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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON
FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES
School of Humanities

**Young and Old in Roman Britain: Aspects of Age Identity and Life-
course Transitions in Regional Burial Practice**

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2009

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

Doctor of Philosophy

YOUNG AND OLD IN ROMAN BRITAIN: ASPECTS OF AGE IDENTITY AND
LIFE COURSE TRANSITIONS IN REGIONAL BURIAL PRACTICE

by Alison Jane Moore

Age is an intrinsic aspect of identity and, by extension, is inherent in social organisation. This thesis utilises a life course methodology to examine aspects of age identity in Roman Britain, as expressed in the burial evidence from contexts in the east and west of central southern Britain during the 1st-early 5th centuries CE. It seeks to establish a life course framework in order to identify the key age stages of the gendered life course. Within this framework, the impact of regionalism on the expression of age is explored, with particular reference to urban and rural differentiation in age and gender identity. Finally, this thesis considers how being young and old was represented in burial, identifying the key age characteristics and exploring age concepts relating to these social sub-groups.

The results show a defined Romano-British life course focussed upon the young adult. The life course trajectory was gender-specific, with female age identity circumscribed by fertility whilst male age stages were influenced by external socio-economic factors. How age was represented in burial reflected regional concepts of identity, particularly within the burial of the young and the old. Furthermore, within the regional patterns of the life course, a defined urban/rural divide is visible in how age was expressed, indicating the divergent impact of urban and rural life ways. In regard to the young, this thesis establishes the trajectory of the sub-adult life course, and identified that the age characteristics visible in burial encompassed aspects of physical and social development. This thesis also establishes the visibility of the elderly within the burial record, identifying an unexplored social sub-group, the study of which will further understanding of age identity in Roman provincial contexts.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my thanks to the following people who have assisted me in gathering the data on which this thesis is based: Louise Allen and Phil Greateorex at Gloucester City Museum, Anna Morris (Site and Monuments Records Assistant) at Gloucester County Council, Philip Crummy at Colchester Archaeological Trust, Brett Thorn at Buckinghamshire County Museum, Dr Alison Brookes (Archaeological Officer) at Corinium Museum, Cirencester, Isobel Thompson of the Historic Environment Record at Hertfordshire County Council, Claire Thornton (Collections Manager) at St Albans Museum Service, Dr Simon West (District Archaeologist) at St Albans Council and Dr Rosalind Niblett for providing me access to unpublished material relating to St Stephens cemetery, St Albans. I would also like to thank Talya Bagwell and Colin Pendleton at Suffolk Sites and Monuments Records, Suffolk County Council.

At Southampton University, I would like to thank my advisor Professor David Hinton and Dr Sonia Zakrzewski. Very special thanks go to my supervisor Dr Louise Revell, for her unstinting encouragement, advice and support throughout the whole PhD process.

On a personal level, I would like to thank June Clark, for her time and patience in proof-reading and correcting draft chapters of this thesis. Finally, I would like to say *go raibh mile maith agat* to Con O'Shea for being there.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Age and gender are inherent aspects of both individual and social identity. As males and females progress from infancy to old age, their social identity both develops and diverges as they pass through a series of biological and social changes. As individuals, and as age cohorts, males and females become subject to new sets of age-based expectations and patterns of behaviour. These expectations and behaviours reflect the societal norms and ideals encapsulated within each age stage and, as age is a basic principle upon which societies are organised, reflect social hierarchies.

Within archaeological populations, age and gender-related transformations in social identity were often represented in, or expressed through, modifications in aspects of burial practice. Modifications in the frequency or form of grave good provision, grave treatment or body position can mirror transitions in social identity across the life-span. Through applying a life course methodology, which identifies and compares age-based social transitions as represented in burial practice across the whole age spectrum, aspects of social organisation and age identity can be reconstructed. This thesis proposes to examine how age was socially constructed in two geographical regions of Roman Britain through examining age and gender identity as expressed in burial.

The understanding of the age identity in Romano-British society has relied heavily on textual sources pertaining to Rome which may have had little relevance to how social age was constructed and understood at the periphery of the Empire. Recently, new epigraphic studies (e.g. Revell, 2005) have indicated that age was understood and represented in a variety of ways at a provincial level, reflecting regional patterns of social identity and organisation.

In order to explore aspects of the provincial construction of age identity in Roman Britain, this thesis has four main aims. Firstly, it seeks to provide an overall framework of the Romano-British life course through identifying temporal points of transition, the burial characteristics of each age stage and the key social age groups. Secondly, as age and gender identity are interlinked, this study also explores the gendered trajectory of the life course in order to examine how gender impacted upon the social conception of age.

Thirdly, as recent studies on material culture and identity in Roman Britain (e.g. Eckardt, 2000; 2005; Eckardt & Crummy, 2006) and in the provinces (e.g. Swift 2000; 2000a) have revealed strong patterns of regionality, this study explores the

impact of regional identity in the expression of the life course. This will be done on both a macro and micro level: by comparing how age and gender identity in burial were represented in two regions of Britain and through analysing the life course within the urban and rural contexts of each region. Finally, how the age identity of the young and old was expressed in burial will be explored in order to identify aspects of social status and to explore possible age concepts associated with these social subgroups within the life course.

1.1: Transitions, key age stages and gender within the life course

In order to examine the aspects of social construction of age in Roman Britain outlined above, an age framework needs to be established. A life course approach, which examines age transitions and social determinants for the timing of transitions (Hareven, 1978:2), provides an ideal methodological framework. Age is not just the chronological progression of the life span but is also biological (physical ageing) and social (constructed norms of behaviour): the association of all three together is encapsulated in the concept of 'age' (Gowland, 2006:143). The three forms of age are intertwined and how age is experienced is influenced by factors including status, ethnicity and social organisation. Therefore, how age was socially constructed can vary considerably between societies or, within the same society, over historical time and geographical distance (Hareven, 1978:1-2; Gowland, 2006:143). Working in tandem with the concepts of biological, chronological and social age is a gendered identity. The social expectations relating to the individual are perceived differently, dependent upon both an individual's gender and position within the life course (Sofaer Derevenski, 1997:876; Ginn & Arber, 1995:2).

The timing of the transition between each stage of the life course can also be influenced by gender, with males and females experiencing changes in their social roles at different biological or chronological ages. For example, the onset of menarche in a female may signify that she is ready for marriage and parenthood, regardless of her chronological age. While she undergoes both biological and social transition in the life course, a male of the same age cohort will not (Gowland, 2006:144). In many past societies, material culture and gender were strongly linked. Analysis of age and gender through examination of the material culture placed with the deceased can highlight the types of grave goods considered compatible with the life stage reached before death. Similarly, changes within the forms of material culture provided can act

as markers of transitions between stages in the life course. Through examination of the gender and age stages at which these transitions occurred, the social structure of past populations – which would otherwise remain hidden – can be understood.

In order to understand the age framework of society in Roman Britain this study first aims to identify the timing of possible age transitions within the life course, and how these reflect gendered concepts of age. By recognising when age individuals or age cohorts passed into the next age stage, it should be possible to examine the possible complex gendered biological and social determinants that may have been responsible for transition. For example, if puberty (a biological determinant) triggered a transition in the life course, a change in aspects of burial practice would be visible during the early years of the second decade. But as the age at which puberty occurs is influenced by gender (a biological and chronological determinant) the transition would be apparent, on average, earlier in female burial patterns. Similarly, as gender is socially constructed, a puberty-related transition in the life course would reflect the social norms relating to each gender (a social determinant). So, for example, the onset of menarche in a female, regardless of her chronological age, may socially signify that she is ready for marriage. As such, she undergoes a social transition and would be represented in burial as an adult female, whereas a male in the same age cohort would be represented in burial as a child (Gowland, 2006:144).

In order to recognise when life course transitions occurred, the key age characteristics of burial practice relating to each gendered age cohort needs to be recognised. The material culture placed with the deceased has both functional and symbolic meanings, and can be used to express concepts of age status and gender (Sofaer Derevenski, 1997:876). In the context of Roman Britain, Gowland (2001:160-1) identified a positive correlation between age, gender and material culture at the 4th century cemetery at Lankhills, Dorset, and this study explores this correlation further. In burial, age cohorts may have been differentiated by a distinct burial treatment or specific types of grave goods which encapsulated social concepts of age and gender identity relating to that stage of the life course. For example, social age amongst females aged 20-29 years may have been related to marriage and motherhood. Within burial, this may have translated into a primarily ‘domestic’ burial assemblage of grave goods with a high percentage of items related to the household.

With increasing age, however, the social relationships between generations change and new concepts pertaining to age identity are introduced. In the context of

the female burial example above, the 'domestic' composition of the burial assemblage at 20-29 years may be modified through an increasing inclusion of 'non-domestic' items, reflecting the changing status of the ageing female. Through comparing the key burial characteristics associated with males and females at each stage of the life course, transitions in the social concepts of age identity can be mapped.

As well as encapsulating social and gendered concepts of age across the life span, analysis of burial assemblages can also be used to identify which age stages were considered socially significant. Age is a fundamental principle in social organisation and key age groups are primarily those who wielded the greatest social influence. As burial practices can reflect social hierarchies in life, the most socially prominent age groups may be emphasised through a high provision of grave goods, a specific burial assemblage or a distinct burial rite. In contrast, marginal age groups (those with the least social influence) would be buried in a manner opposite to the significant age groups.

For example, in a primarily militaristic society where status, power and influence was related to physical and martial strength, young adult males would be socially pre-eminent and differentiated in burial through a rich burial assemblage. In this framework of social organisation, marginal age groups would primarily consist of the very young, females and elderly males; social sub-groups whose burial may have been marked through the provision of lower status grave goods. However, whilst the social sub-groups would be differentiated in burial from the young adult male norm, there would be 'degrees' of marginality, reflecting the influence of the gendered life course. In the context of this example, young adult females, as the parallel age cohort to adult males, may also have had a high degree of status in burial, reflecting their social position in relation to the pre-eminent male ideal. Similarly, young juveniles, as the next generation, may also have had been represented as socially significant through burial. In contrast to these significant age groups, the very young and the old, at the greatest age distance from adult-centric social norm, would be marked in burial as the most marginal sub-groups.

Furthermore, social age identity may not have remained static over time. How concepts of age were understood and expressed may have changed to incorporate shifting ideas relating to identity. The socio-economic changes and increasingly rigid and hierarchical system of the later Roman Empire would have impacted on aspects of social organisation in Britain (Millett, 1990:127-30). In the context of age identity,

Wiedemann (1989) argues that the importance of age distinctions within the political sphere declined from the 3rd century on; with young children inheriting positions of power. Similarly, it has been argued that there was an increasing concern for, and interest in, the young during the Empire (e.g. Rawson, 1992, 1997; Dixon, 1992; George, 2001). In the context of Roman Britain, this transition in attitudes towards the young has been interpreted as being an influence upon the inclusion of newborns and infants within the 4th century 'managed' urban cemeteries (Watts, 1989). In order to explore whether social age identity changed over time, this study compares how the life course was expressed in the early (1st-2nd century) and late (3rd-4th century) Roman periods.

Social concepts of age and gender were interlinked throughout the human life course, and how age identity was expressed in burial was an inherent factor of the gender of the deceased. The timing of transitions, the social age concepts reflected in burial and the social significance of specific age groups were all products of the social construction of gender identity. However, a gendered identity was not alone in impacting on the expression of the Romano-British life course. How age and gender were negotiated across the life span may have been further influenced by regional and local concepts of identity.

1.2: Identifying aspects of regional identity in the life course:

Within the age and gender framework of the life course, other forms of social identity would have impacted upon the social construction of age. A further aim of this thesis is to examine whether a regional identity was visible within the life course. Late pre-Roman Iron Age Britain was an amalgam of politically and socially distinct tribal regions, whose use of material culture, patterns of burial and settlement reflected localised interests (Haselgrove, 2004). During the Roman period, elements of these pre-existing identities may have been retained. Elements of regional traditions in burial practice during the Roman period have been recognised from Roman Britain. For example, the practice of providing footwear in the grave and the rite of decapitation is focussed in Wessex, the Cotswolds and the midlands regions, whilst burials in the south-east are recognisable through large quantities of grave goods with a recognisable continental bias in material culture types (Esmonde Cleary, 1992:32) (section 2.5). Similarly distributions in the use of material culture such as lamps, coins, jewellery and items associated with personal appearance have shown regional

patterns of deposition (e.g. Reece, 1993:92-3; Eckardt, 2000; 2005; 2006). In the context of the life course, these expressions of regional identity may have also been apparent in the social construction of age identity.

This study aims to explore the impact of regional identity on the expression of age and gender in south-east and south-west Roman Britain. The eastern region is centred on the *colonia* of Colchester and the *civitas* capital of St Albans, and broadly incorporates the rural heartlands of the *Catuvellauni* (Essex), *Trinovantes* (Hertfordshire) and *Iceni* (Cambridgeshire) (section 3.2). In this analysis, the regional context of south-west Britain is centred upon the *colonia* of Gloucester and the *civitas* capital of Cirencester and includes territory relating primarily to the *Dobunni* (Gloucestershire) and *Durotriges* (Somerset and Wiltshire) (section 3.1). A comparison of age identity in burial across the life course in these two separate areas of Roman Britain will identify whether a distinct regional age identity was visible, and examine how it was represented in burial through the material culture and the burial rite. Furthermore, a comparison between gendered age cohorts can also isolate regionally-specific age patterning; identifying those social sub-groups through which aspects of regional identity were predominantly expressed.

This question of regionalism in age identity will also be further explored on a macro-level through examining whether living in urban or rural environments impacted upon how age identity was expressed. Within each regional area, the evidence for age identity in the urban sites outlined above will be contrasted with that of the surrounding rural hinterlands. Living within a predominantly urban or rural environment would have emphasised different social concerns and priorities. It is recognised that new ideas in burial practice in Roman Britain originated in the urban centres; for example, introducing the use of tombstones, and re-introducing inhumation as the predominant later Roman burial rite (Esmonde Cleary, 1992:34-5). Furthermore, urban environments were a new form of socio-economic settlement pattern in Roman Britain and the urban sites selected would have had socially divergent populations. As such, urban living may have led to a degree of social de-racination, exacerbated through a loosening of traditional social ties and customs (ibid, 35). Being divorced from traditional pre-Roman concepts of social identity, may have led urban populations to establish new social age identities which emphasised urban concerns.

In contrast, rural areas may have retained more traditional pre-Roman concepts of age identity. Mattingly (2006:472-6) suggests that rural areas resisted Romanisation, with only limited utilization of the new material culture. Here, the social construction of age and gender identity may have been less fluid; whilst the physical demands of the agricultural cycle may have impacted upon age identity, leading to an increased emphasis on the young and physically active within the life course. The differing socio-economic structures of urban and rural environments may have led to differentiation in the timing of age transitions and in the emphasis on key age stages. This study aims to explore whether a divergent urban/rural life course was visible within the funerary record and how an urban or rural identity impacted upon the concept of gender and on the age identity of the young and old.

1.3: Identifying the young and old in Roman Britain

Alongside establishing whether regional and localised concepts of identity were influential on the social construction of age identity, this thesis aims to consider the position of the young and the old within the Romano-British life course. Against the background of adult age identity, attention will focus on infants, children and juveniles (0-19 years) and on those aged 50+ years. These age ranges cover three important transitional periods in the human life span: from dependent to independent child, from child to adult and from mature to elderly adult. As such, this study aims to focus on these two social sub-groups to explore the key age-related concepts associated with being young and old.

In regard to the young, this study aims to identify when the timing of age thresholds within the sub-adult life course occurred, to examine how each age stage was represented in burial and to explore possible motivations for the transition from one sub-adult age stage to another. Recently, research into age identity in Roman Britain has been focussed on infancy (e.g. Scott, 1991, 1999; Pearce, 1999; 2001). On a broader level, Gowland's work (2001) on the age at the late Roman cemetery at Lankhills identified subtle age thresholds amongst sub-adults, particularly during the first five years; with more distinct age thresholds during later childhood (ibid, 159-60).

By utilising a new data set, this study proposes to examine whether the thresholds were visible within other burial contexts, and it seeks to identify any key age characteristics which may encapsulate social aspects of sub-adult age identity.

Through recognising the social construction of each sub-adult age stage on an urban, rural and regional level, aspects of Romano-British infancy and childhood can be re-contextualised and probable social, biological and cultural imperatives for transitions across the sub-adult life course can be explored. The final stage of the sub-adult life course was the transition from sub-adult to adulthood. In many cultures this important age threshold was socially defined, and the timing of the transition to adulthood was often gender-dependent. This study also aims to examine the visibility of this age threshold, particularly in regard to aspects of gender differentiation, in order to explore how the transition to adulthood was represented within the Romano-British funerary record.

Whilst recent attention has begun to focus on aspects of childhood in the past societies (e.g. Lillehammer, 1989, 2008; Lewis, 2007; Crawford & Shepherd, 2007; Orme, 2008), how old age was constructed and experienced remains unexplored. Modern western countries are rapidly becoming 'grey' societies. As birth rates fall, medical technology advances and the post-war 'baby-boom' generation reaches retirement, old age is fast becoming a powerful political, economic and social issue. How old age is recognised, defined and experienced is open to increasing debate, which makes it an appropriate time to reconsider aspects of ageing in antiquity.

This thesis proposes to examine whether old age, as a distinct life stage, was visible in the Romano-British burial record by contrasting the material culture and burial evidence of those osteologically aged over 50 years with that of younger adults. In the same manner to sub-adults, key characteristics of burial at 50+ years may have encapsulated social concepts of elderly age identity. One important aspect of the social construction of old age was the impact of gender status. Gender status amongst females in many past societies was primarily embedded within fertility. As such, the social identity of the elderly woman underwent a transition after the menopause; represented by burial with a masculine or gender-neutral burial assemblage. Similarly, elderly males may have undergone a transition, reflecting a possible transferral of social status and power to younger males. Conversely, within patrilineal societies, old males may have gained social influence with age, represented in burial through increased grave good provision. This study contrasts the burial evidence for elderly males and females to identify any gendered-based transitions and explores possible motivating factors behind any visible gender patterning on a regional and contextual level.

By focussing on aspects of the sub-adult and elderly life course, this study can examine how the overall life course may have been conceptualised in Roman Britain.

By comparing any visible similarities or differences in burial treatment between these two social sub-groups, the evidence may indicate whether the life course was understood as being a linear or cyclical process. A linear view conceptualises the life course as a straight progression from birth to death. Here, greater emphasis on the burial of the elderly may represent accumulated age-based social status reflecting a gerontophilic society. In contrast, a cyclical life course understands birth, death and regeneration as an endless cycle. The young and the old, by virtue of their age, are conceptualised as being closest to this process of death and rebirth, and thus associated with non-normative social behaviours.

Such behaviours are frequently linked to reproduction, birth and death, and to those age groups which encapsulate social uncertainty, anxiety and powerlessness (Myerhoff, 1984:306-7). Whilst the association of infants with ritual spaces and behaviours is known, as evidenced by the two ritually decapitated newborns within the temple structure at Springhead, Kent (Penn, 1960), a corresponding association at the opposite end of the age spectrum is less clear. If similarities in the expression of age identity in burial can be established between the young and the old, it may indicate that these two social sub-groups may have been conceptualised as socially marginal beings, representing the cycle of birth and death.

1.4: Conclusion

How social identity was constructed on the periphery of Empire remains ambiguous. As age and gender are inherent factors of social identity and organisation, they are often mirrored in aspects of burial practice. Applying a life course methodology to the funerary record can pinpoint age-based changes in the burial record which correspond with transitions in social identity. It also recognises the key characteristics of each age group and can inform about the social attitudes and expectations encapsulated within each gendered age stage. In the context of Roman Britain, this life course methodology provides an ideal approach to examining social construction on a macro and micro-level. A comparative regional analysis of the life course in two geographical areas allows the question of the influence of regionalism in social organisation to be explored. Similarly, through comparing aspects of gendered age

identity on an urban and rural level, the impact of the immediate environment on social organisation can be examined.

Within this examination of the life course, specific age groups such as sub-adults and the elderly can be recognised and regional and localised attitudes towards these two age groups identified, allowing their position within the social hierarchy to be explored. This will enable hidden concepts of age identity to be discussed, and will go towards re-contextualising the young and the old into the social organisation of Roman Britain. In order to place this study into context, chapter two explores the development of life course theory, and its application in the study of age, gender and social organisation within prehistoric and historic contexts, including that of the Roman world.

CHAPTER TWO: AGE AND THE LIFE COURSE IN CONTEXT

The development of the life course as an approach to understanding populations in the past has been influenced by methodological approaches and empirical studies within other areas of the social sciences. Anthropology has been a primary influence by highlighting the importance of rites of passage across the life course and in identifying the role played by age and gender as fundamental principles in social organisation. Recently, research in social archaeology has utilised the anthropological life course approach within a variety of different prehistoric and historic past cultures. These have shown the viability of applying a life course methodology to examine social organisation in the past, and to identify socially specific behaviours and expectations associated with certain age groups. Whilst many studies which have utilised a life course approach have focussed on the impact of gender in the construction of the mortuary record, others have concentrated on examining the importance of children in the past, particularly on examining the impact of children as social agents.

In contrast, the reconstruction of the gendered life course in the Roman world has relied heavily on textual and artistic evidence which, unfortunately, is weighted towards the Roman male elite. For other social sub-groups, both in the Mediterranean basin, and in the wider provincial contexts in general, the evidence for age identity can only be inferred. This has led to a degree of ambiguity in regards to understanding issues of social organisation, including social status and gender roles, and to the social expectations surrounding the young and old in provincial contexts.

In Roman Britain, this inherited ambiguity has focussed primarily on the debate regarding the practice of infanticide within the province. However, new studies have suggested that a more complex set of age-related behaviours were associated with infant burial in the province. In contrast, how being old was experienced in Roman Britain, as in many other archaeological contexts, remains under-explored. This further highlights the need to examine provincial age identity within the context of a life course framework, to identify the social position and status of the elderly on the periphery of the Empire.

2.1 The development of life course theory

The concept of life course as applied to archaeological populations, derived primarily from an anthropological and sociological background, is a means of recognising and

understanding different conceptions of age and age-related social principals in many non-Western societies (Lucy, 2005:54). Age is socially constructed (ibid, 43-44), and how the life course is expressed is often a reflection of the cultural attitudes and expectations inherent to a particular stage of life (Myerhoff, 1984:307). A life course approach is based on the understanding that from birth onwards, individuals pass through a series of age-based life stages, usually marked by rites of passage to signify the social transition from one life stage to the next (Ottenberg, 1988:327; Myerhoff, 1984:313). How the life course is represented is gender-specific; the time of age thresholds and the corresponding rites of passage are dependent upon the perceived social roles of each gender (Gilchrist, 1999; 2000:235, Sofaer Derevenski, 1997:876; Harlow & Lawrence, 2002:3; Turton, 1995:99; Lucy, 2005:58).

Although recognised and recorded in earlier anthropological fieldwork (e.g. Goody, 1962), a formal sociological concept of the life course was defined by Cain (1964), this stimulated further research and development of theories of ageing (Spencer, 1990:15). Certain theories of age focussed on the relationship between the individuals' identity and society (Diaz-Andreu & Lucy, 2005:5). For example, the 'life text' approach, focussed on an individual person's interpretation and experience of each life stage transition (Levinson, 1977, Ryff & Heincke, 1983:807). Similarly, Neugarten (1969) argued that each individual internalised the social expectations associated with their stage of life, assessing their own performance and aiming towards the 'social norm'. Other interpretations, influenced by Marxist theory, favoured a 'life crisis' approach. This approach argues that transitions in the life course are reached as a result of individuals' reaching crisis points, which precipitate radical adjustments within on a familial and social level (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965; Sarason *et al* 1978; Hultsch & Plemons, 1979; Spencer, 1990:18).

From a historical perspective, the age cohort approach unites the life course with social change. Age is understood in terms of generation, with each generation sharing similar life experiences that would influence their perceptions of age and their stage in the life course (Gowland, 2006:144-5; Uhlenberg & Minor, 1996:208). For example, the political system during the late Republican period in Rome was organised around age cohorts, with eligibility for public office based on attaining certain ages. A group of men would enter the Senate at the same time and compete for the same offices at set times during their careers (Beard & Crawford, 2005:52-54). Although the age cohort approach provides a comprehensive framework through

which to track the influence of social change, it does have methodological problems when applied to small data sets. Age cohorts vary in size and composition over time, becoming progressively smaller as individuals age, which can bias interpretations (Spencer, 1990:20-21). Despite these reservations, the age cohort approach has helped to illustrate the social development of particular life stages, such as childhood or old age, through time (ibid: 20).

The age cohort approach under-pinned Aries' (1962) *Centuries of Childhood*, which opened up the debate on what constituted childhood in the past. Using iconographic and documentary evidence of children's clothes, games and schooling during the medieval period, Aries asserted that before the early modern era there was no concept of childhood in medieval society (Aries, 1962:128). According to Aries, the concept of childhood was a recent construct, which developed out of a change in cultural thought. Visible through pictorial and textual representations from the 16th and 17th centuries on, this change in thinking was the result of an appreciation of the non-adult qualities of children, and a growing concern for the moral and educational well-being of the young (ibid, 129-132). Aries (1962:133) argued that the development of these two concepts laid the foundations for the modern western idea of childhood as a distinct and separate life stage.

While Aries' work has been heavily criticised for methodological reasons (e.g. Ashplant & Wilson, 1988; Cunningham, 1995:38; 1998:1202; Burton, 1989), it provided an opening dialogue to discuss age and the role of the young in the past. Some scholars argued that a lack of a concept of childhood in antiquity was equated with ambivalence towards the young as a result of limited emotional investment in the face of high childhood mortality (De Mause, 1974; Stone, 1997:651-2). Others argued that the death or abandonment of one child did not imply parental indifference towards remaining children, and that epigraphic evidence from classical contexts suggested strong emotional attachment between parents and offspring (Golden, 1988:153; 1990:87-9; Rawson, 1991:7; Dixon, 1992:130). Recently, however attention in historical and sociological studies on the concept of childhood has recognised its' fluidity as a life course stage. Rather than being the passive focus of parental grief, children in the past are now recognised as active agents (Lucy, 2005:60); whilst the duration of childhood and it's concomitant social expectations are primarily a reflection of the socio-economic organisation of any given society (Archard, 1993:22-4; Jenks, 1996:41, 69).

In a similar manner to the study of childhood, the development of theories of ageing has enabled the position of the elderly within societies to be examined. Within recent societies there has been a perceived loss of elderly status. The impact of employment laws delineating a set age of retirement, restricted economic influence, the impact of the nuclear family structure, increased mobility and technical advances have undermined the perceived position of the 'elder' and placed socio-economic power in the hands of younger adults (Hockey & James, 1993: 148-140; Cowgill & Holmes, 1972; Hareven, 1978:209-13). Although criticised for having a primarily western focus (Foner, 1984:197-204), this 'modernisation' theory of ageing has focussed scholarly attention on the expression of inter-generational tensions.

However, in many recent non-industrial societies old age does not automatically equal respect. Rather status in old age is maintained through a continuous manipulation of knowledge and ritual power by elders, in order to maintain social control of younger adults (Spencer, 1990: 8-10). Similarly, gendered expectations impact upon the status of the elderly. In many tribal societies, the status of old males is often challenged by younger men as their active role in the public sphere diminishes with age; in contrast the social role of the female can expand as their fertility decreases (*ibid*, 9). For example, older females may gain increased status in the domestic sphere as elders and grandmothers, achieving a freedom from the restrictions and taboos associated with their reproductive years (Gutmann, 1977:305-12; Spencer, 1990:14; Langdon, 2001:591; Foxhall, 1998; Gilchrist, 1999:88).

However, in many non-industrial societies the elderly retain a degree of influence as the guardians of traditions and normative social practices; through storytelling and the control of ritual practices (Lucy, 2005:60). These skills can give the elderly the aura of being 'powerful' beings in many societies; removed from social restraints and expectations with the freedom to express themselves in ways forbidden to younger age groups (Myerhoff, 1984:311). This 'liminal' status is often conceptualised as having a close association with the spiritual world, due to the position of the old at the end of the life course. This perceived aspect of spirituality in the elderly can provide the old with status and power, particularly in matters pertaining to religion, but can also inspire fear and dread (Robb, 2002, 154-55; Myerhoff, 1984:316). For example, in Jewish lore Lilith, the first wife of Adam, is often portrayed as an elderly demonic figure who threatens the lives of newborn infants (Tucker, 2005:167). Similarly, in the folktales of western Europe witchcraft is

primarily associated with the elderly woman, who is satirised as the ugly outsider, indulging behaviours beyond the boundaries of social acceptability (Neumann, 1955:147).

2.2. The life course in archaeological contexts

Whilst anthropological and ethnographic studies can provide evidence for the different social constructions of age across the life course (Fortes, 1980:100), funerary archaeology can only reveal one static moment in the life of an individual in the past. Within the death of one individual there is little sense of how age was experienced or of how age was involved in constructing a personal identity (Gilchrist, 2000:325). Allied to this, difficulties in accurately ageing and dating skeletal remains has meant that, until recently, data from funerary contexts has been overlooked in archaeological analysis as a means of examining the role of age in past societies (Gowland, 2006:145; Sofaer Derevenski, 1994:8).

However, the broadness of the life course framework in examining age across the whole life span allows age, as an aspect of social identity, to be explored. Burial practices are often highly conservative and encapsulate societal norms. The material culture provided at death can be used to create or reinforce these social norms in relation to the age and gender of the deceased (Lucy, 2005:62; Sofaer Derevenski, 1994:14). As such, how age and gender identity was represented in the funerary record mirrors these aspects of identity in life; enabling hidden aspects of social organisation to be reconstructed (Harlow & Lawrence, 2002:3; Meskell, 2000:435).

In many past societies, age and gender identity in life was often represented through specific items of dress, jewellery or body modification. For example, Joyce (2000) examined the textual and archaeological evidence relating to Aztec children in order to identify the life course. Figurines found depicting different stages of the life course showed variations in posture, hair ornamentation and dress (*ibid*, 481). Infants were given items of dress and objects relating to their gender; from the age of *c.*4 years the body was modified with ear piercing to signify their entry into the world of the older child, and regularly throughout childhood life course transitions were marked by changes in practices of dress and body modification (*ibid*, 476-479). With the onset of adulthood ear ornaments were given, and these appear to have differentiated the adult from the non-adult, with the ornaments being restricted to

adults in the burial record, even though children's burials had the greatest number and range of grave goods (ibid, 481).

Similarly, gender-related transitions in age status have been recognised in wall paintings from Thera (Doumas, 2000). Here, gender was characterised through skin colour, and different hair-styles were used to denote age, from partially shaven heads with four separate locks of hair for boys and girls aged 8-12, through to long hair worn loose for mature adults (ibid, 971-973). In the funerary record, changes in types of items related to personal appearance can also indicate transitions within the life course. Thedeem (2008) analysed the provision of jewellery items amongst girls and young females from contexts in Viking Age Gotland (800-1050CE) and identified that the type and quantity of jewellery placed with the deceased was used to mark life course transitions. For example, a single arm ring and a few beads were placed with infant girls up to 5 years old, between 5 and 15 years more elaborate bead sets were provided, and bangles were worn on the arm from 15-20+ years (ibid, 84-89).

Whilst the transitions in a gendered identity often involved changes in aspects of personal appearance, they could also relate to the idealised social roles of the male and female. For example, in Bronze Age contexts in southern Spain gender in the burial of children was marked from seven years of age through the placing of items relating to their future social roles (Sanchez Romero, 2008). Daggers were placed with male children, foreshadowing the adult male pattern of burial with swords, whilst girls were buried with awls, an item exclusively associated with women (ibid, 2008a:32-3).

Examining age in burial also allows a consideration of issues relating to gender in the past. Sofaer Derevenski (1997; 2000) examined how age and gender were expressed within the mortuary record of a prehistoric Copper-Age society in Hungary. The results indicated that gender and age were vital components within the organisation of the society, and gender identity was both assimilated and expressed through the material culture, particularly in regards to metal objects (ibid, 401). Gender can also be expressed through the body itself. Robb (1997; 2002) examined the treatment of the body amongst the female population of Neolithic Italy and suggested that the deliberate removal of certain teeth marked a transition from childhood to full adulthood status. Similarly, burial in a crouched position on the left side signified adult female status, in contrast to crouched burial on the right for males and supine for sub-adults.

Within historical archaeological contexts, the role of gender and age in the social organisation of the funerary ritual during the Anglo-Saxon period was examined by Stoodley (2000). With sub-adults, the form of burial and types of material culture were utilised to express the individual's position within the life course. Neonates and infants tended to be interred in multiple burials with other infants and provided with very few grave goods. From the age of *c.*2-3 years, perhaps coinciding with weaning, the burial rite changed, and children were given single furnished burial (ibid. 458-9). Full admission into Anglo-Saxon society may have been represented through the inclusion of aspects of the material culture associated with the adult burial rite (Crawford, 1999:173-4). At *c.*3-4 years, the provision of spears was interpreted as representing the admission of the male child into society, whilst beads and single brooches at *c.*5 years signified the inclusion of the female (Stoodley, 2000, 461-3). From *c.*10-12 years, a more complex burial assemblage, including gendered 'adult' types of grave goods, marked the entry of the male and female child into adulthood (ibid, 463).

Age and gender in the past can be represented through the association of distinct forms of grave goods. Langdon's (2001) analysis of Late Geometric period pots (750-730 BCE) in two graves from Greece, showed a strong correlation between the age and gender of the deceased and the 'biography' of the objects. For example, a giant pyxis from Argos contained the burial of a female aged 35+ years. Langdon (2001:589-592) related the creation and duration of use of the pyxis to the social maturation of the female, suggesting that the deceased and the object were considered to share a symbolic history. Similarly, a krater which formed part of the burial assemblage, a form of pottery particularly associated with male identity in Greece, may have been symbolised the social age of the female. Langdon (2001:591) argues that at over 35 years old, the woman may have been considered an 'elder' already having grown children or grandchildren. As such, her non-reproductive status and authority over kin and household may have symbolically associated her as having a more 'masculine' social status.

Utilising a life course framework to help understand the social organisation of past populations allows specific social sub-groups to be examined in more detail. In this regard, the study of the social role of children in the past has been a focus of recent archaeological debate. Rather than being passive, with no active function in group subsistence strategies, recent studies have suggested that children had agency in

the past, particularly in prehistoric societies. As active members of the social network, children would have been accorded a full social identity commensurate with their socio-economic participation which would be visible within the burial record. Lillie (1997) suggests that children may have played an equal role in the subsistence strategies at the Mesolithic and Neolithic sites in the Ukraine. Here children were buried in the same manner as adults, in a supine position with probable status objects such as pendants. This may indicate that children were seen as fully integrated and active members, whose loss was being marked by inclusion within the ritual context of the burial rite (ibid, 224-5).

Similarly, Janik (2000) highlights the difference in the burial of children at three sites in the Baltic and Scandinavia during the early and mid-Holocene. The children buried at Zvejnieki, in the south east Baltic (c.5500BCE-c.1600BCE), whether buried alone or with an adult, were furnished with the same grave goods as adults (ibid, 121-122). The very young at the Scandinavian sites, dated c.5300-c.4100BCE, were only given grave goods when they were buried with or closely associated to adult graves (ibid, 123). Janik (2000:128) argues that this may indicate that the children were considered differently within their populations: at the Baltic site they were fully integrated social actors, while at the two Scandinavian sites, they were not recognised as being independent within the community, but that their status was associated with that of the adult.

As children were fully active members of past societies, the age at which they began to assimilate the varied social skills needed would relate to their physical and cognitive development. Kamp *et al* (1999) suggest that children of the Singua people of northern Arizona were fully involved in pottery production from the age of 10 years. Examination of finger-print sizes suggests that from the age of c. 4 years children were present at the site, firstly producing clay figurines (also found associated with child burials), and later in producing pottery storage vessels (ibid, 313-14). Similarly, Grimm (2000) detected patterns in the spatial analysis of lithic debris at the Upper Palaeolithic site at Solvieux, France which suggested that young children were being taught flint-knapping. The spread of debris indicated that children may have been observing the process in one area, before moving away from the main flint-knapping site to practice what they had observed (ibid, 59-60).

While children were full social members in some archaeological contexts, in other societies the burial of young children may have been utilised to express abstract

concepts of kinship, community and political ideologies (Rapport & Overing, 2000:31-2; Lillehammer, 1989:91; Nieuwenhuys, 1996:237). By virtue of their age and position on the cusp of the life course, infants and very young children may have acted as metaphors, linking the present to the world of the ancestors.

The spatial organisation of two cemeteries in Japan, Nagoaka and Kuriyama (3rd-1st centuries BCE), suggest that the burial of infants and children were being employed to express and reinforce ideas of kinship (Mizoguchi, 2000). At Nagoaka, many infants and children (52.5% 96/183 interments) were found buried in jars above pre-existing adult interments, with as many as four or five burials being placed with that of a single adult (ibid, 143-145). In contrast, the child burials at Kuriyama, were treated the same as adults, but with only one or two children or infants (18.2% 6/33 interments) being selected for burial, and these burials were in distinct clusters around that of an adult (ibid, 146-147). Mizoguchi (2000:148-149) interpreted the difference in burial styles as reflecting a change in social organisation from communality at Nagoaka to individual identity at Kuriyama.

In a similar manner, infant burials in Athens over a thousand year period were utilised to negotiate and express political ideologies, female status and concepts of legitimacy in Athenian society (Houby-Nielson, 2000). During the city state period, infants and small children were buried in cemeteries at the city gates, or along roads that led to sanctuaries of important chthonic and female cults, cults which were also linked to the commercial welfare of Athens (ibid, 161). By the 4th century BCE a change in burial practice had occurred with infant cemeteries disappearing and the appearance of relief decorated gravestones for the very young (ibid, 163). Houby-Nielson (2000:163) argues that this change coincides with the decline of Athens as an independent political state and a change in status of women; from their role as mothers of legitimate Athenians who would be active in the political life of the city, to a more family centred ideology.

The above studies highlighted aspects of childhood age identity and age concepts associated with childhood in past societies. In contrast to the focus on childhood in archaeology, specific studies on old age in the past are rare (Welinder, 2001:164). The lack of study of the elderly in the past is both a factor of demography and a problem of definition. High childhood mortality, endemic disease, poor nutrition, basic medical care and attrition through warfare and childbirth may have meant that significantly fewer people reached modern definitions of 'old age'

(Scheidel, 2001:3-11). Similarly, what was defined as 'old age' may have been dependent upon a variety of factors. Being old may have been defined as reaching a high chronological age or appearing or seeming elderly (physical and mental deterioration) (Welinder, 2001:165). Conversely, reaching 'old age' may have been the result of purely generational or societal changes. For example, the birth of the first grandchild or the death of a spouse, regardless of chronological age, may have acted as social transitions into old age (Blacking, 1990:128; Welinder, 2001:165). As such, old age in past societies can often only be recognised through examining the social construction of the life course through burial evidence.

For example, in her study of age and gender construction in early Copper Age Hungary, Sofaer Derevenski (2000) noted that 'older' adults also received age-specific burial items, in a similar manner to younger adults and sub-adults. Left side burials (primarily female) were given mussel shells as part of the burial assemblage at *c.*40 years, whilst right side burials (primarily male), received copper beads from *c.*35 years and a shell disc from *c.*50 years; whilst items such as dippers and bone awls were dropped with age (*ibid.*, 393-4). Similarly, Welinder (2001) identified age and gender distinctions amongst older adults at the mid-Neolithic Ajvide burial ground on Gotland, Denmark. Along with young women, elderly males were buried with 'prestige' items (axes, adzes, boar tusks and seal teeth), whilst the single example of an elderly female was interred with a 'tool kit,' usually associated with male burial (*ibid.*, 173). This patterning was interpreted as representing male elders being honourably buried as high status individuals, whilst elderly females may have been regarded as non-gendered in old age, and thus could be buried as males (*ibid.*).

This interpretation underlines that how old age was experienced in the past was dependent upon social organisation and gender. Further studies undertaken by Welinder (2001:174) from prehistoric and historic Scandinavian contexts indicate that status in old age was primarily associated with males, as tribal elders or leaders. For example, at South Halland, Denmark, the distribution of grave goods with late Bronze Age cremation graves favoured females of reproductive age; with the number of objects declining as females aged (*ibid.*, 173). In contrast, grave good provision increased with age amongst males and, whilst there were more elderly women than men within the burial sample, the males were provided with 2-3 times more objects at burial (*ibid.*, 174). From late Iron Age and Viking period contexts in Sweden,

proportionally more elderly men than women were selected for burial, indicating that inclusion within the burial rite was status-led and gender-dependent.

A similar picture of gender-dependent status in old age was visible within the early Anglo-Saxon burial rite in Britain. Overall, mature males (40+ years) as a group had proportionally less burials with weapons than younger males but, where weapons were provided, mature males had a higher average total per burial and distinctive weapon types such as axes and seaxes (Stoodley, 2000:462). Stoodley (2000:467) interpreted this patterning as representing a separate age stage for certain male elders with high social value. In contrast, mature females from the same contexts did not have a further separate age stage, but were defined as a group through a reduction in the amount of jewellery provided at burial and an absence of girdle items; objects associated with adult female status (ibid, 464-5; 466-9). Similarly, burials of older women in 6th-7th century CE European contexts indicate an age-related decline in status. In Merovingian society, females displayed status through their costume, particularly jewellery (Halsall, 2004:26). After *c.*40 years of age the burials of Merovingian females recorded a strong decline in the number of jewellery related artefacts placed in graves; usually having only one, or at most two, necklaces (ibid, 1996:11).

The studies discussed above indicate that age identity at the beginning and end of the life span were influenced by social organisation and gender construction. Similarly, the attitudes and expectations towards these social sub-groups in the Roman world would have reflected the prevalent social hierarchy and cultural expectations of gender. Section 2.3 explores Roman attitudes to age and gender, utilising evidence from surviving epigraphic, pictorial and textual sources to construct the broad trajectory of the idealised male and female life course.

2.3. The Roman life course: Attitudes and expectations

Age identity was deeply embedded within the social construction of Roman society. The idealised social behaviours and expectations associated with certain age stages were represented in many forms of evidence, and the well-being of the city was idealised through age of the Emperor. A young, vigorous Emperor equated with a strong and vibrant city, whilst an ageing emperor was equated with stagnation and decline (Laurence 2000). Alongside age, the gender roles were also strongly defined. The idealised social roles of males and females were represented on monuments and

tombstones, in moral discourse and legal documents. Although these sources deal primarily with the predominantly Roman male elite, the evidence indicates that concepts relating to age and social identity were present from the beginning and throughout the life course.

After the birth of an male child, and his acceptance into the family through the ritual of *tollere liberos* (the lifting of the infant from the ground by the father to signify his willingness to accept the newborn (Seutonium *Nero* 6; Dixon, 1992:101; Corbier, 2001:54-5), the infant was named on the ninth day at the ritual of *dies lustricus* and given the *bulla* as a protective amulet and to symbolise his freeborn status (Seut. *Nero* 6). Infant males remained within the domestic household until the age of *c.*7 years, when they began their formal education and participated in private cult (Harlow & Laurence, 2002). Between the ages of 15-17 years, a further ritual marked the transition from child to youth (*iuvenas* or *adolescentia*), involved the donning of the *toga virilis*, entry into public life and the dedicating of the protective *bulla* to the gods, followed by a year's military service (Pliny, *Epistles*. 10.116; Frascetti, 1997:65-9; Wiedemann, 1989:114-117).

The period of *iuvenas*, which lasted to *c.*25 years of age, was considered a liminal phase with young elite males no longer considered children but not yet fully adult. The behaviour associated with this age group, gleaned from written sources, suggested that youths were viewed as impulsive, aggressive and sexually incontinent (Harlow & Laurence, 2002:69). That the stage of *iuvenas* was considered dangerous and was enshrined in law, with both the *Lex Paetoria* and *Lex Villia Annalis* barring youths from public office or business affairs until the age of 25-30 years (*ibid*, 76).

The first shave was undertaken by a young male in his early late teens or early 20s, was dedicated to the gods and marked a further transition towards growing maturity (*ibid*, 44). Marriage marked the end of *iuvenas*; the youth was accepted as a full adult citizen able to undertake public duties and expected to enter into the political arena (*ibid*, 78).

For females, how the life course was constructed was less defined than for males. Marriage and motherhood formed the core of her lifecourse, and a girl only made the transition to full adulthood on the day of her marriage (Allason-Jones, 2005:15; Harlow & Laurence, 2002:54). After acceptance by the father, an elite female infant was named on the eighth day as Roman medical thinking considered

females to mature faster than males (Jackson, 1988). Female children were educated and remained within the domestic environment until marriage.

The ancient view was that women had little control over their sexuality. With the onset of menarche, at around *c.* 14 years (Soranus, *Gynaecology* 1.33), aspects of female behaviour and diet was monitored and she was chaperoned to preserve her virginity; it has been suggested this change in behaviour may have signalled her readiness for marriage (Harlow & Laurence, 2002:57-8; Garnsey, 1999:101-2). There was no precise age at which marriage took place. Legally a female could marry from the age of 12 years (*Digest* 23, 2.4 cited in Gardner & Wiedemann, 1991:17), although recent studies have suggested it was more common during the late teens or early 20s (Saller 1994; Shaw, 1987; Allason-Jones, 2005:15). On the day of the wedding the female removed the dress of childhood (*toga praetexta*) and covered her hair in public for the first time (Harlow and Laurence, 2002, 61-2). That marriage was the central rite of passage undertaken by females was highlighted by the fact that to make the marriage legitimate the female had to be in attendance, whereas for males the wedding could take place by proxy. Once married, the female was fully accepted as an adult (*ibid*, 63-64).

For those outside of the elite, the evidence for the life course is very uncertain. For the poor it may have been that transition to adulthood occurred with the beginning of their working lives at around 12-14 years; in a similar manner to later medieval apprenticeships (Finley, 1989:5). For slaves, the age at which they could be legally manumitted may have been the major transitional point of their life course (Parkin, 2003:33-34). Bradley's (1978) study of the age of sale of female slaves indicated that the ability to reproduce may have been a primary aspect of their life course; the majority of sales coinciding with the years of peak fertility between 17 and 27 years. It was probably the case that for slaves there was no defined life course; they remained classed as, and thought of, as children throughout their adult lives unless manumitted.

Amongst the non-elites it may be that the timing of major life course transitions was unrelated to chronological age. Parkin (2003:33-34) suggests that, for the majority of the population of the Roman world, there was little need to know the precise chronological age of an individual. Epigraphic studies of age on tombstones indicate 'age-rounding,' with age being rounded up or down to the closest five or ten year number (Duncan-Jones, 1977; Revell, 2005:59, Shaw, 1991). Whilst illiteracy

may have been a factor in age rounding, amongst the non-elites knowledge of precise ages may have been relatively unimportant, and individuals would be defined through whether appearing young, adult or elderly (Parkin, 2003:33-35).

Although an exact knowledge of chronological age may have been inessential for the majority, age *stages* were recognised. With the young and the old, age-related social expectations encapsulated within these broad age stages suggest a degree of ambiguity. While children represented hopes for the future, familial continuity and security in old age (Dixon, 1992:102), the exposure and abandonment of newborns was practiced (Harris, 1994; Corbier, 2001). In ancient Roman law the father, as *paterfamilias*, theoretically had immense power over his family, including the right to decide whether to raise or abandon a newborn.

This right remained enshrined in law until 374 CE, when it was outlawed by edicts issued by the Emperors Valentinian, Valens and Gratian (Corbier, 2001:58-60; Harries, 1992). Textual evidence, in the form of a private letter written in 2BCE and excavated from Alexandria, appears to support the practice of abandonment or exposure, suggesting that it may have been acceptable social practice, in Hellenised Egypt at least (Patterson, 1985). This document stated that the mother was to raise the expected child if it were a boy or to expose it if it were a girl (*Oxy. Papyri 744 (Select Papyri 105)*; cited in Scott, 1999:144). At Rome itself Seneca, in the mid 1st century CE, wrote that ‘feeble and deformed’ children were to be drowned (*De Ira* 1.15.2). In contrast, Tertullian (*Apologia*. 9.8.60; cited in Corbier, 2001:60) argued against the practice of exposure, writing that ‘he who will be a human being also is one.’

Furthermore, literary sources such as Juvenal (*Satires* XV 138-140) indicate that the period of infancy was considered separate from the rest of childhood. Excessive mourning over the death of very young infants was frowned upon, and newborns were accorded a separate burial custom to that of older children. Plutarch (*Moralia* 612A), writing about the premature deaths of newborns, stated that:

“We neither bring offerings of drink to those who die in infancy nor do we do for them the things which it is customary to do for the dead: for they had no part in this world; nor are we devoted to their graves and monuments, nor to the laying out of their bodies, nor do we sit by their bodies, for the laws do not allow us to mourn those of such an age.’

Pliny (*Natural Histories VII*, 15.72) wrote that cremation, the prevalent burial rite during his lifetime, did not apply to the very young before they cut their teeth. This difference is also reflected in the language: Latin had no fixed terms for 'baby' while the word *infans* was not applied just to neonates and young infants but to children up to the age of *c.* 7 years (Dixon, 1992:104; Manson, 1983:150-3).

It may be argued that these writings reflect more an *acceptance* that many infants faced an early death at a time of high infant mortality, than *indifference* towards the infants themselves. Pearce (2001:125) argues that the textual sources reflect the beliefs of a small number of elite Roman males, and may not have reflected the majority of the population. Evidence does exist that for many adults the death of an infant or small child was truly mourned. At the loss of his daughter Plutarch, writing to his wife in consolation, speaks of the delight and affection the child had brought them (*Moralia VII*, 608.2:583). Juvenal (*Satires XV* 138-140), writing in the early 2nd century CE, states that it is normal to weep over the graves of infants too young to be cremated.

Further evidence that the Romans were not indifferent to the early death of infants is visible on surviving tombstones. One example, the tombstone of Hateria Superba, who died aged 18 months, was carved in the image of a young girl (CIL 6.19169). Rather, natural human emotion and the weight of epigraphic evidence for parental care and grief at the early deaths of children, indicates there was little sense of indifference towards the very young (Golden, 1988:159).

Indeed, rather than indifference, certain strands of evidence suggested an increasing representation of, and interest in, children and childhood during the Empire. The young were symbolically associated with fertility, prosperity and continuity; and representations of children were utilised on both public and private monuments to demonstrate Roman values. The Ara Pacis Augustae (13-9CE), for example, included images of the children of the imperial family, and infants on the lap of Italia to represent fertility and prosperity, emphasising the continuity of the new regime and the new Augustan moral reform promoting family values (Zanker, 1988:215-223).

During the 2nd century CE, legislation aimed primarily at strengthening and supporting families was introduced by successive emperors. For example, the *alimentia* scheme instituted by Trajan (101CE) enshrined in law the right of illegitimate children to be included in the birth register, and the children of soldiers to

have access to their father's property; interpreted as representing an increased concern in the welfare of children (Rawson, 1997:225-227). Images of the children were used in imperial propaganda to promote the benefits of the *Pax Romana*. On Trajan's column in Rome, and on the triumphal arch at Beneventum, images of prosperous and healthy young children were juxtaposed with scenes of war and suffering, to promote Roman values and to represent the futility of resistance (Currie, 1996; Rawson, 2001).

In the private sphere, funerary reliefs of family groups including very young children became more frequent towards the end of the 1st century BCE (Rawson, 1997:221). Although funerary reliefs were often highly formalised, with children represented as adults, more naturalistic representations of children were also produced. For example, a relief excavated from the Villa Doria Pamphili, portrayed a young girl of about 5 years tugging at her mother's dress (George, 2001:182-3). Similarly, pictorial representations of children on sarcophagi represented images from the child's life course, indicating a sense that childhood was a separate life stage to adulthood (Dixon, 1992).

Examples of children's sarcophagi represent scenes from the life course including birth, the first bath, and the older child playing and going to school. Other sarcophagi dating from the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE show parents or slaves attending to the needs of the infant, carrying the child and listening to the child reciting lessons. The inclusion of these images on children's tombs has been interpreted as recognition of childhood as a separate life course stage, representing an increasing adult interest in the world of the child (Rawson, 1992:170, 1997:227; Dixon, 1992:101). Further representations of childhood on children's sarcophagi show the child's life course 'interrupted' by death, with adult carers portrayed in attitudes of mourning, emphasising the emotional impact of loss (Huskinson, 1996:112).

However, pictorial evidence pertaining to the young is complex and open to interpretation. Whilst the use of images of infants and children on both public and private art may reflect an increasing sentimental interest in children (Rawson, 1997:211-3), this has been questioned (e.g. Huskinson, 1996). The increasing level of pictorial images of children on public art was primarily driven by imperial ideological and dynastic propaganda, and thus not representative of the majority throughout the Empire (Koortbojian, 1996:219-21). Similarly, images of children on private art were particularly associated with the freeman social class, and were employed primarily as a means of emphasising their new familial and social status (George,

2001:187). Huskinson (1996:112-3) argues that the portrayals of the young on sarcophagi reflect childhood from an adult perspective, with an emphasis on the lost potential of the child to become a fully socialised adult. Furthermore, the commemoration of children on tombstones was not a universal practice, but a decision made on the part of the adult. McWilliam (2001:92-3) suggests that the decision to commemorate a child was made to emphasise and express the social inclusion of the parent, through a recognition that they had fulfilled their social duty in having children.

Analysis of epigraphic habits on tombstones relating to children further indicates a sense of ambiguity pertaining to children. Whilst dedications from the 1st century CE were primarily to and from immediate members of the nuclear family (Saller & Shaw, 1994), the epithets (e.g. *pious* or *dulcis*) employed often emphasised adult expectations of children (Nielson, 1997: 172-3). Similarly, age distinctions were apparent within the body of epigraphic evidence relating to children. Infants were far less frequently commemorated than older children, on whom future parental expectations and hopes resided (Dixon, 1992:98; Nielson, 1997:172).

The ambiguity in attitudes towards the young was also visible at the opposite end of the age spectrum, particularly between the ideal of old age and the reality. The ideal was that of the elite Roman male, to remain ‘useful’ to the state (Parkin, 2003). In order to remain useful, mental and physical health were to be maintained through a strict regimen of diet, exercise and philosophy (Harlow & Laurence, 2002:111-27; Cokayne, 2003:94-104). Cicero, in his philosophical treatise *De Senectute* (11.38) maintained that ‘age will only be respected if it fights for itself, maintains its own rights, avoids dependence and asserts control over its own sphere as long as life lasts.’

Amongst the Roman upper class, wisdom was traditionally associated with the elderly male, but wisdom would only come from having lived a correct, upright life and having behaved in the appropriate manner; a good old age depended upon keeping the intellect sharp and living by philosophical virtues (Cokayne, 2003:92-3).

However, in contrast to this positive attitude towards ageing, the literary evidence suggests a concern for the physical indignities and ill-health associated with ageing (Harlow & Laurence, 2002:117-127). That a ‘good’ old age was reliant upon maintaining good health was recognised: Seneca (*Epistles* 12.4) wrote that ‘life is most delightful when it is on the downward slope, but has not yet reached the abrupt decline.’ Health in old age was to be maintained through frugal living, and those who

over-indulged and were unable to perform their public duties were frowned upon (Cokayne, 2003:34-44). This concern with physical decline and the indignities attendant upon old age suggests a keen awareness that for many, growing old was something to be feared.

With no state provision for the welfare of the elderly, the responsibility for maintaining elderly relatives was the duty of the family, primarily any surviving children (Parkin, 1997:125-9; Finley, 1989:6). Whilst under Roman law the oldest male relative retained financial control, which in theory meant that as *paterfamilias* he could expect support for as long as he lived, how other elderly relatives were supported remains uncertain (Parkin, 1997, 131-4; McGinn, 1999:619).

It has been suggested that the resentment and contempt for the aged in textual sources was a result of financial control residing in the hands of the oldest male (Haynes, 1963, 27-8), but in reality, the power of the *paterfamilias* may have been diluted. Demographically, it is unlikely that many middle-aged men would still remain under the legal authority of the father. It has been calculated that c.90% of men aged 40 years may have lost their fathers (Saller, 1994:9-69). Fathers could also emancipate sons, making them legally independent and free to own property (*sui iuris*), whilst daughters were dowered on marriage and thereafter legally independent of their fathers (Cokayne, 2003:154-155). Whilst there are examples of older women, such as Aemilia Pudentilla who, when widowed, are able to maintain themselves (Harlow, 2007), many older females may have been financially vulnerable. Unless the older female regained control of her original dowry, was given money after marriage (*donatio propter nuptias*) or were provided for in their husband's will, they were primarily reliant for support upon their children (McGinn, 1999:69).

However, for the poor and those without familial support, old age was a time of extreme poverty and misery; in the absence of proper care the experience of old age for many may have been relatively short (Harlow & Laurence, 2002:129; Wiedemann, 1996:277). Parkin (1997:138) cites a 2nd century philosophical fragment by Iuncus Stobaeus (*Florilegium* 50.2.85), describing an impecunious old age:

‘And if as well as poverty should happen to befall an aged man, he himself would pray to be completely freed from life on the grounds of his complete impoverishment, since he has no one to guide him, no source of support, cannot clothe himself adequately,

does not have enough money for shelter or for food, and sometimes has no one even to draw water for him.’

The ambiguity in attitudes towards being old in the Roman world is further underlined by the characterisations of the elderly seen in the literature. Stereotypes of old age included being physically and mentally decrepit, deaf, parsimonious, irascible and sexually impotent, or in the case of females, sexually voracious (Harlow & Laurence, 2002:129-130; Esler, 1989). It may be argued that the role of the elderly, as portrayed in the comedies and satires, was to stand in opposition to the socio-cultural norms of behaviour in Roman society. Within a society where social behaviours were associated strongly with age, those who acted in ways contrary to what was expected were portrayed as caricatures, as a means of dispelling social anxieties (Cokayne, 2003:143). As a social sub-group, removed from the idealised norm of the freeborn adult male (Parkin, 1997), the old could be socially marginalised and represented as ciphers for excessive or liminal behaviour. This attitude is seen particularly with the portrayal of the old female; often represented as being habitually drunk, sexually insatiable or as evil witches (Esler, 1989) (fig. 5). Lone old women were portrayed in fiction as scapegoats. Being old they were no longer able to fulfil their primary social role as women and as widows they were no longer under male control; as such they embodied the feminine extremes feared by the Roman male elite (Cokayne, 2003:152).

Within the textual, pictorial and epigraphic evidence from Rome, the social attitudes towards the young and the old indicate a degree of ambiguity embedded within the age identity of these social sub-groups. Both stood at a distance from the adult, primarily male, ideal. As such, the young and the old were utilised as ciphers through which adult social expectations were negotiated. However, as these expectations and attitudes were primarily those of the Rome-centric male elite, they are not entirely representative of the age identity and customs of the provincial population. Section 2.4 examines one aspect of age identity, the position of infants within the life course, which has become the focus for the study of age in Romano-British contexts. Whilst the treatment of infants in Britain has long been thought to resemble that of Rome, new approaches to the burial evidence has shown that different age concepts relating to pre-Roman traditions were associated with the very young.

2.4: Age identity in Roman Britain: Old and new approaches

That age identity and customs relating to the life course diverged from those of Rome was recognised and commented on by some Roman authors. In regard to newborns and infants, Soranus (*Gyn.* 2.12) commented on the Scythian and German habit of immersing newborns in water to toughen them up, whilst Tacitus (*Germania* 19.16.1) commented that infanticide as a practice was frowned upon by the Germans. Similarly, it was recognised that Jewish law required Jews in the Empire to raise all their children (Feldman & Reinhold, 1996:9). Whilst many Roman authors tended to present the divergent peoples of the Empire in stereotypical ways by portraying, to Roman eyes, the more outlandish customs (Wells, 1999:101; Hall, 1989; Braund, 1996:164-5), it does indicate that, outside of Rome, there existed different attitudes to age.

In the context of Roman Britain, however, the influence of Roman textual sources in the development of classical archaeology during the 19th and early 20th centuries, has meant that Rome-centric attitudes towards age identity have been grafted onto the pre-Roman culture of Britain (Dyson, 1993:125). This is still influential today. For example, Allason-Jones' (2004) discussion on the family in Roman Britain remains reliant on written sources from the Mediterranean world to reconstruct Romano-British age and gender identity. This reliance on sources unrelated to Britain is most apparent in debate regarding attitudes towards children in the province, with the debate focussing specifically on whether infanticide was practiced.

The excavation of neonatal and infant remains in non-cemetery contexts, particularly from within settlement sites, coupled with the Roman textual sources, has led to the interpretation of infanticide. For example, the excavation of an infant cemetery containing 97 burials at the villa site at Hambledon, Buckinghamshire, was interpreted by the excavator as evidence for surreptitious burial, undertaken '... secretly, after dark' (Heneage Cocks, 1921:150). In order to examine the infanticide hypothesis, Mays (1993) analysed the age range of neonatal infant remains from Romano-British and Medieval contexts. The age-at-death estimates for the Romano-British sample showed a peak at full-term, in comparison to the more even spread of ages in the Medieval sample (*ibid*, 885). This variation was interpreted as representing the practice of infanticide, as it was argued that the killing of unwanted newborns was more liable to occur at, or within a week of, birth (*ibid*, 886-7; 2000:184).

However, this approach has been criticised on methodological and theoretical grounds (Scott, 2001; Gowland and Chamberlain, 2002). Gowland & Chamberlain (2002) criticised Mays' methodology, suggesting that it generated an artificial narrow age distribution. Utilising a statistical Bayesian approach to the data, Gowland and Chamberlain assessed age ranges of 400 Romano-British infants and found a distribution pattern ranging in age from six months in utero to two months post-partum; a pattern reflective of natural perinatal mortality (ibid, 684). This result was further supported by Molleson (1989; 1993), whose study of the long bone measurements of infants from the late Roman cemetery at Poundbury, Dorset, also recorded an age-at-death distribution of 28 weeks in utero to three months post-partum, in line with Gowland and Chamberlain.

Scott (1999) also criticised the reliance upon the infanticide hypothesis in the interpretation of infant remains in Romano-British contexts. Scott (1999:66) argues that infanticide is undetectable in the archaeological record, as exposure, smothering, neglect and drowning, the usual methods of disposing of unwanted infants, leaves no trace on the bones. Furthermore, infanticide is the result of certain socio-economic contexts, which may have little relevance to Roman Britain. For example, extreme poverty, the dowering of daughters and government policy regarding family planning (George *et al*, 1992; Kishor, 1993; Croll, 1990:148), are all cited as reasons for infanticide in modern societies, and the evidence for the influence of such factors in Roman Britain is circumstantial. Whilst the dowering of daughters was known in the Roman world, in the context of infanticide having to provide dowries for daughters would result in female-specific infanticide. Although how they died is unknown, recent DNA analysis on 17 infants from contexts within Roman Britain has shown no evidence of female-specific infanticide, with 12 of the infants tested being male and five female (Waldron *et al*, 1999; Mays & Faerman, 2001).

Theoretically, the infanticide hypothesis relies heavily upon evidence from a very small number of textual sources from the elite, Mediterranean world (Pearce, 1999:125; Scott, 1991:117; McWilliam, 2001:78), which have little relevance to provincial contexts. However, new approaches (Pearce, 1999; 2001; Scott, 1991) have suggested that the presence of infants on settlement sites may have been the result of more complex sets of behaviours. Scott (1991) identified a correlation between the spatial patterning of infants on settlement sites in the later Roman period and agricultural features (corn-dryers, kilns and barns), indicative of deliberate interment

adjacent to these features. Scott (1991:120) suggested that this patterning represented a revival of Iron Age practices of infant deposition situated within a wider 'revitalization' movement of pre-Roman ritual practices, interpreting it as a reaction to the rapidly changing economic structure of late Roman Britain. Furthermore, it was argued that these infants represented an attempt by females to promote and control fertility, through the manipulation of the revivalist ideology, at a time of increasing social restraints on their lives, evidenced by the more 'enclosed' nature of later Roman villas (ibid, 120).

In contrast, Pearce (1999) identified a correlation between the spatial patterning of burials on certain Hampshire settlements and the age of individual, with infants being interred within the interior of the settlement space, and older children and adults marking site peripheries. Infants were also associated with 'liminal' spaces within the environment, including enclosure ditches, ditch terminals and entrance ways (ibid, 154-155). While this could be interpreted as a lack of social distinction (Philpott, 1991:323) or more prosaically, as marking property boundaries (Miles, 1985:40), it does suggest that the social age identity of infants enabled their burials to be manipulated to represent complex ideas.

In many cultures the very young are marginal beings, considered to be closer to the spirit world than other age groups. For example, in certain African cultures newborns are regarded as a direct conduit to the ancestors (e.g. Blacking, 1990; Gottlieb, 2004). As liminal beings on the cusp of life, infants may have been associated with recognisable aspects of ritual behaviour in both pre-Roman and Roman Britain (e.g. Fulford, 2001:200; Esmonde Cleary, 2000; Bradley, 2000). Features within the landscape such as wells, pits, shafts and ditches had symbolic aspects in pre-Roman thought (Webster, 1997; Wait 1985; Merrifield, 1987). The internment of infants, as beings situated between the physical and spiritual worlds, with spaces which also had similar symbolic potential, may have represented visible manifestations of ritual negotiations (Leach, 1976:33-6; Carr & Knusel, 1997:168; Pearce, 1999:158).

Scott's (1993) correlation of infant burial with agricultural features may be representative of another strand of this ritual behaviour. It has been argued that regeneration and growth expressed through symbols of agricultural and human fertility is a common motif amongst agricultural societies (Metcalf & Huntington, 1991:33). Infants, as direct proof of human fertility, may have been considered an

appropriate cipher for this motif, particularly when deposited with animal remains or within areas associated with the production and storage of food (Bradley, 2000:152-3; Scott, 1991). Similarly, infant burials were also closely associated with the marking of the commencement or termination of structures (Merrifield, 1987, 48-50), and with the establishment of new cemeteries, or areas within a cemetery site (Pearce, 2001:101, 136). Infants have also been found in direct association with religious sites. At Springhead, Kent, for example, two decapitated and two complete newborns were excavated from each corner of the main temple building (Penn, 1960).

By virtue of their position at the beginning of life and their premature death, the infants encapsulated the cycle of birth and death. As such they could be considered an appropriate symbol through which to express ritual or spiritual beliefs associated with life, death and regeneration, whilst their undeveloped personas would not cause ritual pollution of the site (Esmonde Cleary, 2000:135:136). Similarly, further supporting evidence for a possible conceptual association of the young with magical practices is visible in a contextual association between the deposition of curse tablets (*defixiones*) and the location of infant burials. Both are found within domestic and religious contexts, and in association with wells and pits (Gager, 1992:18). Furthermore, in contexts outside of Britain, *defixiones* have been found within or adjacent to burials of the very young. For example, a 'recipe book' of binding spells from 4th century C.E. Egypt states that after the required spell has been cast, the tablet was to be placed at sunset in or near the grave of one who has died prematurely or violently, and that if the spell was cast successfully the deceased in whose grave the tablet was placed would be granted rest (ibid, 19-20; 95).

The work of Pearce (1999:2001) and Scott (1990; 1991) on the context of infant burials in Roman Britain suggests that how the age identity of infants was conceptualised was closely associated to their perceived position on the cusp of the life course. Although only limited research has been done on the age identity of older age groups in Roman Britain, Gowland's (2001) study on age thresholds at two cemeteries suggests that both age and gender were inherent factors in the expression of a social identity. For example, at Lankhills, Dorchester, infants and young children were provided with a limited range of grave goods such as coins and pottery (ibid, 159-60). A transition was visible at c.4 years, signified through an increased level of grave good provision and the introduction of gendered jewellery items, peaking at between 8-12 years (ibid, 160). Within the adult categories, over 50% of the total

quantity of grave goods was placed with females in their late teens and early twenties, and the items of personal adornment were made from more exclusive materials than with sub-adults (ibid, 160). This age and gender patterning at Lankhills suggests that the burial rite associated with each age stage was closely associated with the expression of their social age in relation to the life course. For example, infants and young children, whilst not excluded from the adult burial rite, were represented as having a non-gendered identity. In contrast, the social identity of young adult females was represented as being gender-centric, representing their position as biologically mature, and fertile, adults.

The examination of social age identity within this thesis builds on Gowland's approach, but utilises a larger data-set, including both urban and rural burials. Within her research, Gowland (2001) noted a degree of variation between the burials at Lankhills and Colchester. This was visible as a sharper distinction between child and adult at Colchester; represented by personal ornamentation worn at burial by adults, whilst with sub-adults personal items were unworn, and placed within the grave (ibid, 162). This suggests that regional expressions of identity were a factor in the expression of the Romano-British life course. As outlined in section 1.2, one aim of this study is to examine how the social age identity and the gendered life course were constructed on a regional and contextual level. In order to place the data-sets into context, section 2.5 examines the evidence for regionalism in burial practice in pre-Roman and Roman Britain.

2.5: Regionalism in burial practice in pre-Roman and Roman Britain

The expression of a gender and age, as an aspect of burial practice, in Roman Britain would have been an amalgam of the old and the new; of traditional pre-Roman concepts of identity and of external influences from across the Empire. During the early and mid Iron Age periods in Britain (c.800-c.100BCE), burial for the majority was invisible, suggesting that excarnation was the primary method of depositing the dead (Esmonde Cleary, 1992:29). However, secondary burial for a small, specially selected percentage of the population was also practiced, with skeletal remains placed within pits in settlement areas and within hillfort ramparts and enclosure ditches (Carr & Knusel, 1997). In particular, the burial neonates and young infants were associated within settlement sites, and account for the majority of known early to mid Iron Age ditch burials (Lally, 2008; Whimster, 1981:27-8; Collis, 1977:26).

During the later Iron Age (c.100-43BCE), burial practice became more archaeologically visible and, against this background, minority or regional burial traditions can be identified (Whimster, 1981). The burial rite of inhumation accompanied by weapons and pottery, and the practice of unaccompanied crouched burials in pits and ditches, were geographically widespread; occurring across much the midlands and southern Britain (Esmonde Cleary, 1992:29). Distinct regional trends were also visible. In the Dorset/Cornwall area, crouched inhumations within flat graves with pottery, jewellery and food offerings were common (Whimster, 1981:37-59). Further north, in the region of north Yorkshire and Humberside, the dead were interred crouched with barrow enclosures and ditches, accompanied by pottery and animal remains (ibid, 87-97; Esmonde Cleary, 1992:29).

The practice of cremating the dead appeared at the end of the 2nd century BCE in south-eastern areas of England, becoming established during the 1st century BCE; supplanting inhumation as the predominant burial rite, and spreading into central-southern regions (Haselgrove, 1997; Fitzpatrick, 1997:208). Known as the 'Aylesford' culture, the typical burial consisted of an urned cremation accompanied by grave goods including local and imported pottery, and items associated with personal appearance, such as brooches, dress accessories, tweezers and nail cleaners (Hill, 1997:98).

Although commonly occurring as isolated examples or as small cemetery groups, two large Aylesford cemeteries are so far known: Westhampnett, West Sussex (161 cremations) and King Harry Lane, St Albans (455 cremations) (Fitzpatrick, 1997; Stead & Rigby, 1989). The Aylesford cremations also included a small percentage of young infants, provided with the same burial treatment as adults, although spatially located on the periphery of the cemetery area (Fitzpatrick, 1997:214). The inclusion of infants and the common pattern of Aylesford cremations within small cemetery groups have been interpreted as representing elite familial or social groups (Niblett, 2006:30; Fitzpatrick, 1997:208; Pearce, 1997:174).

Variation within the Aylesford burial rite was visible. The 'Welwyn' burials, predominantly located north of the Thames, was chiefly unurned cremations, placed with a large rectangular timbered pit or vault, accompanied by extensive grave goods relating to feasting and drinking (Fitzpatrick, 1997:208; Esmonde Cleary, 1992:29-30). For example, at Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire, one 'Welwyn' burial was accompanied by five amphorae, an imported silver cup, three bronze-bound wooden

containers, a bronze bowl and strainer, a knife, 36 imported and local pottery vessels and a set of glass gaming counters (Niblett, 2006:31). Regional patterning in the 'Aylesford' cremation rite was seen at Hinxton, Cambridgeshire, where richly furnished cremations were interred within ring ditches (Hill *et al*, 1999). The Aylesford cremations have correlations to similar styles of burial being practiced in northern Gaul (Pearce, 1997), and were originally interpreted as representing immigration into southern Britain in the 1st century BCE (Hawkes, 1968, Rodwell, 1976). However, the Aylesford rite, and its variations, have been reconsidered, and are now considered to represent elite or high status burials (Niblett, 2006:38); suggesting socially complex concepts of status and identity were being negotiated at an individual and group level (Hill, 1997; Hill *et al*, 1999).

After the Roman conquest, the practice of accompanied urned cremation spread slowly across the province, becoming the dominant rite during the 2nd century CE, although the practice of inhumation continued in smaller towns and in rural contexts particularly in the western regions (Philpott, 1991:8). With the transition to cremation came a wider variety of material culture, with the inclusion of personal ornaments, toilet equipment, shoes, coins, lamps and glass unguent bottles; and new rites such as casket burial appeared (*ibid*, 8; Esmonde Cleary, 1992:31). The first two centuries of Roman Britain saw the establishment of urban cemeteries on the outskirts of the new towns, and a corresponding increase in visible burial practices in rural areas (*ibid*, 31).

However, regional differences were still apparent. Visible burial in the North, Wales and Cornwall remained relatively rare and was primarily concentrated around forts and small towns, while the pre-Roman inhumation tradition of crouched burial was still practiced in the Dorset area (*ibid*, 31-32). During the early Roman period, infants began to appear in formal cemetery contexts, but remained under-represented (Philpott, 1991:98-9). However, spatial evidence suggests that the very young remained on the periphery, either within boundary ditches, as at Oram's Arbour, Winchester (Pearce, 2001:136), or clustered together in defined areas, as at Poundbury, Dorset (Farewell & Molleson, 1993).

By the 3rd century, cremation began to give way to inhumation in Britain, as across the Empire, becoming the dominant rite by the early 4th century. Within urban contexts, 'managed' cemeteries containing inhumations of all age groups became the norm, consisting of supine, predominantly east-west coffined burials with few or no grave goods (Toynbee, 1971:40; Philpott, 1991:53, Esmonde Cleary, 1992:34). Later

Roman urban managed cemeteries are further differentiated through an apparent increase in the inclusion of infants, which has been interpreted as representing the influence of baptism (Watts, 1989). However, the impact of Christianity on burial practices in Roman Britain has recently been re-evaluated (Watts, 1998), and the vulnerability of infant skeletal remains to taphonomic processes may mean that infants in early Roman urban cemetery contexts were overlooked (Stirland, 1999:6; Garland & Janaway, 1989:25; Gordon & Buikstra, 1981; Guy *et al*, 1997; Rauch & Schoenau, 2001; Bello *et al*, 2006:27).

A further feature of Roman urban cemeteries was as a focus for burial trends from outside of Britain; for example, the use of lime or plaster on the body, the use of coffins and the provision of tombstones (Mattingly, 2006:478). However, recent studies (e.g. Crummy *et al*, 1993; Puttock, 2002; Gowland, 2002), have suggested that a greater level of variation were visible within the 'managed' urban cemetery. For example, the predominantly rural rites of prone burials and decapitation featured in urban cemeteries, but were predominantly situated on the periphery of the site, suggesting that non-Roman burial practices were still practiced within urban contexts (Mattingly, 2006:479). In contrast to the urban centres, later Roman rural contexts were more traditional; where adopted the transition to cremation was slower, and pre-Roman traditions of inhumation continued (*ibid*, 478). Similarly, the practices of pre and post-mortem decapitation, crouched and prone burial, ditch burial and evidence for excarnation within settlement sites suggest a more culturally conservative identity within rural contexts (*ibid*, 479).

2.6: Conclusion

A life course approach, embedded within anthropological fieldwork and sociological theories of age, provides a new methodology through which to examine age and gender identity in the past. Growing scholarly interest in how prehistoric and historical society's conceptualised identity has focussed attention on specific age groups such as children; leading to a re-consideration of how childhood was experienced in the past. This growing scholarly interest in identity has been influential in archaeology, with recent studies (e.g. Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 2000; Stoodley, 2000) focussing on the overall progression of the life course; whilst others (e.g. Lillie, 1997; Mizoguchi, 2000) focussing on particular aspects of age identity. These types of

studies support the viability of life course theory as an approach to understanding aspects of social organisation, and to explore conceptualisations of age in the past.

In the context of the Roman world, a life course approach is an ideal vehicle through which to re-examine funerary material. The extensive variety of epigraphic, textual and legal evidence relating to age in the Roman world allows a reconstruction of the trajectory of the gendered Roman life course. However, concentrating purely the written sources can only provide a broad outline which pertains almost exclusively to the social elite. Recently studies of epigraphic evidence (e.g. Revell, 2005; Saller & Shaw, 1984) have shown regional and social variability in the age-patterns of memorial commemoration, indicating that gendered age identity in the Roman world was negotiated within the context of localised social traditions.

For Roman Britain, the funerary material holds great potential through which to study age and gender, through an extensive record of burial evidence from a variety of different contexts. Although the recent focus on infanticide has gone some way towards re-contextualising the Romano-British infant, aspects of identity pertaining to older age groups also need to be addressed. Recent age related studies (e.g. Gowland, 2002; Puttock 2002) have shown the potential for studying age in Romano-British contexts, but have tended to be site-specific, and little research has yet been done to explore age-related concepts of regional and local identity. Evidence regarding pre-Roman and Romano-British burial practice reveals a strong degree of regionalism, suggestive of a localised identity, and this regional identity would have been influential in how the life course was expressed.

This thesis aims to further build on the studies of age identity outlined in section 2.2 and 2.4, in order to examine how the overall gendered life course was conceptualised in two regional areas of southern Roman Britain. This approach allows an in-depth re-analysis of the social construction of childhood, utilising previously unused data, providing more evidence to define the role and concept of the child within Romano-British society. At the opposite end of the age spectrum, this study aims to re-contextualise the elderly into the burial record, exploring how age and gender identity was represented at the end of the life course. Furthermore, by contrasting the evidence for age and gender in burial from two defined geographical areas, this study aims to explore regional and local aspects of identity in relation to all age groups across the life course. Chapter three examines the case studies which form the basis of this study, outlining the development of the two geographical regions

during the Roman period and discussing the context of the burials utilised in each urban and rural data set.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

In order to examine how the age identity across the life course was expressed in Romano-British funerary practice, burials covering the entire age spectrum are required. The data utilised in this study ranged in age from neonates to the elderly, and included a substantial body of biologically sexed burials. This will enable the trajectory of the gendered life course to be mapped, identifying age and gender-specific aspects of the burial rite to pinpoint the key age stages within the male and female life course and moments of transition. Within this overall life course framework, how regional and local expressions of identity influenced the social construction of age and gender can also be recognised, whilst the age identity of social sub-groups, particularly the young and the old, can be examined in greater depth (Gowland, 2006:145).

Within this study, the data was collated from both published and unpublished site reports (section 3.1). Whilst the amount of data available from certain sites was limited due, in part, to the vagaries of 19th and early 20th century recording strategies, a substantial body of data was obtained (section 3.2). Section 3.3 discusses the osteological techniques involved in establishing age and biological sex in skeletal material, and examines methodological difficulties which have impacted upon the data sets. In order to overcome these problems, section 3.4 defines the age bands which are applied to the data and discusses the age ranges utilised in the gendered analysis. Finally, section 3.5 discusses how the methodological techniques, which cover the four main categories of evidence (burial assemblage, grave treatment, burial position and spatial patterning), were adapted for use in examining social age identity in this study.

3.1: Data collection and analysis

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, applying a life course methodology to burial evidence required a substantial body of data. Data collection involved both archive based research at local and county museums and archaeological units within the areas of southern Roman Britain outlined in section 1.2, and a desk-top based search. This latter approach utilised site reports from archaeological monographs and journals, independent publications from local archaeological societies, county archaeological journals and regional Sites and Monuments Records data bases.

Two databases were constructed from the collected data onto Excel spreadsheets. The first contained all urban and rural burials from the eastern regional area; the second database covered the western counties. Although the burials from sites in the east and west of the province are analysed as ‘regions’ it is unlikely that they were considered as distinct ‘regions’ within the Roman period. The ‘regions’ selected for study were based broadly on pre-Roman tribal areas within which the current archaeological evidence appears to indicate some degree of localised variation in burial practice, settlement patterns and the use of material culture, discussed in more depth in chapter 4. However, the regional boundaries used in this study are modern geographical constructs used to facilitate data gathering. Therefore it is likely that not all local variations which were visible within the Roman period are represented in this study and not all the burials within the local variations are included. This would require an in-depth and detailed analysis of the local trends in burial evidence which is currently beyond the scope of this thesis, but would provide an exciting avenue for future research within regional Romano-British studies.

Within this study the urban sample consisted of all burials from fully and partially excavated cemeteries in the *colonia* sites of Colchester in the east and Gloucester in the west of the province. Also included within the urban burial sample was cemetery data from the *civitas capital* sites of St Albans and Cirencester and the burials on which the urban sample is based are discussed in detail as case studies in chapter 4. The rural sample consisted of burials from small towns, *vici* and rural cemeteries from eastern and western regions, including isolated examples where age or gender could be established (see chapter 4 for full discussion of rural sites used). In comparison to the large urban cemeteries, the eastern and western rural samples consisted mainly of cemeteries containing only a small number of burials. This meant that a site-by-site analysis utilising a life course methodology, which requires a substantial body of data, would not produce meaningful results. Similarly, the restricted number of burials within the rural cemeteries meant that not all age groups were represented at the cemeteries, further exacerbating the difficulties of a site-by-site examination. Whilst the grouping together of the rural burials into two large regional samples may have hidden localised patterns of age and gender patterning at certain cemeteries, it did enable a more extensive number of cemeteries to be utilised and the broad rural age and gender patterns to be identified.

The categories of data included within the databases were burial number, site name and type, location and burial rite. The estimated biological age of the skeleton was included, converted into an age range for ease of comparison. For example, if a skeleton was aged at 7-8 years it was placed with the 5-10 year age category (see section 3.3 for discussion on ageing). Those who could not be assigned an age were classed as either immature or adult and excluded from the aged-based aspects of the analysis. To examine differences between the male and female life course, the gender of the skeleton, if known, was included. Amongst the sexed skeletal material a small number of the burials could not be securely categorised as male or female, owing to poor preservation or to a less well-developed sexual dimorphism (see section 3.3). These 'borderline' males and females were included within the study and, although they may have added a small degree of error, the limited number in each section of the analysis did not influence the overall age and gender patterning. Where gender could not be identified, the sex of the individual was classed as 'unknown' and excluded from the examination of the gendered life course, although the individual would still be included in the age analysis if an age range could be established.

Where possible all burials were placed into a date category based upon the evidence in the original site report. Unfortunately, at certain cemeteries, particularly those with no grave goods or of uncertain contexts, no precise date could be given and these burials were assigned to broad dating categories of 100 years (e.g. 1st century, 2nd century, etc). Similarly, with cemeteries where there was evidence of severe inter-cutting of burial or very disturbed contexts, the data was assigned to the broad 100 year categories. Due to these issues, the temporal analysis of the life course (section 5.3) can only be a broad comparison between early Roman (late 1st-2nd century) and late Roman (3rd-4th century). Whilst this masks any short-term trends, it will outline any major temporal shifts in age emphasis across the life course and allows a greater percentage of the burials to be used.

Further categories within the databases were associated with the provision of grave goods, contextual details, grave type, burial orientation and burial position. Firstly, the presence or absence of grave goods was noted. In the context of this study grave goods are classed as items specifically placed with the burial, either within the coffin or grave or within an associated pit and items worn at burial. Cremation urns and coffins were not classed as grave goods but as grave furnishings and the age and gender distribution of grave furnishings was analysed separately. Secondly, the

quantity and type of grave goods were recorded. For example, if a burial was provided with a pottery flagon and bracelet, each grave good would be entered into a separate column on the database. Each grave good type was then assigned to a functional category (see section 3.4 for full discussion). Therefore, utilising the example above, the flagon would be placed into the 'feasting' category, whilst the bracelet would be assigned to the 'personal' category.

The next category of burial evidence was contextual evidence. Where recorded within the original site report, the position of the burial in relation to archaeological features was recorded. For example, the burial of a neonate (B1) at Chapperton Down, Wiltshire was interred between the Roman road and a domestic building, adjacent to the external wall of the building (Esmonde Cleary, 1998:426). On the database this example was recorded as an external domestic context whose primary association was the external wall, and secondary association was the road. Similarly, where possible, the position of individual burials within a cemetery was recorded. It was hoped that probable familial relationships could be identified but, due to contextual ambiguity in earlier site reports, and severe inter-cutting of burials at a number of sites used in this analysis, familial relationships could not be established within any certainty. However, the data was still included on the databases and this will form the basis of a future age-based study.

Further contextual details on the databases included grave furnishing, orientation and burial position. The grave furnishing category covered the type of grave or container in which the body or ashes was placed and consisted of seven separate categories. With inhumation burials the categories were timber coffin, rectangular grave cut (RGC), pit, cist and stone or lead sarcophagus. For cremations, the burials were divided into urned or un-urned. When visible or recorded in the original site reports the burial position (either supine, prone or crouched) of the inhumation and the orientation of the head of the skeleton was included. The final categories on the databases were the standard of skeletal preservation as originally recorded, and any distinctive aspects pertaining to each burial. This category included unusual burial rituals, for example decapitation (including position of head in relation to the body), deliberate fragmentation of grave goods or evidence for excarnation.

The analysis in this study utilises the burial evidence discussed above and compares these aspects of burial practice with the age and gender of the individual. Where applicable, each section of the analysis commences with an examination of the

demographic make-up and gender distribution. This is followed by a comparison of age and gender with grave good provision, utilising the analytical techniques of average distribution of grave goods per burial, analysis of grave good form, the range of material culture with each age group, and the functional categories of grave goods, discussed in detail in section 3.4. These analyses of quantity and type of grave goods provided with aged and gendered burials will highlight the ages at which rates of provision or forms changed, allowing the gendered life course to be mapped. Furthermore, the analyses of grave goods will highlight which types were considered appropriate to each age group or gender. This will enable comparisons between age groups to be undertaken and may also identify which age groups had similar patterns of provision across the life course; indicating the possibility of a conceptual association between these age groups.

The final part of the analysis utilises an age and gender framework to examine all other aspects of burial treatment across the life course. These include grave type, context (if securely recorded), burial position and body orientation. By utilising all aspects of the funerary data it should be possible to identify the gendered trajectory of the life course and examine aspects of social age identity in relation to specific age groups, such as the young and the elderly. The age-based transitions and concepts identified will then be discussed in relation to possible physical and social changes (for example, weaning, puberty, marriage, bereavement and work patterns) and aspects of regional identity, which would have impacted upon the social construction of the life course.

3.2: Problems associated with the data

Whilst the broad sampling strategy from the regional locations outlined in chapter 3 provided a substantial number of burials for analysis, this approach also identified difficulties relating to data collection. Firstly, not all cemeteries within a region were fully excavated or available for analysis. This was compounded by the frequency of antiquarian excavations in certain areas, particularly in and around Gloucester, where a large number of the available burials were poorly recorded. For example, of 110 1st century cremations excavated at Wotton Pitch in 1870 and c.1,000 burials excavated at Kingsholm, the only available data was a brief mention of grave good types which included ‘weapons, lachrymatories, lamps and coins of the later Empire’ (Fullbrook-Legatt, 1933: 88, 93). Although as much burial data as possible has been

reconstructed from old journals and site reports, this has limited the total amount of burials available for the Gloucester area.

A further problem came from the framework of archaeological reporting and the construction of archaeological cemetery reports. Cemetery evidence is often 'decontextualised' when undergoing analysis (Gowland, 2004:135-6). The division of the various strands of burial evidence between archaeological specialists and the publication of separate specialist reports, made the linking of the osteological data of an individual with the appropriate grave goods and contextual details problematic. In order to overcome this issue, all available evidence for each burial was reconstructed onto record sheets before entry onto the database (see appendix C). This approach ensured no overt overlaps of data and enabled the burial data to be easily re-checked before analysis.

A further influence on this analysis was a bias towards burials of a later Roman date. This problem was partly related to cremation being the predominant burial rite during the early Roman period (1st and 2nd centuries) and the difficulties inherent in the osteological ageing and sexing of cremated remains (McKinley, 2000). However, the bias was also a result of the nature of post war British urban archaeology, where rapid urban expansion has focussed archaeological attention on the suburban areas of major cities where later Roman cemeteries tend to be located. Similarly, the emphasis on later Roman data was a factor of archaeological research interests. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, reports on cremation cemeteries were primarily concerned with establishing pottery typographies, and the ageing and sexing of the human material was secondary at best. Due to the nature of a life course approach with its focus upon age and gender, many of these early reports could not be included in the analysis. However, to counter this bias, a certain amount evidence for the early Roman period in this report comes from more recent cremation reports where skeletal analysis has been included. Similarly, when some skeletal analysis had been attempted in earlier cremation reports, even just establishing whether adult or child, the data was included in the data base, but excluded from the detailed analysis.

Other problems were more site-specific in nature. The precise dating of later Roman burials, for example at Bath Gate cemetery at Cirencester and Butt Road at Colchester, was problematic due to the paucity of dateable grave goods for the majority of burials. At Bath Gate cemetery, precise dating was also hindered by the inter-cutting of later burials (McWhirr *et al*, 1982). While some burials could be dated

on stratigraphy or association with burials containing dating evidence, others can only be given a broad 4th century date. Poor skeletal preservation was also a factor, leading to a fairly high percentage of the sample being classed as adult or sub-adult only. This problem was particularly associated with the east regional area. For example, the acidic soil at the cemetery site at Verulam Hill Fields, St Albans led to many of the burials being damaged and the data being incomplete (Anthony, 1968). In a similar manner to the cremated material however, the poorly preserved burials classes as sub-adult or adult (due to grave size or remaining bone fragments) were included in the data set, although excluded from the detailed analysis.

3.3: The ageing and sexing of the skeletal material

Bioarchaeological analysis of age and biological sex provides the basic building blocks for funerary research, providing the relevant information to assess the demographic make-up of past societies, its health patterns, and its cultural or environmental adaptations (e.g. Chamberlain, 2000:206-7; Lewis, 2000:39; Humphrey, 2000:193; 2000a:23; Scheuer & Black, 2000:9, Dettwyler & Fishman, 1992:171, Goodman *et al*, 1984; Goodman & Armelagos, 1989:229).

The accurate assessment of age and biological sex are the basic requirements for examining the social construction of age identity in burial and many different methodologies are available. However, whilst it is possible to ascertain the biological age of sub-adults within archaeological contexts with a high degree of precision, assigning the correct biological sex is problematic. Conversely, with adults, biological sex is relatively straightforward to establish, whilst precise ageing is not, and many techniques used have tended to under-estimate the age of older individuals (Aykroyd *et al*, 1999; Cox, 2000:62-63).

In ageing sub-adults, both skeletal and dental materials are used, dependent upon the level of skeletal preservation. Estimation of biological age can be ascertained from the timing of the appearance of the ossification centres in different bones, the timing of bone fusion, length and morphology of the bone, in comparison to modern populations (Scheuer & Black, 2000:12-14). With foetal and neonatal skeletal material, an age estimate can be established through the measurement of the basio-occiput area of the cranial vault, which mineralises at 10-14 foetal weeks (Schwartz, 1995; Redfield, 1970; Fazekas & Kosa, 1978; Kosa 1989; Scheuer & MacLaughlin-Black, 1994). Age estimation from dental development is possible for

both neonatal and older sub-adults. Teeth begin to mineralize at *c.*4 months in *utero*, and develop at a sequential rate throughout childhood, culminating in the eruption of the permanent third molar at *c.*18-21 years (Hillson, 1996:125-145; Whittaker, 2000:84-85; Scheuer & Black, 2004:164). Similarly other techniques available include measurements of the dental microstructure (Huda & Bowman, 1995), the rate of apical closure of the 2nd molar (Stermer Beyer-Olsen & Risnes, 1994) and the measurement of tooth length stages (Liversedge *et al*, 1993).

Whilst dental material is less affected by poor preservation or post mortem damage (Whittaker, 2000:95), variation in the developmental timing of teeth is known to occur between individuals, genders and ethnic groups (Hillson, 1996:126; Whittaker, 2000; 86). Similarly, environmental stress-related variation in rates of bone maturation of modern sub-adults has been recorded (Humphrey, 2000a:24; Lampl & Johnston, 1996:346), leading to the possibility of under-ageing of archaeological populations (e.g. Molleson & Cox, 1993; Tocheri & Molto, 2002). In themselves, the sub-adults excavated from archaeological contexts may not be representative of their age group, as by dying young they failed to adapt to their environment (Wood *et al*, 1992).

With adults in archaeological populations, establishing age has relied upon changes in the fusion of cranial sutures and age-based morphological changes occurring in the pubic symphysis and sacro-iliac joint (Scheuer, 2002:306; Gilbert & McKern, 1973; Lovejoy *et al*, 1985). Unfortunately, these approaches can only produce very broad age stages, and intra-observer error has led to over-lapping of age stages in analyses (Suchey, 1979; Katz & Suchey, 1986; Scheuer, 2002:306; Saunders *et al*, 1992). With adult dental material, the wear patterns on teeth can be used as a guide to establishing age. Assuming that teeth are worn at a constant rate, the degree to which teeth are worn down should reflect the age of the individual (Schwartz, 1995: 209-10). However, tooth wear patterns are subject to variation, dependent upon factors such as quality of diet, and can only produce a broad age estimate. With the elderly skeleton, these problems are compounded by tooth loss and age-related degenerative bone diseases, making assigning a possible age estimate difficult.

Along with age, gender is a vital component in the social construction of identity (Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 2000). Amongst adults, biological sex can be reliably visually established by examining the shape of the sciatic notch of the pelvis and through cranial morphology (Walker, 2005; Mays & Cox, 2000:118-121). Males,

in contrast to females, have a more acute angle to the sciatic notch and more robust and pronounced cranial features (Schwartz, 1995:281). Assigning biological gender to sub-adults is more complex, as sexual dimorphism in humans is less obvious before the hormonal changes of adolescence effect changes to the skeleton.

Various techniques have been utilised to try to overcome the difficulties in assigning biological gender to sub-adult material. These include the measuring the tooth crowns of adolescents to establish patterns of gender variation (e.g. Molleson *et al*, 1998; Schutkowski, 1993; Mays & Cox, 2000:123-125) and the shape of the infant mandible (Loth & Henneberg, 2001). Bone analysis also include measuring the size of neonatal sciatic notch (e.g. Mays & Cox, 2000:121; Wilson *et al*, 1981; Boucher, 1957; Fazekas & Kosa, 1978; Mays, 1998; Molleson, 1993), and the auricular surface elevation of the infant iliac joint (e.g. Weaver, 1980, Mittler & Sheridan, 1992).

However, such studies have failed to note consistent degrees of sexual dimorphism in infant and sub-adult skeletal material (e.g. Holcomb & Konigsberg, 1995; Molleson & Cox, 1993) and, within archaeological populations, poor bone preservation of sub-adult material has limited the application of these techniques (Mays & Cox, 2000:123). Similarly, tooth crown development in *utero* can be affected by poor maternal nutrition, and low nutritional status amongst archaeological sub-adult skeletal material makes comparisons with healthy modern populations problematic (e.g. Molleson *et al*, 1998:725, 727; Mays & Cox, 2000:124-5; Simpson *et al*, 1990; Guagliardo, 1982). While aDNA analysis has great potential in sexing fragmentary or sub-adult remains, a successful result can be compromised through damage to the aDNA, poor bone preservation and contamination by modern DNA (Brown, 2000:465; Kaestle & Horsburgh, 2002: 93-4; Colson *et al*, 1997:915).

3.4: Defining age banding and gender in this study

As discussed in section 3.3, the accurate assessment of age and gender are of primary concern in undertaking an analysis of how age identity was expressed in the past. The techniques outlined above, used to establish age and gender highlight the potential that osteological analysis can bring to archaeology, but also the difficulties which can impact upon age and gender analyses. Allied to these problems are the various, and often vague, definitions used to describe age groups within archaeological reports (Gowland, 2001:153). For example, a sample of site reports containing burials classed as ‘mature/elderly’ ranged in estimated biological age from 35+ (Harman, 1989),

through to 40+ (Matthews, 1981), 45+ (Waldron, 2004) and 50+ (McWhirr *et al*, 1982). Whilst this may reflect the difficulties inherent in the osteological ageing of elderly skeletal material discussed in section 3.3, it also indicates a strong degree of ambiguity surrounding what constituted old age in the past. In a similar manner, terms such as infant, child, juvenile, adolescent, sub-adult, immature and teenager are all used to define pre-adulthood and this lack of definition compounds the lack of consensus as to the actual biological ages being discussed (Scheuer & Black, 2000:10).

The vagueness in the terminology of the life course can mask many of the different cultural constructions of age. Gowland (2001:153) argues that the terminology used in archaeological reporting, particularly in association with the young, is culturally loaded and carries western assumptions of expected behaviour and identity which may not be relevant to the past. For example, four sub-adults excavated at Dunstable, Bedfordshire were classed as ‘teenagers’ although the term ‘teenager’ is a modern 20th century construct and loaded with cultural assumptions (Matthews, 1981).

In order to overcome such problems of definition a new terminology was devised, separate from those used within the original archaeological reports. Similarly, as this study employed a variety of cemetery reports where age had been established using many different osteological methodologies, all aged skeletal material assigned a biological age was placed into a broad age band (table 1). As discussed in section 4.3, ageing the very young can be achieved with relative precision. As such, the age bands used with neonates and infants aged less than one year were measured in months, whilst from 1-5 years each age band covered a two year period. For older children and juveniles (5-19 years), age bands of 5 years are used. With adults, where such precise biological ageing was not possible, bands of 10 years are used and those osteologically aged at 50 and above formed a single age group.

Osteological Age	Age Band	Terminology
Birth to 4 weeks	0-1 month	Neonate
4 weeks to 6 months	1-6 months	Infant
6 months to 12 months	6-12 months	Infant
12 months to 36 months	1-3 years	Older infant
3 years to 5 years	3 -5 years	Young child
5 years to 10 years	6-10 years	Older child
10 years to 15 years	11-15 years	Young Juvenile
15 years to 20 years	16-19 years	Older Juvenile
20 years to 30 years	20-29 years	Young Adult
30 years to 40 years	30-39 years	Adult
40 years to 50 years	40-49 years	Mature Adult
50 to 60 years and above	50+ years	Elderly Adult

Table 1: Age bands and definitions used in this study.

In the majority of site reports utilised in the study, gender was primarily established using the traditional osteological techniques of sciatic notch size and cranial morphology. As discussed in section 4.3, the difficulties in establishing the biological sex of sub-adults means that this study therefore concentrates on the gendered life course of those classed as adults (20-50+ years). In Roman Britain males and females may have experienced the process of social ageing differently owing to opposing biological imperatives. For example, fertility amongst females is relatively brief in relation to the life span. In contrast males can remain fertile into old age. As such, post-menopausal females may have been differentiated in burial from both younger women and from older males within their age cohort. This differentiation may have been expressed in a distinct burial treatment or transition in types of grave goods provided, which may suggest a further ‘social’ age stage relating only to elderly females.

Whilst the gender analysis in this study is primarily related to adults, a few of the site reports utilised had attempted to establish the biological sex of some of the older children and juveniles in the sub-adult population. As such, where the data allows, a very broad analysis of gendered sub-adult life course will be attempted. As discussed in chapter 2 (section 2.2), a gendered identity in burial was frequently expressed during childhood within archaeological populations. Although the data relating to gender amongst Romano-British sub-adults is limited, a broad gender comparison could establish whether gender was embedded within the early stages of the life course.

3.5: The categories of evidence

How the life course was expressed in burial in the past was often through age-related differences in the quantity and/or type of grave goods provided. Thus, the key age groups would have been provided with a greater quantity of grave goods reflecting their higher status within the age-based social organisation of their society. For example, high quantities of grave goods with young-mid range males may reflect a primarily military or agricultural society, wherein physical strength and virility was at a premium. In contrast, gerontophilic societies may emphasise the old of both genders through high grave good provision, thereby reflecting the age-based status the elderly within the social hierarchy.

Similarly, the types of grave goods provided may have reflected key aspects of social age. For example, Stoodley's (1999, 1999a) analysis of the early Anglo-Saxon burial suggested that the types of grave goods provided to both genders reflected the idealised or expected social roles relating to each stage in the life course. In order to examine age-based patterns in grave good provision within the Romano-British data sets, the four main techniques outlined in section 3.1 were used, and these are discussed in detail in this section. Firstly, the average number of items per burial in each age stage was calculated. Secondly, the frequency of appearance of each grave good type was calculated as a percentage of the total in each age band. The third technique examined the range of material culture in each age band, whilst the fourth approach examines changes in types of grave goods through analysis of their probable use and function.

To establish the key age groups within the Romano-British data sets, the average number of grave goods provided was calculated. This was achieved by dividing the total number of grave goods in each age category by the total number of burials. For example, in the western region at 6-10 years, 46 individual grave good items were divided between 84 burials, giving an average of 0.54 items per burial. When this is done with each age category within a sample, changing patterns of provision across the age spectrum can be compared; highlighting socially significant age groups and identifying possible points of transition in the life course. This technique also allows comparisons between other variables to be undertaken. For example, a comparison between the male and female grave good averages in each age stage can be used to analyse the different trajectories of the gendered life course. Similarly, a calculation of the average number of grave goods at each age stage by

region or context can identify age-based patterns in provision which may relate to regional and localised differences in social identity and organisation.

As certain types of grave goods may have been considered particularly suitable for certain age groups, the frequency of appearance of items was calculated. The grave goods are divided into type (e.g. coins, pottery, animal bone, jewellery, hobnail shoes) and the amount of times each item appeared in each age group was counted. Items which came as pairs, such as shoes or earrings were counted as one item. Similarly, unless otherwise stated in the site report, beads were treated as a single necklace and counted as one item. The total amount of each item was then converted into a percentage figure of the total number of grave goods. For example, in urban contexts in the western region, a total of 111 coins and 37 pots were placed with burials. This translated as coins forming 39.1% and pottery forming 13% of the total types of grave goods within this context.

This technique was used in both the analysis of the overall life course and in the investigation of urban and rural patterns of grave good provision (chapter 5), in order to identify contextually or regionally specific grave good types. Similarly, the frequency of appearance technique was applied to the analysis of the social sub-groups of the young and old in chapter 6. With the sub-adult analysis, the technique is used to identify the types of grave goods most commonly placed with sub-adult age stages in regional and local contexts. In relation to the elderly, it is used to show differential patterning in provision between younger adults (30-49 years) and elderly adults (50+), and to highlight patterns of gender differentiation amongst the elderly burial sample.

A third method of investigation is an analysis of the range of material culture placed with aged and gendered burials. Adapted from Malim's (1998:301-303) range of identifiable artefact categories originally applied to the aged female burial sample at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Edix Hill, Cambridgeshire, this methodology examines the 'wealth' of each burial as expressed through the different range and quantity of grave goods. This approach assumes that burials with the widest range of different types of material culture were socially significant through age or social status (ibid, 302). By counting each different type or form of artefact placed with each burial, the 'wealth' of the burial can be established and this is expressed as a total score. For example, if a burial was provided with a brooch, a pottery beaker, a pottery bowl and coin, it would receive a score of 4, whilst a burial with a beaker and bowl

would receive a score of 2. These scores can then be analysed by both age and gender across the life course to establish key social age categories and to aid in the identification of age transitional points.

As Malim (1998:202) notes, this methodology tends to over-emphasise certain types of grave goods such as bead necklaces. As discussed above, items consisting of multiple parts (e.g. necklaces, shoes, earrings) are counted as one unless stated otherwise in the original archaeological reports. A further adaptation is the inclusion of animal bone within the range of material culture analysis. Whilst animal bone is not an 'artefact' in the sense of a man-made object, the quantity of animal remains placed with the burials within the current analysis would mean that many of the aged burials would have to be excluded from this methodological approach. Therefore, the provision of animal bone of different species type is counted as one single aspect of material culture.

The final category of analysis is an examination of functional categories of grave goods. Based originally on Crummy's (1983) method of categorizing the small finds from Colchester, this methodology was adapted by Cool (2004) for her analysis of the grave goods from the Roman cemetery site at Brougham, Cumbria. This method separates the categories of material that past populations thought appropriate to place with each age stage within a funerary context (ibid, 381). Furthermore, these categories represent the use to which the grave goods were put in life, and therefore would form a suitable method for examining how items relate to age and gender, and how the life course was represented by the material culture in death. Cool (2004:381-404) modified Crummy's original functional categories by excluding certain site and activity specific categories (e.g. waste objects associated with craft activity and weights and measures); but including the categories which were represented within a cemetery context, including coins, toilet equipment, household items, personal items, recreational objects and tools.

Similarly to Cool (2004), the functional categories applied in this study have been further modified from those originally devised by Crummy. The adaptations included placing coins into the votive category. In the Roman world the inclusion of coins with the deceased had a long history and has been interpreted as perhaps representing payment for the journey to the afterlife (Merrifield, 1987). In the context of Roman Britain the placing of coins within the grave may have had a further ritual connotation related to the nature of the material they were formed from. Metal objects

formed a component of the votive material deposited in rivers and streams in pre-Roman Britain (Hutton, 1993:186). Metalwork – specifically iron – was also a feature of certain pre-Roman burials and has been associated with concepts of regeneration, fertility and agricultural production (Hingley, 1997; Giles, 2007). During the Roman period coins themselves were a frequent object of dedication in rivers, streams, shafts and wells (Merrifield, 1987:26-30).

Animal bones and pottery were often found together in graves, so these were assigned a separate category, that of feasting. Although these may also have had ritual or votive connotations, the quantity of animal bones and pottery would have skewed the votive category and are therefore dealt with as a separate group. Other categories used by Crummy were amalgamated for ease of analysis, as they appear infrequently within cemetery contexts. For example, objects associated with textile working, such as spindles and needles, have been integrated into the household category. Within a cemetery context these items may have been more representative of the social persona of the deceased than of a trade or craft. Similarly, objects with a probable recreational purpose and objects associated with writing are placed together in the leisure category. Therefore, there are ten revised categories used in the current analysis:

1. **Eating and drinking (FEASTING):** Domesticated animals utilised primarily for food (e.g. pig, sheep/goat and cow) and pottery items associated with eating and drinking (e.g. flagons, beakers, platters) placed together within an inhumation grave or as grave goods in a cremation.
2. **Items of Personal Adornment (PERSONAL):** Items worn on the body at burial or items that would have been worn on the body in life. These include jewellery, garment fittings (buckles and belt plates), garments, hair pins of any material type, beads, armbands, finger rings, hobnail shoes, purses.
3. **Toilet, surgical or pharmaceutical instruments (TOILETRIES):** Items associated with personal grooming such as combs, spatulas, spoon-probes, unguent bottles, stirring rods, mixing palettes, mirrors, nail cleaners, tweezers, toilet spoons, toilet sets, and strigils.
4. **Household utensils and furniture (HOUSEHOLD):** Objects used in food preparation and cooking including cooking pots, storage jars, spoons, trays, quern stones, mortars, lamps, lamp hooks, furniture fittings, furniture inlay, box/casket fittings, locks, keys, needles and spindles.

5. **Objects used for recreational purposes and writing (LEISURE):** Objects with a primarily non domestic or work function. These include possible ‘children’s toys,’ dice, gaming counters, gaming boards, seals, seal-boxes, wax tablets and writing styli.
6. **Work-related objects (TOOLS):** Tools which cannot be assigned to more specific categories: e.g. knife blades, tool handles, knife sharpening stones, cleavers, trowels, etc. This category includes objects associated with agriculture, horticulture and animal husbandry; for example, sickles and scythe blades. Also objects associated with metal working such as crucibles and hammers, metallurgical waste products and waste off-cuts of bone or antler working.
7. **Objects associated with religious belief and practice (VOTIVE):** Figurines of deities, metal coffin fittings, textile fragments from shrouds, amulets and bells. This category also includes coins, either placed within the grave or placed on the body.
8. **Military equipment (MILIT):** Weapons of all types, armour fittings, arrow heads, and phallic amulets with a military association.
9. **Building materials (BUILD):** Objects associated with the construction or decoration of a building, e.g. tiles, tesserae, bricks, mortar, decorative stonework.
10. **Objects of unknown or uncertain function or identification (QUERY):** As well as unidentified objects this category includes objects with a wide range of possible uses, such as wire or chain.

As discussed in section 3.1, other aspects of funerary evidence may also have been specifically associated with a particular age stage or gender within the life course. These aspects include grave type, burial orientation and position of the body within the grave (e.g. supine, prone or crouched). The categories of grave type utilised in this study are rectangular grave cuts (RGC), timber coffins (NTC), stone/lead coffins, cists of stone or tile, inhumation pits, cremation pits and cremation urns. These categories will be analysed within an age and gender framework to identify the most frequent forms of grave treatment associated with each age stage, utilising the frequency of appearance technique discussed above. This technique will also be

utilised to examine burial orientation and body position, and these will provide further age-based contextual detail to support the grave good evidence.

Where visible in the analysis, an age-based examination of the spatial patterning of burials will be undertaken. As identified by Pearce (1999; 2001), age-based differentiation in spatial patterning was primarily associated with very young sub-adults. Therefore, the analysis will aim to establish at what age the transition to burial within formal cemetery contexts occurred. Furthermore, the spatial patterning of infant burial will be examined to identify whether specific infant age groups were associated with particular domestic and non-domestic features. As discussed in section 3.1, the inter-cutting of burials, particularly in urban contexts, and the variable standards of recording within certain of the older archaeological reports, precludes an in-depth spatial analysis of adult burials within this study. Similarly, as this thesis is examining regional and contextual patterning in gendered age identity it was felt that localised or cemetery-specific age-based spatial patterns would be lost within the broader analysis. Despite this deficiency, the variety of techniques applied to the grave good evidence, and the inclusion of the contextual detail of the burials, should provide a substantial body of evidence through which to explore age identity across the Romano-British life course.

3.5: Conclusion

As discussed in section 3.1, the data-set collated for this study provides a wide cross-section of burials from a variety of regional urban and rural contexts across the whole Romano-British period. However, a study the expression of age and gender identity in burial is influenced by certain methodological difficulties. Biases inherent within archaeological recording (decontextualisation of skeletal material, poor skeletal preservation and cremation) all influence the amount of burials available for analysis (section 3.2). Similarly, methodological difficulties in the accurate ageing of adult skeletal material and in assigning biological sex to sub-adults will impact upon a life course analysis (section 3.3). However, by utilising substantial burial samples and re-assigning skeletal material to broad age categories, many of these methodological problems can be overcome. Similarly, whilst the lack of reliably sexed sub-adults limits an in-depth regional or contextual analysis of the impact of gender on childhood, utilisation of biologically sexed juvenile skeletal material will allow a broad analysis of the role of gender in the second decade of the life course.

Applying a life course approach to a substantial quantity of funerary material is a viable means of examining the social construction of gender and age in Roman Britain. As a methodological tool, a life course approach can encompass a variety of analytical techniques which can be adapted to explore age identity (section 3.4), utilising the grave good evidence and other contextual details of burial to identifying key age groups and enabling the life course to be mapped. Chapter 4 discusses the burials which form the basis of this study of the life course. The chapter takes the form of case studies, firstly of the context of the urban burials at Gloucester and Cirencester (section 4.1) and of the cemeteries utilised in the database (section 4.1.1). Section 4.1.2. discusses the rural burials in the western area, exploring the archaeological evidence for 'regional' variation, the context of the rural burials and examines rural burial practice. Section 4.2. outlines the development of the eastern urban centres of Colchester and St Albans during the Roman period and the burials from these sites are discussed in section 4.2.1. As with the western rural data set, section 4.2.2. examines the contexts and burial practices that were prevalent within the eastern area, and outlines the burials utilised in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: CASE STUDIES

The archaeological record for Roman Britain provides an ideal vehicle through which to examine issues relating to concepts of age and the life course. This is primarily due to the large quantity of published and unpublished burial data available from a variety of different contexts, and the inclusion of individuals of different ages within the overall burial record. In order to examine how the life course was expressed in the Romano-British mortuary record, burials for analysis were selected from two geographically separate regional areas in the province.

The first sample area, in the west of the province, covered the modern day counties of Gloucestershire, Avon, Somerset, Wiltshire, southern Worcestershire and western Oxfordshire. In order to contrast how the life course was expressed in urban and rural contexts, two urban centres – the *colonia* of Gloucester and the *civitas capital* of Cirencester – were included within the sample. The second geographical region was located in the east of the province. Burials came from the modern day counties of Essex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. Within this broad area, the two urban centres of Colchester (*colonia*) and St Albans (*civitas capital*) were included. This enabled a comparison between the eastern urban and rural life course, and also allowed a more detailed analysis of the urban life course between the eastern and western region.

In order to place the sampled burial data within its regional context, this chapter provides a brief outline of the urban and rural contexts under consideration. The outline includes a brief history and development of the locale during Roman control, and discusses the cemeteries from which the data is taken. With the rural burial data, the discussion centres upon the various contexts from which burials were taken, for example, villas, *vici*, temples and small isolated settlements. The discussion on rural burials also considers ‘unusual’ burials from the burial sample. The unusual burials include decapitation, inversion of grave goods, possible evidence for excarnation or mutilation and inclusion of non-food animal species. Apart from decapitation, only a few examples of these practices were recorded, and as all types of ‘unusual’ burials were found to be non-age or gender specific, they did not form part of the overall life course analysis.

4.1: Western Roman Britain: Gloucester and Cirencester

The presence of the Roman military at Gloucester began with the relocation of the legionary fort from nearby Kingsholm in the mid-late 60s CE and the establishment of another fortress, which was later adapted by the colonists as the basis for the *colonia* (Hurst, 1999:114-115, 2005:300). Based on tombstone evidence, it is probable that Gloucester was established as a *colonia* c.80-110 CE, as a settlement for veteran soldiers, and the *colonia* and its immediate *territorium* were made self-governing and excluded from the tribal *civitates* of the Dobunni (Holbrook, 1994:57). Hurst (2005:294-296, 1999a:153) suggests that the settlement at Kingsholm was later subsumed into the *colonia* and, by the later Roman period, the whole site had an overall urban area of c.150ha; although the late 3rd century walled area covered only 17ha (40 acres).

The *colonia* retained a dual aspect: firstly, a highly Romanized nucleus centred on Kingsholm and the city centre, identified through a military street layout and secondly, a larger suburban area located outside of the walled area of the city (Hurst, 1999:115). During the 2nd century CE, Gloucester, along with other Roman *colonia*, was invested with elements of Roman urban planning. A forum-basilica complex, constructed c.120CE on the site of the original fort principia, a temple precinct, identified through the excavation of a c.100m continuous colonnade; whilst further monumental structures were located in the area outside of the north gate, including evidence for a triangular temple structure and a probable monumental arch (ibid, 1999a:154-159).

In contrast to Gloucester, Cirencester was designated the *civitas* capital of the Dobunni, and its location within the landscape may have been related to the close vicinity of the late Pre-Roman Iron Age *oppidum* at Bagendon (Brannigan, 1976:112-4). Its territory, with the exception of Gloucester, appears to have extended over the modern counties of Gloucester, Avon, West Oxfordshire, North Wiltshire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire (Reece, 1976:64, Jones, 1991:54; Brannigan, 1976:112-4). Formally laid out as a town with a grid street pattern, forum-basilica complex and amphitheatre at the end of the 1st century CE (Holbrook, 1994:57-8). Development continued throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries, with basilica, a religious complex and *macellum*, and when walled, the urban area covered around c.96 ha, making it one of the largest cities in Roman Britain (McWhirr, 1976:10-11, Holbrook, 1994:61-2). Further civic structures, including probable public baths (identified

through by an extensive hypocaust system) which were located in Insula II, south west of the forum, and a further 2nd century temple structure, south east of the basilica further testify to a vibrant urban centre (Clews, 1985:230). Similarly, altars, sculptural remains and carved stone reliefs attest to the presence of shrines or temples dedicated to both provincial and state deities (the Matres, the Suleuiaae, Mercury and Minerva); whilst a late 2nd-early 3rd century column pedestal may attest to the presence of a Jupiter column (Holbrook, 1994:72-3).

Ermine Street may have been the focus of the retail area, with buildings interpreted as shops being located in this part of the city, and a variety of domestic housing (strip buildings, stone corridor-type and courtyard houses) with evidence of mosaics, hypocausts and colonnades suggest that the city was a thriving urban centre (Holbrook, 1994:62-3). Recent archaeological evidence suggests that Cirencester remained a viable urban centre into the early 5th century CE (McWhirr, 1976:7-9; Wachter, 1976:15-16). Roads and the basilica were maintained well into the late 4th century (Jones, 1991:59, Brooks, 1986: 82-3). Similarly, coin evidence from a domestic house in Parsonage field, dated to 388-395CE, attest to possible continuation of occupation beyond the Roman period (Brown *et al*, 1969, 234-5; Rennie, 1971:73).

At some point in the early 4th century either Gloucester or Cirencester became a provincial capital of the later Roman administrative district of *Britannia Prima*. While it is not clear which urban centre became the capital, the case through archaeological evidence can be made for both. Coin mint marks on 4th century Carausian and Allectan coinage appear to refer to Gloucester as the provincial capital (Reece, 1999:77). Conversely, the overall size of Cirencester, extensive forum modifications and presence of the Jupiter column (bearing an inscription representing a 'rector' of *Britannia Prima*) hints that Cirencester was the capital (Wachter, 1976, 304-5; Holbrook, 1994:74-5).

As well as competing within the political sphere, Gloucester and Cirencester may have had different social identities. Gloucester, as an urban settlement for legionary veterans appeared to have retained a more distinct division between settler and native (Hurst, 2005). In contrast, Cirencester expressed a more 'provincial Roman' identity through its material culture (*ibid*, 303) (see section 7.2 for full discussion). Similarly, the economic and settlement evidence suggest a strongly divergent localised identity between the two urban centres. For example, pottery

stamps within the territories of the *colonia* and *civitas* capital indicate a highly localised pattern of distribution (Reece, 1999:75-80; Timby, 1999; Hurst, 2005:303). The settlement evidence suggests that the presence of Gloucester as a *colonia* was influential. Whilst a high density of settlement is visible in the rural area immediately adjacent to Gloucester, with many rural sites pre-dating Roman occupation, these settlements did not develop into larger villas; perhaps an absence of a wealthy native elite in the vicinity of the *colonia* (Hurst, 1999:120-130).

4.1.1: The Cemeteries of Cirencester and Gloucester

Within this study, the western urban data set came from cemeteries in Cirencester and Gloucester. At Cirencester the burials come from three main cemeteries: Bath Gate/The Querns and Oakley Cottage, located outside the city wall to the east, and Verulamium Gate to the north-west (fig.1). Further scatters of burials, along Ermine Street running north, and at Silchester gate to the south, attest to other large cemeteries, but these have not been fully excavated due to intensive suburban development in the area (McWhirr *et al*, 1982).

The largest cemetery, excavated between 1969 and 1976, and situated at Bathgate between the city gate and amphitheatre, contained more than 400 inhumation burials dating from 3rd to 5th centuries, attested by the find of a *siliqua* of Honorius in the fill beneath one burial (Holbrook, 1994:81). The burials at Bath Gate were characteristic of 4th century urban managed cemeteries, being predominantly supine in timber coffins, with few grave goods (McWhirr *et al*, 1982) (fig. 2). Cremations and inhumations of a 2nd-3rd century date, thought to have formed the original core of the Bath Gate cemetery, were excavated at Oakley cottage during the early 1960s; and here the contemporaneous cremations and inhumations were separated, with the inhumations located to the north-east of the main cremation area (Reece, 1962; Holbrook, 1994:81).

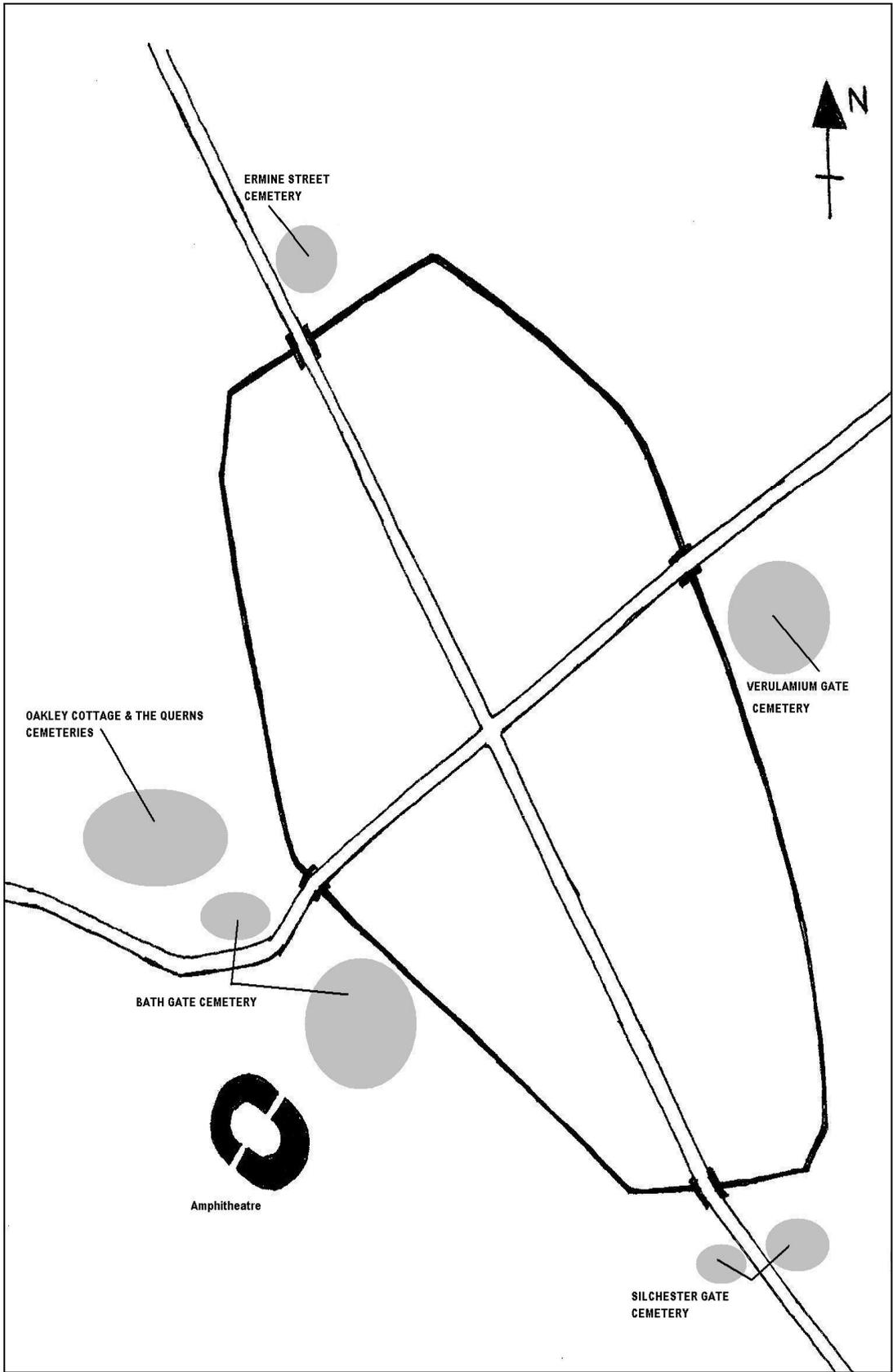


Fig. 1: Location of main Roman cemeteries at Cirencester (shaded areas).
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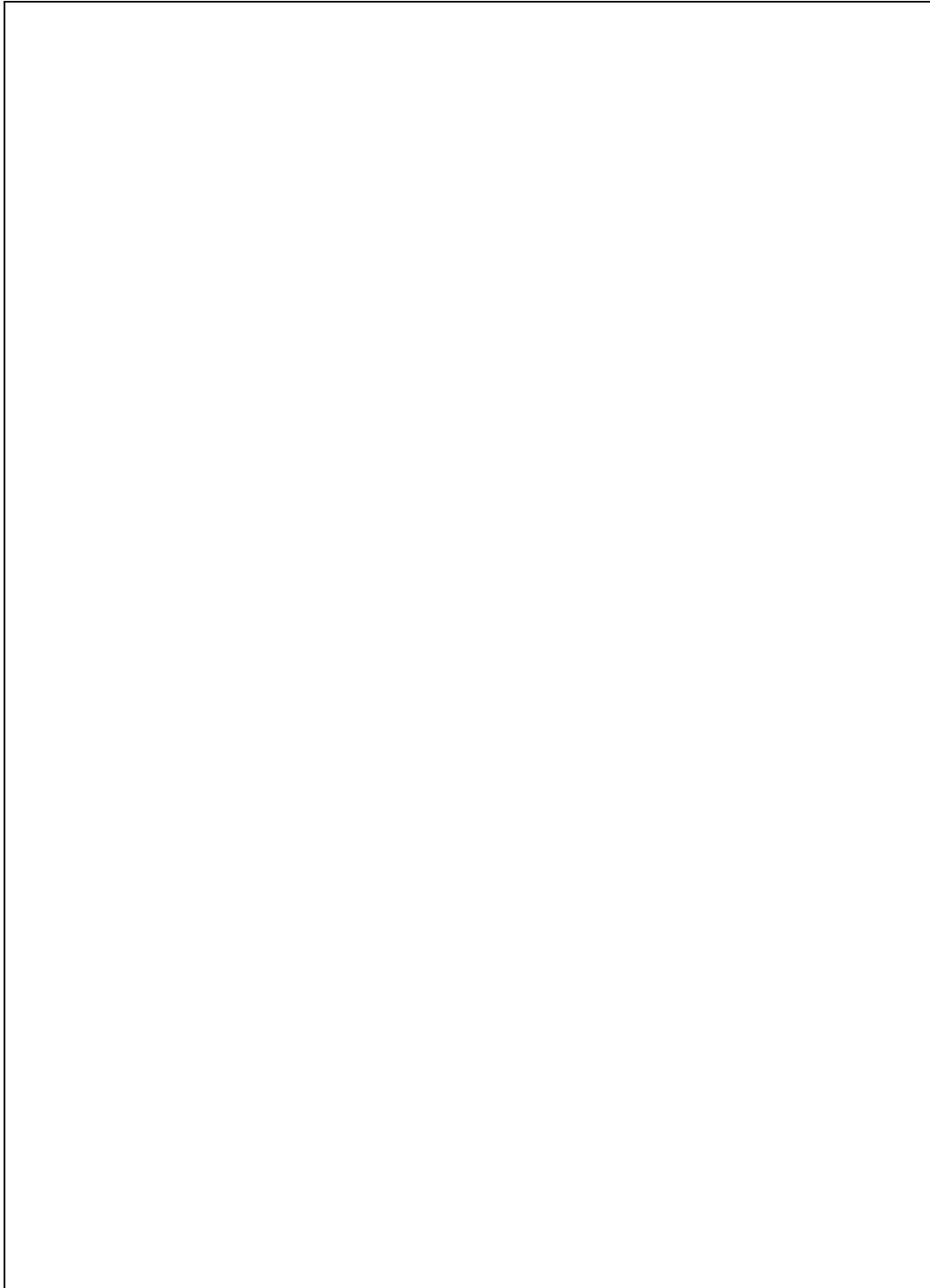


Fig. 2: Burials from trenches 1 and 8 (1972), CT (1969) and CS (1970) at Bath Gate cemetery, Cirencester. Copyright: Cotswold Archaeology.

Antiquarian excavations in the 18th and 19th centuries at the area of the Verulamium Gate, indicated the presence of a further large, possibly late Roman cemetery, attested to through a large number of coffins; whilst a probable earlier Roman cemetery at Silchester Gate was identified through a mix of cremation and inhumation, and Flavian period military tombstones (Holbrook, 1994:82-3; Mc Whirr, 1976:195-7). Verbal accounts suggest the presence of a possible fourth cemetery (attested to by three inhumations excavated during the 1970s), along Ermine Street and adjacent to the Gloucester Gate, but its exact whereabouts has gone unrecorded (Holbrook, 1994, 83-4). The burials from Cirencester utilised in this study produced a total of 525 burials of all age groups, and these break down as follows:

Name	Date	Rite	No. of burials
The Querns	1 st -4 th century	Mixed	20
Bath Gate	3 rd -5 th century	Inhumation	453
Oakley Ridge	2 nd -3 rd century	Mixed	45
Verulamium Gate	4 th century	Inhumation	14
Ermine Street	1 st -4 th century	Inhumation	3
Intra-mural sites	2 nd -4 th century	Inhumation	1
Watermoor	1 st -4 th century	Mixed	19
Silchester Road	1 st -4 th century	Mixed	10
			Total: 525

Table 2: Distribution of burials from cemeteries in Cirencester

In contrast to Cirencester, a great majority of the known burials at Gloucester were the result of late 19th century excavations. Consequently vital skeletal evidence such as age and gender, as well as secure contextual dating, were not thoroughly recorded. As such, the data has been pieced together from a variety of sources including unpublished site reports and 19th century journal articles. However, enough burials with viable skeletal and contextual data were reconstructed to enable an analysis of gendered age identity to be undertaken for Gloucester.

Four cemetery sites were utilised from Gloucester in this analysis. The first, Wotton Pitch, was aligned to Ermine Street, adjacent to the main road running in the direction of Cirencester, and was a cremation cemetery during the 2nd century, then as an inhumation cemetery during the 3rd and into the 4th century CE (Heighway, 1980:58) (fig.3). Isolated finds and small scale excavations continued through the 20th century, and more recently, two further excavations have been undertaken by Foundations Archaeology (2000) and Oxford Archaeology (2006). The excavation by

Oxford Archaeology produced a further 90 burials, not included in the analysis, from a mid-late 2nd century mass burial pit, which has been tentatively associated with the Antonine plague (ibid, 2006).

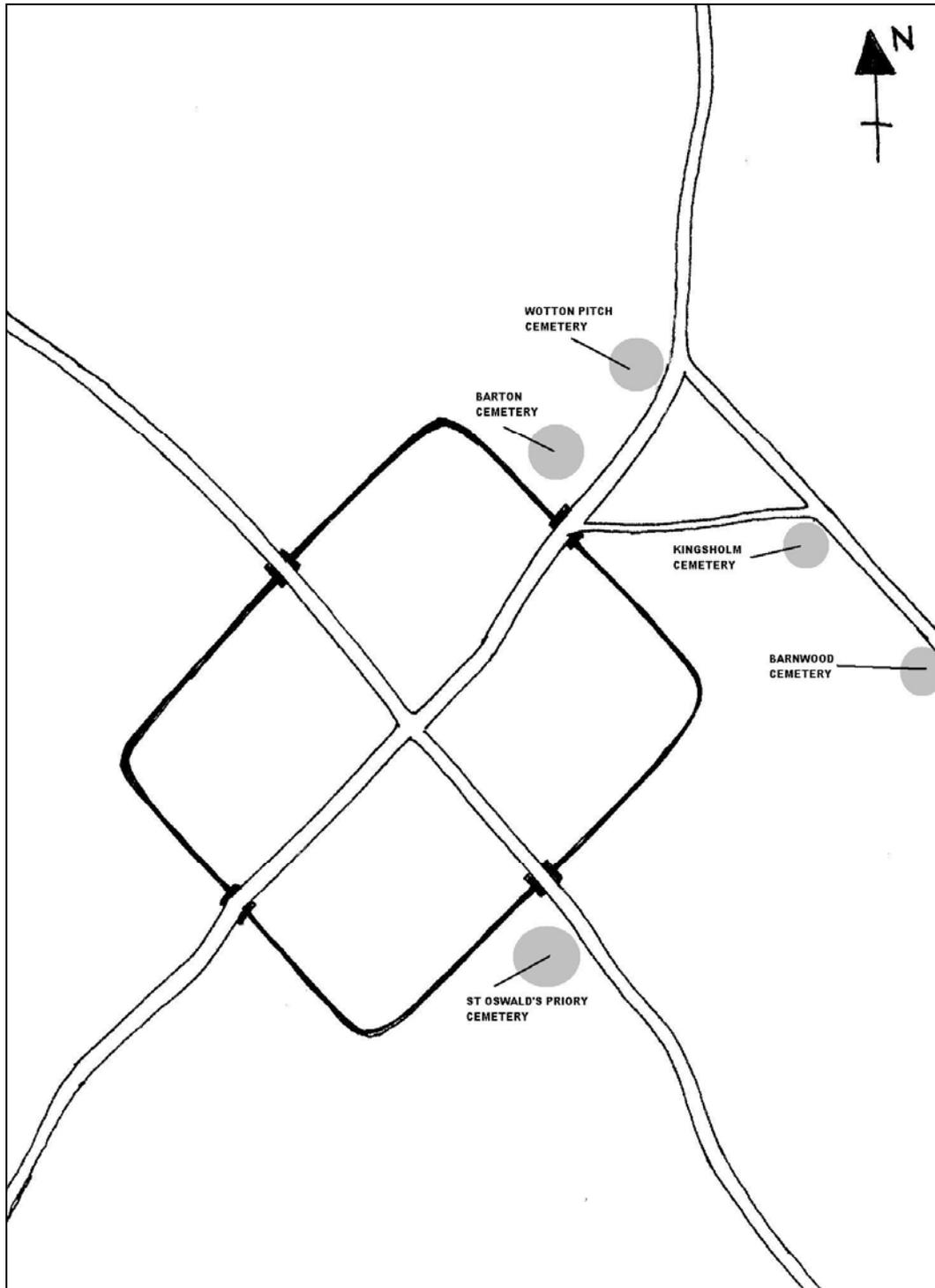


Fig. 3: Location of main Roman cemeteries at Gloucester (shaded areas).
Copyright: Heighway (1980:59).

The second main cemetery site, to the south-west of the Roman city, lay below the medieval St Oswald's Priory. First examined in the late 19th century, and excavated again during the 1980s, this latter excavation found 16 late Roman burials below the late medieval cemetery levels (Heighway, 1980a). The late 19th century excavations produced over 40 3rd century burials from the vicinity of St Oswald's, of which the majority were sexed as male, but with two females and a child (Bellows, 1881/2). The excavator states that 'the whole of the remains would indicate a simultaneous burial' and interpreted the burials as victims of a Romano-Celtic uprising (ibid, 347). However, it was argued that these burials could have been the victims of a 'pestilence' (Beddoe, 1881/2:351). If the dating evidence (a worn coin of Julia Moesa (220CE)) is reliable, these burials may have been linked to the mid 3rd century 'plague of Cyprian', although it must again be stressed that the dating evidence for many of the 19th century excavations is uncertain (Heighway, 1980:57).

The third cemetery which produced viable Roman burial data was the Barton cemetery area, situated to the east of the Roman city wall. This area included inhumations excavated prior to the building of the College of Art on Brunswick Road in the 1960s (Rhodes, 1980:67). This site also included isolated outliers from St Michael's Square, Wellington Street Car Park and Barton Street, including a late 3rd-4th century cremation (Hurst, 1974:230). The final area of Roman-dated burials in Gloucester was Kingsholm; a late Roman cemetery with evidence for a possible early 5th century burial (Hurst, 1975: 291-4). Similarly to Wotton Pitch, excavations at Kingsholm commenced in the 18th and 19th centuries but, unfortunately, the data on these are now unavailable apart from brief mentions in journal articles. Excavations during the 1980s on a ditched Roman cemetery at the Gambier Parry Lodge Estate, Tewkesbury Road, Kingsholm, produced a total of 325 further burials dated from the early 2nd-4th century, but the data on this site is still awaiting osteological analysis and is not yet available (P. Greatorex, *pers. comm.*). The distribution of burials at Gloucester breaks down as follows:

Name	Date	Rite	No. of burials
Kingsholm	3 rd -4 th century	Inhumation	35
Wotton Pitch	1 st -4 th century	Mixed	137
Barton	3 rd -4 th century	Inhumation	39
St Oswald's Priory	3 rd -4 th century	Inhumation	16
Isolated burials	Miscellaneous	Mixed	3
			Total: 230

Table 3: Distribution of burials from cemeteries in Gloucester.



Fig. 4: Western regional sample area (shaded).

4.1.2. The rural burial sample in western Roman Britain

As stated above, the rural burial sample area covered the modern day counties of Gloucestershire, Avon, Somerset, Wiltshire, southern Worcestershire and western Oxfordshire. These areas roughly corresponded to the pre-Roman tribal areas of the Dobunni (Gloucestershire, west Oxfordshire, northern Somerset) and the Durotriges (southern Somerset and Wiltshire) (fig. 4). In the pre-Roman Iron Age, settlement type in the Severn-Cotswolds area, situated at the heart of the region, was primarily small clustered enclosures (indicative of household-sized kin groups) and hill-forts, perhaps related to elite groups or defence (Moore, 2007:45). The pattern in quern stone distribution suggested a defined regional pattern of exchange networks, with material being sourced from the Mendip and Malvern Hills (ibid, 48). Similarly, the use of traditional hand-thrown pottery techniques into the later Iron Age, and a limited

geographical distribution of pottery types suggests the existence of a defined regional identity based around the exchange of material culture (ibid, 48-50).

Site type	No. of burials	Percentage
Farmstead/rural settlement	789	66.7%
Disused religious site	90	7.6%
Small towns and vici	219	18.5%
Villa	77	6.5%
Prehistoric mound/barrow	7	0.6%

Table 4: Distribution of burials by site type in western rural burial sample

In total 1,182 burials from sites within this regional area were sampled, and all age groups from pre-term neonates to old adults were included. The burials within the sample came from a variety of site types (table 4) dating from the mid 1st century to the early 5th century CE, although the greater majority were from rural settlements (see Appendix B for details of rural sites used). Settlement types within the rural west were a mixture of villa, small towns, nucleated settlements and small farmsteads. Villa development in the west was primarily a late Roman development, clustered around the urban sites of Cirencester and Gloucester, and villas reached their greatest extent in the 4th century (Mattingly, 2006:398). This late development in a villa economy has been interpreted as perhaps representing the input of an outside element, for example veteran soldiers or investors and those associated with the lead and silver mining industry in the Mendips (Leech, 1976:159; Mattingly, 2006:399).

Burials within villa sites were generally of two types: neonates and young children buried within, or closely related to, domestic structures, as identified by Scott (1991), or small, enclosed cemeteries, primarily of adults (table 5). For example, at the villa site at Haymes, Gloucestershire, a neonate infant was buried adjacent to the entrance way of a shrine (Rawes, 1986:70), whilst at Chedworth, Gloucestershire, two infants were buried beneath the courtyard of the villa (Fitzpatrick, 2002:341). Two villas, Lechlade (31 burials) and Tockington (5 burials), both in Gloucestershire, produced late Roman burials from adjacent small enclosed cemeteries (Darvill *et al*, 1993; Masser & McGill, 2004:97-9), whilst at least 6 adults, of a probable early 5th century CE date, were associated with building A at Shakenoak villa, Oxfordshire (Bodribb *et al*, 2005:14).

Site	Date	Burials	Age Range	Context
Lechlade, Glos.	3 rd /4 th	31	Sub-adults & adults	Domestic & Cemetery
Haymes, Glos.	4 th	1	Neonate	Shrine
Chedworth, Glos.	1 st /2 nd	2	Neonate	Courtyard
Combe Hay, Somerset	4 th	4	Neonate	Yard
Watley Combe, Somerset	4 th	3	Neonate	Domestic
Star, Shipham, Somerset	4 th	2	0-6 months	Domestic
Littlecote Park, Wilts	3 rd /4 th	4	Neonate	Domestic
Gatcombe, Glos.	3 rd	2	0-1 year	Domestic
Great Witcombe, Glos.	4 th	1	Neonate	Domestic
Kings Stanley, Glos.	4 th	2	0-10 years	Ditch
Shakenoak, Oxon.	Early 5 th ?	6	Adults	Building A
Lower Swell, Glos.	4 th	1	Adult	Isolated
Bibury, Glos.	4 th	1	Adult	Isolated
Bawdrip, Somerset	3 rd	1	Neonate	Domestic
Wadfield, Glos.	2 nd /4 th	1	Adult	Isolated
Hucclecote, Glos.	4 th	1	Adult	Bath house
Burnett, Somerset	4 th	1	Adult	Isolated
Bathwick, Glos.	4 th	1	Adult	Isolated
Tockington, Glos.	3 rd	5	Adults	Cemetery
Littlecote, Wilts.	3 rd	1	Neonate	Domestic
Cheddar, Somerset	4 th	1	Neonate	Ditch

Table 5: Distribution of burials at villa sites in western rural region.

Outside of the two major urban centres of Gloucester and Cirencester, *vici* and small towns may have functioned as ‘market’ places, servicing the surrounding rural area and localised economy (Esmonde Cleary, 2006:419). These settlements varied in size and layout. For example, Sea Mills, Bristol, an un-walled *vici* located at the confluence of the rivers Trym and Avon, may have functioned as a harbour for the export of lead (Todd, 1976:104). Some small towns were walled, for example, Gatcombe, Somerset, where the late Roman development, defensive walls and evidence for iron smelting has been interpreted as the centre of a large private estate (ibid, 104-107). Other *vici* may have functioned as cult sites. For example, a square Romano-Celtic temple within a *temnos* was excavated at Wycomb, Gloucestershire (Timby, 1998:34). Further *vici* with possible religious connections included Nettleton Shrub, Wiltshire and Tewkesbury (Todd, 1976:115). Burials from the small towns/*vici* settlements were primarily from small cemeteries located at the outskirts of the settlement. For example, at Sea Mills cremation and inhumation burials ranging in date from the late 1st to 4th centuries, have been excavated from the south of the settlement (Bennett, 1985).

Smaller rural settlements and farmsteads were also frequent in the western region. Evidence from excavations ahead of the M5 motorway extension indicated a densely settled landscape, with frequent finds of Romano-British material in the form of walls, ditches, hearths and post holes (Fowler, 1976:177). In general, smaller rural settlements and farmsteads consisted of simple rectangular masonry buildings in a nucleated or linear layout, forming a group of farmsteads, for a small group of people (King, 2004:355; Esmonde Cleary, 2006:415). Material culture from these sites provides evidence for localised crafts such as weaving, pottery making and malting. This suggests that primarily self-sufficient groups, primarily involved in agriculture, were also producing a small excess of goods to trade (Fowler, 1976:177). For example, excavations at Catsgore, Somerset, revealed at least 5 stone buildings, one built around a courtyard, and evidence for a byre, ovens and kilns, and corn-dryers for malting (Leech, 1976:145-154).

Small cemeteries, sometimes enclosed within ditches, were located adjacent to the settlements; as illustrated by Charlton Mackrell, Gloucestershire, where a scatter of five inhumations were situated to the south of the settlement (Taylor & Wright, 1954; Leech, 1980). At Catsgore, 25 infants were interred adjacent to, or within, agricultural and domestic buildings; whilst an adult cemetery, indicated by 3 burials, was situated to the north of the site (Leech, 1982, 1976:152-3). Similarly, the small farmstead of Bradley Hill, Somerset, showed the same pattern of infant burials within internal contexts and adult burials outside. Here infant burials were located within a probable byre, and older children and adults were interred within a small inhumation cemetery to the south of the farm buildings (Fowler, 1976:175-177) (fig. 5).

Further burials within the western rural sample came from re-used prehistoric barrows and small cemeteries adjacent to, or overlaying disused temple or religious sites. Burials include three adults, of a 4th century date, interred adjacent to the prehistoric barrow at Summerhill, Naunton, Gloucestershire (Gloucestershire SMR No. 174). At Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset, a small late 4th/possibly early 5th century cemetery containing the burial of 17 individuals, aged from birth to 50+ years, was located just to the north of the abandoned religious site (Leech, 1980). Similarly, at Henley Wood, Yatton, Somerset, a cemetery of 85 burials dating from 3rd-early 5th century, was also located within and around an abandoned religious site (Watts & Leach, 1996).

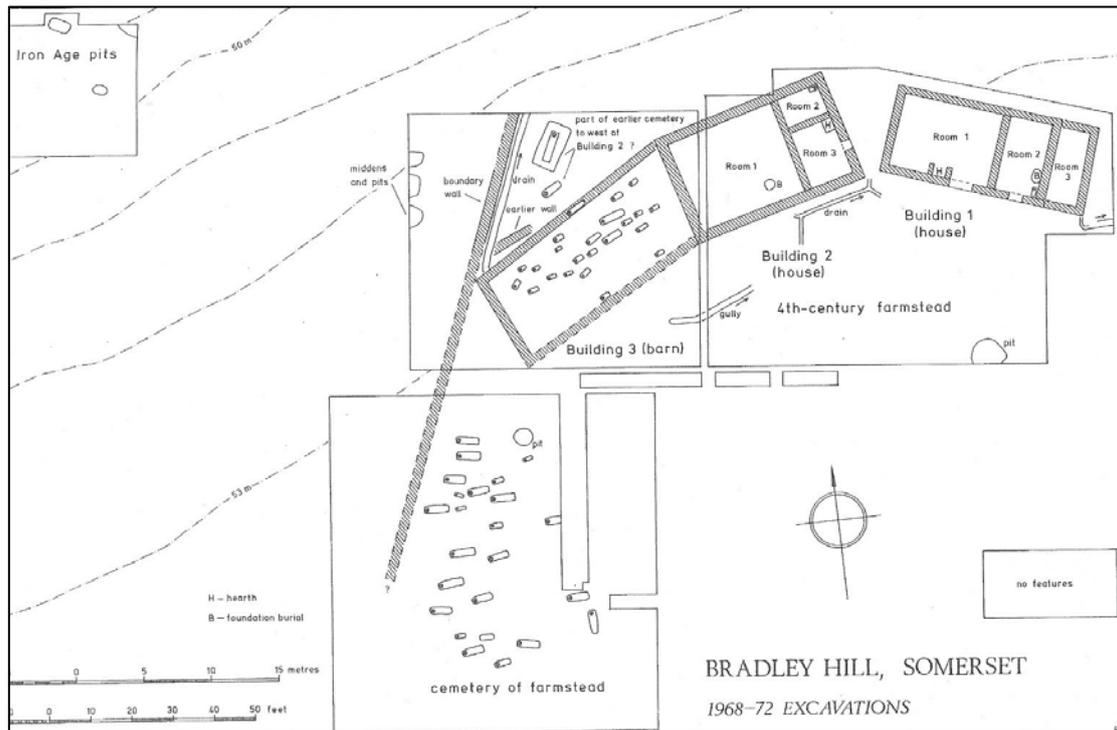


Fig. 5: Rural burials at Bradley Hill, Somerset with infants buried within buildings and adults to the south. Copyright: The Roman Society (1981:179).

In the western rural burial sample, inhumation was the predominant burial rite at 96% (1,135 burials), with examples of the rite from as early as the mid-late 1st century, reflecting the pre-Roman burial tradition of inhumation discussed in section 2.5. That inhumation was practiced in the western rural area during the Iron Age is evidence from the small unenclosed settlement of Christon, Somerset, with a small inhumation cemetery attached (Fowler, 1976:167). Similarly, a late Iron Age crouched inhumation, with extensive grave goods, was excavated at Birdlip, Gloucestershire (Thomas *et al*, 2003:65).

This localised tradition of interment by inhumation in the Cotswolds and Severn valley area continued into the early Roman period, attested by an early 2nd century group of 12 inhumations at Hucclecote, Gloucestershire (ibid, 2003), 24 inhumations of a late 1st/early 2nd century date at Henbury (Cotswolds Archaeology, 2005), and a further 24 of a 2nd century date, located an abandoned quarry at Naunton, Gloucestershire (Russell, 1983). Elsewhere within the area covered by the western rural burial sample, both cremation and inhumation were practiced concurrently as, for example, at Winterbourne, Wiltshire, where a total of 37 cremation and 14

inhumations were recovered (Foster, 2001:165, 171). In a similar manner, mixed rite cemeteries continued into the 4th century CE; as evidenced at Radley, Oxfordshire, where a cemetery of 68 individuals, ranging in age 9 months through to 50+ years were interred using a mixture of cremation and inhumation (Chambers & McAdam, 2007).

Whilst burials of all ages within the rural sample were predominantly of single individuals, multiple burials were also recorded. Multiple burials were primarily those of neonates or very young sub-adults. For example, at the 4th century site at Henley Wood, Yatton, Somerset, two infants aged 6-12 months were interred together in grave 51, parallel to the temnos ditch of the disused temple (Watts & Leach, 1996:53). Certain of the multiple burials may represent family relationships. For example, at Mildenhall, Wiltshire a 4th century double cremation of an adult female and neonate (Cooke, 2003:30), or Copse Hill, Upper Slaughter, Gloucestershire, a late Roman inhumation of a 30-40 year old female and 3-5 year old child in a stone cist (Royce, 1882:77-9). Although less common, multiple burials of adults occurred and these may also have been of family members. For example, at Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, an adult male and female were buried together (Harman, 1980:122), Similarly, at Henley Wood, Somerset, two 20-30 year old males of a late 4th/early 5th century date were excavated from a single grave within the remains of the disused temple (Watts & Leach, 1996:52).

Ritual type	Burial No.	Age Range	Sex	Date Range
Excarnation/mutiliation	4	All age groups	M/F	4 th c
Burial position	4	All age groups	F/?	4 th c
Nail burials	7	All age groups	M	2 nd -4 th c
Flint burials	4	All age groups	M/F	4 th c
Inversion/g.g. fragmentation	6	All age groups	M/F	2 nd c
Skull	1	Adult	M	2 nd c
Horse or dog burial	7	Mid-Old adults	M/F	3 rd -4 th c
Decapitation	68	All age groups	M/F	2 nd -5 th c

Table 6: Summary of ritual burials from western rural sample.

Whilst the majority of burials within the western rural sample were supine, crouched and prone burial were also practiced (see section 5.4.1). Overall, burials in the rural burial sample showed less uniformity than the urban sample, with greater variation in grave alignment, and a wider variety of unusual burial practices. A small

percentage (8.5% or 101 burials) was classed as 'unusual', with decapitation forming the highest percentage of 'unusual' burials at 67.3% (68 burials) (table 6). Examples of decapitated burials ranged in date from 2nd to the early 4th century, and no age or gender bias was recorded. Ages ranged from a 3-6 month old infant interred at the head of an adult male grave at Chilmark, Wiltshire (Fitzpatrick & Crockett, 1998:18), through to a 50+ year old female (burial S17) from Ilchester, Somerset (Everton & Rogers, 1990:266). The rite of decapitation has been interpreted as a method of aiding the transition to the afterlife by ensuring the final separation of the soul from the body, or to prevent the dead from walking (Merrifield, 1987:74-75; O'Shea, 1981:43).

A feature of some of the ritual burials within the western rural sample was the inclusion of nails, either placed on the body or, if cremated, forming a part of the grave goods. While this type of burial was found with sub-adults and adults, it was almost exclusively associated with males. These nails appeared to have been deliberately placed. For example, two non-urned 2nd century cremations, both from Sea Mills, Bristol, had nails placed with the burial pit, with the tips all pointing towards certain compass points; the west in the case of burial 9 and south in the case of burial 13 (Bennett, 1985:18-20). Occasionally, with inhumation burials a nail was placed in the mouth. For example, at Sea Mills, Bristol, a 2nd century prone inhumation of an adult male had a nail between the front teeth (Philpott, 1980:302). While the placement of a nail between the teeth may have symbolised the common Roman ritual of placing a coin in the mouth, other interpretations are possible. Dungworth (1998:153) notes the ritual connotations of nails in other areas of Roman belief, and suggests nails functioned as a way of 'fixing' the dead individual within the grave, whilst metal and items made of metal were an important component in the expression of pre-Roman and Romano-British ritual behaviour (Merrifield, 1987; Hingley, 1997; Giles, 2007).

Similarly, flint may have been perceived as having mystical or magical properties. At Crowmarsh, Oxfordshire, the inhumation of a 15-20 year old female had a piece of flint placed between the front teeth (Clarke, 1995:75). At the same cemetery the coffined burial of a young male (burial 2) had flint pieces placed over the lower body and feet (ibid). Flint, often in the form of Neolithic hand axes, has been found in domestic and religious Romano-British contexts and has been interpreted as having a protective or curative meaning, or functioned as lucky charms (Adkins & Adkins, 1985:69; Merrifield, 1987:10-11).

Horse and dog burials were also a feature of certain rural burials within the sample, and were primarily associated with older adults. The inclusion of these animals may have been totemic, or represented protection and company in the next life (Merrifield, 1987:70). Examples include a 4th century inhumation of a 40-49 year old female (burial S37) at Little Spittle, Ilchester, Somerset, with a dog placed by the right leg (Everton & Rogers, 1990:267) and the decapitated burial of a 20-39 year old male (B602), with a dog laid over the feet (ibid, 266). Similarly burial G5 at Wycomb, Gloucestershire, a 4th century multiple coffined inhumation of a 30-40 year old female and neonate were interred adjacent to pit burial of a horse (Timby, 1998:315-6); whilst at Curbridge, Oxfordshire, an unsexed adult inhumation had a horse jaw placed under the left arm and rib-cage (Chambers & Williams, 1976:47).

Other examples of unusual burials within the western rural sample include evidence for excarnation (4 examples), the inversion or fragmentation of grave goods (6 examples) and extreme burial position within the grave (4 examples). With these types of burial, no age or sex bias was recorded, although no sub-adults aged less than 10 years were represented. For example, the 4th century inhumation of a 15-20 year old female (burial 5) at the rural settlement at Frocester Court, Gloucestershire, whose disarranged upper body bones indicated possible partial excarnation (Reece, 2000:20), while grave 1 at Wycomb (Gloucestershire), an adult whose bent leg position was suggestive of the legs being tied at burial (Darvill & Timby, 1998:316).

4.2: Eastern Roman Britain: Colchester and St Albans

Similarly to the western urban data set, burials from a *colonia* (Colchester) and a *civitas capital* (St Albans) in the eastern region of the province were included in the analysis. Established in 43CE originally as a legionary base, Colchester was invested as a *colonia* in c. 49 and was adapted for civilian use from the redundant legionary base (Crummy, 1977:65-9). The eastern side of the legionary fortress was developed into the civic centre of the city, with public buildings including a theatre, temple of Claudius and a forum-basilica complex (Drury *et al*, 1984; Crummy, 1984:3, 8-9).

As a veteran settlement Colchester, in a similar manner to Gloucester, may also have had a divergent social identity, particularly during the early Roman period. Recent excavations in the vicinity of Balkerne Lane, adjacent to the originally fortress, have identified an early Romano-Celtic temple of a late 1st-mid 2nd century date; area around the structure appeared to have been a focus for low status wattle and

daub housing (Crummy, 1984:20; *ibid*, 1977:75, 81, 97). Similarly, very early evidence for lamp production (Eckardt, 2002) and the production of Samian ware (Millett *et al*, 1987), suggests that a percentage of the population had a highly Romanised social identity.

Virtually levelled during the Bodiccan revolt of 60-61CE, as evidenced by layers of destruction debris revealed during excavations, the *colonia* was walled soon after the revolt, and the evidence indicates that the rebuilding of the city was a prolonged process (Drury, 1984:11). For example, excavations at Culver Street, within the walled area of the Roman town, have produced evidence for agricultural features including corn-dryers and a barn, in use until at least the mid-2nd century CE (Crummy, 1992:18).

From the mid 2nd-mid 3rd century, these open spaces were built over, and archaeological excavations have shown strip-houses and built up street fronts, while the appearance of courtyard houses with mosaics suggesting a degree of prosperity (*ibid*, 1984:25). Another fire, at the end of the 2nd century caused damage to the temple precinct and surrounding area, whilst alterations to the theatre have also been dated to this period, suggesting that the early 3rd century was a time of substantial reconstruction (Drury *et al*, 1984:29-30; Crummy, 1992:299-302).

During the later Roman period, the city's defences were improved, but there is evidence that the extra-mural areas to the north and west of the town contracted (*ibid*, 1992:19). Furthermore, areas inside the city walls also showed evidence for abandonment. Many of the 2nd-3rd century houses at Culver Street appear to have been abandoned by *c.* 325 CE, whilst buildings at Lion Walk had been demolished by the mid-4th century (*ibid*, 16-19). However, a substantial population remained, as evidenced by the large scale 4th century managed cemetery at Butt Road, whilst evidence for bone working within the vicinity of the Butt Road site suggests continued craft production (Crummy, 1981). Similarly, a large basilica was constructed within the city during the 4th century, and aspects of the civic infrastructure remained in use into the early 5th century CE (Faulkner, 1994:115; Crummy, 1984:19).

St Albans had been subject to piecemeal excavation during the 18th and 19th centuries, but the first thorough archaeological excavations were undertaken by the Wheelers in the 1930s; which established the model of the 'Roman' town and were influential on later interpretations of Romano-British towns (Niblett, 2005:44-49).

Further excavations were undertaken by Frere during the 1980s, which extended knowledge of the pre-Roman settlement (Frere, 1983). The pre-Roman *oppidia*, situated immediately south-west of the later Roman settlement, formed part of a wider pattern of settlement in the immediate area; with evidence for enclosure ditches, domestic settlement, a possible ceremonial centre, coin mint and native pottery production (Niblett, 2001:42-43; Thompson, 2005:23; 32-39).

From the mid 1st century CE settlement shifted from the surrounding late pre-Roman Iron Age settlements towards the early Roman town which, although small (c.12 ha), appears to have been relatively wealthy and Romanised, as evidenced through finds of substantial quantities of early Samian pottery (Niblett, 2001:60-6). This early prosperity, allied to little evidence for a phase of military occupation and the granting of *municipium* status, has been interpreted as representing a pro-Roman bias amongst the elite of the Catuvellauni, suggested that they may have retained much of their influence over St Albans and the surrounding area (ibid, 53-5, 66).

Like Colchester, St Albans was burnt during the Boudiccan revolt of 60-61 CE, although archaeological evidence suggests that the destruction appears to have been less widespread; the only buildings known to have been totally destroyed were those in Insula XIV and XVII (ibid, 65). During the late 1st and 2nd centuries, the city was equipped with the standard full range of civic buildings including forum-basilica, at least three temples and a *macellum* and baths building, situated in the north corner of insula III (Niblett, 2005:151-2). Although a further fire in the mid-2nd century destroyed many, these were reconstructed and prosperity continued through the 3rd century, evidenced by the enlargement of private dwellings and public works, including land drainage and the building of city walls (Frere, 1983:15-16; Niblett, 2005:100-102; 2001:126-7).

A full range of economic activities were undertaken in and around St Albans including bronze and iron smelting, pottery production, brewing, grain milling, leather and wool working (ibid, 2005:126-134; 2001:103-7). Archaeological evidence also suggests that St Albans been at the centre of local rural distribution and trade networks. A wide gravelled area situated between the basilica and the river remained open throughout the Roman period and may have been functioned as a cattle market; whilst commercial butchery, evidenced by an extensive dump of butchered animal bones outside of the city wall, further supports St Albans being an agricultural centre for the surrounding area (ibid, 2001:105). The archaeological evidence suggests St

Albans remained relatively prosperous into the 4th century, with renovation of buildings and maintenance of the road network (ibid, 2001:131-33). However, there is evidence for contraction, in a similar manner to Colchester, with buildings in the south and south-west of the town being abandoned in the 4th century, although evidence exists for some degree of occupation into the 5th (ibid, 2001:131-135).

4.2.1: The Cemeteries of Colchester and St Albans

At Colchester, the burials utilised in this study were primarily from the later Roman period (3rd-4th centuries CE). The greater majority of the burials came from the Butt Road cemetery site, situated adjacent to the main south-west gate of the town. This extensive site was excavated during the 1970s and 80s and produced a total of 727 burials. The cemetery was divided into two periods: period 1 dating from the 1st-3rd century and period 2 from c.340 to the early 5th century (Crummy & Crossan, 1993:13-5) (fig.6).

Within period 1, the cemetery was further divided into three phases. The first phase, a back-filled quarry and road ditch (1st/2nd centuries), was superseded by inhumations and cremations dated from 3rd century to c.320 AD (ibid, 13-5). Evidence was found for a distinction between the two burial rites, with the cremations being sited away from the inhumations in the north-east corner of the excavated area, and the two plots were defined by ditches (ibid, 13-5). The inhumations in this period were predominantly north-south in orientation, in a supine or crouched position, and ranged in age from c.5 years to adult (ibid, 16-9). The grave goods during this phase consisted predominantly of household pottery and glassware (ibid, 16-9, 21).

During phase 3 of period 1 (c.320-c.340AD) a more formal cemetery was laid out with boundaries marked by ditches, and north-south aligned inhumations, with 55% of the burials being accompanied by grave goods (ibid, 51-4). Four probable burial groups were identified: group A in the south-east corner of the cemetery, group B aligned in close rows to the boundary ditch, group C in the northern part of the site and groups D and E in rows on the same alignment (ibid, 1993:51-54). The lack of graves and similarity of grave goods suggested that this phase was of a relatively short duration, with a formally-established approach to burial perhaps into family burial plots (ibid, 32). Overall skeletal preservation was poor during this period, but all age ranges, with the exception of neonates, were present and grave goods included personal items as well as pottery and glassware (ibid, 32, 39-50).

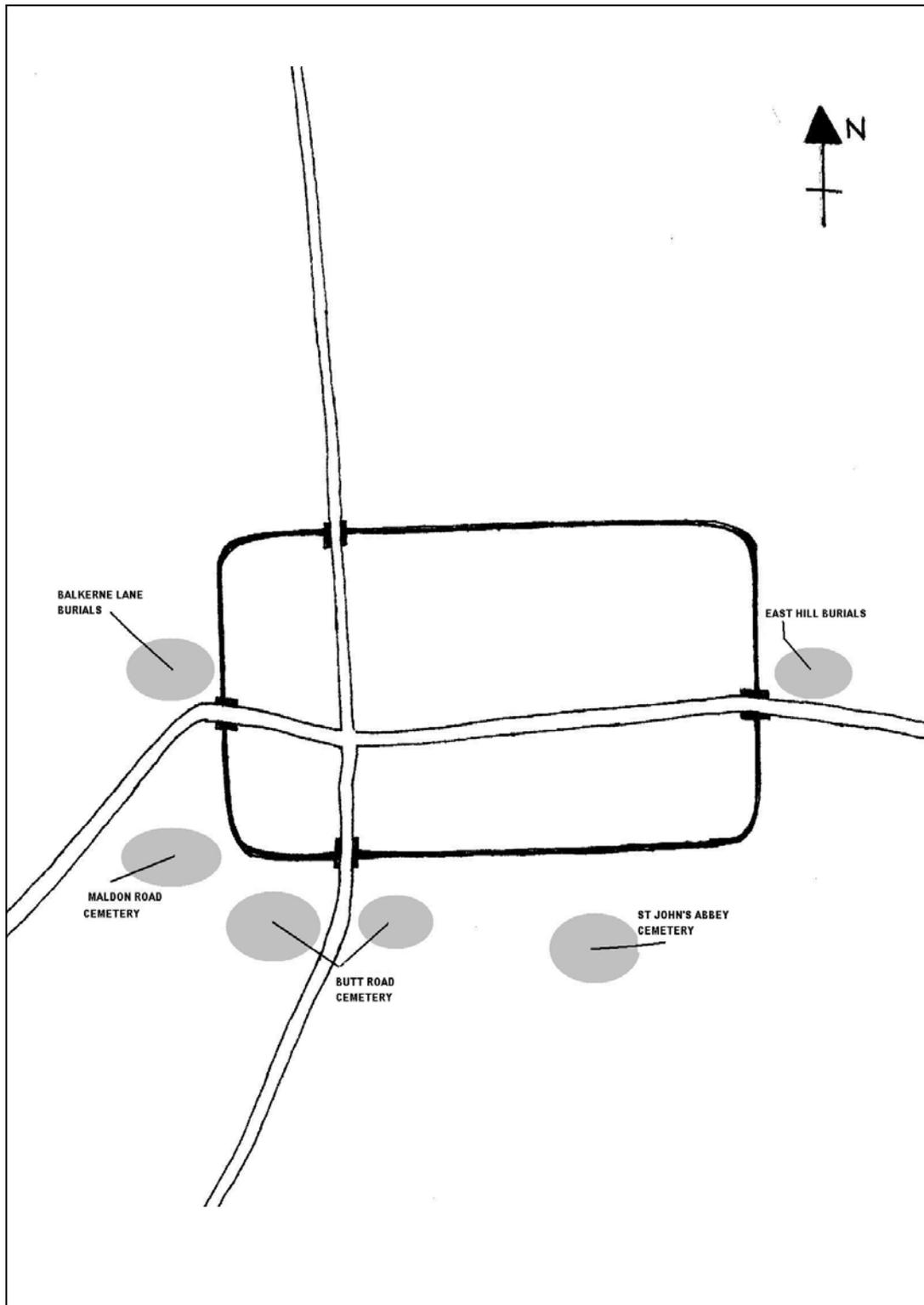


Fig. 6: Location of main Roman cemeteries at Colchester (shaded areas).
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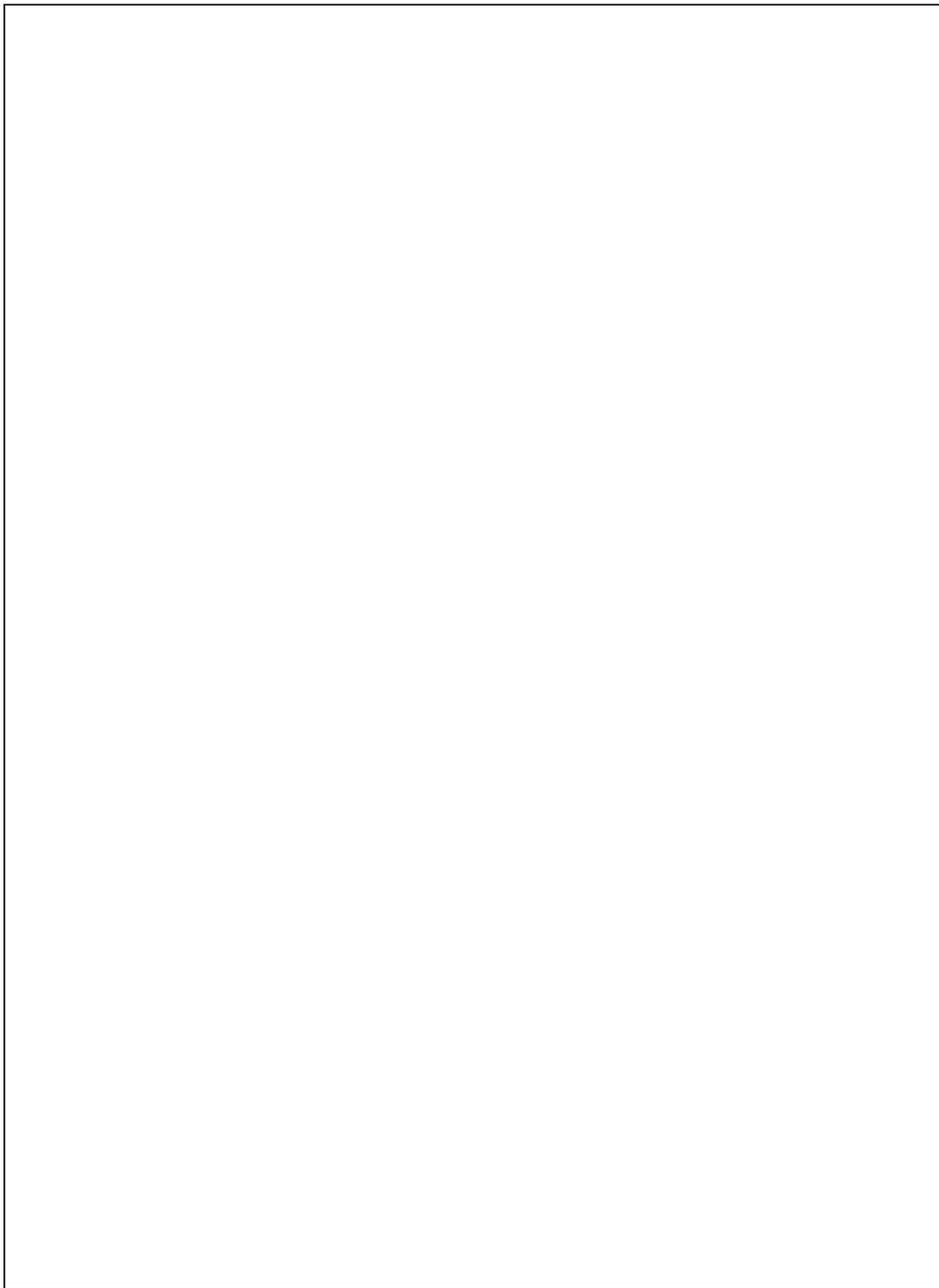


Fig. 7: Phase 2 burials at Butt Road, Colchester showing the position of burials with grave goods. Copyright: Colchester Archaeological Trust (1993:131).

The formal nature of the cemetery continued into period 2 (c.340-400+), and the cemetery expanded from the mid-4th century (Crummy & Crossan, 1993:4-5). The majority of the burials in period 2 were placed on an east-west alignment in timbered coffins, although lead, tile, shrouded and plaster burials were excavated (ibid, 114-8). The remains of a probable mausoleum and two timber vaults may have acted as foci for burials, and also suggest possible family grouping (ibid). Skeletal preservation was again poor for period 2, and the age of those buried ranged from neonatal to old adults (ibid, 61). Grave goods included personal items, pottery, glassware and toilet equipment, but the overall rate of grave good provision was more restricted than in the period 1 phase of the cemetery (fig. 7).

It has been argued that the period 2 phase of the cemetery may mark the adoption of a Christian burial rite associated with the construction, c.330CE, of a presumed Christian church on the edge of the cemetery (ibid, 4-5). However, the evidence for the ‘Christian’ church has recently been questioned (Millett, 1995). Furthermore, the influence of Christianity on 4th century burial practice has yet to be convincingly established, with ‘Christian’ and non-Christian burials in the later Roman period sharing similar characteristics (Philpott, 1991:239).

A further 34 3rd/4th century Roman period burials were excavated, in 1972, within the former grounds of the medieval St John’s abbey. The burials were roughly aligned on an east-west axis (with heads to the west), and the skeletal remains were very poorly preserved (Crummy, 1993: 203-5). Grave goods included pottery, jewellery, coins and animal bone, and the provision of grave goods was entirely confined to sub-adults (ibid, 203-5; 209). Further burials in Colchester, predominantly those of perinates and neonates, were excavated during intra-mural excavations at the Culver Street and the Gilbert School sites, from a variety of domestic and other contexts, ranging in date from the 1st-4th century (ibid.). At Colchester, the overall distribution of burials breaks down as follows (table 7):

Name	Date	Rite	No. of burials
East Hill	3 rd -4 th century	Inhumation	1
Culver Street	1 st -4 th century	Inhumation	10
Bus Station site	2 nd -3 rd century	Inhumation	1
Gilbert School	1 st century	Inhumation	2
St John’s Abbey	3 rd -4 th century	Inhumation	34
Butt Road	3 rd -4 th century	Inhumation	727
			TOTAL: 775

Table 7: Distribution of burials from cemeteries at Colchester.

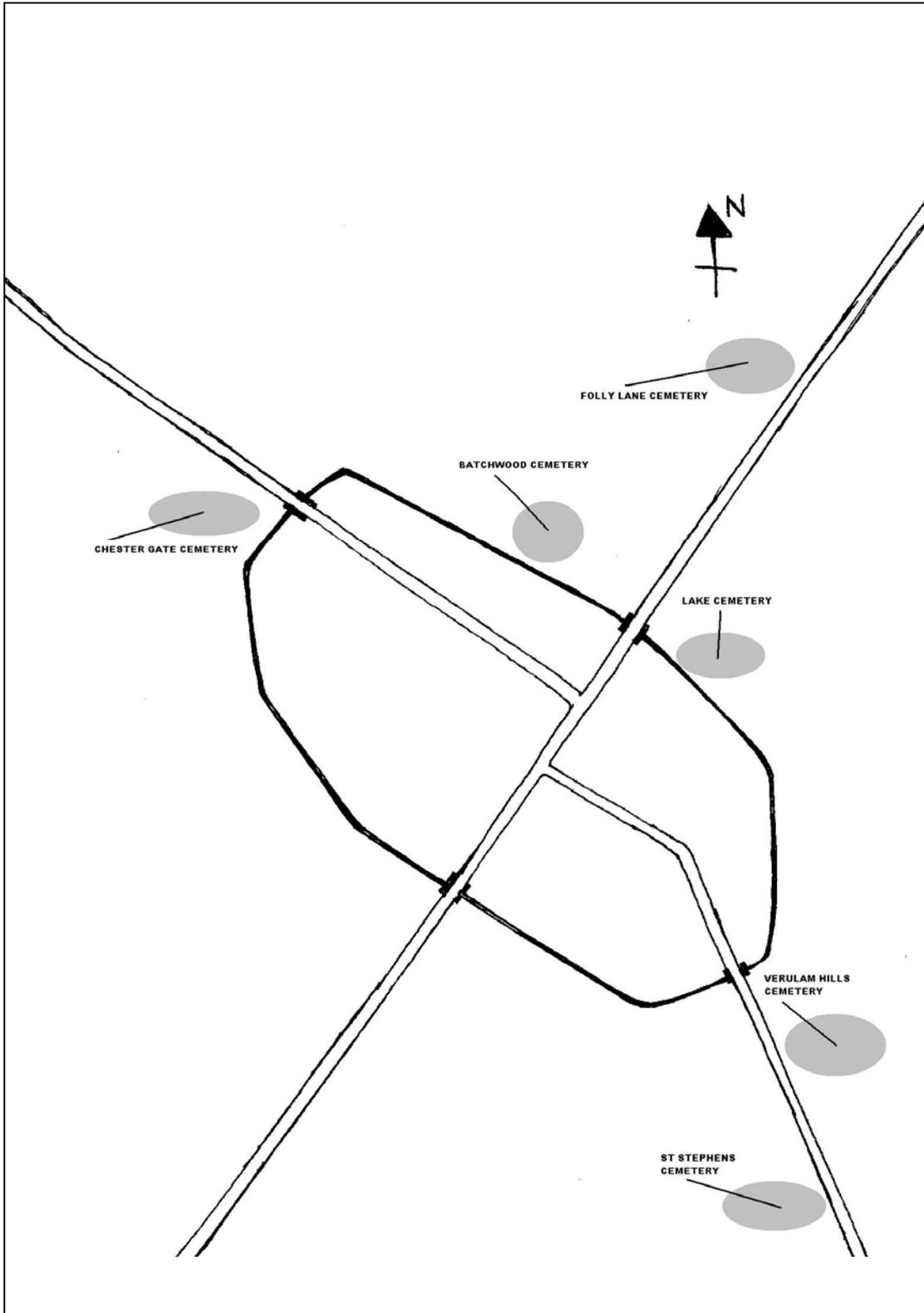


Fig. 8: Location of main Roman cemeteries at St Albans (shaded areas). After Niblett & Thompson, 2005.

The burials from St Albans used in this analysis came from six separate cemetery areas and provided a total of 525 burials of all age groups (fig. 8). Burials dating from the 1st-early 3rd century were situated south and south-east of the Roman town at Folly Lane, King Harry Lane, St Stephens and Verulam Hill Fields (Niblett, 2005:138). Later Roman burials were situated to the north of the city, adjacent to the north-west gate (Batchwood) and along the north-east city wall (the Lake cemetery) (ibid). In the cemeteries dating to the early Roman period, cremation was the predominant burial rite, although some inhumations were known. Animal bone, imported and local pottery formed the bulk of the burial assemblages with the cremations during this period. In contrast, the inhumations were usually without grave goods, un-coffined and often associated with the ditches and rectilinear enclosures of the cremation cemeteries (ibid, 141-2).

Amongst the early Roman data set certain of the cemeteries, such as Folly Lane and King Harry Lane, were established late pre-Roman Iron Age cemeteries. Both cemeteries were predominantly 'Aylesford' cremations and included examples of high-status or elite burials (Niblett, 2006:33-5). In order to ensure that only Roman period burials were utilised, only those burials from these sites that could be securely dated from the late 1st-2nd century were included in the analysis. Also included within the data set are those burials, predominantly of perinates and neonates, excavated from the intra-mural areas of the city by Wheeler & Wheeler (1936) and Frere (1983).

At St Albans, as elsewhere across Britain, the rite of inhumation gradually replaced cremation during the 3rd century. This transition is visible at the Verulam Hill Fields site, where a series of early 3rd century inhumations appeared adjacent to earlier cremations (Niblett, 2005:142). Similarly to Colchester, the 4th century burial rite at St Albans was supine burial, mainly within coffins on an east-west alignment, although no large-scale excavations have been carried out on the later Roman cemeteries (Niblett, 2005:142-3). In line with other late Roman urban cemeteries, grave good provision at St Albans was common until the 3rd century, thereafter becoming less common as the 4th century progressed (ibid). Overall, the distribution of burials from St Albans breakdown as follows (table 8):

Name	Date	Rite	No. of burials
Folly Lane	1 st -3 rd century	Mixed	29
King Harry Lane	1 st -4 th century	Mixed	70
Verulam Hill Fields	1 st -3 rd century	Mixed	33
St Stephens	1 st -4 th century	Mixed	359
North West Gate (Batchwood)	3 rd -4 th century	Inhumation	7
North East Wall (Lake cemetery)	3 rd -4 th century	Inhumation	17
			TOTAL: 529

Table 8: Distribution of burials from cemeteries at St Albans.

4.2.2. The rural burial sample in eastern Roman Britain



Fig. 9 Eastern regional sample area (shaded).

The burials that comprised the eastern rural sample came from a variety of site types in regions which broadly covered the pre-Roman tribal areas of the Catuvellauni (Hertfordshire, Chilterns, Buckinghamshire and south Bedfordshire), the Trinovantes (Essex, Suffolk and west Cambridgeshire) and the Icenii (north Cambridgeshire) (fig. 9). Prior to the advent of Rome, a strong regional identity was visible, particularly within the areas of the Catuvellauni and the Trinovantes. Coinage was being

produced, and settlement was primarily in smaller enclosed farmsteads or within *oppidia*, with evidence for specialised craft or industrial activities (Hill, 2007:26). As discussed in section 2.5, a distinct late Iron Age elite burial culture had developed. Characterised by cremations with grave goods associated with feasting and imported material culture (Niblett, 2006); which suggested the existence of a strongly hierarchical society, wherein social differentiation was negotiated, and displayed, through burial (Hill, 2007:27).

With the conquest, settlement patterns in the eastern rural region showed a degree of regional variation. In the area of Hertfordshire and the Chilterns, particularly within reach of St Albans, villa density was high and some showed evidence for a late 1st century development, indicating of a degree of continuity from the Iron Age (Mattingly, 2006:382). Villas, as a feature of rural settlement, flourished throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries, but many showed signs of decline by the mid-4th century CE (King, 2006:360). Non-elite rural settlements are also known. Isolated farmsteads, often comprising a single enclosure and associated field system were common, and unenclosed nucleated settlements are also recorded (Mattingly, 2006:383). These nucleated settlements, consisting of simple strip buildings with associated field systems, may have functioned as housing for villa estate workers or as small, localised agrarian centres (Esmonde Cleary, 2006:415; Mattingly, 2006:383).

In contrast to the high density of villa development in the Hertfordshire region, the evidence for elite rural settlement in the Essex, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire area is sparse (Mattingly, 2006:379). An area of villa development has been identified to the west of Colchester, often adjacent to small towns or nucleated settlements (King, 2006:360). However, few developed beyond small-scale villas within the Essex area; with the exception of Rivenhall, a large villa with an attached estate settlement and, possibly Chignall St James, (Mattingly, 2006:379). In a similar manner to Hertfordshire and the Chilterns, villas were established early, and their development was primarily a feature of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (King, 2006:359).

The differential patterning in villa development within the eastern region of Britain has been interpreted as a reaction to the Conquest and the Boudiccan revolt of 60-61CE (Mattingly, 2006:136-138). The elite of the Trinovantes, who joined the rebellion against Rome, were formally attached to the *colonia* of Colchester as a consequence, and were denied the opportunity to develop a separate *civitas* capital and elite villa settlement pattern, in the same manner to the Catuvellauni (ibid, 379).

Rather than villas, rural settlement in the Essex, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire regions was predominantly small nucleated settlements and isolated farmsteads (ibid, 382). This patterning is reflected in the eastern rural burial sample, where the 72.9% (810/1,111 burials) came from the small settlements and farmsteads (table 9).

Site type	No. of burials	Percentage
Farmstead/small settlement	810	72.9%
Large/settlement/small town	240	21.6%
Villa	50	4.5%
Religious site	4	0.4%
Prehistoric mound/barrow	7	0.6%

Table 9: Distribution of burials by site type in eastern rural burial sample.

In total, 1,111 burials from sites within the eastern rural regional area were sampled, providing examples of all age groups from pre-term neonates to elderly adults, which ranged in date from the mid 1st century through to the early 5th century CE (see Appendix B details of sites used). The burials from small nucleated settlements and farmsteads were primarily from defined cemetery areas adjacent to the main settlement and often enclosed by boundary ditches.

Burials ranged in number from less than 10 individuals to larger cemeteries with 50+ burials. For example, at Tort Hill, Cambridgeshire, a small, enclosed cemetery contained a total of 6 inhumations and 1 cremation of 3rd-4th century date located on the periphery of a probable adjacent settlement site (Ellis *et al*, 1998:22). In contrast, at Skeleton Green, Braughing, Hertfordshire, a total of 109 cremation and inhumation burials dating from 1st-4th century were excavated, located within cemeteries to the south and south-east of the settlement area (Partridge, 1981:246). Similarly, the late Roman cemetery at Kempston, Bedfordshire, located to the south of the settlement, produced a total of 93 burials ranging in age from neonates through to elderly adults (Dawson, 2004:55).

Site	Date	Burials	Rite	Age Range	Context
Cambridge, Cambs.	2 nd -4 th	40	Inh.	Sub-adults/adults	Cemetery
Chelmsford, Essex	2 nd	1	Inh.	Neonate	Well
Dunstable, Beds	4 th	110	Inh.	Sub-adults/adults	Cemetery
Godmanchester, Cambs.	4 th	64	Inh.	Sub-adults/adults	Cemetery
Wavendon Gate, Bucks.	2 nd -4 th	25	Inh.	Sub-adults/adults	Cemetery

Table 10: Distribution of burials at larger settlement sites in eastern region.

Site	Date	Burials	Rite	Age Range	Context
Burgh, Suffolk	4 th	1	Inh.	Adult	Isolated
Chignall, Essex	3 rd /4 th	27	Inh/crem	Sub-adults/ adults	Cemetery & isolated
Gadebridge, Herts	3 rd	1	Inh.	Neonate	Domestic
Castle Hill, Suffolk	4 th	6	Inh.	Adults	Cemetery
Kelvedon, Essex	3 rd /4 th	4	Inh.	Neonate	Domestic
Little Oakley, Essex	3 rd /4 th	1	Inh.	Elderly	Ditch
Peterborough, Cambs.	3 rd	2	Inh.	Neonate	Barn & ditch
Stanton, Suffolk	1 st -4 th	1	Inh.	Adult	Isolated
Staughton, Cambs.	4 th	1	Inh.	Neonate	Domestic
Dicket Mead, Herts.	3 rd	5	Inh.	Neonate	Domestic
Wendons Ambo, Essex	4 th	1	Inh.	Sub-adult	Ditch

Table 11: Distribution of burials at villa sites in rural eastern region.

Similarly to the western rural sample (section 3.1.2), burials from villa sites in the eastern region were predominantly those of neonates within domestic or ditch contexts. For example, at Dicket Mead, Welwyn, Hertfordshire, 5 neonates of a 3rd century date were excavated from the vicinity of the rear corridor of building two, adjacent to the bath suite (Rook, 1987:85). At Chignall, Essex, a neonate was interred without grave goods in the top fill of ditch 460, part of the main villa enclosure boundary ditch system (Clarke, 1998:63).

At villa sites, examples of isolated adult burials, or small cemeteries attached to the villa site, were also known (table 11). These included the burial of an elderly adult male within the ditch system at the Roman villa at Little Oakley, Essex (Barford, 2002:62). A larger villa cemetery was that situated to the south west of the villa at Chignall, Essex (Clarke, 1998:55). Containing a total of 27 sub-adult and adult burials of late Roman date within an enclosed ditch system, this cemetery was distinguished by a ‘cenotaph’ burial consisting of a coffin orientated north-east/south-west, with a glass beaker in the north-west corner of the coffin and hobnail shoes at the north-eastern corner (ibid, 61).

In contrast to the western region where two late Roman cemeteries at Lamyatt Beacon and Yatton, Somerset, appeared in close association with religious sites, only four burials in the eastern regional sample were from a site with a probable religious

function. Four infants aged 0-6 months were excavated from the vicinity of the shrine building and from within the surrounding enclosure ditches at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex (Luff, 1999:220). A further seven burials within the eastern rural data set were from re-used prehistoric barrows and mounds, and certain features may suggest that the majority of these burials were differentiated from the norm. For example, at Rushbrooke, Suffolk, three 2nd century adult burials, one a probable high status inhumation in a stone coffin, were interred within a flint and timber vault cut into a prehistoric mound (Suffolk SMR:RGH001/2-MSF65801/2). At Hey Hill, Cambridgeshire, a young female was decapitated and interred within a tiled cist cut into the side of a barrow and accompanied by grave goods (Philpott, 1991:300). Similarly, at Streatley, Bedfordshire, two young male 4th century inhumations were cut into the prehistoric barrow at Galley Hill, one buried prone, the other bent double within the grave (ibid, 369).

Whilst the majority of burials in the eastern rural sample were single cremations or inhumations, examples of multiple burials were recorded; and these were primarily of sub-adults. For example, a late 2nd century multiple cremation of a 10-15 year old and neonate were placed in a shallow pit at the entrance to a ditch enclosure at the small farmstead at Coggeshall, Essex (Clark, 1988:55). Similarly, at Orton Longueville, Cambridgeshire, two neonates were interred together within a shallow pit within the 3rd century enclosure ditch (Wells, 2001:81).

Other multiple burials may represent familial relationships. For example, the cremation (SK33) of a young adult male and 8 month old infant at Skeleton Green, Hertfordshire may also represent a familial relationship (Wells, 1981:281). Multiple inhumations of adults were also known and may have represented possible family relationships. For example, at the 4th century inhumation cemetery at Brettenham, Suffolk a 40-50 year old female and a 50+ year old male were buried together (Boyle, 2002:38). Similarly, a multiple late 4th century burial (BC and BD) of a 30-40 year old male and female was excavated from the northern burial area of the cemetery at Dunstable, Bedfordshire (Matthews, 1981:28).

Ritual type	No. of Burials	Age Range	Sex	Date Range
Excarnation/mutiliation	7	Sub-adult & adult	M/F	2 nd -4 th c
Nail/flint burial	7	Adult	M/F	2 nd -4 th c
Inversion/g.g. fragmentation	32	All age groups	M/F	2 nd -4 th c
Chalk/lime burial	14	Sub-adult & adult	M/?	4 th c
Skull	1	Sub-adult	-	2 nd c
Horse or dog burial	6	Adult	M/F	4 th c
Decapitation	78	All age groups	M/F	1 st -4 th c

Table 12: Summary of ritual burials in the eastern rural sample.

Similarly to the western rural data set, burials in the eastern rural region were primarily supine, but with one or two examples of prone and crouched burials occurring in most cemetery samples. In line with the western rural sample, a similar range of ‘unusual’ burials were recorded, and of these decapitation was the most common type at 53.8% (78/145) of the total (table 12). Again, there was no age or gender bias recorded, with examples of the practice recorded from across the age spectrum. However, slight regional differences were visible in unusual burials in comparison to the western rural sample; primarily an increase in the examples of inverting or fragmenting grave goods prior to burial and the use of chalk or lime plaster within the grave.

In total, 22.1% (32/145 burials) of ‘unusual’ burials in the eastern rural sample had evidence for inversion of goods or deliberate fragmentation, compared with just 5.9% (6/101 burials) in the western rural data set. This practice was primarily associated with the early Roman cremation cemetery adjacent to the roadside settlement at Welwyn, Hertfordshire, where 22.2% (18/81) of the burials had deliberately fragmented pottery, predominantly Samian ware (Rook, 1973). For example, burial 9, an urned cremation of a 30-40 year old female was provided with two unbroken flagons and pottery beaker, and a fragmented Samian platter (Rook, 1973:19).

Within the sample, chalk or lime plaster burials were associated with late Roman contexts, with 12 of the 14 recorded examples coming from the late 4th century cemetery at Dunstable, Bedfordshire (Matthews, 1981). There was no visible gender or age bias in the use of the practice; with examples ranging from burial AH, a 6-7 year old crouched inhumation with traces of lime remaining on the skeleton, through to a 40-50 year old male (burial AM) (ibid:26). The practice of using chalk or lime has been interpreted as being representative of Christianity (Green, 1977).

However, chalk or lime burials have been found elsewhere, for example at Roman Londinium, in association with grave goods (Barber *et al*, 1990:10). Similarly, the examples of lime burials from Dunstable were also associated with grave goods; including an adult male (burial S), interred with the articulated remains of a horse (Matthews, 1981:18).

4.3: Conclusion

The samples from the regions outlined in this chapter will provide a substantial body of data through which to examine aspects of gendered age identity in the Romano-British life course. As the two selected areas had some degree of distinct regional identity prior to the advent of Rome and, as evidenced by the settlement patterns, a divergent trajectory during the Romano-British period, the samples should provide a strong basis through which to compare regional expressions of age identity. As well as providing an overall regional comparison between west and east, utilising substantial data-sets from the urban and rural contexts discussed above will enable a more detailed regional intra-analysis to be made.

How age and gendered social identity was expressed within both urban and rural environments would have been influenced by a different range of factors. Within the context of Roman Britain, urban living was a recent phenomenon. As such, the demands of this new environment may have impacted on the urban communities' perception of social identity, causing it to deviate from that of the surrounding rural hinterlands. This differentiation between patterns of urban and rural burial, in both regions, was visible in the greater variety of 'unusual' burial practices in the rural sample; in contrast to the more formalised patterns of burial in urban cemeteries.

In order to explore the trajectory of the Romano-British life course as evidenced from the burials explored in this chapter, chapter 5 focuses on the results of the study. Section 5.1 outlines the overall life course utilising all the aged and sexed burials from the eastern and western areas, whilst section 5.2 focuses on identifying how gender impacted upon age identity across the sample as a whole. A temporal analysis of the life course is undertaken in section 5.3, comparing the burial evidence of early and later Roman Britain to identify any transitions in age emphasis over time. This is followed by a regional and contextual analysis of age and gender (section 5.4), to identify key differences in how age was expressed, which may represent the impact of regional and local concepts of identity.

CHAPTER 5: THE OVERALL ROMANO-BRITISH LIFE COURSE

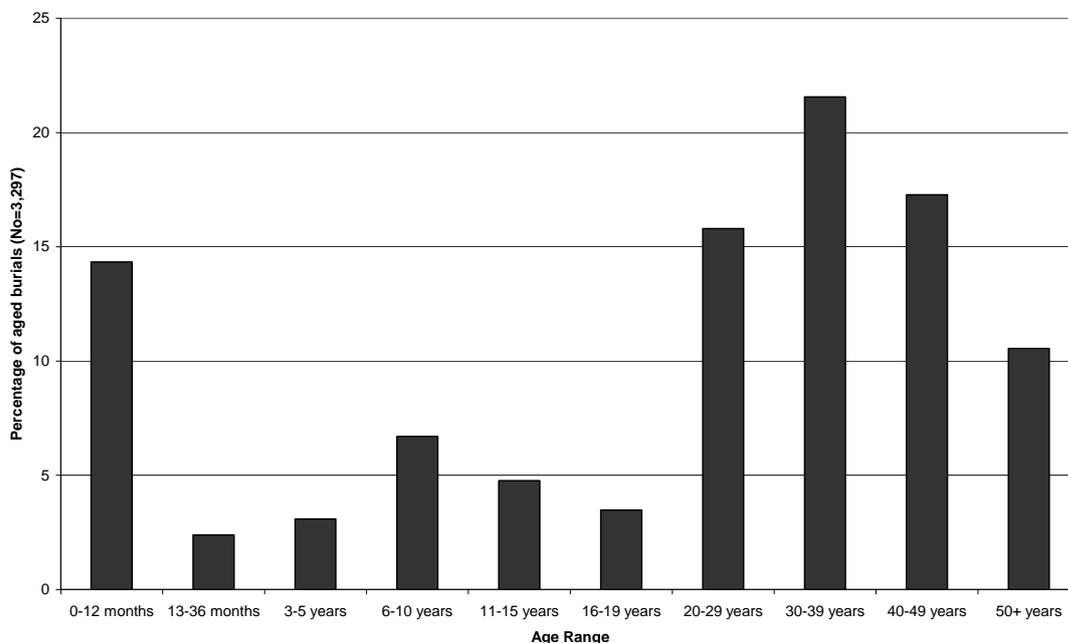
As outlined in chapter three, the data-set utilised in this study provided a substantial cross-section of burials from a variety of different urban and rural contexts covering the entire Romano-British period. This large data-set allowed an in-depth examination of the role of age and gender within burial practice, and the examination of the data-set was undertaken on two levels. Firstly, a broad outline of the Romano-British life course was established, in order to identify the key age groups and characteristics associated with each age stage on a provincial level. This broad outline was then examined in the light of two aspects which would have impacted on how the life course was expressed; namely the role of gender, and the influence of temporal variation from the early to the later Roman period.

The impact of social constructions of gender on the life course will be examined through comparing all the aspects of burial evidence, as outlined in chapter four, for males and females in each age category across the life course. This will establish the overall trajectory of the gendered life course, and identify patterns of differentiation in age emphasis between males and females, which may relate to gender roles or socio-cultural expectations (section 5.2). In order to examine whether temporal variation was visible within the social construction of the life course, all aged and gendered burials will be divided into early Roman (1st/2nd centuries) and late Roman (3rd/4th centuries). These two data sets will be compared to see if the material culture provided at burial changed over time, and to explore whether there was any temporal transition in age or gender emphasis across the life course (section 5.3).

Against the background of the gendered and temporal life course, the data-set will be divided into western and eastern regional areas. To determine how the life course was expressed through burial, each region will be examined to establish the existence of regionally-specific aspects of burial practice and material culture. The analysis will also seek to establish the existence of regional variation in age and gender patterning. Finally, within the regional analysis, the aged and sexed burials will be analysed by urban and rural context, to isolate and identify specific age trends which may relate to each environment. The results of the regional and contextual analysis will be summarised at the end of each analysis for ease of comparison. Through this two-tiered approach, the complex interplay of factors which may have impacted on how the life course was expressed on a macro and micro-level can be identified.

5.1: Identifying the trajectory of Romano-British life course

Overall, the sample produced a total of 4,392 burials. Of these, 75.1% (3,297/4,392 burials) were assigned to a specific sub-adult or adult age class, 16.5% (727 burials) were classed as un-aged adults and the remaining 8.5% (373 burials) were un-aged, due to cremation or poor preservation. As discussed in section 4.4, the burials assigned to an age class ranged from premature neonates through to adults aged 50+ years. Amongst sub-adults, the peak age of death was 0-1 year at 14.3% (473/3,297 burials), of which the majority were neonates (0-1 month). With the adult burial sample, the age distribution recorded a peak at 30-39 years at 21.6% (711 burials) (graph 1)

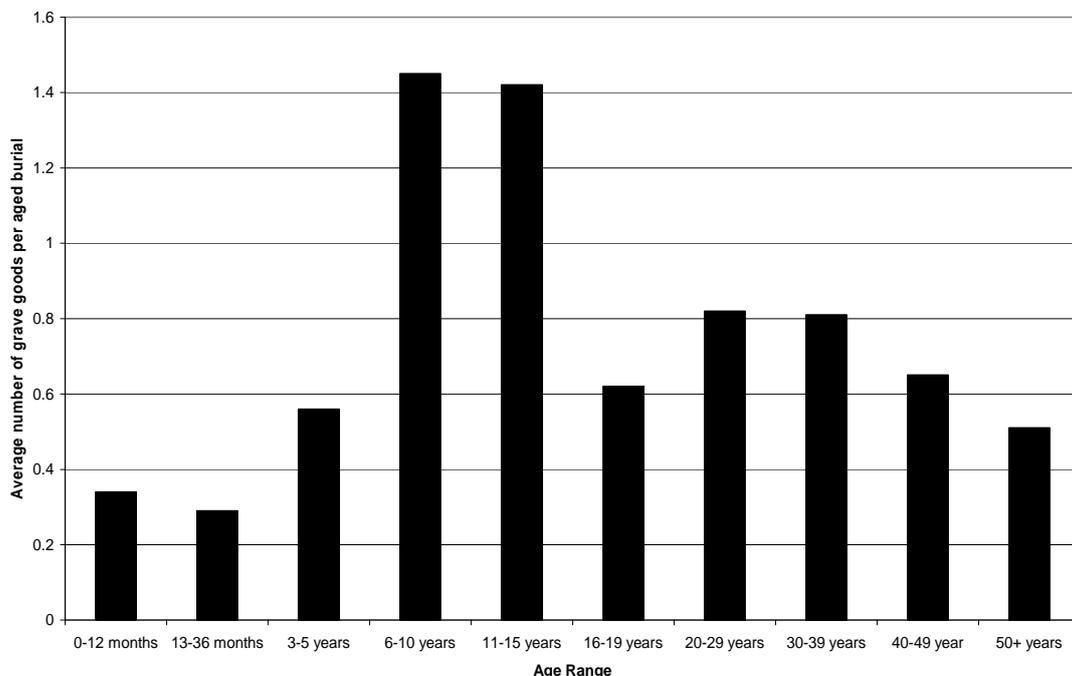


Graph 1: Age distribution of all burials.

Just over half (51.8% or 2,276 burials) were assigned to a gender, with males/probable males at 54.2% (1,234 burials) and females/probable females at 45.8% (1,042 burials) giving an overall ratio of 1.2:1. The remaining burials were unsexed, due to poor preservation, cremation and the high proportion of sub-adults within the sample.

How the life course was expressed in burial was primarily through age-based variation in the quantity and types of grave goods provided. Overall, a total of 3,252 individual grave goods were provided, an average of 0.74 grave goods per burial. However, the age distribution of grave goods showed a focus on sub-adults aged 6-15 years and amongst adults at 20-39 years. Overall, the 6-10 year age group was provided with the greatest quantity of grave goods with an average of 1.45 items per burial, closely followed by the 11-15 year group at 1.42 items per burial. Although adults aged 20-39 years were also a focus of grave good provision, the quantity was considerably lower than with the sub-adults aged 6-15 years, with an average of 0.82 items per burial. In contrast, infants up to the age of 3 years and old adults were provided with the least amount of grave goods, with an average of 0.34 items and 0.5 items respectively (graph 2).

The patterning of high provision in older childhood was further supported when the range of identifiable material culture score was calculated (table 1). Children aged 6-10 years had the widest range of types of material culture, including one burial that had 10 different forms. This was a mid-late 1st century cremation from Colchester, Essex which included over 70 individual items such as flagons, beakers, coins, figurines, a casket, patera, cup, comb and lamp (May, 1930). Amongst adults, the



Graph 2: Distribution of grave goods with all aged burials.

greatest spread of material culture was placed with the 30-39 year age group; although a single outlier at 20-29 years recorded 7 different forms of grave goods. For example, a mid 2nd century urned cremation of a 30-39 year old female at St Stephens cemetery, St Albans, was provided with two types of pottery vessels, a ring, a bronze mirror and fragments of unidentifiable ironwork (Niblett, n.d.).

Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total g/goods
0-12mths	433	52	6	5	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	156
13-36mths	48	6	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
3-5 years	77	16	4	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	54
6-10 years	152	42	17	7	3	1	2	-	-	-	1	318
11-15 years	89	34	17	7	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	179
16-19 years	86	29	7	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	71
20-29 years	342	117	33	17	4	1	-	1	-	-	-	393
30-39 years	458	126	63	25	10	1	-	-	-	-	-	573
40-49 years	363	127	44	17	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	270
50+ years	268	62	20	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	185

Table 13: Range of identifiable material culture with all aged burials.

Age set	H/hold	Personal	Feasting	Toilet	Votive	Tools	Military	Leisure
<5	26.7%	24%	24.7%	2.7%	21%	2%	-	-
6-10	33.8%	31.5%	14.2%	5.5%	15%	-	-	-
11-19	27.7%	27.7%	18.2%	4.7%	14.2%	5.4%	-	2%
20-29	33.9%	23.6%	18.6%	6.1%	12.1%	5.3%	-	1.2%
30-39	35.1%	22.9%	22.7%	6%	9.3%	3.6%	-	0.5%
40-49	30.5%	23%	23%	6.2%	14%	6.7%	0.8%	-
50+	30.3%	26.3%	13.7%	5%	20%	4.6%	0.6%	-

Table 14: Percentage of items in each functional category by age.

Overall the types of grave goods provided fell into 8 of the 10 functional categories as described in section 4.5. These categories were household (33.1%), votive (23.8%), personal (19.2%), feasting (15.4%), toiletry (4.2%), tools (3.47%), military (0.42%) and leisure (0.33%). Across all age categories, household items (predominantly pottery) formed the most common type of grave goods (table 2). Within the analysis of functional categories the 6-10 year age group was again differentiated, through a high provision of personal items (31.5%), and a limited range of 5 functional categories (household, personal, feasting, toiletry and votive). Amongst the aged adult burial sample, there was little overall differentiation in percentage of items or in the range of functional categories, with the exception of

votive items. Within this category the percentage of objects rose from 14% (34/243 examples) at 40-49 years to 20% (35/175 examples) at 50+ years, and the percentage of votive items associated with elderly adults equated with the total placed with sub-adults aged less than 5 years.

There was also evidence for age variation in burial through patterns of inclusion and formalisation of burial, and this was a factor of infancy and early childhood (0-5 years). Before one year old, patterns of burial was visibly less formal and places utilised for burial were split between a variety of different contexts (see section 6.1.1). Of the 470 burials aged <birth-1 year with burial position recorded, the majority 51.3% (241 burials) were interred in such contexts as domestic and agricultural buildings, religious structures, boundary ditches or were isolated burials within the wider landscape. The remaining 48.7% (229 burials) of infants were buried within formal cemetery contexts, particularly within urban areas.

Between 13 months and 3 years, the pattern of inclusion within formal cemeteries or burial areas increased to 83.5% (66/99 burials), and the process was completed by 5 years, with 94.1% (96/102 burials) of those aged 3-5 years being interred within formal burial grounds. This pattern of inclusion continued through the rest of the life course. Although a small percentage of older sub-adults and adults were buried within isolated contexts, these were primarily considered to be outliers of unexcavated cemeteries or single burials associated with an adjacent villa or settlement site.

Further evidence for age thresholds in early childhood was seen when grave treatment was examined by age. With infants aged <birth-1 year burial was predominantly within a shallow oval or circular pit, at 52.1% (200/384 burials with grave treatment recorded). For example, at the small rural 4th century cemetery at Wilcote, Oxfordshire a 0-1 month old (H9) was interred within a small pit at the foot of an adult burial (H4) (Ensor, 1993:166). Burial position for this age group also differed from older sub-adults and adults, with the infants being buried primarily in a crouched or flexed position at 74.9% (164/219 burials with position recorded).

At 1-3 years, burial position changed, becoming predominantly supine within a more formal rectangular grave cut. This grave type increased from 20.7% (75/362 burials) at less than one year, to 50.7% (37/73 burials) at 1-3 years, whilst the provision of timber coffins also increased from 6.9% (25 burials) at 0-1 year to 28.8% (21/73 burials) at 1-3 years. The use of timber coffins predominated in later infancy

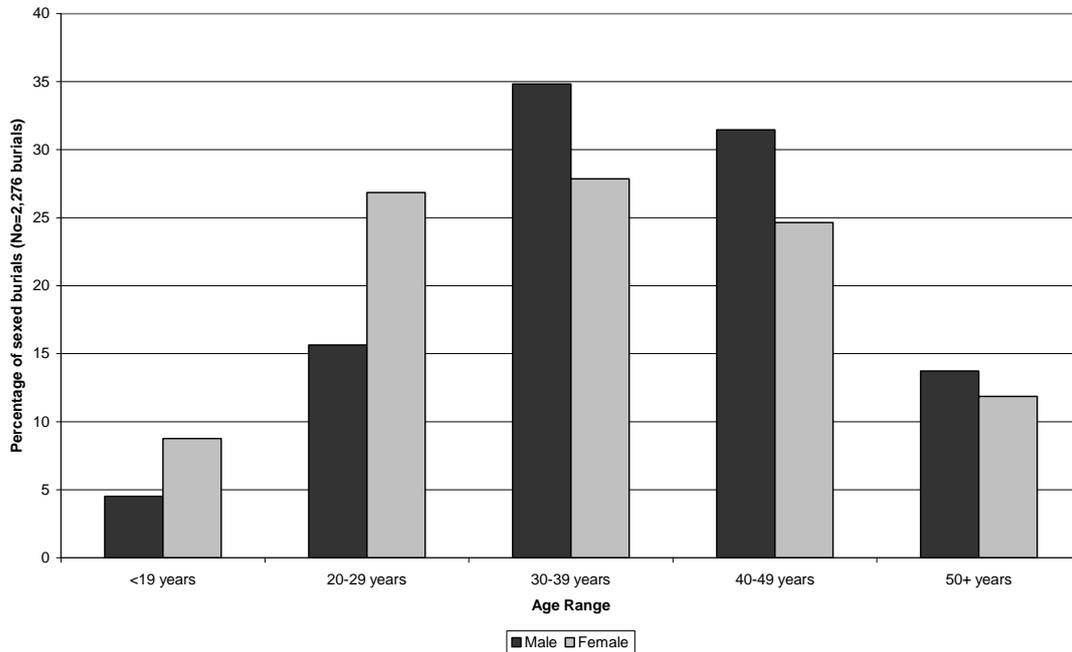
and childhood, at 43.3% (42/99 burials with grave type recorded) at 3-5 years, and 45.6% (99/217 burials) at 6-10 years. Amongst older sub-adults and adults, inhumation burial was primarily within a simple rectangular grave cut. However, with adults the provision of timber coffins was focussed at 40-49 years, rising slightly from 32.6% (226/692 burials with grave type recorded) at 30-39 years to 40% (222/555 burials), before declining back to 31.9% with elderly adults (50+ years) (Appendix A; table 66). Burials amongst adults were predominantly supine, with an average of 10% in each age stage being interred either prone or crouched (Appendix A; table 67). However, the distribution of prone burials showed some age-variation. The practice was primarily associated with adults, and the prevalence increased slightly with age, reaching 9.3% (24/296 burials) at 50+ years.

An overall analysis of the burial sample does indicate that a life course was expressed within the funerary record, primarily through variation in grave good provision and to a lesser extent, through grave treatment, burial position and context. Possible points of transition were visible in early infancy at *c.*1 year and *c.*3 years, expressed by inclusion within formal cemetery contexts and an increasing formalisation of grave treatment. This process was completed by *c.*5 years, and the years between 6 and 15 were defined as a key age stage, identified by a high quantity of grave goods and a wide variety of types of material culture, particularly personal items at 6-10 years. Whilst the quantity of grave goods placed with adults overall were less than with older children and juveniles, 20-39 years were identified as the key age stage, marked out through grave good provision rather than burial treatment. Old age, as a life course stage, was visible; characterised by low rates of provision, restricted range of material culture and an increase in items of a votive function. Similarly, elderly burial saw a slight tendency towards greater informality; indicated by a decline in coffin burial and an increase in the prone burial rite. In order to examine adult burial patterns in further detail, section 5.2 explores the evidence for gender differentiation in the overall life course.

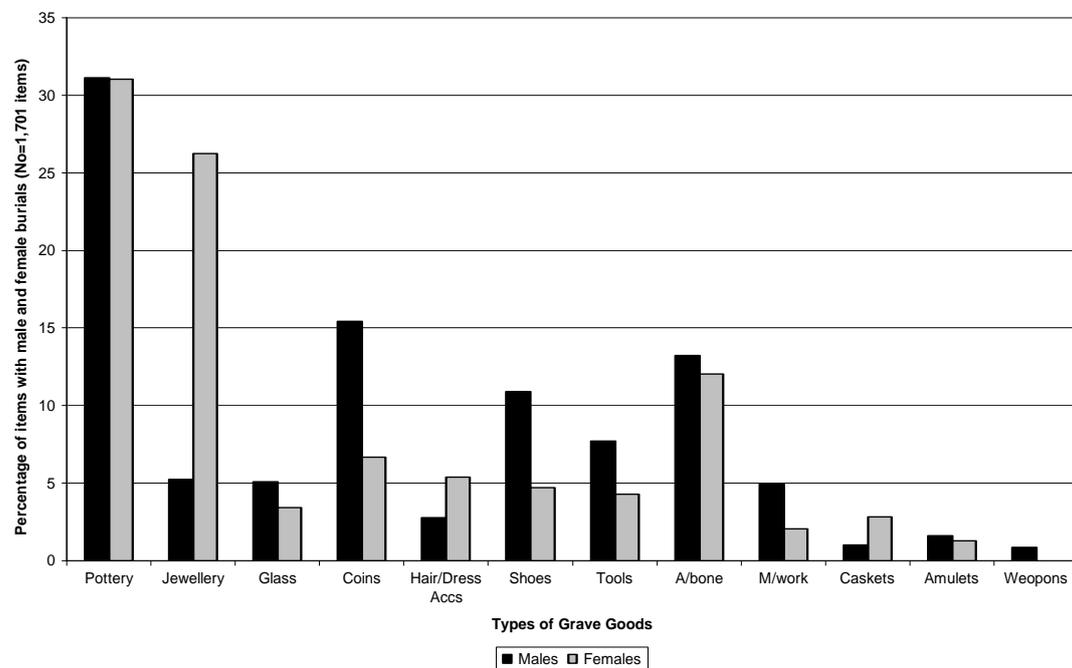
5.2: The gendered trajectory of the Romano-British life course

As indicated in section 5.1, the overall gender balance of the sample showed a slight male bias with a ratio of 1.2:1. The age distribution of gendered burials showed female age at death to be, on average, 10 years earlier than males. Amongst females age at death was concentrated at 20-39 years, whilst with males the focus was 30-49

years. This patterning has been attributed to reflecting the dangers of childbirth in antiquity (Molleson, 1989:36). On reaching old age, this gender variation was almost cancelled out, with only a slight bias towards elderly males at 50+ years (graph 3).

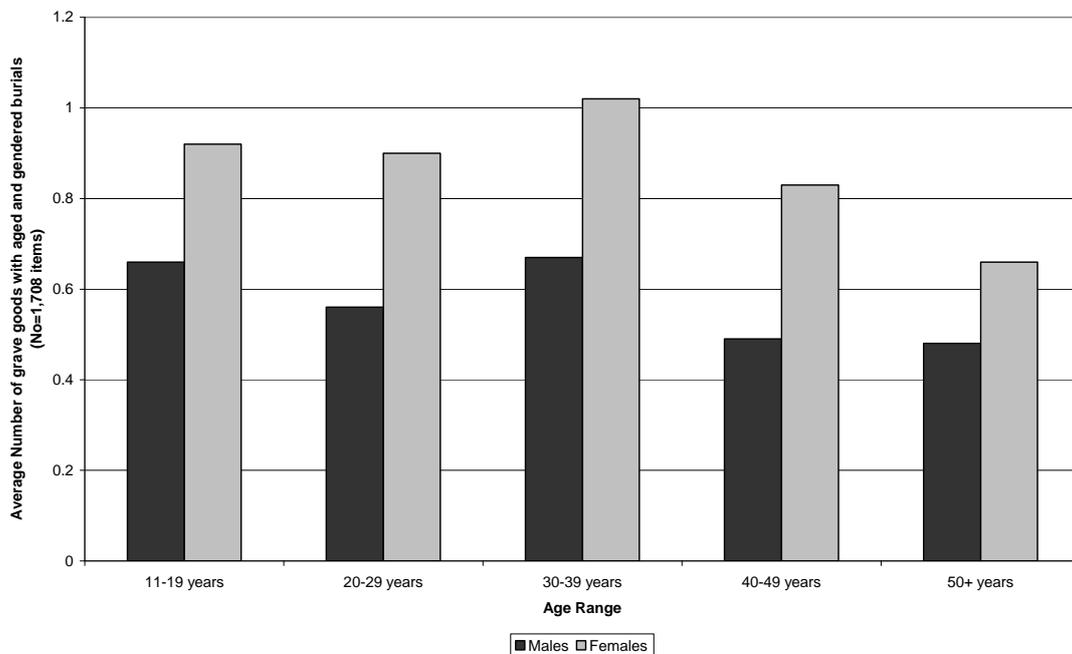


Graph 3: Distribution of aged and sexed burials.



Graph 4: Distribution of grave good types by gender.

Overall, grave good provision was concentrated with female burials across all age groups. Of a total of 1,708 grave goods with sexed burials, 59.8% (1,021/1,708 items) were placed with females, making an average of 0.97 items per burial. In contrast, males were provided with 40.2% of the total amount of grave goods, an average of 0.55 items per burial. Strong divisions along gender lines were visible in the types of grave goods provided. Whilst the frequency of pottery vessels and animal bone were evenly distributed between males and females, coins, shoes and tools/utensils were more frequently seen in male burials, and jewellery items were almost exclusively placed with females (graph 4). When adult grave good provision was examined by age and gender, provision was associated with young adults up to 30 years, and both genders recorded the highest quantity of provision with the 30-39 year age class (graph 5).



Graph 5: Average number of grave goods with aged and sexed burials.

Whilst males and females in the 30-39 year age category were emphasised in the quantity of grave goods provided, the widest range of material culture was placed at 20-29 years with both genders (tables 15 & 16). The emphasis was again with females; males at 20-29 years have a score of 4 and females a score of 6. This bias towards the female can be illustrated by two burials from Hertfordshire. The first, an early 3rd century casket cremation of a young female (B3) at Skeleton Green Cemetery B, Braughing, Hertfordshire, was accompanied by a glass phial, two pottery

vessels, a pair of hobnail shoes, a terracotta lamp and chicken bones (Borrill, 1981:312). The second, burial 5, was an inhumation of a 20-29 year old at Walls Field, Baldock, Hertfordshire, who was provisioned with two types of samian jug, glass, bird and pig bones, a brooch and a casket (Stead & Rigby, 1986:61). The emphasis towards the female in range of material culture was recorded across all age groups, with females averaging a score of 4, whilst males predominantly had a score of 3.

Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total g/goods
11-19 yrs	42	19	6	1	1	-	31
20-29 yrs	143	48	14	31	1	-	124
30-39 yrs	208	59	29	8	-	-	205
40-49yrs	209	57	14	3	1	-	124
50+ yrs	152	28	5	2	-	-	114

Table 15: Range of identifiable material culture with aged male burials.

Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total g/goods
11-19 yrs	46	14	7	1	1	-	-	54
20-29 yrs	153	41	22	12	2	2	1	207
30-39 yrs	150	48	30	11	9	-	-	254
40-49yrs	133	45	22	6	3	-	-	165
50+ yrs	84	25	6	3	1	-	-	78

Table 16: Range of identifiable material culture with aged female burials.

Category	Males	Females
H/hold	25%	30.8%
Personal	24.2%	28.5%
Feasting	16.7%	17.3%
Toilet	4.6%	8.5%
Votive	19.8%	11.8%
Tools	8.3%	2.7%
Military	0.96%	-
Leisure	0.4%	0.3%

Table 17: Percentage of functional categories with aged male and female burials.

The gendered analysis of functional categories showed a fairly even distribution of categories, with only slight gender variation in emphasis. These were the votive, tool and military items with males and household, personal and toilet categories with females (table 17). When the functional categories were examined by age and gender, distinct age patterns were seen in the analysis of the three most frequent categories of grave goods (table 18). With females, personal items dominated in the early stage of the gendered life course at 55.3% of the total up to 19 years, and 30.1% of the total at 20-29 years. A transition was apparent at 30-49 years, with household-related objects

dominating the assemblage at 35.9% (30-39 years) and 34.1% (40-49 years). This emphasis on household items declined sharply to 17.1% amongst females aged 50+ years and the provision of personal items rose to 35.5% for this age group.

A similar pattern was seen with aged male burials, but with a slight variation recorded in the timing of transitions. Here personal items in the early stage of the gendered life course was confined to those burials aged up to 19 years, forming 35.6% of the total functional categories for that age group. Between 20-39 years, the household category of grave goods formed a distinct block, before a transition was seen at 40-49 years, where personal items formed 33.1% of the grave goods. With elderly males, the provision of personal items declined, to be replaced by household items at 28.3% and votive items at 26.9%.

Gender	Age Class	Category 1	%	Category 2	%	Category 3	%
Male	<19 years	Personal	35.6%	Votive	29%	Household	16.1%
	20-29 yrs	Household	38.4%	Toiletry	25%	Personal	19.2%
	30-39 yrs	Household	29.5%	Personal	25%	Feasting	18.6%
	40-49 yrs	Personal	33.1%	Votive	20.3%	Household	19.5%
	50+ years	Household	28.3%	Votive	26.9%	Personal	19.4%
Female	<19 years	Personal	55.3%	Household	26.8%	Feasting	8.9%
	20-29 yrs	Personal	30.1%	Household	27.8%	Feasting	18%
	30-39 yrs	Household	35.9%	Personal	25.4%	Feasting	23.2%
	40-49 yrs	Household	34.1%	Feasting	21.7%	Votive	17%
	50+ years	Personal	35.5%	Votive	21%	Household	17.1%

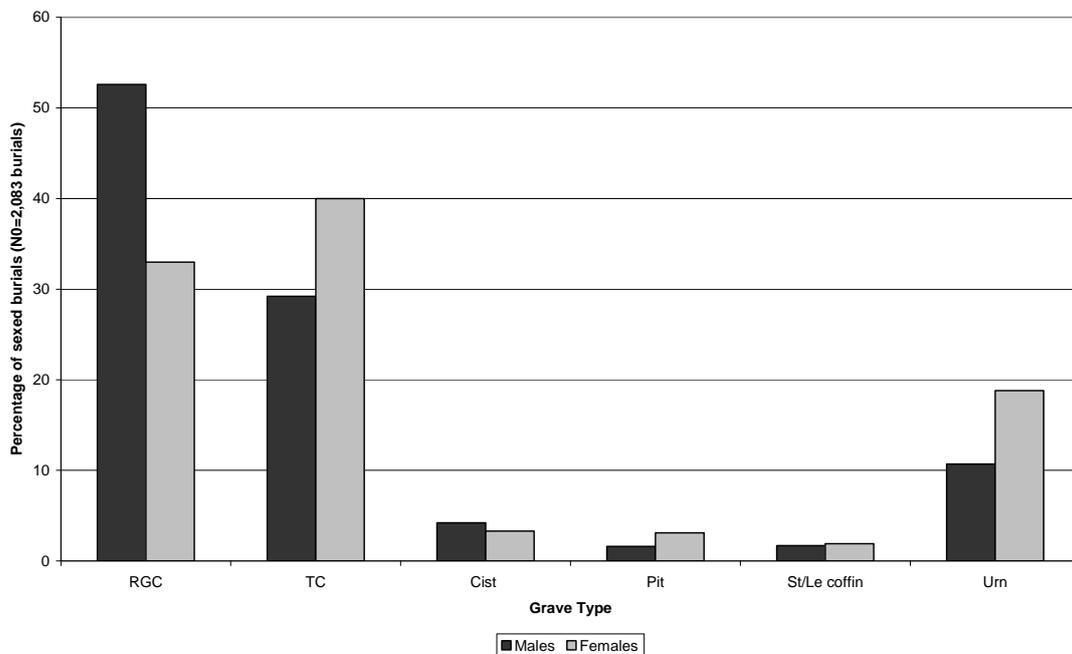
Table 18: Three most frequent functional categories with aged and sexed burials.

Gender	Age Range	Percentage
Male	<19 years	9.7%
	20-29 years	17.2%
	30-39 years	18.6%
	40-49 years	17.7%
	50+ years	10.4%
Female	<19 years	8.9%
	20-29 years	18%
	30-39 years	23.2%
	40-49 years	21.7%
	50+ years	6.8%

Table 19: Distribution of the feasting category of grave goods with aged and sexed burials.

Within the tri-partite pattern of the male and female life course further patterning could be seen. Firstly, there was a visible degree of similarity between the youngest and oldest gendered burials in the distribution of certain functional categories. As shown in table 18, the provision of votive objects with males was

concentrated up to 19 years and at 40-49 years, increasing again at 50+ years. Secondly, amongst females there was an association between young females and old females in the provision of personal items. At 50+ years, personal items formed the second-highest percentage of grave good types across all female age groups, second only to young females aged up to 19 years. Other age-related patterns were also visible. In the first two female age stages (up to 29 years), the distribution of functional categories was identical, in contrast to older females; suggesting that there was a degree of uniformity in the expression of the early female life course. Certain functional categories also showed age-based patterns. Whilst votive items were associated with young males (aged up to 19 years), they were also found with old adults of both sexes. In contrast, the feasting category was focussed on adulthood with both males and females, particularly 30-49 years (table 19).



Graph 6: Distribution of grave types with aged and sexed burials.

Analysis of grave type by gender showed an overall slight trend towards females being buried within timber coffins. Of 900 burials sexed as female, 40% (359 burials) were provided with a timber coffin, in comparison to males at 29.2% (345/1,183 male burials). Overall, males were provided with a more simplified type of grave treatment, with over half (52.6% or 622 burials) buried within a rectangular grave cut (RGC) (graph 6). When grave treatment was examined by age and gender there was little obvious age-based differentiation overall; with the exception of males

and females in the 40-49 year age group. Prior to this age group, grave treatment was predominantly within a rectangular grave cut, but prevalence of coffin use increased in male burial from 30.1% at 30-39 years to 49.3% at 40-49 years. A similar increase was also visible amongst females, from 35.8% to 45.7%. Amongst both males and females, the frequency of coffined burial declined at 50+ years (Appendix A: tables 72 & 73).

Burial position for both genders was predominantly supine with arms across or alongside the body. Of the 1,005 male burials with position recorded, 89.3% (898 burials) were supine, 6.2% were crouched (62 burials) and 4.5% (45 burials) were interred prone. Female burials showed a similar pattern with 88.6% (647/730 burials) in a supine position, but prone burial was more common with females at 6.7% (51 burials), compared to crouched burial at 4.4% (32 burials). However, when burial position was examined by age and gender, a slight degree of age-related gender patterning was recorded. Burial position was highly conservative with young and adult females up to 39 years, and this was most apparent within the first two stages of the female life course, where 98.1% of females aged up to 19 years, and 93.7% of females aged 20-29 years were buried supine (table 20). Female burial position became more variable with age; particularly in the prevalence of prone burial, increasing from 5.2% at 30-39 years to 13.3% (14/105 burials) at 50+ years. In contrast, male burial showed greater variability in the early stages of the life course up to 29 years, becoming slightly more conservative in mid-mature adulthood, particularly at 40-49 years where 92.2% (236/256 burials) were supine.

Gender	Age Range	Supine	Prone	Crouched
MALE	<19 years	84.6%	1.92%	13.5%
	20-29 years	81.5%	9.2%	9.3%
	30-39 years	88.25%	5.7%	6.1%
	40-49 years	92.2%	3.1%	4.7%
	50+ years	86.7%	6.3%	7%
FEMALE	<19 years	98.1%	0	1.9%
	20-29 years	93.7%	3.2%	3.1%
	30-39 years	91.9%	5.2%	2.3%
	40-49 years	86.1%	8.5%	5.4%
	50+ years	81.9%	13.3%	4.8%

Table 20: Burial position by age and gender.

5.2.1: Summary

The analysis of the overall data set indicates that a visible life course was expressed through burial; with the primary means of defining age identity being in variation of

the quantity and types of grave goods placed with the deceased. Overall the life course was divided into four broad categories: infancy (0-5 years), childhood (6-15 years), young and mid adulthood (16-39 years) and mature/old adulthood (40+ years). Within this overall life course trajectory, there was evidence for more subtle age thresholds. During infancy, burial treatment differed strongly between 0-1 year and 3-5 years, indicated by inclusion within cemetery contexts, and a growing formality in grave treatment. Another age threshold was visible between 40-49 years and 50+ years, evidenced through a further decline in levels of grave good provision and a restricted range of material culture.

Within the four-stage life course, the methodological analyses identified two key age stages. Amongst sub-adults the period between 6-15 years was considered socially significant, evidenced through the highest levels of grave goods across all age categories. In the adult burial sample, the 20-39 year age group was highlighted, with an emphasis, through a wide range of material culture types, at 30-39 years, suggesting that this decade may have represented the optimum adult age. In contrast, the position of the youngest and oldest age groups was more ambiguous. Low grave good provision, restricted range of material culture and informal patterns of burial characterised the earliest years. Whilst burial context was formal for old adults, they were also differentiated by the provision of limited quantities and types of grave goods and a minor trend towards greater variation in grave treatment and burial position.

A defined gender identity was also a visible aspect of the life course, particularly in regard to females. Rates of grave good provision favoured females across all stages, whilst the forms provided indicated a feminine burial assemblage of jewellery and items associated with dress and personal adornment. In contrast, gender with male burials was less overt and the grave goods placed with males, such as pottery, hobnail shoes and coins, were also placed with females and sub-adult burials. Similarly, there was a low rate of provision, in comparison to females, across all age groups may have reflected the dominant social position of males in Romano-British society. As the socially 'normative' gender there would have been less of a requirement to express or define the male social identity in burial.

Despite this, both the male and female life course showed a tripartite division into young-mid-old adult, although there was some variation in age thresholds, most noticeably within the analysis of the functional categories of grave goods. There was a

strong emphasis on the young female, particularly during the 11-29 year period, evidenced through a high provision of items related to personal appearance, an overall high grave good average and a formalised grave treatment, which differentiated young females from older women. This suggests that young females were regarded as a socially significant age group. As women aged, there was a change in grave-good focus towards household-related objects, whilst a greater variation in the functional categories of grave goods and an increasing flexibility in burial position suggest an age-related tendency towards a less socially conservative burial pattern. Whilst the male grave good pattern also focussed on younger males, the emphasis was primarily on the 20-39 year age group. However, within this stage of the life course, the range of material culture and average rate of provision again highlighted the 30-39 year decade as a key age stage for males.

Old adulthood amongst both genders was defined by a decline in grave good provision, a restricted material culture, and an age-related increase in items with a votive function. However, what was striking about the expression of male and female old age was a degree of similarity in expression to the youngest gendered age stages. Elderly females recorded an increase in personal items similar to females aged less than 19 years, whilst elderly males recorded a similar percentage of votive objects to young males. This may indicate the existence of a conceptual link between the young and the old, suggesting that, on reaching old age, elderly males and females were equated with, or represented as, sub-adults in burial.

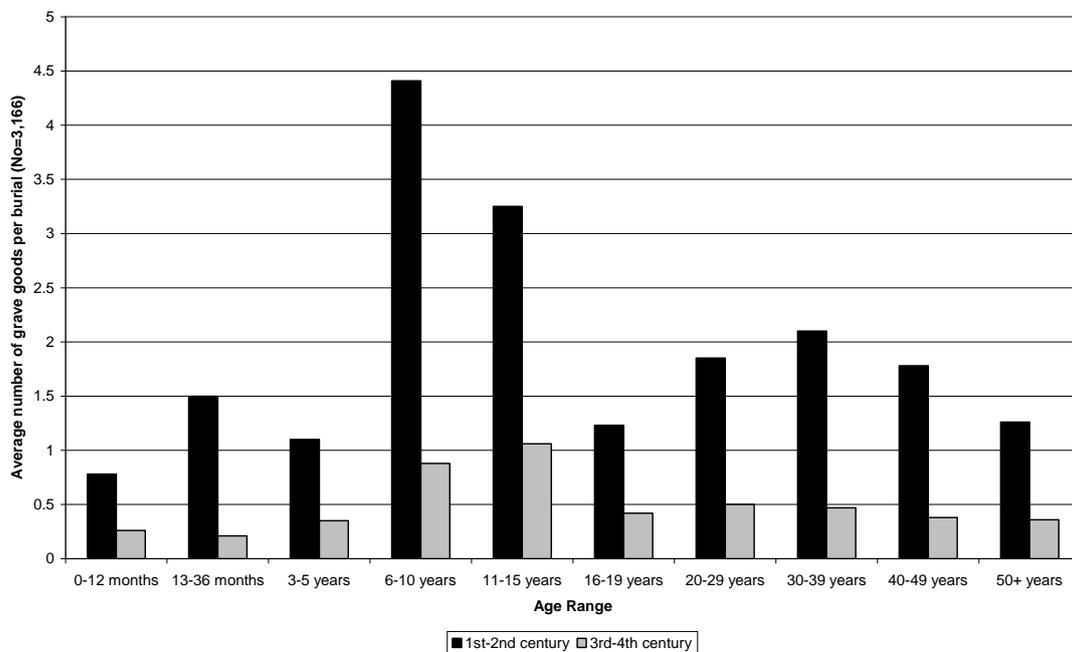
5.3: Temporal variation across the life course

The evidence from section 5.1 and 5.2 summarised above has shown that a life course was visible in burial, and that gender was an inherent factor in how the life course was expressed. However, the age grouping identified may not have remained static throughout the course of the Roman period, and this section explores the evidence for temporal variation across the life course. A total of 4,261 burials were securely dated. The data was divided into early Roman (1st-2nd centuries), producing a total of 897 burials, and late Roman (3rd-4th centuries) producing 3,364 burials. These were then compared by age and gender to identify any variation across time. The strong bias towards the later Roman period is a consequence of the almost universal practice of inhumation during this period, and the resultant presence of easily aged and sexed burials, as shown in table 21.

	Cremation	Inhumation
1 st century	67%	33%
2 nd century	72.4%	27.6%
3 rd century	23.4%	76.5%
4 th century	2.2%	97.8%

Table 21: Percentage of cremation and inhumation burials in early and late Roman periods.

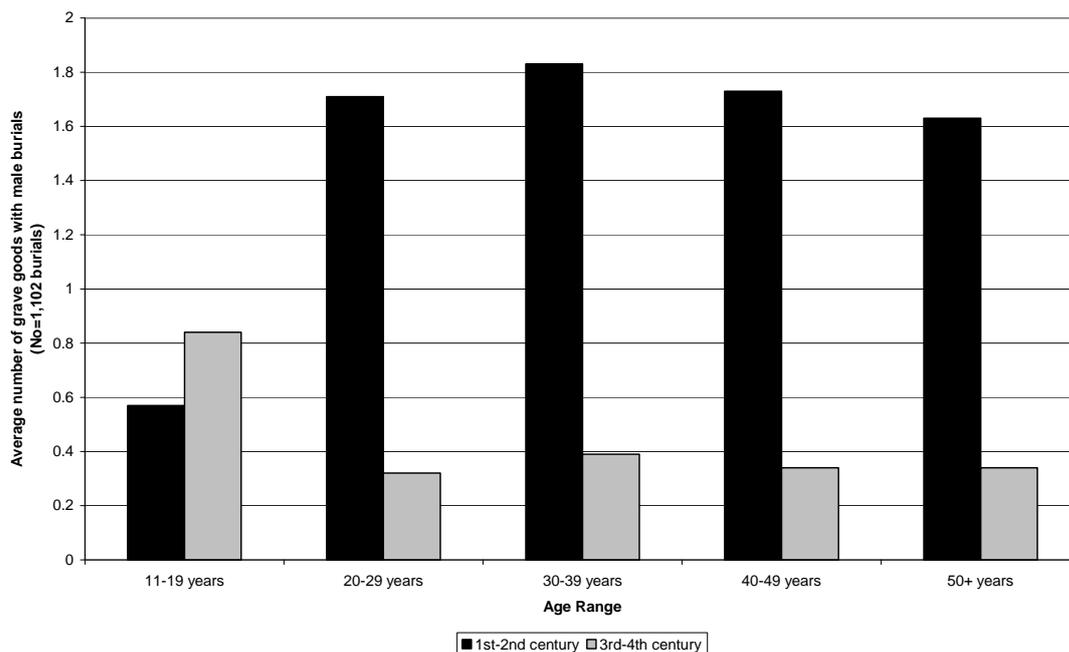
Whilst the overall total amount of grave goods with aged and sexed burials was slightly higher in the later period at 1,205 items compared with 1,093 items, the average quantity of grave goods per burial was in the early Roman period at 1.89 items compared to an average of 0.46 during the later Roman period. This was due to the high number of burials in the later Roman data set and a declining use of grave goods in 3rd-4th centuries.



Graph 7: Average number of grave goods with all aged burials in the early and late Roman periods.

A total of 3,166 dated burials were securely aged, with examples of all age groups represented in both time periods. Overall, there was little difference in the overall pattern of grave good provision across the life course between early and late Roman periods, and the four distinct age bands relating to infancy, childhood, adulthood and old adulthood was visible in both data sets (graph 7). In both the early and the late Roman periods, the 0-5 year age group was marked by a low overall

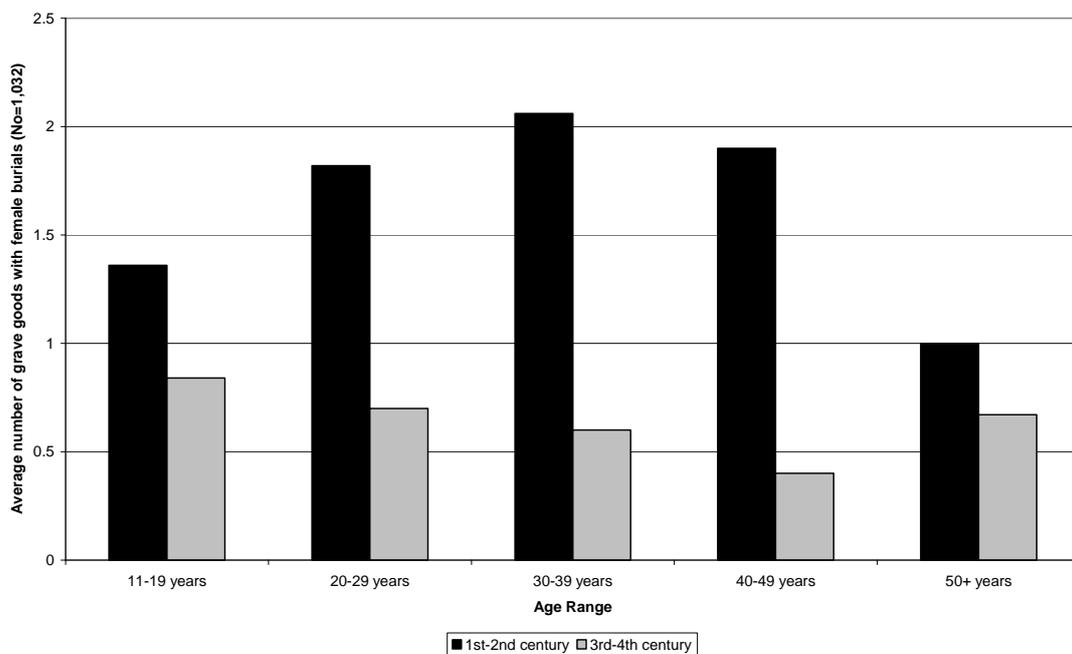
average of grave goods, which increased sharply at 6-15 years. Both in the early and later Roman data sets, the emphasis was on the younger adults (16-39 years), whilst the final age stage encompassed mature/old adults (40+ years) and was marked by a steady decline in the average number of grave goods. Within this four-stage life course only slight temporal variation was seen; at 6-15 years and at 20-39 years. In the 1st/2nd century slightly greater emphasis was placed at 6-10 years, whilst during the later Roman period the peak of grave good provision was at 11-15 years. Similarly, 30-39 years was highlighted in the early Roman data set, but the average number of grave goods was slightly higher at 20-29 years in the 3rd-4th centuries. The analysis of the range of material culture indicated a slight transition towards younger sub-adults in the 3rd-4th centuries. In the early Roman data-set, the 11-15 year age stage had the widest range of material culture, changing to 6-10 years in the later Roman period. In contrast, material culture provision remained constant at 30-39 years, in the early and late data-sets (Appendix A: table 76).



Graph 8: Average number of grave goods with aged male burials in early and late Roman periods.

A total of 2,233 of the securely dated burials were assigned to a gender. In the early Roman period male burials accounted for 42.3% of the total (156/366 dated burials), while females accounted for 57.7% (211/366). In contrast, males predominated in the later Roman sample, at 56% (1,046/1,867 dated burials) to 44% (821 burials) of

females. Grave good provision with both genders was concentrated on the early Roman period and showed a distinct curve with provision for both males and females peaking at 30-39 years. In contrast, the later Roman period is less clear. With males grave good provision was concentrated earlier, at 11-19 years, and there was a less visible arc peaking at 30-39 years, and there was no differentiation in rates of provision amongst older males (graph 8). In the later Roman period, female grave good provision was also concentrated earlier at 11-29 years, before declining slightly in mid-mature adulthood (30-49 years). However, elderly females in the later Roman period showed an increase in grave good provision at 0.67 items per burial, and this age group was more differentiated from mature females (40-49 years) than with males of the same age (graph 9).



Graph 9: Average number of grave goods with aged female burials in early and late Roman periods.

A comparison between the early and later Roman distribution of the functional categories of grave goods showed a clear change in emphasis from household and feasting items in the early Roman period, to personal and votive items in the 3rd-4th centuries. This transition in grave good function was visible with both genders, but was most apparent amongst females. Here, there was a transition from household-related objects across all age categories. When compared by age and gender, male

burials in the early Roman data-set recorded only one variation in functional categories. With males aged less than <19 years, personal items were the most frequent category of grave goods. A transition to household and feasting related items was recorded at 20-29 years and this remained constant throughout all adult age stages. During the later Roman period, greater age variation in categories was seen, particularly during the early and later stages of the life course. Whilst the functional categories with 30-49 year age groups remained constant, transitional stages were visible at 20-29 years and at 50+ years, the latter recording an increased percentage of votive items (table 22).

Date	Age	Category 1	%	Category 2	%	Category 3	%
1 st -2 nd c.	<19 yrs	Personal	50%	Household	25%	Feasting	25%
	20-29 yrs	Household	53.3%	Feasting	24.4%	Personal	11.1%
	30-39 yrs	Household	41.1%	Feasting	31.5%	Personal	10.9%
	40-49 yrs	Household	39.1%	Feasting	30.4%	Personal	13%
	50+ yrs	Household	54.8%	Feasting	38.7%	Tools	3.2%
3 rd -4 th c.	<19 yrs	Personal	40.9%	Votive	22.7%	Household	18.2%
	20-29 yrs	Household	29.6%	Personal	27.8%	Votive	24.1%
	30-39 yrs	Personal	37.3%	Votive	24.2%	Household	19.3%
	40-49 yrs	Personal	30.5%	Votive	29.2%	Tools	20.8%
	50+ yrs	Votive	38.3%	Personal	25.5%	Household	14.9%

Table 22: Most frequent functional categories with aged male burials over time

Date	Age	Category 1	%	Category 2	%	Category 3	%
1 st -2 nd c.	<19 yrs	Household	38.5%	Feasting	30.8%	Personal	30.7%
	20-29 yrs	Household	38.9%	Feasting	29.6%	Personal	13%
	30-39 yrs	Household	50%	Feasting	35.9%	Personal	6.5%
	40-49 yrs	Household	50.7%	Feasting	30.4%	Toilet	7.2%
	50+ yrs	Personal	45.4%	Household	36.4%	Feasting	18.2%
3 rd -4 th c.	<19 yrs	Personal	54.5%	Household	22.7%	Votive	9.1%
	20-29 yrs	Personal	41.6%	Household	18.2%	Votive	18.2%
	30-39 yrs	Personal	45.4%	Household	22.7%	Votive	11.4%
	40-49 yrs	Votive	32.2%	Personal	25.4%	Household	18.6%
	50+ yrs	Personal	45.8%	Votive	31.2%	Household	10.4%

Table 23: Most frequent functional categories with aged female burials over time

Amongst the female data set, the comparison in functional categories of grave goods showed less aged-based variation (table 23). In the 1st-2nd centuries household and feasting objects predominated and the only visible difference was a transition at 50+ years, when household and feasting items were superseded by the provision of

personal objects. In the 3rd-4th centuries female burials recorded a similar pattern of grave good categories during early and mid-adulthood (up to 39 years), with greater variation visible in older adulthood. This greater variation amongst females included a concentration of votive items at 40-49 years, which reflects that of males aged 50+ years.

In contrast to the early Roman period, the gendered patterning of grave good provision in the 3rd-4th centuries indicates a possible differentiation in the trajectory of the life course. Functional categories of grave goods with males remained stable at 30-49 years, followed by a transition at 50+ years. Females recorded stability up to 39 years, followed by a transition at 40-49 years. A later transition to personal items at 50+ years, following the early Roman pattern, may suggest the existence of a further age stage only associated with elderly females.

5.3.1. Summary

Whilst the analysis of the life course over time showed evidence for the expression of a four-fold life course equating to infancy, childhood, young adulthood and mature/old adulthood, a degree of variation was visible. In the early Roman period grave good provision was high across all age groups, and the average number of grave goods showed a distinct arc, with provision amongst males and females peaking at 30-39 years. The types of grave goods provided were fairly uniform during this period, being predominantly household or feasting items. In contrast, the later Roman period showed more variation with change in categories to personal and votive items, and an increased concentration of grave goods with young males and females.

The burials from the 3rd/4th centuries also showed a greater degree of variation pertaining to old adults. Whilst the quantity of provision amongst older males was not sharply differentiated from younger males, more variation in grave good types was recorded during the early stages of the life course, whilst an age-related increase in votive items, particularly at 50+ years, may have marked the transition to old age. In contrast, the higher rates of provision and stability in functional categories up to 39 years suggest that the early stages of the female life course were significant.

The transition in emphasis towards younger adults in the later Roman period may have led to an extended period of fluidity pertaining to older females. If the provision of votive items indicated a transition to older adult status, this transition occurred a decade earlier with females than with males. The increase in grave good

provision and focus on personal items at 50+ years suggests a further age stage with elderly females, indicating a degree of ambiguity in the age identity of this female age stage.

5.4: The regional life course

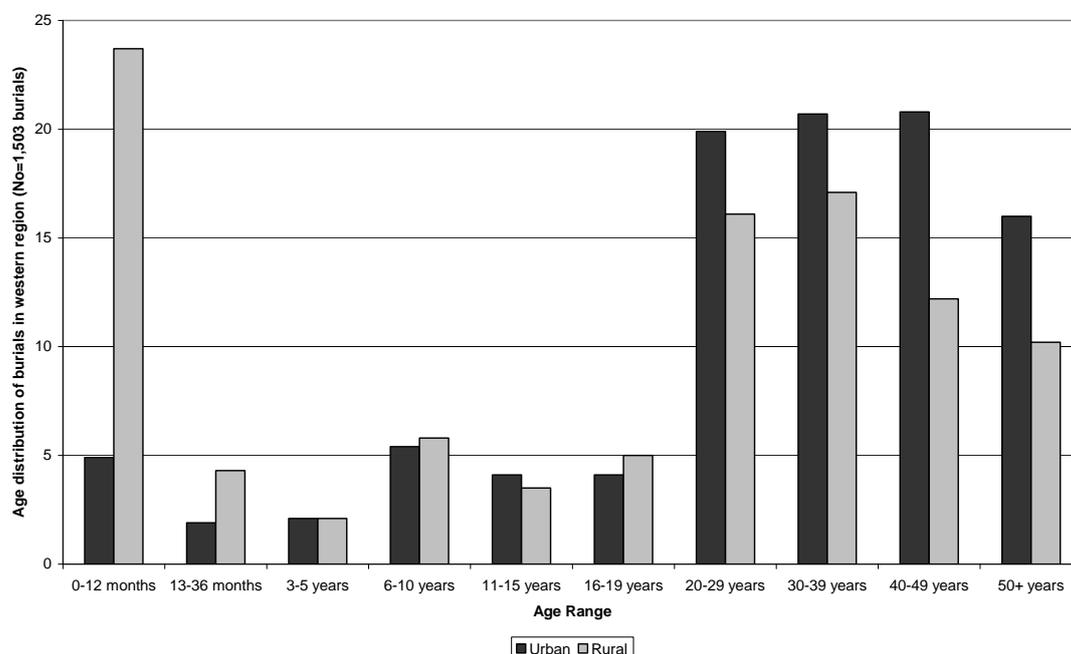
Within the analysis of the overall data set (section 5.1) a four-fold life course was visible and age identity was primarily displayed through variations in grave good provision. However, within the overall four-stage life course, gender was an inherent factor in the expression of age identity and in the timing of transitions across age stages. Similarly, temporal variation in the expression of the life course was visible. Further influences which may have impacted on the life course would have come from the immediate regional and social environment, and this section examines the impact of regional and urban/rural identity on age construction. As discussed in chapter 3, the data utilised was taken from a variety of urban and rural contexts in the west and east of southern Britain. Section 5.4.1 examines the western data-set, contrasting urban and rural patterns of burial and evidence for gender variation in age identity, whilst section 5.4.2 examines the social construction of age in the eastern data-set.

5.4.1: The western data-set: Regional identity and the urban/rural life course

The data from the west of the province comprised a total of 1,946 burials of which 39.2% (763 burials) were from the urban contexts of Gloucester and Cirencester, and 60.8% (1,182 burials) were from rural areas. All age groups were represented in the sample; sub-adults formed 28.9% (568 burials) of the sample, aged adults 47.5% (935 burials) and un-aged 23.6% (464 burials). In the western sample, a total of 1,168 burials were sexed; 58.3% (681 burials) were classed as male and 41.7% (487) were female, giving a ratio of 1.4:1.

On a contextual level, the gender distribution was almost equal within the rural sample, with males forming 51.6% (345/669 sexed burials) and females, 48.4% (324 burials), giving a ratio of 1.1:1. In the urban areas, however, 67.3% (336/499 burials) were males and 32.7% (163 burials) female giving a ratio of 2:1; a pattern in urban burial noted elsewhere, and may represent differential gender patterns of burial (Davison, 2000:232). The age distribution of urban and rural burials showed a similar distribution, with a slightly higher percentage of adults in urban contexts and an over-

representation of the 0-1 year age category in rural contexts (graph 10). This result relates to the high numbers of infants being buried within domestic spaces, villa sites and other structures, and is therefore may represent a sampling bias.



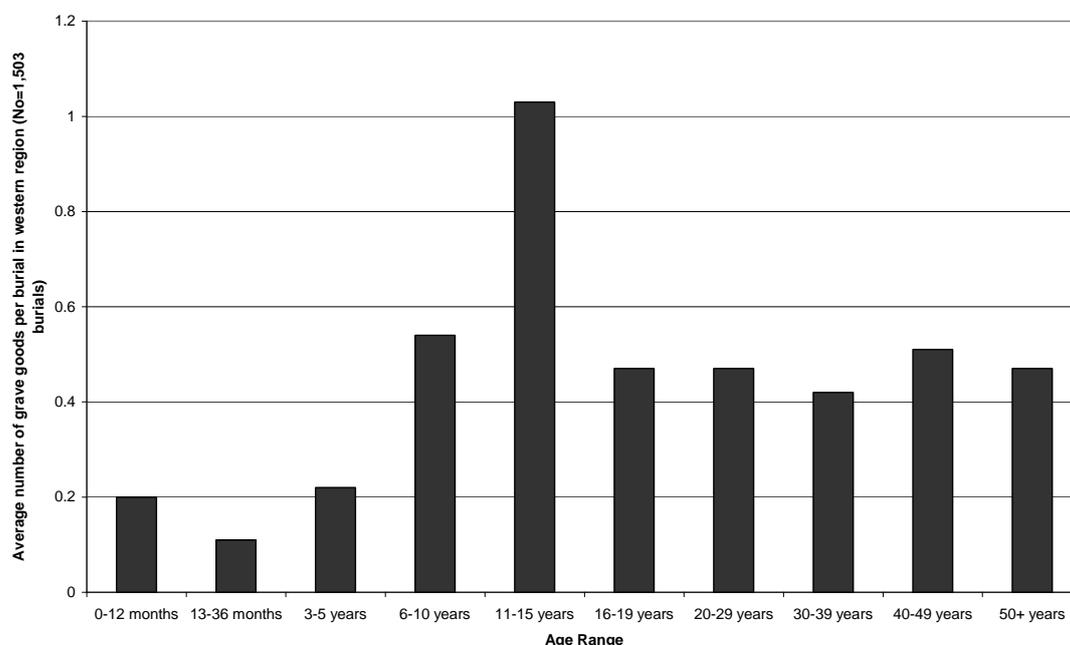
Graph 10: Western region: Age distribution of urban and rural burials.

Grave good type	Urban % of total	No of items	Rural % of total	No of items
Coins	39.1%	111	22.1%	117
Jewellery	11.8%	34	13.2%	70
Pottery	13%	37	11.3%	60
Hobnail shoes	6.3%	18	14.7%	78
Metalwork	8.8%	25	2.8%	15
Animal bone	4.2%	12	11.9%	63
Utensils	5.6%	16	14.4%	76
Dress accessories	6%	17	4.9%	26
Glass	3.5%	10	2.6%	14
Amulets	0.3%	1	1.9%	10
Weaponry	1%	3	-	0

Table 24: Western region: Distribution of grave goods in urban and rural burials.

The data-set from the western region produced a total of 813 individual grave goods and coins were the predominant type of items provided. Differentiation in the distribution of grave goods was recorded between urban and rural contexts. The greatest percentage (65.1% 529/813 items) was placed with rural burials, whilst 34.9% (284 items) were excavated from the urban sites. Contextual variation was seen in grave types, with coins predominating in the urban sample, most particularly at

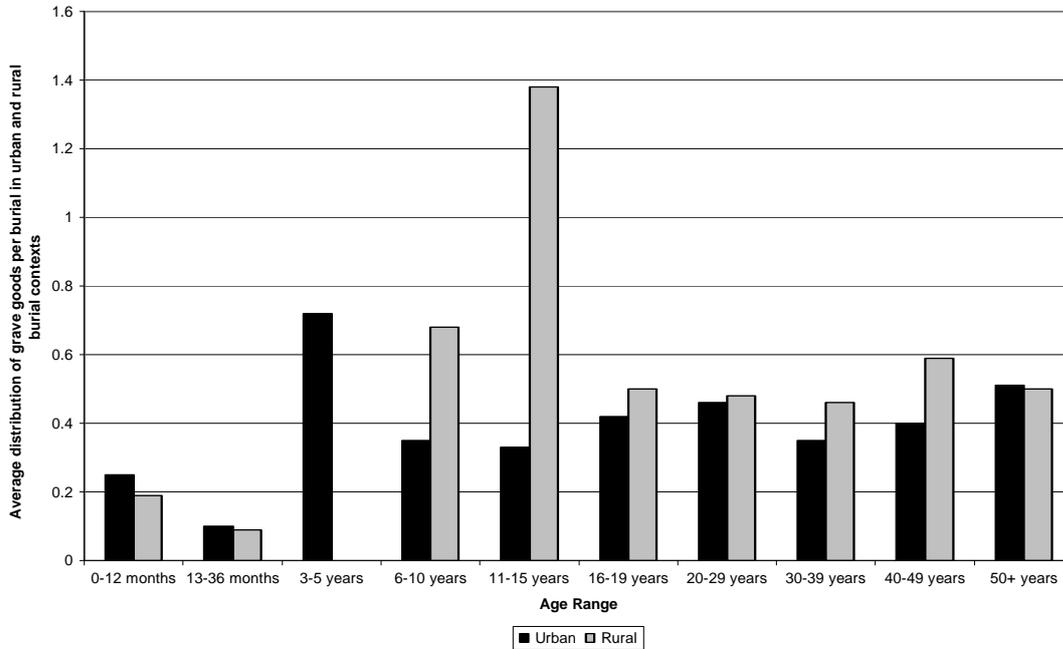
Cirencester (table 24). For example, the burial of a 4th century unsexed adult with 9 coins placed at the skull (McWhirr *et al*, 1982: M.f CO3-4). In contrast, hobnail shoes, animal bone and metalwork were more common in rural contexts, illustrated by G17 at Frocester Court, Gloucestershire, the 4th century burial of a 50+ year old female provided with hobnail shoes and cattle remains (Price, 2000:207).



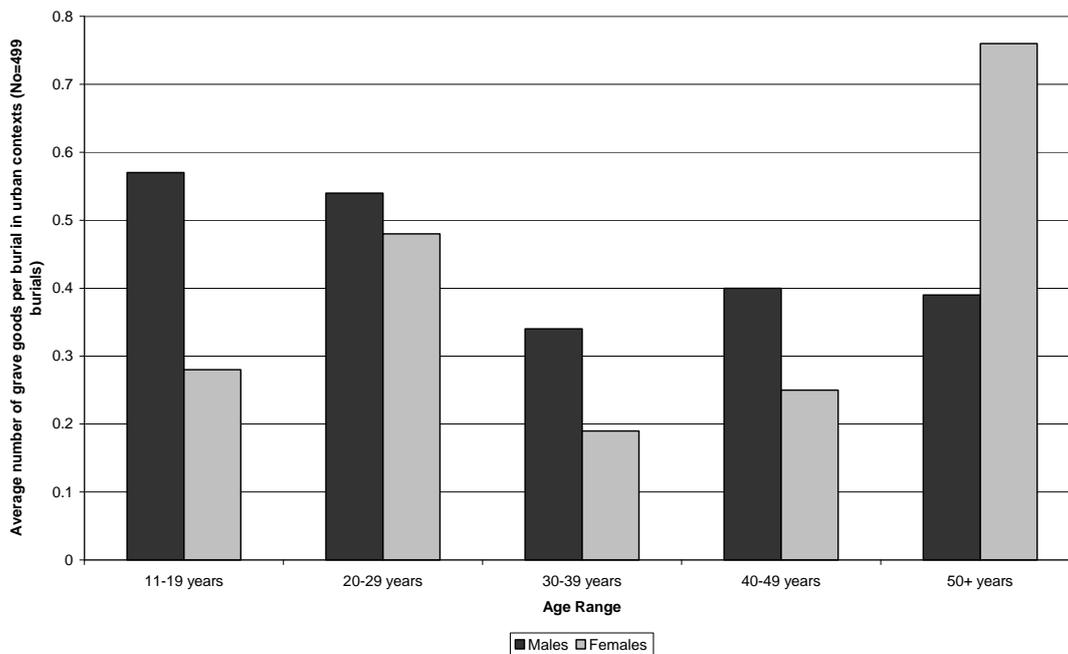
Graph 11: Western region: Average number of grave goods with aged burials.

Grave goods were found with all age groups in the western sample, but peaks of provision overall were recorded at 11-15 years for sub-adults with an average of 1.03 items per burial, and amongst adults, at 40-49 years, with an average of 0.51 (graph 11). The average distribution of grave goods per burial shows three distinct phases: the period of 0-5 years marked by a low distribution of grave goods; 6-15 years marked by an increase in grave goods provision, and 16-39 years, where grave good provision declines and the ‘adult’ pattern of an average of 0.4 items per burial begins.

A possible fourth phase appears at 40-49 years, when grave good provision increases slightly, but this phase is less marked than the clear divisions amongst sub-adults. When divided into urban and rural contexts, the average number of items per burial revealed strong patterns of variation within the sub-adult life course. In urban contexts the 3-5 year age category was emphasised, and provision declined amongst the 6-15 year age group. In contrast, the rural sample showed a distinct emphasis at 6-15 years, particularly with the 11-15 year age stage (graph 12).



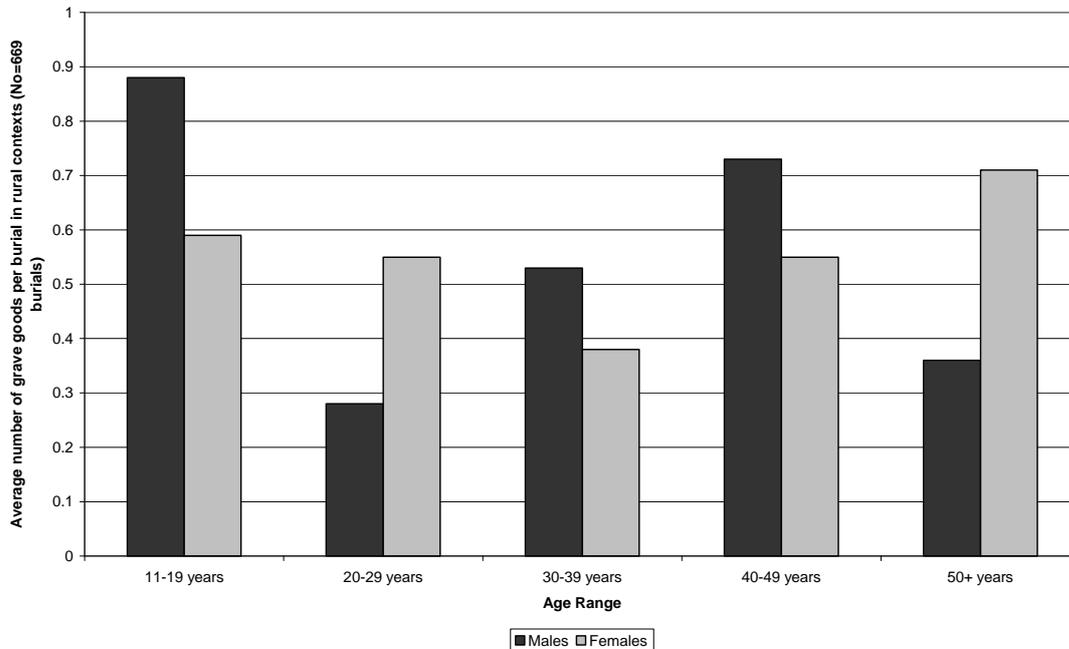
Graph 12: Western region: Average number of grave goods with aged burials in urban and rural contexts.



Graph 13: Western region: Average number of grave goods with aged males and females burials in urban contexts.

In the western region, gender variation in the life course was seen in the average distribution of grave goods per burial. In urban contexts, male grave good provision was concentrated at 11-29 years. In contrast, female provision was concentrated at 20-29 years and again at 50+ years (graph 13). In rural contexts, the average number of grave goods with male burials was focussed again at 11-19 years, but revealed a

sharper decline at 20-29 years. The rural male burial pattern also showed a peak at 40-49 years, before declining sharply at 50+ years. Female rural burials showed a concentration at 11-29 years, and again at 50+ years (graph 14). This pattern of high provision amongst elderly females suggests a regional, rather than contextual, pattern in the burial of elderly females.



Graph 14: Western region: Average number of grave goods with aged males and females burials in rural contexts.

AGE	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total grave goods
0-12 months	227	24	2	2	-	1	-	48
13-36 months	48	1	2	1	-	-	-	6
3-5 years	26	4	1	-	-	-	-	7
6-10 years	67	10	3	5	-	-	-	46
11-15 years	36	11	7	1	-	-	-	31
16-19 years	46	26	5	-	-	-	-	31
20-29 years	191	49	14	4	-	-	-	117
30-39 years	198	48	23	2	-	-	-	114
40-49 years	153	53	18	1	-	-	-	115
50+ years	137	26	13	4	-	1	-	87

Table 25: Western region: Range of material culture with aged burials.

The range of identifiable material culture score in the western sample revealed that the greatest concentrations of material culture were placed with the 6-15 year age group amongst sub-adults, and at 20-39 years amongst adults (table 25). Two outliers,

with a score of 5, were recorded with the youngest and oldest age groups, but these two burials did not differentiate from the overall pattern of provision with older sub-adults and young adults. The range of identifiable material culture in the western region also showed a degree of gender differentiation. Amongst males, the widest range of material culture was found with young males (<19 years) with a score of 4. This is highlighted by late 4th century burial B2 from Coldharbour Farm, Crowmarsh, Oxfordshire, interred with a coin, casket, flint pieces and ironwork (Clarke, 1995:75). However, the greatest concentration of grave goods was with older males (30-50+ years), with a slight emphasis at 30-39 years with this broad category (Appendix A: table 82). For example the inhumation of a 30-39 year old male (D7) at Sea Mills, Bristol was buried prone with a copper alloy stud, perhaps from wearing apparel on the upper body, a single iron nail placed between the front teeth and a pair of hobnail shoes, worn at burial (Bennett, 1985:18-20).

In contrast, analysis of the range of material culture with female burials in the western region revealed an emphasis on younger females (11-29 years) and again at 50+ years (Appendix A: table 82). Within the 11-29 year age group, the focus was at 20-29 years with a material culture score of 3. For example, a very late Roman burial of a 20-29 year old female at the rural cemetery at Henley Wood, Yatton, Somerset was provisioned with a coin, a pair of hobnail shoes and a finger ring (Watts & Leach, 1996:M.f. 14). At 30-49 years the range of material culture score amongst females dropped to two, but rose again to an average of three at 50+ years. The urban and rural analysis both recorded an overall concentration of material culture at 20-39 years, and a further slight emphasis at 50+ years, but a degree of contextual variation was recorded at the beginning of the life course (Appendix A: table 83). Within the urban sample, the range of material culture increased during the second decade (11-19 years), whilst in the rural data set the widest range of material culture was concentrated at 6-10 years.

Overall, the functional categories of grave goods in the western region recorded stability in category types between 16-39 years, with personal items, votive objects and household-related objects predominating. Variation in this pattern was seen with sub-adults (0-15 years) and older adults, particularly at 40-49 years, where votive items predominated (Appendix A: table 84). However, when the distribution of functional categories was examined by urban and rural context, a tri-partite life course was visible, divided into sub-adulthood, adulthood and old age. Within urban contexts

this was strongly defined. Here, the distribution of categories at 11-19 years through to 40-49 years was predominantly votive and personal items, and age-based variation was only seen with sub-adults (0-10 years) and old adults (50+ years) (table 26). In contrast, the rural sample recorded a less defined, but still visible, three-fold pattern.

Whilst the 20-39 year stage recorded the greatest similarity, suggesting a distinct age stage, age based variation was visible in the first two decades and with older adults. When functional categories in both contexts were contrasted by age, patterns were visible which may have been regionally age-specific. For example, in the 0-10 year age group, feasting, personal and votive categories were the most common categories of grave goods in both urban and rural contexts. Similarly, with old adults, personal, votive and household items predominated in both samples.

Context	Age Range	Category 1	%	Category 2	%	Category 3	%
URBAN	0-10 yrs	Feasting	31.2%	Personal	31.2%	Votive	12.%
	11-19 yrs	Votive	31.2%	Personal	31.2%	Tools	25%
	20-29 yrs	Votive	34.3%	Personal	31.4%	Household	20%
	30-39 yrs	Votive	31.2%	Personal	28.1%	Household	15.6%
	40-49 yrs	Votive	38.5%	Tools	25.2%	Personal	15.4%
	50+ yrs	Personal	38.4%	Votive	32.6%	Household	11.8%
RURAL	0-10 yrs	Feasting	28.1%	Personal	26.6%	Votive	21.9%
	11-19 yrs	Votive	24.4%	Household	19.5%	Personal	17.2%
	20-29 yrs	Personal	33.3%	Votive	22.2%	Household	20.4%
	30-39 yrs	Personal	41.2%	Votive	19.1%	Tools	14.7%
	40-49 yrs	Votive	29.6%	Personal	27.8%	Household	13%
	50+ years	Personal	51.6%	Votive	24.2%	Household	9.1%

Table 26: Western region: Most frequent functional categories with aged urban and rural burials.

The gender analysis of functional categories in the western regional sample showed strong evidence for gender variation. The patterning with male burials was divided between sub-adults and young adults (up to 39 years), with predominantly personal, votive and household items and older adults, provisioned with the votive, personal and tool categories (table 27). The female burials recorded greater age variation, suggesting a three-stage life course and a similar pattern in the provision of personal items between sub-adults and old females. Whilst the provision of personal items was the most common form of grave goods up to 39 years, they were particularly associated with females up to 19 years and greater variation was visible with the other categories in this age group.

Gender	Age	Cat. 1	%	Cat. 2	%	Cat. 3	%
Male	<19 yrs	Personal	42.3%	Votive	34.6%	Household	11.5%
	20-29 yrs	Personal	32.4%	Votive	27%	Household	21.6%
	30-39 yrs	Personal	40.3%	Votive	27.4%	Household	9.7%
	40-49 yrs	Votive	35.3%	Personal	27.1%	Tools	23.5%
	50+ yrs	Votive	40.6%	Personal	34.4%	Tools	18.7%
Female	<19 yrs	Personal	52%	Household	24%	Votive 8%	8%
	20-29 yrs	Personal	40.9%	Votive	25%	Household	18.2%
	30-39 yrs	Personal	37.9%	Votive	24.1%	Household	17.2%
	40-49 yrs	Votive	37.8%	Personal	21.6%	Household	13.5%
	50+ yrs	Personal	60.6%	Votive	21.2%	Household	12.1%

Table 27: Western region: Most frequent functional categories with aged and sexed burials.

Between 20-39 years the most frequent categories remained constant with a similar percentage of items in each category. A transition to predominantly votive items was visible at 40-49 years, before a return to personal items at 50+ years, where this category formed 60.6% of the total, a pattern that closely reflected the high provision (52%) with sub-adult females. The analysis of functional categories by age and gender in the urban context again showed a strong preference towards votive items for adult males and personal items for females (tables 28). Females in the urban data set again showed a transition at 40-49 years, marked by an increase in votive objects, and a sharp increase in personal items at 50+ years. This pattern in older female burial was also visible within the gendered rural analysis (table 29). In contrast to the urban pattern, there was a less distinct gender variation in the most common functional category across age groups, with personal items predominating.

Context	Age	Cat. 1	%	Cat. 2	%	Cat. 3	%
Male	0-29 yrs	Personal	34.5%	Votive	24.1%	Household	24.1%
	30-39 yrs	Votive	40%	Personal	22.7%	Household	13.3%
	40-49 yrs	Votive	41.3%	Tools	31%	Personal	17.2%
	50+ yrs	Votive	44.4%	Personal	27.8%	Tools	16.7%
Female	0-29 yrs	Personal	42.8%	Votive	35.7%	Household	7.1%
	30-39 yrs	Personal	40%	Votive	20%	Household	20%
	40-49 yrs	Votive	44.4%	Tools	22.2%	Personal	11.1%
	50+ yrs	Personal	61.5%	Votive	23.1%	Household	7.7%

Table 28: Western region: Most frequent functional categories with aged male and female urban burials.

Context	Age	Cat. 1	%	Cat. 2	%	Cat. 3	%
Male	0-29 yrs	Personal	40.6%	Votive	28.1%	Household	15.6%
	30-39 yrs	Personal	45.4%	Votive	27.3%	Household	9.1%
	40-49 yrs	Personal	33.3%	Votive	29.2%	Tools	16.7%
	50+ yrs	Personal	42.8%	Votive	35.8%	Tools	21.4%
Female	0-29 yrs	Personal	45.4%	Household	23.6%	Votive	16.4%
	30-39 yrs	Personal	37.5%	Votive	25%	Household	16.7%
	40-49 yrs	Votive	32.1%	Personal	28.4%	Household	14.3%
	50+ yrs	Personal	60%	Votive	25%	Household	10%

Table 29: Western region: Most frequent functional categories with aged male and female rural burials.

In the overall western regional sample, inhumation was the predominant burial rite and cremation, where known, was almost entirely found in urban contexts. A total of 1,321 burials of all age groups within the overall western sample had grave treatment recorded and of these 3% (40/1,321 burials) were cremations. When examined by age, grave treatment in the western regional sample showed a clear division at around one year (Appendix A: table 87). Up to one year, 60.2% of neonates and young infants were primarily interred within shallow pits. From one year, a growing formality was apparent, with inhumation within a rectangular grave cut increasing to 67.5% of the total grave treatment at 1-5 years, and this form of grave treatment was the norm for all older age categories.

Context	Age	NTC	RGC	CIST	PIT	ST/COF	URN
URBAN	0-5 yrs	19.5%	63.4%	-	7.3%	4.9%	4.9%
	6-10 yrs	30.8%	50%	3.8%	-	-	15.4%
	11-19 yrs	39%	41.5%	12.2%	2.4%	2.4%	2.4%
	20-29 yrs	25.5%	53.9%	1%	1%	1%	14.7%
	30-39 yrs	25.7%	62.4%	2%	-	2%	7.9%
	40-49 years	35.6%	55.4%	3%	-	3%	3%
	50+ years	31.6%	62%	3.8%	-	1.3%	1.3%
RURAL	0-5 years	2.2%	31.3%	13.5%	52.6%	-	0.4%
	6-10 years	16.4%	70.9%	8.8%	10.5%	-	-
	11-19 years	28%	58.7%	5.3%	5.3%	-	2.7%
	20-29 years	22.1%	67.1%	5.4%	1.3%	3.3%	0.7%
	30-39 years	20.7%	69.8%	6.9%	1.2%	1.2%	-
	40-49 years	22.8%	70.4%	6.9%	-	2.6%	-
	50+ years	25.5%	57.4%	13.8%	2.1%	0	0

Table 30: Western region: Urban and rural grave types by age

Slight differences were seen in grave treatment between urban and rural burials. Burials within a timber coffin (NTC) were more commonly found with all age categories in urban contexts, whilst burials within a rectangular grave cut or cist were a feature of rural burial (table 30). Similarly, there was a greater trend towards formal grave treatment with the 0-5 year age group in urban contexts, which blurred the distinction between this age group and older children and adults. In contrast, coffin burial was less frequent across all age groups in the rural data-set and the distinction between the 0-5 year age group and the remainder of the burial sample was more defined. There was no visible difference in grave treatment between males and females (Appendix A: table 88).

Burial position within the western regional sample was predominantly supine, with the exception of infants aged 0-1 year, where 73.8% (96/130 burials) were crouched. Prone burials were predominantly associated with adult burials and increased with age, rising from 3.6% (4/111 burials) at 11-19 years to 8.8% (15/170 burials) at 50+ years. Gender appeared to play a role in the incidence of prone burial, particularly amongst mature/old females; prone burials accounted for 5% (5 burials) of recorded burial positions amongst females aged 20-39 years, but rose sharply to 14.5% (12/83 burials) at 40-49 years, and 17.2% (10/58 burials) at 50+ years.

Context	Age Range	Cemetery	Domestic	Non-domestic	Landscape	Isolated
URBAN	0-12 months	92%	8%	-	-	-
	13-36 months	100%	-	-	-	-
	3-5 years	100%	-	-	-	-
	6-10 years	100%	-	-	-	-
	11-50+	100%	-	-	-	-
RURAL	0-12 months	50%	23.3%	14.2%	8.7%	2.7%
	13-36 months	73.2%	2.4%	8.6%	4.2%	1.4%
	3-5 years	96.6%	3.4%	-	-	-
	6-10 years	92.8%	-	-	5.4%	1.8%
	11-50+	96.1%	0.6%	0.2%	1.1%	1.8%

Table 31: Western region: Spatial patterning of urban and rural burials

Overall, burials within the western region were with formal cemetery contexts for all age groups. Slight variation was recorded in the timing of full inclusion into formal cemetery contexts. In urban contexts, 92% of infants were buried in formal cemeteries, with full inclusion from 1 year (table 31). In the rural sample, greater

variation was seen with neonates and young infants, with almost full inclusion into formal cemeteries beginning *c.*3 years. In contrast to the complete inclusion in formal burial spaces in the urban data set, a small percentage of older children and adults were also buried within non-cemetery contexts, either as isolated burials or associated with features in the landscape, illustrated by a 2nd century male burial aged 30-40 years, interred adjacent to the river (Clifford, 1967:199).

5.4.2: Summary: The life course in the western regional area

Within the western regional area, the overall four-stage life course, as identified in section 5.1, was visible, corresponding broadly to 0-5 years (infancy and early childhood); 6-15 years (older childhood); 16-39 years (adulthood). The fourth stage appeared to be marked by a transition at 40-49 years. Whilst average grave good provision remained stable, there was a change in grave good function, from personal items to objects with a votive function. This transition was particularly apparent with old females, marked by a high level of provision, an increase in prone burial and a strong trend towards personal items. This patterning was visible in both urban and rural contexts, indicating a regionally specific pattern, and the percentage of personal items associated with elderly women reflected that of sub-adult females. This may indicate that on some level, elderly females were equated with sub-adults, suggesting a transition away from, or beyond, full adulthood not experienced by males.

The broad four-stage life course was identifiable through particular characteristics associated with each age group. At 0-5 years the primary characteristics were exclusion from formal cemetery contexts, a degree of informality in grave treatment and limited quantities of grave goods. However, within this broad age category evidence for differentiation in burial treatment between the youngest (0-1 year) and the oldest (3-5 years) could be seen, suggesting the existence of a further age threshold. This age threshold was particularly marked in urban contexts, where grave good provision increased sharply at 3-5 years.

At 6-15 years, burial was characterised by a high average number of grave goods and a provision of a wide range of material culture. However, distinct urban/rural differences were visible. Within the urban sample, grave good provision remained constant during this stage of the life course at 0.3 items per burial. In contrast, the grave good average rose sharply at 6-10 years, and doubled at 11-15 years in the rural sample. The distinct pattern of urban/rural variation at 6-15 years

suggests a strong contextual difference in sub-adult age identity. For example, inclusion into the wider social network beyond the immediate family, triggered by the increasing independence of the child, may have been an important rite of passage within urban environments. In contrast, the ability to make an economic contribution through work may have been regarded as important (see section 7.2 and 7.4.1).

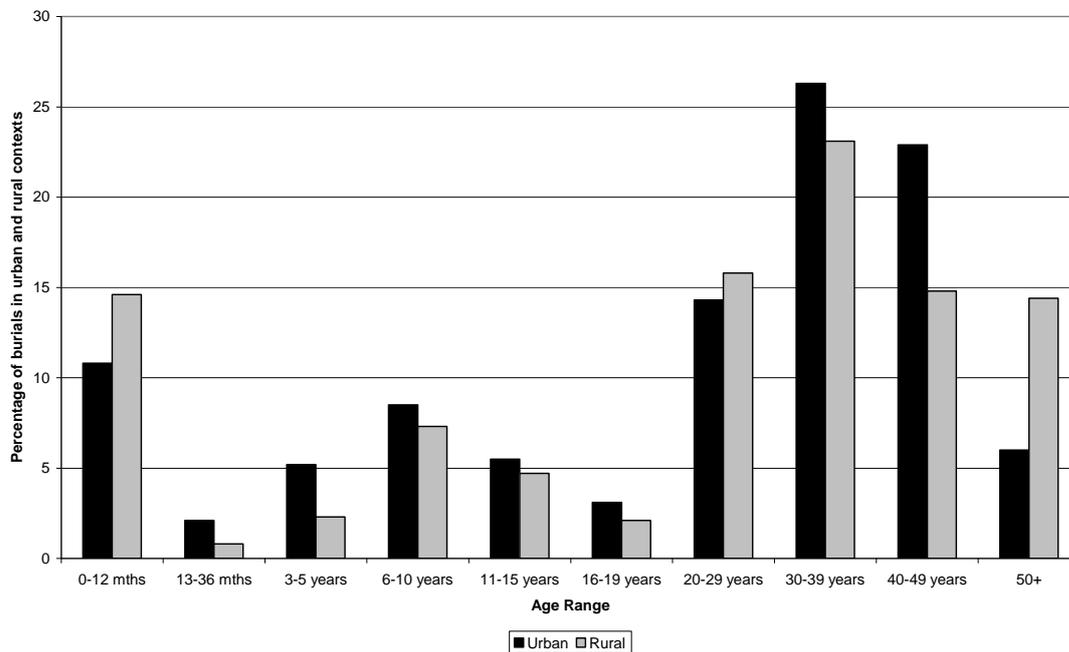
Within both urban and rural contexts, the period of adulthood (16-39 years) was characterised by a strong degree of homogeneity in the average number of grave goods, range of material culture and in the functional categories of items. However, a strong gender patterning was visible. Patterns of grave good provision favoured males at 11-19 years and females at 20-29 years, whilst at the opposite end of the age spectrum, grave good provision was associated with elderly females as discussed above. Urban and rural gender differences were also apparent. The average number of grave goods with males was higher across the 11-49 year age groups in the urban sample, and gender was more strongly polarised in the form of grave goods provided in urban environments; suggesting that a gendered identity was a defining characteristic of urban burial in the western region.

5.4.3: The eastern data-set: Regional identity and the urban/rural life course

In the eastern region, as defined in chapter 4, the data-set comprised a total of 2,448 burials. Of these, 54.6% (1,336 burials) were from the urban centres of Colchester and St Albans, and 45.4% (1,111 burials) were from a variety of rural contexts from small farmsteads through to high status villas. As with the western burial sample, all age groups were represented from neonates through to elderly adults. Overall, sub-adults formed 24.3% (595 burials) of the sample; aged adults 49.6% (1,215 burials) and the remaining 25.98% (636 burials) were un-aged. A total of 1,108 burials were sexed; 49.9% (553 burials) were sexed as male, and 50.1% (555 burials) as female, which produced an even ration of 1:1.

This even distribution of males and females was recorded in both urban and rural contexts. The age distribution of the eastern data-set showed a slight degree of variation dependent upon whether the burials were within urban and rural contexts (graph 15). At urban sites the peak in age-at-death was 0-12 months amongst sub-adults and at 30-49 years amongst the adults, dropping sharply at 50+ years. The rural sample showed a similar distribution of ages amongst the sub-adult categories, but

adult age-at-death distribution peaked 30-39 years, a full decade earlier than the urban sample and there was a distinct decline in the numbers of mature and elderly adults.



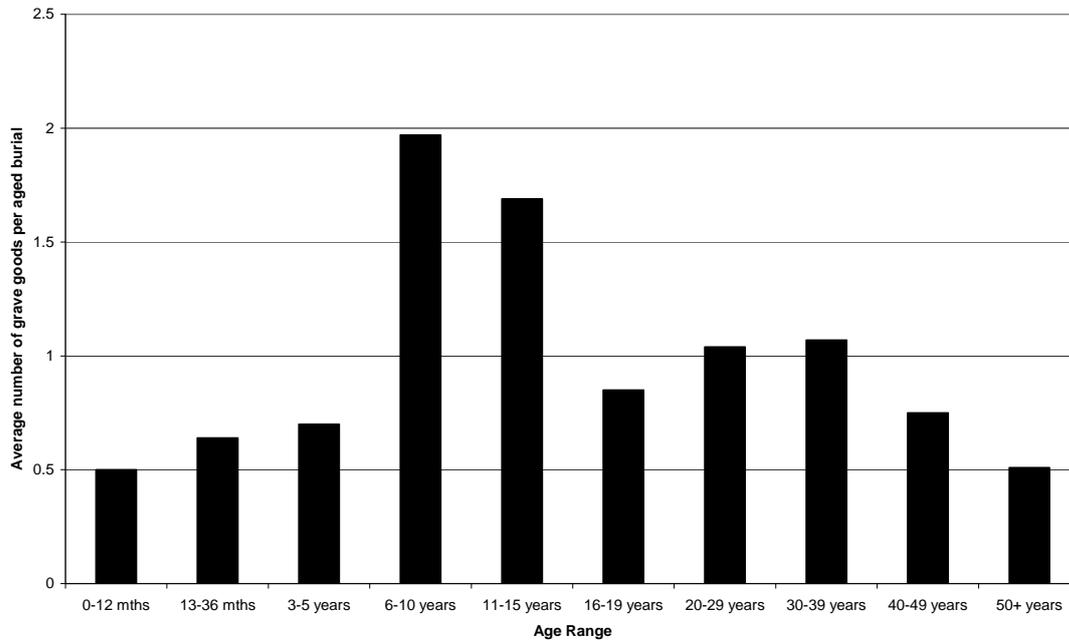
Graph 15: Eastern region: Urban and rural age distribution.

When examined by age and gender the ten year difference in age-at-death between in the eastern urban and rural data-sets could be seen, with the highest proportions of males and females at 30-39 years in the rural sample, compared to 40-49 years in the urban group (Appendix A: table 90). Both data-sets also showed that female deaths peaked earlier (up to 30-39 years) in comparison to males, whilst the distribution of male burials was weighted towards older adulthood (40-49 and 50+ years), and this patterning may be related to the risks inherent in pregnancy and childbirth.

The eastern data-set provided a total of 2,469 individual grave goods, and pottery, jewellery and animal bones were the most frequent forms of grave goods provided. The spread of grave goods was evenly distributed between urban and rural contexts (table 32). This can be illustrated through two burials. The first, a late 1st century cremation of a 30-40 year old female (B85.33) at St Stephens Roman cemetery in St Albans was provided with two pottery vessels and the remains of a sheep and pig (Niblett, n.d.). Similarly, from the rural cemetery at Skeleton Green, Hertfordshire, another cremation of a 30-40 year old female was provided with 3 pottery vessels and sheep bones (Partridge, 1981:264).

Grave good type	Urban % of total	Number	Rural % of total	Number
Coins	4.2%	51	3.9%	49
Jewellery	15.7%	190	13.1%	164
Pottery	43.4%	527	47.7%	597
Hobnail shoes	2.4%	29	5.6%	70
Metalwork	2.4%	29	1.3%	16
Animal bone	14.2%	179	8.9%	111
Utensils	5.9%	72	11.7%	147
Dress accessories	2.4%	29	1.3%	16
Glass	3.7%	45	4.1%	51
Amulets	3.5%	43	1.7%	21
Weaponry	-	0	0.6%	2
Building material	2.1%	25	0.5%	6

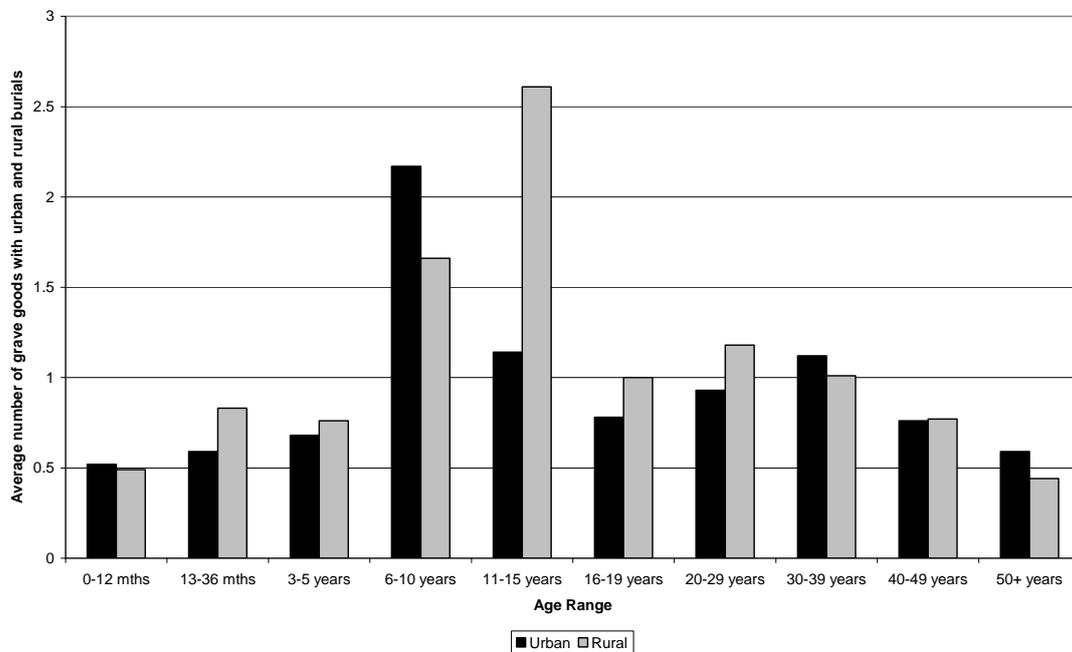
Table 32: Eastern region: Distribution of urban and rural grave good types



Graph 16: Eastern region: Average grave goods with aged burials.

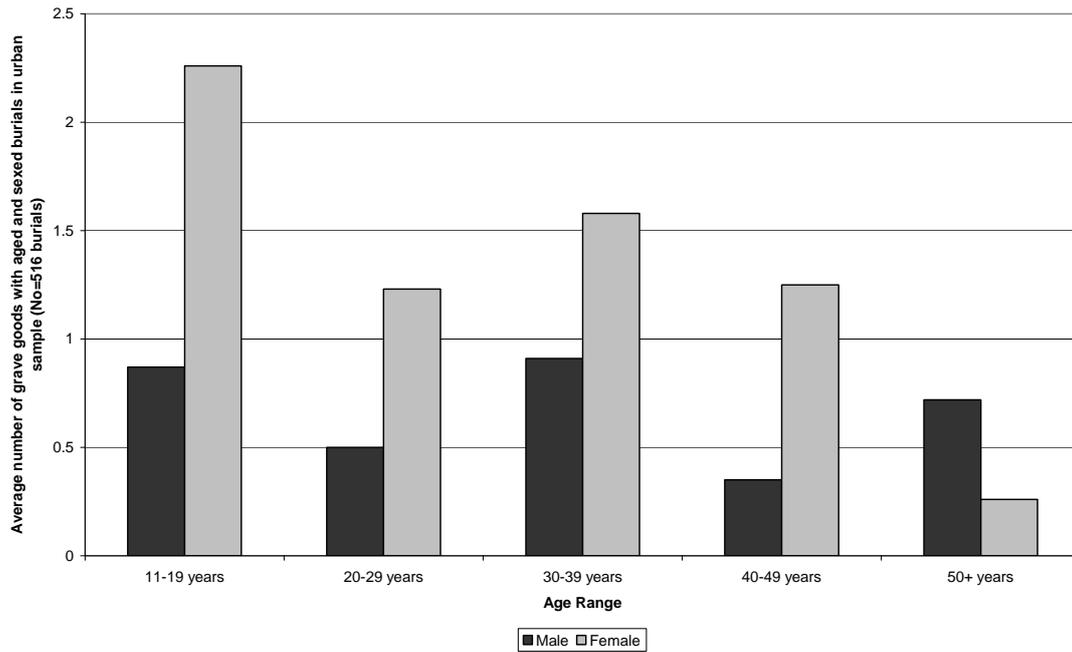
Grave goods in the eastern data-set were found with all age groups, and the age distribution of grave goods recorded the four stage life course corresponding to infancy (0-5 years), older childhood (6-15 years), adulthood (16-39 years) and mature/old adulthood (40+ years) (graph 16). Grave good provision was primarily concentrated in older childhood; at 6-10 years, with an average of 1.97 items per burial, and at 11-15 years (1.69 items). A lesser concentration of grave goods was clustered at 20-39 years, which corresponded to an average of 1.04 items at 20-29

years, and 1.07 items at 30-39 years. Amongst the two oldest age categories, there was a strong decline in rates of provision between mature and elderly adults. Here the average provision of grave goods per burial fell from 0.75 at 40-49 years to 0.51% at 50+ years.

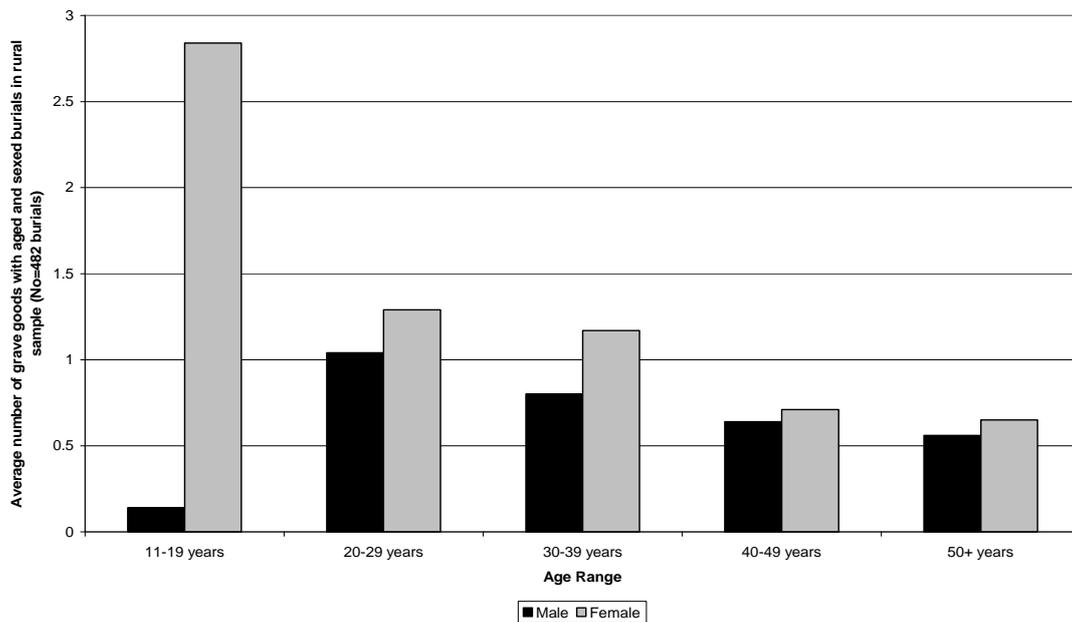


Graph 17: Eastern region: Average number of grave goods with aged burials in urban and rural data-sets.

On an urban and rural level, the four stage life course was still in evidence. However, age differentiation was marked between urban and rural samples, particularly in older childhood. In a similar pattern to the western rural data-set, sub-adults aged 11-15 years were provided with the highest average number of grave goods per burial at 2.61. In contrast, amongst the urban burials, the highest average of grave goods was found with the 6-10 year age group. Similarly, slight age variation in emphasis was visible amongst adults. In rural areas, the 20-29 year age group had the greatest number of grave goods, with an average of 1.18 items per burial. In the urban sample, the emphasis was a decade later at 30-39 years, with an average of 1.12 items. Both urban and rural samples showed a similar pattern of a decline in grave good provision from 40 years, with the low level of provision for old adults (50+ years) reflecting that of the 0-12 month age category (graph 17).



Graph 18: Average number of grave goods with aged male and female burials in urban contexts.



Graph 19: Average number of grave goods with aged male and female burials in rural contexts.

The urban distribution of grave goods showed age variation in the average number of grave goods placed with males and females. Whilst female burials had an overall high average number of grave goods in relation to males, the focus was on young females aged 11-19 years and, to a lesser extent, at 30-39 years (graph 18). At

50+ years, female grave good provision fell sharply to 0.26 items per burial. Male urban burials also recorded a relatively high average provision at 11-19 years and 30-39 years, but grave good provision rose sharply at 50+ years. In the rural sample, the focus of female grave good provision was again at 11-19 years and remained relatively high through 20-39 years (graph 19). In contrast, male provision was concentrated at 20-39 years. A decline was visible with mature and elderly males and females in the rural sample, the decline was less defined than in the corresponding urban age groups, particularly with elderly females.

AGE	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total g/goods
0-12 months	206	27	4	4	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	108
13-36 months	19	5	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
3-5 years	51	11	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	47
6-10 years	85	30	16	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	272
11-15 years	53	22	11	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	148
16-19 years	30	13	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
20-29 years	151	66	30	12	4	1	2	1	-	-	-	276
30-39 years	260	97	53	19	10	1	-	-	-	-	-	459
40-49 years	210	76	26	11	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	155
50+ years	131	37	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	98

Table 33: Eastern region: Range of material culture with aged burials.

In the eastern data-set the widest range of identifiable material culture was placed with sub-adults aged 6-15 years, and adults aged 20-39 years (table 33). In the urban and rural analysis the widest range of material culture was again placed with sub-adults aged 6-15 years, illustrated by a 4th century inhumation of a 6 year old at Linton, Cambridgeshire who was interred with 5 bracelets, a ring, hair pin, a glass bottle, a pottery flagon and a bowl (Lethbridge, 1937:70). However, amongst adults slight variation in age emphasis was visible. In urban areas the focus was at 30-39 years with 9 burials recording 4 different types of material culture. In contrast, the emphasis in the rural sample was at 20-29 years, where two burials recorded 6 different types of material culture (Appendix A: table 94). For example, at Skeleton Green, Braughing, Hertfordshire, a 3rd century urned cremation of a 20-29 year old female was provided with a terracotta lamp, hobnail shoes, bird remains, a glass phial, pottery jar and dish, placed within a wooden casket (Bottrill, 1981:311-2).

The gendered analysis of the range of material culture showed a concentration amongst males at 30-39 years, including two male burials with a score of 4. For

example, at Foxton, Cambridgeshire, a 3rd century inhumation of a 30-39 year old male was accompanied by a belt buckle at the waist, a storage jar, two pottery bowls and chicken/goose remains (Maynard *et al*, 1997:32-9) (Appendix A: table 95). Amongst females, the emphasis was slightly earlier at 20-29 years, where five burials had a score of 4, and a further two burials recorded a score of 5 and 7. This latter burial was a late 1st century cremation at Folly Lane, St Albans, provisioned with animal remains, a pin, hobnail shoes, a speculum, three finger rings, a mirror and a casket (Niblett, 1999:114-5).

Age	Category 1	%	Category 2	%	Category 3	%
0-5 years	Household	29.1%	Votive	22.3%	Personal	22.3%
6-10 years	Household	36.9%	Personal	34.2%	Votive	10.6%
11-15 years	Household	40.7%	Personal	31.5%	Feasting	24.1%
16-19 years	Household	45.8%	Feasting	20.8%	Personal	12.5%
20-29 years	Household	41%	Feasting	23.1%	Personal	17.9%
30-39 years	Household	41.3%	Feasting	26.8%	Personal	18.5%
40-49 years	Household	38.5%	Feasting	28.6%	Personal	13%
50+ years	Household	39.7%	Votive	21.9%	Feasting	19.2%

Table 34: Eastern Region: Most frequent functional categories with aged burials

Due to the high proportion of pottery in both urban and rural samples in the eastern region, household items formed the predominant functional category of grave goods across all age groups. However, slight variation was recorded in the frequency of the second and third most common functional categories, and this was a feature of sub-adult and elderly adult burial (table 34). Here, the distribution of functional categories formed four broad stages (0-5 years) characterised by a high percentage of votive items; 6-15 years, where the provision of personal items increased and votive items declined; 16-49 years where the triad of household/feasting/personal items predominated and 50+ years, where the provision of votive items again increased. When examined by context, the variation at sub-adulthood and old adulthood was visible in urban and rural samples, with personal and votive items with sub-adults in both contexts. However, votive items were more commonly associated with elderly adults in rural contexts, whilst those aged 50+ in urban contexts had an increased percentage of household and feasting items (table 35).

Context	Age Range	Category 1	%	Category 2	%	Category 3	%
URBAN	0-10 yrs	Household	32.6%	Personal	27.3%	Votive	20%
	11-19 yrs	Household	34.5%	Feasting	25.9%	Personal	19%
	20-29 yrs	Household	39.6%	Feasting	24.2%	Personal	14.3%
	30-39 yrs	Household	38.3%	Feasting	29%	Personal	17.1%
	40-49 yrs	Household	39.2%	Feasting	32%	Toiletry	8.8%
	50+ yrs	Household	47.6%	Feasting	38.9%	Votive	9.5%
RURAL	0-10 yrs	Household	35.5%	Personal	22.2%	Votive	17.8%
	11-19 yrs	Household	36.4%	Feasting	21.2%	Personal	27.3%
	20-29 yrs	Household	39.1%	Feasting	23.6%	Personal	20.9%
	30-39 yrs	Household	47.6%	Feasting	25.4%	Personal	22.2%
	40-49 yrs	Household	37.1%	Feasting	22.8%	Personal	22.8%
	50+ years	Household	37.2%	Votive	25.5%	Personal	17.6%

Table 35: Eastern region: Most frequent functional categories with aged urban and rural burials

Gender	Age Range	Category 1	%	Category 2	%	Category 3	%
Male	<19 yrs	Household	33.3%	Feasting	33.3%	Personal	16.7%
	20-29 yrs	Household	47.7%	Feasting	23.1%	Personal	12.3%
	30-39 yrs	Household	41.7%	Feasting	25%	Personal	16.7%
	40-49 yrs	Household	29.7%	Feasting	28.1%	Personal	18.7%
	50+ yrs	Household	51.4%	Feasting	20%	Votive	14.3%
Female	<19 yrs	Personal	60%	Household	25.7%	Toiletry	8.6%
	20-29 yrs	Household	31.9%	Feasting	23.7%	Personal	24.7%
	30-39 yrs	Household	40.1%	Feasting	26.5%	Personal	23.8%
	40-49 yrs	Household	54%	Feasting	35.1%	Personal	13.5%
	50+ years	Votive	33.3%	Personal	25.9%	Household	22.2%

Table 36: Eastern region: Most frequent functional categories with aged and sexed burials

The analysis of the functional categories by gender showed little overall difference in male patterns of provision, with household, feasting and personal items predominating. However, the percentage of items in each category did show some age-based variation, particularly in mature and old adulthood. Whilst the percentage of household and feasting items remained stable at 20-39 years, greater variation in rates of provision was seen from 40-49 years. At 50+ years, the percentage of household items increased sharply to 51.4% of the total, and the amount of votive items increased; indicating a gendered age division between the young male and the elderly (table 36). In contrast to males, the functional categories associated with female burials showed a distinct 3 stage division between young females (<19 years),

adult women (20-49 years) and the elderly (50+ years). Grave good types associated with young females were primarily personal items, forming 60% of the total. At 20-49 years, grave good provision with adult females mirrored the patterning of adult males, although the higher levels of personal items reflected the ‘feminine’ burial assemblage of jewellery and items associated with dress. At 50+ years, household items declined sharply, being replaced with votive items in a similar manner to elderly males, suggesting an association between old age and the votive category of objects.

Context	Age	Cat. 1	%	Cat. 2	%	Cat. 3	%
Male	0-29 yrs	Household	40%	Feasting	28%	Personal	8%
	30-39 yrs	Household	39.5%	Feasting	38.4%	Toiletry	11.6%
	40-49 yrs	Household	34.5%	Feasting	27.6%	Toiletry	10.4%
	50+ yrs	Household	55.6%	Feasting	44.4%	-	-
Female	0-29 yrs	Personal	31.%	Household	29.3%	Feasting	19%
	30-39 yrs	Household	35.9%	Personal	25.8%	Feasting	21.3%
	40-49 yrs	Household	37.1%	Feasting	33.9%	Toiletry	9.7%
	50+ yrs	Votive	66.7%	Feasting	33.3%	-	-

Table 37: Eastern region: Most frequent functional categories with aged male and female urban burials

The analysis of functional categories by age and gender in urban contexts in the eastern region revealed that male burial was standardised (table 37). This pattern of standardisation was similar to that seen in the western urban sample, suggesting an urban trend with males. In the eastern urban male sample, the 30-49 year period shared the same range of categories and a similar percentage of items, suggesting that this age stage may have represented one defined period in the urban male life course. At 50+ years, grave good provision in urban male burial was minimal, with only household and feasting items being represented.

In contrast, to the ‘standard’ male burial pattern, the analysis of the functional categories with female urban burials showed more variation and recorded the distinct young (0-29 years), adult (30-49 years) and elderly (50+ years) three stage life course. Within this 3 stage life course a further age transition is visible. A high percentage of personal items in urban contexts were associated only with females up to 39 years; after this period this category declined with age. By 50+ years, the level of grave good provision was restricted and limited to the ‘non-gendered’ votive and feasting

categories; suggesting that a gender identity was not a feature of elderly female burial in eastern urban contexts.

Context	Age	Cat. 1	%	Cat. 2	%	Cat. 3	%
Male	0-29 yrs	Household	50%	Feasting	27.7%	Personal	15.2%
	30-39 yrs	Household	44.4%	Personal	22.2%	Feasting	16.7%
	40-49 yrs	Personal	32.2%	Feasting	29%	Household	22.6%
	50+ yrs	Household	50%	Votive	19.2%	Feasting	11.5%
Female	0-29 yrs	Personal	32.9%	Household	31.6%	Feasting	19.3%
	30-39 yrs	Household	44.1%	Feasting	27.9%	Personal	20.6%
	40-49 yrs	Household	44.4%	Feasting	18.5%	Personal	18.5%
	50+ yrs	Votive	29.6%	Personal	25.9%	Household	22.2%

Table 38: Eastern region: Most frequent functional categories with aged male and female rural burials

The analysis of the rural age and gender distribution of the grave good categories showed variation across all age groups. Here, the male pattern was more standardised up to 39 years, but recorded a transition at 40-49 years, marked by a decline in the percentage of feasting and household items, and a corresponding increase in personal objects. In contrast to the urban sample, elderly males in rural contexts were provided with a higher percentage of grave goods, but were differentiated from younger males primarily through an increase in the provision of votive items (table 38). The rural female burial pattern showed a greater similarity to the urban female sample. The three-stage life course was visible, with personal items predominating up to 29 years. Similarly there was no difference in the pattern of functional categories at 30-49 years. However, there was no further visible age threshold until 50+ years; marked by a high percentage of votive items and an increase in the personal category of grave goods.

In the eastern regional sample the predominant burial rite was inhumation at 69.7% (1,705 burials); the remaining 30.3% (741 burials) being cremations, primarily of a 2nd century date, usually placed within a pottery urn or other receptacle prior to burial. Inhumations were within timber coffins (NTC) or rectangular grave cuts (RGC). Cist burials, more a feature of inhumation in the western region, were infrequent and the existing examples were mainly from rural contexts.

When grave treatment in the eastern regional sample was analysed by age, four distinct stages could be seen; corresponding broadly to infancy (0-1 year), older

infancy and childhood (1-10 years), older childhood and young adulthood (11-39 years) and mature/old adulthood (40+ years) (Appendix A: table 99). At 0-12 months burial was predominantly inhumation within a shallow pit (50.6%), and cremation was infrequent in comparison to inhumation. From around 1 year ‘pit’ burials declined and over half of the burials were within coffins, and this pattern continued through to *c.*10 years. Inhumations of older sub-adults and young adults (11-39 years) were equally distributed between coffins or rectangular grave cuts, and cremation burials in urns accounted for a quarter of all the burials with recorded grave treatment. From *c.*40 years, inhumations in wooden coffins increased and this pattern continued amongst older adults (50+ years). However, cremation for this latter age group fell in comparison to the 40-49 year age group and the pattern of this form of burial rite more closely resembled that of sub-adults.

Context	Age	NTC	RGC	CIST	PIT	ST/COF	URN
URBAN	0-5 yrs	45.1%	12.2%	3.6%	18.9%	0.2%	18.9%
	6-10 yrs	79.3%	8.5%	-	-	-	12.6%
	11-19 yrs	43.8%	13.5%	-	16.3%	-	29.2%
	20-29 yrs	53.4%	10.3%	-	9.6%	-	26.7%
	30-39 yrs	54.9%	15.5%	-	6.8%	-	27.6%
	40-49 years	61.6%	5.5%	-	5.5%	0.4%	27%
	50+ years	67.7%	4.8%	-	2.2%	-	24.2%
RURAL	0-5 years	1.5%	28.9%	5.1%	60.8%	1%	3.1%
	6-10 years	26.5%	49%	-	2.5%	-	16.3%
	11-19 years	11.6%	55.8%	-	16.3%	-	16.3%
	20-29 years	13.5%	57.6%	1.8%	2.7%	-	24.3%
	30-39 years	13.6%	50%	0.7%	1.8%	1.8%	31.5%
	40-49 years	16.8%	59.4%	-	1%	2%	20.8%
	50+ years	16.8%	59.4%	-	1%	2%	20.8%

Table 39: Eastern region: Urban and rural grave types by age

When the burials were separated into urban and rural contexts and analysed by age the same broad patterning was visible, but with a degree of contextual variation (table 39). In urban contexts, the trend was towards burial in wood coffins for all age groups, including the 0-5 year age group. The provision of coffins for infants and young children in the urban sample was less than with older urban age groups but significantly higher than with the corresponding rural age category. Similarly, the urban sample recorded a high use of coffins at 6-10 years; with coffined burial forming 79.3% of the recorded grave treatment. In contrast, the use of timber coffins

declined at 11-39 years, before increasing to over 60% with the mature and old age categories.

A similar four stage pattern was seen in the rural burial sample. Here, simple rectangular grave cuts predominated, and the 0-5 year age group were differentiated primarily through burial in shallow pits, particularly at 0-1 year. Again the 6-10 year age stage was differentiated, with 26.5% being interred in coffins, the highest percentage in the rural sample. This pattern, supported by the patterns in grave good provision, suggests that this age group were viewed as socially significant.

In a similar manner to the urban sample, the period between 11-39 years recorded little visible age difference in grave treatment. The 20-39 year age group formed a distinct age stage, with a similar percentage of burials recording the same grave treatment and a high percentage of cremations. Amongst the mature and old adult age groups in the urban sample, there was no differentiation in grave treatment, and in slight increase in coffin provision mirrored that of the corresponding urban age sample. There was no strong pattern of gender differentiation in grave treatment in the eastern regional sample (Appendix A: table 100).

Context	Age Range	Cemetery	Domestic	Non-domestic	Landscape	Isolated
URBAN	0-12 months	48.7%	31%	7.1%	11.5%	1.7%
	13-36 months	95.4%	4.6%	-	-	-
	3-5 years	96.2%	-	-	1.9%	3.8%
	6-10 years	100%	-	-	-	-
	11-50+	99.8%	0.1%	-	-	0.1%
RURAL	0-12 months	45.9%	26.5%	7.1%	23.5%	2%
	13-36 months	83.3%	-	-	16.7%	-
	3-5 years	100%	-	-	-	-
	6-10 years	94.3%	1.9%	1.9%	1.9%	-
	11-50+	96.3%	-	-	2.8%	1%

Table 40: Eastern region: Spatial patterning of urban and rural burials.

In the overall eastern burial sample a total of 1,048 burials of all ages had burial position recorded. Similarly to the western burial sample, infants aged less than one year were primarily buried in a crouched position (77.6% or 73/94 burials with position recorded). Burial in a supine position predominated from around 1 year old, and remained the most common burial position for all age groups. Prone burial was only associated with older sub-adults and adults, and its prevalence increased slightly

with age, peaking at 7.1% (9/126 burials) at 50+ years. When examined by gender, this increase in prone burials was most common with old females, where it formed 11.8% of the total (6/51 burials with position recorded) (Appendix A: table 101). Similarly to the western sample, inclusion within formal burial contexts was commenced from *c.* 1 year, and was completed by 3-5 years. This pattern, excluding a few isolated outliers, was visible in both urban and rural burial samples, suggesting the existence of a further age threshold at *c.* 3 years (table 40).

5.4.4: Summary: The life course in the eastern regional area.

Within the overall eastern regional area, the four-stage life course pattern was visible, corresponding to infancy/early childhood (0-5 years), older childhood (6-15 years), young adulthood (16-39 years) and mature/old adulthood (40+ years); the same age pattern represented in the overall analysis and in the western regional area. Similarly, these broad age categories shared many of the same characteristics as those identified in the western sample. At 0-5 years in the eastern region the average provision of grave goods was low, burial was away from formal cemetery contexts and there was an overall informality in grave treatment. A possible further age transition was recorded at 3-5 years, marked by inclusion within formal burial areas and a growing standardisation in grave treatment. The next life course stage, 6-15 years, was characterised by a high average number of grave goods per burial, a wide range of material culture and the most standardised burial treatment.

The third visible life course stage covered the period 16-39 years and was characterised by stability in all aspects of the analysis, particularly at 20-39 years. However, the influence of gender was apparent. Females tended to have a far higher percentage of grave goods than males, and a more extensive range of material culture.

The pattern of grave good categories with females showed a distinct three stage life course, corresponding to young, adult and elderly, and this was visible in both urban and rural analysis. The influence of gender on female burial also indicated a further age threshold visible in urban contexts, between young and adult females (up to 39 years) and mature/elderly females; marked by a decline in the provision of personal items. In contrast, the male urban burial pattern recorded standardisation across all age groups, with the exception of the elderly.

The elderly, as an age class, were visible within the eastern burial sample. Levels of grave good provision declined at 40-49 years in both urban and rural

contexts, which decreased again at 50+ years. Furthermore, the elderly were associated with an increase in votive objects and this was seen with both males and females. However, urban and rural patterning in grave good categories indicated a variation in the burial treatment of the elderly. In urban areas, elderly male grave good provision was restricted, but still represented the 'standard' male pattern of household and feasting items. In contrast, the very low levels of grave goods placed with elderly females were gender-neutral items, suggesting an un-gendered identity amongst old women in urban contexts. However, this was not apparent with elderly females in rural contexts, where the levels of personal items, such as jewellery and dress accessories, increased slightly. This pattern with rural elderly females was similar to that recorded with elderly females in the western regional area, suggesting that the provision of personal items may also have represented concepts other than gender.

Further urban and rural differences were visible, most strikingly at 6-15 years, where the emphasis in urban areas was at 6-10 years, through high grave good provision, extensive material culture and a concentration of jewellery and other personal items. Similarly, the very high provision of coffined burials with this age group in urban contexts suggests that the 6-10 year age stage was significant in urban contexts. Whilst coffin burial was also concentrated at 6-10 years in rural areas, the grave good emphasis was focussed at 11-15 years; a pattern also seen in the western rural burial sample. Amongst adults, a slight variation in age emphasis was recorded between urban and rural samples; with levels of grave good provision higher at 20-39 years in the rural data-set, and at 30-39 years in the urban sample. The pattern of urban and rural age variation indicates that the immediate social environment was influencing the expression of age identity in burial.

5.5: Conclusion

The analysis of the life course on a provincial, regional and local level within the overall Romano-British burial sample does indicate that an age identity was represented in burial. A life course trajectory was apparent; broadly representing the life stages of infancy/early childhood (0-5 years), mid-late childhood (6-15 years), young adulthood (16-39 years) and mature/old adulthood (40+ years). This pattern was visible within both the eastern and western regional samples, suggesting the existence of an overall provincial outline of the life course. Whilst the trajectory of the life course followed the physical growth and maturity of the individual, how age

identity was expressed in burial represented a complex mix of social concepts and expectations. This suggests that age thresholds within the life course were triggered by the attainment of both physical and social milestones, rather than chronological age.

Across the Romano-British period there was an overall similarity in the framework of the life course, with the four broad life stages, as outlined above, visible within the levels of grave good provision in both the early and later Roman periods. However, there was evidence for temporal variation, most apparent in the forms of grave goods used through which the life course was expressed. Pottery and animal bone predominated in the early Roman period; items associated with feasting and social display, towards the inclusion of more items associated with the person (e.g. jewellery and dress items) in the later Roman period. This transition was reflected in all age groupings and with both genders, suggesting that this was a province-wide social change in identity, from communal to individual display (Pearce, 1999:161-7). In regard to the expression of age, the later Roman period saw an increased emphasis, in the range of material culture on younger age groups: specifically older children and young adults. The emphasis on the early stages of the life course may have led to an extended conception of mature and old adulthood; differentiated in burial through an increased inclusion of objects with a votive function. This ambiguity was more visible with females, and the temporal grave good evidence hints at the existence of a further age stage associated with elderly females in the 3rd/4th centuries.

Within the overall life course framework in the early and later Roman periods, the impact of gender roles and expectations was apparent. Gender influenced the trajectory of the life course and the material culture used to express age identity, and these reflected the perceived social roles of the male and female. Overall, a greater percentage of grave goods were placed with females of all age groups, and a distinct 'feminine' burial assemblage was visible, suggesting that being female was a fundamental aspect of identity. Within the female life course, defined age stages were seen, representing young, mid and old adulthood; however, the overall age emphasis in burial was on the young female (up to 39 years). This emphasis on the young woman was seen on a regional and urban/rural level, suggesting a single concept of the female life course. As discussed in chapter 2, marriage and motherhood were the primary duties of the female in antiquity. The emphasis in burial on the young female

may be a reflection of their perceived social value as potential, or actual, wives and mothers.

In contrast to the single female life course, how male age identity was expressed in burial reflected a greater variability. Overall, the age emphasis with males was focussed on the 30-49 year period; a decade later than females. However, male burial patterns reflected greater regional variation, particularly in the urban and rural comparison, wherein male age identity was more standardised across all age groups than in the corresponding rural age categories. This suggests that external factors, such as the immediate locale, economic occupation or social status, were influencing the expression of male age identity, and that there was no single defined male life course.

Within the broad four-stage trajectory of the life course in each region, a distinct regional identity was apparent, expressed through the forms of grave goods selected and the quantity provided. This may have related to different burial traditions in pre-Roman burial practice. Burials in the eastern region were more richly furnished across the whole age spectrum, and the grave goods selected (particularly pottery and animal bone) in the early Roman period, reflected in the Aylesford and Welwyn burial rite discussed in section 2.5. In contrast, the burial rite of inhumation, the use of coins and hobnail shoes and the comparatively poorly furnished burials across all age classes in the western region hint at a different burial tradition.

Within each region there was evidence for an urban and rural age identity, and it was primarily through the burial of the young and the old that regional and localised identity was expressed. In western regional urban contexts a distinct age threshold was apparent at 3-5 years, with little change until early adulthood; in contrast the rural area highlighted the 11-15 year age stage. This emphasis on the 11-15 year age group was also recorded in the eastern rural sample, contrasting with 6-10 years in the eastern urban analysis.

This patterning may reflect the different social expectations pertaining to the immediate environment. In rural societies, with their focus on agricultural production, the emphasis at 11-15 years may represent entry of the sub-adult into the economic sphere. In urban areas, sub-adults may have encapsulated concepts associated with familial fertility and continuity. As such, the point in which they achieved individual 'personhood' as a member of the wider community may have been particularly emphasised.

Similarly, the variation in the expression of elderly identity, particularly in female burial, in the east and western samples suggests a distinct regional identity amongst the old. In contrast to the defined adult age stage (20-39 years) reflected in the provincial, regional and local analyses, variation in age identity was primarily associated with the young and the old. In order to explore this variation in more detail, chapter 6 focuses on the age identity of sub-adults (0-15 years) and elderly adults (50+ years).

CHAPTER 6: THE YOUNG AND OLD WITHIN THE LIFE COURSE

Within the context of the life course the young and the old, representing the beginning and the end of the life span, stand in opposition to adults. How these two age groups were represented in burial would have reflected the age-related concepts held by the adults who buried them. However, the cultural and social attitudes and expectations associated with being young or old would have differed. The young, for example, may have symbolised familial continuity, fertility and future economic and social prosperity. The elderly, in contrast, may have been symbolic of the past, as repositories of familial and social traditions.

As identified in chapter 5, both the young and the old were visible within the burial record, on both a regional and contextual level, and how they were buried was differentiated from the adult 'norm'. Amongst the young, two broad age categories could be seen: infancy/early childhood (0-5 years) and later childhood/young adulthood (6-19 years). These two age categories were primarily characterised by burial away from formalised contexts and low levels of grave good provision in infancy and early childhood, and by highly conservative burial and higher levels of grave good provision in later childhood. Although less defined than with the young, the burial of the elderly showed a greater degree of regional variability in levels of grave good provision.

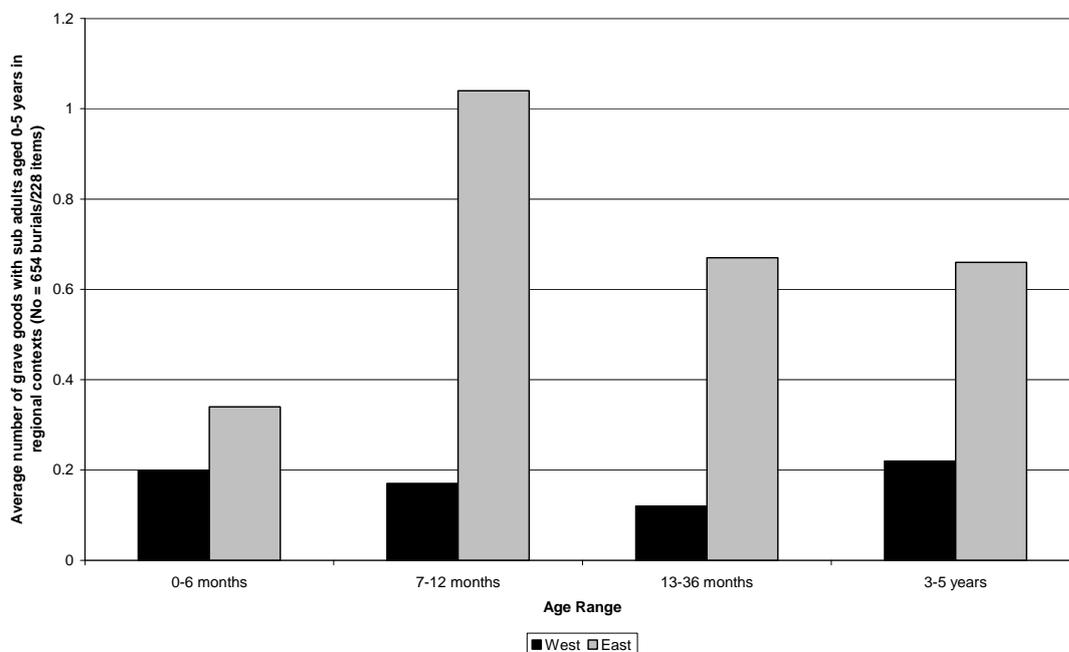
This chapter aims to examine age identity amongst the young and old in more detail. With the sub-adult life course, the focus is on identifying the existence of further possible age thresholds, for example, the transition from dependent to independent infant and the transition from child to adult. Similarly, key characteristics of infancy and childhood will be examined. For example, the burial of infants in non-cemetery contexts and the high provision of grave goods in later childhood will be analysed to identify regional and contextual patterning. The influence of gender on the sub-adult life course will also be examined. Future gender roles may have been visible within the expression of the sub-adult life course, particularly around the time of puberty. In order to explore the impact of gender on the young, burials of individuals aged up to 19 years who have been reliably sexed will be examined. Unfortunately, owing to the scarcity of sexed burials aged from birth to 19 years, no regional or contextual analysis can be attempted.

With the elderly sub-group, the focus will be on regional variability in the expression of old age, which is defined in this study as adults osteologically aged at

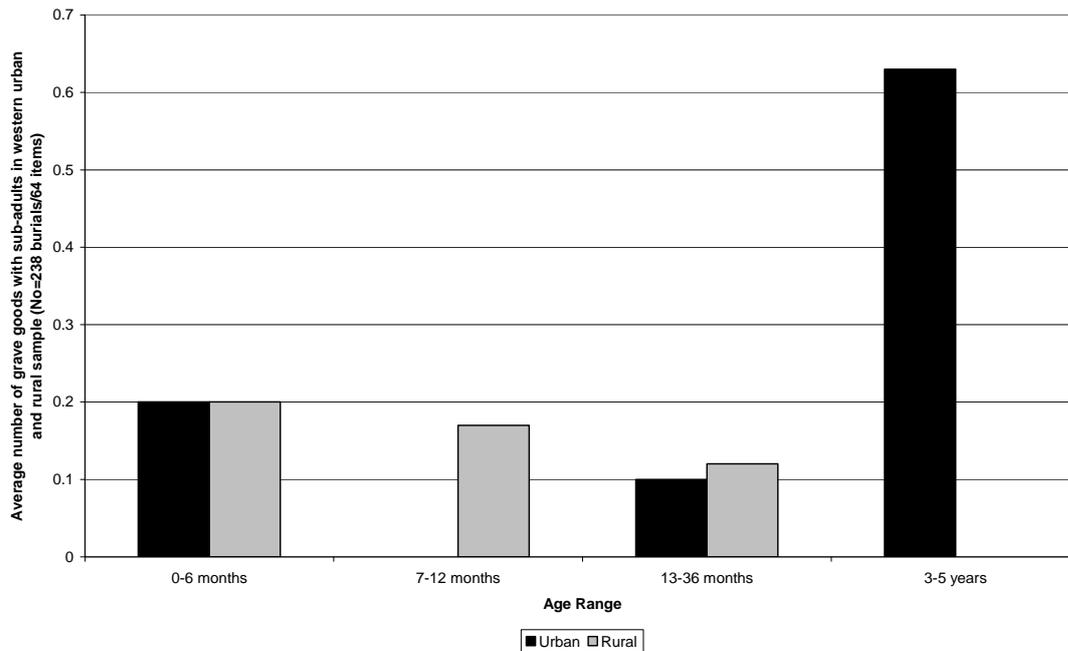
50+ years. The burials in this age group will be contrasted with adults aged 40-49 years in order to more closely identify the burial traits associated with the elderly. The impact, or absence, of a gendered identity amongst the old will also be explored, to provide a more detailed picture of old age at a contextual and regional level. Finally, aspects of the elderly life course will be compared with that of sub-adults, to identify any similarities which may aid understanding of how the life span was conceptualised, or how the young and old were viewed within the context of the Romano-British life course.

6.1: The sub-adult life course: infancy and early childhood

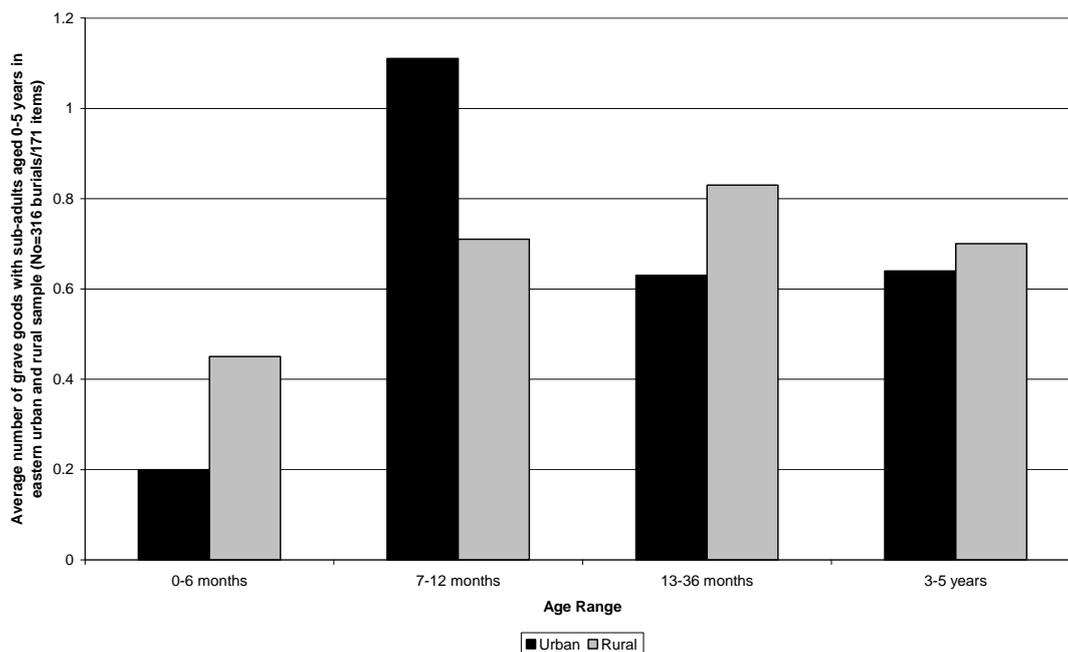
From a total sample of 1,141 sub-adults, 57.3% (654) were osteologically aged at 0-5 years. Of these, 51.7% (338 burials) came from western regional contexts, and 48.3% (316) from contexts in the eastern region of southern Roman Britain. Within both regions overall grave good provision was low, with a total of 228 items. In the western region, provision in the 0-5 year age category remained uniformly low from 0-5 years. In contrast, provision for this age group in the eastern region rose from 7-12 months (graph 20).



Graph 20: Average number of grave goods with 0-5 year olds in eastern and western data-sets.



Graph 21: Western region: Average number of grave goods at 0-5 year olds in urban and rural contexts.



Graph 22: Eastern region: Average number of grave goods at 0-5 year olds in urban and rural contexts.

The average number of grave goods placed with burials in this age category showed a degree of contextual variation, particularly in the urban west. Here the average number of items was concentrated at 3-5 years at 0.63 items, which may indicate a possible point of transition within this context (graph 21). For example,

burial 1106, a 0-1 month old from The Querns site, Cirencester was buried within a shallow pit adjacent to the amphitheatre and provided with a single pottery vessel (McWhirr *et al*, 1982:M.f.B14). In comparison grave 196, a 3-5 year old, at the late Roman Bath Gate cemetery, Cirencester, was interred wearing 2 bone bracelets (*ibid*, 1982:M.f. BO5-6). In the east, both urban and rural contexts recorded a rise in provision at 7-12 months (graph 22). This can be illustrated through two burials from St Albans. The first, an inhumation of a 1-3 month old (B94) from King Harry Lane, was interred with a simple pottery vessel (Stead & Rigby, 1989:127). In contrast, another 2nd century burial, that of a 9-12 month old at St Stephens Roman cemetery was buried with 3 separate pottery vessels, animal remains and a glass flask (Niblett, n.d.).

The grave good types provided with the 0-5 year age group were predominantly pottery (24.6%), animal bone (19.7%), jewellery (19.3%), coins (15.3%), and votive amulets (5.7%), although other types of items were also included in lesser quantities. The range of material culture provided with sub-adult burials showed a possible transition point at 3-5 years in the east, where three burials had a total of 4 different types of material culture (table 41). There was no apparent differentiation with any age group in the west. However, two burials in the regional analysis within the 0-6 month age group had a range of material culture score of 5 and 6; but on closer analysis these burials were untypical. In the eastern region a mid-3rd century burial of a 6-12 month old infant (score of 6) was interred within a high-status lead coffin at Verulam Hill Fields cemetery, St Albans (Anthony, 1968:41). In the western region a late 4th century cremation of an infant from Mildenhall, Wiltshire had traces of an adult cremation within the urn, suggesting that the grave goods may not have been related entirely to the infant (Cook, 2003:30).

Region	Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total g/goods
EAST	0-6 months	152	16	3	3	-	-	1	61
	7-12 months	27	11	3	1	-	-	-	44
	13-36 months	19	5	3	1	-	-	-	18
	3-5 years	51	11	5	1	3	-	-	47
WEST	0-6 months	197	20	2	1	-	1	-	45
	7-12 months	30	4	1	-	-	-	-	6
	13-36 months	48	1	1	1	-	-	-	6
	3-5 years	26	4	1	-	-	-	-	7

Table 41: Range of material culture with sub-adults aged 0-5 years.

Unfortunately, the limited numbers of grave goods with this age category limited the analysis of functional categories into two age bands, at 0-1 year and 13 months-5 years. However, the analysis showed a transition occurring in categories of grave goods between the two age bands. In the eastern and western regions, household, votive and feasting items were the most common types of grave goods at 0-1 year; illustrated by a 1-6 month old infant from 4th century contexts from a villa site at Somerset, interred with three lamb bones (Barton, 1964:90). The provision of personal items increased sharply with the 13 month-5 year age group, to 27.1% in the east, and 50% in the west (table 42). For example, at Butt Road, Colchester a late 4th century inhumation of a 3-5 year old (grave 406) was provided with a copper alloy armlet, a necklace and amulet (Crummy, 1993:283). This may suggest the possibility of a further life course transition occurring during this period, perhaps associated with the development of an individual identity, and this will be discussed further in section 7.4.1.

Region	Age	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
EAST	0-12 months	Household 24.6%	Votive 18.5%	Feasting 18.5%
	13-months-5 years	Household 29.2%	Personal 27.1%	Votive 18.7%
WEST	0-12 months	Feasting 40.5%	Household 21.6%	Votive 18.9%
	13 months-5 years	Personal 50%	Household 16.7%	Votive 16.7%

Table 42: Most frequent functional categories with sub-adults aged 0-5 years

As shown in the regional analysis of the overall life course (section 5.4.1 and 5.5.1), the 0-5 year age category had the greatest variety in grave treatment and burial context, particularly within rural contexts. To examine this variation further, this age category was sub-divided into four bands, 0-6 months, 7-12 months, 13-36 months and 3-5 years. In the eastern region, the period from 13 months-3 years revealed a growing formality in grave treatment, with burial in either a coffin in urban contexts or rectangular grave cut in rural areas (Appendix A: table 103). A similar transition appeared in the western region at the same age. In rural areas, 78.9% of infants aged 13-36 months were buried within rectangular grave cuts, and burial within coffins appeared at this time at 7.9%. In urban contexts, the pattern is less clear, owing to the restricted numbers of infants aged 13-36 months within the sample. However, coffin burial increased from 25% at 1-3 years to 36.4% at 3-5 years (Appendix A: table

104). The transition seen at 13 -36 months was also noted by Gowland (2001:159-160) at the Roman cemetery at Lankhills, Dorset.

Further evidence for a possible life course transition between 1-5 years was visible in the analysis of burial context in the regional areas (tables 43 & 44). As discussed in sections 5.4.1 and 5.5.1, inclusion within formal cemeteries increased during the 0-5 year period, and this change in burial context is examined here utilising the same four-stage age bands as used in the analysis of grave treatment. In both regional areas, the period between 0-6 months showed the widest variation in burial contexts, and there was no differentiation in burial context between pre-and post term neonates. Contexts included within cemeteries, domestic dwellings, landscape features (L.F) and non-domestic buildings, such as shrines or agricultural buildings.

Context	Age	Cem.	Dom.	L.F.	Non-Dom.	Isolated
URBAN	0-6 months	88%	2%	8%	-	0
	6-12 months	100%	-	-	-	0
	13 months-36 months	100%	-	-	-	0
	3-5 years	100%	-	-	-	0
RURAL	0-6 months	42.7%	27%	17.8%	10.7%	1.6%
	6-12 months	51.5%	18.2%	3%	27.3%	-
	13 months-36 months	75%	2.5%	5%	15%	2.5%
	3-5 years	100%	-	-	-	-

Table 43: Western region: Spatial patterning of sub-adults aged 0-5 years

Context	Age	Cem.	Dom.	L.F.	Non-Dom.	Isolated
URBAN	0-6 months	26%	42.8%	19.5%	10.4%	1.3%
	6-12 months	98.2%	-	-	-	1.8%
	13 months-36 months	95.4%	4.6%	-	-	-
	3-5 years	98.1%	1.8%	-	-	3.7%
RURAL	0-6 months	43.6%	24.7%	21.8%	8.9%	1%
	6-12 months	71.4%	-	14.3%	-	14.3%
	13 months-36 months	83.3%	-	-	-	16.4%
	3-5 years	100%	-	-	-	-

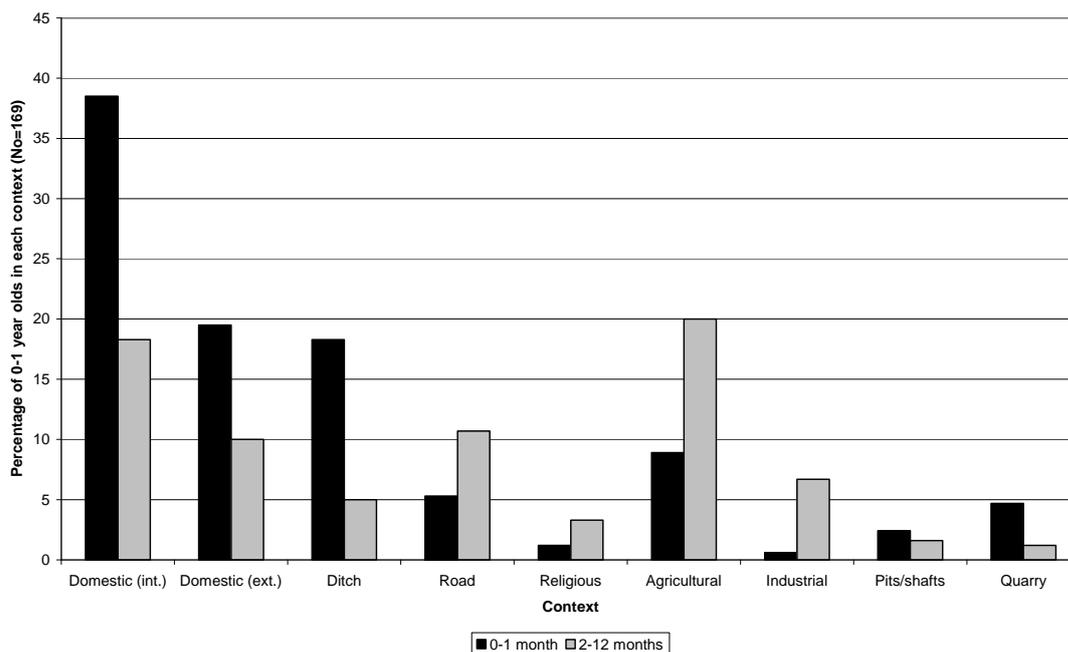
Table 44: Eastern region: Spatial patterning of sub-adults aged 0-5 years

For example, at Cirencester an undated infant aged 0-1 month was buried beneath cobbled paving adjacent to the external wall of building XII (Bayley & King, 1986:131). Similarly, another 0-1 month infant, from 2nd century contexts at Long Melford, Suffolk, was buried adjacent to a bread oven and ditch (Avent & Howlett, 1980:232). Whilst inclusion within formalised cemetery contexts was almost universal in urban contexts from around 6 months, the pattern in rural areas showed

an increased formality in burial context at 13-36 months, completed by 5 years. This increased inclusion agrees well the evidence regarding formality in grave treatment at 13-36 months, further suggesting the possibility of a transition at this time.

6.1.1: The spatial patterning of infant burials

The variation in the spatial patterning with infants aged up to one year recorded in all contexts, suggests that they were conceptualised as being separate from older infants within the 0-5 year age group. A closer analysis of the spatial patterning of the burials suggests the differential patterning seen in the 0-1 year age group was primarily associated with those aged 0-1 month (graph 23). At this age neonates were closely associated with internal domestic spaces at 38.5% (65/169 burials), external domestic space at 20.7% (33/169) or ditches 18.3% (31/169). From 2-12 months, the location burials show less pronounced preference, with the exception of agricultural buildings, as identified by Scott (1991).

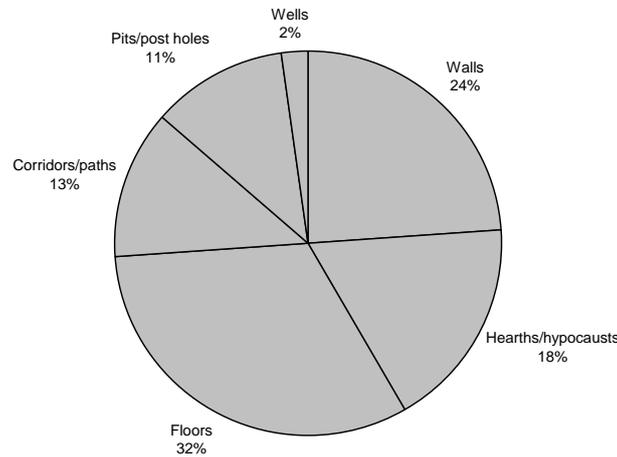


Graph 23: Distribution of burials aged 0-12 months in non-cemetery contexts.

The patterning of the spatial position of infants within internal and external domestic contexts suggests that certain of burials were carefully placed against dividing or ‘liminal’ features within the environment (Moore, *in press*). While 33.3% (31/96 burials) of infants were recorded as being placed beneath floors of rooms, 23.9% (23 burials) of infants were also placed against walls, 17.7% (17 burials) were

placed adjacent or beneath sources of heat (ovens/hypocausts/ corn-dryers) and 12.5% (12 burials) were associated with corridors, courtyards and external pathways where people walked (graph 24).

Features associated with 0-1 month neonates in eternal and internal domestic contexts (No=96 burials)



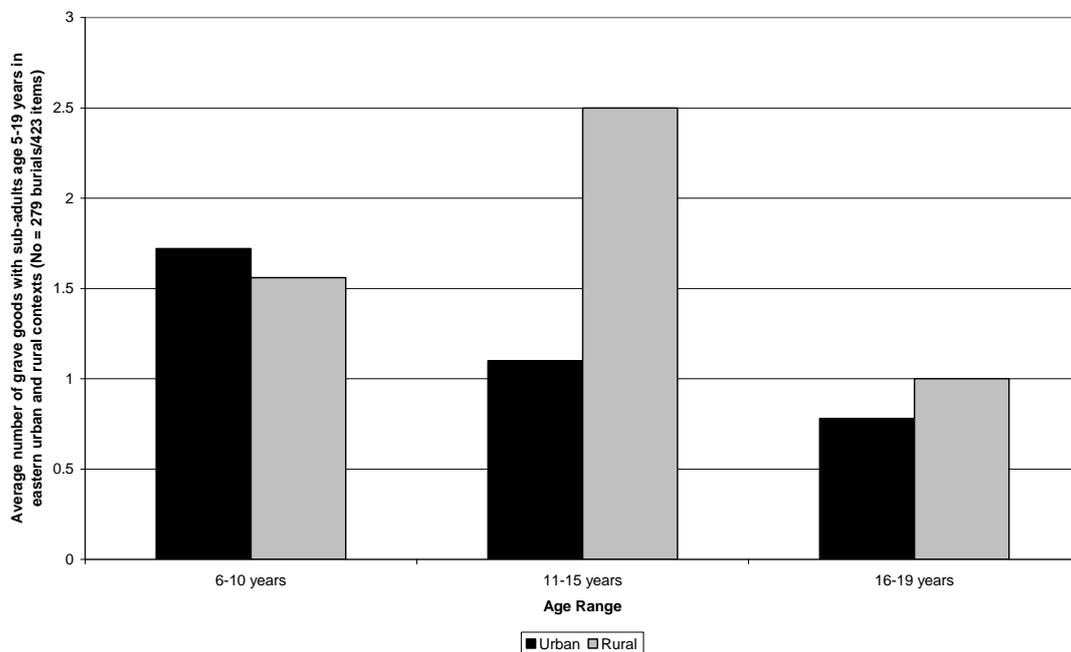
Graph 24: Domestic features associated with neonates (0-1 month).

For example, at the late Roman rural settlement at Kingscote, Gloucestershire, a newborn infant was placed within the south-east corner of a room opposite two ovens (Frith, 1998:275). In the east, a neonate from 3rd century contexts was interred tight against the north-west wall of room 10, Insula XXVIII, Verulamium (Frere, 1972:238), whilst in 2nd century contexts at Balcerne Lane, Colchester, one newborn (TF73) was buried tight against the frontage of building 47, whilst a further neonate (TF58) was interred against the east wall of building 48 (Crummy, 1984:119).

The restricted locations where infant burials were found within the domestic sphere may indicate that these burials were being deliberately sited, suggesting that these burials may have represented abstract concepts related to spiritual belief (section 7.4.1). Furthermore, examples of the deposition of infant remains within certain fixed locales came from both urban and rural contexts in the east and west sample regions, indicating the presence of a widespread practice associated with this age group.

6.2: Mid-late childhood and the adult transition: 6-19 years

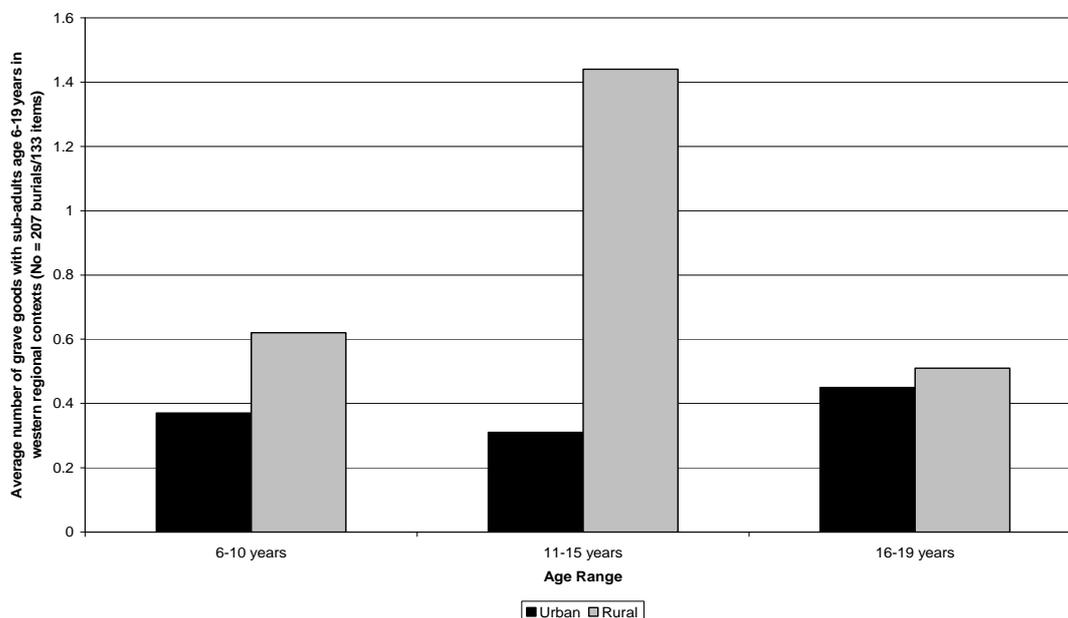
As shown in the previous chapter (sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.3), the years between 6-10 years were a distinct age group within the sub-adult life course, characterised by the highest percentage of grave good provision amongst sub-adults, a wide range of material culture and a preponderance of items associated with personal appearance. Similarly, this age group was defined from other sub-adults by a formality in grave treatment. In contrast, greater variation was recorded in the frequency and type of grave goods at 11-19 years. In order to investigate this pattern of differentiation in greater detail, the analysis in this section contrasts three age stages, 6-10 years, 11-15 years and 16-19 years in greater detail, on a regional and contextual level.



Graph 25: Eastern region: Average number of grave goods with 6-19 year olds in urban and rural contexts.

Differences can not only be seen between eastern and western regions but also between urban and rural contexts. The high grave good provision with sub-adults aged 6-15 years was primarily an eastern phenomenon. Eastern urban contexts emphasised the 6-10 year age group through provision of material culture, declining at 11-15 years. In contrast, material culture in the eastern rural region was predominantly placed with the 11-15 year age group (graph 25). However, at 16-19 years, both urban and rural contexts showed a sharp decline in the average number of grave goods provided. In the west a similar pattern was seen in rural areas, where grave good provision was highest at 11-15 years. In contrast, the western urban

sample showed a slight rise in levels of provision at 16-19 years, reflecting the higher levels of provision seen with adults (graph 26).



Graph 26: Western region: Average number of grave goods with 6-19 year olds in urban and rural contexts.

	6-10 years		11-15 years		16-19 years	
Type	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Jewellery	25%	44%	10.5%	11.8%	-	53.3%
Coins	18.7%	1.2%	-	2.3%	-	-
Pottery	17.4%	39.3%	43.8%	36.8%	64%	33.3%
D/accessories	4.5%	2.4%	5.3%	-	4%	-
Caskets	1.3%	2.4%	2.4%	-	-	6.7%
A/bone	2.7%	2.4%	17.5%	7%	20%	-
H/shoes	1.3%	1.2%	7%	2.3%	-	-
Glass	1.8%	1.2%	5.3%	2.3%	-	5.7%
Utensils/tools	7.7%	-	5.2%	36.5%	8%	-
Amulets	11.6%	4.8%	4.8%	-	-	-
Metalwork	-	1.2%	3.5%	1.8%	4%	-

Table 45: Eastern region: Grave good types with 6-19 year olds in urban and rural contexts

Analysis of grave good types with the 6-19 year olds in the eastern region showed some age-based patterning. The greatest variety of grave goods types was placed with the 6-15 year olds, particularly in urban contexts. Variation in types of grave goods became progressively more limited in the east as age increased. For

example, with urban burials aged 16-19 years, pottery predominated at 64% of the total amount of grave goods (table 45). Eastern rural areas showed a high percentage of jewellery items at 16-19 years, but this was the result of the inclusion of one burial, that of a female (burial SS) from Dunstable, who was interred with 5 bangles, two rings and an earring (Matthews, 1981:22).

Type	6-10 yrs		11-15 years		16-19 years	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Jewellery	10%	51.3%	-	6.1%	-	8.3%
Coins	60%	8.1%	71.4%	4.1%	-	4.2%
Pottery	-	5.4%	-	6.1%	12.5%	12.5%
D/accessories	-	2.7%	-	-	12.5%	4.2%
Caskets	-	-	-	-	-	8.3%
A/bone	20%	13.5%	14.3%	2%	-	16.6%
H/shoes	-	8.1%	-	6.1%	37.5%	12.5%
Glass	-	-	-	4.1%	-	-
Utensils/tools	10%	2.7%	-	57.1%	25%	8.3%
Amulets	-	-	-	10.2%	-	12.5%
Metalwork	-	8.1%	14.3%	4.1%	12.5%	12.5%

Table 46: Western region: Grave good types with 6-19 year olds in urban and rural contexts.

However, in the western region, there was no difference in urban contexts between 6-10 and 11-15 years in types of grave goods provided; with coins and animal bones forming the bulk of the assemblage. This indicates that the 6-15 year olds may have been regarded as one age group in burial. In contrast, no coins were found with the 16-19 year age group, and hobnail shoes appear, forming the highest percentage of grave good type for this age group. There was greater variation in rural contexts, with jewellery predominating at 6-10 years and utensils/tools at 11-15 years (table 46). There was no grave good type favoured amongst the rural burial sample at 16-19 years, which may suggest that this age class was not a part of a defined sub-adult rural pattern.

Region	Context	Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total g/g
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EAST	URBAN	6-10 years	57	14	7	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	191
		11-15 years	34	19	9	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63
		16-19 years	20	9	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
	RURAL	6-10 years	28	16	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	83
		11-15 years	19	12	2	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	84
		16-19 years	10	4	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
WEST	URBAN	6-10 years	23	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
		11-15 years	16	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
		16-19 years	14	9	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
	RURAL	6-10 years	44	7	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
		11-15 years	20	7	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
		16-19 years	32	15	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	22

Table 47: Range of material culture with 6-19 year olds in eastern and western urban and rural data-sets.

Examination of the range of material culture placed with 6-19 year old supported the analysis of age-based variation in grave good types. In the eastern urban region the 6-10 year olds were provided with the widest variety of grave good types, having a score of 6, plus one outlier with 10 different types of material culture (table 47). For example, grave 519 from Butt Road, Colchester, was a late 4th century coffined inhumation of a 6-10 year old, provided with a bone comb, two hair pins, a casket and six armlets (Crummy, 1993:285). Similarly, a 6-10 year old (cremation 60) from the 2nd century rural cemetery at Welwyn, Hertfordshire was provided with Samian ware, a pottery beaker, a flagon and a bronze bracelet (Rook, 1973:19). In both urban and rural contexts in the eastern region, the range of material culture again grew progressively more limited with age, declining to a score of two at 16-19 years.

The western region showed a slight variation in emphasis between urban and rural burials. There was no change in the range of material culture score recorded between 6-15 years, again indicating no marked differentiation between these two age groups. For example, two burials, one aged 7-8 years (grave 66) and a 12-13 year old (grave 37) from the 4th century cemetery at Bath Gate, Cirencester, were both buried with a single coin (McWhirr *et al*, 1982:M.f. CO1-2). Whilst the range of material culture score did not change at 16-19 years in western urban contexts, a slight increase in individuals having two different items of material culture was recorded. This included burial 1006 at London Road, Gloucester, a mid-2nd century inhumation of a young male, provided with a pair of hobnail shoes and a pottery vessel (Foundations Archaeology, 2000). In contrast, the western rural region again showed

a greater emphasis at 6-15 years than the urban sample, with a material culture score of 3. For example, a 4th century burial of an 8-10 year old (grave 10), was buried wearing a pair of hobnail shoes, and animal remains and a casket were placed within the grave (Darvill & Timby, 1998:316). At 16-19 years, the majority of burials recorded a score of two.

The analysis of functional categories at 6-15 years also showed a similar level of complexity. Within the eastern sample, the analysis of functional categories recorded a strong degree of homogeneity at 6-15 years, with items related to the household and personal adornment being the two most frequent types of grave goods. A change in emphasis was recorded at 16-19 years, with an increase in household items and grave goods associated with feasting taking the place of objects related to personal appearance and dress (table 48). In the rural sample, household, personal and feasting objects predominated at 6-15 years, but from 16-19 years the quantity of household related items increased to 60% of the total.

In the western urban contexts, the 6-15 year olds were provided with a similar range of votive and feasting objects, further indicating a degree of homogeneity in burial treatment. A change in emphasis was visible at 16-19 years, with an increase in the provision of personal items, predominantly hobnail shoes, and the disappearance of votive objects. In the western rural sample, there was a similar pattern of homogeneity at 6-15 years, with personal items forming the most frequent type of grave goods. However, the overall quantity of personal items provided declined with age and at 16-19 years the provision of household items increased, completely replacing votive objects and items associated with feasting.

Region	Context	Age	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
EAST	URBAN	6-10 yrs	Household 34.8%	Personal 33.3%	Votive 12.1%
		11-15 yrs	Household 30.9%	Personal 26.2%	Feasting 26.2%
		16-19 yrs	Household 47.1%	Feasting 29.4%	Personal 5.9%
	RURAL	6-10 yrs	Household 42.6%	Personal 27.8%	Feasting 12.3%
		11-15 yrs	Household 37%	Personal 25.9%	Feasting 18.5%
		16-19 yrs	Household 60%	Personal 30%	Toilet 10%
WEST	URBAN	6-10 yrs	Votive 60%	Feasting 20%	Personal 10%
		11-15 yrs	Votive 71.4%	Feasting 14.3%	Tools 14.3%
		16-19 yrs	Personal 55.5%	Tools 33.3%	H/hold 11.1%
	RURAL	6-10 yrs	Personal 43%	Feasting 21.7%	H/hold 17.4%
		11-15 yrs	Personal 28.6%	Votive 23.8%	Tools 19%
		16-19 yrs	H/hold 22.7%	Personal 22.7%	Tools 22.7%

Table 48: Most frequent functional categories with 6-19 year olds in eastern and western urban and rural data-sets.

Section 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 showed a highly formalised grave treatment at 6-10 years, with burials being primarily coffined or within a rectangular grave cut, dependent upon regional and localised preference. On closer analysis, this formalisation was most pronounced in the eastern region, particularly in urban contexts where 79.3% of all 6-10 year olds were interred within a coffin. Although less striking, a similar pattern in coffin use was seen in eastern rural contexts. Here, 25% of all burials at 6-10 years were coffined, in comparison to just 6.7% at 16-19 years. There was a corresponding increase in the use of simple rectangular graves with age, from 46.2% at 6-10 years to 60% at 16-19 years (Appendix A: table 108). In the western region, an opposite pattern was seen. In both urban and rural contexts, there was little age differentiation in the provision of coffins at 6-15 years in either urban or rural contexts. In contrast, this grave treatment was focussed at 16-19 years, most noticeably in the urban sample, where 57.9% of inhumations at 16-19 years were placed within coffins (Appendix A: table 109).

Burial position remained constant between 6-19 years. Of the 176 burials with burial position recorded in the western regional area 86.9% (153/176 burials) were supine, while prone and crouched burials each recorded 11 examples (6.25%). Prone and crouched burials were found in both urban and rural contexts, and there was no differentiation in age. A similar pattern was recorded in burial position in the eastern region. Of a total of 138 burials with burial position recorded 92.7% (128 burials) were supine, 1.4% (2 burials) was prone and 5.8% (8) were crouched (Appendix A: table 110).

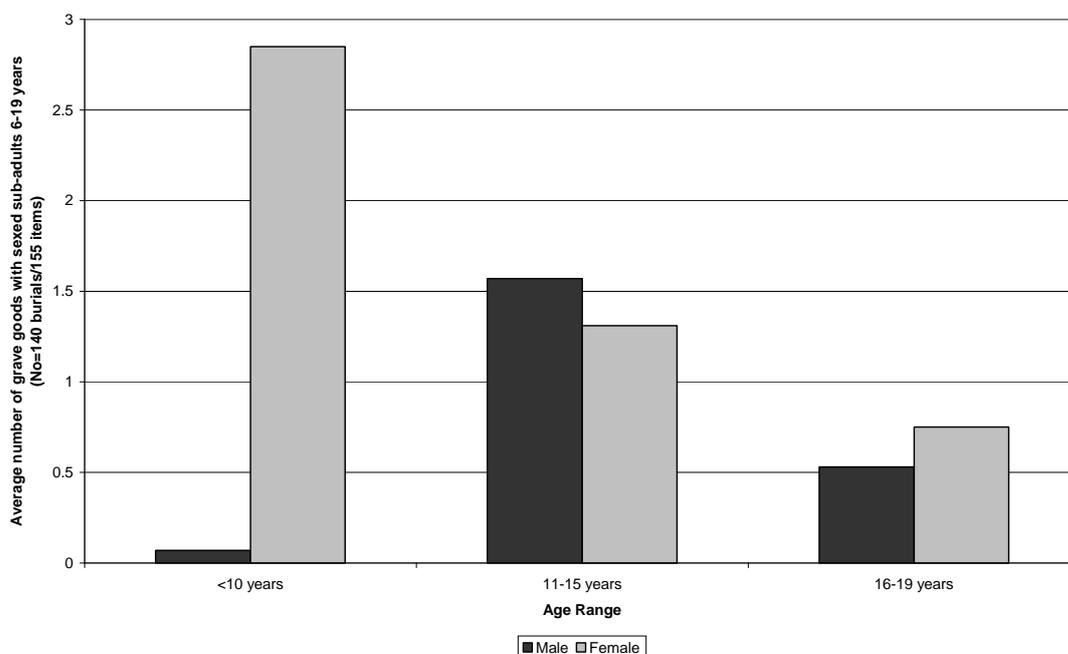
6.2.1: The role of gender within the sub-adult life course?

While it is problematic to accurately assign gender to sub-adult skeletal material due to the less obvious sexual dimorphism of the juvenile skeleton (see section 4.3), a total of 139 sub-adult burials had been tentatively assigned as probably male (61) or probably female (78) within the site reports. However, it is not always made clear whether the sexed sub-adults were assigned gender based upon skeletal sexual traits or upon the types of grave goods provided. This may mean that grave goods that have strongly gendered connotations, for example, jewellery, may have influenced the assignment of gender, particularly amongst those classed as females in the 6-10 year age category. However, the greater majority of the sub-adults that were classed as

male or female were aged between 11-15 and 16-19 years, and the physical changes associated with sexual maturity may have been visible, enabling a more accurate estimate of sex to be attempted. Therefore, bearing these caveats in mind, a tentative analysis of the role of gender amongst sub-adults was undertaken.

The results showed that a degree of gendering in the sub-adult life-course was visible; although it is uncertain what role regional or contextual variation might have played in how gender was expressed, due to the overall lack of sexed sub-adults. Amongst sexed burials aged 0-19 years, males were provided with a total of 32 individual items of grave goods, whilst females were provided with a total of 108 items. No grave goods were placed with infants or very young children under 5 years who had been classed as male or female.

Amongst males, those aged less than 10 years made up 21.3% of all burials sexed as male, but were provided with only 1 item or 3.1% of all sub-adult grave goods. The rate of provision increased at 11-15 years, where 11.5% (7 burials) of males were provided with 28.1% (9 items) of grave goods. Whilst the greatest percentage of grave goods (68.7% or 22 items) were placed with the 16-19 year age group, a higher amount of accurately sexed burials at this age (67.2% or 41 burials) meant that there was not a recordable increase in the average number of grave goods per burial (graph 27).



Graph 27: Average number of grave goods with aged and sexed 6-19 year olds.

Amongst the sub-adult female sample, grave good provision was concentrated at 6-10 years. Here 25.6% (20 burials) of those sub-adults sexed as females were provided with 50.9% (55/108 items) of the total amount of grave goods. At 11-15, the rate of provision declined, with 21.8% (17 burials) of the female sample being provided with 22.2% (24 items) of grave goods. At 16-19 years, this rate of provision had declined again, with 52.6% (41 burials) being provided with 26.8% (29/108 items) of the total amount of grave goods. When the average number of grave goods per burial was compared between males and females at 16-19 years, the results reveal a trend towards higher levels of provision amongst females, in a similar manner to adults. This pattern of gender differentiation in rates of grave good provision may indicate the existence of a possible transition during this period of the life course, with the burial of 16-19 year olds sharing similar gendered characteristics to adults (section 5.2).

Gender	Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total g/g
MALE	<10 years	12	1	-	-	-	-	1
	11-15 years	3	2	2	1	-	-	11
	16-19 years	27	9	4	1	1	-	22
FEMALE	<10 years	16	4	2	2	1	-	55
	11-15 years	3	5	5	1	-	-	25
	16-19 years	27	10	3	1	-	-	29

Table 49: Range of material culture with aged and sexed 6-19 year olds

Gender	Age	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
MALE	<10 years	Personal 100%	N/A	N/A
	11-15 years	Personal 33.3%	Votive 33.3%	Tools 22.2%
	16-19 years	Personal 42.8%	Votive 9.5%	Household 23.8%
FEMALE	<10 years	Personal 65%	Household 20%	Toilet 10%
	11-15 years	Personal 32.6%	Household 15.8%	Tools 15.8%
	16-19 years	Household 42.1%	Personal 31.6%	Feasting 15.8%

Table 50: Most frequent functional categories with aged and sexed 0-19 year olds

There are further hints at gender differentiation from the functional categories, with a possible child/adult transition between 11-15 and 16-19 years. The range of material culture amongst both males and females increased at 16-19 years, an increase particularly visible with males (table 49). Whilst personal items form the bulk of grave goods, votive items were recorded with males aged 11-19 years and household items with females. Similarly, females at 16-19 years recorded a sharp increase in household related objects from 15.8% at 11-15 years to 42.1% (table 50). This change

may indicate a transition within the female life course at this point, although any conclusions must remain tentative owing to the limited sample of aged and sexed burials within the sample.

Although the results are tentative, they do give an impression of the impact of gender in defining the trajectory of the sub-adult life course during the second decade of the life course. In her analysis of gender at the late Roman cemetery at Poundbury, Dorset, Molleson (1989) notes the disproportionate number of females aged 13-15 years in the burial sample, in comparison to males. This has been explained as relating to gender-based differential treatment in agrarian societies. Young males, involved with the production of a cash crop would be more highly valued in relation to females, whose contribution was primarily domestic-based, and who therefore would not be as highly valued as males (*ibid*, 36-7). Bradley (1999) provides supporting evidence for the possible primarily domestic role of lower class females in the Roman Empire. Apprenticeship contracts from Roman Egyptian contexts refer only to female slaves being apprenticed. This is interpreted by Bradley (1999:108) as freeborn females not being trained for work; rather they were prepared for marriage and motherhood within the domestic sphere.

However, in primarily agrarian societies, such as Roman Britain, a work-related division between the genders may have been less apparent. Whilst physically demanding agricultural tasks, such as ploughing, would primarily be undertaken by males, many women and children would have been involved in other aspects of agriculture labour (see section 7.4.2). Similarly, the cycle of the agricultural year would mean that women's labour would be vital at intensive times, such as harvest. As such, agricultural work would not have been viewed as an entirely masculine world separate from the household, but rather as an extension of the domestic sphere. The tentative transition identified at 16-19 years, with rates of provision following the gendered adult trend and an increase in household-related items with female burial, may therefore be an expression of idealised gendered social roles than of the reality.

This pattern of gender-differentiation and the urban/rural variation in age emphasis (section 6.2) indicates that the juvenile phase of the life course was a time of transition. Unfortunately, a lack of accurately sexed samples at 11-19 years precludes a more in-depth analysis at this point; underlining the need for a more widespread use of existing methods, and the development of new techniques, to estimate biological sex in juvenile skeletal material. However, a large-scale comparative study of existing

sexed juvenile burials from a range of urban and rural contexts across Roman Britain may provide a means of further exploring the role that environment played in the expression of gendered social roles at this stage of the life course.

6.3. Summary: the sub-adult life course

Whilst the 0-5 year age group was defined through the lowest rates of grave good provision, the regional and contextual patterning indicate the existence of a transition between early infancy (0-1 year) and young childhood (3-5 years). Early infancy was characterised by the provision of few grave goods of a restricted type, informal grave treatment and burial within 'liminal' spaces within non-cemetery contexts. Although regional and contextual variation existed, the tendency at 3-5 years was towards greater formality in burial context and grave treatment. Similarly, at 3-5 years there was an overall increase in grave good provision and the use of a more varied burial assemblage. The first 5 years are a time of rapid physical and social development; with the acquisition of language, increased mobility, weaning and the development of an individual identity. The transition in burial may have encapsulated many of these developments and thereby was a visible differentiation between the dependent infant and the independent child (section 7.4.1).

In contrast to the 0-5 year age group, the second broad age band (6-19 years) showed a greater level of age complexity in burial. Whilst urban areas in the east region emphasised the 6-10 year age group in all aspects of the analysis, the emphasis was at 11-15 years in rural areas; and both contexts revealed a decline in rates of provision at 16-19 years. Similarly, the rural western region emphasised the 11-15 year age group, with average rates of provision declining at 16-19 years. In contrast, western urban contexts showed no differentiation in burial at 6-15 years, characterised through a similarity in types of grave goods, a restricted range of material culture and a trend towards coffined burial. Within western urban contexts, the emphasis was on the 16-19 year age group, identified through the provision of a more varied burial assemblage, including the introduction of shoes into the burial rite. The pattern of differentiation between urban and rural burial, particularly in the urban west, indicates that contextual influences relating to the immediate environment were impacting on the expression of age identity, and this is explored further in section 7.2.

What is striking is that, with the exception of the western urban sample, there appeared no defined transition between childhood and young adulthood. A tentative

transition is identified, by changes in grave good averages and types provided, between the 11-15 year and the 16-19 year age groups, also glimpsed within the juvenile gendered analysis. However, there is no clear-cut break or 'rite of passage' where a distinct transition from childhood to young adulthood can be identified. This may suggest that the transition either was not marked within burial or was not considered to be related to one set age stage. Rather, the transition from child to young adult may have been an individual process, and being perceived as a full adult was influenced by a complex mix of internal biology and external socio-economic factors (section 7.4.2).

In contrast to the sharply defined age stages and urban and rural pattern of diversity in sub-adult burial, the key characteristic of age identity with adults was consistency in the burial pattern at 20-39 years. As identified in section 5.1, adult grave good patterning was primarily concentrated on these years; and this was visible over time (section 5.3) and across both eastern and western regions (section 5.4.1, 5.4.3). Whilst slight urban and rural variation in age emphasis was seen, this variation was still within the 20-39 year adult phase, further supporting this life course stage as the 'normative' adult pattern. Within this adult phase, the emphasis on female burial was on average 10 years earlier than males; but throughout the adult life course, grave good provision and a 'feminine' burial assemblage identified the adult female as socially differentiated to the adult male. However, as adults aged beyond the distinct 20-39 year phase of the life course, the regional evidence indicated an increasing level of heterogeneity, and this is explored further in section 6.4.

6.4: The elderly life course

As shown in chapter 5 (graph 2), the burial pattern of the elderly within the overall life course was characterised by a lower level of grave good provision in comparison to other adult age groups. While this may be a factor of fewer adults reaching old age, this may also suggest that the elderly as a group were differentiated within society and, by extension, within burial. This analysis examines aspects of elderly age identity through comparing patterns of burial between mature adults (40-49 years) and elderly adults (50+ years). In particular, the analysis concentrates on regional and contextual variation in the expression of the elderly life course, particularly in regard to gender status.

Overall, a total of 419 burials were classed as elderly (50+ years). In the western region 181 individuals were osteologically aged at 50+ years; and males predominated in the burial sample at 65.5% (112/181 sexed burials), compared to females at 34.5% (58/181 burials). A similar gender bias was seen in the eastern sample. Here, of a total of 238 burials, males made up 58.4% (138/238 sexed burials) and females 41.6% (100/238 burials). The bias towards elderly males may relate to attrition amongst females in early adulthood, due to childbirth, differential patterns of female burial or biases in the osteological sexing of elderly skeletal material.

6.4.1: Regional variation the elderly life course: western region

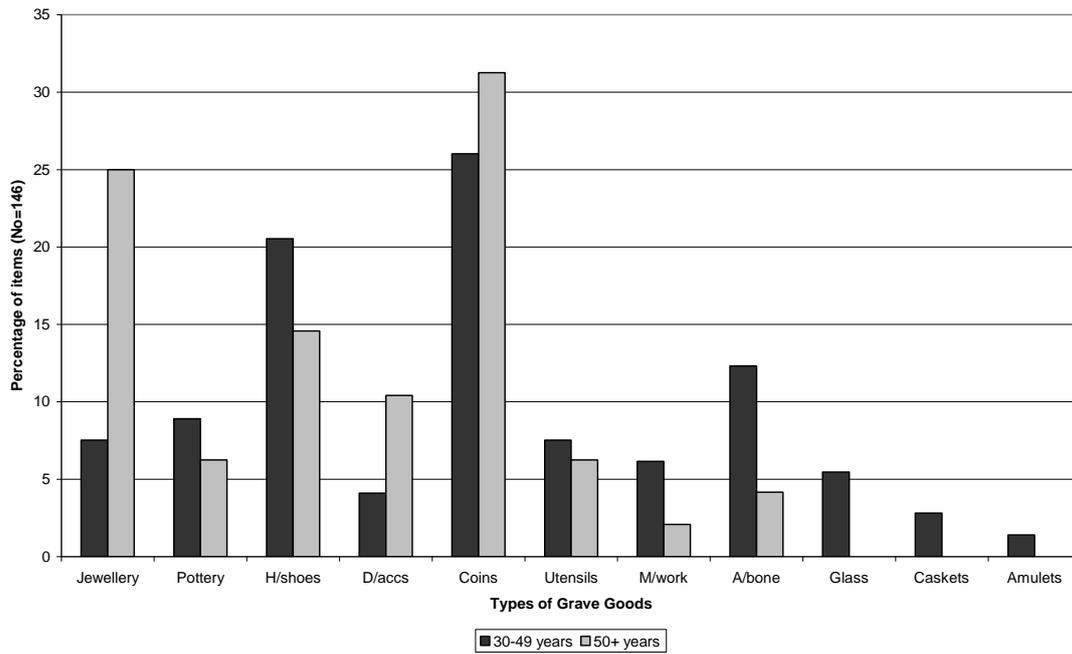
Analysis of the functional categories of grave goods with old adults in the western region recorded an age based change in emphasis relating to personal items (jewellery and dress accessories). Votive items were the most common type of grave goods at 40-49 years, switching to personal items at 50+ years (table 51). The transition was recorded in both urban and rural contexts (table 52), suggesting a region-wide method of expressing the elderly life course. This pattern is more clearly seen when jewellery provision is compared with other types of grave goods. Although coins predominated in all adult age classes, as discussed in chapter 5, jewellery provision increased sharply at 50+ years, to 27.5% (11/40 items) in urban contexts (graph 28) and to 25% (12/48 items) in the rural sample (graph 29).

Age Range	Region	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
40-49 years	West	Votive 37.9%	Personal 25.3%	Household 14.9%
50+ years		Personal 45.4%	Votive 30.3%	Household 10.6%

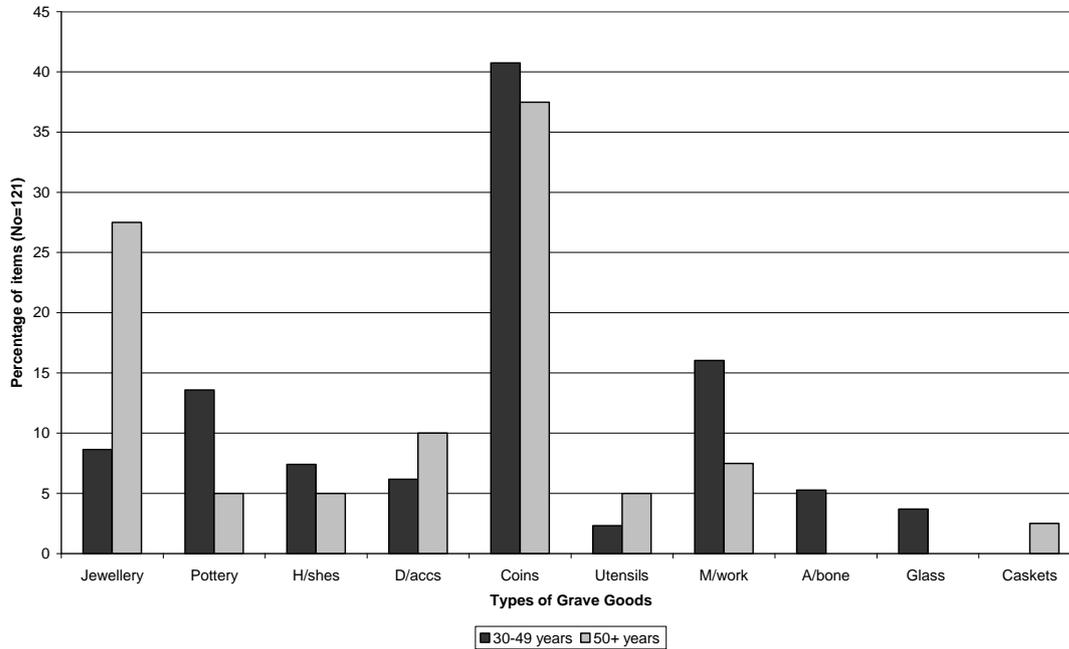
Table 51: Western region: functional categories with mature and old adults

Context	Age Range	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
Urban	40-49 years	Votive 38.5%	Tools 25.2%	Household 15.4%
	50+ years	Personal 38.4%	Votive 32.6%	Household 11.8%
Rural	40-49 years	Votive 29.6%	Personal 27.8%	Household 13%
	50+ years	Personal 51.6%	Votive 24.2%	Household 9.1%

Table 52: Western region: functional categories with mature and elderly adults in urban and rural contexts



Graph 28: Western region: Range of grave good types with adult and elderly burials in urban contexts.



Graph 29: Western region: Range of grave good types with adult and elderly burials in rural contexts.

Similarly, a slight change in age emphasis was seen between mature and elderly adults, particularly in urban contexts. Amongst the Cirencester burial sample, average number of grave goods per burial rose from 0.38 items (35 items/92 burials) at 40-49 years to 0.43 (26 items/60 burials) at 50+ years. Similarly, a rise was recorded at Gloucester. Here, levels of provision rose from an average of 0.53 items per burial (8/15) to 0.63 (14/22), an overall increase of 19.5%. For example, B18 from Barton cemetery, Gloucester, was an inhumation of a 50+ year old female of late Roman date, provisioned with a bracelet and glass bead (Rhodes, 1980:68).

In contrast to the urban increase in grave good provision, rural burials recorded a decline in the average number of grave goods. At 40-49 years the average number of grave goods per burial was 0.61 items (72/118 burials), declining to 0.47 items at 50+ years. This transition can be illustrated by two burials from rural Gloucestershire. The first, the burial of a female aged 40-49 years from Lower Slaughter was interred with a 4th century coin adjacent to the skull (Donovan, 1939:114-7); the second burial, that of a 50+ year old female from Hucclecote, was interred with a brooch and a pair of hobnail shoes placed beside the lower body (Thomas *et al*, 2003:20-1). However, the analysis of the range of material culture with burials indicates a slight increase associated with rural elderly adults. This was most visible in rural contexts, where three burials had three separate types of material culture and one burial recorded 5 separate types (table 53).

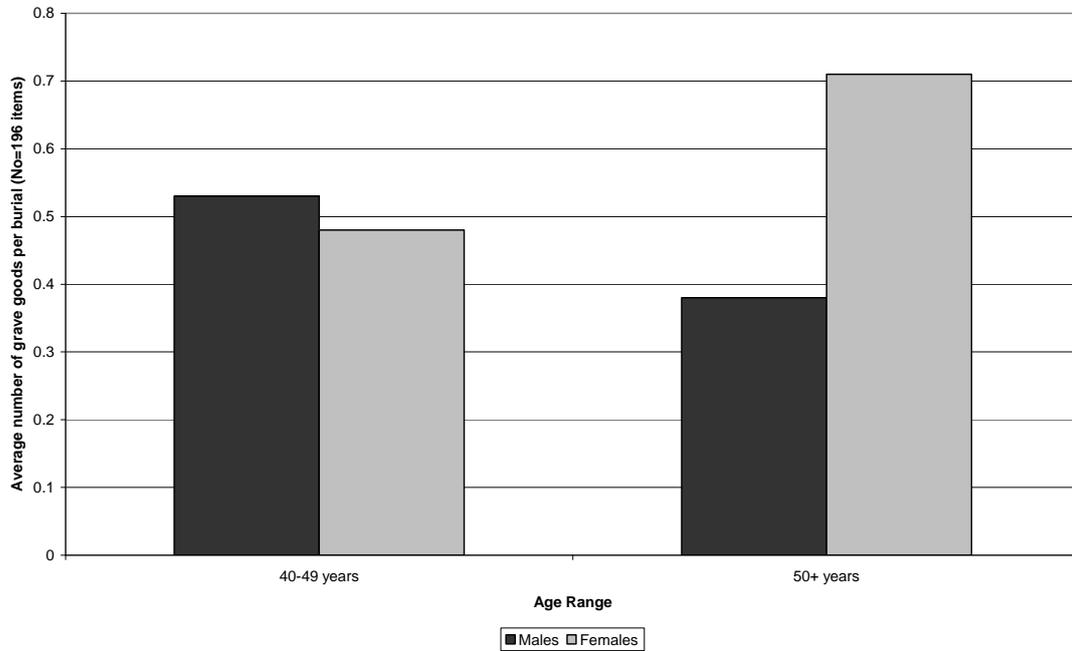
Context	Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total g/g
Urban	40-49 years	73	22	13	-	-	-	-	43
	50+ years	58	16	7	1	-	-	-	37
Rural	40-49 years	80	23	12	1	-	-	-	72
	50+ years	79	11	5	3	-	1	-	47

Table 53: Western region: Range of material culture score with mature and elderly adults

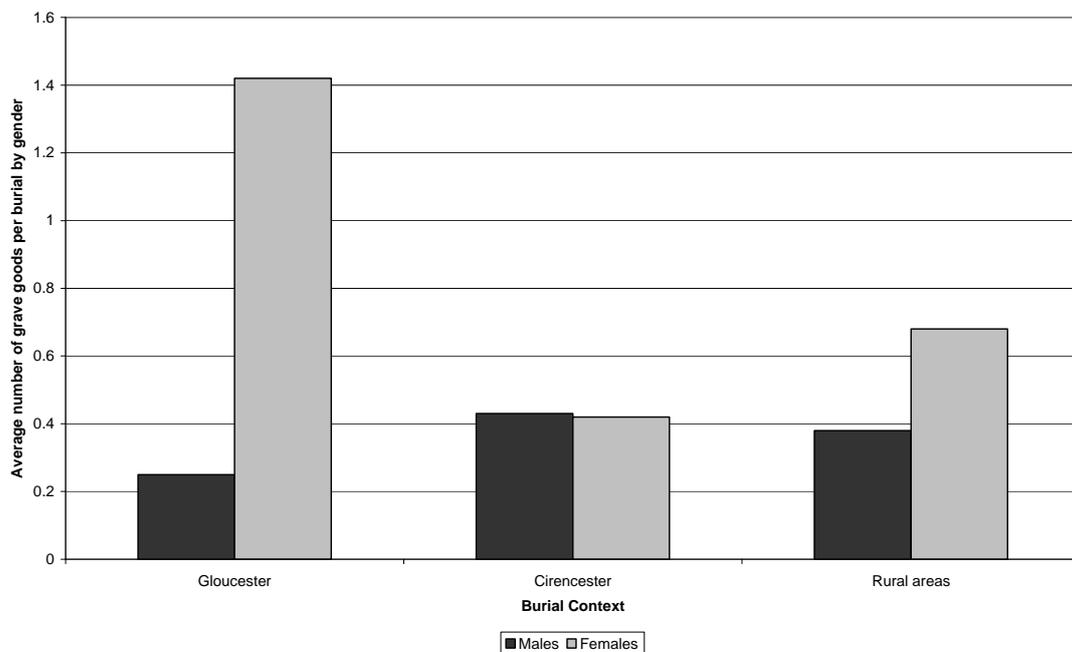
6.4.2: Gender differentiation amongst the elderly in the western region

The increase in grave good provision within the urban contexts discussed in section 6.4.1 was primarily associated with female burial. As shown in graph 30, overall rates of provision rose sharply amongst elderly females from just under 0.5 items per burial at 40-49 years to 0.7 items at 50+ years. On a contextual level, the increase in grave good provision amongst old females was recorded in both urban and rural data sets, but was particularly associated with Gloucester (graph 31). Here the average

number of grave goods with elderly females was 1.42 items per burial, in contrast to males at 0.25 items. In Cirencester, provision amongst old males and females remained equal while the rural sample showed a slight increase with females at 0.68 items.



Graph 30: Western region: Average number of grave goods with sexed mature and elderly adult burials.



Graph 31: Western region: Average number of grave goods with elderly males and females (50+ years) in Gloucester, Cirencester and rural contexts.

Gender	Context	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
Male	Urban	Votive 44.4%	Personal 27.8%	Tools 16.7%
	Rural	Personal 42.8%	Votive 35.8%	Tools 21.4%
Female	Urban	Personal 61.5%	Votive 23.1%	Household 7.7%
	Rural	Personal 60%	Votive 25%	Household 10%

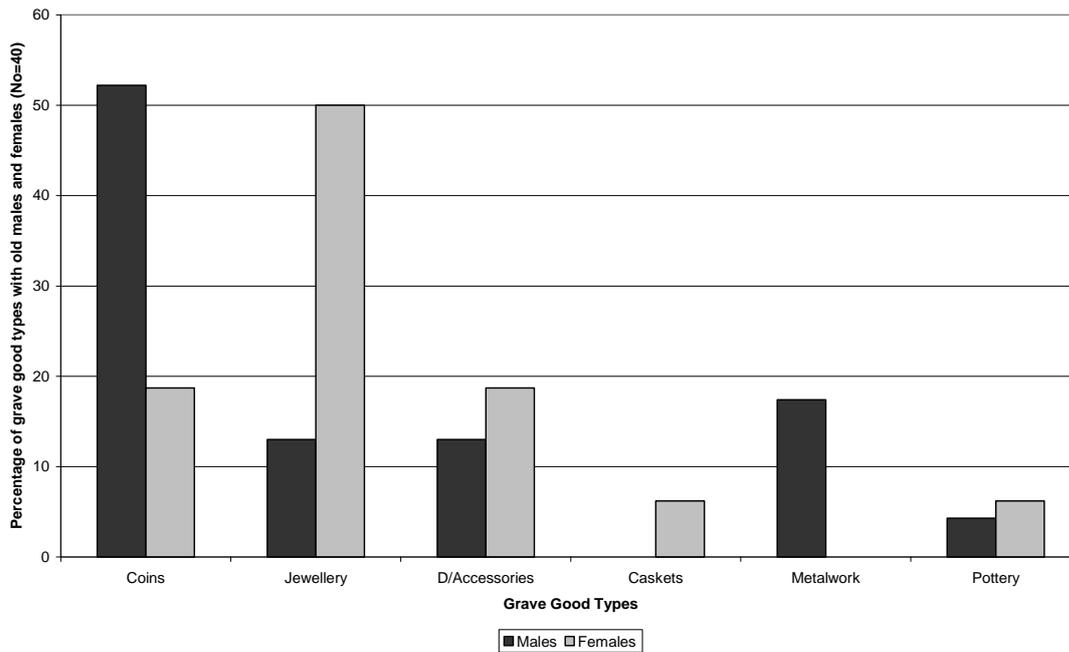
Table 54: Western region: Most frequent functional categories with elderly males and female burials in urban and rural contexts

Gender	Context	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total g/g
Male	Urban	45	8	4	1	-	-	-	20
	Rural	45	5	3	1	-	-	-	20
Female	Urban	11	6	4	-	-	-	-	16
	Rural	28	5	3	2	1	-	-	26

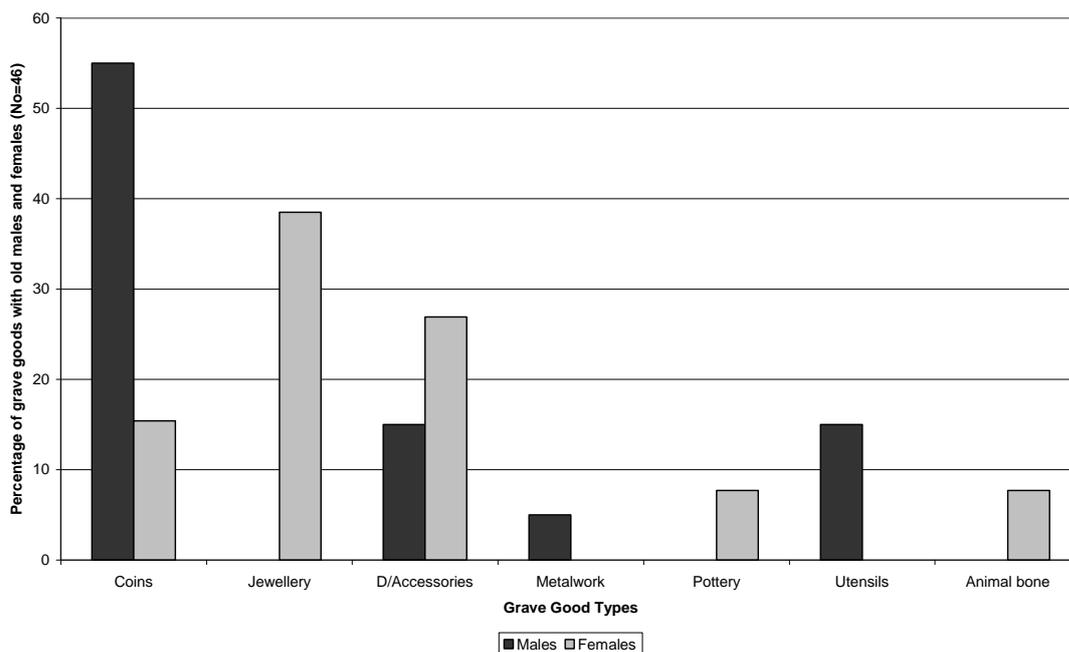
Table 55: Western region: Range of material culture with elderly males and female burials in urban and rural contexts

Strong patterns in gender differentiation in the functional categories of grave goods were also a feature of elderly burial in western contexts. Male burials were primarily provided with items of a votive function, particularly coins, at 44.4% of the total. Female burials were provided with items of a personal function at 61.5%, with jewellery forming the bulk of the items in this category (table 54). Elderly females also recorded a greater degree of fluctuation in the range of material culture provided; being restricted to one or two types in urban contexts and up to four types of material in rural contexts (table 55). This fluctuation can be illustrated by burial G5 at Roden Down, a 4th century burial of elderly female aged 55-60 years, interred with a bone comb, two coins, hobnail shoes and a pottery beaker (Philpott, 1991:358). In contrast at Barton cemetery, Gloucester, burial 22 was that of an elderly female interred wearing two bracelets and two silver finger rings (Rhodes, 1980:68).

The restricted range of material culture with elderly females, particularly in urban contexts, was the result of the highly gender specific provision of jewellery, which formed 50% of the total amount of items (graph 32). Similarly, jewellery and dress accessories were highly represented in elderly female burials in rural areas (graph 33). In contrast to coins, metalwork (predominantly unidentified items of iron) and utensils commonly found with males.



Graph 32: Western region: Range of grave good types with males and females aged 50+ years in urban contexts.



Graph 33: Western region: Range of grave good types with males and females aged 50+ years in rural contexts.

Whilst a strongly defined gendered identity was apparent with female burials of all ages in the western region (section 5.4.1), the increased emphasis upon the elderly female at 50+ years was not a feature of the younger female burial rite (section 5.4.1). This transition, utilising a highly specific burial assemblage, indicates that elderly

females in the west were differentiated from younger adult females. The patterning of high jewellery provision corresponds to the patterning of high jewellery provision with sub-adults, particularly at 6-10 years. This may suggest a conceptual association between the two age groups which is examined in greater detail in section 6.4.5.

This gender and age differentiation is clearest in the grave good provision. In contrast, there were no visible age or gender differences in the grave treatment of the 50+ year age group. The majority of males (62.6%) and females (55.9%) (with grave treatment was recorded) were interred within simple, rectangular grave cuts; a patterning which follows that of younger adults (Appendix A: table 112). However, burial position did record a degree of age and gender-based differentiation amongst the elderly, with a larger percentage (21.9% or 7/32 burials with position recorded) of females aged 50+ years being buried in the prone position, in contrast, to only 4.8% of elderly males (table 56).

Gender	Age Range	Supine	Prone	Crouched
Male	40-49 years	87.5% (105)	5% (6)	7.5% (9)
	50+ years	90.5% (95)	4.8% (5)	4.8% (5)
Female	40-49 years	82% (41)	14% (7)	4% (2)
	50+ years	75% (24)	21.9% (7)	3.1% (1)

Table 56: Western region: Recorded burial position with males and females aged 50+ years.

In summary, the elderly life course in the western region was characterised by a high level of gender differentiation amongst the old in grave good types, functional categories, and to a lesser extent, in the range of material culture provided. Being old in the western region was marked from younger adults predominantly through a change in emphasis in the function of the grave goods, from votive items to personal items. This transition was particularly associated with females in both urban and rural contexts, suggesting a region-wide differential treatment of elderly females, which may relate to how the life course was conceptualised within this region.

6.4.3: Regional variation in the elderly life course in the eastern region

In contrast to the western region, where levels of grave good provision amongst the elderly increased, the pattern of overall provision amongst the elderly declined between mature and elderly adults. With the 40-49 year age group the average number

of grave goods per burial was 0.75 items, falling to 0.5 items at 50+ years. On closer analysis, contextual variation was seen, particularly within the urban sample. In the St Albans sample, the decline in provision was marked, falling from 1.94 items per burial (155/80 burials) at 40-49 years to 1.6 items (32/20 burials) at 50+ years. For example, the 3rd century burial (B13) of 40-49 year old adult at Folly Lane, St Albans was provided with a glass jug, pottery flagon and beaker (Niblett, 1999:115); in contrast, another 3rd century burial, that of a 50+ year old (B86) at St Stephens cemetery, St Albans was provisioned with two pottery jars (Niblett, n.d.). At Colchester the grave good average remained steady at 0.14 items (22/157 burials) at 40-49 years to 0.1 items (4/42 burials) at 50+ years; reflecting the overall low level of grave goods placed with adults at Colchester. A further fall in grave good provision was recorded in rural contexts. Here, the average numbers of grave goods fell from 0.75 items per burial (81/108 burials), to 0.61 items (65/105 burials) at 50+ years.

Analysis of the functional categories of grave goods amongst the mature and old adults in the eastern region showed no strong differentiation between 40-49 years and 50+ years, with household items predominating (table 57). However, the 50+ year age group revealed an increase in the provision of items with a votive function, most visible in rural contexts at 25.5% and 9.5% of the urban sample (table 58), which may indicate a particular association of these types of items with elderly adults. For example, a late 4th century female inhumation at Kempston, Bedfordshire, was provisioned with a complete cow skull, placed below the feet between two upright limestone slabs (Dawson, 2004:251).

Age Range	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
40-49 years	Household 37.2%	Feasting 28.4%	Personal 13.7%
50+ years	Household 40.3%	Votive 20.8%	Feasting 19.4%

Table 57: Eastern region: Most frequent functional categories with mature and elderly adults

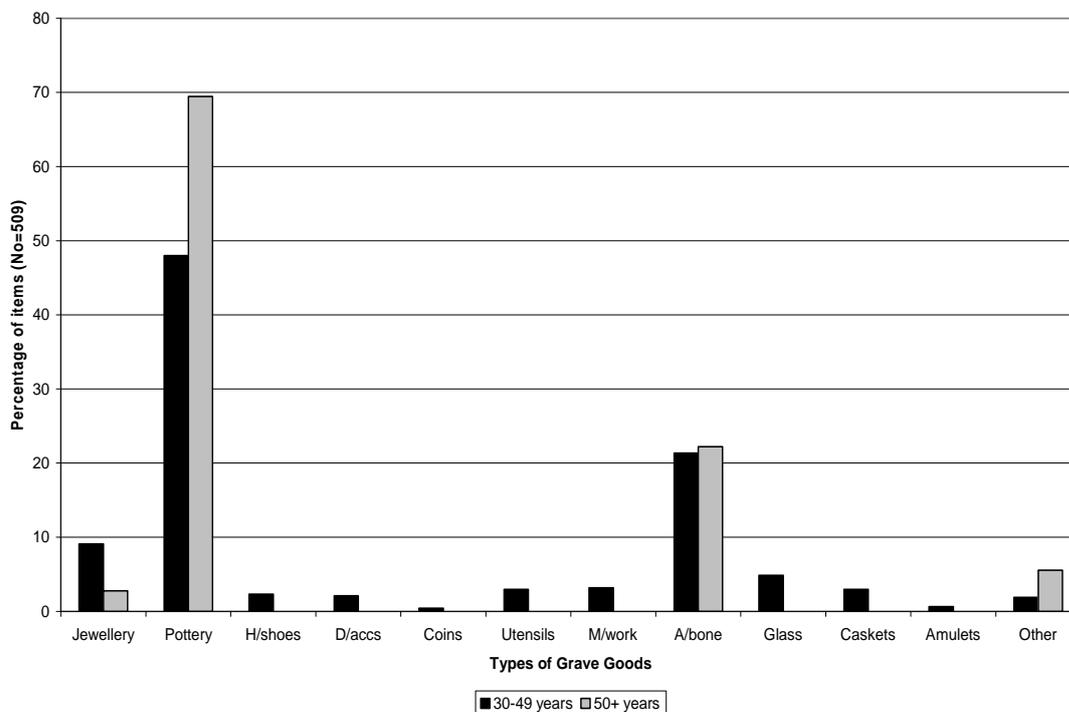
Context	Age Range	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
Urban	40-49 years	Household 39.2%	Feasting 32%	Toilet 8.8%
	50+ years	Household 47.6%	Feasting 38.1%	Votive 9.5%
Rural	40-49 years	Household 37.1%	Personal 22.8%	Feasting 22.8%
	50+ years	Household 37.2%	Votive 25.5%	Personal 17.6%

Table 58: Eastern region: Most frequent functional categories with mature and elderly adults in urban and rural contexts

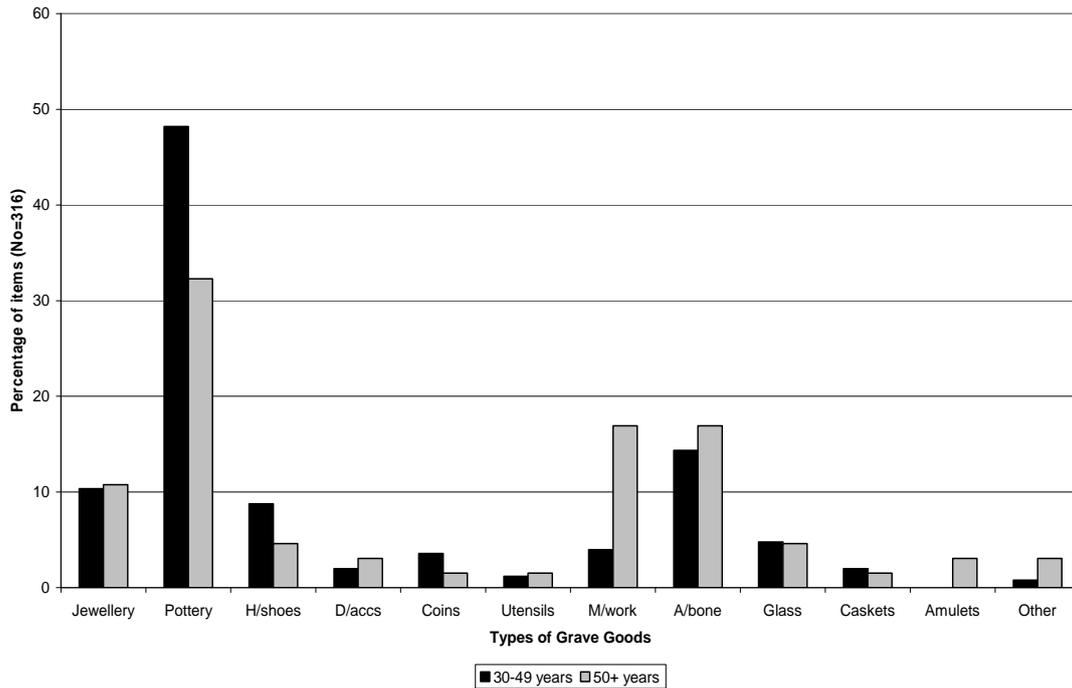
Region	Context	Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total g/g
East	Urban	40-49 years	143	50	20	6	2	-	-	175
		50+ years	61	10	5	-	-	-	-	36
	Rural	40-49 years	67	26	6	5	2	-	-	78
		50+ years	70	27	3	1	-	-	-	62

Table 59: Eastern region: Range of material culture with mature and elderly adults in urban and rural contexts

Contextual variation amongst the elderly was also recorded in the range of material culture provided. In urban contexts, the range of material culture was limited at 50+ years in comparison to 40-49 years, with elderly adults having only one or two different types with burials (table 59). In urban contexts, grave good variation was extremely limited in type, and there were very few luxury items (for example, samian or glassware) placed with old adults (graph 34). Similarly, only one item of jewellery, a finger ring, was placed with a 3rd century inhumation of an unsexed elderly adult (B327) at Butt Road, Colchester (Crummy, 1993:282). In contrast, elderly burials in rural areas were provided with a wider range of material culture (graph 16); illustrated by a late 4th century inhumation of an elderly female (G203) at Dunstable, Bedfordshire, buried with animal remains, metalwork (a single nail), a tile and a quartz stone, which may have functioned as an amulet (Gardner, 2004:165; Merrifield, 1987:10-11).



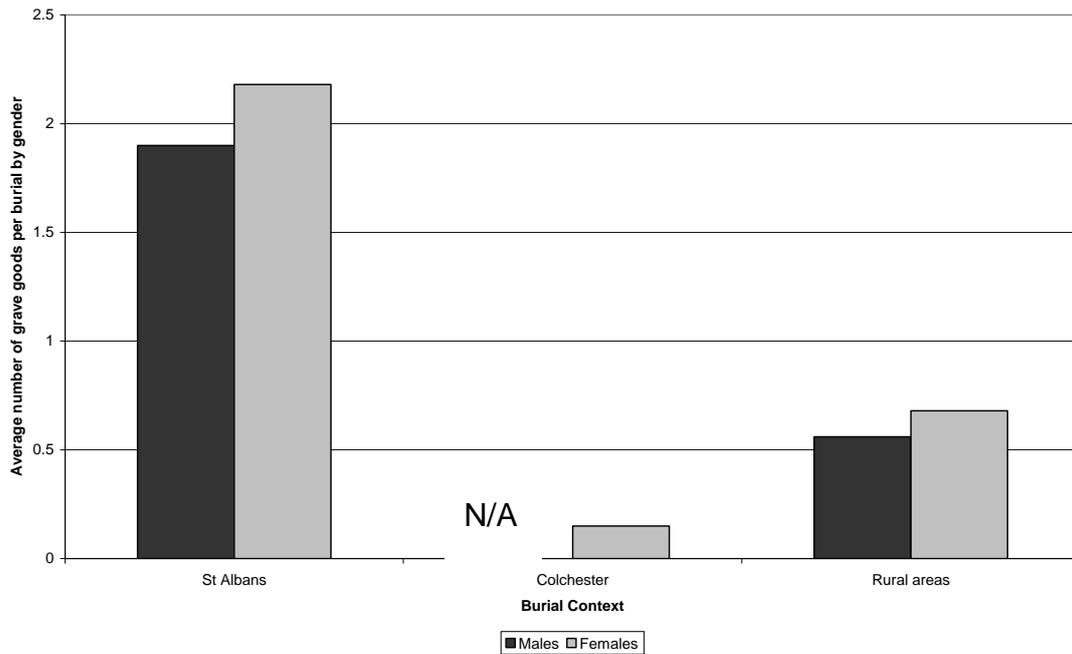
Graph 34: Eastern region: Distribution of grave good types with adults and elderly adult burials in urban contexts.



Graph 35: Eastern Region: Distribution of grave good types with mature and elderly adult burials in rural contexts.

6.4.4: Gender differentiation amongst the elderly in the eastern region

In the eastern region overall, gender differentiation was less strongly marked amongst the elderly than in the western region. Overall, elderly females recorded a decline in rates of provision from 0.95 items at 40-49 years to 0.53 items at 50+ years. However, on a contextual level, grave good provision remained focussed on the female into old age (graph 36). Similarly, the widest range of material culture was placed with elderly females, with rural contexts recording a material culture score of 3 (table 60). This is illustrated by two burials from St Stephens Roman cemetery, St Albans. The first, (B85.126) was a mid-late 2nd century urned cremation of an elderly male provided with two pottery vessels and animal bone (Niblett, n.d.). The second cremation of the same date, that of an elderly female was provided with three pots, a glass beaker, a glass flask and beads (ibid). Strikingly, grave good provision amongst the elderly at Colchester was very low, with no 50+ males receiving grave goods and only two females being provisioned.



Graph 36: Eastern region: Average number of grave goods with males and females aged 50+ years at St Albans, Colchester and rural contexts.

Gender	Context	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total g/g
Male	Urban	20	15	5	-	-	-	-	18
	Rural	42	11	4	-	-	-	-	33
Female	Urban	20	19	10	-	-	-	-	4
	Rural	25	15	1	1	-	-	-	28

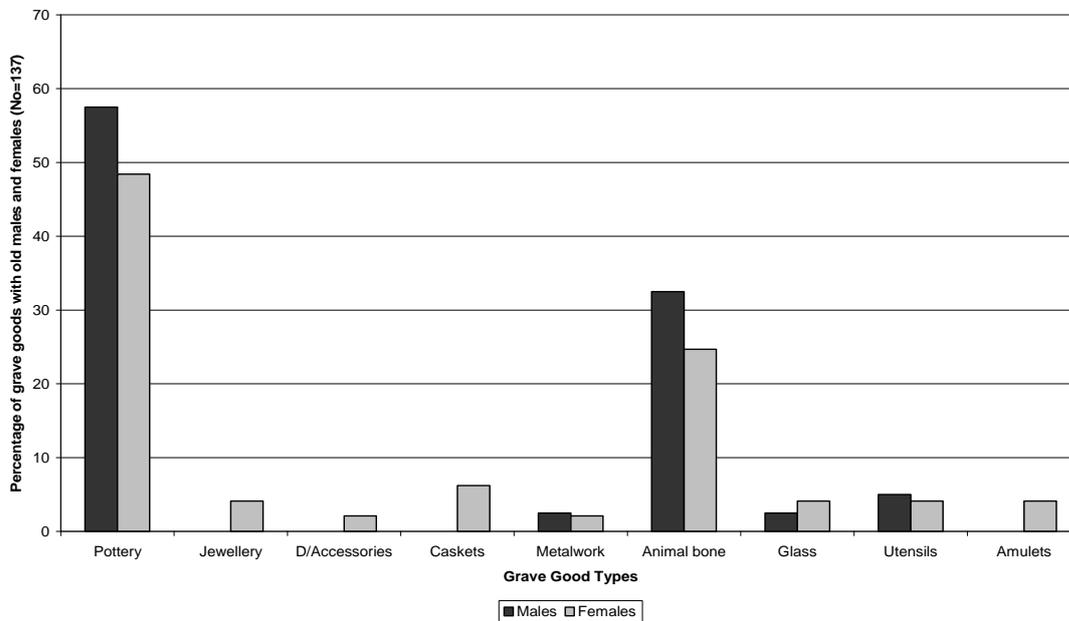
Table 60: Eastern region: Range of material culture score with elderly males and females in urban and rural contexts

Gender	Context	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
Male	Urban	Household 55.6%	Feasting 44.4%	-
	Rural	Household 50%	Votive 19.2%	Feasting 11.5%
Female	Urban	Votive 66.7%	Feasting 33.3%	-
	Rural	Votive 29.6%	Personal 25.9%	Household 22.2%

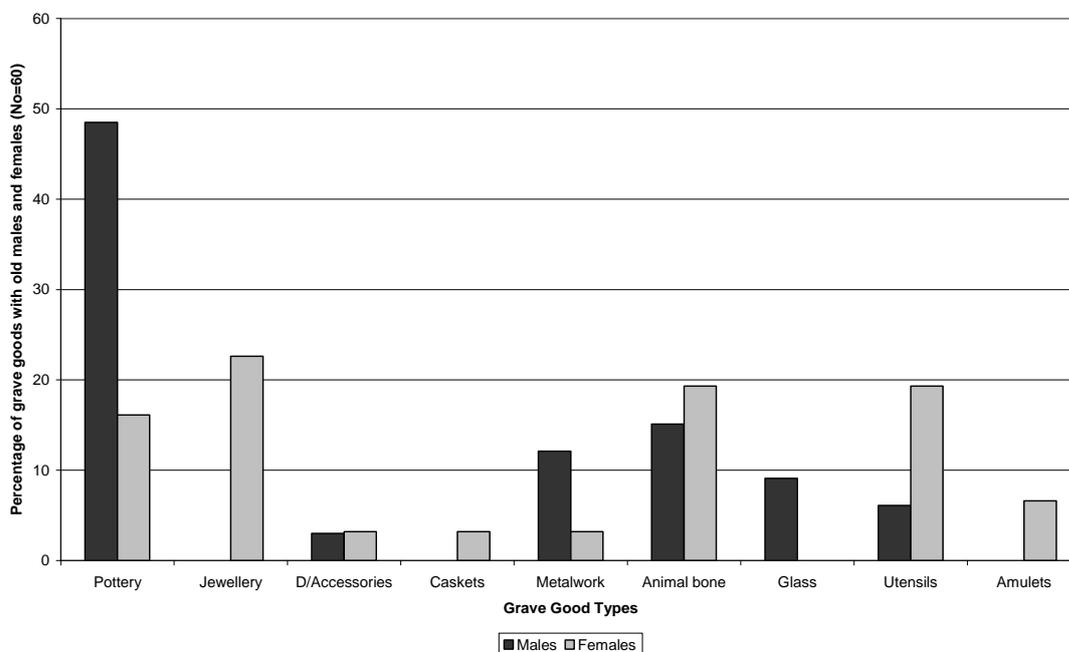
Table 61: Eastern region: Most frequent functional categories with elderly males and females in urban and rural contexts.

In the analysis of functional categories, gender variation was most clearly visible in rural burials. Here, votive and personal items were placed with females, whilst household items were prevalent amongst males. In contrast, gender variation was less marked in urban contexts, with both males and females recording a high percentage of household and feasting items (table 61). This pattern of similar treatment of elderly males and females in urban contexts is also seen in the types of

grave goods, with both having a high percentage of pottery and animal bone (graph 37). Rural female burials recorded a similar spread to that of elderly males, but here a higher percentage of pottery with males, and jewellery with females, may indicate a slight degree of gendering in this context (graph 38).



Graph 37: Eastern region: Distribution of grave good types with males and females (50+ years) in urban contexts.



Graph 38: Eastern region: Distribution of grave good types with males and females (50+ years) in rural contexts.

Grave treatment between the genders recorded no gender variation, with burial in timber coffins being the norm for both elderly males and females. However, age analysis of burial position suggests an increase in non-supine burials amongst the elderly (table 21). Examples of prone burial increased with elderly females at 50+ years, whilst crouched burial was slightly higher with elderly males, which may hint at a less formalised burial treatment in old age.

Gender	Age Range	Supine	Prone	Crouched
Male	40-49 years	96.2% (128)	1.5% (2)	2.3% (3)
	50+ years	88.7% (55)	4.8% (3)	6.4% (4)
Female	40-49 years	91.6% (43)	4.2% (2)	4.2% (2)
	50+ years	88.4% (76)	7% (6)	4.6% (4)

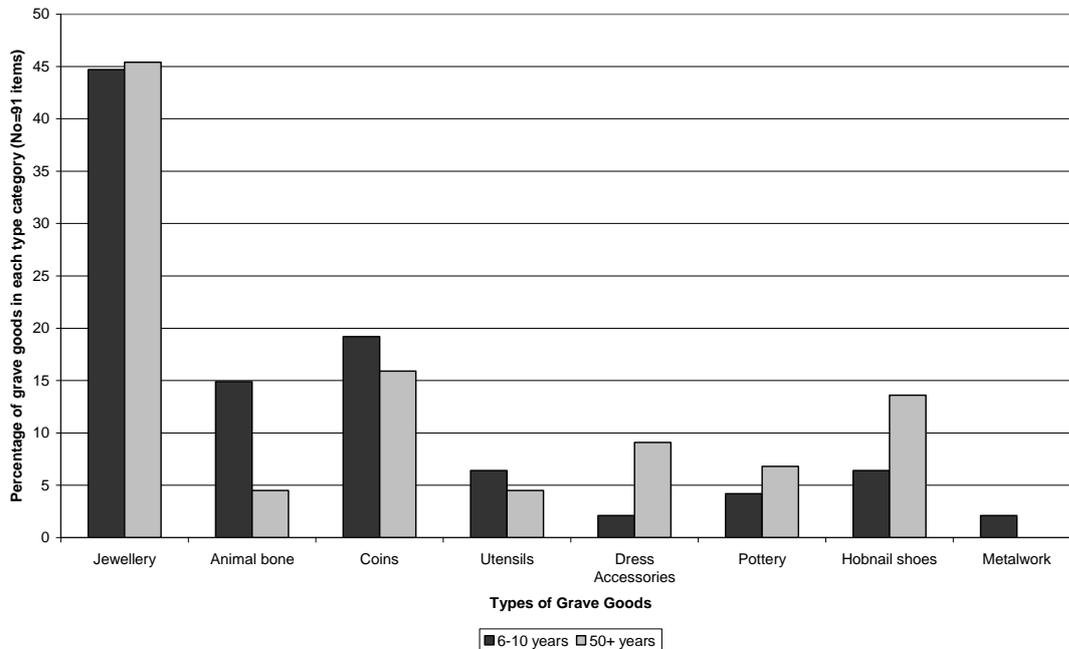
Table 62: Eastern region: Recorded burial position with mature and elderly male and female burials

In summary, the analysis of the elderly in the eastern regional area indicated that old age, as a distinct life course stage, was visible; primarily through a decline in levels of grave good provision and a more restricted range of types. This patterning was particularly apparent within the urban burial sample, indicating a level of urban/rural differentiation in the expression of old age. Similarly, whilst urban areas continued to follow the adult trend of higher levels of provision amongst females, a gender-distinct burial assemblage such as jewellery and dress accessories was less marked. Rather, gender neutral items such as votive objects (e.g. amulets), pottery, and animal remains (both domestic and non-domestic) were commonly found with elderly females. In contrast, gender within the rural sample was more defined. Jewellery was found only with elderly females in rural contexts, whilst pottery and metalwork predominated with males. This urban/rural patterning may indicate that females within urban contexts were considered to have a less distinct gender identity in old age.

6.4.5: Patterns of similarity within the young and elderly life course

As identified above, certain of the eldest members of society shared some characteristics in burial with the sub-adult population. Overall, the youngest age group (0-12 months) and the oldest (50+ years) were provided with the lowest amount of grave goods at 0.34 items and 0.5 items per burial respectively, in contrast to older children and adults. However, it is with elderly females that the similarity is most

distinct. As noted in section 7.2.1, the quantity and types of grave goods placed with elderly females closely resembled that associated with sub-adults. Similarly, in the eastern region, the high provision of non-gendered items with elderly females, particularly in urban contexts, resembles the overall types of grave goods seen with sub-adults aged 0-5 years.



Graph 39: Distribution of grave good types between sub-adults (6-10 years) and western region elderly females.

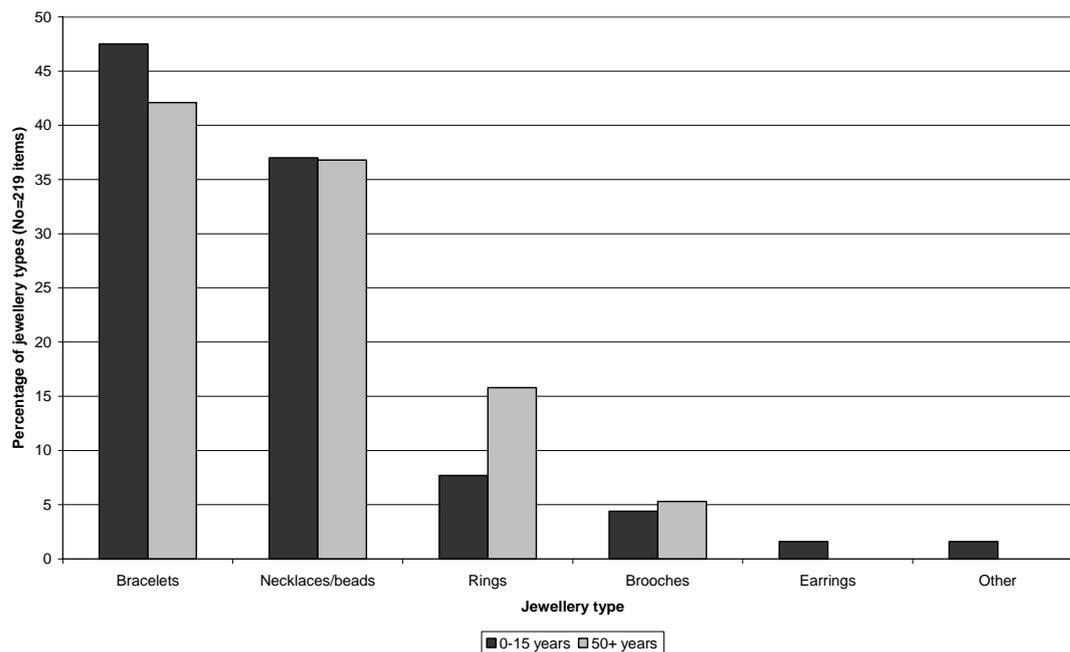
Overall, utilising data from both eastern and western regions, jewellery formed the highest percentage of grave good types with sub-adults aged 6-10 years and with elderly females, at over 30% of the total amount of items with each age group (table 63). In the western region, jewellery made up over 40% of the total amount of grave goods with each age group (graph 39), and this high proportion was reflected in the functional categories, where personal items formed over 60% of the total in each age group (table 64). In contrast, in the eastern region jewellery provision favoured the 6-10 year age group at 33.7% (92/273 items) compared to 20.6% (7/34 items) at 50+ years and, as discussed in section 7.3.1, jewellery items were restricted to females in rural burial contexts. This suggests the presence of a strong regional burial rite relating to the western region.

Grave good type	6-10 years	Females 50+ years
Jewellery	32.2% (103)	34.6% (27)
Animal bone	4.7% (15)	11.5% (9)
Coins	16.2% (52)	10.2% (8)
Utensils	4.1% (13)	11.5% (9)
Dress accessories	3.4% (11)	6.4% (5)
Pottery	22.8% (73)	10.2% (8)
Hobnail shoes	2.2% (7)	8.9% (7)
Metalwork	0.6% (2)	1.3% (1)
Amulets	9.1% (29)	2.6% (2)
Glassware	1.6% (5)	-
Tile	-	3.8%

Table 63: Grave good types with sub-adult and elderly female burials

Functional category	6-10 years	50+ Females
Category 1	Personal 62.5%	Personal 64.3%
Category 2	Votive 17.5%	Votive 19%
Category 3	Feasting 12.5%	Household 9.5%

Table 64: Most frequent functional categories with sub-adults (6-10 years) and elderly females from western region



Graph 40: Overall distribution of jewellery types between sub-adults and elderly adults.

When the jewellery was analysed by types overall, bracelets formed the predominant type of grave goods with sub-adults and old adults, followed by complete necklaces and beads (graph 40). However, the quantity of bracelets showed

evidence for age variation, with old adults having one or two bracelets, in comparison to sub-adults, where many bracelets were the norm (table 65). This includes one, a sub-adult aged 7-8 years from a 4th century context at Wycomb, Gloucestershire, with 12 bracelets placed beside the upper body (Darvill & Timby, 1998:316) (table 24). By region, bracelets formed 70% (16/21 items) with sub-adults aged 6-10 years and 55% (11/20 items) with females aged 50+ years in the west. In contrast, in the eastern region jewellery was less common with elderly females and only four bracelets were found with this age category, compared with over 49% (42/85 jewellery items) with 6-10 year olds.

Number of bracelets	0-15 years	50+ years
1	12	9
2	9	3
3	2	0
4	1	0
6	1	0
7	1	0
7+	1	0

Table 65: Overall number of bracelets with sub-adults and elderly females

In contrast to elderly males, where grave good provision was low in eastern and western regional contexts, female burial in the 50+ age group showed a strong degree of ambiguity in how the elderly female life course was expressed. The high percentage of jewellery items and items with a personal function placed with elderly females in the western region, particularly urban contexts, stands in sharp contrast to the restricted level of grave good provision and inclusion of ‘un-gendered’ votive items in the eastern urban burial sample. While it has been suggested that gender did not play an overt role in social identity amongst older females in Roman Britain (Gowland, 2002; 2007:167), the strongly gendered pattern of grave good provision in the western area indicates that, on a regional level, the expression of elderly female identity was more complex.

Whilst the provision of jewellery with osteologically sexed females may be indicative of a ‘feminine’ identity, how jewellery functioned in the Roman world needs to be considered. Jewellery was not only decorative but functioned as a method of advertising and encapsulating other concepts, such as economic wealth, family rank, ethnicity, regional identity and socially perceived status (Kunst, 2005:128-135;

Swift, 2000a; 200b). For example, certain types of jewellery and stones were employed to display acquired personal status. Earrings, being highly visible, appeared to have been associated particularly with matrons, while pearls were associated with both brides and those who had three or more children (Kunst, 2005, 136-8). Within the context of the life course, the jewellery associated with old women in the western region may have acted as an indicator of their age-status within society. The high percentage of jewellery, specifically bracelets, with sub-adults and elderly females may indicate that, in opposition to the adult norm, both sub-groups were conceptualised as having a similar level of perceived status within the life course.

Whilst sub-adults may have represented future economic potential and familial continuity, the perceived 'child' status of the elderly female may have been triggered by her transition beyond the socially defined role of wife and mother into a more ambiguous social persona. It has been suggested that differences in age at marriage between males and females in provincial Roman societies would have meant that widowhood was a common experience amongst adult females at all ages (Shaw, 1987:43; Saller, 1987:30). Allied to old age, widowhood would have been the norm at the end of the female life course. Similarly, the marriage of children and the birth of a new generation may have changed the perceived social status of the elderly female, removing her from the centre of family life to a more peripheral position. Within a life course context, this peripheral status may have meant that the elderly female was represented as a child in burial.

If the status of elderly female within the western regional life course was equated with that of a child, it may also indicate that the female life course was conceived as being a cycle rather than a linear progression. In opposition to the adult norm, sub-adults and old adults in the age spectrum are closest to the transitional processes of birth and death. As such, the two age groups may have been conceptually linked (section 7.4.3). Within the context of age identity, the equation of elderly females with sub-adults in the western regional sample may be a direct expression of a cyclical conceptualisation of the life course.

6.5: Conclusion

The analysis of age identity as represented in the burial of sub-adults and old adults has shown a complex interplay between age, gender and regional factors. Age is not only chronological and biological, but also socially constructed, reflecting the social

norms associated with each age stage. Within the sub-adult life course these norms would have been closely related to the physical and social development of the child. As the individual matured from dependent infant to independent child, abstract concepts and expectations embedded within each age stage developed in tandem, represented by distinct age banding and sharp contrasts in burial treatment between age bands, particularly during the first decade. In the first year, the deliberate association of infants to certain features within the domestic environment suggests that the age of the infant was a factor in where they were buried (section 6.1.1). As the child grew an increased formality in burial, represented by inclusion into cemetery contexts, reflected the growing social acceptance of the child as it gained an individual identity (section 6.1 and section 7.4.1). At 6-10 years, a child would be fully independent and may have embodied different concepts, reflected in burial through a high provision of grave goods and conservative burial treatment (section 6.2 and section 7.4.2).

As the individual moved into the second decade, the picture became less clear, which suggests the interplay of other factors within this transitional period. Urban and rural differentiation in patterns of grave good provision suggests that external factors relating to environment were at work (section 6.2 and section 7.2). Similarly, the analysis of gender identity at 11-19 years hints at a transition during this time, with the burial of males and females at 16-19 years following the gendered adult trend of higher rates of provision with females (section 6.2.1).

Regional, as well as contextual, variation was particularly strong in the patterning of the sub-adult and elderly adult burials, suggesting that localised conceptions of age identity were very influential at the beginning and end of the life course. In comparison to the adult 'norm' in both eastern and western regions, seen in chapter 5, how age was expressed with the young and old was more ambiguous and fluid. This was particularly visible in the treatment of the young in the urban west in contrast to the rural hinterlands and to the eastern region. Amongst the elderly, regional variation was particularly strong with regards to gender. Gender variation in grave good provision was a visible factor of burial in the western region. In contrast, in the east a 'gendered identity' amongst the elderly was less apparent.

The high provision of items of jewellery with some of the elderly females in the west also hints at a further age-based regional variation in how old age was expressed within the life course. The high percentage of jewellery and personal items placed

with elderly females in the west of the province bears a striking resemblance to the overall pattern recorded with sub-adults at 6-10 years (section 6.4.5). This regional variation may indicate that in reaching old age, and passing into a further age stage beyond the socially defined role as wife and mother, the social status of some elderly women was marked in a similar manner to that of a child. This is further supported by the low levels of provision between the very young and the old in the eastern region. This may suggest that the life course was visualised as being a 'life-cycle' rather than a linear progression, and this conceptualisation of the life course is discussed further in chapter 7 (section 7.4.3).

ROMANO-BRITISH LIFE COURSE

Age was a structuring principle in Romano-British burial practice and a social age identity was visible from birth through to old age. The primary mode of expression was through the grave goods placed with the deceased and, to a lesser extent, through grave treatment. Within both the sub-adult and adult population, peaks in the level of grave good provision and the concentration of certain types of grave goods at specific points within the life course reflected the significance of, and concepts associated with, that age group. However, age identity did not stand alone, but was embedded within a gendered identity, and further subjected to regional and localised concerns. This chapter aims to contextualise aspects of the life course, exploring how other forms of identity would have impacted upon how age was expressed in burial.

As gender identity was so closely allied to age, section 7.1 explores aspects of gendered social roles in the Romano-British life course, through comparing the trajectory of the male and female life course with other sources of evidence from the Roman world. Similarly, as the data indicated a strong pattern of regional and localised identity within the life course, section 7.2 will examine these issues in relation to the impact of Rome and the development of the province at an urban and rural level.

This chapter aims to explore concepts associated with being young and old in the life course. Section 7.3 seeks to examine the combined impact of physical and social development on the young life course in relation to evidence from across the Roman provinces, placing the child back into the Romano-British landscape. Section 7.4 examines how the life course may have been conceptualised. By comparing the evidence for age identity at the beginning and end of the Romano-British life course, with anthropological evidence from other pre-Industrial societies, it seeks to explore whether the life course may have been a linear or cyclical process.

7.1: Gender identity in the Romano-British life course.

Within the Romano-British life course, the evidence indicated a strongly defined gender identity. Where biological sex was identified, the pattern of grave good provision favoured females on a regional and contextual level (sections 5.4.1; 5.4.3). Similarly, female burials had a higher concentration of 'gendered' grave goods such as jewellery and dress accessories. In contrast, males were provided with fewer grave goods, and a higher concentration of 'non-gendered' items, such as coins, metalwork

and animal bone. This patterning suggests that being 'female' was a defining characteristic of identity. Within this overall burial pattern of a defined female identity, emphasis was placed on older sub-adult and young adult females aged 11-39 years; particularly at 20-39 years. Here females aged 20-29 years were provided with the widest range of material culture, and at 30-39 years were provided with the highest average number of grave goods.

At a regional and contextual level this patterning was more visible. In the western region, with the exception of elderly females, as discussed in section 6.4.2, grave good provision was concentrated on young females. In the urban sample, the 20-29 year age group was emphasised, and in rural areas the emphasis was on older sub-adult (11-19 years) and young adult females (20-29 years) (section 5.4.1). In the east, the rate of female grave good provision in urban contexts peaked at 30-39 years, and between older sub-adult and young females aged 11-29 years in the rural sample (section 5.4.3). This pattern of emphasis on the 11-39 year old females appears to have been a widespread pattern outside of Rome. Patterns of epigraphic commemoration from the Italian regions of Samnium, Picenum and Umbria showed a peak at 11-25 years, whilst parts of Etruria had the highest level of female commemoration at 21-30 years (Revell, 2005:48-51). Outside of the Italian peninsula, female commemoration peaked at 21-30 years in southern Spain (*ibid*, 57-58).

The concentration of grave goods and the high quantity of personal items, particularly jewellery, placed with older sub-adult, young adult and mid-adult females (11-39 years) indicate that these years were the focus of the female life course. The period emphasised in the epigraphic and burial record coincided with the onset of menarche, estimated by Soranus (*Gyn. I.33*) to commence at around 14 years, and covered the most fertile years before the onset of the menopause, considered to occur 'not earlier than forty, nor later than fifty years' (*Gyn. I.4.20*). As discussed in section 2.3, surviving textual sources indicate that marriage was the major transition point for females in antiquity, marking the transition from child to adult, whilst epitaphs from surviving tombstones emphasised the ideal virtues associated with the married female, such as loyalty, faithfulness and modesty.

Shaw's (1987) analysis of the age of marriage suggested that it generally occurred during the late teens and early 20s, although regional and economic variation was visible. Legally a female could marry from the age of 12 years (*Digest 23, 2.4* cited in Gardner & Wiedemann, 1991:17), and epigraphic evidence does give

examples of marriage during the early teen years. For example, the tombstone of Aeturnia Zotica (CIL III, 6759) died after childbirth aged 15 years and 5 months, whilst the epitaph (CIL III, 3572) of Verturia, wife of centurion Titus, Julius Fortunatus, died aged 27 years, having been married for 16 years, making her around 11 or at most 12 years old on marriage. Whilst there are no extant examples of very early marriage in the epigraphic record of Roman Britain, Claudia Martina, the wife of a civil servant, died aged 19 years (RIB 21), although it is not known whether she was originally from Britain (Allason-Jones, 2004:380-1).

Although not directly commenting on pre-Roman Britain, both Caesar (*Gallic War*, VI.21) and Tacitus (*Germania*, 20) suggested that early marriage amongst certain tribal groups was rare. Allason-Jones (2004:381) cites evidence for probable female age at the birth of first child, gleaned from skeletal evidence from Poundbury, Dorset, which indicated that 64% of the female sample had given birth by their late 20s. Whilst the viability of skeletal evidence to estimate age at parturition is debatable, the evidence for Roman Britain of epigraphic patterns of female commemoration (Revell, 2005) and the concentration of grave goods at 11-39 years seen in this study, does suggest that these years were pivotal within the female life course. It may be that what was being emphasised was female fertility and motherhood. The birth of children was the focus of marriage, and motherhood the primary role of the female.

It has been suggested that the high incidence of jewellery in the graves of young females may have symbolised the dowry of these young women, signalling fertility or representing the recent transition from child (non-fertile) to adult (fertile) status (Oliver, 2002). Similarly, Puttock (2002:41-55), argued that the emphasis on the young female in burial, as a child and a young adult, was associated with potential and actual fertility; both on an individual level, and in an abstract sense, the wider community.

That the emphasis on the period between 11 and 39 years within the female burial record may have been associated with fertility and potential or actual motherhood is supported by the greater fluidity and ambiguity recorded amongst older females within the sample. The years from 40-49 appear to have been a time of transition within the female life course, signalled by fluctuation in levels of grave good provision, a more restricted range of material culture and a change in emphasis of grave good function (section 5.1.1). On a regional level this pattern was also

visible, particularly in the western region, where there was a visible transition in the types of grave goods found at 40-49 years in comparison to younger females (section 5.4.1). Similarly, in the east, there was a decline in the average number of grave goods with this age group, particularly in rural contexts (section 5.4.3).

Whilst it is problematic to tie this transition in the female burial record directly to the menopause, because the ending of fertility and the physical symptoms associated with the transition may have been essentially a private matter, the 'social' end of fertility may have been recognised. The menopause is a biological function related to age, and as such, physical and social signs of time passing could have signalled the end of fertility, regardless of whether the menopause had actually occurred.

In many traditional societies, older females were regarded as non-sexual (i.e. non-fertile) beings (Cockayne, 2003:123). For example, in Anglo-Saxon contexts, the *wergild* (social worth of the individual expressed in monetary value) of a post-menopausal female was up to three times less than that of a free-born female of childbearing age (Crawford, 1999:30). In the context of Rome, Augustan marriage laws did not insist on the remarriage of widows aged over 50 years, which may have represented a tacit understanding that the ability to conceive would have ceased (Harlow & Laurence, 2002:127-9). In a similar vein, a staple Roman literary motif involved poking fun at mature and elderly females who continued to be sexually attractive or were overly concerned with retaining their looks (Esler, 1989; Cockayne, 2003:118-9).

Widowhood may have happened at any age, but may have been the reality for many elderly women (McGinn, 1999). Saller (1987) and Shaw (1987) identified an age difference between the genders, with males marrying, on average, a decade later. This may have led to many elderly women outliving their husbands, and provision for their old age was dependent upon children or other relatives, if they did not re-marry or have their own resources (Hin, 2007:4). Many elderly women may have undertaken roles involved with the care of grandchildren. Patterns of epigraphic commemoration from Tarquina and Roman Spain analysed by Revell (2005: 53-4; 57), showed a bias towards elderly females; interpreted as elderly women having a higher social status due to their roles as grandmothers and great-grandmothers (Nielsen, 1989:79). Whilst the emphasis on the older woman in western urban contexts, as seen in section 6.4.5,

may indicate a higher social status amongst certain elderly women, other interpretations are possible (section 7.4.3).

As an individual, a woman was defined socially by her relationship to the males within her family: as daughter, wife and mother (Parkin, 2003:246). The ending of the role of wife through widowhood, or mother through the ending of fertility or through the birth of the first grandchild, would have led to a more peripheral position for the elderly female (Harlow, 2007:200). This peripheral position, associated with the biological and social changes linked with ageing, may have led to elderly females being represented more ambiguously than younger females.

Within the burial record of females aged 50+ years, a strong degree of ambiguity was visible within the burial samples. In the eastern region, grave good provision amongst elderly females in urban contexts was non-gendered, and the quantity of grave goods provided was lower in relation to elderly males and to younger females (section 5.4.3). In rural contexts grave good provision was higher, but the burial of older women was marked by votive items replacing household objects. For the 50+ female in the western region gender distinctions remained apparent (as discussed in section 6.4.5). Certain elderly females appeared to have been represented in a similar manner to sub-adults, with a high percentage of grave goods, predominantly personal items. This suggests a further life course stage beyond adulthood.

The concentration of grave goods and material culture at 11-39 years amongst females, allied to an increased ambiguity during the later years, does suggest that fertility, both potential and actual, was the defining characteristic of the female life course. The loss of perceived fertility, either through social factors such as widowhood or transitions within the social structure of the family or through biological transitions such as the menopause and physical signs of ageing, may have triggered the transition from young to old woman. No longer able to fill their designated social roles, elderly women could be represented in the life course in a similar manner to children or to old men, with their gender being subsumed beneath other concepts relating to old age.

In contrast to females, the male life course in the burial record was more complex, with a greater degree of variation in age emphasis across all samples. This pattern echoed evidence for male epigraphic commemoration seen in other regions of the Empire. For example, in *regiones 4-6* (Samnium, Picenum and Umbria) peaks of

commemoration amongst males was recorded at 16-25, 36-40 and 56-60 years, whilst in southern Spain the years 21-30, 51-60 and 71-80 were emphasised (Revell, 2005:49-51; 57). In Roman Britain, the male pattern of epigraphic commemoration showed a similar concentration on adult males and older individuals, with non-military tombstones recording peaks at 31-40 years and 51-70 years; contrasting with military tombstones where the emphasis was primarily on those aged 31-40 years (ibid, 58).

Amongst males in the burial sample in this study, the highest levels of grave good provision and range of material culture were concentrated at primarily 20-39 years (section 5.1.1), with emphasis on the 30-39 year age stage through the widest range of material culture in both the east and western regions (sections 5.4.1, 5.4.3). On a contextual level, greater variation was recorded. In the western urban contexts the emphasis was on males aged 11-29 years, and in the rural sample the emphasis was placed on the 11-19 year and 40-49 year age groups (section 5.4.1). In the eastern region, male grave good provision peaked at 11-19 years, 30-39 years and 50+ years in urban contexts, and at 20-39 years in rural areas (section 5.4.3). This pattern of differentiation in age emphasis amongst males suggests that male identity was not defined by one factor, as was the case with females, but was affected by a variety of external influences.

Whilst the emphasis at 11-19 years may be a factor of the overall temporal trend towards providing grave goods with sub-adults during the later Roman period (section 5.2), allied to the small number of accurately sexed male burials in this age group, the analysis of the sub-adult male burial pattern (section 6.2.1) indicates that higher grave good provision was primarily associated with the upper end of the decade (16-19 years). As such, these burials are more closely associated with 20-29 year age group. This suggests that what was being emphasised in the early stages of the male life course was full adult status. This contrasts to the textual evidence relating to the elite Roman male which indicated a period of 'adolescence' from 15-16 years to *c.*30 years (section 2.3). The burial analysis indicates that there was no corresponding visible 'liminal' phase at this point of the life course in Roman Britain. Rather, young juvenile males (16-19 years) followed the adult male burial pattern. As very few of the burials within the overall sample could be classed as high status (i.e. with high quality grave goods or elaborate stone coffins), the evidence suggests that the majority of the burials were those of the non-elite urban and rural population.

Amongst these social groups the onus would have been for the sub-adult to join the adult world through work as soon as possible to help support the family (Kleijwegt, 1991:51).

The onset of full adulthood amongst the artisan and lower classes in Roman Britain may have been related to the ability to undertake adult patterns of work, and evidence from elsewhere within the Roman world suggests that the onset of this process amongst freeborn males occurred between the ages of 11-15 years. Surviving apprentice contracts from Roman Egypt indicate that formal apprenticeships for males were undertaken at around 12 years (Westermann, 1914:314). Many of the surviving documents indicate that the contract was made between the parent/guardian of the child and the craftsman, rather than with the child itself: suggesting the child had not reached full legal adult status. Also, certain of the documents recorded that there were negotiations between craftsman and parent/guardian over who would be responsible for payment of the poll tax, which was levied on freeborn males in Roman Egypt at the age of 14.

The negotiations between craftsman and parent/guardian regarding the poll tax would indicate that the apprentice was below this age when the arrangement was made; the average 2 year length of service suggests that the majority were around 12-13 years when first apprenticed (Bradley, 1991:108). For example, in 117 CE Thephersais negotiated a contract with a master weaver to train her son for a period of two years; while in 66 CE the son of Tryphon, a weaver, was apprenticed out for the period of one year (Westermann, 1914, 296). The completion of a period of formal apprenticeship would have initiated the child into full 'adult' working life. Certain of the apprentice documents indicate that the child was expected to put in a full working day 'from sunrise to sunset', the same as an adult (Bradley, 1991:110).

Similarly, epigraphic evidence from across the Roman world indicated that non-elite children were employed within a variety of different economic contexts from an early age. For example, a tombstone was erected in the memory of 9 year old freeborn Piersis, who worked as a *ornatrix* (hairdresser), while Viccentia, who also died in her 9th year, was employed as an embroiderer of gold thread (CIL VI 9731 & CIL VI 9213, cited in Sigismund-Nielson, 2007:50). Further trades involving children aged less than 10 years included nail-making, copper-beating, weaving, stone masons, mosaicists, jewellers and entertainers (Bradley, 1991:115; Caldwell, 2004:4). Legally, during the late Roman period, a child could work from the age of five years

(*Dig.7.6.6.1*, cited in Bradley, 1991), whilst surviving slave records cite examples of children aged less than 10 years being sold (Bradley, 1978; Jones, 1956:193).

Whilst it cannot be assumed that the evidence from primarily urban contexts across the Roman world were representative of the economic structure of a primarily agrarian society like Roman Britain, ethnographic sources indicate that the young are often employed in the less physically-intensive aspects of agriculture. In rural Mexico, the young are involved in seasonal farm work such as fruit picking (Bey, 2003:291), whilst gathering fruits and roots are tasks undertaken by children amongst the Efe peoples of the Congo (Morelli *et al*, 2003:271). In the context of the Roman world, Horace (*Epodes*, 2.39-46, cited in Scheidel, 1996:4) wrote of young girls driving goats to pasture, whilst collecting firewood, minding poultry and gathering animal fodder were all agricultural tasks associated with the young (Bradley, 1994:68; 1991:14).

Evidence of work patterns relating to pre-industrial agricultural societies indicate that adulthood commenced at around 14-15 years, whether in primarily agricultural tasks for males or domestic-related tasks for females (Levine & Levine, 1985). For example, in pre-Industrial rural Britain, males aged 14 years were considered adults, and paid accordingly for their agricultural labour (Verdon, 2002:320), while in modern rural India, male children within agrarian families begin to increase their work load at 12 years, working full-time by 16-17 years (Vlassoff, 1979:421). Whilst this evidence does not directly relate to Roman Britain, it does indicate that non-elite males were considered capable of undertaking full adult work at an early age. As such, the similarity of male sub-adult burial pattern at 16-19 years with that of males aged 20-29 years may indicate full adult status.

As adults, marriage would have been a factor within the male life course. As discussed earlier, the epigraphic evidence suggested an average 10 year age difference in age at marriage between males and females (Shaw, 1987). The patterning of grave good provision amongst adult males (20-49 years) in the burial sample indicates a similar age division between males and females, primarily in rural contexts. For example, in the western region, rural adult female grave good provision was concentrated at 20-29 years, whilst with males the emphasis was at 30-49 years (section 5.4.1). Although female grave good provision in the eastern rural region was concentrated at 11-19 years, amongst males the emphasis was at 20-39 years (section 5.4.3). Although this patterning was less visible in urban contexts, it may suggest that

fertility, as represented by marriage and children, remained a factor within rural male burial, although not as pivotal as in the female life course.

In contrast to the elderly female, where the burial evidence indicates a degree of ambiguity in the expression of elderly female status, the burial treatment of males aged 50+ years is more uniform. In all samples the trend, with the exception of the eastern urban sample, was towards fewer grave goods, particularly in rural contexts (section 6.4.4). Even within the urban eastern sample, the male peak at 50+ years was a result of the high percentage of grave goods from the early Roman sites at St Albans. The lack of emphasis on elderly males within the burial sample is not supported by the epigraphic evidence, wherein a further peak in commemoration occurs in old age (Revell, 2005:58).

While this discrepancy may relate to accidents of survival, it may also relate to the irregular adoption of the epigraphic habit in Britain. Epigraphy was a limited urban phenomenon in Roman Britain, relating to the military, administrators and those such as merchants and craftsmen who interacted with or worked for these institutions (Mattingly, 2006:296-300). Allied to this was social and economic status, as suggested above, the burial sample was predominantly that of the non-elite, who would be least likely to adopt epigraphy. Rather, the lack of emphasis in the burial of elderly males is more suggestive of low social status, as would be found within societies in which physical labour was paramount.

From the Roman world, evidence for the transition of property to children by the elderly before death is known in Roman Egypt. Surviving papyri show cases where the elderly father, or mother, promises to transfer ownership of property to their children, on the condition that they care for them in their old age. For example, papyri dated from the mid first century states that Orseus, aged 65, divided his property between his 4 children, with the eldest son receiving most of the property. In return, the eldest son is to provide Orseus with all necessities and cover all expenses. Similarly, 69 year old Psuphis and his 60 year old wife Tetsiris divided their property amongst their children in return for food, money, and a fitting burial upon their death (P. *Mich.* 321 & 322a, cited in Parkin, 1997:129).

Within an agricultural society such as Roman Britain, Johnson (1988:7) suggests that attitudes and behaviour towards the elderly was conditioned by underlying economic and social systems. For example, in medieval southern Europe, where the extended family was the norm, elderly peasants did not 'retire', but retained

their land and status, working their land with their children (Sahar, 1998). In contrast, in medieval northern Europe, where the nuclear family was the prevalent social structure, the peasant transferred the management of land to his children in return for care and support in old age (Gaunt, 1983:255; 265-66). Whether the prevalent social structure was a nuclear or extended family in Roman Britain is open to debate, Millett (1990:205-10) argues that by the late Roman period small nucleated agricultural settlements of *coloni* were closer to the pattern of medieval villages. If this was the case, it may represent a transition towards a more nuclear family structure closer to that of medieval northern Europe. As such, the lack of status visible in elderly male burial, particularly in rural contexts, may have represented the more marginal position of the elderly male within the rural nuclear family structure.

7.2: Regional and local identity within the life course

A gendered identity was only one of the factors which influenced how the life course was expressed. The evidence also indicated the presence of a strong degree of regional and local variation. On the surface, both eastern and western areas shared certain characteristics associated with each age stage and followed the broad four-stage life course of early infancy, childhood, early adulthood and mature/old adulthood, however closer examination revealed a more complex patterning. These differences were visible in the types of material culture placed with the burials, as well as within the timing of possible life course transitions and in the weight of emphasis at certain age stages. This level of variation within the trajectory of the life course suggests that a strong regional identity was being expressed. Furthermore, within each region, variation was visible between burials in urban and rural contexts, suggesting that how age identity was expressed in burial was influenced by, and reflected, the immediate local environment and ways of life.

In the western region, (section 5.4.1) the incidence of coffin burial was rare and coins and hobnail shoes were common forms of grave goods. Gender was a visible component of identity in old age, particularly in urban contexts, whilst a high degree of variation in the expression of age identity in urban and rural samples was strongly marked with sub-adult and elderly adult burials. In contrast, pottery and animal bone were the predominant forms of material culture in the eastern region, burials tended to be more richly furnished, particularly in the early Roman period, and the use of coffins with inhumation burial was frequent (section 5.4.3). In the urban and rural

sample in the east, the emphasis on age groups was more homogenous; only sub-adults aged 6-15 years were strongly differentiated, with urban contexts favouring 6-10 years and rural contexts emphasising 11-15 years. In comparison to young adults, the eastern region showed a sharp decline in grave good provision and range of material culture with old adults (50+ years), particularly in urban contexts.

The pattern, summarised above, indicates that a regional identity was being expressed through burial, most noticeably at the beginning and end of the life course. Outside of burial contexts, other strong regional trends have been identified within settlement patterns and distribution of material culture, which suggests that Roman Britain was regionally diverse. As discussed in chapter 3, both the eastern and western areas of pre-Roman Britain had a distinct regional and localised identity. The eastern region had developed a highly stratified society during the later pre-Roman period, with a distinct cremation burial rite, coinage and tradition of feasting; whilst the spread of Gallo-Belgic coins and use of imported material culture indicated a high level of interaction with Gaul, and by extension, the wider Roman world (Mattingly, 2004:63, Hill, 2007; Cunliffe, 2004:63). In contrast, in the western region the settlement evidence suggest a less centralised social structure (Haselgrove, 2004:23). The spread of Dobunnic coinage indicated a defined area of influence, while the range of visible material culture was more regionally defined, showing less evidence for continental interaction (Moore, 2007).

Recent thinking regarding the early impact of the Roman conquest on late Iron Age Britain suggests that prevalent regional identities may have become solidified in the face of occupation and further consolidated by the division of the province into tribal *civitates* (Millet, 1990; Pearce, 1997:179; Mattingly, 2004:10). Although a heavy military presence in the west, dating from the late 40s CE to late 70s CE, indicated a fairly strong level of native resistance (Mattingly, 2006:142), after pacification, a *civitas capital* was established at Cirencester (*Corinium Dobunorum*), providing an administrative centre and tribal focus for the region (Jones, 2004:174). In contrast, the early interaction with Rome in the east appeared to have been more divisive. Whilst the *Catuvellauni* developed their *civitas capital* at St Albans (*Verulamium*), the *Trinovantes* of Essex, due in part to their involvement in the Boudiccan rebellion, were formally attached to the *colonia* at Colchester and denied their own separate *civitas capital* (Mattingly, 2006:271-2, 379).

This pattern of regionalisation in southern Roman Britain is further reflected in the development of each area during the Roman period. In the west, rural villas were established from the mid-2nd century, reaching their zenith in the 4th century (ibid, 393-398). However, localised patterns of villa settlement in the Cotswolds, primarily located to the north of the Cotswolds scarp and in the sphere of Cirencester, suggest a sub-regional identity (Hurst, 2005:303; Reece, 1999a:80). Elsewhere in the west, villa development was less intensive, and villages, such as Gatcombe (Avon) and Catsgore (Somerset), and settlements and isolated farmsteads were more common (King, 2004:355). In the eastern region of the province, settlement patterns showed distinct differentiation, which again suggest a strong sub-regional identity. To the west of the region, villa development flourished early, particularly in the vicinity of St Albans, but declined rapidly during the later Roman period, whilst the Essex region had few substantial elite villa sites but a high percentage of nucleated settlements (ibid, 359-60; Mattingly, 2006:381-2). Within urban areas, analysis of civic and domestic buildings in Colchester and St Albans indicates that the towns were in decline by the mid-4th century, in contrast to Cirencester, where evidence for building work continued until the end of the Roman period (Faulkner, 2001:127, 130).

The influence of a regional variation was also apparent in the material culture. Patterns of coin loss in the province showed evidence for regional bias. Reece (1993, 1999a:79-81) noted that the western region tended to follow a pattern of higher status coin loss well into the late 4th century, whereas high status coin loss outside of the western region declined in the late 3rd century. Similarly, the distribution of type 1B nail cleaner strap-ends was concentrated in the west of the province (Eckardt & Crummy, 2006:94), whilst the distribution of late Roman belt buckles was focused on the area around Gloucester and Cirencester (Reece, 1999a:82-3).

The different economic and social development of the two regions, and their interaction with Rome, would have impacted on how the life course was expressed; although a lack of extant burials from the pre-Roman Iron Age makes it problematic to fully assess the continuity of pre-Roman concepts of age identity. It is interesting to note that the regional and local variation in burial was most visible with the youngest and oldest groups within the age spectrum, particularly in the western region. In contrast to adults, these sub-sections of society were the 'least visible' in terms of influence. In her discussion of Anglo-Saxon pagan/Christian 'transition' cemeteries, Crawford (1999:79-80) suggests that at times of rapid social change, the burial of the

least influential in society, such as the young and old, were often accorded either a more variable or a highly conservative burial rite in opposition to the prevailing adult norm. If these arguments are applied to the construction of the life course, the burial of the youngest and oldest provides a vehicle through which concepts relating to regional and local identity could be expressed, and resistance to social conformity negotiated.

In southern Roman Britain, recent studies on rural land use have suggested that agricultural development strategies were designed to create a surplus for sale or trade, with evidence for the cultivation of marginal land for both arable and animal husbandry (Taylor, 2007:115). Many of these settlements would have relied upon the labour of the immediate household, particularly at times of intense activity such as harvesting (Scheidel, 1995:207; Erdkamp, 1999:558). Whilst younger children may have been involved in certain aspects of agricultural work, their contribution was limited due to the physical requirements of ploughing and harvesting. Rather, these were tasks associated primarily with adults in rural economies (Erdkamp, 1999). As discussed above in section 7.1, the second decade of life was associated with the beginning of full adulthood, and the increased emphasis associated with those aged 11-15 years in rural contexts may have represented their increased ability to contribute as an adult.

In contrast to the emphasis at 11-15 years in the rural areas, sub-adult urban grave good provision was concentrated earlier; at 3-5 years in the western region and at 6-10 years in the east (section 6.1 and section 6.2). Urban sub-adult burials also recorded a higher prevalence of neonates and infants aged 0-1 year in formal cemeteries and a greater degree of formalisation in sub-adult burial, most noticeably at 6-10 years. This earlier emphasis within the life course of the child in urban environments may indicate that the burial of children may have been employed to reflect urban concerns. Pearce (1997:179) suggests that the impact of Rome brought into being a type of urban community not previously known, and in such communities, burial may have taken on a different significance. The urban centres would have drawn their populations from both the immediate rural area and from across the wider Empire; through immigration, a military presence or veteran settlement. The urban population would have been divorced from their original family groups, extended social networks and traditions. As such, these urban societies would

have re-negotiated aspects of identity and tradition, to reflect the new social environment.

This practice of re-defining identities and traditions can be illustrated through a comparison of the community identity of Gloucester and Cirencester. Although only 14 miles apart geographically, Hurst (2005) argues that the different trajectories followed in the development of the urban sites, and how these cities expressed themselves through aspects of their material culture was related to their origins as *colonia* and *civitas capital*. Fulford (1999:179) estimated that if Gloucester was settled as a *colonia* in the 80s CE, the origin of the veteran population would still have been predominantly from outside of Britain.

The layout of Gloucester further suggests two different communities. The first community, based around the preceding legionary fortress, contained polyfocal centres which may have represented the settlement of retired veterans and their descendents, whilst the second community was based around the river crossing and to the north and north-east of the town centre (Hurst, 2005:296-8; 1999:119). In contrast, Cirencester, was a new tribal capital foundation (Jones, 2004:172), laid out on a new regular grid formation seen elsewhere in the Roman provinces, and evolved as a more typical Romano-British town, with a single focal point (Hurst, 2005:296-8).

Similarly, Hurst argued that the artistic styles of both Cirencester and Gloucester differed, with sculptural associations at Cirencester having strong Romanising influences, whilst sculpture at Gloucester showed a more distinct divide between classically-inspired motifs and non-Roman styles and subject matter (*ibid*, 302-303). He concludes that these differences reflected a more fragmented identity at Gloucester, wherein the inhabitants were split between descendents of military veterans and descendents of indigenous peoples, whilst in Cirencester, the population was less culturally divided (*ibid*, 300-301). Within the context of the life course, these differences in identity may account for the striking contrasting patterning in the western urban and rural burial samples; particularly with the treatment of sub-adults examined in section 6.2.

Within urban environments, where familial structure and identity may have been more fragmented, children embodied concepts of lineage, continuity and the future of the family. Shaw (1991:75, 81) noted a high emphasis on children in patterns of epigraphic commemoration in Rome, which he interprets as a predominantly urban phenomenon relating to the strengthening of family ties.

Funerals, whilst acting as foci for personal and communal grief, also functioned as vehicles for social display. Pearce (1999:161-167) argues that display and competition were inherent factors within Romano-British practice, closely associated with social status and prestige. A child, whilst having little status in its own right, represented the future potential and continuity of its family within the urban sphere, and therefore carried the family's status and prestige. At the death of a child the primary mourners and those who buried the child would have been its parents and/or immediate family group (Parkin, 1992). The emphasis in urban contexts on younger children may have served as a means of re-affirming familial status and continuity during a time of social crisis.

7.3: Summary: Gender and regional identities in the life course

Age as a part of individual and social identity did not stand alone but was intertwined with gender roles, and how age was expressed through burial was influenced by regional identity and localised concerns. Adulthood was the focus of the life course and age identity reflected the primary social roles of males and females; their potential and actual fertility and their status as economic providers. Amongst the burial sample, a 'feminine' identity was emphasised within the types of grave goods provided, suggesting that being a female was the defining characteristic of identity; in opposition to the adult male norm. Marriage and motherhood was the defining female social role, and the concentration and range of grave goods at the most fertile years of the young adult reflected these roles. With the passing of the socially perceived years of fertility and a corresponding transition in the socially defined female role, greater ambiguity was visible within the later female life course.

In contrast, there was no one defining role within the male life course. Although grave good provision was concentrated within the younger adult years, the male life course showed a far greater level of variation on a regional and contextual level, indicating the influence of external factors such as economic and social status. Male patterns of provision within the life course underlined the importance of attaining full adult status within Roman Britain, this related to work, marriage and parenthood, and a transition in any of these indicators of adulthood would have been reflected in the apparent trend towards restricted grave good provision and range of material culture with elderly males.

As well as being influenced by gender roles and expectations, how age was represented in burial was further influenced by regional concepts of identity. Regional identity not only reflected the indigenous traditions of the pre-Roman Iron Age areas, but the different regional and contextual trajectories brought about through conquest and interaction with Rome. Furthermore, localised conceptions of age reflected the immediate environment; whilst the different age patterns in urban and rural contexts reflected the economic and social concerns of the community. This was most apparent, both on a regional and localised level within the burial of sub-adults and elderly adults. This may indicate that, as the youngest and oldest within the age spectrum stood in opposition to the social conformity of adulthood, it was primarily through these two social sub-groups that aspects of regional and local identity were negotiated. In order to examine the social age identity of these social sub-groups in further detail, section 7.4 discusses age-based concepts which may have been associated with being young or old in Roman Britain.

7.4: Concepts of age identity in the sub-adult and elderly adult life course

The strong degree of age-based variation visible in the burial treatment of the young and old, in contrast to the social conformity of mid-adult burial, suggests that these two sub-groups encapsulated more abstract ideas associated with age. The analysis showed that sub-adulthood was divided into defined age stages encapsulating 0-1 year, 3-5 years and 6-15 years, and the burial treatment associated with these stages reflected the increasing physical and social interaction of the child with the wider world. Each age division was associated with certain basic characteristics. For example, early infancy (0-1 year) was associated with informality of burial, restricted grave good provision and social exclusion from formal burial areas. With older infants and young children (3-5 years) burial practices became increasingly formalised, and certain burial samples recorded a growing inclusion of gender-specific items. Finally, later childhood (6-10) years was characterised by very high proportion of grave goods, particularly in urban contexts (as discussed in section 7.2), and highly formalised burial treatment (section 6.2).

This distinct division of sub-adulthood suggests that the early life course was a period of transition. As such, age identity in sub-adulthood would have been fluid and represented rapidly changing age metaphors across the span of sub-adulthood. The characteristics associated with each sub-adulthood age stage can help to illuminate

these age metaphors. For example, the differential burial of the neonate (section 6.1) and the spatial patterning of these burials (section 6.1.1) may indicate that certain newborns acted as metaphors to express spiritual concerns. This link with the non-physical would change as the infant developed and was invested with a social identity, which would encapsulate a new set of age concepts (section 7.4.1). In later childhood, this social identity would have undergone further transitions. Fully included into the wider community, the child was a potential adult and future social expectations would have impacted upon the age identity of the older child (section 7.4.2).

In contrast to sub-adulthood, physical and social development were not inherent factors of the old age, but the distinct burial treatment seen with the elderly indicates that old adulthood was conceptualised as being different to younger adulthood. In a similar manner to sub-adults, the analysis points to certain burial characteristics associated with the elderly which could illustrate hidden aspects of elderly age identity. In contrast to younger adults, the burial treatment of the old showed a degree of ambiguity, and the overall low rate of grave good provision mirrored that of infancy and early childhood.

There was a sharp increase in votive objects in certain contexts, again a feature associated with sub-adults, which may have represented an abstract link between the elderly and the non-physical world. An association between the young and old was more explicit; in the western region, elderly females were represented with a similar range of grave goods as sub-adults. This similarity between the young and old in burial may indicate a possible abstract association of the two, due to their position at the beginning and end of the life course. Section 7.4.3 contextualises the evidence to explore the idea of a cyclical or linear life course.

7.4.1: Infancy: The infant as ‘other’ and the development of a social identity

As shown in section 6.1, neonates and infants up to one year were differentiated from other sub-adults in all forms of evidence, having the lowest percentage of grave goods, a restricted range of material culture and grave good types. The distinct treatment of this age group indicates that, as a whole, they were conceptualised as ‘other’ in comparison to older sub-adults. As discussed in chapter 2, this has led to suggestions that these burials were the result of indifference or infanticide. However, the treatment of the stillborn, neonate and very young infant within context of the overall life course suggests this was not the case. Rather, some of these infants were

used to represent more complex abstract concepts, and that their burial may have been embedded within the expression of certain ritual practices.

Birth and its immediate aftermath was a time of physical and spiritual danger, expressed through special deities, taboos and rituals (Hanninen, 2005:55-6). In Rome, the practice of a 'social' birth (*dies lustricus*) a week after the child was born, may have acted as a test to see if the newborn would survive the dangerous first week (Garnsey, 1991:53; Hanninen, 2005:57). During this period the newborn was regarded as a transitional being, not of the physical world: 'more like a plant than animal', according to Plutarch (*Quaest.Rom.* 102.288C, cited in Garnsey, 1991:53).

Estimates of infant mortality in the Empire have suggested that up to 30% of all live births would have died before the end of the first year (Parkin, 1992:93; Garnsey, 1991:52; Bradley, 2005:69). Celsus (*De medicina* 2.1.19, cited in Bradley, 2005:72) states that infants and young children were especially prone to illness, suffering fevers, spasms and diarrhoea. Infant care, as advocated by Roman medical authors, may have been detrimental; with newborns being denied the vital antibodies, proteins, vitamins and immunoglobins found in maternal breast milk, particularly in the vital first weeks (Fildes, 1986: 27, 81, 1988: 199-200). The ever-present threat of sudden infant death would have encouraged the newborn to be conceptualised as 'other' (Scott, 1999).

Due to its young age and tenuous hold on life, the newborn may have been conceptualised as a transitional being, situated between the physical and spiritual worlds and not quite belonging to either. This can be seen in the idea of the very young as restless spirits, who through dying young were unable to pass into the underworld (Ogden, 2002:146). Virgil (*Aeneid*, 6.426) described the 'great squalling and the weeping of the souls of children, deprived of sweet life on the very threshold of it,' encountered by Aeneas on the banks of the river Styx. Not being entirely of the physical world, very young infants were not bound by the taboos and fear of ritual pollution that accompanied the death of an adult, and therefore could be interred within close proximity of the living (Garnsey, 1991:53). As such, the spirits of the very young may have been conceived as remaining within the vicinity of, or attached to their physical remains, and therefore may have represented channels through which negotiations with the spiritual could take place.

In pre-Roman Iron Age contexts across southern Britain, at a time when the primary burial rite for older age groups was probably excarnation, neonates and

young infants were often found associated with settlement sites. Many of these burials were arranged in highly structured pits with a repetitive deposition of pottery, animal bone, metal work and stone (Lally, 2008; Wilson, 1981:145-6). These pit depositions of newborn remains have been interpreted as representing a process of 'objectification' wherein the infant itself embodies a part of a dialogue with the spiritual (Lally & Ardren, 2008). In the context of Roman Britain, patterning in the placement of infant burials with agricultural buildings (Scott, 1991) and within settlements (Pearce, 1999a), as discussed in chapter 2, suggest a similar conceptualisation of the infant. Within this framework, this study has identified a possible further example of this practice, and has found evidence to suggest an age threshold may have existed in how these infants were utilised (section 6.1.1.).

Up to around 1 month post-partum, deceased neonates were primarily associated with the immediate domestic environment, in both internal and external contexts. Within this domestic sphere, the burials of newborns were deliberately placed in close association with specific features which had symbolic, dividing or transitional functions within the spatial environment. The features included sources of heat such as hearths, ovens and hypocausts, walls both (internal and external), corridors, pathways and ambulatories. From *c.*2 months to one year, the emphasis in burial became less tied to the domestic arena; perhaps reflecting the increased social sphere of the older infant, with the remains of infants being located adjacent to roads, and agricultural and industrial features, as identified by Scott (1991).

Within domestic structures, neonates (0-1 month) were located within kitchens and bath-houses, all symbolic spaces representing the ritualised processes such as cooking and bathing. The neonate remains were primarily in close association with hearths/ovens, hypocaust systems and bath-house furnaces, suggesting that the presence of fire or heat may have been a motive for the location of these burials. As a sacred element, fire was symbolically at the heart of the household. Associated with the goddess Vesta, it was symbolised in burial with the provision of lamps to light the journey of the spirit. Whilst fire was a sacred element, other domestic features closely associated with neonate remains may have had symbolic functions. Features which divided in the physical world may have also divided the spiritual, and could have represented transient spaces within the spatial environment where the barriers between the two worlds were perceived to be thinner (Esmonde Cleary, 2000:138). By interring neonate remains in close association with walls and within the corners of

rooms, the spiritual influence associated with the neonate may have been channelled and directed inwards to the domestic realm, to benefit activities taking place within that locale.

Conceptually, walking and places where people passed from one space to another were transitional places within the spatial environment (MacMahon, 2003:59); therefore spaces where the spiritual and physical were closer together. The burial of neonate remains in close proximity to features such as corridors, pathways and ambulatories may have functioned in a similar manner to the burial of infant remains in rooms and corners; focussing the influence of the neonate spirit on those passing by.

The act of walking itself may have had a ritual significance in the ancient world. Circumambulation around a tomb or temple is attested to in pre-Roman and Roman Britain (Webster, 1995:460). A late-pre Roman cremation shaft burial at Folly Lane, St Albans was surrounded by a walkway covered with grey silt and gravel which showed signs of being trampled, perhaps with the processing or dancing around the shaft as part of the funerary rites (Niblett, 1999:41). Ambulatories or raised walkways were a feature of many Romano-British temples (Esmonde Cleary, 1989:119), whilst cemeteries were sited alongside major roads throughout the Empire (Toynbee, 1971:73; Esmonde Cleary, 1987:191-3). Feet, shoes and walking had a symbolic power: they represented movement and journeys, and the provision of shoes for the deceased's walk to the afterlife was a feature of later Romano-British burials (Van Driel-Murray, 1999:131).

The close association between neonate remains and transitional spaces would have equated with their transitional nature as beings, which by virtue of their age, were viewed as being between the physical and spiritual. As they aged beyond very young infancy, growing independence and the development of a personal identity would have placed young children firmly within the realm of the physical. No longer seen as 'other' but as part of the community, those in later infancy may have been regarded as having 'personhood'. In the context of the life course, this transition may equate to an increased sense of inclusion of the child within the wider burial pattern of the region, and the beginning of a social identity.

Within this study, the period between 12 months and 5 years was primarily a time of fluidity. There may have been a further transition at 3-5 years, particularly in urban areas (as discussed in section 7.2). In both eastern and western regions,

inclusion within formal cemetery contexts was virtually complete by 3-5 years (section 5.4.1 & section 5.4.2.). Although subject to regional patterns, a greater formality in grave treatment was seen, with an increased use of coffins in the eastern urban contexts and rectangular grave cuts in the west. On a contextual level, there was an increase in grave good provision at 3-5 years in the urban western sample, and higher levels of provision from 7-12 months from urban contexts in the east (section 6.1). Similarly, the later infancy and early childhood recorded an increase in the provision of items with a personal function (section 6.1), which may equate with a growing recognition of the child as an individual with a social identity.

In terms of growth, the years up to the age of five are a time of rapid physical, mental and social transformation, as the child moves from dependent to independent being. Full independent mobility is usually achieved between 12-15 months, weaning at around 30 months, whilst language skills develop with a rapidly increasing vocabulary and complex sentence construction (Dacey & Travers, 1996:108, 153). At 2-3 years a child develops a sense of 'selfhood,' distinguishing itself as an individual with an awareness of its gender identity, and learns to associate objects and behaviours to each gender (Pipp-Siegal & Foltz, 1997; Unger & Crawford, 1996).

In the context of a life course, weaning would have been a vital factor in the recognition of the infant as an independent being, separate from its mother or primary care giver. Roman medical sources indicate that between 18-24 months was considered the optimum time for weaning. Soranus (*Gyn.* 2.47) suggested that this take place around the third or fourth half year... 'as soon as the infant takes cereal food readily and when the growth of the teeth assures the division and trituration of more solid things.' Evidence gleaned from surviving wet nurse contracts from Roman Egypt support this, indicating that wet nurses were employed on average for up to 2 years before weaning commenced (Jackson, 1988:103).

However, the evidence indicates that weaning may have been a fairly prolonged process. Soranus (*Gyn.* 2.36, 2.36) identified 7 months as an especially high risk period, associated with the introduction of animal milk, cereals or honey diluted with water, all recommended as suitable early solid foods for an infant. Due in part to the weaning process, infants at this time were considered especially prone to illness, suffering fevers, spasms and diarrhoea, according to Celsus (*De medicina* 2.1.19, cited in Bradley, 2005:72). Passive immunities present in breast-milk are lost during

weaning, leaving the infant exposed to external environmental stresses (Popkin *et al*, 1986; Larsen, 1997:11).

Recent analysis on infant burials from Roman contexts, suggest that weaning was completed by 3-4 years. At the Roman period cemetery at Kellis, Egypt, analysis of 49 infants indicated that supplementary foods, predominantly goat or cows' milk, was introduced from at around 6-7 months and complete weaning was achieved at around 3 years (Dupras *et al*, 2001; 2004). Similarly, the patterning of microscopic defects on deciduous dentition of 127 sub-adults from the 2nd/3rd century cemetery site at Isola Sacra, Rome suggested that animal milk was introduced at around 6 months, whilst the first solid foods were introduced from 9 months (Fitzgerald *et al*, 2006: 185-6). In relation to Roman Britain, isotopic analysis undertaken on the late/sub Roman population at Queensford Farm, Oxfordshire indicated that the entire weaning process had been completed by 3-4 years (Fuller *et al*, 2006).

The completion of weaning, and the transition from the concept of the infant as '*other*' to the recognition of the older infant as an independent being, may have marked the beginning of a child's 'social' identity in terms of familial and social expectations. Utilising epigraphic sources from Rome, Sigismund-Nielson (2007) identified a possible transition in patterns of commemoration at around 3 years, which may have represented the adoption of a social identity. Prior to 3 years, neonates and very young infants were rarely provided with epitaphs. After 3 years however, the use of such epithets as *pientissimus* (most dutiful) increased, suggesting that from 3 years, children were perceived to be capable of fulfilling the social obligations towards their parents and family (ibid, 48). Unfortunately, Roman Britain lacks epigraphic sources pertaining to this age group to enable a comparison, but characteristics of the Romano-British life course at 3-5 years (i.e. burial, formal cemetery contexts, standardisation of grave treatment, and the increase level of grave good provision in urban contexts), may represent the inclusion of the infant into the wider social community.

7.4.2: Later childhood: The potential adult and the child/adult transition

With the inclusion into the wider community, older children within the life course would have been associated with different concepts of age identity. That a different emphasis was placed upon later childhood in the Romano-British life course was apparent through all methods of analysis. At 6-10 years grave treatment was highly

formalised, with heavy emphasis on high levels of grave good provision, a wide range of material culture, and a focus on personal items (section 6.2). This patterning remained constant over time (section 5.2) and also visible on a regional and contextual level, particularly in eastern urban contexts.

This highly distinctive patterning suggests that the age identity of children at this stage of the life course was more complex. From 5-6 years, the cognitive development of children enables them to perceive both themselves and the world around them on a complex social and emotional level, and they learn to participate in the accepted behavioural norms through interaction with others beyond the immediate kin group (Dacey & Travers, 1999:166-7). As such, children at 6-10 years would have been associated with a different set of social expectations, ones which may have reflected their future economic and social roles as potential adults.

Anthropological studies of mortuary practices indicate that the burial patterns associated with those who represent a group's future potential, primarily older sub-adults and young adults, are often differentiated through increased levels of ceremony and the inclusion of more or higher quality grave goods (MacDonald, 2001:704-711). Within the context of the ancient world, with the parent-child relationship based upon obligations of reciprocal care (Bradley, 1991:117), the future potential of the family unit would reside with the older child. Parents, reared and taught their children, and in return the children were expected to honour their parents, provide for them in their old age and to commemorate them in the appropriate manner after death (Dixon, 1992:138; Bradley, 1991:117).

Elsewhere in the Empire this loss of the potentiality of the child has been interpreted as being a factor in the epigraphic patterning of tombstones of children. From 5-7 years, a sharp increase in the provision of epitaphs on Roman children's tombstones was recorded, particularly amongst girls, interpreted as representing the loss of their future potential as wives and mothers (Laes, 2007). Similarly, Sigismund-Nielson (2007) identified patterning in the language of children's epitaphs at this age that may have represented the future parental expectations associated with the child. Amongst male children the epithet *piissimus/pientissimus* (most pious) was frequent, suggesting that adult male sons would assume the obligation of *pietas* towards his parents (ibid, 47-8). In contrast, *dulcissimus* (sweetest) was particularly associated with girls, interpreted as representing that adult female children, having married and become part of another family, would not be expected to have the same level of

parental obligation (ibid.). In the context of Roman Britain, where the epigraphic habit was less entrenched, the emphasis in burial at 6-10 years may also be representative of the sense of loss of the future potential of the child, being expressed through grave good provision and distinctive burial treatment.

The pattern of male/female differentiation within epigraphic patterning on tombstones of Roman children, as identified by Sigismund-Nielson (2007), suggests that a gender identity may also have been visible at 6-10 years. As discussed in chapter 2 (section 2.2), many past cultures emphasised aspects of a gendered material culture in the burial of this age group. In Roman Britain, where the emphasis was on gender as a defining aspect of female identity, the inclusion of a 'feminine' burial assemblage at 6-10 years may represent a gendered identity. However, in the context of the Roman world, appearance and care of the body (*cultus*) was associated with citizenship and functioned as a vehicle to display aspects of identity such as gender, age or social status (Wyke, 1994:134-5; Harlow, 2005; Bartman, 2001; Davies, 2005).

Amongst free-born males, the toga was used to define citizenship and rank, whilst the stola, worn by females, was indicative of both gender and marital status (Kunst, 2005:135-8). Similarly, free-born children wore the *toga praetexta* and *bullae* to indicate their status as ritually pure and non-sexual beings (Sebesta, 2005). In Roman pictorial sources, jewellery and personal ornamentation was primarily related to females (Wyke, 1994; Montserrat, 1996:48-53). On certain mummy portraits from Roman Egypt, for example that of 7 year old Didyme, the painted-in addition of a necklace and a feminine name onto a portrait, where the hairstyle and dress was that of a young male, was considered enough to pictorially represent a female (Montserrat, 2000:167).

If a 'feminine' identity was being represented in the burial assemblage of 6-10 years, this does not preclude male children. As suggested in section 7.1 and section 7.2, the evidence indicates that the burial patterning of sub-adults, females and the elderly in the Romano-British life course may have stood in opposition to the adult male, 'norm'. As such, the burial of male children with a feminine assemblage may have represented their non-adult status. Amongst sub-adults, bracelets/bangles formed the greatest proportion of jewellery types at 6-10 years (section 6.4.5), and these were of a relatively simple style and made of inexpensive material (predominantly copper alloy and shale). It has been suggested that bracelets may have been created for deliberate funerary deposition and could have functioned as protective amulets in a

similar manner to *bullae*, or may have symbolised payment for the soul's passage to the afterlife (Esmonde Cleary, 2002:381; Merrifield, 1987:69-70). Unfortunately, the very small number of sexed male burials aged less than 10 years in this study only allows a brief analysis of the impact of gender on the burial of sub-adults, but the variety of symbolic meanings associated with jewellery in the Roman world would not preclude it being employed in the burial of male children.

The defined stages within the sub-adult life course (0-10 years) become less clear during the early years of the second decade. Whilst overall levels of grave good provision remained high (section 5.1), the strong pattern of urban and rural variation, as discussed in section 7.2, indicated that the years between 11-15 were strongly influenced by economic and social structures relating to the immediate environment. Similarly, the possible move to gendered adult levels of grave good provision at 16-19 years, identified at in section 6.2.1, suggests that the early years of the decade was a time of transition.

However, what is striking within all samples is that there was no visibly distinct burial rite or type of grave goods to mark the period between 6-10 years and 16-19 years. The transition appeared to have been relatively unmarked, suggesting that it may have related primarily to the individual. While this lack of a distinct child/adult transition may have been the result of biological factors which are now archaeologically invisible or the impact of the socio-economic environment is unclear. However, the visible ambiguity in the life course during the early years of the second decade may itself have encapsulated the transition from child to adult.

The distinct age bands visible in sub-adulthood, particularly from 0-10 years, indicate that age identity was a complex interaction of physical development, socialisation and parental and societal expectations. As children attained independence and moved from the domestic to the public sphere, their age identity changed from an abstract association of the newborn to the spiritual world, to more solid concepts. The concepts associated with later childhood reflected the potential of the child as an adult, in terms of familial obligations, economic input and social value. However, sub-adults remained outside of the conventional adult pattern of burial, and therefore their burials were utilised, in a similar manner to old adults, to negotiate patterns of regional and local identity (section 7.2). Section 7.4.3 examines further the shared characteristics in the expression of sub-adult and elderly adult age identity,

exploring the evidence for a possible link between the two in regards to ideas of rebirth, the cyclical nature of time and the concept of a circular life course.

7.4.3: The young and the old: A linear or cyclical life course?

That the young and the old were strongly differentiated in burial may help to illustrate how the flow of overall life course was conceptualised in Roman Britain. The young and the old were diametrically opposed to the adult social norm and, in the context of the life course, would have represented the beginning and the end of the age spectrum. As such, there may have existed a conceptual association between the two age groups, dependent upon how the flow of time was understood. The idea of the passing of time as a simple linear process is familiar. However, the passing of time across the life course can also be seen as a cyclical process, in which birth and death were not only a beginning or end, but part of a process of regeneration or rebirth. Furthermore, both concepts of time can co-exist. This section explores the evidence for a linear or cyclical concept of the life course in Roman Britain, utilising the burial evidence relating primarily to the young and old.

Linear time can be defined as repetitive, in which moments of time and events within time are considered to follow each other (Barley, 1995:158). A concept of time being linear stresses mobility, change and progress (Welinder, 2001:170). For example, night follows day and a year is a sequential progress of twelve months. Within a life course context, the life span is understood as a straightforward progression from birth to death. In the context of the analysis, there was only slight evidence for a linear conception of the life course, and this was primarily visible in the regional gender analysis of grave good provision. For example, in eastern urban contexts male burials across all age classes recorded no age variation in the most common grave good categories; with household, feasting and personal items dominating (section 5.4.3). Similarly, male burials in the western region showed a similar pattern of the provision of votive items during adulthood in urban contexts, and personal and votive objects across all age classes in rural contexts (section 5.4.1). In contrast, female burials in both regions recorded greater age variability in grave good provision. This patterning may suggest that the male life course was portrayed as a more linear process than that of females.

In Roman philosophical thought the concept of life as a series of stages from birth to death, each with its own characteristics and qualities, was a common way of

describing the life course. The ages of man (*cursus aetatis*), and qualities associated with each stage, were divided and sub-divided into four, six or seven stages, dependent upon the contrasting metaphor used. For example, Horace (*Ars Poetica* II. 156-7) advised would-be writers to observe in their portrayals of people the different characteristics of boyhood, youth, maturity and old age. The Christian author Augustine, writing in the later Roman period, associated the six ages of man (infancy, boyhood, adolescence, youth, maturity and old age) with the bible; from Genesis to signify infancy to the birth of Christ and the end of the world, marking the beginning and end of the final stage, equated with old age (cited in Burrows, 1986:199-200). Ptolemy (*Tetrabiblos*, IV.10, cited in Burrows, 1986:197-8) equated the stages of life with the seven known planets, with the changeability of the moon equating to infancy, through to Jupiter representing an active maturity and Saturn, with decrepitude and extreme old age.

In contrast to a linear conception of the life course, a cyclical concept regards the flow of time, or life, as an unbroken circle, wherein the flow of time is continuously returning to the beginning. For example, a year can be conceptualised as a circle, with the year 'dying' in winter and being 'reborn' in spring. In the context of the life course, life and death are interdependent and denies the finite span of human life. Death becomes a transition to rebirth, making the linear flow of time a circle (Barley, 1995:157). The concept of life as a circle is alluded to in Roman textual sources. For example, Seneca (*Epistles* XII.7) saw the life span as an over-arching circle, reaching from birth to death, holding within it circles of time relating to different age stages, and to the passing of the seasons and days within the year.

The association of the life span with the passing seasons was a common metaphor. Ovid (*Metamorphosis* 6.2. 199-236) explicitly equated the four stages of man with the cycle of the seasons; spring equalled childhood, summer young adulthood, autumn with maturity and winter with old age. Thus the span of the human life course was linked together in an endless cycle, which followed the natural order (Burrows, 1985:5). The concept of time as a continuous cycle was also behind the timing of the *Ludi Saeculares*, which was based in part on the native Italian system of *saecula* (generations), each lasting 110 years, which was utilised by Augustus in 17BCE to herald his new 'golden' age (Barker, 1996:437).

Within primarily agricultural societies, where the demands of the farming year mean that the passing of the seasons is a primary way of marking time, the cyclical

concept of the human life span is a common perception. Within traditional Chinese society, for example, each age stage is associated with the seasonal cycle, and with the life cycle of plants (Thompson, 1990:106-7). Evidence for the cyclical understanding of the passing of time in the mythology of north-western Europe can be gleaned from Irish and Scottish traditions. In this tradition, the flow of time was conceived as having no beginning or end, but followed the rhythms of nature in a continuous cycle (Wood, 2000:24). In an echo of the four stage human life course, the year was divided into four, and each stage, marked by a festival, had its own characteristics and marked a new phase of the agricultural round. Thus Samhain at the end of October, coincided with winter, a time to slaughter livestock, prepare the land and sow early crops; Imbolc, (February) marked the beginning of spring and was characterised by lambing and the start of new farming season (Ellis-Davidson, 1988:38-9). Summer began in May with the festival of Beltane, and was characterised by fertility and the growth of crops, followed by autumn and the festival of Lughnasa (August), which coincided with harvesting (Wood, 2000: 35-8).

The concept of circular time allows life to be conceptualised as a continuous process, with the dead being reborn into the living. In certain tribal societies the young are often considered ‘old souls,’ being the spirits of ancestors returning to the community and thus complete the circle of endless regeneration (Bolling, 1995:146; Adams Sullivan, 1995:163-4). The Dogon peoples, for example, believe that the ‘vital force’ of any ancestor is reborn into one or more descendants, who then themselves become the ancestor; symbolised by observing the ancestor’s taboos as well as their own (Riesman, 1986:72). More directly, the Beng peoples believe a child is a returning ancestor, and infancy literally begins before biological birth, when an ancestor decides to literally *become* the returning foetus (Gottleib, 2004, 1998).

While this literal expression of a circular life course cannot be applied to Roman Britain, sub-adults and the elderly were situated at the furthest distance from the adult norm. In a cyclical concept of the life course, these two age stages would share certain characteristics in burial, and this is hinted at in the analysis. Within the overall life course (section 5.1), the 0-36 month and 50+ year age groups were differentiated from the other age stages, through very low levels of grave good provision and a restricted range of grave good types. This pattern of low provision at either end of the life course remained constant over time (section 5.2), and was visible in the distribution of grave goods in the eastern region (section 5.4.3). On a regional level, both the

youngest and oldest age groups were provided with a limited range of material culture (section 5.4.1; section 5.4.3). The possibility of a link between the young and the old was more directly visible in the high percentage of personal items placed with elderly females in the western region and with sub-adults in general (section 6.4.5).

In many traditional societies, the marginalised status of the old and young within society and their physical proximity to the transitional processes of birth and death, made them appear natural intermediaries with the non-physical world (Spencer, 1990:25). The young can act as intermediaries to the ancestors and the spiritual, whilst the old connect the past to the present, and the present to the unknown future, connecting the life cycle into a meaningful whole (Myerhoff, 1984:315-6; Spencer, 1990:24). For example, amongst the Venda peoples, the word *mudzimu* (spirit) applies to both young infants and old men and women; whilst only the young and the elderly, as the most spiritually pure, can perform religious rites (Blacking, 1990:127-8).

Within the Roman world, the association of the old with the spiritual has been interpreted as resulting from their marginal status within society; the old only had influence through reference to the supernatural (Parkin, 2003:258-9). The *paterfamilias*, usually the senior male in the Roman household, observed the religious rites of worship of the ancestors, Lares and Penates (ibid, 259). Prophets, seers and magicians were often portrayed as elderly; although gender distinctions differentiated the magi (male witch), considered to have access to ancient wisdom, and the elderly female witch, who was often represented as having no positive virtues (Janowitz, 2001:88-9). Elderly women in particular were associated with the fringes of religion and magic, characterised as being superstitious, dabbling in fortune-telling, casting spells and mixing love-potions (Rosivach, 1994:113; 116; Cokayne, 2003:150). In a similar manner, the verb *saga* (foreboding) was specifically linked to old women (Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.56), associating certain elderly women with fortune telling and insight into the future (Maxwell-Stuart, 2000:28-9).

In the context of Roman Britain, the ‘otherness’ of the very young discussed in section 6.1.1 allowed certain of their burials to be utilised in negotiations with the spiritual in both the private and public sphere; as evidenced by the burial of infants with religious structures such as Springhead, Kent (Penn, 1960), Uley, Gloucestershire (Woodward & Leach, 1993) and Chelmsford (Wickenden, 1992). Whilst the elderly in Roman Britain were not utilised in this way, there was a strong regional association between the elderly and the provision of votive items (section

6.4.2; section 6.4.4). Votive objects with burial are related to spiritual concerns. Certain specific votive objects, such as coins, can be interpreted as relating to the spirit of the deceased undertaking a journey after death (Merrifield, 1987:67). Whilst this can be assumed as representing the journey to the otherworld, other interpretations are possible. In the context of a cyclical understanding of the human life course, the journey to be undertaken would enable the soul to be reborn back into the physical world.

The concept of rebirth is familiar in northern European mythology. In Irish mythology, Etain, daughter of the King of Ulster, was reborn many times before being born again into her own family, whilst the hero Tuan, was magically reborn into different animals, including a salmon which was eaten by the wife of King Cairrel and Tuan was reborn as her son (Ellis Davidson, 1988, 123-4). Similarly, Scottish mythology has the *Caillech Bherri* (the Hag of Beare), a divine ancestress and guardian spirit, who married, grew old and died many times, giving birth again and again to many descendents (ibid, 112). Similarly, in pre-Christian Viking cultures, a child would usually be named after an elderly relative, usually a deceased grandparent, on the assumption that the dead would return into his or her descendent (ibid, 1988:122-3).

Within the context of the pre-Roman Iron Age, a belief in the transmigration of souls was alluded to by Roman authors. Strabo (4.4.4.), Ammianus (15.9) and Pomponius Mela wrote that the Iron Age peoples believed that the soul was imperishable (cited in Watts, 1998:84). Caesar (*Gallic War* 6, 14) stated that the Druids taught that souls did not die, but after death passed on from one person to another. Similarly, Lucan (1.4.55-8) wrote that the Druids believed that at death the spirit moves onto another. This concept of transmigration may also have been behind the Iron Age European practice of the head cult. The head appears to have been venerated as the seat of consciousness and wisdom (Ellis-Davidson, 1988:72). As such, the head may have represented the soul of the departed warrior, and thus by keeping the head, the valour and strength of the defeated warrior was reborn into his conqueror. The practice of collecting heads was commented on with horror by Roman writers as a barbarian practice. Tacitus (*Annals I*, 61) wrote of the heads of Varian legionaries fastened to the trunks of trees, as witnessed by Germanicus in the Teutoburger Forest. Similarly, Diodorus Siculus (*Book V*, 29, cited in Tierney, 1960:250) wrote of warriors attaching the heads of slain enemies to the necks of their

horses, hanging up the heads outside their houses and preserving the heads of their most distinguished enemies.

Although the more gruesome aspects of the practice were stressed by Roman writers, archaeological evidence does suggest that the veneration of the head was a part of Iron Age ritual practice. For example, at Entremont, France, a 3rd century BCE shrine of the Salluvii, contained a pillar carved with human heads with niches for holding skulls (Ellis-Davidson, 1988:28). In Britain, the excavation of the Iron Age hillfort at Bredon Hill, Gloucestershire, found the bodies of around 50 young adult males, all decapitated, with some of the skulls showing evidence for burning (Hencken, 1938). This focus on the head as the site of the soul may have been echoed into the Romano-British period, with the practice of decapitating certain of the dead prior to burial. Watts (1998:88) suggests that the lack of mandibles and the burial of the head outside of the coffin or in the grave fill over the body may indicate that, in certain cases, the skull was kept for a period after decapitation. This is interpreted as relatives retaining the skull, as the site of the soul, until the soul can be reborn into a new member of the family or social group (ibid, 187-8).

Although interpreting whether the life course was primarily a circular or linear process is problematic, the patterning of certain shared burial characteristics between the young and the old does hint at a possible conceptual association between the two age stages. Situated within the overall structure of the life course at the furthest distance from the adult norm, within a cyclical understanding of time the two age stages stood closest to the non-physical world. The 'otherness' of the very young, and the strong association of votive items with the elderly, may also suggest a conceptual link with spiritual concerns. Contextual evidence, including Roman philosophical discourse relating the life span to the natural order, the seasonal nature of the agricultural year and evidence for an idea of transmigration all suggest that time may have been understood as a cycle. In the context of Roman Britain, a circular concept of the life course is possible.

7.5: Conclusion

How the life course was represented through burial in the two regions under analysis was the result of a complex interaction of factors. The expression of gender focussed on the female through a feminine burial assemblage focussing in particular on jewellery and dress accessories, suggesting that females were primarily defined by

their gender in burial. In regard to the female life course the focus was on fertility, either in potential or in actuality, indicating that the social duties of marriage and motherhood were the pivotal events commemorated in burial. With the passing of fertility, either biologically or socially, the female life course became more visibly ambiguous, suggesting a degree of uncertainty regarding status and a sublimation of the feminine identity of elderly females.

Within the male life course, there was a lack of a distinct 'masculine' burial assemblage, suggesting that males were not primarily defined by their gender. Whilst the emphasis amongst males also concentrated primarily on young adulthood (20-39 years), on average the focus was a decade later than with females. In line with epigraphic evidence for provincial patterns in burial, this may suggest that males were older when entering into marriage, which suggests that whilst fertility was a factor it was not the primary focus of the male life course. The greater regional and contextual variation recorded in the emphasis on age stages with males supports this conclusion, indicating that how the male life course was expressed was influenced by external factors, relating to social and economic status.

Regional and local identity was a further factor that impacted upon how the life course was expressed, visible in burial through different patterns in grave treatment and provision of types of material culture. The level of interaction or resistance to the conquest varied across southern Britain, and the administrative division of tribal territories into *civitates* may have solidified existing regional identities, creating the distinct regional patterns seen in the burial samples and other forms of evidence. The impact of urban living led to the creation of new forms of identity. As the least influential in society, the burial of sub-adults and elderly adults was the primary vehicle through which both regional and localised aspects of identity was negotiated and expressed, reflecting the socio-economic concerns of the immediate urban and rural environment.

However, the burial of the young and old also reflected other age-related concerns. The expression of sub-adult age identity was embedded within the process of physical and cognitive socialisation. During early infancy a newborn had no social persona but may have been conceptualised in a more abstract manner; as a being midway between physical and spiritual. As the infant developed a social persona through increasing physical and social independence, it encapsulated a new set of concepts relating to familial expectations and socio-economic continuity. Similarly, as

adults passed into old age their age identity encapsulated more abstract concepts. Represented in burial in a similar manner to sub-adults aged less than 10 years, either directly or indirectly, the elderly as a social group may also have been linked to the spiritual aspects of ageing, hinting that there was a conceptualisation of a cyclical life course.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

This thesis set out to explore aspects of age identity in two regions of southern Roman Britain, as expressed through the burial record. Age is fundamental to an individual's identity, and on a broader scale, is encapsulated along with other forms of personal identity to create a 'social' persona. Age is also inherent in social organisation, and as individuals' age through the life course, both their social persona and their status within society changes. In the context of past societies, how each age cohort was buried can reflect these aspects of identity. A life course methodology examines aspects of burial practice, such as quantity and type of grave goods provided, grave treatment and burial position, across the entire life span to identify age-related transitions in social identity and status.

This study utilised such a life course framework to focus on four main aspects of age and social identity in Roman Britain. Firstly, it aimed to provide an overall outline of the trajectory of the Romano-British life course including identifying points of transition, the burial characteristics associated with each age stage and the key age stages. Secondly, this thesis aimed to explore the impact of gender on age, in order to recognise which aspects of the gendered life course were emphasised in death. Thirdly, this study aimed to examine how regional identities in urban and rural contexts in eastern and western southern Roman Britain influenced the life course, in order to identify through which age groups regional identity was predominantly expressed. Finally, this thesis focussed on the social sub-groups of the young and old. It sought to identify the key characteristics that related to each age group as expressed in burial, to explore possible concepts of age associated with being young and old, and examined the evidence to explore how the overall shape of Romano-British life course may have been conceptualised.

8.1: The trajectory of the Romano-British lifecourse and key age stages

Amongst those sections of the population that utilised grave goods, the expression of an age identity was a visible factor in burial practice. Overall, the trajectory of the life course was a four-stage process (section 5.1). The first stage, infancy/early childhood (0-5 years), was characterised by restricted levels of grave good provision, simple grave treatment, and during the first year, burial in non-cemetery contexts. The second stage of the life course, later childhood (6-15 years), was defined through a very high provision of grave goods and an increased formality in grave treatment and burial practice. The third stage (16-39 years) was represented through a gendered

pattern of grave good provision, and the wide range of material culture and a similarity in functional categories indicated little overall age differentiation at this stage of the life course. The final stage of the life course, that of mature/old adulthood (40-50 + years), was characterised by growing ambiguity, represented by a decline in grave good provision and transition in functional categories, most particularly from 50+ years.

The basic four-fold division in the life course was a thread which was visible over time, even allowing for an increased emphasis on younger age groups in the 3rd-4th centuries, as identified in section 5.3. Similarly the basic four fold age division was visible at a regional and local level (section 5.4.1; section 5.4.3); although localised variation in age group emphasis indicated that the life course was a fluid concept, which was negotiated to express regional and local concerns. This suggests the existence of a basic life course framework within which the two key age stages were 6-15 years and 20-39 years. The emphasis on these age groups in burial may have been associated with a perceived break in the flow of the natural life course. Familial and social organisation was centred on the younger adult. As an age group they encapsulated familial continuity through parenthood, while on a social level they represented socio-economic prosperity and influence. As the next generation of adults, those in later childhood also represented these ideals of future familial and social continuity but *in potentia*.

However, whilst the four stage life course was identifiable, what was striking was that there was no defined chronological age at which an individual passed from one life course stage to the next. In other words, there was no archaeologically visible rite or point when a transition occurred. Within each broad age stage, variation in patterns of provision was seen, with individuals in the same chronological age group having markedly different forms of grave goods. This was the case with all age groups, although it was particularly apparent during the second decade of life when the probable child/adult transition would have occurred (section 6.2). Whilst this lack of defined transitional points in the life course may be the result of the analysis of large data samples masking localised age changes, it may also indicate that age transitions were an individualised process. In a society where a precise age may not have been recorded or regarded as important, movement across the life course would have been triggered by a complex interaction of physical development, gendered expectations, and socio-economic transitions in status.

8.2: Gender identity within the life course

A further aim of this study was also to examine the impact that gender status had on age identity within the overall trajectory of the life course. It sought to recognise the key male and female age stages and to examine how gendered roles may have been expressed in burial. The analysis indicated that a distinct gender identity was visible through the life course, and this related primarily to the female. Identified through high levels of grave good provision across all adult age stages and through the provision of gender-specific grave goods, a 'feminized' identity defined the female in relation to the male. At the heart of this identity were the primary biological and social functions of females in antiquity; marriage, childhood and motherhood. This was attested to by the focus within the female life course at 11-39 years, which coincided with the years of peak fertility. As a result, there was a corresponding degree of ambiguity within the burial of mature and elderly females. Amongst older females a distinct gendered identity was subsumed; elderly females were represented as non-gendered beings or characterised as sub-adults.

In contrast, the male life course was characterised by the lack of a distinct 'masculine' burial assemblage, an overall lower rate of grave good provision in each age category and increased variability in age emphasis on a regional level. This suggests that males were not defined by one pivotal factor, in the manner of females, but that male age identity was more fluid and complex. Although the key age of 20-39 years was emphasised, patterns of grave good provision on a regional and contextual level were, on average, 10 years later than for females. This may indicate that, if marriage was an important social transition for males, the trend was towards marriage later than females. The age variability visible in the male burial patterns indicates the influence of external factors, such as work patterns, urban or rural life ways and socio-economic status, on the trajectory of the masculine life course. The focus upon the key adult male age stage (20-39 years) in burial is contrasted by a decline in burial emphasis on the elderly male. This suggests that elderly males, along with females of all ages, were at variance to the younger adult male burial norm.

If the younger adult male was perceived as the ideal within the life course, then the 'gendered' identity of the female and the ambiguity surrounding the elderly of both genders, may have equated with a degree of social marginalisation. Whilst elderly males were characterised primarily through a lack of grave goods, certain of

the elderly female burials shared certain similarities with sub-adults, particularly of the 6-10 year age group. Sub-adults, adult and, in the western region, elderly females, were provided with the highest concentration of grave goods, and there was a particular focus on jewellery within the burial assemblage. If this patterning was symbolic of a non-adult status, it may suggest a conceptual association between women, sub-adults and the elderly. In contrast to younger males, the social identity of these groups was marginalised.

8.3: Regional patterns of identity

A further aim of this thesis was to examine how regional and localised concepts of identity impacted on the expression of age identity. It sought to identify which age stages were primarily utilised to negotiate regional identity and to explore possible reasons why these age groups were selected. Both the eastern and western regions under analysis followed the broad overall four-stage life course outlined in section 8.1. However, regional and localised variation was visible, indicating strong regional preferences in the selection of types of material culture and grave treatment used to express age identity. The pattern of a strong regional identity in burial was visible in other forms of evidence as discussed in section 7.2, and may have reflected a complex interaction of pre-Roman localised identities and a divergent experience of interaction with Rome.

Within the life course, regional and local constructions of identity were most recognisable through sub-adult and elderly adult burial. Conceptually at the greatest age distance from the young adult male ideal, how the age identity of these socially marginal age groups was expressed did not have to socially conform to the prevailing adult burial pattern. As such, their burials could be utilised to express more localised concerns. Within the context of social organisation, these local trends were most apparent on an urban and rural level in the burial of sub-adults. This patterning may have reflected the different adult social expectations of status and familial continuity in the urban milieu, relative to more economic concerns or traditional life ways of the rural environment.

8.4: Aspects of age identity at opposite ends of the age spectrum

Being divorced from the primary concerns of adult age and social identity, the marginal position of the young and old within the life course makes them ideal vehicles through which to examine further issues relating to age identity. A focus of this study was to identify the key age characteristics in order to explore possible influences on and concepts associated with these social sub-groups. During the first decade of the life course, narrowly defined age bands were visible, represented by a rapidly increasing provision of grave goods and an increasing formalisation in burial treatment. This suggests that age identity developed rapidly in line with the physical and social growth of the child. As such, how sub-adults were conceptualised would have also changed quickly. In the first year of life, age identity for newborns and infants related to their position on the cusp of the life course; not belonging fully to the physical world, their burials could be used to negotiate abstract ideas relating to spiritual concerns.

As the infant grew into a fully independent child and moved beyond the purely domestic world, it developed a social persona. Having survived the rigours of infancy, children in later childhood had social value both as economic providers in their own right and, in the context of the future, as 'potential' adults. As such, children at 6-10 years were a viable resource to family and to the wider community, and aspects of age identity at this stage of the life course encapsulated this loss of the potential of the child. Children at this age represented parental expectations for the future, both in terms of familial obligations and continuity, and in terms of future socio-economic prosperity. The loss of the child as a future potential adult may therefore have been a factor behind the focus on the burial of children at 6-10 years.

At the opposite end of the age spectrum, old age as a stage in the life course was visible, but how it was expressed as a concept was more abstract. Whilst old age as a life course stage was distinct, there was a degree of fluidity in the expression of transition from adulthood to old adulthood; indicating that being perceived as old was related to socio-economic changes in status. Furthermore, whilst a gender status was visible amongst the elderly, how it was represented was ambiguous. The expression of gender in old age was influenced by regional and local concepts. As such, in the eastern region elderly gender status was more neutral than in the western region, where certain elderly adult females were represented in burial in a similar manner to sub-adults. Whilst this emphasises the marginal status of the elderly adult, it also raises the possibility that how old age was expressed was associated conceptually with

their place within the age spectrum. In a similar manner to the very young, the old may have been considered as being closer to the non-physical world. If this was the case, it may suggest the possibility of the concept of a cyclical life cycle rather than a linear life course.

Aspects of age identity across the life course in southern Roman Britain were the result of complex interactions between age and other forms of social identity. Age as a purely chronological method of marking the passing of human life was not an isolated concept, but was deeply embedded within aspects of gender and regional identity. At the apex of the life course, and by extension at the apex of social organisation, was the adult male. In contrast, other social age groups were marginalised, although to what degree was dependent upon age and gender. Thus young adult females were next in the pyramid of age organisation, followed by juveniles and older children, whilst the elderly of both genders and the very young were at the furthest remove from the adult male ideal. Although these age groups were socially marginalised, their age identity was expressed in burial in a manner representative of their place in society. As such, the burials of the young and the old can reveal a more complete picture of Romano-British age and social identity.

8.5: Reflections on the life course

The application of a life course approach to mortuary evidence from Romano-British urban and rural contexts has shown that age, as an aspect of social identity, was a recognisable and integral aspect of burial. As a methodological tool, a life course framework highlights the tension between the literary, epigraphic and visual evidence from across the Roman world and provincial and localised concepts of age identity. In reality, the literary and visual evidence can only be applied to a small, usually wealthy percentage of those within the Empire but by mapping the trajectory of the life course through the cemetery evidence a broader cross-section of the population can be included; providing a more detailed understanding of social organisation on a local, regional or provincial level.

One of the main strengths of a life course framework is in the large amounts of data required, and this has both practical and theoretical benefits. On a practical level, a life course methodology allows previously unpublished evidence from SMR/HERs and local archaeological units to be used, providing access to unstudied material which can be effectively integrated into a re-analysis of existing published data-sets.

On a theoretical level, by employing a substantial body of data previously hidden local variations and contextual patterns in social organisation can be identified; for example the differing emphasis placed on mid-late childhood in urban and rural contexts shown in chapter 6. Basing a life course approach on a large data set can also enable broader comparisons to be undertaken, as for example, between different locales within the province.

However, a regional comparison does raise the issue of what defines a 'region' in Roman Britain and are 'regions' archaeologically visible? The study of regionalism within the province is a relatively new area of interest and although aspects of burial evidence (section 2.5), settlement patterning (chapter 4) and from the material culture (e.g. Reece, 1993:92-3; Eckardt, 2000; 2005; 2006) do suggest some regionality in the province, how the geographical boundaries were defined and whether a 'regional' identity was understood in the Roman period remains unknown. It may be that social age identity was primarily expressed at a more localised level and the regionalism visible in the archaeological record is a reflection of multiple expressions of localised identities. This raises questions of sampling. Within a broad-based study such as this thesis, which is based on the current understanding of pre-Roman tribal areas, the data used was collated from sources based around modern geographical counties. As such, will always be the risk of some overlapping of localised burial traditions, particularly at the periphery of the 'tribal areas'. Similarly, variation in the levels of archaeological reporting at county and unit level, due to financial and time constraints, can lead to the exclusion of burial data. These problems can be addressed through the integration of a life course methodology to the analysis of the burial evidence on a cemetery-by-cemetery or local level, to build up a more detailed picture of age identity across the province.

Whilst the issue of defining what constituted a region or regional identity in the province remains problematic, applying a life course approach to a large data set of Romano-British material has highlighted further difficulties. The first of these is the variety of different ageing techniques used on the skeletal evidence in different archaeological reports. This has meant that, with the exception of children aged less than 10 years, only broad age categories are possible. To combat this problem all the skeletal data would need to undergo osteological re-analysis which, owing to time constraints, was beyond the scope of this thesis. This methodological problem has limited a more nuanced analysis of the life course, particularly in regard to the elderly

skeletal data. Categorising all the elderly as those aged over 50 years masks further probable age threshold, particularly that between the ‘young-old’ and the very old. While the percentage of the population of the Empire reaching extreme old age is a matter of debate (e.g. Hopkins, 1966; Cokayne, 2003; Parkin, 2003), evidence from the written sources outlined in section 2.3 does suggest a possible distinction between an independent and dependent old age, at least in Rome itself. It would be interesting to discover whether this distinction was apparent on a provincial level.

A second problem also related to the assessment of the skeletal data. The difficulties in accurately assessing the biological sex of sub-adult skeletal material, as discussed in section 3.3. Gender is an integral part of both personal and social identity. Within the context of a life course approach to the burial evidence, whether the individual was male or female would impact on how the life course was expressed and the age at which life course transitions occur. The lack of reliable techniques to sex sub-adults means that only a broad outline of the early life course could be attempted. This proved to be particularly problematic in assessing the possible timing of the gendered transition to adulthood (section 6.2.1).

Whilst the substantial body of burial data available for Roman Britain makes a life course approach a viable methodological approach, the prevalence of cremation in the early Roman period means that an in-depth study of temporal variations in the life course is problematic. A life course methodology relies on aged and sexed skeletal material and much of this data is lost within the cremation process. Although – with a sizeable body of data – a broad analysis is possible (section 5.3), more detailed analysis of temporal change in the timing of transitions suffers from a lack of comparable early Roman material. Allied to this, the decline in the provision of datable grave goods during the later Roman period further limits the available data from which to undertake a temporal examination of the life course.

Despite these problems, one strength of a life course approach is in its flexibility. As a desk-based analysis this methodology is a cost effective and efficient way to address aspects social identity at county or unit level. Similarly, within its broad framework a multiplicity of methodological techniques can be applied, dependent upon the research questions being asked and the forms of material culture available for analysis. This thesis was focussed on mapping the trajectory of the life course, the impact of gender on age patterning and the burial treatment of the young and old and the techniques employed, as discussed in chapter 3, concentrated on

identifying the socially significant age groups and how social significance was reflected in the distribution of material culture. However, a life course approach can also be applied at a specialist level. For example, within a cemetery analysis the distribution of pottery fabric and form and the age and gender of the burial may show some correlation. Similarly, applying a life course methodology to the zoo-archaeological evidence within cemetery studies may find a connection between species type and level of maturity with that of the individual in whose grave the animal was placed.

By its nature archaeology is a discipline of specialisms and this is reflected in the way in which cemetery analysis is undertaken and reports written. However, a life course methodology can be used to re-integrate the osteological data with the other aspects of the cemetery evidence. This can provide a more complete picture of the individual at the heart of the burial process. A life course approach can also explore expressions of inter-generationality. Those burying the dead would, for the most part, be related to the deceased and how a person was represented in burial would, potentially, reflect his or her relationship to the mourners. By examining how the life course was expressed in death we may gain some insight into relationships in life. For example, in the case of children, it is probable that those burying them would be parents or closely related adult kin. As such, what we are seeing within burial is the generational relationship; how the child was buried reflected what the child represented to the parent(s). At the opposite end of the age spectrum, the burial of the elderly may also reflected a further inter-generational relationship: that between the elderly person and his or her descendents. In the context of Roman Britain, with its dearth of civilian tombstones and epitaphs, a life course methodology provides a way of exploring familial structures and relationships.

8.6: Future directions for the study of Roman age identity

Within the context of the Roman world, a life course framework is an ideal vehicle through which to examine aspects of age identity within the Empire. The wealth of age-related evidence from surviving epigraphic sources, allied to evidence for age identity within burial practice, provides an extensive and unique data-set. As discussed in section 2.3, age was a fundamental aspect of identity and social organisation in the Roman world. However, this study has identified that regional and, by extension, provincial concepts of age on the periphery of Empire differed from that

of the Mediterranean centre. This has implications for our current understanding of age and social identity.

The Roman Empire was culturally and ethnically diverse, and how age was represented across the swathe of Roman territory would have been complex and fluid. The Empire, as a construct, was primarily administrative, economic and militaristic: how age identity was constructed would have reflected social organisation at a regional and provincial level. Through applying a life course approach to the burial evidence, issues of provincial social identity can be explored. By contrasting life course trajectories, as expressed in burial, on a regional level within provinces, a clearer picture of social organisation can be established.

This life course approach to age identity in burial can also be used in tandem with other sources of evidence on a regional and provincial level. Recent epigraphic studies (e.g. Revell, 2005) have shown that age-emphasis in patterns of commemoration differed between provinces across the western Empire, reflecting different regional identities and traditions. Combining the provincial epigraphic pattern of age commemoration with the burial evidence would identify the key characteristics of age identity in each province. Conversely, age identity in burial may contradict the provincial epigraphic evidence. Commemoration of the deceased through epitaphs in provincial contexts was predominantly the preserve of the socio-economic class that adopted the epigraphic habit; it did not encompass those who, either through cultural resistance or poverty, commemorated the dead in other ways. By utilising both forms of evidence issues relating to regional socio-economic diversity can be explored.

As well as addressing aspects of social organisation and identity at a provincial level, a life course approach can be utilised to focus on specific issues within an individual province. A theme of this thesis has been the influence of regional identity upon how age was expressed in the areas Roman Britain under analysis. The evidence points to distinct regional patterns in burial within the overall life course framework, particularly in relation to the young and old. As expressions of regionality are visible in other types of archaeological evidence in Roman Britain, applying a life course approach to the burial record on a region-by-region basis would further illuminate this issue.

Allied to regional identity, this study has shown that how age was represented in death reflected the urban and rural life ways of the regions under analysis. Age

emphasis in urban areas was at variance to the surrounding rural hinterlands, indicating that different socio-economic structures were at work. A life course methodology could be applied to the burial evidence from a number of urban centres, both *coloni* and *civitas capitals*, in order to recognise any differences in age emphasis which may identify local concepts of identity relating to the foundation of the city. In turn, how the life course was expressed in both *coloni* and *civitas capitals* could be compared to age identity in rural contexts, providing a more detailed picture of urban and rural social identity in Roman Britain.

A life course approach also has potential to inform about temporal social transitions in identity. This study has shown (section 5.2) that there was an overall shift in age-focus in burial towards sub-adults during the later Roman period in Britain, suggesting a changing social attitude towards the young. Understanding whether this transition was particular to the province or was part of an Empire-wide change in social attitudes would further illuminate the impact of Rome on the provincial concepts of age identity. A life course approach could be applied to burial evidence covering early and late Roman contexts on a provincial or intra-provincial basis in order to determine whether age identity changed over time. Although a temporal comparison has to take into account the practice of cremation, ongoing developments in osteological techniques for ageing cremated remains, an extensive data sample and the application of broad age categories within the analysis, should make a temporal analysis of age identity viable.

The application of a life course methodology to Roman burial evidence can be used to examine issues relating to other aspects of identity, such as gender. This study has shown that female identity was strongly marked in burial in Roman Britain; with age emphasis in burial highlighting the years linked to fertility. In order to investigate the gendered life-course further, age patterning in female burial could be compared on a province-by-province basis, in conjunction with the related epigraphic evidence, to explore regional constructions of female social identity.

Similarly, a life course approach could be applied to identify concepts associated with specific social sub-groups. In particular, the elderly who have been overlooked within archaeological discourse on age and ageing, and when discussed, the evidence has been reliant primarily upon textual sources. In order to investigate the status of the elderly on a provincial level, applying a life course approach could identify characteristics of elderly burial in relation to younger age groups. The

characteristics associated with the old in each province can then be compared to address provincial concepts of old age in the western Empire.

Applying a life course approach to burial in the Roman world opens up new directions for research in the field of age and ageing. With its wealth of archaeological and epigraphic evidence, the Roman burial record is ideally suited to supporting this approach in order to examine issues of social identity. In the light of a growing interest in aspects of identity in the archaeological discourse, the application of a life course framework within which to study age provides an exciting direction through which to advance the understanding of identity within the provincial Roman world.

APPENDIX A: SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES FOR SECTION 5.1

AGE	RGC	TC	PIT	CIST	ST/LEAD	CREM
0-12 mths	20.7%	6.9%	55.2%	10.5%	1.1%	5.5%
13-36 mths	50.7%	28.8%	9.6%	5.5%	1.4%	4.1%
3-5 years	33%	43.3%	7.2%	1%	1%	14.4%
6-10 years	38.2%	45.6%	1.8%	1.4%	-	12.9%
11-15 years	36.9%	36.9%	8.7%	3.6%	-	13.8%
16-19 years	40.7%	32.7%	7.1%	3.6%	0.9%	15%
20-29 years	46.3%	30.1%	4%	2.2%	1.2%	16.2%
30-39 years	42.8%	32.6%	2.2%	2.1%	1%	19.1%
40-49 years	37.8%	40%	2.7%	2%	1.6%	15.8%
50+ years	51.1%	31.9%	1.8%	5.2%	1.2%	9.5%

**Table 66: All burials: Grave treatment by age
(No=3,079 with grave treatment recorded).**

AGE	Supine	Crouched	Prone	Total
0-12 months	25.1%	74.9%	-	219 burials
13-36 months	92.8%	5.3%	1.8%	56 burials
1-3 years	92.4%	5.8%	1.9%	53 burials
6-10 years	89.4%	6.5%	4.1%	123 burials
11-15 years	91.1%	6.9%	2%	102 burials
16-19 years	88.5%	6.9%	4.6%	87 burials
20-29 years	90.9%	4.4%	4.6%	387 burials
30-39 years	90.1%	5.1%	4.8%	486 burials
40-49 years	90.3%	4.7%	4.9%	446 burials
50+ years	87,2%	4.7%	9.3%	296 burials

Table 67: All burials: Burial position by age (No=2,254 burials)

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES FOR SECTION 5.2

Age Range	Males	Females
<19 years	4.52%	8.76%
20-29 years	15.65%	26.85%
30-39 years	34.42%	27.85%
40-49 years	31.45%	24.63%
50+ years	13.72%	11.87%

**Table 68: Percentage of aged and sexed burials within data-set
(No=1,972 aged and sexed burials).**

Gender	Age range	Average
Male	11-19 years	0.66
	20-29 years	0.56
	30-39 years	0.67
	40-49 years	0.49
	50+ years	0.48
Female	11-19 years	0.92
	20-29 years	0.9
	30-39 years	1.02
	40-49 years	0.83
	50+ years	0.66

Table 69: Average quantity of grave goods with all aged and sexed burials (No=1,972 aged and sexed burials).

Gender	Age	Feast	H/hold	Pers.	Toilet	Vot.	Tools	Mil	Lei
Male	<19	9.7%	16.1%	35.6%	-	29%	6.4%	-	3.2%
	20-29	17.2%	38.4%	19.2%	25%	15.1%	6.1%	1%	-
	30-39	18.6%	29.5%	25%	5.1%	15.4%	5.8%	-	0.6%
	40-49	17.7%	19.5%	33.1%	3.5%	20.3%	15.9%	0.9%	-
	50+	10.4%	28.3%	19.4%	3%	26.9%	10.4%	1.5%	-
Female	<19	8.9%	26.8%	55.3%	3.6%	3.6%	1.2%	-	-
	20-29	18%	27.8%	30.1%	7.5%	12.8%	3%	-	0.8%
	30-39	23.2%	35.9%	25.4%	7.7%	4.4%	2.8%	-	1.2%
	40-49	21.7%	34.1%	13.9%	8.5%	17%	4.6%	-	-
	50+	6.8%	17.1%	35.5%	2.6%	21%	-	-	-

Table 70: Distribution of functional categories with all aged and sexed burials (No=651 aged and sexed burials with grave goods).

Category	Males	Females
Rectangular grave cut	52.6%	33%
Timber coffin	29.2%	40%
Cist	4.2%	3.3%
Pit	1.6%	3.1%
Stone/lead coffin	1.7%	1.9%
Urned cremation	10.7%	18.8%

Table 71: Grave type by gender (No=1,904 sexed burials with grave type recorded).

Category	<19 years	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50+ years
RGC	42.6%	60.7%	64.5%	45.4%	61.4%
TC	29.6%	34.9%	30.1%	49.3%	31.3%
Cist	14.8%	2.1%	2.8%	1.9%	6%
Pit	11.1%	1.6%	1.5%	1.5%	0.6%
St/Le coffin	1.8%	0.5%	1.5%	1.9%	0.6%

Table 72: Overall grave treatment of aged male inhumation burials (No=1,035 aged male burials with grave type recorded).

Category	<19 years	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50+ years
RGC	48.6%	52.1%	55%	45.7%	56.6%
TC	41.7%	39.6%	35.8%	45.7%	34%
Cist	4.2%	3.6%	3.7%	3.5%	5.7%
Pit	5.5%	2.1%	3.2%	2.9%	1.9%
St/Le coffin	0	2.6%	2.1%	2.3%	1.9%

Table 73: Overall grave treatment of aged female inhumation burials (No=874 aged female burials with grave type recorded).

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES FOR SECTION 5.4

Age range	Early Roman			Late Roman		
	Burials	No. GG	Avg.	Burials	No. GG	Avg.
0-12 months	70	55	0.78	340	89	0.26
13-36 months	6	9	1.5	72	15	0.21
3-5 years	18	20	1.1	81	29	0.35
6-10 years	34	150	4.41	193	170	0.88
11-15 years	28	91	3.25	115	122	1.06
16-19 years	26	32	1.23	85	36	0.42
20-29 years	100	185	1.85	407	205	0.5
30-39 years	150	315	2.1	542	257	0.47
40-49 years	100	178	1.78	456	174	0.38
50+ years	46	58	1.26	297	108	0.36

Table 74: Average number of grave goods with all aged burials in early and later Roman periods (No=3,251 aged burials of secure date).

Gender	Age Range	Early Roman	Late Roman
MALE	11-19 years	0.57	0.84
	20-29 years	1.71	0.32
	30-39 years	1.83	0.39
	40-49 years	1.73	0.34
	50+ years	1.63	0.34
FEMALE	11-19 years	1.36	0.84
	20-29 years	1.82	0.7
	30-39 years	2.06	0.6
	40-49 years	1.9	0.4
	50+ years	1	0.67

Table 75: Average number of grave goods with aged male and female burials in early and late Roman periods (No=1,903 aged and sexed burials of secure date).

Date	Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total g/goods
1 st -2 nd c.	0-5 yrs	103	30	8	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	83
	6-10 yrs	17	3	4	7	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	152
	11-15 yrs	7	9	7	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	66
	16-19 yrs	9	12	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
	20-29 yrs	36	21	21	19	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	178
	30-39 yrs	44	40	29	32	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	312
3 rd -4 th c.	40-49 yrs	13	38	18	16	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	175
	50+ yrs	32	11	6	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	58
	0-5 yrs	395	40	8	5	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	131
	6-10 yrs	134	31	13	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	165
	11-15 yrs	88	22	8	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	110
	16-19 yrs	64	12	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
	20-29 yrs	199	89	20	9	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	204
	30-39 yrs	403	91	37	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	254
	40-49 yrs	346	65	26	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	179
	50+ yrs	228	49	15	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	124

Table 76: Range of material culture scores with all aged burials in early and late Roman periods (No=939 aged burials with grave goods).

Date	Age	Feast	H/hold	Pers.	Toilet	Vot.	Tools	Mil	Lei	Que.
E.R.	<19	25%	25%	50%	-	-	-	-	-	-
	20-29	24.4%	53.3%	11.1%	4.4%	4.4%	2.2%	-	-	-
	30-39	31.5%	41.1%	10.9%	5.8%	8.2%	2.7%	-	-	-
	40-49	30.4%	39.1%	13%	4.3%	8.7%	4.4%	-	-	-
	50+	38.7%	54.8%	-	3.2%	-	3.2%	-	-	-
L.R.	<19	4.5%	18.2%	40.9%	-	22.7%	10%	-	4.5%	-
	20-29	7.4%	29.6%	27.8%	1.8%	24.1%	7.4%	1.8%	-	-
	30-39	4.8%	19.3%	37.3%	4.8%	24.1%	7.2%	-	1.2%	1.2
	40-49	8.3%	8.3%	30.5%	2.8%	29.2%	20.8	-	-	-
	50+	-	14.9%	25.5%	4.2%	38.3%	14.9	2.1%	-	-

Table 77: Distribution of all functional categories with aged male burials in early and late Roman periods (No=303 aged male burials with grave goods and of secure date).

Date	Age	Feast	H/hold	Pers.	Toilet	Vot.	Tools	Mil	Lei	Que.
E.R.	<19	30.7%	38.5%	30.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-
	20-29	29.6%	38.9%	13%	11.1%	5.5%	-	-	-	1.8%
	30-39	35.9%	50%	6.5%	4.3%	-	-	-	-	3.3%
	40-49	30.4%	50.7%	2.9%	7.2%	5.8%	-	-	-	2.9%
	50+	18.2%	36.4%	45.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-
L.R.	<19	4.5%	22.7%	54.5%	9.1%	4.5%	9.1%	-	-	-
	20-29	10.4%	18.2%	41.6%	5.2%	18.2%	2.6%	-	1.2%	2.6%
	30-39	6.8%	22.7%	45.4%	11.4%	7.9%	-	-	1.3%	4.5%
	40-49	6.8%	18.6%	25.4%	10.2%	32.2%	5.1%	-	-	1.7%
	50+	6.2%	10.4%	45.8%	4.2%	31.2%	-	-	-	-

Table 78: Distribution of all functional categories with aged female burials in early and late Roman periods (No=327 aged female burials with grave goods and of secure date).

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES FOR SECTION 5.4.1

Age Range	Gender	Urban	Rural
<19 years	Male	6.4%	9.8%
20-29 years		17.3%	24%
30-39 years		25.3%	30.4%
40-49 years		29%	17.9%
50+ years		21.9%	17.9%
<19 years	Female	5.5%	12.4%
20-29 years		33.6%	24%
30-39 years		24.2%	24.8%
40-49 years		20.3%	21.2%
50+ years		5.5%	12.4%

Table 79: Age and gender distribution of burials by context in western data-set (No=974 aged and sexed burials).

Age Range	Urban % of population	Rural % of population
0-12 months	4.9%	23.7%
13-36 months	1.9%	4.2%
3-5 years	2.1%	2.1%
6-10 years	5.5%	5.8%
11-15 years	4.1%	3.5%
16-19 years	4.1%	5%
20-29 years	19.9%	16.1%
30-39 years	20.7%	17.1%
40-49 years	20.8%	12.2%
50+ years	16%	10.2%

Table 80: Age distribution of urban and rural age distribution in western data-set (No = 1,482 aged burials).

Age Range	Burials	No. GG	Avg.
0-12 months	255	51	0.2
13-36 months	51	6	0.11
3-5 years	31	7	0.22
6-10 years	84	46	0.54
11-15 years	55	57	1.03
16-19 years	69	33	0.47
20-29 years	258	122	0.47
30-39 years	271	114	0.42
40-49 years	225	115	0.51
50+ years	181	86	0.47

Table 81: Average number of grave goods per burial in western data-set (No=1,503 burials).

Gender	Age Range	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total g/goods
Male	<19 years	27	8	4	1	1	-	-	27
	20-29 years	85	26	6	-	-	-	-	45
	30-39 years	112	28	12	2	-	-	-	73
	40-49 years	90	30	9	1	-	-	-	73
	50+ years	90	13	7	2	-	-	-	41
Female	<19 years	34	10	6	1	-	-	-	37
	20-29 years	89	20	6	4	-	-	-	65
	30-39 years	76	17	6	-	-	-	-	32
	40-49 years	56	19	9	-	-	-	-	41
	50+ years	39	11	5	2	-	1	-	42

Table 82: Range of material culture with all aged and sexed burials in western data-set (No = 264 aged and sexed burials with grave goods).

Context	Age Range	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total g/g
Urban	0-5 years	37	7	1	1	-	-	-	13
	6-10 years	23	4	1	-	-	-	-	10
	11-15 years	16	3	2	-	-	-	-	7
	16-19 years	14	3	3	-	-	-	-	9
	20-29 years	77	17	8	-	-	-	-	48
	30-39 years	82	16	8	-	-	-	-	37
	40-49 years	73	29	5	-	-	-	-	43
	50+ years	58	15	8	1	-	-	-	40
	Rural	0-5 years	264	22	4	1	-	1	-
6-10 years		44	6	2	5	-	-	-	36
11-15 years		20	8	5	1	-	-	-	24
16-19 years		32	13	2	-	1	-	-	22
20-29 years		114	32	6	4	-	-	-	69
30-39 years		116	32	15	2	-	-	-	76
40-49 years		80	24	13	1	-	-	-	72
50+ years		79	11	5	3	-	1	-	46

Table 83: Range of material culture with all urban and rural aged burials in western data-set (No = 352 aged burials with grave goods).

Age	Feast	H/hold	Pers.	Toilet	Vot.	Tools	Mil	Lei	Que.
0-5 yrs	28.8%	16.9%	22%	-	13.6%	1.7%	-	-	-
6-10 yrs	17.8%	10.7%	46.4%	-	25%	-	-	-	-
11-15 yrs	3.6%	10.7%	25%	7.1%	46.4%	7.1%	-	-	-
16-19 yrs	13.3%	20%	46.7%	-	16.7%	3.3%	-	-	-
20-29 yrs	7.9%	19.3%	35.2%	2.3%	28.4%	5.7%	-	1.1%	-
30-39 yrs	7.1%	12.2%	38.8%	5.1%	27.6%	4.1%	-	2%	2%
40-49 yrs	6.5%	13%	22.8%	3.3%	35.9%	17.4%	-	-	1.2%
50+ yrs	1.5%	10.6%	47%	1.5%	30.3%	7.6%	1.5%	-	-

Table 84: Distribution of all functional categories with aged burials in western data-set (No=352 aged burials with grave goods).

Context/Age	Feast	H/hold	Pers.	Toilet	Vot.	Tools	Mil	Lei	Que.
Urb. 0-29	3.4%	24.1%	34.5%	3.4%	24.1%	10.3%	-	-	-
Urb. 30-39	6.7%	13.3%	26.7%	6.7%	40%	6.7%	-	-	-
Urb. 40-49	-	6.9%	17.2%	-	41.4%	31%	-	3.4%	-
Urb. 50+	-	5.5%	27.8%	-	44.4%	16.7%	5.5%	-	-
Rur. 0-29	9.4%	15.7%	40.6%	-	28.1%	6.2%	-	-	-
Rur. 30-39	6.8%	9.1%	45.4%	2.3%	27.3%	6.8%	-	2.3%	-
Rur. 40-49	12.5%	8.3%	33.3%	-	29.2%	176.7%	-	-	-
Rur. 50+	-	-	42.8%	-	35.8%	21.4%	-	-	-

Table 85: Distribution of all functional categories with aged male urban and rural burials in western data-set No=146 aged burials with grave goods).

Context/Age	Feast	H/hold	Pers.	Toilet	Vot.	Tools	Mil	Lei	Que.
Urb. 0-29	-	7.1%	42.8%	7.1%	35.7%	7.1%	-	-	-
Urb. 30-39	-	20%	40%	20%	20%	-	-	-	-
Urb. 40-49	-	11.1%	11.1%	11.1%	44.4%	22.2%	-	-	-
Urb. 50+	-	7.7%	61.5%	7.7%	23.1%	-	-	-	-
Rur. 0-29	9.1%	23.6%	45.6%	1.8%	16.4%	1.8%	-	1.8%	-
Rur. 30-39	8%	16.7%	37.5%	4.2%	25%	-	-	4.2%	4.2%
Rur. 40-49	10.7%	14.3%	28.6%	7.1%	32.1%	3.6%	-	-	3.6%
Rur. 50+	5%	10%	60%	-	25%	-	-	-	-

Table 86: Distribution of all functional categories with aged female urban and rural burials in western data-set (No= 118 aged burials with grave goods).

Age Range	NTC	RGC	CIST	PIT	ST/L	URN
0-12 months	1%	23.5%	13.3%	60.2%	1.5%	1%
13mths-5 years	14.3%	67.5%	6.5%	7.8%	1.3%	2.6%
6-10 years	22.9%	62.6%	3.6%	3.6%	-	7.2%
11-19 years	33.9%	51.7%	7.6%	4.2%	0.8%	2.5%
20-29 years	23.8%	62.6%	3.6%	1.2%	2.4%	6.4%
30-39 years	22.7%	66.9%	5%	0.8%	1.5%	3.1%
40-49 years	27.2%	63.1%	5.1%	0.5%	2.8%	1.4%
50+ years	28%	58.8%	9.1%	1.1%	2.3%	0.6%

Table 87: Grave treatment with all aged burials in western data-set (No=1,374 aged burials).

Gender	Age Range	NTC	RGC	CIST	PIT	ST/L	URN
Male	<19 years	31.7%	39%	19.5%	9.7%	-	-
	20-29 years	25.2%	63.8%	3.4%	-	0.9%	6%
	30-39 years	21.7%	71.1%	4.6%	-	0.6%	2.6%
	40-49 years	27.6%	65%	4.1%	-	3.2%	-
	50+ years	27.8%	62%	8.3%	-	1.8%	-
Female	<19 years	34.7%	51%	6.1%	8.2%	-	-
	20-29 years	29.4%	59.6%	4.4%	0.9%	4.4%	5.3%
	30-39 years	23.5%	61.7%	6.4%	2.1%	3.2%	2.1%
	40-49 years	29.4%	60%	7.1%	1.2%	2.3%	-
	50+ years	28.8%	55.9%	10.2%	1.7%	3.4%	-

Table 88: Grave treatment by age and gender in western data set (No=938 aged and sexed burials)

Gender	Age	Supine	Prone	Crouched
Male	<19 years	80%	-	20%
	20-29 years	89.3%	7.8%	2.9%
	30-39 years	85.9%	6.3%	7.7%
	40-49 years	8.7%	5%	7.5%
	50+ years	90.5%	4.8%	5.2%
Female	<19 years	86%	7%	7%
	20-29 years	91.4%	4.8%	3.8%
	30-39 years	91.1%	5.5%	3.3%
	40-49 years	79.5%	14.4%	6%
	50+ years	77.6%	17.2%	5.2%

Table 89: Burial position by age and gender in western data-set (No=694 aged and sexed burials with position recorded).

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES FOR SECTION 5.4.3

Gender	Age Range	Urban	Rural
MALE	<19 years	3.2%	2.7%
	20-29 years	18.2%	18.7%
	30-39 years	26.5%	33.6%
	40-49 years	42.3%	22.3%
	50+ years	9.9%	22.6%
FEMALE	<19 years	5.7%	5.7%
	20-29 years	20.9%	25.7%
	30-39 years	31.2%	31%
	40-49 years	36.5%	18.6%
	50+ years	5.7%	19%

Table 90: Age and gender distribution of burials by context in eastern data-set (No=998 aged and sexed burials).

Age Range	Urban % of population	Rural % of population
0-12 months	10.8%	14.6%
13-36 months	2.1%	0.8%
3-5 years	5.2%	2.3%
6-10 years	8.5%	7.3%
11-15 years	5.5%	4.7%
16-19 years	3.1%	2.1%
20-29 years	14.3%	15.8%
30-39 years	26.3%	23.1%
40-49 years	22.9%	14.8%
50+ years	6%	14.4%

**Table 91: Age distribution of urban and rural burials in eastern data-set
(No=1,612 aged burials).**

AGE	Burials	No. GG	Avg.
0-12 months	217	110	0.5
13-36 months	28	18	0.64
3-5 years	71	50	0.7
6-10 years	141	279	1.97
11-15 years	91	154	1.69
16-19 years	47	40	0.85
20-29 years	263	275	1.04
30-39 years	440	475	1.07
40-49 years	345	260	0.75
50+ years	134	69	0.51

**Table 92: Average number of grave goods per burial in eastern data-set
(No=1,612 burials).**

Context	Age Range	No. of burials	No. of g/goods	Average
Urban	0-5 years	188	108	0.57
	6-10 years	88	191	2.17
	11-15 years	57	65	1.14
	16-19 years	32	25	0.78
	20-29 years	148	139	0.93
	30-39 years	272	306	1.12
	40-49 years	237	180	0.76
	50+ years	62	37	0.59
RURAL	0-5 years	128	70	0.54
	6-10 years	53	88	1.66
	11-15 years	34	89	2.61
	16-19 years	15	15	1
	20-29 years	115	136	1.18
	30-39 years	168	169	1.01
	40-49 years	108	80	0.74
	50+ years	72	32	0.44

**Table 93: Average number of grave goods with all aged urban and rural burials
in eastern data-set (No=1,612 burials).**

Context	Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total g/g
Urban	0-5 years	148	23	7	3	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	104
	6-10 years	57	14	11	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	198
	11-15 years	34	9	9	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	63
	16-19 years	20	9	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
	20-29 years	93	30	17	5	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	139
	30-39 years	165	53	30	15	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	298
	40-49 years	143	50	14	10	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	175
	50+ years	61	10	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
Rural	0-5 years	111	20	4	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	66
	6-10 years	28	16	5	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	82
	11-15 years	19	13	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	85
	16-19 years	10	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
	20-29 years	58	33	13	7	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	137
	30-39 years	95	44	23	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	169
	40-49 years	67	26	12	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	79
	50+ years	70	27	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62

Table 94: Range of material culture with all urban and rural aged burials in eastern data-set (No=807 aged burials with grave goods).

Gender	Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total g/g
Male	<19 years	10	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
	20-29 years	58	17	13	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	73
	30-39 years	96	30	8	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	132
	40-49 years	119	32	8	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	76
	50+ years	62	13	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51
Female	<19 years	12	9	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	72
	20-29 years	64	24	17	3	5	1	-	1	-	-	-	145
	30-39 years	74	35	29	12	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	221
	40-49 years	78	24	18	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	127
	50+ years	45	18	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	31

Table 95: Range of material culture scores with all aged and sexed burials in eastern data-set (No=380 aged and sexed burials with grave goods).

Age	Feast	H/hold	Pers.	Toilet	Vot.	Tools	Mil	Lei	Que.
0-5 yrs	18.4%	29.1%	22.3%	3.9%	22.3%	1.9%	-	1%	1%
6-10 yrs	9.8%	36.9%	34.2%	8.2%	10.6%	-	-	-	-
11-15 yrs	24.1%	40.7%	31.5%	5.4%	5.5%	3.7%	-	3.7%	3.7%
16-19 yrs	20.8%	45.8%	12.5%	8.3%	4.2%	-	-	4.2%	4.2%
20-29 yrs	23.1%	41%	17.9%	7.2%	5.6%	1.5%	1%	-	2.6%
30-39 yrs	26.8%	41.4%	18.5%	6.2%	3.7%	0.6%	-	-	2.8%
40-49 yrs	28.6%	38.5%	13%	7.3%	6.8%	1%	0.5%	-	4.2%
50+ yrs	19.2%	89.7%	13.7%	4.1%	21.9%	-	-	-	1.4%

Table 96: Distribution of all functional categories by in eastern regional sample (No=807 aged burials with grave goods).

Age/Gender	Feast	H/hold	Pers.	Toilet	Vot.	Tools	Mil	Lei	Que.
0-29 yrs (M)	28%	40%	8%	4%	8%	4%	-	4%	-
30-39 yrs	34.9%	39.5%	9.3%	11.6%	-	-	-	-	2.3%
40-49 yrs	27.6%	34.5%	6.9%	10.4%	10.3%	-	3.4	-	6.9%
50+ yrs	44.4%	55.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
0-29 yrs (F)	19%	29.3%	31%	15.5%	1.7%	1.7%	-	-	1.7%
30-39 yrs	21.3%	35.9%	25.8%	10.1%	1.1%	1.1%	-	-	4.5%
40-49 yrs	33.9%	37.1%	8.1%	9.7%	8.1%	-	-	-	3.2%
50+ yrs	33.3%	-	-	-	66.7%	-	-	-	-

Table 97: Distribution of all functional categories with male and female urban burials in eastern region (No= 183 aged and sexed burials with grave goods).

Age/Gender	Feast	H/hold	Pers.	Toilet	Vot.	Tools	Mil	Lei	Que.
0-29 yrs (M)	21.7%	50%	15.2%	2.2%	6.5%	2.2%	2.2	-	-
30-39 yrs	16.7%	44.4%	22.2%	1.9%	9.2%	1.9%	-	-	3.7%
40-49 yrs	29%	22.6%	32.5%	3.2%	3.2%	3.2%	-	-	6.4%
50+ yrs	11.5%	50%	7.7%	7.7%	19.2%	-	-	-	3.8%
0-29 yrs (F)	19.7%	31.6%	32.9%	7.9%	3.9%	-	-	-	3.9%
30-39 yrs	27.9%	44.1%	20.6%	5.9%	-	-	-	-	1.5%
40-49 yrs	18.5%	44.4%	18.5%	7.4%	11.1%	-	-	-	-
50+ yrs	11.1%	22.2%	25.9%	3.7%	29.6%	-	-	-	-

Table 98: Distribution of all functional categories with male and female rural burials in eastern region (No=197 aged and sexed burials with grave goods).

GRAVE TYPE Age Range	NTC	RGC	CIST	PIT	ST/L	CREM
0-12 months	14.2%	17.3%	6.8%	50.6%	1.2%	11.7%
13mths-5 years	54.7%	20%	-	8.4%	1%	15.8%
6-10 years	60.3%	10.3%	-	0.7%	-	16.2%
11-19 years	36.4%	27.3%	-	11.3%	-	25%
20-29 years	36.2%	30.7%	0.8%	6.6%	-	25.7%
30-39 years	38.6%	28.2%	0.5%	3.2%	0.7%	28.7%
40-49 years	46.8%	21%	-	4%	0.5%	24.4%
50+ years	45.6%	35.2%	0.5%	2.3%	-	16.5%

Table 99: Grave treatment by age in eastern data-set (No=1,716 aged burials with grave treatment recorded).

Gender	GRAVE TYPE Age Range	NTC	RGC	CIST	PIT	ST/L	CREM
Male	0-19 years	23.5%	29.4%	-	17.6%	-	29.4%
	20-29 years	37.8%	43.3%	-	3.3%	-	15.6%
	30-39 years	30.9%	40.3%	0.7%	2.5%	1.3%	24.2%
	40-49 years	59.6%	23.2%	-	2.5%	0.6%	13%
	50+ years	28.9%	46%	1.3%	1.3%	-	22.4%
Female	0-19 yrs	42.3%	38.5%	-	-	-	19.2%
	20-29 years	41.8%	29.1%	1.8%	2.7%	-	24.5%
	30-39 years	29.3%	30%	2%	0.7%	0.7%	37.3%
	40-49 years	30.4%	15.5%	2%	2.2%	1.1%	25.4%
	50+ years	36.5%	51.9%	-	1.9%	-	9.6%

Table 100: Grave treatment by age and gender in eastern data-set (No=1,012 aged and sexed burials with grave treatment recorded).

Gender	Age	Supine	Prone	Crouched
Male	<19 years	80%	10%	10%
	20-29 years	84.9%	4.1%	10.9%
	30-39 years	91.3%	4.8%	3.9%
	40-49 years	96.2%	1.5%	2.3%
	50+ years	88.7%	4.8%	6.4%
Female	<19 years	100%	-	-
	20-29 years	96.3%	1.2%	2%
	30-39 years	92.8%	4.8%	2.4%
	40-49 years	92.8%	2.4%	4.8%
	50+ years	84.3%	11.8%	3.9%

Table 101: Burial position by age and gender in eastern data-set (No=696 aged and sexed burials with position recorded).

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES FOR SECTION 6.1

Region	Context	Age Range	No of burials	No of items	Average
West	Urban	0-6 months	24	5	0.2
		7-12 months	1	0	0
		13-36 months	10	1	0.1
		3-5 years	11	7	0.63
	Rural	0-6 months	197	40	0.2
		7-12 months	34	6	0.17
		13-36 months	41	5	0.12
		3-5 years	20	0	0
East	Urban	0-6 months	77	16	0.2
		7-12 months	35	39	1.11
		13-36 months	22	14	0.63
		3-5 years	54	35	0.64
	Rural	0-6 months	98	45	0.45
		7-12 months	7	5	0.71
		13-36 months	6	5	0.83
		3-5 years	17	12	0.7

Table 102: Average number of grave goods with sub-adults aged 0-5 years in eastern and western urban/rural contexts (No=654 aged sub-adult burials).

Context	Age	Coffin	RGC	Pit	Cist	Urn
Urban	0-6 months	18.9%	18.9%	43.4%	7.5%	11.3%
	6-12 months	40%	14.3%	5%	5%	34.4%
	13 months-36 months	72.7%	9.1%	9.1%	-	9.1%
	3-5 years	66.7%	5.5%	7.4%	-	20.4%
Rural	0-6 months	-	17.1%	78.1%	4.1%	-
	6-12 months	20%	20%	40%	-	20%
	13 months-36 months	-	75%	-	-	25%
	3-5 years	6.7%	73.3%	13.3%	-	6.6%

Table 103: Grave treatment with 0-5 year olds in eastern data-set (No= 259 aged sub-adult burials with grave treatment recorded).

Context	Age	Coffin	RGC	Pit	Cist	Urn
Urban	0-6 months	14.3%	71.4%	14.3%	-	-
	6-12 months	100%	-	-	-	-
	13 months-36 months	25%	75%	-	-	-
	3-5 years	36.4%	45.4%	-	-	18.2%
Rural	0-6 months	1.6%	28.3%	65.3%	5.5%	0.8%
	6-12 months	-	50%	46.1%	3.8%	-
	13 months-36 months	7.9%	78.9%	13.1%	-	-
	3-5 years	10.5%	78.9%	5.3%	5.3%	-

Table 104: Grave treatment with 0-5 year olds in western data-set (No= 273 aged sub-adult burials with grave treatment recorded).

Context	0-1 month	1-12 months
Domestic (internal)	38.5%	18.3%
Domestic (external)	19.5%	10%
Ditches	18.3%	5%
Roads	5.3%	10.7%
Religious buildings	1.2%	3.3%
Agricultural buildings	8.9%	20%
Quarry	4.7%	1.2%
Industrial contexts	0.6%	6.7%
Pits/shafts	2.4%	1.6%

Table 105: Contextual patterning of infant burials aged 0-1 year interred away from formal cemetery contexts (No=251 aged sub-adults with secure context recorded).

Context	Number of neonates	%
Walls	23	23.9%
Hearths/ovens	17	17.7%
Floors	31	32.2%
Corridors/paths	12	12.5%
Pits/post holes	11	11.4%
Wells	2	2.1%

Table 106: Features associated with 0-1 month infants in domestic contexts (No = 96 aged neonates with secure context recorded).

Region	Context	Age	No of burials	No of G.G.	Average
EAST	URBAN	6-10 years	88	152	1.72
		11-15 years	57	63	1.1
		16-19 years	32	25	0.78
	RURAL	6-10 years	53	83	1.56
		11-15 years	34	85	2.5
		16-19 years	15	15	1
WEST	URBAN	6-10 years	27	10	0.37
		11-15 years	22	7	0.31
		16-19 years	20	9	0.45
	RURAL	6-10 years	56	35	0.62
		11-15 years	34	49	1.44
		16-19 years	48	23	0.51

Table 107: Average number of grave goods per burial with sub-adults aged 6-19 years in eastern and western urban and rural contexts (No= 486 aged sub-adult burials).

Context	Age	Coffin	RGC	Pit	Crem
URBAN	6-10 years	79.3%	8.1%	0	12.6%
	11-15 years	53.6%	15.5%	3.5%	22.4%
	16-19 years	32.2%	9.4%	18.7%	40.6%
RURAL	6-10 years	25%	46.2%	1.9%	26.9%
	11-15 years	17.8%	53.6%	21.4%	7.1%
	16-19 years	6.7%	60%	6.7%	26.7%

Table 108: Grave treatment with 6-19 year age group in eastern urban and rural contexts (No= 271 aged sub-adult burials with grave treatment recorded).

Context	Age	Coffin	RGC	Pit	Cist	Crem
Urban	6-10 years	30.8%	50%	0	3.8%	15.4%
	11-15 years	28.6%	47.6%	4.8%	14.3%	4.8%
	16-19 years	57.9%	36.8%	0	10.5%	0
Rural	6-10 years	16.4%	70.9%	5.4%	3.6%	3.6%
	11-15 years	14.5%	54.8%	6.4%	6.4%	6.4%
	16-19 years	28.3%	58.7%	2.2%	10.9%	0

Table 109: Grave treatment with 6-19 year age group in western urban and rural contexts (No=200 aged sub-adult burials with grave treatment recorded).

Region	Age Range	Supine	Prone	Crouched
West	6-10 years	84.4%	7.8%	6.2%
	11-15 years	89.9%	6.1%	4.1%
	16-19 years	87.3%	4.8%	7.9%
East	6-10 years	93%	-	6.7%
	11-15 years	92.6%	1.8%	5.5%
	16-19 years	91.7%	4.2%	4.2%

Table 110: Burial position with sub-adults aged 6-19 years in eastern and western data-sets (No=313 aged sub-adult burials with burial position recorded).

Gender	Age	No of burials	No of items	Average
Male	<10 years	13	1	0.07
	11-15 years	7	11	1.57
	16-19 years	41	22	0.53
Female	<10 years	20	57	2.85
	11-15 years	19	25	1.31
	16-19 years	40	30	0.75

Table 111: Average number of grave goods with aged and sexed sub-adults aged 0-19 years (No=140 aged and sexed sub-adult burials).

Region	Gender	NTC	RGC	Cist	Pit	Stone/Lead	Crem.
East	Male	28.9%	46%	1.3%	1.3%	-	22.4%
	Female	36.5%	51.9%	-	1.9%	-	9.6%
West	Male	27.8%	62%	8.3%	-	1.8%	-
	Female	28.8%	55.9%	10.2%	1.7%	3.4%	-

Table 112: Male and Female grave treatment in eastern and western urban and rural contexts

APPENDIX B: SITES INVENTORY

Contextual details and references of sites used in this study

Sub-adults = 0-15 years; adults = 16-49 years; old adults = 50+ years

Name: **Roughground Farm, Lechlade, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 28

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 11 Adults: 15 Old Adults: 2

Context: Varied (1) Boundary ditch; (2) Formal cemetery; (3) Beneath floor of domestic buildings.

Reference: Allen, T.G., Darvill, T.C. Green, L.S. & Jones, M.V.1993. *Excavations at Roughground Farm, Lechlade, Gloucestershire: A prehistory and Roman Landscape*. Oxford Archaeological Unit.

Name; **Great Witcombe, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Villa Date: 4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 3

Context: Boundary ditches around villa settlement

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Reference: Leach, P. 1998. *Great Witcombe Roman Villa*. BAR British Series 266.
Henderson, J.D. 1986. The human bones from Witcombe, Gloucestershire. Ancient Monument Laboratory Report 9/86.

Name: **Gatcombe, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Villa Date: 3rd century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 5

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 2

Context: Within and adjacent to boundary ditches associated with villa settlement

Reference: Brannigan, K. 1977. (ed). *Gatcombe: The Excavation and Study of a Romano-British villa*. BAR British Series 44.

Reference: Fitzpatrick, A.P. 2002. *Britannia* **33**, p341.

Name: **Northover House, Ilchester, Somerset**

Site: Large rural settlement Date 4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 10

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 5 Adults: 4 Old Adults: 1

Context: Varied (1) Informal 'burial grounds' situated behind strip buildings representing possible 'family' plots; (2) Scattered burials associated with a roadside gully.

Reference: Leach, P. 1994 (in) P. Leach (ed.) *Ilchester Volume 2: Archaeology, Excavations and Fieldwork to 1984*. Sheffield: Sheffield Excavation Report 2, pp91-103.

Name: **Great Yard, Ilchester, Somerset**

Site type: Small rural town Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Within boundary ditch associated with small town

Reference: Broomhead, R.A. 1999. Ilchester: Great Yard Archaeological Excavations 1995. *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society* **142**, 139-193.

Name: **Little Spittle, Ilchester, Somerset**

Site type: Small rural town Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 61

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 52 Old Adults: 6

Context: Formal cemetery in extra-mural area of small rural town.

Reference: Leach, P. 1994 (in) P. Leach (ed.) *Ilchester Volume 2: Archaeology, Excavations and Fieldwork to 1984*. Sheffield: Sheffield Excavation Report 2, pp91-103.

Everton, R.F. & Rogers, J. 1990. The Human Remains, in P. Leach (ed.) *Ilchester Volume 1: Archaeology, Excavations and Fieldwork 1970-1975*. Sheffield: Sheffield Excavation Report 1, pp263-267.

Name: **Townsend Close, Ilchester, Somerset**

Site type: Small rural town Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 18
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 5 Adults: 9 Old Adults: 4
Context: Formal cemetery within extra-mural area of small town
Reference: Leach, P. 1994 (in) P. Leach (ed.) *Ilchester Volume 2: Archaeology, Excavations and Fieldwork to 1984*. Sheffield: Sheffield Excavation Report 2, pp91-103.

Name: **Syreford Mill, Wycomb, Gloucestershire**

Site: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 13
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 6 Adults: 6 Old Adults: 1
Context: Formal cemetery situated within possible extra-mural area of settlement
Reference: Darvill, C. & Timby, J. 1998. Excavations by the late W.L. Cox at Syreford Mill 1973-1977, in J.R. Timby *Excavations at Kingscote and Wycomb, Gloucestershire*. Cotswolds Archaeological Trust, pp305-330.

Name: **Kingscote, Gloucestershire**

Site: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 3
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Boundary and enclosure ditches associated with settlement
Reference: Timby, J.R. 1998. *Excavations at Kingscote and Wycomb, Gloucestershire*. Cotswolds Archaeological Trust.

Name: **Hucclecote, Gloucestershire**

Site: Rural settlement Date: 2nd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 12
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 10 Old Adults: 2
Context: Formal cemetery area adjacent to settlement site
Reference: Thomas, A., Holbrook, N. and Bateman, C. 2003. *Later Prehistoric and Romano-British Burial and Settlement at Hucclecote Gloucestershire*. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Report No. 2.

Name: **Haymes, Gloucestershire**

Site: Villa Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Beneath doorway to shrine building on villa site

Reference: Rawes, B. 1986. The Romano-British Settlement at Haymes, Cleeve Hill, near Cheltenham. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* **104**, 61-93.

Name: **Tewkesbury, Somerset**

Site: Small rural town Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 4
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 2 Old Adults: 0

Context: Isolated burials from possible un-excavated extra mural cemetery.

Reference: Hannan, A. 1993. Excavations at Tewkesbury 1972-74. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* **109**, 21-75.

Name: **Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucester**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 12
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 6 Old Adults: 1

Context: Varied (1) Formal cemetery adjacent to settlement site; (2) Neonates beneath floors of domestic buildings

Reference: Parry, C. 1999. Iron Age, Romano-British and Medieval Occupation at Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire: Excavations at Gilder's Paddock 1989 and 1990-1. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* **117**, 89-118.

Enright, D. & Watts, M.A. 2006. *A Romano-British and Medieval Settlement at Stoke Road, Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire*. Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Report No 1.

Name: **Kingsholm, Gloucester**

Site type: Colonia Date: late 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 9
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 4 Old Adults: 1
Context: Part of formal extra-mural cemetery of colonia
Reference: Garrod, P. & Hurst, H. 1975. Excavations at Gloucester: 3rd interim report: Kingsholm 1968-1975. *Antiquaries Journal* **55**, 267-295.

Name: **Mildenhall, Wiltshire**

Site type: Small rural town Date: late 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Possible outlier of un-excavated extra-mural cemetery
Reference: Cooke, N. 2003. Excavation of Roman features and deposits on the outskirts of Cunetio (Mildenhall), Marlborough in 1997. *Wiltshire Studies: The Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Magazine*, 26-32.

Name: **Eyewall Farm, Chilmark, Wiltshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 7
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 4 Old Adults: 1
Context: Small rural cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Fitzpatrick, A.P. & Crockett, A.D. 1998. *Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Magazine* **91**, 11-33.

Name: **Swindon, Wiltshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: ?2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: (1) Isolated burial within field system; (2) Possible outlier to unexcavated cemetery
Reference: Butterworth, C.A. & Seagar Smith, R. 1997. Excavations at the Hermitage, Old Town, Swindon. *Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Magazine* **90**, 55-76.

Name: **Butterfield Down, Amesbury, Wiltshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Within boundary ditches associated with settlement site
Reference: Rawlings, M. & Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1996. *Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Magazine* **89**, 1-43.

Name: **Durrington Walls, Wiltshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Beneath yard adjoining a domestic building
Reference: Wainwright, C.J. 1971. The Excavation of Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlements near Durrington Walls, Wiltshire. *Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Magazine* **66**, 76-128.

Name: **Combe Hay, Avon**

Site type: Villa/rural settlement Date: 3rd-early 5th c
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: c.6*
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 1
Context: Small cemetery with remains of probable mausoleum
Reference: Price, R. & Watts, L. 1980. Rescue excavations at Combe Hay, Somerset 1968-1973. *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society* **121**.

* Disturbed burials; included unreported remains of other adults in very poor condition

Name: **Cheddar Vicarage, Somerset**

Site type: Villa

Date: 4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 1

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1

Adults: 0

Old Adults: 0

Context: Post hole of wooden building with possible agricultural function

Reference: Rahtz, P. 1966. Cheddar Vicarage 1965. *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society* **110**, 52-84.

Name: **Ham Hill, South Somerset**

Site type: Rural settlement

Date: 1st-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 1

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1

Adults: 0

Old Adults: 0

Context: Domestic structure within rural settlement

Reference: Hensleigh Walter, R. 1924. *Antiquaries Journal* **4**, 51-52.

Name: **Watley Combe, Nunney, Somerset**

Site type: Villa

Date: late 4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 3

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3

Adults: 0

Old Adults: 0

Context: Beneath floor of main domestic building

Reference: Stead, I.M. 1970. A Roman villa at Watley Combe, Nunney, Somerset. *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society* **114**, 37-47.

Name: **Sutton Poyntz, Somerset**

Site type: Rural farmstead

Date: 1st century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 1

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1

Adults: 0

Old Adults: 0

Context: Within boundary ditch of farmstead

Reference: Esmonde Cleary, A.S. 1995. Roman Britain in 1994. *Britannia* **XXVI**, p367.

Name: **Kings Weston Road, Bristol, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-3rd century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 4

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Small informal cemetery within quarry adjacent to rural settlement

Reference: Esmonde Cleary, A.S. 1996. Roman Britain in 1995. *Britannia* **XXVII**, 434.

Name: **Cockey Down, Wiltshire**

Site type: Rural farmstead Date: 2nd century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Within post holes of wooden buildings with a probable agricultural function

Reference: Frere, S.S. 1990. Roman Britain in 1989. *Britannia* **XXI**, 353

Name: **Littlecote Park, Wiltshire**

Site type: Villa Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 4

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Beneath floors of rooms within main villa building

Reference: Frere, S.S. 1984. Roman Britain in 1983. *Britannia* **XV**, 322

Name: **Hat & Feather Yard, Walcot, Bristol**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Interred adjacent to shrine base, neonate lamb burial on opposite side of shrine

Reference: Frere, S.S. 1992. Roman Britain in 1991. *Britannia* **XXII**, 296.

Name: **Kings Stanley, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Villa Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Within boundary ditch of villa
Reference: Goodburn, R. 1978. Roman Britain in 1977. *Britannia* **VIII**, 456

Name: **Uley, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Religious complex/temple site Date: late 1st-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 4
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Beneath floor of structure XVII; building function uncertain
Reference: Woodward, A. & Leach, P. 1993. *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire, 1977-9*. London: English Heritage Archaeological Report 17/British Museum Press.

Name: **Star, Shipham, Somerset**

Site type: Villa Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Beneath floor of rooms within main villa building
Reference: Barton, K.J. 1964. Star Roman Villa, Shipham, Somerset. *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* **108**, 45-94.

Name: **Catsgore, Somerset**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 42
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 25 Adults: 13 Old Adults: 4
Context: Varied (1) Beneath floor of barn; (2) Within an informal cemetery associated with the agricultural buildings
Reference: Leech, R. 1982. *Excavations at Catsgore 1970-1973: A Romano-British Village*. Bristol: Western Archaeological Trust Excavation Monograph No. 2.

Name: **Bradley Hill, Somerton, Somerset**

Site type: Rural farmstead Date 4th-early 5th c
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 56
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 35 Adults: 16 Old Adults: 5
Context: Varied (1) Beneath floors of a probable barn structure; (2) Within domestic structures; (3) Formal cemetery associated with settlement.
Reference: Leech, R. 1981. The excavation of a Romano British farmstead and cemetery on Bradley Hill, Somerton, Somerset. *Britannia* **XII**, 177-253.

Name: **Littlecote Park, Ramsbury, Wiltshire**

Site type: Villa Date: 3rd-mid 4th c
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 5
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 5 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Varied (1) Beneath floor of main villa building; (2) Associated with area of metalworking industrial activity
Total no of burials: 5 Sub-adults: 5 Old Adults: 0
Reference: Frere, S.S. 1984. Roman Britain in 1983. *Britannia* **XV**, 322-323.

Name: **Oakley Cottage, Cirencester**

Site type: Civitas capital Date: 3rd century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 62
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 7 Adults: 54 Old Adults: 2
Context: Formal cemetery within extra mural area of city
Reece, R. 1962. The Oakley Cottage Romano-British Cemetery, Cirencester. *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* **81**, 51-72.

Name: **Lloyds Bank Gardens, Alcester**

Site type: Small rural town Date: early-mid 4th c
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 16
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 16 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Informal infant cemetery adjacent main road into town
Reference: Booth, P. & Evans, J. 2001. *Roman Alcester: Northern extramural area 1969-1988 excavations*. London: CBA Research Report 127/Roman Alcester Series Volume 3.

Name: **Bath Gate, Cirencester**

Site type: Civitas capital Date: late 3rd/4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 459
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 28 Adults: 374 Old Adults: 57

Context: Formal cemetery in extra mural area of city

Reference: McWhirr, A., Viner, L. and Wells, C. 1982. *Romano-British Cemeteries at Cirencester*. Cirencester Excavation Committee Report II.

Name: **The Querns, Cirencester**

Site type: Civitas capital Date: late 1st-4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 20
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 18 Old Adults: 1

Context: Formal cemetery in extra mural area of city

Reference: McWhirr, A., Viner, L. and Wells, C. 1982. *Romano-British Cemeteries at Cirencester*. Cirencester Excavation Committee Report II.

Name: **Watermoor, Cirencester**

Site type: Civitas capital Date: late 1st-4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 18
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 15 Old Adults: 1

Context: Formal cemetery in extra-mural area of city

Reference: McWhirr, A., Viner, L. and Wells, C. 1982. *Romano-British Cemeteries at Cirencester*. Cirencester Excavation Committee Report II.

Name: **London Road, Cirencester**

Site type: Civitas capital Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 14
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 13 Old Adults: 0

Context: Formal cemetery in extra-mural area of city

Reference: McWhirr, A., Viner, L. and Wells, C. 1982. *Romano-British Cemeteries at Cirencester*. Cirencester Excavation Committee Report II.

Name: **Ermine Street, Cirencester**

Site type: Civitas capital

Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 3

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1

Adults: 2

Old Adults: 0

Context: Formal cemetery in extra-mural area of city

Reference: McWhirr, A., Viner, L. and Wells, C. 1982. *Romano-British Cemeteries at Cirencester*. Cirencester Excavation Committee Report II.

Name: **London Road, Gloucester**

Site type: Colonia

Date: 1st-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed

Total number of burials: 68

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 14

Adults: 44

Old Adults: 10

Context: Formal cemetery in extra mural area of city

Reference: Foundations Archaeology. 2003. *124-130 London Road, Gloucester: Archaeological Evaluation Report*.

www.foundations.co.uk/reports/gloucestershire/lrg.shtml

Name: **West Lane, Kemble, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Rural settlement

Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 13

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2

Adults: 8

Old Adults: 3

Context: Formal cemetery adjacent to settlement site

Reference: King, R., Barber, A. & Timby, J. 1996. Excavations at West Lane, Kemble: An Iron Age, Roman and Saxon Burial Site & Medieval Building.

Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society **CXIV**, 15-55.

Clews, S. & Viner, D. 1992. A stone coffin burial from Kemble. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* **110**, 53-57.

Name: **The Chessells, Bourton Vale, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Probable villa Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Beneath floor of room within domestic building

Reference: O'Neil, H.E. 1969. Native Settlements in the North Cotswolds. *Glevensis* **4**, 31-32.

Name: **St Margaret's Hospital, Gloucester**

Site type: Colonia Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 11

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 10 Old Adults: 1

Context: Part of formal cemetery within extra mural area of colonia

Reference: Garrod, P. 1976. *St Margaret's Hospital Site, Gloucester Museum Accession Number 27/76*

Name: **Kingsholm Close, Gloucester**

Site type: Colonia Date: 4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: c.18*

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 16 Old Adults: 0

Context: Part of formal cemetery within extra mural area of colonia

*Other burials mentioned but no details available

Reference: Hurst, H. 1973. Kingsholm Close, 1972. *Glevensis* **7**, 23-25.

Fullbrook-Legatt, L.E.W.O. 1933. Excavations in Gloucester. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* **55**, 55-105.

Abbott, R. 1967. Two Romano-British Burials at Kingsholm, Gloucester.

Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society **86**, 197-8.

Rhodes, J.F. 1967. Excavations at the Queens Head, Vine Terrace, Kingsholm.

Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society **86**, 198.

Atkin, M, 1990. Excavations in Gloucester in 1989. *Glevensis* **24**, 2-14

Sermon, R. 1996. *Glevensis* **29**.

Name: **Barton, Cirencester**

Site type: Civitas capital

Date: 1st-2nd century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 2

Age distribution: Sub-adult: 1

Adult: 1

Old Adults: 0

Context: Beneath floor of domestic building; possible LPRIA burial

Reference: Sewell, E.C. & Powell, A.H. 1910. Repair of a Roman tessellated pavement at *The Barton, Cirencester*. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* **33**, 67-78.

Name: **Half Street, Gloucester**

Site type: Colonia

Date: 3rd century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: c.40+*

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1

Adults: 39

Old Adults: 0

Context: Part of a formal urban cemetery within extra mural area of city

* 19th century excavation; no records remaining regarding age or gender of skeletons.

Reference: Bellos, J. 1881/2. Remarks on some skeletons found at Gloucester in 1881. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* **6**, 345-348.

Name: **Knowle Hill, Bawdrip, Somerset**

Site type: Villa

Date 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 1

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1

Adults: 0

Old Adults: 0

Context: Beneath floor of main villa building

Reference: Anon, 1945/6. Roman Britain in 1944. *Journal of Roman Studies* **35**, 86.

Name: **Blaise Castle Hill, Bristol**

Site type: Rural settlement, disused temple site

Date: 3rd-early 5th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 9

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2

Adults: 7

Old Adults: 0

Context: Small informal cemetery over and adjacent to disused temple

Reference: Rahtz, P.A. & Clevedon Brown, J. 1958/9. Blaise Castle Hill, Bristol, 1957. *Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society* **8(3)**, 147-171.

Name: **Gatcombe, Somerset**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd century
Burial rite: Cremation Total number of burials: 2
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 0
Context: Associated with buildings of a possible domestic function
Reference: Cunliffe, B. 1966/7. Excavations at Gatcombe, Somerset in 1965 & 1966.
Proceedings of the University of Bristol Speleological Society **11(2)**, 126-160.

Name: **College of Art Site, Brunswick Road, Gloucester**

Site type: Colonia Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 37
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 30 Old Adults: 5
Context: Formal urban cemetery within extra mural area of city
Reference: Heighway, C.M., Garrod, A.P., Rhodes, J.F. & Goudge, C.E. 1980.
Roman Cemeteries in the Gloucester District. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 57-72.

Name: **Wellington Street Car Park, Gloucester**

Site type: Colonia Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Outlier of extra-mural cemetery
Reference: Heighway, C.M., Garrod, A.P., Rhodes, J.F. & Goudge, C.E. 1980.
Roman Cemeteries in the Gloucester District. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 57-72.

Name: **Richard Cound BMW Site, Kingsholm, Gloucester**

Site type: Colonia Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 5+*
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 3 Old Adults: 0
Context: Part of the Kingsholm cemetery in extra-mural area of colonia
*Further burials mentioned but no details currently available
Reference: Atkin, M, 1987. *Found at Richard Cound: The Kingsholm Dig*.
Gloucester Excavation Unit and Richard Cound (BMW) Ltd.

Name: **Henley Wood, Yatton, Somerset**

Site type: Cemetery attached to temple site Date: 3rd-6th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 75
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 15 Adults: 58 Old Adults: 2

Context: Formal cemetery associated with abandoned temple

Reference: Watts, L. & Leach, P. 1996. *Henley Wood, Temples & Cemetery Excavations 1962-69 by the late Ernest Greenfield and Others*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 99.

Name: **Chapperton Down, Wiltshire**

Site type: Roadside settlement Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 6
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 6 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Within and adjacent to domestic buildings within the settlement

Reference: Malim, C. & Martin, A. 2007. A Romano-British roadside settlement on Chapperton Down, Salisbury Plain Training Area. *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* **100**, 104-130.

Esmonde Cleary, A.S. 1998. Roman Britain in 1997. *Britannia* **XXVIII**, 426.

Name: **Stretton-on-Fosse, south Warwickshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th-5th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 15
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 13 Old Adults: 2

Context: Formal cemetery adjacent settlement site

Reference: Ford, W.J. 2002. The Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Cemeteries at Stretton-on-Fosse, Warwickshire. *Transactions of the Birmingham & Warwickshire Archaeological Society* **106**, 1-116.

Site type: **Cave's Inn, south Warwickshire**

Site type: Vici/rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: c.48*
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 42 Old Adults: 2
Context: Formal cemetery in extra-mural area of settlement

* c.20 of these burials were too damaged to be reported on in detail.

Reference: Cameron, H. & Lucas, J. 1969. Tripontium: First interim report on excavations by the Rugby Archaeological Society at Cave's Inn, near Rugby. *Transactions & Proceedings of the Birmingham Archaeological Society for 1966-1967*, **83**, 130-179.

Cameron H, & Lucas, J. 1973. Tripontium: Second interim report. *Transactions & Proceedings of the Birmingham Archaeological Society for 1971-1973*, **85**, 93-144.

Name: **Wanborough, Wiltshire**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 32*
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 8 Adults: 22 Old Adults: 2
Context: Formal cemetery adjacent to settlement site

*No records available for 10 of these burials.

Reference: Anderson, A.S., Wachter, J.S., & Fitzpatrick, A.P. 2001. *The Romano-British 'Small Town' at Wanborough, Wiltshire*. London: Britannia Monograph Series No. 19.

Cameron, A. 1985. *The human bones from Wanborough, Wiltshire*. Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 4350.

Name: **Fosse Lane, Shepton Mallet, Somerset**

Site type: Roadside settlement Date: 3rd-early 5th centuries
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 46
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 12 Adults: 3 Old Adults: 2
Context: Formal cemetery adjacent settlement site

Reference: Leach, P. & Evans, J.C. 2001. *Fosse Lane, Shepton Mallet, 1990: Excavation of a Romano-British Roadside Settlement in Somerset*. London: Britannia Monograph Series No. 18.

Name: **Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century-early 5th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 16

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 11 Old Adults: 3

Context: Formal cemetery adjacent to disused temple

Reference: Leech, P. 1986. The Excavation of a Romano-Celtic temple on Lamyatt Beacon. *Britannia* **XVII**, 259-328

Name: **Deansway, Worcester**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 21

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 18 Old Adults: 1

Context: Formal cemetery in extra-mural area of settlement

Reference: Dalwood, H. & Edwards, R. 2002. *Excavations at Deansway, Worcester 1988-89: Romano-British Small Town to Late Medieval City*. London: Council for British Archaeology.

Name: **Wyre, south Worcestershire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 1st-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 7

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 5 Old Adults: 2

Context: Varied: (1) Enclosure and boundary ditches associated with the settlement;
(2) Small informal cemetery adjacent to settlement site

Reference: Mercian Archaeology (April) 2004. *Osteological Analysis of Human Remains from George Farm & Furzen Farm, near Wyre Piddle, Worcestershire*.

Mercian Archaeology Specialist Report PJ120.

Mercian Archaeology (August) 2003. *Osteological Analysis of Human Remains from Upper Moor, near Wyre Piddle, Worcestershire*. Mercian Archaeology Specialist Reports PJ108.

Napthan, M. *et al*, 1997. *Evaluation of the proposed Wyre-Piddle bypass*. Hereford & Worcester Archive Report 509.

Name: **Little Wittenham, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 4
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 3 Old Adults: 0
Context: Informal cemetery adjacent to settlement
Reference: Chambers, R.A. 1986. An inhumation cemetery at Castle Hill, Little Wittenham, Oxfordshire, 1984-85. *Oxoniensia* **51**, 45-48.

Name: **Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: mid-late 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 35
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 7 Adults: 27 Old Adults: 1
Context: Formal cemetery adjacent to settlement
Reference: McGavin, 1980. A Roman cemetery and trackway at Stanton Harcourt. *Oxoniensia* **45**, 112-123.

Name: **Frilford, Berkshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th-early 5th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 5
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 4 Old Adults: 0
Context: Formal cemetery adjacent to settlement
Reference: Bradford, J.S.P. & Goodchild, R.G. 1939. Excavations at Frilford, Berkshire, 1937-38. *Oxoniensia* **4**, 1-70.

Name: **Bloxham, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: late 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 24
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 24 Old Adults: 1
Context: Formal cemetery adjacent to settlement
Reference: Knight, W.F.J. 1937. A Romano-British site at Bloxham, Oxfordshire. *Oxoniensia* **3**, 41-56.

Name: **Wroxton, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: mid-late 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 5
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 2 Old Adults: 0
Context: Formal cemetery adjacent to settlement
Reference: Chambers, R.A. 1986. Romano-British burials from Wroxton, Oxfordshire, 1980. *Oxoniensia*, **51**, 37-44.

Name: **Radcliffe, Oxford**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 2nd-3rd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 7
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 3 Old Adults: 1
Context: Small cemetery associated with boundary ditches
Reference: Hassall, T.G. 1972. Roman finds from the Radcliffe Science Library Extension, Oxford, 1970-71. *Oxoniensia* **37**, 38-50.

Name: **Hardwick, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: early 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 3
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 1
Context: Informal cemetery associated with rural settlement
Reference: Chambers, R.A. & Williams, G. 1976. A late Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Hardwick. *Oxoniensia* **41**, 21-35.

Name: **Brean Down, Somerset**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 6
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 3 Old Adults: 0
Context: Small informal cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Garland, N. 1990. *Brean Down, Somerset*. Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 33/90.

Name: **Redcastle Furze, Somerset**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 5
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 1
Context: Informal cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Stroud, G. 1988. *Redcastle Furze*. Ancient Monument Laboratory Report 33/88.

Name: **Curbridge, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 21
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 15 Old Adults: 3
Context: Formal cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Chambers, R.A. 1976. A Romano-British settlement at Curbridge. *Oxoniensia* 41.

Name: **Appleford, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: late 4th-early 5th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 8
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 3 Old Adults: 2
Context: Informal cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Hinchliffe, J. & Thomas, R. 1980. Archaeological investigations at Appleford. *Oxoniensia* 45, 9-112.

Name: **Wilsford Down, Salisbury Plain, Wiltshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 23
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 5 Adults: 18 Old Adults: 0
Context: Formal cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Cameron, A. March 1985. *The Human Bones from Wilsford Down, Salisbury Plain*. Ancient Monument Laboratory Report 4488.

Name: **Tockington Park Farm, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Villa/rural settlement Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 5
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 4 Old Adults: 1

Context: Small, informal cemetery associated with settlement

Reference: Masser, P. & McGill, B. 2004. Excavations of Romano-British sites at Tockington Park Farm and Westerleigh, South Gloucestershire, in 1997. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* **122**, 95-116.

Name: **Westerleigh, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 4
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 3 Old Adults: 1

Context: Informal cemetery associated with settlement

Reference: Masser, P. & McGill, B. 2004. Excavations of Romano-British sites at Tockington Park Farm and Westerleigh, South Gloucestershire, in 1997. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* **122**, 95-116.

Name: **Boxmoor, Wiltshire**

Site type: Villa Date: 2nd century
Burial rite: Cremation Total number of burials: 2
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Isolated burials within ditch enclosures

Reference: Bayley, J. 20/1974. *Boxmoor: Human Bone Report*. Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 1664.

Name: **Copse Hill, Upper Slaughter, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 1-4th centuries
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 8+*
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 7 Old Adults: 0

Context: Informal cemetery associated with rural settlement

*19th century excavations, full details unavailable

Reference: Royce, D. 1882/3. Finds on, or near to, the excursion of the Society at Stow-on-the-Wold. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* **7**, 69-81.

Name: **Henbury, Bristol**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 1st-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 24
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 23 Old Adults: 1
Context: Formal cemetery associated with settlement

Reference: Russell, J. 1983. Romano-British burials at Henbury Comprehensive School, Bristol: A preliminary report. *Bristol & Avon Archaeology* **2**, 21-4.
Cotswolds Archaeology 2005. Henbury Secondary School, Bristol: Post excavation assessment and updated project design. Unpublished report 04200, Cirencester.

*Full details of certain of the burials unavailable.

Name: **Sea Mills, Bristol, Avon**

Site type: Small town Date: 1st-4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 18*
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 16 Old Adults: 0
Context: Within formal cemeteries associated with small town

*Piecemeal excavations since 19th century, not all details available.

Reference: Bristol City Museum: Accession no 66/1972
Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society **66**, 271-277
Bennett, J. 1985. *The Roman Town of Abonae: Excavations at Nazareth House, Sea Mills, Bristol, 1972*. Bristol: City of Bristol Museum.

Name: **Wilcote, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Roadside settlement Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 13
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 9 Adults: 4 Old Adults: 0
Context: Varied (1) Boundary ditches; (2) Structures within the settlement boundary

Reference: Hinds, A.R. 1993. *The Romano-British Settlement at Wilcote Oxfordshire I: Excavations 1990-92*. Oxford: BAR British Series 232.

Name: **Kineton Quarry, Kineton, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 18*
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 17 Old Adults: 0

Context: Informal cemetery associated with rural settlement

*19th century excavations, full details unavailable

Reference: Royce, D. 1882/3. Finds on, or near to, the excursion of the Society at Stow-on-the-Wold. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 7, 69-81.

Name: **Mintlyn Wood, Bawsey, Somerset**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-3rd century
Burial rite: Cremation Total number of burials: 8
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 6 Old Adults: 0

Context: Informal cemetery associated with the settlement

Reference: Cameron, A. (March) 1985. *The cremated human remains from Mintlyn Wood, Bawsey*. Ancient Monument Laboratory Report 4537.

Name: **Queensford Farm, Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: late 4th-mid 6th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: c.181+*
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 61 Adults: 99 Old Adults: 21

Context: Formal cemetery associated with the settlement site

* 6th century burials excluded from analysis

Reference: Chambers, R.A. 1988. The late and sub-Roman Cemetery at Queensford Farm, Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxon. *Oxoniensia* 52, 35-70.

Name: **Hinchwick, Condicote, Gloucester**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-3rd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Uncertain, isolated burial

Reference: Donovan, H.E. 1939. Reports on Roman Remains, Gloucestershire. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 61, 107-134.

Name: **Barnwood, Gloucestershire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 53*

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 49 Old Adults: 2

Context: Informal cemetery associated with the settlement

*Poorly recorded and no full site reports available. Presence of sub-adults mentioned in the text but unable to correlate age with burial in certain cases.

Reference: Baddley, St. C. 1920. A Romano-British cemetery at Barnwood, Gloucestershire. *Journal of Roman Studies* **10**, 60-68.

Name: **Birch Abbey, Alcester**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 67

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 25 Adults: 38 Old Adults: 4

Context: Formal extra-mural cemetery associated with the small town

Reference: Denston, C.B. 1994. Human bones, in S. Cracknell & C. Mahany (eds.) *Roman Alcester: Southern Extra-mural area 1964-1966 excavations. Volume 2: Finds & Discussion*. Council for British Archaeology Report 97. Microfiche M4:E3.

Name: **Gravelley Guy, Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 1stc BC-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 7

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 2 Old Adults: 1

Context: (1) Within postholes of wooden domestic structures and (2) Within small informal cemetery

Reference: Lambrick, G. & Allen, T. 2004. *Gravelley Guy, Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire: The Development of a Prehistoric and Romano-British Community*. Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 21.

Name: **Charlton Mackrell, Somerset**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 15
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 13 Old Adults: 1

Context: Small cemetery associated with rural settlement

Reference: Leech, R. 1980. Religion and Burials in South Somerset and North Dorset, in W. Rodwell (ed.) *Temples, Churches and Religion: Recent Research in Roman Britain (I and ii)*. Oxford: BAR British Series 77, pp329-366.

Name: **Ham Hill, Montacute, Somerset**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 0

Context: Small cemetery associated with rural settlement

Reference: Leech, R. 1980. Religion and Burials in South Somerset and North Dorset, in W. Rodwell (ed.) *Temples, Churches and Religion: Recent Research in Roman Britain (I and ii)*. Oxford: BAR British Series 77, pp329-366.

Name: **Cassington, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 26
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 19 Old Adults: 5

Context: Formal cemetery associated with the settlement

Reference: Harman, M., Molleson, T. & Price, J.L. 1981. Burials, bodies and beheadings in Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries. *Bulletin of the British Museum Natural History Magazine* 35(3), 145-188.

Kirk, J. & Case, H. 1950. Archaeological notes. *Oxoniensia* 15, 104-109.

Name: **West Mersea, Essex**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: Uncertain, 3rd-4th c?
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Isolated burial within settlement complex

Reference: Anon, 1924. Notes. *Antiquaries Journal* 4, 267-268.

Name: **St Stephens, St Albans, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Civitas Capital Date: 1st-4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 359
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 43 Adults: 230 Old Adults: 86
Context: Formal urban cemetery in extra-mural area of city
Reference: Niblett, R. n.d. *St Stephens Roman Cemetery: Unpublished Site Report*. St Albans District Council.

Name: **Nursted Road, Devizes, Wiltshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 1
Context: Possible outliers to unexcavated cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Annable, F.K. 1962. *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine, 1961-63*, **58**, 222-223.

Name: **Winterbourne Down, Wiltshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 4
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 2
Context: Isolated burials associated with adjacent rural settlement
Reference: Algar, D.J. 1961. Winterbourne Down: Roman Cemetery. *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* **58**, 1961-3, p470.

Name: **Saltford House, Saltford, Avon**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Possible outlier of unexcavated cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Philpott, R. 1991. *Burial Practices in Roman Britain: A survey of grave treatment and furnishing AD43-410*. Oxford: BAR British Series 219.

Name: **Dicket Mead, Lockleys, Welwyn, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Villa Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 5
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 5 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Varied (1) From beneath floors and (2) adjacent to main domestic buildings
Reference: Powers, R. 1987. Infant bones, in T. Rook, *The Roman Villa Site at Dicket Mead, Lockleys, Welwyn. Hertfordshire Archaeology* 9 1983-86.

Name: **Intra-mural, St Albans, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Civitas Capital Date: 1st-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 19
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 19 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Varied; primarily associated with external and internal domestic contexts
Reference: Wheeler, R.E.M. & Wheeler, T.V. 1936. *Verulamium: A Belgic and Two Roman Cities*. London: Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 11.
Frere, S. 1972 & 1973. *Verulamium Excavations Vol. 1 & 2*. London: Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 28 & 31.

Name: **Chelmsford, Essex**

Site type: Small town Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 6
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 5 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 0
Context: (1) Associated with temple structure and (2) with buildings of a probable domestic function
Reference: Wickenden, N.P. 1992. *The Temple and Other Sites in the north-eastern sector of Caesaromagus*. London: Chelmsford Archaeological Trust Report 9/CBA Research Report 75.
Drury, P.J. 1988. *The Mansio and other sites in the south-east sector of Caesaromagus*. London: Chelmsford Archaeological Trust Report 3.11/CBA Research Report 66.
Mays, S.A. & Steele, J. 1992. *Two Romano-British Burials from Godfrey's Yard, Chelmsford, excavated in 1987*. Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 74/92.

Name: **Longthorpe, near Peterborough, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement

Date: 1st-2nd century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 3

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3

Adults: 0

Old Adults: 0

Context: Boundary and enclosure ditches associated with the rural settlement

Reference: Dannell, G.B. & Wild, J.P. 1987. *Longthorpe II: The Military Works Depot: An Episode in Landscape History*. London: Britannia Monograph Series No. 8.

Name: **Long Melford, Suffolk**

Site type: Rural settlement

Date: 2nd century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 10

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3

Adults: 7

Old Adults: 0

Context: Varied (1) Small cemetery associated with the settlement; (2) Within fill of settlement boundary ditches

Reference: Martin, E., Pendleton, C. & Plouviez, J. (eds.) 1998. Archaeology in Suffolk 1997: *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* **34(2)**, 236-7.

Avent, R. & Howlett, T. 1980. Excavations at Roman Long Melford. *Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* **34**, 229-251.

Tester, A. 2006. Archaeological Excavations. *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* **41(2)**, 236-7; 252.

Name: **Lakenheath, Suffolk**

Site type: Rural settlement

Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 9

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2

Adults: 6

Old Adults: 1

Context: Varied (1) Small informal cemetery associated with settlement; (2) Neonate burial associated with boundary ditch

Reference: Gill, D. 2002. Archaeological Excavations. *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* **40(2)**, 229.

Caruth, J. 2003. Archaeological Excavations. *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* **40(3)**.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 2003. Roman Britain in 2002. *Britannia* **XXXIV**, p335.

Name: **Langwood Farm, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural farmstead Date: Uncertain, 3rd/4th c?
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Gully of domestic structure
Reference: Evans, C. 2003. Britons and Romans at Chatteris: Investigations at Langwood Farm, Cambridgeshire. *Britannia* **XXXIV**, 175-264.

Name: **Newton Works Site, Great Dunmow, Essex**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: Uncertain, 3rd/4th c?
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Post hole of wooden structure of probable domestic function
Reference: Fitzpatrick, A.P. 2005. Roman Britain in 2004. *Britannia* **XXXVI**, p432.

Name: **Great Wakering, Essex**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: Uncertain, 3rd/4th c?
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Within boundary ditch of settlement
Reference: Fitzpatrick, A.P. 2001. Roman Britain in 2000. *Britannia* **XXXII**, p363

Name: **Norwood, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-3rd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Adjacent tank used for salt distillation
Reference: Potter, T.W. 1981. The Roman Occupation of the Fenland. *Britannia* **XII**, 79-134.

Name: **St Anne's Lane, Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 4
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Beneath floors of rooms within domestic buildings
Reference: Rankov, N.B. 1982. Roman Britain in 1981. *Britannia XIII*, p363.

Name: **Bus Station, Colchester, Essex**

Site type: Colonia Date: 2nd-3rd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Beneath floor of domestic building, adjacent drainage channel
Reference: Frere, S.S. 1991. Roman Britain in 1990. *Britannia XXII*, p261-2.

Name: **Stanground, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 1st-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Boundary ditch associated with possible unexcavated cemetery
Reference: Frere, S.S. 1991. Roman Britain in 1990. *Britannia XXII*, p257.

Name: **Castle Street, Cambridge**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: Uncertain, 2nd-4th century?
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 18
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 18 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Various contexts within and adjacent to a possible shrine building.
Reference: Goodburn, R. 1976. Roman Britain in 1975. *Britannia VII*, p340-1.

Name: **East Stagsden, Bedfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Within boundary ditch of settlement site
Reference: Dawson, M. 2000. *Iron Age and Roman Settlement on the Stagsden Bypass*. Bedford: Bedfordshire Archaeology Monograph 3.

Name: **Foxton, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: Mid 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 24
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 19 Old Adults: 2
Context: Small cemetery and mausoleum associated with settlement site
Reference: Maynard, D.J., Cleary, R., Moore, R., Brooks, I.P. & Price, J. 1997. Excavations at Foxton, Cambridgeshire 1994, in J. Price, I.P. Brooks & D.J. Maynard (eds.) *The Archaeology of the St. Neots to Duxford Gas Pipeline 1994*. Oxford: BAR British Series 255, pp21-39.

Name: **Kelvedon, Essex**

Site type: Villa/Rural settlement site Date: mid 3rd-late 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 50
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 15 Adults: 33 Old Adults: 2
Context: (1) Beneath floors of domestic structure and (2) within cemetery associated with the settlement site
Reference: Rodwell, K.A. 1988. *The Prehistoric and Roman Settlement at Kelvedon, Essex*. London: Council for British Archaeology Report 63/Chelmsford Archaeological Trust Report 6.

Name: **Verulam Hill Fields, St Albans, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Civitas capital Date: L.I.A.-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 32

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 28 Old Adults: 2

Context: Urban cemetery associated with civitas capital

Reference: Anthony, I.E. 1968. Excavations in Verulam Hill Field, St Albans, 1963-4. *Hertfordshire Archaeology* **1**, 9-51.

Name: **Baldock, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Small town Date: 1st-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: c.351*

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 77 Adults: 269 Old Adults: 5

Context: Within formal cemeteries adjacent to small town

* These burials are a percentage of those excavated at Baldock. Full details as yet unpublished.

Reference: Stead, I.M. & Rigby, V. 1986. *Baldock: The Excavation of a Roman and Pre-Roman Settlement 1968-72*. London: Britannia Monograph Series 7.

Burleigh, G.R., Fitzpatrick-Matthews, K.J., Aldhouse-Green, M.J. 2006. A Dea Nutrix figurine from a Romano-British cemetery at Baldock, Hertfordshire. *Britannia* **37**, 273-294.

McKinley, J.I. 1993. A decapitation from the Romano-British cemetery at Baldock, Hertfordshire. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* **3**, 41-44.

Westell, P. 1931. A Romano-British cemetery at Baldock, Hertfordshire. *Archaeological Journal* **88**, 247-301.

Burleigh, G. 1982. Excavations at Baldock, 1980-81: An Interim Report. *Hertfordshire's Past* **12** (Spring 1983), 3-18.

Burleigh, G. 1980. Excavations at Baldock, 1978. *Hertfordshire's Past* **9**, 35-7.

Applebaum, E.S. 1932. Excavations at Baldock in 1932. *Transactions of St Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society 1932*, p244-248.

Name: **Chignall, Essex**

Site type: Villa

Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 24

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 8

Adults: 9

Old Adults: 7

Context: Formal cemetery associated with villa and field system enclosure ditches

Reference: Stirland, A. 1998. The Human Bone, in C.P. Clarke (ed.) *Excavations to the south of Chignall Roman Villa, Essex 1977-81*. Colchester: East Anglian Archaeological Report No. 83, 119-122 and Microfiche.

Name: **Culver Street, The Gilbert School & East Hill, Colchester, Essex**

Site type: Colonia

Date: 1st-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 14

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 14

Adults: 0

Old Adults: 0

Context: Beneath floors and adjacent to/associated with buildings with a domestic function

Reference: Crummy, P. 1992. *Excavations at Culver Road, The Gilbert School and other sites in Colchester 1971-1985*. Colchester Archaeological Report 6.

Name: **Ivy Chimneys, Essex**

Site type: Religious shrine/Rural settlement

Date: 1st-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 4

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4

Adults: 0

Old Adults: 0

Context: Adjacent to shrine building and within enclosure and boundary ditches

Reference: Turner, R. 1999. *Excavations of an Iron Age Settlement and Roman Religious Complex at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex, 1978-1983*. East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 88.

Name: **Coggeshall, Essex**

Site type: Villa?/Rural settlement

Date: late 2nd century

Burial rite: Mixed

Total number of burials: 4

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3

Adults: 1

Old Adults: 0

Context: (1) Within enclosure ditches and (2) isolated burial

Reference: Clarke, C.P. 1988. Roman Coggeshall: Excavations 1984-1985. *Essex Archaeology and History* **19**, 47-90.

Name: **Harlow, Essex**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Within boundary ditch

Reference: Medleycott, M. 2000. Prehistoric, Roman and post-Medieval material from Harlow: Investigations at Church Langley, 1989-1994. *Essex Archaeology and History* **31**, 33-93.

Name: **Rayne, Essex**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: Uncertain, 3rd/4th c?

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Within boundary ditch of settlement site

Reference: Smoothy, M.D. 1989. A Roman Rural Site at Rayne, Essex: Excavations 1987. *Essex Archaeology and History* **20**, 1-29.

Name: **Guilden Morden, Ashwell, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 5

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 3 Old Adults: 0

Context: Within a small cemetery associated with rural settlement

Reference: Richmond, A.D.W. 1992. *Guilden Morden: Interim Summary Report*. Hertfordshire County Council, Unpublished Site Report.

Name: **Thorley, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Rural farmstead Date: Uncertain, 3rd/4th c?

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Boundary ditch associated with farmstead

Reference: Hertfordshire County Council, Unpublished Site Report.

Name: **Great Humphrey Field, Raffin Green, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Rural farmstead Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 9
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 9 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Within ditch associated with rural farmstead, possible neonate cemetery?
Reference: Hertfordshire County Council: Unpublished Site Report

Name: **Ware, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: mid 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 21
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 7 Adults: 6 Old Adults: 8
Context: Varied: (1) Small cemetery associated with settlement; (2) Isolated burials adjacent road and (3) neonate burials associated with an area of industrial activity within the settlement
Reference: Walker, C. & Zeepvat, R.J. (n.d.) *Access Project, Glaxo-Wellcome, Ware, Hertfordshire: Archaeological Investigation Final Report*. Hertfordshire County Council, Unpublished Site Report.
Hounsell, D. & Roberts, B. 2003. *New Restaurant Facility, Glaxo-Smith-Kline, Ware, Hertfordshire: An archaeological excavation*. Interim site narrative, Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust Report No 1294.
Goodwin, N. 1989. *Glaxo PII Warehouse Extension*. Excavation summary: Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust.

Name: **Great Staughton, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Villa Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: From beneath floor of room within main villa building
Reference: Greenfield, E., Poulson, J. & Irving, P.I. 1994. The excavation of a 4th century AD villa and bath-house at Great Staughton, Cambridgeshire 1958-1959. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **LXXXIII**, 75-127.

Name: **Stonea Grange, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: Late 2nd-3rd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 4
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Beneath floors and associated with domestic buildings
Reference: Jackson, R.P.J. & Potter, T.W. 1996. *Excavations at Stonea, Cambridgeshire 1980-85*. London: British Museum Press.

Name: **Peterborough, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Villa Date: Late 2nd-mid 3rd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: (1) Beneath floor of barn and from (2) fill of boundary ditch
Reference: Simpson, W.G., Gurney, D.A., Neve, J. & Pryor, F.M.M. (eds.) 1993. *The Fenland Project No. 7: Excavations in Peterborough and the Lower Welland Valley, 1960-69*. Peterborough: Fenland Archaeological Trust/East Anglian Archaeology Report 61.

Name: **Gadebridge Park, Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Villa Date: Late 2nd-early 3rd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: From beneath floor of room within main domestic building
Reference: Neal, D.S. 1974. *The Roman Villa at Gadebridge Park, Hemel Hempstead*. Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries No. 31.

Name: **Wendens Ambo, Essex**

Site type: Villa Date: Late 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Within boundary ditch of villa
Reference: Hodder, I. (ed.) 1982. *The Archaeology of the M11: Excavations at Wendens Ambo: Volume 2*. London: Passmore Edwards Museum.

Name: **Wraggs Farm, Arrington, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Roadside settlement Date: Mid 2nd century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Adjacent trackway

Reference: Taylor *et al* 1993. A Roman lead coffin with pipeclay figurines from Arrington, Cambridgeshire. *Britannia* **XXIV**, 191-225

Name: **Ridgeon's Gardens, Cambridge**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: (1) From beneath floor of domestic building and (2) associated with well

Reference: Alexander, J. & Pullinger, J. 1999. Roman Cambridge: Excavations at Castle Hill 1956-1988. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **LXXXVIII**, 45-57.

Name: **Vicar's Farm, Cambridge**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Boundary ditch associated with rural settlement

Reference: Lucas, G. & Whittaker, P. 2001. *Vicar's Farm, Cambridge. Post Excavation Assessment Report Vol. 1*. CAT Report No 425.

Name: **Folly Lane, St Albans**

Site type: Civitas Capital Date: 1st-3rd century

Burial rite: Cremation Total number of burials: 29

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 6 Adults: 19 Old Adults: 4

Context: Formal cemetery associated with city

Niblett, R. 1999. *The Excavation of a Ceremonial Site at Folly Lane, Verulamium*. London: Britannia Monograph Series No. 14.

Name: **Butt Road, Colchester**

Site type: Colonia Date 2-4th century

Burial rite: Predominantly inhumation Total number of burials: 728

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 75 Adults: 611 Old Adults: 42

Context: Formal urban cemetery associated with extra-mural area of city

Reference: Crummy, N. and Crossan, C. 1993. Excavations at Butt Road 1976-79, 1986 and 1988, in N. Crummy, P. Crummy and C. Crossan (eds.) *Colchester Archaeological Report 9: Excavation of Roman and later cemeteries, churches and monastic sites in Colchester, 1978-1988*. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust Ltd, pp4-163.

Name: **St John's Abbey, Colchester**

Site type: Colonia Date: Late 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 32

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 15 Adults: 17 Old Adults: 0

Context: Formal urban cemetery associated with the extra mural area of the city

Reference: Crummy, P. 1993. Excavations and observations in the grounds of St John's Abbey, 1971-85, in N. Crummy, P. Crummy and C. Crossan (eds.) *Colchester Archaeological Report 9: Excavation of Roman and later cemeteries, churches and monastic sites in Colchester, 1978-1988*. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust Ltd, pp203-235.

Name: **King Harry Lane, St Albans**

Site type: Civitas Capital Date: late 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of adults: 70

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 11 Adults: 59 Old Adults: 0

Context: Varied (1) From within domestic structure; (2) Formal cemetery associated with city

Stead, I.M. & Rigby, V. 1989. *Verulamium: The King Harry Lane Site*. London: English Heritage/BMP.

Name: **West Wycombe, Buckinghamshire**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 2nd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 14
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 6 Old Adults: 5
Context: Small cemetery associated with settlement
Farley, M & Wright, R. 1979. An Early Romano-British Inhumation Cemetery at West Wycombe, Buckinghamshire. *Records of Buckinghamshire* **21**, 81-89.

Name: **Mount Wood, Chenies, Buckinghamshire**

Site type: Rural settlement/villa Date: 3rd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Associated with domestic building
Dunnet, R. 1985. Excavations near Mount Wood, Chenies. *Records of Buckinghamshire* **27**, 107-118.

Name: **'Magiovinum', Buckinghamshire**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 10
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 10 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Small infant cemetery adjacent road
Reference: Neal, D.S. 1987. Excavations at 'Magiovinum' Buckinghamshire 1978-80. *Records of Buckinghamshire* **29**, 1-124.

Name: **Linton, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Farmstead Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 5
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 3 Old Adults: 0
Context: Informal ditched cemetery associated with the farmstead
Reference: Lethbridge, T.C. 1935-36. Romano-British burials at Linton, Cambridgeshire. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **37**, 68-71.

Name: **Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: late 1st-mid 3rd century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 54

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 14 Adults: 34 Old Adults: 6

Context: Formal cemetery associated with the settlement

Reference: Wait, G.A. 1992. Archaeological Excavations at Godmanchester (A14/A604 Junction). *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **LXXX**, 79-97.

Tebbutt, C.F. 1961. Roman cremation groups from Godmanchester. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **LIV**, 83-85.

Mays, S.A. 1993. *The Human Bone from Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire (1988-92 Excavations)*. Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 39/93.

Name, **Ruxox, Bedfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 34

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 27 Old Adults: 3

Context: Formal cemetery associated with settlement area and a sub-adult burial from an enclosure ditch associated with industrial (metalworking) activity

Reference: Dawson, M. 2004. *Archaeology in the Bedford Region*. Oxford: BAR British Series 373.

Name: **Kempston, Bedfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 106

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 15 Adults: 64 Old Adults: 27

Context: (1) Formal cemetery associated with the settlement and (2) associated with domestic structures

Reference: Dawson, M. 2004. *Archaeology in the Bedford Region*. Oxford: BAR British Series 373.

Name: **Bledlow-cum-Saunderton, Buckinghamshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 1st-3rd century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 6
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 3 Old Adults: 0

Context: Small enclosed cemetery associated with settlement

Reference: Collard, M & Parkhouse, J. 1993 (for 1995). A Belgic and Romano-British Cemetery at Bedlow-cum-Saunderton. *Records of Buckinghamshire* **35**, 66-75

Name: **Hornchurch, Essex**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: late 3rd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Uncertain, outlier of unexcavated cemetery?

Reference: Philpott, R. 1991. *Burial Practices in Roman Britain: A survey of grave treatment and furnishing AD43-410*. Oxford: BAR British Series 219.

Name: **Bletsoe, Bedfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 8*
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 8 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Small informal cemetery associated with the settlement

Reference: Dawson, M. 1994. *A Late Roman Cemetery at Bletsoe*. Bedfordshire County Council: Bedfordshire Archaeology Monograph Series No. 1.

*Full details unavailable

Name: **Dunstable, Bedfordshire**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 3rd-late 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 102
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 20 Adults: 65 Old Adults: 17

Context: Formal cemetery associated with settlement

Reference: Matthews, C.L. 1981. A Romano-British Inhumation Cemetery at Dunstable. *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal* **15**, 1-73.

Gardner, R. 2004. 24 Friary Fields, Dunstable, Bedfordshire. *Bedfordshire Archaeology* **25**, 159-190.

Name: **Maddle Farm, Berkshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 1st-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 7
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 6 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 0
Context: (1) From within boundary ditches and (2) associated with buildings of a probable domestic function
Reference: Gaffney, V. & Tingle, M. 1989. *The Maddle Farm Project: An integrated survey of prehistoric and Roman landscapes on the Berkshire Downs*. BAR British Series 200.

Name: **Brancaster, Norfolk**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Associated with buildings with a probable domestic function
Reference: Hinchliffe, J, with Green, C.S. 1985. Excavations at Brancaster 1974 & 1977. *East Anglian Archaeology* **23**.

Name: **Weeting, Norfolk**

Site type: Rural farmstead Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0
Context: Adjacent building with probable agricultural function
Reference: Gregory, T. 1996. *A Romano-British Farmyard at Weeting, Norfolk*. East Anglian Archaeology Occasional Papers 1.

Name: **Bawburgh, Norfolk**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 1st-4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 20
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 18 Old Adults: 0
Context: Cemetery associated with adjacent rural settlement
Reference: Gurney, D. 1998. *A Romano-British Cremation & Inhumation Cemetery at Bawburgh. Roman Burials in Norfolk*. East Anglian Archaeology Occasional Papers 4.

Name: **Caistor St Edmond, Norfolk**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 25*
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 17 Old Adults: 5
Context: Varied (1) Beneath floor of domestic building; (2) From pit adjacent to settlement
Reference: Keith, A. 1987. Report on Human Remains from Caistor, in M.J. Darling (ed.) 'The Caistor-by-Norwich "Massacre" Reconsidered. *Britannia* **18**, 270-2.
* Full details of all burials unavailable; many burials disturbed.

Name: **Stonehills/Woodlands Cemetery, Dereham Road, Norwich, Norfolk**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 0
Context: Cemetery associated with small town
Reference: Reference: Gurney, D. 1998. *Burials in Norfolk*. East Anglian Archaeology Occasional Papers 4.

Name: **Skeleton Green, Puckeridge-Braughing, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 161
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 9 Adults: 140 Old Adults: 12
Context: Varied (1) Enclosed cemetery associated with the settlement; (2) associated with domestic structures
Reference: Partridge, C. 1981. *Skeleton Green: A Late Iron Age and Romano-British Site*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: Britannia Monograph Series No. 2.
Partridge, C. 1977. Excavations and Fieldwork at Braughing, 1968-73. *Hertfordshire Archaeology* **5**, 22-108.
Partridge, C. 1979. Excavations at Puckeridge and Braughing, 1975-79. *Hertfordshire Archaeology* **7**, 28-132.
Potter, T.W. & Trow, S.D. 1988. *Puckeridge-Braughing, Herts.: The Ermine Street Excavations 1971-1972 – The Late Iron Age and Roman Settlement*. *Hertfordshire Archaeology* **10**.

Name: **Bancroft, Buckinghamshire**

Site type: Villa

Date: 1st-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed

Total number of burials: 30

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 7

Adults: 22

Old Adults: 1

Context: (1) Small cemetery associated with the settlement and (2) associated with domestic structures

Reference: Williams, R.J. & Zeepvat, R.J. 1994. *Bancroft: A Late Bronze Age/Iron Age Settlement, Roman Villa and Temple Mausoleum. Volume 2: Finds and Environmental Evidence*. Aylesbury: Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph Series No 7.

Name: **Icklingham, Essex**

Site type: Rural settlement

Date: late 4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 8*

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 5

Adults: 0

Old Adults: 3

Context: Cemetery associated with the settlement

*Full details of all burials at cemetery not available

West, S.E. & Plouviez, J. 1976. The Romano-British Site at Icklingham. *East Anglian Archaeology* **3**, 63-125.

Hills, C. 2001. Archaeological Excavations. *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, **VXL(1)**, 100

Name: **Heybridge, Essex**

Site type: Rural settlement

Date: mid 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed

Total number of burials: 11

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1

Adults: 8

Old Adults: 2

Context: Small cemetery associated with the rural settlement

Reference: Langton, B. & Holbrook, N. 1997. A prehistoric and Roman occupation and burial site at Heybridge: Excavations at Langford Road, 1994. *Essex Archaeology and History* **28**, 12-46.

Name: **Mildenhall, Suffolk**

Site type: Rural settlement

Date: 3rd-4th century?

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 2

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1

Adults: 1

Old Adults: 0

Context: Probable outliers of unexcavated cemetery associated with settlement

Reference: Gill, D. 1998. Archaeological Excavations. *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* **39(2)**, 237.

Name: **Chesterton, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Vici/rural settlement

Date: late 3rd-early 5th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 57

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 9

Adults: 46

Old Adults: 2

Context: Formal cemetery within extra-mural area of settlement

Reference: Casa Hatton, R. & Wall, W. 2006. A late Roman cemetery at Durobrivae, Chesterton. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **XCIV**, 5-24.

Name: **Mill Common, Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Villa/rural settlement

Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 68

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 15

Adults: 43

Old Adults: 10

Context: Cemetery associated with settlement

Reference: Nicholson, K. 2006. A late Romano-British cemetery at Mill Common, Huntingdon. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **XCIV**, 57-89.

Name: **Ely, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement

Date: mid 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed

Total number of burials: 18

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2

Adults: 16

Old Adults: 1

Context: Cemetery associated with adjacent settlement

Reference: Atkins, R. & Mudd, A. 2003. An Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Prickwillow Road, Ely, Cambridgeshire: Excavations 1999-2000. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **XCII**, 5-55.

Name: **Jesus Lane, Cambridge**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 32

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 13 Old Adults: 16

Context: Cemetery within extra-mural area of small town

Reference: Alexander, M., Dodwell, N. & Evans, C. 2004. A Roman cemetery in Jesus Lane, Cambridge. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **XCIII**, 67-94.

Name: **Arbury Road, Cambridge**

Site type: Small rural centre Date: 2nd -4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 9

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 7 Old Adults: 2

Context: Formal cemetery and mausoleum associated with the settlement

Reference: Fell, C. 1956. Roman burials found at Arbury Road, Cambridge, 1952.

Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society **XLIX**, 13-23.

Frend, W.H.C. 1956. Further Romano-British burials found at Arbury Road in 1953.

Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society **XLIX**, 25-27.

Name: **Wimpole, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 0

Context: Enclosure ditches associated with the settlement

Reference: Horton, W., Lucas, G. & Wait, G.A. 1994. Excavation of a Roman site near Wimpole, Cambridgeshire. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **LXXXIII**, 31-74.

Name: **St Neots, Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 4
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 2 Old Adults: 1
Context: Probable outliers of unexcavated cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Rudd, G.T. & Daines, C. 1971. Roman burials found at Duloe Road, Eaton Form, near St Neots, Huntingdonshire in 1968. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **LXIII**, 1-8.

Name: **Harlington, Bedfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd century
Burial rite: Cremation Total number of burials: 11
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 9 Old Adults: 0
Context: Small cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Dawson, M. 2001. Harlington Roman Cemetery. *Bedfordshire Archaeology* **24**, 20-40.

Name: **Deepdale, Sandy, Bedfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: late 1st/2nd century
Burial rite: Cremation Total number of burials: 14
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 12 Old Adults: 1
Context: Small cemetery associated with the settlement
Reference: Dawson, M. & Slowikowski, A.M. 2001. *Bedfordshire Archaeology* **18**, pp25-32.

Name: **Stanton Low, Buckinghamshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 13
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 5 Adults: 5 Old Adults: 2
Context: Small cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Stroud, G. 1986. *Stanton Low, Buckinghamshire: The human bones*. Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 4969.

Name: **Melford Meadows, Brettenham, South Norfolk**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 21

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 16 Old Adults: 3

Context: Cemetery associated with settlement

Reference: Mudd, A. 2002. *Excavations at Melford Meadows, Brettenham, 1994: Romano-British and Early Saxon Occupations*. East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 99.

Name: **Wavendon Gate, Milton Keynes, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Large rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 23

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 20 Old Adults: 2

Context: Formal ditched cemetery associated with small town

Reference: Williams, R.J., Hart, P.J. & Williams, A.T.L. 1996. *Wavendon Gate: A late Iron Age and Roman settlement in Milton Keynes*. Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph Series 10.

Name: **Thornborough, Buckinghamshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 8

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 5 Old Adults: 0

Context: Small cemetery associated with settlement

Reference: Johnson, A.E. 1975. Excavations at Bourton Grounds, Thornborough, 1972-3. *Records of Buckinghamshire* **20(1)**, 3-56

Name: **Maxey, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-early 4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 2

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 1 Old Adults: 0

Context: Boundary ditches of settlement

Reference: Gurney, D.A., Neve, J. & Pryor, F.M.M. 1993. *Excavations at Plant's Farm, Maxey, Cambridgeshire. The Fenland Project No. 7: Excavation in Peterborough and the Lower Welland Valley, 1960-69*. East Anglian Archaeology 61.

Name: **Barnack, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: late 2nd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 3
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 1

Context: Associated with building with a probable agricultural function

Reference: Simpson, W.G. The excavation of Romano-British aisled buildings at Barnack, Cambridgeshire, in Gurney, D.A., Neve, J. & Pryor, F.M.M. 1993. *Excavations at Plant's Farm, Maxey, Cambridgeshire. The Fenland Project No. 7: Excavation in Peterborough and the Lower Welland Valley, 1960-69*. East Anglian Archaeology 61.

Name: **Snettisham, Norfolk**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: Late 2nd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Enclosure ditch of rural settlement

Reference: Flitcroft, M. 2001. *Excavation of a Romano-British Settlement on the A149 Snettisham Bypass, 1989*. East Anglian Archaeology 93.

Name: **Little Oakley, Essex**

Site type: Villa Date: Late 4th-early 5th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 1

Context: Possible outlier of unexcavated cemetery attached to site

Total no of burials: 1 Sub-adults: 0 Old adults: 1

Reference: Barford, P.M. 2002. The excavations by R.H. Farrands, 1952-73. *Excavations at Little Oakley, Essex, 1951-78: Roman Villa and Saxon Settlement*. East Anglian Archaeology 98.

Name: **Kings Langley, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 5
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 4 Old Adults: 0
Context: Informal cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Henderson, J.D. (Jan) 1985. *The Human Bone from Kings Langley, Hertfordshire*. Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 4464.

Name: **Guilden Morden, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 1st-4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 67*
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 5 Adults: 56 Old Adults: 6
Context: Formal cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Fox, C. & Lethbridge, T.C. 1924/25. The La Tene and Romano-British cemetery, Guilden Morden, Cambs. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **27**, 49-71.
Lethbridge, T.C. 1936. Further excavation in the early Iron Age and Romano-British cemetery at Guilden Morden. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **35**, 109-120.

*Full details of all 67 burials unavaivable

Name: **The Grange, Welwyn, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-mid 3rd century
Burial rite: Cremation Total number of burials: 44
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 5 Adults: 35 Old Adults: 4
Context: Cemetery associated with settlement
Reference: Rook, A.G. 1973. Excavation at the Grange Romano-British Cemetery, Welwyn, 1967. *Hertfordshire Archaeology* **8**, 1-30.

Name: **Stretton Sugwas, Hertfordshire**

Site type: Isolated burials Date: 2nd century
Burial rite: Cremation Total number of burials: 3
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 1
Context: Adjacent Roman road

Reference: Mercian Archaeology (May) 2005. *Osteological Analysis of the Cremated Bone from Roman Road*. Mercian Archaeology Specialist Report PJ140.

Name: **Tort Hill West, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 3rd-4th century
Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 6
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 3 Adults: 3 Old Adults: 0
Context: Small ditched cemetery adjacent settlement site

Reference: Ellis, P., Hughes, G., Leach, P., Mould, C. & Sterenberg, J. 1998. *Excavations Alongside Roman Ermine Street, Cambridge 1996: The Archaeology of the A1(M) Alconbury to Peterborough Road Scheme*. Oxford: Birmingham University Field Archaeological Unit Monograph Series No. 1/BAR British Series 276.

Name: **Colchester**

Site type: Colonia Date: 1st-2nd century
Burial rite: Cremation Total number of burials: 4
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 2 Old Adults: 0
Context: Uncertain, 19th century excavations, no contextual details now available.

Reference: May, T. 1930. *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Name: **Grandford, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 1st-2nd century
Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1
Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 1

Context: Possible outlier of unexcavated cemetery associated with site
Reference: Potter, T.W. & Potter, C.F. 1980. A Romano-British Village at Grandford, March. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* **70**, 75-111.

Name: **Orton Longueville, Cambridgeshire**

Site type: Villa/rural settlement Date: late 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 5

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 4 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 1

Context: Small ditched cemetery associated with adjacent rural settlement

Reference: Wilson, D.R. 1975. Roman Britain in 1974, Sites Explored. *Britannia* **VI**, p252.

Reference: Mackreth, D.F. (ed.) 2001. *Monument 97: Orton Longueville, Cambridgeshire: A late pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman Farmstead*. East Anglian Archaeology 97.

Name: **Roden Downs, Compton, Berkshire**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 1

Context: Uncertain, part of a small cemetery associated with rural settlement?

Reference: Philpott, R. 1991. *Burial Practices in Roman Britain: A survey of grave treatment and furnishing AD43-410*. Oxford: BAR British Series 219.

Name: **Mucking, Thurrock, Essex (Cemetery I and Cemetery IV)**

Site type: Rural settlement Date: 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Mixed Total number of burials: 21

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 2 Adults: 17 Old Adults: 2

Context: Cemetery associated with the extra-mural area of the settlement

Reference: Philpott, R. 1991. *Burial Practices in Roman Britain: A survey of grave treatment and furnishing AD43-410*. Oxford: BAR British Series 219.

Name: **Den Beck Wood, Appleton, Norfolk**

Site type: Villa Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation Total number of burials: 1

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 1 Adults: 0 Old Adults: 0

Context: Beneath floor of main domestic building

Reference: Clarke, R.R. 1947. Roman Britain in 1947: I . Sites Explored. *Journal of Roman Studies* **37**, p91.

Name: **Mundford, Norfolk**

Site type: Rural settlement

Date: 4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 2

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0

Adults: 1

Old Adults: 1

Context: Isolated burials associated with adjacent rural settlement

Reference: Wilson, D.R. 1964. Roman Britain in 1963: Sites Explored. *Journal of Roman Studies* **54**, 152-177.

Wilson, D.R. 1968. Roman Britain in 1967: Sites Explored. *Journal of Roman Studies* **58**, 176-208.

Name: **Dales Road, Ipswich, Suffolk**

Site type: Villa

Date: late 2nd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 6

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 0

Adults: 5

Old Adults: 1

Context: Small cemetery associated with adjacent villa

Reference: Moir, J.R. & Maynard, G. 1931-33. The Roman Villa at Castle Hill, Whitton, Ipswich. *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, **21**, 240-262.

Name: **Barrow Hills (I) and (II), Radley, Oxfordshire**

Site type: Rural settlement

Date: 3rd-4th century

Burial rite: Inhumation

Total number of burials: 68

Age distribution: Sub-adults: 15

Adults: 44

Old Adults: 9

Context: Two small cemeteries associated with rural settlement

Reference: Atkinson, R.J.C. 1952. Excavations at Barrow Hills Field, Radley, Berkshire. *Oxoniensia* **17**, 32-35.

**APPENDIX C
DATA COLLECTION SHEET**

Site name:.....

Region: EAST WEST Context: URBAN RURAL

Burial number:

Age:.....

Gender:.....

Date:

Grave Goods

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Grave treatment:.....

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Burial position..... :

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Burial orientation:

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Contextual details:

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Other information:

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Reference:

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