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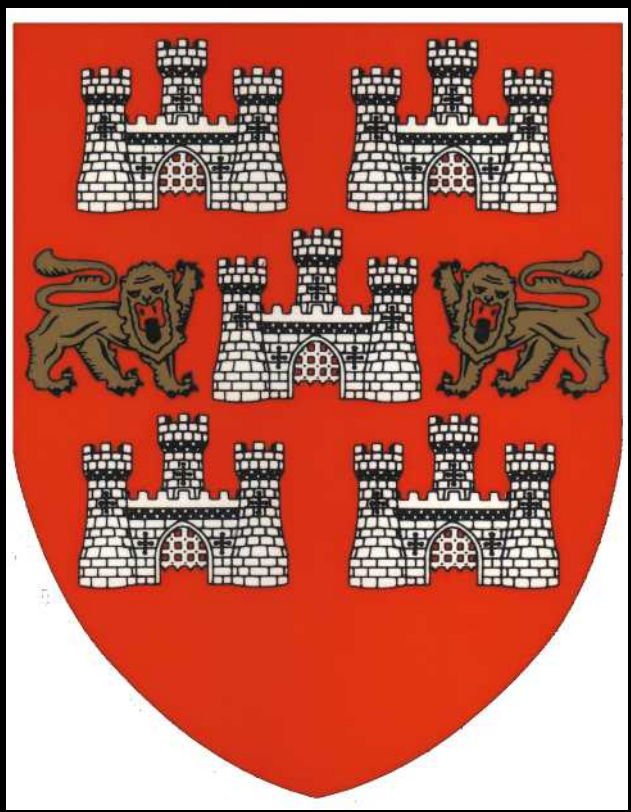
PRE-ROMAN AND ROMAN WINCHESTER

The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills



GILES CLARKE

WINCHESTER STUDIES · 3

PRE-ROMAN AND ROMAN WINCHESTER

PART II

THE ROMAN CEMETERY AT LANKHILLS

GILES CLARKE

With contributions by
J. L. MACDONALD
and others

Editorial contributions by Martin Biddle
Illustrations by the Winchester Research Unit

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

It is a particularly happy circumstance that this, the second volume of Winchester Studies to appear in print, should be the result of a long-standing collaboration between the Winchester Schools Archaeological Committee and the Winchester Research Unit. The facts of this collaboration are detailed elsewhere (pp. 1–2), but I am glad to emphasise the great potential of schools archaeology when close contact is possible between the energies and enthusiasm of schools and a full-time professional unit in their area. In this particular case the work could not have been incorporated in the already heavy programme undertaken by the Winchester Excavations Committee, so that when the initiative to undertake the project came from Giles Clarke, then a pupil at Winchester College, the Excavations Committee was eager to support his idea. They have been happy to provide whatever assistance was needed through to publication and to welcome this volume in their series of Winchester Studies.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the Lankhills project in broad terms is its demonstration of the fundamental importance of cemetery archaeology to an understanding of Roman Winchester, and thus to our comprehension of Romano-British towns in general. Our knowledge of the fourth-century city, and particularly of its social structure and composition, has been illuminated by study of the Lankhills cemetery in ways which would not have been possible from an examination of the occupied areas alone. The archaeology of death has made a notable contribution to an understanding of the living community that was *Venta Belgarum*.

MARTIN BIDDLE

Winchester
23 September 1976

Much time has passed since we published our first *Winchester Studies* volume in 1976, and much too has changed in the world of book production. As a result of developments in digital technologies, academic publications now reach wider audiences via options to read online and print on demand. From the earliest days of the development of technology to enable online publication, we have been exploring options for digitising our volumes, while maintaining close attention to the quality of reproduction, especially of our large scale and complex illustrations. Those familiar with our volumes will know that many of these illustrations run across long fold-out sheets, not immediately amenable to digital reproduction. Yet the team at Archaeopress have handled complexities such as these (and many more) innovatively and with care, ensuring important facets like scale and pagination are maintained throughout each volume. It is only through the expertise, dedication, and enthusiasm of Archaeopress and their team that this attention to detail and accuracy in digital reproduction has been achieved, and for that we are very grateful.

Martin Biddle
8 November 2021

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

MANY individuals and institutions helped with the excavations at Lankhills and with the preparation of this book. I would like to thank them all and especially the Winchester Research Unit, where this book was put together, and the Director of the Unit, Mr. Martin Biddle, who edited the text and organised the illustrative material. It was at Mr. Biddle's initiative that Lankhills was incorporated into the Research Unit's programme; without this full publication of the site might well have been impossible. This book also owes a particular debt to Mr. Nick Griffiths who drew all the Lankhills finds, and to Professor Sheppard Frere who read and commented on the final typescript. And I would like to pay tribute to the generous support given throughout by Winchester College.

Most of those who helped are mentioned elsewhere, but a few who are not I must acknowledge here. Part II and Chapters 1 and 2 of Part IV constituted a doctoral thesis accepted by the University of London in November 1975. This thesis was written in the Institute of Archaeology in London under the supervision of Dr. Richard Reece. Many people kindly commented on individual chapters of the book, among them Dr. Reece, Mrs. S. C. Hawkes, Professor J. Mertens, and Dr. J. N. L. Myres.

The typing of the book was paid for with the assistance of a grant from the Marc Fitch Fund, additional to that signified opposite, and was undertaken by Mrs. Stefanie Boden, Mrs. Sioned Vos, Mrs. Sione Carden, Mrs. Carol Cookson, and Mrs. Stella Smythe. The tabular material was checked by Mr. David Critchley and the index was compiled by Miss Catharine Gale. Last, but by no means least, the book was seen through the press by Miss Eileen Power. To all of them I am grateful.

GILES CLARKE

Box House, Nr. Stroud, Glos.
23 September 1976

This volume may once again be purchased in hard copy, and perhaps more important, is available on-line free of charge. Such munificence would have seemed a very remote possibility when the volume was published in 1979 and I take this opportunity to express my appreciation to Archaeopress Publishing, the Winchester Excavations Committee and all those who have facilitated the continuing work of the Committee.

Much that can now be learnt from Lankhills would have seemed unimaginable in 1979 and important further excavations have taken place at the site since then. An appendix in Winchester Studies 3.i contains a brief reconsideration of this report in the light of these developments to date. But research never stands still and we can be confident that the next 40 years will permit insights to be obtained that are as difficult to predict now as some of today's insights were in 1979.

Giles Clarke
4 November 2021

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOLD numbers (e.g. **395**) designate significant Lankhills objects (cf. p. 12). These objects are listed in Concordance II (pp. 437–49).

Places are referred to as far as possible by their generally accepted names, with their administrative locations or country in brackets. British places are located by pre-1974 county, French places by *département*, West German sites by *Land*, and places elsewhere by country alone. The locations of English places mentioned in sections 1 and 2 of Part IV are shown on Fig. 104.

Other abbreviations used are as follows:

AA	*Archaeologia Aeliana*
Acta Arch Hung	*Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
Antiq J	*Antiquaries Journal*
Arch Cant	*Archaeologia Cantiana*
Arch J	*Archaeological Journal*
ASAN	*Annales de la société archéologique de Namur*
BM	British Museum
BM Guide	*Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* (The British Museum, London, 1922 and 1951)
BMNH	British Museum (Natural History)
BRGK	*Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CK	R. A. G. Carson, P. V. Hill, and J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*, part I (London, 1960)
Diss Arch Gand	Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses
Dorset II, 3	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An Inventory of Historical Monuments in the County of Dorset*, ii, *South-east*, Part 3 (London, 1970)
Eburacum	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York*, i, *Eburacum* (London, 1962)
Hants Chron	*Hampshire Chronicle*
HK	R. A. G. Carson, P. V. Hill, and J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*, Part II (London, 1960)
JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
JRGZM	*Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
London in Roman Times	*London Museum Catalogue:* 3. *London in Roman Times* (London, 1930)
Med Arch	*Medieval Archaeology*
NMR	The National Monuments Record (at Fortress House, Savile Row, London, W.1.)
Not. Dig. Occ.	*Notitia Dignitatum in partibus Occidentis* (*Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. Otto Seeck (Berlin, 1876), 103–225)
PCAS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*
PDNHAS	*Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*

PRIA	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*
Proc Hants FC	*Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*
PSAL	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*
PSANHS	*Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
RIC	H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Sutherland, and R. A. G. Carson (eds.), *Roman Imperial Coinage* (London)
ROB	*Berichten van de Rijksdienst vor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*
Roman London	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, iii, *Roman London* (London, 1928)
SxAC	*Sussex Archaeological Collections*
SyAC	*Surrey Archaeological Collections*
TBGAS	*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*
TBWAS	*Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society*
TCWAAS	*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*
TStAHAAS	*Transactions of the St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society*
VCH	*Victoria County History*
WAM	*Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*
Winchester Studies 3, i	Martin Biddle, *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester Studies 3, Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester, part i. Oxford, forthcoming)
YAJ	*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*

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INTRODUCTION

THIS book is about the excavation, interpretation, and analysis of 451 late Roman graves and their contents. The graves formed part of the northern cemetery of Roman Winchester, and lay in the grounds of Lankhills School (Fig. 1). Initially, the book was envisaged as a short factual account, but it was soon realised that it would have to be expanded and it has become, in effect, more of a case-study than an excavation report. There are two reasons for this. First, Lankhills has produced the largest datable collection of late Roman objects yet published from Britain. Second, study of the graves has raised important ethnic and religious issues, which not only need discussion in themselves, but which also require techniques of analysis to be devised and applied if the full potential of their study is to be achieved.

The four parts of the book are largely self-contained. Part I describes what was found, together with the necessary background. Interpretation is limited to explaining the internal characteristics of the individual graves and features, which are treated for the most part as isolated units. In Part II new techniques of analysis are described and applied. Interpretation here is concerned with the site as a whole, but no outside comparison is attempted. Part III presents objects found at Lankhills. They are considered by categories, in an order following that used in the analysis of the grave-furniture in Part II. Comparative material is fully discussed, and where a particular category warrants it, questions of where the objects were made and who used them are considered. Finally, Part IV is concerned with the wider issues. There are sections on the ethnic and religious issues and on Romano-British burial practice in general. The latter is included principally to indicate the degree to which Lankhills is or is not typical of late Romano-British cemeteries, and thus the degree to which future researchers can use it to generalise about Roman Britain.

The book does not include a full report on the human skeletons because the first part of Volume 9 of Winchester Studies is devoted entirely to physical anthropology. The Lankhills skeletal material will be included there, where it can be compared with the results derived from the study of later cemeteries in and around Winchester. Detailed work on the Lankhills skeletons is currently in progress and the implications of this work will be indicated and assessed in Winchester Studies 9.

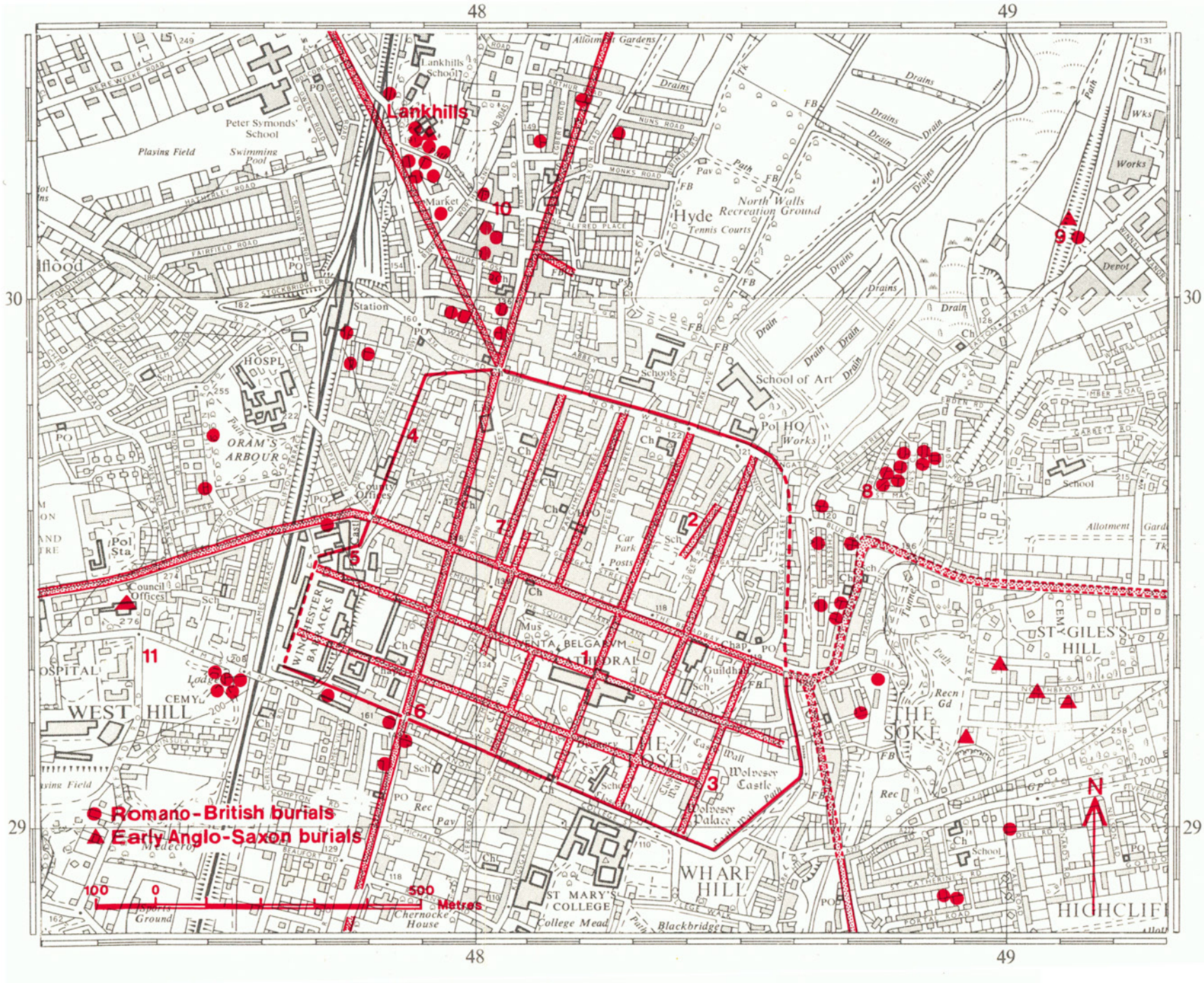

FIG. 1. *Venta Belgarum* and its cemeteries (1: 10,000).

Sites mentioned in the text, **1**, Cathedral Green; **2**, Brook Street; **3**, Wolvesey; **4**, Tower Street; **5**, Castle Yard; **6**, South Gate; **7**, St. George's Street; **8**, eastern cemetery; **9**, Winnall; **10**, northern cemetery; **11**, western- and south-western burial areas.

PART I

THE EXCAVATION

1

CIRCUMSTANCES OF EXCAVATION

THE excavation at Lankhills was prompted by the discovery during building work in 1961 of skeletal remains and fourth-century objects (Fig. 2, No. 2).[1] Trial trenches dug in May 1967 revealed closely spaced fourth-century burials, and indicated that the site was completely lacking in archaeological remains of other periods.[2] The excavation was accordingly mounted expressly as a cemetery excavation, and during the next five years the whole of the area available was explored (Fig. 3). In 1967–8, the west end of the site was cleared (Graves 1–102),[3] in 1969–70, the central area (Graves 103–92 and 222–76, Plate III),[4] and in 1971–2 the eastern portion (Graves 193–220 and 277–460, Plate II).[5] In all, 451 late Roman graves and seventeen contemporary features of other kinds were examined (Fig. 105).

That this could be done was due to the forbearance of Hampshire County Council, the owners of the land, who permitted and indeed encouraged the excavation at every stage. Lankhills is run by the County Council as a mixed special school, and the excavation was supported throughout by the headmaster, Mr. D. V. Teale, and his staff, who over the years provided a great deal of very welcome practical assistance. The extent of their tolerance can perhaps only be appreciated by those who saw the site while the excavation was in progress, for inevitably it represented a major eyesore in the school grounds. The site is now grassed over and used for recreation by the children at Lankhills.

The excavation was run as a schools project, digging taking place mainly at weekends. It was sponsored initially by Winchester College, and practically all the first digging was done by Wykehamists, but in 1968 they were joined by girls from the former Girls County

[1] Rescue-observations A-O: see below, pp. 7–9 and Fig. 3.

[2] On this, see further below, p. 4.

[3] Interim reports: Clarke 1968; 1969.

[4] Interim reports: Clarke 1970; 1972.

[5] Interim report (on both seasons): Clarke 1975*a*.

High School. In 1969 the project was expanded to include fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-formers from the rest of the secondary schools then existing in Winchester—Peter Symonds School, Montgomery of Alamein School, Danemark School, and St. Swithun's School. In 1971 sponsorship of the excavation passed to the newly formed Winchester Schools Archaeological Committee, which included professional archaeologists and representatives from Hampshire County Council, Winchester Corporation, and the participating secondary schools.

Because it was a schools excavation, Lankhills was a cheap project by modern standards. The funds required were principally provided by Winchester College and Hampshire County Council, through its County Museums Service. Further contributions came from the other schools participating, The British Academy, The Society of Antiquaries, The Haverfield Bequest, and Winchester Corporation. Particularly valuable donations were received from the one-time Warden of Winchester College, the late A. W. Tuke. Contributions in kind included tools from Winchester Corporation and more specialised equipment from the Winchester Research Unit. The latter also arranged most of the photography, as well as providing for the conservation and storage of the finds by the Unit's conservator, Mrs. Suzanne Keene. Winchester City Museums helped out in several emergencies and arranged a public exhibition. W. R. Selwood Ltd. undertook all the mechanical excavation, showing a remarkable awareness of the limitations of an archaeological budget.

Behind the scenes, many individuals gave advice and practical assistance, among them Mr. Richard Bass, housemaster at Winchester College and Chairman of the Lankhills School Governors and latterly of the Winchester Schools Archaeological Committee, Mr. Martin Biddle, Director of Winchester Excavations and of the Winchester Research Unit, Sir Desmond Lee, formerly headmaster of Winchester College, and Mrs. Dilys Neate, Chairman of the Winchester Excavations Committee. Many people worked on site each year, between twenty-five and fifty being present most week-ends in 1971 and 1972. Among those particularly generous with their time were Adrian Baird and William Corbett (1967), Paddy Ward-Perkins and John Thomson (1967-8), Matthew Hill (1967–9), Susan Preston and Penny Duggan (1968–70), Sue Elcombe, Judy Lambert, Tessa Smerdon, Kirstie Smith, and Claudia Van de Laagemat (1970–2), and Steve Taverner, Jane Wadham, Sheenagh Best, George Davison, Penny Lucas, Rosemary Seager, and Hilary Walker (1971–2). The supervisors were Caroline Raison (1967), Suzanne Keene (1967), Bryan Ward-Perkins (1967–9), John Butterworth (1968–70), John Preston (1969–71), Simon Esmonde Cleary (1969–71), Susanne Hughes (1969–72), Ros Bignell (1971–2), David Critchley (1971–2) and Richard Priestley (1971–2). J. L. Macdonald, now a housemaster at Winchester College, was assistant director, treasurer, and general administrative co-ordinator of the entire project.

The tangible results of the excavation are the site records and the finds. The latter are the property of the Hampshire County Council, but now form part of the collections of the Winchester City Museums and will be housed in Museums' Historic Resources Centre at Hyde Abbey with the material from other excavations in

Winchester. The site records, presently in the care of the Winchester Research Unit at 13 Parchment Street, Winchester,[1] will in due course also be transferred to the Historic Resources Centre.*

[1] In the Research Unit's archives the site-records constitute vols. 364–78, 380–6, and 1102–6; plans, LH/Area 1–3, LH/Gen 1–5, and LH 67–72/1–52; and black and white photographs and colour transparencies in the corresponding photograph series.

* The records and finds from the Lankhills 1967–72 excavation, including the human remains, form part of the Winchester Excavations Committee archive, in 2021 in the care of the Hampshire Cultural Trust, Winchester.

2

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

i. HISTORY OF THE SITE

LANKHILLS is situated on a spur of land between the Itchen Valley to the east and the valley of a small stream, the Fulflood, to the south (Fig. 1). The area excavated sloped from west to east, and less markedly from north to south. The subsoil was chalk and, except where there had been recent landscaping, was covered only with a well-developed topsoil.

The earliest traces of human activity consisted of a scatter of Late Bronze and Iron Age sherds, found in the filling of a few of the later graves and features.[1] There were two slight concentrations of these sherds, one in the fill of Grave 25 and the other in the northern part of Feature 9.[2] Nowhere were they present in any number, and no features could be associated with them. If they represent occupation at Lankhills itself, this can only have been of the shortest duration. They could, however, mark the fringe of a more substantial settlement, as yet unknown.

Activity at Lankhills in the early Roman period seems to have been slight, for no more than ten scraps of pottery were found which are datable before the late third century.[3] The site was, however, only 500 m from the north gate of Winchester and close to the main road leading to Cirencester. The earliest features in the excavation were Features 9, 12, and 43, all of which ran north–south across the site. Feature 12 had been dug by *c.* 300 and was contemporary with or later than Features 9 and 43, which themselves had no *terminus post quem* save for the prehistoric sherds in Feature 9. The three features may represent a boundary laid out early in the Roman period, perhaps the limit of an area already designated for burial.[4]

Pottery and coins indicate when burial started at Lankhills. Graves furnished with pots or coins did not pre-date A.D. 300, and few of them were probably dug until *c.* 320;[5] as stratigraphic evidence shows that some of these graves were among the earliest excavated,[6] an approximate starting date of *c.* 310 is suggested. Theodosian coins were found in several graves, which horizontal and vertical stratigraphy showed to be among the latest in the excavation.[7] As no recognisably fifth-century objects were found (e.g. metalwork decorated in the Quoit-brooch style)[8], the cessation of burial may be set at *c.* 410.

[1] For these sherds, see below, p. 237 and Fig. 101.

[2] For the location of these and other graves and features, see Fig. 105.

[3] I am grateful to Mr. Martin Biddle and Dr. M. Fulford for examining these sherds. They are too fragmentary for further comment.

[4] Cf. below, p. 117. For Features 9, 12, and 43, see below, pp. 99–105, 109–10, and 113–14.

[5] See below, pp. 202 (coins) and 222 (pots).

[6] Cf. below, pp. 114–19 (coin-dated graves) and 120 (graves containing pots).

[7] See below, pp. 118–19.

[8] Cf. below, p. 287.

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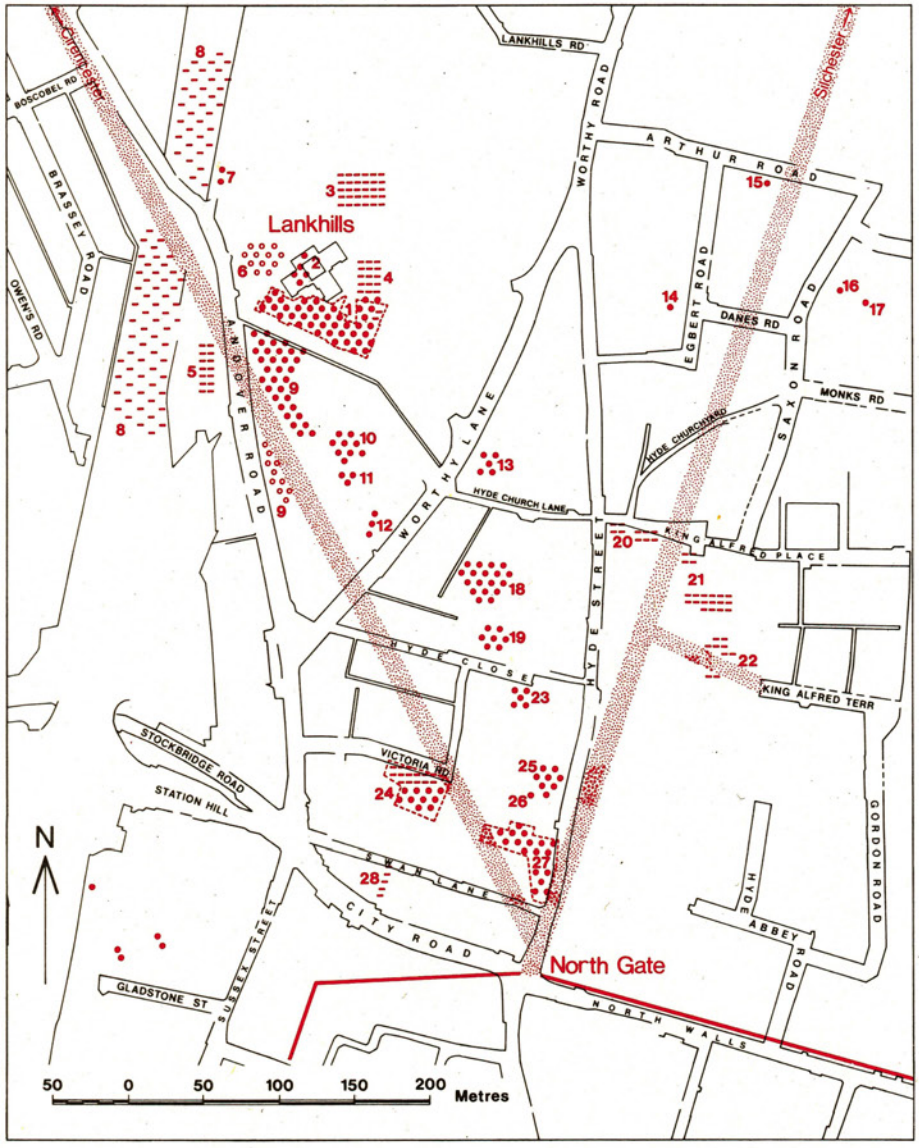

FIG. 2. The northern cemetery of *Venta Belgarum* (1 : 5,000).

Extra-mural Roman roads. Romano-British grave(s). Grave(s) possibly found. Graves definitely not present.

The numbers refer to pp. 6–7.

Features 24, 25, and 26 in the south-east corner of the excavation can probably be assigned to the sub-Roman period. They cut every grave with which they intersected, some of which were among the latest at Lankhills. Yet they were clearly related to the Roman topography, for they ran at right-angles to Feature 12 and parallel to the alignment of the graves. They may have formed the periphery of some arrangement to the south-east belonging to a final phase in the life of the cemetery when it was perhaps contracting back towards the town.[1]

Throughout medieval and early modern times Lankhills seems to have been open agricultural land. Some plough-marks were observed, notably near Grave 106, and a few sherds of medieval pottery were recovered, but structures and other features were absent. Documentary evidence shows that in the eighteenth century the Lankhills area was occupied by lime-kilns, whence, perhaps, its name. These had left no trace within the excavation, probably because they were to the north. In the nineteenth century, the area was built over with large houses with extensive gardens, some of whose flowerbeds had cut Graves 400 and 404 and Features 37, 38, and 40 (Plate IV*c*.). Some fifty years ago, the entire area was acquired by Hampshire County Council, and the use of Lankhills as a school began.

ii. THE SITE IN ITS ROMAN SETTING

The site lay within the northern cemetery of *Venta Belgarum* (Fig. 1). Of the town itself and its other cemeteries little need be said here since all that is known will be found in the first part of this volume of Winchester Studies.[2] The northern cemetery is described here in detail for it provides the archaeological context of the Lankhills graves. Discoveries in other parts of the northern cemetery will be noted first; rescue-observations close to Lankhills itself will be presented in full; and the topographical development of the whole cemetery will then be summarised.

Discoveries other than at Lankhills (Fig. 2)

The entire area of the northern cemetery has been built over during the last two centuries and many graves must have been disturbed, but until about 1925 few discoveries were actually recorded, and such information as exists has to be derived mostly from the local press. Between the wars building-work here was observed by a Winchester antiquary, Mr. Sidney Ward-Evans, whose observations are preserved in manuscript notes and letters, in odd published notes,[3] and in articles in the *Hampshire Chronicle*. In recent years the cemetery has been the subject of intensive research, both at Lankhills and at sites nearer to North Gate.[4] Recorded discoveries are listed below, identified by numbers

[1] For these features, see below, pp. 105–7.

[2] Martin Biddle, *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester Studies 3, Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester, part i. Oxford, forthcoming). For summary accounts of the Roman town, see Biddle 1973; 1974. For interim reports on excavations since 1961, see Biddle and Quirk 1962; Biddle 1964; 1965; 1968; 1969; 1972; 1975.

[3] In particular, *JRS*, 17 (1927), 207.

[4] Sites excavated in 1972–8 under the direction of the City Rescue Archaeologist, Mr. Kenneth Qualmann.

which refer to Fig. 2. Site 1 is Lankhills itself, and Sites 2–5 are the rescue-observations described in the following section.

6. During the 1967–72 excavation several people said that they had seen burials exposed in this area. No records were made and there were no opportunities to check the reports.
7. Two pottery vessels found in 1906. It is unlikely that they would have survived complete unless part of a burial. One is described as being of New Forest Ware.[1]
8. Railway cutting dug in 1836–7. There is no record of any burials, and it is unlikely that they would have gone completely unnoticed had many been present, since discoveries further south, to the west of the walled area, were quite fully recorded.
9. Winchester Cattle Market. The northern part of the site was levelled during construction of the market in 1936–9. At least sixty inhumations and one cremation were disturbed, and the Roman road to Cirencester was encountered. The exact position of these finds was not recorded and the line of the road has to be inferred from discoveries elsewhere. There were certainly burials to the east of the road, but it is unclear whether any were to the west. The inhumations lay with their heads to the west or south-west and some were furnished with vessels. At the time of discovery the graves were dated to 250–90.[2]
10. Highfield Lodge. Skeletons found in the last century both under the house and in its grounds. One was coffined, with its head to the west.[3]
11. Some inhumations, on various alignments, observed in 1962. One had hobnails, but they were otherwise unfurnished.[4]
12. Three inhumations discovered in 1973, when a pipe trench was dug. They were unfurnished and lay with their heads to the south, parallel to the Cirencester road.[5]
13. Lido swimming pool. At least six inhumations discovered when the pool was dug in 1934.[6]
14. Two skeletons found in this general area in 1843. Twelve coins of the House of Valentinian (364–78) were close to the hip of one of them.[7]
15. A large cinerary urn discovered here in 1909, near the Silchester road. It is not clear on which side of the road it lay.[8]
16. Nuns Walk. One cremation discovered in 1897.[9]
17. Two further cremations datable to *c.* A.D. 60 found at Nuns Walk in 1960.[10]
18. Southern Counties Agricultural Trading Society premises. At least twenty-four skeletons observed in 1927–9[11] and 1954.[12] Three were recorded as furnished with (?)late Roman vessels. One grave had a mound over it and contained a crouched

[1] *Hants Chron.*, 13.i.1906; *The Antiquary*, 42 (1906), 45.
[2] *Hants Chron.*, 29.ii.1936; 21.iii.1936; 9.v.1936; 16.v.1936; 30.v.1936; 6.vi.1936.
[3] *Hants Chron.*, 29.ix.1877; 12.iv.1884; *JBAA*[1], 38 (1882), 426–7.
[4] Collis (forthcoming).
[5] Observation by the City Rescue Archaeologist.
[6] *Hants Chron.*, 17.iii.1934.
[7] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 20 (1843), 131; *Hants Chron.*, 31.vii.1843.
[8] *Hants Chron.*, 25.ix.1909.
[9] *Hants Chron.*, 17.iv.1897.
[10] Collis (forthcoming).
[11] *Hants Chron.*, 21.xii.1929; Ward-Evans MS. notes and letters, now in the Winchester City Museums. It is almost certainly to this site that the note in *JRS*, 17 (1927), 207, refers.
[12] Observation by staff of the Winchester City Museums.

skeleton with a double-sided bone comb. The latter was dated when found to the sixth century, but a drawing[1] made at the time shows that it is more likely to have been late Roman. Three pots and a coin of Gordian (238–44), found in 1947 in 'a cavity' nearly 2 m below the surface, may represent a further grave.[2]

19. Territorial Army Hall. One cremation found in 1849.[3] A second was discovered in 1913, together with several skeletons.[4]
20. Excavation in 1974 by the City Rescue Archaeologist did not locate any burials, but there was some Romano-British occupation.
21. Excavation in 1974 by the City Rescue Archaeologist did not locate any burials, but there was extensive Romano-British occupation.
22. Excavation in 1972 by the City Rescue Archaeologist revealed late Roman buildings and a street running east from the Silchester road. No burials were found.
23. Some inhumations discovered in 1779 were said to have pots under their left arms.[5]
24. Victoria Road. During excavation by the City Rescue Archaeologist in 1972–4, four cremations and 125 inhumations were found to the west of the Cirencester road, which was also uncovered.[6] The earliest graves were probably dug *c.* 350 and burial may have continued into the fifth century. The northern part of the site was free of graves and seems to have been adjacent to the bed of a small stream, later known as the Fulflood.
25. Several cinerary urns discovered a few years before 1882.[7]
26. A skeleton and an isolated flanged bowl found in 1962.[8]
27. Hyde Street. During excavation by the City Rescue Archaeologist in 1973–8 the Cirencester road was located and a great number of first- and second-century cremations and a masonry tomb structure were discovered. In the late Roman period the area does not seem to have been used for burial.
28. No. 10 City Road. A careful watch was kept on contractors' trenches dug in 1971, but no burials were discovered.[9]

Rescue-observations at Lankhills, 1961–72 (Figs. 2 and 3)

Between 1961 and 1972 rescue-observations were made during the construction of new buildings at Lankhills. The observations are published here in full, in the order in which they took place. The finds are illustrated on Figs. 102 and 103 and are described below in Part III.[10] Each observation has been assigned a letter and the various locations are shown on Figs. 2 and 3. Most of the observations were made in 1961, to the north of the excavation site of 1967–72.

[1] In Ward-Evans MS. notes, see p. 6, n. 11.
[2] *Proc Hants F.C.*, 17, pt. iii (1952), 360.
[3] *Arch J*, 6 (1849), 194.
[4] *Hants Chron.*, 8.ii.1913; *The Antiquary*, 49 (1913), 204.
[5] *Vetusta Monumenta*, 3 (1796), 14.
[6] Referred to in *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 318.
[7] *JBAA*[1], 38 (1882), 426–7.
[8] Information from the owner of the site, Mr. Stanley Richardson.
[9] Site described in Biddle 1975, 120–1.
[10] For page references to discussion of the finds, see below, Concordance II, pp. 448–9.

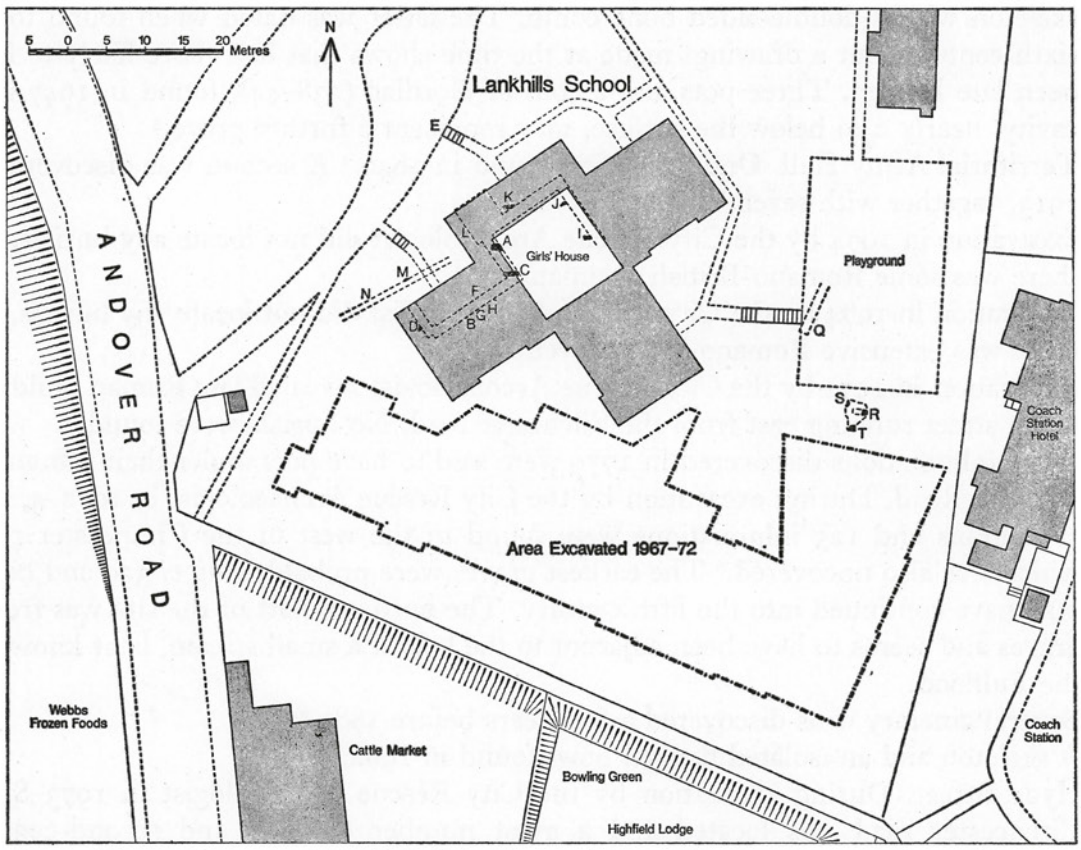

FIG. 3. The southern part of Lankhills School grounds (1:1.000): the main excavation and Rescue-Observations A–B and Q–T (pp. 8–10).

Rescue-observations in 1961: A–O (Fig. 2, No. 2; Fig. 3)

A girls' dormitory building, constructed in 1961, lies north of the western part of the main excavation. Its foundations were not in general deep enough to cut into graves, but deeper excavation did take place for a boiler-house and services, both under the building and leading away to the west and south. This latter work disturbed several burials which were recorded by the Curator and staff of the Winchester City Museums. The following inventory is based on their notes, where possible quoting them directly.[1]

Observation A. A mechanical cutting revealed a disturbance in the chalk. Finds thrown up included an intact pottery beaker (**635**), sherds of at least seven coarse-pottery vessels, including sufficient of one to suggest that it was intact when buried (**638**), a bronze cable bracelet (**647**), and iron nails. Some further finds were picked out by the Museum staff from the east side of the cutting, among them sherds of two beakers and one coarse-pottery vessel, four hobnails, and two skull fragments. It is not clear how many graves this material represents, but the number of vessels suggests more than one.

Observation B. 'Cremation . . . excavated by Museum staff. Late Roman urn [**640**] and flanged bowl [**642**] found inverted over it.' Other finds recovered from the same

[1] I am grateful to the then Curator, Mr. Frank Cottrill, for making his notes available to me, and for allowing the observations to be published here.

area included sherds of a second urn, sherds representing a substantial part of a pottery beaker (**641**), iron nails, and cremated bone. Since **641** seems to have been intact when in the ground, the cremation may have been furnished, but **641** could equally have belonged to another burial.

Observation C. 'A skeleton (with head approximately west), which had two bangles [**648** and **649**] and part of a third [**650**] near some small bones, evidently wrist bones.' The skeleton, apparently adult, was uncovered by workmen who also found the bracelets. Since the whole burial seems to have been exposed, there is some reason to suppose that the bracelets were the only grave-goods. The quotation suggests that the bracelets were close to, rather than around the wrist bones, and were thus not worn at burial.

Observation D. 'Chalk-cut grave with skeleton, of which head is to the west. Hands crossed over pelvis.' No other finds recorded.

Observation E. 'Flagon of green glass [**632**] found during digging of sewer trench across drive [west of 1961 building]. Trench was two feet six inches [0·75 m] deep, and flagon found in disturbed chalk and soil filling [presumably grave-filling] at bottom of trench. Dug out by workman. No bones noticed.'

Observation F. 'Complete folded beaker [**643**] . . . found by workmen in digging shallow trench *c.* two feet [0·6 m] deep.' No further details noted.

Observation G. 'Apparently cremation.' Unexcavated.

Observation H. 'Small cremation. No goods.'

Observation I. 'Chalk-cut grave with skeleton approximately east-west. Not known at which end the head lay.'

Observation J. 'Feet of skeleton in chalk-cut grave. Head would seem to be west.'

Observation K. 'Side and end of chalk-cut grave in side of trench: south of here was a skeleton with head to north.'

Observation L. Various unidentified features cut into the chalk.

Observation M. 'End of chalk-cut grave. Femora crossed. Head would be to west.'

Observation N. In a drain trench running west from the dormitory to the Andover road 'there were some excavations. Skeletons reported from this area . . . complete pottery flagon [**644**] found on soil dump probably from part of sewer trench.'

Observation O. The following finds have no exact provenance:

629. Bronze spoon. Probably from the service-trench running west from the dormitory.

636. Large pottery flagon. Probably from same service-trench as **629**.

645 'Part of small beaker, found during digging of secondary trenches by workman.' Sherds found by workmen during digging of trenches by mechanical digger include most of the profile of a flanged bowl (**646**).

Rescue-observations in 1967: P (Fig. 2, No. 3)

Extensive school buildings were constructed in 1967 just north of the girls' dormitory block. The natural chalk was disturbed in many places, but although a general watch was kept, no burials were observed.

Rescue-observations in 1970: Q–T (Fig. 2, No. 4; Fig. 3)

The ground to the north-east of the main excavation was made into a playground in 1970 (Observation Q). During this work a large drainage pit was dug between the playground and the main excavation, and three burials were discovered (Observations R, S, and T).[1]

Observation Q. A watch was kept while the playground was being constructed. In addition, a strip 1 m wide running from south to north was cleaned by hand down to the natural chalk. The only features discovered were some gullies, probably connected with Victorian flowerbeds observed in the main excavation.[2] There was no evidence of graves, and it is probably fair to assume that the cemetery did not extend this far north.

Observation R. Part of an adult inhumation, in a cut about 1 m deep, with the head approximately to the west. The feet and lower leg bones were exposed and were well preserved. There was no evidence for a coffin, and no grave-goods were found.

Observation S. Part of an adult inhumation, in a cut about 1 m deep, with the head approximately to the west. Only the feet bones were exposed; beside them were found a coffin-nail, hobnails, and a pottery flagon (193).

Observation T. Part of an adult inhumation, in a cut 0·85 m deep, with the head approximately to the west. The skull and shoulder bones were exposed in good condition. The body seems to have lain on its back, with the head facing to the right. Five coffin-nails were found. There was no trace of grave-goods.

Rescue-observations in 1971: U (Fig. 2, No. 5)

A warehouse was built in 1971 opposite the main entrance of Lankhills School, between the Andover road and the railway line. A large area, 30 m by 15 m, was cleared down to the chalk, and sufficient time was available for the examination and recording of archaeological features. However, no burials were discovered and there was no trace of the Roman road to Cirencester, which here probably underlies the present road and forms the western limit of the cemetery.[3]

The topographical development of the northern cemetery (Fig. 2)

Fig. 2 shows that almost all discoveries in the northern cemetery occupy a strip about 125 m wide and 500 m long, lying to the east of the Cirencester road. The north-western

[1] Observations by Messrs. John Butterworth, Simon Esmonde Cleary, and J. L. Macdonald.

[2] See above, p. 4.

[3] The owners of the site, Webbs Frozen Foods, Ltd., kindly allowed observations to be made and most of the work was done by Miss R. Bignell.

and the eastern limits of this area are indicated by negative observations (Nos. 3, 4, and 5, and Nos. 20, 21, and 22 respectively), and burials are only known from two places outside it. In one of these, the discoveries, Nos. 14–17, are clearly isolated from the rest of the cemetery and the precise location of two of them cannot be established. All four may have been grouped quite close together, and could represent a family graveyard, or the cemetery of a small farm. The second exception is the burials at Victoria Road (Fig. 2, No. 24). The earliest seem to have been dug *c.* 350, and they may represent a late extension of the main cemetery. A similar expansion, also dating from *c.* 350, was identified at Lankhills,[1] and both could have been the result of overcrowding. Those exceptions apart, it is clear that the northern cemetery occupied a defined area, at one end of which lay Lankhills. This area was presumably demarcated by boundaries, outside which the land was used for other purposes.[2]

Several discoveries can be dated. At Lankhills (No. 1), burial took place from *c.* 310 until *c.* 410. The burials under the Cattle Market (No. 9) were dated when found to *c.* 250–90; one, however, was associated with a coin of Constantine.[3] The discoveries at SCATS premises (No. 18) included a coin of Gordian. Finally, in the site off Hyde Street (No. 27), the cremations were dated to the first and second centuries. The apparent pattern is confirmed by the distribution of cremations and inhumations. Cremations, characteristic of the earlier Roman period,[4] were common near North Gate (at Nos. 25 and 27); further out, especially beyond No. 18, inhumation was predominant. The evidence thus suggests that burial spread north-west from the city, starting in the first century at North Gate, and reaching Lankhills, 500 m away, in the fourth century.

[1] See below, p. 118.

[2] One boundary was recognised at Lankhills, represented by Features 9, 12, and 43: see below, pp. 99–105, 109–10, and 113–14.

[3] *Hants Chron.*, 16.v.1936.

[4] See below, p. 350.

3

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE EXCAVATION

i. THE METHOD OF EXCAVATION

EXCAVATION at Lankhills started with the laying out of a co-ordinate grid, aligned with regard to the local topography and tied in to the national grid of the Ordnance Survey. This was used to delineate the successive areas opened up. Post-Roman ploughing and modern landscaping meant that there were no archaeological remains above bed-rock, and so each area was cleared down to the chalk subsoil mechanically.[1] The areas were then cleaned by hand, and graves and features were revealed as brown shapes. When completely clean the areas were photographed from a high level (Plates II and III), and then planned at a scale of 1:20, mostly in outline, but in full colour where there was particular archaeological complexity. These 1:20 plans form the basis of the published site plan, Fig. 105.

The first step in excavating an isolated grave was to set up a local grid, which was keyed-in to the general site grid. The main axis of this local grid normally ran down the centre of the grave, and measurements were made with a gridded wire frame over a tape along the axis. Before excavation started the grave-outline was planned at 1:10. During excavation, all finds in the grave-fill were numbered, marked on the 1:10 plan, and listed with their depth below the chalk surface. Each grave had its own number-sequence for these finds, and the procedure ensured that the find-spot of even the smallest object was recorded. As excavation deepened, traces of the burial itself were encountered, the first almost invariably coffin-nails. The nails were numbered and planned, and a note was made of the direction in which they pointed, so that in theory the coffin could be reconstructed. When planned, the nails were removed, for frequently it was necessary to dig beneath them. The skeleton itself was cleaned as thoroughly as possible, and photographed *in situ*. It was then planned at 1:10, on a new plan, for almost always the plan already existing was too crowded. Any furniture in the grave was planned and photographed with the skeleton. Except for hobnails, each item of this furniture was numbered individually in a sequence which includes all significant finds from the site;[2] these numbers are those printed in **bold** in the present report. The recording of the grave was concluded by completing a summary sheet and by writing detailed notes. The skeleton and other objects were then removed.

In many cases two or more graves intersected and the stratigraphic sequence had to be determined. Where the earlier skeleton underlay or was cut through by the later grave,

[1] During the removal of this overburden, a Roman pottery vessel (**289**) and bracelet (**301**) were found, both presumably redeposited in the course of the modern landscaping, which had presumably disturbed graves elsewhere in the area.

[2] For a complete list, see **Concordance II.**

there was no cause for further investigation. Otherwise, resort had to be made to thorough surface-cleaning or to a vertical section, and in both cases the only adequate record was a detailed colour drawing, at 1:10 for sections and at 1:20 for plans. The evidence of plans and sections was usually clear, but in two cases where the skeletons themselves provided conclusive evidence, plans and sections alone would have led to the wrong conclusion.[1] Variation in the soil must therefore always be viewed with caution, and there is perhaps only a 90 per cent probability of it yielding the right answer. When a verdict had been reached about a stratigraphic sequence, excavation of the individual graves proceeded in the normal way, with sections discontinued lest they obscure the burials.

The features that were not graves consisted of pits, gullies, and ditches, and their excavation is described individually below.[2] As with the graves, local grids were laid out, 1:10 plans drawn, and every find recorded. But in contrast to the graves, detailed coloured surface-plans and sections were drawn, the latter completed to the full depth of the feature. It was found that in ditches and gullies much information could be derived from a longitudinal section, a point particularly true of Feature 12 (Fig. 7).

ii. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

(Plates II and III and Fig. 105)

Of the 451 graves discovered in the excavation seven were cremations. There were 439 inhumations: 375 were intact and fully excavated, thirty-three could only be partially explored, and thirty-one had been totally destroyed by later burials. Each inhumation grave contained a single skeleton, apart from five graves where two people had been buried, and one in which there were three bodies. There were also four grave-pits which were suitably sized for an inhumation but contained no human remains, and a fifth which contained only part of a body (Grave 391). Two of the four empty pits (Graves 247 and 251) had almost certainly been robbed, but nobody was ever buried in the other two (Graves 400 and 455).

There were seventeen features other than graves. Eight of these were linear (Features 9, 12, 23, 24, 25, 26, 37, and 43) and lay in the eastern part of the site, where they all ran parallel or at right-angles to the surrounding graves. They were also aligned on the cardinal points, probably by chance. Of the other features, Features 2, 6, 38, and 40 were gullies enclosing a central grave, and Features 46 and 47 were simple pits that contained offerings, presumably funerary. Features 29 and 41, small pits, and Feature 42, a shallow depression, were difficult to interpret and it was not even certain that they were connected with the cemetery.

Over all, the site-plan (Fig. 105) suggests a comparatively well-ordered burial ground. Most graves and features follow the same alignment and relatively few intersect. In some places, however, the burials are more crowded and three concentrations are apparent. One is to the west, bounded by Graves 98, 13, 136, 185, and 163. The second is at

[1] The intersections between Graves 170 and 171 and between Graves 347 and 350.

[2] See below, pp. 96–110.

the south end of Features 9, 12, and 43, its approximate limits being Graves 201, 195, 218, 389, and 324. The third is north of Feature 6 and must have been largely outside the excavated area. There are also some gaps. One is in the south-west corner of the site, between Graves 45 and 8 and Graves 50 and 43. Another is the area bounded by Graves 163, 156, 185, 179, and 164. A third is at the east end of the site, where there is a noticeable lack of graves beyond Feature 40. The first and second of these gaps are relatively small and could, for example, be explained by the presence of large trees during the use of the graveyard. The lack of graves in the eastern part of the site however is conspicuous, and in all probability it signifies the edge of the cemetery.[1]

[1] Cf. above, pp. 10–11 and Fig. 2.

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TABLE 1

Key to Table 2

General conventions on Table 2

— Not present
x Uncertain
U Unexcavated
L. Left
R. Right
G. Grave
F. Feature
Uncertain entries in *italics*
Find numbers in **bold**

1 *Grave-number.* Numbers omitted were not assigned to any grave.

2 *Status of the Grave*

I intact, fully excavated
P partially excavated
D destroyed
E empty
C cremation
X excavation unsatisfactory

3, 4, 5, and 6 *Vertical stratigraphy*

4 and 6 *Status of the intersections*

a skeleton of earlier grave over-lain/cut through by later grave
b conclusion clearly demonstrable from excavation records
c conclusion inadequately recorded
d some evidence for conclusion
e a guess
m involving grave mound(s)

7 *Alignment*, in degrees relative to True North

8 *Depth* (cm)
S step-grave

9 *Pit-corners*

A well-shaped
B less well-shaped
C rounded
D irregular

10 *Pit-sides*

E smoothed
G unsmoothed

11 *Skeletal preservation*

a almost perfect
b slight decomposition
c smaller bones decayed
d only major bones left
e skull and legs only
f almost entirely decomposed

12 *Age*

A adult
C child
I infant
Neo neonatal

13 *Sex*

M male
F female

14 *Position of body*

B on back
F on front
L on left side
R on right side

15 *Position of legs*

S straight
C crossed
B bent
F flexed

16 *Position of arms*

a both straight
b left bent
c right bent
d both slightly bent
e both on waist or chest
f left more bent than right
g right more bent than left

17 *Position of skull*

S on back/face
L on left side
R on right side
D decapitated

18 *Coffin: presence or absence*

C definitely present
? uncertain
— not present

19 *Coffin-nails*

Number in each type, their length (mm) and their width (mm)

20 *Coffin type*

R nails equally distributed between corners
I nails unequally distributed between corners
CF coffin fittings
x evidence unreliable
H more nails at head
F more nails at feet
R more nails on right side
L more nails on left side
E nails evenly distributed
O nails only at corners

21 *Packing*

22 *Hobnails*

23 *Grave-furniture.* Find numbers in **bold**

24 *Notes.* Find numbers in **bold**

25 *Stratigraphy* (pp. 119–20)

26 *Datable objects*

27 and 28 *Date*

28 *Criteria used in dating the grave*

C coin(s)
HS horizontal stratigraphy
VS vertical stratigraphy
pt pottery
GF grave furnishing
29 cross-reference in col. 29

29 *Cross-references*

30 *Illustrations*

31 *Grave-number*

4

THE GRAVES

(Figs. 46–100; Tables 1 and 2)

THE information recovered for each grave is presented in Table 2, together with dating evidence and cross-references. Plans of about a quarter of the graves are published in Figs. 46–66, and drawings of the grave-furniture occupy Figs. 67–100.

An explanation of Table 2 now follows. Most of the attributes which occupy the columns are also discussed below in Part II, to which appropriate cross-references are given. The main symbols used in Table 2 are summarised in Table 1. When Table 2 is being used, it may be found helpful to have the site plan, Fig. 105, open to the right and Table 1 open to the left.

i. TABLE 2: GENERAL CONVENTIONS

— Attribute not present

x Attribute not found, but could have been present originally, or attribute not appropriate to grave (e.g. position of arms where the relevant bones had decayed)

U. Unexcavated

L. Left

R. Right

G. Grave (**Gs. Graves**)

F. Feature

Italic Entry less valid than others in same column

Bold face An object number. These numbers belong to the single sequence of numbers assigned to each significant object on discovery (cf. above, p. 12). Objects so numbered are listed in Concordance II on pp. 439–49.

ii. TABLE 2: THE INDIVIDUAL COLUMNS

Columns 1 and 31. Grave-number

The graves are tabulated in numerical order, and except for Graves 22, 28, and 29, the numbers are those given on discovery. Graves containing the skeletons of two or more people buried together have a single number. Some numbers have not been used, generally because certain graves were thought to be two intersecting burials while being excavated.

Column 2. Status of the grave

The status of each grave is classified according to whether it was intact, partially excavated, or whatever. The following symbols are used:

I Intact inhumation: inhumation whose skeleton was undisturbed and fully excavated
P Partially excavated inhumation: inhumation only part of whose skeleton was undisturbed and/or able to be excavated. Most of these inhumations either lay partly outside the excavation, or had been partly cut away by later graves or features
D Destroyed grave: inhumation whose skeleton had been disturbed and entirely removed, usually by a later grave
E Empty grave: intact or partially excavated grave that did not contain the appropriate human skeletal remains
C Cremation (I or P as appropriate)
X Grave inadequately excavated or recorded

Columns 3, 4, 5, and 6. Vertical stratigraphy (cf. Part II, pp. 119–20)

Vertical stratigraphy in this context means the cutting of one grave into another. Column 3 lists graves which were cut and therefore earlier in date, and Column 5 lists graves which were cutting in and therefore later. In these columns the intersections of graves with Features 9, 12, 23, and 43 are omitted; the four features were earlier than any grave. Intersections with the other thirteen features are, however, given.

The interpretation and recording of the intersections was often difficult and the reliability of the conclusions reached varies.[1] This is indicated in Columns 4 and 6 by the following symbols:

a The later grave either overlay or cut away all or part of the earlier skeleton
b The intersection was not of class a, but there was clear evidence for the conclusion reached, which was adequately recorded by plans, sections, or photographs
c The evidence was thought to be conclusive during excavation, but insufficient record was made to demonstrate the conclusion reached now
d There are some grounds for the view put forward, but they are not conclusive
e A guess
m The intersection involved the mound alone of one or both graves. This refers only to graves cutting Feature 12: see below, p. 103 and Fig. 7

Column 7. Alignment (cf. Part II, pp. 131–2)

The alignment of each grave is given in terms of the position of the head relative to True North. The entry for a grave with its head exactly to the west is 270°.

Column 8. Depth (cf. Part II, pp. 132–3)

The figure given here is the depth of the grave-pit in centimetres below the chalk surface exposed by the mechanical removal of topsoil. Where this figure is in italics, it is

[1] Cf. above, pp. 12–13.

an estimate. This depth is not the original depth of the grave; an allowance must be made for topsoil and possibly for some erosion of the chalk since Roman times.

In seventeen graves the sides had been stepped as described on p. 134 (Fig. 11). These graves are shown by a letter S below the measurement in column 8.

Columns 9 and 10. Pit-finish (cf. Part II, pp. 134–6)

In most cases some attempt had been made to dig a tidy grave-pit. This was difficult to measure objectively, and even more so to record. A classification was devised, based on the treatment of the corners between the ends and sides and on that of the sides themselves. The symbols used in Column 9 are:

A Pit with carefully shaped, right-angled corners
B Pit with less carefully shaped right-angled corners
C Pit with rounded corners set between sides lying at right-angles
D Pit with irregular corners

The symbols used in Column 10 are:

E Pit-sides showing signs of smoothing
G Pit-sides with little or no sign of smoothing

Column 11. Skeletal Preservation (cf. Part II, pp. 137–8)

The state of preservation of the skeletons varied considerably, some being almost perfect and others virtually decayed. This is indicated by the following symbols.:

a Skeleton in almost perfect condition
b Slight decomposition, affecting toes, fingers, and ribs
c Smaller bones decayed
d Only major bones left
e Only skull and leg bones left
f Almost entirely decomposed

Column 12. Age (cf. Part II, pp. 123–7)

Ages were determined in a preliminary examination of the skeletons by Miss Mary Harman.[1] When an estimate in years could not be given, the following symbols are used:

A Adult	I Infant
C Child	Neo Neonatal

In some cases age has had to be estimated from the size of the grave-pit and coffin; where so, the entry is in italics.

[1] See further below, p. 342.

Column 13. Sex (cf. Part II, pp. 123–7)

The sex of the skeletons was also determined by Miss Harman. In the case of the children, and of many adults, male and female skeletons could not be distinguished. The symbols M (male) and F (female) are used.

Column 14. Position of body (cf. Part II, pp. 138–9)

By this is meant the position of the torso. It was often not entirely certain whether a torso had lain on its side, rather than on its back or front. In general the body was judged to have lain on its side when the bones of one arm were found more or less above those of the other. The following symbols are used:

B Body on its back	L Body on left side
F Body on its front	R Body on right side

Column 15. Position of legs (cf. Part II, pp. 139–40)

The legs are defined as being in one of four positions

S Straight	B Bent
C Crossed	F Flexed

Legs were regarded as crossed if they were straight with the upper or lower legs (rather than the feet) crossed. The difference between bent and flexed is one of degree, flexed being where the upper and the lower leg were nearly at right-angles.

Column 16. Position of arms (cf. Part II, pp. 140–1)

There was considerable variation here:

a Both arms straight at the sides
b Right arm straight, left arm bent
c Left arm straight, right arm bent
d Both arms slightly bent, with the fingers somewhere in the region of the pelvis
e Arms crossed over chest, or folded together at waist
f Both arms bent, the left more than the right
g Both arms bent, the right more than the left

It was sometimes difficult to decide whether an arm was bent or straight. If the finger bones lay within the pelvic bowl, the arm was considered bent; otherwise straight.

Column 17. Position of skull (cf. Part II, pp. 141–2)

A skull might be resting on its back, to one side, or face down. The latter occurred only where the whole skeleton was prone and in such cases the position of the head relative to the body was obviously no different from the normal supine position. For a skull to be regarded as lying on its side, one entire side had to be resting on the grave bottom. In

seven graves the body was decapitated and the head placed near the legs or feet. The following symbols are used:

S Skull on its back, or, if the whole skeleton was prone, face down
L Skull on its left side
R Skull on its right side
D Decapitated skeleton

Column 18. Coffin: presence or absence (cf. Part II, pp. 142–3)

Most graves contained the remains of a wooden coffin. Usually only the nails survived, but sometimes fragments of wood were present. The coffins had normally been constructed with a reasonable number of nails, but sometimes odd nails only were used, and occasionally the coffin was represented by wood fragments alone. In a significant number of graves neither nails nor wood fragments were discovered. While this could mean that there had never been a coffin, it may only suggest that it had been pegged or otherwise jointed without nails, and that its wood had entirely decayed. Sometimes, however, it was possible to demonstrate from the position of the skeleton relative to the sides of the grave that a coffin could never have been present.

The following symbols are used:

C Presence of coffin demonstrable from wood and/or nails
? No conclusive evidence to prove or disprove the presence of a coffin
— Possible to demonstrate that no coffin could have been present

Column 19. Coffin-nails

The coffin-nails in each grave could be divided into a limited number of types, mainly on the basis of their length and the shape of their head (see below, p. 332). For each grave, Column 19 specifies the number of nails involved, their length, and the diameter of the head (both in millimetres). Coffin-nails were frequently broken and it was often impossible to be certain how many there had been. When so, the entry in Column 19 is x. In the interests of clarity, some grave-plans (Figs. 47–66) do not show the full number of nails entered in Column 19.

Column 20. Coffin-type

Coffins can be classified by how the nails were arranged between the sides and corners. The following symbols have been used:

R Coffin where roughly the same number of nails had been used in each corner
I Coffin where there was marked variation in the number of nails used at each corner
H, F, L, R, E coffin with nails at the sides and ends
  H Coffin with more nails at the head end
  F Coffin with more nails at the foot end
  L Coffin with more nails on the left side

R Coffin with more nails on the right side
E Coffin with nails evenly distributed
O Coffin with nails only at the corners
x Evidence unreliable

Four coffins constructed with strip-fittings as well as nails are indicated by the entry CF ('coffin-fittings').

Column 21. Packing (cf. Part II, p. 143)

In several graves, flints or sometimes tiles had been packed around the coffin, or, if there was no coffin, around the body. Column 21 specifies the approximate number of flints or tiles involved and their position in the grave. If tiles were present, this is noted in Column 24 (Notes). In many graves, especially those dug early in the excavation, no attempt was made to isolate flints used as packing from those occurring randomly. No grave with a great deal of packing would have been missed, but some in which only a few flints were used may have been ignored. All such graves are marked with an x in Column 21. Where there was definitely no packing, the entry is —.

Column 22. Hobnails (cf. Part II, pp. 153–4 and 178–80)

Hobnails, the surviving remains of footwear, were discovered in about one-third of the graves. They were sometimes found in two separate groups, the shoes having been placed well apart, but more often they were all together. Occasionally, the hobnails retained the shape of the shoe. The following information is specified in Column 22:

(i) Whether the hobnails were in one or two groups. If the groups were shoe-shaped, the word 'shoe(s)' is used. If no details as to group(s) or shoes are available, the hobnails are merely described as 'present'.
(ii) The position of the hobnails relative to the skeleton.
(iii) The position of the hobnails relative to the coffin. If this could not be established, there is no reference to the coffin.

The shoes represented by the hobnails are not described as being 'worn' or 'unworn' by the dead person. Whether they were worn is discussed on p. 153 below.

Column 23. Grave-furniture (cf. Part II, pp. 145–82)

In this column are entered objects that were definitely grave-furniture, other than the shoes represented by hobnails. Each object has a number in the general site sequence, printed in **bold** (cf. above, p. 12). The numbering system is not completely consistent in that the beads of a necklace were treated as a single find, while the individual fittings of a belt were given different numbers. Textile remains, preserved only by being in contact with another object, were not separately numbered.

The information specified in Column 23 appears in the following order:

(i) The number of the object
(ii) Its principal material
(iii) Its identification
(iv) Its position relative to the skeleton and coffin

Many graves contained more objects than could be described in Column 23. A detailed description of the grave-furniture is then given in the notes to the table.

Column 24. Notes

Much of the information in this column amplifies that contained in other parts of the table. Also included are details concerning disturbed graves and finds in grave-fills.

The disturbance of earlier burials (cf. Part II, pp. 185–8)

Where a grave was totally destroyed (D in Column 2), this column states where its bones were found and whether or not its skull was present, if this is known. If the grave was only partially cut away (P in Column 2), the amount removed is recorded, together with whatever caused the disturbance and any grave or other feature whose fill contained the disturbed remains. For the graves destroying earlier burials, the column states that bones were found in the fill, gives their grave number, and indicates whether or not the skull was present, if this is known. If the earlier burial had only been partially destroyed, its number is given, together with the amount cut away, and which, if any, of its bones were found. Also noted is any special treatment accorded to the disturbed remains.[1]

Finds in the fill (cf. Part II, pp. 145–7)

Significant finds in the filling of graves are noted. These are mostly finds related to the grave itself or derived from earlier burials. They include coins, bracelets, and complete vessels, and also several sherds of the same pot and collections of bones belonging to the same animal. These finds were numbered in the site sequence, and their numbers thus appear **bold**.

Many fill-finds were small scraps of pottery, animal bones, shell, or charcoal. The potsherds, examined by Dr. M. Fulford, are generally fourth-century, although a few are prehistoric.[2] The recognisable animal bones, which were identified by Mrs. Pauline Sheppard, mostly consist of food remains.[3] The precise locations of all these finds were three-dimensionally recorded and these locations were then studied by Mr. J. L. Macdonald. No finds occurred at the same depth or in the same horizontal position in different graves, and none of the finds were grouped together. Their positioning was thus entirely random, indicating that they were residual. These finds are not normally included in Table 2.

[1] Nothing disturbed from earlier graves is shown on Figs. 46–66.

[2] For comments on the few diagnostic sherds, see below, pp. 224–37. For the prehistoric sherds, see above, p. 4, and below, p. 237. A list of all these sherds will be found in vol. 385 of the site-records.

[3] A list of the identifications of the animal bones will be found in vol. 384 of the site-records.

Column 25. Stratigraphy

This column refers to Part II (Analysis). The entries summarise all the stratigraphic information about the grave and are explained below, pp. 119–20.

Column 26. Datable objects

The dates of coins and closely datable pottery vessels are given here. They are taken from Part III, pp. 203–5 (coins) and pp. 224–37 (pottery).

Columns 27 and 28. Date

Column 27 gives an estimate of the date of the grave, taking account of all available evidence. Column 28 specifies the evidence relied on:

- C Coin(s). It should be noted that the dates derived from coins are not as given in Table 30, but allow for a rather wider time-span, and accord only with major numismatic breaks (cf. below, p. 114)
- HS Horizontal stratigraphy (see below, pp. 116–19)
- VS Vertical stratigraphy (see below, pp. 119–20)
- pt Pottery vessel(s)
- GF Grave-furnishing. This refers to Part II (Analysis), below, pp. 145–82. The way a grave was furnished may be used to date the three types of furnished grave defined on p. 164 which did not contain coins. Graves with vessels are dated to *c.* 310–50 (below, p. 168), graves with unworn personal ornaments to *c.* 350–70 (below, p. 169), and graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments to *c.* 310–70 (below, p. 170).
- 29 Other criteria used, explained in a cross-reference given in Column 29

Column 29. Cross-references

Most page references in this column concern the grave and its contents individually; references are not given to the discussion of attributes common to many graves. References for furnishing are only given for the eight types of grave defined on p. 164; they indicate where the type to which the grave belongs is shown (Table 21), and where its dating is discussed. There are few references to Part III (Finds) and virtually none to Part IV (Discussion). Part III is extensively subdivided and Concordance II lists where individual finds are discussed. Part IV follows from Parts II and III, where it is referred to as appropriate.

Column 30. Illustrations

References are given to all illustrations showing the grave or its contents, except for the drawings of object by category (Figs. 27–38 and 40–2). The subject matter is given where the illustrations are other than drawings of grave-groups.

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TABLE 2

The Graves

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
1	IX	—	—	—	—	252°	60	x	x	d	17/20	F	B	S	x	L	C	5–60–18 3–80–16 1–90–18	x	x	Present, area of feet, ? in coffin
2	IX	3	d	—	—	256°	45	x	E	e	2/3	x	x	S	x	x	C	5–50–19 6– x– x	x	x	Present, area of feet
3	IX	—	—	2	d	254°	45	x	E	d	*c.* 6	x	B	S	x	S	C	10–70–14	x	x	—
4	PX	—	—	—	—	353°	20	x	x	b	A	M	B	S	x	x	—	— x– x	x	x	—
5	IX	—	—	—	—	245°	120	x	x	d	20/25	?M	B	S	x	R	C	8–90–16	x	x	Present, area of feet, ? in coffin
6	PX	—	—	22	a	260°	70	x	x	d	17/20	F	B	x	x	R	C	x–60–17	x	x	x
7	IX	—	—	—	—	263°	40	B	x	e	A	?F	x	S	x	x	C	13–100–15	x	x	Present, area of feet
8	IX	—	—	—	—	250°	40	x	x	b	25/30	M	B	S	c	S	?	— x– x	x	x	Present, area of feet
9	I	—	—	—	—	233°	50	x	x	d	30+	M	B	S	x	S	C	1–100–28 5–90–18 5–80–20	RE	x	—
10	I	11	c	—	—	256°	25	C	G	c	35+	M	B	S	b	S	C	1–90–15	IH	x	Present, area of feet
11	I	—	—	10	c	226°	110	B	G	b	20/25	M	B	S	b	L	C	7–80–15 19–70–14 4– x– x	RE	x	—
12	I	—	—	—	—	248°	50	C	G	c	C	x	B	S	x	R	C	12–110–32	RE	x	Present, area of feet, in coffin
13	I	14	d	—	—	254°	100	B	E	d	45+	M	B	x	x	L	C	8–100–27 2–140–23 1–150–44 1–120– 3 1–80–12	RE	x	—
14	I	—	—	13 28	d a	248°	90	B	E	d	25/30	?F	B	S	c	S	C	x– x– x	x	x	2 groups, R. of lower leg, in coffin
15	I	—	—	—	—	253°	110	B	x	b	25+	M	B	S	b	S	C	14– 9–18 3– 6–15	RE	x	2 groups, 1 by each foot, outside coffin
16	IX	—	—	17 29	e a	254°	120	B?	x	b	20/25	M	B	S	a	x	C	x–80–20	x	x	Present, L. of lower legs
17	I	16 18	e c	—	—	270°	80	B?	x	b	30/35	F	B	S	a	x	C	9–100–18	x	x	Present, area of feet

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			1
1—pottery flagon, L. of feet, ? outside coffin	—	W x	1: 270–370	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 67	2
4, 5—pottery beakers; **4**, R. of skull; **5**, L. of skull; both ? in coffin	—	W x	4, 5: 320–70	320–50	pt GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 67	3
x	Cut away above knees in modern times	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			4
2—pottery flask, L. of skull, in coffin; **9**—bone comb, area of skull	—	W x	2: ?300–50	310–50	HS pt	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 67	5
3—pottery beaker, L. of skull, in coffin	Numbered G.6A on site. L. side cut away by G.22	W −2	3: 320–50	320–30	VS pt GF		Fig. 67	6
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			7
10, 11, 12—bronze coins in or near mouth	—	W x	10: 335–45 11: 364–78 12: 364–75	365–90	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)		8
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			9
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			10
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS		Fig. 48 (plan)	11
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			12
See below	—	W x	15: 330–41 16: 350–60	350–70	C	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing)	Figs. 61 (plan), 67; Pl. XIII*a*	13
208—bone weaving tablet, found when skull bones were being washed	Numbered on site as G.14B	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS		Fig. 67	14
—	Grey dust, between feet, ? pewter	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			15
—	Numbered on site as G.16B	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			16
19—bone comb on R. shoulder	—	W x	—	365–90	29	p. 178 (comb and date)	Fig. 67	17

GRAVE 13: brooch, buckle, and four coins. The gilt-bronze cross-bow brooch (13) lay on the remaining bones of the right shoulder (Pl. XIII*a*), its foot pointing towards the top right corner of the grave. The bronze buckle (14) was not recorded *in situ*, but came from around the waist or legs. The coins (15–18) were by the feet, in the bottom right-hand corner of the coffin. Associated with them was a small amount of black dust, possibly representing a leather pouch.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
18	I	—	—	17 19	c a	251°	*100*	B?	x	d	*A*	x	B	S	x	L	C	8–120–24 3–100–20 6– 80–14	x	x	Present, area of feet
19	I	18	a	—	—	245°	*80*	B?	x	c	20/25	?F	B	S	f	S	C	5– 80–18 1–120–20 3– 50–16 4– 90–20	x	x	x
20	I	—	—	—	—	249°	*110*	B	G	b	20/25	M	B	S	c	L	C	6– 80–15 6– 80–20	RL	x	1 group, between and among toe bones
21	I	—	—	25	b	247°	115 S	B	G	c	20/25	F	B	S	f	L	C	12– 90–17	RR	x	—
22	IX	6	a	—	—	258°	*70*	x	x	e	25/30	F	x	S	x	x	C	8– 80–13 1– 90–20	x	x	Present, area of feet
23	I	—	—	—	—	239°	*100*	A?	x	d	A	?M	B	S	a	x	C	5– 80–16 5– 90–12	RR	x	—
24	I	27	b	—	—	249°	60	B	x	d	?25+	?F	B	S	b	S	C	5– 90–18 16– 70–14	x	x	1 group, L. of feet, in coffin
25	I	21 27	b c	—	—	245°	110	x	x	c	30/35	M	B	S	a	R	C	3–150–25 3–180–35 2–220–40	x	x	—
26	PC	—	—	—	—	x	0	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	x	x
27	I	—	—	24 25	b c	251°	140	x	x	e	A	x	x	S	x	x	C	7– 90–18 1– 60–20	x	x	—
28	I	14	a	—	—	257°	75	x	x	d	A	F	B	S	x	x	C	11–100–18 1– 90–30	x	x	—
29	IX	16 51	a d	—	—	252	*70*	x	x	d	25/35	?F	B	S	x	x	C	x–100– 2	x	x	—
30	PX	—	—	41 42	e e	234	*110*	x	x	d	25/30	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 90–19	x	x	x
31	I	—	—	—	—	255°	*110*	x	x	c	20/25	F	B	S	x	R	C	9–120–23	RR	x	—
32	I	38	a	—	—	248°	60	x	x	d	A	M	B	S	b	x	C	22– 70–16	IH	x	Present, area of feet, in coffin
33	I	466 U	a e	—	—	253°	*120*	B?	x	e	A	M	B	S	x	x	C	2–170–30 9–100–20 5–120–25	x	x	2 shoes, area of feet

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	—	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			18
—	—	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS			19
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			20
—	—	W −1	—	310–350/70	VS			21
See below	Numbered on site as G.6B. Cut away L. side of G.6	W +2	6: 330–70 7: 330–70	340–50	VS pt GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 67	22
See below	—	W x	23: 350–80	350–80	pt	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing)	Figs. 61 (plan), 68	23
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS			24
298—bird skeleton, on or near L. shoulder, ? in coffin	? Topsoil under skeleton. 682, 684—prehistoric sherds in fill	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS		Fig. 101 (682, 684)	25
x	Cremation; see below	W x	—	310–370/90	HS	p. 128 (cremation rite)	Fig. 67	26
8 —pottery jug, R. ofskull, in coffin	—	W −1	8: ?300–50	310–50	VS pt GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 68	27
—	Numbered on site as G.14A	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS			28
—	Numbered on site as G.16A. 657—sherd in fill	W +2	657: 300–50	330–370/90	VS		Fig. 67	29
x	Foot of grave not excavated	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			30
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			31
—	—	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS			32
—	Bones of G.466 in fill; skull absent	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS	p. 187 (G. 466 disturbed)		33

GRAVE 22: two pots, a jar **(7)** and a bowl **(6)**, the latter containing fragments of eggshell. The pots lay to the right of the feet, probably outside the coffin. The eggshell was lost before being identified.

GRAVE 23: a pot, brooch, two buckles, and a strap-end. The bronze cross-bow brooch **(24)** lay centrally on the chest, its foot towards the foot end of the grave. A bronze buckle **(27)** lay where the waist would have been. Since its loop was to the right, the strap would have passed through it from right to left. Textile remains were preserved on the underside of its plate. The strap-end **(26)**, also bronze, lay on the left hip, point to the right. Its position and material suggest that it belonged to the same belt as buckle **27**. An iron buckle **(25)** lay between the upper leg bones and was presumably the fastening of a second belt. A beaker **(23)** was by the feet, in the bottom right-hand corner of the coffin.

GRAVE 26: cremation in an urn. Most of the urn **(32)** had been destroyed by ploughing; only the lower part remained and this rested on the surface of the chalk subsoil. It contained a small quantity of cremated bone. There was no sign of an associated pit where burning might have taken place. The rim of the urn may originally have been level with the ground surface, as in Grave 361.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
34	I	78	b	—	—	253°	*30*	B?	x	b	*c.* 2	x	B	S	a	S	C	13– 50–14	RR	x	—
35	I	—	—	—	—	259°	*130*	x	x	a	25/30	M	B	S	d	L	C	x–110–22	RE	x	—
36	I	—	—	—	—	245°	*30*	B?	x	c	20/25	x	B	S	g	S	C	x–110–26	x	x	—
37	I	—	—	—	—	246°	75	C	E	b	*A*	x	B	S	a	S	C	6–110–21 5– 90–22 2– 70–24	RO	x	—
38	I	—	—	32	a	240°	135 S	B?	x	b	25/30	?M	B	S	b	R	C	10– 80–18	RO	x	—
39	I	44	c	40 41	a e	245°	*110*	B?	x	b	20/25	M	B	S	c	S	C	x– x– x	x	x	—
40	I	39 44	a a	—	—	245°	*80*	x	x	f	*I/C*	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 80–20	x	x	—
41	I	30 39 42	e e c	—	—	244°	*90*	x	x	e	*C*	x	x	S	x	x	C	12– 70–16	RE	x	—
42	I	—	—	30 41	e c	244°	40	x	x	f	*c.* 3	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– x– x	x	x	—
43	I	—	—	—	—	253°	120	C?	x	d	20/25	F	B	S	x	S	C	14–100–20 2– 70–18	x	x	1 group, **L. of feet, outside coffin**
44	D	—	—	39 40	c a	x	x	x	x	x	Under 3 yrs.	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– x– x	x	x	x
45	I	—	—	—	—	262°	110	x	x	a	25+	F	B	S	a	S	C	22–100–25	IF	x	2 groups, **by L. leg, in coffin**
46	I	—	—	—	—	249°	70	A?	x	b	8/9	x	B	S	c	L	C	13– 90–14	x	x	Present, **area of feet**

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS			34
20—glass bottle, outside foot of coffin, to R.	—	W x	—	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	**Figs. 56 (plan), 68**	35
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			36
See below	—	W x	**33:** 350–64	350–70	C	Table 21, pp. 169–70, 172–4 (furnishing), 196 (location)	**Figs. 57, 59 (plans),** 68	37
21—glass bottle; **22**—pottery flagon; both outside head of coffin	Premature baby outside foot of coffin	W −2	**22:** 270–370	310–50	VS GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing), 191–2 (location)	**Figs. 47 (plan), 69**	38
—	—	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			39
See below	Bones of G.44 in fill; G.44 cranium placed to R. of G.40 coffin	W +4	—	350–370/90	VS	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing), 88 (G. 44 disturbed)	**Figs. 62 (plan), 69**	40
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			41
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			42
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			43
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.40 and ? of G.39	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			44
61—pottery flask, L. of feet, in coffin	Unusual black soil around skeleton	W x	**61:** 300–50	310–50	pt GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	**Figs. 65 (plan), 69**	45
—	Charcoal dust above R. ribs and pelvis	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			46

GRAVE 37: a coin, knife, and bronze belt-fittings. The coin **(33)** lay under the skull and had discoloured the upper vertebrae and base of the skull, an indication that it was originally in the mouth. The knife **(93)** and belt-fittings **(92, 94)** lay by the right foot, inside the coffin. A hinged strap-end **(94)** rested on the knife-blade, and above it lay a buckle **(92)**. The buckle and strap-end belonged to a belt, to which a sheath for the knife may have been attached.

Grave 37 has already been published (Clarke 1970, 295), but the date of the coin should have been given as 350–64.

GRAVE 40: a necklace, a glass fragment, four bracelets, and a pewter bowl. The necklace **(28)** was at the head-end of the grave, and since some teeth were found among the beads, it was probably worn at burial. Also among the beads was the glass fragment **(296)**. Three of the bracelets were around the bones of the left arm (**30**, bronze, **294**, bone, **295**, iron), and the fourth (**31**, bronze) was around the right arm. The pewter bowl **(29)** was inside the coffin, near the right foot.

Grave 40 was found a few centimetres above the well-preserved skeleton of Grave 39. It was thought initially that the two were a single grave, and they were published as such (Clarke 1968, 258). Subsequent reconsideration has demonstrated that they were completely separate. Only a few teeth and fragmentary arm bones remained from the skeleton of Grave 40; but the coffin-nails and grave-furniture indicate the burial of a small girl.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pitt 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
47	I	—	—	—	—	247°	90	B?	x	d	30/40	M	B	S	d	S	C	8– 60–18 3– 90–20 6– 50–14	RO	x	1 group, outside foot of coffin
48	I	—	—	—	—	266°	90	C?	x	d	17/22	?F	B	S	a	R	C	14–110–25 6– 90–25	x	x	2 shoes, ? over feet, in coffin
49	I	—	—	—	—	267°	80	B?	x	f	A	x	x	x	x	x	C	17–100–25	RE	x	—
50	I	—	—	—	—	254°	100	B?	x	c	16/19	?F	B	S	f	L	C	9–100–15 3–110–20 3– 80–20	IH	x	2 groups, 1 by each foot, outside coffin
51	I	—	—	29	d	251°	110	B	E	b	17/20	M	B	S	c	L	C	14–110–24 6– 90–15	IR	x	2 groups, L. of feet, outside coffin
52	I	—	—	—	—	254°	60	B?	x	c	35+	M	B	S	e	S	C	11– 80–18	RL	x	—
53	I	—	—	—	—	257°	60	B	E	a	25/30	F	B	S	e	S	C	17– 80–21	IR	x	1 group, area of feet, in coffin
54	I	56	b	55	d	256°	55	B?	x	b	25/30	x	B	S	c	L	C	3– 50–16	IF	x	1 group, among toe bones
55	I	54 56	d a	—	—	254°	155	B?	G	d	40+	M	B	B	d	R	C	3–120–25 1–110–25 3–100–22 4– 70–18	RO	x	—
56	D	—	—	54 55	b a	x	130 S	x	x	x	?A	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 70– x	CF	x	x
57	P	471	a	58	a	236°	65	x	x	d	*c.* 9	x	B	x	x	S	C	x– 70–18	x	x	x
58	I	57 62	a a	87	b	246°	60	B	x	d	20/25	?M	B	S	x	R	C	x– x– x	x	x	1 group, beyond feet, ? outside coffin

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
53—pottery flagon, R. of skull, in coffin; **54**—rib, ? sheep, under **53**	—	W x	**53:** 270–370	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 70	47
42—pottery jug, L. of skull, in coffin	—	W x	**42:** 270–370	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 70	48
—	Charcoal, half-way along L. side of coffin	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			49
36—pottery flagon, R. of feet, ? outside coffin	—	W x	**36:** 330–70	330–50	pt GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 65 (plan), 70	50
50—set of gaming pieces, by R. foot, inside coffin	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS		Figs. 64 (plan), 69 Pl. I*b* (50)	51
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			52
48—bronze finger-ring, R. of hip, inside coffin	—	W x	—	350–70	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 70	53
—	**628**—pot-base in fill (other sherds in fill of Gs.55 and 94)	W +1	**628:** 300–70	330–370/90	VS		Fig. 70	54
See below	Finds in fill; see below	W +2	—	350–70	VS GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing), 187 (G.56 disturbed), 327 **(625)**, 265–6 **(626)**	Figs. 57 (plan), 70	55
See below	Destroyed grave; see below	W −2	—	310–50	VS	p. 336 (coffin)	Figs. 44 (coffin), 66 (plan), 70	56
x	Cut away below knees by G.58. Bones of G.471 in fill; skull present	W −1	—	330–60	VS			57
38—coin in mouth, back of mouth discoloured; **39, 40, 41**—coins around skull	Disturbed Graves 57 and 62; finds in fill; see below	W +3	**37–41:** 364–78	365–80	C VS	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing), 145 (coin in fill), 187–8 (G.62 disturbed)	Fig. 53 (plan)	58

GRAVE 55: a knife, whetstone, and three fragmentary bronze studs, all from inside the coffin. The knife **(60)** lay next to the right foot, its blade towards the head-end of the grave. The whetstone **(59)** and studs **(626)** were by the left foot. The studs, which appeared to be in a line, were not associated with traces of wood or bone, but there were signs of leather attached to them. They may have belonged to a belt, whose other fittings were made of organic materials (see below, p. 265).

Several objects were found in the fill, including small human bones (but no skull), coffin-nails, iron strips, an iron object, and a potsherd. The human bones, nails, and strips will have belonged to Grave 56, destroyed by Grave 55. The sherd was part of **628**, the base of which was found in the fill of Grave 54, with a further sherd in the fill of Grave 94. The iron object **(625)** is perhaps an ox goad.

GRAVE 56: destroyed by Grave 55. The only surviving evidence consisted of part of the grave-pit, the south-west corner of the coffin, and objects in the filling of Grave 55. Sufficient of the pit remained to show that Grave 56 was a step-grave belonging to an adult. The objects in the fill of Grave 55 included a few human bones, but none were of any size and the skull was not found. The coffin-corner was marked by two complete nails. Nine fragmentary iron strips, with wood corroded to one side of them, were found in the fill of Grave 55, and these may be interpreted as coffin-fittings. Since none of the fragments was angled, the strips were perhaps attached to the ends of the coffin, as in Grave 435, rather than to the corners. Near the intact coffin-corner was a pottery jar **(44)**, its position relative to the nails suggesting that it had originally lain outside the coffin. There were no finds in the fill of Grave 55 that could be interpreted as further grave-goods, but in the fill of Grave 54 was the base of a black pot **(628)**, other sherds of which were found in Graves 55 and 94. This could have been a surface offering.

GRAVE 58: a coin **(37)** and adult human bones were found in the fill. The latter, from Grave 62, a grave totally destroyed by Grave 58, included a leg bone placed at the foot-end of Grave 58. No skull was found, however. Grave 58 had also cut away Grave 57, a child grave, below the knees. The leg bone from Grave 62 is not shown on Fig. 53.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
59	I	61	a	60	a	241°	95	B?	x	c	A	?F	B	S	a	x	C	x–110–15	x	x	—
60	IC	59 61	a a	63	b	x	85	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C	5– 90–18 7– 70–17	x	x	—
61	I	—	—	59 60 63	a a a	227°	110	B	E	b	20/25	M	B	S	a	L	C	x– x– x	x	x	—
62	D	—	—	58	a	x	x	x	x	x	A		x	x	x	x	?	x– x– x	x	x	x
63	I	60 61	b a	—	—	244°	85	B?	E	e	*A*	x	B	S	x	S	C	10– 90–16	IR	x	—
64	I	65 83	b b	—	—	237°	110	A?	x	d	25/30	F	B	S	c	L	C	18–120–25	IR	x	1 group, outside foot of coffin
65	I	—	—	64	b	231°	40	B	x	b	Neo.	x	R	B	x	x	—	— x– x	x	x	—
66	I	—	—	F.2	b	249°	75	B?	E	d	*A*	x	B	S	x	S	C	20– 80–18 3– 90–19	RE	x	1 group, among & near toe bones
67	I	68 69	a e	—	—	242°	*140*	B?	x	c	35/40	M	B	S	a	L	C	x–100–19	RL	x	—
68	D	—	—	67	a	x	x	x	x	x	A	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– x– x	x	x	x
69	I	—	—	67	e	259°	*90*	B?	x	d	25/35	M	B	S	x	x	C	11–140–24 1–110–14	x	x	—
70	I	71 80	a c	—	—	251°	75	B?	x	d	25/30	?F	B	S	x	L	C	12– 50–14 17– 80–21 13– 60–12	x	x	Present, among toe bones
71	I	—	—	70	a	245°	90	B?	E	e	*c.5*	x	x	S	x	L	C	10– 80–15 x– 50–12	x	x	—
72	I	—	—	—	—	258°	*90*	B?	x	d	25/30	F	B	S	x	L	C	15– 80–20	RE	x	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	Charcoal among bones, ? derived from G.60	W −1	—	340–50	VS			59
x	Cremation; see below	W +3	—	360–70	VS	p. 129 (cremation rite)	Figs. 46 (plan and section), 70	60
66—pottery flagon, L. of hips, outside coffin; broken, ? by G.59 above		W −5	66: 320–50	320–30	VS pt	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 70	61
x	Numbered on site as G.73A. Bones (but not skull) in fill of G.58	W −1	—	310–60	VS			62
See below	—	W +5	63: 270–370	370–80	VS pt	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing)	Figs. 62 (plan), 70	63
—	Much coffin-wood preserved	W +3	—	350–370/90	VS			64
—	—	W −1	—	310–350/70	VS			65
—	—	W x	—	310–50	VS	p. 96 (F.2)		66
—	Bones of G.68 in fill; skull absent	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS	p. 187 (G.68 disturbed)		67
x	Bones (but not skull) in fill of G.67	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			68
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			69
—	—	W +2	—	350–370/90	VS			70
56—pottery jar, R. of skull, ? outside coffin	Many coffin-nails; exact number unknown	W −2	56: 330–70	330–50	VS pt GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 71	71
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			72

GRAVE 60: a cremation, the pit for which had been cut into the fill of two earlier burials, Graves 59 and 61. The pit was 2 m long, 0·9 m wide, and 0·9 m deep. Many small pieces of charcoal and cremated bone were scattered through the lower 0·5 m of its fill. These were concentrated at the bottom, with a large deposit of carbonised wood in one corner. Charcoal and blackened soil had fallen through the loose fill to lie among the bones of Grave 59 beneath, but neither these bones nor the sides of Grave 60 had been affected by heat. The upper part of the pit-filling was largely free of burnt remains, and in it had been set an urn **(35)**. A tile served as a lid to this urn, and it contained a hard-packed mass of cremated bones, covered by a lattice of iron nails. The latter seemed also to have been burnt, and were presumably the nails of a coffin or bier. There was no sign of hobnails or other grave-goods.

The presence of burnt remains suggests that the funeral pyre was in, above, or near Grave 60. Presumably it was to one side, as the pit bottom and sides were unburnt. The scattered character of the burnt fragments suggests that they were mixed with the filling as it was thrown in. This probably happened because the burning had taken place on the material from the pit; the pit would then have been back-filled with this material, the ashes mainly going into the pit first, and so ending up near the bottom. Before the back-filling, the embers must have been left to cool so that the bones and nails could be picked out.

GRAVE 63: a pottery flagon, glass beaker, comb, bracelet, and some beads, all clearly placed within the coffin. The beaker **(51)** stood almost upright, to the right of the skull. The flagon **(63)** was also upright, between the feet, and the comb **(64)** lay outside the right ankle. The bracelet **(49**, bone with a bronze fitting) rested on a fragment of bone whose position showed that it had belonged to the left wrist. In the neck region were nine cornelian beads, the elements of a simple necklace **(52)**.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	18	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
73	PX	x	x	84	c	212°	*60*	x	x	c	*A*	x	B	S	x	x	C	x– 70–16	x	x	x
74	I	—	—	75 76	a a	309°	*100*	B?	x	b	19/23	?F	B	B	c	x	C	11– 80–15 2– 80–21	IF	x	1 group, L. of legs, ? outside coffin
75	I	74 76	a d	—	—	251°	60	B?	x	c	17/20	?F	B	S	a	S	C	6– 60–12 1– 90–20 1– 60–20 10– 70–14	IF	x	—
76	I	74 78	a b	75	d	256°	35	C	x	b	*A*	x	B	S	f	S	C	14– 70–16	x	x	2 groups, 1 among bones of each foot
78	I	—	—	34 76	b b	252°	55	B?	x	b	25/30	M	B	S	c	x	C	49– 90–20 5– 80–18 7– 60–12 3– 40–16	x	x	—
79	I	—	—	—	—	243°	70	B?	E	d	A	F	B	S	x	L	C	13– 90–20	IH	x	—
80	P	—	—	70 81 83	c a a	253°	110	B?	x	b	*A*	x	B	S	x	x	C	x– x– x	x	x	x
81	I	80 83	a a	—	—	244°	85	x	x	d	30/35	x	B	S	x	L	C	x–100–26	x	x	—
83	I	80	a	64 81	b a	239°	120	B?	x	d	25/30	x	B	S	x	S	C	x– 80–20	x	x	—
84	PX	73	c	—	—	243°	*30*	B?	x	e	2/3	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 90–23	x	x	x
85	I	—	—	—	—	244°	*90*	C?	x	c	3/5	x	R	S	a	R	C	11– 70–16	IF	x	1 group, L. of feet, in coffin
86	I	—	—	—	—	243°	*110*	x	x	d	30/35	?M	B	S	x	L	C	21–100–22	RE	x	—
87	I	58	b	—	—	236°	*100*	B?	x	c	17/20	F	B	S	g	L	C	10–100–20 1–100–16	IL	x	—
88	I	89 90	a b	—	—	274°	55	B?	x	d	20/25	x	B	S	x	L	C	— x– x	x	x	2 groups, 1 among toes of each foot

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
x	Only foot of grave excavated	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			73
—	—	W −2	—	310–50	VS			74
—	—	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS			75
57—bronze coin in mouth (back of mouth discoloured)	—	W +2	**57:** 330–40	330–70	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)		76
—	—	W −1	—	310–50	VS			78
43—pottery flagon, R. of shoulder, in coffin	Newborn infant, with its skull to R, at feet, in coffin	W x	—	310–50	GF	p. 131 (double grave), Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 47 (plan), 71	79
x	Cut away above pelvis by G.83. Bones (but not skull) in fill of Gs.81 and 83	W −4	—	310–30	VS			80
See below	Bones of G.80 in fill, derived from G.83 fill	W +4	**71:** 350–3 **72:** 350–64 **73:** 348–64	350–70	C	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing), 320–1 **(68)**	Figs. 61 (plan), 71	81
—	Cut away G.80 above pelvis; G.80 bones (but not skull) in fill	W x	—	330–50	VS	p. 187 (G.80 disturbed)		83
x	Head end of grave not excavated	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			84
45, 46—2 shale bracelets, on ribcage, 0·1 m apart	—	W x	—	350–70	GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 58 (plan), 71	85
55—pottery flagon, R. of skull, outside coffin	—	W x	**55:** 270–370	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing), 196 (location)	Figs. 54 (plan), 71	86
—	—	W +5	—	370/80–390	VS			87
65—bronze coin in mouth (palate discoloured)	—	W +2	**65:** 364–78	365–90	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)		88

GRAVE **81**: a glass beaker and eight metal objects. A bronze cross-bow brooch **(74)** lay near the right shoulder, with its foot pointing towards the foot-end of the grave. A triangular silver plate **(68)** was found above the right hip; it may have been backed with leather and was presumably attached to some item of clothing. A bronze buckle **(70)** lay between the hips, its loop to the right. A bronze strap-end **(75)**, presumably part of the same belt as the buckle, was also found, perhaps in the area of the right shoulder, but its exact position was not recorded. A knife **(69)**, to which some textile fragments were corroded, lay by the left hip, its blade pointing away from the body. Three coins **(71–3)** were in a pile next to its handle. The glass beaker **(62)** stood upright, near the right foot; although some distance from any of the bones, it seems to have been placed inside the coffin.

Grave 81 was cut into the fill of Graves 80 and 83, and subsequent settlement caused the left side of the skeleton to sink. It is unlikely that the position of the finds was affected. There were difficulties in the excavation and interpretation of the grave and it was published in interim form (Clarke 1970, 295, Fig. 3) before these had been fully resolved.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
89	I	—	—	88	a	246°	*80*	B?	x	b	20/25	x	B	S	a	L	C	13– 70–14	RR	x	—
90	I	—	—	88	b	253°	*80*	B?	x	b	*c.* 9	x	B	S	c	S	C	9– 80–15	RE	x	—
91	I	—	—	—	—	244°	*100*	B?	x	c	*c.* 9 mo.	x	B	S	x	S	C	11–100–10 3– 40–10	RL	x	Present, **L. of feet, outside coffin**
92	I	—	—	—	—	245°	*30*	B?	x	b	*c.* 6 mo.	x	B	B	x	x	?	— x– x	x	x	—
94	I	98	e	95	a	247°	150 S	B	G	b	35+	M	L	B	e	L	C	?–170– x	RE	x	1 group, **R. of lower legs, in coffin**
95	I	94 96	a b	—	—	281°	50	x	x	d	*A*	x	B	S	g	x	?	— x– x	x	x	1 group, **among toe bones**
96	I	—	—	95 97	b b	248°	95	B?	x	c	30/35	M	B	S	c	L	C	6–100–24 7– 80–22 8– 50–15	IE	x	—
97	I	96	b	F.2	d	246°	80	B?	x	c	20/25	M	B	S	b	S	C	17–110–25	RE	x	—
98	I	—	—	94	e	257°	*120*	C?	x	c	20/25	F	B	S	a	L	C	11–100–26	x	x	1 group, **area of feet, in coffin**
99	P	x	x	x	x	254°	*60*	C	x	b	A	x	B	S	x	x	C	x–100–16 x– 70–18	x	x	2 groups, 1 by **each foot, outside coffin**
100	I	—	—	—	—	245°	150	A	E	c	17/20	F	B	S	a	S	C	6–110–21 9– 90–15	RE	x	—
101	I	F.2 102	b b	—	—	272°	30	B	E	c	35+	x	B	S	f	S	—	— x– x	x	x	—
102	IX	—	—	F.2 101	d b	249°	*90*	B?	x	e	*I/C*	x	x	x	x	x	C	13– 50–12	x	x	Present, **area of skull, ? outside coffin**
103	IX	—	—	—	—	269°	5	x	x	f	A	x	x	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	x	—
104	I	105	b	—	—	235°	70	B	E	b	20/25	M	B	S	e	R	C	15–100–23 2– 50–16	RL	x	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
78—shale spindle-whorl, on side, by R. foot, in coffin	—	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS		Figs. 64 (plan), 71	89
—	—	W −1	—	310–350/70	VS			90
67—pottery jug, L. of feet, outside coffin	—	W x	**67:** 270–370	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 72	91
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			92
—	628—sherds in fill; base of same pot in fill of G.54	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS		Fig. 49 (plan)	94
—	—	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS			95
80—bronze coin, R. of feet, outside coffin	—	W −1	**80:** 307–09	310–30	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)		96
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS	p. 96 (F.2)		97
76—pottery flagon; **77**—bone spindle-whorl; both near L. foot, in coffin	3 human-bone fragments in fill. Source uncertain	W x	**76:** 270–370	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 72	98
x	Only foot of grave excavated	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			99
Pile of objects in fill; see below	Enclosed by gully, F.2. Black dust around bones	W x	—	330–70	29	Below (date), p. 96 (F.2), pp. 145, 185 (finds in fill)	Figs. 66 (plan), 73	100
—	—	W +1	—	370–90	VS	p. 96 (cut F.2)		101
299—bone pin, area of feet, ? in coffin	—	W −1	—	350–70	VS GF	p. 96 (F.2), Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 72	102
—	Grave cut only slightly into chalk	W x	—	310–30	29	p. 99 (F.6 and date)		103
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS			104

GRAVE 100: no grave-goods were associated with the skeleton, but in the fill of the grave, about 1·40 m above its bottom, there was a pile of personal ornaments. This consisted of three bronze bracelets (**81, 84, 88**), one iron bracelet (**87**), a jet bracelet (**86**), two ivory bracelets (**83, 167**), two bone bracelets (**82, 168**), many beads (**85**), a jet pin (**89**), a glass pin (**90**), the head of a second glass pin (**297**), and some fragments of a glass bowl (**91**, not illustrated). The bracelets had been placed together on edge, in an upright position. The beads and the pins were among them, with the glass fragments to one side. The pile lay towards the east end of the grave, two-thirds of the way along the south side, separated by some 0·05 m of fill from the pit edge. The upright position of the bracelets suggests insertion subsequent to back-filling, and the placing of the pile without clear reference to the grave outline, such as might have been expected if the grave was still partly open, could also support this. There were slight but inconclusive indications of a cut around the pile.

Grave 100 was enclosed by Feature 2. Feature 2 may be dated to 330–70, a date which can presumably also be assigned to Grave 100. For Feature 2, see below, p. 96.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
105	I	—	—	104 b 106 b		57°	80	x	x	b	*c.* 1	x	B	S	g	S	C	9– 60–21	IF	x	—
106	I	105 b 107 b		—	—	256°	120	A?	x	d	30/35	x	B	S	x	S	C	11– 80–16	IH	x	—
107	I	110 c		106 b		249°	120	C?	x	a	20/25	M	B	S	d	S	C	x– 80– 9	x	x	Present, R. of feet, in coffin
108	I	152 a		—	—	246°	15	x	x	d	Neo	x	B	S	x	S	C	6– x– x	IF	x	—
109	I	—	—	—	—	247°	110	B?	x	a	20/25	M	B	S	c	L	C	15–100–23	IL	x	Present, area of feet, ? in coffin
110	I	111 b		107 c		246°	112	B?	x	d	*A*	x	B	S	c	L	C	19–100–22	RR	x	2 groups, R. of feet, outside coffin
111	I	—	—	110 b 112 b		286°	110	B?	x	d	20/25	?F	x	S	x	x	C	21– 70–17	Ix	x	2 groups, area of feet, in coffin
112	I	111 b		—	—	248°	*110*	B	x	b	20/25	M	B	S	a	R	C	5–100–17 3– 70–21 9– 60–16	RE	x	—
113	I	—	—	—	—	257°	110	B	x	f	2/3	x	x	x	x	x	C	3– 80–25 20– 70–15	IH	x	—
114	I	—	—	—	—	258°	105	B?	x	c	20/25	F	B	S	a	R	C	x– x– x	x	x	—
115	P	U	d	x	x	242°	110	B?	x	b	*A*	x	B	S	c	x	C	x– 50–18	x	x	x
116	P	x	x	x	x	233°	130	B?	x	b	A	?M	x	S	x	x	C	x–100–26	x	x	x
117	I	118 a		—	—	241°	130	A	E	d	17/20	F	B	S	x	S	C	1–140–19 13–100–23 2– 80–22	RR	x	1 group, L. of feet, outside coffin

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
See below	—	W −1	**134:** 270–330	310–30	HS pt	Table 21, pp. **170, 172–4** (furnishing)	Figs. 60 (plan), 72	105
See below	Sherds from **134** (G.105) in fill	W +1	**129:** 340–400	350–370/90	HS 29	Table 23 (date), Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing)	**Figs. 61 (plan), 72**	106
—	Top R. corner disturbed by G.106	W −1	—	310–350/70	VS			107
—	—	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS			108
151—pottery beaker, R. of hip, ? in coffin; **153, 154**—coins, in or near mouth	—	W x	**151:** 320–60 **153:** 330–41	330–60	C pt	Table 21, pp. 169, **172–4** (furnishing), **p. 195** (location)	**Figs. 59 (plan), 74**	109
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS			110
152—pottery flask, **R. of skull, inside coffin**	—	W −1	**152:** ?300–50	310–50	pt GF	Table 21, **pp. 168, 172–4** (furnishing)	**Fig. 74**	111
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS			112
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			113
99—pottery beaker, L. of feet, ? outside coffin; **115**—bronze coin, under skull	**99 broken, ? at burial**	W x	**99:** 270–330 **115:** 313–17	315–30	C pt	Table 21, pp. 169, **172–4** (furnishing), **p. 195** (location)	**Figs. 59 (plan), 74**	114
x	Head end **not** excavated	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			115
x	Only excavated below pelvis	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			116
See below	Cut away head end of G.118; G.118 skull not found	W +2	—	350–70	GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, **172–4** (furnishing), p. 187 (G.118 disturbed)	**Figs. 58 (plan), 75**	117

GRAVE 105: a beaker and two bracelets. The beaker **(134)** was outside the head-end of the coffin. It was smashed when found, and the position of the sherds suggested breakage at burial. Three sherds had been disturbed by Grave 106, but otherwise all the pot was present. One of the bracelets **(135,** shale) lay by the right knee, inside the coffin. The other **(136,** iron) was 0·10 m away, near the left hip.

GRAVE 106: a pot, knife, and five bronze objects, all inside the coffin. A cross-bow brooch **(121),** to which a few fragments of textile were corroded, lay to the left of the skull, its foot pointing towards the foot end of the grave. It had been repaired at least once, and was presumably old when buried. A buckle **(126)** was near the right elbow, its loop towards the shoulder. Another buckle **(122)** overlay fragments of the lower left arm, its loop to the right. A strap-end **(128)** was found between the knees. It has a distinct blue patina, similar to that on **122,** which suggests that the two objects were made to fit the same belt. To the right of the knees was another bronze object **(127),** that would normally be described as a nail-cleaner. The knife **(130)** lay in the hip region, its handle to the right. A small jar **(129)** lay on its side by the right foot.

GRAVE 117: a bone spindle-whorl and a pile of personal ornaments. The spindle-whorl **(133)** lay just outside the bottom left-hand corner of the coffin. It rested on its side, its curved face to the left, towards the grave wall. The pile of personal ornaments was by the left hip, inside the coffin. It consisted of five bronze bracelets **(141–3, 147, 148),** two ivory bracelets **(144–5),** a collection of beads **(140),** and two finger-rings **(146,** bronze, **149,** iron). Three of the bronze bracelets **(141–3)** were in a vertical position when found. The ivory bracelets lay flat to one side, and the two remaining bronze bracelets were underneath them. Perhaps originally all the bracelets had been placed vertically in a row. The two finger-rings had been hooked on to one of the bronze bracelets **(143).** The beads underlay the pile, and associated with them was a bronze fastening which rested on the two ivory bracelets.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
118	P	—	—	117 a 119 c		229°	90	B?	x	b	A	F	B	S	b	x	C	x- 7–20	x	x	x
119	I	118 c		—	—	254°	125	A?	x	c	19/23	F	B	S	a	L	C	11–130–15 4– x– x 7– 50–18	x	x	—
120	I	—	—	—	—	241°	90	B?	x	b	*c.* 2	x	B	S	a	D	C	8– 60–18 9– 60–12	RE	x	1 group, R. of feet, in coffin
121	I	—	—	—	—	233°	53	B?	x	f	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	C	16– 50–16	IH	x	—
122	I	124 a		—	—	252°	60	A?	E	f	*c.* 6	x	B	S	x	S	C	14– 7–18	RL	8, ⅔ over & around coffin (not all on Fig. 58)	—
123	I	125 b 149 a 152 c		—	—	250°	140	C?	x	c	20/25	M	B	S	a	S	C	14– 70–17	x	x	Present, area of feet, outside coffin
124	I	125 b		122 a		249°	110	B?	x	d	A	M	B	S	x	L	C	16– 90–10	RR	x	2 groups, 1 among toes of each foot
125	I	—	—	123 b 124 b		60°	75	B?	x	d	*A*?	x	B	S	b	R	C	8– 80–20 11– 50–14	RE	x	2 shoes, by L. foot, in coffin
126	I	—	—	—	—	244°	85	x	x	c	*A*	x	B	S	c	S	C	24–100–18 12– 60–16	x	x	Present, among toe bones
127	I	461 a 472 a		—	—	260°	90	B	E	f	A	x	x	S	x	x	C	18– 80–19	x	x	—
128	I	—	—	—	—	251°	*120*	x	x	c	35+	M	B	S	x	L	C	14– 80–18 11– 50–10	x	x	2 groups, 1 near each foot, in coffin
129	P	—	—	130 a		234°	25	B?	x	c	20/25	?M	B	x	x	S	—	— x– x	x	x	x
130	I	129 a		131 b		234°	105 S	B?	x	d	20/25	M	B	S	c	R	C	17– 70–18	IH	x	—
131	I	130 b 462 a		—	—	255°	110	x	x	d	17/20	?F	B	S	a	x	C	14–110– 9	IF	x	2 shoes, beyond feet, in coffin
132	I	462 d		—	—	241°	50	B?	x	b	*c.* 3	x	B	S	a	R	C	12– 70–15	RE	x	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
x	Head end cut away by G.117; skull not found in G.117 fill	W −2	—	310–50	VS			118
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			119
—	Head above feet, outside coffin	W x	—	350–370/90	HS 29	pp. 142, 192–3 (dating and decapitation)	Fig. 50 (plan)	120
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			121
See below	Red potsherd in L. eye socket	W +3	—	350–70	VS GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 58 (plan), 74	122
—	Cut away G.149 above pelvis; G.149 bones (but not skull) in fill	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS	p. 187 (G.149 disturbed)		123
—	—	W −1	—	330–50	VS			124
132—pottery jar, L. of skull, in coffin	—	W −3	—	310–30	VS	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 54 (plan), 74	125
95—pottery jug, R. of skull, outside coffin	Hobnails included some lying in the shape of a shoe	W x	95: 300–50	310–50	pt GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 74	126
96, 97—pottery beaker & bowl, both upright, L. of lower leg, in coffin	683—prehistoric sherd; bones of Gs.461 (skull absent) and 472 (skull present); all in fill	W +4	96: 350–80	350–80	VS pt	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 187 (Gs.461, 472 disturbed)	Figs. 54 (plan), 74	127
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			128
x	Cut away below ribs by G.130	W −3	—	310–30	VS			129
105—pottery flagon, outside foot of coffin	Cut away G.129 below ribs. G.129 bones in fill	W +1	105: 270–370	330–50	VS GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 196 (location)	Figs. 54 (plan), 74	130
—	Bones of G.462 in fill; skull present	W +3	—	350–370/90	VS	p. 188 (G.462 disturbed)		131
98—pottery beaker, L. of feet, in coffin; broken, ? at burial		W x	98: 320–50	320–50	pt GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 55 (plan), 74	132

GRAVE 122: five bracelets, three bronze (100, 102–3) and two bone (101, 104). They had been put in the coffin on or near the left hip and were in two interlocking piles, 100–1 in one pile, and 102–4 in the other.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
133	I	134	e	—	—	243°	100	B?	x	c	20/25	F	B	S	a	L	C	13– 90–16	x	x	—
134	I	—	—	133	e	258°	45	B	E	d	*c.* 8	x	R	S	x	R	C	10– 60–16	RR	x	2 shoes, area of feet, in coffin
135		—	—	136	b	259°	75	B?	x	d	A	?F	B	S	x	S	C	x– 90–10	x	x	1 group, among or over toe bones
136	I	135	b	—	—	256°	55	B?	x	c	*c.* 8	x	B	S	d	R	C	x– 90–24 x– 40–19	x	x	—
137	I	147	a	—	—	266°	95 S	B?	x	e	17/20	F	B	C	x	L	C	11–130–26	RE	x	—
138	I	—	—	—	—	262°	100	B	x	c	A	M	B	S	x	x	C	17–110–22	RE	x	—
139	I	140	b	—	—	250°	74	A?	E	d	20/25	?F	B	S	a	S	C	14– 80–25	x	x	—
140	I	141	b	139	b	254°	33	B?	x	c	25/30	M	B	B	b	L	C	2– x– x	x	x	2 groups, 1 among toes of each foot
141	I	—	—	140 142 189	b a c	242°	140	B?	x	a	25/30	M	B	S	a	L	C	13– 80–18 6–110–22 6– 70–22 1–100–80	RO	x	1 group, outside head of coffin
142	I	141 143 189	a b a	—	—	255°	100	B	x	d	15/20	?F	B	S	d	R	C	10– 80–19	IH	x	—
143	I	144	a	142	b	256°	65	B?	x	e	A	x	B	S	x	S	C	9– 80–15	IR	x	—
144	D	—	—	143	a	x	25	x	x	x	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	x	x
145	I	—	—	146	a	245°	85	x	x	d	A	x	B	S	x	x	C	5–120–19 11– 70–15	RE	x	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	—	W x	—	310–70	HS			133
See below	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS	Table 21, pp. 170, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 60 (plan), 74	134
—	—	W –1	—	310–350/70	VS			135
117—glass cup; 118—pottery jug; both on their side, R. of skull, in coffin	—	W +1	118: *post*-340	340–370/90	HS pt 29	p. 223 (118 and date); Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 76	136
See below	Bones of G.147 in fill; skull present	W +2	139: 330–41	330–70	C	Table 21, pp. 169–70, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 195 (location)	Figs. 59 (plan), 76	137
131—pottery flagon, R. of feet, outside coffin	—	W x	131: ?320–50	320–50	pt GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 55 (plan), 76	138
See below	—	W +3	—	350–70	VS GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 196 (location)	Figs. 58 (plan), 76	139
—	—	W —	—	330–50	VS			140
172—pottery flagon, on its side, R. of skull, in coffin	—	W –3	172: 300–50	310–30	VS pt	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 55 (plan), 76	141
—	Bones of G.189 in fill; skull present	W +4	—	370–90	VS	p. 188 (G.189 disturbed)		142
See below	Bones of G.144 in fill; skull present	W +1	—	350–70	VS GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 188 (G.144 disturbed), p. 196 (location)	Figs. 58 (plan), 77	143
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.143	W –3	—	310–50	VS			144
150—shale spindle-whorl, near L. knee, ? inside coffin	—	W –2	—	310–350/70	VS		Fig. 78	145

GRAVE 134: four bracelets and a pottery bowl, all inside the coffin. The pot **(119)** was at the feet, centrally placed between the hobnails and the end of the coffin. One bracelet **(120,** iron) lay near the right shoulder. The other three bracelets **(123,** bone, **124,** shale, **125,** iron), which were not found until the skull came to be washed, must have been placed very near the head.

GRAVE 137: a coin and two bracelets. The coin **(139)** was corroded to the mandible, and would originally have been placed on or in the mouth. The two bracelets **(137,** bronze, **138,** bone) were in a pile to the left of the skull, inside the coffin.

GRAVE 139: a pile of personal ornaments, consisting of two bronze finger-rings **(112, 116)** and eight bronze bracelets **(106–11, 113–14).** The pile lay to the left of the skull, inside the coffin. Five of the bracelets **(106–10)** were found in a vertical position, and two others **(113, 114)** were flat; originally these too had probably been vertical. The remaining bracelet **(111)** had been threaded through the other seven, and would have held the whole group together. One of the finger-rings **(116)** had been hooked on to **114,** while the other **(112)** appeared to be loose.

GRAVE 143: a pile of fourteen bracelets lay to the right of the skull, inside the coffin. Six of the bracelets were bronze **(155–6, 163–6)** and the other eight bone **(157–62, 293, 511).** All were lying flat and there was no evidence that any had been threaded through the others.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
146	I	145	a	—	—	268°	*60*	B?	x	d	A	?F	B	S	a	x	C	12–70–18	RL	x	x
147	D	—	—	137	a	x	x	x	x	x	*c.* 11	x	x	x	x	x	C	x–60–16	x	x	x
148	I	—	—	—	—	240°	94	B	x	f	*I/C*	x	x	x	x	x	C	x–110–18	RL	x	—
149	P	—	—	123	a	256°	60	x	x	b	*A*	x	B	S	x	x	C	x–80–16	x	x	1 group, among toe bones
150	I	—	—	—	—	272°	135	A	E	d	A	?M	B	S	a	S	C	15–120–19 9–50–18	RL	x	—
151	IX	—	—	—	—	251°	60	B?	x	e	A	?F	x	S	x	x	C	x–x–x	x	x	1 group, area of feet, in coffin
152	I	153	d	108 123	a c	260°	75	B?	x	a	*c.* 15	x	B	S	b	S	C	14–80–18	IF	x	2 groups, 1 at L. foot, 1 between knees
153	I	—	—	152	d	258°	40	B?	x	e	C	x	B	x	x	S	C	x–60–16	x	x	—
154	I	—	—	—	—	261°	45	B?	x	d	2/3	x	B	S	x	x	C	13–70–18	RO	x	—
155	I	—	—	156	b	262°	90	B	E	d	9/10	x	B	S	x	S	C	26–100–20	RE	x	1 group, area of feet, in coffin
156	I	155	b	—	—	255°	70	C?	E	d	*C*	x	B	S	g	S	C	18–70–19	x	x	2 groups, beyond feet, in coffin
157	I	—	—	—	—	259°	80	B?	x	f	*C*	x	x	x	x	x	C	11–x–x	RE	x	—
158	I	—	—	—	—	246°	90	B?	x	b	25/35	x	B	S	a	L	C	4–90–22 9–80–20	RE	x	2 groups, L. of feet, in coffin
159	I	160	c	—	—	253°	*100*	B?	x	d	20/25	F	B	S	d	S	C	9–80–19	IF	7, around head of coffin	x
160	I	—	—	159	c	258°	*100*	B?	x	c	A	M	B	S	c	L	C	16–80–18	x	x	x
161	I	—	—	—	—	263°	70	B?	x	a	*A*	x	B	S	d	L	C	x–70–15	x	x	—
162	I	—	—	—	—	254°	60	B?	x	f	*c.* 5	x	x	x	x	x	C	6–60–14	RE	x	—
163	I	—	—	—	—	260°	110	C	E	d	20/25	M	B	S	x	S	C	31–60–18	IF	x	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	—	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS			146
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.137	W −2	—	310–50	VS			147
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			148
x	Cut away above pelvis by G.123. Bones (but not skull) in G.123 fill	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			149
260—pottery flagon, L. of skull, outside coffin; **261**—bird, beside **260**	Enclosed by gully, F.6	W x	**260:** 270–370	325–35	29	p. 99 (F.6 and date), Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	**Figs. 66 (plan), 78**	150
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			151
169—coin, by L. lower leg, in coffin; **170**—iron needle, on L. shoulder	—	W −2	**169:** 286–93	300–30	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)	**Figs. 54 (plan), 78**	152
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			153
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			154
See below	—	W −1	**203:** 270–370	310–350/70	VS	Table 21, pp. 170, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 328 **(195)**, p. 195 (location)	**Figs. 60 (plan), 78**	155
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS			156
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			157
—	Much coffin-wood preserved	W x	—	310–370/90	HS		**Fig. 51 (plan)**	158
—	—	W x	—	360–90	29	**p. 143 (flints and date)**		159
176—pottery flagon, on its side, R. of skull, in coffin	—	W x	**176:** 270–370	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	**Fig. 78**	160
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			161
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			162
204, 205—pottery beaker and flagon, outside head of coffin	—	W x	**204:** 310–40 **205:** ?300–50	310–40	pt	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	**Fig. 78**	163

GRAVE 155: a pot, three bracelets, four rings, a wooden comb, and a leather fragment, all inside the coffin. Organic remains were better preserved in Grave 155 than in any other burial excavated at Lankhills. The flagon **(203)**, whose handle had been broken off in antiquity, was to the right of the skull. All three bracelets were bronze. Two (**196** and **197**) leant against the left side of the skull, and the third **(198)**, which was broken, seemed originally to have been in the same position. The four rings (**201, 202**, silver; **199, 200**, bronze) were in a pile next to the bracelets, still tied together with a length of thread. Also near the bracelets were the remains of the wooden comb **(194)** and the leather fragment **(195)**, possibly a much decayed spindle-whorl.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
164	I	—	—	165	e	182°	70	B?	x	e	*c.* 7	x	x	x	x	S	C	15–50–15	RE	—	—
165	I	164 166 167	e d c	—	—	259°	10	C/D	x	a	A	x	R	B	a	R	—	— x– x	x	—	—
166	IX	167	a	165	d	259°	5	x	x	c	A	?M	B	S	d	x	C	x– 60–15	x	—	—
167	P	—	—	165 166 168	c a a	265°	40	A?	E	e	25/30	M	x	x	x	L	C	x–100–24 x– 80–16	x	x	Present; see below
168	I	167	a	—	—	263°	100	B	E	b	25+	?F	B	S	a	S	C	10–100–23	IR	—	—
169	I	—	—	—	—	252°	40	A?	E	c	*c.* 4	x	B	S	a	L	C	10– 70–17	RR	—	—
170	I	—	—	171	b	266°	110	B	E	d	20/25	F	B	S	x	S	C	17–100–18	RE	—	1 group, L. of feet, outside coffin
171	I	170	b	—	—	265°	50	B?	E	c	20/25	F	B	S	d	S	C	14– 70–18	IL	—	—
172	I	—	—	—	—	271°	70 S	B	E	b	*C*	x	B	S	a	S	C	13– 90–24	RO	—	1 group, L. of feet, outside coffin
173	I	—	—	—	—	83°	10	x	x	f	*I*	x	x	x	x	x	C	1– x– x	IH	—	—
174	I	—	—	—	—	267°	10	C	E	f	*c.* 2	x	x	x	x	x	C	12– 80–14	RO	—	—
175	I	—	—	—	—	273°	80	B?	x	c	*A*	x	B	S	c	S	C	19–120–19	RE	—	—
176	I	—	—	177	d	276°	15	B	E	d	25+	x	B	S	e	S	C	1– x– x	x	9, mostly around head of coffin	Present, among toe bones
177	I	176	d	—	—	275°	5	B	E	c	4/5	x	B	x	x	L	C	3– x– x	IR	? 2, placed alongside of coffin	—
178	I	—	—	—	—	267°	25	A?	E	f	4/8	x	x	x	x	L	C	12– 80–16	IH	—	—
179	I	—	—	—	—	259°	70	B?	x	b	15/20	F	B	S	d	S	C	14– 60–14	IH	—	—
180	P	—	—	181	a	9°	35	B	E	b	A	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 50–13	x	x	x

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
232—bronze coin, in R. eye-socket (which was discoloured)	—	W x	**232:** 330–41	330–70	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 54 (plan)	164
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			165
—	Damaged during topsoil removal	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS			166
x	Partly disturbed; see below	W −2	—	310–50	VS			167
259—bronze bracelet, by R. foot, in coffin	Disturbed G.167 below pelvis; see below, G.167	W +2	—	350–70	GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 57 (plan), 78	168
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			169
214—pottery flagon, L. of feet, outside coffin	—	W −1	**214:** 270–370	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 55 (plan), 78	170
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS			171
See below	? narrow step each side of grave	W x	**229:** 307–9	310–30	C	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 59 (plan), 78	172
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			173
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			174
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			175
—	—	W x	—	360–90	29	p. 143 (flints and date)		176
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			177
216—pottery flagon, R. of feet, ? in coffin	—	W x	**216:** 270–370	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 78	178
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			179
x	Cut away above knees by G.181. Bones (but not skull) in G.181 fill	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			180

GRAVE 167: cut away below the pelvis by Grave 168. When Grave 168 was dug, some hobnails and disturbed bones were pushed into the undisturbed part of Grave 167, perhaps into cavities left by a coffin.

GRAVE 172: a pottery bowl and a coin. The coin (229) was found inside the coffin, to the right of the hips. The bowl (228) lay outside the coffin, in the bottom left-hand corner of the grave, its base on the same level as the uppermost nails of the coffin.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
181	I	180	a	—	—	259°	80	B	E	b	20/25	M	B	S	b	S	C	19–110–21	RE	—	—
182	I	—	—	—	—	257°	120	B	E	a	*A*	x	B	S	a	R	C	14– 90–19	RE	—	1 group, R. of knees, ? in coffin
183	I	—	—	—	—	250°	65	A?	E	c	*c.* 5	x	B	S	x	S	C	7– 80– x	RO	—	—
184	I	—	—	185	d	258°	100	B	E	d	*c.* 4	x	B	S	c	S	C	18–110–19	RO	—	1 group, outside foot of coffin
185	I	184	d	—	—	254°	70	B?	E	c	*c.* 4	x	R	S	b	x	C	13– 80–14	RE	—	1 group, R. of feet, in coffin
186	I	—	—	—	—	264°	100	B	E	d	20/25	M	B	S	c	S	C	8– 90–18 3– 70–20 5– x– x	RE	—	2 groups, 1 by each foot, in coffin
187	I	—	—	—	—	263°	80	B	E	e	*A*	x	x	S	x	R	C	22– 70–18	RE	—	2 groups, 1 among toes of each foot
188	I	—	—	—	—	259°	100 S	C?	E	b	*c.* 5	x	B	B	c	L	C	13–100–22	RO	—	1 group, among toe bones
189	D	141	c	142	a	x	x	x	x	x	*c.* 11	x	x	x	x	x	?	1– x– x		x	x
190	IX	—	—	—	—	272°	5	x	x	f	*I*	x	x	x	x	x	C	1– x– x	x	—	—
191	I	—	—	—	—	268°	100	B?	x	b	17/22	x	B	S	g	x	C	9– 80–20	IR	—	—
192	I	—	—	—	—	287°	100	B?	x	c	20/25	M	B	S	e	L	C	7– x– x	IF	—	—
193	I	—	—	—	—	255°	88	B	E	c	30/35	x	B	S	b	S	C	18– 90–22	RE	—	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	Cut away G.180 above knees; G.180 bones (but not skull) in fill	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS	p. 187 (G.180 disturbed)	Fig. 51 (plan)	181
See below	—	W x	**210:** 270–370	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 55 (plan), 78	182
See below	—	W x	—	350–70	GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 196 (location)	Figs. 58 (plan), 79	183
171—iron needle, outside head of coffin	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS		Figs. 64 (plan), 79	184
See below	Unusually wide pit (not shown on Fig. 60)	W x	**175:** 270–370	310–70	HS pt	Table 21, pp. 170, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 321 **(177)**, p. 195 (location)	Figs. 60 (plan), 79	185
241, 242—pottery flagon and flask, L. of shoulder, outside coffin	—	W x	**241:** ?300–50	310–50	pt GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 55 (plan), 79	186
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS		Fig. 65 (plan)	187
See below	—	W x	**244:** 270–370	310–70	pt	Table 21, pp. 170, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 60 (plan), 80	188
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.142	W −2	—	310–70	VS			189
—	Damaged by top-soil removal	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			190
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			191
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			192
—	**673**—scattered bird bones, in fill, above L. foot	W x	—	310–370/90	HS	p. 145 (bones in fill)		193

GRAVE 182: three pottery vessels, a flagon **(210)**, and two bowls **(211, 212)**. The vessels were in the top right corner of the grave, just above the uppermost traces of the coffin. The flagon lay inside the smaller of the two bowls **(211)**, which had itself been placed in **212**. **211** was lost or stolen subsequent to its discovery; the reconstruction on Fig. 78 is based on memory and an unsatisfactory photograph.

GRAVE 183: a pile of bracelets and beads lay to the right of the knees, inside the coffin. There were fourteen bracelets, nine bronze **(179–80, 183–8, 191)**, two ivory **(189, 292)**, two bone **(178, 181)**, and one shale **(190)**. They were lying horizontally, in a single pile. Two of the bracelets **(181, 187)** had been threaded through at least some of the others, and it is possible that originally they held the whole pile together. There seemed to be two sets of beads, one with a bronze fastening and bronze-wire links **(182)**, and the other with beads alone **(192)**. One bead, presumably from **192**, was found with the thread that ran through it still preserved.

GRAVE 185: a pottery flagon and a bronze object. The flagon **(175)** lay on its side, by the right knee, inside the coffin. The bronze object **(177)** was among the hobnails, to the right of the feet, and also inside the coffin. It could be a strap-fitting, possibly a belt-fastening (cf. below, p. 321).

GRAVE 188: a pottery flagon, some beads, and seven bronze objects, all except the flagon inside the coffin. The flagon **(244)** was at the foot of the grave, on the same level as the step. Two bracelets **(245–6)** and a finger-ring **(247)** lay near the left hand. Another ring **(262)** had been placed under the neck. A bracelet **(251)** lay between the lower legs and another bracelet **(249)** and a ring **(250)** lay over the right foot. The beads **(248)** were scattered by the lower right leg.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
194	I	—	—	—	—	270°	100	B?	x	c	20/25	x	B	S	a	R	C	20– 90–12	RE	—	—
195	I	—	—	—	—	258°	43	A	E	f	*C*	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 70–14	x	—	1 group, area of feet, in coffin
196	I	198	a	—	—	270°	65	B	x	c	*A*	x	B	S	f	S	C	13– 70–11 2– x– x	IF	6, around foot of coffin	2 groups, 1 among toes of each foot
197	I	198	b	—	—	266°	58	C	G	b	*c.* 2	x	B	x	x	R	C	4– 70–16 6– 50–18 1– 70–20	IR	—	—
198	I	—	—	196 197	a b	265°	95	A	E	d	20/25	M	B	S	x	S	C	11– x– x 9– 50– x	RE	—	—
199	I	—	—	—	—	252°	80	A	E	b	*A*?	x	B	B	a	S	C	10–100–16	RO	—	—
200	I	—	—	—	—	273°	88	A	E	d	A	x	B	S	x	S	C	8– 80–18 12– 60–14	RR	—	1 group, area of feet, in coffin
201	I	202	b	—	—	270°	58	A	E	d	20/25	?F	B	S	a	L	C	6– 80–18 8– 60–18 9– 60–23	RE	—	Present, area of feet (not shown on Fig. 51)
202	P	—	—	201 339	b a	266°	60	B	E	d	*I*/*C*	x	B	x	x	x	C	x– 80–20	x	x	x
203	I	—	—	—	—	269°	118	C?	E	c	25/30	x	B	S	d	L	C	7– 70–16	RE	—	—
204	I	—	—	—	—	278°	78	B	E	c	20/25	F	B	S	a	R	C	12–120–30 6– 70–22	RE	—	—
205	I	—	—	206	a	269°	35	B	x	f	*C*	x	x	x	x	x	C	7– 40– 8	x	—	—
206	IX	205	a	—	—	262°	10	x	x	f	*I*/*C*	x	x	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	—	—
207	D	—	—	212	a	x	x	x	x	x	*c.* 5	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– x– x	x	x	x
208	I	—	—	211	e	272°	120 S	B	G	b	A	?M	B	S	a	S	C	9– 90–22 1– 70–30 2– x– x	IH	—	Present, area of feet, ? in coffin
210	I	—	—	211	a	267°	90	B	E	f	*c.* 5	x	x	x	x	R	C	14– 70–18	RE	—	1 group, L. of skull, ? outside coffin
211	I	208 210	e a	—	—	254°	63	x	x	d	25–35	x	B	S	a	L	C	5–100–24 9– 80–14	RE	—	1 group, among and between toe bones
212	I	207	a	—	—	271°	104	B	E	c	25–30	?F	B	S	x	S	C	8–120–22 10– 80–20 2– x– x	x	—	? 1 group, area of feet, in coffin

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS		Fig. 48 (plan)	194
321—pottery jar; **322**—pottery bowl. Both in coffin, at foot	—	W x	—	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. **168, 172–4** (furnishing)	Fig. 80	195
—	Flint packing not shown on Fig. 48	W +2	—	360–90	29	**p. 143 (flints and date)**	**Fig. 48 (plan)**	196
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS			197
—	—	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			198
209—pottery beaker, R. of elbow, outside coffin; **215**—beads, under L. hip	—	W x	**209:** 270–330	310–30	pt	Table 21, pp. **170, 172–4** (furnishing)	**Figs. 60 (plan), 80**	199
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			200
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS		**Fig. 51 (plan)**	201
[illegible]	Cut away below ribs by G.339	W −4	—	310–50	VS			202
329—pottery beaker, L. of skull, in coffin; broken, ? at burial	—	W x	**329:** 330–70	330–50	pt GF	Table 21, pp. **168, 172–4** (furnishing)	**Fig. 80**	203
377—pottery jar, L. of skull, in coffin	—	W x	—	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. **168, 172–4** (furnishing)	**Figs. 55 (plan), 80**	204
—	—	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			205
—	—	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS			206
[illegible]	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.212	W −2	—	310–50	VS			207
—	Wood fragments on steps; see below	W x	—	310–370/90	HS	**p. 134 (step)**	Figs. 11 (pit and ? chamber), 66 (plan)	208
462, 463—pottery flagon and beaker, outside foot of coffin	—	W −2	**462:** 270–370 **463:** 320–50	320–50	pt	Table 21, pp. **168, 172–4** (furnishing)	**Figs. 55 (plan), 80**	210
—	—	W +2	—	340–370/90	VS			211
459—coin, in or near mouth; **460**—bird, R. of hip, ? outside coffin	Bones of G.207 in fill; skull present	W +2	**459:** 330–5	330–70	C	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 188 (G.207 disturbed)		212

GRAVE 208: a step-grave. On each of the lateral steps were four small deposits of light brown soil, which occurred at regular intervals of 0·3–0·4 m. Wood fragments were found in three of the deposits on the right-hand step. These deposits are difficult to interpret, but the wood fragments suggest that they may be the remains of a timber structure (cf. Fig. 11 and below, p. 134).

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
213	I	—	—	—	—	264°	53	A?	G	f	?18 mo.	x	x	x	x	x	C	5– 80–12 5– 60–20	RO	—	—
214	I	—	—	419	b	272°	118	B	E	b	30/35	x	B	S	c	L	C	13– 70–18	RE	—	—
215	I	362	b	—	—	267°	85	B	E?	e	30+	?M	B	S	x	x	C	17–100–22	RR	—	1 group, in foot end of coffin
216	I	362	b	—	—	269°	113	B	G	e	A	x	x	x	x	x	C	8–110–22 1–100–20 3– 70–22 1– 60–28	RE	—	1 group, among toe bones
217	I	—	—	—	—	275°	88	B	E	d	30+	?M	B	S	a	R	C	8– 70–17 3– 80–22 12– 80–14	RE	—	—
218	I	—	—	219	b	272°	58	B?	x	c	30+	x	B	S	a	S	C	7– 80–14 7– x– x	IH	4, ? at side of coffin	1 group, among toe bones
219	I	218 363	b a	—	—	268°	85	B	E	c	20/25	x	B	S	d	S	C	4–100–20 6– 80–18	IF	—	1 group, among toe bones
220	I	—	—	436	b	264°	120	B	G	d	25/30	x	B	S	x	L	C	10– 90–22 1– 60–40	RE	—	—
222	I	—	—	—	—	248°	110	B?	x	c	20/25	M	B	S	a	S	C	3–100–23 4– 70–22	x	—	—
224	I	—	—	—	—	242°	95	B?	x	c	9/10	x	B	S	a	R	C	25– 70–16 5– x– x	RR	—	1 group, L. of feet, in coffin
225	I	—	—	—	—	240°	115	B?	x	c	30/35	M	B	S	x	x	C	8– 90–20 3– 70–15	RR	—	—
226	I	—	—	—	—	239°	135	D?	x	a	25/35	M	B	S	a	S	C	12–110–21	Rx	—	1 group, in centre, outside foot of coffin
227	I	—	—	—	—	259°	110	B?	x	a	30/35	M	B	S		L	C	13–120–16 5– 70–15	RE	—	2 groups, outside coffin; se Col. 24
228	I	—	—	—	—	260°	80	B?	x	c	20/25	x	B	S	x	x	C	12–120–23	RR	—	—
229	I	—	—	—	—	264°	70	A?	E	c	A	x	B	S	a	S	C	13–100–18	RR	—	—
231	I	U	d	232	d	274°	60	B	x	d	A	x	B	S	x	S	C	12– 90–24 2– 60– x	IF	—	—
232	I	231	d	—	—	267°	70	B	x	d	20/25	F	B	S	a	S	C	12–150–13	RO	—	—
233	I	—	—	234 235 236 U	b b d b	267°	120 S	C?	E	d	35/45	M	B	S	a	S	C	x– 80–21	x	—	1 group, among toe bones
234	I	233 235 272	b a a	—	—	269°	150	A	G	e	A		B	S	x	S	C	5–100–20 12– 80–30 6– 60–19	RR	—	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			213
526—pottery beaker, L. of feet, outside coffin	—	W −1	**526:** 310–40	310–40	pt	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 56 (plan), 80	214
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS		Fig. 65 (plan)	215
478—pottery beaker, L. of feet, outside coffin	—	W +1	**478:** 330–50	330–50	pt	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 56 (plan), 80	216
464—pottery bottle, L. of skull, inside coffin	**664—sherds in fill**	W x	**464:** 340–80 **664:** 320–50	340–50	pt GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 80	217
680—bone bracelet, found among hobnails after excavation	—	W −1	—	350–70	GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 196 (location)	Fig. 80	218
—	—	W +2	—	370–90	VS			219
—	—	W −1	—	310–370/90	HS VS			220
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			222
213—pottery beaker, L. of skull, inside coffin	—	W x	**213:** 270–340	310–40	pt	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 56 (plan), 80	224
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			225
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			226
226—pottery flagon, L. of feet, outside coffin	1 hobnail group R. of shoulder, the other R. of hips	W x	**226:** 300–50	310–50	pt	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 56 (plan), 80	227
230—bronze coin, under skull	—	W x	**230:** 322–4	325–40	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 54 (plan)	228
227—pottery jar, R. of feet, outside coffin	—	W x	**227:** 270–370	310–50	GF	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 81	229
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			231
218—bronze coin, in or near mouth (mandible discoloured)	—	W x	**218:** 364–78	365–90	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 53 (plan)	232
272, 273—pottery flagon and flask, L. of knees, ? in coffin	—	W −3	**272:** 270–370 **273:** *pre*-325	310–25	pt	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 81	233
See below	Finds in fill; see below, cut through Gs. 235 and 272	W +4	**231:** *pre*-350	350–90	VS	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing), p. 286 **(280)**	Figs. 61 (plan), 81	234

GRAVE **234**: three bronze objects and a bird skeleton, all inside the coffin. A cross-bow brooch **(278)** was found in the area of the right shoulder, its foot pointing towards the top right corner of the grave. A buckle **(279)** lay at the right hip, its loop to the left. By the left thigh was another belt-fitting **(280)**, which probably also served as a buckle. The bird skeleton **(281)** was by the right foot.

Grave 234 had cut away Grave 235 above the knees, and also the upper part of one of the skeletons in Grave 272. In the fill of Grave 234 many bones (but no skull) were found, these no doubt being derived from the two disturbed graves. An upper-leg bone had been placed outside the foot of the coffin; this could only have come from Grave 235. Also in the grave-fill were many sherds from a beaker **(231)**, which could have been an offering in one of the disturbed graves or could have come from Feature 12 (cf. below, pp. 102–3) on whose edge Grave 234 lay.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
235	PX	233 b 236 c		234 a		0°	70	x	x	d	A	x	B	S	x	x	?	x– x– x	x	x	1 group, under left knee
236	IX	233 d		235 c		267°	100	x	x	f	C	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 40–18	x	1, ? over skull	—
237	PC	—	—	—	—	x	10	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	— x– x	x	x	x
238	I	—	—	—	—	265°	45	C	E	f	2½	x	x	x	x	x	C	5– x– x	IF	—	1 group, area of feet, in coffin
239	PX	—	—	240 a		285°	95	B	E	d	A	x	B	x	x	S	C	x– x– x	x	x	x
240	IX	239 a		—	—	276°	95	B	E	e	5–8	x	x	S	x	x	C	x– 80– x	IF	—	1 group, area of feet, ? in coffin
242	I	—	—	—	—	266°	50	C?	x	f	*I*	x	x	x	x	x	C	12–110–24	RO	—	—
243	I	F.6 d		—	—	267°	110 S	A?	x	b	20/25	F	B	S	a	R	C	14– 90–19	RE	—	1 group, R. of chest, outside coffin
244	I	F.6 d 246 a 247 a		—	—	270°	60	B	E	d	25/35	x	x	S	x	x	C	15–100–20	RE	—	1 group, among toe bones
246	D	F.6 d 247 d		244 a 248 b		268°	55	x	x	x	*A*	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 70–16	x	x	x
247	PE	—	—	F.6 d 244 a 246 d		x	10	C	x	x	? *c.* 2	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– x–17	x	x	x

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
x	Disturbed above knees by G.234 (q.v.)	W −1	—	330–70	VS			235
270—glass flask; **271**—pottery beaker; both ? near feet, ? outside coffin	Skeleton entirely decayed	W x	**271:** *post*-340	340–370/90	HS pt	p. 232 (271 and date), Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 81	236
x	Cremation; see below	W x	—	310–370/90	HS	p. 128 (cremation rite)	Fig. 81	237
See below	—	W x	—	350–70	GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 196 (location)	Figs. 58 (plan), 81	238
240—pottery flask, L. of skull, ? inside coffin	Cut away below ribs by G.240; many bones in G.240 fill	W −2	**240:** ?300–50	310–50	pt GF		Fig. 81	239
—	Cut away G.239 below ribs; G.239 bones scattered in fill	W +2	—	330–370/90	VS			240
—	Skeleton entirely decayed	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			242
—	—	W x	—	330–50	VS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date)	Fig. 65 (plan)	243
—	Cut away G.246 and ? G.247 (qq.v.). 3 child bones, ? from G.247, in fill	W +3	—	350–370/90	VS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date), p. 187 (G.246 disturbed)		244
x	Destroyed grave; see below	W −1	—	330–40	VS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date)		246
x	Empty grave; see below	W −1	—	310–30	VS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date), p. 187 (empty grave)		247

GRAVE 237: a cremation in an urn. The urn **(207)** was set in a shallow hole that had been cut 0·1 m into the chalk, and only its lower part had survived subsequent ploughing. It contained nothing other than a small amount of cremated bone.

GRAVE 238: a pile of bracelets was found inside the coffin, in the area of the hips. There were two bronze bracelets **(219–20)** and two of bone **(222–3)**. All were lying horizontally, and there was no evidence that any had been threaded through the others.

GRAVE 246: cut away by Grave 244. All that remained in position were the nails of the east end and north-west corner of the coffin. The length of the coffin (1·6 m) indicated a small adult or large child. Since no human bones of suitable size were found in the fill of Grave 244, the removal of the grave must have been thorough.

Grave 246 lay centrally in the west side of Feature 6, a position which suggests that the two were related (cf. pp. 97–9 below).

GRAVE 247: intersected Graves 244 and 246 and Feature 6. One of the graves had cut away its west end. Some 0·7 m of pit remained intact but in that area nothing was found apart from the nails belonging to one end of the coffin. There were no bones. The size of the pit indicates that the grave belonged to a child. Three child bones were recovered from the fill of Grave 244—a vertebra, and pieces of leg and arm bones, all belonging to a two-year-old. These may have derived from Grave 247, but whatever the circumstances it would seem that Grave 247 was at some stage thoroughly removed. The grave may have preceded Feature 6 and have been emptied when the latter was laid out (see below, pp. 97–9).

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
248	I	F.6 b 246 b		—	—	266°	155 S	A	E/G	f	*A*	x	x	x	x	x	C	37–110–20 8– 70–10 4– x– x	CF	1 flint, over **243** (not shown on Fig. **51**)	1 group, outside foot of coffin
249	I	F.6 d 464 a		—	—	263°	65	B	x	c	25+	x	B	S	a	S	C	11–110–20	RO	—	—
250	I	F.6 d		—	—	268°	150 S	A	E/G	d	17/22	x	B	S	x	S	C	53–100–18	CF	—	Present; see below
251	PE	—	—	F.6 d 252 a		x	20	B?	x	x	C	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 30–18	x	x	x
252	I	F.6 b 251 a		—	—	263°	110 S	B/A	G	d	A	x	B	S	d	S	C	11–100–20	RO	—	—
253	IX	—	—	—	—	258°	5	x	x	f	*C*	x	x	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	—	—
254	I	F.6 d 260 a		—	—	277°	45	x	x	d	35/40	?M	B	B	x	S	C	13– 90–26	RR	—	1 group, among toe bones
255	I	F.6 b		—	—	265°	50	B	E	d	A	x	B	C	x	L	C	5– 90–15 10– 70–14	RL	4, around foot of coffin	1 group, among toe bones
256	I	—	—	—	—	269°	65	B	E	b	20/25	F	B	S	a	x	C	8–110–26 7– 80–17	RE	—	—
257	I	F.6 b 258 e		—	—	256°	45	B?	x	f	3/6	x	x	x	x	x	C	12– 50–14	IF	—	—
258	I	F.6 b 465 a		—	—	270°	45	B?	x	d	A	?F	B	S	e	x	C	9– 80–17	Rx	—	1 group, area of feet, in coffin

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
243—pottery jar, outside head of coffin, to L.; broken, ? at burial, by flint above	12 strip-angle coffin-fittings	W +1	**243:** 270–370	340–50	VS GF 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date), p. 336 (coffin), Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 44, 45 (coffin), 51 (plan), 81; Pl. IX*b*	248
—	Bones of G.464 in fill; skull present	W +2	—	350–370/90	VS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date), p. 188 (G.464 disturbed)		249
See below	8 strip-angle coffin-fittings	W x	**254:** 330–70 **255:** *pre*-370	330–50	pt GF 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date), p. 336 (coffin), Table 21, pp. 170, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 326 (268)	Figs. 43, 45 (coffin), 51 (plan), 82; Pl. IX*c*	250
x	Empty grave; see below	W −2	—	310–30	VS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date), p. 187 (empty grave)		251
—	2 bones, ? from G. 251 (q.v.), in fill	W +2	—	330–50	VS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date)		252
—	No bones or coffin-nails found. Bones ? decayed	W x	—	310–30	HS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date)		253
225—bone comb, near R. shoulder, in coffin	—	W +2	—	365–90	GF 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date), p. 178 (comb and date)		254
—	—	W x	—	360–90	HS 29	p. 99 (F.6), p. 143 (flints and date)	Fig. 48 (plan)	255
See below	In entrance of F.6	W x	—	350–70	GF	p. 99 (F.6), Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing), p. 196 (location)	Figs. 58 (plan), 82	256
—	—	W x	—	330–370/90	29	p. 99 (F.6 and date)		257
—	Bones of G.465 in fill; skull present	W +2	—	350–370/90	VS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date), p. 188 (G.465 disturbed)		258

GRAVE 250: four pottery vessels and several other objects were found between the foot of the coffin and the end of the grave-pit. Two pottery bowls **(255–6)** had been inverted and placed 0·4 m beyond the bottom right-hand corner of the coffin, **255** over **256**. Close against the end of the coffin were a pottery jar (**253**, to the right) and a pottery flagon (**254**, to the left). The jar was inverted and near to it lay a jet pin **(267)**. Between the jar and the flagon were some pewter fragments **(257**, not illustrated) and two beads **(269)**. On the left side of the grave, 0·25 m beyond the coffin, were a shale spindle-whorl **(258)** and a blue glass tessera **(268)**. Hobnails were scattered around.

Also outside the foot of the coffin, and clearly therefore not part of it, were six iron nails **(672)** with wood traces corroded to them. Although they formed no clear outline, they are difficult to explain except as the remains of a wooden box. This would have contained the spindle-whorl, the tessera, the pin, the hobnails, and perhaps the two beads. The vessels would have stood outside, and the presence of a box would explain why they were so widely separated. The six nails may themselves have been unimportant for the box's basic construction, and were perhaps used in repairs.

GRAVE 251: intersected Grave 252 and Feature 6, along whose south side it lay. It was certainly cut by Grave 252, and could have been cut by Feature 6. Some 0·8 m of its length had not been dug away, but in that area no bones were found, and only one very small nail. This suggests that the grave had been emptied, and if it preceded Feature 6, it may have been cleared when the latter was laid out. The size of the pit indicates a child. Two bones found in the fill of Grave 252 may have come from it.

GRAVE 256: a pile of six bracelets was found inside the coffin, resting on the bones of the left foot. Two of the bracelets were bronze **(238, 239)**, two shale **(235, 236)**, one iron **(237)**, and one bone **(234)**. There was no evidence that the bracelets had been threaded through each other.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
259	I	F.6	b	—	—	270°	10	x	x	d	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	—	—
260	I	—	—	254	a	277°	85	B	E	c	20/25	M	B	S	c	L	C	12– 80–14	RE	—	1 group, area of feet, in coffin
261	I	—	—	262	d	238°	110	A	G	d	A	M	B	S	x	S	C	12– 90–20	RO	—	1 group, among toe bones
262	IX	261	d	—	—	236°	80	x	x	d	*c.* 9 mo.	x	B	x	x	S	C	x– x– x	x	—	—
263	I	—	—	—	—	234°	160 S	B	x	d	A	x	B	S	x	L	C	8– 90–26 3– 60–20	RE	—	2 groups, outside coffin; see Col. 24
264	P	—	—	265 276	a a	275°	35	B?	x	c	20/25	M	B	x	x	R	C	x–100–17 x– 60–18	x	x	x
265	I	264 276	a a	—	—	183°	50	C	x	d	15/20	x	R	B	x	x	C	x–100–17	x	—	1 group, among toe bones
266	I	U	b	—	—	264°	60	C	G	c	25/35	?F	B	S	x	L	C	9– 70–12	IL	—	—
268	I	269	c	—	—	260°	150	B?	x	f	*C*	x	x	x	x	x	C	x–100–21	x	—	—
269	I	—	—	268 270	c b	262°	140	A?	x	e	*C*	x	x	S	x	x	C	17– 70–24 8– 50–12	IH	—	1 group, among toe bones
270	I	269 274 279	b a a	273	b	266°	100	B	E?	a	20/25	x	B	S	b	L	C	x– x– x	x	—	—
271	I	—	—	—	—	267°	15	B?	x	b	Neo	x	R	B	x	x	—	— x– x	x	—	—
272	P	467	a	234	a	269°	70	x	x	b b	35/40 A	?F ?M	B B	S S	c x	S x	— —	— x– x — x– x	x x	x	1 group; see below
273	I	270 274	b a	—	—	268°	40	x	x	a	30/40	F	R	B	e	R	—	— x– x	x	—	—
274	I	—	—	270 273	a a	267°	160	A	x	c	*A*	x	B	S	c	L	C	12–120–26	RO	—	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	—	W x	—	330–50	29	p. 99 (F.6 and date)		259
—	—	W −2	—	330–70	VS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date)	Fig. 48 (plan)	260
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			261
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			262
—	1 group of hobnails by each elbow	W x	—	310–370/90	HS			263
x	Cut away below ribs by G.276; bones in fill of Gs.276 and 265	W −4	—	310–50	VS			264
See below	Bones of G.264 in fill. Disturbed G.276	W +4	274: *post*-340 275: 388–402	390–5	C HS	Table 21, pp. 170, 172–6 (furnishing)	Figs. 63 (plan), 82	265
263, 264—bracelets, 1 bronze, 1 bone, in pile on R. chest	—	W +1	—	350–70	GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing), 196 (location)	Figs. 58 (plan), 83	266
265, 266—bracelets, 1 bronze, 1 bone, in pile at W. end of grave	Skeleton entirely decayed	W x	—	350–70	GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing), 196 (location)	Fig. 83	268
—	—	W −2	—	310–60	VS			269
283—coin near mouth; 284, 285—coins near R. hand, in coffin	Bones of G.279 in fill; skull present	W +1	283–5: 364–78	365–80	C VS	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing), 188 (G.279 disturbed)	Fig. 53 (plan)	270
—	—	W x	—	310–370/90	HS		Fig. 49 (plan)	271
x	Double grave; finds in fill; cut by G.234; see below	W —	—	330–70	VS	pp. 131 (double grave)	Figs. 47 (plan), 83	272
282—pottery bowl, L. of skull; broken, ? at burial	—	W +3	—	380–90	HS VS	p. 139 (body position and dating), Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 83	273
287—bird, L. of knees, in coffin; 288—bird, R. of feet, outside coffin	287 and 288, ? part of same bird	W −3	—	310–60	VS	p. 240 (287 and 288)		274

GRAVE 265: a coin, pottery flagon, comb, and bracelet, all inside the coffin. The coin (275) lay on or near the right shoulder. The flagon (274) and the comb (276) were to the right of the hips, the flagon on its side. The bracelet (286, bone with a bronze fitting) was to the left of the feet.

GRAVE 272: contained two skeletons, laid one beside the other. The burial on their right was female and had not been disturbed. Hobnails were found among the toe bones. The other skeleton was male and the upper part had been cut away above the pelvis by Grave 234 (q.v.).

In the fill were a skull and other bones. These came from Grave 467 which Grave 272 had disturbed. Also in the fill were sherds of a pottery dish (290).

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
276	P	264	a	265	a	275°	50	x	x	e	*C*	x	x	S	x	x	C	x–100–17 x– 60–18		x	?2 groups, L. of legs, ? in coffin
277	I	—	—	—	—	286°	64	B	G	a	40/45	M	B	S	d	L	C	12– 60–17	RL	—	—
278	I	—	—	F.26	b	286°	58	A	G	d	25/35	M	B	S	a	S	C	4–100–14	IL	—	—
279	D	—	—	270	a	x	x	x	x	x	*c.* 7	x	x	x	x	x	?	x– x– x	x	x	x
280	I	—	—	—	—	343°	58	C	G	f	*I/C*	x	x	x	x	x	C	11– 70–16 6– 50–14	RO	? some, level with top of coffin	—
281	I	—	—	—	—	328°	53	B	G	a	*A*	x	B	S	d	x	—	— x– x	x	—	—
282	I	—	—	—	—	283°	48	B	G	e	I/C	x	x	x	x	x	C	1– 60–11	IH	3, ? around coffin	—
283	I	—	—	—	—	261°	40	C	G	b	A	M	B	S	d	x	—	6– 60–12	x	—	1 group, among toe bones
284	I	—	—	—	—	279°	51	C	G	b	18 mo.	x	x	B	a	x	C	1– x– x	IH	Many, all around coffin	—
285	I	—	—	—	—	277°	45	D	G	b	18 mo.	x	R	B	x	R	?	— x– x	x	—	—
286	P	—	—	F.26	a	269°	35	C	x	c	A	?F	R	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	x	x
287	I	—	—	F.25	b	263°	70	B	G	b	25/35	M	B	S	d	x	—	— x– x	x	—	—
288	I	—	—	—	—	266°	50	C	G	c	25+	x	B	S	b	S	?	— x– x	x	—	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
277—bone pin, ? **L. of** skull, ? in coffin	Cut away G.264 below ribs; G.264 bones in fill. Disturbed by G.265	W —	—	330–70	VS		Fig. 83	276
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		**Fig. 48 (plan)**	277
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			278
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.270	W –3	—	310–60	HS			279
—	**619, 621**—iron fragments on hips and chest, ? nails	O x	—	390–410	HS	**p. 327 (619, 621)**	Fig. 83	280
368—iron finger-ring, under L. pelvis, **near L.** hand	—	O x	—	390–410	HS	Table 21, pp. **168–9, 172–4** (furnishing)	**Figs. 57 (plan), 83**	281
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			282
See below	**475**—coin in fill; grave-pit; nails: see below	O x	**475:** 350–64 **494:** 388–402 **495:** 387–8	390–410	C	Table 21, pp. **169–70, 172–6** (furnishing), **145** (coin in fill)	Figs. **57, 59, 63** (plans), **83**	283
—	**2 tiles in packing**	O x	—	390–410	HS		**Fig. 52 (plan)**	284
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		**Fig. 49 (plan)**	285
x	Skull and other bones cut away by F.26	O x	—	390–410	HS			286
—	Skull resting on upper chest	O x	—	390–410	HS			287
470—pottery jug, **L. of** skull; **471**—bone comb, by R. knee	—	O x	**470:** *post*-340	390–410	HS	Table 21, pp. **168, 172–4** (furnishing), **196** (location)	**Figs. 56 (plan), 84**	288

GRAVE **283**: Seven objects. A knife **(476)** lay along the upper left arm, its blade towards the head of the grave. Traces of wood on the tang indicated a wooden handle. A whetstone **(477)** lay by the right hip. To the left of the skull was a bronze buckle **(481)**, its loop folded under the plate. A bone knife-handle **(493)** lay under the skull, the blade missing, but with an iron tang still preserved. Two coins **(494–5)** and a buckle-loop **(496)**, without tongue or plate, also lay under the skull. The buckle-loop and the knife-handle must have been broken when buried.

A third coin **(475)** was found in the fill, above the chest. Thirteen nails were also found in this grave, most of them fragmentary, and none where the corners or ends of a coffin would have been. The bones lay, in some places, so close to the pit-sides that it was impossible to envisage the planks of a coffin passing between. As all the nails lay over the skeleton, the most likely explanation is that a wooden plank or planks, perhaps battened together, had been placed over the body. On this **475** perhaps rested.

The pit was unusual, for at the bottom it was too short for the skeleton, and at both ends the corners had been dug out, leaving undisturbed chalk projecting between. This suggests a procedure commonly adopted when digging out chalk, whereby each individual piece to be removed is first cut around and then fully detached. It could indicate that the pit was left unfinished.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
289	I	—	—	—	—	270°	48	C	G	c	12 mo.	x	x	S	x	S	—	— x– x	x	—	—
290	I	—	—	—	—	265°	77	B	G	e	4	x	R	B	x	R	C	2– x– x	IF	6, ? around and over coffin	—
291	I	—	—	—	—	255°	85	C	G	a	25/30	x	B	S	d	S	C	5–110–20 1– 50–12	IF	Many, all around coffin	1 group, between and among toe bones
292	D	—	—	330	a	x	x	x	x	x	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	x	x
293	I	—	—	—	—	272°	73	D	G	b	20/25	?M	B	S	c	L	C	1– x– x	IH	10, mainly around foot end of coffin	—
294	I	—	—	—	—	271°	56	C	G	b b	6 6 mo.	x x	L x	B x	x x	L x	? ?	— x– x — x– x	x x	— —	1 group, among toe bones of child
295	I	—	—	—	—	277°	54	D	G	b	A	x	B	S	x	x	—	— x– x	x	6, on legs; 3, around skull	—
296	I	—	—	—	—	269°	69	C	G	b	25/30	M	L	C	x	L	C	19– 90–18	Ix	4, ? on or beside coffin	1 group, among toes of R. foot
297	I	—	—	F.24	d	191°	39	D	G	b	*A*	x	F	B	e	R	—	— x– x	x	—	2 groups, under legs, near knees
298	I	—	—	—	—	265°	42	D	G	f	3	x	x	x	x	x	C	6– 40–14	RE	—	—
299	I	—	—	—	—	91°	80	C	G	b	30/40	M	B	C	g	L	—	— x– x	x	—	—
304	I	—	—	F.25	b	259°	28	C/D	G	b	25/30	M	F	S	a	L	—	— x– x	x	—	—
305	I	—	—	—	—	262°	22	D	G	b	25/30	M	B	S	a	L	?	— x– x	x	—	2 groups, 1 among toes of each foot
306	I	—	—	—	—	272°	57	D	G	a	25+	M	B	S	e	S	?	1– x– x	x	12, on both sides of legs	—
307	I	—	—	—	—	99°	30	D	G	b	30/35	x	B	S	b	R	—	— x– x	x	—	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
305, 306, 307—bronze coins on or in mouth (teeth and mandible discoloured)	—	O x	**305:** 388–402 **306:** 330–41 **307:** 364–78	390–410	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)		289
309—fragmentary bone comb, L. of skull (not illustrated)	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			290
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		Fig. 52 (plan); Pl. X*a*	291
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.330	O –2	—	390–400	VS			292
308—iron strike-a-light, on skull	Shallow scoops to either side of grave	O x	—	390–410	HS		Figs. 52 (plan), 84	293
—	Double grave. A child (to R.) and an infant, side by side	O x	—	390–410	HS	p. 131 (double grave)	Fig. 47 (plan)	294
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		Fig. 52 (plan); Pl. X*b*	295
—	2 tiles in packing	O x	—	390–410	HS		Fig. 52 (plan)	296
323—bone comb, under (i.e. in front of) L. shoulder	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		Figs. 64 (plan), 84	297
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			298
384—pottery jug, R. of skull	—	O x	**384:** late IV	390–410	HS	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing), 196 (location)	Figs. 56 (plan), 84	299
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			304
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			305
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			306
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS	p. 110 (relationship to F.47)		307

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
308	I	318	c	—	—	279° 99° 99°	68	B	G	d b d	*A* *A* *A*	x x x	B x R	S S S	e x x	S R R	C	3– 50–15	Ix	8 around W. end of coffin, 4 over bones at E. end (not on Fig. 47)	1 group, among toe bones of skeletons with head to east
309	I	—	—	F.24	b	273°	78	C/B	G	b	35+	M	B	S	e	S	C	10– 60–11 5– 60–16	IL	—	—
310	P	—	—	317	a	272°	44	C	G	b	*A*	x	F	S	x	x	—	— x– x	x	—	—
311	I	—	—	—	—	271°	38	C	G	b	6 mo.	x	x	F	c	x	?	— x– x	x	5, ? on each side of coffin	—
312	I	—	—	—	—	262°	66	B/A	G	d	25+	M	B	S	a	x	?	— x– x	x	—	1 group, among toe bones
313	P	314	d	x	x	237°	85	B	x	e	x	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 80–15	x	—	—
314	I	—	—	313 315	d b	267°	43	B/C	G	e	A	x	x	S	x	x	C	x–100–10 x–110–19	x	—	—
315	I	314	b	—	—	269°	88	B	G	c	25/35	?F	B	S	x	S	C	8–110–28	RO	—	—
316	I	F.29	b	—	—	264°	84	B	G	e	20/25	x	B	S	x	S	C	11– 90–14	RO	Many, in fill, over feet	1 group, among toe bones
317	I	310	a	F.24	c	254°	52	x	x	e	*I/C*	x	x	x	x	x	C	2– 50–20	IF	2, at head of grave against exposed skull of G.310	? 1 group, R. of feet, ? outside coffin
318	I	—	—	308	c	268°	44	C?	x	b	3 mo.	x	R	F	a	x	—	— x– x	x	—	—
319	I	322	a	—	—	263°	35	x	x	a	30/35	M	B	S	a	L	?	— x– x	x	—	—
320	D	—	—	F.24	a	x	43	B?	x	x	25/35	F	x	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	x	x

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	Triple grave. Two skeletons, with heads to east, side by side, over one with head to west. ? all in same coffin	E x	—	370–410	HS	p. 131 (triple grave)	Fig. 47 (plan); Pl. VIII*b*	308
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			309
Bronze coin (367) and discoloured tooth found in fill of G.317	Part of skull and R. side cut away by G.317; bones (including skull fragments) in G.317 fill	E −2	367: 364–75	370–90	C VS			310
—	—	E x	—	370–410	HS		Fig. 52 (plan)	311
—	—	E x	—	370–410	HS			312
x	Only foot of grave excavated	E x	—	370–410	HS			313
—	Some coffin-nails, ? disturbed by G.315	E −1	—	370–90	VS			314
—	—	E +1	—	390–410	VS			315
—	373—iron latch-lifter in fill	E x	—	370–410	HS	p. 145 (latch-lifter in fill)	Fig. 84	316
674—4 bank voles, near feet, ? in coffin	Partly cut away G.310. Bones (including skull fragments) and coin (367) from G.310 in fill	E +2	367: 364–75	390–410	VS	p. 145 (coin in fill)		317
—	—	E x	—	370–410	HS			318
—	Skeleton at an angle, S. side higher than N. side	F +4	—	390–410	VS			319
x	Disturbed by F.24; see below	O x	—	390–410	HS	p. 106 (disturbed by F.24)	Fig. 66 (plan)	320

GRAVE 320: lay along the line of Feature 24. It had been completely disturbed. The bones, most of which were present, were scattered throughout the grave-pit, being concentrated in the south-east corner. No coffin-nails were found. Grave 320 was 0·25 m deeper than Feature 24, but seems nevertheless to have been disturbed when that feature was dug (cf. below, p. 106).

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1 2	Cut 3 4	Cut by 5 6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9 10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14 15 16 17	Coffin 18 19 20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
321 D	— —	322 a	x	90	x x	x	*C*	x	x x x x	C x–100–21 x– 50–13 x	x	x
322 I	321 a	319 a	256°	145	A G	c	25+	M	B S x S	C 11–170–25	RL	—
323 I	— —	326 m	272°	105	C E?	f	5/6	x	B x x S	C 10–100–21 2– 50–13	RO	—
324 I	326 m 463 a	— —	265°	70	B E?	f	*I*	x	x x x x	C 2– x– x	x	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
See below	Destroyed grave; see below	F −4	—	350–70	VS			321
See below	Finds in fill; see below	F —	**448**: 364–75 **676–7**: 300–50 **693**: 350–90	370–90	C VS	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing), 145 (**375, 400** in fill), 187 (G.321 disturbed)	Figs. 7 (section), 61 (plan), 84; Pl. XI*c*	322
See below	Surface offerings and finds in fill; see below	F x	**432–3**: 340–80 **444–5**: 330–41 **446**: 350–64	350–70	C	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing), 103 (grave-mound), 328 **(441)**	Figs. 7 (section), 62 (plan), 85, 86; Pls. I*a* **(436)**, XII*b*	323
—	**318, 409**—coins; skull fragments; all in fill; ? from G.463	F +2	**318**: 350–64 **409**: 350–64	370–410	VS	p. 146 (coins in fill)		324

GRAVE **321**: had been destroyed by Grave 322, but the north-west and south-east corners of its pit still remained to suggest that the grave had belonged to a child. In the fill of Grave 322 were a bronze coin **(400)** and bracelet **(375)**, potsherds **(693)**, and human bones, including a lower arm and finger discoloured by bronze. The bones and objects may have come from Grave 321, and they suggest that it contained ornaments that were worn at burial. No skull was found.

GRAVE **322**: a silver coin and strap-end, a bronze brooch, and a glass bottle, all inside the coffin. The brooch **(447)** was to the left of the skull, its foot pointing towards the foot of the grave. Some textile remains and a few grass and plant fragments were corroded to it. The coin **(448)** was in the area of the left shoulder, but its exact position was uncertain as the bones around it had decayed. The strap-end **(449)** lay by the left hip, its point towards the right-hand bottom corner of the grave. The bottle **(450)** stood between the feet. The lack of a buckle to match the strap-end is curious, and so too is the position of the brooch, well away from the shoulder area. The buckle may have been detached from the belt before burial, because it was too valuable to abandon. Alternatively, the body might have been rifled, a possibility consistent with the position of the brooch.

In the fill of Grave 322 were animal bones, human bones, and potsherds (including parts of three fairly complete pots, **676, 677,** and **693**), as well as a bronze bracelet **(375)** and a coin **(400)**. The human bones, the bracelet, and the coin are likely to have been disturbed from Grave 321 (see above); the skull for Grave 321 was not, however, present. The animal bones and potsherds will mostly have come from Feature 12, which Grave 322 cut. **693**, however, by virtue of its date, could have belonged to Grave 321 or been a surface-offering (cf. p. 102 below).

GRAVE **323**: many objects, all inside the coffin. A bronze pin **(429)** lay along the left side of the skull, the upper end near the frontal bones. On either side of the skull were found small fragments of glass and gilt-bronze **(427)**. The skull between them was discoloured above the orbits, and corroded to it were more of the bronze fragments. The position and character of these suggests decoration sewn to a headband; traces corroded to the bronze show that this would probably have been leather. A quantity of beads lay in the neck area, fifteen large and irregular **(436)**, the others smaller and simpler **(443)**. The distribution of the types suggests two necklaces. There was a single bronze bracelet (**428**, half lost since discovery) in the area of the right hand. Round the left wrist were nine bracelets, arranged from the hand upwards in the following order: **430**, bronze; **431**, shale; **434**, iron; **435**, bronze; **442**, bronze; **437**, bronze; **438**, iron; **439**, bronze; and **440**, bone with a bronze fitting. Enclosed by the bracelets was some leather **(441)**, which had a surface of sorts and formed a cylinder around what remained of the wrist. More detailed observations were not possible, mainly because of roots. Textile remains were preserved around iron bracelet **438**. Two pottery beakers **(432, 433)** were found in the bottom right-hand corner of the coffin.

Many sherds of pottery were found in the filling of the grave, among them a substantial part of a large bowl **(659)**. These sherds were almost certainly derived from Feature 12, into which Grave 323 had been cut; one sherd belonging to **659** was actually stratified in the fill of the feature.

Part of a small mound was preserved over Grave 323 (see below, p. 103 and Fig. 7), and several further objects were discovered around this. Three coins **(444–6)** lay piled up together in a turf layer along its south edge, lying at an angle, sloping from north to south. Their location and position suggest that they were a deliberate deposit: a surface-offering related to Grave 323. At the head of the grave stood a pottery flagon **(461)**, whose base seemed set in the ground. Although broken, almost all of it was recovered; it, too, seems to have been deliberately deposited. Close to it were body-sherds from another, larger, flagon **(467)**, which may also have been a surface-offering. Two further coins **(302, 317)**, found in the general area of Grave 323, may have been associated with this grave, or possibly with Grave 326.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
326	I	323	m	324	m	269°	148	B	G	f	20/25	x	x	x	x	x	C	13–110–22	RE	—	—
				327	d																
327	I	326	d	—	—	258°	63	x	x	f	3/7	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 70–19	x	—	1 group, area of feet, in coffin
		468	a																		
328	P	?	x	329	a	358°	70	C	x	b	A	F	B	x	x	x	?	x– x– x	x	x	x
				468	b																
329	I	328	a	—	—	275°	95	A	G	f	*A*	x	x	x	x	x	C	8–110–30	RO	—	—
																		1– 90–17			
330	I	292	a	—	—	264°	104	C	G	c	30+	F	B	S	a	S	C	11–120–20	RE	2, on L. side of coffin	—
																		2– 40–12			
331	I	—	—	—	—	84°	78	B	G?	b	30/40	M	L	S	c	L	C	16– 80–20	RL	2, under neck, ? a pillow	—
332	I	—	—	—	—	342°	49	D	G	b	*A*	x	F	F	b	S	—	— x– x	x	—	2 groups, 1 on each side of the upper body

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
See below	Finds in fill; see below	F x	**386:** 350–80 **387:** 340–80	350–80	pt	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing), 103 (mound), 146 (bracelet in fill)	Figs. 7 (section), 62 (plan), 87; Pl. XII*a*	326
See below	Finds in fill; see below	W +4	**452:** *post*-340	350–70	VS GF	Table 21, pp. 170, 172–4 (furnishing), 195 (location)	Figs. 60 (plan), 86	327
See below	Partly cut away by G.329; see below	W −4	**320:** 300–50	310–50	VS	p. 188 (redeposited skull and pot)	Fig. 88	328
See below	Finds in fill; see below	W +2	**328:** 350–64 **376:** 350–64 **324:** 350–80	350–70	C VS	Table 21, pp. 169, 172–6 (furnishing), 146 (coin in fill), 188 (G.328 disturbed), 195 (location)	Figs. 59 (plan), 88	329
—	Black dust around skeleton. Bones of G.292 in fill; skull present	O +2	—	400–10	VS	p. 188 (G.292 disturbed)		330
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		Fig. 49 (plan)	331
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		Fig. 49 (plan); Pl. VIII*c*	332

GRAVE 326: many objects, all inside the coffin. Two silver pins **(407, 408)** were among the decayed remains of the skull, both with their head towards the head end of the grave. Six beads and a clasp **(424)**, the remains of a necklace, lay around the neck. Round the bones of the right wrist was a bronze bracelet **(403)**, and near by lay the heads of two miniature axes (**404**, bronze, **681**, iron). A second bronze bracelet **(406)** was round the bones of the left lower arm. Among the left fingers were three rings (**389**, silver, **401**, **402**, bronze). Rings **401–2** lay round a finger bone, but it was not possible to tell if the same was true of **389**. A bronze chain **(405)**, evidently some kind of personal ornament, lay beside the left wrist. A shale spindle-whorl **(388)** was near the right knee, resting on its edge, its conical face towards the head of the grave. Two pottery beakers **(386, 387)** were at the feet, one in each corner of the coffin.

In the fill were found a bronze bracelet fragment **(370)**, many sherds (including **637**), and some animal bones. The pottery and bones were almost certainly derived from Feature 12, which Grave 326 cut; some more sherds of **637** were stratified in the fill of the feature. The source of the bracelet is uncertain.

Grave 326 cut the mound over Grave 323 (Fig. 7) and the layer containing the pile of three coins **(444–6)**. Two other coins **(302, 317)** found near these two graves could have been connected with Grave 326 rather than with Grave 323.

GRAVE 327: a pile of bracelets and a pottery bowl. The bowl **(452)** was found inverted over the pelvis, but it was uncertain whether this was its original position, or whether it had fallen there from above the coffin. The pile of six bracelets was on or near the left chest (**453–6**, bronze, **457–8**, bone). The bronze bracelets were all interlocked.

Sherds of a flanged bowl **(663)** were found in the fill of this grave. They were probably on the surface when it was dug.

GRAVE 328: cut away below the knees by Grave 468, and above the waist by Grave 329, in whose fill fragments of the skeleton were found. Also in the fill of Grave 329 were sherds of a pottery beaker **(324)** and a coin **(329)**; these are seemingly too late to have come from Grave 328. Only the central portion of the skeleton was undisturbed. In the filling above this there was an adult skull, complete with jaw, and a pottery flagon **(320)**. The skull was stolen shortly after discovery, so it remains uncertain whether the jaw was still articulated. It is not clear from which grave these finds came originally, but the most likely explanation is that they came from Grave 328 itself. When Grave 329 was being dug, a niche could have been cut into the undisturbed fill of Grave 328, into which the skull and flagon were put (cf. below, p. 188).

GRAVE 329: a glass bowl, coin, and spindle-whorl, all inside the coffin. The bowl **(372)**, which was double-sided, lay at the feet and had originally had a stem. Since no trace of this was found in the grave, the bowl must have been broken prior to burial. The position of the surviving remains suggested further breakage as it was deposited. The coin **(376)** lay under the bowl. The spindle-whorl (**369**, shale) was in the chest area.

Human bones, a coin **(328)**, and most of a pottery beaker **(324)** were found in the fill, at the head-end. The bones came from Grave 328, which Grave 329 had partly cut away; the skull and a flagon from Grave 328 may have been carefully redeposited when Grave 329 was dug (see Grave 328 description, above). The coin and the beaker are seemingly too late to have been derived from Grave 328. Both could have been surface-offerings, but the coin might also have been a fill-offering.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
333	I	—	—	—	—	267°	83	A/D	G	e	3½	x	B	S	x	S	C	10– 80–20 28– 50–12	RR	—	1 group, R. of feet, in coffin
334	I	—	—	—	—	278°	80	D/C	G	f	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	C	12– 80–14 6– 50–15	RE	—	—
335	I	—	—	336	b	262°	80	B	x	c	25/30 25+	x F	F B	B S	c x	R x	C	9– 90–23	RO	—	1 group; see below
336	I	335 b 337 b		—	—	275°	70	B	E	f	*C*	x	x	x	a	x	C	13– 70–19	RE	—	—
337	I	469	a	336 b 344 d		270°	128 S	A	E	d	*c.* 3	x	B	S	x	R	C	10– 90–20	RE	—	—
338	P	—	—	339 a 340 a 347 d		267°	85	B	x	b	A	?M	B	S	x	x	C	x– 80–20	x	x	1 group, near and among toes of R. foot

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
See below	—	O x	**311:** *post*-340	390–410	HS	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing)	Figs. 62 (plan), 88; Pl. XII*c*	333
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		**Fig. 51 (plan)**	334
—	Double grave; see below	W −1	—	310–50	VS	**p. 131 (double grave)**	**Fig. 47 (plan); Pl.** VIII*a*	335
See below	—	W +3	**336:** 350–80 **339–42:** 350–64 **356–7:** 310–41	350–70	C	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing), **327 (325)**	Figs. 62 (plan), 89, 90; Pls. I*a* **(363),** XIII*c*, *d*	336
See below	Bones of G.469 in fill; skull present	W +1	—	330–50	VS	Table 21, pp. 170, 172–4 (furnishing), 188 (G.469 disturbed), **195** (location)	**Figs. 60 (plan), 91; Pl.** XI*b*	337
x	Head and L. side cut away by G.340. Skull ? in G.342 fill	W −5	—	310–30	VS			338

GRAVE 333: seven items, all inside the coffin. A bone comb **(316)** was found against the left side of the skull. A quantity of beads **(315),** found under the skull and extending as far as the hands, presumably belonged to a large necklace. On the left-hand side of the body there were three bracelets **(312–13,** bronze, **314,** ivory), which, since they were associated with an arm-bone fragment, were probably worn at burial. A glass jug **(310)** lay by the left foot and a pottery beaker **(311)** by the right foot.

GRAVE 335: the grave of two adults, buried one above the other. The lower skeleton was female, a normal extended burial. The upper body, which cannot be sexed, lay face down. No earth separated the bones of the two skeletons, and this indicated contemporaneity and probably burial in the same coffin. Each skeleton was positioned with some regard for the other, for the skulls were side by side and both hands of the upper body had been placed with the right hand of the lower one. Hobnails were found inside the coffin, to the left of the toe bones, but there was no indication as to whether they were associated with one or both skeletons.

GRAVE 336: many objects, all inside the coffin. Five pins were found in a pile on the right side of the skull **(331,** silver, **332–5,** bronze); these could have fastened the hair or a head-dress, but their lying together perhaps makes this unlikely. To the left of the skull was a pottery beaker **(336).** This was found on its side; it may have been in its original position, as it seemed carefully placed, but it could have fallen there from being upright. Near the pot was a small length of bronze wire **(325),** of uncertain function, but possibly part of a bracelet. The skull itself was represented only by teeth and a few fragments of the cranium. Three sets of beads were found in this area (Pl. XIII*c*). One consisted of large and irregular beads **(363),** another of small and more uniform glass beads **(364),** and the third of coral beads **(365). 363** and **364** were arranged in a small circle (diameter approximately 100 mm). These two types of bead were not spaced at regular intervals relative to each other, but tended rather to be in specific clusters. This suggests two necklaces placed one above the other. The coral beads **(365)** were arranged differently, being scattered over the western part of the area enclosed by **363** and **364.** This distribution does not immediately suggest a necklace, and could be better explained if the coral beads were a hair ornament. Associated with the three sets of beads were two bronze catches. The larger catch, to which textile remains were corroded, probably belonged to **363,** and the smaller catch to **364,** and they are shown as such on Fig. 90. The two parts of each catch were separated by some 30 mm, a gap which suggests that, while no doubt around the neck, the necklaces cannot have been fastened. Round the lower right arm was a bronze bracelet **(338)** and leaning against the right side of the same wrist were two coins **(339–40).** Ten bracelets encircled the lower left arm (Pl. XIII*d*), arranged from the hand up in the following order: **343,** bronze; **344–5,** bone; **346–7,** bronze; **348–9,** bone; **350,** bronze; and **351–2,** bronze. Among the finger-bones of the left hand were two coins **(341–2),** and a silver finger-ring **(337).** It was not possible to say whether the latter had been worn at burial. In a pile to the left of the feet were two coins **(356–7),** two finger-rings **(354–5),** and a collection of beads **(353).** In view of the proximity of other hand-ornaments, it could be suggested that the latter were a bracelet. In the centre, at the feet of the coffin, was a single glass counter **(358).** A second pile of objects lay to the right of the feet. On top was a jet spindle-whorl **(359),** the flat side uppermost, and below lay an iron barrel-padlock key **(360),** hooked through one end of which were two bronze rings **(361–2).** Around these objects organic materials were preserved, including leather remains, probably from a pouch **(694)** in which the objects would have been.

GRAVE 337: a glass beaker, ring, ten bracelets, and beads. The glass beaker **(385)** was to the right of the skull, outside the coffin. It was broken when found and the position of the pieces suggested breakage at burial. The remaining objects were inside the coffin, to the left of the feet, in three adjacent piles. The pile nearest to the knees consisted of four bracelets **(413–15,** bone, **416,** shale). In the second pile were three bracelets **(412,** bone, **421,** shale, **422,** bronze). The third pile was made up of two bracelets **(418–19,** bone), the finger-ring **(410,** silver), and the handle of a glass bottle **(411).** There was a further bone bracelet **(417),** which could not be assigned to any pile. The beads were scattered among the bracelets and had probably belonged to a necklace **(425).**

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
339	I	202 a 338 a 340 b		344 a		257°	70	B	x	d	A	?M	B	S	x	x	C	7–110–28 10– 70–16	x	—	1 group, among toe bones
340	I	338 a 345 b		339 b 342 b		292°	115	B?	G	c	20/25	F	B	S	a	S	C	12–100–19	IL	—	—
341	P	—	—	342 a		264°	25	B?	x	c	9 mo.	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– x– x	x	x	x
342	I	340 b 341 a 343 b		—	—	266°	65	C	G	c	*A*	x	B	S	c	L	C	10–100–24	x	—	1 group, among toe bones
343	I	345 d 470 a		342 b 346 e		284°	125 S	A/B	E	c	20/25	F	B	S	a	L	C	12– 90–21	RO	—	1 group, R. of feet, outside coffin
344	I	337 d 339 a		—	—	257°	60	C	E	d	*A*	x	x	S	x	L	C	29– 90–22	IH	—	—
345	P	—	—	340 b 343 d 346 a		262°	100	B	x	c	*c.* 2	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– 80–11	x	x	x
346	P	343 e 345 a		347 a		267°	55	x	x	b	6 mo.	x	x	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	x	x
347	I	338 d 346 a 349 b 350 a		354 b		265°	175	A	G	e	20/25	x	B	S	x	x	C	14–120–21	RO	—	—
348	I	349 a		—	—	87°	20	x	x	b	Sub-A	x	B	B	d	D	—	— x– x	x	—	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	Cut away G.202 from below the ribs	W +1	—	350–70	VS			339
—	Cut away head and L. side of G.338 and corner of G.345. G.338 skull, ? in G.342 fill	W −1	—	330–50	VS			340
x	All but skull cut away by G.342	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			341
—	Skull & other bones in fill. Skull ? from G.338. Cut away G.341 below neck	W +3	—	350–370/90	VS			342
—	Bones of G.470 in fill; skull present	W +1	—	330–350/70	VS	p. 188 (G.470 disturbed)		343
330—bronze coin, in area of R. hip, in coffin	—	W +5	**330:** 284–94	370–90	VS	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)		344
x	South-west corner of grave disturbed by G.340. No bones displaced	W −5	—	310–30	VS			345
x	Lower half of grave cut away by G.347	W −1	—	330–90	VS			346
See below	Finds in fill; see below	F +3	**380:** 364–75 **655:** *post*-330	390–410	VS	Table 21, pp. 169, 172–6 (furnishing), 146 (bracelets in fill), 188 (G.350 disturbed), 327 (378), 195 (location)	Figs. 7 (section), 59 (plan), 92; Pl. XI*a*	347
—	Head placed to R. of knees	F +3	—	380–410	VS	pp. 142, 192–3 (decapitation)	Fig. 50 (plan); Pl. IX*a*	348

GRAVE 347: three vessels, a coin, and an iron object, all inside the coffin. The remains of a pewter vessel, perhaps a bowl (379), lay on or near the upper right arm, in the same area as the coin (380) and the iron object (378). In shape the latter resembles a box-fitting, but it lacked rivets and there was no other evidence for a box. There was a pottery jug (383) to the right of the feet and a glass beaker (382) to the left.

Animal bones, human bones, potsherds, and four bracelets were found in the fill. The potsherds (among them 661) and animal bones were presumably mostly derived from Feature 12, into which Grave 347 had been dug; more sherds of 661 were found in the fill of Grave 350. One sherd, 655, is too late to have come from Feature 12, and its source remains obscure. The human bones and the bracelets (303–4, 319, bronze, 371, bone), probably belonged to Grave 350, whose upper part Grave 347 cut away. One of the bones, part of a lower arm, was discoloured by bronze. The skull of Grave 350 was not found. Grave 347 had also cut away the lower half of Grave 346, an infant grave.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
349	I	359	b	347	b	266°	125	B	E	b	35/40	M	B	S	d	S	C	x–120–20 x– 90– 8	x	—	—
				348	a																
				350	b																
350	P	349	b	**347**	a	270°	80	B	E	b	A	x	B	S	x	x	C	x– 80–15	x	x	x
		352	d																		
		359	b																		
351	I	418	e	**354**	a	270°	158	A	G	f	25/30	x	B	x	x	S	C	9–100–23	RO	—	—
		454	a																		
352	I	**431**	a	**350**	d	266°	60	B/C	G	a	20/25	M	R	S	x	x	C	7– 90–20	RL	2, on N. side of coffin	—
354	I	347	b	—	—	259°	55	x	x	c	*I*	x	x	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	—	—
		351	a																		
355	I	357	b	**356**	a	276°	100	B	G	e	*A*	x	x	S	x	x	C	11– 90–20 1– 50–16	Rx	—	—
		453	a	450	a																
		454	e																		
		455	d																		
356	I	**355**	a	**450**	e	79°	10	x	x	b	35/40	?M	F	S	b	x	?	x– x– x	x	—	—
357	I	358	d	**355**	b	272°	62	B	E	c	35/40	M	B	S	a	S	C	x–100–20 x–130–20 x– 70–18	x	—	—
		452	b																		
		455	a																		
		458	m																		
358	I	—	—	357	d	273°	145	B	G	b	*A*	x	B	S	c	S	C	10– 80–20 2– 50–16	RE	—	1 group, among bones of R. foot
				447	d																
				449	d																
				451	a																

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	**366**—coin; **617**—knife-blade; both in fill; ? from G.359	F −2	**366:** 350–64	360–80	C VS	p. 146 (**366, 617 in fill**)	Figs. 7 (section), 92	**349**
See below	Disturbed grave; finds in fill; see below	F —	—	370–90	VS	pp. 146 (**618 in fill**), 327 (**618**)	**Fig. 92**	**350**
See below	Finds in **fill; see** below	F —	**392:** 340–400 **395:** 345–8	370–90	VS	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing)	Figs. 7 (section), 62 (plan), 93; Pl. XIII*b*	**351**
551—glass flagon, under skull, ? originally on **R.** side	Squares of turf observed in fill	E +2	—	390–410	VS	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing), 196 (location)	**Fig. 93**	**352**
—	—	F +5	—	400–10	VS			**354**
—	Charcoal and black earth near skull. Bones of G.453 in fill; skull present	F +1	—	370–90	VS	**p. 355 (G.453 disturbed)**	**Fig. 7 (section)**	**355**
326—bronze coin, in or near mouth (mandible discoloured)	—	F +5	—	390–410	VS			**356**
—	**423, 615**—coins; 688—prehistoric sherd; in fill; **423** ? from F.12	F −1	**423:** 276–81 **615:** 350–64	360–80	VS	pp. 104 (**423** and **F.12**), 146 (coins in **fill**)	Figs. 7 (**section**), 101 (**688**)	**357**
—	—	W −3	—	310–70	VS		**Fig. 65 (plan)**	**358**

GRAVE **350**: the upper part destroyed above the knees by Grave 347; there was no grave-furniture in the remaining part. In the fill of Grave 347, however, were four bracelets (**303–4, 319,** bronze, **371,** bone), and some human bones, including a lower-arm bone discoloured by bronze, which could all have come from Grave 350. The bracelets would have been either worn or in a pile by the wrist. The skull of Grave 350 was not found.

In the fill of Grave 350 were potsherds, animal bones, and an iron fragment. The sherds, which included some from **661** (other sherds of which were in the fill of Grave 347), and the bones were presumably derived from Feature 12, which Grave 350 cut. The iron object **(618),** which was perhaps a knife-tang, could have belonged to the blade **(617)** discovered in the fill of Grave 349, and have come originally from Grave 359.

GRAVE **351: many objects, all inside the coffin. A coin (395) was found** among the fragmentary remains of the skull (Pl. XIII*b*), its position suggesting that it had been in or near the mouth. In the same area were three pins (**396–7** bronze, **398** iron) and a large number of beads **(399)** with a fastening, presumably the remains of a necklace. In the left upper-body area were two bronze bracelets **(393–4),** and although no bone was preserved to demonstrate it, their position suggests they were worn on the left arm. In the bottom left corner of the coffin stood a glass beaker **(391),** next to which was a pottery beaker **(392)** and an iron needle **(390),** through whose eye some thread still passed, preserved by corrosion.

Many potsherds, animal bones, and fragments of cremated bone were found in the fill. The burnt material presumably came from Grave 454, a cremation which Grave 351 cut. The other objects will have been derived from Feature 12, which Grave 351 also cut.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
359	PC	—	—	349 b 350 b 361 b		x	25	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	x– x– x	x	x	Present; see below
360	I	—	—	365	a	269°	68	B	G	e	25/30	x	B	S	x	S	C	15– 80–16	x	—	Present, among toe bones
361	IC	359	b	—	—	x	27	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x– x– x	x	Flints and tiles around urn	—
362	I	—	—	215 b 216 b		274°	√78	B	x	a	30/40	M	B	S	b	R	?	— x– x	x	—	2 groups, by or among toe bones
363	I	—	—	219	a	270°	√105	B	G	c	30+	x	B	S	c	S	C	6– 60–20	RR	—	1 group, between and among toe bones
364	I	—	—	—	—	87°	5	x	x	b	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	—	— x– x	x	—	—
365	I	360	a	—	—	269°	68	x	x	b	30/35	F	B	S	x	x	C	8– 50–20	x	2, R. of pelvis, ? outside coffin	Perhaps present; see below

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
See below	Cremation; **see** below	F −5	**366:** 350–64 **426:** 350–3 **656:** 320–70	350–70	**C** **VS**	p. 129 **(cremation-rite)**	Figs. 46 (plan and section), 94; Pl. VII*a*, *b*	359
552—bronze coin on mouth (mandible discoloured)	**Under G.365**	E −2	**552:** 364–78	370–90	**C** **VS** **29**	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing), 186–7, 196 (location and date)		360
—	Cremation; **see** below	F +2	**426:** 350–3	370–410	VS	p. 128 (cremation-rite)	Figs. 7 (section), 46 (plan and section), 94; Pl. VII*a*, *c*	361
593—bronze ring, among L. finger bones, but not around any bone	—	W −1	—	310–30	VS	Table 21, pp. **168–9, 172–4** (furnishing)	**Figs. 57 (plan), 93**	362
—	—	W −2	—	310–70	VS			363
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			364
473—bone comb under skull; **509, 510**—coins, among finger bones	Directly above G.360; **see** below	E +2	**509:** 364–78 **510:** 335–7	370–90	**C** **VS** **29**	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing), 186–7, 196 (date and location)	**Fig. 93**	365

GRAVE **359**: a cremation whose pit, 0·6 m wide and 0·3 m deep, had been dug on a north–south alignment into the fill of Feature 12. The two ends of this pit had been cut away by later graves, but the surviving part indicated that it was at least 1·5 m long. The sides sloped inwards at a considerable angle, so that the pit-bottom was only 0·35 m wide (see Fig. 46 and Pl. VII*b*). The sides and bottom were lined by a layer of charcoal, beneath which the undisturbed fill of Feature 12 had clearly been exposed to heat. Resting on the charcoal at one point was a pile of cremated bone, and to the south of it was a smaller pile of hobnails. The pit was filled with clean brown earth, with no traces of charcoal. Several potsherds were found in this filling, including **656** and **659**, and these were presumably derived from Feature 12. Sherds from one pot **(659)** were also found in Grave 323 and are illustrated on Fig. 86.

The north end of Grave 359 had been cut away by Graves 349 and 350, and in the filling of both graves burnt remains were found. Grave 349 also contained the blade of an iron knife **(617)** and a coin **(366)**, while in Grave 350 there was an iron object **(618)** that could have been the tang of **617**. These objects may all have been disturbed from Grave 359. The south end of Grave 359 was cut by Grave 361, an urned cremation, in the fill of whose pit were found iron nails, hobnails, and much charcoal. These finds also presumably came from Grave 359. A coin **(426)** discovered during surface cleaning may also have belonged to Grave 359. Its exact stratigraphic context is unclear, but it was probably in the fill of Grave 361.

The layer of charcoal lining Grave 359 and the evidence that the soil beneath had been exposed to heat suggest that the actual cremation took place either in the pit, or above it on a large grate, through which the ashes fell while still hot. The presence of two piles of cremated material—one of bone and the other of hobnails—indicates that the embers were left to cool and then sorted. This is consistent with the character of the filling, which, where in contact with the charcoal, showed no sign of exposure to heat, as it would have done if it had been thrown in when the embers were still glowing. It is probable that the pit was originally about the length of an adult body. If so, the pile of cremated bone would have been about in the middle, with the hobnails towards the south. It is possible that beyond them, in the part disturbed by Grave 361, lay the iron nails, presumably from a coffin or a bier, and the coin **426**. In the north end of the grave, cut away by Grave 349, there could have been another pile of objects, including the other coin **(366)** and the knife **(617)**.

GRAVE **361**: a cremation in an urn. The urn stood in a small pit, about 0·8 m by 0·5 m, dug into Feature 12 and Grave 359. In the filling of this pit were iron nails, hobnails, and charcoal, all presumably disturbed from Grave 359. A coin **(426)** may also have been in the filling, but as this was discovered during surface cleaning its exact context is unclear. The urn **(465)** was packed around with tiles and flints, and one tile served as a lid (Pl. VII*c*). The urn contained a small quantity of cremated bone, but no hobnails, coffin-nails, or other furniture.

The close proximity of Graves 361 and 359 could suggest that they were part of a single cremation, but it was quite clear that Grave 361 had cut Grave 359, because of the large amount of charcoal in the former's fill (cf. Pl. VII*a*). It was also evident that the cremated matter in Grave 359 had been carefully sorted and placed in piles in its own pit: to have removed some and placed it separately in an urn would seem otiose. It is unlikely that Graves 359 and 361 were in any way associated.

GRAVE **365**: lay exactly over Grave 360, into which its skeleton had partly sunk. This suggests that the coffin of Grave 360 was still intact when Grave 365 was dug, its subsequent collapse causing the disturbance to the bones of the latter. If so, the two graves would have been dug within a relatively short time of each other, and their superimposition may have been deliberate. There was a large cluster of hobnails around the feet of the two skeletons, some definitely among the toe bones of Grave 360. Others may have belonged to shoes placed with Grave 365, but the evidence did not prove this.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
366	I	—	—	—	—	280°	140	A/B	G	e	A	x	x	x	x	x	C	1– 60–12	IH	—	—
367	I	—	—	368	b	271°	135	C	G	b	*A*	x	R	B	b	R	C	9–120–24 3–110–22	RO	—	—
368	I	367	b	—	—	274°	117	B	G	e	*A*	x	B	S	x	S	C	4–110–22 4– 90–20 2– 60–12	RO	—	2 groups, 1 among toes of each foot
369	I	—	—	—	—	274°	128	A/B	G	e	20/30	x	B	x	x	S	C	4–110–20 7– 90–22	RR	—	—
370	I	—	—	—	—	88°	45	C	x	d	9 mo.	x	x	S	x	x	C	13– 80–16	RE	—	—
371	I	399	b	—	—	281°	23	C	G	b	6 mo.	x	B	B	a	x	C	1– 20–16	IF	7, around coffin	—
372	I	373	a	—	—	87°	98	B	x	f	*c.* 3	x	x	x	x	R	C	x– 50–10	x	—	—
373	I	—	—	372 374	a b	275°	103	B	G	d	35/45	?M	B	S	d	S	C	2– 90–20 5– 80–18	RO	—	2 groups, 1 among toes of each foot
374	I	373	b	—	—	269°	60	C	G	b	20/25	x	B	S	a	x	C	19– 70–16 5– 40–16 1– 40–28	x	—	—
375	I	—	—	—	—	271°	110	B	G	d	A	x	x	S	x	x	C	2–100–16 6– 90–22	RR	—	—
376	I	398	b	—	—	272°	80	B	G	d	25+	x	B	S	x	x	C	3– 90–20 1– 90–12 6– 70–22	RE	—	2 groups, ? among toe bones
377	I	—	—	—	—	265°	57	A/C	G	b	*c.* 10	x	B	S	g	L	?	— x– x	x	—	1 group, among toe bones

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
See below	Bronze-discoloured lower-arm bone in fill. Source uncertain	E x	—	370–410	HS	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing)	Figs. 61 (plan), 94	366
—	—	E −1	—	370–90	VS		Fig. 49 (plan)	367
—	—	E +1	—	390–410	VS			368
See below	Black soil around skeleton	E x	**529:** 340–400	370–410	HS pt	Table 21, pp. 170, 172–6 (furnishing)	Figs. 60 (plan), 94	369
547—bronze coin, in or near L. hand	—	E x	**547:** 364–75	370–90	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)		370
—	—	E +1	—	390–410	VS			371
524—bronze coin, in or near mouth	667—sherd, in fill of G.372 or G.373	O +2	**524:** 388–402 **667:** *post*-340	400–10	VS	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–6 (furnishing), 191 (location)	Fig. 94	372
See below	Black earth and charcoal around bones	O −2		390–400	VS	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–6 (furnishing), 191 (location)	Figs. 63 (plan), 94	373
—	—	O +1	—	400–10	VS	p. 191 (location)		374
—	Black earth around bones	O x	—	390–410	HS	p. 191 (location)		375
See below	483—coin in fill. Black earth around bones	O +1	**483:** 320–2	390–410	HS	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–6 (furnishing), 146 (coin in fill), 191 (location)	Figs. 33 (belt), 63 (plan), 95; Pl. XIV	376
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS	p. 191 (location)		377

GRAVE 366: a pottery flagon and a bronze buckle and strap-end, all inside the coffin. The flagon **(490)** was to the right of the feet. The buckle **(488)** was on the right hip, its loop pointing to the right, and the strap-end **(489)** was near the left hip, its point towards the head of the grave.

GRAVE 369: four bronze bracelets, two beakers, and a comb, all inside the coffin. The bracelets **(553–6)** were in a pile by the right shoulder, **553** on top, and **556**, a heavy cable-bracelet, at the bottom. There was no evidence that any of the bracelets had interlocked with each other. The comb **(557)**, which had mostly decayed, lay by the remaining bones of the right arm. In the bottom right-hand corner of the coffin stood the two beakers (**529**, pottery, **530**, glass). Both were upright, **529** to the right of **530**.

GRAVE 373: a brooch, two coins, and a pottery jar, all inside the coffin. The jar **(588)** was on its side to the right of the skull. It lay parallel to the axis of the grave, which may indicate that this was its original position. The two coins **(589–90)**, both much corroded, were inside it. The bronze cross-bow brooch **(587)**, to which some textile remains were corroded, lay between the jar and the skull, its foot pointing towards the top right corner of the grave.

GRAVE 376: bronze belt-fittings, consisting of a large buckle **(498)**, a strap-end **(492)**, a terminal fitting **(499)**, a stiffener **(491)**, eleven studs **(500)**, and a further small buckle **(497)**. The position of these objects is shown by Pl. XIV*b*. It is evident that the small buckle **(497)** belonged to a narrow belt, while the rest of the fittings were attached to a second belt that was both wide and elaborate. All the fittings were found in the waist and hip area, and this suggests that both belts were worn at burial. The arrangement of the fittings on the more eleborate belt is reconstructed on Fig. 33. The belt is discussed below, pp. 265 ff.

A coin **(483)** was found in the fill, just above the feet. It was so well preserved that it had perhaps not been circulated prior to burial. It could have been a deliberate offering.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
378	I	—	—	—	—	264°	33	C	G?	a	*c.* 8	x	F	C	c	L	—	— x- x	x	—	—
379	I	—	—	—	—	272°	13	C	G	a	35/45	M	B	B	b	D	—	— x- x	x	—	1 group, under or among toe bones
380	I	—	—	—	—	272°	70	B	G	b	25/35	M	B	S	a	L	?	x- x- x	x	—	Present, ? between feet
381	I	—	—	—	—	5°	88	B	G	c	25/35	x	F	S	x	L	C	1- 70–20 3- 60–20	RL	—	1 group, beyond feet, in coffin
382	I	—	—	—	—	272°	73	B	G	c	*c.* 8	x	B	S	x	x	C	13- 70- 8 8- 60–12	RO	—	—
383	I	—	—	—	—	275°	36	C	G	e	*c.* 7	x	x	S	x	S	C	3- 60–16	IH	—	—
384	I	—	—	—	—	93°	40	C	G	b	*c.* 7	x	R	B	b	R	—	— x- x	x	—	—
385	I	—	—	—	—	270°	35	C	G	f	5/7	x	B	S	x	x	C	8–110–20 5- 80–26	RE	—	—
386	I	—	—	—	—	264°	68	B	G	b	25+	?M	B	S	a	S	C	9–110–26 6–100–15	RO	—	—
387	I	—	—	—	—	270°	78	B	G	e	A	?M	B	S	x	S	C	9- 90–18 1- 40–20	RO	—	1 group, area of feet, in coffin
388	I	—	—	—	—	263°	80	B	G	d	20/25	x	B	S	x	S	C	12- 80–16 3- 90–20	x	—	2 groups, 1 by each foot, in coffin
389	I	—	—	—	—	262°	80	B	G	e	30+	x	B	S	x	x	C	11- 60–22 5- 80–14	RE	—	—
390	I	—	—	—	—	256°	60	C	G	e	*I/C*	x	x	x	x	x	C	6–110–20 5- 90–16	RO	—	1 group, area of feet, in coffin
391	IE	—	—	—	—	x	10	x	x	b	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	—	x- x- x	x	—	—
392	I	—	—	—	—	264°	57	B	G	e	20/30	?F	B	S	d	x	?	— x- x	x	7, ? placed around coffin	—
393	I	—	—	—	—	266°	98	B/C	G	c	20+	M	B	S	x	x	C	8–100–22 6–110–20 2- 70–18	RE	—	Present, area of feet, in coffin
395	I	—	—	—	—	266°	93	B/C	G	b	25/30	M	B	S	d	S	C	5- 50–16 3- 70–16	RR	15, on and around coffin	2 groups, 1 among bones of each foot

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
See below	—	O x	484: 388–402 522: 388–402 523: 350–64	390–410	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–6 (furnishing), 191 (location)	Figs. 63 (plan), 96	378
—	Head to L. of knees	O x	—	390–410	HS	pp. 142, 192–3 (decapitation), 191 (location)	Fig. 50 (plan)	379
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS	p. 191 (location)		380
479—bone comb, on L. shoulder; 480—coin, in or near mouth (jawbone discoloured)	—	O x	480: 364–78	390–410	HS	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing), 191 (location)	Figs. 53 (plan), 96	381
548—bronze coin, in mouth (teeth discoloured)	—	O x	—	390–410	HS	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing), 191 (location)	Fig. 53 (plan)	382
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS	p. 191 (location)		383
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS	p. 191 (location)	Fig. 49 (plan)	384
472—glass flask, L. of feet, ? in coffin	—	E x	—	370–410	HS	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing), 196 (location)	Figs. 56 (plan), 96	385
—	620—iron object on R. femur	E x	—	370–410	HS	p. 327 (620)	Figs. 48 (plan), 96	386
—	—	E x	—	370–410	HS			387
—	—	E x	—	370–410	HS			388
—	—	E x	—	370–410	HS			389
508—glass cup, R. of skull, in coffin	—	E x	—	370–410	HS	Table 21, pp. 168, 172–4 (furnishing)	Fig. 96	390
—	Unusual grave; see below	E x	—	370–410	HS			391
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			392
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			393
—	Near F.46 (a pit containing a pot)	E x	—	370–410	HS	p. 110 (F.46)		395

GRAVE 378: five coins and an arrowhead. Three of the coins (484, 522, 523) were under (i.e. in front of) the skull and the others (485, 486) were just to the right. The arrowhead (487) was by the left hand, its point towards the head of the grave. The distance between the arrowhead and the foot of the grave was 0·45 m, and this will have been the maximum length of the shaft when the arrow was buried.

GRAVE 391: consisted of an intact pit, 0·80 m long, 0·30 m wide, that had been cut 0·1 m into the chalk. At the bottom of the pit, lying together at the west end, were found some ribs and vertebrae and a tooth, all belonging to a new-born child. These bones were not clearly articulated. They were well preserved, and there can be little doubt that had arms, legs, and a skull been present, they would have survived. As there was no trace of them, it may be concluded that Grave 391 contained only a part of a new-born child. Whether this came about through robbing or less prosaic circumstances is uncertain.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
396	I	—	—	—	—	278°	128	A	G	f	*A*	x	x	x	x	x	C	11–100–15	RO	—	—
397	I	—	—	—	—	273°	68	B/C	G	a	*A*	x	L	C	f	L	—	— x– x	x	—	—
398	I	—	—	376	b	275°	34	B	G?	b	25/35	F	B	S	d	S	—	— x– x	x	—	—
399	I	—	—	371	b	272°	58	B	G	c	25+	M	B	S	b	S	C	2– 60– x	IH	2, ? on each side of coffin	1 group, among toe bones
400	IE	—	—	427	a	276°	179	B	G	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	C	22– 60–16	RE	—	—
401	I	—	—	—	—	273°	85	B	G	e	*A*?	x	x	x	x	R	C	7– 80–16 3– 90–18 2– 60–18	RE	—	—
402	I	—	—	—	—	266°	103	C	G	c	25/30	F	B	S	d	L	?	— x– x	x	—	—
403	I	—	—	—	—	265°	86	B	G	e	A	?F	B	S	x	S	C	8–100–20 5– 90–26	RO	—	—
404	P	—	—	—	—	298°	26	x	x	b	30/35	M	F	S	x	x	?	— x– x	x	x	x
405	I	—	—	—	—	285°	32	B	G	b	*A*	x	F	S	d	L	?	— x– x	x	—	—
406	I	—	—	—	—	276°	83	D	G	f	*c.* 9 mo.	x	x	x	x	x	C	8– 60–14	RO	6, along sides of coffin	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
See below	—	E x	**631:** 364–75	370–90	C HS	Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing)	Figs. 62 (plan), 96	396
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		Fig. 49 (plan)	397
—	Finds in fill; see below	E –1	—	370–90	VS	p. 146 (finds in fill)	Fig. 96	398
—	—	E –1	—	370–90	VS			399
See below	Empty grave; finds in fill; see below	O –2	**540:** 387–8 **541:** 388–402 **543:** 364–78	390–400	C VS	pp. 108–9 (F.40), 146 (finds in fill), 421–3 (wider discussion)	Fig. 66 (plan)	400
—	**474—coin in fill**	O x	**474:** 367–78	390–410	HS	p. 146 (coin in fill)		401
482—bone comb, on or under neck	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		Figs. 64 (plan), 96	402
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			403
x	Cut away above pelvis by modern disturbance	O x	—	390–410	HS	p. 4 (modern disturbance)		404
545—iron object (? pin) under (in front of) R. pelvis	—	O x	—	390–410	HS	p. 327 (545)	Figs. 64 (plan), 97	405
—	**671**—iron fragment in fill	O x	—	390–410	HS	p. 327 (671)	Fig. 97	406

GRAVE 396: eight objects, all inside the coffin. In the upper part of the grave were two bracelets (**502**, bronze, **503**, bone). Although the skeleton had almost entirely decayed, the position of these bracelets suggested that they had been worn on the right and left wrists respectively. The other finds lay to the right of the knees. Nearest to the head was an iron object (**507**), which had probably been a needle. Next to it were decayed fragments of a glass beaker (**506**), the remains of a bone comb (**531**), and, in the same general area, a shale spindle-whorl (**504**). A pottery beaker (**505**) lay next to these objects, and inside it was found a coin (**631**).

GRAVE 398: fragments of three glass vessels were found in the fill, a flagon (**549**) and two beakers (**633–4**). The largest fragment, the neck of the flagon, lay to the right of the skull, where it had probably been placed deliberately. The other fragments were scattered at the head end. There was no indication that these had been deposited together, and it seems unlikely that they were connected with Grave 398 at all. Perhaps the grave had disturbed a small pit, like Feature 46 (p. 110), in which the glass had originally been put. The glass vessels would thus have been an offering. The placing of the handle was perhaps a mark of respect towards what had been disturbed.

GRAVE 400: there was no trace of a human skeleton in this grave, but at the bottom of the grave-pit there were the nails of a normal adult-sized coffin, and within this a pile of five coins (**540–4**), half-way along the south side. In the western part of the grave, slightly above the bottom, was a dog skeleton (**538**), in excellent preservation. The animal had been buried on its back with its legs in the air, perhaps originally on the coffin-lid. In the grave fill were some fragments of human bone, many bones of a second dog (**527**), and traces of turves. The human remains consisted of some leg bones of uncertain source, and they should possibly be considered with skull fragments from Grave 427, a grave that cut Grave 400. The dog bones included vertebrae, part of the pelvic girdle, and a leg. The positions of the vertebrae and leg showed that they were still articulated when buried, the vertebrae having been tied in a crown.

Grave 400 was enclosed by a gully, Feature 40, which is described below, p. 108–9. Grave 400 was cut by Grave 427, which may have been sited with some regard to it (cf. below, p. 193). The skeleton in Grave 427 had been decapitated, the skull being near the legs.

It is certain that there never was a human skeleton in Grave 400, for the excellent preservation of the dog bones (**538**) precludes a skeleton once present having decayed. Grave 400 seems to be a deliberate and careful burial. It might represent a sequel to the translation of its occupant, or be the result of robbing, but these alternatives are unlikely. It is difficult to see how a body could have been removed without disturbing the coffin-nails, and there was no evidence that Grave 400 had been cut by any secondary pit other than Grave 427. It is much more probable that no human body was ever in the grave. It was perhaps the cenotaph of a man whose remains were not available for burial, for whom the dog stood substitute. This interpretation is discussed below on pp. 421–3.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
407	I	—	—	—	—	198°	42	B/A	E	e	A	M	R	B	x	x	C	8– 80–11 7– 50– 9	IF	—	1 group, area of feet, in coffin
408	I	—	—	—	—	276°	85	B	G	b	20/25	M	B	S	a	S	C	34– 60–14 3– 80–18 1– 30–16	IH	—	—
409	I	—	—	—	—	294°	53	D	G	e	8/9	x	x	S	x	x	C	x– 70–14 x– 50–13	x	—	—
410	I	—	—	—	—	277°	83	B	G	b	30+	M	B	C	c	L	C	12–140–24	RO	—	—
411	I	—	—	—	—	106°	36	A	E	a	25+	M	F	S	d	L	?	— x– x	x	—	—
412	I	—	—	—	—	290°	48	B	E	a	25/30	M	F	S	d	L	—	— x– x	x	—	—
413	I	—	—	—	—	279°	60	B	G	a	20/25	M	B	S	d	S	C	5– 90–20	Ix	8, around foot of coffin	—
414	I	—	—	—	—	295°	61	B	G	a	25/30	M	B	S	x	R	C	2– 90–13	RO	12, along sides of coffin	—
415	I	—	—	—	—	280°	33	C	G	d	20/25	F	B	S	c	L	C	7– 70–14	RL	—	—
417	I	—	—	—	—	266°	140	B	G	a	*A*	x	B	S	c	L	C	15–150–23	RE	5, ? around coffin	—
418	I	—	—	351	e	265°	55	C/B	E	d	25/30	?M	B	S	x	x	?	— x– x	x	14, along R. side and at feet	2 groups, 1 among toes of each foot
419	I	214	b	—	—	96°	10	x	x	b	6 mo.	x	B	x	x	x	?	— x– x	x	—	—
420	PC	426	m	421	b	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	— x– x	x	x	x
421	I	420 426 456	b m a	—	—	269°	85	B	E	d	*A*	x	B	S	x	x	C	8– 80–16 1– 50–10	IH	—	2 groups, 1 by each foot, in coffin
422	I	423	b	—	—	258°	98	B	E	e	A	x	B	S	x	x	C	9– 80–22 2–100–19	RO	3, outside foot of coffin	2 groups, 1 among bones of each foot
423	I	—	—	422 424 428 440	b b b d	260°	105	B	G	c	25/30	x	B	S	x	S	C	10–110–22 3– 80–20	RE	—	—
424	I	423	b	—	—	262°	40	B	E?	f	*c.* 5	x	x	x	x	x	C	8–100–20 3– 70–14 2– 50–20	RL	—	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			407
Pewter bowls in fill; see below	Enclosed by gully, F.38	O x	—	390–410	HS	pp. 108 (F.38), **146, 185** (finds in fill)	**Figs. 66 (plan), 97**	408
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			409
x	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			410
594—iron strike-a-light, in or near mouth	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		**Figs. 64 (plan), 97**	411
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS		Fig. 49 (plan)	412
See below	623—iron fragment; 624—bronze fragment (not illustrated); both in fill	O x	**516–18, 520: 388–402**	390–410	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing), 327 **(623)**, 196 **(624)**, 327 (location)	Figs. 53 (plan), 97	413
539, 550—bronze coins, on or near mouth (no teeth discoloured)	—	O x	**539, 550: 388–402**	390–410	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing), p. **196** (location)	**Fig. 53 (plan)**	414
—	—	O x	—	390–410	HS			415
—	Flints **not on Fig.** 48	E x	—	370–410	HS		**Fig. 48 (plan)**	417
501—iron knife, R. of hip, blade towards **feet**	—	E x	—	370–410	HS		**Figs. 64 (plan), 97**	418
—	—	W +1	—	330–370/90	VS			419
—	Cremation; **see** below	F −1	—	350–90	VS	**p. 128 (cremation rite)**		420
—	Bones of G.456 in fill; G.456 cranium at foot of coffin	F +3	—	370–410	VS	**p. 188 (G.456 disturbed)**	**Fig. 7 (section)**	421
601—bone comb, **R. of skull, in coffin**	—	E +1	—	390–410	VS		**Fig. 97**	422
595—bone comb, under skull	—	E −1	—	370–90	VS			423
—	—	E +1	—	390–410	VS			424

GRAVE 408: no grave-furniture was discovered near the skeleton or coffin. But in the fill were two pewter bowls, both 0·5 m above the grave-bottom, approximately over the left knee, and 0·10 m apart. One bowl **(528)** was well preserved and lying on its side. The other **(536)** was in poor condition and, although it is possible to suggest a profile, the way it was lying was not established. It was unclear whether the bowls were buried as the grave was being filled or inserted subsequently. The latter is perhaps more likely (cf. p. 185 below).

GRAVE 413: five coins and a comb, all inside the coffin. **The comb (521)** was to the left of the skull. The coins **(516–20)** were among the bones of the right hand, which they had discoloured.

GRAVE 420: a cremation in Feature 12. It consisted of a small pile of burnt bone, about 0·5 m across, in a turf layer that formed part of the upper filling of the ditch (Layer h, cf. p. 103 below). It had been partly cut away by Grave 421. It was unclear whether the turf had been removed to make a small pit or whether the cremation had merely been scattered on the surface. The former was perhaps more likely. No hobnails or coffin-nails were discovered.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
425	I	—	—	428	b	268°	90	B	G	d	25/30	x	B	S	x	S	C	9–100–18 3– 60–16	RO	—	1 group, among toe bones
426	I	—	—	420	m 421 m 430 m	275°	103	B	G?	d	25/35	x	B	S	c	x	C	12– 80–20	RR	—	—
427	I	400	a	—	—	279°	99	C	x	a	20/25	M	B	S	c	D	?	?– x– x	x	—	—
428	I	423 425 440 459	b b a d	—	—	252°	68	B	x	c	20/25	x	B	S	c	S	C	2–110–20 1– 80–20	IF	—	—
430	I	426 432	m b	—	—	269°	70	B	G?	b	25/30	x	B	S	d	R	—	— x– x	x	—	—
431	I	—	—	352	a	267°	120	B	G	d	*A*	x	B	S	x	L	C	12–110–20 1– 80–16	RO	5, along sides of coffin	2 shoes, under feet
432	I	434 435 473	a b a	430	b	269°	96	B	G?	e	*A*	x	B	S	x	x	C	2– 70–20	x	—	—
434	D	—	—	432	a	x	x	x	x	x	*A*	x	x	x	x	x	C	x– x– x	x	x	x
435	I	—	—	432	b	270°	25	B	G	e	*A*	x	x	x	x	L	C	7– 90–24 4– 80–28	CF	—	1 group, among bones of R. foot
436	I	220 437	b b	—	—	282°	78	C	E	d	30/35	x	B	S	x	S	C	— x– x	x	—	—
437	I	—	—	436 438	b m	260°	98	B/A	G	c	20+	M	B	S	d	L	C	7–100–20 4– 60–12	RO	—	1 group, among toe bones

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
—	—	E −1	—	370–90	VS			425
See below	616—coin in mound; see below	F x	616: 268–70	350–90	HS 29	Table 23 (date), Table 21, pp. 170–3, 174–5 (furnishing), 103 (grave-mound), 104 (616 and F.12)	Figs. 7 (section), 61 (plan), 97	426
689—coin, in mouth (top of mouth discoloured)	Head to R. of knees; 3 human skull fragments in fill	O +2	—	400–10	VS	pp. 142, 192–3 (decapitation)	Fig. 50 (plan)	427
—	—	F +3	—	390–410	VS			428
525—bronze bracelet, under R. shoulder	—	F +5	—	390–410	VS	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 7 (section), 57 (plan), 98	430
—	—	E −2	—	370–90	VS	p. 322 (shoes)	Figs. 39 (shoes), 65 (plan)	431
—	Finds in fill; see below	F +3	660: mid IV	370–90	VS	p. 188 (Gs. 434, 473 disturbed)	Figs. 7 (section), 98	432
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.432	F −1	—	350–70	VS			434
586—iron needle, near mandible	Coffin-fittings; finds in fill; see below	F −2	—	350–70	VS	p. 336 (coffin)	Figs. 7 (section), 44, 45 (coffin), 98	435
585—bone comb, area of ribs	660—sherd in fill (sherds of same pot in G.432 fill). Much coffin-wood	F +1	660: mid IV	380–410	VS		Figs. 7 (section), 98	436
See below	—	F −1	592: 337–41 596–600: 357–63	360–70	C	Table 21, pp. 165–7, 172–4 (furnishing)	Figs. 7 (section), 53 (plan)	437

GRAVE 426: a brooch, pottery bowl, and bronze belt-fittings, all inside the coffin. The bronze cross-bow brooch **(532)** was resting on the chest, its foot pointing towards the head of the grave. The belt-fittings were near the upper legs. A buckle **(533)** lay between the femora, face down and its loop to the right. By the left knee was a strap-end **(534)**. The belt to which these fittings belonged could have been put over or under the legs, but was more probably worn at burial and had at some stage slipped out of position. The bowl **(535)** lay to the right of the feet.

A coin **(616)** was found in the mound (p. 103) over Grave 426. Its date (268–70) suggests that it was derived from Feature 12 (see below, p. 104).

GRAVE 432: finds in the fill included the remains of an adult and a child skeleton, and also sherds of a pottery bowl **(660)**. Skull fragments from both the adult and the child were found, and two separate burials are presumably represented, Graves 434 and 473. The pottery bowl, another sherd of which was found in Grave 436, could have been associated with either of these burials, or could have come from elsewhere.

GRAVE 435: two iron strips had been attached one above the other to the foot of the coffin. The lower fitting was 170 mm long and 40 mm wide; nails had been driven through it and wood was corroded to its inner face. The upper fitting, which was about 100 mm higher up, was 100 mm long and 20 mm wide. Neither fitting is central to the coffin, both lying rather to the left (cf. Fig. 45).

Some animal bones were found in the fill, including part of an ox jaw and horn, and some horse bones. They were probably derived from Feature 12, which Grave 435 cut.

GRAVE 437: six coins. A bronze coin **(592)** lay to the right of the shoulders, probably outside the coffin. Five silver coins **(596–600)** were in a pile by the right elbow, just below the bones of the lower arm.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1 2	Cut 3 4	Cut by 5 6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9 10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14 15 16 17	Coffin 18 19 20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
438 I	437 m 440 m 457 m	— —	258°	108	B G	c	*A*	x	B S b x	C 11–110–16 8– 80–20 3– 50–14 1– 90– x RL	—	—
439 I	440 m 452 b 458 b	448 a	274°	105	B G	d	30/35	x	B S c S	C 8– 70–16 3– 60–24 RO	—	2 groups, 1 near, ? above, each foot
440 I	423 d 457 b	428 a 438 m 439 m 442 b	269°	105	B G?	c	30/45	?M	B S x L	C 8– 70–18 6– 40–12 RE	—	1 group, among toe bones
441 I	443 a 445 a	— —	85°	38	x x	b	35/40	F	F S a D	? — x– x x	—	—
442 I	440 b 444 b	— —	270°	88	B G	c	30/35	M	B S g S	C 11– 70–16 RL	—	—
443 I	444 a	441 a 445 a	267°	118	B G	d	20/25	M	B S x S	C 10–100–24 1– x–18 IF	—	—
444 P	— —	442 b 443 a	227°	103	B G?	c	25/30	?M	B S x x	C x– x– x x	x	x
445 I	443 a	441 a	267°	63	x x	a	35/40	?F	B S b D	— — x– x x	—	—

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
See below	—	F x	—	360–70/80	VS GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing), 196 (location)	Figs. 7 (section), 58 (plan), 98, 99	438
—	Head end of G.452 cut away by this grave or by G.448	F −1	—	350–70	VS		Figs. 7 (section), 65 (plan)	439
—	515—iron padlock in fill	F −1	—	350–70	VS	pp. 103 (mound), 146 (padlock in fill)	Figs. 7 (section), 65 (plan), 100	440
—	Head between lower legs, face down	W +4	—	370–90	VS	pp. 142, 192–3 (decapitation)	Figs. 24 (section), 50 (plan)	441
—	Human femur in fill; source uncertain	F +2	—	370–90	VS			442
See below	Decapitated skeleton (G.445) in fill; finds in fill; see below	W —	—	350–70	VS GF	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–4 (furnishing), 192 (G.445), 187 (G.444 disturbed), 196 (location)	Figs. 24 (section), 57 (plan), 100; Pl. Xc	443
x	Skull and L. side cut away by G.443. Bones (but not skull) in G.443 fill	W −4	—	310–50	VS		Fig. 24 (section)	444
—	Head on R. femur; see below	W —	—	350–70	29	pp. 142, 192–3 (decapitation and date)	Figs. 24 (section), 50 (plan)	445

GRAVE 438: many objects, all inside the coffin. In a pile to the right of the skull were sixteen bracelets, eight finger-rings, and a collection of beads with a bronze fastening. Three bracelets were bronze (**561, 566, 568**), one iron (**572**), one bone (**675**), and the rest ivory. The ivory bracelets were fragmentary, being largely represented by their bronze fittings, and it was not certain how many were present. If each fitting represents one bracelet there were eleven (**562, 573–82**). Textile fragments were corroded to a bronze bracelet (**568**). The finger-rings were in two groups, one of three rings (**569**, silver, **570–1**, bronze), and the other of five rings (**563–4**, shale, **565**, bronze, **559, 567**, silver). Some of the beads were of green glass and some were coral. Several instances were observed where green beads had been corroded together by contact with a metal object, and the same had happened to some coral beads. The two types did not, however, seem to be mixed. This suggests two sets of beads, coral (**560**) and green glass (**583**). The fastening has been arbitrarily assigned to **560**. Fragments of a bone comb (**584**) lay to the left of the skull. In the area of the upper chest there was an iron pin or needle (**558**).

GRAVE 443: a knife and bronze belt-fittings lay to the left of the ankles, inside the coffin. The knife (**602**) was alongside the bones of the lower left leg, its blade towards the foot of the grave. Next to it, face downwards and with its loop partly under the blade, was a buckle (**603**). Two bronze rings (**604, 607**) were corroded to the base of the knife-tang, and two others were near the blade, one beneath it (**605**) and the other beyond its point (**606**). Fragments of a leather strap were attached to one ring (**607**), and corroded to the buckle were further leather remains and some textile fragments. The rings probably formed part of a harness for suspending the knife from the belt.

Two decapitated skeletons, Graves 441 and 445, were found above Grave 443. There was sufficient evidence to show that Grave 441 was a secondary burial, but the skeleton of Grave 445 was securely stratified in the undisturbed fill of Grave 443. The relevant evidence is shown on Fig. 24, and it is further described under Grave 445. Also in the fill of Grave 443 were bones from Grave 444, which Grave 443 had disturbed. The skull of Grave 444 was not found.

GRAVE 445: the lower of two decapitated skeletons overlying Grave 443; the other was Grave 441. The head had been placed on the upper right leg. The stratigraphic context of Grave 445 was examined in some detail (Fig. 24). The layers filling Grave 443 dipped into the centre of the grave, forming a sharp V, probably as a result of the collapse of the coffin. The skeleton of Grave 445 lay in the north side of the V, at an angle similar to that of the layers around. These were themselves easy to distinguish, being alternating bands of chalk and topsoil. Grave 445 was in an earthy layer. There was no interruption either to that layer or to the chalky layer above, such as might have been expected had a pit been dug to insert a later grave. It is clear that the skeleton of Grave 445 was placed in Grave 443 while the latter was being filled.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19	20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
446	I	—	—	—	—	264°	110	x	x	d	A	F	B	S	x	S	C	9– 60–14 3– 80–20	RE	—	1 group, among toe bones
447	D	—	—	358 451	d a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	?– x– x	x	x	x
448	I	358 439 452	a a a	451	b	264°	51	B	x	c	25/35	M	B	S	b	L	?	— x– x	x	Stone tile at head and at feet	—
449	D	358	d	451	a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	?– x– x	x	x	x
450	IX	355 356	a e	x	x	244°	10	x	x	d	9 mo.	x	x	x	x	x	C	2– x– x	x	—	—
451	I	358 447 448 449	a a b a	—	—	274°	110	x	x	c	35/45	M	B	S	g	D	C	12– 80–18	RL	—	—
452	P	—	—	357 439 448 458	m b a m	354°	45	x	x	b	Neo	x	L	F	x	x	—	— x– x	x	x	x
453	D	—	—	355	a	x	x	x	x	x	A	x	x	x	x	x	?	x– x– x	x	x	x

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
610—bone comb, R. of skull, inside coffin	—	E x	—	370–410	HS		Fig. 100	446
See below	Disturbed grave; see below	W x	—	310–90	VS	p. 188 (relationship to G.451)		447
—	Head end of G.452 cut away by this grave or by G.439	F +2	—	370–90	VS		Fig. 52 (plan)	448
x	Destroyed grave; see below	W x	—	310–70	VS			449
See below	Plan (Fig. 63) incomplete; see below	F +5	—	390–410	VS	Table 21, pp. 168–9, 172–6 (furnishing)	Figs. 63 (plan), 100	450
—	Decapitated skeleton; finds in fill; see below	W +6	—	370–90	VS	pp. 142, 192–3 (decapitation and date), 188 (Gs.447, 449 disturbed)	Figs. 50 (plan), 100, 101 (686–7)	451
x	Skull cut away by G.439 or G.448	F −4	—	340–50	29	pp. 102–4 (relationship to F.12 and date)		452
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.355	F −4	—	350–70	VS			453

GRAVES 447 and 449: discovered in the fill of Grave 451 (q.v.). Grave 447 was represented by a compact pile of disarticulated bones, including a skull, associated with a pottery bowl (609). To Grave 449 belonged other bones, including skull fragments, scattered throughout the fill of Grave 451. Some of these bones may still have been articulated when redeposited. Several coffin-nails were found, which could have been associated with one or both burials.

GRAVE 450: two pierced canines, together with pewter and glass fragments, all to the left of the feet, inside the coffin. The canines (611, 612) were almost certainly pendants. The glass fragments lay in the midst of the pewter, only a very small amount of which was present. Probably the pewter and the glass were the remains of a third pendant (613), a pewter disc with a glass centre-piece.

Grave 450 was very shallow, cut into Feature 12. It was partially disturbed during surface cleaning, and its skeleton was not well preserved. For these reasons only the grave outline and the legs are shown on Fig. 63. It should be stressed, however, in view of the importance of the grave, that the legs and grave-goods were excavated under fully controlled conditions.

GRAVE 451: the skeleton had been decapitated and was lying on its front, the head being between the femora. The right elbow had been pushed over towards the left side of the body, and the lower arm was bent back from it. The result was that the two lower arms lay side by side, parallel to each other. The skeleton was not well enough preserved to show whether the arms were in front of the body or behind the back, but the latter was more probable. If so, the position of the arms indicates a half-nelson.

Human bones, animal bones, potsherds (including two prehistoric sherds, 686, 687), a pottery bowl, and coffin-nails were discovered in the fill of Grave 451. The animal bones could have been associated with burials cut by this grave, but were probably on the surface at the time of burial. The human bones included two skulls, indicating that two graves had been disturbed, Graves 447 and 449 (q.v.). Grave 447 was represented by a pile of disarticulated bones that included most if not all of its skeleton. This pile lay half-way along the south side of Grave 451, 0·3–0·4 m above the grave bottom, and sloping down from south to north, no doubt as a result of the collapse of the coffin beneath. The pile was very compact, and this may indicate that the bones had been in a sack when reburied. Among them was the pottery bowl (609). The bones of Grave 449 were scattered throughout the fill of Grave 451. Several bones of the shoulder and torso—ribs, collar-bone, and shoulder-blade—were found together, and although they were not fully articulated, their presence together suggests that some ligaments were attached to them when redeposited. The coffin-nails may have been associated with either or both graves.

Grave 447 was the only instance at Lankhills where bones from a disturbed grave had been redeposited in a compact pile. It is all the more unusual since the remains of Grave 449 were indiscriminately scattered. It is virtually impossible to see how when Grave 451 was dug one lot of disturbed bones could be put in a compact pile, while another group was scattered without care. This suggests that the bones of Grave 447 were not disturbed by Grave 451, but were introduced into its fill from elsewhere. Such a suggestion is consistent with the possibility that the bones had been in a sack. It is discussed further below, pp. 188 and 192–3.

Grave 451 overlay Grave 358. It is unlikely that Grave 358 had first disturbed either of the graves whose remains were found in the fill of Grave 451. The shoulder and torso bones of Grave 449 would not have remained in association if they had been twice disturbed, and the bones of Grave 447 could not have been deposited in a compact pile had they already been scattered in the fill of Grave 358. Grave 358 was probably therefore the earliest in this sequence of graves.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19		20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
454	PC	—	—	351	a	x	5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	x–	x– x	x	x	Present, among cremated bone
455	IE	—	—	357	a	x	105	B	E	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	—	x– x	x	—	—
456	D	—	—	421	a	x	x	x	x	x	c. 7	x	x	x	x	x	C	x–	x– x	x	x	x
457	I	—	—	438 440	m b	263°	50	x	x	a	6 mo.	x	B	S	a	R	—	—	x– x	x	—	—
458	I	452	m	439	b	265°	53	x	x	a	6 mo.	x	F	F	b	R	—	—	x– x	x	—	—
459	I	460	a	428	d	337°	10	x	x	b	Neo	x	L	F	b	L	—	—	x– x	x	—	—
460	D	—	—	459	a	x	x	x	x	x	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	?	x–	x– x	x	x	x
461	D	—	—	127	a	x	x	x	x	x	A	x	x	x	x	x	?	x–	x– x	x	x	x
462	D	—	—	131 132	a d	x	x	x	x	x	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	C	x–	60–18	x	x	x
463	D	—	—	324	a	x	x	x	x	x	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	x	x–	x– x	x	x	x
464	D	—	—	249	a	x	x	x	x	x	30+	?F	x	x	x	x	x	x–	x– x	x	x	x
465	D	—	—	258	a	x	x	x	x	x	A	x	x	x	x	x	x	x–	x– x	x	x	x
466	D	—	—	33	a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x–	x– x	x	x	x

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
x	Cremation; see below	F −4	—	350–70	VS	p. 128 (cremation rite)	Fig. 7 (section)	454
—	Empty grave; see below	F −5	—	350–70	VS			455
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.421	F −2	—	350–90	VS			456
—	—	F −3	—	340–50	VS	pp. 102–4 (relationship to F.12 and date)	Fig. 7 (section)	457
—	—	F −4	—	340–50	VS	pp. 102–4 (relationship to F.12 and date)	Fig. 7 (section)	458
—	Bones of G.460 in fill; skull present	F +2	—	360–410	VS	p. 188 (G.460 disturbed)		459
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.459	F −2	—	340–90	VS	pp. 102–4 (relationship to F.12 and date)		460
x	Bones (but not skull) in fill of G.127	W −2	—	310–60	VS			461
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.131	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			462
See below	Destroyed grave; see below	F −2	318: 350–64 409: 350–64	350–70	C VS			463
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.249	W −2	—	330–50	VS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date)		464
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.258	W −2	—	330–50	VS 29	p. 99 (F.6 and date)		465
x	Bones (but not skull) in fill of G.33	W −2	—	310–350/70	VS			466

GRAVE 454: a cremation without an urn. It consisted of a pile of burnt bones, charcoal, and hobnails, about 0·5 m across, partly cut away by Grave 351. The pile lay in a turf layer, one of the upper layers of Feature 12 (Layer h; see p. 103 and Fig. 7). It may have been deposited on the surface, but the burnt material was more probably placed under a piece of turf.

GRAVE 455: an empty pit with no trace of a skeleton and no coffin-nails. Little was found in its fill except an arm bone discoloured by bronze. The grave may have been robbed, but this must have been thorough, or have taken place when body and coffin were still intact, as otherwise more debris would have been found. There was no stratigraphic evidence for a secondary pit. Grave 455 may perhaps have been a pit never used for burial. The source of the arm bone is uncertain.

GRAVE 463: completely destroyed by Grave 324. It had belonged to a new-born infant and of the skeleton only two frontal bones remained, both discoloured by bronze. The remainder had probably decayed in the fill of Grave 324, which was exceptionally earthy. Also in the fill of Grave 324 were two coins (318, 409) which were no doubt originally on the forehead of the dead child. The same could be true of a third coin (300), found in the area of Grave 324 during surface cleaning.

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave 1	2	Cut 3	4	Cut by 5	6	Al. 7	Dp. 8	Pit 9	10	Pr. 11	Age 12	Sex 13	Position 14	15	16	17	Coffin 18	19			20	Packing 21	Hobnails 22
467	D	—	—	272	a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x-	x-	x	x	x	x
468	—	328	a	327	a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x-	x-	x	x	x	x
469	D	—	—	337	a	x	x	x	x	x	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	?	x-	x-	x	x	x	x
470	D	—	—	343	a	x	x	x	x	x	Neo	x	x	x	x	x	x	x-	x-	x	x	x	x
471	D	—	—	57	a	x	x	x	x	x	5/8	x	x	x	x	x	x	x-	x-	x	x	x	x
472	D	—	—	127	a	x	x	x	x	x	4/5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x-	x-	x	x	x	x
473	D	—	—	432	a	x	x	x	x	x	*c.* 18 mo.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x-	x-	x	x	x	x

TABLE 2 (*cont.*)

Grave-furniture 23	Notes 24	Str. 25	Datable objects 26	Date 27	28	Cross-references 29	Illustrations 30	Grave 31
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.272	W −4	—	310–50	VS			467
x	Only some of fill excavated	W —	—	330–350/70	VS			468
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.337	W −3	—	310–30	VS			469
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.343	W −3	—	310–330/50	VS			470
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.57	W −5	—	310–40	VS			471
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.127	W −2	—	310–60	VS			472
x	Bones (including skull) in fill of G.432	F −1	—	340–50	VS			473

5

OTHER FEATURES

THE seventeen features other than graves defined in the excavation are described below under the numbers they were given on the site. There are many gaps in the numbering sequence because some numbers were not used, some were given to natural occurrences in the chalk, and some were assigned to 'features' which later turned out to be graves. Many of the features are interpreted as bedding-trenches. It should be noted that there is no supporting botanical evidence.

Feature 2 (Figs. 20 and 105; Plate IV*a*)

Feature 2 consisted of a gully enclosing a rectangular area 4·0 m by 2·5 m, in which was one grave, Grave 100. This was not positioned centrally in the enclosure, but it did lie on the same alignment. The gully was about 0·30 m wide and up to 0·25 m deep. Its filling was topsoil and chalk lumps, showing no evidence of silting or stratification. There was an interruption in the centre of the east side, and north of this was a small hole with chalky fill, which may have been a stake-hole (Fig. 20, at CD).

The gully intersected with four graves, Graves 66, 97, 101, and 102. The inner edges of Graves 66, 97, and 102 coincided with those of the gully. It clearly did not continue over them but it was uncertain whether this was because they had cut it, or because the gully had been deliberately terminated. Careful consideration of one section suggested that, at least in the case of Grave 66, the latter was more probable. The fourth grave, Grave 101, lay across the gully on a slightly different alignment. It was relatively shallow, and was almost certainly later, since the gully would otherwise have disturbed it.

Interpreting the gully as the bedding-trench for a hedge provides the best explanation for the lack of silt and for the undifferentiated character of its filling. The gap on the east side will have marked the entrance, and the possible stake-hole near by could have held a marker. Presumably, as it was the only internal feature, it was Grave 100 that was enclosed. The hedge may have been planted after the grave was dug, and if, as seems likely, it did indeed respect Graves 66, 97, and 102, this would explain why Grave 100 was not centrally placed.

Feature 2 lay to the west of Feature 12, in an area where burial took place in 310–370/90.[1] If it was later than Grave 66 and was itself cut by Grave 101, then it should be dated centrally in the period 310–370/90. Grave 100 was presumably almost contemporary. Feature 2 was one of four similar enclosures, which are discussed below, p. 183.

[1] See below, pp. 118–19, and Fig. 9.

Feature 6 (Figs. 4 and 105; Plate IV*b*)

Feature 6 consisted of a gully enclosing a rectangular area, 7·0 m east–west by 5·0 m north–south, with a gap, presumably an entrance, in the east side. The gully was a maximum of 0·4 m wide and up to 0·2 m deep. Its filling, an undifferentiated layer of mixed chalk and humus, showed no sign that it had ever been left open or had had posts set in it. It is best explained as the bedding-trench for a hedge.

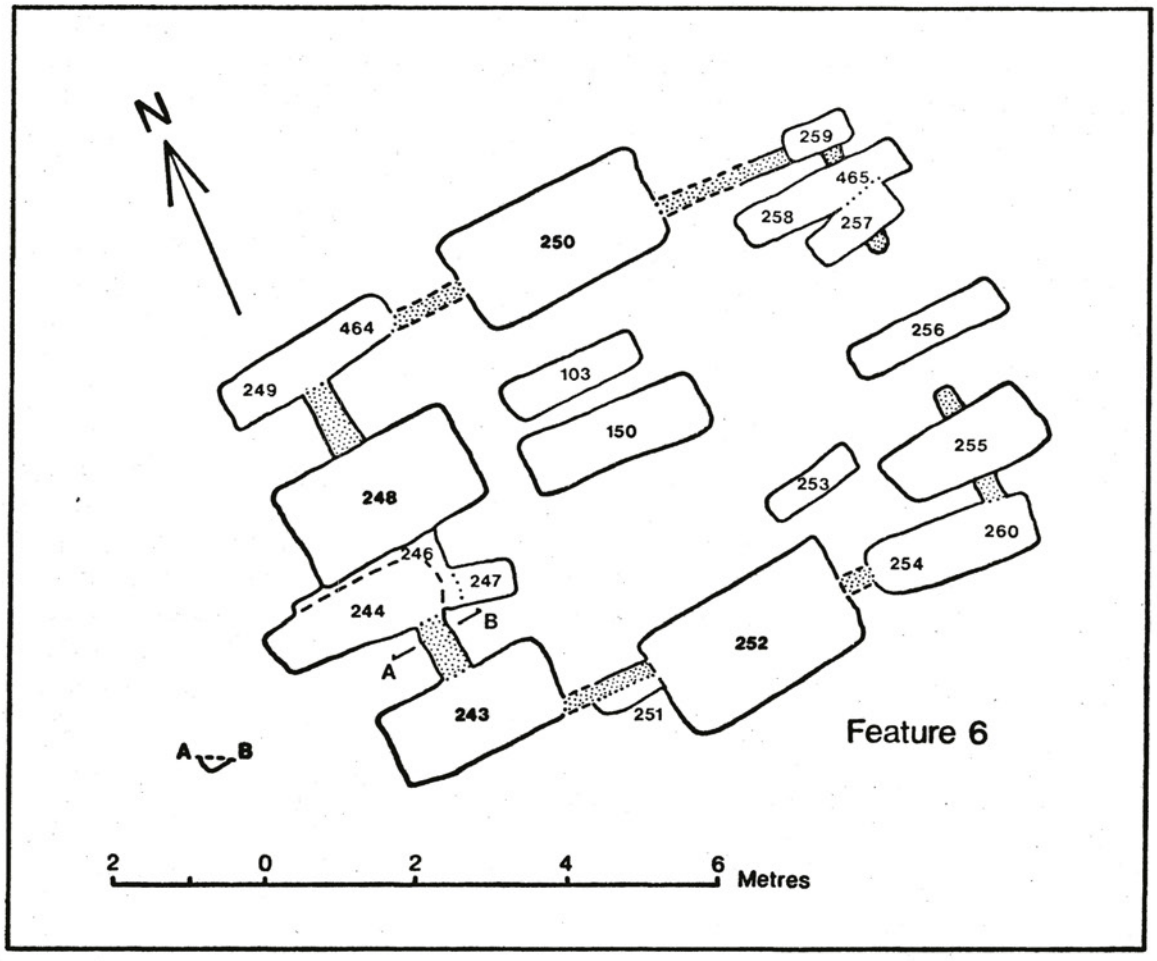

FIG. 4. Feature 6 and associated burials (1:100).

Cf. Pl. IV*b*. The gully of Feature 6 is stippled. Dashed lines were not planned, **but their existence is certain. Dotted** lines are conjectural.

A number of graves lay both within and intersecting the enclosure, most of them clearly related. Graves 103, 150, and 253 lay inside; Graves 103 and 253 were both very shallow, suggesting that little care had been taken. Grave 150, a male burial, was by contrast deep and furnished with a pottery flagon (**260**) and a bird (**261**).[1] Since it was also sited almost exactly in the centre, it can reasonably be regarded as the focal point.

The graves intersecting the gully included twelve that were still intact, three that had

[1] For a plan of Grave 150, see Fig. 66.

been destroyed, and two whose pits, although partially preserved, were empty. A further burial, Grave 256, lay in the entrance. Of the intact graves, all save Grave 244 seemed approximately to straddle the gully, and each seemed to occupy a position related to the general outline of the enclosure. It was possible to show conclusively that Graves 248, 252, 255, 257, 258, and 259 had cut the gully, and the position of the other intact burials leaves little doubt that they too were later. It may thus be concluded that after the laying out of Feature 6, a series of graves was dug around it.

The destroyed graves were Graves 246, 464, and 465. Graves 464 and 465 were cut by Graves 249 and 258 respectively, in whose filling their debris was scattered. Since they preceded those two graves in position, they were probably, like them, related to Feature 6. The third grave, Grave 246, had been dug away by Grave 244 and since little trace of it was encountered in the latter's fill, its removal must have been systematic. Sufficient evidence remained to reconstruct its outline and show that it did not exactly straddle the gully, an observation which might suggest that it was not related. However, it did lie in the middle of the west side and it seems to have been respected by the neighbouring burial, Grave 248. Grave 248 was clearly related to Feature 6, but, presumably because of Grave 246, it did not occupy a central position in the west side. This displacement suggests that Grave 246 was connected with Feature 6.

The two empty graves were Graves 247 and 251. Both their pits had been partially cut away and what remained indicated that the burials had been those of children. A set of coffin-nails was found at the east end of Grave 247, and a small nail in Grave 251. Neither grave contained bones and it is unlikely that any once present could have entirely decayed, for in almost every other child grave at least some trace of the skeleton survived. It is more probable that Graves 247 and 251 had been deliberately emptied. Grave 251 was cut by Grave 252, and Grave 247 by Graves 244 and perhaps 246. Both also intersected the gully, but neither yielded any evidence about its stratigraphical relationship. The two graves may have been emptied when the graves that cut them were dug, but this is unlikely in the case of Grave 251 at least, for the fill in the surviving part of its pit had clearly been cut through by Grave 252. It may be, therefore, that the graves were earlier than Feature 6 and were emptied when it was dug.

Dating evidence for Feature 6 and the graves that cut it was limited. To further the discussion it is necessary to anticipate Part II (Analysis). Grave 150, the central burial in Feature 6, can be dated by the manner of its furnishing to *c.* 310–50.[1] Similar criteria date Grave 248 to the same period,[2] Grave 256 (the grave in the entrance) to *c.* 350–70,[3] and Grave 254 to after 365.[4] Of the other burials, Grave 250 can be dated by the pottery with which it was furnished to *c.* 330–70,[5] and Grave 255 can be assigned to after *c.* 360 by the presence of flint packing,[6] and the position of its skeleton.[7]

More chronological evidence is provided by vertical stratigraphy. The disturbance of the three graves which had been wholly destroyed would probably only have occurred

[1] See below, pp. 165, 168, and above, p. 22.
[2] Ibid.
[3] See below, pp. 165, 168–9, and above, p. 22.
[4] See below, p. 178.
[5] These vessels, 253, 254, 255, and 256, are described below on pp. 231–2.
[6] Cf. below, p. 143.
[7] Cf. below, pp. 139–40.

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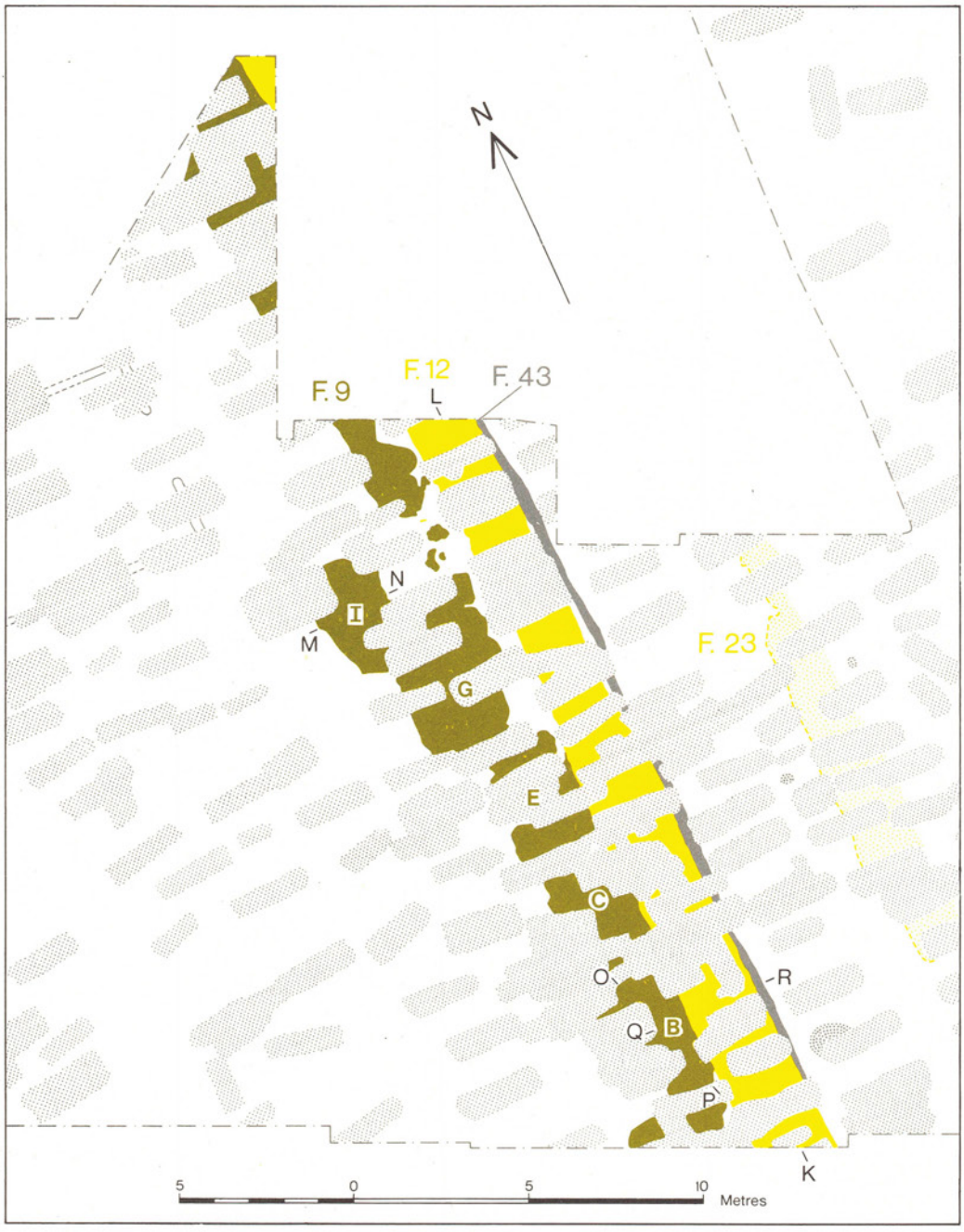

FIG. 5. Features 9, 12, 23, and 43: plan (1:200). Cf. Pl. II.
For Sections KL, MN, OP, and QR, see Figs. 6 and 7.

after their sites had been lost, a process that probably took at least twenty years.[1] This suggests that Feature 6 remained a focus for some length of time. The only stratigraphic sequence involving more than two burials is that represented by Graves 244, 246, 247, and 248. If Feature 6 caused Grave 247 to be emptied, and if Grave 247 was only disturbed because its site had been lost, it is likely to have preceded Feature 6 by at least twenty years. After Feature 6 had been laid out, Grave 246 would have been dug, and before its site was lost, Grave 248 would have followed it. Since the manner in which Grave 248 was furnished dates this grave to before *c.* 350, we have a *terminus ante quem* for the whole sequence. Grave 247 was perhaps dug *c.* 310, when burial started at Lankhills, Feature 6 in *c.* 330, Grave 246 in *c.* 330–40, and Grave 248 in *c.* 340–50. Subsequently, when the site of Grave 246 had been lost, Grave 244 was cut through it, at a date any time after *c.* 350–60.

Drawing this evidence together, a history of Feature 6 and the associated graves emerges. The first burials will have been Graves 247 and 251, and these will have been unconnected with the enclosure. With them are perhaps to be grouped the two shallow burials within the enclosure, Graves 103 and 253, both of which are hard to see as related. All four graves perhaps date from *c.* 310, when this area of the cemetery first came into use. Some time will have elapsed before Feature 6 was laid out, and Grave 150 dug, probably *c.* 330. Fairly soon afterwards the gully was cut by the first graves, the earliest being perhaps those in the four corners (Graves 243, 464, 259, and 260) and those centrally placed along the sides (Graves 250, 246, 252, and perhaps 465). The latest grave of this earlier group may have been Grave 248, on the west arm of the gully, not centrally placed but respecting Grave 246. Grave 248 probably provides a *terminus ante quem* of *c.* 350 for all the earlier graves cutting Feature 6. A subsequent stage seems to be represented by Graves 256, 244, 249, 258, 255, 254, and 257. Some of these are near the supposed entrance and Grave 256 blocks it; others destroyed earlier burials; and Grave 244 occupies an unusual position. These later graves indicate that Feature 6 was continuing to be a focus, but they also show that the arrangement was now less orderly than hitherto.

As the site plan, Fig. 105, shows, Feature 6 is not the only example of a gully enclosing a central grave. It is, however, quite unlike the other features in being larger, and in having formed the focus for later burials. Feature 6 is discussed further below on pp. 183 and 429–30.

Feature 9 (Figs. 5, 6, and 105; Plate II)

Feature 9 was a series of irregular pits occupying a zone about 4 m wide immediately west of Feature 12.[2] A length of 18 m was emptied. The pits were everywhere extensively cut by later graves, but in the area excavated it was possible to differentiate four or possibly five main pits, around which there were many shallow depressions. The most northerly main pit (I, Fig. 6) was the most regular, being approximately rectangular with fairly straight sides, and 0·9 m in depth. The next pit (G) must have overlapped with Pit I, but the point of intersection had been cut away by graves. To the north-east and

[1] See below, pp. 119 and 186.

[2] For Feature 12, see below, p. 100.

south-west the sides of Pit G were gently sloped; its main area was a rough rectangle, 0·6 m deep; and the remaining sides were reasonably vertical. South of Pit G it was impossible to be certain if there were two pits (C and E), or whether they were one. The whole area was much obscured by later graves, and whatever had been there was clearly very irregular. The southernmost pit (B, Fig. 6) was also irregular; its bottom was a series of dips and hollows, generally with a steep edge to the east and a shallow slope to the west.

The layers filling the main pits conformed to a standard pattern (Fig. 6). At the bottom there was no evidence for silt nor, at the very bottom, any sign of treading. The lower layers were a mixture of chalk and soil of a kind that develops naturally over chalk. The uppermost layers, at least over the deep pits, were thick deposits of clean, brown clay-like soil containing a quantity of flints. This soil must have been extremely fertile. It was certainly imported to Lankhills, and is exactly matched by the natural soil found downhill from the site, in the valley of the stream known as the Fulflood (at Fig. 2, no. 24).

Finds from Feature 9 were few. In the flinty brown earth of Pit G were some potsherds probably of Iron Age date, all of which were found close together.[1] A few scraps of animal bone were recovered from Pit B.

Chronological conclusions about Feature 9 have to be inferred from its relationship to surrounding graves and features. No part of Feature 9 extended more than 0·25 m inside the west edge of Feature 12. Stratigraphic relationships between the two were observed at three points, and at each Feature 12 had cut Feature 9 (Fig. 6). As the west side of Feature 12 did not seem to have been affected by erosion,[2] it is likely that Feature 9 was already in existence when Feature 12 was first dug, some time before the late third century.[3] The three intersections were not extensive and it seemed over all that Feature 12 and Feature 9 had respected each other. This view and the fact that the two features were parallel suggest that at some stage they were in use together, presumably when Feature 12 was first dug. However, by *c.* 310, Feature 9 will have been abandoned, for it was cut by many graves, the earliest of which were no later than *c.* 310–30.[4]

Certain points are relevant to the interpretation of Feature 9. First, the pits were roughly in line, and as such deliberately set out. Second, they were back-filled as soon as they had been dug, for otherwise evidence for silting would have been recovered. Third, the lack of finds makes it unlikely that they had been dug for refuse disposal or other domestic purposes. Fourth, the layer of rich brown soil, which seems to have been imported, will surely only have been brought in for something to be planted. This and the other observations suggest that Feature 9 was a series of bedding-trenches. The fact that the pits were in a line indicates a border. What was included in this border is conjectural, but the size of the pits points to trees and shrubs.[5]

Feature 12 (Figs. 5, 6, 7, and 105; Plates II and V)

Feature 12 was a ditch running north–south, 2·0 m wide and 0·5 m deep. It was flanked to either side by Features 9 and 43 and was cut by many graves. A length of 22 m was emptied. Its excavation was particularly difficult because the later burials could not be

[1] For the prehistoric sherds from Lankhills, see above, p. 4, and below, pp. 237–8.
[2] See below, p. 103.
[3] See below, p. 104.
[4] e.g. Grave 469; see below, p. 115.
[5] For further discussion of Feature 9, see below, pp. 113–14.

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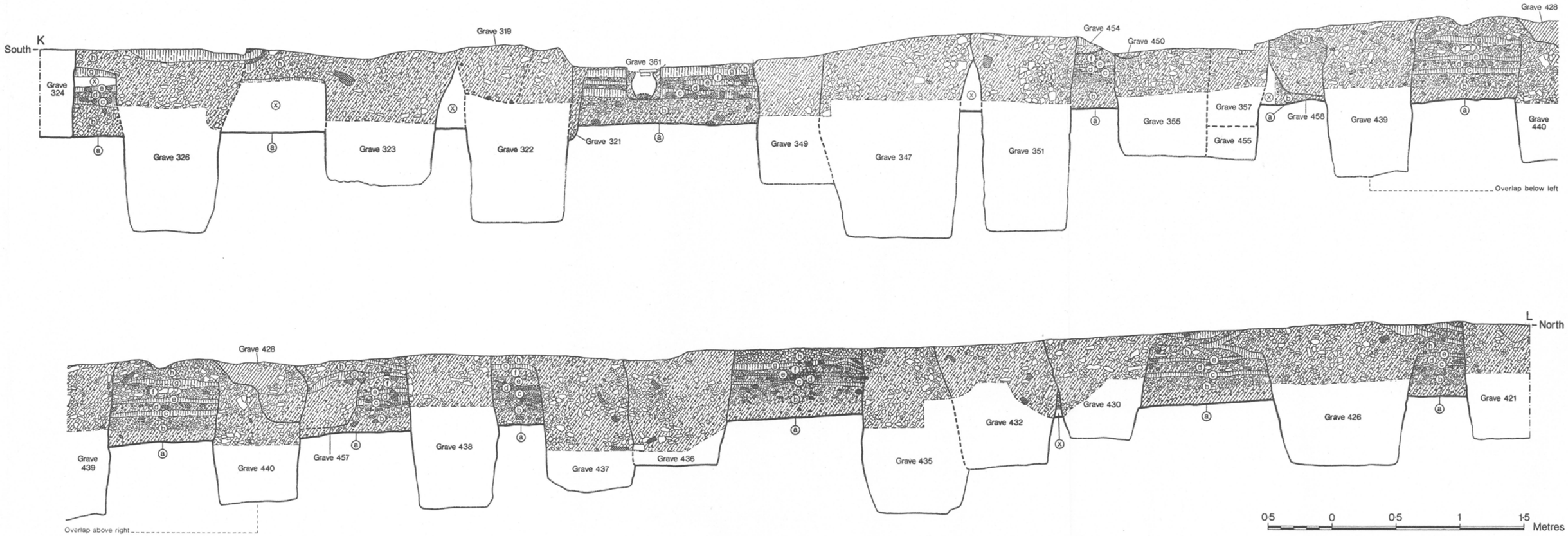


FIG. 7. Feature 12: longitudinal section (1:30).

Key to symbols used on Figs. 6, 7, 26, and 46

- Topsoil
- Brown earth
- Chalk lumps
- Flint
- Bone
- Burning
- Ⓧ Layers not drawn on site

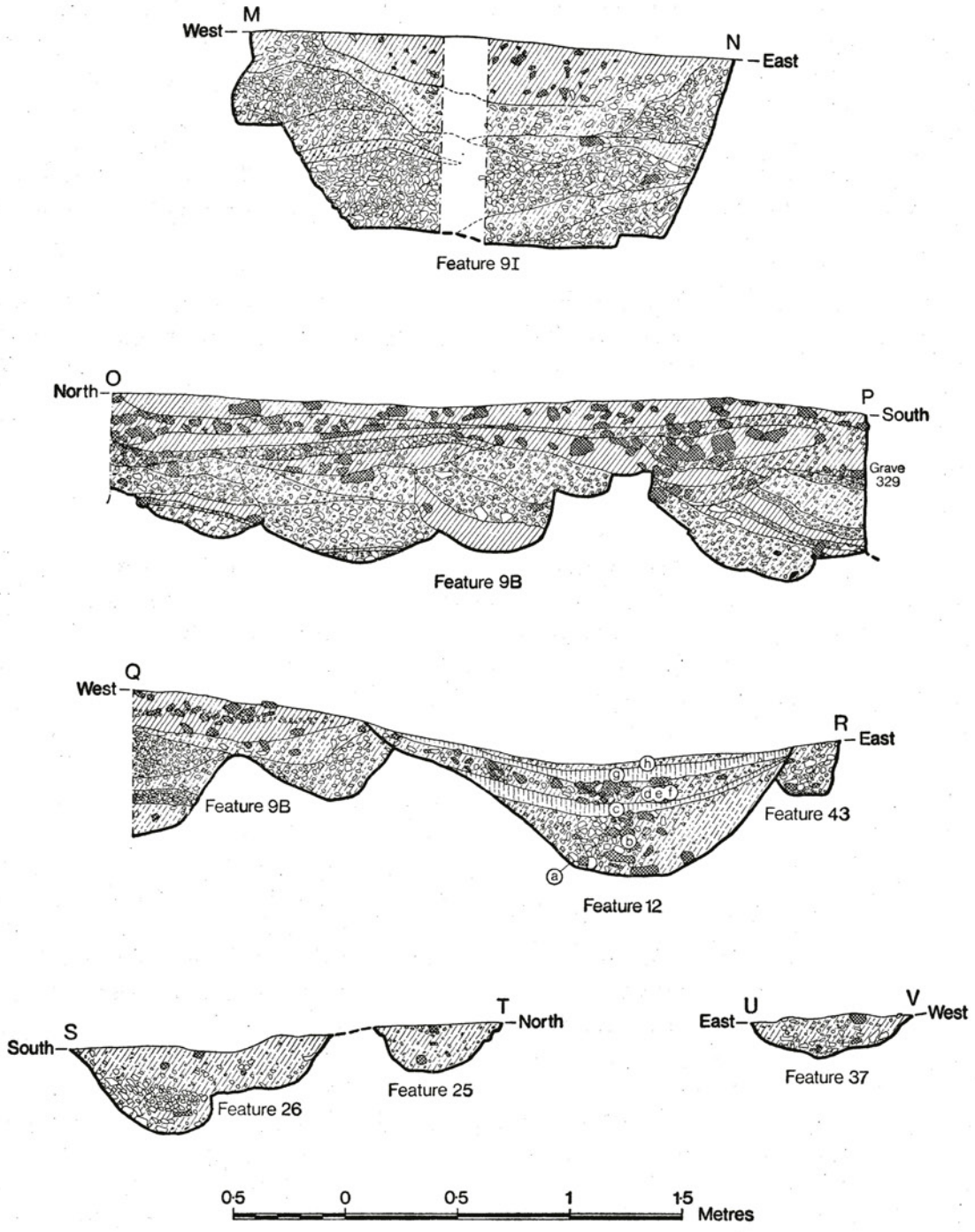


FIG. 6. Features 9, 12, 25–6, 37, and 43: sections (1:30).

Cf. Pl. V*b* (Section QR). For key, see Fig. 7. For the location of sections MN, OP, and QR, see Fig. 5. Section **ST ran** at right angles to Features 25 and 26, 0·3 m east of Grave 287. Section UV was at right angles to Feature **37,** 0·75 m from the eastern limit of the excavation.

defined on the surface (cf. Plate II). As digging proceeded, it was found that this was because they had been dug from a level well down in the ditch, below the surface of the chalk to either side. Ill-defined shapes visible when excavation began were thus not the outlines of graves, but the mounds that covered them. Once this had been recognised, a section was laid out along the centre-line of the ditch (Fig. 7). Fourteen sections were also drawn across the ditch, one of which is shown on Fig. 6 and Plate V*b*, and another on Fig. 46. On these sections the stages in the history of the ditch have been lettered a–h.

Description of Feature 12

The first stage was the digging of the ditch (a). It had a smooth bottom which varied in width from 0·30 to 0·45 m (Fig. 6; Plate V) and sloped from west to east, the fall of roughly 0·05 m corresponding to the fall in the ground to either side. The sides were sloped, the east steep and concave, the west much shallower and convex. This difference in profile is pronounced, especially when allowance is made for the general fall of the ground.

The layers filling Feature 12 did not vary greatly over the excavated length. There were three main divisions: the primary fill (b), a series of turf-lines and chalk-spreads (c–g), and the graves and grave-mounds (h). The primary fill (b) occupied the bottom half of the ditch, probably up to the angle of rest. It was thickest on the east side and tended to lens out towards the west. On the east, especially at the bottom, it consisted principally of brown earth. There was a good deal of chalk in the centre, often closely packed, and to the west the lumps were sometimes quite large. This profile suggests derivation almost entirely from the east.

A turf-line (c) had then formed. Above this there was a layer of scattered chalk lumps (d) which contained a great quantity of finds: animal bones, potsherds, shells, iron fragments—including a buckle-loop (**466**, Fig. 101)—and charcoal. Many of the graves cutting Feature 12 had a substantial number of finds in their fills, most presumably derived from Layer d, an inference demonstrable in the case of two pots (**637** and **659**) from the occurrence in Layer d of sherds that joined others in the graves. These and the others finds are noted and illustrated under the relevant graves. They include **676** and **677** (Grave 322), **659** (Graves 323 and 359), **637** (Grave 326), and **661** (Graves 347 and 350). Layer d was interleaved with thin turf-lines in some places, and everywhere it seemed thicker to the west, whence it was presumably derived (Fig. 46). It was sealed by a further turf-line (e), above which in the central and southern part of the ditch there was a layer of clean chalk lumps (f). Layer f seemed thickest between Graves 440 and 455, but it extended as far north as Grave 438, and as far south as Grave 324. Like Layer d, it was thicker to the west, the direction from which it too had presumably originated.

Layer f was contemporary with two of the four earliest graves dug into Feature 12. These four, Graves 452, 457, 458, and 460, were all infant burials. Although Layer f had no stratigraphic relationship with Grave 460, and its intersection with Grave 452 was obscure, it appeared to seal Grave 458, and to be cut by Grave 457. No intervening turf-lines had been able to form, which suggests that the time involved was short. It is unlikely, however, that Layer f was actually derived from the infant graves, for these were

dug almost exclusively into the fill of Feature 12 and could hardly have generated the requisite chalk.

Layer f and the infant graves were sealed by a third turf-line (g) and it was from this level that the first non-infant graves (h) were cut. These seem to have been positioned at regular intervals; they include Graves 326, 323, 359, 454, 455, 439, 440, 438, 437, 435, and 426. In the middle of the ditch, the turf-line (g) from which they were cut lay below the level of the chalk subsoil, and small mounds of chalky soil covered by turf were preserved over them. These survived best to the north around Grave 426, for the absence of the clean chalk layer (f) in this area meant that the upper surface of Layer g was at a deeper level.

Offerings had been placed around at least one of the mounds (Grave 323). On the south side a pile of three coins (**444**, **445**, and **446**) was found, and at the west end a small pottery flagon (**461**, Fig. 86) had been bedded slightly into the underlying turf, perhaps with a second pot (**467**). A number of finds elsewhere in the uppermost levels of Feature 12 may also have been surface offerings, notably three coins (**300**, **302**, and **317**) and the sherds of two pottery vessels (**468**, **469**, Fig. 101), all from around Graves 324, 326, 322, 323, and 359. The mounds over Graves 439, 440, 438, and 426 were, however, sufficiently well preserved to indicate that here surface offerings had never been present. They were thus far from being a general feature.[1]

The final stage in the history of Feature 12 was marked by the cutting of many later graves. By the time the last of these had been dug, the constant throwing up of soil had perhaps entirely obscured the line of the ditch.

Interpretation of the filling of Feature 12

We have noted that the primary fill (b) was derived from the east, but it is perhaps unlikely that it was deliberately thrown in, for over the whole excavated length it lacked the defined layers which tipping would produce. This argues for a natural origin. It might be thought surprising that so much soil fell in before any clean chalk, but the soil may have derived from Feature 43, which flanked the east side of Feature 12. The implication of this would be that the east side was even steeper when the ditch was first dug, while the west side must always have been more or less as found during excavation.

Layer d contained sufficient finds to suggest that the ditch was being used as a rubbish tip, the tipping taking place from the west. Layer f, of clean chalk, also derived from the west, probably came from the digging of graves, for it filled precisely that length of the ditch along which graves were most concentrated to the west. Layers g and h, associated with the graves that cut Feature 12, require no further explanation.

Dating evidence for Feature 12

This is extensive. Some of the first graves dug into the ditch were associated with coins, which provide a *terminus ante quem*.[2] Five silver coins of the years 357–63 were found in Grave 437 (**596–600**). Of the three coins resting on the mound of Grave 323 (**444–6**),

[1] Surface offerings and grave-mounds are discussed further below, pp. 184–5.

[2] For the details of the coins, see below, pp. 202–5 and Table 30.

two date from 330–41, and one from 350–64. Grave 324 contained in its fill coins **318** and **409**, and a frontal bone discoloured by contact with bronze, all probably from a destroyed earlier burial, Grave 463. The coins both date to 350–64. Grave 359, a cremation that had been partly cut away, may also be relevant, for coin **366**, and perhaps coin **426**, both possibly derived from this burial, were found in the fill of graves which cut it; both date from 350–64. The three coins (**300**, **302**, **317**) found in the upper levels that may have been surface offerings also date from this time. This evidence suggests that the first main series of graves cutting Feature 12 should be dated to 350–70. The earlier development of the ditch will have taken place before then.

Further evidence is provided by three coins stratified in the fill of Feature 12 and by two from the fill of graves which cut it. One of the former (**627**) was in the second turf-layer (e), and dates from 330–41. The two others (**451** and **630**) were in the turf (c) overlying the primary fill and both are of Gallienus, 260–8. Being of the same emperor they could provide a firm date for Layer c. Their evidence may be supported by the two coins from grave-fills: **423** (Grave 357), of Probus, 276–81; and **616**, found within the mound of Grave 426, of Claudius II, 268–70. Third-century coins were unusual at Lankhills, only two being recovered outside Feature 12, and so **423** and **616** were perhaps derived from the same layer as **451** and **630**. **451** and **630** alone are probably sufficient to date Turf-layer c to before 300, and a more precise date of *c.* 265–80 is possible.

Coin **627** in Layer e cannot be interpreted with the same confidence, but the date it offers is consistent with the other coin evidence and suggests that Layer f, the clean chalk above Layer e, was deposited after 330. This is in accord with the date of 350–70 for the first main series of graves, for twenty years—from *c.* 330/40 to *c.* 350/60—would have been sufficient for Layer f and Turf-layer g which sealed it to have accumulated. That same twenty years may well have been the period when the intensive burial, perhaps causing Layer f, took place directly to the west of Feature 12.

Two further coins require brief mention. One was discovered on the surface of an unexcavated part of the ditch near Grave 234, and was of Valentinian I, 364–75 (**233**). The other (**615**) was in the fill of Grave 357, and dates from 350–64. Both could have been derived from surface mounds, and carry little significance.

Taken together, the various coins indicate the history of the ditch. It was dug during the third century, probably by 275. Perhaps by 280 it had silted up to at least one-third of its depth, and over this silt a turf-line had formed. Refuse then seems to have been thrown in from the west, perhaps from tidying the cemetery that had come into use by 310. The refuse was in turn covered by turf, and subsequently clean chalk spilled in, probably as a result of grave-digging during the years 335–55. During this time some infant graves were dug into the ditch, and *c.* 350 intensive burial began.

The purpose of Feature 12

The original purpose of Feature 12 can be inferred from its cut and its primary fill. These show that the east side presented a sharp drop, while the west side was a gentle slope. A ditch of this shape suggests a ha-ha, which would have prevented stock straying west of its line; it would have marked a boundary. It is difficult to tell whether a bank once

existed, but its presence seems likely, even if it only served as a dump for spoil. Positive evidence is provided by Feature 23, which can best be explained by the existence of a bank on the east side. A bank here would have made Feature 12 a more efficient boundary, and its existence may be regarded as probable.[1]

Feature 23 (Figs. 5 and 105; Plate II)

Feature 23 was a shallow depression in the chalk, about 2 m wide, running parallel to and 4 m east of Feature 12. Its west edge was well defined, and was cut 0·1 to 0·2 m into the chalk. The feature had no clear eastern limit, its fill dying away between the natural chalk and the topsoil. This fill was a mixture of chalk lumps and brown earth; no finds were recovered. Feature 23 was cut by many graves, and pre-dated burial east of Feature 12.

Feature 23 can probably be interpreted in terms of Feature 12, which may have been accompanied by a bank on its eastern side. Such a bank could have occupied all the space between Features 12 and 23. There is no evidence for the use of the ground further east, but it was most likely cultivated, and perhaps ploughed. Ploughing would have cut into the top of the chalk subsoil, with the result that the chalk under the bank would have been preserved to a greater height there than elsewhere. Feature 23 can thus be explained as a negative lynchet. Its west edge, cut into the chalk, would represent the limit of ploughing against the bank of Feature 12, and its fill would be the topsoil that gathered in the resulting hollow.

Features 24, 25, and 26 (Figs. 6, 21, and 105; Plates II and VI)

by J. L. MACDONALD

Features 24, 25, and 26 ran parallel to each other in the south-east corner of the site; only 5 m separated the outer edges of Features 24 and 26. Their alignment, which was at right angles to Feature 12, seems to have been influenced by the topography of the cemetery, but there was evidence to show that the features were later than all the graves in their vicinity.

Feature 24

This was a gully, 0·05 m–0·1 m deep, 0·3 to 0·5 m wide, and about 16 m long. Both ends were clearly defined. At the west end, the gully was squared off some 5 m from Feature 12. Its east end was also square and lay about 1 m from the edge of the site (Plate VI*b*). About 0·75 m beyond, were four small holes within 0·7 m of each other, each about 0·12 m in diameter, and between 0·07 m and 0·14 m deep. They may have held stakes. Over part of its length, Feature 24 seems to have been too shallow to survive post-Roman ploughing; hence the gap on Fig. 105.

Because the gully was so shallow, it was difficult to see the exact nature of its sides. They seem to have been vertical. On the bottom of the gully there was a layer of flints,

[1] For further discussion of Feature 12, see below, pp. 113–14.

which were often close-packed, especially in the middle and to the east (Plate VI). Where flints were lacking, they may have been taken away by subsequent disturbance. The gully cut Grave 320, and there the flints had sunk to a depth of 0·1 m and had been covered by a brown, chalky topsoil. Elsewhere, what was left of the fill above the flints was also mostly topsoil. A well-preserved ox jaw[1] was found among the flints. The gully also contained a coin of Gratian, 367–78 (374).

The gully cut five graves, Graves 310, 317, 309, 297, and 320. The bones in Grave 320 had been extensively disturbed. Grave 310 was cut by Grave 317 in which there was a coin of Valentinian I (364–75) which had apparently come from Grave 310. Grave 297 was of a very late variety in which the body had been deposited with little care, face downwards.[2] The evidence of these graves implies that the gully was later than some of the latest graves on the site. Yet it seems to have avoided at least Grave 306, as it bent to the north at this point. If the mound of Grave 306 was still visible, the gully is unlikely to have been more than twenty years later than the grave. This observation, and the fact that the gully follows the general layout of the cemetery, suggest a date early in the fifth century.

Feature 25

This gully lay 3 m south of Feature 24 and was separated from another gully, Feature 26, only by a narrow strip of chalk. In places this chalk did not survive to the level of the surface of the adjacent chalk subsoil, indicating that at the original ground level Features 25 and 26 were probably parts of one larger feature. Feature 25 was excavated over a length of 12 m and no ends were found. The sides were concave, that on the north having the gentler incline. The gully was 0·3–0·6 m wide and 0·2–0·3 m deep, being shallower to the west. Its fill was quite consistent throughout (Fig. 6): grey-brown topsoil, showing no signs of stratification. However, an irregular line of flints and snail-shells ran along the centre of the feature. Among the finds was a sherd of coarse pottery, **690**, whose fabric may be late or sub-Roman.[3] Like Features 24 and 26 this feature was later than all the graves which it intersected: Graves 287, 304, and one unexcavated burial.

Feature 26

Feature 26 was emptied over a length of 9 m and no ends were found; it was 0·7–1·0 m wide. Distinctive of this feature was a chalk-filled runnel on its south side, 0·20–0·25 m deeper than the rest of the feature, and running along its whole length (Fig. 6). Elsewhere, the feature was 0·25 m deep, being shallower towards the west. There were no consistent layers apart from the chalk layer in the runnel. The fill was topsoil, slightly lighter in texture and colour than that of Feature 25. Finds included a bronze coin, **327**, of the House of Theodosius (388–402), and a sherd of coarse pottery, **691**, whose fabric may be late or sub-Roman.[4] Like Features 24 and 25, Feature 26 was later than the graves which it intersected, Graves 278 and 286.

[1] Kindly identified by **Mrs. Pauline Sheppard.**
[2] Cf. below, pp. 138–9.
[3] See below, p. 238.
[4] Ibid.

The significance of Features 24, 25, and 26

The three features were clearly related, not only because they ran parallel to each other, but because they can be dated to a period later than all graves which they intersected. Their significance is, however, completely uncertain owing to the fact that they were found on the edge of the site and were not wholly uncovered. One possible interpretation, which is consistent with the interpretation of other more explicable features such as Feature 40, is that Features 25 and 26 were bedding-trenches for plants, forming the boundary of a garden or plot, most of which lay beyond the south-east corner of the site. The topsoil of the fill and the lack of other layers support this. The bigger plants would presumably have been put in Feature 26 and the smaller plants in Feature 25. The chalk layer at the bottom of Feature 26 may have been the result of some effort to break up the hard natural chalk to allow free play for the roots. Even if this explanation is accepted, the function of Feature 24 remains uncertain.

Feature 29 (Figs. 21 and 105)

by J. L. MACDONALD

Feature 29 was a round hole, 0·4 m deep and about 1·1 m wide, east of Feature 43. It was cut by Grave 316. Its bottom was flat and its sides were sloping. When originally dug, it was left open for a time, allowing a brown sediment to collect on the bottom and at the sides. A post seems then to have been put in and packed with dark-brown topsoil and small flints. Eventually the post was removed and the vacant space filled, mainly with chalk. This happened before the feature was cut by Grave 316, for the central core of chalk was cut by that grave. It could have occurred when Feature 12 ceased to be used as a boundary, for the proximity of the two features suggests a connection between them. But there was no evidence that Feature 29 did not belong to a much earlier period.

Feature 37 (Figs. 6, 21, and 105; Plate IV*c*)

by J. L. MACDONALD

Feature 37 was a gully in the north-east corner of the site. It ran from north to south, parallel to and 29 m from Feature 12. A length of 7·7 m was excavated, but had unfortunately been much disturbed in modern times.[1]

The gully was 0·7 m wide, and 0·3 m deep from the surface of the natural chalk. It had gently sloping sides (Fig. 6). In its fill, flints and chalk lumps were distributed at random along the bottom, with a trace of silt below. The latter suggests that the feature lay open for a short period. Yet the most likely interpretation is that it was a bedding-trench for plants. Most of the fill was of an uneven, fine orange and chalky texture with some snail- and oyster-shells. There was no sign of the layers which would have been formed in an open feature. In two places, 4·7 m apart, there were roughly circular, richer deposits of soil, possibly marking individual trees or shrubs.

Three small Roman sherds of fourth-century type and nothing of a later date were found. This and the alignment of the feature suggest that it was contemporary with the

[1] Cf. above, p. 5.

cemetery. It could have served as a boundary, perhaps being at some stage, possibly at the final stage, a limit to the area of burial.

Feature 38 (Figs. 20 and 105; Plate IV*c*)

by J. L. MACDONALD

Feature 38 was a gully about 0·3 m wide enclosing a rectangular area of 2·8 m by 2·0 m. In the centre lay Grave 408, clearly the focus of the enclosure. Most of the eastern and some of the northern side of this feature were obliterated by a circular flower-bed of modern date.[1] What remained was too shallow to give any indication of the fill; it was little more than a stain on the chalk.

This feature is to be interpreted with reference to Features 2, 6, and 40 (Fig. 20), all of which may be regarded as hedges enclosing centrally placed graves. Of these, Feature 40 is the best parallel, for neither in it nor in Feature 38 were there intersecting graves. The modern flower-bed had disturbed the eastern side of Feature 38, and would thus have obliterated an entrance such as can be seen on the east side of Features 2, 6, and 40. There was, however, a break in the south side; this could have been an entrance.

In this part of the cemetery, the date of Feature 38 should lie around the end of the fourth century.[2]

Feature 40 (Figs. 20, 101, and 105; Plate IV*c*)

by J. L. MACDONALD

Feature 40 was a gully enclosing a rectangular area 4·0 m by 2·50 m. In its centre lay Grave 400. Almost the whole of the northern side and northern part of each end had been destroyed by a deep modern flower-bed.[3] The gully was on average 0·2 m deep and 0·6 m wide, with vertical sides and sharply defined corners. The fill was of a rich, dark, browny-red topsoil with some chalk lumps and a few flints. It contained a few fourth-century potsherds, notably **658**, **665–6**, and **668** (Fig. 101), and also a sherd of coarse pottery, **692**, whose fabric may be late or sub-Roman.[4]

It is fairly certain that the gully was used as a bedding-trench for a hedge. The absence of stratification and the unusual richness of the soil point to this. Furthermore, there was a slight hint of darker soil running down the centre of the gully and widening out at intervals of about 1 m, which might be interpreted as a residue of hedge roots and stems. As in Features 2 and 6, there was some evidence that there was an opening in the middle of the east side. The direct evidence was unfortunately obliterated by the modern flower-bed, but it was noticeable that the eastern side became narrower and much shallower towards the point where an entrance might have been expected. The gully enclosed Grave 400, which was dated to 390–400 and contained five coins, the latest of the House of Theodosius. Feature 40 thus belonged to the final phase of the cemetery.

One point requires discussion. In Feature 40, Grave 400 was not strictly parallel to the gully, for its east end pointed slightly to the north (Fig. 20). A possible explanation is that

[1] Cf. above, p. 5.
[2] See below, p. 118 and Fig. 9.
[3] Cf. above, p. 5.
[4] See below, p. 238.

the grave was dug first, the hedge being laid out in relation to the grave-mound, which may not have been precisely positioned. But it is curious that whereas the feature displayed the alignment of graves to the north-east, Grave 400 was aligned at right angles to Feature 12, parallel to the graves to the south-west. It seems in fact that the grave and the hedge owed their alignment to different topographical elements, Feature 12 in the case of Grave 400, and a possible boundary north of the excavation for Feature 40.[1]

Grave 400 was particularly interesting. It was a cenotaph, but contained the bodies of two dogs, one of which was dismembered. A secondary grave was cut neatly into it, and this contained a decapitated skeleton (Grave 427). In the empty coffin of Grave 400 the coins were found in a position where the right hand would have been. This grave is described on pp. 82–3; Feature 40 is discussed further below.[2]

Feature 41 (Fig. 105)

Feature 41 was situated 3 m east of Feature 12. It was a small pit, 0·4 m long, 0·3 m wide, and 0·25 m deep. It was filled with topsoil and chalk lumps, and there was no evidence of silting or other stratification. No dating evidence was recovered, and there is no conclusive reason to associate the pit with the cemetery. If it was associated, it could have been similar to Features 46 and 47, and have contained offerings, which, if organic, would have left no trace.

Feature 42

Feature 42 was a depression in the chalk between Graves 379 and 380. It was 0·8 m wide and 0·1 m deep. The fill consisted of topsoil and chalk lumps. This feature was so shallow that it is difficult to know if it has any archaeological significance. No dating evidence was recovered, and its relationship to Graves 379 and 380 was unclear.

Feature 43 (Figs. 5, 6, 21, and 105; Plates II and V)

Feature 43 was a shallow gully that followed the east side of Feature 12. It was 0·4 wide and 0·25 m deep, and a length of 22 m, much cut about by graves, was excavated. The gully had a flat bottom, 0·15 m wide (Plate V). The fill consisted of topsoil and chalk lumps in which it was possible to recognise distinct layers (Fig. 6). Over much of its length the gully bottom was overlain by a thin skim of fairly clean topsoil. Above this there was a more chalky layer and at the top a second layer of topsoil. None of these layers contained finds.

There were no indications of post- or stake-holes. Equally, none of the filling seemed derived from silting, and so it is likely that the gully was back-filled soon after being dug. Feature 43 can be taken as the bedding-trench for a hedge: there is no conclusive proof, but it is difficult to find another reason for the nature of the filling.

Feature 43 was cut by the east side of Feature 12 (Figs. 6 and 46). The intersection may have been caused, not by the original digging of Feature 12, but by subsequent erosion.[3] However, as this would have taken place shortly after the digging of Feature 12, it can

[1] For discussion of alignment, see below, pp. 131–2.
[2] See below, pp. 183 and 421–3.
[3] Cf. above, p. 103. For further discussion, see below, p. 113.

be safely inferred that Feature 43 was contemporary or earlier. In some places the side of Feature 12 had cut away a relatively large proportion of Feature 43, so much so that any hedge in Feature 43 would have been undermined; this evidence indicates that Feature 43 was in use only until Feature 12 was dug, that is, before the late third century.

Feature 46 (Fig. 105)

Feature 46 was situated 6 m east of Feature 12. It was a small pit, 0·3 m long, 0·2 m wide, and 0·1 m deep. It contained a complete pottery beaker, **537**, which is datable to the later fourth century, and is evidence that Feature 46 was contemporary with the graves around it. Nothing of significance was found inside **537**, which can best be explained as an isolated offering. Feature 46 could have been related to the adjacent Grave 395, and is discussed further below.[1] **537** is illustrated on Fig. 101.

Feature 47

Feature 47 was situated 10 m east of Feature 12, just north of Feature 24. It was 0·5 m long, 0·25 m wide, and 0·05 m deep. It contained at one end a group of ribs and at the other end part of a long bone. These belonged to a fairly large animal, perhaps a small ox.[2] Feature 47 presumably represents the deliberate deposition of joints of meat and may thus be comparable to Feature 46. Its alignment indicates that it was contemporary with the cemetery around it, and it may be related to Grave 307, which lay near by.

[1] p. 185.

[2] I am grateful to Mrs. Pauline Sheppard for commenting on the photograph of these bones.

PART II

ANALYSIS

1

INTRODUCTION

THERE are two ways in which the evidence from a cemetery can be presented. One involves the description and interpretation of the individual graves and features; the other is analytical and is basically concerned with funerary practices and the beliefs manifest in the attributes characterising the graves. This second approach sets out to classify and compare, to define and explain, and ultimately to provide a foundation for historical conclusions. Part I of this book was descriptive. Part II is analytical.[1]

For these purposes, cemetery evidence may be considered under six main heads, and these underlie the main divisions adopted here. These heads are chronology; age and sex; the method used for the disposal of the dead; practical matters connected with the disposal; grave-furniture; and factors underlying the organisation of the cemetery. The first two heads are not aspects of funerary practice, but form an archaeological framework for its study. Funerary practice itself is discernible through study of the other heads, which include all its aspects accessible to archaeologists.

The evidence for chronology includes vertical and horizontal stratigraphy,[2] and datable objects found in graves. On this must be built a chronological framework, which is the essential pre-requisite to analysis. If the Lankhills cemetery had not been closely datable, it would have yielded few historical results. Information as to age and sex is mostly derived from skeletons. The mode of burial will obviously have been governed at least

[1] The analysis of Lankhills benefited from the use of a computer. Cemetery analysis is especially suited to statistical treatment with a computer, as it is concerned with a large number of similar units (graves), each with many attributes. The Lankhills evidence was broken down into attribute form, and fed into the computer, which was programmed to plot the topographical distribution of attributes, to calculate their frequency, and to quantify the relevant chronological evidence. The computer analysis formed part of a programme of work carried out by Mr. R. N. Cuff and the Winchester Research Unit, using facilities provided by IBM (UK) Ltd., at their Research Laboratory at Hursley Park, near Winchester. The use made of the computer is not mentioned specifically in what follows, but the results have been fully incorporated; and on pp. 198–200, Mr. Cuff has contributed a note on what was done. As Mr. Cuff points out, the computer analysis was not carried out in isolation, as an end in itself, but was simply designed to aid the general programme of work.

[2] Vertical stratigraphy: graves cutting each other; horizontal stratigraphy: different areas used for burial at different times.

in part by a person's age and sex, and these factors, when identified, will therefore account for many differences between graves.

The method of the disposal of the dead by cremation, inhumation, or in other ways, is archaeologically the most obvious part of funerary custom, and it is often thought to be of considerable significance. Many consider, for example, that in the fourth century inhumation was characteristic of provincial Roman populations, and cremation of people from free Germany. It may be argued, however, that such views assume that the difference between the rites has more historical significance than is warranted. Cremation has now largely superseded inhumation in Great Britain, and a reverse transition took place under the Roman Empire. It is worth remembering that the method of disposal is a practical matter, governed by the need for decent removal of the corpse, and that it may reflect this necessity rather than deeply held convictions. If the difference between the rites is to be taken as significant, this will need proving on the facts of each set of circumstances.[1] What is beyond dispute is that all other aspects of funerary rite differ in their archaeological manifestations between cremations and inhumations, making analysis of both rites together virtually impossible. Only seven cremations were found at Lankhills, and these will be considered first.

The next category of cemetery evidence is concerned with features of graves that follow directly from the method of disposal adopted. For inhumations these include the alignment, depth, and character of the grave-pit, the posture of the skeleton, and the presence or absence of a coffin. Each is bound up with the practical business of placing a corpse in the ground; but there is also considerable scope for variation, which will reflect not merely funerary beliefs but also the wealth of the dead person, and the possible presence of professional undertakers. These features have been given the general heading 'the grave'.

The fifth aspect of the evidence is the grave-furniture, and this is the most important, because the provision of grave-goods is non-practical.[2] It does nothing to expedite the burial of the corpse and is actually wasteful, as it requires the living to forfeit often quite valuable objects. But people would not have put objects into a grave unless they thought it necessary; that necessity would have arisen by virtue of their beliefs. In analysis, types of furnished graves may be recognised and interpreted in terms of shared beliefs. These will indicate change and diversity in religion among the users of the cemetery and they will also offer a means of defining ethnic variation.[3]

The final topic is cemetery organisation, concerned with why a given grave was located in one place rather than elsewhere. A cemetery may have grown simply in the order in which people died, and in that case the positioning of the graves would reflect nothing more than that. The graves could, however, have been grouped in families, or by age, kin, sex, religion, or status; and then cemeteries would shed light on social organisation. This topic is discussed last, for much of the evidence on which it rests will consist of similarities between graves which are only defined in considering the other aspects of the cemetery.

[1] For discussion of cremation in late Roman Britain, see below, pp. 350–1.

[2] Clarke 1975*b*, 52.

[3] Ibid. 48–52.

2

CHRONOLOGY

We will first consider three features which dominated Lankhills topographically, Features 9, 12, and 43. Coin-dated graves will then be used with those features to establish a horizontal stratigraphy. We will go on to consider vertical stratigraphy and with that done we will have established a chronological framework, enabling us to date any grave or feature by its stratigraphic position. This framework we will then test against dated pottery vessels, which were the only externally dated grave-furniture apart from coins. Finally we will see how our framework may be used to measure changes in funerary practice.

i. FEATURES 9, 12, AND 43

(Fig. 5)

Features 9, 12, and 43 ran parallel and next to each other on a north–south alignment (Fig. 5).[1] Feature 9, to the west, was a series of pits, seemingly the bedding for a border of shrubs and trees. Feature 12, in the middle, was a ditch, most likely a boundary containing stock to the east. Feature 43, to the east, was a shallow gully that could have been dug for a hedge.

Feature 12 cut Features 9 and 43 (Figs. 5 and 6). In the case of Feature 43, this cut was so extensive that its hedge could hardly have survived subsequently; an indication that Features 43 and 12 were not contemporary, and also perhaps an indication that the boundary marked by Feature 12 was long-standing, having previously been marked by Feature 43. Feature 9 cannot have served as a true boundary, for it was not continuous. It may therefore have formed a decorative border within either Feature 12 or Feature 43. Its east side and the west edge of Feature 12 seemed to respect each other,[2] for there was only a slight overlap between them, and this may indicate that for at least part of their histories the two features were associated. They would together have formed a satisfactory eastern boundary to the area between them and the Cirencester road to the west, Feature 12 keeping animals out, and the shrubs or trees in Feature 9 providing privacy.

Several coins were stratified in the fill of Feature 12.[3] The most significant were two of Gallienus (260–8), in the turf-line formed when the ditch-fill had reached the angle of rest. These suggest that the ditch was dug during or before the second half of the third century. A further coin minted in 330–41, discovered in a higher layer, shows that the ditch was progressively filled up during the late third and early fourth centuries.

Many later graves were cut into Features 9, 12, and 43, and no burials cut by these

[1] For descriptions of Features 9, 12, and 43, see above, pp. 99–105 and 109–10.

[2] See above, p. 100 and Figs. 5 and 6.

[3] The dating evidence for Feature 12 is presented above, pp. 103–4. For the coins themselves, see below, pp. 202–5 and Table 30.

features were found. Some of the graves cutting Feature 9 were among the earliest found anywhere at Lankhills,[1] and these seemed to respect Feature 12 and to be aligned at right angles to it. This suggests that Feature 9 had come to be ignored by *c.* 310, when burial started at Lankhills.[2] Feature 12, on the other hand, evidently continued at least for a time to be of topographical significance, influencing the arrangement of the cemetery.

ii. COIN-DATED GRAVES

Coin-dated graves include graves furnished with coins, graves with coins placed on their grave-mound, graves with coins in their filling, and graves which any of these graves cut or were cut by. Forty-two graves were furnished with coins, and, among these, legible coins, the coins providing chronological information, were distributed as follows:[3]

24 graves with 1 legible coin	2 graves with 4 legible coins
4 graves with 2 legible coins	1 grave with 5 legible coins
5 graves with 3 legible coins	2 graves with 6 legible coins

Only Grave 323 had coins by its mound,[4] but eleven or possibly twelve graves had coins in their fill.[5] In two of the latter, discoloured bones showed that the coins had been disturbed from earlier burials,[6] and in four others the coins were duplicated by coins associated with the skeleton.[7] Many graves cut or were cut by graves containing coins. Where the later grave either overlay or cut completely through the earlier burial, unless there was deliberate supra-positioning,[8] the site of the earlier grave must have been lost and a gap of at least twenty years can be postulated.[9] Where, however, this was not so, the two graves could have been virtually contemporary, and the intersection provides less chronological information.

In discussing date, we may adopt three major numismatic breaks relevant to fourth-century Britain, and see which graves fall into the periods they define. These periods are pre-330/40, 330/40–365/70 (most coins circulating of the House of Constantine), 365/70–390 (coins of the House of Valentinian), and post-390 (coins of the House of Theodosius). In assigning graves to the periods we should remember that coins were often buried long after minting. At Lankhills, early fourth-century coins were deposited in 350–70 in Grave 336, and coins of the House of Constantine after 390 in Graves 289 and 378. There is no doubt that for graves with a single coin the only certain date is the *terminus post quem*.[10] It is, however, probably safe to assume that two or more contemporary coins in a single grave provide a reliable date.

[1] See for example Grave 469, which was destroyed by Grave 337, which in turn was cut by Grave 336, dated by six coins to 350–70.

[2] For the starting-date of burial at Lankhills, see above, p. 4.

[3] For details of the coins, see below, pp. 202–5 and Table 30.

[4] See above, pp. 66–7 and 103, and below, p. 185.

[5] Graves 58, 283, 317, 322, 324, 329, 349, 357, 376, and 401 (all in the fill proper, see Table 15); Grave 426 (in the mound debris); and possibly Grave 361 (see above, pp. 76–7).

[6] Graves 317 and 324.

[7] Graves 58, 283, 322, and 329.

[8] For this, see further below, pp. 186–7. Few definite examples were encountered at Lankhills.

[9] For further comments on the time that elapsed between the digging of graves, see below, pp. 119 and 186.

[10] Vertical and horizontal stratigraphy indicate that at least three graves, Graves 344, 347, and 351, were indeed dug at a later time than their coins would suggest: see Table 2.

Pre-330/40. Six graves were furnished with coins of this period: Graves 96, 114, 152, 172, 228, and 344. Each contained a single coin, but, apart from Grave 344, there is no reason to doubt the validity of the date suggested.[1] Other graves can be given an early fourth-century date because they were cut by later graves with coins. In one such sequence was Grave 81, which contained three coins, all dated to 348–64; these indicate that the grave was pre-Valentinianic. Grave 81 had disregarded Grave 83, and Grave 83 had itself previously ignored Grave 80, which should accordingly be dated to *c.* 330 or earlier. In a similar sequence, Grave 336 was dated by six coins to 350–70; it had slightly cut Grave 337, which in turn had totally destroyed Grave 469. This sequence is not as impressive as that involving Grave 81, but it is probable that Grave 469 should be dated earlier than *c.* 330. A third sequence involved Grave 58, dated by four coins to 370–80. This grave was later than at least three others, and it is likely that all three were cut successively one into the other. If so, the earliest will probably have been dug before 330/40. Further sequences included graves dated by only one coin, notably those involving Graves 76, 137, and 212, each of which contained a coin minted in 330–41. Although these coins could have been buried at least as late as the 370s, their most likely deposition-date would be *c.* 335–45. Graves 76, 137, and 212 each cut into and apparently disregarded one earlier burial, which can accordingly be assigned to before *c.* 330. If these graves are included, twelve graves at Lankhills can be coin-dated to before *c.* 330/40.

330/40–365/70. Twelve graves were furnished with coins of this period: Graves 13, 81, 336, and 437 with two or more legible coins and Graves 37, 76, 109, 137, 164, 212, 329, and 351 with only one.[2] Four further graves can be dated to this time. Grave 323, the grave with coins by its mound, had three coins minted 330–64. Grave 463, which was completely destroyed by Grave 324, had probably contained two coins minted in 350–64, found in the fill of Grave 324. A cremation, Grave 359, had been disturbed by Graves 349 and 361. The fill of Grave 349 contained a coin minted in 350–64, and a coin of similar date may have been in the fill of Grave 361; both coins were perhaps associated with Grave 359 originally.[3] The fourth instance is that already noted involving Grave 58, where it is safe to infer that at least one grave was dug in 330–65. Sixteen graves are thus coin-dated to the period 330/40–365/70.

365/70–390. Twelve graves were furnished with Valentinianic coins. Graves 88, 232, 322, 347,[4] 360, 370, 381, and 396 contained just one coin, and Graves 8, 58, 270, and 365 two or more. A further burial, Grave 317, had a Valentinianic coin in its fill, which had come from a destroyed earlier burial, Grave 310.

Post-390. Theodosian coins, representing the final period, were discovered in eight graves. Graves 265 and 372 contained one coin, and Graves 283, 289, 378, 400, 413, and 414 two or more. Graves 317 and 319, the latter overlying Grave 322, had been dug in apparent ignorance of graves with Valentinianic coins, and they mean that ten graves are coin-dated to post-390.

[1] Vertical stratigraphy suggests that Grave 344 was dug *c.* 370–90: see Table 2.

[2] Vertical stratigraphy suggests that Grave 351 was dug *c.* 370–90: see Table 2, and below, p. 171.

[3] See above, pp. 76–7.

[4] Vertical stratigraphy suggests that Grave 347 was dug after *c.* 390: see Table 2, and below, p. 171.

iii. HORIZONTAL STRATIGRAPHY

(Figs. 8 and 9)

The coin-dated graves can be used to establish a horizontal stratigraphy, based on the four periods, pre-330/40, 330/40–365/70, 365/70–390, and post-390. The evidence is summarised in Fig. 8.

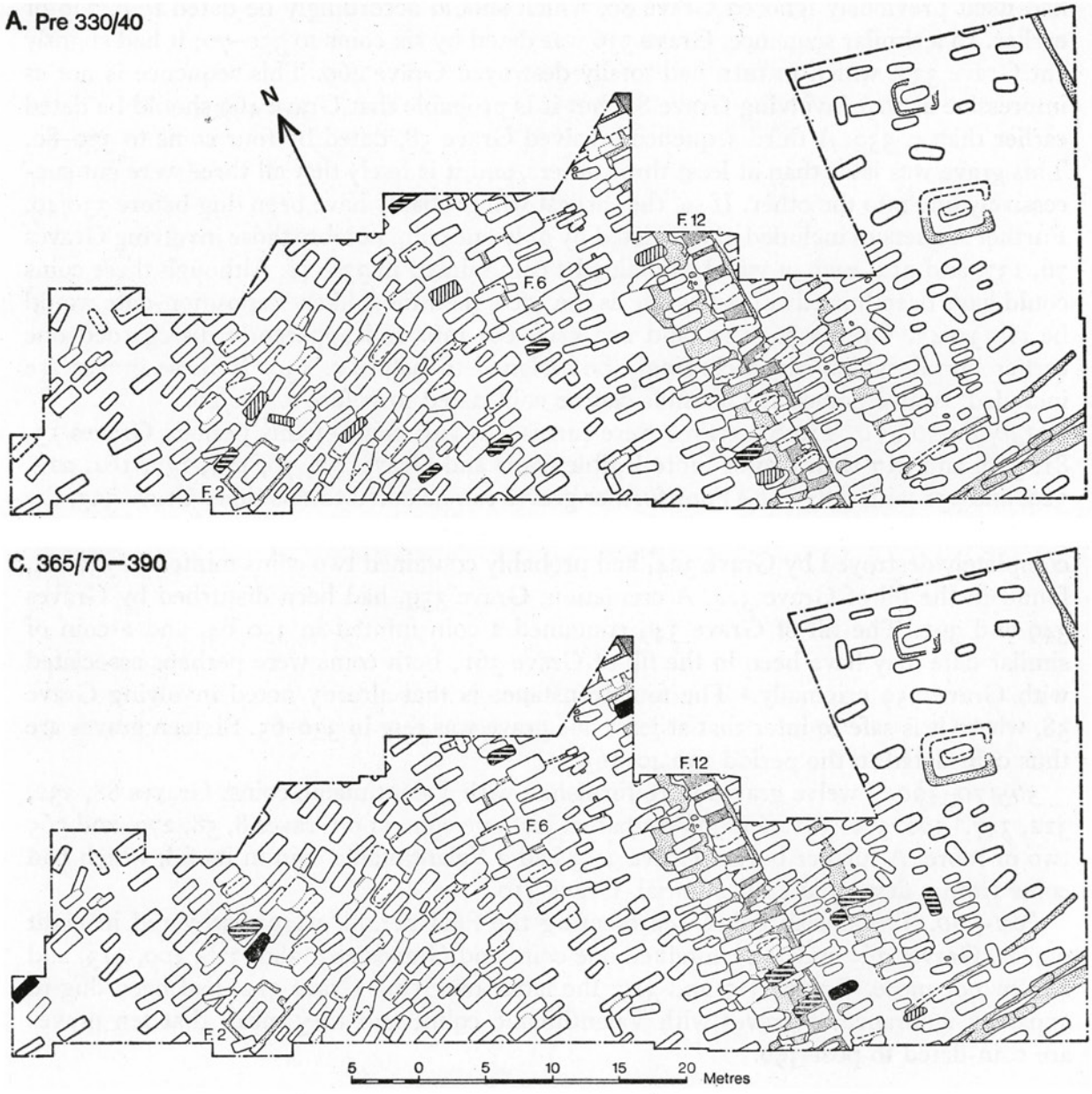
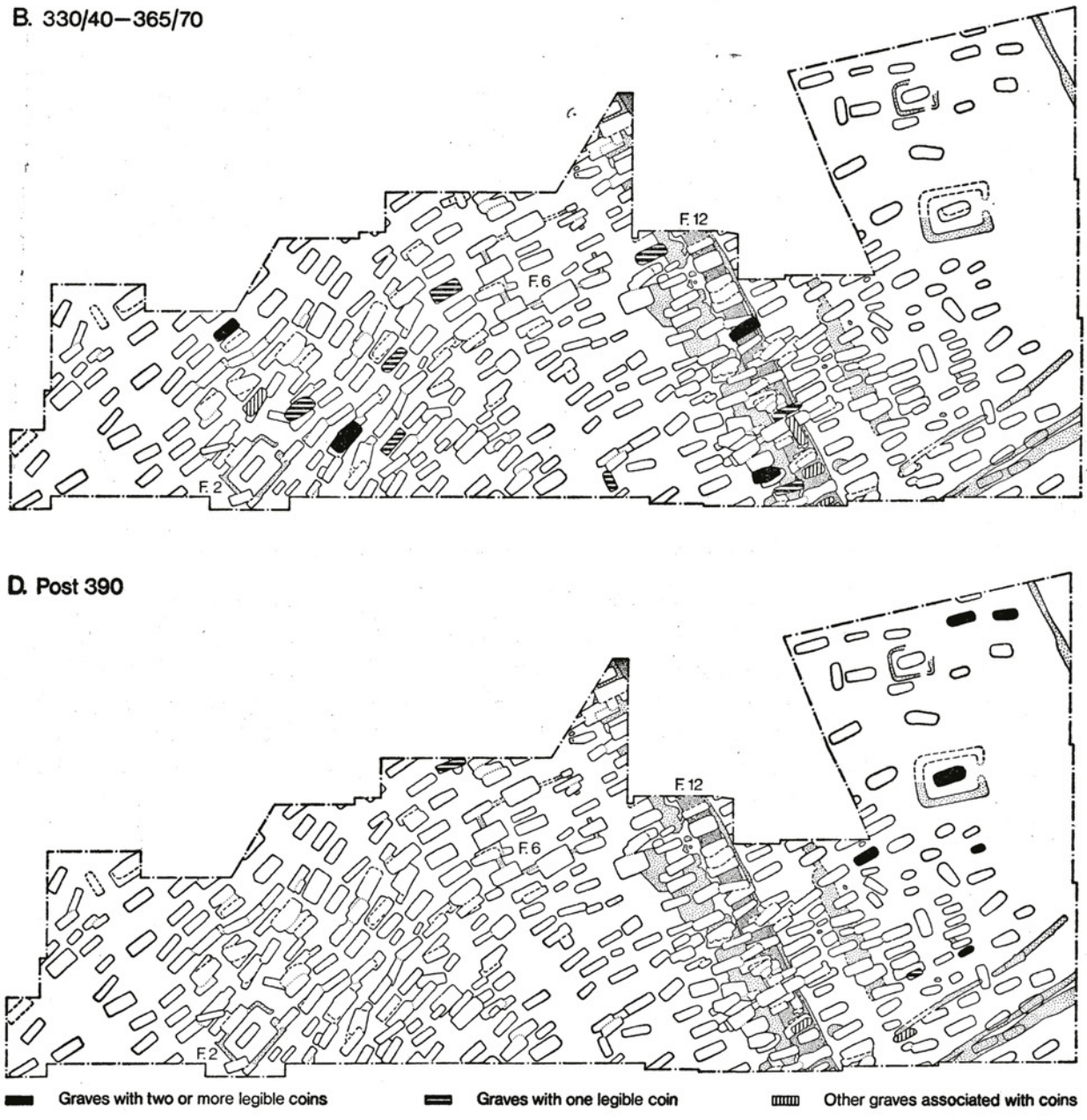


FIG. 8. The distribution of coin-dated graves (1:500).

The key at D refers to the whole figure. Other graves associated with coins include destroyed coin-dated graves, graves with coins by their mounds, and graves cut by or cut into a grave furnished with coins (see p. 114). The dates are exclusively those indicated by coins. Relevant graves overlain or cut away by later burials are shown intact.

Fig. 8A shows graves dated before 330/40. They are spread over almost all the site west of Feature 12, but none cut Feature 12 or lie to the east of it. These graves are also absent in the north-west corner, but this could merely reflect the few graves found there. Feature 12 has been interpreted as a boundary, and it can now be concluded that it was the eastern limit of burial at Lankhills in the early fourth century. Fig. 8B shows graves assigned to 330/40–365/70. In general they extend over the same area as those dated before 330/40, but five cut Feature 12 (Graves 323, 351, 359, 437, and 463). Burial in this ditch seems therefore to have started before 365/70; the exact time can be determined quite



closely. Four of the five graves were associated with several coins, at least one of which dated from after 350. As the latest coin in layers of Feature 12 preceding its use for burial was of Constantinopolis (330–41), the first graves cutting the ditch can be assigned to the years around 350. It can be concluded that by then the boundary had been superseded, the cemetery perhaps having been deliberately enlarged.[1]

Fig. 8C shows the location of graves dated to 365/70–390. West of Feature 12 burial was becoming rare at this time, but graves were beginning to be dug to the east. This second point is supported by Grave 401, which had a coin of 367–78 in its fill and lay in

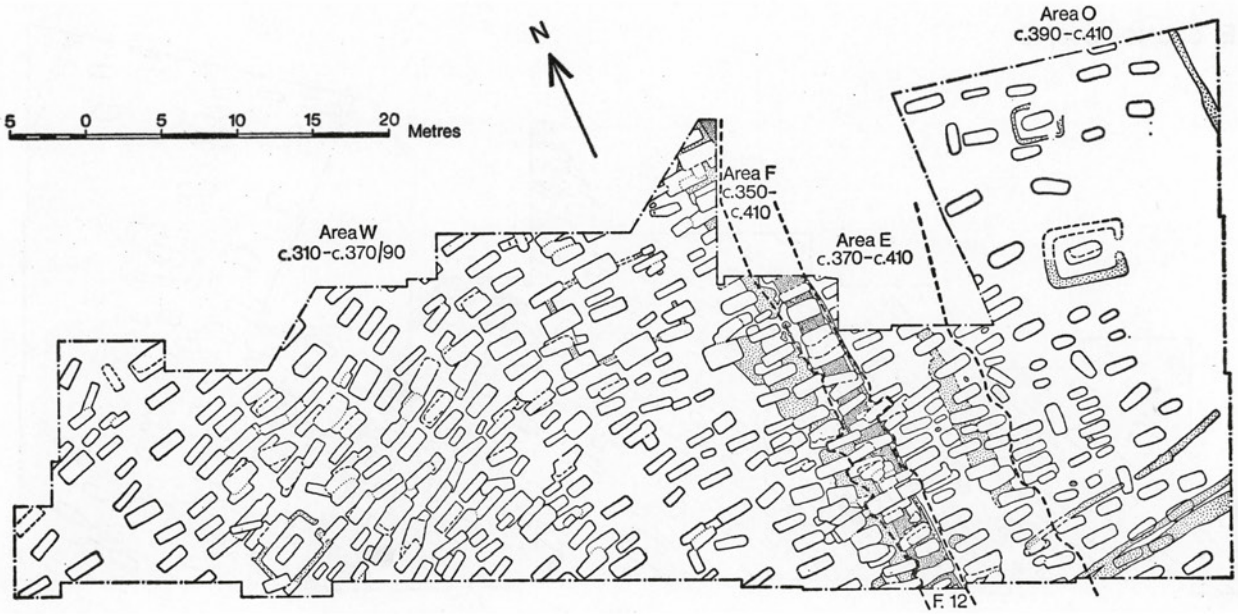


FIG. 9. The horizontal stratigraphy of the excavated area (1:500).

this new area. Fig. 8D shows the distribution of graves with Theodosian coins, datable to after 390. Only Grave 265 lay west of Feature 12, and on the northern edge of the site at that; it can be concluded that apart from around Grave 265, the cemetery west of the ditch had fallen out of use by 390. East of Feature 12, relatively few graves west of a line linking Graves 283 and 372 can be dated after 390. Only beyond this line were such graves common, and since no graves certainly earlier were found, burial cannot have started here until Theodosian times.

It is clear that the distribution of the coin-dated graves provides an excellent example of horizontal stratigraphy, involving a movement from west to east. West of Feature 12 there was probably also a progression from south to north, for all the Valentinianic and Theodosian graves were situated in the northern part of the excavated area.[2] Using the progression from west to east, we can divide the site into areas, whose period of use can in each case be defined (Fig. 9). The first covers the whole site west of Feature 12, where

[1] Feature 37, in the extreme north-east corner of the site, could have been the new boundary (cf. above, pp. 107–8).

[2] Note that this south–north progression accords with the over-all south–north development of the northern cemetery of Winchester, a development to which the eastward expansion at Lankhills is an exception. See above, pp. 10–11.

graves can be dated to *c.* 310–70, with a few to the north as late as *c.* 390. The second area consists of graves cutting the ditch, datable after *c.* 350, and the third includes graves between the ditch and the line linking Graves 283 and 372, where burial began in 365/70. The fourth area covers the graves east of this line, datable from *c.* 390 onwards. For future reference, the first area is designated W (west of Feature 12), the second F (cutting Feature 12), the third E (east of Feature 12), and the fourth O (outermost area). The great majority of intact graves—248—lay in Area W; thirty were in Area F, thirty-six in Area E, and sixty-one in Area O.

iv. VERTICAL STRATIGRAPHY

The term 'vertical stratigraphy' is used here to describe the intersections of one grave-pit with another.[1] Only those cases where there was some certainty about the sequence are taken into account—Class a, where one skeleton was overlain by or cut through by the later grave, and Class b, where a cut was clearly visible in the soil.[2] There were 178 intersections of Classes a and b, of which 129 were in Area W, thirty-four in Area F, ten in Area E, and five in Area O. Many of the intersections in Areas W and F were part of sequences involving three, four, and sometimes even five graves.

Although it is obvious that one burial cutting another will have been the later, how much later is not so clear. This problem has already been touched on,[3] and it was suggested that where the earlier grave was definitely ignored (usually a Class a intersection), a gap of twenty years or more should be inferred. In making this suggestion, it is assumed that unless people had a particular reason for not doing so, they avoided digging a grave in a place which they knew was already occupied, and that it took twenty years or so for the site of a grave to become obscured. These assumptions are justified by the evidence for cemetery organisation discussed below,[4] and the second takes account also of comments from a present-day Winchester undertaker, Mr. S. Steel. The many intersections that were only slight could reflect a desire for the second burial to be near the first. But it is perhaps more probable that even these arose because the earlier grave had been forgotten when the second was dug. Although there can be no certainty, it is not unreasonable to suggest that unless there is clear evidence to the contrary, here also there was a gap of at least twenty years.[5]

As we have seen, the graves were situated in areas whose periods of use can be defined. If two graves intersected, the early grave should probably be assigned to an early stage in the use of the area, and the later grave to a late stage, a likelihood greater when the intersection was of Class a. If three or four graves occurred in a sequence, especially in one where the relationships were of Class a, the earliest and latest burials can confidently be assigned to the beginning and end of the relevant period, and graves in the middle to a central position. Vertical stratigraphy thus provides useful evidence with which to date individual graves.

The evidence of vertical stratigraphy can be summarised by a system of scoring. The

[1] The evidence for the vertical stratigraphy of the individual graves is given in Table 2, cols. 3–6.

[2] For these classes of intersection, see above, p. 16.

[3] See above, p. 114.

[4] See below, pp. 183–8.

[5] This assumption is made in Table 2, col. 27.

basic principle of this is that graves in a sequence are assigned positive and negative scores of such value that when the highest and lowest scores in any one sequence are added together the result is zero. Positive scores are given to graves later in the sequence and negative scores to those that are earlier. Graves in a Class a intersection are given scores separated by four points, while graves in a Class b intersection are separated by two points, to reflect the possibility that the latter might not have been separated by a great gap in time. To give an example, if Grave X overlay Grave Y, Grave X would be scored as +2 and Grave Y as −2, but if Grave Y had also cut slightly into Grave Z, Grave Z would be scored as −3, Grave Y as −1, and Grave X as +3. In this procedure isolated graves have no score. This system of scoring has the advantage of conciseness: the stratigraphic evidence for a grave can be summarised by the letters W, F, E, or O, and by the score.

V. DATABLE POTTERY VESSELS

Combining the evidence of coins and stratigraphy has established a chronological framework. It is clearly desirable to test this framework, and to this end the one kind of

TABLE 3

Dated graves: the evidence of coins and stratigraphy compared with that of the pottery

Date-range of pots (cf. Table 2, col. 26, and pp. 221–37)	Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. Fig. 9)				
	Graves in Area W with a minus score (early in the period 310–370/90)	Graves in Area W with a plus score (late in the period 310–370/90)	Graves in Area F (350–410)	Graves in Area E (370–410)	Graves in Area O (390–410)
pre-330	105 233				
300/20–350	6 27 61				
	111 141 210	216			
	214 239				
330–70	71	22			
340/50–380		127 (336)	323 326		
post-340/50		106 327	(347) (351)	369	288 299
		136 (265)			333

Note: Grave-numbers in brackets signify graves which also contained legible coins.

grave-furniture that is independently dated may be invoked. The pottery vessels are described below by Dr. Fulford,[2] who has also analysed the pottery from contemporary deposits at Portchester Castle (Hants).[3] There, a substantial number of sherds from securely dated contexts permitted the definition and dating of many types, some of which occurred in graves at Lankhills. When a grave contained one or more pots thus dated (to within fifty years), the date of the pot(s) can be compared with the estimated date of the grave. Table 3 shows this comparison. It indicates that west of Feature 12 graves with a minus score almost invariably contained pots dated before *c.* 350, and that graves with

[1] This information is entered in Table 2, col. 25.
[2] See below, pp. 221–37.
[3] Fulford 1975*b*.

a plus score contained pots datable after that time. It is also clear that no grave within or east of Feature 12 contained a pot assignable to before 340/50. These results confirm the chronological framework established.

vi. THE DATING OF CHANGES IN FUNERARY CUSTOM

As this analysis is concerned to trace changes in funerary practice, we must define how the chronological framework will be used to measure such change. Most changes will not involve the total abandonment or adoption of any given practice, but rather practices becoming gradually more or less common. What is required, therefore, is some means of measuring changing frequency. Of the sources of chronological information available, coins and pottery have little part here, as they only date individual graves, which could well have been atypical simply by their presence. We must therefore turn to horizontal and vertical stratigraphy.

Taking horizontal stratigraphy first, it is clear that differences in the frequency of an attribute between the areas we have defined will reflect chronological change. This picture will be affected by sampling error, especially in Areas F and E, where there were few graves and where little significance can be attached to their frequency. Some attributes, moreover, occurred relatively infrequently over the whole site, so that even the sixty-one graves in Area O provide too small a sample. The frequency of these attributes can only be compared between those graves cutting into Feature 12 or lying to the east of it and those lying to the west of this ditch. Such a comparison will at least allow a contrast between graves of the first and second halves of the fourth century.

Vertical stratigraphy is only relevant west of Feature 12, for in other areas the number of intersections was too limited. West of this ditch it is of real value, however, not only because many intersections were recorded, but also because burial continued for a long time. But the problem is how to use the scores assigned to individual graves to date attributes common to many graves. The obvious answer is simple enough: add together the scores of all graves exhibiting an attribute. If the total is positive the attribute will be late, but if it is negative the attribute will be early. There are theoretical objections to this, in that it represents the application to ranked or ordinal scales of methods appropriate to quantitative or numerical scales.[1] Although these objections mean that little importance should be attached to small differences between scores or to scores close to zero, it is reasonable to suppose that an attribute with a score of +20 is later than one with a score of −20.

There is, however, a further difficulty, since this system presupposes that scores are symmetrical about zero, so that an attribute equally common throughout the fourth century will have a score of zero. This will not be the case, since attributes will never be recognisable in destroyed graves, and only sometimes recognisable in partially excavated graves, even though these graves are taken into account when the individual graves are scored.[2] The 248 intact graves in Area W have a total score of +94, while the intact

[1] Cf. Doran and Hodson 1975, 37–8. I am grateful to Professor Hodson and to Dr. Ian Graham for commenting on the whole of this chapter on chronology.

[2] For the definition of 'infant', 'partially excavated', and 'destroyed graves', see above, p. 16. In Area W, twenty-two graves were destroyed.

and partially excavated graves together have a score of +49. It follows that the scores of all attributes will be artificially positive. To preserve a balance around zero an adjustment has been made by reducing the scores of attributes observed only in intact graves by $\frac{94}{248}$ of the number of graves in which they occurred, and by reducing that of those attributes observed in partially excavated graves by $\frac{49}{275}$. This adjustment is open to mathematical objections in that it presupposes that the frequency of the attributes is the same in intersecting graves as it is in isolated graves.[1] But in Area W it does seem that this presupposition is broadly correct. While low scores and comparisons between similar scores should clearly be treated with caution, marked differences between adjusted scores should remain note-worthy.

It follows that the chronological evidence relating to any given attribute can be reduced to five heads: frequencies in Areas W, F, E, and O, and adjusted score in Area W. There is some empirical evidence which may verify this system. For example, of the types of furnished grave defined below,[2] graves with vessels are common in Area W, where they have a score of −29, and mostly contain early fourth-century vessels. Graves with coins and graves with worn personal ornaments occur relatively more often in the later (i.e. eastern) areas of the cemetery, contain late coins and in some cases late vessels, and in Area W have positive (i.e. late) scores.[3]

[1] I am grateful to Miss Katherine Barclay for making this point to me.

[2] See below, pp. 164–5.

[3] See below, Table 22 and pp. 168 and 170–1.

3

AGE AND SEX

THE age and the sex of individuals are, with the chronological evidence, the framework of this analysis of funerary practice.[1] Age and sex will clearly have been important in determining how people were buried. Surprisingly, sex is also relevant to the site chronology just established. For these reasons, age and sex must be considered next.

i. AGE

The age at death of 284 people in intact or partially excavated graves has been estimated in a preliminary examination of their skeletons.[2] Thirty-seven of these people were infants of two years or less, and forty-six were children aged between two and fifteen. The remaining 201 skeletons can be loosely described as adult. Sixteen were people of under twenty, sixty-four were people in their early twenties, two were people aged twenty to thirty, and 117 were people over twenty-five, mature adults.

Further details of the adult skeletons are given in Table 4, which shows that the age of death among the adult population was low. Of the 185 people who survived until they were about twenty, only fifty-two definitely died when older than thirty. Detailed examination of the Lankhills adults suggests that the preliminary examination slightly underestimated age, but with that qualification, the evidence from Lankhills is consistent with that of tombstones and other excavations in suggesting that life in Roman Britain was indeed short.[3]

Apart from these ages based on skeletal remains, almost every grave can be categorised as child or adult by the size of its grave-pit and coffin. Following these criteria, 275 intact and twenty-five partially excavated graves are adult, and 108 those of children.[4]

ii. SEX

The sex of the deceased was determined for 182 intact or partially excavated graves in the preliminary examination of the skeletons.[5] All these burials were of people over seventeen: 111 men, seventy women, and one double grave with both a man and a woman (Grave 272). The preponderance of men can partly be explained by male skeletons being better preserved.[6] As the criteria employed to sex skeletons are sometimes questioned, it is worth checking whether the grave-goods in a given grave were characteristic of the supposed sex of the skeleton. It is assumed for this purpose that bracelets were associated

[1] The Lankhills skeletons were given a preliminary examination by Miss Mary Harman (see above, p. 17, and below, p. 342). Many were so badly preserved that their age and sex could not be determined. Skeletal preservation is discussed below, pp. 137–8.

[2] Entered in Table 2, col. 12. For the terms 'intact' and 'partially excavated', see above, p. 16.

[3] Information from Mr. R. Watt, who has studied the Lankhills skeletons as part of a University of London (Inst. of Archaeology) dissertation.

[4] This total of adult graves includes Graves 125, 199, and 348 (cf. Table 2, col. 12).

[5] Entered in Table 2, col. 13.

[6] See below, p. 137.

TABLE 4

The age and sex of adult skeletons

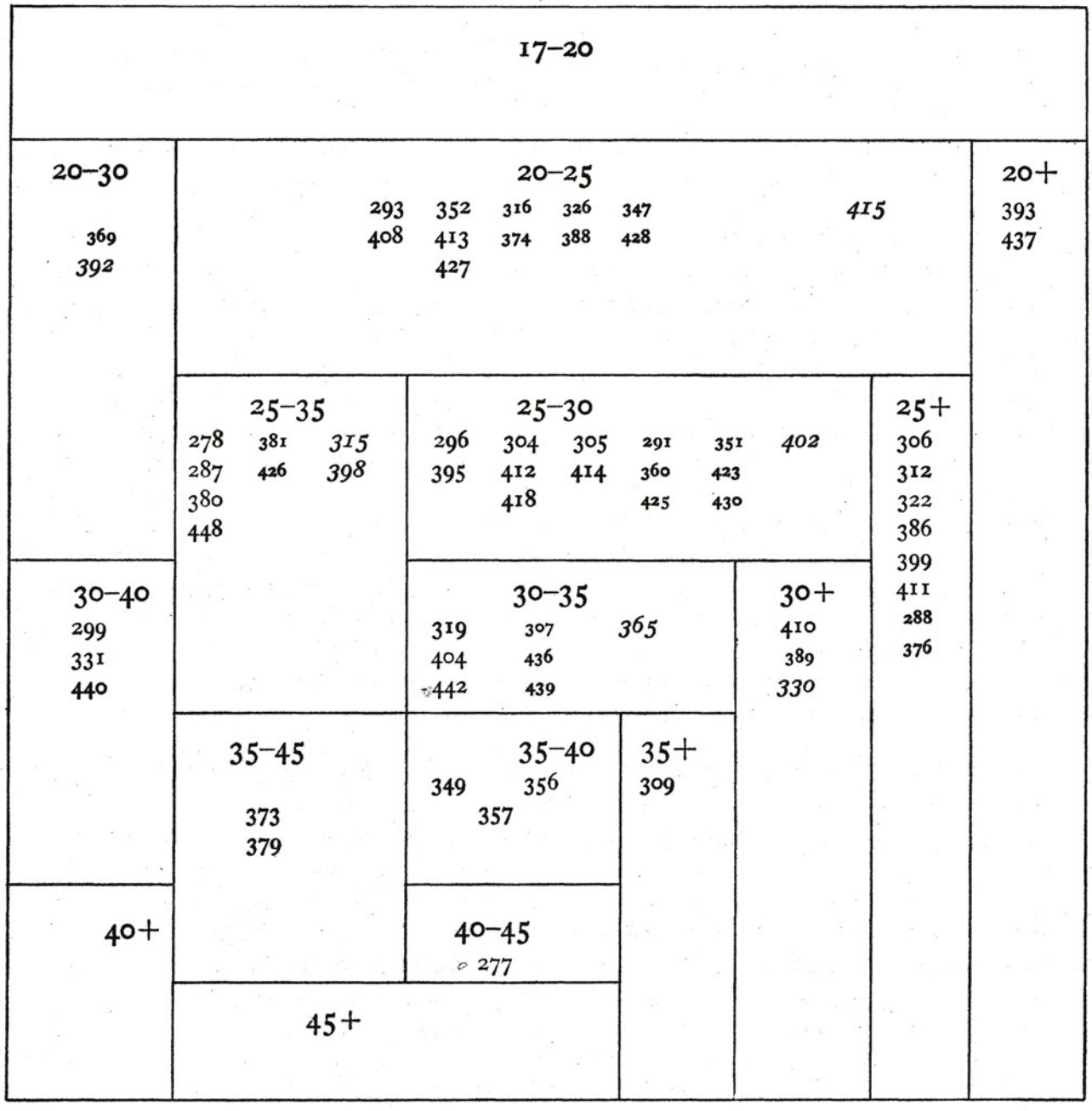
a. Graves to the west of Feature 12 (Area W)

<table>
<tr><td colspan="11">17–20
51 191 250 265 1 117 6 131 48 137 50 142 75 179 87 100</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">20–30</td><td colspan="9">20–25
5 11 16 20 19 21 31 43
39 58 61 97 36 88 89 74 98 111 114
104 107 109 112 194 219 119 133 139 159
123 129 130 163 228 270 170 171 201 204
181 186 192 198 232 243 256 340
222 260 264 443 343</td><td rowspan="5">20+</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">25–35
69 158 29
226 211 266
244</td><td colspan="5">25–30
8 35 14 22
38 78 30 54 83 53 64
140 141 203 220 335 70 72
167 444 212</td><td rowspan="4">25+
15
176
249
24
45
168
335</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">30–40
47
362
273</td><td colspan="5">30–35
25 86 81 106 17
96 225 193 214
227</td><td rowspan="3">30+
9
215
217
218
363</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">35–45
233
451</td><td colspan="3">35–40
67 272
441
254 445</td><td rowspan="2">35+
10
52
94
128
101</td></tr>
<tr><td>40+
55</td><td colspan="3">40–45</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">45+
13</td></tr>
</table>

with women, and that knives, belt-fittings, and cross-bow brooches were typical of men. In all six graves with bracelets where the skeleton could be sexed, it was female. In the eight graves with belt-fittings, knives, or cross-bow brooches where the sex of the skeleton was determined, it was male.

TABLE 4 (*cont.*)

b. Graves cutting into and to the east of Feature 12 (Areas F, E, and O)



Note: Intact and partially excavated adult graves whose occupant's age is known are included. The age-group 17–20 includes skeletons aged 15–20 and 17–22.

LARGE TYPE: age range in years.
Roman type: male.
Italic type: female.
Small face: skeletons which could not be sexed.

iii. EVIDENCE FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF GRAVES BY AGE AND SEX

(Table 4)

The age and sex of the skeletons reveal differences between graves west of Feature 12 and those within and to the east of the ditch. Table 4 has been split into two sections to demonstrate this.

West of Feature 12, seventy-one intact or partially excavated male graves, sixty-one female graves, and seventy-two child burials were identified, the male and child graves each comprising 26 per cent of the 275 graves in the area, and the female graves 22 per cent. Surprisingly, the male graves have a stratigraphic score of −24, the female burials a score of +27, and the children a score of −10. This suggests that in the early fourth century the great majority of adults buried west of Feature 12 were men, and that later on the position was reversed, women being predominant. There were rather more burials of children in the earlier period.

Among the adults in this area, sixteen were between seventeen and twenty-two at time of death. Of these, thirteen could be sexed, twelve female and one male. There were fifty-two graves of people in their early twenties, twenty-four men, twenty-one women, and seven unsexable. The remaining sixty-seven graves contained people aged over twenty-five, including thirty-one men and eighteen women. In thirty-two of these graves the people were definitely over thirty, nineteen of them men and five women. These figures indicate that, chronological variation apart, many more women under twenty-two were buried west of Feature 12 than men of the same age, but that this position was reversed among people over twenty-five, the trend becoming accentuated among people over thirty. Indeed, of the five skeletons of women older than thirty, two were decapitated (Graves 441 and 445),[1] and one was in a double burial (Grave 272).

Of the graves within and to the east of Feature 12, ten belonged to women, as against forty-one belonging to men and thirty-five to children. The relative lack of female graves partly explains why the number found over the site as a whole was low. The men represent 30 per cent of all the graves in this area, and the women 7 per cent. None of the adult graves belonged to people aged between seventeen and twenty; twelve were those of persons in their early twenties (five men and one woman identified); and fifty contained skeletons aged over twenty-five (thirty-one men and five women identified). Twenty of these graves had belonged to people over thirty, of whom fourteen men and two women were identified. In terms of both age and sex the range of people buried to the east of Feature 12 was thus quite different from that in graves to the west.

It can be concluded that in the early fourth century the area west of the ditch was mostly used for men, and later mainly for women; and that the area east of Feature 12 was largely reserved for men throughout its use. Child graves seem to have been dug in both areas at all times. These observations indicate that at certain times different parts of the cemetery were considered appropriate for different sections of the community. It is not, however, clear why women should have succeeded men west of Feature 12, or why both areas were

[1] For decapitated skeletons, see below, pp. 141–2 and 192–3.

used to bury children. The former point may result from chance; as to the latter, male children may have been buried with men, and girls with women.[1]

Concerning the site generally, two further points need stressing. One is the lack of older women: only seven women were definitely over thirty at death, compared with thirty-one men. This probably reflects the different ages at which the two sexes died, for a similar pattern is apparently discernible from other late Roman cemeteries, notably that at Ancaster (Lincs.).[2] The second point is that in the age-group seventeen to twenty, there was only one male burial to twelve female ones. Here child-bearing is an obvious explanation, for this is just the age when women might be expected to have their first child.

iv. SEX AND THE DATING OF CHANGES IN FUNERARY CUSTOM

These observations about sex affect the chronological framework established for the site. An aspect of funerary practice which was particularly common in late graves west of Feature 12 may simply have been associated with women. Likewise, practices common in burials east of Feature 12 may merely have been characteristic of male graves. Chronological variation proper can only be detected by ascertaining whether the vertical stratigraphy west of Feature 12 accords with the horizontal stratigraphy over the site as a whole. If a practice was common in the later fourth century, it should have a positive score west of the ditch, and over all should occur more frequently to the east of it. If, however, the practice was early, it would be rare east of Feature 12 and have a minus score to the west. If neither combination prevails, then it may follow that the practice was particularly associated with one or other sex.

[1] For further discussion, see below, pp. 188–91.

[2] Information from Mr. R. Watt.

4

CREMATIONS

THE most obvious, although not necessarily the most significant, aspect of funerary practice is whether the body was inhumed or cremated.[1] This choice will have affected almost every other attribute of burial. Only seven of the Lankhills graves were cremations, and these we will now consider in full.

Three types of cremation can be recognised. The first is where the cremated bone had been put in an urn, and the second where there was just an isolated pile of cremated matter in the topsoil. In neither case is there evidence that the actual burning took place in the vicinity. The third type of grave, of which there were two examples, involved the digging of a pit suitable for an inhumation, into which burnt remains were deposited from a pyre close at hand.

i. SIMPLE URNED CREMATIONS

(Graves 26, 237, and 361)

In Grave 26 the urn rested on the chalk subsoil and only its base had survived ploughing. The urn in Grave 237 was set about 0·1 m into the chalk, and most of it too had been destroyed. Grave 361 was cut into the boundary ditch, Feature 12, and had survived intact because the ditch was still a hollow when the burial was made.[2] The urn was packed around with flints and tiles, and covered with a tile whose upper surface was probably at ground level when the grave was dug (Figs. 7 and 46). The tops of the urns in the other two graves were also probably originally at ground level. Very little cremated bone was associated with any of the burials, and although it might have been removed by ploughing from Graves 26 and 237, this could not have happened with Grave 361. It is more likely that only a token amount of cremated bone was placed in the urns, the rest perhaps being left at the pyre. There were no coffin-nails, hobnails, or other grave-goods.

ii. CREMATIONS IN THE TOPSOIL

(Graves 420 and 454)

These both consisted of a pile of cremated material. Both were found in Feature 12, stratified in layers of topsoil formed while the ditch was used for burial.[3] There was no evidence for a true pit; but neither cremation was scattered as would have happened had it been left on the surface. Both were probably inserted under a piece of turf. As they were cut by later graves, it was not possible to determine how much bone had originally been

[1] For comments on the difference between cremation and inhumation, see above, p. 112, and below, p. 350.

[2] See above, p. 103 and Fig. 7.

[3] For Grave 454, see above, p. 103 and Fig. 7. Grave 420 was stratified above the mound-layers of Grave 426, on the west slope of the ditch, and was cut by Grave 421.

present. Hobnails were found with Grave 454, but no other objects were present in either grave.

iii. CREMATIONS IN AN INHUMATION-SIZED PIT

(Graves 60 and 359; Fig. 46)

Grave 60 consisted of a pit 0·9 m deep, which cut two earlier inhumations, Graves 59 and 61.[1] The pyre seems to have been built on material dug out of this pit, and certainly it was near the grave, for charcoal and burnt bones were scattered throughout the fill. The pyre was not, however, over or in the pit, for the sides had not been exposed to heat. When the burning had been completed and the embers were cool, some bone fragments and coffin-nails were picked out and placed in an urn, the nails being made to form a lattice over the bones. The pit was then filled and, when it was nearly full, the urn was set in position and covered with a tile.

Grave 359 had been dug into Feature 12, and was cut by Graves 349, 350, and 361.[2] It was only 0·3 m deep. The burning seems to have taken place in or above the pit, for the ashes which lined its sides and bottom had been deposited while still hot. When the embers had cooled, the cremated material was sorted into piles. A pile of bones and a pile of hobnails were found, and it is possible that piles of coffin-nails and offerings had also been present, in parts of the grave destroyed by later burials. The pit was filled with material that was entirely free of burnt fragments. Although Grave 359 was far from identical to Grave 60, the two have three points in common: a pit of a size suitable for an inhumation; a pyre that was located over or near the pit; and the sorting of the remains into different categories when the embers had cooled.

iv. GENERAL COMMENTS

Two points require emphasis. First, many more cremations could originally have been present, for if they had been topsoil burials they might not have survived. The low number of cremations may thus be an index of survival. Second, there seems to have been an important difference in rite between Graves 60 and 359 and the other five cremations. The latter came from a pyre distant from the actual burial, they did not involve a large pit, and there seems to have been little attempt to sort their burnt remains. Graves 60 and 359 were characterised in each case by the opposite attribute; they were also more elaborate and will have caused a good deal of mess in the cemetery.

The seven cremations could be dated with varying degrees of precision. Graves 26, 60, and 237 lay west of Feature 12, and Graves 359, 361, 420, and 454 cut the ditch. Graves 26 and 237 were isolated in Area W and can therefore only be assigned to the period 310–370/90. By contrast, Grave 60 was slightly cut by Grave 63, and had itself ignored Grave 59, which had in turn ignored Grave 61. Grave 63 contained a pot datable to 270–370, and Grave 61 one datable to 320–50.[3] Grave 60 will thus probably have been dug around or shortly after 360. The four cremations cutting Feature 12 must all have been dug after *c.* 350. Graves 359, 420, and 454 were each cut by later graves, and Graves 359

[1] For description of Grave 60, see above, pp. 32–3.
[2] For description of Grave 359, see above, pp. 76–7.
[3] See below, p. 228 (63 and 66).

and 454 at least are firmly assigned to the third quarter of the fourth century. The former was perhaps associated with two coins minted in 350–64, one found in the fill of Grave 349, and the other possibly from the fill of Grave 361. The remaining cremation, Grave 361, cut Grave 359 and could have been dug any time after *c.* 370.

This evidence is interesting. The urned cremations seemingly span all periods of the fourth century, and one of them is definitely later than *c.* 350. Both cremations consisting of piles of bone under the turf were also datable to after *c.* 350, but we should remember that Feature 12 was the only place where they could have been preserved. There is no reason why there should not have been many other burials of this kind, dating from all periods of the fourth century. Graves 60 and 359 were by contrast deep enough for it to be certain that no other graves of their type were present. Both were securely dated to 350–70, a dating that would therefore seem valid for this particular type of burial.

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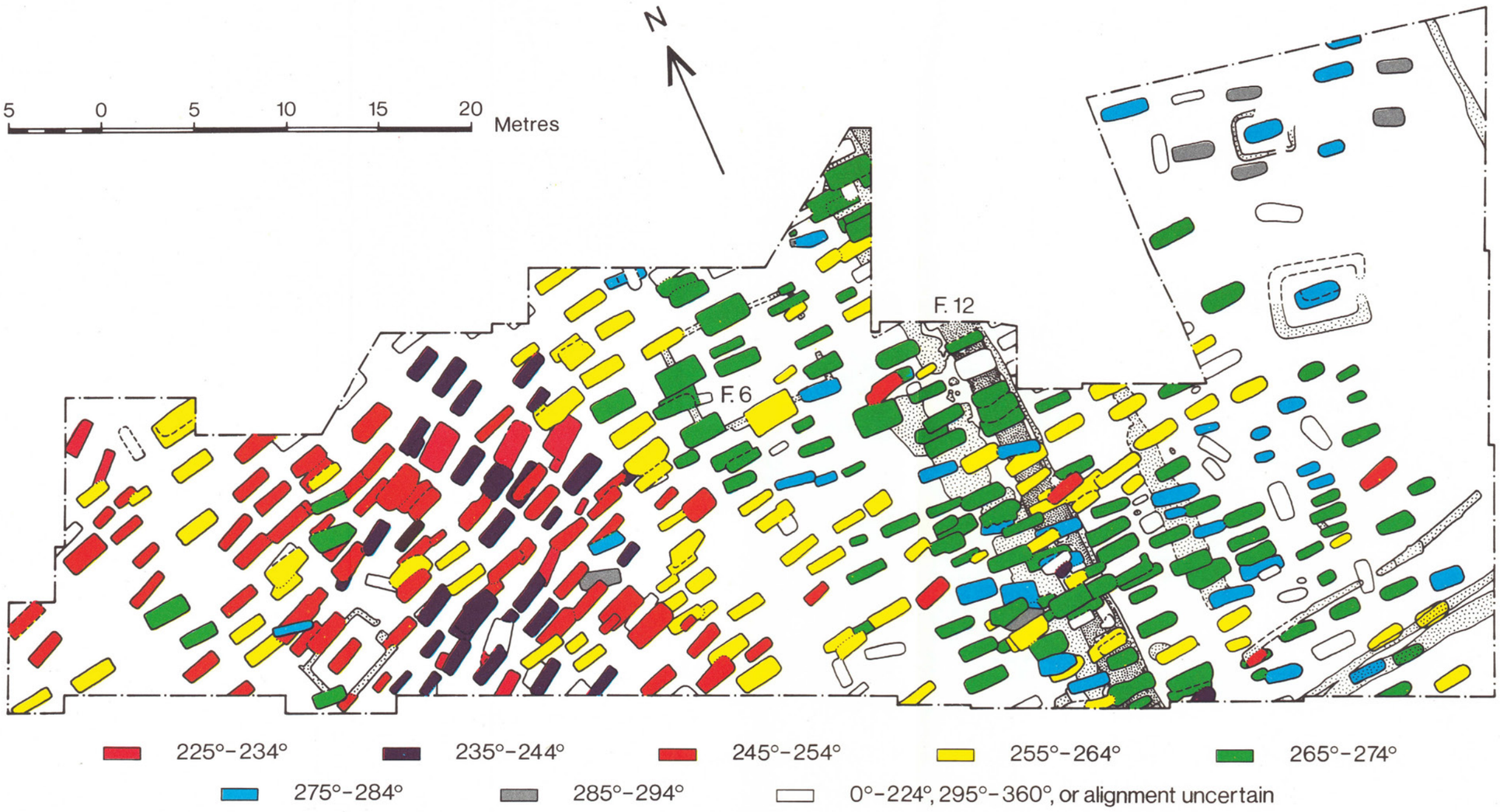

FIG. 10. The alignment of the graves showing the direction of the head relative to True North (1:250).

5

INHUMATIONS: THE GRAVE

We come now to the Lankhills inhumations. A total of 375 graves contained one or more undisturbed skeletons, and a further thirty-three burials contained skeletons that could only partially be excavated.[1] Here, we will consider attributes of these inhumations connected with the practicalities of decent burial: alignment, the grave-pit, body position, the coffin, and the presence or absence of packing. The aim will be to define the relevant range of variation, to examine that variation in relation to men, women, and children, and to show to what extent it resulted from chronological change.

Of the 408 inhumations, all but six belonged to a single person. The six exceptions are Graves 38, 79, 272, 294, 308, and 335 (Fig. 47). Graves 38 and 79 each contained an adult with a newborn baby, Graves 272 and 335 two adults, Grave 294 two children, and Grave 308 three adults. This practice of putting more than one body into a grave was not confined to any particular time in the fourth century: Graves 38, 79, 272, and 335 lay to the west of Feature 12, Graves 38 and 335 being cut by later burials, while Grave 308 was in Area E and Grave 294 in Area O. In the analysis that follows, these six graves each have to be treated as one unit when graves are being considered, and as two or more when attention is focused on such matters as body position.

i. ALIGNMENT

(Fig. 10; Table 5)

The site plan (Fig. 105) shows that the graves at Lankhills were not all aligned in the same direction. For the purposes of analysis, alignments relative to True North were calculated,[2] and then divided into categories, from 225° to 294° (heads to the west and south-west) in intervals of ten degrees, and from 0° to 224° and from 295° to 360° in a single further category. The alignment of all but thirty-two graves fell between 225° and 294°.

A pattern can be detected in the distribution of graves aligned between 225° and 284° (Fig. 10). Graves aligned from 225° to 254° were concentrated in the western part of the site, west of the line continuing the west edge of Feature 6. Graves with an alignment of 265° to 284° were situated equally consistently in the eastern part of the site, to either side of Feature 12. Graves aligned from 255° to 264° were found in both areas, but were concentrated around the line continuing the west side of Feature 6. These different alignments allow the site to be divided into two overlapping sections. In the east section, where the graves were aligned from 255° to 284°, they are roughly at right angles to Feature 12,

[1] These are respectively intact and partially excavated graves, as defined above, p. 16.

[2] These are given for each grave in Table 2, col. 7.

the dominant topographical feature. In the western part of the site the alignment of the graves would have been related to the Roman road to Cirencester, which ran approximately at right angles to these graves, just beyond the excavation (Fig. 2). In the north-east corner of the site the graves lay on the slightly different alignment of 285°–294°. This too may have been related to a topographical feature, perhaps the northern boundary of the cemetery which may have lain only slightly to the north.[1]

TABLE 5

Alignment of graves: chronological evidence

Alignment (direction of head) in degrees from True North	Over-all incidence		Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)							
			Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%			%		%		%
225°–294°, 'regular' alignment	376	91	262	95	+6	28	87	37	97	49	78
0–224°; 295°–360°, 'irregular' alignment	32	9	13	5	−6	4	13	1	3	14	22
Total	408	100	275	100	—	32	100	38	100	63	100

Note: Intact and partially excavated graves included (cf. p. 16). Grave 308 is represented by the lower skeleton (alignment: 279°).

The thirty-two graves not aligned between 225° and 294°—with their heads not to the west or south-west—contrast in their irregularity with the arrangement of the cemetery around. In fifteen of these graves the heads lay to the east, twelve lay at right angles to the rest of the cemetery, and five were completely askew. Chronological evidence relating to the irregular graves is summarised in Table 5. West of Feature 12 and in Area E, a roughly similar proportion, about 5 per cent, of the graves were at unusual alignments, but in Area O this proportion rose to 22 per cent. Graves at unusual alignments thus seem to have been much commoner after *c.* 390. The evidence of vertical stratigraphy may not be consistent with this conclusion, for west of Feature 12 graves with an unusual alignment have a score of −6, an indication that they could have been relatively early. The number of graves involved is so small, however, that it may well be meaningless. If it is significant, it could be explained by a few graves having been dug before cemetery order was established.

ii. GRAVE-PITS

Depth (Table 6)

Depths were measured from the surface of the chalk.[2] These measurements do not record the actual depth of the graves when dug, for they do not allow for topsoil or chalk that may have been eroded, but they do provide a basis for comparison. The deepest intact inhumation was probably Grave 347, which was 1·75 m deep.[3] Among the shallow-

[1] Cf. above, pp. 10–11 and Fig. 2.

[2] The depth of each grave is given in Table 2, col. 8.

[3] Note that the cenotaph, Grave 400, was 1·80 m deep.

est was Grave 356, found in cleaning the surface of Feature 12; as Feature 12 formed a hollow during most of the period when it was used for burial,[1] this grave may have been a topsoil burial. There may have been others like it elsewhere in the excavated area, but if so they did not survive subsequent ploughing. For analysis, graves may be described as shallow (0·0–0·40 m deep), of average depth (0·41–0·80 m), deep (0·81–1·20 m), or very deep (over 1·20 m). A total of 63 graves were shallow, 164 were of average depth, 146 were deep, and 35 very deep.

TABLE 6

Depth of grave-pits

Association with men, women, and children, and chronological evidence

Depth of pit in m (see above)	Over-all incidence		Association with men, women, and children								Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)									
			Incidence among male graves		Incidence among female graves		Incidence among all adult graves		Incidence among child graves		Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W		Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%		%		%		%		%				%		%		%
0–0·40 'shallow'	63	15	16	14	6	9	34	11	30	28	38	14	−8		5	16	5	13	15	24
0·41–0·80 'average'	164	40	30	27	28	41	114	38	50	46	102	37	+31		11	34	17	45	34	54
0·81–1·20 'deep'	146	36	53	48	31	45	121	40	24	22	111	40	−19		10	31	11	29	14	22
1·20+ 'very deep'	35	9	12	11	4	6	31	10	4	4	24	9	−4		6	19	5	13	—	—
Total	408	100	111	100	69	100	300	100	108	100	275	100	—		32	100	38	100	63	100

Note: Intact and partially excavated graves included (cf. p. 16). Graves 272, 308, and 335 are excluded from the male and female graves.

There is some evidence of variation between the sexes in grave-depth, shown in Table 6. Rather more women's graves were of average depth (41 per cent as against 27 per cent), and more men had very deep graves (11 per cent as against 6 per cent). Children seem to have had consistently shallower graves.

The chronological evidence is also tabulated in Table 6; two main trends can be discerned, the first concerning shallow and very deep graves. There was little variation in the proportion of these types between graves west of Feature 12 and those cutting the ditch or in Area E; very deep graves were if anything more common in Areas F and E. In Area O, however, where burial took place after *c.* 390, the proportion of shallow graves was considerably higher, and no inhumation was very deep. The second trend concerns graves of average depth and those that were deep, and suggests progressive and gradual change. Graves of average depth seem to have become increasingly common, forming 54 per cent of the sample in Area O and having a convincing positive score to the west of Feature 12. Deep graves became by contrast progressively less frequent, comprising only 22 per cent of the sample in Area O, and having a minus score west of the ditch. These trends indicate that at Lankhills there was a general and gradual reduction in the depth of burial, which did not, however, noticeably increase the number of shallow graves, or decrease the proportion of very deep graves, until after *c.* 390.

[1] See above, p. 103.

Shape (Fig. 11)

The great majority of the graves had a simple pit with a rectangular cross-section. In a few cases, however, an unduly large pit had been started on the surface, and had been reduced in size half-way down, steps being left to either side. A diagrammatic plan and cross-section of one such grave-pit appears in Fig. 11. Seventeen of these 'step-graves' were discovered,[1] fourteen belonging to adults (five men and four women), and three to children. They were all situated west of Feature 12, where their combined stratigraphic score was −4. They thus seem to have been dug for all sections of the population in the period *c.* 310–370/90. Their absence in Areas F, E, and O suggests that they were not so characteristic of the later fourth century.

Useful indications of why these grave-pits were dug are provided by Graves 172, 188, and 208. On the lateral steps in Grave 208 were four regularly spaced deposits, some of them including wood fragments (Fig. 11). In Graves 172 and 188 pottery vessels were found some distance above the skeleton, on a level with the steps, in positions most readily explained by postulating platforms on which they could have stood. Such platforms could have been of timber, and have rested on beams that themselves rested on the steps. These beams would have caused deposits like those in Grave 208, and the platforms as a whole would have created grave-chambers (Fig. 11).

Finish (Tables 7 and 8)

The grave-pits varied in their finish. This variation could be expressed in terms of their corners and sides, and seemed to reflect the care taken in digging them.[2] The corners were classified into four types: A, carefully shaped, right-angled corners; B, less carefully shaped; C, rounded, but still right-angled; and D, irregular corners.[3] The sides were either rough (G), or they had been smoothed and had a pecked appearance (E).[4] In two step-graves (Graves 248 and 250), the sides of the upper part had been smoothed, while those of the lower part had been left rough; these pits are designated E/G.

The different types of side and corner were studied in relation to men, women, and children (Tables 7 and 8). Table 7 suggests that no type of corner was particularly associated with either sex, but it may indicate that the corners of child graves were less well shaped, a difference no doubt reflecting their smaller size. Table 8 suggests that rough sides were associated with men, and smoothed sides with women, but this surprising result can probably be explained in terms of chronological variation, for smooth sides were common west of Feature 12, and rough sides frequent in Areas E and O. Since male burials were relatively more frequent in these latter areas, while female burials were largely confined to the area west of the ditch,[5] men's graves could be expected to have rough sides.

Table 7 summarises the chronological evidence relating to pit-corners. It shows a gradual decline in the frequency of graves with the well-cut corners of Types A and B, and a rise in the number of burials with the more rounded corners of Types C and D.

[1] Step-graves are indicated in Table 2 by the letter 'S' below the depth entry in col. 8.

[2] The pit of Grave 283 seems to have been left unfinished: it was too short for the skeleton and was not fully dug out at the ends. See above, pp. 60–1.

[3] These types are entered in Table 2, col. 9.

[4] These types are entered in Table 2, col. 10.

[5] Cf. above, pp. 125–7.

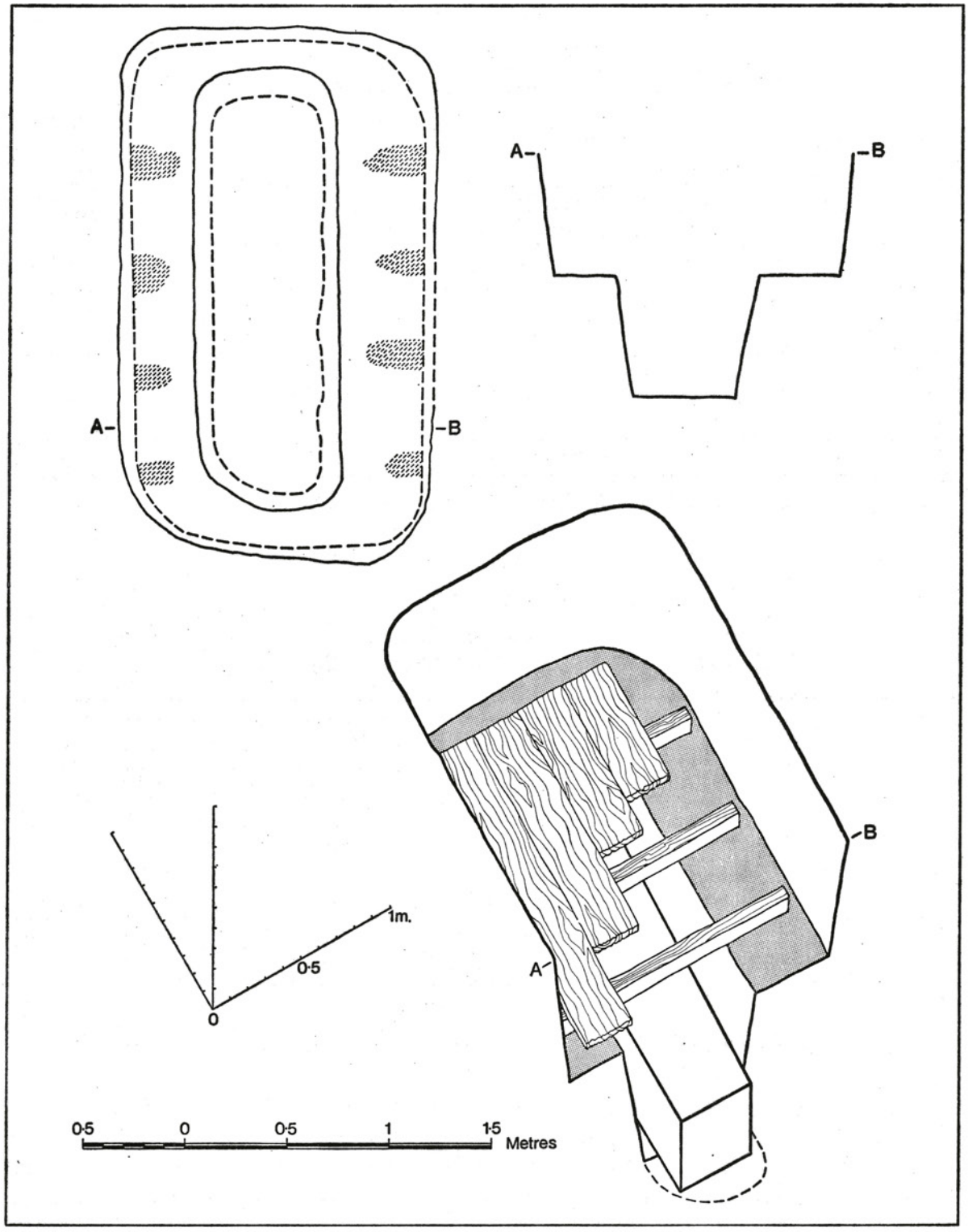

FIG. 11. Grave 208, a step-grave: diagrammatic plan and section, with a reconstruction of the suggested grave-chamber (1:30).

Cf. Fig. 66. The shaded areas on the plan represent deposits of brown soil and wood.

TABLE 7

Grave-pit corners

Association with men, women, and children, and chronological evidence

Pit-corner type	Over-all incidence		Association with men, women, and children								Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)							
			Incidence among male graves		Incidence among female graves		Incidence among all adult graves		Incidence among child graves		Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%		%		%		%		%			%		%		%
A carefully shaped	41	12	8	8	8	14	29	11	12	15	31	14	+7	3	13	3	9	4	7
B less carefully shaped	228	67	71	74	39	70	185	72	43	53	163	74	−42	18	78	23	68	24	39
C rounded	57	17	13	14	9	16	36	14	21	26	26	12	+6	2	9	8	23	21	34
D irregular	13	4	4	4	—	—	8	3	5	6	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	20
Total	339	100	96	100	56	100	258	100	81	100	221	100		23	100	34	100	61	100

Note: Intact and partially excavated graves included (cf. p. 16). Graves 272, 308, and 335 are excluded from the male and female graves.

TABLE 8

Grave-pit sides

Association with men, women, and children, and chronological evidence

Pit-side type	Over-all incidence		Association with men, women, and children								Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)							
			Incidence among male graves		Incidence among female graves		Incidence among all adult graves		Incidence among child graves		Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%		%		%		%		%			%		%		%
E smoothed	85	41	18	32	15	60	59	38	26	52	72	75	+6	7	33	3	10	3	5
G rough	121	59	38	68	10	40	97	62	24	48	24	25	+2	14	67	28	90	55	95
Total	206	100	56	100	25	100	156	100	50	100	96	100		21	100	31	100	58	100

Note: Intact and partially excavated graves included (cf. p. 16). Graves 248 and 250 (with pit-sides of Type E/G) are omitted.

A slight exception is that graves with Type A corners had a positive score west of Feature 12, but this is probably insignificant.

Dating evidence for the two types of side is shown in Table 8. As already noted, this shows a marked difference between Area W and Areas E and O, smoothed sides being prevalent in Area W and rough sides almost standard in Areas E and O. Neither type has a significant positive or negative score west of Feature 12, and this suggests that the change did not take place until the area west of the ditch had been largely abandoned. Evidently the practice of smoothing grave sides did not cease much earlier than *c.* 370.

iii. BODY POSITION

(Figs. 48 and 49)

The positions which bodies occupied at burial can be discussed in terms of the torso, the legs, the arms, and the head. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to consider the source of this evidence, the bones themselves, and in particular, their preservation, for this is a selective factor imposed on any discussion of body position.

TABLE 9

Skeletal preservation

Variation by age and sex, and chronological evidence

State of preservation	Over-all incidence		Variation by age and sex								Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)							
			Incidence among men		Incidence among women		Incidence among all adults		Incidence among children		Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%		%		%		%		%			%		%		%
a almost perfect	33	8	17	15	4	6	29	10	4	4	16	6	−6	3	9	2	5	12	19
b slight decomposition	96	24	36	32	12	17	71	24	25	23	55	20	−39	7	22	9	24	25	40
c smaller bones decayed	84	21	27	24	23	32	71	24	13	12	66	24	0	8	25	3	8	7	11
d only major bones left	101	25	26	23	26	37	87	29	14	13	83	30	+25	5	16	8	21	5	8
e only skull and legs left	52	13	6	5	6	8	34	11	18	17	25	9	+6	5	16	13	34	9	14
f little or nothing left	42	10	0	0	0	0	8	3	34	31	30	11	+14	4	13	3	8	5	8
Total	408	100	112	100	71	100	300	100	108	100	275	100	—	32	100	38	100	63	100

Note: Intact and partially excavated graves included (cf. p. 16). Graves 272, 308, and 335 are counted as two or more graves in the columns concerned with male and female graves, and as single graves elsewhere. The entry for Grave 308 is placed under *d*.

Skeletal preservation (Table 9)

Six categories of skeletal preservation have been defined for this analysis. Type *a* skeletons were in almost perfect condition, Type *b* were slightly decayed, Type *c* lacked most of the smaller bones, Type *d* had only the major bones, Type *e* had little more than the skull and leg bones, and Type *f* were those where almost every bone had disappeared.[1]

Table 9 shows the difference between male, female, and child skeletons. Female skeletons were consistently more decayed than male ones, a fact which partly explains why the majority of sexable skeletons were male.[2] Child skeletons were less well preserved than those of adults, no less than 31 per cent being of Type *f*, this doubtless reflecting the smaller size of their bones.

[1] These types are entered in Table 2, col. 11.

[2] Cf. above, p. 123.

Table 9 also summarises the relevant chronological evidence. Horizontal stratigraphy indicates a decline in the proportion of graves with badly preserved skeletons, except for Type *e* (only skull and legs left), whose frequency increases. Likewise, it suggests an increase in well-preserved skeletons. Vertical stratigraphy presents a conflicting picture, showing well-preserved skeletons as early west of Feature 12, and badly preserved ones as late. The reason for this inconsistency must be variation between the sexes.[1] Female skeletons, which tended to be badly preserved, were common in late graves west of Feature 12, and so badly preserved skeletons there have a plus score; better preserved skeletons tended to be male and so have a minus score since they were generally early. East of Feature 12 most skeletons belonged to men, and hence were well preserved. There is probably little genuine chronological variation.

TABLE 10

Position of body (torso)

Variation by age and sex, and chronological evidence

Position of body (torso)	Over-all incidence		Variation by age and sex								Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)							
			Incidence among men		Incidence among women		Incidence among all adults		Incidence among children		Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%		%		%		%		%			%		%		%
B on back	271	89	95	91	59	96	236	92	35	74	191	95	−9	21	88	26	87	33	68
F face down	12	4	4	4	1	2	10	4	2	4	2	1	+2	2	8	—	—	8	16
L on left side	6	2	3	3	—	—	4	2	2	4	1	1	—	1	4	—	—	4	8
R on right side	15	5	2	2	1	2	7	3	8	17	7	4	+3	—	—	4	13	4	8
Total	304	100	104	100	61	100	257	100	47	100	201	100		24	100	30	100	49	100

Note: Intact graves only (cf. p. 16). Individual skeletons in double and triple graves are counted as separate graves.

It is perhaps surprising that skeletal preservation should vary so much between the sexes, and in some measure this must result from biological differences. However, the presence of organic material around the bones could also be a contributory factor. Such material will have come principally from coffin-wood and clothing or shrouds, and it may follow that a well-preserved skeleton was not shrouded or clothed, or enclosed in a massive coffin. Certainly, in graves where personal ornaments worn at burial suggest that the corpse was indeed fully clothed, the skeleton was almost invariably badly preserved.[2] The poor preservation of female skeletons could thus indicate that women were generally buried with heavier clothing or shrouds than men.

Body (Table 10)

The body could be buried with the torso in one of four positions: on the back (Fig. 48), on the front, or on the left or right side (Fig. 49).[3] It was sometimes difficult to tell if a

[1] Cf. above, p. 127.

[2] See Figs. 61, 62, and 63 (Graves 373 and 376).

[3] Body position is entered in Table 2, col. 14.

body had been on its side or not, and the main criterion adopted was the arrangement of the upper arms and shoulders. The position of the torso was established in 304 graves, and, as Table 10 shows, the overwhelming majority were on their backs.

Table 10 also shows that there was little difference in body position between the sexes, the great majority of adults of both sexes being buried on their backs. Children, however, seem quite often to have been placed in other positions, as many as 17 per cent on their right sides.

The chronological evidence in Table 10 points to a progressive drop in the proportion of graves with skeletons on their backs, from 95 per cent west of Feature 12 to 68 per cent in Area O. There is a corresponding rise in the proportion of graves with skeletons in other positions; in Area O a substantial number of people were interred face down. The evidence of vertical stratigraphy adds little to this picture, because there were few skeletons not on their backs west of Feature 12. Changes in body position clearly did not start until after *c.* 370.

TABLE 11

Position of legs

Variation by age and sex, and chronological evidence

Position of legs	Over-all incidence		Variation by age and sex								Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)									
			Incidence among men		Incidence among women		Incidence among all adults		Incidence among children		Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%		%		%		%		%			%		%		%
S straight	280	88	93	91	63	95	243	92	37	71	195	92	−4	20	87	25	86	40	74
C crossed	7	2	3	3	1	2	6	2	1	2	2	1	+1	—	—	—	—	5	9
B bent	25	8	6	6	2	3	15	6	10	19	14	7	—	1	4	2	7	8	15
F flexed	5	2	—	—	—	—	1	0	4	8	—	—	—	2	9	2	7	1	2
Total	317	100	102	100	66	100	265	100	52	100	211	100		23	100	29	100	54	100

Note: Intact graves only (cf. p. 16). Individual skeletons in double and triple graves are counted as separate graves.

Legs (Table 11)

The position of the legs was established in 317 graves.[1] They were in one of four positions, being either straight, crossed, bent, or flexed. The difference between bent and flexed was a matter of degree, flexed being used to describe instances where the upper and lower leg bones were nearly at right angles. As Table 11 shows, the great majority of people were buried with legs straight.

There was little variation between men and women in leg position (Table 11). Children often seem to have had their legs bent or flexed rather than straight, this no doubt partly reflecting the high proportion of children buried on their sides.

[1] Leg position is given in Table 2, col. 15.

The chronological evidence, summarised in Table 11, shows a progressive decline in the proportion of graves with straight legs, from 92 per cent west of Feature 12 to 74 per cent in Area O. There was a corresponding rise in the proportion of graves with bent or crossed legs. Vertical stratigraphy suggests little variation in leg position while burial was taking place west of Feature 12. Horizontal and vertical stratigraphy therefore show that at least until *c.* 370 people were almost invariably buried with straight legs, but that from *c.* 390 a significant number had their legs bent or crossed.

TABLE 12

Position of arms

Variation by age and sex, and chronological evidence

Position of arms	Over-all incidence		Variation by age and sex								Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)									
			Incidence among men		Incidence among women		Incidence among all adults		Incidence among children		Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%		%		%		%		%			%		%		%
a both straight	71	36	23	31	23	53	59	34	12	44	56	41	−6	3	19	4	33	8	23
b left bent	28	14	13	17	2	5	23	13	5	19	16	12	−9	4	25	3	25	5	13
c right bent	39	20	15	20	4	9	33	19	6	22	28	21	−21	3	19	2	17	6	16
d both slightly bent	33	17	15	20	7	16	32	18	1	4	14	10	+8	5	31	2	17	12	33
e both on waist or chest	12	6	6	8	3	7	12	7	—	—	8	6	+1	—	—	1	8	3	8
f left more bent than right	7	4	—	—	3	7	7	4	—	—	6	4	+3	—	—	—	—	1	3
g right more bent than left	10	5	3	4	1	3	7	4	3	11	7	5	+9	1	7	—	—	2	5
Total	200	100	75	100	43	100	173	100	27	100	135	100		16	100	12	100	37	100

Note: Intact graves only (cf. p. 16). Individual skeletons in double and triple graves are counted as separate graves.

Arms (Table 12)

The position of the arms was established in 200 graves.[1] Seven positions were defined: *a*, both arms straight at the sides; *b*, right arm straight and left arm bent; *c*, left arm straight and right arm bent; *d*, both arms bent with the hands in the pelvic region; *e*, arms crossed over the chest or folded together over the waist; and *f* and *g*, both arms bent, in *f* the left arm more bent and in *g* the right arm more bent. Position *a* was particularly common, while positions *e*, *f*, and *g* were unusual: see Table 12.

Table 12 indicates that positions *b*, *c*, and *d* were more commonly associated with men; positions *a* and *f* were characteristic of women; and positions *e* and *g* were evenly distri-

[1] Arm position is given in Table 2, col. 16.

buted between the sexes. The position of the arms could be recognised in relatively few child graves, but the twenty-seven where this was possible indicate little difference from adults.

Some of the chronological variation in Table 12 seems to reflect the association of arm positions with the sexes. This is certainly true of position *b*, which was comparatively unusual west of Feature 12, but had a minus score there. However, graves with their arms in this position were less common in Area O than in Areas F and E, and this does suggest a decline after *c.* 390. Vertical and horizontal stratigraphy are consistent in suggesting that positions *a* and *c* were common early in the fourth century, and that position *d* became commoner later on, especially after *c.* 390. The sample representing the three remaining arm positions (*e*, *f*, and *g*) is too small for valid conclusions. Looking at the picture more generally, 75 per cent of the graves west of Feature 12 had at least one arm straight, while in Area O only 52 per cent did. By the end of the fourth century burial with straight arms was thus becoming less common.

TABLE 13

Position of head

Variation by age and sex, and chronological evidence

Position of head	Over-all incidence		Variation by age and sex								Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)							
			Incidence among men		Incidence among women		Incidence among all adults		Incidence among children		Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%		%		%		%		%			%		%		%
S on back	120	46	34	41	25	49	100	47	20	43	83	47	−5	9	47	14	66	14	33
L on left side	85	33	34	41	17	33	75	35	10	22	58	33	−12	6	32	2	10	19	45
R on right side	47	18	11	13	7	14	32	15	15	33	32	18	+6	3	16	5	24	7	17
D decapitated	7	3	3	4	2	4	6	3	1	2	4	2	+8	1	5	—	—	2	5
Total	259	100	82	100	51	100	213	100	46	100	177	100		19	100	21	100	42	100

Note: Intact graves only (cf. p. 16). Individual skeletons in double and triple graves are counted as separate graves.

Head (Table 13)

The position of the head was established in 259 graves.[1] It was either resting on the back of the cranium (position S), or it lay on its left or right side (positions L and R, respectively). In the few cases where the body was buried face down, the head was usually face down, rather than to one side, and is taken here as being in position S. The latter was the most common position, while graves with the head on its right side were comparatively rare: see Table 13. In seven graves the head had been severed from the body (position D: cf. Fig. 50), and the skull, mandible, and uppermost vertebrae were discovered still articulated lying by the legs or feet.

[1] Head position is given in Table 2, col. 17.

Male and female burials were not very different in the position of the head, although rather more women were buried looking up and fewer lay with their head to the left (Table 13). Child graves differ in that a high proportion had the head on its right side, while in relatively few was it on the left. This variation seems significant, but partly reflects the high number of children with the torso on its right side.

The chronological evidence summarised in Table 13 indicates little change through the fourth century in the proportion of people buried with their head on its right side. Greater variation is apparent among graves whose skulls lay in the other positions, but the evidence is inconsistent and therefore difficult to interpret. While it could be the result of rapid, short-term change, it might simply reflect the small size of the sample.

Of the seven decapitated skeletons, three belonged to men, two to women, and one to a child; four lay west of Feature 12, with a stratigraphic score of +8, one cut the ditch, and two were in Area O. The evidence thus suggests a relatively late date. These graves are discussed further elsewhere,[1] as is the skeletal evidence for the mode of decapitation.[2]

TABLE 14

Chronological variation in the use of coffins

Presence/absence of coffin	Over-all incidence		Stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)							
			Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%			%		%		%
Definitely present	340	*83*	253	*92*	+2	22	*69*	32	*84*	33	*52*
Definitely or possibly not present	68	*17*	22	*8*	−2	10	*31*	6	*16*	30	*48*
Total	408	*100*	275	*100*	—	32	*100*	38	*100*	63	*100*

Note: Intact and partially excavated graves included (cf. p. 16). Double and triple graves are treated as single entries.

iv. COFFINS

(Fig. 51; Table 14)

The great majority of the people at Lankhills had been interred in wooden coffins.[3] All that remained of most of these were iron nails, and sometimes also wood fragments. A few coffins were made without nails, and their presence was only demonstrated by the survival of wood fragments. In a significant number of graves neither wood nor nails were found; in some at least of these, a coffin made without nails may have been present, all of whose wood had decayed. In many other cases, however, the position of the skeleton relative to the sides of the grave precluded the existence of a coffin-plank between them, and made it fairly certain that a coffin had not been used.

[1] See below, pp. 192–3.
[2] See below, pp. 342–4.
[3] The presence of a coffin is indicated in Table 2, col. 18. Details of the nails are given in cols. 19 and 20.

The present analysis is concerned with variation in the use of coffins, and a simple division has been made between graves where the existence of a coffin was certain, and those where it was not. A total of 340 intact or partially excavated graves definitely had a coffin, and sixty-eight certainly or possibly had not. Table 14 shows that the proportion of graves with a coffin fell from 92 per cent west of Feature 12, to 84 per cent in Area E, and to only 52 per cent in Area O. By *c.* 390, the use of coffins—or at least of coffins that would have left recognisable traces—was evidently declining sharply.

As coffins were present in almost every adult grave except in Area O, they are likely to have been associated equally with the two sexes. As for child graves, those of very small infants seem often not to have had a coffin: of the twenty-five burials belonging to children aged one year or under, only eleven (44 per cent) were definitely coffined. The existence of several uncoffined infant graves cutting Feature 12 explains the comparatively low proportion of graves with coffins in Area F.

v. PACKING

(Fig. 52)

Flints and, rarely, tiles were sometimes discovered around the coffin and skeleton.[1] Generally, they had been deliberately placed, but this is not always certain, either because of flints occurring naturally in the chalk, or because of inadequate observation. Given these limitations, there were thirty-eight graves where flints and tiles had been deliberately placed, and a further 201 graves where they equally certainly had not.

Nine (8 per cent) of the intact and partially excavated graves west of Feature 12 had flints and 102 (92 per cent) definitely did not. Within the ditch (Area F) tiles had been deliberately placed in one grave, and thirty were without packing. In Area E flints were found in thirteen (36 per cent) of the graves, and in twenty-three (64 per cent) packing was absent. In Area O, fifteen (25 per cent) of the graves contained significantly placed flints and tiles, while forty-six (75 per cent) did not. West of Feature 12, the graves with flints had a score of +3. This chronological evidence is thus fairly consistent, suggesting that the practice of packing flints or tiles around burials became common after *c.* 370. The relative absence of the practice in Area O may indicate a decline after *c.* 390.

Of the graves with packing, eleven belonged to men, four to women, and eleven to children. This preponderance of male graves presumably reflects only the concentration of graves with flints east of Feature 12.

It is difficult to know why flints were placed in graves. They served no obvious function and certainly could not have been intended to bolster up badly-constructed coffins, for flints were found in graves where there was definitely no coffin. This problem is discussed further below.[2]

vi. GENERAL COMMENTS

Differences between men, women, and children

In this discussion of 'the grave', the only clear differences identified between the sexes are that men had deeper graves than women and their skeletons survived better. Apart

[1] Packing in individual graves is described in Table 2, col. 21.

[2] See below, pp. 355–6 and 428.

from slight differences in arm and head positions, the graves of the two sexes were otherwise similar. Child graves on the other hand tended to differ considerably. They were often at an unusual alignment and were frequently shallow, with a badly finished grave-pit. Their skeletons were not in general well preserved, several children had been buried in unusual positions, and their heads and bodies frequently faced to the right. Child graves were also abnormal in the high number without coffins. These differences may partly reflect differences in size between adults and children, but this explanation would not cover, for example, all the variations in skeletal position. Some practices may therefore have been regarded as more appropriate for children.

Chronological variation

Few changes occurred until *c.* 370, when burial started in Area E. From this time graves were shallower, fewer had squared corners or smoothed sides, and the elaborate step-graves were no longer dug. Slightly fewer people were buried on their backs, or with their legs straight; burials without a coffin were more usual, and the practice of placing flints in graves was common. All these changes except the last were accentuated after *c.* 390, when burial started in Area O; and at this time there was also a major increase in graves aligned askew to the general layout. Except for the use of flint packing, these changes show that less trouble was taken over burial. No explanation in terms of the appropriation of the cemetery by a poorer section of the population is viable, for the objects from the later graves are as fine as, if not finer than, those buried earlier.[1] Other explanations have to be sought. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the organisation of burial was breaking down. Whatever had passed in the earlier fourth century for an undertaking business may now have been in rapid decline, so causing disorder and irregularity to permeate the whole cemetery.

[1] For example, both the graves with silver coins (Graves 322 and 437) are later than *c.* 350; and further, while only three glass vessels were found in early fourth-century graves, ten occurred in graves which were definitely dug after *c.* 370, even though vessels generally were seldom buried at this time.

6

INHUMATIONS: THE GRAVE-FURNITURE

GRAVE-FURNITURE may be defined as everything within a grave which was intentionally deposited, and which did not form part of the grave-pit or structure, the corpse, or any container enclosing the body.[1] Grave-furniture thus includes offerings deposited as the grave was being filled as well as objects actually placed with the burial. Archaeologically speaking, grave-furniture is restricted to finds which have survived in recognisable form. Objects made from organic substances inevitably are excluded unless exceptional conditions of preservation have caused their survival. Objects whose status as grave-furniture is open to doubt also have to be left out; these include any finds from grave-fills which could be non-funerary.

Grave-furniture in the sense just defined was found with the burial in 237 intact inhumations at Lankhills.[2] It also occurred in nine partially excavated graves, in the cenotaph, Grave 400,[3] and in one destroyed grave.[4] Items from grave-fills which could

TABLE 15

Objects found in grave-fills and possibly deposited as offerings

Grave	Find number	Description of find(s)	Comments
58	37	Coin (364–78)	Grave 58 had 1 coin in mouth, and 3 around skull, all dated to 364–78. In view of the similarity in date, 37 might also be seen as an offering.
100	81–91 167–8 297	Bracelets, beads, and pins	These objects were all found together. Certainly an offering, they could have been inserted into a small hole subsequent to the back-filling of the grave.
193	673	Bird-bones, scattered above feet	The bird could have been dismembered as the grave was being back-filled.
283	475	Coin (350–64)	Grave 283 had 2 coins under the skull, both dated 387–402. 475, which was over the skull, could also have been an offering.
316	373	Latch-lifter	Found deep in the fill of an otherwise unfurnished grave.
317	367	Coin (364–75)	Grave 317 cut Grave 310. A discoloured tooth from Grave 310 was in the fill of Grave 317. 367 was probably originally in the mouth of the burial in Grave 310.
322	375 400	Bracelet fragment Coin (illegible)	Grave 322 cut through Grave 321 and a discoloured arm bone was in its fill. 375 and 400 were perhaps also disturbed from Grave 321.

[1] For theoretical discussion of grave-furnishing and its analysis, see Clarke 1975*b*.

[2] Entered in Table 2, cols. 22 (hobnails) and 23 (all other furniture). For the terms 'intact', 'partially excavated', and 'destroyed', see above, p. 16.

[3] See above, pp. 82–3, and Fig. 66.

[4] Grave 56: see above, pp. 30–1, and Fig. 66.

TABLE 15 (*cont.*)

Grave	Find number	Description of find(s)	Comments
324	**318**	Coin (350–64)	Grave 324 cut through Grave 463 and discoloured frontal bones were in its fill. **318** and **409** probably lay originally on the forehead in Grave 463.
	409	Coin (350–64)	
326	**370**	**Bracelet fragment**	Grave 326 did not disturb an earlier grave. **370** was incomplete and so perhaps not an offering connected with the grave. Source uncertain.
328/329	**320**	**Pottery flagon**	**320** was next to an adult skull. Both were perhaps disturbed from Grave 328 by Grave 329, and reburied with care (see pp. 68–9).
329	**328**	**Coin (350–64)**	Grave 329 cut through Grave 328, and had a coin, **376** (350–64), at its occupant's feet. Perhaps **328** was not disturbed from Grave 328, but was related to Grave 329, in view of its similarity in date to **376**.
347	**303**	Bracelet	Grave 347 cut away the upper part of Grave 350, and a discoloured arm bone was in its fill. The bracelets perhaps came from Grave 350.
	304	Bracelet	
	319	Bracelet	
	371	Bracelet	
349	**366**	Coin (350–64)	Grave 349 cut Grave 359 (a cremation). **366 and 617** were perhaps offerings in Grave 359.
	617	Knife-blade	
350	**618**	Iron object	Grave 350 cut Grave 359. **618** was perhaps from Grave 359 and part of the same object as **617**.
357	**423**	Coin (276–81)	Grave 357 was in an area of many disturbed graves. **615** was perhaps from one of them; **423** came perhaps from Feature 12.
	615	Coin (350–64)	
376	**483**	**Coin (320–2)**	**483**, a rare type of coin in good condition, could have been deliberately kept and buried in Grave 376.
398	**549**	Substantial portions of 3 glass vessels	These fragments were scattered through much of the fill. They were perhaps a disturbed surface offering, or offerings from a pit.
	633		
	634		
400	**527**	**Dismembered dog**	Grave 400 contained an intact dog skeleton, **538**, which suggests that **527** was also deposited deliberately.
401	**474**	**Coin (367–78)**	No evidence for the source of **474**. Grave 401 was not furnished.
408	**528**	Pewter bowl	These were found together, so they were certainly an offering. They could have been buried when Grave 408 was being back-filled, or subsequently.
	536	Pewter bowl	
440	**515**	**Padlock**	**515** was very high in the fill. Its source is uncertain. Grave 440 was unfurnished.
451	**609**	**Pottery bowl**	**609** was among a pile of disarticulated bones from Grave 447. It was an associated offering (cf. pp. 90–1).

Note: Omitted from this table are: i. All ceramic finds from grave-fills which were not complete vessels when discovered. Substantial portions of vessels were found in Graves 54, 234, 272, 323, 326, 327, 329, 347, 359, and 432. These may once have been in a funerary context, but there is no reason to assume that this was so, and in the case of those in graves cutting Feature 12, this is mostly unlikely. ii. Scraps of metal from Graves 406 and 413, apparently of little significance. iii. A coin, **616**, from Grave 426, almost certainly derived from Feature 12.

have been grave-furniture are listed in Table 15. In Graves 100, 400, and 408 the objects were clearly associated with the burial (although in Graves 100 and 408 perhaps inserted later), and the same could be true of Graves 58, 193, 283, and 376. In Graves 317, 322, 324, 328/9, 347, 349, and 451, the finds came from earlier burials, and for the remaining graves in Table 15 the evidence is inconclusive.

Grave-furniture in the 237 intact inhumations occurred slightly more with men (67 per cent) than with women (60 per cent), and was less often provided for children (51 per cent) than for adults (67 per cent).[1] It became less common at the end of the fourth century, for it was discovered in 67 per cent of the graves west of Feature 12 (score −5) and in only 51 per cent of those in Area O.[2]

The objects constituting the grave-funiture may be categorised by function. The following is a list of the categories discovered, together with their occurrence in the 246 intact or partially excavated graves.

Coins	41 intact graves
Vessels	83 intact and 2 partially excavated graves
Animal remains	8 intact graves
Equipment	45 intact graves
Personal ornaments	53 intact graves and 1 partially excavated grave
Hobnails	144 intact and 7 partially excavated graves
Objects whose function is uncertain	10 intact graves

The individual graves in which these categories occurred are listed in Table 16, apart from graves with hobnails or objects whose function is uncertain, for which see Table 17 and pp. 154–5, respectively. The character and positioning of the furniture will now be described in terms of the categories. Associations between the categories will then be analysed and types of furnished grave defined; the latter will then be dated and interpreted. Categories of furniture not used in defining grave-types will be looked at subsequently, and the variation in the over-all proportion of furnished graves will be considered last.

i. DESCRIPTION OF THE FURNITURE

Coins (cf. Fig. 13 and Table 30)

Forty-one intact inhumations and the cenotaph, Grave 400, had been furnished with coins.[3] Coins in the fills of Graves 58, 283, and 376 may have been offerings, and there was evidence that at least two disturbed graves had been provided with coins, Graves 310 and 463 (Table 15).

[1] See further Table 24, and below, pp. 181–2.
[2] See further Table 22, and below, p. 182.
[3] The intact inhumations are listed in Table 16. For details of the coins, see Table 30.

TABLE 16

Graves containing the functional categories of furniture defined on p. 147

Coins (41 graves)		Vessels (83 graves)				Animal remains (8 graves)	Equipment (45 graves)		Personal ornaments	
									Worn (18 graves)	Unworn (37 graves)
8	322	2	105	182	288	22	5 *C*	297 *C*	13	37 238
13	329	3	106	185	299	25	14 *WT*	326 *SW*	23	53 250
37	336	5	109	186	322	47	17 *C*	329 *SW*	40	55 256
58	344	22	111	188	323	150	37 *KN*	333 *C*	63	85 265
76	347	23	114	195	326	212	51 *GS*	336 *SW*, *K*	81	102 266
81	351	27	125	199	327	234	55 *KN*, *W*	351 *N*	106	105 268
88	356	35	126	203	329	274	63 *C*	365 *C*	234	117 281
96	360	38	127	204	333	317	81 *KN*	369 *C*	322	122 283
109	365	40	130	210	336		89 *SW*	378 *A*	323	134 326
114	370	45	132	214	337		98 *SW*	381 *C*	326	137 327
137	372	47	134	216	347		106 *KN*, *NC*	396 *C*, *SW*	333	139 336
152	373	48	136	217	351		117 *SW*	402 *C*	336	143 337
164	378	50	138	224	352		145 *SW*	411 *SL*	351	155 362
172	381	61	141	227	366		152 *N*	413 *C*	366	168 369
212	382	63	150	229	369		155 *C*	418 *KN*	373	183 430
228	396	71	155	233	373		184 *N*	422 *C*	376	185 438
232	413	79	160	236	385		250 *SW*	423 *C*	396	188 443
265	414	81	163	248	390		254 *C*	435 *N*	426	199 450
270	427	86	170	250	396		265 *C*	436 *C*		218
283	437	91	172	265	426		283 *KN*, *W*	438 *C*		
289		98	178	273			288 *C*	443 *KN*		
							290 *C*	446 *C*		
							293 *SL*			

Note: Intact graves only. Graves containing hobnails are listed in Table 17. For graves containing objects whose function is uncertain, see pp. 154–5. Graves containing personal ornaments are divided according to whether the ornaments were worn on the body or unworn at burial (see pp. 152–3). The types of equipment present in each grave are given (cf. pp. 150–1): *A*, arrow; *C*, comb; *GS*, gaming-set; *K*, key; *KN*, knife; *N*, needle; *NC*, nail-cleaner; *SL*, strike-a-light; *SW*, spindle-whorl; *W*, whetstone; *WT*, weaving-tablet.

The coins occurred in intact graves as follows:

26 graves with 1 coin
5 graves with 2 coins
4 graves with 3 coins
2 graves with 4 coins
2 graves with 5 coins
2 graves with 6 coins

In Grave 322, the one coin **was silver, as were five of the six coins in Grave 437. The** other coins were bronze.

The coins occupied many positions. In nineteen intact graves at least one coin was in or near the mouth, in Graves 8, 37, 58, 76, 88, 109, 137, 212, 232, 270, 289, 351, 356, 360, 372, 381, 382, 414, and 427. In some of these burials the coin had discoloured the bones with which it had been in contact. In Graves 37, 58, 76, 88, and 427 bones inside the mouth were affected, while in Graves 289 and 382 the teeth were green. In Graves

109, 137, 232, 270, 360, and 414 the coins seem to have lain on rather than in the mouth. This slight variation in position may reflect movement during and after burial, and is probably not significant. Grave 310 may also have had a coin in the mouth, for a discoloured tooth was found in the fill of Grave 317, which had cut through it.

In seven intact graves, coins had been put elsewhere around the skull. In Grave 164 the coin was in the right eye-socket; in Grave 373 two were in a pot by the skull; and in Graves 58, 114, 228, 283, and 378 one or more coins lay on the bottom of the grave. In Grave 463, a disturbed burial, coins seem to have rested on the forehead, for discoloured frontal bones were found in the fill of Grave 324, which had destroyed it. In six graves coins lay among or beside the bones of the hand and lower arm (Graves 270, 336, 365, 370, 413, and 437), and in five others they were on or near the upper body (Graves 81, 172, 265, 322, and 347). In six graves coins lay around the legs and feet (Graves 13, 96, 152, 329, 336, and 396), the coin in Grave 396 being in a pot.

Vessels (cf. Fig. 14)

Vessels[1] were associated with the burial in eighty-three intact and two partially excavated graves, as well as in one destroyed grave, Grave 56, where the vessel lay outside the coffin.[2] They were also found in the fill of three graves: in Grave 408 associated with the grave in which they were found, and in Graves 328 and 451 disturbed from earlier burials (Table 15).

Vessels placed with the burial in intact and partially excavated graves occurred as follows:

64 graves with 1 vessel
18 graves with 2 vessels
2 graves with 3 vessels
– graves with 4 vessels
1 grave with 5 vessels

Of the 111 vessels, three are pewter, seventeen glass, and ninety-one pottery.[3]

Fifty of the vessels were used for pouring—flagons, flasks, jugs, and bottles—and thirty-five for drinking—cups and beakers. Ten probably served as jars, fourteen were bowls, and two of the pewter vessels had decayed beyond recognition. Some of these vessels may have contained food or drink, for example those associated with animal remains in Graves 22, 47, and 150. Others certainly did not, notably broken vessels in Graves 105, 114, 132, and 329, inverted vessels in Graves 327 and 250, and vessels containing coins in Graves 373 and 396. The fact that so many vessels definitely did not contain food or drink may suggest that none did, the animal remains in Graves 22, 47, and 150 being perhaps symbolic rather than for food.

The position of the vessels relative to the skeleton was established in all the intact graves. The evidence is summarised in Fig. 14, which shows that vessels were generally

[1] Graves furnished with vessels are listed in Table 16.

[2] See above, pp. 30–1 and Fig. 66.

[3] For these vessels, see below, pp. 206–38.

placed at the head or feet, distributed fairly evenly to the left and right of the body. In fifty graves vessels had been put inside the coffin and in twenty-seven outside.[1]

Animal remains (cf. Fig. 15*a*)

Animal remains were found near the skeleton in eight intact inhumations.[2] In Graves 25, 150, 212, 234, and 274 domestic fowl (*Gallus gallus*) had been buried. Grave 22 contained some eggshell in a bowl, Grave 47 a rib (probably sheep) under a flagon, and Grave 317 four rodents. Except for the last, these animal remains could have been food, but, as just noted, each may have had a symbolic value. The positioning of animal remains is shown in Fig. 15*a*.

Animal remains were also encountered in two other graves. In the cenotaph, Grave 400, one dog had been buried on the coffin and another had been dismembered and thrown into the grave as it was being filled (Fig. 66). In Grave 193, which was otherwise unexceptional, the remains of a bird were scattered in the fill above the feet; they were probably associated with the burial and may also represent dismemberment. In these graves the animal remains were presumably ritual.[3]

Equipment (cf. Fig. 15*b*, *c*)

Equipment was discovered with the burial in forty-five intact inhumations,[4] and was also found in the filling of Graves 316, 349, and 440. In Grave 349 a knife was probably derived from the cremation, Grave 359, while in Graves 316 and 440 there was no particular reason to associate the objects, a latch-lifter and a padlock, with any burial. A variety of possibly quite unrelated types of object are here classified as equipment. Four types each occurred in several graves: combs, spindle-whorls, needles, and knives. The others were found only in one or two burials and include a weaving-tablet, a gaming-set, two whetstones, a nail-cleaner, two strike-a-lights, a key, and an iron arrowhead.

Except for one of wood from Grave 155, the combs are bone and composite; one from Grave 265 is triangular and the rest are rectangular.[5] Like modern combs, they have some teeth close together and others more widely separated. They thus seem to have been practical, but in view of their elaboration it is sometimes thought that late Roman combs served as hair ornaments. The evidence from Lankhills, such as it is, suggests that this was not their primary function, for in two graves where personal ornaments had been worn at burial, the combs lay near the feet.[6] Mostly, however, combs occurred near the head, as Fig. 15*b* shows.

Nine graves contained spindle-whorls, six of them shale, two bone, and one jet.[7] Spindles were generally wooden, and had they been buried with the whorls they would not have survived.[8] The spindle-whorls were almost invariably near the feet, both inside and outside the coffin (Fig. 15*c*).

[1] In the remaining graves the relationship of the vessels to the coffin was not established.

[2] Listed in Table 16. The animal remains are identified below, pp. 239–45.

[3] For further comments on Grave 400 see below, pp. 421–3.

[4] Listed in Table 16.

[5] For combs, see below, pp. 246–8, and Fig. 31.

[6] Graves 63 and 396: see Fig. 62.

[7] For spindle-whorls, see below, pp. 248–9.

[8] A bone spindle has been found in a grave at Poundbury Camp, near Dorchester (Dorset): Green 1973, 97.

Iron needles were found in four graves, each needle identified by its eye, an identification reinforced by thread still corroded to the needle from Grave 351.[1] Three were found at the head end of graves, but the one in Grave 351 was at the feet. Two other graves produced objects that may have been needles, but neither had an eye.[2]

Seven knives were found, each with an iron blade and tang and traces of a wooden handle.[3] They were all in male graves. In Graves 37, 81, 106, and 443 the knives were probably in a sheath attached to a belt, for in Graves 37 and 443 they lay at the feet under belt-fittings (Fig. 57), and in Graves 81 and 106 they lay in the waist area, also near belt-fittings (Fig. 61). Knives may also have been attached to belts in Graves 55 and 283, where belt-fittings were found only a little distance away (Fig. 57). In Grave 418 the knife was the only furniture, but as it lay by the waist it too may have been attached to a belt, without metal fittings.

The bone weaving-tablet was found in Grave 14, near the skull.[4] The gaming-set, consisting of glass counters and a die, came from Grave 51, where it lay piled up inside the coffin, near the feet. The whetstones were found in Graves 55 and 283, graves which were also provided with knives. The nail-cleaner came from Grave 106; it is bronze, with a loop at one end, by which it may have been attached to a belt. Iron objects which were probably used as strike-a-lights were near the skull in Graves 293 and 411. The key, of a barrel-padlock, lay by the feet in Grave 336. The iron arrowhead came from Grave 378 and was the only weapon found at Lankhills; while it probably belonged to an arrow, it could also have been the tip of a dart or small spear. It lay by the left hand of an eight-year-old child, who had been buried face down. Since the child would clearly have been unable to use it, the weapon must have been either symbolic or intended for adult use in the afterlife.

The equipment buried at Lankhills was thus associated with many activities. The grouping together of so many diverse objects is an arbitrary procedure which lacks the coherence present in coins or vessels. In the fourth century the burial of combs and of spindle-whorls were probably in no sense similar practices. For this reason much of the analysis which follows will treat equipment in terms of the individual types, particular attention being paid to the relatively common combs and spindle-whorls.

Personal ornaments (cf. Fig. 16)

Personal ornaments were found with the burial in fifty-three intact inhumations and one partially excavated one.[5] They also occurred in the fill of four graves (Table 15): in Grave 100 clearly an associated offering, in Graves 322 and 347 probably from disturbed burials, and in Grave 326 without any clear context.

Personal ornaments can be divided into three groups according to whether they were appropriate to men, women, or both. Those appropriate to men were cross-bow brooches[6] and belt-fittings.[7] They were discovered in fourteen graves, and were all bronze, apart from an iron buckle in Grave 23 and a silver strap-end in Grave 322. The sexable skeletons with which these objects were associated were all male.[8]

[1] For needles, see below, pp. 249.
[2] Graves 396 and 438: see below, p. 249.
[3] For knives, see below, pp. 249–51.
[4] For all the objects noted in this paragraph, see below, pp. 251–6.
[5] Listed in Table 16.
[6] Discussed below, pp. 257–63.
[7] Discussed below, pp. 264–91.
[8] Cf. above, p. 124.

Feminine personal ornaments were found in thirty-five intact graves and one partially excavated one, as well as in all the graves where personal ornaments occurred in the fill. The objects include bracelets, beads, pins, a chain, and a headband.[1] They were made from silver, bronze, iron, bone, ivory, shale, jet, and glass. Bracelets seem to have been the most common type, for they were found in thirty-one intact graves, in seventeen of which there were no other ornaments. There were sexable skeletons in six of the thirty-five intact graves and all six were female.[2]

Personal ornaments appropriate to both sexes included a triangular silver plate in Grave 81,[3] a bronze disc in Grave 185,[4] and finger-rings.[5] Rings occurred in eight graves with feminine personal ornaments, and in three with no other furniture apart from hobnails. Of these three, Grave 362 contained a male skeleton, and Grave 53 the skeleton of a woman. The functions of the silver plate and bronze disc are far from certain. The disc could have been attached to a belt or strap, but this is not entirely consistent with its occurrence in a child grave.

The personal ornaments may also be divided between those found in positions which they occupied when worn, and those which were not. Personal ornaments apparently worn at burial were found in eighteen intact graves; and in thirty-seven graves the ornaments were seemingly unworn. Graves 281 and 362 both contained finger-rings which may have been worn or held in the hand; the latter appeared more likely. Graves 326 and 336 contained worn and unworn personal ornaments, and so have to be included in the totals for both types.

Of the thirty-seven graves where personal ornaments were unworn, four had been furnished with belts and were presumably male, twenty-nine had feminine articles, and the rest contained objects appropriate to either sex. Sixteen of the thirty-seven graves contained the remains of a single object, for example, a bracelet, the beads of a necklace, or the fittings of a belt, and the other twenty-one graves had been provided with two or more items. In fifteen of the latter, the ornaments had evidently been deposited in a single pile, and in most of the other graves they were found close together. Fig. 16 shows where unworn personal ornaments were placed, either singly or in piles, in relation to the body and the coffin. With the exception of Grave 250, they were deposited within the coffin, but could be put anywhere around the body.

Ten of the eighteen graves with worn personal ornaments contained brooches or belt-fittings, and the remainder feminine objects. These graves are illustrated by Figs. 61, 62, and 63 (Graves 373 and 376). Among the male graves, the belt in Grave 322 had no buckle, while the brooch in Grave 106 had been repaired at least once, and can scarcely have held itself together, let alone fastened a cloak. When buried, some of these objects would therefore evidently not have been fit to be worn by the living. In some of the female graves, insufficient of the skeleton remained to demonstrate whether, for example, bracelets encircled the wrist bones or beads lay around the neck, but, as the grave-plans show, any other interpretation is unlikely.

[1] All discussed below, **pp. 292–318.**
[2] Cf. above, p. 124.
[3] Discussed below, **p. 320.**
[4] Discussed below, **p. 321.**
[5] Discussed below, **pp. 318–20.**

The provision of worn and unworn personal ornaments represents a major difference in funerary practice. Worn personal ornaments indicate that the body was clothed when buried: the ornaments will have been included as part of the appropriate dress. Personal ornaments not worn at burial must have been buried in their own right, perhaps for the future use of the dead person, or perhaps because they were so closely associated with the deceased in life that they had to be disposed of at death.[1] Worn and unworn personal ornaments would seem to owe their presence in the grave to quite different concepts and may thus be regarded as separate categories of furniture. In this respect it is possible to show that a group of objects whose function now appears similar were in the fourth century buried for different reasons. In the rest of this analysis, worn and unworn personal ornaments are accordingly treated as separate categories.

Hobnails (cf. Fig. 17 and Table 17)

Hobnails were discovered in 144 intact and seven partially excavated inhumations.[2] They formed part of what must have been very heavy shoes, and, although little leather normally survived, the hobnails occasionally still retained their shape, a notable example of this occurring in Grave 431 (Fig. 39).[3] Shoes made without nails or other iron fittings may also have been deposited, but no trace of them survived. It might be thought that hobnails should be categorised with personal ornaments, because they represent shoes made to be worn. But shoes are exclusively functional rather than partially decorative and this difference has prompted their separate categorisation.

Hobnails were found in a variety of positions (cf. Fig. 65). Sometimes there was only one pile, implying that the shoes had been buried together, but in other instances there were two. Table 17 lists the positions in which hobnails were found. In sixty instances they were among, between, under, or over the toes, and in eighteen other burials they were within the foot end of the coffin, but definitely separate from the feet themselves. In thirty-six further graves the hobnails lay in the area of the feet, but their precise relationship to the body could not be established, usually because the bones were insufficiently preserved. In all but one of the remaining graves the hobnails were set markedly apart from the feet, being outside the coffin at the foot end in nineteen cases, and near other parts of the body in the remainder. In Grave 167, whose lower half was disturbed, the leg bones and hobnails had been pushed into the surviving part of the grave, thus losing their original position.

In the fifty-four graves where the hobnails lay apart from the feet, the shoes could not have been worn at burial. In nineteen cases these hobnails were discovered to the left of the body, and in only ten instances to the right (cf. Table 16). There is no obvious reason why the left should have been chosen more often, but the figures suggest that the practice is significant. In the sixty graves with hobnails among, between, over, or under the toes, it is an open question whether the shoes were worn at burial or placed above or below the feet. The fact that so many shoes were definitely not worn suggests that this may have been true in all cases.

[1] For further comments, see below, pp. 410–13.

[2] Listed in Table 17, and entered in Table 2, col. 22.

[3] For a discussion of hobnails and shoes, see below, pp. 322–5.

TABLE 17

Graves containing hobnails (cf. Fig. 17)*

Position of hobnails	Grave numbers (partially excavated graves in italics)†									Total graves
Two groups, one among the bones of each foot	76	88	124	140	187	196	305	368	373	12
	395	418	422							
One group, among bones of feet	20	54	66	70	95	126	135	*149*	176	39+*2*
	188	211	216	218	219	233	244	254	255	
	261	265	269	*272*	283	291	294	296	308	
	312	316	339	342	362	363	376	377	379	
	399	425	437	440	446					
One group, between feet	380									1
One group, among the bones of one foot	*338*	358	435							2+*1*
One group, under or over feet	48	431	439							3
One group, right of feet, in coffin	107	185	215	333						4
One group, left of feet, in coffin	24	85	120	125	158	224	335			7
Two groups, one each side of feet, in coffin	128	186	388	421						4
One group, near feet, in centre, in coffin	131	156	381							3
One group, right of feet, outside coffin	110	317	343							3
One group, left of feet, outside coffin	43	51	91	117	170	172				6
Two groups, one each side of feet, outside coffin	15	50	*99*							2+*1*
One group in centre, outside foot of coffin	47	58	64	184	226	248	250			7
Near legs (in or outside coffin)	14	16	45	74	94	152	182	*235*	*276*	8+*2*
	297									
Near upper body (in or outside coffin)	102	141	210	227	243	263	332			7
Area of feet	1	2	5	7	8	10	12	17	18	36
	22	32	33	46	53	98	109	111	123	
	134	151	155	195	200	201	208	212	238	
	240	258	260	327	360	387	390	393	407	
Disturbed	*167*									*1*

Notes: Intact and partially excavated graves included (cf. p. 16).

* Fig. 17 does not include partially excavated graves.

† It is not certain whether Graves 19, 159, 160, and 365 contained hobnails. Hobnails were also found in two cremations, Graves 359 and 454. All these graves are omitted.

Objects whose function is uncertain (cf. Table 29)

In this category are included objects not definitely identified and objects which can be identified but which either have no obvious function or are fragmentary. The first group includes remains of leather (**195**) from Grave 155, nails from a possible wooden box (**672**) in Grave 250, leather fragments (**441**) from Grave 323, a bronze fragment (**325**) and leather fragments (**694**) from Grave 336, and iron objects (**378** and **545**) from Graves 347 and 405.[1] The complete objects whose function is uncertain include a blue glass tessera (**268**) from Grave 250,[2] two miniature axes (**404** and **681**) from Grave 326,[3] and

[1] For a description of these, see below, pp. 327–8. [2] See below, p. 326. [3] Ibid.

a counter (358) from Grave 336.[1] To the group of incomplete objects belong glass fragments from Graves 40 and 337 and the fill of Grave 100,[2] a glass pin-head, also from the fill of Grave 100,[3] and a buckle-loop[4] and a knife-handle[5] (496 and 493) from Grave 283. None of these objects can have had any practical use, yet each was interred on purpose. At least some of the objects in this and the second group were perhaps buried because of their close association with the dead person.

ii. THE DEFINITION OF TYPES OF FURNISHED GRAVE

This section assumes that grave-furniture was provided, not as a series of single items, but in accord with clear-cut concepts of how graves should be furnished, concepts saying what could be buried and what could not, what was neither forbidden nor obligatory, and where in the grave all these items should go.[6] These concepts will be indicated by correlations between objects in their presence or absence and in their presence and position. Such correlations will enable types of grave to be defined, types which will reflect shared beliefs as to the proper way of providing for the dead. In this analysis, presence and absence will be investigated first, and then presence and position. Types of furnished grave will be defined from the regularities thus revealed.

Presence and absence (Tables 18, 19, and 20)

The initial step here is to take each category and to compare the over-all incidence of other furniture with its frequency in graves where the category was present. The relevant information is summarised in Table 18, which shows that other grave-goods were more likely to be present with every category save hobnails. In the case of coins and unworn personal ornaments this increased likelihood was not large, but with worn personal ornaments it was much greater, for these never occurred alone. Table 18 does not, however, contain as much information as might appear, as most of the apparent association between each category and other furniture probably reflects the many unfurnished graves at Lankhills. But hobnails do emerge as distinct, for other furniture was hardly more common in graves with them than in graves without them.

Table 19 represents a second stage, taking each category and comparing the incidence of other categories individually in graves where it was present with their over-all frequencies. Over-all frequencies are gauged in terms of all furnished graves as well as of all intact graves, for Table 18 has already indicated that the latter total, by including unfurnished graves, may exaggerate associations. Table 19 suggests that coins were often associated with equipment and with worn personal ornaments. Graves with vessels seem frequently to have contained worn personal ornaments. Worn personal ornaments themselves were almost invariably associated with vessels, and often with coins and equipment, but most infrequently with hobnails. Graves with unworn personal ornaments were more likely also to contain equipment, while those with equipment were consistently

[1] See below, p. 251.
[2] See below, pp. 213 and 220.
[3] See below, p. 315.
[4] See below, p. 277.
[5] See below, p. 251.
[6] For theoretical discussion of grave-furnishing and its analysis, see Clarke 1975*b*.

TABLE 18

Grave-furniture: the association of the seven functional categories with all other furniture

Functional category	All graves furnished with the functional category	Graves with the functional category and no other furniture	Graves with the functional category and other furniture		Graves with furniture other than the functional category	
			Total	Percentage of all graves with the functional category	Total	Percentage of all intact graves
Coins	41	13	28	*68*	224	*60*
Vessels	83	26	57	*69*	211	*56*
Animal remains	8	2	6	*75*	235	*63*
Equipment	45	8	37	*82*	229	*61*
Worn personal ornaments	18	—	18	*100*	237	*63*
Unworn personal ornaments	37	11	26	*70*	226	*60*
Hobnails	144	80	64	*44*	157	*42*

Note: Intact graves only (cf. p. 16).

TABLE 19

Grave-furniture: the association of the seven functional categories with each other

Functional category	Graves with the functional category: their number as a percentage of all intact graves (total 375) and of all furnished graves (total 237)			Graves with the functional category and each other category: their number as a percentage of all graves with the other category															
				Coins		Vessels		Animal remains		Equipment		Worn personal ornaments		Unworn personal ornaments		Hobnails			
		%	%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%
Coins	41	*11*	*17*	—	—	12	*14*	1	*13*	13	*29*	7	*39*	5	*14*	14	*10*		
Vessels	83	*22*	*35*	12	*29*	—	—	3	*38*	16	*36*	15	*83*	13	*35*	35	*24*		
Animal remains	8	*2*	*3*	1	*2*	3	*4*	—	—	—	—	1	*6*	—	—	4	*3*		
Equipment	45	*12*	*19*	13	*32*	16	*19*	—	—	—	—	8	*44*	12	*32*	20	*14*		
Worn personal ornaments	18	*5*	*8*	7	*17*	15	*18*	1	*13*	8	*18*	—	—	2	*5*	3	*2*		
Unworn personal ornaments	37	*10*	*16*	5	*12*	13	*16*	—	—	12	*27*	2	*11*	—	—	15	*10*		
Hobnails	144	*38*	*61*	14	*34*	35	*42*	4	*50*	20	*44*	3	*17*	15	*41*	—	—		
Total				41	*100*	83	*100*	8	*100*	45	*100*	18	*100*	37	*100*	144	*100*		

Note: Intact graves only (cf. p. 16).

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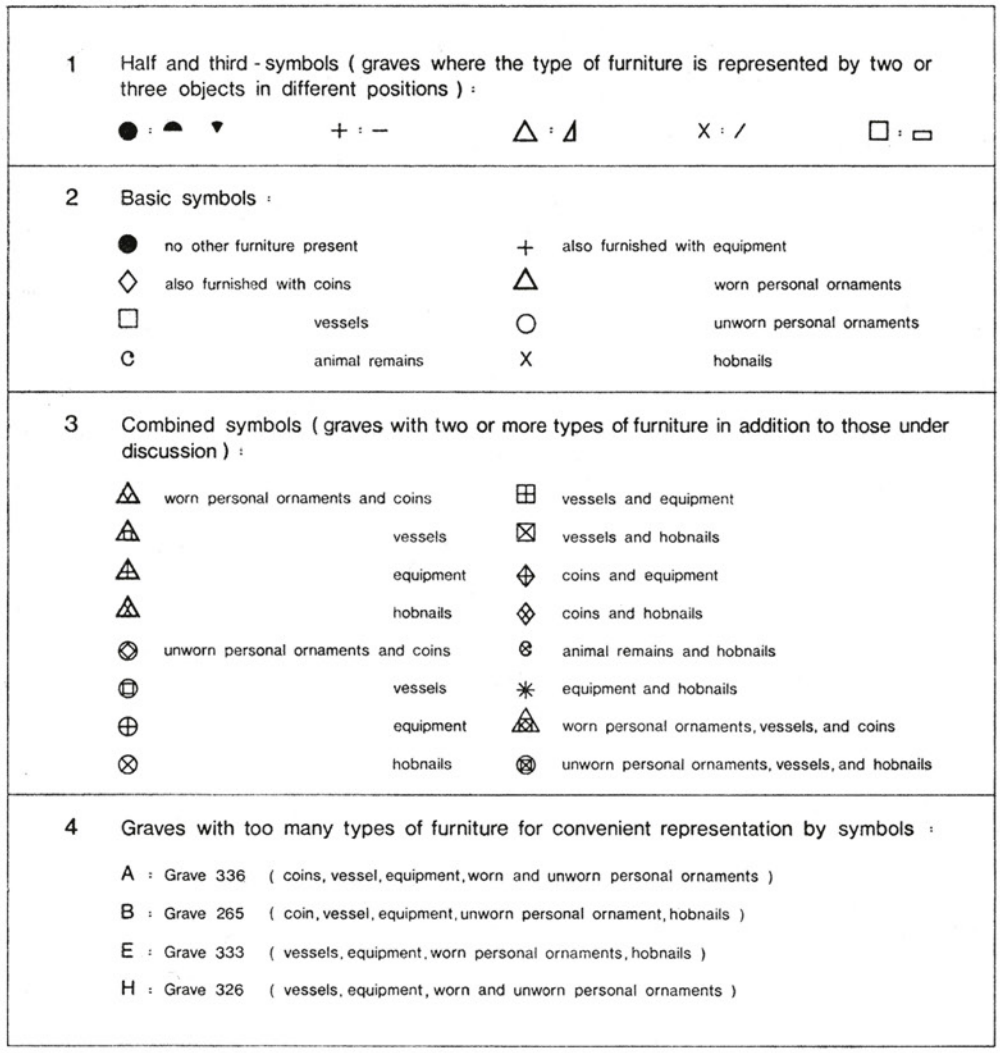


FIG. 12. Key to the symbols used on Figs. 13–17.

Figs. 13–17 show by symbols where categories of grave-furniture were placed in intact inhumations, and the degree to which this positioning is correlated with the presence or absence of other furniture.

Each figure is devoted to the positioning of one category. The *position* of each symbol shows the location in its grave of one object belonging to that category. Half and third symbols indicate that two or three objects were present, in markedly different positions.

The *form* of each symbol provides information about the presence or absence in the same grave of other furniture:

The solid dot shows, as appropriate, either that the grave contained solely the category which is the subject of the figure, or that the only additional objects present belonged to the category the effect of whose presence is being illustrated. The other symbols, basic and combined, show that the grave was provided with furniture belonging to categories other than those whose positioning and presence is being compared. The letters indicate graves with too much furniture to be shown by symbols.

often provided with every other type of furniture except vessels and hobnails. The figures relating to hobnails have to be interpreted in the light of Table 18. Not surprisingly the incidence of hobnails in graves with all but one of the other functional categories is much the same as their over-all incidence, but, as graves with hobnails alone constitute a substantial proportion (eighty) of those with furniture, the incidences of hobnails with other categories are much less than the frequency of hobnails in all furnished graves. The only category with which hobnails occurred significantly infrequently is worn personal ornaments.

TABLE 20

Grave-furniture in graves containing neither worn personal ornaments nor hobnails alone: association of the remaining functional categories with each other

Functional category	Graves with the functional category: their number as a percentage of intact furnished graves with neither worn personal ornaments nor hobnails alone		Graves with the functional category and each other category: their number as a percentage of graves with the other category									
			Coins		Vessels		Animal remains		Equipment		Unworn personal ornaments	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
Coins	34	24	—	—	6	9	1	14	9	24	4	11
Vessels	68	50	6	18	—	—	3	43	8	22	11	31
Animal remains	7	5	1	3	3	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Equipment	37	27	9	26	8	12	—	—	—	—	10	29
Unworn personal ornaments	35	25	4	12	11	16	—	—	10	27	—	—
Total	139	100	34	100	68	100	7	100	37	100	35	100

Note: Intact graves only (cf. p. 16).

General consideration of Tables 18 and 19 suggests that graves with worn personal ornaments were consistently often provided with every other kind of furniture except hobnails. Both these graves and the hobnails are probably distorting the rest of Table 19, the hobnails by inflating the total of furnished graves, and the graves with worn personal ornaments by increasing the incidence of other categories with each other. It is therefore appropriate to reduce the size of the sample, not only by restricting it to furnished graves, but also by omitting graves with worn personal ornaments and taking no account of hobnails. These modifications are shown on Table 20 which suggests that associations between equipment and coins and between equipment and unworn personal ornaments were just as frequent as their individual incidences would lead one to expect, and that associations between coins and vessels, coins and unworn personal ornaments, vessels and equipment, and vessels and unworn personal ornaments were rare. These observations are perhaps more significant than those arising from Table 19, and they suggest a

reluctance to bury coins, vessels, or unworn personal ornaments together. Further evaluation, however, is best deferred until position has been considered.

Position and presence

The evidence on presence and position is presented by Figs. 13–17. These diagrams include many complex symbols which are explained in Fig. 12.

The evidence relating to coins is summarised in Fig. 13. In more than half the graves provided with coins alone, they were in the mouth, and in only one case they were not

Position of coins	Graves with no other furniture	Graves with other furniture: Vessels	Animal remains	Equipment	Personal ornaments worn	Personal ornaments unworn	Hobnails	Total occurrences
On or near legs	●	+ ⧋ A		X □ ⧋ A	● ⊞ A	A	+	6
On or near upper body		● X ⧋ △ B		⧋ B	□ ⊞	B	□ B	5
Near lower arm or hand	● ◓	A		● ● A	A	A	●	6
On or around head	● ●	● ⧋		● ⊗	⊠	✱	◓ ⊕ ⧋	7
In or near mouth	● ● ● ● ● ● ● ◓	X ⧋	X	X ○ ⧋	⊞	● +	● ● ◓ ● ● + C □	20
Total associations	12	12	1	13	7	5	14	

FIG. 13. The positioning of coins and the absence/presence of other furniture. For a key to the symbols, see Fig. 12. For a list of graves containing coins, see Table 16.

near the head or hands. This contrasts with graves which also contained vessels or worn personal ornaments, for in half of these the coins were away from the head and hands, and only two of these graves had coins in the mouth. Many of the graves provided with coins and the remaining categories of furniture, equipment, hobnails, or unworn personal ornaments, contained other objects as well. Where vessels or worn personal ornaments were present, the coins were not generally near the head or hands. But otherwise, in the graves with hobnails or unworn personal ornaments, the coins seem mostly to have been in the mouth, while in the graves with equipment they tended to be near the hands. It can be concluded that the positioning of coins was related to vessels and worn personal ornaments, and to a limited extent to equipment. It does not seem to have been affected by the presence of hobnails or unworn personal ornaments.

The evidence for vessels is summarised in Fig. 14. Fig. 14*a* shows that in the twenty-six graves where vessels were the only furniture, they were almost invariably at either the head or the feet, rather more being near the head. In just over a third of these graves,

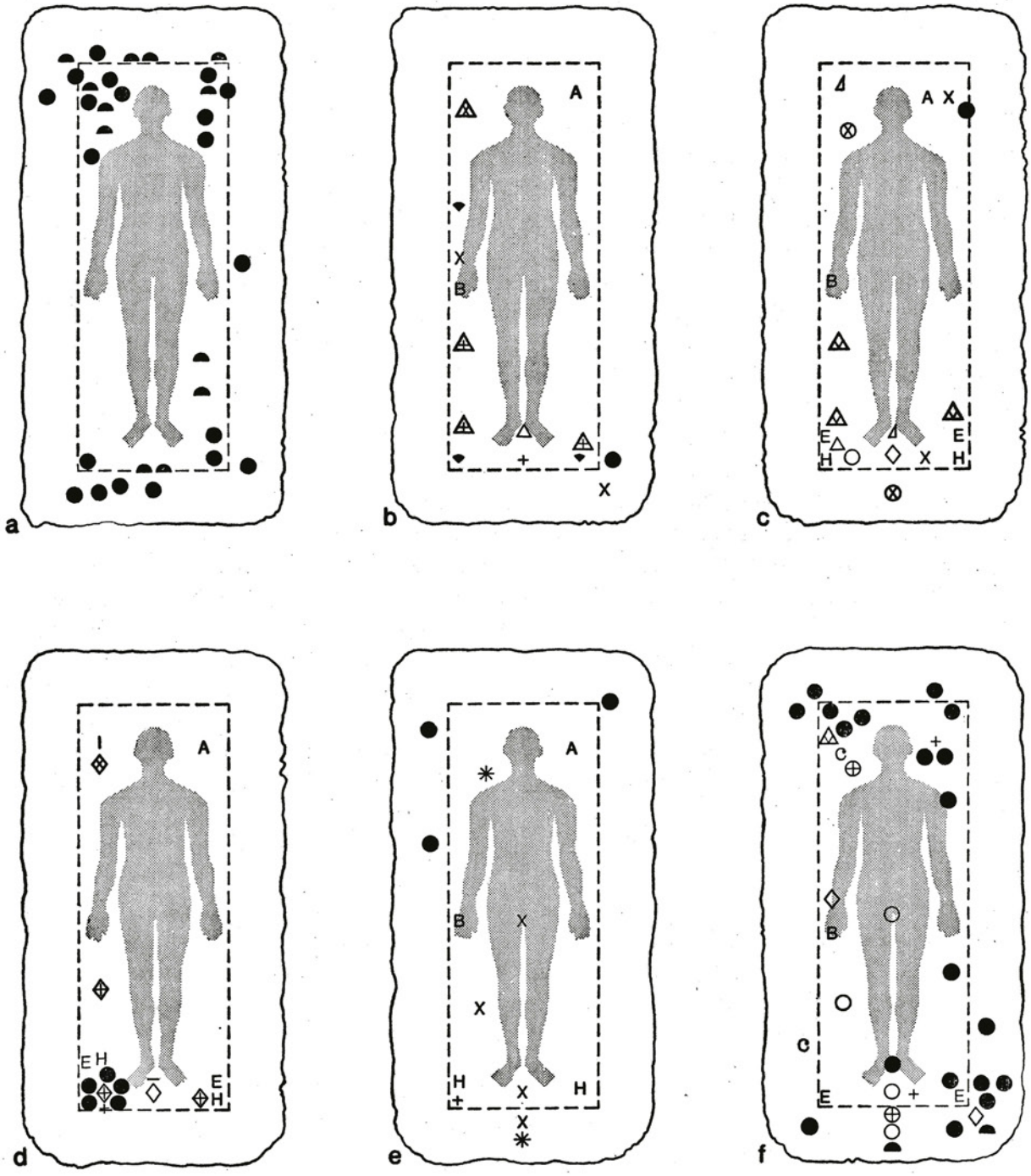


FIG. 14. The positioning of vessels and the absence/presence of other furniture.

a. Graves with no other furniture
b. Graves also furnished with coins
c. Graves also furnished with equipment
d. Graves also furnished with worn personal ornaments
e. Graves also furnished with unworn personal ornaments
f. Graves also furnished with hobnailed boots

For a key to the symbols, see Fig. 12. For a list of graves containing vessels, see Table 16.

the vessels were placed outside the coffin. A quite different pattern prevailed in the fifteen graves where vessels were associated with worn personal ornaments (Fig. 14*d*). Here the vessels were all inside the coffin, the great majority close to the feet, and over half by the right foot. In the thirteen graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments (Fig. 14*e*), as many vessels were placed around the middle of the body as at the head or feet, and in several cases vessels were outside the coffin. There is also a tendency for the vessels to be on the right of the grave. Of the twelve graves which contained coins with vessels (Fig. 14*b*), six were also furnished with personal ornaments worn at burial, and the positioning of vessels here reflects the situation in graves with worn personal ornaments generally. In the other six graves there is a tendency for the vessels to be at the feet or to the right of the upper body. In this respect, these six graves are not entirely typical of other graves with vessels, but as they represent so small a sample too much significance should not be placed on them. Equipment was associated with vessels in sixteen graves (Fig. 14*c*), but only three of these (Graves 5, 98, and 288) did not also contain personal ornaments or coins. So far as one can tell, the positioning of vessels in these three graves seems different to that in the thirteen graves with the other furniture, a situation perhaps suggesting that in the latter the other furniture governed vessel-location. In these circumstances, it is difficult to make conclusive observations about Fig. 14*c*. Fig. 14*f* shows the position of vessels in the thirty-five graves which also contained hobnails. Apart from a slight concentration by the left foot, the vessels in graves with no other furniture occupy the same places as they do in the graves with vessels alone (cf. Fig. 14*a*). In the graves provided with other objects, the placing of the vessels seems to reflect the presence of the additional furniture, and especially the presence of unworn personal ornaments. In summary, it appears that graves where vessels were associated with coins or personal ornaments are further distinguished by the positions of the vessels themselves. This is certainly not true of graves where vessels were associated with hobnails.

Animal remains were discovered in only eight graves, a sample too small for comment (Fig. 15*a*).

Graves with equipment cannot be discussed together here since different kinds of equipment occupied specific positions. Combs were generally around the skull, spindle-whorls at the feet, and knives near the belt to which they belonged.[1] Combs and spindle-whorls were, however, discovered in sufficient graves to be worth considering individually. Combs (Fig. 15*b*) were around the head in all save five graves, and in these they were variously associated with personal ornaments, vessels, and coins. In two of the three graves with worn personal ornaments, the combs were to the right of the legs. Spindle-whorls (Fig. 15*c*) were discovered in nine graves, only two of which were without other furniture. The small size of the sample precludes much comment, but in all three graves with worn personal ornaments, the spindle-whorls, like the combs, lay by the right leg.

Of the eighteen graves in which personal ornaments were worn at burial, ten were male and eight female. In seven of the male graves there was a cross-bow brooch on or around the shoulders, with belt-fittings at or near the waist (Fig. 61). In seven of the female

[1] See above, pp. 150–1.

graves there were beads around the neck and bracelets on the wrists, and each had a larger number of personal ornaments on the left arm than on the right (Fig. 62). The eighteen graves thus show little variation in the personal ornaments not attributable to differences between the sexes, and so no correlations can be made with the presence of other furniture. This each of the graves contained and it too showed great regularity (Figs. 61 and 62). Of the eighteen graves, fourteen had at least some grave-goods to the

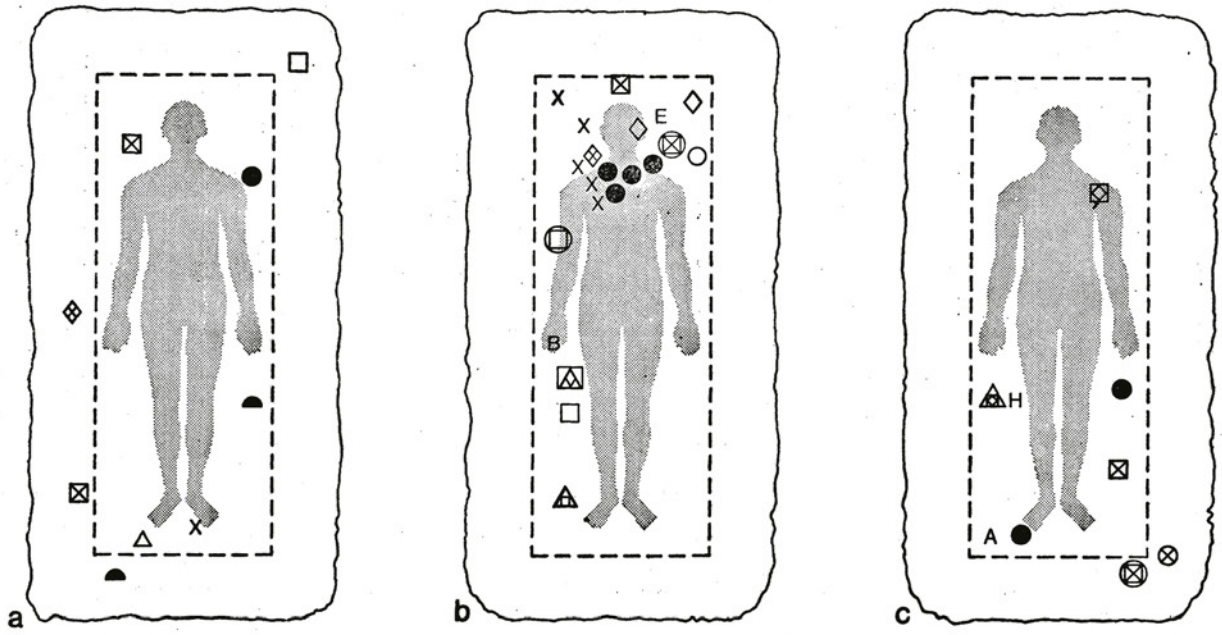


FIG. 15.

a. The positioning of animal remains and the absence/presence of other furniture
b. The positioning of combs and the absence/presence of other furniture
c. The positioning of spindle-whorls and the absence/presence of other furniture

For a key to the symbols, see Fig. 12. For a list of graves containing animal remains, combs, and spindle-whorls, see Table 16.

right of the feet, inside the coffin; and in two others there were objects between the feet or to the left of them. The objects the graves contained included vessels (sixteen graves), equipment (eight), coins (seven), and hobnails (three). In female graves there were generally two vessels (in six of the eight graves), and in male graves always just one.

Except in one instance unworn personal ornaments were always placed close together; Fig. 16 shows the positions they occupied. In graves with no other furniture (Fig. 16*a*) or with vessels or hobnails (Fig. 16, *c* and *f*), the personal ornaments were placed within the coffin in all positions. This may contrast with graves that also contained coins (Fig. 16*b*), for in the small number of these found, the personal ornaments tended to be at the head or feet. The graves also containing equipment (Fig. 16*d*) are difficult to assess. At first sight Fig. 16*d* appears different to Fig. 16*a*, suggesting that the presence of equipment did affect the placing of personal ornaments; but on closer inspection much of the

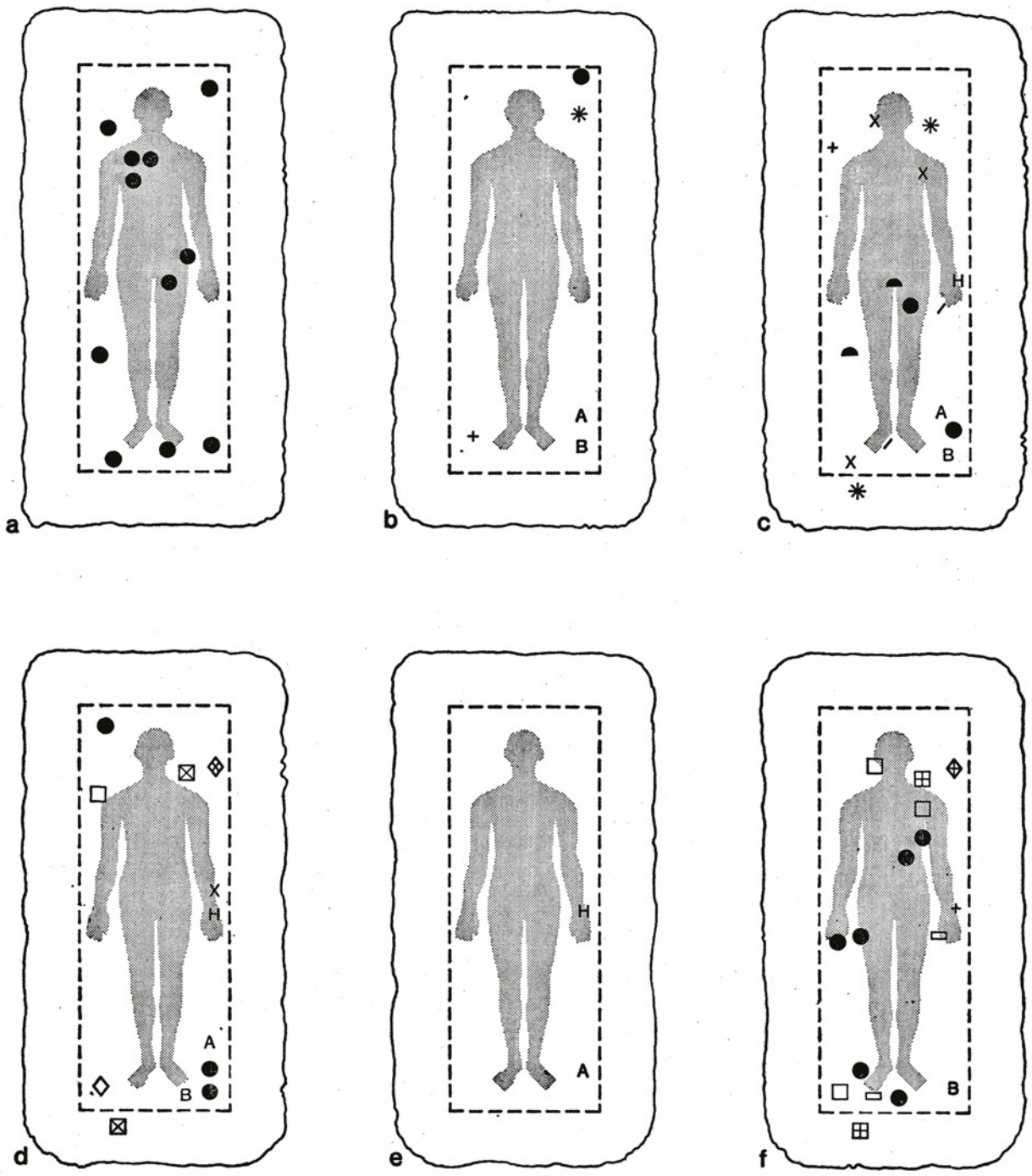


FIG. 16. The positioning of unworn personal ornaments and the absence/presence of other furniture.

a. Graves with no other furniture
b. Graves also furnished with coins
c. Graves also furnished with vessels
d. Graves also furnished with equipment
e. Graves also furnished with worn personal ornaments
f. Graves also furnished with hobnailed boots

For a key to the symbols, see Fig. 12. For a list of graves containing unworn personal ornaments, see Table 16.

difference seems related to the presence of coins. Equipment therefore may not have had a great effect on the positioning of personal ornaments.

The evidence relating to hobnails is tabulated in Fig. 17. In about half the eighty graves without other furniture, the hobnails lay among the bones of the feet; in relatively

Position of hobnails (cf. Table 17)	Graves with no other furniture	Graves with other furniture						Total occurrences
		Coins	Vessels	Animal remains	Equipment	Personal ornaments worn	Personal ornaments unworn	
Two groups, one among the bones of each foot	●●●● ●●●	●● △	△		●●	⊠		12
One group, among bones of feet	●●●●●● ●●●●●● ●●●●●● ●●●	● B ⊕	●● ● ○ B		●● ⊗ B	●	●● B □ ⊕	39
One group, under or over feet, or among the bones of one foot	●● ●●		●		●			6
Near feet, in coffin	●●●● ●●●● ●●●	+	●● ● E ○		E ◇	E	● □	18
Near feet, outside coffin	●●● ●●●	● □	●● ●● ◇ C ⊕	● □	●● ○ ⊜		+ ⊞	18
Near legs	●●●	+	●●		●● ◇			8
Near upper body	●●●		●● ●				●	7
Area of feet	●●●●●● ●●●●●● ●●●●●● ●	●● □ C	●●●● ◇ C + + ○ ○ ⊕	□ ◇	● □ □ ⊜		●● □ □ ⊞	36
Total associations	80	14	35	4	20	3	15	144 –

FIG. 17. The positioning of hobnails and the absence/presence of other furniture (cf. Table 17).
For a key to the symbols, see Fig. 12.

few were hobnails found either outside the coffin or near other parts of the body. A similar situation is apparent among graves also containing coins. This contrasts with the thirty-five graves with vessels; in a substantial proportion of these the hobnails lay some distance from the feet, and in only six of them were they among the foot bones. The other objects associated with hobnails in reasonable numbers were equipment and unworn personal ornaments, but the picture here is inconclusive, appearing perhaps similar to that in graves with hobnails alone.

Evaluation: types of furnished grave

Personal ornaments worn at burial and hobnails have stood out in this discussion. As a group, the eighteen graves with worn personal ornaments were well furnished, none of them being without at least one other object, often a vessel, less frequently a coin or piece of equipment. Hobnails, however, were rare, worn personal ornaments being the only category of furniture with which hobnails were not found reasonably often. Vessels, coins, and equipment tended to occupy a particular position by the right foot, this being pronounced in the case of vessels. Taken together, the evidence suggests that worn personal ornaments were regarded as important in the graves in which they were placed; it argues further that the funerary beliefs behind these graves required the provision of other objects, which were placed in certain defined positions. These graves may be grouped as a type, defined by their salient characteristic, worn personal ornaments.

Hobnails occurred no more often among furnished graves than over the site generally, and were not markedly often associated with any of the other categories individually. No category of furniture occupied any special positions in graves where hobnails were present, and neither, except in graves with vessels, did the hobnails themselves. There is thus practically no evidence that the provision of hobnailed shoes was related to other objects. Vessels are a possible exception, but as will be seen this is explicable in terms of chronology.[1] All the indications are that in graves without worn personal ornaments the provision of hobnailed shoes was neither forbidden nor obligatory. It follows that hobnails cannot be used in defining grave-types—except in regard to graves with worn personal ornaments.

The remaining categories are coins, vessels, equipment, animal remains, and unworn personal ornaments. Animal remains were discovered in eight graves; they may well have been important but insufficient were found for this to be demonstrable. Equipment is difficult to evaluate because it consists of so many different kinds of object. Some of its associations with other objects can be explained in terms of chronology, notably its rarity with vessels.[2] Because of the different objects involved, equipment is difficult to use in defining grave-types, even though it is perfectly plain that it could have had significance.

Coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments remain. Table 20 suggested that these categories were associated less frequently than might have been expected; Figs. 13, 14, and 16 showed that when they were associated, they often occupied particular positions. There thus appears to be a degree of regularity in their presence, absence, and position. It follows that they were considered important in furnishing graves, and hence that they can be used to define types of furnished grave. With the worn personal ornaments, these categories enable the following types of grave to be recognised:

Graves with coins (25)
Graves with vessels (52)
Graves with unworn personal ornaments (21)
Graves with coins and vessels (5)
Graves with coins and unworn personal ornaments (3)

[1] See below, p. 179. [2] Cf. below, pp. 168 and 178

Graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments (10)
Graves with coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments (1)
Graves with worn personal ornaments, which may also contain coins, vessels, or unworn personal ornaments (18)

When the graves with worn personal ornaments are included, there are thus eight types of furnished grave. The individual graves constituting each of these types are listed in Table 21. It should be remembered that the graves listed under all but the last two types will *not* be the only graves to contain the category or categories of object by which they are defined. It should also be remembered that many of the graves also contain animal remains, hobnails, or equipment, and that those latter categories also occurred in graves not included in this classification. In future discussion the grave-types are referred to as they are described in Table 21, for example, 'graves with coins'.

TABLE 21

Graves constituting the eight types of furnished grave defined on pp. 164–5

Graves with coins (25 graves)

8 *HN*
58 *HN*
76 *HN*
88 *HN*
96
152 *E, HN*
164
212 *AR, HN*
228
232
270
289
344
356
360 *HN*
365 *E*
370
372
378 *E*
381 *E, HN*
382
413 *E*
414
427
437 *HN*

Graves with vessels (52 graves)

2 *HN*
3
5 *E, HN*
22 *AR, HN*
27
35
38
45 *HN*
47 *AR, HN*
48 *HN*
50 *HN*
61
71
79
86
91 *HN*
98 *E, HN*
111 *HN*
125 *HN*
126 *HN*
127
130
132
136
138
141 *HN*
150 *AR*
160
163
170 *HN*
178
182 *HN*
186 *HN*
195 *HN*
203
204
210 *HN*
214
216 *HN*
217
224 *HN*
227 *HN*
229
233 *HN*
236
248 *HN*
273
288 *E*
299
352
385
390 *HN*

Graves with unworn personal ornaments (21 graves)

53 *HN*
55 *E*
85 *HN*
102 *HN*
117 *E, HN*
122
139
143
168 *HN*
183
218 *HN*
238 *HN*
256
266
268
281
362 *HN*
430
438 *E*
443 *E*
450

Graves with coins and vessels (5 graves)

109 *HN*
114
172 *HN*
329 *E*
347

Graves with coins and unworn personal ornaments (3 graves)

37 *E*
137
283 *E, HN*

Graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments (10 graves)

105
134 *HN*
155 *E, HN*
185 *HN*
188 *HN*
199
250 *E, HN*
327 *HN*
337
369 *E*

Grave with coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments (1 grave)

265 *E, HN*

Graves with worn personal ornaments (18 graves)

13 *C*
23 *V*
40 *V*
63 *V, E*
81 *C, V, E*
106 *V, E*
234 *AR*
322 *C, V*
323 *V*
326 *V, E, U*
333 *V, E, HN*
336 *C, V, E, U*
351 *C, V, E*
366 *V*
373 *C, V, HN*
376 *HN*
396 *C, V, E*
426 *V*

Note: Intact graves only (cf. p. 16). Letters in italics signify other furniture in the grave: *C*, coins; *V*, vessels; *AR*, animal remains; *E*, equipment; *U*, unworn personal ornaments; *HN*, hobnails.

iii. THE DATING OF THE TYPES OF FURNISHED GRAVE

The chronological framework established at Lankhills was described on pp. 121–2. The dating evidence for the eight grave-types is summarised in Table 22.

Graves with coins (Figs. 18, 53, and 54)

Of the twenty-five graves with coins listed in Table 21, thirteen had no other furniture, six contained only coins and hobnails, five had coins and equipment (two with hobnails as

well), and one contained coins, a bird, and hobnails. Grave 437 contained six coins (five silver), Graves 378 and 413 five coins, Grave 58 four coins, Graves 8, 270, and 289 three coins, and Graves 365 and 414 two coins. The rest of the graves had only one coin.

Twenty-one of these graves were dated by their coins: three to before 330/40, four to 330–70, nine to 365–90, and five to 390–410.[1] Three of the remaining graves contained

TABLE 22

Chronological change in grave-furnishing: summary of the stratigraphic evidence

Grave-furnishing	Over-all incidence		Chronology: Stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)											
			Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)		Incidence in Areas F, E, and O combined (350–410)	
		%		%			%		%		%		%
Types of furnished grave defined on pp. 164–5													
all types	135	36	100	40	+7	11	37	9	25	15	25	35	28
with coins	25	7	12	5	+7	2	7	3	8	8	13	13	10
with vessels	52	14	47	19	−29	—	0	3	8	2	3	5	4
with unworn personal ornaments	21	6	17	7	+5	3	10	—	0	1	2	4	3
with coins and vessels	5	1	4	2	0	1	3	—	0	—	0	1	1
with coins and unworn personal ornaments	3	1	2	1	+1	—	0	—	0	1	2	1	1
with vessels and unworn personal ornaments	10	3	9	4	0	—	0	1	3	—	0	1	1
with coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments	1	0	1	0	+4	—	0	—	0	—	0	—	0
with worn personal ornaments	18	5	8	3	+18	5	17	2	6	3	5	10	8
Other furniture													
animal remains	8	2	7	3	+3	—	0	1	3	—	0	1	1
equipment	45	12	22	9	+15	5	17	7	19	11	18	23	18
hobnails	144	38	107	43	−16	5	17	16	44	16	26	37	29
Furnished graves except those with hobnails alone	157	42	109	44	−3	13	43	14	39	21	34	48	38
All furnished graves	237	63	166	67	−5	16	53	24	67	31	51	71	55
Non-intrusive furnished graves*													
Types of furnished grave defined on pp. 164–5	110	29	90	36	−15	4	13	6	17	10	16	20	16
Furnished graves except those with hobnails alone	132	35	99	40	−25	6	20	11	31	16	26	33	26
All furnished graves	212	56	156	63	−27	9	30	21	58	26	43	56	45
All unfurnished graves	138	37	82	33	+5	14	47	12	33	30	49	56	45
All intact graves	375	100	248	100	—	30	100	36	100	61	100	127	100

* This excludes graves with worn personal ornaments and Graves 265, 283, 329, 347, 369, 378, and 450 (cf. pp. 174–6).

illegible coins, but all three are datable after *c.* 390, as one of them, Grave 356, was the last in a long sequence of graves cutting Feature 12, and the other two, Graves 382 and 427, were in Area O. Finally Grave 344, which contained a coin of Diocletian, was the latest in a sequence of four burials west of Feature 12, and so cannot have been dug before *c.* 370; its coin must therefore have been kept for some time prior to burial.[2]

This dating evidence shows that graves with coins were spread over all the fourth century. It also indicates that they became commoner after *c.* 370, an indication confirmed by horizontal stratigraphy. Twelve of the graves were west of Feature 12, and thirteen within or to the east of the ditch; the different total of graves in the two areas means that the proportion of graves with coins east of Feature 12 is twice that to the west (10:5).

[1] For the coin-identifications, see Table 30.

[2] The coin itself is consistent with this (Table 30 .

The positions in which coins were put also changed (Fig. 18). Coins deposited in the first third of the fourth century were found beyond the feet, by the lower legs, or under the skull. All coins buried after *c.* 330 were found in the mouth, around the skull, or near the hands; and in all but one of the graves dug after *c.* 370 at least one coin was in the mouth or near the hands.

Position of coins	Estimated date of deposition: pre-330/40	330/40-365/70	365/70-390	post-390	Total occurrences
On or near legs	● ✳				2
On or near upper body					–
Near lower arm or hand		X	● ○ ◓ +	+	6
On or around head	●	●	/	+	4
In or near mouth		⊛ X	● ◓ X X X / ✳	● ● ● ○ ○ ○	15
Total graves	3	4	10	8	25 / 27

FIG. 18. Coin-position, date, and other furniture in graves with coins.

● Grave only furnished with coins; + grave also furnished with equipment; X grave also furnished with hobnails; ✳ grave also furnished with equipment and hobnails; ⊛ grave also furnished with animal remains and hobnails; ○ graves with illegible coins (all without other furniture), dated by their stratigraphic position. Half symbols: graves with coins in two different positions.

For a list of graves with coins, see Table 21.

Fig. 13 suggested that equipment affected the placing of coins.[1] Fig. 18 amplifies this and indicates that of the fifteen graves with coins in the mouth, only one (Grave 381) contained equipment (a comb), while two of the six graves with coins in the hands had a comb (Graves 365 and 413). This suggests that, especially when the placing of coins in the mouth or hands became the rule after *c.* 370, there was a distinction between graves with coins in the hands, which often had combs, and graves with coins in the mouth, which rarely did. Grave 378, the one grave dug after *c.* 370 where the coins were not in the mouth or hands, also contained equipment, an arrowhead. As this was the only grave provided with a weapon, the unusual placing of its coins is interesting.[2]

[1] See above, p. 158.

[2] For further comments on Grave 378, see below, p. 176.

Graves with vessels (Figs. 19, 54, 55, and 56)

The fifty-two graves with vessels are listed in Table 21. Twenty-six of them contained no other furniture, twenty had been furnished with vessels and hobnailed boots, three contained vessels and equipment (two with hobnails also), and three had vessels and animal remains (two with hobnails). There were three vessels in Grave 182, two vessels in Graves 3, 22, 38, 127, 136, 163, 186, 195, 210, 233, and 236 (one glass in Graves 38, 136, and 236), and one vessel in the rest of the graves (glass in Graves 35, 352, 385, and 390).

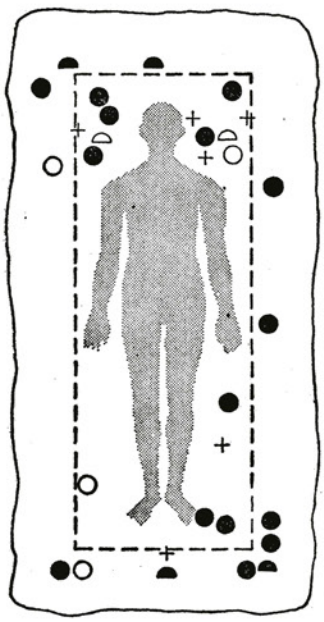


FIG. 19. The position of datable pottery vessels in graves with vessels.

● vessel datable before *c.* 350;
○ vessel datable *c.* 320/30–*c.* 370/80;
+ vessel datable after *c.* 340.
Half symbols: graves with vessels in two different positions.

Graves with vessels can be dated by the vessels themselves and by stratigraphy. The stratigraphic evidence (Table 22) shows that the graves were much more common before *c.* 350 than they were afterwards, but two graves in Area O demonstrate a survival until at least *c.* 390. In twenty-eight graves the vessels could be dated quite closely; seventeen to the first half of the fourth century, five to 320/30–370/80, and six to after 340.[1] This confirms the picture suggested by stratigraphy, but it has little independent value since it offers no indication of frequency.

The datable vessels also demonstrate changes in where vessels were placed. Fig. 19 shows that while there was no change relative to the body (they might be at the head or feet, to the left or right) there was a change relative to the coffin, for after *c.* 350 few if any vessels were placed outside it.

Graves with unworn personal ornaments (Figs. 57 and 58)

The twenty-one graves with unworn personal ornaments are listed in Table 21. In Graves 55 and 443 the personal ornaments took the form of belts, which were accompanied by knives. Graves 53, 281, and 362 each contained a ring, Grave 102 a pin, and Grave 450 two pierced canines and probably a pewter disc. Graves 53, 102, and 362 had also been furnished with hobnailed shoes. Each of the remaining fourteen graves contained one or more bracelets, and sometimes rings and beads as well, all placed close together (cf. Fig. 58). One bracelet was found in Graves 168, 218, and 430, and there were two in Graves 85, 266, and 268. Graves 117, 139, 238, and 256 contained between four and ten items, and Graves 143, 183, and 438 more. Two of these graves were provided with equipment, a spindle-whorl in Grave 117, and a comb in Grave 438, and five had hobnails.

The two graves with belts were situated west of Feature 12. Each had destroyed an earlier grave, but Grave 443 was itself cut by at least one later burial (Grave 441).[2] Both graves can certainly be dated after *c.* 330, and Grave 443 before *c.* 370. Of the three

[1] For the dating of the pots see below, pp. 221–37.

[2] Another grave (Grave 441) may have been deliberately positioned in the fill of Grave 443: see above, pp. 88–9, and Fig. 24.

graves with rings alone, Grave 281 was in Area O and the other two were situated west of Feature 12, Grave 362 being cut by Grave 216, which contained a pot datable to 330–50.[1] Throughout the fourth century graves were thus being provided with rings alone. The grave with a pin, Grave 102, was not closely dated, but lay west of Feature 12 and was cut slightly by Grave 101. Grave 450, with the pierced canines, was dug into Feature 12, and as it was the last in a long sequence of burials it is unlikely to be datable before *c.* 400. Two of the fourteen graves with bracelets also cut Feature 12, but the others lay to the west. Of those cutting Feature 12, Grave 430 was the latest in a sequence of several graves and is datable to *c.* 390–410; the other, Grave 438, lay beside and was cut into the mound of Grave 437, which contained five silver coins minted 357–63. The graves with bracelets found to the west of Feature 12 had a score of +8, which suggests that they were dug in the later stages of burial there, perhaps in the third quarter of the fourth century.

It is not easy to reach any general conclusion about date, because most of the graves belonged to women. Since female burials were only common west of Feature 12 after 350, unworn personal ornaments will inevitably also have been characteristic as they are of late graves in that area.[2] However, the male graves[3] were all in Area W and Graves 55 and 443 were certainly later than the early fourth century. If personal ornaments had been deposited with men throughout the century, more graves with them would have been dug west of Feature 12 before 350, and several would also have been found east of the ditch. The fact that this was not so suggests that male inhumations with unworn personal ornaments were rare before *c.* 350 and after *c.* 370. The intervening years, 350–70, form the period to which most of the female inhumations can best be dated. Graves with unworn personal ornaments can thus be assigned in the main to 350–70, but Grave 362, on the one hand, and Graves 281, 430, and 450, on the other, show that such graves were not unknown both earlier and later.

Graves with coins and vessels (Fig. 59)

Five graves were of this type (Table 21). Grave 114 had been provided with a coin and a pot, and Graves 109 and 172 contained a pot, coins, and hobnails. Grave 329 had a glass bowl, a coin, and a spindle-whorl, and Grave 347 three vessels (one pewter, one glass, one pottery), a coin, and an unidentifiable iron object.

The five graves can be dated by their furniture.[4] The coin in Grave 114 was minted in 313–17, and the pot associated with it was made *c.* 270–330. The coin in Grave 172 was minted in 307–9. The one legible coin in Grave 109 dated from 330–41 and the pot found in the same grave was made *c.* 320–60. The coin in Grave 329 was minted in 350–64. The coin in Grave 347 was of the House of Valentinian (364–75), but stratigraphy suggests a date of *c.* 400 since this grave was fourth in a sequence of graves cutting Feature 12. The five graves are thus spread over the whole fourth century.

Graves with coins and unworn personal ornaments (Fig. 59)

Only three graves were furnished with both coins and unworn personal ornaments: Graves 37 and 283 with belt-fittings, and Grave 137 with bracelets. Grave 37 was also

[1] See below, p. 234 (478).
[2] Cf. above, p. 127.
[3] Graves 55, 362, and 443.
[4] For coin-identifications, see Table 30, and for the vessels, see below, pp. 221–37.

equipped with a knife and Grave 283 with a knife, a whetstone, hobnails, a buckle-loop, and a knife-handle. The coin in Grave 137 was minted in 330–41, that in Grave 37 in 350–64, and those in Grave 283 after 387.

Graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments (Fig. 60)

Ten graves were of this type, listed in Table 21. Graves 105, 199, and 337 were otherwise unfurnished, Graves 134, 155, 185, 188, 250, and 327 had been provided in addition with hobnailed shoes, and Graves 155, 250, and 369 with equipment. The ten graves were mostly rich in personal ornaments: reference should be made to Table 2 and Fig. 60 for details. Seven of the graves belonged to children, Graves 199, 250, and 369 being adult.

Chronological evidence is provided by pottery[1] and stratigraphy. Nine of the ten graves lay west of Feature 12, where their combined stratigraphic score was zero. The remaining burial, Grave 369, was in Area E. Graves 105 and 199 contained pots made in 270–330, Grave 250 had a pot datable to 330–70, Grave 327 contained a pot made after 340, and Graves 155, 185, and 188 were furnished with flagons made during the period 270–370. This evidence suggests that the graves mainly date from *c.* 310–70. Grave 369, however, is later.

Graves with coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments (Fig. 63)

Only Grave 265 had been provided with a coin, a vessel, and unworn personal ornaments, and it also contained hobnails and a triangular comb. The coin was minted in 388–402, and as the grave was situated in Area W, a date of *c.* 390–5 may be suggested.

Graves with worn personal ornaments (Figs. 61–2 and Table 23)

Dating evidence for the eighteen graves with worn personal ornaments is shown by Table 23, first for the ten men, then for the women. Seventeen of the graves are conclusively dated after *c.* 350, either by the objects they contained or by stratigraphy. The one outstanding grave, Grave 106, can be assigned a similar date, for it contained a pot post-dating 340, and a brooch of a type not current until *c.* 340, which was subsequently much repaired.[2]

The eighteen graves can be divided into three chronological groups: those assigned to 350–70, those later than *c.* 370, and those not closely datable. To the first group belong Graves 13, 81, 323, and 336, to the second Graves 322, 333, 351, 366, 373, 376, and 396, and to the third Graves 23, 40, 63, 106, 234, 326, and 426. There are interesting differences between the first and third groups and the second.

The two male graves datable to 350–70[3] both had a brooch on the right shoulder, belt-fittings near the middle of the body, and furniture of some kind by the right foot; the male graves not closely datable were similar. From this consistency the four male graves post-dating 370 differ, two slightly and two markedly. Of the former, Grave 322 had a

[1] See below, pp. 221–37.

[2] See below, pp. 259–60 (brooch 121).

[3] For plans of all eight male graves, see Fig. 61.

glass bottle between the feet rather than to the right of them, and Grave 366 lacked a brooch; these graves otherwise conformed. The other two graves, however, both had hobnails, and, while Grave 376 was otherwise provided with only a belt, Grave 373 contained a brooch and, by the skull, a pot with two coins.

TABLE 23

Graves with worn personal ornaments: chronological evidence

Grave number	Chronological evidence			Date	Notes
	Stratigraphy (see pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)	Coins	Pots		
Male					
13	W x	**15:** 330–41 **16:** 350–60		350–70	
23	W x		**23:** 350–80	350–80	
81	W +4	**71:** 350–3 **72:** 350–64 **73:** 348–64		350–70	
106	W +1		**129:** 340–400	350(?)–370/90	Contained a brooch (**121**) made after *c.* 340 and repaired at least once (see pp. 259–60)
234	W +4			350–90	
322	F —	**448:** 364–75		370–90	Middle grave in a sequence of three
366	E x			370–410	
373	O −2			390–400	
376	O x			390–410	
426	F x			350–90	Mound cut by Graves 420 and 430; Grave 420 cut through by Grave 421
Female					
40	W +4			350–370/90	
63	W +5		**63:** 270–370	370–80	
323	F x	**444:** 330–41 **445:** 330–41 **446:** 350–64	**432:** 340–80 **433:** 340–80	350–70	**444–6 on one side of mound (see pp. 66–7)**
326	F x		**386:** 350–80 **387:** 340–80	350–80	Cut mound of Grave 323 and layer containing 444–6
333	O x		**311:** *post*-340	390–410	
336	W +3	**339–42:** 350–64	**336:** 350–80	350–70	6 coins present, four dating to 350–64
351	F —	**395:** 345–8	**392:** 340–400	370–90	Middle grave in a sequence of three
396	E x	**631:** 364–75		370–90	

Of the female graves, Graves 323 and 336 can be dated to 350–70, and Graves 40, 63, and 326 to 350–90.[1] Bracelets and necklaces were found in all these graves and in each more personal ornaments were on the left arm than on the right. All five graves also had at least some furniture by the right foot or lower leg. Of the three female graves dated after *c.* 370, Grave 333, which was probably not dug until *c.* 390, differed in being provided with hobnails, the only one of these female graves so furnished. Grave 351 was unusual in that its two vessels had been put by the left foot; it also had a coin in or near the mouth, being unique among the graves with worn personal ornaments in having a coin placed there. Grave 396 lacked a necklace. Each of these later female graves, like the male Graves 322 and 366, thus departed slightly from the consistency characteristic of the earlier burials.

[1] For plans of the female graves, see Fig. 62.

iv. THE ASSOCIATION OF THE TYPES OF FURNISHED GRAVE WITH MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN

With the chronological evidence described, the way is clear for interpretation of the types of furnished grave. Ultimately this has to be in terms of the beliefs of the dead or those who buried them, but account must be taken first of the age and sex of the dead. The evidence on this is summarised in Table 24, which shows the number of graves of each type that contained male, female, or child skeletons.

TABLE 24

The association of the eight types of furnished grave with men, women, and children

Type of grave, as defined on pp. 164–5	Over-all incidence		Association with adults								Association with children	
			Men		Women		Not sexed		All			
		%		%		%		%		%		%
With coins	25	7	8	8	3	5	7	7	18	7	7	7
With vessels	52	14	18	17	10	15	11	10	39	14	13	13
With unworn personal ornaments	21	6	3	3	6	9	5	5	14	5	7	7
With coins and vessels	5	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	1	1	1
With coins and unworn personal ornaments	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	—	0
With vessels and unworn personal ornaments	10	3	—	0	—	0	3	3	3	1	7	7
With coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments	1	0	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	0	—	—
With worn personal ornaments	18	5	4	4	—	0	10	9	14	5	4	4
Furnished graves, except those with worn personal ornaments or only hobnails	139	37	36	35	25	38	39	37	100	36	39	39
All furnished graves	237	63	69	67	39	60	78	73	186	67	51	51
All intact graves	375	100	103	100	65	100	107	100	275	100	100	100

Note: Intact graves only (cf. p. 16). Finds from grave-fills excluded. Percentages are of all intact graves appropriate to that entry. Graves are attributed to men or women on the basis of the skeletal evidence only. Children are defined as younger than the late teens.

It seems from Table 24 that the different types of furnished grave were as much associated with adults as with children, but an exception is provided by the relatively large number of child graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments. This mode of furnishing must have been regarded as appropriate to children and the unusual position of vessels in these graves may also be explicable in these terms. It might be noted that these child graves comprise seven of the eleven graves in Table 20 containing vessels and unworn personal ornaments; in adult graves those two categories must almost never have been buried together.

The grave-types also seem to have been as much associated with men as with women. Here too, however, there are exceptions, and these concern graves with personal ornaments. Table 24 shows that graves with unworn personal ornaments more often belonged to women than to men, and that the reverse was true of graves with worn personal ornaments. Because of the poor preservation of bone in these latter graves, relatively few skeletons could be sexed, but the picture they suggest is amply confirmed by the worn personal ornaments themselves, which were appropriate to men in ten of the fourteen adult graves. It might be noted that child graves with worn or unworn personal ornaments are almost all shown by their ornaments to have belonged to girls:[1] boys, it seems, were not generally provided with personal ornaments in any position.

The most interesting conclusion is that most graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments belonged to children, all but one certainly female on the evidence of the ornaments. Of the three adult graves of this type, one was Grave 369, which was noted on p. 170 as being unusual in dating after *c.* 370, and the other two belonged to women aged around or under 20.[2] Apart from Grave 369, then, graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments belonged to girls or young women. We have seen that they date from 310–70, spanning the main date-ranges of graves with vessels and graves with unworn personal ornaments. This contemporaneity suggests that those two types of grave and graves with both vessels and unworn personal ornaments were facets of the same funerary customs, girls being given two categories of object when other people were provided with only one.

V. INTERPRETATION OF THE TYPES OF FURNISHED GRAVE

Interpretation of the types of furnished grave involves much comparative work, and is mostly more properly relegated to discussion. Analysis should only be concerned with the relationships between the types, and with distinguishing differences due, for example, to ethnic variation.[3]

Graves with coins, graves with vessels, and graves with unworn personal ornaments constitute the majority of graves belonging to the eight types defined on pp. 164–5. The chronological evidence shows that these types enjoyed successive periods of popularity—graves with vessels before *c.* 350, graves with unworn personal ornaments in 350–70, and graves with coins after *c.* 370. Prima facie, such a succession points to changing beliefs about grave-furnishing among a single population. This may be supported by the evidence for marked temporal overlap between the types, and by the fact that they could all contain equipment and hobnails.

If this is correct, there should be graves showing evolution between the types. The obvious candidates are graves with two or three categories of object, in particular graves with coins and unworn personal ornaments, and graves with vessels and unworn personal

[1] The only possible exception is Grave 185, which contained a bronze disc, for which see below, p. 321.

[2] Graves 199 and 250. For the age of the skeleton in Grave 250, see Table 2. There was an error in labelling the skeleton of Grave 199, with the result that two skeletons are labelled as coming from this grave: one was aged 11–12, and the other about 18.

[3] Cf. Clarke 1975*b*.

ornaments; but also graves containing coins and vessels, since sufficient graves with coins and graves with vessels lay outside their respective periods for a direct overlap to be possible. Here we have to distinguish four of these graves which are markedly later than one or both of the types between which they could be transitional: Graves 265 (coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments), 283 (coins and unworn personal ornaments), 347 (coins and vessels), and 369 (vessels and unworn personal ornaments). However, with these four graves set aside, there seems no reason why the other graves with two categories should not be transitional.

The graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments indicate, as we have seen, that in 310–70 girls were provided with two categories of furniture when other people were given one. As they are generally earlier than the graves with unworn personal ornaments, it is easy to envisage that the latter, which also mainly belong to girls or young women, represent a development from them. This development will have involved a single funerary belief ceasing to require the burial of vessels, and instead putting its emphasis on personal ornaments.[1] The graves with coins and vessels (Graves 109, 114, 172, and 329) and with coins and unworn personal ornaments (Graves 37 and 137) can be interpreted with graves with coins.[2] The latter displayed a clear temporal trend in their layout, which points to a growing consistency, a consistency which, as we have seen, may ultimately have come to be reflected even in the provision of equipment.[3] It may be suggested that Graves 109, 114, and 172, and Graves 37 and 137 belong to the early stages of this development. Together with the earliest graves with coins alone, Graves 114 and 172, with coins under the skull and by the hips, would date from a time when coins were buried incidentally, in no defined position, with or without other furniture; and Graves 37, 109, and 137, where the coins were in the mouth, from a time when coins were sufficiently important for their positions to be standardised, although they were still buried with other significant furniture. To this pattern Grave 329 may represent an exception, for although post-dating 350, its coin was at the feet.

These graves with two categories mostly therefore support the notion that the graves with a single category represent the developing beliefs in grave-furnishing of a single population—presumably the native inhabitants of Winchester. We must now turn to the graves which have not been accounted for, notably the graves with worn personal ornaments and Graves 265, 283, 347, and 369, and perhaps also Grave 329.

Leaving aside for the moment Graves 373 and 376,[4] the other sixteen graves with worn personal ornaments have been dated after *c.* 350. Two salient points must be stressed about them. First, they stand out at Lankhills and appear without any apparent antecedent. Second, in the later graves of this type the layout is less consistent, even showing the influence of other practices then current in the Lankhills cemetery, in the form of the hobnails in Grave 333, and the coin in or near the mouth in Grave 351. It can be argued that a new funerary belief introduced to an area or cemetery, and subsequently broken down and drawing on pre-existing practices, represents the arrival of intrusive people and their absorption into the native population. The Lankhills graves with worn

[1] Cf. below, pp. 410–13.
[2] Cf. below, p. 408.
[3] See above, p. 167 and Fig. 18.
[4] Cf. above, p. 171.

personal ornaments look as if they represent just such a phenomenon, and if so will have belonged to a people foreign to the traditional users of the cemetery.

There is one prima facie obstacle to such an interpretation. The sixteen graves form a small group and they are a small proportion of those excavated at Lankhills, which itself represents an insubstantial part of the whole northern cemetery of Roman *Venta*.[1] It may therefore be argued that the absence of earlier parallels or antecedents is of no significance. This argument gains added force from the manner in which the graves range in date over the whole of the later fourth century: if they had been concentrated within, say, twenty years, the grounds for postulating the arrival of new people would be stronger.

These arguments can be countered. First, the chronological point ignores the general character of the graves as a group. They are not identical, but show differences which are concentrated in the later graves. Small though the sample is, this evidence strongly suggests that a process of assimilation was taking place. Second, the negative evidence for the absence of earlier parallels is not so weak as might seem. The Lankhills cemetery included a considerable number of early fourth-century graves, none of which contained worn personal ornaments. Elsewhere in the northern cemetery, especially in the area used for burial just before Lankhills,[2] discoveries over the past two centuries have been substantial; yet nowhere is there any record of possible parallels. This negative evidence may have some genuine validity, for graves with worn personal ornaments are rich enough to attract the attention of casual finders and cross-bow brooches in particular are likely to have been kept if found. The positive evidence for assimilation and the negative evidence for antecedents offset the argument that the Lankhills graves are too small a sample. We may therefore conclude that they belonged to foreign people of whom the first were buried at Lankhills just after 350.

Since some of the graves showed signs that their regular layout was breaking down and being permeated by practices typical of other graves at Lankhills, a further stage might have involved personal ornaments no longer being worn, even though other features were retained, in particular the relatively large quantity of furniture and the placing of offerings at the feet. The late graves with coins and vessels and with vessels and unworn personal ornaments (Graves 347 and 369, and also Grave 329) fit this description, for each was well provided with grave-goods, and each had offerings at the feet. With the addition of worn personal ornaments, they would not have been out of place among the seemingly intrusive graves. The dating of Graves 347 and 369 (post-390 and post-370, respectively) is consistent with this. That of Grave 329 (350–70), however, is apparently not; but the coin on which the date rests could have been old when buried, or the grave could have belonged to a newcomer unusually quick to adopt native customs.[3] Whatever the case, Graves 347 and 369 are satisfactorily explained as representing assimilation.

Turning now to Graves 373 and 376, we saw above that they differed markedly from the other graves with worn personal ornaments. They had neither the appropriate personal

[1] For the northern cemetery, see above, pp. 5–11 and Fig. 2.

[2] Under Winchester Cattle Market (Fig. 2, no. 9); see above, p. 6.

[3] For Grave 329, see further Addendum A.

ornaments nor the appropriate offerings: both contained hobnails, and, while in Grave 376 there were only belt-fittings, Grave 373 had a brooch and, by the skull, a pot containing two coins. They diverge substantially from the standard layout of the other sixteen graves, rather than merely differing over particular and isolated points of detail. In view of the great consistency that characterises the sixteen graves, it is difficult to associate Graves 373 and 376 with them. Surprising though it may seem, they have to be regarded as distinct.

To them can be linked two hitherto unexplained late graves, Grave 283 with coins and unworn personal ornaments, and Grave 265 with coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments. The unworn personal ornaments and hobnails preclude any connection between these graves and the sixteen graves with worn personal ornaments, and their date, and also the placing of their coins away from the mouth or hands, takes them outside native funerary customs. They have little in common with Graves 373 and 376 apart from their fairly lavish furniture, but all four graves do post-date 390. They can be grouped with two further graves of the same date which also had unusual features. One is Grave 378, the only grave with a weapon, which was unusual in the placing of its coins,[1] and the other is Grave 450, the grave with pierced canine teeth, which is distinguishable because the teeth are not Romano-British.[2] These six graves can best be interpreted as a new foreign element or elements, appearing at Lankhills at the end of the fourth century, and they are discussed further below.[3]

vi. OTHER FURNITURE: CHRONOLOGICAL EVIDENCE AND ITS ASSOCIATION WITH MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN, AND WITH THE TYPES OF FURNISHED GRAVE

Although animal remains, equipment, hobnails, and the objects whose function is uncertain were not used in classifying graves, this does not mean they are uninteresting. They may well reflect important facets of funerary belief. Animal remains played a major part in the ritual behind the cenotaph, Grave 400, and as we have seen, equipment was important in graves with coins.[4] Here we will look at the incidence of these categories in the eight types of furnished grave, and also at the chronological evidence and their association with men, women, and children.

Animal remains

Animal remains were discovered in Graves 22, 25, 47, 150, 212, 234, 274, and 317, a sample too small to be used in defining grave-types.[5] Graves 22, 47, and 150 were graves with vessels, Grave 212 a grave with coins, and Grave 234 a grave with worn personal ornaments. All the graves lay west of Feature 12, with an adjusted stratigraphic score of +3, except for Grave 317 which was in Area E. The coin in Grave 212 was minted in 330–41, and the pots in Grave 22 were datable to 330–70.[6] This evidence shows that animal remains were put in graves during most of the fourth century, but the practice

[1] See above, p. 167.
[2] See below, pp. 296–7.
[3] See below, pp. 389–400.
[4] See above, p. 167.
[5] See above, p. 164.
[6] See Table 30 (the coin) and p. 226 (pots 6 and 7).

may not have been so common at the very beginning and very end of the period. One of the graves belonged to a child (Grave 317), and the rest to adults: three male and two female skeletons.

Equipment (cf. Fig. 64; Tables 25 and 26)

Many different kinds of equipment were buried at Lankhills; partly because of this diversity and partly for other reasons equipment was not used in defining grave-types.[1]

TABLE 25

The incidence of equipment in the eight types of furnished grave

Type of equipment	Over-all incidence	Incidence in the eight types of furnished grave defined on pp. 164–5.							
		With coins	With vessels	With unworn personal ornaments	With coins and vessels	With coins and unworn personal ornaments	With vessels and unworn personal ornaments	With coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments	With worn personal ornaments
Comb	21	3	2	1	—	—	2	1	3
Spindle-whorl	9	—	1	1	1	—	1	—	3
Needle	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Knife	7	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	2
Weaving-tablet	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gaming-set	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Whetstone	2	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
Nail-cleaner	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Strike-a-light	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Key	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Arrowhead	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
All types of equipment	45	5	3	4	1	2	3	1	8

Note: Intact graves only (cf. p. 16).

TABLE 26

Types of equipment

Association with men, women, and children, and chronological evidence

Type of equipment	Over-all incidence	Association with men, women, and children				Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. Fig. 9 and pp. 121–2)				
		Incidence in male graves	Incidence in female graves	Incidence in all adult graves	Incidence in child graves	Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)	Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)	Incidence in Area E (370–410)	Incidence in Area O (390–410)
Comb	21	3	4	18	3	6	+8	2	6	7
Spindle-whorl	9	—	2	8	1	7	+3	1	1	—
Needle	4	—	—	2	2	2	−2	2	—	—
Knife	7	4	—	7	—	5	+5	—	1	1
Weaving-tablet	1	—	1	1	—	1	−2	—	—	—
Gaming-set	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
Whetstone	2	2	—	2	—	1	+2	—	1	—
Nail-cleaner	1	—	—	1	—	1	+1	—	—	—
Strike-a-light	2	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
Key	1	—	—	—	1	1	+3	—	—	—
Arrowhead	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
All types of equipment	45	10	7	38	7	22	+15	5	7	11

Note: Graves are attributed to men or women on the basis of the skeletal evidence only. Children are defined as younger than the late teens.

[1] See above, pp. 150–1 and 164.

Table 25 shows which equipment was found in which types of grave. Table 26 provides chronological evidence; it and Table 22 suggest that the proportion of graves with equipment was small until *c.* 350, thereafter rising sharply and remaining high until the cemetery went out of use.

So far as the individual kinds of equipment are concerned, the practice of depositing strike-a-lights may date from after *c.* 390, since the two found occurred in Area O. No clear pattern is suggested by Table 26 as regards knives; however, it is possible to demonstrate from objects (Graves 37, 81, 106, and 283) and by stratigraphy (Graves 55, 418, and 443) that they were not buried in the early fourth century. Combs were commoner east of Feature 12 and, although a comb in Grave 5 was associated with a pot probably made in 300–50,[1] most graves containing combs should clearly be dated to the last third of the fourth century. Spindle-whorls and needles were not found in Areas E and O, except in graves with worn personal ornaments, which may suggest that they were less often buried after *c.* 370. In brief, knives, combs, and strike-a-lights were mostly deposited during the later fourth century, spindle-whorls and needles in the period before *c.* 370.

The evidence for the association of equipment with men, women, and children is also summarised in Table 26. This shows that all kinds of equipment were rare in child graves. Knives, the gaming-set, and the strike-a-lights were associated with men, while spindle-whorls and the weaving-tablet occurred in female graves. Combs, while more commonly associated with women, seem to have been considered appropriate to both sexes. None of these associations calls for comment: the different kinds of equipment were buried with the appropriate sex.

Hobnails (Fig. 65; Tables 27 and 28)

Hobnails were discovered in 144 intact and seven partially excavated graves. They were not used in classifying furnished graves because, with a few exceptions, their presence did not seem to be associated with specific practices regarding other grave-goods.[2] Hobnails were found in nine graves with coins, in twenty-four graves with vessels, in eight graves with unworn personal ornaments, in two graves with coins and vessels, in one grave with coins and unworn personal ornaments, in six graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments, in the one grave with coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments, and in three graves with worn personal ornaments.

Dating evidence for graves containing hobnails is shown in Table 22. The over-all proportion of graves provided with hobnailed shoes fell during the fourth century: graves with hobnails occurred much more frequently west of Feature 12 than to the east. They also have a markedly negative stratigraphic score, although this would disappear if graves with worn personal ornaments were excluded from the sample.[3] Hobnails were surprisingly common in Area E, a point which suggests that the decline in providing hobnailed shoes took effect only after *c.* 390, when Area O started being used. The

[1] For the pot, see below, p. 226 (2).

[2] See above, p. 164.

[3] Graves with worn personal ornaments rarely had hobnails, and in this respect they were unusual (cf. above, p. 164). No grave of this type west of Feature 12 had hobnails, and their score was +18.

small number of graves with hobnails cutting Feature 12 (Area F) is perhaps due to the number of infant burials and graves with worn personal ornaments in this area.

Table 27 summarises chronological evidence for variation in the position of hobnails, and it shows a significant trend. Graves with hobnails among the foot-bones were relatively common east of the ditch, and had a slight positive score to the west; conversely,

TABLE 27

Chronological variation in the position of hobnails

Position of hobnails (cf. Table 17 and Fig. 17)	Over-all incidence		Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9)							
			Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)	Incidence in Area E (370–410)	Incidence in Area O (390–410)	Incidence in Areas F, E, and O combined (350–410)	
		%		%						%
Two groups, one among the bones of each foot	12	*8*	6	*6*	+3	—	4	2	6	*16*
One group, among bones of feet	41	*28*	25	*23*	—	3	6	7	16	*43*
One group, between, under/over, bones of feet	4	*3*	1	*1*	—	1	1	1	3	*8*
Near feet, in coffin	18	*13*	14	*13*	−4	1	1	2	4	*11*
Near feet, outside coffin	18	*13*	17	*16*	+3	—	1	—	1	*3*
Near legs	8	*6*	7	*7*	−13	—	—	1	1	*3*
Near upper body	7	*5*	6	*6*	−8	—	—	1	1	*3*
Area of feet	36	*25*	31	*29*	+3	—	3	2	5	*14*
All intact graves with hobnails	144	*100*	107	*100*	−16	5	16	16	37	*100*

Note: Intact graves only (cf. p. 16).

graves with hobnails placed elsewhere than near the feet were rare east of Feature 12, and to the west they had a negative score. The implication is clear: in the earlier fourth century hobnailed shoes were often buried some distance from the feet, while later on they were almost always worn or more probably placed carefully over or under the feet. This chronological variation explains why hobnails were often found some distance from the feet in graves where vessels were also present;[1] graves with vessels were much more typical of the earlier fourth century.[2]

[1] See above, pp. 163–4. [2] See above, p. 168.

The association of hobnails with men, women, and children is intertwined with chronological change; the evidence is summarised in Table 28. Over all, hobnails were relatively unusual in child graves, and slightly more common in male than in female burials. In detail, it appears that while hobnails were much more rarely associated with women

TABLE 28

Chronological variation in the association of hobnails with men, women, and children

Graves considered	Total	Incidence in different areas of the site (cf. pp. 118–19 and Fig. 9)				
		W (310–370/90)	F (350–410)	E (390–410)	O (390–410)	F+E+O (350–410)
Intact graves	375	248	30	36	61	127
Intact graves with hobnails	144	107	5	16	16	37
Male graves	103	63	9	7	24	40
Male graves with hobnails	45	30	2	5	8	15
Female graves	65	56	—	4	5	9
Female graves with hobnails	27	26	—	1	—	1
Adult graves	275	182	23	28	42	93
Adult graves with hobnails	117	85	5	14	13	32
Child graves	100	66	7	8	19	34
Child graves with hobnails	27	22	—	2	3	5
All intact graves: percentage with hobnails	*38*	*43*	*17*	*44*	*26*	*29*
Male graves: percentage with hobnails	*44*	*48*	*22*	*71*	*33*	*38*
Female graves: percentage with hobnails	*42*	*46*	—	*25*	—	*11*
Adult graves: percentage with hobnails	*43*	*47*	*22*	*50*	*31*	*34*
Child graves: percentage with hobnails	*27*	*33*	—	*25*	*16*	*15*

***Note*: Intact graves only.**

and children to the east of Feature 12 than they were to the west, among male graves there seems to have been little such decline, in Area E the reverse being the case. This suggests that hobnailed shoes were found less often in graves of the later fourth century because an increasing number of women and children were buried without them. That could have been because women and children were no longer being buried with shoes, or alternatively, because their shoes were not made with metal fittings.

Objects whose function is uncertain (Table 29)

These objects can be divided between those not definitely identified, and those which were identified but which have no obvious function or are fragmentary.[1] Nothing need be said about the former. The associations and dating of the latter are shown in Table 29, which indicates that these objects came from well-furnished graves dating from most periods of the fourth century.

TABLE 29

Graves containing objects whose function is uncertain or incomplete objects

Grave number	Find number	Object	Age/sex[1] of person in grave	Other furniture, according to the eight types of furnished grave	Estimated date
a. Objects whose function is uncertain					
250	268	Blue glass tessera	Woman, 17–22	Vessels (5) and unworn personal ornaments	330–50
326	404	Miniature axe	Woman, 20–5	Worn personal ornaments	350–80
	681	Miniature axe			
336	358	Counter	Girl (child)	Worn personal ornaments	350–70
b. Incomplete objects					
40	296	Glass fragment	Girl (child)	Worn personal ornaments	350–370/90
100	91	Glass fragment	Woman, 17–20	Pile of personal ornaments in fill; ? a later offering	330–70
(fill)	297	Glass pin-head			
283	493	Knife(?)-handle	Man, adult	Coins and unworn personal ornaments	390–410
	496	Buckle-loop			
337	411	Glass fragment	Girl, 3	Vessels and unworn personal ornaments	330–50

[1] Except for Graves 100 and 283, the sexes have been determined from the grave-furniture.

vii. FURNISHED AND UNFURNISHED NATIVE GRAVES

Unfurnished graves will be graves where furniture was forbidden or neither forbidden nor obligatory;[2] the option to furnish remaining unexercised in the latter. Graves provided solely with hobnails, and perhaps those with equipment or animal remains will be graves where all furniture was optional and the option was exercised. We have already considered furnished and unfurnished graves in relation to age and sex and to the chronological evidence.[3] Now we need to examine these again, with one important modification: all seemingly foreign graves will be omitted.[4] This will enable us to concentrate on the rest of the people at Lankhills, without the figures being distorted by the invariably furnished foreigners.

[1] See above, pp. 154–5.
[2] Cf. above, p. 155.
[3] See above, p. 147.
[4] For the foreign graves, see above, pp. 174–6.

Age and sex

The basic statistics for age and sex are given in Table 24. Here we may extrapolate three sets of figures. First, 62 per cent of the men, 60 per cent of the women, and 45 per cent of the children were in some way furnished. Second, 34 per cent of the men, 38 per cent of the women, and 33 per cent of the children were provided with something other than hobnails. Third, 29 per cent of the men, 32 per cent of the women, and 33 per cent of the children belonged to one of the types of furnished grave. Taken together, these figures indicate little variation between men and women. They also show that, hobnails apart, children were furnished as often as adults; but hobnails were rare in child graves, and this depresses the proportion of children with grave-goods of all kinds.

Chronology

The evidence on chronology is given in Table 22. The proportions of graves belonging to the types of furnished grave, of graves with objects other than hobnails, and of graves with any furniture, all fell consistently during the fourth century. These figures speak for themselves. Unfurnished burial clearly became increasingly common among the native users of Lankhills.

viii. CONCLUSION

Four important points have emerged from analysing the grave-furniture.

1. The over-all proportion of furnished graves in the cemetery at Lankhills fell (p. 147 and above).
2. The main development in grave-furnishing was from graves with vessels to graves with unworn personal ornaments and then to graves with coins; this presumably reflects the changing beliefs of the native inhabitants of late Roman Winchester (pp. 173–4).
3. Sixteen of the graves with worn personal ornaments belonged to a foreign element arriving *c.* 350 (pp. 174–5).
4. Six other graves apparently represent a new element or elements appearing *c.* 390 (p. 176).

These points are developed in Part IV, the first two in Sections 1 and 3, the others in Section 2.

7

CEMETERY ORGANISATION

Now that the graves have been considered individually, they must again be viewed as part of a cemetery. We have already seen that the area of burial at Lankhills expanded in an orderly fashion;[1] here the emphasis will be less on such chronological considerations, and more on the cemetery's internal organisation. First we shall be concerned with cemetery order—grave-marking, the arrangement of graves, and attitudes taken towards earlier burials; and then we shall consider why people located a grave in one place rather than somewhere else, and in particular such factors as age and sex, family, status, and beliefs.

i. ORDER IN THE CEMETERY

Grave-marking (Fig. 20)

The Roman ground-surface over most of the site had long been destroyed by ploughing and few indications remained of the surface appearance of the cemetery.[2] But clear evidence for the marking of graves was provided by topsoil layers in the boundary ditch, Feature 12 (Figs. 6 and 7), and by four gullies forming rectangular enclosures about centrally placed graves.

These enclosures were Features 2, 6, 38, and 40, and they surrounded Graves 100, 150, 408, and 400 respectively (Fig. 20).[3] They were all probably entered from the east, and by the entrance to Feature 2 there was evidence for a post (Fig. 20, section CD). The gullies are best interpreted as the bedding for hedges, enclosing and marking the central graves. They date from all periods of the fourth century: Features 38 and 40 were in Area O (post-*c.* 390), and Features 2 and 6 lay west of Feature 12, Feature 6 being cut by Grave 250, which contained a pot datable to *c.* 330–70.[4] All four gullies enclosed unusual graves. Grave 100 (Feature 2) contained a deposit of personal ornaments in its fill, including objects of jet and ivory, and in the fill of Grave 408 (Feature 38) were two pewter bowls. Grave 400 (Feature 40) was a cenotaph and was the deepest grave at Lankhills, containing two dogs and five coins. Grave 150 (Feature 6) had been furnished with a pottery flagon and a cock. Feature 6 was intersected by a series of later graves, clearly related to it; some of these burials, notably Graves 248 and 250, were extremely elaborate.[5] Taken together, the evidence shows that the enclosures were a means of marking important graves which was current throughout the fourth century.

The evidence for the marking of other graves came from Feature 12. In the centre of this ditch, the turf-line from which the earliest graves were dug lay below the surface

[1] See above, pp. 113–22.

[2] For the post-Roman history of the site, see above, p. 5.

[3] For description of these features, see above, pp. 96–9 and 108–9.

[4] 254: see below, p. 231.

[5] Graves 248 and 250 were the only graves to have angle-iron coffin-fittings: see below, p. 236.

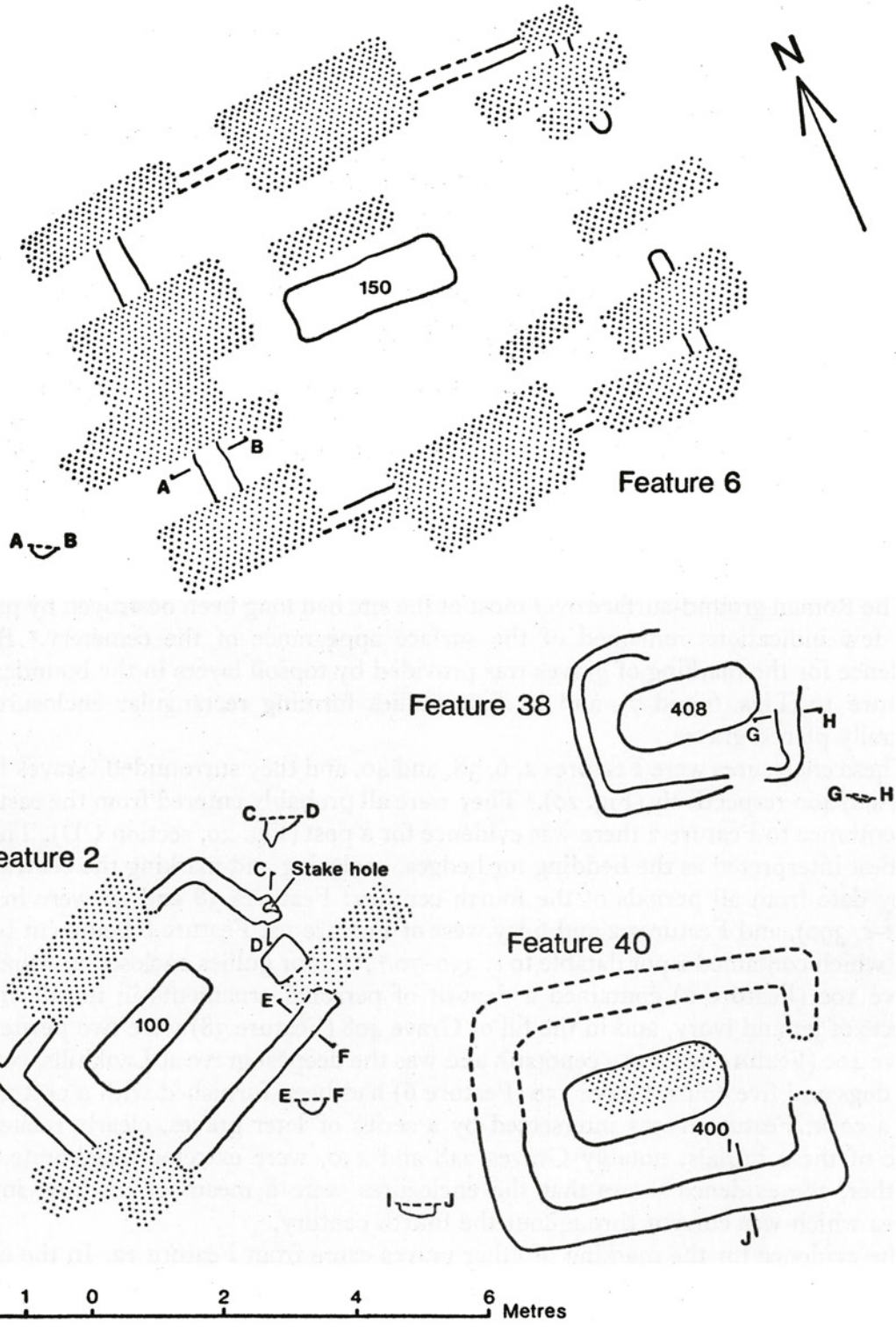


FIG. 20. Gullies enclosing a central grave: comparative plans and sections of Features 2, 6, 38, and 40 (1:100).

Cf. Fig. 4 (Feature 6) and Pl. IV. Earlier and later graves intersecting with the gullies are stippled. **Dashed lines** were not planned, but their existence is certain. Dotted lines are conjectural.

of the natural chalk on either side (Fig. 7) and the layers sealing the graves were preserved.[1] These layers, which had rapidly filled the ditch, consisted of the debris scattered in digging graves, mounds which were formed over them, and intervening layers of topsoil. Mounds were recognised over Graves 323, 326, 426, 437, and 440. Their presence is not surprising, since a pit cut in the chalk will always generate more debris than is required to fill it, quite apart from the space taken up initially by the body or coffin. What Feature 12 shows is that instead of its being all spread about, much of the debris was tidied up into these mounds, which will also have served as markers.

Whether marked by a hedge, a mound, or some other feature, the site of a grave could be venerated after burial. Lankhills provided some examples of this, the clearest involving Grave 323, one of the earliest graves cutting Feature 12. A pile of three coins was discovered in a turf-layer on the south side of this grave, the coins one above another at the same slope as the side of the mound. At the west end were two flagons (**461** and **467**), whose placing suggested that they too had been intentionally deposited. Elsewhere in the cemetery, apparently similar offerings had been buried rather than left on the surface. This is the best interpretation of the pile of bracelets in the fill of Grave 100 and of the pewter bowls in Grave 408, which could have been buried to prevent theft, perhaps all too likely if they had been left unconcealed. Since Graves 100 and 408 were emphasised by their enclosures, it is perhaps not surprising to find later offerings. Features 46 and 47 should be noted as well. Both contained isolated finds, a pottery beaker in Feature 46, and animal remains in Feature 47, and both were close to graves with which they could have been associated.[2]

Arrangement of graves (Fig. 21)

Mounds will have enabled graves to be sited in relation to each other, so allowing the cemetery to be arranged. We have already seen that almost every grave was aligned at right angles to prominent topographical features, with the result that many graves lay parallel one to another.[3] They should also perhaps have been side by side in rows. This was certainly the case next to and within Feature 12, and to the west of Feature 6, where it clearly resulted from those two features. It was also true of a small group of graves in Area O, Graves 372–6 forming one row, and Graves 378–80 and 382–4 a second.[4] But few other graves seem to have been in rows, and often there is a suggestion that graves lay end to end in lines. This is indicated by Fig. 21, which has been drawn relative to Feature 12 and hints at lines at least as much as rows. There is no reason why lines should have been less satisfactory than rows, and it is not therefore implausible to suggest their existence.

Attitude to earlier burials

Grave-marking, surface-offerings, and the ordered arrangement of graves should have meant that disturbance of earlier burials was uncommon. There is some evidence that it

[1] See above, p. 103.
[2] Graves 307 and 395.
[3] See above, pp. 131–2 and Fig. 10.
[4] For these rows, see further below, p. 191.

only occurred after a considerable lapse of time, evidence derived from the division of the site into four areas (Fig. 9). In Area O, used for twenty years (390–410), there were only four intersections among sixty-six burials. In Area E there were ten intersections among thirty-nine graves—roughly four times as many as in Area O, but occurring over forty years (370–410). In Area F, used for sixty years (350–410), there were about as many

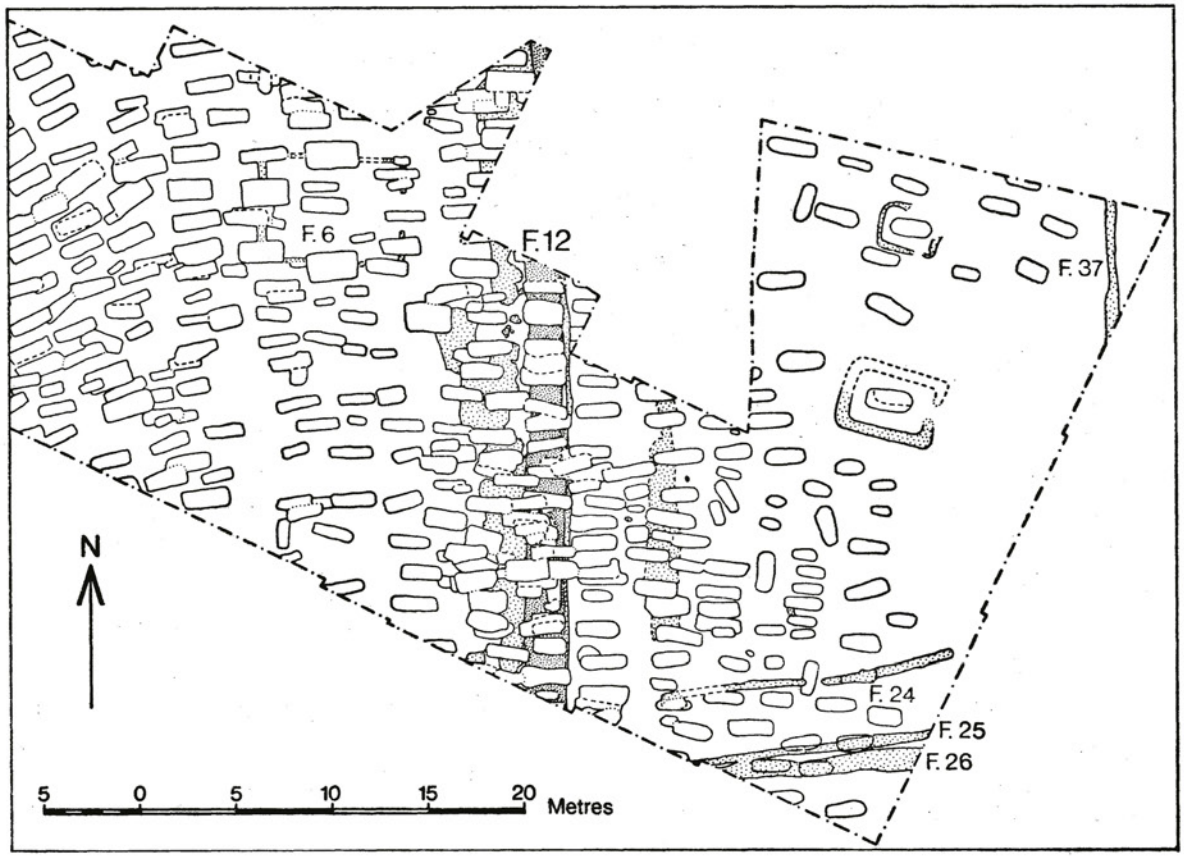


FIG. 21. The arrangement of graves to either side of Feature 12 (1:400). Cf. Pls. II and III.

intersections as graves. Area W is so large that it is difficult to compare it with the other areas in this way; it was used for slightly longer than Area F (310–370/90) and there were many intersections, often involving several graves. Comparison of the four areas suggests that if an area was buried in for twenty years, there were virtually no intersections; if it was buried in for forty years the number of intersections was considerable; and if it was used for over fifty years the quantity of intersections was substantial. It may be inferred that between twenty and fifty years had to pass before a burial was likely to be disturbed; presumably this occurred only because its mound or other marking had been lost.

Among the graves that did intersect, it might be thought that where the coffin and skeleton of the earlier grave were not disturbed, the burials had been deliberately placed in close contact. There were two clear examples of this—Graves 360 and 365 and Graves 443 and 445. Grave 365 exactly overlay Grave 360, and the disposition of its skeleton

indicated that it had been inserted before the coffin of Grave 360 had collapsed, when the lid was still able to withstand pressure.[1] The two burials could have been put in the grave together, but more probably one followed the other within a very short time.[2] Grave 445, an uncoffined decapitated skeleton, had been inserted while Grave 443 was being filled, and as with Graves 360 and 365, it is difficult to explain except in terms of a deliberate relationship.[3] Other such relationships may have existed at Lankhills, but none was sufficiently clear to be capable of proof.[4]

In fifty-five intersections the earlier burials had been wholly or partially destroyed. Originally there may have been more, for if bones had been redeposited in an earthy fill they would have decayed and no evidence would have survived. When a grave was disturbed, one, or perhaps a mixture, of three distinct attitudes seems to have been taken. An attempt might be made to take the disturbed bones away; some bones might be carefully redeposited in the new grave; or the earlier burial might be completely disregarded and scattered indiscriminately through the later fill.

The first procedure obviously means that few disturbed bones would be found in the later grave. It was always difficult to be certain whether it had indeed happened, because the bones could have decayed, and some of the fill of the later grave would have been removed by post-Roman ploughing. In the fill of Graves 33, 55, 67, 127, 181, 244, and 322 there were, however, numerous small bones such as phalanges, ribs, and vertebrae, but none of any size, such as the skull or leg bones. In these cases the larger bones must have been deliberately kept from reburial, for their absence cannot be due solely to the circumstances of survival. In some further cases, while the skull was absent, other major bones were present or had not been disturbed. Burials disturbed in this way were cut by Graves 58, 83, 117, 123, 234, and 443, and it is likely that here too bones had been deliberately removed.

Two child graves require particular mention, Graves 247 and 251. Both had been disturbed, and both intersected later graves and Feature 6. Only part of the grave-pits had been cut away, and, although some of the burials should have remained intact, nothing remained in Grave 251, and only a few coffin-nails in Grave 247. Only two or three small bones were found in the graves which had disturbed them, suggesting that both burials were at some time removed in their entirety. They were the only graves which could have been cut by and might therefore be earlier than Feature 6, and they may have been emptied when that enclosure was laid out.[5]

Three general points should be made about these graves where bones were kept from reburial. First, only Graves 247 and 251 belonged to children, a fact that probably reflects the small size of child bones, and the likelihood that they would go unnoticed and thus unremoved when disturbed. Second, except for Grave 322, all these burials lay west of Feature 12. This could indicate chronological variation but may equally reflect the lack of intersections in Areas E and O. Third, the deliberate removal of major bones presumably

[1] See above, pp. 76–7.

[2] These graves are similar in funerary rite, both being graves with coins: see below, p. 196.

[3] See above, pp. 88–9, and further, below, pp. 192–3 and Fig. 24.

[4] But note Graves 427 and 441, which contained decapitated skeletons and were cut into earlier graves: see below, pp. 192–3.

[5] Cf. above, p. 98, and below, p. 429.

means they were accorded some special treatment. It is not known what happened to them, but there could have been a charnel.

The second group of disturbed graves is those where some at least of the bones were carefully reburied. The burials in question are those disturbed by Graves 40, 58, 234, 329, 421, and 451. In Graves 40 and 421, the skull of the earlier grave was found outside the coffin on the bottom of the grave, in a position where it must have been placed deliberately. The same may be true of Graves 58 and 234,[1] where disturbed leg bones had been laid at the feet, outside the coffin. In these four cases the careful reburial of bones from the disturbed graves may have been a mark of respect.[2]

Graves 329 and 451 were rather different. Grave 329 had cut away the upper end of Grave 328, some of the small bones from which were found in its fill. In the fill of Grave 328, just outside the limits of Grave 329, there was an adult skull with an intact pot. It is unlikely that these were redeposited by the diggers of Grave 328, for the latter did not cut an earlier burial, and since no skull was found in the fill of Grave 329, they perhaps came from Grave 328 itself. When Grave 329 was dug, a niche could have been cut into the undisturbed fill of Grave 328, and the skull and pot put there.

Grave 451 contained in its fill the remains of two burials, Graves 447 and 449. The bones from Grave 449 were scattered throughout its fill, but those from Grave 447, although completely disarticulated, had been placed together with a pot in a single pile so compact as to suggest they had been in a sack. This could indicate that great care was taken over the disturbed Grave 447, but it is difficult to explain why such respect should have been shown to this grave and not to Grave 449. The possibility that the bones were in a sack may suggest that Grave 447 was not disturbed by Grave 451 at all, and that its bones were introduced from elsewhere, and thus that they represent a translation.[3]

In the third procedure, or rather lack of it, no attempt was made to remove or respect the bones of the earlier grave, which were scattered indiscriminately through the later fill. This happened to child burials disturbed by Graves 131, 142, 143, 212, 270, 330, 337, 343, and 459, and to adult burials cut by Graves 249, 258, 347, 355, 432, and 451. Child graves were presumably ignored more often simply because they would more easily have escaped notice. Five of the fifteen graves were situated within or to the east of Feature 12, a situation which invites comparison with the disturbed graves whose major bones were removed for reburial, all but one of which lay west of Feature 12. In the later fourth century it seems to have become more usual for disturbed burials to be completely ignored, a point which may relate to the other evidence for disorder in the cemetery at this time.[4]

ii. THE SITING OF GRAVES

Age and sex (Fig. 22)

It was shown above that men were buried west of Feature 12 before *c.* 350, and east of it thereafter, and that from the same date the area west of the ditch was mainly reserved for

[1] In Graves 58 and 234 the first and second procedures were both followed, for the skulls of the disturbed graves were not recovered.

[2] The disturbed bones are not marked on the published plans of these graves (Figs. 53, 61, and 62).

[3] Cf. in this context the comments on decapitated skeletons, below, pp. 192–3.

[4] Summarised above, p. 144.

women.[1] These observations suggest that specific areas of the cemetery were reserved for the two sexes. Yet within this general pattern there was considerable variation in detail. No area seems to have been used exclusively for men or women at any time. Thus there are a significant number of female burials east of Feature 12, while west of the

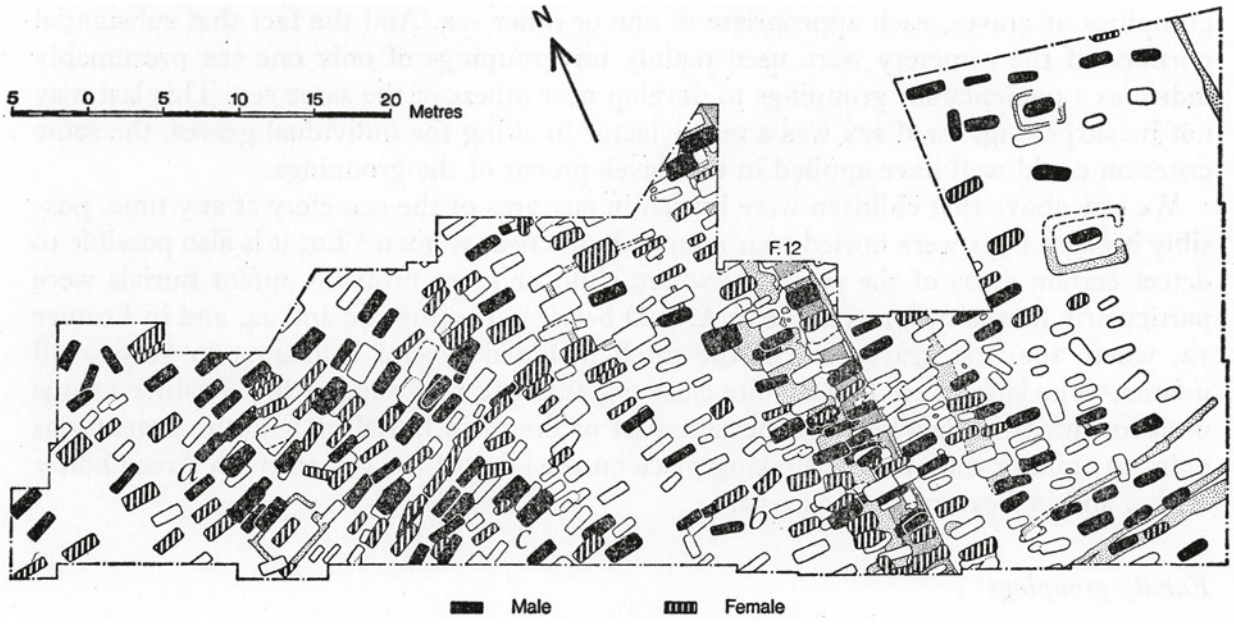


FIG. 22. The distribution of male and female graves (1:500).

Sex has been determined from skeletal evidence (Table 2, Column 13) and from personal ornaments (cf. pp. 151–2). Graves with two or more skeletons and destroyed graves are not included. Relevant graves overlain or cut away by later burials are shown intact, unless the sex of the later burial is known, in which case the remaining part is shaded. If it was completely overlain or cut away, it is shown within the later grave, if it was of a different sex; if it was of the same sex, it is not indicated. Destroyed graves are not shown. The letters *a*, *b*, and *c* refer to the text below.

ditch Graves 8, 13, 37, and 58 represent the burial of men after *c.* 350. If it is not possible therefore to say that one entire area was reserved exclusively for women and another for men, why should the distribution of the sexes have been as it was?

A partial answer is provided by Fig. 22, which shows the distribution of graves identified as male or female either by their skeletons or by personal ornaments. This figure confirms that over all there was no absolute pattern, but in detail it suggests several interesting groupings. The clearest examples occur east of Feature 12, where, progressing from north to south, there is an area of male burials, then an area with some female graves, and finally, in the south-east corner of the site, another concentration of men. West of Feature 12, burial took place over a greater period and patterns are more difficult to discern. Certain areas are, however, characterised more by graves of one sex, for example, those delineated by Graves 51, 58, 97, and 52, or by Graves 198, 343, and 328 (Fig. 22, *a* and *b*). The reason why these areas are not completely free of graves belonging to the opposite sex may be chronological, a point best demonstrated with the area of male graves

[1] See above, pp. 126–7.

between Graves 116, 112, and 163 (Fig. 22*c*). There the male graves were all datable to between 320/30 and 350/60, while the female graves may have been either earlier (Graves 105, 111, and 114) or later (Graves 122 and 159), the latter on the evidence of the flints it contained).

It can be concluded that the cemetery was characterised by relatively short-lived groupings of graves, each appropriate to one or other sex. And the fact that substantial portions of the cemetery were used mainly for groupings of only one sex presumably indicates a tendency for groupings to develop near others of the same sex. This last may not be surprising, for if sex was a major factor in siting the individual graves, the same criterion could well have applied in the development of the groupings.

We saw above that children were buried in any area of the cemetery at any time, possibly because boys were buried near men and girls near women.[1] But it is also possible to detect certain areas of the cemetery where child or more probably infant burials were particularly frequent, for example in Area O between Features 40 and 24, and in Feature 12, where the first graves to cut the ditch included several belonging to very small infants.[2] The latter were found quite close together and may suggest that Feature 12 was used for infant burials before it became part of the main burial plot. Both observations point to child or infant burials taking place on the edge of the cemetery, in Area O after *c.* 390, and in Feature 12 *c.* 340–50.

Family groupings

The preceding discussion suggests that the family as it is understood today was of no importance in the organisation of the cemetery. Had it been significant, Fig. 22 would have shown an over-all scatter of male, female, and child graves, perhaps in thoroughly mixed clusters, and not discrete groups of men and women. Those groups, however, are not inconsistent with the family in a wider sense. It is worth recalling that boys were perhaps buried among men and girls near women. If the groupings of graves by sex had included solely adult burials, they could have been accounted for in a variety of ways, by burial clubs, trade associations, or similar social links. The presence of children does not seem consistent with such possibilities, but suggests some form of family organisation. It may be that the groupings of men represent male kinsfolk linked on a patrilineal basis, and that the female burials represent related women, linked perhaps matrilineally or possibly by marriage.

One exception to the grouping of graves by sex is Feature 6 (Fig. 4).[3] Because of their position relative to the gully, the graves cutting Feature 6 seem to represent a defined group. The evidence of funerary rite, of objects, and of stratigraphy indicates that some of the graves were dug early in the fourth century (Grave 150 itself, and Graves 246 and 250) while others were probably later, perhaps as much as fifty years later (Graves 254, 255, and 256). Four of the graves belonged to women, three to men (including the central grave), and two to children. The presence of male, female, and child graves, and the long period over which burial took place, are difficult to explain except in terms of a

[1] See above, p. 126. [2] See above, p. 102: Graves 452, 457, 458, and 459. [3] See above, pp. 97–9.

mixed family group descended from the occupant of the central grave. If so, Feature 6 clearly differed from the rest of the cemetery. Some of the intersecting graves were unusual in their elaboration: Graves 243, 248, 250, and 252 were step-graves; Graves 248 and 250 were the only burials with angle-iron coffin-fittings; and Grave 250 contained five vessels. This suggests that the family buried around Feature 6 was comparatively wealthy and important, and it could be this that controlled their not following the normal pattern at Lankhills.[1]

Should the three other gullies enclosing graves be interpreted in a similar manner? This is unlikely in the case of Features 38 and 40, since they were not cut by later graves (Fig. 20). Feature 2 did intersect other graves, but both stratigraphic evidence and the position of the gully relative to the central burial, Grave 100, suggested that the enclosure was laid out to respect those graves rather than that they were sited in relation to it.[2]

A possible family grouping occurred in Area O, in the form of the graves arranged in two unequivocal rows, one consisting of Graves 372–6 and the other of Graves 378–80 and 382–4.[3] The first row was made up predominantly of adults and the second mostly of children, a division that suggests some kind of deliberate organisation, and since it involved both adults and children, perhaps a family. Yet neither of the two rows included any female burials:[4] if the row did represent a family grouping, it would, as elsewhere in the cemetery, be a male group. But it is to be noted that several of the relevant adult graves are unsexed and these could have been the missing women.[5]

Status (Fig. 23)

Apart from Feature 6, status has not been much considered in the present analysis, mainly because it is difficult to gauge. Rich grave-goods, for example, could merely indicate a strong belief in grave-furnishing, and the reverse might be true of unfurnished graves or graves with few objects. Other possible indicators of status, such as the depth and size of grave-pits, are likewise open to varying interpretations. And even if status can be defined in archaeological terms, its social meaning is far from clear. A grave defined archaeologically as of high status might belong to a rich but unimportant man, or to a man prominent in public life and venerated in death, but without personal wealth. These matters provide ample grounds for caution. But in two matters the evidence at Lankhills does seem convincing.

The first concerns the distribution of step-graves,[6] graves containing objects made from glass, pewter, ivory, or silver, and graves enclosed by a gully. Fig. 23 shows this distribution, and it suggests a concentration in two main areas, one around the southern part of Feature 12, and the other between and around Features 2 and 6. The attributes involved

[1] For further comments on the unusual character of Feature 6, see below, p. 429.

[2] See above, p. 96.

[3] Noted above, p. 185.

[4] The decapitated skeleton in Grave 379 may have been female: Miss Mary Harman, who sexed all the Lankhills skeletons, thought it was male, while Mr. Robin Watt, who studied the decapitated skeletons, thought it was female.

[5] See further below, p. 400.

[6] For these, see above, p. 134 and Fig. 11.

are all prima facie indicators of high status; their distribution suggests variation between different areas of the cemetery, so indicating that status influenced the siting of graves.

Second, we have to consider the seven graves containing decapitated skeletons, Graves 120, 348, 379, 427, 441, 445, and 451.[1] The rite of decapitation differentiates the individuals involved from other people at Lankhills, and, as there is no evidence for this being

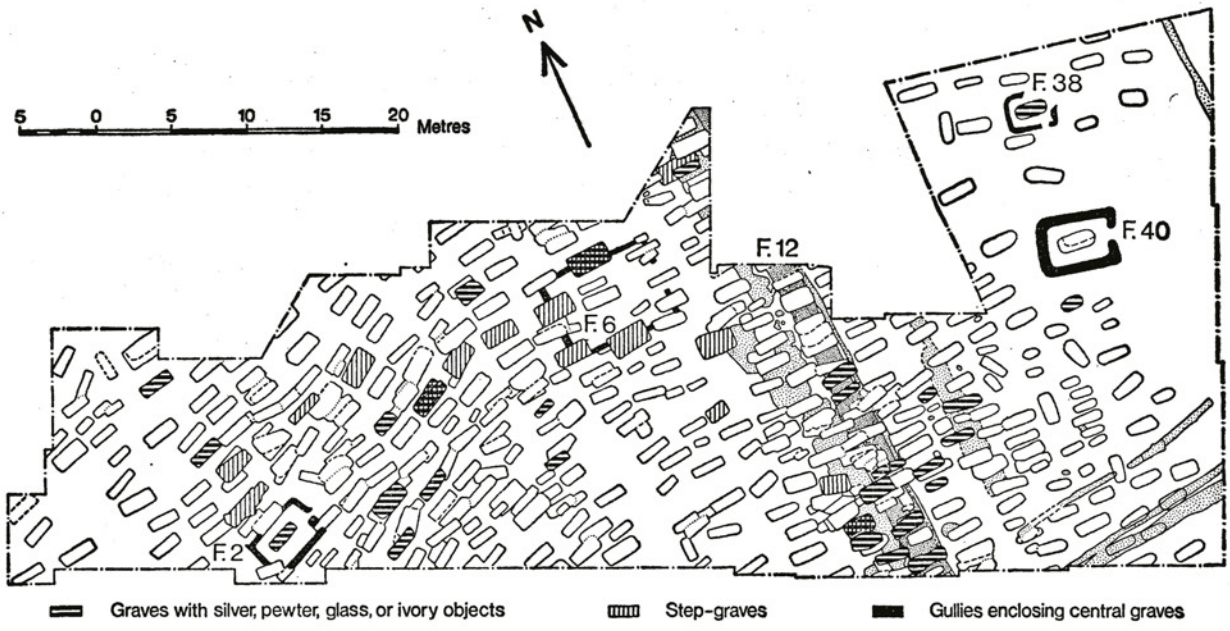


FIG. 23. The distribution of step-graves, gullies enclosing central graves, and graves containing objects of silver, pewter, glass, or ivory (1:500).

Relevant graves cut by later burials appear as if undisturbed, unless the latter also had one of these attributes.

related to their age or sex, or to any pathological condition,[2] status may well be the explanation. In these graves, the skull, mandible, and uppermost vertebrae were found by the legs or feet, still articulated; the heads seem to have been severed from the front, between the third and fourth vertebrae, probably with a knife.[3] Bone damage was minimal, suggesting a degree of precision perhaps possible only if the deceased was already dead when decapitated. But resistance at some stage is suggested by a cut mandible in Grave 379 and a probable half-nelson in Grave 451.[4]

These seven graves were scattered over much of the area used for burial in the later fourth century. Grave 445 was not an independent burial at all, but was stratified in the fill of Grave 443, a grave with unworn personal ornaments (Fig. 24),[5] and Grave 441 had subsequently been cut into the same grave. Grave 120 lay next to Grave 37, a grave with coins and unworn personal ornaments. The personal ornaments in Graves 37 and 443 consisted of belts probably used by a native British militia,[6] Graves 37 and 443 being alone in containing such equipment. Grave 379 lay in one of the two rows east of Feature

[1] See above, pp. 141–2.
[2] Information from Mr. **Robin Watt.**
[3] See below, pp. 342–4.
[4] See above, pp. 90–1
[5] See above, pp. 88–9.
[6] They can be identified as **such by their buckles:** see below, pp. 273–6 and 290–1.

12, and was next to Grave 378, a grave with coins which was unique in being provided with a weapon; in the other row was Grave 376, the only burial with a regular army belt.[1] Grave 348 was next to Grave 347, a rich grave with coins and vessels—the latter of pewter, glass, and pottery; and Grave 427 was cut into the filling of the cenotaph, Grave 400, which was enclosed by Feature 40; Graves 347 and 400 were the deepest graves at Lankhills. Finally, Grave 451 was the grave in whose fill a sackful of bones (Grave 447) seems to have been buried, these perhaps representing a translation.[2]

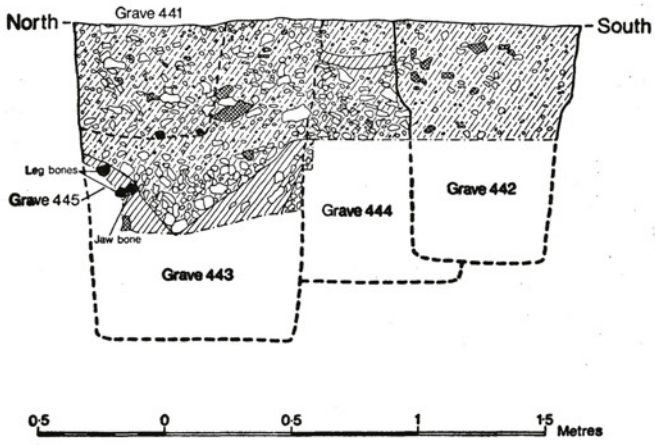


FIG. 24. Section across Graves 441–5 (1:30).
For key, see Fig. 7. The section was 1·15 m from the east end of Grave 443.

This evidence indicates that graves with decapitated skeletons were not randomly distributed; they seem to have been near graves that were military, rich, or ritually unusual. This can only be explained by the former having been associated in funerary rite with the latter; and if that be thought far-fetched, it is abundantly confirmed by Grave 445 actually being in the fill of Grave 443. The care taken over the decapitation itself, and in particular the precise severing of the heads between the third and fourth vertebrae, all point to a well-defined ritual being enacted. The cut mandible in Grave 379 and the half-nelson in Grave 451 suggest that that ritual at some stage involved people being killed. The evidence of associations, and especially that concerning Grave 445, leaves little doubt that the ritual was in some way sacrificial.[3]

Grave-furnishing (Figs. 25 and 26)

In the discussion of grave-furnishing it was argued that graves furnished in the same way represent shared beliefs.[3] As this affinity might also have caused people to be buried close together, it is worth reviewing the distribution of the types of furnished grave.[4]

[1] See below, pp. 264–91 and 400.
[2] See above, p. 188.
[3] For discussion, see below, pp. 372–5 and 414–21.
[4] For the definition of the types of furnished graves see pp. 164–5, and for lists of the graves shown on Figs. 25 and 26, see Table 21.

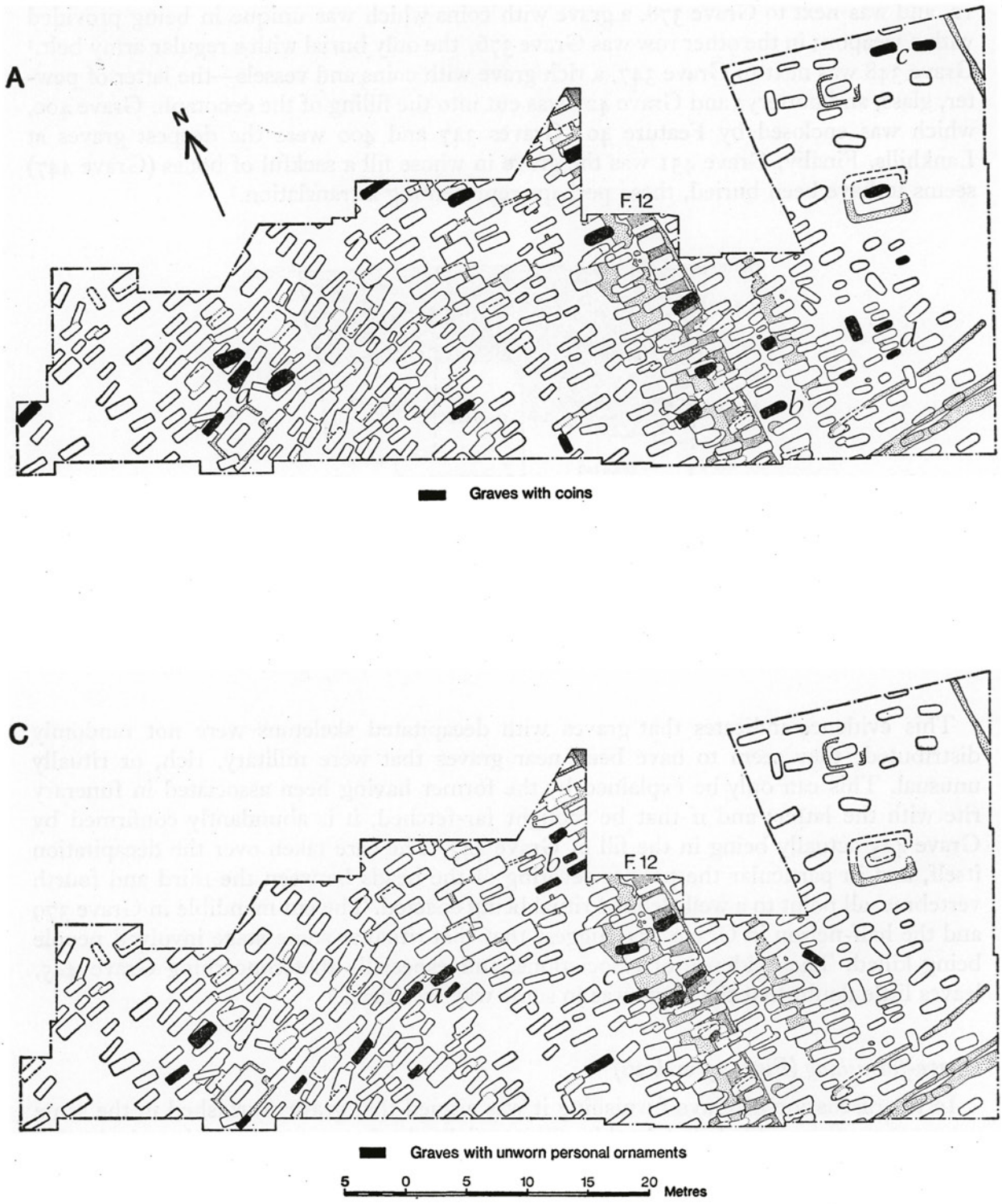
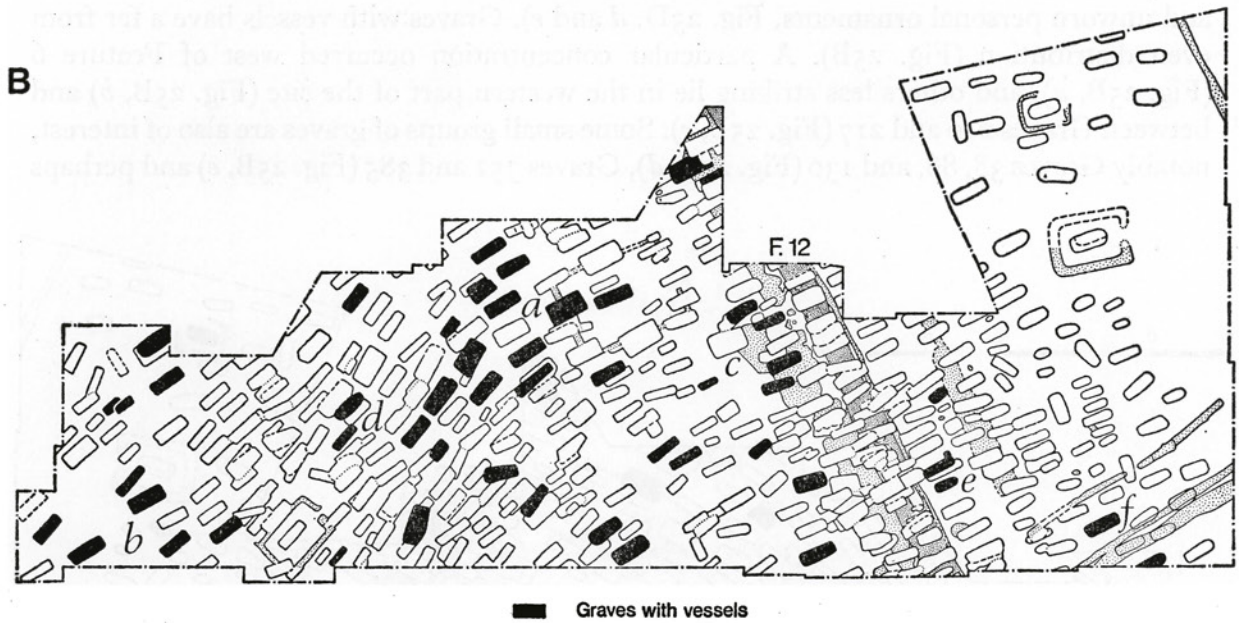
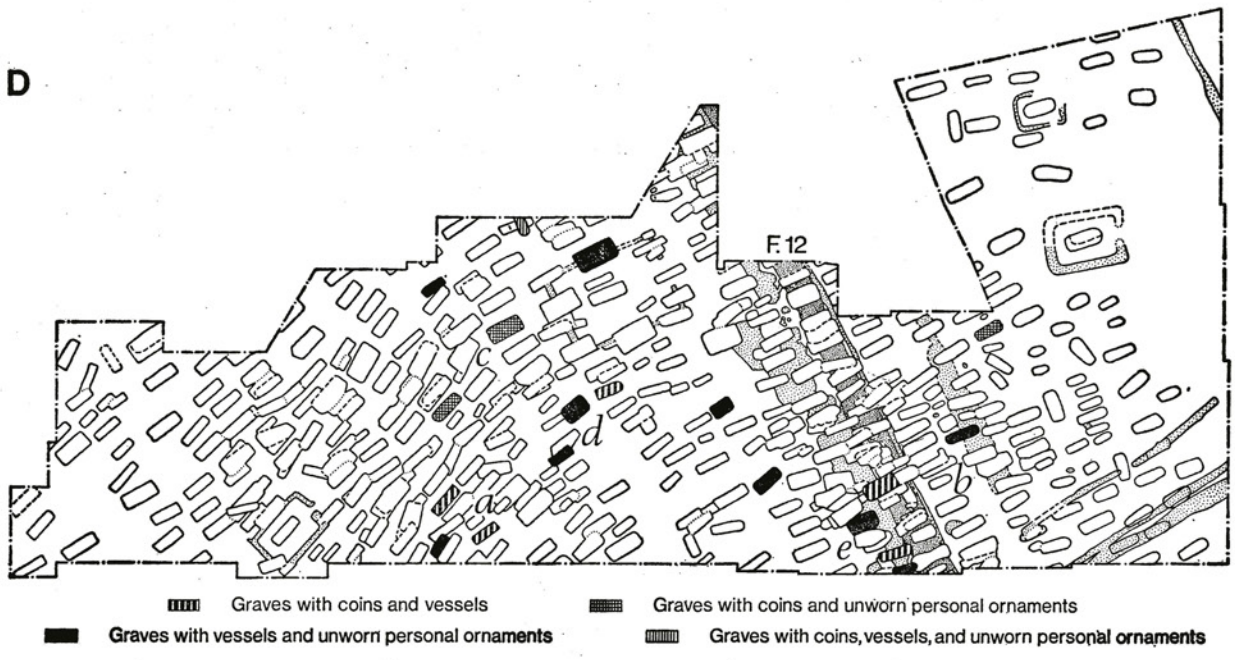


FIG. 25. The distribution of seven of the types of furnished graves defined on pp. 164–5 (1:500). The letters *a–f* refer to pp. 195–6. Relevant graves cut by later burials appear as if undisturbed.





Relatively little can be said about graves with coins and vessels, graves with coins and unworn personal ornaments, graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments, and graves with all three categories, for they all occurred too infrequently (Fig. 25D). But several such graves were in pairs not far apart, notably Graves 109 and 114 and Graves 347 and 329 (coins and vessels, Fig. 25D, *a* and *b*), Graves 37 and 137 (coins and unworn personal ornaments, Fig. 25D, *c*), and Graves 155 and 185 and Graves 327 and 337 (vessels

and unworn personal ornaments, Fig. 25D, *d* and *e*). Graves with vessels have a far from even distribution (Fig. 25B). A particular concentration occurred west of Feature 6 (Fig. 25B, *a*), and others less striking lie in the western part of the site (Fig. 25B, *b*) and between Graves 210 and 217 (Fig. 25B, *c*). Some small groups of graves are also of interest, notably Graves 38, 86, and 130 (Fig. 25B, *d*), Graves 352 and 385 (Fig. 25B, *e*) and perhaps

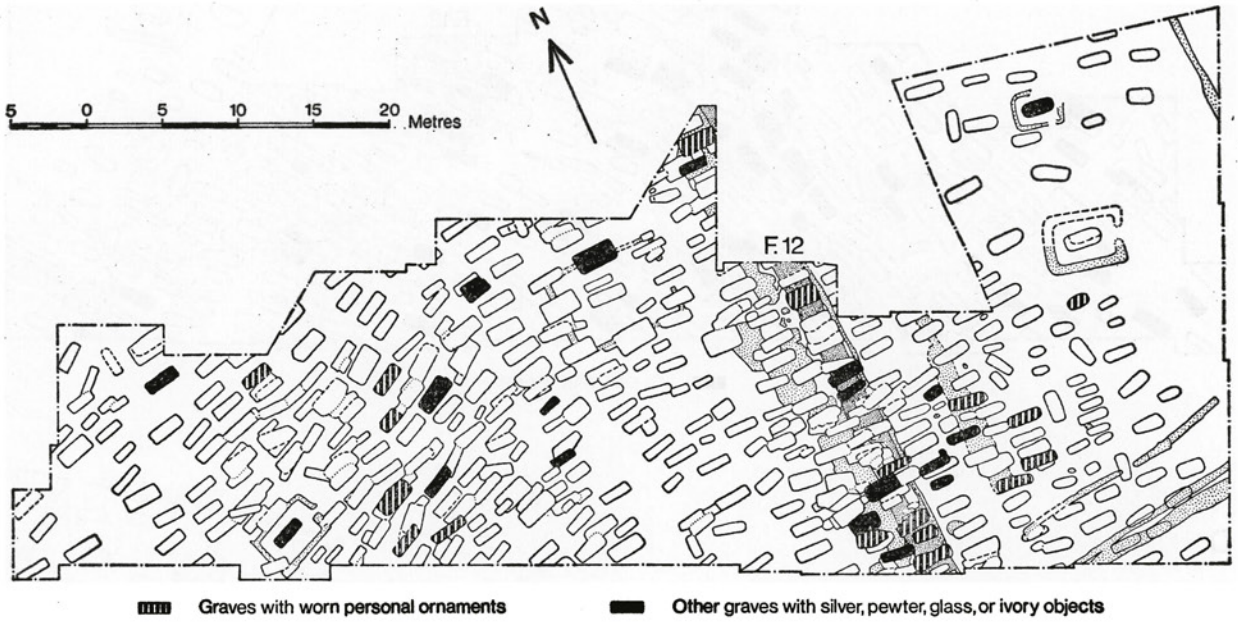


FIG. 26. The distribution of graves with worn personal ornaments and of other graves containing objects of silver, pewter, glass, or ivory (1:500).
Relevant graves cut by later burials appear as if undisturbed.

Graves 299 and 288 (Fig. 25B, *f*). The two latter are the more noticeable because both are in an area used when graves with vessels were unusual.[1] Graves with coins were less common than graves with vessels, and perhaps for that reason no large concentrations can be detected (Fig. 25A). There are, however, several small groupings, notably Graves 58, 76, and 88 (Fig. 25A, *a*), Graves 360 and 365 (Fig. 25A, *b*), Graves 413 and 414 (Fig. 25A, *c*), and Graves 372, 378, 381, and 382 (Fig. 25A, *d*). Of these associations, that involving Graves 360 and 365 is of particular significance, because Grave 365 was seemingly deliberately laid over Grave 360.[2] Graves with unworn personal ornaments were also relatively scattered, but at least three groups are apparent (Fig. 25C): Graves 139, 143, and 183 (Fig. 25C, *a*), Graves 256, 268, 238, and 266 (Fig. 25C, *b*), and Graves 218, 438, and 443 (Fig. 25C, *c*). It may be a further pointer to their association that the graves in the first of these groups had many bracelets, while those in the second tended to have few.

All this evidence confirms that shared concepts could cause people to be buried near each other. However, it should be emphasised that graves of every type occurred in

[1] Areas E and O; cf. above, p. 168. [2] Cf. above, pp. 186–7.

isolation; the circumstances that prevailed in specific instances cannot have been of general application. Taken together, these observations suggest that common concepts as reflected in grave-furniture played a noticeable, but not a dominant role in the siting of graves.

The distribution of the eighteen graves with worn personal ornaments is shown in Fig. 26. It might be expected that the sixteen graves belonging to a single intrusive group would lie close together, but this was not so. The people in question were apparently buried without discrimination among other inhabitants of Roman Winchester. Fig. 26 also shows the distribution of graves with objects made from silver, pewter, ivory, and glass (cf. Fig. 23). Many of these will have been contemporary with the sixteen intrusive graves and they indicate which areas were then considered most desirable. It is clear that the sixteen graves are distributed over precisely these areas, and this suggests that the people buried in them were not discriminated against and could be buried where they chose.

iii. CONCLUSION

It is clear that the cemetery was comparatively well-ordered. Marked by mounds, graves were arranged in lines, and left undisturbed at least for a reasonable time. They were not located at random. The most important factor governing the location of a grave was, it seems, the sex of the deceased, although kinship groups may have played a part too. Status and beliefs reflected in grave-furnishing appear also to have had some significance. But it could well be that the apparent groupings suggested by those factors reflect status and beliefs shared by men and women already sufficiently connected (perhaps by kinship) to be buried close together. Whatever the case, studying cemetery organisation must have considerable value to any sociological studies of fourth-century Britain, for the way the dead were grouped will surely have reflected social organisation among the living.

APPENDIX

AN OUTLINE OF THE COMPUTER PROCESSING PERFORMED[1]

by R. N. CUFF

i. INTRODUCTION

IT was regarded as important throughout that the computer be looked upon as a tool and not a master. The synthesis of data into more manageable classes was in general done by the archaeologist, in order to retain archaeological meaning rather than computational convenience.

Two computer programs were used. This was because processing of grave-goods information was needed first, and so a separate coding scheme and program were devised to treat these data. Another program dealt with all other types of data recorded during excavation.[2] In both cases, because of the repetitive and complex nature of the information it would have been very difficult to find transcription errors by eye or by software checking: yet it was important that such errors be reduced to the minimum. Data punching was therefore carried out commercially, with automatic validation, despite the relative expense involved.

The programs were developed interactively on the IBM PL/I Checkout Compiler under TSO, and then recompiled with the Optimizing Compiler for production runs. The author is most grateful to IBM (UK) Ltd. and to IBM (UK) Laboratories Ltd. for their assistance in making this work possible.

ii. GRAVE-GOODS

a. Data coding

Each grave-good was described using 16 card-columns. This enabled five goods to be packed into a standard 80-column punched card, and made it easy for helpers filling in the data sheets to run their eyes down the sheets to ensure that each item was entered in the correct place. The coding was:

Cols. 1–4: grave number (three digits, preceded by a letter in the case of multiple burials in the same grave)[3]

Cols. 5–8: find-number (zero for hobnails; —1 if excavation records were unsatisfactory)[4]

Cols. 9–11: functional category[5] of the find (three letters). The first letter specified the general category, e.g. vessel or coin, while the last two identified a specific subclass.

Cols. 12–13: material (two letters)

Cols. 14–16: position in grave (three letters). The first letter indicated whether the find was inside or outside the coffin, or undetermined. The second was a code representing the position of the find in relation to the body. The third indicated whether the find was on the left, right, or in the centre of the grave.

These data were entered in grave-number order.

[1] For the incorporation of the computer results into the preceding analysis, see above, p. 111, note 1.

[2] This comprised the information entered on Table 2, cols. 7–18 and 25, together with a site grid-reference (cf. above, p. 12) for each grave.

[3] i.e. the six graves with two or more skeletons: see above, p. 131, and Fig. 47.

[4] Hobnails were not given a find-number (cf. above, p. 12). 'Site records unsatisfactory' means any grave that was not intact (cf. above, p. 16).

[5] These functional categories are much more detailed than those defined above, p. 147.

b. Processing

A program LFINDS was written to analyse these data. It uses two input files FINDS and ATTRIBS, and two output files SYSPRINT and FSORT.

1. FINDS consists of:

(a) a single card containing a number which is at least as big as the number of recorded grave-goods. This enables sufficient working storage to be allocated efficiently at the start of the program.

(b) the codified grave-good data described above.

2. ATTRIBS is a set of coded masks designed so that the program can use each to select only those finds which have a certain set of attributes (chosen by the archaeologist from functional category, material, and position).

3. The whole FINDS file is first read into working storage and the total number of grave-goods printed on to SYSPRINT. The data (originally in grave-number order) are then additionally chained together in find-number order. During this process duplicate or missing find-numbers may be detected, and this information printed out. The finds data are tabulated in find-number order in a form suitable for publication. All graves containing hobnails (find-number of zero) are listed separately.

4. The first mask is read in from ATTRIBS and used to select a subset of the finds and hence of the graves. The consequent sorted list of grave-numbers is printed on a new page with an identification of the set of attributes used for selection. In addition, this list is repeated in an internally coded form on file FSORT. This latter file exists purely to pass the results of LFINDS on to the program LHPROC described below.

iii. NON-GRAVE-GOOD ATTRIBUTES

a. Data reduction

A separate coding scheme was devised for the remainder of the information recorded for each grave. The processable information could be recorded on one 80-column card for each grave.

A second program LHPROC deals with these data, performing the following functions:

1. As each card is read in, each data field is checked to ensure that it contains a data-code valid for that field. Such checking is vital in data of this complexity. It catches not only certain coding transcription errors, but also valid data values overlooked when drawing up the list of variations for publication. For each field, checking is performed by calling a common subroutine, passing the field contents, a string composed of the valid codes, and a token indicating which field is being checked. This latter is to enable any errant field to be uniquely identified by a diagnostic message.

2. The coded grave data are then listed as a formatted table suitable for publication if desired, and for each visual checking by the archaeologist. It would be possible here to employ a table-driven mechanism to translate each code into a word or phrase for easier reading, though this was not done in this instance.

3. So far the codes have been divided into two classes; a single character for those fields with only a small set of discrete values, and a number (possibly with several digits) for data requiring a continuous range. Respective examples are sex (M, F, or X for unknown) and coffin-depth in centimetres. The next stage is to reduce the latter instances to single-character codes corresponding to value ranges, in order to reduce 'noise' in the data and to assist processing in iii*b*. In addition, some of the

single-character fields are subjected to this kind of reduction to remove unwanted variation. The resulting collection of data for each grave can be called the canonical form.

4. One of the data items is a unique grid reference within the cemetery. This is used to build up a dot-map inside the program, each dot representing the position of a grave (see point iii*b*3).

5. After functions 1–4 have been performed for each input card, the file FSORT (see ii*b*4) is read in. This allocates each grave to zero or more 'find classes', and this information is added to the canonical form.

b. Data analysis

1. In the data reduction phase, we took one grave at a time and manipulated the data describing it. Now we wish to consider a particular data class (say, grave-alignment) and look at the distribution of its values across all graves.

2. Because of the canonical forms to which the data have been reduced, this can be done by using a common subroutine for distribution analysis. To it are passed three arguments for each data class. The first is a vector composed of one class-value for each grave; the second is a character string giving the permissible variations in value; and the third is a unique heading to be printed at the top of the page containing the subroutine's output.

3. The distribution-analysis routine lists for each permissible value those graves in which it occurs. Moreover it prints a dot-map (see iii*a*4) of the cemetery, with each such grave marked with a special symbol (the zero symbol was found to be most effective) and all others with a dot. This enables clusters of graves with the same class-value to be identified at a glance.

4. The distribution analysis is performed on:

(a) all fully excavated graves;

(b) those in (a) plus all partially excavated graves.

Uncertain or unrecorded data values are ignored for this purpose. The processing in iii*b*3 is then repeated each time for those graves in one of four physically separated sectors of the cemetery (one of the recorded data items indicates to which sector each grave belongs).

PART III

THE FINDS

1

INTRODUCTION

THIS description of the finds is arranged in terms of the functional categories defined in Part II on pp. 147–55 above, and in the same order. Objects belonging to these categories which were not grave-goods, or which were fragmentary, are included under the appropriate heading. Categories of finds not constituting grave-furniture, such as coffins and coffin-nails, are described subsequently on pp. 329–44.

Finds other than textiles, coffin-nails, hobnails, and human skeletons are identified by numbers, which are printed in **bold** and were given during excavation (cf. p. 12 above). Concordance II on pp. 437–49 lists the finds in numerical order, together with the grave from which each came, and the principal place where it is discussed. All the numbered finds which could be drawn are illustrated by grave in Figs. 67–103.

2

COINS

by **RICHARD REECE**

THE excavation produced 109 coins, six of silver and the remainder bronze. Eighty-three were found close to the skeleton or coffin, thirteen came from the filling of graves, three lay beside a grave-mound, and ten were found in other contexts. Details of the coins are presented by grave in Table 30, together with the dates they suggest.

After the find-number in Table 30, a date is given which represents the time when that particular coin was probably struck. A second date is given for each grave-group, which is a subjective estimate of the date at which the coin or coins *might* have been deposited.[1] The general rule which has been followed is the assumption that coins which occur commonly on sites in Britain may have been deposited at any time up to the moment when they were largely replaced by the next common issue. This applies to the issues of 330–41, which were not replaced until the issues of 364–78, which in turn were not replaced until the issue starting in 388. It is assumed that larger coins, such as the issues of 310–30 and 348–56, were removed from circulation more quickly than their smaller counterparts and *may* therefore give a more accurate date. This is important for those graves which have regular coins of Magnentius, for it seems very likely that these must date between 350 and *c.* 367.

Wherever a group of coins exists in a grave there is, in general, a remarkable agreement between the coins as to date. Graves 8 and 365 contain perfectly acceptable earlier coins; Graves 336 and 437 contain surprising residual coins which have been selected and saved. Graves 289 and 378 contain a mixture of coins, but these compare well with many hoards of the late fourth century where the size of the flan seems to be the main factor influencing the composition of the group.

If the coins are considered as a uniform sequence, some surprising gaps emerge. If these are purely numismatic, and the graves are judged to run smoothly through the fourth century, such gaps may deserve notice. Only two graves (Graves 152 and 344) produced recognisable radiate coins of the third century. Both coins belong to the last years of the radiate period (290–6) and the coin of Diocletian is a very unusual find. Taken with the absence of the earlier radiate issues which are present in Feature 12, the coin evidence states almost categorically that none of the graves with coins should be dated to before *c.* 300. This date should probably be pushed forward by two decades, for there is a complete absence of the *folles* minted from 294 to 307, and only three coins from the period 307 to 313, one of these being residual. This strongly suggests that the graves with coins in them date from after *c.* 320 and that it was not until *c.* 350 that such burials became common.[2] Twelve graves appear to be dated by coins between 345 and 364, fourteen between 364 and 378, and eight between 387 and 400. Once the sequence of coin-graves is firmly established, it then continues completely as expected from the numismatic point of view, except for the surprising number of large coins of *c.* 350–60. From their coins alone, Graves 81, 323 (coins by mound), 329, and 336 seem to hang together as a close-knit

[1] These dates differ from the dates of graves given in Table 2. To give them a greater likelihood of being correct, the latter often assume a longer time in circulation for the coins, and they also take account of other evidence (see above, p. 22).

[2] See above, p. 4, for further discussion of when burial started at Lankhills.

group, as they mostly have good coins of 350–65, and to them may be added Graves 359 and 463, from which probably came coins found in later grave-fillings.[1] From the concentration of these coins dated to *c.* 350–60 in certain graves, it seems reasonable to interpret their large numbers as a sudden fashion in burial practice for which the earlier numismatic record gives little or no warning.[2] The fashion appears to continue in the seventies, eighties, and nineties of the fourth century, but thereafter either fashions were changing or burial was ceasing, for the silver coins of the later fourth century which one might reasonably expect, especially from the House of Theodosius, are conspicuous by their absence.

TABLE 30

The coins

Entries in *italics* refer to coins that were not found in the bottom of a grave, in direct association with the skeleton and/or coffin.

F after a find-number indicates that the coin was in a grave-fill; M that it was associated with a grave-mound. *RIC*, CK, and HK are included in the list of abbreviations.

Grave-number	Find-number	Date of striking	Details of coin	Estimated date of deposition
8	10	335–45	House of Constantine, as HK 87	*c.* 375–85, one residual
	11	364–78	Valens, CK 513	
	12	364–75	Valentinian I, as CK 96	
13	15	330–41	Constantinopolis, as HK 52	probably *c.* 355–65
	16	350–60	House of Constantine, copy as CK 25	
	17	4th cent.	Illegible	
	18	4th cent.	Illegible	
37	33	350–64	House of Constantine, copy as CK 256	*c.* 355–65
58	*37F*	*364–78*	*Valens, CK 713*	*c.* 375–85
	38	364–78	Valens, CK 523	
	39	364–75	Valentinian I, CK 293	
	40	364–75	Valentinian I, as CK 275	
	41	364–75	Valentinian I, CK 1017	
76	57	330–40	House of Constantine, reverse illegible	*c.* 335–45
81	71	350–3	Magnentius, CK 50	*c.* 355–65
	72	350–64	Magnentius, copy as CK 50 but in left field S	
	73	348–64	Constans, copy as CK 201 but DN CONSTAN-NS DIVVG	
88	65	364–78	Valens, as CK 97	*c.* 375–85
96	80	307–9	Constantine I, *RIC*6Tr 719b	*c.* 315–25
109	153	330–41	Constantinopolis, HK 58	probably *c.* 335–45
	154	4th cent.	Illegible	
114	115	313–17	Constantine I, *RIC*7Lug 15	*c.* 315–25
137	139	330–41	Constantinopolis, as HK 52	*c.* 335–45
152	169	286–93	Carausius, *RIC* 101	*c.* 295–305
164	232	330–41	Urbs Roma, HK 65	*c.* 335–45
172	229	307–9	Constantine I, *RIC*6Tr 772a	*c.* 315–25
212	459	330–5	Constantius II, HK 64	*c.* 335–45
228	230	322–4	Constantine I, *RIC*7Tr 435	*c.* 325–35
232	218	364–78	House of Valentinian, as CK 257	*c.* 375–85

[1] See above, pp. 76–7 (Grave 359—coins in the fill of Grave 349) and 92–3 (Grave 463—coins in the fill of Grave 324).

[2] This 'fashion' is explained by the arrival in *c.* 350 of people from the Danube provinces, to whom belonged Graves 81, 323, 329 (perhaps), and 336. See above, pp. 174–5, and below, pp. 377–89. The continuation of the 'fashion' subsequently is due to an unrelated increase in coin burial among the native population (see above, pp. 173–4).

TABLE 30 (*cont.*)

Grave-number	Find-number	Date of striking	Details of coin	Estimated date of deposition
265	275	388–402	House of Theodosius, as CK 162	*c.* 390–400
270	283	364–78	Valens, as CK 279	*c.* 375–85
	284	364–78	Valens, CK 1004	
	285	364–78	House of Valentinian, as CK 275	
283	475*F*	*350–64*	*House of Constantine, copy as CK 25*	*c. 390–400, one residual*
	495	387–8	Magnus Maximus, as CK 560	
	494	388–402	House of Theodosius, as CK 796	
289	306	330–41	Constantinopolis, HK 52	*c.* 390–400, two residual
	307	364–78	House of Valentinian, as CK 479	
	305	388–402	House of Theodosius, as CK 796	
317	367*F*	*364–75*	*Valentinian I, as CK 525*	*c. 375–85*
322	400*F*	*4th cent.*	*Illegible*	*probably c. 370–80*
	448	364–75	Valentinian I, as *RIC*9Tr 2	
323	444*M*	*330–41*	*Constantinopolis, HK 366*	*c. 350–60*
	445*M*	*330–41*	*Constantinopolis, HK 627a = as 594 but mm. R.F.E.*	
	446*M*	*350–64*	*Constantius II, CK 253*	
324	318*F*	*350–64*	*Magnentius, copy as CK 8*	*c. 350–60*
	409*F*	*350–64*	*Magnentius, copy as CK 8*	
329	328*F*	*350–64*	*House of Constantine, copy as CK 25*	*c. 350–60*
	376	350–64	House of Constantine, copy as CK 72	
336	356	310–13	Constantine I, *RIC*6Tr 873	*c.* 355–65, one surprising residual
	357	330–41	Constantine II, HK 68	
	339	350–64	Magnentius, copy as CK 8	
	340	350–3	Magnentius, as CK 19	
	341	350–61	Constantius II, as CK 256	
	342	350–61	Constantius II, as CK 72a	
344	330	284–94	Diocletian, as *RIC* V 35	rare, of doubtful value for dating
347	380	364–75	Valentinian I, as CK 96	*c.* 375–85
349	366*F*	*350–64*	*Magnentius, copy as CK 56 but no column*	*c. 355–65*
351	395	345–8	Constans, HK 138	*c.* 345–55
356	326	4th cent.	Illegible	?
357	423*F*	*276–81*	*Probus, RIC 25*	*c. 355–65*
	615*F*	*350–64*	*House of Constantine, copy as CK 25*	
360	552	364–78	Valens, as CK 97	*c.* 375–85
361	426*?F*	*See below, Feature 12, surface*		
365	510	335–7	Constans, HK 90	*c.* 370–80, one residual
	509	364–78	Valens, as CK 298	
370	547	364–75	Valentinian I, as CK 275	*c.* 375–85
372	524	388–95	Theodosius I, CK 565	*c.* 390–400
373	589	4th cent.	Illegible	?
	590	4th cent.	Fragment	
376	483*F*	*320–2*	*Licinius II, RIC7 Tr 288*	*rare, of doubtful value for dating*
378	485	335–45	House of Constantine, copy as HK 87	*c.* 390–400; an acceptable
	486	335–45	House of Constantine, copy as HK 87	mixture of coins of small
	523	350–64	House of Constantine, copy of CK 25 overstruck	module irrespective of date
	522	388–402	Arcadius, CK 395	
	484	388–402	House of Theodosius, as CK 162	
381	480	364–78	House of Valentinian, as CK 96	*c.* 375–85
382	548	4th cent.	Illegible	?
396	631	364–75	Valentinian I, reverse illegible	*c.* 375–85

TABLE 30 (*cont.*)

Grave-number	Find-number	Date of striking	Details of coin	Estimated date of deposition
400	543	364–78	House of Valentinian, as CK 487	*c.* 390–400
	540	387–8	Magnus Maximus, CK 559	
	541	388–402	House of Theodosius, reverse illegible	
	542	4th cent.	Illegible	
	544	4th cent.	Illegible	
401	474*F*	*367–78*	*Gratian, CK 543*	*c. 375–85*
413	516	388–95	Theodosius I, CK 391	*c.* 390–400
	517	388–95	Theodosius I, CK 1962	
	520	388–402	Arcadius, as CK 798	
	518	388–402	House of Theodosius, as CK 796	
	519	4th cent.	Illegible	
414	539	388–402	House of Theodosius, reverse illegible	*c.* 390–400
	550	388–402	House of Theodosius, reverse illegible	
426	616*F*	*268–70*	*Claudius II, RIC 266*	*c. 270–300*
427	689	4th cent.	Illegible	?
437	592	337–41	Helena, as HK 119	*c.* 360–70, one definitely residual
	597	357–61	Constantius II, VOT/XXX/MVLT/XXXX mm PCON	
	596	361–3	Julian II, VOT/X/MVLT/XX mm CONS	
	598	361–3	Julian II, VOT/X/MVLT/XX mm CONS	
	599	357–61	Julian II, VOT/V/MVLT/X mm TCON	
	600	357–61	Julian II, VOT/V/MVLT/X mm SLVG	
F. 12[1] c	451	*260–8*	*Gallienus, RIC 278*	
c	630	*260–8*	*Gallienus, RIC 280*	
e	627	*330–41*	*Constantinopolis, HK 66*	
surface	426	*350–3*	*Magnentius, CK 10*	
	300	*350–3*	*Magnentius, as CK 50*	
	302	*350–61*	*Constantius II, CK 253*	
	317	*350–61*	*Constantius II, CK 455*	
	233	*364–75*	*Valentinian I, CK 311*	
F. 24	374	*367–78*	*Gratian, CK 529*	
F. 26	327	*388–402*	*House of Theodosius, as CK 562*	

[1] Letters refer to layers in Feature 12; see above, pp. 100–5.

3

PEWTER VESSELS

by DAVID BROWN

THE remains of six pewter objects were found at Lankhills, but only two retained much of their original shape.

i. CATALOGUE

29, Grave 40 (350–370/90). Open pewter bowl, distorted and largely disintegrated. The drawing indicates the shape as found, although originally, before distortion, it may have been flatter, more like a shallow saucer. But whether deep or shallow, the shape cannot easily be matched. There are two smaller deep bowls from Bath,[1] neither with a context; one differs in being cast with dots on the rim, the other in having a rough patch reserved for some sort of appliqué in the centre of the base. There are two fragmentary pieces from a pit at Camerton (Somerset)[2] which Wedlake has restored as shallow saucers. The piece from this grave could have been similar.

Amongst mould fragments, there are pieces from Lansdown (near Bath),[3] Westbury (Wilts.),[4] and Silchester (Hants),[5] all suitable for casting shallow curving shapes, although all are more likely to have been used for making plates with a flanged rim than bowls.

257, Grave 250 (330–50). Several small crumbs of pewter indicate that there was a vessel in this grave; size and shape cannot be determined.

379, Grave 347 (390–410). Fragments of a disintegrated pewter vessel. It is impossible to reconstruct, but the small area covered indicates a vessel no larger than **528** (Grave 408).

528, Grave 408, fill (390–410). Small pewter bowl; conical with a flat rim; cast, with fluted decoration on the inside and raised spots on the rim. There are twenty-one flutes inside and twenty-eight spots on the rim. The spots are irregularly spaced, being much closer together on one side than on the other. The outside is smooth, and there is a low stand-ring around the edge of the base. There are traces of cast spots on the floor of the bowl, as is normal in bowls of this kind, but the metal is badly preserved at this point and the details are not clear. Vessels of this sort were cast in moulds made of fine-grained stone, in which the decoration, the flutes, and the spots had been cut. No polishing was necessary. Moulds of this type were found at Lansdown, although none is of this shape. Similar pieces, with internal flutes and spots on the rim, come from East Anglia. There are three in the Great Icklingham (Suffolk) hoard[6] and one, with a step or ledge half-way up the wall, so that the inside is like a jelly-mould, from Hockwold (Norfolk), Hoard 2.[7] Similar cast pieces, with spots on the rim but without fluting, come from Icklingham,[8] Lakenheath,[9] and Wangford (all Suffolk).[10]

536, Grave 408, fill (390–410). Two fragments of a vessel, restored in the drawing. The rim profile is more reliable than the base; the diameter, and thus the actual size, is the least reliable aspect. Vessels

[1] N. J. Sunter in Cunliffe 1969, 67–9.
[2] Wedlake 1958, 84.
[3] Bath Museum; *PSAL*[2], 22 (1907–9), 34.
[4] Devizes Museum 709; *WAM*, 36 (1909–10), 477.
[5] Reading Museum; drawings by G. E. Fox, Society of Antiquaries, Fox Colln., Box 4, No. 64.
[6] BM 44, 2–23, 9; and 53, 4–11, 12; Ipswich R. 1936.244.17.
[7] Norwich Museum.
[8] BM 53, 4–11, 10.
[9] BM 71, 7–4, 8; Bury St. Edmunds H.114.
[10] Ipswich R.1936.244.18.

of this general shape are quite common, although normally they are fitted with an additional foot-ring so that they are raised a little off the ground. Examples may be cited from hoards at Appleford (Oxon.), three pieces, one without foot-ring;[1] Appleshaw (Hants), four pieces, all with foot-rings;[2] Hockwold (Norfolk), Hoard 2, one piece with foot-ring;[3] Icklingham (Suffolk), two pieces with foot-rings;[4] Isleham (Cambs.), one piece with foot-ring;[5] and a single piece from Irchester (Northants.), without foot-ring.[6] There are fragments of moulds for this shape at Bath, amongst the pieces from Lansdown, but all are for vessels with raised decoration on the rim.

613, Grave 450 (390–410). Glass bead surrounded by a mass of disintegrated pewter. The area is very small, only an inch or so each way, and it is difficult to think of this as the remains of any sort of vessel. The association with a glass bead suggests that the pewter may be the remains of a bead, or that both formed a pendant; the Lansdown mould-fragments include several flat slabs cut with hollows to mould a handle, a spoon-bowl, and, amongst other fragmentary patterns, two rings and three decorative discs which could have served as pendants.[7]

ii. GENERAL DISCUSSION

The majority of Romano-British pewter finds come from hoards buried at the end of the fourth century. There are thus few fixed points for the dating of individual shapes and it would be presumptuous to suggest dates for any of the Lankhills pieces when they are so well dated by their own context and associated material.

There is now no doubt that pewter was used and made over a wide area of Britain in the fourth century;[8] this can best be appreciated from the distribution of finds other than hoards. Until now Winchester has itself produced only one find,[9] but there is no reason to suppose that all the various sorts of vessels which have been found in hoards and other finds in the south and west should not have been current in the town. Certainly the open bowls, **29** and **536**, can be considered local products. On the other hand, the fluted bowl, **528**, is different; it is quite without local parallels, yet can be matched exactly amongst East Anglian finds. On present evidence, this looks like a clear case of a bowl made in another part of the country being brought into the Winchester area.

Finds of pewter in graves have so far been few in Britain; there is one piece from a grave in the cemetery north of Richborough (Kent),[10] and there are two pieces from a child's grave found at Whiston (Northants.).[11] However, on the Continent, where burials in the fourth century were richly equipped with glass, pottery, and metal vessels, finds of pewter are quite common. For example, from three cemeteries located around the headwaters of the Somme, a total of ninety-five pieces of pewter was recorded: at Vermand (Aisne), eighty-three pieces from 621 graves;[12] at St.-Quentin (Aisne), five pieces from fifty graves;[13] and at Abbeville Homblières (Aisne), seven pieces from eighty-five graves.[14] Or in Belgium, at the fort of Oudenburg, a few kilometres inland from Ostend, six pieces of pewter were recorded in 216 graves.[15] Unfortunately very few of these pieces survived in a state sufficient to be

[1] Brown 1973, items 5, 10, 11.
[2] *Archaeologia*, 56 (1898), 1–20, items 21–4.
[3] Norwich Museum.
[4] BM 53, 4–11, 3 and 4.
[5] Cambridge 22.757.
[6] Northampton D. 182/1958–9.
[7] Bath Museum; *PSAL*[2], 22 (1907–9), 38. **613** was probably a small disc pendant with a glass centrepiece. See further below, p. 297.
[8] To the surveys of Wedlake 1958, 82–9, and Peal 1967, add the notes and footnotes in Brown 1970 and in Goodall 1972, 34–6.
[9] Butcher 1957, 8, Pl. III. There is also the item exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries by A. B. Yeates in 1930 (*Antiq J*, 11 (1931), 211), but this has not been traced.
[10] Bushe-Fox 1949, 80, 155, Pl. LXIII.
[11] Northampton Museum D. 90/1959–60.
[12] Eck 1891, *passim*, esp. 195.
[13] Ibid. 296 f.
[14] Pilloy 1886, 219 f.
[15] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, 32.

adequately recorded: from Vermand, two pieces and some decorated fragments could be drawn; from Homblières, one piece; from St.-Quentin, none. And it is no explanation that these excavations were carried out nearly 100 years ago, for even in the recent excavations at Oudenburg none of the pieces could be preserved in a state sufficient to allow a drawing to be made. Thus it can be seen that the fragmentary state of many of the Lankhills pieces is no exception as far as grave-finds are concerned. The environment of a grave seems to be particularly hostile to the preservation of pewter, but whether this is due to the nearness to the surface, or to other items in the grave, even to the body itself, remains uncertain.

Despite the loss of so many pieces whose survival could have provided a dated sequence for the fourth century, the presence of pewter in quantity in continental graves is a good indication that it was as common a metal in those areas of north France and Belgium in the fourth century as it was in Britain. Its manufacture remains so far obstinately a British occupation. But if the raw materials of tin and lead had to be shipped round from the south-west to the eastern parts of Britain, there is no reason at all why they should not also have been shipped to the Continent. It must surely be only a matter of time before evidence of pewter manufacture is found somewhere in northern France or Belgium.

4

GLASS VESSELS

by D. B. HARDEN

i. DISCUSSION

(Fig. 27; Table 31)

THE Lankhills cemetery yielded an extremely interesting and important group of glass, including twenty-four vessels or fragments of vessels, two hair-pins, a mosaic tessera, a set of game-counters and one single one, and parts of a headband, as well as the numerous glass beads discussed by Mrs. M. Guido.[1]

A summary of the glass vessels and other objects is provided by Table 31. It will be noted that only three graves yielded more than one piece of glass and no grave had been furnished with more than one complete glass vessel, indicating, perhaps, that even by the fourth century, when glass vessels had become commonplace in neighbouring continental countries, they were still rare enough in Britain to be much prized.

As is recorded elsewhere, the Lankhills cemetery was primarily Romano-British, but it also contained some graves of people of alien origin, one group from the Danube region, the other apparently Anglo-Saxon.[2] Of the graves with glass objects, twelve probably belonged to people from the Danube region,[3] and the rest were native Romano-British.

Among native graves furnished with glass vessels, only three belonged to the first half of the fourth century, Graves 35 (a 'dolphin'-handled bottle of Class IX), 38 (also a 'dolphin'-handled bottle of Class IX), and 337 (a deep bowl of Class I and the handle of a 'dolphin'-handled bottle of Class IX). Thus the great majority of the glass in native graves was interred in the second half of the century, some of it, indeed, near its very end, e.g. a one-handled cup (Class IV) from Grave 390, two of the three one-handled flasks (Class VI), from Graves 352 and 385, and, perhaps, a fragment of a conical beaker with wheel incisions (Class IIA), a conical beaker with open base-ring (Class IIB), and a two-handled bottle (Class VIII), all from the filling of Grave 398. Dated less closely within the later fourth century we have a fragment of a deep bowl (Class I) from the filling of Grave 100, a one-handled cup (Class IV) from Grave 136, and a two-handled flask (Class VII) from Grave 236.

Each of the pieces in the intrusive graves came from a different grave. Graves 40 and 81, dating respectively from 350–370/90 and from 350–70, yielded deep bowls of Class I, and Grave 329, also dating from after *c.* 350, the two-way flask (Class III). Graves 63 and 396, dating from 370–90, produced conical beakers with open base-rings (Class IIB), and Graves 347, 351, and 369, dating variously from within the years 370–410, had conical beakers with wheel incisions (Class IIA). Grave 333 of 390–410 had been furnished with the jug (Class V).

From this analysis a certain pattern appears to emerge. The earliest glasses in the assemblage would seem to have been the 'dolphin'-handled bottles (Class IX), which all occurred in graves assigned to dates before the middle of the century. Rather later are the deep bowls (Class I), which were all in

[1] The hair-pins are described below on p. 315, the tessera on p. 326, the game-counters on p. 251, the headband on p. 317, and the beads on pp. 292–300.

[2] See above, pp. 174–6, and below, pp. 377–403.

[3] Included in this total are Graves 329, 347, and 369 (cf. above, p. 175).

TABLE 31
The glass

Grave-number	Find-number	Class	Description	Date of grave	Intrusive graves
35	20	IX	'Dolphin'-handled bottle	310–50	
38	21	IX	'Dolphin'-handled bottle	310–50	
40	296	I	Deep bowl, fragment	350–370/90	Intrusive
51	50	—	Game-counters	310–370/90	
63	51	IIB	Beaker with open base-ring	370–90	Intrusive
81	62	I	Deep bowl	350–70	Intrusive
100, fill	91	I	Deep bowl, fragments	330–70	
	90	—	Hair-pin		
	297	—	Head of hair-pin		
136	117	IV	One-handled cup	340–370/90	
236	270	VII	Two-handled flask	340–370/90	
250	268	—	Mosaic tessera	330–50	
322	450	VII	Two-handled flask	370–90	Intrusive
323	427	—	Fragments, from head-band	350–70	Intrusive
329	372	III	Two-way cup or flask	350–70	? Intrusive
333	310	V	Jug with ribbed handle	390–410	Intrusive
336	358	—	Game-counter	350–70	Intrusive
337	385	I	Deep bowl	330–50	
	411	IX	'Dolphin'-handle, from bottle		
347	382	IIA	Conical beaker with wheel-incisions	390–410	? Intrusive
351	391	IIA	Conical beaker with wheel-incisions	370–90	Intrusive
352	551	VI	One-handled flask	390–410	
369	530	IIA	Conical beaker with wheel-incisions	370–410	? Intrusive
385	472	VI	One-handled flask	370–410	
390	508	IV	One-handled cup	370–410	
396	506	IIB	Conical beaker with open base-ring, decayed	370–90	Intrusive
398, fill	634	IIA	Conical beaker, fragment, with wheel-incisions	370–90[1]	
	633	IIB	Conical beaker with open base-ring		
	549	VIII	Two-handled bottle, fragmentary		
Rescue-obs. E	632	VI	One-handled flask	unstratified	

Glass beads are not included. They are listed on pp. 297–300. All intrusive graves belong to arrivals from the Danube regions, who came *c.* 350 (see below, pp. 377–89). For Graves 329, 347, and 369, see above, pp. 174 and 175. The game-counters (**50** and **358**) are discussed on p. 251, the hair-pins (**90** and **91**) on p. 315, the tessera (**268**) on p. 326, and the head-band (**427**) on p. 317.

[1] Fragments **549**, **633**, and **634** were randomly scattered through the fill of Grave 398. They must have been deliberately deposited at some stage, and they were perhaps an isolated offering which Grave 398 had disturbed. If so, their deposition is unlikely to predate *c.* 370, the time when the cemetery spread into the area around Grave 398. See above, pp. 82–3, 116–20, and Fig. 9.

graves belonging roughly to the middle decades of the century. The types that appear in graves later than *c.* 370 are quite different. Those from native graves include a fragment of a conical beaker with wheel incisions (Class IIA), a conical beaker with open base-ring (Class IIB), two one-handled flasks (Class VI—the third being unstratified), one of the one-handled cups (Class IV), and the two-handled cylindrical bottle (Class VIII). Contemporary intrusive graves produced two conical beakers of Class

IIB and three conical beakers of Class IIA, as well as the more closely dated two-handled flask (Class VII), and the jug (Class V).

At first sight this seems to present an orderly sequence of types covering most of the fourth century. But the fact is that, in general, types of Roman glass are not as closely datable as that, and reference to Isings[1] indicates that at least some of our shapes, notably the deep bowls (Class I: Isings Form 96), conical beakers with wheel-incisions (Class IIA: Isings Form 106*c*), jugs with ribbed ribbon-handle (Class V: Isings Form 120), and two-handled bottles (Class VIII: Isings Form 127) extend over the whole of the century, some even beginning before A.D. 300. Fortunately, however, we do not have to use the glass to date our graves, since they are all well dated by other criteria, and we may therefore use the chronology of the graves to throw light on the dating of some of the glass-types. It is instructive, for instance, to note that a two-way cup or flask has at last been found in a dated context, for, although Ray W. Smith ascribed his two examples correctly to the fourth century,[2] he had no support for saying so except that of his own experience. It is equally helpful to see that one of the two stratified one-handled flasks (Class VI) came from a grave belonging to the last decade of the fourth century, and the other from a grave dating from after *c.* 370. Since these flasks are paralleled in the Burgh Castle (Suffolk) group and are the only direct parallelism between that group and Lankhills, we have all the more justification for not accepting a date before the beginning of the fifth century for the Burgh Castle group.[3] I would, indeed, on the Lankhills evidence, be inclined to advance its date well into the first quarter of that century.

But all in all it is a mistake to try to seek further precision in the dating of individual types. Until glassmakers began to favour quick changes of fashion in fairly recent times, they were inclined to adhere for several generations to a well-tried type, and for the most part it still is, and may always be, rarely possible to date an ancient shape of glass more closely than that. The same is true of most other ancient artefacts and we must always be wary of accepting the ideas of those who indulge in typological juggling to provide closely dated sequences of development of some long-lived type. That is not the way the ancient artisan worked.

ii. CLASSIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION

(Fig. 27, unless otherwise stated)

Class I. Deep bowls

Two complete bowls (**62** and **385**) and two small fragments (**91** and **296**) were found. The complete pieces are very similar in shape, being convex-sided bowls (or, as they might equally well be called, cups) with vertical, smoothed lips and flattened bottoms. For the shape, cf. Morin-Jean,[4] who includes it in his Form 71, covering bowls with vertical rims, like ours, and others with outbent rims, both of which may have many varieties of decoration, and Isings,[5] who separates it into two Forms, 96, usually with outbent rims, and 107, with vertical rims. A similar form existed in early Roman times—it is, of course, a natural glass shape—but this later form is one of the commonest and most characteristic shapes in the late third and fourth centuries. Two examples with conical profile occur in the Burgh Castle group, showing that the form must have endured up to the end of the fourth century at least—if not longer, since, as we have already seen, other Lankhills evidence suggests that that group is probably of the early fifth century. The vessels are often decorated with blue blobs[6] or wheel-cut decoration[7]

[1] Isings 1957.
[2] Smith 1957, 129, nos. 241–2.
[3] Cf. below, p. 214, esp. n. 2.
[4] Morin-Jean 1913, 124 f.
[5] Isings 1957, 113 ff. and 131 ff.
[6] Cf. Fremersdorf 1962, Pls. 19, 26, 98, with vertical rims; and ibid. for many others with outbent rims.
[7] Cf. Isings 1957, 114 f., Form 96*b*.

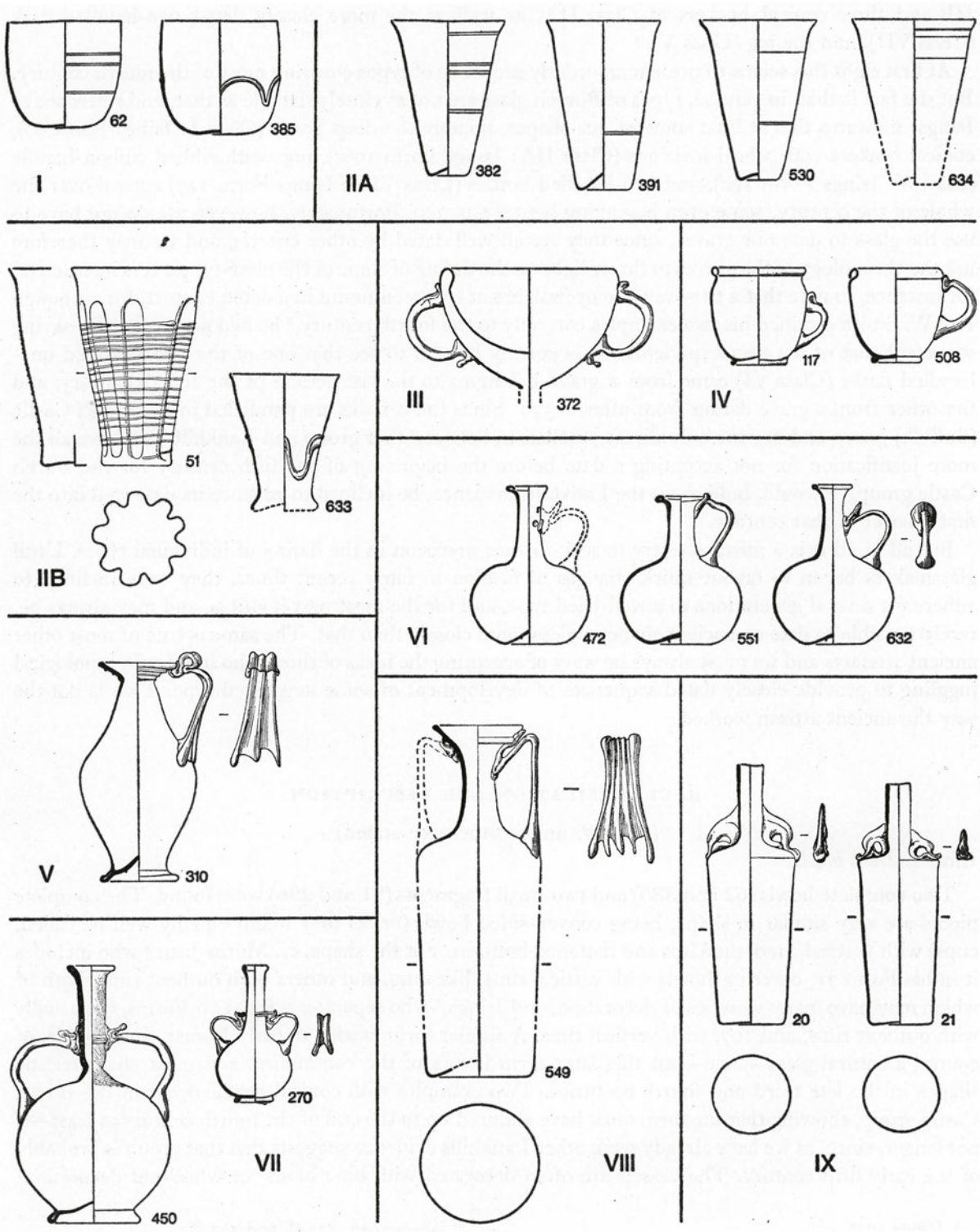


FIG. 27. Complete or restorable glass vessels (1:4).

and such cutting varies from simple linear incisions (as on **62**) to elaborate figured scenes. I cannot cite any other bowl with the inverted scalloped trail of **385**, but beakers with such decoration exist.[1]

The two fragments are of no great significance: **91** is perhaps from a bowl of the same form and decoration as **62**; **296** is a puzzling fragment from the body of a bowl, with, seemingly, a band of linked ovals running horizontally round it.

62, Grave 81 (350–70). Pale green. Cracked. Full of bubbles; many black impurities; some incipient iridescence. Rim vertical, lip knocked off and ground smooth; convex sides, vertical above, tapering below to curved junction with bottom; bottom slightly concave on underside, no pontil-mark. Two horizontal bands of wheel-incisions at shoulder and a third lower down body. Blown; decoration incised with wheel. Height: 7 cm; diameter at rim: 7·4 cm; diameter near bottom: 5 cm.

385, Grave 337 (330–50). Pale green. Broken and mended, a few tiny pieces missing. Very bubbly; many impurities; some incipient iridescence. Rim vertical, lip knocked off and ground smooth; perpendicular, slightly convex sides curving inwards to rounded junction with bottom, which is slightly concave below; no pontil-mark. At greatest diameter, a self-coloured relief trail, combed downwards to form six broad inverted scallops. Blown; trail drawn on. Height: 7·4 cm; diameter at rim: 7·5 cm; greatest diameter: 7·8 cm.

91, Grave 100, fill (330–70). Fragment, part of convex side. Pale green. Only a small area of side preserved, in many fragments; much weathered and iridescent. One faint horizontal wheel-cut line round middle of body. Blown; wheel-cut. Not illustrated.

296, Grave 40 (350–370/90). Pale green. Small fragment only; very bubbly; many black impurities; incipient iridescence. Fragment of bulbous body of bowl or flask: on it an oval appliqué, laid horizontally and flattened by tooling, probably part of a band of ovals running round the body. Blown: applied band drawn on and tooled. Length: 2 cm; width: 1·5 cm. Illustrated in Fig. 69.

Class II. Conical beakers

A. With wheel-incisions. Four examples (**382, 391, 530, 634**) of this very common late Roman type occurred, the first three of which are complete (or, at least, fully restorable), but of the fourth only the upper part survives. All are uniform, varying only in the number and disposition of the bands of wheel-incisions. For the type see Morin-Jean Form 105 and Isings Form 106*c* (2). As parallels Isings cites, *inter alia*, examples from Stabio (Switzerland)[2] and from a late fourth-century grave at Bregenz (Austria). I have discussed the type in publishing the example found with the bowl from Wint Hill (Somerset) decorated with an engraved hare-hunt.[3] This Wint Hill piece is probably early fourth-century, but the type seems to have been prevalent with little change throughout the century, although towards the end of the century it was at least partially replaced by the equally stable cones (Isings Forms 106*a*, *b*) with vertical, rounded lips, mould-blown ribbing and trailed decoration, as, e.g., in the late fourth-century cemetery at Mayen in the Eifel.[4] In the fifth and sixth centuries these new types continue, but with more pointed bottoms, producing totally unstable vessels.[5] I have already discussed

[1] e.g. Fremersdorf 1959, 78, Pl. 126 (Niessen 105 = Loeschcke 1911, Pls. 23 and 44, from Cologne, mid-fourth century), and other parallels cited there; and see also Fremersdorf 1962, Pl. 57, and **633** from Grave 398 at Lankhills (Class IIB).

[2] Isings 1957, 130: for the Stabio example see Simonett 1941, 202, Fig. 177, no. 1, Pl. 7, no. 9; found in the fourth-century inhumation Grave 39 in the Vignetto cemetery.

[3] *Journal of Glass Studies*, 2 (1960), 51 f.

[4] Haberey 1942, 253 ff.; Graves 10, 12, 25, etc.; Pls. 30 and 32.

[5] See, for example, Rademacher 1942, 296 ff., Pls. 50–2.

elsewhere the changes in cone-beakers between the fourth and fifth centuries.[1] Since then the Burgh Castle group,[2] now deposited on loan in the British Museum, has provided further evidence for the change, as it contains two complete examples and one fragment of the type with vertical, rounded lips and fairly broad, concave bottoms, half-way, typologically, between the fourth-century cones with plain knocked-off lips and very broad bottoms and the unstable cones with rounded lips and narrow or pointed bottoms of the mid-fifth century and later. This Burgh Castle group should, therefore, belong to the early fifth century.

382, Grave 347 (390–410). Pale green. Broken and mended; one tiny chip out of rim. Very bubbly; full of black impurities; iridescent sheen, with incipient flaking. Rim outsplayed, lip knocked off, partially ground smooth; sides taper down to rounded angle with bottom which is concave with pointed kick, no pontil-mark. Four horizontal bands of wheel-incisions: (a) near rim; (b, c) *c.* 3 cm below rim; (d) 6 cm below rim. Blown and wheel-incised. Height: 10 cm; diameter at rim: 7·4 cm; diameter at bottom: 2·3 cm.

391, Grave 351 (370–90). Pale green. Broken and mended; some pieces missing. Very bubbly; many black impurities; iridescent, with incipient flaking. Shape as **382**, but more deeply pointed kick in bottom. Faint horizontal band of wheel-incisions 7·5 cm below rim. Technique as **382**. Height: 11·1 cm; diameter at rim: 7·5 cm; diameter at bottom: 3·2 cm.

530, Grave 369 (370–410). Pale green. Broken and mended; some gaps near mouth. Very bubbly; black impurities; much strain-cracking near top of vessel, causing fractures; iridescent, with incipient flaking. Shape as **382** and **391**, but concave bottom with slight kick. Two horizontal bands of wheel incisions, 2 cm and 6·7 cm below lip. Blown; wheel-incised. Height: 10·4 cm; diameter at rim: 7·6 cm; diameter at bottom: 2·3 cm.

634, Grave 398, fill (370–90). Pale green. Upper part extant, bottom missing. Very bubbly; black impurities; incipient iridescence. Shape as **382**, etc. Two thin horizontal bands of wheel-incisions 0·6 cm and 2·5 cm below lip, with another incomplete band in between them. Blown, wheel-incised. Height (as restored): 10·8 cm; diameter at lip: 8 cm; diameter at bottom: 2·7 cm.

B. With open base-ring. Three glasses in this group (**51, 506, 633**) all differ in their details, although they have the same general shape, with splayed rim, convex sides, tapering downward, and an open, slightly splayed, basal angle. **51** is well preserved, with nine long vertical indents in the body and a continuous spiral trail from shoulder to bottom. Close parallels must exist, although I cannot recall any. There is some affinity with the Alfriston (Sussex) cone-beaker,[3] which has four long vertical indents and some trailing and is probably a Roman survival in the Saxon grave in which it was found. The indented and trailed body, too, is closely akin to the similarly formed and decorated bodies of some of the jugs belonging to Isings Form 98, good examples of which are three jugs found in a third-century cremation-burial on the site of St. Severin's church, Cologne, which also contained a squat, carinated 'dolphin'-handled flask (cf. the handles on Class IX below) and several other glasses.[4]

506 was similar in shape, but is represented by no more than a few pieces of the indented wall and basal angle, too fragmentary to warrant further discussion.

633, complete, all but its bottom, is again similar in shape, but has a partly doubled wavy trail

[1] Harden 1956, 135.

[2] This group of eleven glasses was found in a pit in the Saxon-Shore fort of Burgh Castle (Suffolk) by the late Mr. Charles Green in 1961. It has not yet been fully published. Brief mentions, with a photograph, may be found in *JRS*, 52 (1962), 178, Pl. XXIV, 1; *Journal of Glass Studies*, 5 (1963), 145, No. 16; and *Arch J*, 126 (1970), 64, Pl. XI, E.

[3] Harden 1951, 262, 268, and **Fig. 3; Harden 1956,** 134 f. and Pl. XV*a*.

[4] Isings 1957, 118; and, for the Cologne pieces, cf. F. Fremersdorf in *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, 1 (1955), 117 f., Fig. 3, and Pl. 26.

running round its body, which though seemingly unusual, would by no means be unexpected on a glass of this period. It has some affinity with the inverted scalloped trail on Niessen collection No. 105, now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne,[1] and both glasses could be forerunners of some of the trailed Frankish glasses of the fifth century and later.[2]

51, Grave 63 (370–90). Colourless with greenish tinge. Broken and mended; large portion of middle missing. Very bubbly; some impurities; many spiral streaks; much iridescence and incipient flaking. Rim outsplayed, lip knocked off, with uneven, wavy edge, partially ground smooth; body curves and tapers downwards; nine narrow vertical indents from near rim to bottom; basal angle slightly outsplayed; bottom concave on underside, no pontil-mark. 20-fold continuous spiral trail dropped on at shoulder and ending near bottom. Blown and tooled. Trail drawn on. Height: 12·9 cm; diameter at rim: 8·7 cm; diameter at bottom: 4·3 cm.

506, Grave 396 (370–90). Fragments of a decayed vessel. Colour not discernible. All the fragments bear a very thick film of dark brown weathering. Shape as **51**. Some pieces of indented wall and part of basal angle and concave bottom. Inside the piece of basal angle there is some hardened clay, moulded in the form of the inside of the angle. No decoration visible. Blown. Dimensions not ascertainable. Not illustrated.

633, Grave 398, fill (370–90). Greenish blue. Full section of rim and body in two fragments; some other smaller pieces. Very bubbly; many black impurities and spiral streaks; no iridescence. Rim outbent, lip knocked off and partially ground smooth; sides taper downward in faint S-curve to constriction just above bottom, whence they expand to form an open, folded base-ring; bottom missing but certainly concave. Round middle of body a double zigzag trail with rounded angles; in the upper angles the two parts of the trail are separate, while in the lower ones they are conjoined. Blown; trail drawn on. Height: 9 cm; diameter at lip: 7·1 cm; diameter at bottom: 4 cm.

Class III. Two-way cup or flask

This piece (**372**) belongs to a curious but by no means uncommon class of vessel which may be used either as a cup or, the other way up, as a flask. Some will have it that they are 'trick' vessels, the 'flask' being filled with a drink, stoppered, and then reversed to form a 'cup', which, although apparently full of some wine or other desirable liquid, yields none of it to one who puts the vessel to his lips.[3] If that is indeed what they are, the trick, as Smith points out, is likely to deceive no one who is not totally inebriated, and one wonders whether such was the sole function of these curious vessels.

Two variant shapes occur, of both of which Smith possessed examples. His No. 241[4] is, one way up, a cup with a long stem and, the other way up, a flask with a long neck. This has hitherto seemed to be unparalleled, but it may be (see below) that our example now falls into place beside it. His No. 242[5] resembles, one way up, a cup with a short stem and, the other way up, a flask with a very short neck. This second variety is the commoner form. Apart from the Smith piece, examples occur in the British Museum, from Pozzuoli,[6] and in Erwin Oppenländer's collection in Stuttgart;[7] one formerly in the H.R. von Dehn collection was recently sold at Christie's.[8]

[1] Cited above, p. 213, n. 1.

[2] Cf. von Pfeffer 1952, Fig. 1, Nos. 6, 7, 9, and Fig. 3, Nos. 5–10, 14, 16, 18, 19; and, especially, Rademacher 1942, 305 f., Pl. 58, no. 1, which is not earlier than the seventh century.

[3] Cf. Smith 1949, 50, and fig. there; Smith 1957, 128 f., nos. 241 (illus.) and 242.

[4] See the illustration in Smith 1957, 128.

[5] See the illustration in Smith 1949, 50.

[6] Acc. No. 69.6–24.13, unpublished.

[7] von Saldern 1974, 242, No. 708. It should be noted that all the parallels von Saldern cites, except Smith No. 241, are incorrect since they are ordinary stemmed cups, and not two-way glasses.

[8] Sale, 11 December 1974, London, Lot 94. Now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

There is no doubt that our piece requires to be reconstructed with a long 'neck' or 'stem' and, if so, it is clearly a close parallel to Smith No. 241, although that piece has no handles. That the handles on ours are set where they are proves that it must be treated primarily as a cup and not as a flask; and if this is so, it must surely also be true for Smith No. 241, at least, if not also for Smith No. 242, and its parallels. This perhaps supports their claim to be 'trick' glasses, although I still hesitate to believe that, if the Romans wanted 'trick' glasses, they would not have devised something more readily deceptive.

In general our piece is, in shape, more or less like Morin-Jean Form 103 and Isings Form 112, although that form, being only a goblet on a stem, has neither the double-walled body nor the hollow stem of our type. Mostly such goblets are decorated by cutting.[1] Note also that their handles have thumb-pieces. For handles more like those on **372**, compare those on similar goblets with short stems,[2] and the handles on the two little cups in our next class.

372, Grave 329 (350–70). Pale olive green. Broken and mended; much of the body and all the stem and bottom were not present in the grave when excavated. Very bubbly; some black impurities; much iridescent film and a layer of dark weathering in places. Two-handled cup with double-walled hemispherical body, below which there has been a hollow stem, it seems, which is now missing. Body formed by blowing a sphere and carefully pressing the bottom half inwards to form, as the illustration shows, a double wall. Two widely splayed handles, round in section, dropped on below rim and reaching the side again at a point half-way down. No decoration. Blown and tooled: handles drawn on. Height as extant: 7·8 cm; greatest diameter of body: 11·6 cm; thickness of hollow between 'walls' varies from 0·6 to 2 cm.

Class IV. One-handled cups

The main differences between the two examples in this class (**117** and **508**) is that **117** has an inward-folded rim and **508** an outward-folded one, while the handle on **117** is set lower down the body than that on **508**. I know of no parallels for these two glasses, either with or without handles; the type does not appear in any of the published tables of forms. Their type of handle is, as I have already remarked (Class III, above), common in late Roman glasses.

117, Grave 136 (340–370/90). Light green. Broken and mended; some tiny pieces missing. Very bubbly; a few black impurities; coat of milky weathering in parts, inside; iridescence outside. Rim vertical, tubular lip folded inward and downward; convex sides expanding to shoulder and then curving in gently to rounded junction with concave bottom. Trace of ring pontil-mark *c.* 1·5 cm in diameter. Coil-base drawn on (drop-on below handle). Vertical handle, rounded cross-section, dropped on near bottom and rising thence to meet side again at shoulder. No decoration. Blown; base-ring and handle drawn on. Height: 6·4 cm; diameter at rim: 6·2 cm; diameter at coil-base: 3·7 cm.

508, Grave 390 (370–410). Green. Broken and mended, but many tiny unattached fragments; most of one side missing. Very bubbly; many black impurities and spiral streaks. Heavily strain-cracked. Black weathering film in parts, inside; some incipient iridescence inside and outside. Shape as **117**, but lip folded outward and downward, scarcely any concavity in bottom, and handle dropped on higher up body and ending just below rim. No trace of pontil-mark (perhaps obscured by weathering). No decoration. Blown; coil-base and handle drawn on. Height: 6·2 cm; diameter at rim: 5·7 cm.; diameter at coil-base: 3·3 cm.

[1] Cf. e.g. Fremersdorf 1967, Pls. 138–45.

[2] Cf. e.g. Fremersdorf 1958*b*, Pl. 36 (wrongly ascribed to the first century A.D.), and Fremersdorf 1962, Nos. 50–2.

Class V. Jug with ribbed ribbon-handle

The only example in this class (**310**) belongs to a series of jugs, widespread in the fourth century, some small, some larger, the shapes of which often vary in detail, but have in common a broad-based ovoid body and a ribbed handle with elaborate folds at the top, often incorporating a loop near the rim. The type is Morin-Jean Form 50 and Isings Form 120*b*. Isings points out that these jugs may have either a cut-out, a pushed-in, or a pad base; the majority, like ours, have a pushed-in tubular base-ring, which is what Isings means by her term 'cut-out base'. She cites many examples, mostly to be dated rather late in the fourth century, although the type as a whole probably covers most of that century and may have begun a little earlier still. Among the many available parallels, we may instance a number from the cemetery of *c.* A.D. 370 and later at Mayen in the Eifel;[1] and some in the Niessen collection.[2] All these examples are closely related to **310**, but the exact profile of its rim, with its four-fold spiral trail, is rare and is most nearly paralleled by a jug from Colchester (Essex) in the British Museum[3] which has a six-fold spiral trail below the rim running over on to the top of the neck.

310, Grave 333 (390–410). Green. Many cracks in wall; parts of shoulder missing. Very bubbly; black impurities. Heavily strain-cracked near top and bottom of handle. Lime deposit in parts, inside (especially on one side of neck); some incipient iridescence. Rim outsplayed from constriction at top of neck, lip thickened and rounded in flame; neck expands downwards to rounded shoulder-carination, whence body tapers in again to constriction above splayed, hollow base-ring, which is formed by pushing in a secondary bulb from below; deep pointed kick and a ring pontil-mark. Three-ribbed, drawn handle, self-coloured, dropped on at shoulder and drawn up to level of rim and looped before attachment. Underneath the lip a four-fold, self-coloured, horizontal spiral trail, starting on lip at junction of handle and ending at neck constriction. Blown; handle and trail drawn on. Height (including handle-loop): 15·3 cm; diameter at rim: 5·2 cm; greatest diameter of body: 7·6 cm; diameter at base: 5·1 cm.

Class VI. One-handled flasks

This type is not recorded as a separate form in any published form-table, although Isings, in discussing her Form 14, an early form of flagon,[4] mentions the Richborough example (see below) and correctly ascribes it to the fourth century. Three examples occurred, **472**, **551**, and **632**. On the first and last the handle runs from the shoulder to the middle of the neck, on the second from the shoulder to the rim; otherwise the three are practically identical in shape and are roughly the same size. Parallels seem mainly to occur in Britain. I find it hard to believe that this is a correct picture, but my search has produced only one from elsewhere, in the Niessen collection, from Cologne.[5] Of the British pieces, one was excavated at Richborough (Kent) in Pit 50, which was filled in during the fourth century,[6] one from Icklingham (Suffolk) in the British Museum[7] was bought from G. F. Lawrence; and there are two examples in the Burgh Castle group.[8] All four English pieces resemble **472** and **632** in the position of their handles, and the Cologne piece resembles **551** in that regard. I do not think, however, that this difference in handle-placings need be regarded as significant.

[1] Haberey 1942, 259, Graves 1, 4, 14, etc.

[2] Loeschcke 1911, 7 f., Nos. 38–49, Pl. VII (small), and Nos. 50–63, Pls. XIV, XV, and XLII (larger); and Fremersdorf 1958*b*, Pls. 93–105, 110–12 (mainly small).

[3] Acc. No. 70.2–24.4.

[4] Isings 1957, 31 f.

[5] Loeschcke 1911, 46, no. 513, Pl. XXXI, ht. 9·5 cm.

[6] Bushe-Fox 1932, 85, Pl. XV, 62; cf. Isings 1957, 32.

[7] Acc. No. 1900.6–14.2; no finding details.

[8] See above, p. 214, n. 2.

472, Grave 385 (370–410). Green. Broken and mended; many pieces, including virtually the whole handle, missing. Many bubbles, black impurities, and spiral streaks; incipient iridescence. Much strain-cracking on neck and part of shoulder. Rim outsplayed (unevenly), lip hollow, folded upward and inward; neck cylindrical, but broadening towards base to a curved junction with shoulder; globular body, concave bottom with deep pointed kick; ring pontil-mark. Handle (missing except for bits of upper attachment and holes in neck) dropped on at shoulder (where there is now a hole in the vessel) and drawn upwards to end in multiple folds half-way up neck. No decoration. Blown; handle drawn on. Height: 10·4 cm; diameter at lip: 2·7 cm; greatest diameter of body: 7·7 cm.

551, Grave 352 (390–410). Green. Broken and mended; parts of shoulder missing. Very bubbly; many black impurities and spiral streaks. Much strain-cracking on neck and shoulder, causing fractures. Some iridescence on both surfaces; some contents-stain within. Rim outsplayed, lip hollow (but fading into solid next to handle), folded upward and inward; neck cylindrical, but broadening towards base to form curved junction with shoulder; globular body, concave bottom, ring pontil-mark. Handle dropped on at shoulder and drawn upwards to end in scissor-fold at rim. No decoration. Blown; handle drawn on. Height: 9·7 cm; diameter at lip: 3·4 cm; greatest diameter of body: 7·8 cm.

632, Rescue-observation E. Pale olive green. Intact. Very bubbly, many black impurities and a few spiral streaks. Much iridescent sheen, especially on inside, with a little milkiness. Shape as **472** but rim not uneven, bottom concave but without deep kick, and handle intact, dropped on at shoulder and drawn upwards to end in scissor-fold half-way up neck. No decoration. Blown; handle drawn on. Height: 10·4 cm; diameter at lip: 2·6 cm; greatest diameter of body: 7·9 cm.

Class VII. Two-handled flasks

Of the two pieces in this class (**270** and **450**), the first is a tall-necked bulbous flask with two-ribbed ribbon-handles rising from the shoulder to end against a multiple trail near the bottom of the neck. This type is not recorded by Morin-Jean or Isings. At first glance it might seem to resemble Isings Form 129, but that form, so common in the West in the fourth century, is, in its details, totally different and cannot be brought into the discussion. Failing this, the nearest comparisons I can find are two vessels of yellow glass from Karanis in the Egyptian Fayum, now in Cairo Museum.[1] The second of these (Cairo No. J.46482) would seem from its illustration to be very close indeed, but its body is elliptical in horizontal section, having been flattened on two sides, so that it is less good as a parallel than the illustration might suggest. The other (Cairo No. J.46484) is not an adequate parallel either, since its neck is too short and too broad. Chronologically, however, both these examples would suit well, since they belong to Karanis fabric 4, one of the three varieties of local Egyptian table-glass in use from Constantinian times onwards for more than a century.[2]

450, a tall-necked piriform flask with low, widely-swung handles, circular in section and again linked by a neck-trail, is easier to parallel. An example in Canterbury Museum found in 1846 at Bourne Park, Bishopsbourne (Kent), four miles from Canterbury and half a mile south-west of the line of the Roman road from Canterbury to Dover, is very close to it, except that its handles are more angular and of the ribbon type with four ribs on the outside, and are not linked by a neck-trail. Another, however, found in Colchester (Essex) and now in Colchester Museum, does have a neck-trail and handles that are circular in section, like those on **450**. Outside Britain the nearest parallel I can find is a vessel that was in the Vom Rath collection in Berlin, destroyed during the Second World War,[3] which

[1] Harden 1936, 256, 317, Fig. 4*h* and *j*.
[2] Ibid. 22 f.
[3] Kisa 1908, Fig. 160*g*, Formentafel C 135.

seems to have been similar, except that the rim is vertical with knocked-off lip. Unfortunately none of these parallels is dated, so that ours, which was found in a grave belonging to the last quarter of the fourth century, is all the more significant.

270, Grave 236 (340–370/90). Light green. Intact. Very bubbly; some black impurities and spiral streaks; iridescent. Strain-cracks in body. Rim outsplayed, lip folded inward and downward; tall cylindrical neck expanding slightly towards bottom, where it meets body in gentle unbroken curve; bulbous body; tall coil-base with ring pontil-mark inside coil. On neck, low down, a disc-shaped horizontal trail. Two drawn handles dropped on at shoulder and curving upwards in wide Z-curve which ends at neck-trail. No decoration. Blown; handles and coils drawn on. Height: 9·1 cm; diameter at rim: 1·7 cm; diameter of body: 4·5 cm; diameter of base-coil: 2·3 cm.

450, Grave 322 (370–90). Green. Broken and mended; small portions missing. Very bubbly; some black impurities and spiral streaks; dulled on both surfaces and some iridescent sheen. Strain-cracks. Rim outbent, solid lip folded inward and downward; neck cylindrical with constriction near base, whence it expands again to faintly angular junction with body; body spherical with pushed-in hollow base-ring; bottom concave below with pointed kick. Towards base of neck a three-fold horizontal trail. Two widely curved handles dropped on at shoulder and ending in multiple folds at neck-trail. Blown; handles and trail drawn on. Height: 17 cm; diameter at rim: 3·1 cm; greatest diameter of body: 10 cm; diameter of base-ring: 6 cm.

Class VIII. Two-handled bottle

This piece (549) is a characteristic example of a type, Morin-Jean Form 9 and Isings Form 127, which became prevalent in the later third century and lasted throughout the fourth, being for all that time one of the most noteworthy shapes of glassware. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find it in the filling of a Lankhills grave of the later fourth century. A similar and contemporary shape, but with one handle only, also occurs: Isings Form 126. There are many parallels, well dated at various stages in the late third and fourth centuries, both of the two-handled,[1] and of the one-handled type.[2]

549, Grave 398, fill (370–90). Bluish green. Broken and partially repaired. Very bubbly and streaky, but few impurities; some iridescent sheen. Most of body and of one handle missing, but full shape ascertainable: rim outsplayed with horizontal strengthening trail 1 cm from lip; lip knocked off and rounded in flame; cylindrical neck expanding at base to rounded junction with shoulder, which slopes downwards to join body; body cylindrical with slight downward taper, bottom concave. Two five-ribbed strap-handles dropped on at shoulder, where their ends are splayed out into five gripping claws; handles then drawn vertically upwards and folded downward and inward and upward to form scissor-folds at junction with neck and rim. No decoration. Top free-blown, body mould-blown; handles drawn. Height: 23·1 cm; diameter of rim: 5·9 cm; diameter at shoulder: 8 cm; diameter at bottom: 7 cm.

[1] Loeschcke 1911, 41, Nos. 419, 421, and Pl. XXXIV; Morin-Jean 1913, Fig. 28; Harden 1936, 255 (from Karanis and elsewhere in Egypt) and 256 f. (from Syrian and western sites—some plain, some highly decorated, including the well-known example from Hohensulzen, near Worms, with an elaborately cut Dionysiac scene); and Isings 1957 (from various sites, mainly western). When writing in 1936, I stated (pp. 256–7) that the type was particularly common in the West from the second century onward, and that the Hohensulzen bottle 'can hardly have been manufactured after the second century'. I have long since changed these views; not even the Hohensulzen piece, much less the type as a whole, can be earlier than the middle of the third century.

[2] Harden 1936, 235 (from Egyptian sites) and 236 (from Syria and the West).

Class IX. Bottles with two 'dolphin'-handles

Two fine examples of this well-known late Roman shape, **20** and **21**, occurred at Lankhills in two early graves, Graves 35 and 38, ascribed to the first half of the fourth century. The handles on both bottles have a characteristic knife-edge on the head of the 'dolphin', which faces outward, over the shoulder. A handle-fragment from a third bottle of this type, **411**, however, differs in that the dolphin's head is broad and rounded and is facing up the neck of the vessel and not out over the shoulder. Several parallels to this type can be quoted.[1] The type appears to have been wholly western.[2] Isings says it began to be made in the late second century and continued in production until the fourth century.[3] She cites, however, only one example of it before A.D. 250, and that from an old publication, the dating given in which may not be wholly reliable. In my view the type cannot have begun much earlier than the mid-third century and its *floruit* covered the later third and earlier fourth centuries. Fragments of these bottles have occurred on other British sites, for example at York[4] and Shakenoak Farm villa (Oxon.).[5]

20, Grave 35 (310–50). Colourless with greenish tinge. Broken and mended; a few pieces missing, especially on neck. Very bubbly; many black impurities; milkiness on both surfaces with some iridescent sheen. Much strain-cracking on upper part, causing fracturing. Rim vertical, lip knocked off unevenly and only partially ground smooth; cylindrical neck with faint constriction at bottom, whence shoulder slopes to rounded junction with body; body cylindrical with slight downward taper; plain bottom, slightly concave on underside. Two sharp-edged 'dolphin'-handles filling the angle between neck and shoulder; each dropped on at shoulder, worked into a ridge at top and folded to form suspension-ring and 'dolphin'-snout at edge of shoulder. Neck and shoulder free-blown, body blown into a mould. Handles drawn out from drop-on at shoulder. Height: 17·2 cm; diameter at rim: 1·7 cm; diameter at shoulder: 5·8 cm; diameter at bottom: 4·4 cm.

21, Grave 38 (310–50). Colourless with greenish tinge. Broken and mended; a few tiny portions missing. Many bubbles, but no black impurities or spiral streaks; milkiness and some iridescence on both surfaces. Shape as **20**, but uneven (see Fig. 27) at bottom of neck, and handles not in same plane. Height: 15·9 cm; diameter at rim: 1·6 cm; diameter at shoulder: 5·4 cm; diameter at bottom: 4·3 cm.

411, Grave 337 (330–50). One handle and part of neck and shoulder only. Colourless with greenish tinge. Bubbly and iridescent. Neck vertical with constriction at base, shoulder horizontal. Handle fills angle between neck and shoulder: dropped on at neck, drawn out to edge of shoulder and then folded upwards to rejoin neck, ending in 'dolphin'-snout; the whole broad and squat and without the shaped top-ridge of **20** and **21**. Blown: handle drawn on. Height of handle: 2 cm; width of handle: 2·2 cm. Illustrated in Fig. 91.

[1] Loeschcke 1911, 40, Nos. 399–414, Pl. XXXIII (showing examples with both types of handle); Morin-Jean 1913, 56 ff., Figs. 32–3, Form 10; and Isings 1957, 119, Form 100.

[2] Cf. Harden 1956, **254**.

[3] Isings 1957, 119.

[4] *Eburacum*, 1962, 141, No. HG 182; cf. **Fig. 89**.

[5] Harden 1973, 104, Nos. 232–3, Fig. 52.

5

POTTERY VESSELS

i. LATE ROMAN POTTERY

by MICHAEL FULFORD

THERE are ninety[1] vessels which were found with the burial in intact or partially excavated inhumations at Lankhills. In addition, a number of whole vessels and sherds were recovered from grave-fills, cremations, other features, and rescue-observations.[2] Almost all this material is late Roman; there are a few prehistoric sherds (for which see below, p. 237), but virtually nothing of the earlier Roman period.

Of the forty-nine colour-coated vessels from the inhumations, thirty-six were made in the New Forest kilns,[3] and twelve or thirteen in the kilns of the Oxfordshire region.[4] It is more difficult to be certain of an Oxfordshire provenance for beakers, flagons, and flasks, because these types have not received the same attention in publication as the red-slipped and 'parchment' types. Although form and decoration may not be closely paralleled, fabric and slip provide a good indication of the source. Other attributions for the colour-coated types do not seem likely, although the beaker **529** has a fabric which resembles that defined as Pevensey ware.[5] Taken as a whole, over 50 per cent of the pottery from the graves is colour-coated, a figure which compares with 20–5 per cent on settlement sites in the south of Britain in the fourth century.

Of the coarse or grey-ware vessels, **61**, the 'unguent' flask from Grave 45, may be an import from Germany,[6] but the majority are likely to have originated in either the Alice Holt[7] or New Forest kilns, both of which are within 40 km of Winchester. Similarities between the grey fabrics of these two centres make any definite attribution difficult, the more so as we lack a good series of published kiln-groups from Alice Holt. Two coarse vessels are likely to have come from the centre producing black-burnished ware in Dorset:[8] **212** (Grave 182) and **256** (Grave 250).

With the dating of the pottery and its relevance to the dating of the cemetery there are two main points to be considered: first, the extent to which other sites suggest independent dating evidence for the Lankhills pottery, particularly with regard to the start of the cemetery; second, the extent to which Lankhills may itself be used to extend the pottery sequence already established on the basis of other sites. The possibilities under the second heading are very much dependent on whether the pottery from Lankhills can be considered typical of an ordinary settlement.

[1] This figure excludes **211 (Grave 182), which was** mislaid subsequent to its discovery.

[2] Thirty-one sherds and fourteen **whole vessels** from these various sources are described.

[3] Cf. Swan 1973; Fulford 1973*a*; Fulford 1975*a*. When comparing this pottery report with Fulford 1975*a*, it should be noted that to enable pottery dates to be used in the analysis of Lankhills, this report was written in late 1973.

[4] Cf. Young 1973.

[5] Fulford 1973*b*.

[6] Fulford and Bird **1975, esp. 178; see below, p. 227.**

[7] **Cf. Bennett *et al.* 1963, and the references there cited.**

[8] **Cf. Peacock 1973.**

As a comparative guide, the pottery sequence from Portchester Castle (Hants)[1] has been used to offer possible date-ranges for the Lankhills vessels. This is necessary both to establish the value of the Lankhills series and to determine the extent to which factors like heirloom survival may have affected the grave-goods. Portchester was occupied from *c.* 280 onwards and large amounts of pottery were recovered from a number of groups, the most important of which date from *c.* 280, *c.* 300–25, *c.* 325–45, and *c.* 345–400. With the aid of large groups, it has been possible to estimate the period during which the various types of vessels and the different styles of decoration were produced, by examining their increase or decrease as a percentage of the total assemblage. In this respect the evidence of Portchester, or any other site which has produced useful groups of pottery, differs from that of Lankhills, where there is little repetition of fine wares in the graves, particularly in those of the first half of the fourth century. Any particular pot may have been deposited at any stage in the currency of the type to which it belongs. A pot which has only one secure date attached to it from the Lankhills evidence can only be given a wide date-bracket, of perhaps ±30 years, if it is to be used as evidence in the interpretation of another site. These remarks apply more to the colour-coated pottery than to the grey wares, since the former change more and appear in greater variety at any one time than the latter. Since typological change is slower with the grey wares, repetition of similar types in the graves is correspondingly less useful than it would be for the finer types.

The survival of pots as heirlooms is another matter to consider. Beaker **505** (Grave 396) may be an heirloom, associated as it is with a Valentinianic coin, and complications of this kind may affect any determination of the starting-date of the cemetery. But in general there seems to be a correlation in any given type between the Lankhills date and the range suggested by the Portchester evidence.[2]

On the question of when burial started at Lankhills, one problem lies in assessing the dates for the grey wares, which tend to have a longer production-span than colour-coated varieties. The over-all date-range of the grey types appears to begin post-*c.* 250/70. The finer vessels can be shown to have a more restricted life, and the presence or absence of certain types may well have a chronological significance for the start of the cemetery. There is, for example, a relative lack of beakers like **209** (Grave 199) and **134** (Grave 105). These are a common early form of New Forest beaker dating from *c.* 270 onwards. Flagons like **172** (Grave 141) are also rare, and incised concentric-circle motifs, like those on **505** (Grave 396), are virtually absent. When these absences are compared with the relative frequency in the cemetery of other New Forest types which occur at Portchester between *c.* 320 and *c.* 350, the possibility emerges that the graves with pots do not date from before *c.* 300 and that only a few may be earlier than *c.* 320. From that date on, the pots seem to suggest continuity in the provision of vessels down to the beginning of the fifth century, although fewer pots can be dated after *c.* 350.[3]

In using the Lankhills material for dating the general New Forest pottery sequence, the possibility that some aspects of the pottery present at Lankhills may be typical only of a cemetery ought to be considered. The grave-rite will clearly have determined the functional range of the vessels present: Table 32 compares the relative frequency of types present at Lankhills and Portchester, and it is evident that at Lankhills there is a distinct bias towards drinking vessels and jugs/flagons. The coarse, everted-rim jar, the flanged pie-dish, and the plain dish, so common in contemporary settlements, are rare. Red-slipped bowls from the Oxfordshire kilns are also virtually absent, and this too probably reflects the nature of man's needs in the after-life as seen by those who buried their dead at Lankhills.

Of the individual vessels, none are unusual or would be out of place in a settlement site. Kiln-seconds like **205, 42,** and possibly **95,** might be thought unusual, but they occur in settlements in

[1] Fulford 1975*b*.

[2] This is shown by Table 3 (p. 120), which compares the dating derived from coins and stratigraphy with that of the pottery.

[3] For discussion of the dating of Lankhills with reference to all the evidence see above, pp. 3 and 113–21.

small quantities. The suggestion that vessels were made specifically for interment in graves must therefore be doubted.[1]

Among New Forest products there seems, in the second half of the fourth century, and especially in its last third, to be a significant occurrence of a more limited range of types, seldom with any added decoration such as incised or painted motifs. Changes such as this can be seen in late groups at Portchester and in the assemblage from the late fourth-century kiln at Amberwood in the New Forest,[2]

TABLE 32

Comparison of the frequency of types of pottery vessel at Lankhills and at Portchester

Pottery types		Incidence in Lankhills inhumations		Frequency at Portchester (cf. Fulford 1975*b*)
			%	%
Jugs/flagons	colour-coated	15	16	1
	other	20	22	1·9
Other closed types	colour-coated	7	8	0·05
	other	1	1	1·9
Beakers	colour-coated	24	26	8·5
	other	2	2	1·0
Bowls	colour-coated	5	5	13·0
	other	7	8	21·0
Jars	colour-coated	—	—	—
	other	10	11	45·0
Other types, (e.g. mortaria, storage jars, etc.)		—	—	6·65
Total		91	100	100

Note: The Lankhills colour-coated bowls include 211 from Grave 182, which was mislaid after discovery.

and the Lankhills sequence also seems to reflect these changes in ceramic fashion. The later graves with pottery, although few in number, are unlike the earlier graves (where there is little repetition of fine, colour-coated types with close dates), in that they show some duplication of types, with consistent coin evidence. These graves provide useful confirmation of the dating of the late fourth-century colour-coated types in them.

The colour-coated jug type (**118, 274, 383,** and **470**), which has been regarded, probably incorrectly, as of ritual character,[3] seems in particular to date from the late fourth century. Three of the Lankhills graves in which it occurred were dug after *c.* 390, and the type can be shown to be common on late occupation sites, e.g. Portchester (Type 6, post-340), *Clausentum*,[4] and the Lufton villa (Somerset).[5]

[1] Swan 1973, 120, 122–3.
[2] Fulford 1971.
[3] Swan 1973, 122–3.
[4] Cotton and Gathercole 1958, Fig. 32, No. 17.
[5] Hayward 1952, Fig. 5, No. 13 (incorrectly restored).

It is also the commonest type of jug produced in Kiln 3 at Amberwood.[1] It is interesting that in this late kiln, where both grey and colour-coated fabrics were produced, no grey-ware jug/flagon types were made. At Portchester, the incidence of the latter (Type 159) drops from 1·8 per cent of the assemblage in groups dated before *c.* 350 to 0·9 per cent in groups later than *c.* 350. At Lankhills itself only one grave (Grave 63) dated after *c.* 350 has a grey-ware flagon, whereas in the earlier graves they are very common.[2] With this change from grey-ware to colour-coated jugs there seems also to be a corresponding decrease in capacity. Compared with the capacity of the grey-ware jugs, that of the colour-coated types is usually less than the smallest grey-ware equivalent (Fig. 28). This change in the form of the jug may mark the beginning of the disappearance of this type from Britain until the eleventh century.[3]

The Lankhills sequence also emphasises some of the changes in the plain indented beaker; the group dated *c.* 350–80 (**23, 96, 336,** and **386**) should be compared with the earlier types (**134** and **209**). The later globular beakers, **271** and **311,** might also be noted. Any other chronological generalisations about beakers must await confirmation from further stratified sequences dated to this period, however.

The capacity of those vessels which could be measured has been recorded so that another important factor in the cross-comparison of basic forms can be utilised. Information of this sort is needed for pottery of all periods, so that assessments can be made of the changing importance and function of individual types—information of social as well as of economic significance. The histograms in Fig. 28 suggest the possibility of two preferred sizes for beaker and flagon types respectively, but standardisation is not marked. If such information was available from settlement sites, it would be interesting to compare the capacities of the Lankhills types with those not from a cemetery.

To conclude, it would seem that the sequence of pottery at Lankhills reflects the changes in ceramic fashion which occur in settlement sites, except in so far as the function of the grave ritual demanded only a limited range of pottery types. The occurrence of residual or heirloom elements does not appear to be significant. As each variant, particularly of colour-coated types, is seldom represented more than once or twice, and often only in a relative or floating sequence, the importance of Lankhills for dating rests largely in its support for a framework already assembled. Those graves with pots dated to the second half of the century and later are of more value in the dating of a small number of types. Since few graves have pots datable after *c.* 350, the value of the non-appearance of types after *c.* 350 as reliable negative evidence is reduced.

Catalogue

In this catalogue, owing to the number of complete vessels, fabric descriptions are mostly based only on surface appearances, and not on complete cross-sections. References are given to the types established at Portchester,[4] and dates are suggested on the basis of evidence from that excavation. Dates suggested by the Lankhills evidence are also indicated, the criteria used being coins, stratigraphy (see pp. 116–20), and how the grave was furnished (see pp. 22 and 168–71). These dates will often differ from those in Table 2, because the latter incorporate the pottery evidence which for obvious reasons is excluded here.

1, Grave 2 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 620 cc. Brown, coarse, sandy fabric; grey on the surface. All-over black slip. Decoration of vertical burnished lines on the neck, criss-cross burnished lines on the shoulder, and smooth burnishing on the upper half of the body. This is the commonest type from

[1] Fulford 1971, 12, Type 1.

[2] Rescue-observation S, where the grey-ware flagon **193** was found, can be dated to the late fourth century, probably to after *c.* 390 (see above, p. 10).

[3] Cf. J. G. Hurst in *Med Arch,* 15 (1972), 186–7.

[4] Fulford 1975*b*.

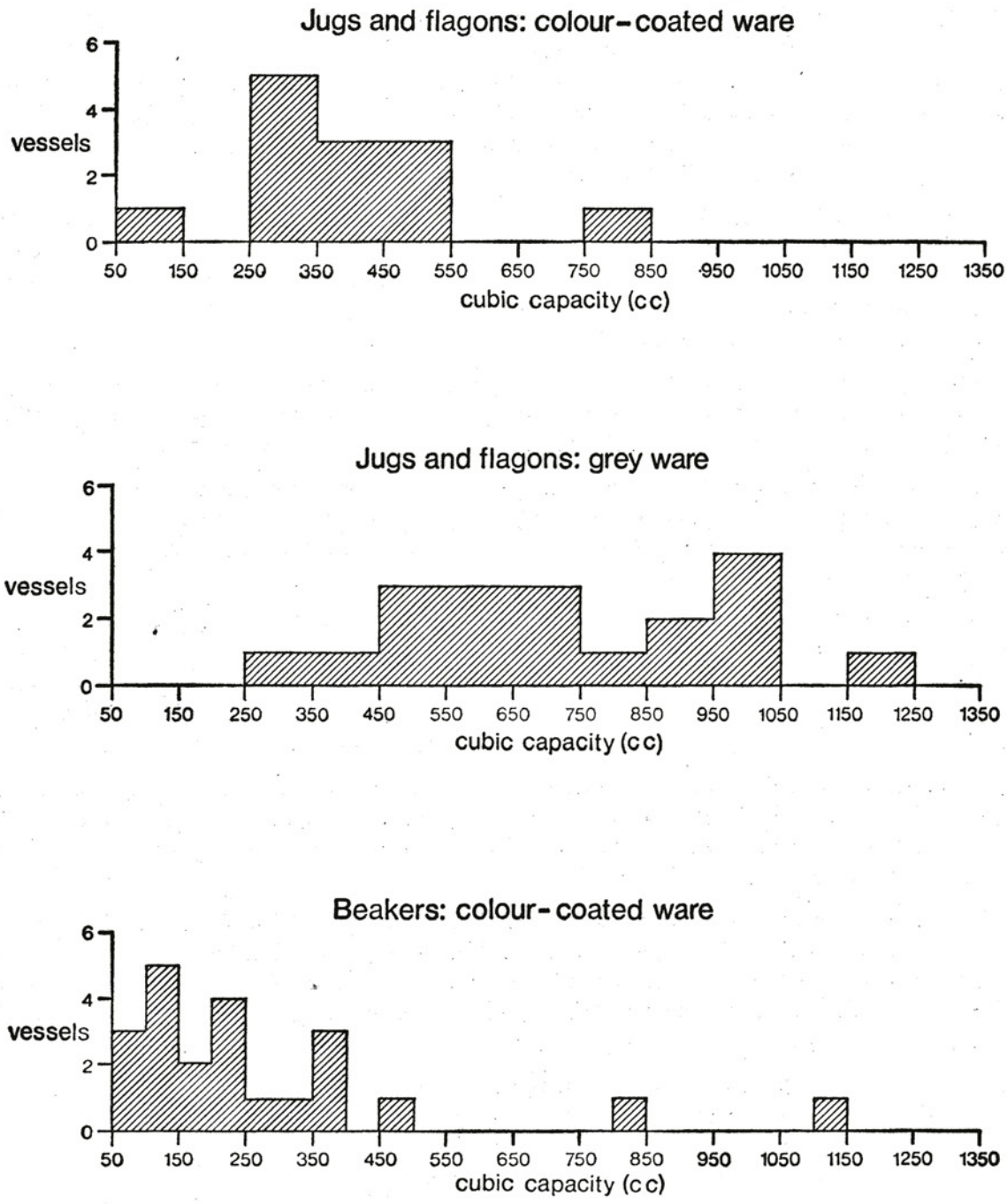


FIG. 28. The cubic capacity (cc) of pottery vessels, based on measurable vessels from intact or partially excavated inhumations.

the cemetery and compares with Portchester Type 159, which seemed to disappear after *c.* 350. A broad date-bracket for the type of *c.* 270–*c.* 370 is probable.

2, Grave 5 (310–50). Flask with tall, undifferentiated spout. 345 cc. Hard, slightly micaceous, orange fabric with grains of haematite/limonite; all-over orange-red slip. Decoration on the body of three lines of rouletting, often obscured by the slip. Probably an Oxfordshire fabric. Probably datable to *c.* 300–*c.* 350, but no exact parallel known.

3, Grave 6 (310–50). Beaker with pear-shaped body and narrow, everted mouth. 340 cc. Fine orange-brown fabric, with an all-over red to brown slip. The body is divided into vertical panels, each decorated with three S-shapes *en barbotine* in an off-white slip, covered by the outer slip, and divided one from another by lines of square-tooth rouletting. Probably an Oxfordshire fabric. Cf. Portchester Type 26, in contexts of *c.* 320–*c.* 350.

4, Grave 3 (310–50). Small, globular beaker. 105 cc. Hard, cream fabric, coated with a red-brown slip that is lustrous in places. Decoration of square or rectangular indentations in groups of three (? triple-pointed instrument). New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 21, in contexts of *c.* 320–*c.* 370.

5, Grave 3 (310–50). Globular beaker with tall neck. 355 cc. Fine, yellow-brown fabric, grey to the core, with a metallic purple slip. Decoration on the body of incised scrolls above two rows of squarish stab impressions. A flaw in the body seems ancient. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Types 21 and 2/10.6 and 7, in contexts of *c.* 320–*c.* 370.

6, Grave 22 (330–50). Two-handled bowl with pedestal base. 1000 cc. Fine, sandy, brown fabric with an all-over silvery grey to black slip; upper half outside burnished to the carination with a band of diagonal, shallow-scored lines between two grooves. Cf. Portchester Type 92, in contexts of *c.* 330–*c.* 370. For similar decoration, but not on this form, see **131** (Grave 138) and **664** (Grave 217, fill).

7, Grave 22 (330–50). Squat jar with a short neck and flanged rim. Hard, light grey, sandy fabric. Upper half decorated with a grey to black slip; smooth burnishing (now much flaked) certainly over the slip and probably over the whole body. Cf. Portchester Type 154.4–6, in contexts of *c.* 330–*c.* 370, and **56** (Grave 71).

8, Grave 27 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 810 cc. Fine, micaceous, yellow fabric, reddish-yellow to the core, and with grains of haematite/limonite visible. Coated with a dull brown slip. Tall, everted rim, pinched out to form a spout; join of neck and body clearly visible. Probably Oxfordshire fabric, but no precise parallel known; perhaps datable to *c.* 300–*c.* 350. Cf. **66** (Grave 61) and **384** (Grave 299).

22, Grave 38 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 650 cc. Brown, sandy fabric, dark grey on the surface; the upper half is coated with a black slip. Decoration on shoulder and neck of vertical burnished lines, delimited on the shoulder by a slight groove; smooth, horizontal burnishing over the rest of the body. Cf. Portchester Type 159, and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

23, Grave 23 (350–370/90). Indented beaker with wide mouth and turned-out rim. 350 cc. Fine cream fabric with a red-brown to black slip. Two grooves around body and below indentations. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 22.6 and 7 in contexts of *c.* 350–*c.* 380; and **96** (Grave 127), **324** (Grave 329, fill), **336** (Grave 336), **386** (Grave 326), and **537** (Feature 46).

32, Grave 26 (cremation, 310–370/90). Base of large jar. Very coarse, grey, sandy fabric; no slip, but rough, light grey surface. *c.* 250–*c.* 400.

35, Grave 60 (cremation, 350–70). Jar with everted rim; dark brown to black fabric with 'grog'-temper. Decoration of horizontal burnished zones between diagonal-scored burnishing on the body; smooth burnishing on the rest of the body; surface dark to red-brown, black in places. Cf. Portchester Type 123, in contexts of *c.* 270–*c.* 400 both there and in Winchester.[1] Cf. also **97** (Grave 127), **207** (Grave 237), **228** (Grave 172), **465** (Grave 361), and **609** (Grave 451, fill).

36, Grave 50 (310–50). Small, one-handled flagon with pinched-out mouth and squat, cylindrical body. 325 cc. Hard, light grey fabric, yellow-brown to the core; almost a stone-ware; coated with a glossy, purple slip. Decoration on the body of double 'trellis' pattern in white paint; shallow impressions on top of angle between shoulder and body. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 10, in contexts of *c.* 330–*c.* 370 and **254** (Grave 250).

42, Grave 48 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 900 cc. Pale grey, slightly sandy fabric. The upper half is coated with a black slip. Decoration on neck of vertical burnished lines and smooth, horizontal burnishing on the slip-covered part of the body. There are two holes on the edge of the slip, one filled with a rough, fired-clay plug. Cf. Portchester Type 159, in contexts of *c.* 270–*c.* 370, and **1** (Grave 2).

43, Grave 79 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 540 cc. Fine, cream fabric, coated all over with a dark brown to purple slip. New Forest. Cf. **490** (Grave 366) and **468** (Feature 12, surface). No dated parallel elsewhere.

44, Grave 56 (310–50). Squat jar with neck and flat rim. 380 cc. Hard, grey, sandy fabric with a patchy, silvery grey slip over the upper half of the body; burnished all over; some large (up to 3 mm) flint inclusions visible on the surface. Cf. **321** (Grave 195) and **377** (Grave 204). Fourth century. Generally cf. Portchester Type 153.

53, Grave 47 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 1160 cc. Hard, pale grey, sandy fabric; the upper half is coated with a white to grey slip. Decoration on the neck of vertical burnished lines and, on the shoulder, of panels of diagonal burnished lines, separated by groups of three lines. A scratched A on the upper half of the body, opposite the handle. Cf. Portchester Type 159, and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

55, Grave 86 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 1020 cc. Coarse, grey, sandy fabric with a grey surface; the upper half is coated with a white to black slip. Decoration on the neck of vertical burnished lines and on the shoulder of diagonal burnished lines; smooth horizontal burnishing on the rest of the body. Cf. Portchester Type 159, and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

56, Grave 71 (310–50). Squat jar with neck and flanged rim. 450 cc. Hard, grey, sandy fabric, coated with a white to silvery grey slip; smooth burnishing on the body below the neck. The junction of neck and body is visible as a shallow depression. There is a chip missing from the flange which may be an ancient break, and there is a slight flaw in the body. Cf. Portchester Type 154.4–6 in contexts of *c.* 330–*c.* 370, and **7** (Grave 22).

61, Grave 45 (310–50). Small, tapering vessel. Reddish yellow fabric, tempered with much sand (quartz), visible as translucent grains on the surface of the vessel. The top provides seating, perhaps for a stopper. Horizontal rilling on the body. No British parallel to either fabric or form. Perhaps an import:[2] exact parallels to the form found in a grave neai the Medardstrasse, dated to the first third of the fourth century,[3] and at the Kaiserthermen,[4] both in Trier.

[1] Cunliffe 1964, Figs. 19, 20, 21, and 61.
[2] Fulford and Bird 1975, esp. 178.
[3] *Trierer Zeitschrift*, 24–6 (1956/58), 460, Abb. 70.
[4] Hussong and Cüppers 1972, 23–4, Taf. 7, no. 57.

63, Grave 63 (370–90). One-handled flagon. 1020 cc. Grey, sandy fabric with the upper half coated in a black slip. The surface of the upper half appears slightly rough. Decoration on the neck of vertical burnished lines and on the shoulder of diagonal lines of slip over the plain surface of the vessel. Cf. Portchester Type 159, and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

66, Grave 61 (310–30). One-handled flagon. Rough, sandy fabric, coated with a red-brown slip; the spout has a U-profile and there is a thumb-stop added to the top of the handle. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 11, in contexts of *c.* 320–*c.* 350, and **8** (Grave 27).

67, Grave 91 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 680 cc. Brown to grey sandy fabric; the upper half is coated with a grey to brown slip. Decoration on the neck of vertical burnished lines and on the shoulder of diagonal burnished lines, delimited by two rather irregular burnished lines. Cf. Portchester Type 159 and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

76, Grave 98 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 540 cc. Brown to grey sandy fabric, grey on the surface; the upper half is coated with a black slip. Decoration on the neck and shoulder of vertical burnished lines, with a more impressed line on the shoulder; the rest of the body is smooth-burnished. The vessel appears very worn, with chips out of the body and a thin slip. Cf. Portchester Type 159, and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

95, Grave 126 (310–50). One-handled flagon, probably with a nozzle mouth. Fine, light brown fabric coated with a glossy brown slip; the nozzle is missing, perhaps as the result of an ancient break. Decoration of a pair of rows of rouletting on the shoulder and a pair of rows in the middle of the body. Probably Oxfordshire fabric. Cf. Portchester Type 2 (largely New Forest fabrics) in contexts of *c.* 300/10–*c.* 340/50, and **172** (Grave 141), **226** (Grave 227), **241** (Grave 186), and **320** (Grave 328, fill).

96, Grave 127 (350–370/90). Large, indented beaker. 1100 cc. Yellow-brown fabric with a grey core and haematite/limonite grains visible in it; coated all over in a dull red-brown slip. Two grooves around the body. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 22.6 and 7 in contexts of *c.* 350–*c.* 380; and **23** (Grave 23), **324** (Grave 329, fill), **336** (Grave 336), **386** (Grave 326), and **537** (Feature 46).

97, Grave 127 (350–370/90). Jar with everted rim. Dark brown to black grog-tempered fabric; grey surface. All-over burnishing outside on an uneven, pimply surface with a broad central zone of diagonal-scored strokes; hand-made. Cf. **35** (Grave 60), **207** (Grave 237), **228** (Grave 172), **465** (Grave 361), and **609** (Grave 451, fill).

98, Grave 132 (310–50). Globular beaker. 135 cc. Hard-fired, fine, brown fabric, grey at the core; coated in a reddish-brown to black slip with a rough surface. White-painted running scroll on the body. Probably an Oxfordshire product. Cf. Portchester Type 18.8 in contexts of *c.* 320–*c.* 350.

99, Grave 114 (one coin, **115,** 313–17). Indented beaker. Fine, hard grey fabric; coated with a matt purple to black slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 22.2–5, in contexts of *c.* 270–*c.* 330 and **134** (Grave 105) and **209** (Grave 199).

105, Grave 130 (330–50). One-handled flagon. 750 cc. Grey, sandy fabric. Upper half is coated in a black slip. Decoration of vertical burnished lines on neck and shoulder, with delimiting line on the shoulder; smooth horizontal burnishing over the rest of the body. Cf. Portchester Type 159 and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

118, Grave 136 (330–370/90). Small, one-handled flagon. 255 cc. Light brown fabric coated with a purple to red-brown slip. A double-beaded rim flattened opposite the handle to form a spout. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 6 in contexts post-340, and **274** (Grave 265), **383** (Grave 347), **470** (Grave 278), and **667** (Grave 372, fill).

119, Grave 134 (310–70). Bowl with everted rim. Sandy, pale brown fabric. Upper half is coated with a black slip. There is a groove around the body at the lower limit of the slip and burnishing on the upper surface of the rim and the top half of the body. Cf. **253** (Grave 250), **282** (Grave 273), and **535** (Grave 426). *c.* 250–*c.* 400.

129, Grave 106 (350–370/90). Bowl with everted rim. 270 cc. Cream fabric with grains of haematite/limonite; coated with an orange to yellow-red slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 55, in contexts of *c.* 340–*c.* 400, and **665** (Feature 40).

131, Grave 138 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 1000 cc. Brown to grey sandy fabric, grey on the surface. Upper two-thirds coated with a grey to black slip. Decoration of vertical burnished lines on the neck; at base of the neck two lines of white slip connected to another low on the shoulder by broad, vertical lines of burnished, white slip. Below this an incised design of saltires between groups of three vertical lines; smooth burnishing over the upper half of the body. For the design, but not on this form, cf. **6** (Grave 22), **664** (Grave 217, fill), and Portchester Types 77 and 92, in contexts of *c.* 320–*c.* 350.

132, Grave 125 (310–30). Squat jar with narrow mouth and bead rim. 960 cc. Brown to grey sandy fabric, grey on the surface. Upper half coated with a white to grey slip. Cf. Portchester Type 119, in contexts of *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

134, Grave 105 (310–350/70). Tall, indented beaker. 810 cc. Hard, blue-grey fabric, with a brown core and haematite/limonite grains visible. Coated with a glossy, purple slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 22.1–5, in contexts of *c.* 270–*c.* 330, and **99** (Grave 114) and **209** (Grave 199).

151, Grave 109 (one coin, **153**: 330–40). Globular beaker. Fine, cream fabric with an all-over black slip and white-painted running scrolls around the body between two lines of white slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Types 18.4 and 2/10.15, in contexts of *c.* 320/30–*c.* 350/60, and **387** (Grave 326).

152, Grave 111 (310–50). Flask with neck and everted mouth. 195 cc. Fine, hard, grey fabric and all-over dull red-brown slip. New Forest. No stratified parallels outside Lankhills, but the type is probably datable to *c.* 300–*c.* 350; cf. **205** (Grave 163), **240** (Grave 239), and **273** (Grave 233).

172, Grave 141 (310–30). Flagon with nozzle mouth and handle attached to a flange on the neck. 390 cc. Fine, light brown fabric with a dark brown slip. Decoration on the shoulder of continuous double V-pattern in white paint. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 3 in contexts of *c.* 300/10–*c.* 340/50 and **95** (Grave 126), **226** (Grave 227), **241** (Grave 186), and **320** (Grave 328, fill).

175, Grave 185 (310–70). One-handled flagon. 1040 cc. Brown, sandy fabric with a grey surface. All-over black slip with vertical burnished lines on the neck and diagonal marks on the shoulder; smooth burnishing on the upper half of the body. Cf. Portchester Type 159 and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

176, Grave 160 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 690 cc. Hard, grey, sandy fabric with a grey surface; burnished all over outside, except on neck and shoulder where there are shallow, burnished zig-zag lines. Cf. Portchester Type 159, and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

193, Rescue-observation S (post-390). One-handled flagon. 1250 cc. Hard, grey, sandy fabric, grey on the surface. Thick neck with a pronounced lip. Decoration of diagonal, widely spaced, burnished lines on the neck, and vertical burnished lines on the shoulder. Below this is a broad band of silvery grey slip, with a narrow groove at the lower limit; below that two shallow grooves enclose a long, wavy groove (cf. **467,** Grave 323, surface). This flagon is different from the other 'grey-ware' flagons from

the cemetery, both in form and fabric. Cf. Portchester Type 119, probably post-340, and a flagon from Richborough (Kent), found in the same pit (Pit 63) as a Theodosian coin.[1]

203, Grave 155 (310–350/70). One-handled flagon (handle missing, perhaps lost in antiquity). 420 cc. Fine, light grey, sandy fabric. Decoration on the neck of vertical burnished lines and, on the shoulder, of burnished loops; no trace of a slip. Cf. Portchester Type 159 and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

204, Grave 163 (310–50). Indented beaker with tall, narrow mouth. 210 cc. Fine grey fabric, light brown at the core; all-over brown to purple slip. Decoration of white-painted 'fir-tree' patterns between indentations. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 19, in contexts of *c.* 310/20–*c.* 340 and **526** (Grave 214).

205, Grave 163 (310–50). Flask with neck and open mouth. 155 cc. Fine, hard, cream to light brown fabric with an all-over olive-green to purple slip. The neck is bent over, probably from over-firing. New Forest. No stratified parallels outside Lankhills, but probably datable to *c.* 300–*c.* 350; cf. **152** (Grave 111), **240** (Grave 239), and **273** (Grave 233).

207, Grave 237 (cremation, 310–370/90). Base of large jar. Light brown, grog-tempered fabric with vertical burnishing above a zone of horizontal burnishing which is above the base. Cf. **35** (Grave 60), **97** (Grave 127), **228** (Grave 172), **465** (Grave 361), and **609** (Grave 451, fill). *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

209, Grave 199 (310–370/90). Indented beaker. 95 cc. Fine, light brown fabric with a grey core and covered with an all-over purple slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 22.1–5, in contexts of *c.* 270–*c.* 330, and **99** (Grave 114) and **134** (Grave 105).

210, Grave 182 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 330 cc. Light grey, sandy fabric with a grey surface. Upper two-thirds coated with a silvery grey to black slip. Decoration on the neck of vertical-burnished lines; slight dimpling on the body. Cf. Portchester Type 159, and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

211, Grave 182 (310–50). Platter or bowl, similar to **452** (Grave 327), but with less painted decoration. This bowl was lost subsequent to excavation.

212, Grave 182 (310–50). Bowl with flanged rim. Black, very sandy fabric. Burnished black slip inside and on the upper surface of the flange. Burnished arcading outside; a scratched X on the exterior of the base. Dorset black-burnished fabric, datable to *c.* 250–*c.* 400. Another vessel in this fabric is **256** (Grave 250).

213, Grave 224 (310–50). Globular beaker with tall neck. 460 cc. Light brown, micaceous fabric with light brown to red-brown slip. Decoration of rouletting on the shoulder and on the upper part of the body. Oxfordshire fabric. Cf. Portchester Type 15, in contexts of *c.* 270–*c.* 340.

214, Grave 170 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 500 cc. Dark grey, sandy fabric. Upper half is coated with a worn, silvery grey to black slip. Decoration of vertical burnished lines on the neck. Cf. Portchester Type 159 and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

216, Grave 178 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 525 cc. Light grey sandy fabric, with a grey surface; upper half is coated with a white slip. Decoration on the neck of vertical burnished lines and, on the shoulder, of diagonal burnished lines. Cf. Portchester Type 159, and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

226, Grave 227 (310–50). Flagon with nozzle-mouth and handle attached to a flange on the neck. 495 cc. Fine, light brown, micaceous fabric with a dull, red-brown slip. Decoration of two lines of rouletting on the shoulder and two lines on the body at the widest point. Probably Oxfordshire fabric. Cf. Portchester Type 3 (largely New Forest fabrics), in contexts of *c.* 300/10–*c.* 340/50, and **95** (Grave 126), **172** (Grave 141), **241** (Grave 186), and **320** (Grave 328, fill).

[1] Bushe-Fox 1949, 82, 270, Pl. XCIV, 484.

227, Grave 229 (310–50). Tall, ovoid jar. 635 cc. Fine, grey, sandy fabric; the upper half coated with a white slip. Burnished all over except under the rim; two grooves on the upper half of the body. No close parallel in a stratified context, but cf. **243** (Grave 248). Perhaps datable to *c.* 270–*c.* 370. Cf. the vessels containing the Mill Road hoard, Worthing (Sussex) (deposited 282–3), and that containing another hoard of barbarous radiates from Courtlands brickfield, Goring-by-Sea (Sussex).[1]

228, Grave 172 (one coin, **229**: 307–9). Jar with everted rim and biconical profile. Hand-made; grey grog-tempered fabric; surface brown, except for one black-burnished area. Decoration of slight diagonal stroke burnishing on most of the body, and horizontal burnishing between that and the base. Cf. **35** (Grave 60), **97** (Grave 127), **207** (Grave 237), **465** (Grave 361), and **609** (Grave 451, fill). *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

231, Grave 234, fill (350–90). Sherds of large globular beaker. Fine, reddish-yellow fabric, with a matt red-brown slip all over the outside. Body decorated solely with zones of grooving at junction of body and base, and at junction of neck and body. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 13.1, stratified pre-*c.* 350.

240, Grave 239 (310–50). Flask with tall neck and open mouth. 355 cc. Fine, cream fabric, coated all over with a matted brown to purple slip. Grooves on the body. New Forest. No stratified parallels outside Lankhills, but probably datable to *c.* 300–*c.* 350. Cf. **152** (Grave 111), **205** (Grave 163), and **273** (Grave 233).

241, Grave 186 (310–50). Flagon with nozzle-mouth and handle attached to a flange on the neck. 390 cc. Light brown, slightly sandy fabric with a grey core and grains of haematite/limonite visible; covered all over in a yellow-brown slip. Decoration on the body of scrollwork *en barbotine*, between two lines of rouletting. Probably an Oxfordshire type. Cf. Portchester Types 3 and 17 which have a broad range of *c.* 300–*c.* 350, and **95** (Grave 126), **172** (Grave 141), **226** (Grave 227), and **320** (Grave 328, fill).

242, Grave 186 (310–50). Flask with neck and everted rim. 195 cc. Red-brown, granular fabric; haematite/limonite grains visible; slightly micaceous. All-over brown slip. Probably an Oxfordshire product, but no exact parallel.

243, Grave 248 (340–50). Tall, ovoid jar. Grey, sandy fabric, the upper half covered in a white slip. Three grooves on the shoulder below the rim. No close parallel in a stratified context, but cf. **227** (Grave 229), and other examples there cited. Perhaps datable to *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

244, Grave 188 (310–70). One-handled flagon. 570 cc. Light grey, somewhat vesicular, sandy fabric; the upper half coated in a streaky, white slip. Decoration on the neck of vertical burnished lines, and on the shoulder of diagonal burnished lines. Cf. Portchester Type 159, and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

253, Grave 250 (330–50). Bowl with everted rim. Red-brown, sandy fabric, with grains of haematite/limonite visible; completely covered with a black slip, and burnished over the upper half and on the rim. The outside surface is flaking badly. Cf. especially **535** (Grave 426), and also **119** (Grave 134) and **282** (Grave 273). *c.* 250–*c.* 400.

254, Grave 250 (330–50). One-handled flagon. 400 cc. Fine, hard, grey fabric; reddish on the surface; all-over dull purple slip. The neck is pinched in opposite the handle to form a spout. A cordon around the join of neck and body. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 10, in contexts of *c.* 330–*c.* 370, and **36** (Grave 50).

[1] **Lewis and Mattingly 1964, 189–90, Figs. 2 and 3.**

255, Grave 250 (330–50). Bowl. Cream to reddish-yellow, fine fabric, covered all over with a slightly micaceous orange slip. The form imitates the samian form, Drag. 33. New Forest. No parallel in a stratified context, but probably datable to before *c.* 370.

256, Grave 250 (330–50). Two-handled oval dish. Coarse, black, very sandy fabric. The inside is covered in a burnished, black slip with a superimposed design of deeper burnishing. Outside on the base, a burnished scroll design.[1] Dorset black-burnished fabric, *c.* 250–*c.* 400. Another vessel in this fabric is **212** (Grave 182).

260, Grave 150 (325–35). One-handled flagon. 870 cc. Reddish-brown, sandy fabric, with frequent grains of haematite/limonite; grey on the surface. All-over black slip; decoration on the neck of vertical burnished lines and smooth burnishing on the upper half of the body. Cf. Portchester Type 159, and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

271, Grave 236 (310–370/90). Globular beaker. 90 cc. Fine, cream fabric, coated with a black to purple gloss slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 13, which has a broad date-range of *c.* 340–*c.* 400, and **311** (Grave 333). An exact parallel in both form and fabric is known from Shapwick Heath (Somerset); it contained a coin hoard, whose date of deposition is estimated at *c.* 410.[2]

272, Grave 233 (310–50). One-handled flagon. 610 cc. Grey to brown, sandy fabric, grey on the surface; all-over black slip. Decoration on the neck of vertical burnished lines and, on the shoulder, of close-spaced diagonal lines, crossed at intervals by diagonal lines in the opposite direction; smooth, horizontal burnishing on the upper half of the body. Cf. Portchester Type 159 and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

273, Grave 233 (310–50). Flask with open mouth and flange on the neck. 280 cc. Hard, blue-grey fabric, coated with a glossy, metallic, purple slip; grooves on the body. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 2.2, stratified pre-325. Cf. also **152** (Grave 111), **205** (Grave 163), and **240** (Grave 239).

274, Grave 265 (1 coin, **275**: 388–402). One-handed flagon with double-beaded rim. 140 cc. Light brown fabric, orange on the surface; coated with a red-brown to purple slip; depression of rim opposite the handle to form a spout. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 6 in contexts post-340, and **118** (Grave 136), **383** (Grave 347), **470** (Grave 288), and **667** (Grave 372, fill).

282, Grave 273 (380–90). Bowl with everted rim. Coarse, dark grey, sandy fabric, with a brown to black surface. Decoration of scored diagonals below a groove around the widest part of the body; slightly pimply surface. Cf. **119** (Grave 134), **253** (Grave 250), and **535** (Grave 426). *c.* 250–*c.* 400.

289, Topsoil. Bulbous beaker. 125 cc. Yellow to brown fabric and a worn, light red-brown slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 13, *c.* 330/40–*c.* 400.

290, Grave 272, fill (330–70). Sherds of a dish with straight sides and plain rim. Red-brown, sandy fabric; black in places, and on all surfaces. Traces of a white slip. Datable to *c.* 250–*c.* 400.

311, Grave 333 (390–410). Globular beaker. 95 cc. Hard, light grey fabric with a matt, black to dark brown slip. New Forest. See comments on **271** (Grave 236).

320, fill of Grave 328 (310–50) or Grave 329 (350–70). Flagon with nozzle-mouth and handle attached to a flange on the neck; the nozzle is collared and grooved above the flange. 465 cc. Fine, yellow-red fabric, with a matt, red-brown slip and trailed slip scrolls around the body. Probably Oxfordshire. Cf. Portchester Types 3 and 17, which are broadly datable to *c.* 300–*c.* 350, and **95** (Grave 126), **172** (Grave 141), **226** (Grave 227), and **241** (Grave 186).

[1] For comments on the decoration of **256**, see below, pp. 429–30.

[2] Gray 1936, 168, Pl. VI.

321, Grave 195 (310–50). Squat jar with neck and everted rim. 450 cc. Grey, sandy fabric, with a grey to white burnished slip; the vessel appears worn. Cf. **44** (Grave 56) and **377** (Grave 204); and generally, Portchester Type 153. Fourth century.

322, Grave 195 (Grave 310–50). Flanged bowl. Laminated, **micaceous, red fabric, with bright red** slip; slightly rough surface. Oxfordshire fabric. *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

324, Grave 329, fill (350–70). Sherds of indented beaker. Fine, pale yellow fabric with a matt, blue-black slip; rim out-bent at the extremity. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 22.6 and 7 in contexts of *c.* 350–*c.* 380; and **23** (Grave 23), **96** (Grave 127), **336** (Grave 336), **386** (Grave 326), and **537** (Feature 46).

329, Grave 203 (310–50). Indented beaker; inward-sloping rim. 225 cc. Pale yellow fabric, with a grey core; covered all over by a matt purple to black slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 22.8, in contexts of *c.* 330–*c.* 370.

336, Grave 336 (4 coins, see Table 30: 350–64). Indented beaker with wide mouth and slightly out-bent rim. 245 cc. Light brown fabric with matt purple slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 22.6 and 7, in contexts of *c.* 350–*c.* 380, and **23** (Grave 23), **96** (Grave 127), **324** (Grave 329, fill), **386** (Grave 326), and **537** (Feature 46).

377, Grave 204 (310–50). Squat jar with a narrow mouth and squared-off rim. 680 cc. Grey, sandy fabric, with brown to grey surface; a white to grey slip on the upper half of the vessel; burnished on rim and body. Cf. **44** (Grave 56), **321** (Grave 195), and, generally, Portchester Type 153. Fourth century.

383, Grave 347 (390–410; one coin, **380**, 364–75). One-handled flagon with double-beaded rim. 260 cc. Hard, cream fabric with dark, red-brown slip; depression of rim opposite the handle to form a spout. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 6 in contexts post-340, and **118** (Grave 136), **274** (Grave 265), **470** (Grave 288), and **667** (Grave 372, fill).

384, Grave 299 (390–410). One-handled flagon with open, cupped mouth and pinched-out spout. 260 cc. Light brown, micaceous fabric, with a glossy red-brown slip; a cordon below the rim. No parallel in a stratified context, but the fabric is like 8 (Grave 27), which may be Oxfordshire, and the form, although the size is very different, is not dissimilar. Late fourth century.

386, Grave 326 (350–80). Indented beaker with wide mouth and thickened rim. 160 cc. Hard, cream fabric, with dull, orange slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 22.6 and 7, in contexts of *c.* 350–*c.* 380, and **23** (Grave 23), **96** (Grave 127), **324** (Grave 329, fill), **336** (Grave 336), and **537** (Feature 46).

387, Grave 326 (350–80). Globular beaker with narrow mouth. 160 cc. Pale red-brown fabric with dark brown to black slip. White-painted decoration of dots sandwiched between two parallel lines; surface slightly roughened. New Forest. No stratified parallel for this pattern, but cf. **151** (Grave 109), perhaps datable to *c.* 340–*c.* 380.

392, Grave 351 (370–90; one coin, **395**, 345–8). 200 cc. Hard, cream fabric with haematite/limonite grains visible; orange slip; slight flaw on the neck. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 13, generally datable to *c.* 340–*c.* 400.

432, Grave 323 (350–70). Globular beaker. 140 cc. Fine, cream fabric with dull red to black slip; grooves just below the rim. New Forest. Cf. exactly Portchester Type 13.3 and 5 in contexts of post-*c.* 340 (*?c.* 340–*c.* 380).

433, Grave 323 (350–70). Globular beaker. 125 cc. Fine cream fabric with dull red to black slip; two incised lines under the rim. See **432** (Grave 323).

452, Grave 327 (350–90). Bowl with everted rim. Orange, micaceous fabric; red slip with white-scroll painted decoration. Oxfordshire fabric. Cf. Portchester Type 36, in contexts of post-*c.* 340.

461, Grave 323, surface offering (350–70). Squat flask, with simple everted rim. Pale yellow fabric, slightly red to the core, with an all-over matt black slip and splashes of white paint around the shoulder. New Forest. No parallel for whole form, but cf. Portchester Type 55.20, in a context of post-*c.* 340.

462, Grave 210 (310–50). One-handled flagon. Dark grey, sandy fabric with an all-over black slip. Decoration of vertical burnishing on the neck and diagonal burnishing on the shoulder; horizontal, smooth burnishing over the upper half of the body. Cf. Portchester Type 159 and **1** (Grave **2**). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

463, Grave 210 (310–50). Globular beaker. 105 cc. Light brown, micaceous fabric with dull, light brown slip; finger indentations alternating between vertical lines of square cog-rouletting. Oxfordshire fabric. No exact stratified parallel, but cf. Portchester Type 26 in contexts of *c.* 320–*c.* 350.

464, Grave 217 (310–50). Flask with flat bottom and cylindrical body. 180 cc. Fine, light brown fabric with a grey core; dull black to purple slip; grooving on the body. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 2/10.1 and 2 (body sherds only) in contexts of *c.* 340–*c.* 380.

465, Grave 361 (cremation, 370–410). Jar with everted rim. Soft, light brown to black fabric with red and black grog-temper; smooth horizontal burnishing on the rim and body, sandwiching a zone of lightly scored diagonal burnishing; hand-made. Cf. **35** (Grave 60), **97** (Grave 127), **207** (Grave 237), and **609** (Grave 451, fill).

467, Grave 323, surface offering (350–70). Sherds of flagon. Grey to brown sandy fabric. Smooth, burnished, grey slip on the upper half and, below, a lightly scored wavy scroll, enclosed by two parallel, scored lines. Cf. **193** (Rescue-observation S) and Portchester Type 160, in contexts post-*c.* 340.

468, Feature 12, surface. Sherds of one-handled flagon with simple, open rim. Fine, pale yellow fabric with a dark brown to purple slip. New Forest. Cf. **43** (Grave 79) and **490** (Grave 366). No dated parallel elsewhere.

469, Feature 12, surface. Base of mortarium. Laminated, red-brown fabric, with a grey core; covered in a bright red, but worn slip. Oxfordshire fabric. Datable to *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

470, Grave 288 (390–410). One-handled flagon with double-beaded rim. 260 cc. Hard, light brown fabric with dull brown to black slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 6 in contexts of post-340, and **118** (Grave 136), **274** (Grave 265), **383** (Grave 347), and **667** (Grave 372, fill).

478, Grave 216 (330–50). Globular beaker. 255 cc. Brown, sandy fabric; upper half is coated with a black slip, burnished all over. Cf. Portchester Type 75 in contexts of *c.* 330–*c.* 350.

490, Grave 366 (370–410). One-handled flagon. 490 cc. Hard, cream fabric with a matt, black to dark brown slip. New Forest. Similar to **43** (Grave 79) and **468** (Feature 12, surface). Unless this is a residual piece, the date-range for the type may be extended to the end of the fourth century.

505, Grave 396 (one coin, **631**, 364–75). Globular beaker with a short neck. 360 cc. Light yellow fabric with a dark red-brown to purple slip. Decoration of incised concentric circles. New Forest. Cf. exactly Portchester Type 2/20.20, as well as generally Types 20 and 2/20.20–25, in contexts from

c. 300–*c.* 340. The type has a long life, but it is not yet clear how the form of decoration develops. It is possible that the tendency through time is towards closer-set circles without paint.

526, Grave 214 (310–50). Indented, globular beaker. 280 cc. Pale yellow fabric; dark red-brown to purple slip with white 'fir-tree' painted decoration between indentations. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 19 in contexts of *c.* 310/20–*c.* 340 and **204** (Grave 163).

529, Grave 369 (370–410). Globular beaker. 210 cc. Hard, light brown, uneven fabric with red haematite/limonite grains showing on the surface. Surface is mottled olive-green, and has slight horizontal rilling. Source uncertain, but the fabric is similar to that of Pevensey ware.[1] Perhaps datable to *c.* 340–*c.* 400.

535, Grave 426 (350–90). Bowl with everted rim. Brown, sandy fabric with an all-over black slip; burnishing on the rim and above the widest part of the body; surface flaking badly. Cf. **253** (Grave 250) in particular, but also **119** (Grave 134) and **282** (Grave 273); *c.* 250–*c.* 400.

537, Feature 46 (370–410). Indented beaker. Fine, reddish-yellow fabric with a brown slip all over; rim slightly out-bent. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 22.6 and 7 in contexts of *c.* 350–*c.* 380, and **23** (Grave 23), **96** (Grave 127), **324** (Grave 329, fill), **336** (Grave 336), and **386** (Grave 326).

588, Grave 373 (390–400). Jar with beaded everted rim. Dark grey to brown, sandy fabric; lightly scored, ?burnished, paired lattice decoration below the rim; possibly smooth horizontal burnishing below that. Similar (wheel-turned) imitations of black-burnished forms occur at *Clausentum* in late fourth-century levels.

609, Grave 451, fill (370–90). Jar with everted rim. Light brown to black, grog-tempered fabric; burnishing on the rim and body, sandwiching a zone of diagonal, lightly scored decoration. *c.* 270–*c.* 400. Cf. **35** (Grave 60), **97** (Grave 127), **207** (Grave 237), **228** (Grave 172), and **465** (Grave 361).

628, Grave 54, fill (330–370/90). Lower half of two-handled mug. Grey, sandy fabric with black slip all over; vertical-burnished strokes outside from the carination to the base. Cf. Portchester Type 175 in contexts of *c.* 300–*c.* 370.

635, Rescue-observation A. Indented beaker with tall neck and bulbous body. Hard, yellow-brown fabric with a grey core; dark red-brown to purple slip; damaged foot. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 13 in contexts of *c.* 330–*c.* 400.

636, Rescue-observation O. One-handled flagon. 1400 cc. Hard grey, sandy fabric. The upper half coated in a white to grey slip; vertical burnishing on the neck, diagonal burnishing on the shoulder. Cf. Portchester Type 159 and **1** (Grave 2). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

637, Grave 326, fill (350–80). Sherds of everted-rim jar. Hand-made. Grey to red-brown grog-tempered fabric. Horizontal burnishing, sandwiching a zone of lightly scored diagonal burnishing on the body. Very similar to **35** (Grave 60). Cf. also **97** (Grave 127), **207** (Grave 237), **228** (Grave 172), **465** (Grave 361), and **609** (Grave 451, fill). *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

638, Rescue-observation A. Body sherd of either an everted-rim jar or a flagon; fine, grey, sandy fabric with traces of an all-over black slip, which is burnished from the widest girth-point upwards. There are two shallow grooves on the body. *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

640, Rescue-observation B (cremation). Almost all the sherds of large everted-rim jar. Hand-made. Reddish brown fabric, tempered with grog; burnished on the outer surface. Cf. **35** (Grave 60), **97**

[1] Fulford 1973*b*.

(Grave 127), **207** (Grave 237), **228** (Grave 172), **465** (Grave 361), and **609** (Grave 451, fill). *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

641, Rescue-observation B. Sherds of indented beaker. Fine, hard, grey fabric, with a matt, dark reddish-brown to purple slip all over; rim is out-bent and beaded. Cf. **23** (Grave 23), **96** (Grave 127), **324** (Grave 329, fill), **336** (Grave 336), and **386** (Grave 326). *c.* 350–*c.* 380.

642, Rescue-observation B. Flanged bowl. Hand-made. Light brown to black, grog-tempered fabric; horizontal burnishing outside, and on the upper surface of the flange; inside and on the base, scribble and diagonal burnishing. As everted-rim jar type (see above, **640**); *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

643, Rescue-observation F. Indented beaker. Pale red to yellow fabric, with red-brown slip; slightly out-bent rim. As **641** above. *c.* 350–*c.* 380.

644, Rescue-observation N. One-handled flagon with slightly everted rim. Brown sandy fabric; black slip all over; vertical burnishing on the neck and shoulder, each area divided by horizontal bands; smooth burnishing over the upper half of the vessel. Cf. Portchester Type 159 and **1** (Grave **2**). *c.* 270–*c.* 370.

645, Rescue-observation O. Body and base of globular beaker. Red, laminated, slightly sandy fabric, with a matt to glossy, brown slip all over (mottled surface). Possibly Oxfordshire fabric. Cf. Portchester Type 14, perhaps datable to *c.* 330/40–*c.* 400.

646, Rescue-observation O. Sherds of flanged bowl; hand-made. Grog-tempered. Horizontal burnishing on the flange and inside; outside there are traces of both diagonal and horizontal burnishing. *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

655, Grave 347, fill (390–410). Rim sherd of everted-rim jar. Very hard, light red-brown fabric, with a yellow surface; translucent grits showing through the surface; cf. Portchester Type 137.4–6 (Fabric D) in contexts of *c.* 330–*c.* 400.

656, Grave 359, fill (350–70). Body sherd of either a globular beaker or a flagon. Hard, light grey fabric with a black slip all over. Two rows of stab decoration, made with a double-pointed instrument, below a horizontal groove; incised wavy decoration below the stabbing. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 21 in contexts of *c.* 320–*c.* 370.

657, Grave 29, fill (330–370/90). Body sherd of globular beaker. Hard, fine, pale yellow fabric with a 'bronze'-brown slip all over; light 'knife'-rouletting below the shoulder. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 2/10.4 and 5 in contexts of *c.* 300–*c.* 350.

658, Feature 40 (390–410). Body sherd of either a globular beaker or a flagon. Light brown fabric with a grey core; matt dark brown slip all over; incised concentric circles outside. Cf. Portchester Types 2/10.20, 20, and more generally 2/10.20–25, datable to *c.* 300/10–*c.* 350. Probably nearer to *c.* 350. Cf. **505** (Grave 396).

659, fill of Graves 323 (350–70) and 359 (350–70). Sherds of flanged bowl. Hand-made. Hard, light grey to brown, grog-tempered fabric, with a reddish-brown surface inside and out. Horizontal burnishing inside and on the flange; traces of diagonal burnishing below the flange, outside. *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

660, Grave 432, fill (370–90). Flanged bowl with pronounced dropping flange. Light red fabric, creamy to the surface, with a very worn red-brown slip all over. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 43.8, datable to the mid-fourth century.

661, fill of Graves 347 (390–410) and 350 (370–90). Dish with plain rim. Hand-made. Dark brown, grog-tempered fabric, with some flint inclusions. The surface varies from black to red-brown; burnishing on all surfaces. *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

663, Grave 327, fill (350–90). Flanged bowl. Hand-made. Dark brown to black, vesicular grog-tempered fabric. Burnished on all surfaces. *c.* 270–*c.* 400.

664, Grave 217, fill (310–50). Sherds of a globular beaker. Fine, grey, sandy fabric, with traces of a white slip outside on panels of incised decoration. These consist of alternately opposing diagonals between vertical lines. Cf. Portchester Type 77 in contexts of *c.* 320–*c.* 350, and **6** (Grave 22) and **131** (Grave 138).

665, Feature 40 (390–410). Rim of everted-rim jar. Fine, pale yellow fabric with a matt, red-brown slip all over. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 55 in contexts of *c.* 330–*c.* 400, and **129** (Grave 106).

666, Feature 40 (390–410). Rim-sherd of small bowl with a plain, beaded rim. Fine, pale yellow fabric with a matt, reddish-yellow slip. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 29 in contexts of *c.* 320–*c.* 350.

667, Graves 372/373, fill (390–410). Rim of flagon with double-beaded rim. Hard reddish-yellow, fine fabric with a matt reddish-brown slip all over. New Forest. Cf. Portchester Type 6, from contexts post-340, and **118** (Grave 136), **274** (Grave 265), **383** (Grave 347), and **470** (Grave 288).

668, Feature 40 (390–410). Rim and part of spout of a mortarium. Hard, fine grey fabric, red to the surface and with a white slip; translucent quartz trituration grits. Oxfordshire fabric. Cf. Portchester Type 63.4, in contexts of *c.* 320/30–*c.* 400.

676, Grave 322, fill (370–90). Rim of wide-mouthed bowl with reeding on the upper surface. Grey-brown sandy fabric, with a black slip. Cf. Portchester Type 98 in contexts of *c.* 300–*c.* 350.

677, Grave 322, fill (370–90). Mouth of a narrow-mouthed jar with a flange below a simple rim. Fine, grey, sandy fabric with a grey core and a silvery grey to black slip all over. Cf. Portchester Type 154.4–6 in contexts of *c.* 300–*c.* 350.

693, Grave 322, fill (370–90). Sherds of a carinated bowl. Fine, soft, buff fabric with an all-over orange-brown slip, decorated with sets of stamped concentric circles. Post-*c.* 350, probably pre-380/90.

ii. COARSE POTTERY OF NON-ROMAN TYPE (Fig. 101)

by KATHERINE BARCLAY

A total of 109 sherds were examined, representing 26+ vessels, of which the majority (21+) are in fabrics typical of the Iron Age in the Winchester area.[1] There are, however, two groups of sherds which may be much earlier. One group, of thirty-five sherds (1 per cent flint, 1–3 mm), from at least two hand-made vessels, superficially resembles haematite-coated ware, but Dr. J. Collis has suggested a parallel in a Bronze Age vessel from Tower Street, Winchester.[2] The other group, which is also comparable to a vessel from Tower Street, comprises eighteen flint-gritted sherds (20 per cent flint, about 3 mm), representing at least two but fewer than eight hand-made vessels (Fig. 101, **682, 684**).

Forty-three of the sherds in Iron Age fabrics are coarse, flint-gritted (15–20 per cent flint, most about 1 mm, some up to 4 mm), representing nine or more hand-made vessels (e.g. Fig. 101, **683**). These might be found throughout the Iron Age, or even later. There are five other sherds, from two

[1] For the context of these sherds see above, p. 4. [2] See Winchester Studies 3, i.

pots, which are sandier (10 per cent water-worn sands, about 0·5 mm) but which are otherwise similar. Five sherds, from four vessels, are also similarly flint-gritted, but with about 20 per cent grass-tempering. Together with two sherds with about 10 per cent shell-temper and two very worn, sandy sherds (25 per cent water-worn sands, 0·5–1 mm), these could be of almost any date. One featureless sherd is wheel-thrown and haematite-coated. Fourteen sandy sherds, sparsely gritted with small flint (5 per cent, most 0·1–0·2 mm, some 0·5–1·0 mm), come from at least five wheel-thrown vessels of normal first-century B.C. Iron Age character (Fig. 101, **686, 687, 688**). One of these vessels (not illustrated) has incised, horizontal, straight-line decoration.

The last fabric of non-Roman type is represented by two or possibly three sherds, **690, 692, and 691** (not illustrated), which contain foraminifera, spherulitic material, and glauconite, for which the nearest likely sources are the Isle of Purbeck and the Isle of Wight. This fabric is the same as that of a group of sherds recently recognised in the latest Roman or even post-Roman deposits on the Cathedral Green site.[1] **690** was found in the filling of Feature 25, **692** in that of Feature 40, and **691** in that of Feature 26, all three among the latest features at Lankhills. Feature 40 is dated by coins in the grave it enclosed to *c.* 400,[2] and Features 25 and 26, by graves they cut and by their alignment, to perhaps the first half of the fifth century.[3] This evidence suggests a starting-date for this fabric at the end of the fourth century, and this is consistent with the dating for the similar sherds from the Cathedral Green.

[1] See Winchester Studies 3, i.
[2] Grave 400. See above, pp. 108–9.
[3] See above, pp. 105–7.

6

ANIMAL REMAINS

REPORTED on here are the animal remains with which eight graves were furnished, and the remains which may have been deliberately deposited in the fills of Graves 193 and 400. The fragmentary animal bones found in the fills of many other graves and features are not included; they were mostly unidentifiable.[1] The eggshell from Grave 22 is also omitted, as this was lost before being identified.

i. BIRDS *by* DON BROTHWELL

Bird remains were deposited in five inhumations and in the filling of Grave 193. These birds were all the domestic fowl, *Gallus gallus*. The following report presents certain data which are part of a larger study being undertaken of the skeletal remains of *Gallus* from archaeological sites in this country. For this reason, I wish only to comment on the individuals from Lankhills, and to make some provisional comments about them in relation to variation in *Gallus gallus* in general.[2]

The history of domestication in this species has been mentioned by Zeuner[3] and others, but in fact the whole question of the origin, antiquity, and variation of *Gallus* is remarkably neglected. As far as Britain is concerned, it was originally assumed by some workers that the domestic fowl did not appear until its introduction by the Romans, but it is now clear that its antiquity in this country is greater than that.[4] Material at the British Museum of Natural History suggests a far greater antiquity for the species, but in this case there are dating problems.

At a methodological level, few procedures have been established for studying and reporting on archaeological bird remains, even though the literature in general is on the increase.[5] For this reason, the biometric procedures which I have employed to record morphology are fully defined here.[6] However, only certain basic data and comparisons are presented, and it should be noted that the Lankhills material will be drawn into the more detailed study of early British domestic fowl now in progress.

Catalogue (Plate xv)

The bones received for study consisted of seven separate batches, six being apparently parts of individual birds associated with inhumations, and the seventh a series of bird bones scattered in the fill of another human grave. The remains may briefly be listed as follows:

261, Grave 150 (325–35); Plate xv*a*. Much of the skull remains, but is fractured into at least six parts; parts of at least eleven ribs and eleven cervical vertebrae; the four fused thoracic vertebrae, a coccygeal vertebra, and the pygostyle. The lumbo-sacral mass is partly united to the pelvis. Both femora and tibiae are nearly complete, but the fibula is represented only by one proximal end. Part of one tarso-metatarsus shaft remains, and displays a damaged spur core. Only one phalanx (the first) remains. Much of the skeleton is therefore represented, although it may be significant that the wings are missing.

[1] See above, p. 21.

[2] I am most grateful to Dr. Snow and colleagues for providing access and advice on the comparative collection of bird osteology at Tring (BMNH). I also wish to thank Mr. C. Walker and Miss M. Holloway (BMNH) for assistance and advice in my work generally on early British domestic fowl remains.

[3] Zeuner 1963.

[4] Bate 1934.

[5] Dawson 1969.

[6] See Addendum B.

281, Grave 234 (350–90); Plate xv*b*. In this skeleton, the skull is missing, but parts of the rest of the body are represented, although very incomplete. The vertebrae present are the five thoracics, part of the lumbar region, and a coccygeal vertebra. Both coracoids and scapulae are nearly complete, but the sternum is far more damaged. More than six ribs remain in good condition. The furculum is nearly complete and shows some deformation. Only two small fragments of the left humerus remain, mainly from the distal and proximal ends. Similarly, the pelvis is represented by the right side posterior to the acetabulum. Most of both femora, both tibiae, and both tarsometatarsals remain, but only the proximal end of one of the fibulae. The bones of the distal half of the wings and the feet were not present.

287, Grave 274 (310–60). The bones in this group are all from the anterior part of the body, and include the most complete wing structures of any of the skeletons studied. Of the skull only the frontal area and premaxillary remain. Four cervical and four thoracic vertebrae remain, and there are a few rib fragments. Parts of both coracoids and scapulae are present. Most of the left humerus remains, but only the distal end of the right humerus was identified. Both ulnae and radii are complete, as well as the united metacarpals II and III on both sides. A small area in the region of the costal margin and sterno-coracoidal process is all that remains of the sternum.

288, Grave 274 (310–60). Although recorded as separate from the material in the previous paragraph, both skeletal samples were found with one inhumation, and there is no overlap in terms of the bones present. Only the pelvic area and legs are represented by these bones. They comprise parts of both sides of the pelvis, both femora, the complete left tibia and proximal end of the right, the proximal end of one fibula, most of the lumbo-sacral mass, the right tarsometatarsus, and six phalanges.

298, Grave 25 (330–370/90); Plate xv*c*. Skeleton more fragmentary and incomplete than some of the others, but the remaining bone is in good condition. The skull is represented by the cranial vault only, and the vertebrae by two cervicals, four fused thoracics, and the lumbo-sacral mass. There are a number of fragments of sternum, together with most of the furculum, a left coracoid, and a right scapula. Part of at least five ribs remain. The proximal half of the left ulna and radius are present, but no humerus. Much of the pelvis was identified, but is in four fragments. The left tarsometatarsus is complete.

460, Grave 212 (330–70); Plate xv*d*. Broken and very incomplete remains consisting of a damaged cranial vault, six cervicals, five thoracics, the lumbo-sacral mass, and two coccygeal vertebrae, a broken pelvis, parts of at least three ribs, both femora and most of both tibiae, the proximal end of one fibula, a complete left and half the right tarsometatarsus, and two proximal phalanges. Again, there is no clear evidence of any bones from the wings.

673, Grave 193, fill (310–370/90). The fragmentary bones scattered in the fill of this grave may be listed as follows:

- **a.** Three lower cervical/thoracic vertebrae and part of a sternum.
- **b.** Part of a humerus shaft.
- **c.** Most of the femur from a relatively immature bird.
- **d.** Four small fragments, possibly from a femur, tibia, fibula, and coracoid.
- **e.** Fragments of an immature tibia and fibula.
- **f.** The distal end of a humerus.
- **g.** A series of small fragments, including a cervical vertebra, and part of two coracoids and scapulae.
- **h.** A thoracic vertebra, a rib, and a left coracoid.
- **i.** Two small fragments, possibly from a cervical vertebra and a sternum.

Measurements (Figs. 29 and 30; Table 33)

The measurements selected for application to *Gallus* bones attempt to consider variation over the whole of the skeleton. The list is by no means exhaustive, but merely provides a core of dimensions which were considered sufficient for the present tentative analysis.

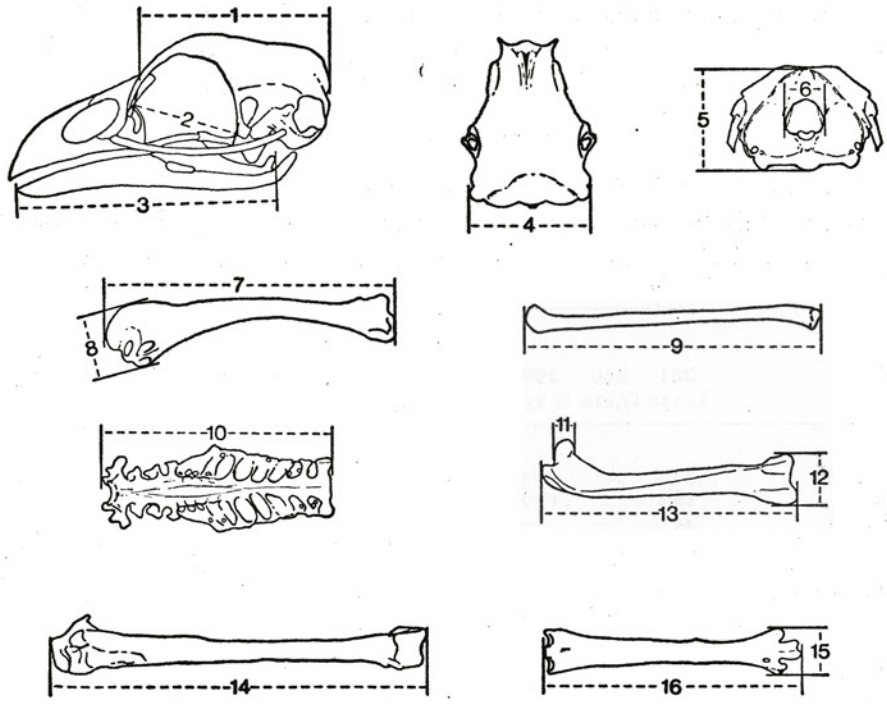


FIG. 29. The basic osteometric dimensions taken in the study of the Lankhills *Gallus*.

The dimensions are illustrated in Fig. 29 and may be defined as follows:

1. Maximum length of the cranial vault, from the most posterior medial point on the nasals to the most posterior medial position on the occipital.
2. Length from the most anterior point on the orbital margin of the frontal to the most anterior point on the zygomatic process.
3. Length of the mandible from the anterior medial tip to the most posterior point on the mandibular condyle.
4. Maximum breadth of the cranial vault in the occipital region.
5. Maximum vault height in the nuchal area (from the nuchal line to the lowest medial point on the occipital below the foramen magnum).
6. Maximum breadth of the foramen magnum.
7. Maximum length of the humerus.
8. Breadth of the proximal expansion of the humerus shaft (between the bicipital crest and region of the external tuberosity).
9. Maximum length of the radius.
10. Maximum length of the lumbo-sacral vertebral mass.
11. Proximal–distal 'height' of the femoral head.

12. Distal bicondylar breadth of the femur.
13. Maximum length of the femur.
14. Maximum length of the tibia.
15. Maximum distal breadth of the tarsometatarsus.
16. Maximum length of the tarsometatarsus.

Most of these measurements could be taken on at least one of the Lankhills fowl skeletons. The basic measurements (in mm) are given in Table 33, together with some comparative figures for *Gallus*, obtained from skeletons preserved in the British Museum (Natural History) collection at Tring.

TABLE 33

Osteometric measurements of the Lankhills specimens of Gallus compared with mature specimens in the British Museum (Natural History) at Tring (mm)

Measurement	Lankhills						Comparative material				
	261 G.150	460 G.212	298 G.25	281 G.234	287 G.274	288 G.274	British specimens			Common Bantam	Red Jungle Fowl
Skull											
1. Nasal–nuchal length	34·2	32?	34·5	—	—	—	34·0	35·0	34·0	29·5	36·2
2. Orbital length	18·4	—	17·7	—	—	—	18·5	19·2	20·0	16·9	21·7
3. Mandibular length	45·9	—	—	—	—	—	—	47·8	45·3	36·1	48·6
4. Vault breadth	22·9	22·3	23·7	—	—	—	24·2	25·1	23·7	20·3	24·3
5. Vault height	19·4	18·0	19·5	—	—	—	19·5	20·8	19·0	17·2	19·4
6. Foramen magnum breadth	6·0	5·9	6·3	—	—	—	6·8	7·0	7·0	5·9	6·7
Humerus											
7. Maximum length	—	—	—	—	62?	—	67·0	66·5	67·2	50·0	69·0
8. Minimum proximal breadth	—	—	—	—	16·9	—	18·0	18·0	18·0	14·5	18·0
Radius											
9. Maximum length	—	—	—	—	56·6	—	60·0	57·0	58·0	—	60·5
Lumbo-sacral mass											
10. Maximum length	—	62·5	66·5	—	—	—	64·0	64·1	65·3	49·5	69·0
Femur											
11. Height of head	5·4?	5·0	—	5·5	—	5·6	6·5	5·5	5·0	4·0	5·0
12. Bicondylar breadth	13·0	12·6	—	13·3	—	13·3	15·0	15·0	13·5	11·0	14·0
13. Maximum length	70·3	68·3	—	65·5	—	70·0	76·0	73·0	73·0	56·0	75·0
Tibia											
14. Maximum length	—	94·5	—	92·0	—	98·6	104	103	107	79	104
Tarsometatarsus											
15. Maximum distal breadth	—	10·7	11·1	11·6	—	10·8	12·0	13·0	10·6	9·0	11·5
16. Maximum length	—	61·8	63·8	62·4	—	64·4	66·5	57·0	74·0	49·5	73·0
Probable sex	M	F	F	F	F	F	—	—	—	—	—

Inspection of the measurements given in Table 33 shows clearly that in respect of the majority of measurements, the Lankhills birds were of generally small size. Indeed in various dimensions, the Lankhills measurements were below those of the red jungle fowl, supposedly representing the 'ancestral form', and were in some instances more comparable with the common bantam (especially dimensions 2, 6, 12, 14).

'Shape' comparisons were restricted in this present tentative study to a series of indices calculated

from dimensions selected from the basic sixteen. My concern here was not only to consider some aspects of shape variation in *Gallus gallus*, and the closeness or otherwise of the Lankhills material to the modern comparative specimens of this species, but also to initiate some elementary biometric comparisons with certain other species in order to begin to assess the potential value of osteometric measurement in the differentiation of birds of basically similar structure which might be found on archaeological sites. For the present, therefore, additional measurements were collected and compared on the partridge (*Alectoris*), pheasant (*Phasianus*), and black grouse (*Lyrurus*).

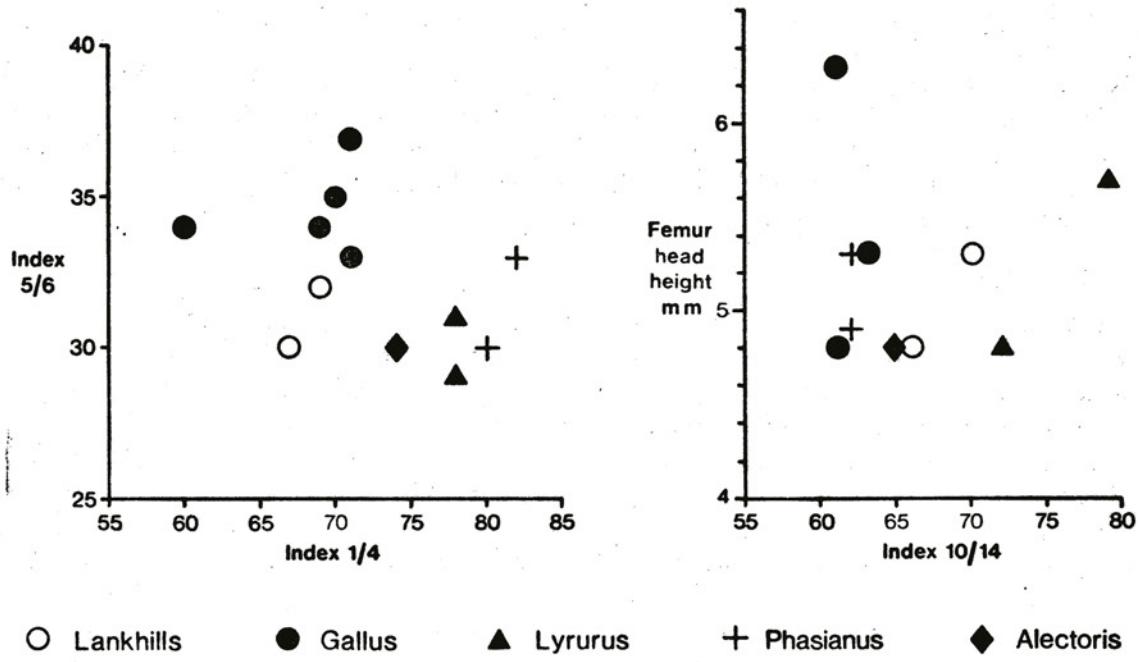


FIG. 30. The Lankhills *Gallus*: osteometric comparison with modern *Gallus* and three other relevant species.

a. A plot of the indices derived from measurements 1, 4, 5, and 6.
b. A plot of measurement 11 with an index of 10 and 14.

The indices which were calculated and considered in comparisons are as follows (the numbers other than 100 referring to the listed measurements defined above):

$$\frac{4}{1}\times 100 : \frac{6}{5}\times 100 : \frac{10}{14}\times 100 : \frac{2}{3}\times 100 : \frac{12}{13}\times 100 : \frac{15}{16}\times 100.$$

It is not pertinent to discuss here all the comparative results assembled, but mention might be made of the plotted comparisons using the index of 1/4 against 5/6 (Fig. 30*a*) and index 10/14 against the femoral head height in mm (Fig. 30*b*). Even though very small samples must represent whole groups in these tentative comparisons, there are some suggestive positionings of the Lankhills material in comparison with the modern specimens—sufficient to at least demonstrate that more extended biometric work along these lines might provide archaeologically meaningful results. In Fig. 30*a*, the index of vault length to breadth is plotted against two further skull dimensions related to nuchal musculature and dimensions of the spinal chord and related structures. Taken together, there is some indication of a significant separation between all *Gallus* specimens and the rest, with the Lankhills

specimens especially well separated by the 1/4 index. However, by index 5/6 alone, overlap is greatest in the Lankhills specimens, although *Gallus* as a whole shows greatest variation as regards this index.

Referring now to Fig. 30*b*, three dimensions of the post-cranial skeleton are employed. In this case, there is a marked overlap between the species using femoral head height, again with perhaps more variation indicated in *Gallus* than in the other genera. By index 10/14, the Lankhills specimens are surprisingly separated from the other *Gallus* skeletons. The Lankhills positioning is in fact between the *Alectoris* and *Lyrurus* specimens, and might indicate that the small Roman breed represented by the Lankhills specimens could claim some distinctive characteristics in comparison with *Gallus* varieties known today. Obviously there is a need for larger samples and further analyses to investigate this question more effectively.

It can be concluded, therefore, that although identification of the Lankhills skeletons as *Gallus* is certain, factors of their size and shape may suggest a distinctive early variety. Clearly now, additional analyses with larger samples are demanded. It may be questioned whether the Lankhills material is in fact the imported Italian barnyard fowl, which appears to have resembled in appearance the 'Indian game' or bantam breed.[1]

Pathology (Plate XVI)

Little has so far been written on the bone abnormalities which might be noted in archaeological bird specimens. As in other vertebrates, various bone changes can take place as a result of disease, and although precise identification may yet be impossible, all such anomalies deserve full description. The following pathology was noted in the Lankhills material.

1. **261** (Plate XVI*a*). Between six of the internal lateral struts of the synsacral caudal vertebrae, there are irregular deposits of spongy new bone. The limits of this extra new bone are well defined, and there is no evidence of more widespread change which would be more characteristic of an inflammatory process. For this reason, it may be questioned whether these deposits—close together as they are—indicate the beginnings of a neoplastic process.

2. **281** (Plate XVI*b* and *c*). A number of minor abnormalities were noted in this skeleton.

a. About 8 mm posterior to the apex of the sternum, and extending for about 22 mm, there is a depressed and flattened area. This defect may be related to the regular perching habit of this fowl.

b. Of less certain origin is the deformity to the furculum. Here the two clavicle 'arms' are asymmetrically placed in relation to the furcular process, and the right side appears to be slightly more robust than the left side. Unfortunately, the extent of this developmental defect is not known, owing to the fact that the wing bones are generally missing. The furculum defect would certainly be compatible with some form of wing-function asymmetry, with differential growth of wing and sternal musculature on one side.

c. On the shaft of the right tibia, just about midline, there is a hole some 12 mm long into the marrow cavity. Externally, this is surrounded by a rim of post-mortem iron calcium deposit. On the whole, it was concluded that this is an example of pseudo-pathology.

ii. MAMMALS

DOGS *by* R. HARCOURT

527 and **538**, Grave 400 (390–400)

The remains of two different dogs were found in Grave 400, one almost complete (**538**), the other fragmentary (**527**). In the former all the permanent teeth were fully erupted and in wear, but the

[1] White 1970.

epiphyses of several of the long bones were unfused. Its probable age was twelve to eighteen months. The second animal was fully mature, but provided only one bone sufficiently complete to be measured, an ulna with a total length of 208 mm.

The measurements of the younger dog (538) are as follows:

Skull

Occipital protuberance to anterior margin of the incisor alveoli	195 mm
Posterior junction of the nasal bones to anterior margin of the incisor alveoli	98 mm
Bizygomatic breadth	105 mm
Width of snout between the outer margins of the alveoli of the canines	44 mm
Palatal length	92 mm
Palatal breadth	58 mm
Length of the lower carnassial	24 mm
Length of the cheek tooth row	77 mm

The length of the lower carnassial is large in proportion to that of the cheek tooth row, a common feature in early dogs. The snout-width quoted indicates a fairly broad muzzle.

Post-cranial skeleton

	Length	Midshaft diameter
Humerus	177 mm	13 mm
Radius	175 mm	14 mm
Ulna	206 mm	—
Femur	195 mm	14 mm
Tibia	193 mm	14 mm

The estimated shoulder-height of both dogs is 560–80 mm. The range in size of dogs during the Roman period was very wide; they varied from small, lap-dog size up to others as big as a male Alsatian. The two described here were towards the upper end of this range, strong sturdy animals of approximately the same height as a modern Labrador.

SHEEP RIB

54, Grave 47 (310–50)

A rib found beneath the pottery flagon (53) has been identified by Mrs. Pauline Sheppard (Winchester Research Unit animal bone project) as probably belonging to a sheep.

RODENTS

674, Grave 317 (390–410)

674 consists of the crania and mandibles of at least four rodents, found in a pile together. They have been identified by Mrs. J. Coy (University of Southampton faunal remains project) as bank voles (*Clethrionomys glareolus*). The rest of their skeletons had presumably decayed.

7

EQUIPMENT

i. COMBS *by* PATRICIA GALLOWAY

(Fig. 31)

COMBS or fragments of combs were found in twenty-one graves. They fall into the following types:

A. Simple double-sided wooden combs (one example)
B. Composite single-sided triangular bone combs (one example)
C. Composite double-sided bone combs (thirteen examples)
D. Composite bone combs too fragmentary to reconstruct (six examples)

All combs of Types A, B, and C are illustrated **at 1:1 on Fig. 31. Outline drawings at 1:2 accompany** the relevant grave-groups on Figs. 67–100.

Type A: simple double-sided wooden combs

194, Grave 155 (310–350/70)

One wooden comb was found, of double-sided form, with fine and coarse teeth respectively, made of a single piece of box-wood. It is decorated with horizontal, incised lines bordering each row of teeth, a motif it shares with two similar wooden combs found elsewhere in Winchester and dated before *c.* 300.[1] Parallels are known from Roman sites on the Continent[2] and in Britain.[3] The prototype of the form, also made in box-wood, is thought to have originated in Egypt.[4]

Type B: composite single-sided triangular bone combs

276, Grave 265 (390–5)

One of these combs was found, in fragmentary condition. Only about half of one triangular plate and its attached tooth-segments survive, and all the teeth are broken off. The comb can nevertheless be identified as one of a large family of single-sided combs with triangular backs, of which a nearly perfect example was found on the Cathedral Green site in Winchester.[5] This type may have originated in the Roman world; it certainly developed to its characteristic elaborated form in the Roman settlements of Lower Germany. The source for a large number of the combs has been sought in Trier,[6] and it is true that numerous finds have come from there,[7] but other examples may be quoted from

[1] From the Cathedral Car Park (Wessex Hotel) site, 1961, in a well filled *c.* A.D. 300: Small Find Nos. 351 and 356. See Winchester Studies 3, i.

[2] Roes 1963, 6 (Frisia). A similar comb (Acquisition No. 0.24535) is in the collection of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz.

[3] For example, from London (Home 1948, 222) and Portchester (Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 137, Nos. 322–3). The type is commonly found, but few examples are published.

[4] Cf. Lasko 1956, 345.

[5] Biddle 1970, 313, Pl. XLVIII.

[6] Myres and Green 1973, 96.

[7] Drexel 1930, Taf. XVII, Pl. 4 and Taf. XVIII, Pl. 5. Negative Landesmuseum B339 from the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Trier shows these and other combs rather closer to the type under discussion.

burials of German mercenaries in Mainz,[1] and the type has a wide distribution throughout the Elbe and Rhine valleys[2] and in northern Gaul.[3] These combs were probably also made in Frisia.[4]

In view of the continental evidence, combs of this type in Britain can probably be regarded as imports. They are found in late Roman contexts[5] and in pagan Saxon cremation cemeteries, especially in East Anglia.[6] These two distinct contexts, when compared with the continental groupings in the Rhineland and the Low Countries, suggest a double impulse in the importation of the type. The first group, with Roman associations, may have come with the imperial movement of foreign troops into Britain, and to this group the Lankhills comb under discussion would belong. It was associated with a Theodosian coin, and its time-span would have been from the late fourth into the early fifth century. The second group, connected with the early incursions of the Anglo-Saxons, would extend the life of the style into the sixth century. Further discussion of these possibilities is needed, but increasing evidence suggests the plausibility of such a theory.[7]

Type C: composite double-sided bone combs

9, Grave 5 (310–50); **19,** Grave 17 (365–90); **64,** Grave 63 (370–80); **316,** Grave 333 (390–410); **323,** Grave 297 (390–410); **471,** Grave 288 (390–410); **473,** Grave 365 (370–90); **479,** Grave 381 (390–410); **482,** Grave 402 (390–410); **521,** Grave 413 (390–410); **585,** Grave 436 (380–410); **601,** Grave 422 (390–410); **610,** Grave 446 (370–410)

Thirteen of the Lankhills combs may be identified as belonging to this type. It 'may have been a Roman invention',[8] and it at least is certain that it was extremely popular in the late Roman period. Keller cited evidence to show that the typical combs with decorated ends date from the second half of the fourth century, and predominantly from the last third.[9] This is confirmed at Lankhills, for twelve of the thirteen graves where they occurred dated from after *c.* 365.

Considering the limitations of the form, there are opportunities for variation at only three points: (1) in the shaping of the short sides; (2) on the surfaces of the lateral tooth-segments; and (3) on the surface of the central ribs. Analysis of such variation and its combinations suggests a classification for the Lankhills examples: *a.* combs too fragmentary for Factors 1 and 2 to be taken into account **(482, 585, 9, 601)**; *b.* combs with a generally convex line to their short sides **(19, 64)**; *c.* combs with a generally concave shape to their short sides, including plain **(610, 479, 471)** and decorated **(521, 316)** examples; and *d.* combs whose short sides are basically vertical **(323, 473)**. There is no apparent correlation between the occurrence of decorative shaping on the short sides and the elaborateness of surface decoration, but this may be due to the limited number of examples under consideration. It may also be, as Zofia Hilczerowna has suggested for her medieval collection from Gdansk, that comb-makers tended to make many plain mass-production combs, and could provide decoration upon

[1] Behrens 1950, 17, Abb. 34; Werner 1958, 395, Abb. 19. The comb and its case are Inventory No. N5701 in the Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz. Other such combs are to be seen in Cases 26 and 34 of the 'Frühes Mittelalter' exhibit in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum.

[2] Behrens 1950, 18–20, lists some twenty sites. See also the distribution map published as Karte 7 in Thomas 1960.

[3] Dasnoy 1970; Lantier 1948.

[4] Roes 1963, 10–13, Fig. 3, Pls. VI–XIII.

[5] Richborough, Kent (Bushe-Fox 1928, 47, Pl. XXI, No. 43; 1932, 81, Pl. XII, i, No. 35; 1949, 148, 150, 151, Pls. LIV, No. 226 and LVI, Nos. 265 and 270); Colchester, Essex (Hull 1958, 79, Fig. 35); Eccles, Kent (*ex inf.* A. P. Detsicas); Great Chesterford, Essex (an example now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge).

[6] Castle Acre, Norfolk (Norwich Castle Museum, 131.11); Caistor-by-Norwich (Myres and Green 1973, 95–6); Girton, Cambs. (Hollingworth and O'Reilly 1925, Pl. V, Nos. 2 and 4); Eye, Suffolk (*BM Guide to Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Antiquities* (London, 1923), 22, 82, Fig. 12); Lackford, Suffolk (Lethbridge 1951, 28, 55, 56); Malton, N.R. Yorks. (Baldwin Brown 1915, 391, Pl. LXXXV, 1).

[7] Cf. below, pp. 389–403. For further comments on 276 itself, see below, pp. 390–1.

[8] Roes 1963, 13.

[9] Keller 1971, 112–13.

special order.[1] Because the shaping of the short sides would be a more basic part of the making of the comb than the application of surface ornament, there need be no necessary connection between the two.

Type D: composite bone combs too fragmentary to reconstruct (not illustrated)

225, Grave 254 (365–90); **309,** Grave 290 (390–410); **531,** Grave 396 **(370–90); 557, Grave 369** (370–410); **584,** Grave 438 (360–370/80); **595,** Grave 423 (370–90)

For all these combs, the evidence of the rivets and of the fragments of bone clinging to them confirms their identification as composite bone combs, but in no case could the form be determined. They are all dated to the second half of the fourth century.

ii. SPINDLE-WHORLS

Nine spindle-whorls were discovered at Lankhills,[2] two bone, one jet, and six shale. They were evenly distributed between graves of both halves of the fourth century. Spindle-whorls are common finds on Romano-British sites, and were made from a variety of materials.[3] They were used to provide fly-wheels for the bulbous spindles to which they were fitted.[4] The majority of spindles were wooden, but some were bone or jet.[5] No spindles were recovered at Lankhills, but wooden spindles would only have survived in Grave 336, where bronze and iron objects were in close proximity to the spindle-whorl **(359).** Wood fragments did survive here, but none looked like a spindle.

On the Continent, spindle-whorls are said to be more characteristic of burials in free Germany than of graves within the Roman Empire. This has led Keller to suggest that their use as grave-goods is an exclusively Germanic custom,[6] but Lankhills indicates that it was also Romano-British, for five of the graves where they occurred were native.[7]

Cylindrical spindle-whorls

78, Grave 89 (310–350/70); **150, Grave 145 (310–350/70); 258, Grave 250 (330–50); 369, Grave 329** (350–70)

These four spindle-whorls were all made of Kimmeridge shale. **78, 150,** and **369** are decorated with concentric circles, while **258** has grooves radiating out from the hole. Cylindrical spindle-whorls are common finds in Britain, made from many different materials.[8] Examples in shale are particularly frequent.[9]

Conical spindle-whorls

Bone: **77,** Grave 98 (310–50); **133,** Grave 117 (350–70)
Shale: **388,** Grave 326 (350–80); **504,** Grave 396 **(370–90)**
Jet: **359,** Grave 336 (350–70)

The five conical spindle-whorls are all decorated with concentric circles. They seem more characteristic of the later fourth-century graves at Lankhills than the cylindrical variety. Conical spindle-whorls are not particularly common elsewhere in Britain. Possible parallels in shale were found at

[1] Hilczerowna 1961, 96.
[2] A tenth may be represented by fragments **of leather (195)** in Grave 155. See below, p. 328.
[3] See *London in Roman Times*, 106–7 and Pl. **XLVI.**
[4] Wild 1970, 32–3.
[5] Ibid. 32–3. See also *London in Roman Times*, 106–7; Lawson 1975, 272, Fig. 14, nos. 105 and 106; Green 1973, 97.
[6] Keller 1971, 113–14.
[7] Graves 89, 98, 117, 145, and 250.
[8] Cf. *London in Roman Times*, 106–7 and Pl. XLVI.
[9] Eleven were found at Portchester, for example (Cunliffe 1975, 226), and fourteen at Silchester (Lawson 1975, 272).

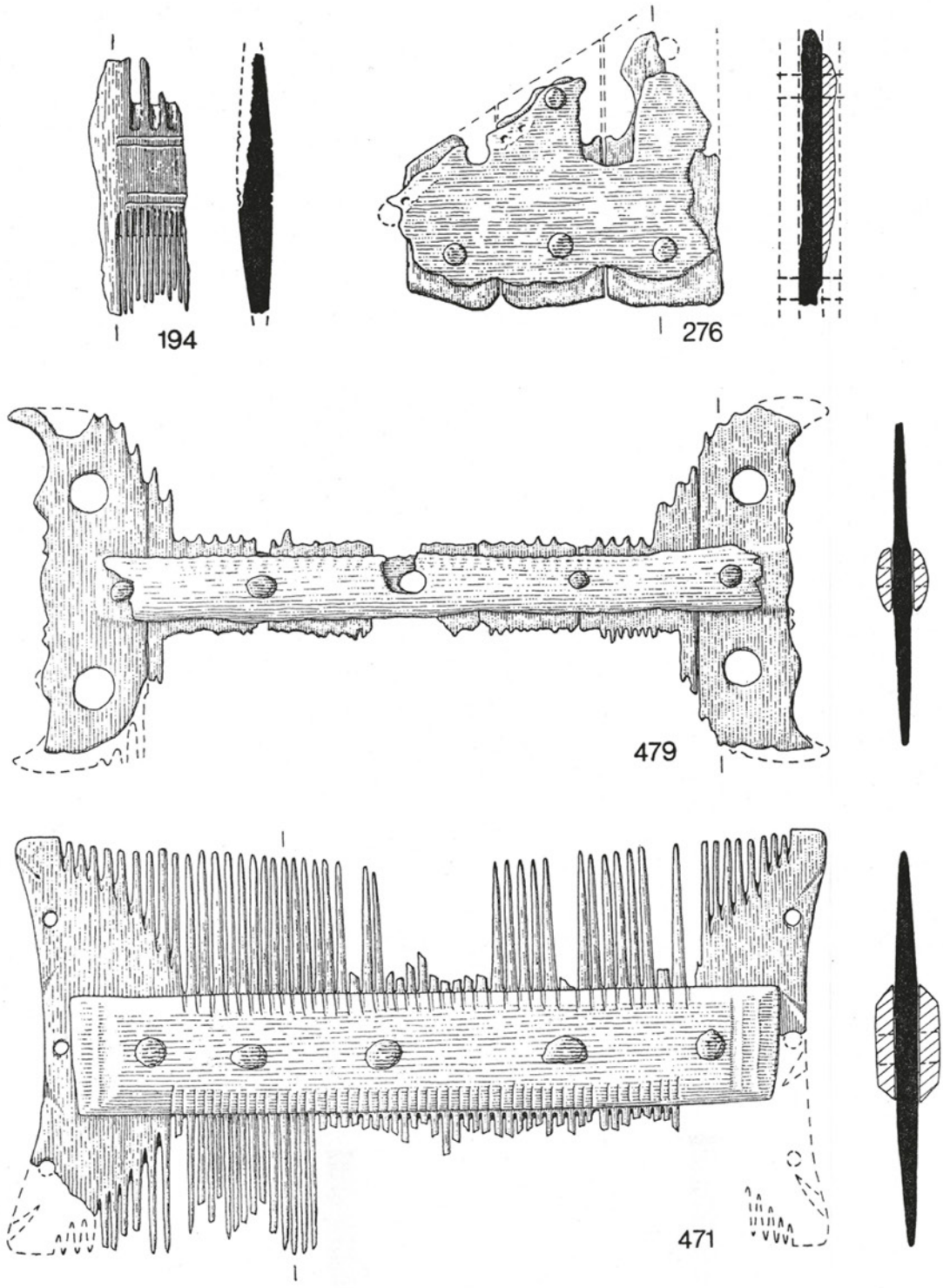


FIG. 31. Combs (1:1). Bone, except **194**, wood.

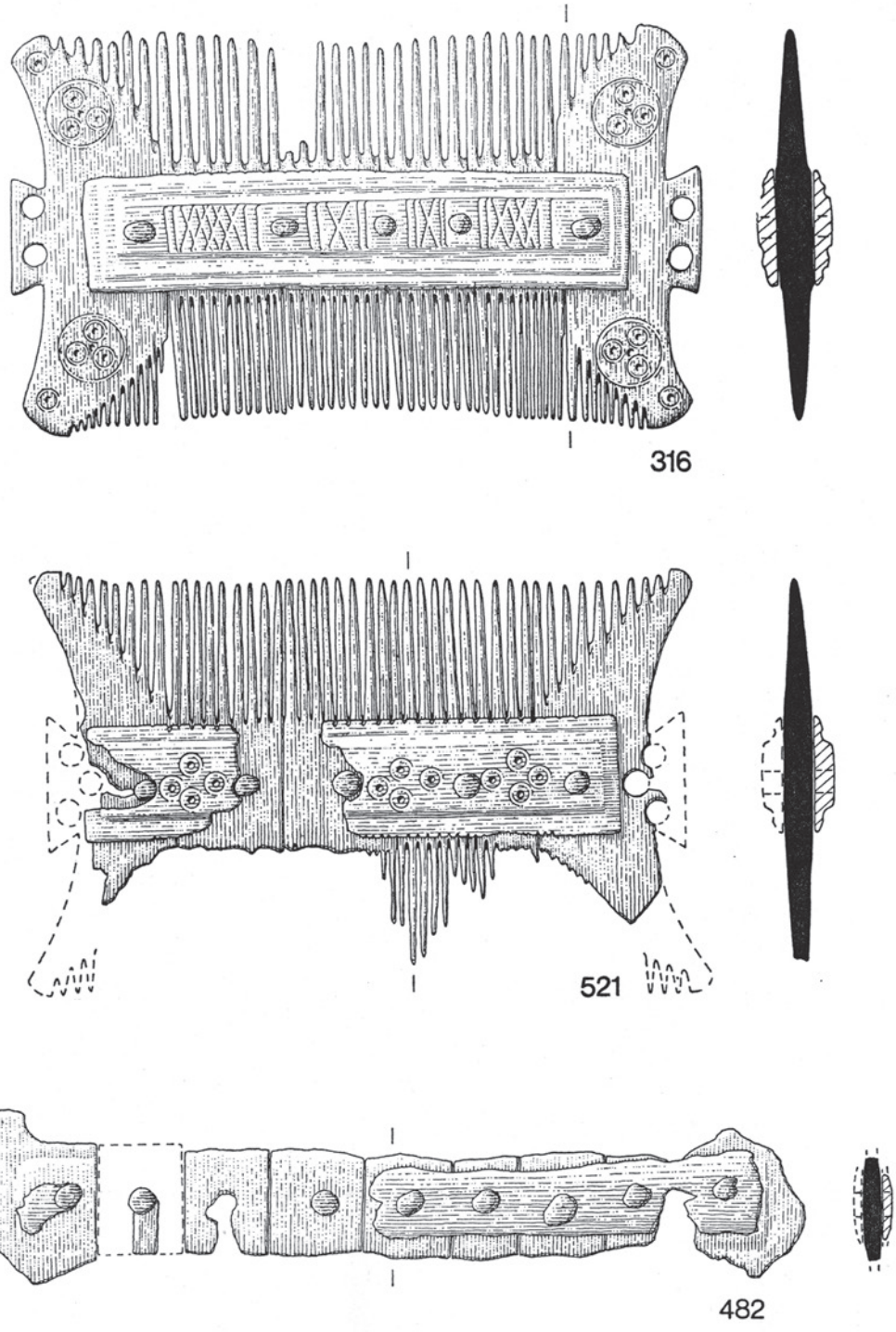


FIG. 31 cont. Combs (1:1). Bone, except 194, wood.

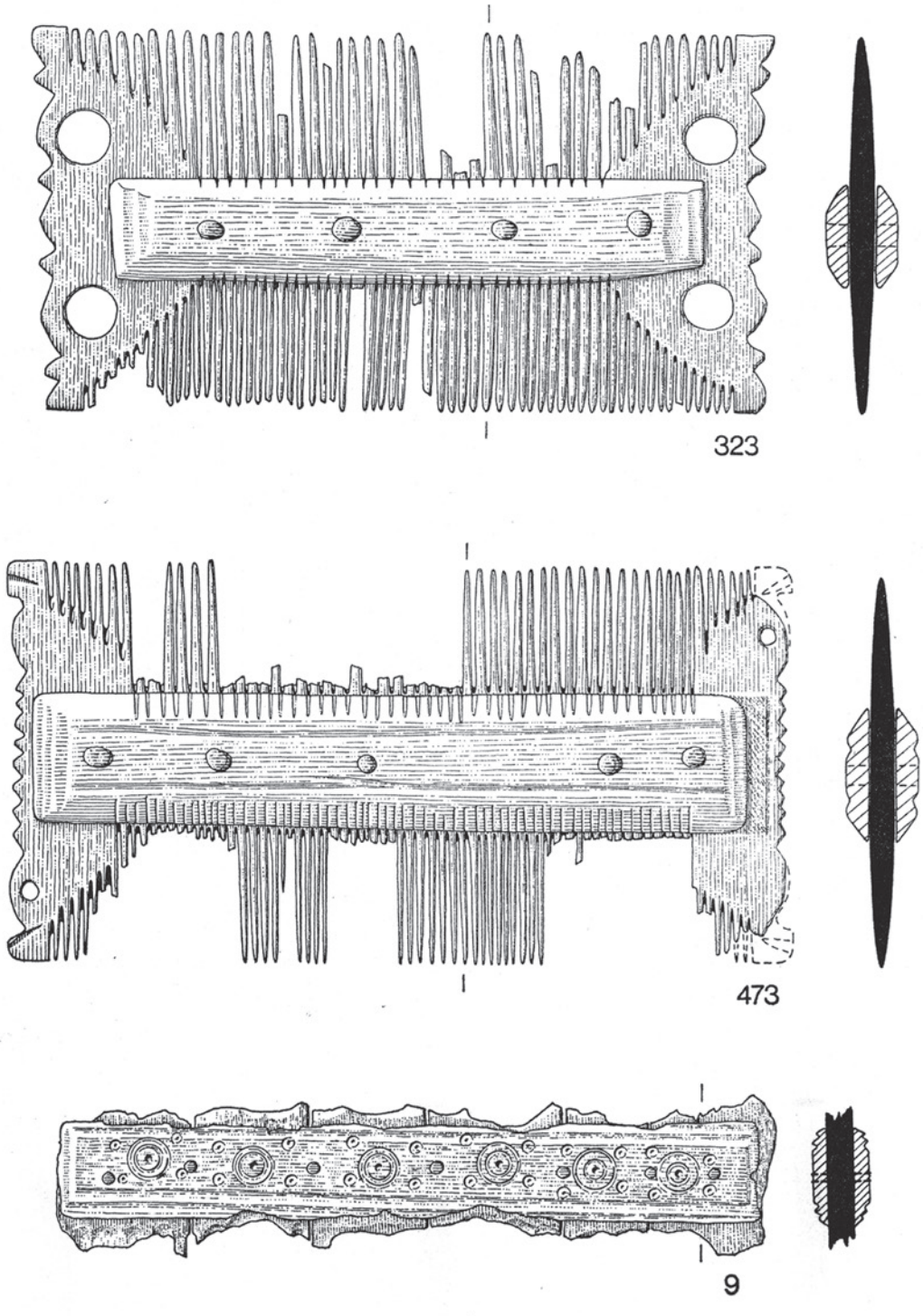


FIG. 31 cont. Combs (1:1). Bone, except 194, wood.

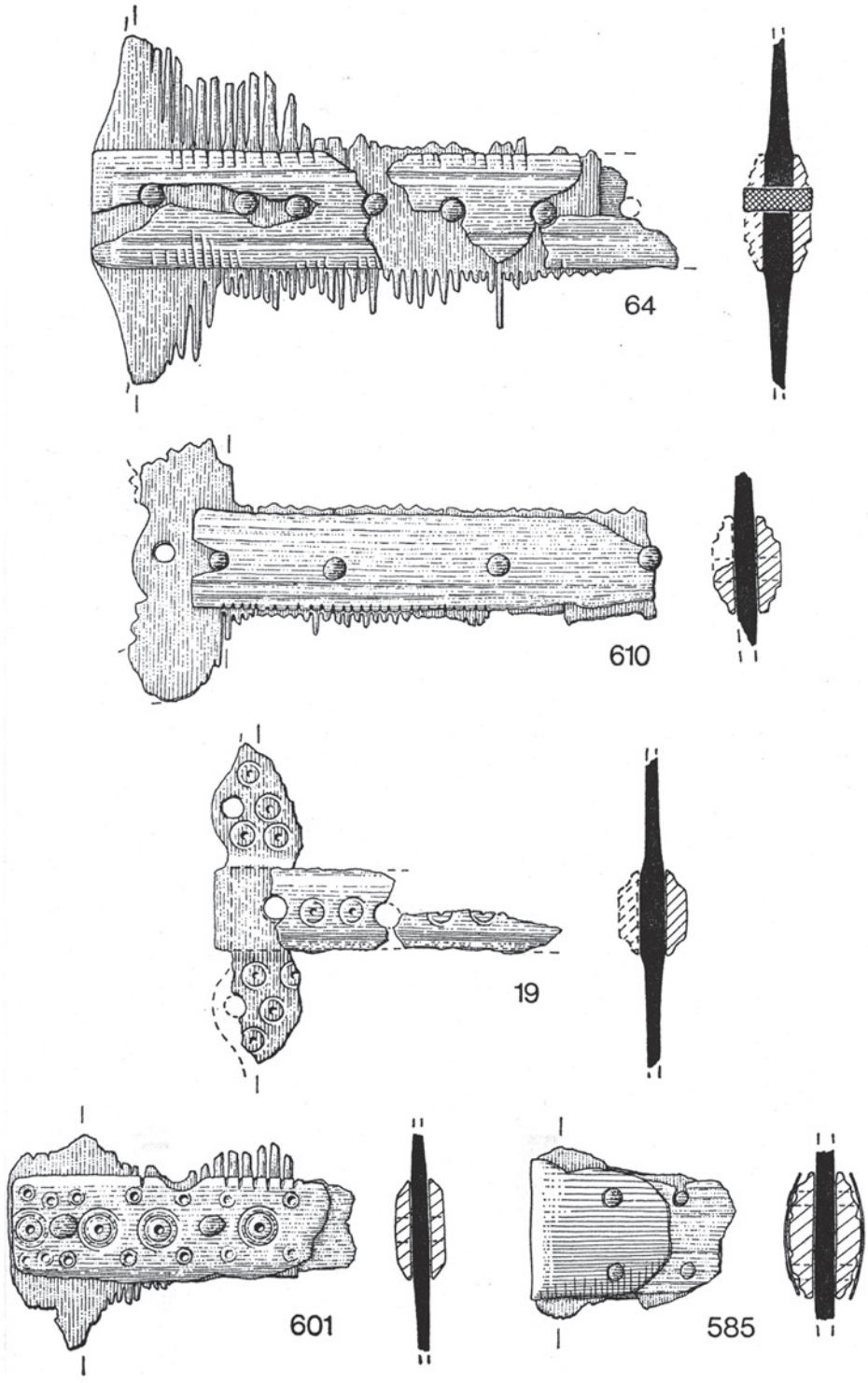


FIG. 31 cont. Combs (1:1). Bone, except **194**, wood.

Woodcuts (Dorset),[1] and bone examples like **133** come from Bokerly Dyke (Dorset)[2] and Portchester (Hants).[3] Jet whorls are unusual, but cylindrical examples are known from Silchester[4] and London.[5] The comparative rarity of conical spindle-whorls suggests that they were only in vogue for a short period, which the Lankhills and Portchester evidence would suggest was in the fourth century.

iii. IRON NEEDLES AND PINS

Four iron needles and one iron pin were discovered at Lankhills. As they are very similar in their corroded state, they are considered together here, and two other objects which could be either are also included. Iron needles and pins were difficult to find, both because of their small size and because of their similarity to the shanks of coffin-nails. Some were probably missed.

Needles

170, Grave **152** (300–30); **171**, Grave **184** (310–370/90); **390**, Grave **351** (370–90); **586**, Grave **435** (350–70)

Of the four needles only **170** is complete; it is 70 mm long. Each needle has a slit-shaped eye, in which **390** has some thread preserved. Needles are common finds on Romano-British sites,[6] but few of those known are iron, this no doubt reflecting the difficulty of identifying them.

Pin

398, Grave 351 (370–90)

This pin is not in itself distinctive and lacks a head. It can be identified as a pin by its position near the skull of Grave 351, close to two bronze pins. Like the needles, so too iron pins have not often been recognised.

Uncertain

507, Grave 396 (370–90); **558**, Grave 438 (360–370/80)

Both objects have a thin iron shaft, which on **558** comes to a point. Neither has a head.

iv. KNIVES

Seven complete iron knives with traces of wooden handles were discovered at Lankhills. A detached bone handle and a fragment of a blade were also found. All came from graves dated to 350–410.

Knives with a wooden handle

Type A. Blade less than half the length of the knife

60, Grave 55 (350–70); **69**, Grave 81 (350–70); **130**, Grave **106** (350–370/90); **476**, Grave **283** (390–410)

These knives have a blade 70–90 mm long, which forms less than half their total length. The tang of **476** is incomplete, but enough remains to show that it is of this type. **60** is unusual in having a domed knob at the end of its tang and a blade that is rounded rather than pointed at the end.

[1] Pitt Rivers 1887, Pl. XLIX, 2, 6, 7, **8**.
[2] Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXXIV, 6.
[3] Cunliffe 1975, Figs. 117–18, Nos. **106–9, esp. No. 108**.
[4] Lawson 1975, 272, Fig. 14, No. 107.
[5] *London in Roman Times*, Pl. XLVI, 8.
[6] A selection is illustrated in *London in Roman Times*, Pl. XLII.

Type B. Blade slightly more than half the length of the knife

93, Grave 37 (350–70); **602**, Grave 443 (350–70); ?**617**, Grave 349, fill (360–80)

93 and **602** have blades 140 and 115 mm long respectively, more than half their over-all length. These knives are larger than those of Type A. The blade of **93** has an extended tip, a feature which gives it some affinity with Type C. **617**, a fragment of a blade from the fill of Grave 349, may also belong to this type.

Type C. With a short handle

501, Grave 418 (370–410)

The one knife of this type has a tang that is short by comparison with the blade. The latter is 120 mm in length; it has a hollow along one face and its back is concave towards the tip.

Discussion

The Lankhills knives with wooden handles all have blades which can be described as lancet-shaped, leaf-shaped, or flame-shaped.[1] Both sides of the blades are curved, and the tang is attached centrally rather than to one side. On the Continent, such knives are typical of north-east Gaul and the Rhineland,[2] being found, for example, at Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.),[3] Oudenburg (Belgium),[4] Furfooz (Belgium),[5] and Abbeville Homblières (Aisne).[6] They are also known further south-east, in South Bavaria,[7] Austria,[8] and Hungary.[9] These knives would seem to be a fourth-century type;[10] that they were not current subsequently is shown by their non-appearance at Haillot (Belgium),[11] and by their absence from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in England. Romano-British examples come from Richborough (Kent),[12] Camerton (Soms.),[13] Bokerly Dyke (Dorset),[14] Woodcuts (Dorset),[15] and Woodyates (Dorset).[16] The inlaid knife found near East Gate, Winchester, also has a leaf-shaped blade.[17]

It is difficult to know whether the Lankhills types are generally valid, for few knives elsewhere now have a complete tang. The lengths of knife-blades from Oudenburg and Krefeld-Gellep bridge the gap between those of Types A and B and in that respect the variation at Lankhills is unlikely to be significant. But Type C does appear to be a type that is well defined elsewhere. A British parallel comes from Bokerly Dyke,[18] and several are known on the Continent, for example from Oudenburg[19] and Furfooz.[20] These knives have a concavity on the back near the tip, and some also have a shallow groove on one side, both features seen on **501**. Several, including the example from Bokerly Dyke, have blades of the same length.

None of the knives at Lankhills was buried in a 'domestic' context; rather, they were in male graves, most of them associated with belts, some of which were almost certainly part of native military dress.[21] Yet, elsewhere, knives have come from female graves, whether in fourth-century continental cemeteries, or in fifth-century Anglo-Saxon ones. It would be unwise, therefore, to conclude that knives

[1] For a useful classification of Roman knives, see Noll 1963, 76–87. All the Lankhills knives belong to Noll's Type 1e.

[2] Cf. Böhme 1974, esp. 128.

[3] Pirling 1966, 123–4.

[4] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, esp. Pls. XCI and XCII.

[5] Nenquin 1953, Fig. 19.

[6] Roosens 1962, Pl. V, 7.

[7] Keller 1971, 78–9.

[8] Noll 1963, 80–3, Taf. 19 and 22 (from Salurn).

[9] For example, at Ságvár: Burger 1966, Fig. 100, No. 108.4, Fig. 101, No. 112.2.

[10] Noll 1963, 82.

[11] Breuer and Roosens 1957, 277.

[12] Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. LX, 324, 328, 330.

[13] Wedlake 1958, Fig. 62, No. 8.

[14] Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXVI, 13.

[15] Pitt Rivers 1887, Pl. XXII, 2 and 4.

[16] Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXXIV, 10.

[17] Jope 1946, Pl. XI*a*.

[18] Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXVI, 13.

[19] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, esp. Pl. LIII, 4.

[20] Nenquin 1953, Fig. 19.

[21] See below, pp. 289–91 (92 and 603, which were associated with 93 and 602).

of this kind were inevitably associated with soldiers in late Roman society. It is sometimes claimed as well that the deposition of knives in graves was a peculiarly Germanic custom. The occurrence of knives in Graves 37, 55, 418, and 443 is not consistent with this view,[1] and there is little evidence to support it from elsewhere in Britain. Knives may be particularly common in Germanic graves, but that is no reason for postulating that other people were never buried with them.

Bone handle

493, Grave 283 (390–410)

This handle has been detached from its blade, but the central cavity contains an iron tang. The handle is made from the left metatarsal of a small sheep.[2] One end of the bone has been cut away and shaped to take the tang, while the other has been pierced with two holes for suspension. The handle presumably belonged to a knife. Similar objects have been discovered at Catterick (N.R. Yorks)[3] and Portchester (Hants).[4]

v. WEAVING-TABLET

208, Grave 14 (310–350/70)

This object was discovered as the skull of Grave 14 was being washed. It is a triangular bone plate, slightly curved, with one corner broken off, and the other two pierced by small holes. Similar objects have been found both in this country and on the Continent, and they have been interpreted as used in tablet-weaving.[5] Weaving-tablets are more commonly rectangular, but triangular examples like **208** come from several sites, notably Portchester (Hants),[6] Richborough (Kent),[7] and *Verulamium* (Herts.),[8] the latter in a deposit dated to 350–80.

vi. GAMING-PIECES

A gaming-set, **50**, consisting of twenty-six glass counters and other items, and a single glass counter, **358**, were found at Lankhills. The set is shown in colour on Plate 1*b* and drawings of selected pieces are included in Figs. 69 and 90.

Glass counters

50, Grave 51 (310–370/90); **358**, Grave 336 (350–70)

358, a single counter, and all the counters from **50** are of the well-known disc type with a plano-convex vertical section. This type is extremely common on Roman sites of all periods, everywhere. Some are clear or opaque monochrome and others, like almost all those in **50**, are polychrome with coloured discs or other shapes applied and marvered on the convex surface. The type has been discussed by Harden in connection with finds from Karanis[9] and Shakenoak.[10]

[1] For the Romano-British character of these graves, see above, pp. 165–74, and below, pp. 360–1, 362, and 369.

[2] Kindly identified by Mrs. Pauline Sheppard (Winchester Research Unit animal bone project).

[3] Hildyard 1958, Fig. 5, No. 9.

[4] Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 18, No. 110 (interpreted as a bobbin).

[5] Wild 1970, 73–4, Table O, and Figs. 63 and 66.

[6] Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 117, No. 105.

[7] Bushe-Fox 1949, 151 and Pl. LVI, 267.

[8] Frere 1972, 150 and Fig. 55, No. 204.

[9] Harden 1936, 291 ff., Pl. XXI.

[10] Harden 1968, 80.

Gaming-set

50, Grave 51 (310–370/90)

This set consists of the following pieces (Plate 1*b*):

15 black glass counters (Fig. 69, e, f, g, h, j, k, l);
9 complete and 2 fragmentary white glass counters (Fig. 69, a, b, c);
1 ivory die (Fig. 69, n);
1 semicircular glass piece (Fig. 69, d);
1 coral stick (Fig. 69, m).

Of the black counters, all but one (Fig. 69, e) are inlaid with coloured glass discs. Single black counters have respectively a large light blue disc in the centre (Fig. 69, f), a central red disc flanked by two blue discs (Fig. 69, g), and a central red disc flanked by three blue discs (Fig. 69, h). Eight black counters have a central red disc surrounded by four blue ones (Fig. 69, j), and one has a red disc surrounded by six blue discs (Fig. 69, l). The two remaining black counters have a central blue disc with four red discs around (Fig. 69, k). Three of the white counters are inlaid with a central blue disc surrounded by four red discs (Fig. 69, a), and six others are the reverse, with four blue discs around a central red disc (Fig. 69, b). The remaining white counter has a red disc surrounded by five blue discs (Fig. 69, c).

The gaming-pieces lay in a pile by the right foot in Grave 51 (Fig. 64). There was no suggestion that they were in any sort of order, and there was no sign of a board. Two of the white counters were fragmentary, having decayed in the ground, and other white counters may therefore once have been present.

Gaming-sets of pre-Roman, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon date are known from Britain and elsewhere, all owing their survival as complete sets to their deposition in graves. The closest parallels to **50** are broadly contemporary and come from the mausoleum at Lullingstone (Kent) and from Grave 1215 at Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.). The Lullingstone set[1] consisted of fifteen white and fifteen brown glass counters, all inlaid, a group of bone objects (perhaps equivalent to the coral stick of **50**), and a roundel incised with a Medusa head. With these pieces were the remains of a board. The Krefeld-Gellep set comprised ten black and perhaps sixteen white glass counters.[2] No further objects were recovered, but any of bone would probably have decayed.

Other Roman gaming-sets have plain glass counters. One formed part of Group XXXVII at Ospringe (Kent) and consisted of twenty-four counters and two ivory dice.[3] Two of the counters were bone and the rest glass, twelve being white, four yellow, four black, one blue, and one grey. Associated objects probably date the set to the late second century. Another set was found in Grave 2 at Grange Road, Winchester.[4] It included twelve white, four black, and two blue glass counters, and was in a pile with eight faience melon beads near where the grave-pit was cut by a modern pipe-trench. This burial may be dated to *c.* 85–95. A third set comes from a grave at Bonn.[5] This consisted of twenty-eight counters, one made from a samian base, and the rest of glass, nine deep blue, three black, three purple, and twelve millefiori.

Gaming-sets with bone counters are known from several British graves. In Grave 66 of the St. Pancras cemetery at Chichester, a third-century cremation, there were twenty-three counters,[6] and

[1] *JRS*, 49 (1959), 132–3.
[2] Pirling 1966, 125–6, Farbtaf. B, Taf. 101, No. 3. Some white counters were much decayed, so others may have disintegrated totally.
[3] Whiting *et al.* 1931, Pl. LVI; Whiting 1925, 95.
[4] Biddle 1967, 244–5, Fig. 9, Nos. 36–53. Since the counters were found next to the cut of a modern pipe-trench, some may have been lost.
[5] Haberey 1961, 328–30.
[6] Down and Rule 1971, 83, Fig. 5.15, 2–22.

in Grave 250, dated to 150–200, there were twenty-four counters, with two dice.[1] Additional counters could originally have been present in both burials. At York, at least twenty bone counters were found in a child's grave in the Holgate Bridge area,[2] and in the Trentholme Drive cemetery, forty-six counters were associated with Cremation 41, of the late second century.[3]

A pre-Roman gaming-set was discovered in a rich pre-Roman burial at Welwyn (Herts.),[4] dated to about 10 B.C. The set consisted of twenty-four glass counters, six glass sticks, and a board. Almost all the counters are inlaid with five discs, usually a central disc surrounded by four dark green ones, and six are white, six yellow, six blue, and six light green. The Welwyn counters are quite different in shape from the normal plano-convex Roman type exemplified at Lankhills, being much greater than a semicircle in section and slightly pointed at the apex. The inlays on the Welwyn set are also quite different from those at Lankhills, but it remains that they are glass counters decorated by inlays differentiated by colour.

Gaming-sets from Anglo-Saxon graves have recently been discussed by Barbara Green.[5] Mostly they do not resemble **50**, although some have certain affinities, in particular the sets from Urn N 59 at Caistor-by-Norwich[6] and from Grave 6 at Sarr (Kent).[7] The former, in one of the earliest graves at Caistor, consisted of thirty-three counters (twenty-two bone and eleven ?shale), and associated with it were at least thirty-six astragali, one with a runic inscription. The Sarr set was composed of about fifty bone counters, inscribed with discs whose character and arrangement are reminiscent of the discs on the counters of **50**.

Several points may be made about all the sets that have now been described. First, they are made up of more than eighteen counters. Second, the counters can mostly be divided into two roughly equal groups. At Lankhills and Krefeld-Gellep the division is between black and white counters; at Lullingstone between white and brown; in the Bonn grave between millefiori and plain counters; at Ospringe and Grange Road between the white counters and the rest; and at Welwyn between the yellow and white counters and the blue and green ones. A similar division may be made in the sets of bone counters from Chichester, between counters with concentric ornament and the rest; and the Anglo-Saxon Caistor set has an admittedly unequal division between bone and shale pieces. Third, within the basic bipartite division, the counters in many of the sets carry a variety of designs, and if made of glass these are often in differnnt colours. There do not seem to be any groupings of counters with similar designs, except in the Welwyn set, where the counters can clearly be placed in four groups of six. Fourth, several sets also have dice, notably those from Lankhills, Ospringe, and Chichester, and some also include less readily identifiable objects. At Lankhills there is the coral stick; at Lullingstone there are bone objects and the Medusa head; at Grange Road, the beads could have been part of the set; at Welwyn there are the six glass sticks (perhaps equivalent to a die); and at Caistor there are the astragali.

The sets from Lankhills, Lullingstone, and Krefeld-Gellep form a particularly close group. Their counters are remarkably similar, being decorated with inlaid discs alike in colour and arranged in a similar manner. This is unlikely to be a coincidence. The Welwyn set is some three centuries earlier, however, and is different in that the counters are of four rather than two colours. That may not be significant, since the yellow and the white counters and the blue and the green counter scan be grouped together. The similarities that are otherwise apparent are close enough to suggest that all four sets were intended for a similar purpose.

Whether the other sets, with bone or plain glass counters, were intended for the same purpose is

[1] Down and Rule 1971, 83–8, Fig. 5.15, A–L.
[2] *Eburacum*, 101; *JBAA*[1], 6 (1851), 156–7.
[3] Wenham 1968, 97, Fig. 40.11.
[4] Stead 1967, 14–20, Pl. I.
[5] Myres and Green 1973, 98–100.
[6] Ibid. 98 and Fig. 5.
[7] Brent 1866, 157–8.

not clear, but in view of their common features, this is not to be precluded. These other sets are not as lavish, and, with the exception of the Bonn find, would not have taken so much trouble to make. Perhaps they were simply a cheaper equivalent. That the sets with inlaid counters were associated with wealthy people is suggested by the graves in which they were discovered. The burials at Welwyn and Lullingstone evidently belonged to men of high rank, and at Krefeld-Gellep, Grave 1215 contained more vessels than any of the other first 1,300 graves from that cemetery.[1] Only **50** at Lankhills was in an otherwise unexceptional grave. The contexts in which the four sets were found were thus generally rich, and this would be consistent with these sets being unusual and elaborate versions of a type that in other forms may have been widely diffused.

What games were played? The character of the sets suggests that the game or games involved two players and pieces which were not individually differentiated. One possibility is *ludus latrunculorum*,[2] which does not require a die and where the number of pieces needed is not fixed. Another game is *ludus duodecim scriptorum*,[3] which is not unlike backgammon. It involves two players, dice, and fifteen counters on each side. If **50** at Lankhills originally had fifteen white counters, it would have been suitable for *ludus duodecim scriptorum*. So too would the Lullingstone set have been.

Other games were no doubt played in Roman Britain. **50** and the sets like it could well have been used for several different games, of which there is now no record, and this would be quite consistent with the undifferentiated character of the counters. It would also explain why sets have frequently been found without a board: there was perhaps none to which they specifically belonged. This would also be consistent with the likelihood that, at least some of the time, the Welwyn set was used by four players.

vii. WHETSTONES *by* S. E. ELLIS

Two whetstones or hones were discovered at Lankhills. Both are unlike any other types among the Romano-British hones from Winchester.

59, Grave 55 (350–70). This is a finely banded, silty, and micaceous ostracod limestone or calcareous sandstone, almost certainly from the Purbeck Beds of the Isle of Purbeck, but just possibly an atypical specimen of the Kentish Rag (Hythe Beds) from Kent or Sussex. It belongs to my general Sub-group IV A.[4]

477, Grave 283 (390–410). This is interesting in being a glaciated pebble split along its length and adapted for use as a hone. Petrographically it is a greywacke-siltstone of a type especially common in the Lower Palaeozoic of Central Wales and characterised by a variety of micas and by pod-shaped aggregates of mica and chlorite in parallel growth. It is almost certainly from the glacial drift of the midlands. It belongs to my general Sub-group II C.[5]

viii. NAIL-CLEANER

127, Grave 106 (350–370/90)

This piece of metalwork belongs to the category of objects generally described as 'nail-cleaners'. There is no firm evidence for this identification, but it has become widely accepted and will be retained here. Most nail-cleaners are simple, with one end pierced for suspension, and the other forked. There is usually little decoration. Nail-cleaners are relatively common on Roman sites, and examples from Richborough (Kent)[6] and Woodeaton (Oxon.)[7] may be noted.

[1] Graves published in Pirling 1966.
[2] Austin 1934, 25–30.
[3] Ibid. 30–4.
[4] Ellis 1969.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XLIII, 176–9.
[7] Kirk 1949, Fig. 6, No. 509.

There is a small group of nail-cleaners which can be recognised as forming a distinct type. The lower part of these pieces consists of a flat plate with an extended tip. Above the plate there is a moulded shaft, and this has a suspension-loop at the top at right angles to the rest of the object. Nail-cleaners of this type are known from Wor Barrow (Dorset)[1] and from London,[2] the latter still attached to a châtelaine. The Wor Barrow piece is decorated with a head in the Quoit-brooch style,[3] which suggests an early fifth-century date.

127 is reminiscent of this latter type, for it has a flat body, an extended tip, and a suspension-loop at right angles to the rest of the piece. It differs, however, in being simpler and in the absence of a moulded shaft. A close parallel was discovered at Maiden Castle (Dorset):[4] this piece is shorter and has a globular body, but the decorative detail is similar. Typologically, it and **127** may link the simple, standard nail-cleaners with those from London and Wor Barrow. The date of 350–370/90 assignable to Grave 106 is significantly earlier than the Wor Barrow piece, and so is in accord.

The relationship between the latest Romano-British nail-cleaners and the Tortworth-type strap-ends is of some interest.[5] There seems to be little difference in shape between the latter and, for example, the Wor Barrow nail-cleaner, and this affinity is emphasised by the forked tip of some strap-ends. The split butts on the strap-ends and the loops on the nail-cleaners suggest that both could be suspended, and it may be that these late objects combined the functions of belt-terminal and nail-cleaner. **127** could illustrate the proposed dual function. It was found in a grave with two buckles (**122** and **126**) but only one strap-end (**128**, itself prototypical of the Tortworth type),[6] and it could be that it was attached to the belt fastened by the second buckle.

ix. STRIKE-A-LIGHTS

308, Grave 293 (390–410); **594**, Grave 411 (390–410)

These are small iron bars. **308** has been split by corrosion, but seems originally to have had a square cross-section and to have been curved at one end. **594** is also rectangular in cross-section, but triangular in side-view. Both objects were found near the head, and may perhaps be interpreted as rather fragmentary strike-a-lights.

x. LOCKS AND KEYS

A barb-spring padlock, **515**, was found in the fill of Grave 440 (350–70), and a latch-lifter, **373**, was discovered in the fill of Grave 316 (370–410). Both are iron. They belong to types recently discussed by Manning in connection with finds from insula xiv at *Verulamium* (Herts.);[7] further comment would be otiose.

A barb-spring padlock key, **360**, came from Grave 336. This too is a type discussed by Manning in connection with *Verulamium* finds.[8] At one end it has a rolled loop, through which are hooked two bronze rings, **361** and **362**. **362** is coiled, and is paralleled, for example, at Gadebridge Park (Herts.),[9] *Verulamium*,[10] and Woodcuts (Dorset).[11] It and **361** were perhaps once finger-rings.[12]

[1] Evison 1965, Fig. 27, j.
[2] *London in Roman Times*, Pl. XXXIX.
[3] For comments on the Quoit-brooch style, see below, pp. 287–8.
[4] Wheeler 1943, Fig. 96, No. 14.
[5] For Tortworth-type strap-ends, see below, pp. 281–2.
[6] See below, p. 282.
[7] Frere 1972, 181–2, Nos. 72 and 73.
[8] Ibid. 184, Nos. 80–1.
[9] Neal 1974, Fig. 60, No. 134.
[10] Frere 1972.
[11] Pitt Rivers 1887, Pl. XV, 24.
[12] Cf. below, p. 318.

xi. ARROWHEAD

487, Grave 378 (390–410)

This iron arrowhead lay by the left hand of the child's skeleton in Grave 378, which was dated by Theodosian coins. The arrowhead is 105 mm long over-all, the point being 70 mm long. The distance between the arrowhead and the end of the grave indicated that the shaft, if present and unbroken, could not have been more than 450 mm in length.

487 is described as an arrowhead because its shaft appears to have been short; that apart, it could equally well be a small spearhead. There seems in general to be little taxonomic difference other than size between leaf-shaped iron points like **487** and definitely recognisable spearheads.[1] The only points that will definitely have been arrowheads are those with a tang.[2] In view of this, **487** may be discussed in the context of spearheads generally.

Typologically, the salient point is that its leaf-shaped blade reaches its greatest width near the base. Spearheads and arrowheads of similar shape are known from Roman and post-Roman contexts. First-century examples come from Maiden Castle (Dorset)[3] and Hod Hill (Dorset),[4] a second-century instance from Caerleon (Mon.),[5] and a third-century example from *Verulamium* (Herts.).[6] Further examples from Portchester (Hants) and Richborough (Kent) can probably be dated to the late Roman period.[7] Also of late Roman date are some spearheads and arrowheads from fourth-century graves on the Continent. Spearheads have been discovered in Grave 29 at the Galgenberg bei Cuxhaven (Nds.),[8] at Quelkhorn II (Nds.),[9] at Furfooz (Belgium),[10] and at Vieuxville (Belgium),[11] while arrowheads have occurred in Grave 6 at Vert-la-Gravalle (Marne),[12] and in a grave at Liebenau (Nds.).[13]

For the fifth and subsequent centuries, all spearheads from Anglo-Saxon graves have recently been classified and listed by Swanton.[14] Those similar in shape to **487** belong to his Type E1,[15] and they seem concentrated mainly in the 'Saxon' area of England; probably most, if not all, are early, dating to the fifth century. One has been found in the supposedly Anglo-Saxon West Hill cemetery at Winchester,[16] and others come from the cemetery at Droxford (Hants).[17] Swanton points out that there are few antecedents to his Type E1 from free Germany or Scandinavia, but still implies that the type was of Germanic origin.[18] However, as there is a clear provincial Roman ancestry for the form, it was perhaps more probably adopted by the immigrants on entering the empire, and thence, perhaps, taken to their homelands. This adoption could well be exemplified by **487**, for it seems that the child buried in Grave 378 belonged to a group of Saxons only recently arrived in Winchester.[19]

xii. SPOON

629, Rescue-observation O

Only one spoon was discovered, a chance find,[20] presumably from a fourth-century grave. It is bronze, with a silvered bowl, and decoration is confined to the junction of the bowl and handle. Late Roman spoons have been widely discussed in recent years.[21] One was found in the mausoleum at Lullingstone, which can be dated to *c.* 300,[22] and another comes from Grave BX at Ospringe.[23]

[1] Cf. Bushe-Fox 1949, 152–3.
[2] See, for example, ibid. Pl. LIX, **294, 302.**
[3] Wheeler 1943, Fig. 93, No. 6.
[4] Brailsford 1962, Pl. VI, No. B85.
[5] Nash-Williams 1932, 70, Fig. 18, No. 2.
[6] Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 218, Pl. LXIVA, **2.**
[7] Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. LIX, 297; Cunliffe **1975, Fig.** 124, no. 175.
[8] Böhme 1974, Taf. 39, **No. 7.**
[9] Waller 1959, Taf. 32, f.
[10] Nenquin 1953, 82, Fig. 18.
[11] Böhme 1974, Taf. 111, **No. 2.**
[12] Lantier 1948, Pl. II, 4.
[13] Genrich 1971, Abb. 9, **Nos. 3 and 4.**
[14] Swanton 1973; 1974.
[15] Swanton 1973, 77–81.
[16] Cf. Meaney 1964, 101–2.
[17] Swanton 1973, Fig. 23*f* and ***g*; 1974, 45–6.**
[18] Swanton 1973, 23–4, 74–7.
[19] See below, pp. 389–403.
[20] See above, p. 9.
[21] Milojocic 1968; Böhme **1970; Sherlock 1973.**
[22] *JRS*, 49 (1959), 132–3.
[23] Whiting *et al.* 1931, **Pl. LIX.**

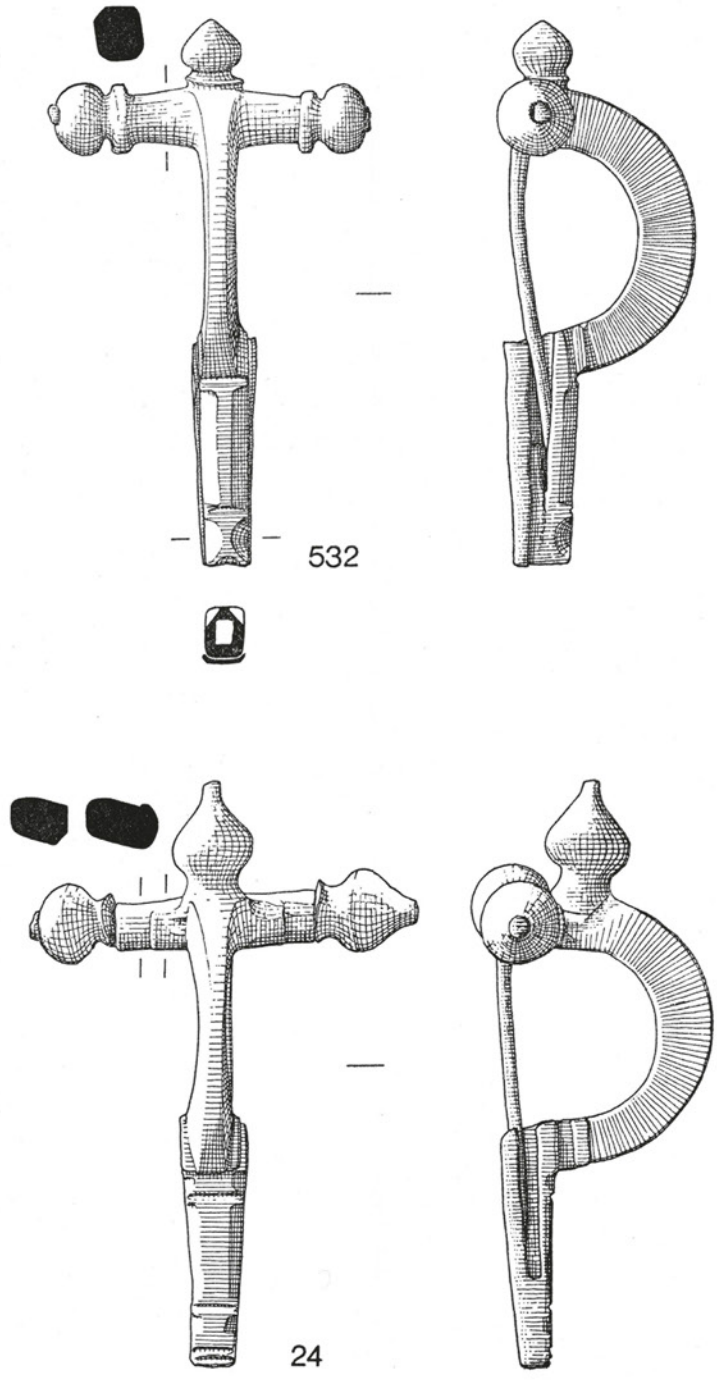


FIG. 32. Cross-bow brooches (1:1).
24, 74, 121, 532, bronze; **13, 278, 447, 587,** bronze-gilt; **447** and **587** inlaid.

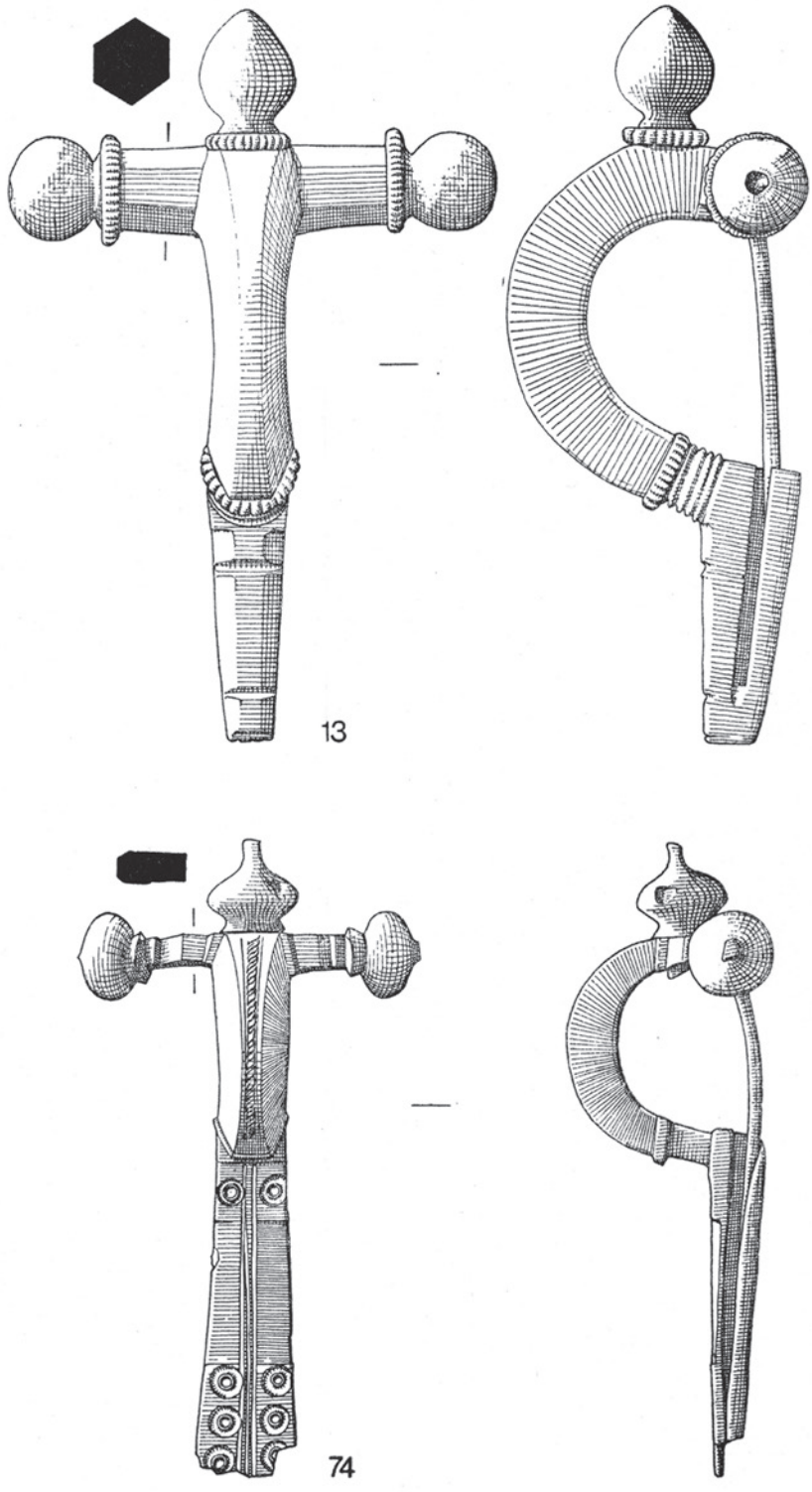
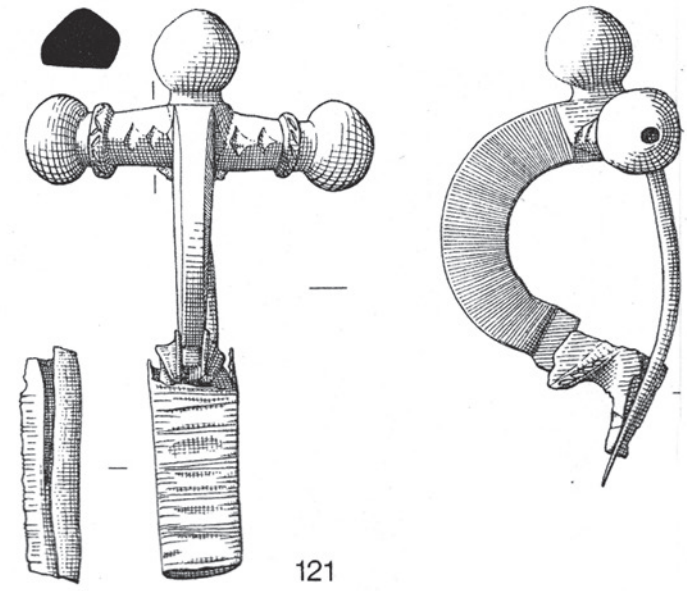


FIG. 32 **cont**. Cross-bow brooches (1:1).
24, 74, 121, 532, bronze; **13, 278, 447, 587,** bronze-gilt; **447** and **587** inlaid.



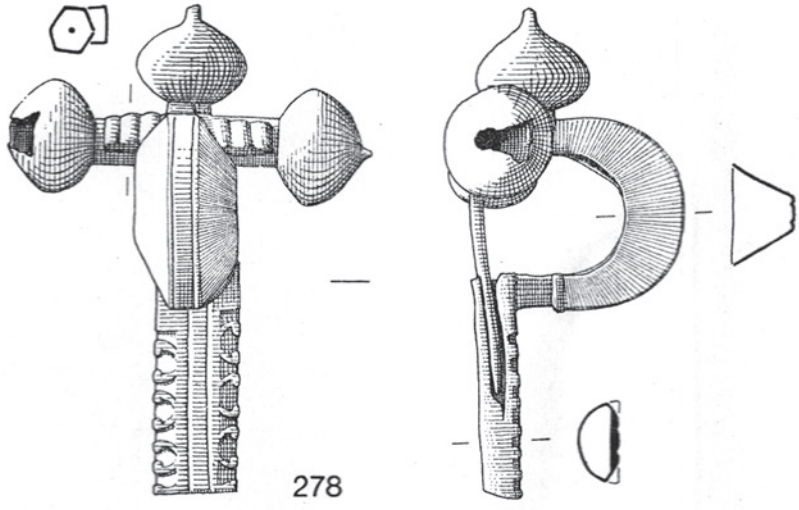
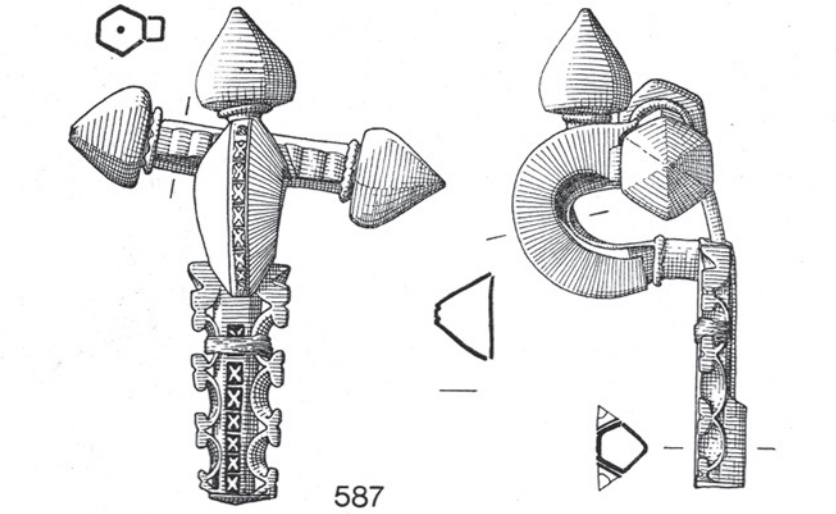


FIG. 32 **cont**. Cross-bow brooches (1:1).
24, 74, 121, 532, bronze; **13, 278, 447, 587,** bronze-gilt; **447** and **587** inlaid.



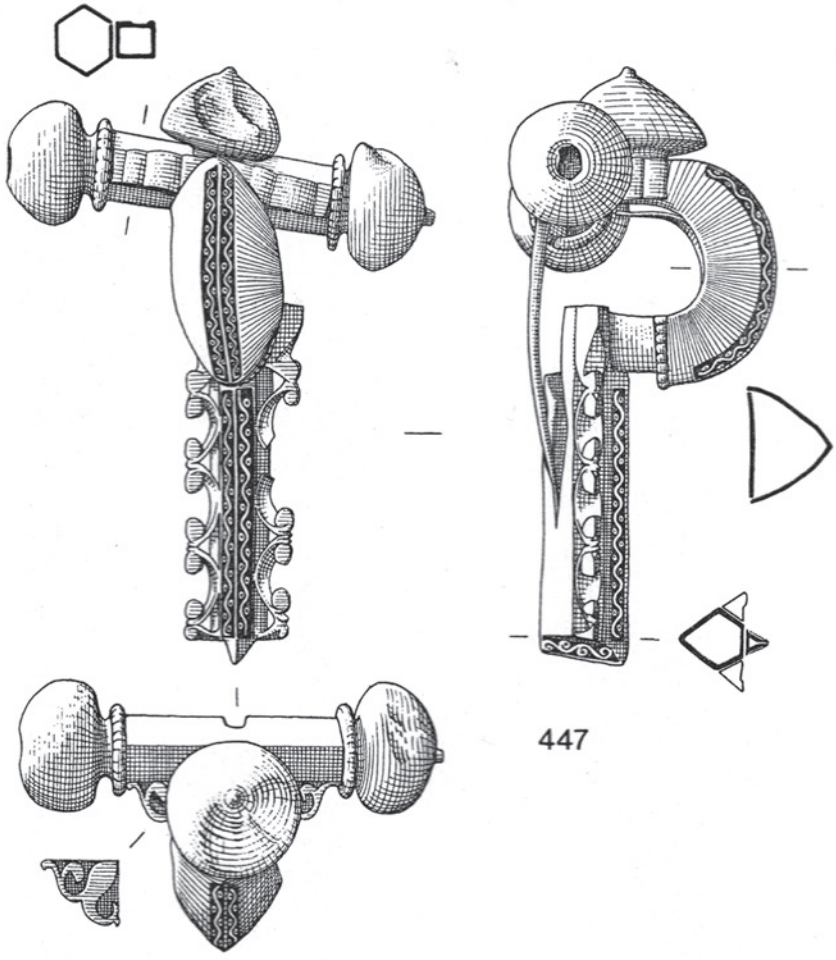


FIG. 32 **cont.** Cross-bow brooches (1:1).
24, 74, 121, 532, bronze; **13, 278, 447, 587,** bronze-gilt; **447** and **587** inlaid.

8

CROSS-BOW BROOCHES

EIGHT cross-bow brooches were discovered at Lankhills (Fig. 32).[1] Developed cross-bow brooches are a late Roman type, appearing at the end of the third century as successors of the *Scharnierfibeln*,[2] which in England are sometimes regarded as early versions of the cross-bow brooch.[3] Developed cross-bow brooches are common in the Roman frontier-provinces on the Continent.[4] Comparatively few examples are known from Britain, the only published collections of any size, apart from Lankhills, coming from Richborough (Kent)[5] and Lydney (Glos.).[6]

i. KELLER'S TYPOLOGY

Although there was clearly regional variation in detail, the basic typological development of fourth-century cross-bow brooches seems to have been remarkably consistent over wide areas of the Roman Empire. A comprehensive classification and chronology has recently been formulated by Keller,[7] based principally on Hungarian examples in coin-dated graves, and although this certainly requires some modification, it provides a useful foundation. Already it has been followed by Böhme[8] and Jobst,[9] and it should clearly form the basis for our study of the Lankhills finds. However, Keller is not entirely explicit about his type definitions, and his classification can only be fully understood by looking at the brooches actually placed in each type. In these circumstances, there is an obvious risk of confusion, especially as Keller's scheme is more complex than at first appears.[10] It is therefore necessary to set out his typology in full, and to state, and where appropriate criticise, his proposed dating.

Type 1:[11] Hexagonal-sectioned cross-piece, usually undecorated (Type 1A), but sometimes with additions near the bow (Type 1B).
Knobs unfaceted, usually longer than they are wide.
Narrow bow.
Foot shorter than the bow, with linear decoration.

Type 2:[12] Hexagonal-sectioned cross-piece, with decoration added, running out from the bow.
Knobs faceted, usually longer than they are wide.
Narrow bow.
Foot shorter than the bow, with linear (Type 2A), simple-circle (Type 2B), or involuted (Type 2C) decoration.

Type 3:[13] Narrow cross-piece, with rectangular or trapezoidal cross-section, and decoration running out from the bow.
Knobs onion-shaped.

[1] I am grateful to Mr. D. F. Mackreth for commenting on the Lankhills brooches, and for drafting the individual brooch descriptions.
[2] Jobst 1975, 88, 94.
[3] See, for example, *BM Guide* (1951), 20, No. 27.
[4] Listed in Keller 1971, 209–19.
[5] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XVIII; 1949, Pls. XXXI, 64, XXXII, 65; Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XXXIII, 80, 81.
[6] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 13.
[7] Keller 1971, 26–53, Abb. 11.
[8] Böhme 1974, 51.
[9] Jobst 1975, 91–106.
[10] Especially from Keller 1971, Abb. 11.
[11] Ibid. 32–5; cf. Jobst 1975, Taf. 30–2, Nos. 226–39.
[12] Keller 1971, 35–6; cf. Jobst 1975, Taf. 32–3, Nos. 240–4.
[13] Keller 1971, 37–8; cf. Jobst 1975, Taf. 34–5, Nos. 245–55.

Bow thin in cross-section; narrower than the foot.
Foot longer than the bow, with linear (Type 3A), dot-and-circle (Type 3B), or involuted (Type 3C) ornament.

Type 4:[1] Narrow cross-piece with cross-section either rectangular (Type 4A) or trapezoidal (Type 4C) or sometimes hexagonal (Type 4B).
Knobs onion-shaped, unfaceted, wider than they are long.
Bow solid in cross-section, nearly as wide as the foot.
Foot longer than the bow, with dot-and-circle (Type 4A), involuted (Type 4B), or cut-out trapeze (Type 4C) ornament.

Type 5:[2] Hexagonal-sectioned cross-piece.
Knobs round and onion-shaped.
Made from gilded sheet-bronze.
Squat in appearance.
Wide bow and foot, of equal width.
Wide strip of inlaid decoration on bow and foot.
Continuous involuted decoration cut into the sides of the foot.

Type 6:[3] Hexagonal-sectioned cross-piece.
Knobs faceted.
Not squat.
Relatively long and narrow bow and foot.
Involuted open-work ornament on each side of the foot, separately cast and attached.
Usually without inlaid decoration on bow or foot.

It is clear that this typology is basically unilinear, but some sub-types do seem to represent parallel lines of development. Thus it is possible to see a progression from Type 1, through Type 2A, to Type 3A, or from Type 2B, through Type 3B, to Type 4A, or from Type 2C, through Types 3C and 4B, to Types 5 and 6.

The dating of Types 1–4 is based on a plenitude of coin-associations, which Keller lists, and which must be decisive. Type 1 is assigned to *c.* 290–320, Type 2 to *c.* 310–50, Type 3 to *c.* 340–60, and Type 4 to *c.* 350–80.[4] For Type 5, Keller only quotes six coin-dated graves, four of them Valentinianic and two earlier.[5] He showed, however, that brooches of this type are generally associated with belt-fittings typologically different from, and presumably later than, those found with Type 4,[6] and so suggested a date of *c.* 370–400 for Type 5.

Type 6 Keller dated to *c.* 400 or later, but here there is room for doubt, since no brooch of this type comes from a coin-dated grave. Keller relied on the appearance of a Type-6 brooch on the Monza diptych, on an example from a coin-hoard from Poitiers, from which the latest coin was one of Arcadius (383–408), and on two finds from a deposit at Sucidava (Romania), apparently associated with sackings in 442 and 447.[7] He pointed out that the lack of coin associations would not be surprising if a date of later than 400 is correct, for the western mints were then ceasing production. However, unlike Keller's other types, Type-6 brooches are commoner in the western provinces than along the Danube frontier.[8] In the former areas, few cross-bow brooches of any type have been found in coin-dated graves: Keller lists five, compared with sixty from Hungary alone. If Type-6 brooches were being

[1] Keller 1971, 38–9; cf. Jobst 1975, Taf. 36–40, Nos. 256–80.
[2] Keller 1971, 41.
[3] Ibid. 52.
[4] See especially ibid. Abb. 12.
[5] Ibid. 41–2.
[6] Ibid. 45–52, Abb. 21–2.
[7] Ibid. 52.
[8] List: ibid. 219.

made before 400, should one in these circumstances necessarily expect to find them in coin-dated graves? That Type-6 brooches were made before 400 might be more in accord with the typological evidence, for as it stands Keller's chronology implies a somewhat erratic development, from the relatively large Type 4 to the squat Type 5, and then back to the large Type 6, a form little different from Type 4. It might be more logical to see Type 6 evolving directly from Type 4 and existing side by side with Type 5. This possibility may be supported by three Type-4B brooches from Oudenburg (Belgium),[1] Barrington (Cambs.),[2] and Colchester (Essex),[3] which have involuted ornament along the entire foot, and which come from the principal area of distribution of Type 6. In these circumstances it may perhaps be concluded that Type 6 was contemporary with Type 5, but used more in the west.

ii. CLASSIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE LANKHILLS BROOCHES

Equivalent to Keller Types 1, 2, and 3

13, Grave 13 (350–70); **24**, Grave 23 (350–80); **121**, Grave 106 (340–370/90); **532**, Grave 426 (350–90)

That these four brooches have affinities with Keller's Types 1–3 is indicated by the narrow bows on **24**, **121**, and **532**, and by the short feet and simple cross-pieces on **13**, **24**, and **532**. It is, however, difficult to say to which type in particular these brooches belong. **13** and **532** have the undecorated hexagonal-sectioned cross-piece typical of Type 1A, **24** has the Type 1B cross-piece with additions near the bow, and all three brooches have the short foot seen on both Types 1 and 2. However, they lack the set of long, thin knobs, such as could be expected on a Type-1 brooch, and their knobs are not faceted as are those on Type 2. The lateral knobs are instead wider than they are long; and one on **24** and both on **532** are positively onion-shaped, and as such entirely characteristic of Type 3. **121** was broken and repaired once and probably twice before it was buried, and the foot of the original brooch is missing. The cross-bow bar seems to be a crude imitation of Type-3 cross-pieces, and the knobs are wider than they are long. This brooch may therefore belong to Type 3, but this could only be demonstrated by the missing foot. The Type-3 features on **121**, **24**, and **532** indicate post-340 manufacture.

These four Lankhills brooches resemble each other in several points of detail. All have basal mouldings on the knobs, and these mouldings are pronounced on **13** and **121**. **13**, **121**, and **532** are also similar in having a central knob which is comparatively pointed, while their lateral knobs are more rounded; on **24**, only one lateral knob is rounded. This differentiation between the knobs is difficult to parallel on the Continent, but in Britain it can be seen on a brooch from Richborough (Kent), deposited *c.* 350.[4] **13** and **24** also have feet of similar shape, decorated in an almost identical manner: a pair of short bevels, followed by a groove, two long bevels, another groove, a pair of short bevels, and a final groove. Similar foot-decoration is seen on brooches from Norton (E.R. Yorks)[5] and Lydney (Glos.),[6] but on the Continent it is difficult to match exactly.

13, Grave 13 (350–70). A large, heavy brooch, once completely gilded. The beaded basal mouldings at the base of the knobs are made of wire wound round the cross-piece. The central knob seems to have been riveted on. Just short of the foot, the bow is stepped back, the step being masked by a piece of beaded wire wrapped round to look like the basal mouldings on the knobs. Thinner wire has been wound round the space between this and the foot, to give a reeded appearance. The whole brooch is carefully finished: there are no untidy areas and each arris is sharp and straight. No less attention appears to have been paid to the back than to the front and all surfaces are smooth, with no sign of filing or chiselling. The bow and central knob show signs of wear.

[1] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, Pl. VIII, 4.
[2] Fox 1923, Pl. XXII, 4.
[3] *BM Guide* (1951), Fig. 10, No. 30.
[4] Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, 91, Pl. XXXIII, 80.
[5] Unpublished; photograph in NMR.
[6] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 13, No. 26.

24, Grave 23 (350–80). The central knob is part of the main casting, but the dissimilar side-knobs are separate and fastened to the hinge-pin axis-bar. The brooch is crudely finished, with signs of hammering down one side of the bow, and filing under the head. The decoration on the foot was probably achieved by cold-working on the casting.

121, Grave 106 (340–370/90). There are traces of rough filing on the top of the cross-piece where it meets the bow. The foot-end of the bow is broken and shows signs of having been filed down, either to fit the next, separate, surviving piece, or a previous version. The existing part is clearly from another cross-bow brooch and consists of the upper part of the foot and the lowest part of the bow. The latter has had a slot cut in it to take the filed-down end of the present bow, but it is clear that the fit was never satisfactory. The surviving part of the replacement foot shows signs of having been reworked and the chamfers with which it is decorated could be part of this reworking. Round it is a sheet-bronze sleeve which creates the appearance of a complete brooch. It has a slot cut in one side to take a pin, and the front is cold-worked. It is not at all clear that the brooch as deposited was ever intended to function properly: the parts fit ill together and, unless ancient solder has been lost in corrosion, the brooch would surely have fallen apart too readily to have been anything other than an object deliberately made-up for placing in a grave. There are traces of textile under the head around the pin (see below, p. 330).

532, Grave 426 (350–90). The pin appears to be mounted on an iron axis-bar. The slot to take the head of the pin seems to have been sawn into the casting, which bears signs of having been completely worked over by hand. The front of the brooch shows some signs of wear. The foot is hollow-cast, with a hole underneath, and the back has had a slot cut in it. Part of the foot has been broken off, and this was repaired by means of a sheet-bronze plate, cut to match, and soldered on.

Keller Type 4A

74, Grave 81 (350–70)

There is no doubt that **74** belongs to Keller's Type 4A, and the dating of its grave is consistent with his chronology. **74** is, however, unusual, for it combines a single pair of dot-and-circle motifs at the bow-end of the foot with a triple pair at the other end. Almost all other brooches of Type 4A have either a double pair at both ends, or a single and a double pair, or a double and a triple pair. Among the very few brooches to parallel **74** in this respect is one from *Lauriacum* (Austria),[1] but on that piece the third pair of circles on the far end of the foot is small and looks almost like an afterthought.

74, Grave 81 (350–70). The central knob is riveted to the body of the brooch. The ornament on the bow simulating a guilloche is made by S-shaped cuts in series between bordering grooves. The pin is a length of wire bent over the axis-bar, and wound round itself. The slot for the pin is formed by bending over a cast flange behind the foot. The whole brooch has been extensively finished and all the ornament has been done by hand on the casting. While considerable attention has been paid in creating the finished product, the detail of the cold-working is careless.

Equivalent to Keller Types 4B, 5, and 6

278, Grave 234 (350–90); **447**, Grave 322 (370–90); **587**, Grave 373 (390–400)

The involuted ornament on the feet and the hexagonal cross-sections show that these brooches belong to Types 4B, 5, or 6.

[1] Jobst 1975, Taf. 38, No. 269.

278 is made from gilt sheet-bronze, is squat, and has involuted decoration all along both sides of the foot, all features characteristic of Type 5. However, the strip running down the centre of the bow and foot is abnormally narrow for a Type-5 brooch; and there is no decoration, niello-inlaid or otherwise. These points indicate greater affinity with Type 4B, especially as it is clear that Keller envisaged that this type could include both squat brooches and brooches with involuted ornament running the whole length of the foot.[1] The latter is paralleled on the Type-4B brooches from Oudenburg (Belgium), Barrington (Cambs.), and Colchester (Essex), and may have been a feature of Type-4B brooches in the north-west provinces.

447 and **587** are made from gilt sheet-bronze and their cross-pieces have a hexagonal cross-section; they combine the niello-inlaid decoration, which is the hall-mark of Type 5, with the Type-6 characteristics of separately made open-work, involuted ornament, and a narrow central strip. **447** has the rounded knobs of Type 5, and **587**, while its knobs are faceted, displays the squat appearance of Type 5. These brooches are thus a mixture, and as such are not unlike several continental examples, notably those found at *Lauriacum* (Austria),[2] and in Grave 42 at Ságvár (Hungary).[3] These brooches could show Type 6 evolving from Type 5, or if Keller's dating is wrong, demonstrate the assimilation of the two types.

447 is unusual, for the central 'strip' on its bow and foot is not in fact a strip at all. The bow comes to a simple point in cross-section, while to the surface of the foot a triangular tube has been added and bent round at the further end; the resultant angularities on bow and foot are similar, and carry inlaid decoration. These features are quite uncharacteristic of brooches of Types 5 or 6, and are, it seems, only paralleled on a brooch from the Moray Firth in Scotland.[4] This latter piece is basically of Type 6, but the angularity running centrally along the bow and foot carries incised decoration, seemingly inlaid. Its affinities with **447** are detailed and unusual, and suggest that both brooches were produced in the same workshop, or at least within the same local tradition.

278, Grave 234 (350–90). A gilded brooch of sheet-bronze, made in sections soldered or brazed together. The separate sections are the three knobs, the hexagonal cross-piece, the ornamental projections on the cross-piece, and the bow. The foot is cast as a flat-fronted tube with a sealed bottom, and it shows signs of cold-work finishing. The axis-bar for the hinge-pin, which is cast, is made of a strip of sheet-bronze roughly rolled.

447, Grave 322 (370–90). A gilded bronze sheet-metal brooch with the same number of parts as **278**, except for the foot. Lengths of beaded wire are wound round the cross-piece as basal mouldings for the knobs. The outer faces of the projections on the cross-piece are punched with scroll-decoration. The bow has down its centre not the flat surface of all the other Lankhills brooches but two facets which meet in a sharp arris. Each facet has punched and inlaid decoration, partially obscured by corrosion, whose field is filled with what is probably niello. The intention was perhaps to create the impression of a running scroll, such as is much more effectively achieved under the foot. The beaded ridge at the base of the bow may be wire, applied to the sheet-metal. The foot consists basically of a pentagonal cast tube with its flat face to the front. On the upper lateral faces are mounted cast open-work strips, with involuted open-work ornament, carefully finished not only in front, but also behind. The ends of the tube and side strips are sealed by a triangular plate. A creased bronze strip is fitted on the tube, and it is carried backwards under the bottom plate. The faces on either side of

[1] Thus he classifies brooches from Graves 26 and 288 at Ságvár as Type 4B; Keller 1971, 216, Nos. 112, 114; Burger 1966, Figs. 95 and 117.

[2] Jobst 1975, Taf. 44, No. 300 (classified as Type 5 by Keller and as Type 6 by Jobst).

[3] Burger 1966, Fig. 97.

[4] Curle 1932, Fig. 36, No. 4. Brooch now on exhibition at the British Museum.

this strip are decorated in the same manner as the bow. Textile remains were corroded to the base of the bow (see p. 330).

587, Grave 373 (390–400). Made of gilded sheet-bronze, and basically of the same pattern as **447**. The mouldings below the knobs are made of wire, wrapped round the sheet-bronze. The crosses on the bow were individually punched from the front. No stamp was used, for each cross differs from the next, and, since the central panel narrows towards the base of the bow, the crosses are modified to suit. The same design runs down the centre of the foot where the background is filled with silver or niello, which suggests that the bow was once similarly treated. The foot is made up of a hexagonal-sectioned cast tube, with the pin-slot cut into the casting. On each side of the foot there is involuted open-work ornament, which was cast separately and then soldered or brazed on to the central tube; possible traces of brazing can be detected. The foot of the tube is sealed with a triangular plate, which also fits over the open-work strips, the junction being worked over to give the impression of the open-work continuing. Some thread (see below, p. 331) was wound round the upper part of the foot, possibly to hold in the pin, as the upper part of the catch is broken.

iii. DISCUSSION

Where were the brooches made?

In broad terms the Lankhills cross-bow brooches clearly reflect the continental succession of types defined by Keller. Thus brooches with features characteristic of Types 5 and 6 were in graves basically later than those containing brooches with features of Types 3 and 4. In detail, however, the Lankhills examples are evidently far from typical. On the one hand they combine attributes seen on separate types on the Continent (**13**, **24**, **278**, **447**, **532**, and **587**), and on the other hand they display features seemingly confined to themselves alone (**13**, **74**, **447**, and **532**). When we consider how many brooches are known from Austria, Hungary, South Bavaria, and even from north-east Gaul and the Rhineland, and when we find that these brooches consistently lack the atypical features seen at Lankhills, we have a case for saying that the Lankhills brooches were not made in any of those regions.

Does this mean they were made in Britain? Since relatively few cross-bow brooches have been found in this country, it is almost impossible to say whether the features observed at Lankhills are general to Britain. If they were, the lack of continental analogies would be decisive, but even the limited evidence that there is is not completely inconclusive. **13**, **24**, and **532** do not merely differ from continental brooches, but also resemble each other on several points of detail. Likewise, it is probably significant that the only parallel to **447** comes from the Moray Firth, a brooch which is more likely to have reached Scotland from Britain than from anywhere else. These points cannot be dismissed. At their lowest they suggest that some of the Lankhills brooches are more likely to have been made in Britain than on the Continent.

Who wore cross-bow brooches?

It is quite clear that no one ethnic group can be associated with cross-bow brooches: archaeological finds and pictorial representations show that they were far too widely diffused through the Roman Empire for that. But it is often said that they were official or military insignia.[1] In support of this are the typological uniformity of cross-bow brooches throughout the empire and the many officials from the emperor downwards depicted wearing them on sculpture, mosaics, and ivories.[2] But this evidence is far from conclusive. The officials depicted only prove that some brooches were official insignia, not

[1] See, for example, Heurgon 1958, 23.

[2] See Jobst 1975, 93–4 and Keller 1971, 171–3.

that all were; and as the British material shows, the typological uniformity is punctuated by local variation, which could be consistent more with fashion-copying than with government standardisation. In the present state of knowledge, to postulate an official presence when a cross-bow brooch is found is at best premature and may in fact be misleading.

At the end of the fourth century, cross-bow brooches seem to have become less common, and generally to have been gold or gilt-bronze rather than plain bronze.[1] This suggests that they were then restricted to the wealthier or more prominent, a process which led in the late fifth century to the burial of a cross-bow brooch only in the royal grave of Childeric.[2] At Lankhills, **447** and **587** were definitely deposited after *c.* 370. The wearers of these brooches are thus likely to have been of some prominence, and this view accords with the silver coin and strap-end found in Grave 322. Even among the late brooches of Types 5 and 6, **447** and **587** seem unduly ornate. They are much more elaborate than any contemporary brooches so far published from the cemeteries at Oudenburg (Belgium)[3] or Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.),[4] and they are also finer than any of the pieces from Lydney (Glos.)[5] or Richborough (Kent);[6] the only comparable brooch in Britain seems to be the Moray Firth find.[7] It is always difficult to infer relative status from archaeological finds, but, prima facie, these comparisons point to the relative importance of the men buried in Graves 322 and 373.[8]

[1] See Keller 1971, **173 and 217–19 (lists).**
[2] Lasko 1971, 29.
[3] Mertens and **Van Impe 1971, Pls. LXXIX–LXXXII.**
[4] Pirling **1966, 113–15, Abb. 12; 1974, 80–2, Abb. 3.**
[5] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 13.
[6] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XVIII; 1949, Pls. XXXI, **64,** XXXII, 65; Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XXXIII, 80, 81.
[7] Curle 1932, Fig. 36, No. 4.
[8] On this, see further below, **pp. 387 and 399.**

9

BELTS AND BELT-FITTINGS

FIFTEEN complete buckles, eight strap-ends, and other assorted belt-fittings, representing between them at least seventeen belts, were found at Lankhills, all in graves dated to the second half of the fourth century. The collection is the second largest in Britain,[1] and this and the fact that each item is well dated justifies further study beyond discussion of individual pieces. In Britain a series of articles by S. C. Hawkes and more recently by C. J. Simpson have focused attention on late Roman belt-fittings.[2] On the Continent, important studies have been published by Martin,[3] Keller,[4] Bullinger,[5] and Böhme.[6] It is in the context of these and other works that the Lankhills material must be understood. In some cases, the Lankhills evidence will clarify or modify previous interpretations.

i. BELTS

Catalogue

This catalogue lists the seventeen belts definitely identified at Lankhills. Their width is indicated, calculated mostly from the width of the buckle-loop and the distance between the rivets on the buckle-plate.

14, Grave 13 (350–70). Belt with bronze buckle. Width: less than 22 mm.

25, Grave 23 (350–80). Belt with iron buckle. Width: less than 23 mm.

26 and **27,** Grave 23 (350–80). Belt with bronze buckle and strap-end. Leather traces in the buckle-plate suggest that this belt had stitched edges or was made from two thicknesses of leather stitched together.[7] Width: 22–31 mm.

70 and **75,** Grave 81 (350–70). **Belt with bronze buckle and strap-end. Width: 14–23 mm.**

92 and **94,** Grave 37 (350–70). Belt with bronze buckle and strap-end. Width: 25–40 mm.

122 and **128,** Grave 106 (350–370/90). Belt with bronze buckle and strap-end. The strap-end **(128)** probably belonged with **122** rather than **126,** for the two objects have the same dark blue patina. Width: 22–9 mm.

126, Grave 106 (350–370/90). **Belt with bronze buckle. Width: 20–5 mm.**

279, Grave 234 (350–90). **Belt with bronze buckle. Width: 16–25 mm.**

280, Grave 234 (350–90). Belt with unusual bronze fastening. Width: less than 12 mm.

[1] Richborough has produced at least thirty-six pieces, as against thirty-three at Lankhills: see Bushe-Fox 1926; 1928; 1932; 1949; Cunliffe (ed.) 1968; Hawkes and Dunning 1961.

[2] Hawkes and Dunning 1961; Hawkes 1968; 1972; 1973; 1974; Simpson 1976. Professor S. S. Frere kindly showed me proofs of Simpson 1976 when this book was in final typescript. Apart from justified strictures on an early Lankhills interim report (Clarke 1970), Simpson's paper is qualified and sometimes negated by recent continental publications, which are not referred to. See in particular Keller 1971, 56–77, and Mertens and Van Impe 1971.

[3] Martin 1967.

[4] Keller 1971, 56–77.

[5] Bullinger 1969.

[6] Böhme 1974, 53–97.

[7] See below, p. 330.

449, Grave 322 (370–90). Belt with silver strap-end. The silver buckle which this belt must once have had was presumably removed prior to burial. Width: more than 6 mm.

481, Grave 283 (390–410). Belt with bronze buckle. Width: 17–21 mm.

488 and **489**, Grave 366 (370–410). Belt with bronze buckle and strap-end. Width: less than 25 mm.

491, **492**, **498**, **499**, and **500**, Grave 376 (390–410). Belt with bronze buckle, strap-end, terminal-fitting, stiffener, and studs. The position of the fittings in the ground (Plate XIV*b*) allows their arrangement to be reconstructed (Fig. 33). The belt will have had two straps, the narrower strap passing behind the terminal-fitting and through a hole in the main strap behind the buckle-loop. Width of main strap: 115 mm. Width of narrow strap: less than 44 mm.

497, Grave 376 (390–410). Belt with bronze buckle. Width: less than 27 mm.

533 and **534**, Grave 426 (350–90). Belt with bronze buckle and strap-end. Width: 20–5 mm.

603, **604**, **605**, **606**, and **607**, Grave 443 (350–70). Belt with bronze buckle and four rings, the latter probably for attaching the sheath of a knife **(602)** to the belt. Part of a thin leather strap is still corroded to ring **607**. Width of belt: 26–33 mm.

626, Grave 55 (350–70). **626** consists of three bronze studs found irregularly spaced in a line, close to a knife and a whetstone (Fig. 57). Their character and their proximity to the knife (five of the six other knives at Lankhills were associated with belts) makes it difficult not to explian them as belt-studs. They could be from a belt whose buckle was removed prior to burial, but on such a belt it would perhaps be unusual to have only three studs irregularly spaced; more studs and perhaps other fittings might be expected as well. A better interpretation would see **626** as a belt held by a ring-fastening. One stud found slightly separated from the others could have held a ring to one end of the strap. The other studs would have provided alternative positions on to which the ring could have been hooked. The ring itself was perhaps made from organic material.

Classification and discussion

Classifying belts involves reconstructing them, and for this the fittings are almost the only evidence. Bullinger has published the most comprehensive classification,[1] but, not surprisingly, many of the belts he considers have been reconstructed differently by other workers. It should be remembered that many metal fittings were decorative rather than functional, and that they could easily have been lost, either while the belt was in use, or during inadequate excavation. The classification proposed here is mainly based on material Bullinger illustrates, and, although it accords neither with his classification nor with those of other workers, it has the advantage of economy. It involves a threefold division between belts without a buckle, single-strap belts with a buckle, and two-strap belts with a buckle. All three types are represented at Lankhills.

Belts without a buckle

626, Grave 55 (350–70)

There is considerable evidence that belts without a buckle were common until the early or middle years of the fourth century. One such was recovered from Grave 40 of the 1949 excavations at *Intercisa* (Hungary), dated to *c.* A.D. 200.[2] The fastening consisted of a bronze ring and two studs, and Sági published a reconstruction showing the ring in the centre and a stud to either side.[3] The two ends of the

[1] Bullinger 1969, 76–7. [2] Sági 1954, 83–5, Taf. 22, Nos. 6, 7, 8. [3] Ibid. Abb. 19.

strap were passed through the ring and hooked over the studs, and Sági pointed out that in the third century this was the manner in which the *cingulum*—or military belt—was fastened.[1] Evidence for similar fastenings being used in the early fourth century is provided on the Arch of Constantine in Rome, dated to *c.* 315,[2] and on other sculpture of the period.[3]

Observations made about buckles themselves indicate that belts with buckles were rare before the mid-fourth century. Keller, in discussing the south Bavarian material, noted that the earliest typical 'provincial-Roman' buckles were found only in graves dated to the middle third of the century.[4] Three early fourth-century graves among those he published did contain buckles, but all three buckles were possibly of Germanic origin. Elsewhere in Europe, he pointed to a similar lack of buckles in the third and early fourth centuries.[5] In Britain, S. C. Hawkes observed that while buckles were common in the first century, few, if any, are known which link them to later fourth-century types.[6] This is supported by the Lankhills evidence, for the buckles found in graves dated to 350–70 appear to be among the earliest fourth-century pieces known in Britain. Negative and positive indications thus concur in suggesting that for the most part belts were fastened not with buckles but by other means until *c.* 340. Thereafter buckles came rapidly into fashion, for they were certainly widespread by *c.* 350.

As we have seen, the belt represented by **626** was probably secured by a ring and studs, and it should perhaps be reconstructed in the same way as the belt from Grave 40 at *Intercisa*. It was probably buried after buckles had superseded ring-and-stud fastenings, for Grave 55 is dated to 350–70. However, even today belts can have a long life, and, especially as its owner seems to have been quite old (40+) at death, there is no reason why the belt in Grave 55 could not have been twenty years old when buried.[7]

177 (Grave 185) and **280** (Grave 234) should also be noted here. **177**, a curved bronze disc, could perhaps be regarded as a belt-fastening,[8] but, especially since Grave 185 was a child-burial, any such suggestion is speculative. **280** seems to have been an improvised buckle and is discussed below.[9]

Single-strap belts with a buckle

All the belts except those represented by **626** and **491** (etc.)

Single-strap belts are the commonest form of late Roman belt, at Lankhills as elsewhere. If the distance between the rivets on the buckle-plate is less than the width of the buckle-loop, and if the width indicated by any other belt-fittings is also less, a belt may be identified as of this type. Such belts were in use on the Continent from *c.* 340 onwards,[10] and are represented in this country by almost all known buckles and strap-ends. At Lankhills, seven belts were fitted only with a buckle: **14** (Grave 13), **25** (Grave 23), **126** (Grave 106), **279** (Grave 234), **481** (Grave 283), **497** (Grave 376), and **603** (Grave 443). Six had both a buckle and a strap-end: **26** and **27** (Grave 23), **70** and **75** (Grave 81), **92** and **94** (Grave 37), **122** and **128** (Grave 106), **488** and **489** (Grave 366), and **533** and **534** (Grave 426). One belt was represented by an improvised buckle, **280** (Grave 234), and another by only a strap-end, **449** (Grave 322).

A particular type of single-strap belt is the recently recognised narrow belt.[11] These may be defined as belts whose buckle-loop or strap-end indicates a width of less than 20 mm. The narrowest examples

[1] For another way in which military belts were fastened, see Curle 1911, 162–3, Pl. XXVII.

[2] L'Orange and von Gerkan 1939, 109, Taf. 25*a*, 28*c*, 31*a*.

[3] For example, Bullinger 1969, Taf. LXVIII, 1.

[4] Keller 1971, 77.

[5] Ibid. 173.

[6] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 29. A second-century buckle from Chichester should, however, be noted: Down and Rule 1971, Fig. 5, No. 18.

[7] Mr. Martin Biddle tells me that in 1956–7 he wore a World War I Sam Browne belt.

[8] See below, p. 321.

[9] See below, p. 286.

[10] Keller 1971, 173 seemingly disproves Martin's claim (1967, 7) that such belts were widely used earlier.

[11] Hawkes 1973, 150; Brown 1975, 294.

are certainly confined to Britain;[1] the belts were fitted, *inter alia*, with Type-I 'dolphin'-buckles and Tortworth-type strap-ends.[2] At Lankhills **280** (Grave 234), a substitute buckle, and **496** (Grave 283), a detached buckle-loop, will have belonged to such belts. **280** was buried in 350–90, and **496** in 390–410, which is consistent with other evidence for the dating of these belts.[3]

Two-strap belts with a buckle

The belt represented by **491, 492, 498, 499,** and **500,** from Grave 376 (390–410) (Plate XIV*b*; Fig. 33)

Two-strap belts were up to 140 mm wide and fitted with buckles, strap-ends, terminal-fittings (at the ends of the wide strap),[4] plaques, stiffeners, rosette-attachments,[5] strap-distributors,[6] and studs. A belt is certainly of this type if it has terminal-fittings, and probably also if the width of the buckle-loop is less than the distance between the rivets on the plate or the length of any stiffener. The buckle was attached to one end of a wide main strap; from the other end came a narrow strap which was passed through the buckle-loop. Although there is uncertainty on points of detail, sufficient two-strap belts have now been excavated under controlled conditions for there to be complete certainty on the general disposition of their fittings. Interpretations such as that proposed by Leeds for the Dorchester on Thames belt can be discounted.[7]

Two-strap belts had a long history. Early examples were relatively narrow, 30 to 60 mm wide.[8] They had propeller-shaped stiffeners spread along the main strap, and a buckle with an independent hinge-pin.[9] Propeller-stiffeners occur on the belt worn by an armoured bust of Constantine I on the Arch of Constantine,[10] and, as this belt was probably fastened by a ring and knot, it was presumably from such belts that the two-strap belts with buckles evolved. The buckles normally have double tongues, open-work plates, and either a rectangular loop or one with confronted animal heads on the outer side. The fittings of these early two-strap belts have been found along the Rhine and Danube frontiers.[11] Two Hungarian examples are dated to *c.* 340, by five legible coins in Grave 10 at Zengóvárkony II[12] and by thirteen coins in Pécs Grave 11;[13] other examples, in Ságvár Grave 56[14] and Altenstadt Grave B,[15] have been associated with cross-bow brooches of Keller's Type 4 (350–80).[16] No complete belts of this type are known from Britain. But the loop of one of their buckles has been discovered at Richborough (Kent),[17] and propeller-stiffeners come from Richborough,[18] Maryport (Cumb.),[19] and other places.[20] Martin has suggested that this type of belt had a long life,[21] but this may be doubted, since none have been found in graves securely dated to the late fourth or early fifth centuries.[22] More probably, therefore, the belts went out of fashion *c.* 370.

[1] *Contra* Hawkes 1973, 151, very narrow belts are seemingly absent on the Continent. See for example Oudenburg (Mertens and Van Impe 1971, esp. Pls. LXXXIV–LXXXVII).

[2] Type-I buckles: see Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 41–50; Hawkes 1973. For Tortworth-type strap-ends, see below, pp. 281–2.

[3] For example, the *Tripontium* buckle: Hawkes 1973, 150.

[4] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 66–8, Type VII; see also below, p. 284.

[5] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 65–6, Type VI.

[6] Hawkes 1968, 96–100.

[7] Kirk and Leeds 1953, Fig. 28.

[8] Figure based on belts illustrated in Bullinger 1969. Martin's doubts as to whether these belts had two straps are negated by the examples from Vert-la-Gravelle and the Diergardt collection. See Martin 1967, 11–12 and Bullinger 1969, 76, Abb. 62, no. 1, and Taf. XXIX, 1.

[9] Bullinger suggests that these fittings sometimes belonged to single-strap belts, but this is perhaps inherently unlikely. See Bullinger 1969, Abb. 13 and 14.

[10] L'Orange and von Gerkan 1939, 138, 141, Taf. 33*a*.

[11] The find-spots of propeller-stiffeners are listed in Keller 1971, 219–20.

[12] Dombay 1957, 205–7.

[13] Török 1941, 126–9.

[14] Burger 1966, Fig. 98.

[15] Keller 1971, Taf. 35.

[16] See ibid. 26–53, and above, pp. 257–8.

[17] Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. XXXII, 69.

[18] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XXI, 52; Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. LIII, 209.

[19] Bailey 1915, Pl. XI, d.

[20] See below, p. 285, and addendum F.

[21] Martin 1967, 14.

[22] Cf., for example, Böhme 1974, 82.

But, as Martin points out, many belt-fittings exist which indicate derivative forms of belt, generally of the single-strap type.[1] To be included here are the fixed-plate buckles of both the Muids type[2] and the type found at Wye (Kent)[3] and in Grave 770 at Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.).[4] Also there are the British hinged 'dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Type IIA, represented at Lankhills by **92** and **603**,[5] and, perhaps, belts from Ténès (Algeria)[6] and Traprain Law (E. Lothian).[7]

In the later fourth century two-strap belts became wider. The propeller-stiffeners were elongated and in some instances transformed into plain rectangular strips. Other fittings, such as rosette-attachments, strap-slides, and terminal-fittings, became common. Some of these belts were lavish, and some simpler. On lavish belts, the buckle was combined with its terminal-fitting and set in a plate equal in width to the main strap ('dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Type IV).[8] Further decorative plates were often also attached to the belt. British examples come from Snodland (Kent)[9] and from Grave 117 at Mucking (Essex).[10] Bullinger cites two instances associated with coins: one from the Ziegelfeld cemetery at *Lauriacum* (Austria), with two Valentinianic coins, the other from the Chécy (Loiret) treasure, which is dated to the first decade of the fifth century.[11]

The simpler belts were 60 to 140 mm wide, and the buckle and terminal-fitting were separately attached to the leather. The buckles were almost invariably 'dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Type III.[12] There has been much discussion as to how these belts should be reconstructed in detail,[13] most of it speculative as the layout of the fittings is rarely recorded. Bullinger suggested that some belts had three straps (the third strap being terminated by the buckle),[14] but there are few arguments in favour of this view, and the recently reconsidered belts from Liebenau (Nds.)[15] and Grave 846 at Rhenen (Holland)[16] provide evidence against it. The Liebenau belt indicates also that the leather could be decorated.[17] This emphasises that these belts were simpler and no doubt less expensive versions of the lavish belts, and not a different type.

These simpler belts are frequently found between the Seine and the Elbe; they are not, however, common along the Danube frontier.[18] Coin-dated examples are rare, but there is little doubt that they should be assigned to the years on either side of A.D. 400.[19] The belt from Grave 376 at Lankhills is an example of the type, and supports this dating. Three other such belts have been found in Britain, at Dorchester on Thames (Oxon.),[20] Milton-next-Sittingbourne (Kent),[21] and Mucking (Essex).[22]

The Lankhills belt is of a typical width—115 mm. It has a single terminal-fitting, instead of the normal two, but in this respect it is paralleled by the Dorchester belt, as well as by examples from Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.) Grave 1330,[23] Spontin (Belgium),[24] and Rhenen Grave 833.[25] It is also unusual in having only one stiffener **(491)** and furthermore, it has neither a strap-slide nor rosette-attachments. Belts from Rhenen Grave 839[26] and Ditzingen (Baden-Württemberg)[27] have a similar sparsity of fittings. The Lankhills belt is also of interest because it was decorated with studs

[1] Martin **1967, 15–16.**
[2] Ibid. 13.
[3] Hawkes 1974, Fig. 3, **no. 7.**
[4] Böhme 1974, Taf. 76, **14.**
[5] See below, pp. 273–6.
[6] Heurgon 1958, Figs. 6 and **7.**
[7] Curle 1923, Pl. XXXIII.
[8] Hawkes and Dunning **1961, 60–2.**
[9] Ibid. Pl. IIA.
[10] Evison 1968, Pl. **LIII.**
[11] Bullinger 1969, 65.
[12] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 59–60.
[13] Among the most recent are Bullinger **1969** and Ypey 1969.
[14] Bullinger **1969, Abb. 35–46.**
[15] Genrich 1971, 164, **Taf. 32, No. 1.**
[16] Ypey 1969, Abb. 14.
[17] Genrich 1971, Taf. **33, Nos. 3 and 4.**
[18] Ypey 1969, Abb. 21.
[19] Cf. Böhme 1974, 162.
[20] Hawkes and Dunning **1961, Fig. 1.**
[21] Ibid. Fig. 2.
[22] Jones and Jones 1974, 31; *Current Archaeology*, 50 (May 1975), 79, centre photograph.
[23] Pirling 1974, Taf. 22, Nos. 4–8.
[24] Bullinger 1969, Abb. 39, 1, **Taf. LX, 2.**
[25] Ypey 1969, Abb. 8 and 9.
[26] Ibid. Abb. 5.
[27] Bullinger **1969, Abb. 39, No. 2 and Taf. LII, 2.**

whose position in the ground is known. Other belts with studs, about which such information was not recorded, have been reconstructed with the studs in rather different positions. Examples come from Furfooz[1] and Spontin[2] in Belgium, and these should perhaps be reconsidered.

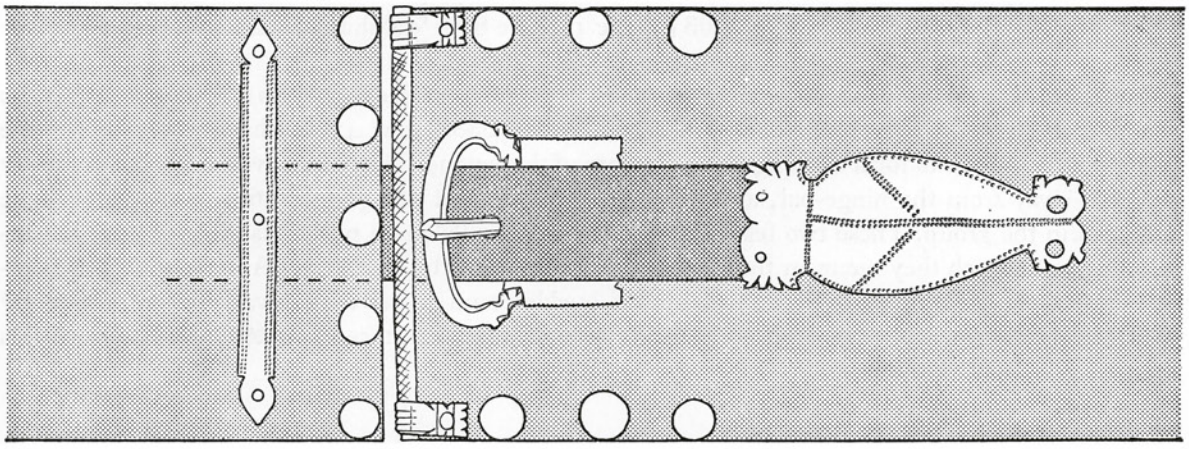


FIG. 33. Reconstruction of the belt from Grave 376 (1:2). Cf. Pl. XIV*b*.

ii. BUCKLES

(Figs. 34 and 35)

Fourteen complete buckles and two detached buckle-loops, **496** (Grave 283) and **466** (Feature 12), were found, and all save **466** came from graves dated to the second half of the fourth century. One buckle, **25** (Grave 23), and one loop, **466** (Feature 12), are made of iron, and the rest are bronze. Two of the latter consist of only a tongue and loop, but the remainder have a plate as well. The loops of four pieces are zoomorphic: **92** (Grave 37), **496** (Grave 283), **498** (Grave 376), and **603** (Grave 443). The other buckles are smaller and mostly plain.

Construction

Late Roman buckles functioned in several ways, a fact not always accorded due attention. On some pieces the only moving part is the tongue, the loop and plate being cast as one. 'Dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Types IIB and IIIB are of this type,[3] as are other much more lavish pieces such as that from Grave 117 at Mucking (Essex).[4] Such pieces seem to be mainly fifth-century. None was found at Lankhills.

The vast majority of fourth-century buckles consist of three independent parts, the loop being closed by a hinge-bar, around which pivot the plate and tongue. Among pieces of this type are 'dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Types IA, IB, IIC, IIIA, IVA, and IVB,[5] and buckles in the groups defined by Simpson.[6] All the Lankhills buckles fall into this category, except **92** and **603**. Some buckles of this kind have no plate, the leather strap having presumably been attached directly to the hinge-bar. Lankhills examples of this are **25** (Grave 23), **488** (Grave 366), and **497** (Grave 376).

The most elaborately constructed late Roman buckles are those where tongue, loop, and plate hinge independently around a central iron pin. On the Continent, pieces of this sort, which have either

[1] Bullinger 1969, Abb. **37, No. 2.**
[2] Ibid. Abb. 39, No. 1.
[3] Hawkes and Dunning **1961, 57–9, 60.**
[4] Evison 1968, Pl. LIII.
[5] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, **41–50, 57–62.**
[6] Simpson 1976, 193–8, Figs. **1–3.**

a square loop or one with confronted animal-heads, were attached to the early two-strap belts with propeller-shaped stiffeners,[1] and were probably not much in vogue after *c.* 370. British buckles with the same construction are 'dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Type IIA.[2] These almost certainly went on being made until a very late date, eventually developing into the buckles of Types IIB and IIC.[3] At Lankhills, **92** (Grave 37) and **603** (Grave 443) are both 'dolphin'-buckles of Type IIA, made with a separate hinge-pin.

Some detailed similarities in construction among the plain three-piece buckles from Lankhills may be noted. **27** (Grave 23), **70** (Grave 81), **481** (Grave 283), and **533** (Grave 426) all have three rivets on the plate, arranged so as to form a lozenge with the base of the tongue. They also have a loop that gradually thickens away from the hinge-bar, a point which suggests that **488** (Grave 366) should perhaps be included in the group. These two features are of course paralleled on pieces elsewhere,[4] but the consistency with which they recur on the Lankhills examples may be significant. Among other large collections, at Oudenburg (Belgium) the loops of buckles tend to have an invariable cross-section,[5] while in Hungary the plate was generally held by two rather than three rivets.[6] Observations of this kind suggest local workshops.

Bronze buckles with plain, non-zoomorphic loops

Keller classified south Bavarian buckles by their plates, and, because it discloses chronological variation, his scheme is in principle followed here.[7] Buckle-plates are either oval, rectangular, or triangular. Buckles with rectangular plates are twice as common as those with oval plates, and buckles with a triangular plate are unusual.[8]

Buckles with an oval plate (Fig. 34)

27, Grave 23 (350–80); **70**, Grave 81 (350–70); **122**, Grave 106 (350–370/90); **481**, Grave 283 (390–410); **533**, Grave 426 (350–90)

The loops of about three-quarters of the continental oval-plated buckles are D-shaped; on the remainder they are oval and slightly pinched in. At Lankhills, **70** belongs to the latter and the other four buckles to the former category. Elsewhere in Britain, buckles with an oval plate and a D-shaped loop have been recorded from Silchester (Hants),[9] Lydney (Glos.),[10] and Norton (E.R. Yorks.).[11] The tongues of oval-plated buckles are frequently decorated at the tip in a way which suggests an animal-head, a feature seen on **27**, **70**, and **481**.

Keller listed seven coin-dated graves which contained oval-plated buckles.[12] Two were Valentinianic, and the rest could be assigned to the years 340–64. He also catalogued the associations of oval-plated buckles with cross-bow brooches of his Types 3, 4, and 5;[13] this showed that the buckles were much more often found with Type-3 brooches (dated from coin-associations to 340–60) than with brooches of Type 4 (350–80) or Type 5 (370–400). The evidence thus indicates that oval-plated buckles were mostly

[1] See above, p. 267.
[2] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 41–50, 57–62.
[3] Ibid. 57–9.
[4] Cf. Simpson 1976, 194 (rivets).
[5] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, Pls. LXXXIV–LXXXVI.
[6] See, for example, Alföldi 1957, Abb. 101 and 104.
[7] Keller 1971, 58–64. For a different classification, which does not indicate chronological variation, see Simpson 1976, 193–8.
[8] This statement is based on the buckles published from *Intercisa* (Alföldi 1957, Abb. 100, 101, 104, 105), Ságvár (Burger 1966), South Bavaria (Keller 1971), Krefeld-Gellep (Pirling 1966; 1974), and Oudenburg (Mertens and Van Impe 1971).
[9] Boon 1959, Pl. III, A8.
[10] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Pl. XXVIII, 132.
[11] Photograph in NMR.
[12] Keller 1971, 45–52, 59.
[13] For Keller's brooch typology, see above, pp. 257–9.

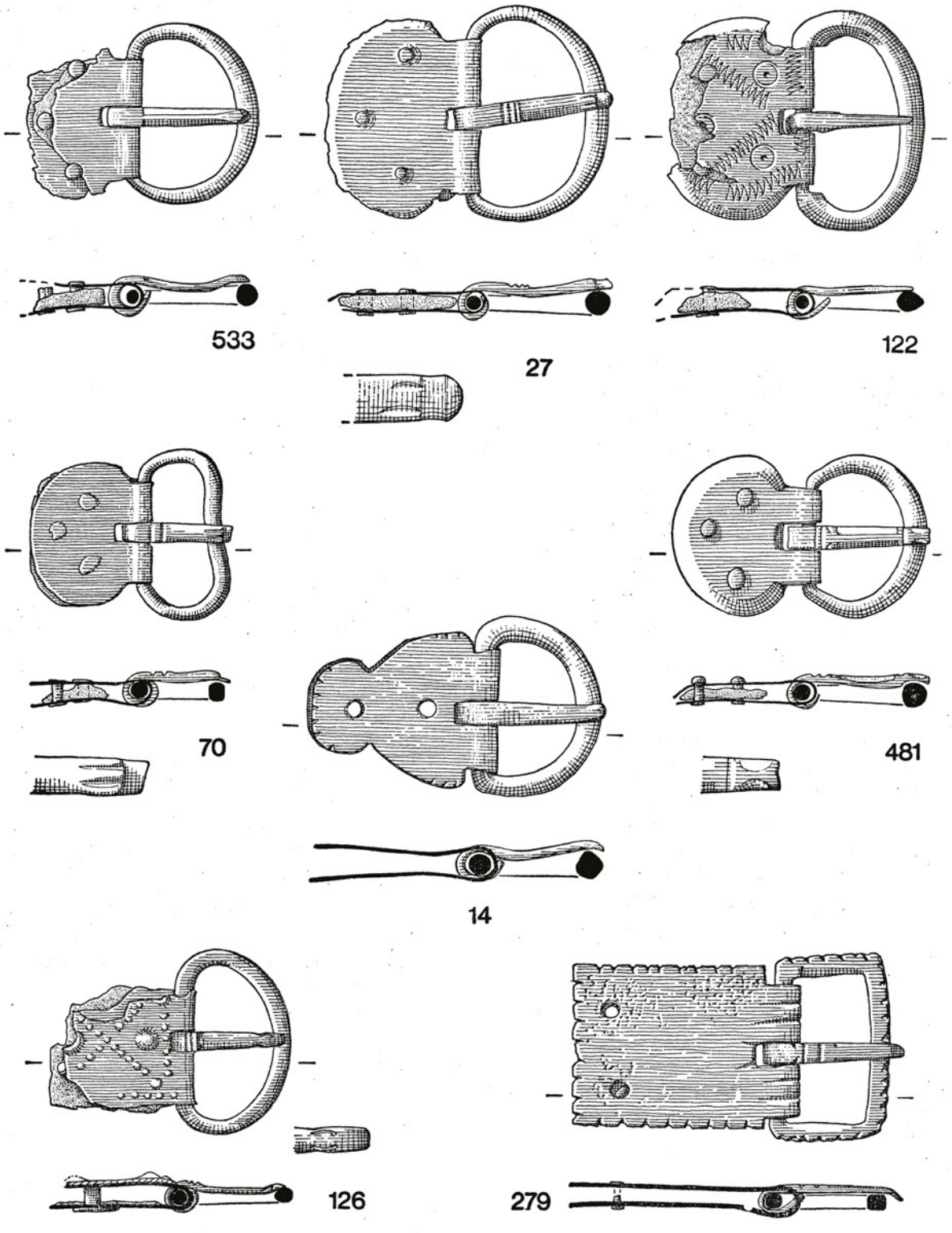


FIG. 34. Buckles (1:1). Bronze.

in vogue *c.* 340–70. The dating of four of the Lankhills buckles is broadly consistent with this: **27, 70, 122,** and **533. 481,** however, came from a later grave, dated by Theodosian coins to 390–410.

Of the four earlier buckles, **27** and **533** are not characterised by much detail. **70,** with its pinched-in loop, can be paralleled at Strasbourg,[1] Burgheim in South Bavaria,[2] and *Intercisa* (Hungary).[3] The plate of **122** is decorated with zig-zag lines and dot-and-circle motifs. The latter are paralleled on the buckle from Silchester, and on many continental pieces, but the zig-zag lines are less common. They occur on the rectangular plates of buckles from Vert-la-Gravelle (Marne),[4] Vermand (Aisne),[5] and Cologne.[6] In general, however, such decoration may have been more typical of south Bavarian and Hungarian pieces, and its use in combination with dot-and-circle motifs is seen at Burgheim[7] and Ságvár (Hungary).[8] This same combination also occurs on a Lankhills strap-end, **75** (Grave 81), a piece probably made in Britain.[9]

The fifth oval-plated buckle, **481** (Grave 283), is of interest on account of its late date. The shape of this piece is not entirely similar to that of the other four, for it is more solid, closely resembling a figure-of-8. It is paralleled in this by a buckle from St.-Quentin (Aisne).[10] Fifth-century oval-plated buckles from Gloucester[11] and Haillot (Belgium)[12] provide clear evidence for the use of oval plates after *c.* 400. The buckle from St.-Quentin and Lankhills **481** are slightly reminiscent of them, and should perhaps be seen as bridging the gap between them and the mid-fourth-century series.

Buckles with a rectangular plate (Fig. 34)

126, Grave 106 (350–370/90); **279,** Grave 234 (350–90)

About three-quarters of the continental buckles with rectangular plates have pinched-in, oval loops; the loops on the rest are either D-shaped or rectangular. In Britain, pieces with a D-shaped loop have been found in the ditch of Bokerly Dyke (Dorset),[13] at Woodeaton (Oxon.),[14] and at Ospringe (Kent);[15] and a silver example comes from the Traprain Law (E. Lothian) treasure.[16] Of the Lankhills examples, **126** has a D-shaped loop and **279** a rectangular loop. This small group of British pieces thus differs from the continental series in that none has a pinched-in, oval loop. The tongues of some rectangular-plated buckles carry at their tip the suggestion of an animal-head, a feature certainly seen on **126.**

Keller listed twenty-five rectangular-plated buckles with a pinched-in oval loop from coin-dated graves.[17] Seventeen of the burials were Valentinianic, one contained a coin of Magnus Maximus (383–8), and the remaining seven were earlier. He also listed pieces with a D-shaped or pinched-in oval loop associated with cross-bow brooches of his Types 3, 4, and 5. Far more buckles were associated with brooches of Type 4 (350–80) or Type 5 (370–400) than with those of Type 3 (340–60). This evidence suggests that buckles with rectangular plates became increasingly common towards the end of the fourth century, presumably largely superseding those with oval plates. The dates for the two Lankhills pieces are consistent with this.

[1] Forrer 1927, Fig. 251, No. 1932a.
[2] Keller 1971, Taf. 16, Nos. 2 and 5.
[3] Alföldi 1957, Abb. 101, Nos. 5 and 7. *Contra* Simpson 1976, 194, note 6, it is difficult to regard the tongue of **70** as 'identical' to that of the buckle in Grave 233 at Ságvár in Hungary. See Burger 1966, Pl. XCII, 6.
[4] Lantier 1948, Pl. III, 2.
[5] Böhme 1974, Taf. 140, No. 3.
[6] Fremersdorf 1927, Abb. 29, No. 6.
[7] Keller 1971, Taf. 16, No. 5.
[8] Burger 1966, Fig. 99, No. 65.2.
[9] See below, p. 283.
[10] Eck 1891, Pl. headed 'Saint-Quentin', No. 10b.
[11] Brown 1975, Fig. 8.
[12] Graves 8 and 13. Breuer and Roosens 1957, Figs. 9, No. 6, and 15, No. 7.
[13] Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXV, 11.
[14] Kirk 1949, Fig. 5, No. 2.
[15] Whiting *et al.* 1931, Pl. LVII, Fig. 3.
[16] Curle 1923, Pl. XXXIII, 146.
[17] Keller 1971, 45–52, 61–2.

126 is decorated with an embossed plate whose design can be paralleled in Britain at Richborough (Kent),[1] Ospringe (Kent),[2] and Woodyates (Dorset).[3] These parallels may indicate that **126** was made in this country. **279** has a rectangular loop,[4] a feature which can be paralleled, for example, at Gräfelfing in South Bavaria,[5] in Graves 157 and 263 at Ságvár (Hungary),[6] and at Pécs (Hungary).[7] All these buckles could have been copied from the pieces with a separate hinge-pin and a rectangular loop.[8]

Buckle with a triangular plate (Fig. 34)

14, Grave 13 (350–70)

This is not a common type. Known examples have D-shaped loops. Reasonably close parallels to **14** come from Vermand (Aisne),[9] Salurn (Austria),[10] *Intercisa* (Hungary),[11] and Ságvár (Hungary), Grave 26.[12] **14** is similar to the Hungarian pieces, but this is probably not significant. The Ságvár buckle was associated with Valentinianic coins, while Grave 13 at Lankhills was dated to 350–70. Triangular-plated buckles thus seem to have been current at least in the third quarter of the fourth century. No others are known from Britain.

Buckles without a plate (Fig. 35)

488, Grave 366 (370–410); **497**, Grave 376 (390–410)

488 has a D-shaped loop and **497** has a pinched-in, oval loop. Neither buckle has any distinctive features. Isolated loops similar to **497** have been found in Britain, for example at Leicester.[13]

Bronze buckles with zoomorphic loops (Fig. 35)

S. C. Hawkes considered British buckles with zoomorphic loops ('dolphin'-buckles) in 1961.[14] Four were found at Lankhills: two of her Type IIA (**92** and **603**) and two of her Type IIIA (**496** and **498**). They are the first buckles of this kind to be found in Britain in a fourth-century grave, excavated under controlled conditions. 'Dolphin'-buckles have been much discussed since 1961 and considerable significance has been attributed to them. It is necessary to examine them in some detail so as fully to understand the Lankhills pieces.

Buckles with animal-heads confronted at the top of the loop (Fig. 35)

92, Grave 37 (350–70); **603**, Grave 443 (350–70)

Both in Britain and on the Continent there are two main types of buckle with confronted animal-heads at the top of the loop: those with an independent iron hinge-pin (in Britain, Hawkes and Dunning Type IIA),[15] and those without such a pin (in Britain, Hawkes and Dunning Type I).[16]

On the Continent, the buckles without an independent hinge-pin are generally small, with a single tongue and an oval plate. The animal-heads are mostly in high relief and fairly naturalistic. With some exceptions, these buckles seem to have been attached to single-strap belts. Examples found in coin-dated graves are known from Strasbourg (one coin, Constantine II, 317–40),[17] Pécs (Hungary), Grave **11**

[1] Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XXXV, 107.
[2] Whiting *et al.* 1931, Pl. LVII, Fig. 3.
[3] Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXXIV, 2.
[4] Cf. Simpson 1976, 197–8, Fig. 3, **Nos. 4 and 5.**
[5] Keller 1971, Taf. 28, 8.
[6] Burger 1966, Fig. 104, **No. 157 and Fig. 115, No.** 263.4.
[7] Török 1941, Pl. III, 5.
[8] Cf. above, pp. 269–70.
[9] Eck 1891, Pl. XVI, 10.
[10] Noll 1963, 58, Taf. 10.
[11] Alföldi 1957, Abb. 105, No. 2.
[12] Burger 1966, Fig. 95, No. 26.6.
[13] Kenyon 1948, Pl. XXIII, a4.
[14] Hawkes and Dunning 1961.
[15] Ibid. 50–7.
[16] Ibid. 41–5.
[17] Forrer 1927, 321, Fig. 251, No. 1932 f.

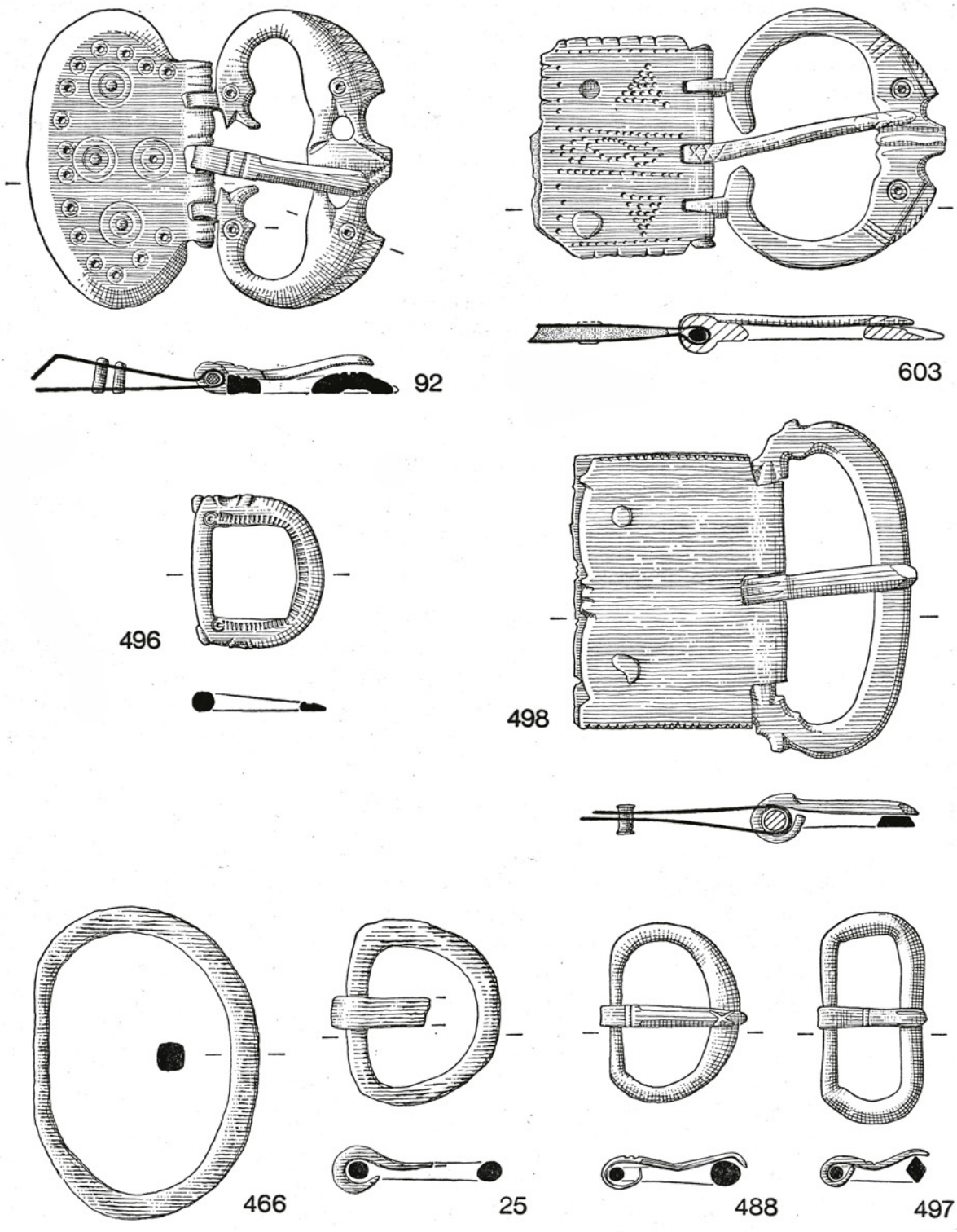


FIG. 35. Buckles (1:1). Bronze, except 25 and 466, iron.

(eleven coins, the latest 341–6),[1] Abbeville Homblières (Aisne), Grave 4 (one coin, either 333–50 or 350–3),[2] and Mayen (Rheinland-Pfalz), Grave 12 (one coin, 388–402).[3] The buckles were thus in use from *c.* 340 until the end of the fourth century. Initially, they may have been copies of the pieces with an independent hinge-pin.

The corresponding series of British buckles, those of Hawkes and Dunning Type IA, differ in that their animal-heads can be highly stylised, while their plates are invariably rectangular and often elongated.[4] An exclusively British innovation was the related type of buckle with horse-heads projecting from the sides of the loop (Hawkes and Dunning Type IB);[5] these and the Type-IA buckles were often attached to the narrow belts current in Britain in the late fourth century.[6] Neither type is represented at Lankhills, although one of Type IA is known from the eastern cemetery of Winchester.[7] Two Lankhills pieces, **496** from Grave 283 and **280** from Grave 234, belonged to narrow belts, however, and both may have been derivatives of the Type-I buckles.[8] If this is accepted, it provides useful dating evidence. Grave 234 is datable to *c.* 350–90, and while Grave 283 was not dug until *c.* 390–410, **496** was then just a detached loop, the buckle to which it belonged having broken. This evidence implies that the main series of Type-I buckles had started well before A.D. 400, and emphasises, as S. C. Hawkes has recently stressed, that they are a development of the fourth rather than of the fifth century.[9]

The buckles with an independent iron pin were generally more elaborate. Continental pieces belonged to two-strap belts with propeller-shaped stiffeners.[10] Their animal-heads are in high relief, usually in a naturalistic style, and their tongues are double. Most have rectangular, open-work plates, which are either arcaded or amalgamated with a propeller-shaped stiffener, but pieces from Augst and Vermand (Aisne) have rectangular plates without open-work.[11] An example with an arcaded plate from Zengóvárkony II (Hungary), Grave 10, shows that these buckles were being made by *c.* 340;[12] none are known, it seems, from graves definitely dated to the later fourth century, by which time they had probably been superseded by buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Types III and IV.[13] Richborough (Kent) has produced the only buckle-loop of this type from Britain.[14]

In Britain, the equivalent series, buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Type IIA, were almost certainly made for single-strap belts, for they have loops which are wider than the distance between the rivets on their plates.[15] The plates themselves are always arcaded, the tongues are single, and the loop-terminals are consequently close together. The latter are often involuted, and interlock with lateral projections extending out from the base of the tongue.[16] Dated Type-IIA buckles come from deposits with Valentinianic or later coins, for example at Lullingstone (Kent), Lydney (Glos.), *Verulamium* (Herts.),[17] Wye (Kent),[18] and the Cathedral Green site in Winchester.[19] These buckles are thus later than their continental counterparts. They are evenly and exclusively distributed over the civil zone of Britain[20]

[1] Török 1941, 126–9, Pl. IV, 3.
[2] Roosens 1962, 13–14, Pl. I, 9.
[3] Haberey 1942, 270–1, Abb. 11, e.
[4] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 41–5.
[5] Ibid. 45–50; Hawkes 1973.
[6] See above, pp. 266–7.
[7] *Vetusta Monumenta*, iii (1796), 13, Fig. 4.
[8] See below, pp. 277 and 286.
[9] Hawkes 1973, 148–51.
[10] See above, p. 267; and cf. Bullinger 1969, Abb. 13–18.
[11] Martin 1967, Abb. 1, nos. 1 and 2, Abb. 3.
[12] Dombay 1957, 206–7, Pl. XIV, 1.
[13] Cf. below, p. 277.
[14] Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. XXXII, 69.
[15] Cf. above, pp. 266–7.
[16] Lateral projections at the base of the tongue are paralleled on one continental buckle with animal-heads at the top of the loop (from Champdolent (Eure): Bullinger 1969, Falttaf. A, 2) and on many continental Type-IIIA buckles (e.g. Bullinger 1969, Taf. XXI–XXVI). The latter are broadly contemporary with most of the British Type-IIA buckles (cf. below, p. 277) and may therefore have been the inspiration for the lateral projections.
[17] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 52–5.
[18] Hawkes 1974, 389.
[19] Biddle 1970, 312; Winchester Studies 3, i.
[20] Hawkes 1974, Fig. 5. See also addendum C.

and eventually they degenerate into Hawkes and Dunning Type IIC, which occurs in Anglo-Saxon contexts.[1]

The two buckles with an independent hinge-pin from Lankhills form part of the British Type-IIA series. Both belonged to single-strap belts; each has a single tongue; and the loop-terminals are close together. The confronted animal-heads on the loop of **92** are reminiscent of buckles from Colchester and Leicester,[2] and the loop-terminals in the form of a second pair of heads find a parallel at Duston (Northants.).[3] The loop of **603** is similar to examples from *Verulamium* and Lakenheath (Suffolk).[4] Yet in some respects the two Lankhills pieces stand out from the British buckles. Neither has involuted loop-terminals or lateral projections at the base of the tongue, and neither has the typical arcaded plate; the plate of **92** is oval, while that of **603** is rectangular, with punch-dot ornament.

The lack of involuted loop-terminals and lateral projections suggests affinities with the continental buckles. In the case of **92** this is also indicated by the loop, whose zoomorphic terminals find a particularly close parallel at Cologne;[5] in shape and decoration generally, it seems better matched on continental pieces than in Britain. As for **603**, its rectangular plate is paralleled in its lack of openwork by the pieces from Augst and Vermand, which may have been made in north-east Gaul.[6] These considerations suggest that **92** and **603** are transitional, typologically linking the British with the continental buckles, and, as the former are later, presumably illustrating their evolution.

At first sight, the plate of **92** is an obstacle to this, for it can no more be paralleled on continental hinged buckles than on British pieces. But this difficulty is more apparent than real, for the plate of **92** would not be out of place on the continental zoomorphic buckles with no independent hinge-pin.[7] These resemble **92** in that, unlike the hinged buckles, they belonged to single-strap belts. If **92** is indeed transitional, it shows a two-strap buckle being adapted for a single strap. In this process it would not be surprising if a single-strap plate was initially used for the adapted buckle, for experimentation of that kind could be expected in a phase of copying. If so, the oval plate would be entirely consistent with the proposed interpretation of **92**. On purely typological grounds it and **603** may therefore be seen as among the earliest, if not the earliest, of British Type-IIA buckles.

92 came from Grave 37, which is dated by a coin of the House of Constantine, minted *c.* 350–64. **603** was found in Grave 443, whose funerary rite and stratigraphic context allow it to be assigned to the period 350–70. Both buckles, therefore, were in graves a little earlier than other dated British Type-IIA buckles, and a little later than the introduction of their counterparts on the Continent. Chronologically as well as typologically, **92** and **603** do indeed lie between the continental and British buckles.[8]

Buckles with animal-heads confronted across the hinge-bar

496, Grave 283 (390–410); **498**, Grave 376 (390–410)

Buckles with animal-heads confronted across the hinge-bar were classified by Hawkes and Dunning as their Type III.[9] There is no independent hinge-pin on these pieces, and the plate is usually relatively small and rectangular. On the Continent, such buckles are more common between the Seine and the Elbe than further south-east: thus, seven examples were discovered at Oudenburg (Belgium) compared

[1] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 57–9.
[2] Ibid. Fig. 17e and i.
[3] Ibid. Fig. 17f.
[4] Ibid. Fig. 18d and j.
[5] Bullinger 1969, Taf. III, 2.
[6] Martin 1967, 8–11.
[7] See, for example, Mertens and Van Impe 1971, Pl. LXXXVI, 1, 2, and 4.
[8] For interpretation of these buckles, see below, pp. 286–91.
[9] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 59–60.

with one from all the south Bavarian graves considered by Keller.[1] Apart from Lankhills, eight British buckles of this type are known, all of which were published by Hawkes and Dunning.[2] The chronological evidence indicates that on the Continent these buckles came into fashion *c.* 370 and went on being used into the fifth century.[3] They developed into buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Type IIIB, on which loop and plate were cast as one.[4]

498 is the more typical of the two Lankhills pieces. The animal-heads on its loop are depicted in silhouette only; this is paralleled in Britain on buckles from Bradwell (Essex)[5] and Richborough (Kent)[6] and on many continental pieces.[7] The plate of **498** is plain on its surface, but along one edge it is cut away to give a wave effect, a feature which is unusual on Type-III buckles, but which is seen on one example, also with a silhouette loop, from Grave 1331 at Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.).[8]

496, the second Lankhills buckle of this type, is a detached loop with highly stylised animal-heads to either side of the hinge-bar. The size and shape of this loop are most unusual, for it is square rather than oval or rectangular, and it is less than half the width of other Type-III loops. In these respects, it is indistinguishable from British buckles of Types IA and IB,[9] its shape finding a particularly close parallel in two pieces from Cirencester (Glos.).[10] Its internal width of less than 15 mm indicates that like most Type-I buckles it can only have belonged to a narrow belt of distinctively British type.[11]

The decoration of **496** includes a series of small punched rectangles round the loop, which are difficult to parallel on Type-III buckles, but which can be seen on Type-I pieces from Chichester (Sussex) and Richborough (Kent).[12] The animal-heads themselves are not confronted across the hinge-bar, but face down towards where the plate would have been. This is another feature not typical of Type-III buckles; but it is seen on the Dorchester on Thames buckle, and as such distinguishes that buckle from several continental buckles to which it is otherwise similar.[13] A rather better parallel to **496**, and one which in some respects lies between it and the Dorchester buckle, is provided by a most unusual piece from Upper Upham (Wilts.).[14] This object has the independent hinge-pin of Type IIA, the width of Type I, and the heads by the hinge-pin of Type III. The latter resemble those on the Dorchester buckle stylistically, and in their position are similar both to that piece and to **496**. They may suggest that the Dorchester buckle is of British rather than continental manufacture.

There can be little doubt that **496** was produced in a British workshop in view of its width, shape, and decoration. It will have been made when the standard Type-I buckles had evolved and when Type-III buckles had been used long enough to produce a demand for local copies. As such, it is therefore important for the chronology of both these types. It was discovered in a well-dated grave, Grave 283, with coins of Magnus Maximus (387–8) and the House of Theodosius (388–402). Since it was a detached loop when buried, these coins indicate that it can hardly have been made after 400; it was perhaps made considerably before then. As we have seen, this implies that Type-I buckles were developed well back in the fourth century.[15] Together with **498** it also indicates that Type-III buckles were current in Britain before 400, although it is not clear whether this corroborates S. C. Hawkes's original suggestion that they were first imported *c.* 370.[16]

[1] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, Pls. LXXXIV and LXXXV; Keller 1971, Taf. 13, No. 6.

[2] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 59–60; for two further finds, see addendum D.

[3] Ibid. 18–19; Böhme 1974, 79–83.

[4] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 60.

[5] Ibid. Fig. 20a.

[6] Ibid. Fig. 20b.

[7] For example from Spontin and Molenbeek St. Jean in Belgium (ibid. 15; Böhme 1974, Tafs. 93, No. 5, and 104, No. 1), and from Krefeld-Gellep, Graves 1331 and 1476 (Pirling 1974, Tafs. 22, No. 9, 28, No. 2) and Vermand (Eck 1891, Pl. XVII, 4a).

[8] Pirling 1974, Taf. 22, No. 10.

[9] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 41–50.

[10] Ibid. Fig. 13b and l.

[11] See above, pp. 266–7.

[12] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Figs. 13h and 15g.

[14] Ibid. Fig. 13g.

[13] Cf. ibid. 15.

[15] See above, p. 275.

[16] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 20.

Iron buckles (Fig. 35)

25, Grave 23 (350–80); **466**, Feature **12**

25 consists of a D-shaped loop and a tongue. **466** is represented only by a loop, but any doubts on whether it is correctly identified should be dispelled by its shape. Iron buckles are not often found on Romano-British sites, and they are not present in the well-published collections from Gadebridge Park (Herts.),[1] *Verulamium* (Insula xiv),[2] Richborough,[3] and Cranborne Chase.[4] Iron buckles do, however, come from Roman contexts at East Grimstead (Wilts.),[5] Shakenoak (Oxon.),[6] Chalk (Kent),[7] and Cold Kitchen Hill (Wilts.).[8] The Chalk example has a D-shaped loop like **25**, and is comparable in size to **466**. None of these four buckles has a plate.

On the Continent, five graves at Oudenburg (Belgium) contained iron buckles, all without plates; the example in Grave 188 had a D-shaped loop.[9] At Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.) at least one 'Roman' grave had an iron buckle, Grave 223.[10] Three examples from South Bavaria were published by Keller, one of which, from Göggingen Grave 18, resembles **25**.[11] Iron buckles were found at Salurn in Austria,[12] and they are common in some fourth-century Pannonian cemeteries, in particular in the Keszthely area of Hungary.[13] In non-Roman contexts, iron buckles occur almost everywhere in Europe beyond the imperial frontiers, and many have D-shaped loops. These buckles are also often found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in this country.

The historical significance of iron buckles was discussed by Keller, who emphasised that they are common outside the Roman Empire.[14] He contrasted this with their relative rarity within the imperial frontiers, the only exception being the large number from Pannonian cemeteries. He drew attention to some other objects that link those cemeteries with free Germany, and argued that the iron buckles should be considered in the same light. He suggested they were not a Roman type, and that examples within the Roman Empire were of Germanic origin. It is, however, far from clear whether this claim can be substantiated. The British finds can be set against it; although their evidence is not conclusive and the absence of iron buckles from major collections is significant.

iii. STRAP-ENDS

(Fig. 36)

Eight strap-ends were found at Lankhills. Strap-ends have been given little attention so far in this country, although some pieces have been considered by C. J. Simpson and S. C. Hawkes.[15] The following discussion is not based on a corpus of the British pieces, but is merely the result of a brief survey of the more accessible literature. Many of the continental examples have been assembled and discussed by Keller,[16] Bullinger,[17] and Simpson.[18]

Construction

Strap-ends are either hinged or non-hinged. The former are the more elaborate, the latter the more common. **94** (Grave 37) was hinged, but the rest of the Lankhills strap-ends were of the simpler type.

[1] Neal 1974, 157–87. [2] Frere 1972, 163–95.
[3] Bushe-Fox 1926; 1928; 1932; 1949; Cunliffe (ed.) 1968.
[4] Pitt Rivers 1887; 1888; 1892.
[5] Sumner 1924, Pl. XI, 9.
[6] Brodribb *et al.* 1973, Fig. 65, **No. 512.**
[7] Johnston 1972, Fig. 13, 19.
[8] Nan Kivell 1927*b*, Pl. V, E.
[9] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, Pl. V, 3, Pl. XV, 1, Pl. XXIV, 3, Pl. LI, 1, Pl. LVIII, 4; in Grave 191, Pl. LVIII, 4.
[10] Pirling 1966, Taf. 223, **No. 1.**
[11] Keller 1971, Abb. 25.
[12] Noll 1963, 58, Taf. 10.
[13] Sági 1960; Keller 1971, **75.**
[14] Keller 1971, 75–7.
[15] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 63–5, Type V; Simpson 1976, 198–202.
[16] Keller 1971, 64–6.
[17] Bullinger 1969. [18] Simpson 1976, 198–202.

On most hinged strap-ends, the body and butt have interlocking hinges through which an iron hinge-pin is inserted. Complete examples are rare, but instances may be noted from Ságvár (Hungary) Grave 270,[1] *Intercisa* (Hungary),[2] and Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.) Grave 2991.[3] Incomplete strap-ends of this type are much more common, and in Britain three come from Richborough (Kent).[4] Others have been found at Lydney (Glos.)[5] and Woodeaton (Oxon.),[6] but these are unusual because the hinge-pin is attached as a bar to the body, which may indicate local manufacture. The only complete British hinged strap-end is **94**, but this too is not typical, for although the hinge-pin is separate, the body and butt consist of doubled bronze sheets, rather than of single plates with hinges attached. **94** was associated with a coin of 350–64, while the piece in Ságvár Grave 270 was associated with three coins of 350–4. This limited evidence may suggest that hinged strap-ends were commoner in the middle of the fourth century than they were later.

Strap-ends without a hinge were constructed in a variety of ways. The great majority have the butt split to take the end of the strap, which was held in place by rivets. In some instances the split butt is formed by the addition of a second, small plate; in others the two sides of the butt are cast as one. Other strap-ends were made from two separate and identical plates, one attached to each side of the leather. Other pieces again consist of a single sheet, folded over, the tip of the strap-end being formed by the fold in the metal.

In Britain, as elsewhere, split-butt and two-plate strap-ends are well represented. **128** (Grave 106) is of the former type, while the remaining Lankhills pieces have two plates. Elsewhere, split-butt strap-ends come from Richborough (Kent),[7] Silchester (Hants),[8] Tortworth (Glos.),[9] and Maiden Castle (Dorset),[10] while two-plate strap-ends have been found at Silchester (Hants)[11] and Frocester (Glos.).[12] Among these British finds it is noticeable that whereas seven of the eight Lankhills examples have two plates, all those from Richborough were made with a split butt. The numbers are few, but this difference could reflect local workshops.

The silver strap-end

449, Grave 322 (370–90)

One silver strap-end was found at Lankhills. It is made from two plates which are interlocked and riveted together, and is triangular, without a separate butt. The decoration consists of incised zig-zag lines, which are reminiscent of strap-end **75** (Grave 81) and buckle **122** (Grave 106). The only other silver strap-end known from Britain is of a quite different form, from the Traprain Law (E. Lothian) treasure.[13] Silver strap-ends are not uncommon on the Continent, but no parallel to the shape of **449** can be quoted.

Bronze strap-ends

Seven bronze strap-ends were found, all of recognisable types current in the late Roman period. They have a distinct body and butt, separated by a relatively narrow neck. They can be divided into

[1] Burger 1966, Fig. 116, No. **270.6.**
[2] Alföldi 1957, Abb. 103, No. 8.
[3] Bullinger 1969, Abb. 41, No. 1.
[4] Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. XXXVI, **112 and 113;** Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XXXVII, 119.
[5] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Pl. **XXVIII, 128 and 129.**
[6] Kirk 1949, Fig. 6, No. 10.
[7] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XIX, 34, 35, Pl. XXI, nos. **47, 48,** 49; Bushe-Fox 1932, Pl. X, 19; Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. XXXVI, 125, Pl. LII, 186, Pl. LIII, 207, Pl. LIV, 217, Pl. LVI, 263; Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XXXVII, 118.
[8] Boon 1959, Pl. III, A1.
[9] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, **Fig. 8.**
[10] Wheeler 1943, Fig. 96, No. 15.
[11] Boon 1959, Pl. III, A2, A3, **A4.**
[12] Gracie 1970, Fig. 15, No. 80.
[13] Curle 1923, Pl. XXXIII, **149.**

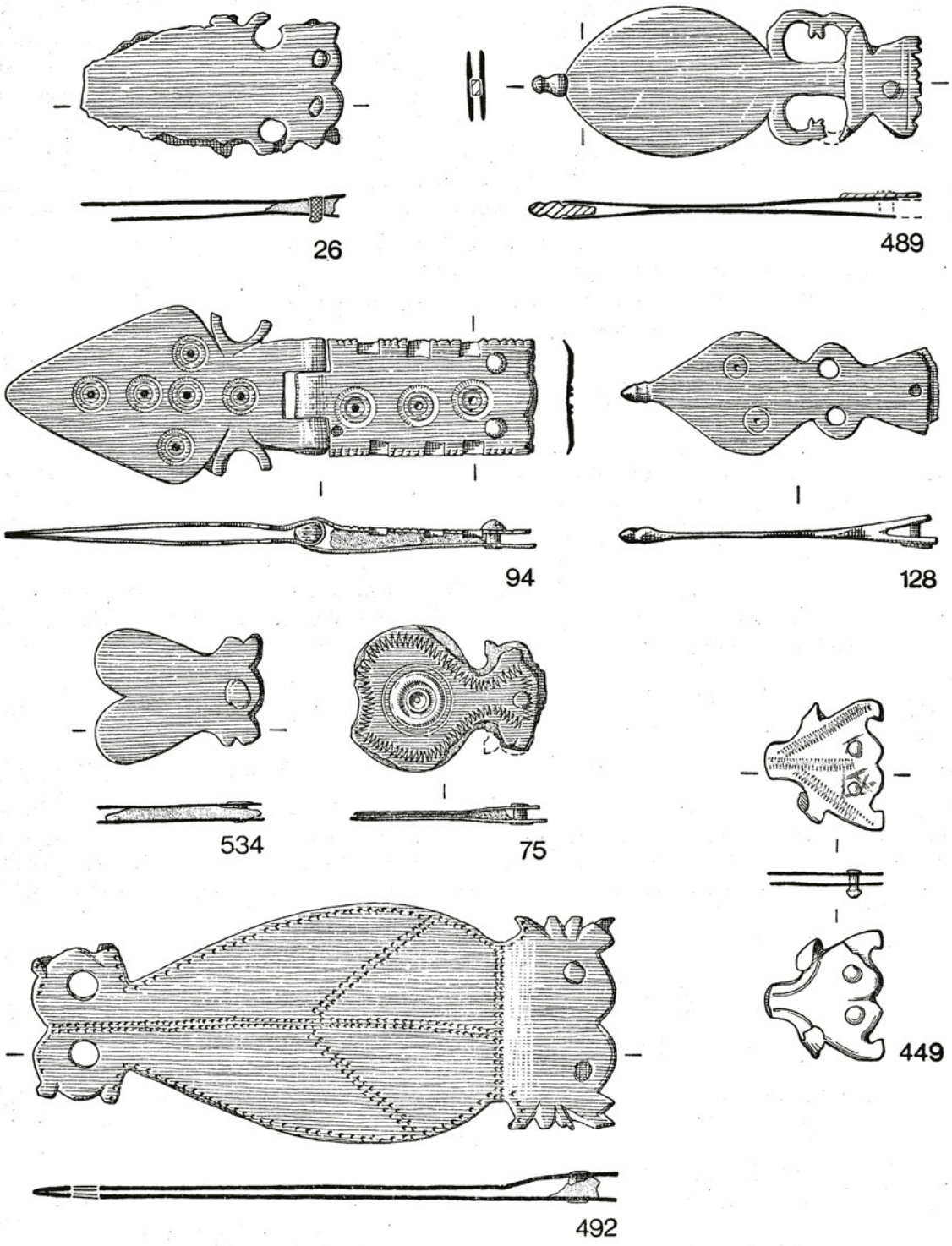


FIG. 36. Strap-ends (1:1). Bronze, except 449, silver.

those with decorative features on either side of the neck, and those without. To the former category belong amphora and Tortworth-type strap-ends, and to the latter, lancet- and heart-shaped pieces.

Amphora strap-ends[1]

26, Grave 23 (350–80); **489**, Grave 366 (370–410)

Amphora strap-ends, so called because of their shape, have a small butt, an oval body, and decoration at the neck. On the Continent, they are seemingly the only type of strap-end to be hinged.[2] Keller listed the dating evidence, which suggests that the type was in use from *c.* 350 until *c.* 390,[3] dating consistent with that of the two Lankhills pieces.

Many of these strap-ends have an open-work oval space on either side of the neck, whose outer edge is defined by a pinched-in metal strip. This strip is reminiscent of two confronted animals, such as are actually depicted on a piece from Tongres.[4] In Britain, amphora strap-ends of this type are known from Silchester (Hants)[5] and Richborough (Kent).[6] **489** is the one example from Lankhills. It is slightly atypical, for it has an insignificant butt and an unusually rounded body.

Some amphora strap-ends have a feature other than pinched-in open-work at the neck. This usually consists of open-work circles, such as are seen on **26**, but pieces with solid features come from Grave 29 at Vert-la-Gravelle (Marne)[7] and from Lydney (Glos.),[8] and an example with D-shaped open-work was found in Grave 165 at Ságvár (Hungary).[9] Another British strap-end of this type is a piece from Frocester (Glos.), which is, however, unusual, for it has a disc at its tip, and must surely be an insular product.[10] **26** itself is widely paralleled, for example, at *Intercisa* (Hungary).[11]

Prototypes of Tortworth strap-ends

94, Grave 37 (350–70); **128**, Grave 106 (350–370/90)

Tortworth strap-ends are a hitherto undefined insular type, named after the Tortworth (Glos.) piece.[12] They are characterised by decoration at the neck and by a body and butt that are both narrow and extremely elongated, the body often terminating in a forked tip. Sometimes these pieces are hinged.[13] The features at the neck take various forms: on two pieces from Richborough (Kent) they are solid;[14] strap-ends from Silchester (Hants),[15] Rockbourne (Hants),[16] and Traprain Law (E. Lothian)[17] have open-work circles; and examples from Harnham Hill (Wilts.),[18] Richborough,[19] Traprain Law,[20] and Woodeaton (Oxon.),[21] simple C-shapes. On the most elaborate pieces the circular open-work and the C-shapes are embellished into the horse-heads seen on pieces from Richborough,[22] Maiden Castle (Dorset),[23] and Tortworth itself.[24]

[1] Cf. Simpson 1976, 198–200, Fig. 4.
[2] Cf. Alföldi 1957, Abb. 103, and Simpson 1976, 198.
[3] Keller 1971, 65–6.
[4] Bullinger 1969, Taf. XII, 4.
[5] Boon 1959, Pl. III, A4.
[6] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XXI, 47; Bushe-Fox 1932, Pl. X, 19 (incomplete); Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. XXXVI, 112 and 113; Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XXXVII, 119.
[7] Bullinger 1969, Taf. XX, 5b.
[8] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Pl. XXVIII, 129.
[9] Burger 1966, Fig. 105, No. 165.2.
[10] Gracie 1970, Fig. 12, No. 78.
[11] Alföldi 1957, Abb. 103, No. 27.
[12] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 8.
[13] As is one from Woodeaton (Kirk 1949, Fig. 6, No. 10).
[14] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XXI, 46 and 49.
[15] Boon 1959, Pl. III, A1, A2.
[16] *JRS*, 53 (1963), Pl. XVII, 4.
[17] *PSAS*, 58 (1923–4), 277–8, Fig. 20, No. 3.
[18] Akerman 1854, Pl. XI, 9.
[19] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XIX, 34; Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. XXXVI, 125.
[20] *PSAS*, 49 (1914–15), 173–4, Fig. 26, i.
[21] Kirk 1949, Fig. 6, No. 10.
[22] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XIX, 35; Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. LIV, 217.
[23] Wheeler 1943, Fig. 96, No. 15.
[24] Tortworth strap-ends are similar to a late group of 'nail-cleaners', which differ only in having a pierced loop for suspension rather than a butt. An example comes from Wor Barrow, Dorset (Evison 1965, Fig. 27*j*). There are other objects whose body alone survives, which could have been nail-cleaners or strap-

Tortworth strap-ends are not well dated. One from Richborough is ornamented with a Quoit-brooch-style animal.[1] A piece from Rockbourne has a single human head which also has affinities with the Quoit-brooch style, resembling heads on the Mucking (Essex) buckle,[2] on two brooches from Howletts (Kent),[3] and on the Wor Barrow (Dorset) nail-cleaner. This evidence suggests that some at least of the Tortworth strap-ends were made in the fifth century. Being long and narrow, they match the Type-I 'dolphin'-buckles, as S. C. Hawkes has pointed out,[4] and they can only have belonged to the narrow belts current in late Roman Britain.[5] This must mean, when their exclusively British distribution is also taken into account, that they were produced in insular workshops.

94 and **128** belong to a small group of strap-ends which are in some respects similar to the Tortworth type, but which are neither as narrow nor as elongated. Other examples in the group come from Caistor-by-Norwich (Norfolk),[6] Lydney (Glos.),[7] and Grave 29 at the Galgenberg bei Cuxhaven (Nds.).[8] **94, 128,** and the Galgenberg strap-end resemble the Tortworth type because their butt is extended and, in the case of **94** and the Galgenberg piece, because they have C-shaped decoration on the neck. The Caistor strap-end is similar to the Tortworth type because it is elongated with an extended tip, and the Lydney piece because its tip is forked.[9]

Several features on these strap-ends are, however, characteristic of other types. **94, 128,** and the pieces from Lydney and the Galgenberg have the basically triangular bodies of lancet-shaped strap-ends. The body of **94** is decorated with an arrangement of concentric circles like that on the amphora strap-ends from Lydney and Frocester. The Lydney piece has the pinched-in open-work at the neck, characteristic of amphora strap-ends, and its butt is not elongated. The Caistor strap-end is paralleled in its general shape by an amphora-shaped strap-end from Grave 29 at Vert-la-Gravelle,[10] and the open-work circles at its neck and at that of **128,** while seen on some Tortworth-type strap-ends, are of course also characteristic of the amphora form.

This small group of strap-ends thus combines features seen on the Tortworth strap-ends with features characteristic of the lancet and amphora types. Typologically the group therefore links the Tortworth type with those other more standard forms. **94** and **128** are the only dated strap-ends in the group: **94** was in Grave 37, coin-dated to *c.* 350–70, and **128** came from Grave 106, assigned to *c.* 350–370/90. These dates suggest that the group may be slightly earlier than the Tortworth type. The group perhaps represents a phase of adaptation and innovation which will have preceded the evolution of the Tortworth type in British workshops.

Much the closest parallel to **94** and **128** is the Galgenberg bei Cuxhaven strap-end: so similar is it in form to **94** that there can be little doubt that it is contemporary. This piece is quite unlike any strap-end discovered on the Continent within the imperial frontiers. Since it is certain that it was not made where it was found, it was perhaps produced in a British workshop and taken home by a German soldier. If so, prima facie, it implies that such a soldier was serving in Britain *c.* 350–70.

Heart-shaped strap-ends[11]

75, Grave 81 (350–70); **534,** Grave 426 (350–90)

Heart-shaped strap-ends have a fairly small butt, with a body in the form of an inverted heart. Many examples are plain. When ornament is present, it is based on two or three groups of large con-

ends; the piece from Rivenhall, Essex (Hawkes 1973, Fig. 3, No. 3) is a well-known instance, and another has been found at Beadlam, Yorks. (Stead 1971, Fig. 5, No. 2). For further discussion of the late nail-cleaners, see above, p. 255.

[1] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XIX, **34.**
[2] Evison 1968, Pl. LIII.
[3] Evison 1965, Pls. 10*c*, 11*b*.
[4] Hawkes 1973, 150–1.
[5] See above, pp. 266–7.
[6] Myres and Green 1973, Fig. 64, No. 2.
[7] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Pl. XXVIII, **128.**
[8] Bullinger 1969, Taf. LV.
[9] For another find, see addendum **E.**
[10] Bullinger 1969, Taf. XX, 5b.
[11] Cf. Simpson 1976, 201–2, Fig. 5.

centric circles. Heart-shaped strap-ends are common in Hungary,[1] as well as along the Rhine and in north-east Gaul. The relevant dating evidence, assembled by Keller, suggests that they were in vogue *c.* 340–70.[2] Examples from Britain are rare, but a rather unusual piece was found at Frocester (Glos.).[3] There are two from Lankhills, and their dating fits that suggested by Keller. Neither is easy to parallel exactly on the Continent: **75** is decorated with one set of concentric circles rather than the normal two or three, and the body of **534** is slightly elongated. Both examples, as well as that from Frocester, may therefore be insular products.

Lancet-shaped strap-ends

492, Grave 376 (390–410)

Lancet-shaped strap-ends have a trapezoidal, sometimes rectangular, butt and a body which is basically triangular. Many carry relief-ornament, and in this respect they differ from the types so far discussed. Some, though, are almost plain, and others have incised decoration. The continental dating evidence has not been fully assembled, but probably no lancet-shaped strap-ends are earlier than *c.* 350, the majority being datable to the years either side of A.D. 400.[4] In Britain this type was studied and catalogued by S. C. Hawkes.[5] Her definition needs expansion to take account of pieces constructed from two plates, and there are additions: a silver strap-end from the Traprain Law (E. Lothian) hoard[6] and two pieces from Richborough (Kent), one unusual,[7] the other more typical.[8]

492 belongs to a group of distinctive strap-ends, which are characterised by a rounded body and an expanded decorative feature at the tip. Others come from Hemmoor (Nds.),[9] Beadlam (Yorks.),[10] Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.),[11] Trier,[12] Vermand (Aisne),[13] and St.-Quentin (Aisne).[14] Of these, the Hemmoor piece is most like **492**. Strap-ends in this group are simply decorated, only the Beadlam piece having relief ornament. The rounded body suggests that they are related to the amphora type, a relationship confirmed on the Trier piece by slight lateral projections at its neck. Only **492** is closely dated; it was in Grave 376, dated to 390–410 on the evidence of horizontal stratigraphy.

492 is noticeably larger than other strap-ends in the group. Among lancet strap-ends in general, it is paralleled in this respect by an example from Icklingham (Suffolk),[15] which has similar proportions; the open-work circles at the tips of the two pieces are, for example, the same distance apart. The surface of **492** is decorated with punched dots, making a pattern reminiscent of a stitched sack. This too is unusual, although punched dots were employed for different designs on the Hemmoor strap-end.

The butt of **492** carries cut-out decoration on the edges, a feature paralleled on pieces from St.-Quentin (Aisne) and Jamoigne (Belgium),[16] but seen on few other strap-ends. The Jamoigne piece is an amphora strap-end which has become lancet-shaped by the merging of the open-work decoration on the neck with the butt. The open-work is enclosed by downward-biting animal-heads, and the outline these make may be compared with **492**. There are four projections on each side of **492**: the upper projections (i.e. those closest to the strap) can be equated with the ears of the animal-heads, the middle

[1] This conclusion is based on the published examples from *Intercisa* (Alföldi 1957, Abb. 103) and Ságvár (Burger 1966).
[2] Keller 1971, 64–5.
[3] Gracie 1970, Fig. 15, No. 80.
[4] Cf. Böhme 1974, 82–3, Texttaf. A and B.
[5] Her Type V: Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 63–5.
[6] Curle 1923, Pl. XXXIII, 149.
[7] Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. LVI, 263.
[8] Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XXXVII, 118.
[9] Genrich 1954, Taf. 14, A1.
[10] Stead 1971, Fig. 5, No. 3.
[11] Pirling 1974, Taf. 22, No. 5.
[12] Ibid. Taf. XIII, 4.
[13] Böhme 1974, Taf. 140, No. 4.
[14] Eck 1891, Pl. headed 'Saint Quentin', No. 13.
[15] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 23, h.
[16] Bullinger 1969, Abb. 57, No. 6.

two projections with their eyes, and the lower projections with their upper jaws. The two curves on the end of **492** would then be equivalent to the animals' backs.

The tip of **492** also suggests animal ornament and is closely paralleled on the Hemmoor strap-end. Both pieces can be compared with the horse-heads at either end of the strap-slide from Grave 12 at High Down (Sussex).[1] Comparison may also be made with a belt-terminal from Salona,[2] and with disc-shaped strap-ends from Trier[3] and Babenhausen (Hesse),[4] the latter very reminiscent of the High Down belt-slide. Considered in another way, the tip of **492** is also not unlike the human heads on various fifth-century objects, in particular on a brooch from Alfriston (Sussex).[5] The affinities with the objects from High Down and Alfriston suggest that although basically fourth-century in form, **492** in some respects may foreshadow the later Quoit-brooch style.

It is difficult to know whether **492** was made on the Continent or in this country. Its basic form clearly sets it among continental pieces, but equally it has affinities with British strap-ends such as that from Icklingham (Suffolk). The strap-end which it most resembles is the one from Hemmoor (Nds.), which could well be of British origin; the decoration of this piece is paralleled on British Tortworth-type strap-ends from Silchester[6] and Maiden Castle.[7] It and **492** were therefore possibly made in insular workshops as copies of a type generally current in the north-west provinces.[8]

iv. OTHER BELT-FITTINGS

Terminal-fitting

499, Grave 376 (390–410)

Terminal-fittings were discussed by S. C. Hawkes as her Type VII.[9] They were used to finish the wide strap of two-strap belts:[10] **499** belonged to the wide belt in Grave 376. The more elaborate terminal-fittings consist of a ribbed cylinder attached to a plate; they are represented in Britain by examples from Dorchester on Thames (Oxon.),[11] Milton-next-Sittingbourne (Kent),[12] and Mucking (Essex).[13] Simpler terminal-fittings were made from a single sheet folded over and decorated with ribbing. Some of these include a decorative plate, a British instance of which comes from Richborough (Kent).[14] Others consist solely of the thin folded-over strip, and it is to this type that **499** belongs. Further examples come from Caistor-by-Norwich (Norfolk)[15] and Bokerly Dyke (Dorset).[16] On the Continent, such simple terminals have been found at Oudenburg (Belgium),[17] Trier,[18] and Furfooz (Belgium),[19] to cite but a few instances.

499 is unusual in two respects: it is decorated with lattice-work rather than with ribbing, and at either end there are independent folded-over strips, resembling grasping hands, which seem to have secured it to the leather. It is difficult to find an exact parallel to either feature, although a plain independent folded-over strip is attached to a now incomplete terminal-fitting from Grave 1330 at Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.).[20]

[1] Evison 1965, Pl. 13*c*.
[2] Bullinger 1969, Taf. **XXXVIII, 1.**
[3] Ibid. Taf. LVII.
[4] Ibid. Taf. XIV, 1.
[5] Evison 1965, Pl. 15*a*.
[6] Boon 1959, Pl. III, A1.
[7] Wheeler 1943, Fig. 96, 15.
[8] But note the strap-end from Vermand (Böhme 1974, Taf. 140, No. 4), and also another (not the same shape) from Rouvroy (ibid. Taf. 132, No. 12).
[9] Hawkes and Dunning, 1961, 66–8.
[10] For two-strap belts, see above, pp. 267–9.
[11] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 1, No. 3.
[12] Ibid., Fig. 2, d and e.
[13] Evison 1969*a*, Fig. 8, No. 335.
[14] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 24, h.
[15] Myres and Green 1973, Fig. 64, No. 5.
[16] Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXV, 2.
[17] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, Pl. **XLII, 4.**
[18] Bullinger 1969, Taf. LVII.
[19] Nenquin 1953, Pl. VIII, D14, D15.
[20] Pirling 1974, Taf. 22, No. 4.

Stiffener

491, Grave 376 (390–410)

This stiffener formed part of the wide belt in Grave 376. Stiffeners were characteristic of the more elaborate types of late Roman belt. Numerous grave-finds show that they were positioned vertically on the leather strap, and were not used for a sort of apron as Leeds suggested.[1]

Earlier stiffeners are propeller-shaped and were fitted to belts without a buckle or to belts with hinged buckles.[2] Keller listed known examples; they have a wide distribution in the European provinces of the empire,[3] and seem to have been in fashion for most of the fourth century. On the Arch of Constantine, Constantine I is shown wearing a belt with propeller-stiffeners;[4] elsewhere these stiffeners have been found associated with Valentinianic coins.[5] British examples are rare, but instances may be mentioned from Richborough (Kent),[6] Maryport (Cumb.),[7] Camerton (Som.), and Woodeaton (Oxon).[8]

With the advent of wider belts, propeller-stiffeners became elongated; examples of this kind have been found in continental graves and in Britain, as a site-find, at Carrawburgh (Northumberland).[9] As a final development, the stiffeners lost all trace of the propeller shape and became simple rectangular strips. Belts with stiffeners of this form have been found at Trier,[10] Rhenen (Holland),[11] and Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.),[12] and in Britain at Dorchester on Thames (Oxon.).[13] **491** belongs to this type but is unusual in having ends finished with a triangle. Otherwise, **491** is generally comparable to the stiffeners from Trier-Pallien.[14] Plain rectangular stiffeners should probably be dated from their association with wide belts to around A.D. 400,[15] dating consistent with that for **491**.

Rings

604, 605, 606, 607, Grave 443 (350–70)

These four rings lay around a knife **(602)** and buckle **(603)**, an association which suggests that they were belt-fittings. Traces of a narrow leather strap corroded to **607** confirm this. The rings are comparable to those on rosette-attachments classified by S. C. Hawkes as her Type VI,[16] and to rings belonging to simpler belt-attachments found, for example, at Krefeld-Gellep.[17] Most of these rings have a lozenge-shaped cross-section, but some do not, including one from Richborough[18] and two from elsewhere in Kent,[19] and these rings are thus like the four from Lankhills. The Lankhills rings were presumably attached to the belt by leather, so forming a strap-work for suspending the knife-sheath.

Studs

500, Grave 376 (390–410); **626**, Grave 55 (350–70)

Dome-shaped studs like **500** and **626** were frequently used as belt-fittings, although they probably do not figure in the literature as often as they should. Continental belts with studs come from Basel-

[1] Kirk and Leeds 1953, Fig. 28.
[2] See above, p. 267.
[3] Keller 1971, 219–20.
[4] L'Orange and von Gerkan 1939, 138, Taf. 33*a*.
[5] Keller 1971, 219–20.
[6] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XXI, 52; Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. LIII, 209.
[7] Bailey 1915, Pl. XI, d.
[8] Wedlake 1958, Fig. 58, No. 12; Kirk 1949, Fig 7, No. 6. See also addendum F.
[9] Breeze 1972, Fig. 16, No. 166. It is wrongly described as a strap-end: ibid. 141.
[10] Bullinger 1969, Taf. LVI and LVII.
[11] Ypey 1969, Abb. 9, Db.
[12] Bullinger 1969, Taf. LXIV.
[13] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 1, No. 3.
[14] Bullinger 1969, Taf. LVI.
[15] Cf. above, p. 268.
[16] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 65–6.
[17] Pirling 1974, Taf. 22, Nos. 11 and 12, and 25, Nos. 12–14.
[18] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 24, c.
[19] Ibid. Pl. IB and IC.

Aeschenvorstadt (Switzerland),[1] Furfooz (Belgium),[2] and Spontin (Belgium).[3] Evidence has not so far been published for the use of studs on other belts in Britain.

Improvised buckle

280, Grave 234 (350–90)

This object now consists of three elements, a loose rivet, a strip, and a loop attached to a folded-over plate. The rivet was presumably part of the plate. The bronze strip is expanded at each end and decorated with dot-and-circle motifs; it was cut from a larger object. The folded-over plate has a line of repoussé dots along each side, and with the loop it suggests a small, simply constructed buckle. As there is no tongue, this is evidently not exactly what it was, but a leather strap around the detached strip could have passed through the loop, and been held when pulled tight by the greater width of the strip. **280** is probably therefore a substitute buckle. The shape of the loop is slightly reminiscent of loops on 'dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Type I,[4] and may be derived from them. Since **280** is only 12 mm wide, it was presumably attached to a narrow belt, as were many Type-I buckles.[5]

V. GENERAL DISCUSSION

The manufacture and stylistic development of late Roman belt-fittings in Britain

The evidence we have noted above indicates that insular variants of almost every type of late Roman belt-fitting were manufactured in this country. But were these insular variants made locally in small workshops or produced in large centres and marketed widely? The objects themselves suggest the former, for several types include groups of similar pieces from definable areas. Two Type-IA 'dolphin'-buckles from Silchester (Hants) stand out as being particularly alike in their highly stylised loops.[6] Four buckles from Cirencester (Glos.), two of Type IA[7] and two of Type IB,[8] form a second group, defined by square loops; Lankhills **496** has affinities with this group and was perhaps therefore brought into Winchester. Type-IIA buckles from Caistor-by-Norwich, Lakenheath (Suffolk), Mitcham (Surrey), Silchester, and *Verulamium* (Herts.)[9] all have similar rounded loops; their noticeably eastern distribution contrasts with that of Type-IIA buckles generally.[10] As regards strap-ends, here construction suggests local variation:[11] the Richborough strap-ends have a split butt while the Lankhills series are, with one exception, of the two-plate variety. These points, while only indications, suggest local groups, presumably reflecting distribution from local workshops.[12]

It is against this background that the stylistic development of belt-fittings in Britain should be understood. On the Continent, typical late provincial-Roman belt-fittings may first have been produced *c.* 330–40.[13] Little time elapsed before British workshops began to produce copies; these are so close that only slight variations betray their local origin. **92** (Grave 37) and to a lesser extent **603** (Grave 443), both in graves datable to 350–70, are similar to continental, hinged, zoomorphic buckles. Strap-end **94** (Grave 37) seemingly represents a local adaptation both of the hinged construction and of the lancet and amphora forms. **75** (Grave 81) and **534** (Grave 426) are slightly unusual heart-shaped strap-ends which may have been made in Britain. Buckle **126** and strap-end **128**, both from Grave

[1] Bullinger 1969, Abb. **35, No. 1.**
[2] Ibid. Abb. 37, No. **2.**
[3] Ibid. Taf. LX, 2.
[4] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 41–50.
[5] For narrow belts, see above, pp. 266–7.
[6] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 13i **and j.**
[7] Ibid. Fig. 13b and l.
[8] Ibid. Fig. 15b **and c.**
[9] Ibid. Fig. 17c, Fig. 18j, **f, g, d.**
[10] Hawkes 1974, Fig. 5.
[11] See above, p. 279.
[12] Any theory that belt-fittings were all made **in** centralised state factories must now be regarded **as** implausible (cf. Simpson 1976, 204).
[13] Keller 1971, 77; cf. also above, **p. 266.**

106, perhaps represent early local copying also. Elsewhere in Britain, belt-fittings locally made at this time may include the wider 'dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Type IA[1] and the strap-ends, from Caistor and Lydney, prototypical of the Tortworth type.[2] On Lankhills evidence, this stage of close copying can be dated to 350–70.

British bronze-workers subsequently stopped copying and standardised their own local variants. These include the typical 'dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Type IIA,[3] apparently developed via **92** and **603** and, where dated, associated with Valentinianic coins.[4] An example from Lydney (Glos.), found in the make-up of the *cella* floor, cannot have been lost long after 370, and, in conjunction with **92**, it suggests a starting-date for the typical Type-IIA buckles of *c.* 370. Also to be considered here are the narrow belts, the 'dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Type I,[5] and the Tortworth strap-ends.[6] **280** (Grave 234) and **496** (Grave 283) suggest that the narrow belts and their fittings were being made well before A.D. 400, while the prototypical Tortworth-type strap-ends, **94** and **128**, indicate that they cannot have been produced much earlier than *c.* 360–70.[7] A starting date of *c.* 370 would be consistent with the few dated Type-I buckles, and in particular with the *Tripontium* (Warwicks.) find.[8] At this same time, new types of belt-fitting associated with the wide belts fashionable on the Continent were occasionally imitated, and, as **496** (Grave 283) shows, adapted to the native repertoire.[9]

The third and final stage was the development of the Quoit-brooch style. This involved the schematised representation of animals, human heads, and abstract motifs. It has been the subject of much debate, now largely out of date,[10] and here only a few points need making. First, the style is late Roman, its various elements demonstrably derived from motifs used generally on belt-fittings throughout the western empire. Thus, forerunners to Quoit-brooch-style animals are seen on metalwork from Vermand (Aisne)[11] and Miséry (Somme),[12] while the isolated human heads are successors to the portrait-busts on buckles such as that from Snodland (Kent).[13] Second, the Quoit-brooch style was applied predominantly to belt-fittings, mostly types which had been current since at least *c.* 370, including 'dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Types II and IV[14] and Tortworth-type strap-ends.[15] Third, the Quoit-brooch style is exclusive to this country.[16] Although much has been written to the contrary, it is still impossible to find precise parallels in Gaul or on the Rhine.

All the evidence thus points to a Romano-British origin for the Quoit-brooch style. It was so extensively used to decorate the latest Roman belt-fittings that it must be regarded as contemporary with them. Continental evidence from sites such as Haillot (Belgium) suggests that these fittings were not made after, at the latest, *c.* 450.[17] But it has not been clear when the Quoit-brooch style was first developed. The absence of objects decorated in this style at Lankhills suggests, in view of the apparent richness of the cemetery, that this development did not take place until after *c.* 400. Strap-end **492**

[1] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 13e, f, o, for example.

[2] See above, p. 282.

[3] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 50–7, and see above, p. 273.

[4] See above, p. 275.

[5] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 41–50.

[6] See above, p. 281.

[7] Cf. above, p. 282.

[8] Hawkes 1973, 150–1.

[9] See above, p. 277.

[10] See, in particular, Hawkes 1961 and Evison 1965, 46–78. The views expressed in these studies have been revised in the light of objects like the Mucking belt-fittings (Evison 1968) and the *Tripontium* buckle (Hawkes 1973). See also Haseloff 1974, 5.

[11] Evison 1965, Fig. 26.

[12] Ibid. Fig. 2, Nos. 2, 3, Fig. 3, No. 8.

[13] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Pl. IIB.

[14] Type-IIA 'dolphin'-buckles developed into those of Type IIC (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 19c and d) and into pieces such as the buckles from Orpington, Bishopstone, and Mitcham (Evison 1968, Fig. 2a, e, f). A Type-IV buckle decorated in the Quoit-brooch style was found in Grave 117 at Mucking (Evison 1968, Pl. LIII).

[15] See above, p. 282.

[16] Haseloff 1974, 5.

[17] Breuer and Roosens 1957; cf. Böhme 1974, 82–3.

(Grave 376) has, however, decorative features which seem to anticipate the style, for its tip can be compared with the High Down (Sussex) strap-slide and with a brooch from Alfriston (Sussex).[1] Whether or not these comparisons are significant, the Quoit-brooch style will have come into vogue in the first years of the fifth century, only a few years after 492 was buried.[2]

What was the ethnic origin of those who wore belts?

In previous studies of belts and belt-fittings, their ethnic significance and the role of those who wore them have normally been discussed together. It has often been argued, for example, that people wearing a given type of belt both came from free Germany and served in the army. However, although it is certainly true that military considerations were a major determinant of foreign settlement in the empire, and although belt-fittings may well have reflected this, the link cannot be assumed. In the present state of research, to discuss social role and ethnic origins together confuses more than it clarifies.

In discussing ethnic origins, we should remember that metalwork, whether belt-fittings or not, is made in a workshop to satisfy a demand. The demand dictates the style, but equally the individual can buy only within the range available. Different peoples living in proximity are likely to use similar products, but if one ethnic group comes to dominate numerically or culturally, its taste may be generally adopted. In the late Roman world Germanic people could be powerful and some, like Magnentius and Stilicho, achieved the highest offices. Germanic taste might therefore be reflected in artistic style and thus in metalwork, but unless special circumstances prevailed, German people are unlikely to have been the exclusive users of any metalwork types. The provincial Roman population would have been—and indeed was—quite as capable of adopting Germanic fashions, as German people were of imitating Roman.

Archaeologists in Britain have been postulating that special circumstances did prevail, and that some types of metalwork were made in provincial Roman workshops specifically for Germanic people.[3] Regarding continental belt-fittings, these arguments have been mainly directed at the fittings of two-strap belts, and in particular at those with relief-ornament.[4] These fittings are said to be barbarian in feel. Less subjectively, attention is drawn to many found in the same graves as weapons, the burial of which is taken to be Germanic. It is also pointed out that the belt-fittings are known from many graves in free Germany. However, the first argument reflects the known barbarisation of the later empire and the others simply indicate that some elaborate belts were worn by Germans; they are far from showing that all were. That this was the case must be regarded as inherently unlikely. We will see shortly that wide belts were an item of military dress which had evolved out of forms current at least as early as the third century.[5] Military uniform will scarcely have become confined to barbarians before A.D. 400, especially when the latter did not form a particularly large proportion of the Roman army.[6] There is therefore no real reason to associate the wide belts exclusively with Germans, and good grounds for not doing so.[7]

In Britain, the argument has been taken a stage further in connection with the 'dolphin'-buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Types I and II.[8] It is implied that these are Germanic because they are related

[1] See above, p. 284.

[2] The conclusions reached here about the Quoit-brooch style are the same as those arrived at by Leeds and earlier writers (Leeds 1936, 4–7). They also accord with S. C. Hawkes's latest suggestions (Hawkes 1973, 148), and with views recently expressed by Haseloff (1974, 5).

[3] See, for example, Cunliffe 1973, 68, 128, and Clarke 1970, 297 (which suggests what is now clearly a false interpretation of buckle 92).

[4] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 12.

[5] See below, p. 289, and above, pp. 267–9.

[6] Morris 1966, 177, n. 16; 1974, 229.

[7] See addendum G.

[8] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 21–34. S. C. Hawkes herself never explicitly described Type-I and Type-II buckles as Germanic, calling them 'British-made' (ibid. 31–3).

to the continental metalwork wrongly thought to have Germanic affinities, and Type-I and Type-II buckles known from Anglo-Saxon graves are seen as confirmation of this. The situation is thus reached where three types of buckle with an exclusively British distribution (Types IA, IB, and IIA)[1] are postulated to have been worn only by people alien to Britain, at a time when their very presence in this country was at most limited.[2] The situation is absurd; the continental basis of the argument is false and the occurrence of the buckles in Anglo-Saxon graves is no more significant than the discovery there of Roman coins. Furthermore, there is now evidence to show that at least some of the buckles were worn by British people: Graves 37 and 443 at Lankhills contained Type-IIA buckles (92 and 603), and had a burial rite typical of Romano-British communities in the period 350–70.[3] Ethnic inferences cannot therefore be drawn from these buckles made in Britain any more than they can be drawn about other late Roman belt-fittings.[4]

What positions were occupied in late Roman society by those who wore belts?

The question here is whether belts were military and official dress, or whether they were worn generally. Literary evidence indicates that belts could designate official or military position: such belts were a tangible representation of conferred authority.[5] This may have caused S. C. Hawkes to write that 'belts seem to have been the almost exclusive prerogative of the soldier'.[6] Such a view is, however, difficult to substantiate at least so far as the British material is concerned. Many belt-fittings come from rural and seemingly quite non-military sites, such as East Grimstead (Wilts.), Frocester (Glos.), Woodeaton (Oxon.), Woodyates (Dorset), and Cold Kitchen Hill (Wilts.).[7] Another point is that among free Germans, belts with buckles were worn by women as well as men, and it is no doubt for this reason that buckles have been found in early fifth-century Anglo-Saxon female graves at Mucking[8] and Dorchester on Thames.[9] In these circumstances, the evidence cannot warrant the assumption that all belts were military or official. The onus of proof should therefore be shifted, so that any military or official status for belts has to be proved, not assumed.

What belts were official or military? We have already noted that there was a continuous development from the early fourth-century belt fastened with a ring and studs seen on the Arch of Constantine to the wide two-strap belts such as that in Grave 376 at Lankhills.[10] Until about 370 these belts had the propeller-shaped stiffeners seen on the Arch of Constantine; Keller and others have argued that such belts were military.[11] This is consistent with the belt on the Arch of Constantine, for it is worn with armour,[12] and it is also supported by the distribution of the stiffeners, which in Britain, for example, have mainly been found on military sites.[13] If this is accepted it should follow that the later two-strap belts with rectangular stiffeners also belonged to soldiers. Many of these belts are known from cemeteries near forts, some have been discovered in graves with weapons, and their distribution is confined to frontier areas.[14] It is not possible to prove—and never will be—that soldiers exclusively wore them,

[1] For that distribution, see Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 9, and Hawkes 1974, Figs. 4 and 5.

[2] For the Germanic presence in fourth-century Britain see below, pp. 401–3. Cf. also pp. 282 and 284.

[3] See above, Table 21 and pp. 173–4, and below, pp. 360–1.

[4] Cf. Simpson 1976, 204–6. Simpson rightly points out that 92 cannot be regarded as Germanic. But he errs in saying that Type-IIA buckles are widely distributed through the empire and belonged to belts with propeller stiffeners. He is confusing Type-IIA buckles with the continental forms they imitate. See above, pp. 273–6.

[5] Jones 1964, 566.

[6] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 28.

[7] See above for discussion of the finds from these sites.

[8] Hawkes 1974, 387.

[9] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 1, No. 16.

[10] See above, pp. 267–9.

[11] L'Orange and von Gerkan 1939, 138, Taf. 33*a*.

[12] Keller 1971, 67.

[13] See above, p. 285 and addendum F. Richborough and Maryport have produced stiffeners from several belts, while other sites have produced only single examples.

[14] Ypey 1969, Abb. 21.

but it is inherently likely that this was so, especially since it is difficult, although not impossible, to think of a non-military context for such uncomfortable and showy objects. If this is so, Grave 376, with its wide belt, will have been the grave of an active, or perhaps retired, soldier.

The rosette-attachments, strap-slides, terminal-fittings, and stiffeners which were attached to the wide belts should presumably indicate the presence of soldiers when found alone. So too should the lavish Type-IVA buckles and the decorative plates associated with them. Is the same true of the Type-IIIA buckles with which the simpler versions of the late two-strap belts were always fitted? Grave-finds show that these did not always form part of two-strap belts. Many of the single-strap belts to which they were attached were, however, wide and elaborate and it is hard to argue that their function differed sufficiently from that of the two-strap belts to suggest that they were non-military. In Britain, three of the four Type-IIIA buckles listed by S. C. Hawkes from settlement sites come from the Saxon-Shore forts of Bradwell (Essex) and Richborough (Kent).[1] The balance of probability must therefore be that most of these buckles were indeed military.

It remains open whether belts fitted with other kinds of buckle and strap-end were official or military. We have already noted the finds from rural sites and Anglo-Saxon female graves, and these suggest that many were not. Some positive observations can, however, be made about the hinged 'dolphin'-buckles of Type IIA. We have seen that in construction and form these imitate the continental buckles which fastened the two-strap belts with propeller-stiffeners.[2] The closeness of this imitation suggests that the single-strap belts with Type-IIA buckles were themselves related to the two-strap belts. Such a possibility gains some support from the four rings, perhaps equivalents of rosette-attachments, with which **603**, a Type-IIA buckle, was associated.[3] If the belts with Type-IIA buckles indeed had these affinities, the most logical reason would be that the men who wore them had some military connection, which would be consistent with the knives found at Lankhills with **92** and **603**.[4]

What might this military connection have been? It is unlikely to have involved the regular imperial army;[5] as we have seen, the army is to be associated with the two-strap belts with propeller-stiffeners, and their successors. In any case, members of the army may well have moved from province to province. Their equipment, presumably, they will have taken with them, thus widely distributing any locally produced belts and buckles, and not leaving them confined to a single region as the Type-IIA buckles are. It has to be remembered too that Type-IIA buckle-loops are absent on Hadrian's Wall and in Saxon-Shore forts.[6] Moreover, when the buckles reached their *floruit* in Britain, they were probably not merely local versions of types generally current; instead, the types they imitate were out of fashion, for on the Continent belts had become wider and Type-III and -IV buckles had been adopted.[7] Even allowing for the activities of local workshops, it is hard to envisage such a difference as this represents in military uniform to either side of the Channel.

These factors, together, suggest that the wearers of the belts were a British force. This would be consistent with the funerary rite of the two graves at Lankhills in which they were found, for that was native. If so, Britain may have been the only frontier area in Europe with such a force, for although late Roman military equipment was certainly imitated elsewhere, these imitations seem nowhere to be so numerous as the Type-IIA buckles, so typologically consistent, and so close in construction and form

[1] Hawkes and Dunning **1961, 59–60.**

[2] See above, pp. 275–6.

[3] For these rings, see above, p. 285.

[4] The belt in Lankhills Grave **55**, apparently fastened with a ring and studs and associated with a knife, should be noted here. It could be a copy of regular military belts with propeller stiffeners fastened with a ring and studs, and could thus anticipate belts with Type-IIA buckles. This must remain conjectural, however, because so little of the belt survived.

[5] Stevens (1971) and Frere (1971, 18–19) have identified these and other buckles with the comitatensian army.

[6] Hawkes 1974, Fig. 2. The plate fragment shown at Richborough (Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XXXV, **103**) could have belonged to a continental-type buckle.

[7] See above, p. 277; see also addendum C.

to their military prototypes. Why should Britain be in this way unique? As both Frere and Stevens have pointed out, Britain is distinguished in the *Notitia Dignitatum* from all other parts of the empire because the insignia of its *vicarius* are not peaceful maidens, but fortified citadels, symbols otherwise appropriate to military officials.[1] This would seem to imply that the *vicarius* was a military commander. Is it reasonable to identify his troops, an exceptional force within the empire, with the Type-IIA buckles, also an unusual phenomenon, and to suggest that the belts to which the buckles belonged were worn by his soldiers? Since the *vicarius* governed the civil and not the military population, troops under his command would probably have been recruited from among the people he ruled. This is what Stevens suggested, and it is entirely consistent with the two Lankhills graves with Type-IIA buckles. Furthermore these recruits will surely have served in civil zones of Britain, in which the Type-IIA buckles are concentrated, and not in the military zone, where the buckles are absent. In this way, does not the *Notitia* provide an explanation for the Type-IIA buckles? The evidence of **92** and **603** from Lankhills suggests that any such force was created by soon after the middle of the fourth century. The *Notitia Dignitatum* and some of the late buckles indicate it lasted until after A.D. 400.[2]

Belts and belt-fittings will clearly have much to tell us about late Roman military arrangements. So far as Britain is concerned, three points have emerged already. First, the propeller-stiffeners on Hadrian's Wall and at Richborough (Kent) and Camerton (Som.)[3] indicate the presence of regular troops in the early and middle parts of the fourth century. Second, the later two-strap belts and their fittings, distributed among the Saxon-Shore forts,[4] towns,[5] and rural sites,[6] show that regular troops were widely scattered in southern and eastern Britain around A.D. 400. Third, the Type-IIA buckles point to a native force, raised *c.* 350 and under the command of the *vicarius*, active in the lowland zone in the later fourth century.[7]

[1] Frere 1967, 359; Stevens 1940, 148–9.

[2] Such a force can perhaps be related to the bastions added to town walls in *c.* 340–70. These bastions are often regarded as representing urban self-defence and are perhaps a physical manifestation of the *vicarius*'s insignia. The buckles, the *vicarius*, and the bastions have been equated in previous discussions of fourth-century defensive measures (Frere 1967, 359; Hawkes 1974, 390).

[3] See above, p. 285.

[4] Richborough and Bradwell (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 59–68).

[5] Winchester (Lankhills Grave 376); Dorchester, Oxon. (Kirk and Leeds 1953); London (the Smithfield buckle: Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 62); Catterick, N.R. Yorks. (ibid.); and Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk (ibid. 65).

[6] Holbury, Wilts. (ibid. 59); ? Snodland, Kent (ibid. 62); ? Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Kent (ibid. 4–5); Shakenoak, Oxon. (Hawkes 1968); and Mucking, Essex (Jones and Jones 1974). Also Bradwell, Bucks. and Hibaldstow, Lincs.: see addendum D.

[7] See addendum G.

10

BEADS AND NECKLACES

BEADS were discovered in sixteen graves at Lankhills. In seven cases they were in the neck region and so must have belonged to necklaces, while elsewhere they were in piles, usually with other personal ornaments, which had accompanied rather than been worn by the dead person. Since it is likely that most of the beads belonged to necklaces, the individual bead collections are so referred to here. The beads are mostly glass, but other materials represented include coral, cornelian, amber, bone, and pearl. Eight necklaces were fastened with bronze clasps. Here the beads will first be discussed by material, and the collections or necklaces will then be described by find-number.

i. GLASS BEADS *by* MARGARET GUIDO

The glass beads from Lankhills are the most important known from fourth-century Britain, and they provide a rich and well-dated assemblage with which all future finds of the period will need to be compared. It may seem strange, but it is nevertheless true, that there are remarkably few necklaces of late Roman date from this country, and many of the bead 'necklaces' from old excavations now housed in our museums turn out, on closer study, to be simply miscellaneous and misleading collections of beads of sundry dates and provenances strung together for convenience.

There are a number of questions we need to ask, but very few which we are yet in a position to answer with regard to beads of this period. For instance, where were Roman beads made? Are any factories known? How much variation was there during the Roman period from one part of the empire to another? Can any local varieties be identified so that non-Roman elements can be recognised as having come from any particular region? How long into the fifth century did 'Roman' bead-types continue to be current?

At the beginning of the Roman penetration into the cultural life of the native peoples in various parts of Europe, the local bead-makers continued their production and, in Britain, the majority of first- and early second-century beads may be ascribed to these factories. When they went out of production, some of the beads they had produced may have remained for some decades in circulation as survivals. Soon, however, many of these typically Celtic types passed out of use and a certain dull standardisation was introduced, not only in Britain but elsewhere throughout the empire, so that by much of the third and all the fourth century many bead-types were identical from Spain to eastern Europe, and from North Africa to Britain, for they were traded well beyond the confines of the empire. Apart, however, from these standardised types of beads, we can occasionally recognise quite different ones, different in shape, decoration, and colour, which point to regional production in various parts of Europe, outside the empire.

The glass beads from Lankhills were submitted to me before I had knowledge of the other objects or cultural traits in the cemetery: they are therefore discussed quite impartially.

It is clear that while most graves produced unexceptionable assemblages,[1] certain graves contained glass beads which are abnormal in a Roman context in Britain: these are Graves 40, 323, 333, and 336,

[1] The boat- or kidney-shaped bead in necklace 215 (Grave 199) is comparatively unusual, but it has a few parallels in Britain and elsewhere.

all belonging to the second half of the fourth century. In addition the use of pierced canine-teeth pendants in Grave 450 and the cornelian beads in Grave 63 reveal a non-Roman practice during the same period.[1]

The green truncated conical beads from Graves 40 (28) and 333 (315) are not easy to parallel from Britain, although a fairly extensive study of beads of this period has recently been made.[2] Some have, however, been recorded on the Continent.[3] The small greenish shot-like beads from Grave 333 are also so far unparalleled in Britain, although I have noted comparable ones from Gaulish contexts, even if these themselves may prove to be atypical, as glass beads of that culture are still unstudied.

The beads from Grave 323 (436, 443) are of particular interest, since they include some with metal foil enclosed in clear glass, which like those of translucent amber glass, more rarely found, probably originated in Egypt or Syria (some are in the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, from Mostagedda, Faras, and other sites[4]), and were subsequently traded to and possibly imitated in eastern Europe. I know only one factory proved to have been producing them. This was of Hellenistic date, in Rhodes.[5] The immediate origin of the Lankhills beads must await further research; all that we know so far has been discussed by Boon.[6]

The most striking bead from this cemetery, the pear-shaped bead decorated with applied coloured swags and 'eyes', has few parallels from Britain. One (unpublished) comes from Bath, and a related but not identical bead came from the Roman villa at Barnsley, Glos.[7] On the Continent a 'late Roman' example came from the very large and important cemetery mainly of sixth- to seventh-century date from Schretzheim, near Dillingen, by the Danube.[8] Others from the Viking site of Birka (Sweden) were probably derived from the late Roman site close at hand.[9] Fourth-century examples can be quoted from two Romanian cemeteries at Tîrgşor[10] and Mogoşani,[11] and there may be more from south German sites.[12] Trade in beads between the Baltic area and the Black Sea has recently been discussed.[13]

The likely explanation for these beads is that some non-Roman peoples began producing reinterpretations of their old traditional types. In this instance the superstitious belief that the 'eye' decoration warded off the evil eye and protected the owner from some dreaded fate was still latent in the minds of Celtic craftsmen: they had forgotten their old designs, but still retained the idea.

From Grave 336, apart from the metal-foil beads of the type already referred to (363), there are also some segmented beads with rectangular segments instead of the more normal globular ones (364). Where these originated is obscure at present, but it may be of interest to note that the rectangular shape had become commoner by the fifth century.

Between the third and fifth centuries the native peoples, group by group as political conditions permitted, began to reassert their local cultures after the emulation of the Roman way of life was no longer felt to be desirable, when, in fact, the very structure of the empire was beginning to crumble. So, in the fourth century it would be surprising not to find certain non-Roman elements side by side with the standardised Roman ones. This is precisely what we do find at Lankhills. There are, as already observed, a number of beads of non-Roman inspiration from the cemetery, but the difficulty at present

[1] See further below, pp. 294–7.

[2] Guido 1978.

[3] See, for example, some of the beads from Hungary illustrated in Párducz 1950.

[4] See, *inter alia*, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, 12 (1925), 98.

[5] Davidson Weinberg 1969.

[6] Boon 1966; 1977; see addendum H.

[7] A bead which is perhaps of a related type comes from Grave 29 at Petersfinger (Wilts.). It is cylindrical, of 'black' opaque glass, with red trails. See Leeds and Shortt 1953, 25, Pl. III, 104.

[8] Ursula Koch, *Das Reihengräberfeld bei Schretzheim* (Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit, A, xiii, Berlin, 1977), 215, Farbtaf. 5, R3. I am grateful to Dr. Koch for information prior to publication.

[9] Arbman 1943, 300, Taf. 120, Nos. 6b and 6c.

[10] Diaconu 1965, Pls. CXIV, 3, CXVI, 19, CXXXVIII, 6.

[11] Diaconu 1969, Abb. 17, No. 1.

[12] See, for example, Garscha 1970, Typentafel N, 119.

[13] *Bulletin archéologique polonais*, 39 (1975), 297–300.

is to determine their source of origin. This difficulty is made the harder owing to our lack of knowledge, for such is our ignorance of glass beads in the Roman period that it must be emphasised that we hardly know one bead factory of this date in Europe; we know less about their production than we do about Celtic beads of the Iron Age, and far less than about glass vessels.

Most of the glass beads not selected for notice above were widely diffused throughout the empire, although not many have been closely dated. During recent decades some continental scholars have gradually realised the potential importance of beads in the archaeological record. Most of the methodical discussions of beads have come from central and eastern European countries, and consequently the parallels which I am able to quote for Lankhills may, as greater knowledge accrues, give a too facile impression that such peoples as the Burgundians, Alemanni, Sarmatians, Dacians, etc., represented the main intrusive groups which reached Britain in any numbers in the fourth and early fifth centuries.

The Krefeld-Gellep cemetery[1] and Keller's study of late Roman graves in South Bavaria[2] are of primary importance, and to other sources already mentioned may be added T. Eck's study of Gallo-Roman graves,[3] and many shorter excavation reports in national periodicals, some of which are referred to elsewhere in this book. At present, owing to our almost complete ignorance of France, Italy, Spain, and many other areas of Europe, it would be unwise, on the evidence of glass beads alone, to claim that certain types belonged exclusively to any one region. Clearly they must be studied together with non-glass beads and other finds from the graves, and then interpreted for their historical significance. Only then can it be guessed whether they reflect trade contacts, spoils brought home from overseas wars, or actual movements of troops, colonists, or specialised craftsmen, increasingly present in the period preceding the Anglo-Saxon incursions and settlement.

ii. NON-GLASS BEADS

Coral beads

Coral beads were included in necklaces **140** (Grave 117, Fig. 75a), **182** (Grave 183), **363** and **365** (Grave 336, Fig. 90, **363**m, **365**), **425** (Grave 337, Fig. 91a), and **560** (Grave 438, Fig. 98a, b). The graves containing these necklaces all seem to have been relatively rich: Graves 117, 183, and 438 contained ivory bracelets, and Graves 336, 337, and 438 silver rings. Coral beads may therefore have been an expensive item. The five graves are variously dated to *c.* 330–80.

Coral beads seem to have been comparatively rare in late Roman Britain, but necklaces from Cirencester[4] and from a very rich grave at York should be noted.[5] On the Continent, coral beads were discovered at Vermand (Aisne),[6] but they have not been found at Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.),[7] or in fourth-century graves in South Bavaria[8] or *Pannonia*.[9] Outside the empire they seemingly do not occur in Poland,[10] but are found in Hungary.[11]

Cornelian beads

Necklace **52** in Grave 63 consisted of nine cornelian beads, eight faceted (Fig. 70a) and the ninth flat and rectangular, its sides bevelled to meet in an arris (Fig. 70b). Grave 63 was datable to *c.* 370–80 and it was the only Lankhills grave to contain cornelian beads.

[1] Pirling 1966; 1974.
[2] Keller 1971, 85–94.
[3] Eck 1891.
[4] Information from Mrs. **M. Guido.**
[5] Wellbeloved 1842, 109.
[6] Eck 1891, 234.
[7] Cf. Pirling 1966, 116–18; 1974, 83–4.
[8] Cf. Keller 1971, 85.
[9] Cf. Lányi 1972, 182–3.
[10] Cf. Mączyńska 1972, 388.
[11] Cf. Párducz 1950.

Cornelian beads are not otherwise known from late Roman Britain. Nor can any be quoted from Gaul, the Rhineland,[1] or South Bavaria.[2] In Austria none were published from Salurn or Bregenz,[3] but two, one faceted and the other with bevelled sides, formed part of a necklace in Grave 43 in the Espelmayrfeld at *Lauriacum*.[4] In *Pannonia*, faceted and cylindrical cornelian beads are known, but they seem to have been comparatively unusual;[5] none was found at Ságvár.[6] In considering the few examples from *Intercisa*, Alföldi drew attention to their scarcity within the empire, and indicated that they were to be taken as foreign.[7]

Outside the empire, cornelian beads do not seem to have been characteristic of the Germanic areas;[8] nor are they later found in Anglo-Saxon graves in this country.[9] Likewise, they are not apparently typical of Bohemia[10] or Poland, where beads of this period have been well studied.[11] In the Hungarian plain and the Black Sea region, however, cornelian beads occur in abundance. Both types of bead seen in **52** occur in graves in Romania,[12] but they are above all typical of Sarmatian-period cemeteries in Hungary,[13] where they might almost be described as a type fossil.

The faceted beads in **52** are clearly equivalent to faceted glass beads and as such they are paralleled in shape throughout the Roman world. This is not the case with the flattened bead with arris sides. Beads of this shape in glass, cornelian, or any other material, cannot be quoted from within the empire in France,[14] the Rhineland,[15] South Bavaria,[16] or even it seems in Hungary,[17] but beyond the frontiers they are extremely common in the Hungarian plain and the Black Sea region, where they are made from many kinds of material.[18] Apart from **52**, only two other beads of this shape have been found in Britain, one in a grave at *Verulamium* (Herts.),[19] and the other at Chesters (Northumberland), the latter regarded as Sarmatian.[20]

In the light of these observations, what can be said about **52**? It is the only fourth-century necklace entirely of cornelian beads known from the north-west frontier provinces; individually, cornelian beads are rare north-west of the Danube frontier in Hungary; and one of the beads of **52** seems to be of a shape characteristic only of the Hungarian plain and the Black Sea regions. There can be little doubt in these circumstances that the Lankhills necklace did not come from anywhere nearer Britain than Hungary.[21]

Amber bead

One annular bead of amber formed part of necklace **436** in Grave 323, datable to *c.* 350–70 (Fig. 86k). Amber beads are not common as Romano-British finds, but a similar example comes from Icklingham (Suffolk).[22] On the Continent, within the empire, amber beads were found at Vermand (Aisne),[23] and a few come from Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.).[24] Further south-east, none are known

[1] For some negative evidence, see Böhme 1974, 40–4; Eck 1891, 233–8; Pirling 1966, 116–18; 1974, 83–4; and Mertens and Van Impe 1971.

[2] Cf. Keller 1971, 85.

[3] Noll 1963, 67–9, **Taf. 12; Schwerzenbach and** Jacobs 1910, 39.

[4] Kloiber 1962, 56, Taf. XV, G.43, Nos. 2 and 3.

[5] Lányi 1972, 182, Abb. 63, Nos. 8 and 13; Alföldi 1957, 443.

[6] Burger 1966.

[7] Alföldi 1957, 410.

[8] Cf. Böhme 1974, 40.

[9] Two hitherto unremarked exceptions come from a seemingly very late grave at Saffron Walden (Essex): Baldwin Brown 1915, 171, Pl. XVI, 2.

[10] Svoboda 1965, 313–14 and 316.

[11] Mączyńska 1972, 388.

[12] Diaconu 1965, 108, Pl. CXXXVIII, 16, 18; 1969, 389.

[13] Many examples are illustrated in Párducz 1950.

[14] Cf., for example, Eck 1891, Pl. XXI.

[15] Cf. Pirling 1966, Abb. 13.

[16] Cf. Keller 1971, Abb. 27.

[17] Cf. Lányi 1972, Abb. 63; Alföldi 1957, Abb. 94.

[18] Examples are illustrated in Párducz 1950.

[19] Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 214, Fig. 47, No. 67a; see further below, pp. 295–6.

[20] Sulimirski 1970, 176, Fig. 66.

[21] For the implications of this, see below, pp. 377–89, esp. p. 384.

[22] Liversidge 1968, Fig. 52a.

[23] Eck 1891, 236.

[24] Pirling 1966, 116–18, Abb. 13, Nos. 28–32.

from South Bavaria,[1] and only a few from Hungary.[2] Outside the empire these beads seem to have been common almost everywhere,[3] and it is thus not surprising that many occur in Anglo-Saxon graves. Amber beads take many different forms both within and outside the empire, some not unlike the Lankhills example.[4] It is unclear whether amber beads found in Britain should be regarded as not Romano-British.

Bone beads

Two faceted bone beads formed part of necklace **363** in Grave 336, datable to *c.* 350–70. Bone beads are liable to decay and when they do survive in a grave, they may be confused with human remains. Perhaps for these reasons, it is not possible to quote any other British examples. On the Continent, bone and possibly horn or ivory beads of various shapes have been recorded at Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.),[5] and from South Bavaria,[6] Hungary,[7] and Poland.[8] Exact parallels to the Lankhills beads cannot, however, be cited.

Pierced canine teeth

Two pierced canine teeth, **611** and **612**, were discovered in Grave 450, datable to *c.* 390–410. They are the left upper and right lower canine of an unidentifiable animal.[9] Teeth such as these seem not to have been discovered elsewhere in a late Romano-British funerary context, nor on late Romano-British sites. Likewise, they are not found in fourth-century continental graves within the empire, with the exception of Grave 27 at Mayen (Rheinland-Pfalz). This grave, which is broadly contemporary with Grave 450, also contained a late fourth-century glass, a hand-made bowl, a ring, and a spindle-whorl.[10] The canine probably belonged to a wolf, and as it had a bronze ring threaded through it, it was apparently a pendant. The hand-made bowl is indisputably a free German object, perhaps coming from just east of the Rhine.[11]

The association of the tooth with this bowl is not surprising, for pierced teeth are found throughout barbarian Europe during the migration period,[12] an early example coming from Bad Lippspringe near Paderborn (Nordrh.-Westf.).[13] In England, the teeth occur in Anglo-Saxon graves, where they seem to be only one among many related types.[14] These include a pierced eagle-talon from Grave 43 at Alfriston (Sussex),[15] a gold-mounted beaver-incisor and a pierced horse-tooth from Castle Bytham (Lincs.),[16] a pierced boar's tusk from Grave 2, Purwell Farm, Cassington (Oxon.),[17] and another boar's tusk, with a bronze binding, from Grave 7, Londesborough (E.R. Yorks.).[18] Pierced canines like **611** and **612** have been found in Grave 76 at Abingdon (Berks.),[19] at Cassington (Oxon.),[20] in Grave 27 at Wheatley (Oxon.),[21] at Bricklehampton (Worcs.),[22] in Graves 50 and 191 at Sleaford (Lincs.),[23] in Grave

[1] Keller 1971, 85.
[2] Lányi 1972, 182–3, Abb. 63.
[3] e.g. Germany (Böhme 1974, 41–2), Poland (Mączyńska 1972, 388), and Hungary (Párducz 1950).
[4] See, e.g., Pirling 1966, Abb. 13, Nos. 30–2; Lányi 1972, Abb. 63, No. 50; Mączyńska 1972, Table II, No. 1; and many of the beads illustrated in Párducz 1950.
[5] Pirling 1966, 18, Abb. 13, No. 33.
[6] Keller 1971, 85, Taf. 33, No. 5.
[7] Lányi 1972, 182–3, Abb. 63.
[8] Mączyńska 1972, 388.
[9] Mrs. Pauline Sheppard (Winchester Research Unit animal bone project) kindly examined the teeth.
[10] Haberey 1942, 282–3, Abb. 22.
[11] I am grateful to Mr. Malcolm Todd for discussing the published drawing of this pot.
[12] Cf. Evison 1969*b*, 167.
[13] Lange 1959, 299–300, Abb. 1.
[14] Swanton 1966, 285; Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 32–3.
[15] Griffith and Salzman 1914, 25.
[16] Akerman 1855, Pl. XII, 1 and 5.
[17] Leeds and Riley 1942, Fig. 15f.
[18] Swanton 1966, 285, Fig. 8, No. 6.
[19] Leeds and Harden 1936, 45, Pl. XV.
[20] Leeds and Riley 1942, Pl. VIB.
[21] Leeds 1916, 54, Fig. 6. The necklace in question included two pierced canines and a pierced boar tusk.
[22] Meaney 1964, 280.
[23] Thomas 1887, 391, 410, and Pl. XXIV, Fig. 5.

37 at Great Chesterford (Essex),[1] and possibly at Lackford (Suffolk).[2] At Wheatley, Bricklehampton, Cassington, Great Chesterford, and in Sleaford Grave 50, the canines were part of a necklace, while at Abingdon and in Sleaford Grave 191 the teeth formed separate pendants.

This evidence undoubtedly implies that **611** and **612** are not Romano-British but Germanic in origin. Moreover, they have good parallels near at hand, both in Anglo-Saxon graves in this country and in at least two roughly contemporary burials on the Continent. In these circumstances, we are prima facie entitled to postulate an Anglo-Saxon origin for them.[3]

Pewter and glass disc

This object, **613**, was found with the pierced canine teeth in Grave 450. It consists of some pewter fragments, now unrecognisable, with a green glass chip in the middle. The pewter probably formed a small disc, of a kind for which moulds have been found at Lansdown, near Bath,[4] and the glass would then have formed a centre-piece. The object would have been suspended by a loop attached to the pewter. What appear to be exact and contemporary parallels have been found at Ickham (Kent).[5] Several continental graves have produced necklaces which include a similar ornamental metal disc, for example Grave 67 at Oudenburg (Belgium).[6]

iii. FASTENINGS

Eight necklaces had bronze fastenings: **28** (Grave 40), **140** (Grave 117), **182** (Grave 183), **363** and **364** (Grave 336), **399** (Grave 351), **424** (Grave 326), and **560** (Grave 438). All were in graves datable within the period 350–80.

Five of the fastenings, **28, 140, 182, 399,** and **424,** are of the hook-and-eye form, each part made from a length of bronze wire, bent to form a loop at one end and a hook or eye at the other, and sometimes embellished with a sleeve. The fastenings of **140** and **399** are relatively elaborate, and those of **28** and **424** simple. A sixth fastening, belonging to **364,** was probably similar but is now much decayed. Of the two remaining fastenings, **560** is essentially also of the same form, differing merely by having two hooks instead of a hook and an eye. The fastening for **363** is, however, rather different, being made from two triangular bronze plates, which develop into a hook at one end and have a hole at the other.

iv. CATALOGUE *by* MARGARET GUIDO

In this catalogue the beads are described by find-number, a single number being assigned to each necklace. The beads are described by type, and after each type-description, there is a small letter in brackets, which refers to Figs. 67–100. Necklaces **363** and **436** are illustrated in colour on Plate *1a*.

28, Grave 40 (350–370/90). Over 100 beads with a fastening, found in the neck region (cf. Fig. 62). The fastening is a delicate hook-and-eye catch. The beads are mostly small, blue, translucent, and biconical (a and b); a few of the same form are translucent yellow and one bead is small, blue, and irregular (c). The only other type is a single translucent green truncated conical rectangular-based bead, a little under 10 mm in height (d).

52, Grave 63 (370–80). Nine cornelian beads, found in the neck region (cf. Fig. 62). Eight of the beads are square or rectangular with faceted corners (a), and one is rectangular, with sides bevelled to meet in an arris (b).[7]

[1] Evison 1969*b*, Fig. 5, No. 4h.
[2] Lethbridge 1951, Fig. 14, No. 50. 71.
[3] See further below, pp. 389–98.
[4] See above, p. 207.
[5] Information from Mr. David Brown.
[6] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, Abf. 34.
[7] See above, p. 295.

85, Grave 100, fill (330–70). About 165 small beads, found in a pile in the fill with bracelets and pins (cf. Fig. 66). A number of small, globular beads (a), of varying sizes, but under 3 mm in diameter, in translucent blue, translucent yellow, and opaque green glass; a number of very small, blue or yellow biconical beads (b); and broken segments of now almost colourless segmented beads (c), which once contained a layer of 'gold' foil between two layers of clear glass. The opaque green beads include little globular beads mentioned above, but also some tiny 'chip' beads of irregular form, and some badly made short round-sectioned cylinder beads (d), and cut segments of the same, and a few badly made attempts to produce hexagonal-sectioned beads (e). There are, as well, a few little irregular square-sectioned beads in blue glass.

140, Grave 117 (350–70). Beads and a catch, in a pile with seven bracelets and two rings (cf. Fig. 58). The bronze catch is well preserved and is of the 'crook' form, not uncommon on late Roman necklaces. Forty-two of the beads (a) are made of very small rectangular pieces of faded coral about 3 mm long. One is inside a hexagonal bead. Also, twenty-two small squarish translucent blue beads (b), about 3 mm square with a diamond-shaped facet on each side; five very small annular (c) and two little cylinder (d) beads of opaque green glass; eight translucent green, rather hexagonal-sectioned, beads (e), and one little irregular bead of the same glass; three little whitish blue translucent irregular beads with flattish sections (f); and one very abraded, now almost colourless bead of irregular form (g).

182 and **192,** Grave 183 (350–70). Found in a pile with fourteen bracelets (cf. Fig. 58).

182. This is a necklace on wire. It consists of thirty-nine beads and a delicate crook-shaped hook and catch. The beads include small globular beads (a) in translucent bottle-green or yellow glass; very small pale translucent cobalt-blue or yellowish cylinder beads (b); very small blue or yellow biconical beads (c); one larger globular bead in translucent natural greenish-blue glass (d), about 6·5 mm in diameter with a slight 'collar' at each end; a few shapeless little glass beads (e) of varying colours; and one irregular coral bead (not drawn).

192. Sixty-nine very small biconical beads (a and b), of which forty-three are translucent blue glass, and twenty-six yellow.

215, Grave 199 (310–30). Found under the left hip (cf. Fig. 60). Sixty tiny irregular cylinder beads in opaque green glass (a) and one blue one (b); thirty-one small biconical beads in translucent blue glass (c), and one in translucent reddish amber colour; one translucent green hexagonal-sectioned little bead (f); one 'kidney-' or 'boat-shaped' bead in light translucent blue (g); two small irregular oval beads in translucent blue glass like the biconical beads (h); one double-segmented bead (j) of clear glass enclosing 'gold' foil, and five fragments of similar beads (k); five very small globular glass beads (l), of which four are blue and one is bright yellow; and one cylinder bead in translucent green glass (m).

248, Grave 188 (310–350/70). Found near the legs, with rings and bracelets scattered elsewhere in the grave (cf. Fig. 60). Ninety-five mostly small translucent biconical beads (a and b), of which seventy are light yellowish and twenty-five blue; six translucent blue globular beads (c); two small opaque green cylinder sections (d) (i.e. cut off a longer cylinder); and four cylinder beads (e), three of greenish-blue translucent glass, and the other of translucent blue glass.

269, Grave 250 (330–50). Two small opaque emerald-green cuts from a cylinder bead. With other grave-goods at the feet, outside the coffin (cf. Fig. 51).

315, Grave 333 (390–410). Found around the neck. 123 tiny globular opaque greenish-brown beads about 2 mm in diameter, like small shot, and perhaps originally in long segments, but now broken into component globules (a). Also twelve sections of cylinder beads, wider at one end than the other; one

is black (b), three emerald-green (c and d), three translucent blue (e), and three a brightly iridescent gold colour.

353, 363, 364, and **365, Grave 336 (350–70). Four sets of beads, three at the neck, and one, 353,** near the feet (cf. Fig. 62).

353. In a pile at the feet with two coins and two finger-rings. The latter perhaps suggest that **353** was a bracelet. Threaded with a terminal made of fine double bronze wire loops, with a biconical blue bead between (a); eighteen other blue biconical beads varying in size and intensity of colour (b); one tiny opaque annular bead, bronze-stained coral (c); one bright translucent blue bead 5 mm in diameter with a very small perforation (d); one rather irregular pale translucent yellow annular bead 3 mm in diameter, possibly a badly made biconical (e); one long drop-shaped bead of almost opaque bottle-green glass 10 mm long (f); one small blue-green translucent bead, showing signs of having been wound (g).

363, 364, and **365.** These beads were all found at the neck (cf. Fig. 62 and Plate XIII*c*). One set consisted of large and irregular beads **(363),** a second of small and similar glass beads **(364),** and the third of small coral beads **(365).** The two former sets were disposed in a circle, with a diameter of roughly 90 mm. The large beads were not separated by a regular number of small ones; rather the two types tended to be concentrated together in specific places. This indicates two necklaces, **363** and **364.** The coral beads, **365,** were in a cluster in the western part of the area enclosed by **363** and **364,** an arrangement not immediately suggestive of a necklace. They may have been a necklace out of position or some kind of hair-ornament. Associated with the three sets of beads were two bronze catches, one large and one small, and neither fastened when found. The larger catch probably belonged with **363,** and the smaller one, which is fragmentary, with **364.**

363. The order in which these beads were strung was preserved in the ground. They are shown as such on Plate I*a*. The bronze clasp is an unusual type, being notched, and perforated for the thread. One small globular bead, with 'silver' foil enclosed (a); three shattered beads originally with foil enclosed; one glittery brownish-yellow globular bead 4 mm in diameter with 'gold' foil enclosed (b); one light translucent green small biconical bead (c); one translucent emerald-green glass square-sectioned bead 7 mm long (d); one long translucent blue cylinder bead 23 mm long and 4 mm wide (e); one similar bead, but greyer blue, 11 mm long and 4 mm wide; one almost opaque bright emerald-green bead, also similar, 15 mm long and 4 mm wide and with a narrower perforation than the blue ones (f); one opalescent pale blue heart-shaped bead with a pear-shaped section, 6 mm long (g); two small bone beads with square sections and diamond-facets (h); two larger bright blue translucent beads 7 mm long with diamond-facets (j and k); one hexagonal-sectioned bright blue bead, length 5 mm (l); and one coral bead, 4 mm in diameter, whose size indicates it belongs to **363, not 365** (m).

364. Two fragmentary bronze catch-plates. Many small rather rectangular sections of originally segmented beads in green or blue glass. There are over 100 of these small beads but they must have represented fewer when unbroken.

365. About thirty-five coral beads, 5·0–11·0 mm long, and 2·0–2·5 mm in diameter.

399, Grave 351 (370–90). Found at the neck (cf. Fig. 62). A well-preserved bronze 'crook'-type clasp. Thirty opaque emerald-green short lengths of cylinder beads (a), one of which is unusually thin (b); nine in the same glass with hexagonal sections (c); and twenty-seven varying sized cylinder beads in translucent blue glass (d).

424, Grave 326 (350–80). Six beads and a catch found at the neck (cf. Fig. 62). The catch consists of the remains of a twisted bronze ring-terminal with a hook. One minute translucent green globular bead (a); one translucent blue square-sectioned bead with diamond-facets (b) and another similar in translucent bottle-green (c); two dark green translucent hexagonal-sectioned beads about 8 mm long (d and e); and another similar in translucent pale blue-green, now very iridescent (f).

425, Grave 337 (330–50). Found in a pile at the feet, with bracelets and a ring (cf. Fig. 60). Over fifty beads including twenty-six long, roughly rectangular, little coral beads (a), some with slight grooves round the ends; twenty very small translucent amber-yellow biconical beads (b) and one similar translucent blue bead; four very small blue globular beads (c), one of which is straight-sided like a section of a cylinder bead (d); and fourteen small green globular beads (as c).

436 and **443**, Grave 323 (350–70). Two groups of beads found in the neck region (cf. Fig. 62). Their arrangement suggested separate necklaces.

436. The order in which these beads were strung was preserved, and they are shown as such on Plate 1*a*. Two clear yellow globular beads encasing 'gold' foil (a), one larger than the other and both showing end collars where broken off; seven translucent hexagonal-sectioned beads of various sizes, six of which (b, c, and d) are green (two with signs of external gilding), and one blue (e); one large pear-shaped bead in dark brown translucent glass ornamented with opaque white swags enclosing yellow-ringed brown eyes, the whole then overlaid with opaque red loops (f); one translucent blue annular bead 9 mm in diameter with wide perforation (g); two square-sectioned diamond-faceted blue beads (h) and one similar in translucent bottle-green (j); and one very irregular, roughly annular, amber bead (k).

443. Nineteen little globular beads of clear white glass (a), many showing traces of 'gold' foil, probably complete as they now appear, for they show no signs of the 'collars' at the ends which occur when these beads were units of a longer segmented bead of several segments; one badly made globular bead in translucent green glass (b); one rich brownish-red translucent bead with 'gold' foil enclosed, as **436** (a), but, on evidence of position seems more likely to have belonged with **443**; twenty-four translucent glass biconical beads (c), of which twenty are blue, two green, and two yellow; ten very minute cylinder beads (d), of which nine are green and one blue; and one larger blue translucent section of a cylinder bead 2 mm wide and 5 mm in diameter (e).

560 and **583**, Grave 438 (360–370/80). Many beads found among a pile of bracelets and rings (cf. Fig. 58). On the evidence of a few instances where several had retained their arrangement through corrosion to an iron bracelet, they have been divided into two groups. There was a single bronze two-hook clasp, on Fig. 98 arbitrarily assigned to **560**.

560. A number of coral beads (a and b), some stained greenish from contiguity to bronze; many small cube-shaped translucent blue beads (c); and one pearl (d).

583. 138 little opaque green biconical beads (a), several cube-shaped (b and c) and one section of a cylinder bead (d), all in the same glass except for one or two translucent green examples.

611, **612**, and **613**, Grave 450 (390–410). Found at the feet (cf. Fig. 63). **611** and **612** are pierced animal canines.[1] **613** is a fragment from an opaque green glass bead or pinhead, associated with pewter fragments; it was once probably a disc pendant.

[1] See above, p. 296.

11

BRACELETS

DURING the excavations of 1967–72 169 bracelets were found in graves; one was discovered in the topsoil; and four were recovered during the 1961 rescue-observations. This is the second-largest collection of late Roman bracelets from a single British site; it is exceeded only by that from Lydney (Glos.).[1]

Over half the bracelets were definitely deposited during the twenty years 350–70. This means that they provide a wide cross-section of the types then in use, but they only allow limited conclusions about chronological development. More bracelets dated to before *c.* 350 are needed to demonstrate changes over the fourth century as a whole, and others buried after *c.* 370 to illuminate developments towards A.D. 400.

The basic variation in bracelets is in material, cross-section, and fastening. The materials are bronze, iron, jet, shale, ivory, and bone. The cross-sections can be round, rectangular, or multi-strand (cable bracelets), and variable or invariable. The fastenings are either fixed or able to be hooked and unhooked by the wearer, or often they are non-existent, the bracelet being either cut out as a continuous circle, or made with butt-terminals. Here, an attempt will be made to classify bracelets by material, with secondary weight being given to cross-section and fastening.

The bracelets are made of the following materials:

bronze	94	(54 per cent)
bone	42	(24 per cent)
ivory	18	(10 per cent)
shale	10	(6 per cent)
iron	9	(5 per cent)
jet	1	(1 per cent)

There may have been some changes in the popularity of materials during the fourth century. Of the twenty-five bracelets in graves dated to before *c.* 350 or within the period 310–70, ten (40 per cent) were bone, nine (36 per cent) bronze, three (12 per cent) iron, and three (12 per cent) shale. These proportions differ from the sample as a whole in that ivory is absent, bronze is markedly less common, and bone, shale, and iron are more frequent. It may follow that these latter materials were more used in the earlier fourth century.

i. BRONZE BRACELETS

(Fig. 37)

Bronze bracelets are a common type of late Roman object, but they have never been the subject of serious study. The largest collection is from Lydney, where the main decorated types were published by Wheeler.[2] The Lankhills series ranks second in terms of number and variety, but is of greater importance because each piece comes from a closely dated context.

[1] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 82–3.

[2] Ibid. Fig. 17.

Most later fourth-century types are probably represented at Lankhills. Of the twenty bracelets from Lydney illustrated by Wheeler, nine are closely matched at Lankhills, and only two are quite unparalleled in the cemetery.[1] Equally, among the relatively large number of late Roman bracelets found elsewhere in Winchester since 1961, only a few types were not encountered at Lankhills.[2] The Lankhills finds therefore provide a valuable starting-point for a general classification.

The bracelets may be divided into five main groups, defined principally by their cross-section:

Type A: Cable-bracelets.
Type B: Single-strand bracelets, made from a single strand of bronze, with an invariable cross-section.
Type C: Solid bracelets, with a square or circular cross-section.
Type D: Strip bracelets with an invariable D-shaped or rectangular cross-section and continuous repetitive decoration (Fig. 37).
Type E: Bracelets with a variable D-shaped cross-section and panelled decoration leading up to a centre-piece (Fig. 37).

Bracelets of Types A, B, C, and D (Table 34)

Bracelets of these types are presented by sub-type on Table 34, which also gives selected parallels from elsewhere in Britain. These parallels are not exhaustive, but they do show that most types were generally current in this country during the fourth century. As we shall see below, few of them have good continental parallels.

TABLE 34

Types of bronze bracelet

For the counties in which the sites referred to in the last column are situated, see the index.

Type	Lankhills examples	Description	British parallels (for continental parallels, see below, pp. 310–11)
		TYPE A. CABLE-BRACELETS	
		A1. Two-strand cable-bracelets	
A1a	**108** and **111**, Grave 139 (350–70) **143**, Grave **117** (350–70) **259**, Grave **168** (350–70)	Light, with invariable cross-section; two-hook fastening, each hook formed by one strand bent over and the other wound round. **108** smoothed	Numerous, e.g. Gadebridge Park (Neal 1974, Figs. 61, Nos. 164–9, and 65, Nos. 233–40); Leicester (Kenyon 1948, Fig. 83, No. 7); Portchester (26 examples: Cunliffe 1975, 203, No. 26); Shakenoak (Brodribb *et al.* 1971, Fig. 49, No. 100); Stockton Earthworks (Nan Kivell 1927*c*, Pl. III, A); Woodeaton (Kirk 1949, Fig. 4, No. 13); Woodyates (Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXXIII, 7, 8, 10).
A1b	**556**, Grave **369** (370–410)	Heavy, with variable cross-section and butt-terminals	Cf. Type A2b (155)

[1] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17 A and Q.

[2] To be published in Winchester Studies 3, i.

TABLE 34 (*cont.*)

Type	Lankhills examples	Description	British parallels (for continental parallels, see below, pp. 310–11)
		A2. Three-strand cable-bracelets	
A2a	**84**, Grave 100, fill (330–70) **100**, **102**, and **103**, Grave 122 (350–70) **106**, **113**, and **114**, Grave 139 (350–70) **179**, **180**, **183**, **185**, **186**, and **187**, Grave 183 (350–70) **198**, Grave 155 (310–350/70) **238**, Grave 256 (350–70) **245**, **246**, and **249**, Grave 188 (310–70) **301**, topsoil **435**, Grave 323 (350–70)	Light, with invariable cross-section. Fastenings as on Type A1a, except for **249** (fastening with sleeves), **84**, **187** (fastening damaged), **103** (fastening lost). **106**, **113**, **114**, **245**, and **301** closely twisted and smoothed; **100**, **179**, **180**, **183**, **185**, **186**, **187**, and **435** closely twisted, but unsmoothed; **84**, **102**, **103**, **198**, **238**, **246**, and **249** loosely twisted	Cold Kitchen Hill (Nan Kivell 1927*a*, Pl. V, A); East Grimstead (Sumner 1924, Pl. VII, 18); Gloucester (Hassall and Rhodes 1974, Fig. 26, Nos. 10, 11); Richborough (Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XXII, 60); Woodcuts (Pitt Rivers 1887, Pl. XVII, 5); Woodeaton (Kirk 1949, 20, 22). This type seems to be much less common than the two-strand cable-bracelets of Type A1.
A2b	**155**, Grave 143 (350–70)	Heavy, with variable cross-section, and butt-terminals	Cf. Type A1b (**556**), and pieces from Dover (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. CIX, 4), *Margidunum* (Todd 1969, Pl. 4*b*), and Richborough (Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XL, 153).
		A3. Four-strand cable-bracelet	
A3	**647**, Rescue-obs. A	Heavy, with variable cross-section and punched decoration. Terminals lost	
		TYPE B. SINGLE-STRAND BRACELETS, WITH AN INVARIABLE CROSS-SECTION	
		B1. Untwisted single-strand bracelets	
B1a	**188**, Grave 183 (350–70)	Terminals wound round each other to form a makeshift fastening	
B1b	**197**, Grave 155 (310–350/70)	Two-hook fastening	Stockton Earthworks (Nan Kivell 1927*c*, Pl. III, B); Woodcuts (Pitt Rivers 1887, Pl. XVII, 2).
B1c	**239**, Grave 256 (350–70)	Expanding fastening	Gadebridge Park (Neal 1974, Fig. 60, No. 152); *Verulamium* (Frere 1972, Fig. 32, No. 35); Woodeaton (Kirk 1949, Fig. 5, No. 1). Cf. Type C1a and Iron Type B1 (**136**).
B1d	**346**, **347**, **350**, **351**, and **352**, Grave 336 (350–70)	Terminals wound round each other to form a fixed fastening	Stockton Earthworks (Nan Kivell 1927*c*, Pl. III, c); Richborough (Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XLI, 156, which is more elaborate).

TABLE 34 (*cont.*)

Type	Lankhills examples	Description	British parallels (for continental parallels, see below, pp. 310–11)
		B2. 'Twisted' single-strand bracelets	
B2a	**30** and **31**, Grave **40** (350–370/90) **219**, Grave 238 (350–70) **442**, Grave 323 (350–70)	Thin strand, twisted, with hook-and-eye fastening	Portchester (Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 111, No. 25); Rotherley (Pitt Rivers 1888, Pl. CII, 5).
B2b	**319**, Grave 347, fill, ?from Grave 350 (370–90)	Thicker strand, not itself twisted, but decorated with imitation cabling. Hook-and-eye fastening	Woodcuts (Pitt Rivers 1887, Pl. XVIII, 5). Cf. Type C3a and Lydney Type N (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17).
		TYPE C. SOLID BRACELETS WITH A SQUARE OR CIRCULAR CROSS-SECTION	
		C1. Bracelets with a variable square or circular cross-section, undecorated except around the fastening	
C1a	**81** and **88**, Grave 100, fill (330–70) **439**, Grave 323 (350–70) **453** and **454**, Grave 327 (350–70)	Expanding fastening	Portchester (Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 111, No. 24A); Woodcuts (Pitt Rivers 1887, Pl. XVII, 10); London (silver; *London in Roman Times*, Pl. XL, 2); York (gold; *BM Guide* (1951), Fig. 7, No. 10).
C1b	**109**, Grave 139 (350–70) **191**, Grave 183 (350–70) **403** and **406**, Grave 326 (350–80)	Hook-and-eye fastening, on **109** at right-angles to the rest of the bracelet and flanked by faceting	
C1c	**561**, Grave 438 (360–370/80)	**Decorated butt-terminals**	**Cf. Type E2.**
		C2. Decorated bracelets with a variable square or circular cross-section	
C2a	**142**, Grave 117 (350–70)	Hook-and-eye fastening. Decorated with imitation cabling	Richborough (Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XXII, 59; Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XLI, 155); Hadstock (Liversidge 1968, Fig. 55, b).
		C3. Twisted bracelets, with a square cross-section	
C3a	**137**, Grave 137 (330–70)	Punched decoration	
		TYPE D. STRIP-BRACELETS WITH AN INVARIABLE CROSS-SECTION (asterisked examples illustrated on Fig. 37)	
		D1. Cut-out strip-bracelets, with a rectangular cross-section	
D1a	**428** and ***430**, Grave 323 (350–70)	Hook-and-eye fastening. Punched dot decoration	Lydney Type J (punched dots: Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17).

TABLE 34 (*cont.*)

Type	Lankhills examples	Description	British parallels (for continental parallels, see below, pp. 310–11)
D1b	*184, Grave 183 (350–70) 422, Grave 337 (330–50)	Hook-and-eye fastening, with cross-hatching by the eye. Punched-circle decoration. Grooves on 184	Woodyates (cross-hatching: Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXXIII, 3); cf. Lydney Type E (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17), and bracelets from London (*London in Roman Times*, Fig. 31, No. 2), and Portchester (Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 111, Nos. 32, 33).
D1c	*107, Grave 139 (350–70) 370, Grave 326, fill (350–80)	Hook-and-eye fastening. Vertical, feathered, and zig-zag grooved decoration, arranged symmetrically (?) on 107	Bokerly Dyke (Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXIII, 22); Winchester, St. George's Street (Cunliffe 1964, Fig. 24, No. 7); cf. Type E1 and Lydney Types L and K (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17).
D1d	343, Grave 336 (350–70) *437, Grave 323 (350–70)	Lapped fastening. Simple cog-wheel decoration	Gloucester (Hassall and Rhodes 1974, Fig. 26, No. 12); Leicester (Kenyon 1948, Fig. 83, No. 1); Lydney (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17, M); Camerton (Wedlake 1958, Fig. 58, No. 25). Simplified form of Type D1e.
D1e	554, Grave 369 (370–410) *568, Grave 438 (360–370/80)	Riveted lapped fastening. Cog-wheel decoration, with grooves between the cogs	Cirencester (*BM Guide* (1951), Fig. 7, No. 6); Dorchester on Thames, Grave 3 (Kirk and Leeds 1953, Fig. 29, Nos. 2 and 5); Great Chesterford (Liversidge 1968, Fig. 54, b and c); Leicester (Kenyon 1948, Fig. 83, No. 3); Lydney (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17, 58); *Margidunum* (Todd 1969, Pl. 4*b*); Portchester (Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 112, No. 42); *Verulamium* (Lowther 1937, Fig. 2, No. 4).
D1f	*251, Grave 188 (310–70) 648 and 649, Rescue-obs. C	Two-hook fastening on 251; lapped fastenings on 648 and 649. Alternating decoration of bevels and grooves	East Grimstead (Sumner 1924, Pl. VII, 19); Lydney (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17, R).
D1g	*265, Grave 268 (350–70) 375, Grave 322, fill, ? from Grave 321 (350–70)	Lapped fastening (lost on 375). Decorated with cut-out festoons, plain on 265, punched with dots on 375	Bloxham (*JRS*, 24 (1934), 206, Fig. 4); Lydney (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17, F); Portchester (hook-fastening: Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 112, No. 35); Sampford (Liversidge 1968, Fig. 55, a). Cf. Types E1a (525) and E2 (456).

TABLE 34 (*cont.*)

Type	Lankhills examples	Description	British parallels (for continental parallels, see below, pp. 310–11)
D1h	***141, Grave 117 (350–70)** **196, Grave 155 (310–350/70)**	Lapped fastening. Cut-out 'running-wave' decoration	Camerton (Wedlake 1958, Fig. 58, No. 15); Chester (Thompson 1975, Fig. 27, Nos. 36 and 37); Gadebridge Park (Neal 1974, Figs. 60, No. 156, and 65, No. 246); Portchester (Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 112, No. 41); Richborough (Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XXII, 61); Shakenoak (Brodribb *et al.* 1971, Fig. 48, Nos. 73, 77); Woodeaton (Kirk 1949, Fig. 4, No. 15).
D1j	***566, Grave 438 (360–370/80)**	Terminals riveted together. Open-work decoration. Grooves radiating from large circles, with smaller circles between	Bokerly Dyke (Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXIII, 17); Silchester (Boon 1959, Pl. III, A2); Woodeaton (Kirk 1949, Fig. 9, No. 6).
		D2. Strip-bracelets with a D-shaped cross-section	
D2a	**338, Grave 336 (350–70)**	Hook-and-eye fastening. Undecorated	
D2b	**304**, Grave 347, fill, ? from Grave 350 (370–90) **312**, Grave 333 (390–410) **455**, Grave 327 (350–70)	Hook-and-eye fastening, with grooved decoration to either side	
D2c	***163, Grave 143 (350–70)** **220**, Grave 238 (350–70) **555**, Grave 369 (370–410)	Lapped fastening, riveted on 555 (missing on 220). Decorated with zones of vertical grooves	Chatham Lines, Grave XVII (Evison 1965, Fig. 15, a); *Clausentum* (Cotton and Gathercole 1958, Fig. 12, No. 8); Gadebridge Park (Neal 1974, Fig. 60, No. 159); Lydney (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17, P and S); Portchester (Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 111, Nos. 29, 30); Richborough (Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. XLIX, 15); Woodyates (Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXXIII, 6).
D2d	***166, Grave 143 (350–70)**	Lapped fastening, lozenge decoration	More elaborate examples: Lydney (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17, O); Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1932, Fig. 96, No. 10); *Verulamium* (Frere 1972, Fig. 32, Nos. 32 and 33).
D2e	***156, Grave 143 (350–70)**	Lapped fastening. Unusual, with relief decoration in panels	
D2f	***110, Grave 139 (350–70)**	Hook-and-eye fastening. Dot-and-circle and vertical-groove decoration	**Cf. Type D1b (184).**

TABLE 34 (*cont.*)

Type	Lankhills examples	Description	British parallels (for continental parallels, see below, pp. 310–11)
D2g	***164** and **165**, Grave 143 (350–70) **553**, Grave 369 (370–410)	Stepped, lapped fastening. Beaded decoration	Leicester (Kenyon 1948, Fig. 83, No. 2); Richborough (Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XXII, 62). Cf. Iron Type B2, and Lydney Type B (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17).
	TYPE E. BRACELETS WITH A VARIABLE, D-SHAPED CROSS-SECTION See below		

Type-E bracelets (Fig. 37)

Bracelets of Type E required more extended treatment. They are elaborately decorated, with designs arranged symmetrically around the bracelet, in panels. Complete pieces are rare and not many have been published, but a lot of fragmentary examples are known. British sites where they have been found include Camerton (Som.),[1] Chessel Down (Isle of Wight),[2] Colchester (Essex),[3] East Grimstead (Wilts.),[4] Frocester (Glos.),[5] Gadebridge Park (Herts.),[6] Lydney (Glos.),[7] Portchester (Hants),[8] Richborough (Kent),[9] Shakenoak (Oxon.),[10] and Springhead (Kent).[11] Where datable, these contexts are fourth-century or later, the Gadebridge Park bracelet being deposited before *c.* 350, and those from Chessel Down occurring in early Anglo-Saxon graves. Very few of these Type-E bracelets resemble each other in detail, but it is quite possible that a complete corpus would disclose well-defined types. What follows is a classification purely of the Lankhills examples, based on their fastenings and decoration. All save **313** (Type E2) are shown on Fig. 37.

Type E1. With hook-and-eye fastening

a. Decorated with a design leading up to an elaborate, central panel.

148, Grave 117 (350–70); **393**, Grave 351 (370–90); **525**, Grave 430 (390–410)

148 is the simplest and earliest of these three pieces, and it cannot be paralleled. **393** too is difficult to parallel, although its centre-piece is similar to panels on other Type-E bracelets, notably **147** and **650** (Type E1b). **525** is one of the latest and most elaborate bracelets at Lankhills. The single central festoon is paralleled on pieces from Springhead (Kent)[12] and Richborough (Kent),[13] **525** differing in that the detail of its flanking panels shows a definite progression towards the centre-piece. Double central festoons are seen on bracelets from Shakenoak (Oxon.),[14] East Grimstead (Wilts.),[15] and Lydney (Glos.).[16]

[1] Wedlake 1958, Fig. 58, **No. 7b.**
[2] Evison 1965, Fig. 13a.
[3] *JRS*, 24 (1934), Pl. XIIIA, **C.**
[4] Sumner 1924, Pl. XII, 3 and 6.
[5] Gracie 1970, Fig. 12, Nos. 1 and **22.**
[6] Neal 1974, Fig. 65, No. 244.
[7] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 17**D.**
[8] Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 112, Nos. 36 and **37.**
[9] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XXI, **51.**
[10] Brodribb ***et al.* 1968, Fig. 30, No. 20; 1973, Fig.** 54, No. 194.
[11] Penn 1962, **Fig. 5, Nos. 3 and 4.**
[12] Ibid., Fig. 5, No. 4.
[13] Bushe-Fox 1928, Pl. XXI, **51.**
[14] Brodribb *et al.* 1968, Fig. 30, **No. 20.**
[15] Sumner 1924, Pl. XII, 6.
[16] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, **Fig. 17D.**

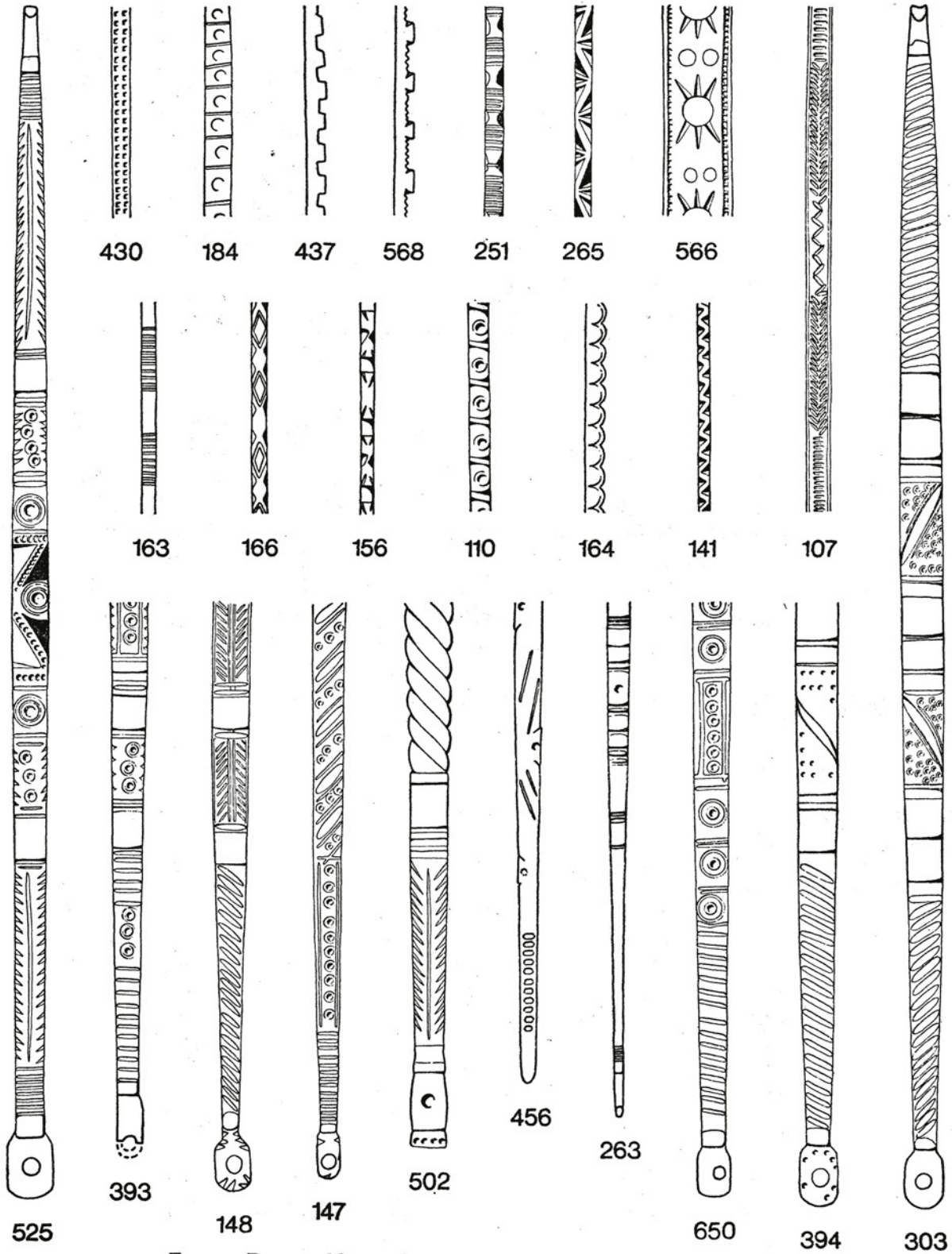


FIG. 37. Decorated bronze bracelets: diagrams of Types D and E (1:1).

b. Decoration arranged so that the two most elaborate panels flank the central panel.

263, Grave 266 (350–70); **303**, Grave 347, fill (probably from Grave 350, datable to 370–90); **394**, Grave 351 (370–90); **650**, Rescue-observation C

263 is the simplest bracelet of the four. The relief is emphasised, but the lateral panels are decorated with only a single dot. **263** seems at some stage to have been reduced in size, since its terminals overlap. Panels with a single dot are seen on bracelets from East Grimstead (Wilts.)[1] and Shakenoak (Oxon.).[2] Looked at horizontally (Fig. 83), **263** is reminiscent of bracelets from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Chessel Down (Isle of Wight)[3] and Chatham Lines (Kent).[4] On **650**, the two flanking panels with small dot-and-circle motifs are, as we have seen, similar to the central panel of **393** (Type E1a); the resemblance is close enough to group the bracelets stylistically. Single lines of dot-and-circle motifs arranged like this are difficult to parallel outside Lankhills. **303** and **394** are almost identical, and they are closely paralleled by the bracelet from Chessel Down just noted in connection with **263**. Now apparently lost, it was penannular with disc terminals, and its decoration consisted of a plain central zone flanked by two panels with a diagonal groove and dot-and-circle motifs. Its similarity to **303** and **394** is striking, especially when it is remembered that these pieces are extremely elaborate. All could have been produced in the same workshop.

c. Decorated with an extended central panel.

147, Grave 117 (350–70)

On this piece, the subsidiary panels occupied by dot-and-circle motifs are similar to panels on **393** and **650**, and suggest that **147** should be grouped with them.

Type E2. With butt-terminals

313, Grave 333 (390–410); **456**, Grave 327 (350–70); **502**, Grave 396 (370–90)

502 is the only one of these bracelets still complete. Its imitation cabling is reminiscent of Type C2a (**142**). It also has affinities with cable-bracelets of Types A1b and A2b (**556** and **155**), and its terminals are paralleled on Type C1c (**561**). Outside Lankhills, it is difficult to find similar pieces, but a parallel to the cabling comes from Milton Regis (Kent).[5] On **313** (Fig. 88) and **456**, one terminal has been removed, and the bracelet then reduced in size. Both bracelets are worn, which is consistent with this evidence for their reuse. The decoration on the surviving terminal of **313** is similar to that on **502**; the only other decoration on the bracelet is a line of punched dots. **456** has festoons similar to those on **525** (Grave 430, Type E1a).

Chronological observations

As we have seen, most of the bronze bracelets were found in graves datable to 350–70. Only nine of them are likely to have been earlier, and thirteen are certainly later.

Four of the nine earlier bracelets were of the cable variety, and all four belong to Type A2a (**198**, **245**, **246**, and **249**). This could indicate that early in the fourth century, three-strand cable-bracelets were commoner than the two-strand variety. Another point to note is that **249** is the only Lankhills cable-bracelet with an independent sleeve. Two of the other five early bracelets (**197**, Type B1b,

[1] Sumner 1924, Pl. XII, 3.
[2] Brodribb *et al.* 1973, Fig. 54, No. 194.
[3] Evison 1965, Fig. 13a.
[4] Ibid. Fig. 15c.
[5] Ibid. Fig. 9b, c.

and **251**, Type D1f) are the only non-cable bracelets with two-hook fastenings, and this may again be a point of chronological significance. Finally, we may note that none of the early bracelets has a variable cross-section, a feature which may therefore not have been common before *c.* 350.

Seven of the thirteen bracelets definitely deposited after *c.* 370 have variable cross-sections, and, with the exception of **556**, a cable-bracelet with butt-terminals (Type A1b), these are all of Type E. They represent over half the Lankhills bracelets of this type, which thus appear to have been more common after *c.* 370 than before. Three of the post-370 bracelets had butt-terminals, and, as in all only six such bracelets were found, that feature too may have been more characteristic after *c.* 370.

General affinities

Table 34 shows Romano-British parallels for most bracelets of Types A, B, C, and D; indeed many of the sub-types must have been standardised throughout Britain. Types A1b, A3, B1a, C1b, C1c, C3a, D2a, D2b, D2e, and D2f cannot be exactly matched, but of these, Types A1b, B1a, C1b, C3a, D2a, D2b, D2e, and D2f are insufficiently distinct from other Lankhills types for the lack of precise analogies to be significant. Only the four-strand cable-bracelet, Type A3 **(647)**, and the heavy bracelet with butt-terminals, Type C1c **(561)**, are really without parallels. For Type C1c there are good continental analogies, for example, from Oudenburg (Belgium)[1] and Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.),[2] but for Type A3 there are not, although on the Continent four-strand cable-bracelets are not uncommon.

Apart from Type C1c, few of the other bracelets of Types A, B, C, D that are reasonably diagnostic have continental analogies. Such as there are come from near by, in north-east Gaul and the Rhineland. Thus Oudenburg has produced bracelets of Types B2a, D1d, and D2c,[3] and Krefeld-Gellep one of Type B2a.[4] Some other types find general analogies in the same area, for example, Type D1j, the open-work bracelet, which is matched by a find from St.-Quentin (Aisne).[5] Further south and east, the bracelets become much less like those at Lankhills: thus virtually none of the more diagnostic types are paralleled in South Bavaria[6] or Hungary,[7] and there even the simple cable-bracelets differ, for they have hook-and-eye rather than two-hook fastenings. Taken together, the evidence points to the Lankhills bracelets of Types A, B, C, and D being British in their analogies, and thus presumably made in this country.

Type-E bracelets find equally few parallels on the Continent, and they are certainly absent from South Bavaria and Hungary, and, in north-east Gaul and the Rhineland, from Oudenburg (Belgium) and perhaps Vermand (Aisne). But examples have been found in Graves 594[8] and 1335[9] at Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.), and at Bernex and perhaps other sites in Switzerland;[10] the Bernex example closely resembles **525** (Type E1a). These finds may indicate that Type-E bracelets were made on the Continent. But as they are few and the British finds many, it is perhaps more likely that the former are British exports, Type-E bracelets having been made in Britain exclusively. Certainly there can be no doubt of the insular origin of all examples found in this country.

That virtually all the Lankhills bronze bracelets were made in Britain is of particular interest since twenty-two were in intrusive graves, Graves 40, 323, 326, 333, 336, 351, and 396.[11] If the women of these graves did indeed come from elsewhere they must have purchased their bracelets in Britain

[1] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, **Pl. XXVI, 1.**
[2] Pirling 1966, Taf. 55, No. 12.
[3] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, **Pls. XXII, 6, XXVI, 4,** and LXV, 5 respectively.
[4] Pirling 1974, Taf. 11, No. 5.
Eck 1891, St.-Quentin, **Pl. I, 14.**
Keller 1971, 94–107.
[7] See, for example, Alföldi 1957, 418–22.
[8] Pirling 1966, Taf. 56, Nos. 9–11 and **Taf. 122,** No. 1.
[9] Pirling 1974, Taf. 23, No. 1.
[10] *Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte*, 53 (1966/67), 131, Fig. 21.
[11] For these graves, see above, pp. 170–5.

after their arrival. Notwithstanding, the bracelets do provide evidence for the distinct character of the graves, for only one of the twenty-two bronze bracelets they contained was of the cable variety (**435**, Grave 323, Type A2a). In the other Lankhills graves with bracelets, the proportion of cable-bracelets (25:152) is far greater, and we therefore have an interesting difference in taste between ethnically distinct peoples.[1]

ii. IRON BRACELETS

Nine iron bracelets were found. They were not the easiest objects to recognise, for when broken they could be confused with coffin-nails. As each of the nine is reasonably well preserved, however, none may in fact have been missed. Iron bracelets are not particularly common finds. Examples may be quoted from London[2] (twisted, with strands of iron and bronze) and *Verulamium* (Herts.).[3]

Type A. With bronze decoration

87, Grave 100, fill (330–70); **434**, Grave 323 (350–70)

These bracelets are made from iron wire with an invariable cross-section, and they have strips of bronze wrapped around the iron at regular intervals. There is no evidence as to fastening. **434** is less well preserved than **87**, but there is no reason to suppose that it was dissimilar.

Type B. Without bronze decoration

B1. Undecorated

125, Grave 134 (310–70); **136**, Grave 105 (310–30); **237**, Grave 256 (350–70); **295**, Grave 40 (350–370/90); **438**, Grave 323 (350–70)

These pieces all have an invariable cross-section. **136** has a clearly recognisable expanding fastening, and is thus of the same form as the bronze Type B1c. It is unclear whether the other bracelets were similar: **237** is perhaps well enough preserved to show that it had butt-terminals.

B2. Decorated with grooves and beads

572, Grave 438 (360–370/80)

There is no evidence as to how this bracelet was fastened. Its decoration is reminiscent of Type-D2g bronze bracelets.

B3. Decorated with occasional beads

120, Grave 134 (310–70)

There is no evidence as to the fastening on this bracelet. It is a simplified form of those with bronze decoration (Type A).

iii. JET BRACELET

86, Grave 100, fill (330–70)

This bracelet has an oval cross-section and is undecorated. It has a break, and so could have been expanded to pass over the hand. Whitby (N.R. Yorks.) is the source of jet and many jet bracelets have been found in York, where they may have been made.[4] Most are undecorated, like **86**, but few

[1] For further discussion, see below, p. 385.
[2] *London in Roman Times*, Pl. XL, 6.
[3] Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, Pl. LX, 4.
[4] *Eburacum*, 141–4.

have a similar oval cross-section. A fairly close parallel to **86** was discovered in a grave at Sycamore Terrace, York.[1] Jet bracelets are not unduly common in the south of England; at Silchester nineteen were found, as against seventy-seven of shale.[2]

iv. SHALE BRACELETS

Ten shale bracelets were found, all but two in child graves and of a size suitable for children. Shale bracelets are common finds, and will have been manufactured near the source of the raw material at Kimmeridge (Dorset). They are in the form of an unbroken circle, and were cut from the solid shale in such a way that the inner surface is triangular in cross-section.

Type A. Undecorated, with rounded external surface

45 and **46**, Grave 85 (350–70); **135**, Grave 105 (310–30); **190**, Grave 183 (350–70); **235** and **236**, Grave 256 (350–70); **416** and **421**, Grave 337 (330–50); **431**, Grave 323 (350–70)

These pieces vary in appearance from **45**, which is quite massive, to **235**. The form is not distinctive, but extremely common.[3]

Type B. With a flat external surface and beaded and grooved decoration

124, Grave 134 (310–70)

Only one bracelet of this type was found. Its outer surface is decorated with a groove beside one edge and beading next to the other. It cannot be exactly paralleled, although bracelets with a flat outer surface are quite common.[4]

v. IVORY BRACELETS

Eighteen ivory bracelets were discovered; others may have decayed. Ivory bracelets are not common finds in Britain, perhaps precisely because their survival depends on favourable preservation conditions. The ivory strips vary in cross-section; at one extreme, **562** (Grave 438) is 6 mm wide and 2 mm thick; it contrasts with **167** (Grave 100), which is 4 mm wide and 4 mm thick. The ivory was not decorated. Many of the bracelets have a sleeve, whose presence or absence provides a basis for classification.

Type A. Without a sleeve

144 and **145**, Grave 117 (350–70); **314**, Grave 333 (390–410)

144 and **145** are complete. They are unbroken, and so must have been cut out in the round. **314** was probably of this type, even though it is fragmentary, for no sleeve was found.

Type B. With a sleeve

Silver sleeve: **83**, Grave 100, fill (330–70); **189** and **292**, Grave 183 (350–70). Bronze sleeve: **167**, Grave 100, fill (330–70); **562**, **573**, **574**, **575**, **576**, **577**, **578**, **579**, **580**, **581**, and **582**, Grave 438 (360–370/80)

Only **189** and **562** are at all complete, and even with them only a little over half the ivory has survived. Mostly these bracelets now consist of a sleeve alone. **189** and **562** have both retained their

[1] *Eburacum*, Fig. 58.

[2] Lawson 1975, 248, Fig. 4, No. 18 (see especially No. 18j) and Fig. 5, Nos. 32–9.

[3] Ibid. 248–50. Some fifty were found at Silchester (ibid. 250–2, Fig. 4, Nos. 19–29 and 31).

[4] For some examples, see Calkin 1972; Lawson 1975, Fig. 5, No. 32.

shape, which suggests that as with Type-A bracelets, the ivory was cut out in the round. However, on several pieces, notably **562**, **573**, and **581**, it is clear that under the sleeve the ivory ends in terminals. Possibly this means that some ivory bracelets were made from half-circles fastened with two sleeves; but **562** is sufficiently preserved to prove the absence of a second sleeve, and the two sleeves from Grave 100 are associated with ivory strips of different cross-sections. Could then the bracelets have been made from strips that were originally flat and then bent round? At present this seems the most likely possibility, even though it means assuming a major difference between the two types of ivory bracelet.

The sleeves, and the terminals beneath them, are ribbed, and there is no evidence for the use of rivets. In outward appearance at least, these bracelets will have resembled Type-A bone bracelets.

vi. BONE BRACELETS

At least forty-two bone bracelets were found. They were made from strips of bone bent round to form a circle, and then fastened. After burial the bone strips decayed and straightened out, thereby breaking up the bracelets.

The strips vary in cross-section, but are basically oval or rectangular. **371** (Grave 347, fill) is the broadest, 8 mm wide and just over 1 mm thick; **49** (Grave 63) is among the smallest, 3 mm wide and about 1 mm thick. The other bracelets have cross-sections ranging between these extremes, the average width being about 5 mm. Sometimes the cross-section varies, but only on **101** (Grave 122) does this seem significant.

The bonework is rarely ornamented. Of about thirty-four bracelets whose surface is adequately preserved, only two are decorated. **511** (Grave 143) has a single groove, and on **101** (Grave 122), there is a zone of vertical grooves to either side of its sleeve, and an extended panel of diagonal grooves beyond, an arrangement reminiscent of bronze bracelets of Type E1.

Bone bracelets may be classified by how they were fastened. Bracelets where the fastening is not preserved are unclassifiable: **223** (Grave 238), **264** (Grave 266), **266** (Grave 268), **294** (Grave 40), **371** (Grave 347, fill), and **511** (Grave 143).

Type A. Fastened with ribbed sleeves

One silver sleeve: **82** and **168**, Grave 100, fill (330–70)
Two bronze sleeves: **161**, Grave 143 (350–70)
One bronze sleeve: **49**, Grave 63 (370–80); **138**, Grave 137 (330–70); **160**, Grave 143 (350–70); **286**, Grave 265 (390–5); **348** and **349**, Grave 336 (350–70); **457** and **458**, Grave 427 (350–70); **503**, Grave 396 (370–90)

On these pieces the bone strips end in butt-terminals which are ribbed, and held together by the sleeve, a strip of metal that has been wrapped round the bone and pressed into the ribbing. Most of the terminals are also pierced by what look like rivet-holes, but there are no actual rivets.

161 (Grave 143) has two sleeves and must therefore have been made from two strips of bone, or perhaps have been broken and repaired. When several partially decayed bracelets were found together in a grave, it may be that two bracelets restored with a single sleeve were one bracelet with two. However, the overall length of bone and differences in cross-section almost always preclude this possibility.

Type B. Fastened with a plain sleeve and rivets

Bronze sleeve: **123**, Grave 134 (310–70); **157** and **293**, Grave 143 (350–70); **344**, Grave 336 (350–70); **417** and **418**, Grave 337 (330–50); **440**, Grave 323 (350–70)

Iron sleeve: **104**, Grave 122 (350–70); **181**, Grave 183 (350–70)
Sleeve lost: **101**, Grave 122 (350–70); **178**, Grave 183 (350–70); **234**, Grave 256 (350–70); **345**, Grave 336 (350–70); **412**, **413**, **414**, **415**, and **419**, Grave 337 (330–50); **680**, Grave 218 (350–70)

As with Type A, these bracelets are made from bone strips ending in butt-terminals, but there is no ribbing. The sleeves are strips of metal wrapped round the bone, and they are held in place by iron rivets, one for each terminal. There is no evidence that any bracelet had more than one sleeve. Discoloration of the bone suggests that among the pieces whose sleeve is lost, **101**, **412**, **419**, and **680** had bronze sleeves and **178**, **345**, and **415** iron sleeves.

Type C. With a lapped fastening

158, **159**, and **162**, Grave 143 (350–70); **222**, Grave 238 (350–70); **675**, Grave 438 (360–370/80)

On these pieces the terminals are wedge-shaped, they overlap, and they are held together by two rivets. The rivets on **162** are bronze, on **159**, **222**, and **675** they are iron, and those on **158** are lost.

Chronology

It is possible to draw a slight chronological distinction between Types A and B, even though most bracelets of both types are dated to 350–70. The earliest date assigned to any Type-A bracelet is 330–70, and three of them post-dated 370. By contrast, as many as six of the less decorated Type-B bracelets were buried before 350, and there were none in graves dug after 370. This may indicate that Type-A bracelets were becoming more popular during the latter part of the fourth century, but the sample is too small for certainty.

Parallels

Few bone bracelets have hitherto been published in Britain. Grave-finds come from Sycamore Terrace[1] and Castle Yard, York,[2] and from Guilden Morden (Cambs.).[3] Site finds include pieces from Catterick (N.R. Yorks.),[4] *Clausentum* (Hants),[5] Gloucester,[6] and Portchester (Hants).[7] The Gloucester bracelet and one from Portchester have a ribbed sleeve and that from Guilden Morden a lapped fastening. Two of the Portchester bracelets are decorated.

Many bone bracelets are known on the Continent. One with a sleeve was discovered in Grave **216** at Oudenburg (Belgium),[8] and several from South Bavaria were published by Keller,[9] all with lapped fastenings. Keller suggested that bone bracelets were more common in the Danube frontier regions than further to the north-west,[10] and also argued that they were made predominantly in the middle and late fourth century, having previously been characteristic of free Germany. These suggestions must now be qualified by the evidence from Lankhills and elsewhere in Britain.

[1] *Eburacum*, 73.
[2] Ramm 1958, 406 and Pl. **IVP.**
[3] Liversidge 1968, Fig. 54a.
[4] Hildyard 1958, Fig. 5, No. 8.
[5] Cotton and Gathercole 1958, **Fig. 13, No. 13.**
[6] Hassall and Rhodes 1974, Fig. 22, **No. 23.**
[7] Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 117, Nos. 99–101.
[8] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, Pl. **LXV, 4.**
[9] Keller 1971, 106–7.
[10] Ibid. 107.

12

OTHER PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

i. PINS

SIXTEEN pins were found, eleven complete and the rest fragmentary. They were near the skull in graves where personal ornaments were worn, which suggests that they were hair-pins. Three of them are silver, seven bronze, and two each jet, glass, and bone. Pins of iron may be represented by some slender iron shafts; these are discussed with iron needles, from which they are virtually indistinguishable.[1] Of the sixteen non-ferrous pins, eleven were in graves dated later than *c.* 350, one was in a grave assigned to 330–50, and four came from graves dated to *c.* 330–70.

It is difficult to decide whether pins should be classified by material or shape, but shape seems more appropriate, since the same forms occur in different materials. The two bone pins are, however, an exception. The pins are classified here by their head, for this is the only respect in which their shape varies. Two headless bronze pins (**334** and **335** from Grave 336) are omitted from the classification.

Type A. With a spherical head

Silver: **407** and **408**, Grave 326 (350–80)
Glass: **90** and **297**, Grave 100, fill (330–70)

Spherical-headed pins are common in Britain. Examples in bone are known from Leicester,[2] Shakenoak (Oxon.),[3] Woodcuts (Dorset),[4] Cold Kitchen Hill (Wilts.),[5] and Stockton Earthworks (Wilts.);[6] bronze examples come from Cold Kitchen Hill[7] and Stockton Earthworks;[8] and jet examples have been found in Silchester[9] and York.[10] This type of pin is also common on the Continent: silver examples were found at Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.),[11] and Oudenburg (Belgium),[12] several of bone come from Augsburg in South Bavaria,[13] and many of all materials are known in Hungary.[14]

Dr. D. B. Harden contributes the following note on the glass pins: '**90** is complete except for the loss of its tip, but **297** is the head of a pin only. Both are of clear dull-green glass, with numerous, mostly tiny, bubbles and black impurities. The natural assumption would be that these pins were cast; but since some of the larger bubbles are elongated and the head, **297**, exhibits tooling marks where it joins the shank, it is probable that they were not cast but drawn and tooled. There are close parallels in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, all from Cologne, though no finding details exist. Two of these, blue glass, are Niessen Collection, nos. 6008*g* and *f*;[15] the other, brown, is numbered 412.[16] Fremersdorf ascribes all three to the third century. No other examples in glass come to mind, but the shape occurs in other materials.'

[1] See above, p. 249.
[2] Kenyon 1948, Fig. 90, No. 8.
[3] Brodribb *et al.* 1971, Fig. 53, No. 32; ibid. 1973, Fig. 72, Nos. 122 and 123.
[4] Pitt Rivers 1887, Pl. XLV, 17 and 18.
[5] Nan Kivell 1927*b*, Pl. VIII, C.
[6] Ibid. 1927*c*, Pl. IV, P and R.
[7] Ibid. 1927*a*, Pl. V, I.
[8] Ibid. 1927*c*, Pl. III, P1, P2.
[9] Lawson 1975, 258, Fig. 7, No. 64.
[10] *Eburacum*, Pl. 70.
[11] Pirling 1966, Taf. 69, No. 7, Taf. 96, Nos. 26 and 27.
[12] Mertens and Van Impe 1971, Pl. LIV, 6.
[13] Keller 1971, Taf. 2, No. 5.
[14] See Lányi 1972, 184, Abb. 66, No. 2.
[15] Fremersdorf 1958*b*, 55, Pl. 124e and g.
[16] Ibid. 55, Pl. 124f.

Type B. With a faceted head

Silver: **331**, Grave 336 (350–70)
Bronze: **396**, Grave 351 (370–90)
Jet: **89**, Grave 100, fill (330–70); **267**, Grave 250 (330–50)

Pins with a faceted head are commonly found in Britain. A silver example comes from Frocester (Glos.),[1] bronze examples from Maiden Castle (Dorset)[2] and Richborough (Kent),[3] and bone examples from Lydney (Glos.)[4] and Woodcuts (Dorset).[5] On the Continent, bronze parallels have been found at Oudenburg (Belgium)[6] and Abbeville Homblières (Aisne).[7] They do not seem to have been common to the south-east, in South Bavaria[8] and Hungary.[9]

Whitby (N.R. Yorks.) is the source of jet.[10] Jet pins have frequently been found at York, many of them with a faceted head,[11] and some exact parallels to **89**.[12] Many similar pins are known elsewhere, including examples from Lydney,[13] Silchester,[14] and Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.).[15] A parallel for **267** comes from Silchester.[16]

Type C. With a pyramidal head

Bronze: **333**, Grave 336 (350–70)

Rather simpler pins of this type are known from Richborough (Kent)[17] and Woodeaton (Oxon.).[18]

Type D. With a glass bead for a head

Bronze: **332**, Grave 336 (350–70); **397**, Grave 351 (370–90); **429**, Grave 323 (350–70)

The bronze shank of **332** is extended and looped through the bead, which lies horizontally. The beads on **397** and **429** are vertical, the top of the shanks passing through them. **397** is similar in shape to a pin from Woodeaton (Oxon.)[19] which is, however, differently constructed. More elaborate pins with glass heads are known from Lydney (Glos.).[20] **332** is difficult to parallel in Britain, but on the Continent one complete and two incomplete pieces of the same type were found in Grave 67 at Oudenburg (Belgium),[21] and another comes from Vert-la-Gravelle (Marne).[22]

Type E. Decorated bone pins

277, Grave 276 (330–70); **299**, Grave 102 (350–70)

Both these pins are incomplete. **277** is represented by a large cylindrical head, which is in the form of a bead through which the separate shank has been passed, and it is decorated with incised chevrons. More of **299** is preserved, and its head is ribbed, incised with Xs, and turned to a point.

Bone pins, decorated and undecorated, are very common in Britain, but these two are difficult to parallel. It is surprising that so few were found at Lankhills, and it may be that only the presumably more expensive metal pins were regarded as appropriate grave-furniture.

1 Gracie 1970, Fig. 14, No. 117.
2 Wheeler 1943, Fig. 96, No. 8.
3 Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. LIII, 199.
4 Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 18, Nos. 70 and 74.
5 Pitt Rivers 1887, Pl. XLV, 13.
6 Mertens and Van Impe 1971, Pl. XXII, 4.
7 Roosens 1962, Pl. III, 10.
8 Cf. Keller 1971, 83.
9 Cf. Lányi 1972, 184, Abb. 66, No. 10.
10 *Eburacum*, 141.
11 Ibid. 143.
12 Ibid. Pl. 69.
13 Wheeler & Wheeler 1932, Fig. 18, Nos. 71 and 73.
14 Lawson 1975, 258, Fig. 7, No. 65d.
15 Pirling 1966, Taf. 102, No. 17.
16 Lawson 1975, 258, Fig. 7, No. 65b.
17 Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. LIII, 200.
18 Kirk 1949, Pl. II, A7.
19 Ibid. Pl. II, A1.
20 Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 18, Nos. 67 and 68.
21 Mertens and Van Impe 1971, Pl. XXII, 1, 2, 3.
22 Lantier 1948, Pl. V, 13.

ii. DECORATED HEADBAND

427, Grave 323 (350–70)

Fragments of gilt-bronze and glass lay around the much decayed skull in Grave 323, a child grave. The frontal bone was discoloured by bronze (Plate XII*b*), and there can be little doubt that the fragments once formed an ornamental headband. Traces corroded to the bronze indicate that the band itself was leather.

The fragments fall into three categories. Six are bronze-gilt and scallop-shaped (Fig. 85a–f); these are slightly convex, rather under 10 mm in diameter, and pierced by two holes for attachment. Four other fragments are small, irregularly shaped pieces of glass (Fig. 85g–k). They are slightly yellowish in colour, possibly the result of having been coated in resin. Dr. D. B. Harden describes them as: 'fragments, almost flat, of one or more vessels of unweathered yellow glass, and a very small fragment, apparently quite flat, of yellow glass with a black-weathered coating.' The glass pieces are not pierced, but seem to have been set in frames formed by fragments of the third type. These are narrow bronze-gilt strips (Fig. 85k–p), one of which (Fig. 85k) is still attached to a piece of glass. Some of the strips have small holes and they describe a variety of shapes, apparently to fit the outlines of the glass. In some instances two strips make a T-junction (Fig. 85m and n), and this suggests that the glass pieces and bronze strips formed a continuous unit on the headband. Their distribution suggested that they were fixed in the centre, with the shells to either side.

427 is the only late Roman headband so far found in Britain, but parallels are known on the Continent. These can be divided into two types. The first consists of gold-braid headbands discovered in a burial at Mainz,[1] and in at least one grave at Vermand (Aisne);[2] these are forerunners of the Anglo-Saxon gold-braid headbands.[3] The second type, to which **427** belongs, are decorated with metal or glass pieces. Examples come from Graves 95 and 201 at Ságvár (Hungary),[4] from Pfaffenhofen in South Bavaria,[5] from Grave 27 of the Weissturmtor cemetery at Strasbourg,[6] probably from two graves at Vermand,[7] and possibly from Grave 17 at Mayen (Rheinland-Pfalz).[8] Mostly the decorative pieces are gold or gilt-bronze, and at Strasbourg, Vermand, and Mayen glass fragments were also present which could have been framed like those on **427**. The small shells on **427** cannot be paralleled, however.

There is little evidence that either type of headband was associated with people of high rank in the fourth century.[9] They are conspicuous by their absence from most elaborately furnished late Roman burials, and the graves in which they have been found are not particularly rich. This contrasts with the situation in Anglo-Saxon England and Frankish Gaul.[10] Decorated headbands may thus have risen in status during the post-Roman period. In the fourth century the second type of headband seems more usually to have been buried with children, for both examples at Ságvár were found with children, as was **427** at Lankhills.

iii. BRONZE CHAIN

405, Grave 326 (350–80)

This chain consists of thirty-seven links and a fastening. Each link is a bronze strip in the shape of a figure 8 or tightly curled letter S, and the fastening is a similar link that has been enlarged and

[1] Crowfoot and Hawkes 1967, 61.
[2] Eck 1891: deuxième groupe, Grave 9; and cf. also Grave 348.
[3] Crowfoot and Hawkes 1967, 61.
[4] Burger 1966, 108, 120.
[5] Keller 1971, 82, Taf. 19, No. 1.
[6] Forrer 1927, Taf. XXXIX, 16.
[7] Eck 1891: deuxième groupe, Graves 327 and 369.
[8] Haberey 1942, Abb. 16. The fragments here could have belonged to other clothing.
[9] Keller 1971, 82.
[10] Crowfoot and Hawkes 1967, 64–6.

embellished. The length of the chain suggests that it could have been a necklace, but it was found by the left wrist in a grave in which personal ornaments were worn at burial.

Similar chains are known from Lydney (Glos.),[1] Richborough (Kent),[2] Woodeaton (Oxon.),[3] *Verulamium* (Herts.),[4] and *Margidunum* (Notts.).[5] The Richborough chain had a pendant attached to it, and so was probably a necklace. Suspended from the *Margidunum* chain were toilet objects, and it was perhaps worn about the waist.

The *Verulamium* chain, found in a pit in Insula XIV datable to 300–50, was one of several from the same site. The others are of different types and came mostly from second-century deposits.[6] Chains with 8- or S-shaped links may therefore be fourth-century.

iv. FINGER-RINGS

Twenty-nine finger-rings were found.[7] Although finger-rings are relatively common and many have been published, the Lankhills series represents one of the largest collections in Britain. It is of special value because almost all the examples are closely dated: nineteen came from graves assigned to 350–80 and the rest mostly from earlier burials. Eight rings are silver, seventeen bronze, and two each iron and shale. Shale finger-rings are unusual, and although others have been found, for example at Lydney (Glos.),[8] the two from Lankhills are exceptional because of their slender cross-section. There is no evidence for chronological variation in the use of different materials, and in the classification that follows material is disregarded.

Type A. Finger-rings without a centre-piece

1. Thin, undecorated

Bronze: **250**, Grave 188 (310–70); **402**, Grave 326 (350–80)
Iron: **368**, Grave 281 (390–410)
Shale: **563**, Grave 438 (360–370/80)

These rings are very light. **563** formed a continuous circle, **402** did not, and **250** is slightly coiled. Parallels in bronze to this very undistinctive type come from Woodcuts (Dorset)[9] and Shakenoak (Oxon.).[10]

2. Thin, decorated with ribbing or zigzag patterns

Silver: **201** and **202**, Grave 155 (310–350/70)
Bronze: **48**, Grave 53 (350–70); **199**, Grave 155 (310–350/70); **401**, Grave 326 (350–80)

These rings are fairly light. **199**, **201**, and **202** have zigzag decoration, and there is ribbing on **48** and **401**. **48**, **199**, and **201** have this decoration only in certain places, but it has perhaps been worn away elsewhere. **48** is now penannular, but whether it was originally so is uncertain. The terminals of **201** and **202** overlap, **401** has a lapped fastening, and **199** is continuous. Rings similar to **401** are known from Camerton (Som.),[11] and Leicester.[12] A parallel to **199**, **201**, and **202** comes from Gadebridge Park (Herts.).[13]

[1] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Pl. XXXB.
[2] Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. XXXV, 91.
[3] Kirk 1949, Pl. III, C3.
[4] Frere 1972, Fig. 36, No. 82.
[5] Todd 1969, 77, Pl. 4 (b).
[6] Frere 1972, Fig. 36, Nos. 77–80. Nos. 77–9 were in second-century deposits.
[7] Two rings (361, 362) hooked through the loop of a key (360) in Grave 336 may also have been finger-rings; if so they would belong to Type A3. Cf. above, p. 255.
[8] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 19, No. 85.
[9] Pitt Rivers 1887, Pl. XLV, 12.
[10] Brodribb *et al.* 1971, Fig. 50, No. 109.
[11] Wedlake 1958, Fig. 57, IR.
[12] Kenyon 1948, Fig. 83, No. 13.
[13] Neal 1974, Fig. 60, No. 142.

3. Thick, undecorated

Silver: **410**, Grave 337 (330–50)
Bronze: **200**, Grave 155 (310–350/70); **593, Grave 362 (310–30)**
Shale: **564**, Grave 438 (360–370/80)

These rings have a flat cross-section and all form complete circles. This is a common type, paralleled, for example, in a series found at Shakenoak (Oxon.).[1] Pitt Rivers illustrates an example from Rotherley (Wilts.), on the hand of a skeleton (No. 15).[2]

Type B. Finger-rings with a centre-piece

1. With projections

a. With a single projection

Bronze: **565** and **570**, Grave 438 (360–370/80)

The cross-section of these rings expands away from the lapped fastening. The centre-piece is a single rectangular projection, flanked by grooves. A parallel comes from Lydney (Glos.).[3]

b. With three well-defined projections

Silver: **337**, Grave 336 (350–70); **389, Grave 326 (350–80); 567, Grave 438 (360–370/80)**
Bronze: **571**, Grave 438 (360–370/80)

The cross-sections of **337** and **571**, but not those of **389** and **567**, expand slightly away from their fastenings. The latter are lapped, except on **567**, which is a continuous circle. All four rings have a centre-piece of three rectangular projections, on **337**, **567**, and **571** flanked by vertical grooves. Rings of this type are not particularly common elsewhere in Britain. Parallels come from Richborough (Kent)[4] and Gadebridge Park (Herts.).[5]

c. With three slight projections

Silver: **559**, Grave 438 (360–370/80)
Bronze: **146**, Grave 117 (350–70); **247 and 262**, Grave 188 (310–70)

146 and **559** are continuous circles of a very thin, standard cross-section. The central feature is slight, consisting of three equal-sized projections. **247** and **262** are similar to each other, with a standard cross-section and a lapped fastening. The centre-piece consists of one large and two small raised rectangular panels, flanked by vertical grooves. On **247** the panels are decorated with raised dots. Rings of this type are difficult to parallel, but **262** is comparable to a ring from Richborough (Kent), believed to have been of a type only current up to the early third century.[6]

d. Iron, with bronze decoration

149, Grave 117 (350–70)

This ring is incomplete and fragmentary, but one of the surviving pieces carries two bronze sleeves. As these are confined to one end of the piece, they probably formed a central feature, rather than continuous decoration. There may have originally been three, in which case **149** was similar to rings of Type B1b and B1c. A similar use of bronze sleeves is seen on iron bracelets of Type A.

[1] Brodribb *et al.* 1971, Fig. 50, **Nos. 106–8, 110–13.**
[2] Pitt Rivers 1888, Pl. CIII, 13.
[3] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, **Fig. 16, No. 49.**
[4] Cunliffe (ed.) 1968, Pl. XLII, **165.**
[5] Neal 1974, Fig. 60, No. 120.
[6] Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. XXXV, **101.**

2. With a setting[1]

a. Setting flanked by a grooved shoulder

Bronze: **112** and **116**, Grave 139 (350–70); **354**, Grave 336 (350–70)

These pieces are unbroken. They have a flat cross-section, which expands towards the centre-piece to form a shoulder, on which is grooved decoration. The centre-piece of **116** and **354** is a single setting, while **112** originally had three. **354** alone still has its bezel, of dark and light blue glass. Rings embellished with a setting are common both in Britain and on the Continent. Relatively few are exactly similar to the three Lankhills examples, however, and the triple setting of **112** cannot be paralleled. **116** is comparable to a ring found at Richborough (Kent).[2] **354** is a very simple example of the type found with coin hoards at Sully Moors near Cardiff and at Grovely Wood (Wilts.), a type of ring generally regarded as late Roman.[3] Other examples come from Borden (Kent),[4] Chepstow (Mon.),[5] Lydney (Glos.),[6] Portchester (Hants),[7] and Richborough (Kent).[8] **354** and the ring from Richborough are the only bronze items in this list.

b. With a small setting

Silver: **569**, Grave 438 (360–370/80)
Bronze: **355**, Grave 336 (350–70)

355 is fragmentary and is only just recognisable as similar to **569**. **569** is a continuous circle with a centre-piece of a single small setting, flanked by vertical grooves. The bezel is lost. Neither ring can be satisfactorily paralleled.

Chronology

At Lankhills, pieces of Type B seem to have been particularly common in graves dated to 350–80. They comprise more than three-quarters of the rings in those graves, and only two from among the ten rings in graves of other dates. This might reflect changes in funerary fashion or differing status, but there is no other evidence to support either possibility. Type-B2 rings, those with a setting, were common throughout the late Roman period, however, and so their lack is unlikely to be significant. Type-B1 rings, on the other hand, with rectangular projections, are not easy to parallel on other sites. They may well therefore only have been common *c.* 350–80, and thus explain why so many Lankhills Type-B rings are dated to that period.

V. TRIANGULAR SILVER PLATE

68, Grave 81 (350–70)

This plate is a roughly equilateral triangle, with sides 20 to 25 mm long. Its three edges are folded over, and it is pierced by a single, central hole. The surface is dominated by a distinctive, florid, curvilinear design, arranged symmetrically around a main axis. The folded-over sides suggest an organic backing, perhaps leather.

The plate was found not far from a bronze belt-buckle, **70**, in the waist area of Grave 81 (Fig. 61). The presence of worn personal ornaments in this grave indicated burial fully clothed; the plate was

[1] This classification of Type-B2 rings cannot be reconciled with Henig 1974, 46–54, Figs. 1 and 2, perhaps because the latter is based on a socially more restricted sample.

[2] Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. XXXV, 101.

[3] *BM Guide* (1922), 65–6, Figs. 82, 83.

[4] Jessup 1959, Pl. X, 2.

[5] *BM Catalogue of Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman* (1908), Nos. 1402, 1403, and 1404.

[6] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 16, Nos. 53, 54, 55.

[7] Cunliffe 1975, Fig. 112, No. 49

[8] Bushe-Fox 1949, Pl. XXXV, 97.

presumably attached to some item of dress. The proximity of the buckle could mean that it belonged to the belt, especially since its measurements correspond fairly closely to the latter's apparent width. But it could equally have belonged to some other item of clothing, possibly to the heavy outer cloak fastened by the cross-bow brooch, **74**, found by the right shoulder. It is difficult to cite Romano-British or indeed continental provincial Roman parallels.

vi. CONVEX BRONZE FITTING

177, Grave 185 (310–70)

This object has a diameter of just over 40 mm. Attached to its underside are two projections, of unequal length, in the form of bronze 'buttons' at the end of short stems. These projections look as if a strap was meant to be hooked over them, pulled tight, and held firm, and they thus suggest that **177** was a strap fastening. The shorter projection might have been permanently attached to the strap, while the longer one would have had the loose end hooked over it. Since the disc lay among the hobnails in Grave 185, it might have been a shoe fastening, but this seems unlikely, as it would mean that only one of what was presumably a pair of shoes had such a fitting. An object such as **177** could also have fastened a belt, but this would not be entirely consistent with Grave 185, belonging as it did to a child.

Close parallels have been discovered in graves at Strasbourg and Rheinzabern,[1] one at least probably datable to the fourth century. There is also a set of military belt-fittings from Newstead, which included a circular object with a projection on the underside, and a plate with a T-shaped opening into which the projection fitted.[2] This is not a close parallel to **177**, but demonstrates that objects of this general kind could fasten belts. Further such objects come from other military sites.

[1] Forrer 1927, 344–5, 535–6, Taf. LXXVII, Nos. 38 and 42, Figs. 262 and 263.
[2] Curle 1911, 162–3, Pl. XXVII.

13

HOBNAILS AND FOOTWEAR

IRON hobnails were discovered in 144 intact graves.[1] All have large, dome-shaped heads, and short, narrow stems, often little bigger than the head. Their length varies from 9 mm (Grave 368) to just over 25 mm (Graves 15 and 215), but over half were between 16 and 20 mm long. A selection is shown on Fig. 38. Iron plates were discovered among the hobnails in Graves 7, 156, 233, 335, 390, and 439. Some are trapezoidal in shape, others elongated, and all have small spikes projecting from one side. A selection, including almost all those that are complete, is illustrated with the hobnails in Fig. 38.

The nails and plates will have been driven into the soles of leather boots or shoes. The number of hobnails used on any one pair of shoes must have varied greatly. In some graves, for example Graves 212, 238, and 294, fewer than ten hobnails were found, while in Grave 14 there were more than 200; most graves contained between ten and 100. Leather traces were preserved on some plates and hobnails by corrosion and they show that the soles consisted of several layers of leather, in one instance (Grave 227) as many as seven.

Occasionally groups of hobnails partially retained the shape of a shoe, and in Grave 431 the form of both shoes was preserved (Fig. 39). In this grave, the left-hand sole was in better condition, still being in the shape of the foot, but the right-hand sole had more hobnails, even though the heel was out of shape. The hobnails seem to have run all round the outside of the sole, with three parallel lines inside, and extra nails at the heel and toe. No iron plate belonged to a shoe which had retained its shape. They may have been used at the heel and toe, but they could also have belonged to a special type of boot or shoe.

No evidence of chronological variation in hobnails or shoes was recovered. The size of the nails seems to have been the same in graves east of Feature 12 (post-370) as in those to the west (310–370/90). Likewise the number of hobnails used differed little between the two areas. But in Area O, where burial only began *c.* 390, they occurred in fewer female graves. This probably means that footwear was less often provided, but it could indicate that women's footwear was no longer strengthened with iron. Iron plates were found in Grave 233, datable to 310–25, and in Grave 390, which was dug after *c.* 370. There is no pattern here.

Complete leather shoes or boots are known from several Romano-British sites, for example London,[2] Newstead,[3] and Hardknott (Cumb.).[4] There were four types,[5] the *calceus*, a studded shoe, the *solea*, the Roman sandal, the *caliga*, the military boot, and the *carbatina*, a soft-soled boot. The first three types each had a sole made with hobnails and several layers of leather, and could thus have been the types buried at Lankhills. The *carbatina* leaves no trace where leather is not preserved and so could have been buried in graves without hobnails and particularly in child burials, relatively few of which contained hobnails.[6]

[1] These graves are listed in Table 17.

[2] *London in Roman Times*, 105–6, Pls. XLIII and XLIV. The arrangement of the hobnails on Pl. XLIII is similar to that on the shoes from Grave 431 (Fig. 39).

[3] Curle 1911, 150–3, Pl. XX.

[4] Charlesworth and Thornton 1973.

[5] Ibid. 150–1.

[6] See above, p. 180.

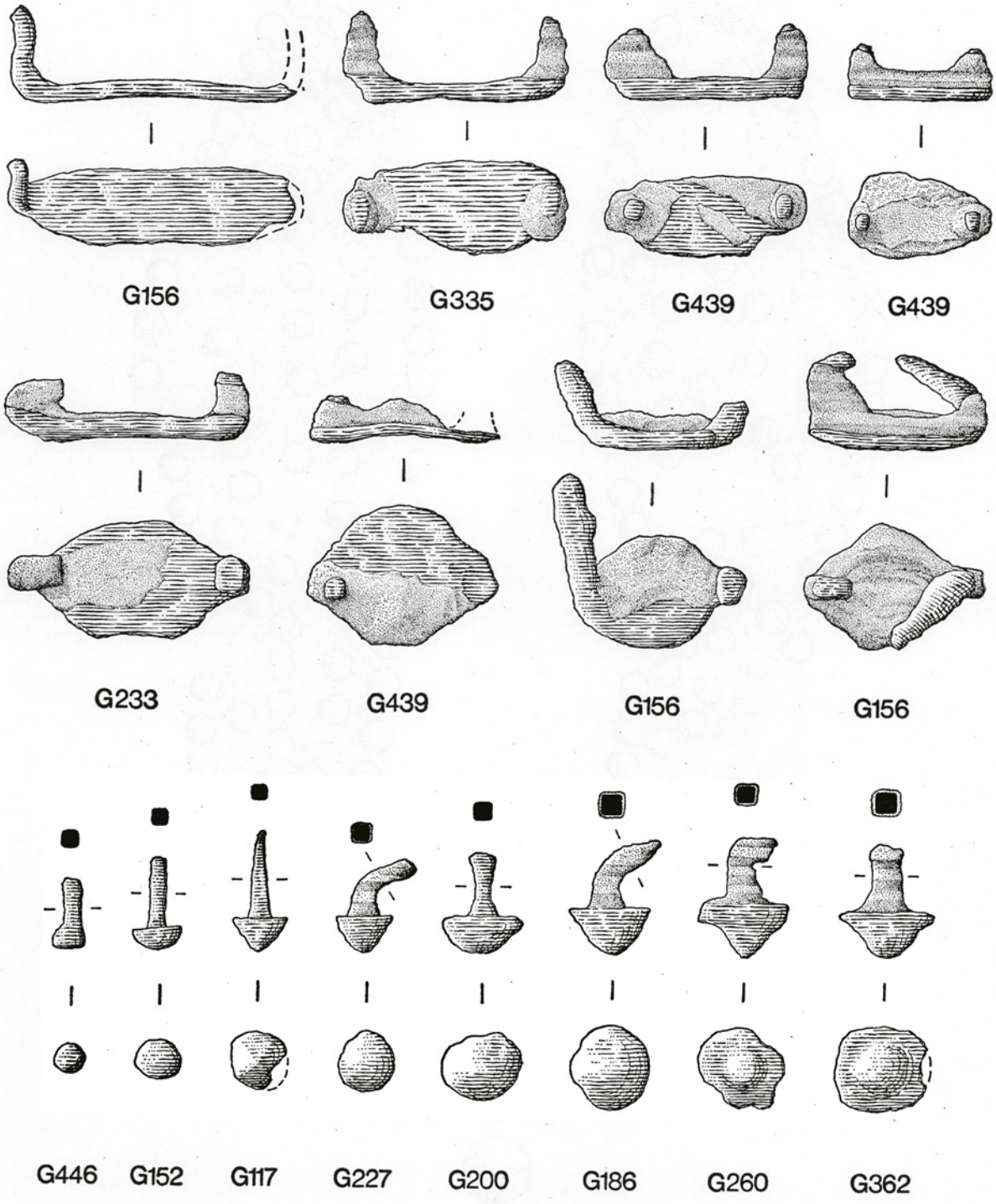


FIG. 38. Boot-plates and hobnails (1:1). Iron, leather traces stippled.

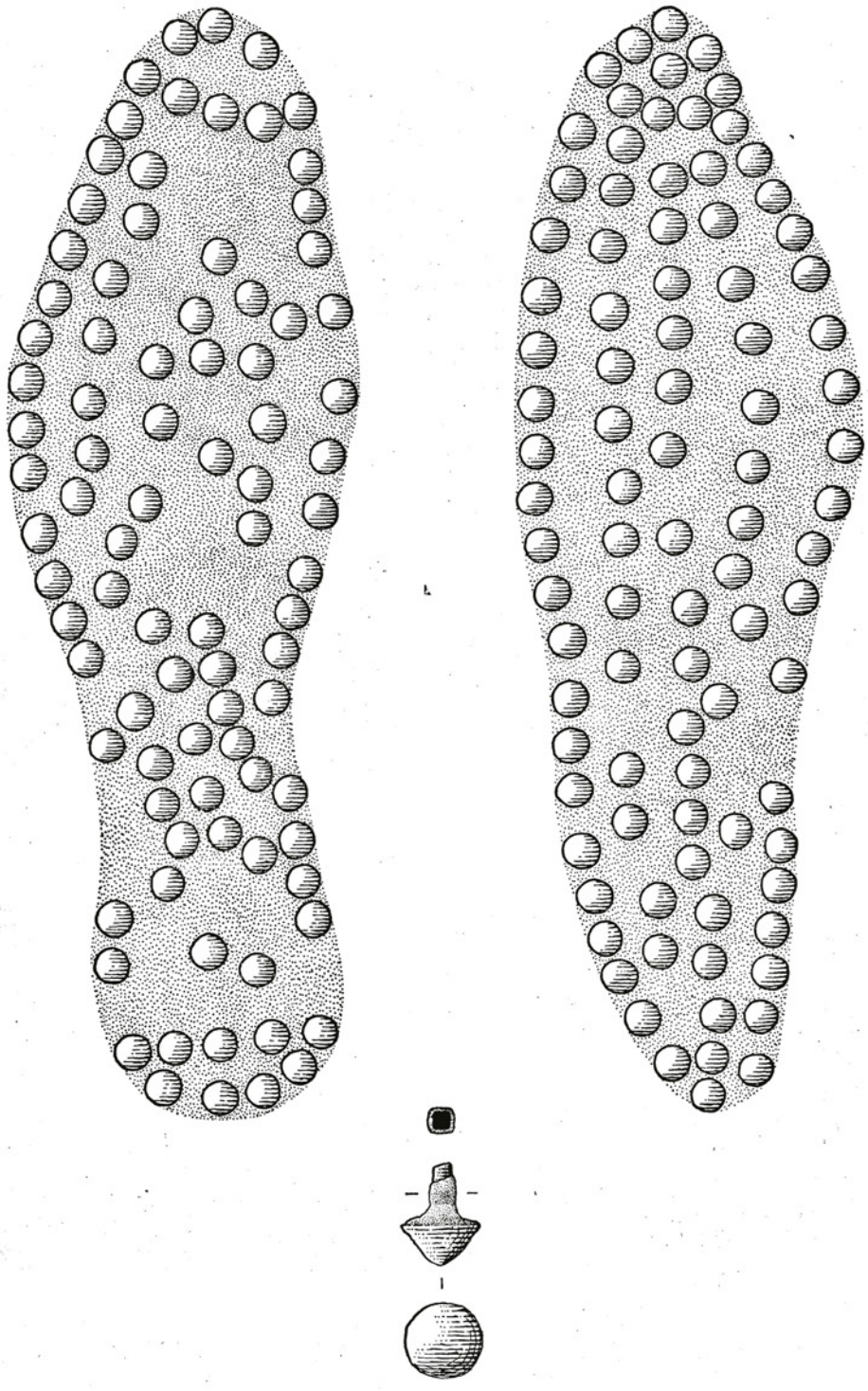


FIG. 39. The shoes from Grave 431 (1:2, except the hobnail, 1:1).

Hobnails have been found in graves and other deposits dating from all periods of the Roman occupation. Second-century examples come from Chester,[1] and fourth-century instances from many sites in addition to Lankhills.[2] Boot-plates also seem to have been relatively common, although they probably go unrecognised when found in isolation. They were found, for example, at Woodyates (Dorset),[3] and are known from several sites in Winchester itself.

[1] Newstead 1914; 1921.
[2] Listed below, p. 370.
[3] Pitt Rivers 1892, 102 (Nos. 26–31), 128–30, Pl. CLXXXI, 26 and 27.

14

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

This section is concerned with objects whose function is uncertain, as defined in Part II.[1] Those which are fragmentary and the gaming counter (358) from Grave 336 are, however, considered elsewhere and so are not included here.[2]

i. GLASS TESSERA *by* D. B. HARDEN

268, Grave 250 (330–50)

The position in which this blue glass tessera was found left little doubt that it had been deliberately placed in the grave, either as a game-counter or as a talismanic amulet. That mosaic tesserae of glass may have been preserved and used singly or in twos and threes is shown by the discovery of a few at the Roman palace at Fishbourne (Sussex), where no mosaics containing glass tesserae were found.[3] In favour of their interpretation as game-counters are the mosaic tesserae and other objects from Lombard graves in the Nocera Umbra cemetery in Italy, which were so interpreted by their excavators. These include a group from Grave 150, comprising two mosaic tesserae of glass (one green, one sky-blue), the pointed end of a glass drinking-horn, and fragments of a sky-blue glass vessel, all found together near the right elbow.[4] If, however, our tessera was an amulet or a talisman, I do not think we should compare it with Charon's obol of Greek and Roman days, for that was not talismanic but an established custom. Many other small objects and fragments of objects found in Roman graves must, however, have been amuletic and the same is true in Anglo-Saxon times, as is proved by the many instances cited by A. L. Meaney.[5]

ii. MINIATURE AXES

404 and **681**, Grave 326 (350–80)

404 consists of a bronze collar with a bronze head 15 mm long. There is no trace of a shaft, which was presumably wooden. **681** is represented only by a much corroded iron head, 10 mm long, which must also have been hafted with wood.

Several miniature axes are known from Britain,[6] although none are grave finds. Examples like **404** and **681** with the head alone in metal are rare, but one is known from Woodeaton (Oxon.).[7] Altogether four miniature axes have been discovered there, and in considering them Kirk discussed the type generally.[8] She listed axes from Roman contexts in Britain and on the Continent, and also examples from the British Iron Age and from Anglo-Saxon graves. To them should be added Sarmatian[9] and Merovingian finds.[10]

[1] See above, p. 154.
[2] See above, pp. 213 (glass fragments), 220 (knife-handle), 251 (gaming counter), 276–7 (buckle-loop), and 315 (pin-head).
[3] Harden and Price 1971, 367, No. 110, Fig. 144.
[4] Pasqui and Paribeni 1918, Grave 150*a*.
[5] Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 32–3.
[6] Listed in Kirk 1949, 33–4.
[7] Ibid. Fig. 8, No. 6.
[8] Ibid. 32–5.
[9] Examples illustrated in Párducz 1950.
[10] e.g. Koch 1970, Abb. 2, Nos. 4 and 5.

Miniature axes of the kind being discussed here can clearly be distinguished from the miniature axes found in Germanic child graves, for the latter were much larger, the shortest being 63 mm long.[1] Otherwise objects of differing functions seem to be involved. Some of the axes were undoubtedly pins, for example two from Lydney (Glos.),[2] while others were equally certainly pendants.[3] Further examples, including at least two from Woodeaton,[4] have no obvious function. These may have been votive, as Kirk suggested, for they carry designs which could be symbolic.[5] **404** is unlikely to have been a pendant or a pin, in view of its bronze collar. Furthermore, **404** and **681** both lay near the right hand of Grave 326 and not in the vicinity of the skull, where pins and pendants might be expected. Whether, however, they should be regarded as ritual is unclear.

iii. FINDS NOT DEFINITELY IDENTIFIED

Bronze

325, Grave 336 (350–70). A section of bronze wire, 30 mm long and slightly curved, found to the left of the skull. It lay on the same level as the skeleton and may have been deliberately placed with the burial. It could be part of a bracelet, but does not resemble any others in the grave.

624, Grave 413, fill (390–410). A fragment of bronze sheet, discovered in the grave fill. Not illustrated.

Iron

378, Grave 347 (390–410). A trapezoidal iron plate, found on the right shoulder, the narrow end towards the head. The terminal of the narrow end is lost; the wide end may have been attached to some organic material, perhaps wood.

545, Grave 405 (390–410). A crook-shaped object found in the stomach area, near the right pelvis. Its tip is lost, so that any point is missing, but it could have been a pin.

618, Grave 350, fill (370–90). A bent iron strip, rectangular in cross-section, wider at one end than the other. It is reminiscent of a knife-tang, although traces of wood are lacking; it probably belonged with the blade, **617,** found in the fill of the adjacent Grave 349.[6]

619 and **621,** Grave 280 (390–410); **620,** Grave 386 (370–410); **623,** Grave 413, fill (390–410). Long, thin fragments of iron, much corroded, which could be restored as pins or needles, but which are more probably the shanks of small nails.

625, Grave 55, fill (350–70). A strip of iron, bent into a half-circle, with a spike attached. Since the time of Pitt Rivers, these objects have been described as ox-goads.[7] **625** was found near the bottom of Grave 55, outside the coffin, but there was no reason to associate it with the burial.

671, Grave 406, fill (390–410). A small object, possibly a nail, but seemingly not of the right shape.

Iron and wood

672, Grave 250 (330–50). Six iron nails, five of them lying well outside the limits of the coffin, and clearly nothing to do with it (Fig. 51). These nails have round heads and although broken, they seem to have been about 60 mm long. Wood traces are corroded to them. Their disposition did not suggest

[1] See Ottinger 1974, esp. 407–10.
[2] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, Fig. 18, Nos. 61 and 62.
[3] For example, those from Merovingian graves discussed in Koch 1970.
[4] Kirk 1949, Pl. IV, C and D.
[5] Ibid. 32–3.
[6] See above, pp. 75 and 77.
[7] Pitt Rivers 1887, Pl. XXIX, 10; Pitt Rivers 1892, Pl. CLXXXIII, 17, 18, 19.

any particular shape, but they are difficult to explain except in terms of a box. The arrangement of the other grave-goods in the grave was rather unusual (Fig. 51), but it would be entirely consistent with such a box, which might have measured 300 by 300 mm or 300 by 500 mm. The nails would have been concentrated on one side. They could represent repairs, the box having originally been jointed. Not illustrated.

Leather

195, Grave 155 (310–350/70). Three pieces of leather, two of them curved, with a radius of about 15 mm and with a distinctly conical shape. They were found by the skull among various personal ornaments. Not illustrated. Perhaps a fragmentary spindle-whorl.

441, Grave 323 (350–70). Some leather found at the right wrist, preserved through contact with iron and bronze bracelets and now fragmentary as it could not be consolidated. When found, it seemed to encircle the wrist bones, and to be enclosed by the bracelets. It had a brownish surface, and appeared to extend as far up the arm as the bracelets. It was perhaps a sleeve or cuff, and in appearance, though not presumably in function, it could have resembled the wrist-guards used in archery.[1] Not illustrated.

694, Grave 336 (350–70). Leather preserved around **360**, an iron key with bronze rings (**361** and **362**). Probably this is the remains of a pouch, which would have contained the key and rings, and also the jet spindle-whorl found with them (**359**). Some wood fragments were preserved with the leather: these could have come from the coffin, a wooden object the pouch contained (e.g. a spindle), or, perhaps, from decoration on the pouch itself. Not illustrated.

[1] I owe this suggestion to Mr. Martin Biddle.

15

TEXTILE REMAINS

by ELISABETH CROWFOOT

i. DISCUSSION

VERY few pieces of textile have been preserved on grave-goods from the Lankhills cemetery, and all were too far replaced for fibre identification to be successful. There are, however, among them some interesting fragments from woven goods showing techniques present on other provincial Roman sites.[1]

A coarse scrap of four-shed twill from **69** (Grave 81) is woven with thick paired threads in one system and a fine well-plyed thread in the other (Fig. 40*b*). Though replaced, it is clear from its appearance that it was a good quality wool, in which the combination of such different yarns in warp and weft gives a pattern of strong diagonal lines; it may have been a cloak or blanket. Pieces of woollen twill from a well at Huntcliff (N.R. Yorks.) of *c.* A.D. 370 also have paired threads in one system, which Wild now considers probably the weft, though in this case the other thread is unplyed.[2] Paired threads are used for the weft systems of many tabby weaves from Roman sites, but do not seem to reappear so far in domestic Anglo-Saxon textiles until the ninth century.[3] Earlier examples of twill with paired threads in one system and plyed threads in the other were found in the Hallstatt (Austria) salt mines.[4]

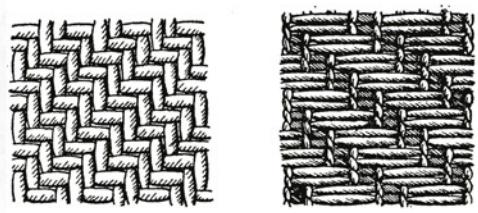


FIG. 40. Textile fragments corroded to knife **69** (Grave 81): diagrams of the weave of fragments *a* and *b*.

The surface of a fragment of tabby weave on the back of buckle **603** (Grave 443) seems to have been napped, the soft raised fibres obscuring the threads. This treatment of woollen materials was well known in Roman weaving, and Wild has produced evidence that the *tunica pexa*, a tunic with a napped surface, must have been a recognised local product in Roman Britain.[5] Fragments of replaced woollens with a napped surface from graves at Stretton-on-Fosse (War.) show the continuation of Roman textile techniques in an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery notable for other interesting Roman survivals.[6] As the buckle on which the fragment is preserved at Lankhills lay at the feet, the napped woollen fabric may in this case have come from a cloak rather than a tunic.

Four good-quality tabby weaves are almost certainly of flax. In those from men's graves, from a brooch (**447**) worn at the shoulder in Grave 322, and from underneath the plate of buckle **27** (Grave 23), the linen probably comes from tunics; in the others, from bracelets in women's graves, **438** (Grave 323) and **568** (Grave 438), the material probably came either from head-veils or linen gowns.

[1] I gratefully acknowledge the kindness of Dr. D. F. Cutler, Jodrell Laboratory, the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and Dr. M. L. Ryder, Animal Breeding Research Organisation, Roslin, Midlothian, in examining fibre specimens.

[2] Wild 1970, 97 and personal communication. Table A, 5–7, 9, 27, 30; Table B, 23, 34.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Hundt 1959, 75–6, No. 12, Abb. 5.

[5] Wild 1967*b*.

[6] E. Crowfoot in forthcoming report.

A fine (?) wool twill preserved, together with the coarser twill mentioned above, by knife **69** at the waist in Grave 81 (Fig. 40*a*) may again come from a man's tunic. One of the preserved fragments of leather belt (**27** from Grave 23) seems to have had stitched edges.

ii. CATALOGUE

27 (bronze buckle), Grave 23 (350–80). On underside of plate, fine replaced textile, area 20×7 mm, along edge furthest from buckle, and other smaller areas. From its appearance this must have been flax. Spinning, Z, Z, weave tabby, count *c.* 20/18 per cm (taken at 10/9 on 5 mm). A rather open weave which has pulled on the cross. Inside the plate, parts of a leather belt. Remains of coarse Z-threads lie along both edges in one place visible crossing the space between the two surfaces of the plate; as the buckle is riveted to the belt it seems likely that the latter had a stitched edge, or was made of two thicknesses of leather stitched together.

69 (iron knife), Grave 81 (350–70). Fragments of two textiles, replaced by iron. One consists of two scraps, 7×8 and 4×6 mm, (?) fine wool. Spinning Z one system, S the other, fine regular 2/2 twill, count *c.* 14/12 per cm (taken as 7/6 on 5 mm) (Fig. 40*a*). The one fragment of the other textile 10×11 mm must be wool. Spinning, one system fine, Z-spun, S-ply, the other system Z, thick soft yarn used in pairs; weave, 2/2 twill, very regular, count 8–9/20 (10 pairs) per cm (Fig. 40*b*).

121 (bronze cross-bow brooch), Grave 106 (350–370/90). Very small fragment replaced fabric speared on the pin. Both thread systems Z-spun, weave obscure, possibly 2/2 twill in moderately fine wool, *c.* 10 threads per cm.[1]

192 (beads), Grave 183 (350–70). One fragment of thread, 5 mm long, undyed, deteriorated, Z-spun, S-ply, probably flax.

199–202 (four rings), Grave 155 (310–350/70). These rings were tied together, originally in two places, with Z-spun, possibly S-ply, threads, wound round several times, now deteriorated; M. L. Ryder found the fibre unidentifiable, though the appearance suggested flax.

363 (necklace with two bronze catches), Grave 336 (350–70). On one catch, area 10×3·5 mm replaced textile, almost certainly flax. Spinning Z, Z, weave tabby, count 23/20 (taken as 5 on 2·5 mm). On the other, two smaller patches of similar Z-thread.

390 (iron needle), Grave 351 (370–90). Twisted along pin and through eye, replaced threads, probably Z-spun, S-ply. Replacements with it include one clear lump of wood, 10×10 mm on flatter face, and area of wood 20×7 mm along one piece of needle. D. F. Cutler reported that the wood was unidentifiable, since all the finer structures have been completely obliterated.

438 (iron bracelet), Grave 323 (350–70). Fragments textile, almost completely replaced by iron, 8×4, 7×4, 5×3·5 mm, and two other fragments. Z, Z, tabby weave, in folds or layers, count 5/5 on 2·5 mm where best preserved, spinning and weaving even, probably flax.

447 (bronze cross-bow brooch), Grave 322 (370–90). Traces of replaced textile on much of the left side of the brooch, the bow, the underside of the involuted ornament, and the pin, and clearer patches on the bow and left-hand knob, the best *c.* 10×9 mm. Spinning Z, Z, weave tabby, count *c.* 20 (taken as 10 on 5 mm)/12 per cm. Top of the right knob and centre knob, replaced grass and plant stems; one

[1] This note, and that on the thread from **587**, were contributed by Dr. J. P. Wild, who examined the two brooches on which these remains were preserved.

thread-like piece was identified by D. F. Cutler as 'a fragment of very decomposed root'. Textile probably flax.

568 (bronze bracelet), Grave 438 (360–370/80). Fragment replaced textile, 7×3 mm over all. Z, Z, tabby weave, count *c.* 6 on 2·5 mm/8 on 5 mm, i.e. *c.* 24/16 threads per cm, thread variable, ? flax.

587 (bronze cross-bow brooch), Grave 373 (390–400). Two strands of thread binding broken pin to the catch-plate. Yarn very weak, Z-spun, possibly flax.

603 (bronze buckle), Grave 443 (350–70). On back of plate, fragment 17×8 mm replaced textile. Spinning Z, Z, weave tabby, count 14/16 (taken as 8 on 5 mm) per cm; surface appears to have been napped or teaseled; certainly woollen. Inside plate, remains of leather belt.

16

COFFIN-NAILS, COFFIN-FITTINGS, AND COFFINS

MOST of the burials at Lankhills had been in wooden coffins, from which were preserved iron nails and fittings and sometimes wood fragments. Nails were discovered in 338 intact or partially excavated inhumations, and wood fragments without nails occurred in a further two burials. In the remaining sixty-eight intact or partially excavated inhumations, neither wood nor nails were found. In thirty-three of these the position of the skeleton relative to the grave-pit and sometimes other evidence demonstrated the absence of a coffin. The other thirty-five graves had had either no coffin or one without metal fittings.

Graves without coffins were more common at the end of the fourth century (Table 14). West of Feature 12, where burial took place from *c.* 310 to *c.* 370/90, 92 per cent of the graves definitely had a coffin, while in Area O (390–410) only 52 per cent did.[1] This variation forms the background against which the development of coffins and coffin-nails has to be studied.

i. COFFIN-NAILS

(Figs. 41 and 42; Tables 35 and 36)

Over 3,000 coffin-nails were discovered.[2] They were difficult to study as they were often obscured by corrosion, and they could only be characterised by the shape of their head, and by their over-all length. The longest nail measured 220 mm, and the shortest 20 mm; most were between 40 and 110 mm long. The heads were generally round and set horizontally over the stem (Figs. 41 and 42, Nos. 1–14 and 20–1), but a few were triangular and vertical (Fig. 42, Nos. 15–18), and two nails from Grave 25 had domed heads (Fig. 42, No. 19).

As an initial stage in their analysis, the nails from each grave were considered separately, and using the criteria of length and head-shape, they were divided into types. In many graves only one type was present, but in others there could be as many as five. A total of 584 types were defined in this way,[3] and they suggest that nails were made in specific batches.

For the next stage, the types were represented by one selected type nail. These were then studied, first to see if there was any correlation between head-shape and length, and second to determine whether nail lengths were standardised. The evidence for shape and length is summarised in Table 35. This shows that round-headed nails were usually less than 120 mm long, and that the less common triangular-headed nails were generally larger. To enable nail length to be studied, all the type nails were laid out in order. Had there been standard lengths, the type nails would have become longer by steps; they did not, and, rather, there was a continuous and uninterrupted progression from the shortest to the longest.

[1] For Areas W, O, etc., and for the chronological framework established at Lankhills generally, see above, pp. 113–22 and Fig. 9.

[2] Including the nails from Grave 283 (cf. above, p. 61). For the number of nails in each grave, see Table 2, column 19. The laborious and time-consuming work involved in studying the nails was the responsibility of Miss Susanne Hughes, to whom much credit is due for the conclusions presented here.

[3] Entered in Table 2, column 19.

A further objective was to identify chronological variation in average length and shape.[1] The evidence on length is shown in Table 36. West of Feature 12, graves with longer nails were seemingly comparatively late, and in Area E nails were certainly no shorter. However, in Area O, the proportion

TABLE 35

Coffin-nail types: relationship between length and head-shape

Length (mm)	Number of types of that length			
	With round head at right angles to stem		With triangular head set vertically on stem	
		%		%
0–20	1	0	—	—
21–40	13	3	—	—
41–60	92	20	—	—
61–80	165	35	—	—
81–100	133	28	5	26
101–20	53	11	6	32
121–40	5	1	2	11
141–60	4	1	4	21
161–80	2	1	2	11
Total types	468	100	19	100

TABLE 36

Coffin-nails: chronological variation in average length

Average length of the nails in a grave (mm)	Over-all incidence of graves with nails of that length		Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9) for graves with nails of that length							
			Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%			%		%		%
10–40	3	1	1	1	−2	—	—	1	3	1	3
50–80	141	56	98	56	−11	9	56	15	52	19	63
90–120	100	40	73	41	+17	6	38	12	41	9	30
130+	7	3	4	2	+2	1	6	1	3	1	3
Total	251	100	176	100		16	100	29	100	30	100

Note: This table is based on intact graves with coffins in which the total number of nails and the length of each type nail is certain.

of graves with nails more than 90 mm long clearly fell, while graves with shorter nails were more numerous. The evidence thus suggests that until *c.* 390, the average length of nails was static or perhaps increasing, but that thereafter it was reduced. So far as shape is concerned, nails with triangular heads were found in eight graves west of Feature 12, in five in Area E, and in one in Area O. The relatively high number of graves with these nails in Area E suggests that they were common after

[1] The average length of the nails in each grave was calculated by computer. For the computer analysis in general, see above, pp. 198–200.

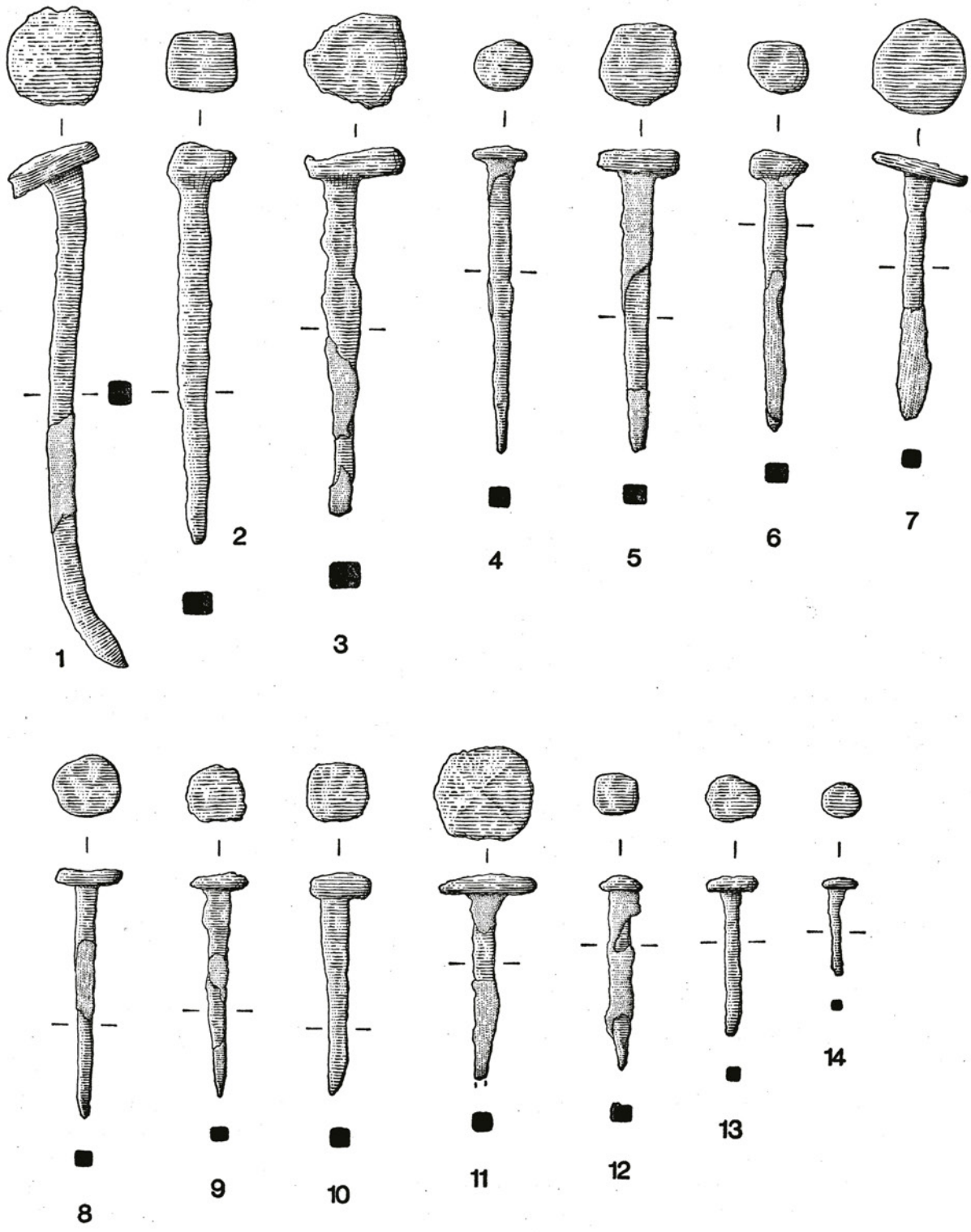


FIG. 41. Round-headed coffin-nails (1:2). Iron, wood traces stippled.

For the numbers, see p. 332.

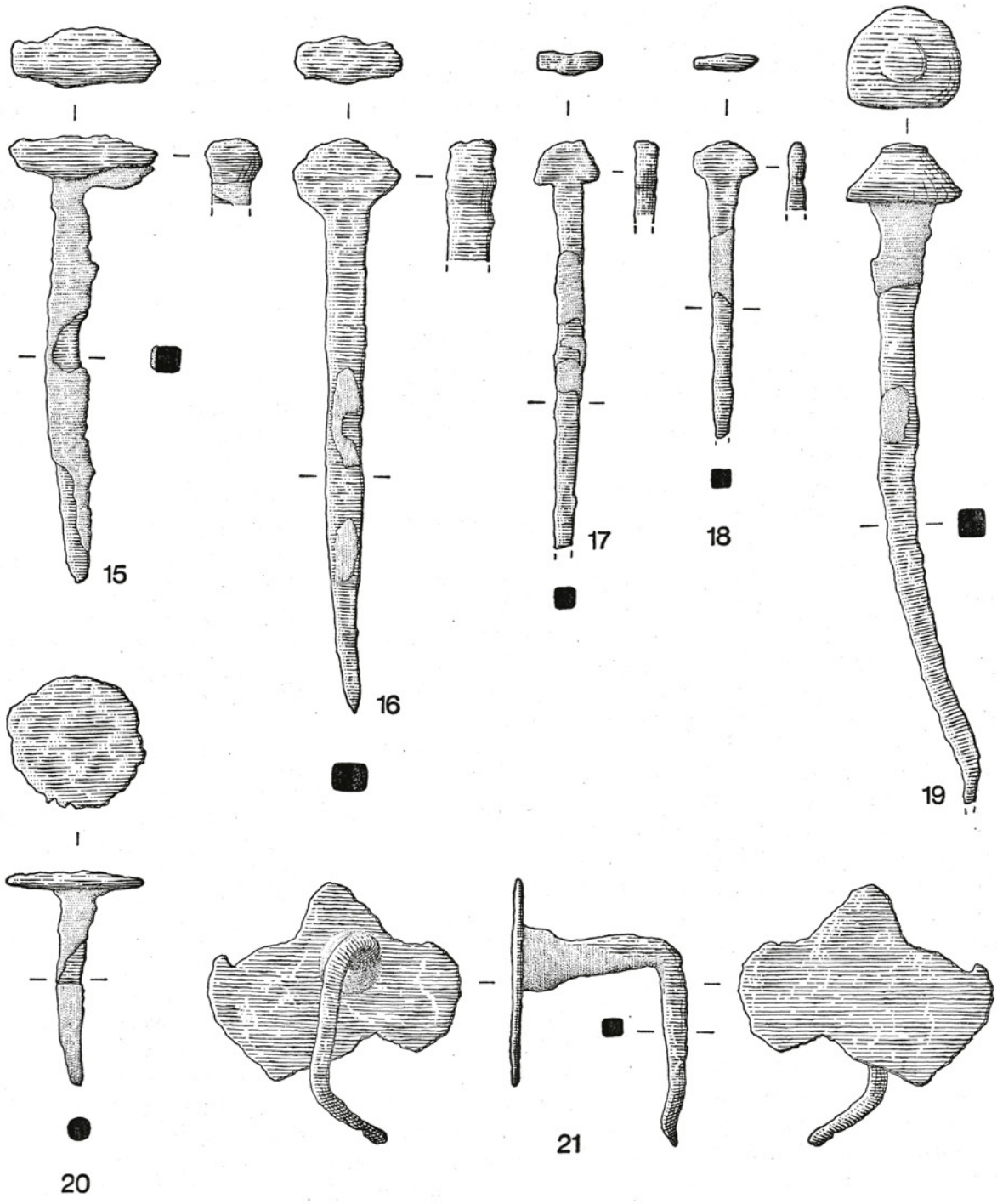


FIG. 42. Round-headed, triangular-headed, and dome-headed coffin-nails 1:2). Iron, wood traces stippled.

For the numbers, see p. 332.

c. 370, but their comparative absence from Area O indicates that this increased frequency had ended by *c.* 390. This variation is presumably related to the changes in nail length.

The most recent discussion of Romano-British nails was by Manning, relating to the finds from *Verulamium*, Insula XIV.[1] As with the Lankhills sample, Manning distinguished round-headed from triangular-headed nails, and it seems clear that the two types have a general validity. Manning also suggested that a large enough sample might show that nail lengths were standardised. Lankhills, having provided just such a large sample, shows that this was not so in fourth-century Winchester.

ii. COFFIN-FITTINGS

(Figs. 43, 44, and 45)

Coffin-fittings as well as nails were discovered in Graves 248, 250, and 435 and in the fill of Grave 55; Grave 55 had completely destroyed Grave 56, which was presumably the source of the fittings. In Graves 248 and 250 the fittings were angled, and in Grave 435, and probably also in Grave 56, they were simple iron strips.

There were twelve angle-fittings in Grave 248: two at each corner, one above the other, and two along each side (Fig. 45; Plate IXb). The fittings were all similar (Fig. 44), between 27 and 33 mm in width, with arms 100 to 140 mm long. Both arms were attached to the wood by two nails. Eight angle-fittings were found in Grave 250, two at each corner, one above the other (Fig. 45; Plate IXc). Seven of the fittings were between 46 and 52 mm wide, with arms 120 to 155 mm long (Fig. 43, A, C, D). The eighth fitting was different, being 33 mm wide, with arms 110 mm long (Fig. 43B); it was similar to those in Grave 248. There were thus two types of angled coffin-fitting: a wide version in Grave 250, and a narrow version in Grave 248 with one example in Grave 250. Grave 250 is datable to *c.* 330–50 and Grave 248 to *c.* 340–50.

Two strip-fittings were found in Grave 435. Both had been attached, one above the other, slightly to the left on the foot end of the coffin (Fig. 45). The upper strip, broken when found, was 21 mm wide and at least 108 mm long, and the lower one was 34 mm wide and 170 mm long (Fig. 44). Each had been fixed to the wood by at least three nails. Grave 435 can be dated to 350–70. Five relatively large coffin-fitting fragments from Grave 56 were discovered in Grave 55 (Fig. 44). Four were 29 mm wide, and the fifth 24 mm. None of the fragments was angled and as a corner of the coffin of Grave 56 was discovered intact without a fitting, these fragments appear to have belonged to strip-fittings. Grave 56 is dated to 310–50.

The coffin-fittings may not have been exclusively, or indeed principally, functional. In Grave 435, there is no evidence that they were attached to more than one plank, and in Graves 248 and 250 there was an unusually large number of nails, which would have been more than adequate to hold a coffin together, even if it was unduly massive. All four graves with coffin-fittings probably belonged to people of relatively high status: Grave 435 was cut into Feature 12, after 350 a favoured location for burial;[2] Graves 56, 248, and 250 were step-graves;[3] and Grave 250 contained five vessels, more than any other at Lankhills. Coffin-fittings may have been a further manifestation of this high status, perhaps fixed to coffins to impress onlookers before and during burial.

Angled coffin-fittings have been found elsewhere in Britain, for example at Poundbury, Dorchester (Dorset),[4] Frilford (Berks.),[5] and Guilden Morden (Cambs.).[6]

[1] In Frere 1972, 186–8.
[2] See above, p. 191.
[3] See above, pp. 134 and 191.
[4] Green 1967, 135.
[5] Rolleston 1870, 428, Pl. XXIV, Fig. 6.
[6] Fox and Lethbridge 1925, 61.

iii. COFFINS

(Fig. 45 and Table 37)

All the Lankhills coffins were wooden, wood fragments being corroded to the coffin-nails or sometimes preserved in isolation. To judge by the nails in graves such as Grave 25 (Fig. 42, No. 19), some coffin-planks must have been very thick; their thickness ranged from 10 to 56 mm, most falling between 20 and 40 mm.

TABLE 37

Coffins: chronological variation in the number of nails used

Number of nails in grave	Over-all incidence of graves with that number of nails		Chronology: stratigraphic evidence (cf. pp. 121–2 and Fig. 9) for graves with that number of nails							
			Incidence in Area W (310–370/90)		Score in Area W	Incidence in Area F (350–410)		Incidence in Area E (370–410)		Incidence in Area O (390–410)	
		%		%			%		%		%
1–10	80	*29*	45	*23*	+12	6	*33*	11	*37*	18	*53*
More than 10	199	*71*	152	*77*	−2	12	*67*	19	*63*	16	*47*
Totals	279	*100*	197	*100*		18	*100*	30	*100*	34	*100*

Note: This table is based on intact graves with coffins, in which the total number of nails was certain.

The number of nails used varied widely, for while in a few graves (e.g. Grave 78) there were more than fifty, in others there were only one or two, and in at least two graves with coffins there were none. Sometimes the nails were evenly distributed around the corners and sides of the coffin, but often this was not so.[1] Those graves with few nails, no nails, or unevenly distributed nails show that nails were frequently not essential in coffin construction: jointing and wooden pegs must have been used as well or instead. Evidence summarised in Table 37 suggests that from *c.* 370 the number of nails used was generally falling.

Were the coffins rectangular, or were they like Saxon stone coffins and narrower at the foot? The coffins with angle-fittings in Graves 248 and 250 were certainly approximately rectangular, but they do seem to have been slightly tapered as well, their feet being 50–100 mm narrower than the head (Figs. 45 and 51). In some graves where many wood fragments were preserved the coffins were tapered also, for example in Graves 158 and 417 (Figs. 48 and 51), but in others they were rectangular, for example in Graves 130 and 431 (Figs. 54 and 65). It is difficult to know how much reliance should be placed on this evidence, but it does suggest that coffins could be of either shape. It is not possible to say whether either was more typical, for the difference between them could only be recognised in a few graves.

Did the coffins have lids? It has been argued that Romano-British coffins at Mucking (Essex) did.[2] No conclusive evidence was recovered at Lankhills, but it was noticeable that no nails or coffin-fittings were found where they would inevitably have had to fasten one (cf. Fig. 45). The evidence of the coffin-fittings is significant here, for if, as seems likely, they were decorative, any lid would surely have had fittings attached. It is only necessary to look at iron-bound coffins of middle and late Saxon

[1] See above, Table 2, col. 20 for the disposition of nails in individual graves.
[2] Jones and Jones 1975, 149.

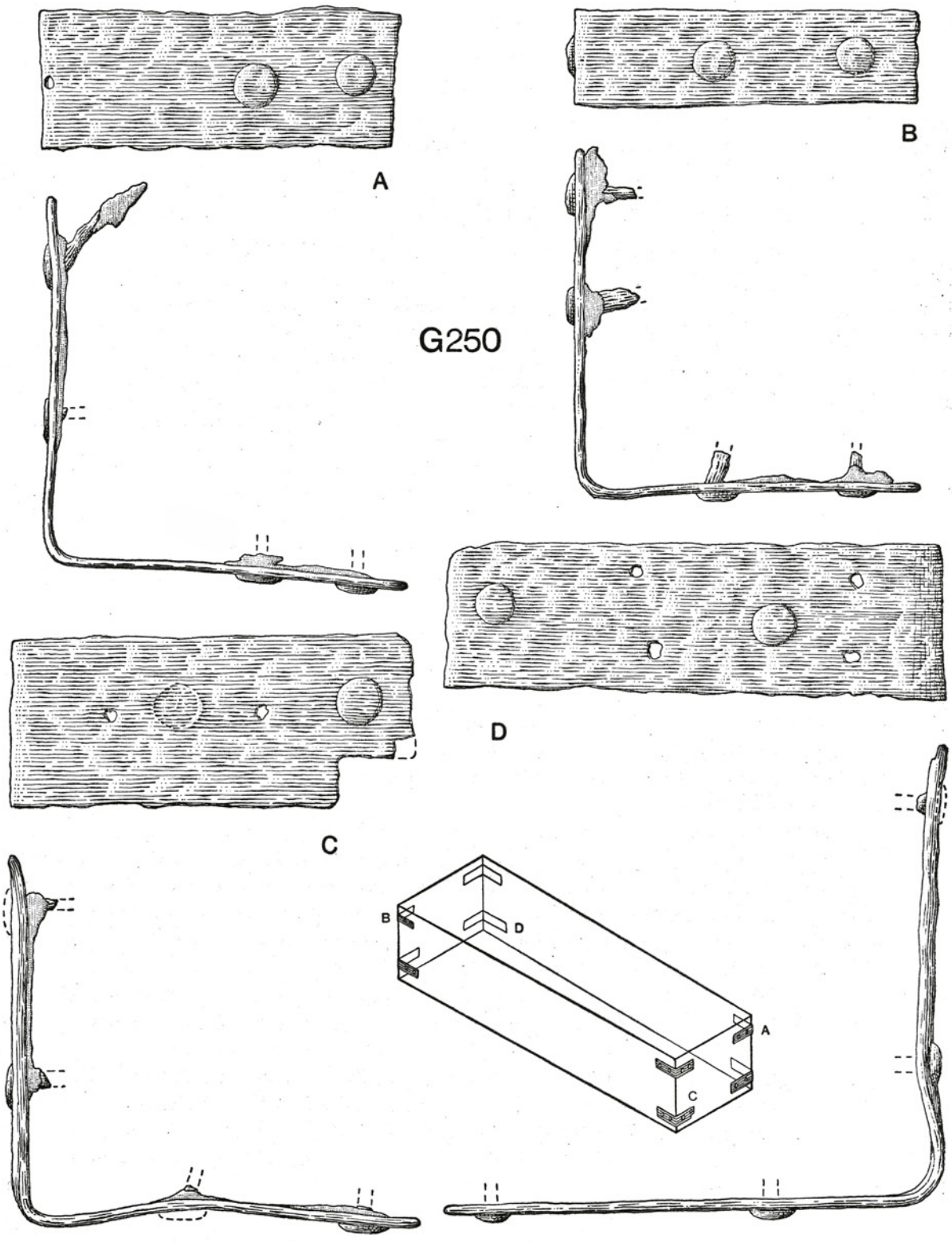


FIG. 43. Coffin-fittings from Grave 250 (1:2). Iron, wood traces stippled.

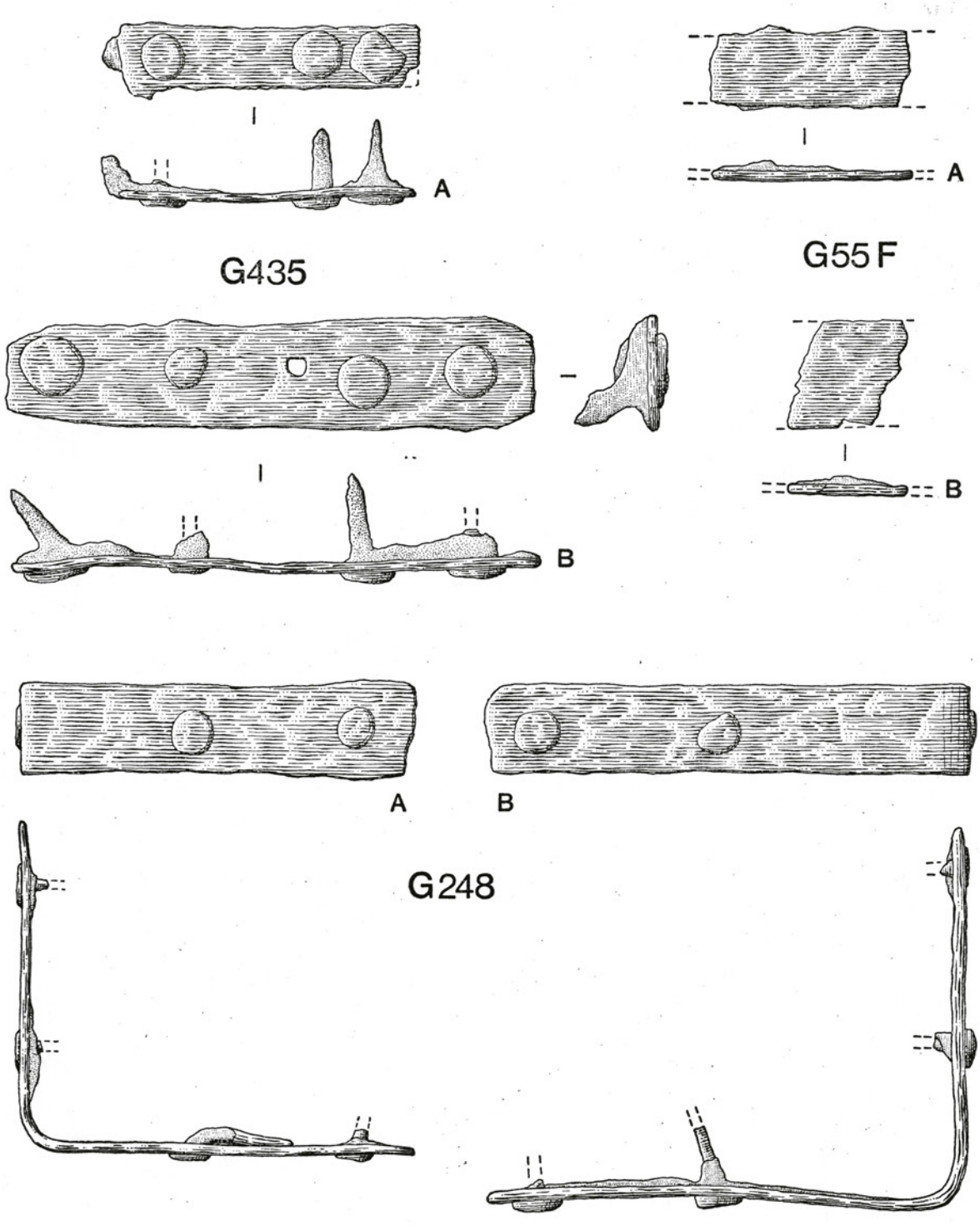


FIG. 44. Coffin-fittings from Graves 55 (fill), 248, and 435 (1:2). Iron, wood traces stippled.

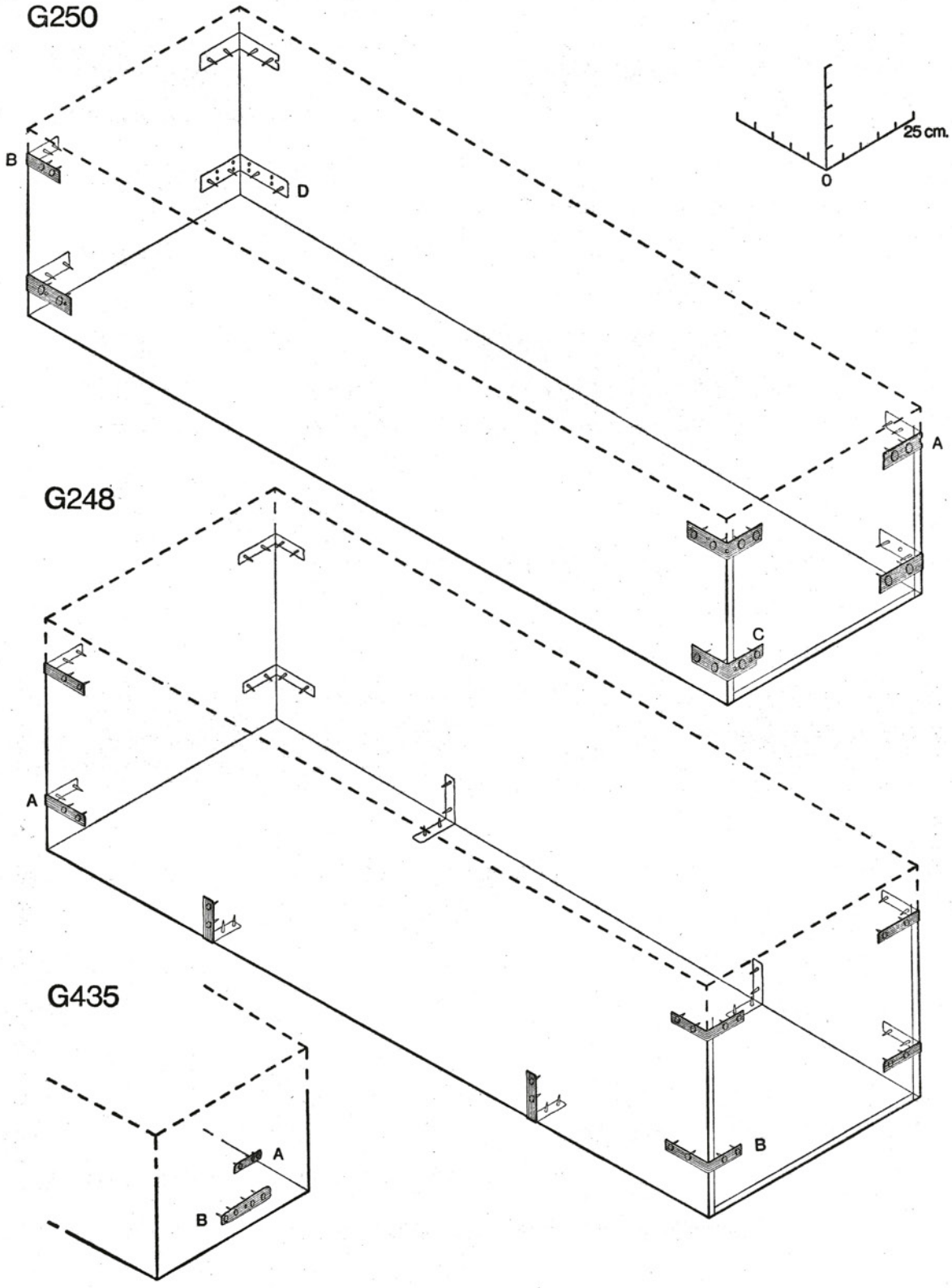


FIG. 45. The coffins from Graves 248, 250, and 435; reconstruction to show the arrangement of the fittings (1:15).

Cf. Fig. 51 and Pls. IX*b* and IX*c*. Coffin-nails are omitted.

date to see how much a lid could be embellished.[1] The fact that the Lankhills coffins were clearly not so decorated could indicate that they were without lids. But there are arguments against any such conclusion. For one thing, there is the evidence from Mucking, and also the fact that Romano-British stone and lead coffins are lidded. And there is also the practical point that a lack of lids presupposes that clods of earth fell directly on the corpse when the grave was backfilled. In these circumstances, when the Lankhills evidence is as equivocal as it is, it would be wrong to do any more than leave the question open.

iv. CHRONOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS

We have seen that after *c.* 390, when Area O was being used for burial, fewer graves than before had any coffin at all, the nails were generally shorter, and the number used was smaller. The fall in the number of nails and in the use of coffins seems to have started *c.* 370, but the reduction in nail length only began after *c.* 390. These changes may be the result of a change in funerary practice, or they may indicate that the people being buried were of a lower class. Neither explanation is particularly convincing, however. The length and number of nails can have had little to do with funerary practice, and there is ample evidence that the graves in Areas E and O belonged to people just as rich (or poor) as those buried elsewhere in the area excavated. A more satisfactory explanation is that the materials used became less available at the end of the fourth century. They would thus have become more expensive, and so fewer people could have afforded a well-constructed coffin, particularly one with a full complement of nails; and more people would have had to do without a coffin altogether. This trend seems to anticipate the situation in fifth- and sixth-century cemeteries where few if any of the graves have coffin-nails.[2]

[1] For the elaborate coffins of this type found at the Old and New Minsters in Winchester, see Winchester Studies 4 (in preparation).

[2] In this connection, cf. in particular the cemeteries at Mucking, Essex (Jones and Jones 1975, 175) and at Queensford Mill, Dorchester on Thames, Oxon. (Durham and Rowley 1972); and see further below, pp. 345–6.

17

HUMAN SKELETONS: PRELIMINARY REPORTS

THE skeletons found at Lankhills will be extensively discussed and analysed in Volume 9 of Winchester Studies, together with the skeletal material from the Old Minster and other excavations in the city. All that has been done here is to determine the age and sex of the individual skeletons and to examine in detail the seven decapitations.

i. GENERAL NOTE ON AGE AND SEX

by MARY HARMAN

A preliminary examination of the human skeletons was made to determine their age and sex.[1] This work was done under conditions which were not always ideal. Skulls and post-cranial remains were looked at separately, sometimes in different places and on different occasions, and the information derived from them was then amalgamated. It was then not possible to do more than reach a decision concerning the age and sex of each individual. The age of the individual was assessed principally from the degree of epiphyseal fusion, the state of tooth eruption, and the amount of occlusal view. The criteria for suggesting the sex of the adult skeletons were features of the skull and pelvic girdle, but the size and ruggedness of the skeletons was also considered. A more leisurely examination of each skeleton may reduce the uncertainty concerning the age and sex of some individuals.[2]

ii. EVIDENCE FOR DECAPITATION (Plate XVII)

by ROBIN J. WATT

A preliminary examination of the cervical vertebrae from the seven excavated decapitations was followed by a microscopic investigation of the cases of suspected trauma. Attempts to duplicate the types of trauma found on the individuals described below were unsuccessful and resulted in powdering, flaking, or breaking of the bone.

The seven skeletons were all found with their skull and upper vertebrae located near the legs or the feet,[3] thus indicating that these individuals had been decapitated at or after death (Fig. 50). No evidence of decapitation could be found, however, on any of the bones from Graves 120, 348, and 451, in Graves 120 and 348 probably because of poor bone preservation and the consequent incompleteness of the cervical column. Evidence for decapitation was found on the mandible from Grave 379, and on the cervical vertebrae of Graves 379, 427, 441, and 445.

Except for a cut on the under-surface of the mandible in Grave 379, all the observed trauma was localised to the third and fourth vertebrae. In the living, this would be in the region of the middle of the neck. More specifically, trauma on the third vertebrae was directed towards the *inferior* surface,

[1] See Table 2, columns 12 and 13.

[2] There are discrepancies between the results given in Table 2 and those obtained by Mr. R. Watt in a fuller examination of the skeletons; for example, Mr. Watt gives a greater age to many adults. In his description of the decapitated skeletons, Mr. Watt gives his own results, not those in Table 2. Some difference between individual workers is only to be expected where the range of possible variation is wide.

[3] See above, pp. 142 and 192–3.

but on the fourth vertebrae (especially in Grave 445), trauma was directed to the *superior* aspects of the vertebra. This indicates that for these four individuals the preferred method of decapitation involved severing the head in the same place in each case, i.e. between the third and fourth vertebrae. Further, and perhaps remarkably, decapitation was achieved with minimal bone damage. Only after microscopic examination was it accepted that slice marks were inflicted at, or around, the time of death. The matter of death at the time of decapitation becomes a matter of technicality. Had the individual been alive prior to decapitation, death would have followed immediately. For decapitation to have occurred with such minimal bone damage, however, implying a degree of skill and care on the part of the executioner, the victim would probably have needed to be already dead.[1]

The location and direction of the slice marks indicates that decapitation was effected by severing the head from the front. Had decapitation occurred in the classic style with 'the head on the block', damage to the vertebral bodies and spinous processes would have been extensive and immediately recognisable, given the good state of bone preservation. Similarly, decapitation from either the right or left side of the neck would have resulted in greater trauma than has been found in these specimens. The slice marks strongly suggest that the victims were placed on their backs, face upwards. Once the soft tissues in front of the spine were cleared (e.g. wind-pipe and muscle tissue), the anterior surfaces of the vertebral bodies would be readily exposed, thus making it quite possible to slice between the vertebrae and the lateral articular joints, without doing a great deal of damage to the bone.

Grave 120 (350–370/90). An infant aged about three–four years. It was not possible to assemble the cervical vertebrae since the spinal arches were not ossified and many vertebral pieces could consequently not be recovered. No evidence for decapitation.

Grave 348 (380–410). An adult, sex and age not known due to the very fragmentary and poor condition of the remains. Only the axis vertebra was present and evidence for decapitation could not be obtained.

Grave 379 (390–410). A female aged thirty-five–forty years. All the cervical vertebrae are represented, but the fourth, fifth, and sixth vertebrae were too fragmentary for proper study. The atlas, axis, third, and seventh vertebrae were in good condition. Evidence for trauma was confined in this individual to the mandible and the third cervical vertebra.

Along the inferior border of the mandible on the right side, directly below the socket for the canine, a piece of bone had been sliced and broken off at the base of the symphysis. The direction of the cut was from right to left.

A less conclusive indication of trauma found on the third vertebra can be seen when the vertebra is turned upside down and viewed from behind. Seen from this aspect, damage to the posterior surface of the vertebral body extends downwards, diagonally, from the top right edge to terminate about 2 mm above the mid-line on the lower edge of the vertebral body.

Grave 427 (400–10) (Plate XVII*a*). A male aged about thirty years. The vertebrae are in very good condition. Trauma is confined to four localities on the third vertebra and can easily be seen when the vertebra is turned upside down and viewed from the front. Viewed from this aspect, the four features are:

1. A well-defined nick of bone has been removed from the left spine of the spinous process.
2. A thin but well-defined cut extends across the right articular facet, from right to left.
3. Over the upper right edge of the left articular facet several short incisions are seen which do not appear to extend across the width of the facet face.

[1] Cf. below, pp. 414–21.

4. On the internal surface of the vertebral arch, just below the point where the horns of the spinous process unite, three small, straight cuts are visible. At the left-hand extremity, presumably where first contact with the bone was made, penetration extends internally for about 5 mm.

Grave 441 (370–90). A female aged about twenty-five years. The vertebrae are in good condition, but the fourth lacks the laminae and spinous process which form the vertebral arch and the transverse portions of bone which form the smaller foramina on each side of the vertebral body. In the fourth vertebra evidence for trauma can be seen on the external surface of the right transverse pillar which separates the superior and inferior articular facets. In this case, several incisions have formed a diagonal cut mid-way across the breadth of the pillar. At least three strokes had made this incision.

Grave 445 (350–70) (Plate XVII*b*). A female aged about thirty years. All the vertebrae are represented and in good condition. Evidence for trauma is seen only in the fourth vertebra. Viewed from the anterior aspect, a distinct, straight cut is presented across the superior edge of the vertebral body and is accepted as being representative of an attempt to decapitate by slicing through the intervertebral disc.

Grave 451 (370–90). Possibly female, aged not younger than about twenty-five years. Only the first four vertebrae, all in good condition, were present and no signs of trauma were found. This case may present an example of decapitation without noticeable bone damage.

18

ECONOMIC CONCLUSIONS

ALTHOUGH this study of the Lankhills finds has been concerned mainly with typology and chronology, it must not be forgotten that apart from the skeletal material, they are all industrial products. Potentially, they will reveal the changing fortunes of the industries which produced them. At Lankhills vessels, personal ornaments, and coffins were recovered in sufficient quantity and were well enough dated for the drawing of inferences about the industries behind them to be a practical possibility.

Of the vessels from the Lankhills graves, ninety-one were pottery, seventeen glass, and three pewter.[1] Most of the pottery vessels were discovered in graves datable to 310–50.[2] Few were found in later burials, and only seven came from the hundred or so graves to the east of Feature 12, which were all datable to after *c.* 370. By contrast, two of the three pewter vessels were buried after 350,[3] and no more than three of the glasses were found in graves definitely datable before then.[4] Six glasses came from east of Feature 12, which means that as many glasses as pots were buried in that later fourth-century area. Turning specifically to the pottery, of the colour-coated pots datable before *c.* 350, nineteen were made in the local New Forest kilns and eleven further away in Oxfordshire.[5] By contrast, of those datable to the later fourth century, seventeen came from the New Forest and only one or perhaps two from Oxfordshire. Many of these colour-coated pots, from whatever source, were variously decorated with barbotine, painting, rouletting, and incision. There are fifteen decorated pots among the thirty datable before *c.* 350, but only three among the nineteen examples of later date.

These changes suggest that towards the year 400 the specialised production and widespread distribution of pottery was in decline. This is generally consistent with Fulford's work on New Forest pottery, for he has suggested that the total New Forest production was much lower in the later fourth century, that there were then fewer types, and that, as at Lankhills, decoration was becoming less common.[6] It is also consistent with appearance of hand-made glass-tempered pottery, which was certainly being lost at Lankhills by *c.* 390–410, for a sherd was found in the filling of Feature 40.[7] Lankhills is unusual, however, in showing a decline in Oxfordshire products; at Portchester Castle these became more, not less, common in the later fourth century.[8] The difference between Portchester and Lankhills is perhaps to be explained by sampling error, and especially by the lack of the more common Oxfordshire bowls in the cemetery.[9]

The coffins suggest an equally consistent pattern. First, the custom of using coffins declined; 92 per cent of the graves west of Feature 12 had a coffin, compared with only 52 per cent in Area O.[10] Second, the average number of nails also fell; west of Feature 12, 77 per cent of the coffins had more than ten nails, while in Area O the figure was only 47 per cent.[11] Third, the nails themselves became marginally shorter; 43 per cent of the coffins west of Feature 12 had nails averaging more than 80–90 mm in length, against 33 per cent in Area O.[12] Taken together, these observations show a decline in

[1] Vessels found with the skeleton and coffin in intact or partially excavated inhumations: cf. above, p. 149.
[2] For the pottery, see above, pp. 221–37.
[3] See above, pp. 206–7.
[4] See above, pp. 209–20.
[5] Cf. above, pp. 221–37. Figures compiled from Dr. Fulford's attributions and from dates based on site evidence and the pots themselves.
[6] Fulford 1975*a*, 114–16 and Figs. 38 and 39.
[7] See above, p. 238.
[8] Fulford 1975*a*, 114–16.
[9] Compare Table 32 with ibid. Figs. 57 and 58.
[10] See above, p. 143.
[11] See above, p. 337.
[12] See above, p. 333.

coffin use and the nails used in them. This is consistent with evidence from elsewhere, which indicates a general drop in coffin use in contemporary Romano-British urban cemeteries,[1] and suggests that in the fifth and sixth centuries, coffins were very rare or made without nails.[2] Such changes could reflect changes in funerary rite, or, regarding the nails, changes in coffin construction technique. They probably indicate that the raw materials needed, iron certainly and possibly even coffin-boards, were becoming increasingly difficult and more expensive to obtain.

The manufacture of personal ornaments discloses a different history, reflected in the cross-bow brooches, belt-fittings, and bracelets from Lankhills. Brooch **447**, which was buried 370–90, is one of the most lavish gilt-bronze brooches of its date and if made in Britain it points to a high standard of native craftsmanship.[3] It is far more elaborate than any of the earlier cross-bow brooches from Lankhills, some of which may also be British products. Belt-fittings were certainly made in this country, and in the later fourth century a distinctive native style was evolved,[4] beginning with pieces such as buckles **92** and **603** and strap-end **94**. Ultimately, this developed into the Quoit-brooch style, which is without parallel in Europe, and which cannot have begun much after A.D. 400. Bracelets too were certainly produced in Britain and they may have come to be made of increasingly expensive materials, for at Lankhills bone, shale, and iron seem to have been gradually supplanted by bronze and ivory.[5] Among bronze bracelets, the elaborate Type E was developed,[6] the finest bracelet from Lankhills being of this type and not buried until *c.* 390–410. Clearly personal adornment was being increasingly emphasised, perhaps thus anticipating its post-Roman prominence, so noticeable in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

We can now draw two general conclusions. First, in the later fourth century, the industries producing articles of everyday use such as pottery and nails were in decline, while manufacturing connected with personal adornment was flourishing. Second, while the materials used in mass-production, such as pottery and iron, were used increasingly less, other not so commonplace materials such as glass, bronze, and ivory, were being used at least as much as before. These two conclusions seemingly point to the end of mass-production for a mass-market, one of the hallmarks of the civilised Romano-British economy. They suggest that in the later fourth century the transition to a Dark-Age economy had already begun, the transition to an economy without mass-production, but with lavish items of personal adornment produced to a high standard.[7]

[1] See below, p. 354.

[2] As, for example, at Queensford Mill, Dorchester on Thames, Oxon. (Durham and Rowley 1972), or at Mucking, Essex (Jones and Jones, 1975, 175).

[3] See above, pp. 261 and 263.

[4] See above, pp. 286–8.

[5] See above, p. 301.

[6] See above, pp. 307–10.

[7] This paragraph should be compared with Fulford 1975*a*, 134–6. It should also be compared with recent suggestions that the decline in Romano-British industry started relatively early in the fourth century: see, for example, *Current Archaeology*, 62 (June 1978), 70. This is not the place to evaluate such ideas. But against them should be set the dating of the changes in coffins and nails at Lankhills.

PART IV

DISCUSSION

1

LATE ROMANO-BRITISH BURIAL PRACTICE

PART II of this book has formulated the character and development of fourth-century funerary customs at Lankhills. Since this is the first time that a late Romano-British cemetery has been studied in this way, the question arises of whether the conclusions reached are peculiar to Lankhills, or whether they have a more general application. This question will not be fully answered until other cemeteries have been subjected to detailed analysis, but the present chapter is a brief survey of the evidence now available. It is set in a wider time-scale than the fourth century, for graves of this date cannot be treated in isolation.

i. SURVEY OF THE EVIDENCE

Cemeteries with more than fifty excavated graves

A sample of fifty graves is the absolute minumum from which to generalise about funerary customs. What seem to be all adequately excavated Romano-British cemeteries of this size or larger are listed with bibliographical details in Table 38, and their locations are shown on Fig. 104. Five of the cemeteries consist predominantly of cremations, six of inhumations, and three are mixed.[1] The cremation cemeteries—Baldock, Brough, Brougham, Chichester St. Pancras, and *Verulamium* St. Stephens—date mostly from the second and early third centuries. Of them we need merely note occasional inhumations found at Chichester, Baldock, and *Verulamium*.

The three mixed cemeteries are Guilden Morden (Cambs.) and Ospringe (Kent), which presumably belonged to rural settlements, and Trentholme Drive in York. Guilden Morden was explored in a series of campaigns, in 1924, 1935, and 1968. The results from the two earlier years were published in reasonable detail, although not to the extent of describing each individual grave, but little information is yet available about the work in 1968. A total of about sixty cremations and 120 inhumations are known, dating from the first to the fourth centuries. Excavations at Ospringe took place in 1920–5. They provided evidence for at least eighty inhumations and 250 cremations;[2] many inhumations were

[1] Two sites listed on Table 38, Puckeridge and Hyde Street, are not included in these totals since few details are yet available of Puckeridge and the excavation at Hyde Street is unfinished.

[2] Figures taken from Whiting *et al.* 1931, 4.

probably unrecognised because of poor skeletal preservation. Details of most graves appear from the various publications, but there is no site-plan. As at Guilden Morden all periods of the Roman occupation are represented. The inhumations fall into two types, one of mostly unfurnished graves with the head to the west, and the other of generally furnished burials with the head not to the west. The cemetery at Trentholme Drive

TABLE 38

Extensively excavated Romano-British cemeteries

Site	Cremation	Inhumation	Date	References
Ancaster (Lincs.)	—	*c.* 200	Late IV	*JRS*, 55 (1965), 205; 56 (1966), 203; 57 (1967), 182; 58 (1968), 184; 59 (1969), 214; *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 284; Wilson 1968; *E. Midlands Arch. Bull.* 10 (1974), 16
Baldock (Herts.)	320	a few	I, II, III	Westell 1931
Brough (Cumb.)	57	—	Early II, III/IV	*Britannia*, 4 (1973), 277
Brougham (Cumb.)	*c.* 250	—	Mainly II, a few III/IV	*JRS*, 57 (1967), 177; 58 (1968), 179
Chichester (Sussex), St. Pancras	317	9	II/III	Down and Rule 1971, 53–200
Cirencester (Glos.), Amphitheatre	2	381	IV	McWhirr 1973, 197–200; *Britannia*, 6 (1975), 271; pers. comm.
Dorchester (Dorset), Poundbury	—	1070	IV	Green 1967; 1968; 1969; 1970; 1971; 1972; 1973; 1974; 1975; Reece (ed.) 1977, 50
Guilden Morden (Cambs.)	*c.* 60	*c.* 120	?I–IV	Fox and Lethbridge 1925; Lethbridge 1935; *JRS*, 59 (1969), 223
Mucking (Essex)	8	72	Mainly III	M. Jones 1968, 215; Jones and Jones 1975, 148–9
Puckeridge (Herts.)	? 120	?	III	*Britannia*, 4 (1973), 300
Ospringe (Kent)	*c.* 250	*c.* 80	?I–IV	Whiting *et al.* 1931; Whiting 1921; 1923; 1925; 1926
Verulamium (Herts.), St. Stephens	94	2	II/III	Davey 1935
Winchester (Hants), Hyde Street	92+	80+	I/II	Pers. comm., cf. above, p. 7
Winchester (Hants), Lankhills	7	439	IV	The present report
Winchester (Hants), Victoria Road	5	124	IV	Pers. comm.; *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 318
York, Trentholme Drive	*c.* 50	?*c.* 300	II/III	Wenham 1968

Note: Omitted from this table are cemeteries at Cassington, Oxon. (*JRS*, 27 (1937), 237), and Queensford Mill, Dorchester on Thames (Durham and Rowley 1972). The latter is probably post-Roman. At Cassington two cremations and 94 inhumations were excavated, some with late Roman objects; site records are now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (information from Mr. David Brown).

belonged to the extensive cemeteries of *Eburacum*.[1] About fifty cremations and considerably more inhumations were encountered, dating to the second, third, and early fourth centuries. Site-plans were published, but the excavation was more a search for individual skeletons than the systematic study of a cemetery. This and the other two mixed cemeteries are of great interest as they span most of the Roman period, but their interest is diminished by a lack of systematic analysis and interpretation.

The remaining cemeteries in Table 38 consist predominantly of inhumations. Four, dating to the fourth century, are associated with major walled towns: Poundbury Camp, outside Dorchester (Dorset); the amphitheatre cemetery at Cirencester; and Lankhills and Victoria Road, which both belong to Winchester's northern cemetery.[2] Victoria Road is a complex site, with at least two discrete groups of graves, one unfurnished with heads to the west, and the other of less regular alignment and sometimes with grave-goods. Poundbury Camp currently provides the largest known sample of Romano-British burials.[3] These fall into at least two groups;[4] the smaller, Site D, consists of inhumations,

[1] For the cemeteries around York see *Eburacum*, 67–110.

[2] See above, pp. 4–11, and Fig. 2, No. 24. The excavations at Poundbury, Cirencester, and Victoria Road, Winchester, have been directed by Mr. Christopher Green, Mr. A. D. McWhirr, and Mr. Kenneth Qualmann, respectively, each of whom has kindly discussed his site with me. Since excavations on all three sites have only just been concluded, detailed publications are not available.

[3] The total (1070) entered on Table 38 is that given in Reece (ed.) 1977, 50.

[4] See Green 1973, Fig. 13 for the site-plan. A third group may be represented by the late shallow and uncoffined inhumations (Reece (ed.) 1977, 51).

frequently aligned north–south, some with grave-furniture, and the larger, Sites B, C, and E, have their heads roughly to the west and with a few exceptions are unfurnished. Of the other inhumation cemeteries in Table 38, that at Ancaster is outside a small town; it is probably of the later fourth century but, although its excavation is completed, it is not yet published.[1] About the last site, Mucking (Essex), little information is available: the cemetery in Table 38 is one of three found in the recent excavations, all presumably belonging to local rural communities.[2]

TABLE 39

Other late Roman burial-places referred to on pp. 347–76

Site	Cremation	Inhumation	Date	References
Borden (Kent)	—	1	IV	Jessup 1959, 23
Bray (Berks.)	7	Several	Mid-IV	*Britannia*, 1 (1970), 301–2; 3 (1972), 349–50; *CBA, Gp. 9 Arch. News Letter*, 2 (1972), 12
Cambridge, Arbury Road	—	6	Early IV	Fell 1955
Castor (Northants), Normangate Field	—	3	IV	*JRS*, 59 (1969), 219; pers. comm.
Chatham (Kent), 'The Brook'	—	11	III/IV	Payne 1898
Frilford (Berks.)	—	6	IV/early V	Bradford and Goodchild 1939, 54–7
Glaston (Rutland)	—	1	Late IV	Webster 1950
Gloucester, Kingsholm	—	8	Early V	Hurst 1975, 272–4; Brown 1975
Horndean (Hants), Snell's Corner	—	6	Late IV	Knocker 1957, 119, 125
Kimmeridge (Dorset)	—	2	IV	Calkin 1947
Leicester, east cemetery	—	*c.* 5	IV	Dare 1927
Linton (Cambs.)	—	5	?*c.* 300	Lethbridge 1936
Lower Slaughter (Glos.)	—	1	*c.* 350	Donovan 1939, 114–17
Lynch Farm, near Peterborough	1	48	III/IV	Jones 1975, 98–100, 104–9
Margidunum (Notts.)	—	10	?Late IV	Todd 1969, 73–8
Middle Wallop (Hants)	—	3	IV	Piggott 1949
Mundford (Norfolk)	—	7	IV	*JRS*, 54 (1964), 168; *Norfolk Research Committee Bulletin*, 15 (1963), 10
Radley (Oxon.)	—	35	IV	Atkinson 1952, 32–5
Rams Hill (Berks.)	—	3	*c.* 400	Piggott and Piggott 1940, 475–7
Tripontium (War.)	Several	Several	III, IV	Cameron and Lucas 1973
Verulamium (Herts.), Verulam Hills	Several	*c.* 15	?III	Anthony 1968, 38–42
Verulamium (Herts.), west cemetery	—	6	Late III/IV	Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 137–8
Winnall (Hants)	—	4	IV	Biddle 1975, 119–20
Winterbourne Down (Wilts.)	36	14	IV	*WAM*, 58 (1963), 470
Woodyates Enclosure (Dorset)	—	5	?IV	Pitt-Rivers 1892, 210–12
Wycombe (Glos.)	—	2	IV	Pers. comm.
York, Castle Yard	—	4	?IV	Ramm 1958

For sites at Icklingham, Owslebury, and Roden Downs, see addendum I.

Cemeteries with fewer than fifty excavated graves; isolated burials

Important smaller groups of graves or single burials are listed in Table 39, which is largely confined to the late Roman period. Some of these finds probably represent isolated burial-places excavated in their entirety, for example Horndean, Kimmeridge, Lynch Farm, Winterbourne Down, and Woodyates. Mostly, however, these graves will have formed part of larger cemeteries, and this is almost certainly true of those from Frilford,[3] Gloucester, Leicester, *Margidunum*, *Verulamium*, and York. To the graves listed in

[1] Mr. D. R. Wilson kindly discussed this cemetery with me.

[2] *Britannia*, 6 (1975), 264–5; Jones and Jones 1975, 148–9, 186–7. Mrs. Margaret Jones and Mr. W. T. Jones have kindly discussed their excavations at Mucking with me.

[3] The cemetery at Frilford was extensive. Many graves were excavated in the last century (Akerman 1865; Rolleston 1870; 1880). Between thirty and forty others were examined in 1920 (Dudley Buxton 1921); and another six in 1937 (Bradford and Goodchild 1939, 54–7). Full details are available only for those found in 1937, and only these are entered in Table 39.

Table 39 should be added many burials which are only reported in the annual surveys in *The Journal of Roman Studies*, *Britannia*, and other periodicals; the numerous graves recorded in the inventories of York,[1] Dorchester (Dorset),[2] and London;[3] the decapitated burials listed in Table 40; and the graves from Winchester included in Part I of this book[4] and in Winchester Studies 3, i.

Approach

The discussion which follows will be presented in much the same way as in Part II. Cremation will be considered first, and then aspects of inhumation grouped under the heading 'the grave'. The main topic is grave-furnishing and it is followed by brief remarks about cemetery organisation. The chapter ends with a detailed treatment of decapitated skeletons, which were considered in Part II both under 'the grave' and under cemetery organisation.

ii. CREMATION IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

Seven cremations were discovered at Lankhills, five of them post-dating 350.[5] They were divided into three types: urned cremations, piles of cremated matter in the topsoil, and cremations consisting of inhumation-sized pits, whose pyre had been in the immediate neighbourhood.[6] As fourth-century cremations from a Romano-British cemetery, they are unusual, for, as the sites listed in Table 38 indicate, by A.D. 300 almost all burials in Britain were inhumations.

But they are not unique. A significant number of fourth-century cremations have been reported in summary form, and these too occur in Romano-British contexts. They come from Brough,[7] Brougham,[8] and York,[9] in the north; from Billericay (Essex),[10] Kelvedon (Essex),[11] and London[12] in the south-east; from Cirencester, perhaps, in the west;[13] and south of the Thames from Bray,[14] Poundbury,[15] Winterbourne Down,[16] Owslebury (Hants),[17] and from two other sites in Winchester itself.[18] Those from the two Winchester sites may, like the five from Lankhills, be datable after *c.* 350. Mostly these cremations parallel the simple urned type at Lankhills, but those from Bray involved an inhumation-sized pit. The piles of bone in the topsoil at Lankhills are not paralleled, perhaps not surprisingly as their survival depended on the unusual conditions within Feature 12.

Interpretation of these cremations is difficult. It can be argued that by the fourth century inhumation had been universally adopted in Roman Britain, and that any fourth-century cremations must belong to outsiders from free Germany, where cremation was

[1] *Eburacum*, 67–110.
[2] ***Dorset II*, 3, 571–85.**
[3] *Roman London*, 153–69.
[4] See above, pp. 4–7.
[5] Graves 26, 60, 237, 359, 361, 420, and 454. Cremations were also discovered in Rescue-observations B, G, and H. See above, pp. 8–9.
[6] See above, pp. 128–30, and **Fig. 46.**
[7] *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 277.
[8] *JRS*, 57 (1967), 177.
[9] *Eburacum*, 91.
[10] *Antiq J*, 54 (1974), 282–5.
[11] *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 305; ***Current Archaeology*, 48** (1975), 27.
[12] *Roman London*, 165, Fig. 68, Nos. 53 and 56.
[13] McWhirr 1973, 197. These two cremations may be third-century (information from Mrs. Linda Viner).
[14] *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 301–2; *CBA Group 9 Arch. News Letter*, 2 (1972), 12.
[15] Green 1973, 97.
[16] *WAM*, 58 (1963), 470.
[17] Collis 1968, 30; Reece (ed.) 1977, 27, no. 35.
[18] Victoria Road and St. James' Lane. For the latter see Bradfield 1846, 146. For Victoria Road, see above, pp. 7 and 348.

still the rule. These arguments could be supported by the rarity of cremation as compared with the ubiquity of inhumation, and they would be consistent with the expansion of Christianity, a religion that regarded cremation as wrong.[1] Furthermore, if the dating for Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Caistor-by-Norwich and elsewhere is correct,[2] it shows that in the fourth century free Germans were present in this country and cremating their dead in their own cemeteries. Especially as the urn in the Billericay cremation had Germanic ornament, the case for regarding fourth-century cremation as entirely foreign might seem strong.

However, this ignores the evidence of context and also the fact that no Germanic objects were associated with any of the cremations listed above. In addition, there are two detailed aspects of the funerary rite to consider, at least as regards the Lankhills examples. First, the inhumation-sized pits find good parallels in earlier Romano-British cemeteries; large 'burnt platforms' at Ospringe[3] sound like Lankhills Grave 359, and cremations at Trentholme Drive with large pits filled with burnt matter[4] resemble Grave 60. Second, we should note the presence of hobnails in Graves 359 and 454; hobnails were also found at Winterbourne Down. Hobnails are commonly found in second- and third-century Romano-British cremations,[5] but they have rarely been reported from Germanic contexts.

These two points provide positive evidence that the Lankhills cremations at least are Romano-British, and, considering their context and lack of associated Germanic objects, any other interpretation of them and most of their parallels is difficult. Cremation must be accepted as a characteristic if rare facet of native funerary customs in fourth-century Britain. Its occurrence may represent nothing more than individual preference, or perhaps the traditionalism to be expected from certain occupations, for example the priesthood.[6]

iii. INHUMATIONS: THE GRAVE

In Part II, five topics were considered under this heading: alignment, the grave-pit, the disposition of the body, the coffin, and flint-packing.

Alignment

Most graves at Lankhills were aligned on major topographical features, the Cirencester road and Feature 12, and their heads were approximately to the west. A few graves were differently aligned, and these became commoner after *c.* 390.[7] The alignment of graves is widely discussed in the context of fourth-century cemeteries, largely, no doubt, because of the possible relationship between graves with their heads to the west and Christianity. In fact, discussion of alignment involves separate topics, first whether graves were aligned in relation to topographical features, and second, the direction of the head.

[1] I am grateful to Dr. J. N. L. Myres for emphasising these points.

[2] Cf. Myres 1969, 63–83; Myres and Green 1973, 12–15; *Arch J*, 131 (1974), 412–13; Morris 1974; and see below, pp. 401–3.

[3] See in particular Grave EG: Whiting *et al.* 1931, 49.

[4] Wenham 1968, 26–32: for example, Cremations 32, 40, and 41.

[5] For example in the St. Pancras cemetery at Chichester: Down and Rule 1971, 73.

[6] See further addendum J.

[7] See above, pp. 131–2, Fig. 10, and Table 5.

Cemeteries like Lankhills where alignment was related to topographical features include Mucking,[1] Poundbury Camp,[2] Victoria Road (Winchester), Winterbourne Down,[3] and Woodyates;[4] and at Radley[5] and Frilford,[6] graves were pointing in the same direction, and a topographical feature could await discovery. Among cemeteries where the arrangement of graves was certainly disorganised are Guilden Morden,[7] Trentholme Drive,[8] Gloucester (Kingsholm),[9] and perhaps *Margidunum*.[10] As regards the direction of heads, all or nearly all were pointed approximately to the west at Ancaster, Frilford, Lynch Farm,[11] and Woodyates, while at Radley[12] and Snell's Corner, Horndean,[13] the graves were on a roughly north–south alignment. At Ospringe and Poundbury Camp there was, as we have already noted, one group of graves with heads to the west and no furniture, and another group or groups with heads in different directions; these contained grave-goods.[14] Another site with graves on several alignments may be Cirencester,[15] and Lankhills too should possibly be mentioned here, in view of the marked variation in alignment at the end of the fourth century.

Two general points should be made. First, cemeteries where graves were aligned in an orderly manner, perhaps on a topographical feature, were much more common in the fourth century than before. Thus, none of the sites in Table 38 dating from that period was completely unordered, whereas two of the three cemeteries of predominantly earlier date, Guilden Morden and Trentholme Drive, definitely were. Second, graves with their heads to the west seem to have been comparatively normal in the fourth century and rare if not unknown before. Thus, whereas none of the fourth-century cemeteries in Table 38, apart from Cirencester, had a substantial number of graves with heads other than to the west, it is hard to point to any definitely second- or third-century burials that were so aligned. It can be concluded that east–west alignment was prevalent in the fourth century. However, it never became ubiquitous, as the cemeteries at Cirencester, Gloucester, Radley, and *Margidunum* demonstrate. Nor was any trend in its favour consistent; the late graves at Lankhills indicate this. But in the sub-Roman period east–west alignment seems to have become the rule, in lowland Britain at least.[16]

The grave-pit

The analysis in Part II showed that by A.D. 400 the grave-pits at Lankhills were becoming shallower and increasingly badly dug.[17] Attention was also drawn to several graves, dating mainly to the earlier fourth century, which had been cut with a step to either side of the main pit: it was suggested that timbers placed across these steps had formed a chamber beneath.[18]

[1] Jones and Jones 1975, Fig. 49 (a).
[2] Green 1973, Fig. 13.
[3] *WAM* 58 (1963), 470.
[4] Pitt Rivers 1892, 216–17, Pl. CLXII.
[5] Atkinson 1952, Fig. 15.
[6] Bradford and Goodchild 1939, 65–6, Fig. 12.
[7] Lethbridge 1935, Fig. 2; Fox and Lethbridge 1925, 61.
[8] Wenham 1968, 33.
[9] Hurst 1975, 272.
[10] Todd 1969, Fig. 33.
[11] Jones 1975, 98, Fig. 4.
[12] Atkinson 1952, 32.
[13] Knocker 1957, 119, Fig. 2.
[14] See above, pp. 347–9.
[15] McWhirr 1973, 198; information from Mrs. Linda Viner.
[16] Cf. Rahtz and Fowler 1972, 199–201 (Somerset) and Durham and Rowley 1972 (? post-Roman cemetery at Queensford Mill, Dorchester on Thames (Oxon.)). For alignment and religion, see below, pp. 424–7.
[17] Cf. above, pp. 132–6.
[18] For a plan, section, and reconstruction of one such grave (Grave 208), see Fig. 11.

This evidence concerning grave-pits cannot be set against that from other sites, since insufficient information has been published. Furthermore, most of the Lankhills observations were directly related to the chalk subsoil, which is found only over limited areas. The possibility of grave-chambers is nevertheless of interest. Almost exact parallels to the Lankhills step-graves are provided by several graves from Roden Downs,[1] and in two of these[2] traces of planking indicated grave-chambers similar to those suggested at Lankhills. Step-graves have also been discovered at Victoria Road, Winchester.

Disposition of the body

The analysis of body position at Lankhills was concerned with the torso, the legs, the arms, and the head.[3] People were invariably buried on their back until the end of the fourth century, when a significant number began to be interred on their side, or face down. Legs were generally straight, but in several graves datable to *c.* A.D. 400, they were bent or crossed. Arms were placed in a variety of positions; more people had been buried with both arms folded in the later fourth century than before. Heads lay either face upwards or to one side or had been severed from the body and placed by the legs; there was little chronological change, but children were frequently buried with their head to the right. The general trend was that considerable uniformity in body position prevailed during most of the fourth century, but that this began to break down towards the year 400.

It is not practical to discuss how the heads and arms were arranged in other cemeteries, as almost no information is available.[4] It is only possible to comment on the arrangement of the body and legs, and it is clear that throughout the Roman occupation these were placed in every possible position. Thus in the second- and third-century graves at Trentholme Drive, York, some skeletons lay on their front, some on their side, and many had their legs crossed.[5] The same situation prevailed among contemporary graves at Guilden Morden[6] and Chichester.[7] The cemeteries at Cirencester,[8] Gloucester,[9] and *Margidunum*[10] testify to similar positioning in the fourth century, several of the skeletons at Cirencester and Gloucester being on their front. At Poundbury Camp,[11] Lynch Farm,[12] and Radley,[13] by contrast, most bodies appear to have been carefully laid out on their back, with legs straight. These observations do not suggest any clear trend, chronological or otherwise, and they indicate that what was observed at Lankhills was not of general application.

Coffins

Traces of wooden coffins were discovered in most graves at Lankhills. Generally, only iron nails were left, but sometimes wood fragments were found. In Part II it was shown

[1] For this site, see addendum I.

[2] Graves 6 and 8.

[3] See above, pp. 137–42. See also Figs. 48 and 49 for illustrations of the different skeletal positions.

[4] Decapitated skeletons are an exception and are discussed separately below, pp. 372–5.

[5] Wenham 1968, 38, Figs. 9–11, 13–14, and 16.

[6] Fox and Lethbridge 1925, Fig. 1.

[7] Nine inhumations were found in the St. Pancras cemetery (Burials 72, 80, 157, 158, 185, 193, 271, 325, and 326), four of which (Graves 157, 185, 193, and 271) had been buried in an unusual position: Down and Rule 1971, 53–126.

[8] McWhirr 1973, 198, Pl. XXII*b*.

[9] Hurst 1975, 272.

[10] Todd 1969, Fig. 33.

[11] See in particular Green 1971, 154.

[12] Jones 1975, 100.

[13] Atkinson 1952, 32.

that until *c.* 390, 80 or 90 per cent of the burials were coffined, but that this proportion fell thereafter.[1]

Discussion of wooden coffins is hampered by difficulties in recognising them. Some will have been made entirely without nails, thus often leaving no archaeological trace, and others with so few nails that their presence is dubious. Even where a coffin had a full set of nails, these might decay in unfavourable soil, or go unrecognised in an inadequate excavation. Such considerations mean that any lack of coffins may reflect only the limitations of survival and observation.

At Ospringe, Hawley noted coffin-nails in about seven inhumations.[2] The fact that he noticed these suggests that he would have noticed any in other burials and so, perhaps, coffins with nails were rare at Ospringe. At Trentholme Drive, York, the excavator considered that many if not most of the burials had been in nailed coffins.[3] The report on the 1924 excavations at Guilden Morden noted that seventeen of the forty inhumations then discovered had been in coffins.[4] Among fourth-century cemeteries, almost every grave at Poundbury Camp had a coffin, and at Ancaster[5] and Cirencester[6] most probably did; at Poundbury there were a few uncoffined late burials.[7] Elsewhere, at Frilford by no means all the Romano-British burials were coffined,[8] at Lynch Farm just one-third of the graves were coffined,[9] at Radley only one grave contained nails,[10] and at Gloucester there was evidence for coffins in only four of the eight burials found.[11]

In general, it does not seem possible to detect an over-all chronological trend. Among the cemeteries in use throughout the Roman period, there is the apparent difference between Guilden Morden and Trentholme Drive and, in the early fourth century, the graves from Radley can likewise be contrasted with those from Lankhills. There would thus seem no reason to suppose that coffin-burial was the rule until *c.* 390, only becoming rare thereafter. In another respect, however, it may be possible to draw a conclusion. Coffins seem much more typical of cemeteries associated with walled towns than of those in rural areas; they were common at Trentholme Drive, Lankhills, Ancaster, Poundbury Camp, and Cirencester, but rare at Ospringe, Guilden Morden, Lynch Farm, and Radley. But the late graves at Lankhills, Gloucester, and Poundbury Camp do suggest that even in these urban cemeteries, coffin-burial became rare shortly before 400. Here at least the picture apparent at Lankhills may have a general validity.

Although most Romano-British coffins were wooden, some were of stone or lead. Fourth-century stone coffins are relatively common; they have been found, for example, at Ancaster,[12] Cirencester,[13] Poundbury Camp,[14] Arbury Road (Cambridge),[15] Castor,[16] and Glaston.[17] The same is true of lead coffins;[18] instances come from Poundbury Camp,

[1] See above, pp. 142–3. Some coffined burials are shown on Fig. 51.
[2] Whiting *et al.* 1931: Graves BU, FW, GA, HD, HE, JX, and KJ.
[3] Wenham 1968, 39.
[4] Fox and Lethbridge 1925, 60–1.
[5] Wilson 1968, 198.
[6] McWhirr 1973, 197–8.
[7] Green 1973, 97.
[8] Rolleston 1870, 428; Duxley Buxton 1921, 91; Bradford and Goodchild 1939, 56–7.
[9] Jones 1975, 100.
[10] Atkinson 1952, 34.
[11] Hurst 1975, 272.
[12] Wilson 1968, 198.
[13] McWhirr 1973, 197, Pl. XXII*a*.
[14] Green 1969, 184; 1973, 97, Fig. 13.
[15] Fell 1955, 17–18.
[16] *JRS*, 59 (1969), 219.
[17] Webster 1950, 72.
[18] See further addendum K.

Frilford,[1] and the eastern cemetery in Winchester.[2] The absence of lead and stone coffins at Lankhills is perhaps surprising. With stone coffins, absence might be due to the lack of suitable local stone, but this explanation does not account for lead coffins. Their absence might reflect the status of the people buried at Lankhills, but this is hard to reconcile with the rich grave-furniture the site has produced.

Packing

Thirty-eight of the Lankhills graves contained flints or tiles which either flanked the coffin or, when there was no coffin, rested directly on the body.[3] Sometimes the flints and tiles formed a tight packing, but in other graves only one or two were present and occasionally it was not possible to say whether they had been deliberately positioned. In Part II, it was shown that packing was common only after *c.* 370.

The deliberate placing of stones or tiles recurs throughout the Roman period. Two phenomena have to be distinguished. The first is where a grave-chamber or cist was constructed, either mortared or dry-built, with a roof which rested on the walls of the chamber, and not on any coffin inside. The second is packing such as was found at Lankhills, where the stones usually flanked the burial, those above lying directly on the body or coffin. Grave-chambers or cists are common in stone country: one was discovered at Trentholme Drive, York,[4] and others are known from Lower Slaughter[5] and Kimmeridge.[6] Although some of these examples are certainly late, such graves cannot have been particularly characteristic of the fourth century, for none are reported from Poundbury Camp or Cirencester, both sites in stone-using country. At Lankhills, these grave-chambers may find an equivalent in the step-graves.[7]

In contrast to grave-chambers and cists, stone or tile packing seems to have been uncommon in third- and early fourth-century inhumations. None such is published from Guilden Morden or Trentholme Drive, and it is difficult to believe that they would have passed unnoticed had they been present. Nor was packing reported at Radley, a cemetery which seems to date to the earlier fourth century. At Ospringe, only Grave FW, which was perhaps datable to *c.* 350, is recorded as having had flints in significant positions, probably arranged around the coffin.[8] Together with Lankhills, these cemeteries provide good evidence that packing was rare before *c.* 350.

Sites where stone-packing has been recorded are Cirencester,[9] Ancaster,[10] Poundbury Camp,[11] Frilford,[12] Lynch Farm,[13] and *Margidunum*.[14] At Cirencester, Ancaster, and Lynch Farm there is mention of cists, but these sound more like packing with some stones on the coffin. All these sites were certainly used in the later fourth century. At Poundbury Camp, the graves with packing are few and they have been described as a later phase in the cemetery.[15] This confirms what Lankhills indicates, namely that packing was an

[1] Akerman 1865; Rolleston 1870, 420–2; 1875, 405.
[2] From St. John Street: *Hants Chron*, 26.x.1878 and 2.xi.1878; *VCH Hants*, i (1900), 290.
[3] See above, p. 143. A selection of graves with flint-and-tile packing is shown on Fig. 52.
[4] Wenham 1968, 42–4.
[5] Donovan 1939, 115–16.
[6] Calkin 1947, 35, Figs. 1 and 2.
[7] Cf. above, p. 353.
[8] Whiting *et al.* 1931, 61–2, Pl. LXI, 2.
[9] McWhirr 1973, 197, Pl. XXIII*a*.
[10] Wilson 1968, 198.
[11] Green 1971, 154.
[12] Dudley Buxton 1921, 91; Bradford and Goodchild 1939, 56–7.
[13] Jones 1975, 99, Pl. 5.
[14] Todd 1969, Fig. 33.
[15] Cf. Reece (ed.) 1977, 50.

extremely late development. Perhaps significantly, a similar practice has been observed in graves of sub-Roman date.[1]

The purpose of this packing is conjectural. It is most unlikely that it held together inadequately constructed coffins, or wedged planks in position, for at Lankhills at least some burials with packing were demonstrably uncoffined (notably Graves 295 and 448). The possibility that the packing was the result of some specific ritual belief is discussed below.[2]

iv. INHUMATIONS: GRAVE-FURNITURE

Grave-furnishing is both easier and more difficult to consider than other aspects of inhumation. It is easier because furniture attracts attention and so is more likely to be recorded, thus making more information available. It is more difficult because, in all but the more recent excavations, spectacular and unusual furniture has been emphasised at the expense of the commonplace and the typical. The present discussion is not concerned with individually striking graves; it is concerned to identify general trends. The emphasis will be on the large cemeteries listed in Table 38.

At Lankhills about half the graves were furnished.[3] Coins, vessels, and personal ornaments[4] were used in Part II as a basis for classifying the graves in which they occurred, and eight types of grave were defined.[5] Twenty-two or perhaps twenty-five graves were recognised as intrusive;[6] one purpose of the present chapter is to see whether these are intrusive in Britain generally. The chapter begins with a consideration of changes in the over-all proportion of furnished graves, and then the eight types of furnished grave are reviewed in turn. There follows some mention of the furniture not used in defining grave-types, animal remains, equipment, and hobnails.

This approach is an attempt to parallel the Lankhills graves and the discussion might thus appear to lack any general application. But the appearance is deceptive, for extensive study of late Roman cemeteries has failed to produce graves substantially different in their furnishing from those at Lankhills; apart from differences in status, there is little variation even over points of detail. The only exceptions are represented by graves with worn personal ornaments and no other furniture,[7] and by such finds as the table utensils buried at Lullingstone (Kent).[8] These apart, the whole range of fourth-century practices in grave-furnishing are seemingly represented at Lankhills. By virtue of this, the Lankhills graves provide an excellent framework for studying grave-good deposition in Britain as a whole.

Furnished and unfurnished graves

Discussion of the over-all proportion of furnished graves has to be based on those with vessels, coins, personal ornaments, or equipment. This is because sufficient information is rarely recorded about hobnails, and because animal remains often go unnoticed. It

[1] Cf. Rahtz and Fowler **1972, 199–201.**

[2] See below, pp. 428–9.

[3] See above, pp. 145–82.

[4] The term 'personal ornaments' is used here to describe bracelets, beads, necklaces, belt-fittings, brooches, and other showy objects that would have been worn.

[5] These types of grave are defined on pp. 164–5. Terms such as 'graves with coins' do not mean all graves containing coins; they mean 'graves with coins' as defined on pp. 164–5.

[6] See above, pp. 174–6.

[7] See below, p. 365.

[8] *JRS*, 49 (1959), **132–3; and see below, p. 368.**

should be remembered as well that graves with furniture will not represent all those in which it was once provided; the natural processes of decay will have taken their toll. At Lankhills 35 per cent of the non-intrusive graves were furnished in the manner just defined. In Area W, which was used for burial *c.* 310–370/90, the proportion stood at 40 per cent, while in Area O, which was used *c.* 390–410, it was 26 per cent.[1]

Of the three sites listed in Table 38 with inhumations dating from most of the Roman period, at Guilden Morden ten of the forty inhumations found in 1924 were furnished;[2] a similar proportion can be assumed among graves excavated subsequently. At Ospringe about half the inhumations had grave-goods.[3] It is difficult to arrive at any accurate proportion for Trentholme Drive, York, but a reasonable number of burials certainly had grave-goods.[4] In general, in these three sites, the proportion of graves with vessels, coins, personal ornaments, or equipment, if averaged out, may not differ greatly from that among the earlier graves at Lankhills. Graves thus furnished are likely, it would seem, to represent between 25 and 50 per cent of the graves in any cemetery datable before the early or mid-fourth century.

Of the major sites on Table 38 assignable only to the fourth century, no more than 10 per cent of the graves at Poundbury Camp,[5] Ancaster, or Cirencester seem to have been furnished, and in the cemetery at Victoria Road, Winchester, less than 20 per cent of the graves had grave-goods. At the possibly fifth-century site at Queensford Mill, Dorchester on Thames, none of the seventy-eight excavated graves was furnished;[6] and this situation is paralleled by sub-Roman cemeteries in Somerset.[7] Taken together, the evidence suggests that in the fourth century, the number of graves provided with objects was falling fast, and that in the fifth century the deposition of grave-goods virtually ceased. Such a clear-cut trend, apparent from several sites, is unlikely to reflect the vagaries of preservation or even changes in wealth and status. It is a trend which can be interpreted in terms of changing funerary beliefs.

At Lankhills grave-goods were evidently abnormally popular in the later fourth century. This may in part be related to the intrusive graves, but they are unlikely to be the whole explanation. The users of Lankhills must have been peculiarly conservative over grave-furnishing, and the site thus testifies to a considerable variation in the speed with which grave-goods were abandoned by the Romano-British population.[8]

Graves with coins[9]

At Lankhills, there were twenty-five graves with coins.[10] These were twice as frequent after *c.* 350 and a tendency developed of putting coins in the hands or more especially in the mouth. Except for five silver pieces in Grave 437, the coins were bronze; there was usually only one coin but sometimes as many as five or six.

[1] Figures based on Table 22.

[2] Fox and Lethbridge 1925, 59.

[3] At least thirty-one inhumations had grave-goods and at least twenty-four were unfurnished. The latter figure is almost certainly too low (cf. Whiting *et al.* 1931, 4).

[4] Certain examples are listed in Wenham 1968, 48–51.

[5] Green 1970, 138.

[6] Durham and Rowley 1972.

[7] Rahtz and Fowler 1972, 199–201.

[8] For further comments, see addendum M.

[9] This term is used in the sense defined on p. 164.

[10] See above, pp. 165–7, and Figs. 53 and 54.

Second-century graves with coins seem quite common in Britain, the most favoured coin position being the mouth. At least four examples are known from Trentholme Drive, York,[1] and others come from Guilden Morden,[2] Woodyates,[3] Baldock,[4] Chester,[5] and from the eastern cemetery of Winchester.[6] The second-century graves are not, however, directly relevant, for during the third century the use of coins as grave-furniture became rare. No third-century graves with coins were discovered at Trentholme Drive or Guilden Morden and only one is known from Ospringe;[7] but such graves have occurred at *Verulamium*,[8] London,[9] Bradley Hill (Som.),[10] and in the eastern cemetery in Winchester.[11] Of these, only the coin from *Verulamium* was found in the mouth, but since this was of early third-century date, its deposition is perhaps related to practice in the previous century.

In the fourth century, graves with coins once more became common. Early examples have been found at Frilford,[12] Bradley Hill,[13] Radley,[14] in the eastern cemetery of Winchester,[15] and at Woodyates;[16] and graves of the period 330–70 are known from Poundbury Camp,[17] Lower Slaughter,[18] and Winterbourne Down.[19] Later fourth-century graves with coins come from Poundbury Camp,[20] Ancaster,[21] Cirencester,[22] and Victoria Road, Winchester. At Cirencester there were several of these burials, the coins being mostly in the mouth, but in individual cases they were in the eye-socket or under the lower vertebrae. Graves with Valentinianic or Theodosian coins are known also from Frilford,[23] Snell's Corner near Horndean,[24] Rams Hill,[25] Winterbourne Down,[26] and Gloucester.[27]

It seems from this that graves with coins were particularly frequent after *c.* 350. Trentholme Drive, Guilden Morden, and Ospringe, where some at least of the graves were datable to the early fourth century, produced no graves with coins of that period, while at Poundbury Camp, Cirencester, and Victoria Road, Winchester, graves with coins represent a substantial proportion of all those with furniture. It may well be, as Lankhills suggests, that graves with coins were twice as common at the end of the fourth century as they had been before. But the other clear chronological trend apparent at Lankhills, that concerning coin position, is not reflected in the evidence elsewhere. At Frilford and Bradley Hill, early fourth-century coins lay in the mouth, while at Ancaster and Frilford later coins were around the skull.

There seem to be few major differences between Lankhills and other sites regarding

[1] Wenham 1968, 50 and 89: coins 3, 10, 11, and 20.
[2] Lethbridge 1935, 119.
[3] Pitt Rivers 1892, 208–9, Pl. CXCIII. The grave was not one of those within the enclosure, but was cut into a drain.
[4] Westell 1931, 258: Burial group 17.
[5] The Infirmary cemetery, Grave 34: Newstead 1921, 53.
[6] From Highcliffe: *Hants Chron*, 21.v.1932.
[7] Whiting 1926, 150.
[8] From the Verulam Hills Field: Anthony 1968, 38.
[9] *JRS*, 22 (1932), 213.
[10] *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 295.
[11] From St. John Street: *Hants Chron*, 29.i.1927.
[12] Akerman 1865, 137–8.
[13] *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 295.
[14] Atkinson 1952, 34–5.
[15] From St. John Street: *Hants Chron*, 2.ix.1878; *VCH Hants*, i (1900), 290.
[16] Pitt Rivers 1892, 214–15, Pl. CXCV.
[17] Green 1968, 172; 1973, 97; Green 1974, 56; 1975, 53.
[18] Donovan 1939, 116.
[19] *WAM*, 58 (1963), 470.
[20] Green 1970, 138; Green 1975, 53.
[21] *East Midlands Arch. Bulletin*, 10 (1974), 15.
[22] McWhirr 1973, 199.
[23] Rolleston 1870, 466, 471.
[24] Knocker 1957, 119, 125.
[25] Piggott and Piggott 1940, 475–6.
[26] *WAM*, 58 (1963), 470.
[27] *JRS*, 57 (1967), 195. For some further finds, see addendum N.

other aspects of graves with coins. It is noticeable, however, that large numbers of coins could often be placed in a grave, perhaps more than at Lankhills. At Frilford two graves each had five coins, and at Rams Hill and Radley there were graves with nine coins. These graves containing many coins may be more typical of the later fourth century; this is true of the Frilford and Rams Hill graves, and at Lankhills the five graves with three or more coins were all dug after *c.* 360.

Graves with vessels[1]

Vessels were by far the most common form of grave-furniture in Britain throughout most of the Roman period. They were buried so frequently that until recently cemeteries were dug rather as an aid to devising ceramic typologies than with a view to investigating funerary practice. At Lankhills there were fifty-two graves with vessels.[2] They were characteristic of the earlier fourth century and they then constituted at least 19 per cent of all burials. By 370–90 their frequency had fallen to 10 per cent, and by 390–410 to less than 5 per cent. Usually there was only one vessel, but in a few graves there were two, and in one grave three. Throughout the fourth century the vessels were usually placed at the head or feet (Fig. 18).

The popularity of vessel deposition up to the early fourth century can be seen at Ospringe, Guilden Morden, and Trentholme Drive. At Ospringe graves with vessels constituted about two-thirds of the definitely furnished inhumations, the latest being datable to the earlier fourth century.[3] At Guilden Morden also, most of the furnished graves were provided with vessels,[4] which were mostly third- or early fourth-century types. At Trentholme Drive, there was little furniture apart from pottery, the latest dating from *c.* 300.[5] Many third- or fourth-century graves with vessels have been discovered elsewhere, for example at Arbury Road, Cambridge,[6] Middle Wallop,[7] and 'The Brook', Chatham.[8]

A major change came about during the fourth century. No burials were furnished with vessels at Ancaster, Cirencester, or Poundbury Camp (Sites B, C, E), sites which between them account for over 1,000 graves. Elsewhere in Britain it is possible to point to only very few later fourth-century graves with vessels. One comes from Leicester,[9] another from Woodyates,[10] and probably a third from *Tripontium*;[11] a few graves with vessels at Victoria Road, Winchester, should probably also be dated to *c.* 350 or later. These graves are, however, clearly exceptional: the evidence of Poundbury Camp, Cirencester, and

[1] The term graves with vessels is used here in the sense defined above, p. 164.

[2] See above, p. 168, and Figs. 54–6.

[3] The three latest graves are Graves KD, KJ, and KN: Whiting *et al.* 1931, 91–4.

[4] Cf. Fox and Lethbridge 1925, 59.

[5] Wenham 1968, 46, 48–51. The latest pots seem to have been associated with Skeletons 14, 17, and 173.

[6] Fell 1955, 19: Grave 5.

[7] Piggott 1949, 60. In citing Grave 3 here, I am interpreting as a coffin-nail the object described in the report as an 'iron brooch'.

[8] Payne 1898. The burials in question are difficult to date as the grave-goods are not illustrated.

[9] Dare 1927, 39–40.

[10] Pitt Rivers 1892, 211, Pl. CXCIV. Grave 15, which is one of those in the enclosure, can be dated to the later fourth century by the form of the pot and the presence of a comb. Grave 12, also in the enclosure, had a pot and could be of the same date.

[11] Cameron and Lucas 1973, 100.

Ancaster is entirely consistent with that of Lankhills, and shows that vessel deposition was then most unusual.

The tendency at Lankhills for vessels to be equally at the head and feet is paralleled at Guilden Morden. However, at Trentholme Drive, vessels were at the feet in eleven graves, by the head in only seven, and near other parts of the body in ten others. At Ospringe and 'The Brook', Chatham, perhaps twice as many graves had vessels at the feet as by the head, and in others they were near the middle of the body. Similar differences between sites exist in the number of vessels. At Ospringe perhaps as many graves had two vessels as one, and not many fewer had three; a similar situation prevailed at 'The Brook', Chatham. Trentholme Drive and Guilden Morden, by contrast, seem more comparable to Lankhills, most graves containing one vessel, and only a few two or three. This evidence as to the number and position of vessels points to considerable variation between sites, probably reflecting local differences in funerary custom.[1]

Graves with unworn personal ornaments[2]

There were twenty-one graves with unworn personal ornaments at Lankhills.[3] The ornaments usually took the form of bracelets, but rings, pins, and beads were occasionally represented as well; and two graves, Graves 55 and 443, contained belt-fittings. Sometimes only one object was provided, but there were often more, Grave 438 containing, for example, eight rings, two necklaces, and sixteen bracelets. The ornaments could be placed anywhere inside the coffin (Fig. 16a and f). The graves were mostly datable to *c.* 350–70.

The provision of personal ornaments is difficult to study. One problem is that the ornaments cannot be assigned close dates. Another arises from widespread failure to establish and publish whether ornaments were worn at burial, or placed unworn by the body. Sometimes, of course, this is genuinely difficult to decide, usually because of poor skeletal preservation. But even where not, personal ornaments are often described in publications as being 'on' the body, or even 'on' the arm bones. Such descriptions could as well mean that the ornaments had been placed on the corpse as that they were indeed worn; Lankhills has shown that bracelets, for example, could frequently be placed above the wrist bones. It is essential to be precise in describing the position of personal ornaments, for, as shown at Lankhills, this is a matter of no little importance.

These and other problems are certainly one reason why few graves with unworn personal ornaments can be cited outside Lankhills. None seem to have occurred at Guilden Morden or Trentholme Drive, and the only certain example from Ospringe is Grave GW, which had a ring by the skull.[4] Of the fourth-century sites, Poundbury Camp has produced three burials where beads and bracelets were definitely not worn:[5] one with two bracelets, two necklaces, and a ring; another with several bone bracelets and a necklace under the skull; and a third with bronze bracelets. At Ancaster personal ornaments

[1] For the interpretation of vessels as grave-furniture, see below, pp. 409–10.

[2] This term is used in the sense defined above, p. 164.

[3] See above, pp. 168–9. For plans, see Figs. 57 and 58.

[4] Whiting *et al.* 1931, 71.

[5] Green 1970, 140; 1971, 154; 1973, 97.

were certainly unworn in one burial, where they took the form of six bronze bracelets.[1] At Wycombe, a child-burial with a pile of eight bracelets near the hand has been discovered and is datable after *c.* 350.[2] In the Castle Yard, York, a pile of five bracelets rested on the right shoulder of one skeleton,[3] and other graves with unworn personal ornaments are known elsewhere in York,[4] for example at Heslington Field.[5] At *Tripontium* a grave contained two bracelets and some beads, but neither the text nor an inadequate photograph provides conclusive indication of where these were: they may have been near the head.[6]

All these graves could date from the fourth century, and this is fairly certain with those from Poundbury Camp, Ancaster, Wycombe, and the Castle Yard, York. In conjunction with the negative evidence from Guilden Morden and Trentholme Drive, they suggest that graves with unworn personal ornaments mainly date from the fourth century. They may, like many at Lankhills, be datable to 350–70, but the evidence is insufficient for such precision.

The number, character, and positioning of personal ornaments in these other British graves generally falls within the range encountered at Lankhills. Some graves at Lankhills are, however, unparalleled, notably those with belt-fittings (Graves 55 and 443) and the grave with pendant teeth (Grave 450). Regarding the latter, this is not surprising, for, as we have seen, the teeth are Germanic[7] and indicate that the grave is intrusive.

Graves with coins and vessels[8]

Only five graves with coins and vessels were discovered at Lankhills.[9] Graves 329 and 347 were datable after *c.* 350 and seemed related to the intrusive graves with worn personal ornaments. This was not true of Graves 109, 114, and 172.

Almost every other grave with coins and vessels known in Britain can be dated to the second century. One comes from Guilden Morden,[10] another from Trentholme Drive,[11] and several from Chester;[12] in most of these graves the coins were in the mouth. A later fourth-century example is from the enclosure at Woodyates (Grave 16);[13] this grave is datable by its context, and contained an illegible coin under the lower leg and a pottery bowl by the right foot. It is comparable to Graves 114 and 172 at Lankhills, and, as such, confirms that coins and vessels were deposited together in fourth-century Britain, albeit rarely.

In general, the incidence of graves with coins and vessels can be related to that of graves with either type of object on its own. In the second century, when vessels and coins were both frequently placed in graves, they could at times be deposited together.

[1] Wilson 1968, 199.
[2] Information from Mr. **W. Cox.**
[3] Ramm 1958, 406, Pl. IB.
[4] *Eburacum*, 83, d (iv), 84, d (xii).
[5] Wellbeloved 1842, 108–9 (with **bracelets, finger-rings**, and necklaces on one shoulder).
[6] Cameron and Lucas 1973, 106, 131, **Pl. 20*a*. For a** grave from Icklingham, see addendum **O.**
[7] See above, pp. 296–7.
[8] **This term is used in the sense defined above, p. 164.**
[9] Graves 109, 114, 172, 329, and 347; see above, p. 169, and Fig. 59. For a grave from Roden Downs, see addendum P.
[10] Fox and Lethbridge 1925, 56.
[11] Wenham 1968, 49: Skeleton 213.
[12] In Graves 23, 26, 27, and 30. **Newstead 1914; 1921.**
[13] Pitt **Rivers 1892, 212, Pl. CXCIV. See also addendum A.**

In the third century, when coins were rare, none were buried with vessels. In the fourth century, when coins again became common, a few were deposited with vessels, but this did not occur often, no doubt because vessel-deposition itself was soon abandoned.

Graves with coins and unworn personal ornaments[1]

Graves with coins and unworn personal ornaments are even more unusual than those with coins and vessels. Only three were discovered at Lankhills:[2] Graves 37 and 137, datable to *c.* 350, and Grave 283, dug after 390. Grave 137 contained bracelets and a coin in the mouth, Grave 37 a coin in the mouth and belt-fittings, and Grave 283 belt-fittings and coins under the skull.

The only definite parallels come from *Verulamium*, Chester, and Poundbury Camp. The first of these, a child grave from the Verulam Hills, had an early third-century coin in the mouth and beads and other objects in a box by the feet.[3] At Chester, Grave 10 in the Infirmary cemetery had a late second-century coin on the chest and a ring by the feet.[4] In the Poundbury Camp grave a ring lay under each leg and a coin (330–7) was found in the pelvic region;[5] this grave and two at Lankhills are broadly contemporary.

A possible parallel is Grave 13 in the enclosure at Woodyates, which almost certainly belongs to the fourth century by virtue of its context. It had an illegible coin in the mouth and one or possibly two of what Pitt Rivers called 'torcs' in the neck region.[6] The published drawing indicates that these could well be bracelets, in which case the grave would be similar to Grave 137 at Lankhills. A few graves at York may also be noted, among them one with a Hadrianic coin and a pin, and another with two bracelets and a Constantinian coin;[7] in neither, however, is the position of the objects known.

This evidence shows that the three Lankhills graves are not unique in Britain. At present it seems that graves of this type were confined to the second and early third centuries, and to the fourth century, periods when coins were being buried on their own. In the fourth century, the custom may belong only to the years around 350. This is the dating of Graves 37 and 137 at Lankhills, and of the Poundbury Camp grave. If so, Grave 283 at Lankhills is an exception, being datable after *c.* 390. In Part II it was argued that it was intrusive, and it is perhaps not surprising to find here also that it may be exceptional.[8]

Graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments[9]

Ten graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments were discovered at Lankhills, mostly belonging to children and datable to *c.* 310–70.[10] The personal ornaments, which might be anywhere in the grave, consisted of bracelets, beads, rings, and pins; sometimes more than ten were present. There was usually only one vessel and this too could occupy

[1] **This term is used in the sense defined above, p. 164.**

[2] See above, pp. **169–70 and Fig. 59.**

[3] Anthony 1968, 41–2.

[4] Newstead 1914, 132–4, **Fig. 3.**

[5] Green 1968, 172.

[6] Pitt Rivers 1892, **210–11, Pls. CLXXXIII, 4 and CXCIV.**

[7] *Eburacum*, 80, a (vi), 82, c (i).

[8] For comments on Grave 283, **see above, pp. 174–6,** and below, pp. 389–98.

[9] This term is used **in the sense defined above, p. 165.**

[10] Graves 105, 134, 155, 185, 188, 199, **250, 327,** 337, and 369: **see above, p. 170 and Fig. 60.**

almost any position. In discussing parallels from other sites, the problems noted above regarding personal ornaments arise, but it still seems possible to detect a pattern.

At Ospringe, vessels and personal ornaments had been provided in about seven inhumations.[1] Usually there were one or two pots by the head or feet, and two or three bracelets, normally by the middle of the body, or a pin. Commenting, Hawley pointed out that personal ornaments were particularly characteristic of child graves,[2] and although this is difficult to check, there is no reason for doubt. It is difficult to tell whether the bracelets were worn or unworn, but in most cases they were probably unworn; if they had been worn Hawley would perhaps have said so rather than describing their position in terms of the pelvis and other parts of the body. Child graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments are known also from 'The Brook' at Chatham,[3] from Linton,[4] from the St. Stephens cemetery at *Verulamium*,[5] and from Winterbourne Down.[6] Two of these can be dated to *c.* 300, and the last is fourth-century. It is possible to point also to a few adult graves: two were discovered at 'The Brook', Chatham,[7] and another was found in Cambridge;[8] all three are probably third- or fourth-century. Some child graves where the position of the personal ornaments is unknown may also be noted. Examples dating from *c.* 300 come from Baldock,[9] and Borden, the latter in a lead coffin, with two gold bracelets and one of jet, a gold ring, two glasses, and two pots.[10] Another grave of this kind is from Glaston, with four bracelets and two glass vessels, and this can be assigned to later in the fourth century.[11]

Graves with personal ornaments and vessels evidently often belong to children; it is significant that this observation was made at both Ospringe and Lankhills. These graves also seem characteristic of the third and early fourth centuries rather than of after *c.* 350. Thus none have been found at Poundbury Camp, Cirencester, Ancaster, or Victoria Road, Winchester, and among those that are known, the examples from Linton, *Verulamium*, and Cambridge can certainly be dated to *c.* 300 or earlier, and similar dating may well be applicable to those from Ospringe and Chatham. Some of the Lankhills graves are perhaps a little late, in particular Graves 327 and 369. In the former case, this need not be significant, but Grave 369 is definitely too late. The analysis suggested that it was intrusive, and, if so, its atypical date would be explained.[12]

The Lankhills graves seem matched by the other British graves in the number, character, and positioning of their ornaments; some graves, such as Grave 337 at Lankhills or Grave 6 at Chatham, were lavish. The Lankhills graves are unusual in being furnished generally with only one vessel: many graves elsewhere had two or more. This may reflect the Lankhills tendency observed in graves with vessels towards fewer vessels.[13]

[1] Whiting *et al.* 1931: Graves BG, BU, DW, DX, EW, and KH; Whiting 1926, 130–1: Grave XLV.

[2] Whiting *et al.* 1931, 47.

[3] Payne 1898, 16.

[4] Lethbridge 1936, 70. This grave would seem to be dated by a fragment of an early fourth-century glass bottle found in it.

[5] Davey 1935, 265.

[6] *WAM*, 58 (1963), 470.

[7] Payne 1898: Graves 7 and 11.

[8] *PCAS*, 2 (1860–4), 289. This grave had seven vessels, a bracelet, and two pins, all outside the foot of the coffin. The vessels include early fourth-century glass bottles. This grave would seem to be a close parallel to Lankhills Grave 250.

[9] Westell 1931, 256.

[10] Jessup 1959, 23.

[11] Webster 1950.

[12] See above, p. 175, and also below, p. 389.

[13] See above, p. 360.

Graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments mostly seem contemporary with graves with vessels alone. Together with the differences in vessel numbers, this corroborates the idea put forward for Lankhills[1] that in the third and early fourth centuries, when most people were provided only with vessels, some children and a few, probably young, women were also provided with personal ornaments. These graves seem, however, to be earlier than graves with unworn personal ornaments and this suggests that the latter represent a later mode of burial. In the mid-fourth century, it seems, women and children were provided with personal ornaments alone, whereas previously they would have been given vessels.[2]

Graves with vessels, coins, and unworn personal ornaments[3]

Only one grave with coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments was discovered at Lankhills. This was Grave 265, dated by its coin to after *c.* 390.[4] Part II indicated that it was intrusive; the quantity of furniture was particularly unusual, especially in view of its late date. This suggestion is confirmed by the evidence from other sites. There is not a single third- or fourth-century grave from any site listed in Table 38 in which coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments occurred together. Romano-British burial practice, as must already be apparent, was not characterised by the placing of many different types of object in the same grave. A grave such as Grave 265 with a coin, vessel, and bracelet, as well as hobnails and a comb, is not therefore typical.

There are three possible parallels. From Moorfields, London, comes a child grave with two pots, a coin (253–68), jet bracelets, and a gold ring,[5] and two other graves of this kind were discovered in York. The first, from Walmsgate, contained two early third-century coins, two glasses, a Gorgon medallion, and many necklaces and pins.[6] The second was from a now unknown find-spot, and contained a coin of Crispus (317–26), a glass, and bracelets.[7] In none of these three graves is it known whether the personal ornaments were unworn. Two of them at least, unlike Lankhills Grave 265, contained exceptionally rich objects; all three are considerably earlier; and all seem as unusual among Romano-British inhumations as Grave 265. Unlike the latter, they may have belonged to important people. They might well have been the graves of foreigners, whom one could expect in York or London. They in no way invalidate the hypothesis that Grave 265, and the combination of objects found in it, is untypical of Romano-British burial practice.[8]

Graves with worn personal ornaments[9]

In eighteen graves at Lankhills the dead person had been buried wearing personal ornaments. Sixteen of the graves were characterised by rich furniture and great consis-

[1] See above, p. 174.
[2] For comments by Mr. Macdonald see below, pp. 410–12.
[3] This term is used in the sense defined above, p. 165.
[4] See above, p. 170 and Fig. 63.
[5] *Roman London*, 161.
[6] *Eburacum*, 70, c (i).
[7] Ibid. 91.
[8] For further comments on Grave 265, see below, pp. 389–98.
[9] This term is used in the sense defined above, p. 165: it embraces all graves where personal ornaments were worn at burial.

tency of layout. The men had brooches and belt-fittings about the body and an offering by the right foot;[1] the women were adorned with necklaces and bracelets and also had offerings by the feet.[2] While none of these graves was dated before *c.* 350, at least four were assigned to 350–70. Five were certainly dug after *c.* 370, and these showed that the regular layout, so consistent in the earlier graves, was beginning to break down and become permeated by practices found in other Lankhills graves. The regularity of this layout, its sudden appearance *c.* 350, and its subsequent disintegration, are, it has been suggested, only adequately explained by the arrival of alien people. The two remaining graves with worn personal ornaments, Graves 373 and 376, did not share the regularity characteristic of the other sixteen. Grave 373 was furnished with a brooch, a pot, and coins, and Grave 376 with a belt alone.[3] These graves are datable to *c.* 390 or later, and both, it has been suggested, belong to a separate intrusive element.

Elsewhere in Britain several graves have been found in which personal ornaments were definitely worn at burial. First there is a group of female graves with bracelets round the wrists and sometimes on the ankles, but with no other furniture apart from occasional finger-rings. These come from Chichester,[4] Guilden Morden,[5] Cock Lane in London,[6] Lynch Farm,[7] Ospringe,[8] *Verulamium*,[9] and Victoria Road, Winchester, and they range in date from the second or third centuries (Guilden Morden and Chichester) to the fourth (Lynch Farm and Victoria Road). Some at least seem to be careless (Victoria Road, *Verulamium*, and Chichester). It is surprising that the earlier of these graves are not furnished with vessels, for they date from a time when vessels were extremely common as furniture;[10] this and the evidence for carelessness suggest that the graves could belong to people not accorded a normal burial, who were perhaps not properly laid out.

A second group of female graves has other furniture as well as bracelets, often beads in the neck region, and sometimes vessels and coins. Two such graves come from Fordington, Dorchester (Dorset), one containing a necklace, a bracelet, a spindle-whorl, and two pots by the skull, the other a necklace and seven pins.[11] Another grave was found in a mausoleum in the Normangate Field, Castor, and this was provided with ear-rings, a silver brooch, bracelets, a comb, a spindle-whorl, and a pottery flagon at the feet.[12] Further graves come from York (with bracelets and three coins near the thighs),[13] *Verulamium* (only partially excavated but certainly with a necklace and bracelets),[14] and Cirencester (a child grave with a necklace and bracelets).[15] If datable, these graves are of the fourth century. Most contain objects which would not normally be taken as

[1] Graves 13, 23, 81, 106, 234, 322, 366, and 426: see Fig. 61 and above, pp. 170–1.

[2] Graves 63, 326, 351, and 396 (adults); and Graves 40, 323, 333, and 336 (young girls); see Fig. 62 and above, p. 171.

[3] For plans of Graves 373 and 376, see Fig. 63.

[4] Down and Rule 1971, 122 (Burial 326).

[5] Lethbridge 1935, 119, Fig. 5*b* (Grave A26).

[6] *Roman London*, 163.

[7] Jones 1975, 105, 109 (Grave 24). The presence of a bone comb dates this grave to the later fourth century (cf. above, p. 178, and below, p. 369).

[8] Whiting *et al.* 1931, 85–6 (Grave JN); Whiting 1926, 126 (an unnumbered grave).

[9] Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 136, 137 (Grave 2).

[10] See above, pp. 359, 361–2, and 363.

[11] *Dorset II*, 3, 573, Pl. 230.

[12] *JRS*, 59 (1969), 219; information from Dr. J. P. Wild.

[13] *Eburacum*, 80, a (viii).

[14] Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 138 (Grave 6), Fig. 47, No. 67.

[15] McWhirr 1973, 199; pers. comm.

Romano-British: a brooch in the Normangate Field,[1] and beads elsewhere.[2] All parallel the eight female graves at Lankhills, the Normangate Field burial being particularly similar.

Third, there is a group of probably male burials with first- or early second-century brooches near the shoulders and pelvis. Examples come from Rotherley,[3] Woodyates,[4] and Guilden Morden,[5] and, except for a bead at Guilden Morden, none contained further furniture. The Rotherley burial was crouched and in a half-filled pit. Especially in view of this evidence for carelessness, these graves should probably be grouped with those with only bracelets, with the earlier of which they are perhaps contemporary.

Fourth is a second group of male graves, with cross-bow brooches near the shoulders and other furniture; these come from Mundford, the Normangate Field at Castor, and, probably, from Norton. The Mundford grave contained a coin (346–50) near the shoulders, a strap-end at the hips, and was destroyed from the pelvis down.[6] The grave in the Normangate Field was next to the female grave just noted; it had a pot at the feet, and is dated by its brooch (Keller Type 3 (340–60) or 4 (350–80)).[7] At Norton, three graves produced cross-bow brooches (all of Keller Type 3 or 4), and a buckle was also found;[8] the positioning of these objects is, however, unclear. This group of male graves may be grouped with the eight Lankhills male graves with a consistent layout, with which they are contemporary.

Fifth, we should note two further graves. The first is from Fordington, Dorchester (Dorset), and had a buckle 'on the breast'; it is otherwise unrecorded.[9] The second was found in the Kingsholm Romano-British cemetery at Gloucester, and contained early fifth-century silver buckles and strap-ends, and a knife.[10] The latter is paralleled by an Anglo-Saxon find from Frilford; some of the silver fittings belonged to a narrow belt and the rest perhaps to shoes.

What can we conclude about these graves with worn personal ornaments? The first and third groups are clearly native: nothing about them is foreign, and they occur consistently if rarely in Romano-British cemeteries. They probably represent the mode of burial of a few comparatively poor people. The second and fourth groups are equally clearly intrusive. The male graves all date from *c.* 350 or later; they appear unannounced in the late Roman funerary traditions of this country; and there is convincing evidence of their foreign character from Lankhills. The female graves are not so well dated, but they do contain non-Romano-British objects, and these, with the Lankhills evidence, leave little doubt here too. In the fifth group, the Gloucester grave is a parallel to Grave 376 at Lankhills, the grave with the wide military belt. Superficially these two graves are

[1] Information from Mr. David Brown.

[2] I am grateful to Mr. G. C. Boon and Mrs. C. M. Guido for commenting on these beads. For the Fordington beads see Roach Smith 1854, Pl. IX (especially the amber pendant bead), and for *Verulamium*, see Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, Fig. 47, No. 67a, Boon 1977, 199, and above, p. 295. For the Cirencester necklace, see Guido 1978, 233.

[3] Skeleton 6: Pitt Rivers 1888, 195, Pls. CXXVI, 8, C, 10, and CI, 4.

[4] Skeleton 6: Pitt Rivers 1892, 205, Pls. CXCII, 2 and CLXXXII, 18.

[5] Grave A.14: Lethbridge 1935, 117, Fig. 5a, Pl. VIIa.

[6] *JRS*, 54 (1964), 168; *Norfolk Research Committee Bulletin*, 15 (1963), 9.

[7] I am grateful to Dr. J. P. Wild for sending me a photograph of the brooch. For Keller's brooch typology, see above, pp. 257–8.

[8] *JRS*, 58 (1968), 182; *YAJ*, 42 (1966–9), 6; photographs of the brooches and the buckle in NMR.

[9] *Dorset II*, 3, 573.

[10] Brown 1975.

[11] For two further graves, see addendum Q.

similar to the first and third groups, but this similarity is false, for they are later, they contain more elaborate and quite different objects, and, unlike the graves in at least the first group, they belong to men. Especially in view of the knife at Gloucester, these two graves and perhaps that at Fordington can hardly be regarded as Romano-British.[1]

Many graves where the personal ornaments were worn, then, are likely to be intrusive. The same may be true of several graves where the position of the ornaments is unknown, in particular graves containing personal ornaments and vessels, and personal ornaments, vessels, and coins. The latter, as we have seen, are very rare in Britain, and there is no reason why all of them should not be foreign.[2] Of the former some will certainly have had unworn personal ornaments and so have been Romano-British; this is likely to be true of the child graves from Borden and Baldock, both of which are third- or early fourth-century.[3] The grave from Glaston,[4] with four bracelets and two glasses, is, however, probably much later and, as its contents are particularly reminiscent of the eight female graves at Lankhills, it should perhaps be grouped with them. Other graves containing personal ornaments and vessels come from York.[5] It may well be that many of the rich graves discovered in York in the last century belong with our second group,[6] which might not be surprising, as foreigners are known to have been in York in the fourth century.[7]

Animal remains

In common with equipment and hobnails, animal remains were not used in the analytical classification of the graves from Lankhills.[8] They were, however, found in eight intact inhumations, in five in the form of birds, and in the others of field voles, eggs, and a sheep-rib.[9] Animal remains also occurred in the cenotaph (Grave 400), where one dog was on the coffin and another had been dismembered as the grave was back-filled, and in Grave 193, where bird-bones were scattered in the fill. These graves with animal remains belonged to all periods of the fourth century.[10]

Animal remains may indicate food for the dead, but there is also the likelihood that they were symbolic or ritual. From elsewhere there is a lack of well-documented evidence. In many cemeteries soil conditions will have destroyed any trace of animals, and on sites where animal remains do survive, insufficient care is often taken over their excavation. Even in those few instances where conditions are satisfactory, interpretation may still be difficult, for it is impossible to know whether an odd shell or bone is a chance intrusion or a significant part of the funerary rite.

[1] Brown (1975, 294) has argued that the Gloucester grave is native. But his arguments are not based on consideration of Romano-British funerary practice, which, as indicated here, seemingly negates them. His strongest point is the narrow belt the grave contained; but the fittings of narrow belts have been found in intrusive graves at Lankhills, Dorchester on Thames, and Mucking (cf. above, pp. 266–7 and 288–9). I am grateful to Mr. Brown for discussing these matters with me.

[2] See above, p. 364.

[3] See above, p. 363.

[4] Webster 1950.

[5] For example several graves whose contents are displayed in the Yorkshire Museum at York.

[6] See, e.g., the grave with the SOROR AVE VIVAS IN DEO inscription, found at Sycamore Terrace in 1901. The grave contained a glass jug, beads, and bracelets. See *Eburacum*, 73, b (v), and ibid. Fig. 58, esp. H.8.

[7] Swanton 1967, 45–7; Myres 1969, 66, 75.

[8] See above, pp. 176–7.

[9] See above, pp. 239–44.

[10] See above, p. 176.

Apart from Lankhills, the only British site to produce animal remains which were both numerous and systematically discussed is Trentholme Drive, York.[1] A minimum of twelve graves had been furnished with birds,[2] in five cases inside pots, and at least a further two graves contained parts of large animals.[3] In addition, egg-shell was discovered in four pottery vessels which had served as grave-furniture.[4] The range of animals deposited is largely consistent with that at Lankhills, and the two sites indicate that the various practices were an integral part of Romano-British burial practice. Birds were most often provided. Elsewhere, birds associated with inhumations have been discovered at Sawbridgeworth,[5] *Verulamium*,[6] Ospringe,[7] and at Watton Hill, Bridport (Dorset).[8] An ox vertebra occurred in a child grave from *Verulamium*, together with a coin in the mouth, some beads, and two sea-shells.[9]

Two Lankhills graves with animals are not paralleled at Trentholme Drive: Grave 193 and the cenotaph, Grave 400. Little can be said about Grave 193, for identification of a similar practice elsewhere presupposes clearly distinguished grave-pits. The complete dog in Grave 400 provides the only instance at Lankhills of the deposition of a whole mammal. Dogs have occasionally been discovered in burials elsewhere, notably at York[10] and Ilchester.[11] Also, dog-burials have occurred in ritual, but not apparently funerary, contexts. Thus the Medway marshes in Kent have produced a series of second-century puppy burials,[12] and at Garton Slack (E.R. Yorks.) a well filled in the third century contained the skeletons of a boy, a sheep, and a bitch in pup.[13] These examples show ritual attention being paid to dogs, indicating that Grave 400 is not as unusual as at first sight appears.

Equipment

The equipment discovered at Lankhills included combs, spindle-whorls, needles, knives, strike-a-lights, a nail-cleaner, a gaming-set, an arrowhead, a key, a scale-pan, and whetstones.[14] Like many other kinds of furniture, equipment seems to have been particularly common at Lankhills, at least by comparison with sites such as Poundbury Camp or Ancaster. Perhaps because of this, few types represented in other late Roman cemeteries do not occur at Lankhills; table-utensils from the mausoleum at Lullingstone (Kent) are one exception.[15]

Combs had been buried in twenty-one graves at Lankhills, and with only few exceptions these were datable to the second half of the fourth century.[16] Combs occurred in male as well as female graves. Elsewhere, combs have been discovered at Cirencester,[17]

[1] Wenham 1968, 51, 104–9.
[2] Ibid.: Nos. 10, 28, 31, 39, 48, 49, 53, 54, 68, 70, 97, 101.
[3] Ibid. 106–9, Nos. 37 and 55.
[4] Ibid. 106–9, Nos. 25, 27, 40, and 41.
[5] *JRS*, 27 (1937), 239.
[6] *VCH Herts.* iv, 138.
[7] In Grave KJ. The leg bone of a partridge is recorded as having been at the feet. The rest of the bird could have decayed: Whiting *et al.* 1931, 93.
[8] *PDNHAS*, 90 (1968), 169–70.
[9] Anthony 1968, 41–2.
[10] *Eburacum*, 82, c (iv); 85, f (iv); 85, f (v).
[11] *Current Archaeology*, 50 (May 1975), 83.
[12] Noël Hume 1956.
[13] *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 281. See also addendum R.
[14] See above, pp. 150–1, 177–8, and Tables 25 and 26.
[15] *JRS*, 49 (1959), 132–3.
[16] See above, pp. 178 and 246–8.
[17] Pers. comm. (Mrs. Linda Viner).

Poundbury Camp (Sites B, C, E),[1] Frilford,[2] Snell's Corner at Horndean,[3] Lynch Farm,[4] Normangate Field at Castor,[5] Victoria Road in Winchester, and at Woodyates.[6] These graves can mostly be dated to the middle or late fourth century by their context or by other objects; it thus seems generally true that bone combs were rarely placed in graves before 350. Probably an unusually high proportion of Lankhills graves were furnished with combs, for combs seem to have been less common at Poundbury Camp and Cirencester, and absent at Ancaster.

The nine spindle-whorls discovered at Lankhills were found in female graves dating from all periods of the fourth century.[7] They seem rare in funerary contexts elsewhere. One was found in the woman's grave with worn personal ornaments in the Normangate Field, Castor,[8] but that apart, the only other examples come from six Dorset graves, three of which contained decapitated skeletons.[9] This association might suggest a connection between spindle-whorls and decapitation, but at Lankhills these facets of funerary practice never occurred together. Lankhills is unusual in having so many graves with spindle-whorls. This may reflect the high number of furnished graves, but might equally be explained by the possible *gynaeceum* at Winchester.[10] If many people had been involved in the cloth industry, this could have been reflected in their equipment at death.

Knives occurred at Lankhills in seven inhumations datable to *c.* 350 or later, and they were generally associated with belts, worn or unworn.[11] Knives are rare in graves elsewhere. Examples may be quoted from Norton (E.R. Yorks.),[12] from Fordington and Poundbury Camp, both near Dorchester (Dorset),[13] from a rich girl's grave at 'The Brook', Chatham,[14] and from cremations at the St. Pancras cemetery, Chichester,[15] and at Winterbourne Down.[16] These graves do not all date from the fourth century, and so show that knives could be buried before *c.* 350. Lankhills suggests that the burial of knives became more common after that date and this would be consistent with the discovery of knives in sub-Roman graves in Somerset.[17] The girl's grave at Chatham shows that knives were not confined to military graves, and together with at least Graves 37, 55, and 443 at Lankhills, it also indicates that they were not restricted to foreigners.[18]

The arrowhead was the only weapon at Lankhills. It was in a child grave (Grave 378) associated with five coins datable after *c.* 390. Weapons are virtually unknown in Romano-British graves, and not a single third- or fourth-century example can be cited.[19] Instances from Colchester[20] and Richborough[21] have always been regarded as Anglo-Saxon.[22]

[1] In at least five graves: Green 1967, 135; 1970, 138; 1972, 81; 1973, 97; 1975, 53.

[2] Rolleston 1880, 405. That this burial was Romano-British is indicated by its being in a lead coffin. See Pitt Rivers 1892, 133 for a statement that the comb was double-sided.

[3] Knocker 1957, 119, 125, Fig. 9.

[4] Jones 1975, 105, 109, Fig. 14, No. 36.

[5] *JRS*, 59 (1969), 219.

[6] Pitt Rivers 1892, 211–12, Pl. CXCIV.

[7] See above, p. 369.

[8] *JRS*, 59 (1969), 219.

[9] At Kimmeridge (2) and Todbere (Calkin 1947), at Studland (Calkin 1952, 52–4), and at Poundbury Camp (Green 1973, 97) and Fordington (*Dorset II*, 3, 573) in Dorchester.

[10] For the possibility of a *gynaeceum* at Winchester, see Wild 1967*a*, and cf. below, pp. 388–9.

[11] See above, pp. 151 and 178.

[12] *YAJ*, 42 (1966–9), 6.

[13] *Dorset II*, 3, 573 (Fordington); Green 1975, 53 (Poundbury Camp).

[14] Payne 1898, 16 (Grave 6).

[15] Down and Rule 1971, 117 (Burial 251).

[16] *WAM*, 58 (1963), 470.

[17] Rahtz and Fowler 1972, 199–200.

[18] For the native character of Graves 37, 55, and 443, see above, Table 21 and pp. 173–4. For the Chatham grave, see above, p. 363.

See overleaf for footnotes 19–22

Of the remaining equipment, the nail-cleaner from Grave 106 is paralleled at *Margidunum*[1] and Ancaster.[2] Gaming-sets have been discovered in several Romano-British cremations,[3] and in at least one inhumation, in the mausoleum at Lullingstone.[4] So far as needles, keys, scale-pans, whetstones, and strike-a-lights are concerned, little can be said. They were rare at Lankhills, and parallels from other Romano-British cemeteries cannot be cited.

Hobnails

About one-third of the graves at Lankhills contained hobnails, the remains of heavy shoes or boots.[5] They were associated equally with men and women until the final years of the fourth century, when they were less often provided for women, with the result that the over-all number of graves with hobnails then fell.[6]

Hobnails have been discovered in inhumations dating from most phases of the Roman occupation. Second-century examples come from Chester,[7] Conderton (Worcs.),[8] and perhaps Chichester,[9] while instances most likely of the third century are known from Ospringe[10] and 'The Brook', Chatham.[11] Fourth-century burials containing hobnails have been found at Cirencester (four),[12] *Margidunum* (one),[13] Beckford,[14] Snell's Corner (Horndean),[15] Woodyates,[16] and Middle Wallop.[17] There are, however, many sites where hobnails have not been encountered, for example, Trentholme Drive, Ancaster, Poundbury Camp, Lynch Farm, and Radley. Clearly hobnails were far from general in Romano-British cemeteries.

It is difficult to know how this evidence should be interpreted. There is little indication of geographical variation, but there is some for chronological change. Of the major fourth-century sites, Ancaster and Poundbury Camp have not produced any hobnails, and Cirencester had them in only four graves. This negative evidence is probably valid and, in conjunction with Lankhills, it may suggest that hobnailed boots became less common as grave furniture during the fourth century. However, the lack of hobnails in the earlier burials at Trentholme Drive must indicate that their deposition was neither consistent nor ubiquitous before then.

Lankhills provided some evidence for changes in placing of hobnailed boots. In earlier graves the hobnails were often well clear of the feet, but in later burials they tended to lie among the toe bones.[18] This could mean that people were buried wearing their shoes,

[19] A shield-boss and arrowheads from Trentholme Drive in York were not associated with a burial (Wenham 1968, 51, 95). For two further finds, see addendum S.

[20] Hull 1958, 256–7. [21] Bushe-Fox 1949, 80, 155.

[22] For further discussion of Grave 378, see below, pp. 389–98.

[1] Todd 1969, 77.

[2] Wilson 1968, 199.

[3] See above, pp. 252–3.

[4] *JRS*, 49 (1959), 132–3.

[5] See above, pp. 153–4, 178–80, and 322–5.

[6] See above, p. 180.

[7] The Infirmary cemetery: Newstead 1914; 1921.

[8] *JRS*, 54 (1964), 166.

[9] Down and Rule 1971, 122: Burial 325.

[10] Whiting *et al.* 1931: Graves BG, BK, HE, and KJ.

[11] Payne 1898: Graves 3, 4, 8, and 11.

[12] McWhirr 1973, 199.

[13] Todd 1969, 76: Grave 9.

[14] *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 287.

[15] Knocker 1957, 125; Graves 2 and 3.

[16] Pitt Rivers 1892, 210–12: Graves 12 and 13 in the enclosure.

[17] Piggott 1949, 60: Graves 1 and 3.

[18] See above, p. 179.

but more probably the shoes were put over or under the feet.[1] Evidence on hobnail position cannot yet be gathered from elsewhere.

Conclusion: late Romano-British grave-furnishing

Grave-furnishing must have varied considerably both between and within local communities. This is illustrated by the contrasts between Guilden Morden, Ospringe, and Trentholme Drive, York, and in the later fourth century between Lankhills, Poundbury Camp, Ancaster, and Cirencester. These comparisons show that different changes affected different people at different times, and they indicate in particular that the users of the Lankhills cemetery were conservative, long clinging to beliefs in grave-furnishing. Yet in spite of this, general trends may be detected.

In the third and early fourth centuries, probably 25 to 50 per cent of all inhumations were furnished. The offerings in most graves consisted only of vessels, usually one or two, but quite often three. Young girls might be buried with unworn personal ornaments as well, and their graves were consequently sometimes rich. A few female burials without other objects had personal ornaments which were worn. Coins were rare, either alone or with other furniture, and when present, they were placed almost anywhere in the grave. Equipment and animal remains were sometimes deposited, as with greater frequency were hobnailed boots.

During the middle third of the fourth century, furnished graves became increasingly rare and concomitant with this was the gradual abandonment of vessels as grave-offerings. Unworn personal ornaments, however, became more common, and these were buried mainly with females, but sometimes with men. This practice, Lankhills suggests, enjoyed a period of particular popularity *c.* 350–70. A few people, too, were probably still buried with worn personal ornaments, and coins were now provided more frequently, usually placed in the mouth, and, apart from a few relatively early instances, mostly unaccompanied by other furniture. Equipment continued to be buried, bone combs becoming widespread *c.* 360–70.

In the last quarter of the fourth century, coins were provided in a fair number of graves, usually in the mouth, but vessels were virtually unknown and the mid-century popularity of personal ornaments had faded. Several graves were provided with equipment, notably combs; and hobnailed boots were also still buried, although probably less often. In the fifth century these changes clearly progressed further. None of the seventy-eight burials perhaps of that date excavated at Queensford Mill, Dorchester on Thames, had grave-goods,[2] and in Somerset the proportion of furnished sub-Roman graves is minimal.[3] The final Roman period had witnessed the almost total abandonment of grave-furniture.

V. CEMETERY ORGANISATION

The analysis of the Lankhills evidence in Part II ended by discussing cemetery organisation.[4] Graves were marked with small mounds or sometimes hedges; they were arranged in parallel lines rather than in rows; and previous burials were accorded some

[1] See above, p. 153.
[2] Durham and Rowley 1972.
[3] Rahtz and Fowler 1972, 199.
[4] See above, pp. 183–97.

respect, disarticulated bones being sometimes reinterred with care. There was evidence that sex played a major role in where an individual was buried; but family-groupings in the true sense were seemingly not important. Some attention may have been paid to concepts held in common, and to status. The most interesting point to emerge was that the cemetery was far more organised than one might have expected.

It is virtually impossible to compare Lankhills with sites elsewhere in Britain, because information is not yet available. But four points can be made. First, most Romano-British graves are likely to have been marked by mounds; this is probable enough, and was suggested at Radley.[1] Second, carefully buried disarticulated bones have been found in at least one grave elsewhere: at Lynch Farm they constituted Skeleton 47, which, like Graves 328/9 and 451 at Lankhills, was accompanied by a fourth-century pot.[2] Third, parallels to the gullies marking out particular graves have been observed at Poundbury Camp[3] and Winnall.[4] These gullies are the simplest of a whole series of phenomena, which include the mausolea found at Poundbury Camp[5] and elsewhere,[6] and also masonry monuments, walled cemeteries, and barrows.[7] These phenomena point to considerable diversity in how people emphasised their burials.

The fourth point concerns the arrangement of graves. At Lankhills the graves were ordered and at least as much in lines as in rows. So too were they at Mucking.[8] Elsewhere, notably at Poundbury Camp,[9] Lynch Farm[10] and Radley,[11] the graves were also ordered, but definitely in rows. In other cemeteries, among them Guilden Morden[12] and Trentholme Drive, York,[13] almost total chaos prevailed. This diversity of practice must partly reflect local differences, but it is noticeable and perhaps significant that ordered cemeteries tend to be fourth-century.[14]

vi. DECAPITATED SKELETONS

(Table 40)

In the analysis of body position in Part II, attention was drawn to seven graves in which the head had been severed from the body and placed by the legs or feet.[15] This decapitation was clearly performed while the bones were fully articulated, for the upper vertebrae and mandible were still in their correct position relative to the skull. Removal of the head probably took place soon after death. One of the seven graves belonged to a child and the rest to adults (three men and two women). Six were datable on stratigraphic grounds to after *c.* 350; the seventh can presumably be assigned to the same period. The discussion which follows is concerned with a number of other graves in Britain which reproduce this rite. Graves where the head was altogether missing, or where it lay only a little

[1] Atkinson 1952, 32.
[2] Jones 1975, 108, Pl. 8.
[3] Green 1973, Fig. 13, R4–6.
[4] Biddle 1975, 119–20, Pl. XXIX*a*.
[5] Green 1973, Fig. 13, R1, 2, 3, and R7–10.
[6] For example, Lullingstone: *JRS*, 49 (1959), 132–3.
[7] All discussed in Jessup 1959.
[8] Jones and Jones 1975, Fig. 49 (a).
[9] Green 1973, Fig. 13.
[10] Jones 1975, Fig. 4.
[11] Atkinson 1952, Fig. 15.
[12] Lethbridge 1935, Fig. 2.
[13] Wenham 1968, 33.
[14] Cf. above, p. 352.
[15] Graves 120, 348, 379, 427, 441, 445, and 451: see above, pp. 141–2, 192–3, and Fig. 50.

TABLE 40

Decapitated burials from Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries

Period	Name of site	Description of site	Decapitated burials				Suggested date of the decapitated burials	References
			Number	Age; sex	Position of the head	Other features		
First century	Cuxton (Kent)	Isolated burial	1	F	Between knees	2 ? 1st cent. pots as grave-goods	Later I	Tester 1963
Romano-British: definite examples	Abingdon (Berks.)	11 inhumations, mostly aligned east–west	2	?	Between knees	Aligned north–south	? IV	*Britannia*, 6 (1975), 279
	Beckford (Worcs.)	1 cremation and 10 inhumations	5	?	Between knees or feet		? later IV	*Britannia*, 4 (1973), 287
	Dorchester (Dorset), Fordington	2 cremations and 18 inhumations	1	?	Between knees		?	*Britannia*, 3 (1972), 345
	Dorchester (Dorset), Poundbury	Large inhumation cemetery	1	?	At feet		Later IV	Green 1970, 138
	Guilden Morden (Cambs.)	Large mixed cemetery	1 (G.A2)	F	Over feet	Cut into earlier burial	? IV	Lethbridge 1935, 114–17
			1 (G.A8)	F	In lap		?	Lethbridge 1935, 114–17
			2	?	Between feet or legs		?	*JRS*, 59 (1969), 223
	Kimmeridge (Dorset)	One of 2 isolated burials	1	F	Near lower legs	In cist. Coin in fill. Spindle-whorl and shells with the skeleton	Post-286	Calkin 1947
	Margidunum (Notts.)	10 unfurnished inhumations	1 (G.6)	A	By feet		Late IV	Todd 1969, 73–8
	Mundford (Norfolk)	Inhumation cemetery	1 (G.4)	M	L. of feet		? mid IV	*JRS*, 54 (1964), 168 *Norfolk Research Committee Bulletin*, 15 (1963), 10
			1 (G.6)	?	L. of feet	Iron ring on L. hand	? mid IV	
	Orton Longueville (Hunts.)	8 inhumations	1	F	At feet		?	*Britannia*, 6 (1975), 252
	Preshute (Wilts.), Manton Down	?	1	F	Between legs	'Ampulla' near neck	?	Calkin 1947, 37
	Radley (Berks.)	Cemetery of 35 inhumations	2	A	Between knees		IV	Atkinson 1952, 32–5
	Sea Mills (Glos.)	Group of 3 inhumations	1	C	On pelvis		Post-*c.* 150	*Britannia*, 4 (1973), 309
	Studland (Dorset)	Cemetery of cist graves	1	F	Near left foot	Cist. Spindle-whorl near pelvis	?	Calkin 1952
	Todbere (Dorset)	?	1	?M	By lower legs	In lead coffin. Hobnails and spindle-whorl	?	Calkin 1947, 37
	Tripontium (Warwicks.)	Scatter of graves	1	F	Above ankles		?	Cameron and Lucas, 1973, Pl. 19
	Uffington (Berks.), White Horse Hill	Cremations and inhumations	1	?	Beneath knees		?IV	Meaney 1964, 53
	Winchester (Lankhills)	Town cemetery	7	M, F, C	Near pelvis, legs, or feet		Post-350	This report
	Winchester (Hyde Street)	Town cemetery	1	C	Near lower legs		III/IV	Pers. comm.
	Woodyates (Dorset)	5 inhumations in an enclosure	1	?A	By right ankle		Later IV	Pitt Rivers 1892, 211, Pl. CXCIV
	Wycombe (Glos.)	Small ? IV cemetery	1	M	At feet	Coin (late III) 150 mm from skull	IV	Pers. comm. (Mr. W. Cox)
Romano-British: possible examples	Cassington (Oxon.)	Cemetery of 94 inhumations and 2 cremations	15	?	Decapitated		IV	*JRS*, 27(1937). 237
	Great Casterton (Rutland)	Mixed Roman and Saxon cemetery	2	?	Decapitated		?IV	*JRS*, 57 (1967), 183
	Rushton (Northants.), The Mount	Barrow (robbed)	24	M, F. C	Decapitated	Grouped round barrow	Later than II	*JRS*, 55 (1965), 210

TABLE 40 (*cont.*)

Period	Name of site	Description of site	Decapitated burials				Suggested date of the decapitated burials	References
			Number	Age; sex	Position of the head	Other features		
	Sawbridgeworth (Herts.)	24 late IV inhumations	1	?	Decapitated		Late IV	*JRS*, 27 (1937), 239
	Winterbourne Down (Wilts.)	IV cremation and inhumation cemetery	3	?	Decapitated		IV	*WAM* (1963), 470
Anglo-Saxon: definite examples	Brighthampton (Oxon.)	Anglo-Saxon mixed cemetery	1	?	In pelvis	Near Grave 40	V/VI	Akerman 1857, 88
	Chadlington (Oxon.)	Cemetery of 24 inhumations	1 (G.7)	M	By right thigh		? VII	Leeds 1940
			1 (G.9)	M	Between knees		? VII	Leeds 1940
			1 (G.10)	M	Between legs		? VII	Leeds 1940
	Girton (Cambs.)	Mixed cemetery	1 (G.34)	A	Between feet	Romano-British pot by shoulder	? *c.* 400	Hollingworth and O'Reilly 1925, 15
	Loveden Hill (Lincs.)	Mixed cemetery	1	?	In pit of stomach	3 or 4 pots associated. Under barrow	Late VI/ early VII	Meaney 1964, 158
	Uffington (Berks.), White Horse Hill	Cemetery associated with barrow	1	A	Beneath knees	Romano-British brooch on shoulder	? Early V	Meaney 1964, 53
	Wheatley (Oxon.)	Cemetery; 2 graves with RB pots	1 (G.2)	A	Between knees		V/VI	Leeds 1916, 50

For some further decapitated burials, see addendum T.

distance from the shoulders, are not included, since they seemingly represent different practices.

A brief survey of the literature has revealed twenty Romano-British cemeteries where decapitated skeletons have been found which parallel the Lankhills graves, and five others where there are possible parallels (Table 40). In twelve of the thirteen cemeteries where the decapitations are well dated, they seem to be late Roman. The thirteenth occurrence, from Cuxton, is so much earlier that it should perhaps more properly be considered in the context of pre-Roman archaeology. Only four of the nineteen cemeteries are urban: the two at Dorchester (Dorset), and those at *Margidunum* and Winchester. Decapitation would thus seem to have been a predominantly rural practice. There is no reason why all the urban decapitations should not post-date *c.* 350; if so, it could be that decapitation spread from country to town in the later fourth century. It is evident as well, that except for the early example at Cuxton, decapitated skeletons come from a restricted area. They are spread over central and central-southern England, but they are noticeably absent from Kent and from the north.

When we turn to interpretation, four points seem significant about the Lankhills decapitations.[1] First, the care with which the operation had been performed—from the front, with a knife, between the third and fourth vertebrae.[2] Second, the coercion evidenced by a cut mandible in Grave 379 and by apparently twisted arms in Grave 451. Third, the topographical association of all seven decapitations with graves that were rich, seemingly military, or ritually unusual. Fourth, one of the military graves (Grave 443)

[1] See above, pp. 192–3 and 342–4.

[2] See in particular pp. 342–3.

actually had a decapitated skeleton in its fill. These observations together suggested that the decapitated skeletons were in some way sacrificial.

As only a few examples from elsewhere have been fully published, it is difficult to judge whether this hypothesis explains all the decapitated skeletons. Such information as there is suggests that it does not, however, for the observations made at Lankhills do not seem to be repeated elsewhere. Instead, for some of these finds another explanation has been put forward: that the purpose of decapitation was to prevent dead and bad-tempered old people from haunting the living.[1] There is little support for this view apart from signs of arthritis in some of the skeletons, but it is not totally implausible. Indeed there is no reason why decapitation should have had only a single meaning, and it could well have been performed both to stop bad-tempered people from haunting the living, and also in a sacrificial context.[2]

Decapitated skeletons have occasionally been found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and it has sometimes been suggested that decapitation was exclusively Germanic.[3] In fact, although Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are much more extensively reported than their Romano-British counterparts, an admittedly brief search has yielded only six with decapitated skeletons (Table 40).[4] When compared with the many Romano-British examples, this must argue against all being Germanic.

Four of the Anglo-Saxon decapitations come from comparatively early cemeteries: Brighthampton, Girton, Uffington, and Wheatley. The grave at Girton contained a Romano-British pot, and Wheatley is one of the few other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries where graves were also furnished with Romano-British pottery. At Uffington there were two barrows, one with Romano-British graves (apparently late, including at least one decapitated skeleton) and the other with Anglo-Saxon burials. The second barrow contained the decapitated skeleton relevant here, as well as another grave with a Romano-British brooch. There is thus evidence in these cemeteries for close chronological and cultural connections between Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon communities. As decapitated skeletons are much commoner in Romano-British contexts, it is tempting to suggest that they too reflect these connections.

One of the Lankhills graves is particularly relevant here, Grave 379. This lay next to Grave 378, the only Lankhills grave with a weapon, in one of two apparently related rows. As we have seen, the mixture of adults and children in these rows suggests a family group,[5] and below it will be argued that, while two of the graves (Grave 379 itself and Grave 382) display Romano-British funerary rites, three others are Anglo-Saxon, the group perhaps belonging to a family where Anglo-Saxon men married Romano-British women.[6] If correct, this interpretation would show that some of the earliest Anglo-Saxon arrivals were being assimilated and adopting native customs. Grave 379 suggests that one custom thus adopted was decapitation, and as such it accords with the evidence of Girton, Uffington, and Wheatley.

[1] Calkin 1947, 37; Lethbridge 1935, 117.

[2] On this, see further below, pp. 414–21.

[3] Cf. Hollingworth and O'Reilly 1925, 17; Todd 1969, 76.

[4] The skeletons sometimes found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries which have the head entirely missing are not included in Table 40, for they have little in common with the rite now being considered.

[5] See above, pp. 191.

[6] See below, pp. 399–400.

vii. CONCLUSION

This discussion of late Romano-British funerary practice has emphasised the paucity of evidence available. It has nevertheless proved possible to reach several conclusions, of which the most important is that during the fourth century the furnishing of graves largely ceased. Other points are that some people were still cremated in the fourth century, that east–west alignment became common, and that decapitation was a typical aspect of fourth-century Romano-British burial practice. This information about funerary practice bears on two important historical questions, religious change and the settlement of foreign people, matters which will be dealt with in the following chapters. The latter will show the results which cemetery archaeology can produce, and thus emphasise the need for further excavations. These alone will enable us to advance from the outline sketched here.

2

FOREIGN ELEMENTS

THIS chapter concerns two groups of intrusive graves from Lankhills.[1] It is self-contained and so includes a recapitulation of why the graves are foreign. It is mainly concerned with where the foreigners came from, but it also considers why they came to Winchester and what happened to them subsequently.

i. INTRUSIVE GRAVES DATED *c.* 350–410

This group of sixteen graves, spread over the second half of the fourth century, was defined in Part II.[2] Eight of the graves belonged to men,[3] four to women,[4] and four to young girls.[5] The salient points of their furnishing were as follows (cf. Figs. 61 and 62):

1. Abundant provision of different categories of object.
2. Exceptional consistency in what was provided and where it was put.
3. Personal ornaments worn at burial:
   i. in male graves a brooch on or around the right shoulder and belt-fittings at or near the waist;
   ii. in female graves beads around the neck and bracelets encircling the wrist, mostly on the left arm.
4. Offerings of some kind by the right foot: in male graves most often one vessel, and in female graves generally two.
5. Coins quite often provided, and placed anywhere except in the mouth.
6. Equipment also quite often provided: in male graves a knife at the waist, and in female graves a spindle-whorl or, later, a comb, frequently near the right foot.
7. Hobnails not present.

This consistent layout was unlike that in earlier or contemporary graves at Lankhills. It was seemingly faithfully adhered to in the earliest of the sixteen graves, some of which were coin-dated to *c.* 350–70.[6] But those among them definitely datable after *c.* 370 revealed evidence for breakdown and variation, and for the absorption of practices typical of other obviously native graves.[7] In these circumstances it was argued that the sixteen graves could only be explained as the burials of people foreign to Winchester, who were gradually being assimilated into the native population.

[1] Some of the intrusive graves dated *c.* 350–410 have previously been published, and their ethnic affinities incorrectly stated. See Clarke 1970, 296–7; 1975*a*, 126; 1975*b*, 55. In Clarke 1970, 297, it is also wrongly implied that Grave 37 and buckle 92 are Germanic; they are native (see above, pp. 174, 288–9, and 362).

[2] See above, pp. 155–76, esp. 174–5. These graves are all those with worn personal ornaments except Graves 373 and 376.

[3] Graves 13, 23, 81, 106, 234, 322, 366, and 426, for plans of which, see Fig. 61.

[4] Graves 63, 326, 351, and 396, for plans of which, see Fig. 62.

[5] Graves 40, 323, 333, and 336, for plans of which, see Fig. 62.

[6] Graves 13, 81, 323, and 336; see Table 30.

[7] Especially in Graves 333 and 351. Grave 333 contained hobnails, and Grave 351 a coin in the mouth.

This is confirmed by some of the finds. The bronze bracelets found in the female graves show a clear difference in taste between the natives and the newcomers in that cable-bracelets were infrequent in the foreign graves.[1] There are in addition a few objects, notably glass beads from Graves 40, 323, 333, and 336,[2] cornelian beads from Grave 63,[3] and a triangular silver plate from Grave 81,[4] which are seemingly impossible to parallel in Romano-British contexts.

In our discussion of Romano-British burial practice, we noted possible parallels for the sixteen graves.[5] Three sites have produced male graves with cross-bow brooches and belt-fittings and there are a few graves with bracelets worn at burial, necklaces, and other furniture. The male graves are from the Normangate Field at Castor (Northants.),[6] Mundford (Norfolk),[7] and Norton (E.R. Yorks.),[8] and each is datable to the middle of the fourth century.[9] The female graves come from Dorchester (Dorset),[10] the Normangate Field,[11] *Verulamium*,[12] York,[13] and Cirencester,[14] and all are probably fourth-century too. Four contained objects which are unusual in late Roman Britain, beads at Dorchester, Cirencester, and *Verulamium*, and a brooch in the Normangate Field.[15] How closely these other British graves parallel the sixteen at Lankhills is unclear. But the dating of the male graves and the objects with the women mean that none would be inconsistent with the Lankhills people being intrusive.

Origins

The area we have to look at in our search for the origins of the Lankhills foreigners is vast. We have to consider both the territory within the Roman frontiers and also the almost unlimited barbarian regions beyond, for there is no doubt that foreigners could and did reach Britain from Roman provinces and barbarian settlements alike. We can, however, eliminate most interior regions of the empire, for probably unfurnished inhumation prevailed there by the later fourth century. Outside the empire, we can discount the north European plain;[16] here cremation was the rule until after 400. A few people were inhumed, but these inhumations do not seem to have been furnished in the same way as those at Lankhills. They lack any kind of consistency and, in particular, there is no pattern whereby only one or two vessels were present: in some cemeteries, for example those of the Leuna–Hassleben group, there can be several,[17] while elsewhere, for example in the

[1] See above, pp. 311–12.
[2] See above, pp. 292–4.
[3] See above, pp. 294–5.
[4] Object 68: see above, pp. 320–1.
[5] See above, pp. 364–7.
[6] *JRS*, 59 (1969), 219; further information kindly provided by Dr. J. P. Wild.
[7] *JRS*, 54 (1964), 168; *Norfolk Research Committee Bulletin*, 15 (1964), 9.
[8] *JRS*, 58 (1968), 182; *YAJ*, 42 (1966–9), 6.
[9] Mundford, coin (346–50); Normangate Field, Castor, broken cross-bow brooch of Keller Type 3 (340–60) or 4 (350–80); Norton, three cross-bow brooches (photographs in NMR) of Keller Types 3 and 4. For Keller's brooch typology, see Keller 1971, 26–53 and above, pp. 257–9.
[10] Roach Smith 1854, 32–6; *Dorset II*, 3, 573, Pl. 230. These graves were found in 1838–9 in the Fordington cemetery. They certainly included two female burials with worn personal ornaments, one with two vessels at the head.
[11] *JRS*, 59 (1969), 219. This grave was next to the male grave already noted.
[12] Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 138, Grave 6; ibid. Fig. 47, No. 67 (necklace).
[13] *Eburacum*, 80, a (viii).
[14] McWhirr 1973, 199.
[15] See above, p. 366.
[16] Cemeteries in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland are noted with bibliographical details in Godłowski 1970. For references to cemeteries further west, see Böhme 1974.
[17] Schulz 1933; 1953.

Elbe–Weser region, there are groups of inhumations with practically none.[1] Furthermore, the vessels were not consistently placed at the feet. There are differences too as regards other furniture: for example, coins when present were frequently put in the mouth,[2] and weapons were sometimes provided.[3]

To the east and south-east are European Russia and the Black Sea region. It is hard to become familiar with relevant discoveries in Russia; but we can perhaps assume that the newcomers at Lankhills did not come from a region too remote from Roman civilisation, and so confine attention to the area north and west of the Black Sea. This area is covered by the Sîntana de Mureș–Tchernéakhov (or Chernyakhiv) culture, which extends from the Dnieper into Romania.[4] Cemeteries have been extensively excavated and studied in Romania,[5] and while there is certainly much local variation, which could correspond to known ethnic groups, some generalisations are possible, and these are seemingly applicable to the cemeteries of the same culture in Russia.[6] The cemeteries include both inhumations and cremations. Many of the former are furnished with vessels, equipment, and personal ornaments which are worn; in all this they resemble the Lankhills graves. They lack, however, the consistency of the latter and the emphasis seems to have been on vessels, which were often provided in some number. These vessels occupy no regular positions, and there is not even any tendency to put them only at the head or feet.[7] Nowhere do there seem to be close parallels to the Lankhills graves, and as the differences regarding vessels concern a matter where direct comparison is legitimate, an origin in the Sîntana de Mureș–Tchernéakhov region would seem unlikely.

We can perhaps now concentrate on the regions to either side of the imperial frontier, from the Rhine mouth to the Romanian border. Here we may begin closest to Britain, with north-east Gaul and the Rhineland, where many fourth-century cemeteries have been discovered. These can be categorised into two types: cemeteries of mainly furnished graves,[8] and cemeteries of mostly unfurnished burials, which are seemingly Christian.[9] The latter are clearly not relevant. The former display a wide range of funerary customs. The great majority of graves can, however, certainly be discounted, for vessels are often numerous and disposed all around the body, coins can be in the mouth, and, in male graves, cross-bow brooches and belt-fittings are rare and, when present, sometimes unworn. A few rather different graves, including some with pairs of brooches belonging to women,[10] have Anglo-Saxon affinities, but these graves also can be distinguished,

[1] As in inhumations at Bremen-Mahndorf (Böhme 1974, 224–8). For the Elbe–Weser region generally, see below, pp. 395–6.

[2] Schulz 1933, 46–7 (Leuna–Hassleben group); Böhme 1974, 150 (Rhenen, Bad Lippspringe, and Wijster).

[3] See, for example, Schulz 1933, 49–50.

[4] For the Sîntana de Mureș–Tchernéakhov culture generally, see Sulimirski 1970, 162, 170.

[5] Diaconu 1965; 1969; Mitrea and Preda 1966.

[6] See, for example, graves illustrated in *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR*, 82 (1960), 91, 204–14, 258, 263, 265, 274; and also those illustrated ibid. 116 (1964), 139–55.

[7] Cf. Diaconu 1965, 139, and Mitrea and Preda 1966, 184.

[8] Discussed in Werner 1950, Böhner 1963, and Böhme 1974. Cemeteries of this type include Vermand (Eck 1891), Abbeville-Homblières (Pilloy 1886), and Vert-la-Gravelle (Lantier 1948) in France; Furfooz (Nenquin 1953) in Belgium; and Krefeld-Gellep (Pirling 1966; 1974) and Mayen (Haberey 1942) in Germany.

[9] For example at Cologne (Fremersdorf 1958*a*, 329–34).

[10] e.g. Oudenburg Grave 88 (Mertens and Van Impe 1971, 113–16, Pl. XXVIII); Vert-la-Gravelle Graves 7, 26, and 28 (Lantier 1948); and Vermand (Werner 1950, 32, Abb. 2). For up-to-date lists, see Böhme 1974, 342–57.

mainly because they lack any consistent layout, but also because the women wear brooches rather than bracelets. A further type of grave is represented in the Saxon-shore fort cemetery at Oudenburg (Belgium).[1] Here many men have cross-bow brooches and vessels are fewer in number. But although those points suggest a similarity with the Lankhills graves, any such is probably illusory, for by comparison at least with the Lankhills men, vessels are more numerous,[2] and, as well, belt-fittings are often at the feet, bracelets are frequently not worn, and coins are comparatively rare. It may be that individual graves here at Oudenburg, and also in the Rhine frontier-fort cemetery at Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.),[3] and perhaps elsewhere in north-east Gaul and the Rhineland,[4] resemble the sixteen Lankhills graves. But such graves are few, the resemblances are often uncertain, and even if they are exact, their significance is unclear, for the graves themselves are indubitably atypical.

If we move south-east, outside the empire, we come to South-west Germany, the region traditionally associated with Alemanni. Unlike some other parts of free Germany, inhumation was practised here in the fourth century. Much of the evidence has been drawn together by Roeren,[5] but there are practically no large cemeteries, and Roeren gives few details of funerary rite. However, the consistency seen in the Lankhills graves seems to be lacking, and weapons were provided in many of the graves. Vessels could certainly be present in some numbers, but as often there are none, and when present they occupy a variety of positions.[6] These graves do not seem therefore to provide good parallels to the Lankhills graves, and since they can perhaps be related to the Leuna–Hassleben group of central Germany, which we have already discounted, this is perhaps not surprising.

If we again go south, we are in Switzerland[7] and here several cemeteries have been excavated, of which the most notable are at Basel-Aeschenvorstadt and Kaisereraugst, with a small site at Stein-am-Rhein. Few graves from these sites have been fully published, but in so far as it is possible to tell, parallels for the Lankhills graves are lacking: vessels are sometimes numerous and often at the head, and personal ornaments were frequently not worn at burial.[8]

The next area to consider is South Bavaria. Here few cemeteries have been excavated under controlled conditions, but many have been observed in rescue work. All the available information was summarised by Keller,[9] who went on to excavate a cemetery of 130

[1] Mertens and Van Impe 1971.

[2] Average: 2·3.

[3] Pirling 1966; 1974. See especially Graves 1124, 1493, and 1567.

[4] For example at Tournai and Tongres (information from Professor J. Mertens); but see addendum U.

[5] Roeren 1960.

[6] See grave inventory, ibid. 243–53; and also *Badische Fundberichte*, 21 (1958), Taf. 48 (Gerlachsheim) and Behn 1935 (Lampertheim).

[7] Cemeteries here are discussed generally in Böhner 1966, but with insufficient details of how graves were furnished.

[8] For Basel-Aeschenvorstadt see *Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte*, 46 (1957), 154–9, Abb. 69–73; and ibid. 50 (1963), 77–9. For Stein-am-Rhein see *Helvetia Archaeologica*, 22/3 (1975), 50–60 and 78–87. See also addendum U.

[9] Keller 1971. I am indebted to Dr. Keller for hospitality and kindness during a period of two weeks spent at Munich in 1971. He not only discussed the South Bavarian evidence with me, but also guided me through much of the literature concerning fourth-century cemeteries over the rest of Europe. Such comprehensiveness as the present chapter may possess is due to his help, but I should stress that the views put forward are not necessarily his and in several places are indeed markedly different.

graves at Neuburg a. d. Donau, so far the largest known in South Bavaria.[1] Keller divided the cemeteries into four types on the basis of their locations.[2] Two of the types, the cemeteries around the provincial capital, Augsburg, and those associated with forts in the hinterland, can be discounted. The former consist mainly of unfurnished graves.[3] In the latter, vessels and other offerings are rarely at the feet and, in male graves, brooches and belt-fittings are at the feet or elsewhere beside the body.[4] The only adequately excavated cemetery of the third type, those near forts on the Danube or Iller, is that at Neuburg, but this is as yet unpublished. It is clearly a site of the greatest interest, but comment prior to full publication would be premature.

Cemeteries associated with unfortified rural settlements constitute Keller's fourth type. These have been found at several sites around Munich, and at Göggingen and Wessling.[5] Another cemetery which should probably be included is one at Burgheim, which lay quite close to a Danube fort, but perhaps not near enough to be its burial-place.[6] Many of these cemeteries were used before the fourth century. They were all abandoned in the middle of that century; the only one with late fourth-century graves is Wessling, but these graves seemed to belong to a subsequent and probably military occupation.[7] The two sites which are best documented are Wessling, with some twenty graves,[8] and Burgheim,[9] with about fifteen, and at both places graves were furnished mainly with vessels and personal ornaments. Coins occurred in only three graves, in two of them around the skull, and animal remains were common. The vessels and animal remains were mostly at the feet and, with one exception, no more than two vessels were ever present. Personal ornaments in male and female graves were in the positions they occupied when worn; in male graves there were brooches and belt-fittings, and in female burials necklaces, bracelets, and rings, with an emphasis on the left arm. The graves with male personal ornaments are of particular interest: three had an offering by the right foot, and the one other that was intact had a beaker between the feet.[10] None of these four graves had been provided with more than one vessel, but about half of those with feminine personal ornaments had two. These South Bavarian graves clearly parallel the Lankhills foreigners; but further comment is best deferred until we have considered the Austrian and Hungarian evidence.

In Austria, major late Roman cemeteries from Bregenz, *Lauriacum*, and Salurn have been published. Of Salurn little can be said, since funerary rite is not recorded.[11] At Bregenz, which is close to the Swiss border, some 300 inhumations were published early this century.[12] Many were furnished, mainly with vessels and personal ornaments. Vessels were often at the feet, with rarely more than two present, and personal ornaments were generally worn, in female graves the left arm being generally the more adorned. But

[1] Keller 1971, 182. I am grateful to Dr. Keller for allowing me to see the site records and finds from Neuburg, in advance of publication.

[2] Keller 1971, 145–69.

[3] Ibid. 164–9, 225–30, Taf. 1–7. The few furnished graves seem mostly to contain vessels datable to *c.* 300.

[4] Ibid. 156–60. See especially Altenstadt (ibid. 156–8, 254–7, Taf. 31–6 and 52).

[5] Ibid. 145–55.

[6] Ibid. 164.

[7] Ibid. 152.

[8] Ibid. 145–53, 259–64, Taf. 37–44 and 52–4.

[9] Ibid. 164, 236–8, Taf. 14–16 and 51.

[10] Ibid. Taf. 51, Nos. 3 and 6, and Taf. 53, Nos. 2 and 7.

[11] Noll 1963.

[12] Von Schwerzenbach 1909; von Schwerzenbach and Jacobs 1910.

despite these apparent similarities, the consistency seen in the Lankhills graves is lacking, for vessels and personal ornaments frequently do not occur together, and when they do, the vessels are as likely as not at the head, or the personal ornaments unworn; and few male graves have both a brooch and belt-fittings. Exact parallels to the sixteen Lankhills graves are limited to a few male graves perhaps datable to the mid-fourth century,[1] and possibly to occasional female burials as well.[2] But in such a large cemetery excavated so long ago, the significance of these parallels is far from clear. In the cemeteries of *Lauriacum* excavation has taken place more recently.[3] But nowhere are there parallels to the foreigners at Lankhills. Female graves, it is true, have more bracelets on the left arm than on the right, but, that apart, vessels are generally at the head and sometimes numerous, and brooches and belt-fittings are rare, and, when present, only occasionally found together. This lack of Austrian parallels for the Lankhills graves may be consistent with the South Bavarian evidence, for neither Bregenz nor *Lauriacum* is an unfortified rural settlement.

In Hungary, within the empire, in the province of *Pannonia*, more work has been done on late Roman cemeteries than practically anywhere else in Europe; a synthesis has recently been published by Lányi.[4] Known late Roman cemeteries consist of well-furnished inhumations. Most are on new sites, and in many burial seems to have begun during the early or middle part of the fourth century.[5] There seems to have been a fairly standard procedure for grave-furnishing, but it is clear that this sometimes varied considerably, especially in male graves. These variations seem to be commoner in late cemeteries[6] or in those which have produced objects with Christian symbolism,[7] and they may therefore show the impact of the new religion.[8]

The standard procedure involved a wide range of objects; vessels, personal ornaments, and coins were frequently provided together, with the emphasis more on personal ornaments than on vessels. It was rare for more than two vessels to be put in any grave, and there was often only one or even none at all;[9] men and women were not distinguished in vessel-numbers. The vessels were placed anywhere around the feet.[10] Personal ornaments were mostly worn at burial.[11] Men were equipped with a cross-bow brooch and belt-fittings,[12] and in a few instances they also had a signet-ring.[13] Women were adorned with necklaces, bracelets, ear-rings, finger-rings, and pins,[14] necklaces and bracelets being particularly common and generally present together. The bracelets were far more often worn on the left arm than on the right.[15] So far as other furniture is concerned, coins

[1] Graves 543, 588, 613, and 783, which may be dated by their cross-bow brooches (Keller 1971, 209–19).

[2] Graves 550 and 880.

[3] See especially the Espelmayrfeld cemetery (Kloiber 1962). Graves in the Ziegelfeld cemetery (Kloiber 1957) are mostly too late to be relevant here.

[4] Lányi 1972; see especially 55–7 (list of cemeteries) and Abb. 1 (map).

[5] Ibid. 138–40.

[6] Ibid. 132, 139–42.

[7] See, for example, Ságvár (Burger 1966), where male personal ornaments were quite often unworn.

[8] Cf. Lányi 1972, 133.

[9] See ibid. 121, for a table showing the average number of vessels in graves in Hungarian cemeteries.

[10] Ibid. Abb. 14 and 15.

[11] Ibid. Abb. 16–19 and 22. Ságvár is the only major exception.

[12] Ibid. 80–2, 190–5.

[13] Ibid. 86–7. Among male graves with a ring are Graves 2, 4, 10, and 17 at Zengővárkony II (Dombay 1957, 187–216).

[14] Lányi 1972, 83–91, 200–13.

[15] Ibid. 106, Abb. 22.

were frequently provided, sometimes in very substantial numbers,[1] and they were placed everywhere in the grave except in the mouth.[2] Equipment was put in both male and female graves, and included such objects as knives and awls, and very occasionally weapons.[3]

In Hungary outside the empire, in *Sarmatia*, we are in the area where the cemeteries of Roman date were studied by Párducz.[4] He divided the late Roman cemeteries there into three groups:[5] Group I, with graves aligned west–east and with graves whose skeletons were in a sitting position; Group II, north–south graves with (II, 1) or without (II, 2) coffins; and Group III, barrow-burials. Few barrow-burials have remained unrobbed, but those which have survived seem to have been rich, their furniture including beads, vessels (which were generally at the feet), and weapons.[6] Likewise, Párducz described but few Group I cemeteries in detail; their graves had beads, brooches, and bracelets, and one or two vessels, usually at the feet, but often in other positions.[7]

It is the Group II cemeteries which have been most fully explored,[8] and Párducz gives a full account of thirty graves from one site in particular, Szentes-Sárgapart.[9] Both here and in other cemeteries of this group a basic mode of grave-furnishing is adhered to with remarkable consistency, and since this mode also characterises middle Roman cemeteries in the same region,[10] it must by the fourth century already have persisted for a considerable time. It involved the provision together of personal ornaments, equipment, and a single vessel; coins are only occasionally found, and never in the mouth. The equipment mainly consists of knives in male graves, placed near the waist, and of knives and spindle-whorls in female burials, usually with one near each hand. The single vessel is almost invariably placed at the feet, at Szentes-Sárgapart generally between them. The personal ornaments in male graves consist of a brooch on or around the shoulders and a buckle at the waist; these items are rarely lavish and usually iron. In female graves there are earrings around the skull, beads and sometimes torques at the neck, one or more brooches on the shoulders, and beads or bracelets evenly distributed between each arm. At the feet, or sometimes scattered over the whole grave, are yet more beads, quite often as many as 500. The great quantity of beads is the most conspicuous feature of the graves, especially the piles at the feet. These beads are made of glass, paste, amber, cornelian, stone, and other materials, and they include occasional glass trail-beads, which seem to have been highly prized, for they were often placed alone, near the upper body.[11]

It is clear that in broad terms the Lankhills foreign graves are paralleled in Hungary, on both sides of the Danube. We can perhaps generalise and say that both here in Hungary, and also in the rural cemeteries in South Bavaria, a common funerary rite was

[1] As for example at Zengővárkony II (Dombay 1957, 187–216) where Graves 2, 3, 4, and 17 each had more than twenty coins, there being thirty-eight in Grave 4.

[2] Lányi 1972, Abb. 23 and 24.

[3] Ibid. 83, 197–9.

[4] See especially Párducz 1944 and 1950; and, for a summary, Sulimirski 1970, 171–82. I am grateful to Mr. G. C. Boon for drawing my attention to these and other publications about East European material.

[5] Párducz 1950, 215.

[6] Ibid. 231–6.

[7] Ibid. 216–18; see also, as an example, the cemetery of Bajmok (ibid. 160–1).

[8] Ibid. 218–31.

[9] Ibid. 130–8.

[10] For example at Szentes-Kistőke (Párducz 1944, 45–53).

[11] For example in Graves 16 and 22 at Szentes-Sárgapart.

adhered to, a rite that is reproduced with little variation at Lankhills. Its main elements are as follows:

A. Provision together of personal ornaments and vessels, and, less often, of equipment, animal remains, and coins.
B. Exceptional consistency in the presence and positioning of these objects.
C. Personal ornaments generally lavish, and worn at burial: in male graves brooches and belt-fittings; in female graves principally necklaces and bracelets.
D. Vessels almost invariably at the feet, rarely more than two being present.
E. Equipment, when provided, consisting mainly of knives and spindle-whorls.
F. Coins, when present, never put in the mouth.

At this point we should note the possibility that some or perhaps even all of the cemeteries within the empire in Hungary and South Bavaria belonged to foreigners.[1] In Hungary, this view would be consistent with the cemeteries occupying new sites and it is supported by several apparently non-provincial-Roman objects, such as strike-a-lights, ring-brooches, and awls.[2] As for the rural cemeteries in South Bavaria, a hand-made pot and a non-Roman buckle come from Potzham, and possibly non-Roman iron buckles have been found at Göggingen and Wessling.[3] Many of these objects in Hungary and South Bavaria have hitherto been regarded as having affinities with North Germany,[4] and if so they could indicate the presence of foreigners from those parts. However, as Lányi has pointed out, these supposed North German affinities are based on undiagnostic everyday objects[5] whose distribution quite possibly reflects the intensity of research. Among the few objects which could be of real assistance is the Potzham pot, and Keller cites parallels to this from just across the Danube, in Bohemia and central Germany.[6] Thus, even if the graves in South Bavaria and Hungary are intrusive, there may be no reason why they could not belong to people from just across the Danube. In the case of Hungary this is perhaps likely, since settlements of such people are known to have been made at around the date the cemeteries began.[7] But, in fact, it is far from certain that any graves in Hungary or South Bavaria are intrusive; for Hungary, Lányi left the question open, and in South Bavaria, Keller definitely regarded the cemeteries as indigenous.

We must now return to the sixteen graves from Lankhills. We can conclude that their funerary rite indicates an origin in the middle or upper Danube regions. This conclusion is not inconsistent with the non-Romano-British objects in the graves, the beads and the triangular silver plate. But of these various objects, only the cornelian beads are of real assistance, for the rest are either too widely paralleled, or are not precisely paralleled at all.[8] Cornelian beads[9] are not characteristic of the Roman provinces, nor of the north European plain; they are only found, it seems, between the Danube in Hungary and the Caucasus, and in Hungary at least they are extremely common. They can therefore be

[1] For this, see Keller 1971, 175–83, and Lányi 1972, 137–8.
[2] See Keller 1971, 75– .
[3] Ibid. 178–83.
[4] Ibid. 76, 179.
[5] Lányi 1972, 138.
[6] Keller 1971, 182.
[7] Mócsy 1974, 278–80.
[8] See above, pp. 292–6.
[9] See above, pp. 294–5.

taken as supporting an origin in the Danube regions, and pointing more specifically to the eastern part of that area.

It is to the question of whether the origin of the Lankhills graves can be pinpointed more precisely that we must now turn, and here the most important point to establish is whether the Lankhills people came from inside or outside the empire. Evidence on this comes from objects. As we have just seen, the non-Romano-British objects point strongly outside the empire. The provincial Roman material in the Lankhills graves included bronze cross-bow brooches, belt-fittings, and bracelets, and these were widespread throughout the empire.[1] Typological study of the Lankhills pieces, however, suggested that many if not most were quite possibly made in Britain, and that only a few of the belt-fittings could even remotely be thought to have come from the Danube provinces.[2] Furthermore some of the more definitely British pieces were in the earliest of the sixteen graves,[3] an indication that on or soon after arrival the newcomers acquired locally made metalwork. This in turn may imply that what they had brought with them was inadequate, which would certainly not have been true had they come from the Danube provinces, since in form and material metalwork there was of high standard.[4] On the other hand, beyond the Danube frontier brooches and belt-fittings were simple and usually iron, and bracelets were plain and not very common.[5] Another point to note is that the bracelets showed a difference in taste between the newcomers and the natives, for the newcomers effectively shunned the otherwise popular cable-bracelet.[6] It should follow that cable-bracelets are not found in the regions from which the newcomers came. It is therefore significant that while cable-bracelets are common in South Bavaria,[7] and far from unusual in *Pannonia*,[8] they are seemingly absent in Hungary outside the empire.[9] Taken with all the other points, this evidence would seem conclusive. The Lankhills people came from beyond the imperial frontiers.

At first sight this is difficult to reconcile with funerary rite, for the cemeteries outside the empire in Hungary can be differentiated slightly but significantly from the Lankhills graves. They have piles of beads at the feet, and a single vessel provided for women as well as men. The vessels and other furniture were rarely by the right foot, and in female graves the arms were equally adorned. The Pannonian cemeteries can also be distinguished,[10] but in contrast are the South Bavarian cemeteries associated with unfortified rural settlements. Here there does seem to be an emphasis on placing furniture by the right foot, and women do seem to have had more personal ornaments on the left arm, and also more vessels than men. Although there are certainly some differences in funerary rite,[11] the Lankhills graves are perhaps as closely paralleled in these cemeteries as anywhere. Considering that the cemeteries were abandoned *c.* 350, the moment when the

[1] See above, pp. 257–63 (brooches), 264–91 (belt-fittings), and 301–14 (bracelets).

[2] Buckles **14** (Grave 13), **70** (Grave **81**), and **122** (Grave 196), and strap-end **26** (Grave 23).

[3] Most notably strap-end **75** (Grave 81), brooches **13** (Grave 13) and **74** (Grave 81), and bracelets in Graves 323 and 336.

[4] See examples illustrated in Keller 1971 and Lányi 1972.

[5] See examples illustrated in Párducz 1950, 28–30.

[6] See above, pp. 310–11.

[7] Keller 1971, 97–8, Abb. 28, Nos. 5–8.

[8] Lányi 1972, Abb. 60 and Table 19, No. 9.

[9] None are illustrated in Párducz 1950.

[10] For example by the number and placing of vessels, and by the number of coins.

[11] For example, coins and spindle-whorls are rare in the South Bavarian cemeteries.

Lankhills graves first appear, one might suggest that therein lies the origin of the Lankhills people.

A conflict between funerary rite and the objects is thus indicated. But this is easier to reconcile than it seems. The chronological point could clearly be fortuitous. As to funerary rite, we have to remember that in the middle Danube regions we are dealing with a large area only a few parts of which we have examined. The graves studied by Párducz will not have been the only ones outside the empire; there could be others which parallel the Lankhills graves as closely as the South Bavarian graves, or even more so. The South Bavarian parallels would then be less significant, especially as they are not numerous. Alternatively, the possibility that South Bavarian graves are intrusive could become a reality, with the result that they and the Lankhills graves are found to share a common antecedent.

At present this must remain speculative. In the existing state of knowledge, we can go only a little further in our search for origins. The cornelian beads point south and east, to Hungary, and perhaps to such if any parts of Romania and South Russia as are not covered by the Sîntana de Mureş–Tchernéakhov culture.[1] They indicate at least that we should not look further north-west than the Hungarian basin. The people who lived there were known as the Sarmatians.[2] Were these the occupants of our sixteen graves?

Date and circumstances of arrival

The date when the people in the sixteen graves arrived in Britain can probably be fixed. All the graves were later than *c.* 350; graves in which their consistent layout was breaking down were later than *c.* 370; and four of the graves with the most consistent layout were dated by at least two coins to before then.[3] Since no earlier graves of this type are known from elsewhere in Winchester,[4] or quite possibly from Britain as a whole,[5] an arrival-date of *c.* 350 is indicated.

That the popular movement thus represented was a settlement of people from a long way off and from outside the imperial frontiers should come as no surprise. Alemanni, Burgundians, Sarmatians, and Vandals are known from literary sources to have been present in Roman Britain,[6] and it is noticeable that it is their presence which is recorded and not that of the much nearer Franks and Saxons. Furthermore, during the second quarter of the fourth century, the people in the Danube basin were probably at peace with Rome and were protected from external pressures. Some of them too were settled within the empire,[7] and it would surely not have been inappropriate for a few to have gone to Britain.

But we may still ask whether there were any specific reasons for the Lankhills people to go to Britain, and to Winchester in particular. That it was to carry out some function which the men had to perform may be indicated by the preponderance of male graves: eight adult men to four women. But this function is unlikely to have been solely military,

[1] Cf. above, p. 379.
[2] Mócsy 1974, Fig. 43.
[3] See further above, pp. 170–1.
[4] Cf. above, p. 175.
[5] Cf. above, pp. 364–7. No earlier male graves are known; the position regarding female graves is doubtful.
[6] Frere 1967, 162 and 187 (Sarmatians) 220 (Burgundians and Vandals), and 220, 346, and 355–6 (Alemanni).
[7] Mócsy 1974, 278–80.

for none of the eight men was buried with a two-strap belt or even with a wide single-strap belt, which alone of contemporary belts can reasonably be connected with the army.[1] Instead the men were wearing brooches and simple belts of average width; this was a style of dress worn by soldiers, by civilian officials, perhaps by private persons, and certainly by men beyond the frontiers in such areas as *Sarmatia*.[2]

Some kind of official position may be indicated by the fact that the brooches were cross-bow brooches, but this cannot be regarded as proven.[3] One brooch, **447** from Grave 322, points to high status since it is considerably more elaborate than any other of its type from Roman Britain or from such continental cemeteries as Oudenburg (Belgium) or Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.).[4] But the wearer of this brooch could (in theory at least) just have been rich. And in any event Grave 322 was one of the later intrusive graves, and so **447** cannot provide evidence about the status of the foreigners when they arrived. All in all, the dress of the Lankhills men, while of interest, yields only tentative indications of why they might have come to Britain.

More useful evidence is provided by the distribution of the newcomers' graves in the cemetery. For it seems that they occurred in areas where other burials were relatively rich, and, in particular, that they showed a marked concentration in and around Feature 12.[5] On the evidence, for example, of Graves 438 and 437, this former ditch was the most desirable place for burial at Lankhills during 350–70. Among the graves cut into the ditch then or soon after were the newcomers' Graves 323, 326, and 426, and, later, Graves 322 and 351. The evidence of Grave 323 (coin-dated to 350–70) especially indicates that as soon as the new arrivals reached Winchester, they could be buried in what seems to have been an unusually desirable location.

This conclusion is probably significant. There is no reason to suppose that the inhabitants of fourth-century Winchester were different from people in general: they may well have disliked foreigners, especially new arrivals, and whatever their attitude, it would be strange to find them acquiescing in foreign graves being scattered in the more desirable locations in a major burial ground, no doubt with little regard for their traditional ideas of cemetery order. Such action could have offended their sensibilities toward ancestors, and many other religious attitudes besides. It seems reasonable to conclude that the foreigners could be buried where they liked because the decision was theirs, and because they were in a position to impose their wishes on the local population. Put differently, the evidence of cemetery topography suggests that the foreigners, when they arrived, occupied a reasonably prominent position in late Roman Winchester. If so, they must have derived that position from some agency able to give it to them. There is no doubt that in late Roman Britain, as in most other societies, the government alone was able to do this. As they seem to have occupied their special position from the moment when they arrived, it can accordingly be argued that the newcomers were sent to Winchester by the government, presumably to exercise authority on its behalf.

This conclusion of course accords with the cross-bow brooches and with **447. Can it**

[1] See above, pp. 289–90.
[2] Cf., for example, Párducz **1950.**
[3] See above, pp. 262–3.
[4] See above, p. 263. **The comparisons are based on** published examples only.
[5] See above, p. 197 and **Fig. 26.**

be tied in with other events taking place in mid-fourth-century Britain, and in particular with those recorded in the literary sources? The first incident to note is the visit of Constans in 343, which was perhaps connected with barbarian attacks.[1] Subsequently, when Constans was dead, Britain sided with the unsuccessful usurper Magnentius, and after his defeat, the island was subjected to a punitive regime under the *notarius* Paul.[2] This involved much confiscation, including perhaps the destruction of some villas,[3] and it precipitated unsuccessful objections on the part of the *vicarius*, Martinus, who was concerned at the decline in economic activity. From about 360 onwards, barbarian attacks became increasingly severe, culminating in the *barbarica conspiratio* of 367, which was followed by the Theodosian restoration in 368–9.[4]

Any of these events might have involved the settlement in Britain of people from outside the diocese, and thus be relevant to the present discussion. But the military threats which occasioned both the visit of Constans and the Theodosian restoration suggest that settlement connected with these would have been more overtly military than that represented by our graves. Objections of this kind do not, however, seem valid when the work of the *notarius* Paul is considered. Paul would have had to restore imperial government to a disloyal province, when there was probably no immediate threat of barbarian incursions, and when military unrest against the legitimate emperor had been amply dealt with. There may thus have been no great need for soldiers. What, however, might quite possibly have been required were people who could be sent to important centres which had perhaps been disloyal, people who could have looked after the imperial interest and exercised political control. Such a scheme, it might be suggested, could have been well served by introducing people such as those at Lankhills from the Danube basin.

It might be thought that these people would have been sent to every other major town in Britain, and perhaps to other centres as well. Yet, if all the newcomers were from the Danube frontier regions, their graves, as we have seen, have rarely been found.[5] Although a few female graves are perhaps known, no other major urban cemetery has so far produced a well-documented burial furnished with a cross-bow brooch. These are objects which attract the attention of even the most casual observers, and the fact that none is recorded from graves around towns such as York, Cirencester, and Dorchester (Dorset) can probably be regarded as significant negative evidence, indicating that if not alone in receiving the newcomers, Winchester may have received them in greater numbers than most other places. This situation could be explained by accepting that contingents of people were sent to those other towns and suggesting that they came from areas whose burial practices were different. If this were not so, then the question is why Winchester merited a contingent from the Danube regions when other towns did not, at least on the same scale. In other words, was there some reason why the *notarius* Paul might have taken a special interest in Winchester?

This leads to one of the outstanding problems which arise in connection with fourth-century Winchester, the mention in the *Notitia Dignitatum* of a *procurator gynaecii* at

[1] Discussed in Frere 1967, 347–8.
[2] The activities of Paul are described in Frere 1967, 349.
[3] Neal 1974, 98–9.
[4] Summarised in Frere 1967, 350–2.
[5] See above, pp. 364–7.

Venta, which implies the presence of an imperial industry at the town specified.[1] That town has on occasion been identified with Winchester.[2] If correct, it could furnish a possible reason for Paul being particularly interested in Winchester, for he would have been concerned to safeguard the efficiency of the *gynaeceum*, which probably supplied clothing to all the troops in Britain. After a usurpation, with which much of the province had sympathised, it would be logical to secure the oversight of the *gynaeceum* and the town in which it was situated, and perhaps its administration, by a body of people of whose loyalty he could be fairly certain. One way of achieving this would have been to bring people in from outside Britain, people such as the newcomers at Lankhills.

Integration

We have already seen that apart from the silver plate in Grave 81 and a few beads, many of the objects in the sixteen graves were probably made in Britain, notably the cross-bow brooches, the belt-fittings, and the bracelets.[3] This is also true, for example, of the pottery vessels,[4] and it evidently points to the adoption by the newcomers as soon as they arrived of the material aspects of Romano-British civilisation. However, they were clearly not so enthusiastic about non-material aspects, for while, as we have seen, they were buried in the cemetery, they persisted in their distinctive funerary ritual until at least *c.* 390 (Grave 333).[5] Such a contrast should not be surprising, for one might expect newcomers from outside the empire to be quick in adopting provincial Roman material culture, but slow to abandon their innate beliefs about the supernatural and the after-life.

But these beliefs eventually broke down and began to be forgotten, for, as we have seen, those of the sixteen graves which were later than *c.* 370 showed less consistency in their funerary rite, and in two of them native practices were adopted.[6] A further stage in this process may be represented by three other graves, not included in the sixteen, Graves 347 and 369, and perhaps Grave 329.[7] These were all well furnished, with vessels at the feet (by the right foot in Grave 369), but their personal ornaments were either not worn (Grave 369) or not present at all. Grave 347 certainly post-dated *c.* 390, and Graves 329 and 369 may have done, although their *termini post quem* were respectively *c.* 350 and *c.* 370. As they are neither typically native, nor able to be grouped with the sixteen, they perhaps represent a further stage in the integration of the newcomers. If so, they show that this process took some three generations, the first generation adhering to their traditional practices absolutely, the second beginning to forget them, and the third largely merging with the native population. From being so clearly set apart when they arrived, by the early fifth century the newcomers must have been almost entirely assimilated.

ii. INTRUSIVE GRAVES DATED *c.* 390–410

The sixteen graves just considered were not alone at Lankhills in having non-Romano-British features. Six others were discovered, all lacking the consistent layout of the

[1] *Not. Dig. Occ.* XI. 60.
[2] Wild 1967a. See also addendum **F.**
[3] See above, pp. 257–91, 301–14, 385.
[4] See above, pp. 221–37, esp. p. 221.
[5] See above, pp. 170–1.
[6] See above, pp. 170–1 and 377.
[7] See above, p. 175 and Figs. **59 and 60 (plans). For Grave 329, see addendum A.**

sixteen. Four belonged to adults, Graves 265, 283, 373, and 376, and two to children, Graves 378 and 450.[1] Graves 373, 376, and 378 formed part of two seemingly related rows, while the other graves were more widely scattered.[2] The six graves were not much alike, but they did have some points in common, such as a scarcity of vessels, an emphasis on personal ornaments, and coins not placed in the mouth.

Ethnic affinities

Because the six graves were dissimilar, discussion of their ethnic affinities is difficult. Unlike the sixteen graves already considered, the case for their being foreign rests not on a single and consistent mode of grave-furnishing, but on individual aspects of funerary rite and on occasional objects. Here, therefore, the graves must inevitably be treated individually, and, since the evidence for their foreign character has been scattered throughout this book, the discussion must start by drawing that evidence together.

Grave 265 contained a coin on the right shoulder, a pot and a triangular comb by the right hip, a bracelet by the feet, and hobnails among the toe bones. It may be differentiated from native graves at Lankhills by the vessel, the coin, and the unworn personal ornament being together in one grave,[3] and also because the coin was near the shoulders, and not, as in most late fourth-century native graves, in the mouth or near the hands.[4] Elsewhere in Britain it is possible to cite only three parallels to the range of objects in Grave 265, one from London and two from York.[5] But these burials are themselves atypical of Romano-British funerary practice, and in any case they are richer and much earlier. These apart, we have seen that grave-furnishing was rare in Britain in the late fourth century.[6] Where objects were provided, these were normally coins alone, or personal ornaments alone. A grave with so much furniture at such a late date is quite untypical.

The unusual character of Grave 265 may be supported by one of the objects in the grave, the bone comb.[7] This was unlike the other combs at Lankhills in being triangular rather than double-sided. In Britain, bone combs of both types became common in the second half of the fourth century; they occur on settlement sites and in graves. However, every comb found in a Romano-British grave has been of the two-sided type,[8] while triangular combs occur only in Anglo-Saxon burials.[9] The implications of this are not inconsistent with the settlement finds, for many of the triangular-comb sites have produced evidence for an Anglo-Saxon presence in or shortly after 400.[10] This suggests that

[1] See above, pp. 175–6. For grave-plans see Fig. 63.

[2] For the location of the graves, see Fig. 105. For the two rows, see above, pp. 185 and 191, and Fig. 21.

[3] See above, pp. 174 and 176.

[4] Cf. above, p. 167 and Fig. 18.

[5] See above, p. 364.

[6] See above, pp. 356–7 and 371.

[7] For discussion of all the Lankhills combs, see above, pp. 246–8 and Fig. 31.

[8] For Romano-British graves containing combs, see above, pp. 368–9.

[9] Some are listed above, p. 247, and in Myres and Green 1973, 95–6.

[10] Winchester, early Anglo-Saxon sherds (Biddle 1972, 101–2); Colchester, Anglo-Saxon sherds and *Grubenhäuser* (*Current Archaeology*, 43 (1974), 241–2); Richborough, a Germanic grave outside the fort (Bushe-Fox 1949, 80, 155, and Pl. LXIII; Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 17; Swanton 1973, 41); Great Chesterford, an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery outside the walls, excavated in 1953–7 (Meaney 1964, 86; Evison 1969*b*), including one grave perhaps datable as early as *c.* 400 (Swanton 1973, 41–2), and another assigned to the early fifth century (Evison 1969*b*, 158–60).

triangular combs were not associated with the Romano-British population; the one in Grave 265 accordingly confirms the foreign character of the grave.

In Grave 283 a belt was to the left of the skull, and a buckle-loop, a knife-handle, and two coins lay beneath it. An iron knife rested on the right arm, a whetstone lay near the right hip, and there were hobnails among the toe bones. An over-all impression of carelessness was suggested by the position of the skeleton and especially by the fact that the pit was unfinished and too short. There was no coffin, but wooden planking had seemingly been placed over the body.[1] This grave can be differentiated from contemporary graves at Lankhills because the coins were not in the mouth or hands,[2] and because it was provided with a quantity and combination of furniture which would not normally be expected at such a late date.[3] Elsewhere in Britain, there is a similar lack of contemporary parallels,[4] and the unusual character of the grave is emphasised by the general rarity of furniture in the late fourth century.

The buckle-loop, the knife-handle, and the planking are also worth noting here. Planking of the kind in this grave was not characteristic of Romano-British funerary practice, although the Lankhills step-graves could represent a distant analogy.[5] Much closer parallels, from Anglo-Saxon contexts, have been recognised at Mucking (Essex)[6] and suspected elsewhere.[7] The burial of fragmentary objects was not particularly common in Roman Britain either, glass-vessel fragments from Grave 337 at Lankhills and from Grave 5 at Linton[8] being among the few examples. Broken objects were more frequently deposited in other contexts, for example in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and there the relevant objects resemble those in Grave 283 more closely than vessel fragments. A possible bone knife-handle was discovered in Grave 4 at Alfriston,[9] while fragments of late Roman belt-fittings include a strap-end from Cassington,[10] buckle-pieces from Ash, Reading, Sarre, Mitcham, and Luton,[11] and a reused belt-plate from Howletts.[12] Caution is needed in drawing conclusions from this evidence, but it does seem that the broken objects in Grave 283 can be regarded more as foreign than Romano-British. The buckle-loop, the knife-handle, and the planking are thus in accord with the evidence of funerary rite in indicating that Grave 283 is intrusive.

Grave 373 was furnished with a cross-bow brooch by the right shoulder and a pot containing two coins to the right of the skull. There were in addition hobnails among the toe bones. This grave differed from Romano-British graves at Lankhills in that the personal ornaments were worn, and in the provision of a vessel, coins, and personal ornaments together.[13] In these respects it resembled the graves belonging to people from the Danube regions,[14] but this resemblance was more apparent than real, for Grave 373 did not have belt-fittings, its pot lay near the head, and it contained hobnails. Elsewhere in Britain, the graves apparently similar to those of the people from the Danube regions

[1] See above, p. 61.
[2] Cf. above, p. 167 and Fig. 18.
[3] See above, p. 176.
[4] See above, p. 362.
[5] See above, p. 353; see also addendum V.
[6] Jones and Jones 1975, 175–6, 184–5, Fig. 58.
[7] *Antiquity*, 50 (1976), 142–3.
[8] Lethbridge 1936, 71, Pl. II.
[9] Griffith and Salzmann 1914, 31.
[10] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 63, Fig. 23f. See addendum V.
[11] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 45, 55, and 68.
[12] Evison 1965, Pl. 13*b*.
[13] Cf. above, pp. 173–6.
[14] Compare Fig. 61.

also provide possible parallels, but none are exactly like Grave 373.[1] These apart, graves like Grave 373 with vessels, personal ornaments, and coins are absent from late fourth-century funerary practice in Britain,[2] as are graves with worn personal ornaments and other furniture of any kind.[3]

Grave 376 contained the fittings of a wide two-strap belt, the buckle of a second, narrower belt, and hobnails. The belt-fittings were all in the waist area and so presumably the belts to which they belonged had been worn at burial. In this, Grave 376 was unlike Romano-British graves at Lankhills.[4] It is, however, possible to cite graves from other Romano-British cemeteries furnished only with worn personal ornaments,[5] including a contemporary female grave from Victoria Road, Winchester,[6] and a male grave, with belt-fittings, from Gloucester.[7] Grave 376 is nevertheless probably intrusive. Apart from the Gloucester grave, the other late Roman graves containing worn personal ornaments alone are female and, where not intrusive, they may well be careless burials of poor people, the personal ornaments being worn possibly because the bodies were not properly laid out. Such an explanation would clearly not suffice for Grave 376, with its fine, wide belt, or for the Gloucester grave, which had silver belt-fittings.[8] Since the knife in the Gloucester grave has Anglo-Saxon affinities, we should probably distinguish these two male graves, and interpret them as foreign, like every other reasonably lavish fourth-century grave with worn personal ornaments in Britain.

Grave 378 was the grave of a child who had been buried face-down. It was furnished with five coins beneath the skull and an arrowhead near the left hand. It was slightly unusual at Lankhills in that the coins were not in the mouth,[9] and it was also the only grave which had been provided with a weapon. The weapon, an arrowhead, is of a type paralleled in a variety of contexts from the first to the sixth centuries.[10] In a funerary context, however, the provision of a weapon is without parallel in Roman Britain: it is not possible to quote any other third- or fourth-century example.[11] The only graves which might be noted were discovered at Colchester[12] and Richborough,[13] but these have never been regarded as Romano-British, and at Richborough at least the spearhead is of free German type.[14]

Grave 450, the last of the six graves, was an infant burial. Its only furniture lay to the left of the feet and consisted of two pierced animal canine teeth and some pewter and glass fragments, which were probably once a small pewter disc with a central glass setting.[15] The teeth cannot be matched by finds from a late Roman context elsewhere in Britain, but they are paralleled in Germanic graves on the Continent and in Anglo-Saxon burials in this country.[16] Although negative evidence is always difficult to interpret,

[1] Cf. above, pp. 364–7.
[2] See above, p. 364.
[3] See above, pp. 364–7.
[4] Cf. above, pp. 173–6.
[5] See above, pp. 364–7.
[6] Information from Mr. Ken Qualmann.
[7] Brown 1975.
[8] Brown (1975, 294) has argued that the Gloucester grave is native, but these arguments are not based on consideration of Romano-British funerary practice. See further above, p. 367, esp. note 1.
[9] See above, p. 167 and Fig. 18.
[10] See above, p. 256.
[11] Cf. above, p. 369, and addendum S.
[12] Hull 1958, 256–7.
[13] Bushe-Fox 1949, 80, 155, and Pl. LXIII.
[14] Swanton 1973, 41.
[15] See above, p. 297.
[16] See above, pp. 296–7.

it would seem fair to conclude that they are not Romano-British. But the funerary rite in Grave 450 can be matched in fourth-century Romano-British graves both at Lankhills and elsewhere, for it involved the provision of unworn personal ornaments on their own.[1] The evidence is thus in conflict: the funerary rite is seemingly Romano-British, while the objects are Germanic. The conflict could be reconciled by explaining the pierced teeth as trade products: they might have been bought as imports by Romano-British people. However, if Romano-British people had wanted pierced teeth, they would surely have pierced the teeth themselves; and if they had done this, the incidence of pierced teeth in late Roman Britain would not be confined to one grave at Lankhills. So it is perhaps more likely that the funerary rite is misleading. Since, as we shall see, this is paralleled in intrusive as well as native contexts,[2] it is possible to accept what the pendant teeth suggest, namely that Grave 450 is not Romano-British.

There is strong evidence, then, that none of our six graves is Romano-British. But that does not mean that they are without parallels of any kind in this country; rather the reverse is the case, for they are in many respects similar to early Anglo-Saxon inhumations. We have already had pointers to this in the form of the triangular comb in Grave 265 and the two unusual fragmentary objects in Grave 283. Now we must look at funerary rite, treating the graves not in numerical order, but taking those with the clearest Anglo-Saxon affinities first.

The most significant grave is Grave 378, the child grave containing the arrowhead and five coins. In English Anglo-Saxon cemeteries weapon-burials like Grave 378 are exceedingly common, the spear being the weapon most often deposited.[3] In some cemeteries, children were provided with weapons—always spears—and among these sites, the most important are Long Wittenham, with nine graves thus furnished,[4] and Abingdon with five.[5] Two examples come from the Portway cemetery in Andover,[6] and single instances from Alfriston,[7] Girton,[8] and Petersfinger.[9] In some of these cases, the surviving spearhead is so small as to be described as miniature.[10] Thus the spearhead in Long Wittenham Grave 93 was '$5\frac{1}{4}$ inches' (130 mm) long and that in Grave 74 only '$4\frac{3}{4}$ inches' (120 mm) long. At Andover (Portway), the spearhead in Grave 40 was 130 mm long, and at Abingdon, Graves 21, 35A, and 77 each had a spearhead shorter than 150 mm. In Grave 58 at Girton the spearhead was simply described as 'miniature', and that in Grave 63 at Alfriston was '$4\frac{3}{8}$ inches' (110 mm) long. There can be little doubt that these child graves represent close parallels to Grave 378, and it can be suggested that its arrowhead, which is 105 mm long, was intended as a miniature spear.

The five coins in Grave 378 are not matched in any of the other child graves, but this

[1] See above, pp. 168–76 and 360–1.

[2] See below, p. 395.

[3] For Anglo-Saxon graves with spears see Swanton 1973; 1974.

[4] Akerman 1859 and 1863: Graves 44, 60, 64, 66, 74, 93, 114, 128, and 131.

[5] Leeds and Harden 1936: Graves 10, 21, 35A, 73, and 77.

[6] Graves 24 and 40. I am grateful to Miss Alison Cook for providing me with details of the Portway cemetery.

[7] Griffith and Salzmann 1914: Grave 63.

[8] Hollingworth and O'Reilly 1925: Grave 58.

[9] Leeds and Shortt 1953: Grave 61.

[10] These miniature spearheads may be regarded as equivalent to the miniature axes and saxes found in migration-period child graves on the Continent (for which, see Ottinger 1974). It seems to have been the custom in many Germanic communities to provide dead children with miniature versions of the weapon then most popular among adults.

is not surprising for unpierced coins are only rarely found in Anglo-Saxon inhumations, no doubt because coinage had ceased to circulate. That Anglo-Saxons were not averse to burying unpierced coins is indicated by finds from Abingdon[1] and Dorchester;[2] significantly in no Anglo-Saxon grave have coins ever been found in the mouth. In Grave 378 it may also be noteworthy that the five coins were the only other furniture. The grave contained neither personal ornaments nor vessels, and in this it is similar to many of the child graves with spears, for apart sometimes from knives, few of these contained additional objects.[3]

The next grave to consider is Grave 376, the grave with the wide military belt. Many graves in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have belt-fittings at the waist, and quite a number of these are like Grave 376 and have no other furniture. There are as well three graves where wide two-strap belts have been found. One is the man's grave from the Dyke Hills, Dorchester on Thames, discovered in 1874, where most of the fittings were in the shoulder area, perhaps extending to the hips.[4] The other two graves come from Mucking, one not yet fully published,[5] and the other the already well-known Grave 117.[6] In this grave a set of elaborate Quoit-brooch style belt-fittings lay in the waist area, and although the head of the grave had been cut away, there was no other furniture in what remained. The grave is seemingly as good a parallel to Grave 376 as any.

A comparison of Anglo-Saxon graves with Grave 373 is hampered by the early fifth-century changes in material culture, which, *inter alia*, affected coins and cross-bow brooches.[7] The only attributes of the grave for which Anglo-Saxon parallels can reasonably be sought are the wearing of personal ornaments and the single pottery vessel at the head. As regards the former, it need only be emphasised that personal ornaments, when present, were usually worn in Anglo-Saxon burials. Vessels are, however, comparatively rare, but when they do occur, it is common for only one to be present. Little attention has been given to where they were put, but even a brief survey shows that many, perhaps even a majority, were placed at the head. One cemetery where this was certainly true is Long Wittenham, where sixteen graves contained vessels, fourteen of which were placed around the head, ten of them to the right as in Grave 373.[8] Grave 373 thus has clear connections with Anglo-Saxon burials in respect of its vessel. At least one grave resembles it very closely, Long Wittenham Grave 57, which had a knife and buckle at the waist and a pot by the right shoulder.[9] The buckle is an intact 'dolphin'-buckle of Type IIIB,[10] which suggests an early fifth-century date. In its combination of worn late Roman personal ornaments and a vessel by the head, this grave is a remarkably good parallel to Grave 373.

[1] Leeds and Harden 1936: Graves 53 and 59.

[2] Kirk and Leeds 1953, 70: the Minchin recreation ground grave.

[3] At Long Wittenham, Graves 44, 64, 66, 74, and 131 contained only a weapon and sometimes a knife, and at Abingdon Graves 10, 21, 73, and 77 were similarly furnished.

[4] Kirk and Leeds 1953, 65–7.

[5] Jones and Jones 1974, 31; *Current Archaeology*, 50 (May 1975), 79, centre photograph.

[6] M. U. Jones 1968, 218; Evison 1968, 232.

[7] Droxford (Hants) is seemingly the only Anglo-Saxon cemetery to have produced a cross-bow brooch (Meaney 1964, 97).

[8] Akerman 1859 and 1863: Graves 26, 36, 57, 59, 60, 91, 92, 93, 128, and 146 contained vessels to the right of the skull or by the right shoulder. Vessels were also found in Graves 9, 25, 82, 99, 106, and 173.

[9] Akerman 1859, 342, Pl. XIX, 10.

[10] Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 60, Fig. 20g.

The three remaining graves, Graves 265, 283, and 450, are unlike most Anglo-Saxon inhumations, for their personal ornaments were unworn. But this may not of itself be significant, for unworn personal ornaments do occur in some Anglo-Saxon graves. Nevertheless Grave 265, with its peculiar combination of objects, cannot be paralleled. Fortunately, however, this is not true of Graves 283 and 450.

Apart from the coins, most of the objects found in Grave 283 also occur in Anglo-Saxon graves: the knife, the whetstone, the buckle, and, as we saw above, the incomplete objects.[1] The most significant find is probably the buckle, placed by the head. Anglo-Saxon graves certainly sometimes contained belts which were not worn at burial, and it is clear that some, perhaps a majority, were placed in the region of the head and chest. Examples include the Dyke Hills man's grave at Dorchester on Thames,[2] Long Wittenham Graves 15 (perhaps a girl) and 43,[3] Brighthampton Grave 43,[4] and Alfriston Grave 24.[5] The graves at Dorchester and Long Wittenham contained no further furniture apart from a knife,[6] the grave at Alfriston had been provided with an axe, and that at Brighthampton with two pots. It is the Dorchester and Long Wittenham graves, then, which are the more similar to Grave 283, and they do seem to be reasonable parallels.

Grave 450, the infant grave with three pendants or beads at the feet, is paralleled by many Anglo-Saxon graves which contain beads or pendants not near the neck, but elsewhere, usually around the hips. In a few of these graves, the pierced objects are near the legs or feet, for example in Graves 32 and 41 at Bifrons,[7] Grave 30 at Mitcham,[8] and Grave 37 at Petersfinger.[9] This last is the best parallel to Grave 450, for it contained two beads actually at the feet, and no other furniture.

We can conclude that apart from Grave 265, the six graves all have Anglo-Saxon affinities, this being particularly true of Graves 373, 376, and 378. But these affinities cannot point to origins, for the graves are earlier than or at best contemporary with their Anglo-Saxon parallels. Furthermore, there are some respects in which the graves differ, if only reflecting the changes in material culture which took place around A.D. 400. Before we can definitely accept an Anglo-Saxon designation, we must look at graves in the Anglo-Saxon homeland. We must also see whether there is somewhere else in Europe where the graves find close affinities, and where Grave 265 in particular can be paralleled.

The traditional Anglo-Saxon homeland is around the mouths of the Rivers Elbe and Weser. Here cremation was the rule in the fourth century, but by 400 it was giving way to inhumation; an important group of thirty-four inhumations has been excavated at the Galgenberg, near Cuxhaven.[10] Every inhumation from the region which contained

[1] See above, p. 391.

[2] Kirk and Leeds 1953, 65–7.

[3] Akerman 1859, 338 and 343.

[4] Akerman 1857, 88.

[5] Griffith and Salzmann 1914, 35.

[6] It is often said that the Dorchester grave contained weapons, these being the 'pieces of iron' 'thrown into the river'. It is unlikely, however, that the iron knife (which is in the Ashmolean Museum) and the small, bronze belt-fittings would have been saved, while a spearhead, sword, or shield-boss was discarded. It is more probable that the 'pieces of iron' were in fact coffin-nails, which, as Lankhills has shown, can sometimes be quite large, but which could easily be broken and regarded as unimportant. Cf. Kirk and Leeds 1953, 67.

[7] Godfrey-Faussett 1876, 311 and 313.

[8] Bidder and Morris 1959, 30.

[9] Leeds and Shortt 1953, 28.

[10] Waller 1938, 63–71, Abb. 15.

datable later fourth- or early fifth-century objects has been catalogued by Böhme,[1] in a list which includes twenty-six graves, ten of them from the Galgenberg,[2] and nine from Bremen-Mahndorf.[3] The furniture in both inhumations and cremations consists mainly of equipment and personal ornaments, the latter in inhumations almost invariably worn. A single pottery bowl was generally provided in the inhumations at the Galgenberg, where it was normally put by the head, but this practice was much less common at Bremen-Mahndorf, for Böhme lists only three inhumations there containing pots.[4] Coins are seemingly absent. Inhumations were quite often equipped with weapons: spears and axes normally, but also swords and arrows. But in the generally earlier cremations, weapons were limited to an occasional arrow[5] or sword fragment.[6]

There are many obvious differences between graves in the Elbe–Weser region and those at Lankhills, including the complete lack of coins. But similarities exist, for example in the sparsity of vessels, and there are also specific parallels for Graves 373, 376, and 378. Grave 373 is particularly well matched at the Galgenberg, where it seems to have been standard for graves to contain worn personal ornaments, together with a pottery bowl by the head, and often a knife, but sometimes no other furniture.[7] Grave 376 is paralleled by Grave 32 at the Galgenberg, which contained only the fittings of a two-strap belt and a knife at the waist;[8] elsewhere it is paralleled by several female graves provided only with brooches and beads.[9] Grave 378 is similar in a general way to the inhumations with weapons in the Elbe–Weser region, especially those with arrows and spears. A child grave from the Galgenberg,[10] with a miniature axe, bowl, buckle, and knife, indicates that miniature weapons could be buried with children. Grave 378 may be paralleled more precisely by the cremations with arrowheads. But it is not clear whether these cremations belonged to children, in which case the arrows could have been miniature spears, or to adults, who were certainly provided elsewhere with arrows alone, for example at Pritzier in Mecklenburg.[11]

We must now consider whether the six Lankhills graves are matched anywhere else. We can eliminate most of the provinces within the Roman Empire, for here unfurnished inhumation will have prevailed by the end of the fourth century. We can also discount free Germany outside the Elbe–Weser region. In inhumations throughout this area, as we have seen, vessels could be provided in some numbers, coins when present were often put in the mouth, and (with reference to Graves 265, 283, and 450) personal ornaments were almost invariably worn.[12] Weapons were occasionally provided, but mainly in cremations, and took the form of either miniature axes or arrows. The former are characteristic of child burials,[13] but arrows are generally associated with adults. In cremations

[1] Böhme 1974, 218–65: Sites 11, 22, 27, 31, 34, 45, and 53.

[2] Ibid. 248–51 (Böhme catalogues the cemetery at the Galgenberg under the name 'Sahlenburg').

[3] Ibid. 224–8.

[4] Graves 203, 219, and 249.

[5] As in Graves 117, 203, 857, 859, 1204, 1399, 1467, and 1481 at Westerwanna: see Zimmer-Linnfeld 1960.

[6] As in graves from Westerwanna listed in Böhme 1974, 98, note 342.

[7] Cf. Waller 1938, Abb. 15.

[8] Ibid. 71; Böhme 1974, Taf. 40, Nos. 1–10.

[9] For example, Graves 33, 142, 149, and 208 at Bremen-Mahndorf, and Grave 20 at Helle.

[10] Waller 1938, 69: Grave 31.

[11] Graves listed in Schuldt 1955, 81.

[12] See further above, pp. 378–9.

[13] See list in Ottinger 1974, 407.

they are of iron,[1] but in inhumations they are of silver or bronze and associated with rich furniture, often including many vessels.[2]

If we look now to the south and east, we can rule out the Black Sea regions, not least because graves there may contain many vessels.[3] We can also eliminate the Danube regions, for there, as we have seen, funerary rites were characterised by a consistency not seen in our six Lankhills graves.[4] But we should note a grave found in the Ziegelfeld cemetery at *Lauriacum* (Austria).[5] This contained a child skeleton, with a glass flask, a triangular comb, and a tutulus brooch at the feet, and a third-century coin, glass beads, and rings in the pelvic region. The glass, comb, and brooch indicate an early fifth-century date. This grave clearly parallels Grave 265 at Lankhills, but the tutulus brooch, although perhaps of Gallic manufacture, points to an ethnic origin in the Elbe–Weser region.

There remain the furnished cemeteries in north-east Gaul and the Rhineland.[6] In these cemeteries most graves can be discounted, for they have many vessels, and coins were placed in the mouth. Any unusual graves in this region with affinities to the six Lankhills graves would not in any case be inconsistent with the Anglo-Saxon character of the Lankhills burials: a limited Saxon presence in Gaul is indicated by several graves with pairs of brooches of Elbe–Weser type.[7] There are, however, few close parallels, whether to the three Lankhills graves with clear Anglo-Saxon affinities or to the rest. Of the former, Grave 373 is matched in a general way at Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrh.-Westf.) and Oudenburg (Belgium),[8] and Grave 378 finds some affinity in several child graves with miniature weapons. But the latter mostly contained axes and vessels,[9] and while two from Oudenburg[10] and Krefeld-Gellep[11] had arrows, neither was provided with coins. Graves 265, 283, and 450 are distinguished from most graves in the furnished cemeteries by their unworn personal ornaments. In some male graves, admittedly, belts could be unworn, but, if so, they were placed at the feet, rather than at the head as in Grave 283. A few graves at Oudenburg[12] and Krefeld-Gellep[13] are exceptions, but here there are only occasionally coins. Female graves with unworn personal ornaments have been found at Oudenburg,[14] Vermand,[15] Krefeld-Gellep,[16] and Vert-la-Gravelle (Marne);[17] none of these have both the vessel and coin found in Grave 265, and, while a few like Grave 450 have no other furniture,[18] their personal ornaments are normally bracelets and generally not near the feet.

With that we can conclude our discussion of ethnic affinities. For Graves 373, 376,

[1] Eleven were found in adult cremations at Pritzier (Schuldt 1955, 81).

[2] As in graves of the Leuna–Hassleben group: Schulz 1953, 49–50; Werner 1955.

[3] See above, p. 379.

[4] See above, pp. 380–3.

[5] Grave 12 in the 1953 excavations: Kloiber 1957, 110–12, Taf. L.

[6] For these cemeteries cf. above, pp. 379–80.

[7] For lists see Böhme 1974, 343–5, 348–52.

[8] Graves 34, 49, and 83 at Oudenburg (Mertens and Van Impe 1971, 73–4, 82, 110), and, in particular, Grave 1222 at Krefeld-Gellep (Pirling 1966).

[9] See list in Ottinger 1974, 407–10.

[10] Mertens and Van Impe 1971: Grave 142.

[11] Pirling 1966: Grave 670.

[12] Grave 1: Mertens and Van Impe 1971, 51–2, Afb. 13.

[13] For example Graves 10 and 1100 (Pirling 1966).

[14] Mertens and Van Impe 1971: Graves 10, 78, and 100.

[15] Eck 1891: see, for example, first group, Grave 105.

[16] Pirling 1974: Grave 1469.

[17] Lantier 1948: Graves 20, 21, and 31.

[18] Grave 21 at Vert-la-Gravelle and Grave 10 at Oudenburg.

and 378, an Anglo-Saxon origin is inevitable. They are paralleled by Anglo-Saxon graves in England, they have at least some similarities with the Anglo-Saxon homeland, and they do not readily fall within the funerary traditions of anywhere else in Europe. To be explained in the same way are Graves 283 and 450. Although untypical in respect of their personal ornaments, these graves find their closest parallels in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Since unworn personal ornaments were characteristic of Roman Britain in the fourth century, their occurrence in the two graves, and in their Anglo-Saxon parallels, could reflect assimilation and fusion. More difficult to interpret is Grave 265. This grave has no exact parallels in English cemeteries, and, especially as it was considerably removed topographically from the other graves, it could be regarded as of separate ethnic origin.[1] But its best parallel elsewhere in Europe is the *Lauriacum* grave, which contained a tutulus brooch. All its elements are occasionally paralleled individually in English Anglo-Saxon cemeteries,[2] and the respect in which it is least typical, the bracelet at the feet, is characteristically Romano-British. In all the circumstances, and in view of the possible evidence for assimilation in Graves 283 and 450, it can perhaps best be explained as a mixture of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon, a mixture typical of neither but with elements of both.

Allowing that all six graves are Anglo-Saxon, is it possible to define their ethnic context more precisely? The North German material is too scanty to draw any conclusions there, but we can at least look at the English evidence. Here, Grave 378 with the miniature spearhead is important. We saw that spearheads were common in child graves at two sites on the Upper Thames, Abingdon and Long Wittenham, and that they occur at Andover (Portway) and, singly, at Petersfinger, Alfriston, and Girton.[3] They appear to be absent from sites such as Mitcham,[4] Sarre,[5] or Bifrons[6] in the south-east, and elsewhere from Bidford[7] or Sleaford.[8] This suggests that spearheads are only really characteristic of child graves in the Upper Thames area, and that may in turn point to a link between it and the Lankhills graves. Graves 283 and 373 too were paralleled in the Upper Thames cemeteries, in particular at Long Wittenham, where it is noticeable that as in Grave 373 vessels were mostly put to the right of the head.[9] Although it is very difficult to generalise about Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, it does seem that the Lankhills graves are particularly well matched in the Upper Thames region. It may be concluded that if the graves are to be identified with any one part of England, it is with that area. As the people who lived there are described in later literary sources as Saxons, it may not be unreasonable to apply the same designation to the occupants of the Lankhills graves.[10]

Date and circumstances of arrival

All six 'Saxon' graves were later than *c.* 390. More precise chronological evidence is provided by Graves 265 and 373. Grave 265, which contained a Theodosian coin, was

[1] For the location of the graves, see Fig. 105.

[2] See above, pp. 394 (coins), 394 (vessels), and 395 (unworn personal ornaments).

[3] See above, p. 393.

[4] Bidder and Morris 1959.

[5] Brent 1866; 1868.

[6] Godfrey-Faussett 1876; 1880.

[7] Humphreys *et al.* 1923; 1925.

[8] Thomas 1887.

[9] See above, p. 394.

[10] It should be emphasised that the term 'Saxon' is used in the English sense, and in no way carries the connotations which might be associated with it in German archaeology.

situated west of Feature 12; as burial had virtually ceased in this area by *c.* 390,[1] it must have been one of the latest graves there and can hardly post-date *c.* 400. Grave 373 was cut by Grave 372, which contained a coin in the mouth. Since burial at Lankhills probably did not continue much into the fifth century,[2] a date before *c.* 400 is indicated, even though Grave 373 was in Area O. Clearly, the date when the 'Saxons' began to bury at Lankhills can be set at *c.* 390–400. Whether this was the date of their arrival depends on whether they buried any of their dead elsewhere in Winchester first, and on whether the assimilation seemingly apparent from Graves 265, 283, and 450 carries chronological implications.

Evidence on what the 'Saxons' did in Winchester is provided by Graves 373 and 376. The latter contained the fittings of a two-strap belt, an item which was almost certainly official or military equipment.[3] The former was furnished with an extremely lavish gilt-bronze cross-bow brooch which may indicate that the wearer held an official position and certainly points to his being of comparatively high standing.[4] Together the two graves suggest that the 'Saxons' came to Winchester to play a prominent military or administrative role.

Winchester has produced other possible evidence for late fourth-century official and military activity, in the form of a building discovered in the south-east corner of the town at Wolvesey.[5] This has been dated to the end of the fourth century, and an official purpose has been suggested partly by the solidity of its construction, and partly on the basis of its similarity to a structure found within the walls of Dorchester on Thames.[6] It may not be coincidence that Dorchester is the only other walled town outside which an Anglo-Saxon grave with a wide two-strap belt has been discovered.[7]

Why might Saxons have been settled in Winchester, or indeed at Dorchester? The literary sources[8] show that in the years 383–8 Britain was robbed of troops by the usurper Magnus Maximus. Subsequently the province must have been prey to disorders, for Stilicho mounted an expedition against the Picts, the Saxons, and the Scots in *c.* 396–9, before withdrawing his troops in 401.[9] If genuinely reflecting the date of their arrival, the first appearance of the 'Saxons' at Lankhills is probably too early to be associated with Stilicho, but it could relate to Magnus Maximus. When he took troops to the Continent, Magnus Maximus may have tried to stabilise Britain in his absence; he perhaps handed power to native chieftains along the west coast.[10] In other parts of Britain he could have used Saxons to the same effect, settling them in towns as soldiers and officials. Such arrangements could explain the graves at Lankhills, but this cannot be regarded as much more than speculation.

Integration

There is not much evidence that the Lankhills 'Saxons' were set apart from the native

[1] See above, pp. 116–19.
[2] See above, p. 3.
[3] See above, pp. 289–90, and addendum G.
[4] See above, p. 263.
[5] Biddle 1975, 325–6.
[6] Frere 1962, 121–2.
[7] The Dyke Hills grave: Kirk and Leeds 1953.
[8] For these see Alcock 1971, 96–9.
[9] Ibid.; and see also Miller 1975 and addendum G.
[10] Alcock 1971, 96–8.

population. All six of their graves were inhumations and, apart from Grave 450, they contained only objects of provincial Roman manufacture. Furthermore, as we have seen, the three graves containing unworn personal ornaments may reflect assimilation in funerary rite.[1]

The three Saxon graves showing no assimilation in their funerary rite, do, however, in one respect also stand apart topographically. Generally at Lankhills the graves were if anything arranged in lines, end to end, rather than side by side in rows.[2] Apart from burials near Features 6 and 12, the only exceptions to this pattern were two rows, one beyond the other in Area O. The first row consisted principally of four adults, including Graves 373 and 376, and the second of two adults and five children, the latter including Grave 378. These three 'Saxon' graves were all therefore in the rows. In Romano-British cemeteries, choices of cemetery layout were probably made locally with no one pattern general to the province as a whole.[3] In the Germanic world, by contrast, row-burial seems at least in some contexts to have been an important aspect of funerary procedure. The best known manifestations are the Merovingian *Reihengräberfelder*, but possible English examples occur, notably at Abingdon,[4] Petersfinger,[5] and Mucking.[6] In a Romano-British cemetery where rows are rare, and some at least of the burials in these rows are Germanic, the rows themselves could arguably reflect the presence of Germanic people.

The character of the two rows, one mainly of children, the other of adults, suggests some kind of family group, which perhaps claimed an area of cemetery as its own, and placed graves there in an orderly fashion. But if the rows are to be interpreted in these terms, two problems arise. First, whereas five of the graves belonged to men or boys, none contained a female skeleton or feminine grave-goods;[7] and second, two of the graves are characterised by Romano-British funerary rites, Grave 379 with a decapitated skeleton,[8] and Grave 382 with a coin in the mouth.[9] These points might, however, be explained by the marriage of Saxon men to British women, who, in apparent accord with prevalent practice at Lankhills, would have been buried apart from their menfolk, perhaps mainly in unfurnished graves. The male children of such mixed marriages would have been buried with their male kinsfolk and, being of mixed parentage, their graves would show just such a mixture of Saxon and British funerary customs as is seen in the second of the two rows. Alternatively, it is to be noted that two of the adult graves in the first row are unsexed (Graves 374 and 375). These could have been female and belonged to the Romano-British women, married to the adjacent menfolk but buried without grave-goods. In either event, these rows, while in some ways showing the 'Saxons' as set apart, also provide further evidence for the very considerable degree to which they were assimilated. If the intermarrying suggested here was indeed taking place, it would be entirely consistent with the mixed funerary rite in Graves 265, 283, and 450.

[1] See above, p. 139.
[2] See above, p. 185 and **Fig. 21.**
[3] See above, p. 372.
[4] Leeds and Harden 1936, Fig. 3.
[5] Leeds and Shortt 1953, Fig. 2.
[6] Cemetery 1: Jones and Jones 1975, 168, Fig. 51 (b).
[7] Cf. above, p. 191; but note the possibility that Grave 379 was female (pp. 342–4).
[8] Cf. above, pp. 372–5.
[9] Cf. above, pp. 165–76.

General discussion

The six Lankhills graves can only be understood in the light of other evidence for early Anglo-Saxon settlement in Winchester and in Britain generally. In Winchester, they need to be compared with early Anglo-Saxon sherds from inside the town,[1] and with fifth- and sixth-century inhumations outside it.[2] The inhumations are certainly later, and, since the Lankhills 'Saxons' were rapidly integrated, they presumably represent not descendants, but new arrivals. It it arguable that the sherds too are not related, since almost all the objects in the six graves, and in particular the pots, are Romano-British. But in the present state of knowledge it would be premature to reach any conclusion about this. Two other finds from Winchester to consider are the inlaid knife found at East Gate and the triangular comb from the Cathedral Green site. These objects, in contrast to the sherds, are late Roman in style and of provincial Roman manufacture, and this suggests that if they are to be associated with Germanic people at all, it could be with the Lankhills 'Saxons'. But in view of the evidence for the long survival of late Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon contexts, even here there can be no certainty.[3]

Turning now to Britain generally, the salient points about the six graves are that they come from a Romano-British context, that they are furnished with Romano-British objects, and that one is official or military. In this they are similar to inhumations from two other sites in southern Britain, Dorchester on Thames and Richborough (Kent).[4] The Dorchester graves are those from the Dyke Hills and the Minchin recreation ground, belonging to a man buried with two-strap belt-fittings and to women with early Anglo-Saxon brooches and Romano-British bracelets and a buckle.[5] The Richborough grave is the isolated grave outside the defences, which contained a Germanic spearhead and a presumably Romano-British pewter bowl, and which probably belonged to a defender of the fort.[6] These graves and those from Lankhills contrast with pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.[7] The graves in those cemeteries are furnished almost exclusively with Anglo-Saxon objects, the few late Roman objects present either having been reused or being developed fifth-century forms.[8] The cemeteries are normally on new sites and their location often bears little relationship to the Roman topography. Especially in eastern England, they are characterised by the free German rite of cremation, rather than by the provincial Roman inhumation. Logically the contrast between these cemeteries

[1] From South Gate, the Cathedral Green, and Brook Street. See Biddle 1972, 101–2; 1975, 117; and Winchester Studies 3, i.

[2] See Fig. 1, and Meaney 1964, 101–3.

[3] For the knife and the comb, see Jope 1946, Pl. XI*a*, and Biddle 1970, Pl. XLVII*b*, and cf. above, pp. 247 and 250–1, and also Werner 1958, 396 and Böhme 1974, 129–30 and Abb. 49.

[4] The grave with silver belt-fittings from Kingsholm, Gloucester (Brown 1975), should perhaps be included in the group. But, while definitely intrusive (see above, p. 392), it may not be Anglo-Saxon (Brown 1975, 294) and its belt, being narrow (width 16 mm), may not be military (cf. above, pp. 289–91).

[5] Kirk and Leeds 1953; Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 1–4, Fig. 1.

[6] Bushe-Fox 1949, 80, 155, and Pl. LXIII; Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 17 and Fig. 5.

[7] For this contrast see also Brown 1974.

[8] The only buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Types III and IV from Anglo-Saxon graves which have not been reused are from Sarre, Long Wittenham, and Mucking, and all of them are of the late form with the loop and plate cast as one. See Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 60 and Fig. 20, g and h (Long Wittenham and Sarre) and Evison 1968 and *Current Archaeology*, 50 (May 1975), 79 (Mucking). For the dating of this type of buckle see Böhme 1974, 79–83.

and the graves from our three sites indicates that the latter are earlier, and, as such, the earliest Anglo-Saxon graves known from Britain.

These arguments should be compared with the chronology and distribution of fourth- and fifth-century Anglo-Saxon brooches.[1] The many types of brooch which are common in the Elbe–Weser region can be divided on the basis of their distribution elsewhere into two groups, one occurring in north-east Gaul and the Rhineland,[2] and the other in England.[3] Types in the continental group are clearly related to those in the English group, some of them are typological antecedents,[4] and relative chronology indicates that they are earlier.[5] These types occur in late fourth- and very early fifth-century graves, and this suggests that the apparently later English types are fifth-century. These English brooches are the earliest of their kind in this country, and they accordingly suggest that no Anglo-Saxon graves here containing brooches date to before *c.* 400.

If our graves are indeed the earliest Anglo-Saxon graves in Britain, it should follow that they represent the first Anglo-Saxons to settle here. This would be consistent with the lack of literary allusions to Anglo-Saxons in fourth-century Britain, a lack which contrasts with the two references to Alemanni.[6] These first Saxons presumably came because of the Roman army, in view of the military affinities which their graves have. There is insufficient evidence to say whether they arrived at around the time the six 'Saxons' were buried at Lankhills, but if they did, it would be tempting to ascribe their coming to Magnus Maximus.[7]

It is clear that their arrival represents a phase of only limited duration; but in central southern England at least it may have had a lasting effect on the later more extensive migrations. For one thing it is noticeable that Dorchester on Thames and Winchester were precisely the two towns which played a major role in the early history of Wessex. It is also of interest that the closest parallels to the Lankhills graves come from the Upper Thames region,[8] the area which was later the north frontier zone of Wessex. These parallels indicate close affinities between the Saxons in that area and those at Lankhills; but it is unlikely that many of the former were initially settled in Winchester, for Lankhills shows that any early arrivals in Winchester were rapidly assimilated into the Romano-British community. The Upper Thames settlers are thus unlikely to have been descendants. But they could have been kinsmen, originating from the same area of free Germany. If they were, it could be that the close connections in later times between Winchester and the Upper Thames area had their origin in much earlier arrangements. These arrangements in the early fifth century could have caused the Winchester Saxons, perhaps acting on behalf of the local Romano-British population, to encourage their kinsmen from free Germany to settle along the Upper Thames. If this were so, the earlier disposition of Germanic military settlers would indeed have had a lasting effect on the pattern of the Anglo-Saxon migrations.[9]

[1] Discussed in Böhme 1974, 7–34 and Karten 1–8.

[2] Ibid. Karten 1–3 and 6–7.

[3] Ibid. Karten 4–5 and 7–8.

[4] For example the Stutzarmfibel mit Trapezfuss (ibid. 10–13 and Karte 3), which has long been recognised as the antecedent of the chip-carved equal-armed brooch (ibid. 14–19 and Karte 5).

[5] Ibid. Abb. 10.

[6] Frere 1967, 220, 346; Myres 1969, 66.

[7] Cf. above, p. 399, and see also addendum G. Saxon soldiers who did not settle may have been in Britain earlier: cf. above, p. 282.

[8] For these, see above, p. 398.

[9] For a general discussion of the early history of Wessex, see Biddle 1976.

Attractive though this picture may sound, it is nevertheless inconsistent with the latest work on Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in eastern England.[1] Myres has argued that some cemeteries there came into use not only before *c.* 390, the starting-date of the Lankhills graves, but before *c.* 350. These cemeteries, of which the most notable is Caistor-by-Norwich,[2] are related to the Romano-British topography, but they consist almost entirely of cremations. They are also virtually devoid of Romano-British objects; at Caistor a few Roman pots were used as urns, but Myres suggests that these were older and dug up on the cemetery site itself.[3] The early starting-dates rest on the Anglo-Saxon pottery, some of which certainly finds good fourth-century parallels in free Germany.[4] Myres suggests that the Anglo-Saxons using these cemeteries were deliberately settled by the imperial government, as military reinforcements, or *laeti*, and that thereafter they remained largely isolated from Romano-British civilisation, unaffected by its material or spiritual culture.

How can these conclusions be reconciled with the picture suggested here? It could be that there was indeed a major distinction between eastern and southern England regarding fourth-century barbarian settlement. In eastern England, the newcomers would have been settled early in the fourth century and kept apart, and in southern England they would have arrived later and been assimilated, at least to begin with. Alternatively, either the conclusions offered here or Myres's interpretation of the eastern cemeteries may be wrong. The most obvious weakness of the arguments here is provided by the fourth-century cremations from Lankhills and other Romano-British sites.[5] It could be that these belonged to Anglo-Saxons, and if so, they would demonstrate an Anglo-Saxon presence throughout the fourth century, albeit more assimilated than in the eastern cemeteries. The Saxon inhumations from Lankhills and other sites would then represent that assimilation carried a stage further. Yet, as we have seen, nothing about the cremations points to a non-Romano-British origin,[6] and they have no unequivocally free German affinities. Myres's interpretation has already been criticised, notably by Morris[7] and by S. C. Hawkes,[8] and the lack of Romano-British objects, the persistence of cremation, and the absence of belt-fittings[9] make it difficult to agree with him. Furthermore, the apparent lack of fourth-century Anglo-Saxon brooches is hardly consistent with Anglo-Saxons being here, cremating their dead, and using their indigenous handmade pottery. But in the present state of knowledge, we would not be justified in reaching any conclusion in this matter. It must remain a problem to be solved in future studies of the Anglo-Saxon settlement.

[1] Myres 1969, 62–83; Myres and Green 1973, esp. 12–13; and see addendum W.

[2] Myres and Green 1973.

[3] Ibid. 76.

[4] For confirmation of this, compare Myres 1969, 62–83 with Böhme 1974, 146–9, esp. Abb. 50.

[5] See above, pp. 128–30 and 350–1.

[6] See above, p. 351.

[7] Morris 1974.

[8] *Arch J*, 131 (1974), 412–13.

[9] Provincial Roman belt-fittings were often buried in urns in the Anglo-Saxon homeland, for example in Graves 99, 212, 399, 438, 549, 693, and 1236 at Westerwanna (Böhme 1974, Taf. 45–51).

3

RELIGION

by J. L. MACDONALD[1]

In the ancient world cemeteries were treated with awe. The Romans and Italians had festivals for the cult of the dead like the *Parentalia*, the *Rosalia*, and the *Lemuria*, when garlands of flowers, corn, salt, cakes, wine, fruit, and more expensive items were set down beside, or even inserted into, the graves of departed relatives. These graves often came to be regarded as family shrines.[2] The awe of the Celts was even greater: cemeteries and burial mounds were centres for communal religious gatherings,[3] a feature which does not seem to have been common in Roman practice until the Christians built churches above the tombs of martyrs. Little activity of this kind could be observed near the graves at Lankhills.[4] Perhaps this was because the area had been ploughed at various times since the Roman period and in some places artificially levelled.[5] It is, however, certain that there were no buildings on the site, and unlikely that there were frequent concourses of people.[6]

As for the graves, because Hampshire has little natural rock, it is probable that tombstones, with their invaluable information on attitudes towards death, never existed; certainly neither they nor wooden commemorative plaques have survived. Because of the chemical properties of chalk scarcely any organic material remained. Flowers, corn, salt, cakes, wine, and fruit would all have disintegrated at Lankhills, where even the coffin-wood had often disappeared. So too would wooden statuettes of gods or goddesses (such as that of Epona, discovered in a well at Winchester[7]), had these been deposited in the same way as bronze, marble, or terracotta statuettes were deposited in Gaul and elsewhere in at least one grave in Britain (at Spoonley Wood (Glos.)).[8]

These deficiencies in the evidence are most important. The evidence that did exist at Lankhills was limited to the alignment and cut of the graves, the position of the skeletons, and the nature and positioning of objects. The latter were almost always closely associated with the corpse, having been deposited at the same time. Because of the close association and the defined nature of the objects, this chapter centres inevitably on the attitudes

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Martin Biddle, Dr. J. N. L. Myres, and Professor S. S. Frere, who read this chapter in typescript. I must also mention Dr. Richard Reece of the Institute of Archaeology, London, whose conference on Burial Practice held in March 1974 helped me to arrange my ideas (Reece (ed.) 1977). I would also like to thank Mr. David Critchley for drawing my attention to several useful references. I, of course, am entirely responsible for the views expressed here and for any inaccuracies and errors.

[2] Rose 1948; Toynbee 1971, 61–4.

[3] e.g. in Ireland at Tara and Emain Macha: Ross 1967, 39. For the association of temples with cemeteries under the Roman Empire: Van Doorselaer 1967, 216; Lewis 1966, 6.

[4] But cf. below, p. 405, n. 5, and p. 419.

[5] For the post-Roman history of the site see above, p. 4.

[6] This is suggested by the lack of occupation debris in grave-fills (cf. above, p. 21).

[7] Ross 1975.

[8] Van Doorselaer 1967, 119; Toynbee 1971, 53; and see addendum S.

which the living held towards the dead at the time of burial, and on their expectations for the future life of the dead person.

This subject, fraught with ambiguity and double meanings, has been intermittently popular over the past fifty years with scholars dealing with the Roman Empire.[1] But as far as Britain is concerned, most of their publications have laboured under the disadvantage of not being able sufficiently to take into account recent research on the Celtic world.[2] In addition, few cemeteries have been both so rich in material and so thoroughly analysed as Lankhills.[3] Here, the chronological ordering of funerary customs has helped immensely in the task of providing a religious interpretation for some of the evidence.[4] Since, too, the period of the cemetery coincides with the beginnings of Christianity in Britain and with many other changes in religion, it is perhaps permissible to undertake a new inquiry into 'burial and the after-life'.

But the pitfalls are no less deep than they have always been. It is a perilous undertaking to interpret ideas from material remains; and particular dangers are involved in the study of pagan religious traditions, seeing that they were the products of an endless accumulation of ideas, in which few discards were made and confusing contradictions were rife.[5] I am well aware that the tentative suggestions offered in this chapter are not only selective, but have not been hedged about with sufficient qualifications. They may depend too much on the literary sources for Celtic and classical traditions and not enough on the immediate circumstances of a particular death. They may also appear fanciful, but for this I make no apology. The literary evidence shows that even the more advanced thought of late antiquity was quaint by today's standards and that the popular beliefs of less civilised northerners were no less so.[6] This evidence it would be most unsound to disregard; it would be wrong to rely instead on present-day intuitions about burial customs, for these are post-Renaissance, Christian, and scientific. At all events, even if the arguments put forward here do no more than encourage future excavators of cemeteries to examine their material more carefully than they might otherwise have done, and

[1] Principally in French and English: Cumont 1922; Nock 1932, 1933; Cumont 1942, 1949; Richmond 1950; Van Doorselaer 1967; Liversidge 1968, ch. 16; Toynbee 1971.

[2] From the point of view of a non-Celtic scholar like myself, new and sometimes non-specialist books have been a particular help, e.g. Powell 1959, Piggott 1968, Ross 1967, Ross 1968, Frere 1967, ch. 15. The term Celtic is not uncontroversial. In this chapter it is used to denote the non-Mediterranean inhabitants of Britain before and after the Roman conquest of A.D. 43, and the peoples of Europe with whom they had particular affinities. These nations stretched from Spain to northern Gaul, up the Rhine to Bavaria and Cisalpine Gaul; thence across the Carpathians to Dacia: Piggott 1968, 37; Ross 1970, 134. Obviously their ideas and customs were not solely confined to themselves. They had much in common with any European agricultural people. See, for example, Pliny's description (*Epistle* viii. 8) of the Italian temple complex at the springs of Clitumnus in Umbria, which in its setting, extravagance, and purpose would have done credit to any British shrine, like Springhead, based on such a natural feature. There was also a basic similarity between Celtic and Germanic ideas and customs, including those to do with the after-life. See especially Ellis Davidson 1964, 140–59, and Wallace-Hadrill 1971. In view of the presence of aliens from the Danube regions at Lankhills after *c.* 350, these similarities are pertinent to the discussion.

[3] See Tables 38 and 39 for a list of Romano-British cemeteries. Ospringe (Kent) and Chichester (Sussex) St. Pancras were richer in the number of objects found, but not in their variety. Certainly in neither of these cemeteries was a chronological pattern of burial ritual discerned. See Whiting *et al.* 1931; Down and Rule 1971.

[4] See above, Part II, especially pp. 113–22 and 145–82.

[5] Cumont 1922, 45; cf. Guthrie 1950, 35–65 where his account of ancient Greek views on Zeus shows how beliefs acquired contradictory accretions.

[6] See, for instance, Dodds 1968 and Brown 1971.

to evolve their own theories about religious belief at burial, one object of this chapter will have been achieved.

i. PAGAN RITES AND BELIEFS

The main evidence for paganism at Lankhills consisted of the cremations,[1] the cenotaph, the decapitated skeletons, and the grave-furniture.[2] About the cremations, which were unfurnished, little can be said beyond that they were not Christian.[3] The cenotaph[4] and the decapitated skeletons[5] will be treated later. The most abundant evidence was the grave-furniture and this may be considered first.

The grave-furniture

There was a significant change in grave-furnishing at Lankhills about the year 350.[6] Until then graves with vessels were common.[7] There were a few child graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments,[8] and a few burials were provided with coins, with or without other furniture.[9] Equipment in the form of spindle-whorls[10] or the gaming-set from Grave 51[11] was occasionally provided, as were animal remains.[12] Hobnailed boots were present in about one third of the graves.[13] All these kinds of furniture tended to be put in many different positions relative both to the body and to the coffin; this was even true of hobnails, which were frequently nowhere near the feet. In the second half of the fourth century graves with vessels were noticeably rare, having been superseded by graves with unworn personal ornaments and then by graves with coins.[14] Equipment was more common, consisting mainly of knives and combs,[15] and hobnailed boots were buried with great frequency until at least *c.* 390. It is noticeable that at this time there was much more consistency in the positioning of all kinds of object; personal ornaments were always within the coffin, coins were rarely not in the mouth or hands,[16] combs were near the head, and hobnailed boots were now almost invariably at the feet.

In interpreting this material we may start with hobnails, the most common kind of grave-furniture.[17] They were sometimes found among the toe bones, perhaps suggesting that the shoes were worn at burial; more usually they were in a position which showed that they were not worn. Sometimes they were even outside the coffin. Two main assump-

[1] See above, pp. 128–30.

[2] In the discussion of both paganism and Christianity the evidence has been limited to the most common aspects of funerary practice at Lankhills. But some individual pieces of evidence should also be recorded, on which a religious interpretation might be put, but which have not been so interpreted here. This evidence is as follows: pottery vessels which may have been deliberately broken at burial (Graves 105, 114, 132, and 248); a dismembered bird (Grave 193); strike-a-lights in the mouth or near the head (Graves 293 and 411); a group of graves containing bodies laid neatly in a prone rather than a supine position (Graves 404, 405, 411, and 413); adult bodies laid neatly on their side (Graves 94, 331, 332, 367, 384, and 397); coins used as surface offerings (in an alien's burial, Grave 323); and spindle-whorls.

[3] It has been argued above, pp. 350–1, that these cremations were native.

[4] See below, pp. 421–3.

[5] See below, pp. 414–21.

[6] The grave-furniture is considered above, pp. 145–82.

[7] See above, pp. 164, 168, and 173.

[8] See above, pp. 164, 170, and 174.

[9] See above, p. 174.

[10] See above, pp. 177–8.

[11] See above, pp. 177–8.

[12] See above, pp. 176–7.

[13] See above, p. 178 and Table 22.

[14] See above, pp. 165–7, 168–9, and 173–4.

[15] See above, pp. 177–8.

[16] See above, p. 167.

[17] For hobnails, see above, pp. 153–4 and 178–80.

tions may be made about the differences of position: either each had a different meaning, or the significance of the shoes was the same whatever position they occupied.

If one makes the first assumption, that each position had its own significance, it is fairly certain that if shoes were worn they were worn for the last rites. But this would not preclude the possibility that they were to be used on a journey to the after-life. Shoes which were put in the coffin but not worn may have been there because their owner liked them and was thought by his relatives to be likely to want them in the grave which he was going to inhabit hereafter. But it is hard to see why shoes were so popular; gaming counters or food would have provided more delight. It is more likely that the shoes were needed for some journey. Shoes outside the coffin might represent an offering or a dedication to a god from the living or the dead;[1] a strange offering, perhaps, but seemingly stranger offerings such as fruit-pips were, on occasion, acceptable. Alternatively, the shoes might have signified the end of a life, which the surviving relatives did not want renewed in the form of ghostly visitations. Yet it is perhaps more likely that the position of the shoes was conditioned by a custom followed during the period of cremation when the shoes were placed unburnt inside a box together with vessels and personal possessions.[2] When inhumation became the normal practice, some people would have carried on the tradition of separating such grave-goods from the corpse. As the traditional belief of the Celts was in an after-life lived far from the grave,[3] even the position of hobnails outside the coffin, like their position elsewhere in the grave, is consistent with a belief that a journey had to be made to another world.

If the second assumption is followed, shoes are unlikely to have been merely a part of the dress in which the corpse was arranged for the funeral. For in that case they would not have been put separately into the grave. Similarly, if some of the shoes were worn, it is unlikely that they were offerings to a god. Finally, it is improbable that the shoes had a retrospective symbolism showing that the dead person's journey through existence was now finished. For in that case they are unlikely to have been included in graves with vessels and animal remains, which, whatever else their significance, clearly had to do with some sort of life after death. The most likely general reason for the inclusion of shoes in a grave is the most obvious reason, namely that the dead person was about to make a journey.

No one of these arguments is conclusive in itself, but considered together they suggest that the presence of shoes, whatever their position in the grave, signified a journey after death. The fact that the shoes were usually, if not always, unworn may mean that the journey was not imminent and that a certain period of time was to be spent in the grave. But it does seem that there was going to be a journey. As hobnails have been found in other cemeteries of the second and third centuries,[4] there could well have been a continuous tradition of belief about an after-life in another world going back to pre-Roman times, the kind of belief that Lucan (A.D. 39–65) in the *Pharsalia* attributes to Celts.[5] It is

[1] Cf. Ross 1968, 265.

[2] Down and Rule 1971, 71; *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 300, for cremations at Puckeridge (Herts.).

[3] Frere 1967, 326–31; Ross 1967, *passim*.

[4] e.g. Ospringe: Whiting *et al.* 1931; Guilden Morden (Cambs.): Lethbridge 1935, 114; Puckeridge: *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 300.

[5] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 455–9.

likely in Winchester that such a belief would stem from the old Celtic views rather than from later ideas derived from mystery cults and the east;[1] but as pagan religions tended to pick up any ideas with which they were in sympathy, eastern beliefs may not have been without influence.

This conclusion, tentative though it is, can be reinforced by the evidence of the coins. Coins were deposited in twelve native graves dated to the period before *c.* 370,[2] as well as in many graves dug subsequently. The classical tradition saw in the coin an offering to the deity, Charon, for a safe crossing to the other world. This offering was placed in the mouth (where small change was often carried) or in the hands. There is evidence in Britain that the custom went back to the first and second centuries A.D.[3] so it must have been adopted very soon after the Roman conquest. Fewer graves in the third century seem to have been provided with coins,[4] but in the fourth the custom reasserted itself and in six graves at Lankhills dating to *c.* 330–70, coins were found in the mouth or near the hands.[5] The likelihood is, given the classical tradition, that these were meant for some divine being, encountered during a journey to the after-world.

There is evidence also that Celtic as well as classical deities were interested in coins, and that they had a marked partiality for mineral riches in the form of silver and gold.[6] At Harlow, Essex, some 205 pre-Roman coins were found in a layer of brown loam which preceded the construction of the Romano-Celtic temple.[7] That such an interest in coins persisted—and, indeed, almost certainly revived—in the late Roman period is shown by the many temples where vast numbers of third- and fourth-century coins have been found. At Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset, for example, 2,500 coins have been found;[8] at Lydney (Glos.) over 9,000;[9] at Woodeaton (Oxon.) several thousand;[10] at Coventina's Well, Northumberland, about 14,000;[11] and a large number in the River Ver at *Verulamium* (Herts.) are thought to represent offerings.[12] Of particular interest for cemeteries is the famous second-century stele at Rheims, showing a Celtic horned god pouring coins into the earth.[13] Amongst other instances of a similar kind, a god at York holds a large purse.[14] The latter is depicted as Mercury and the former is accompanied by Mercury. This fact is usually taken to show that the Celtic gods were being represented by *interpretatione Romana* as providers of wealth. But it must be remembered that Mercury was not only the god of traders, but also the conductor of souls to the underworld. As the stele at Rheims is surmounted by a rat, which is generally accepted as a chthonic symbol,[15] it can easily be seen that the coins may have had a use in Celtic chthonic contexts, just as much as on a Romano-Greek voyage to the underworld.

The coins in the graves were thus probably to be given by the dead man to a god.

[1] For the latter see Toynbee 1971, 38; Cumont 1942; Nock 1933; Richmond 1950. For Winchester and Roman Britain, see Macdonald in Reece (ed.) 1977, 35.

[2] Graves 37, 76, 96, 109, 114, 137, 152, 164, 172, 212, 228, and 437. Also perhaps Grave 329 (addendum A). I use the term 'native' to distinguish these graves from those of the Germanic aliens: see p. 432.

[3] Grinsell 1957, 266; and above, pp. 358 and 361.

[4] See above, p. 358.

[5] Graves 37, 76, 109, 137, 212, and 437.

[6] Diodorus Siculus v. 27; Strabo iv. 1, 13.

[7] *Current Archaeology*, 11 (1968), 287–90.

[8] *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 452.

[9] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 41.

[10] Lewis 1966, 47.

[11] Ibid. 87 f.

[12] Frere 1967, 330.

[13] Ross 1967, 138, Fig. 96.

[14] Ibid. 140.

[15] Ibid. 152 ff.

But it is possible that they were also a source of power and immortality themselves. Even in classical religion, by a survival of archaic custom, coins were the offering proper to promote health and fertility. When Augustus's life was in danger, senators and knights threw coins into the Curtian lake on his behalf.[1] The Greek god of death and the underworld, Pluto (in Latin, *Dis*) was also the god of fertility and wealth (*ploutos*—wealth, *dives*—wealthy). Originally he was the god of that natural and fertile wealth that was stored as corn in silos or pits beneath the earth.[2] Plainly, the figure of the god of the underworld was not very distinct from his own underground attribute. And so the attribute itself would be a source of *mana*, power.[3] The similar association of the underworld and wealth in Celtic ideas makes it likely that the bodies at Lankhills were often buried with coins in order to be in contact with this power.

This further suggests why some of the coins were not found in the traditional position. A coin in the right eye-socket of the child in Grave 164 was perhaps designed to ward off the evil eye, or to give power to the child's eye, in effect the power of a second life.[4] It is possible, too, that coins found in other positions, such as outside the coffin, or by the left foot, were there to serve a similar function.[5]

Vessels, as the containers of nourishment, might have had a similar semi-magic power of fostering life among the dead. This interpretation is possible, but other more exact and not necessarily conflicting ones need to be considered. Vessels were usually too closely associated with the dead man by being in the coffin to be classed simply as offerings *from the living* to the gods of the other world.[6] It is easier to assume that they were the offerings, traditional it seems in both Roman and Celtic religion, of the living to the dead.[7] There is no evidence, however, to show that the dead were regarded as any more divine than their new status of immortality would naturally demand.[8] The pottery vessels were equally distributed among men, women, and children. If there had been any pronounced idea of ancestor- or hero-worship, they would have been associated with those men whose positions of power in life had singled them out for honours in the life to come. Nor is there any positive evidence, such as libation tubes, to show that the vessels were regarded as furniture for the dead man to use while he lived in the tomb. Although such a habitation for the dead cannot be completely discounted, the frequent associations of vessels and shoes, and the occasional associations of vessels with coins[9] imply that vessels represented possessions or provisions to be taken by the dead to the other world.

This conclusion may, however, need some qualification. First, three vessels were associated with animal remains; and animal remains were found in other graves, one of which had a coin.[10] The animal remains with vessels took the form of eggs in a bowl, a

[1] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 57.

[2] Nilsson 1940, 51 f.

[3] On this idea see Rose 1948, 13 f.

[4] For similar associations of the coin with the eye, at Cirencester, Amiens, and Boulogne, see *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 309; Van Doorselaer 1967, 138. It is not inconceivable that the one eye of the emperor's head, which was shown in profile on coins, helped to ward off the evil eye and to banish dangers imagined to exist after death. See below, p. 432, for an example at Lankhills of an amulet against the evil eye. See also p. 423, note 1 for a remark on sympathetic magic.

[5] Graves 96 and 152.

[6] Vessels were common offerings to gods: e.g. Tibullus i. 1, 36–7; Penn 1962, 121.

[7] e.g. Pomponius Mela iii. 2, 19.

[8] i.e., they could have been regarded as *di manes*, but not as powerful divine beings like Ajax or Hercules. See Bailey 1935, 256 f.

[9] Graves 109, 114, and 172.

[10] With vessels, Graves 22, 47, 150; with a coin in mouth, Grave 212. See above, pp. 176–7.

sheep rib, and a cock; elsewhere they were domestic fowl.[1] The easiest interpretation for the sheep rib, seeing that it was under a pottery vessel, is that it represented food for the dead. But the eggs and the cock are open to other interpretations. Eggs could have been the chthonic symbol of rebirth,[2] and the cock was an attribute of Mercury and the Celtic god who was assimilated to Mercury.[3] Animal remains, therefore, and in certain circumstances the vessels associated with them, could be regarded, like coins, as offerings to the gods, being the ritually proper gifts for the particular purpose of attaining rebirth and guidance to the other world. On the other hand, it is possible that they were symbols of the feast so often depicted by means of reclining figures on gravestones and possibly denoting the hope of constant feasting in a happy after-life.[4] Perhaps their precise function had become blurred.

Whatever the circumstances, the easiest interpretation of the vessels is still that they were regarded as the possessions of the dead, an interpretation which is consistent with the older Celtic and Roman traditions. Their association in the same graves with shoes would imply that the dead were regarded as individuals who did not stay in the grave, but made a journey to another world with provisions, and occasionally with equipment, such as spindle-whorls for women, and a gaming-set found in a man's grave.[5] Because vessels were frequently deposited before *c.* 350, the belief was apparently then common that the dead man had no requirements save ordinary, materialistic needs—whatever sacrifices might have been done on his behalf by the living relatives above his grave. Nevertheless, since shoes and other grave-furniture occupied a variety of positions, it is possible that these beliefs were not very clearly conceived. On the other hand, a small minority obviously thought that the dead man required an offering, in the form of a coin, to persuade the gods to let him pass the frontiers of the other world. It was this idea which became prominent in the second half of the century, when the assumption faded rapidly that bodily demands alone needed satisfying.

Some clue to the attitudes which accompanied this change may lie in a group of nine graves ranging in date over the period 310–70.[6] These are the graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments; they mostly belonged to children.[7] The richness of the offerings could be explained by the care and tenderness felt by parents towards their children, but there is another explanation which makes the care a much more practical concern. There was a belief, for which there is abundant classical evidence, that the souls of people who died a violent or premature death were not allowed into the other world, but were condemned to a wandering existence, even to the extent of becoming for a time malevolent ghosts.[8] Traces of this belief can be found in Virgil, where infants,

[1] See above, pp. 239–44.

[2] Wightman 1970, 221 f. and 239 f.; cf. also *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. Eggs.

[3] M. J. Green 1974, 382. Cocks were also the offering proper to Asclepius, the Greek hero-god of healing (Plato, *Phaedo*, 118a). Perhaps here too (see above, p. 409, and below, pp. 422, 433) can be shown the close relationship between healing and death. In the context of the *Phaedo* (see esp. 114d), Plato's Socrates offered a cock to Asclepius, not only because he was escaping the harmful pleasures of life but because he expected a blessed immortality.

[4] This idea is not to be confused with the commemorative feast shared between the living and the dead at the tomb (see Toynbee 1971, 51 and 62).

[5] See above, pp. 177–8.

[6] Graves 105, 134, 155, 185, 188, 199, 250, 327, and 337. See above, p. 170.

[7] Cf. above, pp. 172–3.

[8] Cumont 1922, 128–36. Plautus, *Mostellaria*, 499–500: 'nam me Acheruntem recipere Orcus noluit, quia praemature vita careo'.

falsely condemned people, innocent suicides, and warriors, are excluded from the innermost sanctum of Hades.[1] Tertullian refers to it in the third century and adds the information that such souls wander on earth until their allotted span of life has ended.[2] There is obviously no evidence for this belief from the oral Celtic tradition, but it is more than possible that it was held north of the Alps. If the young children at Lankhills for whom such generous provision was made were indeed thought to be prone to wander, the obvious way of preventing this would have been a sacrifice or dedication to the appropriate gods to allow the children to enter the other world.[3] These children may thus have been provided not only with vessels for their own use, but also with something which they could give to a god.

This would have been the function of the personal ornaments. There are many instances at temples, particularly in the fourth century, where personal ornaments were offered to gods almost interchangeably with coins. At Springhead (Kent), in Temple V, under the plaster rubble of the west wall were found six distinct groups of coins and a group of bracelets and beads at more or less equal intervals.[4] At Lydney, besides the 9,000 coins, 270 bracelets and 320 pins were found.[5] At Woodeaton, in addition to the thousands of coins already mentioned, many rings, bracelets, and pins were also discovered.[6] A fourth-century temple at Chelmsford (Essex) had jewellery placed beside a central post.[7] At Mohn, near Trier, and at Châtelard-de-Lardier, near Carpentras, vast quantities of jewellery have been discovered.[8] Jewellery and coins have also been found together in springs, which the Celts regarded as sacred, at the villa in Gadebridge Park (Herts.), and at Coventina's temple at Carrawburgh (Northumb.).[9] Finally, this association of personal ornaments and coins with sacred places seems to have been present in Britain before the Roman conquest. At Harlow, in Essex, quite apart from the 205 British coins, over fifty pre-Roman brooches were found.[10]

It might, however, still be maintained that the 'natural' interpretation of personal ornaments is that they were cherished personal possessions. The evidence of the graves to some extent contests this. First, the 'natural' function for personal ornaments is to bedeck the body. But, in fact, they were unworn. Second, there was a certain resemblance between the positions of the ornaments in six of the graves and those of the coins in other graves.[11] The piles of ornaments found near the head could correspond to coins in the mouth;[12] and those near the hands could correspond to coins in the hand.[13]

[1] Virgil, *Aeneid* vi. 426 ff.

[2] Tertullian, *de Anima*, 56.

[3] See the Greek inscription (quoted by Cumont 1922, 134) giving the prayer of a person who had suffered an early or violent death. 'You who dwell in the country of Styx, beneficent demons, receive me into Hades, me the unfortunate who was not borne away with the judgement of the Fates, but by a hasty and violent death provoked by unjust anger.' It is easy to imagine such a request being accompanied by a gift. In Mesopotamian mythology, from which these ideas probably sprang, the goddess Inanna (Ishtar) decked herself out with jewellery before descending to the underworld. When she passed through each of the seven gates of the underworld, she was stripped of an item of her apparel 'in accordance with the laws of the nether world' (Hooke 1963, 21 and 40).

[4] Penn 1962, 121.

[5] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 41, 61, 82–3.

[6] Kirk 1949, *passim*.

[7] *Britannia*, 2 (1971), 271.

[8] Wightman 1970, 223–4; MacKendrick 1971, 167.

[9] Neal 1974, 73 and 48; Lewis 1966, 87 f.

[10] *Current Archaeology*, 11 (1968), 287.

[11] See below for more consistent positioning in later graves of a similar kind, p. 412.

[12] Graves 134 and 155.

[13] Graves 105, 188, 199, 327.

In the latter case the ornaments may simply have been put close to that part of the body which they would have adorned if worn. Nevertheless, in three out of the four instances they were nearer to the hand than to the wrist. Finally, in one case and possibly in some others the bracelets were threaded together, presumably to ensure that all the items remained in a group.[1] The purpose of this may have been to facilitate their deposition in the grave. Yet it would have been less difficult to scatter bracelets about a grave than to gather them together and thread them through each other. The act seems to have been done for a deliberate reason; by being threaded together a large collection of bracelets would be made much easier to pass from hand to hand. In view both of this and of the possible similarities in position, the personal ornaments seem to have been intended for the same purpose as coins: as gifts for the dead person to hand to the deities.

The reason for offering ornaments to the gods may be suggested by a remark of Wheeler's in his discussion of Lydney. He says that pins were a common concomitant of shrines of healing in Greece, and that offerings of feminine jewellery at Lydney were probably related to childbirth and attendant ills. Penn, in describing Temple V at Springhead, remarks that bracelets were associated with children and fertility. Woodeaton, like Lydney, was a shrine of healing.[2] And so it seems likely that personal ornaments at Lankhills were the ritually proper gift to the gods when disease or childbirth had brought a premature end to life. The purpose of the gift would have been to secure entry to the other world, and so prevent any haunting of the living. The provision of vessels in the graves at Lankhills shows that some emphasis was still being put on the material needs of the dead person, but what is of particular interest is the concept of healing, which is peculiarly apt for dealing with the evils of death. It will recur later in the argument.

Burial at Lankhills in the later fourth century was, as we have seen, marked by the decline and gradual disappearance of vessels as grave-furniture, except in the graves of foreigners from the Danube regions. Instead, the practices of depositing coins and unworn personal ornaments became noticeably more frequent. Graves with unworn personal ornaments mostly belonged to women and children, and dated to the years 350–70.[3] As in the graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments which have just been discussed, the ornaments were often linked together[4] and put close to the hands or head.[5] In common with the deposition of other objects in the second half of the century, their positioning was thus generally consistent. In three male graves, the personal ornaments took the form of a belt, accompanied by a knife, and in one case a whetstone, close to the feet.[6] There were in all twenty-five graves with coins at Lankhills. An analysis of this sample shows the growing popularity of depositing coins.[7] Three of these graves were dated to the period before *c.* 330–40, four to 330–70, ten to 370–90, and eight to after *c.* 390; graves

[1] Definitely in the case of Grave 327. The contiguity of personal ornaments in Graves 134, 155, and 337 suggests the same treatment. See below, this page, for bracelets linking together personal ornaments in later graves.

[2] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 41; Penn 1962, 121; Ross 1967, 48. Inanna's function as a fertility goddess supports this claim. See above, p. 411, note 3.

[3] See above, pp. 168–9; the graves are listed in Table 21.

[4] In Graves 117, 122, 139, and 183, the ornaments were certainly threaded through each other. It is possible that they were so treated in Graves 143, 238, and 438.

[5] Notably in Graves 117, 122, 183, 238 and in Graves 139, 143, and 438.

[6] Graves 37, 55, and 443.

[7] See above, pp. 164–7 for details and the definition of 'graves with coins'. See also Fig. 18.

with coins were twice as common east of Feature 12, where burial started only in *c.* 370, as they were west of the ditch. It was particularly common in these later graves for coins to be placed in the mouth, and for several coins to be present; for instance, Grave 413, dated to around A.D. 400, contained five coins, while Grave 437, dug in *c.* 360–70, had six coins, five of which were silver.

As far as the personal ornaments are concerned, it is most important to stress that they were not worn; they were not finery that adorned the bodies of the dead. And so, if this interpretation of them and of the coins in the first half of the century has been correct, it is likely that in the second half of the century too they were gifts to gods. The increasing popularity and lavishness of these offerings and the fact that personal ornaments were no longer being confined to children suggest that after 350 a growing anxiety was being expressed that everybody, man, woman, and child might be condemned to a wandering existence outside the other world. To forestall this fate, the dead were provided with gifts for the gods, appropriate to their sex and station and serving perhaps as an identification; women and children were given bracelets, etc., military men knives and belts, and other people, both men and women, who were subject to no special disqualification, but wanted to be sure of future bliss, were given coins. Indeed, the gradual disappearance of pottery vessels would imply the disappearance of the belief, however vague, that the dead needed sustenance from the living, for the very reason, perhaps, that such sustenance was now thought to reside in the power of the gods and their attributes, and not in the power of the living to make the proper provision.

To judge by the more consistent positioning of grave-goods, the future of the dead was conceived more sharply after *c.* 350. It is possible that they had also to be more fastidious in their ritual appearance to impress the gods of the other world. At least this may be the construction to be put on the combs, which were laid in sixteen native graves, almost all later than *c.* 350.[1] They usually occurred in women's graves and were placed near the head, but in some cases they were associated with men.[2] Some of the graves in which combs were found did not include further objects, but others did. All the combs were made of bone, except one which was wooden and was preserved thanks to the remarkable, and at Lankhills unique, conditions in Grave 155. A child's grave with a vessel and unworn personal ornaments, this burial seems to have been rather earlier than the other graves with combs. The fact that its comb was wooden raises the possibility that other wooden combs were deposited in early graves at Lankhills, and that the apparent appearance of combs after *c.* 350 was due to a change in materials and not in funerary customs.

But it is more likely that there was indeed a change of custom. Both the pre-Roman evidence and the Irish literary tradition agree that the Celts admired long hair on men as well as on women, and that women wore combs to keep it in order.[3] If combs were not buried before *c.* 350, then there was perhaps in the second half of the fourth century a renewal of this fashion which may have dropped out of use during the Roman occupation.[4]

[1] Graves 5, 17, 155, 254, 288, 290, 297, 365, 381, 402, 413, 422, 423, 436, 438, and 446; cf. above, p. 178.
[2] See above, Table 26 (p. 177).
[3] Ross 1970, 40 f.
[4] Cf. Green in Reece (ed.) 1977, 50.

But there is also another possibility which is related to the Celtic love of hair, namely that hair and everything to do with it had begun to have a significance in beliefs about burial. In much ancient thought hair was a symbol of life and vitality. Samson lost his strength when his hair was shorn.[1] In ceremonies performed when death was near, special attention was paid to the hair. The Spartans combed their hair before risking their lives, and funeral attendants made sure that their own hair was loose and unknotted.[2] A comb, and the act of combing the hair, depicted on a Frankish gravestone at Niederdollendorf (Nordrh.-Westf.) later than our period, are thought to indicate a belief in the continuing vitality of the dead person.[3] Long hair amongst the Franks and Merovingians denoted rank and, no doubt, power.[4] In Roman sacrifices the hair of a victim was removed and offered as a first-fruit; and when men died at the appointed time, Proserpina or the goddess of the dead was believed to cut off a lock of their hair.[5] It is possible, therefore, that the presence of combs close to the head shows that the hair of the deceased was tidy and ready to be taken as a first-fruit by a deity of the other world. The motive might well have been to stress that the deceased had died at the right time and did not deserve the terrible fate of being kept out of the other world. The fact that in one native grave the comb was by the leg[6] may show that it was enough merely to indicate that the hair was in proper order. By analogy with the coins, personal ornaments, and weapons, the comb itself may have been invested with special power.[7] Even in this rite there may thus be traces of an increasing anxiety about the future fate of the dead.

The combs conclude our survey of the grave-furniture. But important evidence for the changed attitudes to death that prevailed in the later fourth century is also provided by the decapitations and the cenotaph. To these we must now turn.

Decapitation

There were seven graves at Lankhills in which decapitated bodies had been buried.[8] The rite was basically uniform. In each case the head was placed close to the legs, usually between them, but in one case, beyond the feet, outside the coffin. The bodies displayed a diversity of position consistent with their date in the later years of the fourth century.[9] Grave 120, which may have been the earliest and dug about 350–70,[10] belonged to a child of two; the rest of the graves were adult, five of them uncoffined. Hobnails were found in Graves 120 and 379. The shoes were certainly not worn in Grave 120, but they may have been in Grave 379. In Grave 427 there was an illegible coin in the mouth of the severed head.

[1] Judges 16: 19–20.

[2] Herodotus vii. 209; Virgil, *Aeneid* iii. 65.

[3] Böhner 1950, 67.

[4] Wallace-Hadrill 1971, 17. It is unlikely that this new rite, if indeed it was new, was introduced under the influence of the people from the Danube regions. At least two graves, 5 and 155, which held combs were earlier than the graves of these aliens. If there was any barbarian influence, it is clear none the less that ideas about combs and long hair were already present in the native and classical traditions.

[5] Virgil, *Aeneid* iv. 698; Horace, *Odes* i. 28, 19 f.; Statius, *Silvae* ii. 1, 146 f. See also Euripides, *Bacchae*, 494, where hair is sacred to Dionysus, the god of vitality.

[6] Grave 288. This grave also contained a vessel.

[7] Cf. *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 304. At Great Dunmow, Essex, the association of a bone comb with coins and vessels in 'votive' pits, near what seems to have been a shrine over a well, makes it very possible that combs had more than just their 'natural' purpose.

[8] Graves 120, 348, 379, 427, 441, 445, and 451. See above, pp. 140–1 and 192–3; and, for a skeletal report, pp. 342–3. Plans: Fig. 50.

[9] See above, Table 2, and pp. 137–42.

[10] So dated by its proximity to Grave 37.

In every case the first three cervical vertebrae were found with the cranium and, where sufficient detail survived, there were marks on the third and fourth vertebrae, which showed that the act of severance had been performed from the front, probably with a knife.[1] It was clear that great care had been taken in doing this; the windpipe and jugular vein must have been cut open first to reveal the exact spot where the vertebrae were to be disconnected. If the cutting of the jugular vein were the cause of death, such precision would have been impossible unless at least half an hour had elapsed to allow the blood to flow away. Alternatively, the act of decapitation might have been carried out on bodies already dead for some time from either natural or violent causes. The awkward position of the arms in Grave 451 did suggest one unwilling victim; and in Grave 379 the knife-mark on the lower jaw, though it can hardly be connected directly with the knife-marks on the vertebrae, also suggests violence.

Decapitation was one of the methods used by Romans to execute criminals.[2] It is possible that some of the decapitated bodies at Lankhills belonged to criminals, although it is impossible that the two-year-old was so regarded. It is also interesting that some of the decapitations were of old women, who were not otherwise common in the cemetery.[3] But the topographical context of the decapitated bodies implies that whether they had belonged to criminals or not, they were being used for a ritual purpose. All of them, without exception, seem to have been deliberately associated with unusual or particularly elaborate graves belonging to other people. Grave 445 was stratified in the fill of Grave 443, which contained a man with a British military belt; cut into the same grave was Grave 441.[4] Grave 120 lay beside Grave 37 which also contained a British military belt. Grave 379 was next to the only grave at Lankhills which contained a weapon, Grave 378; it formed part of two distinct rows, which also included Grave 376, the only grave with a wide, military, two-strap belt. Grave 348 lay next to Grave 347, the deepest grave on the site apart from the cenotaph. In Grave 347 were three vessels—unusually rich offerings in a late grave—including one of glass and one of pewter. Grave 427 was cut into Grave 400, the only excavated cenotaph in Roman Britain. Finally, Grave 451 had in its fill a unique mass of disarticulated bones along with a pottery vessel; the compact character of these bones suggested that they were in a sack and had been translated to Grave 451 from elsewhere.[5] The deliberate nature of these associations and the actual method of decapitation suggest that the decapitated bodies were in some sense sacrificial.[6]

There is evidence for human sacrifice amongst pre-Roman Celts in classical literature. It was used for four main purposes: first, to celebrate a victory and to thank the gods; second, as a means of divination; third, to provide the dead with their dependants and their family in the after-life; and fourth, to give the gods vicarious substitutes in death for men who were about to go into mortal danger, 'for unless a man's life was paid in return for a man's life, the will of the immortal gods was not appeased'.[7] It is interesting

[1] See above, pp. 342–3, and Pl. XVII.
[2] Digest 48. 19. 28.
[3] See above, p. 126.
[4] See above, p. 192.
[5] See above, p. 188.
[6] Cf. above, p. 193.
[7] Victory celebrations: Dio Cassius lxii. 7; Livy xxiii. 12; Diodorus Siculus v. 32. Divination: Diodorus Siculus v. 31, 3; Strabo iv. 4, 198. Dependants for the after-life: Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 19. Vicarious substitutes: ibid. 16.

that, according to Caesar, criminals were sacrificed by preference; but if they were in short supply the innocent were executed.[1] It may be objected that while human sacrifice was certainly practised before the coming of the Romans, according to Suetonius and Pomponius Mela it was discarded at the time of Claudius (A.D. 41–54) and a harmless rite was substituted.[2] However, in the countryside the memory of the original rite and the reason for it could easily have been kept alive by the Celtic oral tradition. For there is archaeological evidence that another traditional kind of human sacrifice was practised even during the Roman occupation. At Lowbury Hill (Berks.) and at Springhead Temple IV, foundation sacrifices were made in the second and third centuries A.D., a rite which was found at Hod Hill (Dorset) in pre-Roman times. Two of the sacrificed babies at Springhead were decapitated, although their heads were not deposited with the rest of the body.[3]

Of the four alternatives (if one disregards the possibility of a foundation sacrifice), it is not likely that in the setting of a cemetery the ritual of decapitation was a source of oracular wisdom, when one considers that the oracular signs were supposed to be present in the convulsions of a dying person when he was stabbed in the back, and not when his head was cut off.[4] Nor again is it probable that the decapitated people were the dependants of the dead men, killed to serve them in the other world. For in that case one would have expected many gifts, lavish though less important than a human being, to have been put in the grave—quite apart from the gift consisting of the decapitated dependant.[5] The decapitated people might, however, have been the sacrificial spoils of a victory; in such a celebration it was not just captive soldiers who were immolated, but certainly women, and probably children too.[6] But it is difficult to imagine that women and children were brought back specially from some punitive expedition into Ireland or Scotland only to be sacrificed in a cemetery; and similarly, it is hard to believe that Pictish, Irish, or Saxon raiders would have allowed their old women and children to follow them on expeditions, and thus risk their capture on foreign soil. Nevertheless, the decapitated bodies were in a surprising way connected with military burials, that is with Graves 37, 443, and 376. And two of the other burials with which they were connected, the cenotaph, Grave 400, and the mysterious pile of bones, Grave 451, could easily be given a military interpretation, for both could have belonged to men killed in battle, the body of one being lost for ever, and the body of the other being recovered from the battlefield only after a period of time.

It is these two graves, however, that suggest a more plausible explanation for the rite of decapitation. For neither of the dead men, according to the view expressed by the

[1] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 16.

[2] Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25; Pomponius Mela iii. 2, 18.

[3] Atkinson 1916, 7 f.; Penn 1960, 121; Kendrick 1927, 122. The foundation sacrifices at Springhead consisted of four babies, two of them decapitated; there is a reference to the sacrifice of the first-born in the Book of Leinster, quoted by Kendrick. See Richmond 1968, 16, for Hod Hill; and Wheeler 1943, 38–9, for a similar sacrifice at Maiden Castle, Dorset. For further Romano-British evidence see addendum T.

[4] Diodorus Siculus v. 31, 3; but see Strabo vii. 2, 3, for which see below, p. 418.

[5] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 19: 'Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumptuosa; omniaque quae vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia, ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab eis dilectos esse constabat, iustis funeribus confectis una cremabantur.' Caesar is, of course, talking about an earlier period, but the principle would still be applicable to the fourth century.

[6] Dio Cassius lxii. 7; Athenaeus iv. 51, 160E.

Roman authors, would easily have found rest in the after-life.[1] Their fate was just as precarious as that of the children who were so carefully buried with personal ornaments and pottery. The ritual of decapitation could well, therefore, have been intended to give rest to wandering spirits. At first sight such an interpretation does not seem applicable to the other five decapitations. But the graves containing native British military belts, with which three of them were associated, may have held people whose violent professions brought them to an untimely end;[2] and a similar fate was clearly the lot of the child in whose grave a weapon was found. Finally, the deep and elaborately furnished Grave 347, beside which the fifth decapitated body lay, contained a young person of unknown sex, whose age makes it possible that he met his fate before it was due, and whose status was clearly high enough to demand and pay for the carrying out of the proper rituals. It is in this way that the association of the decapitations with elaborate or military graves is explained, in a manner more satisfactory than postulating victory spoils. The victims could have been criminals, slaves, old women, or children; in short, anyone who was not valued highly.[3]

The question must now be asked whether the sacrifice was paid to the dead man as a grim and revengeful solace for his unhappy fate, or whether it was paid to the gods to let him enter the other world. In the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, the funerals of the warriors Patroclus and Pallas both included sacrifices perpetrated, it seems, for the first reason;[4] but in the literature on Celtic customs I have found suggestions only for the more subtle second reason. It is here that the principle of vicarious substitution needs to be considered, with the possibility that its purpose was not to prolong the beneficiary's life in this world, but to ensure it for the next. The problem is to determine how decapitation could deprive its victim of his future life when the normal Celtic belief was that a dead man's soul went to another world.

The simple solution may be that the victim, by dying before his time, was condemned instead of the other man to wander as a ghost. But this seems unsatisfactory, because it is unlikely that the perpetrators of the sacrifice would care to have a malevolent ghost in their midst. A more important clue is provided by the act of severing the head from the body, for besides being a Roman method of execution it was common in northern Europe.[5] It may be a rite linked with the exceptional feeling of reverence which the Celts had towards the head, for unlike Mediterranean peoples they regarded it as the seat of the soul.[6] Heads were used as trophies to signify power over the life-force of one's enemies.[7] In folklore severed heads could speak and prophesy.[8] As such they were

[1] See below, p. 421, for the cenotaph and the fate of people who did not receive proper burial. The pile of bones in Grave 451 could also have been the result of a violated grave. Most violated graves at Lankhills were not treated so carefully, but such a violation in classical thought was supposed to harm the soul of the dead man: Toynbee, 1971, 76.

[2] Cf. above, p. 290; Cumont 1922, 128–34. See esp. Virgil, *Aeneid* vi. 477 ff. where soldiers slain in battle are kept out of the sanctum of Hades. But Cumont 1922, 145, shows that there was also an opposite stream of thought: soldiers were awarded immortality for deeds of valour, an idea which occurs both in Celtic and Germanic thought. See below, p. 426, n. 6, and Ellis Davidson 1964, 48.

[3] See above, p. 416, n. 1.

[4] Homer, *Iliad* xxii. 175 ff.; Virgil, *Aeneid* xi. 81.

[5] But see above, p. 375, for Anglo-Saxons.

[6] Ross 1967, 61–126.

[7] Ibid. 66; Livy xxiii. 12: the head of the defeated Roman general, Lucius Postumius, was gilded and kept by the Boii as a sacred libation vessel.

[8] Ross 1967, 111.

prize possessions, dedications to deities, and sometimes used as grave-goods in burials of the Roman period in northern Gaul.[1] Gods were often depicted in the form of heads, presumably because they were immortal souls of supreme excellence.[2] Now, souls *could* be destroyed, according to Strabo, either by fire or water.[3] Considering the connection between the soul and the head, it would not be surprising if this destruction involved the head. Indeed, there is evidence for this very fact from the scene on the Gundestrup Cauldron where a god is plunging a victim *head first* into a basin of water.[4] How water could kill the soul is perhaps explained by a passage of the Berne Scholiast on Lucan's *Pharsalia*.[5] Here it is stated that in sacrifices to the Celtic god Teutates, victims were plunged head first into a cauldron of water until they suffocated. Probably the principle of life was connected with the breath that comes through the nose and mouth. Normally, as in Greek belief, this breath of life would be thought to escape at the moment of death,[6] but if the victim were drowned or burnt, in both cases suffocation would prevent its departure. The victims at Lankhills were certainly not burnt, although it is possible that they were drowned. But what has been established is the principle that the gods could accept human victims deprived of all future life and that this life was probably thought to reside in the head. It is certainly possible that at a date later than the sources quoted a change took place in the ritual to deprive a victim of his future life, so that by the fourth century it was enough merely to cut off the head in a special way.

The manner in which this act was carried out provides more interesting evidence of its purpose. According to the philosopher Posidonius of the first century B.C., quoted by Athenaeus and tentatively interpreted by Tierney, victims of the Celtic ritual of vicarious substitution were killed by slitting the throat.[7] At Lankhills it could well be through throat-slitting rather than decapitation that the victims died, if they had not already died from other causes. What is more, there is evidence that the slitting of the throat and the submersion of the head in water were rites that could go together, at least in some areas of northern Europe. The German (or possibly Celtic) tribe of the Cimbri, whose beliefs might not have been so very different from those of their Celtic cousins, had the habit, when on campaign, of sacrificing victims by holding them head down over a cauldron of water and then cutting their throats. According to Strabo, prophecies could be made from the blood as it flowed into the water.[8] But the timing of this sacrifice to coincide with a campaign makes it sound like the act of vicarious substitution which Caesar said was carried out by the Celts before men went into battle or other dangers. Although in Caesar's and Strabo's time this kind of vicarious substitution was used to prolong life in this world, it is not unlikely that in the more

[1] Van Doorselaer 1967, 111.

[2] Ross 1967, 61–126.

[3] Strabo iv. 4, 14: *ἀφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ οὗτοι καί ἄλλοι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κόσμον, ἐπικρατήσειν δέ ποτε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ*. The context implies a universal flood or conflagration in the future. But it would be remarkable if the fate of all men's souls in a catastrophe could not be inflicted by a deity on one man's soul. The evidence quoted from the Gundestrup Cauldron and the Berne Scholiast seems to be decisive.

[4] Ross 1967, Fig. 31.

[5] Lucan, *Pharsalia* i. 445 ff; Brogan 1953, 185.

[6] Homer, *Iliad* xvi. 856.

[7] Tierney 1960, 215, quoted Athenaeus iv. 40, 154 A–C: *ἄλλοι δ' ἐν θεάτρῳ λαβόντες ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον, οἱ δὲ οἴνου κεραμίων ἀριθμόν τινα καὶ πιστωσάμενοι τὴν δόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις φίλοις διαδωρησάμενοι ὕπτιοι ἐκταθέντες ἐπὶ θυρεῶν κεῖνται, καὶ παραστάς τις ξίφει τὸν λαιμὸν ἀποκόπτει*. Here, Tierney thought that a slave or client was acting as the vicarious substitute in return for money which was publicly guaranteed to go to his next of kin.

[8] Strabo vii. 2, 3.

metaphysical climate of fourth-century thought 'a man's life was repaid for a man's life' in the next world.[1]

There are some difficulties. In at least two of the graves, the cenotaph and Grave 443, the decapitated bodies were buried on some occasion later than the grave to which they were related.[2] It might be argued that this vindicates the view that the human sacrifices were being paid not so much to the gods but to the dead men, sacrifices which would not have been regarded as grave-furniture, like the pottery vessels deposited in the first half of the century, but as offerings to semi-divine heroes. On the other hand, it can equally well be said that the original offerings may not have been considered adequate and that the dead men were thought to be wandering and not at rest. If so, a more potent sacrifice had then to be carried out. The fact that a human sacrifice had already been perpetrated in Grave 443 does not invalidate this; it alone may not have been enough, and so another was needed. So far as the cenotaph is concerned, interesting analogies are provided by two of the three other graves surrounded by gullies. In both of these, Graves 100 and 408, offerings were found in the fill; many unworn personal ornaments in Grave 100 and two pewter bowls in Grave 408. There was a likelihood in Grave 100 that the ornaments had been deposited some time later than the original burial, and the same could have been true of Grave 408. It is noteworthy that these visually obvious graves should have contained rich offerings of this kind in the fill. As the occupant of the cenotaph, whose soul was wandering, had clearly been powerful during his lifetime, no doubt his spirit was regarded with considerable fear and awe. Like the unburied Palinurus of the *Aeneid*, he may well have become the recipient of honours.[3] But it could easily be argued that such offerings had the further purpose of providing him with means for propitiating the gods of the dead.

A second difficulty is concerned with the hobnails found with two of the decapitated skeletons. The person in Grave 379, who may have been wearing his shoes at burial, could have been sacrificed with his clothes on, like the victim in the Gundestrup Cauldron. But the child of two in Grave 120 was not wearing his shoes, which suggests that they were deposited with a purpose. It has been argued above that the purpose was to allow the dead to travel to the other world.[4] But in this case, how could a soul travel when deprived of the whole principle of life? The interpretation of either the hobnails or the decapitations must be wrong. Here, I think, I have to take refuge in the contradictory nature of pagan religion. Grave 120 may have been the earliest of the decapitations,[5] dug close to the period when the grave ritual at Lankhills was perhaps muddled, inconsistent, and unlikely to have been carried out with a very clear purpose in mind. This being so, it is better to accept the evidence of the more positive ritual of decapitation, and to suggest that the hobnails represent the enactment of a tradition the purpose of which was not always understood at that time. Another possibility is that decapitated

[1] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 16. Just to show that these ideas were not too unusual for the period, one must remember that the old idea of vicarious substitution for the sake of the living had not died out. Aelius Aristides knew of it in the second century (Dodds 1968, 43); according to Frazer, in the fourth century St. Dasius was forced to kill himself as a scapegoat at the Saturnalia (Fraser 1963, 765).

[2] Grave 427 in Grave 400; Grave 441 in Grave 443.

[3] Virgil, *Aeneid* vi. 380.

[4] See above, p. 407.

[5] It was associated with Grave 37, dated to 350–70.

bodies were considered capable of walking like automatons to the abode of the gods who owned them. Headless and powerful demons were thought to exist in the ancient world.[1] The idea of a body without a soul may have been so terrifying that perversely it was given the power of movement.

The coin in the severed head of Grave 427, the grave cut into the cenotaph, provides another possible difficulty. But, if the coins are considered as gifts to the Celtic gods rather than as the fare to Charon for the ferry across the classical River Styx, there is no inconsistency in providing an extra gift to the gods. And in what more convenient place could it be put than in the mouth? If anything, the evidence of this coin confirms the view that the coins in British graves tended to fulfil a slightly different function from the classical obol.

A fundamental question must now be considered. So far, I have argued that decapitation deprived the victim of an after-life. The argument is consistent with interpretations suggested for decapitations on other sites, namely that the rite was designed to prevent malevolent spirits wandering in their after-life.[2] But were the victims at Lankhills already dead or were they killed by a ritual of which decapitation formed a part? I believe that the latter took place. In the literary evidence live vicarious substitutes had their throats slit and the killing of a soul evidently required a living victim. Admittedly, this evidence is pre-Roman. But it has the support of evidence from the graves in that a ritual was carried out on the throat, and some victims were possibly unwilling. Finally, even in the second and third centuries A.D., presumably living victims were used as foundation sacrifices at Lowbury Hill and Springhead Temple IV.

It is the evidence of this temple that supports much of the general argument. In it babies were buried under each of the four corners of the building, not contemporaneously one with the other, but in successive pairs; and one infant from each pair was decapitated.[3] Even though it seems that the head of each baby had been taken away, these burials are of the greatest interest here, for two reasons.

First, the decapitated babies, as well as the two others, clearly had the usual purpose of foundation sacrifices, namely to give vitality and strength to a building, rather than the more personal objective of appeasing the wrath of a hero or a god. This is consistent with the notion that the decapitated bodies found at Lankhills were not personal offerings to the dead people in or beside whose graves they were found;[4] they were victims of a ritual designed to secure vitality for the occupants of the primary burials.

Second, the deliberate distinction twice made at Springhead between decapitating a baby and not doing so, seems to show that each rite had a different meaning, although they both were designed to give vitality to the building. It is generally thought that the victim of a foundation sacrifice (who in normal circumstances was not decapitated) was meant to act as an invigorating guardian spirit for the building.[5] If this was the case, and it is difficult to disagree, it is hard to see how another type of sacrifice, performed in a very similar context, can have had a vitalising effect on a building, yet at the same time

[1] Brown 1971, 54.
[2] See above, pp. 372–5.
[3] Penn 1960, 121.
[4] See above, p. 419.
[5] Richmond 1968, 16.

have been different. But if the theory is followed that a decapitated victim was a vicarious substitute, the problem is given a neat solution, which itself gives credence to the theory. For such a vicarious substitute would have given vitality to the building in a different way from the other kind of sacrifice, but with only a slightly different result. By undergoing this particular kind of fate, the victim would have forfeited his immortality with the express object of making the building not just vital but immortal. And in this connection it is relevant to observe that, while ordinary sites like Hod Hill and Lowbury Hill[1] received merely the ordinary foundation sacrifice, a temple designed for a god whose devotees believed him to be immortal, and whose shrine by the same token they would hope to last 'for ever', received a sacrifice which its special status demanded.[2]

The cenotaph

The cenotaph, Grave 400, was the deepest grave on the site, and, as it was surrounded by a gully, it probably commemorated an important person.[3] There was a coffin in the grave, and where the right hand of the body should have been lay five bronze coins, the latest of which, being Theodosian, assigned the grave to the last years of the fourth century or later. Above the west end of the coffin lay a large dog with his legs in the air. Higher in the fill were the remains of another dog which had been dismembered; its backbone had been bent to form a circle with its ends tied together. Throughout the fill large quantities of darker soil were found. These were interpreted on the site as turf, a phenomenon which was noticeable otherwise only in Grave 352, and then only in a smallish patch above the feet. Lastly, a secondary burial, Grave 427, had been cut into Grave 400, using its northern and eastern sides as its own. There was no coffin, but only the decapitated body of a young man. In the mouth of the severed head was, as we have seen, an illegible coin. This grave can be regarded as associated with Grave 400.[4]

There is no literary evidence that I know for cenotaphs in the Celtic world, although they are known among Germanic burials.[5] But there is a considerable body of literature which bears witness to their importance in classical belief; they warded off the worst fate that anyone could suffer, to die without receiving a proper burial. According to Virgil, such a death was followed by 100 years of wandering.[6] It was the one thing worse than an untimely death, a fate with which it was often linked.[7] Naturally, therefore, if a person was lost, or killed in battle, and his body not recovered, he was provided with a cenotaph as a substitute for a real burial. In this way he would find rest and his relatives would not be haunted.

The various features encountered in the cenotaph can be interpreted in one or more different ways; some of them were probably intended to serve several quite different

[1] See above, p. 416. To these two may be added the possible foundation sacrifice at Maiden Castle: Wheeler 1943, 38–9.

[2] The heads of these babies were not found with the bodies. However, if the babies were sacrificed to the god of the temple, it is very likely that their heads would have been kept in the temple, cf. above, p. 416, n. 3. Penn (1964, 170–89) suggests that the four children may have been sacrificed to placate a plague, which was perhaps responsible for the deaths of fourteen infants found in a ditch near by. This was possibly the immediate reason for the sacrifice, but clearly the ultimate purpose was to give strength to the building of the god who was supposed to avert the plague.

[3] For description, see above, p. 83.

[4] See above, pp. 193 and 415.

[5] Todd in Reece (ed.) 1977, 39.

[6] Virgil, *Aeneid* vi. 326–30.

[7] Ibid. iv. 620.

purposes. The five coins, first, were presumably an offering to a god. But they may also have symbolised the presence of the dead man. There was a Roman custom, which developed early in the Republic, when inhumation gave way to cremation, whereby, in order to satisfy the feeling that the corpse ought to be buried in the flesh, a small part, often just a finger, was cut off and put beneath a clod of earth. In a similar way, when a man's body could not be found for burial, a symbol of it was placed in the grave instead.[1] In graves of the earlier imperial period, at Hâchy (in Luxemburg) and Chantemelle (in northern Gaul), vessels unaccompanied by ashes or bones seem to have served the purpose attributed here to the five coins.[2]

Second, the turf in the grave-fill will have given the grave the fertility of growing grass, to encourage the vitality of the dead man. In literature, turf was a common accompaniment of cenotaphs or of burial ritual carried out under unusual circumstances. Hector's cenotaph in the *Aeneid* had particularly green turf, and when Germanicus in A.D. 15 was burying the skeletal remains of Varus's army, the ritual of laying the first sod of green turf on the tumulus was most important.[3]

The meaning of the dogs is more complicated.[4] Throughout the ancient Mediterranean world the dog was connected with the underworld, healing, and fertility. As a denizen of the underworld, he can be seen as Egyptian Anubis or Greek Cerberus; as an agent of healing he is found at Epidaurus; and as a promoter of fertility he was sacrificed at the Roman festival of the *Robigalia*.[5] But the dog was also important in Celtic and German lands, both before and during Roman times. As an animal of the other world he is the Germanic wolf, Fenrir, and he is connected with the scene depicting human sacrifice on the Gundestrup Cauldron;[6] he is present in the form of model offerings at Lydney, which was a centre for healing;[7] and his connection with goddesses holding ears of corn and other symbols of fertility shows his importance in that sphere. As has been mentioned, the ideas of death, healing, and fertility were very much interlinked in Celtic religion. A monument with a dedicatory inscription at Bonn shows this link, together with the possible role that dogs played in it; here, the underworld deities, Pluto and Proserpina, accompanied by what seems to be a dog, are thanked for restoring the sight of the dedicator or of a member of his family. These examples by no means exhaust the list, because figurines of dogs have actually been found in Gallo-Roman graves,[8] while dogs were certainly sacrificed and put into Germanic graves on the Continent between 370 and 1000.[9] At Lankhills, the context of the dogs in the cenotaph leaves one in no doubt that

[1] Rose 1948, 47; Cicero, *De Legibus* ii. 57.

[2] Van Doorselaer 1967, 110.

[3] Virgil, *Aeneid* iii. 303–5; Tacitus, *Annals* i. 62. The insistence on turf probably represents a specially zealous performance of the normal burial rites. Cicero, *De Legibus* ii. 57 stresses the importance of actual turf, or good earth, in burial: 'Nam priusquam in os iniecta gleba est, locus ille, ubi crematum est corpus, nihil habet religionis.' The passage does not say anything about 'vitality' or 'fertility', but these ideas would not be in place in the sophisticated urban milieu of Rome. According to Ross 1967, 364 turf had a magical power in Irish tradition.

[4] Jenkins 1957, 60–76. A grave containing a dog which is contemporary with Grave 400 has recently been found at Ilchester (Somerset): *Current Archaeology*, 50 (1975), 83. But this grave was a normal adult inhumation, not a cenotaph. For dogs in other ritual contexts, see above, p. 368, and addenda R and X.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti* iv. 905–43.

[6] Piggott 1968, Pl. 1.

[7] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 39 ff.

[8] Jenkins 1957, 66; ibid. 62.

[9] Ellis Davidson 1967, 106–17. Dogs and horses were sacrificed in other contexts in earlier ages in northern Europe, but not in graves—so far as I am aware.

they served a magical and religious purpose. The whole dog may perhaps be taken as a symbol of the jealous guardianship of the other world, which the dead person had to pass. In doing so, he will have needed help which the dog will have provided, for few rituals are so powerful as countering like with like.[1] The dismembered dog in the fill would more likely have promoted fertility and life by spilling its own life's blood on the ground. Perhaps in this way the soul of the deceased would have been summoned to the empty grave, just as the spirits of the dead were evoked in an Horatian satire by the dismemberment and bloodletting of a black lamb.[2] That the dog's backbone should have been tied is a curious feature.[3] Perhaps it was thought to immobilise the animal for ever, to render him truly lifeless and thus a fitting sacrifice to the gods as a substitute for the dead man—a concept which could be related to the ritual of decapitation.

This latter rite is the last to be considered in connection with the cenotaph. It suggests that the purpose of the ritual was not so much to summon the missing man to his grave, an aim which the turf, and, to some extent, the dismembered dog, seem to have had, but rather to bring him through the grave to an after-life. In this it is consistent with the evidence of the coins and the whole dog.

Conclusion

In the first half of the fourth century it seems usually to have been taken for granted (following the old Celtic belief) that the dead would go to another world and that the living had no duties towards them apart from providing them with provisions in the form of vessels and sometimes food and equipment. The comparatively haphazard way in which these offerings were given seems to imply that no great thought was taken about the future of the dead. But in the second half of the century there is evidence of an

[1] e.g. a symbol of the eye wards off the evil eye. Ovid's account of why a dog was sacrificed at the *Robigalia* is perhaps pertinent: it was to counteract the malignant influence of the Dog Star: Ovid, *Fasti* iv. 939–43. In the same way when threats came from the powers of the underworld whose symbol was a dog, dogs were sacrificed, e.g. to Hecate (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. sacrifice). Similarly Poseidon, the god of horses, received sacrifices of horses. Once again, attribute and deity are hard to keep apart. A mid-fourth-century baby's grave at Victoria Road, Winchester, contained a horse's skull (information from Mr. K. Qualmann). This is almost bound to have been a sacrifice to Epona, or some other deity of horses and the underworld (cf. Ross 1975, 336). Its association in the same coffin as the baby is a powerful argument in favour of regarding coins, personal ornaments, knives and belts, and, perhaps, combs as offerings to deities. By contrast, the severed head of a war-horse found in the grave of Childeric I, the Merovingian king (Wallace-Hadrill 1971, 18) was part of a king's panoply. The point of interest in the grave at Winchester was that the head was associated with a baby which had died before its time, rather than with a powerful king.

[2] Horace, *Satires* i. 8, 26–9; cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* iii. 303–5 (see above, p. 422, n. 3) for the importance of bringing the dead man's soul to the cenotaph:

manesque vocabat
Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite inanem
et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras.

[3] An idea which occurred when the dog was being excavated was that the backbone was prepared, as it were, to be served at a meal. There may be some connection here with the meals made from dogs' flesh which in classical lands were given to Hecate at the crossroads (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. Hecate). A passage in Theocritus ii (lines 12–13), a poem which owes much to the current magical practices of the third century B.C. (Gow, *Theocritus*, Cambridge, 1950), shows an interesting connection between Hecate, dogs, and blood.

τᾷ χθονίᾳ θ' Ἑκάτᾳ, τὰν καὶ σκύλακες τρομέοντι
ἐρχομέναν νεκύων ἀνά τ' ἠρία καὶ μέλαν αἷμα.

In Euripides, *Bacchae*, *passim*, the act of dismemberment is particularly associated with Dionysus, the god of vitality.

increasing anxiety that the dead might not reach the other world and that consequently the gods had to be propitiated by coins, ornaments, and substitute sacrifices to allow the dead to enter their domain. The offerings in the graves were no longer given to the dead people but on their behalf to the gods, or they were offerings, like the combs, showing that the correct rituals had been carried out. On many occasions they had a quality of barbarism and sympathetic magic, in spite of the fact that the ideas which inspired them may well have come from the 'civilised' Mediterranean. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that Roman Britain or Winchester was relapsing into a twilight of barbarous belief and to suggest causes for such a relapse, without first considering Christianity.

ii. CHRISTIANITY

The evidence for Christianity

The greater number of graves at Lankhills respected each other, and were unfurnished, carefully dug, and aligned on the general west–east axis of the site. Such graves have often been taken as marks of Christianity. To discover whether Christians were in fact buried at Lankhills, an analysis must be made not only of these characteristics but of the curious habit that grew up after *c.* 370 of placing flints in the grave around the body, and of the care which was taken in burying the dead, and preserving their graves from destruction.

The regular alignment of the graves is the most striking feature of the general plan of the Lankhills cemetery (Fig. 105). As Fig. 10 suggests, the alignment was conditioned by two topographical features, the road to Cirencester and the one-time boundary of the cemetery, Feature 12. Given their alignment on such features, the graves could have been disposed with their heads in one of four different directions; in fact the overwhelming majority were buried with the head to the west.[1] There is some evidence to show that this alignment did not become consistent until the years between 300 and 320, for the earliest graves on the site were out of line,[2] while three presumably earlier graves discovered in 1973, well to the south-east, had their heads to the south-east.[3]

Although pagan cemeteries of an early date seem to have been aligned in any direction,[4] sub-Roman Christian churches and cemeteries in Britain were almost invariably orientated.[5] Fourth-century, and apparently Christian, graves at Poundbury Camp, Dorchester (Dorset), and possibly at Ancaster (Lincs.), also had their heads to the west.[6] It is immediately clear, though, that this alignment was not an inevitable part of Christianity. In Italy, early churches and graves in the catacombs were not always orientated; in fact non-orientation was more frequent, a tradition derived perhaps from the alignment of Roman temples.[7] Orientation was, however, a common feature of Romano-British and Gallo-Roman Celtic temples.[8] As Celtic temples, unlike Roman ones, were

[1] See above, pp. 131–2. The term 'west–east' is here used to describe a grave with its head to the west.

[2] See above, p. 132.

[3] Information by courtesy of Mr. K. Qualmann. See above, p. 6, and Fig. 2, No. 12.

[4] Wenham 1968, *passim*; Whiting *et al.* 1931, *passim*. See above, pp. 351–2.

[5] For sub-Roman cemeteries cf. Rahtz and Fowler 1972, 199; and Thomas 1971, 50–9.

[6] Wilson 1968, 199; cf. Green 1973, esp. Fig. 13. See also the site at Icklingham (addenda I and X).

[7] Testini 1966, 47–122; e.g. St. Peter's, Sta. Maria Maggiore, S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Clemente, S. Prassede, and many others in Rome. Orientated churches are few in comparison: e.g. S. Pietro in Vincoli.

[8] Lewis 1966, 32.

quite often associated with graves,[1] the basic cause for the west–east alignment of cemeteries might well be found here. But this explanation will not suffice by itself, because orientated temples were built as early as the first century,[2] and orientated cemeteries, in Britain at least, do not seem to date from before *c.* 300.[3] Some secondary cause or causes would have been needed to stimulate the native temple tradition to extend itself to cemeteries. This stimulus may have been Christianity.

It is the cemetery at Lankhills which provides the most exact, but still not conclusive, evidence on the crucial question, when was a west–east alignment introduced in Romano-British cemeteries? It is clear that west–east alignment was a fourth-century phenomenon. If a starting date of *c.* 300–20, such as is tentatively suggested at Lankhills, is taken as marking its introduction, Christianity could on a superficial view have been the cause, for the date coincides very prettily with the Peace of the Church established by the Edict of Milan in A.D. 313. Such a theory might gain force when it is remembered that Christianity's imperial patron, Constantine the Great, had many connections with Britain.

But the evidence from the rest of Britain does not make Christianity such a likely candidate. The church does not seem to have been strong enough between *c.* 300 and *c.* 330 to influence the layout of a cemetery like Lankhills, in which pagans were certainly buried. Although British bishops were present at the Council of Arles in 314, it is most unlikely that one of them came from Winchester.[4] And much of the archaeological evidence for Christianity at this early date comes, as one might expect, from the military area around Hadrian's Wall, where pagan temples do not seem to have recovered from the Pictish invasion of 297.[5]

It is the nature of the imperial patronage of Christianity that provides the most significant clue for interpreting alignment. There was, it seems, a confusion in Constantine's mind—at least until the 320s—between his family's cult of the Unconquered Sun, and Christianity. He issued coins until 318 in honour of the sun, with the legend *Soli invicto comiti Augusti.*[6] In 312, at the battle of the Milvian Bridge, the Christian *Chi-Rho* sign, which could itself be confused with the *ankh* (an Egyptian symbol for immortality), or with a symbol for the sun, was seen by Constantine in his famous vision actually on the sun, with the words 'Conquer with this'.[7] According to A. H. M. Jones, the wording of an edict enforcing Sunday rest appears to have stemmed from a belief that Christians observed the first day of the week because of the sun.[8] The confusion of Christianity with the sun cult can also be seen in the famous mosaic of this period under St. Peter's, portraying Christ in the sun-god's chariot.[9]

If Christianity did not by itself have the influence to affect the layout of a cemetery early in the fourth century in Britain, it is certainly possible that an imperial sun cult did. A number of reasons make this likely. First, the cult of the sun was no mere private practice of the family of Constantine. It had developed in the Mediterranean provinces

[1] Lewis 1966, 6; Van Doorselaer 1967, 216.
[2] Lewis 1966, 32 and 51.
[3] Cf. above, p. 352.
[4] Frend 1968, 38; Mann, *Antiquity*, 35 (1961), 316–20.
[5] Ibid. 38 and 40. There is also, of course, the Cirencester cryptogram of an earlier period.
[6] Jones 1964, 80.
[7] Ferguson 1970, 55.
[8] Jones 1964, 81.
[9] Ferguson 1970, Pl. 86.

over a long period, until in 274 the Emperor Aurelian established it as the new divine power to bring unity and strength to the Roman Empire. A temple was built to *deus Sol* in Rome. Coins were minted with the legends *Soli invicto* and *Oriens Aug.* Its religious power, in effect, was combined with the coercive power of the imperial administration.[1] In Britain it is likely to have had particular influence, because it was stressed not so much in the ordinary course of events, but rather when Constantius Chlorus, Constantine's father, recovered the island for the central government in 296, after its period of defection under Carausius and Allectus.[2] The recovery of Britain was, in its way, a triumph of this policy of unification; gold medallions were struck with the legend *Redditor lucis aeternae*, and with a depiction of the reception given to Constantius by London. The Britons too were described as *vera imperii luce recreati.*[3] All this was accompanied by a considerable civil reorganisation,[4] the effect of which was that people probably became aware of the administration's and of Constantius's own religious sympathies. Now, to a Briton the sun seems anyway to have been a therapeutic power; and, because the forces of healing could be equated with the ability to give life in the after-world,[5] the sun too could have been regarded as providing a *lux aeterna.* When combined with the new imperial interest, such considerations could easily have reactivated the tradition that already existed about temples, and have caused it to be extended to cemeteries. Thus, for a combination of reasons, the magistrates who presided in some cantonal capitals may well have been moved to encourage the alignment of graveyards, so that bodies were to have their heads to the west and thus face the east, in which direction lay not only the saving light of the empire, but also by native tradition a powerful source of eternal life for the individual. At a time of anxiety (before the peace of the Constantinian era), when Picts penetrated the barrier of Hadrian's Wall, and Saxons had for some years raided the coasts, this combination of personal and community interest may not have been bizarre. There had been a tradition amongst the Celts that the expectation of an after-life encouraged deeds of valour amongst military men.[6] It was precisely this valour, combined with the watchful care of the most powerful gods, that Britain and the empire needed.

It is easy to see how a west–east alignment could have been adopted later by Christianity, when one considers Christianity's early and close associations with this sun-cult which preceded it in imperial religious policy. The new religion was not afraid at this period to borrow pagan ideas and imagery to express its own teaching.[7] But whatever the real reason for a west–east alignment of graves, be it a random alignment on some natural feature, or such a cause as has been suggested, it is thus difficult to accept that all graveyards with this characteristic were necessarily Christian, even if they contained no grave-goods. The pattern in particular localities may have been set by Christianity's predecessor, without being affected at a later date by Christianity itself. One of the first steps to be

[1] Ferguson 1970, 44–56, esp. 54.

[2] Perhaps it is of significance that Constantius's lieutenant, Asclepiodotus, made Hampshire the base of his invasion: Frere 1967, 339–40.

[3] Ibid. 340.

[4] Ibid. 345.

[5] Ferguson 1970, 54; Ross 1967, 176; Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 40 and 90. See also Richmond 1950, 23; and Frend 1955, 14, where it is contended that sculptures depicting gods of light combating giants represent a belief in an after-life.

[6] Pomponius Mela iii. 2, 19; also Cumont 1922, 145.

[7] See the Dionysiac decoration of Sta. Costanza, Rome (L'Orange and Nordhagen, 1966, pl. 42–3). Also Toynbee 1968, Pls. 1–3.

taken in the future towards solving this problem is clearly to determine the exact date at which burial with the head to the west began on a regular and systematic basis.

As far as care taken over the graves at Lankhills is concerned, they were usually dug and prepared in a very decent way until *c.* 390. But there was nothing comparable to the plaster preservation and lead-lined coffins which distinguished some of the almost certainly Christian graves at Poundbury Camp.[1] The well-made wooden coffins at Lankhills would not have been out of place in a pagan cemetery; the coffin of the patently pagan cenotaph, Grave 400, was the best of the late period on the site. The condition of the graves and coffins seems to have been more closely connected with the economic vicissitudes of Winchester. It is noticeable that bad shaping of the grave-pit and coffin, and distinct carelessness in laying the body to rest, were characteristics of the latest graves on the site, dug when a decree of Theodosius had supposedly banished all pagan practices.[2] But the reason for this carelessness seems to lie more in the social and economic decline in Winchester than in a pagan revival.[3]

Perhaps the best guide in deciding whether a grave was Christian or not is the degree to which it was respected. Pagan graves, in spite of sacred curses and protective legislation, were often in danger of disturbance from robbers or from the imposition of later burials.[4] But it was in accordance with Christian fellowship and piety that such should not be the case.[5] Quite apart from this, Christians not only had the example of the careful burial of Christ, but also the hope that they too would share in the resurrection from the tomb. The natural implication of these views is that if it was possible for Christians to be buried in the same cemetery as pagans, they would have needed to reserve an area of ground for themselves to ensure that their graves would not be disturbed. This was what was done at Poundbury Camp, Dorchester, where unfurnished graves on a west–east alignment were set off from those which contained grave-goods and were on a different alignment.[6] At Lankhills, however, except in the interesting case of Feature 6,[7] there were few obvious divisions between any one group of graves and the rest. It is true that the cemetery itself was well ordered, and displayed little of the chaotic conditions found at Trentholme Drive in York or in Cirencester (Glos.). But this is probably because it had room in which to expand, so that comparatively few graves had to be cut into others. In the apparently desirable area near Feature 12 graves were packed together and were cut into each other with little regard for pre-existing burials.

The evidence of the unfurnished graves is equally unsatisfactory, for it is clear that unfurnished graves in Britain could be pagan.[8] At Lankhills the fact that an increasing number of graves had no grave-goods after *c.* 350 might be a sign of the influence of Christianity and of the zealous attitude of Constantius II in the middle of the century. But it could equally be a concomitant of the new pagan view (for which the later furnished

[1] For publications on Poundbury, see Table 38.
[2] A. H. M. Jones 1968, 16.
[3] Cf. above, pp. 345–6.
[4] Toynbee 1971, 76.
[5] Julian, *Against the Galilaeans*, 327b–343c, shows well how Christians venerated tombs.
[6] Cf. above, pp. 348–9.
[7] See below, p. 429.
[8] Atkinson 1952, 32–4. I assume that a cemetery, such as the one at Barrow Hills Field, Radley (Berks.), with a north–south alignment, no coffins, and two decapitations, is likely to have been pagan—even if it had few grave-goods.

graves on the site provide evidence) that it was not as important to put grave-goods in graves as to treat the gods of death in the right way. Where death occurred from normal causes, this might have been done by sacrifices above the ground.

The evidence is always ambiguous. We cannot even be fully sure that the graves containing coins, combs, and unworn personal ornaments were not in some cases Christian. Coins have been found in Christian graves at the cemetery of St. Matthias in Trier;[1] so tenacious was the habit that even in this century they have been put into graves in Cambridgeshire, the Auvergne, and the Gironde.[2] Combs too could be found in a Christian context; the Frankish warrior who was combing his hair on the tombstone at Niederdollendorf (Nordrh.-Westf.) was probably a Christian.[3] Similarly, personal ornaments were buried in the tomb of a Christian empress, Maria, the wife of Honorius.[4] Nevertheless, it is unlikely that at Lankhills really dedicated Christians would have put coins either into the hands of the deceased, since this rite was used symbolically in the unambiguously pagan cenotaph, Grave 400, or into the mouth, since one grave with a coin in the mouth, Grave 37, was seemingly associated with the unambiguous human sacrifice of the child in Grave 120. Nor is it likely that unworn personal ornaments could have been deposited occasionally by Christians, when in Grave 100 their insertion into the fill is probably pagan.[5]

The evidence of flint- and tile-packed graves is also uncertain. There were thirty-eight of these, almost all of them belonging to the period after *c.* 370.[6] The flints or tiles were put around the coffin, or, where none was present, around the body. The number of flints varied greatly: sometimes in a big grave there were only one or two,[7] sometimes in a small grave they were packed tight.[8] Clearly the quantity did not depend on the number of flints unearthed when the grave was dug. The rite was more deliberate than that, and, in view of the variation, symbolic rather than practical.

The custom has been found in similar late Roman contexts in Cirencester and in post-Roman cemeteries in Somerset.[9] It is this circumstance which prompts the idea that it may have been a Christian habit, related to the custom practised with supposedly Christian tombs in Scotland of putting the body into a stone cist.[10] Two similar graves, possibly of the fourth century, found under St. Bride's church, London, make the attribution to Christianity attractive.[11] If the practice was Christian, its only motive seems to have been to imitate the stone tomb of Christ[12] in the hope of attaining a similar resurrection. That Christianity was the cause is supported by the fact that the custom became common when Christianity was being actively promoted by Gratian and Theodosius.[13]

But the contexts of the flint-packed graves at Lankhills make a Christian attribution little more than a guess. For whereas they did not show the worst carelessness characteristic of the latest burials, in that most of the bodies were extended with their heads to the

[1] Van Doorselaer 1967, 136.
[2] Grinsell 1957, 268; Cumont 1942, 382.
[3] Böhner 1950, 64 ff.
[4] Toynbee 1968, 191.
[5] Cf. above, p. 419.
[6] See above, p. 143.
[7] e.g. in Grave 448 (Fig. 52).
[8] e.g. in Grave 284 (Fig. 52).
[9] Rahtz and Fowler 1972, 199 for graves with lining slabs made from limestone—the indigenous material.
[10] Thomas 1971, 50–9.
[11] Grimes 1968, 184.
[12] Matthew 27: 60.
[13] Jones 1964, 163–9.

west,[1] nevertheless ten were furnished either with personal ornaments (Graves 122 and 218), combs (Graves 290, 365, 413, and 423), coins (Graves 413 and 414), strike-a-lights (Grave 293), glass flagons (Grave 352), or knives (Grave 418). And although it may be pointed out that no flint-packed grave had been desecrated by another grave, this was true of most other late graves as well, and was probably caused by the relatively unlimited amount of space over which the cemetery could expand east of the ditch (Feature 12). Non-Christian explanations of this custom should be considered. In Germanic contexts it has been suggested that flint-packing was designed to prevent the dead from wandering,[2] a treatment which was meted out to witches even in the nineteenth century.[3] But in this rite it was important to pile stones on top of the corpse. In only one burial (Grave 297) at Lankhills could this have been the case, and here the imposition of flints may have been accidental. In other civilisations, the heaping of stones over a grave could be regarded as either an honour for heroes, or a punishment for the wicked.[4] Undoubtedly, flint- or tile-packed graves provide no more definite evidence for Christianity than the west–east alignment or the unaccompanied carefully prepared graves.

Less ambiguous, although not entirely conclusive, are the gully, Feature 6, and the graves associated with it, dated to between *c.* 330 and *c.* 370.[5] The gully is interpreted as the bedding trench for a hedge, but it is unusual in being deliberately and systematically cut by the graves, which seem to have belonged to members of one family.[6] Feature 6 and its graves fulfil some of the requirements of a Christian group. First, they were clearly separated from the other graves on the site, Grave 243, at the south-west corner of the gully, being dug in an unusually fastidious fashion, seemingly to avoid Grave 242 which lay just outside the group. In addition, Graves 247 and 251 may have been deliberately emptied, perhaps to allow Feature 6 to be laid out. Second, a great deal of care, characteristic of Christianity, was taken in the preparation of the four major graves cutting this feature, Graves 243, 248, 250, and 252. They were among the finest examples of 'step'-graves in the cemetery; and Graves 248 and 250 contained the most elaborate coffins.

Five of the graves associated with Feature 6 were furnished. Of these, the central one, Grave 150, contained a vessel and a cock, Grave 248 had a broken vessel outside the coffin at its west end, Grave 254 contained a comb, and Grave 256, which was dug not into the gully, but into the entrance of the enclosure, had unworn personal ornaments. Outside the coffin of Grave 250, finally, were found two platters, three vessels, and a box containing shoes, two beads, a spindle-whorl, a jet pin, and a blue glass tessera. This grave is most interesting and instructive. Its contents show that it had much in common with several graves belonging to children who had died before their time.[7] The woman buried in this grave was young; she could have been the mother of the infant buried in Grave 259. The jet pin could easily have been the appropriate, curative offering to the

[1] An exception to this is the contorted body in Grave 296.

[2] Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 31.

[3] Baker 1974, 150.

[4] Guthrie 1950, 89.

[5] See above, pp. 97–9 and Fig. 4.

[6] The hedge may have been designed to link together the various members of the family. This idea is similar to the one used by P. Darche to explain why pieces of one pot are sometimes found in different graves: Van Doorselaer 1967, 115–16.

[7] The graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments (pp. 410–12).

deities of the other world.[1] But the most interesting object was a small, oval, two-handled platter.[2] On the bottom of this was a manufacturer's design consisting of a square, the diagonals of which were marked out and then bisected at their own intersection by an upright line, thus forming the Greek letters *Chi* and *Iota*. This could be the Christian monogram standing for *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* of which at least two examples are known from Rome and Asia Minor, dating to the last quarter of the third century.[3] On the other hand, the design could have been nothing more than the fancy of the maker. At the back of the platter another curious sign was rubbed on the rough burnishing, resembling a fish which has been split in two, but has only one tail. The fish was a well-known Christian symbol. But here again the pattern has a nonchalant look about it, and this dish may merely have been selected for the chance appeal of its abstract design.

But what really makes it possible that Feature 6 and its associated graves were to some extent Christian is the fact that they were the only clear example of a family group in the cemetery, in contrast to the normal practice of separating men from women.[4] Family burials were normal in the Mediterranean paganism from which Christianity took many of its customs, and in Britain they were a very distinct feature of the probably Christian cemetery at Poundbury.[5]

And so, the combination of a bowl with possible, if chance, Christian symbols, a unique family group, separation from the other graves, unusually elaborate coffins and carefully made graves, does make it conceivable that this family was Christian. As it clearly held a position of some importance, this conclusion fits in well with the theory[6] that Christianity was more common amongst richer members of society. But if it was Christian, it seems not to have been completely so, but to have evolved out of paganism like many family groups of an earlier era in Italy.[7] It reflects in a curious way the vicissitudes of Christianity in Britain during the middle of the fourth century. The central grave, Grave 150, clearly pagan if it is judged by its furniture, was dug *c.* 330 at a time when Christianity may not have flourished outside the main military and civil centres.[8] When Christianity began to expand with the encouragement of Constantius,[9] the well-dug peripheral graves were constructed, with Grave 250 showing signs of a syncretism that is not surprising when one considers that conversion may have been caused more by imperial pressure than by personal belief. Finally, when Christianity lost ground between 360 and 370,[10] three graves were cut without care or mercy into three others,[11] and Grave 256, containing unworn personal ornaments, was placed at the entrance of the enclosure.

Discussion

Amidst the generally inconclusive evidence for Christianity one fact stands out: the cenotaph, the decapitated skeletons, and the cremations all represent pagan rites practised

[1] Cf. above, p. 412, n. 2.
[2] 256. See above, p. 232, and Fig. 82.
[3] Sulzberger 1925, 393–7.
[4] See above, pp. 190–1.
[5] Green 1973, Fig. 13, R.1–3 and 7–10.
[6] See below, p. 431.
[7] Testini 1966, 78.
[8] Frend 1968, 37–9.
[9] Jones 1964, 113; Frend 1968, 40–1; cf. ibid. 39.
[10] Ibid. 39 f. See above, p. 411, on Lydney, Woodeaton, and other temples.
[11] Graves 249, 258, and 254 into Graves 464, 465, and 260.

in the later fourth century. And almost as certainly pagan are the offerings of personal ornaments and coins. At first sight this is surprising, for at the end of the fourth century, when pagan rituals were officially banned, one would expect a bishop to have been installed in *civitas* capitals such as Winchester, who would have tried to enforce such a ban.[1]

But how strong was Christianity in Britain during the last years of the century? The two most recent accounts differ. Frend suggests a picture of a poor but expanding church,[2] while Painter sees Christianity as the religion of 'a book',[3] confined more or less to that Romanised and literate, villa-owning but urban aristocracy whose tastes were in the mainstream of European art. However, since the publication of these two accounts, work on what seems to have been a Christian cemetery at Poundbury Camp, Dorchester, has provided important new evidence. Although the results of this excavation have not yet been fully published, they indicate two possibilities. First, that Poundbury will become one of many similar discoveries of Christian cemeteries outside Romano-British towns whose graveyards so far remain largely unexcavated. Or second, that the proximity of Dorchester to the Christian villas of Frampton and Hinton St. Mary means that the early growth of Christianity in Britain followed the pattern which it had shown in other parts of the empire, whereby certain areas fell particularly under its influence, while other areas remained largely untouched.

Whatever emerges when more evidence becomes available,[4] it seems from the discoveries at Lankhills and elsewhere that the second possibility is more likely to be correct, and thus that Christianity was not deeply or widely rooted in Britain. Its development must have been handicapped by unsettled conditions in the third quarter of the century, at the time when barbarian raids became insistent and when Magnentius and his British supporters fought the official rulers, only to be defeated at Mursa.[5] The confidence engendered by Count Theodosius's reorganisation could not have lasted long when Britons saw their island stripped of its troops by Magnus Maximus in 383 and by Constantine III in 407;[6] and even if the south-east of Britain did not suffer physically, apprehension must have been rife. In conditions as unsettled as these there was always a strong tendency to revert to ancient religious practices, and to abandon more humane standards; men often thought that wars and disasters occurred because the old gods had been neglected.[7]

In the Britain of the late fourth century such tendencies must have been reinforced threefold by outside factors: first, by the temporary renunciation of Christianity by Julian in the 360s; second, through the increasing reliance which the Roman authorities in Britain put on native kingdoms beyond the frontiers as buffer states to combat foreign incursions;[8] and third, through the fact that the attackers had a religious background very similar to that which lay behind the Romanised Britons. As one of the ancient ways of countering successful enemies was to adopt the opposition's deities and rituals,[9] it

[1] Jones 1968, 16.
[2] Frend 1968, 40 ff.
[3] Painter 1971, 162–7.
[4] See now addendum **X.**
[5] Frere 1967, 349 f.
[6] Ibid. 351–66.
[7] Livy xxii. 57; **Livy v. 51; Thucydides ii. 53–4.**
[8] Frere 1967, 362.
[9] Rose 1948, 84; **Jeremiah 7: 18.**

must have confirmed doubting Roman Britons in religious customs which they had once followed themselves, and which they now saw being practised successfully against them. It was, perhaps, for a reason such as this that the shrine at Lydney was built with official cognisance for an Irish god in 364.[1] And the popularity of it and other shrines like Woodeaton could be explained in part by the unsettled conditions of the times.

As for Winchester, the evidence of the cemetery at Lankhills certainly suggests that the town was a microcosm of the conditions which affected the province as a whole. Before 350, when peace reigned, the old materialistic approach to the after-life seems to have been gently fading out, perhaps as a natural result of incoming eastern and Mediterranean ideas, of which the alignment of the cemetery is perhaps one example, and the syncretistic practices of the family of Feature 6 another. But after 350, conditions were unsettled. The presence of alien elements must have been a constant reminder that the enemy was near. Indeed casualties from intermittent fighting and skirmishing may provide an explanation for the increased concern shown over untimely death.

Perhaps equally disturbing and socially upsetting were the aliens themselves, especially those who arrived from the Danube regions about 350. For no one likes to be protected by foreigners, and yet protectors are bound to have power and influence. In this case, their provenance, their lavish grave-furniture, and their custom of burying coins make it unlikely that they were Christians, but rather that they belonged to a barbarian background not dissimilar to that of the natives of Winchester, without being influenced to the same degree by the *Pax Romana*.[2] The nature of their particular beliefs cannot be described without a more detailed knowledge of their identity. But the bead found in Grave 323, with an eye to ward off the evil eye,[3] and the grass attached to the cross-bow brooch in Grave 322,[4] bespeak a fear of death and a hope for some sort of vitality after it. The miniature axes found in the hand of the woman in Grave 326 bring these foreigners close to the range of ideas with which the natives of Britain were familiar;[5] a goddess holding a double-headed axe on a Romano-British relief found in Gloucester is possibly concerned with healing,[6] and miniature axes have been found at Woodeaton (Oxon.) and Lydney (Glos.).[7] In view of these similarities it would be surprising if the inhabitants of Winchester, particularly those who buried their dead near the aliens, would not have been encouraged to adopt, at least partially, a primitive attitude with which they would in any case have had some sympathy. It may well be significant that the arrival of the first aliens coincided more or less with the change in grave-furniture from vessels to personal ornaments and coins. But at the same time, one must stress that the arrival of

[1] Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, *passim*; Ross 1967, 176–9.

[2] Cf. above, pp. 377–86 and p. 406, n. 5. Though the small group of Anglo-Saxons must also have made some mark, much more obvious and eye-catching must have been the people from the Danube regions who brought their wives and children with them and who seem to have occupied positions of some authority. For the Anglo-Saxons it is sufficient to note that the two pendant teeth (611, 612) in Grave 450 can be given an explanation similar to that of the dogs in the cenotaph, Grave 400: see above, p. 422; and on these teeth cf. also p. 296. The coins in the pottery vessels of Graves 373 and 396 would tend to show that the vessels did not have a culinary purpose, but were going to be used as offerings to the deities of the other world.

[3] See above, p. 293.

[4] See above, p. 330.

[5] See above, pp. 326–7.

[6] Ross 1967, 210.

[7] Ibid. 48.

the aliens could not have been the sole, or even the main cause of the change in ritual and belief that occurred about 350.

Of course, it cannot be denied that Christianity was penetrating Britain. In Winchester, apart from Feature 6, Christian burials of this period may have been found at Victoria Road, where simple graves on a west–east alignment, with coffins, but largely unfurnished and carefully avoiding each other, were separated from graves of a more casual character which cut into each other and contained some grave-goods.[1]

In a surprising way the new religion was not at variance with the purpose of the new rites found to exist after *c.* 350 at Lankhills. For just as Christians put their trust in God to attain an everlasting life,[2] so now, if the interpretations offered in this chapter contain any truth, pagans in Winchester provided the deceased with furniture so that they could offer it in a fittingly personal and unassuming way to the relevant deities, rather than keep it for themselves. And just as at Lankhills symbols of healing seem to have been of prime importance for entering the other world, so too on richly decorated Christian sarcophagi Christ's miracles of healing symbolise the new life after death.[3]

The evidence from Lankhills does seem to show pagan burial practice moving to a position closer to Christianity than it had hitherto held, influenced partly by a reaction towards primitive native customs, resulting from the unsettled conditions of the times, and partly by more civilised trends including Christianity itself. These two influences were in a strange way likely to have been working together, for it must be remembered that primitive religions often held more possibilities for spiritual development than the conventional religions of classical antiquity.[4]

One can hardly doubt that Christianity was likely to conquer. It was better organised than any pagan rival to deal with unsettled times, and its unconditional promises of an after-life must eventually have appealed to a population which was very anxious to have a life after death, but clearly considered itself bound by the decrees of the gods and by a fate which afflicted those who suffered from untimely deaths.[5] And yet the rituals of decapitations and of the cenotaph must have been performed in defiance of the Christian church and state. Perhaps it was this sort of defiance which led, at a popular level, to the adoption not of imperial Christianity, but of that peculiarly British and independent-minded heresy—Pelagianism.[6]

[1] *Britannia*, 5 (1974), 453; see above, p. 7, no. 24. Information by courtesy of Mr. K. Qualmann.

[2] Nock 1933, 246 ff.; cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* xi. 4; Julian, *Caesares*, 336c, for the pagan progression in the Mediterranean towards a Christian position.

[3] Testini 1966, Figs. 215, 217, 219–21, illustrating the healing of the blind, the lame, and the woman with the bloody flux. Cf. Nock 1933, 210 on Christ as a wonder-worker.

[4] Guthrie 1950, 34.

[5] See Nock 1933, 211 and 229; also 246 ff.; Frere 1967, 33–4.

[6] Cf. Myres 1960, *passim*, but esp. 31–3. The question here is: what conditions enabled the Pelagian aristocrats of Britain to find the popular following which they had by the time of St. Germanus's visit?

CONCORDANCES

I

GRAVES ILLUSTRATED

THIS concordance lists in serial order the graves whose photograph, plan, or contents are shown in Plates VII–XIV or Figs. 11, 33, 39, or 43–100. Graves not individually illustrated are omitted.

Grave Number	Photograph: Plate No.	Plan: Fig. No.	Contents: Fig. No.
2	—	—	67
3	—	—	67
5	—	—	67
6	—	—	67
11	—	48	—
13	XIII*a*	61	67
14	—	—	67
17	—	—	67
22	—	—	67
23	—	61	68
26	—	—	67
27	—	—	68
29	—	—	67
35	—	56	68
37	—	57, 59	68
38	—	47	69
40	—	62	69
45	—	65	69
47	—	—	70
48	—	—	70
50	—	65	70
51	—	64	69
53	—	—	70
54	—	—	70
55	—	57	44, 70
56	—	66	44, 70
58	—	53	—
60	—	46	70
61	—	—	70
63	—	62	70
71	—	—	71
79	—	47	71
81	—	61	71
85	—	58	71
86	—	54	71
89	—	64	71
91	—	—	72
94	—	49	—
98	—	—	72
100	—	66	73
102	—	—	72
105	—	60	72
106	—	61	72
109	—	59	74
111	—	—	74
114	—	59	74
117	—	58	75
120	—	50	—
122	—	58	74
125	—	54	74
126	—	—	74
127	—	54	74
130	—	54	74
132	—	55	74
134	—	60	74
136	—	—	76
137	—	59	76
138	—	55	76
139	—	58	76
141	—	55	76
143	—	58	77
145	—	—	78
150	—	66	78
152	—	54	78
155	—	60	78
158	—	51	—
160	—	—	78
163	—	—	78
164	—	54	—
168	—	57	78
170	—	55	78
172	—	59	78
178	—	—	78
181	—	51	—
182	—	55	78
183	—	58	79
184	—	64	79
185	—	60	79
186	—	55	79
187	—	65	—

Grave Number	Photograph: Plate No.	Plan: Fig. No.	Contents: Fig. No.
188	—	60	80
194	—	48	—
195	—	—	80
196	—	48	—
199	—	60	80
201	—	51	—
203	—	—	80
204	—	55	80
208	—	11, 66	—
210	—	55	80
214	—	56	80
215	—	65	—
216	—	56	80
217	—	—	80
218	—	—	80
224	—	56	80
227	—	56	80
228	—	54	—
229	—	—	81
232	—	53	—
233	—	—	81
234	—	61	81
236	—	—	81
237	—	—	81
238	—	58	81
239	—	—	81
243	—	65	—
248	IX*b*	51	44, 45, 81
250	IX*c*	51	43, 45, 82
255	—	48	—
256	—	58	82
260	—	48	—
265	—	63	82
266	—	58	83
268	—	—	83
270	—	53	—
271	—	49	—
272	—	47	—
273	—	—	83
276	—	—	83
277	—	48	—
280	—	—	83
281	—	57	83
283	—	57, 59, 63	83
284	—	52	—
285	—	49	—
288	—	56	84
291	X*a*	52	—
293	—	52	84
294	—	47	—
295	X*b*	52	—
296	—	52	—
297	—	64	84
299	—	56	84
308	VIII*b*	47	—
311	—	52	—
316	—	—	84
320	—	66	—
322	XI*c*	61	84
323	XII*b*	62	85, 86
326	XII*a*	62	87
327	—	60	86
328/9	—	—	88
329	—	59	88
331	—	49	—
332	VIII*c*	49	—
333	XII*c*	62	88
334	—	51	—
335	VIII*a*	47	—
336	XIII*c* and *d*	62	89, 90
337	XI*b*	60	91
347	XI*a*	59	92
348	IX*a*	50	—
349	—	—	92
350	—	—	92
351	XIII*b*	62	93
352	—	—	93
358	—	65	—
359	VII*a* and *b*	46	94
361	VII*a* and *c*	46	94
362	—	57	93
365	—	—	93
366	—	61	94
367	—	49	—
369	—	60	94
372	—	—	94
373	—	63	94
376	XIV	63	33, 95
378	—	63	96
379	—	50	—
381	—	53	96
382	—	53	—
384	—	49	—
385	—	56	96
386	—	48	96
390	—	—	96
396	—	62	96
397	—	49	—
398	—	—	96
400	—	66	—
402	—	64	96
405	—	64	97
406	—	—	97
408	—	66	97
411	—	64	97
412	—	49	—
413	—	53	97
414	—	53	—
417	—	48	—
418	—	64	97
422	—	—	97
426	—	61	97
427	—	50	—
430	—	57	98

Grave Number	Photograph: Plate No.	Plan: Fig. No.	Contents: Fig. No.
431	—	65	39
432	—	—	98
435	—	—	44, 45, 98
436	—	—	98
437	—	53	—
438	—	58	98, 99
439	—	65	—
440	—	65	100
441	—	50	—
443	Xc	57	100
445	—	50	—
446	—	—	100
448	—	52	—
450	—	63	100
451	—	50	100

II

OBJECTS DISCUSSED AND ILLUSTRATED

This concordance lists in serial order the individually recorded objects found at Lankhills, together with the number of the grave in which they were found, a brief description, and references to the places where they are discussed and illustrated. The numbers are those given to the objects during the excavation (see above, p. 12). Missing numbers are those assigned in error to finds not individually significant (e.g. coffin-nails), or to different parts of finds already numbered. The letter F after the grave number signifies a find in the grave-fill, and the letter M a find by the grave-mound.

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
1	2	Pottery flagon	225–6	67
2	5	Pottery flask	226	67
3	6	Pottery beaker	226	67
4	3	Pottery beaker	226	67
5	3	Pottery beaker	226	67
6	22	Pottery bowl	226	67
7	22	Pottery jar	226	67
8	27	Pottery jug	226	68
9	5	Bone comb	247–8	31, 67
10	8	Bronze coin	203	—
11	8	Bronze coin	203	—
12	8	Bronze coin	203	—
13	13	Bronze cross-bow brooch	259–60	32, 67, Pl. XIII*a*
14	13	Bronze buckle	264, 273	34, 67
15	13	Bronze coin	203	—
16	13	Bronze coin	203	—
17	13	Bronze coin	203	—
18	13	Bronze coin	203	—
19	17	Bone comb	247–8	31, 67
20	35	Glass bottle	220	27, 68
21	38	Glass bottle	220	27, 69
22	38	Pottery flagon	226	69
23	23	Pottery beaker	226	68
24	23	Bronze cross-bow brooch	259–60	32, 68
25	23	Iron buckle	264, 278	35, 68
26	23	Bronze strap-end	264, 281	36, 68
27	23	Bronze buckle	264, 27–20	34, 68
28	40	Necklace	297	69
29	40	Pewter bowl	206	69
30	40	Bronze bracelet	304	69
31	40	Bronze bracelet	304	69
32	26	Pottery urn	226	67
33	37	Bronze coin	203	—
35	60	Pottery urn	227	70
36	50	Pottery flagon	227	70
37	58 F	Bronze coin	203	—

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figures(s) where illustrated
38	58	Bronze coin	203	—
39	58	Bronze coin	203	—
40	58	Bronze coin	203	—
41	58	Bronze coin	203	—
42	48	Pottery jug	227	70
43	79	Pottery flagon	227	71
44	56	Pottery jar	227	70
45	85	Shale bracelet	312	71
46	85	Shale bracelet	312	71
48	53	Bronze finger-ring	318	70
49	63	Bone bracelet	313	70
50	51	Gaming set	251–4	1*b*, 69
51	63	Glass beaker	214–15	27, 70
52	63	Necklace	294–5, 297	70
53	47	Pottery flagon	227	70
54	47	Sheep rib	245	—
55	86	Pottery flagon	227	71
56	71	Pottery jar	227	71
57	76	Bronze coin	203	—
59	55	Whetstone	254	70
60	55	Iron knife	249	70
61	45	Pottery flask	227	69
62	81	Glass beaker	211–13	27, 71
63	63	Pottery flagon	228	70
64	63	Bone comb	247–8	31, 70
65	88	Bronze coin	203	—
66	61	Pottery flagon	228	70
67	91	Pottery flagon	228	72
68	81	Silver plate	320–1	71
69	81	Iron knife	249	71
70	81	Bronze buckle	264, 270–2	34, 71
71	81	Bronze coin	203	—
72	81	Bronze coin	203	—
73	81	Bronze coin	203	—
74	81	Bronze cross-bow brooch	260	32, 71
75	81	Bronze strap-end	264, 282–3	36, 71
76	98	Pottery flagon	228	72
77	98	Bone spindle-whorl	248	72
78	89	Shale spindle-whorl	248	71
80	96	Bronze coin	203	—
81	100 F	Bronze bracelet	304	73
82	100 F	Bone bracelet	313	73
83	100 F	Ivory bracelet	312–13	73
84	100 F	Bronze bracelet	303	73
85	100 F	Glass beads	298	73
86	100 F	Jet bracelet	311–12	73
87	100 F	Iron bracelet	311	73
88	100 F	Bronze bracelet	304	73
89	100 F	Jet pin	316	73
90	100 F	Glass pin	315	73
91	100 F	Glass fragments	211–13	—
92	37	Bronze buckle	264, 273–6	35, 68
93	37	Iron knife	250	68
94	37	Bronze strap-end	264, 281–2	36, 68
95	126	Pottery jug	228	74

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
96	127	Pottery beaker	228	74
97	127	Pottery bowl	228	74
98	132	Pottery beaker	228	74
99	114	Pottery beaker	228	74
100	122	Bronze bracelet	303	74
101	122	Bone bracelet	314	74
102	122	Bronze bracelet	303	74
103	122	Bronze bracelet	303	74
104	122	Bone bracelet	314	74
105	130	Pottery flagon	228	74
106	139	Bronze bracelet	303	76
107	139	Bronze bracelet	305	37, 76
108	139	Bronze bracelet	302	76
109	139	Bronze bracelet	304	76
110	139	Bronze bracelet	306	37, 76
111	139	Bronze bracelet	302	76
112	139	Bronze finger-ring	320	76
113	139	Bronze bracelet	303	76
114	139	Bronze bracelet	303	76
115	114	Bronze coin	203	—
116	139	Bronze finger-ring	320	76
117	136	Glass cup	216	27, 76
118	136	Pottery jug	228	76
119	134	Pottery bowl	229	74
120	134	Iron bracelet	311	74
121	106	Bronze cross-bow brooch	259–60	32, 72
122	106	Bronze buckle	264, 270–2	34, 72
123	134	Bone bracelet	313–14	74
124	134	Shale bracelet	312	74
125	134	Iron bracelet	311	74
126	106	Bronze buckle	264, 272–3	34, 72
127	106	Bronze nail-cleaner	254–5	72
128	106	Bronze strap-end	264, 281–2	36, 72
129	106	Pottery jar	229	72
130	106	Iron knife	249	72
131	138	Pottery flagon	229	76
132	125	Pottery jar	229	74
133	117	Bone spindle-whorl	248–9	75
134	105	Pottery beaker	229	72
135	105	Shale bracelet	312	72
136	105	Iron bracelet	311	72
137	137	Bronze bracelet	304	76
138	137	Bone bracelet	313	76
139	137	Bronze coin	203	—
140	117	Beads and catch	298	75
141	117	Bronze bracelet	306	37, 75
142	117	Bronze bracelet	304	75
143	117	Bronze bracelet	302	75
144	117	Ivory bracelet	312	75
145	117	Ivory bracelet	312	75
146	117	Bronze finger-ring	319	75
147	117	Bronze bracelet	309	37, 75
148	117	Bronze bracelet	307	37, 75
149	117	Iron finger-ring	319	75
150	145	Shale spindle-whorl	248	78

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
151	109	Pottery beaker	229	74
152	111	Pottery flask	229	74
153	109	Bronze coin	203	—
154	109	Bronze coin	203	—
155	143	Bronze bracelet	303	77
156	143	Bronze bracelet	306	37, 77
157	143	Bone bracelet	313–14	77
158	143	Bone bracelet	314	77
159	143	Bone bracelet	314	77
160	143	Bone bracelet	313	77
161	143	Bone bracelet	313	77
162	143	Bone bracelet	314	77
163	143	Bronze bracelet	306	37, 77
164	143	Bronze bracelet	307	37, 77
165	143	Bronze bracelet	307	77
166	143	Bronze bracelet	306	37, 77
167	100 F	Ivory bracelet	312–13	73
168	100 F	Bone bracelet	313	73
169	152	Bronze coin	203	—
170	152	Iron needle	249	78
171	184	Iron needle	249	79
172	141	Pottery flagon	229	76
175	185	Pottery flagon	229	79
176	160	Pottery flagon	229	78
177	185	Convex bronze fitting	321	79
178	183	Bone bracelet	314	79
179	183	Bronze bracelet	303	79
180	183	Bronze bracelet	303	79
181	183	Bone bracelet	314	79
182	183	Beads and catch	298	79
183	183	Bronze bracelet	303	79
184	183	Bronze bracelet	305	37, 79
185	183	Bronze bracelet	303	79
186	183	Bronze bracelet	303	79
187	183	Bronze bracelet	303	79
188	183	Bronze bracelet	303	79
189	183	Ivory bracelet	312–13	79
190	183	Shale bracelet	312	79
191	183	Bronze bracelet	304	79
192	183	Glass beads	298	79
193	Res. obs. S.	Pottery flagon	229	103
194	155	Wooden comb	246	31, 78
195	155	Leather fragment	328	—
196	155	Bronze bracelet	306	78
197	155	Bronze bracelet	303	78
198	155	Bronze bracelet	303	78
199	155	Bronze finger-ring	318	78
200	155	Bronze finger-ring	319	78
201	155	Silver finger-ring	318	78
202	155	Silver finger-ring	318	78
203	155	Pottery flagon	230	78
204	163	Pottery beaker	230	78
205	163	Pottery flagon	230	78
207	237	Pottery urn	230	81
208	14	Bone weaving tablet	251	67

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
209	199	Pottery beaker	230	80
210	182	Pottery flagon	230	78
211	182	Pottery bowl	230	—
212	182	Pottery bowl	230	78
213	224	Pottery beaker	230	80
214	170	Pottery flagon	230	78
215	199	Beads	298	78
216	178	Pottery flagon	230	78
218	232	Bronze coin	203	—
219	238	Bronze bracelet	304	81
220	238	Bronze bracelet	306	81
222	238	Bone bracelet	314	81
223	238	Bone bracelet	313	81
225	254	Bone comb	248	—
226	227	Pottery flagon	230	80
227	229	Pottery jar	231	81
228	172	Pottery bowl	231	78
229	172	Bronze coin	203	—
230	228	Bronze coin	203	—
231	234 F	Pottery jar	231	81
232	164	Bronze coin	203	—
233	F. 12	Bronze coin	205	—
234	256	Bone bracelet	314	82
235	256	Shale bracelet	312	82
236	256	Shale bracelet	312	82
237	256	Iron bracelet	311	82
238	256	Bronze bracelet	303	82
239	256	Bronze bracelet	303	82
240	239	Pottery flask	231	81
241	186	Pottery flagon	231	79
242	186	Pottery flask	231	79
243	248	Pottery jar	231	81
244	188	Pottery flagon	231	80
245	188	Bronze bracelet	303	80
246	188	Bronze bracelet	303	80
247	188	Bronze finger-ring	319	80
248	188	Glass beads	298	80
249	188	Bronze bracelet	303	80
250	188	Bronze finger-ring	318	80
251	188	Bronze bracelet	305	37, 80
253	250	Pottery jar	231	82
254	250	Pottery flagon	231	82
255	250	Pottery bowl	232	82
256	250	Pottery bowl	232	82
257	250	Pewter fragments	206	—
258	250	Shale spindle-whorl	248	82
259	168	Bronze bracelet	302	78
260	150	Pottery flagon	232	78
261	150	Bird skeleton	239	Pl. XV*a*
262	188	Bronze finger-ring	319	80
263	266	Bronze bracelet	309	37, 83
264	266	Bone bracelet	313	83
265	268	Bronze bracelet	305	37, 83
266	268	Bone bracelet	313	83
267	250	Jet pin	316	82

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
268	250	Glass tessera	326	82
269	250	Glass beads	298	82
270	236	Glass flask	218–19	27, 81
271	236	Pottery beaker	232	81
272	233	Pottery flagon	232	81
273	233	Pottery flask	232	81
274	265	Pottery flagon	232	82
275	265	Bronze coin	204	—
276	265	Bone comb	246–7	31, 82
277	276	Bone pin	316	83
278	234	Bronze cross-bow brooch	260–1	32, 81
279	234	Bronze buckle	264, 272–3	34, 81
280	234	Bronze belt-fitting	264, 286	81
281	234	Bird skeleton	240	Pl. XV*b*
282	273	Pottery bowl	232	83
283	270	Bronze coin	204	—
284	270	Bronze coin	204	—
285	270	Bronze coin	204	—
286	265	Bone bracelet	313	82
287	274	Bird bones	240	—
288	274	Bird bones	240	—
289	Topsoil	Pottery beaker	232	101
290	272 F	Pottery sherds	232	83
292	183	Ivory bracelet	312–13	79
293	143	Bone bracelet	313–14	77
294	40	Bone bracelet	313	69
295	40	Iron bracelet	311	69
296	40	Glass fragment	211–13	69
297	100 F	Glass pin-head	315	73
298	25	Bird skeleton	240	Pl. XV*c*
299	102	Bone pin	316	72
300	F. 12	Bronze coin	205	—
301	Topsoil	Bronze bracelet	303	101
302	F. 12	Bronze coin	205	—
303	347 F	Bronze bracelet	309	37, 92
304	347 F	Bronze bracelet	306	92
305	289	Bronze coin	204	—
306	289	Bronze coin	204	—
307	289	Bronze coin	204	—
308	293	Iron strike-a-light	255	84
309	290	Bone comb	248	—
310	333	Glass jug	217	27, 88
311	333	Pottery beaker	232	88
312	333	Bronze bracelet	306	88
313	333	Bronze bracelet	309	88
314	333	Ivory bracelet	312	88
315	333	Glass beads	298–9	88
316	333	Bone comb	247–8	31, 88
317	F. 12	Bronze coin	205	—
318	324 F	Bronze coin	204	—
319	347 F	Bronze bracelet	304	92
320	328/9 F	Pottery flagon	232	88
321	195	Pottery jar	233	80
322	195	Pottery bowl	233	80
323	297	Bone comb	247–8	31, 84

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
324	329 F	Pottery beaker	233	88
325	336	Bronze fragment	327	89
326	356	Bronze coin	204	—
327	F. 26	Bronze coin	205	—
328	329 F	Bronze coin	204	—
329	203	Pottery beaker	233	80
330	344	Bronze coin	204	—
331	336	Silver pin	316	89
332	336	Bronze pin	316	89
333	336	Bronze pin	316	89
334	336	Bronze pin	315	89
335	336	Bronze pin	315	89
336	336	Pottery beaker	233	90
337	336	Silver finger-ring	319	90
338	336	Bronze bracelet	306	89
339	336	Bronze coin	204	—
340	336	Bronze coin	204	—
341	336	Bronze coin	204	—
342	336	Bronze coin	204	—
343	336	Bronze bracelet	305	89
344	336	Bone bracelet	313–14	89
345	336	Bone bracelet	314	89
346	336	Bronze bracelet	303	89
347	336	Bronze bracelet	303	89
348	336	Bone bracelet	313	89
349	336	Bone bracelet	313	89
350	336	Bronze bracelet	303	89
351	336	Bronze bracelet	303	89
352	336	Bronze bracelet	303	89
353	336	Beads	299	90
354	336	Bronze finger-ring	320	90
355	336	Bronze finger-ring	320	90
356	336	Bronze coin	204	—
357	336	Bronze coin	204	—
358	336	Gaming counter	251	90
359	336	Jet spindle-whorl	248–9	90
360	336	Iron key	255	90
361	336	Bronze ring	255	90
362	336	Bronze ring	255	90
363	336	Beads and catch	299	Ia, 90
364	336	Beads and catch	299	90
365	336	Coral beads	294, 299	90
366	349 F	Bronze coin	204	—
367	317 F	Bronze coin	204	—
368	281	Iron finger-ring	318	83
369	329	Shale spindle-whorl	248	88
370	326 F	Bronze bracelet	305	87
371	347 F	Bone bracelet	313	92
372	329	Glass bowl	215–16	27, 88
373	316 F	Iron latch-lifter	255	84
374	F. 24	Bronze coin	205	—
375	322 F	Bronze bracelet	305	84
376	329	Bronze coin	204	—
377	204	Pottery jar	233	80
378	347	Iron object	327	92

Recorded find. No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
379	347	Pewter fragments	206	—
380	347	Bronze coin	204	—
382	347	Glass beaker	213–14	27, 92
383	347	Pottery jug	233	92
384	299	Pottery jug	233	84
385	337	Glass beaker	211–13	27, 91
386	326	Pottery beaker	233	87
387	326	Pottery beaker	233	87
388	326	Shale spindle-whorl	248–9	87
389	326	Silver finger-ring	319	87
390	351	Iron needle	249	93
391	351	Glass beaker	213–14	27, 93
392	351	Pottery beaker	233	93
393	351	Bronze bracelet	307	37, 93
394	351	Bronze bracelet	309	37, 93
395	351	Bronze coin	204	—
396	351	Bronze pin	316	93
397	351	Bronze pin	316	93
398	351	Iron pin	249	93
399	351	Beads and catch	299	93
400	322 F	Bronze coin	204	—
401	326	Bronze finger-ring	318	87
402	326	Bronze finger-ring	318	87
403	326	Bronze bracelet	304	87
404	326	Miniature axe	326–7	87
405	326	Bronze chain	317–18	87
406	326	Bronze bracelet	304	87
407	326	Silver pin	315	87
408	326	Silver pin	315	87
409	324 F	Bronze coin	204	—
410	337	Silver finger-ring	319	91
411	337	Glass fragment	220	91
412	337	Bone bracelet	314	91
413	337	Bone bracelet	314	91
414	337	Bone bracelet	314	91
415	337	Bone bracelet	314	91
416	337	Shale bracelet	312	91
417	337	Bone bracelet	313–14	91
418	337	Bone bracelet	313–14	91
419	337	Bone bracelet	314	91
421	337	Shale bracelet	312	91
422	337	Bronze bracelet	305	91
423	357 F	Bronze coin	204	—
424	326	Beads and catch	300	87
425	337	Beads	300	91
426	F. 12	Bronze coin	205	—
427	323	Headband fittings	317	85
428	323	Bronze bracelet	304	85
429	323	Bronze pin	316	85
430	323	Bronze bracelet	304	37, 85
431	323	Shale bracelet	312	85
432	323	Pottery beaker	233	85
433	323	Pottery beaker	234	85
434	323	Iron bracelet	311	85
435	323	Bronze bracelet	303	85

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
436	323	Beads	300	I*a*, 86
437	323	Bronze bracelet	305	37, 85
438	323	Iron bracelet	311	85
439	323	Bronze bracelet	304	85
440	323	Bone bracelet	313–14	85
441	323	Leather fragments	328	—
442	323	Bronze bracelet	304	85
443	323	Beads	300	86
444	323 M	Bronze coin	204	—
445	323 M	Bronze coin	204	—
446	323 M	Bronze coin	204	—
447	322	Bronze cross-bow brooch	260–2	32, 84
448	322	Silver coin	204	—
449	322	Silver strap-end	265, 279	36, 84
450	322	Glass bottle	218–19	27, 84
451	F. 12	Bronze coin	205	—
452	327	Pottery bowl	234	86
453	327	Bronze bracelet	304	86
454	327	Bronze bracelet	304	86
455	327	Bronze bracelet	306	86
456	327	Bronze bracelet	309	37, 86
457	327	Bone bracelet	313	86
458	327	Bone bracelet	313	86
459	212	Bronze coin	203	—
460	212	Bird skeleton	240	Pl. XV*d*
461	323 M	Pottery flagon	234	86
462	210	Pottery flagon	234	80
463	210	Pottery beaker	234	80
464	217	Pottery bottle	234	80
465	361	Pottery urn	234	94
466	F. 12	Iron buckle-loop	278	35, 101
467	323 M	Pottery sherds	234	86
468	F. 12	Pottery sherds	234	101
469	F. 12	Pottery sherds	234	101
470	288	Pottery jug	234	84
471	288	Bone comb	247–8	31, 84
472	385	Glass flask	217–18	27, 96
473	365	Bone comb	247–8	31, 93
474	401 F	Bronze coin	205	—
475	283 F	Bronze coin	204	—
476	283	Iron knife	249	83
477	283	Whetstone	254	83
478	216	Pottery beaker	234	80
479	381	Bone comb	247–8	31, 96
480	381	Bronze coin	205	—
481	283	Bronze buckle	265, 270–2	34, 83
482	402	Bone comb	247–8	31, 96
483	376 F	Bronze coin	204	—
484	378	Bronze coin	204	—
485	378	Bronze coin	204	—
486	378	Bronze coin	204	—
487	378	Iron arrowhead	256	96
488	366	Bronze buckle	265, 273	35, 94
489	366	Bronze strap-end	265, 281	36, 94
490	366	Pottery flagon	234	94

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
491	376	Bronze belt-fitting	265, 284	33, 95
492	376	Bronze strap-end	265, 283–4	33, 36, 95
493	283	Bone knife-handle	251	83
494	283	Bronze coin	204	—
495	283	Bronze coin	204	—
496	283	Bronze buckle-loop	276–7	35, 83
497	376	Bronze buckle	265, 273	33, 35, 95
498	376	Bronze buckle	265, 276–7	35, 95
499	376	Bronze belt-fitting	265, 284	33, 95
500	376	Bronze belt-fittings	265, 285–6	33, 95
501	418	Iron knife	250	97
502	396	Bronze bracelet	309	37, 96
503	396	Bone bracelet	313	96
504	396	Shale spindle-whorl	248–9	96
505	396	Pottery beaker	234–5	96
506	396	Glass beaker fragments	214–15	—
507	396	Iron needle/pin	249	96
508	390	Glass cup	216	27, 96
509	365	Bronze coin	204	—
510	365	Bronze coin	204	—
511	143	Bone bracelet	313	77
515	440 F	Iron padlock	255	100
516	413	Bronze coin	205	—
517	413	Bronze coin	205	—
518	413	Bronze coin	205	—
519	413	Bronze coin	205	—
520	413	Bronze coin	205	—
521	413	Bone comb	247–8	31, 97
522	378	Bronze coin	204	—
523	378	Bronze coin	204	—
524	372	Bronze coin	204	—
525	430	Bronze bracelet	307	37, 98
526	214	Pottery beaker	235	80
527	400 F	Dog bones	244–5	—
528	408 F	Pewter bowl	206	97
529	369	Pottery beaker	235	94
530	369	Glass beaker	213–14	27, 94
531	396	Bone comb	248	—
532	426	Bronze cross-bow brooch	259–60	32, 97
533	426	Bronze buckle	265, 270–2	34, 97
534	426	Bronze strap-end	265, 282–3	36, 97
535	426	Pottery bowl	235	97
536	408 F	Pewter bowl	206–7	97
537	F. 46	Pottery beaker	235	101
538	400	Dog skeleton	244–5	—
539	414	Bronze coin	205	—
540	400	Bronze coin	205	—
541	400	Bronze coin	205	—
542	400	Bronze coin	205	—
543	400	Bronze coin	205	—
544	400	Bronze coin	205	—
545	405	Iron object	327	97
547	370	Bronze coin	204	—
548	382	Bronze coin	205	—
549	398 F	Glass flagon	219	27, 96

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
550	414	Bronze coin	205	—
551	352	Glass flagon	217–18	27, 93
552	360	Bronze coin	204	—
553	369	Bronze bracelet	307	94
554	369	Bronze bracelet	305	94
555	369	Bronze bracelet	306	94
556	369	Bronze bracelet	302	94
557	369	Bone comb	248	—
558	438	Iron needle/pin	249	98
559	438	Silver finger-ring	319	98
560	438	Beads and catch	300	98
561	438	Bronze bracelet	304	99
562	438	Ivory bracelet	312–13	99
563	438	Shale finger-ring	318	98
564	438	Shale finger-ring	319	98
565	438	Bronze finger-ring	319	98
566	438	Bronze bracelet	306	37, 99
567	438	Silver finger-ring	319	98
568	438	Bronze bracelet	305	37, 99
569	438	Silver finger-ring	320	98
570	458	Bronze finger-ring	319	98
571	438	Bronze finger-ring	319	98
572	438	Iron bracelet	311	99
573	438	Ivory bracelet	312–13	99
574	438	Ivory bracelet	312–13	99
575	438	Ivory bracelet	312–13	99
576	438	Ivory bracelet	312–13	99
577	438	Ivory bracelet	312–13	99
578	438	Ivory bracelet	312–13	99
579	438	Ivory bracelet	312–13	99
580	438	Ivory bracelet	312–13	99
581	438	Ivory bracelet	312–13	99
582	438	Ivory bracelet	312–13	99
583	438	Beads	300	98
584	438	Bone comb	248	—
585	436	Bone comb	247–8	31, 98
586	435	Iron needle	249	98
587	373	Bronze cross-bow brooch	260–2	32, 94
588	373	Pottery bowl	235	94
589	373	Bronze coin	204	—
590	373	Bronze coin	204	—
592	437	Bronze coin	205	—
593	362	Bronze finger-ring	319	93
594	411	Iron strike-a-light	255	97
595	423	Bone comb	248	—
596	437	Silver coin	205	—
597	437	Silver coin	205	—
598	437	Silver coin	205	—
599	437	Silver coin	205	—
600	437	Silver coin	205	—
601	422	Bone comb	247–8	31, 97
602	443	Iron knife	250	100
603	443	Bronze buckle	265, 273–6	35, 100
604	443	Bronze belt-fitting	265, 285	100
605	443	Bronze belt-fitting	265, 285	100

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
606	443	Bronze belt-fitting	265, 285	100
607	443	Bronze belt-fitting	265, 285	100
609	451 F	Pottery bowl	235	100
610	446	Bone comb	247–8	100
611	450	Pierced tooth	296–7	100
612	450	Pierced tooth	296–7	100
613	450	Pewter and glass ? pendant	207, 297	100
615	357 F	Bronze coin	204	—
616	F. 12	Bronze coin	205	—
617	349 F	Iron knife-blade	250	92
618	350 F	Iron object	327	92
619	280	Iron object	327	83
620	386	Iron object	327	96
621	280	Iron object	327	83
623	413 F	Iron fragment	327	97
624	413 F	Bronze fragment	327	—
625	55	Iron object	327	70
626	55	Bronze belt-fittings	265, 285–6	70
627	F. 12	Bronze coin	205	—
628	54 F	Pottery sherds	235	70
629	Res. obs. O.	Bronze spoon	256	103
630	F. 12	Bronze coin	205	—
631	396	Bronze coin	205	—
632	Res. obs. E.	Glass flagon	217–18	27, 102
633	398 F	Glass beaker	214–15	27, 96
634	398 F	Glass beaker	213–14	27, 96
635	Res. obs. A.	Pottery beaker	235	102
636	Res. obs. O.	Pottery flagon	235	103
637	326 F	Pottery sherds	235	87
638	Res. obs. A.	Pottery sherds	235	102
640	Res. obs. B.	Pottery urn	235–6	102
641	Res. obs. B.	Pottery sherds	236	102
642	Res. obs. B.	Pottery bowl	236	102
643	Res. obs. F.	Pottery beaker	236	102
644	Res. obs. N.	Pottery flagon	236	102
645	Res. obs. O.	Pottery beaker	236	103
646	Res. obs. O.	Pottery sherds	236	103
647	Res. obs. A.	Bronze bracelet	303	102
648	Res. obs. C.	Bronze bracelet	305	102
649	Res. obs. C.	Bronze bracelet	305	102
650	Res. obs. C.	Bronze bracelet	309	37, 102
655	347 F	Pottery sherd	236	92
656	359	Pottery sherd	236	94
657	29 F	Pottery sherd	236	67
658	F. 40	Pottery sherd	236	101
659	323 F	Pottery sherds	236	86
660	432 F	Pottery sherds	236	98
661	347 F	Pottery dish	237	92
663	327 F	Pottery sherds	237	86
664	217 F	Pottery sherds	237	80
665	F. 40	Pottery sherd	237	101
666	F. 40	Pottery sherd	237	101
667	372 F	Pottery sherd	237	94
668	F. 40	Pottery sherd	237	101
671	406 F	Iron object	327	97

Recorded find No.	Grave No. or other location	Summary description	Pages where principally discussed	Plate and/or Figure(s) where illustrated
672	250	Iron nails from box	327–8	—
673	193 F	Bird bones	240	—
674	317	Rodent bones	245	—
675	438	Bone bracelet	314	99
676	322 F	Pottery sherd	237	84
677	322 F	Pottery sherd	237	84
680	218	Bone bracelet	314	80
681	326	Miniature axe	326–7	87
682	25 F	Pottery sherd	237	101
683	127 F	Pottery sherd	237	101
684	25 F	Pottery sherd	237	101
685	F. 40	Pottery sherd	237–8	101
686	358 F	Pottery sherd	238	101
687	451 F	Pottery sherd	238	101
688	357 F	Pottery sherd	238	101
689	427	Bronze coin	205	—
690	F. 25	Pottery sherd	238	—
691	F. 26	Pottery sherd	238	—
692	F. 40	Pottery sherd	238	—
693	322	Pottery sherds	237	84
694	336	Leather remains	328	—

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ADDENDA

A. pp. 174–5, 361, and 389

A point overlooked in the consideration of the ethnic affinities of Grave 329 on pp. 174–5 is that its glass vessel was broken at burial. Vessels so broken were found in several earlier native graves (including probably Grave 114, a grave with coins and vessels), but not in any intrusive graves. Also to be noted in connection with Grave 329 is the almost contemporary grave with coins and vessels from Roden Downs (addenda I and P). Grave 329 is indubitably an unusual grave, particularly in respect of its glass vessel, but it may be that the balance of evidence now is that it is native.

B. p. 239

Since Chapter 6 of Part II was sent to press in 1975, recommendations have been made regarding the measurement of the fowl skeleton. See A. van der Driesch, 'A Guide to the Measurement of Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites', Peabody Museum Bulletins, 1 (Harvard, 1976).

C. pp. 275 and 290

Simpson has published a note on a dolphin-buckle from Corbridge in Northumberland (*Britannia*, 7 (1976), 285–6). The buckle is not illustrated but Simpson claims it is of Hawkes and Dunning Type IIA, and, if so, it would weaken the conclusion that such buckles are characteristic of the lowland zone of Britain. To judge from Simpson's description, it is, however, far from clear that the piece is a true Type-IIA buckle. It may well be a derivative, or perhaps it is a rather unusual piece of continental origin. Elsewhere, Type-IIA buckles continue to be found in lowland Britain. Two come from Gloucester, one of them in a pit with Valentinianic coins (*Britannia*, 7 (1976), 354; 8 (1977), 413).

D. pp. 277 and 291

Two further Type-IIIA dolphin-buckles have been recognised on rural sites at Hibaldstow in Lincolnshire (*Britannia*, 8 (1977), 389, Fig. 18) and Bradwell in Buckinghamshire (*Med Arch*, 21 (1977), 204–5, Fig. 71). Both are fairly typical pieces and neither has any particular resemblance to **496** or **498**.

E. p. 282

An interesting strap-end has been found in the villa at Winterton (Lincs.). It belongs to the small group prototypical of the Tortworth type; it has a lancet-shaped body, a forked tip, and C-shaped projections at the neck. As such it has close similarities with **94**, **128**, and the pieces from Lydney and the Galgenberg, and it suggests, indeed, that those pieces form a particularly close group, defined by their lancet-shaped bodies. Its closest parallel is the Galgenberg strap-end, and it confirms the insular origin of that piece. See I. M. Stead, *Excavations at Winterton Roman Villa* (Department of the Environment Archaeological Reports, 9. HMSO, 1976), 213, Fig. 111, no. 109.

F. pp. 267, 285, and 289

David Brown has republished and discussed the late Roman propellor-stiffeners from Maryport (Cumb.), together with the loop of a hinged rectangular-looped buckle—the only example from Britain currently known. See Michael G. Jarrett, *Maryport, Cumbria: A Roman Fort and its Garrison* (Kendal, 1976), 76–82. But his suggestion that all the Maryport fittings belonged to one belt seems questionable,

and the implication that belts with such stiffeners had only a single strap should be challenged too: cf. above, p. 267. Brown also draws attention to a propellor-stiffener from Grave 3 in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Minster Lovell (Oxon.) and another has been found in the sixth-century Grave 8 at Harwell in Berks. (information from Mr. Brown). These pieces had presumably long been kept as amulets (cf. David Brown in *Antiq J*, 57 (1977), 95–7).

G. pp. 288, 289–91, 388–9, 399, and 401–3

Two publications to note are Roger Goodburn and Philip Bartholomew (eds.), *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (British Archaeological Reports, supplementary series, 15, 1976), and D. E. Johnston (ed.), *The Saxon Shore* (CBA Research Reports, 18, 1977). These publications clarify much of the literary evidence for official and military activity in fourth-century Britain. In the Saxon-shore volume, Johnson's summary of Saxon contact with the Roman Empire is particularly relevant to pp. 401–3, and Mann's paper is relevant to pp. 289–91. It is tempting to correlate the various kinds of forces and commands which Mann defines with belt-fitting types, but, as Mann says, in the present state of knowledge this would be unwise. Mann's suggestion that the western British defences may have been commanded by the civilian authorities is, however, of interest; such a command could have provided a stimulus for the setting up of the postulated force of wearers of the Type-IIA buckles. His argument that Stilicho instituted a small mobile field army in Britain under the *Comes Britanniae* is also important. It is to be noted that this would probably be too late to explain the presence of the Lankhills Saxons (cf. p. 399). But it could have been the source of many of the Type-IIIA buckles and other wide-belt fittings found elsewhere in Britain (p. 291). In the *Notitia Dignitatum* volume Wild's paper on the *Gynaecea* provides background for pp. 388–9, Johnson's paper for pp. 401–3, and Tomlin gives evidence relating to the official and military status of belts (cf. pp. 289–90 and 399). Tomlin indicates that soldiers and civil officials both wore the *cingulum* as a mark of office; the *cingulum* is presumably to be equated with the two-strap belts (cf. pp. 265–9), and if so, *contra* pp. 289–90, these could have been worn by officials as well as soldiers. This in turn points to an administrative as much as to a military role for the man buried in Grave 376 and the group of foreigners to which he belonged (cf. pp. 399 and 402). But it may be questioned whether in Britain at the end of the fourth century there was much distinction between soldiers and civil officials in any event.

H. p. 293

Boon 1977 includes discussion of the Lankhills gold-in-glass and silver-in-glass beads, but because when he was writing Mr. Boon was not supplied with adequate information, some of the details he gives are incorrect, although his conclusions are thereby little affected. It is right to say that the beads were found in four graves, Graves 100 (**85**), 199 (**215**), 323 (**436, 443**), and 336 (**363**); but it is wrong to say that all four graves post-dated *c.* 350 and were among the sixteen belonging to people from the Danube regions. Only Graves 323 and 336 were in this group; Graves 100 and 199 were native, datable respectively to *c.* 330–70 and *c.* 310–30. The beads in those two graves were of the standard gold-in-clear-glass type; like contemporary continental counterparts Boon notes, they could, for example, have been produced in Gaulish or Rhenish glass houses.

I. p. 349 and Table 39

Sites at Icklingham (Suffolk), Owslebury (Hants), and Roden Downs (Berks.) should be added to those listed in Table 39. At Icklingham forty-one graves post-dating *c.* 350 were excavated; since their heads were to the west and only three were furnished, they are regarded as Christian. See Stanley E. West, 'The Romano-British site at Icklingham', *East Anglian Archaeology*, 3 (1976), 63–125. At

Owslebury many burials of pre-Roman and Roman date were found in and around the settlement; nine are probably late Roman—eight unfurnished inhumations and one fourth-century cremation with accessory vessels. See John Collis, 'Owslebury (Hants) and the problem of burials on rural settlement', in Richard Reece (ed.), *Burial in the Roman World* (CBA Research Reports, 22, 1977), 26–34, esp. Table 1. On Roden Downs, ten inhumations (seven with fourth-century coins) were excavated; these seemingly constituted a complete cemetery and were in two enclosures on the site of an earlier cremating place. See Sinclair Hood and Hilary Waddon, 'A Romano-British cremating place and burial ground on Roden Downs, Compton, Berkshire', *Transactions of the Newbury and District Field Club*, 9, No. 1 (1948), 1–62.

J. pp. 351 and 401–3

Meticulously excavated cremations dating from all stages of the Anglo-Saxon period have now been published from Spong Hill (Norfolk): Catherine Hills, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Part I', *East Anglian Archaeology*, 6 (1977). Although this is one site and may be atypical, the following points should be noted:

i. No cremations which were not in a container were observed.
ii. There were no traces of burning near any of the cremations.
iii. Hobnails were seemingly not encountered.
iv. Cremated bone and other objects were mixed up together and not sorted.

These points would all distinguish the Spong Hill cremations from some at least of those at Lankhills, particularly Graves 60 and 359 (cf. p. 129). Unless Spong Hill is markedly atypical, they provide a further indication that the Lankhills cremations are not Germanic.

K. p. 354

For a list and survey of all lead coffins in Britain, see now Hugh Toller, *Roman Lead Coffins and Ossuaria in Britain* (British Archaeological Reports, 38, 1977).

M. p. 357

The cemetery at Icklingham (addendum I) illustrates the lack of grave-goods in the late fourth century, while that on Roden Downs, with seven out of ten graves furnished, parallels the unusual conservatism seen at Lankhills. A fourth-century cemetery at Butt Road, Colchester (*Britannia*, 8 (1977), 407) may exemplify the abandonment of grave-goods: a phase of graves with furniture was followed by one of graves without. This cemetery, of at least 454 graves, is an addition to those listed in Table 38. See further *Britannia*, 9 (1978), 451.

N. p. 358

At Icklingham there was one grave with coins and on Roden Downs six (for these sites, see addendum I). In the presence, number, and placing of the coins, these examples support the conclusions reached on pp. 358–9.

O. p. 361

A grave with unworn personal ornaments was found at Icklingham (addendum I); it contained nine bracelets, two pins, and beads in a pile at the feet. This grave is a useful addition to the list on pp. 360–1, and does not alter the conclusions given there.

P. p. 361

Grave 5 on Roden Downs (addendum I) was a grave with coins and vessels, containing two coins (dating from 364–78) and a comb on the chest, a pot by the left hip, and hobnails. This grave is of interest on account of its late date and shows that graves with coins and vessels persisted into the later fourth century. This is not entirely surprising for at that date there were many graves with coins and at least a few with vessels.

Q. p. 366

Two further graves with worn personal ornaments come from Icklingham in Suffolk (addendum I) and Brampton in Norfolk (A. K. Knowles, 'The Roman Settlement at Brampton', *Britannia*, 8 (1977), 209–21, esp. 215). The Icklingham burial had just a bracelet, while that from Brampton, which was in a gully, contained a jet necklace, a finger-ring, and an anklet. The Icklingham grave fits into the first group defined on p. 365. The Brampton find poses something of a difficulty since it has the casualness of the first group and yet has a necklace. It is unclear whether the necklace means that it is foreign, or whether, as is more likely, it simply indicates that necklaces could be present in the native graves of the first group.

R. p. 368

An infant burial accompanied by a dog's skull is reported from the Barton Court villa, Abingdon (*Britannia*, 8 (1977), 419). Whole dog skeletons were encountered on a ritual site in Cambridge, both in pits and in other contexts (*Britannia*, 7 (1976), 340–1; *Current Archaeology*, 61 (April 1978), 57–60); and see addendum X below.

S. pp. 369–70, 392, and 405

Two further graves to note in connection with weapon burial come from Canterbury and Spoonley Wood (Glos.). At Canterbury (*Current Archaeology*, 62 (June 1978), 79) swords were associated with two male skeletons thrown into a pit; this burial appears, however, to be second-century. At Spoonley Wood a grave found during ploughing and furnished with a small marble statue of Bacchus is said also to have contained two swords (Miranda J. Green, *A Corpus of Religious Material from the Civilian Areas of Roman Britain* (British Archaeological Reports, 24, 1976), 174). The association of the swords with this grave seems questionable, however; the sole record is the BM register (No. 1910. 6–25. 1). Toynbee regards the statue as being of provincial but continental manufacture: Patrick McGrath and John Cannon (eds.), *Essays in Bristol and Gloucestershire History* (1976), 79–80. The grave is seemingly the only Roman grave furnished with a statue known in Britain and in the circumstances could in any event be foreign. For the Canterbury burials, see further *Britannia*, 9 (1978), 471 and Figs. 19 and 20.

T. p. 374 and Table 40

Romano-British decapitations in addition to those listed in Table 40 are recorded from Leicester (*Britannia*, 7 (1976), 327), Alcester, Warwicks. (ibid. 331), Duston, Northants. (ibid. 334), and Curbridge, Oxon. (ibid. 336). None appears to add to or detract from the conclusions reached on pp. 374–5.

U. p. 380

The site at Tournai (note 4 on p. 380) is now published: see Raymond Brulet and Gérard Coulon, *La Nécropole Gallo-Romaine de la Rue Perdue à Tournai* (Louvain, 1977). There do not seem to be any good parallels to the intrusive graves at Lankhills. Only Grave 45 contained a cross-bow brooch, but

this grave was also provided with many vessels outside the top right side of the coffin. A recently published Swiss site (cf. note 8) is Courroux: Stefanie Martin-Kilcher, *Das römische Gräberfeld von Courroux in Berna Jura* (Derendingen Solothurn, 1976). The comparatively few late Roman graves found are consistent with the lack of exact Swiss parallels for the Lankhills graves.

V. p. 391

At Gatcombe (Somerset) and at Poundbury Camp evidence for planking apparently similar to that in Grave 283 has been observed in late fourth- and early fifth-century graves: Keith Branigan, *Gatcombe Roman Villa* (British Archaeological Reports, 44, 1977), 65. This must qualify if not invalidate the attribution of ethnic significance to planking. The burial of old and fragmentary objects in Anglo-Saxon female graves, strikingly illustrated at Cassington, is discussed by David Brown in *Antiq J*, 57 (1977), 95–7.

W. p. 403

In his definitive study of Anglo-Saxon pottery, Myres has reiterated the arguments favouring an early starting date for the Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries in eastern England. See J. N. L. Myres, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Pottery of the Pagan Period* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1977), 121–5. For criticisms of Myres's views, see Tania Dickinson in *Arch J*, 134 (1977), 406–8; but note that Dickinson's comments on Lankhills were based only on interim reports (Clarke 1970; 1975*a*).

X. pp. 422 and 431

Further archaeological evidence on religion in Britain during the fourth century largely corroborates the views on religion put forward in Part IV, except that Christianity now seems to have been more extensive. Particularly important discoveries are the Christian treasure at Water Newton (*Britannia*, 7 (1976), 333, 385–6, Pls. XXXII–XXXIV) and the seemingly Christian graves at Icklingham in East Anglia (*East Anglian Archaeology* 3 (1976), 63–125). In Winchester, too, more graves 'of a Christian type' have been excavated outside the East Gate (information by courtesy of K. Qualmann).

As far as paganism is concerned, of unusual interest is the elaborate subterranean shrine dug near Ridgeons Gardens, Cambridge, about A.D. 200, above which nine shafts were sunk around 300, each containing child burials with articulated dog skeletons (*Current Archaeology*, 61 (April 1978), 58–9). There was evidence that the ritual of these burials was designed to bring an after-life to the children in that they were provided with adult shoes into which they could grow. The burials seem to confirm the view that there may indeed have been a pagan tradition in southern Britain by which special care was taken over those who died before their time or in unusual circumstances, and that to help them to the after-life dogs were buried in the ritual, as in the cenotaph at Lankhills.

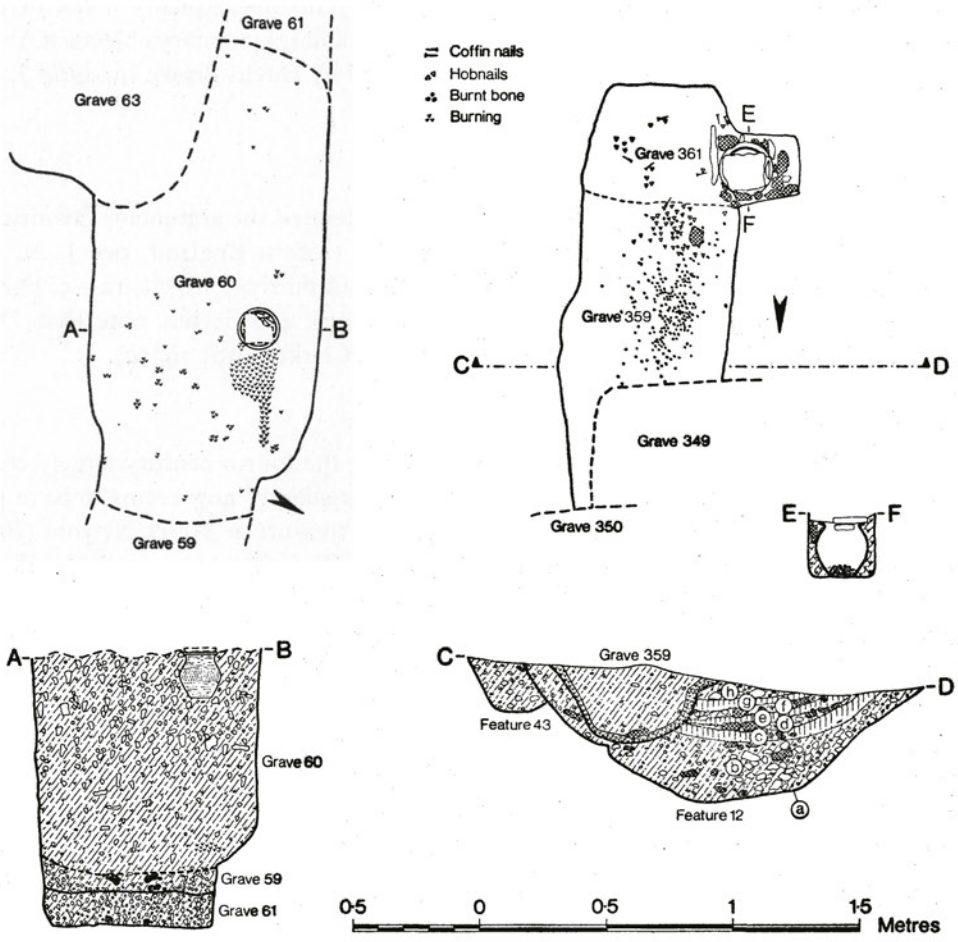


FIG. 46. Cremations: Graves 60, 359, and 361 (1:30).

See pp. 128–30, and cf. Pl. VII. For key to the sections, see Fig. 7.

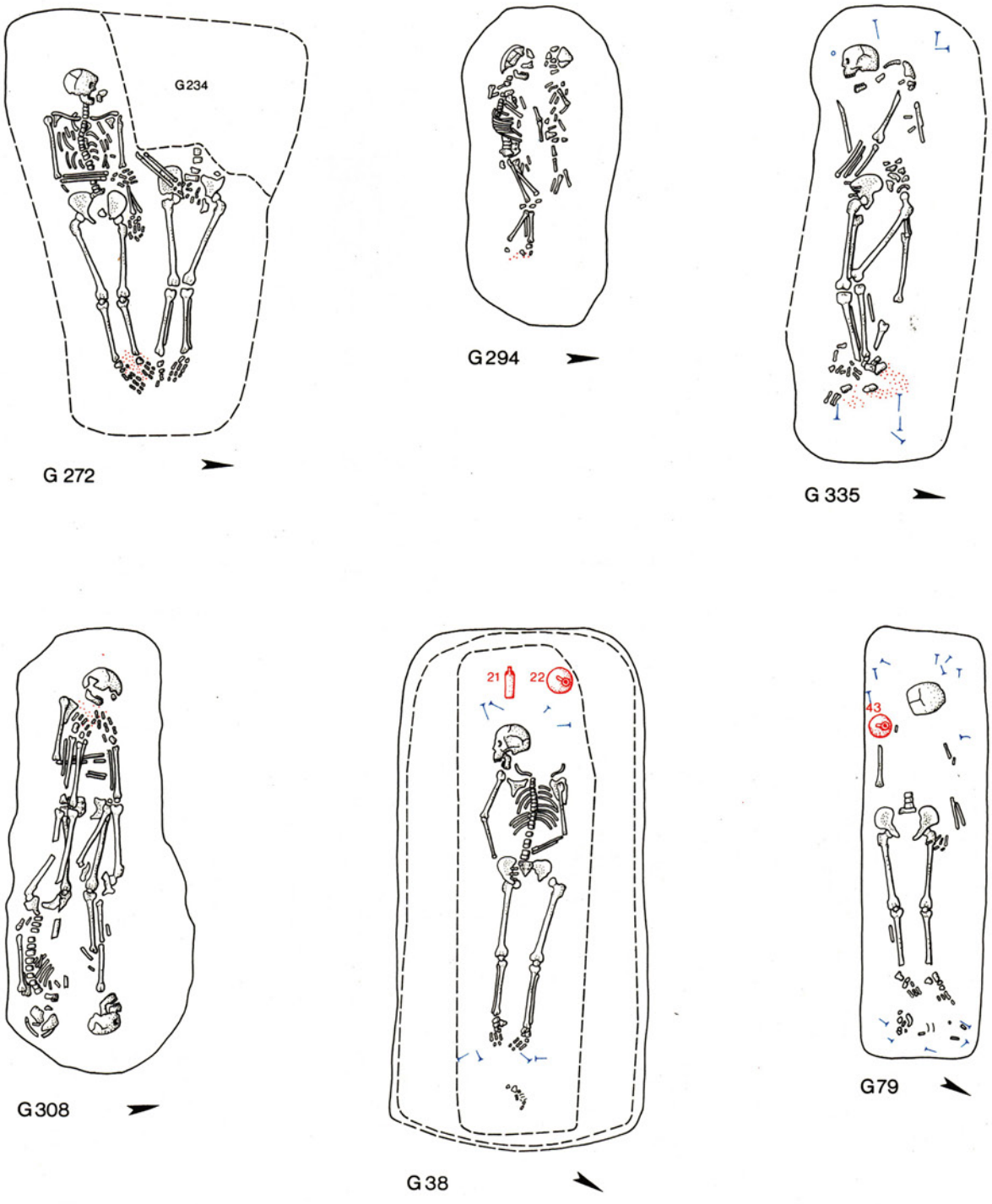


FIG. 47. Graves in which two or more people had been buried (1:30).

See p. 131; cf. Pls. VIII*a* and VIII*b* (Graves 335 and 308). On Figs. 47–66, coffin traces (including nails) and grave-packing are shown in blue; flints are hatched; grave-furniture is shown in red; the clusters of red dots represent hobnails.

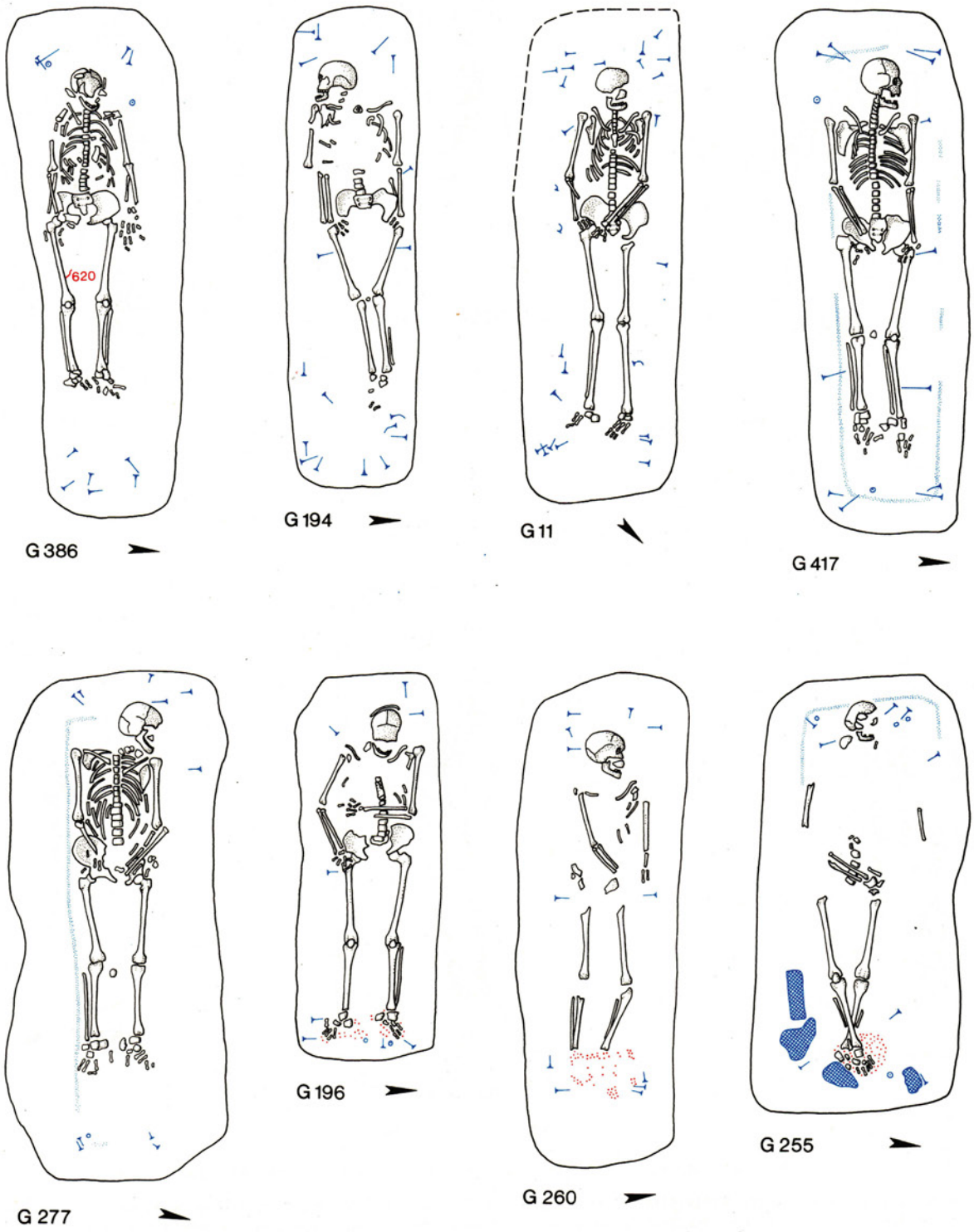


FIG. 48. Body positions (i): graves with the skeleton on its back (1:30).

See pp. 138–9.

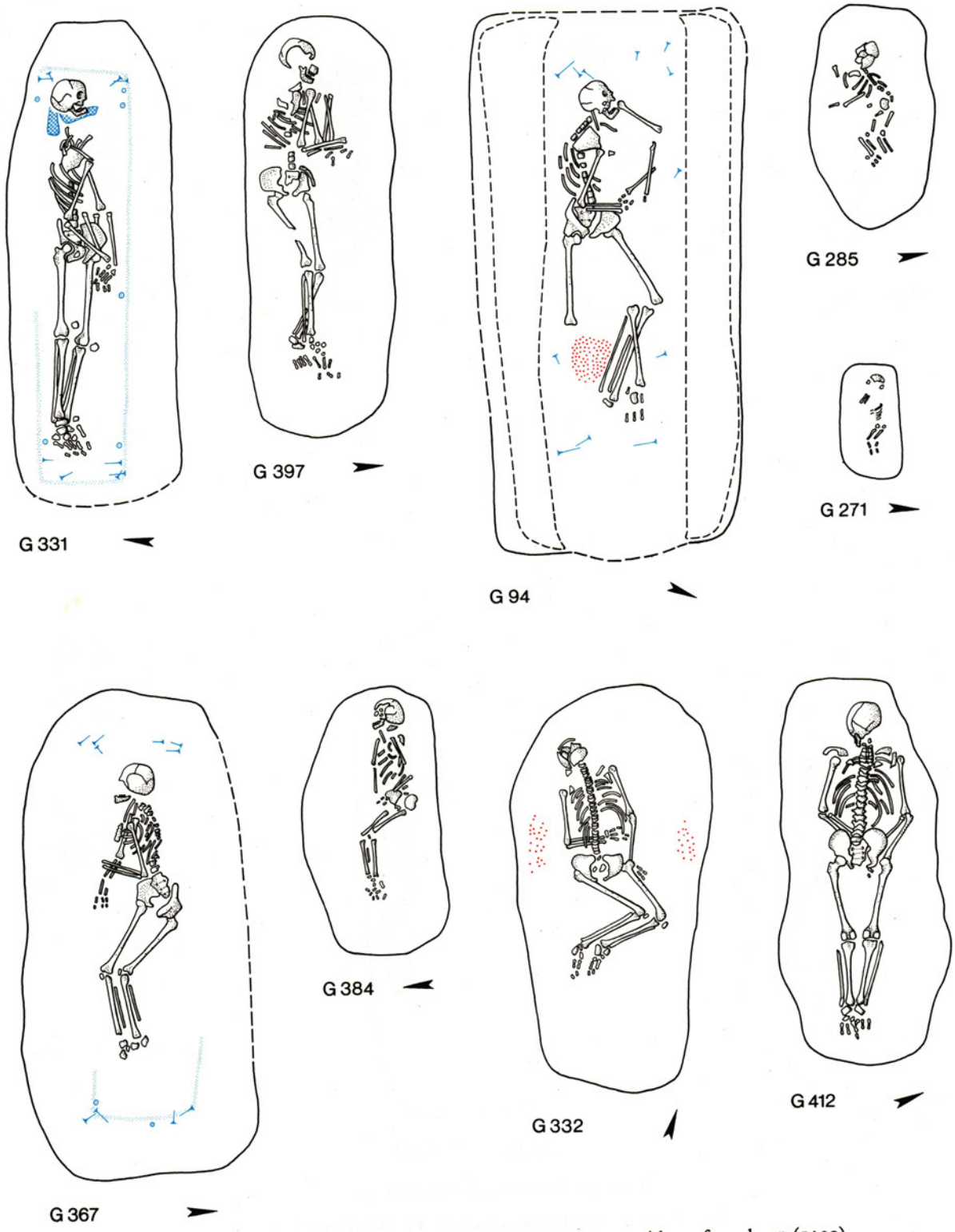


FIG. 49. Body position (ii): graves with the skeleton on one side or face down (1:30).

See pp. 138–9; cf. Pl. VIIIc (Grave 332).

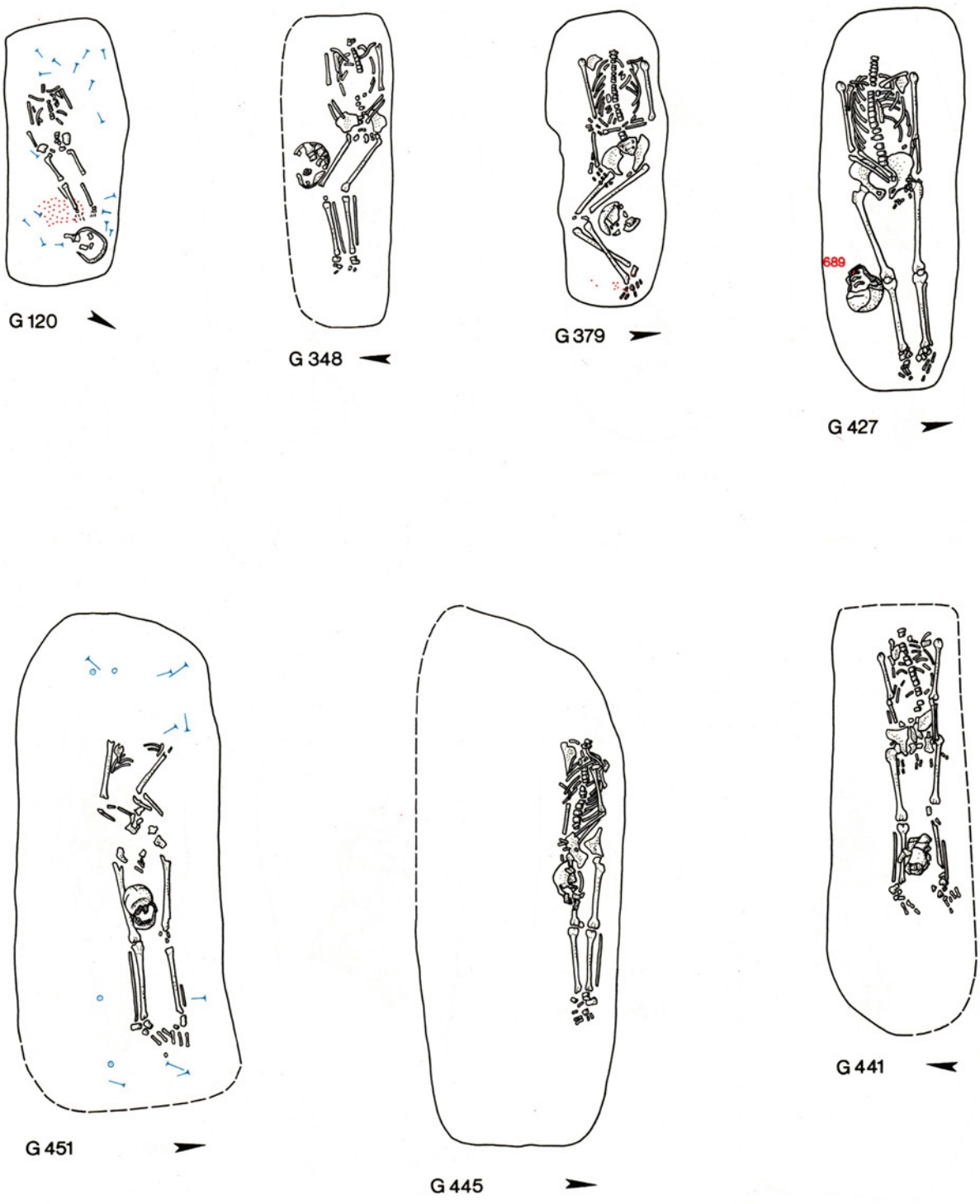


FIG. 50. Decapitated burials (1:30).

See pp. 141–2, 192–3, and 414–21; cf. Pl. IX*a* (Grave 348).

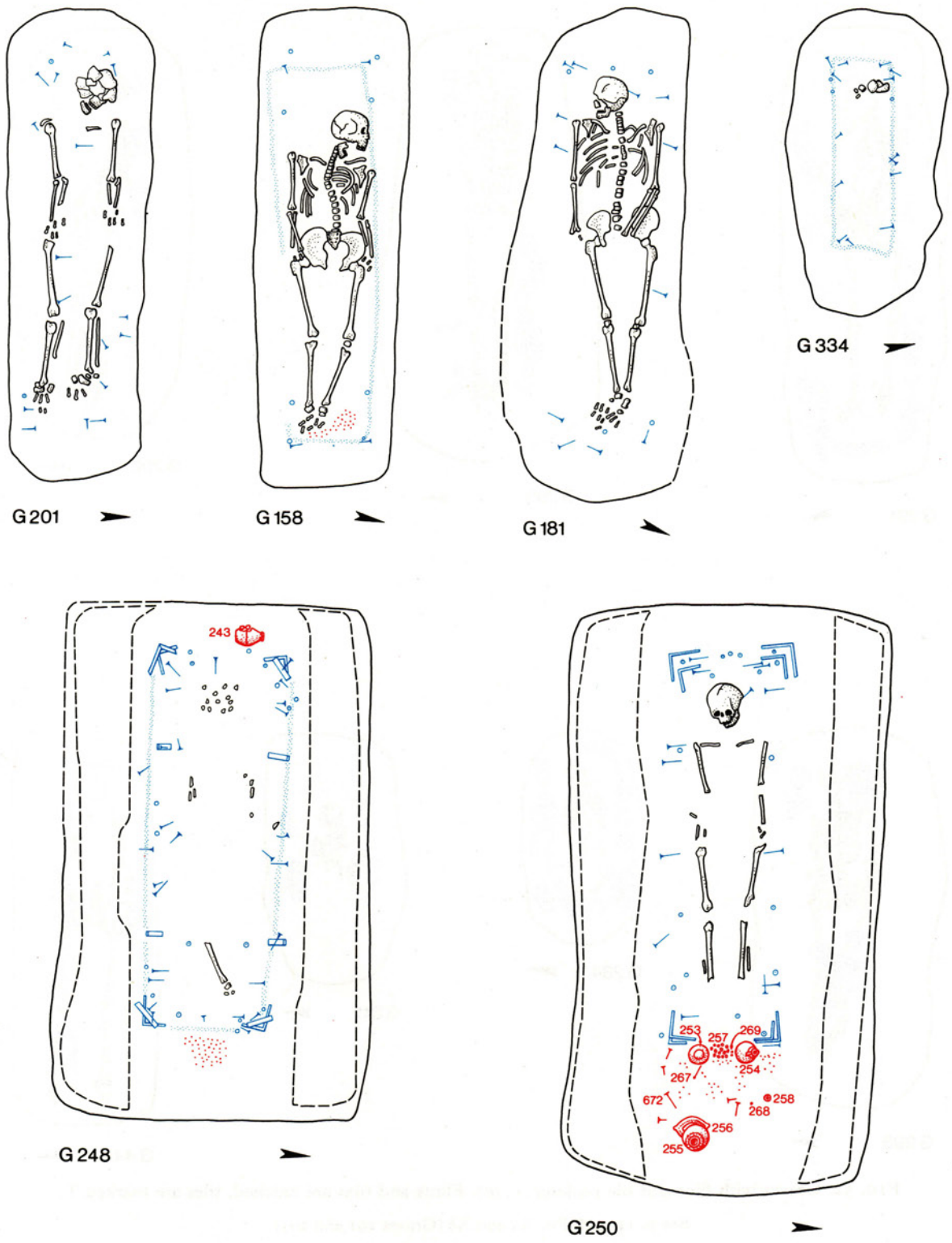


FIG. 51. Coffins: graves with simple coffins (above), and Graves 248 and 250, with angle-iron coffin-fittings (below). (1:30).

See pp. 142–3 and 332–41; cf. Fig. 45 and Pls. IX*b* and IX*c* (Graves 248 and 250).

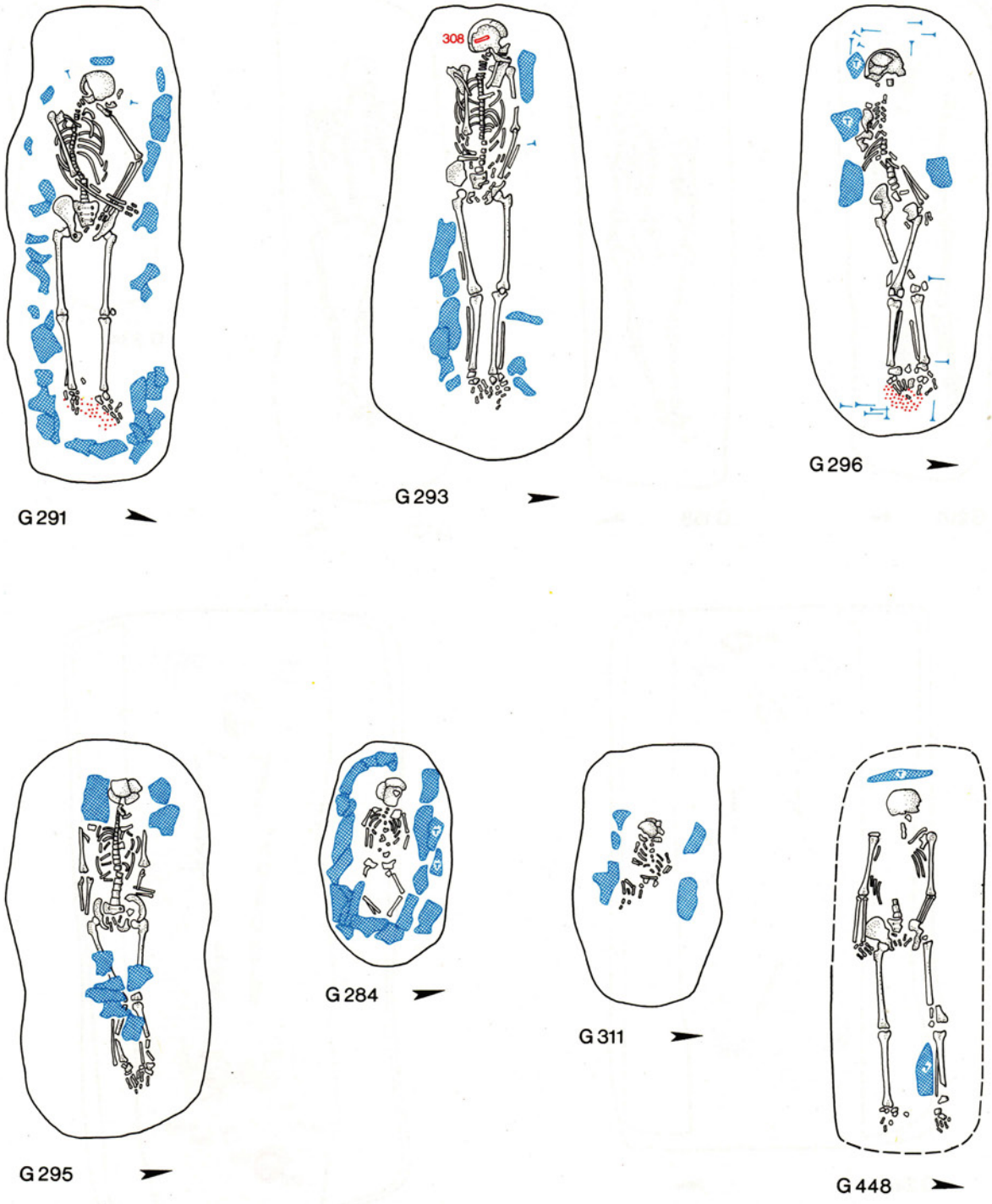


FIG. 52. Graves with flint and tile packing (1:30). Flints and tiles are hatched, tiles are marked T.

See p. 143; cf. Pls. X*a* and X*b* (Graves 291 and 295).

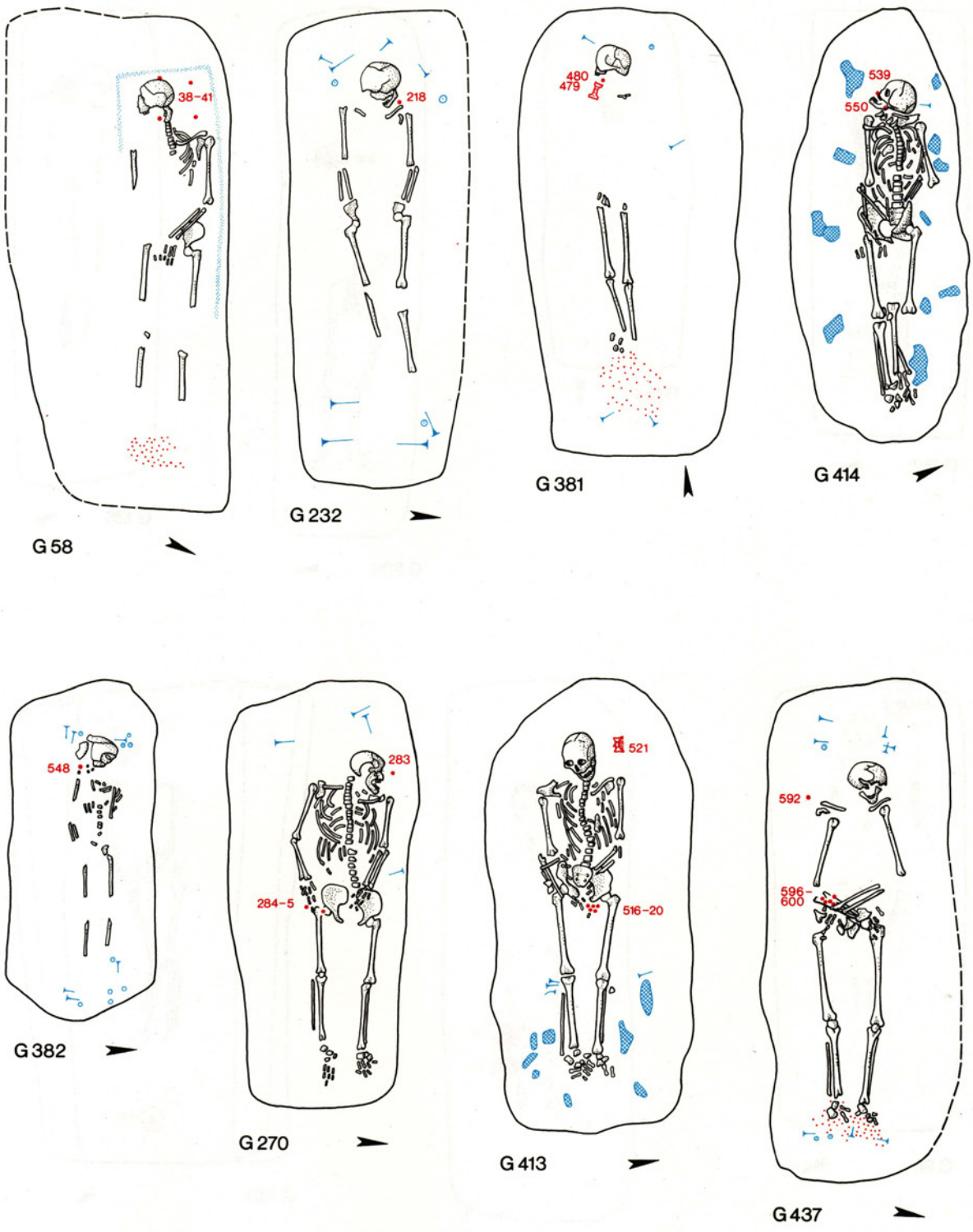


FIG. 53. Graves with coins (i): coins in or near the mouth or hands (1:30).

See pp. 164–7.

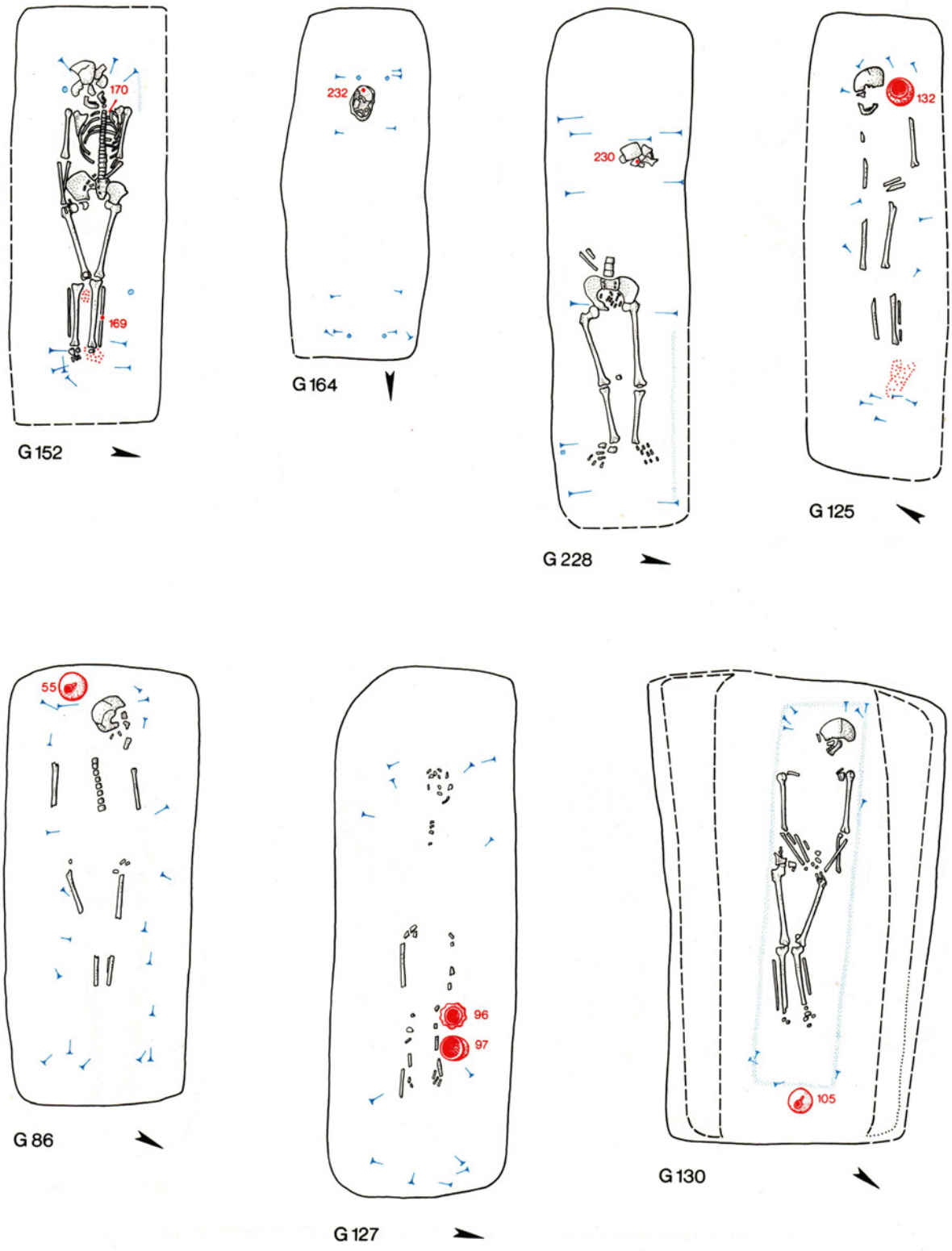


FIG. 54. Graves with coins (ii): coins not in the mouth or hands, Graves 152, 164, and 228; and graves with vessels (i): Graves 125, 86, 127, and 130 (1:30).

See pp. 164–8.

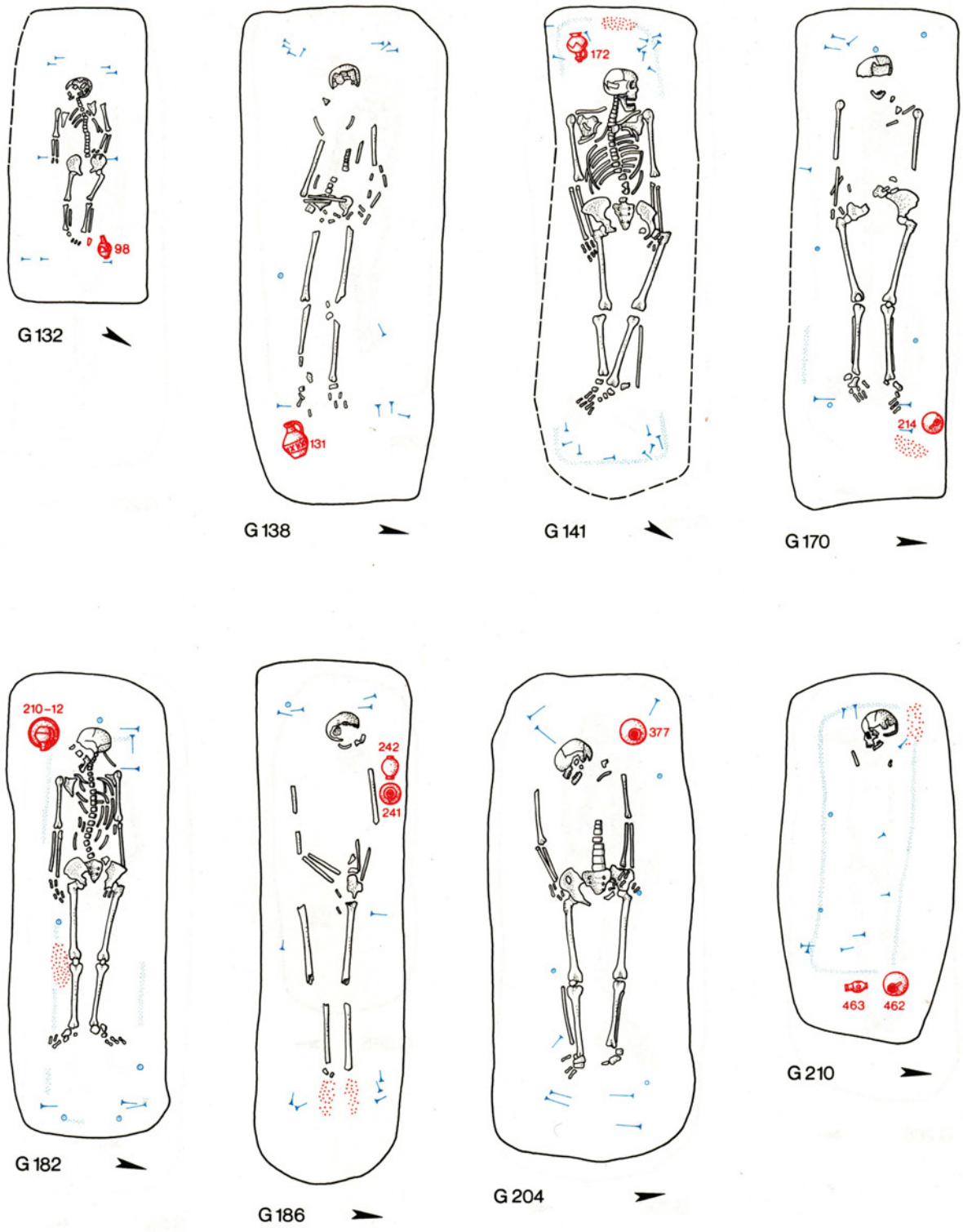


FIG. 55. Graves with vessels (ii) (1:30). See pp. 164–5 and 168.

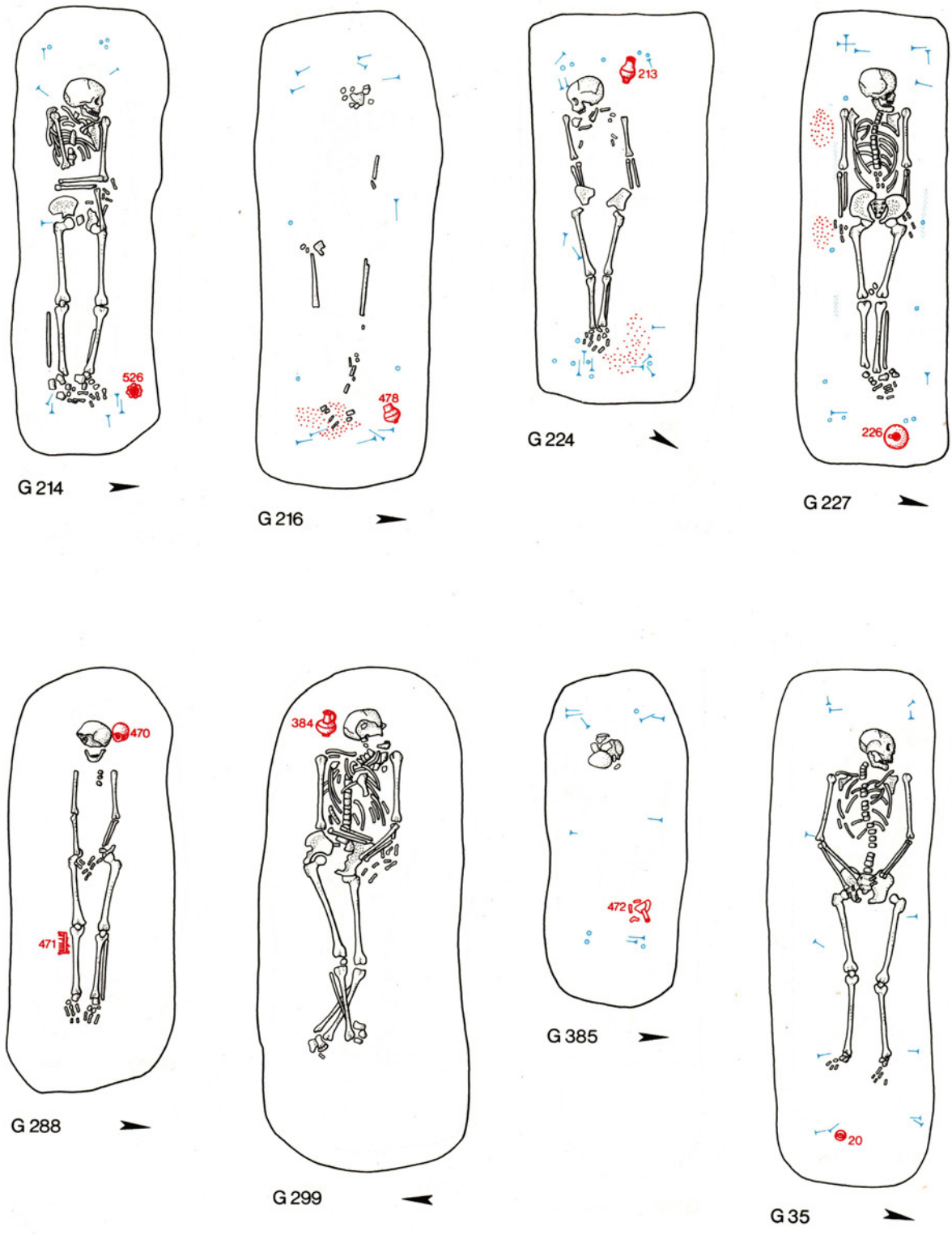


FIG. 56. Graves with vessels (iii) (1:30). See pp. 164–5 and 168.

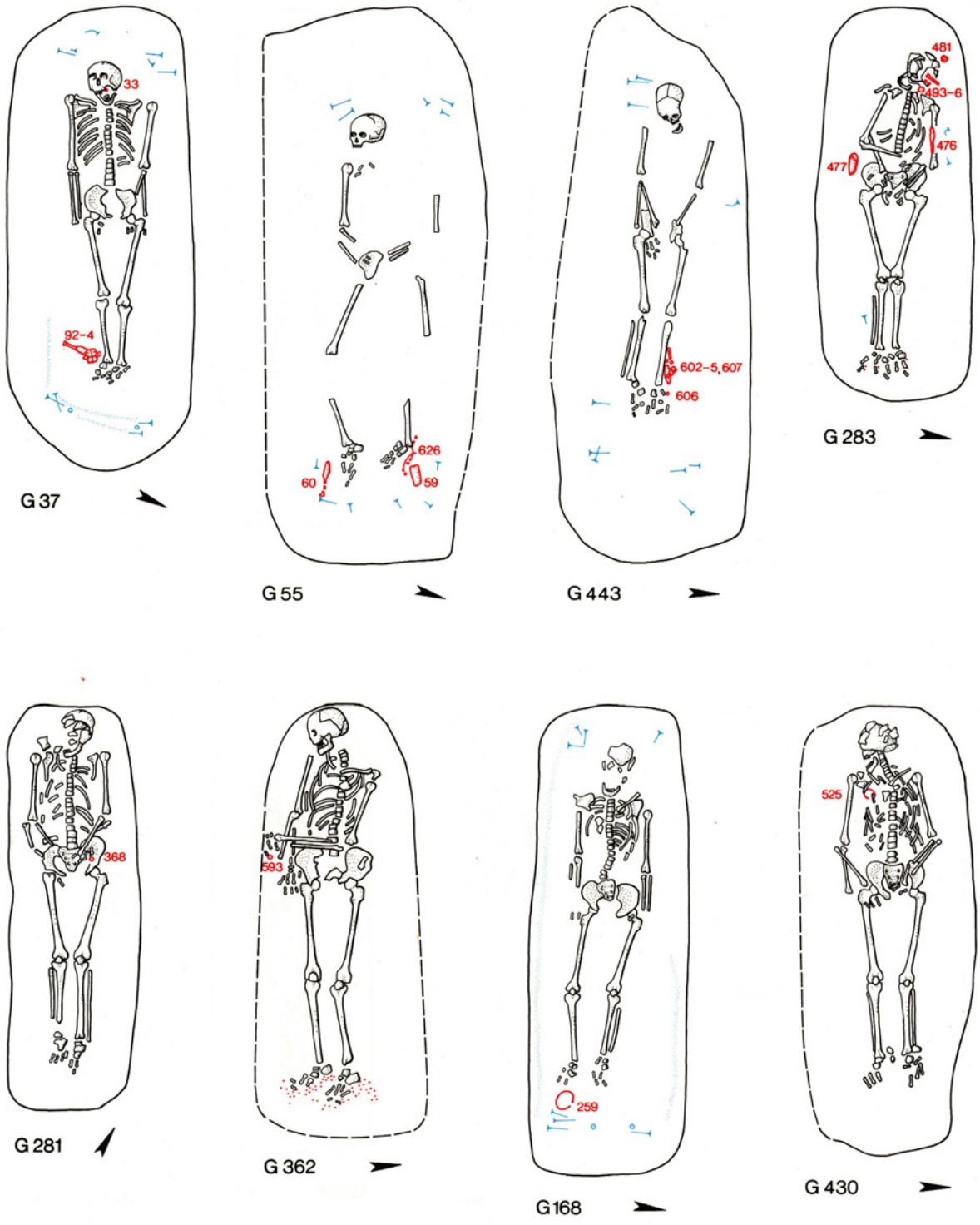


FIG. 57. Graves with unworn personal ornaments (i): graves containing belt-fittings (above) and graves containing a single finger-ring or bracelet (below) (1:30).

See pp. 164–5 and 168–9; cf. Pl. Xc (Grave 443). Two of the graves shown here also contained coins, and are included for comparison.

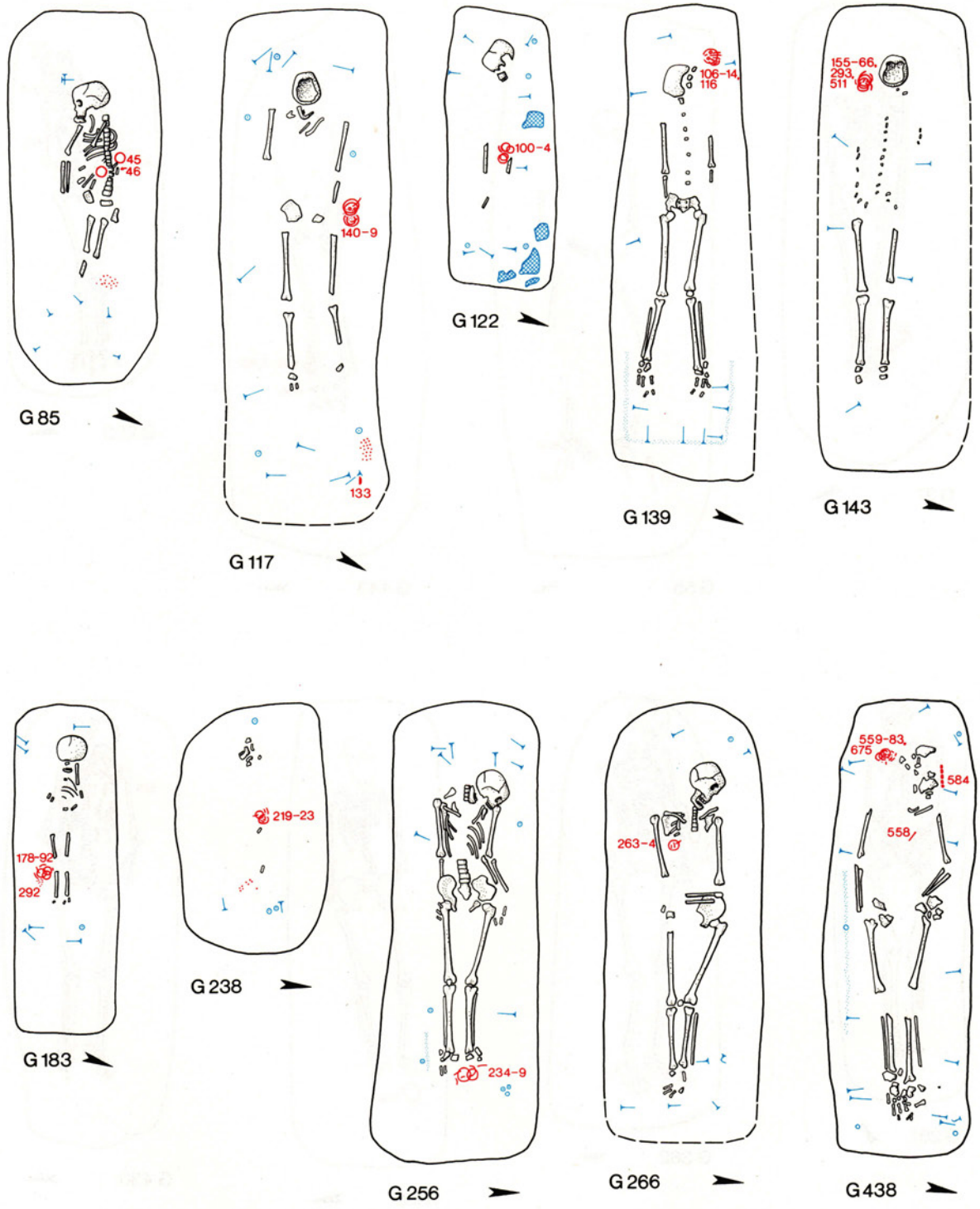


FIG. 58. Graves with unworn personal ornaments (ii): graves containing a pile of bracelets and other feminine ornaments (1:30).

See pp. 164–5 and 168–9.

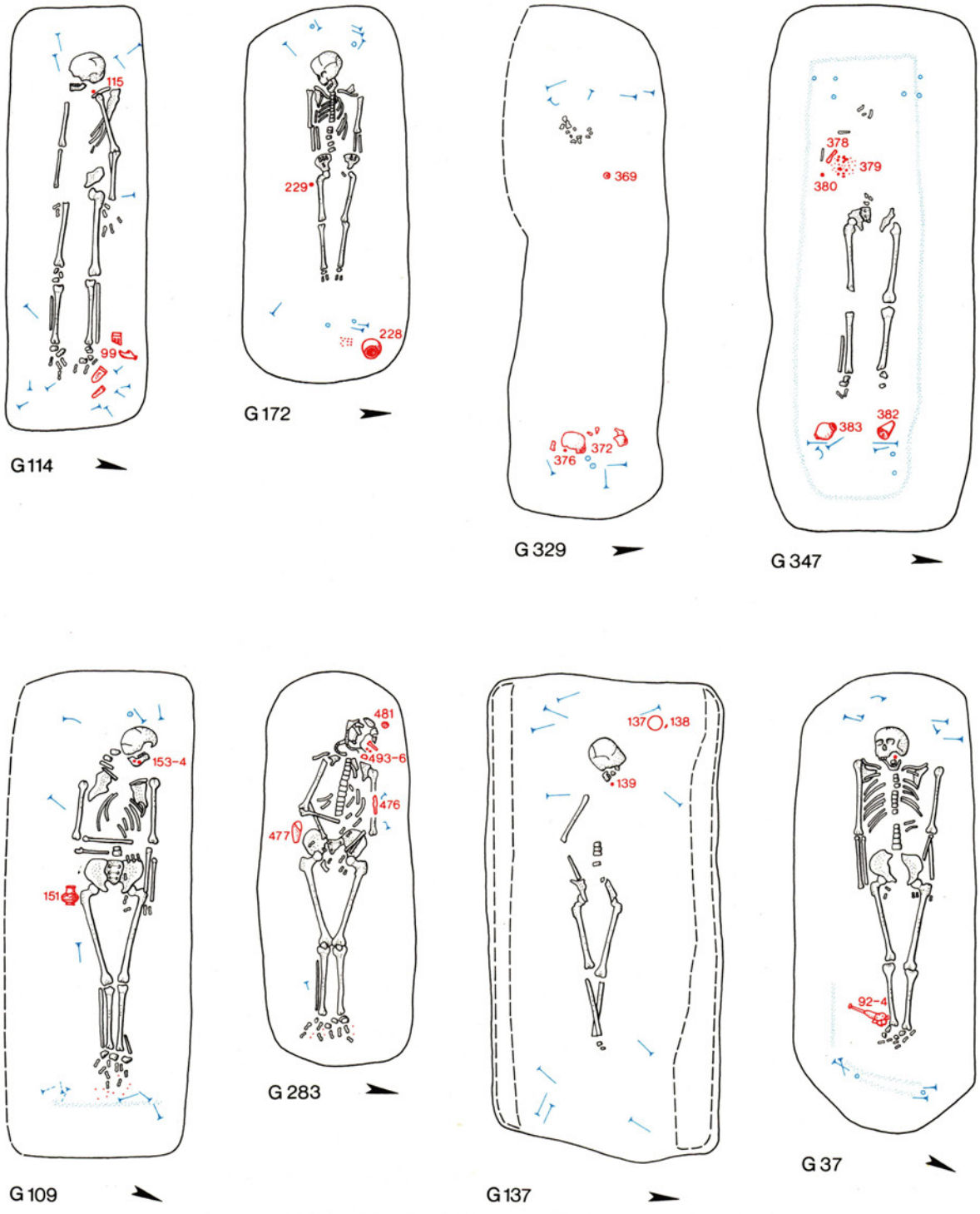


FIG. 59. Graves with coins and vessels (above, and Grave 109, below) and graves with coins and unworn personal ornaments (below, except Grave 109) (1:30).

See pp. 164–5 and 169–70; cf. Pl. XI*a* (Grave 347).

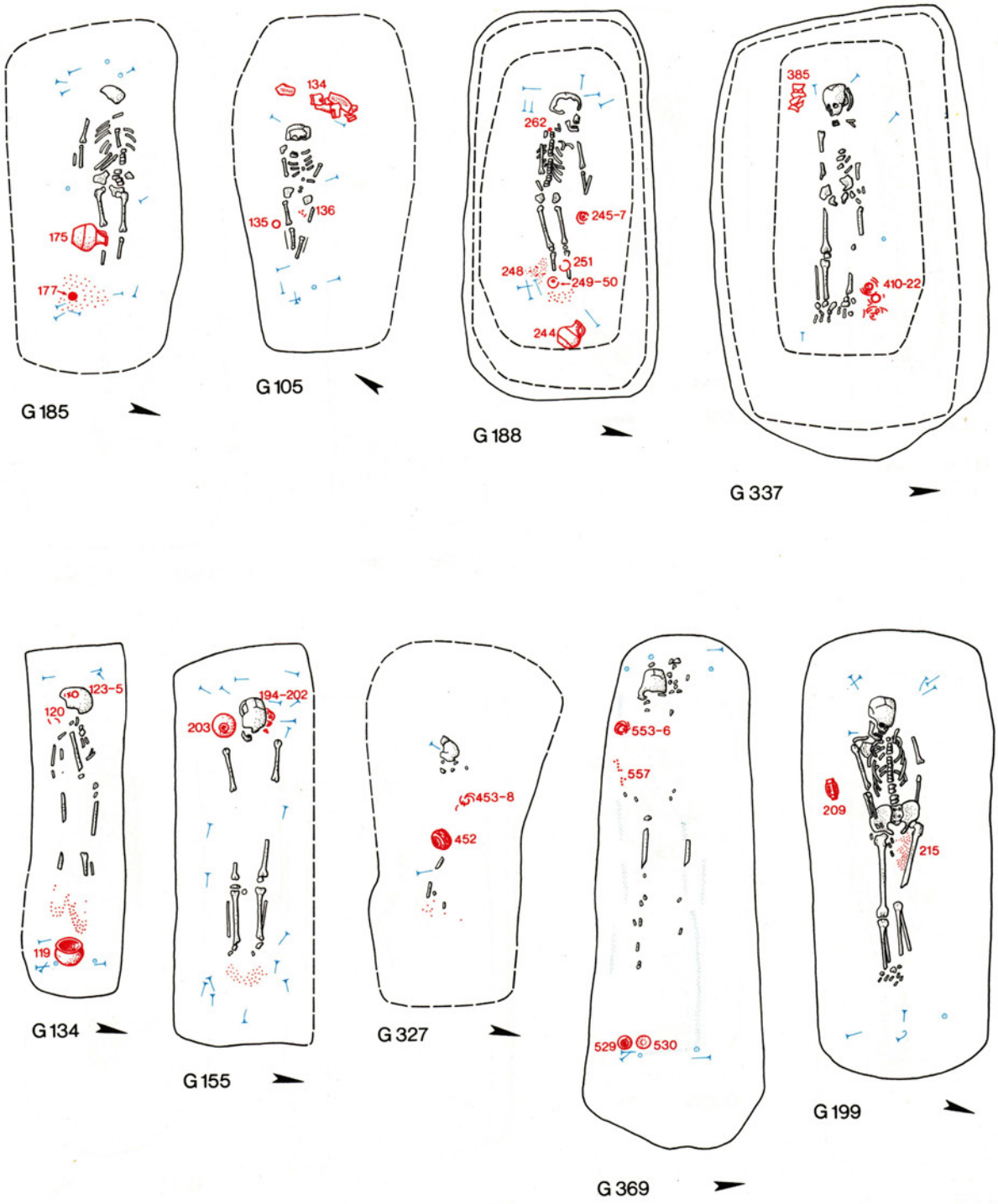


FIG. 60. Graves with vessels and unworn personal ornaments (1:30).

See pp. 164–5 and 170; cf. Pl. XI*b* (Grave 337).

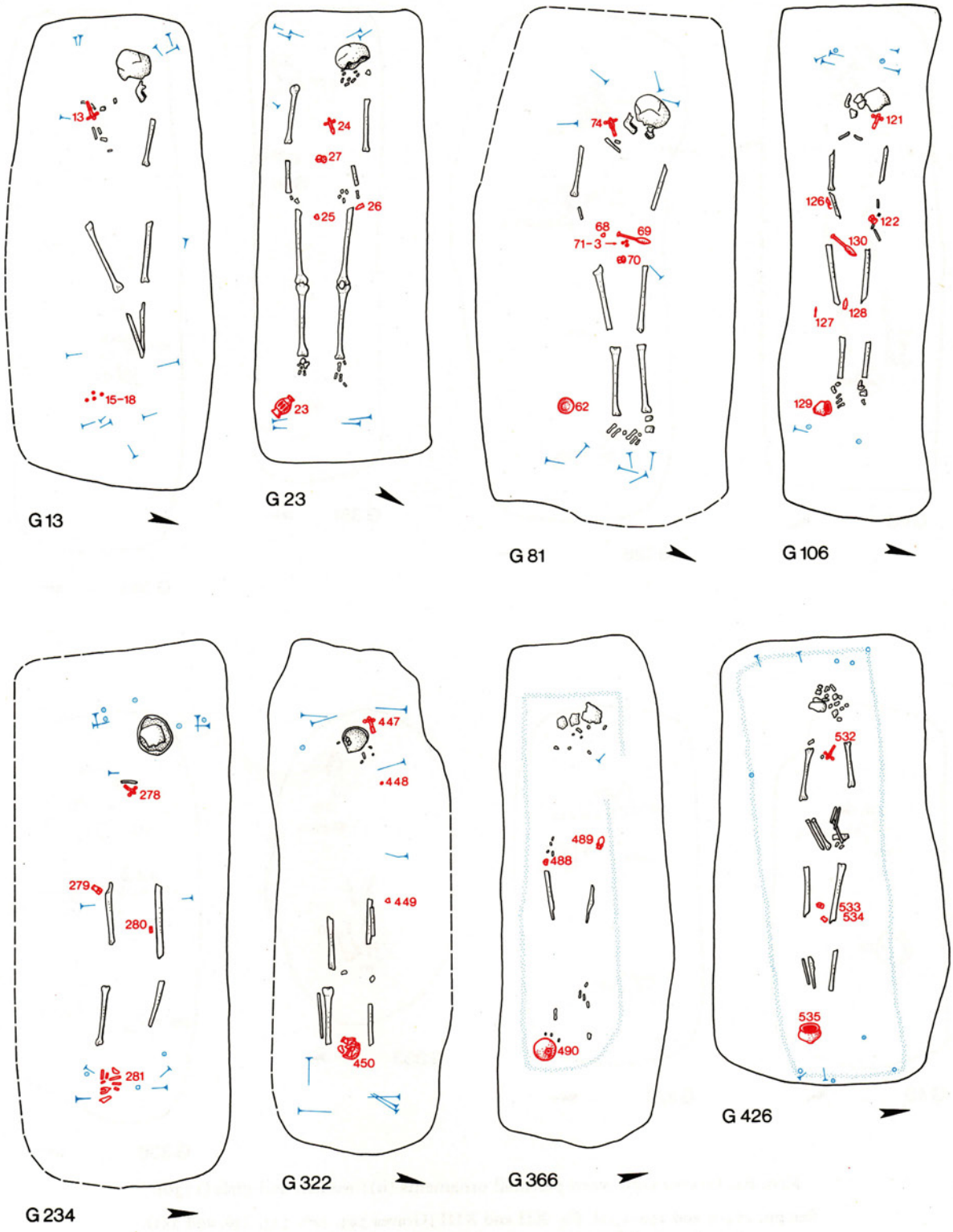


FIG. 61. Graves with worn personal ornaments (i): men (1:30).

See pp. 164–5 and 170–1; cf. Pls. XI*c* and XIII*a* (Graves 322 and 13).

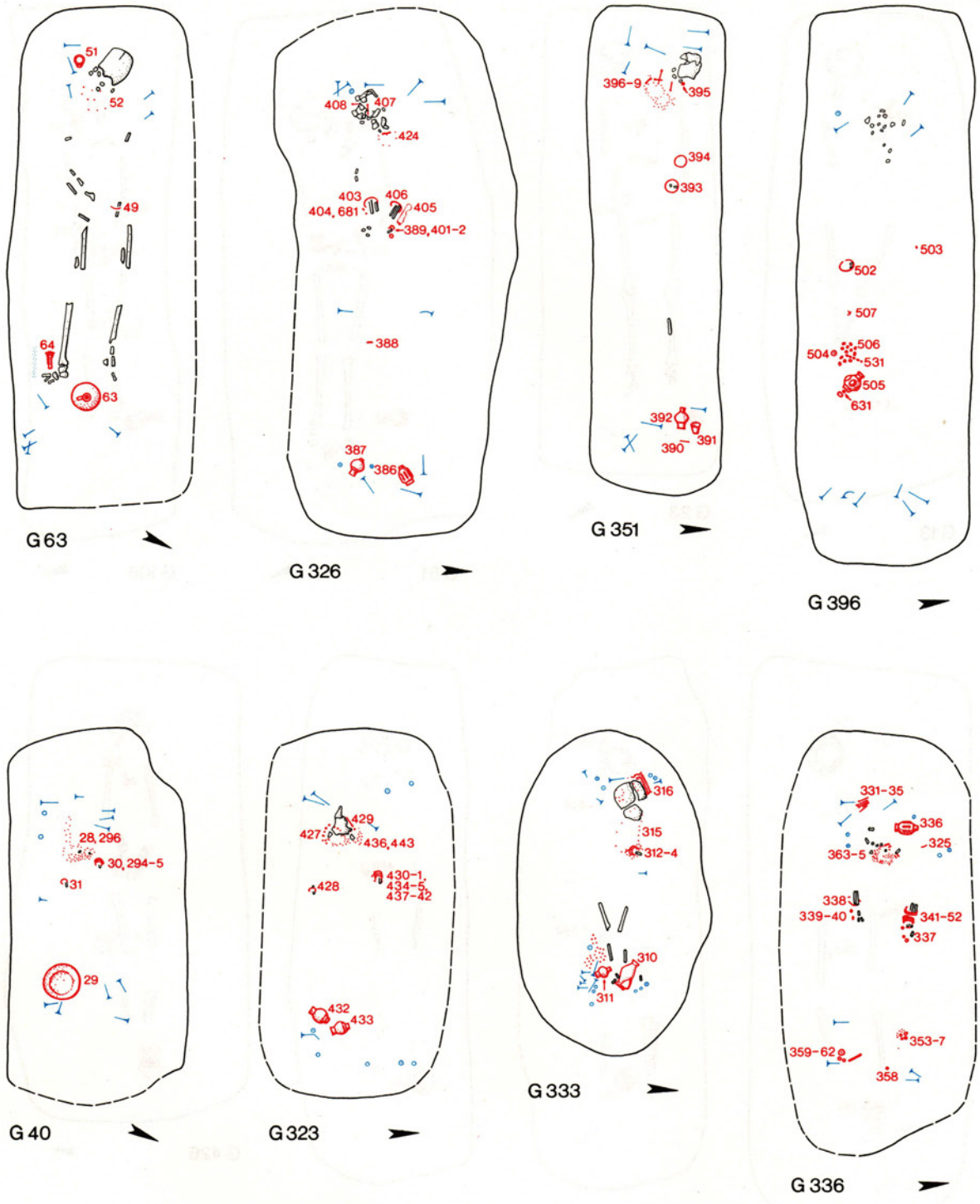


FIG. 62. Graves with worn personal ornaments (ii): women and girls (1:30).

See pp. 164–5 and 170–1; cf. Pls. XII and XIII (Graves 323, 326, 333, 336, and 351).

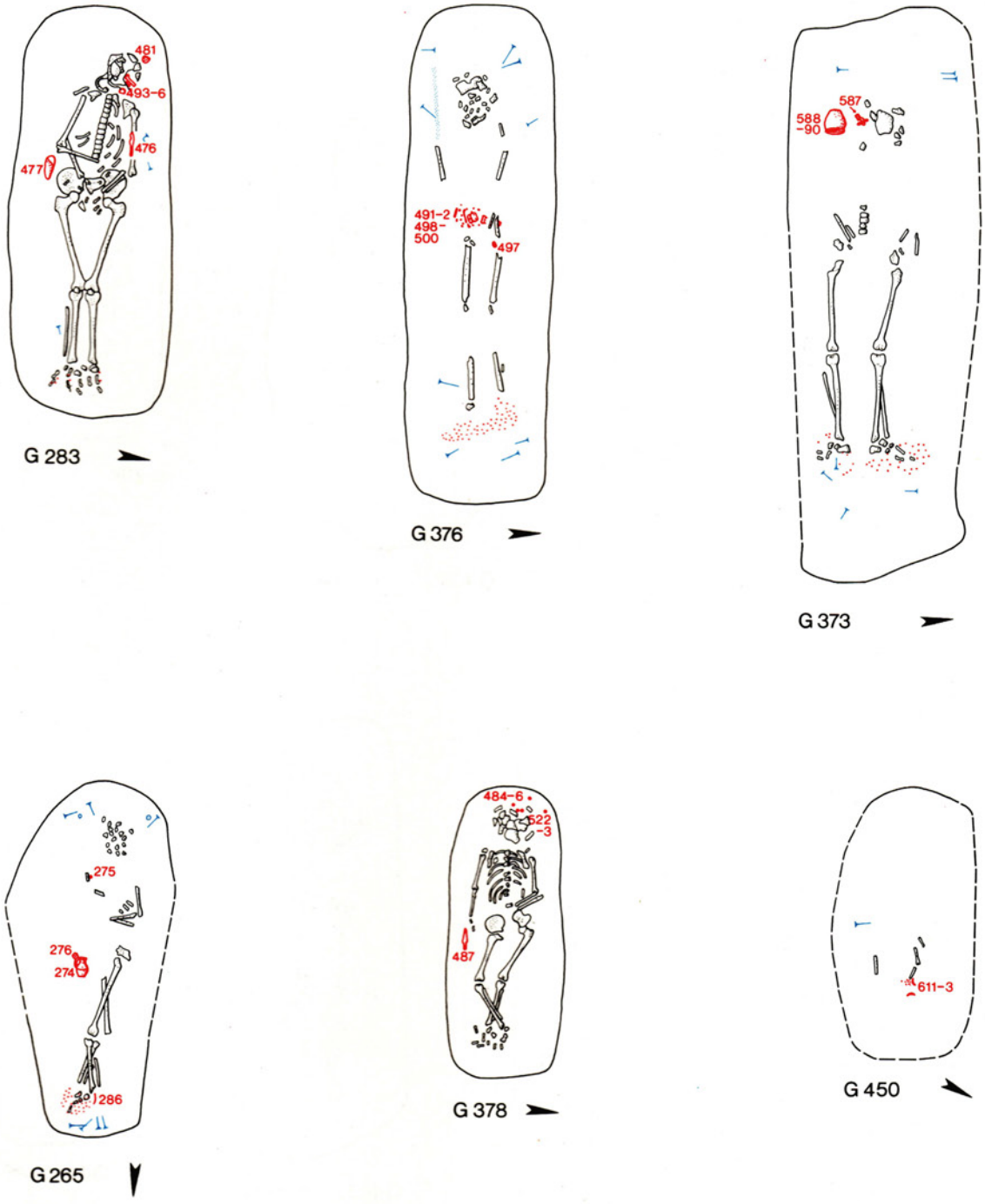


FIG. 63. Unusual graves datable to *c.* 390–410, furnished variously with coins, vessels, and personal ornaments (1:30).

See pp. 175–6; cf. Fig. 33 and Pl. XIV (Grave 376).

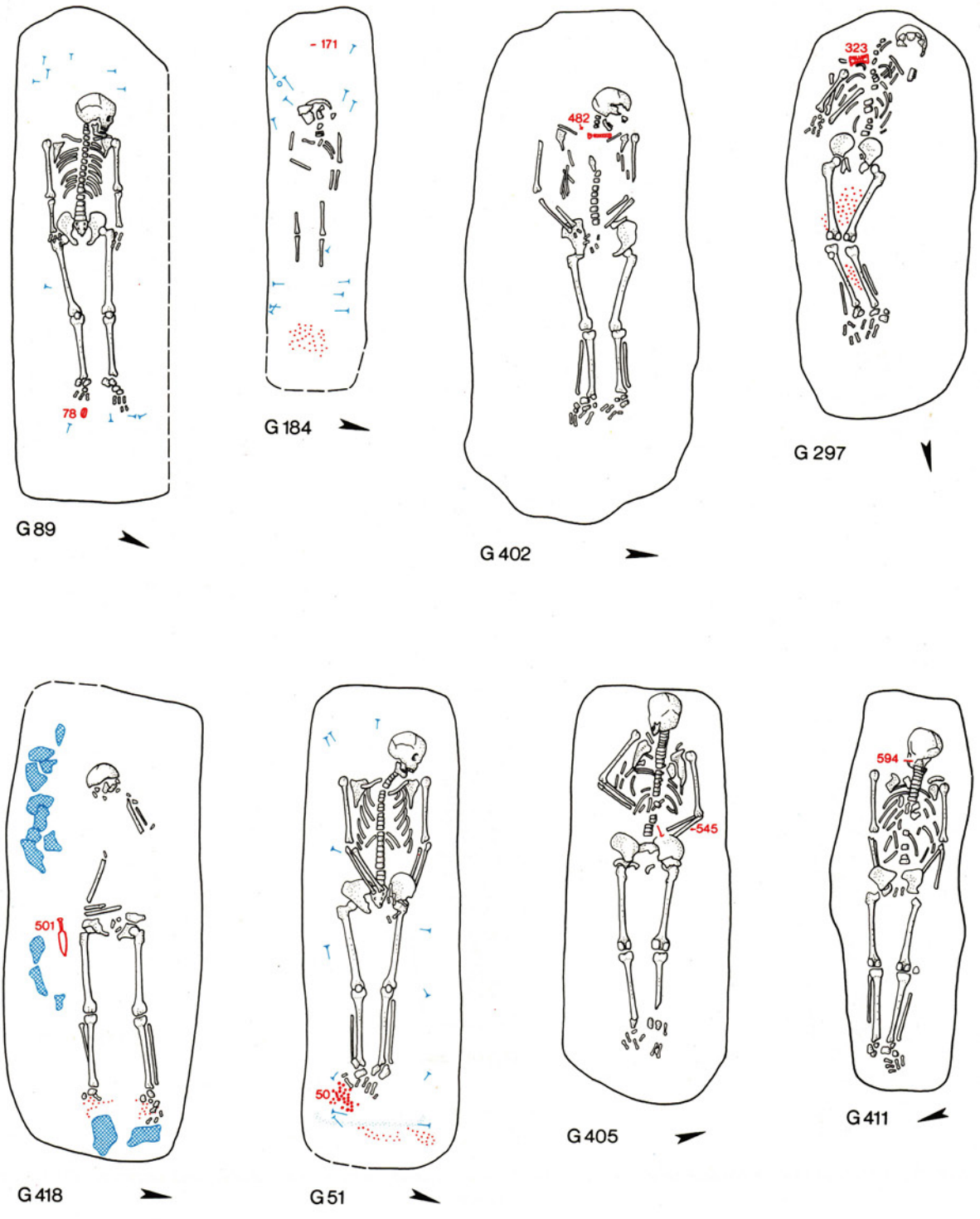


FIG. 64. Graves containing equipment (1:30).

See pp. 177–8.

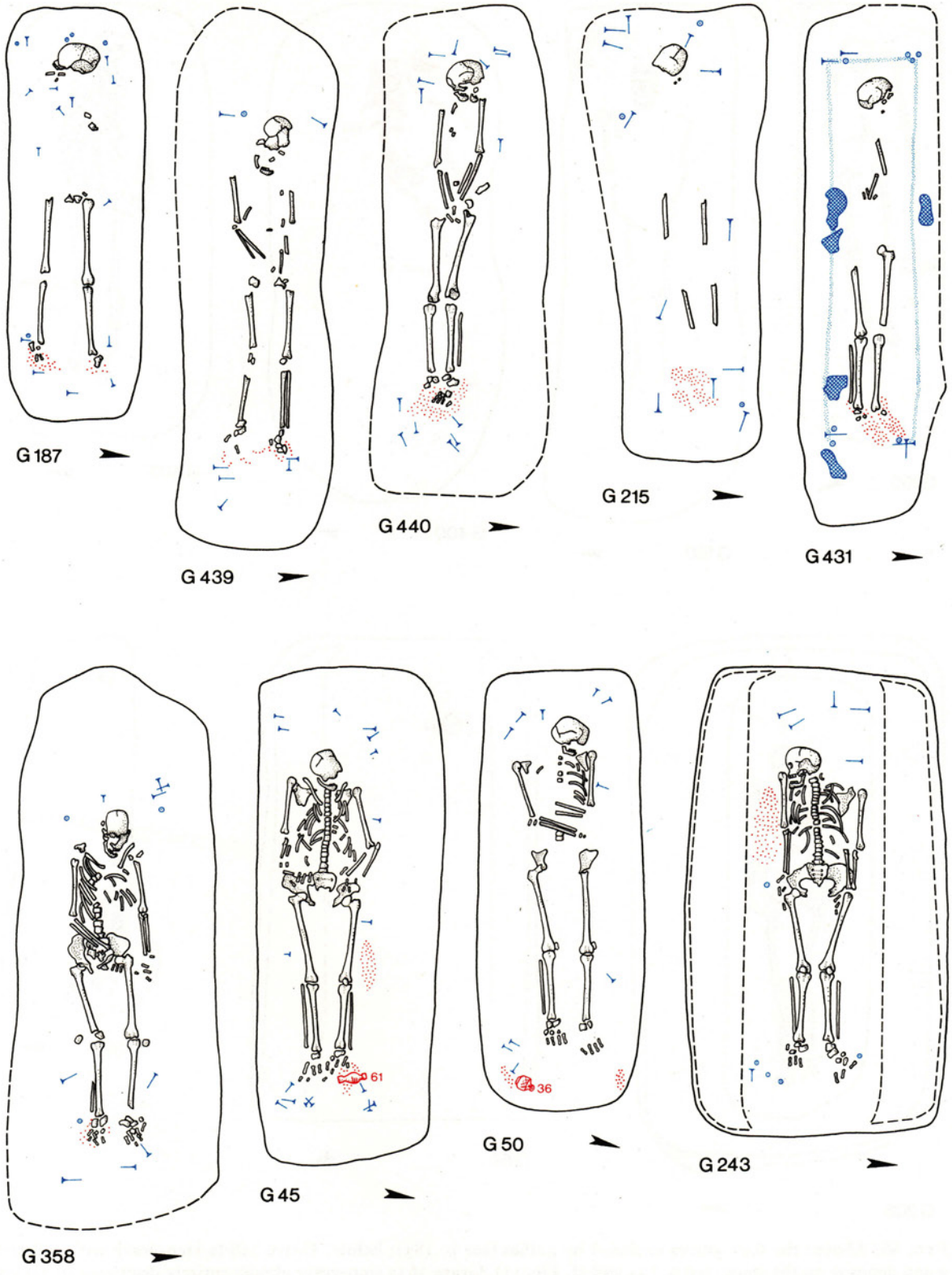


FIG. 65. Graves containing hobnails, showing some of the different positions in which hobnails were found (1:30).

See pp. 178–80 and Fig. 39 (Grave 431). On this figure and on Figs. 47–64 and 66, the clusters of red dots represent hobnails.

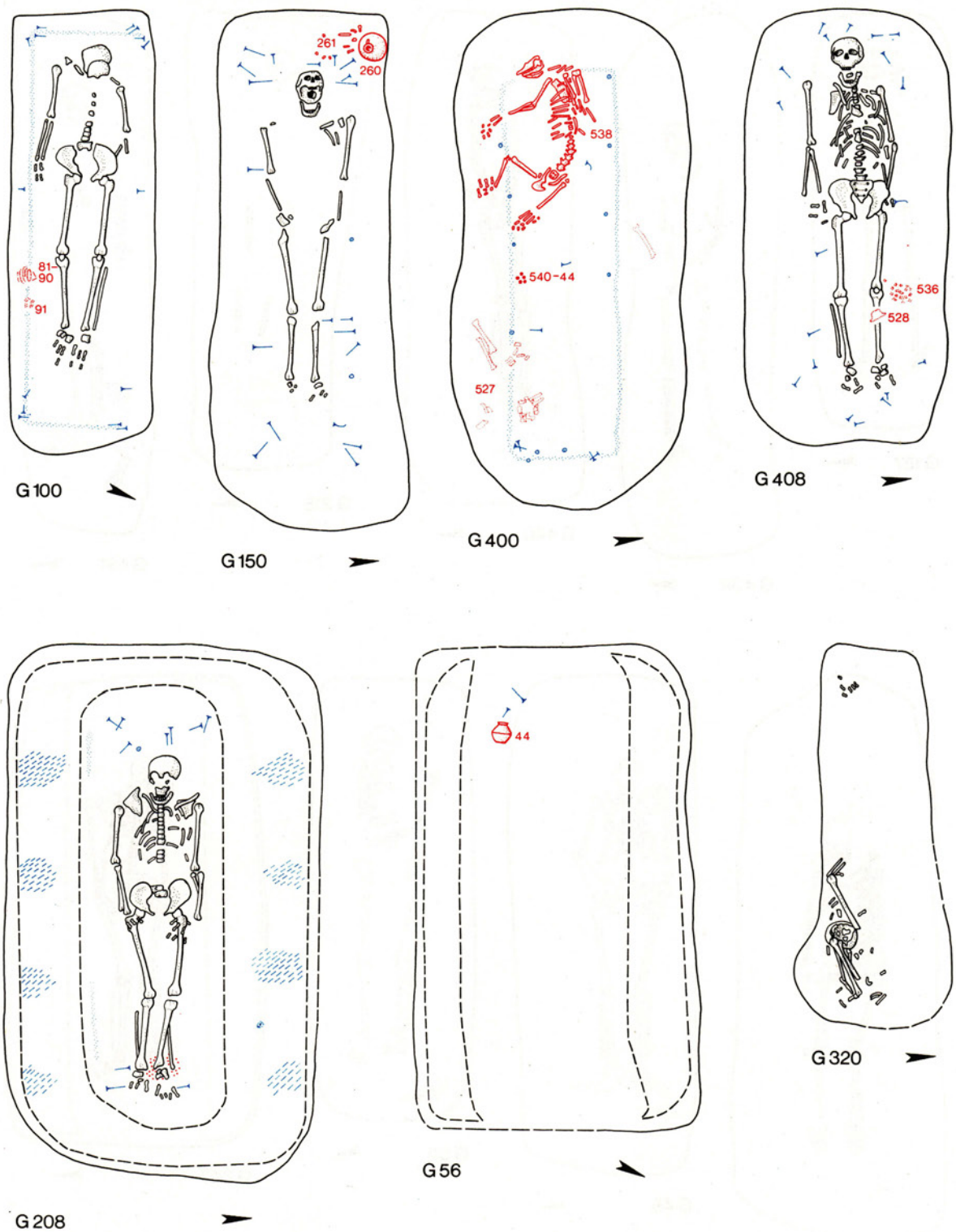


FIG. 66. Above: the four graves enclosed by gullies (see p. 183); below: Grave 208 (a step-grave with soil and wood deposits on the steps: see p. 134 and cf. Fig. 11), Grave 56 (a step-grave almost entirely destroyed by Grave 55), and Grave 320 (a grave disturbed by Feature 24: see p. 65) (1:30).

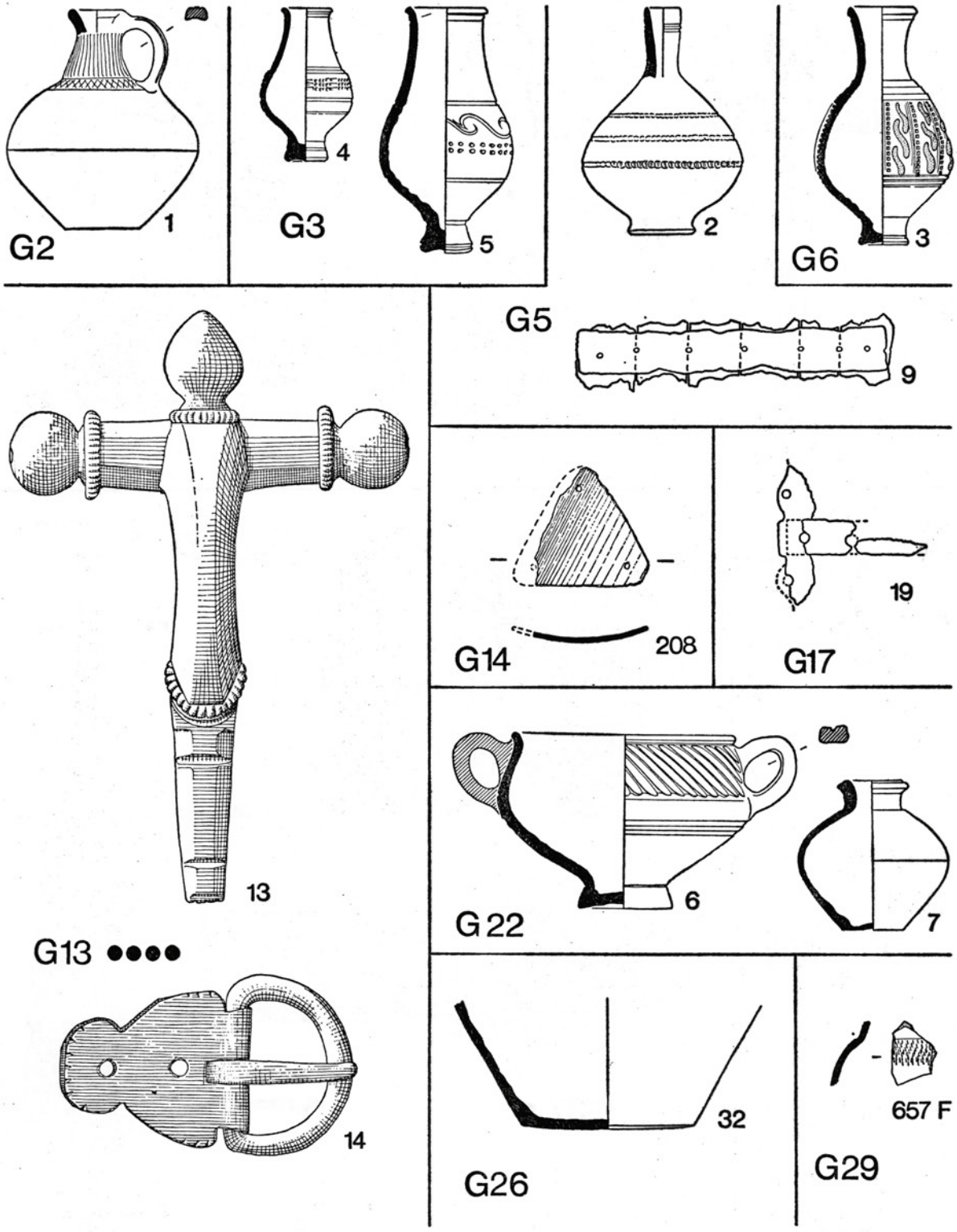


FIG. 67. Graves 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 14, 17, 22, 26, and 29.

13, 14, bronze (1:1); **9, 19, 208,** bone (1:2); **1–7, 32, 657,** pottery (1:4).

For Graves 23 and 27, see Fig. 68. On Figs. 67–100 F signifies a find from the grave-fill.

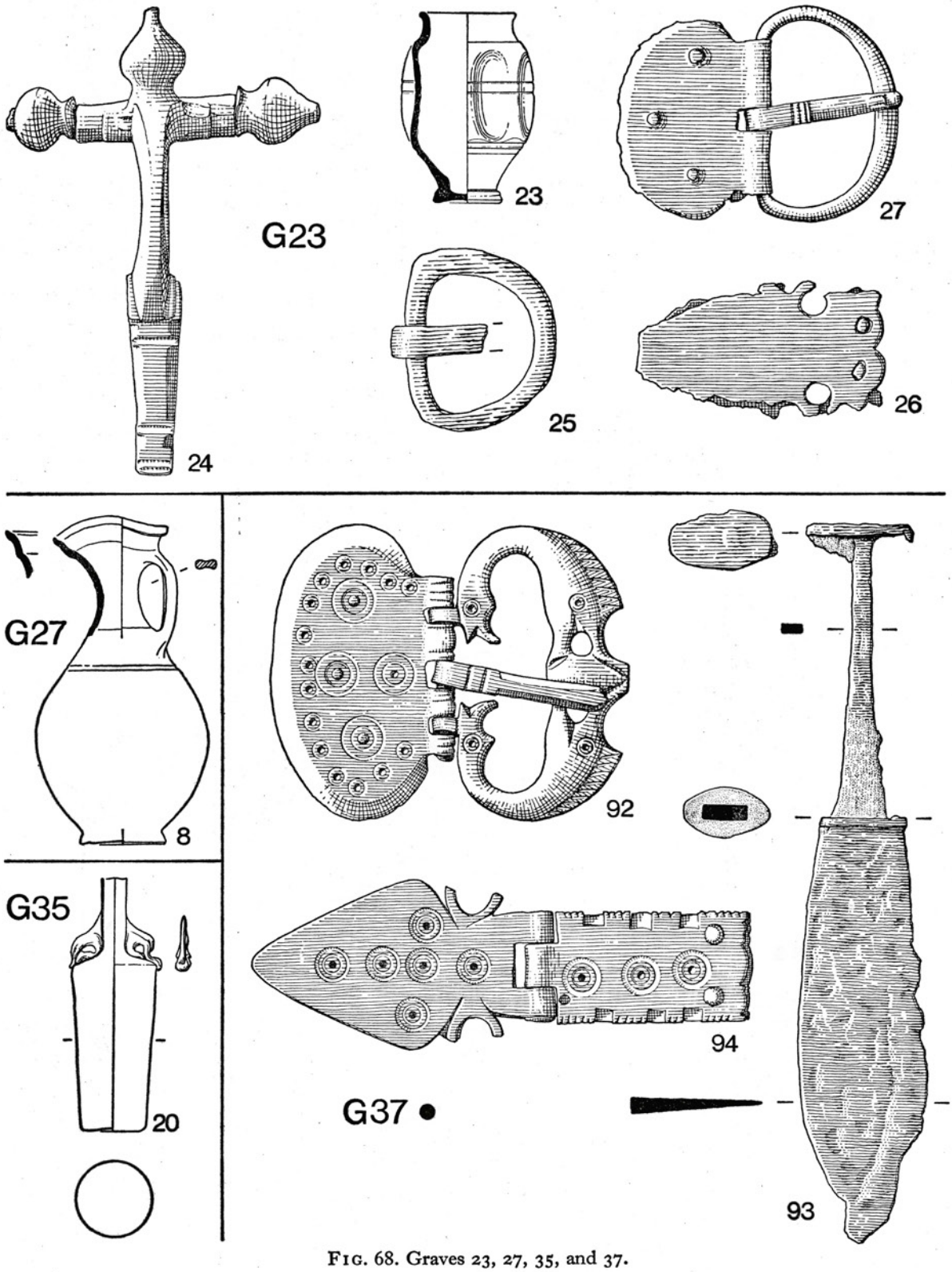


FIG. 68. Graves 23, 27, 35, and 37.

24, 26, 27, 92, 94, bronze; **25,** iron (1:1); **93,** iron (1:2); **20, glass; 8, 23,** pottery (1:4).

For Graves 26 and 29, see Fig. 67.

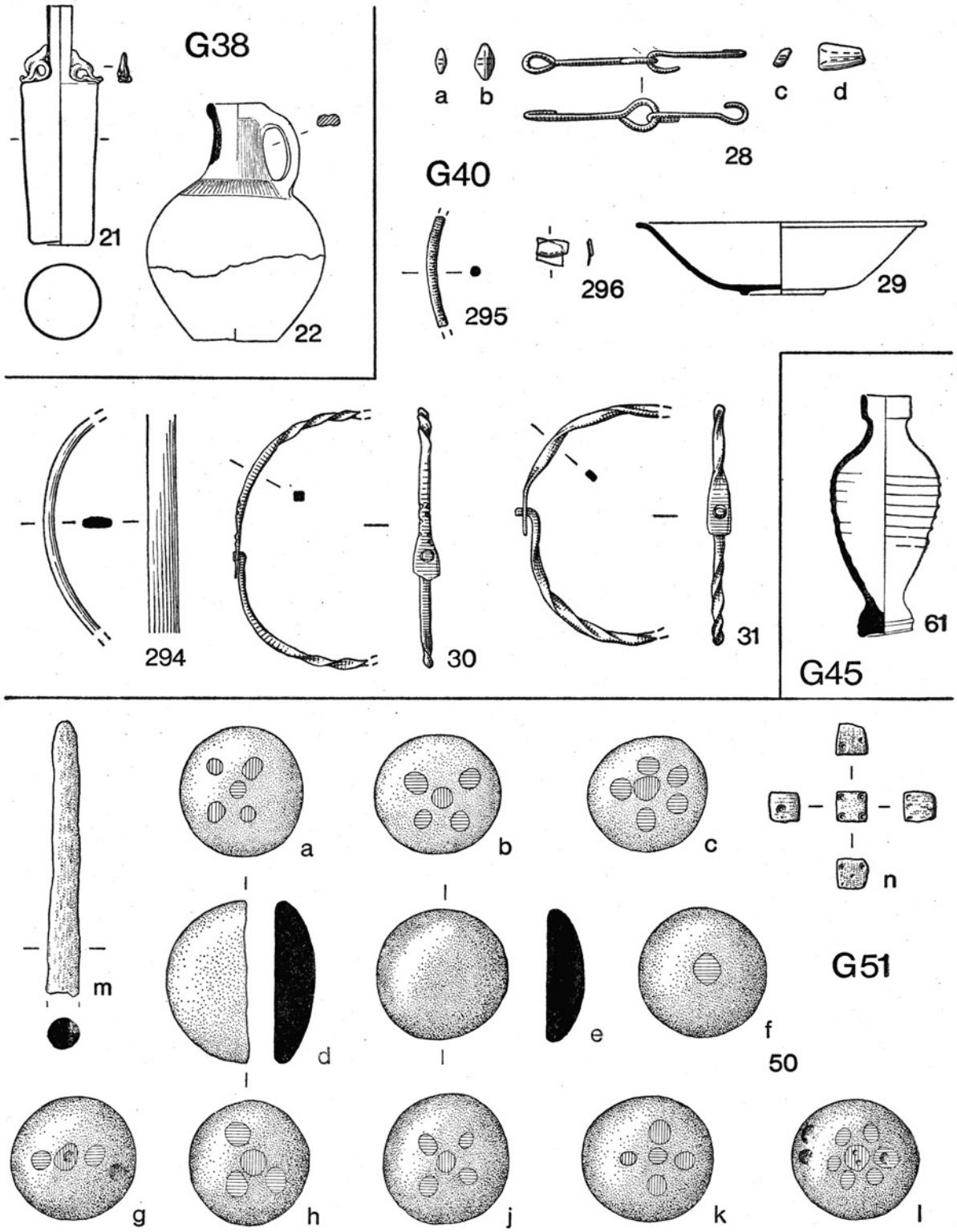


FIG. 69. Graves 38, 40, 45, and 51.

30, 31, bronze; 28, bronze and glass; **295**, iron; **50** a–l, glass; m, coral; n, ivory; **294, bone (1:1); 29, pewter; 21, 296,** glass; **22, 61,** pottery (1:4). For **50**, cf. Pl. I*b*.

For Graves 47, 48, and 50, see Fig. 70.

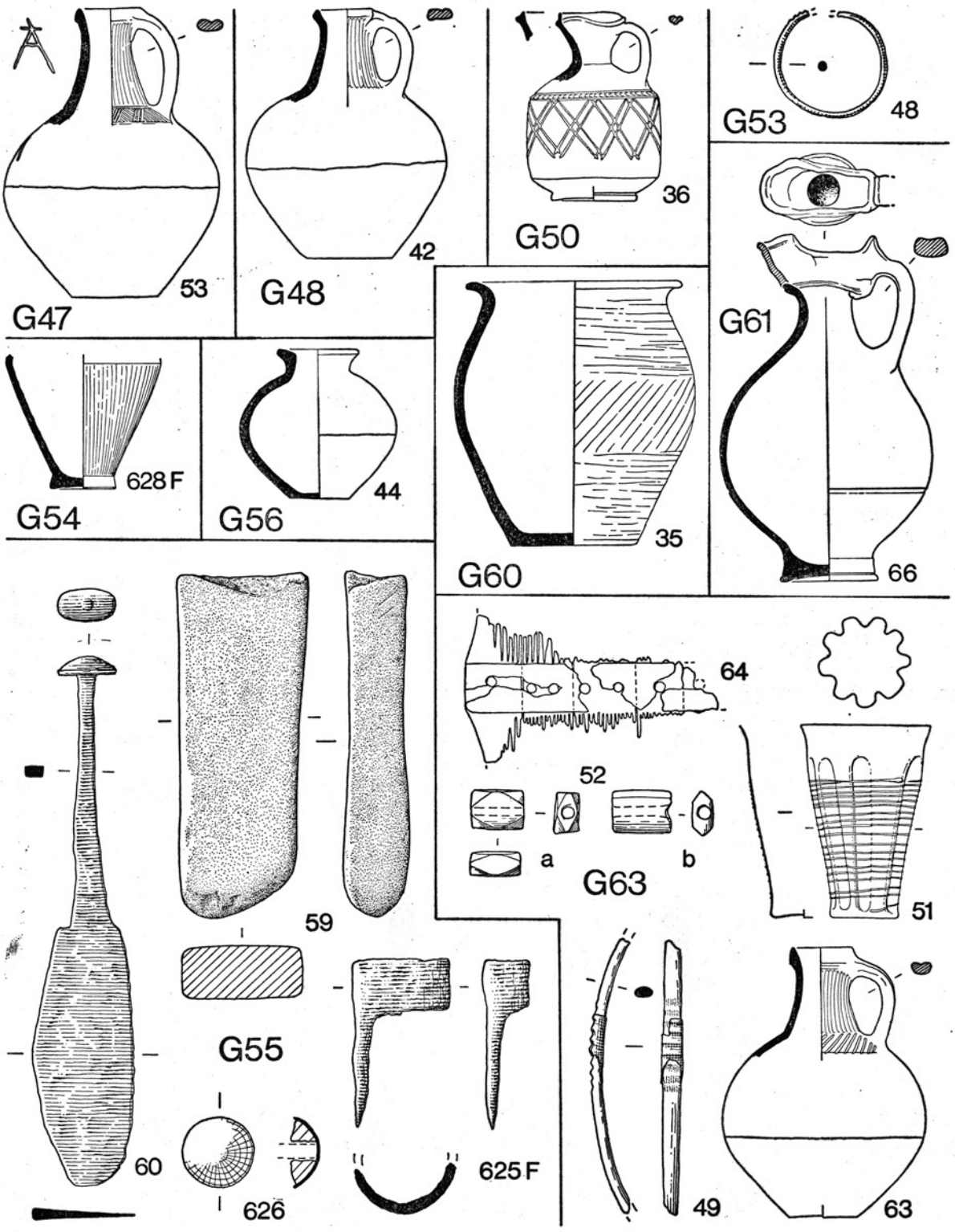


FIG. 70. Graves 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 60, 61, and 63.

48, 626, bronze; **625,** iron; **49,** bone and bronze; 52, cornelian (1:1); **60,** iron; **64,** bone; **59, stone (1:2); 51, glass; 35, 36, 42, 44, 53, 63, 66, 628,** pottery (1:4).

For Grave 51, see Fig. 69.

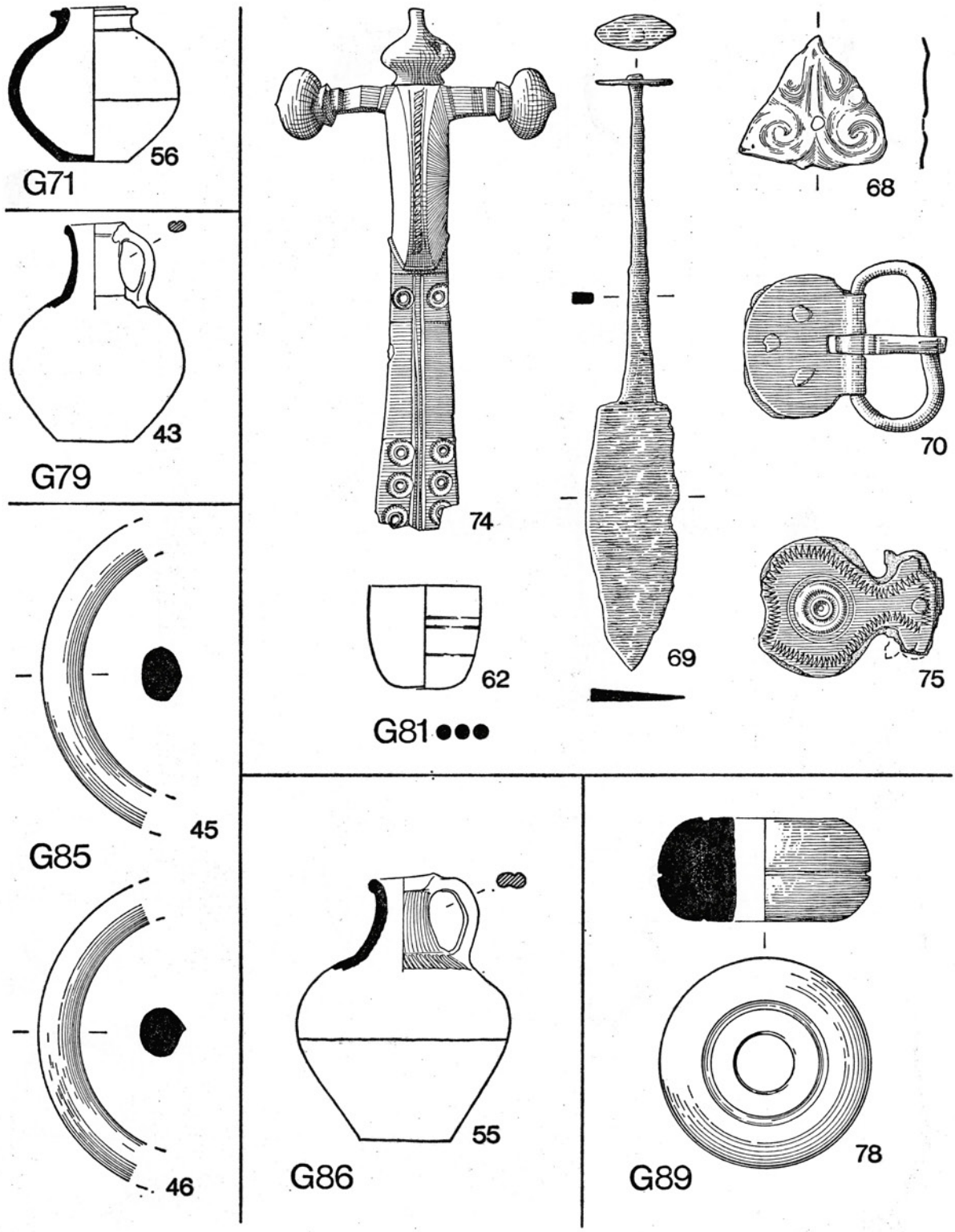


FIG. 71. Graves 71, 79, 81, 85, 86, and 89.

68, silver; 70, 74, 75, bronze; 45, 46, 78, shale (1:1); **69,** iron (1:2); **62,** glass; **43, 55, 56,** pottery (1:4).

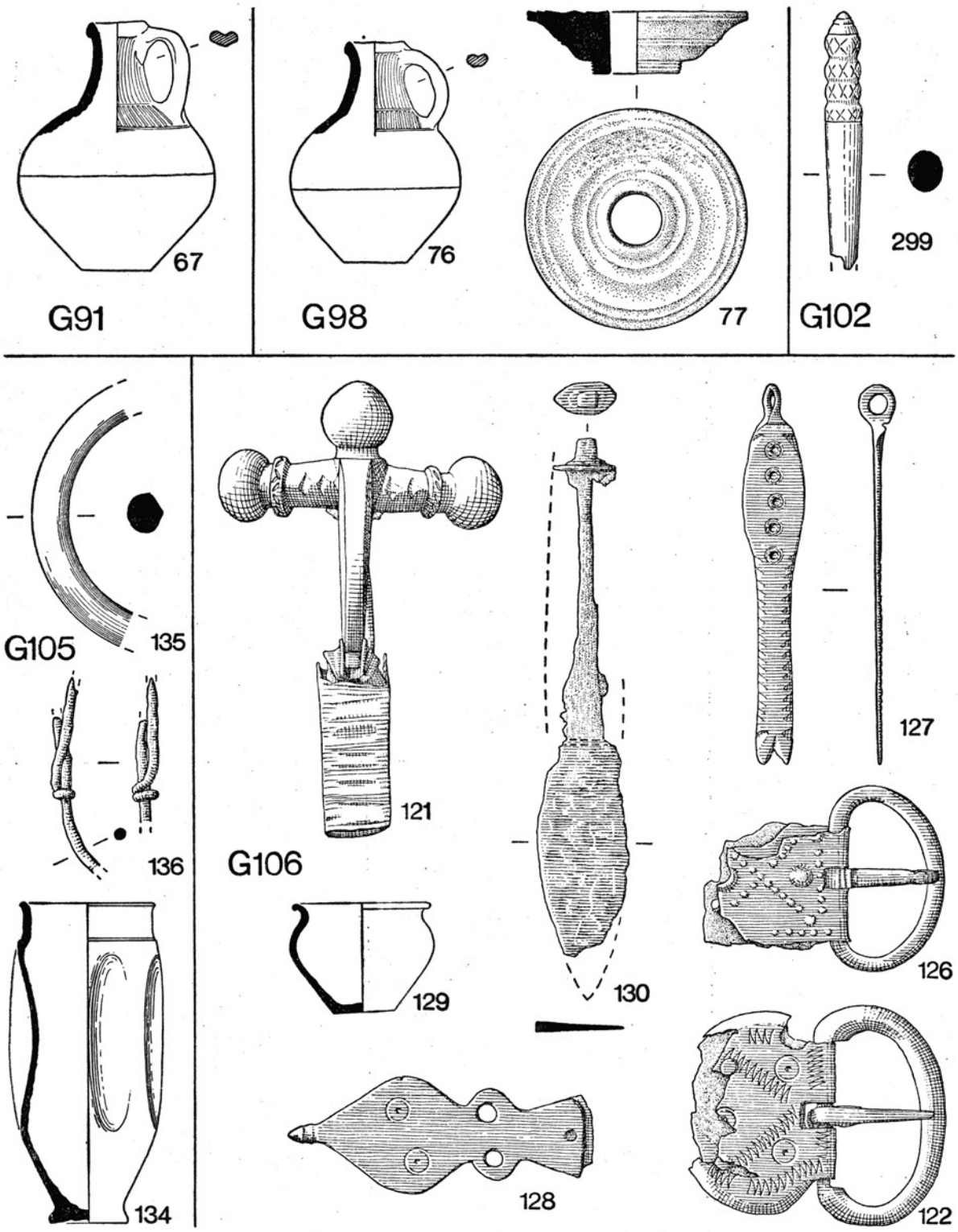


FIG. 72. Graves 91, 98, 102, 105, and 106.

121, 122, 126–8, bronze; 136, iron; 135, shale; **77, 299,** bone (1:1); **130,** iron (1:2); **67, 76, 129, 134,** pottery (1:4).

For Grave 100, see Fig. 73.

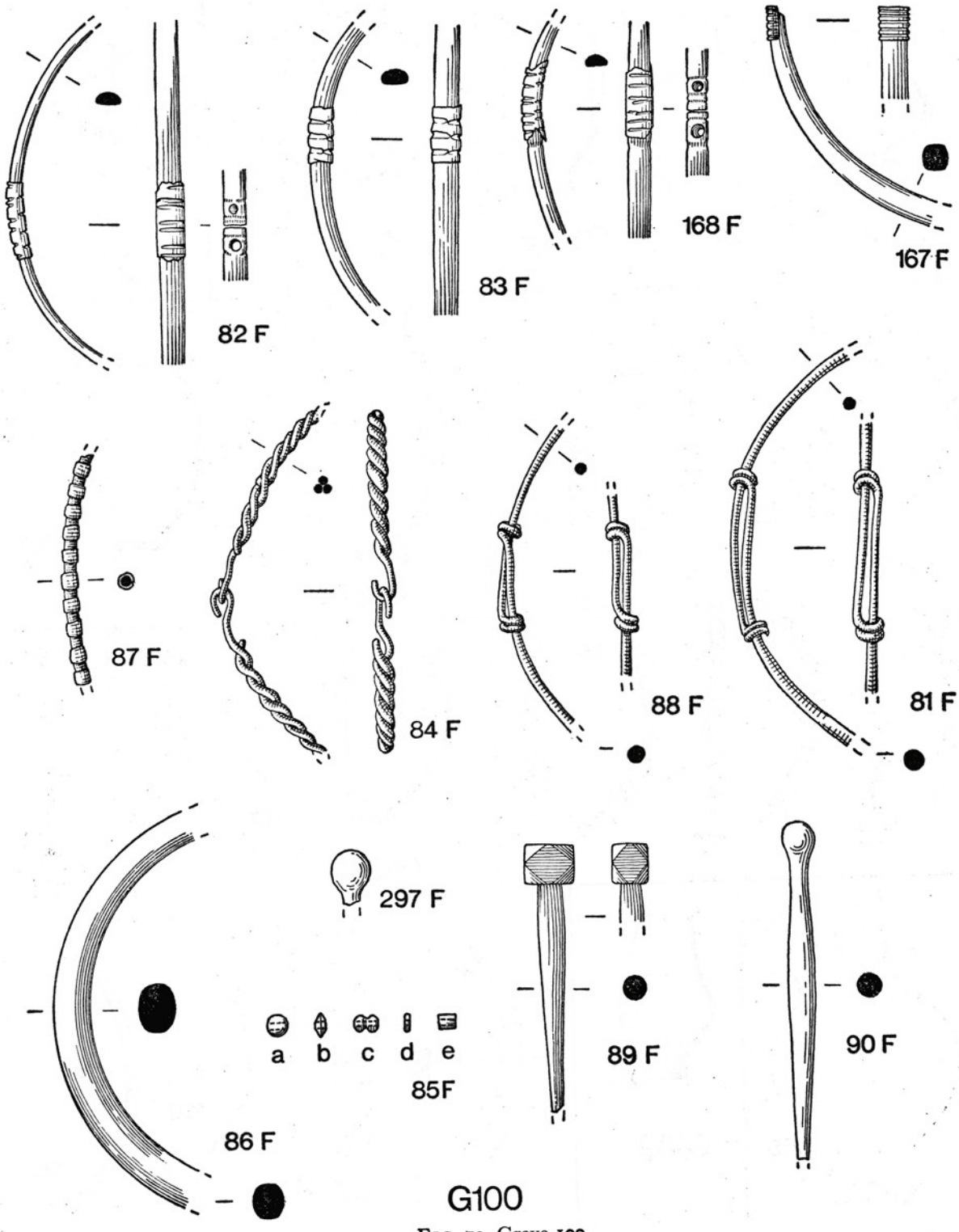


FIG. 73. Grave 100.

81, 84, 88, bronze; 87, iron and bronze; **85, 90, 297,** glass; **86, 89,** jet; **83,** ivory and silver; **167, ivory and bronze; 82, 168,** bone and silver (1:1). For Graves 102, 105, and 106, see Fig. 72.

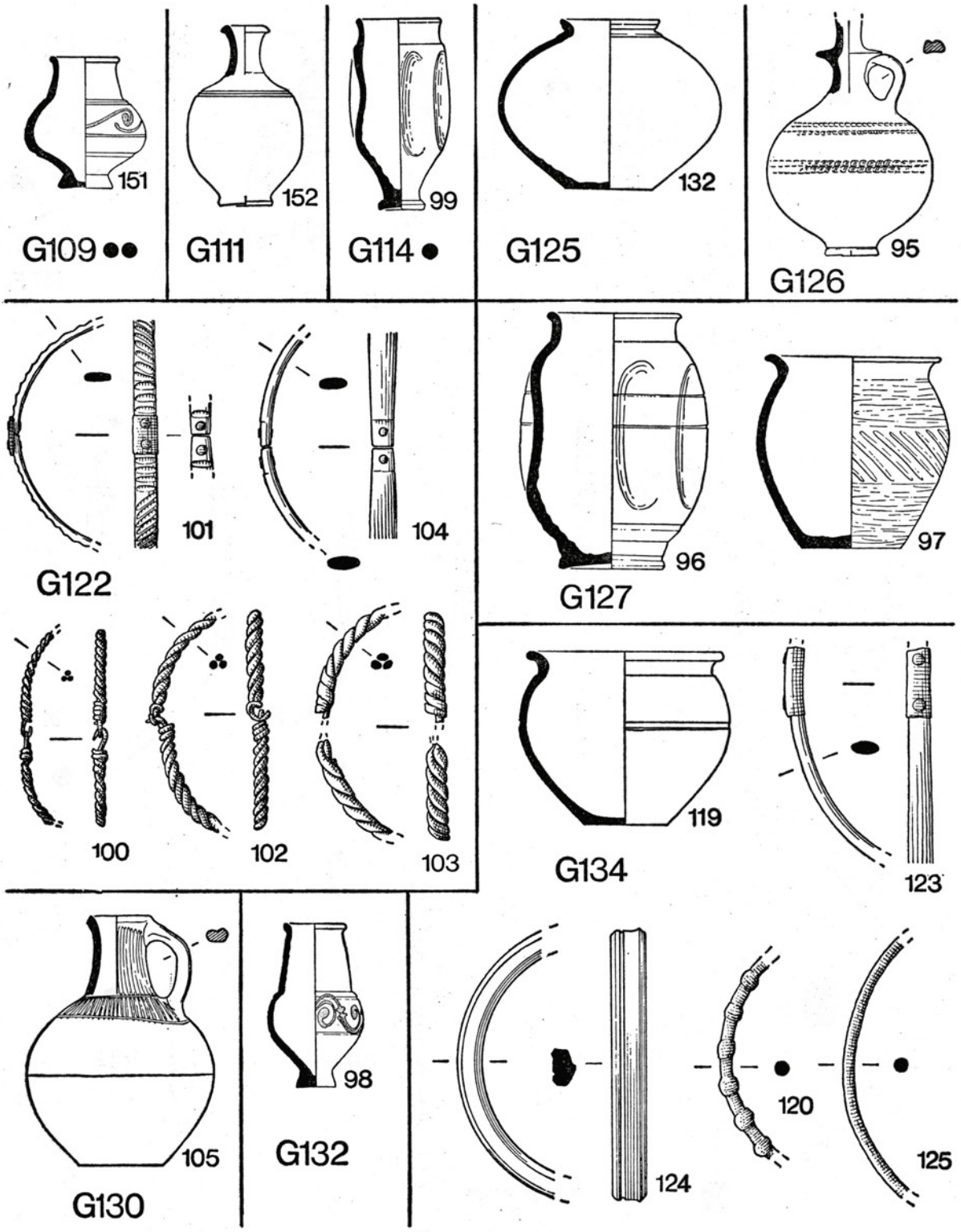


FIG. 74. Graves 109, 111, 114, 122, 125, 126, 127, 130, 132, and 134.
100, 102, 103, bronze; **120, 125,** iron; **124,** shale; **101, 123,** bone and bronze; **104,** bone and iron (1:1); **95–9, 105, 119, 132, 151, 152,** pottery (1:4).
For Grave 117, see Fig. 75.

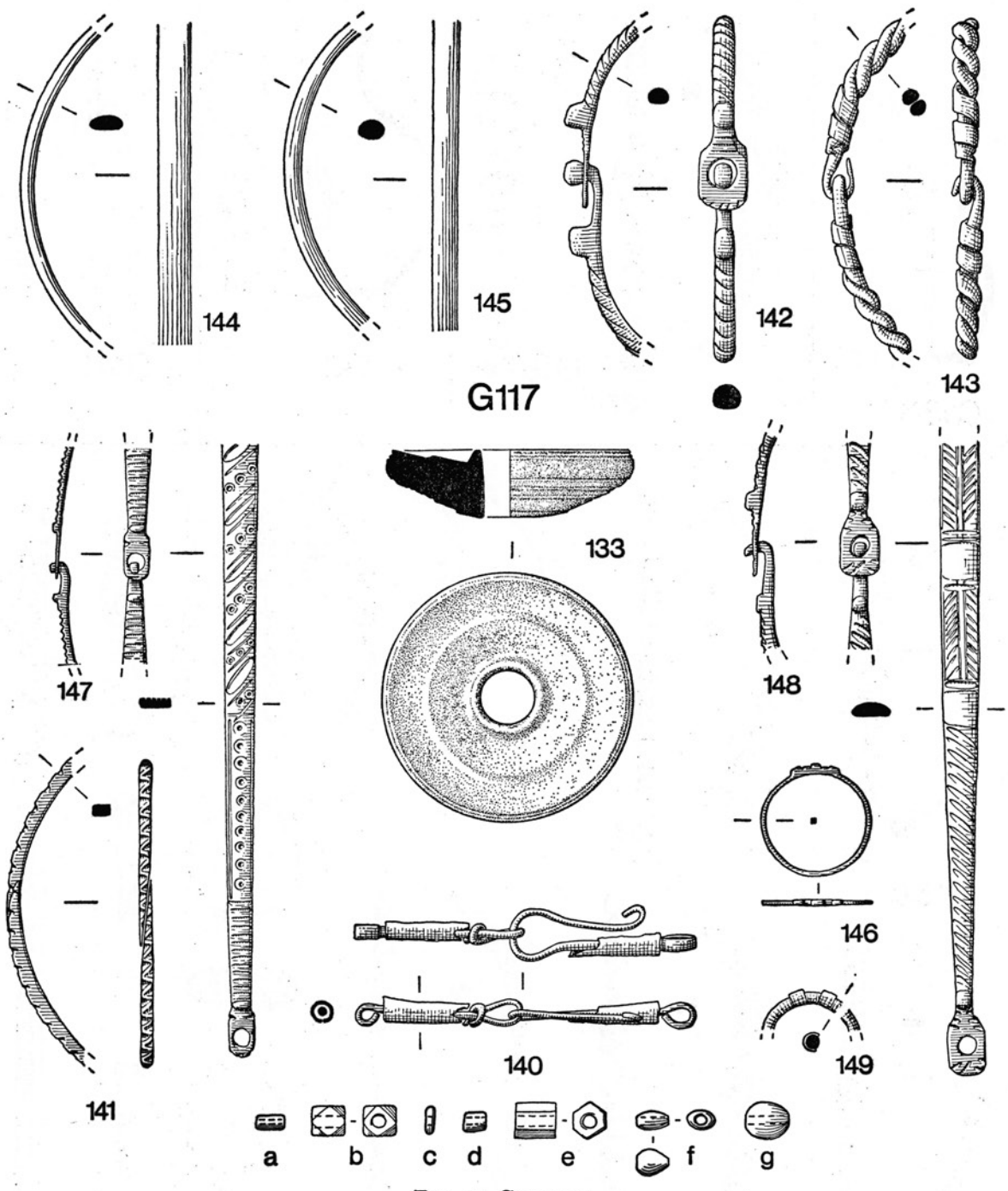


FIG. 75. Grave 117.

141–3, 146–8, bronze; **149**, iron and bronze; **140**, glass and bronze; **144, 145, ivory**; **133, bone (1:1).**
For Graves 122, 125, 126, 127, 130, 132, and 134, see Fig. 74.

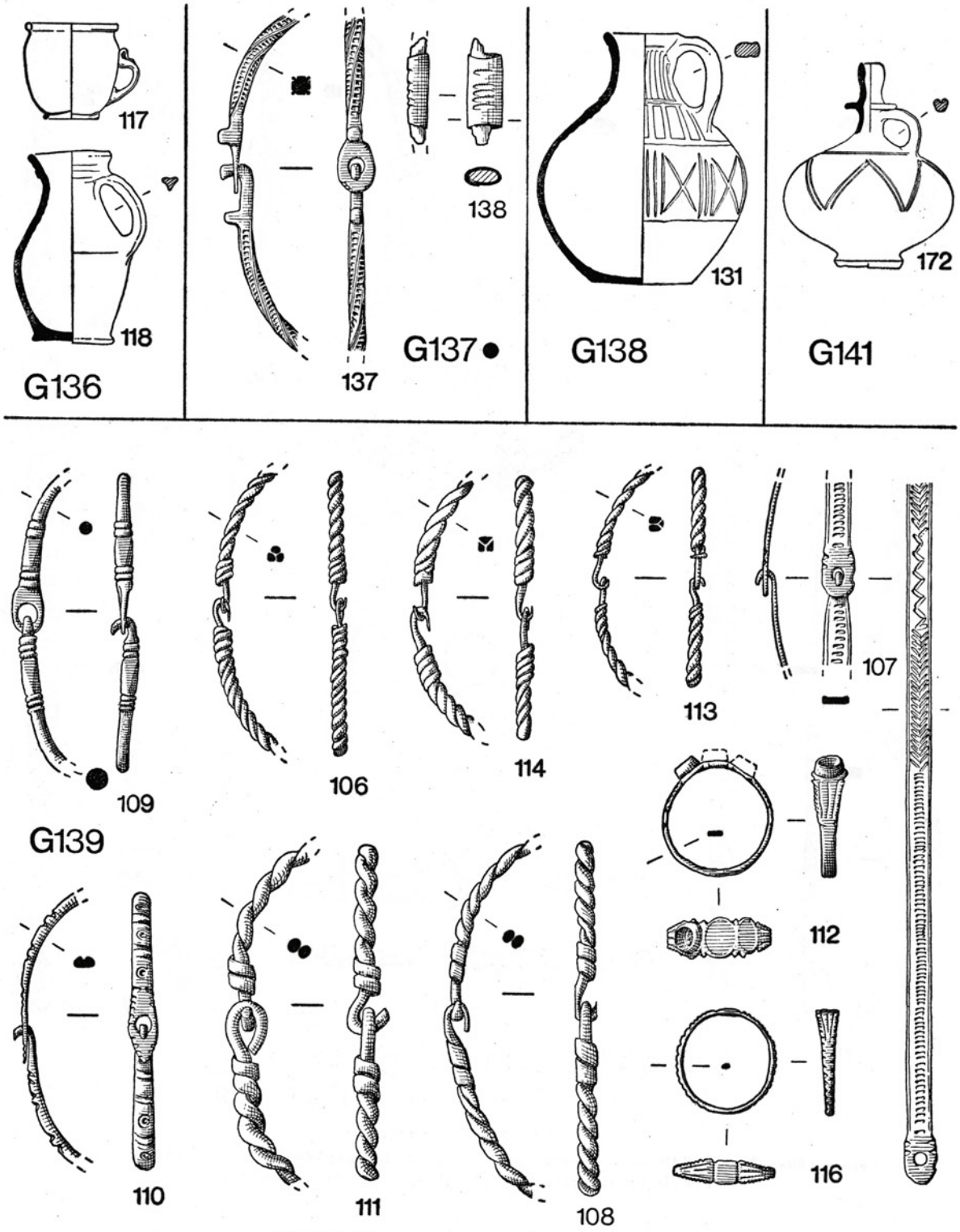


FIG. 76. Graves 136, 137, 138, 139, and 141.
106–14, 116, 137, bronze; **138,** bone and bronze (1:1); **117,** glass; **118, 131, 172,** pottery (1:4).

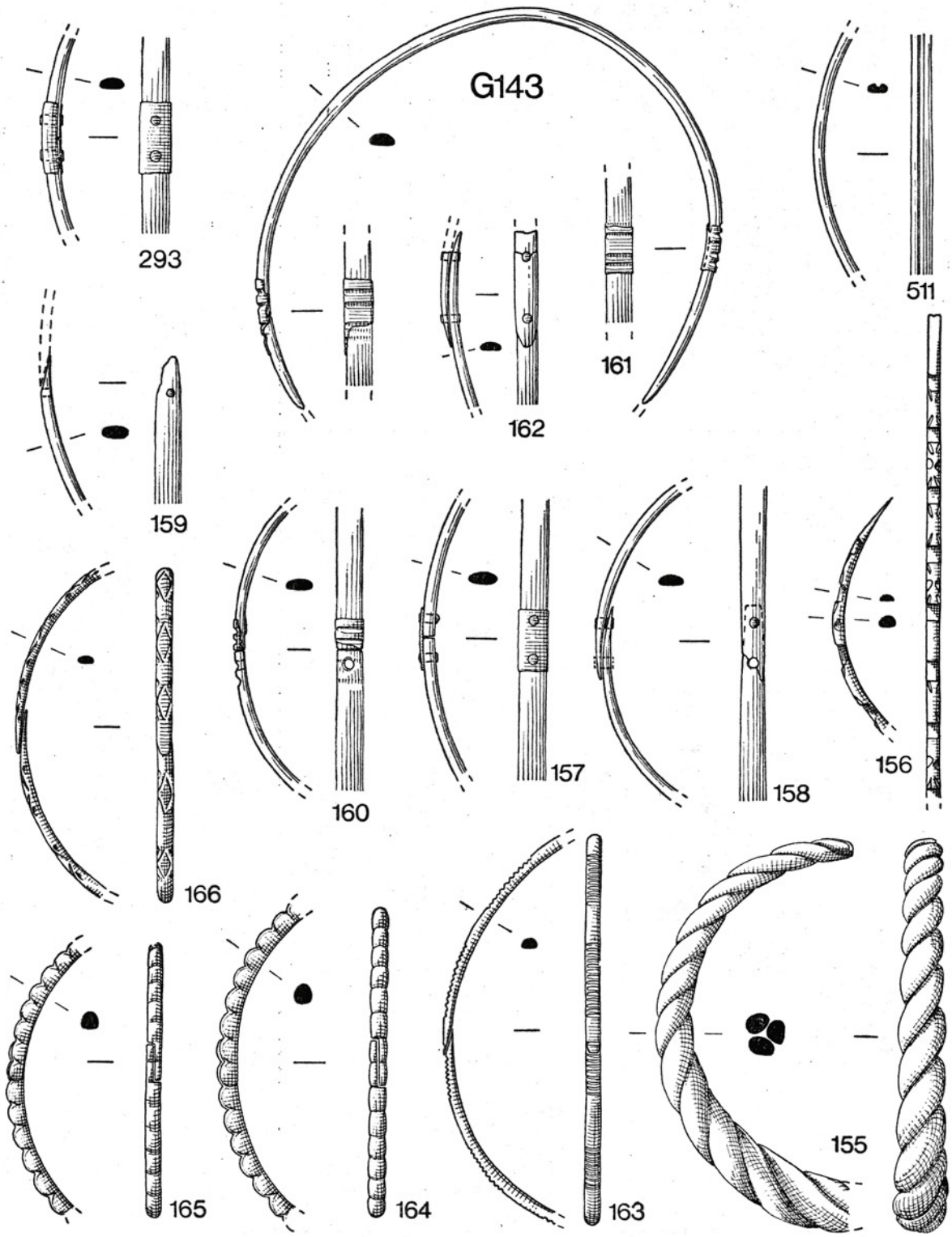


FIG. 77. Grave 143.

155, 156, 163–6, bronze; **158, 159, 162, 511,** bone; **157, 160, 161, 293,** bone and bronze (1:1).

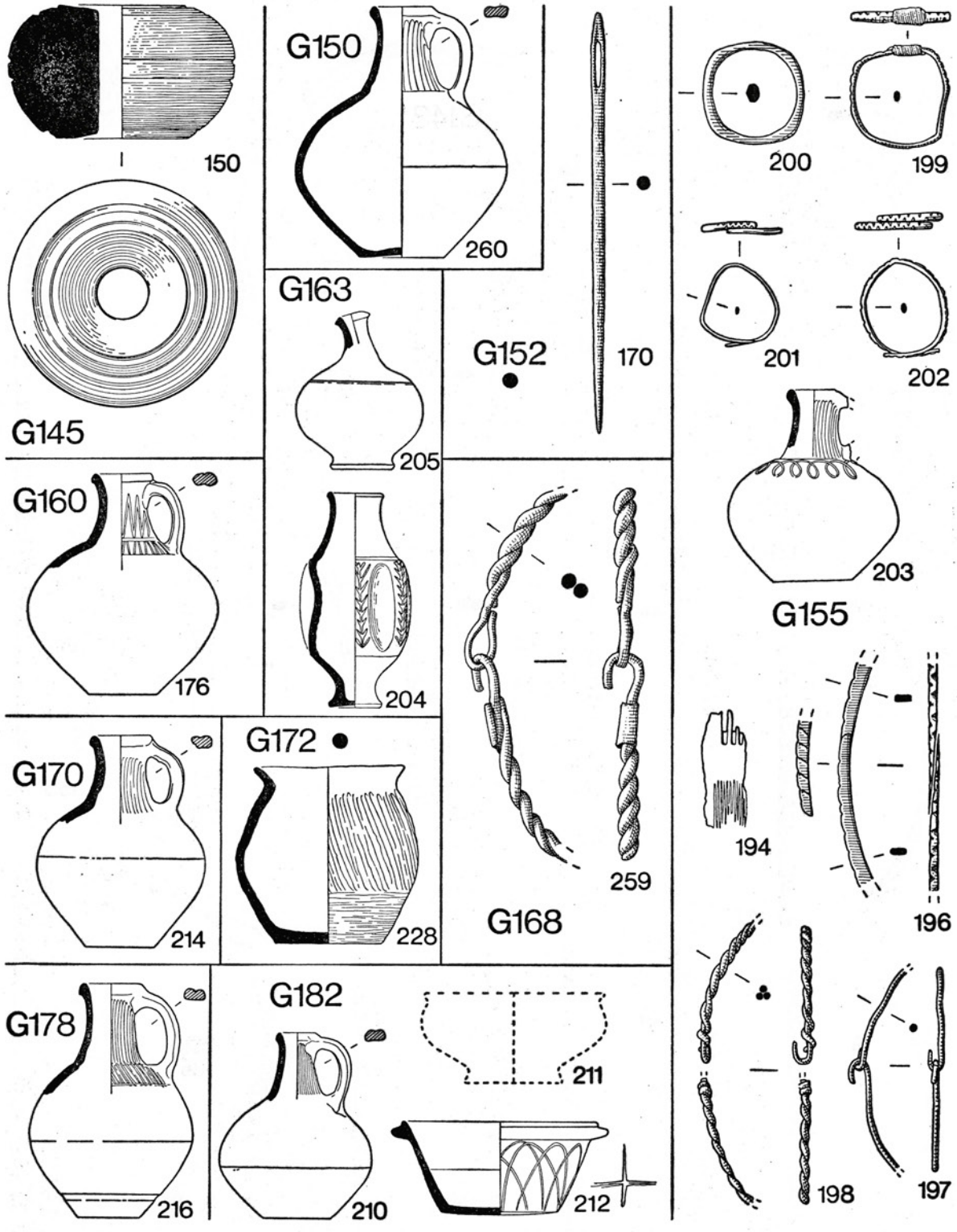


FIG. 78. Graves 145, 150, 152, 155, 160, 163, 168, 170, 172, 178, and 182.
201, 202, silver; 196–200, 259, bronze; **170,** iron; **150,** shale (1:1); **194,** wood (1:2); **176, 203–05, 210–2, 214, 216, 228, 260,** pottery (1:4).

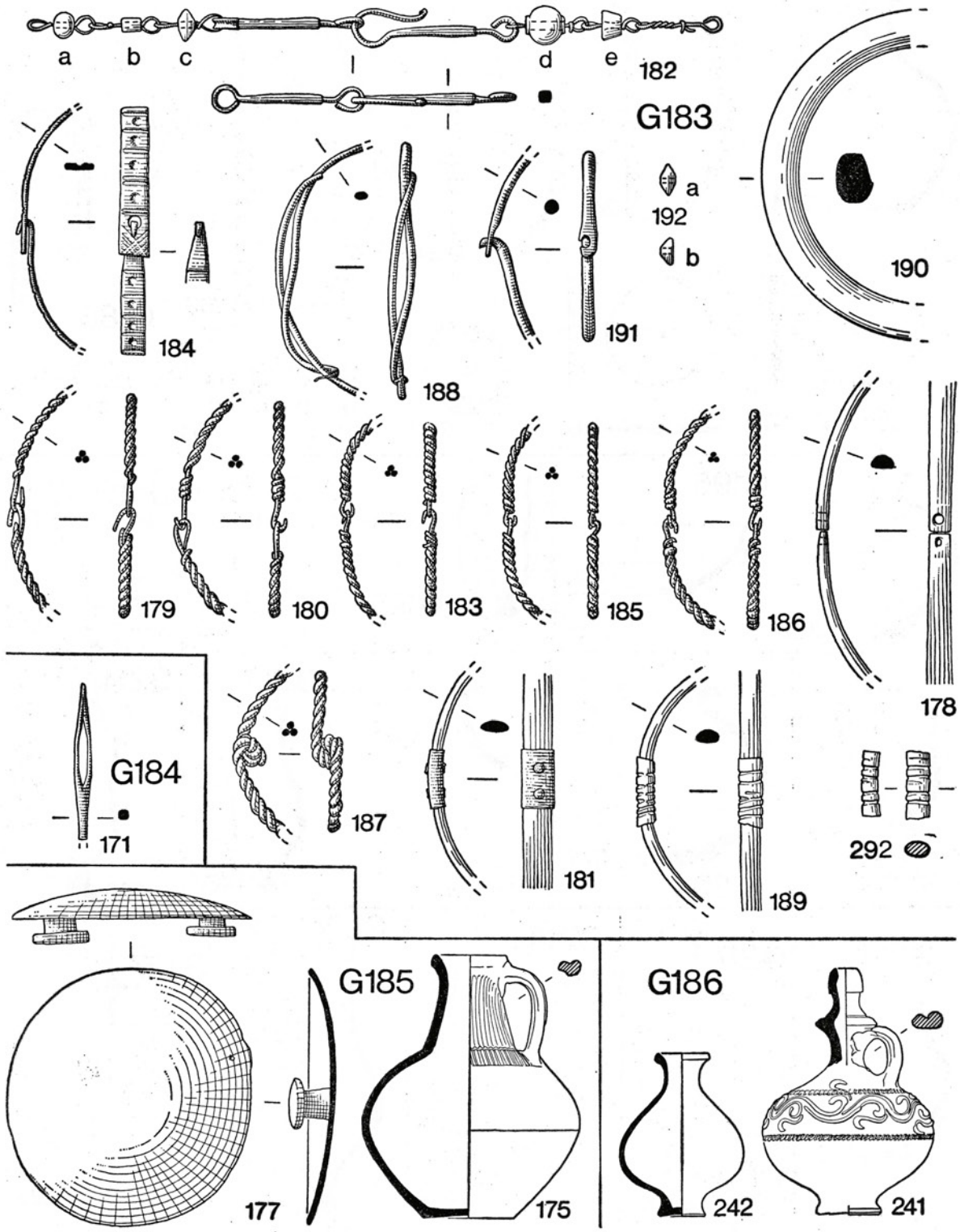


FIG. 79. Graves 183, 184, 185, and 186.

177, 179, 180, 183–8, 191, bronze; **171,** iron; **192,** glass; **182,** glass and bronze; **190,** shale; **189, 292,** ivory and silver; **178, 181,** bone and iron (1:1); **175, 241, 242,** pottery (1:4).

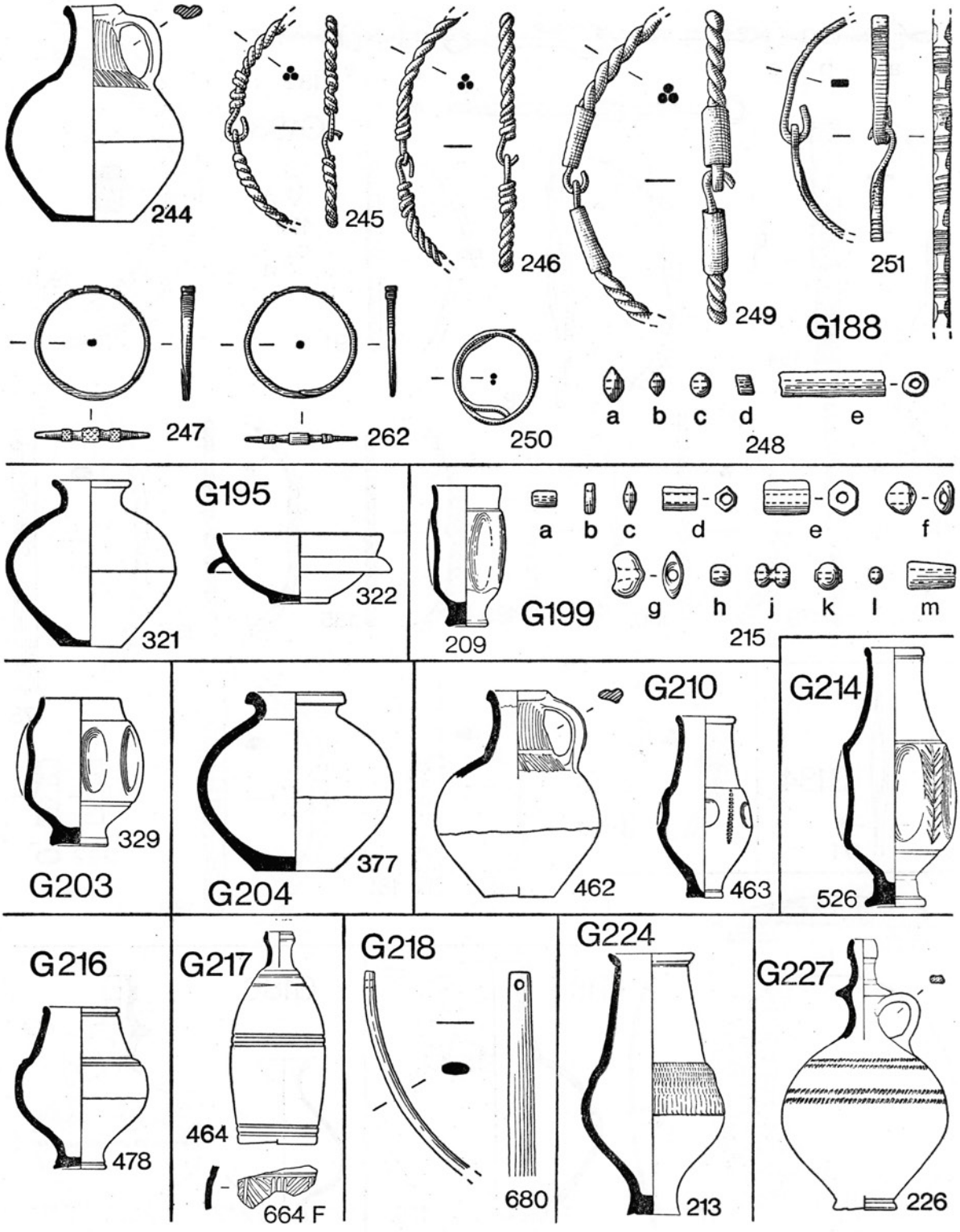


FIG. 80. Graves 188, 195, 199, 203, 204, 210, 214, 216, 217, 218, 224, and 227.
245–7, 249, 250, 251, 262, bronze; **215, 248,** glass; **680,** bone (1:1); **209, 213, 226, 244, 321, 322, 329, 377, 462–4, 478, 526, 664,** pottery (1:4).

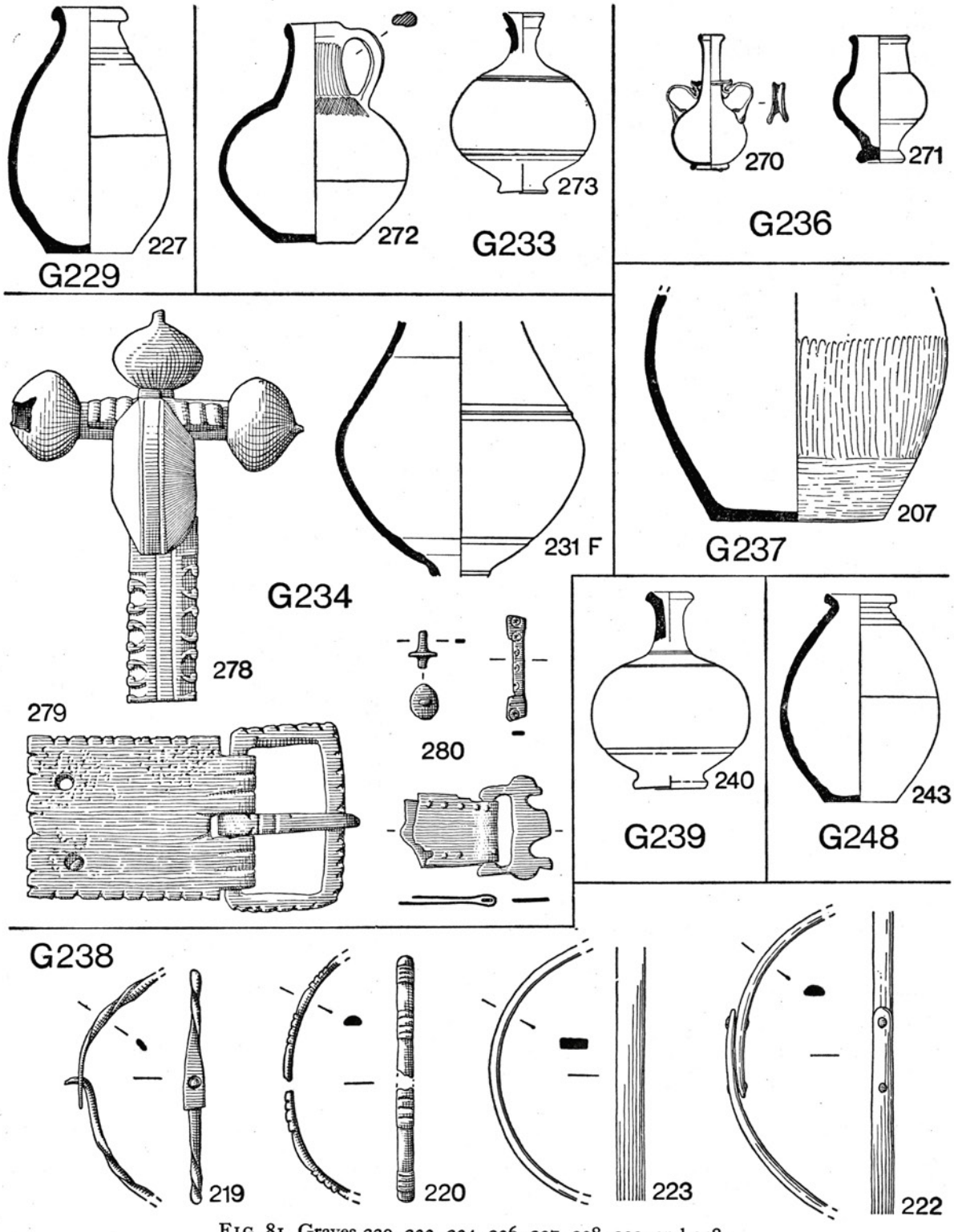


FIG. 81. Graves 229, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, and 248.
219, 220, 278–80, bronze; **222, 223,** bone (1:1); **270,** glass; **207, 227, 231, 240, 243, 271–3,** pottery (1:4).

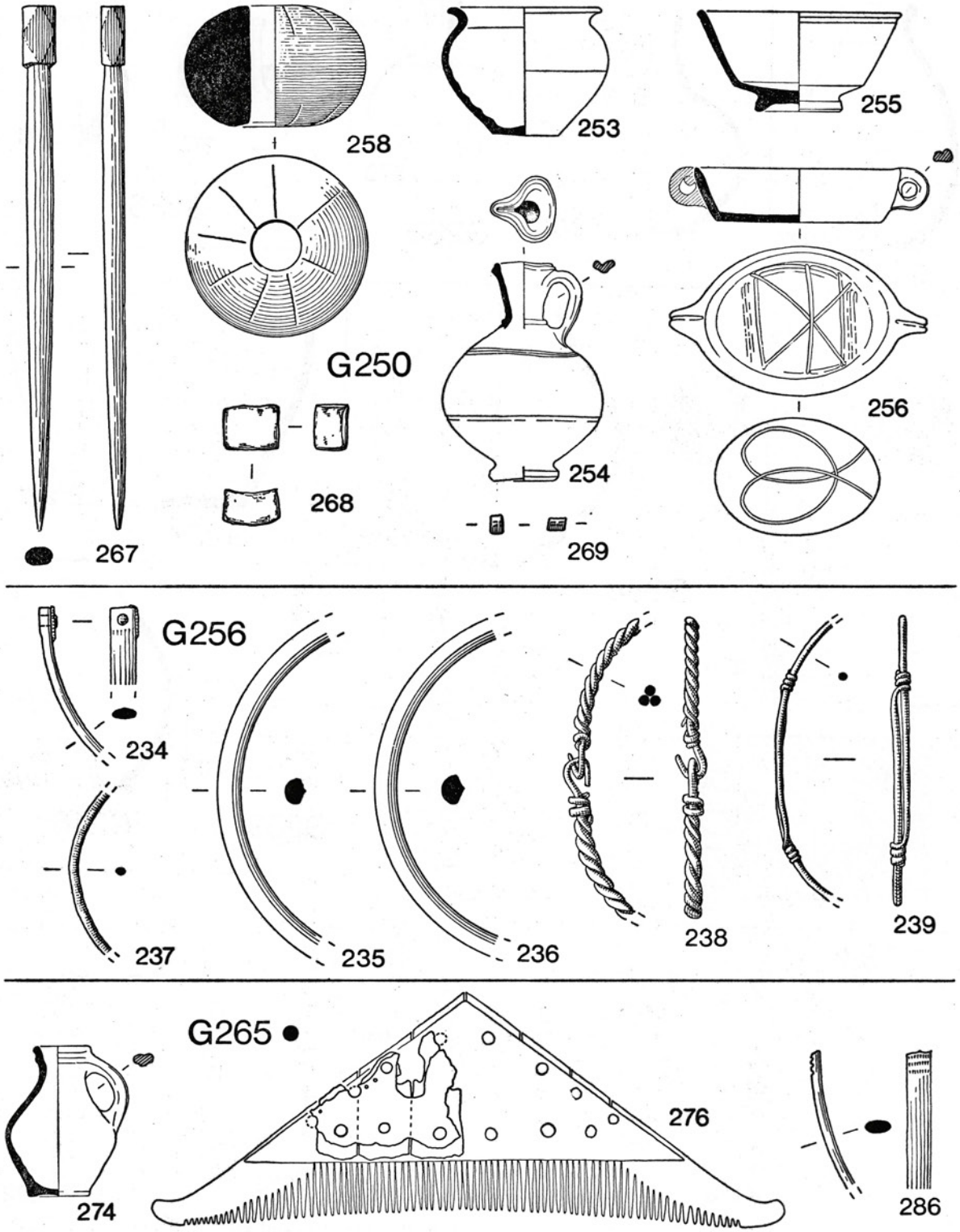


FIG. 82. Graves 250, 256, and 265.

238, 239, bronze; **237,** iron; **268, 269,** glass; 267, jet; 235, 236, 258, shale; **234, 286,** bone (1:1); **276,** bone (1:2); 253–6, 274, pottery (1:4).

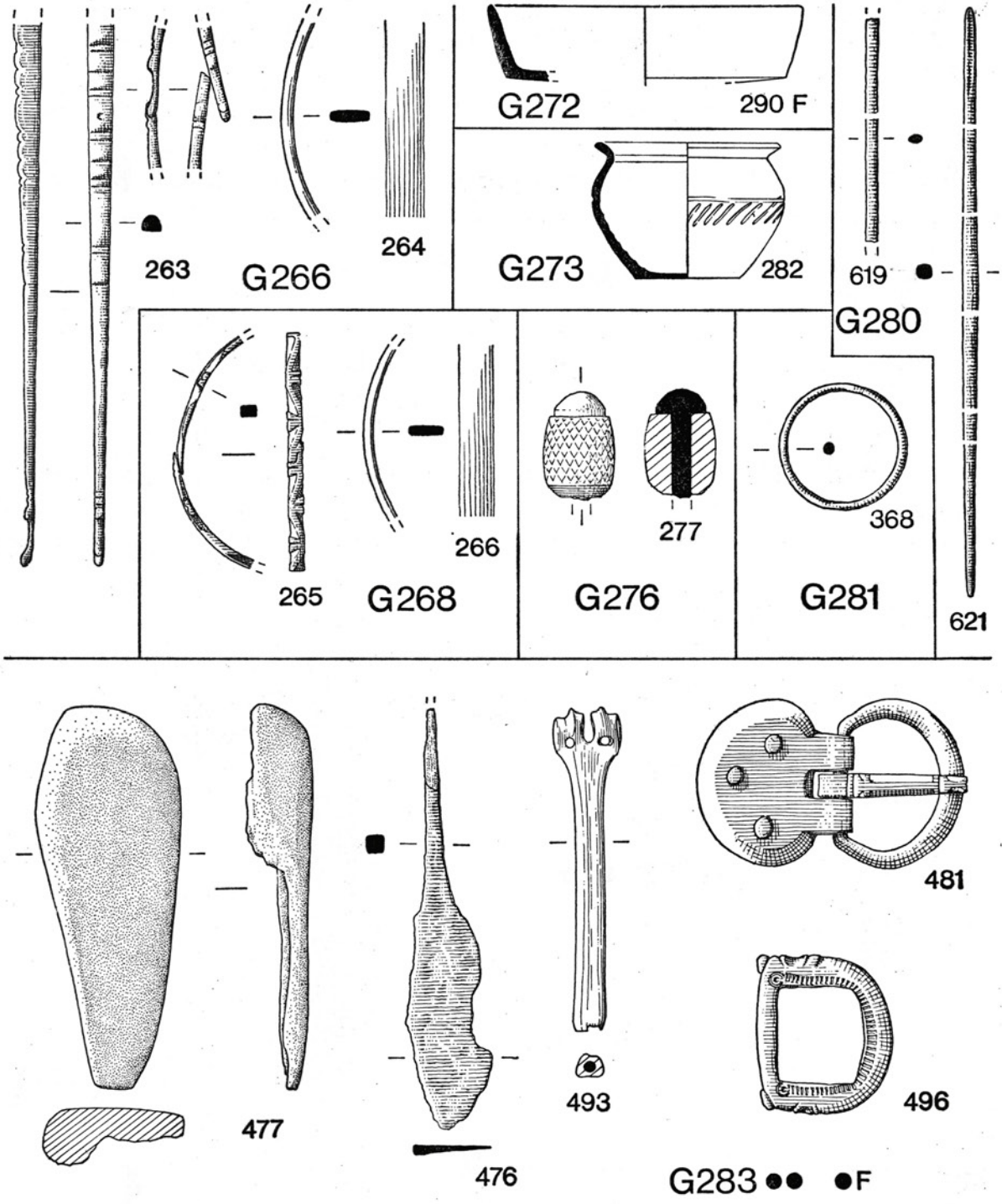


FIG. 83. Graves 266, 268, 272, 273, 276, 280, 281, and 283.

263, 265, 481, 496, bronze; **368, 619, 621,** iron; 264, 266, 277, bone (1:1); **476,** iron; **493, bone; 477, stone (1:2); 282, 290,** pottery (1:4).

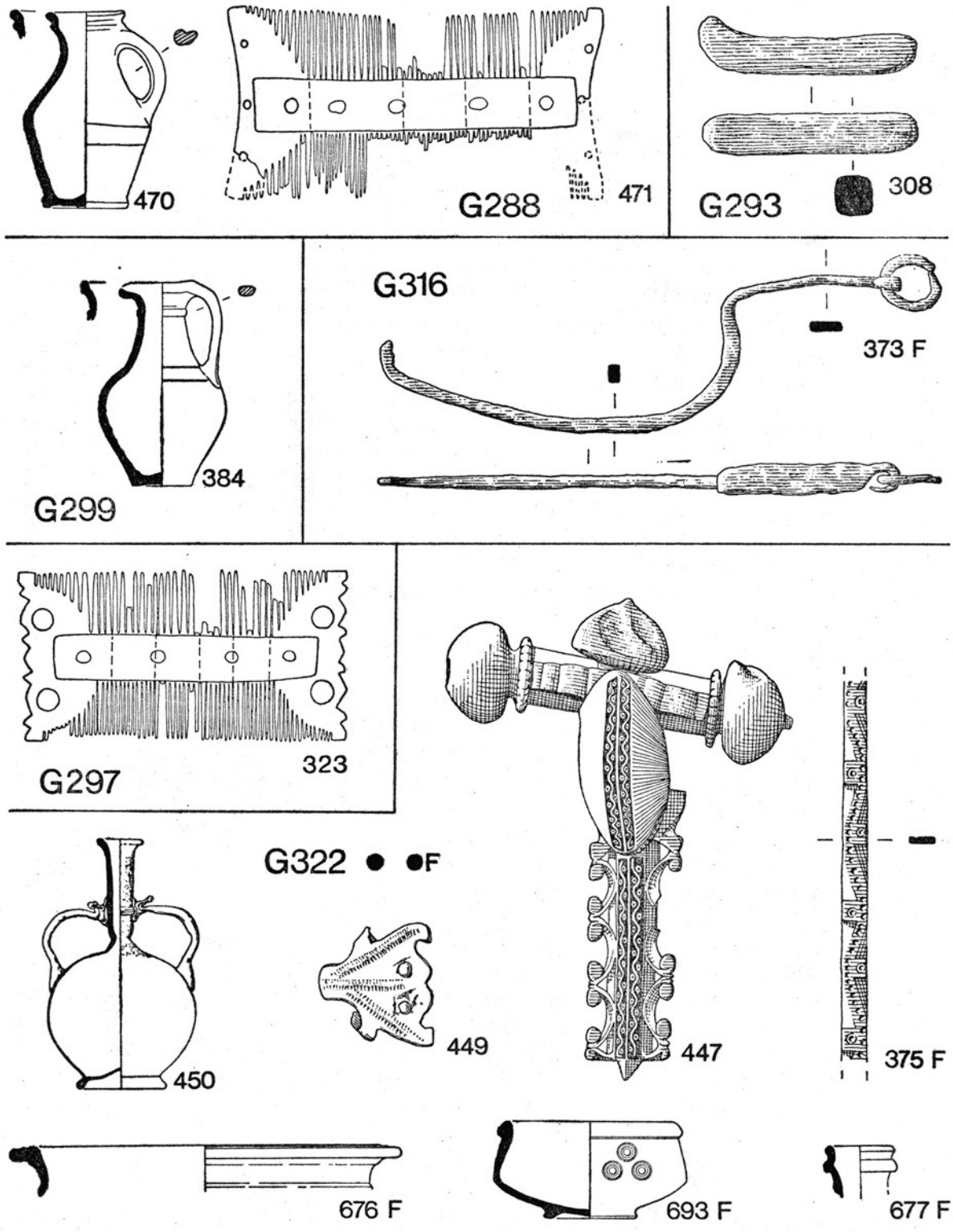


FIG. 84. Graves 288, 293, 297, 299, 316, and 322.

449, silver; 375, 447, bronze (1:1); **308, 373,** iron; **323, 471,** bone (1:2); **450,** glass; **384, 470, 676, 677, 693,** pottery (1:4).

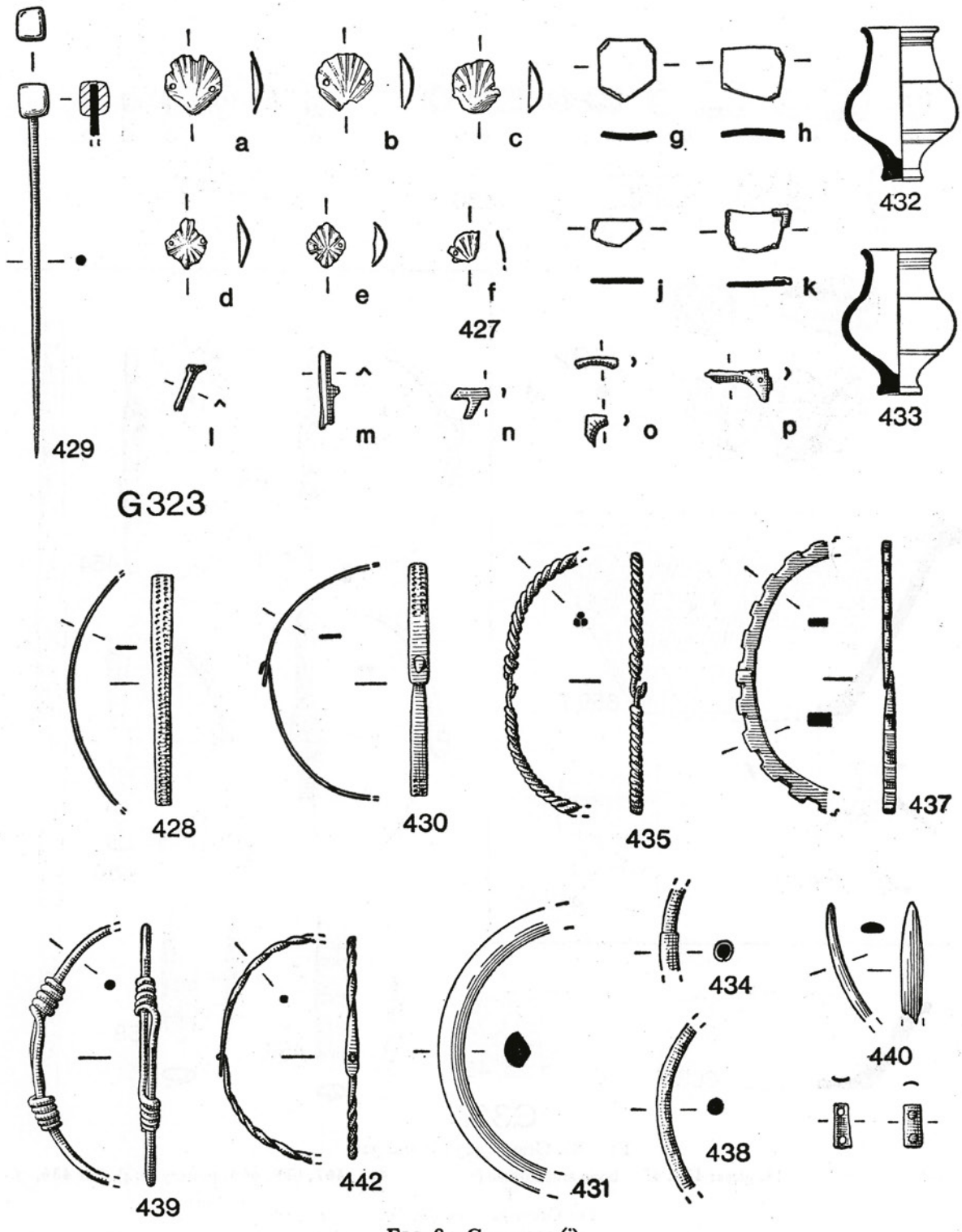


FIG. 85. Grave 323 (i).

427 a–f and l–p, 428, 430, 435, 437, 439, 442, bronze; **429,** bronze and glass; **438,** iron; **434, iron and bronze; 427 g–k,** glass; **431,** shale; **440,** bone and bronze (1:1); **432, 433,** pottery (1:4).

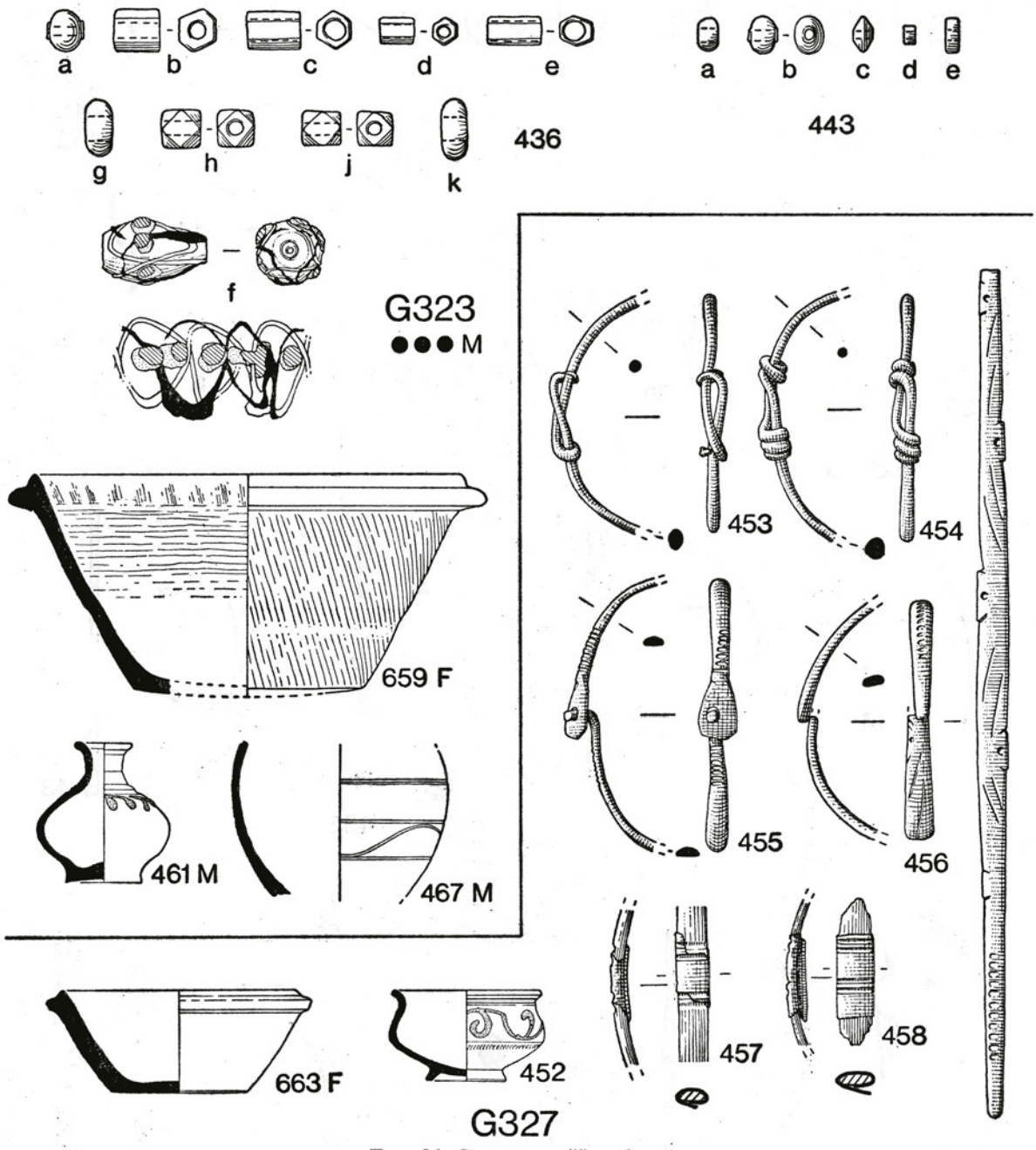


FIG. 86. Graves 323 (ii) and 327.

453–6, bronze; 436, 443, glass; 457, 458, bone and bronze (1:1); **452, 461, 467, 659, 663, pottery (1:4). For 436, cf.** Pl. I*a*.

For Grave 326, see Fig. 87.

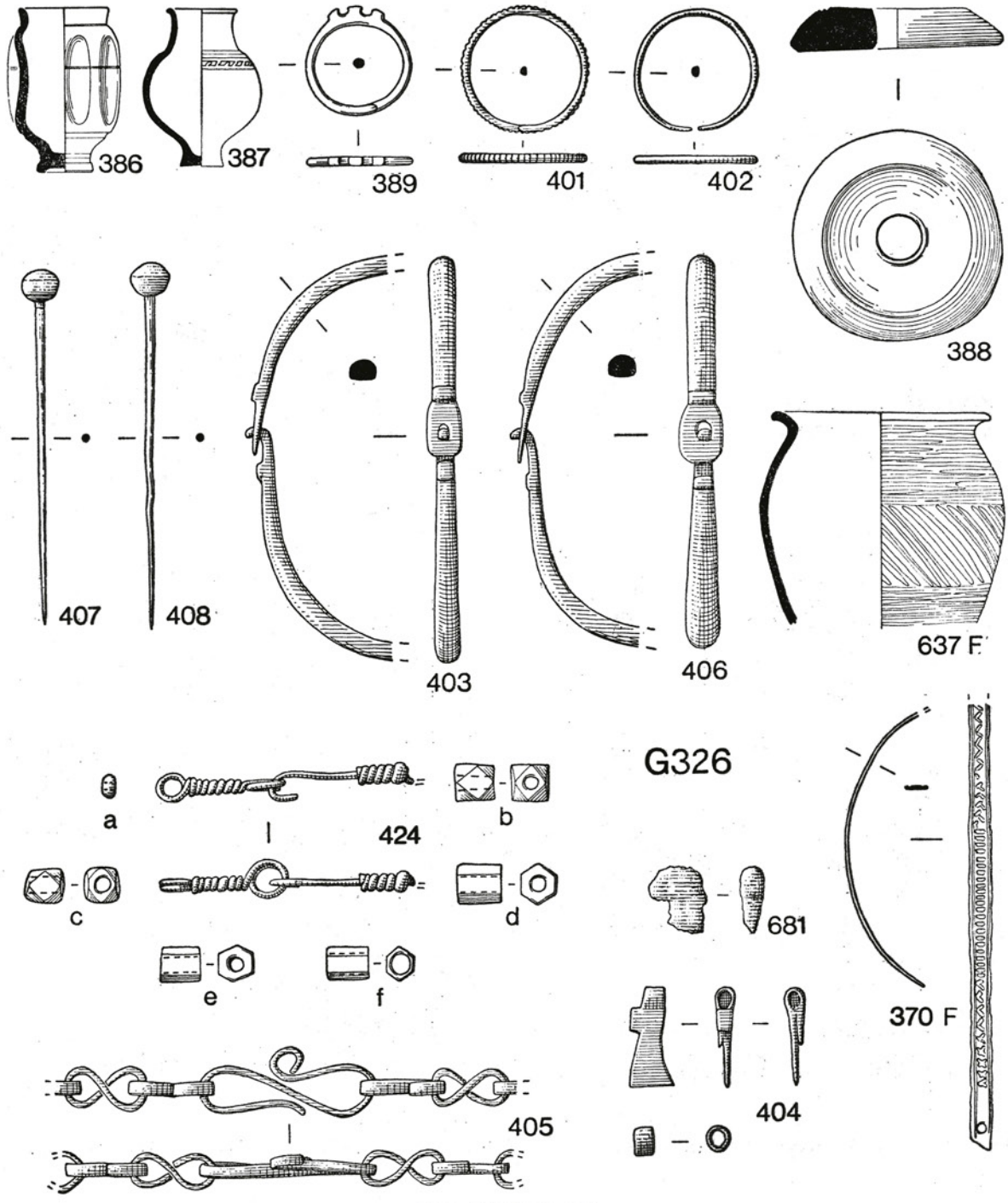


FIG. 87. Grave 326.

389, 407, 408, silver; 370, 401–06, bronze; 681, iron; **424,** glass and bronze; **388, shale (1:1); 386, 387, 637, pottery (1:4).**

For Grave 327, see Fig. 86.

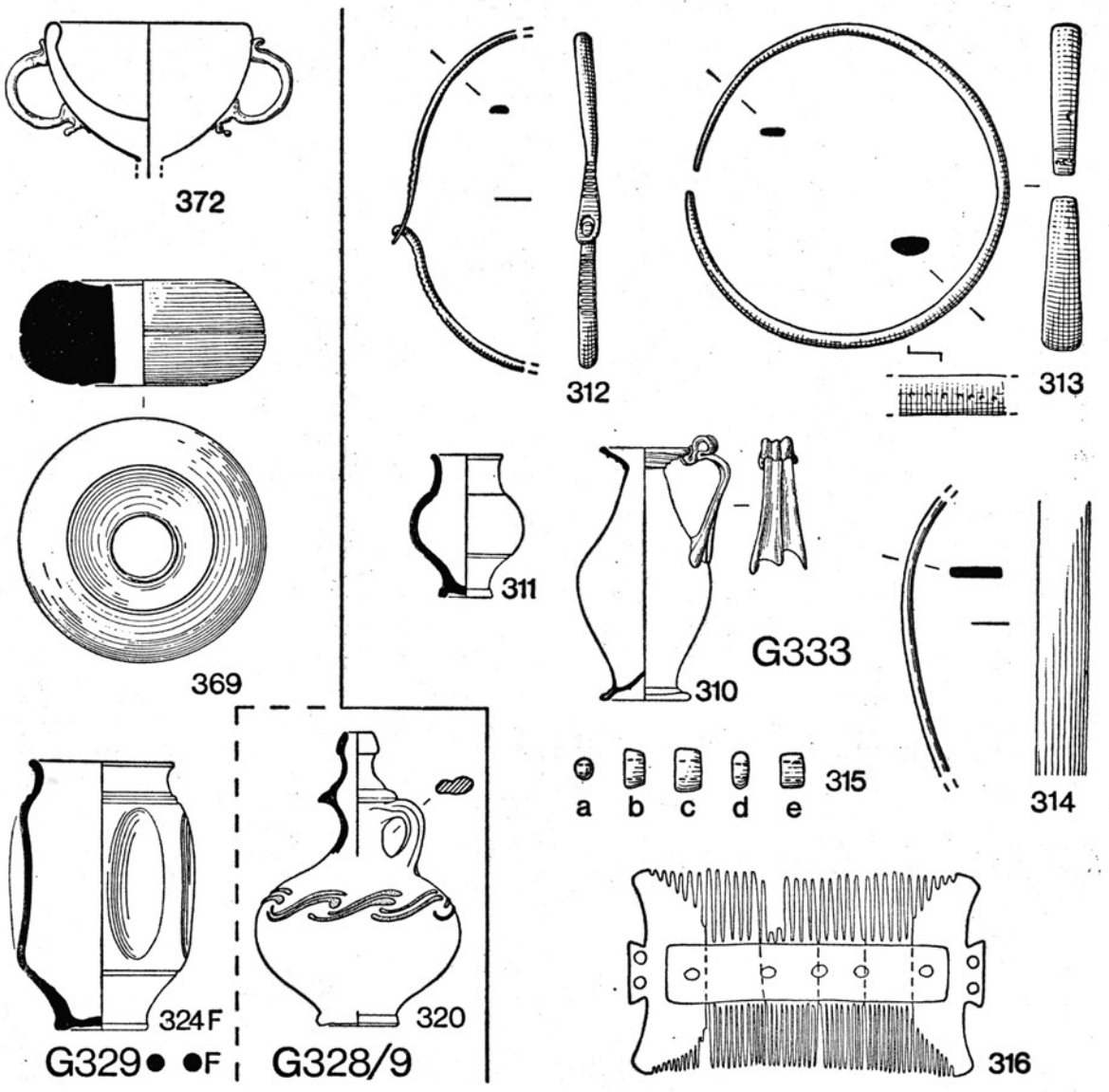


FIG. 88. Graves 328, 329, and 333.

312, 313, bronze; **315,** glass; **369,** shale; **314,** ivory (1:1); **316,** bone (1:2); **310, 372,** glass; **311, 320, 324,** pottery (1:4).

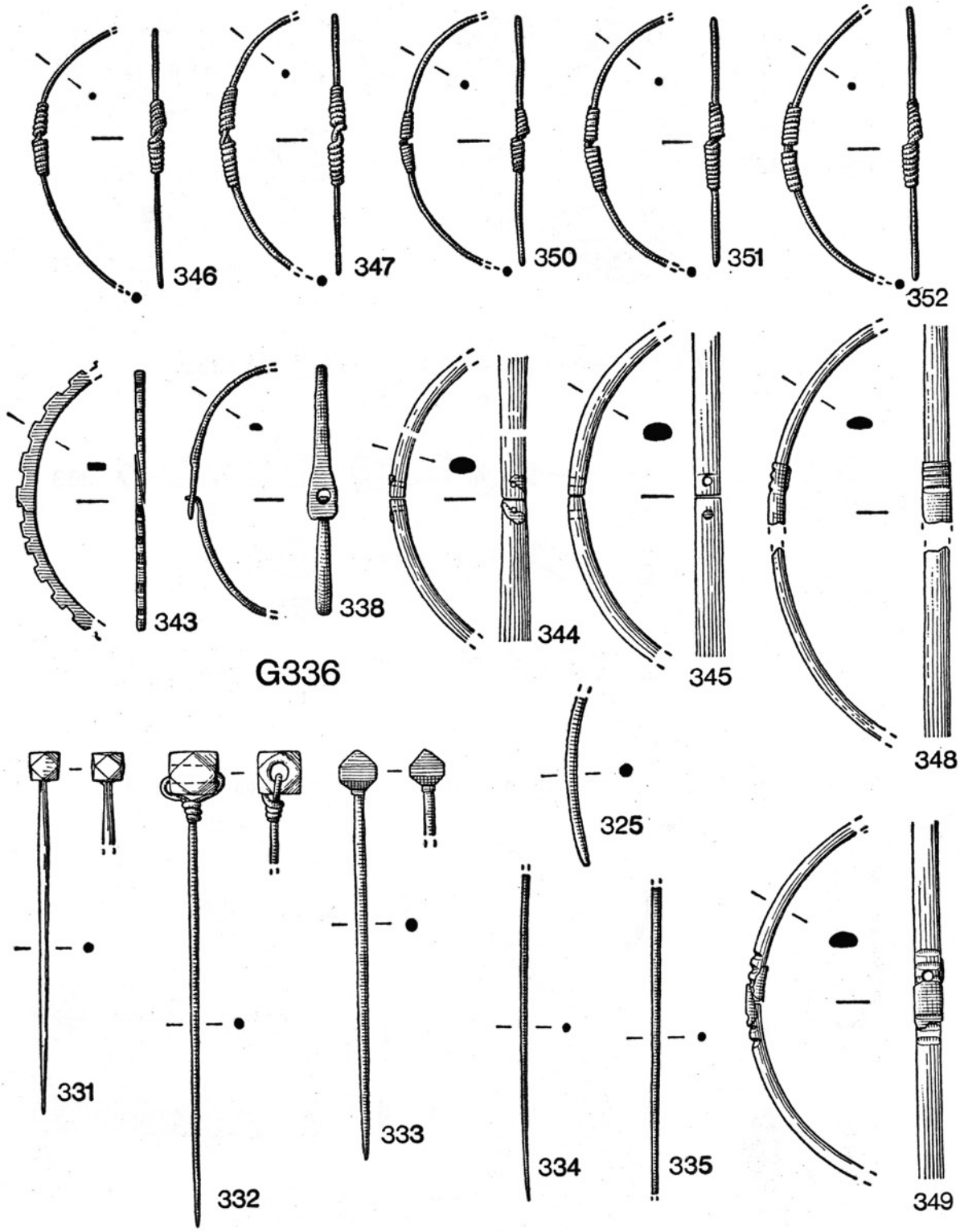


FIG. 89. Grave 336 (i).

331, silver; 325, 333–5, 338, 343, 346, 347, 350–2, bronze; **332,** bronze and glass; **345,** bone; **344, 348, 349,** bone and bronze (1:1).

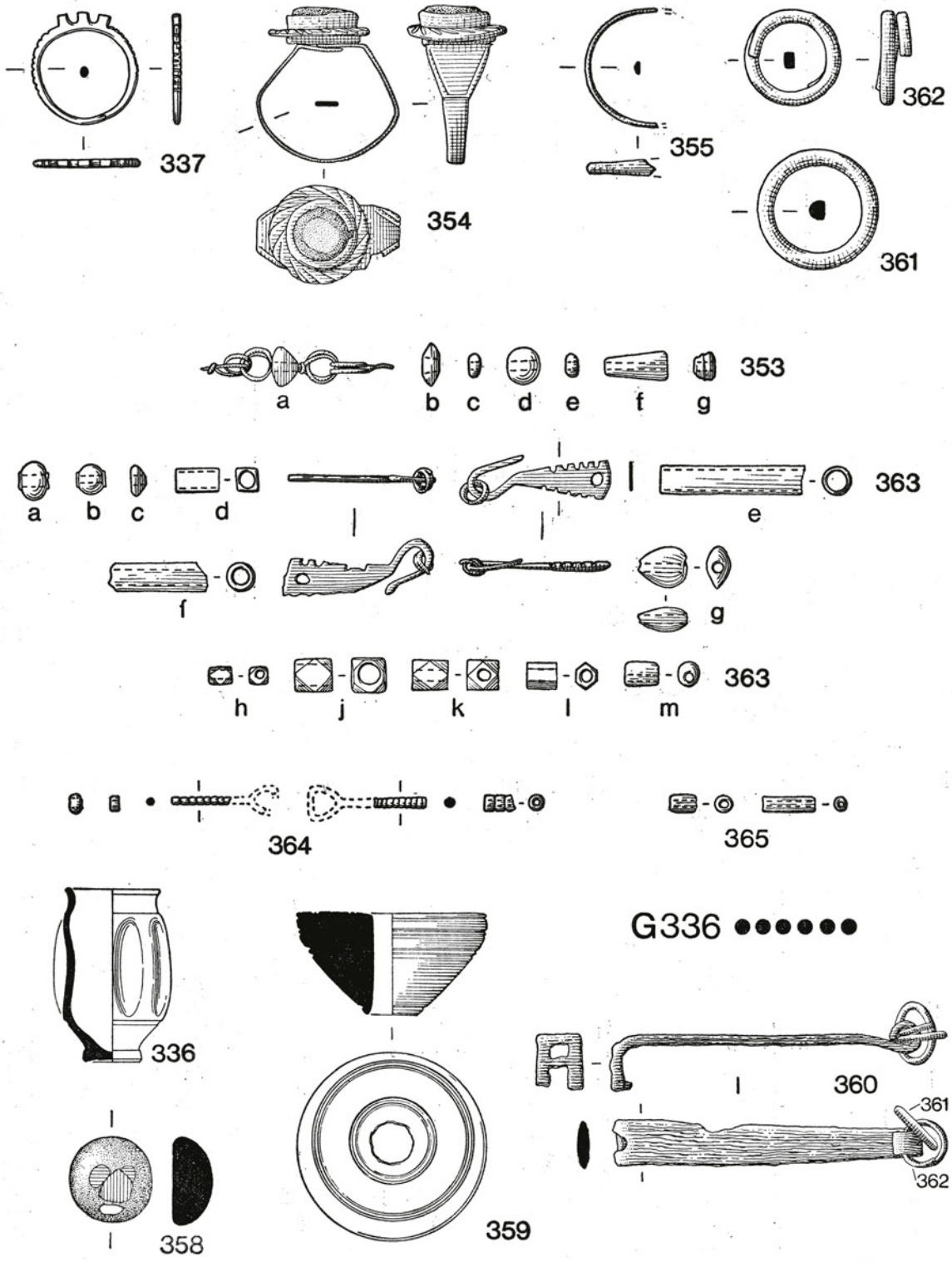


FIG. 90. Grave 336 (ii).

337, silver; 355, 361, 362, bronze; **358,** glass; **353, 354, 363, 364,** glass and bronze; **359, jet; 365,** coral (1:1); **360,** iron (1:2); **336,** pottery (1:4). For **363,** cf. Pl. I*a*.

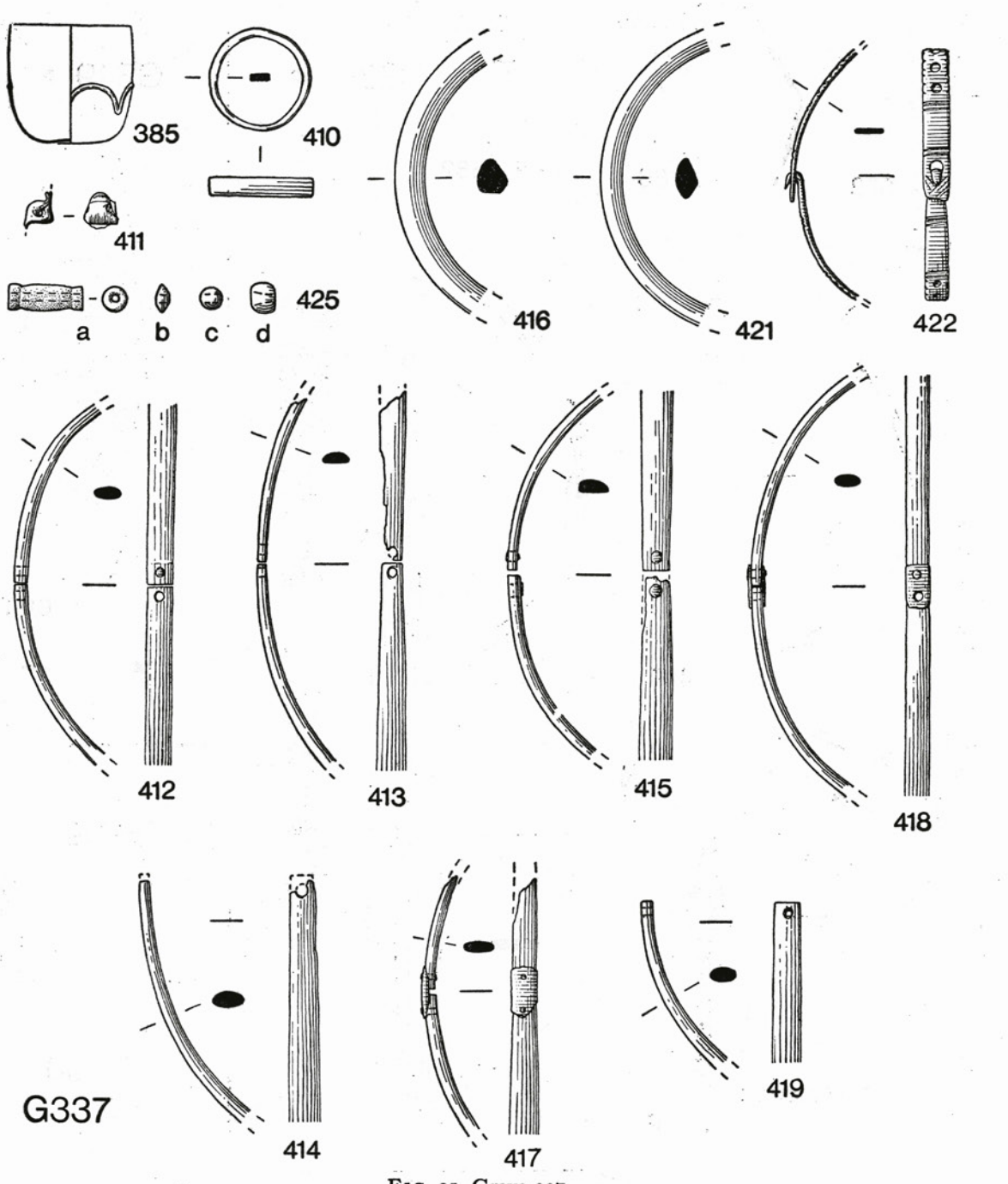


FIG. 91. Grave 337.

410, silver; 422, bronze; 425, glass and coral; 416, 421, shale; **412–15, 419,** bone; **417, 418,** bone and bronze (1:1); **385, 411,** glass (1:4).

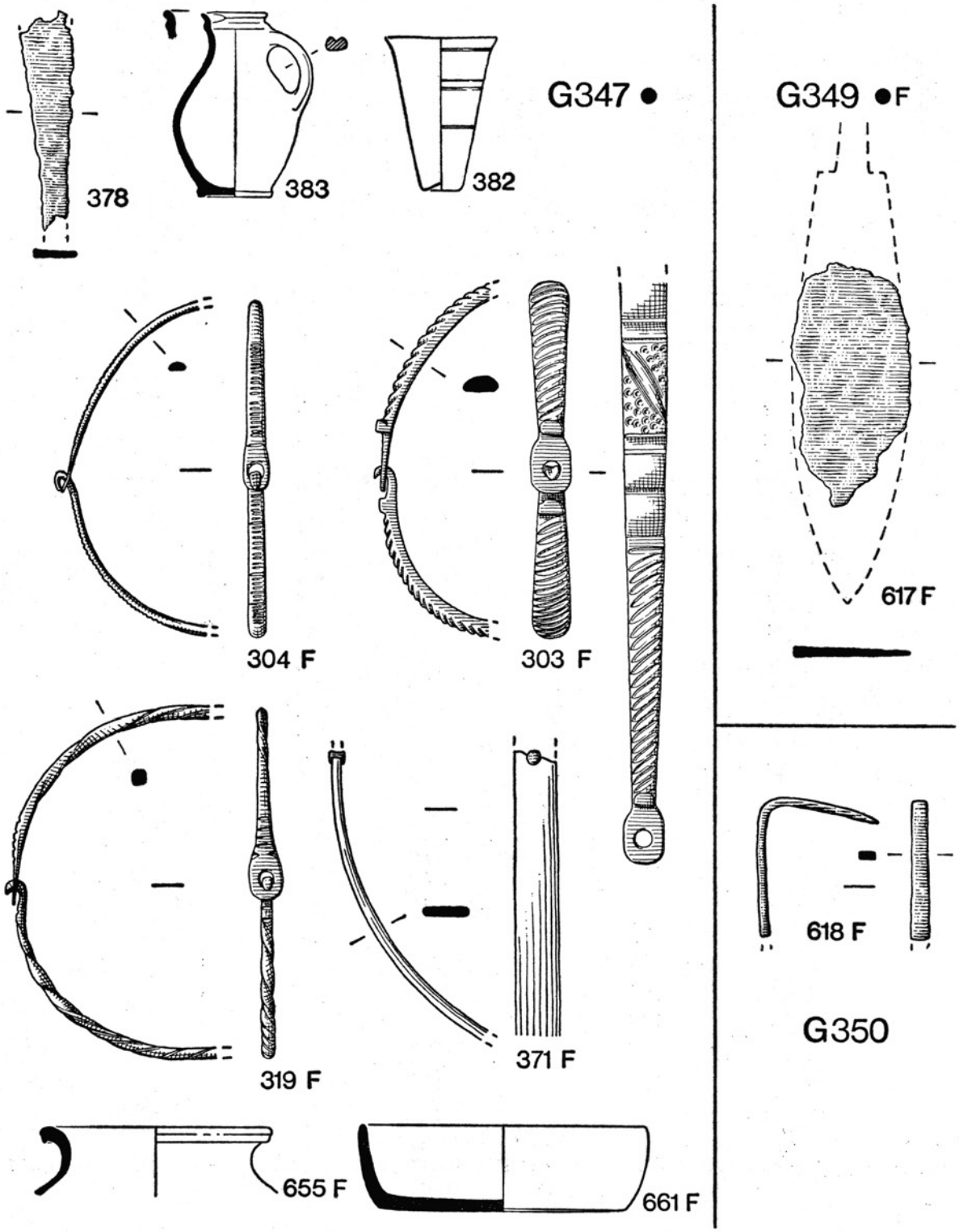


FIG. 92. Graves 347, 349, and 350.

303, 304, 319, bronze; **371,** bone (1:1); **378, 617, 618,** iron (1:2); **382,** glass; **383, 655, 661,** pottery (1:4).

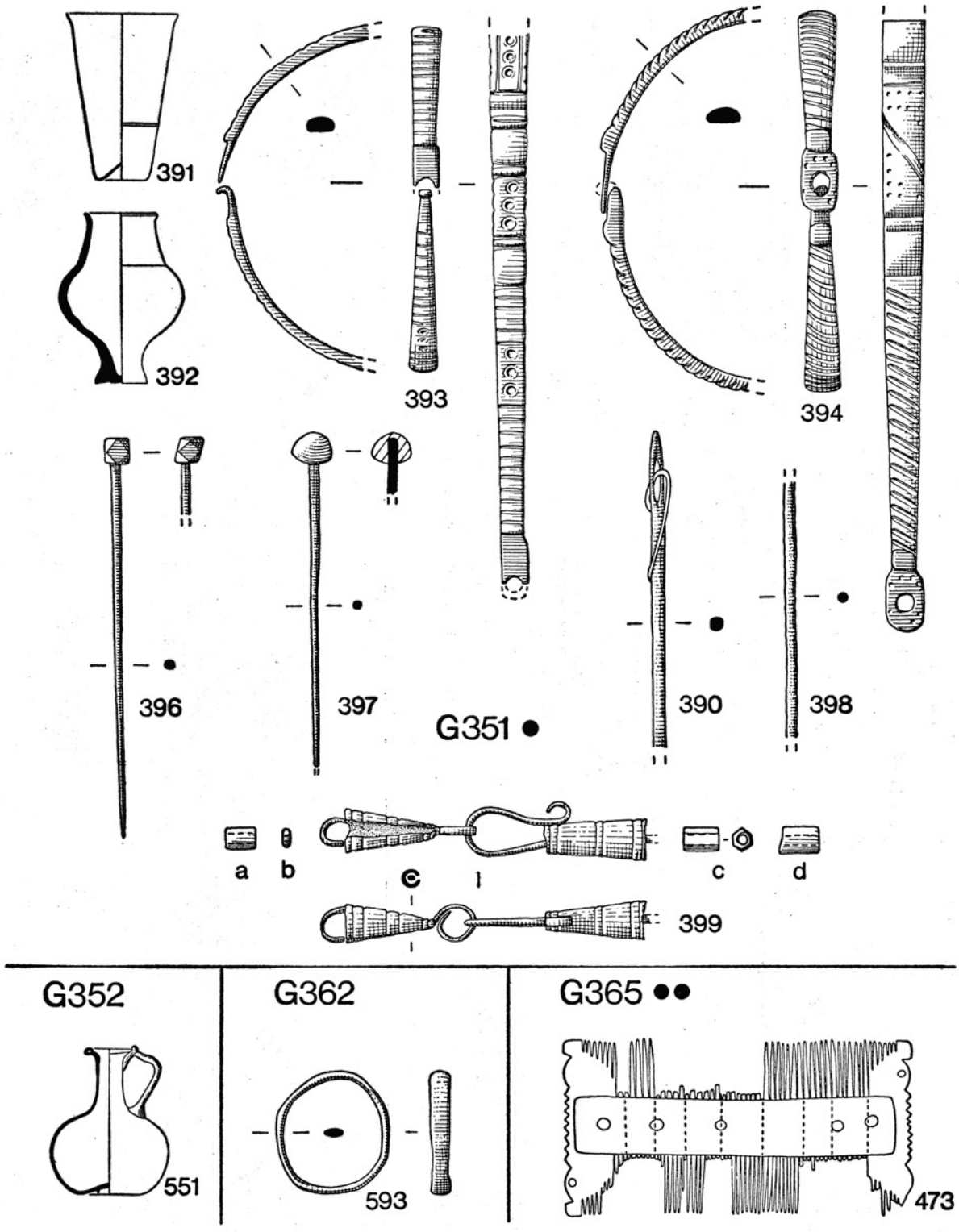


FIG. 93. Graves 351, 352, 362, and 365.

393, 394, 396, 593, bronze; 397, 399, bronze and glass; 390, 398, iron (1:1); **473, bone (1:2); 391, 551, glass; 392,** pottery (1:4).

For Graves 359 and 361, see Fig. 94.

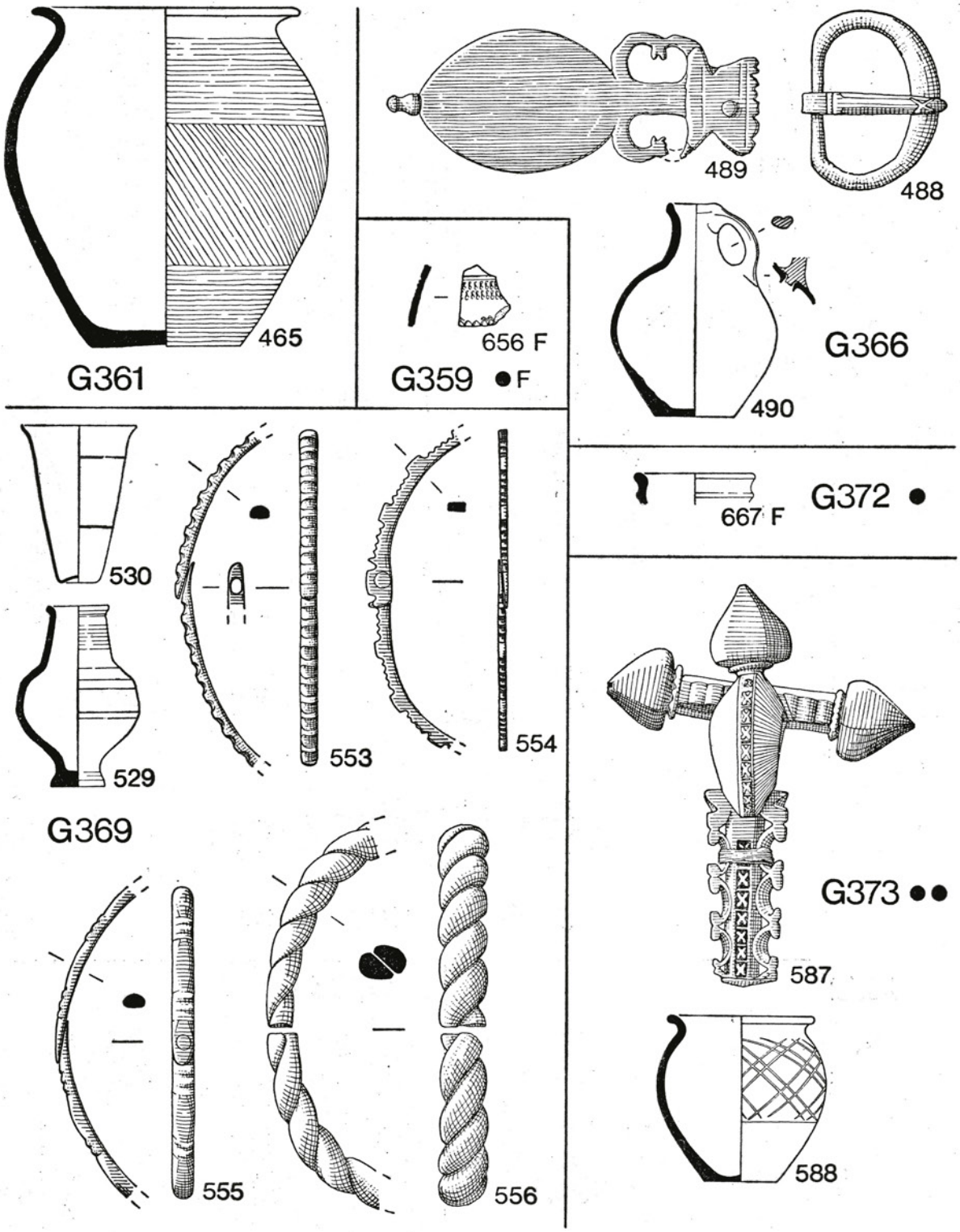


FIG. 94. Graves 359, 361, 366, 369, 372, and 373.
488, 489, 553–6, 587, bronze (1:1); **530,** glass; **465, 490, 529, 588, 656, 667,** pottery (1:4).
For Graves 362 and 365, see Fig. 93.

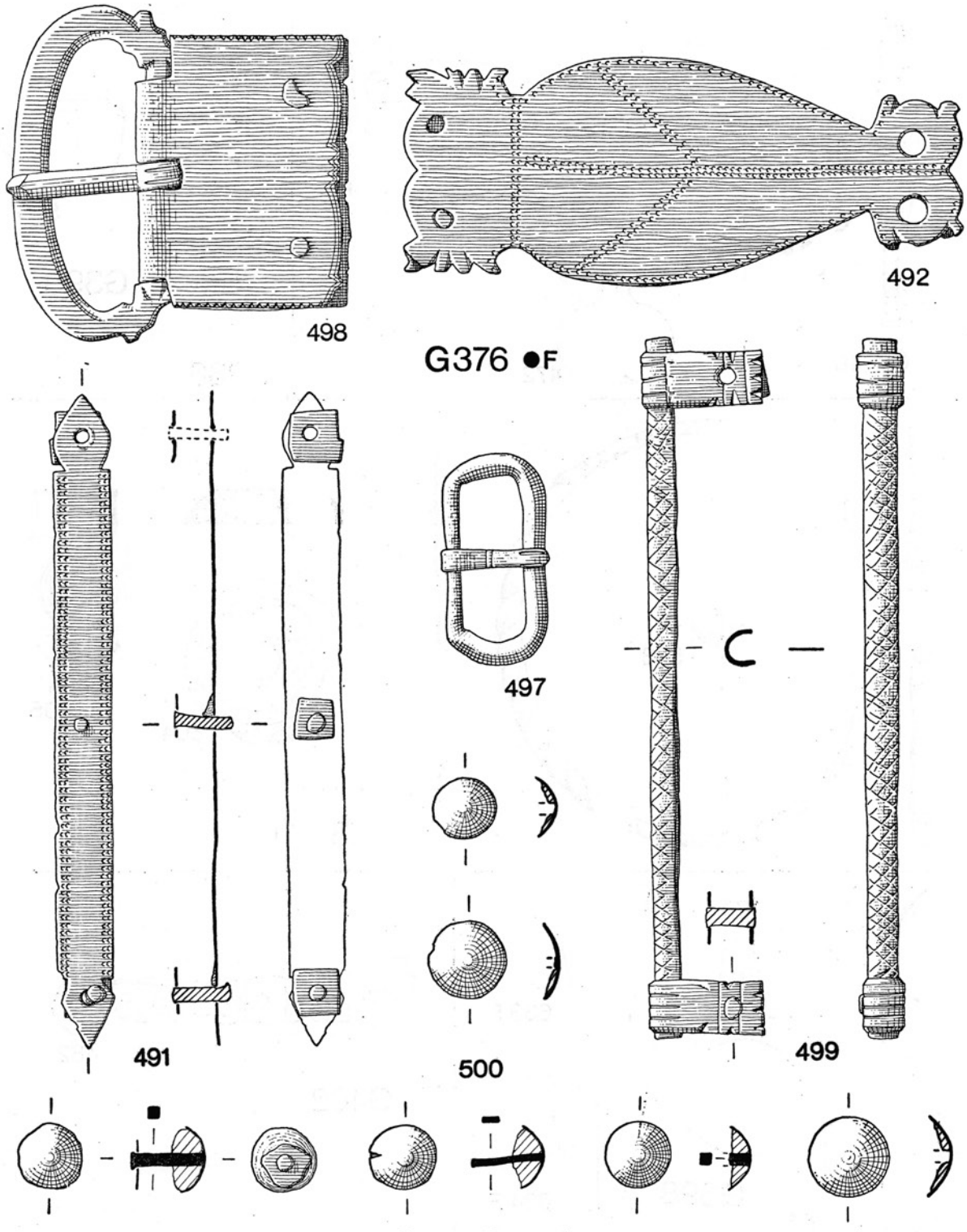


FIG. 95. Grave 376.
491, 492, 497–500, bronze (1:1).
Cf. Fig. 33 and Pl. XIV*b*.

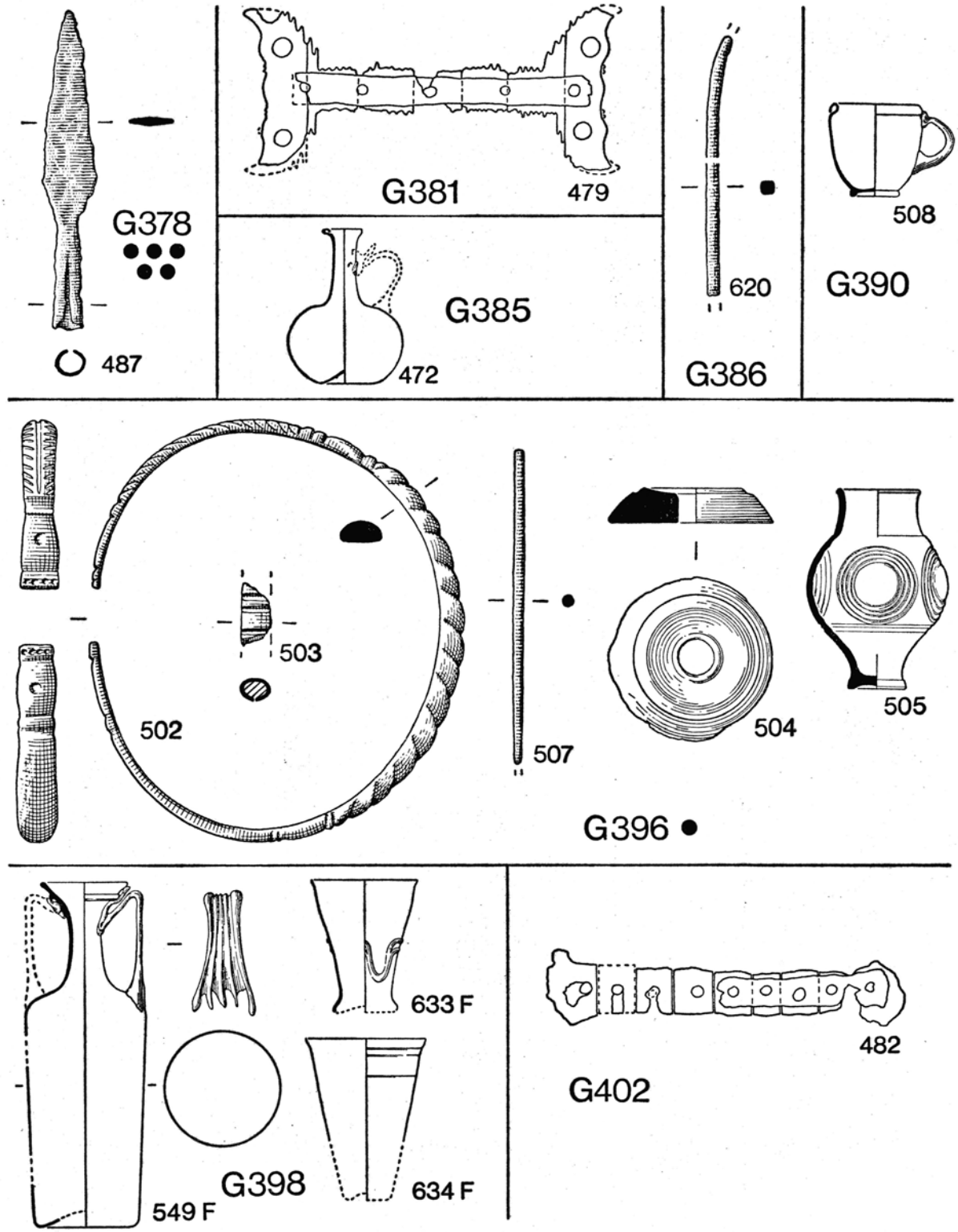


FIG. 96. Graves 378, 381, 385, 386, 390, 396, 398, and 402.

502, bronze; 507, 620, iron; 504, shale; **503,** bone and bronze (1:1); **487,** iron; **479, 482, bone (1:2); 472, 508, 549, 633, 634,** glass; **505,** pottery (1:4).

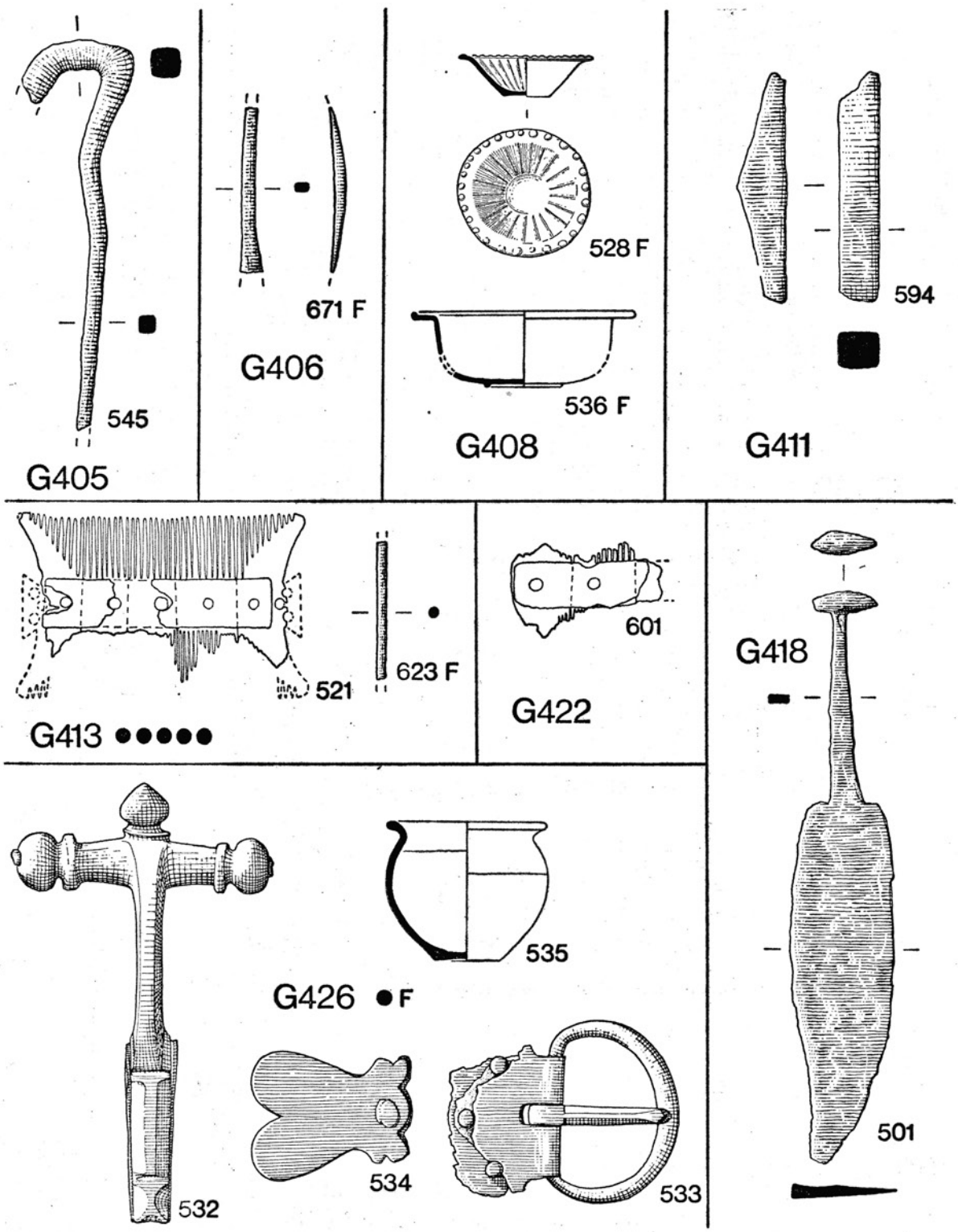


FIG. 97. Graves 405, 406, 408, 411, 413, 418, 422, and 426.
532–4, bronze; 545, 594, 623, 671, iron (1:1); **501,** iron; **521, 601,** bone (1:2); **528, 536, pewter; 535,** pottery (1:4).

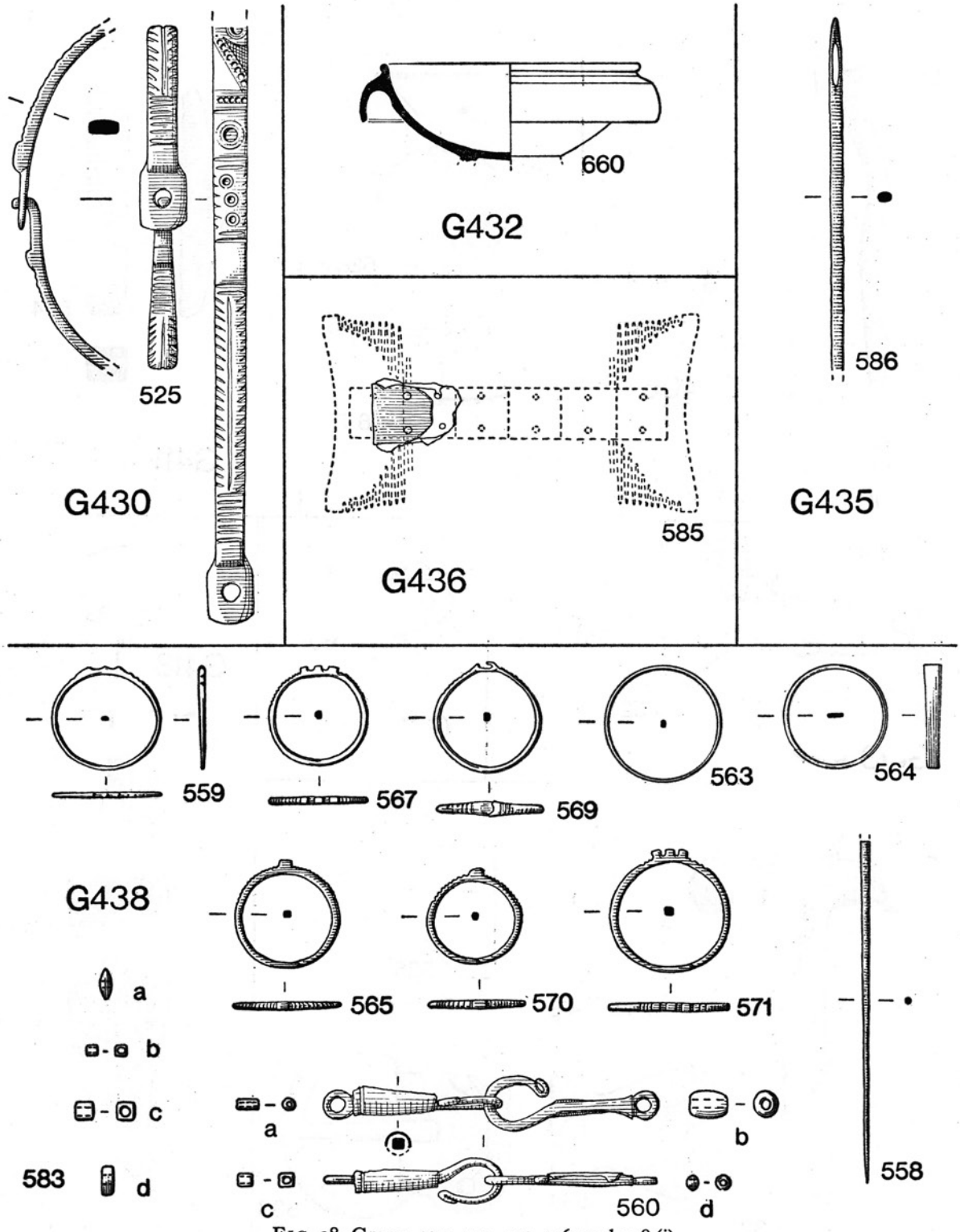


FIG. 98. Graves 430, 432, 435, 436, and 438 (i).

559, 567, 569, silver; 525, 565, 570, 571, bronze; **558, 586,** iron; **583,** glass; **560, glass, coral, and bronze; 563, 564,** shale (1:1); **585,** bone (1:2); **660,** pottery (1:4).

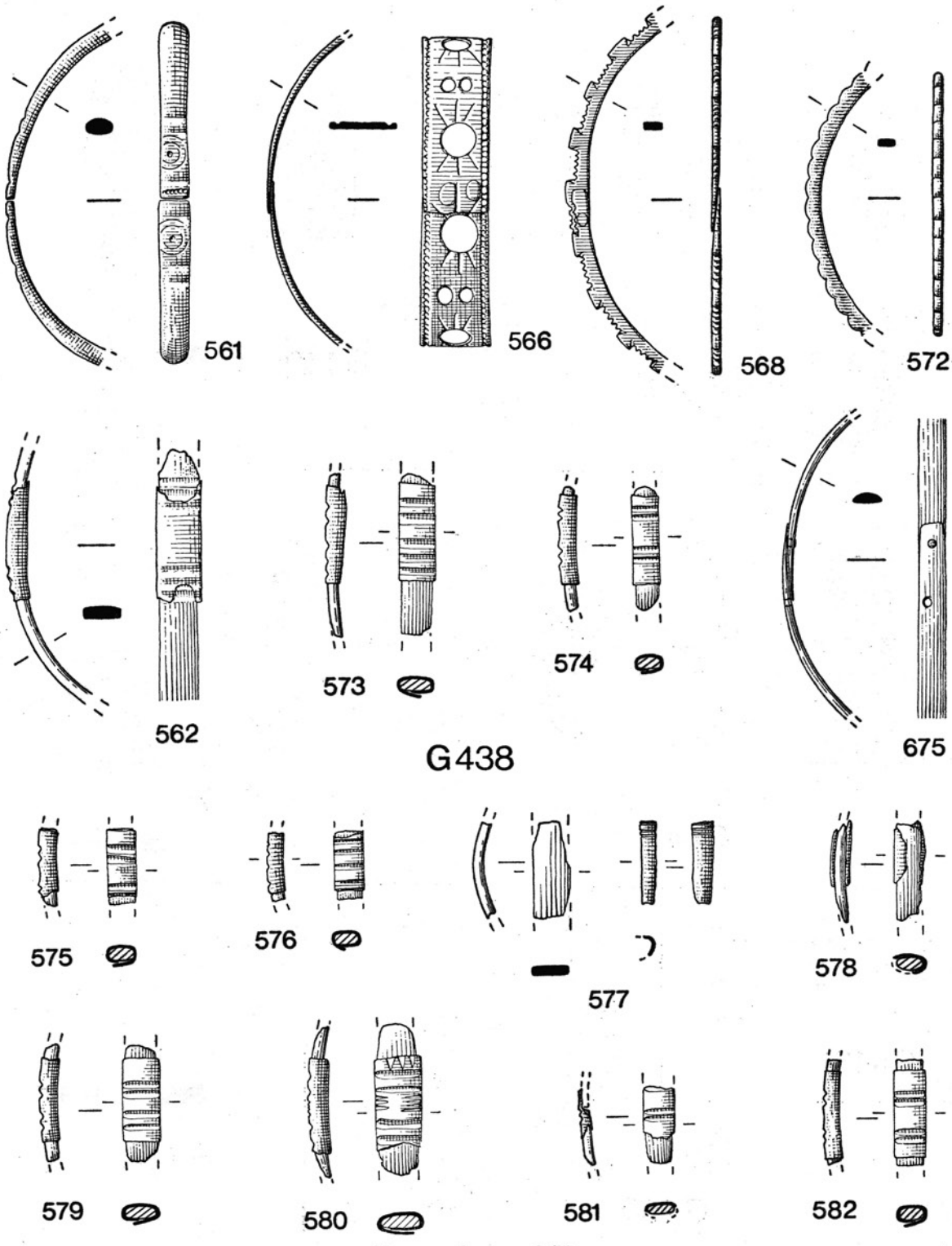


FIG. 99. Grave 438 (ii).

561, 566, 568, bronze; **572,** iron; **562, 573–82,** ivory and bronze; **675,** bone (1:1).

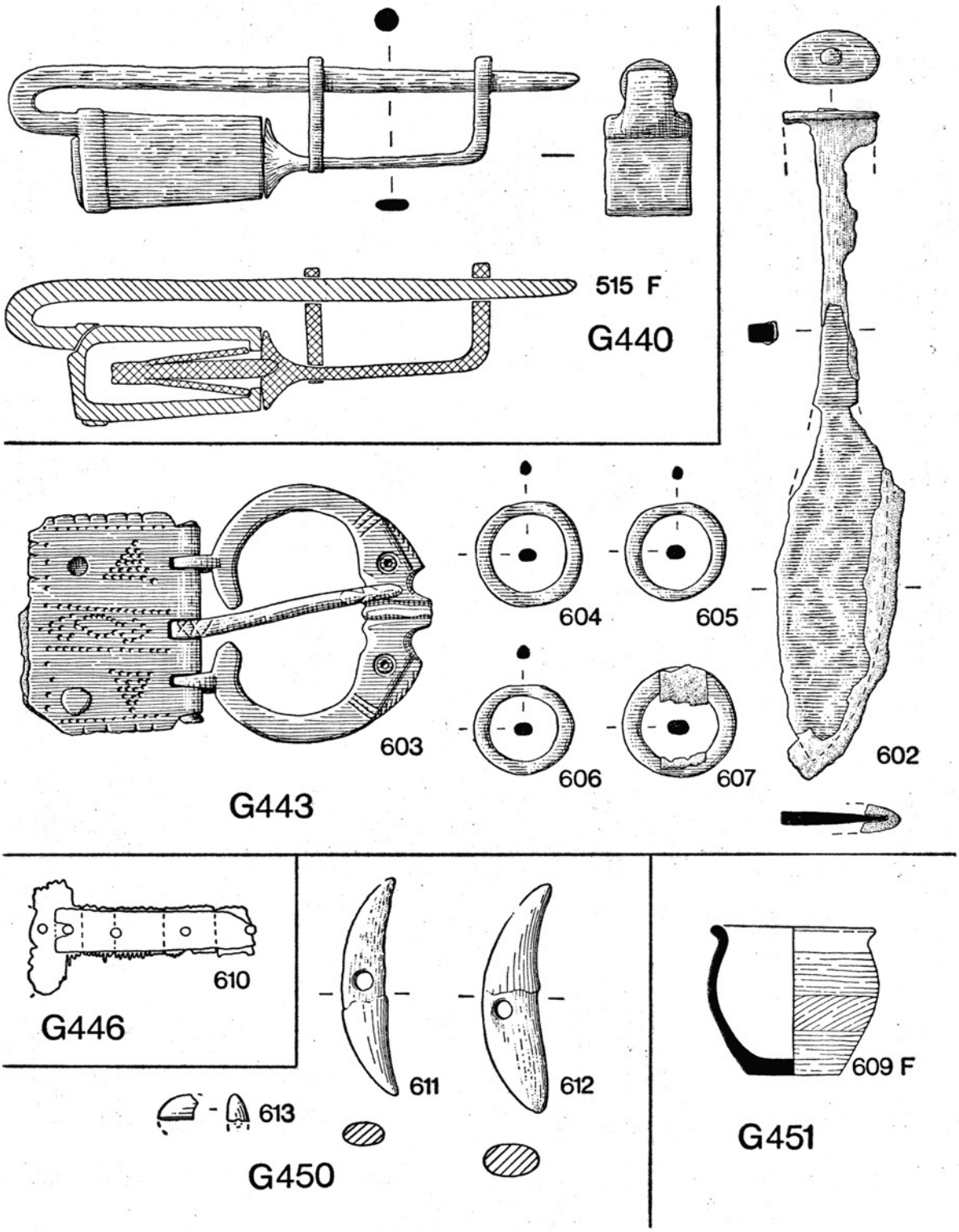
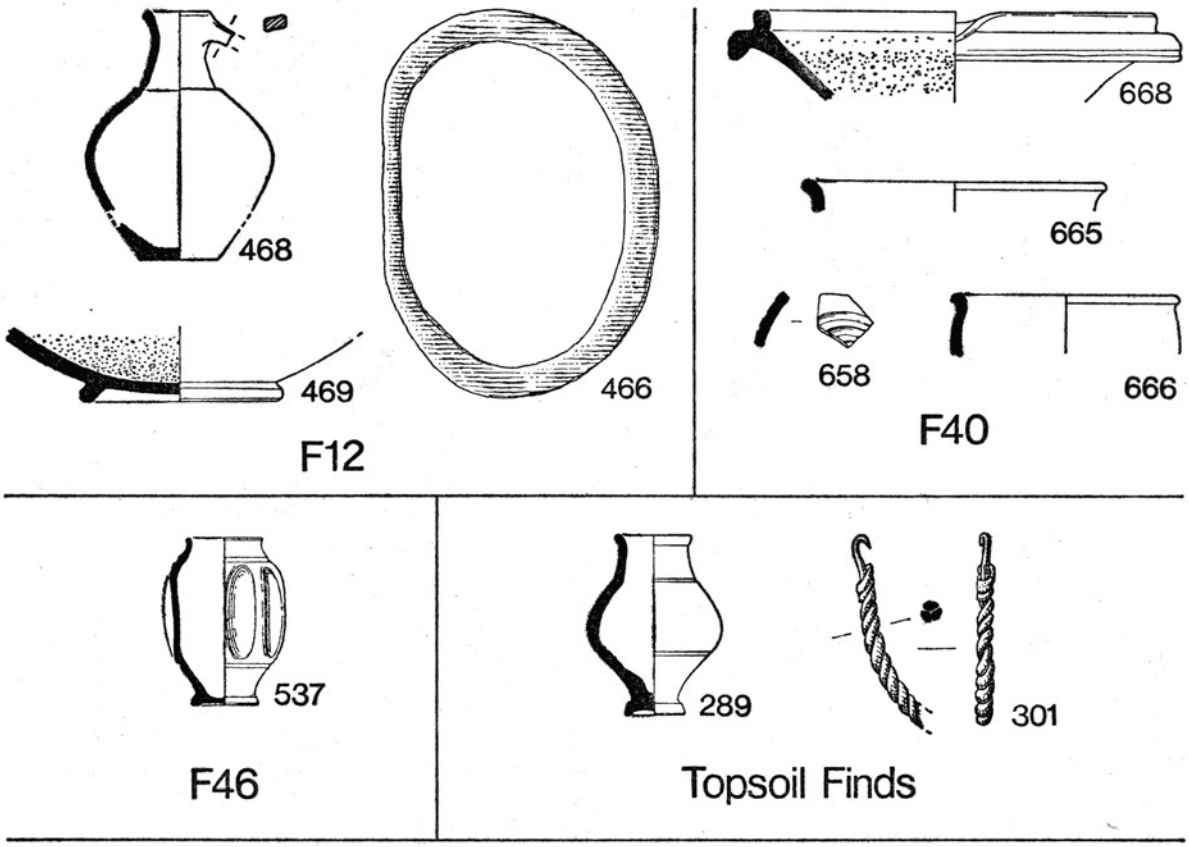
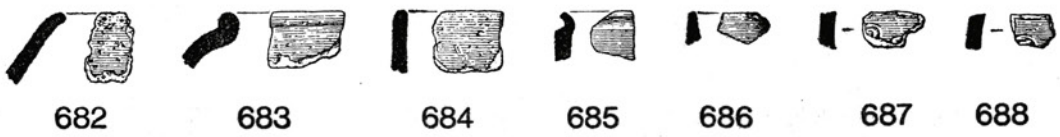


FIG. 100. Graves 440, 443, 446, 450, and 451.
603–07, bronze; **613**, glass; **611**, **612**, teeth (1:1); **515**, **602**, iron; **610**, bone (1:2); **609**, pottery (1:4).





Non-Roman Sherds

FIG. 101. Finds from features, topsoil finds, and non-Roman sherds.
301, bronze; **466**, iron (1:1); **289, 468, 469, 537, 658, 665, 666, 668, 682–8**, pottery (1:4).

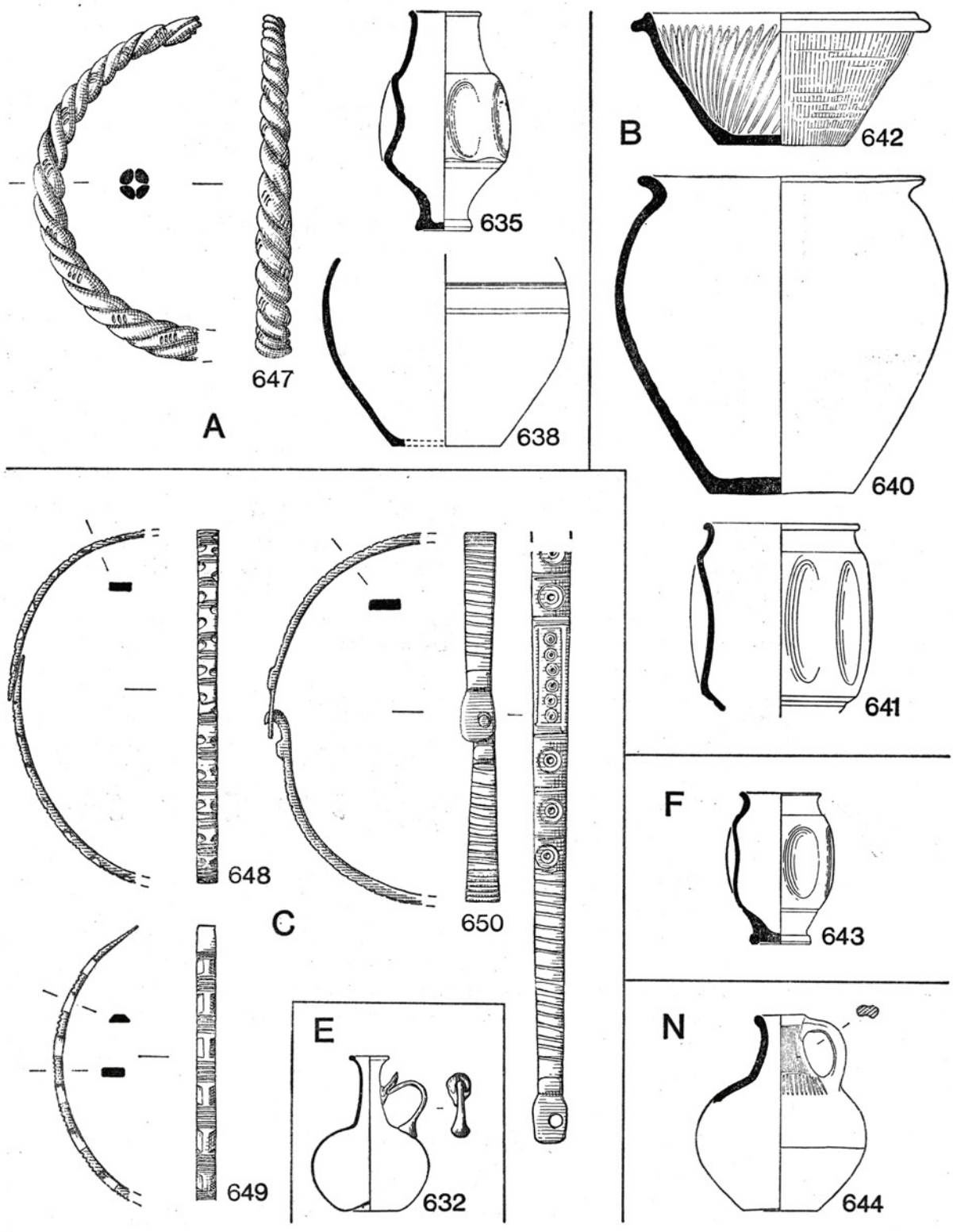


FIG. 102. Rescue-observations A, B, C, E, F, and N.
647–50, bronze (1:1); **632,** glass; **635, 638, 640–4,** pottery (1:4).

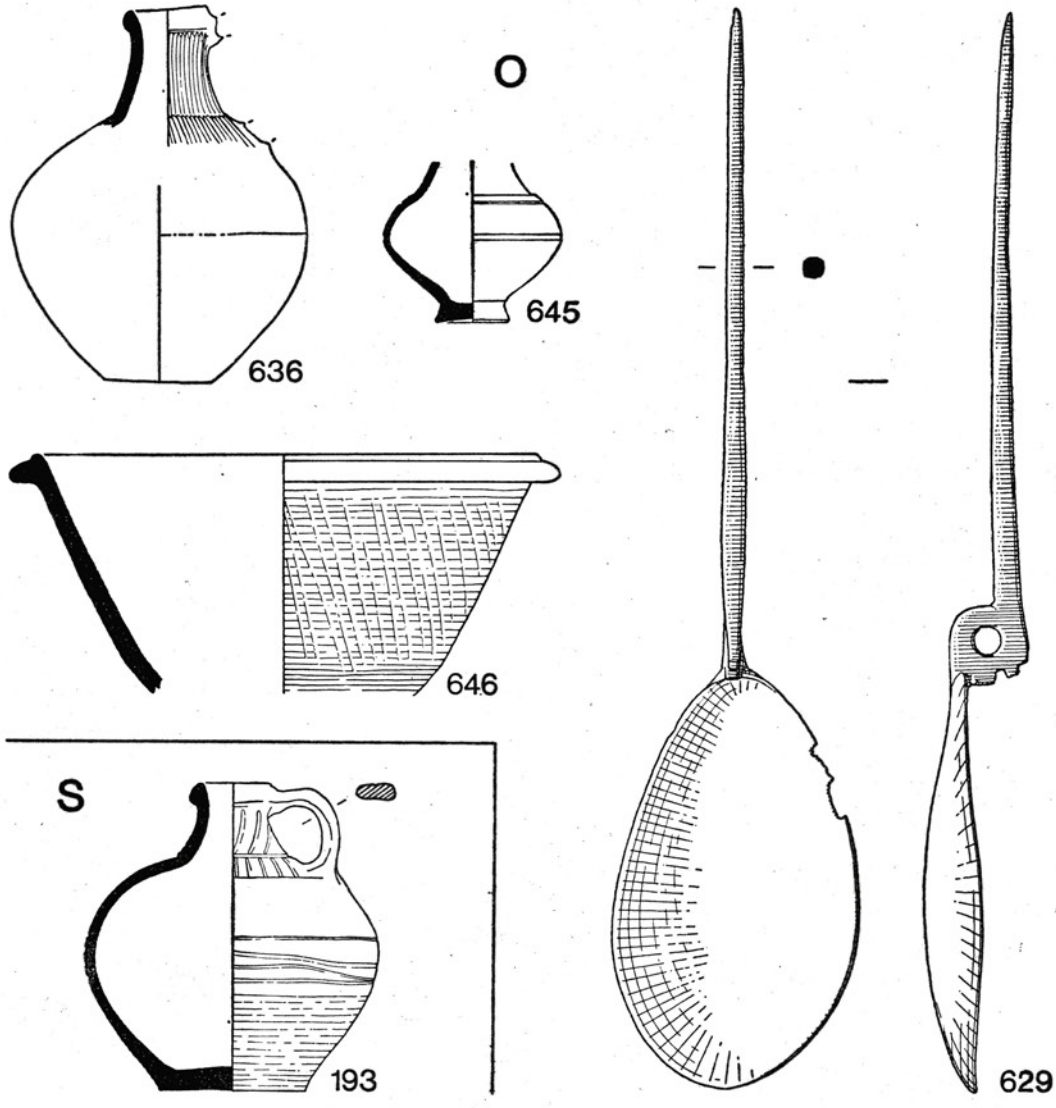


FIG. 103. Rescue-observations O and S.
629, bronze (1:1); **193, 636, 645, 646**, pottery (1:4).

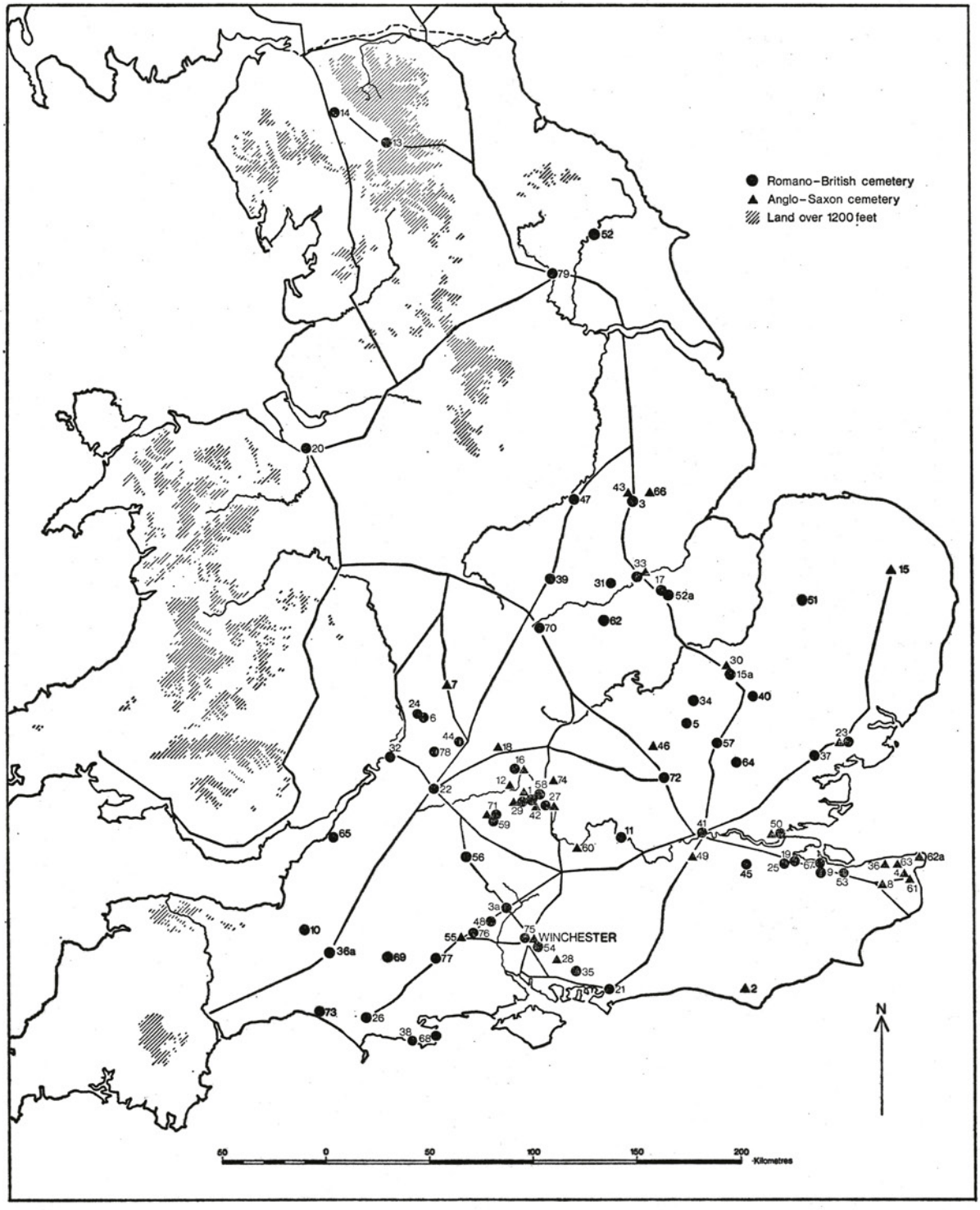

Romano-British cemetery
Anglo-Saxon cemetery
Land over 1200 feet
WINCHESTER
N
50 0 50 100 150 200 Kilometres

FIG. 104. Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon burial places referred to on pp. 347–403 (1:3 million).

1.	Abingdon (Berks.)	RB, AS
2.	Alfriston (Sussex)	AS
3.	Ancaster (Lincs.)	RB
3a.	Andover (Hants)	AS
4.	Ash (Kent)	AS
5.	Baldock (Herts.)	RB
6.	Beckford (Worcs.)	RB
7.	Bidford on Avon (Warwicks.)	AS
8.	Bifrons (Kent)	AS
9.	Borden (Kent)	RB
10.	Bradley Hill (Som.)	RB
11.	Bray (Berks.)	RB
12.	Brighthampton (Oxon.)	AS
13.	Brough (Cumb.)	RB
14.	Brougham (Cumb.)	RB
15.	Caistor-by-Norwich (Norfolk)	AS
15a.	Cambridge (Cambs.)	RB
16.	Cassington (Oxon.)	RB, AS
17.	Castor (Northants.)	RB
18.	Chadlington (Oxon.)	AS
19.	Chatham (Kent)	RB
20.	Chester (Cheshire)	RB
21.	Chichester (Sussex)	RB
22.	Cirencester (Glos.)	RB
23.	Colchester (Essex)	RB, AS
24.	Conderton (Worcs.)	RB
25.	Cuxton (Kent)	RB
26.	Dorchester (Dorset)	RB
27.	Dorchester-on-Thames (Oxon.)	RB, AS
28.	Droxford (Hants)	AS
29.	Frilford (Berks.)	RB, AS
30.	Girton (Cambs.)	AS
31.	Glaston (Rutland)	RB
32.	Gloucester	RB
33.	Great Casterton (Rutland)	RB, AS
34.	Guilden Morden (Cambs.)	RB
35.	Horndean, Snell's Corner (Hants)	RB
36.	Howletts (Kent)	AS
36a.	Ilchester (Som.)	RB
37.	Kelvedon (Essex)	RB
38.	Kimmeridge (Dorset)	RB
39.	Leicester	RB
40.	Linton (Cambs.)	RB
41.	London	RB
42.	Long Wittenham (Berks.)	AS
43.	Loveden Hill (Lincs.)	AS
44.	Lower Slaughter (Glos.)	RB
45.	Lullingstone (Kent)	RB
46.	Luton (Beds.)	AS
	Lynch Farm (Hunts.) (*see below, no. 52a*)	RB
47.	*Margidunum* (East Bridgeford, Notts.)	RB
48.	Middle Wallop (Hants)	RB
49.	Mitcham (Surrey)	AS
50.	Mucking (Essex)	RB, AS
51.	Mundford (Norfolk)	RB
52.	Norton (E.R. Yorks.)	RB
52a.	Orton Longueville and Lynch Farm (Hunts.)	RB
53.	Ospringe (Kent)	RB
54.	Owslebury (Hants)	RB
55.	Petersfinger (Wilts.)	AS
56.	Preshute, Manton Down (Wilts.)	RB
57.	Puckeridge (Herts.)	RB
58.	Radley (Oxon.)	RB
59.	Rams Hill (Berks.)	RB
60.	Reading (Berks.)	AS
61.	Richborough (Kent)	AS
62.	Rushton, The Mount (Northants.)	RB
62a.	St. Peter's (Kent)	AS
63.	Sarre (Kent)	AS
64.	Sawbridgeworth (Herts.)	RB
65.	Sea Mills (Glos.)	RB
66.	Sleaford (Lincs.)	AS
67.	Southfleet (Kent)	RB
68.	Studland (Dorset)	RB
69.	Todbere (Dorset)	RB
70.	*Tripontium* (Warwicks.)	RB
71.	Uffington, White Horse Hill (Berks.)	RB, AS
72.	*Verulamium* (Herts.)	RB
73.	Watton Hill (Dorset)	RB
74.	Wheatley (Oxon.)	AS
75.	Winchester	RB, AS
76.	Winterbourne Down (Wilts.)	RB
77.	Woodyates (Dorset)	RB
78.	Wycombe (Glos.)	RB
79.	York	RB

WINCHESTER : LANKHILLS

THE NORTHERN CEMETERY OF VENTA BELGARUM *1967–72*

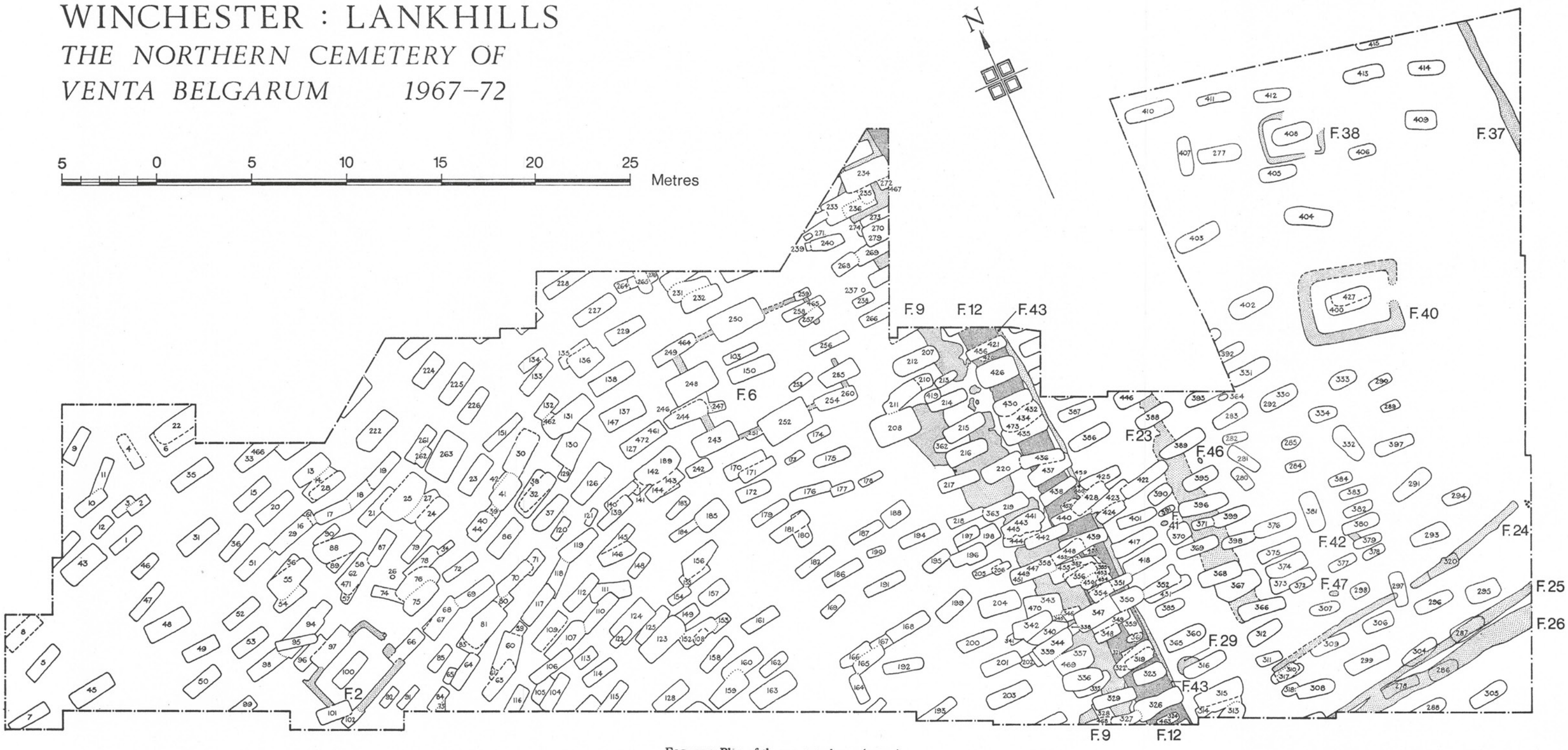


FIG. 105. Plan of the excavated area (1:200).

Cf. Pls. II, III, and IV. Features other than graves are stippled. Dashed lines were not planned, but their existence is certain. Dotted lines are conjectural.

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lack of graves with unworn personal ornaments, 360, 361
lack of packing in graves, 355
positions of skeletons, 353
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use of coffins, 354
York, Walmsgate, graves with coins, vessels, and unworn personal ornaments, 364

Zengővárkony (Hungary), Roman cemetery II: belts, 267
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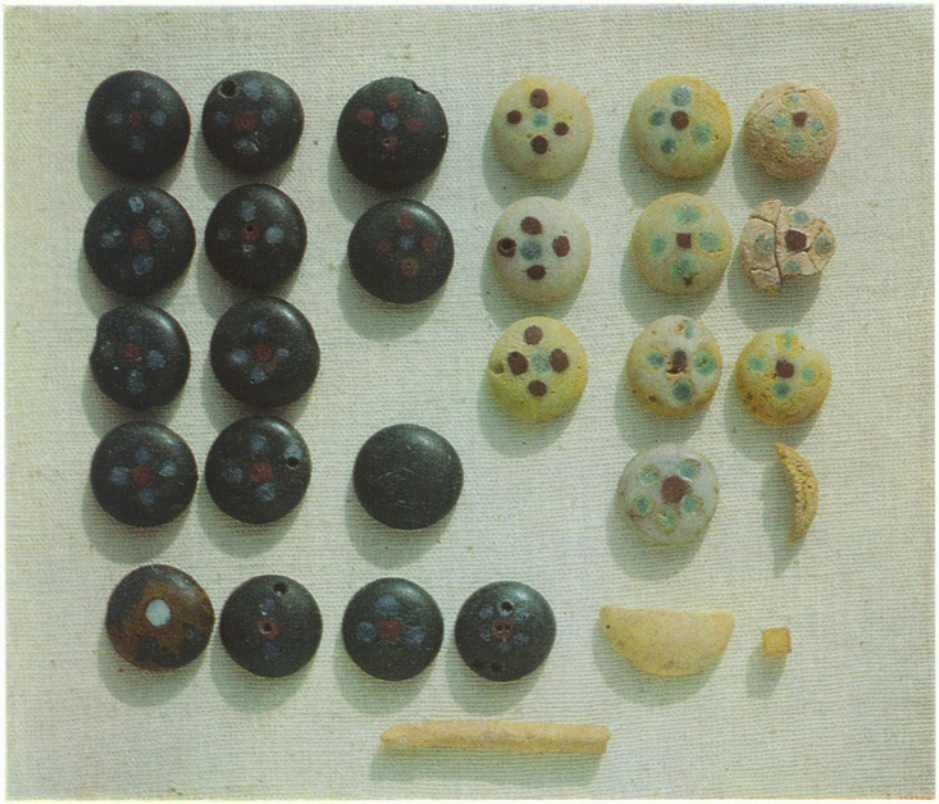
parallels to intrusive graves at Lankhills, 383–6



a. Necklaces **363** (Grave 336) and **436** (Grave 323), strung as found. See pp. 299–300, and cf. Figs. 86, 90, and Pl. XIII*c* (**363**). The gaps in the necklaces represent shattered beads, all of which were glass with metal foil enclosed.



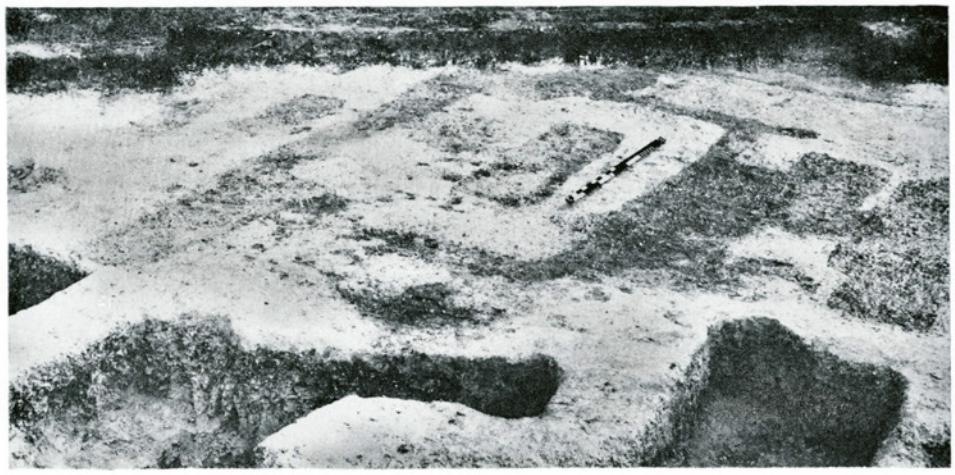
b. Gaming-set **50** (Grave 51). See pp. 251–4, and cf. Fig. 69.



The eastern part of the site, 1971, looking east. Features 9, 12, and 43 are in the foreground. See pp. 1 and 13–14; cf. Figs. 5 and 105. The foreground of this plate overlaps with the top of Pl. III.



The central part of the site, 1969, looking east. Features 9 and 12 appear top left. See pp. 1 and 13–14, and cf. Fig. 105. The top of this plate overlaps with the foreground of Pl. II.



a. Feature 2, looking south. See p. 96.



b. Feature 6, looking south (modern disturbance, bottom left). See pp. 97–9, and cf. Fig. 4.



c. The north-east part of the site, 1972, looking south, showing Feature 38, bottom centre, and Feature 40, top centre. See pp. 108–9.

The gullies enclosing a central grave. See pp. 183–5, and cf. Fig. 20.



a. After excavation, looking north. Cf. Fig. 5.



b. Cross-section along the north side of Graves 321 and 322, looking north. Cf. Fig. 6, Section QR.

Features 12 and 43. See pp. 100–5, 109–10, and 113–14.



a. Middle portion, looking west.



b. East end, with stake-holes beyond, looking east.

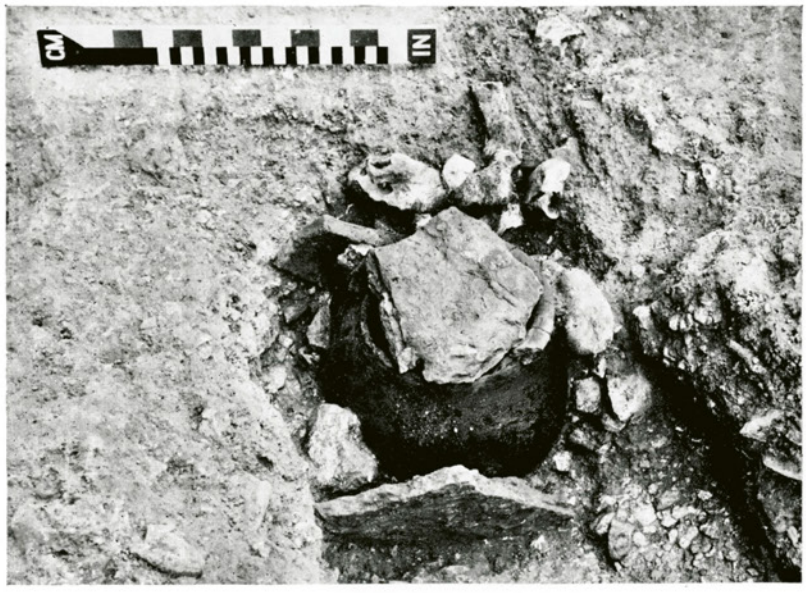
Feature 24. See pp. 105–6.



a. Graves 359 and 361, before excavation, looking west.



b. Grave 359 cutting Feature 12, cross-section looking south.



c. Grave 361, looking west.

Cremations. See pp. 128–30, and cf. Fig. 46.



a. Grave 335, a double burial. See p. 131, and cf. Fig. 47.



b. Grave 308, a triple burial. See p. 131, and cf. Fig. 47.



c. Grave 332, a burial face downwards. See pp. 138–9, and cf. Fig. 49.



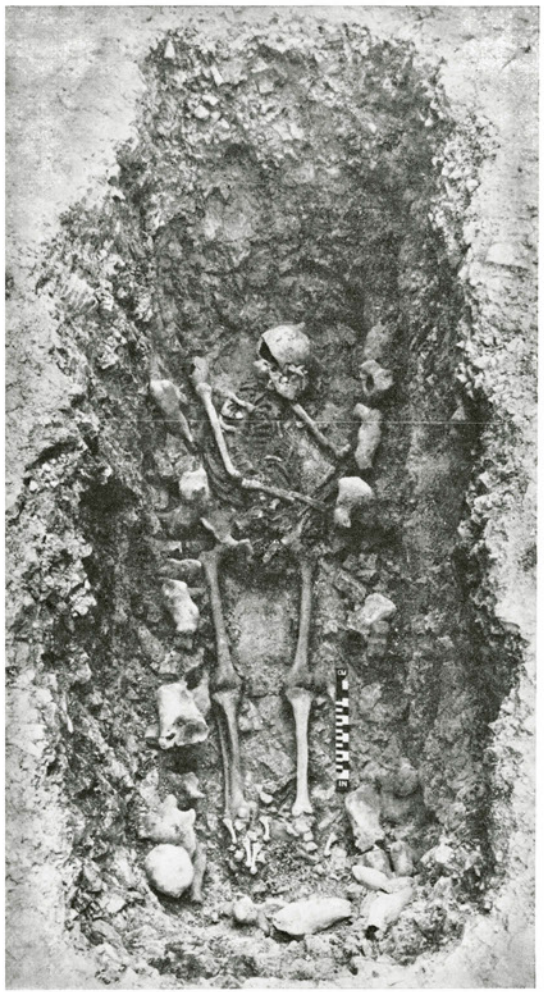
a. Grave 348, a decapitated burial. See pp. 141–2 and 192–3, cf. Fig. 50.



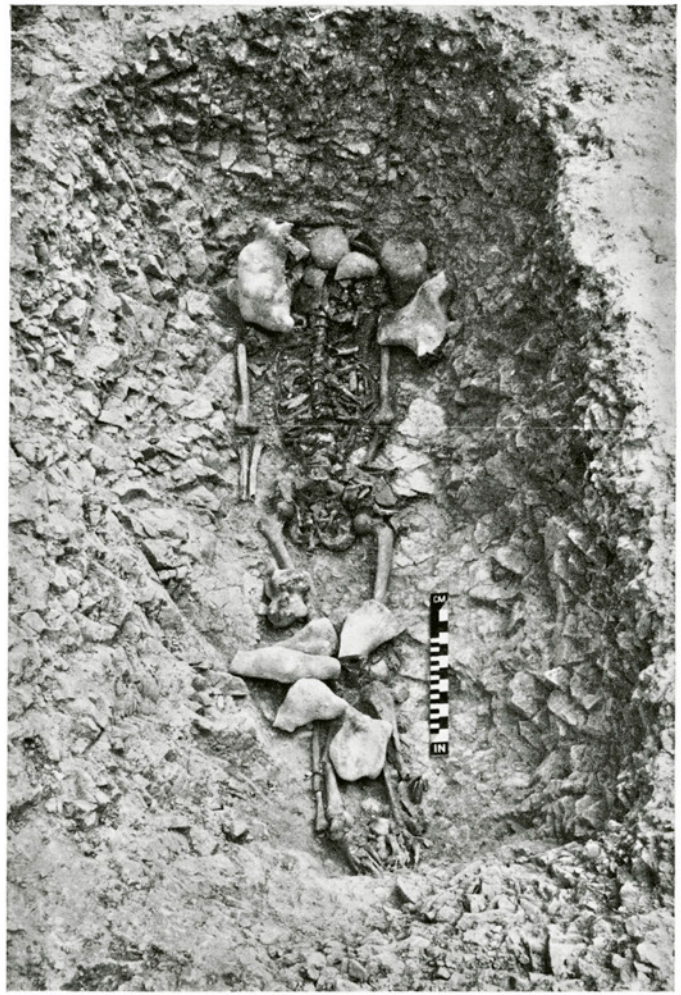
b. Grave 248, a grave with an iron-fitted coffin. See pp. 142–3 and 332–41, and cf. Figs. 45 and 51. A pot from this grave had not been discovered when the photograph was taken.



c. Grave 250, a grave with an iron-fitted coffin and grave-furniture. See pp. 142–3, 332–41, and cf. Figs. 45 and 51.



. Grave 291, a grave with flint packing. See p. 143, and cf. Fig. 52.



b. Grave 295, a grave with flint packing. See p. 143, and cf. Fig. 52.



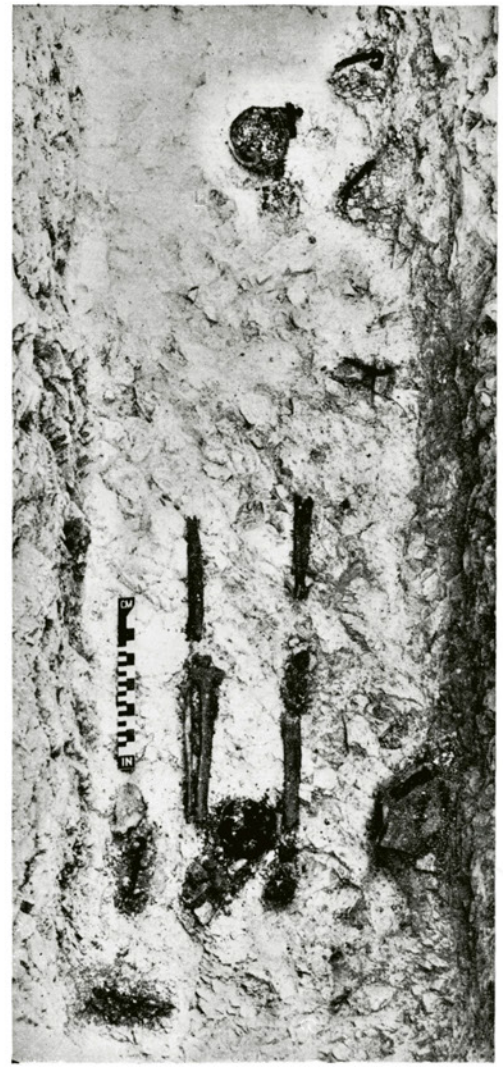
c. Grave 443, a male grave with unworn personal ornaments. See pp. 164–5 and 168–9, and cf. Fig. 57.



a. Grave 347, a grave with coins and vessels. See pp. 164–5 and 169, and cf. Fig. 59.



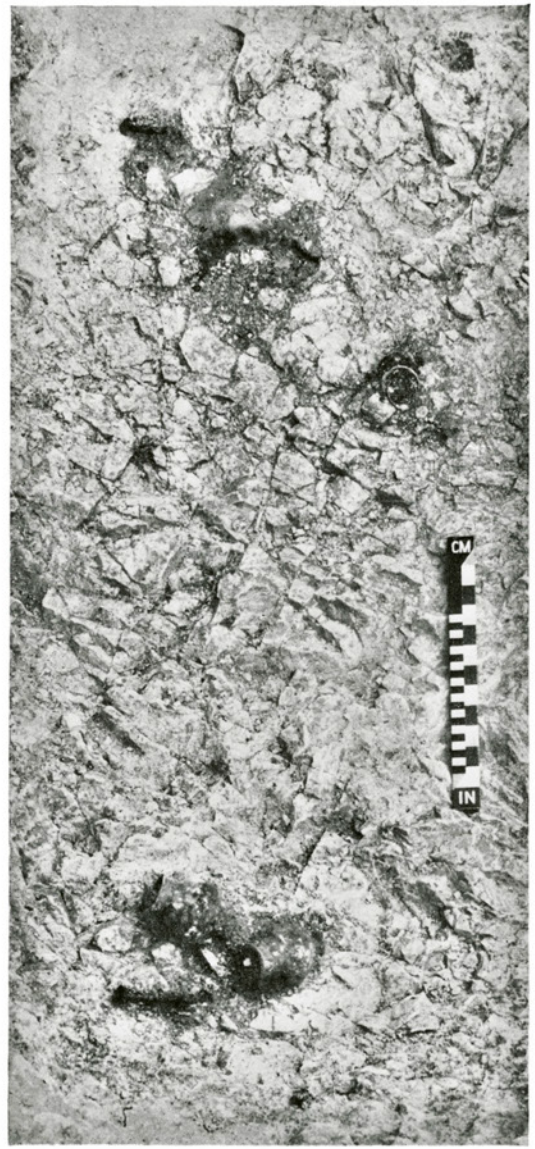
b. Grave 337, a female grave with vessels and unworn personal ornaments. See pp. 164–5 and 170, and cf. Fig. 60.



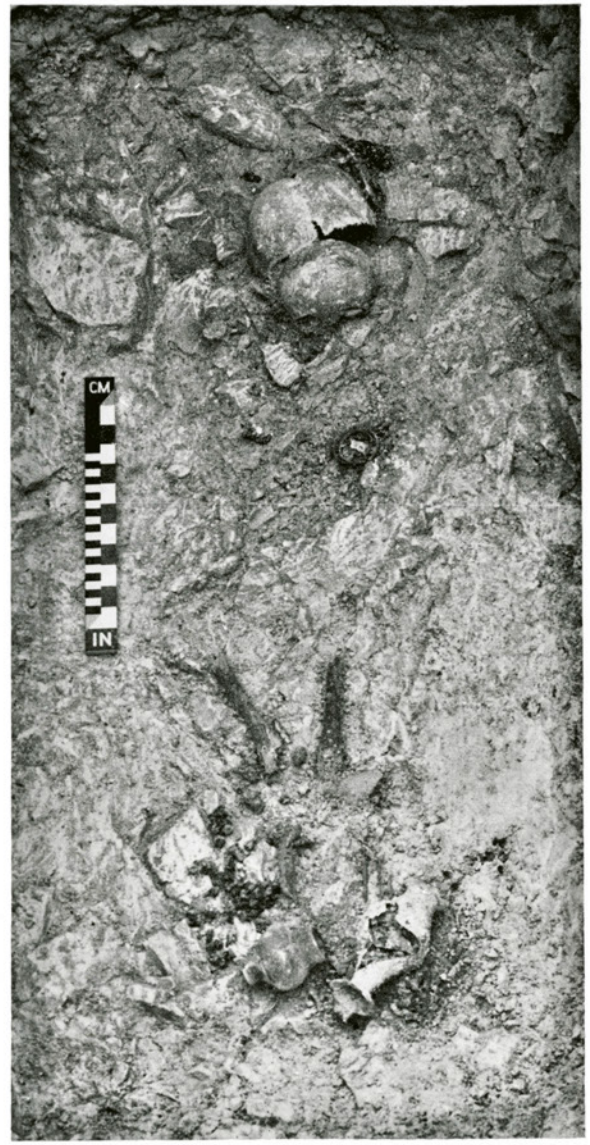
c. Grave 322, a male grave with worn personal ornaments. See pp. 164–5 and 170–1, and cf. Fig. 61.



a. Grave 326.



b. Grave 323.



c. Grave 333.

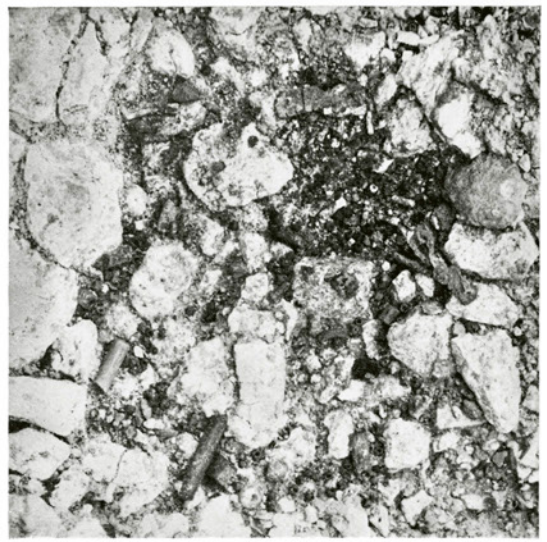
Female graves with worn personal ornaments. See pp. 164–5 and 170–1, and cf. Fig. 62.



a. Grave 13, head end, with cross-bow brooch **13** *in situ*. Cf. Fig. 61.



b. Grave 351, area around head, with pins, necklace, and coins. Cf. Fig. 62.



c. Grave 336, necklaces. Cf. Fig. 62 and Pl. I*a* (necklace **363**).



d. Grave 336, bracelets on the arms. Cf. Fig. 62.

Graves with worn personal ornaments, details.

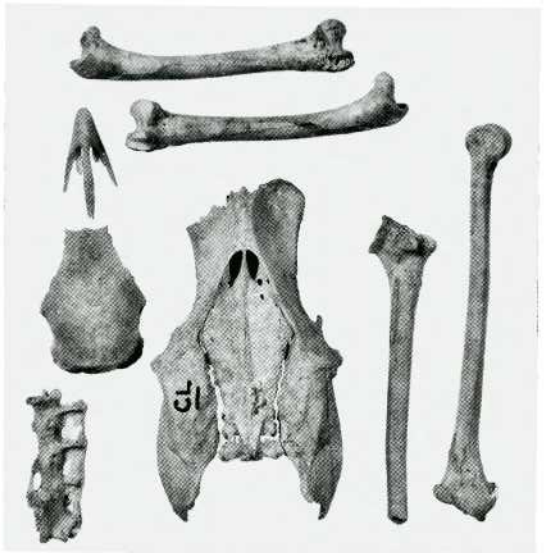


a. General view. Cf. Fig. 63.

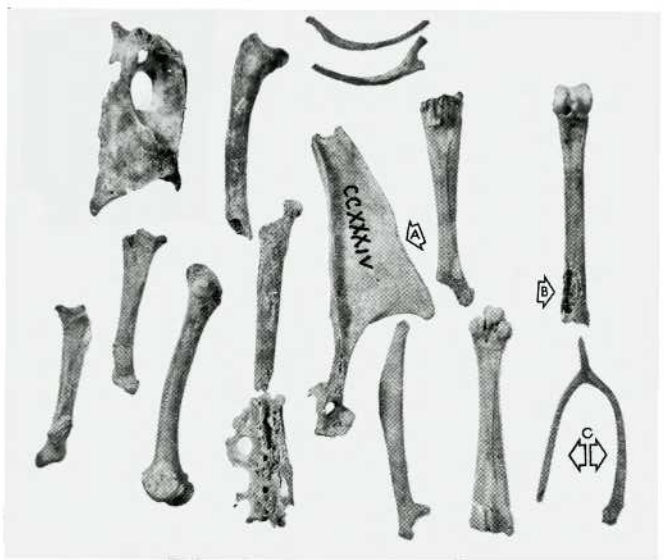


b. Belt-fittings. See pp. 267–9, and cf. Fig. 33.

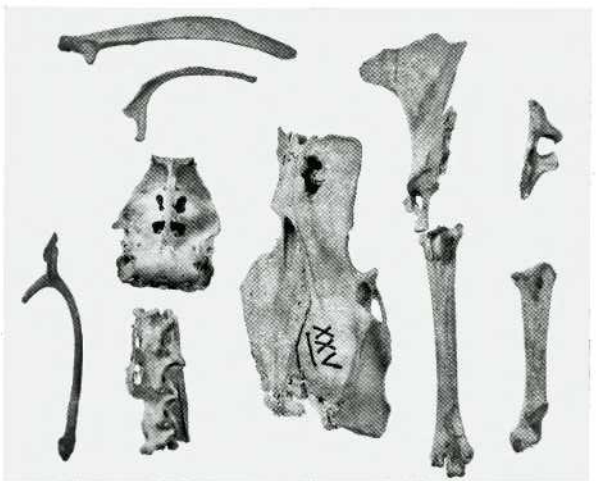
Grave 376. See pp. 175–6.



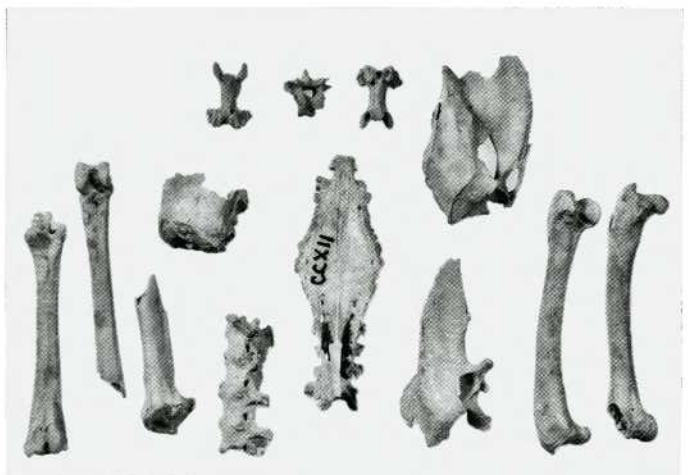
a. **261** (Grave 150).



b. **281** (Grave 234). The arrows point to abnormalities at the sternum and furculum and to the pseudo-pathology on the tibia.



c. **298** (Grave 25).

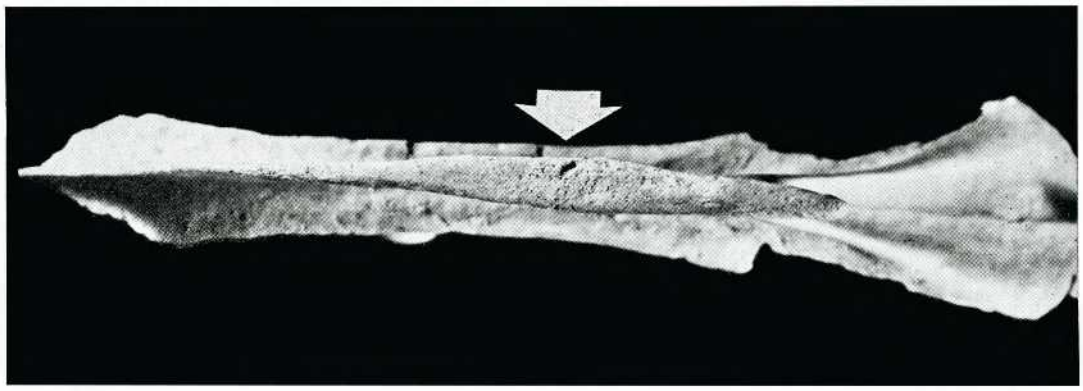


d. **460** (Grave 212).

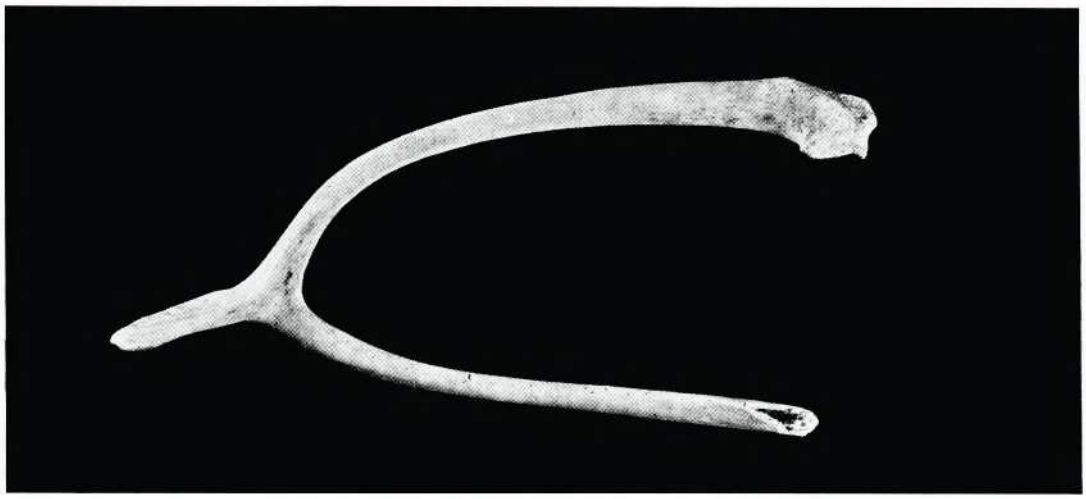
General views of the larger bones of Lankhills *Gallus gallus* specimens (see pp. 239–44). Scale: 1:2.



a. The pelvic pathology of **261** (Grave 150). Scale: 3:1.

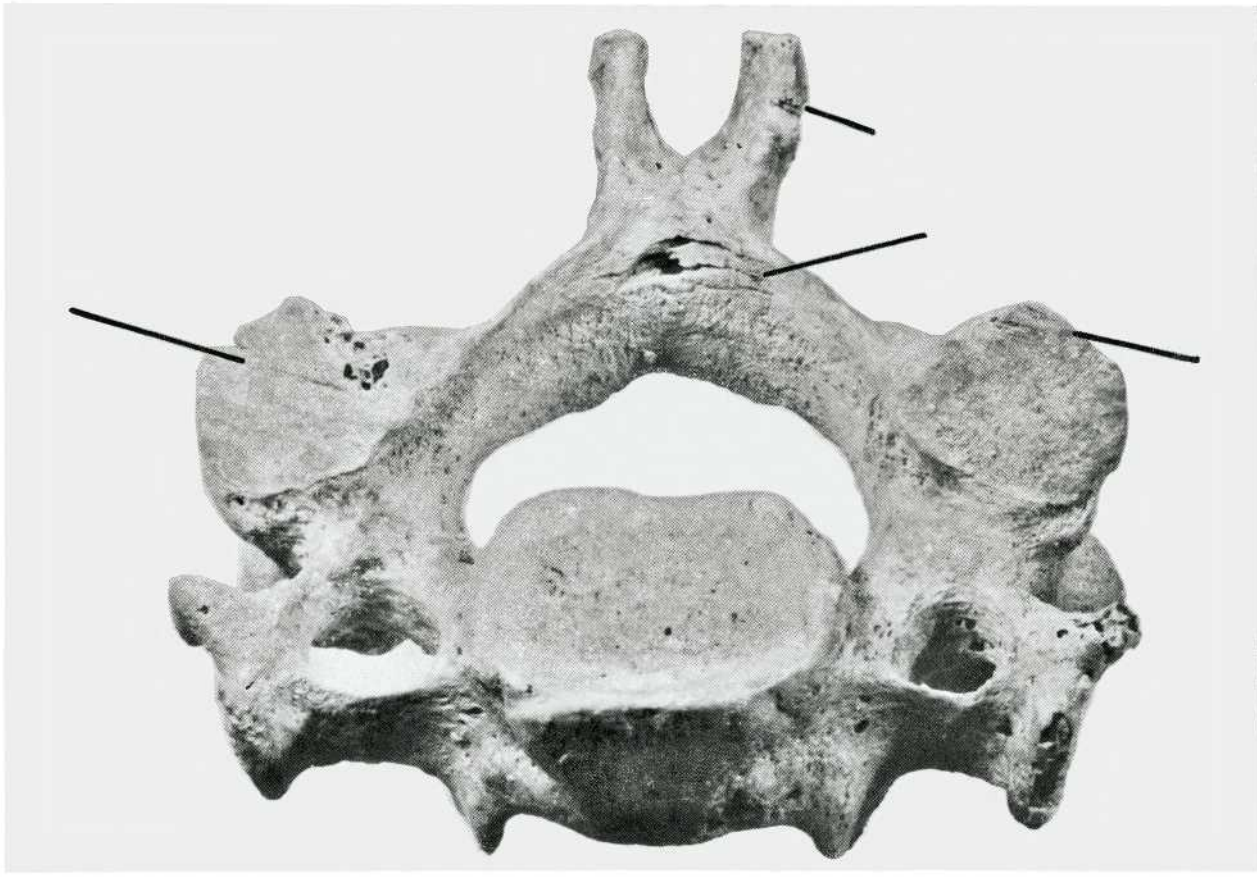


b. Abnormalities of the sternum of **281** (Grave 234). Scale: 2:1.

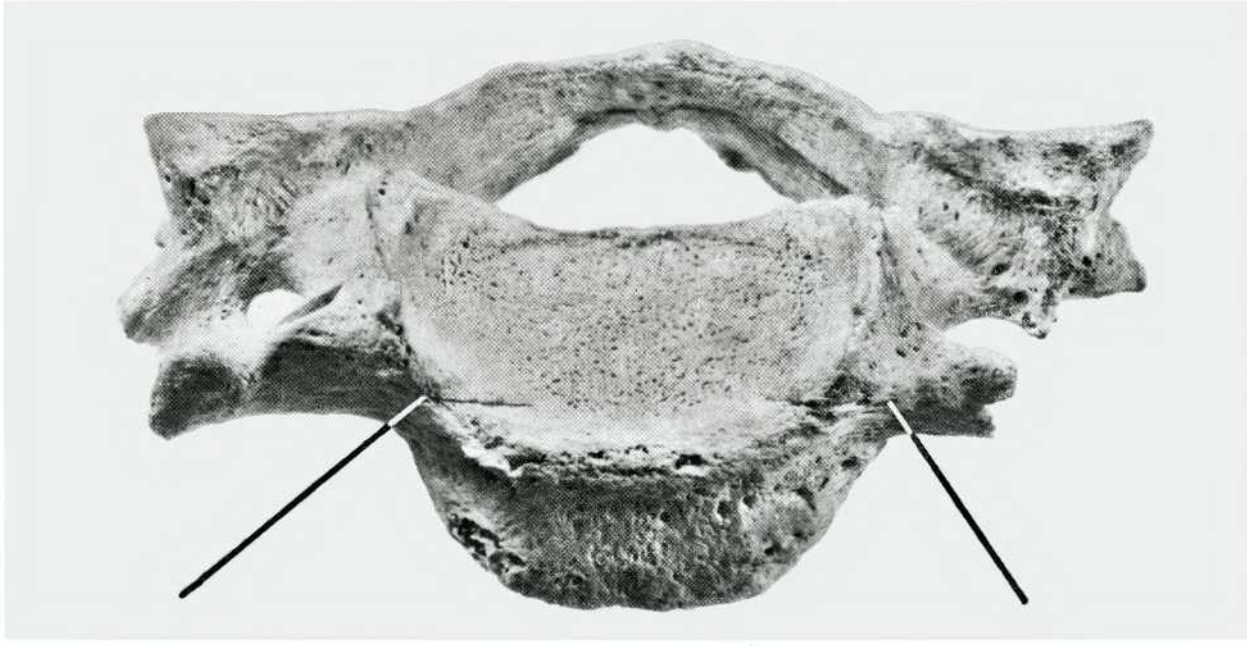


c. Abnormalities of the furculum of **281** (Grave 234). Scale: 2:1.

Pathology and abnormality in Lankhills *Gallus gallus* specimens (see p. 244). The abnormalities on *a* and *b* are arrowed.



a. Grave 427: several cuts on the inferior aspect of the third vertebra are indicated. Scale: approx. 1:2·5.



b. Grave 445: the superior aspect of the fourth vertebra. Note the indicated neat, straight cut across the vertebral body. Scale: approx. 1:2·75.

Vertebral trauma on two Lankhills decapitations (see pp. 342–4).