside the *temenos* colonnade of the temple at Stanway, Essex, which contained pre-Roman pottery : *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, XXVII (1937), 240.

[5] For hut-plans of the rectangular or squarish type in the Iron Age A tradition, see the Maiden Castle reports, *Ant. Journ.*, XV, pl. XXXIII ; and *ibid.* XVII, 270, hut L 1 with interior partition. Later house-plans of Iron Age B and C were almost invariably circular or polygonal, cf. *ibid.*, XVI, pl. XLVII, Huts DA and DB2 bracketed to the latter half of the 1st century B.C.

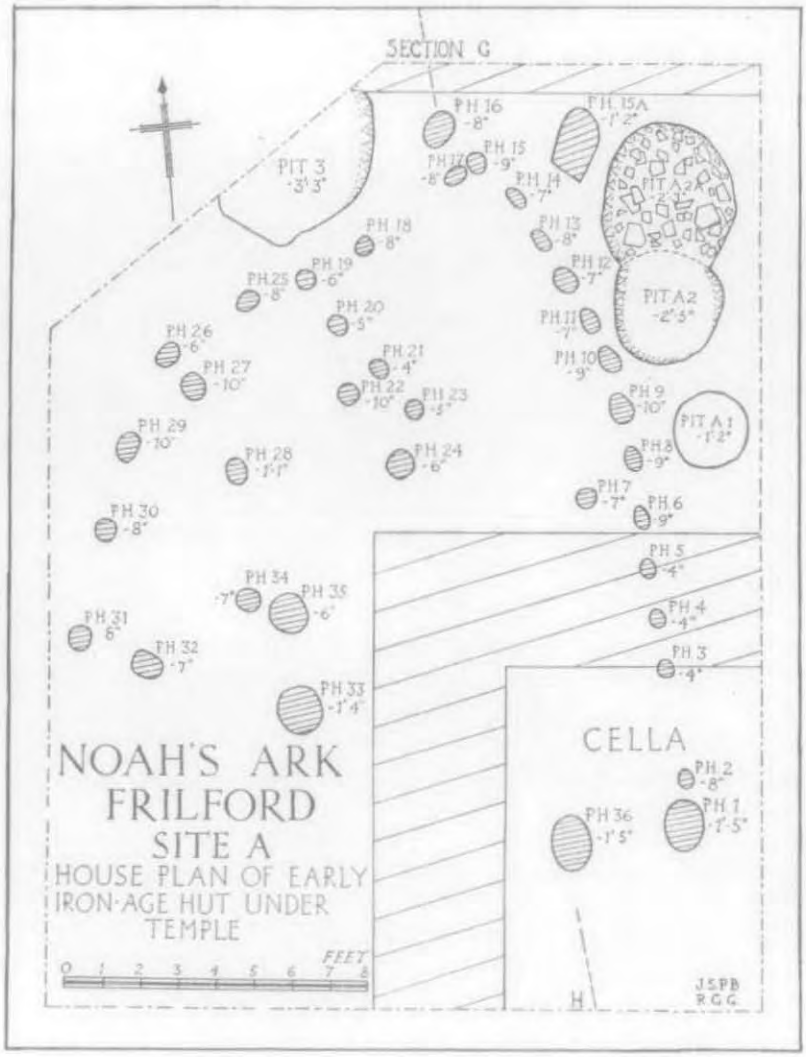


FIG. 4

THE IRON AGE HUT, SITE A

For its position see FIG. 9 (plan A 2), p. 28.

after analysis, the presence of burnt clay matter that appears to have once been sticking to wood. In the violent destruction of the hut under the Temple much of this may have been dispersed over a wide area, as the posts seem to have been torn out of their sockets. Outside the building, Pit A 1 produced the interesting pottery form (FIG. 8) with the foot-ring and shoulder-flange. This pit, and A 2 and 2A, the latter having a roughly cobbled floor, were most probably contemporary with the hut, but Pit A 3, an outlier from the main settlement, was earlier. The percentage of well-made, and often table-turned, soapy burnished wares from the hut was unusually high, being rather over 60 per cent. of the pottery from it.[1] Conspicuous among them were four bowls decorated with swags and festoons (FIG. 7, nos. 78, 83–5), incorporating various elements of Iron Age B motifs ; yet much developed A 2 types were still in use in an improved fabric.

It is surely no coincidence that Frilford and Cassington, the two sites in this area which have yielded so many forms in typical La Tène II tradition, should also react so favourably to Iron Age B technique, for also in Sussex, Hampshire and Berkshire La Tène II types show themselves peculiarly susceptible to curvilinear decoration.

Sealed by the dark burnt debris was the pre-hut humus, showing A 1 and A 2 forms and haematite-coated ware among the occupation-debris that had spread out from the pit settlement. From the hut there was a small quantity of Romano-British coarse ware, too fragmentary to date, but sufficient to reinforce the stratigraphic evidence that the hut was occupied some way into the Roman period, until its destruction in Flavian times. While allowing for the possibility of local survival of obsolescent pottery types, its initial occupation may be assigned to the first quarter of the 1st century A.D. or a little earlier. But no ritual significance need be claimed for this hut, in view of the amount of occupation-material and the independent position of the Roman Temple cella, though clearly its occupant was a person of social distinction. Nevertheless the ritual focus of the Iron Age settlement was not far distant.

THE RITUAL STRUCTURE (SITE C) FIG. 5

About 80 feet to the south, trial trenches revealed a large circular Romano-British building with an exterior diameter of 36 feet. This was superimposed directly on a broad horse-shoe shaped Iron Age ditch (FIG. 5) 11 feet across and 3 feet 9 inches in depth from the top of the oolite. Above the uppermost Iron

[1] At Frilford the rather rapid deterioration of A2 situliform types makes it hard to date the arrival of La Tène II fashions. Forms dated as early La Tène II in Sussex and Hants. appear here and at Cassington in a fairly fresh condition and are most probably of middle rather than late La Tène II date.

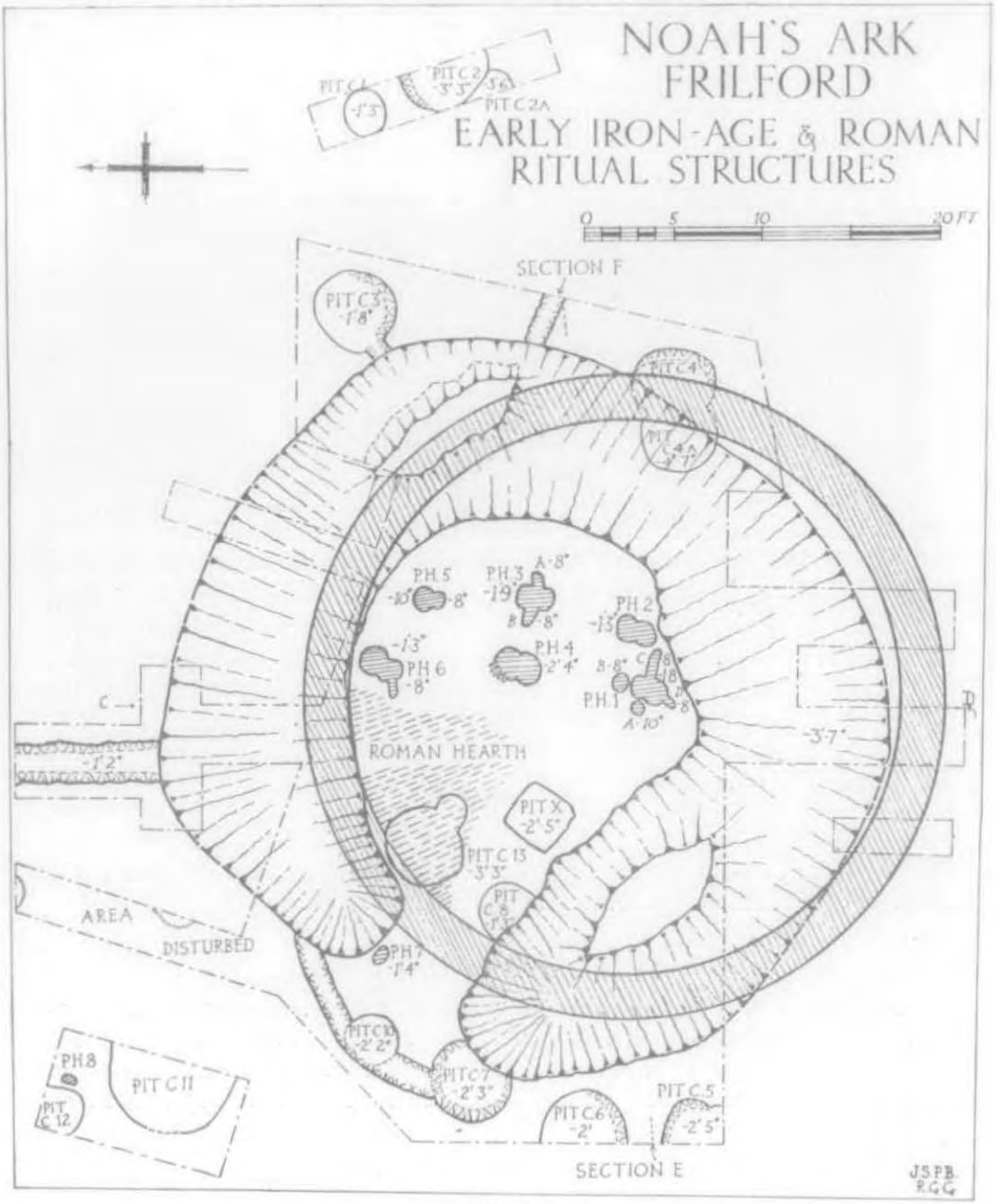


FIG. 5
PLAN OF SITE C

Age silt in the ditch, a thick layer of clay filling had been deposited by the Roman builders to level the site (FIG. 10, Sections C–D and E–F). At two points diametrically opposite but apparently unrelated to the general plan of the structure, the ditch bifurcated, to form small irregular 'islands'; but there were no post-holes on them, nor evidence for re-cutting, and the proved absence of more 'islands' makes their purpose obscure.

At the east end of the enclosure formed by the ditch were two rows of post-holes, three in each row, and all double: Post-holes 1 (PLATE IV), 3 and 6 were also provided with from two to four satellite sockets and slots for supports. All had been filled with the same Roman clay filling that had been used to level the ditch; but in the case of Post-hole 4, the central post-hole in the western row (also the deepest, and strengthened on one side with stone packing), a thin stratum of Iron Age humus beneath the clay filling contained an iron plough-share (PLATE V, C),[1] which must have been intentionally deposited before the erection of the timber structure.

In front of these double post-holes and close to the entrance causeway, a large square-cut pit, Pit X, had been filled to the brim with clay, as in the case of the ditch and post-holes, by the Roman builders: two pieces of Roman tile found in the filling, a few inches above the bottom of the pit, served as a valuable corroboration of the Roman date assigned to this clay deposit elsewhere on Site C. There was no sign of silt at the bottom (which experience showed would have formed in a matter of weeks, had the pit been exposed to the weather), and it must either have been covered or have held a container of some kind. Higher up in the filling, above the level of the Roman tile, were a bronze votive sword and shield (PLATE V, B),[2] a fragmentary iron spear-head, a corn muller,[3] and a little A 2 ware of a fabric common on the site just before the Roman Conquest.

The sword seems to be unparalleled in a similar context in England. Its present length is 3 ins., and perhaps about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. of the tip is missing: the blade is noticeably convex on one side. The upper part of the handle is formed of four spherical knobs, of which the uppermost is the largest; below

[1] The share was $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with a three-quarter circle socket, and rather worn. For plough-share points from Hunsbury, of simple socketed type see *Arch. Journ.*, XCIII, 66: for a rather smaller example from the Caburn, *cf. Sussex Arch. Coll.*, LXVIII, pl. IV, no. 15; and, in comparison the broader square-ended form from Bigberry Camp, Kent, *Arch. Journ.*, LXXXIX, pl. 1. Apart from this share and the spear-head mentioned below, iron was scarce on the site in pre-Roman times.

[2] The bronze terret and 'Beckley' brooch also illustrated were unstratified in the occupation material that had spread out from the village. The former is a small example of simple type, ornamented with two spherical bosses—for their suggested stylistic development see E. T. Leeds, *Celtic Ornament to* 700 *A.D.*, esp. pp. 118–125. The involuted brooch, characteristic of Middle La Tène culture, was first discussed by Sir Arthur Evans in *Archaeologia*, LXVI (1915), 570–2. Its derivation was analysed by Sir Cyril Fox in *Arch. Cambr.* LXXXII (1927), 91 ff. Its known distribution, concentrated mainly in Oxon. and Wilts., may only give a distorted idea of its origin.

[3] Fifteen complete or fragmentary corn-mullers were recovered, mainly from the pits.

these, at the head of the blade, is a fifth, rather more flattened. At first sight the sword would suggest a derivation from Roman prototypes,[1] but although the stratum in which it was found belongs in fact to the Flavian period, the objects in this stratum (excluding, of course, the tiles which are builders' debris) must derive from the preceding and unromanised phase of the site's history. Little research has been done of late on Early Iron Age sword-grips, but Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes has kindly drawn our attention to the suggestive similarities of an example in the British Museum, with just such a boss head and guard[2] (PLATE V, A). The craftsman who made the Frilford sword had clearly seen a Roman *gladius*, but certain La Tène elements seem to remain. The blade does not spring straight from the collar, but is round-shouldered in form, possibly the product of a cross with a form such as that from the Lockwood Reservoir site near Walthamstow (PLATE V, D)—also in the British Museum—or the shorter, stumpier contemporaries of the long, slender, and more familiar late La Tène swords.[3]

The votive shield, which is $2\frac{3}{8}$ ins. long and $1\frac{3}{8}$ ins. broad, has well-established La Tène antecedents, and finds its closest parallel in the third of those from the pre-Roman level at Worth, Kent, though it lacks the punched cruciform decoration of this rather larger example. The only other votive shield recorded in this country, that from Hod Hill, Dorset, had a grip in position at the back and a spindle-shaped boss. But on the Frilford shield the latter had shrunk to almost nothing, leaving only an oval boss. Five or six other specimens from continental sites are listed in the *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, VIII (1913), ii, 7–8. The oval form is not very common, but Montelius illustrates an example from Talamone, prov. of Grosseto (*La Civilisation Primitive en Italie*, pl. 205, no. 9), associated with votive axes and other objects. The oval wooden prototype occurs at La Tène itself. (Paul Vouga, *La Tène* (1923), pls. XV–XVIII).[4]

A summary of the implications of this timber structure, the architecture of which,[5] as well as the associated finds, points to a ritual function, raises many

[1] See Ludwig Lindenschmidt, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des römischen Heeres* (1882), Taf. VI and Taf. XI, no. 5, with examples of the normal short stabbing type.

[2] Unfortunately, its find-spot is unknown ; but it certainly does not possess the characteristics of the northern group. The rest of the handle could be conjecturally restored along the lines of the bone grip with raised spirals in a continuous band found in the Thames at Barnes, and now also in the British Museum.

[3] Mr. G. C. Dunning has suggested a possible connexion with anthropoid swords of La Tène III date, whose details might be absorbed and greatly modified in an example of this size ; see, for example, Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie*, II, 3, 1140, more especially, no. 4.

[4] For the Worth specimen and its associations, see *Ant. Journ.*, VIII, 79–81 ; and for that from Hod Hill, *Ant. Journ.*, II, 98. Mr. W. J. Hemp suggested a pedigree for British shield-types in describing the specimen from Moel Hirradug, Flintshire, *Arch. Cambr.*, LXXXIII (1928), 253–284.

[5] The traditions and development of earlier ritual timber structures have been considered in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1936, pp. 1 ff., in connexion with the Arminghall example.

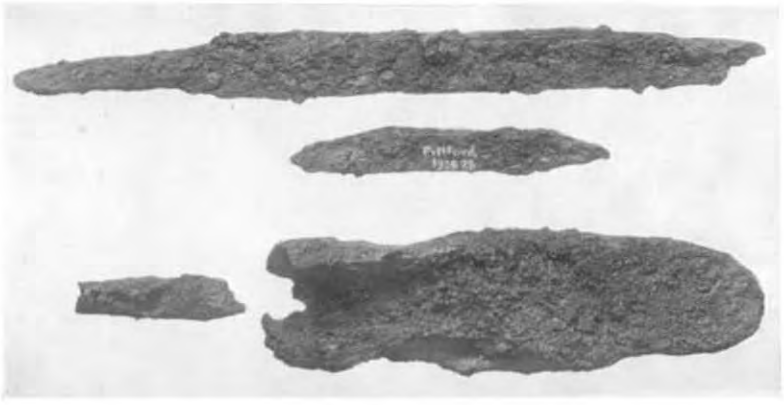
A



B



C





D

A. Knobbed grip of an Iron Age sword in the British Museum, find-spot unknown, p. 14. ($\frac{1}{2}$).
B. Bronze objects from Frilford, pp. 13, 48. ($\frac{2}{3}$).
C. Iron scramasax and knife (p. 13), plough-share and spear-head (p. 38) from Frilford. ($\frac{1}{3}$).
D. Iron sword of late La Tène date in the British Museum from Walthamstow, Essex, p. 14. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

Phh. A, D.—British Museum : B.—Institute of Archaeology, London : C.—Ashmolean Museum.

interesting problems. The two islands in the ditch and the entrance to the enclosure do not seem to be directly aligned on the structure, whilst the ditch itself cuts through pits and gullies which had already silted up and been forgotten (for example Pits C 4, C 8 and C 13). It clearly seems to be a secondary feature, though not necessarily much later than the timber structure, the sanctity of which was thus protected from any encroachments by the village-site. Besides the single gate-post, Post-hole 7, there may have been others which were later destroyed by the foundation trench of the Roman Rotunda wall. The entire absence of any Roman sherds from the clay with which the builders of the Rotunda levelled the ditches (though Early Iron Age material was plentiful) leads one to conclude that the transformation was contemporaneous with the initial romanisation of the site, and the building of the main Temple. At the same time that the large hut on Site A was destroyed by fire, the native ritual structure was systematically dismantled. Yet the religious continuity was not wholly broken, for the circular form of the Iron Age ditch was perpetuated in stone by the outline of the Rotunda.

The plough-share so carefully placed at the bottom of Post-hole 4 seems to point to a normal and basic form of fertility cult, whilst the votive sword and shield confirm the site's ritual significance from another aspect. Structurally it may not be too extravagant to see in the shrine a sort of artificial *nemus* conveniently localised on the edge of the village. In such a cultural backwater, even at the end of the 1st century A.D., its traditions of sanctity were still strong enough to determine the site of the Rotunda, and though perhaps despised by those who had dismantled and replaced it by a more sophisticated structure, it could not be forgotten or ignored.

POTTERY (FIGS. 6–8)

It is evident that from the first the Frilford settlement looked to the Iron Age A culture of Wessex for its origins, and continued to react receptively to Iron Age A2 ceramic influences from that area. Culturally it lay on the fringe of the haematite zone of southern Britain, the nucleus of which (some 30 out of the 50 known sites, where the technique was practised) was centred in Wiltshire and Dorset. Very rare in Somerset, the technique filtered eastwards, decreasing in quantity, into Sussex and Surrey. In Berkshire it is recorded from five sites,[1] but only at Blewburton is it as yet abundant. In Oxfordshire it is only present on a single sherd from Cassington and another from Mount Farm, Dorchester. For a site on the marches of this cultural province, Frilford is exceptional in producing carinated bowls with haematite coating equal in quality to that of Wessex examples. The significantly complete absence of haematite ware

[1] Blewburton Hill (Reading Museum, unpublished : A1 forms), Frilford, Cherbury Camp, Radley, and Caesar's Camp, Easthampstead. Though the problems of distribution are here deliberately simplified, these proportions probably indicate approximately the *relative* intensity of concentration. The distribution of haematite wares in Wiltshire is noted briefly in *W.A.M.* XLVI, 599.

from Long Wittenham and Allen's Pit, Dorchester, both Iron Age A1 sites, confirms the differentiation of tradition that must be made in the A1 cultures of the upper Thames valley, though general parallels from those sites with All Cannings Cross and Wessex A1 are not wanting.[1] Stanton Harcourt and Wytham, though they both yield a variety of A1 forms, have not yet shown any trace of the technique.

It is clear that when occupation began at Frilford, A1 situla forms were almost outmoded, even though bowls retained their well-carinated shoulders rather longer. Finger-tipping was never a very common ornament on the site (cp. FIG. 6, nos. 23–4: further examples came from the pre-hut humus on site A and the lower silt of the ditch on site C). Apart from the small chevron-pattern on no. 25, typical incised A1 decoration was lacking. Nos. 26 and 30 are the only examples to retain finger-printing on the lip (cp. Hinksey Hill, *J.B.A.A.*, XXXVI, 383, no. 20 dated Hallstatt–La Tène I). But undecorated, heavy, flattened and expanded rims are common in association with A1–early A2 forms, and a date late in A1 seems probable for these, though the type persists locally into an A2 context.

In the absence of other material, the date of the initial occupation of the site turns on the pottery evidence. At present it is difficult to say with certainty how long haematite-coated ware persisted in this relatively backward area. It is associated here in a debased form (*e.g.* FIG. 6, no. 9) with decadent A2 types that cannot well be earlier than the middle of the 2nd century B.C., yet the sharply carinated bowls, and the other A1 characteristics already mentioned, though not long removed in time from a fairly rapid degeneration, indicate a date in the middle of the 4th century B.C. as the mostly likely for the beginning of the settlement. Allowance must, however, always be made for the persistence of obsolescent types.

The complex nature of the Iron Age A2 culture found on certain sites in this area was pointed out by Mr. J. N. L. Myres (*Oxoniensia*, II, 27), and as a regional label it has clearly become insufficient. But it must be remembered that in *Antiq. Journ.*, XVI, 268, it was emphasised that the proposed modification and amplification of the original typological sub-divisions outlined by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes (*Antiquity*, V, 60 ff.) were made primarily in respect of *Wessex*, the name being used 'as a convenient equivalent of what might be termed the haematite province' of south Britain.

At Frilford, the divergency of development between the burnished bowls in the La Tène II traditions of Hampshire and Berkshire (cp. fig. 7), and the derived A2 situliform vessels is even more apparent than it was at Mount Farm. An analysis of the unpublished pottery from the occupation-sites of East and West Cassington, in which the former preponderate over the latter for the first time in this region, shows the importance that must be attached to this intrusive element. Moreover La Tène II influence is evident at Woodeaton, and even at Allen's Pit, Dorchester, where pure Iron Age A traditions seem to have remained particularly vigorous. With Belgic influence reduced to a minimum at Frilford, La Tène II styles continued to flourish, with developments and modifications, up to the 1st century A.D., against a conservative background of degenerate A2 types of situliform pedigree. The La Tène II forms are well represented by examples from the huts on sites A and B, and from the upper silt of the ditch on site C.

[1] Compare, *e.g.*, the carinated, furrowed bowl (*Ant. Journ.*, XV, 35, fig. 2, 6) from Allen's Pit, and compare also the treatment of incised chevron patterns. However, with one exception, punched decoration filled with white inlay and set in panels or lozenges, which is so characteristic of All Cannings Cross, is completely absent from Long Wittenham and Allen's Pit, though present at Bampton, Old Marston and Wytham.

The composite nature of the Iron Age B culture is now accepted : recently, classification has been carried a step farther by the addition of a South-eastern B regional group (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1938, pp. 151 ff.). In the upper Thames valley the material is hardly sufficient, as yet, to make it easy to distinguish the converging cultural elements. Curvilinear decoration alone is an insufficient criterion ; for plain burnished bowls with incipient bead rims (*e.g.* fig. 7, nos. 69 and 77) found in association with the swagged bowls at Frilford, and also very noticeable at Cassington, may equally well be taken to indicate the presence of B influence on an essentially inartistic A population, in an area to some extent by-passed by the Jurassic Zone route.

At Frilford and at Cassington, which were closely related in this phase (cp. fig. 7, no. 84, and *Antiq. Journ.*, XV, pl. V, 2), B decoration generally takes the form of swags, swinging from circlets, interlocking, or else tooled carelessly as on no. 78, where the potter's imagination has run riot in default of a standardised motif. The interlocking swag, as on no. 85,[1] is a basic South-western B decorative formula (cp. *Glastonbury*, II, pl. LXXI, P. 26 : the rather squat profile of most of the Frilford and Cassington bowls comes close to *ibid.* pl. LXXVI, no. XIV), and the concentric circles also appear on the Yarnton sherd (*Brit. Mus. E.I.A. Guide*, p. 138). It is evident that the latter, and a bowl decorated with broad shallow dimples and returning spirals from Cowley, are closely related to lake-village types ; but though the composite A2 culture in this area clearly reacted receptively to these intrusive decorative formulae (and, in view of the number of plain, incipient bead-rim bowls at Frilford and Cassington showing B influence, with greater effect than might be at first apparent), it is difficult at present to indicate the exact routes by which they penetrated : the new material, however, emphasises the incorrectness of the apparent isolation of the upper Thames valley B culture.

FIG. 6. Haematite-coated bowls : A1 and A2 forms, etc.

1. Angular neck of vessel coated with a purplish-red, rather greasy, haematite slip. *Site A, pre-hut humus.*
2. Neck of small bowl, buff fabric with a pale red-brown haematite slip. *Site A, pre-hut humus.*
3. Angular carination of bowl, with a warm red haematite wash on both surfaces. *Site C, ditch, rapid silt.*
4. Carinated shoulder of bowl with bright brownish-pink haematite slip. *Pit C8.*
5. Sharply carinated shoulder of small bowl, very thin buff fabric, with a thick slip of greasy red haematite carefully applied. *Pit C9, lower silt.*
6. Neck of vessel, black sandy fabric with light reddish-brown haematite wash. For the form cp. *All Cannings Cross*, pl. 28, no. 6. *Site C, ditch, lower silt.*
7. Rounded shoulder of small bowl with dark brown haematite wash. *Site B, hut.*
8. Rounded shoulder of small bowl, very thin buff fabric, with traces of a diminutive cordon. Haematite slip as on no. 5. *Site A, pre-hut humus.*

[1] The interlocking swag is present among the material from Salmonsbury (kindly shown to me by Mr. G. C. Dunning) in a more elaborate and more emphatic B form than among the Frilford-Cassington group. The derivation of the latter from a Cotswold source is always a distinct possibility.

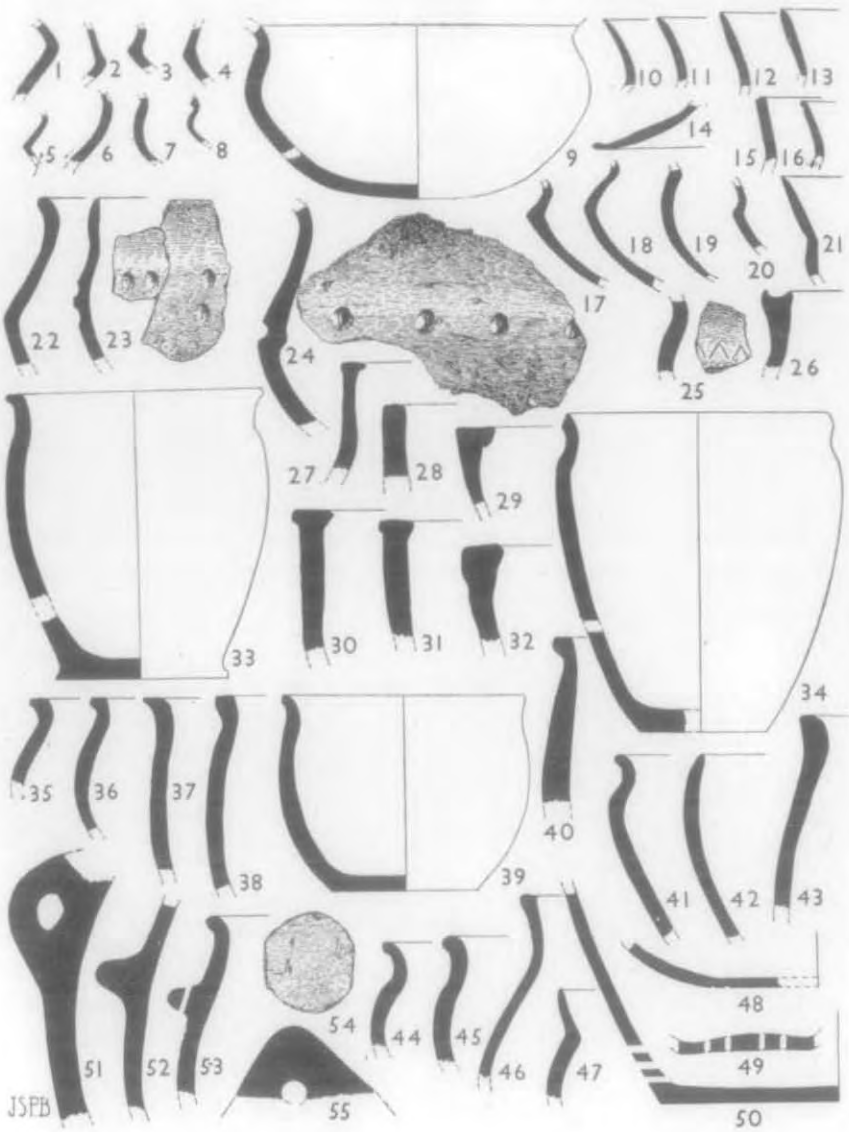


FIG. 6

EARLY IRON AGE POTTERY, NOAH'S ARK, FRILFORD : see pp. 17 ff. (1/4).

9. Shallow round-shouldered A2 bowl, rounded base, rather coarse heavy brownish-black fabric, smoothed on both surfaces and roughly coated with a haematite slip. *Pit B8, lower silt.*

10. Flaring rim of bowl, fabric and wash as no. 11. D. 6 ins. *Pit B10A, lower hearth.*

11. Tapering rim of bowl, with worn dull dark red-brown haematite wash : black fabric, interior carefully smoothed. Cp. Yarnbury, *W.A.M.*, XLVI, pl. XIV, 3. *Pit B10A, lower hearth.*

12. Rim of bowl, dark grey fabric, with thin red-brown haematite slip on both surfaces. *Pit B12, brown stony fill.*

13. Flaring rim of bowl, D. 6⅛ ins., grey fabric fired a warm buff, and coated with a thick slip of bright red haematite. *Pit B17, rapid silt.*

14. Lid, hard black sandy ware, carefully burnished and smoothed on its inner surface. Worn, red-brown haematite wash. *Site A, pre-hut humus.*

15. Flat-topped rim with worn red-brown haematite wash on black fabric. D. 5⅞ ins. *Site C, ditch, rapid silt.*

16. Rim of small bowl, with shallow groove : red-brown haematite wash and carefully smoothed inner surface. *Pit C8.*

17. Angular shoulder of small bowl, rather soft dark fabric with both surfaces burnished. For the form cp. *All Cannings Cross*, pl. XXXIX, 2. *Site C, ditch, lower silt.*

18. Rounded shoulder of bowl, warm buff-grey fabric, with both surfaces burnished. Cp. Mount Farm, *Oxoniensia*, II, fig. 8, θ2. *Site C, ditch, lower silt.*

19. Rounded shoulder of bowl, smoothed, sandy grey-buff ware. *Site B, hut.*

20. Carinated shoulder of small bowl, roughly burnished lumpy brown ware. Cp. Mount Farm, *op. cit.*, fig. 8, μ 11, and reff. *ad loc.* *Pit P1, rapid silt.*

21. Flaring rim of bowl in dark grey fabric with rounded shoulder, in which the carination has been almost eliminated. *Pit A4, greenish grey silted matter.*

22. Rounded rim and angular shoulder of situliform vessel in dirty brownish grey, rather corky fabric. For the general form cp. Mount Farm, *op. cit.*, fig. 6, A VII 24 (but with finger-tipping). *Pit C9, dark lower silt.*

23. Small situliform vessel in coarse black fabric, shoulder decorated with irregular finger tipping and still retaining a fairly angular profile. *Site C, ditch, rapid silt.*

24. Shoulder of bowl in hard coarse buff fabric, decorated with finger-tipping. The later stages of devolution have not yet been reached, and in profile and fabric it is typologically one of the earliest forms from the site. Cp. Long Wittenham, *Oxoniensia*, II, fig. 2, no. 20. *Pit C, lower fill.*

25. Rounded, decadent shoulder, coarse greyish ware, still retaining, however, the decoration of a band of incised chevrons. For its prototype cp. *All Cannings Cross*, pl. 34, no. 9. *Pit B10A, lower hearth.*

26. Flat-topped rim decorated with irregular finger-printing. Coarse dark brown fabric with horizontal combing. *Site C, ditch, rapid silt.*

27. Flat-topped rim with internally projecting lip in coarse brownish ware. For the many sub-varieties of this form, decorated with cabling in conjunction with applied bands cp. Scarborough, *Arch.*, LXXVII, 187, figs. 6–18. *Pit P1, lower fill.*

28. Heavy flat-topped rim, gritty grey-buff fabric. A characteristic Hallstatt-La Tène I form, cp. the Trundle, *S.A.C.*, LXX, pl. X, 69–71. *Pit A3, upper silted matter.*

29. Flat-topped swollen rim of cauldron-shaped vessel, with marked internal overhang, coarse buff-pink fabric. *Site C, ditch, lower silt.*

30. Flat-topped rim with externally and internally projecting lip, sandy grey-buff fabric, finger-printing on outer lip. *Pit B6, grey stony fill.*

31. Rim form of straight-sided vessel similar to no. 30, coarse buff fabric. *Site C, ditch, lower silt.*

32. Swollen flat-topped rim of cauldron-shaped vessel, lumpy pinkish fabric. Cp. Meon Hill, *Proc. H.F.C.*, XII, ii, fig. 10, P36. *Pit P1, lower sandy silt.*

33. Flat-topped rim, D. $5\frac{2}{8}$ ins., of decadent A2 vessel with rounded profile, hard dark buff ware, roughly smoothed. Cp. the larger and rather less devolved example from Swallowcliffe, *W.A.M.*, XLIII, pl. V, 6. *Site A, hut.*

34. Pointed rim and neck of almost shoulderless much devolved form in warm reddish-brown fabric, roughly combed vertically to the base, D. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins., *Pit A5, upper fill.*

35. Flat-topped rim and moulded neck, hard grey-brown ware. *Site B, hut.*

36. Similar form with projecting lip, smoothed dark buff fabric, D. $5\frac{3}{8}$ ins. Cp. Swallowcliffe, *op. cit.*, pl. V, 6. *Pit B2, dark lower silt.*

37. Rim form similar to the last, but belonging to a large bag-shaped cooking-pot, dirty grey-brown sandy ware, table-turned. *Site A, hut.*

38. Flat-topped rim, with hollowed neck, of large sagging vessel in hard pale grey-brown ware, D. $9\frac{3}{4}$ ins. *Pit B12, stony fill.*

39. Small squat A2 pot, sandy grey-buff ware, D. $5\frac{1}{16}$ ins. Cp. Fifield Bavant, *W.A.M.*, XLII, pl. V, 8, and Maiden Castle, *Antiq. Journ.*, XVI, fig. 2, no. 3. *Pit B 6, upper fill.*

40. Flat-topped rim, with projecting outer lip, from a large vessel in pale leathery biscuit-coloured ware. *Site B, hut.*

41. Rim with everted lip, hollow neck and rounded shoulder of broad shallow bowl, dirty dark grey-buff fabric, brushed over while wet. D. $7\frac{1}{4}$ ins. Cp. Southcote, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1937, fig. 6, 1. *Pit A8, upper fill.*

42. Inturned rim of coarse smeared biscuit-coloured vessel. D. $5\frac{4}{8}$ ins. Cp. Lidbury, *W.A.M.*, XL, pl. VII, 5, or Wisley, *Antiq. Journ.*, IV, pl. XVIII, C. *Over Pit P1.*

43. Heavy bulging rim of sagging bag-shaped cooking-pot in rather coarse gritty grey fabric. D. *c.* $8\frac{4}{8}$ ins. *Pit A6, upper fill.*

44. Rounded rim and hollow neck of round-shouldered vessel, roughly finished grey brown ware. Cp. Cassington West, *Antiq. Journ.*, XV, 35, fig. 2g. *Pit B3.*

45. Rather clumsier version of no. 44: fabric of similar quality. Cp. Hinksey Hill, *J.B.A.A.*, XXXV, fig. 5, no. 5. *Pit B7.*

46. Rim and everted neck of vessel of globular profile. Sandy pink fabric. D. $5\frac{3}{8}$ ins. *Pit P2, upper fill.*

47. Everted rim, corky ware. D. $6\frac{1}{8}$ ins. Survival of bowl form. *Pit B11, upper hearth.*

48. Base of bowl in hard black fabric roughly tooled inside and with soapy burnish on the outside. Two lightly pencilled lines follow the circumference of the base. This typical La Tène II feature also persists later at Frilford and occurs on an example from Hut 2 in a similar fabric. *Pit B3, lower fill.*

49. Base of roughly burnished black ware, pierced from inside after firing with four holes set in a square. *Site A, hut.*

50. Part of the base and side of a large situliform vessel in chestnut-brown to black burnished ware, with three holes drilled from the inside after firing, probably for rivets. *Pit B17, upper silt.*

51. Large lug-handle, with squared section, of heavy vessel in smoothed dirty grey-buff ware, well-finished for its size. Among a number of other examples there were no indications of counter-sinking. *Pit P4, upper fill.*

52. Unpierced lug in roughly burnished sandy black ware. Cp. Kingston Buci, *S.A.C.*, LXXII, 194, no. 14. *Pit P4, stony humus.*

53. Vertically pierced lug-handle of vessel with everted rim, heavy, hard, dark fabric. *Pit A5, rapid silt.*

54. Sherd, cut as a counter, heavy grey-buff fabric. Cp. *St. Catharine's Hill*, fig. 12, e17. *Pit B1, hearth.*

FIG. 7. A2 (La Tène II) bowls, and bowls with curvilinear decoration.

55. Fragment of small triangular loom weight, horizontally pierced. *Pit* B17, *upper fill.*

56. Rounded rim, approaching incipient bead-rim type, of bulging bowl, burnished dark metallic grey ware. D. $7\frac{2}{8}$ ins. *Site A, hut.*

57. Rim, with somewhat everted lip, fine, thin black fabric with soapy burnish, table-turned. D. $6\frac{4}{8}$ ins. *Site A, hut.*

58. Rim, approaching incipient bead-rim type, light buff-brown burnished fabric, D. $5\frac{4}{8}$ ins. Cp. a more swollen version from Worthy Down, *Proc. H.F.C.* X, ii, pl. III, 32. *Pit A4, upper fill.*

59. Rim of similar form to the last, of a rather smaller bowl, soapy dull black fabric. Cp. the Caburn, *S.A.C.*, LXVIII, pl. XV, 132. *Site B, hut.*

60. Rim with everted and bevelled lip in smooth sandy black ware, carefully burnished. Cp. Southcote, *op. cit.*, fig. 4, no. 5. *Site C, ditch, clay filling.*

61. Rim with everted, and bevelled lip, in hard grey-brown ware, D. $5\frac{3}{8}$ ins. Cp. the Caburn, *S.A.C.*, LXVIII, pl. XV, 143. *Site B, hut.*

62. Blunt rim, with everted lip, of bowl, sandy dark grey ware with soapy burnish, table-turned. The form approaches Mount Farm, *Oxoniensia*, II, fig. 9, A1 13. *Pit C6, upper silt.*

63. Rim of bowl, with slight internal swelling, characteristic of La Tène II forms, black burnished sandy ware. D. $6\frac{4}{8}$ ins. Cp. the Trundle, *S.A.C.*, LXX, pl. X, 103–4. *Site B, hut.*

64. Slightly everted blunt rim and bulging shoulder, thin smooth dark brown ware. Cp. Worthy Down, *Proc. H.F.C.*, X, ii, pl. IV, 64. *Site C, ditch, upper silt.*

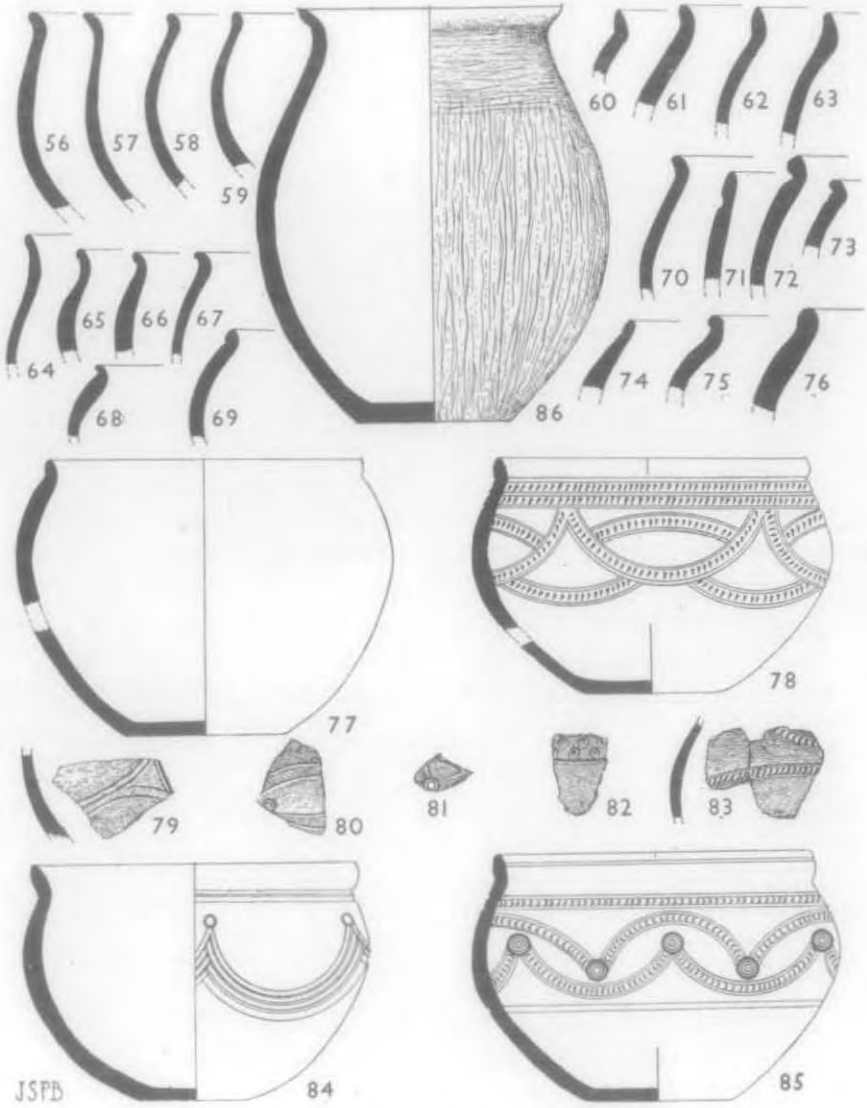


FIG. 7

EARLY IRON AGE POTTERY, NOAH'S ARK, FRILFORD : see pp. 21 ff. (¼).

65. Rim with slight external lip, and hollow moulded neck, sandy brownish-black fabric with tooled surface. D. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. *Pit C1, lower silt.*

66. Everted rounded rim, sandy brownish-black ware. D. $5\frac{3}{5}$ ins. *Site A, hut.*

67. Rim with internal swelling, chestnut-brown burnished ware. Though like the other vessels it significantly lacks tooled decoration, it approaches closely in form to Southcote, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1937, fig. 6, no. 5. *Site B, hut.*

68. Rim of incipient bead-rim type, hard dark brownish-black burnished ware. Cp. Meon Hill, *Proc. H.F.C.*, XII, ii, fig. 12, P 11. *Site A, hut.*

69. Incipient bead rim of small bowl, D. $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins., warm brown burnished ware. Cp. Southcote, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1937, fig. 3, no. 7. *Site A, hut.*

70. Rounded rim with everted lip, dark brown ware with tooled surface. *Site A, hut.*

71. Blunt rim, with deep groove below, of typical La Tène II saucepan-shaped vessel, rather rough and sandy, fired a dull black. *Pit B16, upper fill.*

72. Rim and sloping shoulder of large vessel in smooth dull brown fabric. The angularity of the rim recalls *St. Catharine's Hill*, fig. 14, R7, but the Frilford example is in a rather later context. *Pit A7, upper fill.*

73. Everted rim in hard metallic grey fabric with two small grooves below the lip, conventional La Tène II form. *Site C, ditch, clay filling.*

74. Rough bead rim, sandy burnished, dark grey ware. D. $5\frac{1}{5}$ ins. *Site A, hut.*

75. Small rounded rim approaching crude rolled-rim form, in a smooth grey-buff ware table-turned. Cp. Southcote, *op. cit.*, fig. 7, no. 2. *Site A, hut.*

76. Rounded rim of large globular vessel, hard sandy wheel-turned fabric, fired a dirty grey. Cp. Mount Farm, *Oxoniensia*, II, fig. 10, A VII 9. *Site A, hut.*

77. Wide-mouthed bowl with rounded profile and rough bead-rim, sandy black fabric, table-turned, carefully burnished, D. $6\frac{3}{5}$ ins. Cp. no. 69. *Site A, hut.*

78. Wide-mouthed shallow bowl, D. $6\frac{9}{10}$ ins., table-turned, with everted rim, sandy dark grey-buff ware with a finer flaky slip, surfaces carefully burnished. The shallow crescentic punch-marks fill the horizontal bands on the rim, and the pencilled swags below. The same technique is also found on a rim from Calais Farm, Bampton, and a bowl from Cassington West. Freehand curvilinear decoration of a closely related kind comes from Yarnbury *W.A.M.*, XLVI, pl. XVIII, 1–2. The well-known example from Yarnton (*B.M. Early Iron Age Guide*, p. 138, fig. 183) shows a variant of this technique. *Site A, hut.*

79. Bowl, lightly-tooled, curvilinear decoration, smooth light brownish grey ware, wheel-turned. *Site C, ditch, upper fill.*

80. Sherd, warm buff-brown burnished ware, with tooled freehand curvilinear decoration and circlet, (?) table-turned. *Site A, hut.*

81. Sherd, hard dark brown-black burnished ware, with tooled lines radiating from concentric circlet, suggesting a fairly complex design. *Site C, ditch, upper silt.*

82. Sherd, hard dark grey-black fabric with soapy burnish. Zone of alternating circlets. *Site C, ditch, upper silt.*

83. Sherd of sandy black fabric, with rather worn burnish, decorated with shallow crescentic punch-marks, as on no. 85. *Site B, hut.*

84. Small bowl, D. $6\frac{4}{8}$ ins., with swollen everted rim and bulging profile. Two lightly-tooled grooves in the angle of the neck, and, below, quadruple-lined swags swing from circlets. Sandy, black fabric, carefully smoothed and burnished, wheeled-turned. Another almost identical but more fragmentary bowl, also from the hut on Site A, was similarly decorated, but with double-lined swags. Though the form is rather larger and more squat, the decoration is very closely paralleled on a bowl from Cassington East, *Antiq. Journ.*, XV, pl. V, 2. *Site A, hut.*

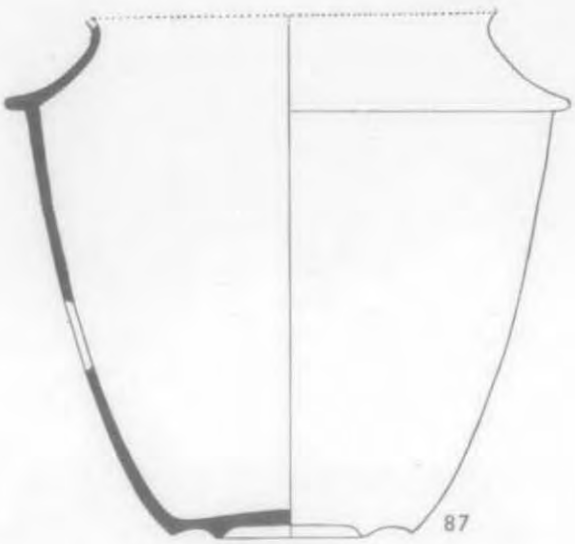


FIG. 8

EARLY IRON AGE SITULA, NOAH'S ARK, FRILFORD: see p. 25. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

85. Open bowl, hard dull pink sandy ware, smoothed and wheel-turned. Below a horizontal zone of shallow punch-marks, interlocking swags hang from impressed rosettes in a more than usually skilful attempt to catch the distant echoes of Iron Age B technique. For the form cp. *Glastonbury Lake Village*, II, pl. LXXVI, no. XIV. *Site A, hut.*

86. Upright vessel with bulging sides and everted rim, dirty brownish-grey fabric, (?) table-turned, with horizontal and vertical bands of heavy combing. D. $5\frac{3}{8}$ ins. Cp. *Hengistbury Head*, pl. XXII, class I, 4, decorated with a zone of lattice-work, and dated to the latter half of the 1st century B.C. At Frilford it need not be earlier than the middle of the first century A.D. *Pit B1, upper E.I.A. silt.*

FIG. 8.

87. Large vessel, sandy black fabric, evenly burnished, with heavy shoulder-flange, and roughly made foot-ring, (?) table-turned. The walls of the vessel are very thin for its size. A simple form of foot-ring occurs as at Southcote, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1937, Ditch D, no. 13, in association with La Tène III forms, but without the drooping external overhang of the Frilford example. The shoulder-flange and the general form are unparalleled, and it seems to be an ornamental *jeu d'esprit* on the part of the potter. A metal prototype is very possible. *Pit A1, filling.*

ANIMAL BONES

The following is a summary of the report kindly prepared by Dr. Wilfrid Jackson.

From Pits B 1–21 and A 1–14 it was possible to identify bones of the small ox, horse, pig, dog and sheep, the latter agreeing with the typical small Romano-British form. The material from the hut under the Temple (Site A) included small ox, sheep, horse, pig and two small fragments of human skull. From the filling of the circular ditch on Site C came the large lower canine tooth of a boar (? wild), horse, small ox (including a very small left horn of *Bos Longifrons*—Celtic shorthorn), and sheep, larger than the above, comparing favourably in size with the forms from the Glastonbury Lake Village and other Early Iron Age sites.

Only three examples showed traces of working, the first two of which came from the hut under the Temple.

(1) Scoop or 'gouge' of metacarpal bone of sheep, with broad spatulate blade; surface well polished. Cp. *All Cannings Cross*, pl. IX, no. 14, or Swallowcliffe Down, *Wilts. Arch. Magazine*, XLIII, pl. VIII, B13.

(2) Metacarpal bone of sheep, whole surface polished, and perforated in the middle by a small hole ⅛ in. diameter. Several imperforate examples, but worn in the same manner, came from All Cannings Cross.

(3) Fragment of rib of pig (Pit B10), with smoothed surface (? worked).

B. THE ROMAN PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

The known Romano-British sites in the Vale cannot be considered noteworthy either in their quantity or their size. The villa at Woolstone possessed mosaic floors of some pretensions, but its plan and history are unknown.[1] The only two excavated villas, at Letcombe Regis and at Frilford,[2] are both simple corridor buildings, contrasting vividly with the big establishments in the oolite region north of the Thames and in the vicinity of Akeman Street, such as the well-known example at North Leigh. Roman masonry found in Abingdon in

[1] *Antiquary*, X, 133: hence *V.C.H. Berks.* I, 222.

[2] Letcombe: *Arch. Journ.*, XXXIII (1876), 382–392. Frilford: *ibid.*, LIV (1897), 340–354.

1865[1] suggests a building of some sort beside the Thames, whilst both at Stanford-in-the-Vale and on an unpublished site at Garford,[2] a scatter of Roman debris on the surface, including fragments of flue-tiles, seems to indicate the former existence of small country-houses.

The biggest concentration of Roman remains in the Vale occurs in fact in the Frilford-Garford area, where—in addition to the two villa-sites mentioned above—there existed a large late Romano-British cemetery (pp. 54–66) and the two religious buildings described in this report. Further, the widespread scatter of Roman sherds on the surface of Garford Field, and a number of Romano-British pits noted on the borders of the cemetery, suggest an extensive village-settlement on both sides of the Ock, of which the Iron Age village at the Noah's Ark, described above, must clearly be the predecessor. Economically, therefore, the Frilford region was probably peopled mainly by humble peasants, among whom were interspersed a few middle-class landowners residing in modest villas as in the upper Thames valley as far down as the Goring Gap (*V.C.H. Oxon.*, I, 269 f., 308). The proportions of the two social classes can probably be gauged fairly accurately by the presence of only five lead-coffin burials in the Frilford cemetery, as contrasted with some ninety plain and unaccompanied interments (p. 58).

Two reasons probably accounted for the importance of the Frilford region in the Roman period. First, its Iron Age history with the religious implications which we shall discuss later (*v. inf.* p. 67 f.); and again, the existence of a secondary Roman road crossing the Vale from north-east to south-west, and providing easy communication with the Downs on one side, and (in all probability) with the Roman town of Alchester on the other. The authenticity of this road, to which attention has been drawn by Sir Arthur Evans,[3] has not yet been officially recognised by its inclusion on the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain (2nd Edition, 1928), but an accumulation of evidence, including the discoveries described in this report, is in its favour. The four-mile stretch of existing highway between Grove and the river Ock had long been suspected as Roman, both from its arrow-like straightness and from the significant fact of its accurate alignment towards the site of Alchester. North of the river Ock, indications of its line are less clear, although it may have followed the present road[4] as far as Bessels Leigh, where traces of its paving are said to have been

[1] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2 ser. III, 145, 202.

[2] For Stanford, see *V.C.H. Berks.*, I, 214; the Garford site which is to the east of the Wantage Road, was pointed out to us by Dr. W. J. Arkell.

[3] *Jarn Mound* (Oxford, 1933), p. 33 f.; Sir Arthur Evans also drew our attention to the name 'Blackington Copse' in Garford parish, a type of name which sometimes indicates the black soil of ancient occupation.

[4] The levelling of one of the greens at Frilford Golf Course is said to have revealed the foundations of a building, but there is no information as to its probable age.

found in the churchyard ; but from Bessels Leigh towards Oxford its course seems indicated by a straight line of field-paths, lanes and hedgerows leading past Henwood Farm, between the crests of Cumnor Hurst and Boar's Hill, and down to South Hinksey. At one place on this line, a little to the east of Hurst Hill, a mass of loose stones in the side of a ditch seems to show the original road-metal, the Roman date of which is confirmed by the discovery of an extensive scatter of Romano-British coarse sherds on the side of the ditch.[1]

Dr. H. E. Salter has already shewn[2] that the mediaeval traveller entering Oxford from the west crossed the Thames at North Hinksey by the ford which gave the city its name, the Botley causeway being of more recent formation. Since the suggested Roman road leads to exactly the same spot, a more remote antiquity for the ford is probably to be inferred. Through Oxford, however, and north of it there is as yet no evidence for the line of the road, although it would probably have passed close to Middle Hill field, Woodeaton, where the surface finds made over a long period seem to indicate a site essentially similar in its history to that at the Noah's Ark, Frilford, namely a Romano-Celtic shrine overlying an Iron Age settlement.[3]

The evidence quoted here for the existence of this minor Roman road is perhaps not decisive, since systematic investigation of it has not yet been undertaken, but it has been felt necessary to mention it for a proper understanding of the relation of Frilford to the Roman road system ; indeed, the very nature of the buildings at the Noah's Ark presupposes the existence of some means of communication across the Vale during the Roman period.

THE TEMPLE (SITE A) FIG. 9

A series of trial trenches dug from NW. to SE. at the north end of the Noah's Ark field revealed a widespread scatter of Roman roof-tiles and tesserae, but without associated masonry. Closer examination showed, however, marked lines of soil discoloration which crossed the trenches diagonally and proved to be the foundation-trenches of walls which had been completely robbed of their masonry. Fortunately the robbing had been systematic, and the debris-filled robber-trenches were easily distinguishable in the dark occupation-earth overlying the oolite rock. Thus the whole plan of the Roman building could be recovered except at its west end where post-Roman disturbance had been particularly deep, and even the ' ghost-walls ' had disappeared. Enough remained, however, at the margin of this disturbed area, to show the western

[1] The pottery, collected by Mr. Bruce Goldie and the Rev. C. Overy, is now in the Ashmolean Museum. The O.U.A.S. hopes to investigate the site in the near future.

[2] *Antiquity*, II (1928), 458–460. [3] *V.C.H. Oxfordshire*, I, 299 ff.

limits of the building. For purposes of clarity the numerous trenches dug within the area of the temple have been omitted on the plan (FIG. 1), with the exception of the long trench dug from north to south across the cella (which

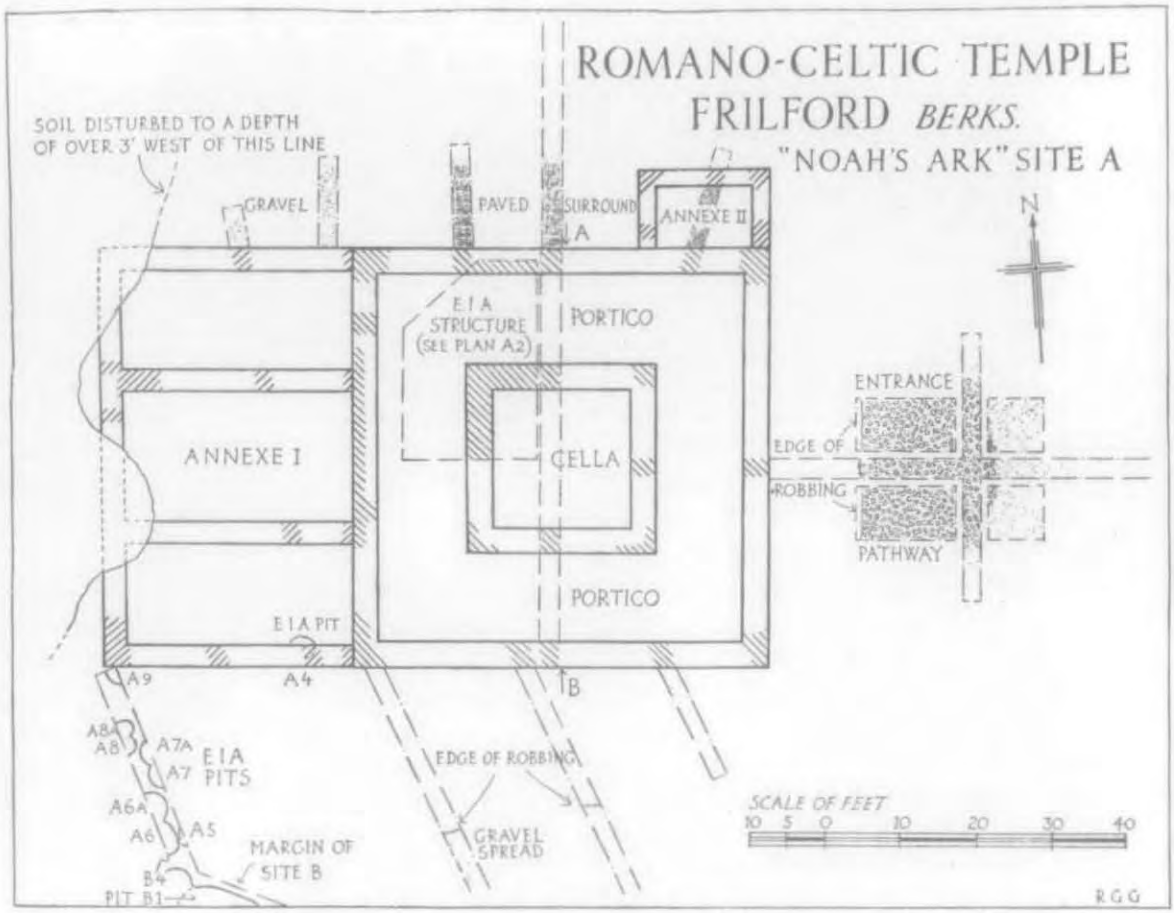


FIG. 9

provides the section line A–B). A large-scale survey of the whole site, prepared with the help of Mr. R. J. C. Atkinson, and showing the exact disposition of the various trenches and sites, will be deposited at the Ashmolean Museum, where it will be accessible should further excavations be carried out.

Although the structural history of a building so completely destroyed as this is not easily restored, there was sufficient evidence to show more than one period of construction. The original building proved to be of the simple plan found only in the case of Romano-Celtic temples, consisting of a square cella, 25 feet externally on each side, surrounded by a portico, 55 feet externally. Examples of this type of building, both in Gaul and in Britain, are too numerous to quote, but it may be interesting to note that the closest parallel is provided by the temple at Harlow, Essex, where the dimensions are the same to within 6 inches.[1] The foundation-trenches of the Temple had been carried down to the top of the oolite rock (here 2 feet 9 inches below the present surface of the field), and were 3 feet 6 inches wide : in one or two places the cemented rubble foundation had escaped destruction at its base. The walls which these foundations carried could not have been more than 3 feet wide, and are not likely to have been less than 2 feet 6 inches.

The floors of the Temple had also disappeared and seem to have been at a slightly higher level than the present surface, but the large quantities of red-brick tesserae found in the robber-trenches left no doubts as to the nature of the flooring. A few yellow tesserae of the same size (1 inch cubes) were found, but nothing to suggest any mosaic panels. The mural decoration of the building was also indicated by the disturbed debris on the site, for fragments of deep red wall-plaster were particularly abundant, although a few pieces of green and blue suggested that panels of different colours had relieved an otherwise monotonous colour-scheme. Except for part of a stone basin (described below, p. 48), nothing of an architectural character was found, and it was evident that the stone-robbers (the date of whose activities cannot be determined) had taken every available fragment of faced stone.

This earliest building had another feature for which it is more difficult to find parallels, namely an exterior pathway, 11 feet wide, surrounding the outside of the portico. Only on the north side of the Temple had this survived intact. It consisted here of a 6 inch layer of broken tile with traces of a capping of cement ; but the margin of the robbers' disturbance on the east and south suggested very strongly that the pathway had continued on these two sides at least, and probably on the west as well.

In view of the destruction of the walls, no traces of a doorway were recoverable, the width of the foundation remaining constant on all sides ; but its site was shewn by the position of the entrance pathway on the east, which will be described below. Thus the Frilford Temple, like the majority of others, faced eastward, an orientation which seems to have had some ritual significance.

[1] *Ant. Journ.*, VIII (1928), 300–326.

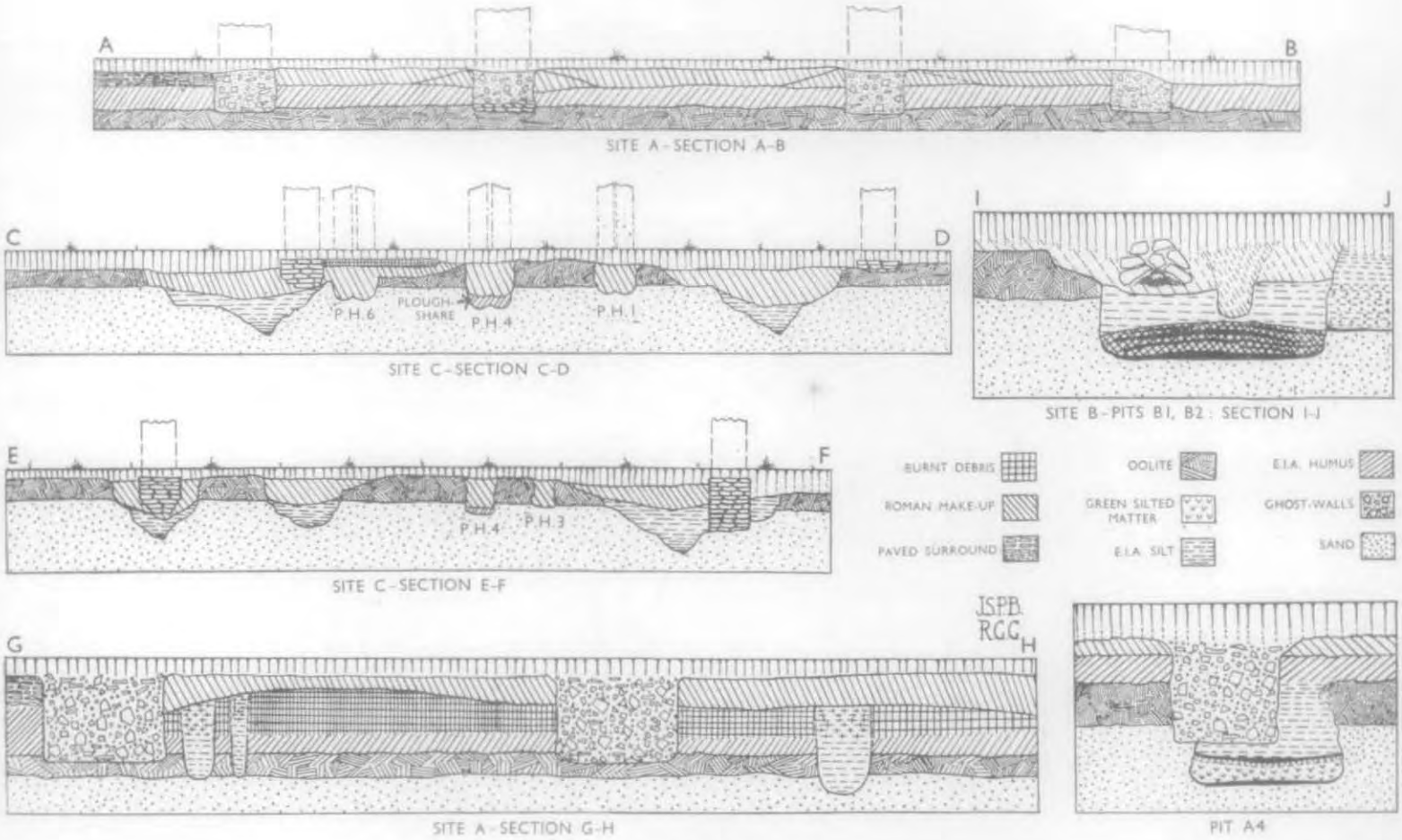


FIG. 10

SECTIONS : SITES A, B, C, NOAH'S ARK, FRILFORD. Scale A-B, C-D, E-F, 1 in.=10 ft. : remainder 1 in.=5 ft.

On the west side of the Temple the outer north and south walls of the building were found to continue westward for an additional 33 feet, forming a large annexe (I) divided by cross-walls into three separate rooms. Its foundation-trenches had been dug at considerable pains into the oolite rock, which here rises closer to the surface, and it is evident that they carried walls of structural importance. The fact that these foundations were consistently 6 inches narrower and slightly deeper than those of the original Temple suggested that the annexe was a secondary feature, and this was confirmed by two additional pieces of evidence : (1) the make-up layers under its floors, so far as they were preserved, consisted of large stones, broken tile and occupation-material, instead of the clean sand and earth used in constructing the cella and portico ; (2) the paved surround on the north side of the Temple did not continue along the front of the annexe in its original form of broken tile and cement, but was replaced by a thin layer of gravel, sealed beneath which were a fine sestertius of Trajan of A.D. 104–110 (p. 49, Coins ; Group A, no. 2) and a fragment of a plain Samian bowl, form 18/31, perhaps of Domitianic date (p. 40, Samian, no. 10).

Nothing had survived to show the interior decoration or flooring of the three rooms : in the middle room a layer of flat broken roof-tiles was found *in situ* only 6 inches beneath the surface, but this probably represents a basis for a floor, rather than the floor itself. Tesserae, it may be noted, were less abundant around the annexe than they were at the east end of the building.

Attached to the north-east corner of the Temple was a second annexe, in the form of a small room, 12 feet 6 inches by 8 feet internally, represented by foundation-trenches 2 feet 6 inches wide and of the same depth. Its purpose is unknown, although an analogous room, rather larger in size, formed a secondary addition to the Romano-Celtic temple at Harfleur.[1]

That this ' Annexe II ' was also a later addition to the Temple is suggested not only by its relation to the main building, but also by the fact that its foundation-trenches had been cut through the original paved surround, the tile basis of which was found inside the annexe as well as outside. The actual floor of the room, being at a higher level, had disappeared in the levelling of the site.

In addition to the paved surround which, as we have seen, bordered the temple portico on three or four sides, there was on the east a substantial entrance pathway of gravel and stones, 22 feet wide, extending eastward for some 30 feet from the portico wall and then petering out.

Preliminary trenching had shewn that this pathway consisted of three consecutive layers of metalling, on the uppermost, and latest, of which an unusual number of late Roman coins were found. In view of the bearing of these coins on

[1] L. de Vesly, *Les Fana*, p. 18, fig. 5.

the latest phase of the Temple, four large squares were subsequently excavated in order to uncover practically the whole area of the pathway.

It was found that the lowest layer, 18 inches from the present surface, was extremely rough and in parts non-existent, consisting of a thin scatter of fragments of broken oolite, resting on the film of mortar and tile fragments left by the temple builders, beneath which was the rich undisturbed soil, that clearly ante-dated the Temple, although it was outside the main area of the Iron Age settlement. Careful examination of the surface of the oolite rock, 2 feet 6 inches below the surface, revealed no pits or post-holes, and the absence of Iron Age sherds showed that the native village had not extended as far east as this point. Thus the first pathway belongs to the earliest phase of the Temple, although unfortunately nothing of a datable nature was sealed beneath it.

The second path, the most substantial of the three, consisted of gravel and small angular stones with a thick capping of cement, which had, however, been worn away over a large part of its area, indicating an extensive period of use. The presence among the metalling of some fragments of a plain Samian vessel, form 18/31, of the first half of the second century (p. 40, Samian, no. 18), together with a grey vessel, with a white scroll decoration of the late 2nd or 3rd century (p. 46, FIG. 11, no. 33) point to the pathway being added at a date considerably later than the early scatter of stones.

The heavy wear on this second path was responsible for the eventual deposit of a thin layer of gravel on top of it, thus forming the latest stratum, which belongs probably to the 4th century, although not closely datable. This gravel tended to spread some distance beyond the margins of the second layer, and sealed two fragmentary coins of the late 3rd century (p. 49, Group A, nos. 7, 9).

The latest pathway was covered by a thin layer of darkish earth in which were found some 78 coins (p. 52, Group C) all of the 4th or 5th centuries, except for five ' radiates ' whose condition proves them to have been long in circulation when lost. Neither numismatically nor archaeologically can this group of eighty odd coins be considered a hoard, for although found within the limits of the temple pathway, they were scattered one by one over its area, whilst their condition and date alike argue against such a possibility. They contrast noticeably in appearance, for example, with the real scattered hoard from Site B.

It is difficult to believe that these coins from the temple pathway owe their origin purely to normal losses by worshippers going to and from the Temple, more especially in view of the absence of coins on the surface of the first and second paths. One is indeed tempted to suggest some ritual significance, although its exact nature is a matter of pure conjecture. A possible analogy is provided by the temple in Insula XVI at Verulamium, where the black layer

sealed by the 5th century reconstruction contained equally numerous Theodosian coins.[1] Whether the pagan ritual of the latest period involved the frequent handling or offering of coins is a question which deserves consideration.

It will be seen by reference to the plan (FIG. 9) that the ' ghost-walls ' of the temple were not completely uncovered, but were traced by trenches across them at intervals, sufficient to leave no doubt as to the plan and extent of the building. Special attention was devoted to the south-east corner, in order to determine whether there had existed a corresponding room to balance Annexe II, and it was possible to prove satisfactorily that no such room had existed.

Exploratory trenches were dug to the east, north and south of the Temple (see the general plan, FIG. 1) : on the west side the disturbance of the soil and the proximity of the Inn made such trenching impracticable, although the nature of the ground, sloping down towards the river, makes it improbable that any buildings existed in this direction. With the exception of some traces of a spread of gravel 25 feet south of the temple, the results of these trial trenches were entirely negative, and show that if a *temenos* wall did exist, its northern and eastern sides must lie outside the Noah's Ark meadow.

Finally, we must consider the evidence for the date of construction and for the subsequent history of the Temple. As regards its construction, the most important and conclusive evidence is that provided by the archaeological strata originally sealed by the temple floor. Here we have two distinct layers ; a thick layer of heavily burnt soil representing the debris of the Iron Age hut under the north-west corner of the portico (PLATE I, B, FIG. 10, Section G–H) ; and a layer of clean yellow sand and stones laid down by the temple builders in order to raise the floors of cella and portico above the level of the surrounding ground. The dividing line between the two layers was clearly defined, and the complete absence of any intermediate stratum of turf or humus shows decisively that the construction of the Temple followed immediately after the burning of the native hut : indeed, it seems highly probably that the latter had been intentionally destroyed to make way for the new building.

The material from the heavily burnt layer has already been described (p. 11) and it will suffice to say that out of a large quantity of purely native pottery, only a few sherds were Roman. Although the latter are too fragmentary to be dated, it is quite evident that Roman wares had hardly begun to filter into the district before the hut's destruction. An interesting example of a transitional type of pottery was a small bowl (FIG. 11, no. 7) found outside the area of the Iron Age hut, but in the pre-Temple humus. This with its romanised form, but native technique, can be dated probably to the third quarter of the 1st century A.D.

[1] *Ant. Journ.*, XVII (1937), 35.

The make-up layers, though carefully examined, contained little pottery, the builders having apparently taken their soil from the outskirts of the Iron Age settlement ; such coarse sherds as were found were entirely native in fabric, but a fortunate find was a piece of a small Samian cup, form 27, the earliest sherd of Samian on the whole site, which Dr. Oswald dates to approximately A.D. 60–70.

Thus the stratified pottery from underneath the Temple floors provides a useful *terminus post quem* of about A.D. 75 (an exact date cannot be fixed) for the Temple's construction : owing to the destruction of the Temple floors, etc., a *terminus ante quem* must be sought from the unstratified pottery on the site, of which the Samian ware is the safest, owing to the limited knowledge of the dating of coarse wares in this region. If, as the stratigraphic evidence shows, the influx of romanised pottery was extremely small before the construction of the Temple, then the earliest date at which Samian becomes fairly abundant on the site should give a rough marginal date for the romanised occupation.

From Dr. Oswald's comments on the Samian sherds, it seems clear that none (excepting the Neronian cup, which is known to be pre-Temple) is likely to be earlier than A.D. 70, whilst it is only with the time of Domitian that the series really becomes effective. The coarse ware, so far as it can be dated, corroborates the evidence of the Samian, attesting continuous occupation from about the turn of the 1st century. We may therefore accept, with little reserve, a mid-Flavian date, say about A.D. 80–90, for the construction of the Temple on Site A at the Noah's Ark, and if so the coin of Trajan found sealed by the secondary path of Annexe I was dropped probably during the building's first thirty years of existence. The significance of this date, and the corroborative evidence of Flavian temple-building from other sites will be discussed later.

The subsequent history of the building lacks even the scanty evidence which dates its construction. The pottery shows continuous activity during the second and third centuries, a fact which the coins, almost exclusively 4th century, would not alone suggest. But it is impossible to date with any degree of certainty the addition of Annexe I, which must have altered very considerably the architectural appearance of the Temple. A small amount of coarse pottery was found stratified in the make-up layer underneath the central room of the annexe, but it is too fragmentary to be of any use (FIG. 11, nos. 10 and 23), and the most that one can say is that the absence of colour-coated wares (abundantly represented in the sherds from the latest level of the entrance pathway) may indicate that it belongs to a ' middle ' rather than a ' late ' period : the coin of Trajan (A.D. 104–111) from under the contemporaneous gravel path provides a rather inadequate *terminus post quem*.

It is not impossible that the addition of Annexe I can be equated with the

laying down of the second entrance pathway, but although the evidence is not inconsistent with this, it is hardly sufficient to confirm it. As for Annexe II, there is no scrap of evidence for its date, either absolute, or even relative to Annexe I.

Among the many doubts and uncertainties inherent in the dating of the Temple, one thing does stand out as indisputable and that is the importance of the site in the late Roman period. Mr. Sutherland's analysis of the coin-list (p. 63) shows how abundant are the coins from Constantine to the end of the 4th century. Had Groups A and C been merged together, as the circumstances of discovery might indeed justify, this abundance of late coins would have been even more apparent and might at first sight have created the quite erroneous impression of an exclusively late settlement; which illustrates the dangers of basing historical conclusions on casual coin-finds, especially when their numbers are comparatively small.

This is not the place for a discussion of the causes of this intensive 4th century activity on the site, and indeed the matter must be considered in relation both to neighbouring sites (notably the Cemetery) and to Roman Britain as a whole; but were it not for the *argumentum ex silentio* given above in favour of a 'middle' date for Annexe I, one would feel more inclined on historical grounds to attribute its construction to the increased use of the Temple in the late 4th century.[1]

Finally the question of the abandonment of the Temple demands attention. The date can be determined only by the evidence provided by the 80 coins on the entrance pathway, and here the eccentricities of 5th century coinage provide a considerable obstacle. That its use continued 'well into the 5th century' as Mr. Sutherland postulates, seems undeniable, but the problem remains how far into this troubled period the pagan cult continued to be practised, and whether the paucity of Theodosian coins, as contrasted with those found in 1937 in the adjacent Cemetery, can safely be cited as negative evidence for the history of the Noah's Ark site. Discussion of these and other allied problems had best be deferred to another place (p. 69). One further point may be recorded: there were no conclusive signs of a final conflagration, such as certainly took place on site C (p. 37). Although the floors had disappeared, the abundant tesserae showed no signs whatsoever of burning, nor did the fragments of wall-plaster. It is true that the moulded stone bowl had been discoloured by heat, but it would perhaps be unwise to base too much on this single instance. A gradual abandonment and decay seems on the whole more probable than any violent destruction.

[1] The triple division of the Frilford Annexe is paralleled by the 'three small sanctuaries' at the inner end of the Temple of Nodens at Lydney: Wheeler, *Excav. at Lydney Park*, p. 23, fig. 2.

THE ROTUNDA (SITE C) FIG. 5

The second Roman building at the Noah's Ark lay 80 feet to the south of the Temple on Site A, and proved to be a circular structure, 36 feet in exterior diameter, represented by dry stone foundations, 2 feet 6 inches wide and of varying depth. Although these foundations, unlike those of the Temple, had escaped destruction, no masonry had survived *in situ* on them, and the floor of the circular building had been completely levelled, the natural rock rising to within 6 inches of the present surface in this part of the field. At the northern end of the building, however, a layer of ash covered by a number of deliberately laid pieces of roof-tile indicated the site of a hearth, which must have been slightly below the original level of the floor, in so far as none of the latter had survived. In addition, throughout the whole area of the building there were signs of intense burning, which had in several places discoloured the oolite, turning it red. The wide distribution of this burning, and the fact that it had been so intense as to scorch through the make-up layers underneath the floor, showed that it had no connexion with the hearth, and was attributable rather to a conflagration which had destroyed the building.

The purpose of this building, which we have termed the 'Rotunda' to distinguish it from the Temple on Site A, is clearly religious, although the small finds were too few to throw much light upon its use. Less common than the normal square type, circular religious buildings have been recorded fairly frequently in the western provinces of the Roman Empire[1]; occasionally such buildings must be considered as mausolea rather than as temples, but in the case of the Frilford building a sepulchral purpose seems out of the question. At any rate the *a priori* probability of a ritual character is made certain by the very nature of the Iron Age structure found beneath it (p. 11), the plan of which and the associated votive objects prove it to have been the shrine or sacred spot of the Iron Age settlement.

It is quite evident that the Roman structure immediately succeeded the Iron Age one, since its builders had been obliged to dismantle the native shrine, removing its timber superstructure and filling the post-holes as well as the surrounding ditch with clayey earth. The Roman foundation, trench-built in rough herring-bone fashion (PLATE IV, C) was shallow where it rested on the undisturbed oolite, but over the ditches it had been carried down 3 feet to the bottom, presumably to ensure against subsidence. The labour which the filling of the ditch, and the deep construction of the foundation made necessary would hardly have been undertaken without the conscious desire to perpetuate the native sanctity of the site.

[1] The classic work on this subject is H. Koethe's 'Die Keltischen Rund- und Viereckstempel der Kaiserzeit,' *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, XXIII (1933), 10–108.

It may be noted, in regard to the plan of the Rotunda, that the single circle is comparatively rare among the Romano-Celtic temples of this type, the majority possessing, in addition to the cella, a concentric surrounding portico. But parallels for the single circle can be cited, notably from the site at Chanteroy near Dampierre (Haute Marne), where four round buildings, associated with cult-objects and an inscription to Mercury, were found fronting the Roman highway from Lyons to Trier.[1]

The Roman material on the site was completely unstratified and of little use for dating, in view of the possibility that some at least of the sherds in the humus had been carried from Site A by ploughing ; but the complete absence of Roman sherds among the comparatively abundant native pottery found in the filling of the ditch makes it safe to attribute the dismantling of the native shrine and the construction of the Rotunda to the first wave of romanisation on the site, which the evidence already examined from the Temple places at about A.D. 80–90. The two buildings must be contemporaneous, a fact which is of some importance in considering the religious significance of the site.

The hearth inside the Rotunda, which one would hardly expect to find in a building used for ritual purposes, is probably secondary, in view of the discovery among the ash of a 2nd century sherd (FIG. 11, no. 4) and a coin of Valentinian ; and this might denote a conversion of the building to secular purposes at a late date. But the evidence is inadequate to make the matter certain : nor can the terminal date of the building be fixed, although the discovery of a coin of Valens among the debris confirms occupation of some kind at the end of the 4th century. The clear signs of a final conflagration are of interest in view of the absence of such indications on Site A.

THE ANGLO-SAXON GRAVE AND ROMAN COIN-HOARD IN PIT B 1

The first exploratory trench dug across Site B (FIG. 3) brought to light at a depth of only 9 inches, a rough platform of stones, 6 feet 6 inches long and 1 foot 8 inches wide : this proved to be the covering of an Anglo-Saxon interment, the well-preserved skeleton of which lay at a depth of 2 feet 3 inches below the surface. It was hoped that this grave might be one of a group forming an outlying section of the adjacent cemetery, but subsequent trenching in the vicinity failed to locate any further burials, and there can be little doubt that the burial is an isolated one. It is interesting, therefore, to notice that the Anglo-Saxon grave-diggers had chosen the site of the largest Iron Age pit on Site B,

[1] Koethe, *op. cit.*, 104, no. 8. It should be noted that a circular *temenos* wall, 130 feet in diameter, surrounded a temple, probably polygonal in plan, outside the east gate of Venta Silurum (Caerwent) : *Archaeologia*, LXIV, 447 ff.

namely the cooking-pit (B 1) attached to the hut, and it is probable that a conspicuous depression in the ground suggested to them that the natural rock—elsewhere so close to the surface—would not be met with here.

The skeleton lay fully extended on its back and was roughly oriented, the grave running from WNW. to ESE.: the head was towards the west, and both hands were flexed across the body, the right lying across the abdomen and the left across the left thigh. Close beside the left thigh, and partially covered by the forearm, were the badly rusted iron blades of a scramasax and knife, which date the inhumation to the 7th or 8th century. (PLATE V, C: and *cf.* R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Saxons*, p. 178, fig. 42, types 1–11).

We are indebted to the late Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton for the following report on the skeletal remains:

> 'The bones were well preserved except for the skull, which was very fragmentary. They are the remains of a male probably rather beyond the prime of life, even possibly getting old. Such fragments of the skull as remained were too distorted by earth pressure for any opinion of racial type to be expressed. The man was not of great stature; I estimate his height at about 1648 mm., say 5 feet 5 inches. He was muscular but not exceptionally so, and well developed, and his skeleton was of the type one associates with people who have led a hard life; what may be termed an "uncivilized" rather than a "civilized" skeleton. . . . There seems to be every reason to suggest that he was in the habit of flexing his lower limbs more than we normally do, as there is a "pressure facet" on his right shin bone and other marks on his thigh bone. It has been suggested with a good deal of probability that these pressure facets are due to the habit of squatting. I can find no fractures on any of the bones, nor any traces of rheumatoid arthritis, a common feature of Saxon skeletons.'

A curious and, at first, perplexing feature was the abundance of Roman coins found in the filling of the grave. In all, no less than 52 coins, none earlier than the 4th century, were found between the surface of the stones and the skeleton itself, of which the majority came from the upper part of the filling, in and around the stones. All except five of these coins are fairly homogeneous in their date and condition and belong, as Mr. Sutherland shows (p. 50f.), to a hoard deposited about A.D. 380–85, and scattered at the time of the Anglo-Saxon inhumation. The remaining five, including one of the House of Theodosius, are greatly worn and cannot be associated with the hoard, although two of them were found in close contact with the skeleton.

The presence of a scattered 4th-century hoard in the filling of the later grave was difficult to explain until, after the removal of the skeleton, a marked discoloration of the soil crossing diagonally underneath the grave showed that a narrow trench or gulley had been dug into the silt of the Iron Age cooking-pit before the interment of the skeleton. Some Roman sherds and two 4th-century

coins—of the same class as those in the hoard itself—proved this gulley to be of Roman date.

It is clear, therefore, that the 7th-century grave-diggers happened accidentally to choose a part of the Iron Age site which had already been disturbed at the end of the Roman period and used for the concealment of a coin-hoard. Their grave was cut diagonally across the Roman gulley and the hoard was scattered, some at least of the coins finding their way into the filling of the grave. Whether the majority of the coins had been retained by their finders, and whether the remaining 50 had been intentionally thrown back into the grave, it is difficult to say, but two points may be mentioned. First, seven coins (p. 50 f.), including two not belonging to the hoard, were found in such close juxtaposition to the skeleton as to suggest that they had been deliberately placed on the corpse. Second, the coins found among the stones placed at the top of the grave were so close together and conspicuous that, in normal circumstances, they could hardly have been missed. On the whole one is tempted to conclude that the Anglo-Saxons who dug the grave found a large hoard, and left a small residue as an offering to their dead kinsman whose obsequies had led to the unexpected discovery.

SAMIAN WARE

The Samian was small in quantity, and for the most part very fragmentary : the sherds represented 32 vessels, of which three only were decorated. Ten sherds, including the two bases with potters' stamps (nos. 7, 20), came from a small heap of stones, tile and occupation-debris found not far outside the south-east corner of the Temple : this rubbish dump probably belongs to the end of the Roman period since it included datable material representing the whole course of the Temple's existence, the Domitianic (?) stamp of Geamillus (no. 7) being found in close association with a coin of Valentinian. The remainder of the sherds were scattered widely over the whole site, and were mainly unstratified (excepting nos. 4, 10 and 18) ; the particular locations of the unstratified sherds are of no significance and are therefore omitted.

The intrinsic interest of the Samian is extremely small, but it is of historical importance in so far as the earliest pieces and their relative quantity should give a hint of the date of the initial romanisation of the site, and of the construction of the two Roman buildings. We are greatly indebted to Dr. Felix Oswald for providing notes on which the following list is based.

A. Decorated

Déch.=J. Déchelette, *Les Vases ceramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine* (1904).
Oswald=F. Oswald, *Index of Figure-types on Terra Sigillata* (1931).

(1) Lower part of Form 30, with hare sitting to left (*Oswald*, 2116 ; *Déch.*, 950A) on a matt ground ; rather thin. Probably Trajan-Hadrian, say A.D. 115–125, Lezoux ware.

(2) Form 30. Triton (*Oswald*, 26 ; *Déch.*, 25) with serpent and rock (*Oswald*, 2155 ; *Déch.*, 960 bis). Style of Attianus of Lezoux. Hadrianic, 120–130 A.D. *Rubbish-dump.*

(3) Form 37. Very little to go upon, but the ovolo seems to be that of Divixtus of Lezoux, *c.* A.D. 130–140.

B. Plain.

(4) Form 27. Very thin. Similar to Claudius-Nero examples both in glaze and thinness. Might be Neronic, say A.D. 60–70. *Temple make-up.*

(5) Form 15. Diam. 6½ ins. Similarly profiled to the Newstead specimen, Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, pl. XLIII, 38, but slightly larger. Probably Vespasianic and South Gaulish. *c.* A.D. 70–80.

(6) Flange of Curle 11 : rather flat. Probably like Oswald and Pryce, pl. LXXI, 12, which is Flavian, say about A.D. 80.

(7) Form 33, with the stamp GIIAMILL(I OF). Geamillus of Banassac (Oswald, *Index of Potter's-Stamps*, pp. 131–2). Probably Domitianic, A.D. 80–95. *Rubbish Dump.*

(8) Probably a rather large 18/31, like the Domitianic 18/31 from Gellygaer, Oswald and Pryce, pl. XLVI, 1. Good glaze ; rivet hole. Impossible to date exactly, but might be Domitianic, say A.D. 80–90.

(9–11) Three independent fragments of Form 18/31. Perhaps Domitianic, but hardly enough to date. No. 10 *from under the gravel surround of Annexe I.*

(12) Flange of Form 38. Lezoux ware, cf. Oswald and Pryce, pl. LXII, 6. Probably Hadrianic, A.D. 120–130.

(13) Rim of Form 27 : very thick. Probably Hadrianic, A.D. 120–130.

(14) As no. 13, thinner ; perhaps a little earlier.

(15–17) Form 18/31. Curved side : good glaze. Probably first third of 2nd century.

(18–19) Probably Form 18/31, first half of 2nd century, but too indeterminate to date closely. *Under Temple pathway II.*

(20) Form 33, with fragmentary stamp ..VS. F, or possibly ..VS. A. Probably Antonine, say 150–160 or perhaps later. *Rubbish-dump.*

(21) Form 38 (cf. Oswald and Pryce, pl. LXXII, 7). Probably Lezoux ware ; rather thin-walled. Mid-second century. *Rubbish-dump.*

(22) Base of large Form 31 ; coarse 'engine-turning,' as often found on mid-second century specimens.

(23) Large Form 31. Good glaze and probably Lezoux ware. Prob. mid-second century. *Rubbish-dump.*

(24–25) Large Form 31. Probably mid-second century. *Rubbish-dump.*

(26) Probably Form 18/31 ; rather thick. Probably mid-second century. *Rubbish-dump.*

(27) Form 31. Diam. about 9½ ins. Probably second half of 2nd century. *Rubbish-dump.*

(28) Rim of mortarium, Form 45; fine quartz grain. Probably second half of 2nd century.

(29) Probably Form 38, and 2nd century; but difficult to determine.

(30–32) Three indeterminate sherds, including Form 33, and probably Form 31.

Although many of these sherds are very indeterminate, the series seems to show romanised occupation on the site from at least the beginning of the 2nd century. The 1st century is meagrely represented. Indeed, if we omit no. 4, which is known from its stratification to have reached the site before its effective romanisation, we may say that the latter event is not likely to have occurred before the decade A.D. 80–90, nor long afterwards. A Domitianic date for the construction of the two buildings is probably to be inferred, which date receives confirmation from the abundance of native ware found in the hut on site A which immediately antedated the Temple. Native pottery is hardly likely to have remained in general use without any appreciable influx of Roman wares later than the end of the 1st century.

COARSE WARE (FIG. 11)

By R. A. H. FARRAR

The dating of Romano-British coarse pottery in the Oxford region has not yet been sufficiently worked out, and it is only possible to suggest dates for it by analogy with forms and types found elsewhere. Such dates must necessarily be of a very tentative character, for it does not follow that the types of pottery used on military sites in the north of England and on the Saxon Shore, or in highly urbanised areas, would be in use contemporaneously at more primitive and rural settlements such as Frilford (cf. D. Atkinson in *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, XXII, 39).

There is no definite evidence of a potter's kiln in the vicinity, and although there are a few wasters it would be dangerous to argue even from those which look too distorted to have been introduced by trade (cp. *V.C.H. Oxon.*, I, 303 ff.). On the other hand the site stands on the edge of the clay, and a potter's punch, which cannot now be traced, is supposed to have been found near the Noah's Ark (*V.C.H. Berks.*, I, 208). Unless otherwise stated, all the sherds illustrated come from the area broadly comprehended within Site A.

The Rotunda, Site C. The quantity of pottery from this area is quite small and entirely unstratified, but as far as it goes it suggests an occupation of some kind extending into the late period; positive ceramic evidence of a 1st century date for the construction of the building is lacking.

The Temple, Site A. The comparative scarcity (there were fragments of about two dozen separate vessels) and the poor quality of Roman sherds in the burnt earth and humus associated with the Iron Age structure antedating the Temple, the absence of Samian and other fine wares and the existence of a few pieces, *e.g.*, no. 7, showing Celtic workmanship, all support the conclusion that not more than a half century elapsed between the Conquest and the construction of the Temple, and that in the meantime the Early Iron Age character of the occupation continued with little change during the delayed process of romanisation. A single piece of Samian of Neronian date, occurring in the make-up level of the Temple, does not affect this conclusion.

The Roman material from the burnt earth and humus of the Iron Age building, besides the small bowl, no. 7, mainly consists of very coarse gritty ware as well as some with a burnished surface. Among the few recognisable shapes are three recurved rims, one of which, no. 26, is provided with a ledge for a lid.

The mass of pottery from the Temple area as a whole is compatible with an occupation extending from the late 1st century throughout the Roman period, there being an absence of predominantly 1st century types : but in the present state of our knowledge of late Roman pottery no close date can be given for the cessation of occupation in the late 4th or early 5th century. No period can be said to be specially prolific of pottery. The typically early rusticated ware is absent, although several fragments show the applied scale decoration (cf. *Lowbury Hill*, pl. XX, 15) which is ascribed to the 1st century, applied or barbotine studs arranged in geometrical patterns, and the rough-cast surface of no. 3, which are features not later than the 2nd century. Castor and other slip-coated wares, produced from the early part of the 2nd century into the late Roman period, are represented by no. 34 and a few small sherds which do not lend themselves to illustration, including fragments of two folded beakers, one with the scale decoration shown by Collingwood, *Arch. of R. B.*, type 80. The red colour-coated wares, nos. 40–47, which take the place of Samian and characterise the end of the Roman era from the late 3rd century onwards, were common, and they include, besides those drawn, one or two fragments of bulbous beakers similar to Collingwood 85. The class with stamped decoration (May, *Silchester*, pl. LII, 85), which was produced in quantity at the New Forest potteries and also apparently at Sandford in Oxfordshire, was represented by only one example.

A. Flagons.

1. ' Screw-neck ' with bold corrugations and lip projecting inwards. Soft pink ware coated with white wash (Collingwood 50). Late 1st to early 2nd century. A half-dozen other fragments include screw-necks, and two- and three-ribbed handles.

B. Beakers.

2. (*Rubbish dump*). Small bag-shaped beaker with everted bead rim. Fine hard grey ware, but rather gritty. D. rim about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. (Collingwood 77 ; Grimes, *Holt*, 196). Probably first half of 2nd century, but possibly later. Several other pieces in grey and white ware occurred, one of them a waster.

3. Bag-shaped beaker with moulded outcurved rim, ' rough-cast ' externally. Native example in coarse orange ware of a type common in Gaul and the Rhine valley (Collingwood 77 ; Bushe-Fox, *Richborough*, III, 302). Probably early to mid 2nd century. Fragments of three similar vessels were found.

C. Bowls and dishes imitating Samian forms.

4. (*Rotunda*). Flanged bowl with small inner bead. Unevenly fired, varying in colour from reddish to light brown, though the fabric is extremely hard and fine, with soapy finish. The shape suggests the Samian form Curle 11, common in the 1st and early 2nd century, but the potter is not copying a Samian model precisely, and somewhat similar forms are not uncommon in coarse ware (cf. *Arch. Cambr.* LXXXIV, *Caerleon*, 95). Perhaps as early as beginning of 2nd century, but may be considerably later.

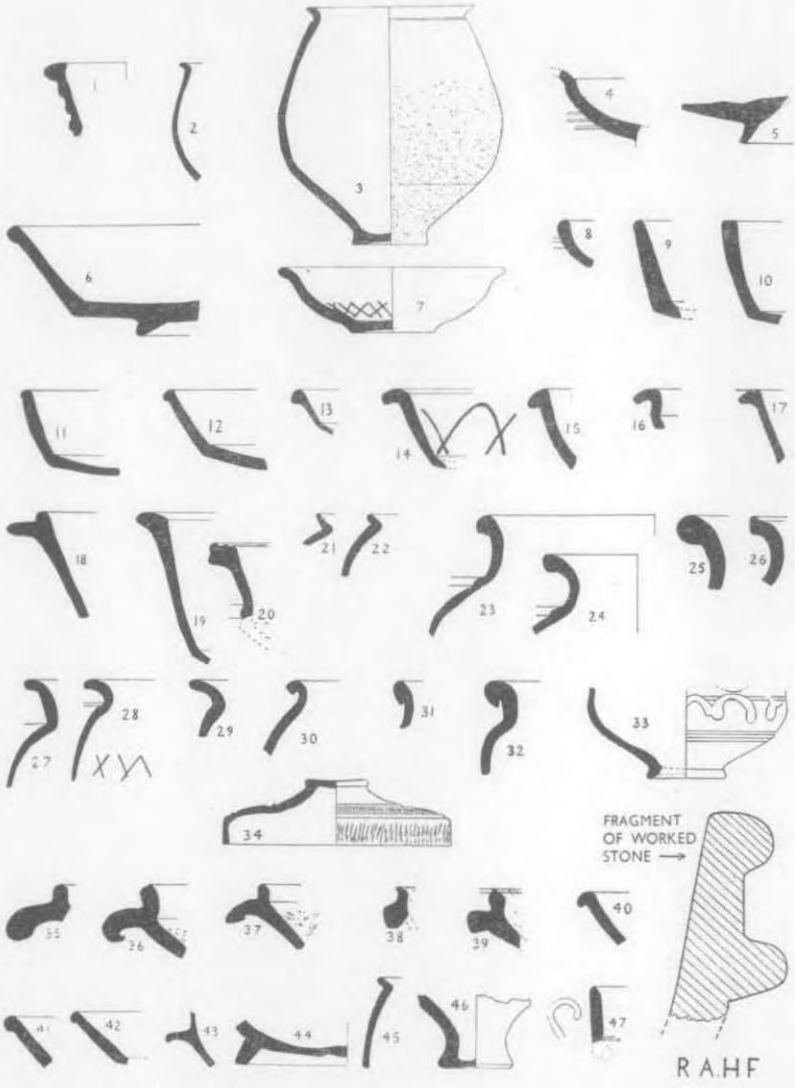


FIG. 11

ROMAN POTTERY, NOAH'S ARK, FRILFORD: see pp. 41 ff. (1/4).

5. (*Rotunda*). Grey dish in fine hard ware similar to the preceding, with burnished surface and central kick. An imitation of Samian 18/31 which mainly belongs to the early 2nd century (cf. Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, p. XLVI, 8). Probably early to mid 2nd century.

6. (*Rubbish dump*). Dish or bowl in soft grey ware with burnished black surface and rouletted ring on floor ; D. rim about 9½ inches. This example does not conform closely to any actual Samian shape : the flat base and absence of any pronounced central kick are reminiscent of form 18, which disappeared at the close of the 1st century, but the height of the side suggests that the potter had also in mind the ordinary bowls in coarse ware. The probability, therefore, is on the side of a late 1st to early 2nd century date.

D. Dishes.

The majority of the dishes are of forms common on most Romano-British sites, which offer few features of service in dating. Most of them are in coarse fumed grey wares and frequently bear burnished decoration on the outside in the form of lattice or curved lines, a mode of decoration which was largely but not exclusively in vogue in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

7. (*Iron Age humus outside square Temple*). Small dish or bowl in gritty, light grey ware with a thin zone of orange beneath a dark surface, and a belt of burnished lattice pattern on the interior. This example is of peculiarly native fabric, imitating a Roman form, and is datable approximately to the third quarter of the 1st century.

8. Small dish with slightly incurved rim and shallow horizontal ribbing on exterior. Gritty brown ware with grey surface (Collingwood 39). Probably 2nd century.

9. Straight-sided dish of coarse grey ware, with plain rim and slightly convex base (Collingwood 41 ; Sumner, *Sloden*, pl. XIV, 16). Common throughout the Roman period from the late 1st century. Several similar examples have grooves below the rim.

10. (*Beneath tile level in Annexe I*). Dish with convex base, plain flattish rim and slightly convex section, rubbed lattice pattern on exterior and base. Gritty ware with smooth black surface (Collingwood 36 ; Curle, *Newstead*, pl. XLVIII, 41 ; *Arch.* LXXI, *Hambleden*, 152). Late 1st to 4th century. This shape, with a rounded rim with or without a tendency to beading, is quite common on the site. A similar example has a more strongly curved section and a groove below the rim.

11. (*Rubbish dump*). Dish in grey ware, fumed black, with slightly convex section and a weak bead rim. Burnished pattern of broad intersecting arcs on outer walls and base (Collingwood 46 ; *Sloden*, pl. XIV, 18). This type also is of little use for dating, though it does not seem as early as the last. Several examples occur, but there is often very little distinction between this type and the preceding.

12. Straight-sided dish with bead rim and strongly convex base. Soft grey ware, light in fracture (Collingwood 48).

13. (*Temple pathway, beneath layer* 2). Shallow dish with heavy downturned bead rim, and convex base. Fine smooth grey ware ; D. rim about 6½ inches. (*Mumrills*, fig. 101, 16 ; May, *Colchester Museum*, 279). This is a shallow variety of a type occurring frequently on the Antonine Wall in the 2nd century.

14. (*Rubbish dump*). Dish with flat or ' pie-dish ' rim and convex base, with burnished decoration of intersecting loops on exterior and curved lines on base. Poorly fired gritty ware ; D. rim about 7½ inches. (Collingwood 44 ; *Silchester*, 199 ; *Holt*, 141). Appears about the turn of the 1st and 2nd century, but last for an indefinite period. This type is common on the site, generally with decoration in burnished loops.

15. Dish similar to last but with heavy downturned rim, and burnished lattice pattern. Gritty black ware (*Newstead*, fig. 32, 2 ; *Arch.*, LXXII, May, *Sandford*, 56 ; *Mumrills*, fig. 101, 12). This type occurs frequently on the Antonine wall in the 2nd century. A similar example is in gritty orange ware.

16. Small dish with pie-dish rim and slight shoulder. Soft grey ware, fumed black on surface (cf. *Hambleden*, 153 ; *Records of Bucks*, XIII, *Hedgerley*, 9).

E. Bowls.

17. Small bowl or dish with bead and flanged rim, transitional in form from the pie-dish rim to the flanged rim proper. Grey ware with fumed black surface (*Holt*, 142 ; Corder, *Malton*, fig. 5, 2). Flanged rims appear in the early 2nd century but are of little use in dating, although this example would seem to be generally earlier than no. 18.

18. Large bowl with horizontal flange, in coarse gritty brick-red ware, grey in fracture ; D. about 8½ inches. (Collingwood 30 ; *Richborough* I, 121). Late 1st to 4th century. Other examples, some of which are small and are probably shallower dishes, vary from a slender, curved flange to thickened and stunted types, but the variations seem of no significance in dating.

19. (*Rubbish dump*). Deep chamfered bowl with pie-dish rim and burnished intersecting loops on exterior, in grey gritty ware (Collingwood 23 ; *Lowbury Hill*, 27). Begins in early 2nd century, and continues into the 3rd.

20. Bowl in soft white ware, with moulded and reeded rim and moulded carination ; D. about 9 inches. (*Silchester*, pl. LV, 4 ; *Oxoniensia* I, *Rose Hill*, fig. 19, 15 ; *Sandford*, 25). These bowls, usually with linear decoration in paint, are generally dated from the latter part of the 3rd to the end of the 4th century, but an example was ascribed at Caerhun to the middle of the 2nd.

F. Ollae and cooking pots.

The bulk of the rims consist of simple recurved varieties offering no datable features ; the majority have thickened or beaded lips like nos. 24 and 25.

21. Small olla with everted rim. Hard brown ware with grey surface ; D. rim about 3 inches. (cf. Collingwood 62 ; *Richborough* I, 62). Probably late 1st to 2nd century.

22. High shouldered jar in soft grey ware, with everted bead rim similar to Collingwood 61 which is late 1st and 2nd century. D. rim about 4½ inches.

23. (*Beneath tile level in Annexe I*). Wide-mouthed olla with thickened recurved rim and slightly countersunk cordon above shoulder. Buff ware charged with grit particles (*Silchester*, pl. LXXVIII, 6; *J.B.A.A.* XXXVI, *Hinksey Hill*, 1 and 2). Ollae of this type imitate a Belgic prototype, and the bold outlines and fairly strongly-marked cordon of this example indicate a date possibly in the late 1st, but more likely in the 2nd century. Another example, in thin grey ware and with fumed black surface burnished in zones, had a weak cordon above a convex moulded zone.

24. (*Rubbish dump*). Narrow-mouthed olla with recurved thickened rim and cordon above shoulder. Gritty hard grey ware (cf. Collingwood 71; Wheeler, *Brecon*, C 22; *Hedgerley*, 12). This type, like the preceding, is derived from a Belgic prototype, and continues in a degenerate form into the 3rd century as at Margidunum. Another example, in similar fabric, has a narrower neck.

25. Large olla or store jar in coarse grey ware, with recurved beaded rim.

26. (*Burnt earth beneath square temple*). Recurved rim of cooking pot, smoke-blackened, with ledge to retain a lid. Coarse grey ware.

27. (*Rubbish dump*). Neck-rim cooking-pot in gritty black ware, with surface burnished in zones; D. rim about $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. (Collingwood 65; *Holt*, 38). 2nd century, probably late. Several other examples in similar ware approached the cavetto form no. 28, and are probably slightly later.

28. (*Rubbish dump*). Cavetto-rim olla in hard grey ware, burnished in narrow zones and with rubbed lattice decoration on shoulder; D. rim about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. (Collingwood, 72; Miller, *Balmuildy*, pl. XLV, 7). Late 2nd and 3rd centuries.

29. (*Rotunda*). Cooking-pot with more widely splayed cavetto rim, in fumed black ware with burnished surface (*Holt*, 42; *Silchester*, pl. LXVI, 197). Late 3rd or 4th century.

30. Jar with downturned rim. Gritty grey ware with fumed black surface.

31. Jar in white ware with beaded undercut rim, smoke-blackened on exterior; cf. *Rose Hill*, fig. 20, 10, which is dated 2nd to 3rd century.

32. (*Rotunda*). Wide-mouthed olla with short neck and heavy, deeply undercut bead rim. Brown, slightly gritty ware, grey in fracture and burnished on lip and shoulder; D. rim about 8 inches (cf. *Oxoniensia*, 1, *Ditchley*, 22, which is late).

33. (*Temple pathway, beneath layer* 2). Small jar or beaker, akin to Castor products, in grey ware with brown surface, and decoration in white slip on body; 2nd to 3rd centuries.

G. Lid.

34. Castor lid of a type used to cover pottery boxes, in light brown ware coated with dark brown colour-wash, and with rouletted decoration on the exterior (*Ant. Journ.*, XVII, Lowther, *Verulamium*, fig. 9, 10; *Colchester Mus.*, 290). Probably 3rd century, but a similar example at Norton Disney (Lincs.) may be as late as mid 4th century.

H. Mortaria.

With the exception of a single wall-sided example, no. 47, all the rims belong to the bead and flange type (Collingwood 12) or its variants, which begins apparently in the 2nd century but only becomes common in the 3rd and 4th, when it becomes a dominant form in the south and midlands.

35. Rim of brown ware coated with cream wash, with bead and heavy roll-moulded flange (May, *Carlisle Pottery*, 149; *Sandford*, 30). This type is closer to the early bead and roll than the others, and is probably earlier.

36. (*Rubbish dump*). Large example with upstanding moulded bead and hooked flange studded on interior with grit particles. Whitish ware discoloured by smoke (*Hambleden*, 124; *Lowbury Hill*, 4). 3rd and 4th centuries.

37. Rim in brown ware, coated with cream-wash, and studded with grit (Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter*, I, 146; *Ant. Journ.*, VII, *Alchester*, fig. 6, 9). 3rd and 4th centuries.

38. Rim with downturned flange. Light brown ware, smoke-blackened (*Rose Hill*, 13; *Ant. Journ.*, IX, *Alchester*, fig. 9, 2). This type would seem to be late.

39. Rim with moulded bead and horizontal, stunted flange. Light brown ware, studded with grit particles which spread in parts over the bead (*J.R.S.*, XI, *Cardiff*, 10, which is regarded as late).

I. Colour-coated bowls.

This class of ware is common on the site, but all the recognisable fragments fall broadly within the scope of the types figured. Red coated wares occur widely in Britain from the late 3rd century to the end of the Roman period, but no close date can be given for the examples here.

40. (*Rotunda*). Bowl with roll rim, in hard brown ware, with burnished red-coated surface. A tolerable imitation of Samian fabric, and perhaps late 3rd century. A base also occurred of similar fabric.

41. Bowl with bead rim, in soft ware with red wash. Late 3rd to early 5th century.

42. Bowl with bead rim, imitative of Samian form 31. Soft red ware imperfectly fired (*Ditchley*, 20). Late 3rd to 5th century.

43. Flanged bowl imitating Samian 38. Smooth red ware, grey in fracture, with traces of red wash (Sumner, *Islands Thorns*, pl. XXXII, 19; *Rose Hill*, fig. 19, 13). Late 3rd to 5th century.

44. Large base with a circular central depression on the under side of the floor. A common type in late ware, derived from Samian. Soft ware containing a few small lumps of chalky substance, and with a thick red wash. Late 3rd to 5th century.

45. Small jar or beaker in soft, gritty brown ware. Colour-coating washed off, or not applied. Late 3rd to 5th century.

46. Base of bulbous beaker, in very coarse reddish ware, grey in fracture. Coated with smooth light brown wash with traces of a design in darker slip (Collingwood 85). Late 3rd to 5th century.

47. Wall-sided mortarium imitating Samian 45. Soft red ware with red colour-coat and scroll design in white slip (Collingwood 16; *Rose Hill*, fig. 19, 14; *Wroxeter*, I, 242). Late 3rd to 5th century.

FRAGMENT OF WORKED STONE

The only stone (FIG. 11) showing any signs of facing or working was found in a trial trench in greatly disturbed soil to the south-east of the Temple. The following is Miss M. V. Taylor's report on it :

'Fragment of white oolite, probably Bath stone according to Dr. W. J. Arkell, curved and worked ; on the outside of the curve is a double moulding of typically Roman character ; the inside is plain but finished and meant to show. The top is complete, the bottom and sides are broken. It measures 4–4½ inches high, 1¼–2¼ inches (moulding) thick, 5¾ inches long, and was about 12¾ inches diameter. The stone is much reddened in parts, especially in the fracture at the bottom and on the left, by the action of fire, which may therefore have occurred after the stone was broken. It appears to have been made for an ornamental beading or balustrade of a small well, tank or other receptacle and is definitely not part of a column base or capital.'

SMALL OBJECTS

Considering the abundance of small finds normally met with on Romano-British religious sites (as for example at Lydney, Glos. or Farley Heath, Surrey), the Frilford excavation was in this respect disappointing. Doubtless the disturbance which the walls and floors had suffered at the hands of stone-robbers had done much to disperse and destroy any ornamental debris from the Temple ; none the less, surprisingly little had survived.

The objects from the site included two bone pins, one 3 inches long with the normal large-rounded head, and the other a thinner and finer specimen, possibly a bodkin, but with the point missing ; a small bronze handle, 1¼ inches wide, probably from a casket or piece of furniture ; a fragmentary bracelet, of a familiar type, identical with one illustrated from Lydney (Wheeler, *Lydney Park*, p. 82, fig. 17, type S) probably of the fourth century ; two fragments of rings, one of circular and the other of flat section, the bezels missing in each case ; the tongue, 1½ inches long, of a penannular brooch ; two complete brooches (see below) ; thick, round-headed bronze pin, 1½ inches long ; thin bronze pin, 4½ inches long with knob at top ; several minute scraps of bronze, some with traces of embossed decoration, from caskets, furniture, or possibly votive tablets ; and a green mother-of-emerald, hexagonal bead. Only two iron objects of note were found ; first, the upper part of a large bodkin, with an eye ½ in. long ; second, a circular hoop, 1¼ inches in diameter, partially twisted and possibly a ring.

Most of these objects were found unstratified in disturbed soil, but the small bronze handle, the second brooch, and numerous amorphous scraps of bronze were in the dark soil which contained the coins, over the uppermost of the three Temple entrance pathways.

Brooches.

1. Bronze (PLATE V, B). Cp. Collingwood type 7, but piercing in catch-plate is triangular, without key-pattern. 1st century. Unstratified.

2. Tinned bronze. Cp. Collingwood type 26, but bow decorated with lateral tags (three a-side) and no end knob (cp. therein type 25). Late 1st to early 2nd century. Temple entrance pathway, upper level.

EXCAVATIONS AT FRILFORD, BERKS.

COINS

By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

Exactly 150 coins were found during the excavations at the ' Noah's Ark,' but the circumstances of discovery make it necessary to divide these into three groups :

A. The finds made over the site generally, in contrast to those of two special areas, viz.,

B. The scattered hoard (Pit B 1 and Gulley) found in association with the Anglo-Saxon interment, and

C. The coins found on the latest level of the Temple entrance pathway.

Group B, as constituting in the main a hoard of coins, must obviously be distinguished from the general list of finds, even though several individual items in the group probably do not belong to the hoard. Group C, on the other hand, although definitely not a hoard, has a certain homogeneity, owing to its stratification and to the fact that it represents the last phase of the Temple's life ; and therefore it has been considered advisable to list it separately. The coins from Group A form a heterogeneous assortment found during the trenching of the site, and are for the most part unstratified. No. 2 (*sestertius* of Trajan) was sealed by the gravel surround of annexe I of the Temple, Site A. Nos. 7 and 9 were sealed by the latest gravel layer of the Temple entrance pathway. The two *denarii* of Crispina and Plautilla (Nos. 3 and 4) were found close together on the north side of the Temple. No. 19 was a surface find in the ' Noah's Ark ' garden. Nos. 15 and 23 both came from the surface of the large arable field to the east of the excavated site. The remaining items listed in Group A call for no comment.

References in the following lists are to H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (=*RIC*), and to H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, 2nd edn. (=C.). The preservation of the coins is described as *P1* (mint-state), *P2* (fresh), *P3* (fair), *P4* (rubbed), or *P5* (much worn). Mint-marks are recorded whenever they are legible. ' Æ3,' ' Æ4 ' indicate respectively the conventional descriptions of size, ' third ' and ' fourth brass.'

No.			A.
1	1 Tiberius *As*		*RIC* (Divus Augustus) 6 (*P4*).
2	1 Trajan *Sestertius*		Cf. *RIC* 513 (but drapery on l. shoulder) (*P3*).
3	1 Crispina *Denarius*		*RIC* (Commodus) 281 (B) (*P2–3*).
4	1 Plautilla *Denarius*		*RIC* (Caracalla) 369 (*P2*).
5	1 Gallienus *Antoninianus*		*RIC* 179 (K), $\overline{\text{XII}}$ (*P3*).
6	1 Salonina (?)	,,	Rev. illegible through oxide.
7	1 [Tetricus I]	,,	Barbarous copy. Cf. *RIC* 110 ff. (*P2–3*).
8–9	2 Radiate copies		Style barbarous, and flans small. (i) ? ' Laetitia Aug ' rev. (?) (*P2–3*). (ii). Rev. illegible (*P5*).
10–13	4 Constantine I	Æ3	(i). C. 20, $\overline{\text{PTR}}$· (*P2–3*). (ii). C. (Constantine II) 122, $\overline{\text{*PLG}}$ (*P4*). (iii). C. (Constantinopolis) 21, $\overline{\text{TR}}$·/// (*P3–4*). (iv). C. (Theodora) 3, $\overline{\text{·TR(?P)}}$ (*P4*).

14–15	2 Constans (Augustus)	Æ3	Both C. 179. (i). $\frac{\text{♣}}{\text{TRP·}}$ (*P4*). (ii). $\frac{\text{⛧}}{////}$ (*P3*).
16–18	3 Uncertain of the House of Constantine I	Æ3	(i). 'Gloria Exercitus' (1 standard), $\overline{\text{SCON}}$ (*P4*). (ii). Same rev. (*P3–4*). (iii). 'Fel. Temp. Reparatio' (horseman) copy: small (*P4*).
19	1 Valentinian I	Æ3	C. 12 (*P5*).
20	1 Gratian	Æ3	C. 34, $\overline{\text{CONST}}$ (*P2–3*).
21–22	2 Uncertain of the House of Theodosius	Æ4	(i). 'Salus Reipublicae' (*P4*). (ii). 'Victoria Auggg' (*P4*).
23	1 ? ditto	Æ4	Illegible.

B.

2	Constantine I	Æ3	(i). C. 246, $\overline{\text{TRP}}$. Semi-barbarous (*P2*). (ii). C. (Constantinopolis) 22, $\overline{\text{? TR}///}$ (*P4*).
7	Constans (Augustus)	Æ3	(i). C. 21, $\overline{\text{? TRP}}$ (*P3*). (ii). C. 21, $\overline{\text{TR}///}$ (*P3*). (iii). C. 65, M on flag, $\overline{\text{TRS}\smile}$ (*P3–4*). (iv). C. 179, $\frac{\text{⛧}}{\text{TRP}}$ (*P2–3*). (v). C. 179, $\frac{\text{D}}{\text{TRP}}$ (*P3*). (vi). C. 179, $\frac{\epsilon}{\text{TRP}}$ (*P4*; ON LEFT HIP). (vii). C. 179, $\frac{\text{♣}}{\text{TRS}}$ (*P3*; ON LEFT RIBS).
2	Constantius II (Augustus)	Æ3	Both C. 45, $\overline{\text{CPLG}}$ (*P2*; *P3–4*).
1	Constantine II or Constantius II	Æ3	'Gloria Exercitus' (1 standard): $\overline{///\text{VG}}$ (*P4*; broken; LEFT SHOULDER).
6	Constantius II or Constans	Æ3	'Fel. Temp. Reparatio' (horseman) copies, of varying skill (1 *P2*; 4 *P3*; 1 *P4*).
2	Magnentius	Æ3	(i). C. 5 (semi-barbarous) (*P3*; Gulley; UNDER SKELETON). (ii). C. 68 (*P3*).
6	Valentinian I	Æ3	(i). C. 12, $\frac{\text{O} \mid \text{F II}}{\text{LVG}\smile}$ (*P3*). (ii). C. 12, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{III}}{\text{[CON]ST}}$ (*P2*). (iii). C. 12 (*P2*). (iv). C. 12 (*P3*). (v). C. 37, $\overline{\text{SM⛧RB}}$ (*P1–2*). (vi). C. 37, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{II}}{\text{CONST}}$ (*P2*).
20	Valens	Æ3	(i). C. 11, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{\text{CONST}}$ (*P3*). (ii). C. 11, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{\text{CONST}}$ (*P2*). (iii). C. 11, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{\text{CONST}}$ (*P5*). (iv). C. 11, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{II}}{\text{CONST}}$ (*P2–3*). (v). C. 11, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{II}}{\text{CONS}//}$ (*P3*; Gulley). (vi). C. 11, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{////}$ (*P3*). (vii). C. 11 (*P3–4*). (viii). C. 47, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{\text{LVGP}}$ (*P2–3*). (ix).

C. 47, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{\text{LVGP}}$ (*P4*). (x). C. 47, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{\text{CONST}}$ (*P3*). (xi). C. 47, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{\text{CONST}}$ (*P2–3*). (xii). C. 47, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{\text{CON—}}$ (*P3*; UNDER LEFT KNEE). (xiii). C. 47, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{II}}{\text{CON}}$ (*P3*; Gulley: UNDER SKELETON). (xiv). C. 47, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{III}}{\text{CONST}}$ (Broken; *P2–3*). (xv). C. 47, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{III}}{\text{CONST}}$ (*P2*). (xvi). C. 47, $\frac{\text{B} \mid}{\text{SMAQP}}$ (*P3*). (xvii). C. 47, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{\text{—PS}}$ (*P3–4*). (xviii). C. 47, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{/////}$ (*P3–4*; RIGHT SHOULDER). (xix). C. 47 (*P4*). (xx). C. 47 (*P3*).

2	Gratian	Æ3	(i). C. 24, $\frac{\text{O} \mid \text{F II}}{\text{LVGS(?)}}$ (*P3–4*). (ii). C. 24, $\frac{\text{O} \mid \text{F II}}{\text{LVG—}}$ (*P4*).
1	Valentinian I or Valens	Æ3	Fragment. 'Salus Reipublicae' (*P3*).
49	Total.		

With these 49 coins were associated—two of them closely—the following five :—

1	House of Theodosius	Æ4	? 'Victoria Auggg' (*P5*).
2	Minims	Æ4	(i). obv., diademed head; rev., uncertain figure (*P3–4*). (ii). Types illegible (BETWEEN ANKLES).
2	Illegible	Æ3	(i). Possibly Constantinian (BETWEEN HIPS). (ii). Probably 4th century.

The condition of these last five coins—all greatly worn—excludes the possibility that their original association with the preceding 49 coins was intentional or deliberate. Even though they were in close contact with the skeletal remains, they clearly fall outside the limits of the hoard proper: the presence of one much worn Theodosian coin in the hoard could not possibly occur without considerable numbers of other Theodosian issues with it. Thus these five coins should be regarded as surface-finds, dropped at a date later than that of the burial of the hoard itself, but mixed with the 'hoard-scatter' at the time of its dispersion by the inhumation.

The hoard is of a regular, though by no means common, class :[1] it includes examples of the varied and unstable issues produced in the later Constantinian period; and reaches its peak with the 29 coins of the period A.D. 364–383. Most of these are in fairly fresh condition: the two of Gratian (if they are rightly included in the hoard) are, however, rather more worn; and the original burial of the hoard may therefore be dated within the decade after Gratian's accession, that is, about A.D. 380–5, if not a year or two later. Such a date would agree with the absence of Theodosian Æ4 issues.

[1] C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain*, p. 166.

The legible mint-marks are, with two exceptions (Rome, Aquileia), those of the Gallic mints—Trèves, Arles, Lyons—now busily engaged in striking Æ for western circulation.[1]

C.

1	Gallienus	Æ3	Fragment. *RIC* 163 ff. (*P2–3*).
1	Tetricus I	Æ3	Cf. *RIC* 110 ff. (*P4*).
3	Barbarous radiates		(i). Æ4. Rev. uncertain (*P3*). (ii). 9 mm. Types crude (*P3*). (iii). 9·5 mm. Rev., ? Victory on globe (*P3*).
8	Constantine I	Æ3	(i). ? C. 253, $\overline{\text{PLG}}$ (*P2–3*). (ii). C. (Constantine II) 113, but laur., cuir.; $\overline{\text{TRS}}$ (*P4*). (iii). C. (ibid.) 119, $\overline{\text{PCONST}}$ (*P3*). (iv). C. (ibid.) 122 (*P1–2*). (v). C. (Constans) 46, etc., $\overline{\text{TRS}}$ (*P5*). (vi). C. (Constantinopolis) 21, $\overline{\text{TRP}}$ (*P3*). (vii). C. (Urbs Roma) 17, $\overline{\text{TR·P}}$ (*P2–3*). (viii). C. (ibid.) 17, $\overline{\text{TRS}}$ (*P3–4*).
1	Constantine II	Æ3	? C. 117, $\overline{\text{TR·P}}$ (*P3*).
2	Constantius II	Æ3	(i). C. 45 (*P3*). (ii). C. 293, $\overline{\text{? PLG}}$ (*P3*).
4	Constans		(i). C. 179, $\frac{\text{⁂}}{\text{TRP}}$ (*P3–4*). (ii). C. 179, $\frac{\text{D}}{\text{TRP}}$ (*P3*). (iii). C. 179, $\frac{e}{\text{TRS}}$ (*P3*). (iv). C. 197 (*P4*).
1	House of Constantine I (?)	Æ3	'Gloria Exercitus' (?) (*P4*).
20	Copies of Constantinian types		(i). Æ4. 'Constantinopolis' (*P4*). (ii). 8 mm. Same type (*P4*). (iii). Æ4. 'Urbs Roma' (*P3*). (iv). Æ3. 'Vict. Laetae Princ. Perp.' (*P3*). (v). Æ3. 'Fel. Temp. Reparatio' (*P3–4*). (vi). Æ4. Same type. $\overline{\text{T}}$ (*P3*). (vii). Æ3. Ditto (*P3–4*). (viii). Ditto. $\overline{\text{FT}}$ (*P2–3*). (ix). Ditto. $\overline{\text{PL}}$ (*P3*). (x). Ditto (*P2*). (xi). Ditto (*P2–3*). (xii). Æ4. Ditto (*P3*). (xiii). Ditto (*P2–3*). (xiv). Æ3. Ditto (*P3*). (xv). Æ4, cut down. Ditto (*P4*). (xvi). 10 mm. Ditto (*P2–3*). (xvii). 10 mm. Ditto (*P4–5*). (xviii). 10 mm. Ditto (*P4–5*). (xix). 8 mm. Ditto (*P3–4*). (xx). Fragment (*P3–4*).
7	Valentinian I	Æ3	(i). C. 12, $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$ (*P2*). (ii). C. 12, $\overline{\text{SMAQP}}$ (*P3–4*). (iii). C. 12 (*P3*). (iv). C. 37, $\overline{\text{SCON}}$ (*P2–3*). (v). C. 37, $\overline{\text{CON}^{\smile}}$ (*P2–3*). (vi). C. 37 (*P3*). (vii). C. 37 (*P4*).
12	Valens	Æ3	(i). C. 11, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{\text{CONS}}$ (*P3*). (ii). C. 11, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{I}}{\text{C[ON]*}}$ (*P2–3*.) (iii). C. 11, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{II}}{\text{CON—}}$ (*P3*). (iv). C. 11, $\frac{\text{OF} \mid \text{III}}{\text{CONST}}$ (*P3*). (v).

[1] Id., p. 87.

			C. 11, CONST (*P2–3*). (vi). C. 11 (*P4*). (vii). Cf. C. 29 (but labarum), CONST (*P3*). (viii). C. 47, CON— (*P3*). (ix). C. 47, —CON (*P2–3*). (x). C. 47, RTERTIA (*P3–4*). (xi). C. 47, RQVARTA (*P3*). (xii). C. 47, SMAQS (*P3*).
3	Gratian	Æ3	(i). C. 13, OF | III / CON* (*P3*). (ii). C. 34, TCON (*P3*). (iii). Ditto (*P3*).
3	Theodosius	Æ4	(i) 'Victoria Auggg,' CON— (*P3–4*). (ii). 'Victoria Auggg' (*P2–3*). (iii) ? 'Victoria Auggg' (*P3–4*).
5	House of Theodosius	Æ4	'Victoria Auggg' :—(i). (*P2*). 'Salus Reipublicae' :—(ii). (*P4*). (iii). (*P3*). Rev. uncertain :—(iv). (*P4–5*). (v). (*P5*).
1	Copy of Theodosian types (?)	Æ4	(?) 'Victoria Auggg.' Flan very small (*P3*).
6	Miscellaneous		(i). 7·5 mm. Obv., (?) diademed head ; rev., (3rd cent.) 'Hilaritas' (?) (*P2–3*). (ii). 10 mm. (*P4–5*). (iii). 9·5 mm. (*P5*). (iv). Æ fragment. (v). Æ fragment. (vi). 3·75 mm. Lydney-type 'minimissimus.' No types discernible.
78	Total.		

These coins, found in the examination of the Temple pathway, show certain points of interest. The frequency of the series is negligible before the Constantinian issues : the first four coins are all well-worn survivals. Even in the Constantinian period the orthodox currency is somewhat thinly represented, the preponderance being with the copies made (as is usually supposed) about A.D. 350–365. The 22 coins of the dynasty of Valentinian I accord well with the evidence of the scattered hoard. After these there is something of a falling-off ; although the coins of Valentinian and his partners doubtless circulated for 20 or 25 years after their emission, we should nevertheless have expected more Theodosian coins than the 9 here listed. That these Theodosian coins prolong the use of the site well into the 5th century need not be doubted : they are mostly much worn. But it is not possible to define the length of this continuation closely. Possibly it was a site used in differing degrees from time to time : the presence of the 'minimissimus' (Miscellaneous, no. vi) certainly attests human life on this site in the late 5th or 6th century, when economic despair had reduced the coinage of Britain to a pin's-head scale. In general, however, the main incidence of this coin-series falls between A.D. 350 and 400, or thereabouts ; the coins before and after this period form a relatively thin stream.[1]

[1] In contrast to the Temple site, the neighbouring Cemetery site has produced a much more significant proportion of Theodosian coins, which may presumably be used as evidence of a longer occupation-continuity than that which occurred on the Temple site : see below, pp. 61 ff.

II. THE CEMETERY

[It was hoped that this section of the report would be written by the late Dr. Buxton, but this hope was frustrated by his premature death in March, 1939, just as he was marshalling the material for his paper. The loss of Dr. Buxton's views on the cemetery and its skeletal and racial features is all the more to be regretted in that it was known that he had some original and definitive views to propound, not only on the cultural relations between the Roman and Saxon occupants of the graves, but also on the methods of skeletal investigation in general.

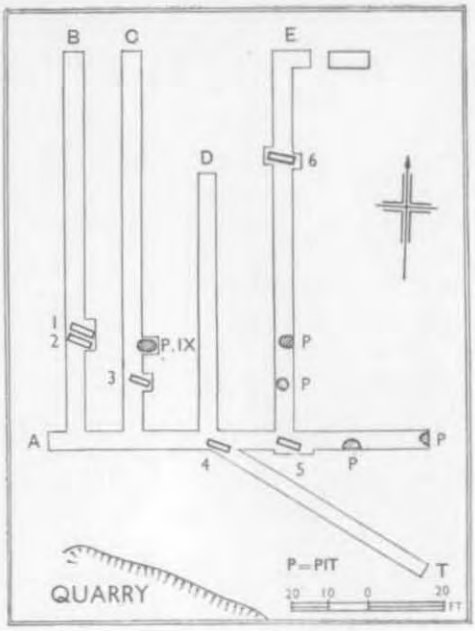
A draft report on the excavations of 1937, by Mr. Rix, was found amongst Dr. Buxton's papers, and this, in Mr. Rix's absence abroad, has been edited by Mr. Goodchild, who has also been able to correlate on a comprehensive plan the 19th century excavations and those of 1920 and 1937. *Ed.*].

For the three weeks June 28 to July 16, 1937, excavations were carried out on the site of the Roman and Saxon cemetery at Frilford, to the north of the Romano-British area excavated by the late Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton in 1920.[1] Permission to dig was kindly given by the tenant, Mr. Sprachman, and the labour was provided by Welsh miners from the Oxford University Camp for Unemployed at Eynsham, working under the direction of Dr. Buxton, and under the immediate supervision of Mr. M. M. Rix and Mr. S. A. Opie. Owing to difficulties of transport and the limited hours of work the scheme as originally projected could not be completed, and the excavation was scarcely as thorough as had been hoped.

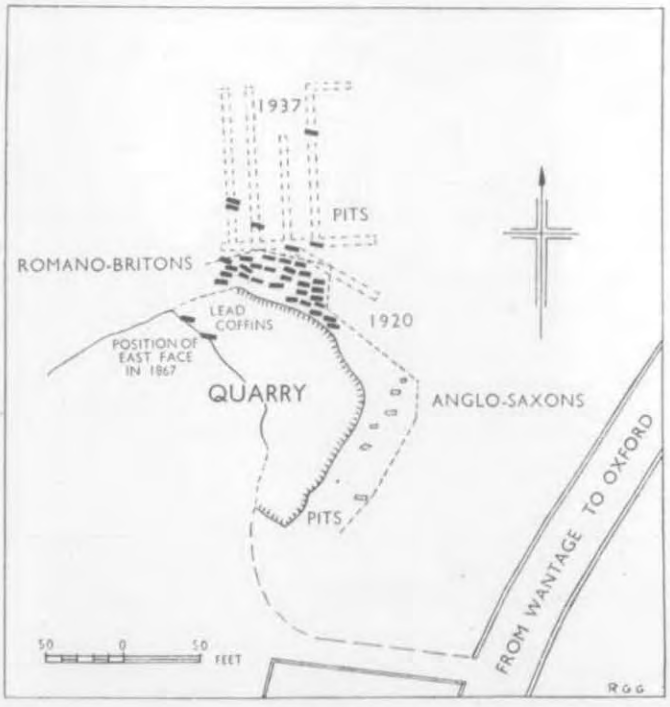
A series of trenches 100 feet long and 5 feet wide (FIG. 12 A, A–E) was laid out, beginning some 10 yards from the quarry face, and dug to a maximum depth of 2 feet 6 inches, except where the undisturbed subsoil was met at a higher level, as happened at several points, especially near the quarry where the oolite rock rose to within 6 inches of the surface. Subsequently a diagonal trench 'T' was dug parallel to the quarry face in the hope of locating further interments, but with negative results.

To summarise, the result of the excavations was twofold : first, six Romano-British graves were discovered, revealing the approximate northern limits of the cemetery (p. 66) ; second, the abundance of occupation-material, associated in some cases with pits dug into the subsoil, provided evidence of Romano-British occupation on the outskirts of the cemetery. These two features may be considered separately.

[1] L. H. Dudley Buxton, 'Excavations at Frilford,' *Ant. Journ.*, 1, 87–97.



A



B

FIG. 12

THE CEMETERY, FRILFORD

A. Plan of the 1937 excavations.
B. General plan, correlating the discoveries from 1867 to 1937.

THE GRAVES

The six graves were of the simple type which seems to have preponderated in the Romano-British cemetery, and owing to their shallowness and the combined effects of ploughing, weather and roots, the condition of the skeletons had greatly deteriorated, especially those of Graves 3, 4 and 5.

Several of the graves showed interesting features. Burials 1 and 2, for example, lay side by side, the former with the head turned to the right to face the latter: in neither was it possible to determine whether a coffin had been used. A foot above and behind the skull of 2 was a hoard of 34 coins (p. 62) so placed that the burial could not have taken place subsequent to its concealment. This hoard is dated by Mr. Sutherland as not earlier than A.D. 440, and since we may assume the grave to be contemporaneous, it provides valuable evidence of the continued use of the cemetery up to the middle of the 5th century.

In Grave 3, it is almost certain a coffin was not used, since the body had been contracted into a grave too small for it by forcing the legs into a pit, apparently by means of throwing stones on the body, with the consequent fracture of both femora. Skeleton 4 was simply laid upon the subsoil in a very shallow grave (cf. Grave 38 of the 1920 excavations, Buxton, *op. cit.*, p. 90), whilst skeleton 5 seemed to be laid upon a rough pavement of stones. Grave 6, lying some distance away from the main group of interments, was the richest in the matter of grave-goods. These included, in addition to some sherds, fragments of a delicate glass flask decorated with raised threads, a bronze pin, a piece of bronze wire, and an iron pin or nail in the centre of the pelvis. Some rough fragments of lead and seven coins, all of the last third of the 4th century, completed the list, but the latter were not directly associated with the burial (one coin being found underneath the skeleton), and belong in all probability to earlier occupation-debris.

There were also indications, less definite than in the 1920 excavations (Buxton, *loc. cit.*), that previous burials had been disturbed, as at several points odd fragments of human bone were found, including a tooth in the filling of Grave 6, and a human mandible and other bones above Grave 1.

As regards orientation, the burials closely conformed in alignment both with those found in 1920, and with the graves of the same type noted by Rolleston at an earlier period (p. 66): they ran, with minor variations, from WNW. to ESE. In all the heads were to the west.

Grave 1. Male adult.

Supine in topsoil. Skull on right side. Both arms flexed, hands joined above sacrum. Stature, 5 ft. 3 ins. Depth, 1 ft. 11 ins. (skull, 15 ins.). Limits of grave at side marked by stones: width 1 ft. 8 ins., length 6 ft. 2 ins.

6 ins. above skull, coin (Constantius Gallus) with broken human mandible; by r. pelvis, a rough heap of black stone with human bone above it.

Grave 2. Young male adult.

Perfectly extended, supine, hands to sides. Feet turned in. Head slightly inclined to l. Jaw dropped, square mandible, teeth complete and in perfect condition, very little worn. Iliac crest only just completely fused. Stature 5 ft. 1 in.

Exactly parallel with Grave 1, where head was inclined to r.; probably contemporaneous burials in double grave.

Hoard of 34 coins (p. 62) in soil above skull.

Grave 3. Female, *aet.* 10.

Supine. Bones very fragile. 1st molar erupted, milk canine. Skull slightly inclined to l. Left arm flexed, hand above sacrum; right arm slightly bent, hand on hip. Head of radius and humerus unfused.

Pit beneath legs, into which they were forced. R. femur broken; unfused heads still attached. L. femur unbroken, forced out of joint; unfused head still in socket (pelvis). Distal end fractured. R. foot turned outwards and upwards. Stature (including dip), 4 ft. 2½ ins. Length of grave, 3 ft. 11 ins. Depths: side of skull, 7½ ins.; r. shoulder 11 ins.; sacrum 12 ins.; l. knee 18 ins.; r. knee 21 ins.

Large sherd of coarse black ware between femora.

Grave 4. Male adult.

Fully extended, supine. Very fragmentary owing to shallowness. Depth 20 ins.

Grave 5. Male adult.

Supine, on pavement of stones. Back of skull riddled with roots, and teeth forced up into it. Dental caries. Very fragmentary. R. arm to side; l. forearm and hand flexed across pelvis. Depth 12 ins.

Nail below iliac crest (from a coffin ?).

Grave 6. Male adult.

Extended, supine. Stature, 5 ft. 2 ins. Depth, frontal bone 9 ins. below turf. Grave, 23 ins. wide, 15 ins. deep.

Human tooth above r. femur. Two fragments of mortarium in l. eye. Large sherd of coarse black ware at r. shoulder. Iron pin or nail at centre of pelvis. Bronze pin, at r. shoulder. Bronze wire above r. elbow. 8 fragments of glass. Triangular bronze plate at r. heel. Line of stones down r. side of grave from elbow to knee. Fragments of lead at r. shoulder and at foot.

THE OCCUPATION-SITE

It was noted during the 1920 excavations that although sherds of Roman date were sparse in and around the Romano-British graves, they were abundant in the area of the Anglo-Saxon part of the cemetery. The origin of these sherds was eventually traced to a number of pits full of red earth and pottery near the southern corner of the quarry, which were interpreted by Dr. Buxton as occupation or rubbish-pits (Buxton, *op. cit.*, p. 92).

This feature of the site was further illustrated, in a different area, during the 1937 excavations by the abundance of pottery, charcoal, flints, oyster-shell, and burnt animal bones found throughout the trenches and unconnected with the graves ; and, in particular, by the discovery of a number of pits dug into the subsoil. Generally speaking, these pits (some five of which were located) did not contain more pottery than the surrounding soil, a fact which argues in favour of their use for storage rather than refuse purposes ; but an exception was 'Pit IX,' a few feet to the north of Grave 3 (FIG. 12, A), the contents of which were remarkable. A rough stone pavement, aligned like a grave, was found 9 inches below the turf, in sherd-filled soil, and at its south-west corner was the sacrum of a domesticated animal (sheep ?). Below this pavement the soil contained a quantity of pottery, mixed with oyster-shell, charcoal and animal bones ; and in this layer, at a depth of a foot, were three coins, one Constantine I and two Arcadius. Below this, again, in soil equally rich in domestic finds were two more coins, one Valentinian I and one 'House of Theodosius,' and at the same level, the skull of a dog. At a depth of two feet, the pit reached the yellow subsoil and continued to yield sherds and animal bones right down to its deepest point, over 30 inches below the turf line.

The occurrence of these Romano-British pits on the north, as well as on the south-east side of the quarry, raises many interesting problems which further excavation alone can solve. On one hand it seems hardly likely that the pits were still in use at the time that Graves 1–6 were dug ; on the other, the fact that they occur only on the margins of the cemetery (none seems to have been noted by Rolleston, nor were any found in the Romano-British area excavated in 1920), together with the evidence of the late coins associated with them (as, for example, the two of Arcadius in Pit IX), rather suggests contemporaneity between the pits and the main part of the cemetery. We may perhaps infer that sporadic settlement existed around the margins of the cemetery from its inception, and that the latest burials tended to encroach on the area of settlement.

Whatever may be their history, the nature of the pits seems to indicate a native village, analogous to the Iron Age settlement at the Noah's Ark, a little distance away, rather than a highly romanised community. This would account for the humble nature of the majority of the graves in the cemetery, and the general paucity of the grave-goods. Only five burials with lead coffins have been recorded, as opposed to some ninety without. Do these five represent the occupants of the small villas known to have existed in the vicinity of Frilford and Garford ?[1]

[1] Akerman found two lead coffins (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2 Ser., III, 136–9), and Rolleston three (*Archaeologia*, XLII, 420 ; XLV, 405), one of which is now in the Ashmolean Museum. For the villas, see p. 26 *supra*.

POTTERY (FIG. 13)

By D. B. HARDEN

The pottery found during the excavations was extremely fragmentary. Apart from a few stray sherds (notably two fragments of beakers with scale decoration, cp. J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Richborough*, III, no. 294, pl. XXXVIII), and a fragment of a Samian mortarium, Drag. 45, of Antonine date (kindly identified by Mr. J. A. Stanfield), it appears to belong uniformly to late Romano-British types.

In view, therefore, of the conclusion drawn from the coin-evidence (p. 65) that the cemetery continued in use to at least the early years, if not to the middle, of the 5th century, it has seemed worth while to publish drawings of representative sherds. Most of those published are of types that would normally be dated to the end of the Roman occupation (cp. R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, *Lydney*, pp. 97 ff., figs. 26–27 : J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Richborough*, I, 89 ff., pls. XXVIII–XXIX ; and references *ad locc.*) : it is reasonable to assume, therefore, that they were in use at Frilford during the 5th century.

Many of the types (*e.g.* the mortaria, nos. 1–4, and the bowls, nos. 8–10, 13–15) can be paralleled in shape or ware, or both, from the Sandford, Rose Hill and Dorchester kilns (*Archaeologia*, LXXII, 225 ff. : *Oxoniensia*, I, 81 ff. : *id.*, II, 202), and their evidence, therefore, corroborates the suggestion (*V. C. H. Oxon.*, I, 306) that the activity of these Oxfordshire kilns lasted into the 5th century. One (no. 7) appears to be an import from the New Forest kilns. Among the remainder chief interest lies in the group of ollae of coarse gritty ware (nos. 19–22). If, as seems probable, these are also of late date, they form an instructive group to contrast with the 1st-2nd century types of coarse gritty ware from Chesterton, Oxon. (*Oxfordshire Archaeological Society Report*, 1937, p. 39, fig. 5) ; the latter have only slightly out-turned rims and are manifestly derived from Early Iron Age shapes : the former have sharply out-turned rims and are equally clearly derived from ollae and beakers of normal Romano-British types.

1. Mortarium. D. rim *c.* 8¾ ins. White ware, wet-smoothed. *Grave* 2, *filling.*
2. Mortarium. D. rim *c.* 6¾ ins. Red ware with red colour-coat. *Grave* 6, *in left eye of skeleton.*
3. Mortarium. D. rim *c.* 9½ ins. Red ware with grey core, traces of cream colour-coat. *Pit IX.*
4. Mortarium. D. rim *c.* 8 ins. Red ware with traces of cream colour-coat. *Pit IX at* 1½ *ft.*
5. Flanged bowl. D. rim *c.* 7 ins. Hard grey ware. *Grave* 1, *lower filling.*
6. Flanged bowl. D. rim *c.* 7 ins. Hard grey ware. *Pit IX at* 1½ *ft.*
7. Flanged bowl. D. rim *c.* 6¾ ins. Hard white ware with thick colour-coat fired to a metallic-lustred brown finish (cp. New Forest ware). *Pit IX.*
8. Dish. D. rim 8¼ ins. Hard white ware with thick colour-coat fired to a metallic-lustred black finish. *Pit IX.*
9. Dish. D. rim 6¼ ins. Red ware with red colour-coat. Two grooves on exterior near rim. *Trench D, topsoil.*
10. Bowl with incurved rim. D. rim 6⅛ ins. Grey ware, graphite-coated. Criss-cross burnished lines on exterior, sloping burnished lines on interior. *Trench E, topsoil.*

11. Bowl with incurved rim. D. rim 5½ ins. Grey ware. On exterior two knobs and a criss-cross burnished frieze. *Grave* 1, *lower filling*.
12. Bowl with incurved rim. D. rim *c.* 7 ins. Grey ware. On exterior a series of thin horizontal grooves. *Trench E, topsoil.*
13. Bowl with thickened rim. D. rim *c.* 4¼ ins. Red ware with red colour-coat. *Trench D, topsoil.*
14. Bowl with carination. D. rim *c.* 7 ins. Red ware with red colour-coat. On either side of carination a rouletted band. *Pit IX.*
15. Bowl with carination (rim missing). Red ware with red colour-coat. Above carination, rosettes ; below, rouletting. *Trench C, topsoil.*
16. Bowl (?). D. rim *c.* 6 ins. Hard grey ware. On exterior a herring-bone frieze made of simple impresses. *Grave* 6, *filling*.

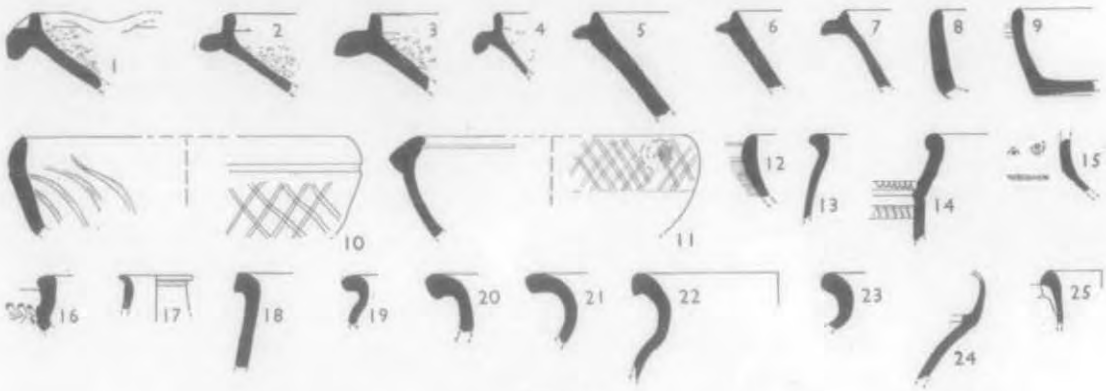


FIG. 13

ROMAN POTTERY, CEMETERY SITE, FRILFORD : see p. 59 f. (¼).

17. Beaker. D. rim 1⅜ ins. Hard grey ware with black colour-coat. Flattened rim with groove below. *Trench A, topsoil.*
18. Beaker. D. rim *c.* 6 ins. Coarse soft gritty reddish ware with grey core. *Pit IX.*
19. Olla. D. rim *c.* 3⅛ ins. Reddish ware with grey core. *Trench D, topsoil.*
20 Olla. D. rim 9½ ins. Coarse soft gritty brown ware with grey core. *Pit IX.*
21. Olla. D. rim *c.* 8 ins. Coarse soft gritty grey ware fired brown within. *Trench D, at 6–12 ins.*
22. Olla. D. rim 6 ins. Coarse soft gritty grey ware fired brown within. *Grave* 6, *on right shoulder of skeleton.*
23. Olla. D. rim *c.* 4¼ ins. Hard grey ware. *Trench E, topsoil.*
24. Olla (lip missing). Hard grey ware. Raised cordon at junction of neck and shoulder. *Trench D, at 6–12 ins.*
25. Jug (handle missing). D. rim 2⅛ ins. Hard grey ware. *Pit IX.*

EXCAVATIONS AT FRILFORD, BERKS.

COINS

By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

The coins discovered during the exploration of the Cemetery are listed below, divided into two groups :—

A. the general finds (26 in number), and

B. the 34 coins and fragments of coins found above Grave 2.

References are to H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, 2nd edn. (=C.). The preservation of the coins is noted as *P1* (mint-state), *P2* (fresh), *P3* (fair), *P4* (rubbed), or *P5* (much worn). Mint-marks are given, where this is possible. ' Æ3,' ' Æ4 ' indicate respectively the conventional descriptions of size, ' third ' and ' fourth brass.'

A.

1	Radiate *Antoninianus*	(? Tetricus I, or Victorinus.) *Rev.*, uncertain standing figure. Perhaps a semi-barbarous copy. (*P5* ; broken).
3	Constantine I Æ3	(i). C. (Constantine II) 120 (*P3*). (ii). C. (Constantinopolis) 21, $\overline{\text{TRP*}}$ (*P4*). (iii). Ditto (mint-mark invisible) (*P4*).
1	Constans Æ3 (Augustus)	C. 176 (*P2–3*).
2	Copies of Constantinian types Æ3	Both with *rev.* ' Fel. Temp. Reparatio ' (fallen horseman). (i). 10 mm. (*P3–4*). (ii). 10 mm. (*P5*).
1	Constantius Gallus. Æ3	Cf. C. 9, 12 ; $\overline{\text{—CON}}$ (*P3*).
1	Valentinian I (?) Æ3	Cf. C. 37 (*P5*).
2	Valens Æ3	(i). C. 47, $\overline{\text{SMAQP}}$ (*P3–4*). (ii). C. 47 (*P5*).
2	Uncertain of the House of Valentinian I Æ3	(i). ? Gratian, cf. C. 13 (*P5*). (ii). Illegible (*P5*).
1	Theodosius I Æ4	*Rev.*, ' Victoria Auggg ' (*P3–4*).
2	Arcadius Æ4	(i). *Rev.*, ' Salus Reipublicae ' $\overline{\text{AQ[?S]}}$ (*P3*). (ii). *Rev.*, ' Victoria Auggg ' (*P3–4*).
8	Uncertain of the House of Theodosius I Æ4	(i). *Rev.*, ' Salus Reipublicae ' (*P3*). (ii), (iii), (iv). *Rev.*, ' Victoria Auggg ' (*P4* ; *P5* ; *P5*). (v), (vi), (vii). *Rev.* illegible (all *P5*). (viii). Probably Theodosian : illegible (*P5*).
2	Minims	9 mm., 7 mm. ; both illegible.
26	Total.	

B.

1	Valerian (?) *Antoninianus*	*Rev.* illegible (*P4–5*).
1	Constantine I Æ3 (posthumous)	C. 13, PCON (*P3–4*).
1	Constantius II Æ3 (Augustus)	C. 303 (*P3*).
4	Uncertain of the House of Constantine Æ3	(i), (ii). Both with *rev.*, 'Gloria Exercitus' (one standard) (*P3*; *P4–5*). (iii). *Rev.*, 'Victoriae Dd. Augg. Q. Nn.' PARL (*P4–5*). (iv). *Rev.* uncertain (*P5*).
1	Valentinian I Æ3	C. 12 (*P4*).
1	Flavius Victor Æ4	*Rev.*, 'Spes Romanorum' SMAQP (*P2–3*).
2	Valentinian II Æ4	(i), (ii). Both with *rev.*, 'Victoria Auggg' PCON (*P3*).
2	Arcadius Æ4	(i). *Rev.*, 'Victoria Auggg' (*P3*). (ii). *Rev.* illegible (*P4–5*).
16	Uncertain of the House of Theodosius I Æ4	(i), (ii). *Rev.*, 'Salus Reipublicae' (*P3–4*; *P5*). (iii)–(x). *Rev.*, 'Victoria Auggg' (two *P3*; three *P3–4*; two *P4*; one *P5*). (xi), (xii), (xiii). *Rev.* uncertain (*P3–4*; *P4*; *P4*). (xiv), (xv), (xvi). *Rev.* illegible (*P4*; *P4*; *P5*).
2	Illegible	(i). Æ3. Possibly of the time of Valentinian I (*P5*). (ii). Æ4. Worn smooth.
3	Æ fragments	
34	coins and fragments: total.	

Apart from the inclusion of two coins (Constantine, C. 13; Constantius II, C. 303) seldom found on sites in Britain, the interest of these lists lies, first, in their composition, and, secondly, in the condition of the coins themselves. The composition of the present list 'A' may best be studied in comparison with that of lists 'A' and 'C' of the coins found at the neighbouring Temple site.[1] There, with the exception of four coins (Tiberius, Trajan, Crispina, Plautilla) which can scarcely be said to form a series at all, the effective continuity of the coin sequence begins only with the period of Gallienus and the Gallic Empire. The coins found at the Cemetery site begin at virtually the same point; and thereafter the coins from both sites fall naturally into three main chronological divisions—the dynasties of Constantine, Valentinian and Theodosius.[2] The following tables show, for both sites, the percentage figures derived from an analysis

[1] pp. 49 ff.

[2] Uncontradicted by other evidence from either site, the absence of issues between *c.* A.D. 275 and 320 might have suggested that effective occupation did not begin at Frilford before the 4th century was well started; for, though the coins of Aurelian and his immediate successors are not necessarily to be expected on a normal, small site, yet the coins of Carausius and Allectus, and the earlier emissions of Constantine himself, might well have been looked for if the occupation of the Temple site, at least, was as vigorous between A.D. 275 and 320 as it was after 320.

of the coins from A.D. 250 onwards into these periods : no account is taken of the more debased imitations appearing in these lists, for their dating is usually a matter for speculation.

PERIOD	TEMPLE			CEMETERY
	List ' A ' %	List ' C ' %	Average %	List ' A ' %
I (*c.* A.D. 250–75) ..	26	5	15	5
II (*c.* A.D. 320–60) ..	47	32	39	28
III (*c.* A.D. 360–85) ..	10	44	27	21
IV (*c.* A.D. 385–95) ..	16	18	17	45

Temple.—It should be pointed out that the Temple list ' A ' is, in fact, a conspicuously synthetic group of general finds made over a wide area, while the Temple list ' C ' is, by contrast, closely confined to coins found during examination of the Temple pathway. Nevertheless, the two lists bear a general resemblance, differing most obviously in Period III, the currency of which (as list ' C ' shows) was more profuse on this site than that of any other time. In Period IV, however, the currency-volume drops abruptly in list ' C ' to a figure almost identical with that of list ' A ' ; and it is therefore plain that the Temple site experienced that process of shrinking coinage which left few sites unaffected,[1] and which in rural areas was doubtless hastened by a partial migration of the population from country to town in search of safety.[2]

Cemetery.—The figures for the Cemetery are startlingly different. Here the currency-curve begins at a level distinctly lower than that of the Temple site ; and it continues more gently, failing to reach the Temple figures in Period II, and falling below even the average Temple figures for Period III. Then suddenly it soars, in Period IV, to the 45% mark : nearly half, that is to say, of the Cemetery coins are issues struck between A.D. 388 and 395 ; and coins of the same period are recognizable in 21 out of the 34 pieces comprising the Cemetery hoard (Cemetery list ' B ').

The interpretation of these figures and the dating of the hoard must be governed by two important considerations, (*a*) the relative wear of the Period IV coins at the Cemetery site, and (*b*) the economic and administrative factors likely to affect their circulation and currency.[3] It is almost a commonplace of Romano-British numismatics that ' Theodosian ' issues are scarcely ever found in fresh condition. Numismatists and archaeologists, while familiar with this commonplace, and knowing that the ' Theodosian ' issues were

[1] C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain*, p. 95 f.

[2] B. H. St. J. O'Neil in *Archaeological Journal*, XC (1933), 291 f.

[3] Cf. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 ff., and the same writer's ' Minimi, Radiate and Diademed, etc.,' in *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, 1936, pp. 252 ff. It may be remarked that the normal currency-curve of Roman Britain is now well-known by statistical analysis of the finds made at a large number of sites of varying character throughout the country. Departures from the norm (as, *e.g.*, at Caerwent, Richborough and Frilford Cemetery) are therefore quickly noticeable.

the last to be introduced in bulk into Britain by the regular medium of the Roman administrative and military machine, have nevertheless seldom attempted the obvious deduction. It is, indeed, true that our knowledge of the life of Roman coins in circulation is still imperfect; but some significant observations have been made by the study of hoards, countermarks, and 'restored' coins. A comparison of hoards has shown,[1] for example, that the hoards to be associated with the panic and terror of Boudicca's rising, and with the nation-wide danger caused by the great raid of A.D. 367, are composed respectively of Claudian and Constantinian coins: hoards of coins of Nero and of the dynasty of Valentinian (which would surely have been buried for safety had they been current) are distinctly uncommon, and cannot possibly be brought into connexion. Here, then, we have a suggestion that coinage entering Britain took from twenty to thirty years to reach its maximum frequency. For the Roman Empire at large, countermarks and 'restored' coins[2] have an analogous importance—especially the latter; for an Emperor's 'restoration' of a type which first appeared upwards of fifty years previously is a clear indication that he did not wish the famous coin-types of former years to pass into oblivion through illegibility. A cursory examination of the Victorian bronze coinage issued before *c.* A.D. 1880-1890 will quickly show how many specimens are rubbed and even partially illegible.[3]

If, then, the 'Theodosian' bronze coins were not issued until the last decade of the fourth century, how long a period of currency may be ascribed to them after consideration of their condition? For the coins in question from the Cemetery are none of them more than 'fair,' most of them being (as the list will show) partially or greatly worn. In the preceding paragraph instances were quoted which suggested that a new 'class' or wave of coinage might not reach its maximum frequency in Britain for as much as two or three decades after its emission, and that coins once in circulation did not become illegible until four, five, or even more decades had passed. The great mass of the 'Theodosian' coins found in Britain were struck at the Gallic mints—Arles, Lyons, Trèves—which operated from A.D. 388 until their closure about A.D. 395.[4] Thereafter the striking of Æ4 coins was continued at Aquileia, Rome, Antioch and Thessalonica; but these more easterly productions drifted westwards very slowly. Consequently the closing of the Gallic mints meant that for regular infiltration of coin Britain had thenceforward to rely upon the administrative coin-drift from Gaul to Britain. And when the administrative link was broken by the inability of Rome—herself distracted and endangered—to maintain her protectorate over the waning fortunes of Britain,[5] the removal of soldiers and officials resulted in a proportionately great reduction in the

[1] Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain*, pp. 6, 88.

[2] Cf. H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, I, pp. XXVIII ff., p. LXXXIV; II, p. XCIX; and the same author in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1920, pp. 177 ff.

[3] Allowance must be made for the fact that coins of a small module, such as 'Theodosian Æ4,' wear more quickly than larger pieces; for, when carried in bulk in the purse or pocket, their small size results in many possibilties of movement and friction.

[4] Cf. the composition of the Kiddington Æ4 hoard: *Oxoniensia*, I, 80. The two legible mint-marks in the present Cemetery hoard are of Arles.

[5] I do not propose to enter here into the question of the limited re-occupation of Britain proposed by Prof. R. G. Collingwood (*Oxford History of England*, I, ch. XVIII). Numismatically, his suggestion appears to be sound (cf. my *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain*, p. 93 f.). If it is accepted, care must be taken to allow for more intensive circulation (and therefore wear) of Theodosian Æ4 owing to the extension of the effective period of Roman occupation.

importation of coin, and also (perhaps) in a sudden drop in currency volume owing to the exportation of capital by Roman emigrants.[1] From now onward, the only coins entering Britain were those exchanged in commerce with Gaul; and the increasing insecurity of the times must have seen a marked shrinkage in commercial contacts. For all these urgent reasons, it must have become necessary in Britain to fall back on a currency of survivals—existing coins, some reasonably fresh, some becoming worn, some already illegible—which formerly the Roman government would have called in. In time, owing to hoarding, loss or export, the volume of this currency would decline, lacking (as it now did) fresh consignments in bulk from abroad. At this stage the survivals would be even more valuable; illegible though they might be, they were still a medium of exchange, and they may now have prompted the local production of miserable copper 'blanks,' some of which formed so interesting a feature of the Kiddington Æ4 hoard,[2] and which have their modern counterpart in such currencies as the 'stamp-money' and china or iron coins produced at times of warfare and economic distress. The 5th-century currency of Britain was, in truth, one of pure necessity; any or every coin or metal blank was acceptable; and this state of affairs was, of course, the natural prelude to widespread imitation of earlier types upon a frankly 'minim' standard—a process which culminated in such tiny coins as those discovered at Lydney, and which was probably characteristic of the later part of the 5th century and of the 6th century.[3]

'Theodosian' Æ4 coins, therefore, first issued about A.D. 390, and so often found in a more or less illegible condition, probably suffered from a special and unnaturally long life in circulation, due to their having been the last 'class' of Roman coinage to be consigned regularly to Britain. Exactly how long this life was we cannot say: probably it extended over the greater part of the 5th century, though many coins would of course be lost or hoarded during the earlier part of the century. A deposit such as our Cemetery hoard, where most of the coins are more or less worn, is not difficult to date, if the preceding arguments are allowed their proper force. It cannot have been buried before about A.D. 440; it may well be much later; and a similarly long life may be predicated of the more worn 'Theodosians' in list 'A' of the Cemetery coins.

THE PLAN OF THE CEMETERY

The exact relationship of the burials found in 1937, and described above, to those excavated by Dr. Buxton in 1920 is clearly of some importance in determining the precise limits of the Romano-British section of the cemetery. But since the published plan of the 1920 discoveries is imperfect in some respects,[4] it has been found advisable to make a new survey of the whole site, on which the accompanying plan (FIG. 12, B) is based.

[1] See G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 2, quoting the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 418.

[2] *Oxoniensia*, I, 74.

[3] The increasing poverty of currency was not confined to Britain alone, being found also in districts which continued to enjoy the doubtful benefits of Roman administration at this time: see my *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain*, p. 125, n. 1, for instances from Italy, Dalmatia, the Balkans, Corinth, and Egypt; these, though occasionally longer delayed, are closely similar to the instances provided by Britain.

[4] Buxton, *op. cit.*, fig. 2. The east side of the quarry is only shown conventionally, whilst the indication of north is in fact approximately 28 degrees west of true north.

The result of this survey is to show that Graves 1–5 of 1937 form the northern fringe of the Romano-British burials (Grave 6 being presumably an outlier), whilst Graves 1, 2, 30, 33, 35 and 38 of 1920 represent approximately the eastern margin. On the south the quarry prevents any possible determination of the exact limits of interment, but further excavations could profitably be carried out on the west, where—unless Prof. Rolleston's 1867–70 investigations have disturbed the ground—the extent of the Roman cemetery should be easily recoverable.

Unfortunately, the positions of the numerous burials, Anglo-Saxon as well as Roman, found between 1864 and 1870 in the process of quarrying must remain unknown, Prof. Rolleston having left no plan of what he found. Some of Rolleston's excavations were certainly well outside the limits of the quarry,[1] yet it is reasonable to suppose that the Professor devoted most of his energies to investigating the area immediately threatened by the quarrymen; and his description of the numerous Romano-British burials as occupying 'parallel or nearly parallel rows of trenches' running from WNW. to ESE.[2] makes it highly probable that he was digging to the immediate south of the Roman area explored in 1920.

Confirmation of this is supplied by two unpublished plans drawn up in 1867 and now in the Ashmolean Museum: the first of these, dated June 29th, shows the whole extent of the quarry at that time, and thus enables one (by a comparison with the modern survey) to determine what area of the quarry was worked between 1867 and about 1875, after which date it seems to have been discontinued.[3] The second plan, dated January 25, 1867, shows the east face of the quarry only, with the two lead coffins *in situ* which first attracted Rolleston's attention to the cemetery.[4] Thus, by a correlation of the two plans, it is possible to fix the position of the lead coffins relative to the existing quarry face, and at the same time to estimate the approximate area to which Rolleston's activities were mainly confined.

The chronological relationship of the Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon burials is a problem which the existing evidence is inadequate to solve, but the absence of intrusive Saxon burials among the Roman ones found in 1920 and 1937 suggests that the area of overlap between the two cemeteries was a comparatively small one and confined mainly to the area now destroyed by the quarry.

[1] As, for example, the excavation of Sept. 24, 1868: *Arch.*, XLII, 476.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

[3] The quarry had been disused for some time when, in 1884, the neighbouring Roman villa was excavated: *Arch. Journ.*, LIV, 341. Rolleston's second paper, read in 1875, records discoveries made in May, 1870, but not later (*Arch.*, XLV, 407–8), and it is probable that quarrying ceased soon after this date.

[4] *Archaeologia*, XLII, 420.

III. HISTORICAL SUMMARY

In summing up the history of the Frilford sites, the dates given must be considered as approximate rather than absolute, especially for the earlier phases of settlement.

Probably about 350 B.C. an open village came into existence on the oolite ridge close to the river Ock, its situation possibly determined by the proximity of a ford, although alternative sites may have been available, as for example in Garford Field, where Major Allen has recently pointed out the existence of Bronze Age circles of the type made familiar by the excavations at Radley.[1]

In the earliest period of the settlement occupation seems to have taken the form of surface squatting with accessory drainage and storage pits, though probably in the 2nd century B.C. more permanent structures began to take their place, and their simple plan is represented by the hut on site B. This with its adjoining cooking-pit, continued in use up to the date of the Roman conquest. It need not be inferred that the partial evacuation of the site which seems to have occurred soon after this time was due to political causes. On the contrary, the flourishing state of the elaborate timber structure under the Temple (Site A), standing aloof from the now almost deserted village, and representing the latest phase of unromanised settlement, emphasizes another aspect of the significance of the site.

Perhaps from the earliest days of the village the ritual timber structure on Site C had served as the religious focal point of the settlement. Its discovery at Frilford throws welcome light on native religion on a site where Iron Age A traditions were only spasmodically influenced by external developments. Although the exact nature of the superstructure which the post-holes represent cannot easily be determined, the plough-share deposited underneath the central post perhaps implies a fertility cult such as one would expect in a primitive agrarian community.

At a subsequent stage, the shrine was demarcated from the area of settlement by a large horseshoe-shaped ditch, so arranged as to preserve an open space in front of the ritual structure, approached by a causeway on the west. The plan of this secondary feature possibly suggests that the tradition of Bronze Age religious architecture was not lightly forgotten. In its elaborated form the ritual structure continued in use until the first period of effective romanisation (*c.* A.D. 80–90), and it is tempting to conjecture that the occupant of the hut under the Temple, the only other structure which seems to have survived the abandonment of the village, was connected in some way with the cult.

[1] *Berks. Arch. Journ.*, XL, 21 : XLI, 36.

When, at the end of the first century, the area was first developed by the Romans, the importance of the Noah's Ark site was primarily a religious one. Tacitus informs us that as early as the time of Domitian provincial governors (of whom Agricola may only have been one) encouraged the construction of temples in Britain.[1] The recent excavation of Insula XVI at Verulamium[2]—to take one example—illustrated the effects of this policy on an important urban site, but evidence has hitherto been lacking for corresponding activity in more rural areas, and indeed it has sometimes been inferred that the majority of Romano-Celtic temples belong to a late period.[3] The Frilford example not only corrects this misapprehension, but also confirms Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler's suggestion[4] that the normal Romano-Celtic temple owed little or nothing to pre-Roman traditions. No stretch of imagination could trace a continuous development between the open-air planning of the Iron Age shrine and the enclosed cella of the Temple on Site A.

On the other hand, although at Frilford the new standardised Romano-Celtic temple was laid out independently of its native predecessor, the sanctity of the latter's site was preserved by the construction of the Rotunda which perpetuated in its main form the outline of the ritual ditch. It is interesting to speculate about the interaction of these two religious buildings with their different cultural backgrounds: one might perhaps guess that although the Rotunda was intended to placate local sentiment, it was anticipated by those responsible for its construction that the attractions of the new Temple would eventually overcome the lingering survival of the adapted native tradition. That this expectation was in due course fulfilled is suggested by the possible indications of the eventual decline of the Rotunda as a ritual building, and its conversion to other uses. Perhaps the addition of Annexe I, with its three chapels, to the original temple, marks the final transference of the native cult to its romanised quarters.

In the 4th century A.D., and especially in its latter half, at Frilford as on so many other sites, paganism reached its apogee. The popularity of pagan religious observance in this period, illustrated also by the construction of new temples at Maiden Castle and at Lydney,[5] and by the extensive reconstruction

[1] Tacitus, *Agricola*, XXI.

[2] A. W. G. Lowther, 'Excavations at Verulamium in 1934,' *Ant. Journ.*, XVII, 28.

[3] For example, Professor Collingwood states, in *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (p. 267), that 'we know that most of them belong to a late period'; but the recent evidence from Frilford, Verulam, and Colchester does not confirm this generalization. One is tempted, too, on the grounds both of early material and of the similarity of dimensions to the Frilford example, to attribute the temples at Harlow and Worth to the same Flavian wave of romanisation.

[4] *Ant. Journ.*, VIII (1928), 317.

[5] Maiden Castle: *Ant. Journ.*, XV (1935), 271; Lydney: Wheeler, 'Excavations at Lydney Park,' *Society of Antiquaries Research Committee Report*, IX (1932).

of the building in Insula XVI at Verulamium,[1] shows that the Emperor Julian, acquainted with Celtic conditions by his stay in Paris in A.D. 360, was flogging no dead horse in his attempts to reinstate paganism as the official religion of the Empire. It may have been this increased use of the Frilford temple at the end of the Roman period which led to the selection of a neighbouring site as a cemetery. The relationship between temples and cemeteries is a problem which has not yet been sufficiently investigated, but there is evidence from one or two sites in Britain of their complementary existence : both at Lancing, Sussex, and at Waltham St. Lawrence, Berks.,[2] inhumations have been found in close proximity to Romano-Celtic temples.

The initial date of the cemetery is uncertain, but there is no adequate evidence to suggest its use earlier than the beginning of the 4th century : indeed, the abundance of late 4th-century coins points, as in the case of the Temple, to intensified activity during this period. Further, the comparative study of the coins from the two sites (pp. 62 ff.) indicates that the cemetery continued in use throughout the first half of the 5th century, although the Temple, during these years, gradually ceased to be frequented. The economic disorganization of the period combined with a growing lack of confidence in paganism, and a consequent refuge in the emotional consolations which Christianity offered, may have contributed to its decline.

Finally, in regard to the apparently continuous use of the cemetery shewn by the Roman and Saxon burials, it should be remembered that it is not yet possible to prove that the latest Romano-British interments took place simultaneously with the earliest Anglo-Saxon ones, and this fact may weaken Mr. R. H. Hodgkin's ' tempting presumption that the invaders were content to live, as well as to lie in death, alongside the conquered provincials '[3] ; but it is clear, at least, that the existence of the cemetery had not disappeared from memory at the time of the earliest Teutonic settlement in the district. It has been suggested, too, that the marked similarity between the Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon crania from the cemetery points to a close relationship between the two racial types[4] ; but the exact social nature of this relationship cannot be solved without the excavation of the two settlement-sites, Roman and Saxon, which must have existed in the vicinity.

[1] Lowther, *loc. cit.*

[2] Lancing : *V.C.H. Sussex*, III, 59 ; Waltham St. Lawrence : *V.C.H. Berks.*, I, 216.

[3] R. H. Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, I, 166.

[4] Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton was working on this anthropological aspect of the Frilford cemetery shortly before his death, and had reached the conclusion that there was little racial difference between the two peoples represented in the cemetery. It is a matter for great regret that his projected paper on this problem was never completed, although an initial survey will be found in his essay ' The Sea-Raiders ' in *Custom is King* (Essays presented to R. R. Marett), pp. 203 ff.

Thus the proof of consecutive periods of Iron Age and Romano-British occupation within the comparatively small area favourably situated around 'Frithela's Ford,'[1] shows that true continuity of village life for nearly eight hundred years, from the 4th century B.C. to the 5th century A.D., was not seriously affected in this rural area by political repercussions. But the cultural impact of the Anglo-Saxon invasions must have severely shaken, if not entirely destroyed, the agricultural system and social framework, which centuries of economic evolution had developed. The forest area of the Vale which had been a partial barrier in the Iron Age, and formidable even when traversed by the Roman road, now gradually yielded to the clearing and the extended agricultural activity of the new settlers, possibly the result of superior equipment.

[1] E. Ekwall, *Oxford Dict. of Eng. Place-Names*, p. 179. Cf. also 'Frithela' byrig (Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 1002) a place-name located somewhere in the vicinity of Hinksey or Wytham Hill ; *cf.* G. B. Grundy 'Berkshire Charters,' *Berks. Arch. Journ.*, XXX (1926), 59 ff.