Performing the Sacra

Priestly roles and their organisation in Roman Britain

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Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

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Preface

This publication is the revised and updated version of my doctoral dissertation completed in January 2018 at King's College London. The original title *Performing the ritual. A study of religious performers and their activities in Roman Britain* was changed to offer a more direct connection with the studies of priests in the Roman provinces and to highlight the two main aims of this work: tracing a model of priesthoods' organisation and the embodiment of priestly authorities in Britain and its contextualisation in the Roman provincial environment.

For the first time, a methodical investigation of the objects identifiable as regalia and ceremonial tools was integrated into an assessment of historical, epigraphic, and iconographic sources on the matter. The study of religion in the Roman provinces has seen a recent change in perspective from a centre-periphery model to that of a spectrum of cultural responses, however, the study of religious performers in Britain has been somehow left aside in academic investigation, with the exclusion of the ever-green fascination with the Druids.

Following the suggestion of my examiners and the later advices of John Pearce and Ian Haynes, I decided to publish my thesis within a short time since its completion. This has had the significant advantage of not requiring a substantial update of data sources and bibliographical references while still offering me the opportunity to include those publications that were marked as 'forthcoming' in the dissertation. Among these, the catalogue and discussion of the Ashwell Hoard by Ralph Jackson and Gil Burleigh, which I was just given the opportunity to review for the journal *Britannia*.

Compared to the dissertation, this publication sees a slimmer discussion of the general theoretical themes in the first chapter as well as shorter descriptions of some of the finds in chapter three which have been moved to Appendix two. It was not possible to include all the images originally used in the dissertation, but a URL has been provided to still allow a direct access to the pictures, when available.

Chapter 1

Introduction to the study, assessment of the sources, and research questions

1.1 Introduction

This work researches the institution of priesthoods in Roman period Britain by collecting and interpreting a rather disparate, not previously critically reviewed data of archaeological evidence, literary sources, iconography, and epigraphy. The study of ancient priesthoods, in general, is mostly considered a historical topic, whose main sources are ancient writers and epigraphy (Beard and North 1990; Richardson and Santangelo 2011). However, this approach is mostly inapplicable for the study of Britain, because of the limited quantity of both these types of evidence. The literary sources are scarce, with single instances in Tacitus mentioning the existence of provincial *sacerdotes* at Camulodunum[1], and a *flamen rusticus* in the *Historia Augusta*.[2] Ancient writers were in fact more concerned with the Druids, whose narrative has overshadowed the discussion of other priestly figures, to the point where the latter have been largely ignored in modern academic publications. Similarly, epigraphy, a crucial tool for similar types of investigations, as demonstrated in the study of Rome and other provincial contexts,[3] is limitedly attested in the province, a characteristic which also affects inscriptions concerning priests and related figures (e.g. cult attendants).

This work thus offers a shift in attention from this classical methodological approach to one that considers more prominently the markers of priestly activities, i.e. objects priests wore or carried as badges of offices as well as objects they used during ritual performances, i.e. ceremonial tools. The former evidence will especially allow us to address instances of embodiment of religious authority. To offer a more complete account of these instances, iconography is also used to assess the range of visual representations of religious performance in Britain, particularly representations of rituals and of ceremonial tools.

Further discussion will address depositional practices related to priestly regalia, as some of them are found in structured deposits, as well as instances of regional distribution and, consequently, cultural affiliation. Despite their limited numbers, epigraphic sources will be used to initiate a discussion on the awarding of priestly functions as a means to encourage local integration in the Roman organisation of power, as well as the pursuing of these positions by the local elite for personal and communal promotion.

The study area considered by this work includes almost exclusively sites from England, especially the east and south-east regions. This is a consequence of this work's strong reliance on to the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database, which only applies to England and Wales. A significant percentage of the archaeological evidence used in this work has been obtained from this source and it seemed methodologically fair to exclude regions that do not provide a comparable collection of data.[4] However, the reader will find that the other types of evidence used in this study (inscriptions recording priests' names and/or titles and religious architecture) are also found almost exclusively in this area.

The first half of this chapter comprises three sections introducing some key themes related to the study of priestly figures and the impact of the Roman conquest on the organisation of these personalities in the north-western provinces. First, I will summarise the development of the theoretical discussion related to Britain after the Roman conquest (1.2), then move on to presenting academic approaches to the study of provincial religion (1.3) and of priesthoods in the north-western Roman provinces (1.4) and conclude by focusing on Britain (1.4.1).

The second half of the chapter surveys the different sources available for the study of Roman priesthoods in order to assess their value for the study of Britain (1.5). As mentioned, literary and epigraphic sources have been considered for a long time the foundation blocks of the study of Roman religions in general. This is mainly because they provide primary, fundamental information for the reconstruction of ancient religions, like the names of deities, the titles of priests and cult personnel in general, as well as the names and institutions involved in religious actions (Rives 2014). However, these same sources have proven to be less helpful, especially for the regions far from the imperial centre, in analysing other important features connected to the study of religion, like the performative aspects of ritual activities, which is one of the central aspects of this work.

[1] Tac. *Ann.* XIV, 31.
[2] Hist. Aug. *Sept. Seu.* XXII, 6-7.
[3] Rüpke 2008; Spickermann 2003, 2008; Van Andringa 2002.
[4] On the biases of the PAS data collection see 2.4.

The literary accounts that survived for these far territories never had a purely descriptive aim: rather, their narrative was often biased by the political agenda and intents that prompted their writing in the first place (1.5.1). This notion, together with the socio-cultural difference between the 'Romans' and the populations they encountered often resulted both in a simplification of local religious customs and in a colourful rendering of local ritual practices. The former was likely a way to make these practices more understandable by the Roman reader, while the latter would inspire awe and horror towards those, often hostile, populations, an expedient not uncommon even in modern anthropologic literature (Webster 1996). The Roman historians deployed it to depict the Iron Age populations of the north-western territories and it was crucial to the creation of an image of the 'culturally other', to whose barbarity the Romans opposed their 'restraint' (*ibid.:* 115-7).

An assessment of epigraphy as a source for ritual practices follows in section 1.5.2. For what concerns Britain, the number of inscriptions recording priestly titles is limited. The most common type of religious inscriptions recorded consists of votive texts carved on altars, a trend also attested elsewhere in the north-western provinces (Derks 1995). The information contained in this type of text allows important socio-cultural analyses of the dedicators (i.e. gender, social status, cultural background) (Zoll 1995). Other inscriptions considered in this work are the curse tablets or *defixiones*: metal sheets often, but not always, inscribed with curses or incantations (Tomlin 1988; 1993; 2003). However, both the altars and the *defixiones* account for one type of ritual: the vow. No text from Britain or the northern provinces is comparable to the lengthy *leges sacrae* found in Greece and Asia Minor that contain the norms for the performance of cults and religious festivals (Guarducci 1977; Lupu 2005), of which a very limited number are in Latin (Richter 1911).[5]

Section 1.5.3 briefly addresses the contribution of iconography to this study. No stone representation of priests is available in Britain, however, discussions of the imagery of what can be identified as ritual performers contribute to the drawing of a landscape of rituals performed in Britain.

Finally, section 1.5.4 is concerned with the material evidence attesting the activities of priests: these comprise 'priestly regalia' (objects that were worn by the priests) and 'ceremonial tools' (objects that were used during ritual ceremonies). Only an overview of the objects is offered here, focusing on their past analyses and interpretation, while the in-depth discussion of this evidence is the topic of chapter 3.

1.2 Historical and theoretical debates concerning Roman Britain: a summary

Any exposition, however brief, willing to address how modern scholars have considered the processes that led the Late Iron Age communities living in England, Wales, and southern Scotland to become the Roman province of *Britannia* should at least mention the works of Haverfield (1924). His name now evokes the very paradigm of 'Romanisation', as his interpretation of Roman troops arriving in an unknown land inhabited by barbaric populations is at the very core of this scholarly tradition. His interpretation of this cultural encounter sees the Romans infusing the indigenous populations with a civilising spur that had a great influence on the elites, especially the urban ones, while also affecting the rural populations (*ibid.*). Similar theories were later adopted by Collingwood, for whom the encounter of the local 'Celtic' Britons with the Roman conquerors resulted in a cultural assimilation of the former to the latter (Collingwood 1932). The positions of these two historians represent the theoretical embodiment of their contemporary historical trends, which projected 19th/early 20th century imperialistic stances on the study of ancient civilisations. According to their reconstruction, the imperialistic force is characterised as a positive entity, carrier of cultural, technological, and economic improvement (Freeman 1997).

Attempts to progress Collingwood's model by extending the spotlight to include the native population, resulted in theoretical concepts like that of 'cultural synthesis' (Frere 1967: 203). According to Frere, the cultural encounter envisaged by Collingwood as a superposition of Roman values and power structure prompted the locals (i.e. the elites) to become Roman. However, he attempts to nuance this cultural encounter by introducing the idea of a complex relationship, in which the pre-Roman local element would survive by incorporating some aspects of the Roman tradition (e.g. the creation of *civitates*), without resulting in any major inner conflict or identity crisis.

During the second half of the 20th century, a change in approach emerged when a different narrative was established. The rise of 'post-colonial' theories deeply affected the interpretation of the cultural dynamics set in place by the arrival of the Romans in Britain.[6] This re-narration of Roman Britain would still exploit the polarisation between Romans and the local population,

[5] Norms about the cult of the *Numen Augusti* from Narbo (CIL XII, 4333; Cels-Saint-Hilaire 1986); regulations of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus from Salona (CIL III, 1933).

[6] 'Post-colonialism' is considered here an umbrella term that covers several branches of theoretical historical speculation about Roman imperialism, which includes inspirations from different sources (whether philosophical, i.e. Marxism, structuralism; from social sciences: psychoanalysis) (Gardner 2013).

however this time the attention shifted from the Romans to the local communities, who become the protagonists of a narrative of resistance against the imperialistic occupation.

A key stage in the post-colonialist debate was crystallised in the milestone work 'The Romanization of Britain' by Millett (1990). He highlighted the contributions of the local elites to the process of transforming Iron Age Britain into a 'Romanised' Britain. These elites were the main actors, willing to take part in the Roman organisation of the provincial territory as a means to maintain and enhance their control on the local access to power. In this sense, Millett focuses on the 'continuity' of existence of local tribes and elite families between the late pre-Roman Iron Age and the post-conquest period. Similar theoretical approaches were adopted to explain comparable processes in other north-western territories, like Gaul. Here, Roymans argued that the local aristocracies would have been willing to be co-opted in Roman auxiliary units so to maintain their traditional warrior-like status within the Roman re-organisation of power (1990; 1996). Integration within the Roman 'system' was perceived by the local elites as carrying many benefits, among which was the implementation of agricultural values as expressed on funerary monuments (*ibid.*: 1996), as well as the adoption of classical-style education (Woolf 1998).

The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century saw developments, amendments, and criticism seeking the abandonment of the concept of 'Romanisation'. The static dicotomy of this top-down narrative led to a search for a new theoretical structure, which would allow to explore other actors within the interpretation of Roman imperialism. Millett's model of syncretism was shelved in favour of more complex systems, which considered different factors and degrees of cultural engagement, resulting in constructing various 'identities'.

Crucial development on the post-colonialist discussion of interactions between different identities was offered by Webster and her introduction in the Roman historiographical debate of the anthropological context of 'creolisation' (1997). Drawing parallels between the Caribbean communities and the local tribes living in the Roman north-western provinces, Webster offered a nuanced reconstruction which allows for different degrees of cultural adoption. Instead of explaining the presence of Roman artefacts and constructions as a passive intake, she suggested that the locals enacted conscious choices when adopting beliefs and structures (both political and physical) from the conquerors. Webster's concept of resistance was expressed as an 'adaptive resistance', where the expressions of the material culture are polyvalent; the objects are invested by different, also non-Roman, meanings. The use of Roman material culture by other exponents in local societies implied not a desire for emulation but a negotiation between the Roman and the provincial cultures (Webster 2001).

This discourse on 'identity' has remained one of the key themes characterising the 'post-colonial' debate.[7] It has also benefitted from the works of Mattingly (2004; 2011), who popularised the concept of 'discrepancy' to stress the existence of different individual identities as well as different group experiences. His intent was to go beyond both the classical, ethnic divisions in Roman, Romano-British, and British, and the dichotomy elite/lower class. Researching these identities involved the individuation of behavioural patterns in the archaeological record and in the landscape analysis. He considered Roman Britain as animated by different characters: the Romans, the local Britons, and all the other cultures that arrived in Britain to fulfil military and administrative roles, as well as independent merchants and contractors. The presence of different characters would contribute to the creation of a complex landscape of identities, characterised by several degrees of cultural interactions and outcomes.

Related discussions of specific types of identities have also been initiated (i.e. gender: Baker 2003; local identities: Revell 2009), although not yet fully explored. These approaches have had certainly the merit to flag the variability of experiences present in the British province, however they failed to explore their numerous possible combinations (as also noted by Revell 2009), prompting doubts on the efficacy of such a concept for the study of archaeology (Gardner 2013).

More recent works have looked at the way in which ethnicities and identities are created in the Roman world. Gardner defined identities as 'the connection between the interactional and institutional dimensions of social life' (2002: 346). These connections operate on three levels: macro, meso, micro. 'Macro' incorporates aspects like ethnicity and State, 'meso' involves age, gender, and religion, finally the 'micro-level' is the *locus* of expression of the individual identity. All these elements contribute to the creation of various identities, and also work on a spectrum that moves between local and global factors.

This discussion of global elements in the Roman Empire followed one of the latest analysis of Roman imperialism exploiting the theoretical concept of 'Globalisation' (Hingley 2005; Hitchner 2008; Witcher 2000; focus on Roman Britain: Pitts 2008). This is, in itself, a

[7] The evolution of this theoretical debate has been documented by the proceedings publishing the yearly meetings hosted by the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (*TRAC* 1993-present).

diverse concept, whose origin is drawn from different disciplines mostly related to economics. Over time, however, it has expanded to include other topics, some also in common with instances of post-colonialism, like the discussion of hybrid identities. The main challenge posed by the very use of the term globalisation, as well as its theoretical implications in discussing the Roman world, remains that of using an essentially modern word, forged to express the creation of worldwide economic, cultural, and social connections (Giddens 1991). The introduction of this concept in the debate about Roman imperialism has had the advantage of highlighting discussions about large-scale processes of economical and information exchanges which resulted in the creation of new hybrid identities ('glocalisation': Scholte 2005). However, the profound differences between the Roman and the modern worlds (especially the possibility to immediately exchange information worldwide) have been highlighted to criticise the use of this model for the study of the Roman empire (Gardner 2013).

The general theoretical trends on the influence of the Roman presence so far summarised constitute a framework that is at the base of the discussion of several topics related to life in Roman Britain and in other provinces. Because of the aims of this work, the following section discusses the influence of some of these theories on the study of provincial religion, especially in Britain.

1.3 The development of the debate on provincial religion in the north-western provinces

From the first commercial and diplomatic contacts to the later invasions and conquests, the spread of the Roman influence in the annexed territories was characterised by the export of what has been described as a 'cultural package' (Whittaker 1997). This involved the imposition of the model of the city with its characteristic grid-structure and set of buildings. For what concerns 'religion', a whole range of different cults, either bound to military control or introduced by the individuals and groups moving to the new province, was added to those already existing in that region, consequence of the local religious development resulting in a power structure both externally imposed on and internally adopted by the local communities (Beard *et al.* 1998).

In a famous passage of the Gallic War, Caesar[8] recognised without apparent hesitation the main divinities worshipped by the Gauls as Mercury, Mars, Apollo, Jupiter, and Minerva.[9] This has been considered the result of a phenomenon labelled by historians of religion as *interpretatio romana*, adopting an expression used by Tacitus in his *Germania*.[10] When describing a divine couple worshipped by the Nahanarvali, a local Germanic tribe, Tacitus stated that this duo could have been interpreted (i.e. translated) in Roman terms as Castor and Pollux. This expression found tremendous success among modern scholars and has been generally used to point out how local divinities were 'translated' into Roman ones after the conquest (Webster 1995). The concept is a consequence of the general theory of a spontaneous emulation of the Roman culture by the provincial elites and, consequently passively accepted by the other strata of the local population.[11] On the one hand, the result was a 'syncretism' between the Roman and the local pantheons attested in both epigraphic and iconographic instances. Here the Roman deity either assumed a double name (Roman-local), a local epithet, or took a local goddess as consort (Birley 1986; Beard *et al.* 1998: 317). On the other hand, both local deities and Roman-local hybrids were worshipped following Roman rituals (e.g. vows, setting of inscriptions) and were depicted following Greco-Roman iconographic standards, although often reproduced by the 'less-skilled' local artisans (Toynbee 1964; Bianchi Bandinelli 1969). In a 'harmonious coexistence' between local religious beliefs and official Greco-Roman religions, the local deities were assimilated in an enhanced Greco-Roman pantheon thanks to their perceived common characteristics (Van Andringa 2011).

The theory of the *interpretation romana* has been particularly successful from the 1950s until recent years (Britain: Green 1983; Henig 1984; Gaul: Hatt 1989; Germaniae: Spickermann 2003: 135;[12] Van Andringa 2011). At its heart is the idea of a homogeneous response to 'Romanisation' depending on the homogeneity of the starting factors: the Roman element (considered as a coherent set of behaviours and beliefs) and a similarly homogeneous local element shared by all the communities of the north-western provinces. The result is a hierarchical and polarised construction of the religious scenario where local religions and Greco-Roman religions (the latter including also the cult of the emperor and the imperial family) are the main actors, while the roles of other cults (e.g. gods from other provinces; oriental cults;[13] Mithraism and Mystery Cults), also present in those same provincial territories, are often downplayed.

[8] Caes. *Gal.* VI, 17.
[9] Differently, Lucan (I, 446-7) reports the names of the Gallic gods Esus, Taranis, and Teutates.
[10] Tac. *Ger.* 43, 4.
[11] 1.2.
[12] '*ein Nebeneinander einheimischer religiöser Traditionen und der Religion der römischen Eroberer*' (A juxtaposition of local religious traditions and the religion of the Roman conquerors).
[13] The label 'oriental cult' is used in this work as a shorthand term, while aware that its use has proven misleading, conveying an idea of exotic beliefs and rituals, while in fact most of these cults were 'structured' in the Roman calendar and benefitted from official recognition (see on this topic, Van Haeperen 2006).

The main bias of this theory is the presumed existence of two homogenous starting elements: the local 'Celtic' population and the Roman conquerors. The employment of the word 'Celtic' itself is problematic as it suggests the existence of a uniform identity whose manifestations appear across a vast geographical area (Green 1995; Cunliffe 1997). However, the term 'Celt' is heavily biased by modern political views (Collis 2003) and is employed to describe different peoples who might have not perceived themselves as 'Celts' (Simon 1999). Rather than 'ethnic' tribes, sharing a set of cultural and religious traditions (Cunliffe 2005), it has been argued that these communities would merge when an occasional danger occurred, uniting around a charismatic figure (a leader or king) and represented therefore rather fluid groups (Millett 1990; James 1999; Mattingly 2006: 48). These instances have, of course, questioned the possible identification of a uniform 'Celtic religion', too. If some scholars have been confident in tracing 'Celtic' beliefs and practices already in the Bronze and Iron Ages that then survived in the 'Romano-British/Gallo-Roman' phases (Ross 1967; Green 1968; Brunaux 1988; Cunliffe 1997: 183-210), others offer a more sceptical reconstruction.

Collis has advocated that the silence of the Classical sources on most of the local religious practices in Gaul and Britain would suggest their similarities with Greco-Roman religious traditions (2003: 214-6). The only rituals that require descriptions would be the ones that appear to differ completely from the familiar ones (i.e. instances of human sacrifice).[14] The persistence in reporting and highlighting these 'odd' and extreme (in the Roman eye) rituals is better considered as a rhetorical device employed by the ancient writers to fulfil a propagandistic agenda with the aim to create a barbaric image of the 'other' (Webster 1996; Woolf 2011; Häussler 2014).

In contrast with a uniform 'pan-Celtic' narrative, other scholars have stressed the existence of networks between communities of Britain and Gaul in the Late Iron Age, the latter having already experienced contacts first and then conquest by the Romans (Webley 2015). The existence of networks across the Channel resulted in a reciprocal influence in the production and exchange of certain goods, although with some differences in the adoption of cultural devices (e.g. literacy) (Champion 2016). For what concerns the study of religious practices, Brunaux (1988) and Roymans (1988) approach the analysis of the local cults of Northern Gaul from a social rather than mythological perspective. Roymans emphasises the role of cults and cult places as structural elements of the Late Iron Age society, where tribes or communities from small *pagi*-like centres, gathered at cult *foci* as a way to define and strengthen their group identities (*ibid.*). As such, they would react in different ways to the Roman influence according to their regional background (Hingley 1997).

This diversity of the pre-conquest provincial scene suggests different responses to the introduction of the Roman element, where 'resistance, adaptation, and acceptance…may occur simultaneously' (Webster 1997: 167). The idea of the *interpretatio romana* as 'Roman translation' of characteristics and attributes of local deities proves to be one-dimensional as it fails to consider the point of view of the local populations (*ibid.*; Hingley 2011: 752; Häussler 2012). Derks successfully continues Roymans' tradition of the study of religion in Roman period northern Gaul by introducing the term 'cult community' to identify 'a group of people who support the cult of a certain god […] and share the use of a cult place for their personal or collective rituals' (Derks 1998: 81). These cult communities could be different in size, thus recognising small local groups and regional ones, whose cults would be linked to a *pagus* or a *civitas*. Once moved to a more regional scale, the cult came into the public domain as the territory where the temple was built and the cost for the rituals and the associated religious personnel was carried 'by the *res publica*' (*ibid.*). This encounter of local/regional needs and the re-structured state in Roman form was identified as the main arena where the real 'Romanisation' took place.

Scheid (1999) indeed underlines the role of municipalisation as the deepest transformation introduced by the Roman conquest. In Scheid's reconstruction, the local senate and the first magistrates had the duty to indicate which deities will be considered official from that point onwards, providing a legal status for both those deities and the rituals involved.

The necessity to overcome the idea of a peaceful coexistence between the two streams of provincial religiosity in favour of a new religious combination has been more recently affirmed by Van Andringa through a proposal for re-analysis of the 'Pillar of the Boatmen' and other epigraphic evidence from Gaul (2011). The local gods are no longer considered as exclusively 'Gallic' but, receiving Roman forms of cult, they are absorbed in the civic structure of the community (*ibid.*). A similar approach based on the model of '*civitas*-religion' was also applied to the study of religion in Germania Superior and Inferior (Spickermann 2003; 2008)[15].

[14] *Caes. De Gal.* VI, 16: human sacrifices and 'wicker man'; Plin. *Nat.* XXX, 3: human sacrifice and cannibalism; Tac. *Ann.* XIV, 30: human sacrifice.

[15] On this topic, see chapter 6.2: The organisation of religion in *provinciae* and *coloniae.*

The idea of a 'Roman element' as the other factor in this 'Celtic/Roman' dichotomy is also problematic. Current approaches to Roman religion in the north-western provinces have underlined its peculiarity compared to 'the' Roman religion performed in the capital (Woolf 2009). On the one hand, different ritual dynamics and a different audience resulted in simpler performances (that did not involve for example the use of sacred books) and an emphasis on sacrifice and offerings. Moreover, the complexity of cults and cult places present in Rome, connected to its mythical past and geography, found limited place in the performance of religions in the provinces (*ibid.*). On the other hand, the performers of this Roman 'provincial' religion, carrier of their own identities, in terms of social position, ethnicity, gender (Webster 2001; Mattingly 2004), modified the 'Roman-style' rituals.

Overall, the impact of the Roman presence on religion in the provincial territories was characterised by both instances of change and continuity (De Blois *et al.* 2006). Changes were recognisable in the building of temple structures and the emergence of dedication in stone for both local and Greco-Roman deities (Millett 1995; Frere 1999: 321-2). Consequently, there is considerable room to argue that the flourishing of temples does not only constitute a change in architecture, but also a modification in ritual performance at these sites (Smith 2001).

For what concerns Britain, Millett (1995) identifies two promoters of religious changes that affected the province: the native elite aspiring to be Roman and the Roman army appropriating native gods, underlining a general trend of continuity but also innovation in native traditions. These two streams are not however two parallel streams, but more two 'overlapping trajectories' (*ibid.*). For the native elite, the construction of Romano-Celtic style temples became the symbol of the adaptation of a continental way of worshipping.

The army, on the other hand, introduced a 'truly' Roman form of worship by the use, for example, of dedicatory inscriptions on altars, where the presence of local deities is often attested. The reasons behind the employment of this religious behaviour by the Roman army are still questioned, but the answers may include the 'perception' of an unfriendly and unfamiliar environment, which made necessary to secure the goodwill of the local gods and an attempt to control an area through their *evocatio* (Zoll 1995), as well as the absorption into the religious dimension of military society. A further aspect of this dedicatory habit has been highlighted by Haynes (1997, drawing on Stoll 1992): the selection of different gods by the military personnel seems to partly reflect a military structure formed by different corporate groups within the army which would focus on different deities, a methodology successfully applied by Roymans to the analysis of the Batavian deities linked to soldiers of Batavian origin (Roymans 2004).

A shift in attention from the elite and the military as main actors in the process of Roman acculturation through the model of 'creolization' (Webster 2001) has resulted in the discard of the concept of emulation in the practices of local religion. These were adapted rather than adopted and thus involved a dynamic 'negotiation' rather than a static emulation (*ibid.*). This adaptation was attested in several expressions of material culture (e.g. inscribed altars, curse tablets, votive deposits in water), which together with the presence of temples and shrines in certain areas highlighted the existence of different cult identities (Mattingly 2004; Revell 2007; 2009). Continuity in ritual practices was suggested by the persistence of depositional habit, through different types of deposits dating to the post-conquest period, often well into the Late-Roman era (Poulton and Scott 1991; Millett 1995; Galestin 2001; Hobbs 2006; Lundock 2015; Crease 2015), with however a few changes regarding the contexts depending on the introduction of new factors, unrelated to the original ritual significance. For example, it has been usually assumed that the Roman period marked an interruption in the deposition of weapons in wet contexts, a practice well attested in the Bronze and Iron Age, while this behaviour continues for other types of votives (coins, images of deities, jewellery). This was explained claiming a ban on carrying weapons for civilians and their replacement cost for soldiers (Haynes 1997: 118). If the general practice of deposition was not abandoned, however the people practicing it over the span of almost four centuries of Roman presence were certainly changed, expressing different identities than their ancestors. Although some ritual markers were found across different sites in different provinces (e.g. dedications, processions), some other were more localised (e.g. *defixiones* at major religious sites). These differences resulted in the creation of a religious practice that, although not expressed in all the territories according to the same parameters, would have been understood on a more global level (Revell 2009).

1.4 Priesthoods in the western provinces

The general reorganisation of political structures implemented by in the conquered territories also affected the organisation of local priesthoods. The Roman tendency to restrict the power of local priesthoods was mostly due to their original organisation, in which they were not perceived as civic officials and could thus pose as an 'alternative system of power' (Beard *et al.* 1998: 340). This was evident especially in the eastern provinces, where priesthoods

could rely on significant wealth and territorial and political influence associated with major temples (*ibid.*).

For need of better control, local priesthoods were assimilated into a Roman organisational pattern, observable in the adoption of the Latin titles of *flamen* and *sacerdos* (*ibid.*) and the introduction, in the imperial period, of a Roman-style priesthood (i.e. modelled on the traditional Roman priesthood of the *flamen Dialis*) in charge of the cult of *Roma* and the deceased, and later living, emperors (Fishwick 2002). A recent volume edited by Richardson and Santangelo collected contributions discussing the relationship between priesthoods and state in Rome and the Roman provinces (Richardson and Santangelo 2011). Highlighting the relationship between these two institutions allowed the authors to shift the discussion from aspects of ancient theology to more practical (and achievable) issues, discussing the presence of priestly institutions, their organisation, and the actual functions the priests were expected to carry out.

1.4.1 The transition from pre-conquest to Roman organisation of priesthoods in the North-West

As mentioned,[16] one of the main shifts in the study of provincial religion marked the role of communities in the construction of a shared religious identity (Derks 1998). These communities would have had their own religious organisations with related traditions, calendars, and rituals. Following the Roman conquest, these institutions would have often been incorporated in a re-organisation of the local *sacra*, involving the local elite and other influential strata of the population (De Blois *et al.* 2006; Rüpke 2007)

From a political point of view, access to priesthoods was an invaluable tool for members of the elites in Rome and in the provinces to acquire social prestige and boost their political careers on a local and then provincial level, leading to an internal competition for those appointments. These aspects are evident in the laws regulating the access to priesthoods and their organisation in Rome and in the provinces (e.g. *Lex Domitia;*[17] *Lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis;*[18] *Lex Genetiva Ursonensis*)[19], and have been highlighted for the city of Rome in the edition of its *Fasti* (Rüpke 2008). How important these institutions were, is probably best shown by the measures taken by Augustus, once he became *princeps*, to control them, with a focus on the regulation of *auspices* (North 2011).

The pre-conquest north-western territories did not display a uniform system of priestly organisation, as it existed in the East (Beard *et al.* 1998). The reaction to the implementation of the Roman reorganisation of priesthoods was there twofold, characterised by continuity and resistance.

Elements of continuity are identifiable in the survival of local organisation of cults as seen in the Coligny Calendar, written in Gaulish well into the late 2nd century AD (Olmstead 1992). Similarly, the use of the title *gutuater*, a Gaulish style priesthood, offers an example of municipal co-optation of religious power, previously controlled by the Druids (Scheid 1999; Van Andringa 2002). Druids are the only Iron Age priesthood known in Gaul and Britain via literary sources, but have unfortunately found so far an ephemeral, at best, and disputed correspondence in the archaeological material.[20] Nonetheless, a rich literature on the topic is available, employing varying academic standards.[21]

The fact that the Druids are the only Iron Age priests mentioned in the ancient sources led some scholars to interpret most of the ritual practices emerged in the archaeological record datable to pre- and conquest periods as Druidic activities (Ross and Robins 1989; Cunliffe 1997; Aldhouse-Green 2010). Extensive works by Anne Ross and Miranda Aldhouse-Green, in particular, have looked for potential information on the Druids in ancient sources and medieval Irish literature and collected a diverse archaeological evidence. Starting from the functions mentioned in the literary classical sources, they created a chronology-free (timeless) image of Druids and Druidesses as priests, healers, magicians, philosophers, scientists, witch-doctors, and prophets and comparing these figures to other religious specialists attested among a diverse range of ancient and historical populations. Their recollections employed sometimes the use of a politically-charged language, where the Druids are considered the focus of British nationalism (Aldhouse-Green 2010).

The elusiveness of the archaeological evidence for Druids has long been lamented (Marco Simón 2014) and some of the objects discussed in this work have been considered as possibly pertinent to Druids (Allason-Jones 2011b): however, any indisputable connection (i.e. an inscription) is still missing. The most plausible evidence so far was discovered in a Roman-period house in Gaul in 2004, where the find of an incense burner with a lacunose inscription reading '*dru*', has been interpreted as the possible reference to a Druidic office held by the owner (Joly 2013). This find, together with the aforementioned existence of the Gallic calendar, whose arrangement respected some of the theological elements of Druidic religion known from the classical

[16] 1.3.
[17] North 2011.
[18] CIL XII, 6038.
[19] CIL II, 5439.
[20] 1.5.1.
[21] An up to date collection of the vast scholarly production on Druids has been recently collected by Marco Simón (2014, note 1).

sources, pointed towards a survival of the Druidic element of local religion restructured in the Roman period (*ibid.*), while the social prestige associated with claiming a Druidic ancestry is still attested in late antiquity.[22]

The second aspect of the reaction to the implementation of the Roman reorganisation of priesthoods is the 'resistance'. This element developed following the Augustan ban for Roman citizens from becoming a Druid or partaking in Druidic practices, later strengthened by Tiberius and then Claudius (Marco Simón 2014: 329-30). This measure had been often applied by the Romans to practices considered subversive, like becoming a priest of Bacchus (*s.c. de Bacchanalibus* BC 186, Beard *et al.* 1998: 93-6) or a priest of Cybele (Pinto and Pinto 2013). The enforcement of these bans was most likely the main reason behind the decline of Druidic practices as well as of the social and political prestige of this priesthood, at the same time creating a career void for members of the local communities seeking social and political recognition.

This shift in importance of political and religious authority opened the way to the introduction of new religious roles meant for the local elites as elected magistrates entrusted with the organisation of ritual activities and associated spaces and buildings, (Marco Simón 2014: *loc. cit.*). The immediate results of this reorganisation were evident in the transfer of ritual activities from the *locus consecratum in finibus Carnutum*, known to Caesar as the place where all Druids would convene to discuss juridical and legal matters, to the Altar of the Tres Galliae, the meeting place of the Gallo-Roman assembly, as well as the ritual centre of the imperial cult in these provinces (Fishwick 1987).

The aftermath of the imperial decrees was one of loss of power for the Druids in both religious and political matters. From a ritual point of view, Latin authors increasingly refer to Druids in negative terms (Hofeneder 2008; Häussler 2014) depicting them as figures whose role is downgraded to secluded figures living in woods[23] and devoted to magic practices,[24] actvities that had a negative connotation in the Roman imperial period (Beard *et al.* 1998: 231-4). This apparent exile (Pailler 2008) is however challenged by the instances of Druids taking part in, and even instigating, active resistance. Examples are the revolt of Sacrovir in AD 21,[25] an individual probably connected to a sacral office because of his name (Marco Simón 2014), as well as the one promoted by Maricus,[26] whom Zecchini (1999), followed by Aldhouse-Green (2010), identified with a *gutuater*. In Britain, a famous episode recorded by Tacitus involved the provincial governor Suetonius Paulinus, who engaged the Druidic stronghold at Anglesey in AD 60 in an attempt to suppress the Druidic order.[27] These protests have been interpreted as having an 'end of the world' connotation (Webster 1999; Aldhouse-Green 2010), a character also found in the Druidic prophecy of the end of the Empire, following the Capitoline fire.[28]

If the continental study of Roman priesthoods in the provinces has focused on their duties and functions (Scheid 1999; Rüpke 2008), these historiographic analyses have not found adequate parallels for Britain and the absence of a chapter on Britain when discussing the provincial priesthood of the imperial cult in the West is a telling example (Fishwick 2002). Only a brief attempt to collect some of the evidence linked to priests was offered by Allason-Jones (2011b), while most relevant, and in fact widely used by the former, is the concise discussion of priesthoods in Roman Britain by Martin Henig in his handbook on religion in Roman Britain (1984). The reason behind this gap in the academic accounts is likely the aready noted limited number of literary sources and inscriptions mentioning priestly titles and the associated activities. For this reason, the combination of these sources with the analysis of the archaeological evidence for priestly presence, as well as the interpration of the depositional practices associated with it from a contextual and geographical perspective will significantly improve our understanding of both elements.

1.5 The sources for the study of priesthoods and priestly practices in Britain: an overview

Past studies attempting to explore priestly figures and their activities in Roman period Britain have often lamented the scarce number of primary sources available and their intrinsic biases, an aspect that certainly caused the minimal fortune of this type of reaserch.

The limited numbers of literary sources and their accuracy are a phenomen that affects most of the territories on the north-western boundaries of the Roman Empire. Moreover, when present, these sources address themes that were distant from their authors culturally, geographically (e.g. Greek and Latin authors) and often chronologically (e.g in the cases of early Christian writers).

The Greek and Latin authors referencing ritual performers and their activities were not members of the communities they wrote about and, were often

[22] Aus. *Prof.* 5, 7-10
[23] Mela, III, 19.
[24] Plin. *Nat.* XI, 249.
[25] Tac. *Ann.* III, 43.
[26] Tac. *Hist*. II, 61.
[27] Tac. *Ann.* XIV, 30-1.
[28] Tac. *Hist.* IV, 54.

culturally biased in their descriptions, which usually lacked first-hand investigations. The early Christian authors, despite often living in the regions they describe, were however chronologically far and distant for beliefs.

Nonetheless, it will be useful to offer an overview of these literary sources. They are mostly related to Druidism, likely because of its perceived peculiarities compared to the Roman practices, useful to promotoe a specific political agenda.[29]

The scarcity affecting the number of literary sources for priesthoods in Britain similarly applies to epigraphy, normally a staple in similar studies in the north-western provinces (Van Andringa 2002; Spickermann 2003; 2008). Nonetheless, British inscriptions recording priestly titles or religious activities will be considered as scholars have used inscriptions and their material support in general to identify different ritual behaviours and their distribution in the province.[30]

The last part of this section offers an introduction to the archaeological evidence discussed in later chapters via a selection of discoveries of ritual objects and assemblages and a discussion of past methodologies used to approach this corpus of material.

1.5.1 Assessing the value of the literary sources for the study of pre-Roman priesthoods and ritual practices in the north-western territories

The literary sources describing pre-Roman priesthoods in the north-western provinces are quite limited in number and are mostly concerned with Druids and their practices.31 The most complete accounts are found in Caesar, Suetonius, and Pliny the Elder; while other authors also mention this priesthood, however briefly.32 The reasons behind the writing of these accounts differ, however, some scholars have traced them to two main purposes (Webster 1999; Hutton 2009). Historians like Diogenes Laertius, who wrote in the 3rd century AD but referred to much earlier sources (like Sotion and Antisthenes Rhodius),33 were driven by the intention to write a historical account, different from the more politically-driven expositions like the ones written by Caesar, Lucan, or Tacitus, which ended up having a limited historical value.

A more in-depth analysis of the historical sources for Druidism has highlighted three historiographical currents (Zecchini 1984; Marco Simón 2014) positioned on a spectrum spanning from a '*filoxenia idealizadora*' and a '*clara xenofobia*' (Marco Simón 2014: 324). On one end of the spectrum are the 3rd/2nd centuries BC authors Sotion and Antisthenes, who considered Druids, together with other wisemen-like figures, on the same level as Greek philosophers. This tradition is also found later in the Republican (Alexander Polyhistor) and imperial periods (Clement of Alexandria and Iamblichus). A second, 'neutral' tradition is attested by the work of Posidonius of Apamea, who allegedly travelled to Gaul around BC 100, and whose research interests were more purely descriptive (*ibid.*). The third is represented by the work of Timagenes of Alexandria, later followed by Ammianus Marcellinus, who records a trip of Pythagoras to Marseille, where he would have preached his doctrines influencing Druidic beliefs. It is not the aim of this section to discuss all the instances for Druids and their practices in the ancient sources (recent analyses of this 'raw material' have been presented by Webster (1999), Hutton (2009: 1-48), and Marco Simón (2014, with previous bibliography). Nevertheless, it is interesting to note here, even in passing, which ritual practices the ancient authors and their earlier sources considered to be typical of the north-western territories before, and sometimes after, the Roman conquest.

Caesar is considered the primary source for Druidism in Gaul and Britain (Hutton 2009; Aldhouse-Green 2010), and his account is inspired by that of Posidonius. However, the main difference between the two accounts lies in the fact that while Caesar talks of 'Druids' as being those who 'engage in things sacred, conduct the public and the private sacrifices, and interpr*et all* matters of religion',[34] Posidonius presents three categories of religious professionals: Druids, bards, and *vates*.[35]

This difference has been explained by considering that the situation described by Posidonius at the end of the 2nd century BC had changed by the time of the Caesarean account of his Gallic campaigns, where the Druids mentioned would be a relic of the past (Brunaux 2006). Contrary to this interpretation, it has been argued that the information reported by Caesar painted an accurate picture for his time as he could rely on direct sources, probably Divitiacus or someone from his entourage (Pailler 2008; Marco Simón 2014).

This would imply that Caesar used 'Druids' as an umbrella term to indicate different performers invested with ritual responsibilities as well as interpreters of the divine will. They were also in charge of public and private sacrifices and had the power to forbid wrongdoers from sacrificing,[36] a ban often found also on curse tablets in the Greek world (Versnel 1985). Their prominence and

[29] Also in 1.4.1.
[30] 6.4 and 6.5.
[31] For a complete list of Latin and Greek sources on the topic, see Kendrick 1927; Koch 1997; Hofeneder 2005; 2008; 2011.
[32] Appendix 1.
[33] D.L. I, 1.
[34] Caes. *De Gal.* VI, 13.4.
[35] Diod. V, 31, 2-3. Strab. IV, 4, 4-5.
[36] Caes. *Gal.* VI, 13.

prestige within their communities meant that they were consulted in all private and political issues.[37]

Caesar states that they were organised in a *collegium*-type structure, of which one Druid was in charge for life after being voted or having seized the role by force. They were also excluded from military service and the payment of taxes. These characteristics are also shared by the Roman municipal priesthoods, prompting the idea that Caesar consciously depicted them as having customs similar to the Roman ones and thus worthy of conquest/assimilation (Dunham 2003; Maier 2003). Britain is given a central role in the Druidic organisation as both birthplace of the Druidic discipline and study-destination for would-be future Druids.[38] Their annual meeting was held at 'the borders of the Carnutes' (modern Chartres), identified as the geographical centre of Gaul.

The change in tone is evident when moving on to the description of Druidic ritual practices. These are contemptuously reported by Lucan as *barbarici ritus* and *mos sinister sacrorum.*[39] Tacitus uses a similar tone in his horrific description of the women who participated in the defence of the Isle of Mona, the later obliteration of the Druidic sacred places, and the destruction of the altars that Druids are used to cover with the blood of their prisoners (*cruore captivo*) and interrogate the gods by inspecting human entrails (*hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant*).[40] In fact, human sacrifice is probably the ritual practice most famously associated with Druids. In general, sacrifices would involve offerings of food, objects, and the killing of animals, however humans were also sometimes killed, especially, but not exclusively, prisoners of war. Ultimately, the performance of human sacrifices could involve the building of an extraordinary man-like hollow structure made of osiers, filled with men and finally set on fire.[41]

This colourful account is attested only by Caesar and appears to be in contradiction with what is reported in these same years by Cicero, when narrating the arrival of Divitiacus in Rome.[42] Divitiacus arrived in Rome as an ambassador of the Aedui and was a guest in Cicero's home. The Roman orator describes him as a Druid whie, interestingly enough, in his account Caesar mentions his role as chief-magistrate of the Aedui and not as a Druid.[43] There is clearly a political reason behind Caesar's omission of Divitiacus' role as he was an important Roman-ally and he could not therefore appear as a Druid, figures otherwise so negatively portrayed in Caesar's own account (Hutton 2009: 5).

Modern scholars commenting on the ancient sources about Druidic ritual performancehave positioned themselves varyingly when confronted with the practice of human sacrifice. On one side of the spectrum, Ross (1967), Cunliffe (1997), and Aldhouse-Green (2001; 2010) consider human sacrifices central to the activities of the Druids that they interpret as tribal priests.[44] Brunaux accepts the existence of these sacrificial practices among the Gauls, but contends that the Druids, although present, would have not actively performed them (Brunaux 1988). Finally, Davidson considers the mention of human killing an exaggeration made by the classical authors (Davidson 1993).

The sources available to us only allow for cautious interpretation of the Druidic performances and it is unmistakable that the tone in the mentions of human sacrifices is strongly weighted for political reasons. Mainly, this is to convey a sense of Roman cultural superiority vis-à-vis the cultural and religious practices of other populations (Rives 1995; Webster 1996; Hutton 2009: 17-8). Actually, reports on practice of 'human sacrifice' could be an interpretation of (consciously or unconsciously) misunderstood burial rituals practiced in Britain and elsewhere in the north-western provinces as late as the pre-Roman Iron Age (Davidson 1993; Harding 2016). Placement of parts of the body of the deceased to be buried or displayed in meaningful spots in the natural landscape, following rituals of de-fleshing and/or disarticulation, could have been interpreted as the consequences of human sacrifices to an unfamiliar audience (*ibid.*). Rather than pinpointing a single motivation, the stress on this practice in the sources is a combination of different factors like the existance of what were perceived as unusual rituals and the politically driven need to construct an image of the'barbaric' other.

In the decades prior to the conquest of Britain, two bans were introduced to contain Druids political influence and directly attacking their social prestige. First, Augustus forbids Roman citizens from taking up the office of Druids and even partecipating in Druidic ceremonies.[45] This measure is clearly meant to create an identity crisis stressing the dicothomy of being a Druid/associated with Druidic activities versus being a Roman citizen and the social advantages related to this status.

This line of policy continues under Tiberius with a decree targeting Druidic practices together with those of diviners and physicians, the latters invested of a

[37] *ibid.*
[38] *ibid.*
[39] Luc. 1, 450-1.
[40] Tac. *Ann.* XIV, 30.
[41] Caes. *Gal.* VI, 16.
[42] Cic. *Div.* I, 90.
[43] Caes. *Gal.* I, 16.
[44] 1.4.1.
[45] Suet. *Cl.* XXV, 5.

negative connotation in the Roman public discourse. This ban brings forward the policy of discrimination against Druids from a status that is opposite to that of a Roman citizen to one that is associated with the most negative actions as ritual practices go. This policy naturally culminates under Claudius with the abolishment of Druidic offices and practices.[46]

The development of a limitating and finally outright banning policy on Druids and their practices is not only the result of a long-term careful plan of removing potential political enemies that the Romans knew capable of rallying popular consensus, but it is also the product of a conscious political choice of shifting power from local/regional priesthoods to the emperor as the sole legal propagator of *religio*.[47] The natural consequence of this policy is the need to re-structure the *sacra* in the affected province(s), achieved through the introduction and promotion of priestly civic institutions as well as a re-organisation of the local cult activities.

After the outright ban on Druids and their activities, however, later historical accounts still mention Druids, where they are described as experts in magic, healing and oracular practices.[48] These are associated with traditions that the Roman narrator presents to us as 'minor' and in a negative light. However, their true relevance and distribution have proven to be quite the opposite and far more intertwined with what we consider 'official' religion (Gordon and Marco Simón 2010; Piranomonte and Marco Simón 2013). At the start of late antiquity, Druids are relegated to be an entity of the past, whose negative/violent character is forgotten in favour of a connection to a quasi-mythical, illustrious ancestry.[49] Later, Druids and mentions of their activities are found in Irish hagiographic literature and in other instances of Medieval Irish literature until the late 6th century,[50] while legal texts reference the existence of Druidic beliefs until the 8th century AD (Ross 1995). In the latter texts, Druids are characterised by prestige derived from their magic knowledge and abilities, and although somewhat revered, they are considered sorcerers-like figures (*ibid.*). According to Ross, Druidic activities recorded at such late date proves the survival in this late period of an 'alternative belief-system' despite the centuries of Roman influence (*ibid.:* 424), a position also shared by Green (*varia*). However, a critical assessment of these late sources is currenlty missing, and we are left to consider whether these references to practices in religious and legal texts reference a contemporary reality or are rather collections of past references, based on earlier Latin legal literature, not too differently from Diogenes Laertius' (3rd century AD) use of Sotion and Antistenes (3rd/2nd century BC) accounts.

Apart from the references to Druids, very little is known about other ritual practices performed in Britain from the literary sources. Anecdotal accounts include the notice by Cassius Dio when reporting on the events of the Boudican revolt that during the address to her people, the queen of the Iceni took a divine omen by letting go of a hare she kept in her dress.[51] Later, after the first victories, a number of atrocities against women are reported (including mutilation, corpse manipulation, and impaling), all practices performed together with sacrifices carried out in different sacred places.[52] On the opposite side of this narrative of conquest, in the biography of his father-in-law Agricola, who held the office of governor of Britain in AD 77/8, and again from AD 83 to 84, Tacitus mentions that Agricola promoted the building of temples,[53] which soon became the target of violent protests and following distructions.

With regard to the priestly figures, again Tacitus provides a reference to the institution of a civic priesthood in Britain, mentioning '*sacerdotes delecti*',[54] the religious personnel associated wth the temple of Colchester, house of the emperor's cult and dedicated to Claudius (Fishwick 1987). The only other mention of a Roman style priestly title is in the Historia Augusta, where a *haruspex rusticus* led Septimius Severus to visit the temple of Bellona in York.[55]

If Cassius Dio's account of the atrocities associated with the Boudican revolt seems to perpetuate the stereotype of the 'savage practices' already noted when discussing the references to Druidic practices, the brief mentions provided by Tacitus hint to a reality of temple-building actvities and related priestly officers. Finally, the passage in the Historia Augusta, too casually informs us of the existance of *haruspices* likely associated with rural shrines, as we will see, a staple in the ritual landscape of Britain in the Roman period.[56]

Overall, the literary accounts we have discussed so far offer an extremely limited evidence for understanding what priesthoods were present in the province, with the sole exception of the imperial cult, although rather limitedly, and what their roles might imply from a performative point of view. As we have mentioned, there is probably a complicit silence on the spread of

[46] Plin. *Nat.* XXX, 3; Suet. *Cl.*, *loc. cit.*
[47] See Herz 2007 for the role of the emperor as *soter* and *euergetas* inspired by Hellenistic predecessors.
[48] SHA *Alex. Sev.* LX, 6-8; *Numer.* XIV, 1-3; *Aurel.* XLIV, 4-5.
[49] Aus. *Prof.* 5, 7-10; 10, 22-30.
[50] e.g. *Cormac's Adventures in the Land of Promise*, *The Adventures of Connla the Fair.* But also, religious literature like *Penitentials* and *loricae*.
[51] Cass. Dio LXII, 6, 1-2.
[52] Cass. Dio LXII, 7, 2-3.
[53] Tac. *Ag.* 21, 1
[54] Tac. *Ann.* XIV, 31.
[55] SHA *Sev.* XXII, 6-7. For a discussion of *haruspices* in Britain see 6.4.2.
[56] 7.3

rituals that were in line with the Greco-Roman style performative behaviours,[57] and we should not assume from this silence of the written sources that priesthoods had a marginal role in the panorama of the province, or similarly in other provinces which share this same lack of written accounts.[58] Moreover, the report on Boudicca taking omens offers an invaluble insight in the performative knowledge of rituals associates with members of the regional elites. In the end, these reports offer unbalanced hints at the complexity of a varied landscape of ritual perforers and practices however encouraging us in the analysis of other types of sources to tackle the topics at the heart of this research.

1.5.2 An overview of the epigraphic sources for religious activities and priestly roles in Britain

If literary sources are dominated by various mentions of Druids and their ritual practices, no reference to them has so far been found on inscriptions from Britain or any other province.59 This is likely due to the fact that most British inscriptions date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, a period when Druidism was definitely out of the socio-political spotlight if not almost extinct.60 At the same time, most of the ritual practices recorded on inscriptions have no mention in our literary sources. The fact that Roman authors rarely mention widespread ritual practices like animal sacrifices and vows, well fits in the theory that only the unusual and 'barbarian' behaviours are reported as a means to construct an identity of the 'other'.

On a general level, inscriptions referencing religious performances are usually referred to as 'sacred dedications' (Bodel 2009). Based on the 'principle of reciprocity' between the dedicator and the god (*do ut des*), they express a religious as well as a legal commitment to the ritual exchange (*ibid.*: 20). The inscriptions from Britain record different acts, mainly the fulfilling of vows made to a deity, but also thanksgivings or commands received from the gods through visions or dreams.[61] They provide a fundamental insight into the display of both private and public religion, particularly linked to the military presence as most of these inscriptions are found on votive altars from military areas or dedicated by military personnel. The setting of this type of altars and the associated votive rituals do not explicitly require the presence of a professional priest and in fact placing the altar in a sanctuary is not mandatory and many are found in areas not apparently connected to religious structures (Bodel 2009: 23-34). In these cases, the altar performs a dual function: it is the *object* dedicated to the deity, but also the *place* where the ritual takes place. Nonetheless, the setting of these altars required at least three binding elements. One is the choice of a place (consecrated by men through a ritual –*consecratio*- or by the deity itself, perhaps with an extraordinary act);[62] the appropriate time (according to an official calendar for festivities or following the prescriptions for a particular deity), and the correct ritual, involving libations, music, and, eventually, animal sacrifice (Rüpke 2009: 33).

After the publication of the first volume of the Roman Inscriptions of Britain in 1965 by Collingwood and Wright, Biró offered the first analysis of the British epigraphic evidence, discussing the characteristics of the inscriptions and their contents while also providing several thematic maps (1975). When commenting on the votive altars, he suggested that only certain social categories would have felt the need to erect them, mostly soldiers, while the remaining larger part of the population would have maintained the worship of the local divinities following the 'traditional cult' (*ibid.*: 42). The altars dedicated to local deities are more numerous than the dedications to Roman deities in some areas, like the Severn Estuary and in Yorkshire. Greco-Roman deities are instead found more often at *coloniae* and legionary forts (*ibid.*).

The first comprehensive study of all the epigraphic evidence related to religious performances from Britain was attempted by Hassall (1980). He included the inscribed altars, which make up for most of his data, and inscriptions on metal (feather plaques, figurines, amulets, and *defixiones*). His approach was mostly descriptive, nonetheless, his discussion highlighted some cultural behaviours. He recognised five different occasions that could prompt the setting of an altar: the fulfilment of a vow, thanksgiving, 'divine instigation', 'divine consultation', and anniversary dedications (*ibid.*). He divided this epigraphc evidence in three categories: votive gifts, charms and amulets, and curses. Hassall did not linger on the identities of the dedicants or on the vast array of deities mentioned in the inscriptions, however his conclusion hinted at the roles of the religious personnel that would have been employed at a temple site (mentioning RIB I, 155 and 1129).[63] He also postulatd the existance of 'professional scribes' as authors of the curse tablets, who would have orbited sites like Uley, Lydney, and Bath. Moreover, he identified figures secondarily involved in ritual

[57] This limited amount of information on ritual performances as found in the literary sources is not unusual, even for areas of central Italy, and is overall common also for other performative aspects of Roman life, like gladiators (Rüpke 2006).

[58] E.g. indigenous priests in Germany and millenarian figures (Webster 1999).

[59] With the possible exception of the incense burner mentioned in 1.4.1.

[60] On this aspect and the issue of the number of inscriptions surviving in Britain, see chapter 6.

[61] RIB I, 319 (*monitu*), 760 (*ex viso*), 1022 and 1024 (*ex iussu*), 2091 (*ex imperio*); III, 3149 (*ex visu*); 3499 (*ex nuntio*).

[62] RIB I, 1426 (*fulgur divom*).

[63] Discussed in 6.3.4 and 6.3.1.

practices, like the craftsmen producing the votive objects sometimes recording themselves, as in the case of the Mars from Foss Dyke[64] and participating in a 'gift shop' environment the places of worship (*ibid.:* 88).

The evidence of inscribed altars from Hadrian's Wall is later used by Amy Zoll (1994; 1995) in order to identify 'patterns of worship'. She applied a methodology already proposed by Derks for similar inscriptions from Lower Germany (Derks 1991) although reaching different conclusions for Britain. Presenting a statistical analysis of the altars, she focused on the double-named deities, often considered by previous scholars as one of the main incarnations of the 'Romanisation' of local religion and crucial evidence used in the 'happy syncretism' model.[65] Her results showed that only 8% of all the deities mentioned in British inscriptions have a double name. Moreover, the areas with a higher presence of soldiers, and consequently often considered more 'Romanised', like the ones in the immediate proximity of the Hadrian's and Antonine Walls, had an even smaller percentage (3%) of instances of double-named deitites than the rest of the province. Her conclusions contributed to toning down the 'Romanising' action of the army in religious matters and, as Mattingly (2011) more recently highlighted the discrepancies between the religious habits of the military compared to the civilians.

Although not very significant in number, inscriptions continued to be used as the main marker for ritual activities. Millett combined the distribution patterns of votive altars and temple sites (Millett 1995) and observed that religious inscriptions are mostly found at military sites, clustering around the lines of Hadrian's and Antonine Walls, as well as at other major military settlements whereas they are scarcely represented in the areas of south/south-east England, apart from some of the main urban centres. By contrast, this area clearly presents a major concentration of 'Romano-Celtic' temple sites (*ibid.*).[66]

This difference in the spatial distribution between inscribed altars and Romano-Celtic temples has been noted in Gaul and Germany as well (Mattingly 2004). Rather than a local scarcity of stone (Millett 1995), the limited number of inscribed altars in Britain has been convincingly related to a difference in religious practices in the areas where they are attested, compared to those where Romano-Celtic temples were built (Woodward 1992; Mattingly 2004). In these areas, the use of inscribed altars might have not been considered a necessary means to express devotion. Nonetheless, dedicatory inscriptions are found on a different set of objects in east/south-east England: metal and ceramic vessels, rings, amulets, spoons, and curse tablets (Tomlin 1999; 2011),[67] disproving the idea that this area was less literate than the others or that communicating with the divine necessarily involved writing in stone.[68]

The limited number of inscriptions recording priestly roles in Britain, a means so commonly used in Rome and in the eastern provinces for this purpose, appears then to follow a more general trend related to the presence and cultural use of epigraphy within the province. Nonetheless, the few mentions of priestly roles in stone attest to the need, if only on a personal/local scale, to use this specific media for some instances of self-representation.

1.5.3 The contribution of iconography to the study of ritual performances in Britain

The use of iconographic evidence in this study will be limited to the survey of the imagery of ritual performances found in the province. It does not aim to be an exhaustive collection of all the British representations of rituals, but rather focuses on the meaning behind certain iconographic choices.

No formal representation of a priest or priestess is available in Britain; however, a few instances exist of individuals performing a ritual action, almost exclusively a libation. In general, the classic aspect of the Roman celebrant, both male and female, consists of a person wearing a toga *capite velato*, i.e. with a covered head (Edmondson 2008). This element indicates piety toward the gods and thus was adopted by both emperors (Fejfer 2008) and 'common' people performing sacrifices and libations (Stone 2001: 17, 20). This habit was peculiar to the Roman way of celebrations and was not shared by the Etruscan or the Greeks, who performed *capite aperto* (Schilling 1992). If the performance *capite velato* was the norm for the Roman officiant, however, different cults often required peculiar clothes and accessories to be used during the religious performances. Clothing becomes in this sense the indication of a specific religious identity (Sommer 2012: 261). A classic example is that of the performers of some oriental cults, such as the *galli*, whose portraits on funerary reliefs often depict tools and clothing items peculiar to their cultic affiliation (Turcan 1989).

In Britain, most of the iconographic evidence for ritaul imagery is found on metal vessels and metal figurines

[64] RIB I, 274.
[65] 1.3.
[66] Although these distribution maps were produced more than two decades ago, the overall distributional trend still applies (Eckardt, key-note address at TRAC 2017) as confirmed by the recent epigraphic discoveries in London, Tabard Square (Killock *et al.* 2015) and the two altars in Inveresk (Hunter *et al.* 2016).
[67] Curse tablets will be discussed in 6.6 to consider the 'professional knowledge' needed for their writing (Tomlin 2003).
[68] For a study of literacy through inscription in Britain, see Raybould 1999. The topic of literacy in Britain is discussed in 6.2.1.2.

reproducing individuals performing libations. To this, we will add the images reproduced on Late Iron Age coins which, as it has been suggested (Creighton 2000), imply the understanding and, likely, performance of Roman-style rituals in the years before the formal conquest.[69]

1.5.4 Discoveries of priestly regalia and ceremonial instruments in Britain and their current interpretations

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, 'priestly regalia' and ceremonial instruments are the main material evidence for priests and their related practices. These objects will be discussed at length in two chapters according to their type and style (chapter 3), and context of discovery and geographical location (chapter 4), while in this section they are introduced according to past methodological approaches used for their study. Interestingly, because of some peculiar characteristics (mostly type and style) compared to other, more commonly found, Roman objects, they have been relatively often mentioned by scholars interested in the religion of Roman Britain (Henig 1984) and in its material evidence (Toynbee 1962; Green 1976; Bird 2011). Nonetheless, a comprehensive study of this material has not been undertaken until now, while previous analyses have focused on short descriptions and only brief references to their chronology or contexts of discovery (Allason-Jones 2011b; Bird 2011).

The first finds of priestly regalia date to the late 18th century (deposit of Stony Stratford, Buckinghamshire: Lyson 1817; Walters 1921: 62-64) and 19th century (deposit of Willingham Fen, Cambridgeshire: Babington 1883). The Willingham Fen deposit sparkled later continental interest and was discussed by Rostovtzeff, who interpreted it as evidence for the existence of a Hercules-Commodus cult in Britain (1923). Later finds failed to attract similar continental interests, important finds, like the head-ornaments from Cavenham Heath, Suffolk, came to light a few years before 1924 (the exact date of the find is unknown) and published soon after (Layard 1925). A small corpus of priestly regalia was forming and the different objects, mainly headdresses and sceptres, were used as parallels for the new finds, like the sceptres from the burial at Brough-on-Humber, Yorkshire (Corder and Richmond 1938) and the publication in the same year of a sceptre-binding originally found at Farley Heath, Surrey in 1848 (Goodchild 1938).

These first accounts are characterised by a mostly descriptive approach, with a focus on style: the chain-headdresses from Cavenham Heath were considered 'Gallo-Roman' (Layard 1925), while the Brough-on-Humber sceptres were deemed the product of a 'local stylistic tradition' (Corder and Richmond 1938), similarly to the Farley Heath sceptre-binding described as produced in the 'most Celtic style' (Goodchild 1938).

Initial interpretations regarding the individuals who would have used these regalia were suggested by Layard, who identified the Cavenham Heath and Stony Stratford headdresses as used by 'pagan priests' (1925), and from Corder and Richmond, who wondered whether the individual buried at Brough-on-Humber might have been a 'priest' or a non-professional figure (Corder and Richmond 1938).

With the exclusion of the Brough-on-Humber burial, all these initial discoveries were not the result of archaeological excavations, but chance finds in farm land often made by landowners or their employees. Only at Cavenham Heath, Layard conducted an excavation around the find-spot following her purchase of the headdresses, in search for a possible temple (Layard 1925). The only finds from a coherent context of excavation for this period are three 'bronze objects' from the shrine of Nodens at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire, during the Wheelers' archaeological campaigns between the years 1928-29 (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932). The modernity of the Wheelers' methodological approach emerges through the quality of their publication of the archaeological operations at the site, as well as in the discussion of the findings. The three 'bronze objects' consist of a whole bronze sheet and two fragmentary ones (*ibid.*: 42). The main metal-work consists of a half-moon sheet decorated with deities which prompted different interpretations of the object -and the other two fragments belonging to a similar one- included it being an element of a headdress, or a portion of a bronze vessel. However, when discussing these objects in the catalogue, the metal-work is identified with certainty as an example of a plaque to be applied on a priest's headdress (*ibid.:* 90, n.137).

After the pause imposed on archaeological activities by the Second World War, an accidental find of an assemblage of headdresses was unearthed at Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk in 1956-57. This was briefly mentioned in the Journal of Roman Studies in the 'Sites Explored' section (Wright 1957: 211) and later discussed in Toynbee's handbook 'Art in Roman Britain' (1962). Toynbee ascribed the decorative style of the headdresses as the product of a 'native Celtic hand' (*ibid.:* 339). The content of the deposit was interpreted as a 'treasure' buried for safety reasons but pertinent to a hypothetical nearby temple. The discussion of the objects from Hockwold-cum-Wilton offered Toynbee the opportunity to discuss some of the previous discoveries, including those from Lydney Park and Cavenham Heath, classical in their design but native in craftsmanship (*ibid.:* 338).

[69] 3.2.2 and 5.2.2.

The first coherent collection and discussion of Britishpriestly regalia is the concise paragraph 'Priests and Regalia' in Lewis' synthesis about the Roman temples of Britain (Lewis 1966: 137-138). After lamenting the extreme scarcity of the epigraphic and iconographic evidence for priesthood in Britain, Lewis proceeded to describe the 'much more known' religious regalia (*ibid.*). He noticed that regalia were mostly found in East Anglia and also introduced a first typology for sceptres and headdresses. Four types of sceptres were identified by listing the actual exemplars, while a more descriptive typology was offered for the headdresses. These were divided in three types: a) the sheet-bronze crowns; b) the sheet-bronze circlet diadems; c) the headdresses consisting of discs connected by chains or strips. Lewis' collection and systematic discussion of priestly regalia enjoyed a brief success and it was in fact used by Painter when publishing three crowns found at Deeping-St-James, Lincolnshire between 1965 and 1968 (Painter 1971). However, later analyses rarely shared a similar methodology.

Two general catalogues on the religious material from civilian and military areas of Roman Britain were published by Green (1976; 1978). Her discussion of ritual objects included model objects, temple furniture, ritual pottery (i.e. face urns and triple vases), amulets and charms, *defixiones*, and miscellanea (e.g. votive figurines and anatomical *ex votos*), however no attempt at classification nor search for parallels was attempted.

In Henig's monograph on religion in Roman Britain, metal crowns *or* diadems were interpreted as special ornaments used by priests in the whole Roman world and not specific to the 'Celtic' area (Henig 1984: 136-141). Therefore, the British examples can be included in and related to any of the cults present in the province, rather than being associated exclusively with the local ones as it was done in the past. For example, the crown from Hockwold-cum-Wilton[70] was compared to the *apex* traditionally worn by the *flamines* as they share a similar terminal, but the presence of a flagon whose handle was decorated with an Attis head found on the site led Henig to interpret the crown as part of the apparel of a priest of Cybele and Attis (*ibid.*: 137). The exemplars from Stony Stratford[71] were instead allegedly used by priests of Mars, as hinted at by the discovery at the site of a Mars figurine and related *ex votos* (*ibid.*). Among the regalia, Henig also included a divination device part of a metal assemblage found at Felmingham Hall, Norfolk, and several sceptre-heads, which he grouped by iconography in human heads/busts or animals. The existence of sceptre-heads decorated with heads of gods or emperors were however explained according to the Iron Age cultural habit of displaying human heads extending in the Roman period (*ibid.*).

Excavations at the two temple sites of Wanborough and Farley Heath, Surrey added a substantial amount of material to the corpus of regalia. Five chain-headdresses and several sceptres were discovered at Wanborough (Bird 1994; 1996b; 2007c), paralleled in design by the exemplars from Farley Heath (Bird 1996a; Bird 2007b) prompting Bird to recognise a design specific to the Atrebatic region (Bird 1994: 93-4).

Stead's publication of the grave goods of a 'warrior' from Mill Hill, Kent, who was buried wearing a copper-alloy crown, gave him the chance to comment on the other headdresses emerged up to that date in Britain and dating to the Iron Age and the Roman period (Stead 1995). Stead's typology was later employed in a more recent discussion of the Farley Heath headdresses by Bird (2007a), although a few years later, she proposed her own typology including two types of headdresses (crowns and diadems) and three types of sceptres-heads (human/divine, animals, and birds) in the most recent account of British published regalia to date: the chapter 'Regalia' in the 2011 volume 'Artefacts of Roman Britain' (Bird 2011: 274-80).

This excursion through the methodological approaches used in studying the priestly regalia from Britain have highlighted two consistent trends. One is the genearl lack of a research for parallels beyond the British examples. New discoveries were always, and only, compared to similar British objects found in the past, in a continuous cross-reference. There seem to be only two exceptions to this trend. One is Layard's early account of the Cavenham Heath chain-headdresses functionally compared to 11th century AD Lithuanian and Estonian exemplars from funerary contexts (Layard 1925: 259-60). Although these comparisons were not explored further than their design, as well as being considerably later in date than the ones from Cavenham, they offered an interesting parallel for her initial identification. The second is offered by Green's discussion of some of the regalia in her later publications (Aldhouse-Green 2004; 2010). She collected and discussed a heterogeneous group of objects connected to ritual behaviours from different regions of the world to highlight cultural patterns shared by some European societies, and their presence in Iron Age and Late Iron Age Britain. However, her aim often resulted in a collection of evidence too disparate, both in terms of geography and chronology, strategically selected in order to support the existence of certain religious behaviours (e.g. shamanism).

The second trend is the tendency to relate regalia to priests of local cults. Although often neither the regalia nor the contextual material found with them offered any indication of the identity of the gods whose cult

[70] 1B.HOC1.
[71] 4.2.7.

required that apparel, some scholars indulged in the hypothesis that their styles better fitted in the attire of an officiant of a local cult (Aldhouse-Green 2010; Allason-Jones 2011b). Some iconographies, like the one on the 'diadems' from Lydney, were recognised to be 'classical' in inspiration (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932). The main exception to this trend is offered by Henig, who drew parallels with regalia used by priests of Roman cults (as for the *apex*) and sometimes proposing a Roman cult as candidate for the titularity of the priests using these objects (1984). More recently, Joanna Bird also adopted a more cautious position on the matter (Bird 2011).

This tendence in overcoming a brisk associaton of the British priestly regalia with local (i.e. non-Roman) cults and their associated personell and the relative dicothomy of local versus Roman ritual performances has also been challenged more recently by the discovery of the '*Senuna* Treasure' at Ashwell, Hertfordshire (Jackson and Burleigh 2007; Jackson and Burleigh 2018). This deposit contains several metal 'feathers' and a silver statuette of a female goddess depicted in the Greco-Roman style of Fortuna, whose name *Senuna* is an *unicum,* and is not paired with any Roman goddess' name (as, for example, in Sulis-Minerva). The combination of a votive offerings like the 'feathers' (exemplars of which are well-known in Britain and in all the Roman world)[72] and a local goddess (*Senuna* whose name was carved on some of the plaques) suggests the combination of the worship of a local cult with more widespread Roman practices. This constant exchange between the use of Greco-Roman ritual objects (feathers, but also altars and ritual vessels) and local deities points towards a hybridity of cultural response that sees the use of local-style ceremonial tools and ritual practices used for different gods, both local and not.

Priestly regalia have been introduced here within the framework of British archaeology, highlighting their interpretational strengths and weaknesses. The bottom line is the necessity of addressing this material as a whole, without falling into an insular discussion, and joining it to similar evidence from the continent, a crucial aspect which has been often missing in previous analyses. This cannot be achieved through a fossilisation on typological or stylistic analyses, rather through an approach to these objects as 'objects in action' thus considering both their materiality and function, discussing their original context of use and the possible reasons behind their interment. Joining the discussion of these materials with considerations derived from the analyses of the other types of evidence will allow us to offer a conclusive discussion of the users of these objects and how they marked their religious authority within their communities to offer a crucial contribution to the reconstruction of priesthoods in Roman Britain.

Before moving on to the next section spelling out the different research questions of this study, a mention is needed for other objects that often appear in iconographic representations of ritual performances (e.g. jugs, *paterae*, and knifes, usually reproduced on the sides and backs of votive altars) or found in the archaeological evidence (e.g. butchery equipment -cleavers, axes, and hammers-, vessels -both for carrying and pouring liquids-, musical instruments, incense boxes and burners). Although they were crucial to conduct religious rituals, they are omitted here because of their archaeological invisibility and/or difficulty to differentiate them from 'secular' objects.[73] A good example in this sense is offered by knives. Green reported a copper-alloy 'sacrificial knife', decorated with an incised 'x' near the tip of the handle, found at Findon, Sussex (Green 1976: 220, pl. XXVg). Its design is characterised by an elongated triangular blade made as one with the handle terminating in a small knob. This is not the classic cleaver-like design of a sacrificial knife, instead characterised by a wider blade, as often attested in iconography (Siebert 1999) and in material evidence (e.g. see the exemplar from Brittany, now in the British Museum).[74] The interpretation of the Findon knife as a ritual object would be proved by its discovery at the site of the Romano-Celtic temple (Lewis 1966). However, the same design is also attested in iron in non-ritual contexts (Manning 1986: 113, type 8-Q27, pl. 54). If not the shape, then the occurrence of this type in copper-alloy could substantiate its interpretation as ritual object (Henig 1984: 131). Moreover, two iron knifes from Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire were interpreted as cultic objects because of their discovery in the local shrine's assemblage together with traces of animal sacrifices (Scott 2009: 202-3, 220-1, figure 5.28, nn. 81-2). It appears clear then that the context of these objects is the crucial aspect in interpreting them as ritual objects, rather than their type.

1.6 Research questions

The following research questions are expressed as main guidelines for the discussion of the different types of evidence for priestly figures, which are considered in chapters 3 to 6. These questions will be the backbone of the conclusive chapter 7.

[72] See the examples from Stony Stratford (4.2.7), Barkway (Walters 1921), and Water Newton (Painter 1977). For British and continental examples, see the recent catalogue by Birkle (2013).

[73] However, we refer to occasional finds of these objects or of their representations when discussing the iconographic evidence (chapter 5).

[74] BM inv. n. GR 1941.3-21.1.

1.6.1 What was the model of priesthoods' organisation in Roman Britain?

This question addresses the main concern of this study, which is to explore different types of evidence to identify the institution of priesthoods in Britain, of which we might otherwise doubt the general significance because of its limited profile in traditional sources. We argue that priestly regalia offer a fundamental supplement to ancient literary sources and epigraphy in the investigation of priestly roles.

Priestly regalia are considered here primarily as markers of authority, and they attest to the importance to show the wearer's role within the community on certain occasions. On the one hand, local individuals would pursue these positions as a means to personal and communal promotion. On the other hand, the awarding of priestly functions was a fundamental way to encourage the integration of local individuals in the Roman re-organisation of the province. Finally, as regalia are connected to office holding, discussing their deposition prompts questions about the significance of putting them aside. Because of their function as badges of authority, it is worth reflecting on why they fall out of use; whether it is because the institution which they represent is declining (e.g. the final act of the last pagans in Roman Britain), or because when a religious site is renewed, this renewal includes an architectural renewal, which required a new set of garments and regalia and new sets of ceremonial tools. In either case, the regalia needed to be buried reverently: they could not be discarded as rubbish, but they were carefully disposed of, as their connection to the divinity is significant enough to not be able to recycle them, however, they must remain dedicated.

The mapping of the archaeological evidence will highlight the distribution of priestly markers both in terms of type of location and of geographical settings. For what concerns location, two main types (rural or urban) and two sub-types (temple/shrine, unknown) will be used. Objects like priestly regalia would logically be found at temple sites (rural or urban), however, the fact that they are also found at sites whose vocation is unknown will be considered in the framework of ritual ceremonies in the rural landscape. Examination of the geographical distribution of regalia in the province will highlight patterns of use linking to socio-cultural choices, in particular which communities chose to use these objects.

1.6.2 How do priestly regalia contribute to our knowledge of the embodiment of provincial priestly authority?

The analysis of types and styles of priestly regalia allows one to reflect on how the role of the priest was marked out in rituals in Roman period Britain, linking this work to other recent discussions of the apparel of provincial priests (Rumscheid 2000; Rüpke 2011; Raja 2016) and more general studies on dress and status in the Roman period (Rothe 2009). The analysis of the regalia will discuss elements of typology and style to highlight instances of continuity of authority markers from the Late Iron Age to the Roman period in Britain, with parallels from other north-western territories. Regalia prompt questions regarding their culural affiliation (e.g. were they used for Roman-style rituals? Indigenous ones?), while decorative aspects might indicate connections with the local iconographic traditions and/or instances of innovation.

1.6.3 What information do the different depositional contexts offer about priestly activities?

The study of priestly regalia is enriched by discussions of the depositional contexts where they were found. These are of three different types: structured deposits, burials, and single finds, the latter being divided between stratified and unstratified finds. Each one of these contexts offers different types of information regarding the use of that object/objects, re-connecting this analysis to the biographical approach.

The mention of deposits containing priestly regalia opens the way to the discussion of the meaning of ritual deposition, which is considered in the following chapter 2 together with general discussions of the meaning of 'structured deposit' as an effective label.[75] These discussions acquire further significance when added to the occasion of a particular ritual action, the deposition of the regalia in the ground, either in the ground or in graves, which implies a change in the status of these objects occurring during their 'life' (Garrow and Gosden 2012). The performative aspect will be explored through the analysis of aspects of objects' biography (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; Whitehouse 1996), flagged in the regalia by signs of use and object modifications.

The examination of the academic literature on regalia[76] has shown that a detailed investigation of the archaeological context of these objects was offered only in few cases, often without challenging previous interpretations and consequently biasing research results. For example, assemblages from temple sites are often interpreted as temple treasures (Baratte 2005; Künzl 1997) or foundation deposits (Bird 2007b; Williams 2008). Deposits found apparently isolated from any known structure, although allowing several hypotheses, provide few answers. If the objects deposited have a religious significance, as in the case of priestly regalia, the assemblage is usually interpreted as

[75] 2.2.1 and 2.3.3.
[76] 1.5.4.

'ritual'. On the one hand, these 'isolated' deposits may have been connected to shrines or sacred natural spots, e.g. votive deposits or temple treasure, that are no longer intelligible in the modern landscape; in this case, although unknown to us, they would keep their 'ritual' significance. On the other hand, these ritual objects might be deposited in a way that was never meant as ritual, for example, they were stolen and hidden, or viceversa (i.e. hidden to prevent their theft). As mentioned, the analysis of the contents of the deposits, and their study together with their archaeological context and location, will provide a more nuanced interpretation, based on explicit criteria. Finally, the deposits of regalia will be considered in relation to structured deposition as a whole, to compare whether they are an isolated phenomenon or follow the more general provincial trend. Chronology is potentially significant: a lot of the present discussion is based on a particular depositional practice that seems to have some chronological limits.

Burials are also considered here, although only one grave clearly contains priestly regalia (from Brough-on-Humber, Yorkshire); nonetheless, other burials have been interpreted in the literature as pertaining to priestly figures, because of the combination of grave goods. The discussion of burials enriches our survey of voluntary deposition of objects in order to 'create' social identity as perceived in the community (Pearce 2016), in a mortuary context where intentions may be clearer than for structured deposits.

While a significant number of priestly regalia is recorded from structured deposits, many are also found on their own, either as stratified or unstratified finds. These two sub-categories present different problems. The automatic notion implied by an object found during an archaeological excavation is the possibility to analyse contextual material useful for dating and the discuss the object in the general context of the site. As for the many unstratified finds, these are the result of chance discovery or often metal-detecting without any archaeological investigation at the time of discovery, although this does not exclude, and it is actually sometimes the case, that excavations might have been carried out at a later stage.[77] The existence of both types of single find prompts discussions regarding the possibility of an accidental or casual loss of these objects. Their ritual significance seems to clash with the possibility of a chance loss, and this argument, as we will see, can be used against an 'easy' identification of some of the regalia (almost exclusively sceptre-heads) as such and rather as more commonly found, everyday objects (e.g. knife handles).

1.7 Book structure

This study comprises seven chapters.

The present chapter has offered a summary of the development of general historiographical trends regarding Roman Britain, necessary to frame the debate on religion and priesthoods in the north-western provinces. At the same time, we have explored the sources used in this study to identify priestly performers. Finally, we have delineated the main research questions guiding the discussion of the different types of evidence used in this work.

The following chapter (2) offers a methodological framework used for the analysis of these different forms of evidence. It starts with exploring issues of terminology, especially the labels 'ritual' and 'structured deposit'. Then it will move on to illustrate the research methods used in this study intertwining with an indication of the main *corpora* used to collect information.

Because of the central importance of priestly regalia and ceremonial tools in this work, chapter 3 considers this evidence at length to assess several instances. First, we will describe the objects and organise them in types. Then, we will discuss their function in terms of ritual apparel and embodiment of authority.

Chapter 4 focuses on the contexts of discovery of priestly regalia and ceremonial instruments to collect further information about their use, starting from their find-spot then moving on to the context of their discovery considered on multiple levels. These will include the association of the find-spot in relationship to the activities documented on the site; the issue of context (urban, rural), and, finally, aspects of regionalism. The discussion will focus on depositional contexts, discussing issues of structured deposition: consequences of a voluntary (structured deposits, burials) or involuntary depositional act (stratified finds). This will allow to analyse aspects of the 'biography' of these objects: from their performative life to the transformations occurred at the time of their deposition.

Chapter 5 discusses the iconographic evidence for ritual performers and performances in Britain, comparing it to similar evidence from other Roman provinces. It includes a discussion of scenes of ritual performances divided by material (stone and metal). The evidence in metal is diverse and includes representations of ritual performances (mostly libations found on metal vessels) as well as performers (figurines).

[77] A recent example is the metal-detector find of a Roman bronze jar-handle at Whitchurch, Buckinghamshire that prompted an archaeological excavation leading to the discovery of a casket burial (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-beds-bucks-herts-31373885; Last accessed 20/10/2018). Also 5.2.2.1.

Chapter 6 analyses the epigraphic evidence for official ritual performers. Although limited in number, the existence of this evidence allows the exploration of general themes linked to the provincial epigraphic habit such as the level of literacy and the availability of stone for inscriptions. Moreover, the discussion of the evidence for *collegia* expands our topic of the official organisation of religion in the province. To the instances recording the titles of religious performers, we also add the 'indirect' evidence for these religious personnel implied by the discovery of curse tablets and related evidence found at several sites in South Britain.

The overall conclusions are drawn in chapter 7, structured following the research questions expressed above and suggest further developments for the study of priestly performances.

References have been made to the database numbers of the objects discussed. The numbering system of the finds is explained in the introduction of chapter 3.

The database containing the archaeological evidence can be found at the end of the volume as Appendix 2, while Appendix 1 collects the ancient literary sources used in the text (original and translation).

Chapter 2

Terminology, methodological framework, and data sources

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides methodological and terminological references ahead of the discussion of the material evidence in the following chapters.

Section 2.2 discusses the methodological approaches used in this work to frame the discussion of our diverse corpus of evidence to answer the research questions answered at the end of the last chapter.[1] It will also be useful to briefly reflect on the terminology associated with priestly figures as well as more generally on the label 'ritual'. With regards to the latter, there is currently a lack of consensus, as often happens in theoretical debates developing over a long period. Different stands on the matter have changed according to academic trends, mostly driven by the shifting between processual and post-processual paradigms in theoretical archaeology.

The chapter ends with the presentation of the sources investigated for the data collection of this research.

2.2 Research methods

The material evidence for priestly activities in Britain will be considered in a progressing manner, beginning from studying the objects individually (chapter 3) to their combinations in deposits and burials, then moving on to a larger geographical scale (chapter 4). This information will then be cross-referenced with other types of evidence to expand on instances of representations of ritual performance (iconography) and representation and self-representation of priestly status (epigraphy) to offer a picture of British ritual performers and their activities as complete as possible.

2.2.1 How to create a model of priesthoods' organisation in Roman Britain

To identify the priestly figures involved in the management of the *sacra* in a province and within its various administrative levels, we will start by discussing the information found in provincial statutes mentioning the organisation of these roles. This approach immediately prompts a methodological issue. A document from a particular *colonia* or *municipium* might be considered inapplicable to another civic reality in a different province. This concern is reflected in the theoretical debate that has arisen around the introduction of certain roles that are an integral part of the Roman administration in the conquered provinces.

In order to discuss a model of the organisation of priesthoods in Roman Britain, we will firstly consider the main trends in the study of town-based priesthoods organisation, although with tailored features, in the different Roman provinces. To this end, we will assess the concept of 'polis religion' as it has been applied to the study of Roman religion, particularly in the provinces.

2.2.1.1 The polis religion model and the variability of the provincial religious panorama

The expression 'polis religion' refers to a traditional model that focuses on the social and political role of civic cults in the foundation and subsequent life of a *colonia* or *municipium,* in order to promote consistency and similarities in the Roman communities outside the Urbs. In other words, it promotes a structure used to standardise the Roman control in religious matters in the conquered territories. The formula has a noticeable origin in the study of Greek religion (Sourvinou-Inwood 1990), where it has been used to underline how 'religious practice formed an integral part of the larger network of relationships within the polis', thus providing a crucial element in the life of the Greek city (Kindt 2009: 12, with previous bibliography).

This concept of a religious structure implanted on the organisation of a civic unit has been exported and applied to the study of Roman religion, particularly when concerned with the analysis of religion in provincial centres (Gordon 1990b; Woolf 1997). Gordon considers the *polis* religion as dominant, boosting the power of the Roman elite over the Roman citizens in Rome, and that of the Romanising elites over other strata of the local population as well as on the traditional priesthoods of the provinces (Gordon 1990a; 1990b). Civic cults and their expressions, such as public rituals and festivals, are the heart of the polis religion model. They are considered invaluable tools to promote a shared religious identity in the provincial communities. In this sense, religion is regarded mainly as a political device, useful to create a civic identity (Scheid 1998), but also as a means to political dominance (Rüpke 2006).

Although accepting the eminence of civic cults, Woolf stresses the importance of other aspects in the religious lives of the local populations, most importantly private/

[1] 1.6.

domestic religion and elements of superstition and magic (Woolf 1997). The polis religion model can only be one of several 'ordering principles' contributing to the organisation of the cults in the provinces (Woolf 1997: 72). More recently, the limitations of the 'polis religion' formula have also been highlighted for the Greek context for which it was originally formulated. Kindt draws attention to the fact that the idea of the 'embeddedness of Greek religion in the polis is based on a formalized and spatial definition of polis religion too simple to offer a persuasive account of religious practices that transcend the polis model' (Kindt 2009: 12).

The critical evaluation of the polis religion model has also affected its secondary field of application: Roman religion in the provinces, especially in the north-western ones (Rüpke 2004; Häussler 2011). If the the polis religion system suggests that civic cults are central to the provincial organisation of religion, in reality they seem to have a marginal impact on the individuals living in these territories (Rüpke 2004) and the *sacra* constitute only a small portion of the communal religious celebrations (Rüpke 2006).

For example, if we think about the cult of the Capitoline Triad as a symbol of the application of the polis religion model embodied in the building of a *Capitolium*, the fact that its presence is not constant across the provinces would come as a surprise. However, as recently demonstrated, *Capitolia* are fairly common in the African provinces but not in others (Crawley Quinn and Wilson 2013). This observation has led to the conclusion that the adoption of this specific building type is a choice made by the local elites, rather than an imposition from Rome or it symbolises a high-civic status reached by a town (*ibid.*).

The varied panorama of cults and ritual practices attested in the towns and territories of the north-western provinces suggests that a polis-religion system will always be too rigid to make room for the high-level of variability experienced in these regions. Nonetheless, a certain level of homogeneity and of central involvement is suggested by the legislation related to the *res sacra*, particularly when it comes to the preservation and punishment of those performing *sacrilegia*.[2] In this sense, it is possible to identify an interest by the central administration, not concerned with a particular cult or practice, but rather with introducing and enforcing the legal requirements associated with religious civic life.

[2] For the laws and regulations concerning the *sacra*, mostly recorded in the *Digesta*, see the collection and discussion of sources in Frateantonio 2003: 131-153.

2.2.1.2 The contribution of the leges to the understanding of the provincial organisation of priesthoods

Information on the organisation of priesthoods in a *provincia* is available in the *Lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensisis*,[3] an early Flavian statute regulating the functions of the provincial *flamen*, modelled on the provisions for the *flamen Dialis* in Rome (Fischwick 2002). The *Lex* was found on the site of the provincial sanctuary in Colonia Narbo Martius (Narbonne), the first city to receive the status of *colonia* outside Italy, and it has been suggested that similar regulations would have later applied to the provinces of the Three Gauls, Lusitania, and Hispania Citerior (*ibid.*: 3).

The *Lex de flamonio* details the several benefits associated with the role of the provincial *flamen* and his wife (ll. 1-8). He was entitled to a provision of *lictors*, the right to wear the *toga praetexta*, a front seat at the provincial and municipal games (*proedria*) together with his wife, who was allowed to wear white or purple for the whole duration of festivals. The *flamen* was also entitled to political honours, like the right to sit in the assembly of the *decuriones* as an honorary *decurio*, to actively participate in the discussions, and also to exercise the *ius signandi* (i.e. the written vote); finally, he was exempted from compulsory oaths and was forbidden to touch a corpse (*ibid*: 3-15).

The main role of the provincial *flamen* was to celebrate the rites for the *divi* and living members of the imperial family in the provincial sanctuary (ll. 9-16), during which, he would wear the purple woollen *laena* (*ibid.*: 9). The main ceremony was the annual sacrifice performed when the provincial council would assembly. Apart from that, there is no mention of the number of sacrifices to be held, although certainly, they would have been agreed on every year and celebrated according to the calendar established by the provincial *duumviri*. A possible indication of the high frequency of these sacrifices is implied by the provision that, in case a *flamen* needed to be replaced (ll. 17-21), the appointment of a new one had to take place within three days (*ibid.*).

The statute also offers provisions on the financial matters related to the role (ll. 25-30), in particular, the funding of ceremonies and games via the provincial fund (*pecunia*). On this matter, we have different evidence from the provinces showing that different funding systems were in place (Fishwick 2002). For example, there is evidence for a *stips annua* in Lugdunum (Lyon) where this provincial chest was managed by dedicated officials, while Tacitus implies the existance of local levies at Camulodunum to fund the local *sacra* associated with the imperial cult (*ibid.*).

[3] CIL XII, 6038.

Similar arrangements were put in place for the organisation of civic cults (*sacra*) and their personnel in a provincial *colonia*, as attested by the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae seu Ursonensis.*[4] The *Lex* is the foundation statute of the Caesarean *colonia Iulia Genetiva* in the Iberian province of Baetica and was produced at the time of its *deductio* in BC 44 (Crawford 1996; Delgado Delgado 2003). The copy that has survived is a bronze tablet dating to the Flavian period, when the *Lex* was republished (*ibid.*). The law lists the *sacra* as: *ludi circenses, sacrificia,* and *puluinaria* (ch. 128). Its regulations address three main topics: the personnel attending to the *sacra,* their management, and their financing (Raggi 2011).

The statute contains very little information about the actual cults and the rituals that would have been performed. According to it, at the beginning of every year, the *decuriones* decided the new calendar for the festivals. Considering that local members of the elite composed the civic body, it is likely that they integrated the 'obligatory' official cults with local ones. Moreover, the fact that the magistracies were held for a fixed period of time by individuals from different families of the local elite suggests that the cults receiving public celebration changed over the years (Häussler 2011). Religion is considered in the *Lex* exclusively from the administrative and judicial points of view and it is clear that all civic priesthoods were subordinated to magisterial power (Raggi 2011: 343).

Religious responsibilities were also carried out by civic magistrates acting as religious officers. For this reason, both *duoviri* and *aediles* each employed a soothsayer (*haruspex*) and a flutist (*tibicen*).[5] The *aediles* also had four public slaves in girded aprons (*cum cincto limo*).[6] *Haruspices* and *tibicines*, who had to be colonists from Urso, were entitled to an annual salary and could benefit from civilian and military exemptions, unless in case of war with the populations of Italy or the Gauls, and the same exemptions applied to their descendants.

The highest, exclusively religious, roles in the *colonia* were the *pontifices* and the *augures* (ch. 66-68). The candidate for these positions had to be Roman citizens, meaning that they had to be either colonists or from Rome. Among the colonists, freedmen might have been considered for these roles, as they were also allowed to join the *ordo decurionum* (ch. 95). However, the social position of freedmen changed later in the imperial period, when laws were passed to prevent them from holding magistracies as well as being part of the *ordo decurionum* (Delgado Delgado 2003: 225; Mouritsen 2011). The enforcing of this restriction is clear in the epigraphic evidence from Baetica and Lusitania, where the individuals recorded as *pontifices* and *augures* specify that they were *cives Romani* and *ingenui* (Delgado Delgado 2003: *loc. cit.*).

Pontifices and *augures* had the right to wear the *toga praetexta* and could sit among the *decuriones* during games and gladiatorial spectacles (ch. 66). They were grouped in the *collegium pontificum augurumque*, each consisting of no more than three members (ch. 67). Because the *Lex* specifies that a new *augur* or *pontifex* was only appointed in case of death or conviction, it has been consequently argued that these roles were offices for life (Crawford 1996: 383; Delgado Delgado 2003: 230). This arrangement does not seem to have lasted for long however, if from mid-1st century AD there is epigraphic evidence for both *pontifices* and *augures perpetui,* titles that would be superfluous if the offices had been for life. It then appears that these offices became annual roles, as was the case for the *flamines.* However, it has been noted that the number of epigraphic attestations of these titles does not rise after this change, as would be expected (Delgado Delgado 2003: 230). When new *pontifices* or *augures* needed to be elected, the *duoviri* or the *praefectus* would have called the *comitia pontificum* and *augurum* (ch. 68). This method of election is similar to the one expressed in the *Lex Domitia*[7] and was still active in the imperial period (Crawford 1996: 436).

Another ritual role mentioned in the *Lex Ursonensis* is the '*quos ea sacra facere*' appointed by the *duoviri* (ch. 64).[8] These are contractors in charge of managing the logistics and providing resources to carry out these activities. Finally, the *Lex* mentions the *magistri ad fana, templa, delubra* appointed every year by a *duovir*, an *aedilis,* or a *praefectus* (ch. 128). There is no reference to the exact number of these *magistri* and it is possible that their number would depend on the amount and importance of the festivals and celebrations established for that year (Raggi 2011) and/or on the number of temples and shrines existing in the territory of the *colonia*. It has been argued that every *fanum*, *templum* and *delubrum* might have had its own *magister* (Raggi 2011); however, it is more likely that smaller cult centres shared the same appointed officer, and that these *magistri* were superintendents rather than figures involved in the actual rituals. In fact, the duties of these *magistri* included the maintenance of the *fana*, *templa*, and *delubra*, and the management of the financial and practical aspects of the organisation of the *sacra*, often

[4] CIL II, 5439= ILS 6087.

[5] The whole list of the officers employed by each *duovir* includes*: '... lictores binos, accensos sing(ulos), scribas bi/nos, uiatores binos, librarium, praeconem, /haruspicem, tibicinem, habere eius potestas/que esto...'* (CIL II, 5439, 62: 11-15).

[6] *'scribas sing(ulos), publi/cos cum cincto limo IIII, praeconem haruspi/cem, tibicinem habere ius potest\s(que) esto.'* (CIL II, 5439, 62: 15-9).

[7] The *Lex Domitia* (BC 104) regulates the election of the pontifices by voting in the *comitia tributa* (Crawford 1996).

[8] 'Those who shall perform those sacrifices' is the translation by Crawford (1996). However, as we have discussed, ch. 128 specifies that the *sacra* include a range of activities wider than just 'sacrifices', specifically l*udi circenses* and *puluinaria.*

employing a 'contractor or contractors' (ch. 69). The *magistri* controlled the funds assigned to each of these cult centres by the *duovir*i, together with any income coming from them.

There is no mention of a *sacerdos* in the *Lex,* however, chapter 91 states that a public list of *decuriones* and *sacerdotes* exists. The reason for their absence is to be found in colonial accounting: because these *sacerdotes* were not entitled to any right or public funding, there was no need to mention them in the text (Raggi 2011). More likely however, is that the term '*sacerdotes*' is used as a collective word referring to the *pontifices* and *augures* (Delgado Delgado 2003).

The main methodological problem that the use of these texts presents is how to relate their regulations to other and/or later *provinciae* and *coloniae* (Frateantonio 2003: 103-4). For centres where no constitution is known, it is necessary to rely on the epigraphic and archaeological evidence. This way, it is possible, for example, to know that the number of three *augures* and three *pontifices* stated in the constitution was not respected everywhere, and it may have varied over time or according to the size/importance of the *colonia* (Delgado Delgado 2000: 45, with examples from Mauretania). For Gaul, it has been proposed that the *Lex,* or a similar statute, might have applied to the *coloniae* of Roman right only (like Lugdunum and in Narbo Martius) and not to those of Latin right, where the titles of *pontifices* and *augures* are not attested (Van Andringa 2002). Another important point to consider in the use of the *Lex Ursonensis* as a model for other provincial *coloniae* is that the institution of cults, such as those mentioned in the text, are most likely the result of a specific connection of a cult to a particular town or territory. This is the case for the institution of the cult of the Capitoline Triad, which is seldom attested, or that of Venus, which is fitting only for a Caesarean *colonia* (Häussler 2011). Ultimately, the *leges* do not provide fixed models to apply automatically to other *provinciae* and *coloniae*. However, they offer a framework to structure the epigraphic and archaeological evidence for priestly roles found in the other western provinces.

2.2.2 Discussing the embodiment of priestly authority in the Roman provinces

In the *leges* we have just considered, there is a certain emphasis on the apparel associated with the functions of *flamen*, *ex-flamen, pontifices*, and *augures*. The provincial *flamen* had the right to wear the *toga praetexta* in public occasions, a right that they kept even after their office had ended and would wear the purple woollen *laena* when celebrating the rites associated with the cult of the imperial family in the provincial sanctuary. On a civic level, *pontifices* and *augures* also had the right to wear the *toga praetexta*. This is a standard dress of the Roman upper class (Rüpke 1996: 253) and it would have been drawn on their head in the *capite velato* fashion when performing, so as to portray their *pietas* towards the gods.

The dress requirements are not only the expression of the ritual roles of these figures (Rüpke 1996), but also mark their social status when not (or no longer) involved in public celebrations (for example when attending provincial or colonial games). This aspect of 'public visibility' of their role (Rüpke 2011: 33) also impacts the viewers' ability to recognise certain figures and rituals depending on the gestures and the ritual tools. Rüpke has that different priesthoods would have been recognisable by the audience due to three main external features (*ibid.*):

1. They lived in/ were associated with a special location (e.g. the Vestal virgins who lived in the House of the Vestals in the *Forum* in Rome).
2. They wore a certain apparel (e.g. the *flamines Dialis* are always depicted wearing the *albogalerus* with the *apex*.[9]
3. They used an object characteristic to their priesthood (e.g. the *lituus* for the *augures*).

These aspects often overlapped each other. For example, the Vestal Virgins were also compelled to wear a specific attire which highlighted their liminal status between brides (the *vittae* worn according to the bridal style) and matrons (the *stola*) (Beard 1980); they would also wear the *suffibulum*, a bordered veil drawn over the head when conducting sacrifices (Wildfang 2006). For these examples, the 'public-visibility' aspect is certainly intertwined with their attire, used to project their ritual authority. Also, the *flamen Dialis* could not leave his house without wearing his headdress (Beard *et al.* 1998) and as such was always recognisable in his role even when not involved in ritual performances.

These elements of public visibility also apply to priesthoods outside Rome. Priests of the imperial cult in the eastern provinces are often portrayed wearing headdresses displaying portraits or busts of emperors and empresses and necklaces also decorated with imperial portraits (Rumscheid 2000: n. 64, plate 28). In the western provinces, it has been suggested that *flaminicae* could wear a golden crown (Hemelrijk 2007: 336), based on the mention of a '*corona aurea flaminalis*' in an inscription from Italica (*AEpigr* 1983, 521; Alonso 1982: 117, n. 2, pl. XII, 2). The existence of different attires in different provincial territories attests that a certain degree of differentiation and originality was

[9] E.g. Relief fragment depicting the pediment of the Temple of Quirinus from Rome. Picture available at http://exhibitions.kelsey.lsa.umich.edu/galleries/Exhibits/Empire2/objects/mnr310251.html [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

admissible in the choice of the official apparel, even of priests of the imperial cult both on provincial and colonial/municipal level.

Priests of cults of local and Roman tradition cults in different regions of the empire often display the apparel and ritual items specificic to their cultic affiliation (Vermaseren: *varia*; Blömer 2015; Raja 2016). Cult headgear is known from Xanten, in connection to the cult of Ceres, while priests of the local cults are known from male portraits attesting to the use of local style crowns for the cult of Mars or a local deity associated with him (Baratte 2005). In terms of apparel, more information is available for the priests of Cybele and Attis thanks to their representation on funerary reliefs. Here, *archigalli* and *galli* are reproduced with the regalia typical of their priesthoods as well as the ceremonial tools used during their performances across different periods.[10] The relief of an *archigallus* from Lavinium[11] provides a catalogue of regalia and tools linked to this cult (e.g. the *cysta mistica* and the triple whip made of astragals used during the procession of the *dies sanguinis*). Many of these objects are connected to the music that enriched his ritual performance, like castanets, a tambourine, and the two traditional flutes (Vermaseren 1977: n. 466). His complex array of regalia includes a crown decorated with rounded plaques showing the images of Jupiter on the central medallion and Attis on the side ones.[12] He wears it over a headscarf: two long braided *infulae* fall onto his chest from behind his ears. Around his neck, he wears a torc-like necklace decorated with lion heads and a long necklace whose pendant is shaped as a small *naiskos* bearing the image of Attis. In his right hand, he holds an *aspergillum* while his left hand holds a bowl of fruit (likely pinecone and figs). Above the bowl, a short sceptre decorated with bearded heads is visible.[13]

The British priestly regalia perfectly fit in this diverse array of Roman and provincial priestly apparel, although they have never been framed in the context of this continental evidence. They allow us to address instances of dress and status (Rothe 2009), especially in relation of project of authority involved by priestly roles. The use of regalia as badges of office points towards a use in a stratified society, and marks certain roles in a way that is similar to other religious communities in the Roman world, but sometimes different in terms of style. Priestly regalia allow one not only to mark the presence of priestly roles in the province, but also to provide a first-hand source for the study of how these roles were marked in the community. This is especially true during ritual celebrations and also, if we follow the directions given by the statutes discussed in the previous section, other communal occasions (e.g. games and major holidays).

Moreover, the advantage of studying the British evidence is that it provides us with the chance to investigate the regalia themselves, rather than their iconographic representations which is almost always the case for the priesthoods in Rome and the provinces. This allows us to explore elements of object biography (Garrow and Gosden 2012), which will be addressed by focusing on their built-in characteristics informing us on the use of these objects and highlighting their physical manipulation in occasion of their deposition.

2.2.3 Approaching the depositional contexts containing priestly regalia

The finds of regalia have been organised according to their context of discovery (structured deposits, burials, and stratified/unstratified finds), highlighting two types of spatial-related information. Their *location*, which has been defined as rural, urban, or unknown, and their geographical *distribution*.

For the analysis of both stratified and unstratified finds, we will use a contextual approach as recently employed for the analysis of small finds (Cool 2006; Crummy and Eckardt 2008). Certainly, the number and quality of information available vary between stratified and unstratified finds, as context information necessary to appreciate relative chronology and exact location is available for stratified finds but not as much for unstratified finds. Noentheless, the latter contribute greatly to the discussion of the geographical distribution of priestly regalia in the province.

The majority of priestly regalia comes from structured deposits (Figure 4.6) and for this reason, this section is mostly dedicated to this type of context. Priestly regalia can be considered ritual objects, but is this feature enough to qualify a deposit of regalia as a ritual deposit?

The academic discussion of ritual deposits emerged with the analysis of Bronze Age deposits from Denmark, when ethnography was used to distinguish between ritual and non-ritual assemblages (Levy 1982). These deposits were identified in the archaeological record because they are organized in a 'recurring way', while the objects themselves are understood to be valuable in a material and/or symbolic way (*ibid.*: 20). They are interpreted as requests to a petition, blessing or to propitiate or thank the supernatural world. Combining two historical accounts about Bronze Age Denmark

[10] I.e. the relief from Lavinium discussed here dating to the mid-2nd century, a 3rd century statue of Archigallus from Rome (Vermaseren 1977: n. 249), and the two funerary reliefs from Portus dating the second half of the 3rd century AD (Vermaseren 1977: n. 447-8).

[11] Image available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Relief_of_Archigallus.jpg [Last accessed 10/10/2018].

[12] Similar diadems are reproduced on copper-alloy military helmets: see from Nijmegen (Garbsch 1978: 63, n. O.6, Taf. 19, 1) and Hellingen (*ibid:* 65, n. O.13, Taf. 19, 2).

[13] This item is considered a 'wooden tube' by Vermaseren (*ibid:* 153).

(i.e. Tacitus' Germania and notices from medieval religious literature) with ethnographic information, Levy recognises four criteria to identify ritual offerings: location, characteristics of the objects, their association with food/animal remains, and their arrangement. She also proposes criteria to identify non-ritual assemblages playing on the lack of the above four characteristics as well as the presence of tools, raw materials, or fragmented objects deposited at a shallow depth in dry land without association with animal remains nor special arrangement.

Levy's classification has the merit to investigate the concept of ritual deposition on a scientific basis, providing clear-cut criteria in order to evaluate any deposit. Nonetheless, the rigidity of her system does not allow the inclusion of various particular cases, of which two are offered here as example. One is the dedication of 'raw material' in deposits which, regardless of location, are not to be interpreted as ritual depositions (for European Bronze Age examples, see Gori 2014). The second is the fact that ritual deposits do not contain fragmented objects. This is disproved by the well-known practice of 'ritual killing', which involves the breaking of an object prior to its deposition (Woolf 2015).

Levy's analysis has been influencial in the identification and interpration of ritual deposits, especially in pre-historical societies, and it is the inspiration for Bradley's discussion of prehistoric votive deposits (Bradley 1990). In his analysis, the major aspect that differentiates a ritual deposit from a non-ritual one is the actual possibility to retrieve what has been buried. A ritual deposit is not going to be accessed by the dedicants, while non-ritual deposits were buried with the intention of future retrieval. He adds that ritual assembalges found in dry land include grave goods, hoards of 'elaborate artefacts', usually isolated from the main settlement or structures, for example on hill-tops or caves (*ibid.*: 9-10). Single finds are considered chance losses and therefore non-ritual, while multiple finds not part of an assemblage are presumed to be deposited together in a single event. In the latter case, these deposits were never 'closed', but objects might have been added or removed at different times. Consequently, what today appears as single finds might be an intermediate or final stage of this specific type of assemblages (Bradley 1990: 4). Alternatively, they might have lost associated objects through decay of the organic materials (*ibid.*).

Bradley's study of ritual deposits will be significant for the interpretation of similar deposits of Roman period. However, the initial interest in Roman deposits and their possible ritual implications was first expressed in analyses of the numismatic evidence. Crawford (1969) voices an initial scepticism on the ritual significance of coin deposits, stating that the act of interment of wealth has a direct relationship with violent events and judges as 'pure illusion' the possibility of hoarding for reasons other than later recovery (*ibid.*: 79). In the same years however, proposals for a different interpretation of the phenomenon of hoarding and of structured deposits were put forward for the analysis of Iron Age and Roman metal deposits. In his discussion of ironwork deposits from Britain, Manning implies that the reason for the deposition of iron objects might have been votive, even for those hoards not found in wet places (Manning 1972).

In 1975, Grierson presents a first classification of coin deposits, identifying four possible types of reasons behind the concealment of coins:

1. Accidental losses (e.g. the loss of a purse);
2. Emergency hoards (when coins are taken out of circulation at the same time with the intention of future recovery);
3. Savings hoards (when the coins are taken out of circulation over a period with the intention of future recovery);
4. Abandoned hoards (the coins are buried without intention of recovery (e.g. burials, wells).

Grierson's typology of coin deposits highlights the need for classification felt in numismatic circles. It has however not stood the test of time, and later scholars consider some of his categorises redundant and the classification 'too neat' to have a real interpretational value (Reece 2002).

During the 1980s, the analyses of different types of deposits generally remain in accordance with their interpretation as buried for security reasons in times of political instability (e.g. Evans 1984 on the deposits of priestly regalia from Willingham Fen). In this homogeneous interpretational landscape, a significant alternative for burying an assemblage is advanced for the interpretation of a deposit of precious metal. The Thetford Treasure from Norfolk is a late-Roman assemblage containing several items of gold jewellery (rings, necklaces, bracelets, and buckle) buried together with 33 silver spoons and three silver strainers (Johns and Potter 1983). Among the different explanations proposed, the authors entertain the possibility of a votive deposition of jewellery dedicated to the god Faunus (whose name recurs frequently on the silver spoons) or a temple treasure (Henig 1983: 70-1). Yet, in the overall conclusions, a more cautious interpretation of a merchant concerned with the safekeeping of his goods in late 4th century Britain was preferred (*ibid.*: 74). The interpretative leap attempted by Henig for the Thetford treasure was destined to remain isolated, at least until the comprehensive study of precious metal deposits by Hobbs (2006).

Noticing the limitations of the term 'hoard' for a comprehensive analysis of depositional behaviours, Reece attempts to explore the 'intent and belief' behind the deposition without further recovery (1988: 261). However, after considering the diverse landscape of categories of objects found in deposits (coins, figurines, precious metal objects, and copper-alloy and pewter vessels), he reaches the conclusion that 'no hoard can ever have within it any ideas of why it was buried or why it was not recovered' (*ibid.*). This impossibility to understand the circumstances of a depositional act and the original purpose of this action provides for Reece 'an impediment to classification' (*ibid.*: 262). Although historical and written sources might be used along with the material evidence to interpret the deposits, it is nearly impossible to understand if a specific act of hoarding involved just a burier, willing to re-appropriate his own goods in the near future, or if it also included a 'third party' – a god it is dedicated to. For Reece, safekeeping remains the main reason for hoarding, especially in case of deposits of precious metal objects, due to the fact that precious metal, whether as scrap or crafted into objects, always possessed a (monetary) value in every 'European' society, no matter the period (*ibid.*: 263).

A similarly sceptical position is later expressed by Johns (1994; 1996), who proposed the rehabilitation of the use of 'hoard' over 'deposit' as a general term defining an assemblage of different types of material (precious, base-metal objects, glass, ceramic, but also comestibles). To the category of 'hoard', she adds that of 'treasure' indicating a deposit containing a collection of high-value objects. The 'treasure' is in turn divided in three types depending on the objects it contains: coins, jewellery, or plate. The plate treasure is very broadly defined in the Roman context, and includes domestic tableware, *Hacksilber*, and statuettes. Johns is also very critical of considering Bronze and Iron Age contexts as appropriate parallels for Roman period depositional behaviours and identifies the main reasons behind Roman period deposits as being safekeeping and storage. If room has to be made for ritual actions, this does not exclude a safekeeping intention. Even in the case of assemblages deposited in waterlogged contexts, these may be considered votive only if they would have been completely unrecoverable, otherwise falling into the first category (*ibid.*).

Nonetheless, the idea that the act of burying objects could be interpreted as a ritual behaviour, beside being a mere attempt to hide precious items for security reasons with the intention of further recovery, continued to gain ground. Initially applied to the examination of coin hoards (Aitchison 1988, in the same '*World Archaeology*' volume where Reece had expressed his scepticism), this approach is later used for the interpretation of deposits containing pewter objects (Poulton and Scott 1991) and metalwork (Merrifield 1987; Clarke 1997; Fulford 2001). In these cases, the ritual intent is considered together with the will to preserve the economic value of the coins or of the metal. From a theoretical point of view, Millett returns to the problem of the use of the term 'hoard' as transmitting an idea of 'a collection of valuable objects deposited together' and thus insufficient for the description of deposits of other categories of material like pottery, bones, and in general of all those objects lacking an immediately perceived economic value (1994). For this reason, he explores the concept of 'value', as varying depending on the different societies applying it. He suggests the existence of other features beyond the intrinsic value of the objects, which might have been involved in the process of selection of the objects to bury: a ritual intention (e.g. votive action), the analysis of the objects and their location, and the appreciation of aesthetic merits. The mention of aesthetic merit, particularly for jewellery and silver tableware (also mentioned in Poulton and Scott 1991 for pewter vessels), bounds this category to a highly subjective interpretation by the archaeologist (Johns 1996). Nonetheless, the other two criteria, the ritual intentions and the analysis of the objects and their locations, have been considered key aspects in the interpretation of the intentions of the burier.

The analysis of the location of the deposits moved onto a more regional scale: Roymans already showed the potential of mapping ritual assemblages to highlight patterns of deposition in northern Gaul (Roymans 1990). A similar approach is later successfully used for the study of structured deposits from military areas (Clarke 1997) and civilian contexts (Fulford 2001) in Britain, as well as in more recent studies of the cultural landscape of the province (Galestin 2001; Evans and Hodder 2006; Hingley and Willis 2007; Hunter 2007; Moorhead *et al.* 2010; Chadwick 2012). A methodology crossing the identification of possible ritual intentions behind a depositional act with special locations in the provincial landscapte has proven much more productive, for example, for those coin hoards found in rural districts or in areas on the edge of the empire (Galestin 2001; Hunter 2007). On similar grounds, an important ongoing project of the British Museum in collaboration with the University of Leicester has been developed, intending to map and study 3rd century coin deposits from Britain.[14]

At the beginning of the 21st century, the key elements in the identification of ritual deposits were based on content ('religious imagery, precious/exotic material, and concentration of non-functional items) and

[14] http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/archaeology/research/projects/hoarding-in-iron-age-and-roman-britain [Last accessed 31/10/2018]. For the preliminary outcomes of this project, see Bland 2013; 2014.

location (depostis found in a 'distinctive architectural context') (Osbourne 2004*:* 4). However, all these criteria are still somehow problematic. For what concerns the type of objects, we are well aware of ritual deposition of typologies of objects that do not fit any of the above criteria (e.g. bones and pottery: Hill 1995; King 2005). Regarding the architectural context, especially if religious (temple/shrine), this can not automatically imply the ritual character of a deposit (Haynes 2013).

The most recent analyses focus on how archaeologists can distinguish between rubbish disposals and ritual structured deposits (Chadwick 2012; Garrow 2012). This dilemma affects not only deposits of animal bones (King 2005; Morris 2008), but all those deposits containing a variety of objects (Hill 1995; Clarke 1997). Both Chadwick and Garrow (*ibid.*) agree on the idea that different deposits can never be constricted in closed definitions. Every deposit would better be positioned on a continuous spectrum of activities, whose extremes are deposits resulting from everyday practices, whose identification is based on material culture patterning and unusual deposits. The latter are the result of a clearly ritualised practice. Ranging from everyday practices to 'odd' deposition, this spectrum creates a hierarchy of importance in ritual deposits. It would appear that the more a deposit approaches the 'odd deposits' end of the spectrum, the more it would assume a 'ritual' significance. However, there still needs to be a point when an assemblage crosses the line between being a 'non-ritual' deposit and ritual deposit. The intention of going beyond the study of the content of the deposits in favour of an analysis of the depositional patterns inside and outside the deposit has been recently expressed by Haynes (2013).

For what concerns the analysis of the depositional patterns inside the deposit, the analysis of the objects is more often interpreted now as a 'web of association' (Hill 1995) or 'network of relationships' (Garrow and Gosden 2012) to highlight the significance of the combination of selected objects in a deposit (Hill 1995) and relate it to similar combinations across different deposits (Garrow and Gosden 2012). An example in this sense is offered by the publication of the coin deposit from Frome, Somerset (Moorhead *et al.* 2010). Here, observations on the interment of multiple 'individual' deposits in order to form a complete assemblage has prompted the interpretation of this context as a ritual collection of votive offerings continuously added to by the local community over a certain period of time (*ibid.*).

Regarding the depositional patterns outside the deposit, we have mentioned throughout this section how the location of a deposit can mislead its interpretation. For example, deposits on temple sites would automatically be considered as ritual, giving a physical dimension to a codified set of rules to perform a ritual action (Haynes 2013). These categories of temple/shrine deposits have been labelled as 'temple treasures' (or *favissae*) and defined as an 'accumulation of valuable objects resulting directly from the generosity of the worshippers and indirectly from the income of their liberality' (Baratte 1992: 111). [15] These objects are the products of the worshippers' ritual behaviours to be displayed in the temple for a time and later assembled in a 'treasure'. This was accessible at a later date, either to add other objects or to remove them, often to cover expenses related to the temple and its activities (e.g. the creation of a new cult statue or renovation works; Künzl 1997). However, it has been noted that objects used in rituals found at temple sites could have been discarded without becoming a ritual deposition so that not all deposits from temple sites are bound to be the result of a ritual activity (Haynes 2013).

To conclude, the main achievements of the last two decades of methodological debate on the interpretation of structured depositions have been, on the one end, to expand the concept of 'ritual deposition' to any deposit regardless of its content/location, and on the other end to infer that not all 'odd' deposits are ritual. In a study concerned with deposits of priestly regalia and tools, it would seem they pose a limited challenge for interpretation. As these objects considered have an intrinsic ritual function, it would be tempting to interpret their collection as a ritual assemblage. However, a ritual interpretation does not add much information on the reason for the deposition and is reduced to a nebulous notion of religious performances.

For these reasons, there are several elements that will be considered in the study of these deposits. If the location of a deposit at a temple site is no longer enough to interpret a deposit as the result of a ritual action (may it be votive, but also safekeeping under the protection of a deity), it should also be the case that deposits of ritual objects found far from a temple/shrine could be the result of a different ritual behaviour, and not necessarily requiring such structures (see for example, the search for a temple that prompted Layard's excavations on the site of the Cavenham deposit's findspot).[16] Priestly regalia are also found in burials, although their number is extremely limited. In these cases, the mortuary significance of their ritual deposition is clearly assessed (Pearce 2016), however, similarly as with other types of structured deposits, the discussion of the objects' association within the grave will provides us with a 'snapshot' of the identity projected by the buried individual (Garrow and Gosden 2012).

[15] *'l'accumulation de biens mobiliers de valeur résultant directement de la générosité des fidèles, ou indirectement du revenu de leurs largesses'.*
[16] 4.2.1.5.

2.2 Issues of terminology

Reading British academic works on ancient priesthoods, one comes across a varied vocabulary to describe religious figures (Ross 1999; Aldhouse-Green 2010), including terms like 'clergy', 'ritualist', and 'healer' (Aldhouse-Green: *op. cit.*). In this work, we have opted for the terms 'priests/esses' -with the relative adjective 'priestly'- and 'religious performers'. By using these terms, we aim to address a wide spectrum of characters ranging from traditional priests (e.g. municipal and civic figures) to individuals invested in ritual roles deriving from their 'office' (e.g. *pater familias*). Nonetheless, Roman titles will be used, especially when commenting on inscriptions, being aware that our knowledge of these roles might sometimes be incomplete or controversial.

For what concerns the archaeological evidence, the expression 'priestly regalia' for the British evidence was introduced by Lewis (1966) and has been used by other scholars until recently (Bird 2011; Allason-Jones 2011b). It will also be used in this work as a label for objects worn by priests (mostly headdresses) and used as badge of offices (sceptres).

Finally, a last clarification is needed for the use of the term 'ritual' and its meaning in the current debate in the study of ancient religion. 'Ritual' is a generic term, found in denominations like 'ritual object', and 'ritual assemblage', for which, however, there is no unanimous definition across the academic literature (Kyriakidis 2007). An object used to express public and private religiosity is in fact often labelled by publishers and commentators as 'ritual' (*ibid.*). However, the fact that any object, whose primary function was not immediately clear, would have been labelled as 'ritual', has long been considered a running joke in the archaeological literature (Renfrew 1985: 15; Whitehouse 1996: 9, with previous bibliography) and more recent approaches are sceptical towards a methodology that appears to 'objectify some artefacts as ritual' (Collis 2001; Chadwick 2012).[17]

As a result, current approaches to the study of ritual are more concerned with reconstructing the biographies of the artefacts, the reasons why they were chosen for a specific purpouse, and the actions and practices through which they became 'ritual' (Morris 2008; Serjeantson and Morris 2011; Garrow and Gosden 2012), as well as framing them in their social context (Wilkins 1996: 3; Barrowclaugh and Malone 2007: 2-3; Gerrard 2011: 568-9). The analysis of the British priestly regalia offers an interesting case study for both these trends. On the one hand, they offer the possibility to analyse objects that are considered 'intrinsically' ritual, i.e. created to be used in ritual performances. They also undergo physical modifications (breakage, removal of elements/ decorations) pointing towards a ritual use beyond the one they were originally created for. This aspect is also connected to the discussion of how different ritual actions can be attested by the same objects. As we will see,[18] the case of structured deposits of priestly regalia offers an interesting example of this multi-level ritual significance. On the other hand, as will be shown,[19] their use as badges of office suggests that they were utilised in a stratified society, one that marks certain roles in a way that is similar to other religious communities in the Roman world.

2.3 Data collection

Before moving on to the discussion of the core evidence of this reaserch, this section illustrates the material sources investigated and used to build the database collecting priestly regalia. A comprehensive and adjourned corpus of priestly regalia is currently missing, although some summaries have been proposed over the decades.[20] However, they tend to be partial and brief, and have been used as practical quarries of evidence. The data sources used for the creation of this corpus are:

1. Publications of individual artefacts and assemblages in journals, monographies (especially temple publications, and the recent volume on the rural settlements of Roman Britain: Smith *et al.* 2016), catalogues of British and continental museum collections; the discussion of regional contexts of the archaeological evidence is often based on grey literature (excavations, landscape analysis from field-walking to geophysics) and finds reports, of which the Archaeological Data Service (ADS) has been used as useful repository.
2. Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) online database.
3. Historic Environment Records (HER), an important source for collecting metal-detecting finds pre-PAS.

This variety of sources implies that the information available for each object and assemblage, their archaeological context and position is not at all uniform throughout the corpus of the evidence, and consequently presents different levels of accuracy. Reports of finds and assemblages dating to the 19th\ beginning of the 20th century usually provide the find location by the name of the county and/or parish, the closest town or point of interest (often farms, inns or

[17] Recently summarised in Esposito 2016.

[18] 4.2.

[19] 3.5; 7.1.

[20] 1.5.4.

bridges), and the name of the landowner. Regrettably, now it is not always easy to retrieve that original geographical information with accuracy. Later reports often offer drawings of the find-spots that have been used as reference for the implementation of the GIS or register the coordinates of the National Grid as in the 20th century reports or the PAS database entries. The maps used in this work are the outcome of a Geographical Information System created anew for this work in qGIS, unless otherwise indicated.

As the PAS is an important source for this research, we should consider some of the biases that have emerged about its use. The PAS project applies only to the counties of England and Wales, leaving out Scotland, Northern Ireland or the Isle of Man, where the Treasure Act does not apply. Publications of excavation campaigns and/or single finds from the areas excluded by the PAS cannot compare with the enormous amount of data processed by the PAS every year.[21] A recent summary of the Roman PAS finds shows that out of 20.000/30.000 finds reported every year, *c.* 80% are coins (Worrell and Pearce 2016). However, some regions have produced significantly more finds than others (e.g. east England, especially between East Yorkshire and Essex, and to a lesser extent, southern England).

Overall, the areas covered by the PAS inform us on rural Roman east England and small towns, but not on major urban settlements.[22] The reason behind this distribution is partly due to modern land use, as these regions qualify as the major arable areas of the UK, with intense ploughing bringing many more finds to the surface. Of course, the availability of raw materials, as well as cultural practices in antiquity all feed into the characterisation of these areas as richer in archaeological finds.

Nevertheless, the contribution of the PAS becomes even more crucial for those areas not so well served by fieldwork or where large development schemes are not ongoing at the moment (e.g. rural Lincolnshire, rural Norfolk, and rural Yorkshire). This is especially evident when comparing the difference between the amount of finds from the same area registered by the HER and PAS: the HER finds cluster around main infrastructures (e.g. roads, or underground works), while the PAS ones are more widespread and cover mostly farmland (Robins 2014: 66).

In consulting the HER and PAS databases, the ambiguity in the identification and correct labelling of some of the ceremonial equipment reported could have affected the research. As mentioned in section 1.5.4, the fragmentary preservation state of most of the evidence discussed in this study has a significant impact on some potential identifications. Moreover, the variety of people contributing to the implementation of the databases also contributes to how some objects are identified and described. For these reasons, the range of search terms used to interrogate the database is not limited to the main ritual object types but also includes objects with potential similar designs.[23]

In general, the majority of data for this study derives from notes on single objects, excavations published in archaeological journals, and county-promoted publications and unpublished reports. A major contribution comes from museum catalogues, both in print and online, the latter especially useful to update some of the older publications with new pictures and more recent conservators' comments. The PAS online database offers the newest single finds available.[24] Finally, a substantial data source was kindly offered by Dr Alex Smith, who forwarded the query for 'religious objects' implemented in the final version of the database of the rural settlements of Roman Britain (Smith *et al.* 2016). After checking the 361 location entries, corresponding to 1611 'religious objects', I am confident I collected as much ceremonial equipment as it could reasonably be expected.

The overall quality of the data, especially provenance information and details of objects' discovery will be assessed when discussing single finds. These aspects affect particularly the older finds, for which context information is limited (e.g. the headdresses from Cavenham Heath), sometimes anecdotal (e.g. the wooden head from Llanio) or lacks appropriate object documentation (e.g. the find of a crown in Souldern, Oxfordshire, for which no drawing was produced at the time of discovery and it is now lost). Moreover, the fragmentary state of many ceremonial objects affects, sometimes significantly, the possibility to provide an unambiguous attribution of these objects to a category, as well as to understand their original design or purpose. These aspects affect the 'sceptres' especially, which not only are sometimes difficult to identify (especially when in fragments), but also to differentiate from object handles, furniture mounts, vessel fittings, more commonly available in the archaeological record. The objects in this catalogue are discussed by category and then by type. General information about the objects is provided when useful to the discussion.[25]

[21] The average number of finds recorded by the PAS each year is *c.*80000, of which 90% is retrieved through metal-detecting (Robins 2014: 14).

[22] On this topic, see also Pearce and Worrell 2015.

[23] Other search-terms used to interrogate the PAS database: mounts, knife-, key- handles.

[24] https://finds.org.uk/.

[25] However, for all information (e.g. current locations, dimensions, and bibliography) see Appendix 2.

Chapter 3

Priestly regalia from Britain. The material evidence for priestly roles

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the material evidence for priestly roles, presenting a collection of regalia and ceremonial instruments from Britain. The discussion will analyse these objects while addressing instances of functions (what was the object's function during performances?) and embodiment (what is the reason for wearing/using such objects?); two aspects which have been overlooked in the previous accounts of this material.[1] Included in the evidence are the objects that were worn by ritual performers (like headdresses), and handled by them (sceptres, ceremonial spears, and divination devices). Finally, the category 'others' include those objects that have been considered as priestly regalia or ceremonial instruments in previous publications but can now, on safe grounds, be rejected as such.

The objects are presented in the following order:

1. Headdresses
2. Sceptres
3. 'Spears'
4. Divination devices
5. Others

Each item of ceremonial equipment discussed will be referred to with a unique number that identifies each object in the general database found in Appendix 2. The numbering was created as follows: each category of objects is given a number (according to the list above) with which a letter in alphabetical order is associated to identify the type. Separated by a dot are then the first three letters of the name of the find spot and a progressive number to number similar finds from the same location.[2]

Since the number of objects varies significantly across the different categories, the reader will find that the following discussion aspires to be comprehensive for (almost) all the examples found in Britain for some of the objects (i.e. headdresses and divination objects). However, sceptres are more than often found in fragmentary condition. Parts like the handles and the shafts are very repetitive in shape. For this reason, only few examples of each type will be discussed here, while the database identifier will be given to reference similar fragments.

All the assemblages containing sceptres and individual finds are discussed in chapter 4. Individual bibliographical references to the single objects are available in Appendix 2 and have not been reported here for brevity's sake unless to reference a scholarly opinion. The following paragraphs will discuss the ceremonial equipment according to category, while a discussion on the topics identified above is conducted at the end of the chapter (3.5).

3.2 Headdresses

Generally, religious headdresses were worn in the ancient world as symbols of status (Breglia 1966) and they were often used in other regions of the Roman empire as often attested in the iconographic evidence (Siebert 1999; Rumscheid 2000; Blömer 2015; Raja 2016).

Iconography offers much information about how these objects would look like (especially when well preserved, although the colours have often faded away), as well as indicating how they were worn and in what occasions they were used, offering an insight of these objects 'in action'. Although such representations are not available among the iconographic evidence from Britain, having this type of regalia at hand allows one to consider instances of materiality, as well as objects' biography.[3]

In this sense, Britain joins other Roman provinces in offering several examples of headdresses allegedly used by religious specialists. The evidence for British regalia is not limited to the Roman period and examples of headresses from the Iron Age and the Late Iron Age have will be introduced in section 3.6.1 to highlight the continuity of design and purpose across different periods.

The following table (3.1) collects all the headdresses found in Roman Britain and contains 24 entries, divided in three types:

1A Chain-headdresses
1B Crowns
1C Diadems

[1] For a discussion of previous approaches and (limited) collections of British priestly regalia, see 1.5.4.

[2] For example, 1A.CAV1 = 1(headdress)A(chain-headdress).CAV(from Cavenham Heath)1(first exemplar).

[3] The second topic is discussed more in detail in the following chapter.

Table 3.1. Headdresses from Roman Britain. SD=Structured Deposit; GG= Grave Goods; SF=Stratified Find; UF=Unstratified Find.

DB N.	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period
1A.CAV1	Chain-headdress	Cavenham Heath	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	1st-2nd century AD
1A.FAR1	Chain-headdress	Farley Heath	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period
1A.FAR2	Chain-headdress	Farley Heath	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period
1A.STO1	Chain-headdress	Stony Stratford	Bucks.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD
1A.STO2	Chain-headdress	Stony Stratford	Bucks.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD
1A.STO3	Chain-headdress	Stony Stratford	Bucks.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD
1A.STO4	Chain-headdress	Stony Stratford	Bucks.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD
1A.WAN1	Chain-headdress	Wanborough	Surrey	SD	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
1A.WAN2	Chain-headdress	Wanborough	Surrey	SD	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
1A.WAN3	Chain-headdress	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
1A.WAN4	Chain-headdress	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
1A.WAN5	Chain-headdress	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
1A.WES1	Chain-headdress	West Stow	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
1B.DEE1	Crown	Deeping-St-James	Lincolnshire	SF	Rural, Unknown	late 2nd/ 3rd AD
1B.DEE2	Crown	Deeping-St-James	Lincolnshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	late 2nd/ 3rd AD
1B.DEE3	Crown	Deeping-St-James	Lincolnshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	late 2nd/ 3rd AD
1B.FEL1	Crown	Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	*post* AD225
1B.HOC1	Crown	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
1C.CAV1	Diadem	Cavenham Heath	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	1st/2nd century AD
1C.CAV2	Diadem	Cavenham Heath	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	1st/2nd century AD
1C.HOC1	Diadem	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
1C.HOC2	Diadem	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
1C.HOC3	Diadem	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
1C.HOC4	Diadem	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
1C.HOC5	Diadem	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period

3.2.1 Chain-headdresses

Chain-headdresses are characterised by a central piece set on the top of the head of the wearer, from which three or more chains depart and embrace the head. The junctions between the chains are often marked by metal elements, usually shaped like discs. Some of the examples also display long chains that frame the face of the wearer passing under his chin.

One of the best-preserved examples is the chain-headdress from the structured deposit at Stony Stratford (see image on the cover).[4] This almost complete chain-headdress is characterised by a large central conical element to which leaf-shaped plates are attached. To the front is a characterised by a flower-shaped plate. Roundels and more leaf-shaped plates are secured in two rows via chains.

The second example of a complete headdress is one of five found at the temple site at Wanborough (Figure 3.1).[5] It is characterised by a circular terminal topped by a wheel, from which four chains depart at 90° joining a set of chains circuling the wearer's head and passing under the chin. The other wheel terminals from Wanborough are fragments from two exemplars of this same type.[6]

A slightly different design of this type is offered by a second example from Wanborough (Bird 1994: figure 23).[7] Here, the terminal is shaped as a boss terminating in a knob, without any trace to accommodate an applique on the top, as in the previous example. Although not found complete, the fragments recovered suggest that it followed the same design of 1A.WAN1 (Figure 3.1), although the chain-link shape is different, closer to that of 1A.STO1. Chain-fragments show that this type was decorated with small, free-hanging leaves, likely falling into correspondence with the wearer's chest (Bird 1994).

Similarly terminating in a small knob, is another, almost complete, chain-headdress excavated 6 m south of the temple area at Farley Heath (Bird 1996a: figure 2).[8] Four chains would have hung by loops from the double-knob terminal (only one chain is complete, whilst a second one is fragmentary). Only three loops are preserved as the fourth is broken off. The chain-style is the same as those of 1A.WAN1 and 1A.STO1.

[4] 1A.STO1.
[5] 1A.WAN1.
[6] 1A.WAN3-4.
[7] 1A.WAN2.
[8] 1A.FAR1.

Figure 3.1 Chain-headdress from Wanborough, Surrey (© Surrey Archaeological Society: photograph by Brian Wood).

The only complete chain ends in a small strap likely used to secure horizontal bands, made of sheet copper-alloy or leather, circling the wearer's head (Bird 1996a). When the object was reconstructed, it was clear that it needed to be fitted onto a leather cap in order to be worn avoiding it slipping off the wearer's head (*ibid.*). Finally, an interesting contribution to the biography of this object is noticeable as one of the loops for the attachments of the chains broke in antiquity and the chain was then attached directly on the terminal by punching a hole on its rim.

A similar design as this Farley Heath example would have been employed by a headdress from the Felmingham Hall hoard (Gilbert 1978). In this case, three straps were found, all decorated with a bearded male head wearing a diadem with rosettes. However, no chain fragment was found in the deposit, leading Gilbert to identify the copper-alloy bands which were found in the deposit, rather than chains, as used to connect in this case to connect the straps.[9]

A third design is attested by three almost complete examples. In this case the top terminal is shaped as a flat disc, from which, following the usual design, four chains depart at 90˚. One of these headdresses was found in the deposit at Stony Stratford.[10] 1A.STO2 is characterised by two small discs decorated with a silver, circular rosette. The larger, central disc and one of the small ones are both bordered with twisted silver, brass, and copper wire. If we suppose that this headdress was worn in the same way as the ones from Stony Stratford and Wanborough, we could assume that the two discs provided with an extra chain ending in a hook would have been placed at the side of the wearer's head. However, they are too short to join under the wearer's chin as in the previous two cases and it is probable that another element, a leather or cloth band, was attached to it.

Similar to 1A.STO2 is another complete headdress fromCavenham Heath (Layard 1925: pl XXVIII, figure 1) employing the same S-shaped link chains. However, the two examples are slightly different as 1A.CAV1 discs are all of the same size and there is no trace of loops or holes on the outer discs' rims to attach any other chain. The edges of the discs are irregularly serrated and raised circular lines are visible, but no figurative decoration is present. However, two small holes are visible in the middle of two of the small discs (left and top in the picture). The reason for their presence is unclear, whether to hold a sheet decoration, as in 1A.STO2, or to keep the metal frame in place on a leather cap, like suggested for 1A.FAR1. A recent addition to this type is offered by discs and chain fragments found in a uctured deposit at West Stow (Figure 3.2).[11]

The hoard is a metal detectorist find and the metal detectorist himself emptied the pottery vessel in which these fragments, together with other objects, had been deposited.[12] As the finder promptly alerted the council officers who followed up with an archaeological excavation (Minter and Brown 2010), it appears that no other discs were included in the deposit. However, their design is extremely similar to the chain-headdresses discs discussed so far, and it is plausible that this chain-headdress was intentionally broken before its deposition.[13] The discs are decorated with a series of closely-spaced dots on the very rim, and one of them is also characterised by a raised ring on its surface (right one in the picture). This disc is also the only one displaying a small hole in the middle as well as on the rim at 90˚ like the others, very much like the example from Cavenham Heath. Two discs (centre and right) still preserve loops attached on the rim for the hanging of chains. Finally, like the Stony Stratford example 1A.STO2, one of the chain fragments preserves a small hook at the end. A very fragmentary convex disc from Wanborough is also pertinent to this type.[14]

[9] The object is discussed more at length in 3.2.1.2/Crowns.
[10] 1A.STO2. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.
[11] 1A.WES1.
[12] The deposit is discussed in 4.2.8.
[13] As we will also discuss later, the discs had been carefully piled upon each other (see previous note for reference).
[14] 1A.WAN5.

Figure 3.2 Chain-headdress fragments from West Stow. Average D. c. 3 cm
(© Suffolk County Council: photograph by Andrew Brown).

Finally, of this same type characterised by roundels of the (approximately) same size is another chain-headdress from the Stony Stratford deposit (Jackson and Burleigh 2018: Figures 167-8).[15] The central disc is decorated with a triangle elment framing a three-petal motif but this is embossed rather than applied over as for 1A.STO2. This object is also characterised by decorated strips interrupting the chains.

A few more fragments of terminals, discs, and chains in poor preservation state can be ascribed to the chain-headdress type. However, their fragmentary nature often frustrates interpretation as the same elements (chains, metal discs, pendants) are also parts of jewellery items, lamps and lighting implements, military fittings for armour, and horse harnesses.

This is the case for two sheet discs and a fragmentary knob element from the Stony Stratford deposit.[16] Although the knob has few chain-links attached directly on the rim and could thus be part of a chain-headdress, the flat discs do not display any loop nor hole, and more likely belong to a different unidentified object. A knob-shaped terminal from Farley Heath has been recognised as a chain-headdress' terminal (Bird 2007b: 47, n.77, figure 17).[17] It does not display any loop on the rim, and it is possible that the chains would have been attached directly on it. More dubious, and as such not included in this database, are some ring fragments from Wanborough (Bird 2007c: 208, 211, nn. 2-3). Similarly, a circular copper-alloy sheet and chains found during earlier excavations at Lydney Park were considered as part of a chain-headdress (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932: 91, n.143), however not enough of them is left, and the chains resemble more a chainmail than those pertaining to headgear.

[15] 1A.STO4.
[16] 1A.STO3. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=808515&partId=1&place=28956&object=23041&museumno=OA.252.106-110&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[17] 1A.FAR2.

3.2.2 Crowns

As items worn by priests, crowns are well known in the eastern provinces, especially paraded by the priests of the imperial house cult (Rumscheid 2000), and those of Cybele (Vermaseren 1977).[18] The crowns from Britain share with these examples the basic design of a headband circling the wearer's head horizontally. They also display a second headband crossing vertically over the wearer' head and, in some cases, a further band crossing over the last.

The most complete example of this type is offered by the crown from the deposit at Hockwold-cum-Wilton.[19] Here the crown's design is enriched by repoussé medallions depicting with bearded faces placed at the intersections of the horizontal headband with the two vertical ones. The junction between the vertical bands is marked by a pointed finial set on a circular base. This design has been linked to the *apex*, i.e. the terminal of the *flamines*' headdress (Henig 1984: 103). Certainly, this connection is intriguing, however, the similarities with some of the chain-headdresses' terminals just discussed points towards a local inspiration for the Hockwold crown's design.[20] While the chain-headdresses terminating in a knob from Wanborough are datable *ante* AD 160/70, the Hockwold crown is dated by context to the 3rd/4th century AD.[21] The possible chronological link between the two could be the Farley Heath headdress,[22] which retains the chain-headdress design, although adapting it to a shorter cap.[23] The chronological spectrum offered by the context of the Farley Heath finds is wide (between the 2nd and the 4th century AD), although still fitting for our reconstruction.[24]

[18] 2.3.2.
[19] 1B.HOC1. Picture available at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=817286&partId=1&images=true [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[20] See in particular the terminal of 1A.WAN2 (Figure 3.1).
[21] For the discussion of the dating of this context, 4.2.4.
[22] 1A.FAR1.
[23] As we have mentioned, the strap(s) at the end of the chains could have been connected by copper-alloy or leather bands rather than chains.
[24] Discussion in 3.6.

Only disarticulated elements survive of what was likely another crown from the deposit of Felmingham Hall.[25] Three straps display a bearded male wearing a diadem or headband decorated with rosettes.[26] While for the Farley Heath chain-headdress we are uncertain whether leather or copper-alloy bands would be attached to the straps,[27] copper-alloy bands were found in the deposit at Felmingham. These are decorated with dots impressed from the back; moreover, at least two of them are bent to form a hook, as to attach to the aforementioned straps (Table 4.2/straps).

The assemblage also contains two 'meeting pieces', i.e. terminals fitted with (quadrangular) loops as we have seen for the chain-headdresses, similarly ending in a knob at the top. One of these meeting pieces is characterised by squared loops positioned at 90°. A small bird foot is visible on the top of the terminal and Gilbert already proposed that a bird mount could have broken off from it (Gilbert 1978: 172). The mount was repaired in antiquity by attaching a new, slightly larger, bird figurine, of which only a foot remains set on a little lump of metal as the repair technique consisted in casting a small quantity of copper-alloy to solder the new mount.[28]

It is unclear whether the second breaking happened before the deposition, during it (as in a 'ritual killing') or while the object was in the ground. The two bird mounts found in the deposit were both interpreted as doves by Toynbee (1964: 127) or ravens (Gilbert 1978: 162) and Gilbert suggested that any of them could be pertinent to the top of this headdress (*op. cit.*: 168). However, the broken off feet of the 'raven' mount points toward this figurine as the preferable candidate (Boon 1974: 162), as the 'eagle'[29] (Gilbert 1978: *loc. cit.*) stands on a small globe. Unfortunately, there is no mention in the publication of whether the raven-mount and the terminal fit together.

It is more challenging to define the style of the three crowns found crumpled at Deeping-St-James.[30] A picture of the most complete example shows a sheet copper-alloy frame that encircles the head, and a vertical band that starts at the front reaching the back of the wearer's head (Painter 1971: pl. LXVIIa). Excised circles and round-cornered triangles are on the front and the sides of this frame. A discoloration around these circles suggested that the holes may have been lined with eyelets (Painter 1971), as we will see it is the case for the diadems from Cavenham Heath.[31] The lining was held in position by the top edge of the metal being folded over. The other two crowns seem to share a similar design, however only a few fragments were recovered (*ibid.*). Associated pottery finds and coins in the area date the deposit to the late 2nd/3rd century AD (*ibid:* 321).

Iconographical comparisons for the type of crown discussed in this section have been identified in two stone portraits (Baratte 2005: figures 3 and 5). One, now at the Palacio de Mirabel in Plasencia, wears a similar headgear and is interpreted as a priest of Mars (*ibid.*). The second, now at the Louvre with an unknown provenance, is a mid-2nd century AD portrait of a priest (*ibid.*). Both portraits wear a headdress consisting of a rigid structure that appear to be attached to a leather cap. On top of the headdress, a disk shows a hole in the middle for the insertion of an element, likely in metal, that did not survive. The example from Plasencia is of particular interest for our discussion of the 'crown' type, as it shows how a 'meeting piece', like the ones from Felmingham Hall, could have worked in action. The loops, which in the stone portrait appear covered under the fabric(?), are not arranged at 90° as in the chain-headdresses.

Baratte suggested that this portrait could show a local-style priest, because of his peculiar attire associated with the cult of Mars as the god is represented on the front of the crown (*ibid.*). The continuity of this type of local paraphernalia in the provinces has already been noticed for the chain-headdress and it certainly affected the 'crowns' as well, whose tradition, however, seems to extend chronologically between the 2nd and the 4th century AD, judging from their depositional contexts.

3.2.3 Diadems

Diadems consist of a horizontal band circling the head and a raised front element shaped either as a simple half-circle or modelled in different sections. The front is, in some cases, decorated with appliques or plaques. They are considered items of distinction (ornamental jewellery) or symbols of consecration (religious gear). Common attributes of goddesses in general (Boucher and Tassinari 1976: 41-45), particularly the half-moon examples, they also became an element of the empresses' hairstyle starting with the portrait of Drusilla (Rose 1997: 76-77) and remained in fashion until the early Byzantine period (Breglia 1966; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966). During religious performances, the

[25] 1B.FEL1.
[26] Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1363012&partId=1&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[27] 1A.FAR1, 3.2.1.1.
[28] Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365550&partId=1&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 19/10/2018].
[29] 2A.FEL1.
[30] 1B.DEE1-3
[31] 3.2.1.3.

diadem would have been worn over the *infula*, a woollen band circling the head. The *vittae* would be attached to this band, falling onto the shoulders. Similar diadems were also placed on animals that were to be sacrificed (Rose 1997: 77).

The most important British find of diadems is certainly the deposit from Hockwold-cum-Wilton.[32] Five copper-alloy diadems were retrieved at this site, all sharing a similar design. They display a tripartite raised front; in three cases, the diadems have curved top-endings, while the other two have pointed ones; the fronts are decorated with squared, circular, or diamond-shaped silver plaques. At the back of the head, the horizontal bands overlap and are kept in place by a small clasp, likely to make them adjustable in size (Toynbee 1962: 178).

Two diadems would have displayed rectangular plaques decorated with a figurative motif, topped by smaller ones. Only one, however, still displays all three rectangular plaques (Stead 1995: figure 31c).[33] Its raised front is shaped on the top in a rounded spike (centre) and two semicircles (on the sides). The central plaque shows a standing naked figure holding what would appear a crooked staff in his right hand and holding a small globe in his left hand. Both side plaques are decorated with a tall vessel with elongated handles, resembling a *kantharos*, on top of which are two small birds. The motif of the two handled *kantharos* is associated with the 'fountain of life' (Toynbee 1962, pl. 209), and the vessel is iconographically attested at Farley Heath (Bird 2007b; Bird 2011: 281) and at Water Newton (Hartley *et al.* 2006: n. 200; Bird 2011: *loc. cit.*). The presence of a late Roman brooch and coins dating to the end of the 4th century dates the deposition of the assemblage. However, as already noted by Toynbee, the diadems (and the crown) were likely earlier (Toynbee 1962: 178).

Two other complete diadems were found in the deposit at Cavenham Heath, together with the chain-headdress mentioned earlier.[34] One of the diadems is characterised by a horizontal band and an attached metal slip to adjust its size.[35] Stains on the surface reveal the application of metal (silver?) plaques (Layard 1925) in the shape of *aediculae* framing the figure of a deity (Toynbee 1962), similar to the images of deities reproduced on metal 'feather' plaques.[36] On the upper part, two circular stains frame an oval element (jewel?). The two metal loops visible on the front have been interpreted as for the attachment of copper-alloy 'feathers' such as the one found at the site (Layard 1925: 263; Toynbee 1962).

The second diadem from Cavenham belongs to a slightly different type.[37] The raised front is tripartite, but the top edge does not display any decoration. Discoloured traces are also visible, again indicating the presence of metal sheet appliques removed prior to its deposition. The fact that these appliques were stripped off the original support could be due to different causes. We might be in presence of a 'ritual killing' of the object, involving the selection of some of these appliques to be deposited, as we have noticed for some of the chain-headdresses and the diadems from Hockwold. Although, the fact that the removed plaques were not found in the deposit could also point to a removal of precious material. The two diadems from Cavenham Heath can be paralleled with the copper-alloy '*Kultkrone*' found in Xanten in 1929 (Menzel 1986: pl. 61; Von Prittwitz and Gaffron 1989). Instead of plaques, this elaborate diadem presents single deities worked in relief, separated by columns. The identification of the deities has linked this diadem to Ceres and her cult, and the diadem has been recognised as a priestly headgear to be worn during the festival of the *Cerealia* (Frateantonio 2001: 178).

A gilded silver plaque in the shape of an ear of wheat was found among the small finds from the Wanborough temple site: it is possible that it could have been attached to a copper-alloy diadem because of the holes visible on it (Bird 2007c: 208, 211, figure 28, n. 1). Diadems decorated with leaves appear on '*poignees métroaques*', copper-alloy chest handles found in northern Gaul and Belgium dating to the 3rd century AD (Faider-Feytmans 1979: nn. 183-8; Boucher 1981).[38] They all reproduce a similar design, with a bust of the goddess Cybele in the middle flanked by two lions. The handle terminates on both sides with two small busts of Attis ending in a bunch of grapes. This type of diadem is different from the more common attribute of the mural crown associated with Cybele, and the overall composition is peculiar to that geographical area (Boucher 1981). However, the Wanborough ear also resembles copper-alloy and precious metal 'feather' plaques which, in some cases, were nailed to shrines/temples' walls or set on stands to be displayed, which is probably the case here.

Finally, we briefly discuss here some copper-alloy sheets shaped as spiked half-moons from Lydney Park that have been interpreted as diadems (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932: pl. XXVII). The best preserved one is decorated

[32] Picture of the assemblate is available at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=824197&partId=1&place=25408&plaA=25408-3-2&page=1 [Last accessed 19/10/2018].
[33] 1C.HOC1.
[34] 1A.CAV1. See 3.2.1.1.
[35] 1C.CAV1.
[36] Examples of these plaques found in deposits are discussed in 4.2.6.
[37] 1C.CAV2.
[38] Picture available at: http://www.inrap.fr/en/la-ville-antique-de-fanum-martis-sous-le-technopole-de-valenciennes-nord-1228 [Last accessed 19/10/2018].

with a central *quadriga* led by a female character wearing a diadem. A marine *thiasos* is depicted on both sides of the chariot. This together with a second circular sheet of bronze, and some bronze chain fragments found during earlier excavations, were interpreted as possible diadems in the literature, classical in content and native in manufacture (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932: 91, n.143; Toynbee 1962; 338; Aldhouse-Green 2010; Allason-Jones 2011). However, the objects are more likely sheet decorative elements (Lundock J. and Worrell S., pers. comms. based on pictures), possibly decorating a statue, while the Wheelers initially interpreted them as vessel mounts (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932: 90, n.137).

3.3 Sceptres and spears

The Roman iconographical evidence shows sceptres as short staffs, '*Isignien-Zeichen*', held by the emperors as a symbol of power on gems (Meagow 1987: taf. 2.5, 3, 4.2) and reliefs (Koeppel 1983: 61, Kat.13), and by administrative officers as badges of office carried to symbolise their status (Eitrem 1942). A fragment of a sarcophagus preserved in a wall at Casino Belrespiro, Rome[39] shows a *consul ordinarius* (largest male figure) holding a short sceptre topped by an emperor's head, which identifies the consul as such (Calza *et al.* 1977: 256, tav. CLXVIII, 316 a-b). Examples of longer sceptres are known, as attested on a relief a '*siège d'honneur*' in front of a wreath, all symbols of high imperial officials (Eitrem 1942: 190, figure 1).

Similar to what we have noticed for headdresses, certain priesthoods were also identifiable because of peculiar sceptres. This is the case for the *lituus*, the wooden or metal, short, curved staff used by the *augures*, which also became an attribute of the emperors starting from the Julio-Claudian period (Siebert 1999: 130). There is also literary evidence for sceptres used as badges of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus: Octavius dreamt that his son, the future emperor Augustus, appeared to him 'with the thunderbolt, sceptre, and *insignia* of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, wearing a radiant crown.'[40] Finally, a short sceptre is also depicted on the funerary relief of the *archigallus* from Lavinium, which associates this badge of office also with Cybele's cult. [41]

Iconographic evidence for these types of sceptres seems to be absent in Britain, however, Creighton recognises a *lituus*-like staff on seven Late Iron Age coin-types and a long *lituus*-type on a pottery stamp (Creighton 2000: Figures 7.8 and 7.11). On the four coin-types displaying horses, the '*lituus*' appears together with other symbols, while two types display a seated figure holding a *lituus*. One type in particular (the Cunobelin's coin, n. VA2097:E8) clearly shows a bearded figure overturning a cup (a double-handled dish according to Creighton, *ibid*: 204) to pour a liquid on the ground, an action recognised by Creighton as a libation (*ibid*.). Moreover, a coin of Verica (n. VA533:S8) reproducing a naked male is suggested to be inspired by the cult statue of the Divus Caesar which represented him as a Hellenistic athlete holding a *lituus* (*ibid.*). This image has been interpreted as the reproduction of Commius' (Verica's father) cult statue and, together with other coin-types, would imply the introduction of a Commius' cult modelled on the cult of the Divus Caesar located on Hayling Island and started by his son Verica. Creighton suggests that these Roman-tradition regalia were not only understood but actually used by Late Iron Age rulers (*ibid.*).

In the Roman period, sceptres figure as attributes of deities in British iconography, as in the example of a relief from Gloucester depicting the goddess Rosmerta holding a long staff terminating in a pelta (CSIR I, 7, n.78). The relief is possibly from a shrine of Mercury, who also appears on the relief.[42]

In the archaeological evidence, sceptres are difficult to identify because complete ones are very rare, and the fragments (sceptre-heads, bottom terminals, and shafts), especially when found on their own, share the designs of other objects, mostly furniture and chariot fittings, which are more widely represented in the archaeological record. Probably for this reason, interpretations of continental comparable examples are very cautious to the point of often limiting the discussion to the sole description of the fragment without attempting an interpretation. In 1961, Jucker lamented that the only type of evidence available to the study of Roman sceptres depicting emperors was iconography (1961), and the only exemplar known to him was the 'Commodus' head from the deposits at Willingham Fen (*ibid*: 122-3).[43]

In general, sceptres are characterised by a wooden or metal (iron or copper-alloy) shaft often decorated with a (mostly copper-alloy) sceptre-head, in the form of a deity/emperor or an animal. The bottom terminal is configured as a cylindrical metal sleeve, terminating in a flat end or in a knob. The shaft is sometimes decorated with copper-alloy cylindrical elements. They come almost exclusively from deposits, where

[39] The modern insertion of an altar on the left is the result of a wrong interpretation of the scene (Calza *et al.* 1977: *loc. cit.*): the *consul* would have held his, now lost, wife's hand at the presence of Juno Pronuba (the veiled female figure on the left) in a classic depiction of '*dextrarum iunctio*'.

[40] Suet. Aug. XCIV, 6: cum fulmine et sceptro exuviisque Iovis Optimi Maximi ac radiata corona.

[41] 2.3.2.

[42] A similar image is used on a relief from Bath reproducing another divine couple, likely Mercury and 'Rosmerta' rather than Leucetius and Nemetona (CSIR I, 2, n.39), although in a coarser reproduction compared to CSIR I, 7, n.78.

[43] 2A.WIL1. Discussed below in 3.2.2.1/Emperors.

their pertinence to a sceptre/s is more easily assessed (the deposits at the temple site at Wanborough, Surrey and Willingham Fen, Cambridgeshire being the main contributors to this category).

The increase in discovery of sceptres in Britain and their recording through the PAS has dramatically changed this statement. Overall, however, there has been very limited recognition of the evidence for British sceptres, beyond the internal British cross-referencing. This tendency to geographical self-referencing of some British publications can lead to the impression that this type of evidence is somehow exclusive to this area.[44] To avoid this bias, the material evidence is discussed together with the archaeological and iconographic evidence from other provinces, as much as possible.

In some cases, it was possible to recognise sceptres/ or parts of one sceptre from different fragments. In this cases, group of separate elements (individually numbered in the appendix 2) are also given a second reference number to flag their pertinence to other pieces (e.g. 2B1.WAN13, 2B1.WAN15, 2B2.WAN2 make up 2D.WAN2).

A somewhat common find in the deposits of material discussed in this work is an object characterised by a spear-like terminal, usually pierced at the bottom for the attachment of rings (often preserved) and continuing in a narrow stem. These items have been labelled here as ceremonial spears, and they were likely to be carried in processions. Unfortunately, they are not commonly found whole, but often the number of fragments discovered sustains the possibility that they were broken before deposition. However, their fragmentary state, where often only the spear-head survives, prevents us from providing a sole description for this category. Overall, it is possible to divide the evidence in two main groups according to their design and this division is reflected in the way these spears are identified in the present database.

Tables at the beginning of each section list the database entries discussed. The code used in the database for the different parts of the sceptres is:

2A 'Sceptre-head'
2B1 'Sceptre-shaft'
2B2 'Sceptre-bindings'
2C 'Sceptre-terminal'
2.D 'Reconstructed sceptres'
3. 'Spears'

3.3.1 Sceptre-heads

Sceptre-heads represent heads or busts of deities and emperors, or animal figurines, almost exclusively birds, ranging in height between 4 and 6 centimetres, with few exceptions. The main issue affecting any possible identification of the original destination of these objects is that they are often found broken off from their original support. Once separated from their original shaft, their design makes them significantly similar to other, more commonly found, objects. Heads and busts of deities and emperors were often used, in fact, as furniture decoration especially for couches and tripods (for Roman examples of couches, tripods and furniture mounts, Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1990). These problems have caused a legitimate scepticism concerning the identification of many potential objects of this kind, resulting in cautious interpretations of these objects in most continental publications.

[44] However, we have found that the interpretations of possible similar objects in continental publications are more cautious than the British ones. See for example the Minerva 'sceptre-head' from Zülpich (3.2.2.1/Minerva).

Table 3.2. Sceptre-heads from Roman Britain.
SD=Structured Deposit; GG= Grave Goods; SF=Stratified Find; UF=Unstratified Find.

DB N.	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period
2A.AME1	Head	Amersham	Bucks.	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.AME2	Head	Amersham	Bucks.	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.BAL1	Head	Baldock	Herts.	UF	Urban, Unknown	Roman period
2A.BIN1	Head	Binstead	Hampshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.BIX1	Head	Bix	Oxfordshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.BRO1	Head	Brough-on-Humber	Yorkshire	GG	Rural, Burial	? 1st century AD
2A.BRO2	Head	Brough-on-Humber	Yorkshire	GG	Rural, Burial	? 1st century AD
2A.COT1	Head	Cottenham	Cambs.	UF	Rural, Shrine	AD 180-92
2A.DUS1	Head	Duston	Northants.	UF	Rural, Unknown	AD 161-69
2A.EAS1	Head	Eastbury	Berkshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	early Roman period (?)
2A.FAR1	Head	Farley Heath	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period

DB N.	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period
2A.GLO1	Head	Gloucester	Glos.	SF	Urban, Unknown	1st century AD
2A.HAV1	Head	Havant	Hampshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.KIR1	Head	Kirmington	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.LUD1	Head	Ludford Magna	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	2nd/3rd century (?)
2A.NET1	Head	Nettleham	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, (Temple)	AD 150-250
2A.STE1	Head	Steane	Northants.	UF	Rural, Unknown	AD 180
2A.STU1	Head	Sturton by Stow	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.UNK1	Head	Unknown	Suffolk	UF	Unknown	Roman period
2A.WES1	Head	West Stow	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.WIL1	Head	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.WIL2	Head	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.WIL3	Head	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.WOR1	Head	Worlington	Suffolk	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2A.WRA1	Head	Wragby	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	AD 150-250

Mars

Two of the best-preserved examples of sceptres from Britain were found in a burial in Brough-on-Humber, Yorkshire (Corder and Richmond 1938: plates XXX-XXXI). They share a similar design consisting of a copper-alloy sceptre-head shaped as a helmeted male bust,[45] mounted on a long iron rod terminating in a copper-alloy terminal. Even though the fragments of the shaft and of the bottom-terminal were no longer joined together (*ibid.* figure 1), it was possible for the publishers to reconstruct a whole sceptre, which reached a total length of *c.* 91 cm (Corder and Richmond 1938: figure 2). The reconstruction drawing shows three copper-alloy elements characterised by three knobs, while only two were found in the burial. It is likely then that the sceptre was shorter than its reconstruction, around 50/60 cm, which matches the size of other sceptres discussed here.

The helmeted deity has been recognised as Mars (Henig 1984), although no identifications were proposed by the original publishers (Corder and Richmond 1938), nor by more recent commentators (Aldhouse Green 2010: 204). However, the presence of the cavalry helmet and of the two snakes visible on the sides of the cuirass of 2A.BRO1 strongly supports the identification of Mars reproduced in a provincial style. In fact, representations of Mars with a horned snake are found in provincial settings, for example on an altar from Mavilly (Esperandieu, *Recueil* III 2067), on a relief from Vignory (Esperandieu, *Recueil* V. 3219), and in provincial copper-alloy figurines.[46] This iconography is considered to be a local interpretation of the deity, explained with his hypostasis of fertility deity or associated with a healing cult (Gualandi 1961; Green 1989). Representations of Mars with two snakes as in the case of the Brough-on-Humber sceptre-head are found on parade-armour pieces, like shin-guards (LIMC II, Mars: n. 477e, from Regensburg-Kumpfmühl)[47] and horse-blinkers (LIMC II, Mars: n. 478h, from Straubing).

Figure 3.3 Horse and Rider figurine from South Cambridgeshire L. c. 8 cm (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme).

From a stylistic point of view, the head 2A.BRO1 recalls that of a horse and rider figurine from South Cambridgeshire (Figure 3.3; PAS n. SF-99E3E4).[48] Representations of this deity have been recognised on Iron Age iconography (Aldhouse Green 1992: 73-

[45] 2A.BRO1; 2B1.BRO1.
[46] https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/gorny-and-mosch-gmbh/catalogue-id-srgor10000/lot-536ef2fc-6569-4d26-82a0-a401009e0626 [Last accessed: 30/10/2016].
[47] See also http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-roman-bronze-alloy-cavalry-parade-greave-3993902-details.aspx [Last accessed: 30/10/2016].
[48] PAS n. SF-99E3E4.

4), however it is in the Roman period that his image appears more often, iconographically conflated with that of Mars and characterised on inscriptions by specific epithets (Johns 1990: 450; Aldhouse Green 1992: 74). Evidence for this cult is found at several sites from Britain, attested by votive depositions of figurines and enamelled brooches (Johns 1990: *loc. cit.*).

The design of the second sceptre-head from Brough-on-Humber is in some respects different from the one described above.[49] The crest of the helmet adheres completely to the cap; the head is slender, while the facial features (nose, eyebrows, and cheeks) are all joined together, a treatment also observable on the head of a Mars figurine from Dragonby, North Lincolnshire (Figure 3.4.4; Durham 2012: Mars 13). Fragments from the shaft of this second sceptre are similar to those from the other Brough-on-Humber example, different only in the design of the copper-alloy decoration elements characterised here by a single knob rather than three; no bottom terminal was recovered. While the bust of 2A.BRO1 is shaped as a circle and the cuirass is plain but for the two snakes on both sides, the bust of 2A.BRO2 is triangular and the cuirass is decorated with incised lines highlighting the neck and the shoulders.

A precise date for these objects is difficult to determine, as no intrinsic element offers a clear indication. The date proposed by Corder and Richmond for the interment is the beginning/first half of the 2nd century AD, which is accepted here. However, Aldhouse Green suggested an earlier date in the Late Iron Age/early Roman period for the whole context (Aldhouse Green 2010: 204) based on the presence of the bucket which is also, although not exclusively, found in Iron Age burials.

A different type of sceptre-head reproducing a helmeted head is attested by three examples from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (Figure 3.4.1-3).[50] Their design is characterised by a cavalry helmeted head continuing in a sleeve without interruption. The style is local, although they differ slightly from one another in the treatment of the facial features.

A head from Nettleham (Figure 3.4.1; PAS n. LON-71ECB3) is characterised by a rounder head than the other three.[51] The helmet appears too small for the head, creating an effect of tightness on the head: this miniaturisation of the helmet appears even more clear in the reproduction of an extremely small crest. The eyebrows arches are wide; however, the eyes are quite small, and so is the nose; the face seems bearded. The neck continues in a polygonal sleeve which was inserted on an iron shaft of circular section, of which traces are visible inside the sceptre-head. Three small holes are also visible on the head suggesting its fix to the internal iron shaft via rivets.[52]

A sceptre-head from Kirmington has a more triangular shape.[53] The helmet is clearly traced compared to the Nettleham example and is decorated with incised lines; however, as in the previous example, the cap of the helmet adheres to the head and has almost no thickness. The crest has a precise half-moon shape. The face is characterised by almond-shaped eyes, a slender nose and a wide, oval mouth. Incised lines over the eyes and on the cheeks are used to trace the eyebrows and the beard. An octagonal sleeve starts immediately under the head; it is decorated with a series of three lines on each face of the shaft, probably marking the original ending of the sleeve and its attachment to an iron shaft. A parallel for this head can be found in the head of the Mars figurine from Dragonby, North Lincolnshire which shares a similar style (Figure 3.4.4; Durham 2012: Mars 13). This is also characterised by almond-shaped eyes and a long nose and the rendition of the helmet as a tightly adherent cap is also similar.

Finally, a worn helmeted head from Wragby (Figure 3.4.2; PAS n. YORYM-36E9D2)[54] shows a crest resembling the head from Kirmington on the front, although in this case the crest continues down the back of the head. The face has an oval shape, and it is possible to recognise the eyes and nose. The head is again attached directly to the tubular shaft, which is broken at the bottom.

A fourth head that is labelled as 'sceptre-head' in the PAS database was found at Wickenby (Figure 3.4.3; PAS n. NLM-5FBEB7).[55] The helmet is produced in a local style, with incised lines on the crest likely reproducing feathers. The crest is characterised at the bottom by a raised ending, a feature also noticed for 2A.BRO2. The face has an overall oval shape; the treatment of the facial features, which join together the eyebrows arches and the cheek-pieces, is also similar to that of 2A.BRO2, although in the Wickenby case, the chin is left free. The eyes appear swollen, somehow similar to those of the Kirmington head. Again, the shaft is attached immediately under the head, however, it reduces in size after a few millimetres. Rather than highlighting the neck's Adam's apple,[56] it is possible that this element marks the point of insertion of this head in a tubular element, probably in iron as suggested by the corrosion traces at the bottom of the head. The absence of any

[49] 2A.BRO2; 2B1.BRO2.
[50] For a discussion of the original context of these objects, see 4.2.2.2.2.
[51] 2A.NET1.
[52] The three holes are not noted in the PAS description. They could be the result of the corrosion of the copper-alloy by the internal iron shaft; however, they seem regular in shape, although not aligned.
[53] 2A.KIR1.
[54] 2A.WRA1.
[55] Comment in the PAS n. NLM-5FBEB7.
[56] Comment in the PAS n. NLM-5FBEB7.

Figure 3.4 Mars sceptre-heads from Lincolnshire
(©The Portable Antiquities Scheme). 1. from Nettleham. L. 5.4 cm. 2. from Wragby. L. 8.07 cm. 3. from Wickenby. L. 7.3 cm. 4. Mars figurine from Dragonby, North Lincs. H. 9.8 cm. 1st century AD.

hole for the insertion of nails or rivets, and this different design for its insertion, undermines the interpretation of this object as a sceptre-head, making it more likely to be a knife-handle. A similar design is in fact shared by a knife-handle reproducing a human head being pecked by a bird found in Cheshire East.[57]

It is difficult to provide a precise dating for the three sceptre-heads just discussed as they are either metal detector or chance finds in farmland. Nonetheless, we can argue that, as they share stylistic features with the sceptre-heads from Brough-on-Humber, they are likely to share with them and with the Dragonby figurine, a dating to the 1st/2nd century AD. A second observation can be made about the find-spots of these objects. Not only are they all exclusively found in the Lincolnshire/South Yorkshire area, but they can be added to the

[57] PAS n. LVPL1995. L. 3.6 cm.

finds of stylistically comparable Mars figurines. This probably links the production of these objects to a local workshop, or an itinerant metalsmith active in the region (Durham 2014: 212-3). More generally, the continuity of the cult of Mars in the area is attested by later classical style figurines dating to the 2nd/3rd century AD. The most famous example is probably the Mars from Foss Dyke, Lincolnshire (Durham 2012: Mars 31, with previous bibliography), to which two more recent finds from Blankney, Lincolnshire (PAS n. LIN-074A24; Durham 2012: Mars 972) and Yapham, East Yorkshire (PAS n. YORYM-CA4661; Durham 2012: Mars 923) can be added.

Minerva

Minerva busts are not rare among the Romano-British small finds, however, despite their iconographic grouping, they fulfilled different purposes. Four of these Minerva busts have been interpreted as sceptre-heads, however, almost none of them can be undoubtedly considered as such.

A Minerva bust from Silchester was identified as a 'sceptre-head' by Toynbee (Toynbee 1964: 81), while it was considered a generic Minerva bust by Green (1976: 195, pl. VIIIc). The overall design of the object resembles that of a wax *spatula*-handle, a common find also on the continent, especially because the treatment of the trapezoidal attachment of the blade (see for comparison, Menzel 1966: n. 188, plate 62, where it is considered to be a 'knife handle'; examples are also found in Belgium, Faider-Feytmans 1979: 251-3, pl. 101).

Similarly, two copper-alloy busts of Minerva from Woodeaton were both initially interpreted as sceptre-heads, as it was noted that their design would make it difficult to hold them if they were they handles of knives or mirrors (Kirk 1949: 7; 32, 40; Green 1976: 178). One of the busts is characterised by an overall coarse craftsmanship. The facial features are simplified and so is the reproduction of the breast plate (Kirk 1949: plate IVf). The bust stands on a trapezoidal die mounted on a rectangular one. According to Kirk's description, an iron shaft set in place by rivets was also present, although not visible in the published picture, and no indication of the shape of the shaft's section was given (*ibid.*: 40). The presence of this shaft prompted the identification of this Minerva's bust as a sceptre-head, on the example of the Brough-on-Humber ones. The triangular aspect of the bust, similar to that of the Silchester example, also terminating in a ridged cylinder, is however a common characteristic of furniture mounts mounted on iron shafts, as for example tripod mounts, as shown in the examples from Pocklington, Yorkshire, (Figure 3.5.1; PAS n. YORYM-EC06D2), Mid Suffolk (Figure 3.5.2; PAS n. ESS-A9905A), and Elmsted, Kent (PAS n. KENT-FE87D8).

The second Minerva bust from Woodeaton displays a more detailed execution, although the facial features, the elements of the helmet, and the Gorgoneion on her breast plate are extremely cursive.[58] Kirk does not mention the presence of a hole underneath the bust (*ibid.*), although his identification of the bust as a possible sceptre-head would imply it. Whether it was a simple base or part of a cylindrical sleeve to be attached to a staff (see Figure 3.5.2), it is impossible to say. However, a recent review of the copper-alloy material from the site at Woodeaton interprets it as a knife-handle.[59]

Finally, a Minerva bust from Stonea was also interpreted as a possible 'sceptre-head' (Henig 1984: 138), however the first publisher was sceptical on the possibility of identifying a specific use for this object (Johns 1981: pl. VIa). The shape of the bust is somehow peculiar within the range of expected variation, with the arms rendered as two stumps. The presence of these stumps is probably more functional than aesthetic, and it is consistent with the need for grip in a turning/screwing-type of motion. The polygonal shaft, together with its decorations, characterised by a double ridge at the bottom, brings the object closer to key handles, an interpretation also consistent with the dimension of the object (see for comparison, Leibundgut 1976: 95-97, plate 57, lengths: 12.2, 8.8, 5.9 cm). Nonetheless, it is worth noting that structures north of the camp at Stonea have been interpreted as possibly related to a temple structure (Jackson and Potter 1996; Malim 2005). Although this does not justify an interpretation of our Minerva bust as a sceptre-head, it offers further evidence for (possible in this case) votive deposition of objects depicting deities, regardless of their original function.

Some of the Minerva figurines found in Britain (33 examples collected in Durham 2012: Minerva), display a cursory craftsmanship comparable to the ones in our survey (Durham 2012: Minerva 124, 125=Green 1976, pl. VIIIj, 1150), although none of them offers a precise parallel for the ones presented here. Similarities can be traced between 2A.WOO2 and the Minerva's head from the Felmingham Hall hoard,[60] especially in the way the hair is parted in two bands of curls, and in how the helmet rests on the head. In both cases, the face of the goddess is reproduced as rather puffy, although the facial features are better detailed in the Felmingham Hall bust, likely due to both the higher status of the

[58] 2A.WOO2. Picture available at http://historicoxfordshire.ashmolean.org/images/SiteLarge/1921-159-woodeaton.jpg [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[59] http://historicoxfordshire.ashmolean.org/SitePages/woodeaton.html [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[60] Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365554&partId=1&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

Figure 3.5 British tripod mounts.
(©The Portable Antiquities Scheme). 1. Bacchus/Cupid bust from Pocklington. H. 7.79 cm. Roman period. 2. Serapis/Harpocrates from Mid Suffolk. H. 8.02 cm. Roman period. 3. Male bust from High Easter. H. 4.21 cm. Roman period.

object (this bust would have also had inlaid eyes) and the difference in size. Other parallels can be found when considering the craftsmanship, particularly the simplified facial features of both the Woodeaton examples compared to two cauldron mounts from Mid Suffolk (Figure 3.5.2; PAS n. ESS-A9905A) and from High Easter, Essex (Figure 3.5.3; PAS n. ESS-C925CE). Evidence for similar objects from the continent is scarce, and only a cylindrical sleeve topped by a Minerva bust from Zülpich, Germany has been identified as a generic mount to fit on a wooden stick, possibly linked to a shrine of Minerva (Menzel 1986: n. 218). This Minerva bust also displays an almost triangular shape like 2A.WOO2 as well as a similar arrangement of the hair and the helmet but lacks the inverted triangle element which identifies the British examples as wax *spatulae*.

Emperors

Iconographic representations of sceptres decorated with images of emperors usually depict them as busts, although heads are also attested. Two copper-alloy male heads and two busts and a wooden female head from Britain have been interpreted as sceptre-heads depicting emperors and an empress. Their identification is however not unproblematic.

A bearded head from Worlington, initially thought to portray Hadrian, has been recognised as a sceptre-head (Toynbee 1962: n. 2; Wilkes and Erlington 1978: pl. 7d; Henig 1984: 138).[61] The head is characterised by a schematic representation of the curly beard forking on the chin. The sides of the mouth are curved down; the almond-shaped eyes are carved rather than inlaid; finally, a row of stylised curls on the forehead frames the face. The head is cut at the bottom of the neck where a torc marks the end of the object. The head would have been attached to a (?wooden) shaft via rivets through the holes visible at the bottom of the neck. The presence of the torc is probably the attribute of a local deity rather than a Roman emperor, and the head has been more recently interpreted as Cernunnos, an interpretation also supported by the presence of two small holes on the top of the head for the fitting of antlers (Walker 2014). It is also possible that this object joins together the image of a Roman emperor with that of the god Cernunnos (Walker 2014: 233-4). However, doubts can also be raised about the interpretation of this head as part of a sceptre. The position of the head appears to be leaning out towards the viewer rather than standing upright as in the iconographic and archaeological evidence for sceptres, which makes this head more likely to be a fitting or a mount. Unfortunately, the little information about the context does not allow any further speculation.

[61] 2A.WOR1.

Figure 3.6 Head from Bix, Oxfordshire. H. 4.4 cm (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme).

The latest addition to the group of imperial sceptre-heads, is a small copper-alloy bearded head found at Bix, Oxfordshire (Figure 3.6; PAS n. BERK-BF8EC4Pearce and Worrell 2016: n. 14, 376-7).[62] The head was recognised by Byard and Henig as that of the emperor Hadrian or an Antonine emperor because of the full hair and beard (*ibid.*).

A sceptre-head from the deposit at Willingham Fen reproducing a bearded male was initially identified as Commodus by Rostovtzeff (1923) but later interpreted as Antoninus Pius (Alföldi 1949: plate II).[63] The original reconstruction of this sceptre-head matching a carved shaft- piece[64] and a bottom-terminal shaped as a club[65] (Alföldi 1949: plate I) was later discarded, because of the difference in diameters between the three elements (Jucker 1961). Nevertheless, the connection between the bottom-terminal and the decorated shaft element is undoubtable, considering that the desing of the collars is consistent.

A second copper-alloy bearded head with inlaid eyes reproducing Marcus Aurelius (Figure 3.7; PAS n. BERK-E24C84; Worrell and Pearce 2011; Walker 2014) has been recently recognised as a sceptre-head by Walker (2014), who dates it to after the emperor's death in AD 180 on the basis of stylistic comparisons (*ibid.*: 230).[66] A bust of Lucius Verus wearing a toga (Walker 2014: 231, figure 5b)[67] and that of the emperor Commodus wearing a helmet designed as a male head (Heichelheim 1937; Wilkes and Erlington 1978: 80-1; Walker 2014: figure 5c)[68] were probably meant to be mounted on a shaft. Commodus wears a torc and is dressed in a toga on which two snakes are visible, a detail that we have already noticed on one of the Mars sceptre-heads from Brough-on-Humber.

Figure 3.7 Marcus Aurelius from Steane, Northamptonshire. H. 16.2 cm (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme).

Only one head has been considered as the possible sceptre-head of an empress. A wooden, socketed head from Llanio has been identified as Crispina, Commodus' wife (AD 164-191) or Plautilla, Caracallas' wife (who died in AD 212) (Boon 1978: pl. III; Henig 1984: 138). Word of mouth reported by Boon (*ibid.*) recorded other wooden parts recovered from the site: an arm and hands, already lost at the time. However, he rejected the hypothesis that this head could belong to a wooden doll or a figurine because the head and the neck are made in one

[62] 2A.BIX1.
[63] 2A.WIL1.
[64] 2B1.WIL3.
[65] 2C.WIL1.
[66] 2A.STE1.
[67] 2A.DUS1.
[68] 2A.COT1.

piece (Boon 1978). Examples of wooden dolls from Rome show the existence of this design (Bordenache Battaglia 1983: 124-138) and a recently identified 3rd century doll design from Zeugma, Turkey (Feugère 2014: figure 2) is similar in design to the Llanio head. The identification of the head as that of an imperial consort, despite being suggestive, probably asks too much from the simplified facial features of this small head. It could be argued that the style is also close to the head of the cross-legged god from Bouray, or the Southbroom figurines (Durham 2014). Whether the Llanio head is that of a doll or a generic wooden figurine rather than a sceptre-head remains impossible to assess.

Other human heads

This section presents generic human-head mounts, whose precise identity is not certain. Only a bust flanked by two small birds remains of the sceptre-head terminal found in Ludford Magna, Lincolnshire (Henig and Leahy 1984: 388, figure 8).[69] The two birds lack the hooked beak of the eagle or the long one of the raven and have been tentatively identified as doves (*ibid.*). At the bottom, between the dove and the shaft opening, traces of small holes are visible, likely for the attachments of small rings or bells. Unfortunately, nothing remains of the head, however the presence of the two doves convincingly links this object to the cult of Venus.

An example from Eastbury, Berkshire[70] offers a type which is found in the iconographic evidence although regrettably poorly preserved (Foley 1991: figure 3). The terminal is shaped as a male head with a circular opening for the attachment to a shaft at the bottom. On both sides of this opening are two small holes (only one is preserved), likely for the attachment of rings or bells. The hole visible at the bottom of the neck was for the mounting of the head to a shaft.

Finally, a sceptre-head shaped as a human head consisting of a gold sheet sleeve was found at Gloucester (Green 1976: 171, pl. XXVc).[71] A small hole for its attachment is visible, and it was apparently filled with lead (*ibid.*). This type is similar to the Mars helmeted heads we have noted above, with a height similar to that of the Wragby example (Figure 3.4.2) (H. 8.07 cm).[72] In this case, the socketed eyes imply the use of inlaid material. Any discussion of the design is affected by the poor preservation; however, the type of ovoid head, with the facial features concentrating in the centre of the face are paralleled by the Southbroom figurines (Durham 2014). Found in the debris of a building dated to the 1st century AD, it remains unclear if it had a ritual function (Green 1976: *loc. cit.*).

In a few other examples of mounts in the form of heads, an interpretation as sceptre-heads was advanced. Two very similar heads depicting a hooded male from Amersham have been identified as Sucellus/Dispater, a deity who is often portrayed with his head covered by a hood decorated with circles to render the texture of an animal skin (Farley *et al.* 1988: 364-6, plates XVIIIa-b).[73] Henig (in Farley 1988) suggests that these heads could be tripod mounts rather than sceptre-heads, although broken above the attachment element.[74] This is due to the squared socket they display at the bottom, which is uncommon among sceptres. Regardless of their actual function, he considered them to retain a religious meaning. Dating these objects is difficult considering that they were found with a metal detector. In the same area two 4th century bowls were found nested together but with no other content. Whether these heads were originally part of this 'hoard' or not is unclear (*ibid.*).

Finally, a small head from Chalton was identified as a sceptre-head (Frere 1957: figure 1; Green 1976: 196), although its original identification by its first publisher considered it to be a metal cap for a small riding whip (Frere 1957: 218-9). Similar objects with a hoop mounted at the back of the head are weights (e.g. from Wallis, Switzerland, Leibundgut 1980: n.148: plate 150). However, our example is characterised by a hole for the insertion of a rivet, which is consistent with its attachment to a rod.

Birds

Some figurines representing birds have been interpreted as sceptre-heads by their publishers, drawing on a mostly Roman iconographic evidence depicting these objects. Many Celtic and Graeco-Roman deities have in fact birds as companions, and their representations in the form of figurines were a common votive offering in temples and shrines and as such are a common find in Britain (Durham 2012), and in the catalogues of bronzes from north-western Europe. The fortune of this subjects in various media affects the attempts to identify as 'sceptre-heads' small figurines of birds especially because they are often found broken off at the feet. It would be beyond the scope of this work to offer an exhaustive list of these figurines (for Britain see Durham 2012, and the catalogues mentioned in the bibliography for the north-west territories). However, the survey of the publications of these objects shows how any identification of their function is extremely

[69] 2A.LUD1.
[70] 2A.EAS1.
[71] 2A.GLO1.
[72] 2A.WRA1.
[73] 2A.AME1/2.
[74] See the examples from Italy, with (Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1990: figure 93, 95-99) or without (*ibid.*: 101-2) the back-attachment element.

Figure 3.8 Sceptre-heads shaped as eagles.
1. Binstead, Hampshire. H. 5.6 cm (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme).2. West Stow, Suffolk. H. 5.5 cm (© Surrey Archaeological Society: photograph by Andrew Brown). 3. West Stow. H. 4.6 cm (© Surrey Archaeological Society: photograph by Andrew Brown). 4. West Stow. H. 3.1 cm (© Surrey Archaeological Society: photograph by Andrew Brown). 5. Near Bosworth Field, Leicestershire. H. 5.45 cm (© The Portable Antiquities Scheme).

cautious and, more often than not, it is limited to their description (e.g. Boucher 1973: 258; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1977: nn. 102-107, 111; Leibundgut 1976: nn. 49, 52-3; Menzel 1986: nn. 161, 163, 165).

Owls

The small owl from the deposit at Willingham Fen is commonly considered a sceptre-head (Alföldi 1949: plate II).[75] This is one of the few examples where the legs and the base of the figurine are preserved. Four sceptres' bottom-terminals and four shaft elements were also found in the same deposit corroborating the identification of at least four sceptres,[76] and it is likely that this owl belongs to one of them. This small owl has an almost exact parallel in an example from Nijmegen, for which, however, an explanation of the function was not attempted (Jitta *et al.* 1973: 35, n. 47).

Eagles

The most popular subject of sceptre-heads depicting birds is the eagle (seven examples) and in almost half the cases the eagle is depicted standing over a globe. Eagles are a common find in Roman Britain as both the subject of figurines (Durham 2012) and as sacrificial animals (Durham and Fulford 2013). They are associated with Jupiter, as well as being related to military and imperial authority (*ibid.*).

The eagles reproduced as sceptre-heads often have a small round object in their beaks, an element also found in other examples of free standing figurines.[77] One from

[75] 2A.WIL2.
[76] See below 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.2.3.
[77] E.g. PAS n. PUBLIC-B4D2A8.

Farley Heath is broken at the legs (Bird 2007b: figure 21)[78] and displays the same technique in depicting the feathers on its back and wings as small circles used for the bird from Felmingham Hall already discussed.[79]

Another eagle from Binstead stands on a horizontal perch, below which it continues as a vertical shaft (Figure 3.8.1; PAS n. SUR-F7E8C4).[80] Its feathers are rendered as criss-cross lines. A crudely made eagle was found at Willingham Fen: it is again broken at the legs making it impossible to match it to any of the sceptre shafts from the deposit (Henig 1984: figure 62).[81]

Of three bird mounts were found in the deposit from West Stow (Figure 3.8.2-4; Minter and Brown 2010), one holds a small ball in its beak and stands on a globe and can be with most confidence interpreted as the terminal of a sceptre (Figure 3.8.4).[82] The other two bird figurines found in the deposit are votive figurines, one to be mounted on a base (Figure 3.8.2) and the other standing on a flattened globe (Figure 3.8.3). If the one standing on the globe can be recognised as an eagle, the current conservation state of the other frustrates a precise identification. Whether they reproduce the same bird is up for the discussion, but several elements stand-out. The three figurines display different qualities, with the sceptre-head presenting more proportioned features than the other two. However, they all share the same pawn-shaped feet feature, which is not found on other figurines of the same subject (e.g. compare the bird's feet on one of the Felmingham Hall 'meeting pieces'). This could suggest a signature feature of an artisan or shop. The difference in craftsmanship is probably due to the higher value of the sceptre-head compared to the votive figurines. The two votive figurines do not seem to be the work of a lesser-skilled craftsman, as the fine details of the bird's beak and the small ball it holds are quite fine, but the difference in execution is due to their different function.

Finally, a recent metal detectorist's discovery near Bosworth Field, Leicestershire (Figure 3.8.5; PAS n. LEIC-9F3451; Pearce and Worrell 2016: 374, n.11) presents an eagle standing upright on a small globe. The unnatural straight/flat pose of this example is similar to the ones from Farley Heath and Binstead, however, in those cases, the eagles' feet are perpendicular to their bodies.

Figure 3.9 Sceptre mount from Baldock. H. 3.16 cm (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme).

Others

A copper-alloy looped fitting shaped as a deer was found by a metal detectorist at Baldock, Hertfordshire[83] and it has been suggested to be a mount placed on a horizontal staff of a ceremonial sceptre/standard (Figure 3.9; PAS n. BH-989BB1; Henig's *comment* in PAS entry). As noted by Henig (*ibid.*), this arrangement recalls the 'sceptre' from the Sutton Hoo burial, which is also characterised by a deer attached on the top of a ring crowning the sceptre itself (Bruce-Mitford 1978: 314, figure 237). However, it is also possible that this mount belonged to a military standard.

Finally, we consider here two terminals that reproduce a cage-like type. They consist of a hollow terminal, of which one is an octahedron[84] and the other a dodecahedron[85] (Henig and Leahy 1989: figures 7-8). They share a similar structure: both terminals were

[78] 2A.FAR1.
[79] 3.2.1.2
[80] 2A.BIN1.
[81] 2A.WIL3.
[82] 2A.WES1.
[83] 2A.BAL1.
[84] 2A.STU1.
[85] 2A.UNK1.

attached to a shaft through a circular socket, pinched on one side for the insertion of a rivet. The publishers of these two terminals mention a similar example from Yorkshire which would have had a small ball inside (Henig and Leahy 1989: 323). Unfortunately, the object does not have further reference, but it is used to highlight how these sceptres could have been used in ritual ceremonies, producing a rattle-like sound (*ibid.*). Both objects are considered Roman in date because of their design resembling a dodecahedron (although only one of them is actually one),[86] but all the possible parallels cited in the publication note date to the Middle Ages.

Although Roman period parallels are not available to my knowledge, this design can be compared to sceptre-like objects characterised by a terminal shaped as a 'cage', sometimes topped by a bird. They date to the 7th century BC and are found almost exclusively in Central Italy (Boucher *et al.* 1980: n. 207), nonetheless, they appear to join a more widespread tradition of a cage-like sceptre-head attested also in Spain, in a variation of the Iberian *signa equitum* dating to the Iron Age (Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 2010).

3.3.2 Sceptre shafts

Sceptre-heads would have been mounted on a circular or polygonal shaft, a design also confirmed in the iconographic evidence (Eitrem 1942). As no polygonal sceptre-shaft nor terminal survived in Britain, all the sceptre-shafts discussed here display a cylindrical section (Table 3.3).

[86] For dodecahedra see 3.6.1.

Table 3.3. Sceptre-shafts from Roman Britain.
SD=Structured Deposit; GG= Grave Goods; SF=Stratified Find; UF=Unstratified Find.

DB N.	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period
2B1.BRO1	Shaft	Brough-on-Humber	Yorkshire	GG	Rural, Burial	? 1st century AD
2B1.BRO2	Shaft	Brough-on-Humber	Yorkshire	GG	Rural, Burial	? 1st century AD
2B1.GOD1	Shaft	Godmanchester	Cambridgeshire	SF	Rural, Temple	Roman period
2B1.STO1	Shaft	Stony Stratford	Bucks.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD
2B1.WAN01	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN02	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN03	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN04	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN05	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN06	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN07	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN08	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN09	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN10	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN11	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN12	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN13	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN14	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN15	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN16	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN17	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WAN18	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B1.WIL1	Shaft	Willingham Fen	Cambridgeshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2B1.WIL2	Shaft	Willingham Fen	Cambridgeshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2B1.WIL3	Shaft	Willingham Fen	Cambridgeshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period

In their simpler design, sceptre shafts are characterised by a smooth surface, as in the case of two shafts and a terminal from Wanborough,[87] and of the shaft from Stony Stratford[88] which is however characterised by incised lines on both ends and in the centre.

In the Wanborough cases (2B1.WAN2 and 2C.WAN1), this design is associated with shaft-bindings,[89] while in one case (2B1.WAN3) this shaft-type is found in connection with a ridged one. A few examples display this latter characteristic, more or less prominently (e.g. Bird 1996b: figure 1, n. 13).[90] Sometimes the ridges are decorated with lines carved transversally[91] or vertically[92] (Bird 1996b: figure 1, n. 13). A different design is characterised by ridges that separate the concave portions of the shaft.[93]

In some cases, the shafts are characterised by ridges raised from the body of the shaft in a minimal way,[94] while sometimes they were made into a flattened disk, as in the examples from Willingham Fen (Alföldi 1949: plate II)[95] and from Wanborough (Bird 1996b: figure 1, n.28),[96] while one from Godmanchester displays a smooth surface (Figure 3.10; PAS n. CAM-9423C1).[97] This type shares a similar design with chariot fittings (e.g. Faider-Feytmans 1979: n. 286) and furniture pieces (e.g. Richter 1915: 353, n. 1200; PAS nn. ESS-3C6539; SUSS-CD591A). In the case of the Willingham Fen and Wanborough examples, the contextual material allows one to confidently identify these objects as sceptre shafts and terminals, however when found on their own, uncertainty regarding their interpretation rises.

A unique example of sceptre shaft decoration is offered by a carved object from the deposit at Willingham Fen (Alföldi 1949: plate I).[98] this was initially believed to be part of a complex sceptre together with a club-shaped handle[99] and the Antoninus Pius sceptre-head already discussed[100] (Babington 1883: 85; Rostovtzeff 1923). This reconstruction was later abandoned as the diameters of the sceptre-head and the other two elements do not match (Alföldi 1949).

The shaft element is decorated with a small winged youth resting his foot on an unknown object, followed by a three-horned bull (also present in this same deposit as a mount),[101] a dolphin, and finally a bird standing on a small globe in front of a wheel. The bird could be interpreted as a raven, whose association with the wheel is attested in Britain (see the Farley Heath sceptre-binding discussed in 3.3.1). Although similar objects are found as decorative elements of couch or chair legs (Richter 1915: 353, n. 1200), this object is closer to the decorative elements of badges of office found elsewhere in the Roman provinces.

Figure 3.10 Sceptre terminal(?) from Godmanchester. H. 5.4 cm (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme).

A Serbian sceptre and a sceptre-mount, both in silver, can be recalled here for comparison (Popović 1994: nn. 198-9). The complete Serbian example is characterised by an original olive wooden shaft that diminishes in diameter from top to bottom and two silver nails with globular heads pinned to the shaft. The cylindrical element is characterised by figures of deities in high relief, while the top and the bottom are marked by two bands with a wreath-like decoration. The top of the sceptre could have been completed by an eagle or an emperor's bust. The deities have been identified with the *Dii Militares* -Minerva, Sol, Jupiter Capitolinus, Mars Ultor, a flying Victory, and Dea Roma sitting on a throne- and a *tropaeum*. Similarly, a second cylindrical element from Serbia presents the same design but the deities reproduced are different: Mars, Dioscuri, Heracles, Mercury, and Apollo. Both objects are considered products of an Italian workshop and date to the late Antonine period. They were used as badges of office, likely by a civic officer (*ibid.*). The sceptre from Willingham Fen is likely part of this tradition of badges as is confirmed by the choice of deities and symbols reproduced, that appear local in inspiration and might point towards a local (e.g. municipal and/or provincial) office.

87 2B1.WAN2-3;20-21; 2C.WAN1.
88 2B1.STO1.
89 3.2.2.2.1.
90 2B1.WAN4-9.
91 2B1.WAN14.
92 2B1.WAN19; 2C.WAN2; also visible in 2C.WAN5.
93 2B1.WAN18; 2C.WAN3.
94 2B1.WIL1; 2B1.WAN10-13.
95 2B1.WIL2.
96 2B1.WAN1.
97 2B1.GOD1.
98 2B1.WIL3.
99 2C.WIL1.
100 3.3.1/Emperors.
101 4.2.9.

3.3.3 Sceptre-bindings

Sceptre-bindings consist of a thin metal band wrapped around a metal or wooden rod and mounted on a sceptre-terminal via a rod. They are not common and are found exclusively at the temple sites of Farley Heath and Wanborough (Table 3.4). It has been observed in the examples from Wanborough that these were not equipped with a sceptre-head but rather looked like batons (Bird 1994).

Only one sceptre-binding has been recognised outside the two Surrey sites. This was mentioned by Green as coming from the Chedworth villa, Gloucestershire (1976: 174).[102] Her brief description of a copper-alloy small strip is unfortunately not accompanied by any picture and the object is not mentioned by Baddeley (1930) in his publication of the site, nor by Webster in her later assessment of the complex (1983).

Only in one case from Farley Heath does a sceptre-binding display a decoration.[103] The binding was originally found still attached to an iron terminal via a large round-headed nail and was wrapped around a wooden staff (Brailsford 1958: 62, figure 31, 8; Goodchild 1938; Bird 2007b: n. 78).[104] The decoration is embossed from the rear; the dots were punched, whilst the figures and symbols were executed with a chisel-ended tool.

The animals and human figures reproduced on the objects have been recognised as or associated with Gallo-Roman deities (Goodchild 1938; Black 1985). The birds have been interpreted as ravens (*ibid.*) and eagles (Goodchild 1938) and the animals as dogs, deers (Goodchild 1938), or wolfs (Black 1985). A human head wearing a helmet with cheek pieces (Black 1985) has been identified with Taranis, the Celtic wheel-god, also because of the presence of a wheel (Bird 2007b). The long straight line terminating in a trident is usually interpreted as tree trunk with branches and roots (Goodchild 1938; Black 1985), althouhg, if the head is indeed of Taranis, the presence of a stylised lightning bolt is more fitting.

Two objects have been recognised as tongs (Black 1985), although they do not look alike. They have been linked to the Celtic smith-god Sucellus identified in the nude male figure (*ibid.*), althouhg the Roman God Vulcan was also suggested (Goodchild 1938). Two hammers and a cup depicted above the 'Sucellus' figure have also been linked to this deity (Black 1985). The binding is interrupted after a series of V-shaped lines around a rectangular element, and overall most figures are surrounded by U-shaped or V-shaped symbols.

Although the attempts to interpret the figures and the symbols represented on this binding are commendable, their reproduction is quite schematic and challenge a realistic interpretation. In fact, we have to wonder to what degree we can really recognise Celtic deities as Nantosuelta and Sucellos, whose surviving imagery is usually reproduced in a classical style, while here the figures are reproduced in a highly cursory and miniaturised way.

This binding also allows us to reflect on instances of object appreciation and portability. Considering the small dimensions of this binding (the average width is *c.* 3 cm) as well as the fact that it would be wrapped around a staff, we are left to wonder what type of visibility

[102] 2B1.CHE1.

[103] 2B2.FAR1. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=257434001&objectid=808757 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

[104] Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=808758&partId=1&searchText=Roman%20Britain [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

Table 3.4. Sceptre-bindings from Roman Britain.
SD=Structured Deposit; GG= Grave Goods; SF=Stratified Find; UF=Unstratified Find.

DB N.	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period
2B2.FAR1	Shaft (Binding)	Farley Heath	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period
2B2.WAN01	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B2.WAN02	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B2.WAN03	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B2.WAN04	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B2.WAN05	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B2.WAN06	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2B2.WAN07	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170

this scene really had from any viewer but (maybe) the holder. The only way to read the images and appreciate any possible narrative[105] would be if someone were to spin it around. This is one of those instances where we should re-think our conception of the perfect ancient viewer as all knowledgeable and thus capable to fully understand any iconographic representation, as the knowledge that each viewer brings in can be extremely varied (Hughes 2009). As such, even if these figures do represent these or other local/regional deities, it is worth reflecting on who would have actually been able to recognise them on this object, the meaning of carrying this object around, and the response to it by the viewers. For this reason, the value of this object for this study is less in its figurative decoration and more in its value as object-in-action: here the decoration, compared to the plain ones, certainly added a level of intrinsic religious/ritual meaning which would be amplified when it was paraded around.

[105] The succession of images has been interpreted also as a possible ceremonial scene (Black 1985).

3.3.4 Sceptre-terminals

Sceptre-terminals are characterised by a long sleeve closed at the bottom, which could be flat, round, or terminating in a knob. Objects pertaining to this category are the most difficult to recognise in the archaeological record especially when found on their own (e.g. as metal detector or field-walking finds). Only when found in the deposit, as for the examples from Brough-on-Humber, Felmingham Hall, Stony Stratford, and Willingham Fen or in connection with other sceptre-fragments (e.g. sceptre-bindings, like at Wanborough), their identification is more certain.

Flattened-end examples, often giving the terminals a trumpet shape, are found at Pitton and Farley,

Table 3.5. Sceptre-terminals from Roman Britain.
SD=Structured Deposit; GG= Grave Goods; SF=Stratified Find; UF=Unstratified Find.

DB N.	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period
2C.FAR1	Terminal	Farley Heath	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period
2C.GRE1	Terminal	Great Waldingfield	Suffolk	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2C.MUN1	Terminal	Muntham Court	Sussex	UF	Rural, Temple	1st century AD
2C.PAL1	Terminal	Palgrave	Suffolk	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2C.PIT1	Terminal	Pitton and Farley	Wiltshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period (AD100-200)
2C.SNO1	Terminal	Snow's Farm	Gloucestershire	UF	Rural, shrine	Roman period
2C.STO1	Terminal	Stony Stratford	Bucks.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD
2C.TAN1	Terminal	Tandridge	Surrey	UF	Rural, Unknown	AD 100-200
2C.WIC1	Terminal	Wickenby	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2C.WIL1	Terminal	Willingham Fen	Cambridgeshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2C.WIL2	Terminal	Willingham Fen	Cambridgeshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2C.WIL3	Terminal	Willingham Fen	Cambridgeshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2C.WIL4	Terminal	Willingham Fen	Cambridgeshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2C.WIL5	Terminal	Willingham Fen	Cambridgeshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period
2C.WAN1	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2C.WAN2	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2C.WAN3	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2C.WAN4	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2C.WAN5	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2C.WAN6	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2C.WAN7	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170
2C.WAN8	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170

Figure 3.11 Examples of flattened-end sceptre-terminals. 1. From Pitton and Farley. H. 3.38 (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme). 2. From Tandridge. H. 6.5 cm (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme).

Figure 3.12 Pommelled sceptre-terminals. 1. From Great Waldingfield. H. 3.18 cm (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme). 2. From Palgrave. H. 2.08 cm (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme).

Wilthsire[106], Tandridge, Surrey[107] (Figure 3.11.1-2; PAS n. HAMP-ADC525; PAS n. SUR-E5BC26), Farley Heath (Bird 2007b: figure 21, n. 80),[108] and Stony Stratford (Jackson and Burleigh 2018: figure 156).[109] The decoration with ridges and incised lines is similar to the treatment of some of the sceptre-shafts we discussed above, however, the flattened end suggests the need for the object to stand up right, thus making these objects similar to furniture-feet and candle-holders especially, considering their small size. Moreover, these objects do not present holes to secure their attachment to the internal rods via rivets as we have seen for the sceptre-heads, also undermining their identification as sceptre-terminals.

Other examples are characterised by a more pommel-like ending. This category comprises the examples from Willingham Fen (Alföldi 1949: plate II)[110] and from Great Waldingfield (Figure 3.12.1; PAS n. SF-427411),[111] Palgrave (Figure 3.12.2; PAS n. SF-7C15F3),[112] Snow's Farm (Evans and Hodder 2006: 359, figure 7.29.5),[113] and Muntham Court (Green 1976: 220, plate XXVf).[114]

In some cases, as for two examples from Willingham Fen and Snow's Farm, the terminals are characterised by a splayed surface to ease the grip, an element found commonly on bone swords' hand-grips and knives (e.g. Chapman 2005, 11; ref. Ab07; Bishop and Coulston 2006). Only in the larger of the Willingham terminals, the presence of wood suggests that the terminal was part of a baton.[115]

A stand-alone sceptre-terminal type is attested by the club-shaped terminal from the deposit from Willingham Fen (Alföldi 1949: plate I)[116] and a similar one from the

[106] 2C.PIT1.
[107] 2C.TAN1.
[108] 2C.FAR1.
[109] 2C.STO1.
[110] 2C.WIL2-5.
[111] 2C.GRE1.
[112] 2C.PAL1.
[113] 2C.SNO1.
[114] 2C.MUN1.
[115] 2C.WIL5.
[116] 2C.WIL1.

deposit from Felmingham Hall (Gilbert 1978: Figures 7a-8b).[117] The Willingham Fen one is characterised by an overall drop-like shape and regularly shaped 'knots', also designed as drops. The club appearance of this terminal was used in one of the first commentaries to suggest an affiliation of this object to the cult of Hercules-Commodus (Rostovtzeff 1923; *Infra*: 3.3.1: Emperors). Discarding this interpretation, this 'club' was interpreted by Alföldi as a *baetylus*-like object found in several representations of rural shrines on Italian frescos and mosaics (1949). However, several examples of copper-alloy individual clubs are found in Museum collections. Most of them represent clubs in a naturalistic way and are usually considered attributes of lost Hercules statuettes (e.g. Fleischer 1966: cat. n.93) or figurines (e.g. Faider-Feytmans 1979: nn.144-45; Galliazzo 1979: n. 40; Ippel 1922: n. 13, plate V), depending on the size. Examples with a more stylised design closer to the Willingham Fen one are found on a variety of different objects, like in 'pantheistic' pastiches or *signa panthea* (e.g. Menzel 1969: n.219), as knife-handles (e.g. Menzel 1986: n. 255, plate 117: L. 7.4 cm), lamp-stands (Leibundgut 1976: n. 91, plate 56: H. 15.8 cm), and chair-feet (Boucher *et al.* 1980: 55, nn. 284-5; Bolla 1997: n.109. H. 16.2 cm). The popularity of this club-like design across different media shows the inspiration behind this type of object and qualifies this sceptre-terminal as a somewhat fancier version compared to the ones discussed earlier. Similarly, the treatment of the surface and the size of the terminal do not appear to facilitate the grip suggesting that the objects might have been held by the staff rather than by the terminal.

The survey of the terminals leaves us with some ambiguous objects that are clearly generic handles, but that cannot undoubtedly be identified as sceptres-handles. Nonetheless, the Wanborough examples can be confidently recognised as such and are consequently often used as comparisons of other, less immediately recognisable, finds. The Willingham Fen terminals are slightly more problematic as they share the designs of 2nd century knife-handles, as do the Snow's Farm and Multham Court examples. However, the Willingham Fen ones preserve part of the woodens shaft inside the copper-alloy terminals, sustaining more strongly their interpretation as sceptre-terminals. Finally, given their small size, the examplars from Great Waldingfield and Palgrave cannot be confidently recognised as sceptre-terminals.

3.3.5 Ceremonial spears

Two types of ceremonial spears have been distinct in the archaeological evidence:

> 3A indicates the simple leaf-shaped spear-head design, often characterised by the presence of two holes at the bottom of the head, likely to hang rings/and or bells.
>
> 3B are those spear-heads that are characterised by multiple fins. In these case the spear-heads are socketed and would have been inserted on top of (?metal) shafts.

[117] 3A.FEL1.

Table 3.6. Ceremonial spears from Britain.
SD=Structured Deposit; GG= Grave Goods; SF=Stratified Find; UF=Unstratified Find.

DB N.	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period
3A.FEL1	Complete	Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	*post* AD 225
3A.FEL2	Complete	Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	*post* AD 225
3A.MIL1	Complete	Milton Ferry	Cambridgeshire	UF	River	Roman period
3A.BRI1	Head	Brigstock	Northamptonshire	SF	Rural, Temple	mid 3rd/ 4th century
3A.BRI2	Head	Brigstock	Northamptonshire	SF	Rural, Temple	mid 3rd/ 4th century
3A.BRI3	Head	Brigstock	Northamptonshire	SF	Rural, Temple	mid 3rd/ 4th century
3A.BRI4	Head	Brigstock	Northamptonshire	SF	Rural, Temple	mid 3rd/ 4th century
3A.BRI5	Head	Brigstock	Northamptonshire	SF	Rural, Temple	mid 3rd/ 4th century
3A.CAR1	Head	Caerleon	Casnewydd	SF	Rural, Fort	Roman period
3A.LOW1	Head	Lowbury Hill	Berkshire	UF	Rural, shrine	Roman period
3A.LOW2	Head	Lowbury Hill	Berkshire	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period
3A.LOW3	Head	Lowbury Hill	Berkshire	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period
3A.WES1	Head	West Stow	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period

DB N.	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period
3B.ALD1	Head	Aldworth	Berkshire	SF	Rural, Unknown	second half 2nd/early 3rd century
3B.BRI1	Head	Brigstock	Northamptonshire	SF	Rural, Temple	2nd/early 3rd century
3B.FEL1	Head	Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	*post* AD 225

There are only two examples in Britain of a complete ceremonial spear-head of the 3A type. One was found in the deposit from Felmingham Hall (Gilbert 1978: Figures 7a-8b).[118] Although now in two pieces, intentionally broken before its deposition, this ceremonial spear reached a total height of *c.* 64.5 cm. The spear-head is very corroded, however it is possible to recognise two small holes at its bottom. Although none was preserved, it is likely that these holes were meant for the suspension of small rings. The long stem does not have any 'collar' element, as it is the case for some of the sceptres we discussed. The shaft ends in a bottom terminal shaped like a mace ending in a knob, like the one described from Willingham Fen.[119]

This leaf-shaped spear-head with the tip terminating in a knob is also attested in an example from the deposit from West Stow (figure 3.13).[120] Here, its well-preserved state allows us to note the serrated treatment of the edges at the bottom of the spear-head.

Similarly, one of the three spear-heads from Lowbury Hill terminates in a knob and is also characterised by two holes punched at the base, of which one preserved a ring when found (Atkinson 1916: 49, n.19; Bagnall Smith 1995: figure 18).[121] However, this spear-head displays a more classical spear-like way of attachment, as it is characterised by a tubular socket that would have fitted over a shaft. There are other examples from Lowbury Hill of spear-heads terminating in a knob but without holes at the base. One had been intentionally bent[122] and the other had a crescent or a broken ring at the top instead of a knob (Bagnall Smith 1995: 194).[123] A more complex example is found in the deposit at Felmingham Hall, where the spear-head is topped by an eagle figurine,[124] as it is shown in an early drawing of the content of the assemblage, although broken off from it.[125]

A variation of this type is offered by the other complete ceremonial spear, which was found in the mud at the bottom of the River Nene at Milton Keynes (Green 1975: pl. 1, figure 1).[126] The spear is characterised by an oval

Figure 3.13 Ceremonial spear-head from West Stow. H. 10.7 cm (© Suffolk County Council: photograph by Andrew Brown).

head terminating in a knob and pierced at the bottom in two points for the attachment of rings. The circled-sectioned shaft displays horizontal and oblique incised lines and St Andrew's crosses, of which two are also visible on the square-sectioned bottom terminal ending in a diamond-shaped knob.

Two fragmentary examples from Brigstock are of the same type (Greenfield 1963: figure 5, nn. 4-5).[127] Both are characterised by an oval, rather than strictly spear-like, shape and a stem with a circular section. One of them still has its knob terminal[128] but its sides are not well preserved enough to recognise holes for the attachment of rings, which are however present on the second one.[129] It is possible to recognise a miniaturised

[118] 3A.FEL1.
[119] 2C.WIL1.
[120] 3A.WES1.
[121] 3A.LOW1.
[122] 3A.LOW2.
[123] 3A.LOW3.
[124] 3A.FEL2. See above, 3.2.2.1/Birds/Eagles.
[125] Picture available at: http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk/record-details?mnf7533 [Last accessed: 20/10/2018].
[126] 3A.MIL1.
[127] 3A.BRI1-2.
[128] 3A.BRI1.
[129] 3A.BRI2.

version of this type in a little iron spear from Baldock,[130] from the a deposit of model votive weapons buried in a late 4th century well in the immediate vicinity of the shrine (Stead and Rigby 1986: 149). Copper-alloy was however not the only material used for these objects. An example in silver was found at Caerleon: this is a heart-shaped thin spearhead characterised by two small holes.[131]

The second type of ceremonial spear-head is characterised by multiple fins pierced at the bottom by small holes for the attachment of rings (3B) and is attested by three examples in Britain. One is a fragmentary spear-head from Aldworth (Henig and Cannon 2000: figure 4)[132] consisting of three fins joined together. At the centre of each fin is a small female bust (although only two are preserved) which have been interpreted as the three Mother Goddesses (*ibid.*).

A second, although slightly different example, was found in the Felmingham Hall deposit.[133] It is characterised by four fins, each pierced at the bottom for the attachment of small rings, all of them preserved. The very top of this spearhead is missing. Although it is broken just under the ridged section transitioning to the shaft, which again would have been very narrow, a compatible shaft fragment was found in the assemblage, suggesting again an intentional breaking before the deposition.

Finally, a third variation of this type is offered by a spearhead from Brigstock (Taylor 1957: pl. XVIII).[134] This time, the four fins are joined together at the top and then continue in a long stem ending in a knob decorated with traverse lines. The bottom corners of the fins are broken, however, it is likely that they were pierced as in the other examples. The same arrangement of a long stem terminating in a knob is shared by a wand from Dinorben, Denbigshire (Willoughby and Savory 1964: 138-40, figure 141 n.8). Here, a long socketed stem terminates in a small pinecone. Because of the archaeological context at Dinorben (a Romano-British high-status house), Toynbee suggested that the object might have been used in domestic ceremonies (Toynbee 1964).

An object catalogued as an iron 'cult spear-head' found in a structured deposit at the shrine site at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire and dating to the late 2nd-3rd century AD (Scott 2009: 220-1, figure 5.27) is better interpreted as a *beneficiarius* spear-head instead. These spear-heads are fairly commonly found in the Roman world, both in iconographic and material evidence, in different designs (Alföldi 1959). The identification of the type makes it then more likely that the object was dedicated as votive rather than being a ceremonial tool, as attested in other provincial contexts. A similar deposition of a different type of copper-alloy ceremonial spearhead emerged in a votive bog deposit next to the Jupiter temple in Großer St. Bernard Pass, Switzerland (Leibundgut 1980: 108, nn. 125-126).

3.4 Divination devices

The divination devices presented here belong to two different categories. One is that of the 'rattles', objects characterised by two bowl-like objects joined together and attached to a handle so that the device could be shaken. Rods are the second type of divination objects discussed here. These are recognised with certainty only in a grave from Stanway, Essex.

3.4.1 Rattles

Among the objects from the Felmingham Hall deposit is also a so-called 'rattle'.[135] It was found in pieces, marking a ritual destruction before its deposition as all the pertinent pieces were present in the assemblage. Initially interpreted as a *patera*, it was successfully

[130] 3A.BAL1.
[131] 3A.CAR1.
[132] 3B.ALD1.
[133] 3B.FEL1. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=808324&partId=1&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed: 20/10/2018].
[134] 3B.BRI1.
[135] 4A.FEL1. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365546&partId=1&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed: 20/10/2018].

Table 3.7. Divination devices from Roman Britain.
SD=Structured Deposit; GG= Grave Goods; SF=Stratified Find; UF=Unstratified Find.

DB N.	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period
4A.FEL1	Rattle	Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	*post* AD 225
4A.STO1	Rattle	Stony Stratford	Buckinghamshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD
4A.STO2	Rattle	Stony Stratford	Buckinghamshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD
4A.WOO1	Rattle	Woodeaton	Oxfordshire	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period
4B.STA1	Rods	Stanway	Essex	GG	Urban, Burial	Roman period

reconstructed by Boon and recognised as a divination object (1983). The presence of a hole in the centre of one of the hemispheres suggested that beads (*sortes*) were inserted in the 'rattle' and after a shaking motion they would be tossed out of the device and interpreted according to the position and/or the order of the beads fallen out.

Two further examples in copper-alloy can be recognised in the deposit at Stony Stratford.[136] Again they were made of two joining halves, of which one has a hole in the middle. Neither has a handle, unlike the Felmingham Hall example. Finally, a third example from Woodeaton has the same design and appears to have been 'ritually killed' before its deposition as the handle was bent and wrapped around the body (Bagnall Smith 1999: figure 11, n. 162).[137]

The British examples are matched by similar Gallic examples in terracotta, which are interpreted as toys (Durand 1992; see also the example from a grove at Delle, Territoire de Belfort in *Instrumentum* 2003). However, the best parallel is offered by the rattle found at the sanctuary at Vieil-Évreux, Normandy (Fauduet 1992: 145, n.1070).[138] The rattle is again formed by two joining hemispheres, covered by a silver foil. One small glass ball was also found with it, confirming its interpretation as divination rattle (Fauduet 1992: *loc. cit.*).

Small iron objects characterised by small holes bearing rings found at different sites in Britain can also be considered rattles (Figure 3.14; *London Museum*: 108, nn.1-3; Green 1976, 222).[139] They are characterised by a thin, twisted stem terminating at the top with a flattened or arrow-shaped head. The head often display rings of different sizes and, in some cases, the stem itself ends in a ring, prompting us to wonder whether these objects all shared the same function. In fact, the size of the rings appears in some cases too small to produce any relevant 'rattle' sound, and it is possible that something else was meant to be attached to the rings (Manning 1986), possibly bells. An example from Colchester is slightly different from the London ones, as the stem has a flattened end that was also pierced to hang rings (Manning 1986: 144-5, n. S144).

Figure 3.14 Two examples of 'rattles' from London. Left. L. 21.5 cm. R. 6.8 cm (© Musuem of London Archaeology).

While all these 'rattles' are from the urban settings of London and Colchester, three examples are documented from the temple shrine at Brigstock (Greenfield 1963: 243, n.6-8, figure 7). All the 'rattles' are consistent in dating, when available, with the Brigstock examples found in contexts dating to mid-3rd/4th century, and the Baldock ones to the 3rd century (Manning and Scott 1986).

The interpretation of these objects as rattles was firstly advanced by Wheeler (1946) in his edition of

[136] 4A.STO1. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=808352&partId=1&place=28956&object=23041&museumno=OA.252.100-105&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
4A.STO2. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=1613156294&objectid=808352 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

[137] 4A.WOO1.

[138] Picture available at: http://www.ascasonline.org/articoloGENNA166.html [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

[139] Pictures of these and other rattles in the Museum of London are available at: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/search/#!/results?terms=Roman%20rattle [Last accessed: 20/10/2018].

the London examples, and followed by Green (1975: 2). Manning considered that they could have had a ritual function because of their unusual aspect, however he did not rule out a non-ritual use (1986: 145).

3.4.2 Rods

Objects identified as divination instruments were discovered in a cremation burial from Stanway, Essex, also known as the 'doctor's burial' (Crummy *et al.* 2007: 201-253). Eight rods were found in the north-west sector of the burial pit together with a surgical kit, a game board, and other grave goods.[140] The rods all share the same design, with a rounded end on one side and a spatula-like end on the other, although four are in copper-alloy and four in iron. They consistently differ in sizes indicating that they are part of a set; there ar two copper-alloy long ones (40.2 cm and 39.9 cm) and two shorter ones (both 3.57 cm). Similarly, there are two iron long ones (39.8 cm and 39.2 cm) and two short ones (3.58 cm and 3.59 cm).

The copper-alloy ones all preserve their rounded ends, compared to the iron ones where they are not as well preserved. At the centre of each rounded end, there is a small sunken area, roughly triangular (in two rods), circular, or squared. The characteristic shape of these objects has been linked to *styli*, a writing device also characterised by a spatula-like ending for erasing and a pointy end for writing (*ibid.:* 224). The Stanway rods are too large for this function, although they could have been used instead to trace (and then erase) marks on the ground (*ibid.:* 228) to construct the divination field.

Being found in association with a surgical tool set, the rods have been interpreted in connection with divination practices performed by medical professionals (Jackson 1988: 138-69; Brunaux 1988: 132-3; Crummy *et al.* 2007: 228). This type of divination practice is known thanks to Tacitus' mention of the divination practices of the Germani, both in public and domestic settings, consisting in casting rods and then interpreting their position as well as which of the signs traced on them were showing.[141] In the case of the Stanway rods, their difference in material and size would have resulted into different combinations and, consequently, different messages (*ibid.:* 229).

The small sunken areas on the rounded ends of the Stanway rods have been linked to casting, the production process of the rods (*ibid.:* 228). The publisher of the grave also compared these small depressions to the ones found on a pair of brass *styli* from a 3rd century male grave from the Colchester cemetery in Butt Road (Crummy 1983: 104, figure 107; Crummy 1993: 51, G70. L. *c.* 9 cm). In this case, the depression is explained by the possibility to attach a tip to the stylus so that it could be used to write in ink on paper as well as on wax (Crummy 1983: 104). However, it is possible that these symbols were also involved in the divination process, as different combinations of them, once casted, could have resulted in different meanings.

A rod-type object was among the small finds from the ritual site at Snow's Farm (Evans and Hodder 2006: 358-60, figure 7.29, n. 6, L. 35.7 cm). It presents horizontal lines incised on the shaft and it terminates in a knob decorated with vertical lines. The object is broken at the bottom end, where the shaft flattens, and that could suggest a spatula-shaped end like the exemplars from Stanway.

3.5 Others

3.5.1 Dodecahedra

Dodecahedra are copper-alloy hollow objects varying in diameters between 4 and 11 centimetres. They are characterised by twelve pentagonal faces, each of them with a hollow circle in the centre. Dodecahedra are found on many sites in the Roman world, although most commonly in the Three Gauls (Guggenberger 2013), both in military and civilian areas (Greiner 1996), however, their precise function is unclear. The list of six British examples compiled by Eckardt from Coppen Hill, Corbridge, Fishguard, Lydney Park, London, and South Shields (2002: cat. nn. 2612, 2609, 2613-15, 2617) can now be updated including an example from Camarthen (Hill 1994), and more recent metal detectorists' finds (all fragments) now in the PAS[142] from Alveston in Gloucestershire,[143] Compton in Surrey,[144] Devizes in Wiltshire,[145] and Wetwang in Yorkshire.[146]

Greiner collected the diverse scholarly interpretations of dodecahedra, which can be divided roughly into two main groups (1996, with relevant bibliography). One group comprises all the interpretations of dodecahedra as having a practical use. This incluse stands (candle or flower holders), decorative elements (sceptre's elements), measuring devices (for coins or finger rings, but also to measure distances, as theodolites and levelling devices, or for calibration of technical equipment), devices related to gaming (toy, dice, dice case, unclear gambling devices), or, finally, for knitting.[147]

[140] 4B.STA1. This context is discussed in 4.3.3.
[141] Tac. *Ger.* X, 1-6.
[142] This list was completed on the 06/10/2016.
[143] PAS n. GLO-9EE34F.
[144] PAS n. SUR-729950.
[145] PAS n. WILT-37C5E1.
[146] PAS n. YORYM-41CD72.
[147] An experiment on how dodecahedra might work as knitting devices to make gloves can be found at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=poGapxsanaI [Last accessed: 20/10/18].

The second group of interpretations focuses on the dodecahedron's possible ritual significance, according to which the object would symbolise the universe associated with Pythagorean (also reported by Boucher *et al.* 1980: n. 436)[148] and Platonic and/or Celtic and Druidic philosophical beliefs. However, even within this explanation, they could have maintained a practical function, as ritual objects linked to fortune-telling (Greiner 1996*:* 14-5), astronomy, and astrology (connected with the 12 Zodiac signs). These astrological connections were advanced by Artmann (1993), followed by Hill (1994), the former supporting the theory that the dodecahedra were ritual tools for divination purposes, mentioning an example in lead and silver inscribed with the names of the Zodiac signs (*ibid.*).

The original function of the dodecahedra is still elusive, however, an explanation as a practical object is preferred here, possibly as an illuminating device (Thomson 1970; Eckardt 2002: 263). Connections with religious and or philosophical concepts are difficult to prove, and a single example decorated with the Zodiac signs (Artmann: *op. cit.*) could be playing more on the fact that the Zodiac signs were a fitting decorative motif for an object with 12 faces than it having 12 faces to represent the Zodiac signs.

3.5.2 The 'clamp' from London[149]

The London 'clamp' is a copper-alloy object found in the bed of the river Thames at London Bridge in 1840 (Roach Smith 1844).[150] It is composed of two handles found separated that would have been joined at the top via a rivet, not found at the time. Its decoration is quite elaborate. Both shanks end at the top in a semicircle and are decorated with horse protomes, topped on the left by a bust wearing a diadem, and on the right by a female bust wearing a mural-crown. The shaft is serrated on the inside, while the outside is decorated with outbound looking busts of deities. Clockwise from the bottom left are (left shank) Saturn, the Sun God, Luna, Mars, (right shank) Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and the bust of an unidentified deity. The last figure on both the shanks is a bull's protome. Finally, both shanks end in a lion's head.

Seven of the eight gods represented on the shanks were already recognised in the late 19th century as the representations of the seven planets based on which the days of the week are named, plus an unidentified deity (Roach Smith 1849: 60). Representations of the gods of the days of the week are not common in Roman Britain. Examples are the now lost floor mosaic in the 'Medusa Room' in the Roman villa at Bramdean, Winchester (Duthy 1839: 34-35, figure 2) and the reliefs decorating a monumental arch from a religious complex in south-west London (Coombe *et al.* 2015: 74-91).

A 'ceremonial' copper-alloy basin from Augst dating to the mid-3rd century AD offers an iconographic parallel in copper-alloy (Simon 1997, 1006, n.14; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1977: 142-3, n. 246, plates 150-5). The basin is a shallow circular vessel decorated on the rim by seven triangular appliques terminating in a knob, folding outwards at different degrees. The outer face is decorated with the incised figures of the seven deities alternating with chubby columns topped by leaves (palm trees?). The deities of the week are interrupted, between Venus and Saturn, by the figure of a man *capite velato* pouring a libation on an altar and a double-pipes player. Although the original context of the basin is unknown, its function has been linked to ritual purposes because of its peculiar design, perhaps for ablutions before entering a sacred area (Simon 1997: *loc. cit.*) or washing before a domestic ritual action.

The presence of the double-pipes player, specifically the fact that he plays the *tibiae impares* or *tibiae phrygiae*, associates the object with the goddess Cybele and her cult (*ibid.*), as this instrument is often mentioned in the literary sources when discussing the rites of the Magna Mater (Summers 1996: 360; Moore 2012: 62, note 78). A British representation of a double-pipes player is on a balsamarium from Pentham, Kent (Figure 5.1; Worrell and Pearce 2013: 376-9). However, in this case, the presence of a Satyr carrying an amphora and a youth holding a krater rather suggests a Dionysian inspiration (*ibid.*). This Dionysian character of the double-pipe player is not uncommon and is attested, for example, in a mosaic scene from Cologne, where a player of *tibiae phrygiae* performs in the presence of Mercury playing with an infant Dionysus (Ginsberg-Klar 1981: 316, plate 77). In the Augst basin case, however, it is possible that the player would be used simply as a filler, rather than connecting the object to the cult of Cybele or Dionysus, a generic representation of a 'player' which is matched by the equally generic 'Genius/priest' type represented by the *capite veato* libating male.[151] The connection of the days of the week with Cybele however has a stronger ground for the London 'clamp'.

The presence of the planetary deities as well as the images of lions and bulls suggested a possible provenance of the object from the London Mithraeum, because of the connection between Mithras and the Calendar deities (Cumont 1896: *loc. cit.*). Another possible provenance was recognised in a possible

[148] See also Deonna W. 1965, *Les dodécaèdres gallo-romains de copper-alloy ajourés et bouletés.*

[149] The identification as 'clamp' is used here solely to reference the object and not to agree with its functional implications.

[150] Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=816232&partId=1&searchText=forceps&page=1 [Last access 20/10/2018].

[151] For the discussion of this type, see chapter 5.2.2.2.

temple of Cybele in London, a hypothesis corroborated by an earlier find of an Attis statuette and that of a 'Cybele's priest' also from the Thames at London Bridge (Roach Smith 1840: 45). This connection of the 'clamp' with the cult of Cybele and Attis was later accepted by Harris and Harris (1965: 109-112). They identified the deity's bust at the top of the left shank as Attis pairing with the bust of Cybele on the opposite shank. The last bust on the right shank was identified with Fortuna or Ceres (*ibid.*). Finally, the object was included in Vermaseren's corpus of evidence of the cult of Cybele and Attis (1986: n. 489). However, no description of the object is provided and consequently there was no attempt to identify the deities. Autoptic observation of the object leads me to interpret the two figures on the top of the shanks as Juno wearing a diadem on the left, Cybele with the mural crown on the right, while Attis would be the last deity on the right shank.

Generally, the association between planet deities and other deities is not uncommon. From the iconographical point of view, this is possibly expalained with the difficulty of integrating the seven deities in symmetric compositions because of their odd number (Simon 1995: *loc. cit.*). The 'extra' deity however varies depending on the context (e.g. on Jupiter columns) and Cybele is attested as well as others (*ibid.*).

The function of this 'clamp' has also been the object of different interpretations. Roach Smith identified it as surgical forceps, noticing however that the elaborate decoration would have made its actual use difficult, thus leaning towards an unspecified ritual use (1844: 549, also Lersch 1846: 146). The explanation still accepted today is that of 'castration clamp' to be used during the rites of emasculation performed by the *galli*, the priests of the cult of Cybele and Attis. This interpretation was first proposed by Francis in 1926 (*ibid.*) and has since then enjoyed a certain success among scholars (Brend 1936: 325; Kolling 1973; Henig 1984: 111). It is also reported on its label in the British Museum, where it is on display.

Doubts have been raised about its actual use on men rather than on animals, but the connection to Cybele's cult has always appeared unmistakable and it is regardless considered a 'highly valued insignia' (Henig 1984: *loc. cit.*). Harris and Harris (1965: 109), followed by Vermaseren (1986: n. 489), rejected this interpretation and referred to the object simply as an 'implement' connected to the cult of Cybele and Attis because of its decoration.

A convincing alternative explanation for the function of this object, based on design rather than decoration, has been more recently offered by Heeren (2009). A very similar, although undecorated, item was discovered in the Roman rural settlement at Tiel-Passewaaij in The Netherlands in 1973 (Heeren 2009: figure 1). Surveying different types of evidence, and relying on the consultancy of veterinarians, Heeren concluded that the Dutch object is a 'twitch', a device used to sedate a horse before its castration by applying it on the animal's lips to keep them tightly compressed. Among the evidence surveyed by Heeren (*ibid.*), it is worth recalling a relief[152] from Aix-en-Provence showing the same tool flanked by two men leading two horses (Heeren 2009, figure 2), comparable examples in iron from Saarland, and a similar one in copper-alloy from Augst (*ibid:* figure 5.). As noted by Heeren, the object found in the Thames shares the design of the Dutch example, however, it remains unparalleled in its decoration.

The reason for the object's decoration could lay in the fact that it was made for a specific use and not a common veterinary one, potentially as an object to be dedicated as a votive offering (it was found in the Thames after all). However, the object does show signs of actual use, the most prominent being a repair, made in antiquity, visible on the bottom of the right shank. Over the decades, the 'fanciness' of this tool's decoration has overshadowed its realistic function in favour of a more unusual one. This has certainly to do with the fact that the cult of Cybele is in the modern mind forever associated with the practice of emasculation performed by members of its priesthood and as such maintaining a certain level of 'peculiarity' (Pinto and Pinto 2013). However, we should not forget that the cult of Cybele was not an 'odd' one but was considered as much traditional as other cults now perceived as more mainstream. It was introduced in Rome quite early on in BC 240, and its temples and processions were attended by the whole Urban population and the festivals dedicated to the Goddess were integrated in the Roman official calendar (Beard *et al.* 1998). Finally, literary sources inform us that the *galli* would emasculate themselves with sharp pottery shards while in a frenzy during the festival of the *dies sanguinis* held on March the 24th (Spickermann 2013), rather than with a surgical operation. The medical implications for such a procedure (including, and not limited to, infection and urological issues) should make us reconsider how common this practice would have actually been at least in the West.[153]

3.6 Discussion of the evidence

This chapter has collected the British material evidence used by performers invested of a ritual function which will be now discussed in the context of similar continental evidence to highlight aspects of

[152] As described by Espérandieu (1907: n. 104) and not an altar as erroneously reported by Heeren (*loc.cit.*).

[153] Also, considering that Roman citizens could not be *galli*, which would have been mostly 'orientals or slaves' until Claudius when this ban was lifted to be reintroduce by Domitian (Spickermann 2013: 157).

embodiment of performance and object biography. The survey of the continental literature[154] has revealed that caution is the norm when attempting to identify similar objects beyond their descriptions. Nonetheless, it was possible to confidently offer crucial parallels to the British material and, at the same time, present new and better referenced identifications for some of the British objects that had become the 'standard' reference for similar finds. What we are left with is a slightly smaller pool of evidence compared to the original one that comprised all the regalia that have been considered as such in the literature, although better structured and more homogenous.

In the diversified panorama of different ritual apparel displayed in the Roman territories and associated with different cults, both local and Greco-Roman presented in section 2.2.2, the British evidence finds a good fit. On the one hand, it continues the local tradition of wearing symbols of authority;[155] on the other hand, it responds to continental design influences.

3.6.1 The embodiment of priestly authority: continuity and change in practice and design

Continuity of ritual regalia and garments is attested in peripheral areas of the Roman world between the pre-Roman and Roman periods. A well-documented example is offered by the priests in the cities of Hierapolis and Doliche as well as in internal rural areas in northern Syria (Blömer 2015). Here, the high social status of these roles and local iconographic and epigraphic habits meant that an abundant evidence (found both in religious and funerary contexts) portrays them in their traditional attire. This consists of a long belted tunic and a specific headdress (a tall conical hat ending in a crescent moon) attested from the late-Hellenistic period onwards, while local coinage portrays them in this apparel since the Iron Age (= 4th century BC; *ibid.*). Interestingly, Blömer observes that certain elements were added to this traditional attire during the Roman period; however, the use of the traditional headdress continued. The headdresses were used to mark a person as a priest of different local deities (e.g. Astargatis/Dea Syria, Jupiter Dolichenus) although the exact extent of their cultic affiliation is yet to be addressed in detail by researchers (*ibid.*). Other priesthoods are also known for the use of a headdress (a tall *modius* sometimes encircled with a wreath). They also practiced the custom of shaving their heads, as attested in Palmyra and on the Levantine coast (Raja 2016), in addition to the eastern priests of the imperial cult, which we have mentioned in 2.2.2 (*ibid:* 187; Rumscheid 2000).

The dating of the British headdresses, however broad, does allow similar considerations on continuity and change in the embodiment of priestly roles. The chain-headdress design is not exclusive of the Roman period and is known from continental funerary contexts in the Iron Age, where they were used to mark a high-social status in female burials.[156] British parallels are known from pre-conquest contexts and are associated with male depositions (Stead 1995). However, only one example can be considered as such with a certain confidence. This is a headgear reconstructed by Stead from an Iron Age deposit from Hounslow, London (1995: figure 29). It consists of a single horizontal band to which six loops are attached via rivets: four of them projecting upwards for the attachment of chains crossing over the wearer's head; two projecting downwards, for a single chain passing under the wearer's chin (*ibid.*), although no chain fragments were reported from the find-spot. Stead suggested that one of the three boar figurines found in the same deposit could have functioned as a terminal for this headdress for, as he noted, it displayed a suspension ring (*ibid:* 81).[157]

The chain-headdresses we have discussed in this chapter continue this Iron Age tradition, with the earliest examples in the post-conquest period being the Wanborough ones, considering that the first temple at the site was built around the end of the 1st century AD and that the headdresses were still in use until mid-2nd century (Wanborough and West Stow), when they are reverently put out of 'active duty', likely due to an architectonic restructuring of the site (Wanborough) or its abandonment (maybe at West Stow).

Chain-headdresses of similar design as some of the Wanborough ones (i.e. with the terminal shaped as a wheel)[158] have been recognised in an Atrebatic coin from Petersfield, Hampshire dating to AD 20 and one from Sussex, both showing a moustached head with antlers with a wheel clearly visible on top of it (Boon 1982).[159] The figure has been identified with Cernunnos (*ibid.*; Bird 1994: 93) and whether he is wearing a chain-headdress can be disputed, as the style appears different from the Wanborough examples. The view of the wheel on the coin would be possible only by looking at the Wanborough examples from the side, rather than from the front as shown on the coin.[160] However, this

[154] Museum catalogues, publications of excavations and of single/group of objects as laid out in the introduction to this chapter.
[155] 3.2.1.

[156] See Bianco and Preite 2014 for southern Italy and the Balkan area (8th century BC); Vilcāne 2003 for the Baltic regions (10th century AD).
[157] Pictures of the BA and IA figurines from Hounslow are available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1215019001&objectId=821286&partId=1#more-views [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[158] 1A.WAN1; 1A.WAN3-4.
[159] Picture available at: https://celticcoins.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Horned-god.pdf [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[160] See Figure 3.1

could be an iconographic expedient necessary to show the presence of the wheel on the coin.

Chain-headdresses that emerge somewhat later (2nd/3rd century AD) are the ones from the deposit at Stony Stratford, which also contains a collection of 'feather' plaques attesting, at a later date, to the practice of carefully disposing of ritual apparel.

More difficult is the inclusion in this timeline of the chain-headdress from Farley Heath and from the deposit in Cavenham Heath. The former site is broadly dated between the 2nd and 4th century AD and being the headdress an unstratified find, it is difficult to provide a chronological window of its use, and the sceptre-binding from the same site is also affected by this chronological uncertainty. The proximity to the site of Wanborough and the fact that both chain-headdresses and sceptre-bindings designs are attested at Farley suggest a date for the deposition/loss of the Farley Heath ritual apparel in the 2nd century AD. The custom of using this style of chain-headdresses at Wanborough and Farley, different from the ones we have found further north at the sites of West Stow, Cavenham Heath, and Stony Stratford, highlights a specific local style of marking ritual authority. This highly localised (both geographically and chronologically) design tradition is also confirmed by the sceptres' designs from Wanborough and Farley Heath, involving a terminal, sceptre-binding, and no sceptre-heads.

The crown type is also characterised by Iron Age precedents as attested for example by the crown from Mill Hill, Kent (Stead 1995).[161] The circlet was not made in one piece, but in two parts of different lengths (back and front). However, their decorations do not overlap coherently, which has been variously explained. A second plain copper-alloy band was riveted vertically to the first. Stead suggested that the decoration was done before the two pieces were joined together (1995: 72). Expanding on this observation, Garrow and Gosden have argued that the two horizontal bands were reused from one or two different, albeit similarly decorated, objects (Garrow and Gosden 2012: 231). It is also possible that the original headgear was modified to fit on its last wearer's head, a feature later displayed by the Hockwold diadems which were adjustable in size.[162] In the end, the imbalance of the decoration was not considered an issue in the final product (*ibid.*).

If the social status of the male individual buried in the late 3rd/early 2nd century BC at Mill Hill with a panoply which included a sword, a shield, a belt, and a brooch, and wearing a crown is still unclear, these objects together with other examples of Iron Age headdresses have been considered in the past in response to the often lamented archaeological elusiveness of the Druids.[163] More convincingly however, these examples of headdresses dating to before the Roman conquest have been associated with military chiefs, kings, and religious authorities, although these roles could have been played by the same person (Stead 1995). Similarly, Fitzpatrick more recently suggested that the apparel items in the Mill Hill burial were not part of a strictly defined' ritual apparel but would have rather been worn by tribal kings/chiefs, who also held a religious role (Fitzpatrick 2007: 302-6). After surveying these objects that could have been worn during ritual performances as well as ceremonial tools linked to religious specialists, he concluded that, although there is little evidence for 'specialist priesthoods', it is possible to identify 'people with religious knowledge' (*ibid*: 287-8). This 'knowledge' involves different areas of expertise, of which only two have left traces in the archaeological record in Britain and Europe: medicine and divination. Iron Age burials containing surgical instruments are found on the continent (*ibid*: 305), although a connection between medicine and divination appears more clearly in the early Roman burial from the Stanway cemetery in Colchester (Crummy *et al.* 2007: 201-253).[164] However, other characteristics, as the involvement of these religious specialists in ritual practices, are hard to pin-point archaeologically (Aldhouse-Green 2001).

From the 2nd/3rd century AD onwards, diadems and crowns are attested in the areas of the Fen Edge and in East Anglia, where chain-headdresses were never in use (Figure 3.15). At the beginning of the 3rd century, the design employed by the crown at Felmingham Hall will later (4th century AD) be employed by the crown at Hockwold, possibly responding to a more widespread habit for public priests to wear headdresses, such as crowns, or garments peculiar to their priesthood, which comes in fashion in the 4th century AD (Rüpke 2011: 33).

Although the dating of the British headdresses, when available, is based on the archaeological contexts and as such should be considered always as a *terminus ante quem*, on a general level it is possible to note that chain-headdresses were deposited mostly during the 2nd century AD, with examples present in the 3rd century AD, differently from the crowns and diadems which appear to be contemporary with those in the 3rd century but then continue in the 4th century AD.

[161] Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=831407&partId=1&images=true&place=6670&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

[162] See 4.2.6.

[163] On this topic see also 1.4.1.

[164] For the discussion of divination rods from this burial, see 3.3.2. The Stanway burial in the context of ritual performers burials is discussed in 4.3.3.

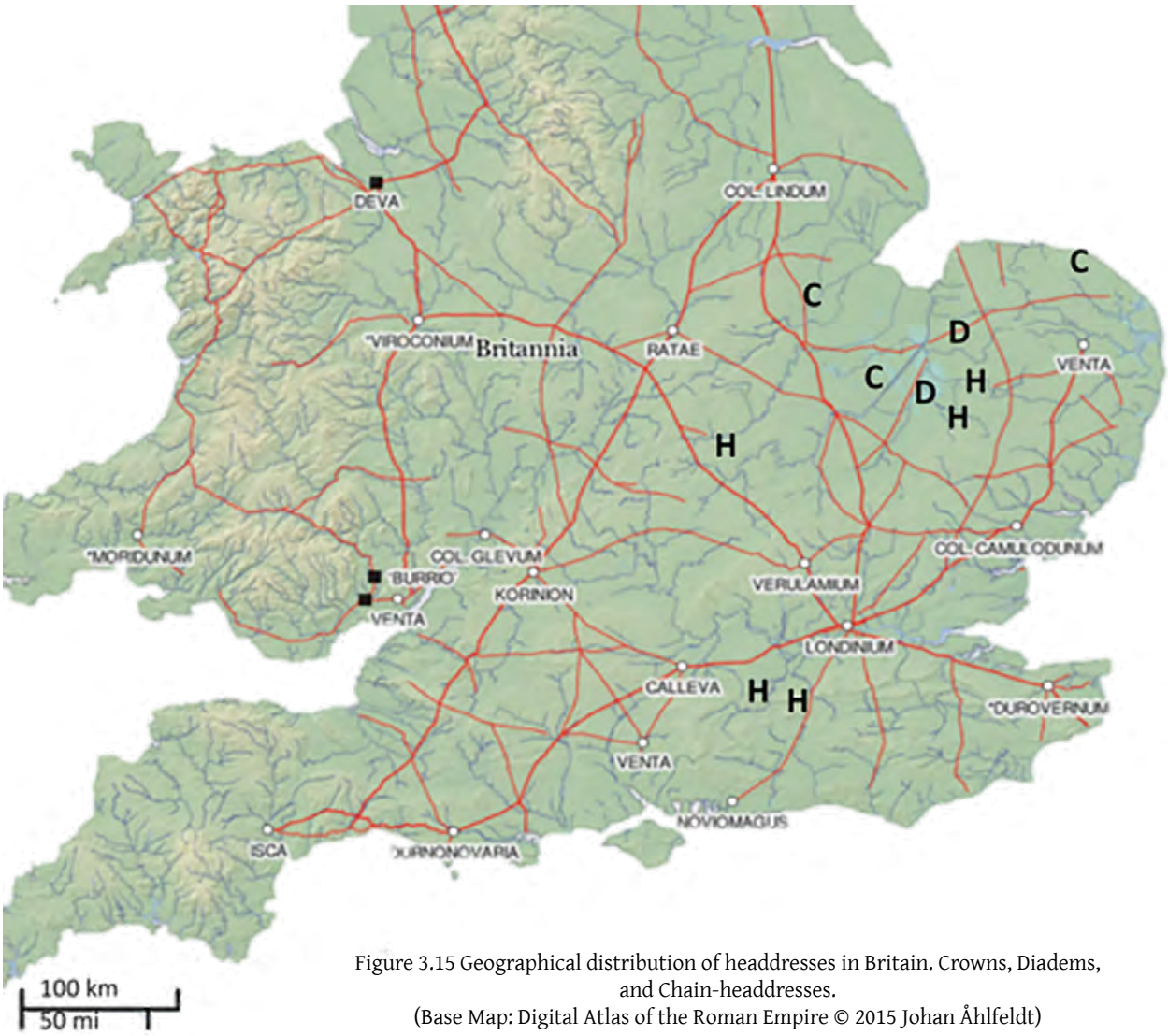

Figure 3.15 Geographical distribution of headdresses in Britain. Crowns, Diadems, and Chain-headdresses.
(Base Map: Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire © 2015 Johan Åhlfeldt)

Nonetheless, as sceptres were commonly used in the Roman world, it is not unusual that they are also found in assemblages without a headdress. This is the case of the Antoninus Pius sceptre-head from Willingham Fen: the possibility that this head was paraded around during ceremonies dedicated to the emperor and that his image was put out of use when he was not relevant anymore has been explored; we can add more information on this type of performance by considering the associated ritual material. Five sceptre-terminals were deposited in the assemblage, one of which is shaped as a club and decorated with the images of cupid and animal figurines, among which is an eagle standing in front of a wheel and a three-horned bull. The syncretistic aspect of this latter object containing elements related to Gallo-British (wheel,[165] three-horned bull[166]) and Roman (Cupid, eagle) traditions contributes further to this cultic panorama which combines traditional paraphernalia and symbols together with Greco-Roman deities or imperial worship. As we have mentioned, the stylistic inspiration for this object is to be found in administrative badges of office,[167] the fact that it was found together with other ritual paraphernalia, of which one is a sceptre-head reproducing Antoninus Pius does suggest an 'official' aspect of the rituals conducted with these objects, to the point that we might temptingly suggest ceremonies related to the imperial cult performed by an official, even a local *flamen*. This would also fit with the lack of a headdress in this deposit considering, as mentioned above, that the *flamen* had the right to the *toga praetexta* which just needed to be drawn over the head for ritual purposes. The overall distribution of sceptre-heads and terminals does attest to a widespread use of this ceremonial instrument both as a badge of office and as an image to be paraded around.

[165] Green 1984.
[166] Cram *et al.* 1986

[167] See above section 3.2.2.2.

A last addition to our ceremonial kit are the 'ceremonial spears'. These have a limited presence outside the province, with similarly pierced spears found at the sanctuary of Mars in Mainz (Klein 1999). Some examples, like the four fins type appear to be specific to the province, however, they appear together with objects which point towards cults shared in other areas of the Roman world as it is the case for the example from Willingham Fen and Felmingham Hall. The examples from the shrine at Brigstock fit well with the rituals carried out at the site, especially with a martial connection as they were found together with functional spears and miniature ones. It is possible that the display of these spears in the shrine and likely parading them around during rituals is meant to recall actual spears as it appears from the find at Lowbury Hill, where the pierced fin is socketed as a proper spear and it is possibly a modification of the latter. The connection of the Brigstock examples to the horse and rider figurines from the site and thus with Mars, as in the case of the Mainz sanctuary is very appealing. However, the peculiar aspect to the province type of multi-finned spear offers a further example of a traditional ceremonial tool, as the chain-headdresses, applied in more recent settings. At Brigstock, where the rattling spear fits well with the overall martial aspect of the cult, but also at Aldworth, where the type is associated with the Mother Goddesses.

3.6.2 The types of priestly authority

As for the examples from north Syria discussed above, the connection of British headgears to specific cults is sometimes difficult to assess. However, contrary to the Syrian evidence, which are known exclusively from iconographic sources, the association of British headdresses with other items of ritual apparel allows one to explore the type of priestly authority marked by the regalia.

Some of the British headdresses and sceptres display a figurative decoration, which has been identified with a deity or a group of deities. The wheel-terminals from Wanborough have been associated with Taranis (Bird 2008), however, the rest of the material evidence from the site adds little information to strengthen this hypothesis. The sceptre-bindings from the site are aniconic and the idea that they would morphologically recall the thunder and thus Taranis (*ibid.*) seems forced in absence of more substantial evidence. Similarly, the sceptre-binding from Farley Heath, although presenting a figurative decoration, does not allow a clear identification of the figures represented which have been differently interpreted, either according to the Greco-Roman or the Gallo-British pantheon.[168]

When presenting the Farley Heath sceptre-binding, we have discussed the actual visibility of the narrative reproduced on this object. The drawing of the sceptre-binding as how it was originally found (Brailsford 1958: 62, figure 31) shows that the binding was wrapped around a shaft,[169] so that the decoration was not visible as a continuous narrative. Moreover, the narrow width of the binding (*c.* 2.5 cm) would prevent the recognition of the subjects from a distance. A similar case of limited visibility of decoration is offered by the plaques mounted on the diadems from Hockwold and Cavenham. Here the decoration is also characterised by stylised figures incised on the metal, and their small size certainly prevents an appreciation of the iconography from a distance. It is plausible then that the recognisability of the type of authority would have depended on the style of the headgears, the type of celebrations during which they were worn, and the site where they were used.

The possibility that the chain-headdresses and the sceptres from Wanborough and Farley Heath could be associated with local cults should not be interpreted as a connection 'chain-headdresses => local cults'. For example, at Stony Stratford two chain-headdresses were deposited together with several votive feather plaques bearing the image of Roman deities popular in Britain, such as Vulcan and Mars, among others (Apollo, Cupid, and Victory). More appropriately, we should think of traditional styles of headgear used to mark out the ritual roles, whether they were used during ceremonies for local or Graeco-Roman deities is secondary.

Other regalia offer stronger evidence for the type of ritual authority they were associated with. In this aniconic panorama of priestly headdresses (to which the Deeping-St-James and Cavenham Heath examples can be added), the only exceptions are the finds from Felmingham Hall and Hockwold-cum-Wilton. In the first case, the headdress decorated with bearded heads and topped by an eagle suggests an association with Jupiter, also strengthened by the presence of the 'ceremonial spear' topped by an eagle, as well as the head of Jupiter himself found in the same assemblage.[170] Similar to the *archigallus* at Lavinium,[171] at Felmingham a *sacerdos* of Jupiter would have worn a headdress displaying the image of the god, and the ceremonial attire would have also involved the use of a spear topped by an eagle figurine and a 'ceremonial spear' with rings or bells which would have been shaken to provide the necessary sound during ritual performances. Whether these different items were used by the same person at different stages of the ritual or by different people is

[168] 3.2.2.2.1.

[169] See the better-preserved sceptre-bindings from Wanborough, still attached to their bottom-terminals (figure 4.9).

[170] 4.2.1. See picture available at: http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk/record-details?mnf7533 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

[171] 2.3.2.

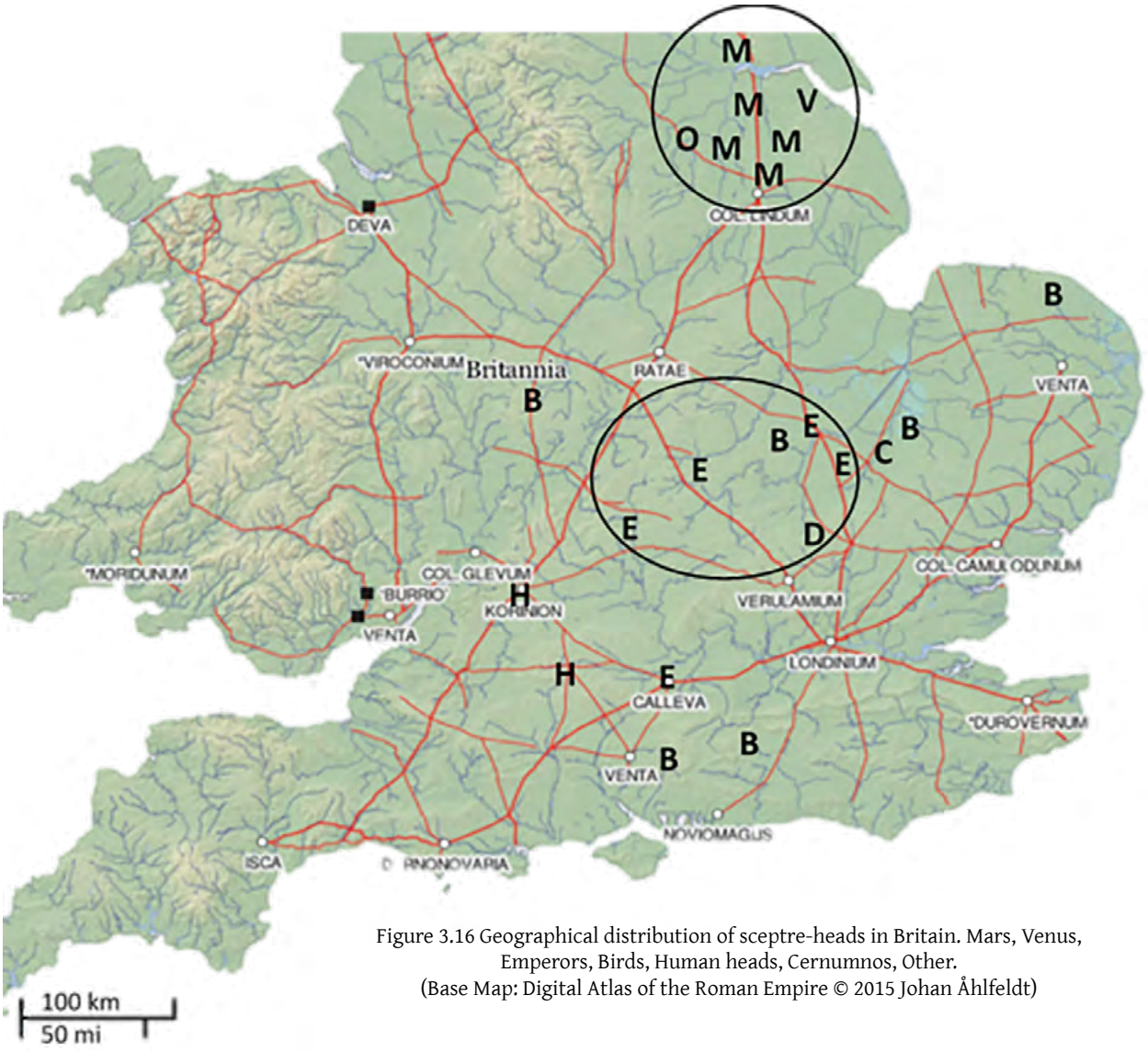

Figure 3.16 Geographical distribution of sceptre-heads in Britain. Mars, Venus, Emperors, Birds, Human heads, Cernumnos, Other.
(Base Map: Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire © 2015 Johan Åhlfeldt)

unsure, although we propend for the latter.[172] Eagles are also found in the West Stow deposit, of which at least one[173] is very likely a sceptre-head, found together with an aniconic chain-headdress.

Bearded heads also decorate the crown from Hockwold-cum-Wilton while the diadems from the same site were all stripped of their (precious) silver plaques but for one, representing a naked figure holding a staff and a globe. This figure is close to the imagery of Jupiter Conservator, a popular subject on 3rd and 4th century coinages: Antoniniani of Carausius (AD 286-93) bearing this image on the obverse were produced in the mints of Londinium and Camulodunum[174] and attest to the presence of such iconography in metal in the province.

The discussion of sceptres allows some further reflections on the embodiment of certain priestly roles and some performative aspects of the rituals these figures would perform. Their presence confirms the practice of carrying the image of a deity/emperor or their symbols, usually in the form of related animals.

The use of sceptres as badges of office and symbols of authority is attested throughout the Roman world;[175] however, it is not exclusive to this period and sceptres are employed as markers of authority displayed by the local elites among Iberian and Celt-Iberian populations in south and west Spain from the Iron Age through Hellenism (Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 2010).

Sceptre-heads bearing the image of an emperor are found at four sites in England, in a rather limited region

[172] This aspect will be expanded later when discussing the collegial organisation of priestly roles (4.5).
[173] 2A.WES.1 (Figure 3.8.4).
[174] http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=fulltext%3AJupiter+AND+fulltext%3AGlobe+AND+deity_facet%3A%22Jupiter%22+AND+region_facet%3A%22Britannia%22&lang=en [Last accessed 26/06/17]
[175] 3.2.2.

(Figure 3.16) and they reproduce either Hadrian or a member of the Antonine dynasty.[176] The existence of these sceptre-heads associated with these emperors is the result of the new interest in the imperial cult starting with Hadrian, which required, for example, that individuals participating in civic rituals would have had to swear to the *Genius* of the living emperor and the *numina* of the *divi* (Ando 2000: 38). This Hadrianic reform also resulted in an increment in the number and frequency of imperial holidays during these years (e.g. celebrations of emperors' birthdays and deaths, anniversaries of awarding of administrative offices) (*ibid.*), which would be carried out as long as that particular emperor was relevant and/or popular. One of the practical consequences of this increase in ceremonies was the homogenisation of the provincial and municipal calendars across the provinces to accommodate these festivities (*ibid.*).

Changes in rituals linked to this Hadrianic reform have been noticed, for example, at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls, where a stronger emphasis is given to the ritual practices dedicated to the male and female members of the imperial family (Fishwick 1994: 131; Ando 2000: 39). This reform provides an interesting background for our sceptre-heads bearing images of Hadrian and the Antonine emperors. According to their find-spots, these sceptres would have been paraded around in the rural countryside, thus marking the intention to spread the emperor's worship in a more capillary way, beyond the main urban centres.

3.7 Some general comments

The proliferation of cult equipment is part of a broader phenomenon affecting Britain in the Roman period attested by an increased number of recovered metalwork, especially copper-alloy.[177] This phenomenon is partly explained by the wealth of a province that has metal resources available to it, sufficient specialists (e.g. bronze workers) able to produce these objects while adapting a repertoire of models that they are comfortable with (e.g. mounts, fittings, terminals, figurines) and which have functional and iconographic affinities to some of the ceremonial objects we have considered.[178] These objects appear to be produced in the framework of a generic repertoire; it is worth noting that none of the ceremonial objects are nearly as frequent as other metalworks (i.e. brooches, bracelets, keys), and some of them look quite generic which contributes to their problematic identification, especially when found in fragments or in isolation as we have noticed for different objects during the presentation of the evidence.[179] An example of this cross-influence between different categories affecting the production of some of our ritual tools is offered by the cylindrical sceptre-shaft element from the Willingham Fen deposit (Alföldi 1949: plat I). We could argue that an artisan familiar with furniture fittings was asked to produce an unusual/one-off object and that he drew from familiar models to fulfil this commission. This also raises more general questions about the original meaning of iconographical choices representing deities on every-day objects (e.g. vessels and mounts), in particular whether or not they are intentionally chosen for their religious nature. These images do sometimes become meaningful. Dedication of mounts ripped off from pieces of furniture, or vessels parts, like handles and mounts, are understood and dedicated as religious representations regardless of the original reason for their production.

Beyond their intrinsic materiality, the objects will have a sensory impact triggered by their style (recognising the main authority/ies during a ritual performance) and their iconography which visually associates that object with a specific deity or cult place; rattling sound produced by ceremonial spearheads, also in miniature versions, would accompany rituals at many of the sites we have considered.

Some of the objects had a long life as attested by cases of repair and signs of use. This certainly highlights the mnemonic potential of these objects in evoking authority and ritual habits. Headdresses would be worn during rural celebrations (possibly processions). Their deposition could have been the result of a routine dedication to the titular deity/ies, or a final deposition, once the objects went out of use or style. The plaques might have been reused on different objects or new headdresses, kept for religious value, or as scrap.

I tried avoiding generalising my discussion to a provincial level. In most cases, it appears that the rituals are, at least in the 2nd century AD, localised practices that some related groups act upon, but they do not offer a uniform provincial trend.

The next chapter is concerned with the discussion of priestly regalia in the context of their discovery, which often involves their association with other objects. Here we will remind the reader of some aspects of the regalia we have discussed in this chapter, which are developed in the next.

Often regalia are found broken even when in deposits, which has prompted some preliminary reflections

[176] 3.2.2.1/Emperors.
[177] See chapter 1.2.3.
[178] See above the Mars and Minerva sceptre-heads in 4.2.2.1 and their iconographic parallels across other media.
[179] See for example the wax *spatulae* decorated with Minerva busts (3.2.2.1/Minerva) and the knife handle shaped as a Mars head from Wickenby.

about their biography of use. As most of them were found in structured deposits, there is an issue regarding their dating. The date of their deposition does not coincide with the date in which the objects were produced and is an indication only of the *terminus ante quem* for their use. This applies clearly to the diadems from Hockwold which are characterised by a clasp on the back, likely used to make them adjustable in size. This would let us to think that they would have be worn by different people, probably over a certain period of time, and were, at a certain point in time, deposited in the ground. Before that, though, they were stripped of (some) of the decorative plaques. Similar examples of fragmentation of objects are attested at Felmingham Hall (the ceremonial spear was broken off its terminal, and similarly the second spear, where the eagle was separated from the fin). However, we should not be too casual in opting for ritual behaviours, as these could have a more practical, even banal, explanation (for example, having to fit long objects in the cauldron). Nonetheless, when recognisable, instances of 'ritual killing' join a wider panorama of ritual performances practiced on several types of objects in north-western Europe in the Iron Age and in the Roman period (Brunaux 1988; Derks 1998; Woolf 2015).

Chapter 4

Contextual analysis and distribution of priestly regalia

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we presented priestly regalia highlighting aspects of their style, type, and decoration to discuss instances of embodiment of performance and marking of ritual authorities. In this chapter, the discussion shifts the focus from the material features of the regalia to their contexts of discovery. We will explore this topic by addressing two main aspects.

1) The depositional behaviour associated with priestly regalia.

At the heart of this discussion is a separation of the contexts according to whether they are the result of a voluntary or involuntary act of deposition. The former includes structured deposits and burials, while the latter discusses single finds retrieved during controlled archaeological excavations or as unstratified finds produced by excavations, metal detecting, and field walking. Building up on this, the discussion will consider biographical aspects[1] of the regalia as they can be deduced from their physical characteristics and focusing on their last stage of life as part of an assemblage or loss.

The first two sections are dedicated to structured deposits and burials containing regalia or, in the second case, objects that flag the presence of priestly figures. The analysis of the regalia in combination with the other objects in the assemblages allows us to discuss further the performance in which regalia were used. Consequently, we will reflect on the nature of the structured deposits, building on recent theoretical proposals on how to address assemblages of ritual character.[2]

A different expression of intentional deposition is that presented by grave goods. These are a means to identity display, and the combination of objects in graves is a projection of both individual and community perceptions (Hodder 1982; Jones 1995; Pearce 2016). In the previous chapter, we have already mentioned the Mars sceptres from the Brough-on-Humber burial[3] and the divination rods found in a grave in the Stanway cemetery in Colchester.[4] Because of the combinations of objects deposited in the grave, two other burials are considered here, one from Catterick, North Yorkshire and one from Southwark, London, as their publishers have suggested that they belonged to a priest and a priestess respectively.

A crucial aspect in the archaeological analysis of voluntary depositions of objects is the understanding of these objects' networks, which broadens the study of priestly regalia from being considered individually to becoming integral elements of a 'system', i.e. the assemblage. Here, their individual meaning is amplified through the creation of objects' relationships in the depositional context. Analysis of the objects' combinations offers insights in the function of the structured deposits (assemblages and burials) in which they are found. If the mortuary significance of the ritual is clearly assessed in the case of grave deposits (Pearce 2016), scepticism on the possibility to identify the reason(s) behind an assemblage has been expressed in recent studies (Garrow and Gosden 2012; Haynes 2013). This suggests a focus instead on the objects' networks (Garrow and Gosden 2012) and the information drawn from the study of the archaeological context of the find (Haynes 2013).

A third section is dedicated to the discussion of individual regalia found either stratified or unstratified. The former objects are found during controlled excavations of archaeological contexts, and thus benefitting from stratigraphic information (e.g. location and dating). The latter are un-stratified or casual finds for which there is no known stratigraphic connection. These are generally found by metal detectorists, in top-soil layers during fieldwalking, as well as in disturbed layers during archaeological operations. While regalia found in intentional deposits provide a screenshot of a late (if not the final) stage in the life of these objects, stratified finds allow us to look at those same objects in the context of their primary use, in both cases exploring the relationship between deposition and ritual practice and discuss the nature of the site of discovery.

2) The assessment of individual find-spots within an organic evaluation of the presence of priestly regalia on a provincial level.

This aspect highlights the urban/rural dichotomy examining the find-spots distribution and their association with site-types and ends with a framing of the presence of regalia in the context of provincial priestly organisation. The sites are presented per region from north to south so to give an immediate impression of regional patterns and explore possible

[1] 1.6.3; 2.2.3.
[2] 2.2.3.
[3] 3.3.1/Mars.
[4] 3.4.2

Table 4.1. British structured deposits containing Roman period priestly regalia. (YoD= Year of Discovery)

Findspot	County	Location	Period	YoD
Cavenham Heath	Suffolk	Rural, shrine	1st/2nd century. 2nd-3rd (Toynbee)	*c.*1920
Deeping-St-James	Lincolnshire	Rural, unknown	late 2nd/3rd century	1968
Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	Rural, (shrine)	*post* AD 225	1844
Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	Rural, shrine	4th century AD	1957
Stony Stratford	Bucks.	Rural, (shrine)	3rd century AD	1789
Wanborough	Surrey	Rural, temple	*c.* 160/170 AD	1985-86
West Stow	Suffolk	Rural, unknown	Roman period	2010
Willingham Fen	Cambs.	Rural, unknown	Roman period	1857

cultural implications. This regional distribution will be then discussed on a provincial level to consider whether broader trends are recognisable in priestly presence related activities.

4.2 Structured deposits

The Roman period deposits of priestly regalia (Table 4.1) offer a variety of objects and combinations. They have been selected because they share a common denominator which is that they contain at least one object that qualifies as priestly regalia. Together with these types of objects, sometimes recurring together, we find other objects not exclusively ritual in nature and their combinations are crucial to the interpretation of the nature of the deposits.

One last aspect to consider before moving on to the detailed discussion of the assemblages is the circumstances of their discoveries. As is stated in Table 4.1, three out of eight deposits were found in the 18th and 19th centuries; all of them were chance discoveries made while working in the fields or metal detecting. Moreover, only in three cases (at Cavenham Heath, Hockwold-cum-Wilton, and West Stow) archaeological investigations followed the finding of the regalia. This condition affects, sometimes significantly, the amount and quality of data available for the deposits' interpretation.

The selective recovery of artefacts of particular interest often led to the discard or loss of other objects originally part of these deposits, equally important for the definition of the archaeological associations and, possibly, the characteristics of the ritual practiced. This condition was also highlighted by Durham when discussing the hoard of figurines from Southbroom, Wiltshire: in this case, however, the author could benefit from antiquarian drawings of the missing figurines (Durham 2014). In our pool of evidence, the Felmingham Hall offers a similar case, where the 19th century drawing of the finds clarifies the state in which the objects were found (e.g. the ceremonial spears).[5]

Certain types of evidence which might have been part of the deposits were especially affected by finds selection: bone or wood fragments could have been easily overlooked, discarded, or lost during the excavation/ retrieval and following operations (especially sales), or were not subjected to identification and analysis, potentially depriving us of a clearer interpretation of the ritual performances associated with the deposition of such assemblages. The importance of investigating the findspot of these deposits via archaeological survey has been recently confirmed by the discovery of a votive hoard at Ashwell, Hertfordshire (Jackson and Burleigh 2018). In this case, the individuation of the deposit containing a statuette of an otherwise unknown local deity, Senuna, and silver votive plaques, led to archaeological excavations and the identification of a long-lived religious site (Burleigh 2007).

The following discussion presents the eight deposits containing priestly regalia and their associated objects in the framework of their ritual landscape. At the end of this survey, a conclusive paragraph will summarise instances of performance and object biography highlighted throughout the descriptions, while reflections over their regional distribution are addressed in section 4.5.2 integrated with those regarding the distributions of burials and other single finds.

4.2.1 Felmingham Hall, Norfolk

The Felmingham Hall deposit was discovered in 1844 in a sand hill on farm land (Blythe 1844; Gilbert 1978). It consists of 19 copper-alloy objects placed in a clay cauldron which was covered by a grey ware smaller cauldron. The content of the deposit is presented in Table 4.2 highlighting a diverse range of objects belonging to different categories summarised in Table 4.3. The priestly regalia include three ceremonial spears, of which one is complete. The other two are attested only by sceptre-heads, and it is uncertain whether they were originally mounted on iron or wooden shafts.

This deposit constitutes a text-book structured deposit. Buried in a pottery cauldron imitating Belgic types

[5] 2A.FEL1. See 3.3.1/Birds/Eagles and 3.3.1. For the picture, see URL at note 255.

in metal, were images of deities, likely wrapped in a woollen cloth (Walker 2014) of which scraps survived. A coin of Valerian dates the burial of the objects from AD 253 onwards. A recent stylistic assessment of the Lar figurine, the heads of Jupiter and Minerva, and the mount recognised as Jupiter Capitolinus (Walker 2014: 226-7) suggests continental models dating between the 1st and 2nd century AD. Analysis of the copper-alloy composition of the Jupiter's head have shown that the raw material was local and Walker wonders whether the artisans making these objects were Gallic or local (*ibid.* 235-6). The dating of the heads of Jupiter and Minerva is in line with our analysis of the headdress, typologically closer to the chain-headdress of 2nd century AD rather than the later 4th century crown from Hockwold.[6]

[6] 3.5.

Table 4.2. Felmingham Hall deposit. Cauldron and objects deposited inside it.

Object	Description/Database n.	Material
Cauldron	Cauldron characterised by two small circular handles from which rings hang. Only one ring is original. The one attached with a string on the right handle belongs to the smaller cauldron used to cover the content of the assemblage. The bottom appears to have been marked by a dark band reaching up to the carination. A double helix-motif is used for the body. Above it, is a rouletting decoration, on top of which is a painted wave-motif. The latter was already not visible in 1978, as it does not appear in the drawing published by Gilbert (1978: figure 1). D. 30.2 cm; H. 21 cm. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=905662001&objectid=1363011 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Clay
Head	Jupiter. The head is made in two pieces (skull cap/and head). A small hole is visible at the edge of the neck (frontal). The eye sockets are now empty, although they would have been inlaid. H. 15.5 cm. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365555&partId=1&images=true&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Cu alloy
Head	Minerva (3.3.1/Minerva) H. 14 cm. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365554&partId=1&images=true&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Cu alloy
Figurine	Dancing Lar. H. 7.5 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365552&partId=1&images=true&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Cu alloy
Mount	Jupiter Capitolinus. A bearded male head wearing a solar crown topped by a lunar crescent. H. 5.8 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365553&partId=1&images=true&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Cu alloy
Wheel	Miniature wheel. The hub is not hollow and iron traces are still visible (iron staff). It has 12 spokes. Rather than being an independent miniature wheel, a common votive find in Britain, this was originally part of a small cart (Walker 2014: 227). D. 5.7 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365549&partId=1&images=true&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Cu alloy
Figurine	Bird topping a spear-head as visible in the 1844 drawing of the deposit = 3A.FEL2. H. 4.7 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365551&partId=1&images=true&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Cu alloy

Object	Description/Database n.	Material
Headdress	2A.FEL1 (Consisting of a 'meeting piece', a bird figurine, and three mounts) Picture of the bird figurine available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365550&partId=1&images=true&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018]. 'Meeting piece' (Gilbert 1978: figure 5A)	Cu alloy
Strips	Eight long strips decorated with dots marking the long edges. Four of them end in a small hook. Heights: H. 2 cm H. 1.6 cm H. *c.*1.6 cm H.1.3 cm (Gilbert 1978: figure 9)	Cu alloy
'Meeting piece'	A knob-like object, whose bottom rim is characterised by four circular loops attached to the base rim. H. 3 cm. (Gilbert 1978: figure 5B)	Cu alloy
Base	Squared figurine base. H. 5.5 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=808320&partId=1&images=true&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Cu alloy
Base	Circular figurine base. H. 3.3 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=808320&partId=1&images=true&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Cu alloy
Spear	3A.FEL.1. Total H. *c.* 61 cm. (Gilbert 1978: Figures 7A-8B).	Cu alloy
Spear-head	3B.FEL1. H. *c.* 14 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=808324&partId=1&images=true&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Cu alloy
Rattle	4A.FEL1. L. *c.* 21.2 cm Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365546&partId=1&images=true&place=25479&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Cu alloy
Cloth	2 small scraps, well woven (dark-brown; light and dark brown)	/
Coin	Valerian (AD 253-260).	Silver

From a performative point of view, this deposit offers evidence for a clearly marked-out ritual performer wearing a headdress decorated with the image of Jupiter on the three small straps and topped by an eagle. Other participants to the cult, likely joining him/her during occasions like festivals or processions would have carried around the three ceremonial spears, of which at least two[7] were equipped with rings and possibly bells. Cult activities at this site were also characterised by divination practices as expressed by the divination rattle.

The burial of these objects in the second-half of the 3rd century AD sanctions the end of the active life of these objects. In this occasion, the headdress, the divination device, and all the spear-heads were dismantled. For all but one ceremonial spear,[8] all the original parts were deposited. It has been argued that the Jupiter head could have also been a sceptre-head to be mounted on a wooden shaft and secured via a rivet at the bottom of his neck (Walker 2014). However, it is also possible that the head was mounted on a pole as part of a small cult image. In any case, the little hole at the bottom of its neck flags its removal from the original support thus marking another instance of 'ritual killing'. Similarly, the presence of two bases for figurine without any figurine (Gilbert attests that the Lar is not a fit for any of them; *ibid.*), and the single wheel from a miniature

[7] 3A.FEL.1; 3B.FEL1.

[8] 3A.FEL.1; 3A.FEL.2.

cart (Walker 2014) furtherly flags this ritual action of conscious selection of parts of the objects. The deposition of bases of figurines without any figurine is also attested in the Iron Age funerary context of a large burrow male burial at Lexden, Essex (BC 19/15; Foster 1986; Cunliffe 2005) which included metal animal figurines and a pedestal for a figurine.

The fact that the objects (at least some of them, i.e. Jupiter and Minerva heads) were carefully selected and stashed in a piece of cloth and deposited together with a coin points towards a ritual, possibly votive, concealment of cult equipment. The votive aspect of this ritual burial is corroborated by the choice of the cauldron. In fact, a similar miniature version of this cauldron type was dedicated as votive offering at a shrine in Palgrave, Suffolk (Shelley 1995: figure 5),[9] and the votive dedication of miniature cauldrons is attested as a custom of the Belgic tribe of the Nervii (Gilbert 1978: 161). A further continental parallel is the presence of the divination device, an object found at two other sites in Britain (two in the deposit from Stony Stratford and one from Woodeaton), as well as on the continent, at the sanctuary at Vieil-Évreux, Normandy.[10]

Table 4.3. Summary of the objects from the Felmingham Hall deposit according to their type.

Priestly regalia	3 ceremonial spear-heads (1 complete spear) 1 or 2 headdresses Divination device
Deities represented	Jupiter Minerva Lar Jupiter Capitolinus Two figurine bases
Other objects	Wheel
Coins	1 coin of Valerian

The location of the Felmingham Hall hoard is far from any known religious site. However, traces of a possible Roman temple were recognised in cropmarks (NHER n.7551), while Roman and Medieval pottery sherds were recovered during fieldwalking in 1998 (NHER n.33708), prompting the identification of a possible Roman settlement. Metal detecting activities in the area between 1994 and 2009 have resulted in the discovery of several coins and a plate brooch (NHER n. 30562). Metalworking activities in the area of the Felmingham parish were confirmed by the discovery in 1999 of one half of a rear hook type brooch mould, dating to the mid-1st century AD (Bayley *et al.* 2003). Moreover, the presence of the settlement at Brampton 4.9 km south west of Felmingham, a production site of iron and pottery spanning between AD 70 and 400 (Knowles 1977), provide a landscape connection for the assemblage. Given the variety of objects deposited, all somehow ritual in nature, it is likely that this assemblage was an assemblage of objects deriving from the activities of a small local shrine, as suggested by the presence of the Lar which evokes a somewhat domestic aspect to the assemblage.

4.2.2 Deeping-St-James, Lincolnshire

Fragments of sheet copper-alloy emerged in 1965 in the farm land east of the village of Deeping-St-James, and again the next year, when they were recognised as belonging to two different crowns (Wilson and Wright 1966: 203; Hayes and Lane 1992: figure 114, UA3). A third crown was discovered in 1968, *c.* 530 m north of the previous ones (Painter 1971; Hayes and Lane 1992: figure 114, UA4). North-east of the find spot of the single crown, a coin hoard containing *c.* 500 Antoniniani dating to AD 272 (*terminus post quem*) was also retrieved (Painter 1971; Hayes and Lane 1992: figure 114, UA5) and in the vicinity, a second hoard of 3000 coins dating to the mid-3rd century AD was later discovered (Hayes and Lane 1992: 190, figure 114, UA7).

The three crowns were in a fragmentary state. The ones coming from the deposit had been crumpled and buried together with a small copper-alloy bowl which was also folded (Painter 1971: 319). The objects appear to have been deposited in the late 2nd-3rd century AD based on the dating of Samian ware found in the same area (*ibid:* 321). The crowns display signs of modification: discoloration around the small holes characterising the front of the best-preserved example marks the presence of the later removed decorative elements in different material, a phenomenon we also noticed in the previous chapter for the diadems from Cavenham.[11] However, a further modification had occurred in this case. The crowns were intentionally crumpled and the bowl also folded, and thus somehow 'killed'.

The presence of the bowl is an interesting addition to the composition of this deposit, as it suggests that a libation might have been performed at the time of the burial. It is unfortunately unknown whether the bowl had been placed under the crowns (suggesting a libation on the ground, before depositing the crowns), or over them (pouring the libation on the crowns). The absence of any other regalia, nor indication of any cult or deity, inhibits further interpretation.

The area around the find-spot of the deposits has been the object of several local surveys, which have highlighted Roman period settlements scattered along the fen margin, whose main activity was

[9] 4.4.2.
[10] 3.5.1
[11] 3.2.3.

pastoralism (Hayes and Lane 1992: 186). Moreover, recent investigations have highlighted evidence of occupation, sealed by a late Roman/early post Roman layer, southwest of the crowns' findspot at Welland Bank Pit, Deeping-St-James, again consistent with agricultural activities (a field system and a possible temporary structure associated with these activities) (Smith *et al.* 2016). However, the only known building in the area seems to have been a corn drying kiln (Simmons 1994: 5).

Some of the Roman period settlements mentioned above were built on artificial mounds in order to avoid the periodical flooding of the river Welland (Hayes and Lane 1992: figure 114, nn. 2, 7, 13). It seems that the course of the river was controlled in the Roman period and had possibly been since the Late Iron Age, as confirmed by the construction of a 30 m wide artificial watercourse (Hayes and Lane 1992: figure 114, n. 15). The main settlement was certainly the one at Prior's Meadow with an overall area of *c.* 9 ha (Hayes and Lane 1992: 190, figure 114, U3). These Roman settlements would have been abandoned starting from the end of the 3rd century AD until AD 425, when the river started to occasionally flood the area. Later investigations on the site retrieved finds dating to mid-3rd century AD (Hayes and Lane 1992: figure 114, UA7) including pottery and chainmail fragments (*ibid.*).

Ritual activities in the area are attested by the deposit of crowns, the coin deposits, and an 18th century discovery in the river Welland of two swords, two daggers, and an iron frame identified as a *vexillum* (*ibid.*). The original interpretation of this find speculated that these objects had been thrown or lost as result of a local skirmish (*ibid.*). Nonetheless, the presence of the deposit of priestly regalia not in connection with a permanent structure, as confirmed by field survey and aerial photographic analysis (Hayes and Lane 1992), suggests a use of these objects in relation with seasonal ritual activities associated with the pastoral economy of the area and/or to the periodic flooding of the river, which could also justify the coin deposition.

4.2.3 Willingham Fen, Cambridgeshire

The Willingham Fen deposit is a chance find made while ploughing in a field known as 'The Hempsalls', on the border with the parish of Cottenham in 1857 (Babington 1883: 84-5; Rostovtzeff 1923). The objects were arranged in a wooden box, of which only the metal mounts survived (Table 4.4).

The assemblage is characterised by a variety of objects. The priestly regalia are represented only by sceptres: three sceptre-heads and ten between sceptre-staff fragments and sceptre-terminals. It appears overall that the sceptres were intentionally broken before deposition, and not all parts were included in the deposit, nonetheless, it is possible to recognise at least five sceptres and to match some of the sceptre-shaft fragments to the terminals (2C.WIL2 and 2B1.WIL1; 2B1.WIL2 and 2B1.WIL5). Another possible sceptre-head could be recognised in the hollow mount reproducing an ox-head with a single horn (Henig 1984), an animal also found on the decorated sceptre-staff element from this deposit (Alföldi 1949: plate I).[12] The sceptre-terminals would have been mounted on wooden staffs, traces of which are still visible in the pictures in one case (Alföldi 1949: plate II).

Table 4.4. The content of the deposit from Willingham Fen.

Object	Description/ Database n.	Material
Sceptre-head	2A.WIL1 (Antoninus Pius) (Alföldi 1949: plate II)	Cu alloy
Sceptre-head	2A.WIL2 (Owl) (Alföldi 1949: plate II)	Cu alloy
Sceptre-head	2A.WIL3 (Bird) (Alföldi 1949: plate II)	Cu alloy
Sceptre-staff and terminal	2B1.WIL3 2C.WIL1 (Alföldi 1949: plate I)	Cu alloy
Sceptre-terminals and staffs	2B1.WIL1-2;4-5 2C.WIL2-5 (Alföldi 1949: plate II)	Cu alloy
Figurines	Horse and Rider figurines (2 almost complete and one top half of a rider). H. 7.5 cm; 6.5 cm; 4.3 cm. (Rostovtseff 1923: plate IV)	Cu alloy
Escutcheon (?)	Human head (male?) terminating just under the chin with a thin band. The head is framed by a cap or hair (?) rendered with vertical lines on both side of the head and horizontal ones on the top. The top of the head terminates in two side loops. H. 3.7 cm. (Rostovtseff 1923: plate IV)	Cu alloy
Mount	Female bust, wearing a diadem and a veil. H. *c.*4 cm. (Rostovtseff 1923: plate IV)	Cu alloy
Mount	Male head. Lentoid eyes; curls frame the head. Dimensions: N.A. (Rostovtseff 1923: plate IV)	Cu alloy
Mount	Lion head. L. (bar) 4 cm. (Rostovtseff 1923: plate IV)	Cu alloy

[12] 2B1.WIL3

Object	Description/ Database n.	Material
Mount?	Three-horned bull's, socketed head L. 4 cm (Rostovtseff 1923: plate IV)	Cu alloy
Fragments	'Detached pieces'	Cu alloy
Box Handle?	Dimensions: N.A. (Rostovtseff 1923: plate IV)	Cu alloy
Beads	3, semi-transparent ring-shaped (blue, striped, and light blue). D. 3.7 cm; 1.3 cm; 3.1 cm.	Glass
Beads	2 ring-shaped. D. 3.5 cm.	Jet
Bead	Ring-shaped. D. 3.5 cm.	Amber

Together with the regalia were three votive figurines, of which one is extremely fragmentary, but all reproducing the horse and rider type. The annular shape of the beads in glass, jet, and amber suggests the presence of one or more necklaces or amulets. The mounts found with the sceptres could belong to the wooden box, while the 'bite' (Rostovtzeff 1932) is probably a box handle. One of the mounts shaped as a male head and characterised by a double loop could be an escutcheon. The possible deposition of (part of) a bucket in combination with sceptres to be used for ritual performances is not unusual and is attested also in the burial from Brough-on-Humber. This deposit has been interpreted as belonging to an unknown nearby shrine related to the imperial cult (Henig 1984), likely deposited when cult performances related to the figure of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161), represented as one of the sceptre-heads, were no longer relevant. The presence of the horse and rider figurine, a popular subject in the British panorama of votive offerings (Durham 2012), strengthens the interpretation of this deposition as the result of a ritual performance involving the concealment of religious paraphernalia.

The continuation of ritual activities associated with the imperial worship in this area is attested by the nearby find of another imperial bust, that of Commodus from the nearby parish of Cottenham. The area around these findspots is characterised by a series of Roman period villages dating between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD, with most activities dating to the 3rd/4th centuries AD (Smith *et al.* 2016). The objects stored in the Willingham Fen deposit could have been kept in a small shrine in the proximity of the site at Hempsals Fen (CHER n.05262), a small village recognised by cropmarks and limited survey, whose agricultural vocation is confirmed by the individuation of a field system. However, the 'official' aspect given to these objects by the sceptre-shaft decorated in the style of administrative badges of office, as well as the Antoninus Pius' head, suggests that the regalia were the personal belongings of a marked-out member of this rural community in charge of performing official rituals celebrating the imperial house and do not pertain to a rural shrine but would have been stored at this person's house.

4.2.4 West Stow, Suffolk

A deposit containing priestly regalia was found in 2010 by a metal-detectorist at West Stow, north-west of the town of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (Minter and Brown 2010; Worrell and Pearce 2011: 422-25). It includes a total of 61 objects deposited inside (Context 0007) and around (Context 0008) a grey ware vessel. The following tables contain a summary of the finds from the deposit divided by contexts (Tables 4.5-6). Some objects, like the pottery shards pertaining to the vessel and an identified bone fragment are not included in the table as they were not discussed in the original report but merely mentioned. Other organic remains (wooden fragments) were also found, most (if not all of them) pertaining to the tankard.

15 objects had been placed inside the vessel (Table 4.5). Thanks to the metal detectorist's testimony, the order in which (at least some of) the objects were deposited in the vessel is known (Figure 4.1; Minter and Brown 2010).

From the bottom to the top of the vessel were the sceptre-head, two figurines, all shaped as birds,[13] and a ceremonial spear-head. A folding belt was above them, then a chain-headdress, whose discs were piled on top of each other together with a chain, which broke in three pieces during the removal carried out by the finder. The top-most objects were three copper-alloy sheet 'feathers', which had been intentionally folded when deposited and unfolded by the finder when emptying the vessel.

The only spatial information available about the objects from the second context (Table 4.6) is that the tankard and the crest were both deposited under the vessel.

The exceptionality of the West Stow deposit is not only in the abundant evidence making up this assemblage but particularly in the information available regarding the order in which the objects were deposited. The diagram showing the sequence of deposition of the objects enlightens us about the possible ritual performed on the occasion of this deposition (Figure 4.1):

> **I.** The first objects to be deposited in the pit were the tankard and the crest. The former could have been used for a libation, either by pouring its content on the ground, drinking from it before depositing it, or

[13] The three objects are discussed in 3.3.1/Birds/Eagles.

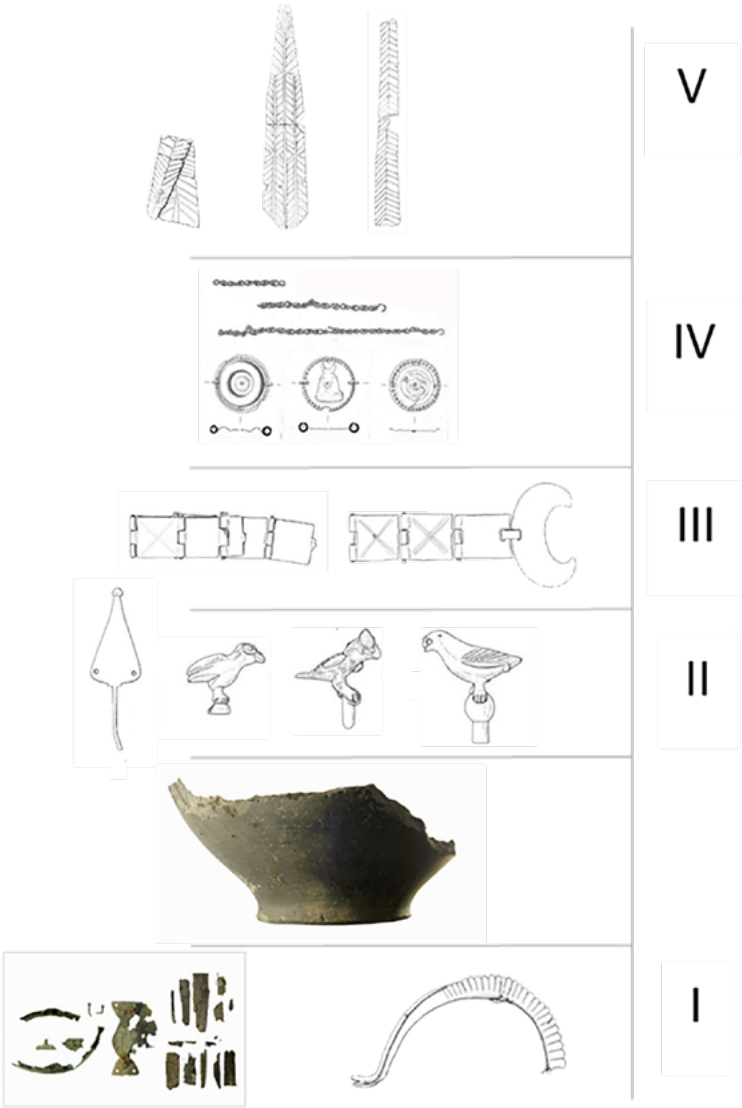

Figure 4.1. Diagram showing the sequence of deposition of the objects inside and under the vessel according to the finder (© Suffolk County Council: photograph by Andrew Brown; illustrations by Donna Wreathall).

both. If we accept the interpretation of the crest as being originally part of a statuette (Worrell and Pearce 2011), then it is possible that the crest metonymically recalls a deity, likely Mars, Minerva, or a combination with a local deity. A further ritual act is suggested by the presence of the iron knife blade, in connection with the small number of animal bones all found outside the vessel, although their exact position is unrecorded.

II. After arranging the objects inside the vessel, this was deposited in the ground. The miniature birds were laid at the bottom. Of these, one of them is a sceptre-head, while the other two could be mounts or more likely stand-alone votive figurines. Associated with this was the small spear-head, likely from a ceremonial spear similar to the examples from Willingham Fen and Milton Ferry, although smaller.[14]

III/IV. Next are the apparel items. The belt was first and then the discs belonging to the chain-headdress piled on top of each other and the chains.

V. The last items to be included were the 'feathers', intentionally folded, following a well-known ritual action. The feathers do not have any hole (like

[14] 3.3.5.

Table 4.5. West Stow. Objects deposited inside the vessel (Context 0007).

Object	Description/ Database n.	Material
Feather plaque 1	Decorated with incised chevrons (still folded). H. 5.4 cm. Figure 4.1	Cu alloy
Feather plaque 2	Decorated with incised chevrons (broken in two in antiquity). H. 17.4 cm. Figure 4.1	Cu alloy
Feather plaque 3	Decorated with incised chevrons (broken in two in antiquity) and incomplete. H. 16 cm. Figure 4.1	Cu alloy
Chain-headdress	1A.WES1 Figure 4.1	Cu alloy
Ceremonial spear-head	3A.WES1 Figure 4.1	Cu alloy
Figurine	Eagle Figure 4.1	Cu alloy
Figurine	Eagle, probably to be inserted in a base Figure 4.1	Cu alloy
Sceptre-head	2A.WES1 Figure 4.1	Cu alloy
Belt	Hinged. Found in fragments (plaques, of which the terminal one has a half-moon shape, and links). Traces of textiles were also recorded in one of the hinges. H. 2.5 cm. Pendant: Max. L. 6 cm. Figure 4.1	Cu alloy

Object	Description/ Database n.	Material
Sheet	Rounded and pierced around the rim by small, evenly spaced holes. Originally folded in half. D. 11 cm. 	Cu alloy
Sheet	Quadrangular fragment pierced around the rim by small, unevenly spaced holes. Vertical, horizontal, and oblique incised lines are visible on the surface. A flattened rivet is still in situ (top-right corner). H. 7.8 cm. Max W. 5.5 cm. 	Cu alloy
Sheet	Fragments (4)	Cu alloy
Sheet	Disc	Cu alloy
Rod	Cylindrical-sectioned, in three fragments, of which one has a curved end. Longest fragment: H. 11.2 cm. 	Iron

Table 4.6. Objects deposited under and around the vessel (Context 0008).

Object	Description/ Database n.	Material
Crest	Decorated with incised lines achieving a feather-like effect. H. 10.5 cm Figure 4.1	Cu alloy
Tankard	Cu alloy handle and nails. Fragments of a sheet copper-alloy backing. Figure 4.1	Cu alloy/Wood
Pendant	Semi-elliptical sheet. Pierced by a small hole at the top for attachment; zig-zag decoration at the base. H. 4 cm. 	Cu alloy
Sheet	Rectangular	Cu alloy
Sheet	Fragments (26+)	Cu alloy
Blade	Fragment. L. 4.9 cm. 	Iron
Nail	/	Iron

it is sometimes the case)[15] and consequently they would have not been nailed to a temple/shrine wall. It has been suggested that some votive plaques could have been displayed on stands (especially in the case of large ones, e.g. at Barkway- Toynbee 1964: 328). However, it is also possible that they were produced to be deposited as votives, like in this case.

As noticed for the Felmingham Hall and the Willingham Fen deposits, the one from West Stow offers a variety of objects. Grouping the objects by category allows one to highlight their function and investigate the reason behind the deposition of this assemblage (Table 4.7).

[15] See below the ones from Stony Stratford, 4.2.7.

Table 4.7. Summary of the objects from the West Stow deposit by category.

Priestly regalia	Chain-headdress. Sceptre-head shaped as a bird. Spear-head. Fragments of a staff.
Deities represented	(Crest)
Votive objects	'Feather' plaques. Bird figurines. Cu alloy tablet (?) with one iron rivet. (Magic objects?)
Items of personal clothing	Belt. Pendant (?).
Ritual Objects	Tankard. Knife.

Like the Felmingham Hall example, the West Stow deposit contains a headdress, a sceptre, and a ceremonial spear. In this case, however, the ritual apparel is also enriched by the presence of a belt, likely part of the priestly attire and a further element of distinction with a crescent-moon shaped pendant. No clear reference to a deity is available except for the crest, which can be ascribed to different Roman and local deities and the same can be said about the eagle figurines.

The site at West Stow is known because it is rich in metal finds, which have been recently mapped and geophysics analyses have been also carried out (Minter and Brown 2010). This has revealed extensive linear features, enclosures, as well as more intense concentrations of finds, especially to the south-east of the deposit's findspot (Minter and Brown 2010; Minter *pers. comm.*). The majority of the mapped finds are coins spanning between the 2nd/1st centuries BC to the 4th century AD. However, significant peaks are recorded between AD 260 and 296, and later between AD 330 and 348 (Minter and Brown 2010).

Beyond the numismatic evidence, other metal objects have been related to military or administrative officers (a heart-shaped strap end[16] and a buckle frame[17]). A possible ritual significance has been suggested for other finds like a pig-shaped knife handle, a human-head shaped vessel handle mount (dating to the 1st/2nd century AD), and an axe-shaped brooch (2nd century AD) (*ibid.*).[18]

Another significant discovery from this site, not far from the deposit, is a cremation burial in a grey ware vessel deposited with a copper-alloy cauldron, two iron saw blades, and animal bones (Brown 2011). The grey ware vessel can be dated to the 2nd century AD while the cauldron is older, possibly dating to Late Iron Age. It displays many signs of repair and the addition of a handle suggests its use over a long period of time as well as the intention to preserve it. Cauldron burials are not common, and the Baldock 'chieftain' cremation example comes to mind (Stead and Rigby 1986). In that case, the rich array of grave goods included two buckets, two iron firedogs, and a Dressel 1A amphora.

Overall, Roman activity in this area is significant and is likely related to the presence of the close-by road connecting Packenham Fort to Icklingham, thus suggesting the presence of a nearby roadside settlement or farmstead (Minter and Brown 2010; Brown 2011). In fact, the site is not far from the road side settlements at West Stow attested by Late Iron Age enclosures which were abandoned around AD 60 and replaced by a new settlement established in AD 80 (West 1989) and a second one further north at Icklingham (West and Plouviez 1976).

It is possible that the deposit is an expression of a small shrine or cult site. However, the presence of the belt personalises this group of paraphernalia, and it is possible that this deposit is a mixture of personal objects, property of a local authority figure who would carry out ritual performances, and personal votives (as we have seen for the horse and rider figurines at Willingham Fen) including eagle figurines and feathers. It is likely that the presence of the burial with cauldron could flag an authority figure in the same area, also recalled by the presence of the military/administrative officers' badges, whereas the overall ritual character of the area is stressed by the presence of the coins and the other metal finds.

4.2.5 Cavenham Heath, Suffolk[19]

In 1925, Layard published two bronze crowns and one chain-headdress,[20] which she had purchased few years earlier after their discovery at Cavenham Heath, Suffolk (Layard 1925). They had been found 'lying close together' in a hole, buried at a depth of *c.* 45 cm on a 'slight elevation overlooking the marshes on the right bank of the River Lark' (*ibid*: 258, 265).

During a first investigation conducted on the site by Layard herself, she reached the same depth at which the objects were deposited and recovered Roman pottery ranging from the 1st to the 3rd/4th century AD, animal bones and teeth, and many oyster shells. She noticed at this stage that the earliest pottery sherds were located close to the hole where the regalia had been found. In

[16] PAS n. SF-D9AF71.
[17] PAS n. SF-D9DB07.
[18] PAS nn. SF-0399A6; SF-040874; SF-042714.

[19] Information on this site (reports on the 1981-2 investigations as well as the reference to Lethbridge's excavations of the site at Lackford Heath) and a map plotting the excavation area have kindly been offered by Jude Plouviez of the Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service together with informal discussion of the area and finds.
[20] 1A.CAV1-2; 1C.CAV2.

this occasion, she also retrieved a copper-alloy feather plaque (Layard 1925: figure 4).

She later returned to Cavenham for a further excavation, hoping to identify architectural features which would provide a religious context fit for the ritual finds. Although no structural remains were discovered in a radius of 30 yards (*c.* 27.4 m) from the find-spot of the deposit, pottery fragments were again recovered at this stage. This included a large pale brown vessel ('urn') with an out-curved rim dating to AD 40/80 only a 'few feet' from the find-spot of the deposit (*ibid.*: 265). Other pottery finds included: Samian Ware decorated with fighting gladiators (AD 140-190), 3rd century slip ware, fragments of *mortaria*, nails, and a small trident. The earliest pottery fragments in Layard's account date to AD 1-50 ('brown-leather Celtic ware'). The evidence collected was interpreted as a sign of Roman occupation, linked to the close-by Roman station at Icklingham (*ibid*: 265).

The Cavenham Heath deposit is of particular interest as it is one of two deposits presented here to contain exclusively priestly regalia, the other being the one at Deeping-St-James. The headdresses are of two types: a chain-headdress and two crowns. As already noticed in the discussion of these objects, the decorative elements were removed before their deposition.[21]

Marks visible on both diadems suggest the presence of lost appliques which, in some cases, resemble the types of niches hosting a deity, commonly depicted on votive plaques (e.g. see below the ones from Stony Stratford).[22] The chain-headdress would have also displayed decorative plaques or mounts, as again suggested by the marks visible on the discs. In all cases, the decorative elements were removed prior to their deposition in the ground. Apart from this modification, the objects were not damaged nor broken.

By removing any indication of the deity that might have been reproduced in decoration (whether figurative, if we accept the hypothesis that some of the missing plaques would have reproduced niches with deities, or just symbolical), the objects are 'muted', prevented from displaying any connection to a deity. Several possibilities behind the removal of the decorative appliques can be entertained. They could have been removed for their intrinsic value, as they were likely made in a different, more valuable material (possibly silver). However, their careful removal (which did not cause any damage to the headdresses) weakens this hypothesis, as does the fact that the objects were carefully deposited in the ground, possibly inside a cloth or bag, and not discarded. Unfortunately, no further information on the matter is offered by the aniconic, single feather plaque from the site, although it strengthens its association with votive activities. Moreover, the association of Samian ware with gladiators (a common representation on Roman vessels from Britain, although with some ritual connections -Webster 1989: 3, 5) and the small trident could be meaningful.[23]

Lethbridge later commented on Layard's excavation, lamenting that she did not provide an exact location for the crowns' findspot and suggested that the regalia were discovered somewhere on Mill Heath in the Lackford parish, based on the information collected from a local resident (Lethbridge 1951: 8). He conducted an excavation on this site to investigate early Anglo-Saxon cremations and came across small Roman tile structures, which he interpreted as *mausolea* located a couple of hundred metres from the findspot of the diadems (*ibid.*).

More information on the site was added following archaeological fieldwork carried out between 1981 and 1982, north east of this area (Martin *et al.* 1982: 160; 1983: 234). The first investigation was triggered by a series of surface finds which suggested a possible Roman period ritual site (temple or shrine; *ibid.*). This revealed a series of ditches which were interpreted as the remains of a timber structure supported by a central footing, with clay floor and probably timber and clay walls likely coated with painted plaster (Plouviez, *pers. comm.*). An outer 'ditch' suggested the presence of a timber fence or palisade (Plouviez, *pers. comm.*). 300 m south-west of this site, a ditch system dating to the late 1st century AD was revealed. Another clay and chalk floor surface was identified, this time associated with a kiln or furnace. This floor was cut by a few pits, some containing late 3rd century AD material. A large feature, probably a well, was also identified although not fully excavated. All these features were sealed by dark soil and silty clay associated with 3rd and 4th century finds (Plouviez, *pers. comm.*).

The evidence collected during these excavations included fragments of copper-alloy feather plaques, several horse and rider brooches, and applied disc brooches, most of which were missing their applique design. Metal detecting in the area conducted in the 1970s/1980s offered evidence for at least one complete *adlocutio* disc brooch (*ibid.*). The nearby areas offer a wide scatter of Iron Age and Roman period coins ('thousands' as reported in the HER reference), as well as Samian and Roman period local pottery, a female figurine dating to the 1st century AD, and a gold ring decorated with an intaglio (HER nn. LDK 016-7). Moreover, there have been at least two Roman coin hoards from the LKD 003 area,

[21] 3.2.1; 3.2.3.
[22] 4.2.7.
[23] A small trident is also attested at the temple site at Brigstock (Greenfield 1963: figure 7.5). See below 4.4.1.

one of late 3rd century at LKD 044, again very close to 018, another of mid-4th century in a cloth bag from LKD 015 to the south of the field.

If we assume that the findspot of the crowns was indeed in the area of LKD 018, then the structure with central beam and clay floor around which fragmentary feather plaques and brooches were found can be interpreted as having a religious significance. Interestingly, the clay floor being characterised by later pits dug in it flags an end to the activity at this site dating to the late 3rd century AD and then sealed shortly after. It is possible then that the headdresses were buried in occasion of these activities of abandonment of the site in this period, an instance also attested at Hockwold-cum-Wilton.

4.2.6 Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk

Three copper-alloy diadems were found while harrowing in a field at Leylands Farm, in the parish of Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk in 1956 (Wright 1957: 211). On the same spot, a second find of a copper-alloy crown and a diadem was made the following year while ploughing; following excavations in the area revealed a chalk floor cut by two pits (*ibid*; Gourney 1986: 49), possibly the original depositional contexts of the headgears.

An excavation conducted by the Ministry of Work in the autumn of 1957 on the find-spot of the headdresses investigated *c.* 13 ha, and exposed other chalks floors pertaining to different buildings. On this occasion, a fifth diadem was discovered in a pit cut in the chalk floor of a circular building (Gurney 1986: figure 34, pit 114 -diam. 9.14/10.40 m). The building was dated to the late 2nd century AD (based on the content of pit n. 99 partially obliterated by the chalk floor), while the latest activities on the site date to the late 4th century AD (*ibid.*). The character of the building, the presence of the many pits (although only nn. 114 and 117 with finds), and the association of the finds (priestly regalia and votives, among which brooches),[24] prompted the interpretation of this building as a *favissa* (*ibid.*). Fragments of coloured plaster found on the south side of the building suggested a painted decoration.

Close to this building, further ritual activity is attested by the discovery of two pewter vessels deposits (NHER n.5587). In 1962 the temple site was excavated and several finds reported, including 345 coins and one bronze letter. Among these were also fragments of priests' headdresses (for which, however, no picture was published nor further description offered) and two bronze mounts decorated with male heads (Wilson 1963: 138). A structured deposit of red deer antlers with a hand holding a pine branch broken off from a figurine (Attis?) was associated with two human cremations in urns (*ibid.*).

Later investigations on the findspot of the headdresses unearthed structures compatible with a road-side settlement and a shrine, identified by the building with the circular chalk floor and the assemblage of crowns (Gurney 1986). Associated with the shrine were many brooches (mostly of the circular plate type, but also eight of the horse and rider type) and coins, and the overall number of finds is significant and consistent with ritual activities carried out on the site.[25] Moreover, the quantity of slag discovered points towards the presence of metalworking activities on the site.

A substantial settlement, divided in two by the Fossditch, is known in the parish: cropmarks have highlighted a regular system of roads and buildings, while many finds during metal detecting and fieldwalking have revealed intensive activities on the site. For what concerns religiously related structures, the findspot of the crowns is *c.* 7 km east of a timber-framed Romano-Celtic temple at Sawbench Wood, characterised by an outer wall decorated with painted plaster, whose occupation is dated from the early 2nd to the late 4th century AD (Wilson 1963: 138; Wilson 1966: 209).[26] This was the main building in a religious complex also characterised by ancillary buildings (Smith 2001: 243).

The religious complex at Hockwold, with its long ritual life, offers a rich contextual landscape to the discussion of this deposit. The numerous finds of votive material, curse tablets, and the depositional habit also attested by the three pewter vessel deposits, picture an intense variety of ritual activities, justifying the presence of a number of priestly figures as the different headdresses suggest. The deposition of the assemblage of headdresses appears to mark the end of two centuries of religious activities on the site. The presence of the brooch and the coin offer a *terminus post quem* for the concealment of the deposit. However, as also suggested by Toynbee, the headdresses are probably earlier (Toynbee 1962: 178). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the diadems display a clasp that was used to adjust them to different head-sizes, suggesting their use by multiple people, over an undetermined period of time.

[24] One *Adlocutio* brooch and an enamelled horse and rider brooch.

[25] 'Bracelets (including shale), finger ring, necklaces, pin, fragments of priestly headdress, 9 fragments of possible votive plaque, 6 bronze leaves, pipeclay Venus figurine, 2 bronze letters, model foot of a bird, needle, vessel fragments, glass beads, knives, shield bosses and an ear scoop. Also, CBM and painted wall plaster (mostly red, but also blue and yellow); three pewter hoards found in area (21 vessels in total), and a copper alloy libation jug found, along with curse tablet found in early 1970s (Smith *et al.* 2016: ref. Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Leylands Farm (Norfolk).

[26] Location given as: 'At Wilton-by- Hockwold. NW of Brandon (52/754873), 300 yds. north of the Little Ouse' (Wright 1957: 211).

As already seen in the cases of Cavenham Heath and Deeping-St-James, the headdresses have suffered some modifications prior to their deposition, however with some differences. The Hockwold diadems were stripped of most of the decorative plaques, while the crown is missing one of the bearded mounts. The fact that the diadems' plaques are of silver could suggest a removal for intrinsic value. However, some of them were left on the headdress, of which only one reproduces the (or one of the) deities worshipped at the site.[27] It appears then that the regalia were not completely 'muted' of any reference to the deity present on the site as it was the case for the deposits mentioned above.

The interpretation of concealment for safekeeping for this deposit (Toynbee 1964: 339) can be dropped in favour of a deposition that would have marked the end of religious activities on the site in the late 4th century AD. The regalia were carefully arranged in the pit together with a brooch that could have either been part of the priestly apparel or a votive token, similar to the coin (a single coin was also included in the deposit at Felmingham Hall).[28] The deposit contained a collection of ritual garments deposited once they went out of use: a 'closure deposit' made by breaking the chalk floor which could also mark the overall metaphorical 'ritual killing' of the religious building and related ritual activities.

4.2.7 Stony Stratford, Buckinghamshire

The deposit known as the Stony Stratford hoard was unearthed in 1789 (Lyson 1817: pl. XXXIV-XLII; Walters and Smith 1921: 62-64; Jackson and Burleigh: 74-109). It was found south of the village of Old Stratford, just south-west of Watling Street and close to a bend of the river Great Ouse (RCHME 1982: 108-9). Two chain-headdresses were placed in an urn together with 65 silver votive plaques, some bearing dedications to Mars, Vulcan or Jupiter, and reproducing these same deities. Most of the plaques are of the simple feather-type, many are in a fragmentary state. A summary of the finds from the deposit is illustrated in Table 4.8.

The combination of objects is dominated by the votive plaques and suggests that this deposit is associated with a temple or a shrine. The small holes visible on many of the plaques indicate that these would have been nailed to the walls of a building for display. The deities represented in the assemblage, with the overwhelming presence of Mars, and single appearances by Vulcan, with or without Jupiter, Apollo and Victory points towards the former to be the titular deity of this cult place.

The deposit contained priestly headdresses and a divination rattle together with votive objects formerly displayed in a temple and then removed once the temple ran out of room to display new votives. For this reason, it is somehow striking that no temple or shrine structure is known in this area, although it has been argued that it could be related to an undiscovered temple site (RCHME 1982: 108-9). A further clue on the performances carried out at Stony Stratford is the presence of a horse harness. We have mentioned in the previous chapter[29] that iconographic evidence shows that animals also wore ceremonial paraphernalia, often diadems and *infulae*. The harness deposited here could have a ritual significance, related to the ceremonies conducted at the site.

[27] 4.2.1.3.
[28] 4.2.1.
[29] 3.2.3.

Table 4.8. Stony Stratford. Objects deposited in urn.

Object	Description/Database n.	Material
Chain-headdress	1A.STO1 Picture available at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1613154678&objectId=1362008&partId=1#more-views [Last accessed 20/10/2018].	Cu alloy
Chain-headdress	1A.STO2 Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.x?objectId=808354&partId=1&place=28956&object=23041&museumno=OA.252.74&page=1	Cu alloy
Chain-headdress (?)	1A.STO3 Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=808515&partId=1&object=23041&museumno=OA.252.106-110&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018]	Cu alloy

Object	Description/Database n.	Material
Votive 'Feathers'	Sheet triangular plaques decorated with chevrons. Central plaque: H. 14.2 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1362005&partId=1&place=28956&plaA=28956-3-1&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018]	Silver
Votive Plaque	Fragmentary plaque of the 'niche type' representing a profile image of Apollo holding a bow in his right hand. A tripod is on the right. Largest fragment: H. 8.6 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1362002&partId=1&place=28956&plaA=28956-3-1&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018]	Silver
Votive Plaque	Fragmentary plaque of the 'niche type' representing a profile image of Mars, holding a spear in his right hand and resting his left on a shield. H. 7.3 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1362006&partId=1&place=28956&plaA=28956-3-1&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018]	Silver
Votive Plaque	Fragmentary 'double niche type' plaque reproducing Mars in the left niche and a winged Victory holding a palm branch in the right niche. H. 8.75 cm. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=1613155708&objectid=1362007 [Last accessed 20/10/2018]	Silver
Votive Plaque	Fragmentary inscribed plaque: *Doe Mar-* *[t]i san(cto)* *s(acrum)* *d(ono) d(edit)** H. 5.5 cm Picture available at https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/217 [Last accessed 20/10/2018] * RIB I, 217: Sacred to the holy god Mars: (...) gave this as a gift.	Silver
Votive Plaque	Fragmentary pentagonal inscribed plaque: *Deo* *Marti s(acrum)* *A [...] D* *[...] N* *[...] S** H. 4.8 cm. Picture available at https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/216 [Last accessed 20/10/2018] *RIB I, 216: To the god Mars ... this sacred offering	Silver
Votive Plaque	Plaque in two pieces reproducing a variant of the 'niche type'. In a squared frame decorated with floral motifs are a figure on the left wearing a long garment (Jupiter?), lifting a hand towards the figure on the right, a bearded man wearing a short tunic, resting his left hand on a shield (Vulcan?). Above this panel, the plaque continues with the classical 'leave motif' ending in a squared, inscribed panel: DEO Iovi et Volca(no) Vassinus cum velli- nt me con- sacratum *conservare* *promisi dena-* *rios sex pro vo-* *to soluto p(ecuniam) d(edi)**Total H. *c.* 25 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1362007&partId=1&place=28956&plaA=28956-3-1&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018] *RIB I, 215: To the god Jupiter and Vulcan, I, Vassinus, hereby have promised six denarii when they might be pleased to bring me, their votary, safe home and on the fulfilment of my vow I have paid the money.	Silver

Object	Description/Database n.	Material
Votive 'Feathers'	Fragments of the top section of the 'niche type' plaques. Longest fragment: H. 12.5 cm. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1362003&partId=1&place=28956&plaA=28956-3-1&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018]	Silver
Votive 'Feathers'	Miscellaneous fragments of feathers and 'niche type' plaques.	Silver
Figurine	Naked Mars wearing a helmet on a podium. H./	Cu alloy
Divination 'Rattles'	Two similar objects consisting of two bowl-like halves, with holes in the centre. The overall design recalls the divination device from the deposit at Felmingham Hall. Dimensions: N.A. Picuteres available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1613156286&objectId=808352&partId=1#more-views [Last accessed 20/10/2018]	Cu alloy
Handle	Similar to that of the divination 'rattles' from Felmingham Hall and Evreux.	Cu alloy
Horse harness (?)	Several fragments of strips and discs terminating in pendants. Two of these pendants are linked via chains. Dimensions: N.A. Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=1613156214&objectid=808353 [Last accessed 20/10/2018]	Cu alloy

The landscape around Old Stratford is characterised by many villas, some of which display an annexed shrine. The rural settlement at Bancroft was marked by a Romano-Celtic temple-mausoleum built in the 2nd century AD and demolished in the mid-4th century (Williams and Zeepvat 1994). Another religious site was discovered near the villa at Cosgrove, *c.* 2.5 km north-east of the deposit's findspot (Quinell 1991). This was a stone-built Romano-Celtic temple erected in the late 2nd century AD, which appears to have been in use until the early 5th century. The composition of the Stony Stratford deposit appears to reflect local ritual activities related to a shrine serving the need of the local population of farmers and craftsmen (e.g. Vessinus who fulfils his vow for a safe return, Table 4.8, RIB I, 215).

The area around the modern centre of Milton Keynes offers much evidence for this rural landscape and settlements sitting on both sides of Watling Street. A structured field system and farmsteads are known at Castelthorpe (Booth 2013: 316), at Walton (Booth 2011: 367), and Brooklands (Booth 2010: 381). The latter included a field system dating to the 2nd/4th century AD where agriculture and pastoral farming were practiced and likely managed by the nearby settlement at Broughton Manor Farm (Booth 2009: 248-9). Another settlement to the north, at Newport Pagnell dating from the Middle/Late Iron Age to the 4th century AD is characterised by enclosures, possibly related to metalworking/smithing as at Bancroft, a large pond, and a cremation cemetery active from the late 1st/early 2nd century AD. A similar small settlement is known at Monkston Park with enclosures dating from the 1st to the 4th century AD and again associated with cremation burials of some importance (Burnham *et al.* 2003: 328; Bull 2006).

A ceremonial spear-head from Milton, one of only two complete ones from Britain,[30] was found in the mud bed of the river Nene. Thus, it seems to conform nicely to the well-known practice of dedications in water very common in the Iron Age (Bradley 1988) and continuing at a reduced level in the Roman period (Haynes 1997). A recent account of the excavations in Bretton Way, Peterborough, north-east of the Milton spear findspot, documents a well built by reusing monumental blocks (probably from an unidentified near-by building), and containing a significant assemblage, likely of ritual origin (Pickstone and Drummond-Murray 2013). The well was used to monumentalise this underground water source and the offerings (pottery, shoes, and amulets) were deposited when it was closed, rather than during its 'life' (*ibid.*). Whether it had a specific ritual significance during its use is uncertain. However, the Milton spear can be more convincingly related to the closer site of the Roman complex at Castor Barn (*c.* 1.8 km downstream), where archaeological excavations unearthed a monumental complex and possible temple (Smith *et al.* 2016). The chronology of the site sees an early, small building dating from the (mid?)2nd century. The monumental building dates from mid-3rd century AD into the late Roman period. It is possible that these

[30] 3A.MIL1.

structures are the expression of an administrative complex taking over from Stonea (*ibid.*) which would require the presence of official priestly figures.

4.2.8 Wanborough, Surrey

The Wanborough assemblage and its related finds constitutes the richest find of priestly regalia from Britain (Bird 1994: 96, plate 11; Williams 2007). Religious activities at the site are attested at least since the late Iron Age/early post-conquest period by votive depositions. Moreover, a cobbled trackway links a ritual shaft (not completely excavated but found to contain late Bronze Age material) to the area of the later temples, which, it has been suggested, was at this stage a grove (Bird 2004: 153, figure 74; O'Connell and Bird 1994; Williams 2007).

An initial circular temple was built in the early/mid-2nd century AD, although it was soon replaced by a second, classic Romano-Celtic temple, possibly paved with mosaic (*ibid.*). An ancillary building is suggested by the presence of a curved wall pertinent to an apsidal building north of the square temple. During the construction of the second temple, headdresses, pottery, animal bones, and Late Iron Age coins (AD 160-70) were deposited under it. Activities at the religious complex continued until the late 4th century AD when it was finally demolished.

An assemblage of headdresses and sceptres was concealed in the second half of the 2nd century AD when the first circular building was dismantled and a new Romano-Celtic building was being constructed. For this reason, the deposit of the Wanborough has been interpreted as a foundation deposit (O'Connell and Bird 1994; Bird 2007c). The change in architecture as evidence of change of cult practice has been already highlighted for Britain (Smith 2001), and it appears that the deposit at Wanborough would support this idea. The headdresses and the many sceptres used by the local priests were deposited, and it is impossible to know whether they were replaced by new ones. However, a continuity in priestly presence on the site is hinted at by the recognition of nearby buildings, hypothetically housing 'temple curators' and visitors (Bird 2004: 154).

4.2.9 Deposits of regalia: biography and performance

Table 4.9 sums up the main features of the eight deposits discussed.

Four assemblages were deposited directly in the ground, three in a pottery vessel, and one in a wooden box. Different pottery vessels would seem to have been used for each deposition, however, considering that the term employed to describe the cauldron in the first report of the Felmingham Hall hoard is 'urn' (Blythe 844: 381), it is possible that the now lost 'urn', in which the Stony

Table 4.9. Synthesis of the deposits' composition
(PR=Priestly Regalia; CE=Ceremonial Instruments).

Findspot	County	Deposited in	Total Number of Objects	PR/CE	Other objects
Cavenham Heath	Suffolk	Pit in the shrine chalk floor	3	3 Headdresses	/
Deeping-St-James	Lincs.	Pit	3	2 Headdresses	1 bowl
Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	Terracotta cauldron covered by a second vessel	19	1/2 Headdresses 1 Sceptre 2 Spears 1 Rattle	1 figurine (Lar) 1 Head of Minerva 1 Head of Jupiter 1 Wheel 2 bases 1 Coin
Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	Pit in the shrine chalk floor	2	2 Headdresses	/
Stony Stratford	Bucks.	Pottery 'Urn'	105	4 Headdresses 2 Rattles 1 sceptre(?)	75 votive plaques 1 Bell 4 strips 2 Fittings 1 Head of Sol 3 Plate brooches
Wanborough	Surrey	Pit, under the second temple	37	5 Headdresses 27 Sceptres	2 rings 1 pin 1 blade (knife)
West Stow	Suffolk	Pottery vessel (also under and around it)	61	1 Headdress 1 Sceptre 1 Spear	3 plaques 2 figurines
Willingham Fen	Cams.	Wooden Box	14	5 Sceptres	3 figurines

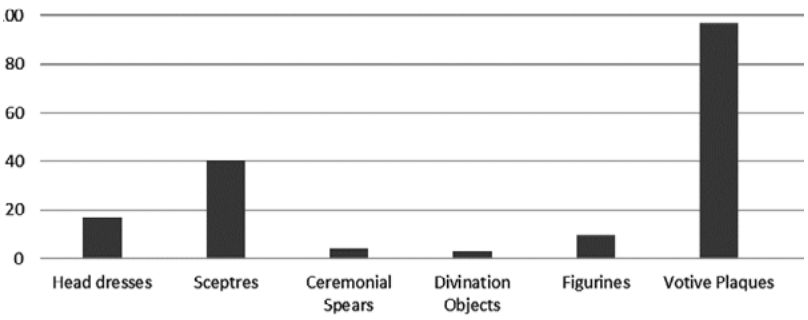

Figure 4.2. Quantity of objects found in the deposits by category.

Stratford objects were deposited (Lyson 1817) could have also been a cauldron-type pot. A different type of vessel is the grey ware pot used for the deposition of the objects at West Stow.

The composition of the assemblages is diverse, which provides information about the typologies of objects considered appropriate for burial alongside priestly regalia and ceremonial instruments. The chart in Figure 4.2 is dominated by the high number of votive plaques found in the Stony Stratford hoard (65 -whole and fragmentary-). However, only this and the West Stow deposit contain votive plaques, which are absent in the other six assemblages. Three deposits (Felmingham Hall, West Stow, and Willingham Fen) contain a small number of votive figurines. The few 'other' objects are either clothing accessories (belt, pins, brooches) or objects that are found exclusively in one deposit (e.g. bowl from Deeping-St-James; odd fragments).

Of the eight deposits, two are exclusively composed of priestly regalia (Cavenham Heath, and Hockwold-cum-Wilton) and one contains only headdresses and a bowl (Deeping-St-James). The remaining five contain a much higher number of objects, the smallest being the Felmingham Hall assemblage with 19 objects and the larger being the Stony Stratford one with 105 (Table 4.9).

When discussing the terminological issues posed by this study,[31] especially regarding the notion of structured deposits, we observed how the current literature (Osborne 204; Hobbs 2006; 2016; Chadwick 2012) offers different views on whether it is possible (Johns 1996) and how to identify a ritual deposit, regardless of its content. However, a more achievable interpretational goal has been proposed by Haynes (2013: 7), involving the setting aside of traditional (i.e. *bothros* and *favissa*) and modern labels (e.g. 'ritualised rubbish deposits' Clarke 1997; Morris 2008), focusing instead on the archaeological context of these finds as a means to investigate the reasoning behind the depositions of regalia.

All the deposits of regalia are the result of a clear voluntary performative act which unfolds in three steps:

1) Selection of the objects to be deposited

The earliest example of a selection of regalia is the deposit at Wanborough, where a combination of headdresses and sceptres was retrieved under the second phase temple built in AD 160/170, for which reason it has been interpreted as a foundation deposit (O'Connell and Bird 1994; Bird 2007c). Not much information is available from this site regarding the possible ritual performed for this foundation (whether there were animal bones, for example). A similar selection of objects is attested at the religious sites of Cavenham and Hockwold: the deposits contain exclusively headdresses which involve a combination of diadem(s) and a different headgear (a crown at Hockwold, a chain-headdress at Cavenham). In the previous chapter, we have discussed how priestly regalia fulfil the necessity to mark-out an authority figure in the community during ritual performances and were connected to office holding.[32]

At Wanborough, the temple site is renewed and it is possible that the concealment of the priestly regalia marked a change in the ritual habits at the site and possibly of cult (as attested at other British sites, Smith 2001), as well as a change in the way ritual authorities were marked, which made these objects obsolete. At Hockwold and Cavenham Heath, the deposition of the regalia in the chalk floor of the building could suggest the closure of the religious site. There is no other object which recalls the activities carried out at the shrines, nor the presence of votive offerings which are often found in temple treasures (as found at Stony Stratford deposit, where the headdresses are buried together with the votive feather plaques from the shrine). Another deposit that could be related to a shrine is the one from Felmingham Hall, suggested by the presence of part of smaller-than-life heads of Minerva and Jupiter Capitolinus. The last two examples are also paralleled as both contain divination devices suggesting the presence of such practice on the site. However, the inclusion of the divination rattle (or two, in the case of the Stony Stratford deposit) strengthens the scenario of a selection of objects in active use at the site and followed by the discontinuation of activities.

[31] 2.2.

[32] 3.6.1-2.

The deposit of West Stow shares similar features with the Cavenham Heath and the Stony Stratford ones due to the presence of the feathers as well as the eagle figurines which point towards a ritual site where it was possible to dedicate offerings. However, the continuation of ritual activities in this field attested by later finds suggests that when the regalia and the offerings were deposited, the site was still visited for ritual reasons, a case similar to that of Wanborough.

A stand-alone example is finally offered by the Willingham Fen deposit, whose selection of objects suggests a private deposit, as in an assemblage of objects which were owned by a single person who buried them when the need for them was exhausted, possibly as a votive offering as implied by the pottery cauldron. The presence of the sceptre/badge of office with the image of Antoninus Pius and the ceremonial spears (of which one displaying an eagle) were linked to a change of cult or of appointment for which these objects were no longer needed but could not be recycled.

2) Physical manipulation of the objects deposited

The majority of the objects considered here had been manipulated in several ways: elements of the objects were removed (silver plaques from the headdresses at Cavenham Heath, Stony Stratford, West Stow), the headdresses were crumpled (Deeping-St-James), the objects were intentionally broken and only certain parts were selected (most of the sceptres and ceremonial spear are attested only via their more significant element, the head); some figurines are buried without their base (one of the eagles from West Stow), or some bases are buried without their figurine (at Felmingham Hall).

These examples confirm that the selection of the objects often occurs via a metonymical choice, for which an element is chosen to represent the whole object. An example we have highlighted is the crest from the West Stow assemblage deposited under the vessel, which recalls probably Mars/Minerva/local deity with similar attributes; it is possible that the figurine bases from Felmingham Hall were used for other domestic deities (a Genius Pater Familias paired with the Lar?) which was removed.

3) Deposition

The depositional process involves not just the action of burying the objects, but also the careful arrangement of the object in a container and/or in the depositional pit. The deposition sanctions the last stage in the biography of these objects prior to their modern discovery.

Only in two cases we have been able to discuss this preliminary step: at Felmingham Hall, where we have noted that the images of deities (the Jupiter and Minerva heads) were wrapped in a woollen cloth or bag and then inserted in the pottery cauldron, and at West Stow, where the depositional sequence is known thanks to the metal-detectorist's testimony.

Further information on the ritual accompanying the deposition of these assemblage is available at West Stow and Deeping-St-James. In both cases, the presence of a container (a tankard and a bowl, respectively) suggests the performance of libations accompanying the deposition. Not enough data is available to address whether any animal sacrifice would have accompanied some of these depositions. The only mention of bones is from West Stow, while Layard's account of bones and oyster shells found in the area of the deposit at Cavenham Heath is probably to connect to feasting practices at the shrine. The latter is however one of the cases when the documentation regarding the deposit could be lacking, and that information regarding this aspect was not collected or lost, as the bones were considered of lesser/no value and would have been tossed away/not reported by the original finder.

Deposits of regalia are found at temple (Wanborough) or shrines (Cavenham and Hockwold), while the other deposits are not associable to a permanent religious structure, although a strong case can be made for the West Stow area, where the enclosures recognised by the geophysics analysis could pertain to a ritual structure.

Among those deposits that are not clearly associated with a ritual structure, both the deposits at Stony Stratford and Felmingham Hall could have been connected to a ritual site. Although there is no evidence so far of a permanent structure, the rich character of the objects deposited suggests a place of a certain importance, and it is possible that these objects would have been deposited close to a significant feature in the landscape, rather than on the premises of the shrine they belonged to.

In any case, the objects need to be buried reverently: they cannot be discarded as rubbish as their connection to the deity/ies is still significant enough to not be able to recycle them. The Wanborough deposit offers an excellent example of the latter scenario, where there was a major reconstruction and a concealment of these objects. More definitively, the actions at Hockwold-cum-Wilton and Cavenham Heath, where the deposition of regalia in the chalk floor of the building would suggest a closure of the site strengthened by the rest of the archaeological evidence. A similar behaviour is also attested at Findon, where the in the floor of the round Romano-Celtic on hill side shrine traced only by a depression, two shallow pits were cut and the interpreted as ritual deposits and contained ox skulls, bones, and a jug (Lewis 1966).

4.3 Burials

Table 4.10. Roman period burials interpreted as of priests/esses.

Findspot	County	Location	Period	Ritual
Brough-on-Humber	Yorkshire	Urban	Roman	Inhumation
Stanway	Essex	Urban	AD 40-60	Cremation
Southwark	London	Urban	AD 150-200	Cremation
Catterick	North Yorkshire	Urban	AD 350-400	Inhumation

The burials discussed here have been selected because of the grave goods deposited, which have been interpreted as constructing a priest/ess identity for the deceased. This does not necessary mean that all these burials contain priestly regalia or that ceremonial instruments were deposited in the grave. Out of four British burials interpreted as of a priest/ess (Table 4.10), the Brough-on-Humber burial is the only one displaying priestly regalia, while the cremation burial from Stanway, Colchester contains objects that were used for divination practices. The other two burials, the cremation from Southwark, London and the inhumation from Catterick do not contain any of the objects identified here as priestly regalia nor ceremonial tools *stricto sensu*. However, an identification of the deceased as a priestess and a priest respectively was proposed because of the types and combinations of the objects deposited in the grave.

Before discussing the Roman period burials however, two Iron Age burials containing ceremonial headgear will be considered here, as they have been interpreted as burials of individuals with specific functions in their community and can be explored to address instances of continuity in the marking-out of authority in funerary contexts. These are the warrior's grave from Deal, Kent and a burial from Leckhampton, Gloucestershire.

4.3.1 Iron Age burials

4.3.1.1 Mill Hill, Deal, Kent

The 'warrior grave' was found in the Iron Age cemetery at Mill Hill, Deal, during excavations at the site between 1984 and 1989, and is dated to the early 2nd century BC (Parfitt 1995: G112: figure 3; Fitzpatrick 2007). It contained the supine skeleton of a man in his 30s: no trace of trauma was detected, and it is likely that he had died of natural causes.

His position in the grave is somewhat interesting: his head was resting on his right shoulder, almost has if he had been squeezed in the pit, regardless of the fact that there was enough room in the grave for him to be laid completely flat due to the presence of an empty area in front of his feet. This area might have been originally used by a person standing in the grave to help lower the body (Garrow and Gosden 2012. This arrangement could also be the result of him being wrapped in a cloth, which the presence of a brooch next to his right ankle appears to confirm. Other individuals in the same cemetery were laid down in a similar fashion (*ibid.*).

He was buried wearing a headdress, a copper-alloy circlet decorated with an incised wave-like pattern.[33] Hair was caught up in the rivets, suggesting that the crown was worn directly on the head, without any cloth nor cap.

The other grave goods include an iron sword with a bone handle sheathed in a scabbard made in organic material, which did not survive. The scabbard was enriched by a repoussé decorated front panel and a plain back one characterised by suspension loops; the scabbard chape was decorated with incisions and enamel. A shield was also present: made of organic material (hide), it had copper-alloy edges, clamps and a central boss. Finally, as was already noted, a brooch was also included. Analyses of the objects as an assemblage have argued that their selection was the result of a group choice (family or the local community) to project a specific warrior-like image (Garrow and Gosden 2012: 231). This required collecting together items that did not originally belong together: e.g. the scabbard and the sword belong to different periods (La Tène I and II) and they do not fit properly together, showing that they were not designed together (*ibid.*).

The presence of the copper-alloy headdress led Parfitt to suggest that the individual buried at Mill Hill might have been a Druid (Parfitt 1995), an interpretation later followed by Ross (1999: 65-9). However, Parfitt also suggested that he might have been a king, with or without a religious role or 'simply' a warrior (*ibid.*). The value of the 'warrior' label has been questioned recently by Garrow and Gosden, who suggest that the objects buried with the individual at Mill Hill are the result of a community effort to construct a 'mythical ancestor identity' (2012: 241). In fact, this warrior

[33] 3.6.1. Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=831407&partId=1&images=true&place=6670&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

burial prompted the creation of a later cemetery, where it appears that the local community decided to be buried in proximity of this [constructed] ancestral figure (*ibid.*).

4.3.1.2 Leckhampton, Gloucestershire

Not much information is available about the inhumation burial with crown from Leckhampton, whose discovery was recorded in a note in the first number of the *Archaeological Journal* (Wright 1844: 386). The grave was noticed 'in the hill above the manor house at Leckhampton [...] in a bank at the side of the high-road leading from Cheltenham to Bath' in 1844 (*ibid.*). A second grave was found near-by. The crouched skeleton in the former grave was in good condition ('not even a tooth wanting'), with a 'crown' fitting on its head. The headdress was left in private possession (Way 1855 with picture) and is now lost.[34] The second burial was reported to contain several iron studs placed around the skull, suggesting that this skeleton too was wearing some sort of headgear (O.J. 1846: 353).

The headdress design employed by the Leckhampton headdress is characterised by a knob-shaped terminal ending with a small loop and a ring marking the junction between two vertical headbands. The junctions between one of the vertical headbands and the horizontal one are marked by three rivets used to hold in place a small loop on each side. The loops would have been used for the attachment of a chain, possibly passing under the wearer's chin. An earlier account of this find shows two chain links still in place at the time of the discovery (O.J. 1846: 352 with picture).

A further example of this type of headgear was mentioned when the Leckhampton grave was published (O.J. 1846). This was the only grave goods from a burial excavated in Souldern, Oxfordshire in 1844: unfortunately, no pictures of the object were produced at the time. The description of the interment mentions the discovery of copper-alloy fragments that would make up to two bands. One of them ('seven inches long and three-fourths wide') encircled the lower part of a leather skull-cap.[35] This object was later recognised as an Anglo-Saxon bucket by Bruce-Mitford and Luscombe (1974: 245-6). However, because of the reported traces of a leather cap, the possibility that it was a headdress remains. This headgear together with the Leckhampton one attests to a different type of headgear than the crown from Mill Hill: although sharing the same characteristic of being a copper-alloy frame (with a similar system of rivets), the Leckhampton and the Souldern examples employed a leather cap which was not present at Mill Hill. Moreover, the use of a leather cap is paralleled by the later examples of chain-headdresses at Wanborough, Farley Heath, Cavenham Heath, and West Stow.

The dating of the Leckhampton burial is frustrated by the absence of other objects, however, noting that the burial was found close to the Leckhampton hill-fort, and mentioning the Iron Age inhumation at Birdlip, Stead proposes a dating to the Iron Age for both the Leckhampton interments (1995).

4.3.2 Roman period burials

4.3.2.1 Bainesse, Catterick, North Yorkshire

A young male (estimated age of 20-25 years old) was buried in the cemetery at Bainesse, Catterick in AD 350-400 (Wilson 2002: grave 951; Cool 2011: figure 24). He was laid in an extended position, with his arms crossed on the abdomen, his head facing west, and two stones in his mouth. He was buried wearing several items of jewellery: a jet necklace, a jet bracelet around his left arm, a shale armlet on his upper left arm, and a bronze anklet on his right ankle (*ibid.*: 176-8).

Because of the jet jewellery present in the grave of a male skeleton, conjectures sparked about the gender of this individual, receiving a fair press coverage (Tougher 2009: 1).[36] The publishers of the cemetery have speculated that this individual was a transvestite, and that his gender would have made him a *Gallus*, the priest of the goddess Cybele, as he was buried with items that are normally present in young female burials (Cool 2002: 40-2). Moreover, as *galli* are known from the sources to practice emasculation, it was suggested that this individual could have died during such practice (also considering his young age), and that the two stones found in his mouth would metonymically refer to his genitals (Wainwright 2000 mentioned by Pinto and Pinto 2013). Further information on the Catterick individual has emerged from the isotope analysis conducted on his skeleton, which showed that he was not a local from Catterick but had moved from southern Britain (Chenery *et al.* 2011; Eckardt 2014: 116).

[34] Reported in possession of Capt. Henry Bell of Cheltenham (Way 1855). Later, the Cheltenham Examiner (7th Nov 1883) reports it as in the British Museum. It was not found in 1971 by Painter (1971: 319, note 2).

[35] The cap and the headband were held together 'by a thin concave brass binding, in the hollow of which fragments of leather are still to be seen'. A hinge was present on both sides of the helmet for the insertion of a chin-strap. 'Of the other band about 1 ft. 5 inches are existing, the whole of which is equal width, and one eighth narrower than the first. It was probably the binding of the edge of the helmet, where there would be a seam, or intended to encircle the helmet close above the other binding. On both these bands are rivets, which shew that the leather riveted was three sixteenths thick.' (O.J. 1846: 353).

[36] http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/1999734.stm http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2002/may/22/research.humanities [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

Although jet has been recognised as a material thought to have magic properties (Eckardt 2014: 109ff.), there is no object in the grave that links this person to Cybele, nor any other deity. Funerary reliefs of priests of Cybele display the whole set of religious paraphernalia typical of this cult,[37] although we are do not know whether they would have been buried with them.

Jewels and jet are usually associated with female individuals (Allason-Jones 2003; Eckardt 2014: 116), however, male burials containing jewels are not unheard of in Britain. Examples are found in London dating to the late 3rd/4th century AD (Barber and Bowsher 2000), while a male individual was buried at Cirencester wearing a flat copper-alloy bracelet (McWhirr *et al.* 1982: 129, B179). For what concerns jet, jet bracelets are attested in funerary contexts at Ospringe, Verulamium, and York, where information on the gender of the deceased is not available (Cool 2011: 301 with references). Similar jet bracelets were worn by men also in two other burials, at Ashford, Kent and Brougham, Cumbria although a connection to the Cybele's cult was not proposed (Eckardt 2014). This has suggested that this univocal gender connection between jewels/jet and female identity has to be reconsidered (Eckardt 2014; Sherrat and Moore 2016).

In the case of the Catterick burial, this could mean that the presence of jet and jewellery was not as much as an exception as earlier thought, and that the jet might have a cross-gender significance. Its inclusion in the grave might have more to do with jet's magic properties and protection; moreover, none of the items deposited in the grave points towards a cultic affiliation, let alone an authoritative position in the panorama of Cybele's worship in the city.

4.3.2.2 Brough-on-Humber, East Yorkshire

The burial from Brough-on-Humber, Yorkshire was identified as that of a priest since its discovery (Corder and Richmond 1938). The crouched skeleton was found in 1936, at a depth of *c.* 1.5 m, not far from a second interment that did not produce any grave goods. Both burials were either covered by thin slabs of local limestone kept in place by a wooden framework or consisted of a wooden coffin of which only the iron nails survived, inserted in a limestone cist (*ibid.*). The grave goods include two similar sceptres,[38] consisting of an

[37] 2.2.2.

[38] 2D.BRO1-2.

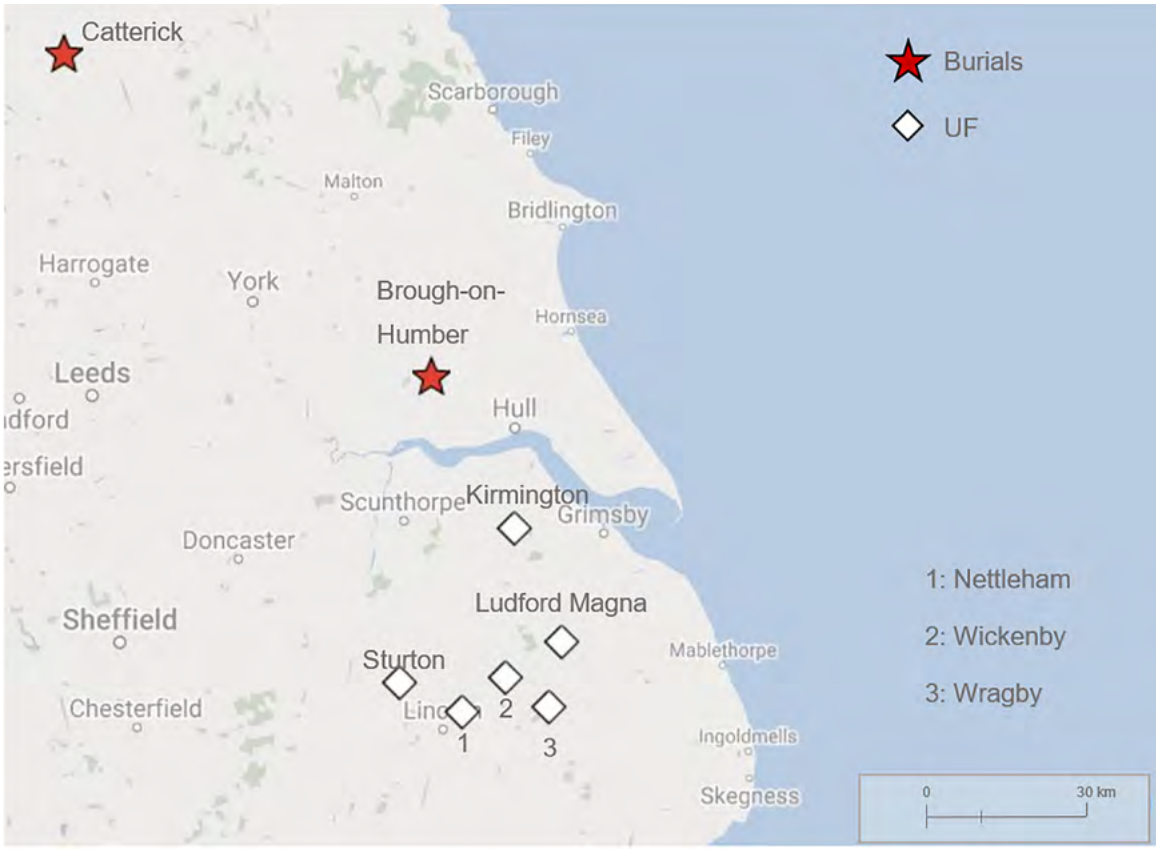

Figure 4.3. Map showing the location of the funerary contexts at Catterick and Brough-on-Humber, the Mars sceptre-heads, the Venus sceptre-head, and the octahedron in Lincolnshire. (Base Map: © 2018 Google)

iron staff with copper-alloy collars and terminals. The sceptre-heads were both shaped as male busts wearing a cavalry helmet. The longest stem was found slightly bent, marking a deliberate action. Together with the sceptres was a small bucket attested by two iron loops (D. 15.2 cm) and a copper-alloy escutcheon (H. 2.2 cm).

Burials with buckets are not uncommon in the British Iron Age, where the bucket was used as a container for the cremated ashes of the male deceased in south-east England, with famous examples from Baldock, Swarling, and Aylesford (Cunliffe 2005: 136ff.). This custom (so called Aylesford-Swarling culture, but also present in the Welwyin-type graves) was also adopted in areas of Atrebatic presence (Cool 2011). In the Roman period, buckets are mostly found in domestic environments and in wells (Jackson 2011: 262), while the examples from the ritual well at Coventina (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985: nn. 35-7) attest to their use in a ritual environment.

The use of sceptres associated with Mars and its cult is well documented in the area around the *colonia* of Lincoln, just south of Brough-on-Humber (Figure 4.3). Mars sceptre-heads are found at Kirmington, Nettleham, and Wragby (Figure 3.4.1-2), while a Mars knife-handle from the nearby Wickenby also attests to the popularity of this cult (Figure 3.4.3; Holmes 2006).[39] A fragmentary sceptre-head from Ludford Magna was identified with Venus (Henig and Leahy 1984). All these sceptre-heads and the terminal are metal-detectorist finds in farmland, nonetheless, they offer interesting evidence for the cults and the ritual celebrations practiced in this area, which would have involved the parading around of the god's image.

Not far from the Mars sceptre-head at Kirmington, two miniature votive *gladii* were also retrieved (Henig and Leahy 1986). These finds join several other military-type votive dedications from Kirmington (Leahy 1980), as well as thumb pots, cremation burials, and a group of brooches (Henig and Leahy 1986: note 129). Later investigations at the site and the analysis of aerial photographs confirmed the presence of a multi-phased settlement (sequence: Iron Age Settlement - Fort - Roman roadside settlement) and a possible shrine based on votive finds (Jones and Whitwell 1991).

Only in the case of the Mars sceptre-head from Nettleham, a possible Romano-British temple has been identified: this lays to the west of the sceptre's findspot (Daubney 2011). This is based on the find in 1961 of a limestone slab bearing an inscription flanked by two *peltae* recording the dedication of an arch to Mars Rigonemetus and the divine spirit of the Emperors by Quintus Neratius Proximus.[40] At Wickenby, several Roman features have been noted but no structure compatible with a roadside settlement (Anon. 2008), and there is not enough contextual data to justify a hypothesis of votive deposition of this object.

Finally, the presence of a Venus sceptre-head at Ludford Magna is fitting in the overall practice of parading deities' images in the region (Henig and Leahy 1984). Ludford was a roadside settlement, at the junction of the north-west/south-east Caistor High Street and the east/west Magna Mile (Whitwell 1982); however, the sceptre-head is the only ritual related find from the site. A different type of (possible) sceptre-head is offered by the example from Sturton reproducing an octahedron (Henig and Leahy 1989).[41] Whether this object, if indeed a sceptre-head, could be involved in a Mars-related ceremony is intriguing, but any real proof is lacking. The only other object similar to this one is recorded as coming from Suffolk but lacks any further geographical information (*ibid.*).[42]

4.3.2.3 Stanway, Essex

A cremation burial from the cemetery at Stanway near Colchester dates to the first decades of Roman occupation, between AD 40 and 60 (Crummy *et al.* 2007). The burial site has been recognised as belonging to a 'high status Catuvellaunian family' in Camulodunum (*ibid.*: xviii). Among these depositions, one pertains to a male individual and contains surgical instruments, a set of rods, British brooches, and imported pottery from Gaul and Spain, as well as locally produced (Crummy *et al.* 2007: figure 98).

The presence of the set of rods[43] has been linked to the practice of divination, which together with the surgical instruments, and the Gaulish pottery, have let to the identification of the deceased as a physician, possibly migrated from Gaul (Hutton 2009). Nonetheless, an identification of this individual as a religious figure, more specifically a Druid, has also been offered (Jackson in Crummy *et al.* 2007). The divination instruments are compatible with the practices of medicine in Roman times (North 1990), and it is more plausible to consider this individual as a physician.

From the biographic point of view, it is interesting to notice how the different areas of social and medical-related rituals were displayed in the grave, employing a *pars pro toto* approach also suggested by the internal division in the grave (Crummy *et al.* 2007: figure 107). This behaviour has been already noticed in some of the

[39] 3.3.1/Mars.

[40] RIB III, 3180.
[41] 3.3.1/Others.
[42] 3.3.1/Others.
[43] 3.4.2.

Figure 4.4. Lamps from the female burial from Southwark London. 1. Anubis. 2. Fallen gladiator (© Museum of London Archaeology).

deposits, for example in the crest representing a deity in West Stow and the figurine bases at Felmingham Hall.

4.3.2.4 Watling Street, Southwark, London.

A female cremation burial from the Romano-British cemetery in London has been interpreted as a possible priestess' grave (Mackinder 2000: 33-37, Burial I). Together with the *bustum* were several lamps, *tazze*, and fragments of molten glass attesting to the presence of glass vessels (*ibid*: 27-9). The subjects reproduced on some of the lamps found in the burial led to speculations regarding a possible cultic association of this woman.

The presence of the Egyptian goddess Anubis, a subject unusual on lamps from Britain, repeated on three lamps suggested that the woman could be involved in the Isis cult in London (Figure 4.4.1; *ibid.*). Another lamp from the burial is decorated with the image of a fallen gladiator (Figure 4.4.2). The subject is common on the continent, but its presence in this grave conjectured an identification of the deceased as a gladiator, as well as a possible connection with funerary games (Mackinder 2000: 12).

Other British cremation with lamps and *tazze* are known from Baldock (Grave 50 dating to AD 270) and Colchester (Eckardt 2002: 106-9); while a pit containing lamps and *tazze* at Mucking, Essex, has been interpreted as a possible *favissa* or the result of ritual feasting connected to the funerary rites at the cemetery (Lucy and Evans 2016: 324). However, no cult nor status related observation can be drawn from these examples.

The existence of a London temple dedicated to Isis is attested indirectly by two inscriptions: one in stone recording the renovation of a temple to the goddess,[44] and a second on a pottery flagon from Tooley Street again referring to a temple.[45] The presence of a temple suggests the existence of a structured cult, however, whether the female buried in Watling Street was a priestess of the cult or not is difficult to assess.

Funerary reliefs of Isis priestesses show them wearing apparel related to the cult, specifically a fringed mantel with the Isis knot, or holding related religious paraphernalia, like the *sistrum*, *situla*, and the 'nu' jug (Walters 2002). None of these objects is present in the London burial; however, the presence of the lamps might indicate a different performative function.

Priests of Isis were organised hierarchically, and the number of individuals necessary to a certain cult-site would have been proportioned to the size of the cult (Heyob 1975: 105). In addition to priests, other minor ritual roles are known to have been carried out by assistants to the cult. These roles could be covered by both men and women, who would carry lamps and torches during processions (*ibid*: 104). These attendants are known from Apuleius[46] and from 1st century AD inscriptions from Athens[47] and Delos[48] mentioning

[44] RIB III, 1: *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae)/ M(arcus) Martian/nius Pulch/er V(ir) C(larissimus?) leg(atus) Aug(ustorum) pro/praet(ore) templ(u)m Isidis C [....]/TIS vetustate collabsum/ restitui prae/cepit.*
[45] RIB II, 2503.127: *Londini ad fanvm Isidis.*
[46] Apul. *Met.* XI, 10.
[47] VS 16=IG 2/3^2.4771. This inscription celebrates the dedication of a column and a statue of Isis by a *λυχνάπτρια*, which is also an interpreter of dreams (*ὀειροκρίτις*) for the goddess.
[48] VS CE 175C.

female light-bearers (*λυχνάπτρια* or *λαμπτηροφόρος*). It is thus possible that the woman buried in Watling Street was more than a mere devotee of the goddess and could have held a similar role in the organisation of the London cult rather than being a priestess.

4.3.3 Discussion

The limited number of burials that can be associated with priestly figures does not allow us to identify trends of how ritual authority would be marked out in a funerary context. However, the existence of burials that somehow stood out in their local funerary contexts can be instead addressed through a biographic approach (Garrow and Gosden 2012) that considers the life of grave goods, possibly before their introduction in the grave highlighting, for example, the presence/absence of signs of use as well as the reason behind the selection of certain items.

In general, we know that richly furnished graves are rare in Roman Britain: the clear majority of burials have no or little content, mostly pottery or single jewellery items (Cool 2011; Pearce 2016). The selection and deposition of these objects marks out an identity, often gender (Cool 2011; Eckardt 2014) and age (*ibid.*), and, limitedly, provenance (*ibid.*; for example, at Catterick, see also the female burial from Spitalfields, London -Swain and Roberts 2001: 12; Cool 2011: 311). The two burials from Brough-on-Humber and Stanway are a rare occurrence in the panorama of Roman burials which rarely, even in the case of large assemblages of pots and glass vessels, contain material that can clearly link to the role that an individual played in the community.

Contrary to this general trend, our burials display a significant number of objects. Richly furnished burials are often associated with particular aspects of an individual identity that the community responsible for his/her interment select to mark them out in the burial. In the case of the female burial from Southwark, the combination of lamps and *tazze*, which is attested in other British burials (Eckardt 2002), is personalised via the choice of decoration, which makes the combination fitting for the woman's involvement in Isis' cult.

The other burials are less paralleled in the panorama of British funerary contexts as the presence and quantity of grave goods stand out and suggest the necessity of highlighting these burials in the local context of funerary practices. For example, cultic affiliation was important for the London woman's community to mark-out. Another aspect that is often marked within a burial is the status of a person as 'foreigner' (Cool 2011). An example in this sense is recognised in the famous rich female burial from the cemetery at Spitalfields, London (Swain and Roberts 2001: 12). Here the young woman was laid in a decorated lead coffin then inserted in a stone one; she was dressed in a cloth of silk and gold, and analyses of the grave attested a funerary ritual involving the use of Near-Eastern ointments and traces of Tyrian purple likely from a blanket (*ibid.*). Isotopic analysis of her teeth showed that she grew up in southern Europe (Shaw *et al.* 2016). This young woman certainly stood out in the Spitalfields cemetery, and in a similar, although far more modest fashion, the identity of foreigner was marked at Catterick. Eckardt has noticed that the jet necklace in the Catterick grave lacked any sign of use (2014: 109ff.) and it is thus likely that it was either made for that occasion or that it was a special item that had been worn a very limited number of times.

The Stanway burial also taps into our ability of interpreting richly furnished burials. Throughout the publication of the Stanway cemetery (Crummy *et al.* 2007), different contributors commented on the 'doctor's burial' and its content, reaching different conclusions. The presence of surgical tools, 'tea strainers', and the traces of *Artemisia* identified in one of the cups suggested the identification of the deceased with a doctor (Jackson 2007), although an identity as a Gallic Druid was also proposed (Crummy 2007).[49] Moreover, the presence of a single jet bead (again in a male burial) prompted the connection of this individual with magic practices. Certainly, some medical expertise in the Greek and Roman period had a connection with priestly authority, the most famous case being offered by the priests of Aesculapius, following the incubation healing method (Beard *et al.* 1998).[50] However, the doctor from Stanway was clearly a surgeon, buried with a surgical kit which is considered quite standard in the Roman world (Jackson 2007).

It is quite rare that an individual would be identified by his profession inside the grave (Cool 2011). While in Urban contexts, sometimes individual represent themselves performing their job as a way of promotion of an achieved social status, the deposition of the objects inside the grave certainly drastically reduce the possibility to recognise that individual by his profession once the grave was closed. Nonetheless, the moment of deposition is an opportunity to show these objects. This was not the only status-burial from this context: not far from it, a second burial was interpreted as belonging to an eminent individual in the local community (Crummy *et al.* 2007), while overall the site has been interpreted as an 'elite burial site' (*ibid.*).

More clearly related to a priestly role is the burial from Brough-on-Humber due to the presence of the

[49] This identification was also popular in the press (e.g. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/iron-age-mystery-of-the-essex-druid-812194.html [Last accessed 20/10/2018]).

[50] *Medici*, together with Druids and *vates* were affected by the Tiberius ban (Pl. *Nat.* XXX, 3).

sceptres displaying busts of Mars and the bucket. The latter is also found in Iron Age burials, where it is connected to communal drinking activities (Cool 2011). The association sceptre-bucket is paralleled on a relief depicting Rosmerta holding a patera and a sceptre standing next to a bucket (CSIR I, 7, n.78), so it could be that this individual would perform libations in a similar way. In fact, this relief is created not only by a juxtaposition of different symbols, but through the conscious depiction of a snapshot of a ritual activity, where she would take the liquid from the bucket and pour it on the altar with the patera.

The possibility to match buckets and Roman vessels is also attested in the cremation burial at Aylesford, where a bucket contained the cremated remains of the deceased who was deposited also with a pan, a copper-alloy jug, three brooches, and three pottery vessels (Cunliffe 2005: 152-9).[51] Creighton (2000) considers this assemblage as a ritual kit used by an Iron Age individual familiar with these Roman-style ritual objects and would be able to reproduce Roman rituals. The dating of the Brough-on-Humber burial is undetermined: no object in the grave offers an absolute dating; we have discussed the style of the figurines as recalling Romano-British elements, but it is impossible to pinpoint a more precise dating than the 2nd century AD. Comparisons can be drawn from a female burial from the late Roman cemetery in Nijmegen (Steurers 2011). She was buried in 'full pontifical' attire with a large pectoral on her chest and a sceptre (Steurers 2011: B465). Her cultic affiliation is attested by the three sheet pendants representing a pole-shaped idol. The local-style long pins were associated with Roman pottery and glass dining vessels.

[51] Picture available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=815575&partId=1&place=39072&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

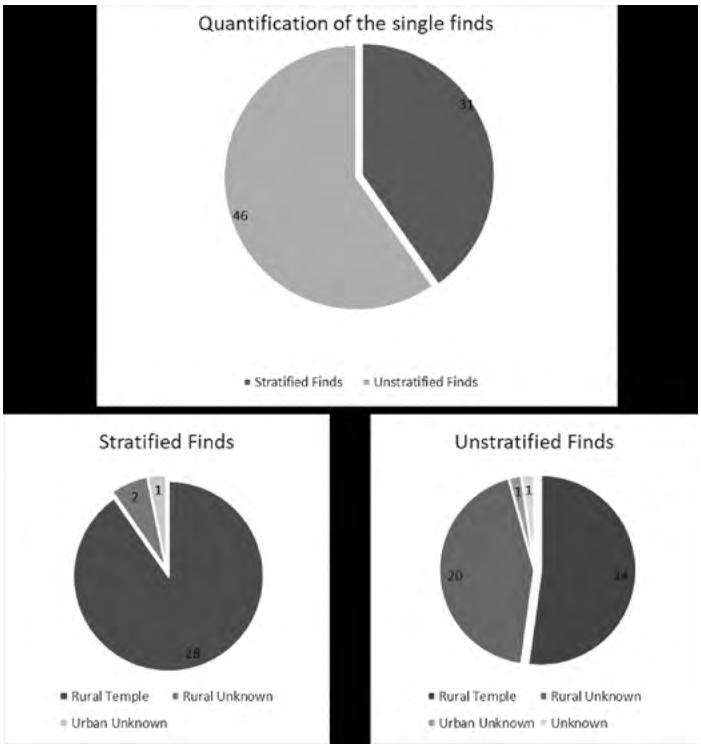

Figure 4.5. Top. Quantification of Single finds by type. Bottom left. Quantification of stratified finds by location-type. Bottom right. Quantification of unstratified finds by location-type.

4.3.4 Summary

The burials discussed here were selected because their content or the combination of the grave goods suggested their interpretation as belonging to priests or priestesses. Overall, they amount to four, which we have narrowed down to two. This suggests that ritual authority was rarely flagged in the grave and certainly these burials do not offer a 'catalogue' of what the burial of a priest might look like, as individuals holding administrative/ritual authority rarely display it in the grave.

Nonetheless, the case at Brough-on-Humber confirms the need for a marking-out of authority in an area characterised by the ritual use of sceptres associated with the cult of Mars and related deities (i.e. Venus). The Southwark burial has offered more material for an interpretation of a priestess of Isis: however, the character of the cult of Isis, which also has a connection to the afterlife, could also point towards the will to be recognised in death as a devotee of the goddess, and without being officially related to the cult. Another female burial from the cemetery in Nijmegen was that of a devotee of a local version of the cult of Sabazios (Steurers 2011: B298, 104, *passim*). The grave dates to AD 319 and contains, among other grave goods, some that are clearly related to the cult (a set of miniature scales): a set of bone 'pins' which would have been placed in a small bag. However, the fact that these pins could be divination rods (*ibid.*: 345) suggests a more active role in the performance of this cult.

4.4 Single Finds

The next sections discuss the category of single objects, which comprises all the regalia which were found individually at a variety of sites according to the type of location where they were retrieved. As noted, these finds have been divided in stratified and unstratified finds;[52]

[52] 1.6.3; 2.2.3.

this distinction is made to assess the quality of information available for these finds. Most single objects are unstratified finds (46) (Figure 4.5, top), a reflection of uncontrolled past excavations, as well as the increase in metal detecting activities and agricultural exploitation in east/south-east Britain in contemporary years.[53] Nonetheless, a fair amount is attested as stratified finds (31).

Most of the stratified finds are from rural temple sites (Figure 4.5, bottom-left), a condition which allows one to discuss the chronological window of use/discard of these regalia as well as reflect on their location within the religious site. Only in two cases, the finds were retrieved from an unknown rural context. One is the crown from Deeping-St-James[54] and the other is the 'Matres' sceptre-head from Aldworth[55] for which there is no association with a known temple/shrine or settlement. Only one stratified find is found in an urban context: a gold sceptre-head from Gloucester,[56] for which there is no context information.[57]

Similarly, the majority of unstratified finds are from rural temple contexts (Figure 4.5, bottom). Of these, more than half (12) is found at Wanborough either in non-diagnostic layers or are the result of local metal-detecting activities. The contribution of metal-detecting and field-walking activities to this work is best shown by the 20 'rural, unknown' unstratified finds, of which 11 are PAS finds. The only urban unstratified find is from the small town of Baldock,[58] while the only 'unknown, unknown' find is one of the two polygonal terminals,[59] whose only location information available is that it was found in Suffolk (Henig and Leahy 1989).

4.4.1 Rural Temples/Shrines

4.4.1.1 Brigstock, Northamptonshire

The religious site at Brigstock is characterised by a circular shrine connected to a polygonal structure by a metalled pathway, seemingly extending beyond these two buildings (Greenfield 1963), and it has been argued that the complex could include other structures not yet excavated (Smith 2001: 78). Most finds from the site (coins, three horse and rider figurines, and jewellery deposited for votive purposes) come from the circular shrine. The ceremonial instruments discovered at Brigstock consist of three ceremonial spears (Greenfield 1963: figure 5; Taylor 1963).

The two structures have been linked to different aspects of ritual activities at the site. The circular shrine, which was the main site of activity, is the focus of votive deposition (Greenfield 1963: 231, figure 2). It is characterised by one, possibly two hearths to the left and to the right of the building entrance. Analysing the location of the finds in the shrine, Smith highlighted 'offering zones' of coins and other votive offerings clustering close to the south wall and in the centre of the shrine (Smith 2001: 78, figure 5.1). The reason for this clustering was not investigated further, but it is possible that it corresponds to the presence of a cult image (a picture or a sculpture) to whom the offerings might have been dedicated. The spear-heads were found in the southern area of the circular shrine from a layer of use and the presence of horse and rider figurines from this same area repeats an association already noticed at Willingham Fen.[60] This whole area is characterised by small pits cut in the shrine's floor, where animal bones had been intentionally deposited likely after ritual feasting (*ibid.*).

No votive object was found in the polygonal structure; however, the presence of a hearth, three ovens, and pits containing animal bones are consistent with its interpretation as an area for food preparation (Smith 2001: 79), and possibly ritual dining in the building or just outside it. This is confirmed by the presence of a pit containing animal bones just outside the polygonal structure. The interpretation of the Brigstock site is certainly influenced by its small size, which currently makes it a small rural shrine serving the local population (*ibid.*). The site is not far from the Leicester-Godmanchester road (*c.* 2 km), while the closest centre is the Great Weldon Villa (north-west of the site).

4.4.1.2 Lowbury Hill, Oxfordshire

The first excavations at this temple site were carried out in the early 20th century and revealed traces of an enclosure, possibly dating to the first half of the 2nd century AD (Atkinson 1916). Later investigations uncovered a slightly earlier second enclosure (late 1st/early 2nd century AD) and a possible gateway covered with tiles (Fulford and Rippon 1994). The floor of this enclosure was characterised by pits cut in its chalk floor. The site was abandoned by the late 6th/mid-7th century as assessed via radiocarbon dating of the *temenos* wall (*ibid.*).

The distribution of the finds in the first enclosure (Atkinson 1916) showed a concentration of coins in its north-east and south-east corners, possibly highlighting ritual 'hot-spots' (cult images?). The three ceremonial spear-heads[61] were all found in the same

[53] 2.3.
[54] 1B.DEE1.
[55] 3B.ALD1.
[56] 2A.GLO1.
[57] 3.3.1/Other human heads.
[58] 2A.BAL1.
[59] 2A.UNK1.
[60] 4.2.3.
[61] 3A.LOW1-3.

area (centre to the west of the enclosure=sector 19), again suggesting specific ritual activities, while the distribution of other non-ceremonial spear-heads was more widespread. The presence of spears and the three ceremonial spear-heads suggests a military-related character of the cult, strengthened by presence of the votive deposition of scabbard chapes, spur, fragments of chainmail, and horse gear (Fulford and Rippon 1994: 178; Bagnall Smith 1995: 154).

Furthermore, a ceremonial spear-head characterised by three fins decorated with the busts of the Matres[62] was found at the nearby site of Aldworth, Berkshire together with the metal-detector finds of a small Diana's head and a cockerel brooch (Henig and Cannon 2000). There is no structure known at Aldworth, however, the findspot is extremely close to the religious enclosures at Lowbury Hill (*c.* 1 km to the south-east), and it is possible that these small finds were associated with activities at the near-by shrine.

4.4.1.3 Woodeaton, Oxfordshire

The Romano-Celtic temple at Woodeaton was excavated in 1952 and had two main phases of use. A first temple with no ambulatory dating to the second-half of the 1st century AD was replaced by a Romano-Celtic temple surrounded by a *temenos* wall at the end of the 2nd century AD. The evidence for ritual activities (votive depositions) continues until the 4th/5th century AD (Goodchild and Kirk 1954).

The temple site was possibly preceded by Iron Age cult activities suggested by the presence of copper-alloy finds and pottery (Harding 1972). However, there is no trace of a permanent structure dating to this period. Furthermore, the abundance of different types of evidence, consistent with bronze working activity, makes the overall interpretation of the Iron Age phase as related to ritual activities uncertain (Smith 2001: 66).

The foci of ritual activities are suggested by the location of finds to the north of the temple towards the gateway and then outside the monumentalised gateway of the *temenos* (Wilson 1980). The regalia found at the site include two sceptres[63] and a divination rattle.[64] Bagnall Smith, the most recent publisher of the Woodeaton finds, recognises also a little bell as pertinent to the priestly regalia category from the site (Bagnall Smith 1999: n.16.1). In the previous chapter,[65] we have discussed the two Minerva 'sceptre-heads' recognised as such by Kirk (1949) which are more likely a knife-handle and a furniture mount. Nonetheless, their dedication at Woodeaton is not out of place as other images of the goddess are dedicated at the site, together with those of Venus, Cupid, Mars, and the horse and rider deity (Bagnall Smith 1995). The presence of the divination rattle allows speculation about the presence of diviners at Woodeaton linked to cult activities related to a multi-deity site.

In the Roman period, the area around the Woodeaton temple was densely occupied. The site is not far from the towns of Alchester and Dorchester, and the closest architecture feature is the Islip Villa to the north. It has been convincingly argued that the residents of the villa might be the promoters of the construction of the temple (Smith 2001: 141).

4.4.1.4 Snow's Farm, Gloucestershire

The Romano-British octagonal shrine at Snow's Farm dates to the 2nd century AD but was already dismantled in the 3rd century AD and then reconstructed in the 4th century AD as a square shrine (Evans and Hodder 2006).

Most finds are limited to animal bones attesting an intense ritual activity connected to feasting and sacrifice, with the noteworthy complete sheep burial interred in the middle of the shrine (*ibid.*). The character of the finds suggests a strong agricultural connection for the ritual activities carried out at the site. The only find from the site interpretable as regalia is a sceptre-terminal (Evans and Hodder 2006: 359, figure 7.29.5),[66] which however offers too little, and uncertain, evidence to speculate on possible ritual performances carried out at the shrine.

4.4.1.5 Farley Heath, Surrey

The Romano-Celtic temple at Farley Heath is surrounded by an irregular *temenos* wall partitioned to the north by an inner wall (Goodchild 1938). The temple was built in the late 1st century AD and the finds from the site span from the 1st to the 4th century AD. The whole area was heavily affected by antiquarian and modern illegal excavations (taking place between 1839 and 1848, then again in 1926, 1939 and, finally, in 1995), as well as ploughing, which have strongly lowered the chances of reconstructing a feasible chronological sequence (Poulton 2007).

Nonetheless, the significant number of finds shows an abundance and longevity of ritual activities at the site, with votive offerings including mostly coins, brooches, and items of jewellery (*ibid.*). Attempts to identify the local cult have mostly relied on the figures represented on the sceptre-binding and on its design.[67]

[62] 3B.ALD1.
[63] 2A.WOO1-2.
[64] 5A.WOO1.
[65] 3.3.1/Minerva.
[66] 2C.SNO1.
[67] 3.3.3 for a critique of these reconstructions.

Most small finds come from the area within or around the *temenos* wall (layer of 'black mould', Bird 2007a: 28ff.). The most complete of the two chain-headdresses[68] was found in this same area 6 m south of the temple in 1965 (Bird 1996).[69] A Bronze Age palstave was discovered at the same time as the headdresses, although it is unclear whether these objects were deposited together or were just found in the same area (*ibid:* note 1).[70]

The majority of the regalia were however found during Tupper's excavations (1838-49) including the terminal of the second chain-headdress,[71] the sceptre-binding, the sceptre-head,[72] and the sceptre-terminal (Bird 2007a: nn. 78-81).[73]

Because of the uncertainty surrounding the precise circumstances of the finds of regalia, it is difficult to speculate on the chronological period of use of these objects, as well as discuss an occasion for their deposition and/or loss.

4.4.1.6 Muntham Court, Sussex

Muntham Court is a Roman period circular temple on hilltop, possibly preceded by an Iron Age structure (Holleyman and Burstow 1957). This was a post-holed structure interpreted as religious in function because of its location underneath the later Roman temple (*ibid.*). This interpretation involving a continuity of cult activities between the Iron Age and Roman period has been recently revised because of the low number of finds related to Iron Age activities (only dog bones; Smith 2001: 66). The later Roman period round temple is traced only by a depression. Two shallow pits cut in the floor contained ox skulls, bones, and a jug (*ibid.*) This assemblage is interpreted as a ritual deposit, while a dumpsite was recognised outside the temple area.

The evidence for priestly regalia at Muntham Court is extremely limited, with only one possible sceptre-terminal (Green 1976: 220, pl XXVf).[74] However, the presence of sacrificial and regular knives, and the evidence for ritual depositions of animal bones certainly points towards a ceremonial habit that could have required the presence of priestly figures, possibly related to healing activities attested to by the anatomical *ex-voto* of a clay model of human leg (Smith 2001: *loc. cit.*).

[68] 1A.FAR1.
[69] Although in a later account, Bird qualifies it as a surface find discovered in 1971 (2007a: 29).
[70] Palstaves are not uncommon among votive depositions at British sites (e.g. Farley Heath, Wanborough, Silchester).
[71] 1A.FAR2.
[72] 2A.FAR1. The similarities in style with the Wanborough headdresses noted in 4.2 have suggested a similar dating for the Farley Heath examples.
[73] 2C.FAR1.
[74] 2C.MUN1.

4.4.2 Rural unknown

This category of finds is characterised by a limited amount of context information and the fact that they are discovered on their own certainly limits our analyses. Nonetheless, the contribution of these finds is still significant, especially when considered together, as we have proved with the discussion of the Mars and Venus sceptre-heads from the area around Lincoln.[75]

The discussion of terminals with flattened bottoms has concluded that they were likely not parts of sceptres.[76] This is confirmed at Tandridge, Surrey where the finds at the site point towards a domestic or industrial vocation (Smith *et al.* 2016). Similarly, the single find of the extremely fragmented knobbed terminal from Great Waldingfield, Suffolk[77] does not join any substantial evidence for religious activity at the site (Smith *et al.* 2016), and it is thus impossible to draw any conclusion exclusively relying on its generic shape.

Even when found at temple sites as it is the case for a terminal of the same type from Farley Heath, it is possible that this fragment did not pertain to a 'ritual' object (Bird 2007b: figure 21, n. 80). Similarly, the presence of a knob-shaped terminal that could be part of a ceremonial sceptre (Minter 2007) would fit at Palgrave, Suffolk, where evidence for ritual practices is available. The site is not too far (*c.* 8 km) from the Romano-Celtic shrine site at A143 Scole-Stuston Bypass, north of the river Waveney (West 1995). This shrine dates to the 2nd/3rd century AD and was identified during a watching brief: the finds are not numerous, and few are of votive (or possibly votive) nature: three brooches, a miniature axe, a miniature Belgic-style caldron, and few coins (*ibid.*). Nonetheless, as in the previous case, it is also possible that this fragmentary terminal could have belonged to a non-ritual object.

Moreover, the interpretation of the eagle figurine from Binstead, Hampshire as a sceptre-head is also cautious (Figure 3.8.1).[78] The site is known for the presence of a bathhouse at Wyck (Cole 1988) probably related to a villa complex dating between the mid-2nd and 4th century AD (Millett 1977; Smith *et al.* 2016: Wyck). The area to the south-east of Binstead is characterised by many pottery production sites but no record suggests religious activities, neither structures nor finds (Smith *et al.* 2016). The presence of the eagle-shaped 'sceptre-head' (if indeed it was) found during metal-detecting is not enough to justify a possible shrine.

Finally, only limited information is available for the sceptre-head found by a metal-detectorist north of

[75] 3.6.2.
[76] 3.3.4.
[77] 2C.GRE1.
[78] 2A.BIN1.

Eastbury, Berkshire embedded in the surface of a farm track (Foley 1991: figure 3).[79] Although archaeological evidence in this area is limited and it is known that in Roman times it was extensively farmed (Smith *et al.* 2016), an air-photograph of the site suggested a circular feature and a rectangular one close to it, as well as a track leading to the circular feature (Foley 1991), which could be the focus of local ritual activities.

4.4.3 Single finds in urban contexts

The only regalia from an urban context is the unstratified find of a deer mount from the small town at Baldock, Hertfordshire (Figure 3.9). The area is known for votive finds, including three iron spear-heads, a copper-alloy fragment of a statue, and a miniature spear found in a late 4th century well, among other residual material (Stead and Rigby 1986: context A68). 33 spear-heads (including javelin- and lance-heads) were found at the site deposited in pits and wells dating to the 3rd century AD while other pits contained model axes (contexts A90; A11) (*ibid*: 86; 149). The finds are possibly related to a temple, located in the north-eastern corner of Site A; however, no structure was identified at the time of the excavation.

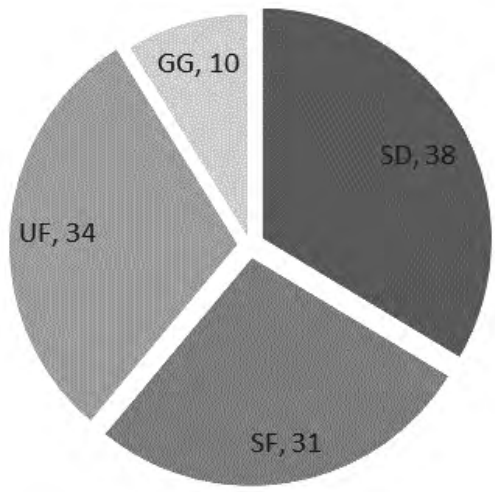

Figure 4.6. Proportion of regalia found in Structured Deposits (SD), as Grave Goods (GG), as Stratified Finds(SF) or Unstratified Finds (UF).

The analysis of the occurrence of different categories of objects in different contexts (Figure 4.7) shows that the headdresses are found almost exclusively in deposits, with the sole exceptions of three stratified[81] headdresses

[81] 1A.WAN3-4;1B.DEE1.

4.5 Discussion

4.5.1 Summary

The analysis of the four kinds of contexts containing regalia (structured deposits, burials, stratified, and unstratified finds) shows that the majority of these objects are found in structured deposits, although a significant amount is attested as stratified finds (Figure 4.6). This proportion is biased by the fact that the several stratified finds from Wanborough (24) had been probably deposited in an assemblage/s and were retrieved in layers corresponding to later activities at the site (e.g. layer 8= post-Roman use of the site; layer 9 = treasure hunting activities) (O'Connell and Bird 1994).[80] Taking this into consideration, we can conclude that the clear majority of regalia are from structured deposits.

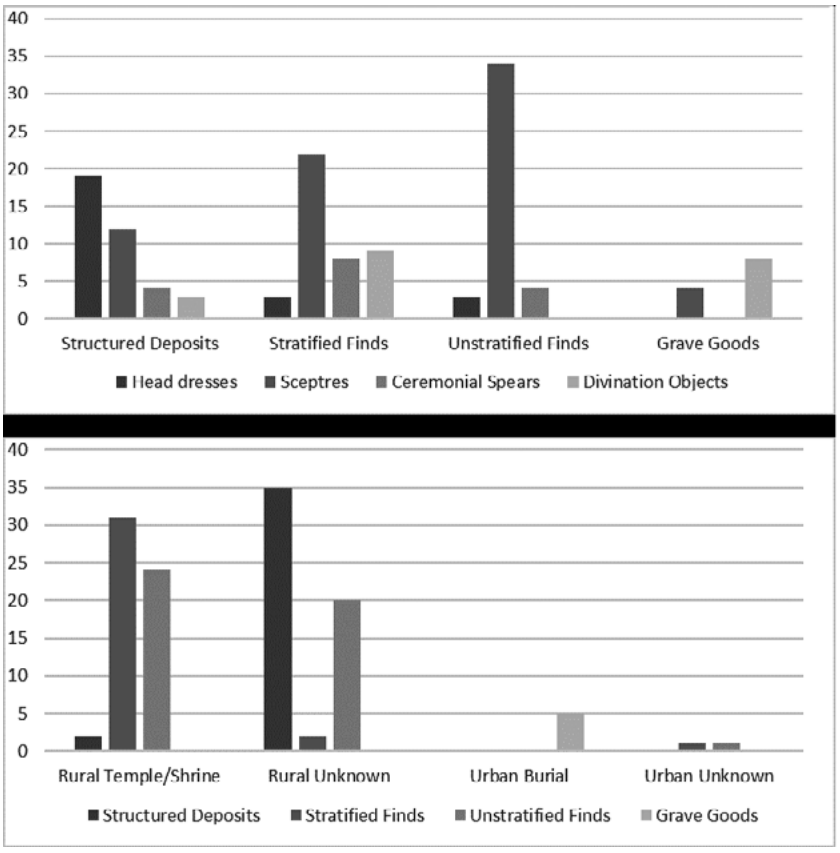

Figure 4.7. Quantification of the different types of regalia according to contexts (top) and of different contexts according to location (bottom).

[79] 2A.EAS1.
[80] Appendix 2: position.

from Wanborough and Deeping-St-James and three unstratified headdresses from Wanborough and Farley Heath,[82] which are the result of undocumented past excavations at both sites.[83]

The majority of sceptres is found as unstratified finds (34) as most of them were retrieved through metal-detecting and fieldwalking activities. However, a significant number is attested as stratified finds, of which almost all (21/22) were retrieved at Wanborough.

Ceremonial spear-heads are mostly found as stratified finds at temple sites (8), although significantly in structured deposits. Divination devices are present only in one grave (the rods from Stanway), while rattles are present as stratified finds at temple sites like Woodeaton but are mostly found in structured deposits (e.g. Felmingham Hall and Stony Stratford).

Overall, we can conclude that priestly regalia are found mostly in structured deposits and as stratified and unstratified finds at rural temple/shrine sites. In most cases, there is no clear indication of the cults associated with these sites and it is unclear whether regalia marked an authority linked to a specific deity (as for the *galli* or the priests of imperial cult) or, more likely, marked an individual with ritual authority in the rural communities.

4.5.2 Geographical distribution of the contexts

Apart from the cluster of finds around Lincoln and Brough-on-Humber (Figure 4.3),[84] priestly regalia are found exclusively in the regions of East and South-East England (Figure 4.8). Analysing their distribution allows one to highlight some general trends.

1) Deposits of regalia are found exclusively in rural areas, thus characterising this depositional habit mainly as a rural one. Our corpus of data for practices at rural temple sites is larger and more properly recorded than for urban ones. A very limited number of urban temples offer good objects' assemblages and small finds (e.g. Bath with the sacred spring, Silchester, Caerwent, Tabard Square, London, Uley, and Lydney), however no priestly regalia are recorded from these sites.[85] This flags a difference in the modalities of marking out ritual authorities in such contexts, where regalia were not used and the local authority was likely expressed through clothing, dress colour, or regalia made of perishable materials.

The distribution of deposits of regalia concentrates in East Anglia (Figure 4.8), particularly on the Fen Edge (deposits of Cavenham Heath, Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Willingham Fen, and West Stow) and to the west at Deeping and Stony Stratford. A somewhat isolated deposit it the one from Felmingham Hall. The only exception in this picture is the deposit from Wanborough, however within an area characterised by a higher concentration of temples and shrines, some of which are find-spots of single finds of regalia (Lowbury, Woodeaton, Wanborough, Farley Heath, Muntham).

The continuity of the depositional habit on the Fen Edge is known from the Bronze Age (Bradley 1996; Pendleton 1999) until the late Roman period (Hobbs 2016) and has been recognised as a local tradition likely prompted by ritual reasons (e.g. a chthonic character associated with a gate to the underworld; Hobbs 2006). In this sense, the deposition of regalia fills a gap between the Iron Age (Manning 1972; Garrow and Gosden 2012; e.g. Snettisham- Johns 1997) and the late-Roman deposits (Hobbs 2006), strengthening the hypothesis that ritual depositional preferences are linked to local cultural traditions (Trinovantes?). The settlement at Mildenhall, with its own history of depositions (Hobbs 2016) is an important example within the context of similar ritual actions in the area, as does the not too far deposit from West Stow.[86] Overall the area is characterised by a rural vocation, dominated by farms and villas.

For what concerns the southern cluster of deposits, an Iron Age precedent is found in the Hounslow, London deposit, containing six copper-alloy band fragments of what has been recognised as a headgear[87] (Stead 1995: 80-1, with previous bibliography). Together with the headdress were also animal figurines (including boars and deer) and a miniature wheel (Durham 2012: nn. 347-9). The finds all date to a long chronological span from the Bronze to the Iron Age, so that initially they were thought to belong to two different deposits (Stead 1995: 80). Later however, they were recognised as coming from a single assemblage (*ibid.*), on the example of other deposits containing materials dating to both these periods, like the Salisbury hoard (Stead 1998). Based on its composition, comprising both regalia and votive figurines, the deposit was interpreted as the treasure of a small shrine whose premises had not been yet identified (Stead 1995: *loc. cit.*). As we will note when addressing the Roman period deposits, the objects included in this deposit are consistent with the activities at a ritual site (paraphernalia worn by a priestly performer and votive objects), as well as featuring objects covering a long chronological window deposited together.

[82] 1A.WAN5; 1A.FAR1-2.
[83] 4.2.8; 4.4.1.5.
[84] 4.3.2.2.
[85] For the discussion of the 'diadem' from Lydney, 3.2.3.
[86] 4.2.4.
[87] 3.6.1.

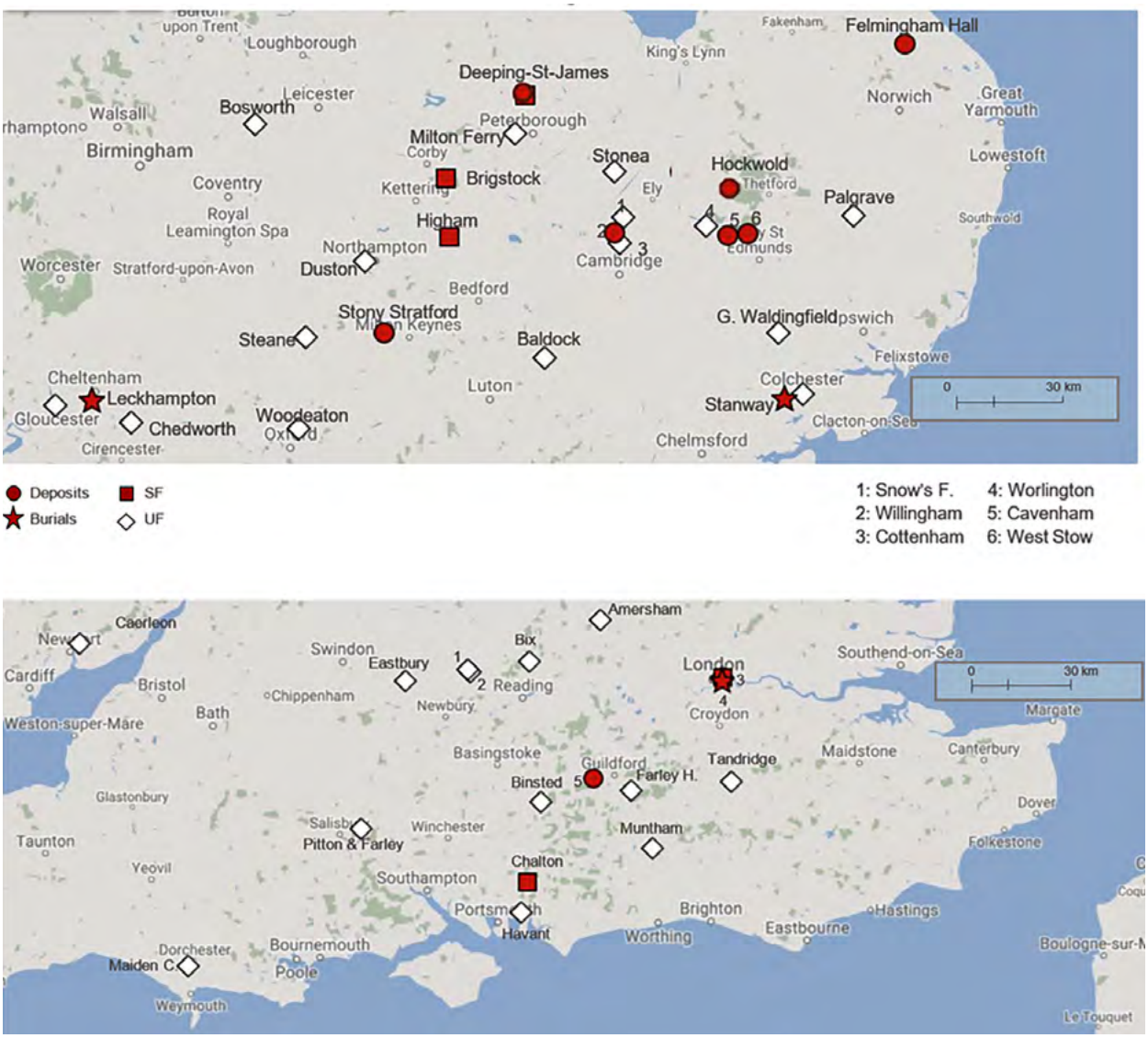

Figure 4.8. Distribution of priestly regalia in East and South England.
(Base Map: © 2018 Google)

The existence of this deposit further contributes to the evidence for the continuity of this specific depositional practice, allowing us to join the general trend of continuity of such habit from the Iron Age until the Roman period, also documented in other categories of deposits as, for example, coins (Bland 2014), ironworks (Humphreys 2017), hand-washing sets (Lundock 2015), and precious metal (Bradley 2017; Hobbs 2006).

2) Considering how regalia are indeed used to project authority, it is worth considering whether their use at rural sites attests to a local ritual tradition.

The role of the headdresses as markers of authority has been noted since the Iron Age, when they were used as insignia of distinction by prominent members of the community (with or without a religious role). [88]

This use continues in the Roman period, although it is limited to ritual functions. Headdresses are restricted to two areas. One comprises the two temple sites at Wanborough and Farley Heath, while the second is identified by the deposits from Cavenham Heath, Deeping-St-James, Stony Stratford, and Hockwold-cum-Wilto (Figure 4.8).

Sceptres are the most common type of regalia both as portable images of emperors and deities and as ceremonial instruments for sound (spear-heads and sceptre-heads with rings, to which bells were probably attached).[89] All the emperors' sceptre-heads are from rural contexts, but none from a known temple site.[90] These relatively sophisticated representations of emperors of the Antonine dynasty testify to the

[88] 3.6.1.

[89] 3.3.

[90] 3.3.1/Emperors.

importance of the emperor's cult in rural areas of south-east Britain (Walker 2014: 236). The sceptres from Willingham and Cottenham have been linked to possible rural shrines based exclusively on the finds of regalia (Wilkes and Erlington 1978: 80-1), whereas not enough context function information is available for the ones from Duston and Steane. The agricultural vocation of all these sites suggests a use of the emperor's image in agricultural-related rituals, especially processions. Similarly, the Cernunnos(?) sceptre-head from Worlington also evokes processions of Gallo-Roman deities in areas rich in deposits and priestly regalia in general (Wilkes and Erlington 1978: 82).[91] There is little evidence that the use of regalia is connected to any particular deities, and it is likely that their use is a performative requirement for rituals connected to different gods.

In the case of a farmstead and villa landscape of South-East Britain, it is possible to consider villa owners or authority figures living in this farmstead landscape as being appointed with ritual roles rather than being 'full time/professional' priests. This is the case for example of the Willingham Fen deposit. The content of this wooden box shows the ritual equipment kit needed on occasion of calendar festivities to be carried out in the area and was likely kept at the officer's house. This explanation also fits well with the fact that the other emperor's heads are not found at shrine sites but scattered in the rural landscape. This is the case for the two chance finds from Northamptonshire: the sceptre-heads of Lucius Verus from Dunston and of Marcus Aurelius from Steane, as well as that of Commodus from Cottenham.

Dunston is the site of a small Roman settlement (Walker 2014: 234) on the river Nene, which is on the route between the major centres at Whilton Lodge and Irchester and was connected via road to the former (HER n.4946). The specifics of the settlement's outline are uncertain, mostly due to the intermitted character of archaeological investigation on the site, as well as intense quarrying of the ancient monuments. Nonetheless, the evidence emerged so far allows us to consider Dunston as a long lived (from the late Iron Age to the 5th century AD) significant centre in the area, benefitting from its position at the intersection of the Nene with other tributaries as well as a rich agricultural landscape, similar to other river towns on the same river.

South-west of the Duston area (*c.* 30 km) is the site of Steane. No structure with a purely religious vocation has been identified in the area, however, the local landscape has an agricultural character (Walker 2014: *loc. cit.*), where the Marcus Aurelius sceptre-head could have been involved in imperial-related cult activities (*ibid.*). Geophysical survey carried out in 2013 have suggested the existence of a Roman period settlement (HER n. 9743), while evidence collected during fieldwalking suggests the presence of agricultural activities (HER n. 1516).

The Commodus sceptre-head from Cottenham stands as a significant find in the farming area north of Cambridge (*Duroliponte*). It is reported as coming from a shrine (Wilkes and Erlington 1978: 80-1), however no further information is offered. The nearby area is spotted with some Roman-period cult-foci. At Waterbeach (Waste management), *c.* 6 km east of Cottenham, recent excavations have investigated a Roman settlement (likely with iron production activity) and a Romano-Celtic temple identified by cropmarks, now destroyed, with finds connecting it to the period AD 100-350 (Evans and Mackay 2004). The votive finds are consistent with an agricultural cult (iron sickles; *ibid.*).

At a similar distance but west of Cottenham, a village has been identified at Longstanton (2nd/4th century AD; *ibid.*). A possible shrine has been suggested from the presence of votive assemblages (cattle bones) and the metal detectorist find of a bear biting a human figurine (Brudenell 2004: 123, figure 42). It seems a plausible conjecture that the Commodus head would have been stored in one of these structures, the most significant being the Romano-Celtic temple, and carried out in processions during agricultural rituals.

Authority figures in rural communities would have carried out rituals for Roman tradition (Jupiter, Mars, Minerva) and local deities marking their authority in those small communities. Pairing of the Mars and/or the horse and rider deity with the ceremonial spears and the divination rattle is attested at Brigstock, Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Willingham, and Woodeaton. A connection to Mars has been made for the 'ceremonial spear' from Milton Ferry from the River Nene (Henig 1984: 141). Similar examples from Brigstock (spear-heads and deposition of spears) could also suggest a connection with Mars.

Mars is suggested to be the main deity at Woodeaton (Bagnall Smith 1999: 150-2), because of the presence of votive miniature weapons and military votive dedications (chainmail and spurs). However, votive offerings of figurines (eagle, Apollo) as well as Minerva busts originally from knives' and keys' handles point towards a polyadic vocation.

The identification of the main cult also sheds light on the possible use of the divination devices. This type of divination device is only found at two other locations. One in the deposits from Felmingham Hall and two at Stony Stratford, a site which, as we have noticed,[92] also

[91] 2A.WOR1.

[92] 4.2.7.

provide a connection with Mars and the horse and rider deity cult. The use of these rattles suggests a wider Gallo-British tradition, as one example is also known at sanctuary at Vieil-Évreux, Normandy associated with the cults of Jupiter and Apollo (Bertaudière and Cormier 2012; Lawrence *et al.* 2011: 242-3).

4.6 Conclusions

Discussing the contexts where priestly regalia and ceremonial instruments were found has allowed us to explore their network connection with other regalia and finds from deposits and associated context finds and to provide them with a regional context for their use.

The fact that the diadems were adjustable in size suggests that the ritual authority circulated among different people at Cavenham and Hockwold, possibly on a yearly basis, rather than having a fixed group of priests living on the shrines' limited premises. The presence of different types of headdresses in the same deposit suggests the existence of a hierarchy among the priestly roles at least at Hockwold-cum-Wilton (1 crown and 5 diadems),[93] Cavenham Heath (1 chain-headdress and 2 diadems), and Stony Stratford (2 chain-headdresses, but 1A.STO1 more elaborate than 1A.STO2). There appears to be also a differentiation among the diadems themselves, as we have notedthat one of the Hockwold exemplars has a plaque most likely reproducing a deity, and a second one shows a similar choice of plaques-arrangement, while on the three other diadems, the stains marking the presence of the metal sheets attached are in the shape of discs and diamonds and probably did not have a figurative decoration.

Priestly performers were probably in charge of divination practices attested by the rattles at Stony Stratford, Felmingham Hall, and Woodeaton, although one cannot exclude that these objects were kept in the shrines and that the worshippers could have used them themselves. That the practice of divination was somehow institutionalised at these sites, rather than being carried out by independent providers, is suggested by the deposition of the 'rattles' together with the cult images at Felmingham Hal, headdresses, and votive plaques at Stony Stratford. However, a reference to the expertise of authority figures within the community is confirmed by Tacitus' passage recalling Boudicca using a hare for divination.[94] These prominent figures belong to the local rural communities, living in the many settlements we have highlighted throughout, perpetuating attire traditions in style through the 3rd century and rarely in the 4th century AD (e.g. at Felmingham Hall).

[93] Although only one was found together with the crown.

[94] 1.5.1.

Chapter 5

Iconographic representations of ritual performers from Britain

5.1 Introduction: iconography of ritual performers and their regalia

This chapter surveys the iconographic evidence for ritual practices and ritual objects from Britain and compares it to other north-western provinces to assess what types of religious performances were being represented on British media in the Roman period and explore any potential contribution to the embodiment of priestly performances. Peculiar ceremonial apparel and objects are typical of the priests of oriental cults, some Greco-Roman ones, and localised interpretations of the imperial cult.[1] Consequently, iconographic evidence for these figures from Italy and the eastern provinces is conspicuous, particularly in terms of portraits and reliefs.

However, the apparel is not the only feature that can mark out the membership to a specific priesthood. On the north and south friezes of the *Ara Pacis*, the different priesthoods participating in the procession are pictured according to a specific hierarchical order (Zanker 1997: 121). These priesthoods are identifiable thanks to the decoration on the *acerra* carried by a *camillus* depicted before each sacerdotal group (Torelli 1992: 45). A *camillus* carrying an undecorated *acerra* comes before the *pontifices*. Preceding the *VIIviri epulonum* is a second *camillus* holding a *patera* and an *acerra* decorated with a sacrificial scene. Finally, a third *camillus* carrying an *urceus* and an *acerra* decorated with a tripod is associated with the *XVviri sacris faciundis*. The only *collegium* of priests that is not preceded by a *camillus* is that of the *augures* as they did not perform sacrifices; nonetheless, they would have been easily recognisable by their *lituus* (*ibid.*).

British priestly regalia are not represented in iconographic evidence, with the sole exception of the coin struck with the image of a male head wearing a headdress similar to one of the wheel chain-headdresses from Wanborough.[2]

Less convincing is the identification of an object held by a female sandstone statuette from Caerwent as a *lituus* (Aldhouse-Green 2012: 129, Figure 6). The stone is weathered and together with the style chosen for the statuette does not allow an accurate reading of the object. Nonetheless, the representation appears closer to a palm leaf(?), attribute of eastern goddesses like Cybele,[3] or Al-Lat from Palmyra, both sharing the seated iconography (see relevant entries in the *LIMC*).

Representations of individuals performing a libation or presiding over a sacrifice have been interpreted as priests; however, when peculiar garments or tools are missing in these depictions, the identification of a specific priesthood becomes more uncertain. Nonetheless, even generic representations of ritual performances have an important value for the analysis of religious actions and their imagery. These images should not be interpreted as snap-shots of practice, whose aim was to portray ritual performances objectively. The choice of a specific iconography was the result of an intentional adoption of an image, the significance of which should be traced through the intentions of the customer who paid for the relief and the interpretation of that image by the viewers (Raja and Weiss 2015: 140-1). Identifying these iconographical choices (i.e. a standard/classical iconography rather than a local one) has prompted discussions about social and personal identities in the western territories (Derks 2009; Mattingly 2011), although they have been analysed in Britain almost exclusively for funerary reliefs (Hope 1997; Stewart 2010).[4]

In general, the representations of Roman ritual performances are of two types (Moede 2007: 164, with previous bibliography). The first type relies on 'symbols' (Moede 2007: 164). These are mostly ritual instruments, like the hand-washing set consisting of a *patera* and a jug, sacrificial axes, and knives, but also animals to be sacrificed, sometimes recalled only by their heads (Siebert 1999; Aldrete 2014), both often attested on the sides and back of votive altars found in Britain.

The second type is the depiction of a ritual performance or at least a phase of it. The most common instance of this type is the *libatio*, where a celebrant is shown pouring a liquid, usually wine and perfume, from a flat dish (*patera*), or casting grains of incense on a (lit) altar (Scheid 2007: 269). The offering of wine and incense is a ritual action in its own right, performed on occasion of a votive or funeral rite, but it is also the first stage of an animal sacrifice, preceding the killing of the victim (Belayche and Rüpke 2007: 280; Moede 2007: 165). Scenes of animal sacrifices often show the moment

[1] 2.2.2.

[2] 3.6. Link to picture in note 266.

[3] CCCA VI, n.377, pl. XCIV 122L.3 VER; CCCA II (1982), n.308, pl. LXXV 122L.3 VER. See also the presence of the cults of Panthea-Cybele and Astarte at Corbridge and Verulamium (6.3.1-6.4.1)

[4] Regina's gravestone from Arbeia is used as a case-study on these topics by Carroll (2012).

when the animal is struck by the *victimarius*' blow or, less often, the moment when the entrails of the animal are examined by the *haruspices* (Aldrete 2014).

The value of these images is symbolic rather than being a realistic representation of the ritual action (Moede 2007: 165-8). For this reason, different moments of the same ritual performance are often unified in the same scene and do not reflect the realistic ritual sequence in which they would have been performed (*ibid.*). Representations of sacrifice are well attested in Italy and Rome as they replicate the hierarchical organisation of the Roman society (Huet 2008).[5] However the iconography of ritual in the western provinces is different from those found in Rome and Italy (*ibid.*).[6]

5.2 Scenes of ritual performances from Britain

5.2.1 The evidence in stone

As already noted,[7] the overall presence of stone monuments from Britain is limited and characteristic of specific areas, mostly around the northern frontier lines, major military sites, and some urban sites (Millett 1995). The number of stone reliefs in the province follows this general trend,[8] and consequently the number of representations of religious performances of any sort is extremely limited.

The most complete representation of a ritual performance found in Britain is a relief from Bridgeness, on the eastern end of the Antonine Wall (RIB I, 2139; Phillips 1972-4 with previous bibliography).[9] The relief is on the right panel flanking an inscription recording the dedication of a tract of the Antonine Wall built by the *II Legio Augusta*.

The slab reproduces the performance of a *libatio* taking place just before a *suovetaurilia*. The scene is set in an architectural frame reminiscent of a portico with columns, whose overall shape recalls a military tent, like the one found on the Trajan Column in Scene 8, where another *suovetaurilia* is depicted.[10] As in that scene, the celebrant is in the centre, holding a ceremonial bowl (*patera*) in his right hand and pouring its content on an altar. This action has been interpreted as a *lustratio* (Bianchi Bandinelli 2002: 205) preceding the actual sacrifice of the animals (Henig 1984: 86).

Although the face of the celebrant has been damaged, he does not seem to be veiled, as it is sometimes the case, but simply wears a *toga.* Four figures are behind him: a single bearded figure is on his right side, while three other males are depicted on his left, all interpreted as soldiers (Henig 1984: *loc. cit.*) dressed in civilian garments. A standard reading *Leg(io) II Aug(usta)* is held above the group. Furthermore, two more figures participate in the scene: a double pipe player wearing a short tunic (*tibicen*) is depicted on the left of the celebrant. Crouching in front of the altar is a second attendant to the sacrifice, a *victimarius*, whose role was to perform the actual killing of the sacrificial animals represented on the right side of the scene.

It is unlikely that the celebrant in this scene is a *sacerdos*. He is most probably the *legatus legionis* or even the governor of the province (Henig 1984: *loc. cit.*) performing an official ceremony. The fact that he appears to be with his head uncovered has been explained by the assumption that the 'solemn moment [of the sacrifice] may not yet have been reached' (Henig 1984: 86). Although the performance of rituals *velato capite* would appear to be the norm, the possibility to perform rites 'bareheaded' is also common in both official and private images. In several scenes of the Trajan Column (LXXXVI; XC-XCI; XCVIII) the emperor is shown pouring a libation wearing his travel dress and with his head uncovered, similarly attended by a flute player and a *camillus*. On a smaller scale, a funerary stele shows the deceased, a centurion of the Praetorian Guard, pouring a libation on an altar while wearing his military uniform (Bianchi Bandinelli 2002: Figure 65).

The *suovetaurilia* is a particular type of sacrifice and is commonly found on reliefs from Rome and Italy, but only on one stone monument from the Three Gauls: the Arch of Susa, Turin (Huet 2008: 45). Its inspiration can be traced in many reliefs depicting similar performances of a dedication ceremony in a military setting (like on the Trajan column as mentioned, on the Marcus Aurelius' *suovetaurilia* relief reused on the Arch of Constantine, and on one of the *Rilievi della Cancelleria*).

The performance of a *suovetaurilia* includes a procession which had to circle the object of the dedication three times and the consequent killing of a boar, a ram, and a bull. The procession was an important bonding moment for the members of a community (Moede 2007) and the position of those members in the parade was a consequence of the hierarchical organisation of that community (*ibid.*). This aspect has been highlighted in the discussion of the British headdresses[11] and it is noticeable on the Bridgeness Slab, where the members of the legion are placed as sides of a triangle pointing

[5] 5.3. For a general discussion, see Peachin 2011/Introduction.
[6] 5.3.
[7] 1.5.2: see also more at length in 6.2.
[8] see CSIR volume I.
[9] Picture available at https: //www.gettyimages.co.uk/photos/bridgeness?mediatype=photography&phrase=bridgeness&sort=mostpopular [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[10] Picture available at http://www.trajans-column.org/?flagallery=trajans-column-scenes-xxi-1-21#PhotoSwipe1540051115044 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[11] 4.6.

towards the viewer, at the apex of which, is the celebrant.

A second monument whose decoration has been interpreted as a ritual scene is on an altar from York dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the gods and goddesses of hospitality, and to the Penates (CSIR I, 3, plate 21, n. 6). The altar was set by the prefect Publius Aelius Marcianus to thank the gods for his and his family's welfare. The right side of the altar is decorated with a human figure that Collingwood and Wright described as holding a staff in his(?) right hand (Collingwood and Wright 1995: RIB I, 649), but the surface is now too weathered to debate this identification. The left side shows the right profile of a figure 'wearing a knee-length tunic and probably a hair-band' (Rinaldi Tufi 1983: 3). He (?) appears to hold an animal with his left hand. The animal has horns and could be thus recognised as a bull, fitting as a sacrificial offering to Jupiter, as well as it being the most common type of animal sacrifice in Rome, Italy, Gaul, and Germany (Huet 2008: 45). A circular object probably a wreath is above it. The right hand's position of the man is unclear, although it seems to be holding a knife to the bull's throat.

A third monument illustrating a ritual performance is a fragmentary tombstone from the Western Cemetery at Colchester (CSIR I, 8, plate 21, n. 61). What is left shows the bottom half of a male figure wearing a toga, who was likely pouring a libation on the small altar on the left. The tombstone was never used as it lacks any inscription, although the bottom of the stelae was scraped to accommodate one. The relief shows the adoption of a common funerary iconography of the deceased showing his *pietas* towards the gods (Scheid 1999). Although this appears to be the only representation of this type from the province, gods and goddesses performing libations are much more frequently depicted in Britain, particularly on votive monuments.[12] This phenomenon is characteristic of provincial votive reliefs (also attested in the Three Gauls), where deities are reproduced in a rigid frontal pose (CSIR I, 7, palte 22, n.8; Huet 2008). Both these features are absent from the evidence in Rome and Italy (*ibid.*).

These three monuments exhaust the British iconographic evidence for ritual performances in stone performed by individuals. They reproduce common themes in the Roman iconographic production: a *suovetaurilia*, a libation, and possibly a bull sacrifice. Although it is impossible to assess the amount of stone re-used in Britain,[13] it is interesting to notice how, even on such a small scale, the location of these monuments reproduces the overall provincial distribution of stone evidence concentrating around military areas (especially the two Walls and urban centres),[14] as the stelae from Bridgeness comes from the Antonine Wall, the altar to IOM from York, and the tombstone from the provincial capital at Colchester.

5.2.2 The evidence in metal

The evidence in metal adds a few more examples to the imagery of ritual performances available in Britain. The first group of evidence discussed here consists of handles of metal vessels, mostly *paterae* and *urcei*, containing images of individuals or, more often, as in the case of the stone evidence, deities (male and female) engaged in libations or offerings. These scenes are mostly fictitious, and their meaning is frequently allegorical. The second group of evidence consists of metal figurines depicting individuals performing a ritual action. These individuals have often been interpreted as priests or priestesses and are discussed as contributing to the priestly imagery in the province.

Before discussing the Roman period evidence in metal, we will briefly present the evidence for performative actions that has been recognised on Late Iron Age British coins. In the discussion of the literary sources describing pre- and conquest period ritual practices in the province,[15] we have pointed out that the main concern of these sources is Druidic practices, often featuring extraordinary rituals distant from those of Roman tradition.

However, it has been convincingly suggested that Late Iron Age rulers were not oblivious to Roman-style rituals and to the associated regalia. Creighton suggested that Roman traditional regalia like the *lituus* were understood and used by the Late Iron Age rulers in south Britain as they appear on their coinage (Creighton 2000: figs 7.8 and 7.11). The *lituus* is a symbol of *auguratio* and may thus refer to the Roman-style foundation of the towns of Silchester, Verulamium, and possibly Canterbury, while the presence of the *bucranium* (VA1680:E7; VA1860:E7) recalls the sacrifice made on those occasions (*ibid.*). Whether the *litui* on coins symbolise these town foundations or record its actual use is unclear. Creighton opts for the latter, implying that, while the short *lituus* was a symbol of the role of the *augur*, the object actually used for the town foundations would have had a longer staff to be easily dragged on the ground to trace the borders of the

[12] See i.e.: Fortuna (CSIR I, 1, n. 13 I, 7, nn.26; 28; 30; I, 9, n.1); Genii (CSIR I, 1, n. 51, left; I, 7, nn. 32; 33; 35-40; 42; I, 9, n.7); Mercury (CSIR I, 1, n. 18).

[13] 6.2.1

[14] 6.2.1.3.

[15] 1.5.1.

foundation, likely while riding a horse, as reproduced on a pottery stamp from Kelvedon (*ibid.*).

Four coin-types have been interpreted as reproducing original 'Roman-style sacrificial acts', as they show objects also cups and tripods, while having no parallels on coin-types issued by Rome nor on Roman gems (*ibid*: 204). Three coin-types reproduce a seated figure holding different objects (Creighton 2000: Figure 7.8), while a fourth coin of Cunobelinus reproduces a (male?) figure standing between two tripods: one is lit, while the second is receiving a libation (*ibid.*: VA2065:E8).[16] Of the three examples reproducing a seated figure, one clearly shows a bearded figure overturning a cup (a double-handled dish according to Creighton, *loc. cit.*) to pour his libation on the ground, while holding a *lituus* (*ibid.*: VA2097:E8). A similar gesture can be implied on a Dubnovellanus coin (*ibid.*: VA178:SE8). The same type of double-handled bowl is also found on a coin of Tasciovanus (*ibid.*: VA1816:E7), although this time the bowl is standing on a pedestal, a scene interpreted by Creighton as reproducing the moment prior to the libation.

That these Late Iron Age southern *reges* issuing these coins adopted not only the iconography of ritual objects, but also the ritual practices associated with them has been suggested by the archaeological evidence attesting to the use of vessels sets as 'ritual kits' for hand-washing practices (*ibid*: 201; Cool 2011). These Roman ritual functions were adopted as part of the identity promoted by members of the local elites especially in the southern kingdoms, an aspect attested in similar social groups in the Mediterranean and on the continent (Verboven 2009; Woolf 1998).

We can then expect a conscious and active participation of the local elite in the assignment of priestly offices in these territories, while the *reges* present themselves as holding both political and religious power. This introduction of Roman-style rituals and regalia, prior to the actual conquest, makes it possible to understand how, once the provincial administrative structures were set in place, local individuals drawn from the now landed aristocracies would hold official roles involving, among other tasks, ritual performances.

5.2.2.1 Vessels

Most of the representations of ritual performances on *paterae* and jugs' handles represent deities shown in the classical fashion of holding a *patera* and pouring its content on a small altar. These depictions of deities performing a libation are very popular in Gaul and Germany and are characteristic of provincial iconography with no parallels in Rome and Italy, although they are influenced by these territories in terms of style (Huet 2008).

Two interesting examples in this sense are found among the vessels and vessels' elements from a deposit of silverwares discovered in Capheaton, Northumberland in 1747 (Walters 1921: 49-51). One is a *patera* handle decorated with a female figure holding a military standard with her left hand while offering a libation on a small altar, on which a fire is lit (Walters 1921: 49-50, n. 190).[17] Walters identified this figure as Julia Domna (Walters 1921: 50), the wife of Septimius Severus, probably remembering the numismatic evidence depicting her as *mater castrorum*, a title which she received on April the 14th AD 195 (Ghedini 1984: 6-7).[18]

The second example is a gilded patera handle decorated with a scene where a small figure wearing a short tunic stands beside an *aedicula* set in front of a small temple (Walters 1921: 50-51, n. 192; Toynbee 1962: 169, n. 105).[19] On both sides of the temple are trees, whose sinuous branches frame the building. Two reclining figures, a male on the left and a female on the right, are depicted on the sides of this central scene. Both these figures rest their arms on a vessel from which a water stream flows, in a pose typically used to depict river gods.

Above the central scene, a standing female figure is identifiable with the goddess Minerva thanks to her aegis decorated with the Gorgoneion. Consistent with the identification of Minerva are also the round shield held in her left hand and resting against her thigh and the spear which the goddess holds in her left hand. Her left foot is resting on a vessel, whose opening faces the viewer and from which a stream flows unto the trees below.

The small temple in the scene appears to be a generic representation of a temple without *podium*, but the presence of Minerva with her foot on a vessel pouring water (recognised as a spring) has prompted an interpretation of this scene as a reference to the cult-site of Sulis-Minerva at Bath, Somerset (Henig 1984:

[16] This representation is quite unusual as the performer shows the back to the viewer.

[17] Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1364110&partId=1&place=6318&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

[18] The title of '*mater castrorum*' was firstly awarded to Faustina Minor in *c.* 174 AD (Ghedini 1984: 7). However, the numismatic evidence shows Faustina seated next to the standards, rather than standing, performing a libation next to a lit altar as in the case of Julia Domna, whose identification on the Capheaton handle is thus preferred here. Picture available at http://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=MATER+CASTRORVM [Last accessed: 20/10/2018].

[19] Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1364113&partId=1&place=6318&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

Figure 5.1 Copper-alloy balsamarium from Petham, Kent. 3rd century AD.
H. c. 5.7 cm (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme).

43; Bird 2011), although Henig cautiously suggested that it could refer to a different healing cult (Henig 1984: *loc. cit.*). The two river gods have been interpreted as representations of local rivers (Bird 2011), while employing a widespread classical iconography also foundon another *patera* handle from the Capheaton deposit showing Mercury seated in a small shrine, below which are Bacchus and Ariadne (Walters 1921: 48-9, n. 189; Henig 1984: 117; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1990: 79).[20]

Building on this interpretation, the tree branches have been considered a reference to the sacred-trees dear to Celtic symbolism (Watts 1991), although they can be more simply explained as generic scene-fillers often used as dividers, as in the 3rd century copper-alloy balsamarium from Petham, Kent (Figure 5.1; Worrell and Pearce 2013: 376-9; PAS n. KENT-7D72), where the trees separate and frame different characters of the Dionysiac *thiasos*. More on point is the interpretation of the figure in short tunic as a worshipper, if not a cult attendant, at the temple taking a draught of the sacred (healing) fountain-form (Cruse 2004: 112).

A further ritual scene has been recognised on the handle of a copper-alloy jug from Carlisle, Cumbria (Bird 2011) of the Neupotz-type (Künzl 1993).[21] This type of jugs is characterised by a globular body, a long neck and a rounded rim. The handle is attached to the rim by an elaborate leaf element accommodating the thumb of the holder and terminating in a small knob. The body is plain, and the decoration is limited to the handle, normally consisting of three or more single objects, individuals, or scenes. In addition, the larger bottom part of the handle is decorated with a single figure or a small scene. These objects, figures, and scenes are interchangeable and constitute a 'catalogue' based on which different decorative arrangements are created on different exemplars. This jug-type derives from 1st century jugs common in Pompeii and Herculaneum (Tassinari 1993). In these early examples, the decoration was limited to the bottom part of the handle and is characterised by masks of satyrs. This link to the Bacchic iconography persists in the German production of the end of the 1st/beginning of the 2nd century AD and, consequently is found on the jugs found in Britain, Gauls, and Noricum (Künzl 1993: 122 ff).

The jug from Carlisle is decorated with three small different scenes on the handle and a larger one at the bottom (Bird 2011). From the top, a figure is shown setting up what appears to be garlands on a pole. Next to him, a second figure (maybe a *popa*) attends to an animal, likely a bull. The second group includes a figure wearing a short tunic kneeling next to a small animal. The last group consists of a male figure *capite velato* performing a libation on an altar.

The larger group at the bottom presents three figures. A male one wearing a cuirass is on the left, holding a triangular sacrificial knife in his right hand. On the right, a second bearded figure wears a toga raising his right hand which holds a large triangular knife, while his left hand is empty, and his arm falls along his body. An attendant preparing a small animal for the sacrifice is crouched between the two.

The group has been interpreted as a generic sacrificial scene (Henig 1984: 132). More recently, Bird considered the figure on the left has as a soldier or a statue of Mars, while identifying the figure on the right with a 'robed priest' raising a knife to sacrifice the animal presented by the kneeling attendant (2011: 282). However, the scene is not without parallels and reproduces an iconography known from the central scene depicted on the lanx from Stráže, Slovakia (Svoboda 1968: plate IV; also noted by Künzl 1993: 133), whose iconographic

[20] Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details. aspx?place=6318&ILINK|34484, assetId=413597001&objectId=1364112&partId=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

[21] Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365323&partId=1&place=36856&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].

origin is traceable on republic coinage struck by the Veturii family, as well as gems of the same period (Svoboda 1968). Based on the rim decoration of the Stráže Lanx which shows episodes of the Aeneid saga , the current interpretation of this scene is that of the sacrifice sealing the oath between Aeneas, the figure wearing a cuirass on the left, and Latinus, the figure on the right holding a sacrificial knife (Künzl 1993: 133) as mentioned in the Aeneid.[22] Recognising this scene as a mythical and at the same time historical moment of the foundation of Rome, it is possible to argue that the, now worn, image of the *capite velato* figure performing a libation directly above this group on the Carlisle jug, could represent a Genius, with whom he shares the iconography.[23]

Finally, a parallel is also available for the small kneeling figure wearing a short tunic kneeling next to a small animal (second from the top), which appears to bear some resemblance to an iconographic motif found on Italian sarcophagi with Cupids and garlands, popular in the Hadrianic period (Giuliano *et al.* 1985: 209).[24] One of the best examples of this motif is offered by the scene on a fragment of sarcophagus from Via Labicana in Rome (*ibid:* n. IV, 13). A bearded man seats in front of a small altar, behind which stands a statue of Dionysus placed under a fig tree. On the altar is a *liknon,* an element common in the Bacchic imagery consisting of a pine cone sitting in the middle of an offering dish and surrounded by fruit. The man holds a piglet by one of its back feet. His right hand holds a small jug from which he is pouring a liquid on the *liknon*. The scene on the jug does not reproduce then a generic ritual performance but is a sophisticated reference to Rome's mythical past and the relevant literary references, which was understood by its viewers to the point of being chosen for a widespread jug-type as well as dinner sets.

The use and understanding of intellectual references on metal vessels in Britain is corroborated by the decoration of the Corbridge Lanx,[25] which recalls in symbolic form an historical ritual performance (Toynbee 1964: 306-8).[26] The silver rectangular tray was part of a precious metal tablewares hoard found in 1735, whose other pieces are now lost. Vine branches decorate the rim framing a classical scene set outside a shrine of Apollo, developing on two registers.

The upper, larger one is occupied by deities. From the left, Diana and Minerva are separated by a small altar and a tree. The third deity is interpreted as Ortygia, she holds a staff and looks towards the two deities, while Leto sits on a cushioned stool. She looks back at Apollo coming out of his shrine, holding a bow. The lower register includes a fallen vase from which a water stream is pouring out. A dog, probably one of Diana's hounds, looks up towards her. A short palm tree, whose significance is connected to the birth of Apollo, separates the hound from a fallen stag. A small altar is placed in correspondence to the chair of Leto. On the right is a griffin and then, a tree.

The setting is clearly fictitious but the scene can be located in Delos, where all the deities depicted are worshipped (*ibid.*). A further connection to this site is offered by the fallen vase representing the stream pouring from the Delian spring Inopus. It has been suggested that this scene commemorates a specific sacrifice made by Julian the Apostate at the temple of Apollo in Delos in AD 363 (Toynbee 1964: *loc. cit.*; Potter 1997: 81). The craftsmanship of the object has led to the idea that it was not produced in Britain, but rather it was imported from a Mediterranean workshop (Potter 1997).

5.2.2.2 Figurines

The ritual scenes considered so far attest to the iconographic of performances of libations, where a celebrant, human or divine, is shown holding a *patera* and pouring its content on an altar. The iconography of these celebrants is also used for metal figurines, reproduced holding different objects in their hands (typically scrolls, *acerrae*, or fruit) or lifting their hands in a praying pose.

Such figurines are generally labelled in the literature as 'priests' and 'priestesses' (Toynbee 1962; Green 1976; 1978; Bird 2011: 274). However, this label is ambiguous as it suggests that all the ritual acts that these figurines engage in are performed by religious professionals of some degree. Moreover, the fact that the figurines were mostly dedicated as votive offerings raises the question of why priests would dedicate an image of themselves in a non-honorific context. Images of priests and priestesses found in the Roman world are set either in a funerary or in an honorific/public context, commemorating the honours they had been awarded and thus providing a medium for celebration and self-celebration of their achieved public social status (Scheid 1999).[27]

[22] Verg. *Aen.* XII, 170.
[23] For the iconography of Genii, see Kunckel 1974, and 5.2.2.2/ Figurines depicting Genii.
[24] See also, the exact same scene is on a fragment of sarcophagus preserved in a wall at Casino Belrespiro, Rome (Calza *et al.* 1977: 189, n. 219b, tab. CXXXII).
[25] Picture available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=827588&partId=1&place=36790&object=21839&page=1 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[26] The presence of intellectual references of privately consumed goods is also attested in mosaic and wall-paintings from Britain (i.e. Lullingstone and Otford villas) and explained as a display of literacy by the patron (Ling 2007).
[27] An interesting case study for provincial archaeology has been

It is then arguable that the figurines would not represent actual priests, as in an official sense, but the emperor (Freje 2008) or deities like *Genii*, or worshippers 'taking a photo' of themselves performing a ritual gesture, thus dedicating that 'picture' which portrays them as *pii* towards the deity they are making an offering or to whom they are paying a vow. However, a figurine is a 'personal' object, whose dedication is an act of personal religion. This type of dedication removes the 'public' element to it, meaning it removes the self-celebration aspect of a public dedication, when an individual might decide to highlight social status and/or political achievements. As we have noticed when discussing the funerary evidence,[28] it is rare that one would flag his/her profession inside the tomb. Similarly, no other profession or professional activity appears to be 'dedicated' to the gods. Single cases are offered by the figurine depicting a 'man and plough' (Durham 2012: n. 270) interpreted as a symbol of town foundations and fertility (*ibid.*), while more common are the dedications of tools, often miniaturised (Kiernan 2009).

This terminological ambiguity has affected the British figurines as well, as they reproduce standardised types variedly labelled as Genii, priests, and worshippers found elsewhere in the Roman world (Durham 2012). For this reason, it is useful to reconsider the British figurines of 'priests' together with similar examples from other provinces, to offer a holistic explanation for a type that is the most common among those of 'human figurines' found in Britain (*ibid*: 4.4.1). They are found mostly in the south, while only a limited number is recorded on Hadrian's Wall and York (*ibid:* Figure 27).

Figurines of Genii and Lars[29] are linked to domestic religion and are found in disparate contexts (*ibid.*); the 'worshippers' category also belongs to the sphere of domestic religion,[30] and is mostly attested at urban sites (*ibid.*). Discussing figurines of Genii allows us to expand on the topic of ritual scenes *di genere* across different media, as they are available across the province and follow traditional iconographic traditions (Fuchs 1960; Kunckel 1974).[31]

Since the beginning of the Augustan period, the type of the 'Genius Familiaris' is represented as a male wearing a toga with his head covered and holding different objects, mostly a cornucopia, but also scrolls or *acerrae*. This iconography is also employed in the Augustan period to represent the Genius Augusti, more rarely the Genius Loci, and, in one occasion, the Genius Centuriae (Fuchs 1960: 811-2), however, its context of discovery usually gives away his identity.

Under Nero, a new iconography of the Genius Augusti, Loci, and Collegi is introduced. A naked young male is represented with a cloak wrapped around his waist, usually holding a cornucopia in his left hand and a patera in his right one, an iconography used in the previous period only for the Genius Populi Romani (Fuchs 1960: 813). Genii Loci or those protecting specific cities are also often represented in this fashion with the addition of a wreath or a mural crown; these attributes can also be found in representations of Genii of military *collegia*.

Examples in stone from Britain offer evidence for some of these types. An example from Tockenham, Wiltshire (CSIR I, 2, plate 27, n. 104; Toynbee 1978; Alcock 1986: 122) represents the first type of Genius: *togatus,* with his head covered, holding in his left hand his typical attribute, the cornucopia. In his right hand, he has a patera whose content he is pouring on a cylindrical element, likely a *cippus*, around which a snake is wrapped. He is placed in a niche with a triangular top; his head is framed in a shell nimbus.

The type of the young Genius is far more common on British reliefs. An example is offered by a monument from Chadworth Manor (CSIR I, 7, plate 12, n. 33; Toynbee 1978), where the Genius is depicted naked with a cloak around his waist that then folds on his left arm in which he holds a cornucopia. As the previous one, he is shown pouring the content of a *patera* on a *cippus* wrapped by a snake. A second, famous although headless, exemplar was found in the London Mithraeum, but here the addition of a ship's prow and waves on the bottom right have suggested an interpretation as Genius Loci (Shepherd 1998). A further example of this type is also found at Burgh-by-Sands, Cumbria (Phillips 1979).

Examples of Genii wearing a mural crown include the front side of a votive altar from Cirencester, showing a bare-chested *Genius Loci* wearing a spiked crown (CSIR I, 7, 32 Alcock 1986: 118; Henig 1993: 13-14).[32] A similar figure is that of a *Genius* on a small relief found in Carlisle and recognisable thanks to the inscription as the *Genius centuriae* (RIB I, 944).

Copper-alloy figurines also contribute to the typology of the Genius types represented in the province. The 'Genius Familiaris' type is well attested in the Roman world (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998).[33] Similarly to the examples in stone, this figurine is depicted holding

recently published by Raja (2016) on the priest from Palmyra.

[28] 4.3.3

[29] Total number of Genii figurines from the province: 17 (Durham 2012).

[30] Total number: 11 (Durham 2012).

[31] For a first, now slightly dated, survey of Genius images from Britain, see Alcock 1986, which has been used here as a starting point updated through the CSIR volumes, the edition of British figurines by Durham (2012), and the PAS Database.

[32] = RIB I, 102.

[33] Not included in this discussion but ascribable to this category are: Durham 2012: n. 523 (with *patera* and ?cake) and possibly a bust from Chedworth (*ibid:* 792).

Figure 5.2. Fragment of a copper-alloy figurine from Pentridge, Dorset. Roman Period. H. c. 2.7 cm (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme).

different objects, mainly *paterae* and *cornucopiae*, but also scrolls, and boxes of incense.[34] A fragment of a left hand found at Pentridge, Dorset (Figure 5.2; Pearce and Worrell 2016: 385-7; PAS n. DOR-8C6C09) was part of a figurine of a Genius Familiaris of the type with the *acerra*, common in the provinces (i.e. an exemplar from Lyon, Boucher and Tassinari 1976: n. 73; Kunckel 1974), although, the presence of incense has suggested its interpretation of this type as a priest of the imperial cult (Fishwick 1991: 526; Delgado Delgado 2005: 126, n. 200).

The type of the bare-chested/naked and *capite aperto* Genius is also found in copper-alloy examples from Britain.[35] Ascribable to this type of Genius is a figurine found at Carrawburgh, Northumberland that has been interpreted as '*Genius Publicus Populi Romani*' (Alcock 1986: 125; Durham 2012: n. 197). The site has been recognised as a shrine of the Nymphs and Genius Loci thanks to several inscriptions (i.e. RIB I, 1538; 1544), which together with his iconography (*patera* in his right and scroll in his left) suggests a more likely interpretation as Genius Loci.

Other examples of naked male figurines with cloaks wrapped around their left arms and holding a *patera* in their right include one from Cirencester (Durham 2012: 519) and a very similar one from London (Durham 2012, n. 483), both dating to the 1st century BC and regarded as modern imports (*ibid.*). These two figurines join several examples of male figurines wearing a radiant crown recalling a very common figurine-type found in central Italy (Bentz 1992). This production is typical of Etruria, where it is usually found as a votive offering in sanctuaries, but also in Rome starting from the 3rd century BC onward (Bentz 1992; Zampieri and Lavarone 2000: 69-72) with minor variations, usually in the objects held (Bentz 1992, nn. 32 and 33). The examples found in the provinces are mostly considered imports from Italy (Faider-Feytmans 1979: 80-81). Figurines of this type are attested in Britain, and they have been also interpreted as modern imports (Durham 2012: nn. 114-117). However, there have been attempts to explain these figurines in a Roman provincial setting resulting in dubious interpretations, as it is the case of a figurine from Bath which has been interpreted as Dolichenus (Green 1976: 187, n. 17 = Durham 2012: n. 559) or as Apollo, following the interpretation of a parallel from Ulrichsberg, Austria (Fleischer 1967: 48-9, n. 360) also wearing a radiant crown.

Other two types of pre-Roman figurines reproducing 'worshippers' attested in Britain include the bare-chested praying male wearing a headband (Durham 2012: n. 175), also found in the museum collection in St. Albans (Durham 2012: n. 1139), Cardiff (Durham 2012: n. 290), and York (Durham 2012: n. 323). The second type is represented by a figurine wearing a diadem holding *paterae* (Durham 2012: n. 471) or two *cornucopiae* (Green 1978: pl. 134). A reminder of the modern circulation of these figurines as imports is offered by the recent re-attribution of a figurine, which had entered the York Museum with a provenance from Pompeii, and later turned out to be an Etruscan product (YORYM: 2006.2914).[36]

[34] Cricklade, Wiltshire: Green 1976: 191, pl. XId; Durham 2012: 384. Silchester, Hampshire: Green 1976: 195, pl. XIa; Durham 2012: 172. Bruton, Somerset: Toynbee 1962: 149, n. 50, pl. 53; Durham 2012: 331. Saint-Jean-de-Morsent: Boucher and Boucher 1988: n. 19.

[35] Durham 2012: nn. 675, 809, 862, 996, 1023.

[36] https://goo.gl/r5If2R [Last accessed: 20/10/18].

Figure 5.3. Figurine of the 'Worshipper' type from Maulden, West Bedfordshire. H. 6.51 cm. Roman period. (©The Portable Antiquities Scheme).

Similar to the Genius type is the iconography of the 'worshippers' figurines. These reproduce male[37] and female[38] *capite velato* individuals, with open arms and palms in a praying gesture or, only for the female ones, holding an object (e.g. from Maulden, Figure 5.3; PAS n. BH-B6AF26; Worrell and Pearce 2012: 369). Their identification has not been univocal in the literature, as the covered head feature is shared by the Genius type, with which they are often confused with. This is the case of the figurine from Barham, Kent interpreted as 'veiled priest, or praying man' (Toynbee 1964: 149, n. 51, plate 54), a 'Genius Paterfamilias' by Green (1976: 231) followed by Alcock (1986: 126-7), and a 'priest' by Durham (Durham 2012: 669).

Differently from the Genius type, this type of figurine does not hold any attributes and is also attested in female variations. A figurine from South Shields performs a libation with a *patera* (Allason-Jones and Miket 1984: n. 3.392; Durham 2012: n. 299), while one from Weston is shown with open arms, in a praying pose (Durham 2012: 601).

A second female figurine of the praying type is found at the military fort at Stanwix, Cumbria (Durham 2012: n. 300); however, she also holds a round object, likely a fruit, in her left hand. Both British figurines' style is similar to that of a figurine found in the Saone, in Lyon, interpreted as a '*pretrêsse*', and depicted bare headed with a small box (*acerra*) in her right hand (Boucher and Tassinari 1976: n. 74).

A different type of praying female figurine is present at the temple site of Woodeaton, Oxfordshire (Durham 2012: n. 470) holding a *patera* in her right hand, while her left rests on her hip. The pose is peculiar to this figurine and likely resembles a dancing pose, although the presence of the *patera* in her right hand sets the whole action in a ritual perspective. If this figurine is interpreted as a dancer, another figurine has been linked to presence of music necessary during ritual. The 'flute girl' from Silchester has been interpreted as an attendant to rituals (Toynbee 1962: n.52: Durham 2012: 178).[39] She holds a *tibia* in her hands and wears a tall headdress shaped as a half-moon shaped diadem. The figurine has been interpreted as Euterpe (Henig 1995: 95), however, the presence of the half-moon shaped diadem tempts us to connect her to the diadems we have discussed[40] and consequently to entertain the possibility that diadem wearers could be *tibicines*. In any case, the presence of the flute and the crucial role that music played during ceremonial rituals is also referenced in the British evidence by the flutes depicted on both sides of an altar dedicated to the Matres Domesticae from York (CSIR I, 25, pl. 6).

A different pose is that of a 'priestess' from the site of St. Mary's Hospital, Colchester (Durham 2012: 1042). Because of the context finds (which include a statuette of Mercury and two *caducei*) and the dedication of the local temple to Mercury, she has been interpreted as a priestess of Rosmerta (Crummy 2006: 60; 67, Figure 29, n. 5, plate 6) or Nantosuelta (Black 2008: 10). However, she could represent the goddess herself as she repeats the same iconographic scheme depicted in the Rosmerta and Mercury relief from Gloucester[41] and the position of her right arm, although fragmentary, suggests that she is holding a staff.

This survey of figurines performing ritual actions corroborates the trend acknowledged so far of objects produced following iconographic trends widespread in the rest of the empire. And if the iconographic preferences in stone, whose production was more expensive than a small metal figurine, can be interpreted by considering the client's desire to express a 'continental' taste, the small figurines attest to a more general use and understanding of the Roman iconography and its ritual implications. The metal vessels and the figurines illustrate that rituals and gestures like offerings of liquids (*libatio*) or incense, praying position (*orante*), and music and dance where recognisable and sought after as iconographic choices.

[37] See Durham 2012: n. 391.
[38] Considered as 'priestess' by Durham 2012: nn. 294; 313; 832(?), sharing the features of this type.
[39] Picture available at http://collections.readingmuseum.org.uk/index.asp?page=record&mwsquery={totopic}={Silchester%20Collection}&filename=REDMG&hitsStart=10 [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[40] 3.6.1.
[41] CSIR I, 7, plate 22, n. 78.

5.3 Conclusions

The survey of the imagery of ritual performers from Britain has highlighted four main points:

1. Scenes of libations are by far the most common ritual representations. A libation is represented on the Bridgeness slab, although in this case it clearly constitutes a *praefatio*. The only possible sacrificial killing is the much-weathered side of the altar from York. This resonates with the same trend noted for the Gaulish representation of rituals. However, as it has been noticed for Gaul (Huet 2008), the archaeological evidence from Britain also points towards animal sacrifice as being a common practice, especially at temple sites (King 2005). Private religion is also affected by the spread of this imagery. The distribution of figurines of Genii Paterfamilias (and Lares) highlights the areas where individuals of Roman cultural background were living (the south-east and on Hadrian's Wall) (Durham 2012). Apart from the three stone monuments in 5.2.1, the libation scenes are restricted to private representations, either on metal sets (for dinner or washing), or as 'Genius' and 'Worshipper' figurines. The latter join the overall trend of the 'standard' iconography of deities performing libations found in Gaul and Germany.[42]

2. The adoption of the libation iconography is applied by the local carvers not only to the representations of Roman deities but also of the indigenous ones. This is attested for example on the reliefs by Iouventinus reproducing the God Romulus as Mars with the addition of a double *cornucopiae* (CSIR I, 7, n. 60). This flexibility of using the widespread Roman 'iconographic vocabulary' is further confirmed by the use of well-known iconographic models, like the 'Genius-type', for local deities that not only are not 'Genii' but are paired with different deities. An example of this case is offered by the image of Mars Olludius from Bisley (CSIR I, 7, n. 40; Croxford 2016: 612-3), which would be 'automatically' identified as a Genius if not for its inscription.[43] Finally, this conscious and flexible use of the Roman iconographic vocabulary possibly to express ritual preferences is further suggested by the Genius-type with *acerra* from Pentridge. Where Huet (*op. cit.*) noted the popularity of the incense burning gesture on reliefs from Gaul and Germany, Worrell and Pearce connected it to recent scientific analyses highlighting the frequent use of plant exudates in funerary rituals in Britain (2016: 385-7).[44]

3. Only one public monument unequivocally shows a libation prior to an animal sacrifice: promoted by the army, the Bridgeness Slab was meant to be seen not only by soldiers, but also by the local population. While the right panel celebrates the dedication of the construction to the emperor and thus highlights the *pietas* of the legion, the left panel shows a cruder, although intertwined with the former, scene. The message of the scene is that of violence and triumph over any opponent, when even the crouched pose of the defeated enemy (bent over and with his back close to the horse's member) adds to the humiliation of the defeat. This message of violence was directed at the local audience, which was less engaged with the gesture of *pietas* and more concerned with the representation of the animals to be sacrificed in the *suovetaurilia*, as they were likely the result of the raiding and pillaging of their resources by the local garrisons.

4. The repetition of iconographic motifs (e.g. the libating person/deity) is also to be framed within instances of their production. The traditional production dynamic of the iconographic evidence is based on the idea that a customer's request would be interpreted by an artist who would produce a tailored monument. Setting this aside in favour of a scenario where the maker produces a series of 'stock monuments' to be chosen from and personalised (Croxford 2016: 608) better explains the repetitiveness of the images. Several examples can be found around Roman Britain. This is the case for productions of votives at temple sites,[45] as well as altars. On the latter, the depiction of ritual tools is standardised, seldom departing from the representations of *patera, urcei*, axes, and knives. This further highlights the theory that the altars were produced in advance and were then personalised via an inscription.

In this chapter, we have discussed case-studies across the iconographic evidence from Britain to explore the visual dimension of individuals and deities involved in ritual performances. It appears clear that the most common ritual performance both in stone and metal is the libation, often performed by deities and only seldom by individuals. Scheid pointed out that the sacrifice is a moment of '*réaliser des hiérarchies*', i.e. when

[42] 5.2.2.1.
[43] RIB I, 131: '*Marti Olludio*'.
[44] For example, the traces of *Artemisia* mentioned among the Stanway 'doctor's grave goods (4.3.3).
[45] See the images of deities reproduced on the 'feather' plaques from Stony Stratford discussed in 4.2.7.

the hierarchy, crucial to the organisation of the Roman society, is manifested in practice (Scheid 2005: 276). On a cosmic scale, this hierarchy distinguishes between deities and men; on a smaller scale, it unfolds among men: both systems are implied in the sacrifice scenes from Rome and Italy (*ibid.*). In the scenes, the deity is almost never shown (although sometimes recalled in the form of a cult statue), invisible but present, while the ritual performer/s present themselves as *pii*, at the same time distancing themselves from the viewers, which are external to this group.

A different system applies to the ritual representations in Gaul and Germany (Huet 2008) and Britain, albeit via the same rituals. Here the scenes of sacrifice are very limited in number compared to Rome and Italy, while the libation scenes are much more common.[46] In these scenes, the deity is often depicted together with the celebrant(s). Although there are no representationsof this type in Britain, an altar dedicated in Bordeaux by Marcus Aurelius Lunaris a *sevir augustalis* from York showing him making a libation at the presence of Tutela Boudiga, to whom he dedicated the altar.[47]

It is also common for the deity to be the only character in the scene and reproduced performing a libation (*ibid.*). The images from these provinces employ the same 'iconic vocabulary'[48] than the ones from Rome and Italy, with similar imageries and gestures. However, the presence of the deities in the scenes stresses the 'cosmic hierarchy' over the more 'terrestrial' one, to the point that the 'men' disappear from the scene (*ibid.*) and the deity engages frontally with the viewer.

[46] It is worth remembering here that the libation is a ritual in its own right, however it also constitutes the moment prior to the actual animal sacrifice (*praefatio*). Nonetheless, the fact that the animals are not reproduced in the picture (as it is the case for the *suovetaurilia* from Bridgeness) possibly points towards a 'simple' libation.

[47] 6.4.2.2.

[48] '*vocabulaire iconique*' (Huet 2008: 53).

Chapter 6

Epigraphic evidence of priestly titles in Britain

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will consider the different types of religious roles that left a trace in the epigraphic record. Judging from the terms used in the inscriptions from the north-western provinces, the range of these roles immediately strikes us as tuned on a Roman imprinting as they include roles that are linked to cults of Roman tradition, as well as priests of indigenous and oriental cults, addressed in the inscriptions as *sacerdotes* (Van Andringa 2002; Spickermann 2003; 2008).

The use of the title '*sacerdos*' collected under the same umbrella individuals that might not have shared the same social status and functions and did not perform similar rituals. Outside this broad range of *sacerdotes*, there is only one title that stands out for its peculiar and territorial character: the *gutuater,* mentioned by Caesar[1] and found on four inscriptions from the Gauls.[2] Although it appears to be a municipal priesthood included in the municipal *cursus honorum*, there is still little certainty about this role and the possibility that he might be a Druidic figure outside the civic organisation is still contemplated by some scholars (Van Andringa 2002; Goudineau 2003). The difficulty in interpreting unusual priestly roles that leave very limited evidence in our sources is also exemplified by the discussion around the term *moritex*. Attested only in epigraphy, it has been explained as an ethnic epithet, a *cognomen*, an office/profession, or an object (Bogaers 1983: 21; Dondin-Payre and Loriot 2008).[3]

The evidence discussed in this chapter contributes to answering the first research question[4] concerned with tracing a model for the organisation of the *sacra* in Britain. In section 2.2.1, we have outlined the general features of priestly organisation in other provinces, which have a larger epigraphic evidence and, in some cases, can rely on the discovery of provincial or local laws. The peculiarity of Britain resides in how different its evidence is compared to other north-western provinces. In general, the main evidence for the identification and analysis of priestly figures is the epigraphic one (Richardson and Santangelo 2011).[5] However, the epigraphic evidence for Britain is not extensive. The reasons for it are various and will need to be addressed in detail.[6]

6.2 Analysing the epigraphic habit in Britain

We have noticed in 1.5.2 that the overall number of British inscriptions is limited when compared to other, more prolific territories like Italy, North Africa, and the easten provinces. However, this characteristic is not at all peculiar to Britain. The province shares this fate with several others,[7] together with a variation in the number of inscriptions produced over different centuries (Hope 2016).

Several factors influence the limited number of inscriptions available in a certain province (Eck 2007). For Britain, these reasons lie in a combination of geologichal and cultural factors that affect most of its regions, but not all, as few exceptions are identifiable. For those inscriptions that do survive, a further issue is presented by the loss of their original context, which is to be lamented for the majority of them (Hope 1997), a consequence of their massive reuse as construction material in later periods buildings. Only in few cases, the inscriptions come from an archaeological exploartion that provides contextual information, particularly regarding the biographies of these objects. An interesting example in this sense is offered by the Maryport altars, where recent excavations on the site of what was long believed to be a ritual deposition of altars, has led to the discovery of an interesting reuse of these objects as filling material for post holes in post-Roman times (Haynes and Wilmott 2012).

The limited number of inscriptions from the province has been also explained as a cultural phenomenon caused by a lower level of literacy of the local population (Harris 1989: 268) or a cultural local resistance to what might have been perceived as a Roman custom (Cepas 1989). Finally, the limited number of inscriptions has been used as a litmus paper to show a low degree of 'Romanisation'[8] reached by the

[1] Caes. *Gal.* VIII, 38, 3. This passage is however disputed as '*Gutuater*' could refer to a personal name rather than an office (Goudineau 2003: 383).

[2] From Autun: CIL XIII, 11225= AE 2001, +01371, and CIL XIII, 11226 = AE 2001, +01371. From Le Puy-en-Velay: CIL XIII, 01577=AE 2001, +01371=ILA, Vellaves, 25 (http://petrae.huma-num.fr/index.php/fr/inscriptions/liste?p01=160100700025; last accessed 10/03/2016). From Macon: CIL XIII, 2585, where the individual is recorded as '*gutuater Martis*'.

[3] For a discussion of *moritex*, see 6.4.2.1.

[4] 1.6.1.

[5] 1.5.2; 2.3.1.

[6] 6.2.1

[7] 'Three Gauls, Moesia Superior and Inferior, Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana, the Alpine Provinces, and the Islands' (Beltrán-Lloris 2015: 137, and table 8.2).

[8] On the concept of Romanisation and its current discussion and overcoming, 1.2.

local population (Mócsy 1966; Biró 1975). It is not the aim of this study to investigate the reasons behind the quantity of Roman inscriptions surviving in Britain but a brief analysis of the more recent strands on the topic will provide the necessary framing for the epigraphic evidence considered in this study as well as add different perspectives to the interpretation of that same evidence.

Three topics will be addressed:

1. The geological features of Britain, the production of works in stone, and the reuse/destruction of stone material in later periods;
2. The level of literacy achieved by the local population;
3. The cultural meaning of the epigraphic habit.

6.2.1 The geological features of Britain and the production of stone works

One of the first characteristics to consider when describing the epigraphic habit of a territory is its access to the raw materials: i.e. its geological features and the way they influenced the production of works in stone in general. Stones fit for architecture, sculpture, and inscriptions are present in north and west Britain, whereas the south-east area offers a softer quality of stone (Biró 1975: 33; Mann 1985: 204; Stewart 2010: 35-37, map 3).[9] This distribution of deposits of specific kinds of stone has certainly had an impact on the stone production in the Roman period.

A scientific analysis of the stone types that goes beyond the generic quarryman and stonemason terms used in the literature until recently has important repercussions on our general understanding of economic and social dynamics in the province, especially for the production of funerary monuments and architecture in southern England during the 1st century AD (Hayward 2009: 11).[10] Overall, it appears that the sources for stone works were local and that the areas without access to a suitable type of stone would not have developed a consistent habit of setting inscriptions or monuments (both civic and private) (Stewart 2010: 37; 40), although we have to consider the possibility of painted inscriptions.

For example, towns close to the stone deposits on the Cotswold belt of yellow oolitic limestone or Bathonian freestone (Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester) would display a significant number of stonework in general. Similarly, the Lincolnshire limestone is found at the *colonia* of Lincoln. Important harbour towns on the south coast such as Canterbury, Fishbourne, and Richborough offer evidence for stones imported from France in the 1st century AD well into in the Flavian period, at least in Richborough likely due to the activity of the *classis Britannica* (on the movements of this fleet, see Wilmott 2009; Dhaeze 2009). Among those centres that are far from stone deposits, and consequently have less evidence in stone, exceptions are the towns of important status, i.e. London, to where the Bathonian freestone was transported (Hayward 2009: 112; Stewart 2010: 40).

The geological characteristics of Britain had two immediate consequences on the epigraphic habit. It would have influenced the setting of inscribed monuments in general, although this has been noted thoroughly only for funerary inscriptions, leading to the simplistic conclusion that wealthy merchants and members of the elite were the only ones who could have afforded to set up a tombstone (Adams and Tobler 2007: 5). As we will see, the setting of an inscription is rarely dictated by a single factor and the need for self-representation can be transversal through different social strata.

The second consequence of this limited availability of stone is the extensive reuse of any kind of stone material in later periods, whether it implied reusing the stones as a whole, incorporating them in later buildings, breaking them for rubble or to produce mortar for new constructions. This phenomenon affected the whole Roman world, from the late Roman period until modern times (Cooley 2000: 2-3) and artistic reuse in modern times has also occurred (Davies 2000). The whole province of Britain was affected, with places like Caistor, Leicester, and Exeter that surprisingly offer a scanty number of inscriptions (Mann 1985: 204). However, the fact that stone was moved across the province (Hayward 2009; Hope 2016) suggests that the availability of raw material was not the only deciding factor in the choice of setting up an inscription.[11]

6.2.2 The literacy level of the local population

The second feature to consider is the level of literacy achieved by the population in the time-range considered. In general, the Roman Empire depended on some level of literacy in order to function (Woolf 2000) but still a significant percentage of the population would have not needed to engage in any active literary activity (i.e. writing). This would have been true especially for women and lower status individuals, who could rely on other people for their literacy needs (*ibid.*: 881).

[9] A focus on the geology of southern England and the use of stone in this region is in Hayward 2009.

[10] For example, the possibility that Roman stone-surveyors would have been active in southern England before the actual conquest, or the unexpected presence of continental stones, such as Rhineland freestone at Colchester (Hayward 2009: 112).

[11] Similar conclusions have been reached for the sculpture production in Britain (Croxford 2016).

Inscriptions alone provide limited information on the level of literacy of a population (Hanson and Conolly 2003: 153). Stone epigraphy was a limited practice, and its evidence needs to be integrated with the wider epigraphic evidence (i.e. graffiti, curses, and writing tablets) and also writing tools (Häussler and Pearce 2007: 225). The analysis of this enlarged group of evidence has shown that the knowledge of writing Latin in Britain was not exclusive to the elite, but a well-established habit of other social strata as well to the point of reaching a level of familiarity that allowed room for local linguistic variants and bilingualism (Hanson and Connolly 2003: 153; Häussler and Pearce 2007: 220; Mullen 2015). This implies that not all the levels of society would have shared the same degree of literacy, but that individuals with different social backgrounds operated at diverse levels of literacy (Woolf 2002: 184; Häussler and Pearce 2007: 231).

The number of inscriptions in the province reached its peak in the mid-2nd century AD, likely associated with the increase of military operations in the Severan period, and then declined (Hope 1997). This trend reflects a more general trend recognised in the whole Roman West (Beltrán-Lloris 2015: 139-140) that is not related to a general decline in literacy, as shown by the distribution of other writing media (e.g. see Evans 1987: 202).

6.2.3 The cultural meaning of the epigraphic habit

As already noticed above,[12] the assumption that the stone would travel if necessary, as in the cases of Colchester and London, implies that the absence of stone evidence in certain areas of the province was a cultural choice rather than a practical one (Stewart 2010: 42), especially considering that Britain did not have a tradition of carving or inscribing stone prior to the Roman conquest (Hayward 2009: 5).

Most of the studies on the inscriptions from the province have analysed funerary monuments (Hope 1997; Adams and Tobler 2007), while votive dedications, which are the majority, are considered together with the former only in general studies on the epigraphic habit (Raybould 1999). Analysing the higher number of inscriptions that have survived in the German provinces, Hope noted that the peak of the epigraphic production happened there in the middle of the 1st century AD and applies specifically to funerary inscriptions (Hope 1997: 249 building up on observations already expressed by MacMullen 1982). When the habit was introduced in Britain by the troops that were coming from those provinces, the habit of setting up funerary inscriptions was already perceived as a declining practice, and there was not enough time for it to become properly established and gain popularity (Hope 1997: 250; Stewart 2010: 31).

The inscriptions that were produced regardless of this cultural trend would have then carried a particular meaning (Hope 2016), likely a need for self-representation felt by members of the population wishing to affirm their individuality (Alföldy and Panciera 2001) and status in a new environment. That is probably why by the mid-2nd/3rd century soldiers, especially auxiliaries, are better represented in the British epigraphic record than high-ranking officials, and generally the military is better represented than civilians (Biró 1975; Mann 1985; Hope 1997). Also, women recorded in funerary monuments are more numerous than men (Hope 1997: 258). The choice of monumentality suggests an undergoing social tension in these levels of society (Woolf 2000: 896), specifically a need for legitimisation experienced by soldiers in a new and sometimes hostile environment, e.g. members of the *auxiliares* that could not benefit from the Roman citizenship and women who could not benefit from the rights of a marriage (Hope 1997: 258).

The reason for the decline in popularity of the epigraphic habit at the end of the 2nd century AD and its further decrease in the following century (Woolf 2000: 889) has been explained differently. MacMullen offers a philosophical explanation, implying a 'psychological shift' occurred among individuals that were starting to doubt the permanence or importance of their role in the world (MacMullen 1982: 246). A more likely explanation has to take into account the main historical changes that happened in the same period, like the application of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in AD 212, after which most individuals might not have felt necessary to publicly advertise their acquired citizenship (Woolf 2000: *loc. cit.*).

6.2.4 Summary

As we will see shortly, the number of inscriptions recording priestly titles is a direct consequence of these characteristics that have affected the production and the survival of epigraphic evidence in Britain. Here, the majority of the individuals that decide to represent themselves does so for a need of legitimisation, a need that might not have been felt by members of the established elite (not even when holding official roles like priestly ones). This might also be a consequence of the local approach to public euergetism. It has been noted that Britain, Germania Inferior, and Gallia Belgica, all share a weak individual euergetism on a municipal level, while associations of people are the main promoters of most of the acts of munificence (Blagg 1990: 28). On dedicatory inscriptions from Britain, military officers are attested more often than the indigenous elite, in a ratio of 26 to 33 (Blagg 1990: 18, table 3). Among the non-military notables that

[12] 6.2.1.1.

record their acts of munificence, on a total of seven inscriptions, two were set by 'priests'.[13] Blagg accounted for three inscriptions set by priests recording their acts of munificence (Blagg 1990: table 3). This is because he includes a slab from York (RIB III, 3195) dedicated by Lucius Vidicius Placidus who, according to a preliminary reading of the inscription, was identified as a *'[sevir n] egotiator [cretarius]'* (Hassall and Tomlin 1977: 430, n. 18). In the latest edition of the text, Tomlin prefers to read *[moritex? n]egotiator* (Tomlin 2009: 197).[14]

6.3 Inscriptions recording individual priests in Britain

Seven inscriptions record a priestly role in Britain (Table 6.1) and they will be discussed in alphabetical order in the following sections.[15]

The inscriptions in the table range in dates from the first half of the 2nd century AD (Tab. Vindol. II, 313 and RIB I, 155) to the 4th century AD (RIB II, 2448.03). Most of the inscriptions are datable, sometimes to the year, between the second half of the 2nd century AD and the 3rd century AD. The inscriptions were found in urban contexts (Corbridge) and temple sites (Bath, Lydney Park), but mostly in military areas (two inscriptions are from the path of Hadrian's Wall at Milecastle 3 and at Wall's End, and one from the fort at Vindolanda).

6.3.1 Diodora, a Tyrian priestess at Corbridge

A large votive altar was recognised in the yard of St. Andrews Church in Corbridge in 1702. The top of the object had been modified to contain holy water (Harris and Harris 1965: 107), although it does not appear to have been deep enough to be used as a baptismal font as suggested by Turcan (1989: 167).

A wreath decorates the left side of the altar and a *bucranium* and a sacrificial knife are on its right side. Diodora set it as a dedication to Hercules of Tyre, in her role of *archiereia* of the god (RIB I, 1129). The inscription is in Greek hexameters:

Ἡρακλεῖ / Τυρίω(ι)/ Διοδώρα/ ἀρχιέρεια[16]

The presence of an *archiereia* of Heracles of Tyre at Corbridge testifies to the following that the oriental god had on the site, probably connected to the presence of eastern merchants in the town (Raybould 1999: 24) and also suggests that Corbridge could have had a shrine or a temple dedicated to Heracles of Tyre.

According to recent theories on the topography of Roman Corbridge, this temple or shrine[17] would have been part of a sacred area, comprising baths and temples dedicated to other oriental deities. Among these, Panthea-Cybele and Astarte are attested, an arrangement also found in other provincial settings like Carnuntum and Aquincum (Hodgson 2010: 25-6). This area was likely far from the centre of the settlement. The five temples initially identified by Richmond have now been discarded: two of them (III and V) never existed (Breeze and Dobson 1976) and the other three facing the Stanegate were more likely commercial or storage units (Hodgson 2010: *loc. cit.*). Some features revealed by crop marks about 120/180 m south-east of Site XI possibly identify a sacred quarter. The structures would have been built around AD 160, as suggested by the dedicatory inscription of the temple

[13] See below for the discussion of both inscriptions (RIB III, 3049; RIB I, 1314).
[14] For a discussion of the role of *moritex*, see below 6.4.2.1.
[15] All the translations are published in the respective RIB volumes, unless otherwise indicated.
[16] 'To Heracles of Tyre, Diodora the priestess (set this up)'.
[17] It is worth remembering that the temple of a Semitic deity such as Melquart/Heracles of Tyre would have likely been an open-air sacred enclosure (Blázquez Martínez 2009: 361).

Table 6.1. Occurrences of priestly titles in Britain.

Title	Find-spot	Name of the priest/ess	Medium	Date	Reference
Archiereia	Corbridge, Northumberland	Diodora	altar	*c.* 160 AD	RIB I, 1129
Haruspex	Bath, Somerset	Lucius Marcius Memor	statue-base	AD 170 or 230 (?)	RIB III, 3049
PRREL	Lydney Park, Gloucestershire	Titus Flavius Senilis	mosaic floor	*post* AD 368	RIB II, 2448.03
***Sacerdos* of** Sulis Minerva	Bath, Somerset	Gaius Calpurnius Receptus	funerary inscription	2nd century AD	RIB I, 155
Sacerdos	Hadrian's Wall (Milecastle 3)	Apollonius	altar	AD 158	RIB I, 2065
Sacerdos	Vindolanda, Northumberland	/	tablet	AD 97-103	Tab. Vindol. II, 313
Sacerdos dei [...]	Wallsend, Tyne and Wear	Iulius Maximus	altar	AD 122-25	RIB I, 1314

of Sol Invictus,[18] and dismantled in the 4th century AD, when the debris of these buildings was transported and reused in the repaving of the tract of the Stanegate passing through Corbridge (Hodgson 2010: *loc. cit.*; for similar repurposing activities at sacred areas in Gaul, see Blagg 1983).

As for Diodora, it has been argued that she might have been of Syrian origin (Solin 1983: 761) and Fossey considers her to be a 'Hellenised oriental' rather than from Greece (Fossey 1991: 247). The cult of Heracles of Tyre was an aniconic polyadic one. It was strongly connected to its geographical origin, this being also a feature of his acolytes. An inscription contemporary to the one from Corbridge but from Pozzuoli, dated to the 23rd of July AD 174, records a letter sent by the Tyrians[19] living in Puteoli requesting a grant from their city for the maintenance of the local temples of their patron deity and for financing the rituals (a feast and the sacrifice of oxen) that were imposed on them.[20] The presence of such a cult in Corbridge can then only be justified by a (substantial) presence of Tyrians on the site or in the region. That they could be *auxiliaries* rather than merchants has also been proposed (Harris and Harris 1965: 107-8).

The cult of Heracles of Tyre gained a renewed favour during the reigns of Trajan and continued to prosper under Hadrian. The god appears on coinage emitted by both these emperors depicted in the classic iconography of Heracles (Turcan 1989: 166). The importance attributed to this cult in the expression of Heracles Victor of Gades is also attested by a vow made by the *Arvales* at the beginning of the first Dacian expedition (Blázquez Martínez 2009: 368).[21] The most detailed source of information about the cult of Heracles of Tyre is Silius Italicus, who describes Hannibal's visit to the temple of the god at Gades (Cadiz) (Marín Ceballos and Jiménez Flores 2005).[22] He reports that his priests were bound by sexual abstinence. They would have worn a linen tunic, kept ungirded when offering incense; their shaved heads were surrounded by a cloth headband, and they would walk barefoot. The *foci* of the altars would have been kept burning constantly. He states that women were forbidden to access the inner shrine (*adyton*) and pigs were kept away from the entrance.[23]

Heracles of Tyre formed a divine couple with Astarte a very popular deity in the Mediterranean world (Bonnet 2004: 28) and also attested in Corbridge, where an altar dedicated to the goddess was found (RIB I, 1124; Harris and Harris 1965: 106-7). The altar clearly constituted a pair with the one set by Diodora, sharing similarities in execution and lettering. The altar[24] was set by Pulcher, who does not qualify himself as a priest of the goddess, although this might be due to the use of a metric formula that did not allow room for his title. Moreover, the cross-gender dedication, where the altar set for the male element of the divine couple is set by a woman, and the altar to the female one is set by a man mirrors a practice documented in Semitic cults to appoint a priestess in charge of the god's cult and a priest in charge of the goddess's (Brenner-Idan 2015). Both altars are likely to be from the same cult complex, confirming its significant function as a shrine/temple also considering their significant size.

6.3.2 Lucius Marcius Memor, a haruspex *recorded at Bath*

Lucius Marcius Memor dedicated a statue in the sanctuary of Sulis Minerva at Bath as a gift to the goddess (RIB III, 3049). The base was found in 1965, during the excavation under the Pump Room (Wilson and Wright 1966: 212-3) and it bears the inscription:

Deae Suli/ L(ucius) Marcius Memor/ harusp(ex)/ d(ono) d(edit)[25]

The base is the only epigraphic record of a *haruspex* in the province, while the existence of a '*haruspex rusticus*' is attested in the *Historia Augusta*.[26] The way in which the title is inscribed, with the letters *HAR* being in a central position and the final *USP*[27] cramped on the right, offered some material for speculation concerning the presence of a *haruspex* at the site. It has been argued that the abbreviation *HAR* was possibly unintelligible in the way it was abbreviated because it was unusual for the inhabitants of Bath and thus required the

[18] RIB I, 1137.

[19] The *negotiatores syrii* were a famous and wealthy merchant group (Tran tam Tinh 1972:136).

[20] CIG III, 5853. The marble plaque also contains the answer received on the 8th of December, following a council held at Tyre. The response is positive as the matter is considered to be in the interest of the city and to preserve the custom (*Τοῦτο τῇ πόλει συμφέρει. φ[υ]λαχθή/ τω ἡ συνήθεια)*. It is also stated that the community of Tyrians living in Rome could have loaned the sum required.

[21] For the iconographic fortune of Heracles of Cadiz under Trajan and Hadrian, see Blázquez Martinez 2009: 368-9.

[22] Sil. *Pun.* III, 14-31, especially 21-31.

[23] Sil. *Pun.* III, 22-23.

[24] 'Αστ[άρ]της
βωμόν μ'
ἐσορᾶς
Ποῦλχέρ μ'
ἀνέθηκεν'
'You see me, an altar of Astarte; Pulcher set me up' (Translation in Collingwood and Wright 1995).

[25] 'To the goddess Sulis, Lucius Marcius Memor, soothsayer, gave (this statue) as a gift'.

[26] SHA *Sev.* XXII, 6. Among the omens prior to his dead, Septimius Severus had been mistakenly led by a '*haruspex rusticus*' to visit the temple of Bellona in York(?), where he had been provided with black animals for the sacrifice (the episode is also discussed by Montero Herrero (1991: 17-8) and Haack (2006: 82, footnote 1).

[27] A different hand added the letters *USP* at a later stage, according to Wilson and Wright, without explaining why they think the hands are different (Wilson and Wright 1966: 217). The text has many ligatures and this might not be a later addition rather than an original one.

expansion *USP* (Haack 2006: 82, n. 56).[28] Expanding on that, Tomlin adds that *HAR* might have been unknown or mistaken for *hariolus*, a fortune-teller of a lower status than the *haruspex*, thus the motivation for the later addition (Tomlin 2009). Haack's opinion that the inhabitants of Bath would have been unfamiliar with the role of a *haruspex* might make sense considering that she dates the inscription to the reign of Nero or the beginning of the Flavian period, following the dating of the complex proposed by Blagg (1979). This would have been an initial stage of Roman activities at the site, thus justifying the unfamiliarity with this Roman title. As a *haruspex,* Memor could have been part of a group of religious professionals active at the temple, from where we also know a *sacerdos* (Haack 2006: 82).[29]

More uncertain is the interpretaion that the abbreviation *HAR* could have been unintelligible to the rest of the religious staff and the visitors at the temple at the beginning of the 4th century, when the pavement on which the inscription was found standing is dated (Tomlin 2009: 64). That the role of a *haruspex* was unknown or so unusual in the 4th century AD as to require an expansion led to the assumption that Memor was not a permanent employer of the temple. He could have been a member of the governor's entourage (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985: 36-7; Tomlin 2009; 64, as attested in Numidia)[30] or a visitor recording his passage (Cunliffe 1984). It is also possible that he was a *haruspex* active in the army, a rare but not unheard-of role[31] in the imperial provinces (Haensch 1997: 722; Wheeler 2008). However, what is missing here, as also noted by Haack (2006: 82-3), is the legion to which Memor would have been attached, a mention always present in the inscriptions mentioning this role. At this stage, it is not clear whether the religious complex at Bath had a *haruspex* 'employed' by the temple rather than being an independent professional.

6.3.3 Titus Flavius Senilis and Victorinus at Lydney Park

A mosaic floor was unearthed in front of the 'triple shrine', in the north-west end of the *cella* of the temple of Nodens (Building C, Room LXIII), during the excavations conducted by Lord Bathurst in 1805 (Bathurst and King 1879). The mosaic is now lost, already reported as missing during the Wheeler excavations in 1928, during which only a few fragments could be retrieved (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932: 27-28). The date proposed by Wheeler for the religious complex is the late 3rd/ 4th century AD (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932).

The mosaic panel employed dark-blue, grey, and red tesserae. It was divided in three different horizontal sections, of which the uppermost presented an inscription. Separating the left part of the text from the rest was a funnel decorated with concentric circles of dark-blue, red, and grey *tesserae*, likely used to pour libations (Cosh and Neal 2010: 181). The central panel presented an aquatic scene involving mythical sea-beasts with entangled long necks and fish on both sides. The bottom section was decorated with circles separated by fish (Cosh and Neal 2010: 181-2).[32]

The text of the inscription (RIB II, 2448.03) reads:

D Ṃ Ṇ T ḞLAVIVS (funnel) SENILIS PRREL EX STIPIBVS POSSVIT/

O[PITU]LANTE (funnel) VICTORINO. INTERṖ.TIAṆṬE

The inscription has been interpreted differently depending on how the titles of the two individuals mentioned in the text are expanded. It is clear that the function of the text was double: to dedicate the restoration of the floor to Mars Nodens, the titular deity of the site, and to record both Titus Flavius Senilis as the benefactor who paid for laying (*pos<s>uit*) the mosaic floor of the *cella*, using the offerings from the temple (*ex stipibus*), and Victorinus, assisting (*opitulante*) in the matter. A context for this renovation is offered by archaeologically attested works carried out at the temple post AD 364, following the collapse of the *cella* floor due to an underground hollow overlooked by the first builders (Casey *et al.* 1999: 84, 115).

Senilis the *PRREL*

Senilis' title '*PRREL*' has had two main different expansions. In the second volume of the RIB, Frere and Tomlin proposed to read '*pr(aepositus) rel(igionis)*' and translate 'superintendent of the cult', thus accepting Hassall's reading based on the opinion that the archaeological context of the inscription would suggest a religious function of this title (Hassall 1980; 82; Frere and Tomlin 1992: 84). This interpretation was also followed by Fulford (2002: 100), changing his previous stance on Senilis as a military officer (Fulford 1996: 26-7). Of the same opinion is Ling, although he wrongly reports the reading '*pr(aepositus?) rel(igionum?)*' as the one proposed by Frere and Tomlin in 1992, and consequently translates: 'superintendent of rites(?)' (Ling 2007: 69). As was also noticed by Fulford (1996: 26-7), it is important to highlight here that the expansion

[28] On abbreviations in epigraphy and how they made inscriptions more accessible to a low literate audience, see Woolf 1996: 28 and Hope 2016: 291.
[29] 6.3.4
[30] CIL VIII, 2586=ILS 2381.
[31] A *haruspex* is recorded on the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamclisi, while a soldier acting as haruspex is recorded in Numidia (CIL VIII, 18067) and possibly in Pannonia Inferior (AE 1967, 366= 1969/70, 478).
[32] For other floors with similar pattern from Lydney, Cosh and Neal 2010: 175-6.

of PRREL as *praepositus religionis/um* is an *unicum* for this title, as it is not attested in any other text.

A different, and better documented, expansion of '*PRREL*' is the one already proposed by Mommsen as '*pr(aepositus) rel(iquationis)*' (Mommsen, CIL VII, 137). Although not common, the title is found on four other inscriptions, all datable to various periods in the 3rd century AD.

1. The earliest inscription was found in Tuccabor, in Africa Proconsularis (CIL VIII, 14854).[33] It mentions Caius Sulgius Caecilianus, who during his long *cursus honorum* held the roles of *primus pilus* and *praepositus reliquationis* of the *classis praetoria* at *Misenum* (Kissel 1995: 282-9). The inscription is dated to AD 218-35, based on a second inscription (CIL X, 3342) dedicated by Caecilianus, and mentioning an emperor '*Antonini filius*', so either Elagabalus or Severus (Dobson 1978: 301).
2. The second inscription was found in the Catacombs of St Callisto in Rome (AE 1981.134; Ferrua 1981).[34] The text is a dedication to the Genius of the *II Legio Parthica* and to the Fortuna *Redux*, made by the soldiers of the same legion under the care of two veterans: Valerius Valens and Pomponius Iulianus. The latter identifies himself as *primus pilus* and *praepositus reliquationis.* The inscription is precisely dated to the 24th of July AD 242 (Trout 1989: 223-4).
3. The third inscription is dated to a few years later in AD 246 (ILS 9221),[35] and was found in *Misenum.* It mentions Caius Iulius Alexander, again *praepositus reliquationis* of both the praetorian fleets of *Misenum* and Ravenna (Reddé 1986: 375-6).
4. The last inscription is found on a coffin, again from *Misenum* (CIL X, 3345).[36] The text is flanked by two dolphins and is a funerary dedication to the *Manes* of Aurelia Verecundinia Vera, daughter of Marcus Verecundinus Verus, *primus pilus* and *praepositus reliquationis* of the fleet at *Misenum,* made by her husband Caius Valerius Picentinus. The coffin is dated to the second half of the 3rd century AD through comparison with similar examples from the same site (Parma 2002: 187).

The function of a *praepositus reliquationis* is not well understood. A *reliquatio* has an important role in the Roman army logistics (Reddé 1986: 549; Kissel 1995: 162): it is a section of a complete military unit, used during large-scale operations (Kissel 1995: 283). According to Kissel, its military function was double: a strategic rear-guard managing the logistics of a further advance, and a vanguard for the troops returning from the battle (Kissel 1995: 285).

The title of *praepositus reliquationis* therefore indicates the officer in charge of a detachment that could be part of ground forces as well as of marine ones. Trout, for example, discussing the inscription from the Catacombs of St. Callisto in Rome (above, n. 2), translates the title as 'commander of the reserves', and underlines, following Farrua (1981: 20, n. 16), that this title is known for the fleets, while the inscription from Rome is the only instance for a legion (Trout 1989: 224, and 225, footnote 11).[37]

The possibility that Flavius Senilis could be a fleet officer rather than an unattested 'superintendent to religious matters', appears to be more convincing. Reddé decided not to include the inscription from Lydney in his list of texts recording the title of '*praepositus reliquationis*', because of the uncertainty of the reading and the fact that there is no mention of the wing of the reserves of which Senilis would had been in charge (Reddé 1986: 375, footnote 185). Nonetheless, the presence of such an officer fits in the reconstruction that the *II Legio Augusta* was active in the fort at Cardiff[38] in the 4th century AD, although garrisoned at a reduced level in this period,

[33] CIL VIII, 14854 = ILS 2764: *C(aio) Sulgio C(aii) f(ilio), Pap(iria) (tribu), CAECILIANO PRAEF(ecto) LEG(ionis) III CYRENAI/CAE p(rimo) p(ilo) LEG(ionis) XX VALERIAE VICTRICIS PRAEPOSiTO RELI/QVATIONI CLASSIS PRAETORIAE MISENATIVM PIAE/ VINDICIS ET THENSAuRIS DOMiNi[cis e]T BASTAGIS COPIAR/VM DEVEHENDAR(um), (centurioni) LEG(ionum) III AVG(ustae) ET SEPTiMAE GEMINAE/ ET PRIMAE PARTHICAE ET XVI FL(aviae) F(ulminatae) ET XIII G(eminae) IN PROVINCIA DACi/a, NAVARCH(o) CLASSIS PRAETORIAE MISENATIVM PIAE/ VINDICIS, OPTiONI PEREGRINORVM ET EX[erci]TATORI MIL[I]/TVM FRVMENTARIOR(um) ET SVLGIAE [...]ae ET SVLGIO/ APRO [. . .S]VLGIO[. . .] pATRI ET Coniugi.* The expansions are by Reddé (1986: 376, note 189).

[34] AE 1981.134= AE 1989.62= EDH HD005049: *Genio leg(ionis) II Parth(icae) Gordianae et Fortunae Reduci / Paciferae conservatoribus d(omini) n(ostri) / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Antoni Gordiani Pii Felicis Invicti Aug(usti) et / Sabiniae Tranquillinae Aug(ustae) coniugi(s) Aug(usti) n(ostri) / milites leg(ionis) II Parth(icae) Gordianae p(iae) f(elicis) f(idelis) aeternae / qui militare coeperunt Sabino II et Anullino co(n)s(ulibus) / quorum nomina cum tribus et patrias(!) duobus tabulis aereis / incisa continentur devoti numini maiestatique eorum / sub cura Valeri Valentis v(iri) p(erfectissimi) vice praef(ecti) praet(orio) agentis / et Pomponi Iuliani p(rimi) p(ili) praep(ositi) reliquationis / dedic(averunt) VIIII Kal(endas) Aug(ustas) Attico et Praetextato [vv(iris) cc(larissimis) co(n)s(ulibus)].*

[35] AE 1910.36 = ILS 9221 (Misenum, 246): *C(aio) Iul(io) C(aii) f(ilio), Cl(audia) (tribu) Alexandro,/ stolarcho class(is) pr(aetoria) Misen(ensis) p(iae) u(indicis)/ Philippianae, adampliato/iudicis diui Alexandri Aug(usti)/ ceterorumque princip(um), praep(osito)/ reliq(uationi) class(ium) praet(oriarum) Misen(atium) et/ Ravenn(atium) p(iarum) u(indicum) expeditioni/ orientali, adlecto in ordine/ decur(ionum) splendidiss(imae) ciuitat(is)/ Mis(eni) itemq(ue) spendidis(simae) col(oniae)/ Antiochiens(is) et splendidis(simae)/ col(oniae) Mallotar(um), patron(o) quo/que ciuitati Chil(manensium) homini uere/cundiss(imo), C(aius) Iul(ius) Aprilis uet(eranus) Aug(ustorum) (duorum)/, l(ocus) ab Aurel(io) Serapione trib(uno) praep(osito).* In latere: *dedic(atum) idib(us) Mart(iis)/ Presente et Albino co(n)s(ulibus).*

[36] CIL X, 3345: *D(is) M(anibus)/ Aureliae Verecundiniae/ Verae Agrippinae,/ M(arci) Verecundini Veri p(rimi) p(ili) filiae,/ praepositi reliquationis/ class(is) praet(oriae) Misenat(ium)/ C(aius) Valerius s ... Picentinus/ con[iugi in tes]t(imonium)? amoris*

[37] Another interpretation as an officer involved with the movement of supplies (Roth 1999: 271) is considered weak.

[38] or the fortress at Caerleon?

and exploiting natural resources, mainly wood and iron, from the Lydney area (Fulford 1996: 24-6). Birley believes that Lydney could have been a pilgrimage site, meaning that the fleet did not have to be stationed near the temple (i.e. in the Bristol Bay) to justify the presence of Senilis at the temple site (Richmond 1963: 112; Birley 1986: 70).

The choice of decoration of a marine frieze has also been used to validate the proposed reading of Flavius Senilis either in his religious role connected to the cult of Mars Nodens at the Lydney sanctuary, or as a military officer. Aquatic monsters and fishes have been interpreted as a reference to the local deity Mars Nodens and to water, specifically the River Severn and its tidal Bore (Pearce *et al.* n.d.), and to the healing character of the cult performed at the temple (Henig 2001: 12). Fulford, leaning towards the reading '*praepositus reliquationis*', considers the marine frieze a fitting choice for a dedication made by a marine officer (1996: *loc. cit.*). However, the marine frieze with fantastic animals is a quite generic motif linked to the theme of '*felicitas*'. It is a popular iconographic theme in the mosaics of Britain,[39] as attested by the numerous entries in the indexes: 'aquatic scenes', 'dolphins', and 'fish' in the four volumes of the *Roman Mosaics of Britain* (Cosh and Neal 2002-2010), among which sea monsters (*pistrices*) are fairly common.[40] As we have discussed for the funerary relief from Colchester,[41] we have to expect a certain level of 'stock imagery' involved in the 'artistic' production (Croxford 2016: 608).

Victorinus the '*interpretes*'

Following the interpretation of Senilis as a religious officer, Hassall read Victorinus' title: '*interpretiante*' (nom. *interpretans*), translated by Frere and Tomlin as 'interpreter (of dreams)' (Hassall 1980; 82; Frere and Tomlin 1992: 84). This reading has since encountered a certain favour in the literature (Allason-Jones 2011a; de la Bédoyerè 2015: 165). The role of Victorinus as an interpreter of dreams is strengthen by the assumption that the temple of Mars Nodens at Lydney Park was a healing site (Henig 2001: 12). Here, incubation techniques might have been practiced, making the interpretation of dreams a fitting activity requiring the constant presence of a professional on site (Henig 1984: 136). The role of professional interpreters of dreams is well known in the Mediterranean world: the sanctuary of Serapis at Menfis for example counted among its staff interpreters that were structured religious personnel at least from the 2nd century BC (Vinagre 2000: 141).

However, Victorinus role as 'interpreter' might not have been linked to a religious function. Textual evidence exists for the role of civilian *interpretes* (Checa Gomez and Storch de Gracia 2009: 1039), while the role of military *interpretes* is far better attested in Pannonia Inferior,[42] at Viminacium, in Moesia Superior,[43] and at Ruimel, in Germania Inferior,[44] and overall the majority of these officials are found on the Danubian *limes* (Gallego Franco 2003).[45] Some of these *interpretes* would have been employed in the governor's entourage and in the army for diplomatic negotiations, possibly intelligence investigations (Haensch 1997: 722), and to facilitate commercial exchanges (Checa Gomez and Storch de Gracia 2009: 1040; Mairs 2012).[46] Haensch suggests that local individuals would have not be suitable for this role, as they would have not spoken Latin[47] (Haensch 1997: *loc. cit.*), but the practical issue of having to be familiar with the local language undermines this interpretation. This is also sustained by the fact that the recruitment of the soldiers of the VII Claudia Legio mostly employed locals from Moesia Superior and Raetia, and in smaller numbers from Dalmatia, Pannonia Inferior, and Moesia Inferior (Mirković 2004: 214-5), as also attested by their onomastics (Checa Gomez and Storch de Gracia 2009: 1040).

The mosaic inscription from Lydney does not mention a role but rather a verb indicating an activity. This is also the case in a commercial letter from Vindolanda[48] sent by Curtius Super to Cassius Saecularis, an officer at the fort, about obtaining a barley supply. Cassius asks Curtius '*ut interpreteris*', translated 'as that you may act as intermediary' in the commercial transaction (Mairs 2012). This might indicate that Victorinus at Lydney was not a professional interpreter but was performing the action of *interpretare*. Victorinus might have been employed in the restoration of the *cella* floor as intermediary in the financial transactions and logistic organisation or, also possible, as a translator with the local community. However, in the latter case, is it feasible to think that 4th century communities in Gloucestershire required a language interpreter? Onomastics is of little use in this matter, as the *cognomen* Victorinus is too common to help identify the origin

[39] Identical pattern of circles is on the mosaics from the baths at Llanfrynach, Wales (Cosh and Neal 2010: 383-5).
[40] Cosh and Neal 2009: 128 (Colchester); Cosh and Neal 2011: 106-9 (Cirencester), 205-6 and 208 (Withington). The subject is also present on plate brooches spanning from early second to mid-third century A.D. (an example from Somerton, Somerset is in Worrell and Pearce 2014: 428-9, n. 30; for continental examples, see Feugère 1985). *Pistrices* are also carved on a bronze helm from the Wensum at Worthing, Norfolk (Toynbee 1964: 167-8, n. 102, pl. 109).
[41] 5.2.1.
[42] AE 1902, 00245 = AE 1903, +00216 = AE 1904, +00088= ILS 3.2 8987.
[43] CIL III, 14507= IMS II 53= AE 2004, II a) 65: *C. Valerius Valens int(erpres?) R()*.
[44] CIL XIII, 08773 = AE 2007, +00121: *C(aius) Inavarin(i)us(?) / Sextus / interpres / viv<u=O>s sibi / fecit*.
[45] for a list of the inscriptions from this area, see Checa Gomez and Storch de Gracia 2009, and Deac 2013.
[46] See her translation of the Vindolanda tablet II, 213.
[47] For the level of Latin literacy, see above (with related bibliography).
[48] Tab. Vindol. II, 213; http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/TVII-213 [Last accessed 20/10/18].

or background;[49] however, the contrast with the three *nomina* displayed by Senilis is probably significant.

6.3.4 Caius Calpurnius Receptus, the sacerdos *of Sulis Minerva at Bath*

This altar-shaped oolite tombstone commemorates Gaius Calpurnius Receptus, a priest of the Goddess Sulis (RIB I, 155). Calpurnius' wife, Calpurnia Trifosa dedicated his tombstone after he died at the age of 75:

D(is) M(anibus) |G(aius) Calpurnius |[R]eceptus sacer|dos deae Su|lis vix(it) an(nos) LXXV |Calpurnia Trifo|sa l[i]bert(a) coniunx |f(aciendum) c(uravit)[50]

Calpurnius was buried in the cemetery at the site of Sydney Gardens, on the south side of the river Avon, where other stone coffins were found in the 19th century (Cunliffe 1984). In the inscription, Calpurnia describes herself as *liberta* and her previous status of slave is additionally implied by the Greek origin of her *cognomen*, *Trifosa* (Solin 1996: 430; Kakoschke 2011: 612, CN: 1365: TRYPHOSA). Calpurnia used the commemoration of her deceased husband as a mean of self-affirmation, a widespread habit common in inscriptions throughout the Roman world related to different reasons (Adams and Tobler 2007: 30). In the case of Calpurnia and her husband, she might have wanted to make a statement of affiliation to her husband's *familia* together with a will of 'self-advertisement' of her social status, positioning this funerary altar among the others aligning on the Fosse Way Road (Wacher 1990).

Calpurnius' role of *sacerdos* of a local deity such as Sulis-Minerva suggested his status of 'Romanised' native (Mullen 2007: 54). Certainly, the use of the *tria nomina* attests to Receptus being a Roman citizen, but no information is given about his origin nor is it possible to determine it from his onomastic (Kakoschke 2011: 72, GN 82: Calpurnius; 536, CN 1108: Receptus). Calpurnius is a family name very common in Italy, shared by 11 other individuals in Britain while Receptus is a generic *cognomen*, well documented in Italy and Africa, with only one other instance in Britain (Kakoschke 2011: *loc. cit.*), making a Mediterranean origin more plausible than a local one.

6.3.5 Apollonius, the sacerdos of Nemesis

This small altar was found somewhere on Hadrian's Wall before 1839 (RIB I, 2065). It is in buff sandstone, a common material for the inscriptions from this area. It was dedicated by Apollonius to the Goddess Nemesis. It reads:

Deae / Nem[es]i /Apollon/ ius sace/ rdos fec(it)[51]

Apollonius identifies himself only using his *nomen*, a common habit for people of Greek background (Salway 1994: 136-7) as already noticed for Diodora.[52] Apollonius' service to the Dea Nemesis is interpreted as a phenomenon of cross-pollination, considering his 'nationality' compared to the Roman character of the Dea Nemesis (Irby-Massie 1999: 210-1). It is also possible that *Sacerdos* here indicates Apollonius *cognomen* rather than his office (Kakoschke 2011: 550-1, CN 1148: Sacerdos. See also RIB I, 1465, recording the consulship of *Tertullus* and *Sacerdos* in AD 158). In any case, Apollonius' dedication to the Nemesis does not automatically imply him being a *sacerdos* of Nemesis.

Nemesis is a popular deity in the Roman world and Rome (Hornum 1993) but not often attested in Britain. An altar dedicated to Nemesis by the centurion Sextius Maximus is found at Chester (RIB III, 3149), and her intervention is asked on a lead *defixio* from the amphitheatre at Caerleon (RIB I, 323).[53] The wheel of Nemesis is recognised on an altar dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and to the Divinities of the Emperor at Castlesteads (RIB I, 1983).[54] All these instances have military connections, making a similar background plausible also for this is Hadrian's Wall altar.

6.3.6 A sacerdos *at Vindolanda*

Only three lines survive of a letter found at Vindolanda mentioning a *sacerdos* (Tab. Vindol. II 313):[55]

. . .
sacerdotem quem
rogo ut ad Verecund-
um praef(ectum) de fes-
. . .[56]

The same hand-writing of this tablet has been recognised on a fragmentary diptych from Vindolanda (Tab. Vindol. II 213). As mentioned,[57] letter 213 contains an exchange between Curtius Super and Cassius Saecularis about a transaction of barley. It has been

[49] 'Victorinus' is attested 14 times in *Britannia* (Kakoschke 2011: 645-6, CN 1483: Victorinus). A further instance of the *cognomen*, not present in Kakoschke's list, is recorded in the close-by Caerleon, on a very fragmentary tombstone (RIB 3100).

[50] 'To the spirits of the departed; Gaius Calpurnius Receptus, priest of the Goddess Sulis, lived 75 years; Calpurnia Trifosa, his freedwoman (and) wife, had this set up'.

[51] 'To the goddess Nemesis Apollonius, the priest, set this up'.

[52] 6.3.1.

[53] For the connection between Nemesis and the games and the amphitheatre, see Hornum 1993.

[54] AD 241.

[55] http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/TVII-313 [Last accessed 20/10/18].

[56] '. . . the priest whom I ask that you send (?) to the prefect Verecundus about the (festival ?) . . .' Translation from the archive at note 63.

[57] 6.3.3.

argued that this letter was sent by the same person that sent 313 (Bowman and Thomas 1994: 299), but it is also plausible that two different people employed the same scribe.

The word *sacerdos* might refer to a *cognomen* (as already noted for Apollonius),[58] nonetheless, its interpretation as a title is favoured by the editors of the tablet (Bowman and Thomas 1994: 299). The mention of the prefect Verecundus is noteworthy. One Iulius Verecundus, prefect of the Cohort I of Tungrians is known from two other tablets (Tab. Vindol. II 154 and 210) although, as already noted by the publishers, this *cognomen* is quite common in Britain (Kakoschcke 2011: CN: Verecundius). If the two *Verecundi* were the same person, the prefect and his unit had moved somewhere else around AD 97-103 (Vindolanda period 3), as the other two tablets that prove his presence on the site (Tab. Vindol. II 154 and 210) are earlier in date (AD 92-97=period 2).

The letter contains a request made by the prefect *Verecundus* to an unknown individual to send a *sacerdos*. The reason for this request is unfortunately lost and the fragment ends after the words *de fes-*. The reading proposed by Bowman and Thomas (1994: 300) is '*de fes[to]*' or '*de fes[tis]'.* This would suggest that a festival held somewhere, but not at Vindolanda, would require the presence of a priest employed by or associated with the army.

6.3.7 Iulius Maximus, a sacerdos *on Hadrian's Wall*

A small altar was found in 1885 at the east end of Byker Bridge or near Milecastle 3 (RIB I, 1314) and reads:

Iul(ius) Max/imus sac(erdos)/ d(ei) I̩[...] / O [...]/ pe[c(unia) sua]/ c̣u[ravit]/ [...][59]

The reading proposed in RIB has been restored by Birley as *d(ei) Di(genis)* (Birley 1986: 46, note 219), a deity also mentioned on another altar from Britain (RIB I, 1044), where the name of the god is clearly legible, however the entity of the lacuna here does not allow a satisfactory reconstruction.

The altar does not provide any intrinsic element for its dating, although the name Iulius Maximus is attested on an AD 135 *diploma* in Britain,[60] where it is specified that he belonged to the *II Cohors Delamatorum* (Irby-Massie 1999: 288, n. 455). However, the popularity of the name Iulius and the *cognomen* Maximus in the province (Kakoschke 2011: 114-119, GN 203: Iulius; 464-66, CN 873: Maximus) warns us of the existence of homonyms. There are in fact six other instances of 'Iulius Maximus' in Britain (Kakoschke 2011: *loc. cit.*).

6.4 Inscriptions recording 'religious *collegia*' in Britain

The evidence for *collegia* responsible for the organisation and management of specific cults on a civic level in Britain is not to be overlooked considering their number as 11 inscriptions are related to eight or nine *collegia*. The label 'religious *collegia*' will be used here to identify those associations that mention a patron deity in their title as members of these *collegia* were not different from the members of other types of *collegia.*[61]

By definition, a *collegium* constitutes a community, where the 'ritual' element is always implied by the choice of a titular deity (a *genius*) and the consequent dedication of altars and statues (Verboven 2012: 19), rendering the idea of grouping *collegia* according to their religious 'inspiration' inaccurate as all the *collegia* had a 'ritual' aspect (Flambard 1983: 79; Kloppenborg 1996: 26).

Collegia had a hierarchical structure, had to abide by internal regulations, and were characterised by a strong feeling of belonging to the same 'club' shared by their members, the *sodales* (Dondin-Payre and Tran 2012: 9). The presence of these associations in the western provinces has been interpreted as a sign of 'Romanisation', as it promotes activities like carving inscriptions in Latin and employs a voting procedure of decrees based on the Roman civic model (Dondin-Payre and Tran 2012: 11; Verboven 2012).[62]

Elected magistrates led the *collegium*: these were *quinquennales*, *magistri* or *curatores,* while administrative personnel, particularly for the larger ones, would carry out its functions (Verboven 2012: 15-6). Its members (*collegiati*) would pay a joining fee or *summa honoraria* (*ibid.*). The *collegia* were social associations for the promotion of its members in the politic civic life, in this sense acting as promoters of the integration of both local elite and business men (Verboven 2009; Verboven 2012: 20; Perry 2011).

As a general statement, the associational life is a phenomenon attested in all the Roman West and is especially connected with urban life (Dondin-Payre and Tran 2012: 11). Nonetheless, a difference in number

[58] 6.3.5.

[59] 'Julius Maximus, priest of the god I̩[..., at his own expense undertook ...'.

[60] Kakoschke offers an earlier date to AD 122-25 (Kakoschke 2011: *loc. cit.*), based on the chronology of the building of Hadrian's Wall.

[61] Following Verboven's list (2012: 21), the western provinces offer evidence for the following types of *collegia: collegia annonaria* (only in the Iberian provinces), provincial *collegia*, municipal *collegia* (*splendidissima* and *iuvenum*), *collegia* of Roman citizens living in *terra peregrina*, military *collegia,* neighbourhood associations, and *collegia* of *peregrini* living abroad.

[62] For archaeological evidence of a collegial voting practice in the western provinces involving a mechanical device (*urna cum sortibus*), see Raepsaet-Charlier 2014.

and in importance among the *collegia* is attested. In the Gallic and German provinces, for example, *collegia* existed more often than in the Iberian provinces (Verboven 2009: 165).

Different kinds of *collegia* are present in Britain, prompting reflections on the associative phenomenon as means to social promotion, in contrast with the very limited evidence for individual careers. Some *collegia* were simply burial associations, documented in both civil (RIB I, 1436) and military settings (RIB I, 385). Professional *collegia*[63] are attested at Bath (*collegium fabricensium* within the *XX legio*, RIB I, 156)[64] and at Chichester (*collegium fabrorum*, RIB I, 91). The only *collegium* of *peregrini* is attested by three inscriptions at Calleva, modern Silchester (RIB I, 69: 70; 71; Frere and Fulford 2002). One of the fragments pertaining to the frieze of the façade of the Four Seasons building at Bath mentions a *collegium* (RIB I, 141b).[65] The inscription records a reconstruction and repainting of the façade of the building after several years of neglect (Thomas and Witschel 1992: 148, 166). The possibility that this *collegium* might be a priestly one is suggested by Raybould (Raybould 1999: 24), but since no clear reference is preserved in the text, it is impossible to sustain such hypothesis, considering that records of acts of euergetism offer the most numerous epigraphic evidence of collegial activities (Dondin-Payre and Tran 2012).

Seeing that the civic body of a provincial community, whatever its status, was composed of local individuals, we might expect that every year they would choose the cults based on different reasons.[66] For example, they might have had to honour a certain (fixed?) number of urban Roman deities. They might have played this as an expedient to show a higher or lower level of affiliation to the central government. As already mentioned,[67] the *decuriones* had the duty to choose the calendar of celebrations and festivals to be held each year, and the magistrates themselves would have changed every year. Coming from different families of the local elites, they might also have had patron deities they wanted to promote. Popular cults could have also influenced this choice, prompting the desire of the *decuriones* to pander to popular demand.

The role of religious *collegia* involved the organization of religious celebrations and festivals, possibly outsourced to them by the *decuriones*, so that there might have been a local competition every year for the assignment of these contracts.

Eleven inscriptions contain reference to a patron deity or can be connected to a deity (Table 6.2). Of these, six are clearly associated with the army (RIB I, 611-309-2102-2103-1136-1268) while the other five can be considered of urban inspiration. This includs one inscription recording a *sevir* that might not have had religious responsibilities and as such might be removed from this list (RIB I, 678). Not all the inscriptions were found in the province, as one was discovered in Bordeaux, nor do they all record the 'name' of the *collegium*, although this has often been deducted by the deity mentioned in the inscription.

The idea that religious matters could be openly used for political purposes was shared not only by the *collegia* named after a deity, but also by *collegia* of workers. A slab from Chichester, Sussex[68] records the dedication of a temple to Minerva and Neptune by the *collegium fabrorum* (the smiths' guild). It is also specified that the dedication is made for the welfare of the *domus divina*, thanks to the authorisation of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, great king of Britain attesting to the practice of political representatives to be actively called up in ritual dedications (Allason-Jones 2011). This is because the dedication of a temple, as was the case in this instance, was an important means to sponsor the guild and its activities.

6.4.1 The dendrofori *of Verulamium*

The *dendrophori* are among the best documented *collegia* in the Roman West and were one of the *tria collegia principalia/splendidissima*, together with the *fabri* and *centonarii* (Verboven 2012: 20 with specific references; Van Haeperen 2012). The title of *dendrophori* evokes the cult of Magna Mater/Cybele, and particularly the procession during which a pine branch was carried on the Palatine on the day of '*arbor intrat*', on the 22nd of March (*dendrophoria*).

Claudius transformed Cybele's festival into an official holiday of the State, allowing Roman citizens to hold the office of such priesthood (Joh. Lydus, *De mens.* 4.59; Rubio Rivera 1993: 179; Blänsdorf 2010: 143) and promoting the institution of the *collegium dendrophorum Romanorum* (Rubio Rivera 1993: 179-80; Van Haeperen 2012: 48).

[63] For the role of professional *collegia* and their importance in the imperial organisation of the western provinces, often connected to the *Annona* and the supply system of the army, see Verboven 2011.

[64] On the general topic, see Schmidt Heidenreich 2008. Despite the widespread military presence in Britain, only two inscriptions mentioning military *collegia* are known: a dedication to 'Minerva and the *Genius collegi*' made by a *tribunus* (RIB I, 1268) and a *collegium* of the *beneficiarii* of Gordianus (RIB III, 3193).

[65] RIB I, 141b-c: *[... c]olegio longa seria [annorum ...]/[... sua pec]unia refici et repingi cur[avit ...].*
'the guild in a long sequence of years ... at his own cost had it repaired and repainted...'.

[66] For the general organisation of the *sacra* in the province: 2.3.1.

[67] 2.2.1.

[68] RIB I, 91: *[N]eptuno et Minervae | templum | [pr]o salute do[mus] divinae | [ex] auctoritat[e Ti(beri)] Claud(i) | [To]gidubni r[eg(is) m]agni Brit(anniae) | [colle]gium fabror(um) et qui in eo | [sun]ț d(e) s(uo) d(ederunt) donante aream | [... Pud]ente Pudentini fil(io).*

Table 6.2. Inscriptions recording 'religious' collegia in Britain.

Name of the collegium	Findspot	Description	Date	Reference
Collegi/Colligni Apollinis Bellinus	Overborough, Lancs.	Altar dedicated to the Divinities of our Emperor and the *Genius Collegi* of Apollo Bellinus [*votum*]	AD 43-410	RIB I, 611[1]
Collegnium [Martensium(?)]	Caerwent, Monmouth	Statue-base dedicated to the god Mars Lenus or Ocelus Vellaunus and to the Divinity of the Emperor by Marcus Nonius Romanus [*donum*]	AD 23 August 152	RIB I, 309[2]
Collignum [Mercuri]	Birrens, Dumfriesshire	Statue-base dedicated to Mercury by Iulius Crescens for the use of the *collegium* [*votum*]	AD 43-410	RIB I, 2102[3]
Collignum Mercuri	Birrens, Dumfriesshire	Statue-base dedicated to the Divinity of the Emperor and to Mercury set for the *collegium* by Ingenuius Rufus [*votum*]	AD 43-410	RIB I, 2103[4]
[collegium Minervae]	Chester, Cheshire	Altar dedicated to Minerva by the *magister primus* Furius Fortunatus [*votum*]	AD 43-410	RIB I, 457[5]
Collegium Silvanianorum	Corbridge, Northum.	Altar dedicated to Silvanus by the soldiers of the *vexillatio* of the II Augusta Legion [*votum*]	AD 43-410	RIB I, 1136[6]
[collegium Minervae]?	High Rochester, Northum.	Dedication to Minerva and the *Genius collegi* by the tribune Caecilius Optatus [*votum*]	AD 213	RIB I, 1268[7]
Collegium Dei Silvani	Wendens Ambo, Essex	Bronze ring. Although it is said (Frere and Tomlin 1991) that it could have been attached to a votive offering, it is mostly likely a votive offering in itself. [dedication]	N.G.[3]	RIB II, 2422.52[8]
Dendrofori Verulamiensium	Dunstable, Beds	Colour-coated beaker from an inhumation burial donated by Regillinus. [*donum*]	N.G.[4]	RIB II, 2503.114[9]
Sevir coloniae Eboracensis	York	Coffin of Marcus Verecundius Diogenes	AD 208	RIB I, 678
Sevir Augustalis coloniarum Eboraci et Lindi	Bordeaux	altar dedicated to Tutela by Marcus Aurelius Lunaris	AD 237	ILTG 141

[1] *[Nu]minib(us) | [Au]g(usti) n(ostri) et Ge|[ni]o COLGF | [A]poll[i]nis | [B]ellinus | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*
'To the Divinities of our Emperor and the Genius of the guild of Apollo Bellinus willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow'.

[2] *[Deo] Marti Leno/ [s]ive Ocelo Vellaun(o) et Num(ini) Aug(usti)/ M(arcus) Nonius Romanus ob/ immunitat(em) collegni/ d(onum) d(e) s(uo) d(edit)/ Glabrione et H[om]ulo co(n)s(ulibus) [a(nte) d(iem)] X K(alendas) Sept(embres).*
'To the god Mars Lenus or Ocelus Vellaunus and to the Divinity of the Emperor Marcus Nonius Romanus, in return for freedom from liability of the college, gave this gift from his own resources on 23rd August in the consulship of Glabrio and Homulus'.

[3] *Deo Mercu/rio Iul(ius) Cres/cens sigill(um)/* ***collign(io) cult(orum)****/ eius d(e) s(uo) d(edit) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)/ m(erito).*
'To the god Mercury Julius Crescens, for the use of the guild of the god's worshippers, gave the statuette from his own resources, in willing and deserved fulfilment of his vow.'

[4] *Num(ini) Aug(usti)/ deo Merc(urio)/ sign(um) posu/erunt* ***cu[l-]/[t]ores col/igni*** *eius/dem dei cur(ante)/Ing(enuio) Rufo/v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*
'To the Divinity of the Emperor and to the god Mercury the worshippers of the guild of the same god set up this statue and willingly and deservedly fulfilled their vow under the charge of Ingenuius Rufus.'

[5] *Deae M[i]|nerva[e]/ Furiu[s]/ Fortu/natus/* ***mag(ister) pr(imus)****/ v(otum) [s(olvit)]*
'To the goddess Minerva Furius Fortunatus, senior Master, fulfilled his vow.'

[6] *Deo san(cto) Silvan[o]/ [milite]s vexil/[lat(ionis) leg(ionis)] II Aug(ustae) et c[ol]/[le]g[ium] Si[l]vaniano/rum aram de suo pos(uerunt)/ vol(entes) lib(entes)*
'To the holy god Silvanus the soldiers of the detachment of the Second Legion Augusta and the Guild of the Worshippers of Silvanus set up this altar from their own resources willingly and readily.'

[7] *Deae Mi/nervae et/ Genio col/legi Caecil(ius)/ Optatus trib(unus)/ v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*
'To the goddess Minerva and to the Genius of the guild Caecilius Optatus, the tribune, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.'

[8] =AE 1980, 600 *Col(legium) Dei Sil(vani).* 'Guild of the god Silvanus'. (Translation in Collingwood and Wright 1991).

[9] RIB II, 2503.114: *Olla(m) d[e]ndrofororum Ve(r)(ulamiensium) Regillinus donavit.*

This *collegium* had a dual nature: professional and religious. *Dendrophori* are mainly attested in regions characterized by forest resources and their religious aspect is secondary to the professional one (Rubio Rivera 1993: 182). The presence of such cult in a *municipium* does not justify the presence of a cult of Cybele on a civic scale,[69] but only on a *collegium* one and joining the *collegium dendrophorum* did not require its members to be initiated to the Phrygian mysteries (Rubio Rivera 1993: 183). The *dendrophori* acted *sub cura quindecemvirorum* like all those who were officially involved in Cybele's cult (Rubio Rivera 1993: 181).[70] Of the 85 epigraphic instances of *dendrophori*, 50 are from Italy. Outside of the Italian regions, they are found mostly in *coloniae* and *municipia,* and their instances (almost) always mention a town, highlighting a strong connection between the *collegium* and the public civic life (Van Haeperen 2012: 49-52).

The inscription mentioning the *dendrofori Verulamienses* was on a colour-coated beaker, the only grave goods of a young man buried in the 4th century AD cemetery of Dunstable, north-west of Verulamium, Bedfordshire (Matthews *et al.* 1981: 28, grave AQ).[71] The beaker was intentionally broken when depositing it in the grave, as fragments of it were found under the skull, possibly suggesting a libation prior to the deposition of the body, a behaviour already noted for the structured deposits at West Stow and Deeping-St-James.[72] The pot is inscribed with a message of dedication of the object by Regillinus (Kakoschke 2011: 537, CN 1110: Regillinus). The presence of an association of *dendrophori* does not strictly require the existence of a civic cult of Magna Mater. Nonetheless, the Triangular Temple at Verulamium has been connected to this cult (Hassall 1981) at least in the 2nd century AD,[73] mostly because of pine cones and animal bones found at the site, whose combination is unusual for Romano-Celtic rituals and considered more fitting for an oriental cult (King 2005: 355-6).

6.4.2 The seviri *of York*

Two monuments have been interpreted as evidence for the imperial cult in the *colonia* of York as they include the title *sevir* (Wacher 1995; Allason-Jones 2011a). The characteristics of this role, however, require some further discussion.

The recent debate on the function of this corporate group (the *seviri*) has taken away the traditional focus from a religious character to a more civic one (Beard *et al.* 1998: 357). It is also indicative that the *Année Épigraphique* does not count them among the 'priests', but rather among the 'local officials'. The reason behind this shift from a religious to a more political focus dwells in a reassessment of the related evidence.

Individuals commemorated, and more often commemorating themselves, as *Augustales* are known in Italy and the western provinces. They are usually, but not always, organised in a *collegium* of six, hence their title *seviri*. What emerges from the exclusively epigraphic evidence, considering that no literary source mentions them but Petronius,[74] shows a disparate range of features that can no longer be restricted to the title '*Augustales*' (Beard *et al.* 1998: *loc. cit.*; Mouritsen 2011: 253). This is because the title of *sevir* can be also found on its own, while the adjective *Augustalis* can be attached to titles other than *sevir*. Moreover, the title appears to be always followed by the mention of a *colonia* or another civic entity (i.e. *municipium* or *civitas*), suggesting the sevirate to be an organisation with a stronger civic inspiration than thought before, much closer to a *collegium* (Mouritsen 2015: 239-40).[75]

For what concerns their organisation, the *seviri* (civic magistrates) were appointed by the *decuriones* and had to pay a joining-fee or *summa honoraria* (Mouritsen 2011: 261). They were allowed special honours and *ornamenta*, making them closer to magistrates: like the right to the *toga praetexta*, to the *tribunal*, and to the *sella curulis* (Schäfer 1989: 53-4).[76] Their main role appears to have been that of euergetai/public benefactors, dedicating buildings and statues for the benefit of their civic communities. Their function acquires a cultic/religious nuance only when they dedicate a monument that has a religious function (i.e. a temple or an altar) (Beard *et al.* 1998: 358). The majority of our inscriptions

[69] Evidence for temples of the Magna Mater are limited in the western provinces (Stolte 1986; Turcan 1986, ANRW II, 18.1; Blänsdorf *et al.* 2012).

[70] For a connection between *dendrophori* and imperial cult (*dendrophori Augustales*) in the north-western provinces, see Liertz 2001.

[71] There is room for a chronological differentiation of the burials, but the overall discussion offers a late 4th/5th century AD date (Matthews *et al.* 1981). Grave AQ, for example, was disturbed by a later grave that scattered the fragments of the beaker and was the probable cause of the disappearance of the forearm of its skeleton (indicating that the coffin was already perished?), however this chronological succession is not clearly addressed in the publication.

[72] 4.2.4; 4.2.2.

[73] Although the site has evidence for previous ritual activities, the temple foundation date could be at the end of the 1st century AD: Niblett 2001: 63, 85.

[74] Petr. 30.2; 57.6; 65.5; 71.12.

[75] 6.4 for the current debate on civic and 'religious' *collegia*.

[76] Schäfer too separates the *seviri* (civic magistrates) from the *seviri Augustales*. The *seviri*/magistrates have the right to the *toga praetexta*, the *tribunal* and *sella curulis* (Schäfer 1989: 53-4). The *seviri Augustales* also display the *sella curulis* on their gravestones, and its use by the *seviri Augustales* is also confirmed by an inscription (CIL VI, 29746/7: 55). This suggests that the *seviri Augustales* would adopt the external aspects from the *seviri*/magistrates. Finally, the *seviri Augustales* were also entitled to the *fasces* (*ibid*: 218-221), as visible on gravestones from Italy, Narbonne (CIL XII, 4416; *ibid*: 412, C 101) and a relief from Barcelona (*ibid*: 415, C 111).

records the members of the sevirate to be freedmen[77] and the organisation of *a* sevirate had essentially a local character (Mouritsen 2011: 253).

In the following paragraphs, we will discuss the two only certain instances of the title of *sevir* connected to Britain. In her survey of priests in Roman Britain, Allason-Jones includes three more inscriptions that she links to *seviri* (2011a: 430). One inscription from London (RIB III, 3002) is an altar dedicated by an imperial slave, that she suggests could had also been a *sevir*, although there is no mention of such title in the text. Next is a fragment of a building inscription from Cirencester preserving only the word '*]VIR*[', that could be interpreted as either *duumvir* or *sevir*; however, no clue in the inscription allows to lean towards a reading rather than the other (Tomlin 2009: 73). A similar issue is posed by a fragmentary panel from Lincoln, where again either *duumvir* or *sevir* could be intended in the text (RIB III, 3173). The civic status of Cirencester and other evidence for Lincoln do allow speculations for the presence of *seviri* and/or *seviri Augustales* in both towns, unfortunately, these two inscriptions do not preserve enough text to substantiate them.

6.4.2.1 Marcus Verecundius Diogenes, a Gallic sevir *at York.*

A millstone grit rectangular coffin made for Marcus Verecundius Diogenes while he was still alive was found in 1579, a quarter of a mile west of York's walls (RCHM 1962). Later in 1699, it was seen by Pryme at the Coaches and Horses Inn, in Hull (Stukeley, *Memoirs*, vol. III: 300), where it served as a watering tank for horses, and was then lost some time before Tickell's account in 1796 (Tickell 1796: 846).

The inscription on the front of the coffin in the 1699 drawing lacks a significant portion in the centre and bottom line, although later drawings show some of the missing letters. The picture published in the RIB volume I was produced by Gale in his *Antonini Iter Britanniarum* of 1709 (p. 24). A second drawing was published by Drake in 1736.

Although the execution of the decoration in both images appears somehow simplified compared to the 1699 drawing we can imagine that Diogenes' coffin would have looked very similar to that of his wife Iulia Fortunata (CSIR I, 3, n.60=RIB I, 687), together with which it constituted a pair (RCHM 1962), perhaps to be placed in a *mausoleum*. Pryme's indication of the coffin's length being around 8 feet (2.43 m) appears more convincing than Tickell's (6 feet =1.82 m), especially if we consider similar coffins found in the Mount Cemetery (or more in general, from York) showing a similar decoration, as ranging in length between 2.08 m (CSIR I, 3, n. 60) and 2.53 m (CSIR I, 3, n. 67).[78]

The erratic life of Verecundius' coffin and its record only in drawings undermine the possibility of a definitive and satisfactory reading of the inscription, as the text varies quite significantly across the different antiquarian accounts. The reading reported in the RIB and followed by Rinaldi Tufi (CSIR I, 3: 43, n. 65) is as follows:

M(arcus) Verec(undius) Diogenes sevir col(oniae) Ebor(acensis) idem q[inquennalis) et] cives Biturix Cubus haec sibi vivus fecit[79]

Rinaldi Tufi (*ibid.*) suggested that the title *quinquennalis* would mean that Diogenes was the 'chairman' of the *collegium* of the *seviri* of York in the year of the census. More recently, Wierschowski also accepted this reading (2001: 446-7, n. 650).

A different reading was proposed by Bogaers (Bogaers 1983: 114, n. R.5.12) and Tomlin (RIB I, *Addenda*) preferring to read '*Morinorum*' instead of *qinquennalis*:

M(arcus) Verec(undius) Diogenes sevir col(oniae) Ebor(acensis) idemq(ue) Mor(inorum) [e]t cives Biturix Cubus haec sibi vivus fecit[80]

According to this reading, Diogenes' political career would see him hold the office of *sevir* in the *colonia* of York and in the *civitas* of Thérouanne, in north-east France. This is not unusual, as we will see is the case for another *sevir* of York.[81] Diogenes highlights his 'citizenship' of the Bituriges Cubi, in Aquitania (modern Bourges), but his *cognomen* Diogenes betrays a Greek origin and, possibly, a status of freedman granted by a Gallic master (Wierschowski 2001: 447).

A different reading proposes '*mor(i)t(ex)*' instead of '*Morinorum*', which appears clearly in both Gale's and Tickell's (independent?) drawings and is accepted here. Mann was the first to suggest this reading, translating it as 'shipper' (comment reported in Birley 1966: 208).[82]

[77] For exceptions, mostly from northern Italy, Mouritsen 2011: 255.

[78] The coffin of *Iulia Victorina* from the cemetery at Castle Yard shows a variation of this simple *peltae* motif, where Cupids support the two *peltae* (RIB III, 3202).

[79] 'Marcus Verecundius Diogenes, *sevir* of the *colonia* of York and *quinquennalis*, also tribesman of the Bituriges Cubi, set this up to himself in his lifetime'.

[80] 'Marcus Verecundius Diogenes, *sevir* of the *colonia* of York and of the Morini, also tribesman of the Bituriges Cubi, set this up to himself in his lifetime'. The translation of this inscription given in RIB I, *Addenda* is problematic. Although the abbreviation '*col*' is correctly expanded in the gen. sing. *col(oniae)*, the translation reads: 'of the colon*ies* of York and of the Morini'. However, the town of the Morini never achieved the status of *colonia* but kept its status as *civitas*.

[81] 6.4.2.2.

[82] Maxfield and Dobson (1995: 95, n. 154) and Wacher (1995: 179) also accept this reading.

The title of *moritex* is uncommon although it has other two more instances.[83] One is found on the slab from Tabard Street in London dedicated by Tiberinus Celerianus, a *civis Bellovacus*, recording himself as a *moritex Londiniensium*.[84] A *moritex* is interpreted as a representative or delegate of the commercial and possibly also diplomatic interests of British communities on the continent (Dondin-Prayer and Loriot 2008: 144). Similarly to his colleague Celerianus representing the *Londinienses*, Verecundius Diogenes would have represented a British community, likely the *colonia* of York. His role as *moritex*, a delegate/consultant rather than simply a merchant, fits well within his role of *sevir* of the *colonia* of York, as the role was considered a prestigious office, especially for a freedman.

6.4.2.2 Marcus Aurelius Lunaris, a sevir Augustalis *at York.*

A millstone grit altar was found in Bordeaux in 1921, where it had been reused in the city wall in the 4th century AD (ILTG 141).[85] Lunaris dedicated it in AD 237, fulfilling his vow to the Goddess *Tutela Boudiga* for a successful journey from York, where he was *sevir Augustalis*.

The top of the altar is decorated with a sacrifice scene in deep relief. The Goddess Tutela is reproduced in the centre of the scene. According to Maurin and Caballero (2016), she is portrayed with the attributes of Cybele, probably following Maxfield and Dobson's interpretation of the object on the left of the goddess as a pine tree (1995: 94-5, n. 153). This identification is strengthened, according to these authors, by the presence of a bull in the scene, which would also point towards this syncretism (Maurin and Caballero 2016). However, the missing heads and the fact that the deity is not portrayed seated, weaken this interpretation of a Tutela/Cybele.[86]

The iconography chosen here for Tutela Boudiga is canonical for Tutela: a standing Fortuna-type holding a cornucopia,[87] which is likely what she was holding on this relief. She is reproduced larger in size than the figure on the right, an iconographic device used to highlight the importance of the deity over the dedicant, and often adopted on continental reliefs (Huet 2008).

Slightly smaller on the right is a male figure, Lunaris himself, wearing an ankle-length tunic and a travelling cloak. He is standing next to an altar, with his right hand held above it to perform a *libatio*. The figure on the far left of the relief is also incomplete. It has been interpreted as an adjutant leading a bull (Maurin and Caballero 2016), or rather too confidently, as a 'priest' by the curator of the cast of the relief monument held by the museum at Lincoln.[88] Lee has noted that this figure is smaller than Tutela (Lee 2014); however, this does not seem to be the case, and it is possible that this figure would also represent a deity. Under the frieze, a high band decorated with a floral pattern of *palmettae* separates the sacrificial scene from the text of the inscription.

A river god holding an anchor is carved on the left side of the altar, while a boar is represented on the right side. The boar is commonly interpreted as a reference to York/*Eburacum* (Courteault 1921; Valensi 1967: 42-3; Wacher 1995: 178), although Tomlin has argued that the boar is more commonly used as a symbol of the XX Legion, which was not stationed in York (Tomlin pers. comm. reported in Rollason 1998: 90, n. R.2.2). However, if we consider the river god a representation of the river Garonne (Courteault 1921; Valensi 1967: 42-3) rather than the Ouse-on-Humber (Wacher 1995: 178), the two images would provide a symbolised representation of the geographical starting point and destination of Lunaris' journey (Maurin and Caballero 2016).

The text of the inscription reads:

Deae Tutel(a)e Boudig(ae) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Lunaris IIIIII/vir Aug(ustalis) col(oniarum) Ebor(aci) et / Lind(i) prov(inciae) Brit(anniae) inf(erioris) / aram quam vover(at) / ab Eboraci evect(us) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / Perpetuo et Corne(liano)[89]

A few remarks are needed about the dedication to *Boudiga*, as this altar offers the only attestation of this deity. She has been interpreted as the Celtic Goddess of Victory, here associated with the Goddess *Tutela* (Wuilleumier 1963: 141; Birley 1986: 55, n. 21; Rollason 1998: *loc. cit.*). Wuilleumier argued that *Boudiga* (=*Boudicca*, 'la victorieuse') could reference a recent military victory of Maximinus (Wuilleumier 1963: *loc. cit.*), while Birley suggested instead that *Boudiga* might be the *apotheosis* of the queen of the Catuvellani, Boudicca (Birley 1986: 55, n. 21). Maxfield and Dobson consider *Boudiga* a *sculptoris error* for *Bourdiga* (1995: 1995: 94-5, n. 153), while other have simply expanded it as *Bou(r)dig(ala)* or *Bou(r)dig(alae)*, the titular goddess of Bordeaux (Étienne 1962: 173; Van Andringa 2002: 204, n. 81). Whether a sculptor's error or an abbreviation, it seems plausible that the deity referenced here is

[83] CIL XIII, 8164a; AE 2003, 1015.
[84] AE 2003, 1015.
[85] ILTG 00141 = ILA-Bordeaux 00019 = AE 1922, 00116 = EDCS-13303053.
[86] Compare with the seated iconography of Tutela Bourdigala as Cybele in CCCA V, 414-5.
[87] For the iconography of Fortuna, see Lichocka 1997.
[88] https://www.thecollectionmuseum.com/blog/view/people-of-roman-lincoln-marcus-aurelius-lunaris# [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[89] 'To the Goddess Tutela Boudiga, Marcus Aurelius Lunaris, *Sevir Augustalis* of the *coloniae* of York and Lincoln, in the province of Lower Britain, (set up) this altar which he vowed on his departure from York. He fulfilled his vow willingly and deservedly, in the consulship of Perpetuus and Cornelianus'.

the local goddess. The epiclesis *dea* also points to her membership to the indigenous pantheon (Maurin and Caballero 2016).[90] *Tutela* is well known in Bordeaux, although only in dedications to *Tutela Augusta* (CIL XIII, 583; 584; 585). A similar local deity is found at Perigueux as *Tutela Vesunna/ia* (CIL XIII, 949; 956), where the goddess had a civic temple (Van Andringa 2002: 198).

Interestingly, the stone used for the altar is millstone grit, quite commonly used for inscriptions from York, but unattested in Bordeaux. The fact that Lunaris brought the stone with him to be carved on arrival, rather than using a local stone, might add some more information on the meaning of his vow. Birley suggested that the stone could have been a piece of a millstone grit stone cargo, or that the stone for the altar had been cut from the ship's ballast (Birley 1986: 55; Wacher 1995: 179). The absence of millstone grit around Bordeaux excludes the hypothesis that the stone for the altar comes from a stone cargo. We might argue instead that the millstone grit had a specific ritual significance. For example, part of the *noncupatio* of the vow could have been to carry the stone along to show seriousness of the promise, and to compel the goddess to grant a successful journey (Maurin and Caballero 2016), not to risk the loss of an object meant for her. This behaviour is not uncommon, and is attested, for example on dedications of the Nehalennia altars (Stuart and Bogaers 2001; Besuijen 2008: 24-5).

For what concerns the origins of Lunaris, his name Marcus Aurelius hints at a citizenship received as the result of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in AD 212 (Kakoschke 2011: 58-61, GN 47: Aurelius). He could have been a newly made citizen, considering that the altar is precisely dated by the consulship of Perpetuus and Cornelianus to AD 237.

Lunaris can be considered the counterpart of Diogenes (Wierschowski 2001: 447). Both *seviri* at York at a certain stage of their lives, the former was likely originally from Britain and travelled to Bordeaux; the latter was a *cives* of the Bituriges Cubi who arranged for him and his wife to be buried in the *colonia* of York. Both inscriptions highlight the crucial role of York in the trade between Britain and Aquitania, together with an inscription from Cologne (CIL XIII, 8164a) recording C. Aurelius Vero, a freedman who was *negotiator britannicianus* and *moritex* (Wierschowski 2001: *loc.cit*). It is striking that in a period characterised by a certain rhetoric about the financial burden imposed upon the urban upper-class to hold a local political office, Lunaris could afford to exercise the sevirate in two different *coloniae* (Wierschowski 2001: 438).

[90] *Dea Tutela* is occasionally attested also in Aquitania (CIL XIII, 159; 246; 439; 939 = *ILA, Pétrucores*, 16).

6.4.3 Titus Aurelius Aurelianus, magister sacrorum

Titus Aurelius Aurelianus identifies himself as *mag(ister) s(acrorum)* on an altar found in 1597 around Greetland, 2 miles north of the Roman fort and minor settlement at Slack, West Yorkshire (RIB I, 627). The mention of the consulship of Antoninus and Geta on the right side of the altar provides a precise date to AD 208.

The inscription reads:

D(eae) Vict(oriae) Brig(antiae) / et Num(inibus) Aug(ustorum) / T(itus) Aur(elius) Aurelian/ us d(edit) d(edicavit) pro se/ et suis s(e) mag(istro) s(acrorum)

Antonin[o]/ III et Geta [II]/ co(n)s(ulibu)s[91]

Aurelius Aurelianus is considered a local individual, devotee of the Dea Victoria Brigantia (Raybould 1999: 24); however, the dedication to 'Victoria' together with the *Numina Augustorum* is more fitting in an imperial context, likely associated with the arrival of Severus and Caracalla.[92] The *nomen* Aurelius is widely attested in Britain (Kakoschke 2011: 58-61, GN 47: Aurelius), and five individuals named Aurelianus are recorded in the province (Kakoschke 2011: 259, CN 162: Aurelianus).

The title of *magister sacrorum* indicates that Aurelius Aurelianus was the chief figure of a *collegium* (Fishwick 1996: 16). A significant number of instances at Avenches record a *magister sacrorum Augustalium*, with one case of a *tribunus militum* holding the title (CIL XIII, 5094). Unfortunately, Aurelianus does not specify of which *collegium* he was a *magister*, as in the examples from Avenches,[93] nonetheless, Allason-Jones sustains that Aurelianus 'must have been a *sevir*' (Allason-Jones 2011a: 431).[94] However, the title of *sevir* is attested in Britain,[95] and it would have been clearer than using just *magister sacrorum*. In the literary sources, the title of *Magister Sacrorum* is found in Tertullian, where he says that the officiating priest of Mithras is known as *magister sacrorum vel pater* (Vermaseren 1963: 129). It is possible that Aurelianus was a *magister sacrorum* of a *collegium* of Brigantia or that he was involved in the

[91] 'To the goddess Victoria Brigantia and to the Divinities of the two Emperors, Titus Aurelius Aurelianus gave and dedicated (this altar) for himself and his family, while he himself was master of sacred rites. In the third consulship of Antoninus and the [second] of Geta' (Translation in Collingwood and Wright 1995).

[92] Another altar from Castleford, also in West Yorkshire, was dedicated to *Victoria Brigantia* by Aurelius Senopianus (RIB I, 628).

[93] The inscriptions from Avenches always use the construction '*magister sacrorum Augustalium'*: AE 1967, 00326: *magis[t]r[o sacrorum] / [Aug]us[t(alium)*; CIL XIII, 11478: *sac(rorum) / Augustal(ium) mag(ister)*; CIL XIII, 5094: *[s]ac(rorum) Aug(ustalium) mag(istro)*; CIL XIII, 5105= AE 2009, 00936: *SAC[...] / HEL[...]/IP[...]M m[agi]stri*. In one instance, (CIL XIII, 5093=AE 1996, 01120: *[s]ac(erdoti) Aug(usti) mag(istro?)*, *magister sacerdos Augusti* is proposed instead.

[94] She does not clarify further whether a *magister sacrorum Augustalium* would have been a *sevir.*

[95] 6.4.2.

organisation of a Mithraic cult, also considering the possible military connection of the inscription.

6.5 Indirect evidence for religious personnel

This paragraph discusses the indirect epigraphic evidence for ritual specialists whose presence is inferred by the existence of texts that were produced by/ under the supervision of ritual specialists. This is the case for curse tablets, whose use is a common habit in the (Greek and) Roman world and is also significantly documented in Britain. They offer an insight on personal religion that was not meant for public display, contrary to dedicatory and votive inscriptions (Gager 1992; Broderson and Kropp 2004; Gordon and Marco Simón 2010).

The curse tablets found in Britain (Tomlin 1988; 1993; 1999; Pearce *et al.* n.d.) and in the north-western provinces (Birkle 2013) are mostly concerned with asking for punishment for thieves. In this, they are different from those found in Egypt or Greece (Adams 2006 with relative bibliography; Versnel 2010) where they are concerned with love-issues, cursing athletes and/or charioteers.

The two main centres of the deposition of curse tablets in Britain are the cult centres at Bath, Somerset (Tomlin 1988) and Uley, Gloucestershire (Tomlin 1993), where the cursers ask the titular deity for assistance (Sulis at Bath and Mercury at Uley). Individual tablets were also found at other religious centres like Lydney Park, Gloucestershire, Pagans Hill, and Brean Down, Somerset. Curse tablets are also known from London and smaller towns in Hertfordshire (Leintwardine) and Warwickshire (Chesterton), and from the amphitheatre of the legionary fortress at Caerleon, Gwent (Pearce *et al.* n.d).[96] Overall, they are dated between the 2nd and the 3rd century AD.

As mentioned, the tablets contain curses asking revenge or restitution of objects after a theft.[97] However, the fact that a significant number of them were left blank (87 out of 104 at Uley and Bath) or recorded just the names of the targets of the curse has led to the conclusion that the people writing (or not-writing) the tablet would have very different levels of (ritual) 'competence' (Gordon 2014: 778), suggesting that the curser was the one to ultimately inscribe the tablet. However, it has been argued that 'magicians' might have been occasionally responsible for the writing (Dungworth 1998: 155), and that the blank ones were the result of a lack of trust of an illiterate individual in the professionals (Tomlin 1988: 253).

At Bath, the presence of paid professionals who wrote the tablets and recorded the petitions is speculated (Kiernan 2004: 131). Of a different opinion, Tomlin, who, although recognising the presence of *formulae*, observes that there are not two texts that are the same and that the handwritings are all different, implying that it was eventually the curser to write the tablet (Tomlin 1999: 561). A similar point has been made for the Mainz tablets. The cursed tablets from the sacred area dedicated to Isis and Magna Mater at Mainz built around AD 71/80, date from AD 70 to 130, as the pits in which they were deposited were sealed by tiles bearing Trajanic/Hadrianic stamps (Blänsdorf 2010; Blänsdorf *et al.* 2012). As in the British examples, *formulae* are used in the texts, but similarly the lack of standard handwriting suggested the activity of more than one scriber (Blänsdorf 2010: 146).

Elaborate magic incantations and images are found in other parts of the Roman world (i.e. North Africa, Athens and Rome), however, Blänsdorf hypothesises the presence of professional 'sorcerers' in these areas (*ibid:* 163). Although the recurring *formulae* used in the tablets are considered fixed, with references to the legal vocabulary and stylistic elements, this is not enough to consider them as quotes from a book to be consulted by the curser or a professional, unlike the Greek ones, but the cursers knew the way of ritual curses (*ibid.*). However, it is more likely that the cursers might have sought advice from a professional (Tomlin 1999: *loc. cit.*), someone who knew the *formulae* or had a handbook.[98]

The cursers would seek the 'professional' expertise on how to construct the text of the tablet (i.e. use of *formulae*, use of legal vocabulary, stylistic elements); however, it was a necessary step of the ritual that the tablet had to be inscribed by the curser. This would justify the different handwritings, while also accounting for the several blank ones that might have been dedicated by people who could not write Latin. It also accounts for the several instances of tablets inscribed with very simplistic texts and sometimes 'gibberish' as an attempt to fulfil the writing requirement requested by the cursing ritual. Moreover, apart from the way to linguistically express the curses on the tablets, another factor that would also require a certain ritual knowledge is the direction of writing on the tablet (from left to right or vice versa, but also using different writing directions on the same tablet, e.g. Blänsdorf *et al.* 2012, n. DMZ 5). Finally, the curser would have necessarily been directed in the performance of other

[96] Individual finds of tablets by metal detectorists are also recorded from Hamble, Hampshire (Tomlin 1997: 455-7) and Wanborough, Wiltshire (Rea 1972). For a complete list of curse tablets from Britain and relative bibliography, see Pearce *et al.* n.d.

[97] Adams (2006) has noticed that the objects stolen at Bath are more modest than those reported stolen at Uley.

[98] E.g. a love spell recorded in a Greek magical papyrus instructs the sorcerer to recite the consequences of the spell on the cursed (PGM IV.1514-1520).

physical actions other than writing, like reciting a spell and/or the piercing of the tablet with a nail/s.[99] These actions could become sometimes complex rituals, such as the deposition of a tablet from Mainz (Blänsdorf *et al.* 2012, n. DTM 21). In the depositional ditch, there was in fact debris, a lamp, a small jar, some fruit, and an ithyphallic clay poppet that had been pierced with 5 pins through the head, neck, heart, guts, and anus, then twisted in half in the middle. The lower half was placed with the phallus in an up-standing position, while the upper half was face down (Gordon 2014: 779).

To summarise, the depositions of curse tablets at cult centres like Bath and Uley suggest the presence of individuals with a specialist knowledge, who would have been consulted about the *formulae*/texts to use in the curse and the associated rituals to assure a successful outcome. However, it appears that this knowledge was not exclusive of individuals employed at temples but was also available at smaller shrines and in urban contexts.

6.6 Summary

Priestly titles in general are only known in the north-western provinces to a limited degree, with the majority being found at *coloniae* and *municipia*, which shared the same type of priesthoods (Delgado Delgado 2000: 41). The inscriptions record mainly priestly titles of Roman tradition, like *pontifices, augures*, and *flamines/ flaminicae* or *sacerdotes*, demonstrating a high-level of titles' differentiation (Delgado Delgado 2000: 44-5).[100] That the introduction of these figures was the standard procedure in the territorial organisation is hinted at in the sentence added by the legislator of Urso when prescribing that *pontifices* and *augures* were to join their titular *collegium* 'as it is in every other *colonia*'[101] (Crawford 1996: 395). In Britain, we have to expect then that the absence of titles like *ponitfices*, *augures*, *flamines*, and the limited instances of *sacerdos* (Table 6.1) is a consequence of the epigraphic habit rather than an originality in the provincial organisation of priesthoods.

Moreover, the overall distribution of priestly titles on inscriptions corresponds, on a smaller scale, to the general presence of inscriptions in the province, where military-related personnel are represented more often than civilian ones. The epigraphic records for priests we have are all from military settlements but for the two cases from Bath.[102] The presence of *sacerdotes* that would cater to military personnel is expected at Corbridge (Diodora), on Hadrian's Wall (Apollonius), Wallsend (Iulius Maximus), Greetland (Aurelius Aurelianus), and at Vindolanda.[103] The latter is attested by a fragmentary letter which nonetheless is enough to provide evidence for an (apparently) peripatetic priest, an on-call figure available for certain occasions like, as in the case expressed in the letter, for an unspecified festival. He would have likely been available for the odd, often personal, altar dedication, of which so many are found in the areas around the two northern borders.

In general, that a different epigraphic habit affects the presence of inscriptions is a phenomenon also attested in other provinces or in certain regions of the same province (see, for example, the case studies of Baetica and Mauretania, Delgado Delgado 1998). Moreover, in the epigraphic record of other north-western provinces, the priests of Roman tradition (like *augures*, *flamines*, or *sacerdotes* of official Roman cults) appear always far more numerous than the indigenous ones (Delgado Delgado 2000: 40). This has been explained with a stronger connection between the holding of these positions and the epigraphic habit, while the priests of indigenous cults would be 'invisible' to the modern historian as they would produce less, when not no, inscriptions (*ibid*.). In fact, the actions and performances of *sacerdotes publici* recorded on inscriptions are not significant in number, while most of the archaeological evidence is connected to rural cults (Häussler 2011). This has led to the adoption of a bottom-up approach to the analysis of religion, considering the cults in the communities according to the archaeological and epigraphic evidence, rather than applying a standard model of Roman cult to one community or area (Häussler 2011: 392). Nonetheless, while providing a model that considers both the official and the local cults, it is necessary to expect a certain level of standardisation.

If, as we have seen, the main concern of the Urso statute and the *Lex de flamonio*[104] is not what religious actions were to be performed, but rather which priesthoods were introduced and how the *provincia* and the *colonia* would financially organise not only the civic cults but also the *fana, templa*, and *delubra* in those territories, then we have to expect that official regulations would have affected the local cults as well.

The remark that a *Lex Ursonensis*-type of statue would only apply to the *coloniae* of Roman right rather than those of Latin right (Van Andringa 2002), or that we cannot expect it to be valid for other territories/

[99] For the ritual significance of nails and the act of nailing, see Dungworth 1998: 154-7; for the ritual use of nails in funerary contexts, see Alfayé Villa 2010.

[100] 2.3.2.

[101] CIL II, 5439, 66: *ita uti qui optima lege optumo iure in quaque colon(ia) pontif(ices) augures sunt erunt*.

[102] 6.4.2-4.

[103] Diodora and Pulcher (6.3.1), Apollonius (6.3.5), the Vindolanda *sacerdos* (6.3.6), Iulius Maximus (6.3.7), and Titus Aurelius Aurelianus (6.4.3).

[104] 2.2.1

periods does not invalidate the general assumption that the civic authorities had a say in the organisation of the local cults and in dictating which performances were authorised or not. This would seem even more compelling for Britain, a territory that has experienced a high degree of resistance in terms of religious matter, where the traditional local priesthood of the Druids was banned and their wholesome expertise (which included ritual, education, and legal matters) was fragmented into different positions.[105] Likely, this required a thorough structural reorganisation of cults, managements of temples and shrines, and access to these positions. This would have resulted in a normalisation of the Druidic practice in the Roman-style hierarchical organisation now in charge of the rituals related to the approved cults. The existence of figures like the *gutuater* in Gaul can be interpreted in this sense: four inscriptions record individuals with this title,[106] who appear to have filled the void left after the banning of the Druids in the more political aspect of their Iron Age role (Scheid 1999; Van Andringa 2002). That this system was indeed set in place appears clear when we consider that local religious authorities could always apply to the central organisations for legal reasons (Richardson and Santangelo 2011).

[105] 1.4.1

[106] 1.4.1.

Chapter 7

Religious performers and their activities in Roman Britain

At the beginning of this study,[1] we have highlighted how the scarcity of ancient literary sources and epigraphic evidence for priests in Roman period Britain had prompted us to research and focus on priestly regalia, evidence which is either not available or underrepresented in other provinces.[2] Nonetheless, we have discussed the epigraphic evidence for priestly roles,[3] as well as the very limited mentions of these roles in the ancient literary sources.[4] This multi-disciplinary approach has allowed us to go beyond the traditional historiographic works on provincial priesthoods[5] and explore aspects of these priesthoods which were overlooked in previous studies, particularly the embodiment of priestly performances and the marking-out of ritual authority.[6]

This diverse array of evidence has required the application of various methodological approaches as the evidence has proven to be chronologically diverse as well as geographically disperse. Inscriptions are found mainly in military and urban contexts,[7] deposits and stratified objects in south-east England, and PAS finds are mostly from east England (Figure 4.8).[8] However, the added value of analysing these types of evidence together appears strongly when compared to the study of priesthoods in continental research, which has a more epigraphic focus. Nonetheless, there exists a material culture of priesthood, whose study broadens the discussion of priestly roles, also in continental contexts.

The structure of this chapter follows the three main research questions outlined in the first chapter (sections 1.6.1-3), summarising the main aspects highlighted in the conclusions to individual chapters, as well as providing a general framework to the discussion of these themes.

7.1 The organisation of priestly roles in Roman Britain. A general model

In discussing a model of the organisation of priesthoods in Britain, the first step considers a separation between the provincial and local organisations of civic urban priesthoods and the organisation of priestly roles in the rural countryside.

The provincial level of organisation is as predictable in Colchester, and then in London, as it was in Lyon (Van Andringa 2002: 35), involving a seat of the provincial council, where the *flamines* were expected to have been active (Henig 1984: 70; Allason-Jones 2011a: 430). That this organisation also applied to Britain is strongly suggested by a Tacitus' passage mentioning *sacerdotes delecti* active at the temple of Colchester[9] and a fragmentary inscription from London, which records a dedication made to the Divinity of the Emperor set up by the province of Britain.[10]

On a municipal level, the epigraphic evidence for *sacerdotes Augusti, sacerdotes Romae et Augusti*, and *flamines Augusti/Augustalis* found in Gaul (Van Andringa 2002: 209-217) has no parallel in Britain. No text or inscription records *augures* nor *pontifices*, however, we can still expect that religious duties, such as the establishment of the calendar, were carried out by *duoviri* and *aediles* and that contractors would have sublet the organisation of the *sacra*.[11] Of all the possible *augures*, *flamines*, and *sacerdotes* involved in the imperial cult, none of them is epigraphically attested in Britain. The inscription from Bordeaux recording a *sevir Augustalis* of the *coloniae* of York and Lincoln[12] indicates the existence of a *collegium* of *seviri Augustales*, and it is correct to speculate that such organisation would have been also present in centres like Gloucester, London, Lincoln, York, Exeter, or Colchester according to the status of these towns (Fishwick 1961: 168). This idea is strengthened by the presence of dedications to the *numen Augusti/numina Augustorum* which are well documented in Britain.[13]

Civilian individual authority is rarely flagged in Roman Britain, and it is telling that the only examples of priestly roles from urban sites are attested in funerary contexts. This is the case for the funerary stelae of Gaius Calpurnius Receptus from Bath and the priest's burial from Brough-on-Humber. The first one was a *sacerdos dei Sulis*, holding an official role, structured in the organisation of the *sacra* at Bath.[14] It is tempting to expect a similar role of *sacerdos* of Mars for the

[1] 1.1.
[2] 3.1.
[3] 6.3-5.
[4] 1.5.1
[5] 1.4.
[6] 3.6.
[7] 6.7.
[8] 4.5

[9] Tac. *Ann.* 14.31.
[10] RIB I, 5: Num(ini) C[aes(aris) Aug(usti)] / prov[incia] / Brita[nnia].
[11] 2.2.1.
[12] 6.4.2.2.
[13] 407 inscriptions in RIB I.
[14] 6.3.4.

individual buried at Brough-on-Humber/*Petuaria*.[15] Here the administrative organisation of the *vicus* is confirmed by the dedicatory inscriptions set up by the *aedilis* Marcus Ulpius Januarius in AD 140 (RIB I, 707). The scattered presence of Mars sceptre-heads in the area south of Brough-on-Humber and around the *colonia* of Lincoln stresses the existence of marked out authorities related to the cult of Mars, with the classic association with Venus attested by the sceptre-head from Ludford Magna.[16]

If religious titles fail to appear, the presence, particularly in South England, of sceptre-heads portraying different emperors allows speculations on the presence of this cult in the rural countryside.[17] This material shows a more localised authority flagged by local-style markers which follow the Roman tradition of short sceptres carrying the image of the emperors. The presence and distribution of sceptre-heads suggest a capillary involvement of members of the rural elites in spreading the imperial cult, following the reform introduced by Hadrian,[18] whose head has been recently recognised at Bix (Figure 3.6). The imperial cult was likely organised in a collegial way, a characteristic typical of the western-provinces,[19] which is confirmed by the deposit at Willingham Fen containing several sceptres.[20] The presence of one badge of office modelled on the style of official *signa imperii*[21] suggests that this was the possession of a local member of the rural elite, likely in his role as a *flamen*. The collegial organisation is confirmed by the presence of multiple sceptres suggesting that a group was involved in the ritual performances, rather than a single individual. This deposit, together with the other sceptre-heads reproducing images of emperors of the Antonine family, tempts us to associate the dedication (for the deposit) and the loss/concealment without retrieval of the single finds with the end of the cult of the Antonine family, possibly in connection with the uprising of Clodius Albinus in AD 192.[22]

This localised aspect of the priestly organisation is also confirmed by the fact that Brtish inscriptions record local priestly roles rather than major civic ones. Although there is no evidence in Britain of an indigenous priestly title such as the Gallic *gutuater,*[23] the epigraphic record shows *sacerdotes* connected to either the Roman cults (*sacerdos* (of Dea Nemesis?)[24] or local ones (*sacerdos deae Sulis*; *sacerdos dei [...]*; *sacerdotem*).[25] However, none of these instances can be related to a municipal level of cultic organisation. The inscription recording the *sacerdos* of Dea Sulis can be seen in the framework of her titular religious complex at Bath. As *sacerdos* is the only title mentioned in the inscription, we are left to argue whether this was either the only occupation of Calpurnius Receptus, or in any case, the highest point reached during his career. However, as his wife was the person to actually set his gravestone, it is likely that she used this opportunity to also celebrate herself, and there is room to wonder whether she had chosen a title that would best suit her new status of widow (e.g. she could have been entitled to an inheritance or a pension because of her husband's involvement at the temple). Finally, the two priests of oriental tradition (the *archiereia* of Heracles of Tyre and Pulcher of Astarte) at Corbridge catered to either the military personnel stationed there and/or merchants. They could have possibly moved around the main military settlements to provide their services, at the same time attesting to the mobility of Greek/Eastern cult personnel in the western provinces similar to the wandering 'sacerdos' attested in the Vindolanda tablet (add note: 6.3.6)..

The analysis of the material conducted in this study, especially the focus on the biographical clues found on the regalia, has significantly contributed to our understanding of the organisation of priestly roles in the rural areas of east/south-east England. Two aspects have emerged and are summarised in the next sections.

7.1.1 Hierarchy and role differentiation among the cult personnel

That the organisation of cult personnel involved a hierarchical structure can be assumed by the multiplication of the same category of objects in an assemblage. Different types of headdresses are found in the same deposit, especially one type would be found with several examples of a second type. This is found at Hockwold-cum-Wilton (one crown, five diadems)[26] and Cavenham Heath (one chain-headdress, two diadems).[27] Similarly, the assemblage at Willingham Fen presents a diverse array of objects, comprising one badge of office and several sceptres of different types (some with sceptre-heads[28] and others of the baton-type[29]).

Less clearly hierarchical, but nonetheless differentiated, roles are attested earlier in date at other sites, where different sub-types of the same headdress type are found, as it is the case at Stony Stratford and

[15] 4.3.2.2.
[16] Figure 3.16.
[17] 3.3.1/Emperors; 4.5.2.
[18] 3.6.2.
[19] 6.4.
[20] 4.2.3.
[21] 3.3.2.
[22] 3.6.2.
[23] The priestly title is indigenous but the deity is Roman: *gutuater Martis* (Van Andringa 2002: 217-8).
[24] 6.3.5.
[25] 6.3.4, 6.3.6, 6.3.7.
[26] 4.2.6.
[27] 4.2.5.
[28] 2A.WIL1-3
[29] 2C.WIL5.

Wanborough.[30] At Stony Stratford, however, where two chain-headdresses are recorded, the much more complex design of one[31] compared to the other suggests that a hierarchical differentiation might have also been in place.

Both the hierarchical system and the differentiation of roles again suggests a collegial organisation of the cult in the east and south-east regions. As we have mentioned, this fits well with the overall collegial structure often found in cult organisations in the western provinces (Mouritsen 2015).

At Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Cavenham Heath, Stony Stratford, Willingham Fen, and possibly at Deeping-St-James, we suggest the existence of collegial organisations of the cult, which might have involved the presence of a central figure, e.g. *magister sacrorum*, and other cult attendants. The involvement of collegial organisations is known at major temples (e.g. Bath) and urban sites (e.g. London), where they would have taken care of the upkeep of the temples (Mattingly 2007) and promoted restorations. *Collegia* attest to the cooperative character of groups of urban individuals willing to promote their activities joining a collegial institution, as we have seen at York, Bourges, and Verulamium.[32]

7.1.2 Alternating of different individuals in the same role over time

This aspect is strongly suggested by the presence of clasps for size adjustment on the diadems at Hockwold-cum-Wilton and at Cavenham Heath.[33] This means that the authority connected to this role circulated over time, with different people taking up the same authoritative role at different times. Based on the analysis of the provincial and colonial statutes stating that ritual roles would rotate yearly,[34] we can hypothesise that a similar turn-over would apply to these positions at rural shrines/temples, catering to the nearby rural communities (Derks 1998).[35] This also implies the communal use of the priestly attire rather than it being a private possession of the individual holding the position.

7.1.3 Summary

The distribution of our evidence highlights the presence of (at least) two main trends in the organisation of priesthoods. On the one hand, we can expect similar civic priestly roles taken up by urban elites in major cities. On the other, a more communal organisation involving several individuals involved in the ritual performance is attested in the rural regions of east/south-east England. Here, the distribution of priestly finds in the rural landscape suggests a further differentiation of priestly presence. The region from east Yorkshire to Kent is quite similar, with fertile lands and the presence of micro and villa-related landed elites and has offered evidence for priestly activities marked by the presence of priestly regalia. Some aspects of their priestly organisation have a limited visibility (e.g. official titles), while others have left a more significant evidence of (a) manifestation of the villa owning elites, like the capillary organisation of the imperial cult, the continuity of use of traditional-style of regalia well into the 3rd century AD.

The west/north-western regions of the province are overall more pastoral and less populated than the east and south-east ones (Pitts 2016). The absence of regalia in these areas, rather than being the result of lack of evidence, suggests a different organisation of cults, which did not rely on priestly figures based at the small shrines scattered in the countryside,[36] but on peripatetic priestly figures. Areas like upland Wales or upland northern England are characterised by a very different and distinctive settlement distribution compared to the lowland areas (Pitts 2008; 2016), with a lot of mobility from upland to lowland (Eckardt and Müldner 2016) reflected in transhumance movements.

In this sense, our general model accommodates areas with an urban central place, a low-line identity of settled population, which is the one reflected in the regalia and about which we can say most about, and the high-line communities which had an archaeologically invisible organisation of cults.

7.2 The contribution of British priestly regalia to the study of embodiment of provincial priestly authority

The identification and analysis of priestly regalia has allowed us to explore the choices made to embody positions of authority in the context of priestly authority.[37]

Aspects of creolisation[38] are recognisable in the use of traditional style of headdresses in the 2nd and 3rd century at sites like Cavenham Heath, West Stow, and Stony Stratford, where the visible cults are of both Roman (e.g. Jupiter, Minerva, and Mars) and local character (horse and rider deity). Similarly, the 'rattle' type of divination devices found only in the Roman period in certain regions (Britain and Gaul) allows to link

[30] 4.2.7-8.
[31] 1A.STO1.
[32] 6.5.
[33] 3.2.1.3.
[34] 2.2.1.
[35] 1.2.
[36] See Millett 1995, Figure 2 and 4.4.1.
[37] 3.6.1.
[38] 1.2.

this habit to the wider cultural landscape of the north-western provinces. Furthermore, an incorporation of a new image on a traditional object (i.e. sceptre) within individual communities is exemplified, for example, by the presence of imperial sceptre-heads and badges of office (e.g. sceptre from Willingham Fen)[39] related to holding official authority associated with the imperial cult.

Overall, the use of headdresses and sceptres does not appear to have a specific cultic connection: they would mark out a function rather than express cultic association. The use of headdresses as markers of authority in the Late Iron Age in Britain has been discussed through the examples from Mill Hill, Leckhampton, and Hounslow,[40] and through parallels to other peripheral regions in the East.[41] Similarly, the use of sceptres as badges of authority in the same period (and earlier, e.g. at Farley Heath and Wanborough) is paralleled in east and south Spain.[42] However, they are geographically localised and thus, as we have discussed, express a local rather than cultic identity, inflected in the different styles of headdresses and sceptres we have surveyed.

Certainly, the use of regalia would have flagged the individuals in official occasions and celebrations, but their ritual role, them being priests, was only one aspect of their overall identity (Gardner 2002; Revell 2009), which involved being a member of the local community holding a certain authority,[43] as well as other aspects, like age and gender, which are are difficult to appreciate in our record. The priestly aspect of their identity was visible, in our case, through specific objects that not only marked them out from the rest of the community (i.e. wearing a headdress, carrying a sceptre or a spear) but also, through these objects' appearances, i.e. reproducing traditional styles and designs, which would highlight their cultural affiliation.

The objects we analysed only offer a partial image of what these figures would have worn: dress, a potent marker of identity expression (Cool 2016), has not survived in the burials we have selected, nor were clothes seemingly deposited in the assemblages examined. The only iconographic evidence in stone available to us, the Bridgeness Slab, is not relatable to the areas where regalia are mostly found (east and south-east England), The unfinished and fragmentary stele from Colchester showing the bottom half of a male wearing a toga performing a libation,[44] and the copper-alloy figurines of female and male worshipper's types wearing togas[45] are the expression of a globalised imagery, from which it would be improper to generalise to our localised evidence, in the absence of more consistent evidence. Nonetheless, we can expect urban priests to have worn the toga when on duty: it is possible to consider that for the individuals holding these roles, the toga would have been similar to a 'best suit' to be worn only on specific occasions, most likely the celebrations dictated by the provincial and local calendars.[46]

The evidence for other clothing items beyond headdresses is scarce but can still prompt further considerations. The belt from the deposit of West Stow[47] and the brooch from Wanborough[48] further suggest a local differentiation of the ritual apparel. However, we can add to the shared element we have highlighted (the use of sceptres and headdresses, although in different style) the use of jet.

Jet was found in three of the contexts we have discussed: in the deposit at Willingham Fen[49] and the burials at Catterick[50] and Stanway.[51] The presence of a single jet bead at Stanway has been linked to the deceased's medical practice, especially its ritualistic aspect as it was not part of a jewellery item (Crummy *et al.* 2007). As for the Catterick burial, the presence of the jet necklace was crucial to the identification of this individual as a *gallus*, mainly because of the gender association female-jet. However, as we have pointed out,[52] it is also possible that jet did not express a gender association, as it is found in other male burials, but rather another aspect of these individuals' identity, possibly a cultic association (i.e. Cybele) and/or a special role in the community (i.e. *gallus*). Similar considerations can be applied to the jet beads making up the necklace found in the deposit at Willingham Fen together with others in striped coloured glass suggesting the presence of a *flaminica*-like figure participating in the ritual performances associated with the imperial house.

It has appeared that the best way to engage priestly regalia with the performative aspect of the ritual is the manifestation of the priestly persona through these

[39] 3.3.1/Emperors; 3.3.2.
[40] 4.3.1
[41] 1.6.2.
[42] 3.6.
[43] 7.1.
[44] 5.2.1.
[45] 5.2.2.
[46] An anecdotal parallel with modern times can be drawn, thanks to a recent comment by former First Lady of the United States Michelle Obama, who revealed that her husband wore always the same tuxedo at official events during his eight years' mandate. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/michelle-obama-husband-barack-wore-same-tuxedo-8-years-no-one-noticed-president-us-a7777021.html; http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/barack-obama-tux_us_5937f696e4b0aba888ba50ad [Last accessed 20/10/2018].
[47] 4.2.4.
[48] 4.2.8.
[49] 4.2.3.
[50] 4.3.2.1.
[51] 4.3.2.3.
[52] 4.3.2.1.

extra dress items. Priestly regalia tell us more about how the priests appear rather than specific ritual tasks that they would undertake. Only the divination devices allow us to explore some aspects of the performances taking place at some of the sites we have considered.[53] They suggest the practice of divination rituals at these sites, although it is unclear from our evidence whether we should expect divination specialists, or a certain divination knowledge was expected by the main authority figures. There are other performative aspects that are hinted at, like the butchery equipment, although as we pointed out,[54] their interpretation is frustrated by their similarities with from everyday objects.

7.3 Depositional contexts and their distribution marked the locations of priestly activities

While religious objects overall appear to be relatively common in rural areas of Britain,[55] priestly regalia are not a common find, meaning that they were not everyday objects. This sustains our hypothesis that these objects are related to a particular way of expressing status of authority according to local traditions.

In general, urban temples, unless there are special circumstances like at Bath, tend not to produce very large assemblages of small finds compared to rural ones (Smith 2006). No sceptres nor headdresses are found in well-known temple sites such as Bath, Uley or Lydney, despite the significant number of find assemblages there, although priests are, as expected, attested at these sites, as we have seen with the *sacerdos*[56] and, possibly, the *haruspex* at Bath,[57] as well as the indirect evidence of the curse tablets at all those sites.[58]

The sites that offer the most numerous finds of regalia, both headdresses and sceptres, are Farley Heath and Wanborough.[59] These are chronologically close (mid-2nd century AD) and the regalia are associated with a phase of the cult activities at the sites prior to a significant restructuring, which involved, at least at Wanborough, the adoption of the Romano-Celtic style of temple after a short-lived circular structure. In both cases, an unambiguous expression of the deity or deities worshipped there is missing and it is too much to ask from the wheel terminals from Wanborough[60] and the figures and symbols reproduced on the Farley Heath sceptre-binding to suggest any particular cult. However, the underlying impression is that these objects are linked to an indigenous style of ritual as confirmed by the peculiarity of design of the cult equipment found there (chain-headdresses and sceptre-bindings). The style and the design of the regalia point towards an initial continuity of design and practices from the Iron Age to the early Roman period (up until AD 160/70 at Wanborough), when the objects were deposited.[61] Moreover, the fact that similar objects are not found at other later sites for which we have clearer indications of their titular deities, like Sulis-Minerva at Bath, Mercury at Uley, and Mars-Nodens at Lydney, could add to the characterisation of these objects as an expression of local tradition.

For what concerns later deposits, considering the chronological aspect of depositional behaviour (Hobbs 2006), there are periods that witness a higher number of deposits (i.e. 2nd and 3rd century), which are also the dates conventionally proposed for most of our material. However, the emphasis on hoarding in this period could explain why only these period objects have been preserved, rather than considering that this period was characterised by a wider use of these objects. They might have been used in other periods, although they are not archaeologically visible.

The analysis of single finds has also been of particular interest. When found at ritual sites, single items of regalia shed light on the ritual activities carried out at the site. When their location was unknown, as in not associated with a known structure, the distribution of these finds has still allowed us to highlight clusters of presence, like for the Mars sceptre-heads in Lincolnshire, whose evidence for ritual performance related to authority figures is supported by the burial at Brough-on-Humber.[62] Similarly, the sceptre-heads clustering north of Verulamium support the presence of a capillary-organised imperial cult, strengthened by the presence of the deposit at Willingham Fen.[63]

The small rural shrines in east and south-east England served the rural settlements, while in the cases of Stony Stratford on Waitling Street and West Stow and Hockwold-cum-Wilton on the Icklingham-PET route, we can expect the small structures associated with these finds to have fulfilled the function of roadside shrines. Material combinations observed for horse & rider figurines and Mars ceremonial sceptres both in deposits and at temple sites (e.g. Woodeaton, Lowbury

[53] Felmingham Hall (4.2.1); Stony Stratford (4.2.7); Woodeaton (4.4.1.3).
[54] 1.5.4.
[55] 360 entries of 'religious objects' in the recent database of the rural settlement of Britain (Smith *et al.* 2016; see 2.3).
[56] 6.3.4.
[57] 6.3.2.
[58] 6.5.
[59] 4.4.1.5; 4.2.8; 4.5.1.
[60] 1A.WAN1, 1A.WAN3, 1A.WAN4.
[61] It is thus dangerous to indulge in chronologically inaccurate reconstructions like the ones offered by de la Bédoyerè depicting characters wearing a wheel-topped chain-headdress while standing in front of a Romano-Celtic style temple at Wanborough (De la Bédoyerè 2002: Figure 77).
[62] 4.3.2.2.
[63] 3.5.2.

Hill) attest to the types of ritual practices involved in the worship of these deities related to music/noise. Another way of identifying ritual practices is through the presence of handwashing sets indicating the familiarity of Late Iron Age individuals, at least of the wealthiest levels of communities, with Gallo-Roman style of ritual.[64] The involvement of villa owners in the promotion of rural shrines has been implied for Woodeaton and it is very likely that a similar situation occurred at Chalton and Binstead (Wyck villa).

7.4 Summary and direction for future research

This study has examined a wide and diverse range of evidence to discuss the presence and activities of ritual performers in Britain. It has not always been easy to parallel our evidence and methodology to the continental ones. These are often characterised by a focus on listing individuals with ritual authority prompted by a more substantial epigraphic corpus,[65] which overshadows the discussion of the material evidence that has proven to have much potential. Here, we have focused on finding a proxy evidence for the limited epigraphic evidence, which could have not been, in Britain, the only or even the primary source. The analysis of the material evidence has allowed us to discuss micro-priesthoods and, more limitedly, Roman priesthoods in the rural landscape. This is an aspect different from what concerns continental Europe, where we have a better understanding of institutional framework, especially on a civic level more than in the rural countryside.[66]

Widening the application of the integrated, multidisciplinary approach utilised in this work to other regions of the western provinces could provide a more organic landscape of figures of ritual authorities. Holding a priestly title is not only about having a static label but also about actively performing a role, involving the regularly, repetitively enacting of this authority, an aspect missing in the main studies on provincial priesthoods on the continent (e.g. Van Andringa 2002; Derks 1998; Spickermann 2003; 2008).

In this sense, priestly regalia also provide a significant contribution to the study of embodiment of Roman ritual practices, which enriches the study of religious practices. They offer an invaluable addition to the study of the performance of spaces (Smith 2003; Revell 2013), especially regarding performance in action. Only limited interest has been expressed so far in the ritual use of religious spaces through deposition (Smith 2003; 2016), while discussions have mostly focused on experiencing the architecture of ritual spaces (Revell 2013), while a recent reassessment of religious material evidence in London has provided a case-study for instances of physical engagement with cult statues and religious architecture (Bowen and Pearce 2016). These aspects of performance in action need to be analysed beyond the theoretical assumption that temples were the scene of similar rituals throughout the Roman Empire. However, they offered a rather kaleidoscopic panorama based on the ritual habits of the local worshippers. These reconstructions also need to be extended beyond the architectonic limits of the temple to a religious space that is perceived in the landscape through natural marks (e.g. groves and springs). However, even spaces which were not originally religious in nature, can became theatre for religious performances, as it is the case of agricultural fields, which might be 'blessed' during seasonal festivals (Hahn 2007).

The discussion of a general model for the functioning of priesthoods in Roman Britain has emphasised different modalities of priesthood organisation in the province beyond the urban/rural dichotomy to a more accurate reading of the ritual landscape as upland/lowland/urban and how being a priest relates to being a member of the provincial elite in a context where we do not really see it epigraphically or artistically.

The analysis of priesthoods has thus allowed us to explore one particular manifestation of elite and near-elite status. Given the epigraphic near-invisibility of elites in the province, this is a key arena to observe elites in action, and as such this material enriches our knowledge of the outcomes of how elites responded to the introduction of the Roman organisation of (ritual) power and the aspects of their organisation (elite/quasi-elite status).

[64] 4.5.
[65] 1.3.
[66] See the discussion of the Van Andringa and Derks stances (1.3) and on the organisation of polis-religion (6.2, especially 6.2.4).

Appendix 1

Primary Sources

Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*

XI, 10: *Ibant et dicati magno Sarapi tibicines, qui per obliquum calamum, ad aurem porrectura dexteram, familiarem templi deique modulum frequentabant, et plerique qui* [10] *facilem sacris viam dari praedicarent. Tunc influunt turbae sacris divinis initiatae, viri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis linteae vestis candore puro luminosi, illae limpido tegmine crines madidos obvolutae, hi capillum derasi funditus verticem praenitentes, magnae religionis terrena sidera, aereis et argenteis, immo vero aureis etiam sistris argutum tinnitum constrepentes. Sed antistites sacrorum proceres illi, qui candido linteamine cinctum pectoralem adusque vestigia strictim iniecti potentissimorum deum proferebant insignes exuvias: quorum primus lucernam claro praemicantem porrigebat lumine, non adeo nostris illis consimilem quae vespertinas illuminant epulas, sed aureum cymbium medio sui patore flammulam suscitans largiorem: secundus vestitu quidem similis, sed manibus ambabus gerebat auxillas, 1quibus nomen dedit proprium deae summatis auxiliaris providentia: ibat tertius attollens palmam auro subtiliter foliatam necnon Mercuriale etiam caduceum: quartus aequitatis ostendebat indicium, deformatam manum sinistram porrecta palmula, quae genuina pigritia, nulla calliditate, nulla sollertia praedita, videbatur aequitati magis aptior quam dextera; idem gerebat et aureum vasculum in modum papillae rotundatum de quo lacte libabat: quintus auream vannum aureis congestam ramulis, et alius ferebat amphoram.*

[Apuleius. The Golden Ass, being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius. Stephen Gaselee. London: William Heinemann; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons. 1915. Keyboarding.]

11.10: In the mean season arrived the blowers of trumpets, which wen dedicate unto mighty Sarapis, who, holding the same reed sidelong towards their right ears, did give forth a ditty proper to the temple and the god: and likewise were there many officers and beadles, frying room for the goddess to pass. Then came tin- great company of men and women of all stations of every age which were initiate and had taken divine orders, whose garments, being of the whitest linen, glistened all the streets over. The women had their hair anointed, and their heads covered with light linen; but the men had their crowns shaven and shining bright, as being the terrene stars of the goddess, and held in their hands timbrels of brass, silver, aye and gold, which rendered forth a shrill pleasant sound. The principal priests, leaders of the saered rites, which were apparelled with white surplices drawn tight about their breasts and hanging down to the ground, bare the relics of all the most puissant gods. One that was first of them carried in his hand a lantern shining forth with a clear light, not very like to those which we use in our hi and light our supper withal at evening-time, for the bowl of it was of gold and rendered from the middle thereof a more bright flame. The second, attired like the other, bare in both hands those pots to which the succouring providence of the high goddess herself had given their name. The third held up a tree of palm, with leaves cunningly wrought of gold, and the verge or rod Caduceus of Mercury. The fourth shewed a token of equity, that was a left hand deformed in every place and with open palm, and because it was naturally more sluggish, and that there was no cleverness nor craft in it, it signified thereby more equity than by the right hand: the same priest carried a round vessel of gold, in form of a breast, whence milk flowed down. The fifth bare a winnowing fan, wrought with sprigs of gold, and another carried a vessel for wine.

[Kline, A.S., (prose translation) 'Apuleius - The Golden Ass']

Ausonius Decimus Maximus, *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium:*

4.7-10:

tu Baiocassi stirpe Druidarum satus,
si fama non fallit fidem,
Beleni sacratum ducis e templo genus,
et inde vobis nomina

10.22-30:

nec reticebo senem

nomine PHOEBICIUM,
qui Beleni aedituus
nil opis inde tulit;
set tamen, ut placitum,
stirpe satus Druidum
gentis Aremoricae,
Burdigalae cathedram
nati opera obtinuit:
permaneat series.

[Ausonius. Works. Ausonius, Vol 1. Ausonius, Decimus Magnus. Hugh G. Evelyn-White. William Heinemann Ltd.; Harvard University Press. London; Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1919. Keyboarding.]

4.7-10 If report does not lie,
you were sprung from the stock of the Druids of Bayeux,
and traced your hallowed line
from the temple of Belenus.
10.22-30 Nor must I leave unmentioned the old man Phoe-
bicius, who, though the keeper of Belenus' temple,
got no profit thereby. Yet he, sprung, as rumour
goes, from the stock of the Druids of Armorica
(Brittany), obtained a chair at Bordeaux by his son's
help: long may his line endure!

[*Ausonius, In Two Volumes, with an English translation by H.G. Evelyn-White*, 1919, London-New York: The Loeb Classical Library]

Gaius Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*:

I.16.5: *Ubi se diutius duci intellexit et diem instare quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Diviciaco et Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat, quem vergobretum appellant Haedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necisque in suos habet potestatem, graviter eos accusat,*

VI.13: *In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo. Nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco, quae nihil audet per se, nullo adhibetur consilio. 2 Plerique, cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus: in hos eadem omnia sunt iura, quae dominis in servos. 3 Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est druidum, alterum equitum. 4 Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur: ad hos magnus adulescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore. 5 Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt, et, si quod est admissum facinus, si caedes facta, si de hereditate, de finibus controversia est, idem decernunt, praemia poenasque constituunt; 6 si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima. 7 Quibus ita est interdictum, hi numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, his omnes decedunt, aditum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant, neque his petentibus ius redditur neque honos ullus communicatur. 8 His autem omnibus druidibus praeest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. 9 Hoc mortuo aut si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate succedit, aut, si sunt plures pares, suffragio druidum, nonnumquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt. 10 hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique, qui controversias habent, conveniunt eorumque decretis iudiciisque parent. 11 Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur, 12 et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.*

VI.16: *Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus, 2 atque ob eam causam, qui sunt adfecti gravioribus morbis quique in proeliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant aut se immolaturos vovent administrisque ad ea sacrificia druidibus utuntur, quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, 3 non posse deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur, publiceque eiusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia. Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, 4 quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent; quibus succensis circumventi flamma exanimantur homines. 5 Supplicia eorum qui in furto aut in latrocinio aut aliqua noxia sint comprehensi gratiora dis immortalibus esse arbitrantur; sed, cum eius generis copia defecit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt.*

VI.17: *Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt plurima simulacra: hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc Apollinem et Martem et Iovem et Minervam. 2 De his eandem fere, quam reliquae gentes, habent opinionem: Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere, Iovem imperium caelestium tenere, Martem bella regere. 3 Huic, cum proelio dimicare constituerunt, ea quae bello ceperint plerumque devovent: cum superaverunt, animalia capta immolant reliquasque res in unum locum conferunt. 4 Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet; 5 neque saepe accidit, ut neglecta quispiam religione aut capta apud se occultare aut posita tollere auderet, gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est.*

VI.21: *Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt. Nam neque druides habent, qui rebus divinis praesint, neque sacrificiis student. 2 Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus iuvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt. 3 Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit: ab parvulis labori ac duritiae student. Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, 4 maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali vires nervosque confirmari putant. 5 Intra annum vero vicesimum feminae notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus; cuius rei nulla est occultatio, quod et promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur et pellibus aut parvis renonum tegimentis utuntur magna corporis parte nuda.*

VIII.38.3: *Cum in Carnutes venisset, quorum in civitate superiore commentario Caesar exposuit initium belli esse ortum, quod praecipue eos propter conscientiam facti timere animadvertebat, quo celerius civitatem timore liberaret, principem sceleris illius et concitatorem belli, Gutruatum, ad supplicium depoposcit.*

[C. Julius Caesar. C. Iuli Commentarii Rerum in Gallia Gestarum VII A. Hirti Commentarius VII. T. Rice Holmes. Oxonii. e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1914. Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis.]

1.16.5 He [Caesar] perceived that he was being put off too long, and that the day was close upon him whereon it was proper to issue the grain-ration to the troops: accordingly he summoned together the leading Aeduans, of whom he had a great number in his camp, among them Divitiacus and Liscus, who had the highest magistracy, which the Aedui call Vergobretus: the magistrate is elected annually, and has the power of life and death over his fellow-countrymen. Caesar called them severely to account ...

6.13. Throughout all Gaul there are two orders of those men who are of any rank and dignity: for the commonality is held almost in the condition of slaves, and dares to undertake nothing of itself, and is admitted to no deliberation. The greater part, when they are pressed either by debt, or the large amount of their tributes, or the oppression of the more powerful, give themselves up in vassalage to the nobles, who possess over them the same rights without exception as masters over their slaves. But of these two orders, one is that of the Druids, the other that of the knights. The former are engaged in things sacred, conduct the public and the private sacrifices, and interpret all matters of religion. To these a large number of the young men resort for the purpose of instruction, and they [the Druids] are in great honor among them. For they determine respecting almost all controversies, public and private; and if any crime has been perpetrated, if murder has been committed, if there be any dispute about an inheritance, if any about boundaries, these same persons decide it; they decree rewards and punishments; if any one, either in a private or public capacity, has not submitted to their decision, they interdict him from the sacrifices. This among them is the most heavy punishment. Those who have been thus interdicted are esteemed in the number of the impious and the criminal: all shun them, and avoid their society and conversation, lest they receive some evil from their contact; nor is justice administered to them when seeking it, nor is any dignity bestowed on them. Over all these Druids one presides, who possesses supreme authority among them. Upon his death, if any individual among the rest is pre-eminent in dignity, he succeeds; but, if there are many equal, the election is made by the suffrages of the Druids; sometimes they even contend for the presidency with arms. These assemble at a fixed period of the year in a consecrated place in the territories of the Carnutes, which is reckoned the central region of the whole of Gaul. Hither all, who have disputes, assemble from every part, and submit to their decrees and determinations. This institution is supposed to have been devised in Britain, and to have been brought over from it into Gaul; and now those who desire to gain a more accurate knowledge of that system generally proceed thither for the purpose of studying it.

6.16. The nation of all the Gauls is extremely devoted to superstitious rites; and on that account they who are troubled with unusually severe diseases, and they who are engaged in battles and dangers, either sacrifice men as victims, or vow that they will sacrifice them, and employ the Druids as the performers of those sacrifices; because they think that unless the life of a man be offered for the life of a man, the mind of the immortal gods cannot be rendered propitious, and they have sacrifices of that kind ordained for national purposes. Others have figures of vast

size, the limbs of which formed of osiers they fill with living men, which being set on fire, the men perish enveloped in the flames. They consider that the oblation of such as have been taken in theft, or in robbery, or any other offense, is more acceptable to the immortal gods; but when a supply of that class is wanting, they have recourse to the oblation of even the innocent.

6.17. They worship as their divinity, Mercury in particular, and have many images of him, and regard him as the inventor of all arts, they consider him the guide of their journeys and marches, and believe him to have great influence over the acquisition of gain and mercantile transactions. Next to him they worship Apollo, and Mars, and Jupiter, and Minerva; respecting these deities they have for the most part the same belief as other nations: that Apollo averts diseases, that Minerva imparts the invention of manufactures, that Jupiter possesses the sovereignty of the heavenly powers; that Mars presides over wars. To him, when they have determined to engage in battle, they commonly vow those things which they shall take in war. When they have conquered, they sacrifice whatever captured animals may have survived the conflict, and collect the other things into one place. In many states you may see piles of these things heaped up in their consecrated spots; nor does it often happen that any one, disregarding the sanctity of the case, dares either to secrete in his house things captured, or take away those deposited; and the most severe punishment, with torture, has been established for such a deed.

6.21. The Germans differ much from these usages, for they have neither Druids to preside over sacred offices, nor do they pay great regard to sacrifices. They rank in the number of the gods those alone whom they behold, and by whose instrumentality they are obviously benefited, namely, the sun, fire, and the moon; they have not heard of the other deities even by report. Their whole life is occupied in hunting and in the pursuits of the military art; from childhood they devote themselves to fatigue and hardships. Those who have remained chaste for the longest time, receive the greatest commendation among their people; they think that by this the growth is promoted, by this the physical powers are increased and the sinews are strengthened. And to have had knowledge of a woman before the twentieth year they reckon among the most disgraceful acts; of which matter there is no concealment, because they bathe promiscuously in the rivers and [only] use skins or small cloaks of deer's hides, a large portion of the body being in consequence naked.

8.38.3. When he came to the Carnutes, in whose state he has in a former commentary mentioned that the war first broke out; observing, that from a consciousness of their guilt, they seemed to be in the greatest terror: to relieve the state the sooner from its fear, he demanded that Guturvatus, the promoter of that treason, and the instigator of that rebellion, should be delivered up to punishment.

[Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars. Translated by W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn*, 1869, New York: Harper & Brothers]

Cassius Dio *Historiae Romanae*

LXII, 6.1-2:

6 [1] *καὶ ἵνα γε ἀπὸ πρώτου τοῦ βραχυτάτου ἄρξωμαι, χρήματά σοι πολλὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται πορίζειν: ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὰς νῦν οὔσας προσόδους πρός τε τἆλλα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τροφὴν ἐξαρκέσαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις: οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε* [2] *πολιτείαν τινὰ ἄνευ δαπάνης συστῆναι. ἀλλ᾽ ἐν μὲν ἐκείναις μάλιστα μὲν ἑκόντες πολλοὶ πολλὰ ἐπιδιδόασιν, ἐν φιλοτιμίας μέρει τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιούμενοι καὶ τιμὰς ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀξίας ἀντιλαμβάνοντες: ἂν δέ που καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι παρὰ πάντων ἐσφοραὶ γένωνται, ἑαυτούς τε πείθοντες*

6.1. When she had finished speaking, she employed a species of divination, letting a hare escape from the fold of her dress; and since it ran on what they considered the auspicious side, the whole multitude shouted with pleasure, and Buduica, raising her hand toward heaven, said: 2 'I thank thee, Andraste, and call upon thee as woman speaking to woman; for I rule over no burden-bearing Egyptians as did Nitocris, nor over trafficking Assyrians as did Semiramis (for we have by now gained thus much learning from the Romans!) [...]

LXII, 7.2-3:

7 [2] *φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν. τούτοις δ᾽ ἂν μὲν ἑτέρους δικαστὰς καθίζῃς, ἀπολύοιντό τε ἂν διασπευδόμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσους ἂν ἐχθραίνειν νομισθῇς: καὶ γὰρ προσποίησίν τινα ἐξουσίας οἱ δικάζοντες λαμβάνουσιν, ὅταν τι παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ* [3] *κρατοῦντι ποιήσωσι: κἂν ἄρα τινὲς ἁλίσκωνται, διὰ σὲ δόξουσιν ἐκ κατασκευάσματος κατεψηφίσθαι. ἂν δ᾽ αὐτὸς δικάζῃς, πολλοὺς ἀναγκασθήσῃ καὶ τῶν ὁμοτίμων κολάζειν᾽ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εὐτυχέσ᾽, καὶ πάντως τινὰς αὐτῶν ὀργῇ*

7.2. The worst and most bestial atrocity committed by their captors was the following. They hung up naked the noblest and most distinguished women and then cut off their breasts and sewed them to their mouths, in order to make the victims appear to be eating them; afterwards they impaled the women on sharp skewers run lengthwise through the entire body. 3 All this they did to the accompaniment of sacrifices, banquets, and wanton behaviour, not only in all their other sacred places, but particularly in the grove of Andate. This was their name for Victory, and they regarded her with most exceptional reverence.

[Cassius Dio, *Roman History. Translation by Earnest Cary*, 1914 thru 1927, London; New York: Loeb Classical Library]

M. Tullius Cicero, *De Divinatione*

I.90: *Eaque divinationum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est, siquidem et in Gallia Druidae sunt, e quibus ipse Divitiacum Aeduum, hospitem tuum laudatoremque, cognovi, qui et naturae rationem, quam φυσιολογίαν Graeci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur et partim auguriis, partim coniectura, quae essent futura, dicebat. et in Persis augurantur et divinant magi, qui congregantur in fano commentandi causa atque inter se conloquendi, quod etiam idem vos quondam facere Nonis solebatis.*

[Cicero: De Senectute De Amicitia De Divinatione. With an English Translation. William Armistead Falconer. Cambridge. Harvard University Press; Cambridge, Mass., London, England. 1923.]

1.90 Nor is the practice of divination disregarded even among uncivilized tribes, if indeed there are Druids1 in Gaul—and there are, for I knew one of them myself, Divitiacus, the Aeduan, your guest and eulogist. He claimed to have that knowledge of nature which the Greeks call ' physiologia,' and he used to make predictions, sometimes [p. 323] by means of augury and sometimes by means of conjecture. Among the Persians the augurs and diviners are the magi, who assemble regularly in a sacred place for practice and consultation, just as formerly you augurs used to do on the Nones.

[Cicero: De Senectute De Amicitia De Divinatione. With An English Translation. William Armistead Falconer. Cambridge. Harvard University Press; Cambridge, Mass., London, England. 1923.]

Diodourus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*

IV.56.4: ἀποδείξεις δὲ τούτων φέρουσι, δεικνύντες τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν κατοικοῦντας Κελτοὺς σεβομένους μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν τοὺς Διοσκόρους: παραδόσιμον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων τὴν τούτων τῶν θεῶν παρουσίαν ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ [p. 486] γεγενημένην. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν χώραν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἔχουσαν προσηγορίας ἀπό τε τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν καὶ τῶν Διοσκόρων.

V.31.2-3: εἰσὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιηταὶ μελῶν, οὓς βάρδους ὀνομάζουσιν. οὗτοι δὲ μετ' ὀργάνων ταῖς λύραις ὁμοίων ᾄδοντες οὓς μὲν ὑμνοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ βλασφημοῦσι. φιλόσοφοί τέ τινές εἰσι καὶ θεολόγοι περιττῶς τιμώμενοι, οὓς δρουίδας ὀνομάζουσι. [3] χρῶνται δὲ καὶ μάντεσιν, ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης ἀξιοῦντες αὐτούς: οὗτοι δὲ διά τε τῆς οἰωνοσκοπίας καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἱερείων θυσίας τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγουσι, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἔχουσιν ὑπήκοον.

[Diodori Bibliotheca Historica, Vol 1-2. Diodorus Siculus. Immanel Bekker. Ludwig Dindorf. Friedrich Vogel. in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. Leipzig. 1888-1890]

4.56.4 And the writers even offer proofs of these things, pointing out that the Celts who dwell along the ocean venerate the Dioscori above any of the gods, since they have a tradition handed down from ancient times that these gods appeared among them coming from the ocean. Moreover, the country which skirts the ocean bears, they say, not a few names which are derived from the Argonauts and the Dioscori.

5.31.2-3 And there are among them [the Gauls] composers of verses whom they call Bards; these singing to instruments similar to a lyre, applaud some, while they vituperate others. They have philosophers and theologians who are held in much honor and are called the Druids; they have sooth-sayers too of great renown who tell the future by watching the flights of birds and by observation of the entrails of victims; and everyone waits upon their word.

[Diodorus Siculus, The Library of History published in Vol. II of the Loeb Classical Library edition, 1935].

Diogenes Laertius, *Βίοι καὶ γνῶμαι τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ εὐδοκιμησάντων*

I.1 *Τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἔργον ἔνιοί φασιν ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἄρξαι. γεγενῆσθαι γὰρ παρὰ μὲν Πέρσαις Μάγους, παρὰ δὲ Βαβυλωνίοις ἢ Ἀσσυρίοις Χαλδαίους, καὶ Γυμνοσοφιστὰς παρ᾽ Ἰνδοῖς, παρά τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Γαλάταις τοὺς καλουμένους Δρυΐδας καὶ Σεμνοθέους, καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Μαγικῷ καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῆς Διαδοχῆς. Φοίνικά τε γενέσθαι Μῶχον, καὶ Θρᾷκα Ζάμολξιν, καὶ Λίβυν Ἄτλαντα.*

1.1. There are some who say that the study of philosophy had its beginning among the barbarians. They urge that the Persians have had their Magi, the Babylonians or Assyrians their Chaldaeans, and the Indians their Gymnosophists; and among the Celts and Gauls there are the people called Druids or Holy Ones, for which they cite as authorities the Magicus of Aristotle and Sotion in the twenty-third book of his Succession of Philosophers. Also they say that Mochus was a Phoenician, Zamolxis a Thracian, and Atlas a Libyan.

[Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers. Translated by R.D. Hicks*, 1925, London; New York: Loeb Classical Library]

Historiae Augustae

Septimius Severus, XXII, 6-7: *et in civitatem veniens cum rem divinam vellet facere, primum ad Bellonae templum ductus est errore haruspicis rustici, deinde hostiae furvae sunt adplicitae. [7] quod cum esset aspernatus atque ad Palatium se reciperet, neglegentia ministrorum nigrae hostiae et usque ad limen domus Palatinae imperatorem secutae sunt.*

[Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vol 1. David Magie. Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore. Susan Helen Ballou. London: William Heinemann; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons. 1921.]

22.6-7. And when on reaching the town he wished to perform a sacrifice, in the first place, through a misunderstanding on the part of the rustic soothsayer, he was taken to the Temple of Bellona, and, in the second place, the victims provided him were black. 7. And then, when he abandoned the sacrifice in disgust and betook himself to the Palace, through some carelessness on the part of the attendants the black victims followed him up to its very doors.

Alexander Severus, LX, 6-8: *Mulier Druias eunti exclamavit Gallico sermone, 'Vadas nec victoriam speres nec te militi tuo credas.' [7] tribunal ascendit, ut contionaretur et faustum aliquid diceret, et ita coepit 'Occiso imperatore Heliogabalo.' [8] hoc tamen omini fuit quod iturus ad bellum milites adloqui minus fausta oratione coeptaverat.*

Numerianus, XIV, 1-3: *[1] Curiosum non puto neque satis vulgare fabellam de Diocletiano Augusto ponere hoc convenientem loco, quae illi data est ad omen imperii. avus meus mihi rettulit ab ipso Diocletiano compertum. [2] 'Cum,' inquit, 'Diocletianus apud Tungros in Gallia in quadam caupona moraretur, in minoribus adhuc locis militans, et cum Druiade quadam muliere rationem convictus sui cottidiani faceret, atque illa diceret, 'Diocletiane, nimium avarus, nimium parcus es,' ioco non serio Diocletianus respondisse fertur, 'Tunc ero largus, cum fuero imperator.' [3] post quod verbum Druias dixisse fertur, 'Diocletiane, iocari noli, nam eris imperator cum Aprum occideris.'*

Aurelianus, XLIV, 4-5: *[4] dicebat enim quodam tempore Aurelianum Gallicanas consuluisse Druiadas, sciscitantem utrum apud eius posteros imperium permaneret, cum illas respondisse dixit nullius clarius in re publica nomen quam Claudii posteriorum futurum. [5] et est quidem iam Constantius imperator, eiusdem vir sanguinis, cuius puto posteros ad eam gloriam quae a Druiadibus pronuntiata sit pervenire. quod idcirco ego in Aureliani vita constitui quia haec ipsi Aureliano consulenti responsa sunt.*

[Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vol 2. David Magie. Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore. London: William Heinemann; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.]

Alexander Severus 60.6. Furthermore, as he went to war a Druid prophetess cried out in the Gallic tongue, 'Go, but do not hope for victory, and put no trust in your soldiers.' 7 And when he mounted a tribunal in order to make a speech and say something of good omen, he began in this wise: 'On the murder of the Emperor Elagabalus'. 8 But it was regarded as a portent that when about to go to war he began an address to the troops with words of ill-omen.

Numerianus 14.1. I do not consider it too painstaking or yet too much in the ordinary manner to insert a story about Diocletian Augustus that seems not out of place here — an incident which he regarded as an omen of his future rule. This story my grandfather related to me, having heard it from Diocletian himself. 2 'When Diocletian,'

he said, 'while still serving in a minor post, was stopping at a certain tavern in the land of the Tungri in Gaul, and was making up his daily reckoning with a woman, who was a Druidess, she said to him, 'Diocletian, you are far too greedy and far too stingy,' to which Diocletian replied, it is said, not in earnest, but only in jest, 'I shall be generous enough when I become emperor.' 3 At this the Druidess said, so he related, 'Do not jest, Diocletian, for you will become emperor when you have slain a Boar'.

Aurelianus 44.4. For he used to relate that on a certain occasion Aurelian consulted the Druid priestesses in Gaul and inquired of them whether the imperial power would remain with his descendants, but they replied, he related, that none would have a name more illustrious in the commonwealth than the descendants of Claudius. 5 And, in fact, Constantius is now our emperor, a man of Claudius' blood, whose descendants, I ween, will attain to that glory which the Druids foretold. And this I have put in the Life of Aurelian for the reason that this response was made to him when he inquired in person.

[*The Scriptores Historiae Augustae. Translated by D. Magie*, 1989, London; New York: Loeb Classical Library]

M. Annaeus Lucanus, *Pharsalia*

I.444-6: *Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro*
Tentates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus,
Et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.

I.450-1: *Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum*
Sacrorum, Druidae, positis repetistis ab armis.

1.444-6 And those who pacify with blood accursed
Savage Teutates, Hesus' horrid shrines,
And Taranis' altars, cruel as were those
Loved by Diana, goddess of the north.

1.450-1 While you, ye Druids, when the war was done,
To mysteries strange and hateful rites returned.

[Lucan. *The Civil War (Pharsalia). Translated by J. D. Duff*, 1928, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library]

Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia*

III. 19: *Hi terrae mundique magnitudinem et formam, motus caeli ac siderum et quid dii velint, scire profitentur. docent multa nobilissimos gentis clam et diu, vicenis annis, aut in specu aut in abditis saltibus.*

[Ranstrand G. 1971, *De chorographia libri tres: una cum indice verborum*, Stockholm.]

3.19. These profess to know the size and shape of the world, the movements of the heavens and of the stars, and the will of the gods. They teach many things to the noblest of the nation in a course of instruction lasting as long as twenty years, meeting in secret either in a cave or in secluded dales.

[Romer F.E. 1998, *Pomponius Mela's description of the world*, Ann Arbor.]

Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis Historia*

XVI.249: *Non est omittenda in hac re et Galliarum admiratio. Nihil habent Druidae — ita suos appellant magos — visco et arbore, in qua gignatur, si modo sit robur, sacratius.*

XXX.3: *Gallias utique possedit, et quidem ad nostram memoriam. namque tiberii caesaris principatus sustulit druidas eorum et hoc genus vatum medicorumque. sed quid ego haec commemorem in arte oceanum quoque transgressa et ad naturae inane pervecta britannia hodieque eam adtonita celebrat tantis caerimoniis, ut dedisse persis videri possit. adeo ista toto mundo consensere, quamquam discordi et sibi ignoto. nec satis aestimari potest, quantum romanis debeatur, qui sustulere monstra, in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandi vero etiam saluberrimum.*

[*Naturalis Historia*. Pliny the Elder. Karl Friedrich Theodor Mayhoff. Lipsiae. Teubner. 1906.]

16.249. Here we must mention the awe felt for this plant by the Gauls. The Druids – for so their magicians are called – held nothing more sacred than the mistletoe and the tree that bears it, always supposing that tree to be the oak.

30.3. The Gallic provinces, too, were pervaded by the magic art, and that even down to a period within memory; for it was the Emperor Tiberius that put down their Druids, and all that tribe of wizards and physicians. But why make further mention of these prohibitions, with reference to an art which has now crossed the very Ocean even, and has penetrated to the void recesses of Nature? At the present day, struck with fascination, Britannia still cultivates this art, and that, with ceremonials so august, that she might almost seem to have been the first to communicate them to the people of Persia. To such a degree are nations throughout the whole world, totally different as they are and quite unknown to one another, in accord upon this one point! Such being the fact, then, we cannot too highly appreciate the obligation that is due to the Roman people, for having put an end to those monstrous rites, in accordance with which, to murder a man was to do an act of the greatest devoutness, and to eat his flesh was to secure the highest blessings of health.

[*The Natural History*. Pliny the Elder. John Bostock, M.D., F.R.S. H.T. Riley, Esq., B.A. London. Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. 1855.]

Silius Italicus, *Punica*

III.14-31: *Exin clauigeri ueneratus numinis aras*
captiuis onerat donis, quae nuper ab arce
uictor fumantis rapuit semusta Sagunti.
uulgatum, nec cassa fides, ab origine fani
impositas durare trabes solasque per aeuum
condentum nouisse manus. hinc credere gaudent
consedisse deum seniumque repellere templis.
tum, quis fas et honos adyti penetralia nosse,
femineos prohibent gressus ac limine curant
saetigeros arcere sues. nec discolor ulli
ante aras cultus: uelantur corpora lino,
et Pelusiaco praefulget stamine uertex.
discinctis mos tura dare atque e lege parentum
sacrificam lato uestem distinguere clauo:
pes nudus tonsaeque comae castumque cubile.
inrestincta focis seruant altaria flammae,
sed nulla effigies simulacraue nota deorum
maiestate locum et sacro impleuere timore.

[Silius Italicus. Corpus Poetarum Latinorum, Vol 2. Walter Coventry Summers. John Percival Postgate. London. Sumptibus G. Bell et Filiorum. 1905.]

3.14-44 Thereafter he worshipped at the altars of the 'god
who bears the club,' and loaded them with offerings
lately snatched by the conqueror from the fire and
smoke of the citadel of Saguntum. Men said —
and it was no idle tale — that the timber, of which
the temple was built at first, never decayed, and for
ages never felt the handiwork of any others than the
first builders. Hence men take pleasure in the belief
that the god has taken up his abode there and defends
his temple from decay. Further, those who are per-
mitted and privileged to have access to the inner
shrine forbid the approach of women, and are careful
to keep bristly swine away from the threshold. The
dress worn before the altars is the same for all: linen
covers their limbs, and their foreheads are adorned

with a head-band of Pelusian^ flax. It is their custom to offer incense with robes ungirt; and, following their fathers' rule, they adorn the garment of sacrifice with a broad stripe. Their feet are bare and their heads shaven, and their bed admits no partner; the fires on the hearth-stones keep the altars alight perpetually. But no statues or familiar images of the gods filled the place with solemnity and sacred awe.

[Silius Italicus, Punica, With an English Translation By J. D. Duff, London-Cambridge, MA 1961]

Strabo, *Geography*

IV.4, 4-5: παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ὡς ἐπίπαν τρία φῦλα τῶν [p. 270] τιμωμένων διαφερόντως ἐστί, βάρδοι τε καὶ ὀυάτεις καὶ δρυΐδαι: βάρδοι μὲν ὑμνηταὶ καὶ ποιηταί, ὀυάτεις δὲ ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ φυσιολόγοι, δρυΐδαι δὲ πρὸς τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκοῦσι: δικαιότατοι δὲ νομίζονται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πιστεύονται τάς τε ἰδιωτικὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὰς κοινάς, ὥστε καὶ πολέμους διῃτῶν πρότερον καὶ παρατάττεσθαι μέλλοντας ἔπαυον, τὰς δὲ φονικὰς δίκας μάλιστα τούτοις ἐπετέτραπτο δικάζειν. ... ὅταν τε φορὰ τούτων ᾖ, φορὰν καὶ τῆς χώρας νομίζουσιν ὑπάρχειν. ἀφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κόσμον, ἐπικρατήσειν δέ ποτε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ. **5**. τῷ δ' ἁπλῷ καὶ θυμικῷ πολὺ τὸ ἀνόητον καὶ ἀλαζονικὸν πρόσεστι καὶ τὸ φιλόκοσμον: χρυσοφοροῦσί τε γάρ, περὶ μὲν τοῖς τραχήλοις στρεπτὰ ἔχοντες περὶ δὲ τοῖς βραχίοσι καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς ψέλια, καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας βαπτὰς φοροῦσι καὶ χρυσοπάστους οἱ ἐν ἀξιώματι. ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης δὲ κουφότητος ἀφόρητοι μὲν νικῶντες, ἐκπλαγεῖς δ' ἡττηθέντες ὀρῶνται. πρόσεστι δὲ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ καὶ τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ τὸ ἔκφυλον, ὃ τοῖς προσβόρροις ἔθνεσι παρακολουθεῖ πλεῖστον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπιόντας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐξάπτειν ἐκ τῶν αὐχένων τῶν ἵππων, κομίσαντας δὲ προσπατταλεύειν τοῖς προπυλαίοις. φησὶ γοῦν Ποσειδώνιος αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ταύτην τὴν θέαν πολλαχοῦ, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀηθίζεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν πράως διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. τὰς δὲ τῶν ἐνδόξων κεφαλὰς κεδροῦντες ἐπεδείκνυον τοῖς ξένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ἰσοστάσιον χρυσὸν ἀπολυτροῦν ἠξίουν. καὶ τούτων δ' ἔπαυσαν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ μαντείας ὑπεναντίων τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν νομίμοις. ἄνθρωπον γὰρ κατεσπεισμένον παίσαντες εἰς νῶτον μαχαίρᾳ [p. 271] ἐμαντεύοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ. ἔθυον δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ δρυϊδῶν. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν εἴδη λέγεται: καὶ γὰρ κατετόξευόν τινας καὶ ἀνεσταύρουν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χόρτου καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοῦτον βοσκήματα καὶ θηρία παντοῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ὡλοκαύτουν.

[Strabo. ed. A. Meineke, Geographica. Leipzig: Teubner. 1877.]

4.4.4. Amongst [the Gauls] there are generally three divisions of' men especially reverenced, the Bards, the Vates, and the Druids. The Bards composed and chanted hymns; the Vates occupied themselves with the sacrifices and the study of nature; while the Druids joined to the study of nature that of moral philosophy. The belief in the justice [of the Druids] is so great that the decision both of public and private disputes is referred to them; and they have before now, by their decision, prevented armies from engaging when drawn up in battle-array against each other. All cases of murder are particularly referred to them. When there is plenty of these they imagine there will likewise be a plentiful harvest. Both these and the others1 assert that the soul is indestructible, and likewise the world, but that sometimes fire and sometimes water have prevailed in making great changes. [5] To their simplicity and vehemence, the Gauls join much folly, arrogance, and love of ornament. They wear golden collars round their necks, and bracelets on their arms and wrists, and those who are of any dignity have garments dyed and worked with gold. This lightness of character makes them intolerable when they conquer, and throws them into consternation when worsted. In addition to their folly, they have a barbarous and absurd custom, common however with many nations of the north, of suspending the heads of their enemies from their horses' necks on their return from tattle, and when they have arrived nailing them as a spectacle to their gates. Posidonius says he witnessed this in many different places, and was at first shocked, but became familiar with it in time on account of its frequency. The beads of any illustrious persons they embalm with cedar, exhibit them to strangers, and would not sell them for their weight in gold.1 However, the Romans put a stop to these customs, as well as to their modes of sacrifice and divination, which were quite opposite to those sanctioned by our laws. They would strike a man devoted as an offering in his back with a sword, and divine from his convulsive throes. Without the Druids they never sacrifice. It is said they have other modes of sacrificing their human victims; that they pierce some of them with arrows, and crucify others in their temples; and that they prepare a colossus of hay and wood, into which they put cattle, beasts of all kinds, and men, and then set fire to it.

[The Geography of Strabo. Literally translated, with notes, in three volumes. London. George Bell & Sons. 1903.]

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *De Vita Caesarum*

***Augustus* XCIV.6:** *atque etiam sequenti statim nocte uidere uisus est filium mortali specie ampliorem, cum fulmine et sceptro exuuiisque Iouis Optimi Maximi ac radiata corona, super laureatum currum, bis senis equis candore eximio trahentibus. infans adhuc, ut scriptum apud C. Drusum extat, repositus uespere in cunas a nutricula loco plano, postera luce non comparuit diuque quaesitus tandem in altissima turri repertus est iacens contra solis exortum.*

***Claudius* XXV.5:** *Druidarum religionem apud Gallos dirae immanitatis et tantum ciuibus sub Augusto interdictam penitus aboleuit.*

[C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *De Vita Caesarum,* M. Ihm, Ed. Loeb 1907]

Augustus 94.6. Moreover, the very next night he dreamt that his son appeared to him in a guise more majestic than that of mortal man, with the thunderbolt, sceptre, and insignia of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, wearing a crown begirt with rays and mounted upon a laurel-wreathed chariot drawn by twelve horses of surpassing whiteness. When Augustus was still an infant, as is recorded by the hand of Gaius Drusus, he was placed by his nurse at evening in his cradle on the ground floor and the next morning had disappeared; but after long search he was at last found on a lofty tower with his face towards the rising sun.

Claudius 25.5. The religious rites of the Druids, solemnized with such horrid cruelties, which had only been forbidden the citizens of Rome during the reign of Augustus, he utterly abolished among the Gauls.

[Suetonius: The Lives of the Twelve Caesars; An English Translation, Augmented with the Biographies of Contemporary Statesmen, Orators, Poets, and Other Associates. Suetonius. Publishing Editor. J. Eugene Reed. Alexander Thomson. Philadelphia. Gebbie & Co. 1889.]

Cornelius Tacitus, *Agricola*

21.1: *Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos, castigando segnis: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat.*

[Opera Minora. Cornelius Tacitus. Henry Furneaux. Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1900]

1. The following winter passed without disturbance, and was employed in salutary measures. For, to accustom to rest and repose through the charms of luxury a population scattered and barbarous and therefore inclined to war, Agricola gave private encouragement and public aid to the building of temples, courts of justice and dwelling-houses, praising the energetic, and reproving the indolent. Thus an honourable rivalry took the place of compulsion.

[Cornelius Tacitus, *The Life of Cnæus Julius Agricola* Alfred John Church, William Jackson Brodribb, Ed.]

Cornelius Tacitus, *Annales*

III.43: *Apud Aeduos maior moles exorta quanto civitas opulentior et comprimendi procul praesidium. Augustodunum caput gentis armatis cohortibus Sacrovir occupaverat ut nobilissimam Galliarum subolem, liberalibus studiis ibi operatam, et eo pignore parentes propinquosque eorum adiungeret; simul arma occulte fabricata iuventuti dispertit. quadraginta milia fuere, quinta sui parte legionariis armis, ceteri cum venabulis et cultris quaeque alia venantibus tela sunt. adduntur e servitiis gladiaturae destinati quibus more gentico continuum ferri tegimen: cruppellarios vocant, inferendis ictibus inhabilis, accipiendis impenetrabilis. augebantur eae copiae vicinarum civitatum ut nondum aperta consensione, ita viritim promptis studiis, et certamine ducum Romanorum, quos inter ambigebatur utroque bellum sibi poscente. mox Varro invalidus senecta vigenti Silio concessit.*

XIV.30: *Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercursantibus feminis; in modum Furiarum veste ferali, crinibus deiectis faces praeferebant; Druidaeque circum, preces diras sublatis ad caelum manibus fundentes, novitate aspectus perculere militem ut quasi haerentibus membris immobile corpus vulneribus praeberent. dein cohortationibus ducis et se ipsi stimulantes ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa sternuntque obvios et igni suo involvunt. praesidium posthac*

impositum victis excisique luci saevis superstitionibus sacri: nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant. haec agenti Suetonio repentina defectio provinciae nuntiatur. **31** [...] *Ad hoc templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur, delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant.*

[*Cornelii Taciti Annalivm ab excessv divi Avgvsti libri*, Fisher, C. D. 1906, Oxford Classical Texts]

3.43. A more formidable movement broke out among the Ædui, proportioned to the greater wealth of the state and the distance of the force which should repress it. Sacrovir with some armed cohorts had made himself master of Augustodunum, the capital of the tribe, with the noblest youth of Gaul, there devoting themselves to a liberal education, and with such hostages he proposed to unite in his cause their parents and kinsfolk. He also distributed among the youth arms which he had had secretly manufactured. There were forty thousand, one fifth armed like our legionaries; the rest had spears and knives and other weapons used in the chase. In addition were some slaves who were being trained for gladiators, clad after the national fashion in a complete covering of steel. They were called crupellarii, and though they were ill-adapted for inflicting wounds, they were impenetrable to them. This army was continually increased, not yet by any open combination of the neighbouring states, but by zealous individual enthusiasm, as well as by strife between the Roman generals, each of whom claimed the war for himself. Varro after a while, as he was infirm and aged, yielded to Silius who was in his prime.

14.30. On the shore stood the opposing army with its dense array of armed warriors, while between the ranks dashed women, in black attire like the Furies, with hair dishevelled, waving brands. All around, the Druids, lifting up their hands to heaven, and pouring forth dreadful imprecations, scared our soldiers by the unfamiliar sight, so that, as if their limbs were paralysed, they stood motionless, and exposed to wounds. Then urged by their general's appeals and mutual encouragements not to quail before a troop of frenzied women, they bore the standards onwards, smote down all resistance, and wrapped the foe in the flames of his own brands. A force was next set over the conquered, and their groves, devoted to inhuman superstitions, were destroyed. They deemed it indeed a duty to cover their altars with the blood of captives and to consult their deities through human entrails. 31 [...] A temple also erected to the Divine Claudius was ever before their eyes, a citadel, as it seemed, of perpetual tyranny. Men chosen as priests had to squander their whole fortunes under the pretence of a religious ceremonial.

[*Complete Works of Tacitus. Tacitus*. Alfred John Church. William Jackson Brodribb. Sara Bryant. New York: Reprinted 1942]

Cornelius Tacitus, *Germania*

10: *Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant. sortium consuetudo simplex. virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam discretos super [2] candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. mox, si publice consultetur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae, precatus deos caelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam [3] interpretatur. si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis equorum [4] quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. publice aluntur isdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. [5] nec ulli auspicio maior fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes; se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. [6] eius gentis cum qua bellum est captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria huius vel illius pro praeiudicio accipitur.*

43.4: *Apud Naharvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium;*

[*Opera Minora. Cornelius Tacitus*. Henry Furneaux. Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1900]

10. Augury and divination by lot no people practise more diligently. The use of the lots is simple. A little bough is lopped off a fruit-bearing tree, and cut into small pieces; these are distinguished by certain marks, and thrown carelessly and at random over a white garment. In public questions the priest of the particular state, in private the father of the family, invokes the gods, and, with his eyes towards heaven, takes up each piece three times, and finds in them a meaning according to the mark previously impressed on them. If they prove unfavourable, there is no further consultation that day about the matter; if they sanction it, the confirmation of augury is still required. For they are also familiar with the practice of consulting the notes and the flight of birds. It is peculiar to this people

to seek omens and monitions from horses. Kept at the public expense, in these same woods and groves, are white horses, pure from the taint of earthly labour; these are yoked to a sacred car, and accompanied by the priest and the king, or chief of the tribe, who note their neighings and snortings. No species of augury is more trusted, not only by the people and by the nobility, but also by the priests, who regard themselves as the ministers of the gods, and the horses as acquainted with their will. They have also another method of observing auspices, by which they seek to learn the result of an important war. Having taken, by whatever means, a prisoner from the tribe with whom they are at war, they pit him against a picked man of their own tribe, each combatant using the weapons of their country. The victory of the one or the other is accepted as an indication of the issue.

43.4. Among these last [the Nahanarvali] is shown a grove of immemorial sanctity. A priest in female attire has the charge of it. But the deities are described in Roman language as Castor and Pollux. Such, indeed, are the attributes of the divinity, the name being Alcis. They have no images, or, indeed, any vestige of foreign superstition.

[Complete Works of Tacitus. Tacitus. Alfred John Church. William Jackson Brodribb. Lisa Cerrato. edited for Perseus. New York. Reprinted 1942.]

Cornelius Tacitus, *Historiae*

II.61: *Inter magnorum virorum discrimina, pudendum dictu, Mariccus quidam, e plebe Boiorum, inserere sese fortunae et provocare arma Romana simulatione numinum ausus est. iamque adsertor Galliarum et deus (nam id sibi indiderat) concitis octo milibus hominum proximos Aeduorum pagos trahebat, cum gravissima civitas electa iuventute, adiectis a Vitellio cohortibus, fanaticam multitudinem disiecit. captus in eo proelio Mariccus; ac mox feris obiectus quia non laniabatur, stolidum vulgus inviolabilem credebat, donec spectante Vitellio interfectus est.*

IV.54: *paria de Britannia fingebantur. sed nihil aeque quam incendium Capitolii, ut finem imperio adesse crederent, impulerat. captam olim a Gallis urbem, sed integra Iovis sede mansisse imperium: fatali nunc igne signum caelestis irae datum et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi superstitione vana Druidae canebant.*

[Historiae. Cornelius Tacitus. Charles Dennis Fisher. Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1911.]

2.61 Amid the adventures of these illustrious men, one is ashamed to relate how a certain Mariccus, a Boian of the lowest origin, pretending to divine inspiration, ventured to thrust himself into fortune's game, and to challenge the arms of Rome. Calling himself the champion of Gaul, and a God (for he had assumed this title), he had now collected 8000 men, and was taking possession of the neighbouring villages of the Ædui, when that most formidable state attacked him with a picked force of its native youth, to which Vitellius attached some cohorts, and dispersed the crowd of fanatics. Mariccus was captured in the engagement, and was soon after exposed to wild beasts, but not having been torn by them was believed by the senseless multitude to be invulnerable, till he was put to death in the presence of Vitellius.

4.54 Rumours equally false were circulated respecting Britain. Above all, the conflagration of the Capitol had made them believe that the end of the Roman Empire was at hand. The Gauls, they remembered, had captured the city in former days, but, as the abode of Jupiter was uninjured, the Empire had survived; whereas now the Druids declared, with the prophetic utterances of an idle superstition, that this fatal conflagration was a sign of the anger of heaven, and portended universal empire for the Transalpine nations.

[Complete Works of Tacitus. Tacitus. Alfred John Church. William Jackson Brodribb. Lisa Cerrato. edited for Perseus. New York. Reprinted 1942]

P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneid*

XII.161-74: *Interea reges, ingenti mole Latinus*
quadriiugo vehitur curru, cui tempora circum
aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt,
Solis avi specimen; bigis it Turnus in albis,
165bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro;
hinc pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo,
sidereo flagrans clipeo et caelestibus armis,
et iuxta Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae,

procedunt castris, puraque in veste sacerdos
170saetigeri fetum suis intonsamque bidentem
adtulit admovitque pecus flagrantibus aris.
Illi ad surgentem conversi lumina solem
dant fruges manibus salsas et tempora ferro
summa notant pecudum paterisque altaria libant.

[Vergil. Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics of Vergil. J. B. Greenough. Boston. Ginn & Co. 1900.]

12.161-74: Meanwhile the kings ride forth: Latinus first,
looming tall-statured from his four-horse car;
twelve rays of gold encircle his bright brow,
sign of the sun-god, his progenitor;
next Turnus, driving snow-white steeds, is seen,
two bread-tipped javelins in his hand he bears;
Aeneas, of Rome's blood the source and sire,
with star-bright shield and panoply divine,
far-shining comes; Ascanius by his side—
of Roman greatness the next hope is he.
To camp they rode, where, garbed in blameless white,
with youngling swine and two-year sheep unshorn,
the priest before the flaming altars drove
his flock and offering: to the rising sun
all eyes are lifted, as with careful hand
the salted meal is scattered, while with knives
they mark each victim's brow, outpouring wine
from shallow bowls, the sacrifice to bless.

[Vergil. Aeneid. Theodore C. Williams. trans. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1910.]

Appendix 2

Database

DB NM	Object	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period	Material	Description	Size	Position	Notes	References
1A.CAV1	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Cavenham Heath	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	1st/2nd century AD	Copper-alloy	Five undecorated discs joined by 8 metal(?) chains of S-shaped links. The edges of the discs are irregularly serrated. Raised circular lines on the discs and punched in the middle (decoration attached).	Largest disc: D. 6.3 cm. Small discs: D. between 6 and 5.8 cm			Layard 1925; pl. XXVIII, fig.1. Toynbee 1962, Cat. N. 127.
1A.FAR1	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Farley Heath	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Knob terminal with three loops for chain and a fourth hole punched on the rim. At the end of the chain was a fitting.	Terminal H. 3.8 cm			Bird 1996; Bird 2007: n. 76.
1A.FAR2	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Farley Heath	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Knob terminal characterised by a circular ending. The rim is pinched by holes, likely for the attachment of chains.	H. 4.5 cm			Bird 2007: n. 77.
1A.STO1	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Stony Stratford	Buckinghams.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD	Copper-alloy	It consists of a central conical piece, now broken at the top, to which eight sheet-elements are attached. The element positioned in correspondence with the wearer's forehead has a flower-like shape with a central circular element and five 'petals' (three large ones and two smaller ones). The other seven elements departing from the central top piece resemble elongated heart-shaped leaves. A single chain departs from each of these leaves, which are all linked via a smaller disc. These discs are in turn joined two by two via chains ending in one elongated heart-shaped leaf. The bottoms of these leaves are then joined two by two again via chains. From the two bottom petals of the floral central piece two chains depart which join the two discs on the sides, while a single, long chain links the two sides of the headdress passing under the wearer's chin.	Cap H. 3.05 cm; D. 11.45 x 11.8 cm.			Lysons 1817. Jackson and Burleigh 2018.
1A.STO2	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Stony Stratford	Buckinghams.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD	Copper-alloy	Chain-headdress characterised by a large central disc and for smaller ones, all connected by s-shaped links. The discs originally had applied silver roundels decorated with rosettes in relief; 2 of them have borders of twisted silver, brass and copper wire.	Central disc D. 6.55 cm; smaller discs D. 3.4-3.55 cm			Lysons 1817. Jackson and Burleigh 2018.
1A.STO3	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Stony Stratford	Buckinghams.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD	Copper-alloy /Silver	Two dics and a central 'knob' element, to which a small chain-fragment is still attached.	Knob element D. 5.97 cm			Lysons 1817. Jackson and Burleigh 2018.

DB NM	Object	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period	Material	Description	Size	Position	Notes	References
1A.STO4	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Stony Stratford	Buckinghams.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD	Copper-alloy	Fragmentary chain-headdress consisting of a central roundel decorated with an emboseed triangle with a narrow frame decorated with small dots. Within the triangle is a three-petal element and three small dots are between each two petals. The roundel also has a frame decorated with a rope motif. The roundel is pierced directly on the rim at *c.*90° and chains are still attached to it in three points, while the fragments of a fourth chain are also available. The chains are interrupted by short strips decorated with a rope motif. Four discs would have been attached at the end of these chains (only three fragemntary remian).	Overall W. *c.*54 cm.			Lysons 1817. Jackson and Burleigh 2018.
1A.WAN1	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Wanborough	Surrey	SD	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy/Brass	A circular central piece positioned on the top of the wearer's head, topped by a small wheel with a central knob and five spokes. Four chains depart from this piece at 90° from each other, and each of them ends in a larger ring. Chains departing from these larger rings encircle the wearer's head, while one last chain passes under the wearer's chin.	Terminal H. 4.9 cm.	Layer 2.148/ 2.230	Found associated with rings (Bird 1994: nn. 52, 53) and an iron handle (*ibid.* n. 1).	Bird 1994: n. 6.
1A.WAN2	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Wanborough	Surrey	SD	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy/Brass	Almost complete headgear characterised by a circular, knob-shaped terminal, from which four chains depart at 90° joining a set of chains circuling the wearer's head and falling on his/her chest. The chains are decorated with leaf pendants.	Terminal H. *c.* 2 cm	Layer 2.148/ 2.230		Bird 1994: n. 5.
1A.WAN3	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy	Fragmentary circular terminal topped by a wheel, similar to 1A.WAN1.	H. 5.6 cm	Phase 9	Found associated with Bird 1994: n. 66.	Bird 1994: n. 7.
1A.WAN4	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy	Fragmentary circular terminal , possibly topped by a wheel (found but not attached), and various chain links.	Terminal H. 5.3 cm	Layer 2.230	Found associated with a ring (Bird 1994: n. 51) and pin (*ibid.* n. 56)	Brid 1994: n. 8.
1A.WAN5	Headdress	Chain-headdress	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy	Fragmentary disc charaterised by a central hole. Only one of the four loops is preserved together with the first link of its chain.	L. 5.7 cm			Bird 1994: n. 9.
1A.WES1	Headdress	Chain-headdress	West Stow	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	A fragmentary chain-head dress consisting of three disks and three main chain fragments (of which one was still attached to one of the disks.	Discs: D. *c.* 4cm		Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	SF-D4D044; Minter and Brown 2010.
1B.DEE1	Headdress	Crown	Deeping St James	Lincolnshire	SF	Rural, Unknown	late 2nd/ 3rd AD	Copper-alloy	'Sheet bronze with excised circles and round-cornered triangles. Discoloration suggest that the holes may have been lined with eyelets. The lining was held in position by the top edge of the metal being folded over. The circlet was not continuos but was divided at the back with two finished curved edges (1 survives).	D. *c.* 17 cm. H. *c.* 9 cm.			Painter 1971; 320, n. 2, pl. lxvii,a.
1B.DEE2	Headdress	Crown	Deeping St James	Lincolnshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	late 2nd/ 3rd AD	Copper-alloy	'Sheet bronze with excised circles, each with the fragment of a cross-piece. The metal is thinner than the other 2 crowns and there are fewer holes (more substantial crown). Discoloration round the edges of the holes demonstrates the presence of eyelets to retain the lining.	H. *c.* 9 cm			Painter 1971: 320, n. 3.

DB NM	Object	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period	Material	Description	Size	Position	Notes	References
1B.DEE3	Headdress	Crown	Deeping St James	Lincolnshire	SD	Rural, Unknown	late 2nd/ 3rd AD	Copper-alloy	Crown (2 frr.). 'Sheet bronze with excised circles and round-cornered triangles. Discoloration at the angle of the metal show that some of the holes were lined with eyelets, used to hold in place the lining (frr. Discovered). The main circlet was not a continuos band but was divided at the back with 2 curved edges (1 survives).	D. 17 cm; H.10 cm			Painter 1971: 320, n. 1.
1B.FEL1	Headdress	Crown	Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	2nd half 3rd century (after AD225)	Copper-alloy	3 similar mounts depicting a bearded male. On both sides of each mount are two rectangular features, likely for the attachement of leather or bronze elements (sse the bronze elements found in the deposit). Pertinent to this headdress is also an eagle figurine functioning as the top terminal which would have been attached to one of the meeting pieces, all found in the deposit.	Mount H. c. 3.5 cm; Meeting piece H. 4.9 cm; Bird figurine L. c. 9 cm			Gilbert 1978.
1B.HOC1	Headdress	Crown	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Headgear characterised by two bands crossing on the top of the wearer's head and attached to an horizontal band. The decoration consists of repousse medallions depicting bearded faces placed at the intersection of the horizontal head-band with the other two. The junction of the 2 vertical bands is marked by a short conical terminal.	H. 15.9 cm			Wright 1957: 211, pl. IX, 2. Toynbee 1962: 178, n. 128, pl. 139. Toynbee 1964: 339. Gilbert 1978: 170-4. Henig 1980: 103.
1C.CAV1	Headdress	Diadem	Cavenham Heath	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	1st/2nd century. 2nd-3rd (Toynbee)	Copper-alloy	Diadem with a band that encircle the head. Made from one piece.A metal slip to adjust its size.Stains on the surface probably resemble the application of metal (silver?) plaques (Layard 1925) in the shape of aediculae helding the figure of a divinity (Toynbee 1962). On the upper part, two circular stains side an oval element (jewel?). The 3 metal loops are for inserting bronze feathers as the one found at the site (*ibid*).	Front H.13.2 cm; Band 7.6 to 4 cm			Layard 1925, pl. XXVII, fig. 1. Toynbee 1962, Cat. N. 127, pl. 141.
1C.CAV2	Headdress	Diadem	Cavenham Heath	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	1st/2nd AD	Copper-alloy	Diadem. The front is separated from the head-band. A metal slip to adjust its size. It has stains on the surface suggesting the applicaton of metal plaques.	Front H. 11.1 cm			Layard 1925: pl. XXVII, fig. 2; Toynbee 1962, Cat. N. 127.
1C.HOC1	Headdress	Diadem	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy /Silver	The diadem has an adjustable headband and bears silver plaques with repousse designs. The central one is decorated with a human figure, while the two sides one share the same design of a kantharos topped by 2 birds. 3 small metal plaques would have been placed above those larger 3 but were removed prior to the deposition.	Front H. 7.2 cm			Wright 1957
1C.HOC2	Headdress	Diadem	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy /Silver	The diadem has an adjustable headband although now in fragments. It would have displayed 3 larger plaques topped by 3 smaller ones, but they are all lost.	N.G.			Wright 1957
1C.HOC3	Headdress	Diadem	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy /Silver	The diadem has an adjustable headband although now in fragments. It would have been decorated by 3 circular plaques, likely without any figurative design. They were all removed prior to the deposition.	N.G.			Wright 1957

DB NM	Object	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period	Material	Description	Size	Position	Notes	References
1C.HOC4	Headdress	Diadem	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy /Silver	The diadem has an adjustable headband. It would have been decorated by 3 circular plaques, likely without any figurative design. They were all removed prior to the deposition.	N.G.			Wright 1957.
1C.HOC5	Headdress	Diadem	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy /Silver	The diadem has an adjustable headband. It would have been decorated by 3 circular plaques, likely without any figurative design. They were all removed prior to the deposition.	N.G.			Wright 1957.
2A.AME1	Sceptre	Head	Amersham	Bucks.	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Bearded hooded head. Hollow-castings containing a considerable percentage of lead. The socket is approximately square.	H. 3.5 cm		Field-walking find; ca 100 m away from the Head n.1	Farley et alia 1988; 364-6, pl. xviii B.
2A.AME2	Sceptre	Head	Amersham	Bucks.	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Bearded hooded head. Hollow-castings containing a considerable percentage of lead. The socket is approximately square.	H. 3.6 cm		Metal detectorist find; ca 100 m away from the Amersham Hoard.	Henig 1984; 138-9, f.60; Henig 1985; 11-2; Farley et alia 1988; 364-66, fig. 2, pl. xviii A.
2A.BAL1	Sceptre	Head	Baldock	Hertfordshire	UF	Urban, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	A looped fitting reproducing a deer.	H. 3.16 cm		Metal detector find.	BH-989BB1
2A.BIN1	Sceptre	Head	Binstead	Hampshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	An eagle, looking down with an object in its beak and its wings outstretched. The bird stands on a horizontal perch below which projects a vertical shaft.	L. 5.6 cm W. 3.4 cm	Latitude: 51.189495 Longitude: -0.842324	Metaldetector find in cultivated land	SUR-F7E8C4
2A.BIX1	Sceptre	Head	Bix	Oxfordshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Bearded head interpreted as the portrait of Hadrian or an emperor of the Antonine dinasty.	H. 4.4 cm		Metaldetector find in cultivated land	Pearce and Worrell 2016: n.14
2A.BRO1	Sceptre	Head	Brough-on-Humber	Yorkshire	GG	Urban, Burial	? 1st AD	Copper-alloy	Male helmeted bust.	Bust H. 9.5 cm.			Corder and Richmond 1938; pl. XXX.
2A.BRO2	Sceptre	Head	Brough-on-Humber	Yorkshire	GG	Urban, Burial	? 1st AD	Copper-alloy	Male helmeted bust	Bust H. 10.8 cm 2			Corder and Richmond 1938; pl. XXXI.
2A.COT1	Sceptre	Head	Cottenham	Cambs.	UF	Rural, Temple	AD 180-92	Copper-alloy	Bearded head recognised as a portrait of the emperor Commodus	H. 19.3 cm.		Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	Walker 2014.
2A.DUS1	Sceptre	Head	Duston	Northamptc	UF	Rural, Unknown	AD 161-69	Copper-alloy	Bearded head recognised as a portrait of the emperor Lucius Verus	H. 13.3 cm		Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	Walker 2014
2A.EAS1	Sceptre	Head	Eastbury	Berkshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	early Roman period (?)	Copper-alloy	Sceptre-head, shaped as a male head. The features of the face are no longer visible, exept for the right eye. Pierced lugs on either side of the neck (right one broken). A rivet is in the middle; the opening was originally circular.	H. 3.67 cm; W. 2.60 cm			Foley 1991.
2A.FAR1	Sceptre	Head	Farley Heath	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Eagle figurine, possible sceptre-head although it is broken at the feet	L. c.5 cm			
2A.GLO1	Sceptre	Head	Gloucester	Glos.	SF	Urban, Unknown	1st century AD	Gold	Sheet sceptre terminal, in the form of a male head. Filled with lead.	N.G.	In the debris of a 1st AD building in on site of Sainsbury's in Northgate Street		Green 1976: 171; pl. XXV, c.

DB NM	Object	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period	Material	Description	Size	Position	Notes	References
2A.HAV1	Sceptre	Head	Havant	Hampshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	?	Copper-alloy	No description available.	N.G.	Southsea Castle Museum		Green 1976: 196. No further reference.
2A.KIR1	Sceptre	Head	Kirmington	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Sceptre-head: helmeted male head on a long neck of octagonal section. Probable pin or handle in iron.	Total H. 6.6 cm; Head H. 3.5 cm			Henig and Leahy 1986.
2A.LUD1	Sceptre	Head	Ludford Magna	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	2nd/3rd century (?)	Copper-alloy	A headless female bust flanked by birds on each side. Below it, two pierced lugs may have provided suspensions for little bells. Venus with doves (?)	H. 1.5 cm; W. 4.5 cm.			Henig and Lehay 1984.
2A.NET1	Sceptre	Head	Nettleham	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	AD 150-250	Copper- alloy	Mars head stretching in a long neck.	L. 5.4 cm W.: 2.2 cm D. 1.2 cm	Latitude: 53.271189 Longitude: -0.471969	Find in agricultural land	Daubney 2008. LIN-71ECB3
2A.STE1	Sceptre	Head	Steane	Northamptc	UF	Rural, Unknown	AD 180	Copper-alloy	Bearded head portraying the emperor Marcus Aurelius	H. 16.2 cm			Walker 2014
2A.STU1	Sceptre	Head	Sturton by Stow	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Shaft terminal shaped as an octahedron. It is attached to a circular hollow element (D.1.02 cm) pinched on one side by a hole for its attachment.	H. 3.5 cm			Henig and Leahy 1989
2A.UNK1	Sceptre	Head	Unknown	(Suffolk)	UF	Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Shaft terminal shaped as an asymetrical dodecahedron. It is attached to a circular hollow element (D.1.26 cm) pinched on one side by a hole for its attachment.	H. 4.95 cm			Henig and Leahy 1989.
2A.WES1	Sceptre	Head	West Stow	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Figurine of an eagle holding a round object in its beak. It is standing on a small globe terminating in a socket to be mounted on a rod	H. 3.1cm		Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	SF-D4D044; Minter and Brown 2010.
2A.WIL1	Sceptre	Head	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Bearded head portraying the emperor Antoninus Pius.	H. 9.7 cm			Rostovtzeff 1923.
2A.WIL2	Sceptre	Head	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Figurine of an eagle, broken at the feet.	H. 6 cm			Rostovtzeff 1923.
2A.WIL3	Sceptre	Head	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Figurine of an owl standing on a base.	H. 5.5 cm			Rostovtzeff 1923.
2A.WOR1	Sceptre	Head	Worlington	Suffolk	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Bearded head portraying Cernumnos or an Antonine emperor merged with the god's imaginery.	H. 11.5 cm			Walker 2014
2A.WRA1	Sceptre	Head	Wragby	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	AD 150-250	Copper-alloy	Helmeted head with a narrow long neck.	L. 8 cm; W. 1.36 cm		Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	YORYM-36E9D2
2B1.BRO1	Sceptre	Shaft/Terminal	Brough-on-Humber	Yorkshire	GG	Urban, Burial	? 1st AD	Copper-alloy/Iron	3 iron stem pieces finished with bronze collars and a bronze knobbed butt.	L. *c.* 30 cm			Corder and Richmond 1938.
2B1.BRO2	Sceptre	Shaft	Brough-on-Humber	Yorkshire	GG	Urban, Burial	? 1st AD	Copper-alloy/Iron	2 iron stem pieces, each with a bronze collar.	L. 7.62 and 10.16 cm each.			Corder and Richmond 1938.
2B1.GOD1	Sceptre	Shaft	Godmanchester	Cambs.	SF	Rural, Temple	Roman period	Copper-alloy	A fragment of a sceptre or staff handle dating to the Roman period. The fragment comprises a circular section hollow tube, encircled at the mid point by a prominent lentoidal rib.	L. 5.4 cm W. 2.6 cm.	Latitude: 52.313886. Longitude: -0.167729	Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	CAM-9423C1

DB NM	Object	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period	Material	Description	Size	Position	Notes	References
2B1.STO1	Sceptre	Shaft	Stony Stratford	Buckinghams.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD	Copper-alloy	Slender tube decorated with incise lines near both ends and in the centre.	L. 14.6 cm			Lysons 1817. Jackson and Burleigh 2018.
2B1. WAN01	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Cylindrical ridged element decorated with a flat disc	L. 7.1 cm		Metal detectorist find.	Bird 1996b: n. 28.
2B1. WAN02	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Cyindrical element with smooth surface. Part of the internal wooden rod and a fragment of the binding were also preserved.	L. 7.9 cm	Phase 8, 2.103		Bird 1994: n. 27.
2B1. WAN03	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Cylindrical element characterised by a smooth portion and a faintly ridged one.	Overall L. 10.8 cm	Layer 2.148/230		Bird 1994: n. 31.
2B1. WAN04	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Cylindrical element decorated with incised ridges and characterised by a rounded knob on one end continuing in a narrow stem, now broken.	L. 10.8 cm.		Metal detectorist find.	Bird 1996b: n. 14.
2B1. WAN05	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Cylindrical element decorated with incised lines.	L. 3 cm.			Bird 1994: n. 29.
2B1. WAN06	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Fragment of a cylindrical element decorated with incised lines.	L. 3 cm.		Surface find from field survey.	Bird 1994: n. 33.
2B1. WAN07	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Fragment of a risged cylindrical element decorated with incised lines.	L. 1.7 cm		Metal detectorist find.	Bird 1994: n. 32.
2B1. WAN08	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Cylindrical element decorated with incised lines.	L. 9.8 cm	Found in the lane		Bird 1994: n. 26.
2B1. WAN09	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Fragment of a cylindrical element decorated with incised lines.	L. 3.7 cm	Phase 9, 2.100		Bird 1994: n. 30.
2B1. WAN10	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Cylindrical element with ridges characterised by ridges placed at distant intervals.	L. 7.4 cm	Layer 2.230		Bird 1994: n. 23.
2B1. WAN11	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Cylindrical element with ridges characterised by ridges placed at distant intervals.	L. 8.4 cm	Phase 8, 2.103		Bird 1994: n. 24.
2B1. WAN12	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Cylindrical element with ridges characterised by ridges placed at distant intervals.	L. 9.9 cm	Layer 2.230		Bird 1994: n. 25.
2B1. WAN13	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical element.	L. 2.5 cm.	Layer 2.148	It is associated with the binding 2B2.WAN2 and the terminal 2C.WAN7.	Bird 1994: n. 18.
2B1. WAN14	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical element. The ridges are characterised by transversally carved lines. Traces of the internal wooden rod were also retrieved.	L. 11.3 cm	Layer 2.225		Bird 1994: n. 10.
2B1. WAN15	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical element.	L. 6.7 cm	Layer 2.148		Bird 1994: n. 20.
2B1. WAN16	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical element.	L. 8.2 cm	Layer 2.230		Bird 1994: n. 21.
2B1. WAN17	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical element. The ridges are characterised by transversally carved lines.	L. 2.4 cm	Possibly from 2.230		Bird 1994: n. 11.
2B1. WAN18	Sceptre	Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Fragmentary cylindrical element	L. 5.7 cm	Layer 2.230		Bird 1994: n. 35.
2B1.WIL1	Sceptre	Shaft	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical element, probalby pertaining to 2C.WIL2.	N.G.			Rostovtzeff 1923.

DB NM	Object	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period	Material	Description	Size	Position	Notes	References
2B1.WIL2	Sceptre	Shaft	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Ridged shaft element characterised by a flat disc.	H. *c.* 4 cm			Rostovtzeff 1923.
2B1.WIL3	Sceptre	Shaft	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Carved element decorated with a cupid figure, a 3-horned bull, a dolphin, an eagle standing on a globe in front of a wheel. Pertinent to 2C.WIL1.	H. 10.5 cm			Rostovtzeff 1923.
2B2.FAR1	Sceptre	Shaft (Binding)	Farley Heath	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Sceptre-binding; embossed with stylized animal and human forms.Originally found twisted and attached to the iron head, consisting of an iron hoop with a large rounf-headed nail through it. It was the ornament of a wooden staff. The decoration is embossed from the back; the dots were punched whilst the figures and symbols were executed with a chisel-ended tool.	L. *c.*45 cm			Guide to the Antiquities 1958: 62, fig. 31, 8; Goodchild 1938; Bird 2007: n. 78, figg. 19-20.
2B2. WAN01	Sceptre	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Smooth surface, characterised by rivets for the attachment to the internal wooden rod, of which traces are preserved.	Overall 17 cm.	Layer 2.148	It is associated with the terminal 2C.WAN6.	Bird 1994: n. 17.
2B2. WAN02	Sceptre	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Smooth surface, characterised by rivets for the attachment to the internal wooden rod.	Overall 21.7 cm	Layer 2.148	It is associated with the terminal 2C.WAN7 and the shaft element 2B1. WAN13.	Bird 1994: n. 18.
2B2. WAN03	Sceptre	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Ridged surface, characterised by rivets for the attachment to the internal wooden rod.	L. *c.* 20 cm	Layer 2.148	It is associated with the terminal 2C.WAN1.	Bird 1994, n. 22.
2B2. WAN04	Sceptre	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	2 Fragments with a smooth surface decorated with incised lines.	Total L. 5.3 cm	Layer 2.148	It is associated with the terminal 2C.WAN5.	Bird 1994: n. 16.
2B2. WAN05	Sceptre	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Fragment with a smooth surface decorated with incised lines.	Total L. 12.9 cm	Layer 2.148		Bird 1994: n. 36.
2B2. WAN06	Sceptre	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Fragment with a smooth surface; a nail confirms its attachment to the internal rod.	L. 2.8 cm	Layer 2.231		Bird 1994: n. 37.
2B2. WAN07	Sceptre	Shaft (Binding)	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* mid-2nd century	Copper-alloy	Fragment with a smooth surface decorated with incised lines.	L. 3.1 cm	Layer 2.225		Bird 1994: n. 38.
2C.FAR1	Sceptre	Terminal	Farley Heath	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Eagle figurine, possible sceptre-head although it is broken at the feet	H. 4.8 cm			Bird 2007b: fig. 21
2C.GRE1	Sceptre	Terminal	Great Waldingfield	Suffolk	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Terminal knob and part of tubular ridged sleeve.	L. 3.18 cm W. 2.36 cm D. 1.52 cm		Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	SF-427411
2C.MUN1	Sceptre	Terminal	Muntham Court	Sussex	UF	Rural, Temple	1st century AD	Copper-alloy	Ridged handle terminating in a large circular knob.	L. 11.4 cm			Holleyman and Burstow 1957; Green 1976: p. 220: pl. XXV, f.
2C.PAL1	Sceptre	Terminal	Palgrave	Suffolk	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Fragmentary cylindrical element, likely ridged, terminating in a trumpet-shaped knob.	L. 2.08 cm W. 2.5 cm		Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	SF-7C15F3
2C.PIT1	Sceptre	Terminal	Pitton and Farley	Wiltshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period (AD100-200)	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical element terminating in a flat knob.	L. 3.38 cm W. 1.31 cm Diameter: 2.38 cm		Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	HAMP-ADC525
2C.SNO1	Sceptre	Terminal	Snow's Farm	Glos.	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindical element terminating in a circular knob.	H.7.2 cm			Evans and Hodder 2006.
2C.STO1	Sceptre	Terminal	Stony Stratford	Buckinghams.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD	Copper-alloy	Cylindrical terminal expanidin towarde the flattened end.	L. 10.7 cm			Lysons 1817. Jackson and Burleigh 2018.
2C.TAN1	Sceptre	Terminal	Tandridge	Surrey	UF	Rural, Unknown	AD 100-200	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical elment terminating in a trumpet-shaped knob.	L. 6.5 cm. D. 1.2 cm		Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	SUR-E5BC26

DB NM	Object	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period	Material	Description	Size	Position	Notes	References
2C.WAN1	Sceptre	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy	Cylindrical smooth teminal, characterised by a hole for the insertion of a rivet to attach it to the internal wooden rod.	L. 5.5 cm	Layer 2.148	It is associated with the binding 2B2. WAN3.	Bird 1994: n. 22.
2C.WAN2	Sceptre	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylidrical element terminating in a rounded knob. The ridges are decorated with parallel incised lines.	L. 7 cm		Metal detectorist find.	Bird 1996b: n. 13.
2C.WAN3	Sceptre	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	UF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical element terminating in a trumpet-shaped knob.	L. 6.1 cm	Found in the lane		Bird 1996b: n. 19.
2C.WAN4	Sceptre	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical element terminating in a trumpet-shaped knob.	L. 7.4 cm	Layer 2.230		Bird 1994: n. 15.
2C.WAN5	Sceptre	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylidrical element.	L. 7.1 cm	Layer 2.148	It is associated with the binding 2B2. WAN4.	Bird 1994: n. 16.
2C.WAN6	Sceptre	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical element. Inside, it preserves wooden fragments of the rod.	L. 6.2 cm	Layer 2.148	It is associated with the binding 2B2. WAN1.	Bird 1994: n. 17.
2C.WAN7	Sceptre	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy	Ridged cylindrical element. Inside, it preserves wooden fragments of the rod.	L. 4.5 cm	Layer 2.148	It is associated with the binding 2B2.WAN2 and the shaft element 2B1. WAN13.	Bird 1994: n. 18.
2C.WAN8	Sceptre	Terminal/Shaft	Wanborough	Surrey	SF	Rural, Temple	*ante* AD 160/170	Copper-alloy	Fragment of a smooth cylindrical element	L. 4.4 cm	Phase 8, 2.103		Bird 1994: n. 34.
2C.WIC1	Sceptre	Terminal	Wickenby	Lincolnshire	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Possible terminal from a sceptre or rod. The object is cylindrical in shape, with an iron core coated in copper alloy. The iron core is likely to have been some kind of rod, and the copper alloy a decorative terminal. The terminal is very worn, rounded and has three transverse ribs decorating the shaft. The object is very similar in size, shape and decoration to the iron and bronze rod terminalfound in a male burial discovered during pipe laying along Ermine Street at Brough on Humber in 1936.	L. 5.5 cm Width: 1.9 cm	Latitude: 53.323709 Longitude: -0.364991	Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	LIN-A7EF01
2C.WIL1	Sceptre	Terminal	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Club-shaped terminal, pertinent to 2B1. WIL3.	H. 11 cm			Babington 1883; Rostovtzeff 1923; Alfoldi 1949.
2C.WIL2	Sceptre	Terminal	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Knobbed terminal probalby pertaining to 2B1.WIL1	N.G.			Rostovtzeff 1923.
2C.WIL3	Sceptre	Terminal	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Tubular terminal ending in a flat knob.	N.G.			Rostovtzeff 1923.
2C.WIL4	Sceptre	Terminal	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Ridged tubular terminal, terminating in a trumpet-shaped knob.	N.G.			Rostovtzeff 1923.
2C.WIL5	Sceptre	Terminal	Willingham Fen	Cambs.	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Ridged tubular terminal, terminating in a rounded knob. It still preserved traces of the wooden rod to which it was attached to.	N.G.			Rostovtzeff 1923.
3A.BRI1	Spear	Head	Brigstock	Northamptc	SF	Rural, Temple	mid 3rd/ 4th century	Copper-alloy	The tang is of circular section. Oval-shaped. The sides of the blade are eroded.	H. 12.7 cm; W. 3.81 cm.	Found embedded in surface floor of the circular shrine.		Greenfield 1963: 243, fig. 5, n.4.
3A.BRI2	Spear	Head	Brigstock	Northamptc	SF	Rural, Temple	mid 3rd/ 4th century	Copper-alloy	The tang is of circular section. Possibly leaf-shaped originally but edges eroded. A circular hole remains at the base.	H. 11.4 cm; W. 4.4 cm.	Found embedded in surface floor of the circular shrine.		Greenfield 1963: 243, fig. 5, n. 5.
3A.CAR1	Spear	Head	Caerleon	Casnewydd	SF	Rural, Fort	Roman period	Silver		N.G.			Boon 1972.
3A.FEL1	Spear	Complete	Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	2nd half 3rd century (after AD225)	Copper-alloy	Complete ceremonial spear, characterised by a triangular fin, a long stem and terminaing in a handle shaped like a club.	H. 66.5 cm.			Gilbert 1978.

DB NM	Object	Type	Findspot	County	Context	Location	Period	Material	Description	Size	Position	Notes	References
3A.FEL2	Spear	Complete	Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	2nd half 3rd century (after AD225)	Copper-alloy	Originally complete ceremonial spear, characterised by a spear-head topped by an eagle fingurine.	Eagle Figurine H. 6.2 cm.			Gilbert 1978.
3A.LOW1	Spear	Head	Lowbury Hill	Berkshire	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period	Iron	Spear-head terminating in a knob and characterised by two holes punched at the base, of which one preserved one ring. The attachment to a shaft is characterised by a tubular element.	H. 14.4 cm	In section 19 centre-north		Atkinson 1916: 48, n.8. Bagnall Smith 1995: 194-6.
3A.LOW2	Spear	Head	Lowbury Hill	Berkshire	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period	Iron	Spear-head terminating in a crescent (originally probably complete circle). The attachment to a shaft is characterised by a tubular element.	H. *c.* 23 cm	In section 19 centre-north		Atkinson 1916: 48, n.10. Bagnall Smith 1995: 194-6.
3A.LOW3	Spear	Head	Lowbury Hill	Berkshire	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period	Iron	Spear-head terminating in a knob, intentionally bent. The attachment to a shaft is characterised by a tubular element.	H. *c.* 20.5 cm	In section 19 centre-north		Atkinson 1916: 48, n.9. Bagnall Smith 1995: 194-6.
3A.MIL1	Spear	Complete	Milton Ferry	Cambs.	UF	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Complete ceremonial spear, characterised by an oval fin pierced at the bottom for the attachment of rings and/or bells. The terminal is decorated with incised crosses and ends in a knob.	L. 44 cm	near Milton Ferry		Green 1975.
3A.WES1	Spear	Head	West Stow	Suffolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Ceremonial spear pierced at the bottom by 2 holes and terminating in a knob. Narrow stem.	H. 10.7cm		Metaldetector find in cultivated land.	SF-D4D044; Minter and Brown 2010
3B.ALD1	Spear	Head	Aldworth	Berkshire	SF	Rural, Unknown	2nd half 2nd early 3rd century	Copper-alloy	Sceptre-head, made of three incomplete leaves with traces of holes at the base. They are joined togheter so to hava tricuspid shape from above. Each blade corresponds with a female bust; 2 are almost complete, the 3rd is headless.	H. 4.5 cm	*c.* 1 km away from Lowbury Hill Romano-Celtic temple site.		Henig and Cannon 2000.
3B.BRI1	Spear	Head	Brigstock	Northamptc	SF	Rural, Temple	2nd/3rd century	Copper-alloy	It is characterised by four fins. On the preserved bottom angles it is possible to trace small holes that might have hold rings as in other examples. The top is shaped in a circular knob, decorated with traverse lines.	H. 12 cm		Two riders/horse statuettes were found in the same area (Taylor 1957).	Taylor 1957: pl. XVIII; Green 1976: pl. XXV, b.
3B.FEL1	Spear	Head	Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	2nd half 3rd century (after AD225)	Copper-alloy	The head has four 'fins', from each of which a ring is suspended	H. 14.4 cm			Gilbert 1978.
4A.FEL1	Divination	Rattle	Felmingham Hall	Norfolk	SD	Rural, Unknown	2nd half 3rd century (after AD225)	Copper-alloy	2 emispherical halves and a bronze handle ending with a ring. One half has a small hole in the centre.	N.G.			Boon 1983.
4A.STO1	Divination	Rattle	Stony Stratford	Bucks.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD	Copper-alloy	Two bowl-like halves, of which one displays a hole in the middle.	N.G.			Lysons 1817.
4A.STO2	Divination	Rattle	Stony Stratford	Bucks.	SD	Rural, Unknown	3rd-4th century AD	Copper-alloy	Two bowl-like halves, of which one displays a hole in the middle.	N.G.			Lysons 1817.
4A.WOO1	Divination	Rattle	Woodeaton	Oxfordshire	UF	Rural, Temple	Roman period	Copper-alloy	Circular object characterised by a hole in the middle for the insertion of beads.	H. 5.7 cm			Bagnall Smith 1999: n.16.2.
4B.STA1	Divination	Rods	Stanway	Essex	GG	Urban, Burial	Roman period	Copper-alloy/Iron	Rods characterised by a rounded end and a spatula-like end.	Various			Crummy *et al.* 2007.

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