Reports of the Research Committee
of the
Society of Antiquaries of London

No. IX

Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire

By R. E. M. Wheeler, D.Lit., F.S.A.,
and T. V. Wheeler, F.S.A.

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Mosaic in room XXXV of the Bath-building: late fourth century. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$

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THE LYDNEY EXCAVATIONS, 1928-9

SUMMARY

A 'promontory fort', or small embanked hill-town, five acres in extent, was established at Lydney in or shortly before the first century B.C., *and was subsequently, during the second and third centuries* A.D., *occupied by a Romano-British population, engaged to some extent in iron-mining. An intact iron-mine, not later than the third century* A.D., *has been partially explored. Soon after* A.D. *364–7 a temple, dedicated to the otherwise unknown deity Nodens, was built within the earthwork, and with the temple, which was of unusual plan, were associated a guest-house, baths, and other structures, indicating that the cult was an important centre of pilgrimage. About the end of the fourth century, the buildings were surrounded by a precinct-wall; but, later, they fell into decay, and the final phase of occupation, coinciding probably with the fifth and sixth centuries, is represented by a reinforcement of the prehistoric earthwork. Amongst the 'finds', the prehistoric pottery and brooches, the Roman bronze figurine of a dog, the hoard of small sub-Roman coins, and the post-Roman brooch are noteworthy.*

I. PREFATORY NOTE

Between the mouth of the Wye and Newnham-on-Severn, the Forest of Dean thrusts southwards towards the Severn along a series of irregular ridges and spurs, divided here and there by small streams. At Lydney, nine miles north-east of Chepstow along the Gloucester road, one of these spurs, a mile from the present shore and 200 ft. above it, commands a vista of luxuriant forest and spacious estuary which can scarcely be matched for beauty even in a county of pleasant park-lands. The spur is flanked by deep glens of which one contains (it is said) the first plane-trees introduced into this country from Italy; and the whole deer-park, wherof it is now a feature, has been enriched by many generations of the Bathurst family with a great variety of timber, which flourishes upon the soft ferriferous limestone of the district.

At one time it seems that the spur was known popularly by the name of the Dwarf's Hill. 'When the estate was purchased by Mr. Ben. Bathurst in 1723, all this part was overgrown with bushes, but there were walls remaining about 3 ft. above the ground, particularly in a part called Dwarf's Chapel. . . . Many large coins and other antiquities were then found . . . many of

which [Mrs. T. Bathurst] is said to have sent to a friend in London. At that time, about 1770, the walls were not half so high as in the time of Mr. B. Bathurst.'[1] A long and inevitably destructive period of casual digging for relics and building-material was brought to an end in 1805, when the Right Hon. Charles Bathurst carried out systematic excavations in accordance with the archaeological standards of the time, and discovered a series of Roman buildings. He made a careful record of his work, and his notes, long preserved in the archives of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, have recently been restored to Lydney Park.[2] A recension was made of them by his son, the Rev. W. H. Bathurst, and was published in 1879, with additional notes by C. W. King. The publication is, for the period, concise and well illustrated, and occupies a distinguished place amongst our older archaeological literature.

During the past century, various natural causes have combined to reduce the structural remains to a series of grass-grown heaps. With a view to preventing further destruction, Lord Bledisloe (the Right Hon. Charles Bathurst's great-grandson) has recently taken steps to re-excavate and preserve the remains. In consultation with Mr. (now Sir) Charles Peers, Sir George Macdonald, and one of the writers, he invited our Society to undertake the task, and it is pleasant to record not only this enlightened action but also the continuous help and encouragement which he and Lady Bledisloe have given throughout the work.

In view of the relative thoroughness of the earlier excavations, the decision to re-excavate may seem a bold one. That this temerity was justified, and that the new excavations have succeeded in elucidating the main history of the temple and its environs almost as completely as if the site had not previously been cleared, illustrate the difference between the technical methods of 1805 and those of 1928. In 1805 the diggers worked down to a floor and then stopped. To the modern excavator, the primary value of a floor is that it seals the evidence beneath it, and the careful recovery of this sealed evidence by the partial removal of the floor is an inevitable feature of his method. That method is therefore necessarily destructive to a degree never envisaged by the older archaeologists; and the responsibility of the modern excavator to observe and record the evidence which, in recovering, he demolishes for all time, is proportionately great. No excavator

[1] W. H. Bathurst and C. W. King, *Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, 1879, p. 3.

[2] The original drawings, however, have, it is feared, been burnt. See also careful illustrations in Lysons, *Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae*, II, pls. XXIX–XXXII.

a century hence will be able to approach the major part of the Lydney site with the optimism wherewith Lord Bledisloe and his colleagues approached it in 1928.

In the actual work our collaborators were many. Lieut.-Col. William Hawley, F.S.A., was with us throughout, and in particular, supervised the excavation of the earthwork. Mr. Dermot A. Casey, F.S.A.[1], also rendered continual and valuable assistance; Mr. T. Davies Pryce, F.S.A., and Mr. R. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., visited the site and helped in diagnosing the Samian pottery, the brooches, and especially the inscriptions, which are described by Mr. Collingwood in a separate section; and Mr. J. W. E. Pearce, F.S.A., and Mr. H. Mattingly have acted as referees in connexion with the coins. Mr. Pearce also very kindly examined and reported upon the large collection of coins in Lord Bledisloe's cabinet. Dr. F. J. North, of the National Museum of Wales, visited the site on several occasions in his capacity of geologist, and rendered invaluable assistance in connexion with the Roman iron-mine by entrance B, and the swallow-hole beneath the temple. Professor J. R. R. Tolkien, of Oxford, has very kindly presented a detailed report upon the name of the Lydney god, Nodens (p. 132). Finally, Professor D. M. S. Watson, F.R.S., as on several previous occasions, has reported to us upon the animal-bones.

II. THE SITE

To-day, the most striking vestiges of antiquity upon the Dwarf's Hill—to revive the ancient name—are the banks and ditches of a 'promontory camp'. The head of the spur is cut off from the rising ground to the northwards by a double system of rampart and ditch now interrupted by a comparatively modern opening. The inner rampart is continued along the northern half of the eastern side, but whether there was ever a corresponding extension on the western side is rendered uncertain by the activity of iron-miners at that point. For the rest, save perhaps at the southern extremity, the precipitous escarpment of the hill seems to have been regarded as an adequate defence. The outer bank and the ditches of the northern side peter out upon the flanking declivities, but at the north-eastern corner where the slope is less steep a short length of subsidiary embankment is thrown across it in the form of a horn-work (fig. 1 and pl. LII).

Access to the promontory is now obtained by a cart-track which

[1] Mr. Casey also undertook the excavation of the small Norman castle on the adjacent Little Camp Hill. See *Antiquaries Journal*, XI (1931), 240 ff.

has been cut into the eastern slope of the hill, and encircles the southern end of the spur. This track may, in part, represent an ancient predecessor, but it is clear that the main approach was formed by a narrow ridge of outcrop which extends southwards from the end of the spur to the valley-junction beneath. At the head of this approach can still be seen the in-turned flanks of the original rock-cut entrance (entrance A on plan), now stranded above the modern track-way. Midway along the eastern side of the camp are indications of a subsidiary entrance (entrance B on plan) at a point where the rampart changes line slightly and is again in-turned on one side. There are traces also of an oblique approach to this entrance up the adjacent hillside, but the track is badly obscured by iron-workings.

Within the southern half of the area thus enclosed lay the Roman buildings discovered by Charles Bathurst, but these buildings mark neither the beginning nor the end of the history of the site. The earthwork is in origin older than they; it is likewise younger. Almost on the principle of 'earth to earth', the history of the promontory as revealed by excavation begins with a prehistoric earthwork, passes through two Roman episodes, and finally reverts to the earthwork from which it started. In the following pages, these four epochs will be dealt with so far as possible in their historic sequence.

III. THE PREHISTORIC EARTHWORK

The main outline of the earthwork as it stands to-day has been sketched above. Some of the features there noted, however, do not belong to the original scheme. In particular, the outer line of bank and ditch at the northern end are much later additions to the plan (see p. 63) and, at first, the defences of the promontory were on a smaller scale.

At three points, sections were cut through the earthen defences. These sections must now be described in detail, although, as will be seen, only a portion of their evidence belongs chronologically to this part of the report.

In computing the numerical significance of the finds from the sections, it should be noted that each cutting was approximately 7 ft. wide.

Section 1 (pl. IV) was cut at a distance of 80 ft. east of the central (modern) gap in the northern defences. These defences consist here successively of a steep inner bank, a ditch, a low outer bank, and a second ditch. The section showed work of three periods.

Period I. The original inner rampart was 5 ft. in height and

spread at the base to a width of 25 ft., but was originally perhaps no more than 20 ft. The core of the outer half of the bank was formed from broken stone quarried out of the rock-cut ditch in front of it and held back by a rough curbing of larger stones along its outer margin (see section, pl. IV). A second and lighter heap at the back of the first may have been extracted from the same source or may represent a partial clearing of the surface within the camp. Immediately behind the summit of the bank, the section showed a steep drop ; the earthen rampart thus formed had possibly been revetted internally by means of a timber stockade, but unfortunately the soft, dark soil is unsuitable for the retention of traces of timber or post-holes. Behind this parapet were indications of a rampart-walk about 5 ft. wide and roughly paved with broken stone.

The only objects found within this bank were fragments of ox-bone, part of a pig's jaw, and a sherd of light grey pottery of indeterminate form. This sherd, though not wheel-turned, was of hard, well-baked clay, and probably of late prehistoric date.

The outer bank and ditch did not belong to the original scheme. It will be seen from the section that the summit of the outer bank is slightly higher than that of the original inner bank, which is thus dominated by it. Indeed it is not until the third and latest period of the earthwork that the outer system becomes operative as a defensive line (see below).

Period II is represented by a substantial repair to the whole of the inner slope of the bank. The new material seems to have been held in position at the back by means of a rough curb of large stones similar to those at the front of the original bank. The surface of the repaired slope showed a line of occupation-soil containing occasional fragments of charcoal, and, with the substance of the repair soil, contained a jet bead, part of a jet ring and over forty small groups of Roman pottery. There was no apparent difference between the sherds contained in the material of the repair and the occupation-layer which covered it, save that the only sherds of Samian pottery found in the whole section came from the former. These sherds represent Samian forms 31 and 33, the latter of coarse and presumably late type. Other fragments include stamped ware similar to fig. 26, No. 29, Caistor ware with barbotine decoration, rouletted ware, perhaps of similar origin, and cooking-pots with splayed rims of wider diameter than that of their girth. It would be difficult to date the group as a whole, but the cooking-pots and stamped ware, at least, are not likely to be earlier than the beginning of the fourth century and may be later.

Period III represents a drastic remodelling of the defences. The inner bank was now raised to a height of over 10 ft. and widened proportionately, its total width now being about 37 ft. It seems likely that the rock-cut ditch was deepened at this period, since there was no suggestion of silting which could be equated with the original work. Some of the material for the raised bank may have come from this source, but most of it was evidently scraped up from the interior of the camp. It contained over twenty small groups of Roman pottery together with Roman nails, fragments of tile, a counter of dark paste, bones of an ox, and two worn third-brass coins of Tetricus I and II (A.D. 270–3) respectively. The pottery included a late imitation of Samian form 31, but, though entirely consistent with a late date, is not in itself determinate. The ditch contained little ; a worn fourth-brass, of 'Gloria Exercitus' type, was found in it at a depth of 20 in.

As already noted, the outer bank and outer ditch may safely be ascribed on tactical grounds to this period. The outer bank was clearly of one build and is suitably dominated by the remodelled inner bank. It may be supposed that the outer bank was intended primarily not as an obstacle but as a means of extending the outer slope of the inner ditch and so exposing the advancing enemy on a longer forward slope where they would be under fire from the main rampart.

Section 2 (pl. IV) was cut at a distance of 100 ft. north of the minor entrance on the eastern side. On this side, the flank of the promontory is almost precipitous, and an external ditch was therefore not feasible or, at any rate, unnecessary. The material of the rampart had been collected from the interior of the camp and the broad, shallow 'spoil-trench' can still be detected within the ramparts on this side (see plan, pl. LII).

The stratification of the cutting was clear, and showed four main phases, of which the second and third, at least, seem to have been so closely contemporary with each other as to justify their inclusion under a single 'Period'. The description is therefore grouped under Period I, Period II *a* and II *b*, and Period III, the three main Periods thus equating with those of Section I.

Period I. The original bank was 5 ft. high and extended to a maximum width of about 27 ft.—a width which clearly owed something to 'spread'. The inner slope of the bank sagged at a short distance behind its summit, but less markedly than in the case of Section 1. The relics found in this early bank included food-bones of *Bos longifrons*, pig, and sheep or goats, together with fifty-four groups of potsherds which are exclusively of prehistoric date. Where the original shapes of the pots could be determined, they

were without exception of bead-rim type with convex sides, and bases of nearly the same diameters as the rims. The only exceptional feature was a fragment of a small handle from a pot of indeterminate form. Within this bank were also found two stone hones, two small fragments of coarse clay wattle (pl. v, A), baked hard and similar to the fragments found in the Glastonbury Lake Village;[1] whilst in the surface of the inner slope of the bank lay an upper quern-stone of grit and of beehive form (pl. xxiv B, left).

Subsequently (as mentioned above), but prior to the final remodelling of the defences, the inner side of the prehistoric bank received minor reinforcements on two occasions, here distinguished as II *a* and II *b*.

Period II *a* consisted of occupation-earth which had clearly been scraped from the interior of the camp. Sixty-three groups of pottery, etc., were found in this material, and, in them, Roman and prehistoric potsherds were mixed in approximately equal quantities. The prehistoric were identical in type with those described above from the original bank. The Roman material, which alone is valid as indicating the *terminus post quem*, is difficult to date by reason of its fragmentary character. It includes a single sherd of Samian, a fragment of a late base of poor ware, probably of form 31, a fragment of brown ware (probably Caistor), with barbotine scale-pattern, and part of an imitation of form 27 in buff ware. Only one cooking-pot rim is large enough to suggest the original contour of the vessel; the diameter of the girth would appear to have been approximately equal to that of the rim, and the example should therefore be of a late, but not the latest type. With this slight evidence, that of the other sherds is consistent, and, on the whole, it seems safe to infer for the group a date not earlier than the end of the second century A.D. and not later than the end of the third. More evidence, however, is required. It may be added that this layer also produced five iron nails, an iron awl or stylus with bone handle, several narrow strips of bronze with beaded repoussé pattern, a hone-stone, and a group of five rounded river pebbles which had presumably been collected as sling stones.

Period II *b* consisted of a further enlargement of the upper part of the bank upon its inner face. This enlargement was again formed of occupation-earth but was capped with a thick and well-marked layer of debris consisting of yellow cement and tesserae mixed with a considerable quantity of burnt matter—evidently the spoil from some Roman building near by. The work of this period produced a somewhat worn third-brass of Claudius II

[1] Bulleid and Gray, *Glastonbury Lake Village*, ii, 580–1.

Gothicus (A.D. 268–70) and another fragmentary coin of Tetricus I (A.D. 270–3). It also included a bronze pin-head, a bone pin with faceted head, a fragment of bronze sheeting, several iron nails, an oyster-shell, and about seventy groups of pottery which included a dozen fragments of prehistoric ware but were otherwise late Roman in character. Amongst the Roman sherds were pieces of cooking-pots with wide rims and flattened contours, a sherd of barbotined Caistor ware, and a piece of imitation-Samian form 31; Samian proper was not represented. An iron knife-blade, several iron nails, and a piece of sawn antler were also found in this deposit. The remains as a whole suggest a date not later than *circa* A.D. 300 for the period in question.

Period III was marked here, as in Section 1, by a very extensive addition which entirely encased all the previous works and doubled the height of the original rampart. The material again consisted of occupation-earth, which contained over 100 groups of late Roman pottery, and only here and there a stray prehistoric sherd. The Roman pottery included numerous fragments of characteristic fourth-century cooking-pots, three imitations of Samian forms, notably the straight-sided mortarium (form 45) and form 31, and a sherd of black-glazed Rhenish ware with decoration in white barbotine. With the sherds at depths from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. were found a barbarous 'radiate' third brass, two barbarous minims of Tetricus type, and one illegible minim. Other objects included an iron pocket-knife with part of its bone handle, and a jet bead with double piercing. The general tenor of the evidence is clear; the last remodelling of the bank is not earlier than the fourth century A.D.

Section 3 (pl. VIII). This was less a section than a general clearance of the flanks of Entrance B. The work here was complicated by the discovery of Roman hut-floors and a Roman mine, which will be described below (p. 18). The main sequence, however, was similar to that shown by Sections 1 and 2. At the base of the cutting were the remains of the prehistoric bank, here much flattened and partially removed by the Roman hut-builders and miners. Within the bank, on the southern side of the entrance, were found about thirty sherds of La Tène II–III pottery (fig. 24, Nos. 9, 14, 16). Omitting for the moment the mine and the hut-floors, we may note here that, over these, lay the reinforcement of the rampart which, as in the other sections, contained Roman remains mostly of third and fourth century date. The earth of which this reinforcement was made had been drawn here as elsewhere from the interior of the 'camp'; it showed numerous tip-lines, including one which contained much disintegrated Roman cement and

plaster, but it was not possible to distinguish any definite intermediate phase such as that labelled 'II' in the preceding sections.

The earth of which the reinforcement was made was full of food-bones, occasional mussel shells, building debris (including numbers of tesserae from mosaic), potsherds, and coins. The coins consisted of the following (all 2 Æ unless specified):

Antoninus Pius (138–61)	2 (2 Æ)
Gallienus (253–68)	5
Victorinus (268–70)	3
Claudius II Gothicus (268–70)	4
Barbarous Claudius Gothicus	1
Tetricus I (270?–3)	4
Barbarous Tetricus	1
Carausius 287–93)	4
Allectus (293–6)	1
Radiates (253–96)	4
Barbarous Radiates	6
Licinius (307–23)	1
Constantine I (307–37)	6
Urbs Roma (330–5)	1
Constantinopolis (330–7)	1
Crispus? (317–26)	1
Constantine II, as Caesar (317–37)	2
„ as Augustus (337–40)	4
Constans, as Augustus (337–50)	3
Constantius II, as Augustus (337–61)	1
Constantine family	2

Except for two very worn coins of Antoninus Pius, these fifty-seven coins range from A.D. 253 to A.D. 361. The potsherds (several hundreds), in so far as they are datable, covered a somewhat similar period, but their minuteness often renders precision of dating impossible. They include about twenty fragments dating from the second century—fragments of eight or ten Samian plates, form 31, one of form 79, one each of form 32, 33, and 35, two early mortarium rims of coarse ware, and one or two other sherds of coarse pottery which may likewise be earlier than the end of the Antonine period. But the great mass of the pottery is of types which are most abundant from A.D. 250–350 or later. Amongst them are three Samian mortaria (form 45) with vertical rims, together with several copies of this type in coarse ware; fragments of black-glazed Rhenish ware; great quantities of Caistor ware, mostly with rouletted decoration but occasionally with barbotine tendrils or animals, and, where sufficiently preserved, with the

high tapering pedestals characteristic of the late third and fourth centuries; three or four coarse mortaria approximately of the Wroxeter type 130, of similar date; cooking-pots with rims of larger diameter than their girth, and therefore assignable to the same period, and two funnel-necked jugs of a type which seems to centre round the year 300.

Such is the evidence of our sections. The portions containing Roman relics will be discussed later (p. 63). In the meantime, one point in regard to the prehistoric material at once calls for comment. The extreme scarcity of relics—a single potsherd—in the prehistoric bank in the north cutting stands out in contrast to the abundance of prehistoric potsherds in the cuttings through the original *eastern* rampart. A simple explanation of this disparity suggests itself. The essential factor in the protection of a settlement on this site is the rampart and ditch which, at the northern end, isolate the promontory from the rising ground beyond. This line of defence would therefore be the first work of the settlers, and it may be supposed that they erected it immediately upon their arrival and before the ground was extensively littered with debris. Moreover, much of their material would be obtained from the deep excavation of the ditch, and would therefore naturally be free from occupation-material. On the other hand, the rampart which crowns the declivity on the eastern side of the promontory must have been something of a luxury, since the steepness of the hillside here formed a natural defence. We may therefore suppose that the construction of the eastern rampart was not carried out until the settlement had existed long enough to scatter the surface of the camp with debris. On this side, furthermore, where there was no ditch, the material for the bank was, as we have seen, scraped up from the interior.

If, leaving the Roman material for later treatment, we now summarize the evidence of the sections in so far as the prehistoric period is concerned, the result is as follows. The promontory was defended on the north and along at least the northern half of the eastern side[1] by an earthern bank about 5 ft. high and about 20 ft. in width at the base. This was supplemented across the neck of the promontory by a rock-cut ditch the original size of which is obscured by a later re-cutting. On the eastern side, the steepness of the declivity obviated the necessity for a ditch, and there are no certain traces of any artificial defence on the western side.

Entrance B was, as we have seen, included in our third section.

[1] This eastern rampart may, of course, have extended originally farther southwards and have been subsequently obliterated there by the builders of the temple-settlement.

Unfortunately, mining-operations and other works of the Roman period have removed all direct evidence which might show whether this entrance was an original feature of the 'camp'. We can only say that as is often the case at the site of an entrance, the prehistoric rampart changed direction at this point; and there is, moreover, no obvious alternative for the postern gateway which is a common feature of Iron Age 'camps'. It is probable, therefore, but not certain, that this entrance originated in the prehistoric period.

That the main or southern entrance (A), cut through an outcrop so that it is flanked on the north side by a cliff-like bank and on the south side by a barrier of live rock, was an original feature of the camp cannot be doubted. As we shall see, it was later in part adapted and in part ignored by the Roman builders. With its in-turned flanks it conforms with a well-known type of Early Iron Age entrance which occurs perhaps as early as La Tène I at St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester,[1] and is normal amongst the camps or hill-forts of La Tène III.

The interior of the camp was extensively trenched in the hope of finding traces of the hutments of its prehistoric inhabitants. Two factors militated against our success. In the first place, the natural rock lies very close to the surface and almost the whole of the superincumbent soil in the southern half of the area had been thoroughly disturbed by the Roman builders. In the second place, the whole of the northern half is pock-marked with the filled-up adits of iron-mines cut by Roman or later miners. The only evidences of a prehistoric structure—and they were slight enough—occurred under the foundations of the temple and will be described with that building. For the rest, the only tangible evidence consists of the few pieces of burnt daub found, as recorded above, within the prehistoric rampart.

IV. THE DATE OF THE PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT

The evidence bearing upon the date of the prehistoric earthwork will be discussed in detail in the sections relating to the small 'finds' (below, pp. 68 ff.). In the present context the results of that discussion may be anticipated sufficiently to give the general historical perspective. The most important evidence is, of course, the pottery found actually within the structure of

[1] For the history of the in-turned entrance, see C. F. C. Hawkes, J. N. L. Myres, and C. G. Stevens, *St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester*, pp. 72 ff.

the prehistoric rampart. Amongst this pottery, it will be seen that the dominant type is the bead-rimmed 'flower-pot' (fig. 24), a type abundant on sites inhabited during La Tène III (about 100 B.C.–A.D. 50). The type occurs, for example, at Worlebury, Glastonbury, and Meare in Somerset, Hengistbury Head, Hampshire (in 'class J', La Tène III), and at Mount Caburn in Sussex. Whilst it is certain, however, that this type of pottery was in use during the first century B.C., the date of its first appearance is less clear. At Park Brow and Findon in Sussex it is thought to have been already in use in La Tène II (third and second centuries B.C.), and Mount Caburn was certainly occupied before, as well as during, La Tène III. Moreover, the Iron Age camp on the Trundle in Sussex has produced a little pottery of the same type, and is held by its excavators to have been unoccupied after La Tène II. Clearer evidence comes from St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester, which has produced a small quantity of bead-rimmed pottery, but was almost certainly abandoned before the first century B.C. It may be inferred, therefore, that the bead-rimmed 'flower-pot' was in use in southern and south-western Britain at least as early as the second century B.C., and perhaps considerably earlier.

Other prehistoric pottery from the Lydney site is more readily dated. Two or three sherds, in one case from a wheel-turned pot, conform with the later Glastonbury wares, in which it may be possible to detect the occasional and indirect influence of the Belgic potters who settled in south-eastern Britain during the first centuries B.C. and A.D. These sherds were found in association with the bead-rimmed type, and help to suggest that the latter should on this site be regarded as of La Tène III rather than of La Tène II date. There was nowhere any hint either of a very prolonged or of an intermittent occupation of the promontory in prehistoric times, and the supposition that this occupation began at some date after 100 B.C., and continued, perhaps on the downgrade, until the eve of, or into, the Roman period, on the whole conforms best with the ceramic evidence.

Other evidence is slight but is consistent with this conclusion. Of the brooches, one is a late example of La Tène II type (below, p. 68) and on the conventional dating of this period should therefore have been made before 100 B.C. The occurrence of a single brooch should not be over-emphasized; for example, on Continental sites of La Tène III, such as Mont Beuvray and Stradonic, La Tène I brooches are found. Nonconformity of this kind may be ascribed either to survival or to the presence, here and there, of earlier visitors or settlers. On the other hand, at Lydney, the La Tène II brooch must be allowed to envisage

the possibility of an initial occupation in the second or early first century B.C. One other Lydney brooch is of prehistoric rather than Roman type; it is a form which occurs at Mont Beuvray presumably before 12 B.C., and is found on other sites in southern Britain and northern and Central Gaul, in associations which point to a date between about 20 B.C. and A.D. 50. The distribution of this type will be discussed in greater detail below (p. 71). Here it will suffice to note its chronological implication.

Of other prehistoric relics from the camp, an iron spearhead is of an Early Iron Age type, which might be of any date within the last three or four centuries B.C. More distinctive are the bulls' heads which adorn a small iron bowl, and belong to a well-known series of similar bulls' heads, dating from the first centuries B.C. and A.D.

Once more, then, we find that our evidence fails to define the initial date of the prehistoric occupation closely. We are left with the certainty that the site was occupied in the first century B.C. and the first half of the following century. Whether the initial date should be extended backwards, and if so, how far, depends upon the weight attached to the evidence of the La Tène II brooch and the bead-rimmed pottery. Whether the terminal date should be moved forwards, without intermission, into the Roman period must be discussed in the next section.[1]

V. ROMAN PERIOD: FIRST PHASE (*c.* 50–350)

It was not until the last half-century of Roman rule in Britain that stone buildings of Roman type were first erected on the Lydney promontory. Nevertheless, during the first three centuries of the Roman occupation, the site was not, at any rate continuously, deserted. Timber hutments, strengthened in at least one case by rough unmortared walling, have left their traces amongst and adjoining the later buildings; and more than a hint as to the occupation of the hut-dwellers is provided by the fortunate discovery of an intact iron-mine of the same period.

Before describing huts and mine in detail, it will be convenient to summarize the evidence sufficiently to establish the general chronology of this phase. This evidence may be considered under four heads—the coins, the brooches, the Samian pottery, and the coarse pottery.

[1] For a recent discussion of British 'hill-forts', including the south-western group to which the Lydney example belongs, see C. F. C. Hawkes in *Antiquity*, V, 60 ff. (March, 1931).

(i) *The Coins.* During the excavations of 1928–9, 966 Roman coins (excluding hoards) were found on the promontory. Of this total, only 11 date from the first and second centuries A.D., and of these 11 no less than 6 occurred in the fourth-century strata and may therefore be discounted. In other words, only 5 out of 966 coins, excavated at all depths, may be allowed potentially to represent the first two centuries A.D.

On the other hand, in the second half of the third century A.D., coins become relatively numerous; 203 date from the period 253–96. How many of these may have reached the site before, and how many (if any) after, the beginning of the phase of intensive Roman occupation, about 370 A.D., it is, of course, difficult to estimate; but it is, on general grounds, probable that a majority of these reached the soil within considerably less than a century of their minting, and therefore precede the second phase. We will not, however, in this context consider the numerous Constantinian coins, which it is naturally more dangerous to isolate from the later occupation.

This evidence is by itself sufficiently extensive to be regarded as representative. It is worth noting, however, that its general tenor is identical with that of the large collection of coins preserved in Lord Bledisloe's cabinet at Lydney Park. This collection of coins has accumulated over a very long period of years—perhaps a century and a half or even more. Under such circumstances it is impossible now to affirm that its contents came exclusively from our site; indeed it is certain that a small hoard found at the ancient iron-mines, known as the Scowles, a mile to the north-east of the promontory, has been absorbed into it. We may, however, assume safely that the great majority of the coins in the cabinet have, in fact, been picked up at various times on the promontory, and their evidence, as tabulated by Mr. J. W. E. Pearce (see below, p. 104), is worth stating. Mr. Pearce has examined 5319 of these coins, and has found that only 131 of them (i.e. less than 3 per cent.) represent the first and second centuries A.D. This may be compared with the fraction over 1 per cent. which forms the similar proportion amongst the coins recovered during the recent excavations. The similarity, moreover, between the two collections extends to the fact that it is not until the second half of the third century A.D. that coins become relatively numerous; 928 are assigned to this period by Mr. Pearce.

Whether we accept the Lydney Park cabinet or whether we exclude it from our calculations, the evidence points to one conclusion. Even if we make every allowance for the increasing activity of

the provincial mints after the middle of the third century, and for the proportionate abundance of the coinage of the Gallic emperors on most sites, it is fair to infer that in the first and second centuries either the inhabitants of the Lydney promontory were few in number or they had at least little contact with the Roman world. Particularly does this inference hold for the first century A.D., for this century is represented amongst the coins found in 1928–9 by only two, one of which occurred in a fourth-century stratum and has therefore no certain validity. In the Lydney Park cabinet the same century is represented by only 31 coins, out of a total, be it repeated, of 5319.

(ii) *The brooches.* For the present purpose the penannular and many of the enamelled brooches are set aside as insufficiently datable. We are left with 40 Roman brooches which conform with more or less adequately dated types. Most of them were found over a century ago, and unfortunately none of the few discovered during the recent excavations occurred in a well-stratified deposit. The following table, drawn up in consultation with Mr. R. G. Collingwood, summarizes the chronology of these 40 brooches :

First century A.D.	3–5
Circa 80–150	17
Circa 100–150	4
150–third century	7
Fourth to fifth century	7

In examining these brooches Mr. Collingwood drew attention to the local character of many of those dating from the first three centuries A.D., and suggested the possibiilty that these were made by the actual inhabitants of the Lydney site. Two pieces of evidence have strikingly confirmed this suggestion. Part of a leaden die, which was presumably used by a brooch manufacturer, has come to light in the Lydney Park collection (pl. VI A, 1). Secondly, on a cobbled surface under the floor of room xxx of the late fourth-century guest-house were found the traces of a bronze smelting-hearth containing pieces of smelted copper, the pin of a brooch, and part of a bronze bracelet (pl. VI A, 2). We may infer therefore, with Mr. Collingwood, that brooch-making was included amongst the occupations of the hut-dwellers during the present phase of the Roman occupation.

The inference is of considerable importance. The chronological table has shown that a majority of the Lydney brooches was made probably before the end of the second century. This evidence is therefore diametrically opposed to that of the coins. It helps to suggest that lack of traffic with the Roman world rather than

lack of population is the correct explanation for the deficiency of early Roman coinage on the site. To this point we shall return.

(iii) *Samian pottery.* An examination of the limited amount of Samian pottery found during the recent and previous excavations—on the assumption that the Samian pottery in the Lydney Park collection comes exclusively from our site—yields the following results, which have been checked by Dr. T. Davies Pryce :

70–100	1 sherd
circa 100–130	3 sherds
circa 130–300	about 60 sherds

This table requires little comment. It coincides closely with that of the coinage and, like the coins, shows that, during the first century of Roman Britain, few traders found their way to the Lydney site.

(iv) *Coarse pottery.* This occurred abundantly but mostly in a very fragmentary state, and only a small proportion of it can be even approximately dated. Of the datable pieces almost all belong to the third and fourth centuries, and scarcely half a dozen sherds are likely to be earlier than 150. Nor is there any indication here of the local manufacture of pottery during the Roman period.

In summary, these four groups of evidence suggest the following results. Until after the middle of the third century there was clearly little inducement for the products of Romanization to reach the Lydney promontory. If we consider the extent of the excavations and the length of the time in question, the Roman coins and pottery (both Samian and 'coarse') recovered from the site are strikingly limited in quantity. On the other hand, the promontory was not deserted. A few, at any rate, of these extraneous products were introduced on to the site from time to time, and the hut-dwellers to some extent made up for deficiencies in trade by home-production. So far as we know, this domestic enterprise was restricted to the manufacture of brooches and other ornaments, but this evidence, though exiguous enough, is, as we have seen, important in that it goes far to fill the main gap in our other groups. There is still, it is true, a period about the middle of the first century A.D. which is not very clearly represented. It is, however, easier to suppose that the residue of the prehistoric population continued to dwell in its ancient environment continuously into the Roman period, doubtless losing by degrees its more enterprising members and

thus declining in culture, initiative, and wealth. How far this population subsisted at first upon the getting and trafficking of the local iron-ore, we cannot say. But at any rate towards the end of the phase, the local mineral wealth was exploited on a considerable scale with all the knowledge that Roman mining-engineering could bring to bear. Here a fortunate chance provided an unusual witness, for the proper understanding of which we must return first to the hutments in which this Romano-British population subsisted.

For the most part, these hutments were represented only by fragments of clay- or cobble-paving beneath the floors of the later Roman buildings. These patches of pavement were associated mostly with third-century coins of radiate type, and were found notably under room xxx of the guest-house and under the northern rooms of the long building or 'abaton' (see below, p. 49). At one point the remains were more definite. On the flanks of the postern-entrance B, the prehistoric rampart had been flattened in Roman times and had been used as the foundation for two Romano-British huts. The floors of these huts consisted of rammed clay, supplemented by a partial paving of flat stones which, in one case, were also used to form a gutter for the purpose of draining the hut (see plan, pl. VIII, and pl. V B). The eastern or outer wall of one of the huts—that on the southern side of the entrance—was built wholly or partially of rough stonework forming a crude wall less than 2 ft. wide and packed together with loam, apparently unmixed with lime (see pls. VIII and V B). There was no evidence that the wall was carried completely round the hut; it was doubtless placed at this point to lend extra solidity to the wall which crowned the steep declivity here. So far as it goes, moreover, it suggests that the huts were rectangular in form; since the dark loamy soil of the site 'heals up' post-holes and renders their recovery impossible, this was the only structural evidence found. The clay and paving-stones of these hut-floors were extensively burnt, apparently by cooking-fires, since the debris included many food-bones of *Bos longifrons*, pig, sheep, and goat.

Embedded in the clay of the southern hut-floor were two coins of Tetricus I, whilst in the occupation layer which crowned the floor were coins of Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus (2), Quintillus, Tetricus II, and a barbarous copy of the same period. In the northern hut-floor was a coin of Claudius Gothicus. Both these hut-floors were heavily sealed by the material of the earthen rampart which was later built upon them (see below, p. 63), and their evidence may be taken to show conclusively that the huts

were in use about 270 or 280. It was possibly during their occupation that one or more layers of debris accumulated over the surface of the prehistoric rampart in their vicinity (see above, p. 7).

The Roman Iron-mine

But though of interest in themselves these huts were of greater interest by reason of their relationship to an iron-mine which lay beneath the more northerly of the two. Following our usual practice of cutting down wherever possible to the surface of the underlying rock, we removed the western half of the floor of this hut. Beneath the skin of occupation-debris, slabs, and burnt clay which constituted this floor was found, instead of the expected vestige of the prehistoric rampart, a mixed soil containing Roman relics. This material descended below the level of the surrounding rock and, on clearing it away, Colonel Hawley eventually laid bare a shaft of an iron-mine (pls. VI B, VII, VIII).

The open end of this shaft was about 18 ft. long and from 3 to 4 ft. wide, and was cut into the rock to a depth of about 5 ft. At a distance of about 18 ft. from its outer end began the rock-cut tunnel of the shaft itself. Before describing the shaft, the evidence bearing upon the date of it may be tabulated as follows, with reference to the plan and sections on pl. VIII.

1. The lower part of the open end of the cutting was filled to an average height of 3 ft. with debris left by the miners. This debris consisted largely of broken pieces of rock. Amongst them near the bottom of the cutting lay a piece of a Roman roofing-tile and a fragment of a grey cooking-pot.

2. Above this mining-debris the cutting had been filled with the mixed soil already referred to. This soil contained an *antoninianus* of Carausius (287–93) and many small sherds of Roman pottery including Samian forms 31 and 33 and fragments of Caistor ware. At a depth of 7 ft. 4 in. below the level of the hut floor was recovered the base of a Samian form 31 and an imitation-Samian straight-sided mortarium.

3. Above this filling, and completely sealing the whole cutting lay the floor of the hut which, as we have already seen, was in use at the end of the third century. The filling had been sufficiently packed to prevent any subsidence of this floor into the cavity.

4. Above the floor and occupation-debris of this hut was a layer of humus, etc., about 1 ft. in height, containing minute Roman potsherds, probably of late date, and the following 37 coins :

Gallienus (253–68)	1
Victorinus (268–70)	1
Claudius II Gothicus (268–70)	4
Tetricus I (? 270–3)	1
Tetricus II (? 270–3)	1
Barbarous Tetricus	2
Carausius (287–93)	4
Radiates (253–96)	3
Barbarous radiates	4
Helena (*d.* 328)	2
Constantine I (307–37)	3
Urbs Roma (330–5)	1
Constantinopolis (330–7)	3
Constantine II, as Caesar (317–37)	1
„ as Augustus (337–40)	1
Constantius II, as Caesar (323–37)	3
„ as Augustus (337–61)	1
Minim	1

5. Finally, as is clearly indicated in the photograph (pl. VII), this layer was completely covered by the structure of the post-Roman rampart which will be discussed below (p. 63).

The historical inference from this very clear sequence of layers is sufficiently evident. With the exception of the original mining-debris in the bottom of the cutting, the four deposits which sealed the mine are subsequent to the year 283 but, save for the latest, fall within the limits of the Roman period. It is likewise clear that the huts were occupied within a few years of 300. It is certain, therefore, that the mine had already been disused and blocked by that date.

It remains to determine the earlier limit for the cutting of the mine. This is less clear. That the mine was Roman may be inferred, not merely from its character (see below, p. 20), but from the fact that it had been cut through the prehistoric rampart. The only object found in the working-levels was the Roman roof-tile mentioned above. All that can be said, therefore, as to the actual date of the mine is that it was cut during the first two and a half centuries of the Roman occupation. It may be suggested that the absence of debris in the opening prior to the late third-century filling points to an initial date not long anterior to that filling. Moreover, the coinage indicates a marked general influx of wealth on to the promontory in the same period. On these two grounds, it seems likely that the mine was cut during a period of enhanced industrial activity in the middle or latter half of the third century.

Now as to the mine itself. It has already been remarked that, at a distance of about 18 ft. from its outer end, the cutting dipped into the rock and from that point formed a tunnel. In the partial exploration of this tunnel or shaft, we were greatly assisted by Dr. F. G. North, Keeper of Geology in the National Museum of Wales. Dr. North writes as follows:

'The mine is a narrow passage cut in dolomite-rock of the Carboniferous Limestone series, and it follows one of the joints that affect the rocks of the area, striking in a north-easterly direction and descending nearly vertically from the surface. The passage is about 18 to 24 in. wide; one side (that on the south-east) is formed by the relatively smooth wall of one side of the joint, and the other (on the north-west) presents the rough surface resulting from the removal of the stone.

'The roof, and where they are seen, the sides of the passage, are intact, but the present floor is formed of debris—blocks of rock with much friable red loamy material. The debris does not present material that fell from the roof and sides subsequent to the working of the mine, because the tool marks, to which reference will be made later, indicate that no falls of roof have occurred since the passage was cut. On the other hand the present height of the passage near the entrance (only 3¾ ft.) is such as to indicate that the floor-debris is not the material dislodged during the cutting of the passage, for the space is too small to permit the manipulation of picks and wedges. From this it appears that the floor near the entrance is made up of debris thrown in after the abandonment of the passage, from which it follows that the original floor is covered by an unknown thickness of loose material.

'Although the roof maintains a uniform descent of about 20 degrees from the horizontal, excavations made in it by the original miners about 17 ft. from the entrance make it possible to stand erect in the passage, but beyond that the debris approaches nearer to the roof and the open channel becomes too small to be traversed.' It may here be added that subsequent exploration has revealed the outlet (or perhaps, rather, inlet) of the mine on the adjacent hillside, as shown in the plan and section (pl. VIII). Within this inlet, the beginning of a further small shaft, extending apparently northwards, was found but could not be followed.

'The passage was evidently an exploratory road cut along a joint-plane in search of ore, and as is often the case with such joints, the rocky sides were separated by a layer, 6 in. or so in thickness, of ferruginous marl. This material is purplish-red in colour, and when damp is somewhat plastic and easily kneaded: it is called *clod* by local miners of the present age, following long usage, although neither in character nor mode of occurrence does it resemble the clod of the coal mineral. In some of the Forest of Dean mines clod is sufficiently abundant and rich enough in iron to have been regarded as an ore, but in the present instance it does not appear to have been sufficiently thick for the passage to have been made expressly for its extraction.

'The miners were evidently following the band of ferruginous marl

with the not unreasonable hope of being led by it to an ore body. The exploratory character of the passage is indicated by the trial holes that had been made in the roof: these are situated near the present penetrable limit of the passage, and of them, one goes forward and upward with a rapidly decreasing diameter for about 5 or 6 ft.—the maximum distance that could conveniently be reached by means of a bar manipulated from the main passage, while the other goes backwards and upwards for a smaller distance.

'Between the trial hole going forwards and the main channel which continues to go downwards, the undisturbed material is continuous across the end of the passage, and the layer of "clod" can be seen between the two opposing rock faces.

'In addition to the general character of the opening with its possibility of proper exploration, a specially interesting feature is the preservation of the marks made by tools—presumably, from the nature of the marks and the limited space available for manipulation, a pointed single-pronged pick similar to those used throughout the history of mining for removing relatively soft material.

'It is to the presence of the clay-like "clod" that the preservation of the pick marks is due. In the vertical band of that material where the main passage diverges from the forward projecting trial hole there are many vertical furrows made by the tools, and similar marks are to be seen on the roof, especially around the trial holes, and also on the thin clayey film that lines the smooth side of the passage. On the opposite side of the passage where the surface is produced by the removal of blocks of the much-jointed stone, such marks are less likely to have been made and relatively few can be detected.'

Dr. North's account makes it clear that the Lydney mine—the first British iron-mine which can, on conclusive evidence, be assigned to the Roman period—conforms in general type to the better-known Roman iron-mines of Spain.[1] The short, sharp incisions from 2 to 12 in. in length made by the tools of the Lydney miners point to the use of the short pick-hammers, of which many examples have been found in the Spanish mines. No actual pick has yet been found at Lydney, but an iron toy-model of typical form was found amongst the Roman material included in the structure of the post-Roman rampart (fig. 22, p. 92).

Conclusive stratification such as that which defines the general period of this mine can rarely be expected. There are, indeed, indications of a mine under the south-western part of the Roman guest-house, but these could not be followed up without an extensive destruction of the foundations of that building. For the rest, it may be assumed that some at least of the other ancient mining-shafts which may be seen on the Lydney pro-

[1] See, for example, Horace Sandars, 'The Linares Bas-Relief and Roman mining-operations in Baetica', in *Archaeologia*, lix, 311.

montory and, indeed, throughout the Forest of Dean justify their popular ascription to the Romans. It has already been observed that almost the whole of the northern half of the Lydney camp is honeycombed with the hollows which represent blocked mine-shafts. These hollows are now on the average only 1 ft. deep in the centre and from 12 to 20 ft. in diameter. One of these was excavated in 1929 at a spot marked on the general plan (pl. LII). The earthen filling extended to a depth of about 7 ft. and contained nothing but Roman relics including third brasses of Carausius (2), Fausta, Constantine I (3). One of the last, an 'Urbs Roma' of A.D. 333–5, was found at a depth of over 3 ft. in the filling. Below 7 ft., the rock-cut shaft of the mine tunnelled downwards in a south-easterly direction. It was largely choked with broken rock and was not further cleared. The presence of the Roman relics in the blocking is not, of course, conclusive as to the Roman date of the mine, since the whole of the surface of the promontory is riddled with Roman remains. All that we can say is that the whole of the evidence is consistent with a Roman origin for the shaft.

VI. ROMAN PERIOD: SECOND PHASE
(After 364–7)

To the occupation of the Lydney promontory by a peasant population, engaged in part upon organized iron-mining, succeeded a phase of a markedly different character. In this second Roman phase, as we may here call it, the southern half of the camp was occupied by a remarkable group of buildings most of which were set, subsequently to their first construction, within a precinct-wall. In anticipation of the evidence, it will be convenient briefly to name these buildings and to indicate their general date.

The buildings are five in number. The most southerly was a temple of exceptional plan, dedicated to an otherwise unknown deity named Nodens or Nudens. This temple was approached directly from the main entrance to the camp and clearly dominated the whole group. Behind it, along the edge of the western declivity, lay a long narrow building which will be referred to in the following pages as the 'long building' or the 'abaton'. North-east of this, on slightly rising ground, was a large building consisting of four ranges of rooms opening upon a central court-yard, and including a great hall in the southern range. This building we shall call the 'guest-house'. To the westward again, on the brow of the declivity, was a large and elaborate bath-

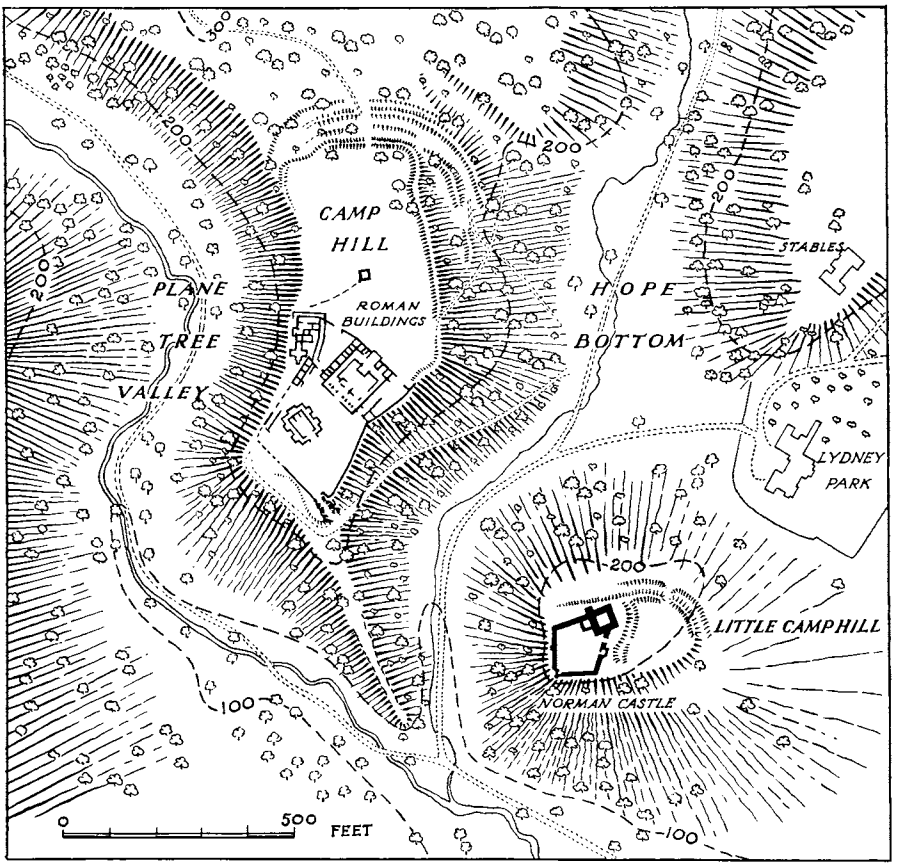


FIG. 1. Map of site and environs

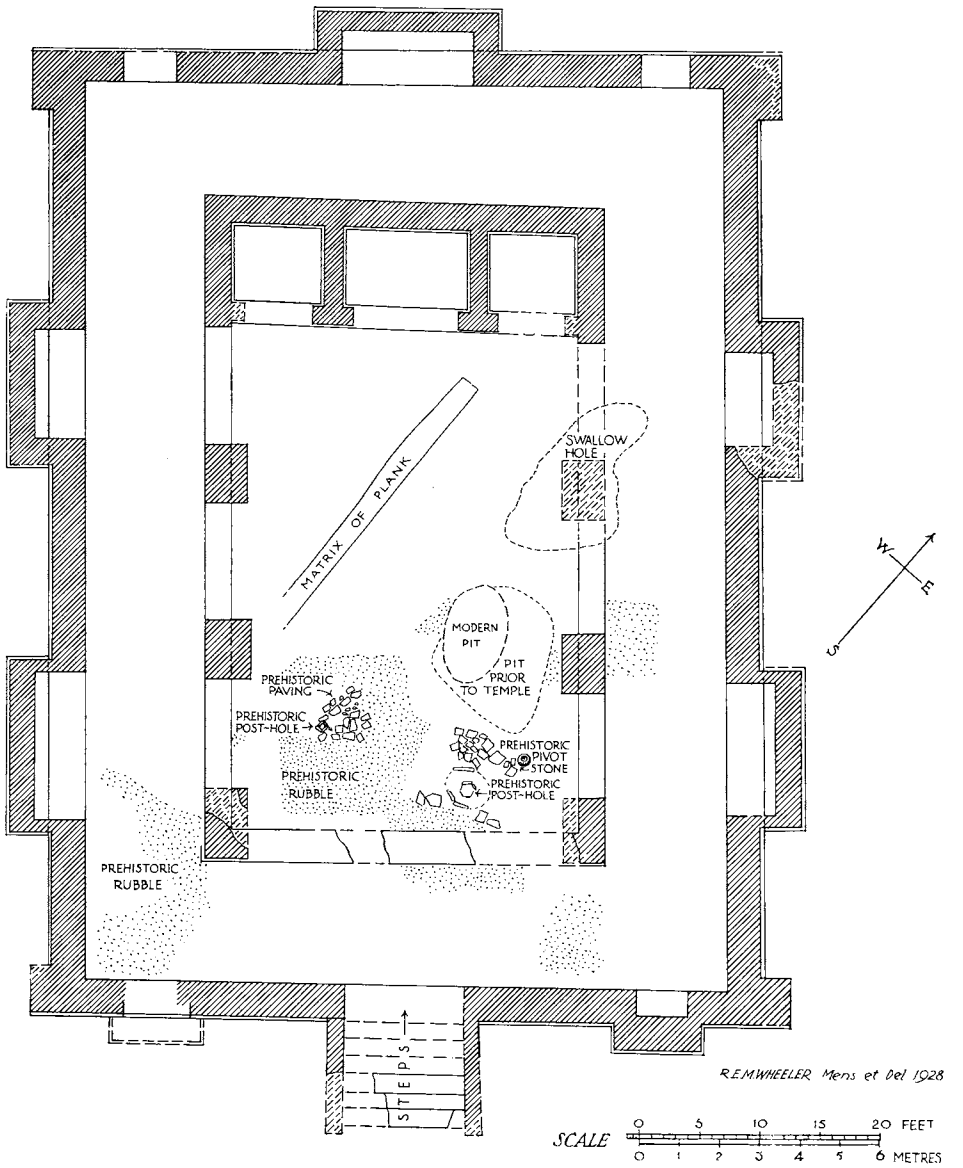


FIG. 2. Plan of the Lydney temple as originally designed, with underlying remains

building, of a type and size which proclaim a public rather than a private function. The fifth building was a small square water-tank which lay in the northern half of the camp, outside the sturdy precinct wall to which reference has already been made.

As to date, it will suffice here to say that the whole group was laid out in or shortly after 364–7; that it was remodelled, and reinforced by the precinct wall, within a few years of that date; and that the whole settlement flourished exceedingly in the last quarter of the century.

It remains to describe and discuss the buildings in turn.

(1). The Temple

(*a*) *Description*

The Roman temple was built on uneven ground with an average gradual slope towards the south-east. Its structural history falls into two main phases to which a third of lesser importance may be added. It consisted essentially of an oblong cella 50 ft. by $28\frac{3}{4}$ ft. internally, completely surrounded by a corridor, 10 ft. wide. The floors both of the cella and of the corridor were elevated to a height of from 1 to 3 ft. above the irregular natural surface, and the whole temple, therefore, stood, in effect, upon a podium. This feature was emphasized by an external set-back of the outer walls at floor-level; and, on the lower or south-eastern front, where the main entrance was placed, it must have added materially to the dignity of the building.

The method of construction was as follows. The main external and cella walls were laid out on plain oblong plans, and the walls were carried up with a thickness of 3 ft. 1 in. and 2 ft. 6 in. respectively to the intended floor-level. At that level the outside wall was, as already mentioned, set back externally from 3 to 4 in.; and its plan was then elaborated by the addition of seven projecting bays or 'chapels', distributed symmetrically along the periphery. The walls of these chapels thus formed a straight joint with the main structure up to the floor-level, but, above that level, they were carried up in one build with the main wall and are unquestionably an original feature of the plan. These chapels are of considerable interest and will be discussed later.

The cella also possessed features of interest in its original form. At its inner or north-western end, it was subdivided into three small sanctuaries by means of T-ended partitions which may have carried arched openings. For the rest, the roof of the cella had been supported upon oblong piers of masonry with dimensions of 5 ft. by 3 ft. 7 in. Like the chapels, these piers only became an integral unit of the structure above floor-level; below this, in so far as they

project inwards from the line of the sleeper-wall, they are carried down as an independent skin of masonry. Again, however, there is no question that they form an original unit of the plan and that the straight joint below floor-level is due merely to the structural procedure employed.

On each side of the cella were originally three of these piers. They are well built and structurally independent of the screen-wall of which remains can now be seen between them. This screen-wall is founded upon the original sleeper-wall of the cella, but it is highly improbable that it formed an original feature of the design. Its masonry and mortar alike differ from that of the piers and, as will be seen, it did not become an essential structural feature of the temple until Period II. Whether the piers carried an arcade or whether they supported a normal classical trabeation cannot now be determined. Analogies which may help, however, will be cited below.

As originally designed, there were apparently three entrances to the temple. The main entrance in the centre of the south-eastern side was approached by a flight of steps of which fragments of four remain (see pl. IX A). At the north-western end are two blocked openings, one at the end of each lateral corridor. These were almost certainly doorways, but there is the slight possibility that they may have formed a part of small projecting bays or chapels such as that which survives to the north-east of the main entrance.

The original building was plastered both internally and externally. Only a few fragments of this plaster remain *in situ*. On the north-western external wall at the original ground-level is a piece of plaster, painted light green and speckled crudely with black; the external northern angle of Chapel F and the main wall of the temple retain a part of a vertical quarter-round plaster moulding, and the adjacent wall surface is still partly covered with red-painted plaster below the level of the stone-paving, added here in Period II. Internally the walls were similarly covered, but the only surviving plaster which could definitely be associated with Period I is the orange-red fragment on that part of one of the cella piers, which was buried below the floor-level of Period II.

The original floors of the temple consisted everywhere of a deep layer of yellow cement. In the corridor the cement had been brought to a smooth surface and there is no indication that this was ever tessellated. In the cella, however, loose tesserae in the 'make-up' of the subsequent floors suggest the presence of mosaics in this period.

The date of Period I will be discussed later in connexion with that of Period II.

Beneath the temple in its original form were found no evidences of earlier Roman work but abundant traces of prehistoric occupation. It was hoped, therefore, that here at last might be found definite remains of one of those elusive prehistoric shrines which have been postulated as the predecessors of many Roman temples in northern Gaul and Britain. Our hopes were unfulfilled. The prehistoric strata had been cut at many points by the builders of the original temple, and the disaster which, as will be seen, necessitated the reconstruction of Period II helped further to obliterate the pre-Roman strata. But that was not all. The excavators of 1805 had dug deeply into the floor of the cella, apparently in the hope of finding an underground cavity there.[1] In more recent times the roughly covered ruins have been a rabbit-warren, and keepers have dug there from time to time for lost ferrets. From one cause and another, therefore, the chances of finding any coherent traces of a pre-Roman and therefore presumably timber building were reduced to a minimum. Such indications as a rigorous search could reveal were as follows.

Immediately below the yellow cement of the original temple floors was found normally a layer of broken stone and loose, red charcoal-flecked earth containing numerous fragments of prehistoric pottery (see figs. 24, Nos. 11-13 ; 25, Nos. 19, 20, 22). In the north-western part of the temple-site no other feature called for notice. Farther east a similar prehistoric layer was observable, but was varied or supplemented by other features. From north to south diagonally across the cella for a distance of at least 26 ft. extended a well-marked groove rather less than 2 ft. wide suggesting the site of a vanished beam. The matrix had been preserved by the yellow cement of the Roman floor which had poured down into it. Its southern end had been obliterated by the Roman builders ; its northern end was more definite, although the adjacent ground was too disturbed to prove or disprove the former existence of any related timbering. To the south-east of this timber, as shown on the plan (fig. 2), were two post-holes roughly lined with stone, but whether these belonged to the same structure could not be determined. They were covered by prehistoric material and were certainly pre-Roman. Adjoining the post-holes were small patches of rough slab-flooring which was clearly contemporary with them.

Over a great part of this area (see plan, fig. 2) the normal prehistoric stratum was capped by a thick layer of broken stone which likewise contained prehistoric pottery but was devoid of Roman relics. In places, as shown by the section (fig. 4), this broken rubble stood to a considerable height. Among it lay a socket-

[1] Bathurst and King, p. 21.

stone for a gate-post made from a small beehive quern of coarse quartz grit which, owing to a flaw in the stone, had never been finished for its original purpose (see pl. XXIV B, right). This stone was lying on its side and therefore was not *in situ*. The purpose of this broken rubble is difficult to see. It was the sort of material which results from the hammering of the local outcrop; but, in view of its frequent interruption by the later disturbances already referred to, its *raison d'être* was no longer apparent.

The sum-total of evidence in regard to prehistoric structures is thus only sufficient to show or suggest that these were of timber and that they were built partly on sleeper-beams and partly by means merely of vertical piles. The stone door-socket perhaps indicates a certain degree of sophistication; but whether the structure was that of a temple or not is, of course, beyond conjecture.

Period II was ushered in by a collapse of the Roman temple. The disaster was due to the fact that the builders had unknowingly placed their most northerly pier over a concealed swallow-hole upwards of 14 ft. deep in the limestone (pl. XI B). Into this cavity the pier collapsed, dragging apparently a considerable portion of the superstructure of the temple with it. The new temple which arose from the ruins differed in several respects from its predecessor. The swallow-hole was filled up with earth and debris from the fallen structure, but no new pier was built above it. The old system of heavy rectangular piers was now abandoned. Instead, on the two longer sides of the cella, a continuous screen-wall was carried up on the original sleeper-foundation, and the piers were, with one doubtful exception, cut back and refaced flush with the wall. At the south-eastern end of the cella, the original sleeper-foundation was not used for the new screen-wall, but was replaced for this purpose by a completely new wall founded at a higher level and on a slightly different site (see plan, fig. 3). Thus, but for its oblong shape and its projecting chapels, the new temple, with its box-like cella and surrounding corridor, now approximated to a more normal provincial plan.

The new scheme included two lateral doorways near the south-eastern end of the cella. Amongst other features which may be ascribed to this period of reconstruction may be noted two partition-walls across the corridor near the entrance, and light L-shaped walls enlarging and screening three of the side-chapels. At the same time, one of the two small projecting bays on the south-eastern front of the temple was removed and the two openings in the north-western external wall were blocked. A bench faced with stone slabs was now carried round the margin

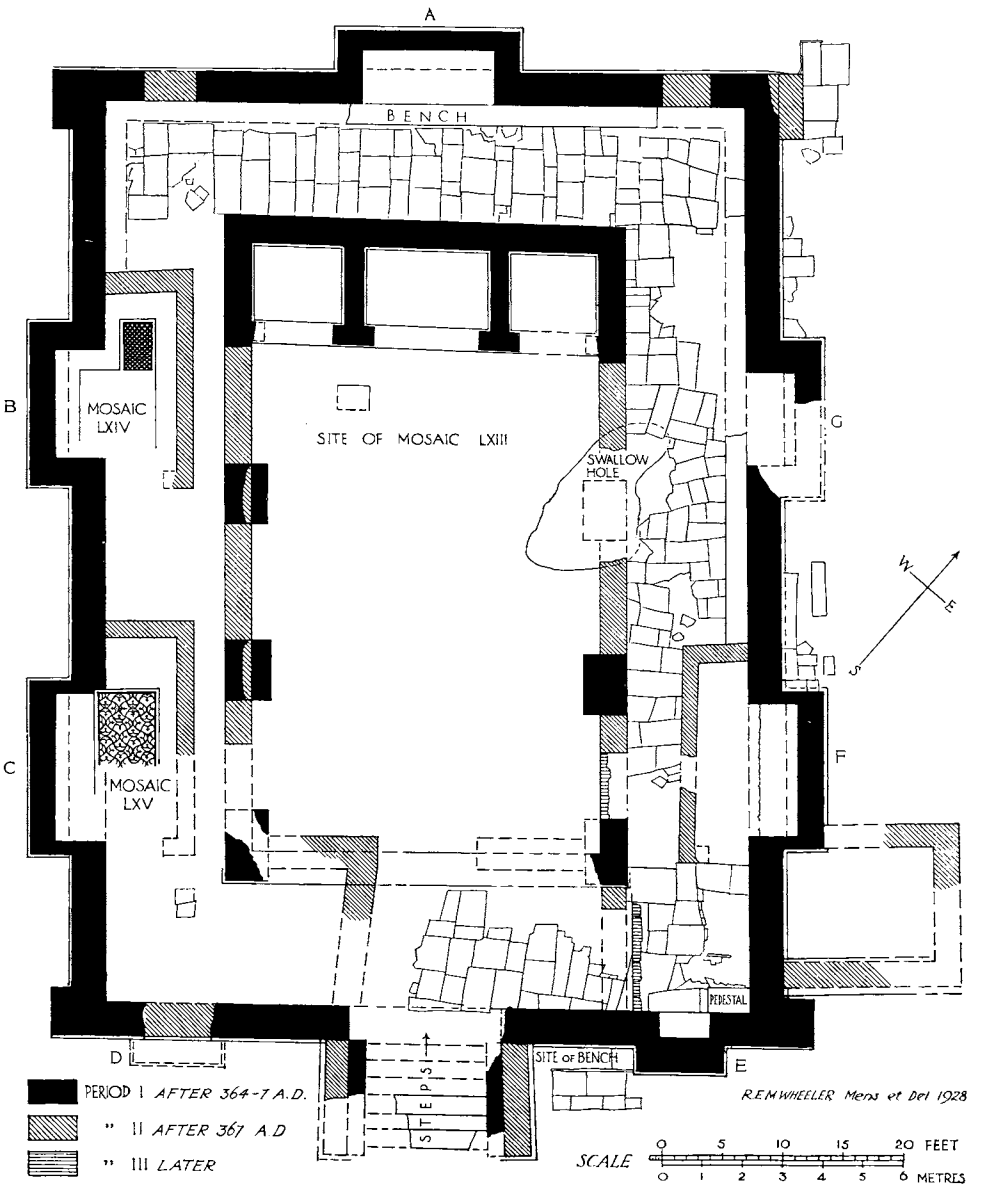

ROMAN TEMPLE AT LYDNEY GLOUCESTERSHIRE
A
BENCH
B
MOSAIC LXIV
SITE OF MOSAIC LXIII
SWALLOW HOLE
G
C
MOSAIC LXV
F
PEDESTAL
D
STEPS
SITE OF BENCH
E
PERIOD I AFTER 364-7 A.D.
" II AFTER 367 A.D
" III LATER
R.E.M.WHEELER Mens et Del 1928
SCALE
0 5 10 15 20 FEET
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 METRES

FIG. 3

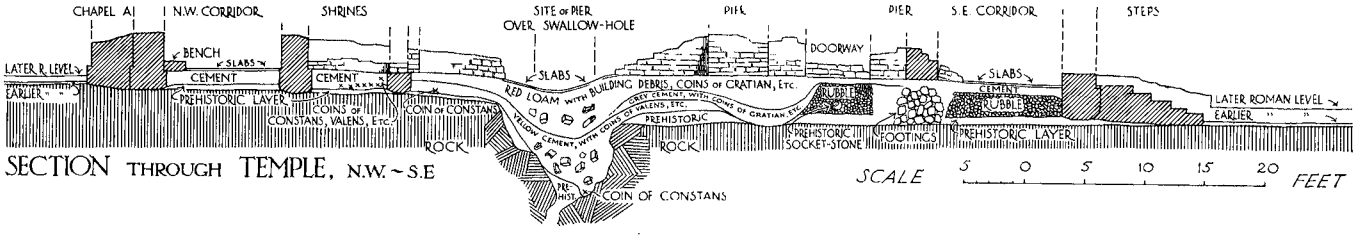

CHAPEL A
N.W. CORRIDOR
SHRINES
SITE OF PIER OVER SWALLOW-HOLE
PIER
DOORWAY
PIER
S.E. CORRIDOR
STEPS
BENCH
SLABS
CEMENT
CEMENT
SLABS
SLABS
CEMENT
LATER R. LEVEL
EARLIER "
PREHISTORIC LAYER
COINS OF CONSTANS, VALENS, ETC.
COIN OF CONSTANS
RED LOAM WITH BUILDING DEBRIS, COINS OF GRATIAN, ETC.
GREY CEMENT WITH COINS OF VALENS, ETC.
YELLOW CEMENT WITH COINS OF GRATIAN, ETC.
PREHISTORIC
ROCK
ROCK
RUBBLE
PREHISTORIC SOCKET-STONE
FOOTINGS
RUBBLE
PREHISTORIC LAYER
LATER ROMAN LEVEL
EARLIER "
PRE-HIST.
COIN OF CONSTANS
SECTION THROUGH TEMPLE, N.W.~S.E
SCALE
5 0 5 10 15 20
FEET

FIG. 4

of the corridor in the northern half of the temple; it is subsequent to the addition of the L-shaped screen-wall of chapel F, since at this point the bench abuts against its plastered face; and there was probably another stone bench externally adjoining the steps of the main entrance. These steps were themselves entirely remodelled in this period. New flanking walls were built outside the old ones (see plan, fig. 3, and pl. IX A), and the old steps were covered by new ones at a higher level. These rose above the modern surface and have therefore been destroyed, though some part of the substructure remains.

Incidentally, the ground-level surrounding the temple was raised on the average to the level of the top of the original podium, and the surface, where it adjoined the structure, was largely paved with stone slabs.

The walls at this period, also, were plastered internally and externally. The only remaining external fragment has lost its surface, but internally the walls of chapels B and F retain extensive remains of plaster painted in red and yellow panels and dating from the time of the addition of the L-shaped screens. One of the screen-walls bears also traces of yellow plaster with magenta splashes. Within the cella the north-eastern wall is partially plastered and roughly painted in orange and olive-green, but the remains are insufficient to indicate the pattern.

The floors of this period are of special importance by reason of the chronological evidence which they contained (see below, p. 30). The corridor, with the exception of those parts which were now included within the side-chapels, was paved with large stone slabs which had fortunately not been disturbed by the earlier excavators (pl. IX B). Incidentally it may be noted that a stone pedestal was at the same time inserted into the eastern corner of the temple. The three enclosed chapels were at first floored with hard smooth cement which does not seem to have borne tesserae. The three small sanctuaries at the inner end of the cella alone show no signs of secondary flooring; indeed, it was clear that the cement 'make-up' of the floors of these rooms sufficed with little or no repair into this period. The main body of the cella was in different case. Here the chasm which had opened up on its northern side necessitated a relevelling and relaying of the floor. For this purpose a layer of compact red loam was rammed on to the remains of the original 'make-up' and, on this hard new surface, the mosaic floor was relaid. In this material were considerable quantities of broken roof-tile, doubtless from the fallen roof of the first temple.

Of the mosaic itself only a few fragments of the plain border

of large stone cubes remained in position. When the building was uncovered, however, in or about 1805, the excavator found here the remains of one of the most remarkable pavements ever discovered in Britain. It included an inscription which will be discussed later (see below, p. 102), together with a frieze representing fish and sea-monsters, and part of a panel with roundels of guilloche and, apparently, more fish. In the midst of the inscription, but somewhat to the left side of the design, was a circular opening surrounded by alternate borders of red, blue, and white mosaic. The original record observes that this circular perforation was 'formed of a funnel of earthenware $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter and 4 in. deep placed in the middle of a circle of coarse tessellae, which formed a shallow basin, the depth of which cannot easily be ascertained, as it was sunk unequally, so as to give the funnel an oblique direction, the top of which, and consequently the bottom of the basin, is 3 in. on one side, and 4 in. on the other, below the level of the pavement. On opening the ground under this hole, to the depth of the natural soil, so as to admit the hand freely all round, it was ascertained that there was no hypocaust beneath, nor even any drain leading from this funnel; the only existing cavity, which was filled with loose earth, extending to the distance of not more than 5 in. round the outside of the funnel to the depth of about 8 in. below the bottom of it.'[1] In the filling of the funnel were found 'a small rude brass figure of a dog and twenty-one coins', ranging from Antoninus Pius to Honorius (see below, p. 89). Unfortunately, the funnel has vanished as completely as the mosaic, and its exact position cannot now be recovered. It may be noted, however, that placed, as it was, towards the left-hand side of the design, it must have lain nearly opposite to the existing remains of some sort of stone pedestal which may well have borne an altar (see plan, fig. 3). In this case, the funnel may have served the purpose of a piscina for carrying the offerings down to Mother-earth. An apparent analogy will be noted later (see p. 36).

It is possible, though unprovable, that the fragmentary remains of a projecting room, added to the eastern corner of the temple, should be ascribed to this period.

Various subsequent modifications in detail may be grouped

[1] From Charles Bathurst's MS., p. 36. written before 1831. This manuscript was long lost to sight in the archives of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, but was found by the Secretary, Mr. J. R. Gabriel, in 1929 and is now at Lydney Park. In the recension of these notes, published in 1879, the diameter of the funnel is wrongly given as '9 inches'. The Bathurst manuscript states that it was $3\frac{3}{8}$ in., and adds that it would 'just admit a hand'.

together as Period III without presupposing their exact contemporaneity with one another.

The most important modification consists in the reflooring of chapels B and C. In each of these chapels the cement floor of Period II was now covered with a new layer of cement bearing a decorative mosaic pavement. The mosaic of chapel B (room LXIV of Bathurst and King's plan) consisted of a panel of chequer-work in dark blue and white, and a larger panel containing a roundel of lotus-leaf and guilloche. The greater part of the panel was found intact at the time of the original excavations (pl. XIX B), but now little more than the chequered panel and plain border remain.

Chapel C, on the other hand, still retains a considerable part of its decorated panel, which consists of a pelta, or amazon's-shield, pattern in red, white, and blue, within the usual plain border of large stone cubes (pl. XXII A).

Chapel F had likewise been refloored at this period, but the surface had entirely gone. Chapel G was in too damaged a condition for comparison.

At some period during the latter days of the temple the floor of the corridor was raised by the addition of rather more than a foot of yellow cement over the stone slabs. This addition was doubtless due in part to the fact that the filling inserted into the swallow-hole at the time of the reconstruction in Period II had, in turn, subsided, and the adjacent slab-paving of the corridor had sagged deeply into it (see pl. X A). The cement had unfortunately been for the most part removed by the earlier excavator, but a piece of it remained in the north-western corridor and in the corridor adjoining chapel F. It was found to cover and be covered by much burnt material; the capping-layer was particularly thick and included considerable quantities of stone roofing-tiles and other building material, which suggested that the final destruction of the temple may have been by fire.

In order to retain this new cement flooring in position at points where the earlier floor-levels were preserved, stone curbs were built to the requisite height. These curbs remain across the inner side of the projecting bay of chapel F, across the corridor from the eastern corner of the cella to the south-eastern external wall, and across the doorway into the cella opposite chapel F. It is possible that this doorway was completely blocked at this period.

(*b*) *Chronology of the Temple*

In considering the chronology of the temple one important point is clear at the outset. There is not a particle of evidence for any

occupation of the actual site of the building between the prehistoric period and that at which the existing temple was first erected. Sections everywhere showed that the well-marked prehistoric level immediately underlay both the walls and the clean yellow cement of the original 'make-up' of the floors of the temple (see pls. XI A and XII A). The only possible exceptions to this rule are a second brass of Vespasian and a first brass of Hadrian (both much worn) which were found immediately on top of the prehistoric layer beneath the temple.

Amongst the material evidence which can be associated with the temple itself, the pottery is insignificant in quantity. The only fragments to which an approximate date can be assigned are a few sherds of the late adaptations of Samian forms, such as are found on fourth-century sites (see fig. 26, Nos. 14, 17, 19, 24). Coins, on the other hand, were numerous and well stratified. They may here be summarized in relation to their find-spots.

(i) *Coins prior to Period II.*

(*a*) *In the original make-up of the floors of the three shrines* at the inner end of the cella. This make-up was upwards of 18 in. deep and was of hard compact cement. There is no question that the coins, most of which were found deeply bedded in this material, belonged to it and were not recent intrusions. They comprise coins of Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Probus, Constantine I (4), Crispus, Constans (3), Valentinian I, and Valens. Of these coins it may be noted that the latest were found at the bottom of the 'make-up', i.e. they were covered by 18 in. of hard cement; whilst a coin of Constans was found by Sir James Berry actually between the abutment of one of the partition-walls and the back-wall of the cella.

(*b*) *In the yellow cement* which formed the make-up of the original floor of the remainder of the cella. In this cement were found coins of Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, Constantine I, Constans (4), Valentinian I (4), Valens. Of these it may be noted that one of Constans lay actually on the prehistoric level, while another of the same emperor lay deeply buried in the debris of Period I, 10 ft. deep in the swallow-hole (see section, fig. 4). Two coins of Valentinian lay within the top of one of the prehistoric post-holes.

(*c*) *In the grey cement* which forms a local levelling of the make-up of Period I (see section, fig. 4, and pl. XII A). This cement contained coins of Constantine I, Constans, Valentinian I, Valens, and Gratian. Though forming a definite local layer, it was comparatively soft and permeable, and it cannot therefore be guaranteed that the coins which it contained are of Period I rather than of

Period II. On the other hand, they are certainly not later than the reconstructional work of Period II, since the grey cement is firmly sealed by the floor of that period.

(*d*) *Coins found on the surface of the original cement floor of the corridor* and beneath the stone slabs of Period II. It is unnecessary to emphasize the value of these coins, found, as they were, beneath stone slabs which had not been moved since Roman times. Not one of these coins was found in a position which it could possibly have reached by percolation. They are as follows: Gallienus (2), Victorinus (3), Tetricus I (6), Tetricus II (4), Tetricus period (2), Claudius Gothicus (5), Probus, Allectus, Constantine I (2), Crispus, Constans (2), House of Constantine (2), Valens, other fourth century (6). These coins were in most cases burnt, and all occurred in a thin layer of burnt material which immediately underlay the slabs. The original cement, however, showed no signs of fire, and it is probable that the burnt material containing the coins was introduced merely as levelling for the slab-paving.

(*e*) *Coins found in the original make-up of the floor of chapel A.* This chapel had a raised floor at a height of upwards of 2 ft. above the level of the corridor. The actual floor of the chapel had been removed, but its cemented substructure remained, imbedded in which were found a coin of Valentinian and one either of Valentinian or of Valens.

(*f*) Adjoining chapel A, the original north-west wall of the temple was, in part, temporarily dismantled by a mason of the Office of Works in 1929 in the process of consolidating the masonry. Imbedded in the original yellow mortar of the core of the wall, in positions which they could not have reached by percolation, were third brass coins of the following: Gallienus, Quintillus, Aurelian, Carausius, Constantine I ('Urbs Roma', 2), Constantius (2, one barbarous), Constantine family, Valentinian, Valens (3). These coins were seen in position, and their evidence was indisputable. The wall was not built before the accession of Valens and Valentinian in the year 364.

(ii) *Coins associated with the reconstructional work of Period II.*

(*a*) *In the red loam make-up of the main floor of the cella.* Reference has already been made to the foundation of hard, rammed loam upon which was laid the mosaic floor of the rebuilt temple. This loam contained coins of Gallienus, Constans, Valentinian I (2), Gratian (3).

(*b*) *In the mortar of the substructure of the later steps above those of Period I,* was found a coin of Gratian.

(*c*) *In the loam and debris used for raising the external level adjoining*

chapel B. The raising of the external levels has been referred to above (p. 27) and was carried out deliberately, leaving a hard surface which was readily determined in the few places where the earlier excavators had left it intact. Well beneath the surface of this layer was found a coin of Gratian.

(iii) *Stratified coins subsequent to Period II.*

(*a*) *In burnt material on the slab-pavement of the corridor.* Reference has been made to a trodden burnt layer which lay on the surface of the slabs beneath the cement addition of Period III. In this thin burnt layer lay coins of Theodora, Constantius II, House of Constantine (3), Valentinian I, Valens, and Gratian.

(*b*) *In the cement floor of Period III* (as described above, p. 29) were found coins of Constantius II, House of Constantine (2), Valentinian I, and Valens.

The tenor of the coin-evidence is decisive. The latest coins which, from their find-spots, were definitely in circulation before the original construction of the temple are of Valentinian (7) and Valens (7). This total excludes the coins found in the local patch of grey cement in the cella for reasons indicated above; but if these coins be accepted the lower limit is brought down to Gratian. The difference is in any case inconsiderable, and it is at least certain that the temple was not built before 364.

The *terminus post quem* of Period II is equally well vouched for. The latest coin covered by the slabs of the corridor is of Valens, whilst the mosaic of the main body of the cella covered amongst others at least three coins of Gratian. Three other coins of Gratian have been noted as associated with work of this period. Period II is therefore not earlier than the accession of Gratian in 367, and Mr. J. W. E. Pearce informs me that all the coins in question were minted prior to 375.

It is evident, therefore, that as between the dates of Period I and Period II there is little or no perceptible difference, and we may with probability assume that the two phases were practically consecutive, since the weakness beneath the original pier would be likely to manifest itself as soon as the building was constructed.

For Period III, the evidence is similar to that for Period II, and again does not enable us to postulate a distinctive date. As noted above, the cement floor of this period covers coins of Valens and Gratian and includes coins of similar period.

No stratified coin minted later than 375 was found on the site of the temple during 1928–9. Perhaps worth transcribing, however, are two lists of coins recorded to have been found during

the earlier excavations of the temple. Mr. Charles Bathurst, in the manuscript already quoted, notes that 'close adjoining, and chiefly in a space of only a few inches between the edge of the [cella] pavement and the walls and floor of the three compartments [at the north-west end of the cella], and along their respective walls, werefound not less than 531 coins: Antoni[ni]us, Commodus, Alex. Severus (Æ), Valerian (Æ), Claudius, Salonina, Victorinus, Constantinus, Constantius, Crispus, Constantinus Junior, Constans, Theodora, Constantinopolis, Urbs Roma, Pop. Romanus, Magnentius, Valens, Valentinianus, Gratianus, Helena, Maximinus, Mag. Maximus (2), Theodosius (5), Arcadius (17)'.[1] To this astonishing total, which bears eloquent testimony to the wealth of the temple, may be added the following coins, noted by Mr. Bathurst to have been found in the funnel already described: Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius (4), Tetricus (2), Tetricus Junior, Salonina, Postumus, Constantine I (5), Constantine Junior, Constans (2), Valens, Valentinian, Honorius.[2]

(*c*) *The Plan of the Temple, and its Implications*

The Lydney Temple is in certain respects of unusual type, and, in one respect, apparently unique—a rare distinction among provincial Roman buildings.

Rectangular temples of the Roman Empire may normally be assigned to one of three main classes. The first is of the familiar Greek or Graeco-Etruscan type with oblong cella, colonnaded portico, and usually with free or attached columns along the flanks. Temples of this classical type are not common outside the older provinces of the Empire. In Britain, no certain example has yet been recognized, although the Roman substructure beneath the Norman castle at Colchester probably supported a temple of this kind, and the temple found at Wroxeter in 1912 shows some influence of the type.

A second class is square, or nearly square, on plan, and consists of a cella with a colonnaded portico or verandah placed symmetrically round all four sides. Small temples bearing a partial resemblance to this type occur rarely as early as the first century B.C. in Syria, but the main series is characteristic of northern Gaul and the adjacent Celtic provinces, where it is probably a local compromise between a simple square prototype of native origin and the oblong or circular peripteral temples of the classical world.[3]

The third class may be described broadly as that of the 'basilical'

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 38. For both these lists, see also *Proc. Soc. Ant.* v, 96 ff.
[2] *Ib.* Bathurst MS., p. 37.
[3] See *Antiquaries Journal*, viii, 311.

temple. Its main difference from the first group is that the external colonnade is replaced by a continuous wall, whilst the side-walls of the cella dissolve into a series of piers or columns, with or without intervening screens. It is with this type that we are now concerned.

The basilical temple-plan (though without the clerestory of the basilica proper) is of early origin, in the sense that internal colonnades were occasionally inserted into the cellae of Greek and Roman temples where the span of the structure was thought to demand some additional support for the roof. Thus in one of the earliest Greek temples, the Heraeum at Olympia, the usual peristyle was supplemented by internal colonnades, originally of timber. Other temples on Aegina and at Paestum, and the Parthenon itself, were similarly equipped, whilst as a later example may be cited the temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva at Pompeii, built probably in the first or late second century B.C., on a Graeco-Etruscan plan. In each of these cases, however, the architect has had recourse to the use of internal colonnades merely as a local structural expedient; his purpose, and the main lines of his plan, differed not at all from those of the builders of the normal aisleless temples of the Greek and Roman world, and it would be misleading to detach occasional aisled temples of this kind as a separate type. They belong, in fact, to our first class, and with our present problem they have little or nothing to do.

A nearer approach to the true basilical temple of the Lydney type is provided by the so-called Temple of Nemausus or Diana at Nîmes in Provence. There the plan included a nave (or cella) with aisles and triple shrine. The nave still bears the remains of a magnificent barrel-vault which springs on each side from a continuous cornice supported partly by a thin screen-wall and partly by columns standing on projecting rectangular pedestals. This scheme has much in common with that of the Lydney temple in its original form, although there the screen-wall between the columns or piers was apparently not an original feature. Incidentally, at Nîmes the whole building was roofed in one span, without clerestory, and the heavy outer angle-buttresses at Lydney suggest that a similar system of roofing was adopted there also.

Unfortunately, the Temple of Nemausus is undated. It was not, however, until the Empire was already old that the true basilical plan came into its own for religious purposes. The older classical temple, whatever its magnitude, had been primarily the treasure-house of its deity and its priests rather than the meeting-place of a congregation. The normal classical religion was

essentially extra-mural. But by the third century A.D. a change was coming over the religious outlook of the Empire. Those mystical or semi-mystical cults which had long flourished in the Near East and had indeed been implicit for several centuries in certain of the less formal religions of the classical world, now emerged into the open and became a power in the land. A notable feature of them was their association with brotherhoods or congregations whose devotion was expressed in the privacy of *scholae* or halls adapted for communal worship; and these halls naturally tended to approximate to one or other of the basilical forms which had long been used for secular assemblies.

This change, both spiritually and architecturally, is of course best illustrated by the Christian Church. When, at the beginning of the fourth century, it became incumbent upon the classical architect to evolve a type of building adapted to the communal ritual of organized Christianity, it was a new variant of the basilical plan that he found best suited to his purpose. But, as we have remarked, analogous problems were likewise present to the architects of the newer paganism. As early as the first century A.D. a Pythagorean cult had already created a basilica at the Porta Maggiore in Rome, but in the West it is to a somewhat later date that we must ascribe the popularity of the cults of Mithras and, above all, of Magna Mater, which were both associated with a communal ritual of a semi-mystical kind. Furthermore, it can scarcely be doubted that by the third and fourth centuries A.D. many local cults of various origin had also something of the new 'atmosphere'. It is thus no accident that, when we look for an analogy to the basilical plan of the Lydney temple, we find that the nearest parallel in the north-western provinces is of late imperial date, and is thought to have been devoted to the cult of the Great Mother. At Pesch, near Münstereifel in the Rhineland, is a small basilica which is not earlier than 330 and can therefore claim approximate contemporaneity with Lydney (fig. 5.)[1] It consists of a nave divided by colonnades from flanking aisles, with a projecting compartment or sanctuary at the west end and an entrance at the east end. In nave and aisles are sockets which are thought, with great probability, to have carried the posts of benches—a feature which recalls the stone benches in the aisles of the Lydney building.

Apart from the Pesch basilica, analogies in the northern provinces are hard to find. On the fringes of the eastern Mediterranean the general type is naturally more at home; and Dr. Lehner, in publishing the Pesch example, cites in particular

[1] H. Lehner, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxxv (1919), 147 ff.

the late Roman (possibly third-century) Bakcheion, the conventicle of the Iobacchi or devotees of Bacchus, at Athens (fig. 5). The plan of this building, as excavated by Dörpfeld, is closely similar to that of the Pesch basilica, and shares with it

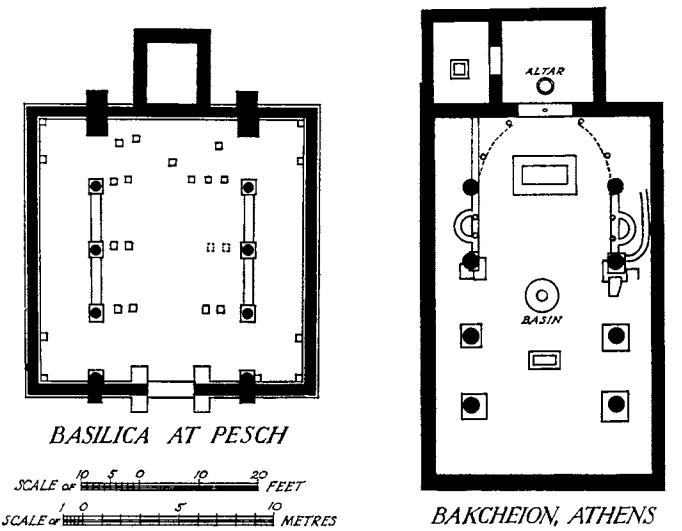


FIG. 5. Basilical buildings at Pesch (Eifel) and Athens

the traces of former seating arrangements. It differs only by the addition of a small chapel of Artemis to one side of its projecting sanctuary, and this addition perhaps brings it still closer to the Lydney temple with its developed system of 'chapels.' A more significant link between the Bakcheion and Lydney is the presence in the former, in the middle of the nave floor, of a deep round funnel which recalls the earthenware funnel found by the earlier excavators in the floor of the nave of the Lydney temple (above, p. 28). It was presumably used for carrying libations into the earth.[1]

Thus the general affinity of the Lydney temple with the basilical conventicles of the later imperial cults is sufficiently clear. Two features, however, of the Lydney plan require further comment. First, the triple 'shrine' at the north-western end of the cella is, at this late date, something of an anomaly. It is doubtless an inheritance architecturally from the Romano-Etruscan type of temple which received its most magnificent expression in the Capitolium at Rome—the great temple on the Capitoline

[1] For the Athenian Bakcheion see W. Dörpfeld, *Mittheilungen des kaiserlichen deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, athenische Abtheilung*, XX (1895), 176 ff.

dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.[1] How long the triple division was restricted to this particular trinity is doubtful; certainly it was later applied to other cults and purposes. The temple dedicated in A.D. 195 to Saturn at Dougga in Africa had at the back three compartments which it would be pardonable to regard as shrines; but there is some reason here to suppose that these compartments were intended for use rather as temple-treasuries than to contain the main cult-objects.[2] Again, the temple of Nemausus or Diana at Nîmes has a triple shrine, but there is no suggestion that it was ever a 'Capitolium'. Neither is it likely that the three small rooms of the Lydney cella had anything to do with the three Olympians. They may have been used merely to house *ex votos* and the like, but unfortunately any surviving evidence on this point was removed by the earlier excavators. There was at least no trace of altar or statue in any of the three rooms, and it may well be that here, as apparently at Dougga, the principal cult-object stood in front of them, somewhere near the middle of the cella.

Similarly, in the Bakcheion at Athens, already cited, some at least of the cult-objects seem to have stood in the main body of the nave, where also, it will be recalled, was the mysterious funnel or piscina. It may be added that the corresponding funnel which once existed at Lydney must have lain near the surviving fragment of a small base which presumably carried an altar or a statue (see plan, fig. 3).

If the triple 'shrine' is a survival from the earlier pagan architecture, the second of the outstanding anomalies of the Lydney plan may be regarded in a sense as prophetic of the later developments of Christianity. Reference has already been made, in connexion with the Bakcheion, to the rare occurrence of a subsidiary shrine in connexion with a pagan religious building. But the formidable array of chapels which adorn the periphery of the Lydney temple is a very different matter. These chapels were an original feature of the design, although they were elaborated and emphasized by the addition of screen-walls when the temple was rebuilt after the collapse. Pagan architecture can produce nothing like this; even in the Christian churches, where, if anywhere, such a feature might be expected, there is little evidence for side-chapels before the sixth century. Indeed, one piece of evidence, and one only, hints at a chapel-system

[1] Other examples include the temple to the same three deities in the forum at Pompeii (first and second centuries B.C.).

[2] Carton, *Nouvelles arch. des Missions*, etc., vii (1897), 367; Cagnat and Chapot, *Manuel d'Arch. romaine*, i (1917), 165.

comparable with that at Lydney in type and date. St. Paulinus, describing the new church which he built at Nola about A.D. 400, states that 'the whole extent of the basilica apart from the apse is spanned by a high panelled vault with two aisles, one on each side, in which a double range of columns is marshalled by means of single [? transverse] arches. Within the aisles, four *cubicula* or chapels are inserted in each of the long sides of the basilica for the private use of worshippers or of those who would meditate on the law of the Lord. These chapels also provide places of eternal rest for the departed religious and their families. Every chapel is distinguished by two verses written upon the front of the threshold.'[1] In spite of certain obscurities of language, it is clear that St. Paulinus is here describing an organized series of structural chapels, though whether these were built within or projected from the aisles is not clear. Amongst surviving Christian churches of the early period, there is no analogy. Probably one of the earliest extant examples of the use of subsidiary compartments, presumably in part as chapels, is to be found in the Syrian church of Julianos at Umm idj-Djimâl, dated A.D. 345, where a range of four *porticus* projects from the north side of the nave. One or two other churches in Syria and Asia Minor seem to show the occasional use of side-chapels as early as the fifth or sixth centuries, but scarcely help in the present context.[2] The chapel-system of the Lydney temple is at present unique.

In summary, the general tenor of the evidence bearing upon the Lydney plan is fairly clear. With its nave and aisles, its benches, its piscina, and its chapels, all reviewed in relation to its late date, the Lydney temple may be regarded as the consecrated meeting-place of a college or brotherhood, subdivided doubtless into various grades and devoted to a cult which (whatever its origin and nature—matters for further discussion below) had developed along the lines of the mystery-cults everywhere popular under the later empire. Just as these cults, in their higher forms,

[1] Epistula, xxxii, 12; see *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Epistulae*, ed. G. von Hartel, 1894. I am greatly indebted to Mr. A. W. Clapham for drawing my attention to this passage. The Latin text is as follows: 'Totum vero extra concham basilicae spatium alto et lacunato culmine geminis utrimque porticibus dilatatur, quibus duplex per singulos arcus columnarum ordo dirigitur. Cubicula intra porticus quaterna longis basilicae lateribus inserta secretis orantium vel in lege domini meditantium, praeterea memoriis religiosorum ac familiarum accommodatos ad pacis aeternae requiem locos praebent. Omne cubiculum binis per liminum frontes versibus praenotatur, quos inserere his litteris nolui.'

[2] For Umm idj-Djimâl, see H. C. Butler, *Syria: Publications of the Princeton Expedition*, Division II, Section A, Southern Syria (1919), 175. For other examples see *ib.* (1920), 75; and J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasien*, 105.

had not a little in common with the contemporary Christianity—and were, indeed, at one time formidable rivals to it—so it is not unnatural to find that here and there they evolved architectural forms which show a certain similarity with those of the early Christian church. But the pagan mystery-cults lacked the essential strength and unity of purpose that enabled organized Christianity to express itself almost from the outset in an enduring architectural formula. In the fourth century the darkness was already closing rapidly upon them, and they were groping more and more hesitantly towards the goal which Christianity had already reached. The Lydney temple, with its partially transmuted pagan forms, represents the ultimate achievement of some one of these lost rivals of Christianity. Its interest, therefore, is not that of a step in the main evolution of religious architecture. But it is, in its way, a work of real originality, and it enriches the architectural record of the most critical period in the religious history of Europe.

The possible purpose of the girdle of chapels which surrounds the Lydney temple will be considered at a later stage. Before proceeding to this difficult problem it will be desirable to consider the nature of the cult of Nodens.

(*d*) *The god Nodens*

In the previous section we have considered certain general implications which appear to be latent in the peculiar plan of the Lydney temple. It remains to examine the particular nature of the Lydney cult as witnessed (i) by the name of the presiding deity, and (ii) by various cult-objects found on the site.

(i) *The name 'Nodens'*. For a fresh discussion of the meaning of the name Nodens or Nudens, which occurs nowhere save at Lydney, we are greatly indebted to Professor J. R. R. Tolkien, whose remarks are printed as an appendix (see below, p. 132). Here it will suffice to summarize the salient points. Before doing so, however, it is desirable to emphasize (with Professor Tolkien) the limited validity of any philological interpretation of the name itself. It has already been remarked that, by the end of the fourth century A.D., many of the older cults had assumed or begun to assume a new guise; and, even were it possible to define with certainty the original significance of the name, it would still be quite unwarrantable to infer that that significance had any real bearing upon the nature of the cult in A.D. 370.

With this important reservation, the following points may be noted.

The authorities (Rhŷs, Whitley Stokes, and Tolkien) all agree that Nodens is phonetically equivalent to the Irish Nuada. The

most famous bearer of this name was the celebrated Nuada Argit-lain or Nuada of the Silver Hand, who was king of the possessors of Ireland before the Milesians. He was not, however, a god, nor was he (as Sir John Rhŷs tried to indicate in his Hibbert Lectures) associated, unless in an entirely secondary sense, with the sea. Professor Tolkien reminds us that there were also other Nuadas in Irish ; but how far these should be traced back to a single origin, and whether that hypothetical common ancestor was a deity, cannot be determined. Nor again is it clear whether the Gloucestershire Nodens should be derived from Ireland or vice versa. His name is Celtic and probably Goidelic ; but for its interpretation Professor Tolkien has to turn to the neighbouring branch of the Indo-European languages. The Germanic stem *neut-* which, in its oldest sense, meant 'to catch', 'entrap' and so, generally, 'to acquire', offers the nearest analogy, and may serve to suggest the possibility that the name Nodens may originally have been given to a divine 'trapper' or god of hunting and possibly even of fishing. This is preferable to supposing that the secondary sense of the root was dominant, and that the god was originally regarded merely as 'acquirer of wealth'—a notion, perhaps, of too abstract a nature to commend itself to an early religion.

(ii) *The evidence of the cult-objects.* Better evidence as to the significance of the cult of Nodens in the fourth century A.D. is to be expected from the study of the objects which seem to have been associated with the cult. Most striking of these was 'the discovery of figures of dogs, wrought both in stone and brass, in such numbers in, and about, this temple as to lead to the conclusion that they must have had some appropriate connexion with the object of worship there. This supposition was strengthened by the position of one of them . . . at the head of a votive tablet addressed to the god Nudens, and undoubtedly hung up in his temple. A figure of a dog in bronze, rudely executed, was found at the bottom of the funnel in the centre of the inscription in the temple. . . . Another somewhat similar was found in another place. One smaller, which, from the legs terminating in points, must have been inserted in something else. Another of a greyhound, quite perfect, of superior workmanship, in a recumbent position . . . was found at a very small distance from the wall of the temple. . . . Besides these in bronze, the heads or mutilated parts of no less than six have been found, wrought in coarse free-stone, representing several distinct species, such as bull-dogs, greyhounds, etc.'[1]

[1] Bathurst's MS., pp. 14–16.

Nine representations of dogs in or on bronze are now preserved in the Lydney Park collection, and amongst them can be indentified all the specimens referred to by Mr. Bathurst (pls. xxv, xxvi, xxxiv). Of the stone dogs, the fragment of only one seems to have survived (fig. 21, No. 106). The series forms a remarkable one and clearly represents a dominant factor in the Nodens cult. Now in the classical religions, the dog is most widely associated with cults of healing. At Epidaurus, dogs sacred to Asklepios were kept in the temple, and are recorded to have been instrumental in healing by licking the affected part. Similarly, at Rome, at the Piraeus, and at Lebene in Crete, dogs were associated with temples of this god.[1] It is a fair conjecture that amongst the attributes of Nodens should be included some of those of a god of healing.

In further support of this conjecture, attention may be drawn to the bone representation of a woman, found some years ago on the site of the temple (pl. xxvi, No. 122). When found, this figure retained the bone pin which had presumably at one time attached it to the temple walls. The figure itself clearly belongs to a type of votive offering well known from Continental shrines which specialized in curative work, and was doubtless offered by some woman who had received relief in childbirth. Less certainly of medical significance is the small, hollow bronze arm found during the earlier excavations (pl. xxvi, No. 121); though whether this arm was a votive offering by some patient who had received treatment for that limb, or whether it was votive in another sense may be doubted. The position of the fingers and thumb suggests that they may at one time have held a globular object (possibly an apple) and so have resembled a common pin-head charm.

That the art of healing was in fact practised upon the site is further suggested by the discovery of an oculist's stamp close to the temple (fig. 28, 6). This has of course no necessary connexion, either direct or indirect, with the cult itself; it may equally represent one of the secular elements which may be supposed to have been attracted to centres of this kind. We can only say that its presence is consistent with a cult which seems to have catered in some degree at least for the sick.

It may be also that the very large number of pins, both of bronze and of bone, found on the site—upwards of 320 of them (see below p. 61)—should be ascribed in part to devotion to a healing god. In Greece, pins were a favourite form of votive offering made by women to their special divinities at the time of

[1] See M. Hamilton, *Incubation or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches* (1906), pp. 22, 24, 30.

childbirth ;[1] and large numbers of pins have been found at Greek and Italic shrines of healing, such as that of the goddess Rehtia near Este, or that of Asklepios at Delos. Other feminine ornaments such as brooches and bracelets were similarly used throughout the classical world, and it is worth noting in this connexion that nearly 300 bracelets are also preserved from the Lydney site (below, p. 82). Such trinkets do not, of course, imply individually that the local deity specialized in healing ; but it is a safe inference that any marked concentration of feminine offerings at an ancient sanctuary indicates that the presiding god or goddess dispensed relief in connexion with childbirth and its attendant ills. With the dogs and the bone figurine noted above, the pins and bracelets of Lydney go far to support the likelihood that Nodens (doubtless among other attributes) possessed some at least of the properties of a healing god.

More difficult to interpret are other objects and motifs which may be thought to have a bearing on the problem. First of these is the pavement, found long ago but now destroyed, in the cella of the temple. This pavement included a frieze of sea-monsters and fish which suggest some connexion between the god and the sea or estuary. This association is borne out also by a fragmentary bronze relief (pl. XXVIII, 126) bearing a figure of a sea-deity holding a shell in one hand and an anchor in the other. A similar motif is indicated by another bronze fragment which bears traces (formerly enamelled) of a design representing fishermen and tritons holding conch-shells and anchors (fig. 21, 113). Finally, a bronze object which may have formed part of a head-dress, but may, on the other hand, be a portion of a bronze vessel, bears a design showing a sort of sun-god holding a whip or flail in his right hand and driving towards the spectator in a four-horse chariot. On each side of him is a *putto* holding apparently a torch, and behind the *putti* are tritons, again holding anchors (pl. XXVII, 123).

These various objects appear to combine certain elements of a comparatively simple nature-cult (connected perhaps with hunting or fishing) with others of a more complex character which seem to have shared the tyranny of a semi-oriental sun-god and the gentle arts of healing. The dominance of the sun-god in varying guises amongst the mystical cults of the later Empire is sufficiently well known. The healing arts of Asklepios and his confrères maintained their popular hold to the last days of paganism, and were, indeed, absorbed into the early Christian Church. The combination of

[1] See Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 252 ff., and J. Whatmough, 'Rehtia, the Venetic Goddess of Healing' in *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, lii (1922), 212 ff.

these diverse elements at Lydney necessarily presents difficulties —and probably insuperable difficulties—to the modern mind. It is clear, however, that some such combination must here be postulated ; for the Lydney tiara (if such it be) at least shows that the sun-god, or his local representative, was associated with the sea and with fishing. The link between this deity and the dogs of healing is less clear, and leaves room for the possibility that we are concerned with the vestiges of more than one divinity. Such a supposition would be consistent with the triple shrine or the system of side-chapels in the Lydney temple. On the other hand, it is perhaps easier to imagine that we are confronted at Lydney with a single complex cult which was the result of the gradual coalescence and modification of a number of different elements, some local and some intrusive, cemented by the prevalent mysticism of the age. When one recalls the elaborate and heterogeneous paraphernalia and the almost incredible conglomeration of physical and spiritual doctrine which characterized the Mithraic and other transplanted oriental cults at this late period, the apparent complexity of Nodens is nothing remarkable.

Lastly, reference may be made once more to the multiple 'chapels' of the temple. A hint has already been hazarded that these 'chapels' may have been devoted to different deities or to different local or functional aspects of a single god. Built upon this commanding site in the stormy last half-century of Roman rule, the Lydney temple may, on this line of thought, have formed a sort of miniature pantheon into which the more important of the local deities—the immediate forerunners of the minor Christian saints—were gathered together from the open countryside and given each a lodging of his own in the hospitable precinct of Nodens. On the other hand, it is difficult to find a parallel to this procedure, and, on reviewing the general tenor of our evidence for the nature of the Nodens cult, either of two other alternative explanations is, perhaps, easier to maintain. The 'chapels' may have been allocated to the various grades into which, on analogy, the faithful may be thought to have been subdivided. Or, as Sir Flinders Petrie was the first to suggest during one of his visits to the site, these 'chapels' may have served as cubicles in which the sick pilgrims to the shrine may have slept the 'temple-sleep', and, in their dreams, have received the help of the god. This process of incubation, a normal feature of the classical shrines of healing, would be consistent with certain of the inferences which have already emerged from the study of the cult-objects. To this suggestion we shall return later (p. 51), after reviewing the other buildings on the site.

(2) The Guest-house

(*a*) *Description*

To the north-east of the temple lies a large building, covering in all nearly half an acre of ground (see plan, pl. LI). It is of quadrangular plan, with an open central courtyard, roughly square, flanked on three sides by verandahs or corridors and, on the fourth (facing the temple), by a large fore-hall. Towards the north and west, the corridors open into ranges of small rooms of two kinds: one type measures about 15 or 16 ft. by 11 or 12 ft.; the other, long and narrow, measures 15 or 16 ft. by about 5 ft. The tendency is for these rooms to be grouped in sets, the narrow rooms serving perhaps as lobbies adjoining or between the larger compartments. In the centre of the back or northern range is a larger room projecting outwards beyond the main frontage. Opposite to it and projecting from the corridor into the courtyard is a small room such as occurs frequently in Roman buildings of this quadrangular plan. The purpose of this courtyard room is uncertain; it may have served merely as a porch or ante-room to the important chamber beyond.

In its original form, an outer verandah completed the plan on the northern and western and, probably, on the eastern sides. The greater part of this verandah was, however, destroyed in Roman times, and only fragments of it remain.

The eastern range included a long compartment, the roof of which was partly supported by confronting pairs of piers or of wall-posts carried on stone foundations. The main entrance to this compartment was at the southern end and was of monumental character. The massive nature of the foundations of the gate-piers —each over $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. square and backed, in one case, by a buttress and, in the other, by a heavy wall—suggests that they carried a masonry arch. There are no other features which indicate any special elaboration of this compartment, and the large and substantial character of its entrance may perhaps be thought to indicate that it was used for storing wagons or, at any rate, for admitting heavily laden carts. The very fragmentary minor partitions shown on the plan are not necessarily inconsistent with this view, since their former height and the width of the entrances through them are now equally uncertain.

Of the corridor and rooms which lay between this compartment and the eastern declivity little can be said. Tree roots have, in most cases, destroyed even the fragmentary remains found during the earlier excavations, and most of the lines shown on the plan are added approximately from the survey of 1805. Only at the south-eastern corner is there still enough to show—what was not

clear to the earlier surveyors—that the original plan included a nearly square room, with very substantial outer walls carried obliquely to the face of the natural rock.

The most remarkable feature of the building, however, is the front or southern range (fig. 6). This consisted of a long hall, 85 ft. long and 15½ ft. wide internally, with heavily buttressed piers intended probably to carry an upper story. On the north, towards the courtyard, these piers were incorporated in an almost continuous wall. On the south, the intervals between them were open and, on this side, the plan was completed by an aisle or verandah of lighter construction. In the centre of this aisle lay the main entrance. Opposite to it, and projecting into the courtyard was a substantial porch which opened northwards on to two, or possibly three, stone steps and so provided admission to the somewhat higher level of the courtyard itself. The massive buttressed jambs of this opening suggest the former presence of a masonry arch here. Remains of iron collars and a stone-lined channel represented an original drain leading from the courtyard through the centre of the steps and so into a channel beneath the floor-slabs of the hall. West of this porch, in the angle between the southern and western ranges was a small square compartment through which ran a small drain from the courtyard. This compartment was in a very ruined condition, and its original purpose can only be conjectured. The presence of the drain through it shows that it was not a living-room ; nor from its position in the interior of the plan is it likely to have been a latrine. The most feasible explanation is perhaps that it contained a stair leading to an upper story above the hall.

One or two other features in regard to this fore-hall remain to be noticed. In the first place, the spacing of the piers, although not altogether lacking in symmetry, shows that element of opportunism which often distinguishes the use of such features in Roman architecture.[1] In the second place, the hall was originally paved throughout with stone slabs, of which sufficient remained to indicate that the whole hall was used as a single unit without subdivision.

Before describing further details and discussing the chronology, it will be convenient to refer to certain structural alterations which subsequently modified the plan as described. A minor modification was the insertion of a room on the northern side of the fore-hall between the porch and the 'staircase' room. At the same time, the western half of the stairs leading from the porch to the court-

[1] e.g. in the house or 'market-hall' discovered in 1929 at Caistor-by-Norwich (D. Atkinson, *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxiv, 112 ff.).

yard was built up with cemented and roughly revetted masonry to form a platform and entrance into this room. More drastic alterations, however, were involved in the addition of the strong precinct-wall, to which more detailed reference will be made at a later stage. Here it will suffice to note that the abutment of this wall on to the main north-west corner of the present building necessitated the destruction of the external verandah on the northern and western sides. On the eastern side of the building, the construction of this new wall along the brow of the declivity involved certain minor alterations, the extent of which cannot now be determined owing to the fragmentary character of the house-walls on this side (see plan, pl. LI).

We may now turn to the structural details in so far as they have survived. The roof, at any rate in its latest phase, was covered with hexagonal sandstone slabs with carved finials (pl. XXIII A) at the gable ends. The floors of the northern and western ranges were for the most part in a very fragmentary condition, and of only seven of them can anything definite now be said. Of these seven rooms XIV, XV, XVIII, XXII, and XXX retained some part of their original mosaics which will be described later (p. 65). The narrow rooms XIII and XVI were originally paved with *opus signinum* and had substantial quarter-round mouldings at the junction of floor and wall. Subsequently the levels of the floors of these rooms were slightly raised, and they were paved with plain stone tesserae (see pl. XIV). The open courtyard was carefully paved with sandstone slabs at two periods, the later paving being about 10 in. above the earlier. Extensive remains of painted wall-plaster were found throughout the building, and there were indications that this wall-plaster was in some places renewed during the occupation. The decoration seems for the most part to have consisted of simple panels in yellow, red, black, and green paint.

(*b*) *Chronology*

Damage wrought by tree roots, previous excavation, and other causes, together with the proximity of the remains both to the present surface and to the underlying rock restricted the amount of evidence available for establishing the *chronology* of the building. Enough remained, however, to indicate the main facts, and our inference will, as we shall see, be confirmed later on more general grounds. A careful examination of the surviving patches of intact flooring yielded the following definite results:

(i) *Coins lost prior to or during the original construction of the building.* In room XV, in the make-up of the floor below the cement basis

of the mosaic, lay a coin of Valentinian I, whilst in the cement basis itself was found a coin of Valens. In room XXII, in the lowest cement make-up of the floor below the tesserae of the mosaic, Mr. R. G. Collingwood found a coin of Allectus. In the earth which underlay the tessellated pavement of the verandah on the western side of the courtyard lay a coin of Constantine II as Caesar. In room XXX, in the lowest layer of the cement which carried the remains of the mosaic floor was found a coin of Valens, whilst the contemporary upper cement layer of the same floor contained two barbarous coins, of Tetricus type and fourth-century type respectively.

(ii) *Coins lost prior to or during subsequent alterations.* In room XV, a cement patch on the surface of the floor yielded a coin of Gratian. In room XXX, a cement repair to the broken mosaic contained a deliberately broken segment of fourth-century coin of uncertain type (compare Class A in hoard II ; see below, p. 127). In the courtyard, under the top layer of slabs was found a minim based upon the *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* type akin to Class D of hoard II. In the cement used for the building-up of the western half of the steps from the southern porch into the courtyard at the time of the addition of room XXVII were found a *Gloria Exercitus* coin and a coin of Valens.

The evidence of these two groups of coins is definite ; they were in every case found in or below impermeable cement. The first group makes it clear that the house was not built before the accession of Valentinian and Valens in the year A.D. 364. The coins of the second group show that repairs were carried out after the accession of Gratian in A.D. 367. The evidence is thus identical with that obtained from the temple.

(*c*) *Purpose of the building*

Discussion on this point has been anticipated by naming the building the 'guest-house'. This identification is based upon the following considerations :

The negative evidence is of considerable importance and may first be noticed. Whatever the Lydney building may have been, it was clearly *not* a normal country residence. Our knowledge of provincial country-houses is sufficiently extensive to enable us to say that a building of the closely knit quadrangular plan of the present example was not one of them. The country residence, where it comprised more than a single range, consisted of a more or less loose conglomeration of essentially separate units.[1] These

[1] For an excellent and recent account of the whole subject see R. G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, pp. 113 ff.

units were sometimes grouped round two or more sides of a courtyard; but they scarcely ever formed a concise and co-ordinated plan of the kind now in question. This quadrangular plan goes back, with minor variations, to the quadrangular or courtyard houses of the Hellenistic towns. With other types of houses, it was adopted by the Romans, and was perhaps given a sort of official sanction in the less civilised provinces through its utilization by the Roman War Office as a residential unit in the lay-out of a Roman fortress. It remained, however, an essentially urban type and, save at Lydney, is found in Britain only in towns such as Caerwent and Colchester. At Silchester, also, there is an example,[1] and another stray specimen is known on the little-explored site of Letocetum or Wall near Lichfield. Elsewhere in the whole countryside we may look in vain for an analogy.

The Lydney building is therefore a structure of essentially classical origin and of urban type. What was its purpose in the depths of western Gloucestershire? Parallels from Gaul and elsewhere provide a probable explanation. At Herbord, near Sanxay in the department of Vienne, a group of temples, baths, and quadrangular buildings offers several points of resemblance to the Lydney group, and there is little reason to doubt the identification of the quadrangular buildings at Herbord as inns or guest-houses where visitors or delegates to the shrine were housed. Similar buildings were provided elsewhere at the more isolated shrines of the classical world; for example, at Epidaurus (see p. 51). Furthermore, a large building near one of the gates of Silchester incorporates some of the features of this plan, and has likewise been claimed, with much probability, as an inn. And as an inn or guest-house the Lydney building may reasonably be

[1] It may be suggested, in passing, that the scarcity of the quadrangular type of house at Silchester, of which practically the whole town-plan has been recovered, in contrast to its relative abundance (five examples) in the smaller and far less completely explored town of Caerwent is of some historical significance. Caerwent, founded almost contemporaneously with the neighbouring legionary fortress of Caerleon, was presumably a more or less official instrument for the infliction of Romanization upon the turbulent Silures. It may, as its general form suggests, have been laid out in the first instance by military surveyors from the fortress. Its main cultural elements and, very likely, some of its residents, must have been derived from the fortress. The relative frequency, therefore, of the quadrangular house, which was the highest type of military residence, is readily explained. It may be no accident that the only houses of which any approximate plan is known in the military colony at Colchester are also apparently of this type. Silchester, on the other hand, grew up in a relatively peaceful region where direct official patronage may be supposed to have been less urgent, and where the model was not a legionary fortress but a rural district. Silchester is *rus in urbe*; Caerwent is *urbs ruri*.

LYDNEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

FOREHALL OF ROMAN GUEST HOUSE AS ORIGINALLY DESIGNED

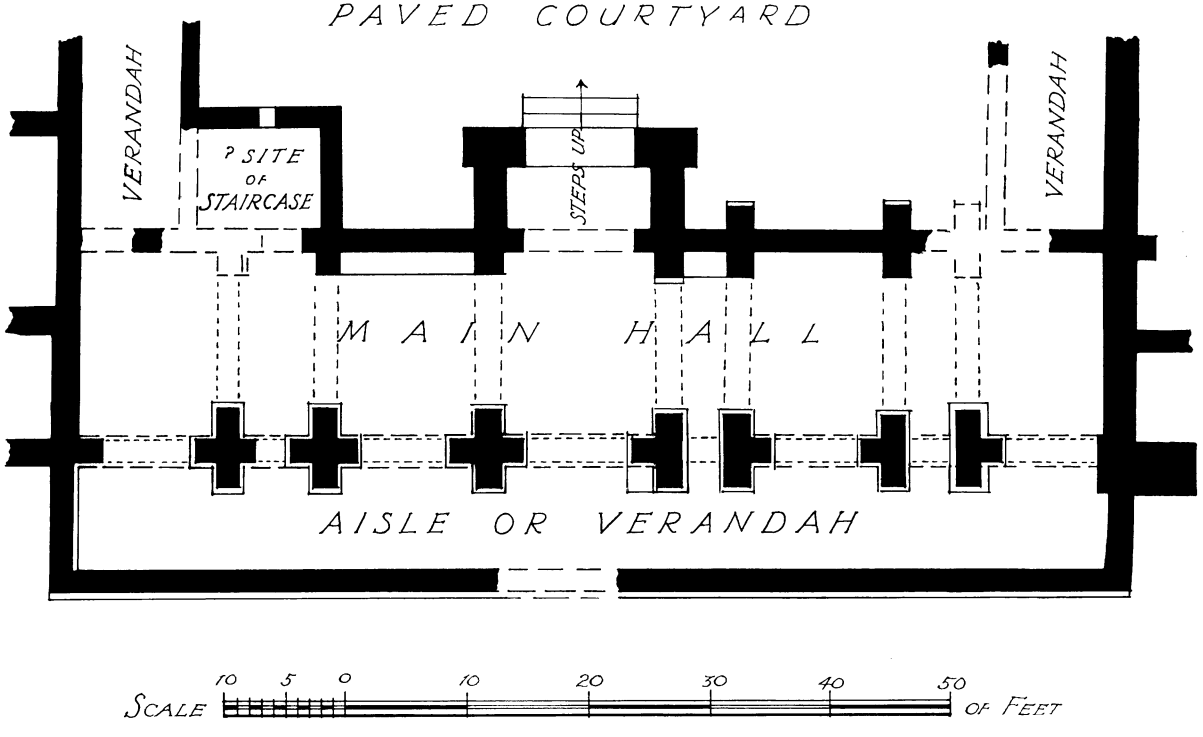


FIG. 6. (*See p.* 45)

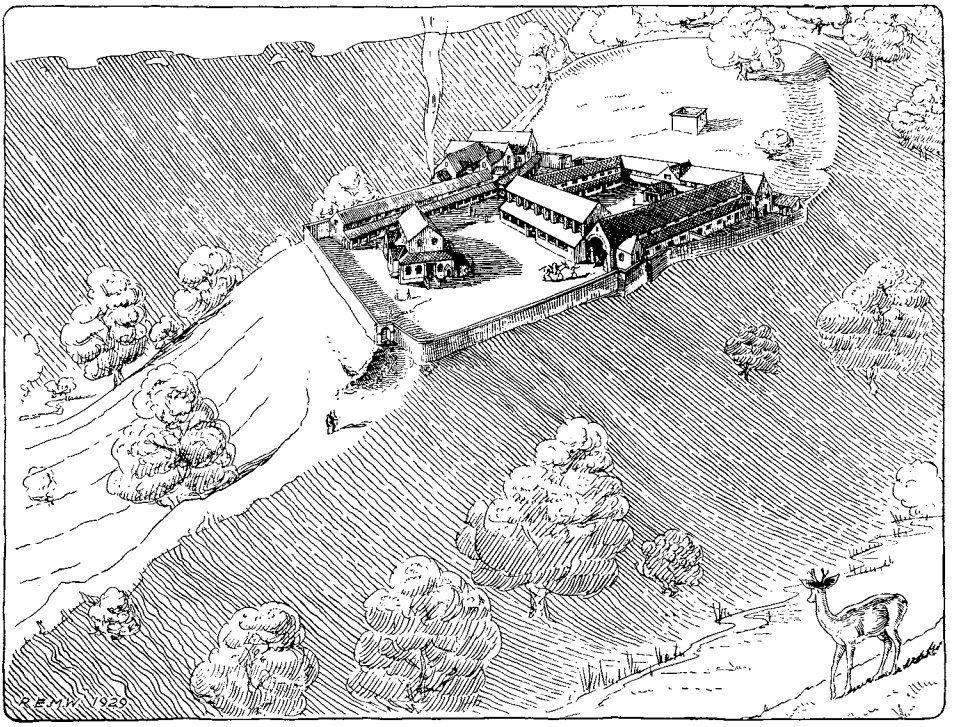


FIG. 7. Reconstruction of the temple-settlement

identified unless and until a better alternative designation is found for it. It is scarcely necessary to emphasize in this connexion the obvious appropriateness of the great fore-hall to a building devoted to public hospitality.

(3) The 'Long Building' or 'Abaton'

(*a*) *Description*

Towards the southern end of the western range, the external verandah of the guest-house stops short at an acute angle. South again of this point, a gate-pier projects some 4 ft. westwards from the main outer wall of the range. This gate-pier is of one build with the original structure of the guest-house, and the gateway was thus a feature of the initial lay-out. It follows, therefore, that the corresponding gate-pier to the west, together with the long, narrow building, of which it is an integral part, was included in the original design.

The piers of this gateway (pl. XIII B) have rounded outer angles —rounded deliberately rather than by the wear and tear of traffic. On the south side of each pier is a socket-stone, showing that the opening, nearly 10 ft. in width, was closed by double doors opening inwards towards the temple. It may be supposed that the southernmost room (LXII) of the western range of the guest-house served as a porter's lodge.

The narrow building to which the western gate-pier belongs was 183 ft. in length internally, and consisted of a range of small rooms, opening eastwards on to a verandah (pl. LI). The foundations had been much disturbed and destroyed by tree and bracken roots, and only a part of it could be re-excavated in 1928–9. With the help of the earlier plan, however, it can be seen to have included originally upwards of eleven rooms which, at least in the northern half of the structure, were divided into groups of three, each group forming, as it were, a small corridor-house, divided from its neighbour by a common partition-wall which was carried right across the verandah. These main partition-walls were laid out in conformity with the outlines of the building, in contradistinction to the minor partition-walls which are planned unconformably but in a simple and obvious manner which readily explains itself on plan. In the western wall, somewhat north of the middle, the earlier excavators noted a doorway opening on to the hillside and probably intended to provide access to the southernmost furnace of the adjacent baths.

The corridor had been paved with stone slabs. Each room, on the other hand—so far as the remains suffice to indicate—had

been floored with a mosaic, parts of which, in rooms XLVIII–LI, remained *in situ* (see below, p. 65).

Apart from the construction of the buttressed precinct wall, to be noted later (p. 57), the only certain modification of this building in Roman times was the addition of a small compartment (XLVI–XLVII) at the northern end. This compartment, which was subdivided by a partition, was built across the end of the corridor leading to the baths, and seems to have been used largely for storing charcoal, doubtless for use in connexion with them. There is a small vent or drain in the western wall.

(*b*) *Chronology*

It has already been observed that this long building is structurally contemporary with the guest-house. The independent evidence of the coins found in or beneath its cement floors may therefore be regarded as part and parcel of the similar evidence already cited from the larger building. The coins were as follows :

(i) In room XLVIII, in the cement under the tesserae of the floor were found third brasses of Quintillus, Tetricus (barbarous copy), and Gratian. In addition to these coins actually associated with the mosaic floor, others were found at a lower level on a hut-floor made largely of pounded tile and showing signs of burning. These lower coins are noted in the present context merely because they also preceded the construction of the stone building. They were third brasses of Quintillus, Carausius, Constantius Chlorus, and Constantine II as Caesar.

(ii) In room XLIX, beneath the cement of the original pavement were found third brasses of Tetricus (?), Constantine II as Caesar, Constans, and Valentinian.

(iii) In room LI, a third brass of Gratian was found in the cement under the tesserae.

The evidence of these coins is as definite as the equivalent evidence from the guest-house but brings the date of the original construction of both buildings down to a period not earlier than the accession of Gratian in A.D. 367.

In the added double compartment XLVI-XLVII at the northern end of the building, the following coins were found in the make-up of the floor—Constantine I (three, including an *Urbs Roma*), Crispus, Constans (a barbarous copy), Constantius II, Julian (silver), and a barbarous copy of *Gloria Romanorum*. In secondary cement-patches on the floor of room XLVIII were found third brasses of Claudius Gothicus and Valens, a minim of *Constantinopolis* type, and two smaller minims comparable to those found in hoard II (see p. 127). None of these groups of coins, however,

helps us with any certainty to differentiate chronologically between the primary, secondary, and perhaps tertiary, modifications and repairs. The added rooms (XLVI–XLVII) are clearly a work of good Roman period, but the relatively rough cement-patches of the floors suggest a semi-barbarian environment, and may well be of considerably later date.

(*c*) *The purpose of the 'Long Building'*

In the absence of direct evidence, the purpose of this long corridor-building can only be conjectured. The guess may be hazarded that it contained a number of small shops for the trafficking of wares—small votive offerings and the like—to visitors to the shrine. That such offerings were available for purchase on temple-sites is indicated, for example, by an inscription on the temple of Mercury at Yverdun, in Switzerland, to the effect that votive objects could be bought on the premises and affixed to the building for a fee—*dona venibunt et ex stipibus ponentur* (see below, p. 103). On the other hand, the consistent use of elaborate mosaic pavements in the Lydney building may be thought to militate somewhat against this suggestion, since, in so restricted a space, such pavements must, under these hypothetical conditions, have been completely obscured from view by stock-in-trade. Their presence, coupled with the partial subdivision into suites, is better explained by the supposition that the rooms were used for some sort of residential purpose.

Here analogy may come to our aid. Attention has already been drawn to the probable dominance of an element of healing in the cult of the Lydney shrine. It may not be inappropriate, therefore, to turn to one or two of the classical shrines of healing for possible parallels. At Epidaurus, where the temple of Asklepios was the greatest centre of the healing cult in the classical world, an analogy at once leaps to the eye.[1] A long, narrow building, with a portico or verandah along a part or the whole of one side, lies immediately behind the temple of the god. In this long building were stelae and tablets bearing inscriptions recording the cures effected at the shrine. The excavator identified the building as the abaton or private house of incubation to which patients, after due preparation, repaired for the holy sleep in which the god of healing was expected to bring them helpful counsel. Apart from the fact that the position of this building is consistent with the statement of Pausanias (ii, 27) that 'beyond the temple (*πέραν τοῦ ναοῦ*) is the place where the suppliants sleep', this

[1] See F. Kabbadias, *Τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ* (1909), plan and p. 121.

identification is largely conjecturul. It has, indeed, been disputed by Holwerda, who prefers to regard as the abaton a small quadrangular building of residential type, lying to the south-east of the temple.[1] This, however, is merely the substitution of one guess for another ; and it is at least certain that the long building at Epidaurus was closely and intimately associated with the cult of the shrine. Similar long buildings occur in connexion with the precincts of Asklepios at Kos and at Athens.[2]

Here, then, we seem to have a recurrent feature of some of the principal classical shrines of healing, and we may provisionally regard the Lydney building as a member of the series. On this line of thought, it may be that the Long Building was indeed an 'abaton', used perhaps to supplement the 'chapels' in the temple itself for the purpose of that temple-sleep through which the healing-god and his priesthood were wont to work.

(4) The Baths

(*a*) *Description*

North of the Long Building and adjoining it is a large set of baths, 130 ft. in length (pl. LI). It was approached through a corridor, the inner or western wall of which butted against the original northern wall of the Long Building and was subsequently in part overlaid by the northward extension of the building. The outer wall of the corridor broke outwards at its southern end to form a porch-like entry.

From this corridor, the baths were entered through a small lobby (room XXXIII) which retains its paving of well-fitted oblong stone slabs (pl. XV A). To the north of this lobby and approached from it down a short flight of badly preserved steps was a long ante-room (room XXXII) similarly paved and retaining traces of a former stone bench round its four walls. Two other rooms intervened between this ante-room and the bath-series proper. One of these (room XXXIV) was at a slightly lower level and may have been connected with the service of the adjacent furnace. The other (XXXV) may have served as a *frigidarium* ; it is shown by its elaborate pavement (see below, p. 66) to have formed part of the main system.

Southwards from room XXXV, the building falls functionally into two or possibly three parts, which include the main system

[1] *Athenische Mitteilungen*, xxvii (1902), 289. On the whole subject see also M. Hamilton, *Incubation or the cure of disease in pagan temples and Christian churches* (1906), pp. 10 ff.

[2] *Athenische Mittheilungen*, ii (1877), 171.

and one or perhaps two subsidiary systems. The main system, entered through an existing doorway from xxxv, consisted of a small *frigidarium* (xxxviii) with a cold-water bath (xliv) on its western flank. The remains of this bath have been exposed more than once since the eighteenth century, and are in a very fragmentary condition, but suffice to show that the structure had an apse at each end and had been floored with cement, with the usual quarter-round moulding at the junction of walls and floor. An engraving of this bath, published in 1775,[1] shows the floor in the southern apse raised upwards of a foot above the remainder of the floor, which seems to have sloped downwards towards the north; whilst an inlet at the lower floor-level is shown in the eastern wall slightly south of the centre. These features have now entirely disappeared.

From room xxxviii, access was obtained to a series of three rooms, xlii, xliiA, and xliii, which retained the brick and stone pillars of a former hypocaust. The massive stone sill of the doorway between xlii and xliiA remained *in situ* (pl. xvi a). These three rooms fulfilled the functions of *tepidarium* and *caldarium*, the latter being the double-apsidal apartment at the southern end. The rectangular southward projection from this compartment may well have held a water-tank, which would be heated directly from the furnace in room xlv. This furnace had massive stone cheeks, much disintegrated through the effects of fire and exposure. It had been approached from the south down two or possibly three steps, of which very little remained. To the west of these steps, within the room, were slight traces of a former stone bench. Under the furnace apparently ran at one time a small channel of which fragments could still be identified in the cross-axis of the floor of the hypocaust of the adjacent *caldarium*. This channel was doubtless intended to convey a current of fresh air into the *caldarium* itself, in a manner recently described by Sir George Macdonald.[2]

From room xlii a doorway, of which part of the tessellated sill remains, opened eastwards into a small apsidal room (xli). This room (pl. xvi b) contained a brick-pillared hypocaust which had been heated through two flues in the southern wall from the second small hypocaust (xl). The latter had in turn been heated from a stone cheeked furnace in the projecting room (xxxix).

[1] *The Antiquarian Repertory*, i, 162.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lxiii (1928–9), 471, 481. This article is of great importance as an exposition of the Roman bath-system. Sir George Macdonald has since uncovered a complete system of ventilation-channels in the baths at Chesters, on Hadrian's Wall (see *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, viii, 219 ff.).

This small and compact system presumably fulfilled the functions of *tepidarium* and *caldarium* in a concentrated form, and the apsidal room may perhaps be described as the *sudatorium* or sweating-room *par excellence*. It could be used by those who preferred a more rapid progress than was afforded by the more ample and leisurely provision of the main system, or as supplementary to that system.

To the northward, the apsidal hypocaust (XLI) had been intended to open through two further flues into a channelled hypocaust (room XXXVII). The plan, however, seems to have been amended during the original construction of the building; for the flues had been blocked and covered, as it seems, by the original cement-rendering of the walls, nor were there any traces of soot in room XXXVII. On the other hand, the herring-bone hypocaust of this room, formed by oblong blocks of yellow cement, had been heated from a small hearth or furnace projecting from its eastern side (pl. XVII A). The absence of soot in the hypocaust, combined with the small size of the furnace, indicates clearly that the fuel used here had been charcoal. Apart from its compactness, the outstanding advantage of this more costly fuel was its cleanliness, which enabled the air dried and heated by it to be admitted by flues directly into the room above—a proceeding which would obviously be impracticable in the case of the sooty smoke from the ordinary timber-fed furnace. Heated in this efficient, direct manner, the room may also have served as a *sudatorium*.

The only other feature in the original lay-out of the baths themselves was the latrine (room LXVI), which lay on the brow of the hill-side and was approached by an extension of the corridor round the northern end of the building. The latrine was in a fragmentary condition; it had been traversed from east to west by a series of short stone gutters of which one remained in position. These gutters had apparently discharged on to the slopes through the open western side of the building.

Water had been supplied to the baths from a square, stone-built tank, 19 ft. 2 in. square, some 35 yds. to the north-east. The floor of this tank had been paved with sandstone slabs, covered with cement, and sealed by a quarter-round moulding of cement at the junction of floor and walls. From the southern corner of this tank, a stone-lined conduit zigzagged towards the northern end of the baths, in a manner sometimes used by the Romans to diminish the velocity of the flow of water down a steep or prolonged slope.[1] The discovery of occasional iron pipe-junctions

[1] A notable example of the Roman use of a zigzag conduit has been uncovered at Colchester, where the large drain, used for discharging water down the northward slope from a Roman tank east of the castle, is of this plan.

in this conduit suggests that it had contained the wooden pipes which the Romans frequently used for this purpose.[1] The more southerly end of the conduit, where it approached the baths, had unfortunately been entirely destroyed by trees or other agencies. It had presumably been attached to the cold bath in room XLIV, and it is likely enough that the overflow from this bath had been discharged through the neighbouring latrine.

Before discussing the decorative details of the building, it will be convenient to notice the structural modifications which it, like the other buildings on the site, underwent in the course of its history. The most important of these modifications was the building of the precinct wall across the eastern corridor and along part of the western side of the building. A further barrier was introduced by the construction of a short wall from the south-eastern corner of the *caldarium* XLIII to the adjacent rear wall of the Long Building. This excluded any approach to the main blocks from the direction of the hill-side. At the same time, the ground-level between the baths and the southern end of the corridor approach was raised, and the original entrance of furnace-room XXXIX was blocked, a new entrance presumably being inserted at a higher level. Minor alterations of the period include a blocking of two of the three flues between rooms XLII and XLII[A].

We may now turn to the decorative elements of the building. Externally, the whole structure was originally rendered in cement with a deep crimson surface. Much of this cement remained in position (pl. XVII A), and its presence along the western side behind the added thickening (see below, p. 58) is in itself evidence for the secondary character of the latter. In places, this crimson cement had subsequently been partially covered by a coarse cement of greenish-yellow colour. The latter cement was particularly noticeable along the southern wall of furnace-room XXXIX, and had been carried across the blocking of the original doorway of that room.

Internally, the walls had likewise been rendered in cement, even (in the hypocausts) below floor-level. The cement in room XXXVIII retained traces of simple bands or panels of red and yellow colour. For the most part, however, it had lost its pigment; it had indeed been keyed in Roman times to take a second coating of cement or plaster of which no actual traces remained.

The floors were of greater interest. Reference has already been made to the carefully-fitted stone slabs of rooms XXXII and

[1] For examples of these wooden pipes still retaining the iron collar-junctions see *London in Roman Times* (London Museum Catalogue), pl. XII.

XXXIII. Similar slabs had been used also to pave the corridor. Room XXXV showed three periods of flooring (pl. XV B). The original floor had consisted of plain cement or *opus signinum*, with the usual quarter-round moulding between floor and walls. Subsequently, a stone bench, from 1½ to 2 ft. wide, had been built round the margins of the floor. The next stage was the covering of the remainder of the floor with an elaborate mosaic pavement, its pattern based upon the *pelta* (see below, p. 66). Later again, this fine pavement fell into a state of bad disrepair and was patched by means of stone slabs, taken perhaps from the corridor where much of the slab-paving is now missing. The historical significance of this series of floorings will be considered later (p. 62).

In the adjacent room XXXVIII, the original flooring had included a mosaic, of which only the border and other slight traces remained. The fragmentary condition of this mosaic was due in part at least to destruction in ancient times; for some of the breakages had been patched anciently with rough cement similar to that used to patch certain of the floors in the Long Building and the guest-house. Under one of these patches in room XXXVIII was found the remarkable hoard of coins which will be discussed below (pp. 116 ff.).

(*b*) *The Chronology of the Baths*

Structurally, the baths are not earlier than the Long Building, against the northern wall of which the corridor of the bath-building abutted. In other words, the bath-building was not earlier than 367. All other evidence is subordinate to this primary fact. The previous destruction of many of the floors had obliterated most local evidence which could be accepted with complete certainty. But in room XXXV, below the original *opus signinum* floor, were found coins of Tetricus I, Probus, and Constantine family (*Gloria Exercitus*), whilst deep in the undisturbed soot on the floor of the hypocaust room XLIII was found a silver coin of Jovian (363–4). In the cement bedding of the mosaic floor of room XXXVIII were found coins of Tetricus and Gallienus; and, finally, amongst the cement of the channelled hypocaust room XXXVII lay a coin of Gratian.

In other words, the evidence here is similar in character to that already catalogued from the other buildings of the group. At the time of the construction of these buildings, coins of the latter part of the third century were lying abundantly on the site and were incorporated in the building-materials. A smaller number of later coins also found their way by accident into these

materials; and these later coins are, of course, alone valid from the chronological standpoint.

(c) *The Purpose of the Bath-building*

One thing may be postulated at the outset in regard to the Lydney baths. The baths, both by design and in scale, were clearly intended for public use. They belong to the class of which the great public baths of Silchester and Wroxeter are outstanding examples in this country, and differ unmistakably from the comparatively modest bathing-arrangements which were attached to the private houses of the Romano-British gentry. Indeed, in general design, they closely resemble the Silchester baths at the period of their maximum extension.[1] The point need not be further laboured. The Lydney bath-building bears independent testimony to the essentially public character of the group of buildings to which it belongs.

In this connexion, we may turn once more to the suggested analogy between the Lydney temple-group and certain other temple-groups on the Continent. At Herbord (see above, p. 48) an elaborate bath-building forms a notable feature of the temple-settlement. At Epidaurus, also, baths were added to the temple-settlement of Asklepios in the Roman period, and bathing was frequently prescribed by the god, both there and elsewhere, as a curative measure.[2] Baths, it is true, are to be expected on any Roman site of pretension and need not, in themselves, have any special bearing upon the particular function of the group of buildings to which they belong. At Herbord, for example, we have no knowledge that the local cult or cults, whatever they may have been, enjoined any form of ritual bathing. At the same time, the size and obvious importance of the Lydney baths suggest that they played something more than an ancillary part in the functions of the Nodens settlement. We have already observed a probable connexion between Nodens and the arts of healing (see above, p. 41); and the prominence of bathing in classical healing-cults may be thought, in this context, to lend a special significance to the bath-building at Lydney.

(5) The Precinct Wall

After the completion of the group of buildings already described, it was found desirable to enclose them all, save the outlying tank, within a precinct wall. This wall, as preserved, varies in thickness from 2 to 7 ft., but the thickness above the lower

[1] *Archaeologia*, lix, 341.

[2] See Hamilton, *Incubation*, pp. 47, 64, etc.

courses may have been rendered more nearly uniform by the numerous scarcements which still remain at various points (pl. XVIII). As the plan (pl. LII) sufficiently indicates, this precinct wall adapts the principal features of the main prehistoric entrance to the promontory (entrance A), and provides at that point an opening from 8 to 9 ft. wide which was formerly closed by a gate (pl. II B).

Across the southern end of the promontory, the wall was carried in a straight line with an interior gutter along at least the eastern part of its length.

On the brow of the western declivity, the wall turned northwards and was built as a thickening to the western wall of the Long Building. Owing to the steepness of the slope here, it was supplemented by three or more buttresses.

How far towards the north the wall continued along this side it is now impossible to say. We next pick it up as a massive, stepped thickening to the western external wall of the more southerly half of the bath-building (pl. XVIII A). Here it may have served incidentally as a useful buttress to that building at a point where the hill-side falls away from it with peculiar abruptness. As already remarked, the original cement-rendering of the face of the bath-building is carried down behind the addition. The lower offsets of this addition were comparatively rough, and were covered by a wedge of earth rammed against them, evidently by the Roman builders.

The cold bath (room XLIV) projected sufficiently far on to the hill-side to form in itself an adequate barrier at this point. Hence northwards, the main external wall of the bath-building served also as the precinct-boundary as far as the north-eastern corner. From this corner to the equivalent corner of the guest-house, the new precinct wall was resumed, its construction involving the partial or complete demolition of the eastern corridor of the bath-building and the western corridor or verandah of the guest-house. The precinct wall was here 5 ft. thick as preserved ; it was pierced by a drain in its western part and by a central gateway of which one in-turned jamb remains.

The eastern side of the settlement was similarly defined by a continuous wall, based just below the brow of the hill. Its course is now in part difficult to follow in detail owing to the ravages of roots and iron-miners. Its principal feature is due to its adaptation to the rock-face beneath the south-eastern corner of the guest-house (pl. XVIII B). Here it is carried out by means of two offsets to form a skin in front of the projecting limestone. North of this point, it was pierced apparently by three drains of which one (shown on the plan) was re-identified during the recent ex-

cavations. At its existing northern end, this eastern precinct wall abuts upon a fragment of earlier masonry as indicated on the plan. It is unfortunate that subsequent iron-mining has disturbed this locality to such an extent that neither the details of this junction nor the relationship of the Roman masonry to the prehistoric and post-Roman rampart, which begins a few yards to the northward, can now be ascertained.

As to the date of this precinct wall, little can be said beyond that it was subsequent to buildings which are themselves not earlier than A.D. 367. The only direct evidence is that of a group of potsherds found in the earth which had been placed apparently by the builders against the offsets of this wall on the western side of the baths. These potsherds included mortaria of fourth-century types and examples of the red-coated ware, well known in fourth-century deposits at Richborough, Carnarvon, and elsewhere (see below, p. 98).

Other potsherds of a precisely similar character and date were found deep down in a mass of earth and debris which seemed to have been placed deliberately behind the precinct wall on the eastern side to level up the site when the wall itself was built just below the brow of the hill at this point.

For the rest, it may be noted that the wall is an excellent example of Roman building, and is unlikely, therefore, on general grounds to be later than the end of the fourth century.

(6) The Entrance Road

The approach to the temple through the rough rock-cut prehistoric entrance and thence through the gateway in the Roman precinct wall had been levelled and metalled in Roman times by means of a rammed mass of earth and broken stone. Where it had not been disturbed by the earlier excavators, this metalling was of hard consistency, and the coins incorporated in its material (as distinct from those found above it) are worth noting as a general indication of the period in which the road was made or in active use.

Under these conditions, the following coins (3Æ and minims) were found:

1–2. Constantine family (*Victoriae dd augg q nn*).
3. Barbarous Constans (*Fel. Temp. Reparatio*).
4. Constantius II (clipped).
5. Barbarous *Fel. Temp. Reparatio.*
6. Valens or Valentinian (*Securitas Reipublicae*).
7–11. Five minims of *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* type (where identifiable), and ranging in size from those of class C to those of class E of the hoard found in the baths (see below, p. 120).

Of the above, the following formed a group sufficiently compact to suggest that they were lost together :

1. Valens and Valentinian (3Æ).
2. *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* (4Æ).
3. Minim of *Fel. Temp.* type (cf. hoard II, class C).

4–5. Two minims (cf. hoard II, class E).

VII. SUMMARY OF THE SECOND ROMAN PHASE

It is now possible to reconstruct the main historical outlines of the Lydney temple-settlement. The building of the settlement was begun after 364 and more probably after A.D. 367. It was clearly planned as a single unit, but it falls naturally into two parts. These two parts were divided by the gate which closed the narrow passage between the northern end of the Long Building and the adjacent corner of the guest-house. To the south of that gateway, the scene was commanded by the temple of Nodens, standing freely on the comparatively level site which forms the head of the promontory. The back of the temple was screened by the Long Building itself, which may have served as shops or as a residence for the priests and attendants of the temple or may, as we have seen (p. 51), have been more intimately connected with the ritual of the presiding deity. Towards the north, the sanctuary or 'close' was bounded by the great fore-hall of the guest-house.

The second part of the settlement, lying to the north of the intermediate gateway, was commanded by the bath-building but provided access also to the rear-quarters of the guest-house and to the open forest which lay to the northward.

This division, at first sight, suggests a deliberate segregation of the sacred area of the temple from the secular area of the baths. This may in fact have been the intention ; but the possibility that the baths themselves formed an integral factor in the cult-practices (above, p. 57) prevents us from laying too much stress upon the suggestion. It will suffice to infer that the gate, opening as it did towards the south, was designed to secure privacy from the northward for the immediate precincts of the shrine.

Reason has been shown for supposing that the cult of Nodens, whatever its origin, had, by the fourth century A.D., acquired some of those mystical elements and therapeutic functions which are alone likely to have demanded or justified the revival of a pagan cult on so elaborate a scale at this late date.

That the cult flourished exceedingly for some years after the building of the settlement is indeed well shown alike by the structural remains and by the relics found within them. For example, amongst the comparatively few surviving floors, at least five were elaborated subsequently to their original construction—two in the guest-house (above, p. 46), one in the bath-building, where a plain cement floor was superseded by an elaborate mosaic (above, p. 56), and two in the temple itself, where certain of the reconstructed side-chapels were similarly adorned (above, p. 29). These changes are symptomatic of maintained or increasing wealth. The foundation of this sanctuary within the last generation of Roman Britain was clearly something more than a mere flash in the pan.

Consistent with these structural embellishments is the abundance of trinkets and other minor objects which have been found upon the site. These include the 300 bronze bracelets and the 320 or more pins to which reference has already been made (p. 41), and upwards of 40 bronze spoons, to say nothing of relics of a more special kind, such as the numerous bronze letters of various types which had presumably been provided for the erection of minor votive inscriptions at the shrine. That the trinkets or a majority of them had been used by the visiting peasantry as offerings to the god cannot, of course, be proved, especially since most of them were found during the earlier excavations and their exact find-spots are not known. But, in view of the small size of the settlement and the comparatively brief period of its intensive occupation, it is difficult not to regard the exceptional numbers of pins and bracelets as evidence of the faith rather than of the mere fecklessness of the devotees of Nodens.

Money also poured into the precincts—poor bronze, most of it, but again eloquent of peasant piety. During the recent excavations, 746 fourth-century coins (excluding hoards) were found here, and 4,198 more fourth-century coins in Lord Bledisloe's cabinet at Lydney Park all or mostly came from the site. In this connexion, a further point of interest may be placed on record. During the recent excavations a total of 211 coins minted by the houses of Valentinian and Theodosius was unearthed on the promontory, and, although the northern part of the camp was thoroughly trenched, *every one of these late coins was found within the area enclosed by the precinct wall of the temple-settlement.* The concentration of wealth within so limited an area may once more be best explained by ascribing the greater part of it to the offerings of the faithful.

At some time during the active occupation of the settlement,

a substantial precinct wall was, as we have seen, built round it. The construction of this well-built wall may have been but another symptom of the wealth and popularity of the shrine, and may have been intended merely to give dignity to the site and to facilitate the control of the concourse of visitors to it. It may, on the other hand, have had a more ominous intent—that of providing a protective barricade in the period of increasing anarchy and peril. The building of the wall may thus be regarded either as the culminating moment in the history of the shrine or as the presage of its fall.

Nevertheless, there is no good evidence that the sanctuary of Nodens was finally violated by foreign raiders or local brigandage. It may be that the burnt material which underlay the latest cement-flooring in the northern ambulatory of the temple (above, p. 29) was the result of the burning of the temple-roof or of some neighbouring structure, but there was no consistent layer of burnt debris, such as might suggest that the whole settlement was put to the flames in the approved Gildas fashion.

Instead, we find evidence of continued occupation on a descending scale. The mosaic pavements of the guest-house, the Long Building, and the baths fell into disrepair and were roughly patched either with coarse cement or with stone slabs removed from corridor or courtyard where they could best be spared. The contrast between these rough patches and the elaborate mosaics which they partially supplanted bears eloquent testimony to the de-Romanization of these later inhabitants. We shall see (p. 116) how far the coinage current at this late period had likewise fallen from Roman standards.

The date of this late sub-Roman occupation cannot be closely defined. We are confronted, however, by the following facts:

(1) The whole or greater part of the settlement was not built before A.D. 367.

(2) After its first construction, the settlement flourished and was in various ways embellished in good Roman fashion.

(3) Official Roman coinage reached the site in some quantities until after the accession of Arcadius, i.e. approximately until the cessation of the official minting of copper coinage in the Western Empire.

(4) Sufficient time elapsed for the floors of the buildings to fall into an advanced state of disrepair, which was partially made good by men who lacked the wealth or skill, or both, to maintain the standards of their predecessors.

It is difficult to compress the whole of this sequence of events into the limited space of forty-three years which is the maximum

period assignable to the life of the settlement prior to the severance with Rome in A.D. 410. We are virtually compelled to carry the last phase, at least, well into the fifth century. In doing so, we have anticipated the fourth and last epoch in the occupation of the promontory.

VIII. THE POST-ROMAN EARTHWORK

In the description of the prehistoric defences (above, p. 3), it was found convenient to include, in anticipation, an account of the later reinforcement of the earthwork. It was seen that, subsequently to the prehistoric period, the main rampart of the 'camp' was doubled in height and an outer defensive line was added on the northern side (see pl. IV). The evidence suggested (but did not prove) that the process of reinforcement was not completed at a single moment; one or more intermediate lines suggested a pause or pauses in the work, and it is even possible that a little of the material had accumulated over the surface of the prehistoric bank during the hut-occupation of the third century (see above, p. 17). It was clear, however, that the main reinforcement was of much later date. Analysis showed that the pottery included in this reinforcement ranged from the second to the fourth centuries, with a dominance of types likely to be later than A.D. 200. The coins from the same layers were for the most part of late third-century date but ranged down to the year A.D. 361. More important still, the material used for the reinforcement of the rampart, in the more southerly sections, contained throughout the uppermost strata building debris and tesserae for which it is impossible to account save as spoils from the adjacent buildings of the temple-settlement.

In summary, a literal interpretation of the evidence yields the following results. The prehistoric rampart was slightly reinforced not earlier than the end of the third century, and the process of reinforcement was completed not earlier than the latter half of the fourth century. We may add, on the evidence of the tesserae, cement, etc., that this completion did not take place until after the importation of the building-materials for the temple-settlement in or subsequent to A.D. 364–7.

The literal interpretation of the evidence has thus carried the latest and most drastic reconstruction of the earthwork down to a period not earlier than the last thirty years of the fourth century. Under these circumstances, it might have been expected that late fourth-century coins (later than the year 361, which is in fact

represented) would occur with the other debris in the material of the mound. But it has already been pointed out (p. 61) that the late fourth-century coins which are so abundant in the actual temple-precinct are not found within that of the 'camp' which lies to the north of that precinct. In other words, the late Roman occupation of the promontory was concentrated almost wholly in its southern end; with the result that, however long after the year 361 the latest rampart-builders to the northward may have worked, the material scraped by them from the adjacent surface of the camp was devoid of the latest Roman coinage. On the other hand, this same material was impregnated with the coins and potsherds left by the late third-century cottagers whose huts have been found here (above, p. 17).

Our direct stratigraphical evidence has thus left us with a date subsequent to A.D. 364–7 for the remodelled earthwork. A further consideration enables us to amplify and extend this conclusion. Apart altogether from the distribution of the late coinage, the contrast between the entirely un-Roman character of the earthwork and the elaborately Roman character of the temple-settlement is sufficiently striking to prevent us from supposing that the two works can belong chronologically to the same phase. The temple-settlement was first built, as it appears, without any defensive element. Indeed, we may suspect the temple-builders of having levelled the southern part of the eastern rampart of the prehistoric camp, since that rampart now ceases at the point where the precinct begins. When, subsequently, the Roman builders desired to fence their settlement, they built about it a substantial, well-mortared wall which has been described above (p. 57). In such a picture, the roughly-piled earthern rampart can have no place. Rather must we ascribe its reinforcement to some period of recrudescent barbarism after the beginning of the fifth century. We have indeed already seen a hint of such declension from Roman standards in the later repairs to buildings of the temple-settlement itself, and in the curiously barbaric coinage associated with them (see above, p. 62, and below, p. 116). Other tangible evidences of this post-Roman or sub-Roman decadence are less easy to identify; but a notable exception is provided by a remarkable fifth-century brooch, a local adaptation, perhaps, of a Gothic prototype (below, p. 79 and fig. 15).

In its latter days, therefore, the character of the occupation of the Lydney promontory reverted substantially to its aboriginal type. The intermediate phases of Romanization had for a time given the native population much that otherwise lay beyond its grasp; but in giving this, they had at the same time taken from

that population such cultural initiative as it had possessed before the coming of Rome. The poverty of post-Roman relics upon the site is eloquent of a population which, behind its refurbished, second-hand earthworks, eked out a sort of second-hand existence entirely lacking in cultural initiative.

It may be added that, since the conclusion of the Lydney excavations, Dr. Cecil Curwen has found at Cissbury Ring, on the Sussex Downs, a remarkable parallel to the late reinforcement of the prehistoric earthwork. At Cissbury, as at Lydney, the prehistoric bank is now known to have been enlarged and re-conditioned in late Roman or, more probably, early post-Roman times (*Ant. Journ.* xi, 33). This apparent re-utilization of 'hill-forts' in the Dark Ages is full of potential significance, if further exploration should prove it to have been of widespread occurrence.

IX. STRUCTURAL DETAILS, AND WORKED STONES

(1) The Mosaic Pavements

Amongst the few surviving structural details of the temple-settlement the most interesting is the series of ten mosaic pavements of which fragments or records survive. None of them is earlier than the year A.D. 367 ; and, since it is more than unlikely that they are later than the end of the fourth century, they are all dated with exceptional precision.

As dated mosaics, they stand at present almost alone in Britain. Of the countless mosaics which have been found in Roman towns and 'villas' up and down the countryside, hardly one, save two or three second-century examples found recently at Verulamium, has been even roughly dated on sound archaeological evidence. It follows that the study of the technique and motifs of Romano-British mosaic has scarcely yet begun on scientific lines, and that a whole mass of varied and occasionally meritorious craftsmanship has thus been condemned by the archaeologist to an unjust obscurity.

The Lydney mosaics consist in every case of a border made up of Old Red Sandstone cubes, each an inch or more square superficially. Within this border is enclosed the decorative panel, made up of small cubes (each on the average about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $\frac{2}{3}$ in.) of red (brick), white (pale, slightly pinkish, carboniferous limestone of local origin), blue (either from shale bands in the carboniferous limestone, or from an earthy bed at the junction between the carboniferous and the Old Red), or greenish blue colours (from the local carboniferous limestone). The main patterns are :

(i) The frieze of sea-monsters and fish included, with circular guilloche-framed panels, in the pavement which formerly occupied the cella of the temple (pl. XIX A). For the inscription in this pavement, see below, p. 102.

(ii) A panel of simple interlace, still in room XIV of the Roman guest-house (pl. XXII B).

(iii) Remains, still *in situ*, in rooms XVIII of the guest-house and L of the Long Building, of simple geometrical pattern with a central circular panel containing four 'lotus-leaves' and bordered by guilloche or chequer-work (pls. XX B and. XXI).

(iv) A circular panel including guilloche and chequer motifs, now mostly destroyed but previously recorded in room LXIV of the temple (pl. XIX B). Another panel including guilloche and chequer motifs is recorded from room LI of the Long Building (pl. XIX C).

(v) Part of a guilloche-bordered panel enclosing a representation of a two-handled urn was found during the earlier excavations in room XLI of the baths, and is now preserved in the porch of Lydney Park house (pl. XIX C).

(vi) Three pavements, respectively in room LXV of the temple (pl. XXII A), room XXXV of the baths (pl. I), and (formerly) the corridor XI in the guest-house (XX A), include (or have included) the pelta or Amazon-shield pattern. That in the baths is secondary (see above, p. 56), and so is presumably a few years later than A.D. 367; it is also the most elaborate of the series.

Of these various decorative motifs, the most notable is the last, the pelta-pattern, which, as we have seen, occurs in three of the buildings. The design, built up from *peltae* or Amazon-shields placed back to back, occurs in Romano-British pavements at Withington in Gloucestershire,[1] at Llanfrynach near Brecon,[2] at Wellow and Nunney in Somerset,[3] at Frampton in Dorset,[4] at Box in Wiltshire,[5] at Cotterstock in Northants,[6] and Scampton and Horkstow in Lincolnshire,[7] and doubtless elsewhere. In none of these cases is the pavement dated, but the Brecon and Wellow buildings at least were seemingly occupied as late as the reign of Valentinian, and the only coin found at the Box villa (where the pelta-pavement is identical with that at Lydney) was of Valens. On the Continent, the motif is found at Santa Agnese, Rome, on a late fourth- or early fifth-century marble slab, and on an early

[1] Lysons, *Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae.*
[2] Theophilus Jones, *Hist. of Brecknock*, vol. ii, Pt. II, pl. XIV.
[3] *V. C. H. Somerset*, i, figs. 71 and 77.
[4] Lysons, *op. cit.*
[5] *Archaeological Journal*, lxi, 1.
[6] *V. C. H. Northants*, i, fig. 21.
[7] Lysons, *op. cit.*

fifth-century mosaic near the Baptistry at Salona. In France, it is recorded from Merovingian buildings at Nantes and Paris. Indeed, from the end of the fourth century to the twelfth century, the pattern had a wide vogue throughout southern and western Europe, and it is found more than once, for example, in Anglo-Saxon art.[1] Its occurrence at Lydney is therefore entirely in harmony with the late classical, and almost sub-classical, date and characteristics of the site.

The other patterns are of more conventional classical types and do not, in the present state of knowledge, call for comment. When we know more about Romano-British mosaics, it may be found possible to group them not only chronologically but also geographically. Indeed, Haverfield has already suspected a local style in Northamptonshire, where geometric designs in thin outlines were popular.[2] The geographical question is of some interest in our evaluation of the craft. How far, for instance, was it in the hands of itinerant Italians? How far was it practised by resident British or foreign craftsmen? How far, if at all, did it develop local British idiosyncrasies, in an attempt to vary the somewhat mechanical repertory of the foreign pattern-books? A study of these points may not carry us far, but it is a desirable by-product of future excavation.

(2) Column-capitals and Finials (pl. xxiii a)

Two column-capitals, of a common provincial 'Tuscan' type, have been preserved in a rockery at Lydney Park, and were presumably found in the earlier excavations. One of them represents a dwarf-column, such as may have stood upon a breast-high outer wall of the verandahs of the guest-house.

Between the capitals is illustrated the top of a stone gable-finial found in the earlier excavations. Part of a similar finial was found during the recent re-excavation of the guest-house.

(3) The 'Altar' Stone (pl. xxiii b)

In the south-eastern verandah of the guest-house, the earlier excavators found 'a large stone projecting from one of the walls, on a level with the pavement, the use of which is not very apparent. It was of considerable size, and had a raised rim on three sides, the wall being on the fourth; so that it was capable of holding water'. This stone is evidently the block of Bath stone which is now placed on the brow of the eastern declivity and is

[1] See A. W. Clapham in *Arch.* lxxvii, 227.
[2] *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 188.

marked on the Ordnance maps as 'Stone'. It measures about 3 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. 1½ in. superficially and is about 8 in. in depth. In the upper surface, which is much pitted by intensive weathering, are three holes; these holes are themselves the result of weathering, but one at least of these (a pit, 3 in. deep, in a corner of the stone) has been 'improved' artificially at some period.

The purpose of the stone is not clear. It may have served as a shallow basin, but this does not seem probable. It may have been merely the base of a statue or monument of some kind. It has in any case no relationship with the stone on which it now stands. The latter has a natural water-worn fissure which has been mistaken for a gutter—an error which has been encouraged by the juxtaposition of actual gutter-stones found elsewhere on the site.

(4) Stone Statuette (pl. xxiv a)

A stone statuette of Ceres, Abundantia, or some similar goddess of Plenty was found in the earlier excavations and is illustrated by Bathurst and King. The figure is seated, with the left leg crossed over the right, and holds a cornucopia in the crook of the left arm. The drawing shows a head, which is missing from the figure as recovered recently by Lord Bledisloe from a rockery. The total height, including the head, was 'about 30 inches'.

(5) Prehistoric Quern-stones (pl. xxiv b)

Two upper quern-stones of beehive form, both of hammer-dressed quartz grit from the Old Red Sandstone, were found in 1929. The larger was embedded in the surface of the prehistoric bank underlying the post-Roman rampart in Section 2. The smaller occurred amongst the debris which constituted the surface of the prehistoric layer under the temple. This stone, owing to a flaw, had never been completed for its original purpose; instead, it had been adapted for use as a pivot-stone for a door.

X. OTHER 'FINDS'

Fig. 8

Periods of La Tène II and III (circa 200 b.c. to the Roman Conquest)

1. Bronze brooch of La Tène II type, found during the earlier excavations. This brooch, in which the recurved foot merges closely into the main line of the bow, is typologically late in the series to which it belongs. This series is dated conventionally in

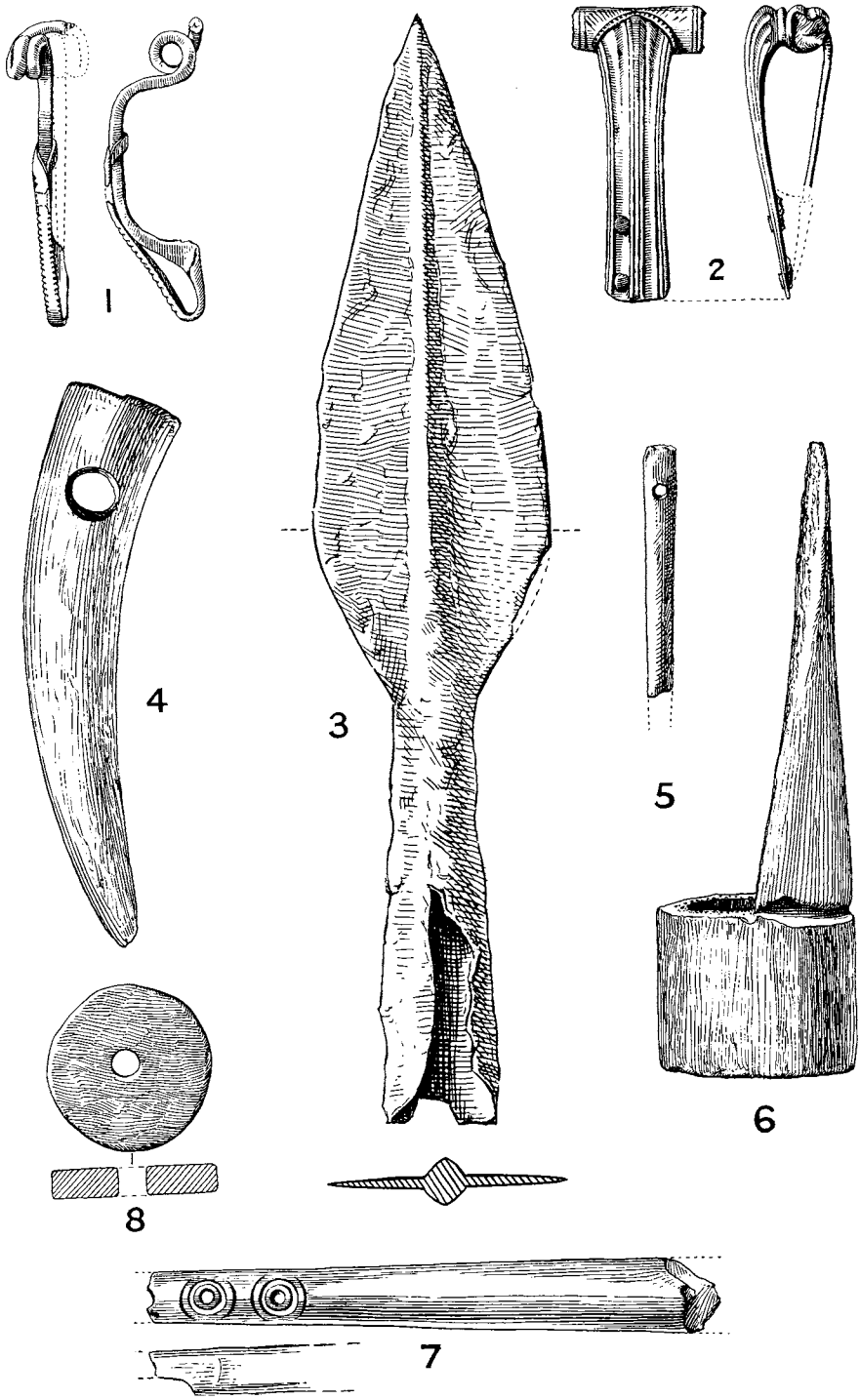


FIG. 8. Prehistoric objects. Scale: 1–7, $\frac{1}{1}$; 8, $\frac{1}{2}$. (*See p.* 68)

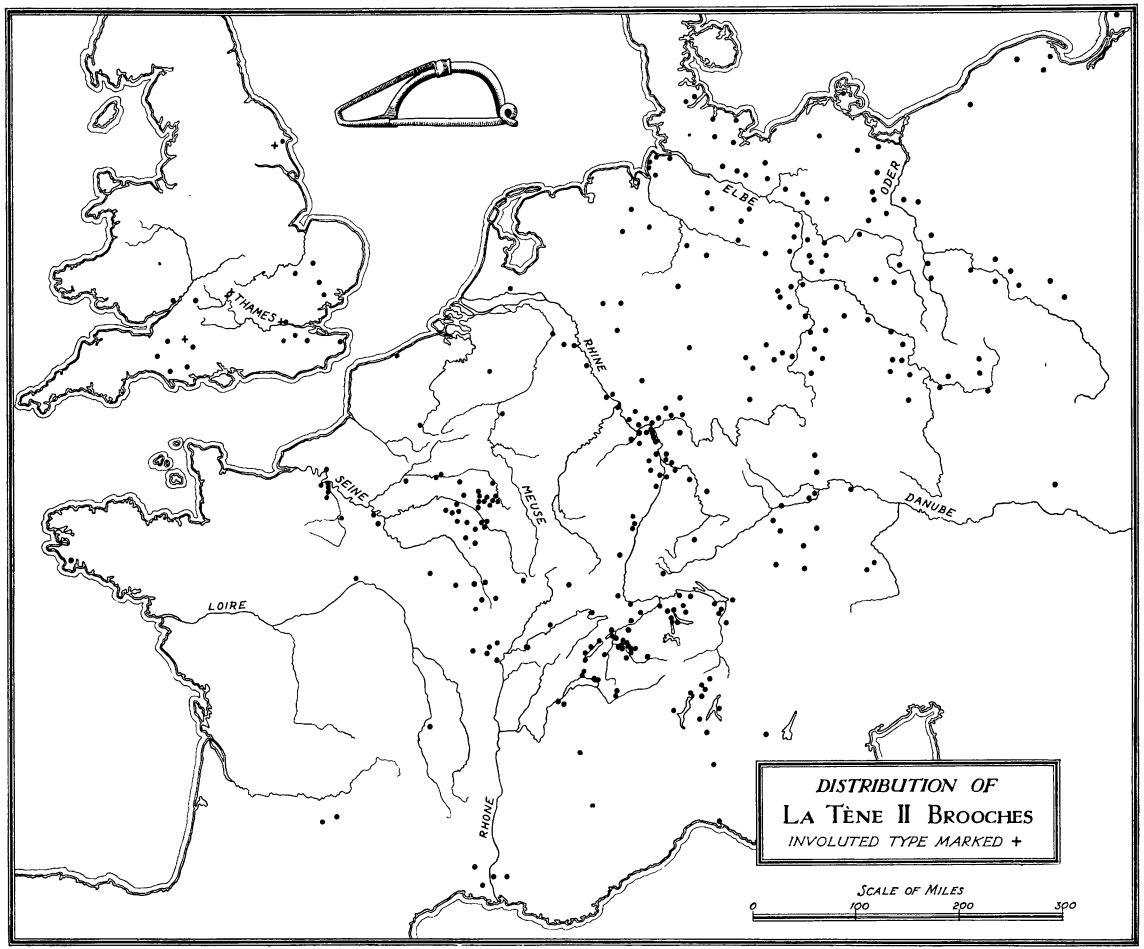


FIG. 9. Distribution-map of La Tène II brooches. Inset: brooch from Spettisbury, Dorset ($\frac{2}{3}$)

the third and second centuries B.C., but its powers of survival are at present an unknown factor.

Mr. G. C. Dunning has kindly contributed the following note upon the La Tène II brooches of Britain, with the map (fig. 9):

Brooches of the La Tène II period are relatively uncommon in Britain. Mr. H. St. George Gray mentions nine in the *Glastonbury Lake Village*, i, 189; the present list refers to thirty examples. Although on the Continent this period still defies subdivision, in Britain, on the other hand, the brooches follow two parallel lines of development from the La Tène I type.

A. *Early La Tène II brooches.* Flat and angular bow, usually with a large disc on the foot, which is held to the bow by a small collar. This type was developed from the flat-bowed brooch of late La Tène I (see example from Findon Park, Sussex, *Arch.* lxxvi, 11, fig. G). The beautiful brooch decorated with coral from a burial at Newnham, Cambs., should be early in the La Tène II series, and has the spring wound round an axis passing through a disc-head (C. Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, 81, pl. XVIII, 2 x).

1. Kent: Otford. In Maidstone Museum. *Arch. Cant.* xlii, 169, M 41.

2. Somerset: Ham Hill. In Taunton Museum.

3. Surrey: Warlingham. Drawing in *Primaeval Antiquities*, p. 19, Society of Antiquaries.

4. Wilts.: Brixton Deverill. In Devizes Museum. *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xliii, 181, pl. II, G, and pl. IV, A; *ibid.* xliii, 327, pl. I.

5. Wilts.: Swallowcliffe. In Devizes Museum. *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xliii, 82, pl. XI.

6. Yorks.: Bridlington. T. Wright, *Essays on Arch. Subjects*, 1861, p. 24.

B. *Late La Tène II brooches.* From about 150 B.C. onwards, the brooch becomes simpler and plainer, the bow tends to be highly arched, the foot is angular and either wrapped round the bow or fixed by a small collar. The chord of the spring now usually passses inside the head.

1. Dorset: Dorchester. In Taunton Museum. *Glastonbury* (as cited), i, 189.

2. Dorset: Spettisbury. In British Museum. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 1st Ser., iv, 190.

3. Essex: Colchester. In Colchester Museum. *Glastonbury*, i, 189.

4. Gloucester: Cirencester. In the Cripps Collection.

5. Gloucester: Lydney Park. In Lord Bledisloe's Collection. Here published.

6. Kent: Richborough. In the Richborough Museum.

7. London: In the Guildhall Museum. *Guildhall Mus. Catalogue*, p. 7, no. 43; *Reliquary and Illus. Arch.* viii, 49, fig. 1.

8. London: Royal Exchange. In British Museum. *B.M. Early Iron Age Guide*, 1925, p. 95, fig. 99.

9. Somerset: Glastonbury Lake Village. In Glastonbury Museum. *Glastonbury*, i, 199, pl. XLIV, E 57; 201, pl. XL, E 173.

10. Suffolk: Mildenhall. In Leicester Museum. Unpublished.

11. Wilts.: Brixton Deverill. In Devizes Museum. *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xliv, 138, pl. 11, F.

C. *Involuted type.* A local British form, probably evolved in the Wiltshire-Oxfordshire region. The bow is concave, and in place of a bilateral spring, the pin is separate and revolves in a ring-head. The earlier examples have the disc-foot and collar attachment of class A, La Tène II, brooches. The ring-head is probably derived from the hinged pin of certain late La Tène I brooches; for example, the richly decorated brooch from Maiden Castle, Dorchester (*Arch. Camb.* 1927, p. 93, fig. 25).

1. London: Princes Street. In the London Museum. *Antiq. Journ.* ix, 227, fig. 5.

2. Oxfordshire: Beckley. In the Ashmolean Museum, *Arch.* lxvi, 570, fig. 2.

3. Oxfordshire: Woodeaton. In the Windham Hughes Collection *Journ. Roman Studies*, vii, 112, pls. VI and VII, fig. f.

4. Wilts.: Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverill. In the Devizes Museum. *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlii, 67, fig. 1; *ibid.* xliv, 138, pl. 1, A.

5. Yorks.: Danes Graves, Kilham. Two, in the British and York Museums respectively. *Arch.* lx, 267, figs. 13, 14.

Distribution. Although there are only 30 La Tène II brooches of known provenance in Britain, in contrast to 75 of La Tène I type,[1] the areas of distribution correspond closely, in relative density as well as geographical range.

The greater number (10) come from the chalk uplands of Wiltshire and Dorset, two from the plain of Somerset. Stray brooches from the Lower Thames Valley, East Anglia, and the coasts of Kent and Essex represent settlements of secondary importance. The involuted brooches from Oxfordshire and Yorkshire lie at opposite ends of the Jurassic Zone, a belt of open country which linked the northern and south-western cultures of Britain during the Early Iron Age.

A word may be added as to the Continental distribution of La Tène II brooches. There are three primary areas of concentration, the Marne and Côte-d'Or in France, the middle Rhine, and the Swiss plateau. It might be expected that the Marne would provide the closest analogies to the British brooches, but, in fact, the Marne La Tène II types are entirely absent from Britain. Direct influence from the Marne throughout La Tène I is shown by a few imported brooches,[2] but the main series cannot be matched abroad, and represents local developments. We have seen above that the La Tène II brooches of class A were evolved from the local late La Tène I brooches of bowed type.

[1] There are seven additions to the list published by Dr. Fox in *Arch. Camb.* 1927, 106–11, namely: Ashford, Kent (two in the St. Albans Museum); Deal, Kent, *Swarling Report*, p. 35; Worth, Kent, *Antiq. Journ.* viii, 85; Thames at Syon Reach, *Antiq. Journ.* xi, 60; Amesbury, Wilts. (Hull Mus.); Chedworth, Glos. (Chedworth Roman Villa).

[2] C. Fox in *Arch. Camb.* 1927, figs. 7, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19 A and B. *Ibid.*, 1929, 146, fig. 6. *Antiq. Journ.* xi, 60.

The later series of British brooches (class B) is not represented in the Marne, but can be exactly paralleled in the Lower Seine region. This probably reflects a partial migration westwards from the Marne soon after 150 B.C., when the classic Marne culture was brought to an end by Belgic invaders.[1]

2. Bronze brooch of a type which, from an example long preserved in the British Museum, I propose to call the 'Langton Down type'. It has a ribbed back and faint radial incised lines on the head, which almost encloses the fragmentary spring. The spring had consisted of at least three coils on each side of the pin. The catch-plate, mostly missing, had been riveted on to the bow, and was perhaps a repair. The brooch was found in 1928 beneath the cella of the temple, in the surface of the prehistoric layer and below the yellow cement make-up of the cella-floor. The position thus suggests the probability of a prehistoric date, and the occurrence of at least three examples at Mont Beuvray, which was evacuated about 12 B.C., seems to show that the type was already well known before the end of La Tène III.[2] The type appears to have originated in Gaul and more particularly in central Gaul. A number of examples has been found in the neighbourhood of Vienne on the middle Rhône, and another specimen comes from Lezoux, about seventy miles west of Lyons. These seem to be about the most southerly of the series. Northwards, the type occurs, as has already been noted, abundantly at Mont Beuvray, near Autun, and on the sister-site of Alesia, near Dijon. Turning north-westwards, many examples were found in the river-systems of the Seine, Oise, and Marne ; and Normandy has, in particular, been productive.

From the Normandy coast, the type crossed the Channel. The comparatively few British examples are appropriately distributed through southern England, within the area of Kent—Lincolnshire—Gloucestershire—Dorset.

The distribution of these brooches thus extends primarily along a consistent line from the middle Rhône through central Gaul to the coast of Normandy, and thence to our mid-southern and central counties. Only three outliers are known to me—a derivative from Andernach on the Rhine, another from Speier, and a third from Darmstadt. Other outliers doubtless exist; but their number must be relatively few, and it is sufficiently clear that the type is Gallic, not German in origin. We may observe also that its distribution is almost entirely limited to the newer Gallic

[1] See 'The Belgae of Gaul and Britain', *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii, 150 ff.

[2] J. Déchelette, *Les fouilles de Mont Beuvray*, pl. xiv, 8, and other examples from this site in the Museum of Saint Germain-en-Laye.

provinces which, at the period of their first intensive development by Rome during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, evolved several distinctive local traits. Notable amongst these 'Gallo-Roman idiosyncrasies was (as it seems) a novel type of temple commonly known as 'Romano-Celtic' or 'Gallo-Roman' *par excellence*. This type extended into and beyond the Rhineland,[1] but it is perhaps worth remarking that its main distribution in Gaul and Britain coincides closely with that of the brooch-type now under discussion. Indeed, of the Gallic sites catalogued below in connexion with the brooch, at least eight are known to be the sites also of Romano-Celtic temples. No specific connexion is of course implied between the temples and the brooches; but it is worth remarking that these two flourished at first side by side, and may alike be ascribed to that partial fertilization of native talent which accompanied the Roman settlement of Gallia Comata.

With this suggestion the chronology of the brooch is consistent. At Mont Beuvray it is presumably prior to 12 B.C. At Andernach, a variant and doubtless derivative example occurred in a grave of about A.D. 30. The Pulborough and Lincoln examples, in which decadent characteristics (particularly the weak and angular formation of the head of the bow) may be suspected, were probably lost after A.D. 43, and it is apparent therefore that the type lingered on until the middle of that century, or even a little later. The form of the Lydney example is consistent with a relatively early date in the series.

Lastly, it is reasonable to suppose that the familiar Gallic disc- or thistle-brooches of the first centuries B.C.–A.D. were derived from the present type by the addition of the disc and the consequent arching of the bow.

The following is a topographical list of the brooches of this type. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Mr. G. C. Dunning in compiling it and in preparing the map (fig. 10):

1. Vienne (Isère). Mr. Collingwood tells me he has seen several local examples in the Vienne Museum.

2. Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme). Example preserved at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

3. Mont Beuvray (Saône-et-Loire). Examples at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. See also J. Déchelette, *Les fouilles de Mont Beuvray*, 1904, pl. XIV, 8.

4. Alesia (Côte-d'Or). Several examples, some at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. See also H. Corot in *Pro Alesia*, N.S. xi (1927).

5. Vertault (Côte-d'Or). In Saint-Germain-en-Laye and at Châtillon-sur-Seine.

6. Plénise (Jura). In Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

[1] *Ant. Journ.* viii, 316.

7. From the Loire, near Orleans. In Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

8. From a Gallo-Roman cemetery at Villa d'Ancy, Limé (Aisne). F. Moreau, *Album Caranda*, N.S., pl. 80, 7.

9. From the Romano-Gallic temple-settlement at the source of the Seine, north-west of Dijon (Côte-d'Or). See H. Baudot, *Rapport sur les découvertes archéologiques faites aux sources de la Seine* (1843), pl. XIV, 9.

10. Romilly (Aube), on the Seine below Troyes. In Troyes Museum. See *Catalogue des bronzes du Musée de Troyes*, 1898, p. 156, no. 516.

11. Camp de Châlons, Bussy-le-Château (Marne). In Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

12. Charvais (Marne). In the British Museum. See Morel, *La Champagne souterraine*, pl. XXXVI, 4.

13 and 14. Forêt de Compiègne (Oise). Several examples from the Romano-Celtic temple-sites at Mont Berny and Champlieu. In Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

15. Rouen. In the Rouen Museum.

16. Cité de Limes, near Dieppe (Seine-Inférieure), a Romano-Celtic temple-site. In the Dieppe Museum.

17. Le Teutre, a Romano-Celtic temple-site in the Forêt d'Eawy (Seine-Inférieure). In the Rouen Museum.

18. Eu, near the coast north-east of Dieppe (Seine-Inférieure). In the Rouen Museum.

19. Camp de Vernonnet, Vernon (Eure). In the Évreux Museum. *Bull. Soc. normande d'Étud. préhist.* XXVI, pl. XI, 2.

20. Vieil-Évreux (Eure), a Romano-Celtic temple-site. In the Évreux Museum.

21. La Mare du Puits, Forêt de Rouvray (Eure), a Romano-Celtic temple-site. In Rouen Museum. See L. de Vesly, *Les fana ou petits temples gallo-romains de la région normande*, 1909, p. 108, pl. VII, 8.

22. Illeville (Eure). In the Évreux Museum.

23. Bertouville (Eure), a Romano-Celtic temple-site. In Saint-Germain-en-Laye. See L. Coutil, *Archéologie gauloise, gallo-romaine . . . Département de l'Eure, iii, Arrondissement de Bernay*, 1917, pl. facing p. 164, nos. 25, 31, 32.

24. Pitres (Eure). In the Évreux Museum. L. Coutil, *op. cit., ii, Arrondissement de Louviers*, 1921, pl. facing p. 201, nos. 40, 51.

25. Andernach, on the Rhine. See *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxxvi, pl. IV, 25, and pp. 172, 220.

26. Ramsen, near Speier. In the Speier Museum. See F. Sprater, *Urgeschichte der Pfalz*, 1928, p. 37, fig. 36.

27. Bosenheim, near Darmstadt. In the Landesmuseum, Darmstadt. See G. Behrens, *Germanische Denkmäler der Frühzeit, i; Denkmäler des Wangionengebietes*, 1923, p. 11, fig. 13.

28. Colchester, Essex. From excavations in 1930.

29. Lavant, Sussex. In the Worthing Museum.

30. Pulborough, Sussex. See *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xxiii, 126, fig. 3.

31. Oxford, from the site of the Natural History Museum. In the Ashmolean Museum.

32. Lincoln. In the British Museum.
33. Langton Down, near Blandford, Dorset. In the British Museum.
34. Lydney, Gloucestershire. Here published.
35. Brishing Court, near Loose, Kent. In the Maidstone Museum.
36. Hundred-of-Hoo, Kent. In the Eastgate Museum, Rochester.
37. Kit's Coty, near Maidstone, Kent. In the Maidstone Museum. *Arch.* xxx, 556.
38. Reculver, Kent. In the Maidstone Museum.
39. Silchester, Hants. Seven examples, now in the Reading Museum.
40. Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire. W. J. Fieldhouse, *Romano-British Settlement near Stratford-on-Avon* (1931), p. 26, pl. VII, 11.

3. Iron spear-head found beneath the surface of the prehistoric layer underlying the temple. The spear-head shows the pronounced mid-rib characteristic of the Early Iron Age specimens, but usually much modified on spear-heads of Roman date. The socket, now damaged, was doubtless originally 'closed'; the cleft socket is not known to occur in Britain before the Roman period.

4. Pierced tine of stag-horn, found beneath the prehistoric surface underlying the temple.

5. Head of bone needle found in the prehistoric layer under the Roman roadway adjoining the southern precinct wall.

6. Bone ox-goad, found with prehistoric pottery below the Roman road adjoining the south precinct wall. The object is doubtless intended for the purpose here implied, but Mr. Balch in publishing a somewhat similar example from Wookey Hole regarded it as a sort of shuttle.[1] A similar object, described as of 'unknown use', was found in the Glastonbury Lake Village.[2] For an iron ox-goad of identical form from the Romano-British village of Woodcuts, see Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i, pl. XXIX, 10.

7. Bone object decorated with concentric circles found in the prehistoric material underlying the temple.

8. Spindle-whorl cut from coarse black pottery found in the prehistoric rampart adjoining entrance B.

FIG. 11

Periods of La Tene III and IV (first centuries B.C.–A.D.)

9. Fragments of a remarkable iron bowl ornamented with three bulls' heads having knobbed horns. The bowl was found during the earlier excavations and its exact find-spot is therefore unknown. The bowl may originally have stood upon a small cylindrical iron

[1] H. E. Balch, *Wookey Hole*, 119.
[2] A. Bulleid and H. St. George Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake Village*, ii, 466.

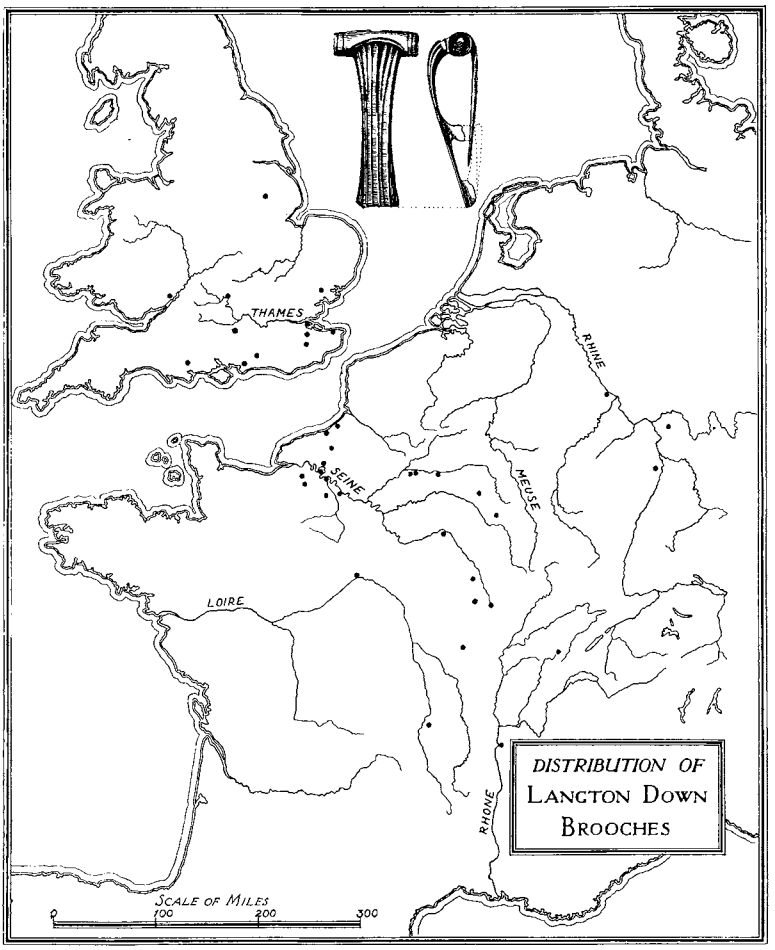


FIG. 10. Distribution-map of the 'Langton Down' brooches. Inset: the Langton Down brooch ($\frac{2}{3}$). *Addendum*: example found at Stratford-on-Avon

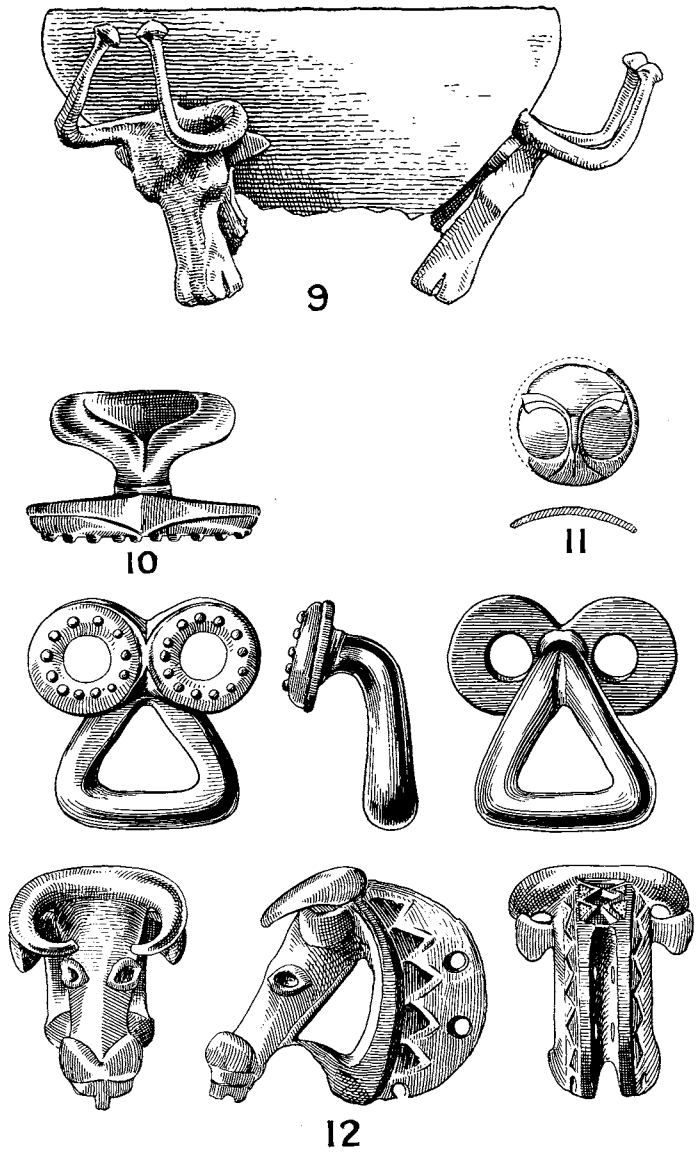


FIG. 11. Metal objects of La Tène III–IV.
Scale: 9, $\frac{1}{2}$; 10–12, $\frac{1}{1}$. (*See p.* 74)

pedestal, some $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, of which fragments are also preserved. On the other hand, the general shape of the bowl and the position of the heads suggest that it once formed part of a tripod; and in this connexion it may be noted that small bovine heads, though of a less developed type than those on the present example, occur occasionally on Etruscan tripods,[1] to which the ancestry of later 'Celtic' examples may legitimately be referred. The heads on the Lydney bowl are of the type well known in Gaul and Britain on metal-work dating from the first half of the first century A.D. and perhaps earlier. It has been discussed more than once with special reference to its occurrence on iron 'fire-dogs' of this period.[2] For the form of the bowl, with slightly inward-sloping lip, compare Déchelette, *Manuel*, ii, part 3, p. 1420, fig. 636, 4.

10. Bronze clasp intended probably to serve the purpose of a button. Found during the earlier excavations. The rings of the head are each surrounded by a bead pattern. It is difficult to date objects of this kind. They occur on Early Iron Age sites, such as that of the Glastonbury Lake Village, and abundantly on Roman sites, such as Newstead. The effort of the bronze-worker in the present instance to avoid parallel lines is a distinctively Celtic characteristic, which survived, however, into the Roman period. The excellent quality of the bronze is perhaps Celtic rather than Roman. On the general type, see Curle, *Journal of Roman Studies*, iii, 100.

11. Circular bronze boss with Late Celtic decoration in red enamel. Found in the earlier excavations. The purpose and date of this object are equally uncertain, but it shows no Roman influence and is not likely, therefore, to be later than the first century A.D.

12. Bronze bull's head, with semicircular projections, pierced for attachment, at the back. These projections are flanked by sunk triangles filled with red enamel, whilst at the top, behind the horns, are similar triangles filled with green and red enamel. Similar bronze heads, though without the semicircular projections, have been found at Ham Hill in Somerset (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xxi, 133), Dinorben in North Wales (*Arch. Camb.* 1913, p. 195), and elsewhere both in Gaul and Britain. The horns often terminated in

[1] J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archaeologie*, ii, p. 527, fig. 222, 2; after Montelius, *Civ. prim. d'Italie, Italie centrale*, ii, 2, pl. 335, figs. 8 and 9.

[2] J. Déchelette, *Revue Numismatique*, xv (1911), 46; R. A. Smith, *Archaeologia*, lxiii, 5; C. Fox, *Ant. Journ.* vi, 316. Part apparently of an iron bull's head with knobbed horn was found at Worlebury, Somerset, and is illustrated as 'a portion of an iron bridle-bit [?]' in Dymond and Tomkins, *Worlebury*, pl. ix.

knobs (compare above, p. 74) and it is probable that such knobs were formerly present on the Lydney example. The advanced conventionalization of this example, combined with the use of green enamel in a manner identical with that on late first- and early second-century brooches (compare below, fig. 12, No. 15), brings it well within the Roman era, and a date in the latter part of the first century may be suggested for it. The Dinorben example, it may be observed, was found in a high stratum containing numerous third- and fourth-century Roman coins, but may there be an accidental survival.

FIG. 12

Roman brooches

13. Bronze brooch, from the earlier excavations. The emphasis of the spring, the slightness of its covering, and the piercing of the catch-plate are consistent with a date prior to A.D. 100. Analogous examples occasionally occur on Flavian sites, such as Newstead (Curle, *Newstead*, pl. LXXXV, 3).

14. Bronze brooch, from the earlier excavations. Typologically, this is perhaps a derivative of the preceding. The spring is still emphasized but is now more completely covered by the lateral expansions at the end of the bow. The catch-plate is still pierced but less elaborately than on the preceding example. Similar examples at Wroxeter occurred in deposits dating from about 80–130 (*Wroxeter Report*, 1913, p. 23). Typologically, the present example should come early in the series and may with probability be ascribed to the latter half of the first century.

15. Bronze T-brooch, with traces of green and possibly red enamel on the bow, a surface-find from the area of the temple. The pin is hinged. The design on the head of the bow retains a reminiscence of the catch which, on the two preceding examples, holds back the loop of the spring. The type is akin to that of Polden Hill (probably late first century) but has acquired the expanded foot of which the northern British brooch-makers of the late first and second centuries were particularly fond. The brooch may be ascribed to the second century and probably to the first half of that century, but this variant of the type is not closely dated.

16. Part of a larger brooch of somewhat similar type, from the earlier excavations. It may be noted that the decorative markings on the cross-piece, rough though they be, show a tendency towards expansion which is Celtic rather than Roman.

17. Bronze trumpet-headed or harp-shaped brooch from the earlier excavations. The Celtic ornamentation on the head repre-

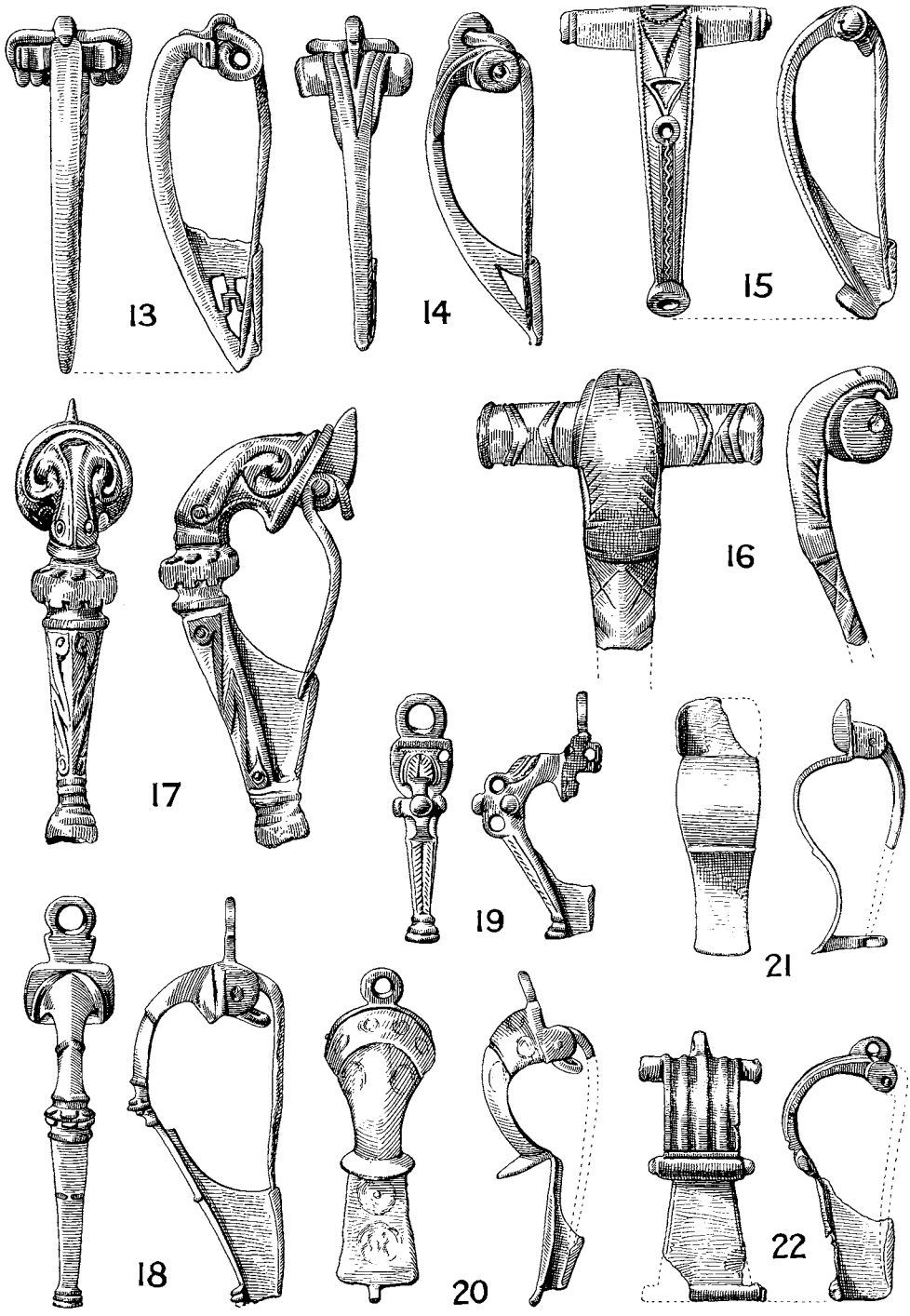


FIG. 12. $\frac{1}{1}$ (*See p.* 76)

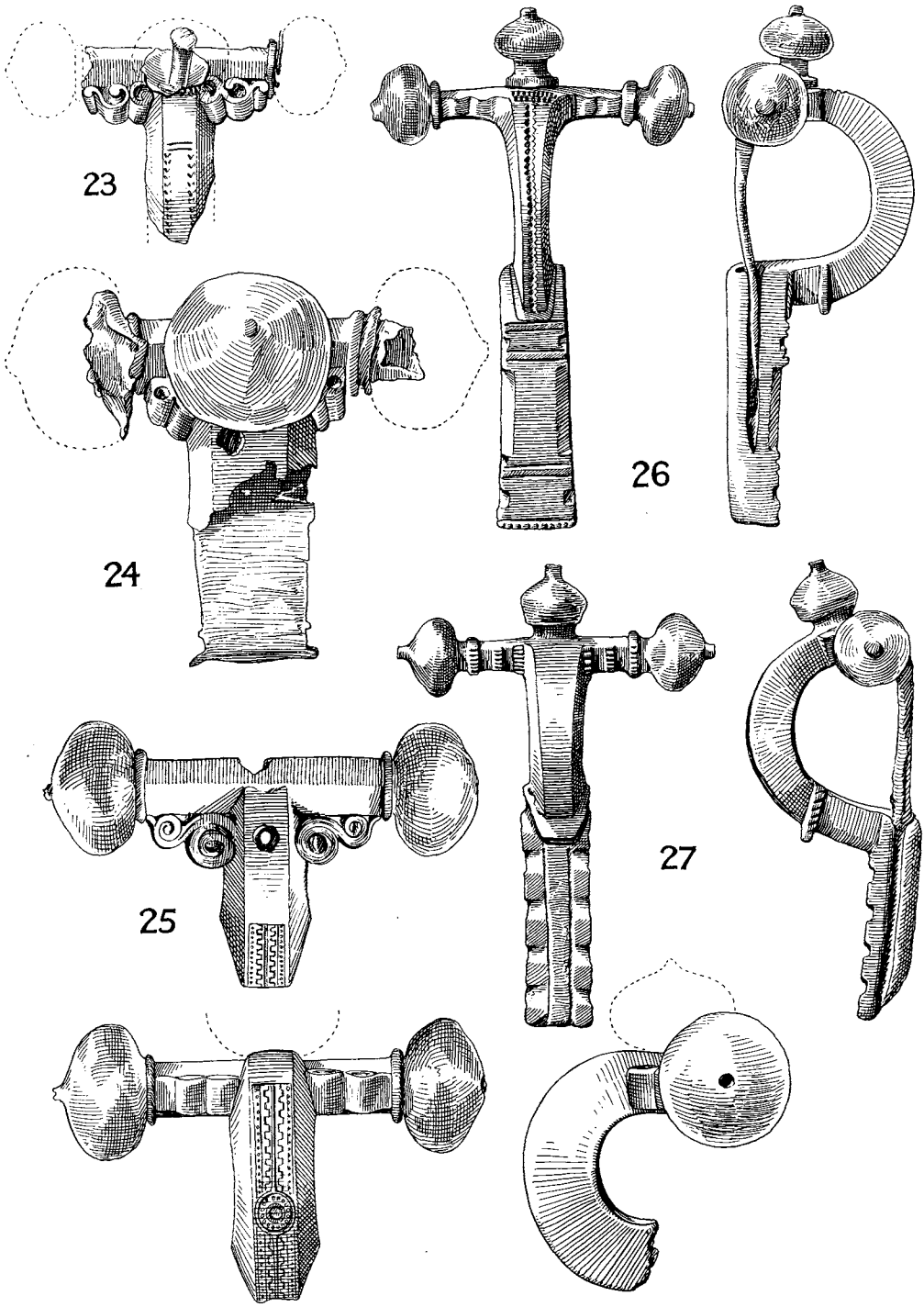


FIG. 13. $\frac{1}{1}$ (*See p.* 78)

sents the much conventionalized face of a bull which is more easily recognized in a kindred brooch found at Carnarvon (Wheeler, *Segontium*, fig. 54). The general type is primarily north-British and the present example is probably an importation from that region. The present type, with the central acanthus-moulding carried completely round the bow, is that of the Backworth brooch which was dated by associated coins *circa* 140, but analogous examples at Newstead were thought to be earlier than 100 (Curle, *Newstead*, p. 322). Perhaps 90–150 would adequately cover the duration of this type.

18. Bronze trumpet-headed brooch, from the earlier excavations. This is a poor derivative of the preceding type, from which it differs notably in the flattening of the under-surface. The extreme poverty of this example suggests that it may be a local adaptation of the northern type. The lower chronological limit for secondary trumpet-brooches, such as this, has not been determined, but the present example may well be at least as late as the end of the second century.

19. Bronze brooch, from the earlier excavations. This is an unusual and individual variant of the northern British trumpet-headed or harp-shaped brooch, and again suggests the adaptation of the type outside the northern area in which it appears to have originated. This may, therefore, again be a local product.

20. Trumpet-headed and fish-tailed bronze brooch, from the earlier excavations. The brooch bears traces apparently of former enamelled studs. The type is difficult to match ; the central projecting ring is a pre-eminently German feature which occurs abundantly on first-century brooches from the Rhineland and was retained and accentuated on third-century brooches derived from the same region. The present brooch, with its trumpet-head, may thus be regarded as a cross between British and German traditions, and may be ascribed tentatively to the third century A.D. It is a poor specimen and may again be of local origin (compare R. G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, p. 254, group S).

21. Bronze brooch, found in the post-Roman reinforcement of the rampart. Most of the associated material was of third- and fourth-century date, and the brooch is not likely to be earlier than the third century. It is an extremely poor and economical adaptation from one of the later variants of the so-called 'knee-brooch'. This brooch had a special vogue in the Rhineland, and the narrow, rectangular catch of the present example is likewise a German feature. It seems unlikely, however, that so wretched a specimen would travel far, and it may be conjectured that it is a local adaptation of a foreign type.

22. Bronze brooch, from the earlier excavations. This type with expanding fish-tail, ribbed bow, and medium moulding is akin to, and perhaps in part derived from, the Gallic disc-brooches of the first centuries B.C.–A.D. A half-way stage is perhaps represented by the Water Eaton brooch in the British Museum.[1] In the absence of dated analogies, the period of the present example can only be guessed, but the third century is more probable than any other.

FIG. 13

Roman brooches

This figure illustrates a series of cross-bow brooches of bronze, some with traces of gilding. These are all of developed fourth-century types and one of them (no. 25) is a fragment of an exceptionally fine example with good scroll-work at the base of the cross-arm. Rich examples of this type are more characteristic of Gaul or Germany than of Britain, and the present one may be of Gallic origin. For a note on the development of the Roman cross-bow brooch, see *Richborough, Second Report*, 44–5.

23. Cross-bow brooch of gilt bronze. From the earlier excavations.

24. Much damaged bronze cross-bow brooch of exceptionally large size. From the earlier excavations.

25. Fragmentary cross-bow brooch of gilt bronze. From the earlier excavations.

26. Cross-bow brooch of bronze. From the earlier excavations.

27. Cross-bow brooch of gilt bronze. Found in disturbed soil adjoining the baths, 1929.

FIG. 14

Roman pennanular brooches

28–40. Thirteen bronze penannular brooches (all from the earlier excavations) are here illustrated, of which all save the last two show antecedent and variously modified examples of the so-called 'Welsh' type. This type, described by Mr. Reginald Smith (*Arch.* lxv, 266; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xxvii, 97; *B.M. Guide to Roman Britain*, 57; *B.M. Anglo-Saxon Guide*, 133), is of special importance as a predecessor of the elaborate post-Roman penannular brooches of Ireland and Scotland. It has been ascribed to the fifth century A.D., but it occurs on several Roman sites, including a fort (Caersws in Montgomeryshire) which is not known to have

[1] British Museum *Guide to Roman Britain*, p. 58, fig. 67.

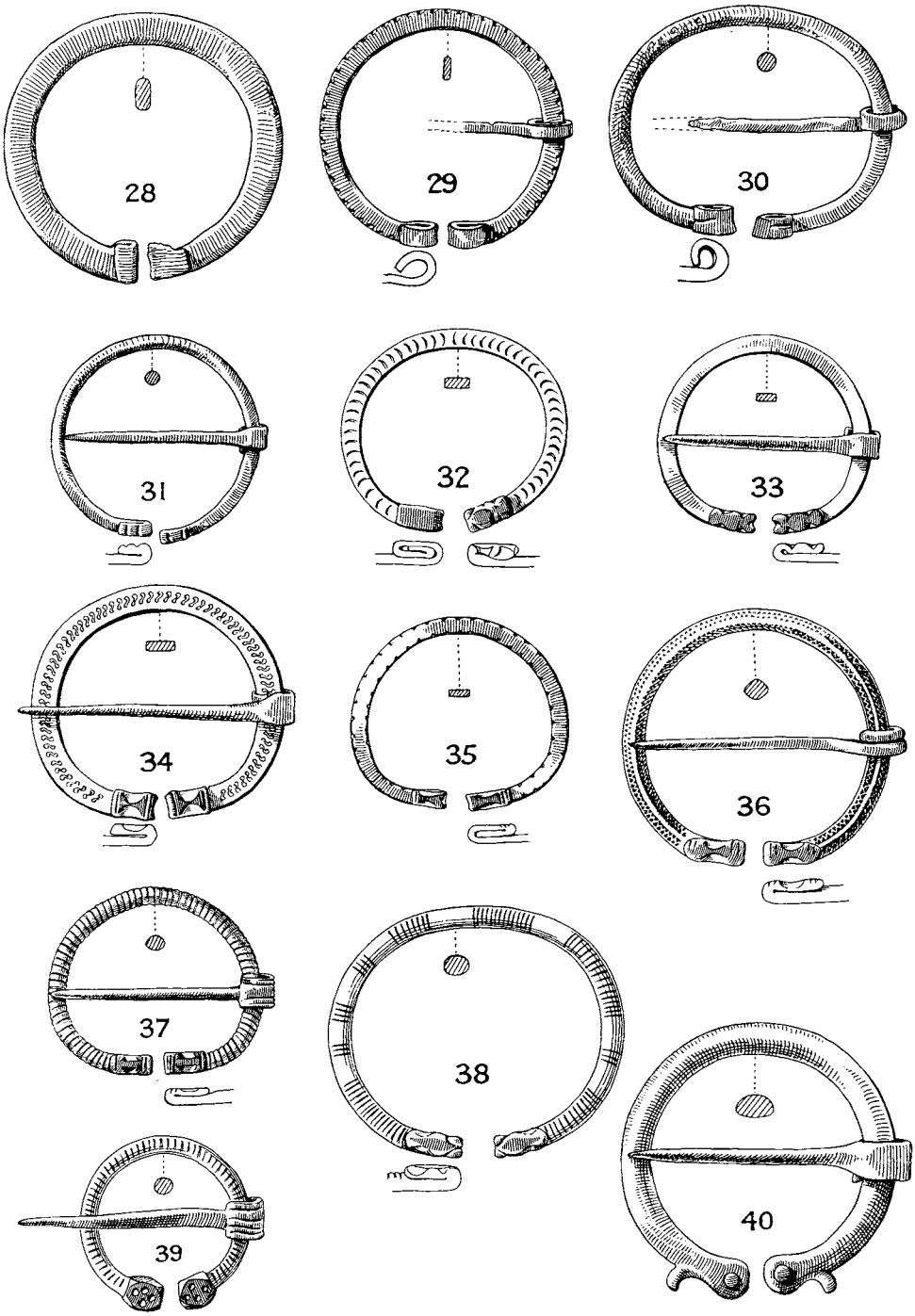


FIG. 14. $\frac{1}{1}$ (*See p.* 78)

been occupied after the third century A.D. (see Wheeler, *Segontium and the Roman Occupation of Wales*, in *Y Cymmrodor*, xxxiii, 137, where this and other examples are discussed).

It must be assumed, therefore, to have developed well within the Roman period, and its evolution is unusually well represented by the present series. The first stage is the simple turn-over stop to prevent the pin from slipping off (28, 29). This turn-over is sometimes clinched by a tool which leaves it mark either longitudinally (30) or transversely (31). These tool-marks are then gradually systematized, with a tendency to assume the form of the right-hand terminal in 32. Finally, the tool-marks become merely decorative, and the whole terminal is cast in one with the ring. This final Roman type occurs (though with a 'vestigial' fold) in no. 38 at Lydney, and other good examples have been found in the Roman town at Caerwent, in the Roman forts at Caersws and Carnarvon, and adjoining Roman Samian pottery at Porth Dafarch on Holyhead Island. The stylized terminal, in the late examples, assumes the form of an animal's head, which is further developed in the derivative Irish series.

No. 39, with polygonal stops, lies outside this series, as does no. 40 with hooked terminals, each bearing a frontal boss. Compare *Richborough, Second Report*, pl. xvi, 6, and p. 41, where it is stated that 'no parallel can be found'. It is tempting, but probably wrong, to regard this as an ancestor of the occasional post-Roman examples with bird's-head terminals (e.g. *B.M. Anglo-Saxon Guide*, 133, fig. 174).

Fig. 15

Post-Roman brooch

41. Bronze brooch with flat rounded head having a spiral terminal, short arched bow, and triangular, scalloped base. Both head and base show scars on their under surfaces, where hinge-plate and catch-plate respectively have formerly been soldered on. There is a rough border-decoration of incised dots and crescents.

This interesting brooch is in some respects unique. It is derived from the Gothic 'radiate' type, with semicircular head and radial knobs, some of which, in earlier examples, are functional, serving as terminals to the axis or axes of the spring. The base of these brooches, though essentially of elongated triangular form, generally broadens slightly near its centre before narrowing to the point, and this broadening tends to become more pronounced in later examples. For a good series of these brooches in their earlier form, reference may be made to the great hoard found at Szilagy Somlyo in Hungary and dated by medallions

375 or a little later (see Baldwin Brown, *The Arts of Early England*, iv, pl. CXLIV). The wanderings of this and associated types from an earlier Gothic home in South Russia are now well known. In the fifth century, they extended to the Rhine valley, whence, in various evolved forms, the type-series was transported by the Jutes to south-eastern Britain during and after the second half of the fifth century.

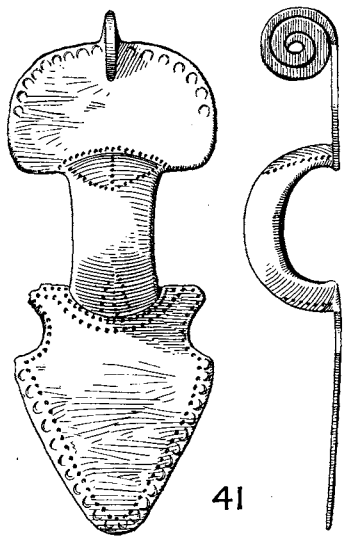


FIG. 15. Post-Roman brooch $\frac{1}{1}$
(*See p.* 79.)

The round-headed radiate type or its derivatives, however, never became popular in this country. A few examples, in which the radial knobs have become merely occasional projections on the periphery of the head, have been found in Kent, and in or near the Jutish areas of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight.[1]

None of these closely resembles the present example, which suggests a further stage of devolution from the general type. The spiral on the head is indeed a bold and unusual variant of the conventional knob; but the scallops at the top of the base-plate are a meaningless reminiscence of the exaggerated expansion of the bases of some of the later radiate brooches; whilst the ornamentation is decadent Roman rather than Gothic or Saxon in character. The ornamentation may, it is true, be compared with that on the Kentish example illustrated by Salin (see footnote), and with that on a square-headed brooch from the cemetery at Long Wittenham, but in the latter case at least it has been remarked that a number of Roman elements there survived into the Saxon period.[2] The fact that the workmanship is clearly sub-Roman rather than Teutonic helps to obscure the problem. The period of this brooch can only be guessed. The poor but Romanizing ornament suggests in itself a fairly early post-Roman date. On the other hand, the scalloped base, as already remarked, seems to indicate a somewhat advanced stage of develop-

[1] See Baldwin Brown, *The Arts*, etc., iii, pl. xxxv (Bifrons, Kent); another, from Ozingell, Kent, in the Mayer Collection in the Liverpool Museum; another from Kent, see Salin, *Der Altgermanische Tierornamentik*, 22, fig. 44; another from Faversham, see de Baye, *Anglo-Saxon Arts*, pl. III, 4; others from Bifrons, the Isle of Wight, and Salisbury; see B. Brown, *op. cit.* iv, 620.

[2] *B.M. Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 79, a.

ment in the prototype. On the whole, an ascription to the latter part of the fifth century seems best to meet the evidence.

FIG. 16

Roman enamelled brooches, rings, etc.

42–5. The enamelled brooches here illustrated all derive from the earlier excavations and can only be dated therefore by analogy. The two which represent Gallic shields are more likely to be early than late, and analogies for disc-brooches, such as number 44, range mostly from 80 to 160 (e.g. at Wroxeter and Newstead).

42. Bronze brooch decorated with yellow enamel on the field. The brooch is in the form of a shield of a Gallic or Celtic type which is well illustrated in scenes representing Gauls on some of the early triumphal arches of France (e.g. at Orange). Small model shields of kindred types were occasionally used as votive offerings.[1]

43. Bronze brooch decorated with yellow enamel in the field. This also is a model of a native shield.

44. Bronze disc-brooch decorated in blue, green, and white enamel. This is probably based on a circular shield or buckler, although the wheel, hallowed by association with various forms of sun-worship, is also a common prototype of Roman disc-brooches. Buckler-brooches of this type have been found at Wroxeter, in deposits dating before the middle of the second century A.D. (*Wroxeter Report*, 1914, pl. XVI, 11 and 12), and elsewhere, but the general type seems to have lasted into the latter part of the Roman period (see R. G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, p. 259).

45. Quadruple disc-brooch of bronze, decorated with blue and yellow enamel. Brooches of this type are anticipated by the quadruple disc-brooches of the Early Iron Age which in turn go back to the well-known quadruple-spiral brooch of Hallstatt Europe.

46. Bronze brooch in the form of a backward-looking dog or lion. This brooch may have found its way to the site through its appropriateness to a deity with whom dogs are especially associated (see above, p. 40). On the other hand, the backward-turning animal is amongst the types which are specially associated with Scythian art and with its ramifications along the frontiers of the classical world. The present brooch may be said to represent the ultimate relic of this semi-oriental tradition transplanted in its simplest and most summary form.

47. Bronze mouthpiece of trumpet or other musical instru-

[1] e.g. *Ant. Journ.* viii, 80 (Worth), and perhaps ii, 98 (Hod Hill).

ment. From the earlier excavations. The mouthpiece as it survives forms a complete unit and shows no signs of fixed attachment to the remainder of the instrument. It was presumably therefore removable for cleaning or minor adjustment, like the mouthpieces of certain modern instruments. Exactly similar mouthpieces have been found on the German frontier at Heddernheim and Waldmössingen.[1] On the latter site, it is not likely to have been later than the earlier part of the second century A.D.

48. Intaglio of dark blue glass from a ring, found in top soil over the Bath-building. The design, poorly executed, represents a lion.

49. Bronze striated ring, possibly ear-ring.

50. Shale ring with plain bezel. This type with the ridge or shoulder on each side of the bezel dates from the latter part of the third or fourth century A.D. From the earlier excavations.

51–2. Rings, with empty bezels, 51 of bronze, 52 of white metal. Similar to *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Finger-rings*, no. 1420, ascribed to the third century A.D.

53–5. Three massive silver or white-metal rings, with flattened foliate ornament flanking the bezel. The largest, no. 54, retains a paste or carnelian intaglio representing a thunderbolt. It was presumably a thumb-ring, and its size suggests that it was a ceremonial ornament—perhaps that of a priest. The type lasted from the end of the third until after the fourth century. Three examples in the British Museum are set respectively with gold coins of 215, 219, and *c.* 300 (*B.M. Cat. of Gk. etc. Rings*, nos. 263–5); and other examples occurred with the Sully hoard, dated *c.* 310, and with the Grovely Wood hoard, dated *c.* 365. The present rings may therefore well belong to the period of the Temple (after 364). From the earlier excavations.

FIG. 17

Roman bracelets

About 270 bronze bracelets from the site are preserved at Lydney Park. King (p. 55) justly remarks, 'From the number of fragments of these decorations, which seems too large to be accounted for by accidental loss on the part of the inhabitants of the Villa, it may be that they were deposited in the Temple as the votive offerings of the poor'. The series here illustrated fairly represents the range of ornamentation. In spite of the absence of detailed information in regard to the circumstances of the discovery of these examples, most of them may safely be ascribed to the period of intensive occupation in the latter part

[1] *O.R.L.* Lief. vi, *Kastell Waldmössingen*, p. 7 and Taf. III, 4.

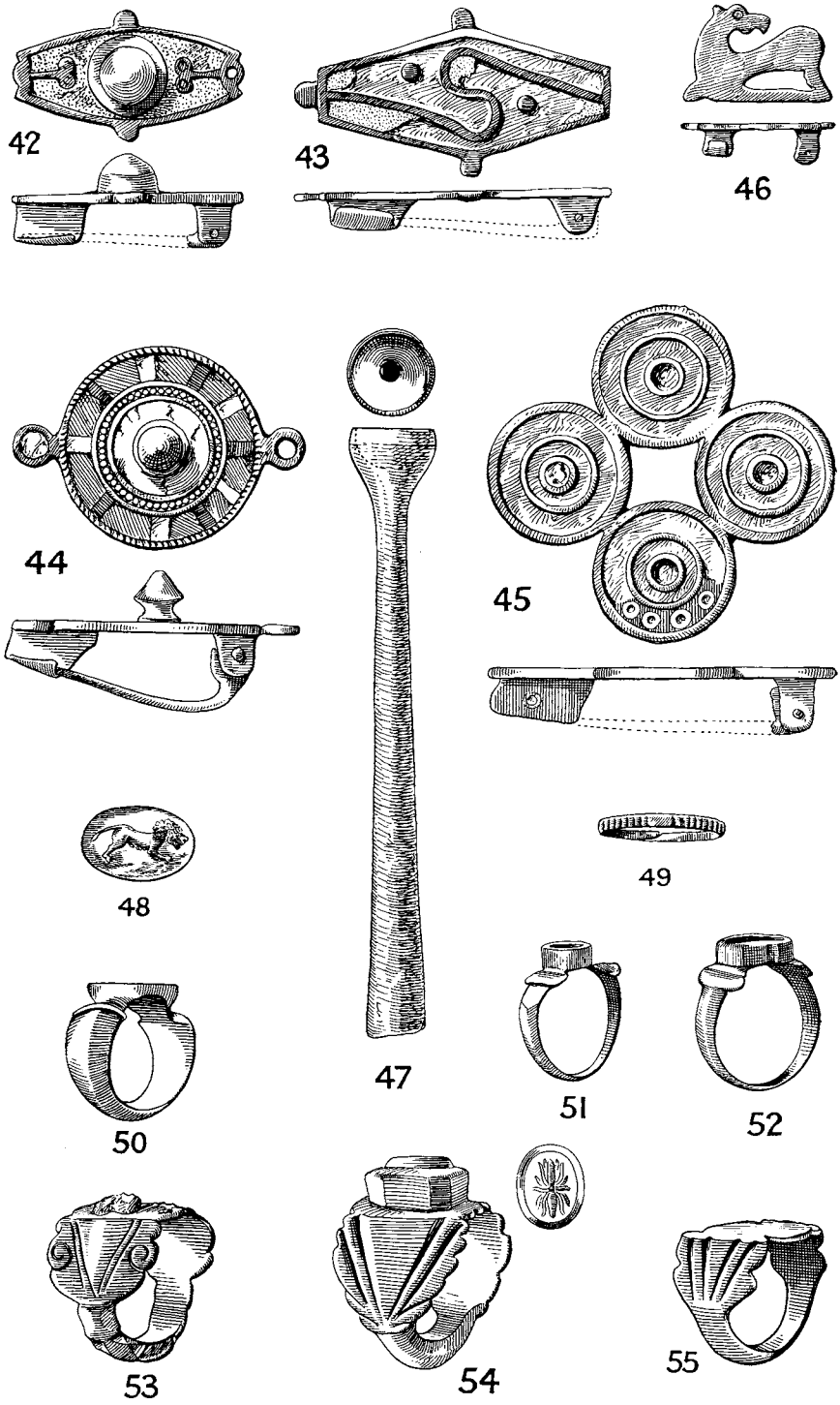


FIG. 16. Scale: 47, $\frac{1}{2}$; others $\frac{1}{1}$. (*See p.* 81)

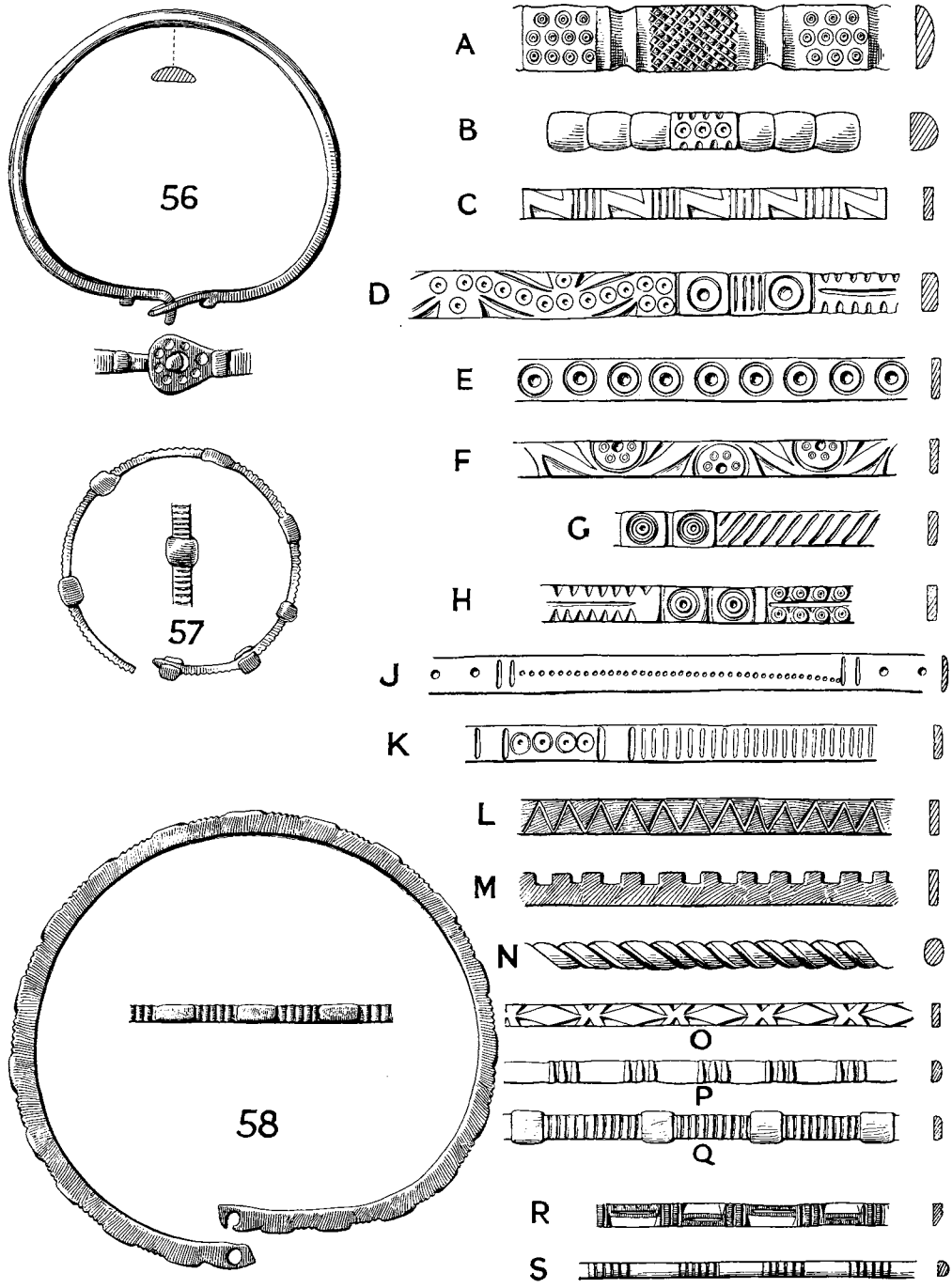


FIG. 17. Bronze bracelets, with principal types of ornamentation. $\frac{1}{1}$ (*See p.* 82)

of the fourth century. Their decoration may be compared with that on third- or fourth-century examples from Vermand,[1] or on Roman or sub-Roman bracelets found in Saxon graves at Saffron Walden and elsewhere.[2]

FIG. 18

Roman pins, beads, etc.

59. Double-looped bronze link from the surface soil of the Guest-house.

60. Pair of bronze tweezers of normal Roman type. From a late fourth-century stratum subsequent to the building of the Temple.

61–2. Two bronze pins in the form of model axes. Axe-head pins are not uncommon on Roman sites; e.g. *Arch. Aeliana*, 3rd. Ser., v, 410 (Corbridge); *O.R.L.* Lief. 28, *Cannstatt*, pl. VIII, 50; and Lief. 14, *Pfünz*, pl. XII, 14 and 15. Other examples come from London and Colchester. The fashion continued into the Merovingian period (see Baldwin Brown, *The Arts of Early England*, iii, 234).

63–4. Two bronze pins with ring-heads set at an angle with the stem. From the earlier excavations. These are examples of a type which has been studied by Mr. Reginald Smith (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xx, 344), who regards it as intermediate between the prehistoric swan-necked pins and the so-called hand-pins of the sixth and following centuries A.D. It is not well dated. It occurs occasionally on Roman sites, such as Corbridge,[3] and Halton Chesters,[4] and has been found in a Scottish broch (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xxxviii, 436), with a Roman pot of uncertain date at Sandy, Bedfordshire, and in Roman cemeteries in Gaul. More exact chronological evidence appears to be lacking, and the present examples, found during the earlier excavations, do not help.

65. Bronze 'pendant' from the earlier excavations. 'Pendants' of this type are fairly common on Roman sites but their purpose has not yet been explained. For a discussion of them, see *Brit. Mus. Guide to Roman Britain*, p. 48.

66. Strip of repoussé bronze found with late third- and fourth-century objects in the make-up of the post-Roman rampart, section 2.

[1] Eck, *Les deux cimetières gallo-romains de Vermand et de Saint-Quentin* (1891).
[2] B. Brown, *The Arts of Early England*, iv, 458.
[3] *Arch. Aeliana*, 3rd Ser., vii, 189, fig. 34.
[4] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, 4th Ser., i (1925), 206, no. V.

67–8. Bronze pins set with green-glass heads ; from the earlier excavations.

69–70. Bone pins, found with the late third- and fourth-century coins under the stone paving of the Temple.

71, 72, and 73. Jet or shale pins, from the earlier excavations.

74. Bone pin found with late third- and fourth-century objects in the make-up of the post-Roman rampart.

75. Bone pin found, unstratified, in the Temple.

76–80. Beads of shale or jet found, with the exception of no. 78 (unstratified), with objects mostly of late third- and fourth-century date in the make-up of the post-Roman rampart. These beads form an individual and apparently local group. Their lateral piercings and, in the case of no. 80, the actual shape recall a prehistoric tradition which goes back to the early part of the Bronze Age. There is little doubt that these beads were in use in the latter half of the Roman period, and they may therefore be regarded as a modified survival of native craftsmanship.

81. Amber bead found in the core of one of the original walls of the Temple. Several coins of late third- and fourth-century dates were found in a similar position in the structure (see above, p. 31).

Fig. 19

Roman spoons, etc.

82. Fragment of bronze nail-cleaner, found in the surface soil of the Long Building. The type occurred in an Antonine level on Traprain Law, Scotland, and examples have been found in the top soil at Richborough (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xlix, 174, fig. 26, 1, and *Richborough, Second Report*, p. 46, and pl. xix, 34 and 35). The type is normally rare or absent on first- and second-century sites.

83. Bronze nail-cleaner decorated on the blade with incised concentric circles. Found in the filling of the Bath-building. This type of nail-cleaner is derived from a lion's claw which was used presumably for a similar purpose when available. For intermediate links between this example and the claw prototype see Wheeler, 'London in Roman times', *London Museum Catalogue no.* 3, pl. xxxviii, 9, 10.

84. Part of an ornamented shale bracelet, found with objects mostly of late Roman date over the late third-century hut-floor adjoining entrance B. Shale bracelets with identical ornamentation, dating presumably from La Tène III, occur in the Glastonbury Lake Village (Bulleid and Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake Village*,

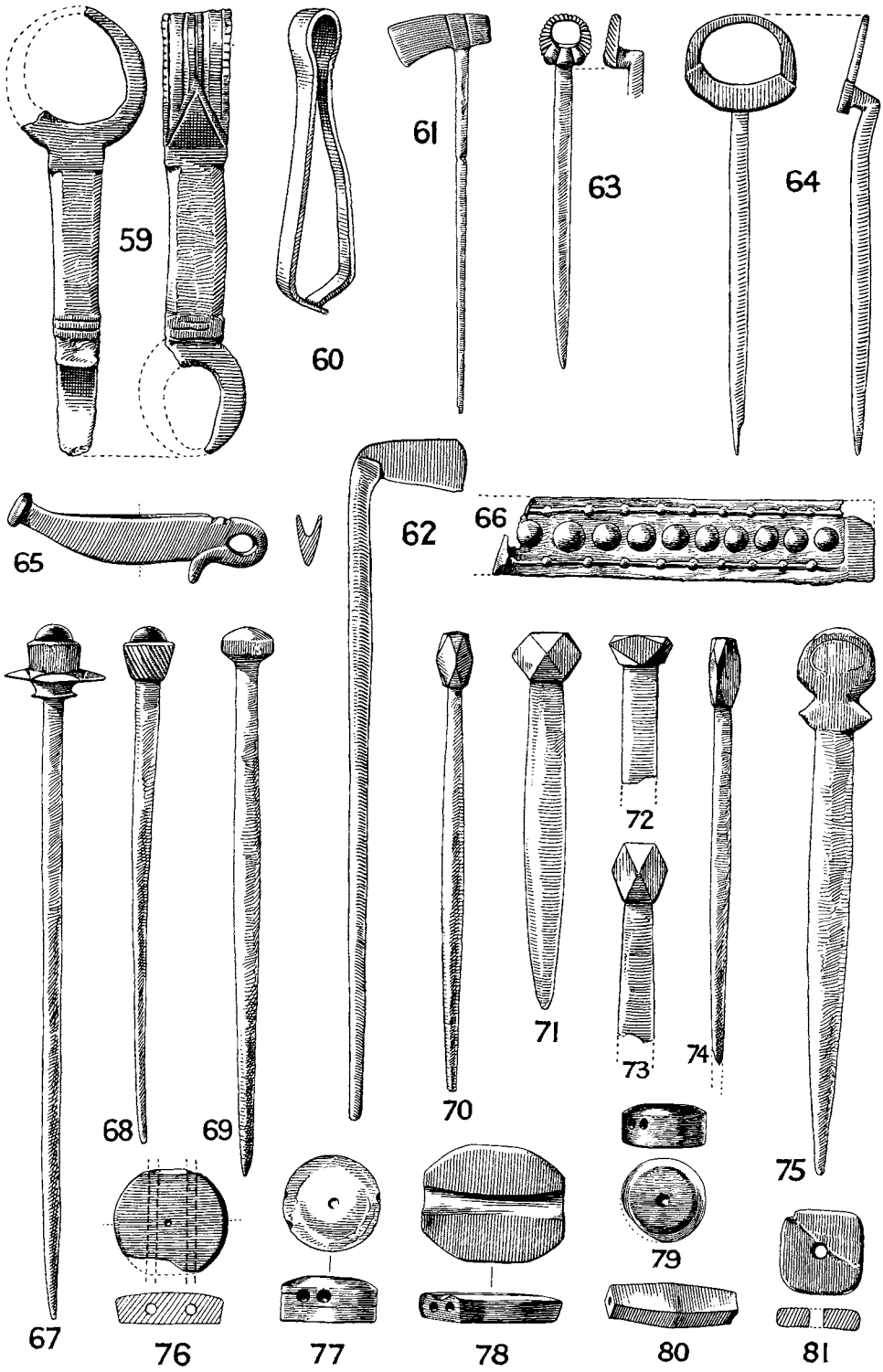


FIG. 18. $\frac{1}{1}$ (*See p.* 83)

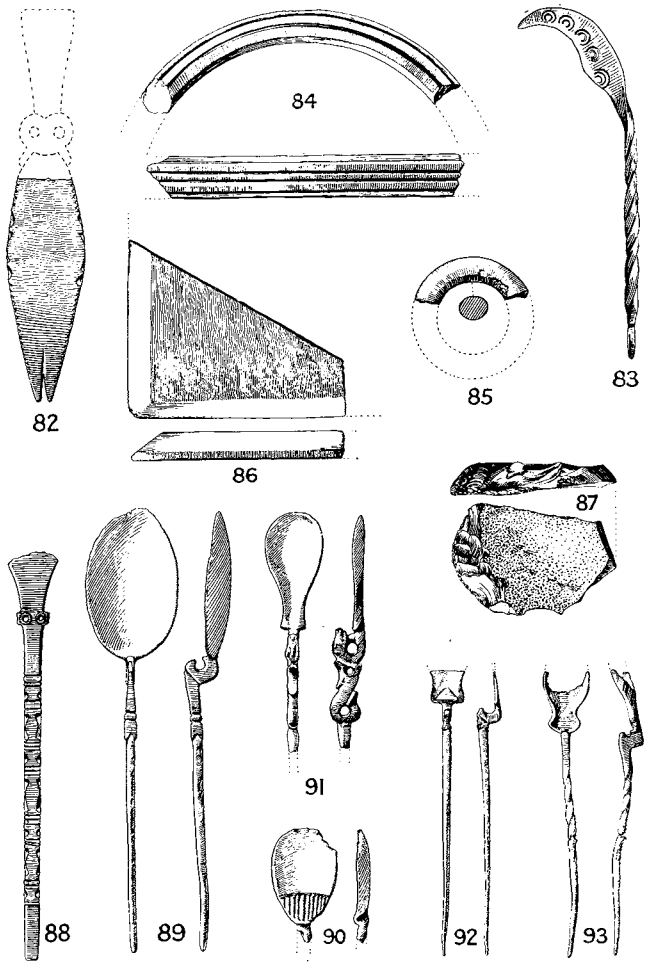


FIG. 19. $\frac{2}{3}$ (*See p.* 84)

i, 258–9), but the present example is, from its find-spot, more likely to be of late third or fourth-century date.

85. Small shale ring found in the make-up of the post-Roman rampart (section 1) with late Roman objects.

86. Part of stone palette, found on the late third-century hut-floor adjoining entrance B. Small oblong palettes of this type are common on Roman sites, where they were used for mixing ointments, pigments, etc. Their bevelled edges were intended to enable them to slide into grooved metal containers (e.g. *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 111/12, p. 401 ; and an elaborate example in the Namur museum, Belgium).

87. Flint scraper, found immediately over the late third-century hut-floor adjoining entrance B. Scrapers of this type are found on sites of all periods from the earliest neolithic to Saxon, although it can scarcely be maintained that they were still actually used in Roman times.

88. Bronze stilus, found in the earlier excavations. This flattened and elaborated example recalls in its decoration certain of the bracelets illustrated in fig. 17, and is probably, like them, of fourth-century date. It differs from the normal cylindrical Roman type and approximates to the eighth-century examples found on the site of the Saxon monastery at Whitby.

89. Tinned bronze spoon, from the earlier excavations.

90. Part of a pewter spoon, from the earlier excavations.

91, 92, 93. Three bronze spoons, from the earlier excavations. On no. 91, the lower part of the handle is in the shape of a hare, the conventionalized form of which suggests a Teutonizing tendency. The mandolin-shaped formation of the bowl on this and no. 92 is explained by no. 93, as due to the practice of nipping the base of an oval bowl in order to raise its sides. Mandolin-shaped spoon-bowls occur first about the middle of the third century, but are rare in the Limes forts, destroyed about A.D. 256 (for an example, see *O.R.L.*, Lief. xxxviii, *Ruckingen*, pl. 11, 5). The type belongs mainly to the late third and fourth centuries (see *Richborough*, *Second Report*, p. 47 and no. 37).

FIG. 20

Miscellaneous Roman metal objects

94. Bronze stud decorated in blue and light yellow enamel, from the earlier excavations. Enamel studs of this type occcur at Wroxeter and elsewhere in the first half of the second century A.D.

95. Bronze disc decorated with inlaid patches of white metal,

found in the top soil of the Bath-building. A similar example at Newstead is not later than the first part of the second century (Curle, *Newstead*, pl. LXXXIX, 5).

96. Conical bronze object, probably the foot of a casket, decorated in red and blue enamel in alternate triangular panels. Found under the stone paving of the Temple in a layer which produced late third- and fourth-century coins.

97. Bronze belt-fitting, decorated in blue, green, and yellow enamel, from the earlier excavations; a type common on first and second-century Roman sites.

98. Bronze socket or ferrule resting on a base in the form of a cock. From the earlier excavations. This object could not stand alone and probably therefore formed one of the feet of a stool or casket. For similar socketed feet fitted to the legs of a tripod, see Lindenschmit, *Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Band ii, Heft II, Taf. 2, 12.

99. Iron handle with ornamental bronze bands. Found with much late Roman debris adjoining the precinct wall. The purpose of this object is not easy to guess. The handle is solid and is complete in the lower end. The base of the 'blade' formed an oblique angle with the handle as shown on the right-hand side of the drawing. The shape is therefore difficult to reconcile with that of a mirror, although this explanation is not perhaps impossible. The handle may, on the other hand, have belonged to a fan-like or bat-like object used for some other purpose.

100. Fragment of a bronze dodecahedron, from the earlier excavations. These objects occur on many Roman sites north of the Alps and seem to range from the first to the fourth century A.D. Their purpose is, however, unknown. For a discussion of them see R. C. Bosanquet, *Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society's Transactions*, part xliii, 30; and Wheeler, 'London in Roman times', *London Museum Catalogue no. 3*, p. 110.

101. Bronze buckle of common Roman type, found in the original make-up of the floor of the Temple-cella. It was therefore lost soon after 364–7.

102. Bronze foot-stand of common Roman type.

103. Fragment of a curved bronze plate, with floral scroll-pattern pricked out with small punctures between bands of repoussé rope-pattern. From the earlier excavations. For a closely similar object, see *O.R.L.*, Lief. 14, *Pfünz*, 22 and pl. v, 10. The Pfünz example was found in the praetorium close to remains apparently of a bronze corselet, and was thought to have formed a part of the collar.

104. Bronze chain threaded with beads of white, blue, black,

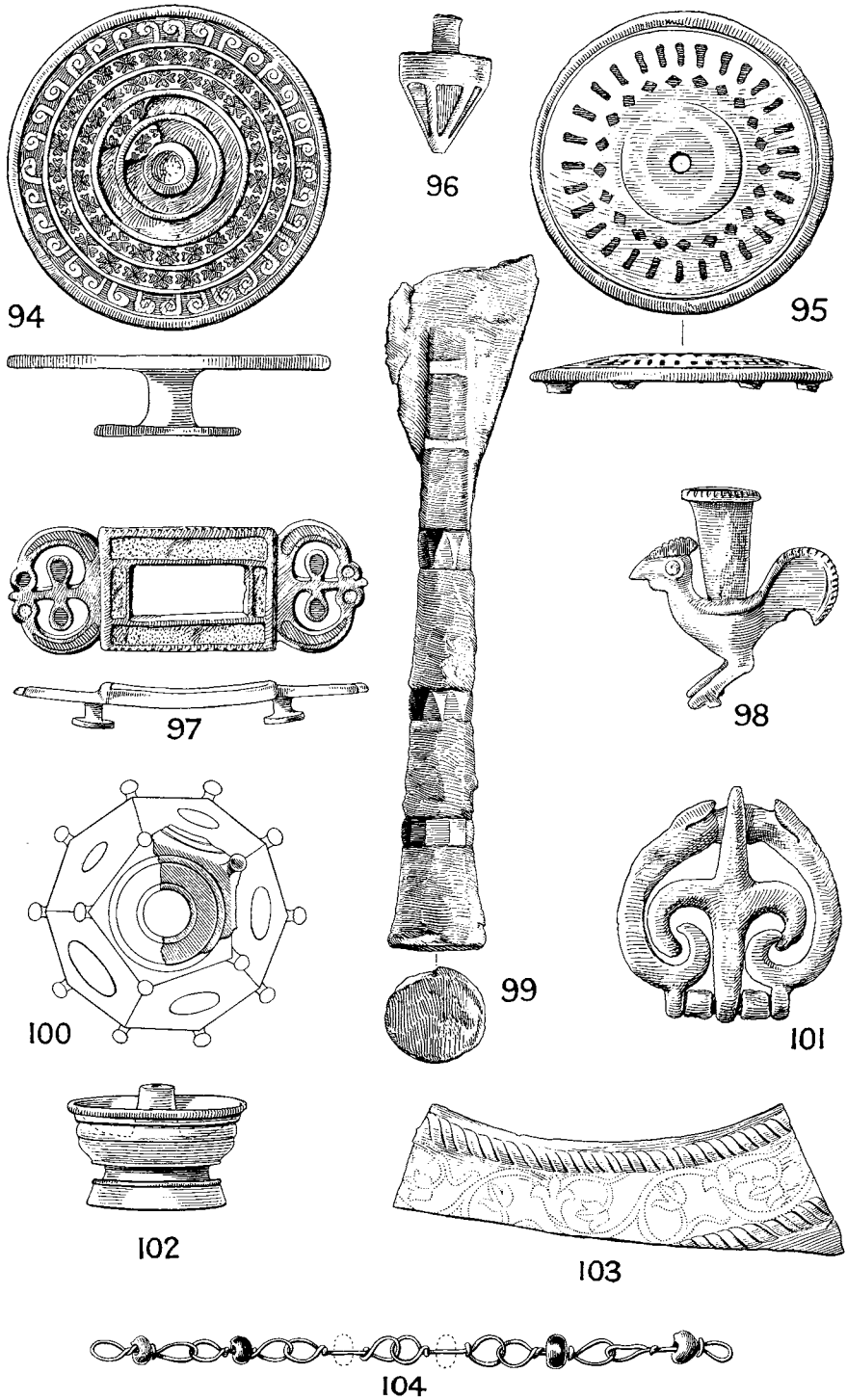


FIG. 20. Scale: 97, 98, 100, and 103, $\frac{1}{2}$; others $\frac{1}{1}$. (*See p.* 85)

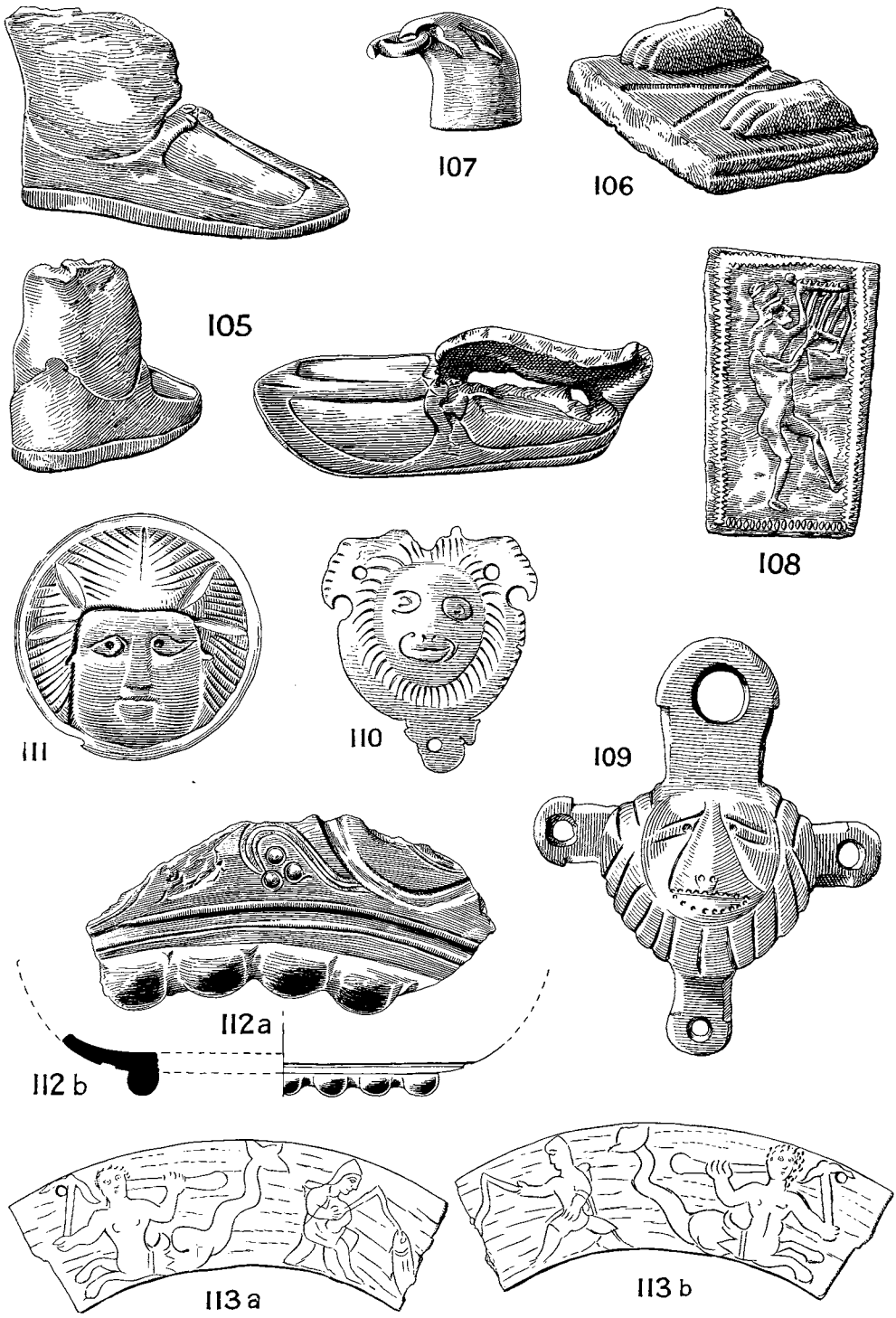


FIG. 21. Scale: 106, 110, and 113, $\frac{1}{2}$; others, $\frac{1}{1}$ (*See p.* 87)

and green glass. Found in a stratum which accumulated outside the furnace-room XXXIX of the Bath-building during its period of active use, i.e. late in the fourth century.

FIG. 21

Roman objects of metal and stone

105. Bronze foot of a statuette, bearing underneath a large mortice and a small tenon together with traces of solder for fixing to a former pedestal. Found in 1929 with late Roman material in the make-up of the post-Roman reinforcement to the rampart, adjoining entrance B. The foot had at some period been roughly hacked off the figure to which it had belonged. It is clad apparently in the stocking-foot of a trouser, and wears a shoe of somewhat unusual type. The statuette was presumably of Gaulish or British origin.

106. Fragment of the fore-legs and pedestal of a small figure of a dog (see above, p. 40). Found in the earlier excavations.

107. Small bronze eagle's head with ring through beak. Found in make-up of post-Roman rampart with objects mostly of late third- and fourth-century date. Probably served as a fitting for a bronze vessel. For the type, see *Wroxeter Report*, 1912, p. 28 and fig. 10, no. 15; and C. Roach Smith, *Coll. Ant.* iv, pl. xxv, 1.

108. Small lead plaque bearing in rough relief the figure of a satyr or pygmy playing a lyre or harp, within a beaded border. The details of the figure (whether bearded, etc.) are not clear. The plaque was found in 1929 in the soil covering the remains of the Guest-house.

109 and 110. Bronze bosses bearing rough representations of lions' heads in relief. From the earlier excavations.

111. Bronze boss found in the surface soil adjoining the Temple in 1928.

112. Fragment of the base of a bronze jug or other vessel, found in the Bath-building. The knobs which formed the base-ring are a common enough feature of late Roman metal-work; for example, on a flagon from the Traprain Law Treasure (A. O. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain*, pl. v). The incised scroll-pattern, with the conventional grape-clusters, may also be paralleled on this flagon.

113 *a* and *b*. Flat curved strips of bronze bearing traces of a design which seems to have been carried out in red, and possibly other, enamel on the flat surface (see above, p. 42). From the earlier excavations. The design represents tritons holding conches and anchors; beside them are seated fishermen in pointed caps.

Pl. XXV

The Lydney Dog

114. Bronze dog, 4 in. long. Found by the earlier excavators 'at a small distance from the wall of the temple'. This charming little study ranks amongst the best Roman bronzes yet found in Britain. True, this is no extravagant praise, since most Romano-British bronzes are either fourth-rate copies of conventional classical types, or are merely grotesquely bad inventions by some native workman who was clearly unable to follow any prototype. Of the latter kind are the remaining six figurines of dogs from this site (pl. xxvi). But the present figurine is replete with accurate and original observation, both in the attitude and in the rendering of the rough and broken coat, emphasized by boldly cut spirals at shoulder and hip. It may justly be described as a small masterpiece. The figurine was presumably in use contemporaneously with the Temple (late fourth century). Whether its workmanship is of similarly late date is less certain. It retains, indeed, much of the spirit of Hellenistic genre, with an added boldness and almost a brusqueness of handling which are perhaps Roman and even provincial Roman. A bronze dog of somewhat analogous, though inferior, type was found in 1925 in a grave at Cologne with a medallion of the emperor Commodus (see F. Fremersdorf, *Die Denkmäler des römischen Köln*, i, 1928, Taf. 116).

It has an ancillary interest, for the demonstration of which I am indebted to Professor Ernest Gardner's daughter, Miss Phyllis Gardner. Miss Gardner writes:

'The little bronze represents the kind of dog now known as the Irish wolfhound, of which breed I possess a rather fine specimen. The history of this breed is a very interesting one. From the earliest times these hounds were held in great repute, and sent as presents to the kings and the great ones of the earth, and were often kept as indoor companions and personal favourites. In the 17th century supplies began to run low, and the type to become neglected and degenerate, partly perhaps owing to the extermination of the wolf. By about 1850 it was thought that the breed had died out, but about 1880 Captain Graham, by diligent search, was able to find just enough of them to save the type from absolute extinction.

'In early times I take it that the Irish and British wolfhounds were the same, but unless you count the "Old English lurcher" and the Welsh "Rough Greyhound" (both on the small side), the breed was let go on this side of the Irish Channel. On the basis of the Lydney statuette, it may not be far from the mark to guess that these were the dogs that were exported from these islands both before and after the Roman conquest

and caused the Romans to marvel that they did not have to be kept in cages.

'The Lydney statuette seems to represent a whelp about 4 or 5 months old. The turned-back head is a particularly characteristic attitude.

'The best book on the subject is Father Hogan's *The Irish Wolf-dog*, but only six copies survived a fire at the publisher's. It was, I believe, reprinted in America.'[1]

Miss Gardner has very kindly supplied me with a drawing of her own hound in a position similar to that of the Lydney bronze. The general resemblance between it and the Lydney type is marked, but the longer muzzle of the latter presumably indicates some difference of strain.

Pl. XXVI

Roman votive offerings

115–20. Small bronze dogs found during the earlier excavations. No. 120 was discovered 'at the bottom of the funnel in the centre of the inscription in the temple' (see above, p. 28). These figurines, together with the better example illustrated on pl. xxv, were doubtless used for votive purposes in connexion with the Nodens cult; a figure of a dog had, in fact, adorned a votive tablet to the god (see pl. xxxiv). The possible significance of these dogs has already been discussed on p. 41.

Nos. 115, 116, and 119 are thin plates, evidently intended for fixing to the wall of the temple or other flat surface. Nos. 117, 118, and 120 are in the round.

No. 121 is a small bronze fore-arm, the arm forming the tube of a socket. This arm may have been the votive offering of some patient who had been cured by the god of an affliction of that member; the custom of dedicating models of healed parts to a deity was widespread in the classical world. On the other hand, the position of the fingers suggests the possibility that they held between them the 'apple' frequently found in this position on ornamental pin-heads, etc. The significance of the hand holding the apple has not yet been determined, but was doubtless religious.

122. Bone plaque representing a woman with her hands on her waist. Lord Bledisloe tells me that the small figure was picked up some years ago on the site of the temple, and when found still retained a bone pin in the socket by the left arm. This pin had doubtless pegged the figure to a wall of the shrine where, as the character of the figure suggests, it had presumably been fixed by some female worshipper who had received relief in child-birth.

[1] See also Miss Gardner's book, *The Irish Wolfhound: a historical sketch.*

Pl. XXVII

Roman embossed bronze

123 and 124. Fragments of bronze ornamented in repoussé. The larger fragment may have formed part of a head-dress or may, on the other hand, have been part of the decoration of a tray or dish. It shows in the centre the oriental sun-god, armed with a scourge and standing in a four-horsed chariot. On each side of him flies a *putto* holding apparently a flaming torch, and beyond these again are two tritons of whom one holds two anchors and the other an uncertain object, perhaps a conch-shell. The small fragment represents part of a swag with the figure of a *putto* holding a basket and perhaps an agricultural implement.

Both these fragments were found during the earlier excavations.

Pl. XXVIII

Roman embossed bronze, etc.

Objects of bronze found during the earlier excavations.

125. Fragment of bronze decorated in repoussé with the figure of a warrior or gladiator advancing to the attack.

126. Fragment of bronze decorated in repoussé with the representation of a sea-monster behind whom is a triton holding a scallop-shell and an anchor. In the field are two scallop-shells.

127. Fragment of bronze, doubtless a part of no. 125. It is decorated in repoussé with the figures of two warriors or gladiators of whom one is engaged in carrying away a human body under his arm. King suggested that this represented 'the rape of the Sabines, treated by the Celtic artist according to the ideas of his day'. It may be so.

128 and 129 are pendants, of which the former has the forked end of the 'nail-cleaner' of the type illustrated in fig. 19, no. 82.

130–3. Bronze buckle and belt-fittings of common Roman types.

Pl. XXIX

Roman decorative metal-work

134–9. Fragments of pierced and repoussé metal-work; 134, 135, 136, 138, and 139 of bronze, 137 of white metal. It is scarcely possible to assign its exact purpose to each of these. Most of them are clearly intended for application to some object of wood; but no. 137 probably belongs to a well-known type of 'feathered' plaque used for votive or other religious purposes—occasionally, perhaps, on a priest's head-dress. See *Antiquaries Journal*, v, 258; and Brit. Mus. *Guide to Roman Britain*, p. 35.

The pattern of no. 138 shows the expanded terminals of the Celtic tradition and (whatever the origin of the others) is probably Romano-British work. No. 139 includes the *pelta* or Amazon-shield as a decorative element. All from the earlier excavations.

Pl. XXX a

Roman bronze work

140. Bronze statuette of Victory standing on a globe, the whole $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. high. Found in the earlier excavations. The statuette may have been held in the hand of a larger cult-statue of a Minerva, an emperor, or some other deity.

141. Roman bronze steelyard-weight in the form of a bearded head, possibly of Jupiter. Found in the earlier excavations.

142. Bronze lion-foot, probably from a casket. Found during the earlier excavations.

Pl. XXX b

Bronze chains, etc.

143. Bronze chains and thin circular sheet of bronze found in the earlier excavations. The disc and possibly the chains with triangular terminals may have been used as part of a ceremonial head-dress such as has been described by Miss Nina Layard in connexion with the remarkable find of bronze crowns, etc., at Cavenham Heath, Suffolk (*Antiquaries Journal*, v, 258). No stress, however, is laid upon this identification.

Pl. XXXI a

Roman bone objects, etc.

144–52. Objects of bone, horn, and metal found during the earlier excavations. No. 146 is a knife-handle. No. 147 represents three of several triangular or lozenge-shaped plaques which had evidently been used as inlay. No. 150 is part of a bone scabbard-mounting of normal type.

Pl. XXXI b

Roman bone objects found in 1929

153. Plaque with roughly incised figure of an eagle.

154. Bone counter.

155. Triangular bone inlay similar to those illustrated on the previous pl. xxxi a.

156. Square bone plaque ornamented with chequer-work; probably used as inlay. Found with a coin of Allectus under a pavement of the Guest-house.

157. Bone knife-handle.
158. Bone pin.
159. Rough bone toggle, found with no. 153.

Pl. XXXII

Roman bone pins, combs, etc.

160–82. Bone pins, needle, and combs found in the earlier excavations. The possibility that some of the numerous pins of bone and bronze may have been votive offerings has been considered above (p. 41).

Fig. 22

183. Model pick, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. long, of iron, found in the occupation-layer of the floor of the late third-century hut, adjoining the Roman

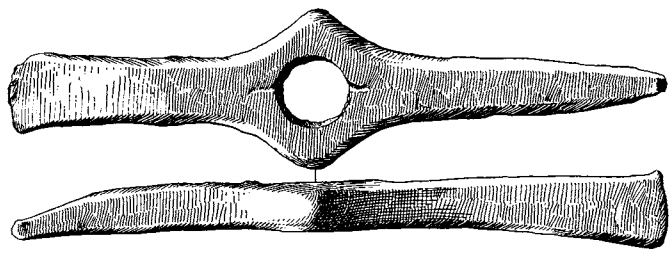


Fig. 22. Model pick. $\frac{1}{1}$

iron-mine at entrance B. The full-size tools of this type were used alike by masons and by miners; for examples from iron-mines in Spain, see *Archaeologia*, lix, p. 328, fig. 12.

Fig. 23

Roman iron-work

184. Iron hoe, from the earlier excavations, used possibly in agriculture but perhaps alternatively for removing debris from a mine-shaft. Somewhat similar implements have been found in Roman mines in Spain. See *Archaeologia*, lix, pl. lxx.
185. Iron pitchfork, from the earlier excavations.
186. Iron chisel or banker-tool, from the earlier excavations.
187. Forked iron adze, from the earlier excavations.
188. Iron axe-hammer with slight expansion above and below the socket, a common Roman type. From the earlier excavations.
189. Iron ox-goad. For similar examples from Roman sites, see Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, ii, pl. cv, 10–12, (Romano-British village at Rotherly); *Ant. Journ.* viii, 308

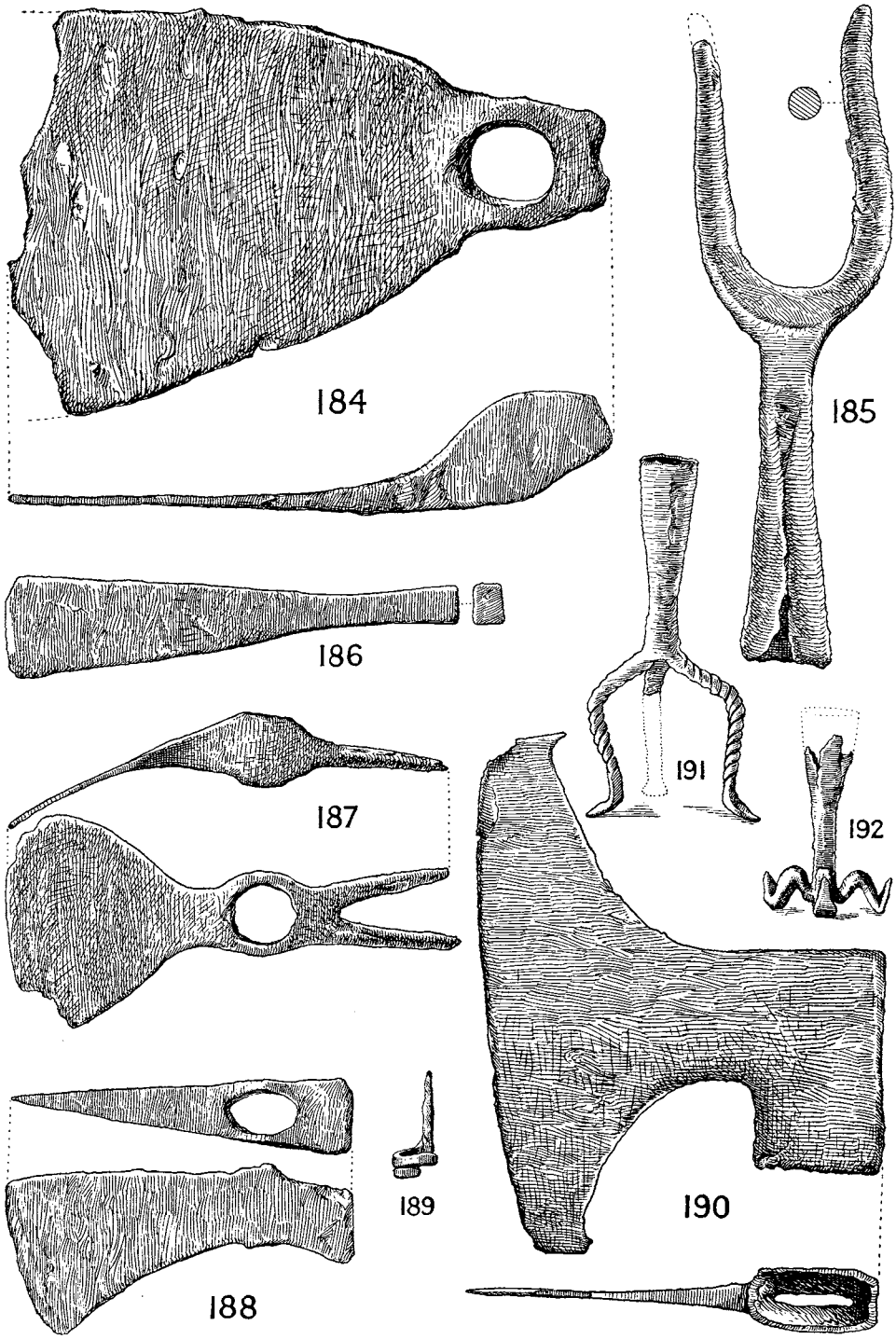


FIG. 23. Ironwork. $\frac{1}{3}$ (*See p.* 92)

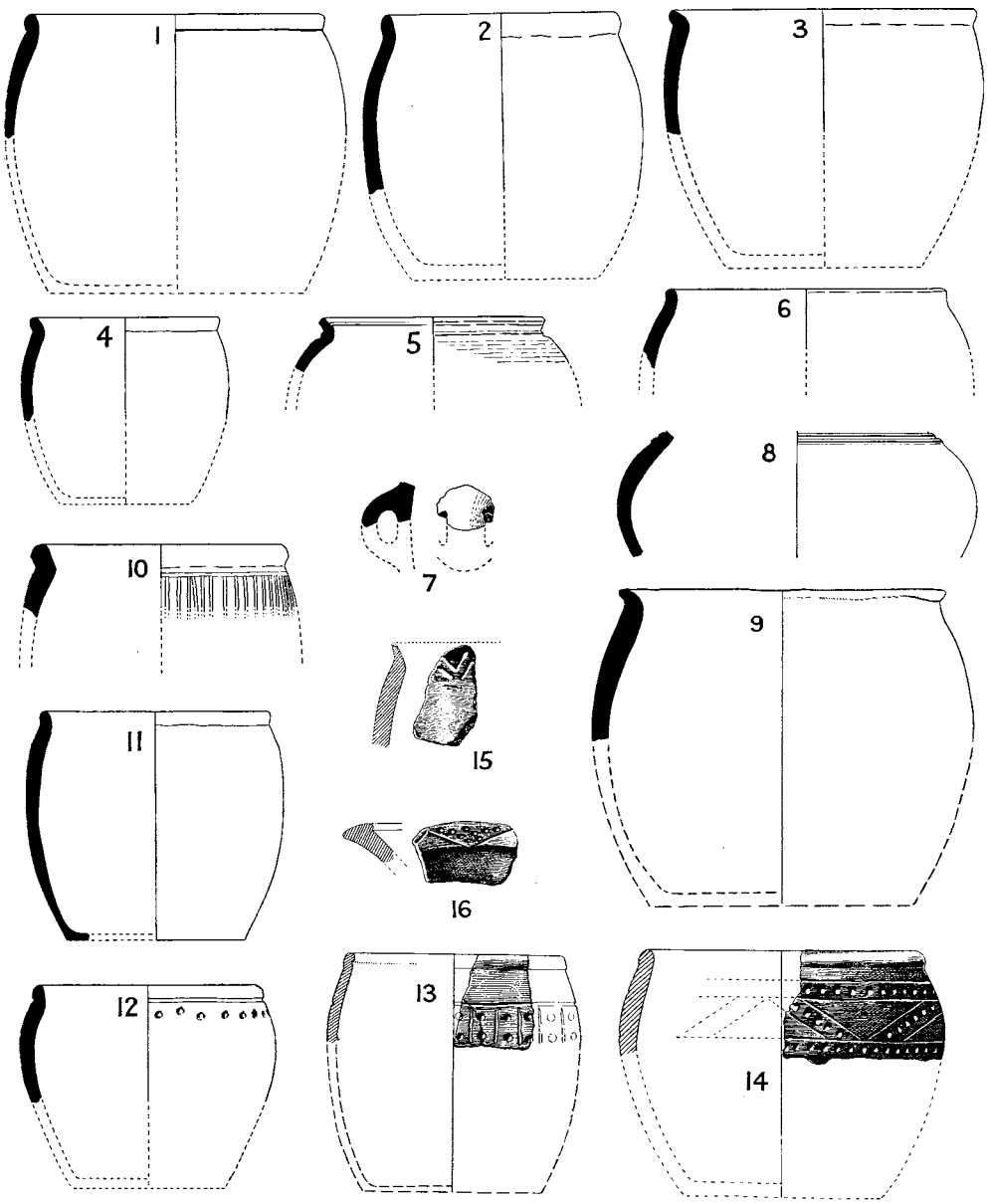


FIG. 24. Prehistoric pottery. $\frac{1}{4}$ (*See p.* 94)

(Romano-Celtic temple at Harlow, Essex); and *O.R.L.*, Lief. xxxv, *Faimingen*, 47, pl. IX, 8 and 9).

190. T-shaped iron axe with prolonged socket, from the earlier excavations. This axe anticipates the T-shaped axes of the Merovingian era and probably dates from the late fourth or fifth century. The type is extremely rare on Roman sites and no closely dated example appears to be available. A somewhat analogous 'battle-axe-hatchet' was found in 1856 at Wiesbaden and is presumably, though not certainly, Roman (*O.R.L.* Lief. xxxi, *Wiesbaden*, p. 101 and Taf. 11, 44). In any case, the type is essentially Frankish or German rather than Gaulish or Roman, and, like the massive cross-bow brooches, may be ascribed at Lydney to the direct or indirect intrusion of Teutonic elements into fourth-century Britain. A partial analogy, particularly in the downward lengthening of the socket, was found in the top soil at Richborough (*Richborough, Second Report*, pl. XXIV, 70).

191 and 192. Iron candlesticks, from the earlier excavations.

The Pottery

(*a*) *Prehistoric*

The whole of the prehistoric pottery known from the site was found during the excavations of 1928–9. It was recovered mostly from the cuttings through the ramparts, from beneath the Temple, and from beneath the southern precinct wall and the adjacent Roman road. With the exception of one piece (no. 22), the whole of this pottery was made without the wheel, but with considerable skill. The clay was normally speckled with minute fragments of calcite and had a smooth surface with something of the feel of chocolate. The characteristic type was the bead-rimmed 'flower-pot', illustrated in nos. 1–4, etc. This type, which was very abundant, includes many sub-varieties of rim, ranging from an undefined eversion of the upper shoulder of the vessel (as in no. 6) to a definite bead-moulding (as in no. 1), whilst the latter is occasionally varied and developed (as in no. 5). The general type has now been found on many sites in southern Britain ranging from Norfolk to Gloucestershire, but more especially in the southerly counties from Sussex to Somerset. Neither the date of the first appearance of the type nor its subsequent development has yet been well substantiated, but there is little doubt of its occurrence early in La Tène II (conventionally dated 300–100 B.C.).[1]

[1] It probably occurs occasionally at a still earlier date; for example, an incipient form of it can be recognized amongst the Hallstatt pottery at Scarborough (*Arch.* lxxvii, p. 189, fig. 31).

For example, at Park Brow and Findon in Sussex,[1] it is ascribed (conjecturally but probably correctly) to this period, and it occurs on St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester,[2] which was apparently evacuated before La Tène III. It is, however, especially characteristic of what may be described as the 'Glastonbury group' of sites of which the main occupation coincided with La Tène III (first century B.C.).

To this period and to the earlier half of the first century A.D. the type probably belongs at Lydney. The ancillary 'finds' do not indeed help materially in our dating; the solitary brooch of late La Tène II type does not necessarily carry the dating of the site back beyond 100 B.C., and the other prehistoric brooch is not likely to be earlier than the end of the first century B.C. and may be some decades later. Moreover, amongst the pottery itself, a wheel-turned, cordoned vessel (no. 22) suggests some slight intrusion of Belgic influence which is unlikely to have reached western Gloucestershire before the latter part of the first century B.C. These considerations, combined with the absence of evidence for any very prolonged or intermittent prehistoric occupation of the site, support the conclusion that the prehistoric pottery from Lydney falls well within the period 100 B.C.–A.D. 50.

Fig. 24 and Pl. XXXIII A

Nos. 1–4 are from section 2 through the original eastern rampart of the camp, and are therefore not later than the building of that rampart. No. 1 shows the fully developed bead-rim as found at Glastonbury (e.g. *Glastonbury*, ii, pl. LXXII, p. 137). No. 3, on the other hand, shows the bevelled rim which occurs in an almost identical form on a vessel ascribed at Park Brow to La Tène II (*Arch.* lxxvi, 21, fig. 13).

Nos. 5 and 6 were found in the post-Roman addition marked on the section as Period II, i.e. though of prehistoric fabric, they were mixed with late Roman sherds and had clearly been scraped up haphazard by the late builders from the interior of the camp. No. 5 shows the tendency to elaborate the rim by mouldings or striations such as occur occasionally at Glastonbury and are not uncommon on certain classes of native pottery found with early Roman wares along the marshes of the lower Thames valley (e.g. at Tilbury. Compare London Museum Catalogue, *London in Roman Times*, fig. 56, 4, 5, 7).

No. 6 may be compared with examples from Glastonbury and

[1] *Arch.* lxxvi, 21; *Ant. Journ.* viii, 449.

[2] C. F. C. Hawkes, J. N. L. Myres, C. G. Stephens, *St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester*, p. 113.

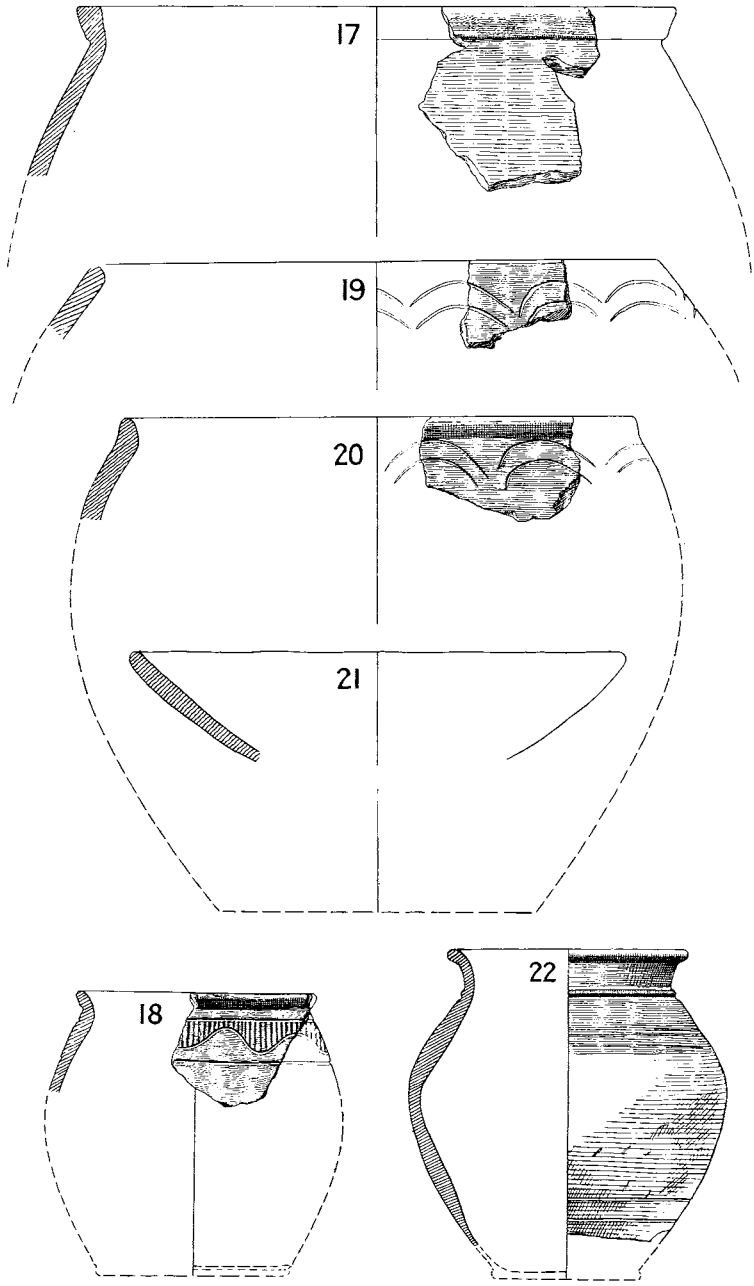


FIG. 25. Prehistoric pottery. $\frac{1}{4}$ (*See p.* 95)

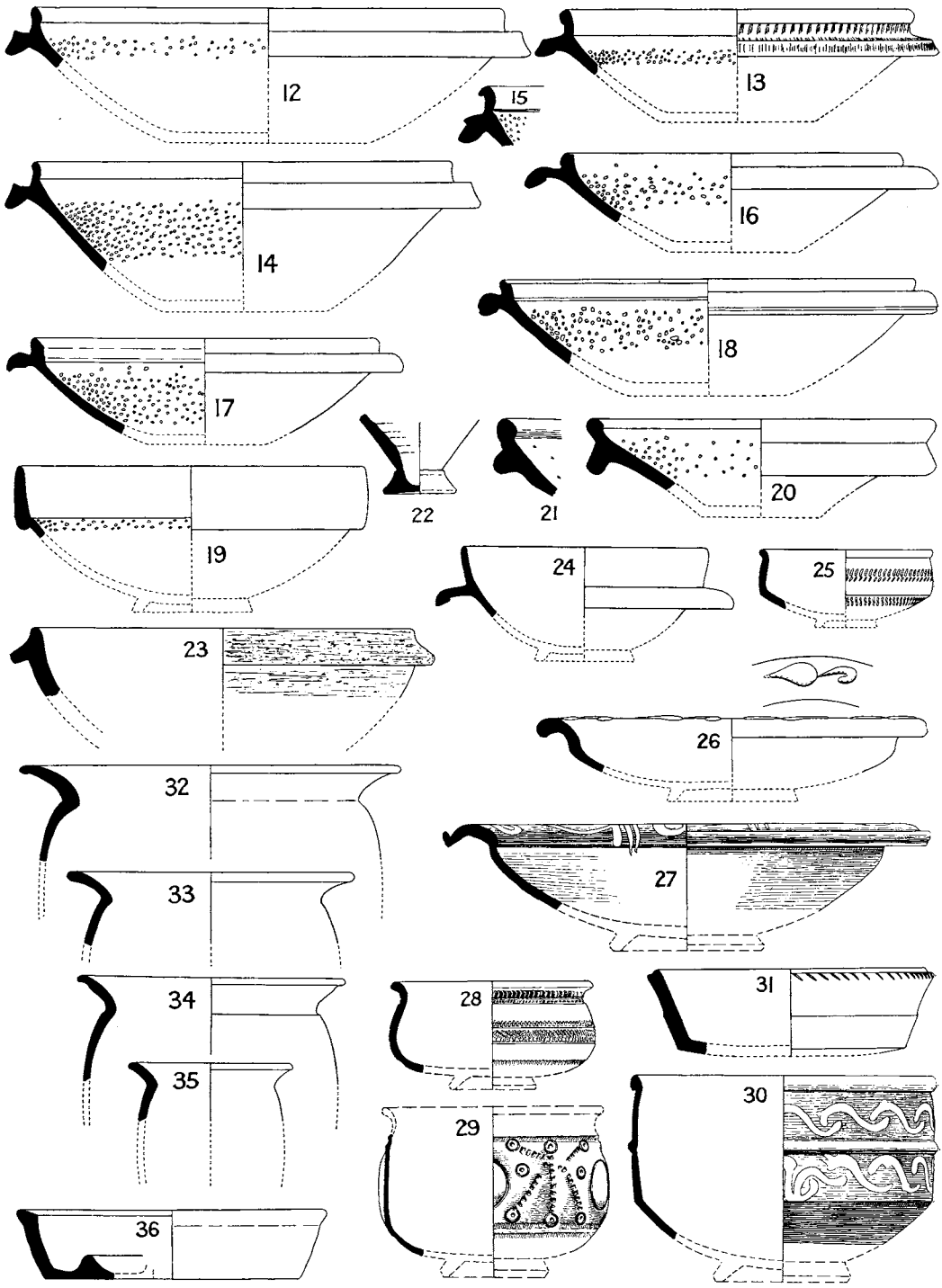


FIG. 26. Roman pottery. $\frac{1}{4}$ (*See p.* 97)

from Worlebury Camp, Somerset (C. E. Dymond and H. G. Tomkins, *Worlebury* 1886, pl. IX, 3, and a pot from Worlebury in the Taunton Castle Museum); but, on the other hand, it has a close affinity with pottery from Findon ascribed to La Tène II (*Ant. Journ.* viii, 456, fig. 8[a]). The type seems to have had a long life.

Nos. 7 and 8 are from the same deposit as nos. 1–4. No. 8 again shows the striated rim which appears occasionally at Glastonbury (*Glastonbury Lake Village*, ii, pl. LXXVI, xxiii).

No. 9. 'Flower-pot' with everted rim, found in the prehistoric rampart adjoining entrance B.

No. 10 is a fragment of thick ware from an unstratified deposit adjoining the Temple. It is decorated with horizontal and vertical smoothed lines.

Nos. 11–13. Bead-rimmed pots found in the prehistoric stratum under the Temple. No. 12 is ornamented below the rim with an irregular line of indentations formed by means of a square-ended punch. No. 13 shows an internal groove at the base of the rim and is decorated with horizontal and vertical lines with vertical rows of circular depressions.

No. 14. Bead-rimmed pot, found in a prehistoric occupation-layer on the rampart adjoining entrance B. The decoration consists of a frieze of chevrons bordered and delineated by double lines, enriched with oblong punch-marks. No exact analogy for this type of decoration appears to be forthcoming, but a sherd from Glastonbury (*Glastonbury Lake Village*, ii, pl. LXXXVII, p. 288) approximates to it.

No. 15. Part of a 'flower-pot' with everted rim and incised chevron-pattern below it on the exterior. From the prehistoric layer beneath the Temple.

No. 16. Rim of dish of uncertain form, found on the rampart adjoining entrance B. The pattern on it consists of an incised zigzag, with circular punch-marks presumably in the alternate triangles.

FIG. 25 and PL. XXXIII A

Nos. 17 and 18 were found below the south Roman precinct wall and the adjacent Roman road, together with the bone ox-goad (fig. 8, 6). For no. 17, with its heavy, flat-topped rim, no close analogy seems at present to be forthcoming. No. 18, on the other hand, with its wavy line and hatched background, is a simple version of a common Glastonbury motive, e.g. *Glastonbury*, ii, pl. LXX, p. 192, and pl. LXXXI, p. 210.

Nos. 19–20 were found in the prehistoric stratum under the

Temple. They were decorated below the rim by a row of incised double arcs forming what may be called an 'eyebrow' pattern. The vessels represented by these sherds were large and, for general form, may perhaps be compared with the Glastonbury type illustrated in *Glastonbury*, ii, pl. LXXV, xi ; on the other hand, the surviving sherds are too small for certainty. The decoration in this crude and simple form does not occur at Glastonbury, though it is implicit in the more elaborate decoration of examples such as *Glastonbury*, ii, pl. LXX, iii, and LXXXIV, p. 256, and a sherd from Ham Hill, now in Taunton Castle Museum. A nearer analogy is illustrated by Mr. Bushe-Fox in the *Hengistbury Head Report*, pl. XV, 1, and p. 57, where reference is made to a somewhat similar fragment found by Pitt-Rivers at Rushmore, in a pit with bead-rim pottery, a British coin, and a coin of Claudius (Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, iv, 317, no. 8). Reference may also be made to a similar pattern on a somewhat larger scale upon La Tène III pottery from Park Brow (*Arch.* lxxvi, 23, fig. 19).

No. 21 is part of a dish without distinctive form, found in the prehistoric rampart adjoining entrance B.

No. 22 (cf. pl. XXXIII A, 7) was found in the prehistoric stratum under the Temple. It is of hard, grey ware, wheel-turned and, as remarked above, seems to show Belgic affinities. The type is nevertheless frequent at Glastonbury, where modified Belgic elements are not uncommon in the local wares.

(*b*) *Roman* [1]

PL. XXXIII B

All from the Lydney Park collection

No. 1. Fragment of Samian form 29. It shows the lower frieze decorated with club-like gadroon pattern terminating in basal rosettes. This type of pattern is used by Albus, Primus, and earlier potters. Period, Flavian. The only sherd of first-century decorated Samian pottery known from the site.

No. 2. Fragment of Samian form 37. The decoration includes (1) a medallion containing a sea animal, (2) a panel containing

[1] A general summary of the limited quantity of Samian pottery or terra sigillata found on the site has been incorporated in the report (above, p. 16). The only stamps found on Samian are the following: (1) [ECV]ESTRIS retrograde, on form 31. Equester was a potter of East Gaul and of second-century date. The Lydney sherd was found with late Roman relics in the make-up of the post-Roman bank. (2) SEDAT[ ], on form 31. Sedatus was a Rheinzabern potter of mid-second-century date. (3) MAIORIS, on form 33. Major was a potter of mid-second-century date.

acanthus decoration, and (3) a demi-medallion above a lion with annular ornaments in the field. Period, Antonine.

No. 3. Fragment of Samian form 37, decorated with a biga, a caryatid, and a Venus. Period, Antonine.

No. 4. Fragment of Samian form 37, with zonal decoration: above, part of an animal; below, a sharp wavy line, festoons containing Nile geese, and a ram's-horn straight-wreath. Period, *circa* A.D. 100–30.

No. 5. Flange of a Samian mortarium, form 45, decorated with ivy-leaf *en barbotine*. Period, late second or third century.

No. 6. Fragment of Samian mortarium, form 45, with lion-head spout. Period, late second or third century.

No. 7. Neck of a jug of buff ware, with traces of dark slip; decorated in the form of a woman's head. A good example of a third-century A.D. type especially common in the Rhineland.

No. 8. Similar to 6.

No. 9. Fragment of a red-coated bowl, decorated with stamped rosettes. This type of ware is fairly common at Lydney; it is characteristic of fourth-century deposits at Richborough, Pevensey, Carnarvon, and elsewhere. A variety of it was made as early as the beginning of the century in the New Forest (see Heywood Sumner, *Excavations in New Forest Roman pottery sites* [Ashley Rails], 22 ff.)

Nos. 10, 11. Fragments of vessels of buff clay decorated *en barbotine* with the figure of a running hare and a hound respectively. These are good examples of about a dozen sherds of this Caistor ware known from the site.

Fig. 26

Nos. 12–21. With the exception of no. 15, these mortaria are typical of the site and represent a great number of similar specimens. They are normally of reddish-buff clay with a bright red slip and are sometimes (e.g. no. 13) decorated with rouletting round the rim-flange. Their fabric is, in many cases, identical with that of the late stamped and rouletted wares of fourth-century Roman sites, see above pl. xxxiii B, no. 9. The angular type represented by nos. 12–14 occurs in the fourth-century deposits at Richborough and Carnarvon, and on the fourth-century kiln-site at Ashley Rails in the New Forest. Of the examples illustrated, no. 14 was found in the make-up for the final flooring inserted into the cella of the Temple after 367; whilst no. 17, with a more rounded flange but clearly of the same series, was found under the contemporary slab-paving of the ambulatory of the Temple.

No. 16, which might on general grounds be regarded as an earlier type, was found with nos. 13 and 20, low down against the interior base of the southern precinct wall. No. 20 is itself a compromise between the horizontally and vertically flanged types; and no. 21, of coarse orange-buff ware with slight traces of a former white slip, was found in a group of fourth-century pottery in the material with which, at the time of their construction, the lower external offsets of the precinct wall adjoining the western side of the Bath-building were covered. No. 19 is one of many coarse-ware copies of the late second- and third-century Samian form 45. It was found, like no. 17, in the make-up under the slab paving inserted (or relaid) in the ambulatory of the Temple after 367.

No. 22 is a pedestal base of coarse grey ware and of the meagre form characteristic of the fourth century. It was found with nos. 13, 16, and 20 against the precinct wall.

No. 23. Fragment of a flanged bowl of coarse, gritty grey ware. Unstratified.

Nos. 24–30. Further examples of the bright red-coated ware already referred to as characteristic of fourth-century sites. No. 24 was found amongst the material which collapsed at some date after 364 into the swallow-hole beneath the temple. Several other bowls of the same type were found on the site, e.g. in the foundation-trench beneath the north-west corner of the Guest-house, and in the make-up of one of the original floors in the same building. Another was found in the fourth-century group (already mentioned) against the base of the southern precinct wall. No. 26, with the barbotine leaves on the flange, comes from the same group. This and no. 27, which is decorated with white paint on the flange, are derived ultimately from Samian form 35 but are themselves typical fourth century at Richborough, Ashley Rails, and elsewhere.

No. 31. Dish of thick grey ware ornamented by means of oblique striations along the outer half of the grooved rim. Several examples of this type of decoration, on similar ware, were found upon the site but not in dated deposits.

Nos. 32–5 are typical cooking-pots from the site showing the general tendency of the rim to oversail the girth—a feature now recognized as characteristic of late examples of the type. Nos. 32 and 33 come from the post-Roman addition to the rampart; no. 34 from the above-mentioned group against the south precinct wall; and no. 35 from the make-up of the final floor of the cella of the Temple, inserted after 367.

No. 36 is part, probably, of a candlestick. Unstratified.

FIG. 27

All the sherds represented in this illustration are derived from the post-Roman addition to the ramparts north of the Temple precinct.

Nos. 37–9. Further examples of cooking-pots of late type.

Nos. 40–3. Flanged bowls of black ware. The last has a curvilinear pattern roughly smoothed on the exterior.

No. 44. Mortarium of buff ware of a long-lived and indeterminate type which varied little from the second to the fourth century.

Nos. 45–6. Typical examples of the coarse plates or lids found in this deposit.

No. 47. Funnel-neck of a jug of reddish buff ware with remains of a chocolate slip. A similar example was found at Carnarvon with late third-century coins, and the type occurs on the late third- and fourth-century site at Ashley Rails in the New Forest.

Nos. 48–51. Examples of dishes of red-coated buff ware derived from Samian form 31. No. 49 has imitation stamp. These derivative types occur at Richborough and Carnarvon in the fourth century (e.g. *Richborough*, i, no. 104; ii, no. 183; Wheeler, *Segontium*, fig. 79, no. 57).

No. 52. Part of a small buff jar, similar in form to examples found on the late kiln-site at Sloden in the New Forest (Heywood Sumner, *Excavations in New Forest Roman pottery sites*, pl. XVIII, 1–3).

No. 53. Buff mortarium of type analogous to no. 44.

No. 54. Flanged bowl of black ware, similar to 43.

Nos. 55–6. Characteristic fourth-century cooking-pots.

No. 57. Typical example of the coarse grey calcited or vesiculated ware which occurred in some quantity on the site in association with fourth-century wares. Similar sherds were found in the late fourth-century group covering the offsets of the precinct wall beside the Bath building; in the make-up of three of the original floors of the Guest-house and the Long Building. Vessels of this type and fabric were found in the late fourth-century strata at Carnarvon (Wheeler, *Segontium*, fig. 77, no. 43, and fig. 78, no. 58).

No. 58. Dish or lid of black ware.

No. 59. Mortarium of red-coated buff ware similar to fig. 26, no. 19.

Nos. 60–1. Fragments of funnel-necked vessels of a Rhenish type popularized in this country by the Caistor potteries in the third and fourth centuries.

INSCRIPTIONS

BY R. G. COLLINGWOOD, F.S.A.

The excavations of 1928–9 yielded no new inscriptions, but the present occasion justifies a fresh discussion of those already known, including, as they do, a series of votive inscriptions of unusual interest.

1. Fig. 28, 1. A leaden plate $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. high by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, with the following inscription scratched on one side:

(*a*) *Devo Nodenti. Silvianus anilum perdedit; demediam partem donavit Nodenti. Inter quibus nomen Seniciani, nollis petmittas sanitatem donec perfera(t) usque templum* [*No*]*dentis.* (*b*) More lightly scratched by a later hand: *Rediviv . . .*(?) The text (*a*) presents a few points of interest. Professor Tolkien, in his contribution on the name Nodens (p. 132), points out that *devo* may be regarded as a Celtic form. *Petmittas* is no doubt an error for *permittas*, and in *perfera(t)* there can never have been room for the final *t*. The constructions *nollis permittere* and *ne permittas* have been run into a single portmanteau-construction.

'To the god Nodens. Silvianus has lost a ring; he hereby gives half of it (i.e. half of its value) to Nodens. Among those who are called Senicianius, do not allow health until he brings it to the temple of Nodens.' The grammar is involved, but the sense is clear. There is a family with the *nomen* Senicianius, a family-name formed from the *cognomen* Senicianus like Secundinius from Secundinus, Quintinius from Quintinus, and so on.[1] This is a necessary assumption because at this period *cognomina* were personal names, not family names. A member of this family, unidentified, is believed to be the thief.

Published in Lysons, *Reliquiae Brit. Rom.*, vol. ii, pl. 32, fig. 9; Bathurst, *Lydney Park*, pl. xx, no. 3; *C.I.L.* vii, 140, and elsewhere.

The text (*b*) was detected and pointed out to me by Dr. Wheeler. I cannot read it with any confidence, but it might be *rediviva* (agreeing with *defixio* understood): 'this curse comes into force again', perhaps after having being torn down or defaced by an irate Senicianius.

2. Pl. xxxiv. An ansate bronze plate $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. long by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. high pierced with a nail-hole. The inscription is punched.

D.M. Nodonti Fl(avius) Blandinus armatura v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

[1] This *nomen* already occurs in Britain, *C.I.L.* vii, 211.

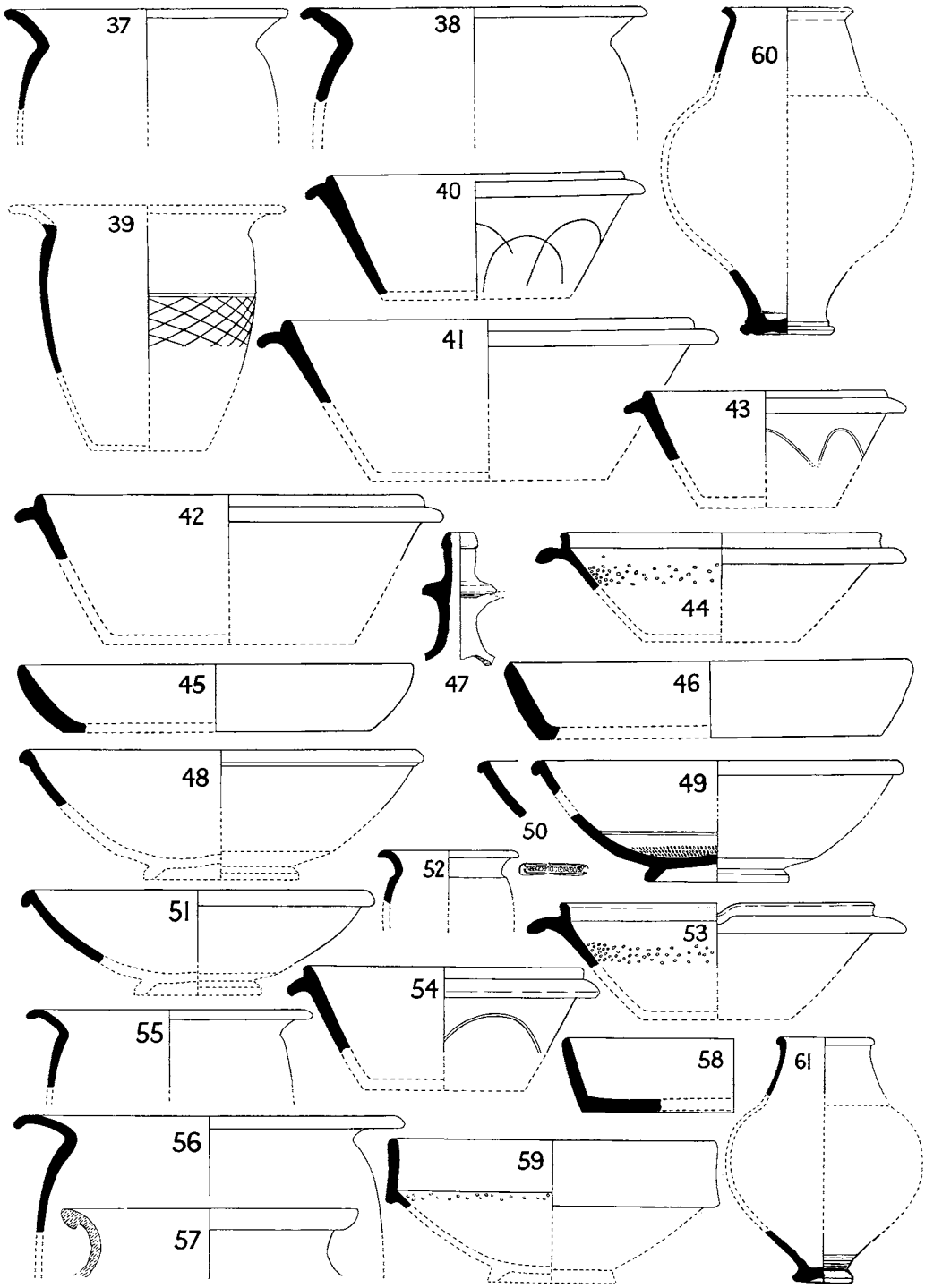
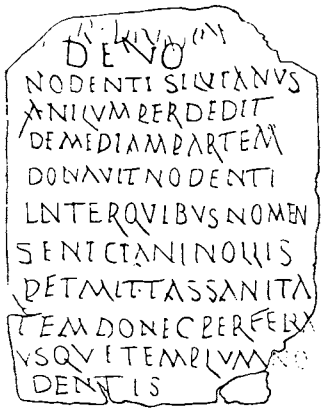
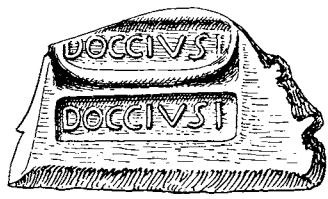


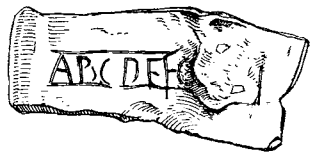
FIG. 27. Roman pottery. $\frac{1}{4}$ (*See p.* 99)



1



4



5

6

7

FIG. 28. Inscriptions. *Scales*: 1, $\frac{2}{3}$; 4 and 6, $\frac{1}{1}$; 5 and 7, $\frac{1}{2}$.
(*See pp.* 100–102)

The initial *M* certainly stands for *Marti*. A dozen other native gods in Britain alone are worshipped under the title *deus Mars* so-and-so, and in *C.I.L.* vii, 420, we get the same abbreviation, *D.M. Condati*, in the case of a god who is addressed in full as *Deo Marti Condati* (*Eph. Epigr.* vii, 984). No other god but Mars is possible, and there is no warrant for any epithet such as *M(aximo)*. Further, it is contended by von Domaszewski (*Religion des römischen Heeres*, p. 56) that the identification of these local gods with Mars signifies the adoption of their cult as an element in the religion of the army; and this fits in with the fact that the present dedicator is a drill-sergeant in a legion. For the meaning of *armatura*, cf. von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung d. r. Heeres*, 45; and *Religion*, *cit.*, p. 32.

'To the god Mars Nodons, Flavius Blandinus, drill-instructor, pays a vow.'

Published by Ormerod, *Ancient Remains of Venta*, p. 29, and elsewhere; Bathurst, *Lydney Park*, pl. xx, no. 1; *C.I.L.* vii, 138.

3. Pl. xxxiv. A pentagonal, gable-topped plate of bronze, broken at the top: 4 in. (originally $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.) high by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. Above is a dog with feet outstretched and rump raised in the characteristic attitude of barking; above this again is a circular object in the gable. Below is the inscription:

Pectillus votum quod promissit deo Nudente m(erito) dedit, 'Pectillus hereby gives the vow which he promised to the god Nudens, deservedly'. *Promissit* for *promisit* is an error of a common type; *Nudente* is for *Nudenti*; and the expansion *m(erito)* is hardly doubtful.

Published by Ormerod, *Ancient Remains of Venta*, p. 29; Bathurst, *Lydney Park*, pl. xx, no. 2; *C.I.L.* vii, 139, etc.

4. Fig. 28. Piece of lead, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 1 in., with the letters DOCCIVSF stamped on it twice. Doccius was a Lezoux potter of the Hadrian-Antonine period, and his signature, in this form, has been found in Britain (e.g. on a vessel in the British Museum). Evidently some one has taken a mould from a vessel signed by him, in a sufficiently hard material to impress it, cold, on lead. In view of the probability of a local bronze industry at Lydney, this mould was presumably in bronze, and was very likely a merely experimental casting.

Bathurst, *op. cit.*, pl. xxx, no. 5.

5. Fig. 2. Piece of sheet lead 3 in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, with an alphabet ABCDEFG[hik]l . . . neatly written on it. Later, it has been damaged by being violently forced against a coin which has left an impression whereon only the letters AVG are legible. The coin seems to have been of the fourth century.

6. Fig. 28. Oculist's stamp, of slate, found during the earlier excavations 'within a small distance of the temple of Nodens'. Three sides engraved:

(*a*) IVL IVCVNDI
COL STACTV
(*b*) IVL IVCVNDI
COLY ·:· MELINV
(*c*) IVL IVCVNDI
COLLYR. PENC

These stamps were intended to mark sticks of the same drug, Iulius Iucundus' collyrium, to be used in three ways: (*a*) in drops (*stactum*), (*b*) as an ointment mixed with honey, (*c*) to be applied as a tincture with a brush (*penicillum*).

Bathurst, *op. cit.*, pl. xxx, no. 4; *C.I.L.* vii, 1309; Espérandieu, *Cachets d'oculistes romains*, no. 87, etc. My reading of (*b*), line 2, slightly differs from other readings, but not as to the sense.

7. Fig. 28. Tiles, with the stamp L.L.Q., presumably the maker's initials, *C.I.L.* vii, 1134. One of these tiles was found in the Temple in 1928.

8. Pl. xxxiv. Forty-five bronze letters or fragments of letters, cut out of thin sheet bronze and pierced with nail-holes. Some are raised to a central ridge and neatly finished, others are very rudely cut. In height they are mostly between two and three inches. At least seven different types can be distinguished, and as it is clear that they come from at least that number of different inscriptions there is no chance of re-arranging them into a text. Votive inscriptions could no doubt be put up by visitors, purchasing such letters locally. A few are figured in Bathurst, *op. cit.*, pl. xxii. Similar letters have been found on other Roman sites, e.g. at Pfünz and Schierenhof on the German Limes (see *O.R.L.*, Lief. 14, Taf. xiv, and Lief. 7, Taf. ii).

9. Pl. xix A. Inscription in a tessellated pavement, now destroyed, but published in facsimile by Bathurst, *Lydney Park*, pl. viii. The fragmentary state of the pavement makes it very difficult to supply the lost letters with any confidence. A conventional pattern of dolphins, fishes, and geometrical ornaments occupied the main part of the pavement; along the eastern border were two lines of text, interrupted by a clay funnel for the pouring of libations (see above p. 28). The letters that are more or less complete in Bathurst's drawing are as follows.

D . . . TILVIVS SENILIS PR REL EX STIPIBVS POSSVII
O . . . . ANTE VICTORINO INTER . . I . . E

The fragments of letters in the drawing suggest that the text began DMITFLVIVS. Bathurst read '*D(eo) M(aximo) it(erum) Flavius*',

which is impossible because a local god like Nodens would not be called Maximus, and *iterum posuit* is not Latin for 'repaired' or 'renewed'. It is probable that the text was simply *D(eo) N(odenti) T(itus) Flavius*, but in that case the drawing is not to be relied upon in small details.

PR REL is obviously Flavius Senilis' rank or office. There is no need to dispute the reading. As Mommsen long ago pointed out (*C.I.L.* vii, 137), the only known office that will fit is that of *pr(aepositus) rel(iquationi classis)*, the officer in charge of a supply-depot belonging to a fleet (cf. Dessau 2764, third century; *ibid.* 9221, third century; *C.I.L.* x, 3345). Bathurst's conjecture *pr(aeses) rel(igionis)* is quite baseless, and not really Latin; for though titles like *praefectus rebus divinis*, *praefectus sacrorum*, *praetor sacrorum*, etc. are known, and though there is a well-known inscription at Cirencester in honour of 'the ancient faith' (*prisca religio*, as opposed to Christianity), *religio* cannot denote the cultus of a local temple.

EX STIPIBVS, 'out of offerings or fees', occurs elsewhere in a like context. On a temple of Mercury at Yverdun there was a notice to the effect that votive objects could be bought on the premises and affixed to the building for a fee: *dona venibunt et ex stipibus ponentur.*

INTER . . . at the end ought, by analogy, to give the rank or office of Victorinus. Hübner thought that it might give his place of origin, and read *Interamnate* 'a man from Interamna.' But there is a known military rank of *interpres*, interpreter (Domaszewski, *Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, p. 37). An *interpres* was attached to the staff of the governor of a province, and his full title, as we learn from inscriptions (*C.I.L.* iii, 10505 and 14349), was *interpres ex officio consularis.* Bathurst guessed *inter[prete La]tine*, but that is impossible; of course Victorinus knew Latin, the question might rather have been what other language he knew (cf. *C.I.L.* iii, 10505, *interpres Germanorum*). Assuming that the drawing is not to be trusted in dealing with small fragments of letters, there is nothing to prevent our reading simply INTERPRETE.

We thus get the conjectural text: *D(eo) N(odenti) T(itus) Flavius Senilis, pr(aepositus) rel(iquationi), ex stipibus possuit; o[pus cur]ante Victorino inter[pret]e.* 'To the god Nodens, Titus Flavius Senilis, officer in charge of the supply-depot of the fleet, laid this pavement out of money offerings; the work being in charge of Victorinus, interpreter on the Governor's staff.'

This text is not free from difficulties. It is generally thought that the *classis Britannica* was abolished by Diocletian; and this

view (which lacks complete certainty) does not fit with the archaeological evidence for the late fourth-century date of the Temple and that of the pavement. And it is at least curious that an intepreter on the Governor's staff should be acting as clerk of the works. It suggests that the Temple of Nodens was a much more deeply British institution than the Latin of its written dedications might lead one to suppose.

COINS

1. Note on the Coins found before 1928–9

BY J. W. E. PEARCE, F.S.A.

These amount to several thousands and are preserved together in Lord Bledisloe's cabinet. They were found mostly during the excavations of 1805, and subsequently arranged and partly described by Miss Charlotte Bathurst.[1] Owing to the displacement of several of the coins and trays it seemed inadvisable in the short time at my disposal (only four days) to attempt to check the printed list, and I contented myself with counting the coins of each emperor under their respective denominations. A close scrutiny of the mass of late coins, in particular, was impossible and for the present purpose unnecessary. They had been but little disturbed, and their original assortment had been so careful that it could be accepted in the comfortable assurance that the margin of possible error was, in any case, slight.

The following notes concern only the coins not published in Miss Bathurst's list. Of the 300 odd Tetricus I coins, I noted that only about 30 were distinctly barbarous. The others seem to come largely from 'local' mints with several varieties of portrait, but not many verge even upon the 'semi-barbarous'.

Of Claudius Gothicus, only about 20 coins are small-sized and barbarous. Nineteen of these are of the 'Consecratio'—mostly 'altar'—type.

There seems to be a smaller proportion of the extremely barbarous type of radiate coins than is usually found on other sites; which suggests that there may have been an organized, if unofficial, mint working in the neighbourhood, perhaps at Gloucester. A neatly struck coin of Constantius with *rev.* [FEL TEMP] REPARATI (*sic*) and the type of the 'warrior spearing fallen horseman' has COL. in the exergue. The lettering is good, although the coin is obviously 'unauthorized'. As a rule imitations copy one of the Gallic mint-marks or are quite illegible. But this coin is clearly distinct, and the mint-mark suggests the neighbouring *colonia*.

[1] Bathurst and King, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff.

In the earlier Constantine period the London mint is strongly represented, running Trier very close. After 320 till its close in 326 it is very much in the background with Lyons and Arles. So of 81 Constantine I *Beata tranquillitas* type that I noted, only 2 are of London, 2 of Lyons, and the rest all of Trier. There is an exception in the case of the same type of Crispus, who has 21 of London out of the 36 noted. Two of these show slight variations from J. Maurice's list in the combination of mint-mark and bust: *obv.* CRISPVS NOBIL C (1) bust, helmeted and cuir. l., with shield and spear in front, (2) bust, helmeted and cuir. r.; *rev.* (of both) BEATA TRANQVILLITAS, PLON. From mints east of Gaul, I noted only two of Aquileia and one of Thessalonica out of several hundred coins of Constantine I examined.

Little attention has been paid until recently to the coinage of the Valentinian period, which, though monotonous in type, has a most complicated system of mint-marks. I devoted considerable time to these and give a complete list of those which I was able to decipher without too much difficulty.

Valentinian I.

Gloria Romanorum. O|F II / LVGS (5), O|F II / LVGP• (3), O|F II / LVGS• (1), O|F II / R ⸙ / LVGP (1), O|F II / ⸙ / LVGS• (5), O|F II / ⸙ / LVGS (1), O|F II / S / LVGS (2), O|F II / RS / LVGP (1), O|F II / ◡ / LVGP (2), O|F II / ◡ / LVGS (6), O|F II / ◡ / LVG▒ (4), O|F II / LVGSA (4), O|F ▒ / LVGA (1), O|F II / LVGSP (16), and 18 others.

OF | I / CON (5), OF | II / CON (3), OF | I / CON✱ (4), OF | III / CON✱ (1), OF | I / CONST (4), OF | III / CONST (3), PCON (6), SCON (8), TCON (1), and 5 others.

SMAQP (1), SMAQS (3), SMAQ▒ (1), | ⸙ / SMAQP (1), | ♀ / SMAQP (1), | A / SMAQP (2), | A / SMAQS (2), | B / SMAQP (1), | B / SMAQS (2).

SM♡RT (1).

F | R / R̂ / BSISCΣ• (3), F | R / Â / BSISCS (3), F | R / Â / BSISCS• (1), F | R / Â / BSISCR (1), and 1 other.

Restitutor reip. PLVG (1), SLVG (1), and 1 other.

Securitas reipublicae.

OF\|I / CON (4), OF\|II / CON (5), OF\|III / CON (1); OF\|I / CON⁎ (6), OF\|II / CON⁎ (1), OF\|III / CON⁎ (3); OF\|I• / CON (3), OF\|II• / CON (1), OF\|III• / CON (1); OF\|I / CONST (1), OF\|III / CONST (5); N\| / PCON (3); •\| / PCON (5), •\| / SCON (1); PCON (9), SCON (20).

SMAQP (10), SMAQS (4), •SMAQS (1); ⁎\| / SMAQP (1); ♋\| / SMAQS (1); A\| / SMAQP (1); B\| / SMAQS (4); ♇\| / SMAQP (2).

SM♉RP (1), SM♉RQ (1); RSECVNDA (2).

R / R\| F / ΓSISCS•, R / R\| F / ΓSISCR; R / Å\| F / ΓSISCP (4); ⁎ / F\| S / ΔSISC (1).

Valens

Gloria Romanorum. O\|F I / LVGP (2), O\|F II / LVGS (3), O\|F II ◡ / LVGP (1); OF\|I / CON (2), OF\|II / CON (2), OF\|III / CON (2); OF\|II / CON⁎ (2), OF\|III / CON⁎ (3); OF\|I• / CON (2), OF\|II• / CON (4), OF\|III• / CON (1); OF\|II / CONST (3), OF\|III / CONST (3); TCONST (1); \|N / PCON (1); \|B / SCON (1); PCON (11), SCON (2); ▒CON (2); E\|C / PCON (1).

[With Victory type: TRP (1).]

SMAQP (4); \|♅ / SMAQP (1); \|♋ / SMAQP (1); \|⁎ / SMAQS (1); \|♇ / SMAQP (1); \|B / SMAQP (3).

RPRIMA (1), RSECVNDA (1).

Securitas reipublicae (*-ae* also ligated with mms. OF\|I CON, OF\|I •/CON, OF\|III CON*, PCON).

OF\|I LVGP (15); OF\|I LVGP• (12); OF\|I ◡/LVGP (6); OF\|I S/LVGP (1); OF\|I S/▒▒▒ 1), OF\|I S R/LVGP (1); OF\|I LVGPA (3), OF\|I LVGPD (18); C\|I LVGP (1).

OF\|I CON (9), OF\|II CON (17), OF\|III CON (2); OF\|II CON* (6), OF\|III CON* (7); OF\|I •/CON (2), OF\|II •/CON (3), OF\|III •/CON (5); •\|/SCON (1), •\|/TCON (1), •\|/▒CON (1); OF\|I CONST (7), OF\|II CONST (8), OF\|III CONST (5); TCONST (1); N\|/PCON (2); B\|/TCON (1); PCON (30), SCON (20), TCON (9), ▒CON (4); E\|C/CON (3).

TRP (1); TRP* (2), TRS* (1).

SMAQP (15), SMAQS (4), SMAQ▒ (2); •SMAQP (2); *\|/SMAQS (1); ♀\|/SMAQS (1); ♇\|/SMAQP (1); ◡\|/SMAQP (1); A\|/SMAQP (2); B\|/SMAQP (3).

SM◡RP (6), SM◡RB (1), SM◡RT (3), SM◡RQ (1), SM◡R▒ (1); RPRIMA (2), RSECVNDA (2), RTERTIA (3), RQVARTA (1).

R R̂\|F/ASISCP (2), R R̂\|F/ASISCV∈ (3), R R̂\|F/ASISCE (1), R R̂\|F/ASISCS• (1); R Â\|F/ASISCP (3), R Â\|F/ASISCV∈ (3), R Â\|F/ASISC▒ (1); A R̂\|F/ASISCE (1); *\|•/R O M/ASISC (1), *\|•/R O M/ASISCR (1).

Gratian.

Gloria novi saeculi. *Obv.* legend DN GRATIANVS AVGG AVG.

OF\|I / CON (2), OF\|II / CON (3); OF\|I / CON* (15), OF\|II / CON* (11), OF\|III / CON* (11); N\| / TCON (8); $\overline{\text{TCON}}$ (55); $\overline{\text{TCON}}$• (2).

Gloria Romanorum. With *obv.* legend DN GRATIAN—VS AVGG AVG. O\|F II / LVGS• (6); O\|F II / LVGS (2); O\|F II / LVGS• (2); O\|F II / LVGS• (2); O\|F II / LVGS (3); O\|F II / LVGSR (2); O\|F II / LVG[illegible]Ç (1); O\|F II / [illegible] (1), and 11 others.

With *obv.* legend DN GRATIA—NVS PF AVG. C\|I / LVGP (1), C\|I / LVGS (1), R\|S / LVGS (2).

V\|A / SCON (1), V\|A / TCON (1); E\|C / PCON (1), E\|C / TCON (2); $\overline{\text{TCON}}$ (3).

[With Victory type $\overline{\text{TRP}}$ (1).]

$\overline{\text{SMAQP}}$ (1); $\overline{\text{•SMAQS}}$ (1).

With *obv.* legend DN GRATIANVS PF AVG. F\|R / ΔSISCE (1), F\|R / ΔSISCƐ (3), F\|R / [illegible]SIS[illegible] (3); F\|R / ΔSISCƐ (2), F\|R / ΔS[illegible] (2); S\|* / ΓSISC (1); Q\|*\|R\|O / ΔSISCR (1); M\|* / ΓSIS[illegible] (1), and 1 other.

Securitas reipublicae. With *obv.* legend DN GRATIAN—VS AVGG AVG. OF\|I / LVGP (5); OF\|I / LVGP• (4); OF\|I / S\|R LVGP (3); OF\|I / Ɛ\|R LVGP (1); OF\|I / LVGPD (3 + ? 6), and 6 others.

With *obv.* legend DN GRATIA—NVS PF AVG. PCON (2), SCON (5, 1 with blundered *obv.* - - IN—VS), TCON (2); $\frac{E \mid C}{SCON}$ (1).

SMAQS (2); $\frac{B \mid}{\text{▒▒▒QS}}$ (1).

SM℧RP (1), SM℧RB (2), SM℧RQ (1), SM℧R▒ (1); RPRIMA (2), RSECVNDA (1).

Vot—XV—mult—XX in wreath (2, both apparently TCON).

The coins in mass seem to end very abruptly with the death of Valentinian I. Very few of Gratian can be later than 375 and, though the 'Gloria' and 'Securitas' types were struck for Valentinian II at Trier, Arles, Aquileia, Rome, and Siscia, none of these seems to have reached Lydney. The remaining years of the occupation are represented by about 30 Æ[4], 1 Æ[2], and 2 Æ. At Richborough the same years have yielded so far 11,492 coins out of a total of about 20,000.

Some statistics with regard to the Valentinian coinage may be useful. The following table shows the mints represented at Lydney with the numbers of each type struck by them for the three emperors.

Mint	*Valentinian I*		*Valens*		*Gratian*			*Total*
	'Gloria Romanorum'	*'Securitas Reipublicae'*	*'Gloria Romanorum'*	*'Securitas Reipublicae'*	*'Gloria Romanorum'*	*'Securitas Reipublicae'*	*'Gloria Novi Saeculi'*	
Trier	0	1	1	4	1	0	0	7
Lyons	71	0	6	58	37	28	0	200
Arles	37	82	41	143	8	10	140	461
Aquileia	14	25	10	32	2	3	0	86
Rome	1	4	2	20	0	9	0	36
Siscia	10	12	0	17	15	0	0	54
Doubtful	90	77	60	180	24	21	0	452
	223	201	120	454	87	71	140	1296

It is curious that the Siscia issue with $\frac{F \mid R}{\text{R}}$, which occurs most frequently in British finds, is the one common issue not noted by Voetter for the great Vesprém hoard in which the coins of this mint are in overwhelming preponderance.

2. List of Coins found in and before 1928–9 (excluding hoards)

	Found in 1928–9				*Found previously*				*Total*
	Æ	1 Æ	2 Æ	3 Æ	Æ	1 Æ	2 Æ	3 Æ	
Augustus (30 B.C.–A.D. 14)	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	3
Agrippa (*d.* 12 B.C.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Caligula (A.D. 37–41)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Claudius (A.D. 41–54)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Nero (A.D. 54–68)	—	—	—	—	2[1]	—	2	—	4
Vespasian (A.D. 69–79)	1	—	1	—	6[1]	—	5	—	13
Domitian (A.D. 81–96)	—	—	—	—	1	1	7	—	9
Nerva (A.D. 96–8)	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Trajan (A.D. 98–117)	—	—	—	—	5	5	4	—	14
Hadrian (A.D. 117–38)	—	2	2	—	4	6	5	—	19
Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–61)	—	3	—	—	2	14	2	—	21
Faustina I (*d.* A.D. 141)	—	—	1	—	2	5	—	—	8
Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–80)	—	—	—	—	2	11	3	—	16
Faustina II (A.D. 141–75)	—	—	—	—	1	7	—	—	8
Lucilla (A.D. 147–83)	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	4
Commodus (A.D. 180–92)	—	1	—	—	3	11	—	—	15
Crispina (A.D. 177–83)	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	4
Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211)	2	1	—	—	12	2	—	—	17
Julia Domna (A.D. 193–217)	1	—	—	—	3	2	—	—	6
Caracalla (A.D. 211–17)	—	—	—	—	5	1	—	—	6
Geta (A.D. 211–212)	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
Elagabalus (A.D. 218–22)	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
Caracalla or Elagabalus	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	3
Julia Maesa (*d.* A.D. 223)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Severus Alexander (A.D. 222–35)	—	—	—	—	9	2	1	—	12
Julia Mammæa (A.D. 222–35)	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
Barbia Orbiana	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Maximus (A.D. 235–8)	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Gordian III (A.D. 238–44)	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	4
? Philip I (A.D. 244–9)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Otacilia Severa (*d.* A.D. 249)	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Trebonianus Gallus (A.D. 251–3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Valerian (A.D. 253–9)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	7
Gallienus (A.D. 253–68)	—	—	—	25	—	—	—	71	96
Salonina	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	17
Valerian Junior (*d.* A.D. 257)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Postumus (A.D. 258–67)	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	16	18
Laelian (A.D. 267–8)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Marius (*d.* A.D. 268)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Victorinus (? A.D. 268–70)	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	21	34
Claudius II Gothicus (A.D. 268–70)	—	—	—	31	—	—	—	262	293
Claudius II Gothicus, consecration coins	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	4
Quintillus (A.D. 270)	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	8	9
Tetricus I (? A.D. 270–3)	—	—	—	33	—	—	—	340	373
Tetricus II (? A.D. 270–3)	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	19	34
Aurelian (A.D. 270–5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4

[1] Includes an *aureus*.

	Found in 1928–9				*Found previously*				*Total*
	Æ	1 Æ	2 Æ	3 Æ	Æ	1 Æ	2 Æ	3 Æ	
Tacitus (A.D. 275–6)	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	7	8
Florian (A.D. 276)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Probus (A.D. 276–82)	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	23	27
Carus (A.D. 282–3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Numerian (A.D. 283–4)	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	2
Radiate heads	—	—	—	17[1]	—	—	—	—	17
Barbarous radiate heads	—	—	—	25	—	—	—	9	34
Diocletian (A.D. 284–305)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	17
Maximianus Herculaeus (A.D. 286–305)	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	12	26
Carausius (A.D. 287–93)	—	—	—	24	1	—	—	55	80
Allectus (A.D. 293–6)	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	25	32
Constantius Chlorus (A.D. 293–306)	—	—	—	1	—	—	6	3	10
Helena	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	8	16
Theodora	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	3	10
Galerius (A.D. 292–311)	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4
Severus (A.D. 305–7)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Maximinus II Daza (A.D. 305–13)	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	4
Maxentius (A.D. 306–12)	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3
Licinius Senior (A.D. 307–23)	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	18	23
Licinius Junior (A.D. 317–26)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4
Constantine I (A.D. 306–37)	—	—	—	54	—	—	31	583[2]	668
Constantinopolis	—	—	—	21	—	—	—	224	245
Urbs Roma	—	—	—	24	—	—	—	5	29
Fausta	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	3
Crispus (A.D. 317–26)	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	89	99
Delmatius (A.D. 335–7)	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	3
Constantine II (A.D. 317–40)	—	—	—	40	—	—	—	395	435
Constans (A.D. 333–50)	—	—	—	83	—	—	28	825	936
Constantius II (A.D. 323–61)	—	—	2	68	1	—	29	541	641
House of Constantine	—	—	—	78	—	—	—	8	86
Magnentius (A.D. 350–3)	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	7
Decentius (A.D. 351–3)	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Constantius Gallus (A.D. 351–4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Julian (A.D. 355–63)	2	—	—	1	9	—	—	2	14
Jovian (A.D. 363–4)	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3
Valentinian I (A.D. 364–75)	—	—	—	61	1	—	—	438	500
Valens (A.D. 364–78)	2	—	—	83	2	—	—	581	668
Gratian (A.D. 367–83)	—	—	—	46	4	—	—	310	360
House of Valentinian	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	6
Valentinian II (A.D. 375–92)	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	3
Theodosius (A.D. 379–95)	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	4	7
Magnus Maximus (A.D. 383–8)	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	2
Victor (A.D. 383–88)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Arcadius (A.D. 383–408)	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	5	9
Honorius (A.D. 393–423)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
House of Theodosius	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	9	13
Fourth century unassigned	—	—	—	49	—	—	—	4	53
Minims	—	—	—	72	—	—	—	4	76
	10	7	6	943	91	78	156	4994	6285

[1] Includes two minims.

[2] Includes a few VRBS ROMA.

3. Hoard I

BY J. W. E. PEARCE F.S.A.

This hoard was found in 1928 below the flagged pavement in the north-east ambulatory of the Temple. It consists, with three earlier exceptions, of 126 coins of Constantine I and his immediate successors.

The archaeological evidence of date is as follows:

1. The hoard was certainly deposited not earlier than the building of the Temple in or after A.D. 364.

2. The lower limit of date for the deposit of the hoard cannot be determined with absolute certainty from external evidence, since, at this point, the slab-paving beneath the level of which it was found was not actually in position. The slabs had here subsided into the soft earth containing the coins; but whether this should be taken to imply that the soft earth was already there when the slabs were first laid (after A.D. 367) or whether it was due to the subsequent burial of the coins beneath the slabs, it was impossible to determine.

3. Nevertheless, if the external evidence for the date of the hoard is open to doubt, it is certain that the coins formed a true hoard. Their colouring was exceptional and distinctive, and they were all found in a single square foot of earth whilst the adjacent soil was barren on all sides.

In the following description of the hoard, 'C' refers to Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappés sous l'empire romain*, second edition. The figures in brackets indicate the numbers of coins found. Mint marks are also noted where possible. The coins were all 3 Æ, save the Marcus Aurelius which was 1 Æ.

Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–80), ? C. 807 (1).

Gallienus (A.D. 253–68), C. 1071 (1).

Postumus (A.D. 258–67), C. 199 (1).

Constantine I (A.D. 306–37), C. 20, STR (1); C. 454, PLG (1); *Constantinopolis*, C. 22, TR • P (1); barb. [T]RS • (1); *Urbs Roma*, C. 17, PCONST (1); C. 18, barb. TRP (1); with *Rev.* of Constantinopolis, barb. (1); Emp. illegible: *Gloria exercitus* (2 stand.) barb. (1); (1 stand.) 1.

Helena, C. 4 (1).

Constantine II (A.D. 317–40), C. 39, PLON (1); ? C. 122, with indecipherable overstrike (1); ? C. 113, TRS (1).

Constantius II (A.D. 323–61), C. 45 (21), PLG, ᴗPLG, SPLG,

CPLG, CSLG (2), SLVG, SL▒, SCON (2); illeg. (2); barb. (all small) RT℞ (with *obv.* —TNIVS), PPCL, TR▒, ▒RMB, C▒, illeg. (2); 4Æ, illeg. (2), C. 46 (4), TR▒, TRP, RB; illeg. (1); C. 57, PLG⁎ (or ⸙) (1); C. 182 (1); C. 293 (2); $\frac{M}{▒▒}$, illeg. (1).

Constans (A.D. 333–50), C. 11, AQP (1); C. 12 (1); ? C. 16 (1); C. 21 TRS (2); C. 53, TRP⌣ (1); C. 176 (7), $\frac{♁}{TRS}$, $\frac{♁}{▒▒}$, $\frac{D}{TR\Gamma}$, $\frac{D}{TRS}$, TRS•, $\frac{M}{PARL•}$, illeg. (1).

Constantius II or Constans. FEL TEMP REPARATIO (legionary spearing fallen horseman) (4), TRS (1), illeg. (3); VICTORIAE DD AVGG Q_NN (1); barbarous 'Fallen horseman' type, 3 Æ (mostly small) (20). *Obv.* generally illegible or meaningless. One with D N CONSTAN... is an overstrike on an unrecognizable type; one has DNN CON...; one or two seem to be blundered attempts at a Constantinian name. There are 5 other overstrikes, all on Constantinian coins; of these, 3 are on GLORIA EXERCITVS, one standard, and 1 on the two-standard type. The 'Fallen horsemen' type is clearly recognizable in most of these barbarous imitations, although often the smallness of the flan allows only part of the type to be shown. One coin, however, is put here very hesitatingly. The type shows something like a rude cross, of which two diagonally opposite limbs have hammer ends. There is a sister coin with *Rev.* apparently from the same die found previously on the same site. The type may possibly be derived from the outstretched arms of the rider, 4Æ (16). Only one has a legible *obv.* DN CONSTA.... One shows the rider only. Barbarous 'Emperor on galley' type, 2Æ (1).

Constantius Gallus (A.D. 351–4), C. 43, RSLG (1).

Magnentius (A.D. 350–3), ? C. 6 (2, of which 1 barb. PMR); C. 29 (2), AMB (1); the other is barb. and apparently overstruck on a 'radiate' coin; C. 69 (2), AMB, RB; C. 71 (2), ▒PLG (1); one cut down from a larger coin. Not in C. *Obv.* IM CAE MAGNENTIVS; *rev.* VICTOR l. Emp. st. l. i, with Vict. on globe and standard (semi-barb.).

Decentius (A.D. 351–3), C. 12, ▒VC (1); C. 14, TRS (1); C. 34 (2, but barb.), TRS, RSLG.

Magnentius or Decentius. SALVS DD NN type, TRS (1); AVG ET CAES VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAES type (1 barb.).

An analysis of the hoard shows us that we have 3 completely obsolete coins, 4 of the mid-period of Constantine I, 12 of his latter period, 12 of the early reign of his sons, while the rest consist of the two denominations of the reform of *c.* 348 (barbarous imitations for the most part) and 7 overstruck on slightly earlier coins.

This hoard is of greater interest than a mere list of its contents might indicate. As has already been stated, it cannot, on external evidence, be earlier than 364 (the earliest possible date for the Temple), and is unlikely to be earlier than 367 (the *terminus post quem* for the associated group of buildings). The internal evidence of the hoard itself might readily suggest a somewhat earlier date for its deposit. The absence of Valentinian coinage, which elsewhere is extremely plentiful on the site, is noteworthy, and the absence of any coins of Julian (355–63), though less decisive, may also be observed. On these grounds, internal evidence alone would be consistent with a date of deposit some ten years earlier than the external evidence demands.

The only argument from the internal evidence against so early a hypothetical date might have been the unlikelihood of so rapid a deterioration as we see here in the barbarous imitations of the 'fallen horseman' type within the short period thus presupposed after the introduction of that type by the official mints about 348. Even if, as we must, we extend the date of the deposit to *circa* 365–70, the deterioration of the type in question on the barbarous coins in the hoard is still remarkable. The forms under which the type appears on these coins are either (1) a more or less recognizable imitation of the authorized type, often extremely barbarous but still obvious; or (2) a part only of the whole design, sometimes the legionary, more often the horseman. In this second category, the selection may sometimes be due to the accident of the flan being too small for the die, but in other cases is clearly due to deliberate selection. Some extreme cases occur in the hoard in which there is little to justify the classification under this type except the context and the certainty that it can at least be no other type.

These two classes are formed of every size from 3Æ to the smallest 4Æ.

To these two categories may be added a third class in which the type is sometimes overstruck—nearly always in an extremely barbarous form—on a legitimate coin, generally a *Gloria Exercitus* but also on the *Victoriae dd augg q nn* of the immediately preceding issue. In some thirty instances (from various sites) which I have myself met with, the *Obv.* name is never legible, but the traces of

lettering, such as it is, are more compatible with an attempt at a Constantinian name than at any other. However, Mr. Salisbury has read IVL on one of this class from Richborough. The evidence, then, so far as it goes—and it is backed up decisively by our present hoard—tends to show that this class is not to be dissociated in time or occasion from those mentioned before. So far as I know it is never seen with Valentinian coins. All the three classes enumerated above occur in this hoard.

Why these barbarous coins are so peculiarly typical of this period we can only conjecture. It may be urged that a commercially active province like Britain, with no known official mint of its own at this period, might be compelled on occasion to supply its everyday needs by individual effort, and the style of the coins turned out—rarely any two traceable to the same die—rather suggests that, *c.* 350, the island was to a certain extent reduced in this way to dependency upon local and amateurish mints. The elusive evidence of the Codex Theodosianus (352) on the *pecuniae vetitae* may help to explain. The vast coinage of the later years of Constantine I—still fairly recent and unworn—is comparatively little represented in our hoard, and if these and the still more recent *Victoriae dd*, etc., are the *vetitae*, we can explain both the incentive to the new coinage as well as the source of the metal from which it was supplied. The overstrikes would be simply an easier alternative to the more difficult task of melting down the metal and making a brand-new coin. That the easier was not more commonly adopted may be due to the fact that the demonetized coin still showed beneath the overstrike and might naturally be regarded still as *vetita*.

Numismatically, therefore, the importance of the hoard is in summary this: it shows quite clearly the freedom with which within 20 years or less of the official issue of the 'fallen horseman' type, barbarous copies of it, even in their most degraded form, were already current in Britain. The hoard also suggests that this barbaric currency preceded the general circulation of the issues of Valentinian which are absent from it, although abundant elsewhere on the site. It is clear that, about or shortly after the middle of the fourth century, there was a period of dearth or confusion in the coinage of Britain, and it was found necessary (as towards the end of the previous century) to supplement the official issues by locally-struck 'pfennige' which often bore but slight resemblance to their prototypes.

4. Hoard II

BY T. V. WHEELER, F.S.A.

This hoard was found in 1929 in room XXXVIII of the Bath-building. It had been deposited against the broken edge of the original mosaic floor which, at the time of its deposition, had reached an advanced state of decay (pl. xxxv). Only the plain border of large sandstone tesserae and little more than the bare corner of a design (in blue and white) of small tesserae remained *in situ*. The hoard was found in a very restricted area; it occupied no more room than could be encompassed by two cupped hands. The soil round it was noticeably dark and, together with the confined area of discovery, strongly suggested that the coins had been dropped or deposited in a purse or covering which has since perished.

Subsequent to the deposition of the hoard, the floor of the room had been repaired. Patches of poor, whitish cement were inserted into cavities in the pavement to bring the floor to an even surface with the broken edges of the original mosaic. One such patch completely sealed the hoard, which was only discovered upon the careful removal of the cement.

Reference to the diagram (pl. XXXVB) will show that the tesserae and their bedding alone had suffered damage. The iron-hard concrete upon which the mosaic floor has been founded was everywhere intact.

The hoard (pl. xxxvi) consists of 1,646 coins, fragments of coins, and pieces of corroded bronze. For purposes of description, it has been somewhat arbitrarily divided into nine categories, lettered A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and J, as follows:

Class A. Sixteen clippings of normal or semi-barbarous copies of Constantinian 3Æs. No reverse type which can be identified is of a date later than 360.

Class B. 132 clippings of recognizable fragments of barbarous imitations of similar fourth-century coins and of equal denomination with them.

It may here be emphasized that in the whole hoard there is not a single complete specimen of a regulation 3rd brass or of an equivalent barbarous copy.

Class C. Of four irregular denominations of *minimi*,[1] the largest

[1] The *minimi* have here been classified entirely by eye. Their average weights have been found to be: C = 0·437; D = 0·245; E = 0·116, and F = 0·056 grammes. No stress can be laid on the classification, but it is interesting to note how closely they approximate to the descending values of 0·48, 0·24, 0·12 and 0·06 grammes.

(average diameter, 7½ mm.; average weight, 0·437 grammes) are no larger than the coins to which the name *minim* is usually attached. Of these, there are 99.

Class D. Of the second size (average diameter, 6 mm.; average weight, 0·245 grammes) there are 352.

Class E. Of the third (average diameter, 3·5 mm.; average weight, 0·1162 grammes) there are 643.

Class F. These are the smallest *minimi*, of diameters varying from 2·5–3 mm. and an average weight of 0·0565 grammes. Fifty-one of the total of 147 sit quite easily on the surface of a halfpenny.

Class G consists of a group of 14 fragments of coins and *minimi* stuck together as found. All the other coins in the plate washed out singly from the dark earth in which they were discovered; the adherence is due rather to percolation of the overlying cement than to corrosion or fire.

Class H is a group of 60 coins of varying 'denominations' which show peculiarities in the method of manufacture (see p. 129).

Class J consists of broken pieces of metal, some quite obviously from coins, others unintelligible but of such a rough and corroded nature as to warrant their exclusion from the other categories. On the other hand, they are not unworked lumps of molten metal.

Class A

Pl. xxxvii.[1] Fifteen of the sixteen fragments of normal Constantinian 3Æs or of good semi-barbarous copies are here illustrated. The obverses in every case show diademed heads, r., and parts of legends such as . . , CON . . . , ... ST . . . , . . . STAN . . . . , ... TIVS or NVS . . . . , ... VS . N . . . . and . . . , AVG. Of the reverses, three are of the VICTORIAE DD AVGG Q NN type, with fragments of the legends readable. Six can be assigned with certainty as belonging to the FEL TEMP REPARATIO (legionary spearing fallen horseman) type; in four cases, the legend is plain. Another reverse, with CON obverse, may be of this type. Two (one overstruck apparently with *Fel. Temp.*) are GLORIA EXERCITVS (one standard); one of these bears the mint-mark PARL. Of the rest, the reverses are too fragmentary to be determined with accuracy.

Emphasis must again be laid on the fact that there is no

[1] This plate purports to illustrate particularly the method of breaking or clipping the fragments of classes A and B; therefore, the obverse or reverse which best shows this feature is here selected. For example, of class A, nos. 1, 3, 7, 13, 15 are reverses; nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14 are obverses.

example of a complete flan. Each piece in this class consists of a fragment of the normal coin, fashioned either by cutting or breaking the coin segmentally, or by clipping to obtain a roughly circular outline. The latter method is the more usual and an examination shows the mark of the tool, a cold chisel or some such instrument. The fragments are not of equal size, and few can be even roughly equated with the categories into which the *minimi* have been somewhat arbitrarily divided.

A 1. *Obv.* Diademed head, r. ; ? overstruck remains of inscription. *Rev. Fel. Temp.*, semi-barbarous. ; clipped round ; weight = 0·675 grammes.

A 2. *Obv.* . . . . . STAN . . . . Diademed head, r. *Rev.* Victories type ; one quarter of 3Æ ; weight = 0·525 grammes.

A 3. *Obv.* Part of diademed head, r. *Rev. Gloria Exercitus* type ; mint-mark PARL ; segment of 3Æ ; weight = 0·275 grammes.

A 4. *Obv.* . . . . . AVG . . . and part of bust, r. *Rev.* GL . . . . . Also r. upstanding figure and overstrike to left, probably *Fel. Temp.* over *Gloria Exercitus* ; semi-barbarous and clipped round ; weight = 0·245 grammes.

A 5. *Obv.* Part of head, diademed, r. *Rev.* Two legs of legionary spearing fallen horseman and remains of mint-mark T ; semi-barbarous and clipped ; weight = 0·300 grammes.

A 6. *Obv.* . . . . VS N . . . . ; remains of diademed head, r. *Rev.* ? MT . . . overstruck on R . . . , very worn, semi-barbarous, clipped round ; weight = 0·370 grammes.

A 7. *Obv.* Worn nearly flat, back of diademed head. *Rev.* [VICTORIAE] DD A [VGG Q NN] ; part of Victories type, 3Æ clipped round ; weight = 0·265 grammes.

A 8. *Obv.* Part of diademed head, r. *Rev.* [FEL TE]MP RE [PARATIO] . . . ; part of *Fel. Temp.* ; semi-barbarous segment ; weight = 0·635 grammes.

A 9. *Obv.* . . . . . STAN . . . Back of diademed head, r. *Rev.* [FEL TEMP] REP[ARATIO] Usual *Fel. Temp.* ; 3Æ, clipped round ; weight = 0·345 grammes.

A 10. *Obv.* . . . . . CONST . . . ; ribbons, diadem of head, r. *Rev.* A or N. ? type ; 3Æ or perhaps semi-barbarous, clipped round, very worn ; weight = 0·180 grammes.

A 11. *Obv.* . . . ST . . . . in good letters. *Rev.* . . . . ATI or AN . . . ? type ; semi-barbarous, clipped after breaking coin segmentally ; weight = 0·145 grammes.

A 12. *Obv.* Beading and top of legend, not decipherable. *Rev.* beading and FEL of *Fel. Temp.* Broken fragment of 3Æ ; weight = 0·235 grammes.

A 13. *Obv.* Back of diademed head, r. *Rev.* . . RIAE . . .

presumably of Victories type. Segment of 3Æ, clipped smaller after breaking ; weight = 0·230 grammes.

A 14. *Obv.* . . . . . CONS . . . . in good lettering. *Rev.* N and part of an unrecognizable design. The fragment is cut from and includes the outer edge of a good 3Æ.

A 15. *Obv.* Part of diademed head, r. *Rev.* . . . . . FEL . . . . Semi-barbarous *Fel. Temp.* design in very high relief; clipped all round ; weight = 0·180 grammes.

Class B

Pl. xxxvii. Class B comprises at least 132 fragments of barbarous 3Æs and to them the same generalizations which have been made in respect of class A apply.

The biggest of the fragments (no. 1) is 1·15 cm. in diameter, larger than any *minimus* proper ; whilst the smallest (generally rectangular clippings) weigh as little as 0·03 grammes, less than the average weight (0·056 grammes) of the smallest (class F) *minimi*; neither weight nor size (which present every possible variation in the group, see pl. xxxvi) can be brought strictly into relation with the present categories of *minimi.*

Where recognizable (and lack of certainty is due less to wear than to the small size of the fragment), the obverse heads are all diademed, right, again with a wide range of portraiture and stylization. The 'spikes' on no. 1 are, on close examination, less an attempt at a radiate crown than a memory of an inscription. Apart from no. 8, which is a *Gloria Exercitus*, the only recognizable reverses (notably nos. 11 and 16) are of the *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* type.

The other faces of these B class coins are not illustrated. It may be noted, however, that the reverse of no. 5 consists of the rather large letters . . . PRE . . . with the upraised arm of the legionary below them ; on the second face of no. 14 appear the very barbaric letters . . . SINO . . . . ; CON is plain on the obverse of no. 16, and, with part of the falling horse, the letters LT can be seen on no. 18.

Among those not illustrated, one circular clipped fragment bears the inscription . . . . SPLF . . . on the obverse, ... RATI . . on the reverse ; another, with a diademed head, right, shows TINO or RIVO on the reverse, which is not otherwise readable ; on others . . TAN . ., . ANSP . . . . Only one (of those not illustrated) is possibly not of the *Fel. Temp.* type. It bears, on the reverse, the letters TINO or TIVS and a small figure apparently lunging left.

The manner of reducing the barbarous 3Æs to their present size

lacks uniformity. The examples illustrated show the general methods employed. Nos. 1–10 reveal the marks of the cold chisel in attempts to produce a circular fragment from a large flan. Nos. 11, 12, 15, and 20 are broken fragments of normal coins. Nos. 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, and 21 are irregularly cut fragments. No. 13 is very roughly cut and broken; while, as has been said, the smallest fragments are, for the most part, rectangular clippings.

Class C

(Average weight 0·437 grammes; average diameter 7·5 mm.)

Of the 99 coins which fall approximately into this class, 80 are here illustrated (pls. xxxviii–xli). The flans are no larger and often somewhat smaller than those modules to which the name *minimus* is usually given.

Pl. xxxviii is fully representative of the recognizable obverses in this class and their derivatives. Upwards of 30 obverses have been struck from dies suitable for a normal 3Æ flan; part only, therefore, of the head is present. Nos. 1–15 are typical. The heads range from an almost recognizable portrait (of passable craftsmanship) of Constans or Constantius through the infinite variety of heads usually found on barbarous fourth-century coinage. In each case, the head is right, and is generally diademed.

A series of 14 obverses with small and, in some cases, complete portrait-heads is remarkable. The flan of no. 17 measures only 8·5 mm. and yet bears a bare-headed portrait nearly related to the size of the flan. With the diademed head of no. 18 there are clear indications of a cuirassed bust.

In nos. 26–30 the design is highly conventionalized but generally unmistakable. The intention (bust or head, bare or diademed, right) is expressed by an emphasis of the diadem and eye, as in nos. 26 and 37; by the curve of the ear, hair, and eyebrow (no. 32); or by a stiff but vivid representation of hair and eye (no. 39). All degrees of 'spikiness' of the hair again are apparent and would seem to give added weight to the suggestion that many of the 'spikes' derive from the stiffly stylized hair of the fourth-century barbarics.[1] No. 32 remotely suggests that stylization which seems to be converted in the later *sceattas* into a bird. The identification of no. 40 as an obverse rests solely

[1] It is conceivable but unproven that a prototype is the bound and diademed head of Constantine I, illustrated in pl. xxiii, no. 14, of J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*.

on the fact that the coin bears part of *Fel. Temp.* design as reverse. No emphasis is to be laid on this identification since nos. 68 and 72 (pls. XL, XLI) might be thought to bear a *Fel. Temp.* design on both obverse and reverse.

Pl. XXXIX illustrates the reverses of the 40 coins just discussed. The predominance of the *Fel. Temp.* design or of some part of it is notable. The dies used were similar to, if not actually those of, the fourth-century 'barbarics'. The fact that only a part of the design appears on the flan suggests that many of the dies used were intended to strike 3Æs. The skirted figure of the legionary at least (nos. 2, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 26), with arm upraised and thrusting spear, is shown, with declining artistic understanding on nos. 15, 24, 25, and perhaps 37. The horse and its rider, with or without arms outstretched, are prominent in nos. 2, 7, 8, 17, 28, 31, 33, 36, and 40, while nos. 18, 21, 29, 34 may reasonably be interpreted as derivatives. The very distinct cross on no. 27 falls into place in the series as the extended right arm and spear of the legionary whose form is faintly visible to the right of the flan. The hind quarters of the horse are recognizable on no. 3. The animal on no. 30 has more the mane of a lion or ruff of a poodle, but is clearly intended for a horse of the type. Indeed, in every case where any sensible suggestion as to type can be made, the reverse can be related to some part of the *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* design.

Pls. XL and XLI illustrate a further series of this class of which the interpretation is not so readily apparent. The photographic magnification does much, in many cases, to lessen the difficulties of ascription. Heads or faces right, diademed, or bare only, occur on those obverses which are definite.

In the reverses (pl. XLI) the influence of the *Fel. Temp.* design predominates. Nos. 41 and 42 alone seem to fall outside this type, but their interpretation is quite uncertain.

Nos. 46, 68, 75, 80 convey a clear impression of the skirted figure of the legionary and of some part of the horse; the legionary alone on nos. 69 and 70. The hind quarters of the horse can be recognized in nos. 53, possibly in 60, 67, 72, 75. The horse and rider are apparent on nos. 66, 71, and 79. Well-modelled heads of horses (totally unrelated to their normal place in the design) appear on nos. 77 and 78. For the rest, the least said the soonest mended.

One notable feature of this class of coins is brought out clearly in the illustration:

The majority of the c class coins are reasonably round in form. The general question of manufacture will be discussed later (p. 129),

but nos. 45 and 61–5 are representative of those modules which do not conform to the general type. There is an insouciance about the preparation of the flan which is striking. In this smaller number of cases (about 10 per cent.), any piece of rough metal has been considered adequate to take the die—with unhappy and not very intelligible results.

As has been already mentioned, a further point to be noticed is the apparent occurrence of some part of the *Fel. Temp.* scheme on both obverse and reverse of nos. 68 and 72. With the possible exception of nos. 42 and, doubtfully, 69, the dies used were similar to, if not actually those of, the ordinary Constantinian 'barbarics', high in relief and spirited in design. The fact that there is only a part of the type on the flan goes to show that most of the dies were intended to strike 3 Æs. In barely two instances have the coins been struck from the same die. The designs range from types of complete intelligibility to a few, doubtfully recognizable, strokes. The die-cutter of the latter type again seems to have been most impressed with the horse and rider or with the arm and spear of the legionary. Either of these, in an ultimate simplified form, could be expressed in a cross.

An analysis of the reverses shows, in 46 cases, some easily recognizable part of the *Fel. Temp.* type; 20 more are probably *Fel. Temp.* at least in inspiration; for the moment their interpretation may be left open with a balance in favour of the *Fel. Temp.* reverse in mind; 31 are not identified and are barely identifiable, generally because the relief is too low. A classification of these coins would be largely guesswork and scarcely profitable. Cracking and corrosion have affected only a few specimens. The standard of preservation (and this applies to the whole hoard) is exceptionally high.

Only the two coins already mentioned do not appear to be related to the *Fel. Temp.* type, and of either of these (nos. 41 and 42) the true ascription is by no means certain.

Class D

(Average weight 0·245 grammes; average diameter 6 mm.)

Of the 352 coins which fall approximately into this class, 96 are illustrated as representative alike of the recognizable types and of those designs which are clear but of which the ascription is less certain.

Pl. XLII shows a series of obverses and what tentatively may be called schematic attempts at reproducing some part of similar

obverses. Where the head is identifiable, it is generally a diademed head, right (at least in intent), of normal fourth-century character; in the case of nos. 2 and 11, there is a doubtful hint of a bearded head, but the majority are unmistakably of fourth-century type. While in no case is the flan large enough to take the whole head-impression, it is clear that the dies from which they were struck were smaller than those normally used for the 3 and 4 Æs coinage.

The 'derivations' are interesting and debatable. Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 29, 30, 37, 40 show a stylization of eye, ear, and diadem. The spikiness of the conventional hair of nos. 3, 9, 12, 20, and again 29, rather suggests that the spiked branches of, for instance, nos. 23 and 36 are really an attempt to portray hair and diadem in a manner which, at first sight, is not so easily apparent as it is in the case of no 17. The enlarged knobs on no. 27 are possibly no more than an emphasis of the bead-border to be seen round the diademed head of no. 34. In regard to no. 28, as in other examples, it is not easy even to determine obverse from reverse.

Pl. XLIII illustrates the reverses of the coins illustrated on pl. XLII. No. 6 has traces of an inscription in barbaric lettering. For the rest, the identifiable reverses show some part of the *Fel. Temp.* design. The skirted figure of the legionary, the right knee sometimes bent, is discernible on nos. 1, 3, 17, 19, 25, 36 and, perhaps, 12, 20, 42. The upper part of a figure on no. 24 might belong to the same type, or might possibly be reminiscent of the *Victoriae dd augg q nn* reverse. A reference to pl. [XXXIX]. nos. 33 and 34, I think, may suggest that nos. 37 and 38 really represent a memory of the horse of the *Fel. Temp.* kind which appears more clearly on no. 11. That no. 39 (a vigorous figure, apparently helmeted, right arm upraised, striding right) should belong to the same category is less likely, but unless it, again, is related to the *Victoriae dd augg q nn* reverse, it is not easy to determine its intent.

Pl. XLIV again represents the D category and shows a series (with all reserve) of reverses. The *Fel. Temp.* reverse, or some part of it, predominates. The skirted figure of the legionary and his spear are clear enough on nos. 43–51; nos. 52–3 might possibly be a conventionalization of the same idea. Nos. 55–9 show the rider and his horse. In successive degrees of degradation, nos. 61–8, 74, 75 may be thought to represent the same feature. The figures with arms outstretched in nos. 79, 80 are the rider perhaps in the act of falling; nos. 81 and 82 may be related to them. Nos. 60 and 85 are plainly heads of a horse; 86 is the head of a horse, looking right; nos. 69 and 71 represent a part of the same animal.

Indeed, where the design has meaning at all (see no. 89 with its attempted inscription), it can be read into some part of the *Fel. Temp.* type. The designs of nos. 91, 93, and 94 are distinct but the source of their inspiration is to be sought possibly in some other reverse than the *Fel. Temp.* Had the *Providentia Caes.* reverse been present in the hoard, one would have suggested it as the prototype of perhaps no. 91; but in the absence of a sequence of types from the good Roman to the conventionalization of the *minimi* even such a guess can scarcely be hazarded.

Pl. XLV shows the 'obverses' of pl. XLIV. They call for no further comment than that, again, no true 'radiate crown' is discernible. It will also be seen that distinction between obverse and reverse is by no means certain in every case.

CLASS E

(Average weight 0·1162 grammes; average diameter 3·5 mm.)

Pl. XLVI. The obverse 'portraits' again show immense variation in fourth-century style. No. 8 (the back of a diademed head, right, within a stylized inscription) might well, with perhaps nos. 4 and 63 and other fragmentary obverses, have been struck from a 3 or 4Æ die. Nos. 2, 3 are strikingly similar, but minor points of difference in these heads seem to preclude their having been struck from the same die; were portraiture in question, one would not hesitate to ascribe them at any rate to the same craftsman. The design of no. 62, if it is a head, as from the reverse it would seem to be, is remarkably small, and in any case, a complete contrast to the advanced stylization, again insistent on eye (particularly no. 5), or eye, diadem, and hair (nos. 11, 12, 15, 19, 26), which can be recognized in other specimens. After reviewing so many cases of degradation of the portrait, it may well be that the majority of surfaces illustrated in this plate are indeed obverses. Nos. 64–108 are thus identified because their second faces are more likely to be derived from some (not yet recognizable) reverse type than not; but the ascription is made with all reserve.[1] Indeed, no. 52 might easily, if turned upside down, be brought into the *Fel. Temp.* series showing the skirt of the legionary and the rump of the horse. As its second face is almost blank, the interpretation, at the moment, is a matter of choice.

Pl. XLVII illustrates the second faces or 'reverses' of those E coins in pl. XLVI. The only determinable reverse type is again

[1] The magnified photograph suggests what the eye failed to see, that the 'reverse' of no. 16 (see pl. XLVII), if turned round, better represents a stylized eye and hair of an obverse.

the *Fel. Temp.* Some part of the horse and/or rider appears with surprising clarity on nos. 3, 13, 24, 39, 50, 62, and possibly 26, 86, 103, and 104. The skirt of the legionary and/or his spear occur on nos. 8, 28, 36, 43, and perhaps 17, 55. There is a sufficient number of degraded forms to suggest that no. 70 is closely related to this last series. If that ascription is accepted, then it would be easy enough to bring some, at least, of those reverses showing irregularly intersecting lines in some form of cross or lattice (nos. 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, and so on ; compare also pl. XLIV, 91) into the same category. At first glance, the relationship is admittedly remote and may not have a real justification. On the other hand, there is still less sanction, having regard to the actual composition of the hoard, to suggest any of the other fourth-century reverses as their prototypes.

The E class coins (643 in all) form over one-third of the total hoard. The presence of a quantity of such a small 'denomination' (the average weight, be it remembered, is 0·1162 grammes and the average diameter 3·5 mm.) is indeed surprising. It is to be regretted that the greater proportion of these *minimi*, though struck, bears little resemblance to any recognizable design. The 108 specimens (pls. XLVI and XLVII) were chosen for illustration as bearing the maximum pattern ; and even here blank or almost blank faces are present.

CLASS F

(Average weight 0·0565 grammes ; average diameter 2.75 mm.)

It will be seen from pl. XXXVI that 51 of these '*minimissimi*' rest easily on the surface of a halfpenny. It is remarkable that while barely half a dozen give any hint of the prototype from which they are derived, the majority are not merely flattened discs of bronze but are struck from some (almost inconceivably small) die and do in fact bear some part of a design. An attempt to differentiate between obverse and reverse surfaces has not been successful.

An examination of the types on the larger *minimi* makes the identification of no. 3 (pl. XLVIII) as a horse certain. No. 2 may have the same inspiration. No. 11 might be the skirt of the *Fel. Temp.* legionary ; no. 72, on analogy, may be representative of the same type. On pl. XLIX, nos. 29, 37, and 49 are parts of heads, right ; whilst no. 62 suggests the legs and skirt of the legionary. Suggestions need not be lacking in many cases ; certainty assuredly is, and until other coins of a similar nature are found and studied as a basis of comparison, further comment or tentative ascription

of this extraordinarily interesting series would seem to serve no useful pupose.

Summary of Types

This detailed examination of the hoard discloses the following facts.

1. Only one reverse type on the *minimi*, albeit in every form of stylization and degradation, emerges with definite and precise identification, namely, the *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* design of the legionary spearing the fallen horseman, a type whose life, on the 3Æ coinage, is usually placed between the years 340 or 345 and 360. Some of the attributions to certain elements of the type, taken by themselves, would be almost unbelievable, but ranged in a degenerating series are certain and clear.

2. No absolutely definite example of a true radiate crown can be isolated from the obverse 'portraits' in which, as already remarked, the spikiness can quite legitimately be interpreted as an ignorant rendering of the stiff hair, and occasionally of a little comprehended legend. All certain obverses are heads, diademed or bare, right.

3. On the broken or clipped fragments of fourth-century good, semi-barbarous or barbarous coins, the reverse types of *Gloria Exercitus* (330–5), *Victoriae dd augg q nn* (337–40 or perhaps a little wider), *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* (340–60) are all of the middle rather than the later part of the fourth century; while every determinable obverse on these same fragments belongs to the house of Constantine. The answer to the larger question of the reason for the persistence of these earlier fourth-century types is yet to seek.

4. It is curious that no reverse of any *minimus* can definitely be ascribed to an *Urbs Roma* prototype, yet this design together with the Victory (VOT XX) and, as Mr. Salisbury has shown,[1] the *Fel. Temp.* were undoubtedly the source of inspiration of some few of the seventh or eighth-century *sceattas*.

5. It is here convenient to recall that coins[2] similar to those which constitute the hoard were found also elsewhere upon the Lydney site, in such stratified positions as to indicate that they were not strays from a broken entity. These other coins were:

(i) Minim (class D), under top slabs of the courtyard of the Guest-house.

[1] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th series, vol. vii, p. 119, and for general types, *B.M. Catalogue of English Coins*, i, xiii.

[2] It is pleasant to record, as a tribute to our workmen, that several of the smaller minims were found in other parts of the excavations before the discovery of hoard II.

(ii) Segment of fourth-century coin (class A) in a repair to the tesserae in room XXX of the Guest-house.

(iii) Minim (class E) in a repair to the broken mosaic pavement in room XLVIII of the Long Building.

(iv) On the rock surface below the latest road in entrance A were found, in a group suggesting contemporary loss:

1. Valens or Valentinian (3Æ).
2. *Fel. Temp.* (4Æ).
3. Minim (class C).
4 and 5. Two minims (class E).

(v) Elsewhere below the latest road surface:

1. Constantinian *Victoriae dd augg q nn.*
2. Clipped good Constantius.
3. Barbaric Constans.
4. Minim (class D).
5. Minim (class E).

Date of the Hoard

(a) *Archaeological Evidence*

To estimate a *milieu* in which the hoard was made and used, apparently as a currency, a restatement of the main outlines of the history of the Lydney Temple-settlement in which it was found is necessary. The important points in this connexion are the following:

(i) The buildings of the Temple-settlement have been proved, on secure evidence, to have been built not earlier than 367.

(ii) For some time after its foundation, the settlement itself flourished exceedingly, as is shown both by the abundance of minor relics found there and by certain structural improvements and enrichments, the latter including the addition of elaborate mosaic floors in several rooms which had hitherto lacked them.

(iii) A review of the coins from the site shows its contact with the Roman world until after the accession of Honorius, i.e. approximately until after the cessation of the minting of copper coinage in the western empire. On coin evidence alone, the history of the Temple-group is therefore carried into the last decade of the fourth century.

(iv) At some period subsequent to the aggrandisement of the buildings, they fell into a state of decay. In particular, certain of the mosaic pavements became ruinous, and it was in a cavity thus formed in one of the mosaics of the Bath-building that the coin-hoard was dropped or concealed.

Subsequently, again, this cavity, like similar cavities in other pavements in the settlement, was levelled by the insertion of

rough cement which sealed the hoard. This cement, though Roman in character, was coarse and poor, made evidently by men still in touch with the Roman tradition though in a degraded form.

The presence of this covering of cement makes it clear that the hoard was lost during the active (if impoverished) occupation of the site, and was not an accidental intrusion of some later date.

(v) That the site was still occupied after the Roman period is proved archaeologically by the ascertained fact that the prehistoric earthwork, within a part of which the Temple-settlement had been built, was reinforced and extended by means of material containing late Roman relics. This reinforcement of the earthwork is entirely un-Roman in character and clearly represents at least a partial reversion of the population to a barbarism of a prehistoric native type. To this phase of decadence may be ascribed a remarkable bronze brooch of fifth-century form, now preserved at Lydney Park (above, p. 79).

In summary, the archaeological evidence amounts to this:

The Temple-settlement was founded within forty-three years of the severance of Britain from Rome; during that short period of time it was elaborated and, in accordance with the standards of the time and place, attracted considerable wealth; it later decayed, and not until the process of decay had reached an advanced stage was our hoard deposited. It is, in my view, difficult to compress the whole of this varied sequence of events into the three de-decades of the fourth century. We are, I think, compelled on archaeological grounds to carry the deposition of the hoard into the fifth century into which, as we know, again from archaeological evidence, the occupation continued. On the other hand, the hoard, as is shown by its cement covering, was deposited during the continuous history of the site and is not a subsequent intrusion.

(b) *Stylistic Comparison*

Mr. Salisbury has already pointed out a possible derivation of the dragon series of Anglo-Saxon *sceattas*[1] from the *Fel. Temp.* type. Of these, he says: 'On many of the barbarous copies [of Roman 3Æs], the flans are reduced and only the horseman appears. The energetic design seems to have arrested the eye of the Saxon conquerors who found these coins still in use, and perhaps used them themselves until they began to strike money of their own. Some *sceattas* show traces of the legionary, others develop the element of the spear more strongly, on others the rider is metamorphosed into wings and a sort of Pegasus type results. . . . If

[1] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th series, vii, 119.

this derivation is accepted, the result is to bring the series [of *sceatta* reverses] into the Roman tradition, to which it has long been recognized (C. F. Keary, *B.M. Catalogue of English Coins*, Introduction) that all the other types directly or indirectly belong.'

The Lydney hoard II, with its preponderant *Fel. Temp.* types in degraded form, helps Mr. Salisbury's hypothesis at least to the extent of providing a partial analogy for the process of devolution illustrated by the *sceattas*. A comparison between the *Fel. Temp. minimi* within the hoard, however, and the design on the *sceattas* shows at once a marked difference in artistic standards and capabilities.

In the case of the *sceattas*, a new artistic impulse has taken a design or memory of a design and has energized it into a spirited, well-wrought pattern. The memory of the same type, as preserved in the Lydney *minimi*, shows little or nothing of this new informing spirit. Rather does it seem to represent the progressive deterioration of an outworn tradition amongst a population which is itself on the down grade and remote from external stimulus.

In other words, from a stylistic no less than from an archaeological standpoint, the character of the Lydney hoard is just such as we should expect to find in the sub-Roman environment which, on general historical grounds, may be supposed, if anywhere, to have subsisted in the fifth century in the lands bordering upon the Severn. Here, to the westward of the earlier Saxon invasions and to the eastward of the main area of Irish raid and settlement, Gildas tells of sub-Roman kingdoms in the fifth and sixth centuries. Here, on general grounds, as Haverfield long ago pointed out, we should expect to find lingering traces of sub-Roman life during the century following the rescript of Honorius. To that century, perhaps to the earlier part of it, I venture provisionally to ascribe the Lydney hoard.

Method of Manufacture

BY D. A. CASEY, F.S.A.

The hoard coins are, on the whole, crudely made. Many of them are no more than irregular lumps of metal flattened with a hammer and struck with a die. A few have been trimmed roughly round, either before or after striking.

There are, however, a very large number of D, E, and F coins which are remarkably regular in shape. They are well rounded, with clean-cut flat edges forming a distinct angle with the face. How this comparative perfection of shape was achieved in such

small coins calls for explanation, especially as one must presume that they have been made with the simplest of tools. It is most striking in the F coins, but it is remarkable enough even in size D.

At first sight, it would almost seem that they have been punched out of a sheet of metal in the same way as the blanks for modern coins are made, or else that they have been cut out with a circular cutting punch, such as a saddler uses to cut holes in straps. The former method, however, would have been quite beyond the capabilities of the tool makers of the period, and it would hardly be possible to cut metal with the latter tool.

Roman coins from the official mints were probably made from blank flans which had been cast, but, in the case of the hoard coins, casting would certainly have been too delicate and tedious an operation. The simplest procedure would have been for the moneyer to cut off small pieces of metal from a rod, which could then be flattened to the required thickness before striking with the die; and it seems that this is actually what has been done.

The rod would be a convenient form in which to work the metal. The pieces could easily be cut off with a cold chisel, and there would be no waste. This method would also have the advantage that if the rod was made round, which would be a simple matter, then the small pieces cut off would be round, and would only require a tap with a hammer to reduce any unevenness and to produce very regular disc-shaped flans.

This process has been tried experimentally and it has been found that quite good reproductions of the hoard coins could be made from ordinary copper rod with no other tools than a table-knife and a hammer, the rod being first annealed by heating and quenching in water. It would not, however, be practicable to make larger coins in this way, as a rod of much greater thickness would be too difficult to cut, and in doing so the round shape would be lost. Many of the coins have a decided skew, the two faces although parallel not being exactly opposite to each other. It was found that this too could be reproduced, as it tended to result when the piece cut off was too thick and had to be considerably flattened by hammering.

A few of the coins (see pl. XXXVI, group H) have holes, roughly through the centre, but not of any uniform size, nor are they clean cut or symmetrical. In others the holes do not penetrate right through but merely form pits on one or both sides, and when these pits appear on both sides they are not necessarily opposite to each other. During the process of cleaning, in several cases, pieces of corroded metal became detached from the face of the coins, leaving pits exactly similar to the others.

The presence of these holes tends to confirm the assumption that the coins were made in the way described. The rod itself would almost certainly have been made from a billet of cast metal; and when copper or bronze is cast, impurities, such as ash or slag, tend to collect as it cools, and form a pipe of inferior metal down the centre of the casting. Thus at least some of the coins would not be quite sound in the centre, and just such holes as these would result.

Sir Harold Carpenter, F.R.S., who has kindly examined the coins, is of the opinion that they may well have been made in the way described.

A rough analysis of one of the E coins gave the following result: Copper, rather less than 97 per cent.; Lead, about 2 per cent.; Tin, under 1 per cent.; Iron, a slight trace; Zinc, none.

BONES

To Professor D. M. S. Watson, F.R.S., we are greatly indebted for the identification of the bones, of which large numbers were recovered both from the prehistoric and from the Roman levels.

Bos longifrons, of the small type which is known from La Tène sites in Wiltshire, pig, rabbit, sheep, or goat, and a shed antler of a fallow deer occurred in the prehistoric levels.

In the Roman levels were found bones of ox, pig (including several very young pigs), sheep and/or goat, lamb, horse, bird (one cock), red deer (represented in some cases by sawn antlers), and fish. Within the structure of the north-west chapel-wall of the Temple, two breeds of ox (*Bos longifrons*) were noted. One was of the small type found in the Roman ampitheatre at Caerleon[1] whilst the other was a larger and different animal, akin to the *Bos* found at Segontium.[2]

The bones, as a whole, do not call for further comment.

[1] For a description see *Arch.* lxxviii, 215.
[2] Wheeler, *Segontium*, p. 170.

APPENDIX I

The Name 'Nodens'

BY PROFESSOR J. R. R. TOLKIEN

This name occurs in three inscriptions: *C.I.L.* vii, 138 *d(eo) M(arti?) Nodonti*, *C.I.L.* vii, 139 *deo Nudente*, *C.I.L.* vii, 140 *devo Nodenti . . . donavit Nodenti . . . templum [No]dentis.* It may also have occurred in the mosaic *C.I.L.* vii, 137. Apart from these inscriptions, from the same place and presumably roughly contemporary, there is in early Keltic material no trace of any such name or stem.[1]

The variation *o/u* is probably due to divergent attempts at representing in Latin letters a non-Latin sound; the variation *ont/ent* is probably due to (correct) equation of Keltic *-ont* with Latin participial *-ent*.[2] The former variation enables us to fix with fair probability the quantity, and hence the prehistoric forms, of the stem vowel. The vowel intended was, almost certainly, long: *ō* (*ū*). Native Keltic words had no *ō*. Already in the very distant period common to all branches of that group of languages *ō* had become *ā* in stem-syllables, and *ū* at the end of words. The three older diphthongs, *au* (Latin *au*), *eu*, and *ou* (both old Latin *ou*, later *ū*), had, however, coalesced in some common sound which may be represented *ou*. This sound in British approached *ō*, and was equated with Latin *ō* in the British pronunciation of Latin and *vice versa*; so that *o* would be a natural early choice of symbol. The sound was later, but during the Roman period, shifted towards *ū*, becoming possibly before A.D. 400 identical with British *ū* (from Keltic *oi*) and (the British pronunciation of) Latin *ū*; so that *u* would be a natural later spelling. Spelling alone does not, however, prove the *Nudente* inscription later than all the others. Before the completion of the shift a period of hesitation in the choice of symbol might well occur. Later again this *ū* shifted towards *ǖ* (French *ū* in *lune*), the sound in medieval Welsh of *u*, which appears as the descendant of Keltic *oi* (*un* one, Old Irish *óin-*), *ou* (*tud*, Gallic touto-), and Latin *ō* (*sul*, Sōlis), *ū* (*pur*, pūrus).

In Goidelic Keltic *ou* probably became *ō*. This is at any rate its form in earlier Old Irish (later *ua* appears). Even if *ō* was the Goidelic form at such an early period as that of the inscriptions, it is natural to assume that it would be treated on British soil in the same way as Latin *ō*, and be identified with the British *ou* sound, which in this case was ultimately of the same Indo-European origin.

The inscriptions most probably represent, therefore, a Keltic stem

[1] *Nodi* (gen.) from Tarragona is of little help. *Nudi Dumnogeni* (*I.B.Ch.* 209, Selkirkshire) might be a Latinized form of the same name in later shape (Welsh *Nudd*).

[2] This is not certain. The participial ending originally in Indo-European varied in inflected forms between *ent, ont, nt*. Traces of such variations remain in Old Irish; and it may be noted that one *ent* form occurs above in conjunction with the Keltic *devo*. We should, however, expect at this period a fixed name to have a fixed stem in the native languages.

noudont-* (noudent-*?), provided with Latin case-endings. Now **noudont-* (nom. **noudons* > *noudōs* > *noudūs*, gen. *noudontos*, dat. *noudonti* or *noudontai*) is precisely the form required as the older stage of the (Old and Middle) Irish mythological and heroic name *Núadu* (later *Núada*), gen. *Núadat*, dat. *Núadait*. The same name also appears in *Mog-Núadat*, 'slave or servant of Nuada'; see below. The same stem may also lie behind the Welsh name *Nudd* (Breton *nuz* in the place-name *Ker-nuz* = Welsh **Caer-Nudd*).

Núadu (*Argat-lam* 'of the Silver Hand') was the king of the *Túatha dé Danann*, the possessors of Ireland before the Milesians. The *Túatha dé Danann* may with some probability, amid the wild welter of medieval Irish legend, be regarded as in great measure the reduced form of ancient gods and goddesses. Although it is perhaps vain to try and disentangle from the things told of Nuada any of the features of Nodens of the Silures in Gloucestershire, it is at least highly probable that the two were originally the same. This is borne out by the isolation of the name in Keltic material, the importance of Nuada (and of Nodens), and not least by the exact phonological equation of *Nōdont-* with later *Nuadat*.

That figures of British origin could intrude into Ireland is not impossible. Cuchulinn (Setanta) himself is suspect. But the fact that outside Ireland (where the name figures largely) Nodons-Nuada occurs only in Britain, in the west, in one place, and nowhere else in the Keltic area, never in Gaul, has led to the more likely conjecture that Nodens is a Goidelic god,[1] probably introduced eastward into Britain, unless one can believe that the Goidels reached Ireland by way of Britain and left his cult behind them. It is possible to see a memory of this figure in the medieval Welsh Lludd Llaw Ereint ('of the Silver Hand')—the ultimate original of King Lear—whose daughter Creiddylad (Cordelia) was carried off, after her betrothal to Gwythyr vab Greiddawl, by Gwynn vab Nudd, a figure having connexions with the underworld.[2]

Concerning Creiddylad there appears anciently to have been told a tale of an everlasting fight, which has often been cited as a parallel to the legend in Old Norse of the endless battle of Heðinn Hjarrandason and King Högni over Högni's daughter Hildr whom Heðinn carried off. Gwynn vab Nudd and Gwythyr are to fight for Creiddylad every first of May until doomsday, when the final conqueror shall win her. It is conceivable that *Lludd* (father) and Gwynn vab *Nudd* (suitor) both owe something, in the late confusion of traditions, to a common ancestor. Certainly the normal Welsh form of Nuada-Nodens would be Nudd. The fixing of the father's name as Lludd may have owed something to alliteration with his surname. In the Scandinavian story, the father (Högni) is one of the pair of everlasting combatants. But even if this is true, and Lludd Llaw Ereint is related to Nuada Argat-lám, it of course proves nothing concerning the place from which this legendary figure came ultimately into Britain.

[1] Cf. A. de Jubainville, *Les Celtes*, p. 33.

[2] Mabinogion, Kulhwch and Olwen, in *Red Book of Hergest*, Oxford, 1887, vol. i, pp. 131 and 134.

Of Nuada Argat-lâm it is told that he was at war with both Firbolg and Fomorians.[1] He lost his hand in the first battle, and the royalty passed with it for seven years to Bress, chief of the Fomorians. The Túatha de Danann made a new hand 'with full motions of a hand' for him. Hence his surname. For twenty years he regained his royalty, but finally perished in battle against the Fomorians.

Other Nuadas appear in Irish. These may be in part scattered memories of an originally single mythological figure, though this is not a necessary conclusion, since in other cases 'divine' names are found later surviving as ordinary personal names.

There was Nuada son of Tadg (Teague), supreme druid of Cathair the Great, king of Ireland in the second Irish epic cycle, and ancestor of the Ossianic line of heroes. This cycle purports to refer to events of the second century A.D., when Nodens was already, presumably, worshipped in Britain; but the cycles are not reliable history. There was also Nuada Derg (son of Loegaire, king of Ireland) the assailant of St. Patrick. The *Cóir Anmann* ('Fitness of Names'; ed. Stokes, Leipzig, 1897, in *Irische Texte*, 3 Serie, 2 Heft) is a MS. of circa A.D. 1500 in Middle Irish, but it is some centuries older linguistically than its hand, and contains much ancient tradition. It mentions seven Nuadas: N. Deglâm ('fair-hand'), N. Find Fáil, N. Find Feimin, N. Fullón, N. Necht, and N. Sálfota ('long-heel'), in addition to Nuada Airgetlâm. Many of these may be due to disconnected memories of different things concerning a single figure. Of N. Airgetlám it says: 'Sreng mac Senghainn cut off Nuada's right hand in a combat at the battle of Mag Tured Cunga, when the Túatha dé Danann invaded Erin. The leeches of the Túatha dé Danann put on Nuada a hand of silver with the complete motion of every hand.'

N. Sálfota is regarded as a 'slave', a famous builder of forts. A story, which has every appearance of being invented or altered to explain a name of forgotten significance, is told to account for the title Mog Nuadat ('Servant of Nuada') possessed by the hero Eogan son of Mog Neit ('Servant of Nantos').[2] For helping the slave Nuada to dig a trench the nickname 'Servant of Nuada' is said to have been given to Eogan. But it is more likely that he had it originally as a devotee of a divine Nuada (cf. later Gaelic use of *gille* 'servant' in conjunction with a divine name or saint's name, as in Gillies, Gilchrist, Gilfillan, &c.). Eogan's father had, it may be noted, a similar sort of name, for which no explanation is offered. Piety is perhaps more likely to have run in a heroic family than the serving of servants.

If not an established certainty, it is, then, at least a probable theory that there was a divine personage of whom the chief later representative is the Nuada of the Silver Hand in Irish tradition, and that this Nuada, whose name *c.* A.D. 100 to A.D. 300 probably had both in Goidelic and

[1] 'Comme Zeus en guerre contre les Titans dans la mythologie grecque', A. de Jubainville. A specially grievous imprisonment of Lludd is referred to in *Kulhwch and Olwen* (p. 131).

[2] *Nantos* is also probably originally a divine name.

British forms of Keltic (irrespective of borrowings) the form *Noudūs*, *Noudont-*, is the same as the *Nōdont-* and its variations of the inscriptions, which occur in curious and suggestive isolation in Britain.

Linguistic considerations unaided by other data can do little, usually, to recall forgotten gods from their twilight. The form of this name, however, is favourable. The ending *-ont* (*-ent*) is a well-known one in Indo-European languages; its function is everywhere chiefly that of forming participles. Its presence in this name, therefore, makes it extremely probable that the preceding stem was originally a verbal one.

Other probable deductions (of some importance) are: (*a*) that the stem *noud-* is a later form of *neud-*, since participles of this form are made usually from the *eu*-grade of such verbal stems; (*b*) that this stem *neud-noud-* was Indo-European, or at least fully naturalized in a language of Indo-European structure when the name was coined—the *name* is not pre-Keltic, whatever may be true of the god; but (*c*) that the name was probably in origin adjectival, a title of a god whose remoter proper name is lost. Certainly adjectives formed with this suffix often become nouns. In Germanic this suffix became the normal one for forming agent-nouns (e.g. Gothic *Nasjand-s* 'Saviour'). But neither gods nor humans usually possess such agental names as their sole title, until taboo, reverence, or desuetude has obliterated an older less etymologizable name.

However that may be, such a form as **noudont-*, **neudont-*, is most likely to contain a once intelligible verbal stem. None the less in Keltic as it is preserved—either scantily, or not until medieval times—there is no trace of such a verb.

But we do find such a verb in Germanic. In Germanic the special peculiarities of vowel and consonant development require us to look for *neut* (*neot*, *niut*), *naut*, as the cognate of the Keltic *neud-*, *noud-*. It is easy to find, for it is a common verb with many derivatives: the stem of the Old Norse participle *niótandi* corresponds exactly with the stem **neudont-*, with *Nodont-* or with *Nuadat*. Certainly, if we assume that Keltic once had a verbal stem **neud-* cognate with this Germanic *neut-*, but that it has otherwise left no trace in our meagre early material, and had disappeared alike from medieval Irish and Welsh, we shall be assuming nothing unparalleled, nothing which our miserably small knowledge of ancient Keltic can impugn. There is a considerable underlying community of vocabulary between the two great north-western and neighbouring branches of Indo-European. This would not be the only instance in which the common features of one serve to explain the isolated forms of the other. And there is no other etymology which satisfies phonology.[1]

The Germanic stem **neut-* and its derivatives deserve scrutiny, therefore, as the only serious claimants in the field. Only with their help, if at all, is Nodens likely to be explained linguistically.

The stem is extremely common in Germanic. In addition to a number

[1] In any case it often happens that names and surnames once of obvious meaning and current formation after only a century or so cease to be intelligible to their users, or at least become obscure in form: Hunts, Webbs, Milners, Fletchers, Walkers, Pindars, Crowthers, and others.

of derived nouns and adjectives of divergently developed meanings, there is in each of the chief older dialects a verb **neutan*, in Gothic *niutan* (and *ga-niutan*), Old English *nēotan*, Old Saxon *niotan*, Old High German *niozan* (German *geniessen*), Old Norse *nióta*. In all these languages, and therefore perhaps in common Germanic, the secondary senses 'acquire, have the use of' are the usual ones. This is also usually the meaning represented by derivatives, and seems also to appear in Lithuanian *naudà* 'profit, property', Lettish *nauda* 'money' (the only forms outside Germanic, other than *Nodens*, that can be plausibly connected etymologically).

These senses are none the less probably not original. In Gothic, the earliest recorded of the Germanic group and preserved in a form spoken at a time when Nodens' temple possibly still had votaries, clear traces remain of an older sense. There *ga-niutan* means 'to catch, entrap (as a hunter)'; it is the word used in the extremely careful version of the Scriptures to translate ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀγρεύσωσιν λόγῳ, Mark xii, 13. In Gothic, too, the derived noun *nuta* means 'fisherman'; it is used of St. Peter. Of this hunting, catching sense a trace is conceivably preserved in Germanic **naut-* (OE. *nēat* 'neat', OHG. *nōz*, ON. *naut*) a head of cattle. But in ON. *naut-r* means any piece of valuable personal property, a sword, a ring, and we must probably compare the sense-development of 'cattle' and 'chattel', both derived from late Latin *capitāle*, principal property. For the development 'acquire, take possession of, have usufruct of' from 'catch, bring home from the hunt or field' many parallels may be cited.[1]

The very form of this Germanic group, isolated as it is if we disallow its slender connexions with Keltic on the one side and the Baltic languages on the other, shows that it is a fairly old 'northern' word; if not a common Indo-European word, one early adapted to a thoroughly Indo-European form of speech, and revealing all the characteristic vowel-gradations of Indo-European. There is nothing improbable in the assumption that Keltic once shared in the possession of such a word.

Accepting then Nodens' connexion with **neutan*, as the best which unaided etymology can offer, we have still to decide on the precise significance of the name. The description of Nodens as a 'Meergottheit'[2] appears to have nothing (purely linguistic) to support it, unless it be the Gothic sense of *nuta*, and the plausible emendation of the *Nuithones* of the *Germania* to *Nut(h)iones* (Germanic **nutjoniz*) 'fishermen', to consort with the *Anglii* 'anglers'. But this specific sense 'fishing' is probably a specialization, perhaps due originally to Baltic conditions as the sense of the Norse derivative *nyt* 'milk' was due to the Scandinavian mountain-side dairies. Nor is it very likely, if the etymology is good, that Nodens

[1] e.g. 'gain', OF. *gaägnier*, Ital. *guadagnare*, OHG. *weidenen*, with their, ultimate derivation from Germanic **waiþ-*, OHG. *weida* 'hunting, fishing, pasturing', ON. *veiðr* 'game, fish-catch'. Germanic *fanhan*, *fang-* seize (with hands); ON. *fang*, grasp, grappling, fishing, baggage, or means; *fengr* haul, take booty, gain, stores; OE. *feng*, grasp, booty.

[2] Falk u. Torp, *Wortschatz der Germanischen Spracheinheit*, s. v. *nut*.

was a god of usufruct, usury, or wealth, or of agriculture and cattle. Far more probably the older sense of Gothic *ga-niutan*, 'to catch, ensnare', was the one shared by Keltic with old Germanic. Whether the god was called the 'snarer' or the 'catcher' or the 'hunter' in some sinister sense, or merely as being a lord of venery, mere etymology can hardly say. It is suggestive, however, in this connexion that the most remarkable thing about Nuada was his *hand*, and that without his hand his power was lost. Even in the dimmed memories of Welsh legend in *llaw ereint* we hear still an echo of the ancient fame of the magic hand of Nodens the Catcher.

APPENDIX II

'ADAM' AND 'EVE'

Two terminal statues, one representing a faun and the other a woman with a late first-century Roman head-dress, stand on the line of the Roman precinct-wall on the eastern side of the site (see plan, pl. LII; and pls. II and L). They are of local Pennant Sandstone and must therefore have been made locally; but all that is known of them is contained in the statement of the Rev. W. H. Bathurst (Bathurst and King, p. 4) that 'they were placed in their present position by Mr. T. Bathurst about a hundred years ago: before that time, about the year 1740, they were lying on the lower grounds uncared for'. They are clearly of late seventeenth or eighteenth century date, and are good examples of the pseudo-classical statuary commonly made at that period for the adornment of parks and gardens. Their sculptor was above the ordinary level of the hacks who usually produced works of this kind; his treatment of his subjects is bold, and their expressions—particularly that of the woman—both individual and lively. It is not, of course, necessary to look for classical prototypes in this country, but it may be noted without emphasis that almost the only good example of the distinctive Flavian head-dress in classical sculpture found in Britain is the colossal head found in the environs of Bath in 1714 or 1715 and now in the Baths Museum of that city.[1]

[1] *Victoria County History, Somerset*, i, 285.

PLATES

A. South-east view from the site across the Severn estuary. The terminal statue on the right (*see p.* 137) stands on the Roman precinct-wall

B. Entrance A, from within: prehistoric rock-cut entry, with late Roman revetting wall on left and foundations of late Roman gateway in foreground (*See p.* 58)

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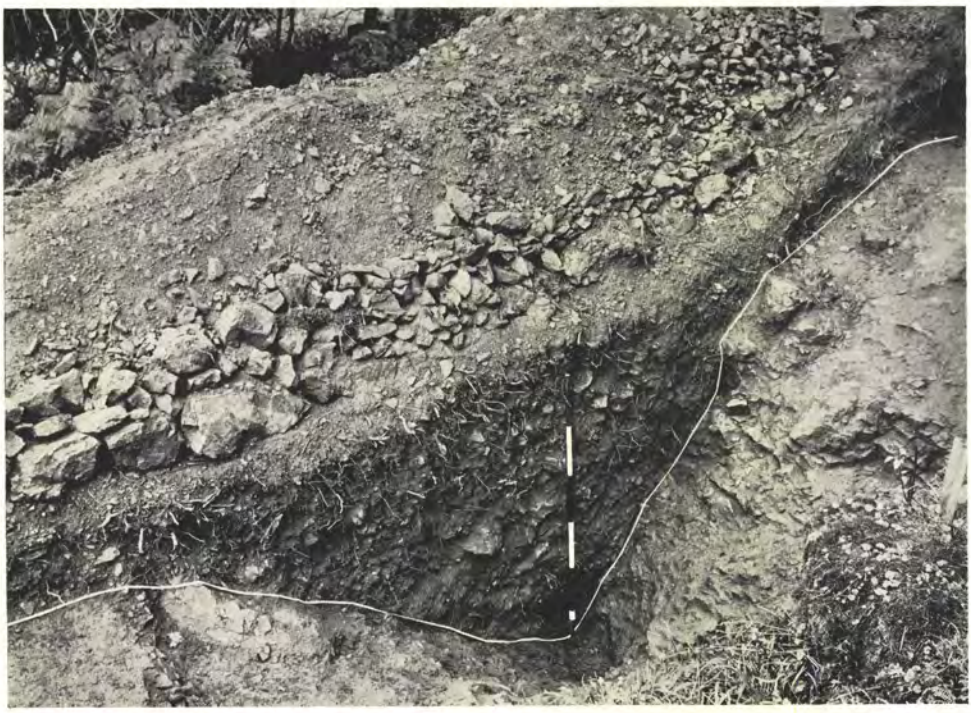
A. Section 1, through northern rampart and inner ditch. The white tape-line in the section of the rampart indicates the outline of the earlier work. (*See p.* 4)



B. Section 1, through inner rock-cut ditch (prehistoric, re-cut in post-Roman period)

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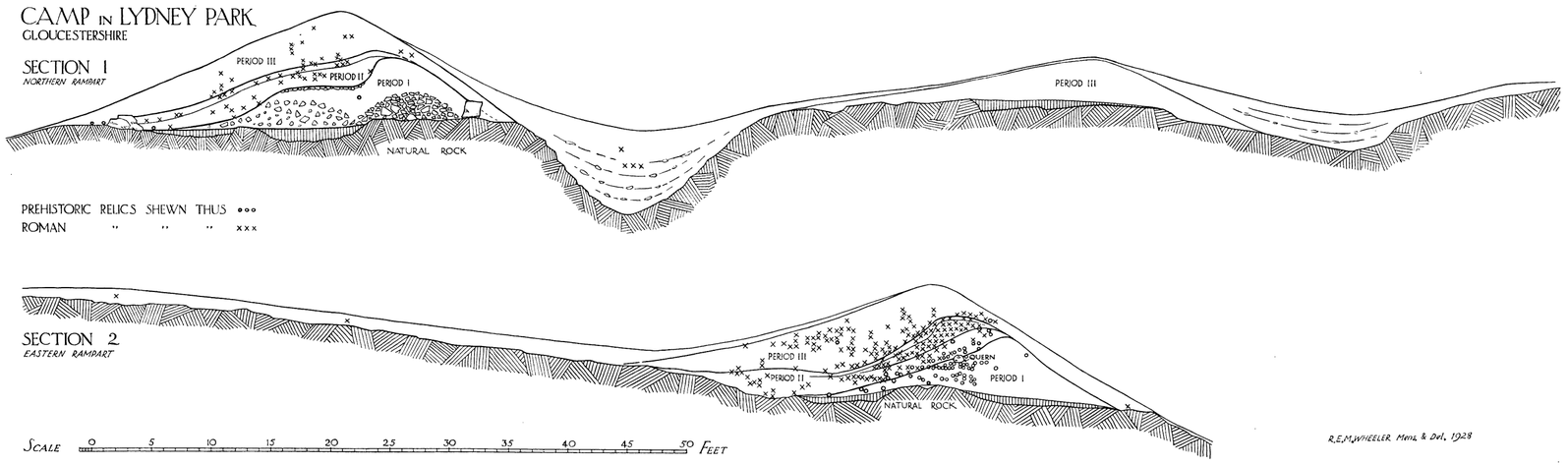

Sections through Ramparts of Camp in Lydney Park

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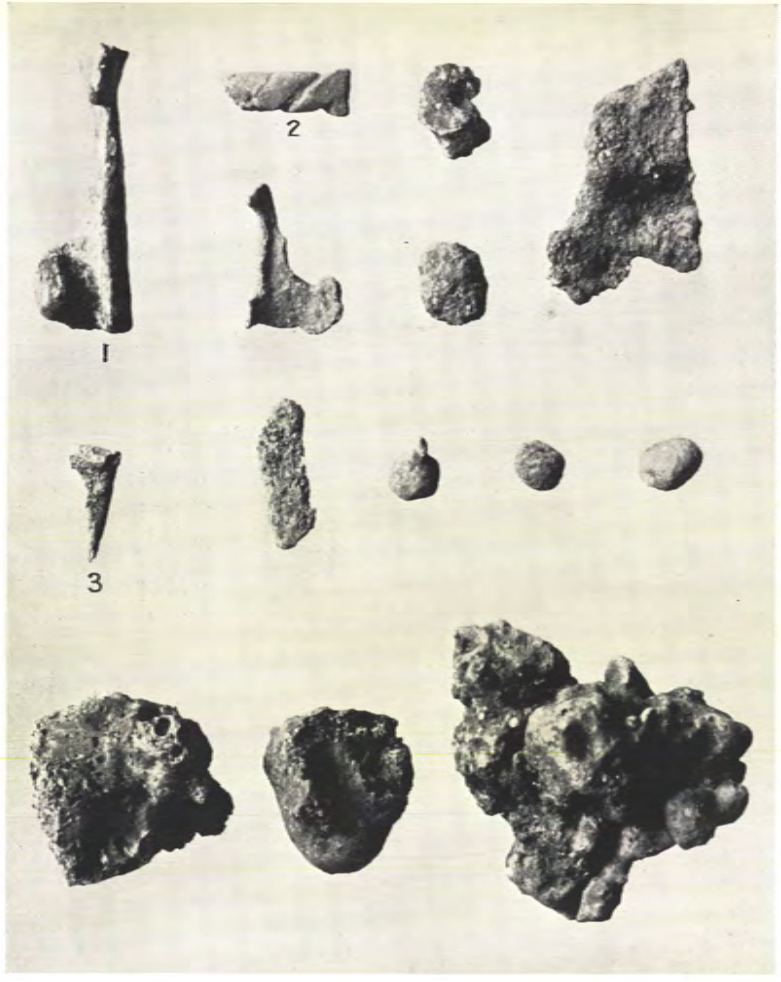
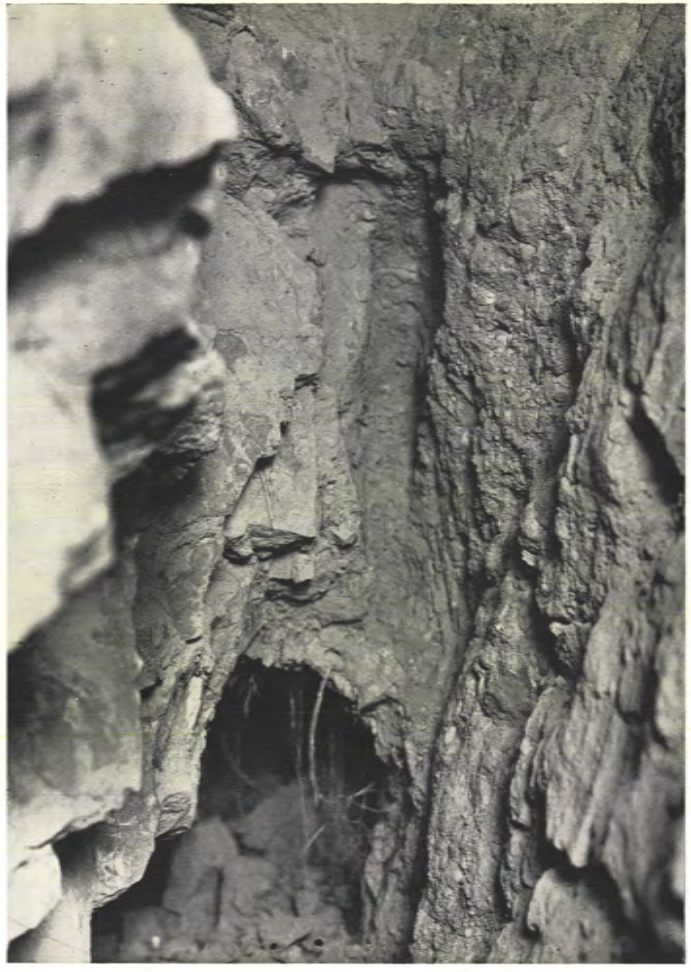
A, Fragments of clay daub from the prehistoric rampart, Section 2. $\frac{1}{1}$ (*See p.* 7)

B. Section 3, across rampart south of Entrance B. A, remains of prehistoric rampart, levelled for B and C, wall and floor of third-century hut; D, post-Roman rebuild of rampart, formerly covering A, B, and C. (*See p.* 17)



A. 1, Part of a leaden die for use in the manufacture of brooches; 2, fragment of bronze bracelet, found with 3 (probably part of pin of bronze penannular brooch) and the fragments of smelted copper and slag on a hearth under room xxx of the Roman 'guest-house.' $\frac{1}{1}$ (*See p.* 15)



B. Interior of Roman iron-mine, showing Roman pick-marks on the wall. The cutting is about two feet wide. (*See p.* 21)

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Entry to Roman iron-mine (behind lower pole). On both sides of the adit are slabs forming part of the third-century hut-floor which sealed the adit; and above are remains of the post-Roman rampart which covered the whole site
(*See p.* 18)

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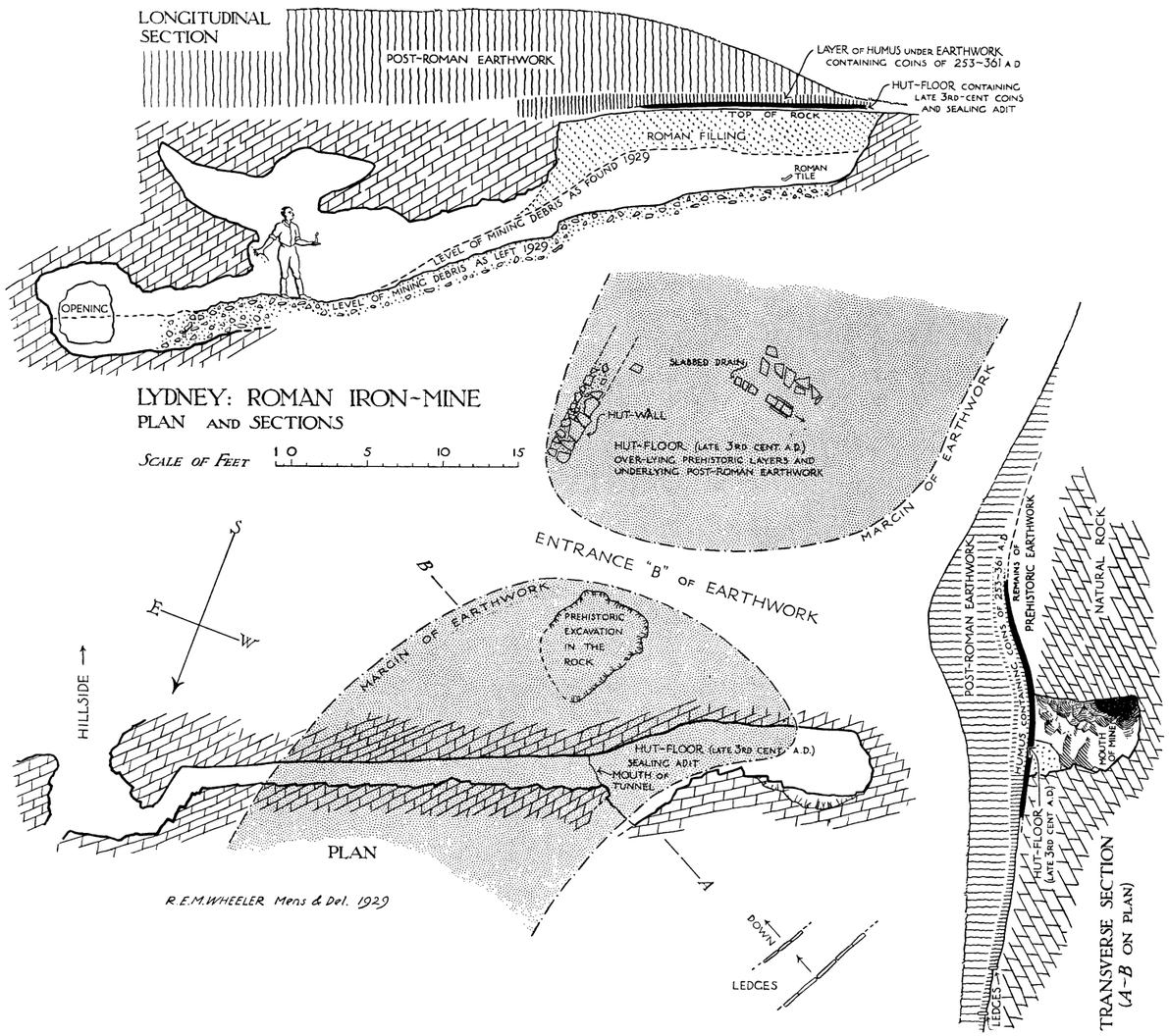

Iron Mine: plans and sections

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A. The temple-steps, Period I, from the south. (*See p.* 24)

B. The north-west ambulatory of the temple; cella walls on left, and base of bench on right (*See p.* 27)

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A. North-east ambulatory of temple, showing subsidence of secondary paving over swallow-hole. (*See p.* 29)

B. North-east ambulatory of temple, showing, to right of pole, the straight joints flanking one of the original piers between cella and ambulatory

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

A. Section through north-west ambulatory of temple, showing: A, prehistoric layer; B, original late-Roman flooring; C, secondary late-Roman flooring. (*See p.* 30)

B. The swallow-hole which caused the collapse of the original late-Roman temple. The north-east screen-wall of the cellar (Period II) is marked A. (*See p.* 26)

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A. Section within cella of temple, on north-east side, showing: A, prehistoric layer; B and C, base of original floor of late-Roman temple; D, base of floor of rebuilt temple; E, base of original pier of temple; F, screen wall inserted between the piers during the rebuilding. (*See p.* 30)

B. The three sanctuaries of the temple. (*See p.* 36)

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A. Fore-hall of 'guest-house', showing slab-flooring and two piers with bench between. (*See p.* 45)

B. Gateway between the temple-precinct and the baths; 'guest-house' on right and end of 'long building' on left; pivot-stone on each side of gateway. (*See p.* 49)

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Room XIII in 'guest-house', showing two periods of flooring
(*See p.* 46)

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A. Entrance-room XXXIII in bath-building; showing slab-paving; corridor in foreground
(*See p.* 52)

B. Room XXXV in bath-building, showing broken mosaic patched with stone slabs.
In the background is the mosaic illustrated in Plate I (frontispiece)
(*See p.* 56)

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A. Hypocausts of rooms XLII and XLIIa in bath-building; in centre, threshold-stone at former floor-level

B. Hypocaust in apsidal room XLI of bath-building

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A. Exterior of room XXXVII in bath-building, showing small furnace and external rendering of painted cement. (*See pp.* 54–5)

B. Tank and conduit. (*See p.* 54)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

A. Late-Roman precinct wall, on west side of bath-buildings. The plastered external face of latter can be seen at base of right-hand pole. (*See p.* 57)

B. Precinct wall at south-east corner of 'guest-house'

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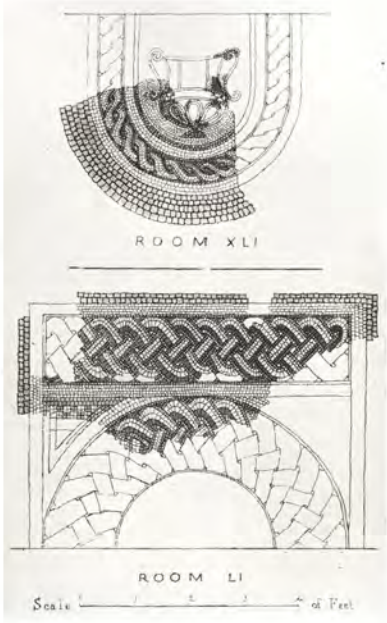
A

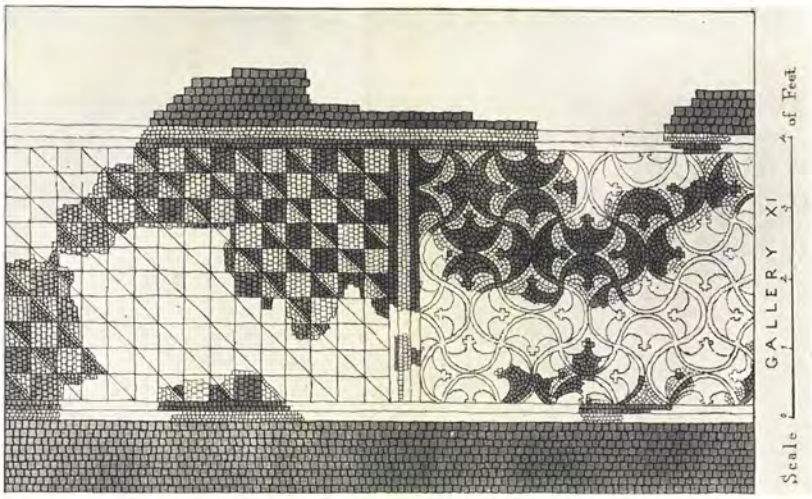
B



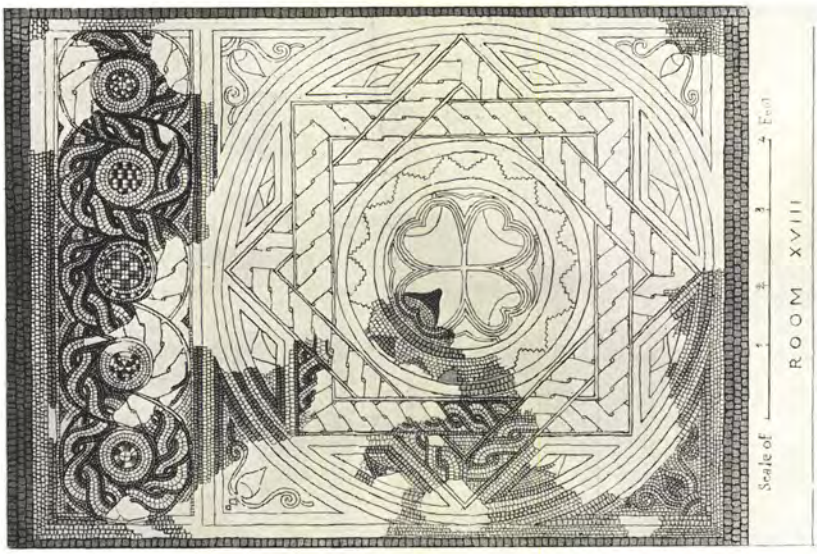
C

Mosaic floors (after Bathurst and King). A, from cella of temple; B, from side-chapel (room LXIV) of temple; C, from room XLI of bath-building, and room LI of 'long building'

(*See p.* 65)



A



B

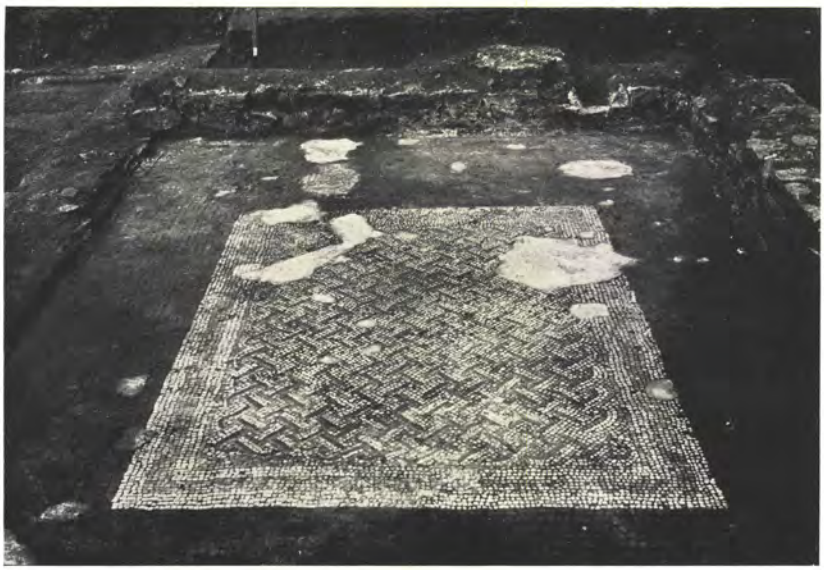
Mosaic floors from the 'guest-house' (after Bathurst and King). A, from inner verandah; B, from west range

(*See p.* 66)

Mosaic floor (after Bathurst and King) in room L of 'long building'

(*See p. 66*)

A. Mosaic floor in side-chapel (room LXV) of temple. (*See p.* 66)



B. Mosaic floor in room XIV of 'guest-house'
(*See p.* 66)

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A. Column-capitals and gable-finial. Scale = 1 foot. (*See p.* 67)

B. The 'altar' stone. (*See p.* 67)

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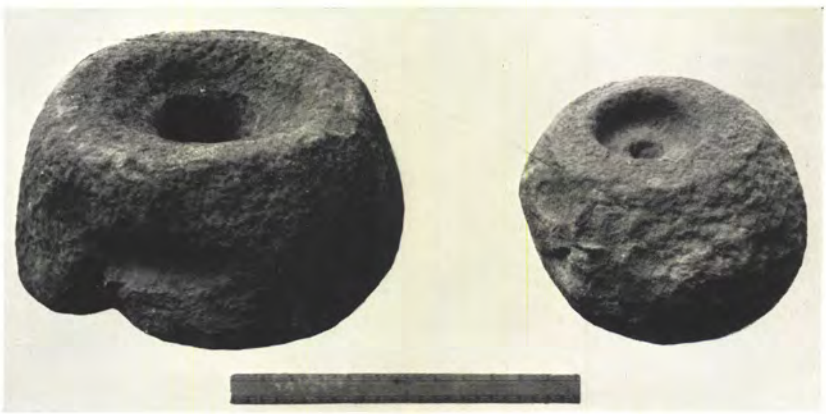
a

b

A. Stone statuette, (*a*) as found, and (*b*) as now preserved. Height, complete, about 30 inches. (*See p.* 68)



B. Prehistoric quern-stones. Scale = 1 foot. (*See pp.* 26, 68)

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The Lydney dog. Bronze. (1/1) (*See p.* 40, 88)

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Votive offerings of bronze and bone. (*See pp.* 40, 89)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

Bronze with repoussé decoration. (*See pp.* 42, 90)

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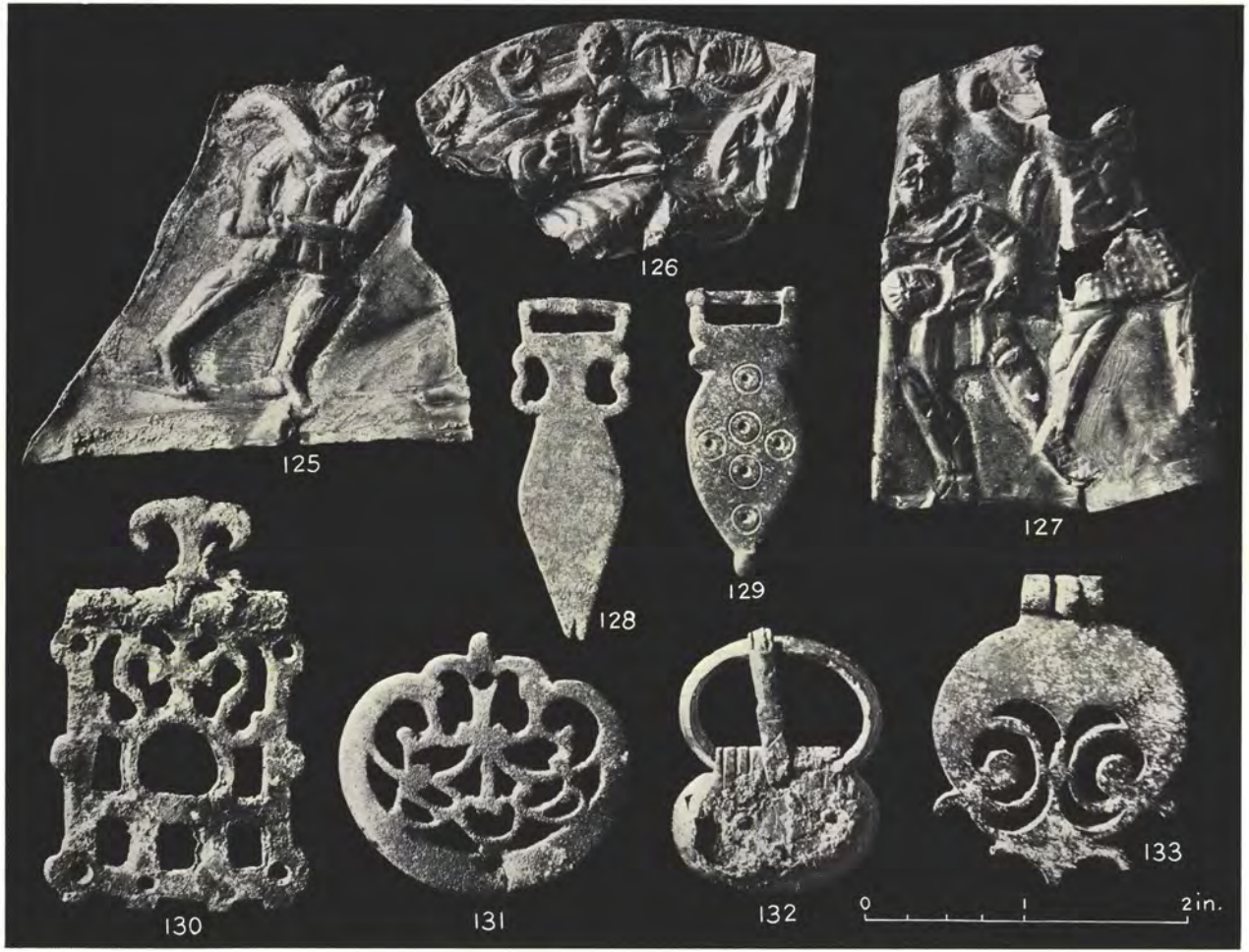

Objects of bronze. (*See pp.* 42, 90)

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Decorated bronze and white-metal. (*See p.* 90)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

A, Bronze objects $\frac{1}{1}$. (*See p.* 91)

B. Bronze sheet and chains. Scale nearly $\frac{1}{2}$
(*See p.* 91)

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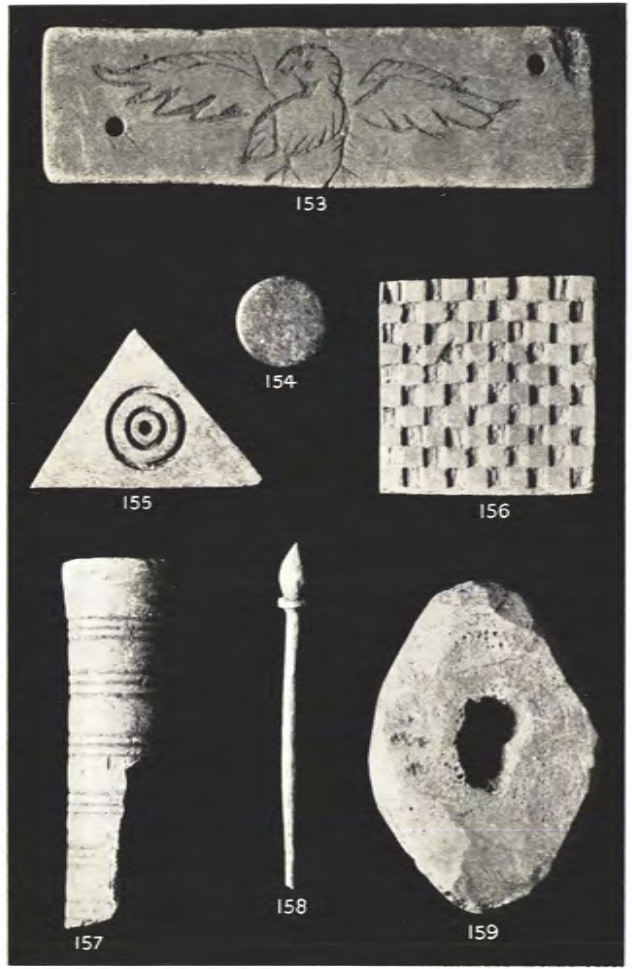
A



B

Objects of bone and iron. Scale of right-hand illustration $\frac{3}{4}$. (*See p.* 91)

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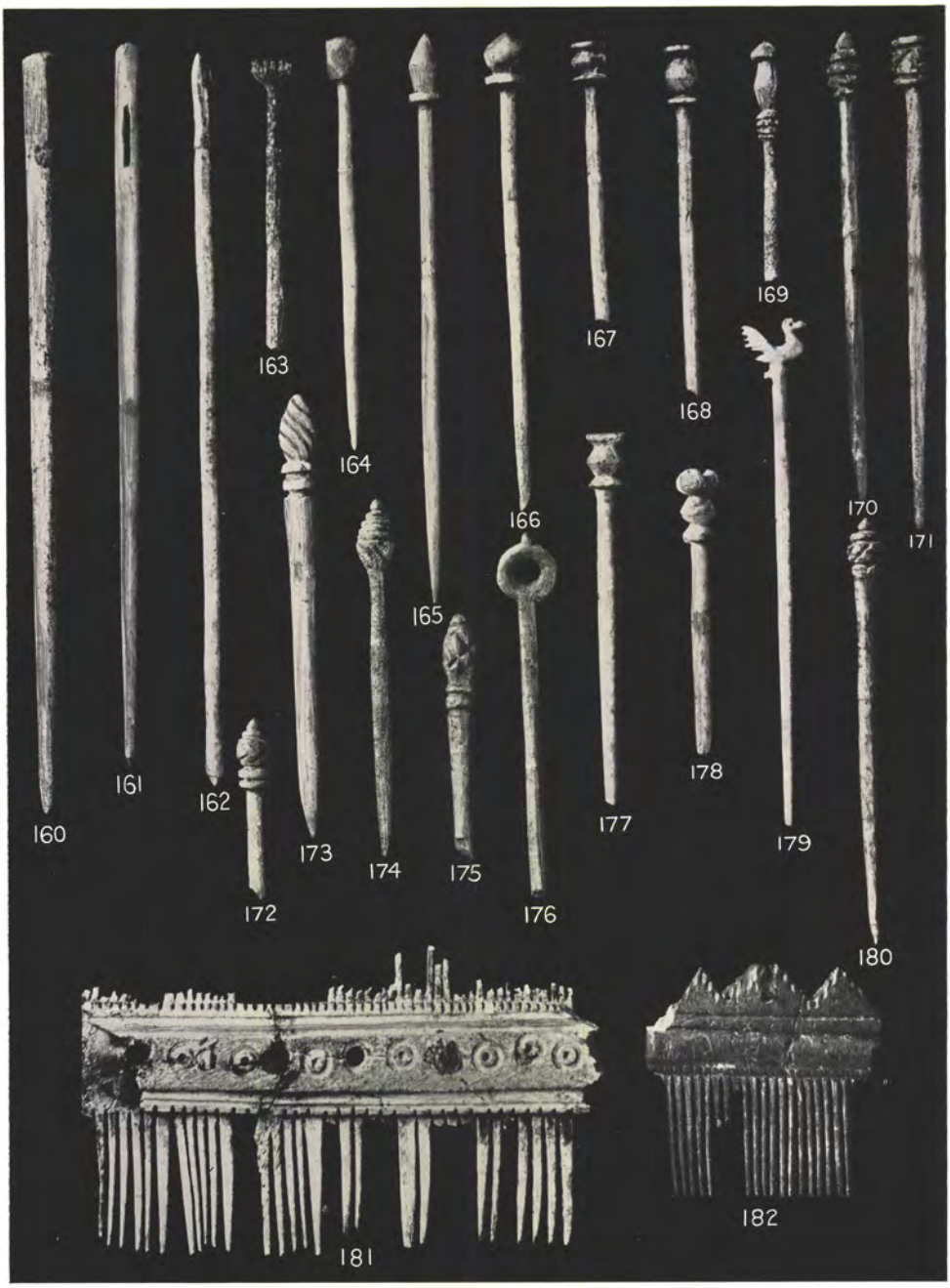

Bone pins and combs. $\frac{3}{4}$ (*See p.* 92)

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A. Prehistoric pottery
(Compare figs. 24 and 25)

B. Roman pottery: 1–6 and 8, Samian. (*See p.* 96)

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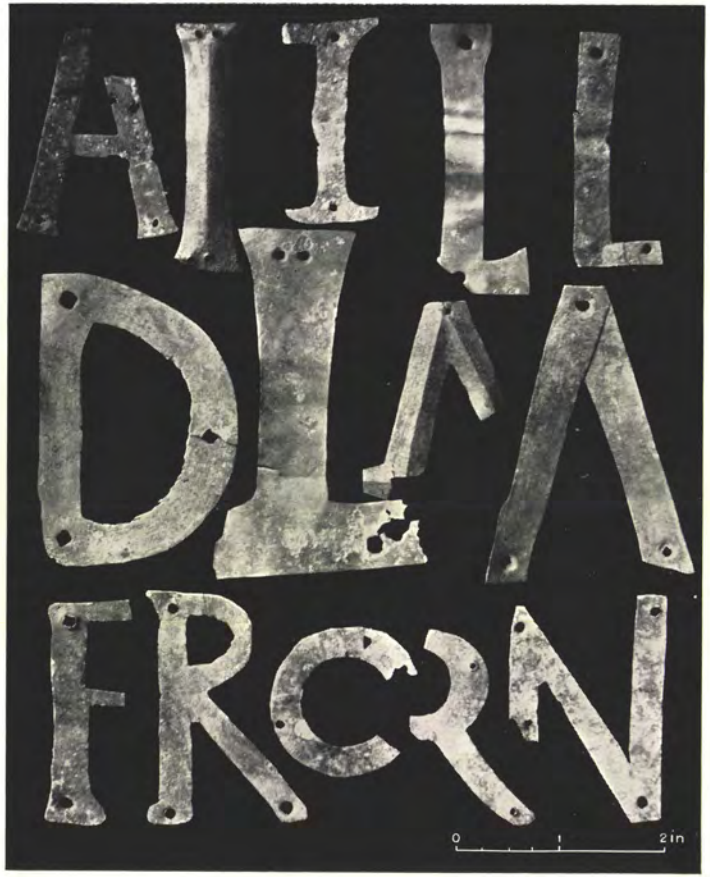

Inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3, and bronze letters. (*See pp.* 100–102)

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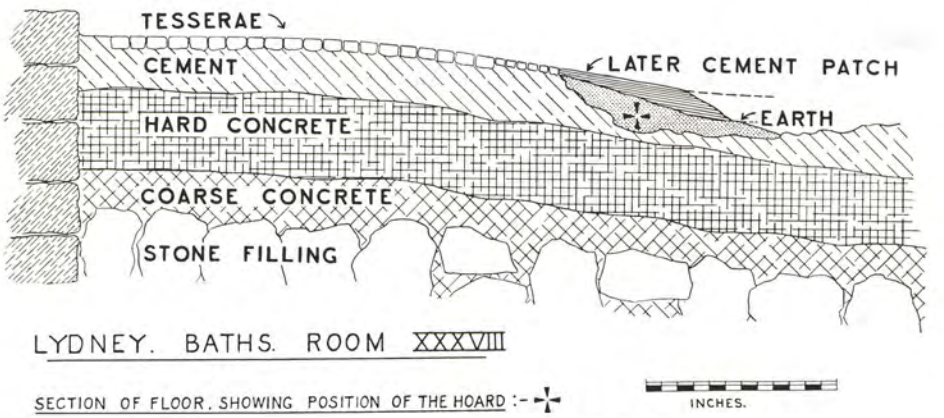
A. Hoard II as discovered. The half-crown indicates the scale
(*See p.* 116)



B. Diagram showing find-spot of Hoard II

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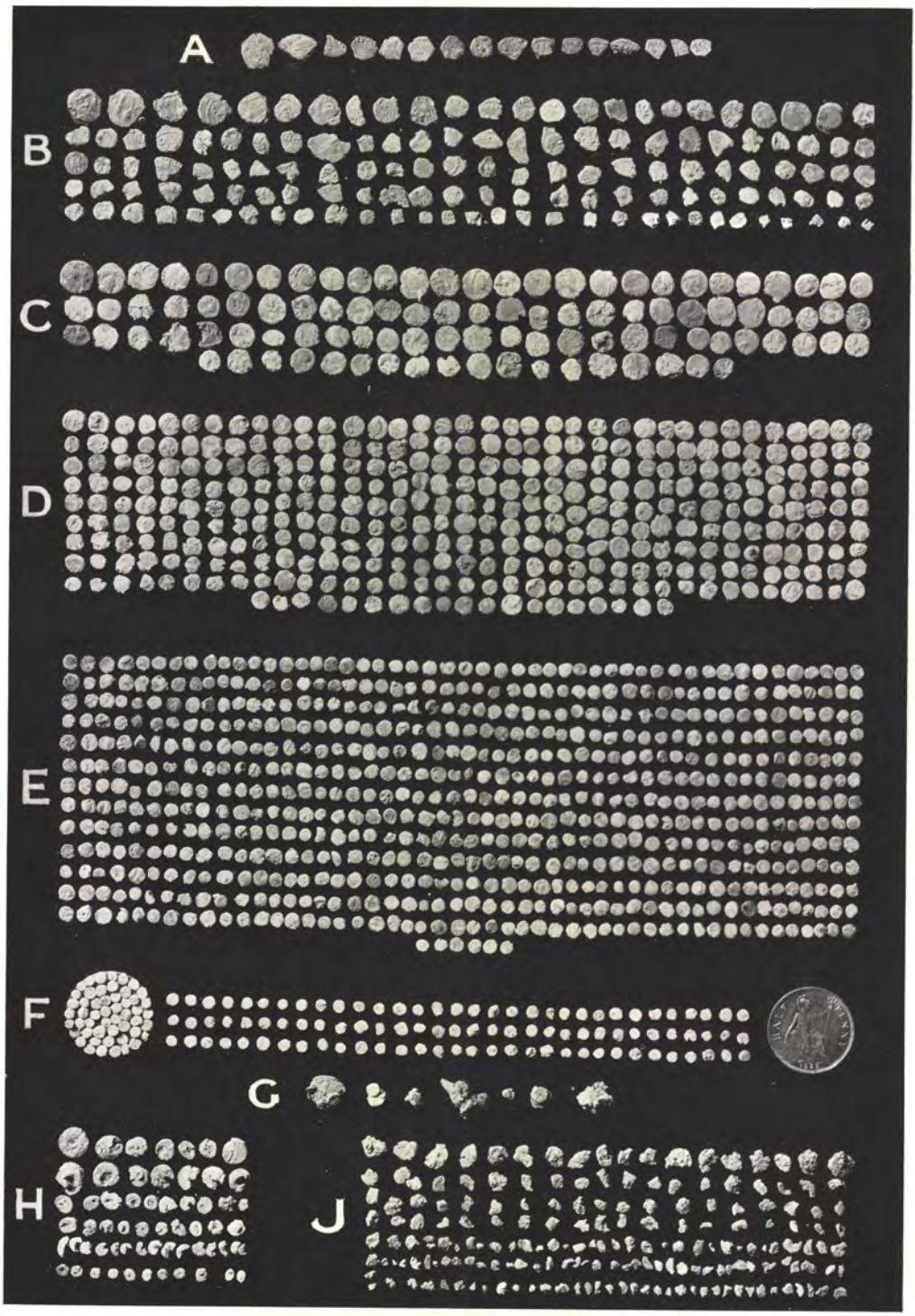

Hoard II (½) (*See p.* 116)

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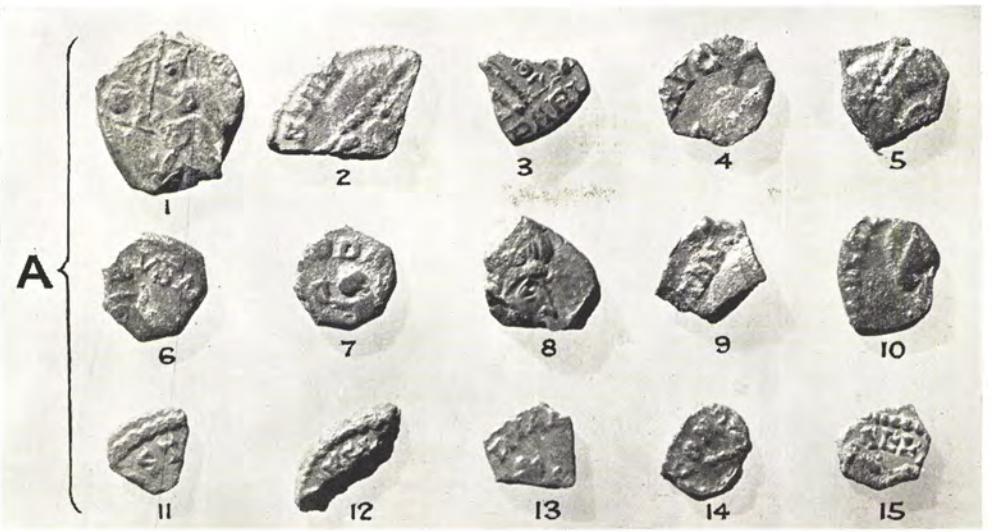
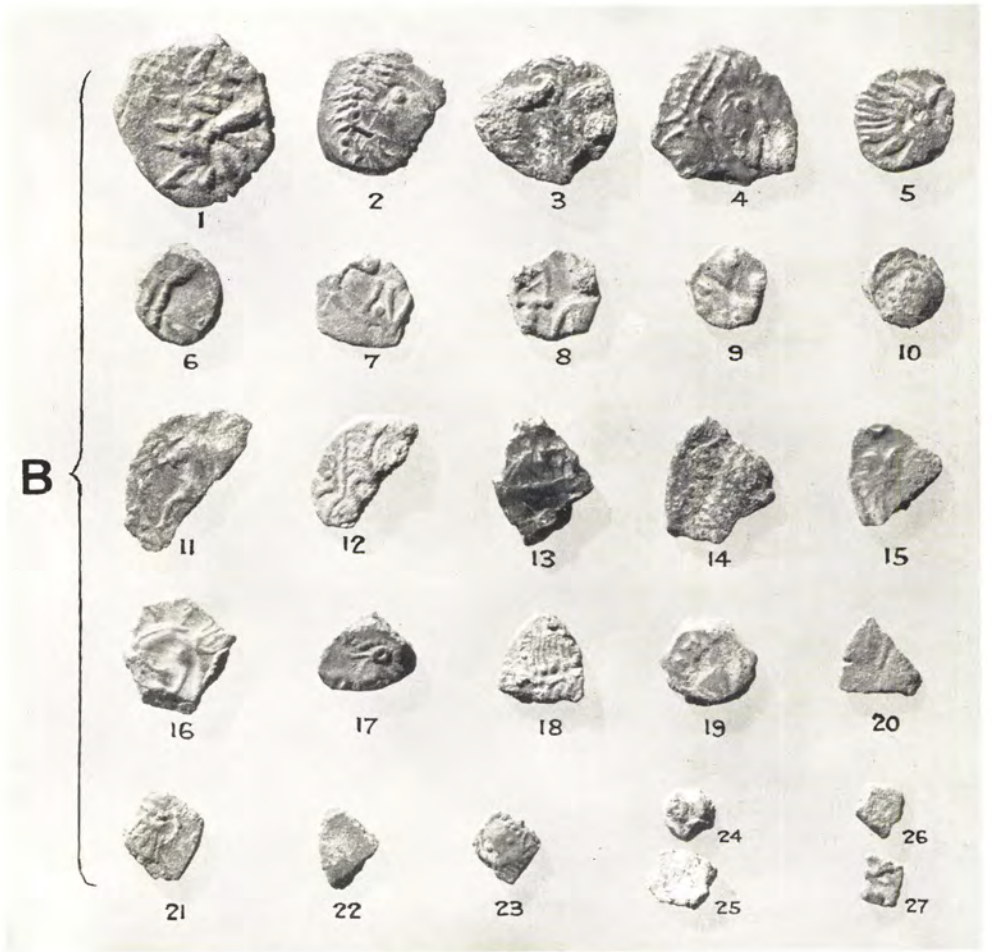


Hoard II. Class A. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$



Hoard II. Class B. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

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Hoard II. Class C obverses. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

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Hoard II. Class C reverses. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

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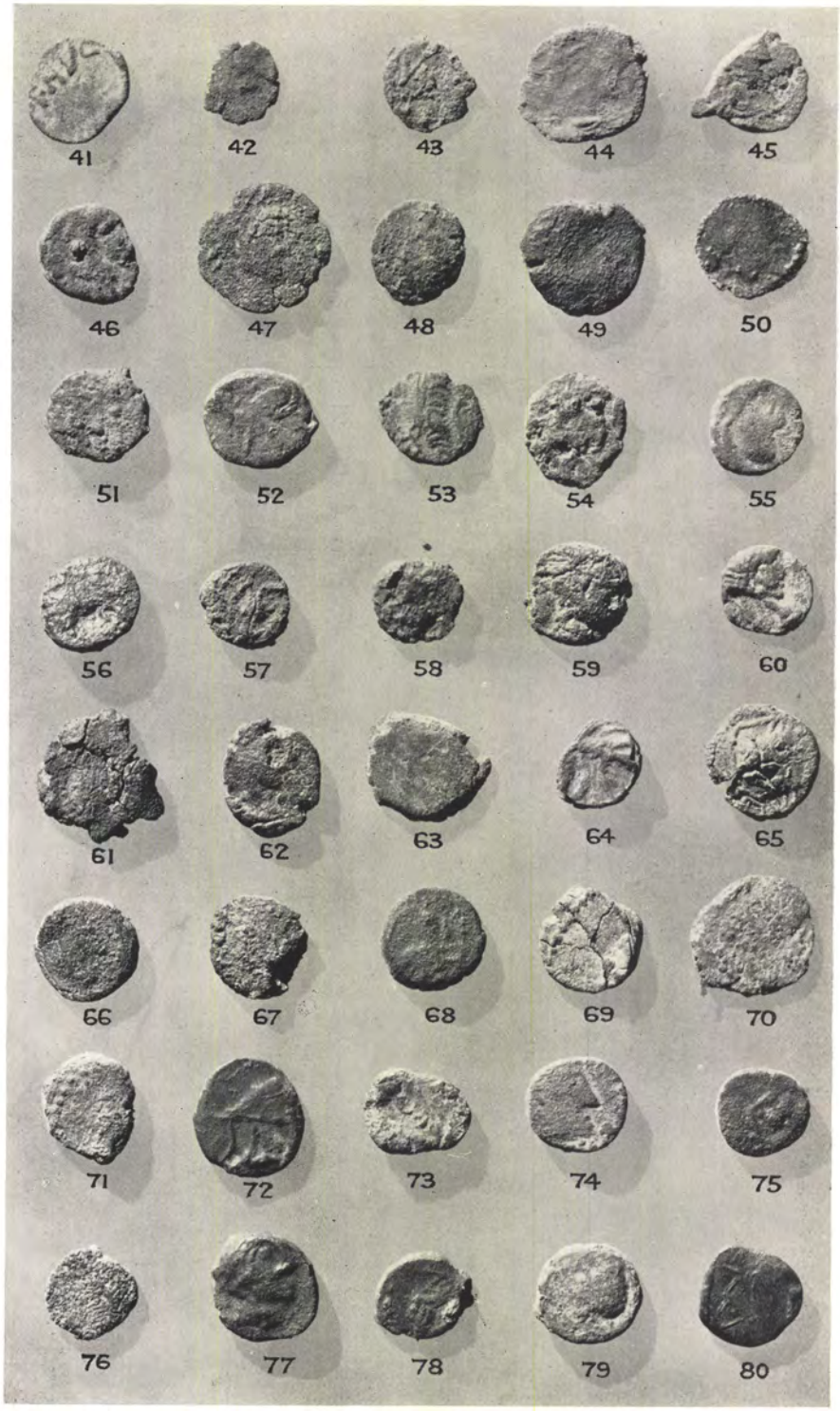

Hoard II. Class C obverses. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

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Hoard II. Class C reverses. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

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Hoard II. Class D obverses. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

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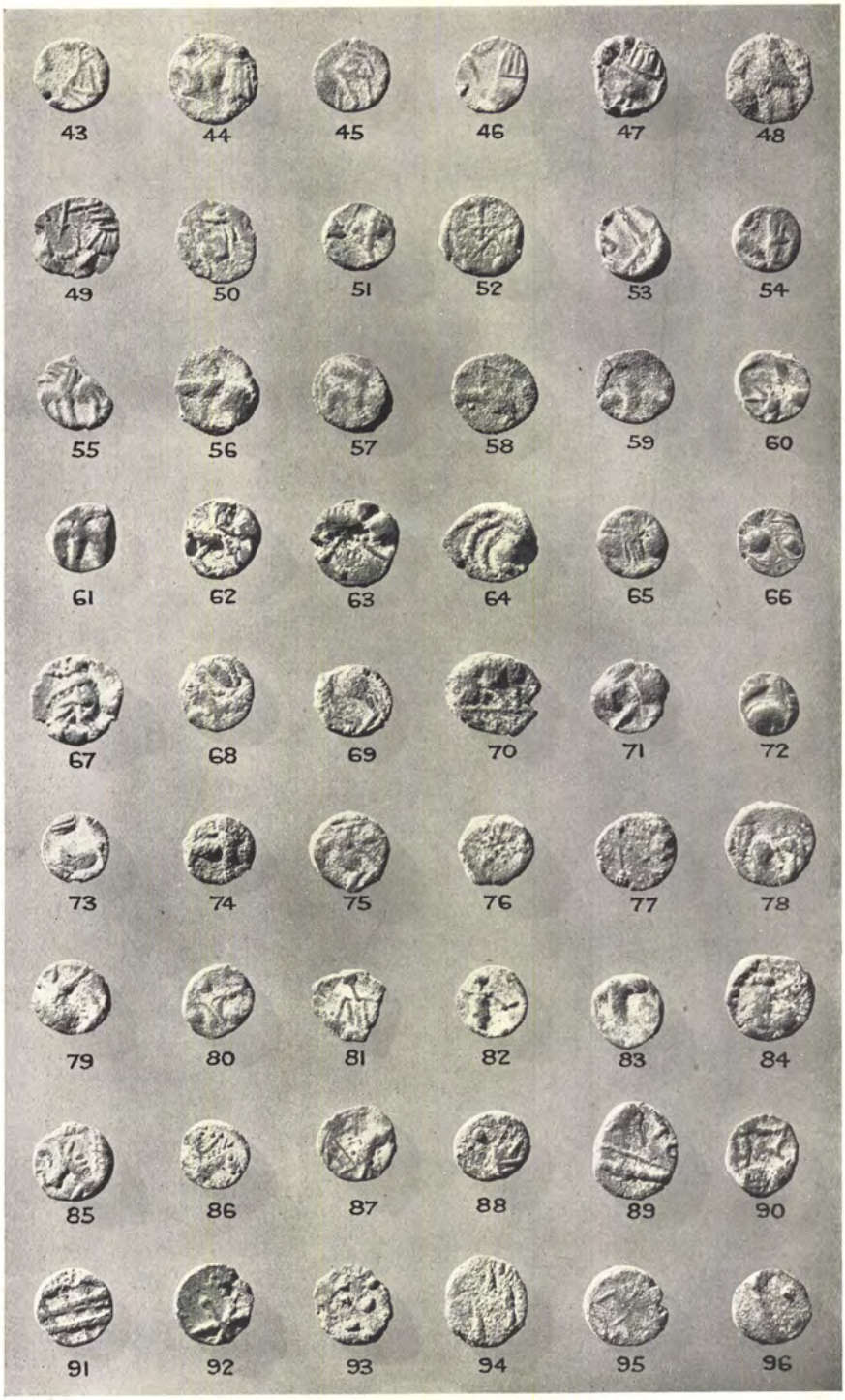
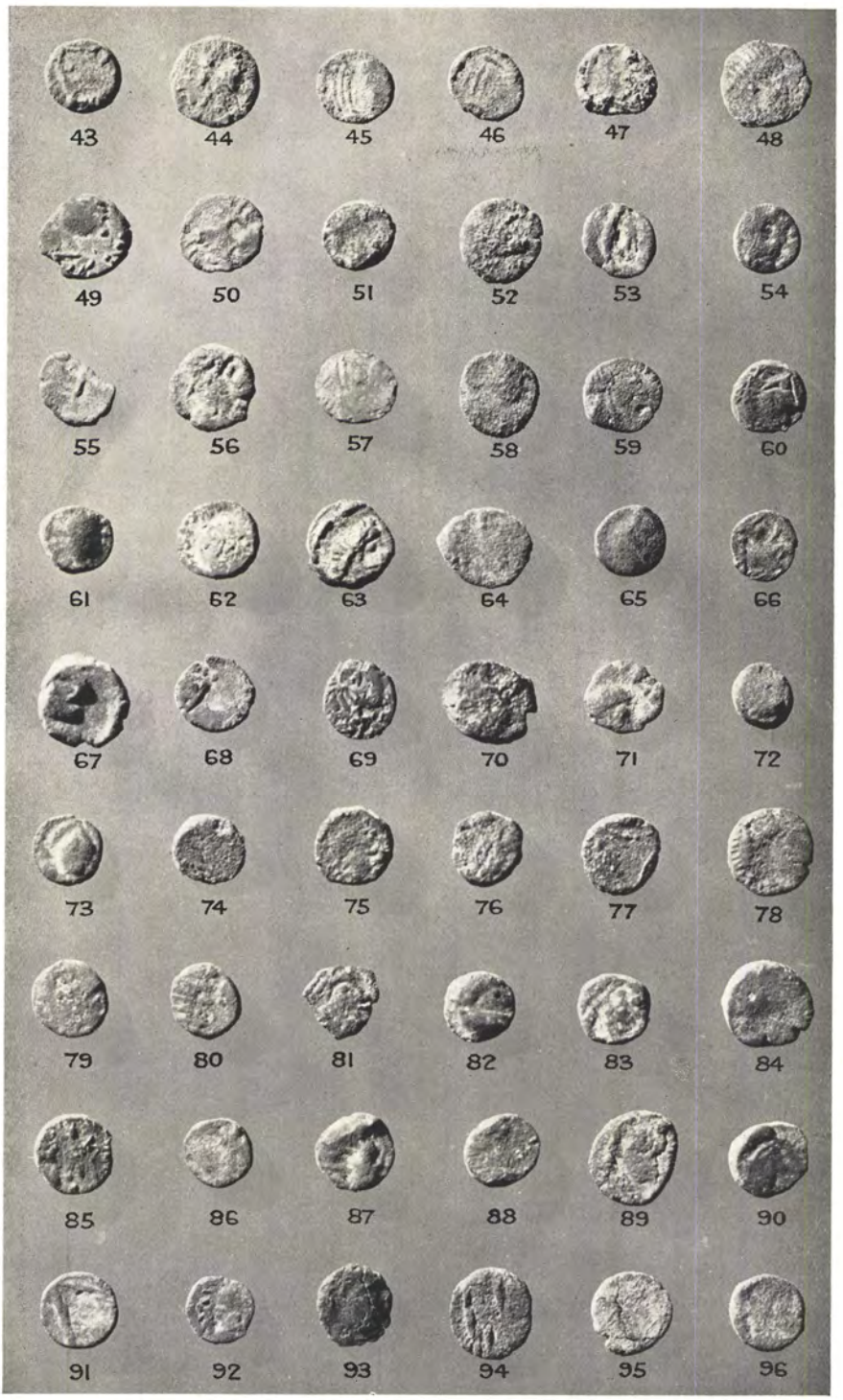
Hoard II. Class D reverses. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932



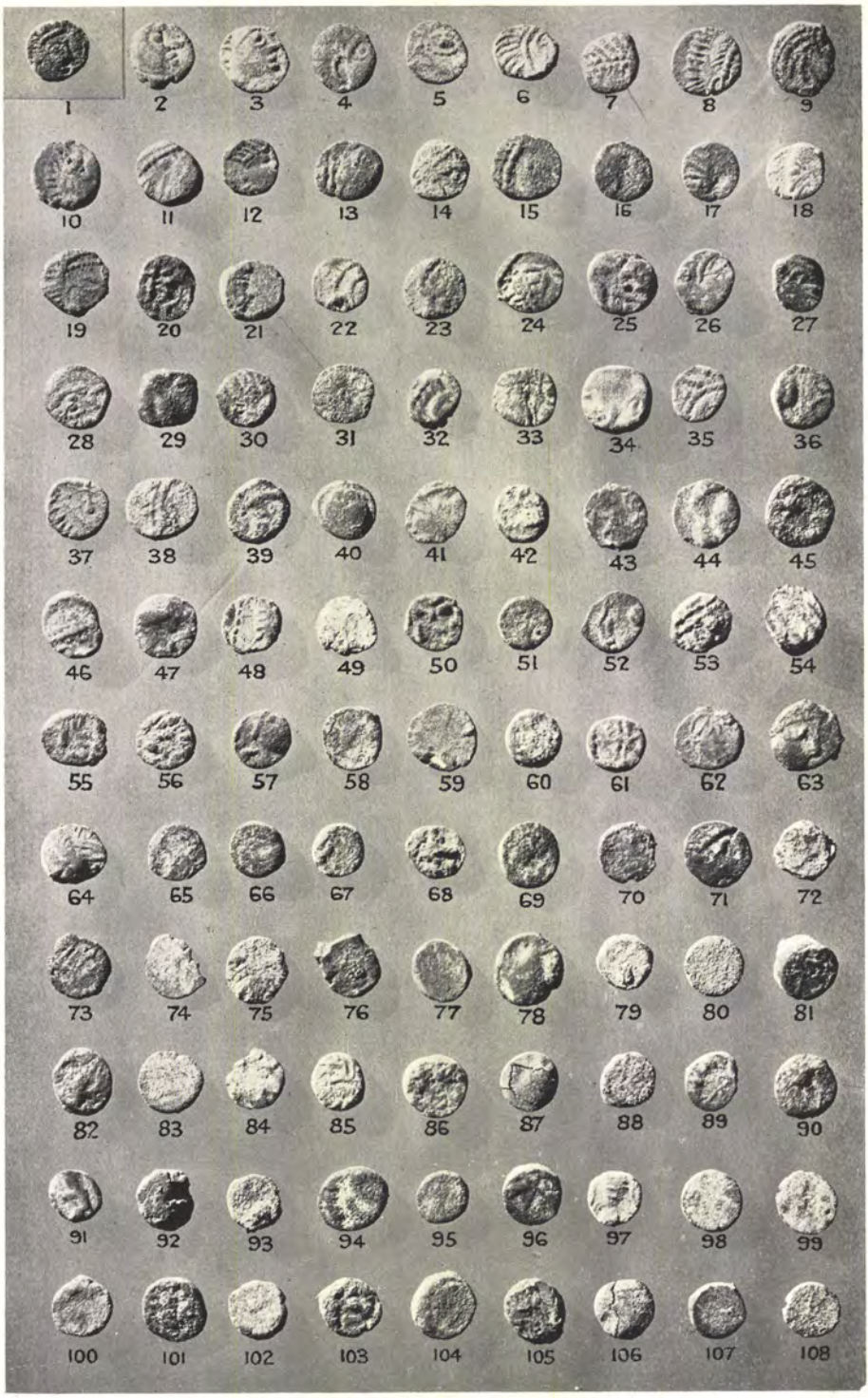
Hoard II. Class D reverses. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932



Hoard II. Class D obverses. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932



Hoard II. Class E 'obverses'. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

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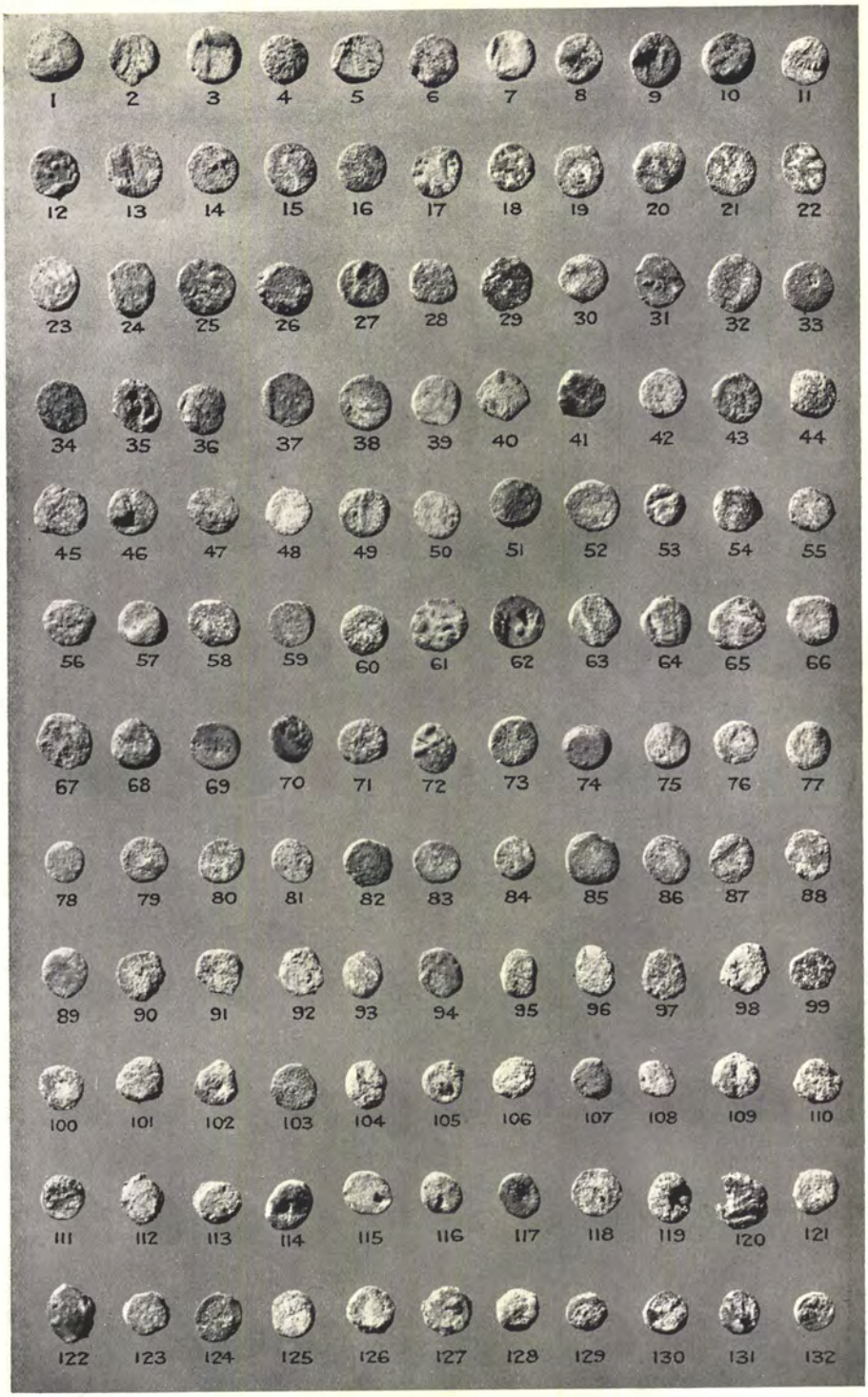
Hoard II. Class E 'reverses'. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932



Hoard II. Class F 'reverses'. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

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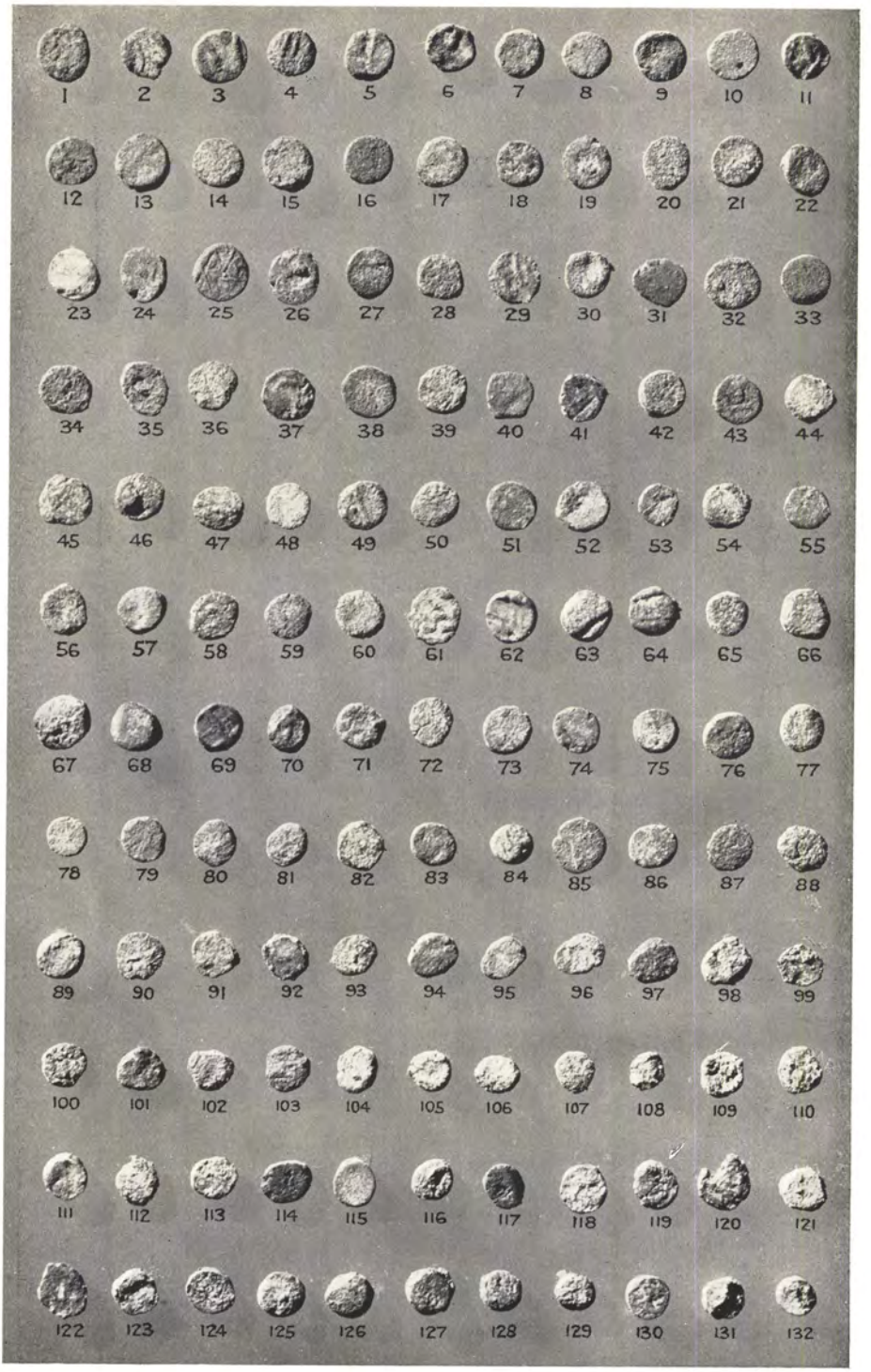

Hoard II. Class F 'obverses'. Scale: magnified $\frac{2}{1}$

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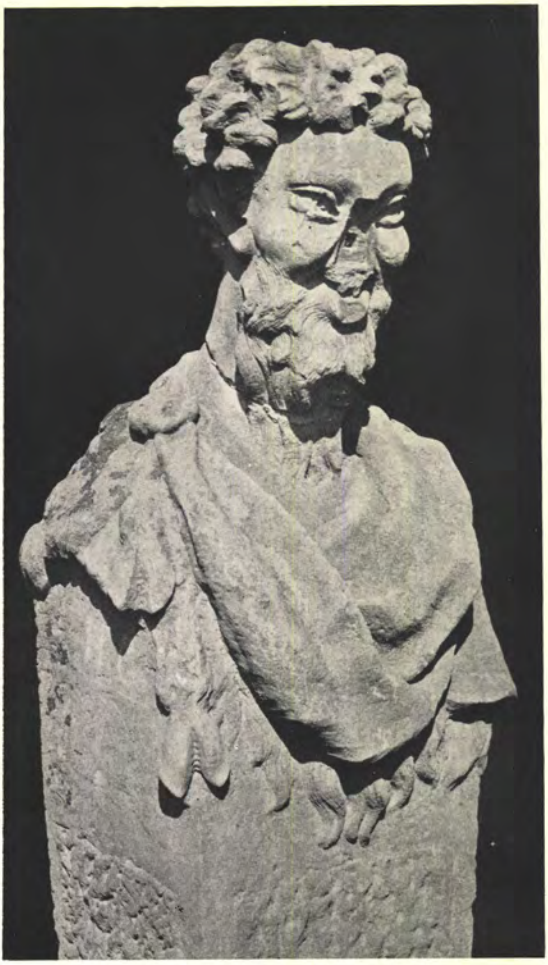
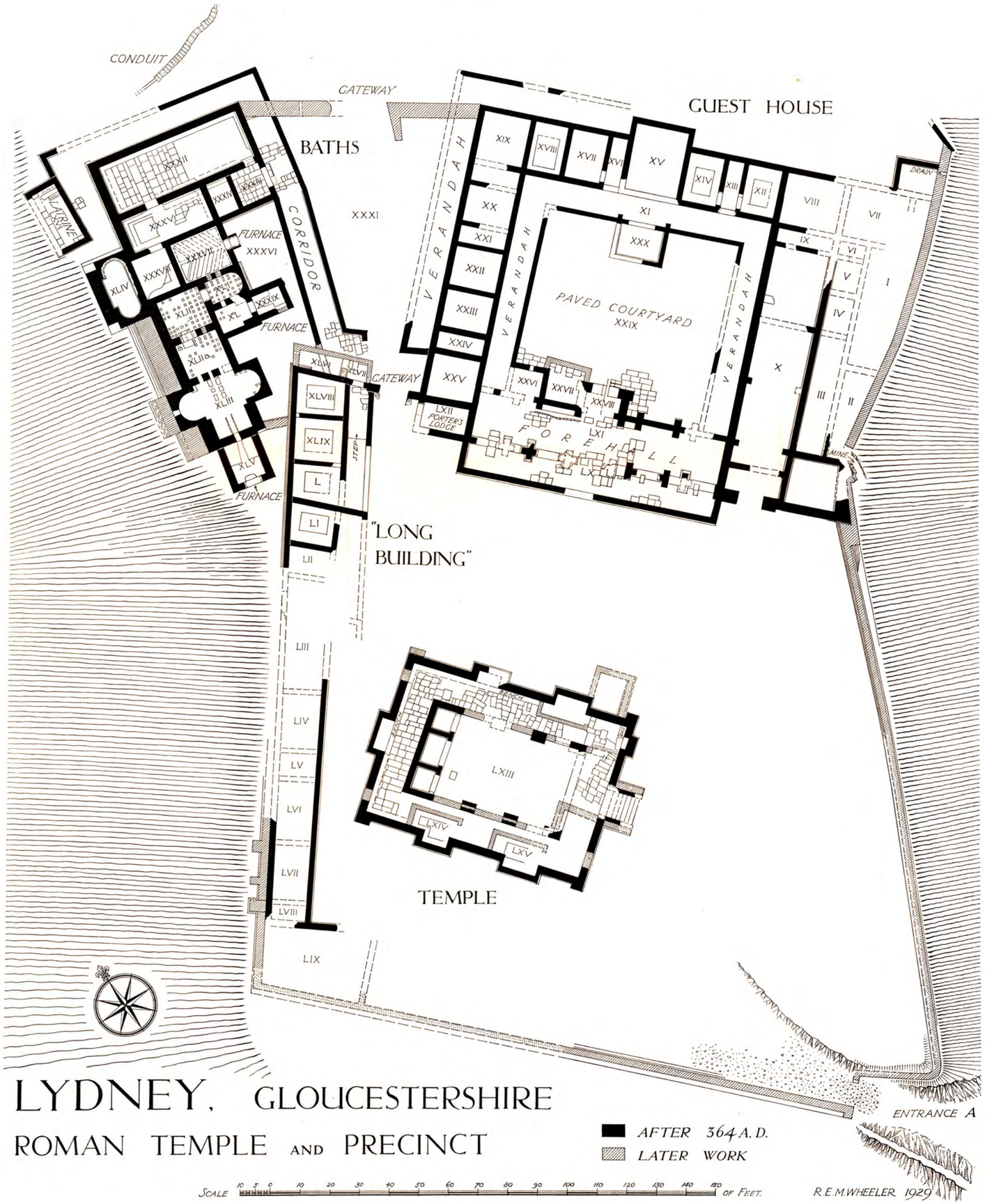


'Adam and Eve': late seventeenth or eighteenth century terminal statues now on the site
(*See p.* 137)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932



LYDNEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

ROMAN TEMPLE AND PRECINCT

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GENERAL PLAN OF THE SITE

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