

# **Fragile Gods: Ceramic Figurines in Roman Britain**

## **Volume 2**

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## **Appendix 1.**

### **Typological Catalogue of the Pipeclay Objects in Roman Britain**

Over the past forty years pipeclay figurines, busts, shrines, animal vessels and masks have been categorised in various ways; from the complex type, sub-type and sub-group approach used by Rouvier-Jeanlin (1972) to the entirely descriptive method preferred by Boekel in 1987. The best catalogues, however, combine the best elements of these two approaches (e.g. Gonzenbach 1986, 1995 and Beenhouwer 2005), by identifying different forms (e.g. figurines, busts, shrines, animal vessels, masks), types (e.g. Venus, Dea Nutrix, horses, busts) and sub-types (e.g. Venus Type 1 and 2, Dea Nutrix Type 1 and 2, Single Horses/Double Horses, Women Busts/Boy Busts), and only identifying sub-groups (e.g. Venus hairstyles, bare horses/bridled horses) where it is absolutely necessary for clarity.

As a result, the following catalogue lists and discusses all of the different types of pipeclay figurines, busts, shrines, animal vessels and masks that have been found in Britain thematically, arranged per the typological conventions used in the later Continental catalogues. All of the objects are thus presented in groups of form by depiction (e.g. deities, animals and humans), with types arranged alphabetically within each group, and sub-types/groups only when necessary. The various different shrines, animal vessels and masks found in the province are also recorded in the catalogue under a separate section, as are any previously misidentified objects that are either not pipeclay figurines or not Roman in date. For the purposes of this study, objects with a certain or almost certain identification are obviously grouped together whereas all uncertain and non-identified objects are classified as ‘unknown’, with potential identities suggested in the database. In each case a description of each object type and, where

appropriate, sub-type, is given with an overview of its iconography, production region(s), production date and Continental distributions, whether in Gaul or the Rhine-Moselle region.

The 946 Roman period pipeclay objects from Britain include 777 figurines, 34 busts, 29 shrines, 21 vessels of animals and seven masks. Deities in the form of figurines and busts total 627 (599 female and 13 male gods), birds and animals 92, 58 humans (32 males/21 females), and 78 fragments and bases. The database actually totals 963 entries as it includes seventeen other objects: 13 that are probably not Roman in date (nos. 64, 238, 255, 266-9, 345, 596, 796, 908, 910, 923), two likely Iron Age masks probably made in Britain (nos. 772, 964), and two candlestick holders (nos. 287, 948). These are described at the end of the catalogue.

To accompany this thematic catalogue, a full digital database that describes each pipeclay object found in Britain and records their find circumstances and contexts is provided in Appendix 9 that can be found on a CD inside the back cover of this volume.

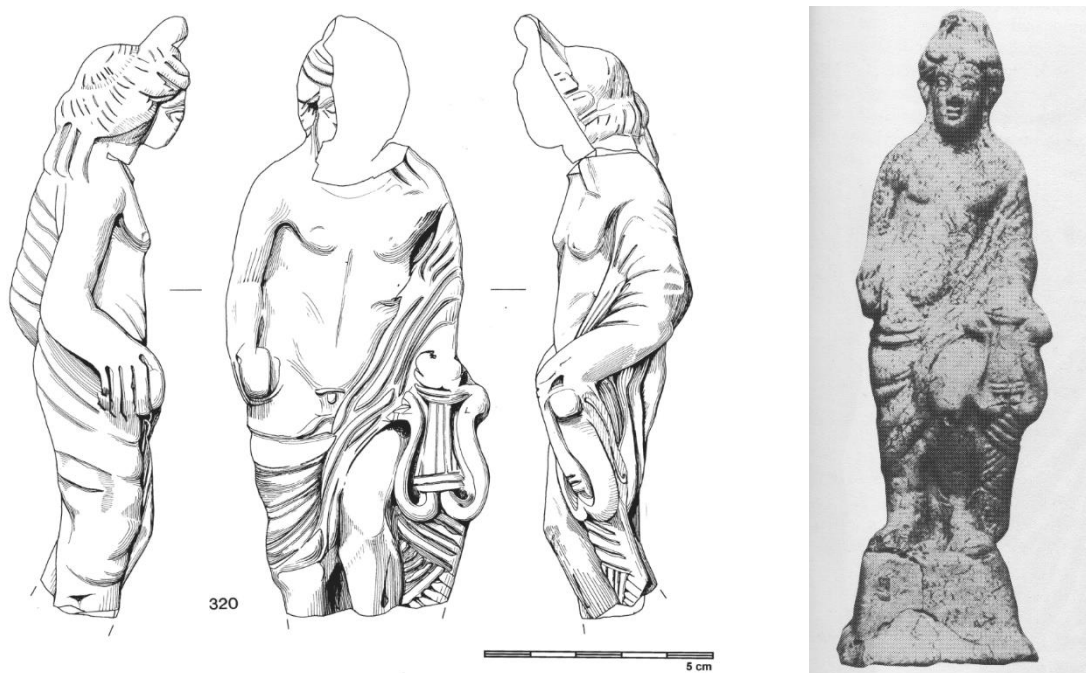
## Deity Figurines

Many different gods are depicted by the 627 pipeclay figurines that deities in Britain. As I show in Chapter 5, 599 (95.5%) of these deities are goddess that are closely related to fertility, protection and regeneration, while contrastingly only 13 (2.1%) are male gods that are more closely linked with agriculture and commerce as well as hunting and war. Venus are by far the most common type (401 examples), followed by Dea Nutrix (153) and Minerva (22), followed by seated and standing Mother Goddesses/Female Figures (ten), Mercury (six), Apollo (three), Hercules (two), Diana (two) and Juno (two). Bacchus (one), Cybele (one), Epona (one), Fortuna (one), Leda and Swan (one), Luna Lucifera (one) and Mars (one) are the rarest types



### *Apollo (Fig. A.1.1)*

A total of three figurines are identified as Apollo, all seemingly of the same type. Figurine no. 234 from Hacheston, Suffolk is broken at the face and knees; no. 235 at Bedford, Bedfordshire displays the abdomen and lower legs of the god and his lyre, and no. 728 is another incomplete specimen from Ashwell. Apollo figurines show him standing upright, his arms by his side and legs together, the left one slightly bent. His hair is combed upwards. Although his torso is bare, drapery supported by his left arm hangs around his waist and covers his legs, except for the feet. His left hand rests on top of the five-stringed lyre supported on his hip, and in his right hand may be a plectrum (Jenkins 2004: 140, fig. 100). The base is tall and square.



*Fig. A.1. 1. Figurines of Apollo. Left - Drawing of the Apollo figurine from Hacheston, Suffolk (no. 234), after Jenkins 2004, 140, no. 320, fig. 100, pl. 13; Right – Figurine of Apollo from Nantes, France, after Boekel 1987, fig. 27.*

Apollo figurines are generally very rare throughout Central Gaul and the Rhine-Mosel region (Boekel 1987: 246) where only a small range of different types are available, including

some of the god seated (e.g. Rüger 1980: 57, no. 84; Beenhouwer 2005: 605-6). The type of figurine represented in Britain is particularly scarce elsewhere, so much so that the three finds from this province actually constitute a large proportion of the total European collection. For example, Rouvier-Jeanlin (1972: 221, nos. 530-1) only counts two of this Central Gaulish type in her catalogue, from Pupillin and Saint Pourçain-sur-Besbre in France respectively. A third is now known from Nantes in western France (Boekel 1987: 249, fig. 27). None of the French finds are well dated but Apollo figurines were being made in the Rhine-Mosel during the third quarter of the second century based on an Apollo figurine from Heerleen, the Netherlands that is inscribed by the modeller Servandus who worked in Cologne at this time (Boekel 1987: 246, 250-1).

***Bacchus (Fig. A.1.2)***

A single detached head found at Flitwick, Bedfordshire is evidently that of Bacchus (no. 236). Broken at the neck, the piece depicts the youthful face of the god with an elaborate coiffure and a wreath made of vine leaves and grapes. A complete figurine from Bingerbrück, Germany (Jenkins 1977: 66, figs. 66-7; Boekel 1987: 249, fig. 27), illustrates that the head was once part of a figure standing semi-clad on a square plinth with robes, hung from his left wrist, covering his legs and feet. A drinking cup (*kantharos*) is seen in his right hand, and to his left a panther lies by his feet. Although Bacchus generally remains a rather enigmatic deity (Hutchinson 1986b: 135), his wreath and *kantharos* reinforce his position as the god of wine and agriculture, and the panther is a powerful symbol of both his eastern origins and warrior status (*ibid*). Evidence for his cult is found, in various mediums, throughout Britain (Hutchinson 1986a) but the Flitwick head is the only firm image of adult Bacchus in pipeclay



*Fig. A.1. 2. Figurines of Bacchus. Left - The Bacchus head from Ruxox Farm, Bedfordshire (no. 236), © The Higgins Bedford Museum; Right – a parallel figurine from Bingerbrück, after Boekel 1987, fig. 28.*

Other than at Bingerbrück only four other Bacchus figurines of this type are known in Germany, at Cologne (two), Frankfurt-Heddernheim and Mainz. The Bingerbrück figurine is signed on the back of the pedestal by the mid-second century modeller Servandus of Cologne (Boekel 1987: 250, fig. 28; Beenhouwer 2005: 607, Cat. nr. 4214). This inscription, combined with chemical analysis on these figurines demonstrates that they, and thus probably the head from Ruxox Farm, were produced in Cologne (Rudolfplatz) in the mid to late second century (Beenhouwer 2005: 607-8, Serie 532). Two Bacchus figurines of a slightly different type that were probably made in the same area around the same time have also been found in Braives and Tienen in Belgium (Beenhouwer 2005: 608, Serie 946).

Two other finds from Britain - a bust found at Great Winchester Street, London (no. 255) and a small head from Tyne and Wear (no. 908) - might also depict Bacchus, this time as an infant, but these are discussed in the 'Other Objects' section below.

*Cybele (Fig. A.1.3)*

The oriental goddess Cybele (or *Magna Mater*) is represented by a single figurine at Corbridge (no. 860). Originating in Asia Minor, her fertility cult spread to the provinces where she acted as protector of life, nature and agriculture, and was particularly popular with civilians (Jenkins 1977: 423-4; Henig 1984: 110). At Corbridge, just the head, shoulders and breast of this mother-goddess survives. Looking forwards, she is shown wearing a mural crown (*corona muralis*) on her head that is partially covered by a veil that descends to cover her shoulders and back. Her arms and upper body are robed and appear to be bunched together, as if secured, in the middle of her chest. Her facial features are plain but well defined. The little hair she displays is combed straight and she wears either a collar or some kind of necklace around her neck.



*Fig. A.1. 3. Figurines of Cybele. Left –from Corbridge, Northumberland (no. 860), in Corbridge Museum; Right –figurine from Cologne, after Boekel 1987, fig. 33.*

Although the lower part is missing, the crown, veil and facial features of the Corbridge figurine are most like the seated depictions of Cybele from Hofstade and Cologne, Germany

(Boekel 1987: 276, fig. 33; Beenhouwer 2005: 342, Serie 465, Cat. nr. 280); figurines that show the goddess holding a *patera* in her right hand with a lion sat either side of her robed legs. However, the Corbridge figurine's garment is more like that on an unprovenanced figurine of a seated Cybele recorded in the Netherlands (Nijmegen RMK, xixb 3. H. 18.7, in Boekel 1987: 284, fig), as well as another from Tongeren in Belgium (Beenhouwer 2005: 341-2, Serie 463). Again, these show the goddess holding a *patera* in her right hand. This time though there is a more complex arrangement of folds covering her legs, round knobs on the armrests of the chair, and no lions seated either side of her feet.

Figurines of Cybele, in various forms, are occasionally found in the Rhine-Mosel region and are more frequent there than in Central Gaul where they are completely absent; this includes the six figurines of Cybele from Arentsburg, Nijmegen, Vechten and Voorburg published in Boekel's (1987: 276-87) study of the Netherlands. The production of such Cybele figurine, including the Corbridge example, is dated epigraphically and contextually to Cologne in the Rhine-Moselle during the later first or second century (Boekel 1987: 279; Beenhouwer 2005: 337-44).

*Dea Nutrix (Fig. A.1.4)*

Dea Nutrix is the second most common figurine type after Venus, with 153 examples (24.4% of deities and 16.1% of figurines) from Britain. Typically, these figurines show a seated figure in a high-backed chair nursing either one or two infants. The chair has a rounded back up to the shoulders with high sides and armrests that is usually decorated with a herring-bone pattern with a plain upper rim. Her garment – which Jenkins suggests is a maternity gown (Jenkins 1978: 151) but is actually Gallo-Roman clothing (see Rothe 2009, 2013) - covers most of her body from the shoulders down to the feet, leaving just her hands, breasts and the tips of her feet exposed. The neckline is shaped with a folded collar while the lower drapery covers the bent knees and defines the shape of the legs. Her arms are thin and she holds each infant in enlarged hands. The infants are small but have large round heads, and are usually shown holding an arm up to the goddess's breasts and with their feet resting on the insides of her knees. Her chair and feet sit on a shallow, plain, semi-circular plinth.



*Fig. A.1. 4. Figurines of Dea Nutrix. Left - Type 1 Dea Nutrix from Liverpool Street, London (no. 8); Middle – Type 1 Dea Nutrix from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 354; Right - Type 2 Dea Nutrix from Copthall Court, London (no. 7).*

Dea Nutrix figurines are part of a wider group of objects that are traditionally associated with the cult of the mother-goddess (*Matrae Matronae*) that were intrinsically connected with



fertility, well-being, protection and regeneration (Boekel 1987: 433), while Burleigh *et al.* (2006: 289) subsequently suggest that such imagery ‘was probably frequently invoked in times of pregnancy, childbirth, and lactation, when an adequate supply of milk ensured a healthy beginning for the new child; she would also have been called upon to help in instances of infertility’. However, it is now questionable as to whether this form actually depicts a goddess or rather a breastfeeding woman (see Beenhouwer 2005: 559-81). If she is a goddess her real identity is obscure. Jenkins (1962a: 838-40; 1977: 453-5) posits that she may be a Gaulish representation of a Roman matron god, like Fecunditas or Juno Lucina - or possibly Cybele or Isis, who were closely associated with childbirth and child-rearing, but if this is the case would she not be more obviously depicted as Cybele, Fortuna, Isis or Juno who are depicted explicitly in pipeclay elsewhere, if not much in Britain but on the Continent? It is also possible that this is some kind of indigenous Gallic goddess who protected women and children in the same way. Either way, the wicker chair is a typical object of Gaul and Germany that is not seen in terracottas from Italy (M. Carroll pers. comm.). Frequent finds of Dea Nutrix figurines at shrines and sanctuaries (Green 1986: 89) indicate links with healing, and their presence in Continental and, more rarely, British burials points to a role in death and the afterlife that may be connected to ideas about the life-cycle, renewal and rebirth (Burleigh *et al.* 2006: 289-90).

Images of seated figures breastfeeding children originated from the Mediterranean before similar representations in clay, metal and stone spread across the Roman world, each taking slightly different forms (Green 1986: 78-91; Burleigh *et al.* 2006: 289). Some of the earliest Greek examples of this are the series of clay figurines of Hera Kourotrophos from Paestum, Italy (Cohen & Rutter 2007: 135-42; Price, T.H. 1978) that show a figure (goddess?) sat in a high-backed chair holding or nursing an infant. The first of these figurines - a group of two dozen from the city’s urban and suburban sanctuaries, including one from the *Heraion* on the mouth of Sele River - were Corinthian imports dated to the sixth century, but similar clay



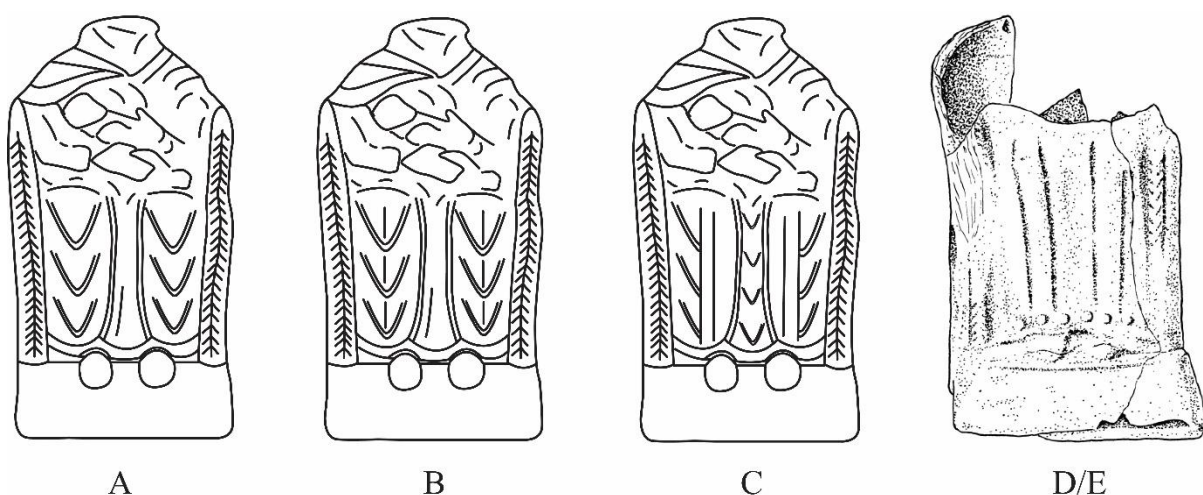
representations were made locally in Paestum from the first half of the fifth century. Two comparable figurines are also known from Selinus in Sicily, while the goddess/female figure with infant(s) motif was equally an important theme of Tanagran sculpture in the third to fourth century BC (Jenkins 1977: 449-52). The main role of these figurines appears to have been to safeguard children as dedications at temples and sanctuaries (Cohen & Rutler 2007: 135).

In the Roman period images depicting female figures nursing children come in the form of clay and bronze figurines and stone reliefs (Green 1989: 30-2). Some, like the pipeclay figurines, show a single figure with infant(s), but others can, more unusually, depict up to three such figures arranged in a row. A stone plaque from Cirencester, for instance, portrays three robed figures (goddesses?) sitting in a row, the middle figure cradling a child in linen in her arms, the other two holding bundles of food - probably fruit - representing fertility (Green 1986: 79, fig. 30). Although they are rare, Durham (2010: 63) also catalogues a small group of 11 metal figurines from Britain that she identifies as Mother-Goddess figurines, about which the same caution regarding goddesses and females should be taken about their identity. Most of these figures are depicted either seated holding round objects - fruits rather than infants - in their laps or standing with their hands on their stomachs, but one figurine from Culver Hole Cave, Swansea does show the goddess cradling a child in each of her arms (*ibid*: 2010: 63, pl. 13). Such metal and stone objects are also closely associated with ideas of fertility, motherhood and protection, particularly in Gaul and Britain too (Green 1986: 78-91).

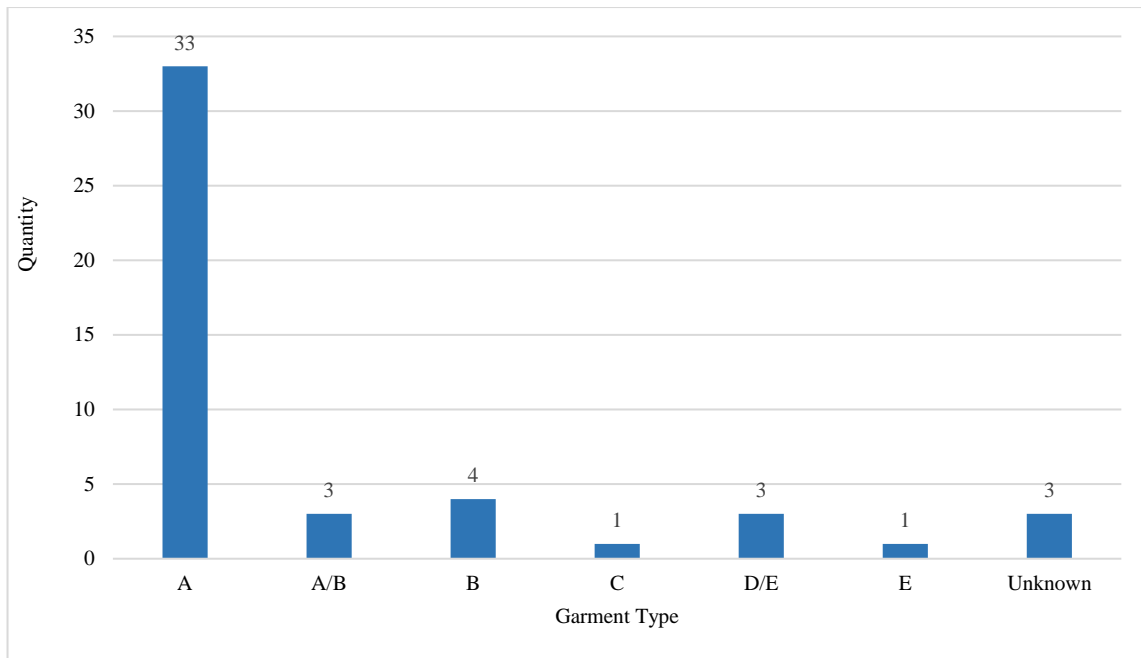
Depictions of Dea Nutrix in pipeclay can be divided into two different types. Type 1 figurines portray the goddess with two infants, one at each breast and are slightly more common in Britain (21 figurines (or 13.7%), whereas Type 2 figurines (12 figurines (7.8%) show her with just one infant feeding at her right breast. Another 120 fragments (78.4%) with general characteristics of Dea Nutrix figurines (e.g. parts of herring-bone pattern chair and semi-circular

base, heads, and pieces showing one or other of the infants) belong to one or other of these two groups.

Forty-Eight Dea Nutrix figurines can be divided into sub-types by their garment designs (Fig. A.1.5-6) but there is very little variation in Britain, with many of the small differences between these probably more to do with the effects of mould copying rather than representing distinctive types. The four garment designs so far illustrated and quantified in the figures below are: v-shaped folds down each leg with u-shaped central parting (Garment A); the same as Garment A but with one straight fold running down through the v-shaped folds on each leg (B); half v-shaped folds with two straight folds down each leg and a u-shaped parting with v-shaped folds (C); and double folds straight down each leg with no central parting (D), some with beads or studs across the hem (E). Garment A occurs on both Type 1 and 2 figurines and Garment B exclusively on Type 1. There is a much greater number of garment designs on the Continent that appear on both Type 1 and Type 2 figurines. Interestingly though, Garment D, as seen on Dea Nutrix no. 9 from Snodland, Kent, is unique in Britain as well as the Continent.



*Fig. A.1. 5. Dea Nutrix garment types.*



*Fig. A.1. 6. Proportion of Dea Nutrix garment types in Britain (t=48).*

Hairstyles can further group Dea Nutrix figurines but this is quite hard to do in Britain where most finds are headless (cf. Jenkins 1977: 284-284a). Indeed, only four figurines come complete with heads (e.g. 1, 2 15, 718) and 11 other finds are head fragments that could belong to Dea Nutrix figurines or, possibly, human busts that often have the same heads (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 293, no. 806). In contrast to the Continent where variety is greater, most of the Dea Nutrix heads in Britain are quite similar in style, showing a rounded face with round eyes, a straight, wide nose, thick lips and hair drawn up either side of the face tied into a bun on top of the head with a bunched plat or braid down the back (e.g. 2, 15, 30, 32, 504, 643, 921, 924). Dea Nutrix 1 from Canterbury is unique in Britain with its slightly rounder, higher placed bun (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, 169, no. 361). Conversely, fragments 34, 35 and 36 that are probably also Dea Nutrix have very different hairstyles with piled rolls with small swirls and central parting at the front and concentric folds with combed hair at the back; these are probably Type 1 figurines with plain folded drapery (Garment D) (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 159, no. 313). This garment sub-type is also very rare in Continental assemblages.

All of the Type 1 and Type 2 Dea Nutrix figurines found in Britain were made in Central Gaul, probably at Toulon-sur-Allier, in the mid-late first and second centuries (Beenhouwer 2005: 564, 566, 574). However, figurines 34, 35 and 36, with their swirled hairstyle, are thought to date slightly earlier to the early-mid second century and were probably manufactured at Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (Beenhouwer 2005: 561). The only other possible parallel for this figurine type is at Kerkhove, Belgium (*ibid*: 561, Cat. Nos. 246, 3815?). Most of the other Type 1 and Type 2 figurines of the type found in Britain are probably also from France where they were exported. For example, individual Type 1 figurines have been found in Salzburg and Seeb, Austria, Nijmegen, the Netherlands, and Hofstade and Velzeke, Belgium, and Type 2 figurines at Augst in Switzerland and Destelbergen in Belgium (Beenhouwer 2005: 567, 569, 574).

*Diana (Fig. A.1.7)*

As well as a protector of women in childbirth, Diana was also a goddess of nature and the hunt, and she is hence often depicted with her bow and arrow (Green 1989: 27; 1993: 196; also see Blagg 1986 for her Continental origins). Two different types of Diana figurine have been recorded in Roman Britain, both from Roman London. The first, Diana 220, shows the goddess from the knees down stood on a hollow rectangular plinth. She wears boots (*caligae*) and drapery surrounds the back of the legs. Part of her bow stands upright against her left leg. Chevrons are painted on the front of the base in black or brown paint. Full figurines would likely have shown the goddess fully clothed reaching for her quiver of arrows behind her back. This figurine differs from Continental examples in that the bow replaces the dog usually sat by her left leg (e.g. Boekel 1987: 288, fig. 36, 293, fig.).



*Fig. A.1. 7. Figurines of Diana. Left –figurine from Bond Court (no. 219); Right –figurine from Veldhoven, the Netherlands, after Boekel 1987: 293, fig.*

The second figurine (no. 219), from Bond Court, Walbrook, is slightly more ambiguous in form. It depicts the lower legs of a goddess from the knees down, wearing anklets, standing on a square plinth. Drapery covers the back of her legs and the bottom part of a quiver, or maybe drapery, is seen by her left leg. Jenkins (1977: 337, no. 11) identifies this figurine as a depiction

of Venus wearing anklets, presumably by the absence of the bow and dog that usually define Diana, but it could also be a slightly different take on the latter goddess.

Boekel (1987: 287) points out that Diana is one of the least well represented female deities in the north-western provinces and suggests that slightly different types were made in the workshops of Central Gaul and the Rhine-Mosel. No exact parallels for Figurines 219 and 220 are known from Britain or the rest of Europe but examples broadly similar to Diana 220 from the Rhine-Mosel region, and occasionally the Netherlands, date approximately to the second century, with many regarded as the work of Servandus of Cologne (e.g. Boekel 1987: 294; Beenhouwer 2005: 346, Serie 486 and Serie 484). Figurine 219 is likely to be of a similar date.

***Epona (Fig. A.1.8)***

Only one figurine of Epona is known from Roman Britain in the form of a small fragment from Caerwent in Monmouthshire, Wales (no. 233). As the goddess of horses, Epona was revered by soldiers, most usually cavalrymen, who looked towards her for prosperity and protection (Green 1986: 91-4, 171-5; Oaks 1986: 77). The fragment from Caerwent is of the lower part of the goddess who would have been sat on the back of a horse, the remains of which can be seen to her right. Her garment, covering her from waist to ankles, has a number of v-shaped folds, while fractures indicate that her hands were positioned on her knees. Complete figurines would have shown Epona sitting upright to one side of the animal with her legs hanging down its side. In some cases she holds the horse's reins in one or both hands, but figurines from the Rhine-Mosel region sometimes show her holding a small dog in her lap or, as in the case of some Central Gaulish finds, holding a cornucopia and *patera* (Boekel 1987: 303).



*Fig. A.1. 8. Figurines of Epona. Left - Fragment from Caerwent, Monmouthshire (no. 233), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 60; Right – Epona figurine from Boppard, Germany, after Boekel 1987, fig. 39*

Representations of Epona might also be represented by some of the incomplete equine fragments that have been found in Britain (e.g. nos. 844, 911) but figurines of lone horses are also known (see below). Figurines of Epona sat on a horse appear to be reasonably well represented in Gaul and the Rhine-Mosel area where there is a degree of variety in the different types found, but only two have been found in the Netherlands, in the province of Limburg (Boekel 1987: 301-9; Beenhouwer 2005: 351-5). Jenkins (1977: 221, 362) mentions that the fragment from Caerwent is much like a more complete figurine from Saint Pourcain-sur-Besbre and other examples from Autun, La Tourelle and Toulon-sur-Allier in France that were produced in the Allier Valley rather than those from the Rhine-Mosel that differ distinctly in style. Dating evidence for Epona figurines is scarce but contextual finds suggest that they were in use from the second to third centuries (Boekel (1987: 305-6).



***Fortuna (Fig. A.1.9)***

Fragment no. 920 from Tanner Row in York is part of a Fortuna figurine showing the right arm and hand of the goddess holding a round *patera* in her hand. Her upper arm, from shoulder to elbow, is covered in robes with thick vertical folds which, along with the *patera*, is the most defining feature here. Complete figurines, as shown in Rouvier-Jeanlin's catalogue (e.g. 1972, no. 430) depict Fortuna standing, fully but loosely robed, on a square plinth wearing a diadem on her head. In her right hand, held by her side, is a *patera* seemingly filled with flowers, while her left hand supports a staff of cornucopia, the top resting on her shoulder. The cornucopia and *patera* are not only signs of good-health and fruitfulness but also identify the goddess with the mother-goddess cult, as do the horns of plenty, globes and children that are frequently seen on the Continental figurines (Boekel 1987: 310-1).



*Fig. A.1. 9. Figurines of Fortuna. Left - a fragment of Fortuna from York (no. 920); Right – a Fortuna figurine from Clermont-Ferrand, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 430.*

Many different types of Fortuna figurine are known from Gaul but there are far more of them in the Rhineland than Gaul (Boekel 1987: 310). The York example is unique in Britain and appears to be of a less popular Central rather than Rhineland variety that was made at Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre or Toulon where there are a handful of parallels (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 188-9, nos. 427-32; Beenhouwer 2005: 357, Serie 196). Other exact depictions of Fortuna have been found distributed at Clermont-Ferrand and the temple area at Alise-Sainte-Reine, France, as well as at Augst and Riaz in Switzerland (Gonzenbach 1995: 89). Beenhouwer (*ibid*) puts forward a production date of between AD 100 and 200/220 based on contextualised moulds at Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre and Toulon.

***Hercules (Fig. A.1.10)***

A small group of two figurines are of Hercules - the hero god who, worshipped in many forms, was, amongst other things, a procurer of strength and victory (Adkins & Adkins 1996: 98-101; Hansen 2004: 189-96). In Britain he is also sometimes represented as a powerful Sky God in the form of a naked figure stood wielding a club over in one hand and carrying a lion-skin cloak in the other who, bearing similarities with mother-goddesses, was a giver of life and provisions (Green, H. J. M. 1986: 44-5). This type of Hercules figurine is evidenced from the child's grave at the Beverley Road cemetery in Colchester (no. 237), whereby the god is shown in his typical pose (Hercules Type 1 in Gonzenbach 1995: 135). In this instance he comes complete with a head adorned with thick combed hair and a full beard and stands on a rather flat square plinth



*Fig. A.1. 10. Hercules figurine and statue bust from Britain. Left – the standing Hercules from Colchester (no. 237) after Eckardt 1999, pl. 12a; Right – the (?bust) head from Deal, Kent (no. 238), after Stebbing 1951, pl. 1.*

base. This is to date the only arrangement of Hercules in this particular pose in existence (*ibid*) but it shares many stylistic features (e.g. the eyes and protruding ears) with the other Gaulish products that it was found with in the Colchester Child's Grave group (Jenkins 1977: 158).

A fragment from Caernarfon in Gwynedd, Wales (no. 639) of a pair of crossed paws from Hercules's lion skin cloak may be a second type of Hercules figurine. Again however, as Allason-Jones (1993: 210) notes, it is seemingly distinctive from other such figurines in Europe so far as it shows the legs of the cloak together rather than hanging separately on either side of the god's chest (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 220, no. 527; Gonzenbach 1995: 135-6, Type 2). Alternatively, it is possible that this is actually part of a slightly different variety of Hercules figurine that portrays the god robed from the left shoulder to his knees while holding a pile of fruits in his arms, like the three figurines from Gueugnon and Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre in France recorded by Rouvier-Jeanlin (1972: 221, no. 529) and Beenhouwer (2005: 634). Neither type have yet been documented elsewhere in Belgium, the Rhineland region or Switzerland. The head from Dea, Kent (no. 238) might also be of Hercules (see 'Other Objects' below).

***Juno (Fig. A.1.11)***

Two pipeclay figurines from Britain depict Juno. In Rome, Juno was one third of the Capitoline Triad and had many roles, but was prominently the patron of marriage and family protection. However, the representations from Britain are likely a provincial adaptation of her classical form, Juno Lucina, who presided over childbirth and was the goddess of childrearing and motherhood (Jenkins 1977: 453; Green 1989: 190). The first figurine, from London (no. 518), is of the upper part of this draped goddess. She is crowned with a diadem with a veil and cloak covering her head and back. Her right hand is semi-clenched and she holds a small egg or pomegranate - symbols of fertility and abundance (Arthur 1977) - by her forefinger and thumb.

The complete figure would have been fully draped down to her feet and would have stood on a square or rectangular plinth. This is perhaps most comparable to only a few figurines from the Continent from Tienen and Tongeren in Belgium. Another similar figurine, at the



*Fig. A.1. 11. Two Juno figurines from Britain. Left - from Tower Hamlets, London (no. 518); Right - from Colchester (no. 746), after Worrell & Pearce 2012, fig. 23.*

Mannheim Reiss-Museum in Germany, is from an unknown site. All are signed on the back of the pedestal base by the Cologne based modeller Servandus that attributes them to the mid-

second century (Boekel 1987: 363-4, fig. 59; Beenhouwer 2005: 398, Cat. Nos. 4121, 1194, 302). A second figurine (no. 746) from High Street Colchester also appears to be Juno (Worrell & Pearce 2012, 377-8, fig. 23). In this case the standing figure is heavily draped with a veil from the headdress over the neck and back. Her left arm rests against the side of her body; her right arm is bent and there is a dish in her right hand. She stands, her legs covered by drapery on a plain, hollow base; her feet are not visible. Figurines of Juno in this stance are slightly less common than those holding fruits to the chest, with Worms and Frankfurt yielding only a few similar, but not identical, examples (Beenhouwer 2005: 396-7, Serie 200 and Serie 476).

Only a small selection of 15 cloaked Juno figurines comprising five different types are known from the Continental catalogues. All are from the Rhine-Mosel region where contextual finds and signed examples show that they were produced, evidently in Cologne, in the second century (Boekel 1987: 367; Beenhouwer 2005: 395-9).

*Leda and Swan (Fig. A.1.12)*

A complete figurine of Leda and Swan from London (no. 232) is unique in Britain. The goddess is shown nude and seated with her right arm around the neck of a swan sitting on her right side. A crack across the goddess' neck indicates that the head has been removed and later reattached. Made of white clay, the figurine was probably made in a Central Gaulish workshop; it also has some surviving red pigment on it similar to that seen on Thorn-Puller figurines suggesting that they were made in the same place. Despite their Gaulish production, no parallels of Leda and Swan are yet known from the Continent but a similar undated clay mould has been found in a workshop at Saint Remy in the Allier region of France (Jenkins 1969a: 321).



*Fig. A.1. 12. Figurine of Leda and Swan from London (no. 232), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 58.*

***Luna (Fig. A.1.13)***

One figurine from London (no. 221) shows the head of the moon-goddess Luna ‘Lucifera’ wearing a crescent tiara on top of her head backed by a large bellowing circular veil. The only complete find from a cemetery in Nijmegen reveals that the rest of her would have stood on a hemispherical plinth wearing a long sleeveless garment swept backwards as if blowing in the wind made of u-shaped folds, plain folds around the legs and a pleated belt around her midriff. The left arm is slightly flexed with the hand on her thigh and right arm held slightly away from her body. She holds a flat *patera* in her right hand, as if pouring, and a torch in her left hand that rests on the forearm. Her face is small but detailed with arched eyes, a thin nose and a small mouth. The back of the drapery cascades from the head down to the base, showing little definition of the body.



*Fig. A.1. 13. Figurines of Luna Lucifera. Left - head from Leadenhall Street, London (no. 221); Right -from Nijmegen, the Netherlands, after Boekel 1987, 378-9, fig.*

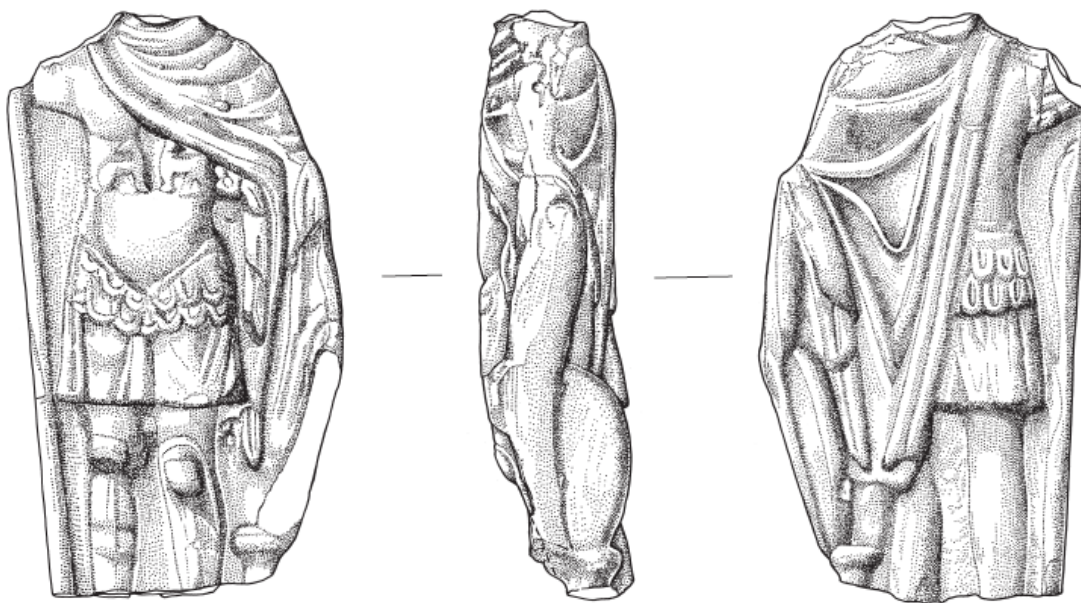
The figurine’s torch identifies her as Luna Lucifera - the goddess of light and helper of childbirth, but her downward pointing torch could also symbolise death or sleep (Boekel 1987:



378). Her posture, stance and windblown drapery all stem from the Greek god Nikè and shares common features with the Roman Victoria and Isis, but is most closely related to Diana - the goddess of women and childbirth (*ibid*: 374-8). Aside from Nijmegen (Jenkins 1977: 360), the only other figurine of this type comes from Cologne, Germany (Boekel 1987: 374), making them an extremely rare type. Boekel (1987: 380) offers a date of the second half of the second century, attributing their style to Servandus of Cologne, or modellers copying his design.

**Mars (Fig. A.1.14)**

A figurine from Mucking, Essex (no. 240), is so far the only example of Mars from Britain. This standing figure is complete apart from the missing head, base and broken right arm, and shows the god wearing a curiass and greaves on his legs with a long cloak hung from his left shoulder covering most of his left side. An oval shield propped up on its end rests against his leg, while the remains of a shaft, presumably of a javelin he would have held upright by his right hand, can be seen to the right of his body (Jenkins 1977: 369, fig. 70). Lacking parallels elsewhere, this figurine is almost identical to only two other examples recorded from Xanten and Cologne, Germany – the latter of which has an inscription that attributes it to Servandus of Cologne in later second century (Beenhouwer 2005: 639, Serie 552). However, two slightly



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*Fig. A.1. 14. Drawing of the Mars figurine from Mucking, Essex (no. 240), courtesy of Cambridge Archaeological Unit.*

different Mars types, also probably made in Cologne, do occur at Nijmegen (one), as well as Martelange (one) and Saint-Mard (two) in France (*ibid*: 639-40, Serie 553-4). Another, this time a seated form, is recorded from Nida-Hedderheim, Germany (Rüger 1980: 58, no. 85).

Traditionally Mars was regarded as the god of war but his cult and imagery in fact had numerous connotations in Roman Britain, many of which were related to nature and guardianship; indeed, as Webster (1986: 58) notes, rather than a warrior Mars was actually “originally a rural deity, responsible for fertility and fecundity and protecting the farmer against bad weather and illness and disease to man and beast”; and thus a vegetation god who provided new life, as both wild fauna and domestic crops, in the Spring. His popularity with soldiers, too, has its origins in this custodial rather than aggressive role, so that the shield and spear he often carries in fact reflect his defensive qualities and ability to protect men against the enemy in combat (*ibid*). Healing was another aspect of Mars’ repertoire who in this role occurs at therapeutic-springs and temples in Gaul the Rhineland, as well as Britain, where he is usually presented with his companion - a dog - as an image of good health and prosperity (Green 1989: 64-6, 111-6).

### *Mercury (Mercurius)*

Mercury is the commonest of the male gods in Britain with five figurines depicting the deity. As well as being the messenger of the gods, Mercury was also the popular deity of trade and commerce who was trusted by the likes of shop-keepers and merchants to bring abundance and prosperity to them (Webster 1986: 60; Price & Kearns 2004: 345). Overall he is rather easy to recognise as he is usually depicted holding a *caduceus* (a staff with two intertwined snakes), wearing a stylised winged hat, winged shoes, and standing with some kind of fertility symbol, whether a cockerel or, as for some pipeclay figurines, a goat (Adkins & Adkins 1996: 151-2).

As in Britain, Mercury was one of the more popular male gods in Gaul and the Rhineland (Boekel 1987: 381) where workshops produced both draped (Type 1) and nude (Type 2) representations of him in roughly equal numbers. Various different groups and sub-groups can be defined by the design of his *caduceus* and how he holds it (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 206), as well as the shape of the *petasos* (headdress) he wears (e.g. Gonzenbach 1995: 137-42). Unfortunately it is only possible to categorise the four Mercury figurines from Britain into two broad types but their different styles do give an indication as to where they were made.

Type 1 Mercury (Draped/Partially Draped) (Fig. A.1.15)

Type 1 Mercury figurines show a standing figure on a reel-shaped plinth. A cloak wraps his body from neck to knees. In his left hand he holds the shaft of a long *caduceus*, the top of which rests on his shoulder. In his right hand he clutches a small purse that rests on the head of a goat lying beside his right leg. The best example of this type in Britain is the figurine from Corbridge (no. 239) that is complete except for the head. Only one other of this particularly rare form of Mercury has been found – at Harelbeke in Belgium, but it is likely that they were produced in the Rhineland sometime between AD 150/255-275 (Beenhouwer 2005: 645, Serie 523).

Another possible Type 1 Mercury figurine is from Carmarthen, Carmarthenshire (no. 640); this shows a fragment of the upper-rear half the god's folded cloak. The folds are arranged slightly differently than those on the Corbridge figurine so that the find probably represents an alternative Type 1 sub-type (Evans 2003: 350, fig. 8.15). The red flecks in the fragment's fabric indicate that it was made in the Rhine-Mosel area in c.120-200 AD (Evans 2003: 350).



*Fig. A.1. 15. Draped Mercury figurine from Corbridge, Northumberland (no. 239).*

A fragment of a slightly different type of Central Gaulish Mercury has recently been discovered at Catterick (no. 965), and another potential one from Caistor St Edmund (no. 971). The former fragment shows the god's genitals, part of his purse held in the right hand with a twisted *caduceus* shaft resting on the floor. The latter example has folded drapery over his shoulder. A complete figurine at Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (Gonzenbach 1995: taf. 135, 5) depicts Mercury standing partially draped over his left shoulder and arm, with the *caduceus* by his left leg. His round winged hat, meanwhile, has a circular boss at the front-centre of the rim, underneath which is his finely combed hair, prominent ears, and finely crafted eyes, nose and mouth. These Mercury figurines are the only two from Britain and join only a handful of others from French sites like Autun and Yzeure, as well as Bregenz, Austria (e.g. Gonzenbach 1995: 139; Beenhouwer 2005: 644, Serie 529). They appear to have been produced at Saint-Pourçain sur-Besbre and Yzeure, and are contextually dated to the second half of the second and early third centuries (Beenhouwer 2005: 644, Serie 529, 950).

Type 2 Mercury (Nude) (Fig.A.1.16)

Alternatively, Type 2 figurines, such as the incomplete specimen from Piercebridge, Darlington (no. 851), show Mercury in a similar stance but this time the god is naked, without a cloak. The *caduceus* is again carried in the left arm and a small purse clasped in his right hand. Most of the time the god is depicted wearing a highly stylised winged *petasos* on his head (Boekel 1987: 388; e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 212, no. 499), yet the Piercebridge figurine seems to have a hat that is more circular in shape and less elaborate in design, or just more worn. Manufactured this time in Central Gaul during the second century, the only two other instances of this figurine type currently known derive from Rheinzabern, Germany and an unknown location in France (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, 211, no. 493, as well as possibly no. 494; Beenhouwer 2005: 642, Serie 518). Additionally, fragment no. 634, also from Corbridge, clearly showing Mercury's stylised *caduceus* and what appears to be part of his naked torso is evidently from a similar, but not necessarily identical, type (Allason-Jones 1988: 214, no. 21, fig. 99).



*Fig. A.1. 16. Figurines of Mercury, Type 2. Left - from Darlington, County Durham recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme (no. 851); Right – an unprovenanced figurine in the National Archaeological Museum, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 493.*



***Minerva (Fig. A.1.17)***

Depictions of Minerva are not particularly well represented in Britain but the 22 pieces (3.5% of the deity assemblage) of the goddess that have been found make her the third most common deity in Britain. In the Classical world Minerva joined Jupiter and Juno to form the Capitoline Triad and was the patron of wisdom, crafts and trade, and as *Minerva Medica* she was also the goddess of medicine and doctors (Adkins & Adkins 1996: 153-4). This protective element is especially prominent in Britain where, referred to as *Sulis Minerva* or simply *Sulis*, she is closely linked with water and thermal springs, and may well have had a role as a healer. At Bath, the temple pediment shows a large relief of a gorgon head: a symbol sometimes used as protection from death (Cunliffe 1984: 6-9). An additional link to fertility is suggested by an



*Fig. A.1. 17. The Minerva figurine with gorgon and shield from Newgate Street, London (no. 515).*

altar dedicated to Minerva found at Coventina's Well (the goddess of wells, springs and abundance) at Carrawburgh, Northumberland (Collingwood & Wright 1965: RIB 1542; Green 1989: 155-6). Such attributes might also be reflected in the two pipeclay figurines, one with a



gorgon breastplate, from wells in Roman London (nos. 515-6). Other figurines show her carrying a *patera* or with a collection of fruit or bread in her lap (Jenkins 1977: 468).

All but one of the Minerva figurines from Britain are fragmentary. The most complete specimen, from London (no. 515), is missing only the head. Most of these seem to be from one or two types of Minerva that in full form would have depicted the goddess standing, looking ahead or downwards, with broad shoulders and legs held slightly apart on a square plinth. The right arm is flexed at the elbow with the right hand placed on the shoulder or touching the hair. Her other arm hangs beside her body, the left hand supporting the top of an oval shield. The goddess is fully clothed wearing a body-length tunic, except for her bare neck, arms and feet, with a *gorgon* depicted on the breastplate and a small pouch by her midriff. The lower drapery is made up of looped layers on the front and back with a raised hem around the waist. Similar figurines from the Continent show she would also have worn a cap, occasionally with a crest, from under which her fringe and long locks of braided hair emerge. The oval shield stands on one end and features a large boss in the centre and simple decoration around the edge.

The distribution of Minerva figurines of this type in Central Gaul indicate that they were made at Rennes, Brive-la-Gaillarde or Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (Beenhouwer 2005: 402, Serie 267) where they are contextually dated to 100/140-175 AD. They are mainly found in France with smaller numbers in Belgium and Germany. Boekel (1987) does not identify any of this type in the Netherlands, nor Gonzenbach (1995: 94) any from Switzerland except for a slightly different type of Minerva holding a round *patera* in her left hand from Riaz (*ibid*: 95).

Three fragments from Britain, however, appear to be from a different Minerva type. Figurine 230 depicts the goddess with an Attic style helmet and crest that is probably from a rarer figurine sub-type with a slightly different tunic design produced in Eastern Gaul (e.g. Boekel 1987: 411, fig. 78; Beenhouwer 2005: 405, Cat. no. 3719). Possible parallels for this

style come from Vechten, the Netherlands (Boekel 1987: 431-2) and Trier, Germany (*ibid*: 411, fig. 78; Beenhouwer 2005: 405). The ‘Sevandus style’ of Minerva 836 showing the figure seated or standing with a round shield, points to an origin in the Rhine-Mosel in the second century (Boekel 1987: 402-3, figs. 72-3?), while Minerva no. 683 where only the goddess’s feet and base remain, is probably part of a seated Minerva figurine from the same place during the same period, many of which are from dated contexts (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 416-24).

### ***Mother-Goddesses/Female Figures (Ancestral Mothers?) – Standing and Seated***

Eight female figurines depict standing (one figurine) or sitting (seven) figures, some of whom are probably mother-goddesses, others possibly mother-goddesses or women holding objects and children. This group also includes two finds from Folkestone (no. 745) and Bath (no. 811) with uncertain posture that are classified as Mother-Goddess figurines in their respective site reports. Generally speaking, Mother-Goddess figurines were very popular throughout the northwestern provinces where they are found in domestic contexts as well as in cemeteries and sanctuaries (Boekel 1987: 433), though there were several different variations that might reflect local stylistic preferences and slight variances in the forms worshipped. Derks (1998: 119) has pointed out that even if some figurines are not *matres* or *matronae* in the divine sense, they probably still had a vital role to play as ancestral mothers and may still be closely associated with concepts such as protection and fertility (Boekel 1987: 433), even when more specific attributions are not possible. As we will see, it is not possible to give secure identities to all of the figurines that make up this interesting group from Britain, but where an attribution can be made it is given, alongside a general overview of their iconography where it is possible.

*Mother-Goddess/Standing Female Figure with Infant (Fig. A.1.18)*

A standing figure with an infant is represented by a fragment from Caerleon (no. 65) showing the head and left shoulder of a female adult and head of an infant (*cf.* Jenkins 1977: 304, fig. 30). This fragment probably would have been part of a larger composition depicting a female figure, partly robed from the waist down, holding a small nude child in her left as she holds her hand up to her left breast. As is the case in Britain, figurines of female figures holding or nursing infants are much more numerous than those that stand but there are greater numbers with more typological diversity in Gaul and, especially, the Rhine-Mosel region (Boekel 1987: 451). The Caerleon figurine was probably manufactured in Cologne, much like an almost complete example from Zugmantel, Germany that is signed on the back of the plinth by the modeller Vindex (Jenkins 1977: 304, fig. 31; Boekel 1987: 453, fig. 102).



*Fig. A.1. 18. Mother-Goddesses/Female Figures with Infants. Left - the fragment from Caerleon, Monmouthshire (no. 65); Right - a complete example from Zugmantel-Kastell, Germany, after Beenhouwer 2005: 558, Cat. nr. 3792.*

Matronae Figurines (Fig.A.1.19)

A total of three figurines are of a female figure sat on a throne with fruit in her lap (nos. 59, 708, 867). As demonstrated by the complete figurine from Arrington (no. 708), this type of figurine usually depicts a seated and draped female figure with a distinctive head-dress (Green 1993: 194) that, along with her garments, are without doubt those of the Ubii – an ethnic group who resided in the Rhineland with Cologne as their capital from the Augustan period. Around her neck hangs a crescent shaped pendant, possibly a symbol of death and resurrection. A long cloak covers her shoulders but splits at her waist revealing a collection of circular fruits held on her lap – possibly apples or pomegranates representing life and renewal - arranged in a triangular basket (*ibid*: 196). Below this the split cloak and under-robe cover her lower legs and feet (see also Boekel 1987: 433-40 for a fuller typological description of this form).

The figurine more than likely depicts an ancestral mother of a family or clan of the Ubii - each of which had their own versions and representations – some of which occur in terracotta (see Derks 1998: 119-22, figs. 3.16-7, but also Bauchhenß & Neumann 1987, Carroll 2001: 112-122, 2013, 2015; and Woolf 2003). On the back of the figurine is an illegible inscription that, judging by Continental finds (e.g. Boekel 1987: 433-4), probably reads Servandus who, more significantly, worked in the Ubii capital of Cologne during the second century where he also probably produced the comparable finds from Colchester (no. 59) and Corbridge (no. 867).

The two other British instances of this type from Colchester (no. 59) and Corbridge (no. 867) are slightly different takes from what I can tell from the surviving fragments. Both show the goddess's face and characteristic head-dress, the latter with the upper robes and a slightly different necklace pendant that is more rounded than crescent in shape that might relate to a different clan of the Ubii. The head from Colchester is signed SERVANDVS CCAA FECIT on the back and was more than likely produced in Cologne like the other two examples.



Fig. A.1. 19. *Matronae* figurines; Left - from Arrington (no. 708), after Green 1993: 195, fig. 3.1 (Drawn by G. Taylor); Right – a similar complete figurine from Bonn, after Boekel 1987, fig. 82.

This type of figurine is very similar, if not identical, to other depictions of the Rhine-Mosel style mother-goddess that are occasionally seen in triple-form on reliefs, altar stones and terracotta statuettes that usually portray three cloaked matrons (*Matronae Aufaniae*), one usually younger than the other two, sitting on a bench holding baskets or piles of fruits in their laps (Boekel 1987: 433-40, fig. 87; Green 1989: 194-8, figs. 85-6). These monuments appear to be roughly centered in the region between Neuss, Bonn and Aachen, mainly at sanctuaries, where this particular style is now considered to be a characteristic feature of the Ubii's religious practice (Derks 1998: 119-22, figs. 3.16-7). The figurines are thought to be imbued with the imagery of life, death and rebirth (Green 1993: 194-6) but might have had more specific meanings to the individual families and groups who identified with specific characteristics.

Most parallels are from the Rhineland (e.g. Green 1993: 194; Beenhouwer 2005: 597-602) and only a few come from Central Gaul but a broadly comparable find has been found in the area around d'Evreux, France (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 201, no. 473) that might have

belonged to travelling soldiers, traders or merchants. At least six, if not more, are known from the Netherlands (Boekel 1987: 458, tab. 5, nos. 68-73, and possibly nos. 77-80), some of which have Servandus' signature on them like the back of the Colchester head, indicating that they too were made in Cologne in the second half of the second century (Boekel 1987: 433-4).

Enthroned Mother-Goddess/Female Figure with Dog (Fig. A.1.20)

A slightly different type of enthroned figurine comes from Canterbury (no. 62). This time, a now headless figure (possibly a goddess) sits in a high-backed chair while holding a dog in her lap (Jenkins 1952: 131-3, pl. 1; 1956; 1977: 302, fig. 26). The chair appears to be plain with no discernable patterning, and the figure's body and legs are covered with heavy folded robes except for her hands. The entire composition sits on a raised hemispherical plinth.

Once again, this figurine may depict a local Rhineland ancestral mother or goddess. Jenkins (1956) and others suggest that the dog may indicate it is Nehalennia - a native goddess of the Rhineland who had healing and regenerative qualities and is generally thought to have



*Fig. A.1. 20. Seated Mother-Goddesses/Female Figures with dog. Left - from Canterbury (no. 62), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 26; Right – A similar seated figurine from the Trier-Altachtal sanctuary, after Boekel 1987, fig. 91.*

been a guardian of trade and seafarers (Green 1986: 87; 1989: 10-6; and later Hassall 1978), but this is not definitive from the image of the figurine I have seen and I would stop short of giving it such a specific identification without seeing it for myself. Canines can often be seen



accompanying this goddess in larger stone monuments and altars at temples and sanctuaries in the Rhineland where, as her ever-present companion, it offers protection to her and the rest of mankind, symbolising the goddess's close links with the underworld as an overseer of life, death and rejuvenation (Green 1989: 14-15). Yet Jenkins (1956: 193, 197) notes that these large monuments usually show the dog sat by the side of the goddess as opposed to the clay figurines where the animal is more prominently positioned on her lap (see also Boekel 1987: 442-3).

Figurines of other seated figures with dogs in their laps are predominantly distributed around the area of the Rhine and Moselle rivers, with a concentration in and around Trier (Jenkins 1956: 192) and, for example, Frankfurt (Rüger 1980: 67-9, nos. 119-29). One antiquarian find is recorded by Rouvier-Jeanlin at Pecq (Yvelines) France (1972: 186, no. 425) but such depictions are otherwise not recorded in the country, nor indeed often in Britain. The current evidence points towards production occurring at Cologne and Trier-Süd (Boekel 1987: 440). Two moulds of the Canterbury type have also been found at Bad Bertrich near Trier, Germany where the Canterbury figurine was probably made sometime after the start of the second century, if not slightly sooner (e.g. (Jenkins 1956: 192; Boekel 1987: 440).

### Unidentified Seated Mother-Goddesses/Female Figures

Jenkins classes three other finds as Seated Mother-Goddess figurines, but again we should be dubious about this. A fragment at Lancaster (no. 60) is of the lower legs and rectangular plinth of a female figure wearing an ankle length robe with bare feet. The back of the plinth is signed by the modeller Servandus, again suggesting production in Cologne (Jenkins 1977: 299-300, fig. 28). Elsewhere, a fragment of a female figure seated on a throne holding a *patera* in her right hand from Springhead, Kent (no. 61) has three knob-like protrusions spaced at intervals up each leg (Jenkins 1977: 300). As Jenkins explains, the figure-of-eight or chain-link drapery design between the goddess's legs is quite similar to another figurine of a Rhineland style seated ancestral mother with fruit from an unspecified location in the region that is now at the Bonn Rheinisches Landesmuseum (RLM A 1099; Jenkins 1977: 300-1, with further examples also given; Boekel 1987: 434, fig. 82). Finally, a fragment (no. 63) found at Richborough is described as the lower part of a draped female figure showing the right side of an undecorated chair along with feet emerging from folded drapery on a rectangular base (Jenkins 1977: 302).

## *Venus*

With 401 examples, Venus is not only the most common of the deity types (63.9% of all deities) but is also the most popular figurine type from Britain overall (42.3% of the entire assemblage). In general the goddess is depicted nude or semi-nude, with drapery around the waist or held to one side, standing on a small domed or square plinth. Other common attributes include her thin waist, small rounded breasts, rounded hips and buttocks, enlarged hands, elongated fingers and detailed facial features, with enlarged eyes, a wide flat nose, full pressed lips and long flowing hair, most of which are in low relief.

Venus figurines like this are based on the Graeco-Roman goddess Aphrodite - the deity of love, and closely resemble two classical types of statuary. The first is Venus Anadyomene, who in Hellenistic and Roman art is typically shown nude or semi-nude pressing her hair with both hands. Pipeclay figurines, however, usually show the goddess holding only her right hand up to her hair with a garment draped or held over the wrist (Boekel 1987: 165-9). The second is Venus Pudica, a less common form in Gaul, who is also nude or semi-nude but instead stands with her right hand touching her breast and right hand holding drapery covering her thighs and legs (Boekel 1987: 162-4; Green 1989: 38).

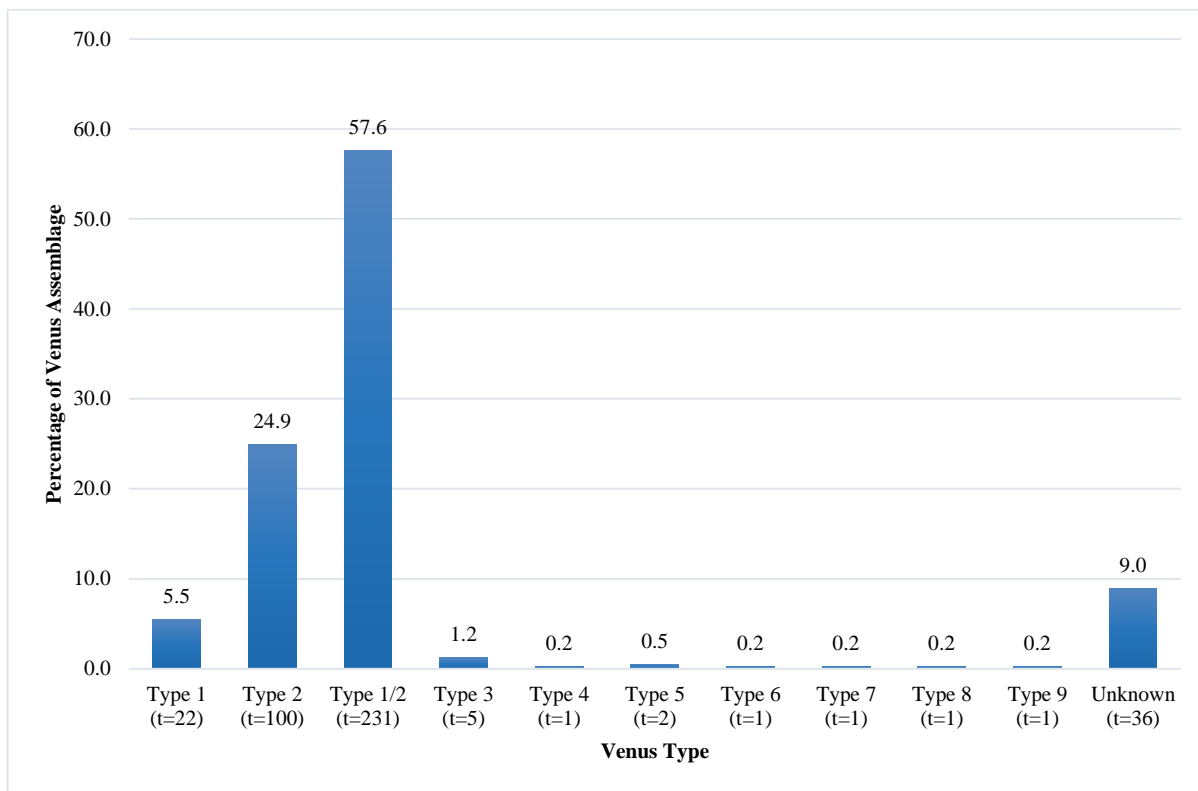
Various ideas about the significance of Venus figurines have been put forward over the years but their exact meaning is still not clear. Green (1987: 94-5; 1989: 38-9) for example, has suggested that she is some kind of 'Celtic' domestic fertility goddess with additional roles as a healer, protector of childbirth and guardian of the dead in the underworld. Crummy (2010: 69) highlighted her role as one of the key mother-goddesses linked with the protection of children in particular in France. A close association with water cults has also been suggested based on the occurrence of Venus figurines at sacred spring sites in both Britain (e.g. Springhead) and France (e.g. Vichy), and their widespread use as *ex votos* is well documented, where they may

have been part of healing rituals (Jenkins 1958: 61; Evans 2000; 299-302; Ferris 2012: 121). The traditional view is that her imagery thus represents multiple beliefs about fertility, regeneration and eternal protection.

An alternative view is that these figurines are not of Venus *per se* but are rather of a generic Gaulish impression of a woman representing love and sex, or a native Gaulish god or 'Pseudo-Venus'. For instance, Jenkins (1958: 66) has suggested that such figurines might be related to water cults in Gaul and specifically may represent water-nymphs that guarded sacred water and protected sources of life. Elsewhere, in her critique and development of Vertet's (1984: 88-97) earlier work, Webster (1997: 332-4; 2001: 220-1) has explored the idea that these figurines may be a conceptualised 'Celtic' personification of the Classical Venus form but are actually not directly relatable to the Classical pantheon, instead arguing that their hybrid form displays the non-homogenous and contested nature of religious belief in Gaul, drawing particular attention to, as Jenkins does, the lack of other Venus sculptures from the province (Jenkins 1958: 70) and the use of distinctly 'Celtic' style of some figurines. The Venus with solar symbols from the Toulon area in Allier is usually the example used to illustrate this point (Green 1989: 38, fig. 15; Webster 1997: 333, fig. 2), but very few figurines like this are in fact known from Britain, the lone example being only a broadly similar figurine (no. 132) with various embossed symbols on it that was found in Roman London (see Venus Type 7 below).

Nine different types of Venus figurine have been recorded from Roman Britain (Types 1-9, Fig. A.1.21). making this the most widespread and typologically diverse group from the province, each of which is detailed in turn below. Overall, the 100 Type 2 figurines (24.9% of all Venuses) are the most numerous type, followed by the 22 Type 1, five Type 3 and two Type 5 figurines (Fig. x). Rarer finds include Types 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9, with single examples of each. An additional group of 231 fragments show general attributes of Type 1 and Type 2 figurines or are identified as such in Jenkins' PhD catalogues or other reports. The last 36 figurines either

have general attributes of Venus but lack specific typological traits or are identified simply as ‘Venus’ by Jenkins or others. As a side note, Jenkins’ (1977: 323, no. 5) original PhD catalogue classified Mask 137 from Maryport (Cumbria) as ‘Venus’ but in this study it has been reclassified and included with the other theatrical masks instead.



*Fig. A.1. 21. The proportion of Venus figurine types in Britain (t=401).*

Venus Type 1 and Type 2 (Fig.A.1.22)

Type 1 and Type 2 Venus figurines are very similar, each depicting the goddess standing nude as she holds a garment in her left hand that drapes down the left side of her body to the ground. While the left arm is held straight, the right arm is raised and bent at the elbow, the right hand clutching a lock of hair on the right side of the head. The legs and feet are held closely together, with one or other of the legs sometimes bent at the knee, as she stands on a domed base. Locks of hair fall over the front and back of the shoulders from the elaborate hairstyle, and a number of different garments designs define the various sub-types (see below). However, the defining feature is how the garment is held; the garment of Type 1 figurines being draped over Venus' left wrist while Type 2 figurines hold the garment in the fingertips of the left hand. The distribution of moulds combined with figurines with contextual dates show that Type 1 and



*Fig. A.1. 22. Two Venus figurines from London. Left - Type 1 Venus from Upper Thames Street (no. 438); Right – Type 2 Venus from Tower Hamlets (no. 441).*

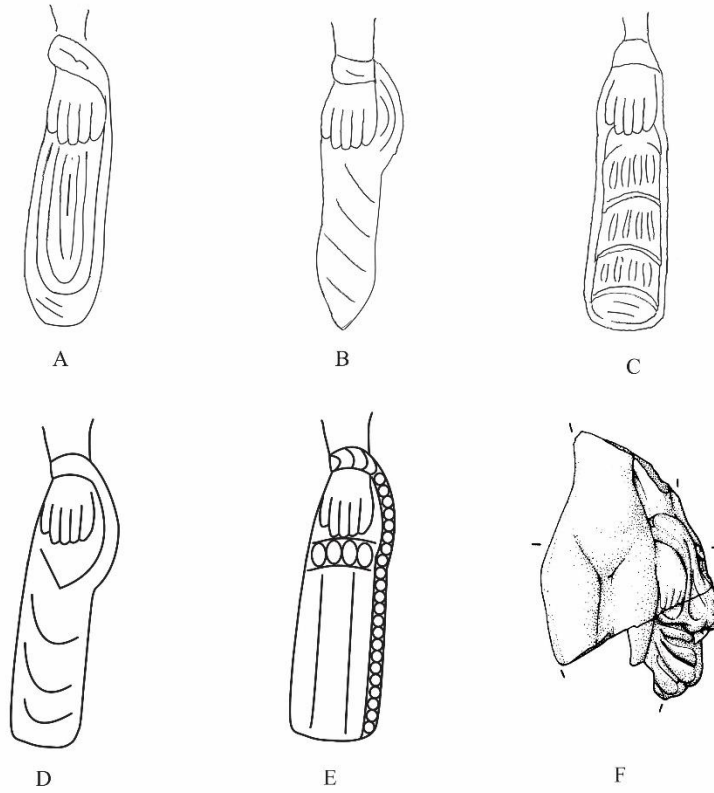
Type 2 figurines were generally produced from the second half of the first century until the first half of the third century, peaking in the mid-second century (Beenhouwer 2005: 426-83).

The 231 other finds with attributes of Type 1 and Type 2 Venus figurines include whole or parts of heads (total=29; e.g. 73, 354, 797), body parts (total=123; e.g. 76, 392, 900), round bases with legs, feet and/or the lower drapery (total=55, e.g. 167, 473, 499) and round bases (total=6; e.g. 651, 653, 760). The two most complete unclassified finds, both from London, are no. 172 that shows Venus from the head to the lower legs with the diagnostic hand and upper drapery missing, and no. 186 where the neck to feet are intact but the left hand is broken.

#### *Type 1 and Type 2 Garment Designs*

Out of the 122 certain and 231 possible Type 1 and Type 2 figurines, 78 can be arranged into sub-types by the garment designs they depict (Figs. A.1.23-4). In Britain, 13 different garment designs have been identified. The range of motifs are as follows: elongated concentric folds (Garment A), regularly spaced diagonal folds (B), crescent folds (C), steep u-shaped folds (D), large studs with vertical folds and studded hem (E), large irregular folds (F), plain folds and hem (G), plain folds and pronounced collar (H), chevrons (I), concentric folds and cross (J), shallow u-shaped folds (K), multiple irregular folds (L) and concentric and irregular folds (M). There are also 55 other fragments of drapery but these are either indistinctive styles, very worn finds or drawings that cannot be classified with certainty (e.g. nos. 415, 571-2, 667, 826). Potential classifications are suggested in the database where possible. For example, Venus no. 115 could be either Garment G or H and Venus 963 could be Garment B or D.

Type 1 Venus Garments



Type 2 Venus Garments

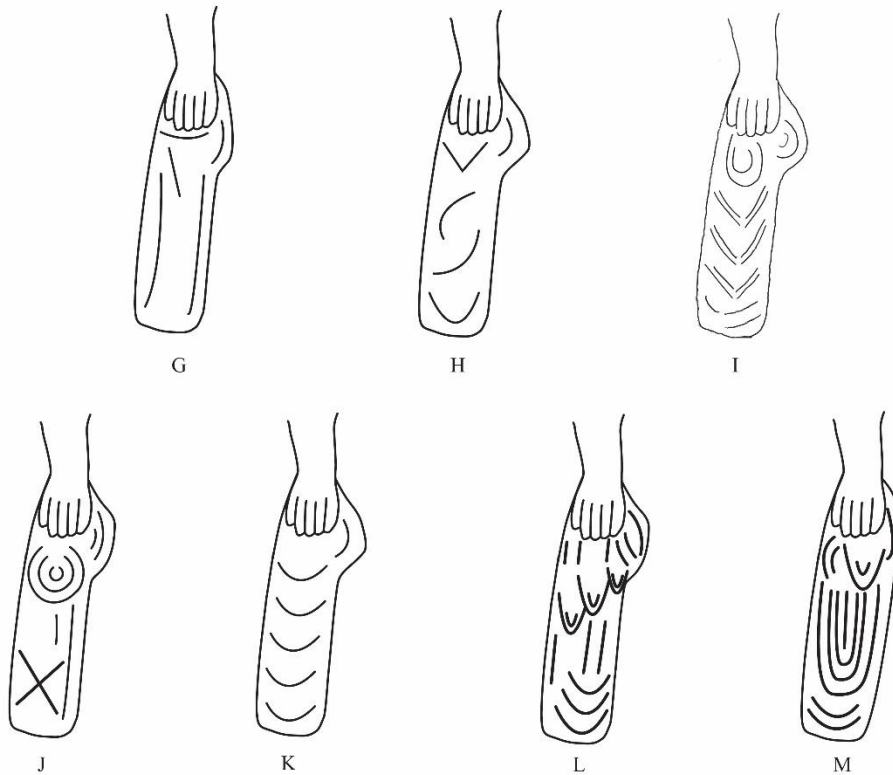
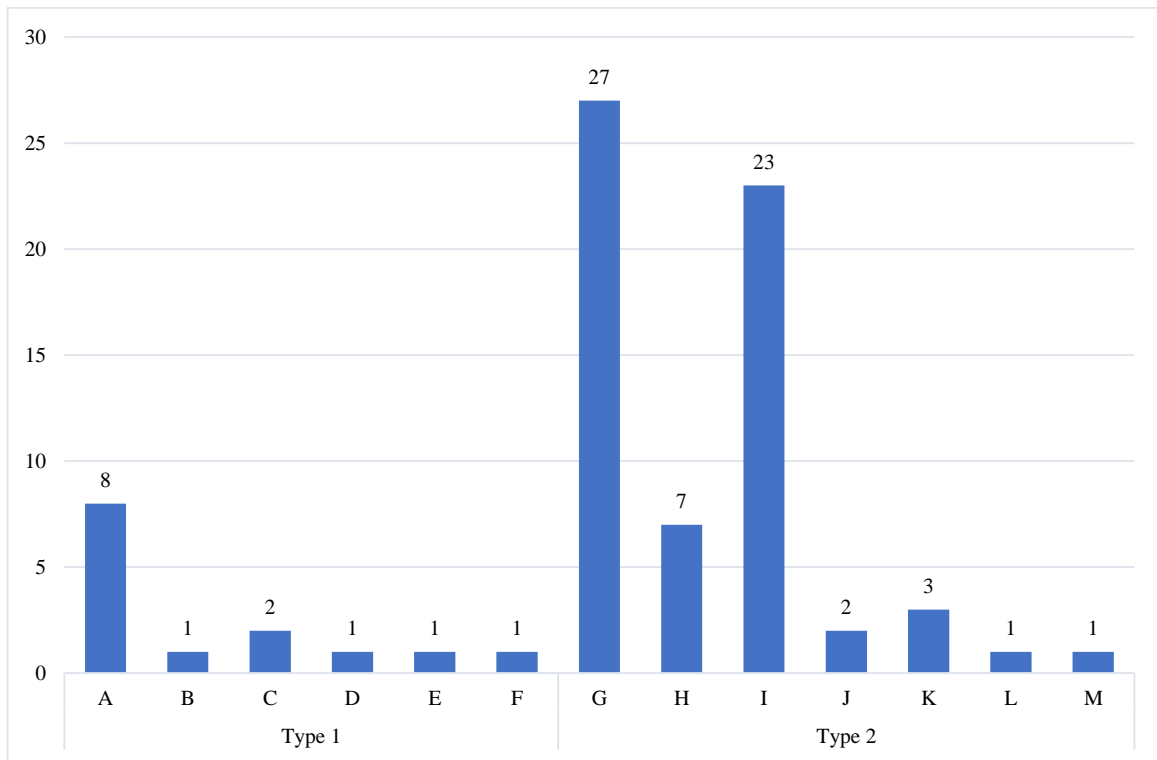


Fig. A.I. 23. Venus Type 1 and Type 2 garment designs in Britain.





*Fig. A.1. 24. Quantities of Venus garment motifs in Britain (t=78).*

Figure A.1.24 illustrates a number of interesting points. Firstly, Garments G and I are the most common motifs followed by Garments A and H but the nine other rarer garment designs are represented by only one or two finds, except for Garment K of which there are three. Overall this general pattern is broadly similar to that seen on the Continent but a brief survey of the often poorly illustrated material reveals a greater range of garment motifs from this region that suggests either a limited supply to, or different stylistic preferences of the people in, Britain. Secondly, specific garment motifs are clearly associated with certain Venus figurine types, with Garments A to F only ever seen on Type 1 figurines and Garments G to M on Type 2 figurines. Interestingly, this general trend is also seen within continental assemblages (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 91-120; Gonzenbach 1995: 101–13) and highlights that there was a degree of conformity in terms of the figurine types produced and used in Continental provinces and traded to Britain. Finally, garment designs can be confidently used as a way to accurately classify a figurine type when more diagnostic parts, like the hand, are worn or missing. For example, Venus no. 188

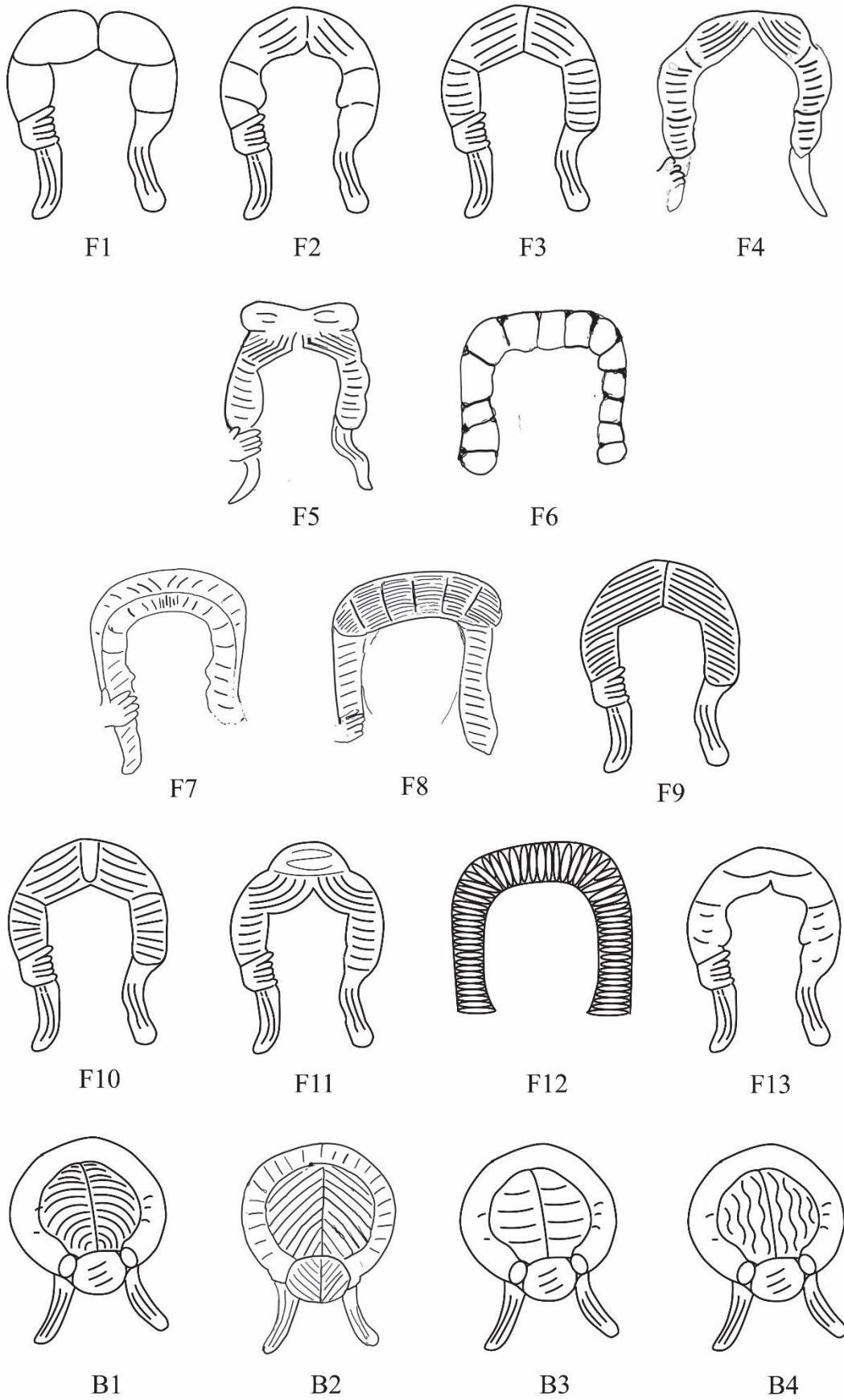
and Venus no. 437, both being pieces of Garment A, clearly come from a Type 1 figurine, while the chevron design (Garment I) on Venus no. 87 means that it evidently derives from a Type 2 figurine.

### Type 1 and Type 2 Hairstyles

Fifty-two Type 1 and Type 2 Venus figurines can be grouped into sub-categories by hairstyle (Fig. A.1.25). Unlike some existing studies that provide only basic descriptions of hairstyles (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 91; Jenkins 1977: 313-5), this thesis gives a more detailed catalogue of hairstyle types and also analyses the finer typological patterns between hairstyles, garment designs and Venus types in line with more detailed Continental work (Gonzenbach 1995: 105-10). Overall seventeen different hairstyles have been identified: thirteen frontal (F1-13) as well as four back (B1-4) designs, although blurring caused by mould-copying and general figurine wear could account for some of this variation. One other figurine (Venus no. 216 from Vindolanda) also probably belongs to this group but it is difficult to classify the hairstyle from its drawing.

The seventeen different front and back hairstyle designs from Type 1 and Type 2 Venus figurines are described below. As for garments each figurine with a hairstyle has been classified in the database and, where possible, a likely classification is suggested where this is uncertain. For instance, Venuses 82, 94, 182, 356 and 597 have either hairstyles F3, F4 or F9. Similarly, Venuses 352 and 926 have either hairstyles B1 or B2 but these finds are heavily worn making it difficult to tell which it is.

F1. Two plain rounded bunches on top of the head that meet to form a central parting and plain bunches framing the face. Locks of hair fall over the front of each shoulder.



*Fig. A.1. 25. Venus hairstyles: front (F1-13) and back (B1-4).*

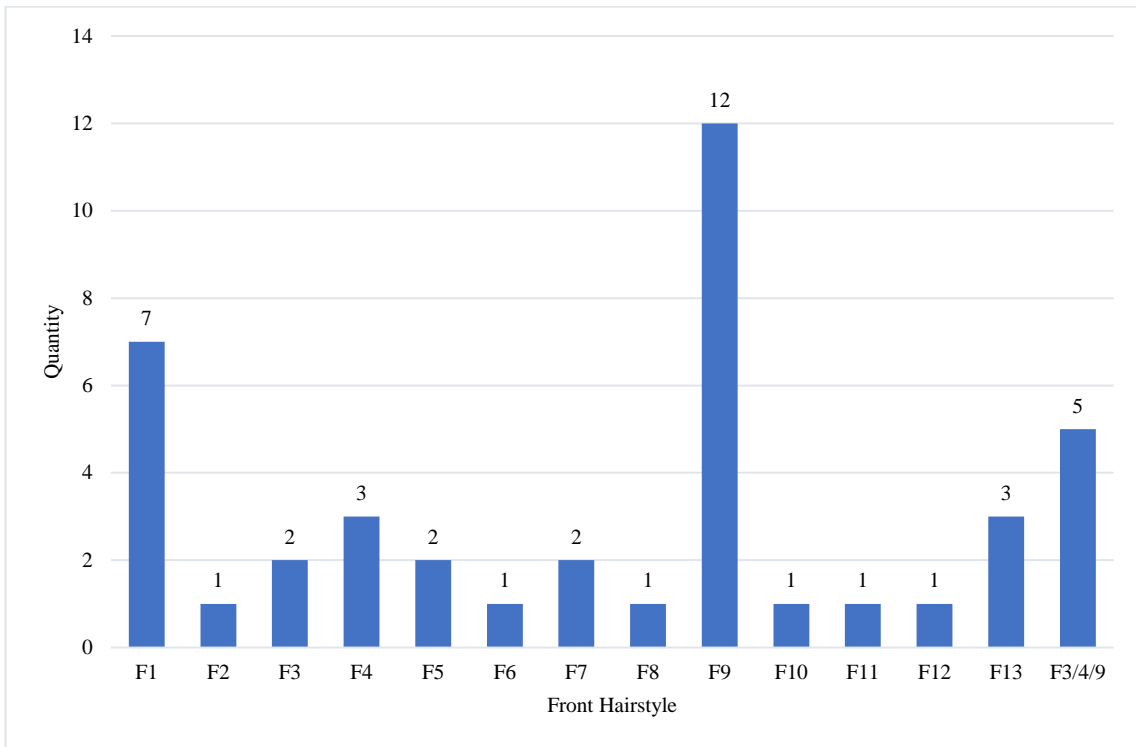
- F2. Rounded v-shaped fringe and a central parting with loosely combed hair and plain bunches down each side of the face. Locks of hair fall over the front of the shoulders.
- F3. Shallow v-shaped fringe and a central parting with loosely combed hair and bunches of combed hair down each side of the face. Locks of hair over the front of each shoulder.
- F4. High v-shaped fringe with combed hair and bunches of combed hair down each side of the face. Locks of hair over the front of each shoulder.
- F5. Flat fringe with a central parting, combed hair and a large bow on top of the head with long bunches of combed hair down each side of the face. Locks of hair down the front of each shoulder.
- F6. A squared frame surrounding the face with 12 to 14 small, plain bunches. Unlike many other hairstyles there is no distinctive fringe or any locks of hair over the shoulders.
- F7. The hair forms two rounded bands, one placed on top of the other, both loosely combed following the contours of the head and down each side of the face. The two bands of hair merge at the shoulders with long locks of hair down the front of each.
- F8. A thick band of hair across the top of the head with rounded terminals overhanging each side of the face with sections of dense, horizontal combed hair. Lightly combed hair down each side of the face and down behind the shoulders.

- F9. Shallow v-shaped fringe and a central parting with densely combed hair that continues uninterrupted down the sides of the face. Locks of hair over the front of each shoulder.
- F10. Shallow v-shaped fringe and a thick u-shaped central parting with combed hair either side with bunches of densely combed hair on each side of the face. Locks of hair over the front of each shoulder.
- F11. Rounded v-shaped fringe with sweeping combed hair and a round bun on top of the head with combed hair down the sides of the face and locks of hair over each shoulder.
- F12. A continuous band comprising a series of densely packed thin oval bunches following the contours of the head. No distinct fringe or locks of hair draping over the shoulders.
- F13. Rounded v-shaped fringe and a central parting with one fold with very lightly combed bunches of hair down each side of the face. Locks of hair over the front of the shoulders.
- B1. A plain band surrounding a central area with a central parting and curved combed hair with a plain bun at the nape of the neck where the terminals of the band meet. Locks of hair down over the back of each shoulder.
- B2. A lightly combed band surrounding a central area with a central parting and straight combed hair with a bun of combed hair at the nape of the neck where the terminals of the band meet. Locks of hair fall down the back of each shoulder.

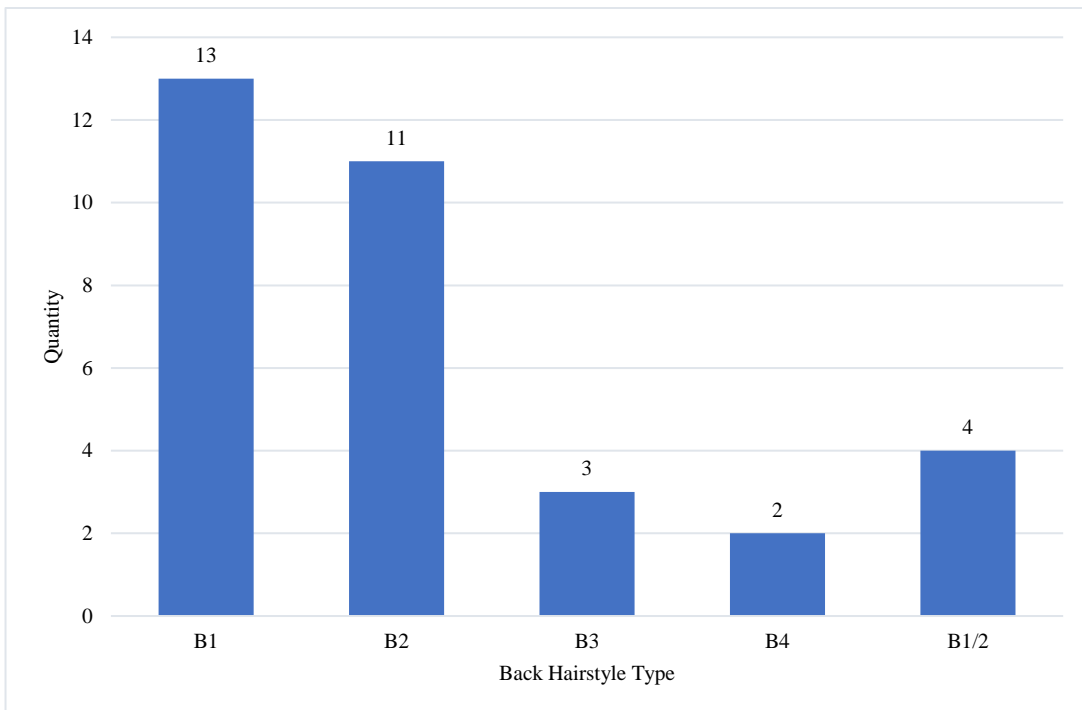
- B3. A plain band surrounding a central area with a central parting and lightly combed hair in u-shapes above a plain bun at the nape of the neck where the terminals of the band meet. Locks of hair down over the back of each shoulder.
- B4. A plain band surrounding a central area with a central parting and wavy combed hair with a plain bun at the nape of the neck where the terminals of the band meet. Locks of hair fall down over the back of each shoulder.

Figures A.1.26-7 illustrate the numbers of each Venus hairstyle in this group, showing that there is a much wider range of front compared to back hairstyle designs in Britain, and that the back style moulds were widely combined with the more extensive range of front moulds. Hairstyles F9 and F1 are the most common front designs, followed by F4, F13 and F3, F5 and F7, with F2, F6, F10, F11 and F12 much rarer, each with only one example. Back hairstyles are much less varied in design, with the most common designs being B1 and B2, while the other two designs are far less common; B3 occurring on three figurines and B4 featuring on only two. These proportions suggest that these Venus figurines had a 'show-side' as less effort and detail is given to the back. The proportions also, like the garments, possibly reflect the stylistic preferences of consumers in Britain or just the general availability of different designs to the British market. The range, if not the quantity, of different hairstyle designs is much more like those from the Continent but there are generally fewer, indicating a limited supply of types.

Table A.1.1 shows that there are no clear typological relationships between individual front and back hairstyle types but that there are perhaps one or two tentative patterns. For example, front styles F2, F3 and F7 are exclusively associated with hairstyle B1 while F4, F6 and F8 are only found with B2, while F1, F4 and F9 occur with both the B1 and B2 designs.



*Fig. A.1. 26. Quantity of Venus frontal hairstyles.*



*Fig. A.1. 27. Quantity of Venus back hairstyles.*

Elsewhere, hairstyles F5 and F13 are only ever found with B1 and B4, and F6 and F8 appear to be exclusive to B2. Finally, the only B3 style with a corresponding front design comes on a figurine with F9, suggesting that the other two B3 finds may have had design F9 as well.

Occasionally, hairstyles and other Continental parallels might indicate a particular type of figurine. For example, Figurine 172 is unclassifiable due to its broken hand but has a F7 B1 hairstyle that is usually associated with Type 1 figurines from Gaul (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972:

No.	Hairstyle		Garment Type	Venus Type
	Front	Back		
202	1	N/A	N/A	1/2
206	1	1	N/A	1/2
210	1	1/2	N/A	1/2
926	1	1/2	N/A	1/2
365	1	N/A	N/A	1/2
116	1	N/A	I	2
84	1	N/A	J	2
438	2	1	B	1
108	3	1	H	2
825	3	N/A	N/A	1/2
100	4	1	I	2
95	4	2	I	2
192	4	N/A	N/A	1/2
102	5	1	N/A	2
848	5	4	M	2
73	6	2	N/A	1?
172	7	1	N/A	1/2
211	7	1	N/A	1/2
482	8	2	N/A	1
649	9	1	N/A	1/2
170	9	2	N/A	1/2
351	9	2	N/A	1/2
443	9	2	Other	2
719	9	2	N/A	1/2
679	9	1/2	N/A	1/2
738	9	3	G	2

No.	Hairstyle		Garment Type	Venus Type
	Front	Back		
70	9	N/A	N/A	1
81	9	N/A	G	2
194	9	N/A	N/A	1/2
353	9	N/A	N/A	1/2
358	9	N/A	N/A	1/2
354	10	N/A	N/A	1/2
357	11	N/A	N/A	1/2
797	12	N/A	N/A	1/2?
441	13	1	H	2
442	13	1	K	2
873	13	4	N/A	1/2
82	3/4/9	N/A	N/A	2
94	3/4/9	N/A	N/A	2
182	3/4/9	N/A	N/A	1/2
356	3/4/9	N/A	N/A	1/2
597	3/4/9	N/A	N/A	1/2
355	N/A	2	N/A	1/2
359	N/A	2	N/A	1/2
352	N/A	1/2	N/A	1/2
638	N/A	1	N/A	1/2
360	N/A	1	N/A	1/2
699	N/A	1	N/A	1/2
363	N/A	2	N/A	1/2
481	N/A	2	N/A	1/2?
629	N/A	3	Other	2
925	N/A	3	N/A	1/2

Tab. A.1. 1. Venus figurine hairstyle sub-groups.



No.	Hairstyle		Garment Type	Venus Type
	Front	Back		
116	1	N/A	I	2
84	1	N/A	J	2
438	2	1	B	1
108	3	1	H	2
100	4	1	I	2
95	4	2	I	2
848	5	4	M	2
738	9	3	G	2
81	9	N/A	G	2
441	13	1	H	2
442	13	1	K	2

Tab. A.1. 2. Venus figurine hairstyle sub-groups and type.

95, no. 8). In Britain hairstyle F1 seems to be associated with Type 2 figurines, as are hairstyles F4, F5 and F9; something that generally seems to be the case in Gaul as well (*ibid*: nos. 36 and 41). One exception from Britain appears to be a Type 1 Venus figurine (no. 70) with hairstyle F9 - a combination not seen on the Continent (i.e. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 92-100, nos. 1-33).

Only 11 finds can be used to draw correlations between Venus hairstyles and garment types (Tab. A.1.2). For example, the F1 hairstyle is associated only with both Garments I and J while F13 is found with Garments H and K. Other single instances include F3 with Garment H and Venus 848 with its F5 and B4 hairstyles with Garment M. Similarly, all F4 front designs are found with Garment I and most F9 hairstyles, including Venus 738 with B3, are on figurines with Garment G – all of which are Type 2 figurines. The only Type 1 figurines with a hairstyle and drapery is Venus 438 with styles F2 and B1 and Garment B. The lack of data means that these patterns are tentative but a comparative study of Continental material might reveal more.

Venus Type 3 (Fig. A.1.28)

In full form the five Type 3 figurines would have shown Venus standing semi-nude wearing a garment draped around the hips covering the front and back of both legs upon a square plinth. The drapery covers her heels but the front of the feet can be seen from the ankles. Her head is tilted slightly leftwards and the left leg is bent slightly at the knee. The left hand supports the garment by the hem just below her slightly bulged stomach and the right arm, bent at the elbow, holds up the right hand to cover the left breast and partially cover the right one. The examples from Britain all appear to differ slightly as to how the drapery is folded but all hang low around the back, revealing the top of the buttocks. Although missing from the figurines in Britain, the heads of this type would have had flat facial features, hair pulled back into a bun at the nape of the neck and a crescent-shaped diadem on top of the head. All of the few fragmentary British finds vary in appearance and may be slightly different sub-types but it is hard to know for sure.



*Fig. A.1. 28. Venus Figurines Type 3. Left - from London Wall, London (no.168);  
Right - from Nijmegen, after Boekel 1987, 514-5, fig.*

Various different types of Venus with her lower body and legs covered are known from the Continental provinces but in lower numbers than Type 1 and 2 Venus figurines. Nearly all were produced in the Rhine-Mosel area (likely Cologne) from the mid-second century - if not a little before - probably until the early or mid-third century (Beenhouwer 2005: 490-500). It is unclear whether or not all of the different types were made at the same workshop but both Jenkins (1977: 308) and Boekel (1987: 514-23) have suggested that the original moulds for these types could have been made by the well-known modeller Servandus in Cologne judging by their characteristic facial features, large hands and elaborate arrangement of folded drapery.

Venus Type 4 (Fig. A.1.29)

This figurine type portrays Venus and Amor, or Cupid. The goddess stands with her right arm bent at the elbow covering both breasts and left arm held straight down her side, her fingers just above or touching the Amor's head. A bracelet is worn on the left arm just above the elbow and a neck-lace, now worn heavily or broken off, probably hung around her neck. She stands with her feet slightly apart on a square plinth but her neck has been broken and her head missing. The Amor is complete and stands by her left side, leaning against a pillar, with his right arm raised holding a round object - possibly an apple or mirror - as if offering it to the goddess.

This type appears to be unique in Britain where there is just this single example and rather than close parallels only a broadly comparable group of figurines are known from the Continent: four in Germany (Frankfurt-Heddernheim, Köln, Rückingen and Trier), one from the Netherlands (Vechten) and one in France (Yutz) (Beenhouwer 2005: 508-10, Serie 150, 155-8). All of these are also extremely rare but show Amor holding the object above his head.

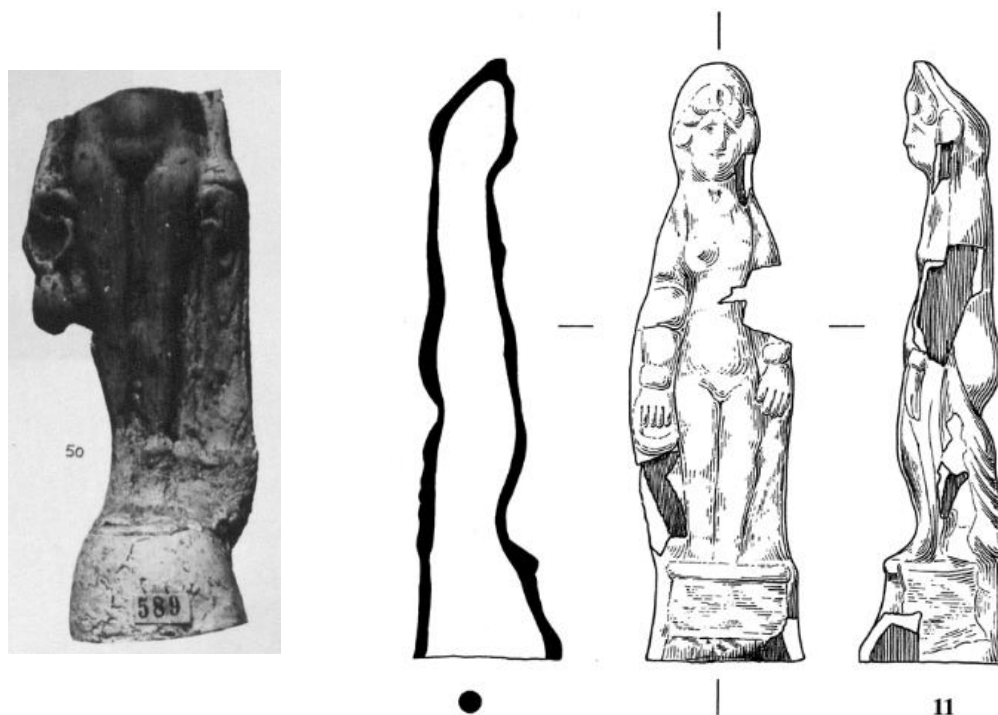


*Fig. A.1. 29. Type 4 Venus from St Osyth, Essex (no. 131), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 47.*

A slightly different figurine from an unknown location recorded by Schauerte (1985: 160, no. 161, Taf. 18, 4-6) depicts Venus wearing anklets and bracelets; figurine no. 219 from London – here recorded as Diana (see below) is similar to this. All of these are products of workshops in the Rhine-Mosel area (probably Cologne) and are stylistically and occasionally contextually dated from the late second to the mid-late third century (Beenhouwer 2005: 508-10).

Venus Type 5 (Fig. A.1.30)

Two finds, one from London (no. 133), the other from Brougham (no. 816), are Type 5 figurines that portray a nude or semi-nude Venus stood holding a bowl or *patera* in her right hand and a garment in her left hand. Both arms are held close to the body and the legs are tightly pressed together. On figurine no. 133 the garment is draped around the wrist of the goddess (like Type 1 figurines) with descending chevrons, but it is broken at the neck and ankles. However, figurine no. 816 – probably a variant of this type – is more complete, showing the goddess standing on a rectangular plinth, wearing anklets. Her robe, in this case, is supported by the wrist and also hangs from just below the buttocks, concealing the backs of her legs. Her hair, meanwhile, is ornately arranged into a ?diadem at the front and into a small bun at the nape of the neck with tresses falling over each shoulder.



*Fig. A.1. 30. Type 5 Venus figurines. Left - from St. Thomas Street, London (no. 133), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 50; Right – drawing of the find from Brougham, Cumbria (no. 816), after Cool 2004, fig. 4.95.*

Although similar types have been identified in Europe, the figurines from London and Brougham seem to be rarer variants. Broad parallels for both the Brougham and London finds have been identified in Gaul and the Rhineland (e.g. Schauerte 1985, 174-6, taf. 27, nos. 1-6; and Beenhouwer 2005: 506, citing Rouvier Jeanlin 1986: 32 nr. 77 pl. VI and Lange 1990: 64 nos. 23-4). Few of these are exact matches. For example, Beenhouwer's Serie 143 (2005: 506) figurines from Autun, France, Faimingen, Germany, and Salzburg, Austria feature u-shaped drapery folds and Venus standing on a hemispherical base, while a figurine from Trion in the Netherlands shows the jug and garment in opposite hands (*ibid*: Serie 144), but a close parallel for the London figurine is known from the Allier Valley, France (Bird *et al.* 1978: 395). This might indicate that the British finds were produced in Central Gaul in the late first to early second century.

Venus Type 6 (Fig. A.1.31)

Type 6 figurines also show Venus and Amor. This time the goddess stands holding her arms close to her body. The right arm is bent at the elbow, the right hand holding the collar of her tunic by the breasts while the left hand holds in place the drapery wrapped around the left leg, leaving her right leg exposed. The garment drapes over the right shoulder covering most of her back with thick loop-shaped folds falling from the right shoulder and thick folds supported in the left hand covering the left leg. Amor stands on a rectangular column by Venus' right leg on two feet. His head is turned to look up at her. His arms are raised above his head and he holds a small object in his right hand.



*Fig. A.1. 31. Venus figurines Type 6. Left - from The Mount, York (no. 127) in York Museum; Right – a close parallel from Vechten, after Boekel 1987: 547, fig.*

Type 6 figurines, like Type 4 figurines depicting Venus and Amour, were made in the Rhine-Mosel region, where Beenhouwer (2005: 511-2) suggests a production date of AD 170-200 based on a contextual find from Aardenburg, the Netherlands. Boekel (1987: 548), on the other hand, posits a slightly earlier date, ascribing them to the third quarter of the second century, and also attributes them specifically to the modeller Servandus in Cologne. None of this particularly rare type have been found in France and, other than the Aardenburg figurine,



only three exact parallels have been found in the Rhine-Mosel region: the first from Cologne, Germany, the second from Vechten, the Netherlands, and the third an antiquarian discovery that might be from Mainz or Oppenheim, Germany (Beenhouwer 2005: 511-2, Serie 151).

Venus Type 7 (Vénus-à-Gaine) (Fig. A.I.32)

One figurine of Type 7 has been found in Britain which shows Venus standing nude except for a band edged with a beaded row covering the breasts and a large circular necklace around her neck. Her right arm is bent at the elbow with her hand on her abdomen while her left arm hangs straight. She is portrayed in relief and framed against a rectangular background decorated with three rosettes by her left leg and ten studs by her right leg. On the back, on the left side, there are three rosettes or stars (Jenkins 1969a: 318). This example is broken at the neck but probably would have had a large head with elaborate hairstyle, much like other Venus figurines.

The design of this figurine is unique in Britain and rare on the Continent where similar types - mainly with solar symbols rather than rosettes and studs - have a limited distribution in Central Gaul (Rouvier Jeanlin 1972: 136-41, nos. 206-23, especially nos. 209-14). As for their



*Fig. A.I. 32. Venus Type 7 (Vénus-à-Gaine ) figurines. Left - from Bank of England, London (no. 132), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 49; Right – A similar figurine from Tronoën, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 208.*

production, Jenkins (1969a: 318-9), citing Coutil's (1899) initial study of this type, suggests that they may have been made in a workshop at Vichy (Allier), France, but does not dismiss the idea of workshops further afield at Rezé, Tréguennec and in Normandy. He also states that these were one of the earliest types in the Venus series and probably date to the first century at the latest (1969a: 318-9).

Venus Type 8 (Fig. A.1.33)

A single Type 8 figurine from Wroxeter (no. 130) shows Venus standing with an eagle by her left leg. The full form would have shown the naked goddess standing on a rectangular plinth, her left arm bent upward towards her face, the hand holding her hair, and left hand holding drapery by her side. Locks of hair fall over both her shoulders. The eagle stands upright in front of the drapery perched on a small box and looks forward with its wings partly raised either side of its body. A second animal - possibly a dove or dolphin - stands to the goddess's right. The fabric of the figurines indicates that they originate from the Central Gaulish region but very few have been found elsewhere. Indeed, aside from the Wroxeter figurine, Jenkins (1977: 351) identifies only one other from Bingen, Germany. The only other example, at Oberwinterthur, Switzerland, found in a burnt layer at a ceramics depot where it was probably being stored or transported is dated to 60-70/75 AD (Beenhouwer 2005: 521, Serie 995). A small group of similar figurines more widely distributed across Belgium, France and Germany produced in Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre are contextually dated slightly later to the second century (*ibid*: 521-2, Serie 176).



*Fig. A.1. 33. Type 8 Venus figurines. Left - from Wroxeter (no. 130), after Bushe-Fox 1913, fig. 2. Right – from Oberwinterthur, Switzerland, after Beenhouwer 2005: 521, Cat. Nr. 5069.*

Venus Type 9 (Fig.A.1.34)

Three fragments from Caerwent (no. 954), all part of the same figurine, are of my Type 9. When complete, this figurine probably would also have depicted a nude Venus standing on a hemispherical base but this time her left arm is bent with her left hand covering her left breast, while her right arm is straight so that her right hand rests on her right thigh. In this case, the large piece shows the lower body and upper legs of Venus with her thumb resting on the top of the right thigh. The two smaller pieces are probably part of the drapery on the back side and join together but it is not clear where they attach to the larger piece. All are of the same fabric.

Figurines like this, as well as a small range of sub-types, were produced in Central Gaul and are contextually dated to the late second and early third centuries (Beenhouwer 2005: 487-90, Serie 109-14). Of the 24 examples recorded by Beenhouwer from the Continent, most are from French sites (e.g. Alise-Sainte-Reine, Autun, Auxerre, Diou, Langres, Nuits-Saint-Georges, Sougères-sur-Sinotte and Vichy) but a few have also been found in Austria (at Tulln and Wels), Belgium (Anderlecht), Germany (Pfaffenhofen) and Switzerland (Avenches and



*Fig. A.1. 34. Type 9 Venus figurines. Left - from Caerwent, Wales (no. 954); Right - a potential parallel from Avenches, Switzerland, after Beenhouwer 2005: 488, Cat. Nr. 3283.*

Olten). Two moulds have also been found at Autun, France, indicating a possible production centre (Beenhouwer 2005: 490, Serie 115, Cat. Nrs. 3300-1). It is not clear what sub-type the Caerwent figurine is, but it is the only one of this general type recorded from Roman Britain.

### Other Venus Figurines

Thirty-six other finds have been identified as Venus figurines. Four show some general stylistic attributes of Venus figurines but lack the more definitive typological traits (nos. 490, 492, 601, 608). Venus no. 601, for example, shows the body of Venus with the arms and drapery missing, and Venus no. 608 portrays the lower legs, feet and drapery of Venus on a round, flat base. This time though the drapery appears by the goddess's right leg and may be a variation of a Type 1 or Type 2 figurine. The final 34 figurines - all of which were not assessed personally - were identified as Venus in site reports (e.g. nos. 820-1) or by Jenkins in his various catalogues (e.g. no. 213).

## **Animal Figurines**

Altogether 92 animal figurines have been recorded. Proportionally the 46 quadruped mammals dominate the assemblage but there are also numerous birds of various type (23); the remaining 23 finds are all unidentified pieces. Animals and birds were clearly very important religious symbols in the Roman world and, as we will see, each had its own unique significance.



***Boar (Fig. A.1.35)***

Boars are very rare as pipeclay figurines, with only one found from Annandale, Scotland (no. 847). These animals were considered sacred in Britain from the Iron Age when they were seen as important for hunting and war, epitomising strength (Toynbee 1973: 131-6; Foster 1977: 1-28). They equally acted as important religious symbols of prosperity, with a key role in ritual burials and feasting activity (Green 1989: 139-41). Given this it is maybe surprising that there are not more pipeclay figurines of boars from the western provinces (Boekel 1987: 702).

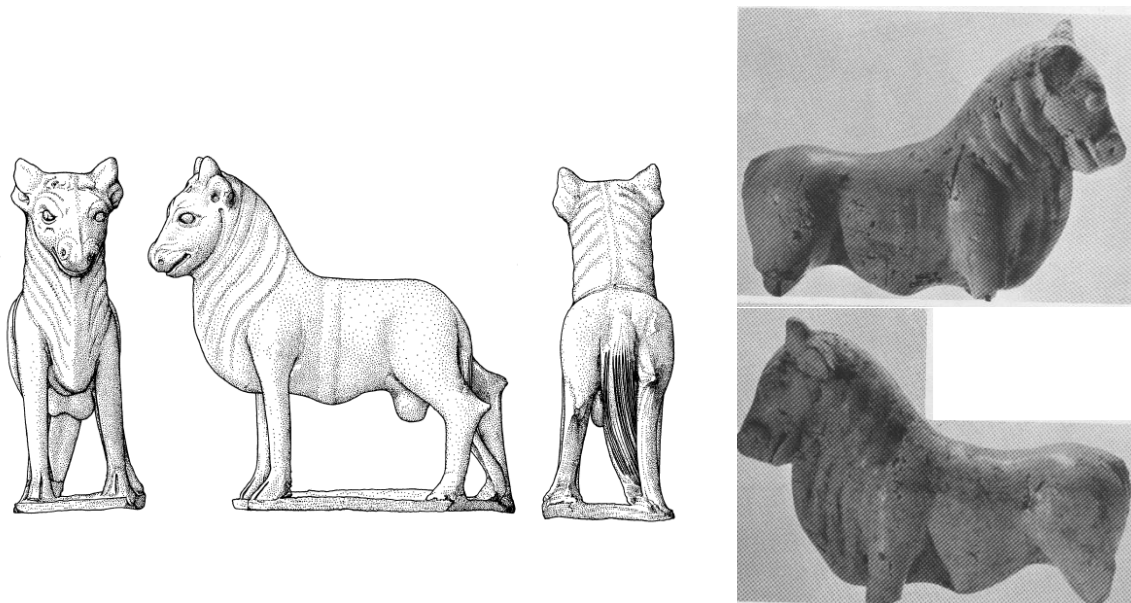
This is one of only two boar figurines of this type from all of Europe, the other being a seemingly identical figurine from the Roman period settlement of Gravenhage, Ockenburg, the Netherlands (Boekel 1987: 771, fig.), but unfortunately this antiquarian find has no detailed contextual or date information. A small number of other jumping wild boar figurines do occur in Germany and the Netherlands, however (e.g. Ruger 1980: 97, no. 216; Boekel 1987: 771, footnote i), and the Gravenhage figurine can be ascribed stylistically to Cologne, Germany, where they were made in the late first century up to c. AD. 180. As a result a similar origin and date seems likely for Boar no. 847 from Annandale, where it may well have something to do with the Roman army that was active in the region of northern Britain from the late first century – specifically legion *XX Valeria Victrix* that used a boar as its emblem (Manning 2000: 75).



*Fig. A.1. 35. The boar figurine from Burnswark, Scotland (no. 847) in The National Museum of Scotland.*

***Bull - Two-Horned (Fig. A.1.36)***

A total of three two-horned bull figurines are included in the catalogue. Over the years a great deal has been written about the religious significance of bulls in Roman society. As well as being used in the arena, bulls were not only symbols of power and fertility, but equally animals that were often linked with healing and fertility judging by the use of their imagery in Roman art and their votive role at sanctuaries and temples (Toynbee 1973: 149-62; Green 1992: 220-4). Bulls were likewise important sacrificial animals that were slaughtered to protect humans against death and disease. This aspect is represented in both of the bulls from Godmanchester and Colchester (no. 286 - see below), each of which wears a band or strap around the body that was usually put on bovines prior to sacrificing them as divine gifts (Green 1997: 389).



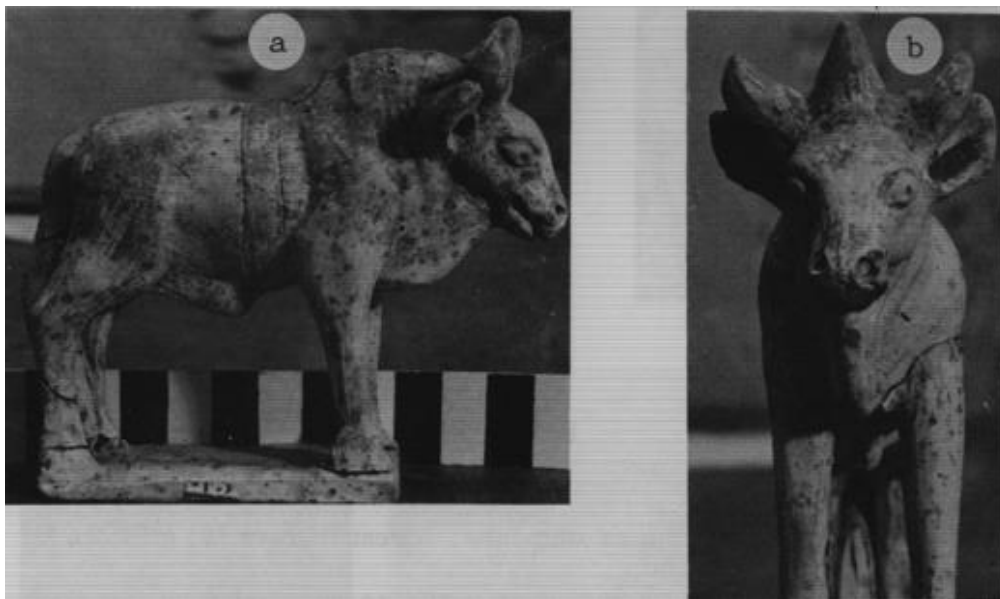
*Fig. A.1. 36. Bull-Double-Horned figurines. Left - Drawing of the figurine from Godmanchester (no. 736), after Green 1997, fig. 16. Right – A figurine from Clermont-Ferrand, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 1028.*

All of the bulls are slightly different in design but all are part of the same general group that are not uncommon across the north-western provinces but appear more frequently in France

than other regions. The bull from Godmanchester (no. 736) is heavily built with two horns on its head and is, perhaps uniquely, uncastrated (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 339-40, no. 1028). Elsewhere, Bull no. 620 from Colchester is similar in design but slightly different in style, lacking the band and genitals (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 340, no. 1029). Alternatively, Bull no. 717 from Arrington instead shows the animal with a patch of long curly hair in between the ears (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 338, no. 1021). Their style and overall distribution indicate that they were produced in the Allier region of Central France in the second and early third centuries (Beenhouwer 2005: 763-4, Serie 793, 765-6, Serie 797), but Bull no. 717 – that has closer parallels with figurines from Troneön (Finistere) – might originate from a more north-westerly workshop in Rennes (Green 1993: 201).

***Bull - Triple-Horned (Fig. A.1.37)***

The fourth bull, from Colchester (no. 286), is slightly different in that it possesses three horns. This third horn, in the centre of the head, features prominently on this type and likely had some additional meaning. Green's (1989: 179-84; 1991: 102-3) work examined the potentially sacred nature of animal triplism in Gaul and Britain where similarly hybridised imagery is sometimes found in contexts such as temples and graves. Our triple-horned bull is unique in Britain and only has one close parallel from Cutry in north-eastern France. They are both clearly of the Gaulish tradition but lack a production date. The Cutry bull is contextually dated to a first century cemetery phase (Beenhouwer 2005: 767, Cat. nr. 4711). The Colchester bull meanwhile is from a late Claudian/early Neronian period child's grave (Eckardt 1999: 79).



*Fig. A.1. 37. The Triple-Horned Bull from Colchester (no. 286), after Green 1976, pl. XIXa-b*

## *Cockerels*

Cockerels are the most common of the bird figurines, with 13 examples. These birds were often kept for sport (Toynbee 1973: 256-7) but are also closely associated with religious activity. As Mercury's companion, cockerels acted and reflected his role as messengers of the day (Green 1986: 169) and were often scarified to domestic *Lares* (Toynbee 1973: 257), while cockerel statues have occasionally been found in temples and graves in Gaul and Britain (e.g. Callahan 2014). Ornate examples include the stylised bronze cockerel at Estrées-Saint-Denis (Green 1998a: 23, fig. 2.14), and another from the temple of Mercury at Uley (Durham 2010: 99, tab. 10, no. 703). Sykes (2012) specifically comments on how the introduction of domestic fowl and adoption of cock-fighting impacted the construction of gender identities in Roman Britain.

Although not numerous, the pipeclay cockerels from Britain are of two differing types: Type 1 cockerels depict them standing with the head raised, while Type 2 cockerels show them standing with the neck positioned forward so that it is horizontal with its body. The feathers on the back, breast and neck are usually long and flowing, contrasting with the schematic lined or herring-bone patterns typically seen on their wings and tails. Their bases are commonly small, circular and hollow in shape.

A small fragment of a wing from London (no. 520) with herring-bone decoration appears to be from one or other of these two types. Two cockerel heads from Nettleton (no. 573) and Usk (no. 641) may well be parts of larger pipeclay compositions rather than individual figurines. A third head, with a beak and high comb, comes from Wakerley (no. 739). The site reports suggests that this might be a local copy judging by the lack of Continental parallels (Jackson et al. 1978: 147-9), but it is perhaps closest to a couple of figurines from Frankfurt-Heddernheim, Germany that were made in the Rhine-Mosel region that are contextually dated to the early second century (Beenhouwer 2005: 794, Serie 862).

Cockerels Type 1 (Fig. A.1.38)

Six standing cockerels with their head raised have been found in Britain. Three of these (nos. 297-8, 784) are from London; the other three are from Dorchester (no. 747), Cirencester and Lowbury Hill (nos. 301-2). All seem to be slightly different sub-types. For example, Cockerel no. 301 has a finer, detailed finish consisting of a wattle, ear and small individual neck feathers, and Cockerel no. 297 – a rarer type – is slightly cruder and more compact in its design. The feather designs of nos. 298, 301 and 784 are also distinctly different. Such Type 1 figurines are distributed widely across Gaul and the Rhineland (e.g. Gonzenbach 1995: 257-60), and are by and large more common than the Type 2 variant. They are all fashioned in the Central Gaulish tradition and broadly date stylistically and contextually from the early/mid first to the second century (Beenhouwer 2005: 781-7, Serie 829-43, 994).



*Fig. A.1. 38. Cockerel Type 1 figurine from Bishopsgate Street, London (no. 297).*

Cockerels Type 2 (Fig. A.1.39)

The only two cockerels with forward facing heads are from London and Silchester (nos. 299-300). Both are of the same general design with herring-bone patterned wings and a fanned tail. However, the neck plumage on Cockerel no. 299 is much fuller, while no. 300 generally has more detailed decoration across the body. Figurines like this occur occasionally in Europe but not in any great numbers, and far less so than Type 1 cockerels, with instances in France (Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre), Germany (Salzburg) and Switzerland (Augst) for example (Gonzenbach 1995: 260). These, too, were produced in Central Gaul, as well as maybe in the Rhine-Mosel, where their style and contextual dating indicate production at about the same time as Type 1 figurines (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 791-3, Serie 854-8).



*Fig. A.1. 39. A Cockerel Type 2 figurine from Silchester (no. 300), courtesy of Reading Museum.*

***Dogs (Fig. A.1.40)***

A total of 14 dogs makes this the second most common type of animal figurine. As we have seen, this animal can often be seen with deities and accompanies the pipeclay renditions of Diana, Epona, Mars and Nehalennia from the province (Boekel 1987: 694 presents the same case for the Continent); they also appear as individual figurines without their deity companions. Johns (2003: 62, note 36) has alternatively pointed out that some of the pipeclay dogs may in fact be of jackals and that these might have been inspired by other Eastern traditions.

Dogs were important practical animals used for hunting, house-guarding, sheep rearing performing and as pets (Toynbee 1973: 102-22) but were also important symbolically judging by their imagery that often occurs at temples, sanctuaries and graves throughout Britain as well as the Continent. They are especially linked with fertility and death via their association with Mother-Goddesses such as Asklepios, Aesculapius and Nehalennia who protected new life and good health, and who at the same time helped the dead as they transitioned and were reborn in the Underworld (Toynbee 1973: 123; Green 1989: 28-9, 144-6; Boekel 1987: 694-5). Canines were also the chosen protectors of the dead and their gods, specifically in the form of Cerberus



*Fig. A.1. 40. Dog figurine from Borough High Street, London (no. 293), right image after Jenkins 1977, fig. 96.*



the single- or triple-headed dog that guarded the entrance to this realm (Toynbee 1973: 123; Boekel 1987: 694). The religious importance of dogs is further indicated by their skeletal remains (both partial and complete) on many Roman sites in Britain (Philpott 1991: 204) such as Silchester (Clark 2006; Eckardt 2006: 227-8) where they are associated with ritual activity and structured deposition (e.g. Fulford 2001; Garrow 2012).

Single dog figures are presented sat upright on their haunches with heads facing forward and forelegs extending out in front of them. Their heads are small, with pointed ears, prominent eyes, raised brows and long muzzles, as if the animal is alert. A single or double collar is worn around the neck, often with an amulet or bell suspended from it. The tail is rarely defined but most would have had an erect phallus (an eminent fertility symbol) clearly visible between the legs. Dogs no. 293 (London) and no. 702 (Bath) are the most complete examples from Britain. Elsewhere, no. 755 (London) and no. 758 (Little Chester) are fragments of the animal's face, and nos. 553-5, all from London, are all rounded concave back-plates. Dog no. 701 (Bath) is likewise part of a back-plate but this time the back of the collar, head and ears are also visible.

This type of figurine was prevalent in the north-western provinces, from settlement sites in France and Switzerland (e.g. Gonzenbach 1995: 229-31) to Germany (e.g. Nijmegen; Boekel 1987: 693, 728-32, nos. 221-3). However, in contrast to Britain, Continental regions also have one or two other rarer types depicting dogs laying down or walking (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 348-9, nos. 1067-70; Rüger 1980: 96, no. 213; Gonzenbach 1995: 231-3; Beenhouwer 2005: 720-3). Overall the collection of seated dogs from Britain bear similarities with dog figurines produced in Central France, possibly Vichy, Toulon-sur-Allier or Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre. Contextually dated figurines indicate production from the mid-first to early second century (e.g. Boekel 1987: 725; Beenhouwer 2005: 711-9, Serie 719).

***Dolphin (Fig. A.I. 41)***

A small fragment from the site at One Poultry, London (no. 540) may be part of a dolphin. As well as being regarded as friendly sea creatures, dolphins were classical symbols of the sea that protected the dead across the sea to the Blessed Isles (Toynbee 1973: 206-8; Green 1989: 201). Although previously identified as a bird or cockerel (Rayner *et al.* 2011: 407), the features of the animal are more akin to the marine mammal, maybe in the form of an individual figurine or more likely as part of a composite piece judging by its small size, though no parallels can be found (see perhaps Venus with dolphin by her right side: i.e. Venus Type 8 above, and Beenhouwer 2005: 521-2, Serie 176). The former is an extremely rare type with only four thus far recorded from central France where they were most probably manufactured (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 363, nos. 1117-20).



*Fig. A.I. 41. Dolphin figurines. Left - fragment from 1 Poultry, London (no. 540); Right – A larger dolphin figurine from Toulon-sur-Allier, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 1117.*

### *Doves (Fig A.1.42)*

Two figurines, from London (no. 522) and Exeter (no. 590), depict doves. As small birds doves were used to carry messages and as were kept as pets (Toynbee 1973: 258). They also came to embody spiritual notions of healing and bodily health, and were traditionally viewed as birds that, associated with Venus, kept harmony and purported peace and love (Green 1998a: 215-6), and in this sense it is maybe surprising that there are not more of these pipeclay birds from Britain. Doves were also an attribute of Cupid, and although the two are not seen together at all in pipeclay, four bronze figures from the province do depict the god holding or standing by his favourite bird (Durham 2010: 48, 443-4, nos. 66, 68, 311, 751, pls. 37-9).

While the classification of the pipeclay dove from Exeter cannot be verified (Ling 1991: 274, no. 1), the London figurine (no. 522) is a ‘ring-dove’ (Boekel 1987: 692) with a small round head, short beak, and cylindrical upper body with two rows of long narrow feathers topped by a double band or collar around the neck (some Continental figurines have just a single band). The missing body would have been long with decorated wings either side, with



*Fig. A.1. 42. Dove figurines. Left - figurine from Juxon House, London (no. 522), after Watson & Heard 2006, fig. 107. Right – A complete figurine from Vichy, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 1132.*

either a flat (Type 1) or bent (Type 2) tail, all mounted on a small, flat rounded base (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 370-1, nos. 1132 or 1135).

Doves, including ringed doves, are overall very popular in France and the Rhineland, and were produced in both of these regions (e.g. Gonzenbach 1995: 267-8; Beenhouwer 2005: 771-80). There are no exact parallels for the London dove but 'ring-doves' were mostly made in central France where moulds and figurines are contextually dated to the late first and, mainly, second century (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 777-80, Serie ).

*Hens (Fig. A.1.43)*

Four hen figurines are known from Britain. Hens (or chickens) are clearly related to cockerels and they hence unsurprisingly share much of their iconographic meaning. Unlike cockerels though, the large quantities of chicken remains found at temple sites in Roman Britain indicate that they were an important sacred animal in their own right, particularly for ritual feasting (e.g. King 2005). Chicken remains evidencing ritual feasting can be seen at the site of London's Mithraeum, not to mention the temple complex at Carrawburgh (Shepherd 1998: 227, 247).

Two of the pipeclay hens from Britain are equivalent to Rouvier-Jeanlin's (1972: 377-80, nos. 1155-64) Type 1 figurines. The hen from King William Street, London (no. 305) has a parallel in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, as well as another close parallel in Salzburg in Austria (Beenhouwer 2005: 797-8, Serie 866/869). Hen no. 307 from Colchester is very similar but has a more rounded body with a thinner, taller tail. Good parallels come from the Rhine-Moselle region (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 798-9, Serie 870-3). Another hen from London, this time at Bishopsgate (no. 519), might be the same type but instead of being plain, the design on its neck consists of small incisions replicating feathers; based on this it could, in fact, be a cockerel but it does not have a comb and wattle (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 381-5, nos. 1168-85), nor does



*Fig. A.1. 43. Hen figurine from King William Street, London (no. 305).*

it have any identical parallels. Lastly, Hen no. 306 from Bishopsgate Street, London, was recorded as such in Jenkins catalogue (1977: 404, no. 3) but this is unverified.

Hens were another common type of bird figurine on the Continent with large collections from France and smaller groups in Belgium, Germany and Switzerland (e.g. Boekel 1987: 746-50; Gonzenbach 1995: 262-3). The general Type 1 figurine is the most common form, although in some regions there is a second type (Type 2) with a larger fanned tail (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 380, nos. 1166-7). Type 1 hens like no. 305 were evidently made in the Allier region of France, dated by context to AD 75-125 and 50-250 (Beenhouwer 2005: 797-8, Serie 866, 869). Contrastingly, those with thinner, more erect tails - like no. 307 - instead have origins farther east, possibly in Cologne, during the late first and early second century (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 798-9).

Eggs (Fig. a.1.44)

Two finds likely associated with hens are the eggs from Colchester (no. 619) and London (no. 665). As well as being a relatively regular part of the Roman diet, eggs, like poultry, were also important funerary symbols linked to beliefs about life and death (Arthur 1977, 368), and regeneration and resurrection (Alcock 1980: 56-7). Callahan (2014: 20) further points out that egg imagery, in the form of statuary or otherwise, was often adopted by certain cults, including ‘initiates of the rites of Liber, who worshipped the egg as the image of the universe’, and the Cult of Mithras that celebrates the god’s birth from an egg (Claus 2000: 70).

Pipeclay eggs are just as rare in Britain as they are on the Continent. Rouvier-Jeanlin (1972, 398-9, nos. 1257-66) lists ten from various sites in France, and Gonzenbach (1995: 283) one from Salzburg, Austria and one from Augst, Switzerland, for example. Their current distribution suggests production primarily in the region of central France, with the Colchester egg indicating production at least as early as the mid-first century, if not before.



*Fig. A.1. 44. Fragment of pipeclay eggs. Left - from Colchester (no. 619), after Crummy 1983, fig. 171; Right – from Winchester Square, London (no. 665).*

## *Horses*

Just ahead of dogs, the 16 horses are the most common of all the animal figurines. This includes one complete horse (no. 737), 14 fragments (nos. 288-91, 530, 533-4, 660, 733?, 762?, 844, 881, 883, 911) and a pair of horses (no. 292). The two Horse and Rider figurines (nos. 274, 532) are also included here. Before considering each of these types it is worth remembering that horses were very important civilian, military and religious animals in Roman Britain and Gaul, about which Hyland (1990) provides a comprehensive review. Powerful and steadfast, these animals were regarded as a valuable domestic animal that was used for agricultural tasks and a vital means of transportation for goods as well as people (Toynbee 1973: 167-85). Their religious importance lies in their links with Epona - a goddess of the stable and of fertility (e.g. Jenkins 1969b; Green 1986: 171-5), but as symbols of strength they also had a close association with the god of war and soldier guardianship, Mars - and his provincial equivalents (Boekel 1987: 698). The sacred and ritual role of horses is consequently well evidenced in the north-western provinces in the form of equine *ex-voto* objects, skeletal remains and associated equipment in 'offering contexts' at settlements, sanctuaries and temples (Green 1998a: 113-6).

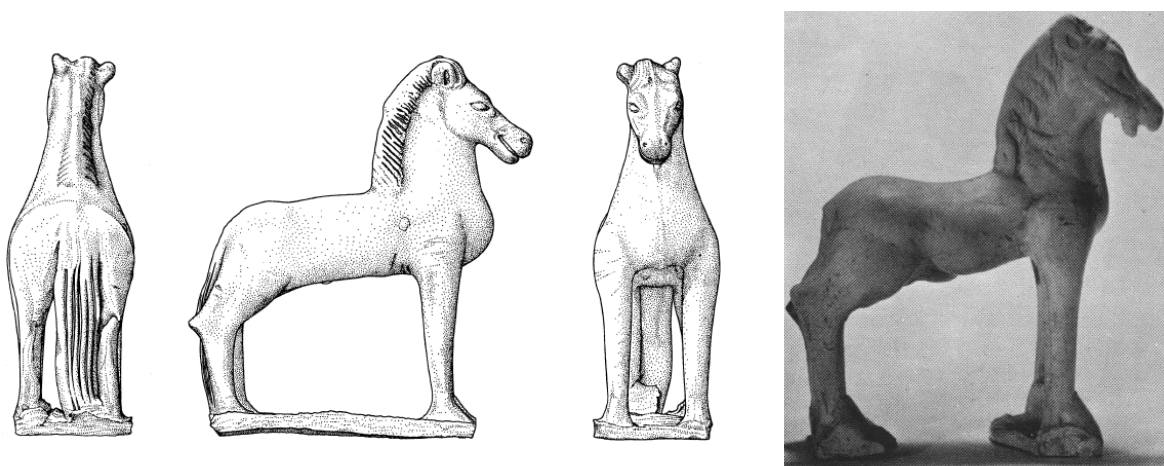
All things considered, horses are one of the more popular figurine forms in Europe that were made at both Central Gaulish and Rhine-Moselle workshops over the broad period of the first to third centuries (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 726-50). They occur in a range of different types and sub-types, the likes of which are typically defined by the following traits: firstly, whether the animal wears a saddle and bridle; and secondly, the design of this, and the mane and tail (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, 325; Gonzenbach 1995: 240-41). The problem with the finds from Britain is that it is very difficult to accurately classify many of them due to their fragmentary nature, though some rudimentary distinctions can be drawn based on the surviving features.



*Single Horses (Fig A.1.45)*

Single horses, like the complete figurine from Godmanchester (no. 737), normally show the animal standing on all four legs with the head, complete with mane, held above a muscular body with its tail tucked in between the back legs, the end usually resting on the thin, flat rectangular base. In addition to the more complete specimens, most of the fragments also probably belong to this general group judging by the rarity of the other types: a mix of yellow and greyish-white clays suggests they are from both Gaulish and Rhineland workshops. The Godmanchester horse (no. 737), like the one from Canterbury (no. 290), appears to be without a saddle and bridle gear; the former having a mane and tail combed in a series of straight lines. Produced in Central France between AD 50 to 300, these unbridled horses are a less common sub-type with only a handful of figurines from dated contexts known from France and Belgium (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 325-7, nos. 972-80; Beenhouwer 2005: 734-5, Serie 741-4).

Two horses are of the bridled type. The first, from Wroxeter (no. 288), without a saddle, has straps down the side of its face with a bit piece by the mouth and reigns looping around the neck. This particular type is known from the Continent where it has also been



*Fig. A.1. 45. Horse figurines. Left - drawing of the unbridled horse from Godmanchester (no. 737), after green 1997, fig. 17. Right – A bridled horse from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 989.*

recorded from dated contexts at sites including Tronoën and Saint-Marcel, having been produced in Central France, probably at Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre , in the mid to late second century (Beenhouwer 2005: 742-3, Serie 758). The second horse, from Winchester (no. 660), is slightly different with a double-banded bridle strap around its upper neck but again has a stiff combed mane. Board parallels have been found in France and, particularly, Belgium, though production was in Central Gaul, primarily in the second century (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 743, Serie 759? or 755-9?).

*The Double Horse Figurine (Fig. A.1.46)*

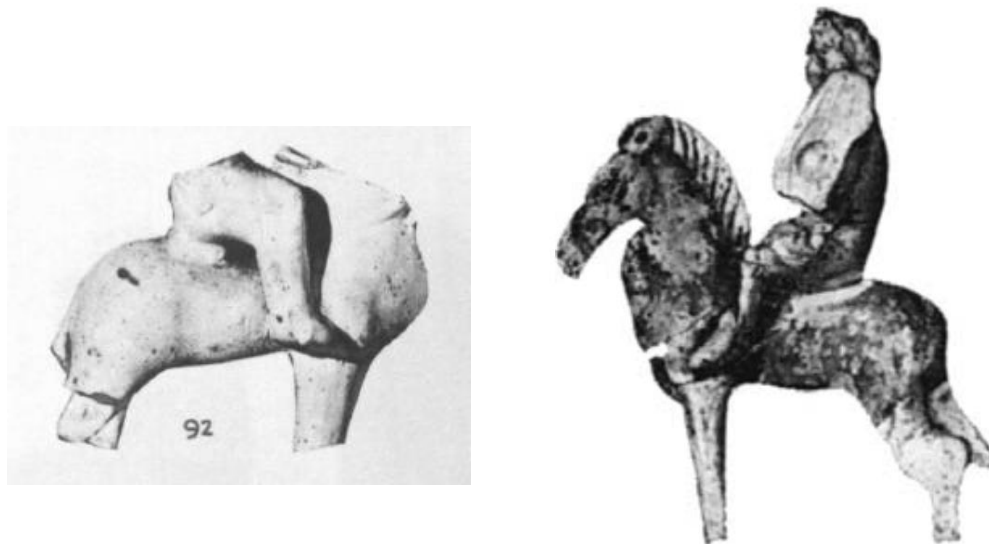
Lastly there is the double horse figurine from Newstead (no. 292) that in full form would have shown two identical horses standing side by side but now the left-hand horse is all but missing. The right-hand horse is stocky in appearance, with a small head and muscular upper legs. The mane consists of long-stranded hair that falls over the back of the neck, while a long tail reaches the ground. Around its neck the animal wears a large harness as if ready to pull a heavy cart or wagon. Interestingly it is almost entirely unique with only one comparable but undated figurine that is likely a product of a Rhine-Moselle region known in Salzburg, Austria (Gonzenbach 1995: taf. 152, no. 2).



*Fig. A.1. 46. The Double-Horse figurine from Newstead (no. 292), courtesy of National Museums Scotland.*

Horse and Rider Figurines (Fig. A.1.47)

There are two slightly different types of horseman figurine. The first, from the Bloomberg site in London (no. 532) shows the muscular body, hind and upper rear legs of a horse and saddle, with a hand that probably belongs to a boy standing next to the horse. This type of horse and rider figurine is rare on the Continent (e.g. Gonzenbach 1995, 209-13) and no examples matching the way in which the hand is positioned on the horse's back have yet been found anywhere else. It does, however, bear some similarities with certain contextually dated central French and Rhine-Moselle cavalymen produced in the second century (e.g. *ibid*; Beenhouwer 2005: 608-9, Serie 551).



*Fig. A.1. 47. Horse and Rider Figurines. Left - from Great Chesterford (no. 274), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 92; Right – A simialr figurine from Harelbeke, Belgium, after Beenhouwer 2005: 613, Cat. Nr. 526.*

The second, from Great Chesterford (no. 274) is a fragment showing the body and upper legs of a horse wearing a bridle and the legs of a seated rider, broken at the waist, either side. Jenkins (1977, 390) suggests that the full figurine would have shown a bare-headed horseman wearing a short tunic and a small circular shield on his left arm that might be related to Mars, or be a Gaulish cavalryman. A generic rider - or one linked to Epona - should also not be ruled

out. Although such cavalrymen are much rarer than single horses, some central French types stylistically and contextually dated to the second century are known, but in small numbers (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 3347, nos. 1006-19; Beenhouwer 2005: 613, Serie 561-2).

*Pigeons (Fig. A.1.48)*

The four pigeons from Baldock (no. 817), Colchester (no. 308) and London (nos. 304, 521) could have religious significance in the sense that these small birds, likened to doves, were used as sacrificial animals to Venus (Arnott 2007: 178-9), although their role as carriers and pets should not be overlooked (Toynbee 1973: 258-9). All of the figurines from Britain are of the same basic type with a small round head and body with a short pointed beak. The wide wings, usually decorated with herringbone patterns, are rounded nearest the bust and taper inwards towards the characteristic flat, fanned tail.

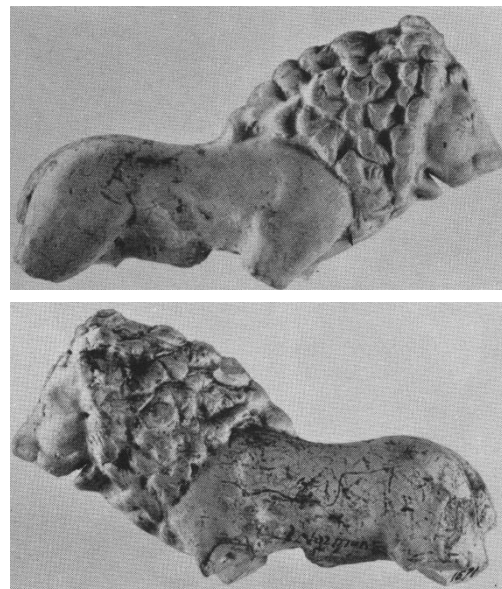
As on the Continent, pigeon figurines are not uncommon in Britain but are less frequent finds than birds like hens and cockerels, with greater numbers in France and Germany and fewer in Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland where they are occasionally mistaken for doves (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 773, Serie 891-2). Pigeon nos. 304 and 521 from London were probably made in the Allier region of France in the first and second centuries based on their style and contextually dated parallels (Beenhouwer 2005: 772-3, Serie 889, 891-2). Those from Baldock (no. 817) and Colchester (no. 308) are probably of the same region and date similarly.



*Fig. A.1. 48. The pigeon from King William Street, London (no. 304).*

*Lion (Fig. A.1.49)*

Only one figurine from London (no. 531) is of a standing lion, depicting a muscular quadruped with powerful hind legs, a thick, tufted mane and large paws on a flat, rectangular plinth. Unbroken figurines would have had an equally muscular upper body and legs, as well as a head with two raised ears, a snout and an open mouth (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 555, no. 1090-1). Lions were exotic, ferocious animals that are frequently depicted in Roman art but were not necessarily associated with one particular deity. Rather their imagery anthropomorphised the strength and power of the Roman state. While some lions were hunted, tamed as pets and used in the arena, they simultaneously acted as a powerful symbol of death (Toynbee 1973: 61-9). Pipeclay lions that appear to have stronger than usual links with particular divine figures include those from the Mithraeum at Trier, Germany, and a small group from the Rhine-Mosel region that depict Cybele sat with or riding the creature (Beenhouwer 2005: 342-5; also Boekel 1987: 701-2). Three other lions in Britain (nos. 749, 767, 781) are zoomorphic vessels, while the identity of the figurine from Kelvedon (no. 625) - originally recorded as a lion by Jenkins (1988b: 79) - remains uncertain so that in this thesis it is recorded as an unknown animal type.



*Fig. A.1. 49. Lion figurines. Left - Fragment from Pudding Lane, London (no. 531); Right -figurine from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 1091.*

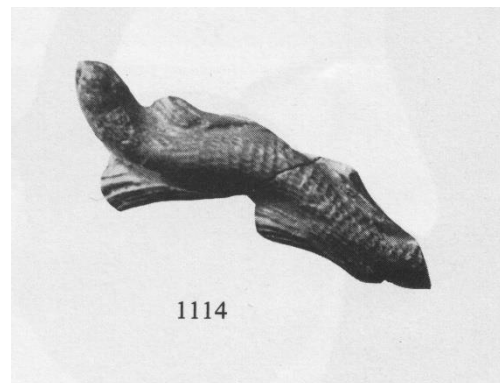
Being an exceptionally rare type, few standing lions have been found outside of Britain; Rouvier-Jeanlin identifying only two of this particular form from Clermont-Ferrand and Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (1972: 355, nos. 1090-1), and Beenhouwer (2005: 723-4, Serie 805-6) a coupe of figurines in France (*ibid*: 725-6; also Boekel 1987: 764-8 for some different Rhine-Mosel standing-lion types found, for example, at Nijmegen (two), Vechten (one) and Voorburg (one) in the Netherlands). Crouching lion types are just as rare in France (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 355-6, nos. 1092-4) and elsewhere (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 726), whereas Gonzenbach (1986, 1995) did not record any of either type from Switzerland. Close parallels from dated contexts suggest that the lion figurine from London was made in central France in the mid-second to late-third century (Beenhouwer 2005: 723-4, Serie 805-7).



*Lizard (Fig. A.1.50)*

Leadenhall Court in London has provided an unusual lizard figurine (no. 539) that is unique in both Britain and the Continent. These reptiles, along with frogs, tortoises, scorpions and snakes, all had associations with the god Sabazius - a Thracian-Phrygian vegetation deity - who, in the Roman world was mainly equated to Jupiter and the cult of the *Magna Mater* (Adkins & Adkins 1996: 195; Turcan 1996: 315), where lizards may symbolise death and resurrection (Toynbee 1973: 220-1). Bird (1996) identifies pottery associated with this god across London, and Henig (1998: 232) postulates a third century temple dedicated to him close to the town's Mithraeum.

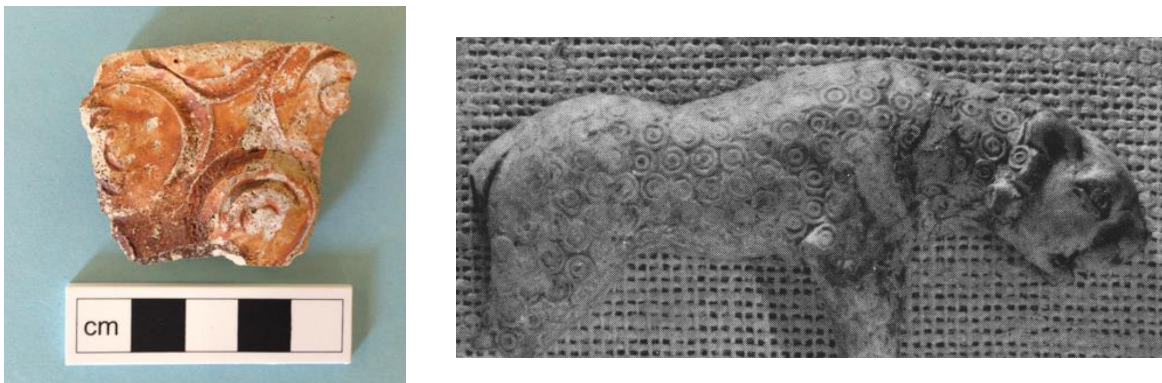
This pipeclay figurine has a long slender reptilian body with four bent legs (Milne & Wardle 1993: 89). The upper-side is covered with many small, circular indentations replicating scales, but the head and most of the tail are missing. The only broadly comparable but undated object comes from the area of Vichy in Allier, France (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 362, no. 1114).



*Fig. A.1. 50. Lizard figurine. Left - from Leadenhall Court, London (no. 539). Right - a different type from Vichy, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 1114.*

***Panther (Fig. A.1.51)***

Another very rare find is the possible panther figurine from Southwark (no. 541). Panthers are often linked with Bacchus (Hutchinson 1986: 145) and only occasionally appear as metal (e.g. Durham 2010: 74 for the eight examples in Britain) and pipeclay figurines. A complete pipeclay figurine from Bingerbrück, Germany (Jenkins 1977: 66, figs. 66-7; Boekel 1987: 249, fig. 27), illustrates this association well, showing Bacchus standing with a panther by his feet. The London fragment is identifiable by its distinctive roundel finish, a feature also seen on the only broadly comparable panther figurine at Toulon-sur-Allier, France, noted by Rouvier-Jeanlin (1972: 358, no. 1104).

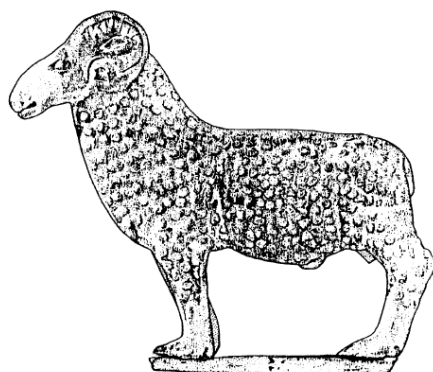


*Fig. A.1. 51. Panther figurines. Left - Fragment from Borough High Street, London (no. 541); Right –figurine from Toulon-sur-Allier, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 1104.*

### **Rams (Fig. A.1.52)**

There are six ram figurines from Britain. All are of the same basic type showing standing rams with heads and two coiled horns either side of their head with their fleeces represented by small raised circles. Two almost complete figurines (nos. 713-4) and two fragments, both probably from a third standing figurine (no. 715), are from the child's grave at Arrington, while another worn but partially complete example comes from Colchester (no. 622). The other ram fragment is from inside an oven on an industrial metal-working site in Wixoe, Suffolk (no. 744).

Sheep and rams were reared for their wool and milk but they additionally had important religious symbolism in the Roman world. Toynebee (1964: 71) and Crummy (1983: 145) point out that rams were associated with the merchant god Mercury and were likely fertility symbols for herders and shepherds. Elsewhere, Green (1993: 199) notes that rams were often used as sacrificial animals within many cults, here pointing to monuments from Britain that depict their ritual killing at the fertility ceremony of *suovetaurilia* that, carried out during the festival of *Ambarvalia*, sought to protect agricultural fields and crops. They were likewise scarified during the *criobolium* - an Anatolian ceremony centred on the Great Mother goddess Cybele (*ibid*; see also Green 1998a: 123-4 for other uses of rams and sheep).



*Fig. A.1. 52. Ram figurines. Left - Drawing of a figurine from Arrington (no. 714), after Green 1993, pl. 9A; Right - figurine from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 1037.*

Pipeclay rams are quite rare finds on the Continent and it is surprising that quite so many are from Britain. However, the distribution of single- and double-ended woolcombs does suggest that a large wool industry did develop in the south of the province, with likely mills at Caerwent, Caistor-by-Norwich and Winchester (Jones & Mattingly 2002: 228-9, Map. 6:45). Only one standing ram has been recorded by Rouvier-Jeanlin (1972: 341-2, no. 1037), on top of two other crouched rams and three fragments (*ibid*: 342-3, nos. 1038-42), all likely the products of the Central Gaulish industry given their style. In contrast, small numbers of a slightly different late first to late second century Rhine-Moselle were preferred in Belgium and the Netherlands (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 710, Serie 803), but are entirely absent on Swiss sites.

*Bale of Wool (Fig. A.1.53)*

Another object potentially related to sheep and rams is a small pipeclay object from the Isle of Skye (no. 335). This could be a bale of wool, but alternative suggestions are a wad of skins or cloth, or a walnut. Given the absence of contextual detail the function of the object is uncertain but there is still no definite evidence that it was a votive, as has been previously suggested (Piggott 1958: 26; Jenkins 1977: 527), nor any certainly that it is Roman in date given the little evidence of Roman activity on the Isle of Skye. No parallels for it have been identified in Britain or the Continent, not is it clear where it was made or when. Jenkins (1977: 234) is also unsure about the object's provenance noting, on one hand, how its green paint on white slip suggests the Rhine-Moselle and, on the other, the similar wool design seen on some ram figurines from St. Pourcain-sur-Besbre and Toulon-sur-Allier in Central France.



*Fig. A.1. 53. The pipeclay Bale of Wool from the Isle of Skye (no. 335), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 73.*

### *Unidentified Animal Figurine Types*

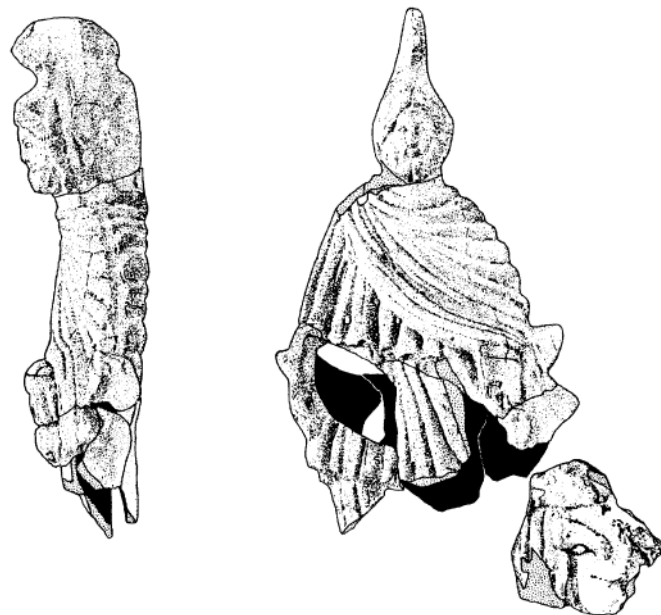
Finally, there is a group of 22 unidentified animals and birds. Some are fragments of body parts – such as pieces of leg from horses, bulls or dogs (nos. 535-8, 543, 724?), or parts of bird bodies and wings (e.g. nos. 523-4, 549, 621, 633). Two round bases (nos. 525-6) probably depict the feet of cockerels, while others are flat plinths, like no. 542 that are perhaps from a horse or bull.

## **Human Figurines**

All in all there are 58 human forms recorded in the catalogue, making these much less common than deities and animals. Thirty-one of these are figurines, while 27 are busts depicting heads and upper bodies. The range of subjects is varied, including adult as well as youthful depictions of males and females, with adults common in the form of figurines and children as busts. No one type of figurine or bust is overwhelmingly numerous but significantly, most do derive from funerary contexts and subsequently appear to reflect beliefs about different stages of life, rites of passage and guardianship in the underworld. Some of the rare pieces can also tell us something more about the cultural background of the deceased and the people that buried them.

### *Cloaked Figure (Fig.A.1.54)*

One of the most interesting finds from Britain is the figurine of a cloaked figure from the child's grave at Arrington (no. 712). Depicting a male figure with curly hair and a beard, this unique figurine wears a heavily folded belted tunic with a cloak fastened on the right shoulder, and a distinctive Persian or Phrygian hood with overhanging peak (Green 1993: 197). Various suggestions have been put forward concerning the identity of this figurine, with the hood in particular inspiring attributions of Anatolian Atys, Persian Mithras, Syrian Jupiter, Dolichenus or, alternatively, Mithraic torch-bearers (*ibid*: 197-9). For Green (*ibid*: 199), however, Orpheus or *Dioscuri* and Cabeiri - all Greek gods closely associated with death – are preferred. Whatever the case, a god seems likely given its apparently non-human dress that does not have parallels anywhere in Britain or Gaul, but it equally might not be a deity at all. Because of this ambiguity I will keep it in the 'Human' category for now but we should entertain the idea that it might



*Fig. A.1. 54. Drawing of the Cloaked Figure from Arrington (no. 712), after Green 1993, fig. 4.v.*



belong to the deity group instead. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this figurine type is extremely rare in the western provinces. It is so far the only one from Britain, and elsewhere Rüter (1980: 113, no. 297) lists only one other identical head fragment from Nida-Hedderheim in Germany.

### *Comic Figures*

A total of twelve figurines of comics are recorded from Britain. This includes one standing, four seated and five recumbent figures, all from the Colchester Child's Grave, as well as two possible fragments from Ashwell, Hertfordshire (no. 729) and Usk, Monmouthshire (no. 285). Nearly all of the more complete figurines from Colchester depict old men in a caricature-like way with pointed bald heads, protruding ears and chin, wide noses, large eyes and broad smiles. Only two recumbent figures (nos. 283-4) from the same grave are of younger men. These, too, have pronounced eyes, noses and ears but this time have short combed hair instead of bald heads. As we will see, these figurines are not altogether common but do appear occasionally across the Continent where they were probably produced in the area of Toulon-sur-Allier and Vichy, France. Comic Figures from dated contexts suggest that this was in the mid to late first century (Boekel 1987: 597; Beenhouwer 2005: 635-7, Serie 586-91).

The imagery of the grotesque old men or fool was a long-established satirical tradition that emanated from Hellenistic artwork and continued into the Roman period (Himmelmann 1994: 89-122; Eckardt 1999: 61). Epitomised by these pipeclay figurines, this kind of image has often been linked with the world of the *Satyricon*, leading some to suggest that as possible representations of burlesque mimes or philosophers (Boekel 1987: 597), these figurines may well have only appealed to those who understood the more subtle nuances of Roman high society and culture (Eckardt 1999: 62; Richmond 1946: 60).

Standing Figure (Fig. A.1.55)

The single standing figure (no. 275) shows a man with his arms held up to his chest wearing a short tunic gathered at the waist. His two pierced hands indicate that he may have held an object, possibly a scroll if he was a *lector*, although a slave, soldier, mime-actor or servant at a banquet are other possibilities (Eckardt 1999: 62). It has also been noted that this figurine is sometimes found with a horse or goats as at Augst in Switzerland and Nijmegen in the Netherlands (e.g. Gonzenbach 1995: 204-5, 211, pl. 142, 4) and probably held organic remains. Matching figurines and moulds from undated contexts have been found at Alesia, Toulon-sur-Allier and Vichy, France (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 238-9, nos. 572-80) but are largely absent elsewhere except for this one from the Late Claudian-early Neronian Colchester grave that is so far unique in Britain.



*Fig. A.1. 55. The Standing Comic from Colchester (no. 275), after Eckardt 1999, pl. 12a.*

Seated Figures (Fig. A.1.56)

The five seated comics (nos. 276-80) are all similar in appearance with large caricatured heads, bodies that are robed and cloaked, and unrolled scrolls held in front of them (no. 278) is missing its arms and scroll). Most of them sit as if in the act of reading or narrating but only no. 276 is looking at his scroll. Unlike the standing figure, these comics are believed to be philosophers, teachers, or *lectores*, or even mimes or reciters that entertained at banquets (Gonzenbach 1995: 173; Eckardt 1999: 63). Aside from the Colchester figures only a handful of seated comics are known from the Continent where Gonzenbach (1995: 172) lists the finds from Alesia, Bourbon-Lancy, Vichy and Martes-de-Veyre, France, and another from Oberwinterthur in Switzerland; Gonzenbach (*ibid*) and Green & Jenkins (1995, 54, no. 1) believe that the comic figure from Usk (no.285) also belongs to this group. These figurines were probably produced in the same area of Central France, with Beenhouwer (2005: 635, Serie 586) contextually dating them to the mid-late first century.



*Fig. A.1. 56. The five Seated Comic figures from Colchester (nos. 276-80), after Eckardt 1999, pl. 11a.*

Recumbent Figures (Fig. A.1.57)

The four figurines of recumbent men from Colchester are evidently diners - possibly those at a funerary dinner (Gonzenbach 1995: 217-20, 420; Eckardt 1999: 64). Out of these two are of old men with comic heads wearing tunics, one holding a bowl in both hands (no. 282), the other leaning on a small cushion while scratching his head (no. 281). Clay figurines of old reclining men like this are by no means common with only a small number known, for example, at the Swiss sites of Augst (Gonzenbach 1986: 20, taf. 92,3) and Oberwinterthur, as well as Autun, France, and possibly Nijmegen, Germany (Gonzenbach 1995, 217, tafs. 126,4, 164,11). Contextual dating attributes them to the period of AD 60-70/75 (Beenhouwer 2005: 636, Serie 590).



*Fig. A.1. 57. The four Recumbent Comics from Colchester (nos. 281-4), after Eckardt 1999, pl. 11B.*

The remaining two reclining figures are younger men. One (no. 283) has the same body as the two older men but this time he has a more youthful face up to which he holds his hand - perhaps as a gesture of toothache (Price 1888: 87; Eckardt 1999: 64). The second figure (no. 284), looking up, lies on his elbows and stomach with one hand supporting the chin. Unlike the others this figurine is made of red clay and has previously been classed as a woman but has recently been reinterpreted as a man to match its counterparts (Eckardt 1999: 65). These are

just as rare as old reclining men. Although none have exactly the same type of head, similar young reclining males are noted at Lenzburg, Switzerland, and Autun and Clermont-Ferrand, France (Gonzenbach 1986: 30, tafs. 37,1, 92,2,4; 1995: 217, taf. 164,6) and are probably of the same period.

### *Comic Figure Fragments*

A fragment from Usk, Monmouthshire (no. 285) shows part of a left arm and shoulder partially covered by a tunic with thick folds over the left shoulder which Green and Jenkins (1995: 54) point out is closely similar to the seated comics from Beverley Road in Colchester. Another fragment from Ashwell, Hertfordshire (no. 729) is also possibly a comic figure. Both of these finds are from unstratified contexts but like the other comic figures probably date to the mid-first century.

### *Gladiator (Fig. A.1.58)*

A gladiator from London (no. 273) is unique in Britain. Leaning forwards on his right leg, the figurine is broken at the waist and ankles, with only the legs, greaves and lower tunic surviving. Complete examples would have shown a heavily armoured upper body with a prominent breast plate, or shield, covering one arm and a large elaborate helmet. The other arm, held by the side, is exposed with a short dagger in the hand (e.g. Gonzenbach 1986: taf. 92, 1; 1995: 174-5, Abb. 55.1). Although a few other gladiator types were produced and used in Gaul (e.g. Gonzenbach 1995: 174) as well as the Rhineland (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 632-3), the London find parallels just two others on the Continent: the first, quite a crude depiction at Bouches-du-Rhone, France (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 237, no. 568; cf. Fittock 2015: 118-9), and the second, a burnt figurine at Aarauerstrasse cemetery, Windisch/Brugg, Switzerland (Gonzenbach 1986: 47, no. 19) that was discovered in a tomb dated AD 14-80 (Beenhouwer 2005: 631, Serie 707). Jenkins (1969a: 322) additionally cites another complete gladiator of this type from Cologne, Germany.



*Fig. A.1. 58. Gladiator figurines. Left - from Queen Street, London (no. 273); Right –from d'Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône), France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 568.*



***Infants with Cuculli (Fig. A.1.59)***

Up to three figurines have been found depicting Infants with Cuculli. From Vindolanda comes a figurine of an infant with cucullus (no. 884). This fragment shows the side of a figure's torso with a bent right arm wearing a tunic with a distinctive hem, holding a small round pot in the right hand by his abdomen. Another possible fragment comes from Corbridge (no. 868), while a third from Reculver (no. 241) shows a young boy holding a roll of parchment. Most children in Gaul wore this kind of garment so they clearly belong to the human group, but their use seems to be particularly associated with funerary contexts given their frequent depiction in funerary reliefs (e.g. Coulon 2004). Figurines like this depicting youths holding objects like pots and parchment are rare finds on the Continent but were probably produced in Central Gaul based on their general style and composition. Two are noted by Rouvier-Jeanlin (1972: 251, nos. 616-7) on the French sites of Vesoul and Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre but both have differing tunic designs to the one in Britain. A child figurine with a similar collar but not grasping a pot is also known from Rottweil, Germany (Gonzenbach 1986: 74, no. 4, taf. 95, 2).



*Fig. A.1. 59. Figurines of Infants with Cuculli. Left - from Vindolanda (no. 884); Right – A similar figurine from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 617.*

***Thorn-Pullers (Fig. A.1.60)***

Four figurines of *Spinario*, or the Thorn-Puller, have been found: three in London (nos. 270-2) and one from Arrington (no. 711). A well-known image in Hellenistic statuary (Green 1993: 197), these figurines show a young nude male sitting on a rock with his left leg on top of the right pulling a thorn from his foot. Three of the figurines appear to be crude or very worn copies comprising of the torso and lower bodies, but no. 272, from an unknown site in London, has a finely made head with curly hair, well defined facial features and a band or strap across the torso; two (nos. 270-1) are covered with a dull red-coloured pigment that may be an attempt to imitate samian. Moulds indicate that these figurines were made in Toulon-sur-Allier, France from the mid-first to third century alongside a small array of similar types that were produced elsewhere in Central Gaul (Jenkins 1977: 223). Most have consequently been discovered in France but some occasionally made their way to Austria and Belgium (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 624-9, especially Serie 543-4, 951).



*Fig. A.1. 60. Thorn-Puller figurines. Left –from London (no. 272), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 106; Right –in the National Archaeological Museum, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 635.*

### ***Other Male and Female Figurine Types***

There is a group of 10 other unidentified human figurines that includes fragments of male (no. 939), female (nos. 339, 348, 819, 947?) - both standing (nos. 678,) and reclining (no. 815) - and related forms (e.g. nos. 337-8). The small fragment from Wroxeter (no. 796) showing the face of a man with a moustache is not from any recognisable Gallic or Rhine-Moselle type and is probably post-Roman in date.

## Human Busts

The twenty-seven human busts recorded in Britain nearly all represent women (16) or young boys (nine) but notably this collection lacks the adult males that only appear to make an appearance in France (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 310-4, nos. 897-230; Boekel 1987: 629). In her general review of busts in the Netherlands, Boekel (*ibid*) observes that the wide distribution of human busts in religious contexts at temples, sanctuaries and graves right across the western provinces strongly attests to their ritual, ceremonial and funerary use. She also suggests that the combined imagery of the head and upper-body was an important Roman religious symbol that may well have been a continuation of the Celtic tradition known as the cult of the head but in figural form.

### *Child Busts*

Altogether there are nine busts of children. All of these depict the head and torso of youthful figures usually mounted on a small round base. In general these may reflect the various stages of a child's life and were used in funerary contexts for protection and companionship in the afterlife. Overall, such busts are found in considerable numbers across the north-western provinces (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 663-79) where different types have their own distinctive distribution patterns, but in Britain notably fewer busts and related types have been found.

Boy with Cucullus

In his catalogue (1977: 381) Jenkins classifies a bust from Springhead (no. 260) as a boy with *Cucullus*. This bust shows the front of the figure, with the head and base missing, in white clay. The remaining hooded cloak covers the chest and has a row of three impressed crescents with a stud in the middle along the hem. No parallels are evident from the standard continental catalogues but Jenkins (1977: 216) has identified a similar bust made of red clay from Trier, Germany, with a small boss instead of a round disc on the front, suggesting the Springhead bust may well have been made in the Rhine-Mosel area. Other busts of hooded boys are not common and most contextually date to the mid-second to late third centuries (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 661-3, Serie 660-2, 962).

*Draped Boy (Fig.A.1.61)*

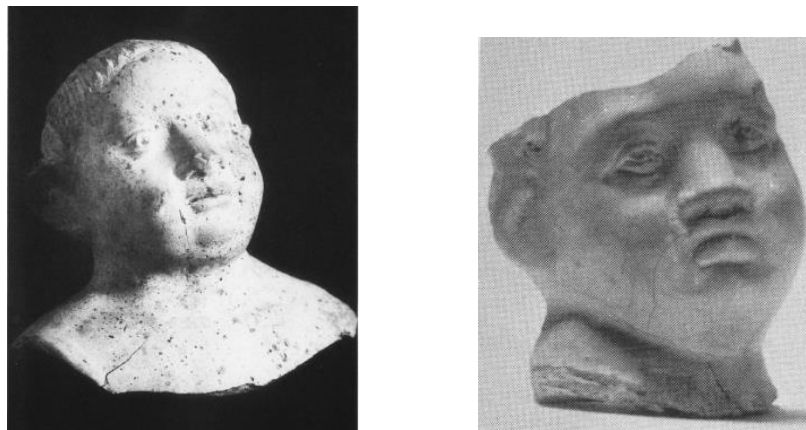
A bust of a draped youthful boy comes from Copthall Court, London (no. 254). Only the lower part of his face remains but the rest of the torso is intact, with folded robes secured by a circular brooch on his right shoulder. The base is round and features what might be stylized petals from a flower - here possibly a symbol of life and fertility; Jenkins (1969a: 322, no. 50; 1977: 378) speculates it depicts a youthful Caesar. It is made of red clay and signed on the back with the words 'FECIT LA [S]'. The signature is probably that of a mould-maker rather than the original modeller seeing as though this type of figurine is now generally accredited stylistically to the modeller Donatus who was based in Cologne in the first half of the second century (Boekel 1987: 631-2, fig. 119). The bust from London is an especially rare type, with only one or two close parallels recorded from Gusenburg and Kreuznach, Germany (Jenkins 1977: 378; Boekel 1987: 630, fig. 118), all of which are thought to have been made in the Rhine-Mosel area in c. AD 100/150-220 (Beenhouwer 2005: 670, Serie 675).



*Fig. A.1. 61. Bust of a Draped Boy from Copthall Court, London (no. 254), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 83.*

*Partially Draped Boy (Fig.A.1.62)*

Another bust (no. 256) is from the child's grave at Colchester. Broken at the torso, this shows a chubby-faced boy with clear facial features, dimpled cheeks, protruding ears and hair combed at the front and back. A small amount of drapery remains on each shoulder. There are no exact parallels in Continental catalogues but possible comparable busts are known from Salzburg, Austria, and Vichy and Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, France (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 706; Gonzenbach 1995: 158, pl. 164.7). Jenkins (1977: 379) notes another similar find from a grave at Lisieux. Their distribution thus suggests production in Central Gaul in the first or second century.

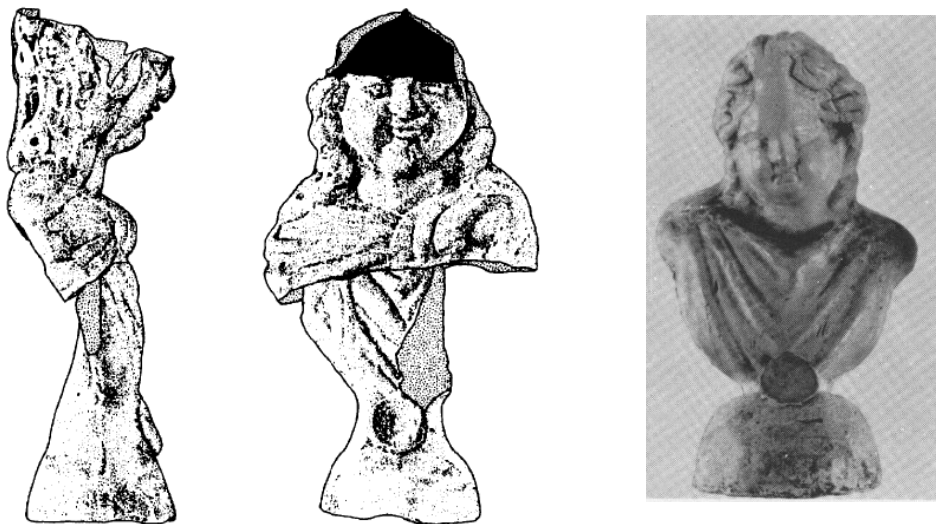


*Fig. A.1. 62. Busts of Partially Draped Boys. Left - Bust of from Colchester (no. 256), after Eckardt 1999, pl. 12b; Right – A similar bust from Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 706.*



Long-Haired Boy (Fig. A.1.63)

Among the ten figurines from the child's grave at Arrington is an interesting bust of a long-haired youth (no. 710). Again, it is unclear who the bust is meant to represent. Green (1993: 196-7) proposes that it may be a hopeful image of the grown up child in the afterlife, or a sibling, alive or dead. She also suggests a possible link with Lenus Mars - a protector of children - noting its resemblances with other busts of children found at a healing sanctuary located in Trier, and similar offerings made at other temples in the settlement (*ibid*). Not quite as numerous or as widespread as Risus, busts of long-haired children like this are more infrequent finds that are concentrated at French sites like Toulon-sur-Allier, Vichy and Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 272-3, nos. 715-21, especially no. 718), close to where they were probably made in the late first or second century.



*Fig. A.1. 63. Busts of Long-Haired Boys. Left - Drawing from Arrington (no. 710), after Green 1993, fig. 3.iii; Right – Bust from Vichy?, after Rowvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 718.*

*Risus Busts (Fig. A.1.64)*

With five finds, figurines of ‘*Risus*’ are the most common of the bust types in Britain. The term was first coined in Tudot’s 1860 work and typically describes a young smiling boy with a bald head and torso mounted on a small rounded base, invariably with a small disc mounted between the lower torso and base. Who the figures are meant to represent is unclear, but their frequent occurrence in Continental graves and temples suggests they had an important religious role as generic symbols of youth and regeneration – something the rounded disc might also represent. Along similar lines, Boekel (1987: 640-1) proposes a possible link with rites of passage whereby their bald head reflects the ceremonial head-shaving of youths that marked a transition into a new stage of life – in this case from baby into young child. Derks (2014: 64) also suggests that *Risus* figurines might have been used to signify another rite of passage associated with children: their ability to speak, sit-up, crawl and walk for the first time, but does not discount the possibility that they might be more generic representations that were also used for a ritual carried out by parents at the end of the swaddling period. Others have noted their affiliation with healing sanctuaries, not to mention graves, where they were perhaps not only dedicated



*Fig. A.1. 64. The Risus bust from Liverpool Street, London (no. 259).*

to the dead but also protected them in the afterlife (Green 1993: 196; Crummy 2010: 51), and/or physical representations of children at different stages of their lives that they passed through.

The three Risus busts from London (no. 259) and York (nos. 257-8) are of the slightly more common type with a bald head and bare torso. Many of these have been found in France, with smaller collections from Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 262-4, nos. 669-86; Beenhouwer 2005: 675, Serie 687). The type is thought to have been made in Central Gaul in both the second and early third centuries. The bust from Arrington (no.709) on the other hand is slightly different as the child wears a collared tunic. This slightly rarer type, found in similar areas, was produced in the same region at around the same time, but possibly a little earlier than bare torso figurines (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 264-5, nos. 687-92; Beenhouwer 2005: 676, Serie 696).

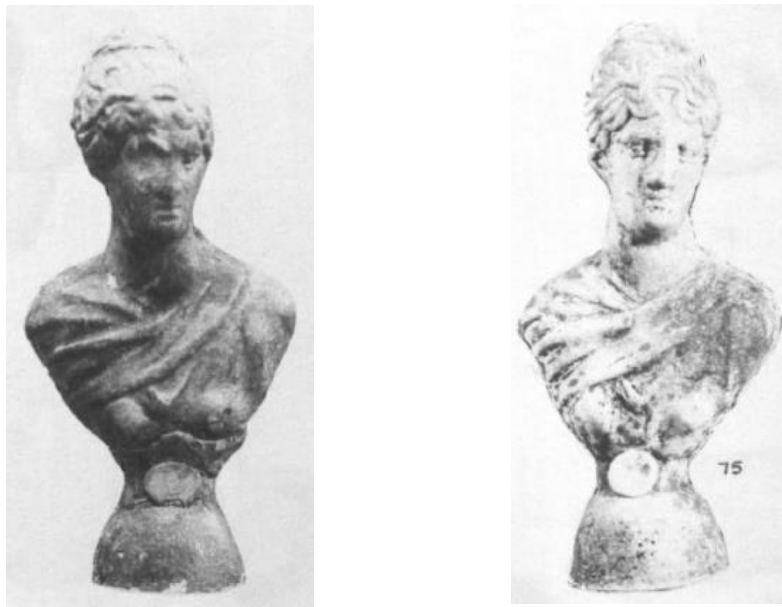
Lastly, there is an interesting bust comes in the form of the Risus from Vindolanda (no. 906). Although broken, this depicts the shoulders and head in typical style. Interestingly, however, this time the bottom of the piece is flat, indicating that it might be an unfinished figure that stood without a base or was attached to another object. There are no known parallels but its style and grey clay suggest a Central Gaulish origin at roughly the same date as other Risi.

### *Woman Busts*

Just sixteen busts of women have been collected from Britain, far behind the numbers found in the north-western provinces of Continental Europe (e.g. Gonzenbach 1995: 153-8; Beenhouwer 2005: 681-703, Serie 606-53, 959-61). These too are commonly found in religious contexts where they were probably representations intended for ritual and funerary use - whether as images of the dead or guardians that protected them. All thirteen of the busts from Britain depict the heads and torsos of young, robed, women upon a round plinth with a flat disc on the front. From these, four different types can be identified, differentiated, as Jenkins (1977: 371) notes, by their different hairstyles and robe designs.

Woman Bust Type 1 (Fig.A.1.65)

Type 1 busts, the most numerous in Britain (nos. 242-5, 247), show the woman's hair arranged in waves around the ears and forehead, and gathered into a platted coiled on top of the head. Her under-robos, meanwhile, have a v-shaped neckline, with a *palla* wrapped around her body and the right shoulder. Out of the five examples in Britain, Welwyn has provided one complete and one broken specimen (nos. 242, 244), and another complete bust comes from Brighton (no. 243). The other two finds, at Cirencester, and Skeleton Green, are classified as female busts by Jenkins (1977: 372-3, nos. 4-6) but have not been seen by me. A few examples of this type have been found at Alise-Sainte-Reine, Autun, Vichy and another from a dated context at their likely production point of Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre in France where they were made during the short period of AD 175-200 (Beenhouwer 2005: 687, Serie 619).



*Fig. A.1. 65. Type 1 Women busts. Left - from Welwyn (no. 242); Right – from Brighton (no. 243). After Jenkins 1977, figs. 75-76.*

Woman Bust Type 2 (Fig. A.1.66)

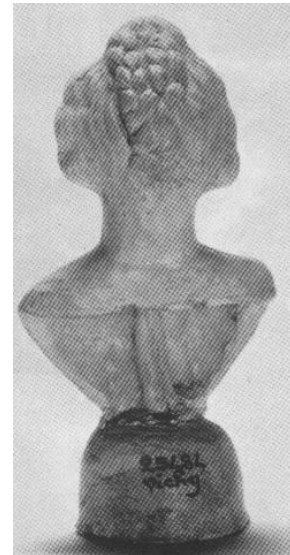
On this type of bust the woman wears a similar v-shaped garment but this time without a *palla*. Her hair is bunched in heavy folds around the face concealing the ears, with a bow-knot on top of her head. The back is gathered into rolls surrounding a central area of uncombed, wavy hair. The busts from Brighton (no. 248) and possibly St. Albans (no. 261) are the only two of this type known from Britain; another from York (no. 913) may be a slightly different version with combed hair on top of the head (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 292, no. 804). A few more of the bow-haired type have been discovered on the Continent where, as part of a larger group of similar figurines, they are slightly more common than Type 1 busts (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 291-3, nos. 799-805, especially no. 802). These, too, are stylistically Central Gaulish products, with contextual evidence dating them to AD 175-200 (Beenhouwer 2005: 684, Serie 614).



*Fig. A.1. 66. Woman Type 2 bust from Brighton (no. 248), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 79*

Woman Bust Type 3 (Fig. A.1.67)

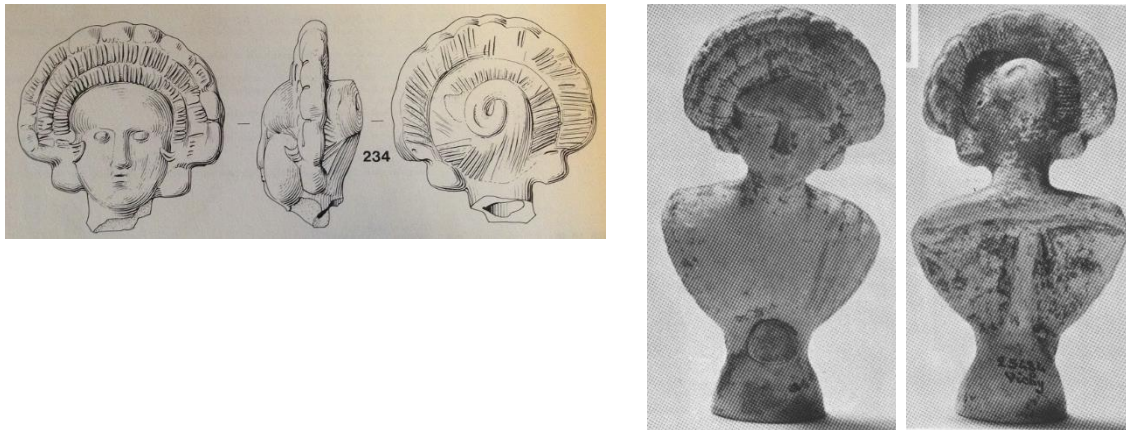
A different type of woman bust is possibly represented by heads from Hassocks and Rawreth (nos. 249-50). These show their hair arranged into a tight plait instead of a bow-knot atop of the head. This design has been found on other busts from the Continent (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, 293 no. 806, platted on the back) and is in exactly the same style as some Dea Nutrix figurines. This could mean that these busts are somehow linked to, or have similar connotations as, the more divine figures nursing infants, but no other god in pipeclay is depicted in the form of a bust – just humans (see the Cloaked Figure (no. 712 for one possible example)). However, Jenkins (1977: 375) was of the view that their hair is slightly fuller with a higher knot than Dea Nutrix figurines. Nevertheless, Rouvier-Jeanlin (1972: 293-4, nos. 806-13) cites eight similar busts from Central Gaul in her catalogue of French finds that Beenhouwer (2005: 684, Serie 613) broadly dates to the period AD 65/180 to 220/250 based on their imagery and style.



*Fig. A.1. 67. Woman Busts Type 3. Left - from Rawreth, Essex (no. 250), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 81. Right – A complete bust from Vichy, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 806.*

Woman Bust Type 4 (Fig.A.1.68)

When complete, Type 4 busts showed a woman with a flat, pointed chin and receding forehead with a long straight nose, eyes that are close together and ears with large circular earrings. The hair is very ornate, consisting of a high semi-circular diadem with tiers of curls at the front and a coiled appearance on the back. Those from Chichester (no. 251) and Wye (no. 253) are almost complete heads. These are of a rare Gaulish type only previously found in France (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 284-5, no. 772); similar alternative first to third century busts with elaborate hairstyles from Holland, France and Germany do exist, however (Boekel 1987: 672-8; Gonzenbach 1995: 153-4). Interestingly, the face fragment from Silchester (no. 252), with its arched brow, appears to be slightly different in style and might instead be a first to third century Rhine-Mosel type (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 697-9, Serie 644-6).



*Fig. A.1. 68. Woman Busts Type 4. Left - Drawing of the bust from Chichester (no. 251), after Down 1978, fig. 10.47; Right- A complete bust from Vichy?, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 772.*



Woman Busts Type 5 (Fig. A.1.69)

Finally, two finds from Ixworth (no. 246) and Wanborough (no. 588) are probably Type 5 busts that would have shown a woman looking to one side with elaborate wavy hair secured around her head with a band: Jenkins (1977: 373) incorrectly lists no. 246 as a Type 1 bust. A rare bust with similar posture and hairstyle has been recorded at Clermont-Ferrand but the type is absent in other regions (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 291, no. 798).



*Fig. A.1. 69. Woman Busts Type 5. Left - from Ixworth, Suffolk (no. 246), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 77. Right – A similar bust from Clermont-Ferrand, France, after Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 798.*

*Unidentified Human Busts and other Potential Pieces*

A partially complete human bust comes from Colchester (no. 616). This is missing the front disc that is usually characteristic of this type, but busts without discs on the front were produced in the Rhineland (Crummy 1983: 141). This example almost identical to another broken face that is made of yellow clay that comes from Brough-on-Humber (no. 262) that looks to be of the same type. Five other unidentified - potentially human - busts include two round bases with flat discs from London (nos. 263, 265) and three other pieces at Cirencester (no. 779), Flitwick (no. 435) and Wroxeter (no. 264).

### **Animal Flasks (Fig.A.1.70)**

In addition to the figurines, a total of 21 unguent vessels portraying animals are recorded from Britain. These small zoomorphic containers were all constructed utilising two-part moulds and generally consist of a small hollow body with rounded handles and spouts in the shape of plain, short (e.g. lions) or long (e.g. hares) funnels with thickened rims (Eckardt 1999: 66). They were all typically finished with a lead-based yellow-green/brown glaze that only occasionally survives as patches – the most notable being the 12 examples from the single child’s grave at Colchester. Various different creatures are depicted, with the current collection featuring three boars (nos. 756, 321, 323), four crouching hares (nos. 312-4, 324), eight crouching lions (nos. 315-6, 322, 325-6, 749, 767, 781), one ibex (no. 320) and three sitting monkeys (nos. 317-8), one suckling a youngster (nos. 319). The final two finds from Gorhambury, Hertfordshire (no. 570) and the Ermine Street site in Lincoln (no. 976) are a surviving handles from unknown animal flasks, probably lions, ibex/deer or rabbits based on the shape of the surviving pieces.



*Fig. A.1. 70. The animal vessels from Colchester (nos. 312-321), after Eckardt 1999, pl. 10.*

These vessels were probably designed to hold oils, ointments and perfumes at baths but were also evidently used for religious purposes at temples and sanctuaries, as well as in graves (Boekel 1987: 776-7; Eckardt 1999: 66-7). In this sense many of these animal motifs may well have been chosen for their symbolic links with particular gods and goddesses just as much their contents (Eckardt 1999: 67). Like many other animals, even the monkeys, ibex and hares could have been seen as reflections of fertility and regeneration in life and death.

Unguent animal vessels were only made at a few Central Gaulish workshops (Gannat, Saint-Rémy-en-Rollat and Vichy) in the first century (Boekel 1987: 776-7; Gonzenbach 1995, 314-18) and were probably replaced by glass flasks thereafter (Salomonson 1976: 30; Boekel 1987: 777). They are consequently relatively rare in Britain having been found on only a small number of sites. Interestingly, 12 of these 20 vessels were discovered all-together in the well-known child's grave at Beverley Road in Colchester (Eckardt 1999: 66-8). Three others were found in London while the five remaining single finds are spread across Baldock, Gorhambury, Preston-next-Wingham, Rearsby and Silchester, most coming from habitation contexts.

The rarity of vessels is also clearly evident on the Continent where, despite the presence of additional human head types (e.g. Gonzenbach 1995: 315, Abb. 134), they are still relatively few in number compared to figurines. As few as 17 are recorded amongst the 1288 finds in the National Archaeological Museum of France, for example (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 350-1, nos. 1075, 1079 (monkeys); 356-7, nos. 1095-9 (lions), 359-60, nos. 1105-8 (ibex), 361, nos. 1111-2 (hares)) and only a handful have been found in other parts of Europe, including Brugg, and Trier (e.g. Boekel 1987: 781-5, footnote i, 783, footnote i, 785, footnote i; Gonzenbach 1995: 224, 226, 228, 250), with just three noted in Boekel's Dutch survey, at Nijmegen: one woman, one 'hoofed animal' resembling the Colchester ibex, and one nearly identical crouched lion. This shows that despite not featuring any unique types, the 20 or so animal vessels from Britain

- and especially the 12 funerary finds from Colchester that are discussed in greater detail in the section about their use in burials in Chapter 9 – are both very significant collections.

## **Shrines (Aediculae)**

Altogether, 29 fragments of clay shrines (or *aediculae*) occur in Roman Britain. Unfortunately most only survive as small pieces of fluted pilasters (e.g. no. 333), archways (no. 469), decorated facades (no. 328) and finials; such as the bulbed finial at Chester (no. 331) and the rosette finial at Colchester (no. 623), or other miscellaneous undecorated fragments (nos. 464-5). The most substantive piece, however, is a shrine from the Bloomberg site in London that, consisting of two pieces (nos. 468-9), shows the majority of a central archway decorated with lozenges with two separate areas of criss-cross patterns on the façade above it. Most shrines had this large central apse in which free-standing figurines could be placed. Some alternatively featured a small image of a god - usually Venus - composed in bas-relief integrated into the structural design of the shrine itself (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 142-4, nos. 226-36).

In some cases shrines are decorated with motifs that may well be symbolic of particular religious beliefs. Indeed, as well as the occasional Venus figure, fruits, leaves and flowers are frequently occurring themes, not only evidently reflecting aspects of the natural world, but also probably reflecting views about fertility and abundance. For example, flower motifs are frequently seen on the shrines in France (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 143-6, nos. 228, 230, 232, 250, 248). In Britain, the s-shaped strands with circular stud motif on the shrine from London (no. 334) may well represent vines interwoven with grapes or berries, while fragment no. 461 from the same city has a floral arrangement on the front and back.

Even though all of the shrines are fragmentary, some can be attributed to specific types with their own respective distributions. All are reasonably common in most western regions such as France and the Netherlands, but they do not appear in great numbers in more easterly regions. This is perhaps because they were almost exclusively produced in the workshops of Central Gaul from the late first century until the end of the second century. Given their popularity, their general absence in the Rhine-Moselle is quite surprising but a small selection

of vaguely similar late second to early third century local shrines depicting Venus were available if wanted (e.g. Beenhouwer 2005: 527-8, Serie 192-3).

***Shrines - Type 1 (Pediments with Finials) (Fig. A.1.71)***

Type 1 shrines have pediments topped with finials (after Gonzenbach 1995: 271) consisting of three rosette finials, a large frontal façade with combinations of criss-cross motifs, a fluted archway and two fluted columns either side of the apse. Four pieces can be put in this group: the three from London (consisting of one from St Martin-le-Grand (no. 327) and two from the Bloomberg site (nos. 468-9)), the piece of façade from Wroxeter (no. 329), and the finial from Colchester (no. 623). Gonzenbach (1995: 271-3) details the different design combinations available for this type and in doing so highlights their prominent distribution in central France with further finds from Augst, the Netherlands, Oberwinterthur and Vindonissa Switzerland, as well as Chalon-sur-Saône, France and Karden, Germany (Beenhouwer 2005: 803, Serie 178-9). This is a rare and very early type with close parallels contextually dated to AD 14/37 (*ibid*).

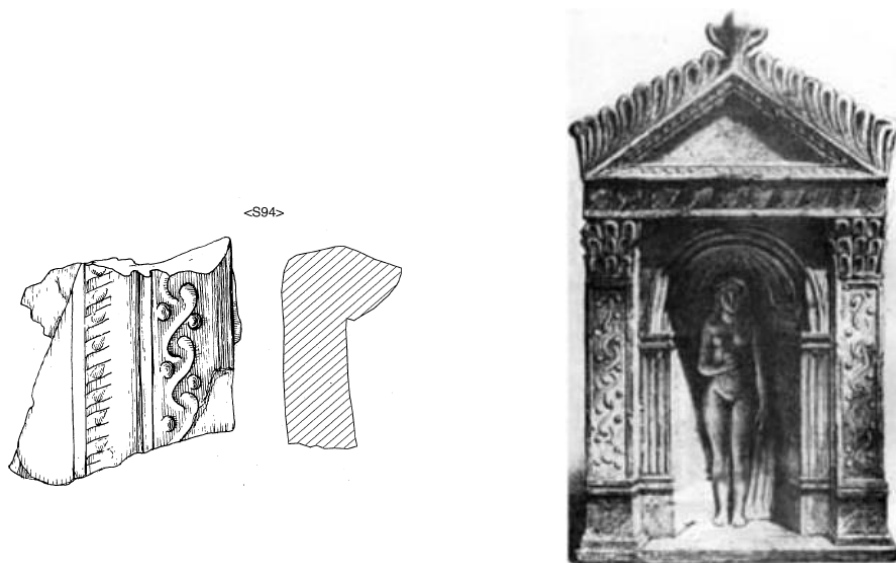


*Fig. A.1. 71. Type 1 shrine fragments. Left - from Bloomberg, London (no. 468); Right - fragments and reconstruction drawing of the shrine from St Martin-le-Grand, London (no. 327), after Lambert 1915, pl. 25.*



***Shrines - Type 2 (Apex Pediments with Finial(s)) (Fig. A.1.72)***

Type 2 shrines have triangular-apex pediments, usually with a single leaf- or flower-like finial (after Gonzenbach 1995: 273-5) with fluted or non-fluted arches and two decorated columns. British finds that fit into this category include the London fragment with the strand and circular stud motif (no. 334). A fragment of shrine pediment from Southampton (no. 328) also belongs here. Again, various motifs would have decorated the columns (e.g. leaves, flowers) and in this case identical parallels for the London find are known from their mainly French distribution, with additions at Seebruck and Worms (Germany), and Augst, Avenches, Bern and Vindonissa in Switzerland (see Gonzenbach 1995: 273; Beenhouwer 2005: 526-7, Serie 191). Beenhouwer (*ibid*) contextually dates this slightly more common type of shrine to AD 80-200.



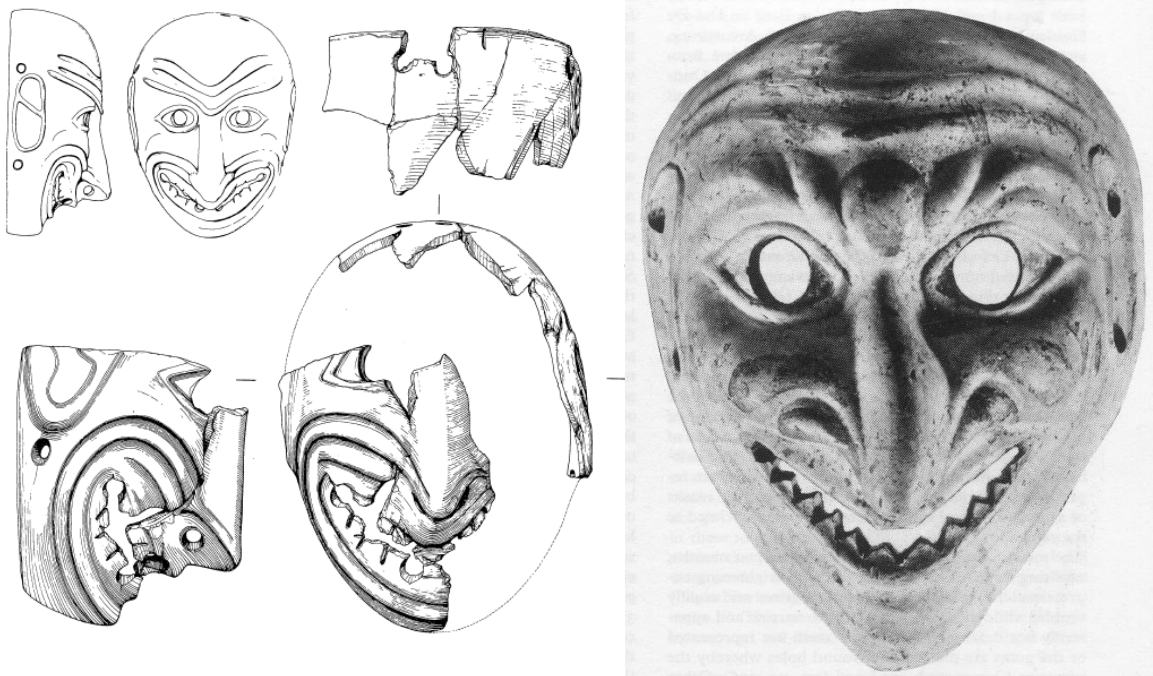
*Fig. A.1. 72. Shrines – Type 2. Left – drawing of the fragment from Borough High Street, London (no. 334), after Cowan 2008, fig. 114; Right - Type 4 shrine from Nérès, France, after Beenhouwer 2005: 526 Serie 191, cat. nr. 3412.*

### ***Shrines - Type 3 (Rounded Non-Finial Shrine)***

Finally, even though fragment no. 461 from London, with what seems to be a flower motif on the outside columns, might also be a Type 2 aedicule, it could instead be part of a Type 3 shrine with an alternative rounded pediment without finials and a narrower fluted arch (Gonzenbach 1995: 275). This type is notably rarer than Type 2 aedicule with none having been found in Switzerland and only two respectively from the French sites of Nérès and Toulon-sur-Allier (*ibid*). Dating from the mid/late second to the early third century, it is likely based on similar but non-identical designs (Beenhouwer 2005: 524-5, Serie 187).

### Masks (Fig. A.1.73)

Only seven mask fragments have been found in Britain, these coming from Baldock (no. 766), Dover (no. 952), Harlow (no. 824), London (nos. 769-71), Maryport (no. 137). All of these are pieces of highly elaborative objects depicting men and woman in life-size or larger. Their function is unclear but it is thought that they were worn for the purposes of comedic theatre and religious processions and ceremonies, and were perhaps used as household decorations to ward off evil spirits, protecting buildings and their inhabitants (Martelli 2013: 160). None of the masks from Britain or the Netherlands are from funerary contexts (e.g. Boekel 1987: 814-6), but 13 similar ceramic masks are recorded from in and around Ostia, Italy, several of which were found with terracotta figurines in child tombs (Martelli 2013: 172-84). Common features on all of the examples from Britain and the north-western provinces are enlarged moulded eyes, ears, noses and mouths, two round eye-holes for sight, and either slits or holes around the mouth



*Fig. A.1. 73. Mask fragments.. Left – fragments from Baldock, Hertfordshire (no. 766), after Stead & Rigby 1986, fig. 73. Right – Face Mask from Cologne-Alteburg, Germany, after Boekel 1987, fig. 140.*

that possibly allowed wearers to breath. Securing the mask to the face was possible using string or straps threaded through the round holes on either side of head just above and below the ears (e.g. Boekel 1987: 811, fig. 139).

Theatrical masks are overall quite rare objects with Boekel (1987: 806-7, Map 3) noting only a total of 37 from all of Britain and mainland Europe by the 1980s. She also suggests that all of these probably derive from the ceramic centres at Cologne or Westheim near Augsburg, Germany, although production at Trier-Süd is equally possible (Boekel 1987: 813). Emanating from here, masks are primarily distributed across sites in the Rhine-Moselle and in the Netherlands where some of the greatest numbers from the *limes* are found on military sites. One of the most notable groups however is from the theatre at Trier-Altbachtal, Germany where 30 theatrical masks were found. This contrasts starkly to the situation in France where only the sites of Lyon, Cairon and Autun have provided three similar finds, making the nine from Britain all the more striking (*ibid*).

Out of the four more intact mask fragments that have been found in Britain, two (nos. 766, 769) are in the form of grotesque human males with a bald head, low brow and round chin. This was the less common of the two types from the Continent with contextual dating suggesting it was made in the middle of the second century (e.g. Boekel 1987: 809-13 for Type 2 masks from Oss, Switzerland, and Maastricht, Utrecht and Zwammerdam, the Netherlands). On the other hand, one fragment from Dover (no. 952) with wavy hair appears to be from a slightly earlier and more common type (Type 1) of dated early second century mask depicting a woman on the basis of contextually dated parallels from Berg en Dal-De Holdeurn, Nijmegen, Vechten, Voorburg-Arentsburg and Woerden, the Netherlands (Boekel 1987: 809-13).

While some of the remaining fragments from Britain are probably from either of these two types (e.g. nos. 770-1; and possibly 137, 824), the two masks from Catterick (no. 772) and

Wilderspool (no. 964) that are record in the database seem to be distinctly different. Although they are still often regarded as part of the same pipeclay industry, these masks are in fact much cruder in form with simplified features and appear to be made of darker clays than the others discussed so far. Marsh (1979: 264) and Stead (1975: 397) already observed that there are differences between the Catterick and Wilderspool masks and the more finely made example from Baldock, and these two masks may well have been made locally. Thompson (1965: 85), for example, observes that the orange-pink clay of the Wilderspool mask is typical of the Stockton-Heath kilns. The Catterick mask, meanwhile, was probably made at Water Newton, Cambridgeshire (Wacher 1975: 69). These are not included in the overall pipeclay numbers.

### **Other and Misidentified Pipeclay Objects**

In addition to the pipeclay figurines, vessels and masks, there are 17 other objects recorded on the database that have previously been incorrectly identified and/or published as figurines or Roman objects. This includes the two masks already discussed above (nos. 772, 964), as well as 12 figurines that do not appear to be Roman in date judging by their style: two of cupid (nos. 345, 923), two of infant Bacchus (nos. 255, 908), two Mother Goddesses/Female Figures (nos. 64, 596), an adult male (no. 796), a small male (no. 910), and four young males holding fruits (nos. 266-9). The other objects are a statue head (no. 238) and two candlestick holders (nos. 287, 948). The lack of a reliable provenance and contextual evidence makes identifying and dating such objects difficult, especially as many are antiquarian finds. Most – except for the masks - were probably brought to Britain during the post-Roman period but it can be hard to know exactly when and where they were made.

***Cupid (Fig. A.1.74)***

Two figurines originally recorded as Cupid should both be viewed as not of Roman date. Cupid no. 345, is a now lost antiquarian find from Gloucester depicting a nude standing male figure with wings on his back and wearing a headdress (Medland 1894-5: 158, pl. 9; Jenkins 1977, 415, no. 3). I am dubious that this find belongs to the pipeclay figurine industry, firstly because it comes from an unspecified and undated context, secondly as it is very different in style to the Roman figurines, and thirdly because there are no parallels in the Continental catalogues.

A small figurine from Dowgate, London (no. 923) actually dates to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Pearce & Worrell 2016: 22-3; and Thompson *et al.* 1974: 123-4, no. 119, fig. 61 for a parallel from Aldgate). Missing the head and feet, the naked figure stands facing left with a drawn bow and arrow, the quiver by his left leg suspended on a baldric across his right shoulder. Part of his feathered wings are visible on his back. Roman Cupids are only occasionally seen on



*Fig. A.1. 74. Cupid figurines. Left - from Gloucester (no. 345) after Medland 1894-5, pl. 9; Right – front and back of a 17<sup>th</sup> century Cupid figurine from Dowgate, London (no. 923).*

Roman pipeclay plaques and reliefs on the Continent - as at Dhronnecken (Jenkins 1977: 500-2, fig. 147) - though here he does not appear in this hunting pose nor as an individual free-standing figurine. None of the 32 metal figurines from Roman Britain show Cupid in this pose either (Durham 2010: 48), though hunting Cupids are often seen in other Roman art forms (Pearce & Worrell 2016: 23, citing Blanc & Gury 1986: 688, nos. 140-5).



***Infant Bacchus (Fig. A.1.75)***

Two finds from Britain are possibly of Bacchus as an infant. The first is a bust found at Great Winchester Street, London (no. 255) made of a red rather than the more traditional white clay. Initially identified as Harpocrates by Jenkins (1977: 378), the figure is of a chubby-faced child with bare shoulders (Jenkins 1978a: 159-60, no. 13, fig. 7). His curly hair is interwoven with clusters of grapes and he wears a simple necklace with a crescent-shaped pendant. The front of the plinth directly beneath the figure's chest is decorated with leaves in relief (Jenkins 1978a: 160). This is the only one of this type in Britain and is equally rare on the Continent but Jenkins (1969a: 324, no. 52) cites close parallels from the temple complex at Dhronnecken, Germany and slightly different types among kiln debris at Cochem, Germany. Its red clay could indicate an origin of Trier, probably around the second half of the second century (Hutchinson 1986a: 348).



*Fig. A.1. 75. Depictions of Infant Bacchus. Left –from Great Winchester Street, London (no. 255), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 84; Right - a head from Tyne and Wear (no. 908), in the Great North Museum.*

A small head from an unknown site in Tyne and Wear has also been tentatively classed as an infant Bacchus by the Great North Museum (no. 908). The facial features are heavily worn but the hair on the front and back appears thick and curly. The yellowish-white coloured clay points towards a product of the Central Gaulish industry where it may well have been part of a larger composition rather than a stand-alone figure (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 152-3, no. 294), although there are no exact parallels.

Hutchinson (1986a: 346-7, nos. C2-4) tentatively classifies two other pipeclay figurines as infant Bacchus (nos. 347, 910). However, no. 347 is recorded as an unknown type by Jenkins (1977: 415, no. 3). There is also doubt whether figurine no. 910 - a small naked male statuette from York- is even Roman given it has no contextual date nor any parallels in the Continental catalogues. She additionally associates three figurines from Bootle, Chelmsford and Leigh-on-Sea (nos. 266-8) with the cult (Hutchinson 1986a: 353-7, nos. C8-10) that are now proven to be Medieval in date (Wallace 1992), and suggests that three busts from York and London (nos. 257-9) might also be of the young god (Hutchinson 1986a: 358-9, nos. C11-13) when they are, in fact, more commonly regarded as *Risus* busts (see below).

***Mother-Goddess (Fig. A.1.76)***

Two Mother-Goddess figurines are probably not Roman in date. The first, with a headdress, from Wroxeter (no. 596) is identified by Lloyd-Morgan (2000: 130) but is not Roman in style. It does share some qualities with Minerva figurines from the Rhineland – such as the pointed headdress (e.g. Rürger 1980: 50, no. 56b?), but it is clearly post-Roman in date.

The second figurine may be a standing Mother-Goddesses or matron, or perhaps just a standing female, from Lavant, Sussex (no. 64). This depicts a standing female figure with round hair twisted back into a swirl, wearing long robes covering her upper arms, with a large circular brooch and a pendant necklace. Her left hand, raised to her body, holds a small round object and her left arm possibly a vase. Jenkins (1977: 303, fig. 29) identifies it as a Roman matron and suggests that its red clay with white slip may indicate production in Trier, Germany. However, it does not look Roman in style and there are no dated parallels in Britain or on the Continent (*ibid*: 303).



*Fig. A.1. 76. The Standing Mother-Goddess/Female Figure from Lavant, West Sussex (no. 64), after Jenkins 1977, fig. 29.*

***Young Males Holding Fruits (Fig.A.1.77)***

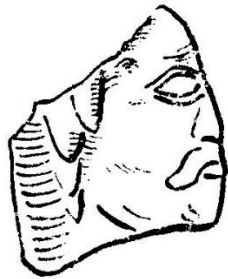
Four figurines of young males holding fruits are Medieval rather than Roman in date. Two of these, from Chelmsford (no. 267) and Leigh-on-Sea (no. 268) in Essex were both published as Roman figurines by Frank Jenkins (1978c, pl. 11A/11B) who was unable to find any continental parallels, but in a letter to Chelmsford museum Collin Wallace (1992) attributes them to the Medieval period, citing two unprovenanced examples in the British Museum (one published in Hinton 1988: 412, no. 284, pl. 7) and identical pieces in Seelwaldt's catalogue of middle age clay figurines from the Rhineland (1990: 298-9, Taf. II). Two similar published figurines from Bootle, Cumbria (no. 266); Collingwood 1930: 119; Jenkins 1971: 203) and Cowden, Kent (no. 269; Jenkins 1971, pl. 1) - both residual finds - are probably of the same date.



*Fig. A.1. 77. Medieval figurines of a Male Holding Fruits. Left – no. 268 from Leigh-on-Sea, Essex (Jenkins 1978c, pl2B.1.). Right – no. 266 from Bootle, Cumbria (courtesy of Tullie House Museum).*

*Adult Male Face (Fig. A.1.78)*

A fragment from Wroxeter, Shropshire (no. 796) depicting the right side of a male's face is not Roman in date. The piece shows the eye, one side of the nose, mouth and moustache, and locks of hair. The fragment might depict a Celtic deity but is evidently not Roman in style (Kenyon 1980: 47, fig. 24).



*Fig. A.1. 78. Fragment of Adult Male Face (no. 796) from Wroxeter, after Kenyon 1980: 47, fig. 24.*

*Small Male (Fig.A.1.79)*

A fragment depicting a small male from the York Railway excavation site (no. 910) is probably post-Roman in date. The fragment shows a naked figure holding a small pot in his hands that is broken at the neck. It might be a stand-alone figure but could also be part of a larger piece. Hutchinson (1986a:346) states it might be an infant Bacchus but it is so far un-paralleled in Britain and Europe.



*Fig. A.1. 79. Figurine of a small male (no. 910) from Yorkshire Museum front from the York Railway Excavations, courtesy of Yorkshire Museum.*

*Statue Head of Hercules (Fig.A.1.80)*

A head from Deal in Kent (no. 238) is probably from a larger statue of Hercules rather than a figurine or bust. Made of black clay it was probably made in the Gironde region of southwestern France and supposedly replicates the Greek Farnese Hercules of the fourth century BC (Jenkins 1977: 367-8). It appears to be unique in Britain and the Continent, with only broadly comparable examples, albeit in small numbers, in France (e.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 220, no. 525?; 310-1, nos. 899-900?) but these are smaller examples more accurately classed as busts.



*Fig. A.1. 80. The head of a bust or statue of Hercules from Deal, Kent (no. 238), after Stebbing 1951, pl. 1.*

### *Candlestick Holders (Fig. A.1.81)*

Finally, there is one possible and one definite candlestick holder. The first, from London (no. 287), is in the shape of a bull that Jenkins (1977: 396-7) suggests is either a candlestick holder or a small vase. Such zoomorphic objects are not commonplace in Britain or on the Continent where there is only one good parallel from Moulins, France (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972: 340, no. 1031; Jenkins 1977: 396). The second object, from Chichester, Essex (no. 948), is definitely a candlestick, with Down (1981: 160, no. 24 (594), fig. 8.25) rightly citing a good parallel mould found in the area of Saint-Pourçain-sur-Besbre, France (Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, no. 1285).

Both of these objects are interesting given that most of the ceramic Roman candlesticks that have been found in Britain were locally produced products. Some of these had mouldings on their shaft but none are in the actual form of an animal (Eckardt 2002: 246-51, figs. 113-6). Candlesticks are primarily found in Southern Britain but far more are found on small urban and rural sites than military and urban sites with the exception of *civitas capitals*, where they were evidently cheaper and more accessible alternatives to oil lamps (Eckardt 2002: 55-58, fig. 24).



*Fig. A.1. 81. Pipeclay candlestick holder of a bull (no. 287) from New Fresh Wharf, London, courtesy of the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC). Photo by M. Fittock.*



## Appendix 2.

### List of Archaeological Units and Museum Services Contacted

This appendix lists many of the archaeological units and museums contacted in the search for pipeclay objects arranged roughly by region. Not all of them replied (roughly 50-60% did), but contact was made, and in many cases finds sourced, from all of the larger institutions and organisations. This list is not exhaustive – it is more a list of the smaller museums contacted – and others are listed as part of the acknowledgements at the start of Volume 1.

#### Archaeological Units

Archaeology South-East (UCL)	
Archaeological Solutions	Norfolk Archaeological Unit
Cambridge Archaeological Unit	
Canterbury Archaeological Trust	Oxford Archaeology North
Carlisle Archaeological Trust	Oxford Archaeology Rest of UK
Colchester Archaeological Trust	Pre-Construct Archaeology
Essex County Council Field Archaeology Unit	Suffolk Archaeological Service
Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust	Thanet Archaeological Trust
Ipswich Archaeological Trust	The Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust
Kent Archaeological Society	Wessex Archaeology
Leicester Archaeological Unit	York Archaeological Trust
Manchester Archaeological Unit	Northern Archaeological Associates

#### Museums and Museum Services (arranged by region)

##### Berkshire

Reading Museum

##### Buckinghamshire

Amersham

Buckinghamshire Museum

Cowper & Newton Museum

Wycombe Museum

Haddenham Museum

Milton Keynes

Buckinghamshire Archaeology Services

##### Cornwall

Helson Museum

Royal Cornwall Museum

### **Cambridgeshire**

Ely Museum  
Fitzwilliam Museum  
The Museum of Cambridge  
St. Neots Museum  
Thorney Heritage Museum

Wisbech and Fenland Museum  
University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology  
Whittlesey Museum  
Peterborough Museum

### **Cheshire**

Congleton Museum  
Dewa Roman Experience  
Grosvenor Museum  
Nantwich Museum

Warrington Museum & Art Gallery  
Weaver Hall Museum  
West Park Museum

### **County Durham**

Durham Museum and Heritage Centre  
Museum of Archaeology  
Museum of Hartlepool

Preston Park Museum & Grounds  
Weardale Museum

### **Cumbria**

Armitt Library  
The Beacon, Whitehaven  
Dalton Castle  
Carlisle Museum

Millom Discovery Centre  
Penrith and Eden Museum  
Senhouse Roman Museum  
Kendal Museum

### **Derbyshire**

Buxton Museum and Art Gallery  
Chesterfield Museum and Art Gallery  
Derby Museum and Art Gallery  
Erewash Museum

Eyam Museum  
Little Chester Heritage Centre  
Wirksworth Heritage Centre

### **Devon**

Allhallows Museum  
Ashburton Museum  
Axminster Museum  
Barnstable Heritage Centre  
Bovey Tracey Heritage Centre  
Brixham Heritage Museum  
Crediton Museum  
Dartmouth Museum  
Dawlish Museum  
Exmouth Museum  
Great Torrington Heritage Museum and Archive  
Holsorthy Museum  
Kingsbridge Cookworthy Museum  
Lyn and Exmoor Museum

Barnstable Museum  
Museum of Dartmoor Life  
Newton Abbott Museum  
Sidmouth Museum  
Tavistock Museum  
Teignmouth & Shaldon Museum  
Tiverton Museum of Mid Devon Life  
Topsham Museum  
Ilfracombe Museum  
Devon Museum Services  
Plymouth Museum  
Seaton Museum  
South Molton and District Museum  
Torquay Museum

**Dorset**

Museum Services, inc. Bridport Museum  
Blandford Town Museum  
Corfe Castle Town Museum  
Dorset County Museum  
Gillingham Museum  
Gold Hill Museum  
Lyme Regis Museum  
Poole Museum

Redhouse Museum  
Sherbourne Museum  
Sturminster Newton Museum  
Swanage Museum  
Wareham Town Museum  
Weymouth Museum  
Portland Museum

**Essex**

Ashdon Museum  
Brentwood Museum  
Burnham-on-Crouch & District Museum  
Canvey Island Heritage Centre  
Cater Museum  
Chelmsford Museum  
Colchester and Ipswich Museum Service  
Finchingfield Guildhall  
Great Dunmow Museum  
Halstead Heritage Museum

Maeldune Centre  
Maldon Museum  
Essex Regiment Museum  
Epping Museum  
Feering and Kelvedon Local History Museum  
Saffron Walden Museum  
Thurrock Museum  
Harlow Museum  
Brightlingsea Museum

**Gloucestershire**

Dean Heritage Centre  
Frenchay Village Museum  
Kingswood Heritage Museum  
Museum in the Park  
Tewkesbury Borough Museum

Thornbury Museum  
Cheltenham Museum  
Wootton-under-Edge Heritage Centre  
Yate Heritage Centre  
Gloucester City Museum and Art Gallery

**Hampshire**

Emsworth Museum  
Petersfield Museum  
Portchester Castle  
Fordingbridge Museum  
Hampshire County Museum Service

Portsmouth City Museum  
St. Barbe Museum & Art Gallery  
Totton and Eling Heritage Centre  
Southampton Museums  
Winchester City Museum

**Hertfordshire**

North Hertfordshire Museums  
Ashwell Village Museum  
Baldock Museum  
Bushey Museum  
Elstree and Boreham Wood Museum  
Hertford Museum  
Lowewood Museum  
Potters Bar Museum  
St Albans Museum (Verulamium)

Redbourn Museum  
Rhodes Arts Complex  
Stevenage Museum  
Tring Local History Museum  
Watford Museum  
Welwyn Baths  
Royston & District Museum and Art Gallery  
Luton Cultural Services Trust

**Kent**

Ashford Museum  
Guildhall Museum, Rochester  
Beane House of Art and Knowledge  
Canterbury Roman Museum/Heritage Museum  
Dartford, Kent  
Maidstone Museum  
Faversham  
Margate Museum  
Whincheslea Museum  
Deal Museum  
Cranbrook Museum  
Eden Valley Museum  
Hyth Museum

Lydd Town Museum  
Minster Gatehouse Museum  
Otford Heritage Centre  
Powell-Cotton Museum  
Queenborough Guildhall Museum  
Sevenoaks Museum  
Sittingbourne Museum  
St Margaret's Museum  
Tenterden Museum  
Tunbridge Wells Museum & Art Gallery  
Woodchurch Village Museum  
Sandwich Guildhall Museum  
Dover Museum

**Leicestershire**

Ashby de la Zouch Museum  
Charnwood Museum  
Castle Donington Museum  
Fleckney Museum  
Hallaton Museum  
Harborough Museum  
Hinckley and District Museum

Jewry Wall Museum  
Kegworth Museum  
Lutterworth Museum  
Measham Museum  
Melton Carnegie Museum  
New Walk Museum and Art Gallery  
Jewry Wall Museum

**Lancashire**

Astley Hall Museum and Art Gallery  
Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery  
Clitheroe Castle  
Fleetwood Museum  
Harris Museum, Art Gallery & Preston Free Public Library  
Heysham Heritage Centre

Lancaster City Museum  
Lytham Heritage Centre  
Ribchester Roman Museum  
The Whitaker  
Whitworth Museum  
Lancashire County Museums Service

**Lincolnshire**

Baysgarth House Museum  
Boston Guildhall  
Caistor Arts & Heritage Centre  
The Collection

Grantham Museum  
Louth Museum  
North Lincolnshire Museum

**London**

Barnet Museum  
Brent Museum  
Bromley Museum  
Bruce Castle Museum  
Crofton Roman Villa  
Cuming Museum  
Hackney Museum

Merton Heritage Centre  
Museum of Croydon  
Museum of Richmond  
Museum of Wimbledon  
Redbridge Museum  
Rose Theatre Exhibition  
Twickenham Museum

Harrow Museum  
Havering Museum  
Institute of Archaeology Collections  
Islington Museum

#### **Merseyside**

Garstang Museum of Archaeology  
Liverpool Museum  
Prescot Museum

#### **Greater Manchester**

Bolton Museum  
Bury Art Museum  
Gallery Oldham  
Manchester Museum

#### **Midlands**

Birmingham University Arch and Museum  
Dudley Museum and Art Gallery  
Earlswood Village Museum  
Herbert Art Gallery and Museum

#### **Norfolk**

Bishop Bonner's Cottage Museum  
Cromer Museum  
Diss Museum

#### **Nottinghamshire**

Bassetlaw Museum  
Mansfield Museum  
Museum of Nottingham Life at Brewhouse Yard

#### **Northamptonshire**

Abington Park Museum  
Burton Latimer Heritage Museum  
Corby Heritage Centre  
Daventry Museum  
Desborough Heritage Centre  
Kettering Museum and Art Gallery  
Long Buckby Museum  
Rushden Museum

#### **Northumberland**

Berwick Museum & Art Gallery

Valence House Museum  
Vestry House Museum  
The British Museum

Tate Hall Museum  
World Museum

Museum of Wigan Life  
Salford Museum and Art Gallery  
Stockport Museum  
Touchstones Rochdale

Priory Visitor Centre  
Walsall Museum  
Wednesbury Museum and Art Gallery

Norfolk Museums Service  
Wymondham Heritage Museum  
Norwich Castle Museum

Nottingham Castle Museum  
Ruddington Village Museum  
Wollaton Village Dovecote Museum

Wellingborough Museum  
Wollaston Museum  
Warwickshire Museum Trust  
Chilvers Coton Heritage Centre  
Lunt Roman Fort  
Market Hall, Warwick  
Nuneaton Museum & Art Gallery  
Roman Alcester

**Oxfordshire**

Abingdon Museum  
Banbury Museum  
Bloxham Village Museum  
Chipping Norton Museum  
Oxford Museum  
Oxfordshire Museum  
Pitt Rivers Museum

Swinford Museum  
Thame Museum  
Uffington Museum  
Vale and Downland Mueum  
Wallingford Museum  
Witney Museum  
The Asmoleon Museum

**Rutland**

Rutland County Museum

**Shropshire**

Clun Town Museum  
Market Drayton Museum  
Oswestry Town Museum  
Park Hall Museum

Shrewsbury Museum  
Shropshire Hills Discovery Centre  
Wroxeter Roman City

**Somerset**

Castle Cary and District Museum  
Chard Museum  
Frome Museum  
Ilchester Museum  
Museum of Somerset  
Wells and Mendip Museum  
Crewkerne & District Museum  
Bristol Museum  
Somerset Heritage Service

Glastonbury Lake Museum  
Museum of Bath at Work  
Porlock Museum  
Radstock Museum  
Wellington Museum  
Weston-super-Mare Museum  
Watchet/Market House Museum  
The Roman Baths Museum

**Staffordshire**

Lichfield Museum  
Museum of Cannock Chase  
Nicholson Museum & Art Gallery

Potteries Museum & Art Gallery  
Staffordshire Museums  
Letocetum / Wall Roman Site

**Scotland**

Kirriemuir Gateway to the Glens Museum  
Montrose Museum  
Kilmartin House Museum  
Museum of Islay Life Port Charlotte  
Dumfries Museum  
Stranraer Museum  
Whithorn Story Visitor Centre  
Coastal Communities Museum  
Dick Institute  
John Gray Centre  
Museum of Edinburgh  
National Museum of Scotland  
Kinneil Museum  
Museum of the University of St Andrews  
Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery  
Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum

Timespan Museum and Arts Centre  
West Highland Museum  
Wick Heritage Centre  
McLean Museum and Art Gallery  
Elgin Museum (Moray)  
Museum of the Cumbraes  
North Ayrshire Museum  
West Kilbride Museum  
North Lanarkshire Heritage Centre  
Orkney Museum  
Paisley Museum  
Perth Museum and Art Gallery  
Hawick Museum  
Trimontium Heritage Centre  
Old Scatness  
Kildonan Museum

Groam House Museum  
Inverness Museum and Art Gallery

Strathnaver Museum  
Tarbat Discovery Centre

### **Suffolk**

Aldeburgh Museum  
Beccles & District Museum  
Brandon Heritage Centre  
Bungay Heritage  
Dunwich Museum  
Felixstowe Museum  
Haverhill Local History Centre  
Suffolk Museum Services

Lanman Museum  
Mildenhall Museum  
Saxmundham Museum  
Sudbury Heritage Centre & Museum  
The Suffolk Regiment Museum  
Woodbridge Museum  
St Edmundsbury Museum Service

### **Surrey**

Bourne Hall Museum  
Chobham Museum  
Dorking Museum  
Egham Museum  
Godalming Museum  
Haslemere Educational Museum  
Leatherhead Museum of Local History  
The Lightbox  
Guildford Museum

Museum of Farnham  
Send & Ripley Museum  
Shere Museum  
Surrey Heath Museum  
Reigate Museum  
Holmsdale Natural History Club  
Chertsey Museum  
East Surrey Museum

### **East Sussex**

Bexhill Museum  
Brighton Museum  
Newhaven Museum  
Grange Museum & Art Gallery  
Hastings Museum and Art Gallery

Pevensey Court House Museum  
Rye Castle Museum  
Seaford Museum  
Battle Museum

### **West Sussex**

Arundel Museum  
Bognor Regis Museum  
Burgess Hill Museum  
Chuckfields Museum  
East Grinstead Museum  
Horsham Museum  
Littlehampton Museum  
Sussex Archaeological Society

Marlipins Museum  
Steyning Museum  
Storrington Museum  
Henfield Museum  
Crawley Museum  
Worthing Museum and Art Gallery  
The Novium

### **Tyne and Wear**

Great North Museum

### **Wiltshire**

Athelstan Museum  
Bradford on Avon Museum  
Calne Heritage Centre  
Chippenham Museum & Heritage Centre  
Chiseldon Museum  
Corsham Information and Heritage Centre

Pewsey Heritage Centre  
Purton Museum  
Swindon Museum  
Warminster Museum  
The Well House Collection  
Wootton Bassett Museum

Cricklade Museum  
Market Lavington Village Museum  
Mere Museum  
Wilshire Heritage Museum

### **Worcestershire**

Almonry Museum and Heritage Centre  
Bewdley Museum  
Droitwich Spa Heritage Centre  
Malvern Museum  
Persore Heritage Centre  
Tenbury Museum

### **Yorkshire**

Tolson Museum  
Bankfield Museum  
Castleford Forum Museum  
Cliffe Castle Museum  
Leeds City Museum  
Manor House Museum  
Otley Museum  
Pontefract Museum  
DIG: an archaeological adventure  
Dales Countryside Museum  
Dorman Museum  
Filey Museum

### **Villa Sites**

Chedworth  
Fishbourne  
Lullingstone

### **Wales**

Oriel Ynys Môn  
Abertillery & District Museum  
Cardiff Story  
Carmarthenshire County Museum  
Rhyl Museum  
Amgueddfa Llandudno Museum  
Gwynedd Museum and Art Gallery  
Abergavenny Museum  
Chepstow Museum  
National Roman Legion Museum, Caerleon

Wilton Town Museum  
Salisbury Museum

Worcester City Art Gallery & Museum  
Herefordshire  
Hereford Museum and Art Gallery  
Ledbury Heritage Centre  
Leominster Museum  
Weobley Museum

Guisborough Museum  
Malton Museum  
Richmondshire Museum  
Whitby Museum  
Yorkshire Museum  
Hull and East Riding Museum  
Southburn Archaeological Museum  
Treasure House (Beverley)  
Clifton Park Museum  
Doncaster Museum & Art Gallery  
Experience Barnsley  
Weston Park Museum

Piddington  
Bignor

Neath Museum & Art Gallery  
Newport Museum  
Tenby Museum and Art Gallery  
Brecknock Museum & Art Gallery  
Powysland Museum  
Radnorshire Museum  
Swansea Museum  
Wrexham County Borough Museum  
National Museum of Wales



## Appendix 3.

### List of Pipeclay Objects from Dated Contexts

The following table compiles the pipeclay objects from dated contexts per century in numerical (find ID) order in relation to the discussion in Chapter 6. These lists give basic information about the form and type of each figurine, where each one was found, their contexts and context dates. More information about each object and their contexts can be found in the complete database on the CD in Appendix 9.

C1st							
ID	Form	Depiction	Type	Sub Type	Site	Site Type	Context Date
37	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Ashtead	Villa	C1st
237	Figurine	Deity	Hercules		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
256	Bust	Human	Partially Draped Boy		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
275	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Standing Comic	Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
276	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Seated Comic	Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
277	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Seated Comic	Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
278	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Seated Comic	Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
279	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Seated Comic	Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
280	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Seated Comic	Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
281	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Recumbent Figure	Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
282	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Recumbent Figure	Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
283	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Recumbent Figure	Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
284	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Recumbent Figure	Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
286	Figurine	Animal	Bull		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
312	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
313	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
314	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
315	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
316	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
317	Vessel	Animal	Monkey		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
318	Vessel	Animal	Monkey		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
319	Vessel	Animal	Monkey		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
320	Vessel	Animal	Ibex		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
321	Vessel	Animal	Boar		Colchester	Colonia	Late Claudian-early Neronian
436	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1	London	London	90-100 AD (Period 302)
468	Aedicula	Shrine	Aedicula Type 1		London	London	AD 90/95-100 (Period 3, phase 2).
469	Aedicula	Shrine	Aedicula Type 1		London	London	AD 62-65/70 (Period 2, phase 3 (late))

470	Aedicula	Shrine			London	London	AD 62-65/70 (Period 2, phase 3 (late))
471	Aedicula	Shrine			London	London	AD 65/70-80 (Period 3, phase 1 (early))
474	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	AD 65/70-80 (Period 3, phase 1 (early))
532	Figurine	Animal	Horse and Rider		London	London	AD 65/70-80 (Period 3, phase 1 (early))
541	Figurine	Animal	Panther		London	London	60-100 AD (Period 3)
542	Figurine	Animal	Unknown		London	London	Mid 1st Century (Period 2)
543	Figurine	Animal	Unknown		London	London	65-95 AD
592	Aedicula	Shrine			Topsham		Flavian
613	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Orsett	Small Settlement	C1st?
619	Figurine	Other	Egg		Colchester	Military/Colonia	c.44-49/55 AD (Period 1)
625	Fragment	Unknown	Unknown		Kelvedon	Small town	C1st
641	Figurine	Bird	Cockereel		Usk	Military/Rural	Pre-Flavian
671	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Chichester	Civitas Capital	60-75 AD
682	Figurine	Animal	Dog		Caersws	Military	69-c.100 AD (Period 1)
726	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Unknown	Stanwick	Villa	C1st+
749	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion		Silchester	Civitas Capital	c. AD 40 - c. AD 50-60
755	Figurine	Animal	Dog		London	London	Mid to late C1st
756	Vessel	Animal	Boar		London	London	c. AD 95-100 (Period 5)
767	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion		Baldock	Small town	Pre-Flavian to Flavian (early C1st)
784	Figurine	Bird	Cockereel	Type 1	London	London	C1st (Periods 4.4-4.5)
839	Fragment	Unknown			Colchester	Military	c.AD44-60/1 (Period 1 or 2)

## C2nd

ID	Form	Type	Type Name	Sub Type	Site	Site Type	Context Date
9	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Snodland	Religious	Mid-Antonine
10	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1	Arkesden	Religious	c.AD 190-200?
22	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1	East Bridgeford	Small town	Mid C2nd?
23	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1	East Bridgeford	Small town	Mid C2nd?
44	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	110-130 AD
75	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1	London	London	C2nd?
79	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Flitwick	Rural	C2nd (Phase 3)
84	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Wickford	Unknown	Antonine
87	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Silchester	Civitas Capital	193-7 AD?
94	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	St Albans	Municipium	Hadrian-Antonine
95	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Godmanchester	Small town	Last quarter of C2nd
98	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Springhead	Small town	Early C2nd
107	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	Early-mid C2nd
118	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	110-130 AD
119	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	110-130 AD
128	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 3	Springhead	Small town	C1st-2nd
133	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 5	London	London	Trajanic
143	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Gestingthorpe	Villa	C1st-C2nd
151	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Unknown	Southampton	Unknown	150-170/80 AD
154	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Hemel Hempstead	Villa	75 - 138 AD (Period 1)
188	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1	London	London	120-60 AD
189	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Unknown	London	London	180-200 AD
192	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Caerleon	Military/Small Town	No later than 140 AD

234	Figurine	Deity	Apollo	Citharoedus	Hacheston	Small town	Unstratified but possibly C2nd?
243	Bust	Human	Woman	Type 1	Brighton	Religious	150/165-200 AD
247	Bust	Human	Woman	Type 1	Puckeridge	Religious	Atononine
248	Bust	Human	Woman	Type 2	Brighton	Religious	150/65-200 AD
251	Bust	Human	Woman	Type 4	Chichester	Civitas Capital	Flavian-early C2nd
270	Figurine	Human	Spinario (Thorn-Puller)		London	London	125-30 AD
271	Figurine	Human	Spinario (Thorn-Puller)		London	London	125-30 AD
292	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Double	Newstead		80 - 180 AD?
293	Figurine	Animal	Dog		London	London	Late C1st-mid C2nd
295	Figurine	Animal	Dog		Alcester	Small town	150-200 AD
308	Figurine	Bird	Pigeon		Colchester	Colonia	80-120 AD
334	Aedicula	Shrine	Aedicula Type 2		London	London	120-160 AD (Period 6)
439	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1	London	London	120-160 AD
447	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	Early-mid C2nd - Period 4.
450	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	140-160/70 AD - Period 3
451	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	120-160 AD
452	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	120-130 AD
453	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	Early-mid C2nd - Period 2 Phase 1.
457	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	50-200 AD (Period 3)
459	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	120-140 AD
461	Aedicula	Shrine	Aedicula Type 2/3		London	London	125-60 AD (Period 6)
467	Aedicula	Shrine			London	London	180-200 AD
472	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	120-140 AD
473	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	120-160 AD (Period 6?)
476	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	120-140 AD
477	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	130-200 AD
482	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1	London	London	95-125/35 AD (Period 4, Phase 1)
483	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	AD 125/35-170 (Period 5, phase 1)
487	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	120-60 AD (Period 6)
490	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Unknown	London	London	Flavian to early-mid-second century?
493	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	Second century (Period 2)
494	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	95-125/53 AD (Period 4)
498	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	140-60/70 AD (Period 3)
502	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1	London	London	AD 120-200 (Period 3)
506	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	London	London	Early-mid C2nd (Period 2, Phase 1)
507	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	London	London	150-160 AD
508	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	London	London	120-200 AD (Period 4)
515	Figurine	Deity	Minerva		London	London	70-120 AD (Period 2, Phase 2)
517	Figurine	Deity	Minerva		London	London	Trajanic-Hadrianic
527	Figurine	Bird	Unknown		London	London	100-200 AD (Period 4)
529	Figurine	Animal	Unknown		London	London	70-120 AD (Period 2, Phase 3)
537	Figurine	Animal	Unknown		London	London	AD 125/35-170 (Period 5, phase 1)
538	Figurine	Animal	Unknown		London	London	120-130 AD?
540	Figurine	Animal	Dolphin		London	London	95-125/35 AD (Period 401)
544	Fragment	Unknown			London	London	100-120 AD?
550	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	London	London	AD 125/35-170 (Period 5, phase 1)

551	Fragment	Unknown			London	London	AD 125/35-170 (Period 5, phase 1)
556	Fragment	Unknown			London	London	Trajanic-Hadranic (Period 5)
559	Fragment	Unknown			London	London	50-200 AD (Period 2)
567	Fragment	Unknown			London	London	AD 125/35-170 (Period 5, phase 1)
568	Fragment	Unknown			London	London	AD 125/35-170 (Period 5, phase 1)
572	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Gorhambury	Villa	C2nd
588	Bust	Human	Woman	Type 5	Wanborough	Small town	c.90-120 AD
590	Figurine	Bird	Dove		Exeter	Civitas Capital	Hadrianic-early Antonine
593	Figurine	Deity	Minerva		Gloucester	Colonia	Mid-late C2nd (Period 3.3)
598	Fragment	Unknown			Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	90-130 AD
599	Fragment	Unknown			Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	90-130 AD
603	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	St Albans	Municipium	125-135 AD
606	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Small Settlement	Late C2nd
627	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Wilderspool	Small town	C2nd?
628	Figurine	Deity	Minerva		Malton	Military	C2nd (Phase 4C)
630	Figurine	Deity	Unknown		Catterick	Small town	c. 160-200 AD (Phase 3)
659	Figurine	Deity	Unknown		Winchester	Civitas Capital	Early to mid C2nd
660	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Single, Bridled	Winchester	Civitas Capital	First half of C2nd
666	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	170-90 AD (Period 3)
669	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Chichester	Civitas Capital	Antonine
670	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Chichester	Civitas Capital	Flavian-early C2nd?
674	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Birdoswald	Military	Hadrianic-Antonine
678	Figurine	Human	Female, Standing		Doncaster	Small town	C2nd
701	Figurine	Animal	Dog		Bath	Small town	Late C2nd+ (Later Roman, Phase 2.3)
702	Figurine	Animal	Dog		Bath	Small town	Early-mid C2nd (Period 3)
708	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/Matrona	Bonnet Style	Arrington	Religious	C2nd
709	Bust	Human	Risus		Arrington	Religious	C2nd
710	Bust	Human	Long-Haired Boy		Arrington	Religious	C2nd
711	Figurine	Human	Spinario (Thorn-Puller)		Arrington	Religious	C2nd
712	Figurine	Human	Cloaked Figure		Arrington	Religious	C2nd
713	Figurine	Animal	Ram		Arrington	Religious	C2nd
714	Figurine	Animal	Ram		Arrington	Religious	C2nd
715	Figurine	Animal	Ram		Arrington	Religious	C2nd
716	Figurine	Animal	Ram		Arrington	Religious	C2nd
717	Figurine	Animal	Bull		Arrington	Religious	C2nd
728	Figurine	Deity	Apollo		Ashwell	Small Settlement	C1st-2nd
729	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure?		Ashwell	Small Settlement	C1st-2nd
730	Fragment	Unknown			Ashwell	Small Settlement	C1st-2nd
731	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1	Heybridge	Rural	Early C2nd-mid C2nd (Period 3B)
732	Figurine	Unknown			Ashwell	Small Settlement	C1st-2nd
736	Figurine	Animal	Bull		Godmanchester	Small town	Mid C2nd
737	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Single, Unbridled	Godmanchester	Small town	Mid C2nd
742	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Unknown	Chester-le-Street	Military	C1st/2nd
743	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1	Lincoln	Colonia	Mid C2nd?
751	Figurine	Unknown			London	London	C1st or early 2nd to middle/late 3rd (Phases 1-3)
757	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Little Chester	Small town	c.120-180 AD (Phase R1/4)

758	Figurine	Animal	Dog		Little Chester	Small town	Trajanic (Period 1)
762	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Unknown	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Mid C2nd
765	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Baldock	Small town	AD 90-120
766	Mask	Grotesque Man			Baldock	Small town	AD 150-180
769	Mask	Grotesque Man			London	London	Flavian-early Antonine? Late Antonine (Phase IXA)
786	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Staines	Small town	Hadrianic-mid Antonine (Phase VIII)
787	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Staines	Small town	Hadrianic-mid Antonine (Phase VIII)
788	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Staines	Small town	Hadrianic to Flavian (Phase VII)
789	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Staines	Small town	Flavian to Hadrianic (Phase VII)
790	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Staines	Small town	Late Antonine (Phase IXA)
797	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2?	Braughing	Small town	C1st to 2nd
817	Figurine	Bird	Pigeon		Baldock	Small town	Late C2nd
824	Mask				Harlow	Small town	C2nd?
842	Aedicula	Shrine			Colchester	Colonia	c.AD65/75-c.100/125 (Period 3)
894	Figurine	Unknown			Vindolanda		c.AD 120-30
896	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Vindolanda	Military/Small Town	c.AD 120-140 (Period IV/V)
947	Figurine	Human	Female		Old Penrith	Small town	Mid-late C2nd

### C3rd

ID	Form	Type	Type Name	Sub Type	Site	Site Type	Context Date
24	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1	Dover	Military	163-208 AD; Period 2/3
28	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 2	Vindolanda		c.AD 213-276
49	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Dover	Military	C3rd
54	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	St Albans	Municipium	C2nd-3rd
57	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	London	London	225-245 AD (Period 1, Phase 5)
92	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	St Albans	Municipium	C2nd-3rd
109	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	C2nd-3rd (Period 1, Phase 5)
123	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Vindolanda	Military/Small Town	c.AD 213-276
191	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Caerleon	Military/Small Town	140-230 AD
214	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Hastings	Military	c. AD 80-250
218	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Roxton	Small Settlement	AD 170-270
231	Figurine	Deity	Minerva		Wakerley	Rural	Mid C3rd
241	Figurine	Human	Infant Cucullus	with	Reculver	Military	Late C2nd-early C3rd
261	Bust	Human	Woman	Type 2?	St Albans	Municipium	C2nd-3rd
262	Bust	Human	Unknown		Brough-on-Humber	Vicus/Civitas Capital	Period II: 225-250 AD
265	Bust	Unknown			London	London	225-245 AD
415	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Flitwick	Rural	C3rd (Phase 4)
455	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	125/35-220 AD (Period 5, Phase 1)
485	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	160-300 AD (Period 7)
488	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	160-300 AD (Period 7)
510	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	London	London	150-250 AD
520	Figurine	Bird	Cockerel	Unknown	London	London	150-250 AD (Period 1 Phase 2-3)
522	Figurine	Bird	Dove		London	London	160-300 AD (Period 7)
548	Fragment	Unknown			London	London	250-300 AD (Period 2)?
562	Fragment	Unknown			London	London	160-300 AD (Period 7)
571	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Gorhambury	Villa	175-300 AD
581	Figurine	Animal	Unknown		Canterbury	Civitas Capital	C.125-300/30 AD (Period 3II-IV)

582	Figurine	Animal	Unknown		Canterbury	Civitas Capital	100/110-300/30 (Period 3I-IV)	AD
591	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Exeter	Civitas Capital	Late C2nd-early C3rd	
595	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Caerleon	Military	Late C2nd-C3rd (160-230 AD)	
601	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Unknown	Leicester	Civitas Capital	Early to mid C3rd (Phase 4A)	
608	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Unknown	Caister-on-Sea	Military	Early C3rd?	
609	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Caister-on-Sea	Military	Late C3rd?	
622	Figurine	Animal	Ram		Colchester	Colonia	Mid C2nd-c.300 (Period 3)	AD
632	Fragment	Unknown			Catterick	Small town	200 AD-later C3rd (Phase 4)	
684	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	South Shields	Military	Mid C3rd+	
686	Fragment	Unknown			South Shields	Military	C3rd+	
703	Fragment	Unknown			Flitwick	Rural	C3rd (Phase 4)	
725	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Unknown	Chester	Military	200 AD+	
733	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Unknown	Wimblington	Rural	Early C3rd	
735	Figurine	Unknown			Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Late C2nd-early 3rd	
738	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Brampton	Small town	C2nd-3rd?	
739	Figurine	Bird	Cockerel	Unknown	Wakerley	Rural	Late Antonine-Severan	
741	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Shenstone	Small town	Mid C2nd-mid C3rd	
744	Figurine	Animal	Ram		Wixoe	Small town	C2nd/3rd?	
747	Figurine	Bird	Cockerel	Type 1	Dorchester	Civitas Capital	C3rd (Period 8)	
748	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Neatham	Small town	Mid C3rd	
759	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Roxton	Small Settlement	AD 170-270	
760	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Roxton	Small Settlement	AD 170-270	
785	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1/2	Staines	Small town	C3rd (Phase XI)	
822	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	South Leigh	Small town	AD 170-220 (Phase 4a2)	
830	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1	South Leigh	Small town	AD 240+ (Phase 4b)	
831	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	South Leigh	Small town	AD 240+	
836	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	Type 2	Colchester	Colonia	c. ?100/125-c. 250/275 (Periods 4a/b)	
838	Fragment	Unknown			Colchester	Colonia	AD60/1-c.250/275 (Period 3)	
877	Figurine	Unknown			Vindolanda		AD 213+	
879	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Vindolanda	Military/Small Town	c.AD 213-276	
883	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Unknown	Vindolanda		AD213+	
885	Fragment	Unknown			Vindolanda		c.AD 213-276	
887	Fragment	Unknown			Vindolanda		c.AD 213-276	
888	Fragment	Unknown			Chesterholm		AD213+	
900	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Vindolanda	Military/Small Town	c.AD 213-276	
903	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Vindolanda		c.AD 213-276	
905	Figurine	Deity	Unknown		Vindolanda		c.AD 213-276	
955	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Caerwent	Small town	C2nd/3rd (Phase 2)	
956	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Caerwent	Small town	C2nd/3rd (Phase 2)	
969	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1/2	Vindolanda	Military	C3rd	

### C4th

ID	Form	Type	Type Name	Sub Type	Site	Site Type	Context Date
4	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	AD 390-400
25	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1	Springhead	Small town	Early C4th?
50	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Springhead	Small town	Early C4th?
51	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Springhead	Small town	Early C4th?

53	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Braintree	Small town	c.AD 230-330 (Period 3)
55	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Brancaster		Late C3rd-C4th
56	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 2	London	London	250-350 AD
62	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/Female	With a dog	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Late C3rd to early 4th
93	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	St Albans	Municipium	C3rd-4th
113	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Brampton	Small town	Mid-late C4th
122	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Fishbourne	Villa	Late C3rd-early C4th
135	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Birdoswald	Military	C4, Period 3
152	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	St Albans	Municipium	Late C3rd-C4th
162	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Springhead	Small town	C3rd-C4th
186	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London Military/Small Town	Late C3rd-early C4th (Period 1, Phase 7)
216	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Vindolanda		C2nd-4th
291	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Unknown	Springhead	Small town	C3rd-4th
333	Aedicula	Shrine			London	London	C3rd-4th
441	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	250-350 AD
442	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	250-350 AD
443	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	250-350 AD
458	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	250-400/20 AD (Period 4)
462	Aedicula	Shrine			London	London	C3rd-4th
464	Aedicula	Shrine			London	London	C3rd-4th
465	Aedicula	Shrine			London	London	Mid-late C4th
466	Aedicula	Shrine			London	London	300+ AD
478	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	Mid-Late 4th Century (Period 4)
480	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	250-400
484	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	360-400 AD (Period 7)
486	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	AD 300+ (Period 6, phase 3)
492	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Unknown	London	London	Late third to early fourth century
495	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	250-350/360 AD (Period 6)
497	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	200-400 AD (Period 4)
509	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	London	London	270-350 AD (Period 9)
511	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	London	London	200-400 AD (Period 4, Phase 3)
512	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	London	London	Late third-fourth century?
521	Figurine	Bird	Pigeon		London	London	C4th
524	Figurine	Unknown	Unknown		London	London	200-400 AD (Period 4)
530	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Unknown	London	London	160-400 AD (Period 7)
549	Figurine	Bird	Unknown		London	London	Late C4th (Period 4, Phase 3)
558	Fragment	Unknown			London	London	250-400 AD
566	Fragment	Unknown			London	London	270-350 AD (Period 8)
573	Figurine	Bird	Cockerel		Nettleton	Religious	4th century
574	Aedicula	Shrine			London	London	250-400 AD
578	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	300/320-350 AD
597	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	C4th?
604	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	St Albans	Municipium	310-50 AD
605	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Brancaster	Military/Small Town	C2nd-C4th
607	Fragment	Unknown			Great Dunmow	Small town	First half of C4th (Period 5, Phase 1)
612	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Orton Malborne	Small Settlement	c.300/325-c.375 AD (Period 4)

615	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Great Chesterford	Small Town	Late C1st/early C2nd-late C4th (disturbed mid- C19th)
616	Bust	Human	Unknown		Colchester	Colonia	c.100-350 (Period 5)
620	Figurine	Animal	Bull	Non-triple horned	Colchester	Colonia	c.150-early C4th (Period 5b2 or early 6)
621	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	Unknown	Colchester	Colonia	C2nd-c.320 AD(Period 1)
626	Fragment	Unknown			Chelmsford	Small town	C2nd-4th?
631	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Catterick	Small town	350/5-c. 380+ AD (Phase 6a)
633	Figurine	Bird	Unknown		Catterick	Small town	c. 300-c.350/5 AD (Phase 4a/b)
638	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Birdoswald	Military	Mid C4th (Period 5)
643	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Caerleon	Military	Early to mid C4th
644	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Caerleon	Military	Probably early C4th
645	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 3	Caerleon	Military/Small Town	Mid-late C4th?
647	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Caerleon	Military/Small Town	C4th
649	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Caerleon	Military/Small Town	Early C4th or later
650	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Caerleon	Military/Small Town	C4th?
651	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Caerleon	Military/Small Town	Early to mid C4th
652	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Caerleon	Military/Small Town	First half/quarter of C4th
655	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Caerleon	Military/Small Town	C3rd-4th
656	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Caerleon	Military/Small Town	C3rd-early/mid 4th
662	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	250-400
667	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	c.225/40 AD-mid/late C4th (Period 5)
675	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Housesteads	Military	C4th?
718	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1	Baldock	Small town	Early C4th
721	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Greta Bridge	Military/Rural	Pre second half of C3rd- late C3rd/early 4th (Phase 4)
722	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Greta Bridge	Military/Rural	Pre second half of C3rd- late C3rd/early 4th (Phase 4)
723	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Greta Bridge	Military/Rural	Pre second half of C3rd- late C3rd/early 4th (Phase 4)
724	Figurine	Animal	Unknown		Greta Bridge	Military/Rural	Pre second half of C3rd- late C3rd/early 4th (Phase 4)
752	Bust	Unknown			London	London	Late C4th (Phase 4)
754	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Unknown	London	London	C4th
763	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Maidstone	Small Settlement	AD 90-310
795	Aedicula	Shrine			Wheldrake	Rural	Late C3rd to mid C4th
816	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 5	Brougham	Military/Small Town	AD 280/85 to 300/310 (Phase 3B)
846	Figurine	Unknown			Colchester	Colonia	c.AD100-c.350
880	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Vindolanda		c.AD 370+
889	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Vindolanda		AD300-367+
892	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Vindolanda		C4th (Period VIII - AD300-367)
893	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Vindolanda	Military/Small Town	c.AD 300-400
954	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 9	Caerwent	Small town	Mid C4th or later (Phase 7)
974	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1/2	Wimblington	Rural	C3rd/4th

### C5th+

ID	Form	Type	Type Name	Sub Type	Site	Site Type	Context Date
258	Bust	Human	Risus		York		C10th
437	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1	London	London	1170-1250 AD - Period 11
449	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	London	London	Saxon-Norman
463	Aedicula	Shrine			London	London	Post-Roman



491	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	Saxon (Period 2, Phase 3)
525	Figurine	Bird	Unknown		London	London	900-1220 AD (Period 5)
536	Figurine	Animal	Unknown		London	London	Saxon (Period 2, Phase 3)
575	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	850-1050 (Period 8)
576	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	1050-1100 (Period 9)
577	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	1050-1100 (Period 9)
579	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	1050-1100 (Period 9)
580	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	315-450 AD (Period 5)
617	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1	Colchester	Colonia	Modern c.329-c.450 AD (Period 2)
618	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Colchester	Colonia	C.300-400+ AD (Period 6 or later)
623	Aedicula	Shrine	Aedicula Type 1 Mercury (Mercurius)	Type 1	Colchester	Colonia	
640	Figurine	Deity		Type 1	Carmarthen	Civitas Capital Military/Small Town	Post-medieval Post-Roman (redeposited?)
646	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	Caerleon		
661	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Winchester	Civitas Capital	C13th-15th
664	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1	London	London	Medieval
665	Figurine	Other	Egg		London	London	c.80 AD/Medieval
668	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 1/2	London	London	Mid/late C4th-early C5th (Period 6)
672	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Chichester	Civitas Capital	Medieval
683	Figurine	Deity	Minerva		South Shields	Military	Post-Roman
685	Fragment	Unknown			South Shields	Military	Post-Roman
690	Fragment	Unknown			Wallsend	Military	Post-Roman
700	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Cowbridge	Small town	Medieval (Phase 2b)
761	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1/2	Staines	Small town	Post-medieval
771	Mask	Man/Woman			London	London	Saxon
809	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Type 2	Neath	Military	Post-Roman?
837	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Unknown	Colchester	Colonia	Post Roman (Period 6)
886	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Type 1/2	Vindolanda		c.AD 370-500

## Appendix 4.

### Tables of Contextual Information of Finds from Military, Urban and Rural Sites

The following table compiles the information about pipeclay objects from military, urban and rural contexts in numerical (find ID) order in relation to the discussion in Chapter 7. These lists give basic information about the form and type of each object, where they were found and their contexts. More information about each find is given in the database on the CD (Appendix 9).

Military Contexts							
ID	Form	Depiction	Type	Site	Site Type	Location Details	Context
18	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Fortress		Drain
19	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Fortress		Drain
20	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Fortress		Drain
24	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Dover	Fort	Barrack - Room 1a of Structure B24	Rectangular pit
28	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Vindolanda	Vicus	Buildings	Alley between buildings
32	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Hastings		Military ironworking site	Inside the Roman bath-house
49	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Dover	Fort	West Granary B16 (later dumping site)	Rubbish deposit
55	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Brancaster	Vicus	Extra-mural settlement	
63	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/ Female	Richborough	Fort		Ditch outside west wall
96	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Richborough	Fort	Building (temple?), Site 4	
120	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Stirling	Vicus	West of vicus	Ditch, ?refuse
123	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Vindolanda	Vicus	Building (married quarters?)	East hypocaust channel
135	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Birdoswald	Fort	Barrack block	
139	Figurine	Deity	Venus	South Shields	Fort/Vicus	Inside or outside fort	Well
191	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus		Main drain
192	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus		Main drain
199	Figurine	Deity	Venus	East Bridgeford		Military camp	Ditch 3
214	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Hastings		Military ironworking site	Inside the Roman bath-house
216	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Vindolanda	Vicus	North end of mansio courtyard	Above water channel
230	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	Newstead	Fort	South annexe	Occupation layer
241	Figurine	Human	Infant with Cucullus	Reculver	Fort		Rubbish pit
285	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure?	Usk	Fortress/vicus	Structures	Unstratified
336	Fragment	Unknown		Richborough			Middle layer of inner ditch S
337	Figurine	Human	Unknown	Richborough			Top layer of ditch N
338	Figurine	Human	Unknown	Richborough		Site I (northwest)	
339	Figurine	Human	Unknown	Richborough			Pit 11
647	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	West of Buildings 12 and 14	Rubbish dump
649	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 12, Room 12.5	Black silty clay layer with cobbles and chippings (rubbish dump/construction deposit)

650	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	South of Building 14	Path/rubbish dump
651	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 3, Rooms 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3	Destruction deposit (very dark brown sandy clay loam)
652	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 6	Destruction deposit (rubble spread)
583	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Dover	Fort	Metalling south of the fort	Unknown
585	Figurine	Deity	Unknown	Reculver		Beach west of fort	Unknown
586	Fragment	Unknown		Reculver		Road	Layer of grey-black loam
595	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Fortress	Baths building	Drain (upper sediments)
608	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caister-on-Sea	Fort		Ploughsoil/unstratified
609	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caister-on-Sea	Fort		Ploughsoil
610	Figurine	Deity	Venus	South Shields	Fort/Vicus	Inside or outside fort	Well
619	Figurine	Other	Egg	Colchester	Fortress	Military defences	Pit
628	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	Malton	Vicus	Building (burnt)	Gully/drain fill
637	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Corbridge	Fort	Compound, next to Temple 3	Burnt level below dark topsoil, 9-12 inches down
638	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Birdoswald	Fort	South horreum (re-use of the warehouse/granery (Building 197))	Rubbish dump/sleeper wall/sub-floor backfill
641	Figurine	Bird	Cockereel	Usk	Fortress		Pit
643	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 3, Rooms 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3	Abandonment/demolition rubbish dump
644	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Vicus	Buildings 21 and 22	Abandonment/demolition rubbish dump
645	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 13	Disturbed - robbing cut/fill
655	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 18, Corridor 18.3	Building construction and use (cobbled layer)
656	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 18, north of Rooms 18.1 and 18.2 (courtyard?)	Metalling of sandstone chips and cobbles
674	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Birdoswald	Vicus		Ditch
675	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Housesteads	Fort	North rampart and Barrack Block 13	Wall H deposit
676	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Housesteads	Fort	East rampart and Barrack Block 13	Unknown
682	Figurine	Animal	Dog	Caersws	Vicus	Building 1	Clay floor
683	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	South Shields	Vicus	Outside south corner of the fort	Soil accumulation
684	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	South Shields	Vicus	Outside south corner of the fort	Gully alongside road
685	Fragment	Unknown		South Shields	Vicus	Outside south corner of the fort	Soil accumulation
686	Fragment	Unknown		South Shields	Vicus	Outside south corner of fort	Ditch
687	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Wallsend	Fort	East of Building 3	Soil over north-south drain
691	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Wallsend	Vicus	South of fort	Pit
692	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Wallsend	Vicus	South of fort	Pit fill
693	Fragment	Unknown		Wallsend	Vicus	South of fort	Pit fill
694	Fragment	Unknown		Wallsend	Vicus	South gate	Ditches (unstratified)
695	Fragment	Unknown		Wallsend	Vicus	South of fort	Gully fill
697	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Benwell	Vicus	Between buildings C and D	Alley between buildings
719	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Greta Bridge	Vicus	Building BI (stone)	Turf and topsoil
720	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Greta Bridge	Vicus	Building BII (stone)	Turf and topsoil
721	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Greta Bridge	Vicus	South of east-west road (Building AY (stone))	Occupation layer
722	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Greta Bridge	Vicus	South of east-west road (Building AY (stone))	Occupation layer
723	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Greta Bridge	Vicus	South of east-west road (Building AY (stone))	Occupation layer
724	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	Greta Bridge	Vicus	South of east-west road (Building AY (stone))	Occupation layer
725	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Chester	Canabae	Defensive system	Ditch fill
742	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Chester-le-Street			Pits
809	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Neath	Fort	North-east of structure	Ploughsoil
816	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Brougham	Cemetery?	Pyre? east of fort and vicus	Burial? - Oval pit in disturbed area
839	Fragment	Unknown		Colchester	Fortress	Contubernia, barrack block (Building 131)	?Occupation layer

877	Figurine	Unknown		Vindolanda	Vicus	East end of waggon park/storage yard	Small channel
893	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Vindolanda	Fort/vicus?	Near west gate	Rubble above late floor
952	Mask	Woman		Dover	Fort		Upper fill
957	Fragment	Unknown		Caerleon	Vicus	Southwest of amphitheatre field	Gravel next to tile debris below stone phase
958	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Vicus	Below wall level between drain and west wall of building	Cobbling/flagging
963	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Long Melford	Fort		Boundary ditch filled with refuse
Urban Contexts							
ID	Form	Depiction	TypeName	Site	SiteType	Location Details	Context
1	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Cemetery	Cremation
4	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Near timber framed building	Burnt material in wall trench, Section C-D, Y III 3(6).
25	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Springhead	Small town	West/overlying Temple VII	Remains of wooden buildings
33	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Cirencester	Civitas Capital	Roman wall	
44	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	Wattle and daub/stone building	Floor/fill?
50	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Springhead	Small town	West/overlying Temple VII	Remains of wooden building
51	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Springhead	Small town	West/overlying Temple VII	Remains of wooden building
56	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Trade - Quay revetment	Upper fill; Period 1, Phase 7.
57	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Trade - Quay revetment	Quay infill
61	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/ Feamle	Springhead	Small town		Section 4, Strat. 3
62	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/ Female	Canterbury	Civitas Capital		Dumping level
75	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade? Revetment	Sand dumping
76	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Road/building?	
79	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Flitwick	Small town	Structures, pits and gullies	Occupation layer
81	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Carlisle	Civitas Capital	Cemetery by road	Burial
87	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Silchester	Civitas Capital	Early rampart bank	Mound of disturbed earth
88	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Silchester	Civitas Capital	Insula in eastern part of town	Pit
92	Figurine	Deity	Venus	St Albans	Municipium	Building II, 1	Cellar fill
94	Figurine	Deity	Venus	St Albans	Municipium	Cemetery?	Cremation
95	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Godmanchester	Small town	Mansio: eastern boundary wall of baths	Layer of burnt material and bottom of rubbish pit
98	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Springhead	Small town	Road/buildings (temple)?	Dark soil fill
107	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Grey/black clay fill of timberlined pit
109	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Quay	Quay construction layer
111	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerwent	Civitas Capital	House XII	Foundation
113	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Brampton	Small town	Road in extra-mural settlement/kiln field	Occupation level
118	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	Building	Between second and third floors
119	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	Building	Between second and third floors
128	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Springhead	Small town	Temple 1	Cella floor; Phase Z2-B3
133	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	East of building 1	Pit filled with green sand/gravel
138	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Dorchester	Civitas Capital		Well fill?
152	Figurine	Deity	Venus	St Albans	Municipium		
156	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Rochester	Small town	Under south-west wall rampart	Cut with dark earth fill
162	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Springhead	Small town	Adjacent to oven building	'Temple ditch' fill
186	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Quay structure (Area 3)	Revetment/construction fill
187	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Quay revetment (Areas 1&2)	Unstratified
188	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Buildings	Fill of ditch F.32
190	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerwent	Civitas Capital	House 24 (north)	

226	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	Caerwent	Civitas Capital	Housing	Open space between House 26N and 27N
233	Figurine	Deity	Epona	Caerwent	Civitas Capital	Housing	Room 8, House 7
234	Figurine	Deity	Apollo	Hacheston	Small town	Metalworking and pottery production	Disused bowl furnace (pit)
237	Figurine	Deity	Hercules	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
251	Bust	Human	Woman	Chichester	Civitas Capital	Street and timber buildings	Pit?
256	Bust	Human	Partially Draped Boy	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
259	Bust	Human	Risus	London	London	Cemetery	Probable burial
261	Bust	Human	Woman	St Albans	Municipium	Building II, 1	Cellar fill
262	Bust	Human	Unknown	Brough-on-Humber	Civitas Capital		Bottom of clay rampart
265	Bust	Unknown		London	London	Trade - Quay revetment	Infill: Period 1, Phase 5
270	Figurine	Human	Thorn-Puller	London	London		Debris layer
271	Figurine	Human	Thorn-Puller	London	London		Debris layer
275	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
276	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
277	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
278	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
279	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
280	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
281	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
282	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
283	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
284	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
286	Figurine	Animal	Bull	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
287	Misidentified	Candlestick Holder	Bull	London	London	Trade - Quay revetment	Upper fill
291	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Springhead	Small town	Temple ditch	Ditch fill
293	Figurine	Animal	Dog	London	London	Found near a stream channel	Fill?
295	Figurine	Animal	Dog	Alcester	Small town		Occupation layer
300	Figurine	Bird	Cockrel	Silchester	Civitas Capital	Occupation area	Rubbish pit fill (Pit Y)
308	Figurine	Bird	Pigeon	Colchester	Colonia	Cemetery Grave Group 18	Cremation
312	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
313	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
314	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
315	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
316	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
317	Vessel	Animal	Monkey	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
318	Vessel	Animal	Monkey	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
319	Vessel	Animal	Monkey	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation

320	Vessel	Animal	Ibex	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
321	Vessel	Animal	Boar	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation
332	Aedicula	Shrine		Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Roman theatre	
333	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area	Sandy earth upper ditch fill
334	Aedicula	Shrine	Aedicula Type 2	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 3)	Unspecified
415	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Flitwick	Small town	Cemetery?	Pit/ditch/layer?
436	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 57)	Destruction debris (in situ)
437	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Unknown	Ditch/drain/gully fill
439	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Timber framed house (Building 28)	Floor level construction/make-up/dump
440	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade	Quay revetment/building?
441	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Cemetery	Inhumation burial
442	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Cemetery	Inhumation burial
443	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Cemetery	Inhumation burial
445	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area	
446	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area	Infill of wooden drain
447	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Open Area 4	Pit
448	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Open Area 12	Non-structural cut
449	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Buildings	Pit
450	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Building 5	External dump
451	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Port	
452	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Port	Port destruction deposit (redeposited)
453	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area	Rubbish dump
454	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area	
455	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Building and road (Terrace 3, Open Area 56)	Refuse pit/brickearthy dumping/reterracing cut (residual)
457	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Roman roads, buildings and wells (Open Area 25)	Destruction debris (redeposited)
458	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 9)	Pit
459	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Ditch/drain/gully
460	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Make-up/levelling deposit
461	Aedicula	Shrine	Aedicula Type 2/3	London	London	Habitation area. Buildings 20 and 21 (Open Area 33)	Fire debris (in situ)
462	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 83. Site Group A53)	Drainage ditch 15
463	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area (Site Group C43)	Pit (residual)
464	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 83. Site Group A53)	Drainage ditch 15
465	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 98, Site Group C40)	Robbing cut (residual?)
466	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area	Pit fill of cut T.8 (loam) - dump?
467	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area	Upper fill of pit F.33, or later dump
468	Aedicula	Shrine	Aedicula Type 1	London	London	Habitation area. Open Area 25 (Entity 40)	Posthole?
469	Aedicula	Shrine	Aedicula Type 1	London	London	Habitation area. Open Area 12P1 (Entity 40)	Make-up/levelling deposit
470	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area. Open Area 12P1 (Entity 40)	Make-up/levelling deposit
471	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area. S51 (Entity 40)	Walbrook channel
472	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Quay revetment (Waterfront 4)	Revetment dumping
473	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 3)	Natural alluvial channel
474	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area Open Area 15 (Entity 41)	Make-up/levelling deposit
476	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - port area	Port destruction debris (redeposited)

477	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Building 48)	Internal wall partition structural posthole
478	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Structure 48-workshop? (Open Area 102, Site Group E39)	Pit/rubbish yard (residual)
479	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Quay revetment (Areas 1 and 2)	Unstratified deposit
480	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Cemetery	Inhumation burial (residual)
481	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Make-up/levelling deposit
482	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 45)	Landfill pits/dump
483	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area. Open Area 42 (Entity 41)	Make-up/levelling deposit
484	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 8)	Rubbish pit
485	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 7171)	Pit
486	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area. Structure 109 (Entity 40)	Pit (cess) fill
487	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 10)	Structural cut (post-hole)
488	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 717)	Pit
489	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Open Area 5)	Unspecified
490	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - quayside.	Quay sand/gravel levelling deposit
491	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade	Quay silt deposit (residual)
492	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Temple?	Rubbish pit over timber drain outside Mithraeum
493	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 50, Group J/K8)	Refuse dump (residual?)
494	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area. (Open Area 37)	Make-up/levelling deposit/dumping
495	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Structure 22)	External dump
496	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Silty make-up/levelling deposit
497	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 26)	Destruction debris (redeposited)
498	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 6)	Rubbish pit
499	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Quay revetment/building	Unspecified
500	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Quay	Unknown
501	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - (Structure 1)	Dump
502	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area. Buildings? (Open Area 15)	Destruction debris (redeposited?)
503	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Trade - Quay revetment and/or building	
504	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Trade - Quay area	
505	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area	
506	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area	Rubbish dump
507	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area	Rubbish dump
508	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area- Roads and masonry buildings 4 and 5 (Open Area 4)	Pit/quarry/refuse disposal area
509	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 8)	Ditch make-up/levelling
510	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area. Near road/north-east gate.	Pit 9
511	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Road surfaces (Open Area 7)	Rubbish pit
512	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Trade - quayside.	Quay levelling deposit
513	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area. Near road/north-east gate	Pit 9
514	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Near basilica foundation remains	Foundations
515	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	London	London	Habitation area - Building 8 and yard area (Open Area 7)	Well
516	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	London	London	Habitation area	Well
517	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	London	London	Unknown (Open Area 38)	External dump.
518	Figurine	Deity	Juno	London	London	Cemetery. Unstratified deposit	Burial?(unstratified)
519	Figurine	Bird	Hen	London	London	Habitation area	
520	Figurine	Bird	Cockereel	London	London	Habitation area	Quay silt deposit

521	Figurine	Bird	Pigeon	London	London	Habitation area - Building 7, Room 24	Robbing pit
522	Figurine	Bird	Dove	London	London	Habitation area. Building 30? West of Roa 4 (Open Area 32)	Pit
523	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	London	London	Trade - Quay	Rubbish tip
524	Figurine	Unknown	Unknown	London	London	Open Area 29	External dump
525	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	London	London	Stream 1	Infill deposit (ditch backfill)
526	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	London	London	Habitation area	
527	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	London	London	Habitation area. (Open Area 7)	Shallow pit
529	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	London	London	Land division or building construction (Open Area 5, between buildings 4/5 and 6/7)	Pit/gully
530	Figurine	Animal	Horse	London	London	Habitation area - domestic (Structure 10/11, Open Area 42)	Ditch/drain/gully
531	Figurine	Animal	Lion	London	London	Trade - Quay	Quay revetment/building
532	Figurine	Animal	Horse with Rider	London	London	Habitation area. Open Area 14 (Entity 40)	Make-up/levelling deposit
533	Figurine	Animal	Horse	London	London	Cemetery	Rubbish dump (residual)
535	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	London	London	Habitation area	Quarry pits, or dumping/levelling deposits
536	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	London	London	Trade - Quayside	Quay silt deposit (residual)
537	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	London	London	Habitation area. Structure 198 (Entity 41)	Non-structural (robber) cut
538	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	London	London	Trade - Quay	Port destruction debris (redeposited)
539	Figurine	Animal	Lizard	London	London	Habitation area - Building (S22)	Unknown
540	Figurine	Animal	Dolphin	London	London	Buildings 24/51/52? (Open Area 35)	External dump
541	Figurine	Animal	Panther	London	London	Habitation area. Clay and timber buildings and backyards (Open Area 4)	Backyard surface/rubbish dump
542	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 21)	Dump
543	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	London	London	Building 4	Brickearth floor surface
544	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Trade - Quay	Unspecified deposit around port
546	Figurine	Unknown		London	London	Unknown	Rubbish tip.
549	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	London	London	Road surfaces (Open Area 7)	Rubbish pit
550	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area. Open Area 165 (Entity 22)	Non-structural cut (robber cut)
551	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area. Open Area 146 (Entity 21)	Non-structural (robber) cut into drain
554	Figurine	Animal	Dog	London	London	Trade - Dockside warehouse?	
556	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 26)	Well
558	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area	Dump
559	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 11)	Rubbish dump or pit?
561	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area. Open Area 146 (Entity 21) (general levelling of an open area)	External dump
562	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area. Open Area 713	External pit/dump
563	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Building 10 (Open Area 16)	Make-up/levelling deposit
566	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Structure 6	Well
567	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area. Structure 116 (Entity 40)	Non-structural (robber) cut
568	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area. Open Area 49 (Entity 40)	Demolition/destruction debris (redeposited)
569	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Storage tanks?	
574	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Rubbish dump; Open Area 5	Pit/gully
575	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Dumping area	Pit (residual)
576	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Pits/ditches	Layer (residual)
577	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Structure 28	Layer over S28
578	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Decayed masonry buildings	Subsidence into pit 1020
579	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Building	Pit (residual)



580	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Structure	Dark earth (residual)
581	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Building R6	Oven
582	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Building R4	Construction level TO R4
587	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Wanborough	Small town	Buildings (6B, XVI)	Unstratified
588	Bust	Human	Woman	Wanborough	Small town	Buildings? (70 RC)	Pit A
589	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	Wanborough	Small town	Buildings? (70 Ford)	Unstratified
590	Figurine	Bird	Dove	Exeter	Civitas Capital	Habitation	Pits/wells
591	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Exeter	Civitas Capital	Habitation	Pit/well
593	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	Gloucester	Colonia	Fort Rampart?	Ditch/sub-soil?
594	Aedicula	Shrine		Cirencester	Civitas Capital	House (Site CY, Room XIX)	Unstratified
596	Misidentified	Deity	Mother Goddess/ Female	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	Macellum Room 2.3	Pit (dump)
597	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	Baths	Destruction debris (residual?)
598	Fragment	Unknown		Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	Macellum Building 2	Feature
599	Fragment	Unknown		Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	Macellum Room 3.1	Fill?
601	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Leicester	Civitas Capital	Buildings	Silt/sand pit fill
602	Figurine	Deity	Venus	St Albans	Municipium	West of wall, Insula 26, 1	Unstratified
603	Figurine	Deity	Venus	St Albans	Municipium	Insula 14, 3B, Room 5	Clay floor
604	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	St Albans	Municipium	Insula 22, 1.	Re-metalling yard
606	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Small town	Settlement building	Surface of chalk floor
607	Fragment	Unknown		Great Dunmow	Small town		Slot/post-hole
615	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Great Chesterford	Small Town	Second Walled Enclosure	Layer of brownish soil
616	Bust	Human	Unknown	Colchester	Colonia	Building 22?	Cellar backfill
617	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Colchester	Colonia	Modern	Rubble (modern)
618	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Colchester	Colonia	Cemetery (east-west graves)	Grave fill
620	Figurine	Animal	Bull	Colchester	Colonia	Houses, town defences, streets and habitation buildings	Timber-lined drain (backfilled in C4th)
621	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	Colchester	Colonia	Cemetery	Ditch
622	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Colchester	Colonia	Large house on street	Demolition debris
623	Aedicula	Shrine	Aedicula Type 1	Colchester	Colonia	Pits, street and defences	Shallow depression
625	Fragment	Unknown	Unknown	Kelvedon	Small town	Temple - Circular timber building	Burnt structural daub under gravel/natural floor
626	Fragment	Unknown		Chelmsford	Small town	Quarry/habitation buildings	Pit through brickearth into natural gravel
627	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Wilderspool	Small town	Industrial buildings (metalworking/storerooms)	Pit/ditch/floor?
629	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Catterick	Small town	Buildings/bath-house	Unstratified
630	Figurine	Deity	Unknown	Catterick	Small town	Habitation building	Occupation layer
631	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Catterick	Small town	Habitation building	Stone slabs
632	Fragment	Unknown		Catterick	Small town	Timber buildings	Occupation layer
633	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	Catterick	Small town	Stone/timber building (Building 1?)	Wall/occupation layer
659	Figurine	Deity	Unknown	Winchester	Civitas Capital	Roads and buildings	Soil layer
660	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Winchester	Civitas Capital	Roads and buildings	Soil layer
661	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Winchester	Civitas Capital	Roads and buildings	Sil layer (residual)
662	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Cemetery	Backfill of inhumation burial B4 (residual)
664	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area? (Building 13, Room B)	Demolition debris (residual?)
665	Figurine	Other	Egg	London	London	Reclamation dump (Open Area 8)	Earth fill, construction trench (residual)
666	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - abandoned waterfront revetment	Dumping area
667	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Timber structure (amphorae storage building)	Alluvial deposit/dump
668	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - waterfront	Landworking debris/dumping deposit?
669	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Chichester	Civitas Capital	Habitation	Pit
670	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Chichester	Civitas Capital	Building?	Unknown
671	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Chichester	Civitas Capital	Timber buildings and drains	Drainage slot

672	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Chichester	Civitas Capital	Structure (barn?) and 3 postholes	Occupation layer
673	Figurine	Deity	Unknown	Bath	Small town	Culvert trench F1280 (Building D)	Construction fill/make-up/ditch
678	Figurine	Human	Female, Standing	Doncaster	Small town	Occupation - Subscription rooms	Floor/pits
700	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Cowbridge	Small town	Ditch	Occupation layer
701	Figurine	Animal	Dog	Bath	Small town	Near building/road	Occupation layer (mortar/metalling)?
702	Figurine	Animal	Dog	Bath	Small town	Drainage area/ditches	Ditch fill/recut
703	Fragment	Unknown		Flitwick	Small town	Cemetery?	Pit/ditch/layer?
718	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Baldock	Small town	Cemetery	Inhumation
731	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Heybridge	Small town	Temple complex: north-east of the temple (building 52)	Pit (to right of temple entrance)
736	Figurine	Animal	Bull	Godmanchester	Small town	Ermine Street (within town defences)	Cremation
737	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Godmanchester	Small town	Ermine Street (within town defences)	Cremation
738	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Brampton	Small town	North of the iron and bronze workshop	Well/pit
741	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Shenstone	Small town	Temple - Circular ?shrine structure/ritual area	Gully/pit fill
743	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Lincoln	Colonia	Stone buildings and road north of Upper West Gate	Large pit (?stone quarries)
744	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Wixoe	Small town	Industrial: copper, iron and lead working site	Inside oven
747	Figurine	Bird	Cockereel	Cirencester	Civitas Capital	Buildings along street front	Soil layer
748	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Neatham	Small town	Defences	Defences layer
749	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion	Silchester	Civitas Capital	Pits respecting north palisade of basilica	Rubbish pit (brown gravelly soil with some charcoal)
751	Figurine	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area. Revetment on banks of Walbrook	Silt accumulation and dumping
752	Bust	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area. Revetment on banks of Walbrook	Stream silt (Residual)
753	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Cemetery	Pit
754	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area - Building 7, Room 24	Robbing pit
755	Figurine	Animal	Dog	London	London	Habitation area - Structure 3	Pit (possibly refuse)
756	Vessel	Animal	Boar	London	London	Habitation area - Midden (N31)	Midden
757	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Little Chester	Small town	Stone building (Structure 1, Room 1)	Pit
758	Figurine	Animal	Dog	Little Chester	Small town	Timber buildings	Occupation levels
761	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Staines	Small town	Habitation. Building (Area 4)	Occupation layer
762	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Street and small sub-circular timber structure	Street metalling
765	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Baldock	Small town	Buildings (possibly a shrine)	Pit
766	Mask	Grotesque Man		Baldock	Small town	Buildings (?timber/temple?)	Pit
767	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion	Baldock	Small town	Buildings (temple?)	Ditch
769	Mask	Grotesque Man		London	London	Walbrook Stream	In or near the Walbrook
770	Mask	Man/Woman		London	London	Walbrook Stream	In or near the Walbrook
772	Misidentified	Mask		Catterick	Small town	Temple? Trapezoidal buildig (Building 3)	Robbing trench
784	Figurine	Bird	Cockereel	London	London	Habitation area - Walbrook	Dumping/fluviial deposit
785	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Staines	Small town	Habitation	Flood deposit layer
786	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Staines	Small town	Habitation - Cleared area	Ashey soil layer
788	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Staines	Small town	Habitation - Building	Cut fill (black/brown ashey soil)
789	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Staines	Small town	Habitation - West wall of timber building	Wall feature/construction
790	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Staines	Small town	Habitation - Cleared area	Ashey soil layer
797	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Braughing	Small town	Near Roman road	Straight-sided, square-bottomed pit (cess pit?)
817	Figurine	Bird	Pigeon	Baldock	Small town		Pit
818	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Cemetery southwest of settlement	Cremation
822	Figurine	Deity	Venus	South Leigh	Small town	Road and 2 nearby buildings	Pit/?shallow well fill

830	Figurine	Deity	Venus	South Leigh	Small town		Pit
831	Figurine	Deity	Venus	South Leigh	Small town		Ditch
832	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Dorchester-on-Thames	Small town	Within a structure in middle of Roman town	Occupation layer (grey, silty brown material)
833	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Dorchester-on-Thames	Small town	Within a structure in middle of Roman town	Occupation layer (grey, silty brown material)
836	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	Colchester	Colonia	Habitation: Building 112, Room 2	Occupation lenses/dump
837	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Colchester	Colonia		Robber trench/pit
838	Fragment	Unknown		Colchester	Colonia	Open area, a building and a small structure	Pit
840	Figurine	Deity	Unknown	Colchester	Colonia		?Pit
842	Aedicula	Shrine		Colchester	Colonia	Building 95, Room 4	Clay dump
843	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Towcester	Small town		Ditch terminal
844	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Gloucester	Colonia	Burial?	Grave backfill
846	Figurine	Unknown		Colchester	Colonia	Occupation area	Houses/pits
919	Fragment	Unknown		York	Colonia	Cemetery?	Ploughsoil
923	Misidentified	Unknown		London	London	River	
929	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Heybridge	Small town	Near settlement core (OA19)	Cleaning layer
930	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Heybridge	Small town	Buildings?	Cleaning layer
931	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Leicester	Civitas Capital	Domestic/commercial buildings	Town House
932	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Leicester	Civitas Capital	Domestic/commercial buildings	Town House
933	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Leicester	Civitas Capital	Domestic/commercial buildings	Town House
954	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerwent	Civitas Capital	Forum basilica building, Room 7	Mixed levelling deposit
955	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerwent	Civitas Capital	East road	Pit fill
956	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerwent	Civitas Capital	East road	Pit fill

### Rural Contexts

ID	Form	Depiction	TypeName	Site	Site Type	Location Details	Context
9	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Snodland	Religious	Cemetery?	Cremation
10	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Arkesden	Religious	Open field	Cremation
15	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Welwyn	Villa	Cemetery? Near to the villa	Burial
27	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Brenley	Settlement	Small square building with cobbled floor	Rubbish dump
37	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Ashtead	Villa	Near structure	Drainage ditch
39	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?
40	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?
42	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Brenley	Settlement	Small square building with cobbled floor	Rubbish dump
46	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?
60	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/Female	Lancaster	Settlement	Near building/street	Household rubbish dump
69	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Eastry	Settlement		Rubbish pit
70	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Chart Sutton	Villa	Building	
116	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?
117	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?
122	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Fishbourne	Villa	Building	Rubble layer
143	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Gestingthorpe	Villa	Building 1	Yard and gullies (occupation/destruction)
144	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Merthyr Tydfil	Settlement	Building 'H'	Unstratified fill
150	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Holt Down	Villa		Rubbish pit
154	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Hemel Hempstead	Villa	Pre masonry building; Room 20	Rubble fill (destruction layer)
193	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Scole	Settlement	Road/wharf/timber buildings	
202	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?
203	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?
204	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?
205	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?

218	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Roxton	Settlement/Shrine?	Field enclosures and ?shrine	Ring ditch D
229	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	Flitwick	Rural	Field	
231	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	Wakerley	Settlement	Compound or animal pen	Ditch
235	Figurine	Deity	Apollo	Bedford	Settlement	Kiln site	Rammed gravel/pebbles overlaying circular enclosure ditch
236	Figurine	Deity	Bacchus	Flitwick	Rural	Field	
240	Figurine	Deity	Mars	Mucking	Settlement	Area of gravel pits	Rubbish deposit
242	Bust	Human	Woman	Welwyn	Villa	Near to the villa	Cremation
243	Bust	Human	Woman	Brighton	Villa		Cremation
248	Bust	Human	Woman	Brighton	Villa		Cremation
302	Figurine	Bird	Cockereel	Lowbury Hill	Religious	Found near the hilltop temple	
342	Figurine	Unknown		Scole	Settlement		Well fill
571	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Gorhambury	Villa	Villa Building 37	Robber trench
572	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Gorhambury	Villa		Layer over ditch 1281
573	Figurine	Bird	Cockereel	Nettleton	Religious	Near Building 26 (iron-smelting shop) near temple	Levelling deposit
612	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Orton Malborne	Settlement	Farmstead	
613	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Orsett	Settlement	Farmstead enclosure (N. E. corner of F220)	Ditch fill
614	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Little Oakley	Villa	Structure	Post-hole
708	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/ Female	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation
709	Bust	Human	Risus	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation
710	Bust	Human	Long-Haired Boy	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation
711	Figurine	Human	Thorn-Puller	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation
712	Figurine	Human	Cloaked Figure	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation
713	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation
714	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation
715	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation
716	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation
717	Figurine	Animal	Bull	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation
727	Fragment	Unknown		Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface (temple?)	1m deep hollow filled with organic soil
728	Figurine	Deity	Apollo	Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface (temple?)	Hoard? Shallow scoops in organic soil close to the edge
729	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure?	Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface (temple?)	Hoard? Shallow scoops in organic soil close to the edge
730	Fragment	Unknown		Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface (temple?)	Hoard? Shallow scoops in organic soil close to the edge
732	Figurine	Unknown		Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface (temple?)	Clay platform in centre of hollow
733	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Wimblington	Rural	Temple temenos (Building R15)	Pit fill
739	Figurine	Bird	Cockereel	Wakerley	Settlement	Kiln site	Kiln fill
745	Figurine	Deity	Mother Goddess/ Female	Folkstone	Villa	Courtyard/timber buildings/enclosures	Occupation layer
759	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Roxton	Settlement/Shrine?	Field enclosures and ?shrine	Ring Ditch D
760	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Roxton	Settlement/Shrine?	Field enclosures and ?shrine	Ring Ditch D
763	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Maidstone	Settlement	West of enclosure ditch	Pit (cess-pit)
768	Fragment	Unknown		Atworth	Villa	North wing	Topsoil - courtyard deposit
783	Figurine	Unknown		Bierton	Villa	Near building?	Unknown
795	Aedicula	Shrine		Wheldrake	Rural		Boundary ditch
798	Fragment	Unknown		Welwyn	Villa	Building 2 - near the baths	Roman destruction rubble inside building
805	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?

806	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?
807	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?
808	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?
826	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Mucking	Settlement		Well
827	Aedicula	Shrine		Mucking	Settlement		Well 2
835	Figurine	Unknown		Rainham		Open Area 202	Ditch backfill
943	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Lenham	Settlement	Industrial?	Ditch

## Appendix 5.

### Additional Finds from Military, Urban and Rural Contexts

The following table compiles the pipeclay objects with additional related finds from military, urban and rural contexts in numerical (find ID) order in relation to the discussion in Chapter 7. These lists give basic information about the form and type of each object, where each one was found, their contexts and any associated finds. Further information about each object and their contexts can be found in the complete database on the CD in Appendix 9.

Military Contexts								
ID	Form	Depiction	Type	Site	Site Type	Find Details	Context	Context Finds
12	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Chester				Late Flavian 3rd century pottery
18	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Fortress		Drain	May be broken parts of figurine IDs 19 and 20. Associated material dated AD 140-230.
19	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Fortress		Drain	May be the same as nos. 18 and 20 and found with associated material dated AD 140-230.
20	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Fortress		Drain	May be broken parts of figurine IDs 18 and 19. Associated material dated AD 140-230.
21	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Fortress		Unstratified	Does not belong to IDs 18, 19, 20. Associated material dated AD 140-230.
24	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Dover	Fort	Barrack - Room 1a of Structure B24	Rectangular pit	A Samian sherd, coarse pottery, a carved chalk figure, a bone scabbard-chape and a jet finger ring.
49	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Dover	Fort	West Granary B16 (later dumping site)	Rubbish deposit	Parts of 7 samian vessels, coarse pottery. 2 coins (1 of Commodus (192 AD) dated late-second to early-third centuries.
120	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Stirling	Vicus	West of vicus	Ditch, ?refuse	Burnt bone, fragments of 4 knee brooches and an infant's feeding bottle.
191	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus		Main drain	Unspecified
200	Figurine	Deity	Venus	East Bridgeford		Military camp		Second century pottery.
216	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Vindolanda	Vicus	North end of mansio courtyard	Above water channel	C3rd-4th pottery
647	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	West of Buildings 12 and 14	Rubbish dump	Context group SG183 included: 1 upper part of scabbard runner with moulded ring-shaped terminal, 1 corner of rectangular military belt-plaque, 1 pelta-shaped terminal of a rectangular military belt-plaque, 1 fragment of rectangular military belt-plaque with openwork stepped-lattice pattern, 1 fragment of military fitting, perhaps a belt-plaque, 1 enamelled buckle plate, 1 fragment of an openwork military pendant, 1 headstud brooch, 1 foot and lower part of the bow of a headstud/Lamberton Moor fibula, 1 copper-alloy earring, 1 cylindrical bead or collar, 1 pin for a buckle, 1

								complete pair of tweezers, 1 needle, 1 acorn-shaped pendant terminal, 1 circular seal box lid, 1 fragment of a seal box base, 4 studs, 2 nails/tacks and 2 rivets (Evans 2000 329, 341, 342, 347, 348, 353, 355, 356, 358, 360, 361, 371, 374, 377, 380).
649	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 12, Room 12.5	Black silty clay layer with cobbles and chippings (rubbish dump/construction deposit)	Coarse pottery (2 Black Burnished ware jars (Copton and Webster 2000, 212)), 1 oval dagger or knife knife guard (Evans 2000, 370), 1 incomplete military pendant (380), 1 flat diamond-shaped plate brooch (336), 1 pin for buckle (343) and 1 stud or button (358).
650	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	South of Building 14	Path/rubbish dump	Context group SG145 also contained 10 fragments of a hand mirror (Evans 2000, 345-7), 1 stud (358) and 1 bell-shaped fitting with iron tag in situ (362).
651	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 3, Rooms 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3	Destruction deposit (very dark brown sandy clay loam)	Coarse pottery (1 Black Burnished ware lid, 1 flanged and ridged bowl in grey fabric, 1 flanged bowl in dark grey fabric and 1 jar shoulder in Black Burnished ware (Copton and Webster 2000, 242), 1 gilded copper-alloy finger-ring (Evans 2000, 327), remains of a hollow dome-headed stud (360), 1 bell-shaped fitting (362) and 1 fragment of a heavy slide key (365).
652	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 6	Destruction deposit (rubble spread)	12 coins (1 Hadrianic As (119-128 AD), 1 Den of Antoninus Pius (139 AD), 2 Den of Septimis Severus (199-200 AD and 193-211 AD), 1 Sest of Septimis Severus (195-196 AD), 1 Sest of Caracalla Caesar (196-197 AD), 1 Ant b of Valerian I (255-256 AD), 3 Ant b of Postumus (260 AD) and 2 other unidentified coins), a range of coarse pottery wares, 1 dress-fastener with square head (Evans 2000, 383-4), 1 Polden Hill fibula (329), 1 flat diamond-shaped plate brooch (336), 1 glass paste "gem" in damaged copper-alloy mount from a ?finger-ring, 1 pin with biconial head (342), 1 dome headed pin (343), 1 damaged amulet/cosmetic grinder with a complete loop in the centre of the curved underside (344), 1 fragment of copper-alloy vessel with crude lug-shaped escutcheon or loop attachment (352), 1 hollow dome-headed copper-alloy stud (360) and 1 low conical-shaped copper-alloy rivet (361).
586	Fragment	Unknown		Reculver		Road	Layer of grey-black loam	11 coins (1 of Valerian 253-5 AD; Victorinus 268-70 AD; Claudius II 268-70 AD and 2 of Tetricus 270-3 AD; 2 barbarous radiates 270-90 AD and 4 illegible), 9 samian sherds, large group of coars pottery, fragment of a stone inscription and part of a bronze bracelet.
595	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Fortress	Baths building	Drain (upper sediments)	Bone and hairpins.
628	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	Malton	Vicus	Building (burnt)	Gully/drain fill	Coarse ware and mortaria (residual Trajanic/early Hadrianic), Samian (Flavian/Hadrianic), fragment of rusticated ware with graffito, two amphorae with graffiti, a mortarium stamp of Legiulus, flint, a glass jar rim fragment, a blue/green bottle handle and two cylindrical bottle body fragments, a bronze probe

								with twisted shaft (Wenham and Heywood 1997, 11).
638	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Birdoswald	Fort	South horreum (re-use of the warehouse/granery (Building 197))	Rubbish dump/sleeper wall/sub-floor backfill	23 coins (1x Domitian, Hadrian, Postumus, Tetricus I, Licinius, Fausta, Crispus, Theodora, Constantinopolis, 3x Constantine I, 2x Constantius II, 3x Constans, 2x Urbs Roma and 4x illegible), pottery, 4 glass beads, a copper-alloy earring, 2 copper-alloy finger rings, 1 intaglio, 2 bone pins, 1 toilet spoon, 1 nail cleaner, 1 spoon, 1 knife, dividers, 1 ring with split pin, 1 iron ring, 1 lead belt plate, 1 lorica hamata fitting and 1 bone pommel (Wilmott 1997, 207).
641	Figurine	Bird	Cockerel	Usk	Fortress		Pit	Samian pottery (Neronian/Flavian), coarse ware pottery, a Lyon ware cup, a lamp (Manning 1989, 82), 4 glass cups, 1 Tegula Mammata and 4 glass beads.
643	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 3, Rooms 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3	Abandonment/demolition on rubbish dump	Coarse pottery (1 jar or casserole in light orange sandy fabric and 1 miniature tazza in orange granular fabric burnt on and over the rim (Copton and Webster 2000, 242)).
644	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Caerleon	Vicus	Buildings 21 and 22	Abandonment/demolition on rubbish dump	Coarse pottery (1 Motto beaker in light orange fabric with black slip, rouletted bands and white-painted decoration and 1 beaker in hard grey fabric with traces of a reddish colour-coat (Copton and Webster 2000, 244-5)).
646	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	Buildings	Clay loam layer	1 small barrel-shaped bead or collar, 1 hollow dome-headed stud with lead-alloy filler, 1 bell-shaped stud or fitting with iron tag, 1 latch-lifter key with copper-alloy handle in the form of a crouched lion and 1 failed casting (Evans 2000, 342-84).
656	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caerleon	Vicus	Building 18, north of Rooms 18.1 and 18.2 (courtyard?)	Metalling of sandstone chips and cobbles	Context group SG155 contained: various coarse pottery wares, 1 fragment of openwork plaque or fitting with remains of a ?stud on the reverse (Evans 2000, 377), 1 fragment of military pendant with ring-shaped section and eroded drop-shaped terminal (382), 1 flattened snake-head shaped terminal of copper-alloy bracelet (339) and 1 worn stud inlaid with enamel (358).
674	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Birdoswald	Vicus		Ditch	Hadrianic-Antonine pottery.
682	Figurine	Animal	Dog	Caersws	Vicus	Building 1	Clay floor	1 fragment of glass cylindrical cup (Britnell 1989, 38), 1 biconial weight (53), 1 fragment of a rotary key (66), 1 flagon, 1 jar and 1 flanged bowl (92-3)
719	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Greta Bridge	Vicus	Building BI (stone)	Turf and topsoil	1 coarseware sherd; undecorated colourless blown glass body fragments; 1 rim and upper body fragment of bowl; 1 base fragment of a ?cup; 1 handle and body fragment of a jug and 2 bottle fragments.
720	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Greta Bridge	Vicus	Building BII (stone)	Turf and topsoil	undecorated colourless blown glass body fragments; 1 rim and upper body fragment of bowl; 1 base fragment of a ?cup; 1 upper body fragment of a cup/bowl; 1 handle and body fragment of a jug and 2 bottle fragments.
721	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Greta Bridge	Vicus	South of east-west road (Building AY (stone))	Occupation layer	1 samian sherd; figurine nos. 722, 723, 724.
722	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Greta Bridge	Vicus	South of east-west road (Building AY (stone))	Occupation layer	1 samian sherd; figurine nos. 721, 723, 724.



723	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Greta Bridge	Vicus	South of east-west road (Building AY (stone))	Occupation layer	1 samian sherd; figurine nos. 721, 722, 724.
724	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	Greta Bridge	Vicus	South of east-west road (Building AY (stone))	Occupation layer	1 samian sherd; figurine nos. 721, 722, 723.
725	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Chester	Canabae	Defensive system	Ditch fill	Antefixes, items of bronze, iron and lead, and a samian mortarium with lion's head spout.
816	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Brougham	Cemetery?	Pyre? east of fort and vicus	Burial? - Oval pit in disturbed area	A copper-alloy ?Hemmoor bucket, an iron nail and other fragments, a bone vaneer type, a worked bone object, a glass bead, rim and shoulder fragments of a BB1 jar, a sherd of Central Gaulish samian (burnt) and a form 37 footing (later second to third century) that may be pyre goods, plus a gold chain, two glass beads and further pottery that may be redeposited pyre debris (Cool 2004, 122-4).
851	Figurine	Deity	Mercury	Piercebridge		River near vicus		Approximately 4,000 Roman objects, including an Iron Age cosmetic grinder and iron mirror handle, Roman coins (1313), 57 military belt fittings, 23 pieces of scaled armour and helmet handles, 20 sword fittings – though no actual blades, 10+ parts of shields or spears, four parts of broken bows, arrows and ballistas, 28 pieces of horse harness and a large section of leather tent, 57 seals, hairpins (105 examples), brooches (129), finger-rings (51) and finger key-rings. Over 100 items of jewellery, broken or cut up, and cosmetic instruments such as nail-cleaners and tweezers, and medical equipment like forceps and spatulas were also found. Eating and drinking utensils include knives, spoons and an enamelled knife handle, drinking apparatus such as handles, strainers, and vessel mounts, and a collection of Samian and grey pottery wares. Other notable finds include one of the largest collections of lead seals, weights and steel years from Britain, a collection of keys and locks, and lighting equipment like a Roman lamp hanger. Furthermore, a miniature spear, curse tablets and various pewter objects.
852	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Piercebridge		River near vicus		Approximately 4,000 Roman objects, including an Iron Age cosmetic grinder and iron mirror handle, Roman coins (1313), 57 military belt fittings, 23 pieces of scaled armour and helmet handles, 20 sword fittings – though no actual blades, 10+ parts of shields or spears, four parts of broken bows, arrows and ballistas, 28 pieces of horse harness and a large section of leather tent, 57 seals, hairpins (105 examples), brooches (129), finger-rings (51) and finger key-rings. Over 100 items of jewellery, broken or cut up, and cosmetic instruments such as nail-cleaners and tweezers, and medical equipment like forceps and spatulas were also found. Eating and drinking utensils include knives, spoons and an enamelled knife handle, drinking apparatus such as handles, strainers, and vessel mounts, and a collection of Samian and grey pottery wares. Other notable finds include one of the largest collections of lead seals,

								weights and steal years from Britain, a collection of keys and locks, and lighting equipment like a Roman lamp hanger. Furthermore, a miniature spear, curse tablets and various pewter objects.
878	Figurine	Unknown	Unknown	Vindolanda	Vicus	South of buildings		C5th/6th material
881	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Vindolanda	Vicus	Within building dated AD213+	Topsoil	Roman pottery mixed with Victorian and several small stones.
889	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Vindolanda	Fort	Wall	Loose loamy soil	Stones and pottery.

### Urban Contexts

ID	Form	Depiction	Type Name	Site	Site Type	Find Details	Context	Context Finds
4	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Near timber framed building	Burnt material in wall trench, Section C-D, Y III 3(6).	Burnt sleeper beams, fourth century pottery, coin of Valens (AD 364-78)
14	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Exeter	Civitas Capital			Coin of Pius, coin of Valens.
25	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Springhead	Small town	West/overlying Temple VII	Remains of wooden buildings	Clay floors, crushed tile, pottery (early-mid C2nd), coins (mainly C4th) and 2 other Dea Nutrix figurines (nos. 50 and 51/figurines 9 and 10 in Jarrett 2008).
44	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	Wattle and daub/stone building	Floor/fill?	Opus signinum floors
50	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Springhead	Small town	West/overlying Temple VII	Remains of wooden building	Clay floors, crushed tile, pottery (early-mid C2nd), coins (mainly C4th) and 2 other Dea Nutrix figurines (nos. 25 and 51/figurines 8 and 10 in Jarrett 2008).
51	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Springhead	Small town	West/overlying Temple VII	Remains of wooden building	Clay floors, crushed tile, pottery (early-mid C2nd), coins (mainly C4th) and 2 other Dea Nutrix figurines (nos. 25 and 50/figurines 8 and 9 in Jarrett 2008).
56	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Trade - Quay revetment	Upper fill; Period 1, Phase 7.	Organic silts, fine clay, gravels and sands.
57	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Trade - Quay revetment	Quay infill	Tie-backs, woodchips, wooden beams, charcoal and samian pottery.
61	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/ Female	Springhead	Small town		Section 4, Strat. 3	Associated with radiate type coins c. 270 AD
62	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/ Female	Canterbury	Civitas Capital		Dumping level	Late third to early fourth century pottery, a clay spindle whorl and a coin of Salonina.
75	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade? Revetment	Sand dumping	Plain and decorated samian ware (70-90 AD).
81	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Carlisle	Civitas Capital	Cemetery - By road	Burial	Two small earthenware vessels; one containing burnt bone.
94	Figurine	Deity	Venus	St Albans	Municipium	Cemetery?	Cremation	Samian dish with incomplete potters stamp (SILV...) of Hadrian-Antonine date, square green glass bottle containing the ashes, tall glass bottle and white glass bottle broken at neck.
98	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Springhead	Small town	Road/buildings (temple)?	Dark soil fill	2 piece of decorated samian, 1 piece of plain samian and 15 pieces of coarse ware.
107	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Grey/black clay fill of timberlined pit	Pottery dated to c.130 AD including a sherd of black samian, animal bone, charcoal, tile, several ragstone blocks and a crucible used for bronze working (Bird et al, 1978, 300).
109	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Quay	Quay construction layer	Lezoux samian pottery assemblage dated C2nd-3rd, most of which is whole and unused (Miller et al. 1986, 89-90).
126	Figurine	Deity	Venus	York	Colonia	Cemetery	Unknown context in cemetery	A tazza, lamp and another Venus figurine.
128	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Springhead	Small town	Temple 1	Cella floor; Phase Z2-B3	Coins and samian dated to first and early second centuries.

133	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	East of building 1	Pit filled with green sand/gravel	Trajanic pottery
138	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Dorchester	Civitas Capital		Well fill?	Samian pottery c. 120 A.D?
156	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Rochester	Small town	Under south-west wall rampart	Cut with dark earth fill	Pottery (c. 175-200 AD)
234	Figurine	Deity	Apollo	Hacheston	Small town	Metalworking and pottery production	Disused bowl furnace (pit)	Sherds of a butt-beaker, Rhenish ware and a late C1st-C2nd Colchester mortarium, various bronze trinkets, two bone pins, a (?children's) copper alloy bracelet, an earring and a pin. Nearby a rubbish pit contained a late C1st or early C2nd pottery, a Hod Hill type brooch, a copper-alloy nail cleaner and an enamelled brooch (Blagg et al. 2004, 3).
237	Figurine	Deity	Hercules	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
247	Bust	Human	Woman	Puckeridge	Small town		Cremation	Urn and glass bowl.
251	Bust	Human	Woman	Chichester	Civitas Capital	Street and timber buildings	Pit?	Late Flavian pottery.
256	Bust	Human	Partially Draped Boy	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
259	Bust	Human	Risus	London	London	Cemetery	Probable burial	Other cremation burials, urns and human bones.
265	Bust	Unknown		London	London	Trade - Quay revetment	Infill: Period 1, Phase 5	Tie-backs, woodchips, wooden beams, charcoal and samian pottery.
270	Figurine	Human	Thorn-Puller	London	London		Debris layer	A group of figured and plain samian ware.
271	Figurine	Human	Thorn-Puller	London	London		Debris layer	A group of figured and plain samian ware.
275	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
276	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
277	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).

278	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
279	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
280	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
281	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
282	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
283	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
284	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).

286	Figurine	Animal	Bull	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
312	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
313	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
314	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
315	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
316	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
317	Vessel	Animal	Monkey	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
318	Vessel	Animal	Monkey	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other

								unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
319	Vessel	Animal	Monkey	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
320	Vessel	Animal	Ibex	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
321	Vessel	Animal	Boar	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).
324	Vessel	Animal	Hare	Preston-next-Wingham	Small town		Gravel pit	Burnt charcoal, 1 blue Upchurch ware vessel, 1 red ware bottle, 1 coarse blue ware urn, 1 black urn, 1 black vessel, 2 Samian cups, 1 cup-shaped Samian patera, 1 small glass unguent vessel of green glass from a large urn, 1 brown urn with lid, 1 large coarse ware urn, 1 brown-blue patera, Upchurch ware, 1 red ware earthen bottle, 2 red Samian patera, 1 yellow (Durobrivian?) thin vessel and 1 red terracotta feeding bottle/vessel.
333	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area	Sandy earth upper ditch fill	Mid-late third century pottery.
436	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 57)	Destruction debris (in situ)	Pottery dating to 60-100 AD, 1 coin of Nero (64-8 AD) and 1 writing tablet forming the deed of sale of a Gallic slave-girl called Fortunata (Hill and Rowsome 2011, 128).
441	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Cemetery	Inhumation burial	Outer wooden coffin, inner lead coffin decorated with beads and reel, glass vessel fragments, 1 miniature glass bowl, 2 glass bottles, gold earrings (1 pair), 1 coin (as/dupondius of Hadrian/Antoninus Pius, 117-61 AD), 1 bone pyxis - probably used as a cosmetic container/unguentarium/trinket box, 1 ivory figurine of a female torso and 2 other Venus figurines (nos. 442 and 443).
442	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Cemetery	Inhumation burial	Outer wooden coffin, inner lead coffin decorated with beads and reel, glass vessel fragments, 1 miniature glass bowl, 2 glass bottles, gold earrings (1 pair), 1 coin (as/dupondius of Hadrian/Antoninus Pius,

								117-61 AD), 1 bone pyxis - probably used as a cosmetic container/unguentarium/trinket box, 1 ivory figurine of a female torso and 2 other Venus figurines (nos. 441 and 443).
443	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Cemetery	Inhumation burial	Outer wooden coffin, inner lead coffin decorated with beads and reel, glass vessel fragments, 1 miniature glass bowl, 2 glass bottles, gold earrings (1 pair), 1 coin (as/dupondius of Hadrian/Antoninus Pius, 117-61 AD), 1 bone pyxis - probably used as a cosmetic container/unguentarium/trinket box, 1 ivory figurine of a female torso and 2 other Venus figurines (nos. 441 and 442).
446	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area	Infill of wooden drain	Copper-alloy pins, jug lids, ligulae, styli and 76 coins.
453	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area	Rubbish dump	Domestic rubbish.
455	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Building and road (Terrace 3, Open Area 56)	Refuse pit/brickearthly dumping/reterracing cut (residual)	Burnt ceramics dated to 120-40 AD, 1 iron knife blade, 1 iron spear, 1 iron stylus, 1 copper-alloy clasp or dress hook, and 3 residual Flavian coins (69-83 AD) (Hill and Rowsome 2011, 170-1)
458	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 9)	Pit	The group of 9 pits from OA 9 contained Porchester ware D (350-400 AD), Oxfordshire ware (240-300 AD), Nene valley wares including a colour-coated ware pentice beaker with rouletted decoration, the neck of a North African amphora, coins including a copper-alloy example possibly of Tetricus II dated 270-85 AD and Gallic empire coins dated 260-75 and 355-65 AD, glass including a rare fragment of black glass, a section of bone hinge, a calcarous roofing tile, a fine-sanded roofing tile, a combed box-flue tile, charred seeds and cereal grains, and animal bones (Howell et al. 2013, 29-30).
460	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Make-up/levelling deposit	Loose black silty clay dump.
461	Aedicula	Shrine	Aedicula Type 2/3	London	London	Habitation area. Buildings 20 and 21 (Open Area 33)	Fire debris (in situ)	Hadrianic pottery, burnt domestic material including the base of a ceramic crucible and a complete iron ox goad (Watson and Heard 2006, 46).
462	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 83. Site Group A53)	Drainage ditch 15	Pottery, an iron pan, charcoal, compacted gravel and figurine no. 464 (Hammer 2003, 89).
464	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 83. Site Group A53)	Drainage ditch 15	Pottery, an iron pan, charcoal, compacted gravel and figurine no. 462 (Hammer 2003, 89).
465	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 98, Site Group C40)	Robbing cut (residual?)	Pottery, including medieval.
466	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area	Pit fill of cut T.8 (loam) - dump?	Pottery, tile, daub, ceramic tesserae, bottles, bottle vessel, flint blades, copper alloy object, iron nails, bone objects, Vespasianic-Constantinian coins.
467	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area	Upper fill of pit F.33, or later dump	Pottery, tile, daub, ceramic tesserae, 3 glass bowls, glass tessera, copper alloy object, iron socket, iron dog, iron nails and marble inlay.
472	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Quay revetment (Waterfront 4)	Revetment dumping	Pottery (AD 120-30/40). This included, significantly, 2 fragments of a Verulamium Region White ware crucible used for cupelling gold. Other objects found were a Trajanic coin (an as dated AD 96-117), a Vespasianic as (AD72), a starter of the Atrebatian king Eppillus (c. AD 5-10), copper-alloy brooch (2nd century), wire bracelet, copper-alloy ring key, complete nail cleaner,

									mirror fragments, a Fimalapade (possibly from northern Italy, a trefoil-shaped flagon lid, military belt (1st century?), a mount of chape, a Cool Type 6 hairpin, a small piece of tinfoil sheet with repoussé decoration, parts of 13 nailed shoes inc. 4 sandals, a piece of Carrara marble, a complete paving brick from an opus spicatum floor and animal waste inc. a sawn section of an antler and a fragment of sea urchin shell.
478	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Structure 48-workshop? (Open Area 102, Site Group E39)	Pit/rubbish yard (residual)		The pit contained building material, bone, glass, slag and oyster shell. Other finds from the area include a handful of copper-alloy and iron nails and 2 fragments of copper-alloy sheet (Hammer 2003, 113, 118).
482	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 45)	Landfill pits/dump		A huge range of pottery including samian, coins, a range of grooming and personal adornment items including copper brooches and iron finger rings. Also a votive lamp, glassware, a flagon lid and remains of a stone pine (Pinus pinea): 4 complete cones and 1 central core, as well as several individual cone scales and pine nut shells, including some from the primary fills of the tank (Hill and Rowsome 2011, 148-52; Wardle 2011, 347).
483	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area. Open Area 42 (Entity 41)	Make-up/levelling deposit		Rubbish and demolition debris.
484	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 8)	Rubbish pit		Dumping and pits in OA8 associated with disuse of amphitheatre included fragments of C4th glass vessels and coins dated 355-65 AD and pottery dated 300-400 AD (Bateman et al. 2008, 91).
488	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 717)	Pit		Domestic refuse.
489	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Open Area 5)	Unspecified		Loose sand and gravel deposit with Samian ware associated with use of waterfront.
490	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - quayside.	Quay sand/gravel levelling deposit		This dark and light fine sand layer with some clay and gravel included 2 samian dishes: a Drg. 27 stamped ( ) IIAM and a Drg. 37 (Tatton-Brown 152); coarseware including fineware, flagons, jars, bowls, a dish, lids and a ?lamp (162-4), including some residual Flavian to early second century wares (147).
493	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 50, Group J/K8)	Refuse dump (residual?)		
494	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area. (Open Area 37)	Make-up/levelling deposit/dumping		Samian pottery including a Graufesenque Dragendorff 29 bowl stamped Felix dated 55-65 AD, 1 possible antoninianus of 260-85 AD, 1 melon bead, a copper-alloy mirror fragment, a needle and part of a lock, 23 fragments of glass vessel (mid-late C1st) including 1 olive green bowl/dish, beakers, a small unguentarium and utitarian cylindrical and prismatic bottles, and unidentified copper-alloy, iron and lead pieces (Hill and Rowsome 2011, 139).
497	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 26)	Destruction debris (redeposited)		Other cess/rubbish pits, gullies and rubbish dumps.
506	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area	Rubbish dump		Domestic rubbish.
508	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area-Roads and masonry buildings 4 and 5 (Open Area 4)	Pit/quarry/refuse disposal area		Open Area 4 produced glass vessels (bottles, jugs, jars and phials), a black glass counter, two incomplete turquoise melon beads, a fragments of



								residual polychrome bowl, fragments of lamps (C1st in date), a complete bone hairpin, a bone needle, a corroded incomplete knife blade, a fragment of a large vessel in Carara marble, three coins, two fragmentary copper-alloy lock bolts, a metal mount with enamelled Celtic decoration, fragments of sheeting and domestic animal bone (McKenzie 2011, 12-13).
510	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area. Near road/north-east gate.	Pit 9	Various late 2nd to 3rd century vessels (Chapman and Johnson 1973, 17, 36-8), top part of a right-angled, multi-ribbed handle of glass bottle (44), 2 fragments of window glass (45) and 1 coin of Nerva (AD. 96-7) (46).
511	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Road surfaces (Open Area 7)	Rubbish pit	Pits in OA7 contained colourless and blue-green glass vessels, a bottle, a window glass fragment, two fragments of iron fittings, a copper-alloy lion-headed stud, a copper-alloy buckle (possibly military), a bone knife trim waste, and another pipe-clay figurine no. 549 (Howe and Lakin 2004, 44).
512	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Trade - quayside.	Quay levelling deposit	This mixed clay and gravel layer contained a coin of Antonius Pius (151-2 AD), 2 samian bowls stamped (D)RIPPINI and ( )M (Tatton-Brown 1974, 151), coarse pottery, including fineware, amphora, jars, bowls, mortaria, dishes and lids; glass fragments and rims (183), wallplaster, a large needle or bodkin, 2 studs, a harness ring, 2 fragments of leather shoes (186-8). Probably disturbed in the late Roman period when beams were robbed out (Tatton-Brown 1974, 147).
513	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area. Near road/north-east gate	Pit 9	Various late 1st to 3rd century samian vessels (Chapman and Johnson 1973, 17, 36-8), top part of a right-angled, multi-ribbed handle of glass bottle (44), 2 fragments of window glass (45) and 1 coin of Nerva (AD. 96-7) (46).
515	Figurine	Deity	Minerva	London	London	Habitation area - Building 8 and yard area (Open Area 7)	Well	Copper-alloy vessel, a copper-alloy mount, a bone counter, a bone handle and glass vessels.
520	Figurine	Bird	Cockerel	London	London	Habitation area	Quay silt deposit	Roman tile fragments, wood fragments, 1st to 2nd century pottery, and a small amount of intrusive late 2nd to early 3rd century pottery.
521	Figurine	Bird	Pigeon	London	London	Habitation area - Building 7, Room 24	Robbing pit	The pit contained various other objects, all of which were probably deposited during the robbing in the C4th.
522	Figurine	Bird	Dove	London	London	Habitation area. Building 30? West of Roa 4 (Open Area 32)	Pit	Large amounts of residual pottery.
524	Figurine	Unknown	Unknown	London	London	Open Area 29	External dump	Other rubbish dumps and pits.
525	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	London	London	Stream 1	Infill deposit (ditch backfill)	Medieval pottery, a fragment from a solid glass hemisphere, a glass calender or cloth smoother and fragments from a glass millefiori bowl (Pitt 2006, 21).
527	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	London	London	Habitation area. (Open Area 7)	Shallow pit	Evidence of timber lining and collapse.
529	Figurine	Animal	Unknown	London	London	Land division or building construction (Open Area 5, between buildings 4/5 and 6/7)	Pit/gulley	Finds in OA5 pits/gullies included Flavian (60-100 AD) pottery, an unusual Fishbourne 148.3 type amphora, the head and part of the shaft of a copper-alloy globular head nail, an iron figure-of-eight chain link and an iron cleaver (Howe and Lakin 2004, 22-3).

539	Figurine	Animal	Lizard	London	London	Habitation area - Building (S22)	Unknown	An unphased copper-alloy needle came from the same area.
540	Figurine	Animal	Dolphin	London	London	Buildings 24/51/52? (Open Area 35)	External dump	Domestic refuse including sherds from a Verulamium region white ware face pot and 2 other unusual vessels dated to the Flavian-Trajanic period. Cologne colour-coated ware and London oxidised ware, a fragment of rosette brooch, part of a copper-alloy mirror (types current in the C1st), miscellaneous fittings, part of a ceramic lamp and two lead weights (Hill and Rowsome 2011, 145).
548	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 1)	Natural alluvial channel	Roman pot.
549	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	London	London	Road surfaces (Open Area 7)	Rubbish pit	Pits in OA7 contained colourless and blue-green glass vessels, a bottle, a window glass fragment, two fragments of iron fittings, a copper-alloy lion-headed stud, a copper-alloy buckle (possibly military), a bone knife trim waste, and another pipe-clay figurine, no. 511 (Howe and Lakin 2004, 44).
559	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 11)	Rubbish dump or pit?	Early Roman buildings and Hadrianic fire rebuilds.
563	Fragment	Unknown		London	London	Building 10 (Open Area 16)	Make-up/levelling deposit	Refuse dumps with some destruction debris.
574	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Rubbish dump; Open Area 5	Pit/gully	Aside from the pipeclay figurine <S51> the numerous pits in this area produced: pottery, animal bone, a coin (140-60 AD), 4 hairpins (pre-200 AD), a melon bead, a bone needle, the lid of a copper-alloy flagon, the base of a leaf shaped seal box, a gaming piece <S35>, a counter made from a pot sherd, a well-finished circular bone terminal from a composite hinge, a similar tubular section <S44>, several copper-alloy mounts and studs (possibly part of a brooch?), bottle fragments (C2nd), window glass, a colourless flagon, iron nails and misc. fragments of unidentified copper alloy and iron.
588	Bust	Human	Woman	Wanborough	Small town	Buildings? (70 RC)	Pit A	Samian, fine and coarse wares dated to 90-120 AD.
591	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Exeter	Civitas Capital	Habitation	Pit/well	Dr. 18/31 Hadrianic-Antonine; Rhenish ware (C. Gaul).
596	Misidentified	Deity	Mother Goddess/Female	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	Macellum Room 2.3	Pit (dump)	Six coins (latest dating to Vespasian), a possible military stud, a finger ring, a bracelet, a toilet instrument and counter, three styli and a seal box, a weight, three brooches, an intaglio, a weaving tablet, a lock and key, a spatula, a furniture fitting, two scrap fragments, a fragment of wall veneer, a honestone, C2nd glass vessels and C1st glass fragments (all from the pit group).
598	Fragment	Unknown		Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	Macellum Building 2	Feature	Coins of Claudius and Nero, a mid-Flavian glass cup, two cylindrical bottles and a glass counter.
601	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Leicester	Civitas Capital	Buildings	Silt/sand pit fill	Charcoal, mortar, oyster shell, charred plant remains, bone hairpins, beads, an armet, a candleholder, a bone gaming counter or inlay, a spur and a coin (140-144 AD).
606	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	Small town	Settlement building	Surface of chalk floor	66 coins, 17 brooches (5 horse and rider), six bracelets, a finger ring, two possible crown fragments, fragments of four ?votive leaves, fragments of two letters, the foot of a model bird, a large number of other copper alloy objects and fragments and two pieces of

								worked bone (Gurney 1986, 56, 88).
615	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Great Chesterford	Small Town	Second Walled Enclosure	Layer of brownish soil	Finds found in the area include copper-alloy, bone, iron and ceramic objects of personal adornment, toilet implements and textile equipment (one bone and four copper-alloy ligulae, two-three needles and a spindlewhorl from Pit 18), and intrusive late medieval or early post medieval objects (Medleycott 2011, 203).
616	Bust	Human	Unknown	Colchester	Colonia	Building 22?	Cellar backfill	Flavian samian below the burnt floor, C2nd samian (some Antonine) associated with the floor itself, ten well stratified coins, the latest of which was minted in 330 AD, in the cellar backfill (Crummy 1984, 66-8).
617	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Colchester	Colonia	Modern	Rubble (modern)	2 nails (Crummy 1983, 374).
621	Figurine	Bird	Unknown	Colchester	Colonia	Cemetery	Ditch	One conical-headed rivet.
625	Fragment	Unknown	Unknown	Kelvedon	Small town	Temple - Circular timber building	Burnt structural daub under gravel/natural floor	Antonine samian, an enamelled bronze handle and a lozenge-shaped plate brooch with enamelled 'eyes' (disintegrated). No domestic rubbish present (Rodwell 1988, 55). One nearby pit contained burnt debris including seven cast bronze letters, a fine Palaeolithic hand-axe and several small bronze rods; another yielded the Kelvedon defixo (Hassall et al. 1972, 333).
626	Fragment	Unknown		Chelmsford	Small town	Quarry/habitation buildings	Pit through brickearth into natural gravel	Grey black loamy mixture including some domestic debris and pottery: samian (Favian and Antonine-one stamped piece), a rimmed jar, a reeded-rim motarium and an incipient flanged bowl (Wickenden 1992, 60-1).
662	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Cemetery	Backfill of inhumation burial B4 (residual)	Grave B4 itself contained 1 Thameside Kent everted-rim jar, 1 glass bottle/flask and 1 glass oil flask/aryballos (Wardle et al. 2000, 144-5). The figurine was a residual find and not part of the initial burial deposit.
664	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	London	London	Habitation area? (Building 13, Room B)	Demolition debris (residual)?	1 silvered copper-alloy brooch, several bone pins and animal bones (Yule 2005, 63).
665	Figurine	Other	Egg	London	London	Reclamation dump (Open Area 8)	Earth fill, construction trench (residual)	A range of pottery wares, glasswares, a needle case, lumps of lead, a 'saw-fish' enamelled brooch, two fragments of leather and animal bones (Yule 2005, 19-22).
667	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Trade - Timber structure (amphorae storage building)	Alluvial deposit/dump	18 coins (many minted in mid C4th) including 1 large bronze coin of Magnus Maximus (383-7 AD) and 3 silver-plated bronze copies of Severan denarii of early C3d, pieces of leather footwear including 20 nailed shoes, 7 sandals, 3 slippers and other scraps, a distinctive assemblage of lead or lead-alloy fragment and animal bones (Taylor-Wilson 2002, 27-8).
673	Figurine	Deity	Unknown	Bath	Small town	Culvert trench F1280 (Building D)	Construction fill/make-up/ditch	Building materials and architectural fragments, plaster, ceramic brick and tile, samian pottery dated to the first and second centuries, glass, iron fragments, leather off-cuts, animal bone, shellfish (oyster, mussels and cockles), hair pins, a boxwood comb, a glass bead, ceramic pottery counters, a bone counter, a shale armlet and 5 copper-alloy coins (two asses/dupondii and 3 sestertii dated to the first and second centuries) (Davenport et al. 2007, 32, 48-9).

701	Figurine	Animal	Dog	Bath	Small town	Near building/road	Occupation layer (mortar/metalling)?	Lead offcut (Davenport 1999, 91)
702	Figurine	Animal	Dog	Bath	Small town	Drainage area/ditches	Ditch fill/recut	Samian includes dish with Attius stamp, a Secundinus stamp, and 3 other decorated pieces (Davenport 1999, 67-8); coarseware including 1 rim of a flagon, 1 ring-neck flagon, 1 roughcast beaker, 2 cooking pots, 1 rim of vessel, 1 dish, 1 plain-rimmed dish, 1 flat-rimmed bowl, 1 everted bowl, 2 lids (Davenport 1999, 71), 2 hairpins (Davenport 1999, 95).
718	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Baldock	Small town	Cemetery	Inhumation	Third century pottery in grave fill; 1 small casket (22x13x7cm) resting on the upper chest and neck of the infant-contents uncertain but presumably organic, possibly clothing; 1 small casket (c.20x10cm) by the feet of the child suggested by soil stains and 4 nails; 4 hobnails near the feet; shoes, possibly on the lid of the second casket; a group of nails in the east corner of the coffin that may be a third slightly smaller casket (c.16x10x7cm); two groups of nails and wood remains to the east and south-east of the coffin, possibly from a superstructure.
731	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Heybridge	Small town	Temple complex: north-east of the temple (building 52)	Pit (to right of temple entrance)	Finds from the pits include an assortment of pottery, tile, bone, an iron knife, a bone needle and a bone hairpin, i.e. personal item offerings (Atkinson and Preston 2015, Group 409).
735	Figurine	Unknown		Canterbury	Civitas Capital			Late 2nd-early 3rd century pottery and coins of Faustina I and Septimius Severus.
736	Figurine	Animal	Bull	Godmanchester	Small town	Ermine Street (within town defences)	Cremation	1 samian jar in which there were 2 bangles (1 small copper-alloy snake head bangle terminal broken in 2 pieces and 1 small twisted iron wire bangle with double strand of copper alloy wrapped around it found in 3 pieces and missing terminals), one hinged copper-alloy fitting (possibly a decoration on a wooden box) and a minute gold rivet. The burial also contained 3 pots and the horse figurine no. 737. Other finds noted in flower beds in the garden include 3rd and 4th century Roman pottery, animal bone (including dog), and shellfish, like oysters and winkles that probably relate to the later occupation of the town (Taylor in Going et al. 1997, 386).
737	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Godmanchester	Small town	Ermine Street (within town defences)	Cremation	1 samian jar in which there were 2 bangles (1 small copper-alloy snake head bangle terminal broken in 2 pieces and 1 small twisted iron wire bangle with double strand of copper alloy wrapped around it found in 3 pieces and missing terminals), one hinged copper-alloy fitting (possibly a decoration on a wooden box) and a minute gold rivet. The burial also contained 3 pots and the bull figurine no. 736. Other finds noted in flower beds in the garden include 3rd and 4th century Roman pottery, animal bone (including dog), and shellfish, like oysters and winkles that probably relate to the later occupation of the town (Taylor in Going et al. 1997, 386).
738	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Brampton	Small town	North of the iron and bronze workshop	Well/pit	Finds from the pits and wells included animal skulls and skeletons, a small wooden

								box represented by nails in situ and a bronze pin with a hand holding an apple.
741	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Shenstone	Small town	Circular ?shrine structure/ritual area	Gully/pit fill	1 ceramic lamp
749	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion	Silchester	Civitas Capital	Pits respecting north palisade of basilica	Rubbish pit (brown gravelly soil with some charcoal)	Layer 418 of pit F246 also contained an unworn silver minim of Verica and samian stamped by Aquitanus of La Graufesenque (Fulford and Timby 2000, 32).
751	Figurine	Unknown		London	London	Habitation area. Revetment on banks of Walbrook	Silt accumulation and dumping	Samain pottery and coarse wares (Blurton 1977, 45-6, 51), glass ribbed-handle (56), five coins of first-second century date (57), one brooch (58), one small iron needle, one iron strip, one stylus with five decorative bands of copper alloy, one iron spoon, two iron loops (61), one thin iron bar, 82 iron nails (63), one bone pin, one handle, a fragment of writing tablet (64), one wooden bobbin (67), fragments of leather shoes (70-2), fragment of leather clothing (74) and horse bone (90).
754	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Habitation area - Building 7, Room 24	Robbing pit	The pit contained various other objects, all of which were probably deposited during the robbing in the C4th.
756	Vessel	Animal	Boar	London	London	Habitation area - Midden (N31)	Midden	The midden contained a copper stud, an iron knife and stylus, an amber bead, and a glass counter, beaker, jar/bowl, flagon, vessel, 9 bottle fragments and 10 vessel fragments of Period 5.
757	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Little Chester	Small town	Stone building (Structure 1, Room 1)	Pit	Sandy loam, sandy clay, clay with mortar and plaster fragments and a copper-alloy pin (Langley and Drage 2000, 138).
762	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Street and small sub-circular timber structure	Street metalling	Roman mirror fragment
765	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Baldock	Small town	Buildings (possibly a shrine)	Pit	A Colchester derivative brooch, and a Claudian coin (AD 41-45).
766	Mask	Grotesque Man		Baldock	Small town	Buildings (?timber/temple?)	Pit	Samian pottery, coarseware pottery, a needle and half a large worn blue faience bead
767	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion	Baldock	Small town	Buildings (temple?)	Ditch	A pin/spring from a La Tène III brooch
771	Mask	Man/Woman		London	London			Associated with Roman pottery.
772	Misidentified	Mask		Catterick	Small town	Trapezoidal building (Building 3)-temple?	Robbing trench	In robber-trenches there were a number of complete, though crushed late colour-coated bowls, cups and flagons, 2 fragments of lamp-chimneys and a whiteware tazze (Wilson 2002a, 136).
784	Figurine	Bird	Cockerel	London	London	Habitation area - Walbrook	Dumping/fluvial deposit	The despoit(s) in this area continued a lot of first to second century pottery and leather fragments from sandals and shoe-making waste (Leary and Butler 2012, 13).
797	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Braughing	Small town	Near Roman road	Straight-sided, square-bottomed pit (cess pit?)	First and early second century AD pottery, Vespasianic-Trajanic samian, an iron sickle blade and a glass melon bead
818	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Cemetery southwest of settlement	Creonation	At least fifty cremations were recorded from which 110 pottery vessels and 6 glass vessels were found.
844	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Gloucester	Colonia		Grave backfill	Abundance of pottery and other detritus from the burial fills - accidental inclusion at least as likely as its deliberate deposition (Ed McSloy (Cotswolds), pers. comm).
950	Figurine	Deity	Unknown	Catterick	Small town		Creonation	Bone veneers.
970	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Caistor St Edmund	Small town		Ditch	Found near votive plaque fragments, leaves of sheet metal and 2 letters, plus a model [?votive] foot of a cockerel.

## Rural Contexts

ID	Form	Depiction	Type Name	Site	Site Type	Location Details	Context	Context Finds
9	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Snodland	Religious	Cemetery?	Cremation	Samian dated the second half of the second century (2 cups; 2 dishes); 1 large pot; 1 incomplete narrow-necked vase; 1 beaker; 1 plain curved handle of bronze; 1 fragment of speculum from a mirror and fragments of a calcined bone (Jones 1973, 145-8).
10	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Arkesden	Religious	Open field	Cremation	2 samian Pateras (one Ludowici stamped CVNO PI CI - a Colchester potter c A.D. 190), complete bowl (Dragendorf 78), small flagon (stoneware - missing neck), toy platter (now lost), large (12 inch diameter) embossed samian bowl, tall waisted Castor beaker (later c2nd AD)
15	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Welwyn	Villa	Cemetery? Near to the villa	Burial	Samian bowl (Dragendorf 31 with stamp: BVCVARAM), coarseware jug, small beaker with stump foot (grey ware) and flagon with red slip handle.
27	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Brenley	Settlement	Small square building with cobbled floor	Rubbish dump	An unusual number of coins, ranging in date from the second century to the third quarter of the fourth century or later, two triple vases and a pottery face-urn.
37	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Ashtead	Villa	Near structure	Drainage ditch	Broken tiles, oyster shells, piece of gold chain, layers of pottery, broken ad complete flue tiles, pieces of chimney pot, roof tiles, building debris.
38	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Orpington	Religious/Villa ?		Pit/ditch/topsoil?	The site yielded no Roman buildings but the upper 2ft of soil and other pits and ditches contained coins, complete vessels and lamps, roof tiles, ceramic jugs and other C2nd-4th pottery sherds.
39	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
40	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
42	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Brenley	Settlement	Small square building with cobbled floor	Rubbish dump	An unusual number of coins, ranging in date from the second century to the third quarter of the fourth century or later, two triple vases and a pottery face-urn.
46	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
60	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/ Female	Lancaster	Settlement	Near building/street	Household rubbish dump	Ash, bones and pottery.
69	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Eastry	Settlement		Rubbish pit	Samian pottery sherds, coarse pottery sherds, animal bones, fragments of bronze handle and flints.
116	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
117	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
121	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Alfoldean	Settlement			Found with another Venus figurine (ID212).
143	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Gestingthorpe	Villa	Building 1	Yard and gullies (occupation/destruction)	A bronze plate brooch in the shape of a wheel, two studs, a scabbard chape, a loop handle, a bronze terminal, a bronze key, a u-shaped drop hinge, two rings (one iron), a

								tesserae and a quadrant of a shale bracelet.
144	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Merthyr Tydfil	Settlement	Building 'H'	Unstratified fill	Pottery, samian ware, amphorae, glass, cinerary bottle or urn.
150	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Holt Down	Villa		Rubbish pit	New Forest, Castor and samian pottery, and coins of Trajan, Caracalla, Gallienus, Urbs Roma and Constantine, animal bones, oyster shells, two keys and nails.
154	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Hemel Hempstead	Villa	Pre masonry building; Room 20	Rubble fill (destruction layer)	Coins (c. 350 AD)
157	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Wye	Rural			C1st-C2nd pottery and iron slag.
193	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Scole	Settlement	Road/wharf/timber buildings		Samian and coarse pottery (late C1st-mid C2nd), a bronze needle, six bronze pins, a bronze nail, a bronze article, a spindle whorl of bone, worked flints and sling stones.
202	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
203	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
204	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
205	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
210	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Hawkedon	Religious	Burial/Temple?		Found with another Venus figurine (no. 211), a number of nails inside an amphora/dolium (BSEMS:1981.331) of reddish clay that previously contained olive oil from southern Spain, thought to be of second century AD. Its neck, handle and basal spike were broke off in antiquity, and possibly reused as a cremation urn - see image below.
211	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Hawkedon	Religious	Burial/Temple?		Found with another Venus figurine (no. 210), a number of nails inside an amphora/dolium (BSEMS:1981.331) of reddish clay that previously contained olive oil from southern Spain, thought to be of second century AD. Its neck, handle and basal spike were broke off in antiquity, and possibly reused as a cremation urn - see image below.
212	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Alfoldean	Settlement			Found with another Venus figurine (ID121).
235	Figurine	Deity	Apollo	Bedford	Settlement	Kiln site	Rammed gravel/pebbles overlaying circular enclosure ditch	Potsherds and debris derived from nearby kiln, and two samian Dragendorf 33 bases stamped SEVERAO F and ATTI respectively. Kiln debris was also found in the ditch fill.
240	Figurine	Deity	Mars	Mucking	Settlement	Area of gravel pits	Rubbish deposit	Dishes and lid-seated jars in grey ware.
242	Bust	Human	Woman	Welwyn	Villa	Near to the villa	Cremation	Burial Group 2: a cinerary urn and beaker from second half of C2nd, and a bronze ring and small dragon-shape bronze fibula hung around the neck of the statuette. Fragments of an iron lamp holder, fragments of four glass vessels and a pot and palette were also found.
243	Bust	Human	Woman	Brighton	Villa		Cremation	The box included a small flagon, five wheel-made saucers, a small black burnished ware jar, a flagon, samian pottery, a glass flask and container, a wooden disc, bronze box fittings, a bronze brooch, pieces of bronze

								wire, a large hanging iron oil-lamp holder with hook, an iron ring handle, a small iron hook, iron nails, an iron spike, an iron angle, misc. pieces of iron, a a now missing pot and a Type 2 female bust (figurine no. 248). The trench also included Roman pottery, a bone pin and glass objects. (Kelly and Dudley 1981, 83-8).
248	Bust	Human	Woman	Brighton	Villa		Cremation	The box included a small flagon, five wheel-made saucers, a small black burnished ware jar, a flagon, samian pottery, a glass flask and container, a wooden disc, bronze box fittings, a bronze brooch, pieces of bronze wire, a large hanging iron oil-lamp holder with hook, an iron ring handle, a small iron hook, iron nails, an iron spike, an iron angle, misc. pieces of iron, a now missing pot and a Type 1 female bust (figurine no. 243). The trench also included Roman pottery, a bone pin and glass objects. (Kelly and Dudley 1981, 83-8).
572	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Gorhambury	Villa		Layer over ditch 1281	Leaded bronze ear scoop; fragment of rod/bar.
708	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/ Matrona	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).
709	Bust	Human	Risus	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).
710	Bust	Human	Long-Haired Boy	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).
711	Figurine	Human	Thorn-Puller	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).
712	Figurine	Human	Cloaked Figure	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).



713	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).
714	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).
715	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).
716	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).
717	Figurine	Animal	Bull	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).
726	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Stanwick	Villa	Around a barrow/termenos near a Roman road and small hut		Finds from the barrow/termenos area included 500 coins - predominantly of the first and early second centuries, 2 copper-alloy leaves and a miniature bronze frog, possibly associated with the Anatolian mystery god Sabazius, while those from around but outside the enclosure include huge deposits of oyster shells, in some places 20 cm deep, the pipeclay figurine and a miniature copper-alloy axe (Neal 1989, 157).
727	Fragment	Unknown		Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface (temple?)	1m deep hollow filled with organic soil	Mostly concentrated near the edge of the hollow was Romano-British pottery, Iron Age and some Roman coins, brooches, dress pins, glass, animal bones, oyster shells and tiny fragments of calcined bone. The chalk-rubble floor of a small building (2.1x1.4m) with foundation trenches and timber corner posts was also found, with a line of roof-tile and chalk, flint and sandstone rubble extending from it (Burnham 2006, 412).

728	Figurine	Deity	Apollo	Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface (temple?)	Hoard? Shallow scoops in organic soil close to the edge	Dismembered but sometimes still articulated parts of several pigs, early Romano-British pottery, some metalwork and coins and a couple of Bronze Age objects (Burnham 2006, 412).
729	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure?	Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface (temple?)	Hoard? Shallow scoops in organic soil close to the edge	1 silver and six bronze Iron Age coins, 3 early Roman bronze coins; early Romano-British pottery, animal bone, calcined bone fragments; 2 iron implements, a Late Bronze Age socketed spearhead, a Polden Hill bow brooch, at least 75 cut-up pieces of iron chain-mail armour and a crude pipeclay stand (Burnham 2006, 412).
730	Fragment	Unknown		Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface (temple?)	Hoard? Shallow scoops in organic soil close to the edge	1 silver and six bronze Iron Age coins, 3 early Roman bronze coins; early Romano-British pottery, animal bone, calcined bone fragments; 2 iron implements, a Late Bronze Age socketed spearhead, a Polden Hill bow brooch, at least 75 cut-up pieces of iron chain-mail armour (Burnham 2006, 412).
732	Figurine	Unknown		Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface (temple?)	Clay platform in centre of hollow	The clay surface featured debris from feasting, including much broken pottery, animal bones and oyster shells, two halves of a puddingstone quern, stone and pottery spindle-whorls, coins (mostly Iron Age), iron nails, unidentified iron objects and copper-alloy brooches that might have been ritual deposits (Burnham et al. 2006, 270-80).
745	Figurine	Deity	Mother Goddess/ Female	Folkstone	Villa	Courtyard/timber buildings/enclosures	Occupation layer	Finds from the site included recovered included a Classis Britannica stamped tile, an engraved gemstone, 47 Roman coins, pieces of imported Dressel 1 wine amphorae, 378 36 Iron Age coins and many fragments of locally manufactured quernstone (Chapman et al. 2012, 353).
763	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Maidstone	Settlement	West of enclosure ditch	Pit (cess-pit)	Domestic and human waste, second and third century pottery, an iron key, some hobnails, a fragment of quern stone, animal bone, shell and charred plant remains (O'Shea and Weeks 2014, 134).
795	Aedicula	Shrine		Wheldrake	Rural		Boundary ditch	A sherd of Antonine samian jar, a fragment of Gaulish mortarium, material from the Crambeck and Holme-upon-Spalding Moor industries, fragments of Dalesware and Huntcliff jars, a spindle whorl made from the base of a pedestal bowl (third or fourth century in date), two fragments of tehulae, four iron nails, a dog mandible and a lead object, possibly a plug to anchor an iron fitting, or a hingle or wall hook, on masonry (Robinson 2009, 148).
805	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
806	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
807	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.
808	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.

835	Figurine	Unknown		Rainham	Rural	Open Area 202	Ditch backfill	Complete inscribed spindle whorl, reworked from a Roman grey ware potsherd and a fragment of spindle whorl.
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## Appendix 6.

### List of Pipeclay Objects from Temple Sites and Burials

The following table compiles the information about pipeclay objects from temple sites and burial contexts in numerical (find ID) order in relation to the discussion in Chapters 7 and 9. These lists give basic information about the form and type of each object, where each one was found, context finds and the contextual dating. Further information about each object and their contexts can be found in the complete database on the CD in Appendix 9.

Temple Contexts									
ID	Form	Depiction	Type	Site	Site Type	Find Location	Context	Context Finds	Date
25	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Springhead	Small town	West/overlying Temple VII	Remains of wooden buildings	Clay floors, crushed tile, pottery (early-mid C2nd), coins (mainly C4th) and 2 other Dea Nutrix figurines (nos. 50 and 51/figurines 9 and 10 in Jarrett 2008).	Early C4th?
39	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	Later layers
40	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	Later layers
46	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	Later layers
50	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Springhead	Small town	West/overlying Temple VII	Remains of wooden building	Clay floors, crushed tile, pottery (early-mid C2nd), coins (mainly C4th) and 2 other Dea Nutrix figurines (nos. 25 and 51/figurines 8 and 10 in Jarrett 2008).	Early C4th?
51	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Springhead	Small town	West/overlying Temple VII	Remains of wooden building	Clay floors, crushed tile, pottery (early-mid C2nd), coins (mainly C4th) and 2 other Dea Nutrix figurines (nos. 25 and 50/figurines 8 and 9 in Jarrett 2008).	Early C4th?
96	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Richborough	Fort	Building (temple?), Site 4			
98	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Springhead	Small town	Road/buildings (temple)?	Dark soil fill	2 piece of decorated samian, 1 piece of plain samian and 15 pieces of coarse ware.	Early C2nd
116	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	Later layers
117	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	Later layers
128	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Springhead	Small town	Temple 1	Cella floor; Phase Z2-B3	Coins and samian dated to first and early second centuries.	C1st-2nd
162	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Springhead	Small town	Adjacent to oven building	'Temple ditch' fill		C3rd-C4th
202	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th	Later layers

								century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	
203	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	Later layers
204	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	Later layers
205	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	Later layers
210	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Hawkedon	Religious			Found with another Venus figurine (no. 211), a number of nails inside an amphora/dolium (BSEMS:1981.331) of reddish clay that previously contained olive oil from southern Spain, thought to be of second century AD. Its neck, handle and basal spike were broke off in antiquity, and possibly reused as a cremation urn - see image below.	
211	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Hawkedon	Religious			Found with another Venus figurine (no. 210), a number of nails inside an amphora/dolium (BSEMS:1981.331) of reddish clay that previously contained olive oil from southern Spain, thought to be of second century AD. Its neck, handle and basal spike were broke off in antiquity, and possibly reused as a cremation urn.	
218	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Roxton	Rural Settlement/Shrine	Field enclosures and ?shrine	Ring ditch D		AD 170-270
274	Figurine	Animal	Horse with Rider	Great Chesterford	Small town	Temple?	Borough Field		
288	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Wroxeter	Civitas Capital	Temple complex			
291	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Springhead	Small town	Temple ditch	Ditch fill		C3rd-4th
302	Figurine	Bird	Cockerel	Lowbury Hill	Religious	Found near the hilltop temple			
462	Aedicula	Shrine		London	London	Habitation area (Open Area 83, Site Group A53)	Drainage ditch 15	Pottery, an iron pan, charcoal, compacted gravel and figurine no. 464 (Hammer 2003, 89).	C3rd-4th
492	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London	Temple?	Rubbish pit over timber drain outside Mithraeum		Late third to early fourth century
573	Figurine	Bird	Cockerel	Nettleton	Religious	Near Building 26 (iron-smelting shop)	Levelling deposit		4th century
625	Fragment	Unknown	Unknown	Kelvedon	Small town	Circular timber building	Burnt structural daub under gravel/natural floor	Antonine samian, an enamelled bronze handle and a lozenge-shaped plate brooch with enamelled 'eyes' (disintegrated). No domestic rubbish present (Rodwell 1988, 55). One nearby pit contained burnt debris including seven cast bronze letters, a fine Palaeolithic hand-axe and several small bronze rods; another yielded the Kelvedon defixo (Hassall et al. 1972, 333).	C1st
637	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Corbridge	Fort	Compound, next to Temple 3	Burnt level below dark topsoil, 9-12 inches down		
727	Fragment	Unknown		Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface	1m deep hollow filled with organic soil	Mostly concentrated near the edge of the hollow was Romano-British pottery, Iron Age and some Roman coins, brooches, dress pins, glass, animal bones, oyster shells and tiny fragments of calcined bone. The chalk-rubble floor of a small building (2.1x1.4m) with foundation trenches and timber corner posts was also found, with a line of roof-tile and chalk, flint and	C1st-2nd

								sandstone rubble extending from it (Burnham 2006, 412).	
728	Figurine	Deity	Apollo	Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface	Hoard? Shallow scoops in organic soil close to the edge	Disembled but sometimes still articulated parts of several pigs, early Romano-British pottery, some metalwork and coins and a couple of Bronze Age objects (Burnham 2006, 412).	C1st-2nd
729	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure?	Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface	Hoard? Shallow scoops in organic soil close to the edge	1 silver and six bronze Iron Age coins, 3 early Roman bronze coins; early Romano-British pottery, animal bone, calcined bone fragments; 2 iron implements, a Late Bronze Age socketed spearhead, a Polden Hill bow brooch, at least 75 cut-up pieces of iron chain-mail armour and a crude pipeclay stand (Burnham 2006, 412).	C1st-2nd
730	Fragment	Unknown		Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface	Hoard? Shallow scoops in organic soil close to the edge	1 silver and six bronze Iron Age coins, 3 early Roman bronze coins; early Romano-British pottery, animal bone, calcined bone fragments; 2 iron implements, a Late Bronze Age socketed spearhead, a Polden Hill bow brooch, at least 75 cut-up pieces of iron chain-mail armour (Burnham 2006, 412).	C1st-2nd
731	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Heybridge	Small town	Temple complex: north-east of the temple (building 52)	Pit (to right of temple entrance)	Finds from the pits include an assortment of pottery, tile, bone, an iron knife, a bone needle and a bone hairpin, i.e. personal item offerings (Atkinson and Preston 2015, Group 409).	Early C2nd-mid C2nd (Period 3B)
732	Figurine	Unknown		Ashwell	Religious	Small building in a polygonal fenced enclosure with chalk-pebble surface	Clay platform in centre of hollow	The clay surface featured debris from feasting, including much broken pottery, animal bones and oyster shells, two halves of a puddingstone quern, stone and pottery spindle-whorls, coins (mostly Iron Age), iron nails, unidentified iron objects and copper-alloy brooches that might have been ritual deposits (Burnham et al. 2006, 270-80).	C1st-2nd
733	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Wimblington	Rural	Temple temenos (Building R15)	Pit fill		Early C3rd
741	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Shenstone	Small town	Circular ?shrine structure/ritual area	Gully/pit fill	1 ceramic lamp	Mid C2nd-mid C3rd
759	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Roxton	Rural Settlement/Shrine?	Field enclosures and ?shrine	Ring Ditch D		AD 170-270
760	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Roxton	Rural Settlement/Shrine?	Field enclosures and ?shrine	Ring Ditch D		AD 170-270
765	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Baldock	Small town	Buildings (possibly a shrine)	Pit	A Colchester derivative brooch, and a Claudian coin (AD 41-45).	AD 90-120
766	Mask	Grotesque Man		Baldock	Small town	Buildings (?timber/temple?)	Pit	Samian pottery, coarseware pottery, a needle and half a large worn blue faience bead	AD 150-180
772	Misidentified	Mask		Catterick	Small town	Trapezoidal buildig (Building 3)	Robbing trench	In robber-trenches there were a number of complete, though crushed late colour-coated bowls, cups and flagons, 2 fragments of lamp-chimneys and a whiteware tazze (Wilson 2002a, 136).	c. AD 340-50/5(Phase 4b)
780	Figurine	Unknown		Wall	Villa	Watling Street, near bath-house		Other religious related finds include the lower half of a pony leg, two face-potstwo bucket-handle mounts in the form of knob-horned bull heads, a lead torc and a lead figurine of a slave (Ross 1980, 7).	
805	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	Later layers
806	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of	Later layers

								pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	
807	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	Later layers
808	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Nor'nour	Rural Settlement?	Structure	Occupation layer?	The general the area also produced other fragments of pipeclay figurines, 3rd-4th century coins, pottery, beads and late brooches.	Later layers
824	Mask			Harlow	Religious	Found near the Romano-Celtic hilltop temple	Well shaft/pit?		C2nd?
845	Fragment	Unknown		Harlow	Religious	Found near the Romano-Celtic hilltop temple			
962	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Springhead	Small town	Area of Temple VII			

### Burial Contexts

ID	Form	Depiction	Type Name	Site	Site Type	Find Location	Context	Context Finds	Context Date
1	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Cemetery	Cremation	Finds lost.	
9	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Snodland	Religious	Cemetery?	Cremation	Samian dated the second half of the second century (2 cups; 2 dishes); 1 large pot; 1 incomplete narrow-necked vase; 1 beaker; 1 plain curved handle of bronze; 1 fragment of speculum from a mirror and fragments of a calcined bone (Jones 1973, 145-8).	Mid-Antonine
10	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Arkesden	Religious	Open field	Cremation	2 samian Pateras (one Ludowici stamped CVNO PI CI - a Colchester potter c A.D. 190), complete bowl (Dragendorf 78), small flagon (stoneware - missing neck), toy platter (now lost), large (12 inch diameter) embossed samian bowl, tall waisted Castor beaker (later c2nd AD)	c.AD 190-200?
15	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Welwyn	Villa	Cemetery? Near to the villa	Burial	Samian bowl (Dragendorf 31 with stamp: BVCVARAM), coarseware jug, small beaker with stump foot (grey ware) and flagon with red slip handle.	
81	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Carlisle	Civitas Capital	Cemetery by road	Burial	Two small earthenware vessels; one containing burnt bone.	
90	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Kenchester	Small Town	Cemetery? Near road			
94	Figurine	Deity	Venus	St Albans	Municipium	Cemetery?	Cremation	Samian dish with incomplete potters stamp (SILV...) of Hadrian-Antonine date, square green glass bottle containing the ashes, tall glass bottle and white glass bottle broken at neck.	Hadrian-Antonine
210	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Hawkedon	Religious	Burial/Temple?		Found with another Venus figurine (no. 211), a number of nails inside an amphora/dolium (BSEMS:1981.331) of reddish clay that previously contained olive oil from southern Spain, thought to be of second century AD. Its neck, handle and basal spike were broke off in antiquity, and possibly reused as a cremation urn - see image below.	
211	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Hawkedon	Religious	Burial/Temple?		Found with another Venus figurine (no. 210), a number of nails inside an amphora/dolium (BSEMS:1981.331) of reddish clay that previously contained olive oil from southern Spain, thought to be of second century AD. Its neck, handle and basal spike were broke off in antiquity, and possibly reused as a cremation urn - see image below.	

237	Figurine	Deity	Hercules	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
242	Bust	Human	Woman	Welwyn	Villa	Near to the villa	Cremation	Burial Group 2: a cinerary urn and beaker from second half of C2nd, and a bronze ring and small dragon-shape bronze fibula hung around the neck of the statuette. Fragments of an iron lamp holder, fragments of four glass vessels and a pot and palette were also found.	
243	Bust	Human	Woman	Brighton	Villa		Cremation	The box included a small flagon, five wheel-made saucers, a small black burnished ware jar, a flagon, samian pottery, a glass flask and container, a wooden disc, bronze box fittings, a bronze brooch, pieces of bronze wire, a large hanging iron oil-lamp holder with hook, an iron ring handle, a small iron hook, iron nails, an iron spike, an iron angle, misc. pieces of iron, a now missing pot and a Type 2 female bust (figurine no. 248). The trench also included Roman pottery, a bone pin and glass objects. (Kelly and Dudley 1981, 83-8).	150/165-200 AD
247	Bust	Human	Woman	Puckeridge	Small town		Cremation	Urn and glass bowl.	Atononine
248	Bust	Human	Woman	Brighton	Villa		Cremation	The box included a small flagon, five wheel-made saucers, a small black burnished ware jar, a flagon, samian pottery, a glass flask and container, a wooden disc, bronze box fittings, a bronze brooch, pieces of bronze wire, a large hanging iron oil-lamp holder with hook, an iron ring handle, a small iron hook, iron nails, an iron spike, an iron angle, misc. pieces of iron, a now missing pot and a Type 1 female bust (figurine no. 243). The trench also included Roman pottery, a bone pin and glass objects. (Kelly and Dudley 1981, 83-8).	150/65-200 AD
256	Bust	Human	Partially Draped Boy	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
257	Bust	Human	Risus	York	Military?		Disturbed burial? in cremation cemetery		
259	Bust	Human	Risus	London	London		Probable burial	Other cremation burials, urns and human bones.	
275	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian



276	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
277	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
278	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
279	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
280	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
281	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
282	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian

283	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
284	Figurine	Human	Comic Figure	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	9 other comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 triple horned bull, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
286	Figurine	Animal	Bull	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, ten unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
308	Figurine	Bird	Pigeon	Colchester	Colonia	Grave Group 18	Cremation		80-120 AD
312	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
313	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
314	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Hare	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
315	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian

316	Vessel	Animal	Crouching Lion	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
317	Vessel	Animal	Monkey	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
318	Vessel	Animal	Monkey	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
319	Vessel	Animal	Monkey	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
320	Vessel	Animal	Ibex	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
321	Vessel	Animal	Boar	Colchester	Colonia	West Cemetery - Grave Group No. 124	Cremation	10 comic figurines, 1 child bust, 1 Hercules figurine, 1 triple horned bull, 9 other unguent flasks, twelve pottery vessels (animal vessels), a clay picture lamp, two glass vessels, a bronze vessel (patera), numerous carved bone and iron fragments derived from a funerary couch, and thirty-four coins (aes of the emperors Gaius and Claudius).	Late Claudian-early Neronian
441	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Inhumation burial	Outer wooden coffin, inner lead coffin decorated with beads and reel, glass vessel fragments, 1 miniature glass bowl, 2 glass bottles, gold earrings (1 pair), 1 coin (as/dupondius of Hadrian/Antoninus Pius, 117-61 AD), 1 bone pyxis - probably used as a cosmetic container/unguentarium/trinket box, 1 ivory figurine of a female torso and 2 other Venus figurines (nos. 442 and 443).	250-350 AD

442	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Inhumation burial	Outer wooden coffin, inner lead coffin decorated with beads and reel, glass vessel fragments, 1 miniature glass bowl, 2 glass bottles, gold earrings (1 pair), 1 coin (as/dupondius of Hadrian/Antoninus Pius, 117-61 AD), 1 bone pyxis - probably used as a cosmetic container/unguentarium/trinket box, 1 ivory figurine of a female torso and 2 other Venus figurines (nos. 441 and 443).	250-350 AD
443	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Inhumation burial	Outer wooden coffin, inner lead coffin decorated with beads and reel, glass vessel fragments, 1 miniature glass bowl, 2 glass bottles, gold earrings (1 pair), 1 coin (as/dupondius of Hadrian/Antoninus Pius, 117-61 AD), 1 bone pyxis - probably used as a cosmetic container/unguentarium/trinket box, 1 ivory figurine of a female torso and 2 other Venus figurines (nos. 441 and 442).	250-350 AD
480	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Inhumation burial (residual)		250-400
518	Figurine	Deity	Juno	London	London	Unstratified deposit	Burial?(unstratified)		Unknown
662	Figurine	Deity	Venus	London	London		Backfill of inhumation burial B4 (residual)	Grave B4 itself contained 1 Thameside Kent everted-rim jar, 1 glass bottle/flask and 1 glass oil flask/aryballos (Wardle et al. 2000, 144-5). The figurine was a residual find and not part of the initial burial deposit.	250-400
663	Fragment	Unknown		London	London		Residual in B159		Residual
708	Figurine	Deity	Seated Mother Goddess/Matrona	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).	C2nd
709	Bust	Human	Risus	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).	C2nd
710	Bust	Human	Long-Haired Boy	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).	C2nd
711	Figurine	Human	Thorn-Puller	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown	C2nd

								aromatic resin (possibly incense).	
712	Figurine	Human	Cloaked Figure	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).	C2nd
713	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).	C2nd
714	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).	C2nd
715	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).	C2nd
716	Figurine	Animal	Ram	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).	C2nd
717	Figurine	Animal	Bull	Arrington	Religious	Roadside	Inhumation	There were no grave goods in the coffin but the figurines may have been in a wooden box on top of the coffin's foot that was destroyed by a JCB. Inside the coffin were textile fragments (wool with pinkish dye), fragments of a rare s-plyed finer cloth around the head and numerous pieces of brittle yellowish-brown aromatic resin (possibly incense).	C2nd
718	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Baldock	Small town		Inhumation	Third century pottery in grave fill; 1 small casket (22x13x7cm) resting on the upper chest and neck of the infant-contents uncertain but presumably organic, possibly clothing; 1 small casket (c.20x10cm) by the feet of the child suggested by soil stains and 4 nails; 4 hobnails near the feet; shoes, possibly on the lid of the second casket; a group of nails in the east corner of	Early C4th

									the coffin that may be a third slightly smaller casket (c.16x10x7cm); two groups of nails and wood remains to the east and south-east of the coffin, possibly from a superstructure.	
736	Figurine	Animal	Bull	Godmanchester	Small town	Ermine Street (within town defences)	Cremation		1 samian jar in which there were 2 bangles (1 small copper-alloy snake head bangle terminal broken in 2 pieces and 1 small twisted iron wire bangle with double strand of copper alloy wrapped around it found in 3 pieces and missing terminals), one hinged copper-alloy fitting (possibly a decoration on a wooden box) and a minute gold rivet. The burial also contained 3 pots and the horse figurine no. 737. Other finds noted in flower beds in the garden include 3rd and 4th century Roman pottery, animal bone (including dog), and shellfish, like oysters and winkles that probably relate to the later occupation of the town (Taylor in Going et al. 1997, 386).	Mid C2nd
737	Figurine	Animal	Horse	Godmanchester	Small town	Ermine Street (within town defences)	Cremation		1 samian jar in which there were 2 bangles (1 small copper-alloy snake head bangle terminal broken in 2 pieces and 1 small twisted iron wire bangle with double strand of copper alloy wrapped around it found in 3 pieces and missing terminals), one hinged copper-alloy fitting (possibly a decoration on a wooden box) and a minute gold rivet. The burial also contained 3 pots and the bull figurine no. 736. Other finds noted in flower beds in the garden include 3rd and 4th century Roman pottery, animal bone (including dog), and shellfish, like oysters and winkles that probably relate to the later occupation of the town (Taylor in Going et al. 1997, 386).	Mid C2nd
816	Figurine	Deity	Venus	Brougham	Military	Cemetery? Pyre? east of fort and vicus	Burial? - Oval pit in disturbed area		A copper-alloy ?Hemmoor bucket, an iron nail and other fragments, a bone vaneer type, a worked bone object, a glass bead, rim and shoulder fragments of a BBI jar, a sherd of Central Gaulish samian (burnt) and a form 37 footring (later second to third century) that may be pyre goods, plus a gold chain, two glass beads and further pottery that may be redeposited pyre debris (Cool 2004, 122-4).	AD 280/85 to 300/310 (Phase 3B)
818	Figurine	Deity	Dea Nutrix	Canterbury	Civitas Capital	Cemetery? Southwest of settlement	Cremation		At least fifty cremations were recorded from which 110 pottery vessels and 6 glass vessels were found.	
950	Figurine	Deity	Unknown	Catterick	Small town		Cremation		Bone veneers.	

## **Appendix 7.**

### **Catalogue of Experiments Breaking Replica Ceramic Figurines**

This appendix records the results of a series of experiments breaking replica ceramic figurines of Venus and Dea Nutrix in various ways and on different surfaces that relates to the discussion in Chapter 10. These experiments were carried out and recorded in June 2015.

#### **Experiment 1 (Fig. A.7.1)**

**Method:** Venus figurine dropped flat onto trodden earthen surface (outside) at 50cm intervals up to 2 metres.

**Results:** On each occasion the figurine hit the surface back-side first and bounced into its finishing position. No damage was sustained on the figurine at all except for a small amount of dirt staining on the bent elbow, back of head and back of the base. No chipping.

#### **Experiment 2 (Fig. A.7.1)**

**Method:** Dea Nutrix figurine dropped flat onto trodden earthen surface (outside) at 50cm intervals up to 2 metres.

**Results:** On each occasion the figurine hit the surface back-side first and bounced into its finishing position. No damage was sustained on the figurine except for a small amount of dirt staining on the back of the head and chair, and on the front of hair and base.



*Fig. A.7. 1. Venus and Dea Nutrix figurines after dropped and toppled onto trodden earthen surface from 2m.*

### **Experiment 3 (Fig. A.7.1)**

**Method:** Venus figurine toppled off a ledge onto trodden earthen surface (outside) from standing at 50cm intervals up to 2 metres.

**Results:** Each time the figurine was pushed off the ledge it tumbled through the air and struck the surface mainly head or base first before bouncing to its final position. On each occasion the figurine did not break or sustain any severe damage except for a small amount of dirt staining on the bent elbow, back of head and back of base.

### **Experiment 4 (Fig. A.7.1)**

**Method:** Dea Nutrix figurine toppled off a ledge onto trodden earthen surface (outside) from standing at 50cm intervals up to 2 metres.

**Results:** Each time the figurine was pushed off the ledge it toppled through the air with various parts of the body hitting the surface, but mainly the head and base first, before



bouncing to its final position. The figurine did not break or sustain any severe damage except for a small amount of dirt staining on the bent elbow, back of head and back of the base.

#### **Experiment 5 (Fig. A.7.2)**

**Method:** Venus figurine dropped flat onto flat brick/tile surface (outside) from 50cm.

**Results:** The figurine struck the surface back side first and broke instantly at the waist and legs into 3 pieces: 1: the head/torso; 2: the body/legs; 3: the feet/base. Each break was reasonably clean with no significant debitage. No additional damage was sustained to any of these pieces while the head remained intact and undamaged.

#### **Experiment 6 (Fig. A.7.3)**

**Method:** Venus figurine toppled off a ledge from standing onto flat brick/tile surface (outside) from 50cm.

**Results:** The figurine hit the surface base first and broke reasonably cleanly at the lower legs, removing the feet/base. The bent elbow shattered into 6 larger and many smaller pieces but there was no further damage to the base.

#### **Experiment 7 (Fig. A.7.4)**

**Method:** Dea Nutrix figurine toppled off a ledge from standing onto a flat brick/tile surface (outside) from 50cm.

**Results:** The figurine hit the surface head first and snapped cleanly at the neck, removing the head. No further damage was sustained to the head or body.



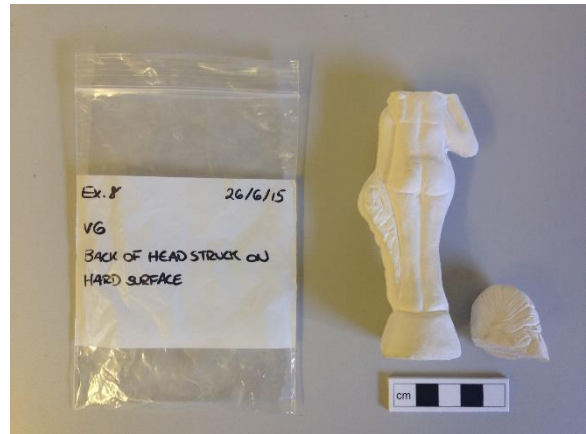
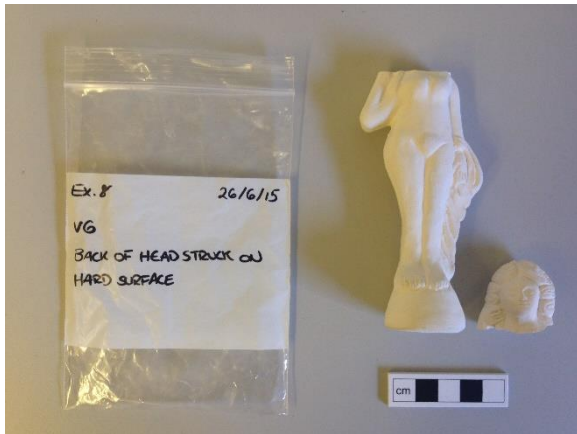
*Fig. A.7. 2. Venus figurine dropped flat onto flat brick/tile surface from 50cm.*



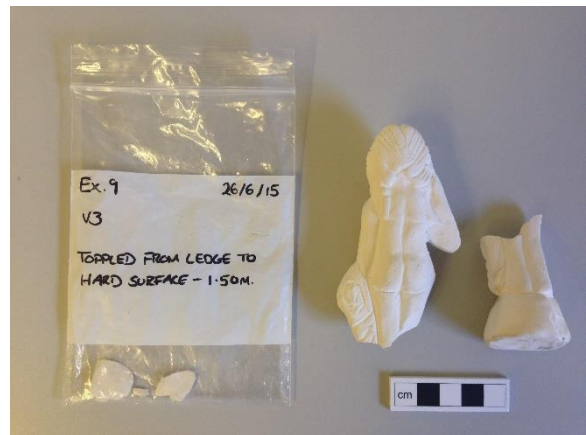
*Fig. A.7. 3. Venus figurine toppled off a ledge from standing onto flat brick/tile surface from 50cm.*



*Fig. A.7. 4. Dea Nutrix figurine toppled off a ledge from standing onto a flat brick/tile surface from 50cm.*



*Fig. A.7. 5. Venus figurine held by the legs face-up and head struck against the edge of a brick/tile surface (moderate force).*



*Fig. A.7. 6. Venus figurine toppled off a ledge when standing onto flat brick/tile surface at 1.50cm.*



*Fig. A.7. 7. Dea Nutrix figurine held by body/base face-up and head struck against the edge of a brick/tile surface (moderate force).*

### **Experiment 8 (Fig. A.7.5)**

**Method:** Venus figurine held by the legs face-up and head struck against the edge of a brick/tile surface with moderate force.

**Results:** The head of the figurine was removed cleanly across the neck and just beneath the right hand holding the hair with no impact damage visible on the back of the head.

### **Experiment 9 (Fig. A.7.6)**

**Method:** Venus figurine toppled off a ledge from standing onto flat brick/tile surface from 150cm.

**Results:** The figurine toppled through the air multiple times, striking the surface base first and breaking reasonably cleanly at the lower legs just below the knees, removing the feet/base. The base also chipped in two places.

### **Experiment 10 (Fig. A.7.7)**

**Method:** Dea Nutrix figurine held by body/base face-up and head struck against the edge of a brick/tile surface with moderate force.

**Results:** The figurine broke across the chest just beneath the two infants and around the back of the neck, removing the head and part of the torso. Video playback shows that the point of impact was just below the neck, which might have caused this irregular break rather than clean one at the neck.

## **Appendix 8.**

### **Challenging Love and Sexual Representation:**

#### **Venus Figurines in Roman Britain**

##### **Abstract**

*'Gaulish style' pipeclay figurines of Venus may reflect Classical ideas about love and sex or provincial concepts that might relate to fertility and protection. This paper explores religious practices and provincial beliefs associated with the 401 Venus figurines from the province through a study of their typology, chronology, distribution and context. This shows that they were used for many religious practices by different social groups that included mainly urban and rural populations – probably by both men and women, while finds from burials are closely linked with protecting - often sick - children. Comparing the distribution of pipeclay and metal figurines of Venus also shows that although ceramic figurines were lower status objects, some were used in high status graves by foreigners.*

##### **Introduction – The Meaning of Venus Imagery in Roman Britain?**

Venus was the popular Roman goddess of love and sex whose image is often seen in the Classical world. Ichnographically she is based on Aphrodite – the Greek goddess embodying similar qualities - who, like Venus, was often depicted in the form of life-sized stone and marble statues in public spaces and temples as well as in small terracotta figurines that were mainly used for private worship in domestic homes and in tombs.<sup>i</sup> The close connection between these two goddesses is particularly demonstrated by the general iconography they share, with both goddesses usually depicted standing nude or semi-nude - as if rising from the sea - with their heads facing forward or tilted slightly to one side and one leg - typically the left - bent at the knee. In most cases both Aphrodite and Venus also usually hold drapery in the left hands or have it positioned to her left side (although it is occasionally draped around her waist) - while her right hand is either held up to her head or covers one of her breasts or part of her abdomen.

Aphrodite's embodied qualities of love, lust and sexuality are generally also expressed in Roman Venus who, as one of the most popular Roman gods, was a central part of public and private religious life. Emperors even tried to closely associate themselves with the goddess – as Pompey did – while Caesar and Augustus maintained the story that the Julii family were directly descended from her.<sup>ii</sup> As a result the imagery of Venus not only frequently appears on imperial coinage, but was also a popular subject for artwork that ranged from monumental sculpture to the smaller clay and metal figurines that occupied household shrines.<sup>iii</sup> This can be seen in Italy as well as many other Roman provinces. In Pompeii, for example, Venus was not only revered in the city's public temples and shrines but was also one of the most popular gods depicted in domestic spaces where she was not only portrayed in paintings, reliefs and mosaics, but also as metal and terracotta figurines associated with domestic *lararia*.<sup>iv</sup>

The concept of Venus and her qualities were facets that resonated with some Romano-British people but overall her image is actually very rare in the province. She is, for example, only very occasionally depicted in mosaics (at Low Ham (Somerset) and Bignor (West Sussex, for example)), and in the form of metal figurines - of which there are only about 30 in Britain.<sup>v</sup> Instead, her popularity seems to have been most commonly expressed in the form of pipeclay figurines where she is by far the most numerous represented deity in this material. Interestingly, however, these pipeclay figurines of Venus are very different to those that depict the goddess in metal - particularly the 'Classical' specimen from St. Albans<sup>vi</sup> - as well as what are now considered to be more 'provincial' in style – like the examples from Colchester (Essex) and Southwark (London).<sup>vii</sup> What we appear to have in pipeclay then is the classical motif of Venus in a particularly Gaulish style that may therefore represent specific Gaulish or – or at least native – religious ideas and beliefs in Roman Britain.

But what exactly do these 'Venus' figurines mean and can we be sure that they are linked with the Classical goddess of love and sex? What other nuances of belief might these figurines express? These are questions that have been at the centre of their discussion for the past fifty years, during which time a number of alternative suggestions have been put forward about who they are meant to characterise and why they might do so. Some of these ideas incorporate wider ideas about how the process of cultural transmission impacted the symbolic role of this Classical 'Roman' goddess. Jenkins,<sup>viii</sup> for instance, was one of the first to suggest that they do not

perhaps depict Classical Venus but rather a Gaulish version of this goddess (a ‘Pseudo-Venus’). He also postulates that they might represent a completely different Gaulish deity or form altogether – possibly a sexualised representation of a woman, or even a water-nymph based on the occurrence of such figurines at sacred springs in Britain and Gaul. However, he argues that they, like many other pipeclay figurine types, were primarily intended as ‘manifestations of the universal mother-goddess’ that were used as votive objects to invoke fertility, abundance and good health for the population – perhaps especially for women.<sup>ix</sup>

Like Jenkins, Webster<sup>x</sup> suggests that these figurines do represent a kind of ‘Pseudo-Venus’ but integrates this idea into her specific theoretical framework of creolization. Specifically, Webster uses Venus figurines to explain and evidence this process by first arguing that these are indeed a hybridized ‘Celtic’ form of this Classical goddess, and secondly by pointing out the complex social interactions that they embody. This slightly different take on ‘Venus’, she therefore believes, reflects the mixed and contested (or creolized) nature of indigenous fertility beliefs in Gaul that became manifested in the material culture produced, exported and used in the province. Consequently, as pipeclay figurines were not made in Britain, their very presence here not only reflects the cultural transmission of beliefs and practices from Gaul, but also that their arrival and use directly influenced the nature of Romano-British religious life.

Drakeman’s 2008 unpublished doctoral thesis is one of the most comprehensive and insightful works on pipeclay figurines of Venus in the north-western provinces. After a review of their iconography and production centres, the work provides a detailed contextual analysis of Venus figurines from houses, temples and graves. Drakeman uses this iconographic, production and distributional evidence to highlight the multiple ritualistic (native cult activity) and funerary (burials) ways in which they were used, while also, like Webster before her, using them to evidence what she calls a ‘syncretic process’ that combined aspects of Roman and ‘Celtic’ religious expression. This mostly Continental study builds on what are only otherwise speculative attempts to explain many possible meanings and functions in Roman Britain. For example, the continental evidence suggests that they were used for household protection and fertility as well as to safeguard expectant mothers during pregnancy and childbirth. They were also used as dedications for protection at temples, sanctuaries and in graves - the latter possibly to accompany as well as guard both dead adults and children in the afterlife.<sup>xi</sup> Their occasional

recovery from sanctuaries and sacred spring sites like Vichy in Gaul (France) has also been taken to mean that they might have had some kind of specific votive role - possibly linked with healing, medicine and possibly magic.<sup>xii</sup>

This paper asks whether pipeclay figurines of Venus were more about Classical love and sex or provincial ideas about fertility and protection in Roman Britain, where the last comprehensive study of these objects was carried out over 60 years ago,<sup>xiii</sup> and from where Drakeman only included a small proportion of the total finds. Now however, new work on the subject has collected a total of 401 of these so-called 'Pseudo-Venus' figurines from the province along with a rich array of detailed contextual information that can tell us much more about their possible meaning and use in Roman Britain. This paper will therefore tackle these questions through a detailed study of their typology, chronology, distribution and context.

## **The Assemblage – Production and Typological Character**

Nearly all of the Venus figurines found in Britain were produced in Central Gaul in what is now the Allier Valley where moulds and wasters date to the first and second centuries, but a small group of rarer varieties are alternatively from production centres in the Rhine-Moselle region (in and around Cologne) where they were made from the first to third centuries.<sup>xiv</sup> Most of the figurines were made using two-part clay moulds<sup>xv</sup> but plaster moulds was also frequently used - particularly in the Rhine-Mosel - although none of the figurines from Britain show any clear evidence of the small raised globules or blisters that were frequently caused by wet clay filling pockets of air that were initially trapped in the plaster as it was mixed and poured.<sup>xvi</sup> Creating a cast involved pushing wet clay into two moulds before flattening and scoring the edges and tying the two halves together. After drying to a 'leather-hard' the shrunken cast was removed from the mould, touched up, had a base added, a ventilation hole cut (usually by the buttocks), and was fired at between 900 and 1000° centigrade. Fired figurines were then only occasionally decorated using paints or lead-based glazes but this rarely survives.



The 401 Venus figurines are in nine different types. Each of these types is slightly different but in general they depict Venus nude or semi-nude, either wearing or holding drapery, standing on a hollow hemispherical or square base. As well as her thin waist and small breasts, she is usually shown with an elaborate hairstyle with long strands draped over her shoulders, basic facial features such as large eyes and thick lips, rounded hips and buttocks, and enlarged hands held close to her body or up to her head (occasionally holding objects). Each of these types is described below and illustrated throughout the main thesis.

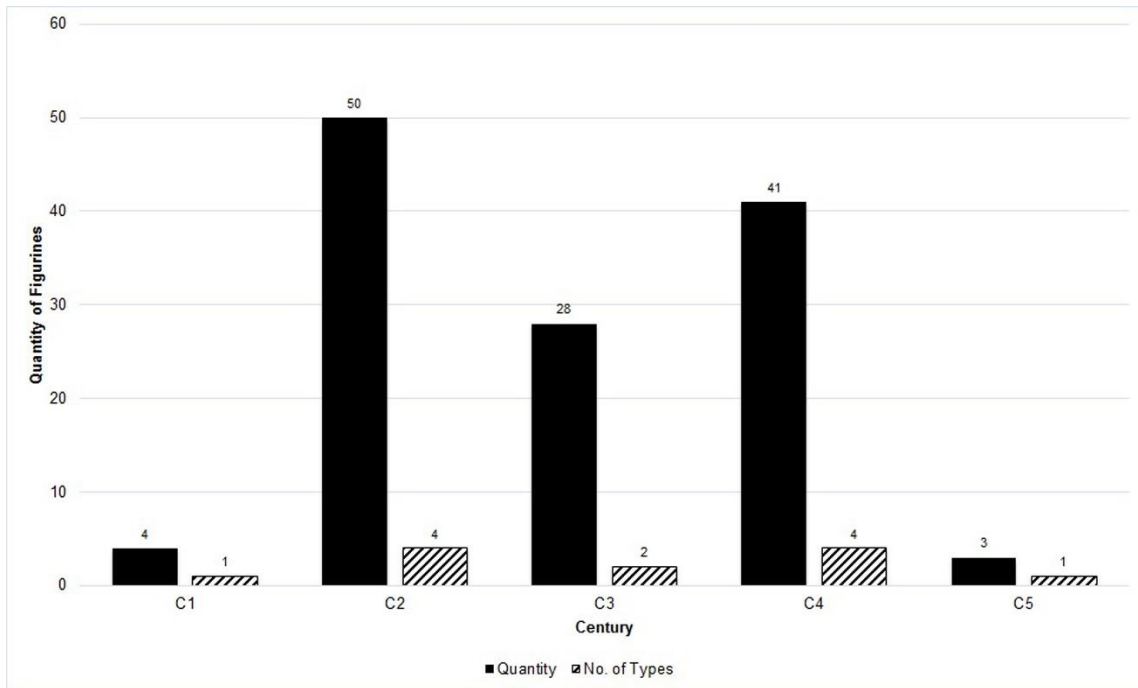
Type 1 and Type 2 Venus figurines are the most common types in Britain and the Continent with both showing the goddess standing on a small hemispherical plinth hold her right hand up to her head (or hair) and left hand by her side holding drapery. These two very similar types are differentiated by how she holds this drapery: on Type 1 figurines it is draped over her left wrist and on Type 2 figurine it is held in her fingertips. A range of different garment designs and hairstyles can be seen on both types but overall in fewer varieties than on the Continent.<sup>xvii</sup> Parallel moulds of each type on the Continent suggest that both were mainly produced in Allier (France) where they are usually found in first and especially second century contexts.<sup>xviii</sup>

The rarer types include Type 3 Venus figurines from Caerleon (Monmouthside), Dover (Kent), London and Springhead (Kent) with a garment around her waist probably made in the Rhine-Moselle region in the mid second and third centuries;<sup>xix</sup> a Type 4 figurine from St Osyth (Essex) with an Amor/Cupid by her left side stylistically attributable to the Rhine-Moselle industry, probably in the mid to late third century;<sup>xx</sup> two Type 5 figurines from London and Brougham (Cumbria) holding a garment in the left hand and a jug in the right hand<sup>xxi</sup> stylistically attributed to the Gaulish industry in the first to early second centuries;<sup>xxii</sup> and a Type 6 figurine from York (Yorkshire) that is a slightly different version of Venus and Amor probably produced in the Rhine-Moselle area in the mid to late second century.<sup>xxiii</sup> There is also one first century Type 7 figurine ('Vénus-à- Gaine') from London that is backed with a rectangular panel decorated with rosettes and circular studs on either side that was probably produced in Gaul;<sup>xxiv</sup> another early Type 8 Venus with an eagle by her leg from Wroxeter (Shropshire) probably made in the Rhine-Moselle region;<sup>xxv</sup> and a Type 9 figurine from Caerwent (Monmouthshire) showing Venus with her right hand on her right thigh and left hand covering her left breast that is probably a mid to late second century product from Autun (France).<sup>xxvi</sup>

In total there are 22 Type 1 figurines, 100 of Type 2 (by far the most common type in Britain), five of Type 3, one of Type 4, two of Type 5, one of Type 6, one of Type 7, one of Type 8 and one of Type 9. There are also 231 fragments that depict general attributes of Venus but cannot be ascribed a specific type, and 31 finds that have not been seen by me but are identified as Venus in site reports or by Jenkins in his doctoral thesis of 1977. Although all of these types are slightly different it is likely that they only represent small - if any - differences in the beliefs being generally expressed, and consequently their different proportions probably tell us much more about the dynamics of their trade, supply and availability to Britain than anything else. In terms of selection, however, it is interesting to postulate that most Romano-British people were probably not aware of, nor had access to, the range of rarer types that were available. Yet there was evidently a small proportion of the population who could access these rarer types. Indeed, who these people were is a question addressed below.

## **Chronology**

The most useful way establish a chronology of Venus figurines in Britain is to examine the dates of the contexts in which they are found rather than attempt to employ purely stylistic criteria. Overall the assemblage is relatively well dated with 126 out of 401 figurines coming from dated deposits but regrettably a significant proportion of finds (245) are from residual or undated contexts. One of the major concerns with this dating method is that it only provides a date for the last use of a figurine when many objects were evidently produced a lot earlier and stayed in use for many years before they were deposited. The number of dated finds and types per century is illustrated in Figure A.8.1, again however, many of the rarer Venus types (i.e. Types 4, 6, 7 and 8) in Britain are from poorly recorded or undated rather than datable deposits. In these cases better dated Continental parallels can suggest when a British find was made and used but these are often prone to similar problems. None conflict with any of the dated British material though.



*Fig. A.8. 1. Chronology of pipeclay Venus figurines in Roman Britain.*

Overall the dated material shows the limited but mixed use of Venus figurines (by mainly urban and rural populations) in the first century and a peak in the second century before a decline in the third century and a small rise in the fourth century: the number of types per century has a similar profile. The earliest finds include two Type 1/2 figurines from a drain at Chichester (Sussex) and a levelling deposit at Bloomberg (London) dated AD 60-75 and AD 65-70/80 respectively<sup>xxvii</sup>, and a Type 1 figurine in an in-situ destruction layer from the site of One Poultry, London dated AD 90-100. All of these are from habitation sites in two of Britain's largest urban centres, indicating an early association with civilian religious beliefs and practices. Two other figurines may also be associated with this period: firstly the Type 7 Venus from the Bank of England site in London, the rarity of which is probably a general result of its early production date, and secondly, a Type 1/2 figurine from the small settlement at Orsett (Essex) tentatively dated to the first century that highlights the early influence of Venus figurines in rural religious practice too.<sup>xxviii</sup> Overall then the early supply of figurines to Britain broadly reflects the small range of Venus types being produced in Gaul during the infancy of this particular industry.

The peak of finds in the second century (50) alongside the increased number of types available suggests a greater popularity of Venus figurines in this period (in both rural and urban areas) to some extent. However, this figure might be more related to the general growth of the Gaulish as well as Rhineland industries that were by now supplying more types to British markets, but in fewer varieties and numbers than seen elsewhere on the Continent. In Britain, the Type 1 and 2 figurines that continued circulating were joined by the first Type 3 figurines from Gaul (as evidenced at Springhead (Kent)) – the earliest figurine to directly reflect ritual practices at a temple. Interestingly this was in a rural setting but the temple complex here was probably one that people travelled to specifically for such a purpose: a similar example of this early temple-based ritual activity is the Type 1 Venus figurine from Heybridge (Essex).<sup>xxxix</sup> Additionally, the initial use of Venus figurines for funerary practices – this time on urban sites - is evidenced by the Type 2 figurine from a cremation burial in St. Albans (Hertfordshire).<sup>xxx</sup> At the same time other rare types started to circulate in habitation areas of urban centres as seen, for example, by the Type 5 Venus from a Trajanic pit found near to a building in Southwark (London) that was probably made in Gaul and exported to the settlement at about the same time.<sup>xxxi</sup>

The decreased number of dated finds (28) suggesting a decline in circulation in the third century can probably be linked to the general decline of the Gaulish industry in this particular period. The fact that these are also only common types (i.e. Types 1 and 2) would also suggest a scaling back of the range that was now being exported into Britain where they now mainly circulated on large urban sites rather than in small towns, rural sites and villas, itself highlighting that many urban populations still had close cultural and religious connections with Gaul at this time. The other important change that we see during this period that also extends into the fourth century is the increasing use of Venus figurines in funerary contexts, many of which that were by now very old (some up to 200 years) and might have been curated - possibly as heirlooms (see below). There is also evidence of the first Venus figurine related graveside rituals in the form of a Type 5 Venus from Brougham (Cumbria) that was probably burnt on a pyre.<sup>xxxii</sup>

Interestingly the number of dated figurines (41) and types increases in the fourth century but this probably has more to do with people throwing them away as their importance dwindled rather than an increase in their popularity, importation and circulation. There is also a greater likelihood that some of these later finds were disturbed or redeposited and actually reflect earlier

activity. This is especially the case for the rare Type 3 and Type 9 Venus figurines from Caerleon<sup>xxxiii</sup> and Caerwent<sup>xxxiv</sup> (Monmouthshire) that are both from disturbed or mixed contexts, and maybe even the Type 5 Venus from Brougham (Cumbria) that also comes from a disturbed area. Some of the other Type 1 and Type 2 figurines from more secure contemporary contexts were probably retained by their owners though, possibly with greater importance as old objects.

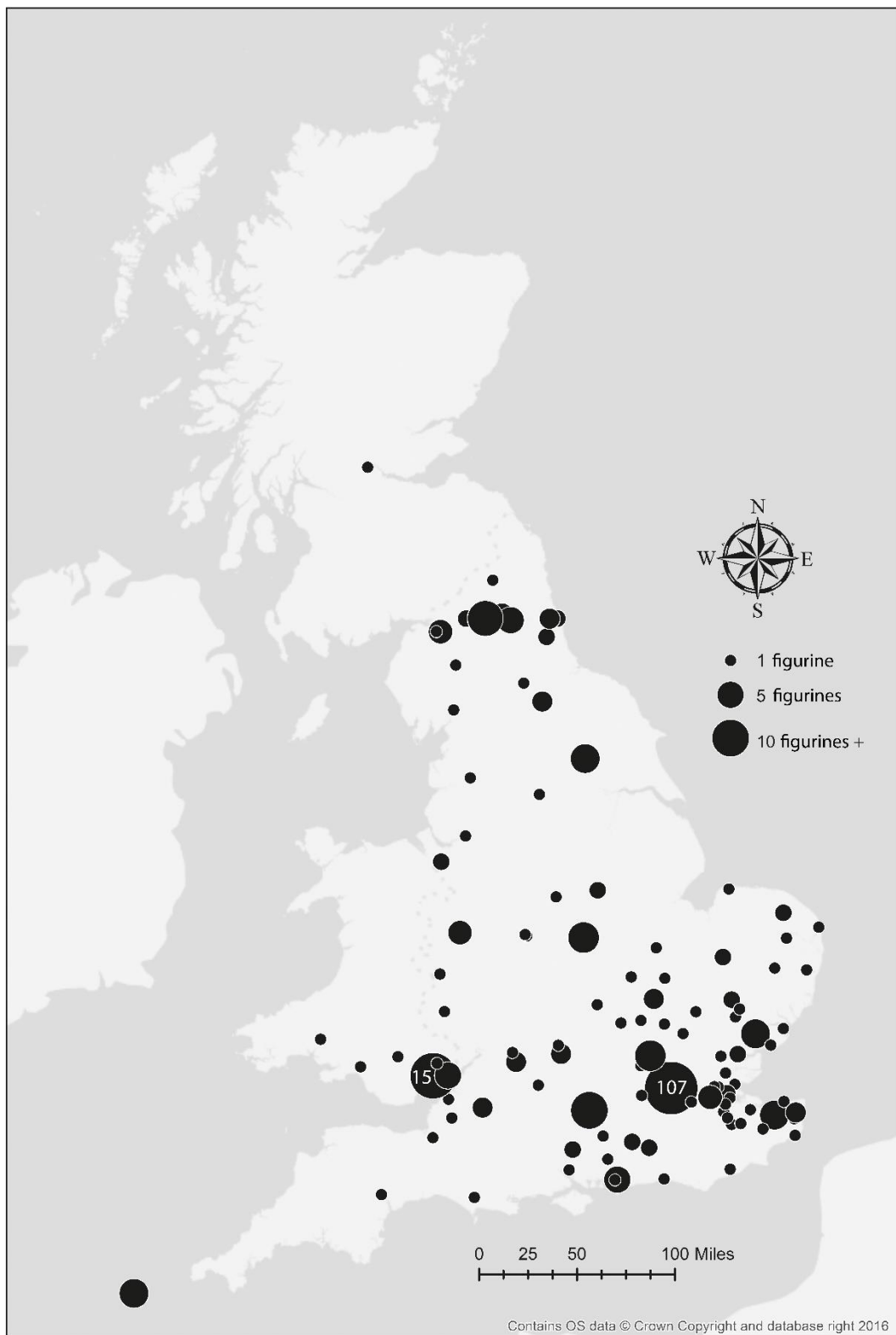
## **Spatial and Social Distribution**

Pipeclay figurines of Venus were clearly very important social and symbolic objects that reflect the personal beliefs and practices of individuals as well as different social groups, and to better understand this it is important that their contexts are studied in detail. In order to do this a social distribution analysis recording contextual information in two stages has been carried out.<sup>xxxv</sup> The first stage assesses the type of site a figurine is from (e.g. military, urban or rural). Military sites include mainly forts; urban sites *coloniae*, *municipia*, and large and small towns; and rural sites small settlements and villas. On this occasion *Civitas Capitals* and London are listed separately to highlight the high proportion of figurines from these sites. The second stage records specific details about the type of deposit the figurines come from (e.g. habitation contexts, burials or sanctuaries). In addition to the obvious concern that the distribution of these objects may reflect little more than what sites have been excavated and published, there are a number of other well documented problems with classifying sites in this way that includes often oversimplifying the complexities of site morphology and legal status, whether *Civitas Capitals* should be a separate category or grouped with large or small towns (in this study the number of finds do justify a separate group), and how small towns and rural settlements can be clearly differentiated.<sup>xxxvi</sup> Quantifying sites with both military and civilian (urban) populations can also be problematic, especially when there is no clarifying dated contextual information. In such cases a find's value is split between the relevant categories.<sup>xxxvii</sup> Despite such problems the approach still nevertheless highlights many useful patterns about the kind of people that used Venus figurines in Britain.

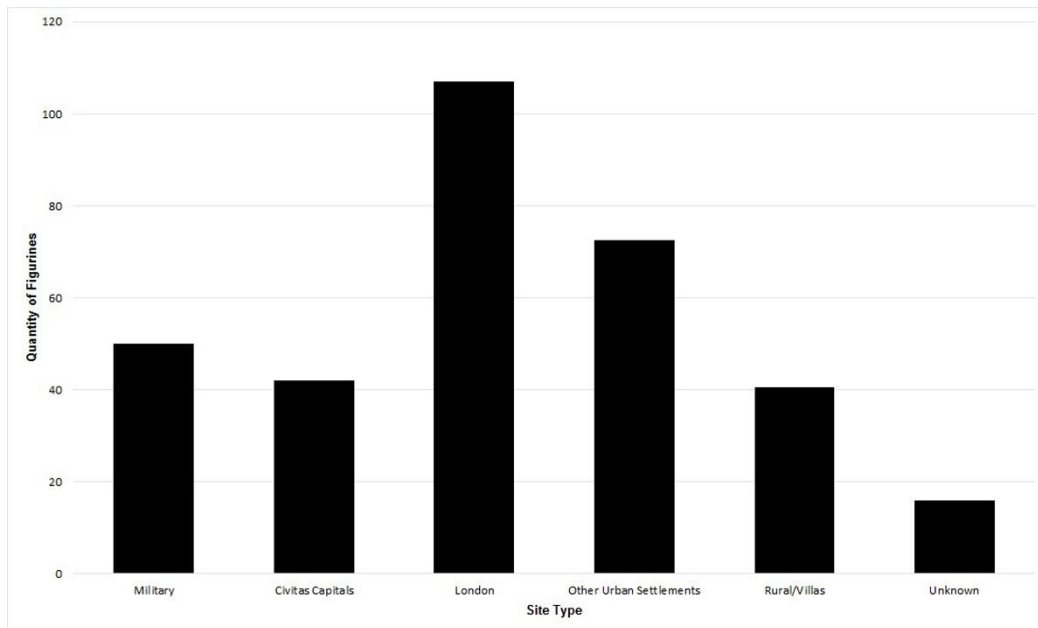
Figure A.8.2 illustrates that Venus figurines are widely distributed across Britain but with a dense distribution in the south-east – especially in London (107 finds) where they likely arrived from Gaul and were redistributed to the rest of Britain. Across the rest of the country they are found on a variety of different site types indicating a widespread use across the social strata (Figs. A.8.3-4). A significant proportion of Venus figurines come from military sites (forts) on the south coast (e.g. Caerleon (Monmouthshire) and Reculver and Richborough (Kent)), but the densest grouping of military sites is along the northern frontier at Birdoswald, Chesters, Corbridge, Housesteads and Wallsend, while the northernmost find is a Type 2 figurine from the fort *vicus* at Mumrills, (Scotland). Significantly however, the vast majority of these are probably more closely linked with civilians rather than soldiers given that most actually come from associated fort *vici* rather than military structures (e.g. Benwell, Caerleon, Stirling and Vindolanda; Venus figurines from barrack blocks at Birdoswald and Housesteads are two of the exceptions).

Across most of the country Venus figurines were overwhelmingly used by urban populations. Most of these are from Civitas Capitals like Silchester (10) and Canterbury (six) and large urban centres including St. Albans (seven), Colchester (six), York (six) and, especially, London (107). Differences in recording and publication levels to some extent account for the large number of finds from these sites compared to others like Dorchester where only one figurine is recorded. The urban population may be even larger given that many of the ‘military’ sites are actually from *vici* with their primarily civilian populations. Much like the civilian *vici* populations, this was a group that could have included both men, women and children.

A smaller number from rural and villa sites show that Venus figurines were also being used by some people in the countryside. As well as those from Hawkedon (Suffolk), Mucking (Essex) and Nor’nour (Isles of Scilly), this group also includes single finds from a number of southern villas including Fishbourne (Sussex), Gestingthorpe (Essex) and Wilcote (Oxfordshire), with two figurines specifically associated with villa structures from Gorhambury (Hertfordshire) and Chiddingfold (Surrey). Finds from other rural locations include one from a temple complex at Heybridge, Essex, and 73 fragments of Venus from the site of Ruxox Farm (Bedfordshire). It is still unclear if Ruxox Farm was the site of a temple or villa but there was a small Roman settlement nearby.<sup>xxxviii</sup> This unusually large collection is the largest from a Romano-British



*Fig. A.8. 2. The spatial distribution of Venus figurine in Britain.*

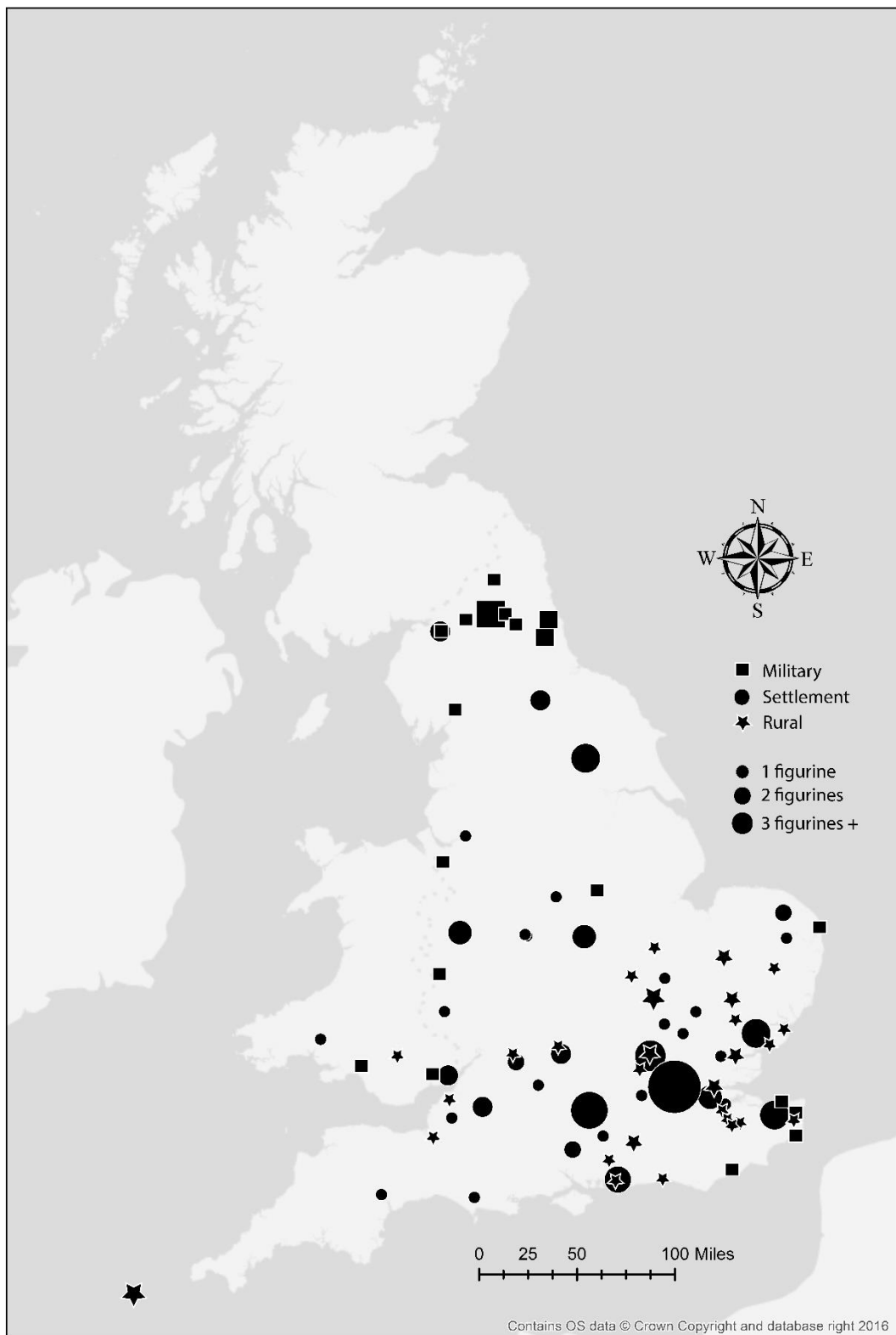


*Fig. A.8. 3. The social distribution of Venus figurines in Britain.*

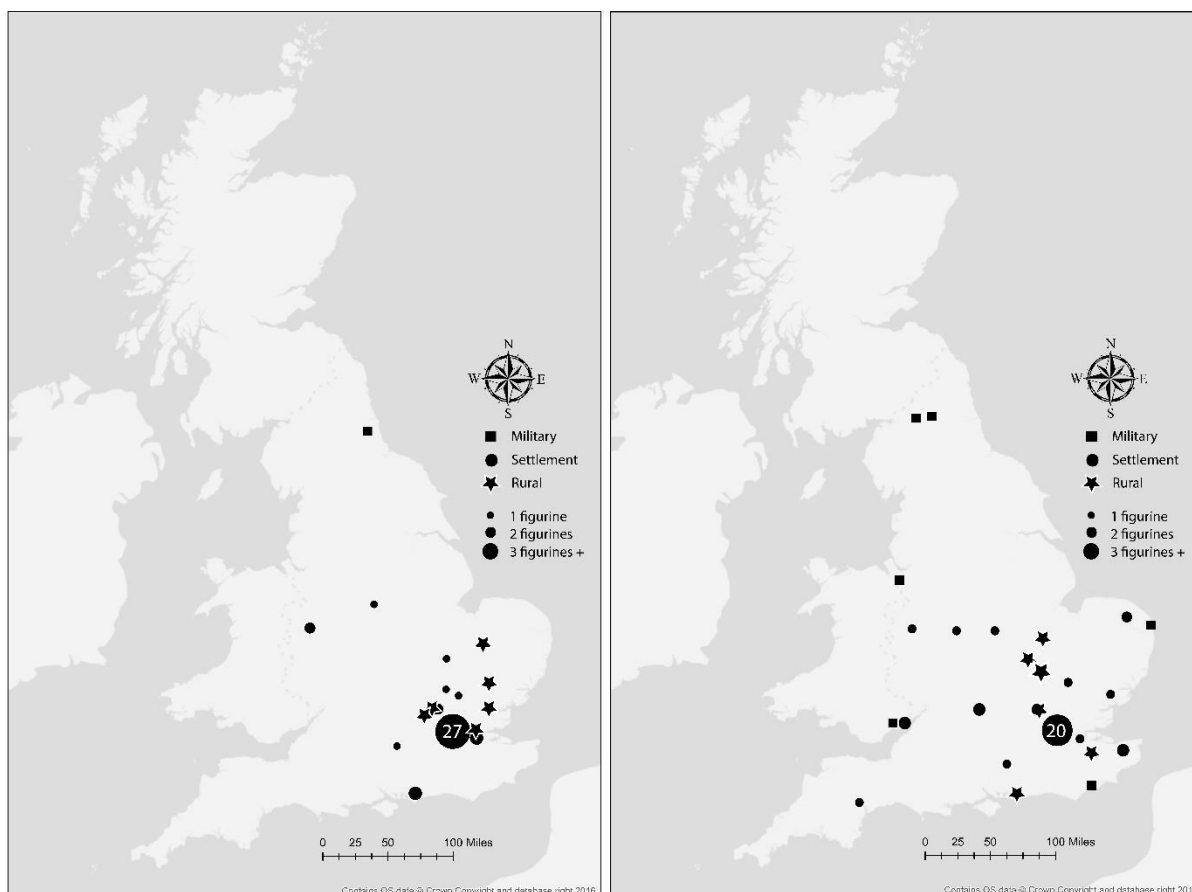
rural site and skews the overall ‘rural/villa’ data. Removing it provides a much more representative picture of Venus figurine consumption on these sites but she was still clearly a popular goddess for the countryside population where again both men and women could have been using them.

Although both datasets from the first/second century and third/fourth centuries are small and the number of residual finds increases over time, Figure A.8.5 shows that most first and second century finds are located in the south-east on urban sites, with few from military, rural and villa sites. In the third and fourth centuries finds from military sites are better represented but most are still associated with civilian activity. Meanwhile, finds are now widely distributed across southern Britain, but many are actually from contexts spanning the second and third centuries. Contrastingly, use by rural populations remained confined to the south-east throughout but this could be underrepresented due to the general lack of well dated rural sites in Britain overall.





*Fig. A.8. 4. The social distribution of Venus figurines on military, settlement and rural sites.*



*Fig. A.8. 5. The social distribution of Venus figurines on different site types (military, settlements and rural) through time.*

Contextual evidence can tell us much more about use of Venus figurines in private or domestic settings in Britain even if their exact symbolic meaning is not clear. The vast majority of finds from military, urban and rural sites are from what can be broadly defined as occupation deposits (e.g. pits, ditches, dumps, floor levels, drains or general occupation layers), many of which were near to military (barrack blocks and ramparts) or civilian (e.g. houses/workshops) buildings. Most of these deposits are generally interpreted as refuse but some were probably used in nearby domestic shrines. Indeed, a small number of finds from particularly urban sites were found with groups of objects that generally reflect domestic assemblages. Others figurines are from deposits that might reflect ritual activity, like wells and associated fills at Brampton (Norfolk), Dorchester (Dorset), Mucking (Essex), South Leigh (Oxfordshire), Wickford (Essex) and South Shields (Tyne and Wear), as well as possibly the Walbrook in London for example, but in most cases these are probably nothing more than discarded refuse.<sup>xxxix</sup> This is emphasised by the fact that most of the figurines from military and urban sites are body-part fragments that are broken in multiple places (e.g. the neck, waist, knees and/or the ankles)

when experimental work breaking replica Venus figurines has shown that removal of only the heads was most likely a deliberate and possibly ritual practice.<sup>xl</sup>

The figurines from religious contexts like temples and graves not only tell us about the ritual and funerary role of Venus figurines but also give us a better insight into their possible meaning. Those from temples (Fig. A.8.6) are only partially useful for this given that they were only occasionally used for this kind of public worship. Indeed, out of these 21 finds, only five are definitely from temple sites, while 16 come from possible temple contexts. Their recovery from mainly small urban towns (six) and rural sites (12) in the south-east suggests that this was either carried out by these populations or - more likely - that people specifically travelled to these remoter locations to do so. It is not clear who was worshipped at many of these sites (bronze figurines from Heybridge suggest a mix of gods were venerated including Mercury (goat and cockerel figurines), Venus (two bronze heads of the goddess) and hunting deities like Diana or Silvanus (a silver boar and bronze stag)),<sup>xli</sup> but some, such as Baldock, Roxton and Springhead, are closely associated with natural springs and rivers. The latter group may also include the 73 Venus fragments from Ruxox Farm (Bedfordshire) that might be from the site of an ancient river<sup>xlii</sup>. The other three figurines from known temples on military and urban sites are the two from the civilian *vici* at Corbridge (Cumbria) and Richborough (Kent), and a fragment of Venus from a 'rubbish pit' overlaying a timber drain near the south-west corner of London's Mithraeum that is not directly associated with the temple but does broadly correspond to its use from AD 240.<sup>xliii</sup>

The only evidence of direct ritual activity involving Venus figurines comes in the form of a Type 3 figurine at Springhead (Kent) that was found on the first to second century Cella floor of Temple 1<sup>xliv</sup> and a Type 1 figurine from a mid-second century pit located outside of the temple entrance at Heybridge's (Essex).<sup>xlv</sup> Other figurines from Springhead (those in pipeclay include three Dea Nutrix and one horse leg; metal, a bronze dog and bronze bust – possibly of Minerva or Cybele; and a bone figurine possibly of Genius Cucullatus)<sup>xlvi</sup> and Heybridge (see above) indicate that many different gods were worshipped at these two sites, while a number of other objects classed as personal items from each site were probably offerings.<sup>xlvii</sup> All of the other Venus figurines from elsewhere are actually from deposits close to temples or possible



*Fig. A.8. 6. Venus figurines from temple and possible temple sites in Britain,*

structures rather than within structures but it is often difficult to tell how they were used on these sites. Those most likely to be ritual in nature include three other Venus figurines within the vicinity of Springhead's temple complex: an unknown type near Temple VII and less likely, a Type 1/2 figurine from a temple ditch near an oven building, and a Type 2 figurine from a second century 'temple ditch fill' close to a nearby building,<sup>xlviii</sup> six fragments (three of which join together) from Nor'nour (Isles of Scilly) with three Dea Nutrix fragments from an occupation layer inside a small structure that was either a shrine or house,<sup>xlix</sup> two Type 1/2 figurines from the possible temple site at Hawkedon (Suffolk), a Type 2 Venus figurine from a late first to early second century pit close to a possible shrine at Baldock (Hertfordshire),<sup>1</sup> and four Type 1/2 figurines from second to third century pits and ditches in field enclosures at Roxton in Bedfordshire (three)<sup>li</sup> and Shenstone in Staffordshire (one).<sup>lii</sup>

The 11 Venus figurines from funerary contexts are the best indication of their meaning and significance. Like temples, these are mainly located in the south-east (Fig. A.8.7) with northerly outliers in Brougham and Carlisle (Cumbria); most are associated with urban populations on large and small urban sites (seven figurines) rather than small rural settlements (four). Unfortunately five of these figurines are either residual finds or from poorly recorded or undated deposits in cemeteries that tell us little more about exactly how they were used here (i.e. a Type 2 Venus at Kenchester (Herefordshire),<sup>liii</sup> two Type 1/2 figurines from Hawkedon (Suffolk),<sup>liv</sup> an unknown type from Carlisle (Cumbria),<sup>lv</sup> and two Type 1/2 Venuses from London: one at Clare Street and other from the residual fill of inhumation burial B156 at Tower Hamlets.<sup>lvi</sup> There are, however, four figurines from dated cremation and inhumation burials that broadly highlight the continuity of Venus figurine use in changing Romano-British burial practices. The first, and earliest find, is a Type 2 Venus from a Hadrianic-Antonine cremation burial in St. Albans (Hertfordshire).<sup>lvii</sup> The other three were found together in an *in situ* mid-third to mid-fourth century child inhumation (B392) in London's eastern cemetery at Tower Hamlets.<sup>lviii</sup> This burial is discussed in more detail below.

Graveside rituals are possibly evidence by the rare Type 5 Venus from Brougham (Cumbria). This figurine was burnt all over and, found with a collection of other personal objects including a gold chain and two glass beads, might have been burnt on a pyre before being deposited as



*Fig. A.8. 7. The distribution of burials with pipeclay Venus figurines in Britain.*

a possible cremation burial in the third or fourth century.<sup>lix</sup> A small number of other pipeclay figurines displaying evidence of burning are known from Romano-British cemeteries but the evidence is overall very scarce. This includes the Venus fragment from burial B156 as well as the rare but residual depiction of Juno with soot on its back from the same cemetery,<sup>lx</sup> but it is unclear as to when or why this took place.

An important aspect of the figurines from burial B392 in London – as well as a number of other Romano-British pipeclay figurine graves - is the links they have with children, their life-course and, in particular, the close association they have with sick children. For example, burial B392 itself consisted of the remains of a young child (approximately six-years-old upon dental evidence) whose otherwise stunted skeletal growth (rickets) suggests that they suffered a significant amount of nutritional and environmental stress.<sup>lxi</sup> It is, of course, difficult to know why the three Venus figurines were put in the grave with the child, but a couple of ideas can be put forward based on their position in the grave and good state of preservation. Crummy<sup>lxii</sup>, for instance, argues that the position of such ‘mother-goddess’ figurines – as well as other ‘amuletic’ objects - around the head and body of children in Romano-British graves was an important way of protecting them in the afterlife. The fact that the three figurines from burial B392, which were by now as much as 200 years old, are intact with little evidence of wear also suggests that they were important objects that may have been curated – possibly even as heirlooms – before they were deposited in this way.

A number of other pipeclay figurine child graves with whole and relatively well preserved figurines prominently positioned around deceased, occasionally sick, children support this protective idea. Early pipeclay graves include the Claudian-Neronian cremation burial in Colchester (Essex) where 13 pipeclay figurines (of ten comic figures, one Hercules, one child bust and a bull) and ten unguent animal vessels were could represent the deceased’s family unit and numerous sacrificial animals that guard the child in the afterlife.<sup>lxiii</sup> At Arrington (Cambridgeshire), a mid-second century grave, figurines including a mother-goddess, a bald-headed infant, long-haired child, one seated and one cloaked figure, two rams and a bull or ox were placed inside a wooden box on top of a wooden lead-lined coffin, inside of which were the remains of a child with hydrocephalus (water-on-the-brain).<sup>lxiv</sup> A mid-second century grave in Godmanchester (Cambridgeshire) meanwhile includes figurines of a horse and a bull found

either side of a child cremation also appear to be figures of scared animals that were possibly put in the grave as ‘sacrifices’ to protect the dead infant.<sup>lxv</sup> In addition, a fourth century inhumation burial from Baldock (Hertfordshire)<sup>lxvi</sup> contained a complete Dea Nutrix figurine and a wooden box prominently positioned on the chest of the young child.

## **A Question of Status? Pipeclay vs. Metal Venus Figurines in Britain**

Having examined in detail the pipeclay figurines of Venus from Britain it is useful to compare these to metal representations of Venus to highlight any differences in the way the goddess was represented in these two materials, and any variances in how, when and where they were used. To do this the metal figurine data from Britain collected by Durham has been used in which she helpfully records all of the typological and social distributional traits of 30 Venus figurines from the province from museum collections and published sources up to 2010.<sup>lxvii</sup> As well as the possibility that additional finds may have been found in the intermediary period since the study was carried out, making direct comparisons with this collection is complicated by the fact that metal figurines are much more likely to have survived than those of pipeclay. The value placed on metal object by antiquarians as well as modern excavators also means that metal figurines are more likely to have been published. Nevertheless, there are some interesting patterns.

One of the most common ideas put forward about pipeclay figurines is that they are cheaper, more widely available objects that are associated with people of a lower social status compared with their rarer, ‘more luxurious’ metal counterparts.<sup>lxviii</sup> However, new research carried out as part of my PhD shows that both are actually rare objects in Britain (956 pipeclay and 996 metal) and that they probably had subtly different meanings and were used by different people for different purposes. This is firstly suggested by the different depictions that we see in each material. In terms of deities specifically, the fact that pipeclay figurines are overwhelmingly of goddess may well indicate female worshippers while metal figurines mainly depicting gods suggests worship by males (Fig. A.8.8). Secondly, we may note the slightly different distributions of metal and pipeclay figurines on urban, rural and religious sites across the province, particularly at temples where the 103 metal and 48 pipeclay figurines are very rarely



found on the same site, and in funerary contexts where the five metal figurines contrasts to the 62 in pipeclay, including the eleven of Venus discussed above. Venus is the most popular goddess in both materials with pipeclay (401 figurines) more popular than metal (21) overall, but the important question here is if comparing their distributions and contexts shows any differences in their use and meaning?

The social distribution of metal figurines (Figs. A.8.9-10) - mostly from southern Britain - shows that they have a similar but slightly different social profile to pipeclay figurines. Like pipeclay figurines, those of metal are mainly distributed in urban settlements, but most of the nine metal figurines from *Civitas Capitales*, one is from Caerwent (Monmouthshire), three from St Albans (Hertfordshire), three from Wroxeter (Shropshire) and two from Silchester (Hampshire), while finds from Colonia include four from Colchester (Essex) and one in these are from *Civitas Capitales* rather than other large urban settlements like London. Out of York.<sup>lxix</sup> Pipeclay figurines have been found on many of these sites a well. Surprisingly however, only three metal Venus figurines are from London<sup>lxx</sup> compared with the 107 of pipeclay from the site. To some extent this difference in numbers probably reflects London's position as the main

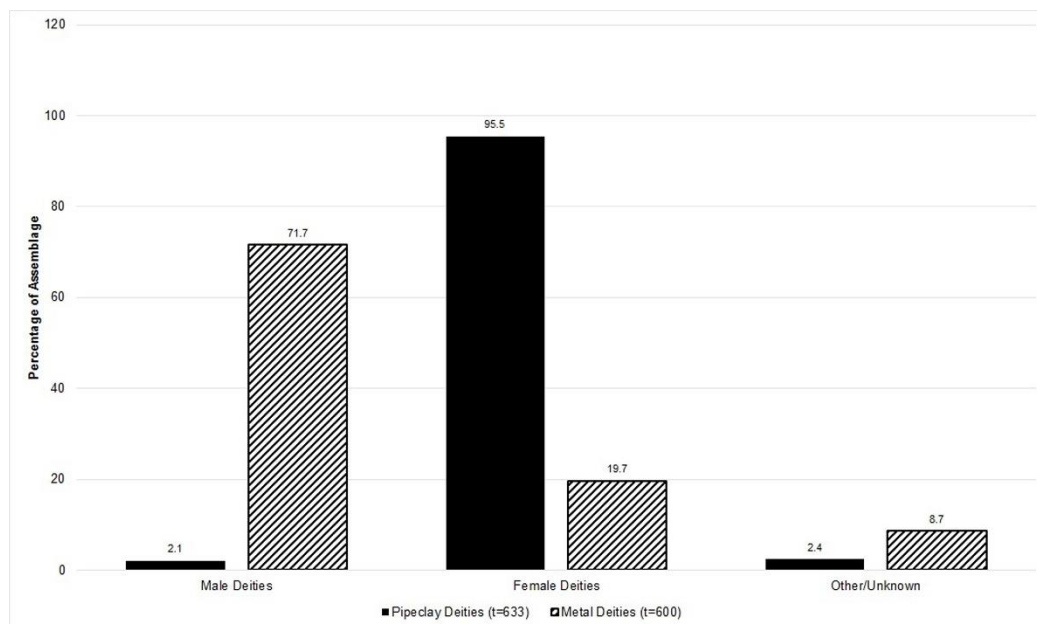


Fig. A.8. 8. Proportion of male gods and female goddesses in the metal and pipeclay groups.



*Fig. A.8. 9. The distribution of metal figurines of Venus on military, settlements and rural sites in Britain.*

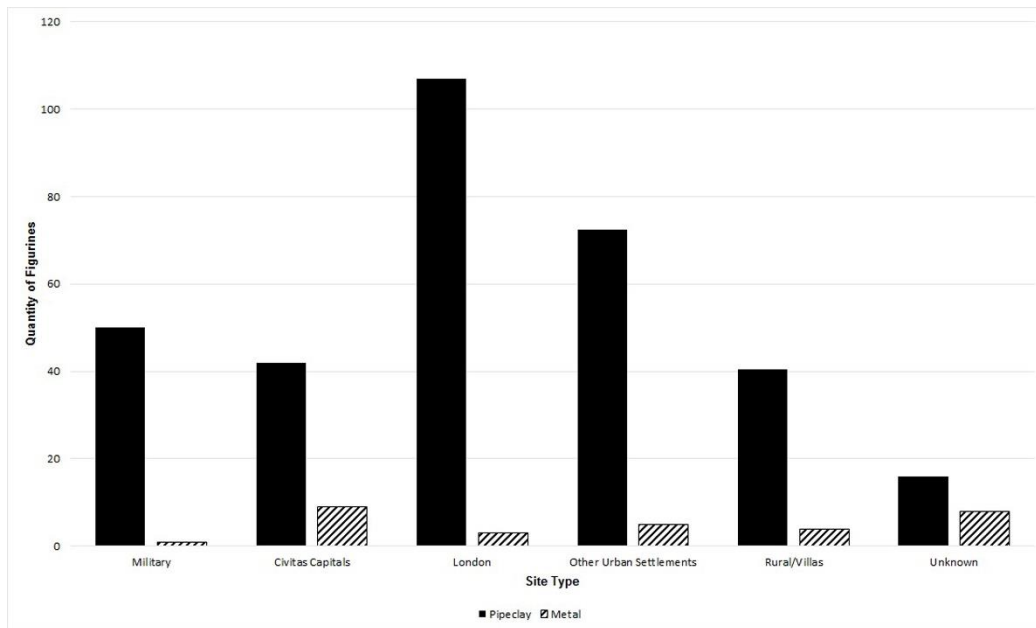


Fig. A.8. 10. The social distributions of pipeclay and metal Venus figurines in Britain.

point of importation for pipeclay figurines from Gaul and the fact that some metal Venus figurines might have been made in Britain. However, their main distribution in *Civitas Capitals* could mean that they were being used by a specific social group of people – one possibility being by those of a higher social status. Elsewhere, metal figurines are not as closely linked with military and rural populations as pipeclay figurines, with only one metal Venus figurine from a possible military site in Colchester (Essex) and another from a villa (Compton Grove, Gloucestershire)<sup>lxxi</sup> where what are mainly common pipeclay types may also generally reflect the lower social status of people who mainly lived in these areas who probably owned them.

In terms of detailed context information, only four metal Venus figurines come with useful details. All are from habitation deposits that suggest mixed civilian activity and seem to have been used in broadly similar ways in urban settings, with the first, and earliest, metal figurine coming from the Antonine bathhouse at St. Albans (Hertfordshire)<sup>lxxii</sup>, the second from the Macellum portico in Wroxeter (Shropshire)<sup>lxxiii</sup> – possibly suggesting trade – and the third, also from St. Albans, from a fourth century pit associated with a nearby building might have been used in a domestic shrine at some point.<sup>lxxiv</sup> The fourth find is from a fourth century layer at rural Bokerley Dyke (Dorset) that may have seen some kind of military, but probably more-so civilian, activity.

On the other hand, metal figurines of Venus - as well as all other types from Britain - were used much less than pipeclay depictions for religious purposes: the one metal Venus figurine from a temple site is a residual find from Woodeaton (Oxfordshire).<sup>lxxv</sup> The only exceptions here are the figurines from hoards where only metal figurines (five) are found. Again, this probably generally reflects the greater value of metal rather than ceramic objects, but it could also mean that perhaps pipeclay figurines were being used by people of only a slightly higher social status than the bulk of the population. It is hard to know why pipeclay depictions of Venus in particular were preferred in these circumstances but I would suggest the possibility that in ceramic the goddess symbolised the delicate nature of – especially young – life that needed protection, and in metal was a symbol of social strength and power for the small number of people who owned them, mainly in large urban centres.

The overall impression therefore is that pipeclay Venus figurines were used by a broader social mix of people in Britain while metal figurines were mainly used by people living in large urbanised *Civitas Capitals*. Contextual analysis shows that both were used similarly in urban settings yet slightly differently for religious purposes.

This is not to say that all pipeclay figurines should be regarded as ‘low-status’ items, especially when many pipeclay figurines from burials have actually been found with relatively opulent grave good assemblages that are not just indicative of high status people, but also foreigners. For example, the remains of the child in burial B392 in London were found inside a wooden lead-lined coffin with an elaborate decoration made of sea-shells. Outside of this structure alongside the three Venus figurines from Gaul were found a glass dish, a miniature glass bowl, two glass bottles, a pair of gold earrings, a bone pyxis, a gold coin and an ivory figurine.<sup>lxxvi</sup> Other non-Venus high status pipeclay figurine burials in Britain include the Colchester child’s grave with its large assemblage including a samian plate, a Gaulish lead-glazed cup, three flagons, the ‘feeding bottle’, a Lyon ware cup, two coarse ware cups, a clay lamp, two or three glass vessels, one bronze patera, 36 coins and c.600 fragments from an ornate funerary couch<sup>lxxvii</sup>; and a mid-late second century cremation burial in Brighton (Sussex) containing a similar selection of pottery and glass vessels, a bronze brooch and box fittings, an iron oil-lamp holder and various iron implements and vessels.<sup>lxxviii</sup> Later Romano-British inhumation graves – but excluding London - are less opulent and exotic but still appear to be high status in

composition. For example, the inhumation burial at Arrington (Cambridgeshire) is generally considered as exotic for Cambridgeshire containing a range of pipeclay figurines from Gaul and the Rhine-Moselle, a wooden lead-lined coffin, fabrics, and residue of an expensive exotic aromatic resin - possibly incense;<sup>lxxix</sup> while at Baldock (Hertfordshire), although the grave assemblage only consists of three small wooden caskets, hobnails and a pair of leather shoes, it was the only one of 1,800 graves in the cemetery to include a pipeclay figurine and was surrounded by a wooden structure that may have publically displayed the body before it was placed in the grave.<sup>lxxx</sup>

If we assume that they travelled to Britain as personal possessions rather than through bulk trade, foreigners may also be indicated by the rare pipeclay Venus types in Britain, especially when we compare the distribution of these to that of the rarer metal Venus figurines (Fig. A.8.11). Both are mainly found in large urban centres, for example Caerwent, London, Wroxeter and York. However, the fact that more metal figurines are from *Civitas Capitals* while some of the rarer pipeclay types are from small towns and rural sites does suggest that metal figurines were still more closely linked with a higher status population overall. Having said that, the concentration of some rare pipeclay types in London itself does further support the idea that this was a place full of people with much closer cultural and economic links with Gaul than other parts of the country – something that is now well acknowledged about the settlement.<sup>lxxxi</sup> These kinds of cultural links are also reflected in some pipeclay figurine graves at other large urban centres (notably Colchester) that contained primarily Gaulish grave goods. Other burials reflect more complex cultural interactions. Cool<sup>lxxxii</sup> for example, notes that while the rare Type 5 figurine from Brougham was probably produced in Cologne, the character of the grave goods and activity in the cemetery is actually more reflective of Pannonian culture. Specifically, she makes the important observation that putting pipeclay figurines on pyres was not a regular Romano-British practice but one that occurred much more often in provinces like Raetia.



*Fig. A.8. 11. The distribution of rare pipeclay Venus types in Britain.*

## Conclusion

This paper shows that an analysis of typology and context can shed light on the nature of religious practice and hint at both gendered and provincial beliefs. Although popular in Classical contexts as the goddess of love and sex, the occurrence and meaning of classicising Venus imagery is relatively rare in Roman Britain where she most commonly occurs in the form of pipeclay figurines. However, these are more Gaulish and provincial in style than the few metal figurines of Venus from the province, and therefore probably reflect Gaulish - or native - ideas and religious beliefs in Roman Britain.

Analysis of their chronology, social distribution and contexts has shown that Venus figurines were mainly used by civilians - but not necessarily exclusively by women - and only occasionally military and rural populations in mainly habitation settings throughout the Roman period, with their involvement in religious practices becoming more prevalent during the third and fourth centuries when they began to be used as protective funerary symbols for (sometimes sick) children – possibly as heirlooms. The limited social distribution of metal Venus figurines on primarily *Civitas Capitals* compared to the wider distribution of ceramic figurines overall also probably means that pipeclay figurines were generally lower status objects. However, their occasional inclusion in high status child burials and the occurrence of rare types that most likely came to Britain as personal possessions may hint at the presence of foreigners, possibly from Gaul.

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<sup>i</sup> Havelock 1995, 103-11.

<sup>ii</sup> Beard *et al.* 1998, 144-5; Orlin 2007, 67-9.

<sup>iii</sup> Lloyd-Morgan 1986.

<sup>iv</sup> Brain 2016.

<sup>v</sup> E.g. see Lloyd-Morgan 1986, 185, figs. 18-9 for the Low Ham (Somerset) mosaic, and Durham 2012, 3.31; for metal Venus figurines in Britain, including one from Southbroom (Durham 2014, 216).

<sup>vi</sup> Durham 2012, ID 132.

<sup>vii</sup> Durham 2012, ID 136 (Colchester) and ID 144 (Southwark).

<sup>viii</sup> 1958.

<sup>ix</sup> Jenkins 1958, 70; Boekel 1987, 238; Bristow 2012, 16.

<sup>x</sup> 1997, 332-4; 2001, 220-1.

<sup>xi</sup> E.g. Green 1986, 94-5.

<sup>xii</sup> Ferris 2012, 60-76, 121.

<sup>xiii</sup> Jenkins 1958, 1977.

<sup>xiv</sup> See Boekel (1987, 203-16) for the wider growth and decline of the Gaulish and Rhine-Moselle industries.

<sup>xv</sup> Detailed accounts of pipeclay figurine production are given by Higgins 1976 and especially Boekel (1987, 216-31) who considers the regional variation of figurine types in greater detail.

<sup>xvi</sup> Boekel 1987, 226-7.

<sup>xvii</sup> E.g. Rouvier-Jeanlin 1972, 91-120; Gonzenbach 1995, 101-13.

<sup>xviii</sup> Boekel 1987, 499; Beenhouwer 2005, 426-83.

<sup>xix</sup> E.g. Boekel 1987, 514-23; Beenhouwer 2005, 490-500.

<sup>xx</sup> Beenhouwer 2005, 508-10.

<sup>xxi</sup> Cool 2004, 122, no. 11, fig. 4.95.

<sup>xxii</sup> Beenhouwer 2005, 506.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Boekel 1987, 547-8; Beenhouwer 2005, 511-2.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Jenkins 1969, 318-9.

<sup>xxv</sup> Beenhouwer 2005, 521, Cat. Nr. 5069.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Beenhouwer 2005, 487-490, Cat. Nrs. 3300-01, citing Vertet and Vuillemot 1973, 23, pl. 3a-b.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Down 1989, 213, no. 3, fig. 27.15 (Chichester) and M. Marshall (MoLA) pers. comm (London).

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- xxviii Carter 1998, 101-2, fig. 66.  
xxix Atkinson and Preston 2015, 2.4 and 3.7.  
xxx Jenkins 1958, 73, no. 52; 1977, 329, no. 4.  
xxxi Jenkins 1977, 342, no. 38.  
xxxii Cool 2004, 122, no. 11, fig. 4.95.  
xxxiii Evans 2000, 301, no. 7, fig. 72.7.  
xxxiv Evan Chapman (National Museum of Wales) pers. comm.  
xxxv Eckardt 2002, 2005, 2008.  
xxxvi Smith *et al.* 2016.  
xxxvii Eckardt 2002, 29-30; 2008, 96.  
xxxviii Simco 1984, 31-2, 111; Dawson 2004, 18-31.  
xxxix Wardle 2011, 347; *cf.* Merrifield 1995, 38, and Crummy with Pohl 2008.  
xl Fittock (in prep)  
xli Henig 2015.  
xlii Fadden 2010; Dawson 2004, 17.  
xliiii Shepherd 1998, 221-2; Wardle 1998, 111, 178; Fittock 2015, 122.  
xliv Penn 1959, 55-6.  
xlv Atkinson and Preston 2015, 2.4, fig. 81, Group 409.  
xlvi Jarrett 2008, 264-70.  
xlvii Jarrett 2008, 225-7; Atkinson and Preston 2015, Group 409.  
xlviii See Jarrett 2008, 70-8, 264-9 for all the pipeclay figurines from Springhead as part of his wider reappraisal and interpretation of all of the finds from the site published by W. S. Penn and others from 1957 to 1984.  
xlix Fulford 1989, Butcher 2000-1.  
l Stead and Rigby 1986, 168, no. 688, fig. 73  
li Taylor and Woodward 1983, 20, nos. 1-3, fig. 4.  
lii Burnham *et al.* 2002, 309.  
liii Jack and Hayter 1926, pl. 35; Jenkins 1977, 328, no. 1.  
liv Franks 1888, 10-2; Jenkins 1977, 353, nos. 1-2.  
lv Haverfield 1900, 504, pl. 1; Jenkins 1977, 322, no. 2.  
lvi Wardle *et al.* 2000, 262-3.  
lvii Jenkins 1977, 329, no. 4.  
lviii Wardle *et al.* 2000, 188-9, 263.  
lix Cool 2004, 122, no. 11, fig. 4.95.  
lx Wardle *et al.* 2000, 263; Fittock 2015, 115-6, fig. 4d.  
lxi Conheaney 2000, 286.  
lxii 2010.  
lxiii Eckardt 1999, 60-8.  
lxiv Taylor 1993, 194, 202.  
lxv Taylor 1997, especially pp. 390-1.  
lxvi Burleigh *et al.* 2006.  
lxvii For a published version of Durham's 2010 PhD thesis see Durham 2012, 3.31 for Venus figurines.  
lxviii Jenkins 1977, 418; Boekel 1987, 902.  
lxix Durham 2012. Civitas Capitals: ID 1181 (Caerwent), IDs 132-4 (St Albans), IDs 686, 397, 400 (Wroxeter), ID 338 (Silchester). Colonia IDs 136, 138-140 (Colchester), ID 305 York.  
lxx Durham 2012, IDs 131, 144, 339.  
lxxi Durham 2012. Military: ID 137 (Colchester). Villa: ID 618 (Compton Grove).  
lxxii Durham 2012, ID 133.  
lxxiii Durham 2012, ID 686.  
lxxiv Durham 2012, ID 132.  
lxxv Durham 2012, ID 141.  
lxxvi Wardle *et al.* 2000, 188-9.  
lxxvii Eckardt 1999, 68-78.  
lxxviii Kelly and Dudley 1981, 83, pls. 1A-B, fig. 9.  
lxxix Taylor 1993, 203-5, 207-8.  
lxxx Burleigh *et al.* 2006, 278-82, fig. 8.  
lxxxi E.g Perring 1991, 49-56.  
lxxxii 2004, 464.

## **Appendix 9.**

### **Digital Database of Finds**

The appendix on this CD contains the full database of recorded pipeclay objects found in Roman Britain. It includes finds from published sources (monographs and journals) as well as unpublished sources, such as collections from museums and archaeological units. Arranged in the left-hand side navigation bar are a series of pre-set queries that allow the user to search by various criteria. These include Object Forms (figurines, busts, shins, animal vessels, masks); Depictions (deities, animals, birds, humans); Deity Types (e.g. Venus, Dea Nutrix); Animal and Bird Types (e.g. dogs, hens); Human Types (e.g. *Risus* busts, Cloaked Figure); Finds from Habitation Contexts; Finds from Temples and Burials; Products of Gaul and the Rhine-Moselle region; and, finally, the complete database in the form of a record sheet and a table.