

**HEALTHINESS, THROUGH THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF LATE IRON AGE
AND ROMAN LARGE URBAN-TYPE SETTLEMENTS OF SOUTH-EAST
BRITAIN**

TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME 1

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Bournemouth University for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Bournemouth University

October 2009

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ABSTRACT

It has recently been recognised that concepts of health contain multiple dimensions. One area that has received little attention in archaeology is that of health and well-being, so this research seeks to contribute to this area of study. It does so by investigating healthiness in the late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. The literature review explores current thinking around this topic, and confirms that aspects of good health mattered to people in the past. The research explores small finds that are traditionally associated with personal use (mirrors, combs, glass unguent containers, bronze cosmetic grinders and other additional toilet items) from the main urban-type settlements of south-east Britain. The investigation included collecting data concerning the sites, contexts, dates, materials, types, forms, colours and decoration of these objects, and any associated archaeological remains found with these items. Given the social nature of this work, a contextual approach was central to the design. The research takes an interpretive interdisciplinary position that draws on theoretical models based on the self and other, the body and face, the senses and perception, as well as concepts from material cultural studies, such as agency. Patterns seen in the data-set coupled with theoretical frameworks, and understandings of late Iron Age and Roman life, are brought together, and offer a means of interpreting how and why some of these small finds contributed to practices of maintaining good health. These proposals include healthiness in personhood and domestic and public life, in religion and the control of healthiness.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank my supervisors Mark Maltby, Ellen Hambleton and Timothy Darvill, and I am very grateful to the many people who supported me throughout this work including Andrew Gardner, Kate Welham, Stephen Wallace, Ralph Jackson, Elisabeth Hsu and Nicholas Saunders. Finally I must acknowledge the support from my family, especially my parents June and David Wilson, and my friends, Catherine Bullen, Christine Kelly and Louise Pearson.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION, SCOPE OF RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 The Focus of this Research Enquiry

Many of us are interested in healthiness, and in the modern Western world there has been a surge of enthusiasm around this subject. This study acknowledges this and tries to bring this unsung part of health to the forefront of research. Healthiness is about the individual and the other, making it an interesting and suitable topic for archaeology. Studies of the past are often about personhood and it is here that 'good' health can sit comfortably, as a state of being. The centrality of the person means that it is possible to draw on theoretical frameworks that support this. These can be enhanced by models from material cultural studies. Small finds are commonly found in urban-type areas, and as these are often associated with the person, they are ideal items with which to study healthiness. The spaces and structures within large settlements are where many small finds were used. It is these contexts that, along with small find details and theoretical insights, have the potential to reveal understandings of social practices that may be connected to healthiness. Small finds are often used to investigate areas such as art, industry and trade (e.g. Crummy 1983; Potter 1983), so an emphasis on healthiness is a slightly different way of viewing these objects.

1.2 Research Aims

This research investigates whether concepts of healthiness can be discerned through the examination of particular archaeological small finds (combs, glass unguent bottles, bronze cosmetic grinders and other additional toilet instruments). These objects are associated with areas of social activity in late Iron Age proto-urban and urban Roman settlements in south-east Britain. The work aims to explore this through patterns in small finds evidence, and the application of theoretical models. It is anticipated that in light of its social ontological position this research will add other dimensions to our thinking about good health in this period.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research were to:

- review the literature surrounding the complexities of the term 'health', and consider the approaches to the archaeology of health and healthiness;
- identify and discuss theoretical models that are connected to healthiness, including models relating to the body, the senses, perception, self and other;
- explore health and healthiness in the late Iron Age and Roman period;
- discuss archaeological reports relating to proto-urban and urban settlements from the south-east of Britain during the late Iron Age and Roman periods;
- discuss the archaeological literature relating to small finds (particularly those associated with personal appearance) and to look at understandings of material

culture, especially how these have been understood through theories of agency and social practice, memory and the transformed body;

- locate information relating to the sample of small finds;
- collect data and enter it into a system that allows for the accurate recording of information, and provides a systematic data storage method;
- define the terminology and textual conventions used in the data findings;
- establish patterns of association and exclusion in the small finds sample, giving emphasis to the contexts of the artefacts, as well as their association to each other, their association with other types of archaeology, their material, morphological, decorative features and their chronology;
- propose a number of interpretations related to practices of healthiness in the late Iron Age and Roman periods, based on the small find evidence, theoretical discourse, social archaeology and historical texts.

1.4 Theoretical Position of this Research

Healthiness can be viewed as an abstract concept which readily lends itself to a method of enquiry that stresses the social, the individual and the other. Interpretative archaeological approaches can provide the means with which to view the past in this way. Studies in linguistics and semiotics associated with social theorists such as Barthes (1967) from the structuralist and subsequently post-structuralist movements, means archaeologists can view material remains as a form of communication that can be analyzed like a text, thus allowing the past to be read (Hodder and Hutson 2003). Taken further, archaeological materials, like texts, contain hidden or masked messages (Levi-Strauss 1968). These ideas were subsequently developed to incorporate concepts of textual metaphors, social action theory and human agency, that views societies as constantly changing and in a state of flux (Jones 2002). Its use is demonstrated in Shanks and Tilley's (1987) 'Social Theory and Archaeology'. Here material is seen as producing meanings that are contested, open-ended and socially negotiable (Buchli 2004). In addition, an association with postmodernism led to an acceptance that there are multiple ways to view the past. These multiple pasts provide different understandings of, for example, social processes (Knapp 1996).

Yet healthiness is also about the physical body, an important element that cannot be ignored. This causes a slight problem, if we consider that each model of the archaeological record involves taking up an epistemological position. It can be broadly characterised as objective, empiricist and rational, or as subjective and relativist (Jones 2002). Recently there have been attempts to bring these postprocessualist and processualist viewpoints closer together, in what has been called theoretical pluralism. This seeks to unify interpretative theories with those found in other more rationalist fields. This 'new maturity in archaeology' as Hodder (2001, 3) calls it, is about accepting diversity and differences within the discipline, closing some of the objectivity/subjectivity divide, and allowing us to become more explicit about the links between our theoretical suppositions and the data (Rorty 1979). Given that healthiness straddles both types of archaeologies, the account of the past presented in this work draws on theory from both epistemological fields. As the

use of theory requires controlling approaches and theoretical models to be made transparent (Thomas and Tilley 1992), the details of the philosophical frameworks underpinning this thesis are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, Section 2.9 to 2.13 and Chapter 5, Sections 5.10 to 5.14.

1.5 Background to the Research Approach

In a qualitative model the researcher is seen as *bricoleur*, someone who pieces together a set of representations. These are then fitted to the specifics of a complex situation (Levi-Strauss 1966; Denzin and Lincoln 2000). It is a framework that assumes a constructivist position, whereby the researcher analyses data through thematic exploration, as opposed to statistics (O’Leary 2004). Hodder (1998) suggested a research method within qualitative inquiry relies on the interpreter identifying *the contexts* (my emphasis) within which ‘things’ have similar meaning. He argued that these contexts are not necessarily given meaning, and are themselves interpreted. A boundary, he suggested, is one type of context, but this, as well as other possible contexts, are all constructed by ‘indigenous actors’. Within these locations lies the archaeological material. Gardner (2007) pointed out that recording an area of the context of small finds, allows the material to be related more closely to the circumstances of their deposition. It is this contextual analytical approach that forms one of the central strands of this research.

If contextual details are used as a way of understanding archaeological material, then the reasons for deposition should be explored. Later in the thesis the findings from the analysis of the contexts of the small finds are summarised in Chapter 12, Section 12.3, and it is suggested that some of these results might be relate to practices of structured deposition. The concept of structured deposition, sometimes known as purposeful or special deposition, or ritual stratigraphy has been studied recently. It is generally accepted that items placed in contexts associated with water, such as wells, or objects positioned close to the dead, or artefacts found at temple sites could potentially be seen as special deposits. Fitzpatrick (2000,16) highlighted the importance of the different stages of the mortuary ritual prior to burial, and pointed to the variability within these that can lead to objects being placed with, on, or around a body. Items found at temple sites, such as earrings and spindle whorls recovered from the Sacred Spring, Bath, may have been cast into the water as votive offerings (Henig *et al* 1988, 5). This ideas can be seen at other locations, like the large number of coins that were discovered in Coventina’s Well, Northumbria (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985, 50-76). However, there are other less traditional contexts where structured deposits may be visible. J D Hill’s (1995) work, ‘Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex’, explored the concept of structured deposition and pits. He argued that rituals are actions and a form of daily practice, and suggested that neither the content nor the location of ritual places would necessarily be distinct from profane activities (Hill 1995, 97-98). He continued that when trying to recognise ‘ritual’ archaeologically, it is what is done with the content that matters (Hill, 1995, 100). Hill pointed out that the deposition of objects on sites is not necessarily random, but rather artefacts are structured according to ‘common senses’ which were very different from our own, and proposed that many objects that enter the archaeological

record were deposited in a structured ‘non-functional’, if not ritual event (Hill 1995, 126). The presence of objects in pits may then be indicative of structured deposition. For example, a spearhead, nails, four unidentified iron objects, a large part of the bole of an ash tree and a wooden wheel that were all recovered from a waterlogged deep pit at the late Iron Age and Roman site Waverdon Gate, Bucks, were possibly placed there deliberately (Hingley 2006, 231-233). This argument is supported by the presence of water in the pit, and a series of flat stones positioned to create a means of access to this hole. In addition, iron objects were absent from many other pits and post-holes inside this settlement (Hingley 2006, 234). Fulford stated that, ‘the context in which evidence of structured deposition might be found is not constrained’ (Fulford 2001, 213). He proposed that there is a range of evidence for ritual activity and structured deposition found in contexts that do not have particular association with cult buildings, burials and other similar locations. In his work he emphasised various contexts at large and small urban-type sites, and focused on, amongst other places, Silchester. Fulford highlighted the contents of various pits and wells which were, he termed, ‘placed deposits’ (Fulford 2001, 207). These included a perfect axehead, a pewter jug with an ornamental handle, and iron tyres from a pair of wheels from Pit 6, Insual 21. He also recorded a number of dog remains (usually skulls) found in wells and pits throughout various parts of the town (Fulford 2001, 204-205). If we consider this piece of research, a number of the small finds were located in ‘other features’ (a term that includes pits, ditches, dumps and so forth, see Chapter 6, Section 6.5 for full listings). It is therefore reasonable to suggest that with careful interpretation, some of these might be seen as reflecting practices of structured deposition which, it is argued, might have been done to protect and control good health (see Chapter 13, Section 13.5).

Understandings of spirituality connect to concepts of healthiness, themes that are addressed in this thesis. Healthiness is considered in respect to other world belief systems in Chapter 2, Section 2.2, and it is prioritised again in Chapter 3, Section 3.9, where its importance in Iron Age and Roman religion is discussed. It also forms one of the central discussions in the interpretation of the findings found in Chapter 13, Section 13.4. The deliberate practice of placing objects into a particular context has some resonance with religion. Find assemblages from urban shrines sometimes differ from those located in other parts of the settlement. Items related to the body for example, fit these criteria. Figurines were recorded at the temple site of Uley, Gloucestershire, and a figure of Mercury was recovered close to the temple of Sulis Minerva, New Royal Baths, Bath (Davenport *et al* 2007, 49; Woodward and Leach 1993, 98-101). Masks were found at the Sacred Spring, Bath, and at Uley, with the latter item representing a youth’s face (Henig *et al* 1988, 6-8; Woodward and Leach 1993, 100). Both sites also revealed examples of votive items, such as a model leg and foot from Uley, which it was speculated was probably deliberately made for this purpose, and an ivory breast, again from the Sacred Spring, Bath (Henig *et al* 1988, 8; Woodward and Leach 1993, 100). A study undertaken to compare votive and domestic assemblages from various late Iron Age and Romano-British religious sites, suggested that certain concentrations of objects from temples might be related to cult practices, including weapons, rings and discs, coins, and personal items, such as jewellery and toilet finds (Woodward and Leach (1993, 332-334). Since toilet find and any

associated archaeology such as jewellery are key to this piece of research, the idea of votives, healthiness and religion will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 13, Section 13.4.

Returning to the approach adopted for this research, in order to see trends, thematic analysis can be combined with a quantitative approach. Numerical findings from the archaeological material can be described through tables and charts. Data are displayed in ways that allow interconnections and relationships to be visible. Within a study that adopts theoretical pluralism, it seems reasonable to use a methodology that draws on strategies from both research approaches. As David Silverman (2005, 112) said, ‘there are no right or wrong methods, only methods that are appropriate to the research topic with which one is working’. It is anticipated then that ‘the more richly networked the associations that can be followed by the interpreter, and the thicker the description that can be produced, the subtler the interpretations that can be made’ (Hodder 1998, 123).

1.6 Background to Research Periods, Region and Settlements, and Healthiness

This section addresses the issues that helped to inform the decisions relating to the choice of the periods, region and sites identified for this research on healthiness. The start of the Roman period in Britain is traditionally dated to AD 43, a date derived from the classical texts. It was when Britain became an official province of the Empire following the military campaigns of the Emperor Claudius. Over the last 20 years archaeologists have begun to ask whether this timeframe is the only way to view the chronology of this period. Material remains from areas such as the south-east of Britain suggest that some late Iron Age peoples did have had a considerable amount of contact with the Continent during the late Republic and early Principate periods, many years before Claudius.

To provide a few well-known examples, evidence of pottery, coins and amphorae has led to suggestions that trading occurred between Armorica, Baie de Saint Brieuc and Hengistbury Head, Christchurch, Dorset (Cunliffe 2004). The Hengistbury site shows that large numbers of Mediterranean goods came through this port into Britain. Imports included 1A Dressel amphorae. These were in use until about 50 BC, while Dressel 1B was circulating towards the end of the first century BC (Fitzpatrick 1985). Gradually Hengistbury Head seems to have gone into decline, whilst Poole Harbour became a key site. Based on the evidence that imported Gallo-Belgic wares were found on sites around this harbour, there certainly seems to have been some contact between these communities (Fitzpatrick 1991a). Further east, trade flourished, and goods came from Gaul and Italy to settlements such as those at Braughing (Partridge 1982). Cunliffe (2004) suggests that the change in trading patterns occurred because of Julius Caesar’s interventions.

Settlements such as the *oppida*, (a classical term for a proto-Roman town, which has drawn some criticisms for its colonialist undertone, and in its inability to exactly explain these forms of settlements), of St Albans, Colchester and possibly Silchester were probable gateways communities between the Thames estuary zone and the rest of Britain. There is evidence that material recovered from the burials at King Harry Lane, Folly Lane, St

Albans, Hertfordshire, Stanway and Lexden, Colchester, Essex, amongst others (although earlier examples are known) included imports. It seems the peoples in Kent, Essex and Hertfordshire adopted cremation rites similar to Gallo-Belgic types. Originally called the Aylesford-Swarling culture, it was practised in the south-eastern part of Britain, and appears to have become fully developed after 50 BC (Cunliffe 2004). Other changes in the material culture of this region of Britain include wheel-made pottery, coinage, new ways of serving food and differences in ritual activities (Haselgrove *et al* 2001). These were probably not the result of large-scale immigration, but were instead changes brought about by those who had close contact with Rome. The client king Commios, for example, probably fostered closer social networks and cultural links between people on either side of the channel during the second half of the first century BC (Creighton 2000; Russell 2006).

According to John Creighton (2000; 2006) it was the ‘friendly’ kings who were central to many of the changes that can be witnessed in the objects from the period following Caesar’s visit. The representation of these rulers on late Iron Age coinage shows how they identified themselves with Rome. Some of the coins from the south-east region of Britain show portraits of these individuals which are Julio-Claudian in style, and these kings depict themselves enthroned in chairs similar to those of Roman governors (Creighton 2006, 36-38). Indeed it might be argued that these chairs have been recovered from the elite late Iron Age grave at Lexden, near to Colchester (Creighton 2006, 38). In addition, silver, in the form of plant stems, have also been found at this site, and these could be interpreted as laurel branches which were a Roman symbol of status (Creighton 2006, 41). These may have been used on fabric, possibly clothing. In summarising his arguments that Britain was effectively Roman by AD 43 Creighton wrote,

“The friendly kings in Britain and beyond found common purpose with the elite in Rome, and in the interplay of ideas and values they helped fashion new social identities for themselves, bonding them into the Principate” (Creighton 2006, 159).

Given the similarities between the material culture in south-east Britain and the Continent, Haselgrove (1989) divided late Iron Age Britain into different regions, calling the south-east the ‘core’ zone. Although Burnham *et al* (2001) wondered how deep the changes to late Iron Age society were. They suggested that,

“their apparent significance is more a function of the increased visibility of the later Iron Age as a consequence of highly-visible foreign imports, inscribed coinages, and the availability of textual sources” (Burnham *et al* 2001, 68).

If we return to Haselgrove’s (1989) argument for a moment, he suggested some individuals adopted a form of Roman-type identity before the main military campaigns. This concept is part of what is known as the Romanization debate.

Huskinson (2002, 108) wrote that Romanization was, ‘invented by modern scholars to describe the process whereby Roman culture spread within a subjugated territory’. She continued that some views of Romanization see this culture deliberately imposed; others believe it to be a two way process in which cultures interact with each other. Martin Millett’s (1990) seminal work ‘The Romanization of Britain’, for instance proposed that Romanization was,

“...indigenous in its motivation, with emulation of Roman ways and styles being first a means of obtaining or retaining social dominance, then being used to express and define it while its manifestations evolved” (Millett 1990, 212).

More recently Romanization has been challenged, and there are those who think it should be abandoned altogether in favour of a new term, known as ‘regionality’, which is concerned with appreciating the differences and diversity of peoples within the late Iron Age and Roman worlds (Hingley 2005). This is an important point, in that it incorporates those who lived outside the towns. Indeed life for many in the indigenous population probably continued much as before, even after the Claudian invasion. Still, Salway (2002, 207) does point out that there were most likely deeper underlying changes in what he describes as, ‘the parameters within which society worked’. Hill (2007) has taken this further and proposed that the changes that occurred at the end of the Iron Age were driven by the factors and forces coming from within the local societies. It is not however the intention of this thesis to consider ‘change’ within late Iron Age and Roman society, nor does the work address identity, and it should be stressed that Romanization is not directly relevant to the methods of study. The concept of healthiness is discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2, and is seen to be understood as a ‘state of being’ rather than a form of identity, and this is how it will be viewed against the social complexities of the period in Chapter 13.

The ideas that healthiness sits in this philosophical perspective is underpinned by work that has gone beyond the Romanization models. The model of creolization in respect to the Roman period was first proposed by Jane Webster (2001), and is a theory which will be revisited again in Chapter 2, Section 2.7. Webster used this framework, which was drawn from the archaeology of the New World and based on the colonial experience, to examine types of late Iron Age and Roman material culture. She argued that Romanization in its traditional sense was seen as cultural homogenization, and was therefore a flawed view of the ancient world (Webster 2001, 211-212). She also argued that the nativist counter attack to Romanization ‘polarized Roman and native identities’ (Webster 2001, 212-213). Using Romano-Celtic iconography, in one instance representations of Mercury from Roman Britain, she noted that this deity sometimes appeared with horned, rather than the traditional winged hair, and suggested might have been a deliberately ambiguous portrayal allowing the spectator to see a classical or late Iron Age-type horned god. This she proposed was a creole art form that ‘negotiated a spiritual pathway between acceptance and resistance’ (Webster 2001, 223). Mattingly (2006) continued with this theme when he stated that,

“the history of Britain in the Roman empire has replaced the simplistic paradigm of Romanization with the idea of ‘discrepant experiences’ of empire (Mattingly 2006, 491).

In his book, ‘An Imperial Possession’, he clearly rejected the single model framework for social and political life in Roman Britain. Instead he noted that there were many regional, chronological and social differences throughout Britain (some of these are discussed in respect to towns later in this paragraph), and went on to suggest that there are infinite versions of what being Roman meant.

So to continue, after Julius Caesar's visit in 55-54 BC, it may be argued that a form of urbanism developed in some of the Iron Age centres of south-east Britain (Haselgrove 1989). Archaeology at sites such as Chichester, Sussex, and Winchester and Silchester, Hampshire has demonstrated the beginnings of Continental influence. Silchester, for example, had a form of street system before the conquest (Fulford and Timby 2000). Following the invasion in AD 43 a number of forts and fortresses were established close to existing Iron Age settlements. Some of these seem to have gradually changed from army bases into towns, and it seems this was the case with the station at Colchester (*Camulodunum*) which was a fortress before becoming a colony (Jones 2004). *Civitas* capitals (generally seen as centres organised around local tribal divisions) emerged and towns expanded, and indeed by AD 80 there had been a large forum-basilica complex constructed at St Albans (*Verulamium*), Hertfordshire (Jones and Mattingly 1990).

Roman influence (even if this differed throughout the various regions of Britain), gradually diminished during the end of the fourth and into the fifth century. In AD 410 the Emperor Honorius wrote to the British *civitates* and told them to look to their own defence. Towns changed, some were abandoned, others, such as Wroxeter had wooden halls built over the basilica (Potter 1983). These changes altered the centres of power, the belief systems and the social structures in the period after AD 350. The urban-type settlements of the fourth and fifth centuries were not similar to those found during the earlier periods. There is some debate about how far towns declined in the latter years of the Empire. Tombstones, sculptures and inscriptions are not as common, and in York for instance, pottery studies revealed there was an increase in dumping rubbish in the town (Faulkner 2001, 125). Salway (2002, 224-226) pointed out that some of the changes in the urban settlements in Britain might have been similar to central Spain. He noted that the theatre and amphitheatre went out of use in the Spanish town of Segobriga, although there remained fourth and fifth century houses. Salway continued that Segobriga survived long after the end of Roman rule, and speculated this might also have been the case with many towns in Britain. Certainly there is some evidence that town houses continued to be built especially in the early part of the fourth century, and it seems some town defences were maintained and improved (Mattingly 2006, 326-333; 339). The picture is then unclear, and it is perhaps better to consider the archaeology at centres individually, an approach that is taken in Chapter 3 in respect to the urban-type settlements studied for this research. Nevertheless many settlements were terminating at around AD 400 with, as Esmonde-Clearly (2001, 96) highlighted, the apparent total loss of all levels of material culture, including pottery making. The fifth century is he suggested the 'black hole' in our knowledge of the post-Roman, non-Anglo-Saxon period (Esmonde-Clearly 2001, 90). However, by about AD 650 there were clear changes in the material culture that signified the medieval transition.

There has been a range of literature written about late Iron Age and Roman urban-type settlements over many years. Writers such as Haverfield (1912) were influenced by ideas drawn from the British Empire, and Collingwood and Myres (1937, 5) commented that the

history of Britain in the Roman period was primarily the history of conquest, and sought to find evidence of Romanization. In his review of the idea of the town Creighton's (2006) pointed out that,

“the image of imperial direction fostering Mediterranean style urban centres in the form of *civitas* capitals was consolidated into a clear narrative framework by Frere in his *Britannia* (1967) (Creighton 2006, 72).

Wacher's (1974) consideration of Roman towns followed similar thinking, although the native's perspective was taking hold in Millett's (1990) 'The Romanization of Britain'. Millett (1990, 120) acknowledged, for example, that the countryside during the Roman period had strong continuity with what he termed the LPTIA, or Later Pre-Roman Iron Age. Authors tend to present their views of the past based on their understandings of the present, and the situation is no different today. In the previous section the term *oppida* was used to describe a number of late Iron Age settlements that later became Romano-British towns. It was pointed out that since this word is taken from the classical texts, it carries an Italo-centric perspective, which was not necessarily how the local native population understood their territory. This highlights the deeper problems that currently exist in the struggle to define the various forms of urbanism during this period. Millett (2001, 64) in his more recent work, was a strong advocate for getting away from the traditional Roman legal names such as *colonia*, *municipium* or *civitas*, although neither did he support other archaeologically derived classifications such as small or minor towns, potential cities, specialised sites, religious sites, industrial sites and fortified or unfortified sites. He felt these names were used inconsistently, and failed to provide clear separate categories. Instead he proposed that the various characterisations of a site be considered, including the size, settlement density, whether there was evidence of planned settlement organisation, the extent and location of public facilities, the house types and differences in settlement function. However, underlying the problem of categorisation there are issues of difference and diversity. Clearly not all civic-type settlements are the same. For example, there have been questions about the spatial and temporal variations in *oppida*, and it has been highlighted that there should be more account taken of the regional and cultural diversity of late Iron Age Britain (Burnham *et al* 2001, 68-75). Still, there has to be some form of label that defines areas or sites that will be investigated together. In the case of this research, it was decided to call the study locations urban-type settlements. This it was felt would distance itself from the more traditional names, but would stress the more civic nature of the investigation. It should however be stressed that this does not assume all these sites were the same.

The purpose of exploring urban-type settlements rests partly on the idea that there might be signs of subscribing, consciously or otherwise, to a particular state of being (in this case healthiness) evident in the objects they used. In respect to towns Mattingly (2006) highlighted that,

“when we come to look for signs of identity groups, they (the elite or governing class) should be one of the most prominent, not only because they fulfilled roles that demanded certain types of behaviour (I will argue in Chapter 13, Section 13.2, that this included appearing healthy), but because they used Roman material culture

and identity markers as a means of enhancing their own prestige within British society (Mattingly 2006, 293).

In addition, urban-type settlements sometimes have evidence of temples, and as was noted earlier, religion is another theme that lends itself to discussions concerning good health, although it is understood that places of spirituality could have varied as much in urban settings as in their rural counterparts.

1.7 Selection of Periods, Region and Settlements for this Research

This section will now explain why particular periods, regions and sites were selected. It provides its justifications for the choices that were made, by drawing on the issues mentioned in this chapter in Section 1.6. First, the dates for this investigation are *circa* 150 BC – *circa* AD 450. The choice for the early date was based on the previously discussed argument that there was some contact between Britain and Rome prior to the traditional military-based date of AD 43, and that some of the material finds from the late Iron Age period, especially in the settlements of south-eastern Britain, were similar to those on the Continent, the start of the period for this research is set at *circa* 150 BC. Since many of the small finds that form the data-set were retrieved from late Iron Age and early Roman phases of the town, it is this period that will be afford particular attention. However, the time period does extend to *circa* AD 450. While it is recognised that late Roman society was different than in the earlier periods (see Section 1.6 in this chapter), this date was put in place as this study also examined the manufacture, use and deposition of combs, which can be traditionally dated to the later Roman period. It should be noted that the main emphasis in this thesis is on the late Iron Age and early Roman phases of towns, and the information for the later periods is more summary in nature. Second, the region for this investigation is south-eastern Britain. Since material culture from south-east Britain had closer similarities with the Continent at an earlier date than other parts of Britain, it seems reasonable to suggest that the archaeology from this region could be successfully compared. In addition, southern Britain may have developed an urban structure which might have been based on the local tribal capitals, although it is recognised that this is an issue for debate.

Third, the settlements that were selected for the study were:

- Canterbury (TR 148576)
- Chichester (SU 85400445)
- Colchester (TL 997253)
- London (City) TQ 3281)
- London (Southwark) (TQ 325802)
- Silchester (SU 64006240)
- St Albans (TL 134073)
- Winchester (SU 48202932)

Please see Figure 1 for a map of these sites, and Appendix 2, for a full list of the sub-sites within these settlements.

There are various reasons why these settlements were chosen. Given that population density studies suggest there were about 5,000 to 10,000 residents in an average Roman town (Faulkner 2001, 30; Jones 2004, 187), urban-type sites are likely to produce a reasonable sample of material relating to this period. This is not to say that large numbers of people were not living in the countryside (see Section 1.8 in this chapter), but rather there have been less excavations at these settlements. The sites chosen for this research could conceivably have been the largest civilian centres in this region during the developed Roman period. It has been suggested that Chichester, Winchester, St Albans, Silchester and Canterbury all developed from or near to late Iron Age sites. Whilst recognising that the older model of urban categorisation is based on the Roman legal system, through this lens it can be noted that these settlements may have all become *civitas* capitals. The veteran military settlement of Colchester for example which had a late Iron Age centre close by became a *colonia*. London was neither an *oppidum* nor apparently a *colonia* (although see Tomlin's 2006 epigraphically based discussion concerning this), but settlements were established there at about AD 50. After the Boudiccan revolt London became a major town, and there were some similarities with this centre and the four *colonia* Colchester, Gloucester, Lincoln and York (Millett 1990). It seems that all the towns considered in this study continued to function as major urban-type settlements throughout much of the Roman period, even if this was in very different forms (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion concerning this point). Even Millett conceded that,

“there are some grounds for believing that we can distinguish typical public towns within the south and east of the province, and we perhaps have a fair idea of how such sites functioned within society” (Millett 2001, 66).

1.8 Settlements not included in this Research

It has been argued that a site specific approach to urban research takes the emphasis away from understanding the local landscape (Burnham *et al* 2001, p), and indeed the inclusion of areas of social activity within the hinterland is a sound method of investigation. However, despite questioning the categorisations placed on communities, it is notable that many late Iron Age and Roman studies still draw on familiar terms. For example the structure of James and Millett's (2001) edition 'Britons and Romans' has a chapter dedicated to 'urban societies' and another to 'rural societies', whilst Mattingly (2006) adopts a similar scheme. The sample for this thesis does not include small finds found in rural sites, small towns, villas and specialised religious sites, although it must be stressed that these community groupings were no less important than the large urban-type settlements.

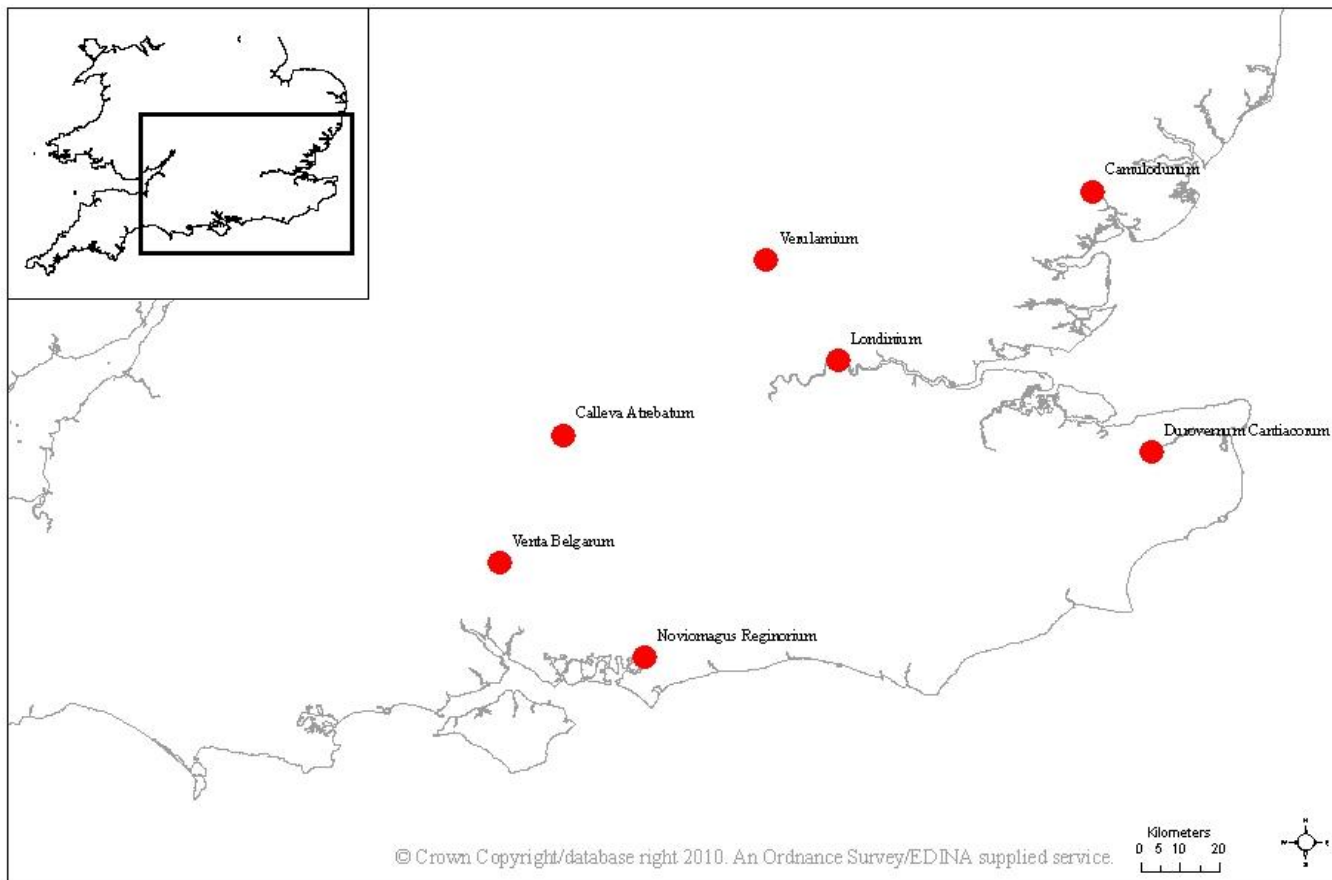


Figure 1 Spatial relationships between the settlements of south-east late Iron Age and Roman Britain (map drawn by H. Manley).

A number of late Iron Age and Roman people would have lived and worked in the countryside. Hingley and Miles (2002) stated that,

“Roman Britain remained a primarily agricultural society with only a limited proportion of the population involved in industry and trade” (Hingley and Miles 2002, 166).

These sites have the potential to provide information about rural dietary traditions, agricultural practice, local domestic architecture and field systems (Taylor 2001, 48-55), but not urban-type lifestyles. There are however a considerable number of places that can be loosely referred to as small towns. While acknowledging that in the Roman legal sense these were not recognised as *civitas* capitals, excavations have nevertheless revealed many of them to be important for the local region. As every settlement is different it is hard to make any firm overarching observations. Some sites can be associated with specialised industries such as pottery manufacturing found at Water Newton, Cambridgeshire, whilst others were smaller urban settlements sometimes located along main roads (Fulford 2002, 63). Burnham and Wachter (1990, 4-5) did note that small towns did not have the same number of public buildings, such as forum-basilicas, as their larger urban-type cousins. They suggested that these communities may have been dependent on major towns for administrative purposes, and there did not seem to be the same number of large private houses when compared to civic settlements. It was this lack of public structures and private dwellings that led to the decision not to include these localities in this study.

Villas are a complex group of establishments. The villa is difficult to define and has been seen as a simple or more substantial house, sometimes with an aisled barn or other ancillary structures, all of which varied in size (Johnston 1988). Villas are sometimes seen as luxury houses and/or farms located in a rural setting. It has been proposed that the owners of the villa were the elite, who maintained households in both the town and the country and moved between the two. However, Mattingly (2006) warned that we should be cautious about accepting this idea. He pointed out that this concept was initially created by the eighteenth-century aristocrats who were the first to undertake excavations on villas. These people drew on their own background which involved moving between London and other major resorts and the countryside. Mattingly stated, ‘it remains to be proved that those responsible for the most extravagant villas were also member of the urban governing class...’ (Mattingly 2006, 372). As this investigation was interested in the social aspects of town life, villas were excluded from this particular piece of research.

Woodward (1992) undertook a study in which she identified the various locations for Roman temples, and noted that in many cases there was some continuity between Iron Age shrines and Roman religious sites. She noted that many temples could be found inside the defences of existing Iron Age hillforts, such as Chanctonbury Ring Sussex, and others had been placed near to prehistoric henges or barrows (Woodward 1992, 23, 26). She observed that temples also occurred beside Roman roads or close to villas, while a significant number could be found in isolated rural locations, sometimes near to water (Woodward 1992, 19). Roman temples were also built in towns, and Woodward proposed that places such as Bath developed into a temple site and town because of its proximity to the spring

water (Woodward 1992, 19-20). It is reasonable to suggest that religious sites could offer an interesting avenue for this research (see the discussion above in Section 1.5), and indeed material recovered from temple sites that were located in large urban-type settlements is considered. However, sites such as Bath or Uley are located in the West Country, and therefore outside the region considered in this study.

1.9 Research Data-Set

The data-set consists of small finds that belong to classified functional groups. These artefacts were chosen because they are all traditionally associated with appearance, and could therefore potentially be used to understand concepts of healthiness.

The small finds that made up the sample are:

- Mirrors
- Combs
- Glass unguent Containers
- Bronze Cosmetic Grinders
- Additional Toilet Items (see Chapter 6, Section 6.2 for a further breakdown of these items)

1.10 Locations and Contexts for this Research

This work takes a qualitative stance which, as stated earlier, acknowledges the importance of contextual information. This is central within the enquiry, for it allows us to ask whether small finds associated with appearance were present in private and or public areas of the identified sites. In order to achieve some level of accuracy relating to the locations and context of the small finds, data were generally collected from site reports and journals that were compiled after the 1960s. Whilst it is accepted that details concerning the small finds under review can be found in antiquarian collections, these items have not been included in the data collection. This was due to the often incomplete contextual information surrounding these objects. Indeed, it is generally acknowledged that systematic recording of units of stratification became commonplace only after the 1960s (Greene 2002). (See Chapter 6, Section 6.5 for a further breakdown of the types of contexts.)

1.11 Research Data Collection and Storage

The majority of information about small finds can be found in site reports, and it was therefore decided that the data would be collected by obtaining and reviewing published excavation texts. Relevant local and national journals, online data-sets such as those published by the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre, and internet sites such as the Portable Antiquity Scheme sites were included. The Archaeology Data Service, the British and Irish Archaeological Bibliography, the Sites and Monuments Records and COPAC (National, Academic and Specialist Library Catalogue) were all consulted. This research aimed to ensure that all available published data was considered.

Microsoft Access 2003 was the database programme chosen to record the material. The reasons for this were, firstly it is a systematic organized way to keep the data files. Secondly related values from multiple tables could be joined for queries and analysis (Figure 2), allowing data to be compared, and finally it is a system that has been adopted by a wide number of organisations, including Bournemouth University. A copy of the database can be found in Appendix 4.

It was not the purpose of this work to challenge the site report authors' findings and interpretations, and the information from the published material was usually recorded without alteration. Very occasionally an obvious error was amended. If an author was unsure about the exact nature of an object, but then suggested it could have been part of a particular category of small finds (such as being a toilet item for instance), this was included in the database. The number of finds collected for the sample was not pre-determined. It was dependent on what had been published. Where possible, details about associated archaeology were collected. The data were collected between October 2006 and December 2007.

The information that formed the data fields was driven by the research question, and current small find research (Crummy 2004). As the thesis was looking at social meanings, the objects in the data-set were classified by their function. This was based on descriptions drawn from site reports and specialist finds catalogues.

The different variables consisted of details relating to:

- Settlements
- Contexts
- Dates
- Associated Archaeology
- Material*
- Form*
- Type*
- Zoomorphic*
- Coloured, Colourless*
- Stamped*
- Decoration*
- Covers and Cases*

*Not applicable for Additional Toilet Items. (Given the large counts of 'additional toilet items', it was decided that information would only be collected for the broader data fields for these artefacts).

(See Chapter 6, Sections 6.4 to 6.18, for a further breakdown of these variables.)

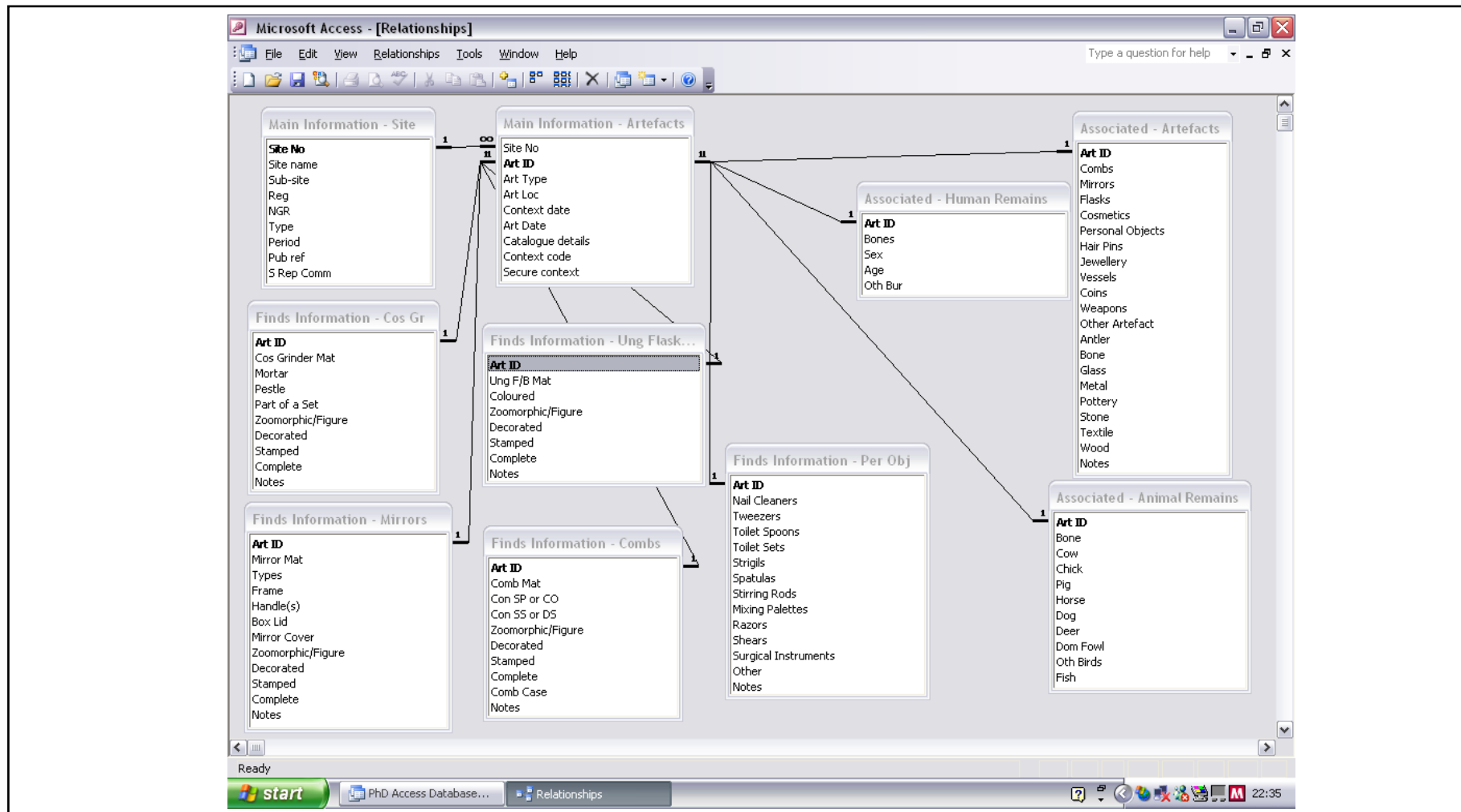


Figure 2 Database relationships (Author's copy from Microsoft Access 2003)

A small pilot study was undertaken to test the research design. Combs were selected and the data collected from Winchester. It was during this study that some small amendments were made to the original database.

1.12 Approaches to Research Findings

For background details to the approaches of the small find analysis see Chapter 5, Sections 5.4 to 5.9. In order to see the different frequencies of the small finds in this data-set, a numerical approach, with the use of tables, was adopted. Given the qualitative leanings of this work, categorical data was collected, making it unsuitable for statistical testing. The variables were compared within a single type of small find (Chapters 7 to 11) with a summary of all the findings found in Chapter 12. The use of tables meant the numbers were readily available for scrutiny.

1.13 Approaches to Research Interpretations

The interpretations are based on the findings (Chapters 7 to 11), the theoretical models (Chapters 2, Sections 2.9 to 2.13; Chapter 5, Sections 5.10 to 5.14), and the archaeological and historical understandings of society and healthiness (Chapter 3, Sections 3.5 to 3.10), as seen in the large settlements (Chapter 4) of late Iron Age and Roman Britain.

1.14 Legal and Ethical Issues within this Research

Although some of the materials discussed in this study had been deposited in graves, they were already excavated items and the details published.

1.15 Outline of the Thesis

The dissertation is divided into three parts.

- **Part I – Literature Review and Theoretical Discourse**

Chapter 2 begins by considering definitions of health and healthiness, both within and outside archaeology. It continues by examining the different approaches to the archaeological study of health and healthiness, before suggesting that there is a gap in the literature in the use of theory to understand good health. The reader's attention is then drawn to areas within the theories of perception, the body and the senses that can be related to healthiness, and it is then suggested that these might be applied to archaeological data, such as small finds. Chapter 3 considers whether the archaeology and history of the late Iron Age and Roman period reveals healthiness as an important concept. It confirms that there is plenty of evidence to support this, although it is often in fragmented forms within the literature. Chapter 4 stays with the late Iron Age and Roman period, providing the archaeological background and detail of the sites and sub-sites discussed in this work. Chapter 5 then addresses the small finds that are being studied in this research. It looks at the various archaeological approaches to small finds, and notes that there is no work that has considered mirrors, combs, glass unguent flasks, cosmetic grinders, and additional toilet items together (from the large urban-type settlements of south-east Britain), in relation to the study of healthiness. The discussion then returns to theory, in particular to frameworks found within the study of material culture that can assist in understanding

social activity. The conclusion to this chapter suggests that the theoretical models relating to healthiness can be made more powerful in relation to this research question, if combined with those in the field of material culture.

- **Part II – Findings, Interpretations and Conclusions**

Chapter 6 provides an overview of the terminology and textual conventions that are to be found in the subsequent chapters. Chapters 7 to 11 present the findings based on patterns of association and exclusion relating to mirrors, combs, glass unguent containers, bronze cosmetic grinders and additional toilet finds. The results are supported with frequency tables found in Appendix 1, and a summary of all the small find results is provided in Chapter 12. It is worth noting that these chapters do not explicitly discuss healthiness. This topic can be found in the interpretation section of this thesis, in Chapter 13. Here many of the ideas found throughout the work are brought together with the small find results. The themes that are presented consider healthiness in personhood and in domestic and public life, healthiness through religion and controlling healthiness. The work is concluded in Chapter 14, where areas of originality in the thesis are highlighted, as are suggestions for future work and the contribution of this research to archaeology and other disciplines.

- **Part III – Appendices and References**

The appendices include the frequency tables, a list of data-set references, a copy of a published paper based on this work, and a copy of the Microsoft Access database.

- **Summary**

This thesis incorporates the following:

- The nature of the investigation (Chapter 1)
- The methodology and research approach (Chapters 1 and 5)
- The literature review (Chapters 2, 3, and 5)
- The background to the sites (Chapter 4)
- Theoretical discussions (Chapters 2 and 4)
- The details concerning the sample (Chapter 1 and 5)
- The findings (Chapters 7,8,9,10,11)
- A summary of all the findings (Chapter 12)
- Interpretations (Chapter 13)
- Conclusions (Chapter 14)
- Appendices (Part III)

PART I

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL DISCOURSE

CHAPTER 2

HEALTH AND HEALTHINESS

2.1 Introduction

Health seems at face value an easy subject to study. It is a topic that seems very familiar, yet once we begin to explore it in more detail its complexities become increasingly apparent. This chapter begins by looking at what ‘health’ means and asks whether we, as archaeologists, have sometimes studied this subject in a particular way because we are influenced by our modern concepts of this term. By examining various perspectives, this section reveals that healthiness can be found and studied independently within the health paradigm. Although it is not very common, a few archaeologists have tried to include healthiness in their work. They have used a number of approaches to achieve this with theory only very slowly being incorporated into these works. As there is this gap, the chapter proceeds by suggesting a variety of frameworks that could be useful in this type of study, and in particular the association between good health and appearance. These theories will be considered again in the interpretation section of this research (see Chapter 13).

2.2 What is Health and Healthiness?

It was apparent from the brief discussion in the introduction that healthiness is not an easy term to define. The Oxford Dictionary suggests health is soundness of body and mind, whilst to be ‘healthy’ is having or ‘showing’ good health (Sykes 1989, 460). Yet many works concerned with ‘health’ in the past assume a prior understanding of this term, and it is often based on illness and disease. If we briefly consider some of the general texts on the subject, many are filled with these assumptions. To take an example, Duin and Sutcliffe (1992) put together a history of medicine in which issues such as smallpox and pharmacology are addressed. Even one of the most well known detailed works in this area, Bynum and Porter’s (1993) ‘Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine’, written in two comprehensive volumes, has chapters that address anatomy, clinical medical practice, and medical childhood medicine, whereas healthiness tends to be marginalised or ignored. It is a way of viewing ‘health’ that has been labelled as a ‘medical model’ of thinking. This is an ideology which takes it for granted that health is about physical illness, diseases, doctors and medicine, where trained qualified and paid professionals diagnose and treat illness. Indeed, a historiography of medicine shows that many texts have been dominated by discussions concerning the great doctors, and how they gradually came up with new explanations of diseases and techniques for curing humans (Brieger 1993, 24). It is an approach that has drawn some criticism for its Western ‘triumphalist’ history (e.g. Leslie and Young 1992, 2).

These ‘medicine of the past’ texts, aimed at the general reader, tend to exclude archaeology. While the prehistoric, Egyptian and of course the Greco-Roman periods are included, there is little supporting archaeological discourse (e.g. Duin and Sutcliffe 1992; Magner 1992). The work about health in our discipline is to be found in more specialised

books and papers. Nevertheless the problem remains the same. A conference on Greco-Roman health held in the 1990s was, for example, entitled, ‘The Archaeology of *Medicine*’ (my italics, see Arnott 2002), and included papers on ‘Roman Surgery’ (Jackson 2002), and ‘The Hippocratic Patient: an Archaeology of the Greek Medical Mind’ (McKeown 2002). This suggests that some archaeologists have adopted strands of philosophy that exist in their own present, influenced by modern medical models of health. Within this framework the body is seen through Cartesian philosophy, as a machine that can be repaired. Disease is seen as a disturbance in the body, a statistical deviation from the norm, a pathological abnormality indicated by particular signs and symptoms. Illness is related to those unpleasant feelings of pain and discomfort (Field 1976; Seedhouse 2001).

It is an ideology that may feel right, but it has had its critics. In the latter half of the twentieth century, social scientists and some in the healthcare profession began to ask whether the medical model was the only interpretation of health. Some started to question the power that the medical specialist held in the West. Michel Foucault (1963) looked at issues of knowledge and control. He suggested the healthcare establishment gained dominance by developing new terms to describe the body, and indeed today’s medical terminology can confuse and create anxiety for those outside specialist circles. One of the strongest advocates of this medicalisation critique was Ivan Illich (1976). He thought that normal parts of the human condition such as childbirth were medicalised, and cynically noted that it was in the interest of a doctor or healthcare professional to have plenty of people who were ‘ill’, so they could maintain their position and status in society. He wrote, ‘He (a patient) is taught about alien entities that the doctor combats, but only just as much as the doctor considers necessary to gain the patient’s cooperation’ (Illich 1976, 175). This almost anti-medical movement even asked whether a doctor or healer was always really necessary for interpretations about health issues. It is these criticisms that led Joseph Alter (1999) to ask whether it was possible to escape the ontology of health defined in terms of disease.

More recently the whole idea of health as healthiness has gained some popularity. Wellness is usually seen as the absence of sickness, but it is of course possible to have a disease and be healthy. Even if a person does not have any illness, they can appear healthier at certain times than at others (Caplan 1993). Modern research that considers the question of health was carried out in the 1990s by Mildred Blaxter (1990; 1995). She and her team undertook a survey of over 9,000 individuals in the UK to explore modern lay (as opposed to professional) theories of health, and concluded that definitions of this term could be divided into two fields, which she called positive and negative concepts (Blaxter 1990, 20; Blaxter 1995, 21). Negative concepts used words associated with ‘illness’ and ‘disease’; statements included, “health is when you don’t have a *cold*” or, “health is when you don’t have to think about *pain*” (Blaxter 1990, 21). The positive constructs, according to Blaxter, were related to phrases like, “health is being *carefree*” (Blaxter 1990, 29), or “health is having loads of *whumph*” (italics own emphasis) (Blaxter 1990, 26). This is similar to work by Weiss and Lonnquist (2003), who focused on this positive sense of health. They saw wellness as having social, psychological and emotional aspects. Yet

wellness is not a static entity. It has also been suggested that health and disease are on a continuum. Wellness, (however it is culturally expressed) sits at one end, whilst death is at the other (Sheridan and Radmacker 1992; Seedhouse 2001). A person's position on this line can alter, allowing for the transient nature of his/her state of being, making it a continuously negotiable concept.

Philosophies about good health can be found in many of the other world health systems that lie outside Western thinking. Many are rooted in the archaeological and historical traditions of the particular society. Chinese medicine suggests that in order to maintain wellness the *qi* (*ch'i*) energy needs to be kept in harmony (Watts 2003, 78). The yin yang can help understand the patterning and distribution of the *qi*, not only within the body, but also with the environment (Bray 1993, 735-736). Torsch and Ma (2000) undertook a cross-cultural comparison of health perception among Asian and Pacific Islander American elders. In discussing health promotion strategies that revolved around mental health, the elders considered it important to lift one's spirits. One strategy was to 'fix yourself up' to look nice, which they associated with increasing positive feelings about oneself. In studies of Mexican-American cultures, many feel themselves to be masters of their own fate (Higgins and Learn 1999, 1106). Ayurveda, (the Hindu model of health) emphasises the importance of a force of life, a vital power that animates the self, while good health is seen as a natural human condition in Arab-Islamic medicine, and is given the highest priority (Conrad 1993; Kleinman 1993). Apart from the Greco-Roman world (which will be discussed in the next chapter), the concept of wellness can also be found in other ancient cultures. The Egyptians believed that humans were born healthy, while offerings made to the household gods such as Bes may have been for the welfare of the person and his/her family. For the Incas, healthy lives could be maintained by not only staying in harmony with the land, but also with the family and neighbours (Watts 2003, 28).

2.3 Historical Approaches to Health and Healthiness

Probably due to its classical heritage, historical archaeology has tended to dominate works that examined health, particularly in the Roman period. Back in the early twentieth century writers such as Allbutt (1921), and later, Scarborough (1969), drew heavily on the historical texts to support their writings about ancient Roman health. Scarborough for example, provided a picture of a relief from Ostia, which he suggested shows a midwife at work. The notes in his text read, 'the midwife, as described by Soranus performing a delivery...' (Scarborough 1969, 107); the idea of archaeology playing a supporting role to the historical narrative was not an unusual approach for its time. Indeed, if we consider the general studies of Roman Britain authors such as Collingwood and Myers (1937), who wrote 'Roman Britain and the English Settlements' and Frere's (1967) 'Britannia: a history of Roman Britain' followed a similar approach. In 1988 when Jackson published his well-known book 'Doctors and Disease in the Roman Empire', the historical works were still used to provide much of the detail. Critics of textual approaches, such as Johnson (1999), suggest that even in 1998 the classical archaeologists were still rather fond of their 'Loeb' books. More recently Vivian Nutton (2004) (who is admittedly an historian), has produced

a large text on the history of Greek and Roman medicine, but this too is lacking in supporting archaeological discourse.

A number of problems have been identified with using the historical approach. Patricia Baker (2002a) notes that authors, such as Galen studied and used earlier medical works in order to compose their own texts. Consequently Galen was trying to make interpretations on these earlier texts, and by doing so may not have always understood the original ideas. Baker says,

“with this, one sees the ancient medical writings are interpretations and understandings by an author on the work of another - a doxographical hermeneutic rather than straightforward and universally understood meanings” (Baker 2002a, 20).

Of course it can be difficult to know how far the texts influenced everyday health matters in the provinces such as late Iron Age and Roman Britain (Wear 1993). Given that many texts in the past were written by the dominant people and groups, Hall and Silliman (2006) argue that the historical archaeological approach has overtones of ideologies from colonialist expansionism, or represents the archaeology of capitalism. Yet they say to reject the use of historical texts out of hand is not a sound strategy for anyone studying the past, for by doing so, you risk losing ‘the rich play between word and object, text and artefact’ (Hall and Silliman 2006, 1). Occasionally authors acknowledge that they are intentionally using historical texts. Ciaraldi (2002), for example, in her work on medicinal plants from Pompeii, notes that historical sources can provide good comparative data when interpreting archaeological assemblages. Susan Stewart (2007) delves into the ancient sources to support a chapter in her work concerning health, and examines practices such as bathing, cosmetic surgery and hair treatments. As a final note, there appears to be only one book that is entirely dedicated to healthiness (in the Graeco-Roman period), which is Helen King’s (2005) edited text, ‘Health in Antiquity’. In this work most of the contributing authors draw on the classical texts, rather than archaeology.

2.4 Osteological and Bio-Cultural Approaches to Health and Healthiness

Moving to another approach, one of the main methods used to understand ancient health and healthiness is medical anthropology. Using human skeletal evidence in isolation may cause some difficulties, for it has been demonstrated that a population decimated by disease at a young age may appear healthy, while those who lived to old age accumulate more skeletal pathologies (Robb *et al* 2001, 214). Known as the osteological paradox, it seems that, ‘better health makes worse skeletons’ (Wood *et al* 1992, 356). Recently palaeopathological work has moved from taking a purely clinical perspective, to the adoption of the biocultural approach, which essentially uses an epidemiological methodology (Roberts 2002a). Based in part on the World Health Organisation’s (1947) definition, that sees health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, the biocultural approach serves as a useful reminder that health does not sit in a single dimension (Ewles and Simnett 1985).

Within the biocultural approach, lifestyle evidence is taken into account. This includes not only the physical remains of bones and teeth, but also the consideration of the landscape, climate, society, diet and economy. For example, in Roberts and Cox's (2003) book 'Health and Disease in Britain', the Iron Age and Roman periods were researched using this approach. Following a similar idea, Rebecca Gowland (2004) provided an osteobiography of an individual from Roman Britain. Rebecca Redfern (2003) undertook work on female health, where she investigated the Romano-British urban environment and culture, and considered how this was reflected in the remains of individuals buried in cemeteries. The study of healthiness (although not noted as such by the author) can be seen in one of her samples, which revealed that females had a lower prevalence of stress indicators (investigated by using a combination of three osseous changes) compared to men. This, Redfern suggested, may have been as a result of women's enhanced immune systems, meaning they were probably better at tolerating environmental stress than their male counterparts.

2.5 Ethnographic Approach to Health and Healthiness

Ethnography has helped us to view health as culturally and regionally variable. Work with the Gnaou society from New Guinea, South-East Asia has, for instance, shown that there is no word in their society for disease (Stacey 1988). However, in relation to archaeology the use of anthropological similarities to cross the present-past divide has been criticised. There is, according to Chris Gosden (1999, 9), no justification for using the present of one society simply to interpret the past of another, but he does then suggest that there are a number of ways in which archaeology has benefited from its links with anthropology. He points out that archaeology and anthropology have similar subject matter such as writings on kinship, gift exchange and identity. One of these, identity, can be found in work that is related to health and Romano-British archaeology. Baker (2001, 48) studied the Roman army and health. She noted that the military should not be seen as a homogenous group of people that undertook identical medical treatments. Rather, it comprised of a number of different groups and individuals from various places around the Empire, practising sometimes very different healthcare regimens Baker (2001, 63). In another case, Carr (2002) used a number of examples from other societies to support her discussion on divination and health in late Iron Age and early Roman Britain.

2.6 Theoretical Approaches to Health and Healthiness

While the use of theory in archaeological studies has become increasingly popular, an examination of the texts from the period under review shows that theory is only slowly being incorporated into works relating to health and healthiness. In some examples, the area of psychology is discussed. Kiernan (2004) investigated the possible psychosomatic effects of Romano-British curse tablets and Hartigan (2005) examined psychoneuroimmunology (PNI), an idea that suggests good mental and emotional health led to better bodily health. In her work, Hartigan linked these states of being with the therapeutic benefits of theatre in ancient Greece and Rome, and noted that Galen wrote about the role of drama in a healing context. A paper related to healing practices is Carr's (2003, 113-125) work on artefacts found in the grave of the 'Stanway doctor' in

Colchester. Carr used two theories to support her work, creolisation and pidginisation. Creolisation, she suggested, is associated with concepts of ambiguity, political dominance and subjugation, whilst pidginisation is a linguistic process which occurs when people who do not speak the same language come into contact. For example, during the Caribbean slave trade bits of European language were picked up by these unfortunate people. Carr applied these concepts to the archaeology of the late Iron Age and early Roman Britain. She saw that surgical instruments that had been deposited in the grave differed slightly from Roman types, with the exception of one example. She suggested the reason for the slight differences in the items was that the 'Stanway doctor' was making a deliberately ambiguous statement. He was doing so by using a cultural mix of both native and Roman-style surgical instrument. In respect to the body, Gowland's (2004) study of human skeletal evidence was discussed in relation to issues of gender, and the sensual experience of disease and stigma.

2.7 Summary of the Archaeological Approaches to Health and Healthiness

Some of the main pieces of evidence relating to health and healthiness have been reviewed and it has been shown that there are various approaches to this subject, although they do all have problems. It now seems appropriate to draw a few conclusions. First, the late Iron Age is visible in these types of works, but Roman studies dominate the field. Second, and partly as a consequence of the first, historical archaeology remains one of the main ways to discuss health and healthiness in the past. Third, there are only a few osteoarchaeological studies that address ideas of healthiness. Fourth, in the few studies that incorporate theory, psychosocial frameworks, linguistics models and the social body appear to be the main ways in which health and healthiness have been examined.

2.8 Theoretical Background

Theory will be used to support the interpretations of the data within this research (see Chapter 13). Some of these models have been used to a greater or lesser extent within late Iron Age and Romano-British archaeology before, others are, it is believed, new to this field of study. It would appear that none of these theories have been used together to assist in the interpretation of ideas relating to late Iron Age and Romano-British healthiness. The discussions in the next section are based on the following suppositions.

- The data for this research comprises of small finds (mirrors, unguent bottles and flasks, combs, cosmetic grinders and other toilet items) which are traditionally associated with the body.
- Theories of the body include studies of their different parts, such as the face and hair and the various sensorial elements.
- However, body studies also involve the lived aspects of the self, and by definition the other. These are underpinned by concepts of image and performance, which are associated with perception.
- Theories of the body, and those within perception, can be associated with healthiness.

- Finally, small finds have been studied using theories from agency and material culture, particularly in the relationship between the body and object.

2.9 The Biological and Social Body

The body can be divided into the two classical perspectives, the biological and social. The biological body is usually understood as an entity that can be studied through scientific methodology. This includes empirical investigations into human remains, for instance. Drawing on models from chemistry, mathematics and statistics, Larson (1997) in his text, 'Bioarchaeology' discusses isotopic and elemental signatures of diet and nutrition on skeletal growth and development in the past. In another example, studies into the corpse of the Iron Age Lindow Man revealed the chemical composition of his body tissues (Connolly *et al* 1986). Then there is the other view of the body, which lies in the social domain. This perspective is about seeing social meanings attributed to the body, and the boundaries which exist between the bodies of different groups of people (Shilling 2003). The body in this theoretical social space is the site of "mapped and inscribed social relations" (Meskell 1997, 140). The anthropologist Mary Douglas used both approaches in her work on the body, 'Natural Symbols'. She wrote, 'the social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived' and that, "there is a continual exchange of meanings between the two kinds of bodily experience so that each reinforces the categories of the other (Douglas 1996, 69). She was especially interested in body fluids acting in a symbolic manner within society. In her examination of blood, she suggested that this could serve as a metaphor for purity or pollution. She argued that in Hebrew religion blood is regarded as the source of life and is sacred. On the other hand blood has also been used by people she termed as 'sorcerers', and in the eyes of people from some societies blood acts as an instrument of harm (Douglas 1966).

The relationship between science and the social has always been complex, and within the discipline of archaeology this has led to some deep divisions, but it is possible to harmonise the two. Robb *et al* (2001) considered the social and biological status of the body using a comparison of grave goods and skeletal indicators from Pontecagnano, Italy. Jones in his text 'Archaeological Theory and Scientific Practice' argued,

"the strengths of the scientific approach are reflected in their methodological rigour and reproducibility, while the strengths of interpretative approaches are reflected in their theoretical rigour and their ability to provide a coherent and satisfying account of society" (Jones 2002, 22).

Surely then, if we consider theories of the body from both perspectives our archaeological knowledge is richer, and the past is not tied to an extreme or even closed intellectual position.

Studies of the body within archaeology are wide-ranging, and what follows is a very small selection, to provide an idea of what has been written in this field. The archaeological body in relation to the human skeleton is, for example, examined in regard to gender and age by Sofaer (2006). Joyce (2004) looked at femininity, masculinity and sexuality, while

issues of the body and power were discussed by Gatens (2000). Synaesthesia, the release of one sensation through another, has been used as a framework in understanding ancient Mesoamerican writing (Houston and Taube 2000). A number of authors contributed to Hubert's (2000) text that addresses body difference and social exclusion, so for example Jeffreys and Tait (2000) discussed disability, madness and social exclusion in Dynastic Egypt. Tilley (1994) adopted a completely different perspective to the body in his phenomenological account of landscape and monuments, and in doing so produced what is arguably one of the best known archaeological works related to space and the body. Although not necessarily archaeological, the body has also been associated with more modern aspects of life, such as the cyber body (Shilling 2005).

For the purposes of this work the focus is on the body and its relationship to healthiness, and this will be addressed through the body and its association with material culture. Theories related to the face and hair, and several of the senses (vision, smell and touch) will be considered, as will an examination of perception and the social world in which self and other interact. The body and its connection to material culture is addressed in Chapter 5.

2.10 The Face and Hair

The face is one of the key parts of the body. Facial skin can reveal states of health. Some colour on the cheeks may indicate wellness, whereas pallor could be indicative of illnesses, such as anaemia. In the Victorian era a pale complexion (sometimes caused by tuberculosis), was considered attractive to the opposite sex (Roberts 2002b). The face also shows the age of a person. A young face can reflect a sense of inner healthiness, which is defined by ideas of life and living. However, a number of societies have a high regard for old age, and in certain circumstances longevity is seen as having continued good health. Expressions and emotions are revealed by the face. Some archaeologists have considered the role of emotions in the past, and have proposed that the use of power by members within a society, may have created a state of anxiety and fear on those who were being controlled (Tarlow 2000). Some facial expressions are learnt in babyhood. Children can distinguish between sadness and happiness in the face of an adult during the very early years (Barrowclough 2004). In some societies there may be an association between good health and a feeling of general well-being, and within some empirical studies, physical good health has been related to life satisfaction and feelings of vitality (Ryan and Deci 2001).

The face is used extensively in the modern world for advertising purposes, and can be associated with ideas of beauty. The hero Odysseus in the Greek myth was described as having his head and shoulders endowed with added beauty by the goddess Athena, and he was seen to be radiant with comeliness and grace (VI 229-235). Beauty seems to have advantages. Some studies have shown that attractive individuals hold higher status positions in certain areas of society. This means, unfortunately, that less facially attractive people are disadvantaged, and may even be stigmatised (Synnot 1993). Beauty may also

be based on perceptions of gender. In a study by Lee Cronk *et al* (unpublished) and others (Personal communication) from Rutgers University, USA, women with more masculine facial appearances were perceived as being less desirable long-term mates, and as being less trustworthy.

Turning to the evolutionary biological work, it seems there may also be a relationship between attractiveness and health. Within some animal species, sexually attractive individuals are more healthy and free from infectious diseases (Milinski and Bakker 1990; Moller 1992). Work into human facial attractiveness and health demonstrates a link. In a review of the evidence, Thornhill and Gangestad (1999) assert that facial symmetry can be a marker for health and fitness. In addition, facial symmetry correlates with facial attractiveness (Grammer and Thornhill 1994). Zaidel *et al* (2005) similarly found that health and facial symmetry were related. With the use of photographs, Kalick *et al* (1998) undertook a study to examine whether human facial attractiveness provides evidence of good health. Their findings suggested that attractiveness suppressed the accurate recognition of health, which leads to the question whether make-up, applied in order to create beauty, could promote a sense of healthiness. Certainly Grammer and Thornhill (1994) proposed that women used make-up to make certain facial features more average and symmetrical. They also pointed out that particular attributes of the face, such as prominent cheekbones in women (thought to be caused by the effects of oestrogen), advertised immunocompetence, and argued that women used make-up to make their cheekbones appear larger.

Hair is composed of the protein keratin, and grows at a constant rate of roughly one centimetre a month (Wilson *et al* 2001). It is another part of the face that can reflect the physical state of health. Hair on the head is important in many societies and if this is lost (perhaps due to illness or age) its presence might be recreated by the use of wigs (Synnott 1993). Laura Peers (2003) noted that whether a person's hair is cut, or allowed to grow long, it communicates the individual to the social world. She argued that hair can be manipulated. This may be against one's will, and can act as a symbol of external control. Prisoners often have their hair shaved, while Native American children had their hair cut as part of a process that separated them from what was seen as their contaminating culture. Hair styles, and indeed body hair, may relate to gender or social position, or they may represent membership of a particular group or religion within society.

2.11 The Senses

It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that to be 'healthy' is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as 'showing' good health and as biological and social beings we communicate in, with and through our senses (Sykes 1989; Synnott 1993). Visual perception occurs when the eye receives images which travel via the optic nerve to the occipital lobe of the brain, where *meaning* is attached (Goldstein 1989). Psychologists found that if the eyes on a baby doll were exaggerated, this triggered pleasant feelings in those who were holding the toy (Barrowclough 2004). So if the eyes are emphasised, even in an adult, perhaps this

creates a similar emotion. The eye is also associated with magic, religion and superstition. In a number of societies objects and reliefs depict the ‘all seeing eye’, which acts as a talisman, overseeing the wellbeing of people, crops and animals.

Smell can be understood empirically, but there is also a social aspect. Alain Corbin (1986) provided an examination of the way smells have shaped society. He looked at the history of the perception of smells during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and reflected that, ‘the abhorrence of smells produces its own form of social power’ (Corbin 1986, 5). Synnott (1993) in his text ‘The Body Social’ discussed odour. For Synnott, people often accept or discard food and drink based on its odour, and he suggested that this thinking is sometimes applied to a person. Some people smell bad, while others smell good. He observed,

“if a person smells bad or deviates from the olfactory cultural norm, the odour may be a sign that there is something wrong with their physical, emotional or mental health. The odour is a symbol of the self” (Synnott 1993, 190).

In biological terms touch is sensed when pressure is applied to the skin, which the nervous system transforms into electrical signals, which are then sent to the brain (Goldstein 1989). Touch allows us to feel the people and the world around us. Freud identified some general conditions which he argued were needed for bodily well-being. One was concerned with the connection of our embodied selves to social relationships (Shilling 2003). Hallawell and Brittle (1995), who examined body contact, suggested that people touch others for a number of different reasons, and the relationships people have with others affects the way they touch. So, touching a brother or sister may be different to touching a husband or wife. They continue that certain forms of touch can engender physical and emotional health.

2.12 Perception, Self and Other, and Image

Perception is about how individuals ‘see’ the world, and see themselves in the world. Psychologists point to the different stimuli and patterns which, together with the context influence perception (Mullins and Hicks 2002). If we consider the work of the sociologist Erving Goffman (1969), he believed that the way the self presented itself was part of a model that human social life was like a theatre. Goffman wrote that,

“a social establishment is any place surrounded by fixed barriers to perception in which a particular kind of activity regularly takes place. Within these walls there is a team of performers who cooperate to present to an audience a given definition of the situation” (Goffman 1969, 231).

So, within this place, the subject or ‘the self’ regulates and controls its image. People play roles, tailor their performances depending on their audience, and change their behaviour when the audience is absent. For Goffman the body was a physical part of human agency and was bound to the relationship between ‘the self’ and social identity (Shilling 2003). Impression-creating behaviours are produced as people try to enhance and protect their

public image. Turner (1984) in his theory of bodily order saw that one of the body's exterior social tasks was representation.

This takes us to the point that 'the self', is usually connected to 'the other'. 'The other', is defined in this particular case, as the person or group that provides meaning on 'the self' (Cavallaro 2001). Charles Horton Cooley (1902) thought that self and society were twin born, and there was no sense of 'I' without the 'you'. He wrote,

"Each to each a looking glass reflects the other that doth pass. As we see our face, figure and dress in the glass, and are interested in them because they are ours, and pleased or otherwise with them according as they do or do not answer to what we should like them to be, so in imagination we perceive in another's mind some thought of our appearance, manners, aims, deeds, character, friends and so on, and are variously affected by it" (Cooley 1902, 184).

From anthropology, it is known that bodies are monitored by society and produced by 'the self' or 'others' through patterns of action and interaction (Fowler 2004). So, specific bodily parts such as the face can be said to mirror 'the self'. It is a public presence that is defined by perceptual experience, and within the social construct, the gaze 'establishes the union and interaction of individuals which constitute society' (Synnott 1993: 226). The 'other' is also important away from the public arena. Goffman (1969), in his chapter on discrepant roles, noted that there are non-persons, such as servants, who are present during the interaction of performer and audience, yet do not take a role. He or she is defined as someone who is not there. There are also service specialists who construct and repair the show that their clients maintain before other people. The 'self' and 'other' may also be part of a team which comprises of family, friends, colleagues or indeed the service specialist or the servant. Among team members there may be, what Goffman calls, the 'privilege of familiarity', which he argues strengthens the performance.

Moving slightly away from appearance, but staying with the 'self', 'other' and the 'team', attachment theory suggests that a person can experience better health if there is a secure relationship in place. It has been reported that strong attachment relationships with significant others promotes wellness (Ryan and Deci 2001). This can also include a connection with spiritual beings. Religion as a way of life (which is how it is likely to have been perceived in the late Iron Age and Roman period) has been shown to have positive correlations with well-being (Emmons *et al* 1998). Participating in religious activity appears to have significant links with good health, and, although obviously based on modern research, there is a suggestion that spirituality may prevent the development of disease in healthy people (Hill and Pargament 2003; Powell *et al* 2003).

2.13 Conclusion

In this chapter it has been established that healthiness can be studied as a separate concept. By delving into the literature it has been found that there are various approaches adopted by archaeologists in order to relate health and healthiness to the past. However, the use of

theory is lacking in late Iron Age and Romano-British studies of healthiness. This gap in the literature might be filled if theoretical frameworks are considered, most notably from work on ‘the body’, ‘the self’ and ‘the other’, and understandings about image, appearance and perception. So is it possible to expand these ideas? Alone they may be used to make powerful statements about healthiness and appearance, but there would be something missing. The data in this research comprises of small finds, and these artefacts are often discussed within material cultural frameworks. Therefore these theories need to be included if there is to be any deeper archaeological discourse of healthiness based on this research. These will be discussed in Chapter 5, but first it seems reasonable to consider what has been revealed in the late Iron Age and Romano-British studies concerning health and healthiness.

CHAPTER 3

LATE IRON AGE AND ROMAN HEALTH AND HEALTHINESS.

3.1 Introduction

It was documented in the previous chapter that health has tended to be studied through a medical lens, especially in relation to the periods under review. This chapter begins by acknowledging the large corpus of material that is written about health as illness and disease. This is divided into three key topics, biological processes, pathological changes and physical illnesses; doctors, healers and hospitals; and therapeutic practices. The rest of the chapter will then take a detailed look at what is known about healthiness in the late Iron Age and Roman period. It uncovers evidence from Continental Europe, but will place particular emphasis on the findings from Britain. This section will concentrate on healthiness in, towns, buildings and streets, water, bathing hygiene and cleanliness, diet, dental issues, religion, women and the family. Often information concerning healthiness is buried, and described sometimes very briefly in papers and books that ignore this idea, or celebrate their association with medicine. Consequently, some of what is offered here is in many respects independent research into healthiness in this period.

3.2 Health as Disease and Illness - Biological Processes and Pathological Changes

Health is often investigated by examining skeletal pathology. This section starts by looking at the works of Roberts and Cox (2003), who undertook an in-depth study into diseases in the past in Britain, primarily based on human remains. In a review of the Iron Age evidence (including early and middle as well as late), they found for instance that trauma to the bone was a common injury for a number of individuals, and that this could often be related to weapon injuries. Roberts and Cox noted that joint diseases featured in both the Iron Age and Roman evidence. For example, spinal joint disease was seen in the skeletal evidence recovered from Roman urban centres in the south-east of Britain. Their findings from some of the settlements that are being considered in this research revealed that 75 people (out of a total 575) in Colchester, Essex, were affected with spinal joint diseases, 45 (out of a total 550) from the Eastern Cemetery, London, as well as 45 (out of a total 112) from West Tenter Street, London. In addition, nine (out of a total 27), and six (out of a total 369) from Winchester, Hampshire had similar health problems.

Other works have looked at infectious diseases such as, *Vibrio cholerae*, *Yersinia pestis*, and *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* (e.g. Manchester 1992). Bone infection from tuberculosis can cause a distortion of the spine, while *Mycobacterium leprae* can be recognised in the skeletal evidence by the loss of bone in the hands, feet and facial area. It is thought that individuals from the Romano-British cemetery at Poundbury Camp, Dorset suffered from both these diseases (Jackson 1988; Roberts and Cox 2003). The DNA of *Mycobacterium leprae* has been recovered from a skeleton from the Roman period by the River Jordan in the Middle East (Waldron 1999). Apart from investigations into specific diseases, other environmental evidence has been examined. Eggs from a species of

whipworm (a human parasite that lives inside the human lower intestine) were found from the analysis of Roman cesspit material in Carlisle (Allason-Jones 1999).

3.3 Health as Disease and Illness - Doctors, Healers and Hospitals

Another strand of investigations into health as sickness comes from the many texts that have been written on doctors and healers. It is known that there were those in Roman society who referred to themselves as *medici* (professional doctors), and it is widely accepted that these people were available to attend those who worked in the Roman army, navy and urban cohorts. It is thought that doctors were not always men, for there is evidence from a funerary inscription found in Spain that some women referred to themselves as *medici* (King 2001). Either way, the title did not confer any degree of competence (see Nutton 2004 for an in-depth discussion). It seems medical practitioners were looked down upon in society, particularly those working in surgery, and that these jobs were often been held by foreigners or even slaves (Gelfand 1993). During the late Iron Age in Britain the healing role may have fallen to specialists such as the druids, who may have had a medico-magical remit (Webster 1999). Moving away from the expert, there were also practitioners who did not profess to belong to any named group or organisation, but were still called on to act in a medical capacity (Carr 2002). However, for the majority of times when sickness struck, it was most likely that the family were the most important source of medical advice and assistance (Nutton 2004; Jackson 2005).

A number of authors have directed their attention to places of healing or medical practice like hospitals, (*valetudinaria*) surgeries and temples. The first temple in Rome that was dedicated to the god Asclepius and acted as a healing sanctuary was built on the Island of Tiberius (Barefoot 2005). (Asclepius was originally a Greek god who visited people in their dreams, and whose touch was believed to heal.) Roman hospitals are thought to have existed in forts, particularly in Germany and Britain. At Inchtuthil in Scotland, it is suggested hospital beds were placed in cubicles to avoid draughts (Nutton 2004). Hospitals are often identified either by the presence of medical instruments, or by their design, which was a quadrangular layout with rooms around a central courtyard (Jackson 1988). However, there is some debate concerning the supporting evidence for a number of buildings identified as hospitals. Baker (2002b) has argued there is not enough evidence from the structural remains of many of these buildings to label them as *valetudinaria*, while Allason-Jones (1999) noted that there were no medical instruments found within the so-called hospitals uncovered at Housesteads and Wallsend, Hadrian's Wall, Northumberland.

3.4 Health as Disease and Illness - Therapeutic Practices

Medicinal plants were commonly used for healing during both the late Iron Age and Roman period. Marina Ciaraldi (2002) examined the archaeobotany evidence from the Villa Vesuvio, Pompeii and noted that a number of *dolia* (large vats usually used as food containers) contained peach stones and walnuts, as well as a large quantity of seeds, and reptile and amphibian bones. Nearby there was also a particular kind of cooker which has been associated with workshops where drugs were made. She therefore wondered whether

the assemblage could be interpreted as the residue of drug preparation (Ciaraldi 2002). In another example of therapeutic practices, a lead lid from a (possibly late Iron Age) medicine box from Haltern, Germany carries an inscription ‘*Ex Radice Britannica*’ leading to the suggestion that the contents may have been the *herba Britannica* mentioned by Pliny the Elder. This plant is thought to have been some variety of dock, used in ancient pharmacopea for its antiscorbutic properties (treatment of scurvy) (Fitzpatrick 1991b).

Treatments undertaken by surgeons or specialist eye doctors are popular areas of investigations for archaeologists and historians. Eye disease was common in antiquity and many of the materials used by oculists have been found, especially *collyrium* stamps. These were small slabs of stone bearing an engraved text, which were used to impress onto sticks of eye ointment (*collyria*) (Jackson 1988). They were particularly numerous in the north-west provinces of the Roman Empire during the second or third century, and at least 30 can be attributed to Britain (Boon 1983). An example from Staines, Surrey was found along the Roman road from London to Silchester (Jackson 1996), whilst a stamp from Castle Hill, Cambridge had the following inscription, ‘the collyrium stamp of Lucius Julius Salutaris, to be applied with a fine brush, for inflammation of the eyes’ (Jackson 1990, 276). Surgical work was regularly undertaken. There are a number of cases from around Britain where trepanation (removing part of the bone of the skull) had been practised during the Iron Age period. For example, a skull showing evidence for this procedure was discovered from the River Thames, London (Roberts and Cox 2003). It is believed that this type of treatment was also common in Roman society, and the ancient texts suggest it was used to resolve epilepsy, severe headaches or traumas to the skull (Jackson 2005).

To conclude this section, it can be stated that issues relating to curing and healing do inevitably overlap with healthiness. Yet if the evidence is studied carefully, it is possible to tease out aspects of life that lean more towards the maintenance and promotion of health, and it is these that form the focus of the remaining part of this chapter.

3.5 Healthiness - Towns, Buildings and Streets

In the Roman period healthiness was thought to be a consideration in the placement of towns. The city was meant to be founded in a healthy place where there was the right direction of the wind, good quality water and the right temperature (Gigli 1995). Vitruvius wrote, ‘we must take great care to select a very temperate climate for the site of our city, since healthfulness is, as we have said, the first requisite’ (Vitruvius I.4.8). In addition, some of the ancient writers, such as Vitruvius, were particularly worried about stagnant waters and marshlands, which they thought were poisonous, damp and dangerous places to live. Borca (2000) has examined some of the urban evidence in the Mediterranean, and found that there was some disparity between what was considered healthy. He noted that Ravenna (one of the largest cities of northern Italy) was built in the marshes, yet Strabo thought that the place was so healthy that it was chosen for training gladiators, and concluded that the air in the marsh was harmless. Morley (2005) has argued that attempts at draining marshland might have reduced the incidence of malaria, while some of the social organisation within a town, such as clearing rubbish from the streets, would have

contributed to a healthier environment. In his discussion on this topic, Morley continued that in ancient thought it was generally accepted by the Roman elite that the city was less healthy than the countryside, and consequently the wealthy usually ensured they also had one or two comfortable suburban residences in the forms of villas. It was not only the position of towns that bothered the Romans. The location for shrines and temples to the various deities was, in some cases, given careful thought. Vitruvius said,

“...for all religious sites we choose very healthy districts, with suitable springs in the spots where the temples are to be constructed. This is especially important for shrines to Aesculapius and to Health...” (Vitruvius I.2.7).

So, while concerns about healthiness contributed to the placement of towns and religious centres, it was also a consideration in the design of some of buildings. Henig (1984) suggested that one of the main reasons for visiting a temple was for health purposes. A number of temples had porticos, which not only provided shelter from inclement weather, but could have been used for exposure to fresh air, which was believed to promote health (Woodward 1992; Vitruvius 5.9.5). Muckelroy (1976) questioned exactly how many Romano-British temples had this feature, but even in his reanalysis of the remains, he noted that if there was not a portico, enclosed ambulatories were present, some of which may have had open windows. There is less evidence for the Iron Age. Still, if we consider the large circular single or double ring timber buildings, it seems the design creates space for a reasonable amount of ventilation. This feature may have helped prevent the development of respiratory infections, even if it was unintentional (Roberts and Cox 2003).

3.6 Healthiness - Water, Bathing, Hygiene and Cleanliness

Perhaps one of the best areas of investigation into the study of healthiness is seen in writings about Roman ‘hygiene’, although perhaps there should be some care taken when discussing this concept. Nutton (2000) has argued that the whole ‘hygiene’ idea is based on modern germ theories which he points out, has no place in discussions about late Iron Age and Roman society. He continues that it is incorrect to assume the authorities in this period had any form of ‘public health’ responsibilities.

Romans were however most concerned with the public water supply, and it is known from the work of Frontinus that there was a post of *curator aquarum* for the city of Rome (Rodgers 2004). In Britain, many of the main towns possessed an aqueduct, but since the countryside of Britain did not have deep valleys surrounded by mountains (unlike some areas in the Mediterranean world), the need for elevated bridge structures was not necessary. Therefore simple leats (channels cut into the soil or rock) were usually employed (Burgers 2001). Silchester had a wooden pipeline which pre-dated the first rampart, sometime between AD 160-170, while water mains have been found at London and St Albans (Stephens 1985). Some military sites had stone-channelled aqueducts, but these were not especially common in Britain.

Baths, latrines, sewers, and drains were run using the water supply, and these have all been studied in some detail. Latrines are known from Housesteads Roman Fort,

Northumberland for example (Figure 3 and Figure 4), but they were not just associated with the military. A timber-lined latrine from the second century was found in an occupation areas at the Arcadia Buildings site, Southwark, London (Goodburn *et al* 1979), while a third century lavatory seat was discovered at Neatham, Hampshire. This latter piece was made of wood, and formed the front section of a standard key-hole design. It compared well with surviving stone examples from towns such as Leptis Magna (Redknapp 1976). Lavatories were sometimes placed over a cess pit, or they were combined with a sewerage system. Drains and a timber-lined sewer were found during the County Hall excavations at Chichester (Goodburn *et al* 1979). Latrines, sewers and drains also tend to be associated with bath buildings.

There are at least 1,000 known surviving remains of Roman baths, and some of these have been excavated in Britain in settlements such as at Wroxeter (White 1999) and Bath (Cunliffe 1969). The Huggin Hill baths are London's largest bathing establishment and evidence has been found for the cold room (*frigidarium*), warm room (*tepidarium*), hot room (*caldarium*) and hot sweat room (*laconicum*) (Rowsome 1999). The baths at St Margaret's Street, Canterbury revealed a cold plunge-bath with a drain and associated rooms, as well as a heated room (Goodburn *et al* 1979), and a range of heated rooms and a warm room were found at Mortant's, Store (later the Army and Navy stores) in the north-west quadrant Chichester (Down 1978; Russell 2006). Visitors to the baths would probably have gone through the different areas, starting with the cold room and then coming back again at the end. Some of the classical texts suggest that baths were seen as providing health-giving properties, since the water supposedly kept the bodily humours in balance (Jackson 1999). As well as bathing, people could exercise, gamble, and socialise, and undertake various therapies such as massage and physical manipulation of the body (Cook 1993; Cruse 2004). All members of society attended the bath house, and it is possible that in some towns even slaves were given a free entry (Fagan 1999).

The baths in Britain may have been similar to other establishments throughout the Empire, such as the one described by the younger Seneca (4BC-AD65), the Emperor Nero's tutor, who had rooms adjacent to a bathing suite. He complained,

“so picture yourself the assortment of sounds, which are strong enough to make me hate my very posers of hearing! When your strenuous gentlemen for example is exercising himself by flourishing leaden weights, when he is working hard, or else pretends to be working hard, I can hear him grunt: and whenever he releases his imprisoned breath, I can hear him panting in wheezy and high-pitched tones. Or perhaps I notice some lazy fellow, content with a cheap rub-down according as the hand is laid on flat or hollow”.

He continued,

“add to this the racket the man who always likes to hear his own voice in the bathroom, or the enthusiast who plunges into the swimming tank with unconscionable noise and splashing” (Seneca LVI. 1-2).



Figure 3 Archaeological remains of Roman latrines at Housesteads Roman Fort, Hadrian's Wall, Northumberland (English Heritage Postcard).

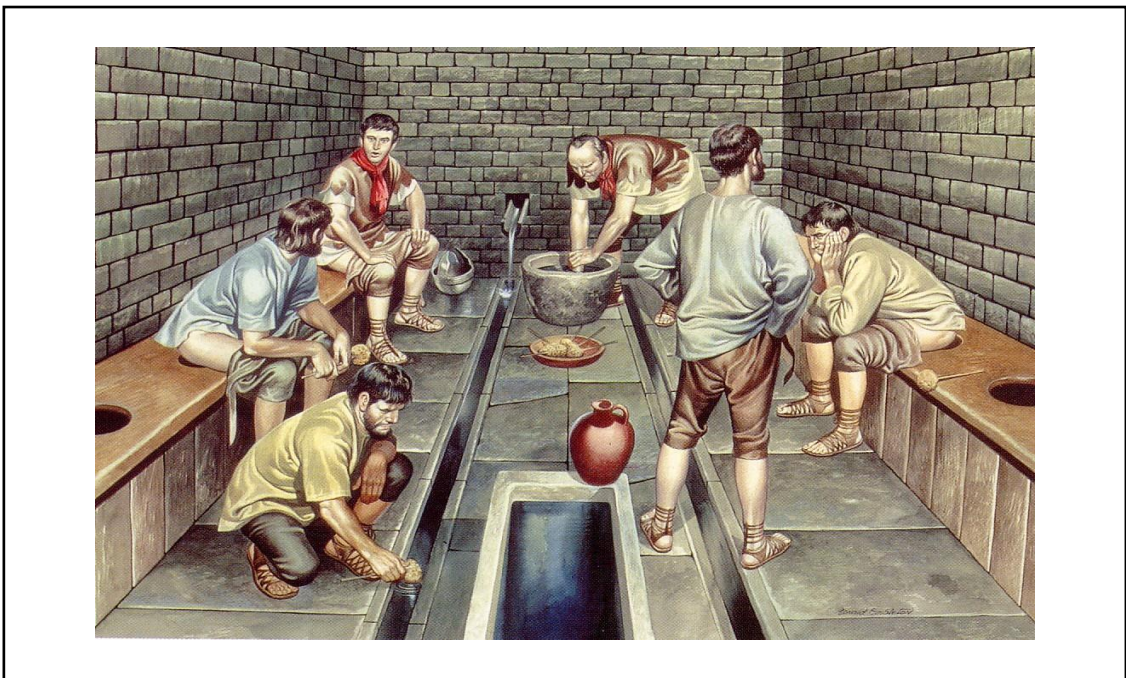


Figure 4 Illustration of how latrines might have appeared at Housesteads Roman Fort, Hadrian's Wall, Northumberland (English Heritage Postcard).

3.7 Healthiness - Diet

Diet was central to Roman thinking about health. Galenic writings noted that health and humeral balance could be maintained by following an appropriate dietary plan, which was dictated by the season (Nutton 2004). John Wilkins (2005) discussed the work of Athenaios, a Greek author who collected information about diet at the end of the second century AD, and who noted that fruit and vegetables were helpful in sustaining health. From Continental evidence, the diet of the Roman troops appears to have contained a variety of fruit and nuts such as apples, pears, plums, cherries, peaches, grapes as well as sweet chestnut, walnut and hazelnut (Davies 1971). An investigation into the contents of a cesspit at Bearsden Roman fort, Scotland revealed evidence of what may have been a vegetarian diet (Cruse 2004). However, the idea that the military diet was entirely made up of fruit and vegetables has been contested. A Roman soldier's cooking utensils included a spit, and bacon and salt-pork were included amongst a legionary's rations (Rigby 1992). King (1984) notes there were high percentages of cattle and pig bones recovered from sites where there was a strong military presence, such as Colchester. Maltby (1994), for example, has shown that there were professional butchers operating in towns such as Winchester. In addition, a few of the Vindolanda tablets mention orders for meat. Vindolanda tablet number 191 discusses an account of meat that included roe-deer, young pig, ham and venison, while tablet number 302 mentions an order for chicken, as well as eggs, fruit and vegetables (Vindolanda Tablets online). This all suggests that those in military service were eating a mixed diet.

Inscribed eating and drinking utensils have lent support to the idea that diet was associated with health. For example, the words 'Your Good Health' have been found on glass ware from the Roman period (Tait 1991). As a final note to this section, good health was not always about what to put inside your body, but also what was taken out. According to Celsus, a Roman medical writer whose work dates to the reign of Tiberius, healthiness could also be attained by inducing vomiting (Celsus II, 18, I).

3.8 Healthiness - Dental Issues

A recipe for toothpaste which consisted of ground oysters, eggshells, cattle hooves and horns demonstrated the Romans concern for dental care (Freeth 1999). Octavia, the sister of Augustus, used a recipe for toothpowder which was meant to strengthen and beautify her teeth. It was made of honey, vinegar and salt all mixed with barley flour, which were then divided into little balls and burned over charcoal (Cruse 2004). Quills, such as those from porcupines, may have been used as toothpicks, while the woody fibres of twigs like hazel were softened by chewing, which created a soft brush. A false tooth, made of wrought-iron, was found in the jaw of a man buried in the Roman necropolis at Chantambre, Essonne, France. It is suggested that in order for the tooth to stay in place, it was hammered into the empty socket in the jaw (Musty 1998). False gold teeth have been found at Etruscan sites, but none have been associated with the Roman period. Of course this does not necessarily mean that such prosthetics did not exist, but rather, given their value, they may have been removed before burial, or been subject to looting (Freeth 1999). Alternatively they may have been made of organic materials, such as wood.

3.9 Healthiness - Religion

While water was important to people for drinking and washing, water is also known to have had associations with spirituality and religion. A number of shrines were established in watery places such as bogs, rivers, or natural springs suggesting that for Iron Age and Roman peoples, water represented a life-force. The Younger Pliny (8.8) discussed a temple by the source of the river Clitumnus in Umbria, noting that all around the temple were small shrines, each containing their own god, and each having its own cult. The 1963 excavations of the Iron Age and Roman health and healing cult of Sequana of Burgundy revealed a variety of wooden and stone votive objects, and it was not just objects that were placed into water (Green 1998). If it is accepted that the pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman preserved corpses from peat bogs, such as Lindow Man, Cheshire, acted as a human sacrifice, then perhaps this rite was undertaken as a means of attaining societal well-being (Turner 1995).

Not everything that was used to protect and maintain wellness was placed in water. Some objects were kept, and many were worn on the body. Pliny the Elder (Natural History, 37.12) in his discussions about the natural history of precious stones suggested that amber could provide protection for babies, and indeed amber amulets have been found in Roman Britain. A piece in the form of an enamelled fly brooch (which could have been worn as a pendant) was discovered at Silchester, Hampshire (Crummy 2006b). Another substance that was said to ward off evil and promote health was jet. It was often used for hairpins in the later Roman period, and was worked in some of the northern towns of Britain (Allason-Jones 2005; Mackinder, 2000). A jet Medusa amulet recovered from the Eastern Cemetery, London may have been produced in York (Barber and Bowsher 2000).

Anatomical votive objects, usually made of terracotta, such as, heads, eyes, ears, noses, tongues, teeth, breasts, genitalia, uteri as well as hands, arms, feet, fingers and toes are known, particularly in central Italy. There are fewer examples from Britain, although a Verulamium white-ware ceramic eye, painted with red and white pigments, was discovered during the excavations at the Roman cemetery, West Tenter Street, London (Whytehead 1986). In addition, a sculpture of a pair of gold eyes was found at Wroxeter, Shropshire, while limbs such as bronze arms from Lydney Park and Uley in Gloucestershire (Cruse 2004), and ivory breasts from the spring of Sulis Minerva, Bath have also been recorded (Henig 1984). It is often suggested that these items were being offered up to a healing deity in the hope for a cure, or thanks for one already affected (Jackson 1988). In some instances this may have been the case, especially since eye disorders were common in areas of society such as the army (Allason-Jones 1999). However, these votives may also have been used when there was no ill health, simply as means to prevent that part of the body from suffering. A votive eye may, for example, have been used with the idea of preventing blindness.

Recent work confirms that Hygeia (the daughter of Asklepios) did indeed represent 'health', and that she was worshipped not only by those who were seeking wellness, but by those already in 'good' health (Stafford 2005; Wilkins 2005). An inscription from Roman

Britain found near Kirkby Lonsdale, Lancaster that was set up by Julius Saturninus stated, 'To the holy god Asclepius and to Hygeia, for the welfare of himself and his own' (Collingwood and Wright 1965: 204, RIB 609). An intaglio found in the excavations at Braintree, Essex in 1983 shows Asklepios and Hygia standing side by side. While Asklepios holds a short staff with a serpent wound around it, Hygeia's head is turned to face him and feeds the serpent from a little cup (Henig 1985). Some of the late Iron Age deities are associated with serpents, such as the goddess at the Burgundian health and healing sanctuary of Mavilly, who held a serpent and a torch (Green 1992). There were other deities from this period that may have assisted indirectly with healthiness. The goddess Rosmerta, for example, is sometimes portrayed holding a cornucopia and has been seen as the equivalent of Fortuna (Webster, 1986). Certainly the plentiful supply of food would have kept famine and any associated sickness at bay.

3.10 Healthiness – Women and the Family

Women's healthiness is another area that has received some attention. Helen King (2005) has investigated the Hippocratic corpus to provide understanding of this topic. She noted that women's reproductive functions were used to judge their states of healthiness. Evidence of a plea for the maintenance of health on behalf of a pregnant lady comes from a spell found at West Deeping Roman Villa, Lincolnshire. It asks for the womb to 'stay in place' and not hurt an unborn child (Hassall and Tomlin 1996: 443–445). This may be associated with the strange idea in antiquity that the womb was mobile and moved around the body like an animal (Jackson 1988). In relation to childbirth (which is not a state of ill health), it has been proposed that home deliveries were the norm, and rarely under the supervision of a doctor (Allason-Jones 2005). Nevertheless, a female family member may have been present, or indeed a midwife, since this was a known profession during the Roman period (King 2001). An amulet from a Romano-British site, Dicket Mead, Lockleys, Welwyn, shows what has been interpreted as a representation of the human womb, below two Greco-Egyptian goddesses, Isis and Bes. It is suggested that women attached these types of amulets to their thighs in order to assist them during labour (Wright 1964). In addition, a bone plaque interpreted as a child-birth votive, was found at the Romano-British temple at Lydney Park. This depicts a naked woman whose hands are pressed against her belly (Jackson 1988).

Deae nutrices (mother goddesses) are a fairly common find throughout Britain. A pipeclay figure of a young woman seated in a high-backed wicker chair with an infant at each breast, was found in a fourth century infant's grave at a cemetery at Baldock, Hertfordshire (Burleigh *et al* 2006), and another example comes from Cranmer Road, Canterbury (Frere *et al* 1987). Sometimes the statuettes are found in threes, as was the case with the figurines from a burial CB5, Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000). They are interpreted as divine protectors of the home, but these deities may have also have played a part in promoting the well-being of a mother and child. *Deae nutrices* were often invoked at therapeutic spring-sanctuaries in Gaul, and indeed another triple group are depicted on a plaque from the temple of Sulis Minerva, Bath (Aldhouse-Green 1996).

Healthiness is also mentioned on a wooden tablet from Roman London. Part of an inscription for a deed of sale concerning a female slave states, ‘and that the girl in question is transferred in good health, that she is warranted not to be liable to wander or run away,...’ (Tomlin 2003, 44–45). Romano-British curse tablets from the spring of Sulis Minerva, and the shrine of Mercury, Uley, commonly requested that a victim should not be allowed health, demonstrating the importance of healthiness to an individual. So, even if the word ‘health’ seen on letters and inscriptions was part of a formulaic textual construction, the discussions illustrate that the concept of healthiness existed.

3.11 Conclusion

When the evidence is examined carefully, healthiness is revealed as a strong theme. It is visible through dietary remains, religious practices, within temples, and in many cases the areas where there was water. Healthiness can also be found in inscriptions, and in classical texts. As these strands are gathered together, a picture emerges which suggests wellness mattered to a large number of people and many of these individuals would have been living in large settlements. The next chapter turns its attention to the archaeology of some of these late Iron Age and Roman proto-urban and urban sites.

CHAPTER 4

LATE IRON AGE AND ROMAN LARGE URBAN-TYPE SETTLEMENTS OF SOUTH-EAST BRITAIN

4.1 Introduction

It has been established that healthiness is a topic that deserves further enquiry, and that it is relevant in the study of the late Iron Age and Roman society. Attention is now given to the places where individuals and communities might have used the mirrors, combs and other small finds that are considered in this research. This chapter does not provide the details of the objects that were found at these sites (that is discussed in Chapters 7-11), and nor does it offer any interpretations concerning healthiness (see Chapter 13 for these discussions), rather it tries to provide some background to the particular locations where the small finds were discovered. It is worth noting at this point that the finds (apart from combs) mostly came from the developed Roman period (see Chapter 12, Section 12.4), and so it is this time-frame that is afforded the greatest detail.

It was highlighted in Chapter 1, Section 1.6 that older approaches to the study of towns, which drew on colonial perspectives and took a top down approach, have recently become less popular. It is now recognised that large urban-type Roman settlements and their possible Iron Age predecessors can no longer be seen as specialised types of sites. Current work has shown that urban-type settlements did not exist in isolation. Towns were strongly associated with each other, and with the surrounding hinterlands. These settlements were a part of a complex network of communities that spread throughout a region (Taylor 2001, 48). Rural studies have possibly been disadvantaged due to an emphasis on research into civic settlements, and one criticism that has been levelled at the traditional methods of investigating urban locations was that some *oppida* have been missed because people have focused on the sites that later became Roman towns (Burnham *et al* 2001, 68). Having made these points, there are some features that might be noted about the large-urban type communities. With the exception of the very late Roman period, towns were generally places where there were denser concentrations of people (Jones 2004, 187), with perhaps the exception of rural religious sites at times of festivals. In addition, unlike many of the individuals who lived in the countryside, those in civic localities were not necessarily engaged in agriculture.

Since there was no 'typical' town, and each was affected by different influences and chronological issues, it is worth stressing that there are a number of inconsistencies within the chosen research sites and periods. A few examples will follow. There is currently no evidence for the late Iron Age period at London (Section 4.15), and it remains limited for Chichester (Section 4.7) and Canterbury (Section 4.3). However it is clearly present at sites such as Silchester (Section 4.19), St Albans (Section 4.23), Winchester (Section 4.27) and Colchester (4.11). Turning to public buildings some settlements such as Colchester had a temple, theatre and uniquely in this group of sites, a circus, (Section 4.12), whilst to date only a forum-basilica and temple have been found at Winchester (Section 4.28).

Indeed temples have been identified at all the sites, as have baths with the exception of Colchester and Winchester, (Section 4.4, (Canterbury), Section 4.8 (Chichester), Section 4.16, second paragraph (London), Section 4.20 (Silchester), Section 4.24 (St Albans)). At Canterbury, small finds were located at both private and public bathing complexes (Section 4.4). Forum-basilica sites have also been found in most settlements except Canterbury and Colchester (Sections 4.8 (Chichester), Section 4.16, second paragraph (London), Section 4.20 (Silchester), Section 4.24 (St Albans), Section 4.28 (Winchester)), and theatres are known at Canterbury (Section 4.4), Chichester (Section 4.8), Colchester (Section 4.12) and St Albans (Section 4.24). The geographical positioning of a settlement meant only a few had quays. In London for example small finds were recovered from areas in the southern part of the town that related to the harbour (Section 4.16, paragraph 6), and a number of objects were found by the areas of timber revetments and land reclamation sites in Southwark (Section 4.16, paragraph 7).

All the towns considered in this research had evidence of houses, workshops and streets, but some of these buildings were positioned in areas that had once been occupied by other structures. Following the destruction of military barracks, new living spaces were created at Culver Street, Colchester (Section 4.12), and it is thought there might have been a gap of up to five years between the evacuation of the fortress and the building of a street grid that lay on a different alignment to the fortress (Crummy, P. 1992, 10). It is also worth noting that the process by which urban-type settlements acquired houses, streets, baths, temples and so forth was lengthy, and was probably often based on the investment of local recourse that were not always present (Mattingly 2006, 280). A timber forum-basilica was built at Silchester before being replaced by a stone structure (Section 4.20). A forum-basilica was constructed during AD 100-130 at Leadenhall Court, London (the second one for this town), but sealed beneath this structure were the remains of a number of buildings built between AD 70 and AD 100 (Brigham 1990, 53-77, Section 4.16). Structures often have different phases. A timber building (House 1) from the mid-first century AD was replaced by a stone structure at Insula 9, Silchester, at around the later first century (Clarke and Fulford 2002, 133-136, Section 4.20). There were differences in the development of earthwork defences and stone walls. A rampart uncovered at Long Wyre Street, Colchester had been demolished by AD 49-60 (Crummy P, 1992, 355, Section 4.12). Walls found at St Albans were dated to the third century (Niblett 2005, 73, Section 4.24) which agrees with a view held by Frere (1987, 242), who noted that the majority of walls surrounding Roman towns must have been placed in the later part of the third century. However recent work at Colchester suggests that the town wall may have been built as early as AD 70 to 85 (Crummy 2002b, 19). The cemetery evidence shows that burials gradually changed from cremations to inhumations (Mattingly 2006, 343). However the dates for cemeteries vary considerably both at the individual sites and between towns. Some seem to have continued throughout most of the Roman period such as the Eastern Cemetery, London. This site had burials dating from the first or early second century to fifth century, although a number of plots of land that contained burials developed or changed their boundaries over this time (plots 2 and 19-29) (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 300-303, Section 4.16, paragraph 9). St Pancras, Chichester began to be used for

cremations at around 70 AD until the turn of the second century, after which a few inhumations were placed there during the third and fourth centuries (Down and Rule 1971, 55, Section 4.8). Other grave sites were used for shorter periods of time. The large cremation cemetery at King Harry Lane, St Albans was dated from AD 1, but received only a few burials after AD 60, after which time the construction of a road brought the cemetery to an end (Stead and Rigby 1989, 9-11, Section 4.23). Individuals were buried at Lankhills, Winchester from around AD 300 to AD 410 (Clarke 1979, 2, Section 4.29), and all fourteen inhumations found at the Eastgate Needlemakers, Chichester were dated to the late fourth and fifth century (Down 1981, 90-95, Section 4.9).

Towns differed in size, and the plans seen in this chapter illustrate the point. Particular features of a town varied, so for example the late defences at London were considerably larger than other nearby urban-type settlements (Mattingly 2006, 275). The public buildings and domestic structures were built in different styles. Many of the buildings found at Leadenhall Court in London for example varied in form, with single-roomed and multi-roomed strip buildings, as well as more complex structures (Milne and Wardle 1993, 47-53). Some towns had evidence of industry such as the bone workshops at Colchester, Winchester and Silchester (Chapter 8, Section 8.8), whilst others may have specialised in different areas. It has, for instance, been speculated that enamelling took place at the Central Girls School, Chichester (Chapter 10, Section 10.11) (Down 1978, 57). With the exception of Silchester, another problem of using these particular sites for research purposes is that a large proportion of the late Iron Age and Roman remains lie beneath the modern towns. In addition, some centres have been excavated more than others, so for example there is a large amount of small find evidence from London (Chapter 12, Section 12.2), but then a considerable number of archaeological investigations have been undertaken in this city.

Having acknowledged the wide spectrum of differences within the towns, and explored some of the main underlying biases, this chapter now presents a general overview of the settlements and sub-sites where the mirrors, combs and other small finds from this sample were recorded. The sites are presented in alphabetical order, whilst the sub-sites are discussed in general chronological terms. For ease of reference each sub-site has been plotted onto plans, and in one case a map, of the towns, and a full list of the sites, sub-sites, occupational periods and publication details can be found in Appendix 2.

4.2 Canterbury (*Durovernum Cantiacorum*) – Background

In the early part of the twentieth century Haverfield and Wheeler took an interest in Roman Canterbury (e.g. Haverfield and Wheeler 1932; Wheeler 1932). Sheppard Frere and members of the Canterbury Excavation Committee oversaw much of the archaeology of the town following the Second World War, and their work continued through to the 1960s (e.g. Frere 2007; Frere *et al* 1982; Frere *et al* 1987). The Canterbury Archaeological Trust was set up in the 1970s, and has been responsible for many of the excavations since then. Paul Bennett is currently one of the Trust's main advisors.

4.3 Canterbury - Late Iron Age Settlements and Cemeteries

There is not a large amount of evidence to support late Iron Age activity at Canterbury. It was originally thought that a ditch, a large enclosure and timber buildings from the Marlowe sites came from the late Iron Age, but this idea has, more recently, been challenged (Blockley *et al* 1995). Certainly it is unusual that there is so little evidence for this period, given that Bigberry (an Iron Age hill fort) is only 2 miles west of the town, and might be referred to in Caesar's Gallic Wars (V.21). The best archaeological information for the early period seems to lie in an area in the centre of the town, close to the River Stour (Bennett *et al* 2003).

4.4 Canterbury - Roman Town and Cemeteries

The construction of later medieval buildings of Canterbury has destroyed much of the evidence for Roman town houses (Blagg 1982). However, the Canterbury Castle (e.g. Rosemary Lane Car Park), and the Marlowe Car Park excavations revealed that there had been timber and masonry buildings, streets, pits and agricultural areas within the urban expanse (Figure 5, numbers 12 and 13) (Bennett *et al* 1982; Blockley *et al* 1995). One of the major Roman streets in Canterbury was located at the St John's Lane area of the town, and parts of a north-west, south-east street was identified at St George's Church (Figure 5, numbers 21 and 18) (Frere *et al* 1987; Canterbury Archaeological Trust 1992). There was evidence for domestic buildings at Area Y, Burgate Street, and there were timber buildings close to a Roman street discovered at the Land Adjacent to Numbers 10-16, Wincheap which lay outside the town walls (Figure 5, numbers 3 and 9) (Frere *et al* 1983; Shand 2003). There was a Roman street running on the west side of Canterbury Lane (Charlesworth and Price 1987), whilst to the south-east of the modern lane, there was a large Roman building with an apsidal east-end (Frere *et al* 1983) (Figure 5, numbers 23 and 24). The more recent Whitefriars project, which took place in the south-east quadrant of the city, has shown that there were various buildings there from the first century onwards. A large Roman town house, which comprised of at least three ranges of rooms around a central courtyard, was found during these excavations (Bennett *et al* 2003). (There were no small finds reported from this site suitable for this sample). Unfortunately the archaeology at the St George's Lane site, which might have included a Roman structure, were disturbed by medieval pits (Figure 5, number 19) (Frere *et al* 1983; Charlesworth and Price 1987). The remains at 41, St George's Street (Figure 5, number 1) (Blockley 1988) and Linacre Garden (Figure 5, number 10) (Driver *et al* 1990) sites consisted of post-holes, stake-holes and pits, and these latter features were also found at St George's Street (Figure 5, number 20) (Frere *et al* 1983; Charlesworth and Price 1987).

There is a limited amount of evidence for major Roman buildings in Canterbury. A structure on St George's Street has been identified as a private bathing complex, which was perhaps associated with a private town house (Figure 5, number 17) (Blagg 1982; Charlesworth and Price 1987). Parts of the public baths and also the theatre were found at St Margaret's Street (Frere and Simpson 1970; Blockley *et al* 1995). The walls of the theatre were deep and quite thick, suggesting it could have been quite a significant structure (Wacher 2000). Nearby, in a gravelled precinct that was quite close to the theatre

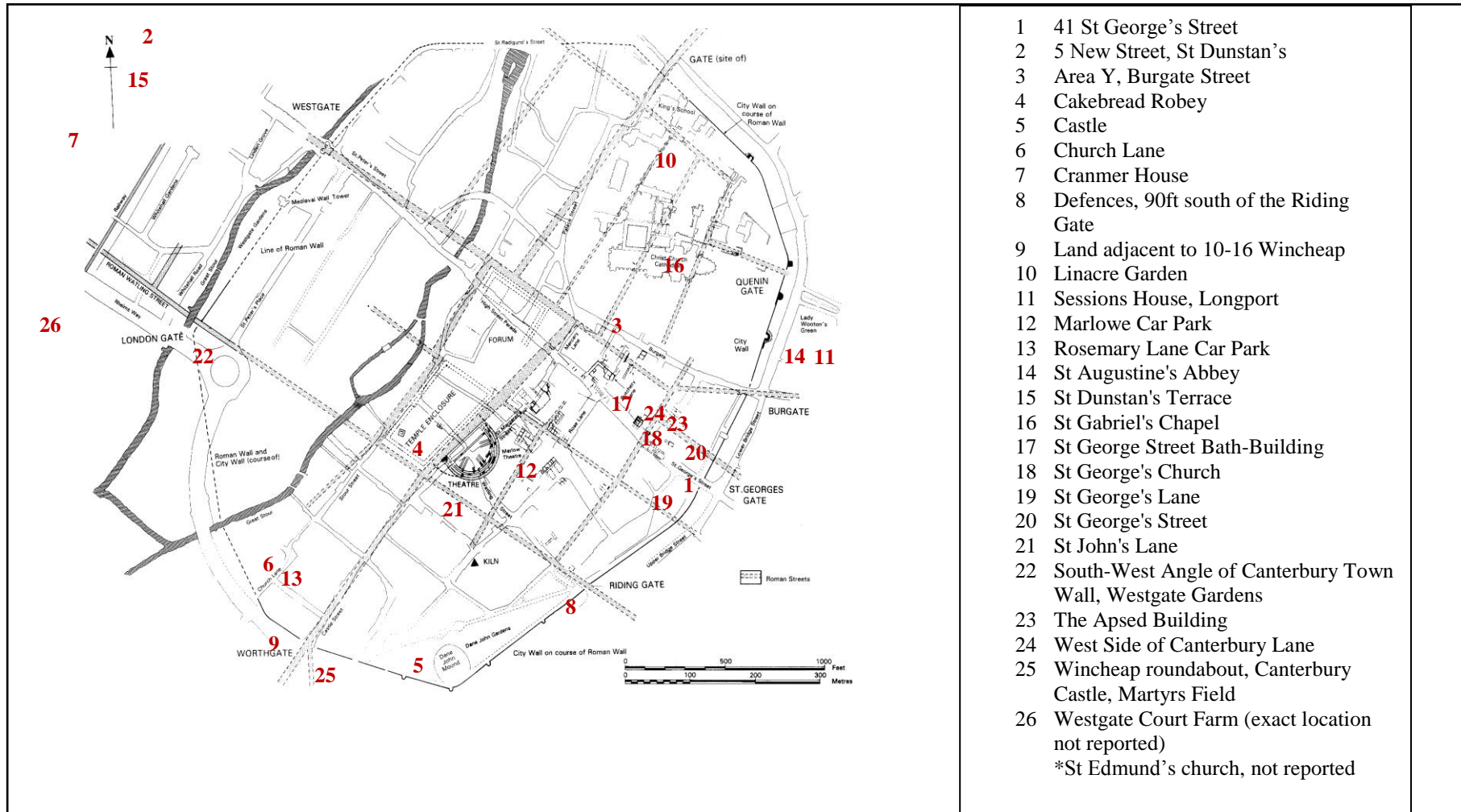


Figure 5 Plan of Roman Canterbury, showing research sub-sites (after Wachter 1995, 192).

and baths, a number of marble mouldings, veneers, and column capitals were found. These may have once belonged to a temple built around AD 80 (Blagg 1982) and were associated with the Cakebread Robey, and 3, Beer Cart Lane sites (Figure 5, number 4) (Jackson 1985). The only other piece of archaeology relates to the High Street area, where it is suggested there may have been a forum (Todd 1989).

St Dunstan's was a large cremation cemetery that lay to the west of the town (a number of burials were found at St Dunstan's Terrace (Figure 5, number 15) (Diack 2002), and at 5, New Street, St Dunstan's (Figure 5, number 2) (Taylor 1985)), while the Dane John Mound belonged to a group of Roman tumuli that formed part of a large inhumation and cremation cemetery south-east of Canterbury (Esmonde Cleary 1987). Burials from this site have been found at the Wincheap roundabout, Canterbury Castle in Martyrs Field (Figure 5, number 25) (Bennett 1987). Cranmer House, which lay outside the West Gate, was a cremation burial site with graves spanning from the mid first century to the fourth century (Figure 5, number 7) (Frere *et al* 1987). A number of Roman cremation burials were discovered at Westgate Court Farm (Figure 5, number 26) (Bennett 1982). In addition, there were six cremation burials discovered at Sessions House, Longport (Figure 5, number 11) (Keppie *et al* 1998), and two Roman burials were discovered at St Augustine's Abbey (Figure 5, number 14) (Sherlock and Woods 1988).

4.5 Canterbury - Later Roman Town

As with many of the other towns in the south-east of Britain, it is difficult to establish how much continuity there was at Canterbury into the later periods. A building with a mosaic panel (which may have been a temple), was found at the St Gabriel's chapel site, and dated to the mid-third century (Figure 5, number 16) (Driver *et al* 1990). The evidence for walls, ramparts and ditches, which surrounded parts of the town during the late third or fourth centuries, was found at the Old Cattle Market site and at Dane John Mound (Esmonde Cleary 1987). Other sites where this type of archaeology was discovered included the Castle (CXXIV), Castle Trench III (Figure 5, number 5) (Frere *et al* 1982), Defences (90ft south of the Riding Gate) (Figure 5, number 8) (Frere *et al* 1982), and Church Lane (Figure 5, number 6) (Frere *et al* 1982). The Canterbury late Roman treasure (which consists of gold and silver objects, including ingots, spoons, a toothpick, pin, ring and necklace clasp) is problematic, as the circumstances of the original discovery are confused (Johns and Potter 1985, 314-352). However, the site is reported as the south-west angle of the Canterbury town wall, Westgate Gardens (Figure 5, number 22) (Wilson 1963, 158). The Whitefriars evidence (mentioned in the previous paragraph) is also conflicting. Some buildings appear to have been abandoned, yet the large town house was refurbished in the later Roman period, and it is thought that if there was a gap between the latest Roman and earliest Anglo-Saxon periods, it was quite short (Bennett *et al* 2003).

4.6 Chichester (*Noviomagus*) - Background

Excavations were undertaken in Chichester during the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century. The approach to archaeology became more formalised in 1947, when Dr Wilson took over as the Director of the Chichester Civic Society Archaeological

Committee (e.g. Wilson 1962). Much of Chichester's rescue archaeology work has been published by Alec Down in association with colleagues from the 1970s to 1990s.

4.7 Chichester - Late Iron Age Settlements and Cemeteries

Chichester is associated with the client king Togidubnus, probably a pro-Roman sympathiser who was influential during the latter part of the first century AD. His kingdom may have stretched over a considerable area of south-eastern Britain, and included the *civitas* capitals of Chichester, Silchester and Winchester (Wilson 2006, 20). Togidubnus is claimed to be associated with Fishbourne Roman Palace, although there is now some debate as to whether this was the case (Manley 2003, 129). In relation to late Iron Age Chichester, there are still questions over whether Chichester developed from the Selsey *oppidum*, as proposed by Cunliffe (2005, 172). There does seem to have been a system of dykes to the north which, according to Todd (1989, 83), relate to a late Iron Age centre of authority. The only other structural pieces of evidence are roundhouses, found at the Cattlemarket site in Chichester (Figure 6, number 1) (Down 1989, 56).

4.8 Chichester – Roman Town and Cemeteries

Since there is considerable evidence of military equipment, it has been speculated that some timber buildings, especially around the north-west quadrant area, may have housed army personnel (Todd 1989, 83). However, it was after about AD 50 that the town really began to develop. A partial colonnaded structure found in West Street is assumed to be the remains of the forum-basilica (Russell 2006, 74-76). A bath house, which went through three phases of development, was discovered during the 1970s excavations (Down 1978, 145-157), and there may have been a temple in the North Street area of the town (Down and Rule 1971, 51-52). Domestic buildings (timber-framed with wattle and daub infill in the early years), and some streets have been found in the north-west quadrant of the town, at sites such as the Central Girls School, (Figure 6, number 3) (Down 1978, 52-76), Gospel Hall (Figure 6, number 9) (Down 1978, 114-116), Chapel Street (Figure 6, number 4) (Down 1981, 119-146), Purchase's Garden and the land at the rear of 16-18, Chapel Street (Figure 6, number 11) (Down 1978, 128-137) and Tower Street Car Park (Figure 6, number 13) (Down 1978, 139-144). Roman structures were also identified in the nearby County Hall (Figure 6, number 6) (Down 1989, 1-9), and at the City Walls, West Walls (Figure 6, number 5) (Down and Magilton 1993, 99-109) sites, as they were in other areas, such as the Central Car Park, David Grieg (Figure 6, number 2) (Down 1974, 104-113) in the eastern part of the settlement, and East Pallant House towards the southern end (Figure 6, number 8) (Down 1989, 40-54).

The West Gate (Down and Rule 1971, 143-147), and part of the South Gate (Down 1978, 20-21) have been identified, and there is evidence of further occupation outside the southern gate (Down 1981, 59-76). The amphitheatre (abandoned by the end of the second century) was also sited outside the central part of the town (Esmonde Cleary 1987, 36). In relation to cemeteries, St Pancras, which lay north of Stane Street, was used from AD 70 to the third century, and contained the remains of 300 cremations and nine inhumations (Figure 6, number 10) (Down and Rule 1971, 53-126).

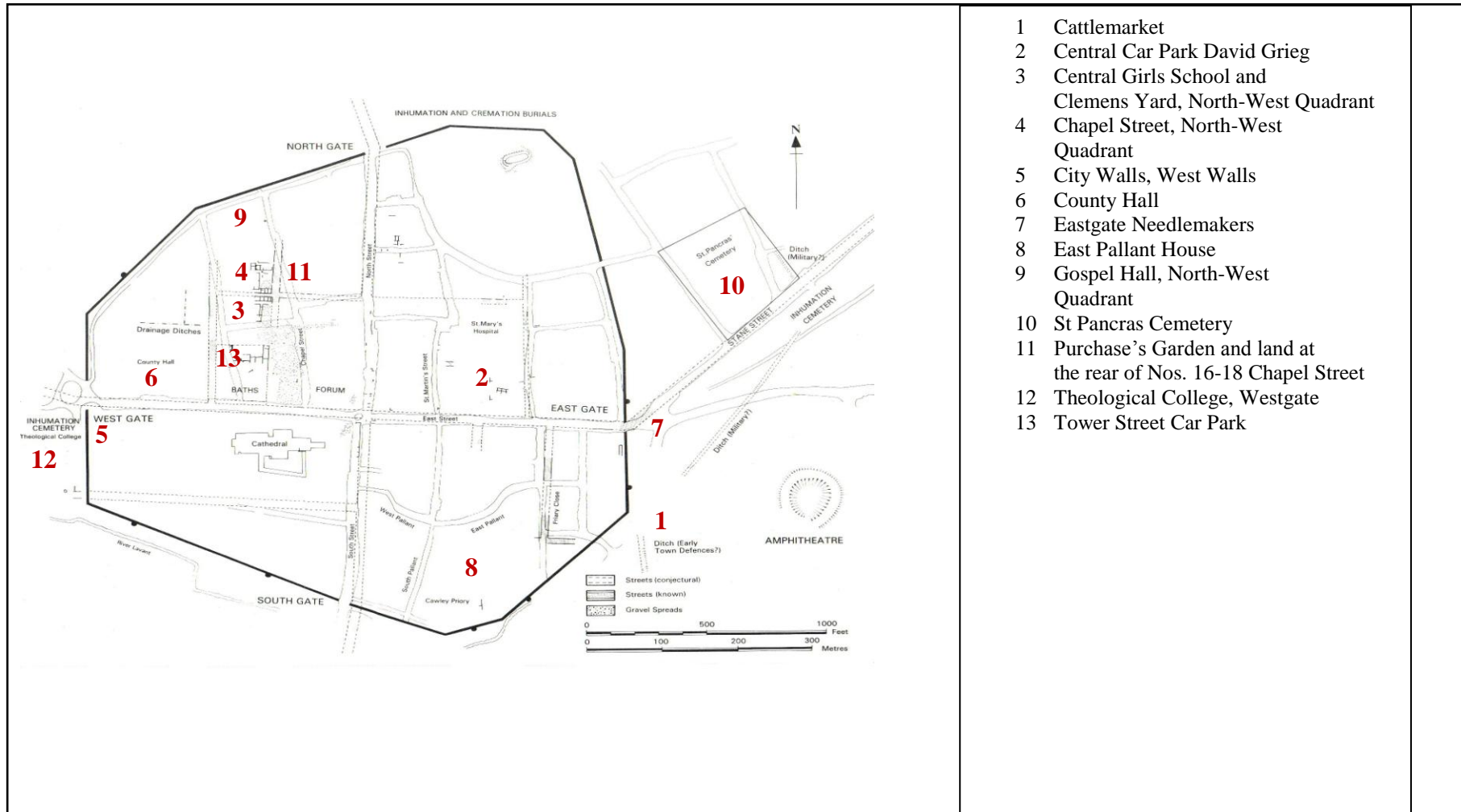


Figure 6 Plan of Roman Chichester, showing research sub-sites (after Wachter 1995, 258).

4.9 Chichester - Later Roman Town

Another sixteen inhumations were found from the late Roman Eastgate Needlemakers site (Figure 6, number 7) (Down 1981, 77-118). Two of the bodies in this cemetery were buried in quicklime (graves one and two) (Down 1981, 91). It had been suggested that this was because these two individuals were suffering from a plague (Down 1981, 91), although there could be other cultural issues that may have contributed to this social act. On the western edge of the town, the Theological College site revealed another 62 inhumations, from a cemetery dated to the late third and fourth centuries (Figure 6, number 12) (Down and Magilton 1993, 53-94). It was not until the later period that Chichester had a masonry wall, backed by an earthen rampart and fronted by at least two ditches (Russell 2006, 79-81). During the third and fourth centuries masonry houses replaced the timber structures that had dominated areas of Chichester in the early years. This was especially noticeable in sites such as Gospel Hall (Figure 6, number 9) (Down 1978, 116-122), and Central Girls School (Figure 6, number 3) (Down 1978, 76-83). It seems that by the late Saxon period some of the stones from the Roman public baths were robbed and used to repair the town walls (Down 1988, 42).

4.10 Colchester (*Camulodunum*) – Background

In the early decades of the twentieth century both Mortimer Wheeler and Rex Hull examined the archaeology at Colchester, while Hawkes and Hull produced a report on the 1930-1939 excavations (Hawkes and Hull 1947; Crummy *et al* 1993). Rosalind Dunnett (now Niblett) investigated Colchester's past in the 1960s and early 1970s (Niblett 2007). She was succeeded by Philip Crummy who has remained at the head of the Colchester Archaeological Trust to date (Crummy 2003).

4.11 Colchester - Late Iron Age Settlements and Cemeteries

During the late Iron Age the *Camulodunum* area was a rural landscape bound together by dykes. There were two major settlements, one at Gosbecks (Figure 7, number 19) the other at Sheepen (Figure 7, number 20). The latter site lay 0.75km from the legionary fortress and subsequent town of Colchester. It was an industrial site with workshops lining a road before and after the conquest (Niblett 1985). Gosbecks was a local farmstead which contained round houses and other buildings that were protected by dykes. West of Gosbecks lies the Stanway funerary site, a burial place for just a few individuals (Figure 7, number 22). The site contained five ditched enclosures set out in two rows, with four large wooden mortuary chambers. Apart from those in the main chambers, there was a small group of people buried in and around the enclosures (Crummy 1997b; Crummy 2002a; Crummy *et al* 2007). The Lexden barrow cemetery site was excavated in the 1920s (Figure 7, number 13). Given the type of material found there, it has been suggested this was a significant burial, perhaps even that of Cunobelin (Crummy 1997a; Orr and Crummy 2004). (Cunobelin is mentioned in the classical texts as King of the Britons, and interpretations based on coin evidence suggest his main power base was Colchester, although he may have overseen *Verulamium* as well (Potter 2002)).

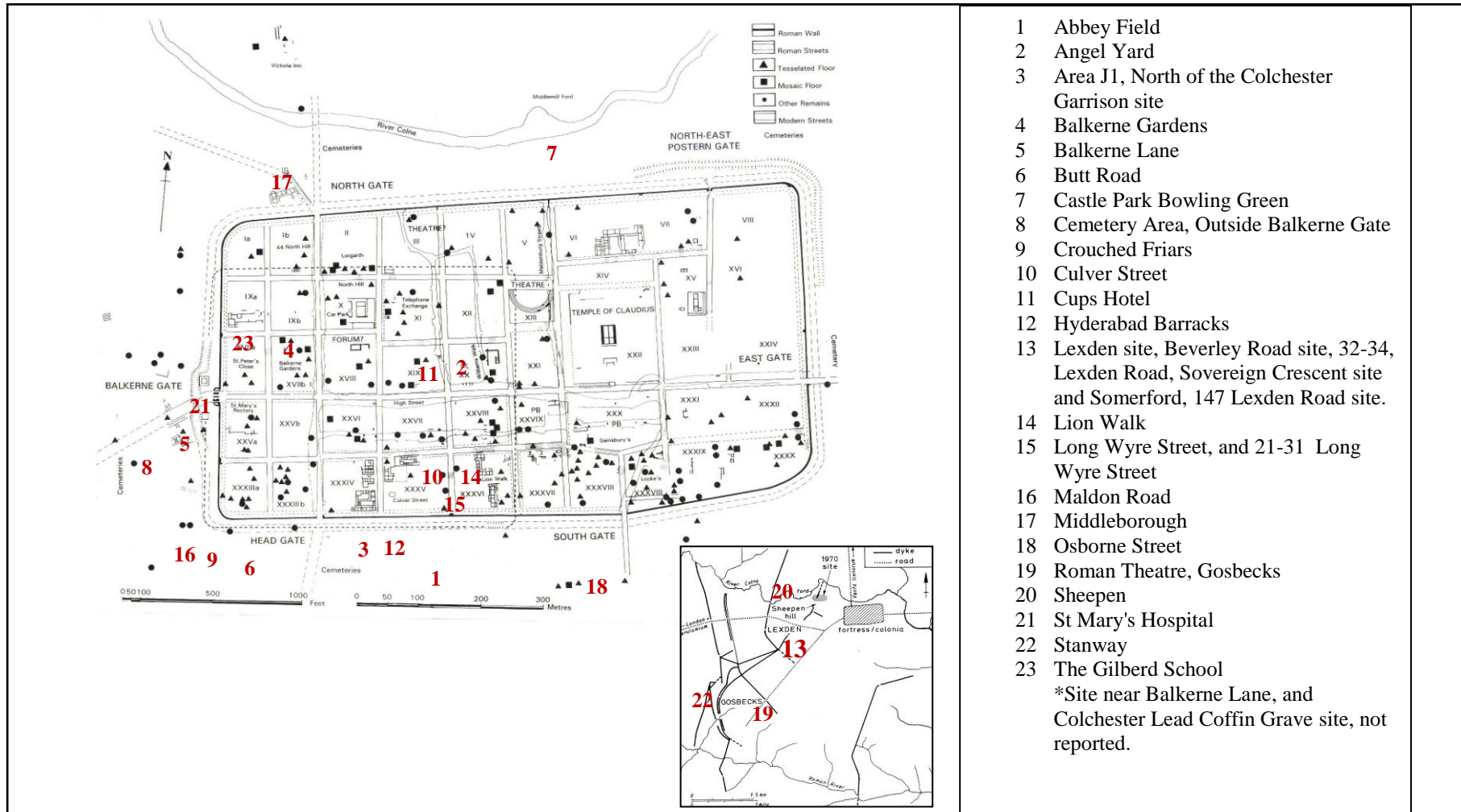


Figure 7 Plan of Roman Colchester with suburbs, showing research sub-sites (after Wachter 1995, 115; Niblett 1985, 2).

4.12 Colchester - Roman Town and Cemeteries

Initially Colchester, rather than London, was the capital of the new Roman province. The foundation of Colchester as a *colonia* dates to AD 49, when the Roman legionary garrison was moved and the new colony was built inside the major Iron Age settlement of *Camulodunum* (Crummy 1999). Defences were constructed at sites such as Long Wyre Street, where there is evidence of a rampart (Figure 7, number 15) (Crummy, P. 1992). The excavations at the Lion Walk area of Colchester show that during the period of AD 49-60, this fortress was then transformed into streets and buildings (Figure 7, number 14) (Crummy 1984; Millett 1990). Similarly, barracks found at the Gilbert School site were knocked down, with part of the land used as the new east-west street for the town (Figure 7, number 23). All of the barracks at Culver Street were subsequently made into houses (Figure 7, number 10) (Crummy 1997a).

Colchester had a considerable number of domestic buildings during the Roman period, and many of these have been found in the Culver Street (Figure 7, number 10) and Middleborough areas of the town (Figure 7, number 17). Some of these structures have evidence of fire damage, which can be dated to the period of the Boudiccan revolt. The floors of a house in Head Street (no finds relating to this research were recovered from this site), for example, were heavily scorched, and overlaid by a thick layer of burnt debris (Colchester Archaeological Trust 2001). In addition, burnt daub was found at Balkerne Gardens, with some being recovered from beneath the Roman street layer (Figure 7, number 4) (Cool and Price 1995; Colchester Archaeological Trust 1999). Excavations at Angel Yard produced two Roman buildings, with a range of rooms uncovered at both structures (Figure 7, number 2) (Shimmin and Carter 1996). Buildings were also located at the nearby Cups Hotel site (Figure 7, number 11) (Crummy 1983; Crummy, P. 1992), while to the south, Roman structures were found at the Long Wyre Street areas (Figure 7, number 15) (Crummy 1983; Brooks 2004). Shops and workshops also lined Colchester's roads. Building 70 at the Middleborough site, for instance, contained a number of rooms. Two faced the street and were presumably for commercial use. In contrast, the other larger rooms at the west end of the property (one of which contained a mosaic), were most likely the living areas (Crummy 1984). Beyond the town wall and close to the Balkerne Gate, lay the main road between Colchester and Sheepen. Part of this road has been excavated (the St Mary's Hospital site), and this revealed suburban settlements with side streets, houses and graves (Figure 7, number 21) (Colchester Archaeological Trust 2002; Crummy 2006a). In addition, the extra-mural site Osborne Street, lay 150m beyond the South Gate, where a Roman building was found (Figure 7, number 18) (Shimmin 1994).

A temple, probably dedicated to Claudius, has been identified by the positions of the foundations of the podium on which it originally stood, and was near to the Castle Park Bowling Green site (Figure 7, number 7) (Colchester Archaeology Trust 1994; Orr 2004). A large theatre was erected next to this building, and a circus has been identified in the Abbey Field development site at Colchester (Figure 7, number 1) (Crummy 1982). The remains of the circus structures include the main complex with seating, an elongated stadium, over 350m long and 62.5m wide, and evidence for the location of the twelve gates

into the stadium (Masefield *et al* 2005). At present, the Colchester forum and public bath houses have not been found (Crummy 1984). There was a double archway that stood at the main western entrance to the colony, while a ditch, bank, and slightly further away, a free standing wall were constructed after AD 60 (Crummy 1997a). The settlement at Gosbecks, which continued into the Roman period as a market and religious centre, revealed a theatre and temple (Figure 7, number 19). Since the theatre lay close to the temple, it has been suggested this was used as a place of assembly during times of religious festivals (Dunnett 1971). Sheepen also had at least four temples (Figure 7, number 20) (Crummy 1997a).

There was a small cemetery outside the Balkerne Gate, which may have been in use in the later Roman period (Figure 7, number 8) (Jackson 1985). To the south there is another burial site where cremations and inhumations have been recorded. Unfortunately, much of the detail about the archaeology at this site is now lost (Esmonde Cleary 1987). Set 250m from the main south-west gateway into Colchester lay the Butt Road cemetery, which was in use from the third to fifth centuries (Figure 7, number 6) (Crummy *et al* 1993). A few Roman burials were also recovered from the Crouched Friars area (Figure 7, number 9) (Crummy *et al* 1993; Crummy 1985). A significant number of burials (over 700) were found at Maldon Road (Figure 7, number 16) (Crummy *et al* 1993). At least 73 graves were discovered at the cremation cemetery site at Abbey Field (Figure 7, number 1) (Crummy *et al* 1993; Crossan 2001), and a number of others were located nearby in Area J1, north of the Colchester Garrison site (Figure 7, number 3) (Jackson 2006) which included the Hyderabad Barracks (Figure 7, number 12) (Lister 2008). There was also a Roman cemetery at Sheepen which contained burials from the early and later Roman periods (Figure 7, number 20) (Niblett 1985).

4.13 Colchester - Later Roman Town

By the late third century most of the houses at Balkerne Lane and Middleborough were demolished, with areas being used instead for dumping, pit-digging and quarrying (Figure 7, numbers 5 and 17) (Crummy 1997a). The end of the Roman town is difficult to identify, but hoard evidence suggests it was at about the second decade of the fifth century (Crummy 1999).

4.14 London (*Londinium*) - Background

By the middle of the twentieth century archaeologists such as Kathleen Kenyon (1959) and W.F. Grimes (1968) were contributing to a clearer understanding of London's past. They consolidated the archaeology, and confirmed that the modern city of London was the urban core during the Roman period, with Southwark as its main suburb. By the 1970s, the Department of Urban Archaeology at the Museum of London had established a research institution, which was involved in much of the archaeological work surrounding the city. This continues to be the case today (Watson 1998a). Indeed it is suggested that, 'Roman London is the most extensively excavated city of any great age in Europe' (Perring and Brigham 2000, x), although this is questionable in light of the work undertaken at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Since the river Thames was wider than today, Southwark consisted of

two large islands which were separated from each other and the mainland. The main river crossing was at a point where the river was at its narrowest, near to the modern London Bridge (Yule 2005).

4.15 London - Late Iron Age Settlements and Cemeteries

No material has been found that can be directly associated with London or Southwark, which pre-dates the Roman town, and there is no clear evidence of a late Iron Age settlement. There was Bronze Age occupation at Cripplegate (Figure 8b, number 49) (Howe and Lakin 2004) and prior to the Flavian period, a few buildings in London were built in local, rather than Roman styles (Perring *et al* 1991). Excavations at The George Public House revealed a possible sub-circular building dated to the late first century, which was replaced by a series of rectangular structures (Figure 8c, number 82) (Grew *et al* 1981; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online).

4.16 London - Roman Town and Cemeteries

Similarly, evidence for early military activity is rare for both the main town of London, and its suburb on the south bank of the Thames. There seems to have been a fort in the Cripplegate area, but this was established quite late (AD 120), and it did not stay in use for very long (Figure 8b, number 49) (Howe and Lakin 2004). A horizon of burnt debris provides possible evidence of the destruction of *Londinium* and Southwark during the Boudiccan revolt in AD 60/61 (Milne 1995). A cremation cemetery was discovered at Leadenhall Court (Figure 8c, number 62) (Milne and Wardle 1993; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) beneath the forum-basilica which was dated to AD 60, as were a number of substantial buildings. A city wall and ditch were built around parts of London at around AD 200, and there appears to have been at least five gates into the city (Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, Newgate and Ludgate) (Milne 1995). The Fleet Valley Project (Figure 8b, number 54) excavations recovered the later Roman road close to Ludgate, and given its width it was suggested that the Roman gate was a double gate (London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). At the Tower of London site (Figure 8c, number 84), a number of domestic buildings were demolished during the late second or early third centuries to be replaced by a defensive wall, that formed part of the town's landward defences (Parnell 1985). This structure was also evident at the Tower Hill excavations (Figure 8c, number 83) (Whipp 1980).

It is known that London had a substantial forum-basilica discovered at the Leadenhall Court site (Figure 8c, number 62) (Milne and Wardle 1993), 168, Fenchurch Street (Figure 8a, number 8) (Dunwoodie 2004), 1-7, Whittington Avenue (Figure 8a, number 9) (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) and GPO tunnel site, Gracechurch Street (Figure 8c, number 59) (Marsden 1987; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). Timber-framed buildings were found nearby at, 145-146, Leadenhall Street (Figure 8a, number 6) (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) and Africa House (Figure 8b, number 36) (Woods *et al* 1975; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). By the third century there was also a large amphitheatre built in stone with

a seating capacity of 7,000 (Marsden 1987; Bateman 1997). There are at least three bath sites known from Roman London, Cheapside, Billingsgate, and the largest, Huggin Hill (Figure 8c, number 61). This latter building was constructed in the south-western corner of London (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; Rowsome 1999). The partial remains of a timber and clay house were found at Blossoms Inn close to this complex (Figure 8b, number 43) (Jackson 1993), as were water channels located at 48-50, Cannon Street (Figure 8a, number 24) (Boddington 1979). However, like a number of other public buildings in Roman towns, these baths were deliberately demolished and abandoned in the mid-second century (Bateman 1998). The Walbrook Mithraeum is one of the best known Roman sites in London (Figure 8b, number 44). It was originally discovered in 1954 and re-evaluated in the early 1970s. It has a slightly irregular basilican plan which was orientated east to west, with an entrance by a double door in the east wall (Merrifield 1965; Shepherd 1998). Interestingly it is suggested that in later years this site became a place of worship for the god Bacchus (Haynes 2000). The area close to this temple, Docklands Light Railway Shaft (Figure 8b, number 51) revealed a number of buildings. These were constructed and then demolished in a cycle that continued through to the third century. Many of these buildings were multi-roomed and substantial in size (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). There was evidence for a few structures that lay close to the Mithraeum at St Swithin's Lane, Sherbourne Lane and 117, Cannon Street (Figure 8c, number 79) (London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). A large octagonal building discovered in the lower valley of the River Fleet (as part of the Fleet Valley Project (Figure 8b, number 54)), was thought to be a temple (London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). There is a possibility that there was a religious site in Southwark, since a square building found at Tabard Square (Figure 9, number 15) was in the form of a Romano-Celtic temple (Durrani 2004).

The Walbrook Valley was a marshland area between the two hills on which the settlement of London was built (Perring and Bingham 2000). The Romans filled in the channels from the river with gravel, clay and rubbish, and created occupation areas on the slopes. A number of excavations have been undertaken to the north of London, around the Upper Walbrook valley tributaries, where there was drainage and land reclamation as well as areas of occupation. Much of this was summarised in the excavations of the Upper Walbrook Valley (Figure 8c, number 85) (Maloney 1990). Buildings and evidence for industry were found at 55-61, Moorgate (Figure 8a, number 26) (Frere *et al* 1988; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), and the floors of two timber-framed buildings which fronted onto a road were recorded at 10-12, Copthall Avenue (Figure 8a, number 4) (Maloney 1990; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). Buildings and dumps were found at 8, Telegraph Street (Figure 8b, number 33), while a road, buildings and a ditch were discovered at 2-3, Crossed Keys Court (Figure 8a number 11) (Frere *et al* 1983; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). A ditch and a possible structure were located at 43, London Wall (Figure 8a number 23) (Frere *et al* 1985; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). A ditch was also noted along with timber revetments at 9-19, Throgmorton Avenue (Figure 8b,

number 34) (Frere *et al* 1987; Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) and Angel Court (Figure 8b, number 37) (Blurton 1977). There was gravel quarrying at the Pinner's Hall (Figure 8c, number 71) (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), although very little Roman archaeology was noted at the nearby Moorgate Street site (Figure 8c, number 68) (Wilson *et al* 1971). To the north-west and close to the northern cemetery areas at 28-34, Bishopsgate (Figure 8a, numbers 18) there was a quarry which was superseded by roads, buildings and drains (Frere *et al* 1983; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), and there was a Roman quarry site found at 274-280, Bishopsgate (Figure 8a, number 17) (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online).

A number of excavations have taken place on the western hill of the Walbrook. These uncovered a number of buildings dating to the first and second centuries, such as 1, Poultry (Figure 8a, number 1) (Perring *et al* 1991). As well as living spaces, hearth, ovens and scorched brick-earth floors have been found from second and third century buildings, suggesting industrial activity. Roads and drainage of water in this area was maintained throughout most of the Roman period, until the site was abandoned in the fourth century (Maloney 1990). 3-9, Newgate Street (Figure 8a, number 20) (Pitt 2006), General Post Office (Figure 8b, number 55) (Perring *et al* 1991; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), and General Post Office Middle Area (Figure 8b, number 57) (Roskams 1980) (these latter two sites both on Newgate Street), as well as Cheapside and Queen Street, (Figure 8b, numbers 47) were situated on the western hill, and revealed occupation areas, open spaces and roads (Hill and Woodger 1999; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). Other sites such as 1-6, and 10, Milk Street (Figure 8a, numbers 7 and 3) and 24-25, Ironmonger Lane (Figure 8a, number 13) contained a number of houses served by streets and private drains. Many were initially constructed of wattle and daub, before stone was introduced at a later date (Perring *et al* 1991; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). Densely built up areas which were established from about AD 140 included, 36-37, King Street (Figure 8a, numbers 19) (Rowsome 1987; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), 76, Cannon Street (Figure 8b, numbers 31) (Frere *et al* 1987; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), 7-10, Foster Lane (Figure 8a, number 28) (Frere *et al* 1983; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), Abacus House (Figure 8b, number 35) (London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), Leith House (Figure 8c, number 63) (Frere *et al* 1989; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), St Albans House (Figure 8c, number 74) (Frere *et al* 1987; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), St Margaret's Rectory (Figure 8c, number 76) (Frere *et al* 1987; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) as well as sites slightly further to the west such as 7-12, Aldersgate Street (Figure 8b, number 29) (Frere *et al* 1985; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) and Ludgate Hill Car Park (Figure 8c, number 65) (London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). To the far west the around the Ludgate area, the Fleet Valley Project (Figure 8b, number 54) excavations revealed a large multi-roomed building that replaced a probable temple. This building was rebuilt or altered at least four

times during the Roman period (London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online).

To the east of the Walbrook there were areas of domestic occupation, at sites such as Palmerston House (Figure 8c, number 69) (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), while a structure with at least nine rooms was found at 23-25, Austin Friars (Figure 8a, number 12) (Schofield and Maloney 1998; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) and 76-86, Bishopsgate (Figure 8b, number 32) (Schofield and Maloney 1998; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). Further evidence for the development in the eastern part of Roman London was discovered at Lloyd's Register, 71, Fenchurch Street (Figure 8c, number 64) where many buildings were found. Some of these were quite substantial, such as the ailed building 32, which had a gravel-floored tile-built porch (Bluer *et al* 2006). To the north-east there were dumps. Large quantities of painted wall plaster were recovered 25-51, St Mary Axe (Figure 8a, number 15) (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) and apart from a well, ditch, and wall located during the Baltic House (Figure 8b, number 39) excavations, this seems to have been an undeveloped area of the town (Howe 2002; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). Continuing further east, there were two sites, The George Public House (Figure 8c, number 82) (Grew *et al* 1981; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) and 71-77, Leadenhall Street and 32-40, Mitre Street (Figure 8b, number 30) where various timber structures were found. There was a possibility that there was a masonry superstructure at the latter location (Riviere 1985; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). Nearby at 4, Billiter Street (Figure 8a, number 21) there was a sequence of six buildings (Frere and Tomlin 1991a). There were mostly gardens at 1-12, Rangoon Street (Figure 8c, number 72), although two human skeletons were found buried together in the same grave dated to the late Roman period at this site (Bowler 1983; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). Structural elements of buildings, and a possible road were discovered at Colchester and Woodruffe House (Figure 8b, number 48) (Burnham *et al* 1994; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). At the extreme eastern edge of the town lay a site (Figure 8a, number 10) where a number of timber buildings were discovered. These had been rebuilt over time, and were eventually replaced by the town defences (Chapman and Johnson 1973).

In the southern part of the settlement at 11-11A, Pudding Lane (Figure 8a, number 5) there was a Roman masonry building which incorporated a bath area and hypocaust (Bateman and Milne 1983; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), while nearby, the St Martin Orgar Churchyard (Figure 8c, number 77) site revealed that there had been an intense period of Roman building activity during the late first century AD (Schofield and Maloney 1998; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). Further to the east, and closer to the forum, the excavations at 5-12, Fenchurch Street (Figure 8a, number 25) took place. Eleven periods of Roman occupation were identified here, comprising of at least 30 buildings (Hammer 1985; London Archaeological

Archive and Research Centre online). A strip-building was located at the nearby 27-30, Lime Street (Figure 8a, number 16) (Frere *et al* 1985; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online).

According to one ancient source, London did not rank as a Roman settlement, but was an important centre for business-men and merchandise (see Tacitus Annals 14.33). Indeed, Millett (1990) suggested that the emergence of London as a focus before AD 60/61 was the result of trade, while Milne (1995) thought that one of the main reasons for siting *Londinium* on the Thames in the mid-first century, was to take advantage of the tidal river. A port and associated buildings (initially warehouses and workshops, and later a possible palace and a substantial townhouse) have been found at the site of Regis House, 41-46, King William Street and 18-20, Fish Street (Figure 8a, numbers 22) close to one of the river crossings (Brigham *et al* 1996; Brigham and Watson 1996; Burnham *et al* 1996; Brigham 1998). The palace had an enclosed courtyard and a central pool. To the west of Regis House lay the Roman quay at St Magnus House (Figure 8c, number 75) (Miller *et al* 1986; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). There was a landing stage at Pudding Lane, Peninsular House (Figure 8a, number 5) (Bateman and Milne 1983), and the quay on the east bank of the Walbrook may have been built to provide river access to the substantial building known as the Governor's House, or Palace, (Suffolk House) (Figure 8b, number 56) (Brigham 1998; Brigham and Woodger 2001), also recorded at Cannon Street Station (Figure 8b, numbers 45 and 46) (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). There were also other Roman buildings located in this area at 10, Arthur Street (Figure 8a, number 2) (Frere *et al* 1986; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) and Miles Lane (Figure 8c, number 66) (Miller 1982; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). A quay was built at the Custom House site near the Tower of London (Figure 8b, number 50), with a unified river frontage being developed during the mid third century (Tatton-Brown 1974; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). This site included a number of timber-framed buildings at Swan Lane and Seal House (Figure 8c, number 80) (Brigham and Hillam 1990; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), and at the Walbrook Wharf (Figure 8c, number 86) (Pugsley 2003; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) some river gravels revealed a number of finds, as did Dowgate Hill House (Figure 8b, number 52) (Brigham and Hillam 1990; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), and the Thames Foreshore (Figure 8c, number 81) (Pugsley 2003). The Billingsgate (Figure 8b, numbers 41 and 42) excavations recovered part of the riverside wall and the quay area (Jones and Rhodes 1980; Brigham 1998; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) as did the Baynard House (Figure 8b, number 40) (Hill *et al* 1980; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) and St Peter's Hill (Figure 8c, number 78) (Rankov *et al* 1982; Brigham 1998; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online) sites.

In Southwark, although no quays have been recorded, the use of timber revetments and the reclamation of land allowed for the building of warehouses, such as those at the sites of

Courage's Brewery (Figure 9, number 9) (Brigham 1998; Cowan 2003a) and Winchester Palace (Figure 9, number 19) (Brigham 1998; Yule 2005). The remains of revetments were noted at 93-95, Borough High Street (Figure 9, numbers 8) (Sheldon 1978). Whilst there was evidence for quarrying at Hiberia Wharf (Figure 9, number 12) (which had probably been used to extract gravel for building roads) (London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), timber stakes (possibly for the foundations for a building or a jetty) were found at 170-194, Borough High Street (Figure 9, number 4) (Grew *et al* 1980).

Remaining with the archaeology on the south bank of London, close to the river, houses, narrow alleys, shops and rectangular timber buildings, as well as a complex of masonry buildings, thought to be a market hall, were found during the Jubilee Line Extension Project, recorded as the settlement in Southwark (Figure 9, numbers 13) (Perring and Brigham 2000; Drummond-Murray *et al* 2002). A number of early Roman timber and clay buildings were found close to the river at Toppings and Sun Wharves (Figure 9, number 17) (Sheldon 1974). Early in the second century some previous buildings were demolished at Winchester Palace and were replaced by a range of palatial buildings fronting the river. These included an opulent bathhouse with a suite of heated rooms (Figure 9, number 19) (Yule 2005). A substantial masonry complex was also found during the excavations at 15-23, Southwark Street, which like the Winchester Palace, might have had a public or official function (Figure 9, number 2) (Cowan 1992; Beard and Cowan 1988). Evidence for roads and occupation was evident at the Bonded Warehouse (Figure 9, number 16) (Graham 1978b), Courage's Brewery (Figure 9, number 9) (Cowan 2003a), 106-114, Borough High Street (Figure 9, number 1) (Schwab 1978), 199, Borough High Street (Figure 9, number 5) (Schaaf 1988), 201-211, Borough High Street (Figure 9, number 6) (Ferretti and Graham 1978) and 1-7, St Thomas Street (Figure 9, number 3) (Dennis 1978). Wells and pits were noted at 88, Borough High Street. However, some gravel dumps found at this site may have been in preparation for a building, as the ground plan for two or three rooms was found (Figure 9, number 7) (Yule and Hinton 1978). Prior to the construction of a possible temple, there were many buildings and shops identified at Tabard Square (Figure 9, number 15) (Durrani 2004).

As regards burials, the Eastern Cemetery along with West Tenter Street were some of the most informative sites. Archaeological investigations have shown that there was a walled burial site, with divisions in the landscape created by a road, ditches, paths and open areas. A large number of inhumations and cremations were recorded at this site (Figure 8b, number 53; Figure 8c, number 87) (Whytehead 1986; Barber and Bowsher 2000). There was a cremation burial discovered at Great Alie Street, Bishopsgate which may have belonged to this cemetery (Figure 8c, number 60) (Price and Cottam 1998). Part of the southern cemetery site (developed from AD 120 and falling into disrepair in the fourth century) has been found at Great Dover Street, Southwark. This site (where 25 inhumations and five cremations were found) (two burials were also discovered during the Swan Street/Great Dover Street (Figure 9, number 14) excavations), consists of a roadside (Watling Street, Southwark (Figure 9, number 18)) walled area, which may have housed a

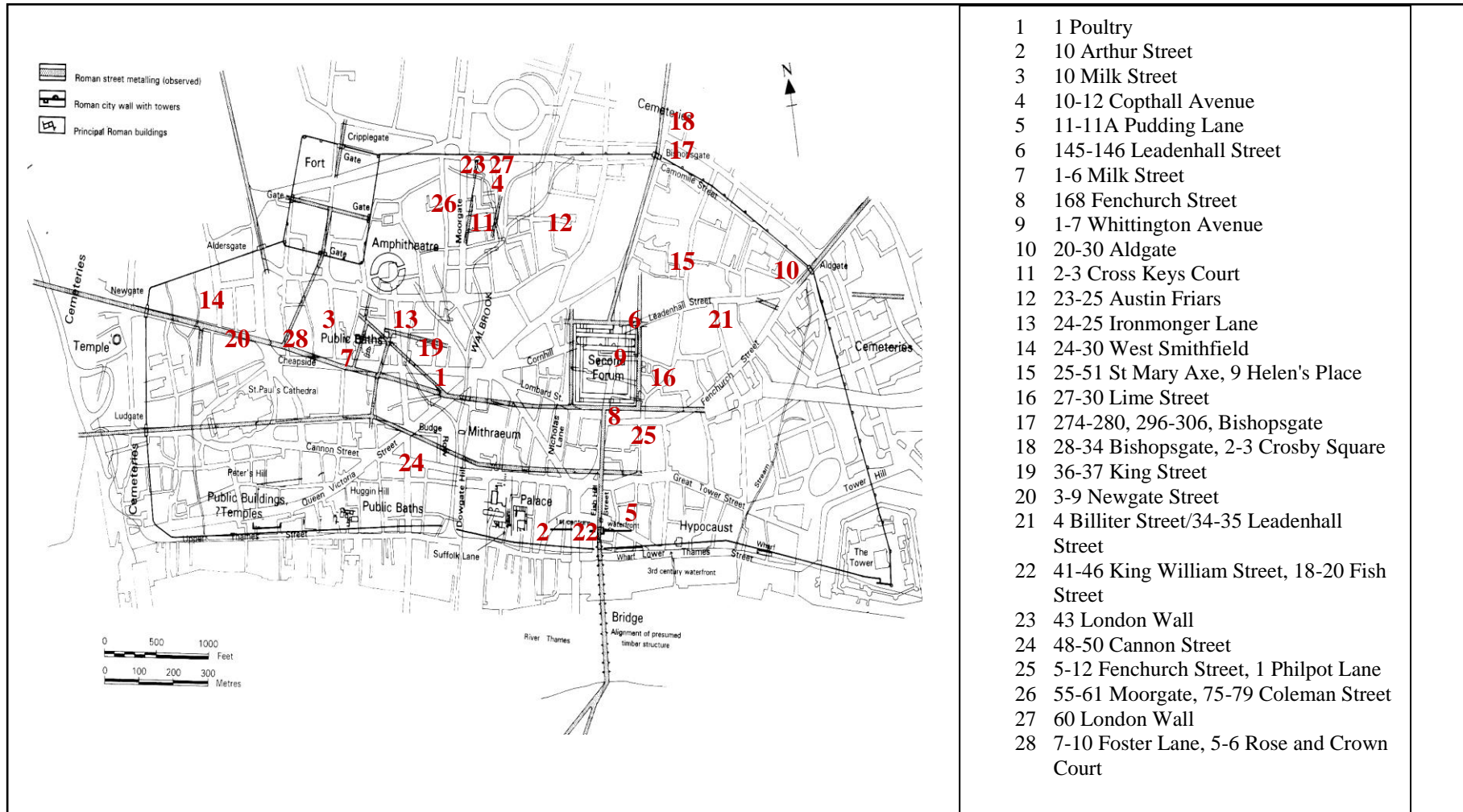


Figure 8a Plan of Roman City of London, showing research sub-sites (after Wachter 1995, 89).

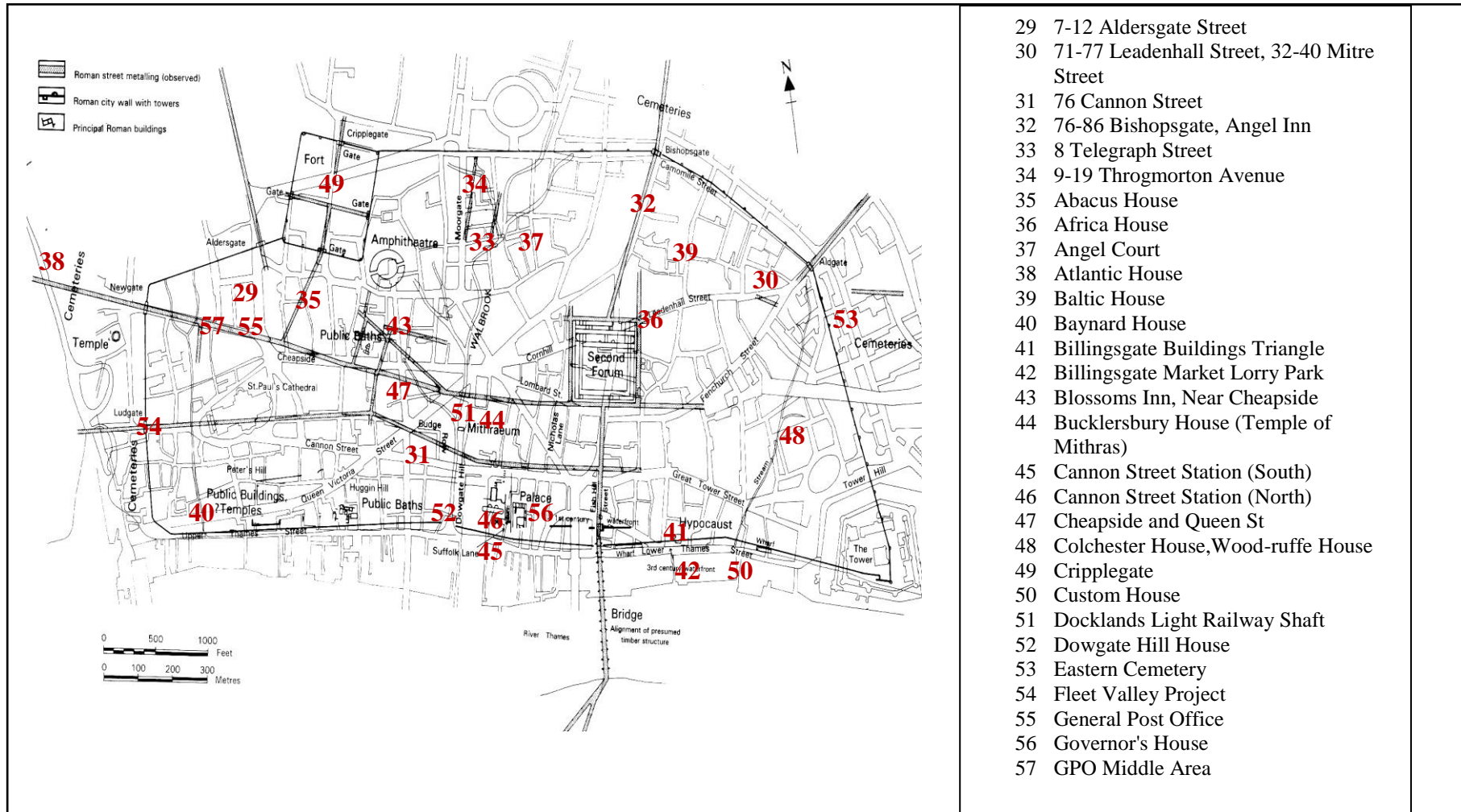


Figure 8b Plan of Roman City of London, showing research sub-sites (after Wachter 1995, 89).

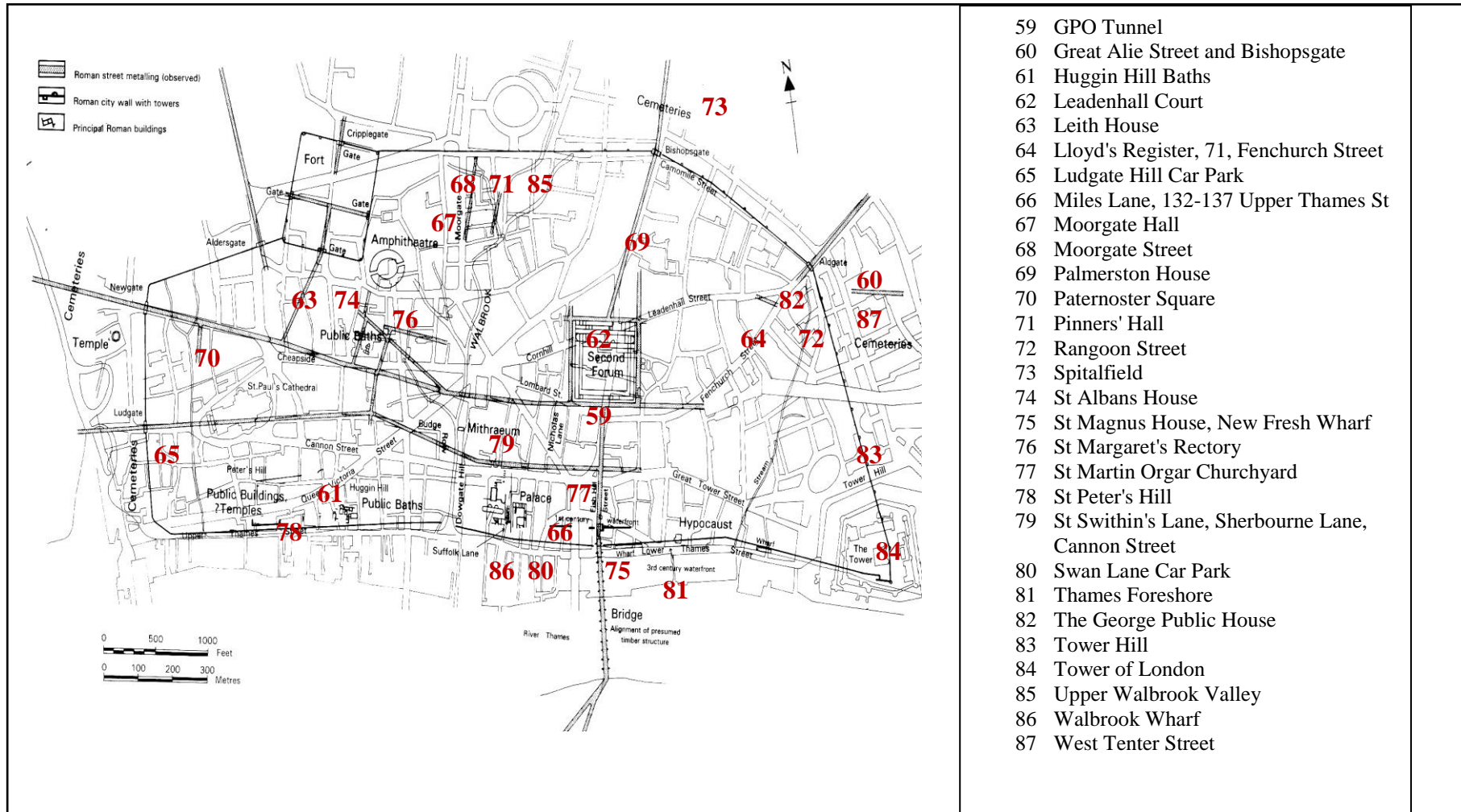


Figure 8c. Plan of Roman City of London, showing research sub-sites (after Wachter 1995, 89).

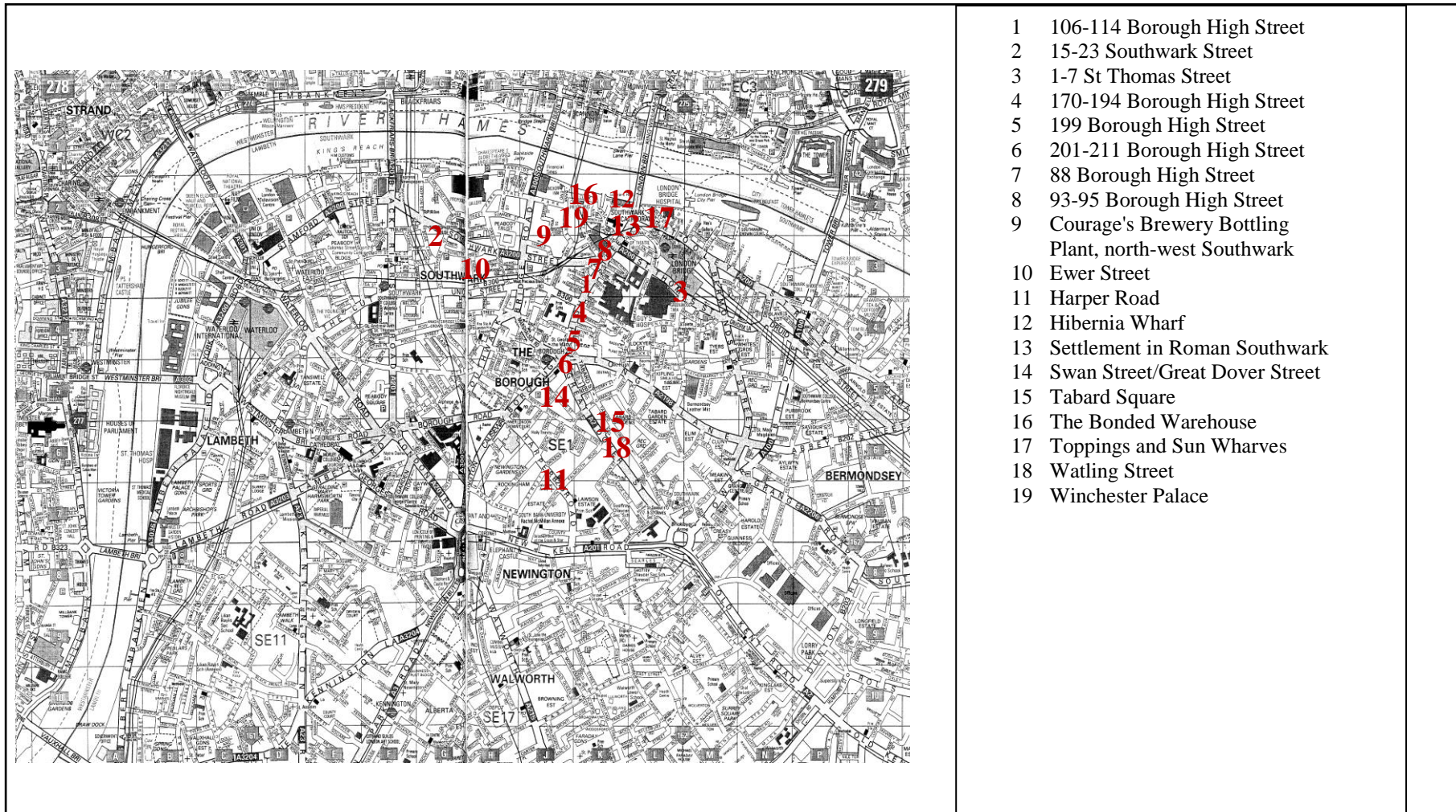


Figure 9 Map of modern Southwark, London, showing research sub-sites (after Collins 1999, 278-279).

mausoleum (Graham 1978a; Mackinder 2000). Further burials have been recorded at 15-23, Southwark Street (Figure 9, number 2) (Beard and Cowan 1988; Cowan 1992) and Courage Brewery (Figure 9, number 9) (Cowan 2003a), although these seem to have been inserted through the demolished remains of masonry structures (Heard *et al* 1990). Two skeletons were found at Ewer Street (Figure 9, number 10) (Plouviez 1973), while a single inhumation burial from the fourth century was discovered at Harper Road (Figure 9, number 11) (Dean and Hammerson 1980; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online).

There are at least 171 inhumations and 18 cremations known from the western cemetery, a site which was based along the Roman road, running west out of the town through Newgate and Aldersgate (Barber and Bowsher 2000). Twenty of these inhumations came from the burials at St Bartholomew's Hospital site (Bentley and Pritchard 1982), and a number of the cremations found at Paternoster Square in the City of London (Figure 8c, number 70) (Shepherd 1988; Watson and Heard 2006). 24-30, West Smithfield (Figure 8a, number 14), 1-4, Giltspur Street, 18-20, Cock Lane and Atlantic House (Figure 8b, number 38) in Holborn have shed more light on the western cemetery (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online).

As its name suggests, the northern cemetery lay on either side of Ermine Street, the main road from London to the north of Britain. A number of the sites relating to the northern cemetery have revealed inhumation burials. Whilst many of the details relating to these sites are unpublished, the Spitalfield excavations (Figure 8c, number 73) undertaken in the 1990s, revealed a number of Roman graves (Barber and Hall 2000; Thomas 1999). There was a single inhumation at Moorgate Hall, but it was not part of the extramural cemetery, although there were quantities of disarticulated human bone suggesting there had been more burials in this area (Figure 8c, number 67) (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). In addition, 30 skulls were found at 60, London Wall, along the line of a Walbrook tributary (Figure 8a, number 27) (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online).

4.17 London - Later Roman Town

The latest Roman deposits on many sites in London and Southwark consist of a layer of soil referred to as dark earth (a phenomenon recorded at other towns including Canterbury and York). This feature may have been caused by the space being used as market gardens or orchards, although it could equally have been created by rubbish dumps (Watson 1998b). The streets in the upper Walbrook Valley were covered with dark earth by the third century, and a number of buildings were abandoned during the later Roman period (Maloney 1990). At the same time parts of the basilica were demolished, and London's port was also abandoned (Watson 1998b). Some explanations for these occurrences suggest that there was economic decline, which in turn encouraged depopulation.

4.18 Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*) - Background

Silchester was excavated in the nineteenth century by Reverend Joyce of Stratfield, and in the early twentieth century by Fox and Hope (Boon 1974). George Boon not only excavated at Silchester during the 1940s and 50s, but he put together publications about the site in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Boon 1969; 1974). Michael Fulford began working at the ancient town in 1977, and continues to do so to date (e.g. Fulford 1984; Fulford and Timby 2000; Fulford *et al* 2006).

4.19 Silchester - Late Iron Age Settlements and Cemeteries

Silchester was an Iron Age settlement before the Roman invasion. There is evidence of round houses, and an inner and outer earthwork can be dated to the late first century BC, or the early years in AD. A settlement was laid out in a grid of streets at Silchester by about 20 BC (Fulford and Timby 2000; Wilson 2006). It is difficult to establish whether there was a Roman military presence, although there have been many finds that could be related to the army (Fulford and Timby 2000). Further evidence for a late Iron Age settlement comes from the various ancient British coins recovered from Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000). These included coins ascribed to the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni social groupings, as well as Gaulish examples. These findings have led to the suggestion that Silchester had links to the east of its region, rather than the south or west. Fired-clay moulds were also retrieved from Silchester that may have been used to manufacture coins (Fulford and Timby 2000, 551-554). Just outside the town was an extensive late Iron Age-early Roman settlement, Latchmere Green, which lay within sight of the boundaries of Silchester (Fulford and Creighton 1998).

4.20 Silchester - Roman Town and Cemeteries

It was after AD 50 that the Roman town began to really become established, with the construction of major timber structures (Todd 1989). Building continued uninterrupted during the first century, as the town was unaffected by the Boudiccan revolt. Houses and streets are known in both the southern and northern areas, and a large building was found near the south gate with numerous rooms, and its own private bathing suite (Boon 1974). Clarke and Fulford (2002) recorded a number of houses during the excavations of Insula 9 at Silchester. There were, for example, a number of phases for House 1 which lay in the north-eastern area of this Insula. The structure began with one, or possibly two single timber buildings, with the initial construction undertaken during the mid-first century AD. These developed into two masonry structures which were closely connected, but by the second quarter of the second century these were demolished, and a single, possibly aisled building of timber-framed construction was put in their place. It was subsequently abandoned into the mid-to-late third century (Clarke and Fulford 2002, 133-136, 139-141).

The forum-basilica in the centre of the town was constructed of timber before a stone structure superseded it (Figure 10, number 1) (Todd 1989; Fulford and Timby 2000). Similarly Silchester's amphitheatre was constructed twice as a timber building, before being rebuilt again in masonry in the third century (Wacher 1989). It is known there were a number of temples. Of the two in Insula 30, the later northern temple is one of the

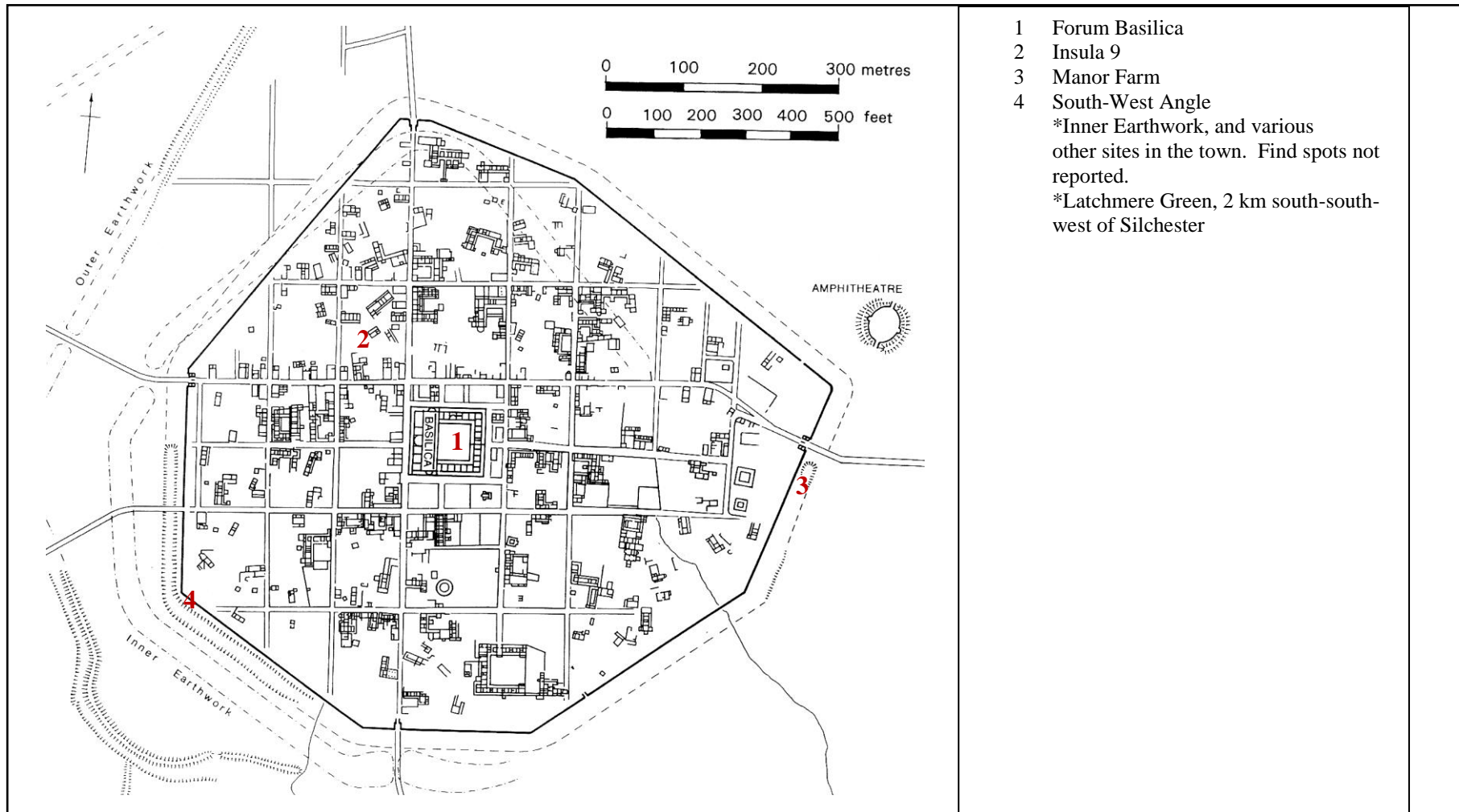


Figure 10 Plan of Roman Silchester, showing research sub-sites (after Wachter 1995, 275).

largest examples of this type of building in Britain (Boon 1974). There was also a Romano-Celtic type temple discovered in Insula 35 (Frere and Fulford 2002). A large public bath complex was located in the south-eastern area of the forum (Burgers 2001). The north and south gates have been identified, and much of the town wall survives today. A defensive ditch was found near to the Roman East Gate at Manor Farm, and a check was made during the excavation of the south-west angle of the town wall for an external tower, but this was not found (Figure 10, numbers 3 and 4) (Fulford 1984). Some burials have been recorded around the North Gate, but the main cemetery has not yet been identified (Fulford 2000).

4.21 Silchester - Later Roman Town

One structure, with an east-west orientation may have been an early church, or late fourth century baptistry, although in the 1980s it was suggested that the design of the building seemed more like Romano-Celtic architecture, and was therefore more likely to have been used as a religious place for an eastern cult (Thomas 1981; King 1983). As there were no religious finds from the site (although some Christian artefacts were found nearby), the debate continues. Insula 9 appears to have had an increase in properties after AD 250, and there were houses and workshops along the street-front (Figure 10, number 2) (Fulford and Clarke 2002). There was an increase in the area of extra-mural occupation west of the defences (Esmonde Cleary 1987), and Latchmere Green was found to have a number of domestic structures (Fulford and Creighton 1998). There is some evidence that parts of Silchester may have continued functioning as a settlement between the fifth and to some extent into the sixth centuries. Finds from stratified contexts at the forum-basilica and the South-East Gate areas include red-streaked Anglo-Saxon window-glass, whilst skull(s), radiocarbon dated to the fifth and sixth centuries, were recovered from the North Gate (Fulford *et al* 2006, 277-278). However, based on some pit material there does seem to have been less intensive occupation after AD 350/75 in some parts of Insula 9 (Fulford *et al* 2006, 285). It appears the town was gradually abandoned during the very late Roman period into the early medieval years, and unlike the other towns in the survey, it seems it was never re-occupied.

4.22 St Albans (*Verulamium*) – Background

A number of archaeological excavations at St Albans were undertaken by the Wheelers in 1930s (Niblett 1993). Investigative work continued during the 1940s, but it was Frere's work in the 1950s that provided some of the most detailed information about the area (e.g. Frere 1972; 1983; 1984). Archaeological excavations have continued from the 1960s onwards, with Rosalind Niblett overseeing much of the work as District Archaeologist in St Albans (Niblett 2007).

4.23 St Albans - Late Iron Age Settlements and Cemeteries

Evidence for occupation during the late Iron Age and pre-Roman *Verlamion* derives from the settlement sites at Prae Wood and the St Stephen's plateau, which consisted of linear earthwork, ditches, trackways and enclosures (Hunn 1980). Occupation began at the end of the first century BC and sections of it, (the Silchester road), were occupied into the

Roman period. The enclosure may have had a trackway leading to Ashridge and Cow Roast in the Bulbourne Valley (Bryant and Niblett 1997). Both these sites were thriving settlements and provide evidence of late Iron Age coins, pottery and burials (Morris and Wainwright 1995). The high status site of Gorhambury contained buildings dating to the early first century AD, enclosures and a large dyke (Figure 11, number 2). The area was subsequently developed into a Roman villa (Neal *et al* 1990). However, unlike Gorhambury and the nearby settlements of Baldock, Braughing and Welwyn, there seems to have been little permanent occupation of St Albans before the end of the first century BC (Thompson 2005). Cemeteries include King Harry Lane (where 455 cremations have been discovered) (Figure 11, number 12), Verulam Hill Field and Folly Lane. During the mid first century AD, Folly Lane had a large ceremonial enclosure surrounding a mortuary shaft. The entrance to this enclosure was near to the road that led to the town of St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989; Niblett 1999).

4.24 St Albans - Roman Town and Cemeteries

In the 1980s Frere (1983, 37-44) argued that a fort was built by the Roman military at St Albans just after AD 43, in order to oversee the late Iron Age settlement and that this structure lasted until about AD 49. More recently this view has been reconsidered by Haselgrove and Millett (1997) who noted that Frere's interpretation was based on a limited excavation of a rampart and a possible gate beneath Insula 17. Haselgrove and Millett (1997, 294) pointed out that the rampart was irregular in line, and that the gate did not conform to similar structures at forts in that period, which suggests that Frere's interpretation of the presence of a fort may be insecure. Haselgrove and Millett continued that there was no evidence for internal military-type buildings at St Albans, and that although equipment, such as a helmet, had been recovered from this site, the amount was not especially significant. In addition, they recognised that there were very few Claudian coins compared to other military sites. The idea that there is little evidence to support the presence of a fort at Verulamium was reiterated by Niblett (2005). She suggested that there may have been a 'short-lived' fort nearby, possibly at Windridge, 1km south-west of St Albans, where military finds have been recovered, including a number of lead sling shots, or that a fort might have existed on raised land to the north-east of Verulamium at Kingsbury. She stressed that the evidence for a fort at St Albans is slight, and concluded that, 'the emerging picture of early Roman Verulamium was of the town developing from an existing focus rather than from a Roman fort' (Niblett 2005, 149).

St Albans does however appear to have had defensive structures in the form of earthworks and ditches. In the third century there was a town wall, a ditch in front of it and a gravel bank behind. There were at least three gateways into the town (as well as three monumental arches), with the London Gate found at the south entrance on Watling Street (Figure 11, number 13) (Gibson 1982; Wilson 2006). Temples have been identified in *Verulamium* and in the surrounding extra-mural lands. Niblett (1999) believed that the mortuary chamber at Folly Lane resembled a Romano-Celtic temple, and certainly a large temple was constructed in the mid-second to early third century at this site, when the ceremonial enclosure ditch was filled in (Figure 11, number 1). The Wheelers excavated

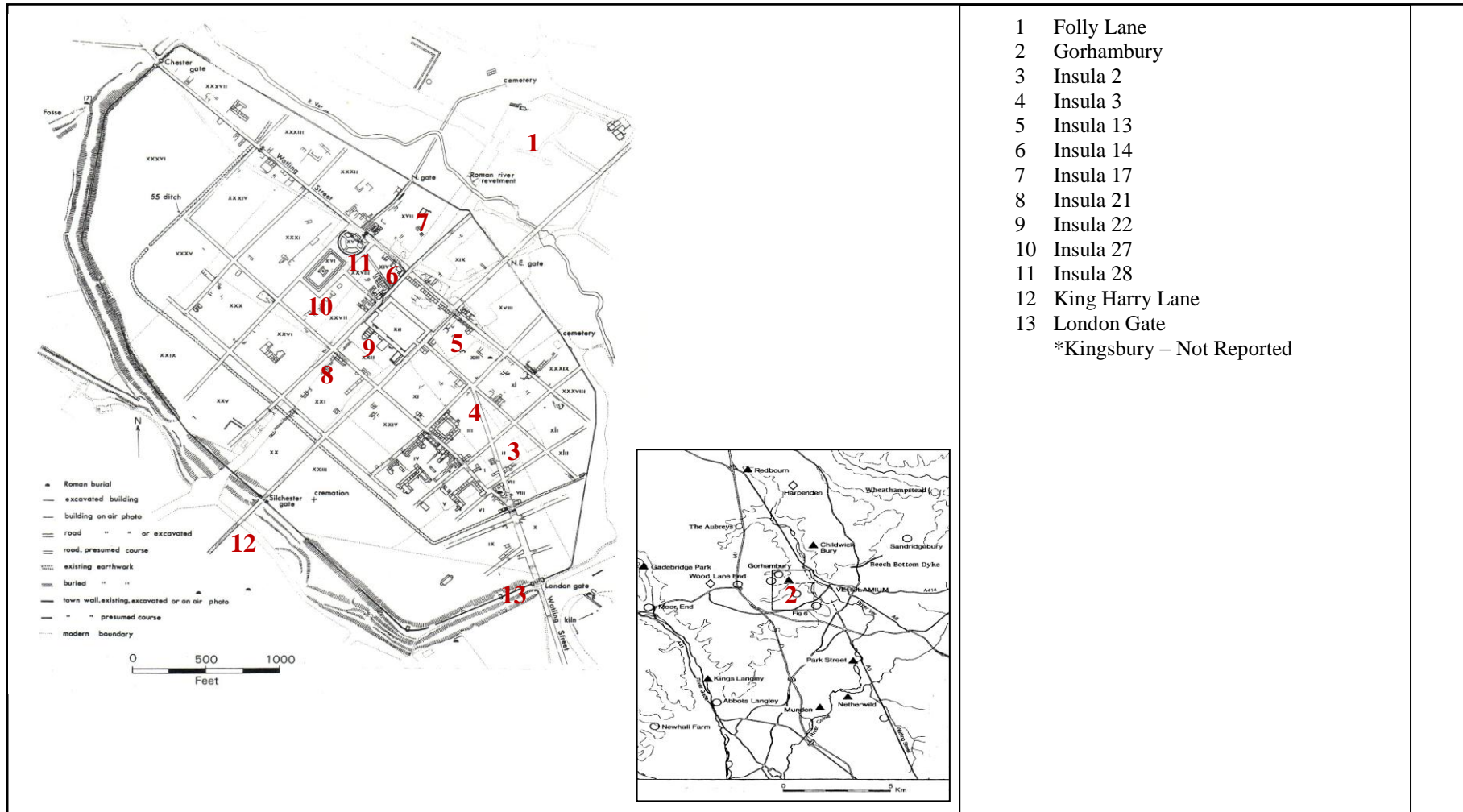


Figure 11 Plan of Roman St Albans with suburbs, showing research sub-sites (after Wachter 1995, 218; Neal *et al* 1990, 1).

the Triangular Temple in the 1930s, which was discovered in Insula 7. There may also have been a temple near to the King Harry Lane site, although there is no structural evidence for this. Public and private bath houses have also been identified, but the findings have not been published in any detail. The only other evidence for a bath house comes from the 1986-88 excavations at Insula 3 (Figure 11, number 4). A large drain, a substantial wall and the presence of a heated room all implied a large bath building (Niblett *et al* 2006). It is thought there was a forum-basilica complex in St Albans. The archaeology for this has been dated to the Neronian or early Flavian period, although its position in the town (beneath a church), made it difficult for further exploration (Frere 1983). The town's theatre was excavated by Kathleen Kenyon in the 1930s.

There is plenty of evidence for streets and stone and timber buildings, many found in the insulae throughout the town. A number of these structures were simple strip buildings, such as those from Insula 14 (Figure 11, number 6) (Frere 1972). Timber framed buildings dating to the very early Roman periods, have been found at Insulae 17 (Figure 11, number 7) (Frere 1983) and 27 (Figure 11, number 10) (Frere 1983), while it is thought that some early building that lay below Insula 28 (Figure 11, number 11) (Frere 1983) were burnt due to the Boudiccan uprising. Timber buildings have also been identified at Insulae 2 (Figure 11, number 3) and 13, (Figure 11, number 5) (Niblett *et al* 2006), with at least five rooms found at building 1A, Insula 21 (Figure 11, number 8) (Frere 1983). Many buildings were reconstructed over time, as was the case with House 1 at Insula 22, where the original house was demolished and a new structure built at around AD 210 (Figure 11, number 9) (Frere 1983). At the King Harry Lane site there was a Roman roadside settlement where a series of domestic cellars were found, as well as a number of burials from the second to the fourth century (Stead and Rigby 1989).

4.25 St Albans - Later Roman Town

Originally it was thought by the Wheelers that much of St Albans fell into decline from the third century onwards. However more recent work has questioned this view (see Frere's 1983 work on Insula 27 (Figure 11, number 10) and Niblett *et al* 2006), and it is now proposed that widespread occupation continued in some parts of the town into the late Roman and post-Roman periods.

4.26 Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*) - Background

The 1949-1960 excavations of Winchester were consolidated by Barry Cunliffe (Volume I) and John Collis (Volume II) in their overview of the town and its extra-mural sites (Cunliffe 1964; Collis 1978). Martin Biddle produced a number of interim reports relating to the excavations he directed during the 1960s and 70s, while Giles Clarke published the details of a large fourth century burial site (Biddle 1964; 1965; 1966; 1967a; 1968; 1969; 1970; 1972; 1975a; 1975b; Clarke 1979). John Zant headed up 'The Brooks' excavation in the 1980s, which is partly published (Zant 1993). Many of the current assessments and evaluations of the town are now undertaken in partnership with the Winchester Museum Service.

4.27 Winchester - Late Iron Age Settlements and Cemeteries

Late Iron Age rural settlements are known at sites just outside Winchester, such as those of Winnall Down, Milland and Highcliffe (Todd 1989). However, the large middle Iron Age ditched enclosure, Oram's Arbour, which lies close to Winchester seems to have been abandoned prior to Roman occupation (Thorpe and Whinney 2001; Qualmann *et al* 2005). In addition, some timber buildings dating to the Claudian period have been found at Kingdon's Workshop (Figure 12, number 7) (Cunliffe 1964).

4.28 Winchester - Roman Town and Cemeteries

Winchester had earthwork boundaries by about AD 70-80. Part of the Roman defences were found at Westgate Car Park, where they ran across the site sealing Iron Age levels (Figure 12, number 13) (Collis 1978). The ramparts were eventually altered and increased in size, and by the mid third century a masonry wall was added (Biddle 1970). The south gate developed from a small timber gate in the first century to a more substantial structure two centuries later (Biddle 1975). Not many public buildings have been found at Winchester, although a forum-basilica was sited in the eastern part of the town, with some of its remains located at the Cathedral Car Park (Figure 12, number 1) (Biddle 1964), and Cathedral Green (Figure 12, number 2) (Biddle 1970) sites. During the second century there appears to have been a rectangular Romano-Celtic temple in the Lower Brook Street area, which was demolished by about AD 300 (Wacher 1995). A settlement was in evidence by about the mid to late first century AD. Some domestic timber framed buildings found at the St George's Street site (Cunliffe 1964) in the western part of the town date to this time, and timber buildings that ran along the street front at The Brooks, could be placed in the Flavian period (Figure 12, number 11) (Zant 1993). In the later second century some of the buildings at The Brooks were replaced by a masonry structure with corridors (McCulloch 2002). There is some evidence for early Roman burials. A large number of graves, the earliest dating to around AD 55-65, were found at Hyde Street (Figure 12, number 6) (Birbeck and Moore 2004; Maltby unpublished), and two Flavian burials came from Grange Road (Biddle 1967b). There were around 130 cremation burials and 80 inhumations found at the Victoria Road (Figure 12, number 12) cemetery (Maltby unpublished). There were also a number of cremations found at Winnall (Figure 12, number 14) (Collis 1978) dated to shortly after the conquest, and similar burials have been identified at Milland and Highcliffe (Figure 12, number 9) (Collis 1978). A series of Roman burials were also found in the Oram's Arbour area (Thorpe and Whinney 2001; Qualmann *et al* 2005).

4.29 Winchester - Later Roman Town

A number of burial grounds are also known to have been in use during the later Roman periods in Winchester. In the northern part of the town, Lankhills (Figure 12, number 8) (Clarke 1979) was found to contain at least 400 inhumations, while sections of the Eastern cemetery (St Martin's Close) have also been discovered (Figure 12, number 10) (McCulloch 2002; Rees *et al* 2008). Over 60 burials are known from this latter site, with one containing a young female buried in a lead-lined coffin (Morris 1986). At Chester Road a cemetery replaced a Roman quarry in the late third century (Figure 12, number 3)

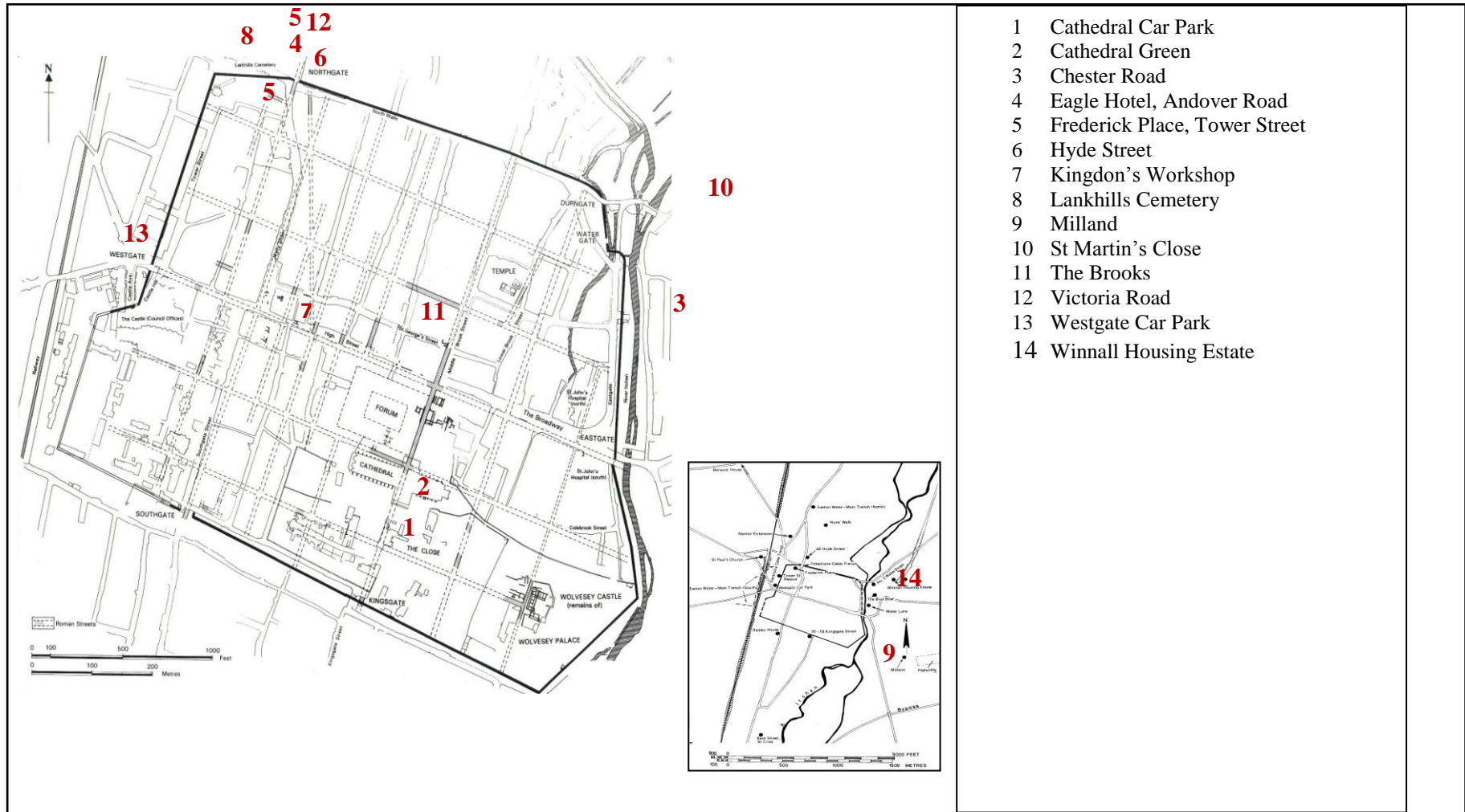


Figure 12 Plan of Roman Winchester with suburbs, showing research sub-sites (after Wachter 1995, 294; Collis 1978, 5).

(Rees *et al* 2008). A few inhumations from this period are also known from the Eagle Hotel sites (Figure 12, number 4) (Teague 1998), and two later Roman cremation burial graves were found at Hyde Street (Figure 12, number 6) (Birbeck and Moore 2004; Rees *et al* 2008). Two substantial town houses were found at The Brooks (Figure 12, number 11) that date to the later period. One, which had begun as a timber strip-building, was replaced by a masonry house, and then by a town house with an L-shaped plan. This was subsequently enlarged to form a courtyard house with three wings (Morris *et al* 1988; Zant 1993). However, during the late fourth or early fifth century, buildings and streets at Frederick Place (Figure 12, number 5) seem to have collapsed and were eventually covered by dark earth (Collis 1978).

4.30 Conclusion

An overview of the different urban-type settlements that had been selected for this study revealed a glimpse of the wealth of information that exists for these periods. The chapter began by stressing that although the settlements might be referred to as urban-type locations (itself a debatable point), there were many differences that could be considered. It highlighted areas such as variations in public buildings between towns, the mix of domestic structures, the range of chronological dates for cemetery sites and the different sizes of these sites. The chapter then explored the six sites that had been selected for this research. Each was considered individually, although they all began with a brief overview of the key archaeologists who had been involved with the excavations of these various settlements. Some background detail for each of the sub-sites where the sample of small finds had been found was presented, and for ease of reference, these were divided into a very basic chronological framework. Due to the large amounts of data relating to London, the Roman town and cemeteries section was split by geographical placements. The different sub-sites from each urban-type settlement were plotted onto plans, so their spatial relationships could be visible. In Chapter 12, Section 12.4 it was shown that the sample of small finds were mostly recovered from periods that could be dated to the developed Roman period, and far less were found at late Iron Age or late Roman locations. This chapter therefore reflected this trend in its presentation of the archaeological details.

This chapter goes further than simply providing a catalogue of sites, for it tries to place the various locations into chronological and thematic categories, which it is hoped will assist the reader as they progress through the findings and interpretation chapters. If, say for arguments sake, the bath house at St Margaret's Street, Canterbury is mentioned later in the work, then by returning to this chapter it is possible to appreciate that there was also evidence of a theatre at this site (see Section 4.4). References are also provided throughout the text, which means further details relating to each sub-site can be found. The later sections of this thesis consider the details of some of the contexts, such as pit and wells, and it is useful to be able to return to this chapter in order to realise the broader picture. In summary then, this chapter has touched on the diversity of areas in urban-type settings where the public and private activities of life occurred at a family and individual level. This is important, as it feeds into the further exploration of healthiness in Chapter 13. Finally, having an overview of the sub-sites is beneficial, but given that this research is

investigating small finds, it is also useful to have some insight into the literature and theory that surrounds material culture and that is basis of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

LATE IRON AGE AND ROMAN SMALL FINDS, THE STUDY OF MATERIAL CULTURE

5.1 Introduction

This final chapter, before the data analysis, examines the subject of the small find. Given that small finds form the basis of the sample in this enquiry, it seems reasonable to start with a brief history of these items, followed by a discussion relating to artefacts in the modern setting. This chapter considers the various approaches within material cultural studies, including how small finds have been recorded in site reports, typological work, material-based research, numerical and contextual analysis. As noted at the end of Chapter 2, there is a return to theoretical discussions, although in this case via the discipline of material culture, which will feed into the interpretations found in Chapter 13. As with the previous chapters there is a particular emphasis on the late Iron Age and Roman period, and since the data in this research can be divided into a number of specific artefacts, (mirrors, combs, glass unguent containers, bronze cosmetic grinders, additional toilet items), it is these that will be highlighted in the discussions.

5.2 What are Small Finds?

Darvill (2002) says that a small find is an object that is recovered during an excavation, which due to its nature or position, is individually recorded. He does note that on some excavations all finds are treated as small finds. However, on many sites small finds are separated from so-called bulk finds (such as pottery or animal bones). In writing about Roman small finds Spradley (2001) notes that the term was adopted because of the size of most of the artefacts included within this category. Perhaps one of the best known quotes on this subject comes from Nina Crummy, who wrote that, 'small finds need detailed initial recording, detailed description in publication, and sometimes a more controlled environment for storage' (Crummy 1983, 182).

5.3 Small Finds the Past and Present

It is almost impossible to think about the late Iron Age and Roman era and not to think about their material world, and indeed the small find has often been one of the central features of the archaeology for this period. The history of this enterprise can be traced back to the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. In the 16th century, John Twyne collected Roman coins, pottery and glass, and a renewed interest in classical texts meant that artefacts were collected and used to support historical texts such as the Bible, and Greco-Romano works (Greene 2002). In 1586 William Camden reissued a copy of *Britannia*, his general guide to the antiquities of Britain, in which he illustrated pre-Roman and Roman coins, and William Stukeley (1687-1765) who like John Aubrey (1626-1697) was interested in the 'Ancient Britons', particularly the Druids, stated that he was 'giving an account of places and *things*'. Interest in objects during the Grand Tours of the seventeenth century eventually led to the rise of the museum, and increasingly many Roman items were deposited there, and put on display. The British Museum opened in

1759, and by 1861 the Department of Antiquities was subdivided, and included a section on Greek and Roman material (Murray 1996). By 1922, a guide to the antiquities of Roman Britain held in the British Museum reported that a glass phial, a mirror and a *ligula* could be found in one of their cabinets (Dalton 1922). History, as a way of understanding the past, was still seen as the dominant tradition in the first part of the twentieth century, with the consequence that archaeological field workers would privilege Roman material, at the expense of Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon finds. This gradually changed until eventually a number of museums specialised in one period, such as the Iron Age Museum, Andover, Hampshire.

Despite the early interest in the artefacts, and the continuation of the close association between museums and their collections, it is argued that studying small finds is not quite 'pure' archaeology. Martin Henig (2008), who most famously studied Roman gems, and has since left archaeology, said in a farewell note, that the people who ran archaeology in universities were really interested in budding excavators and unprepared to sponsor finds researchers for academic posts. This is supported by a paper that has examined the state of small find research today, which found that that small find work was viewed by those in academia and the wider archaeological community as secondary to fieldwork, unimportant and atheoretical (Swift 2007). Indeed the author also pointed out that there had been a noticeable decline in the number of theses on finds from the late 1990s onward. But moving on from this somewhat negative picture, there is nevertheless a range of rich and detailed studies undertaken in this field that are worth consideration.

5.4 Approaches to Small Finds through Material Culture Studies

Artefacts are understood through material cultural studies which incorporates both processual and postprocessual perspectives. These different views are encapsulated by the following authors. Bahn (1992) thought that the study of the past is through the systematic recovery and analysis of material culture, with the aims of archaeology being the recovery, description and classification of this material. This, he said, could then be used to describe and understand the behaviour of past societies. Taking a more interpretive position, Ian Hodder and Hutson suggested that material culture (in this case objects) are partly shaped by the, '...underlying and discrete actions of people in the past, and the unique lived embodied experience of each actor' (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 236). Crucially, while material cultural studies are very much a part of archaeology, they are not tied to this one academic discipline. This is particularly well demonstrated in works found in the *Journal of Material Culture* where, for example, the meaning of the action of purchasing clothes (mostly in the modern world) was critically analysed by a sociologist (Campbell 1996). It was concluded that rather than individuals choosing an identity based on the clothing that they buy, people prefer to, 'invoke their own sense of self-image as a reason for not considering many of the clothing products that are available' (Campbell 1996, 102). This may have resonance for those undertaking consumption studies in other time periods. This interdisciplinary approach has advantages, as it can lead to enhanced creativity and further analytical thought. Miller and Tilley state,

“the study of material culture may be most broadly defined as the investigation of the relationship between people and things irrespective of time and space. The perspective adopted may be global or local, concerned with the past or present, or the mediation between the two” (Miller and Tilley 1996, 5).

So, material cultural studies not only provide platforms for the airing of different archaeological philosophies, but they can incorporate themes and theory that traditionally lie outside archaeology. Attention will now be turned to how late Iron Age and Romano-British small finds are examined, analysed and reported.

5.5 Site Reports and Small Finds

An increasing number of organisations are providing information concerning small finds online with the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) being one such example (Portable Antiquities Scheme online). An account from PAS discusses the finds made by two metal detectorists who, having obtained permission to detect on land in the parish of Chislet, to the north-east of Canterbury, discovered a Roman cremation burial. The grave included a wooden box, a brooch, as well as a variety of glass and pottery vessels which are all now on display in Canterbury museum (Portable Antiquities Scheme online - Roman cremation burial, Chislet). Indeed a number of museums provide photographs, and some basic details about the artefacts, and some of the small finds from recent excavations are similarly reported in this manner. Nevertheless, the published site report continues to be one of the main methods of disseminating small find information. Although they are very familiar to us in archaeology, a couple of issues are worth highlighting. Small finds are usually listed at the back of the text, and divided by their material type or their function. For example, toilet, surgical and pharmaceutical instruments from the 1970s Colchester excavation are recorded by their function, but the unguent bottles and flasks are separated into a volume dedicated to glass finds (Crummy 1983; Cool and Price 1995). In many cases site reports do not provide much in-depth analysis, a criticism that Ian Hodder made in the 1980s. He said, ‘the interpretation at the end (of the site report) is usually just a matter of chronology, typological parallels and functional arguments...’ and continued that, ‘in some reports no discussion or interpretation at the end even exists’ (Hodder 1989, 272). There are more attempts today to combine information, although the use of theory remains uncommon. Exceptions include Fulford *et al* (2006) recent work on Silchester, which has chapters dedicated to analysing the post-excavation material, including small finds.

5.6 Typological Studies and Small Finds

Another common way of studying small finds is of course by compiling a typological gazetteer. (Typology being a method whereby objects are divided into different forms based on their shape, colour and date.) There are some typologies for nail-cleaners (Crummy 1983; Crummy and Eckhardt 2003), although there are none for other toilet items such as *ligulae* and strigils. Work has also been undertaken on tweezers, ear-scoops and sets of these items (Eckardt and Crummy 2008). Strap-ends, which may have acted as nail-cleaners, were also discussed by Eckardt and Crummy (2006), while razors were briefly considered by Hill and Crummy (2005). Roman medical instruments have been studied firstly by Milne (1970), and then by Jackson (1986; 2002; 2005) who has provided

a number of papers on their different forms. Cosmetic grinders have been fully classified, with divisions based on whether they are a mortar or pestle, the types of terminals and the features of grooves, suspension loops and bowed shapes (Jackson 1985). This catalogue is due to be updated in the near future. The late Iron Age mirror series was listed by Fox and Pollard (1973), while Roman Continental and British mirrors were classified by Lloyd-Morgan (1977a; 1981).

Willis and Hingley (2007, 3) state that, ‘the building blocks of the broader pictures of small finds, must remain standardized cataloguing’, and while this is still the case, there are, as with every approach, some problems. The divisions are not always clear, they are dependant on the author and unless they are updated regularly, they can go out of date quickly. Sometimes there are competing catalogues, which can cause confusion. For example, glass unguent containers have two different classification schemes. The book ‘Roman Glass from Dated Finds’ by Isings (1957) is based on Continental glass, while Price and Cottam (1998) sought to provide a replacement text aimed at those working in Britain, entitled, ‘Romano-British Glass Vessels: A Handbook’. However, within site reports there still appears to be some variation in the reporting, with some authors still using the Isings (1957) system. On the positive side, gazetteers generally have a useful reference list of where particular types of objects have been found, and are currently located. This does however go out of date quite quickly. Consequently there are specialist journals, such as the Roman Finds Group newsletter, ‘*Lucerna*’, or the European ‘*Instrumentum*’ Bulletin that are published with the purpose of informing the reader about new finds.

5.7 Material-Based Research and Small Finds

Closely associated with the typology catalogues, are the material-based assessments. Pugsley (2003) studied wooden artefacts with particular reference to the material from Roman Britain. He included combs, but of course the list is only comprised of those made from this material. This is in part supplemented by MacGregor (1985), who undertook an investigation into the technology of skeletal materials since Roman times. His work included mirrors and toilet sets as well as combs. Sometimes a detailed technical report is produced, relating to the scientific aspects of a particular small find, such as the properties of its material. Alongside this is the area of experimental archaeology. The team at the modern Roman Glass Makers workshops based in Hampshire, examined how mould and free blown Roman glass might have been produced, including glass unguent containers. They recreated a Roman glass furnace in order to look at methods of construction, the type of fuel that might have been used, temperatures and glass melting (Roman Glassmakers online). Mirrors have also come under scrutiny. The designs on the late Iron Age British series of mirrors were studied with the intention of obtaining a deeper understanding of the technical relationships between the mirror backs. One of the main aims of the work was to discover more details about the practices of a bronze-smith (Lowery *et al* 1975).

5.8 Numerical Analysis and Small Finds

While catalogues, material assessments, and in-depth reports provide a sound basis for the detailed study of a particular object, they do not always address mixed assemblages. One of the key methods of broadening an enquiry lies in the field of statistics. It is claimed that statistical inference involves, ‘building statistical models of particular situations, in which one’s initial strength of belief in a set of alternative possibilities is expressed, as a set of probabilities based on some reasonable expectation’ (Shennan 1997, 48). There is a large selection of mathematical models which can be applied to data, and these have often been used to answer questions about the spatial or temporal patterning of small finds. Cool and Baxter (2002), for example, used correspondence analysis to examine a group of Romano-British small finds (including toilet equipment, although the types were not specified) from a variety of sites throughout Britain, with the purpose of exploring whether particular types of occupation provided distinctive find assemblages. They also asked whether these could be used to characterize the function of buildings. The authors noted some of the problems associated with this type of work, particularly that the assemblages were of widely differing sizes, and that exact contemporaneity was unlikely. Their findings suggested that various activities were being carried out on the sites, some of which could be associated with patterns of small find disposal. Other ways of using statistics include examining the temporal aspects of finds, whereby deviations from the mean can be considered over a period of time. Certainly, the use of statistics in the study of material culture has a long tradition, and provides the cornerstone of quantitative analysis.

5.9 Contextual Analysis and Small Finds

Contextual analysis is a means of considering data by utilising the find-spot information. In the field great care is afforded to keeping finds together with their context details. It is interesting that this care is not always replicated in the subsequent publications. The site context number is usually reported, but what this number relates to is sometimes harder to establish. The context number may never be referred to again in the text, making it meaningless to the reader. More commonly, the number is mentioned in the excavation discussions, but this too can be problematic. It is often mixed up with many other context numbers, and the location of the specific find is unclear. In addition, it can be difficult and time consuming to establish which finds are associated with each other. There are of course exceptions, such as the publication from King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989, 260-263, 274-397), but obtaining the detailed location of a small find and its association with other objects can still be a challenging exercise. Of course finds relating to the ancient past do not always come from archaeological excavations. Metal detector enthusiasts, and the general public often hand ‘things’ in to their local museums and many are recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme staff. Often, due to the nature of the acquisition of this material, much of the contextual information is missing.

Context analysis has been an approach adopted by a number of archaeologists. There were, for example, various contributions to the recent edited text ‘Roman Finds, Context and Theory’ (Hingley and Willis 2007). In the previous year Hingley (2006) discussed the deposition of iron objects in Britain during the later Prehistoric and Roman periods, and

considered contexts such as shrines, wells, enclosures and natural areas (such as caves and rivers). Turning to the small finds relating to this research, Brookes' (2004) work examined finds, including mirrors, combs, and toilet items from Romano-British graves (although there were, incidentally, no detailed theoretical discussions within this text on specific social issues). The contexts of nail cleaners, ear scoops and tweezers from Romano-British sites in Essex and Hertfordshire were briefly examined by Carr (2007). Three different types of nail-cleaners were the objects of study by Crummy and Eckardt (2003), while these as well as tweezers and ear-scoops were also considered in further work by these authors (Eckardt and Crummy 2008). In both cases they examined these items in relation to their contexts, grouped as, occupation, sanctuary, burial and unknown, with the study sites ranging between large towns, small settlements, villas, and areas of military occupation (these varied slightly to those used in this research). To conclude, the different ways in which small finds are studied offer a range of methods. This research seeks to draw on aspects of all these approaches, although as discussed earlier (Chapter 1, Section 1.4, 1.5, 1.10) contextual details provide the main focus for the enquiry.

5.10 Theory, Small Finds and Agency

This section compliments the theoretical frameworks for healthiness discussed in chapter 2. It begins by extending the discussion on the self and the other, to include the active individual, particularly regarding the relationship with objects. It then returns to discussions on the body, and examines how this can be transformed by small finds, taking into account issues such as gender and ageing, and it will finish with an overview of objects and memory. These theories will be referred to again in the penultimate chapter, to help explain the role of small finds in relation to the social practices of seeking and maintaining good health.

Agency can be traced to two key social theorists, Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens, who were writing in the twentieth century. Bourdieu (1977) discussed the complexity of social action and particularly focused on how power in society is produced and manipulated. In order to explain this, he considered a concept that he termed 'habitus', which he defined as 'an individually unique schema of unconsciously internalized dispositions' (Bourdieu 1977, 72). According to Tucker (1998), Bourdieu felt actors experience a comfortable shared sense of place, and have an embodied sensibility that makes structured improvisations possible. Critics have argued that as human action was seen by Bourdieu as unconscious, the motives of an individual were the outcome of external conditions (Dornan 2002). Anthony Giddens (1984) reiterated Bourdieu's human practice theories, but with a significant difference. In his theory of structuration he focused on the constraining and enabling nature of social structures. The person was conceptualised as a knowledgeable agent, someone who understood the conditions that were influencing them. Agency can be expanded, for it is not just about the individual, it can include 'the other' and 'the group'. Giddens seems to have held a similar position to Goffman (see Chapter 2, Section 2.13), in that he saw the importance of studying what people take for granted, and how they act in different contexts (Tucker 1998).

Agency is now well established in many archaeological studies. As regards material culture, Christopher Tilley (2000) noted that objects are situated in relation to the social, and it is a relationship that is active. Our life continuously negotiates a relationship with inanimate objects, and a link exists between agents, actions and artefacts (Wobst 2000). As Andrew Gardner (2003) has written, agency allows for the consideration of how actors are constructed by their meaningful relations with the material world around them. There are intentional actions of agents, which can in turn produce conscious social change (Dobres and Robb 2000). Within this world, the individual draws on the cultural resources available to them for objectification (Swidler 1986). In more recent work Dobres and Robb point out that, 'from an agency perspective the relationship between material culture and people is complicated, context-specific and dialectical (Dobres and Robb 2005, 161)

It has been asked whether objects can act in a manner that influences the outcome of actors, and if there are characteristics in a small find that channel human action. Gosden (2005) looked at a number of small finds from the late Iron Age and Romano-British periods, including brooches. When discussing *fibulae* he noted that there are some clear regional differences. These items, he proposed, created people as members of groups, a membership they wore on their chest. Gardner (2004) examined agency in relation to individuals and communities in late Roman Britain. He noted that at Caernarfon fort the percentage of personal items was significant, and suggested that these small finds were associated with the 'practices of appearing' (Gardner 2004).

5.11 Transformed Body and Small Finds

The body has a long association with small finds and areas of study include the gendered body. Allason-Jones (2005) suggested certain types of objects, such as a necklace (comprising of three silver chains of double loops and supporting in the centre an oval cornelian set) from the Aesica Hoard at Great Chesters, was representative of Roman women in Britain. This type of approach has been criticised for only providing categorical conceptualisations of gender identity. Some scholars studying other periods suggest social identities are constantly in production, and that individuals construct themselves in ways which do not subscribe to the dominant cultural definitions of womanhood or indeed malehood (e.g. Conkey and Gero 1997; Meskell 2001; Joyce 2004).

The transformed body is a means of creating identities. Bryan Turner (1984) discussed 'bodily order', and emphasised the representation of bodies in social space, which he saw was a task facing the surface of bodies. Tattooing and branding was, for instance, commonplace in Greco-Roman antiquity (Jones 1987). There are examples from scholarship that address how the body was transformed by small finds. Although not from the era under scrutiny, it was found that a later sixteenth century text discussed how Maya warriors disfigured their faces in order to seem ferocious. Jewels worked in gold and silver were placed in the holes of noses and lips to frighten the enemy in war (Geller 2003). Rosemary Joyce (2000) analysed the various practices through which different lifecycle phases were marked on the bodies of Aztec children. She noted the body was transformed by objects in order to signify gender, achievement and status within society. At the age of

four, children's ears were pierced which began a process of expanding a perforation in the ear lobe to eventually allow use of adult ear ornaments. Turning to the late Iron Age and Roman Britain, Hill (1997) saw that there are a number of toilet items associated with Roman Britain, which he argued were used to transform the body to make it appear more Romanized. He wrote that becoming Roman was not simply a political process, but also a change of being. This creation of bodily identities is similarly touched on by Carr (2001) and Crummy and Eckardt (2004).

5.12 Memory and Small Finds

Within archaeology, memory research has tended to focus on the landscape (e.g. Tilley 1994; Loney and Hoan 2005) and monuments (e.g. Williams 2004), while there has been less emphasis on artefacts. Representations and objects such as figurines possess commemorative functions. Memory can act in a twofold manner, for it is not only about remembering but about forgetting, as Eckardt (2004) noted when she considered how Rome viewed the material remains of her past. Eckardt stressed the way in which social and individual memory is selective, and can be manipulated by the presence or removal of objects or inscriptions. Williams (2003) investigated early medieval combs found in burials, and considered how they played a role through strategies of remembering and forgetting.

5.13 Conclusion

In this chapter there has been a brief discussion concerning some of the problems facing small finds research, and it has been highlighted there is still a need for further work in this area. Indeed Simon James wrote that within Roman studies, '...material culture needs to be accorded a greater standing as a starting point for research, not confined to appendices of excavation reports' (James 2003, 182). Objects are an interesting and dynamic part of our scholarship. This section has tried to summarise some of the main ways small finds (especially those found in this sample) have been studied. There was some further detailed discussion around context analysis since this is one of the main approaches in this investigation. Millar said, 'artefacts are a means by which we give form to, and come to an understanding of ourselves and others...' (Miller 1994, 397). Certainly the different material cultural studies have shown that there are many varied interactions between persons and objects within social practices.

PART II

**FINDINGS, INTERPRETATIONS AND
CONCLUSIONS**

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS TERMINOLOGY AND TEXTUAL CONVENTIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter considers how and why the different categories were chosen, and provides details of these variables. The next six chapters (7 to 11) report the findings based on details from the tables. (The rationale for the data fields can be found in Chapter 1, Sections 1.6 to 1.12 and is discussed in Chapter 12) A summary of all the result can be found in Chapter 12. Interpretations of healthiness related to the different artefacts will not be considered in these chapters. This discussion can be found in Chapter 13. A copy of the Microsoft Access Database can be found in Appendix 4.

All the tables can be found in Appendix 1.

The tables are listed by the different variable analysis with each group of small finds carrying a suffix as follows:

- Mirrors 1
- Combs 2
- Glass Unguent Containers 3
- Bronze Cosmetic Grinders 4
- Additional Toilet Items 5

The small find data-set details are referred to throughout these chapters and these are prefixed by the letters DB.

6.2 Small Finds

This relates to the individual small finds that form the data-set. These items all belong to a classified functional group and are traditionally associated with appearance, which was why they were chosen for this study (see Chapter 1, Section 1.9).

- Mirrors
- Combs
- Glass Unguent Containers (Flasks, bottles, small jars)
- Bronze Cosmetic Grinders
- Additional Toilet Items
 - Nail Cleaners
 - Tweezers
 - Toilet Spoons
 - Toilet Sets
 - Strigils
 - Spatulas
 - Stirring Rods
 - Mixing Pallets
 - Razors

Shears
Surgical Instruments
Unspecified Toilet Items
Ear Scoops
Toothpicks
Cosmetic Boxes
Cosmetic Pots
Unidentified toilet or surgical instruments

6.3 Variables

- Settlements
- Contexts
- Dates
- Associated Archaeology
- Material*
- Form*
- Type*
- Zoomorphic patterns*
- Coloured, Colourless*
- Stamped*
- Decoration*
- Covers and Cases*

*Not applicable for Additional Toilet Items

6.4 Settlements

The choice of settlements and their potential to yield comparative archaeological information was discussed in detail in Chapter 1, Section 1.7. This category relates to the main settlements that form the geographical area of the sample.

- Canterbury
- Chichester
- Colchester
- London (City and Southwark)
- Silchester
- St Albans
- Winchester

Sub-Sites

This relates to the excavated sub-sites within the settlements. (Please refer to Appendix 2 for full list). (The size of each individual excavation trench is not recorded).

6.5 Contexts

The contexts were chosen in order to represent the most common types of locations found in urban-type excavations from this period, with the intention that these might contribute to understandings of social practices within these settlements.

- Domestic Buildings (Domestic Bldgs)
 - Houses
 - Workshops
- Public Occupation Areas (Public Occup)
 - Streets
 - Temples
 - Forum
 - Basilicas
 - Baths/Gymnasia
 - Quays
- Military Buildings (Military Bldgs)
 - Forts
 - Barracks
- Graves
 - Inhumations
 - Cremations
- Cemetery Area
- Wells
- *Other features (includes features that were in-filled after abandonment)
 - Pits
 - Quarries
 - Drains
 - Ditches
 - Dumps (including waterfronts)
 - Ramparts
 - Postholes
- Unstratified/Residual
- Context Not Reported

*‘Other features’ is an accepted term in the literature (e.g. Fitzpatrick *et al* 1997; Hingley 2006) for these types of contexts. It is possible that ‘other features’ may reflect discard or structured deposition practices that include abandoning items away from the main settlement areas (see Chapter 1, Section 1.5, and Chapter 12, Section 12.3).

Please note that ‘unstratified/residual’ and ‘not reported’ categories will not be discussed in any detail throughout the following chapters.

6.6 Associated Non-Toilet Finds

A contextual approach allows for the study of the association and deposition of different object types. Given that one of the main objectives of this research is to examine a number of artefact types possibly associated with the concept of health and wellbeing, particular attention was given to contexts where some of these objects were found together. This category relates to the number of occasions (not the number of finds) non-toilet finds were found within the same context as the individual small find. Animal bone and coins that had holes drilled in them were recorded as associated jewellery, rather than associated animal bone or coins.

- Hairpins
- Jewellery
- Vessels
- Coins
- Weapons
- Other Artefacts (includes a wide range of archaeological artefacts)

6.7 Associated Human Skeletal Remains

This area of the investigation was based on the contextual relationship between the finds and the physical body. Given that the body is central to this work, it was hoped this aspect of the research would provide some interesting results. This category relates to the human bones that were found within the same context as the individual small find. This includes bone from inhumations and cremations. If the skeletal age and/or gender was recorded in the site report, this was noted in the database. For ease of reference a single ageing and sexing method was adopted for the database which allowed for the different systems used by osteoarchaeologists.

Age

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| • Neonate | Birth – 6 months |
| • Child | 6 months – 16 years |
| • Young Adult | 17-25 years |
| • Young Middle Adult | 26-35 years |
| • Middle Adult | 36-45 years |
| • Mature Adult | 45+ |
| • Adult (unspecified) | Adult Age Not Reported |

Gender

- Male
- Female
- Not Reported

6.8 Associated Animal Skeletal Remains

The remains of animals found in the same context as the small finds was included, as it was hoped some animals might be associated with aspects of good health. This category

relates to the animal bones that were found within the same context as the individual small find. It should be noted that there were only a few sites where this information was available as many reports do not include the context details in respect to animal bones.

- Bird (domestic) (other than chicken)
- Bird (wild)
- Cat
- Cattle
- Chicken
- Deer
- Dog
- Fish
- Goat
- Horse
- Pig
- Sheep

6.9 Context Dates

Since the work was taking a contextual approach, the dating was based on stratigraphic phasing. Unfortunately, a surprisingly high proportion of the finds under consideration could not be closely dated as contextual and phasing information was often not provided. This relates to the context dates of the individual small find. The end date goes slightly beyond the traditional AD 410. This is to allow for the inclusion of material that relates to the Roman type of lifestyle that sometimes continued in early fifth-century towns.

- LIA Late Iron Age (*circa* 150 BC-AD 43)
- LIA/ERB Late Iron Age and Early Romano-British (*circa* 150 BC-AD 199)
- LIA/RB Late Iron Age and Romano-British (*circa* 150 BC-AD 450)
- ERB Early Romano-British (*circa* AD 43-199)
- RB Romano-British (*circa* AD 43-450)
- LRB Late Romano-British (*circa* AD 200-450)
- Unstratified/Residual
- Context Dates Not Reported

6.10 Material

The material of a find can be useful when considering issues such as the texture, shininess and reflectivity which could be relevant to this study. This category relates to the material of the individual small find. There was no variation in material for unguent containers and cosmetic grinders in this data-set. The latter are almost exclusively bronze, and while there are a few metal and pottery unguent containers these items are rarely identified and recorded as such in the literature.

- Mirror
Speculum
Glass

- Silver
- Comb
 - Wood
 - Bone
 - Antler

6.11 Complete Items

Every group of small finds, apart from additional toilet items, were discussed as to whether they were complete or fragmented. This was important to the record, as the state of the small finds (complete or fragmented) may have occurred due to functional, social, economic and religious reasons in the past. However these states could also be attributed to issues of preservation. This category includes all small finds that were approximately more than 70% complete. The different parts of the cosmetic grinders (pestle and mortar) were all complete and therefore the analysis for this section of the data refers to whether the cosmetic grinders belonged to a complete set.

6.12 Forms

This variable was included since the shape of an item can be considered alongside the other attributes of a find, such as type and decoration, which may contribute to their function and use within society by the ‘self’, or the ‘other’. The small finds for this study were investigated by using a classification scheme for forms that would allow them to be compared with each other, and the finds that lent themselves to this were mirrors, combs and bronze cosmetic grinders. The many and varied forms of glass unguent containers were not recorded individually in this data-set. This meant that the finer elements of classifications, utilised by finds specialists, were not used.

- Mirrors
 - Circular
 - Rectangular
 - Not Reported
- Combs
 - Single Piece
 - Composite Piece
 - Not Reported
- Bronze Cosmetic Grinders
 - Mortar
 - Pestle
 - Sets

6.13 Types

This category complimented the section on forms, and was undertaken for the same reasons. The small finds for this study were investigated by using a typological classification scheme that would allow them to be compared with each other, and the finds that lent themselves to this were mirrors and combs. The many and varied types of glass

unguent containers and bronze cosmetic grinders were not recorded individually in this data-set. This meant that the finer elements of classifications, utilised by finds specialists, were not used.

- Mirrors
 - Handles
 - Box Lid
 - Not Reported
- Combs
 - Single-Sided
 - Double-Sided
 - Not Reported

6.14 Zoomorphic Types

This category complimented the section on types, but with the emphasis on animals. All small finds are considered under this category. The shapes listed are those that were found on the material in the data-set.

- Bird
- Cat
- Cattle
- Dragon
- Horse
- Marine
- Animal
- Not Reported

6.15 Coloured and Colourless

The colour of artefacts is a known to contribute to the study of social archaeology. It was hoped that this variable would provide such a connection. It is recognised that colour is a complex area to categorise. Science has measured colour and suggested colour perception is universal, although the phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty (1962) argued that the judgement of a colour relating to an object was based on features such as lighting. In the case of glass it is also dependant on the thickness of an item (Price and Cottam 1998). This ambiguity led to the decision to have three variables for this section (coloured, colourless and not reported) a division used by some publications. The findings relate to the colour of the glass which forms the unguent containers (not the colour of the applied decoration). There were no instances when mirrors, combs, bronze cosmetic grinders or additional toilet items were coloured, so these were not included in this analysis.

- Glass Unguent Containers
 - Coloured
 - Colourless
 - Not Reported

6.16 Stamped

The purpose of including the stamped element within this study was that it might reveal an inscription that could be associated with practices of good health. This category refers to inscriptions or manufacturers' marks. There were no instances where mirrors, bronze cosmetic grinders or additional toilet items were stamped, so these were not included in this analysis.

- Combs
 Yes
 No
- Glass Unguent Containers
 Yes
 No

6.17 Decoration

Decoration provides visual cues which can act as in a symbolic manner, which might lend support to this investigation. All small finds are considered under this category. This section does not follow a typological approach, but for ease of analysis, divides the decoration into abstract, circular, abstract and circular, and pictorial.

- Circular (recorded as decorated in the database)
- Abstract
- Circular and Abstract (recorded as both in the database)
- Pictorial
- No Decoration/No Reported

6.18 Cases and Covers

Covers or cases are often used to maintain the good condition of an item, which may suggest it has some economic or social value. Mirrors were the only small find to have covers in this data-set. Combs sometimes have covers, but there were none in this sample.

- Mirrors
 Frames
 Covers

CHAPTER 7

MIRROR FINDINGS

7.1 Settlements and Mirrors

This sample of mirrors from the proto-urban and urban sites of the south-east of Britain consists of 121 examples. Fifty-three (44%) of the 121, mirrors, came from London, while St Albans produced the second highest frequency (23 or 19%) (Table 1-1). Only three mirrors have been reported from Silchester. If the mirrors from London and St Albans are added together, then their cumulative total (63%) is much higher than that of Canterbury, Chichester and Colchester combined (29%) (Table 2-1).

London had the highest mirror count, and it may be that the extensive excavations in the city and Southwark partly account for these large numbers. St Albans also seemed to be particularly rich in mirrors. It would seem both these settlements are the main towns in relation to the overall frequency of mirrors in this sample.

7.2 Contexts and Mirrors

Mirrors are associated with every context, except military buildings. The mirrors in this sample were mostly found in ‘other features’ and graves with only Silchester and Winchester not having any mirrors from these locations. Mirrors were found in graves from both of these sites (one from Silchester and four from Winchester). Indeed, every settlement that was considered produced at least one mirror from burials (Table 3-1.). Nine mirrors came from areas of domestic buildings. Only one from Victoria Road, Winchester, was discovered in a well. When two mirrors were found together in one context, the findings show that all occurred in graves, except in two cases where these items were located in ‘other features’ from St Albans (Table 4-1).

Graves and ‘other features’ dominate the contextual findings. Six mirrors were, for instance, found at the Eastern Cemetery, London (DB 845-DB 850) (Barber and Bowsher 2000), six from the late Iron Age cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (DB 766-DB 771) (Stead and Rigby 1989), four from St Pancras cemetery, Chichester (DB 43, DB 44, DB 46 and DB 47) (Down and Rule 1971), and four from Victoria Road, Winchester (DB 33-DB 36) (Rees *et al* 2008). There were four occasions when two mirrors were found together in the same graves, three occurrences from London, DB 848 and DB 849, DB 846 and DB 847, Eastern Cemetery, DB 1139 and DB 1140, West Tenter Street, but also one, DB 35 and DB 36, from Winchester, Victoria Road (Whytehead 1986; Barber and Bowsher 2000; Rees *et al* 2008).

While it is generally known that late Iron Age and Roman mirrors were often found in graves, slightly less attention has been paid to mirrors from ‘other features’. Lloyd-Morgan (1977a) does not mention any of these types of contexts in her overview of Roman mirrors. The mirrors from ‘other features’ in this sample came from quarries, ditches, and dumps. Some mirrors from this data-set were also associated with domestic buildings and

public areas. For example, there was one mirror, DB 680, which was found in a timber framed strip building at Insula 14, St Albans (Frere 1972), three mirrors were retrieved from buildings in Roman Southwark, London, DB 1387, DB 826 and DB 948 (Schwab 1978; Drummond-Murray *et al* 2002; Cowan 2003a), with another three, DB 1308, DB 1312, and DB 1313, from Leadenhall Court, London (Milne and Wardle 1993; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). One of the mirrors from Leadenhall Court, DB 1313, was retrieved from a latrine (Milne and Wardle 1993).

7.3 Context Dates and Mirrors

In relation to dates, a total of seven mirrors came from late Iron Age or late Iron Age/early Roman contexts, and these formed only 6% of the total sample (Table 5-1). Early Roman deposits produced the largest number of mirrors from this analysis (43). In contrast, there is less evidence of their continued use and deposition in third and fourth century features, with only ten from this data-set that could be related to these periods. This needs to be considered in light of the 18 mirrors that can only be dated to an unspecified Roman period, some of which may be of a late date. Turning to the specific contexts relating to the dates, all seven late Iron Age and late Iron Age/early Roman mirrors were found in graves. Although still occurring in early Roman grave contexts (12), they have been more commonly found in ‘other features’ (19). Five late Roman and six undated Roman mirrors also came from ‘other features’. Only two mirrors were found in late Roman graves (Table 5-1).

Mirrors seem to have remained popular from the late Iron Age through to the early Roman periods in major urban settlements. The British Series of late Iron Age mirrors from south-east Britain includes an example from Aston, Hertfordshire (Rook *et al* 1982), as well as the two mirrors in this sample, one, DB 1507, from Latchmere Green, Silchester, Hampshire (Fulford and Creighton 1998), and the other DB 1513 from Hyderabad Barracks, Colchester (Sealey 2006). There were also incidentally a number of mirrors in the British series from the West Country and Wales, such as one from Birdlip, Gloucestershire and Portesham, Dorset (Fox and Pollard 1973; Fitzpatrick 1996). In this analysis, early Romano-British deposits produced the largest number of mirrors. This finding is not unusual since one of the major exporters of mirrors to the provinces, the Nijmegen workshops in the lower Rhine regions, began trading and exporting during the early first century AD. Mirrors became a rare luxury item by the fourth century (Lloyd Morgan 1981), and this trend appears to be reflected in this sample. The majority of mirrors from this dataset came from late Iron Age/early Romano-British graves. Indeed it has been noted that in the first century BC mirrors were usually deposited in these contexts (Green 1996). There is more variation in the early Roman period when mirrors are more commonly found in ‘other features’, domestic buildings, and areas of public occupation. This might reflect a spread of their use to a large proportion of the urban population, which could in turn be associated with a broader concern with personal appearance.

7.4 Associated Small Finds and Mirrors

From all the other the small finds in this sample, glass unguent containers were the most common items found with a mirror. However given that unguent containers form the largest number of small finds in the dataset (614), the total number of direct associations with mirrors is low (four), and they were all from graves (Table 6-1). Fifteen additional toilet items were found in association with mirrors (Table 7-1). The most common artefacts in this group were nail cleaners (three), toilet spoons (three), and stirring rods (three), and there was also one complete toilet set (chatelaine). ‘Other features’ were the most common places to find mirrors and toilet items together, although public areas revealed three items (two of the three stirring rods and the one toilet set) with mirrors. Mirrors and additional toilet items have not been found together in graves (Table 7-1). Two of the pairs of mirrors deposited together in graves were found in association with glass unguent containers (Table 8-1). Overall, 19 associated small finds were found with mirrors (Table 6-1).

Of the relatively few toilet items that were found with mirrors (three), two of the stirring rods, DB 1301 and DB 1302, and a toilet set or chatelaine, DB 1306 (for detailed discussions on chatelaines see Chapter 11, Section 11.1), were found with one mirror on a road at Leadenhall Court, London (London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online; Milne and Wardle 1993). As noted above, glass unguent containers were only found with mirrors in graves, and when two mirrors were found together in these contexts (DB 846 and DB 847, at the Eastern Cemetery, and DB 1139 and DB 1140, West Tenter Street, London) they were both accompanied with glass unguent containers (DB 856 and DB 857, Eastern Cemetery (Barber and Bowsher 2000), and DB 1141, West Tenter Street (Whytehead 1986)). Combs and cosmetic grinders were never associated with mirrors, suggesting that these items might have been used separately.

7.5 Associated Non-Toilet Finds and Mirrors

Table 9-1 shows that graves feature very strongly as contexts where non-toilet finds were associated with mirrors (42 of the 82 occasions), but there was also a range of other different contexts. In 15 cases vessels were associated with mirrors in graves. Jewellery (11) and coins (five) were the other two significant types of objects. The ‘other artefacts’ category was large (29) and included a diverse range of items, some of which will be considered below.

Given that burial contexts were common, the plentiful number of pottery and glass vessels may be attributed to the Roman practice of eating and drinking at the grave side on the day of burial, and placing the items into the grave. In some cases these items may have acted as cremation urns. The body may have been dressed for the burial or cremation, which could explain the inclusion of jewellery. The two pairs of mirrors (DB 846, DB 847, DB 1139 and DB 1140) associated with unguent containers from the Eastern Cemetery and West Tenter Street, London, also included jewellery and coins. There was also a large square glass bottle and a bone box hinge in the Eastern Cemetery grave. Since the hinge was found in the same area as the two mirrors, the authors have speculated that a box made

of wood or bone (which had subsequently decayed) originally held both mirrors (Whytehead 1986; Barber and Bowsher 2000). The mirror found in a cremation grave at Cranmer House, London Road, Canterbury, DB 989, was also found with bone or antler inlay probably from a box. However in this case the mirror was found as a lid over the vessel containing the cremation, so it is not clear whether this box would have been used to hold the mirror (Frere *et al* 1987). In another example from this data-set where a mirror acted as a cover for cremated bones (DB 44, St Pancras Cemetery, Chichester), no box was present (Down and Rule 1971). In a waterfront dump (W4, context 698) Governor's House, London, part of a mirror (DB 810) was deposited with a pipe-clay figurine of Venus. The other finds in this context included a plain bracelet, finger rings, a writing eraser, a lamp, fasteners and fittings including a possible piece of military belt, pieces from a glass bottle, as well as a few fragments of metalworking waste (Brigham and Woodger 2001).

7.6 Associated Human Skeletal Remains and Mirrors

Given that graves feature strongly in the discussion, it is not surprising that human bones were quite commonly associated with mirrors. (There was only one case where human skeletal remains were not found in a grave.) This is not noted in the tables, but will be considered below). Of the 14 burials with mirrors, six were female, three male and five were of unknown sex (Table 10-1). Only five individuals could be accurately aged. All age ranges were represented with the exception of children and mature adults (Table 11-1). In the estimated age of individuals from this sample, four were adults and five not reported. When two burials were associated with one mirror, all of the graves contained an adult accompanied by a younger person. In these cases the gender was not known for any of the individuals involved (Table 12-1).

Although 14 human skeletons were found with mirrors, it was not a particularly high count given the total of 121 mirrors. The number of female burials associated with mirrors was double that of the male. It is worth noting that there were three instances where mirrors (DB 846 and DB 847, DB 767 and DB 988) were deposited in male graves, and that all these cases related to different towns (London, St Albans, Canterbury).

As regards age, the mirrors in this sample were rarely found in graves that contained either children buried alone or older adults. The limited number of children, particularly the very young, may partly be explained by the fact that their bones do not always survive. However, there was one example of bones from a neonate, or very young child placed in a pit (pit 4, late first and early second century levels), Rosemary Lane Car Park, Canterbury Castle) with a mirror fragment, DB 984, a spindle whorl and a complete pot. The pit was cut from a horizon of dark silt that extended eastwards from a street (V). There was another pit nearby that similarly contained the bones of a very young individual, although no mirror was found there (Bennett *et al* 1982). It may be that young children were poorly represented because they were not often buried in Roman cemeteries (some baby remains have been found underneath Roman villas such as those from Beddingham and Bignor, West Sussex), and infanticide may have occasionally been practised in Roman Britain

(Mays 1993; Waldron *et al* 1999). Occasionally mirrors have been placed with an older adult, as was the case with the Portesham mirror, Dorset, and the mirror from a burial at Westhampnett, West Sussex (but neither were part of this data-set) (Fitzpatrick 1996; Fitzpatrick *et al* 1997).

In respect to multiple burials with mirrors, it is worth noting that in one case Cramer House, London Road, Canterbury, DB 989, some of the bones were mixed up, so it is not clear whether an adult and young adult were buried together, although they were included as such in the data-set (Table 12.1) (Frere *et al* 1987). In the other two cases (DB 1507, Latchmere Green, Silchester (Fulford and Creighton 1998), and DB 768, Iron Age cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989)) the burials consisted of an adult accompanied with a young individual. In the latter case the mirror was placed outside the burial vessel which contained the bones (Stead and Rigby 1989). The practice of burying neonates or children with an adult is known in the late Iron Age and Roman world. For example, two definite, and one possible dual burial of immature individuals with an adult were recorded at the Iron Age cemetery at Westhampnett, West Sussex. This was a pattern that was replicated in the Roman cremation cemetery at the same site (Fitzpatrick *et al* 1997). The inclusion of mirrors in these cases is much rarer.

7.7 Associated Animal Skeletal Remains and Mirrors

If we consider London, St Albans and Silchester in Table 13-1, pig bones were most commonly found with mirrors, with three occurrences from graves and one from 'other features'. Wild bird remains were recovered from a grave at the late Iron Age cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans, and some chicken bones were found with two mirrors in one grave, Eastern Cemetery, London. One mirror find was associated with numerous animal bones from 'other features', Governor's House, London. Another mirror, also from Governor's House, was associated with deer bones. There was no evidence of dog, cat or domestic birds (other than chicken).

Of the material summarised above, the late Iron Age cremation burials at King Harry Lane, St Albans included two graves where pig bones were found with mirrors, DB 766 and DB 767, and indeed most of the cremated animal bones that accompanied the other human cremations at this site were also from pig (Stead and Rigby 1989). All the identifiable animal bones from the Silchester case at Latchmere Green, DB 1507, were from pig (Fulford and Creighton 1998). It is not uncommon to find late Iron Age or Roman burials with pig bones. A mirror was also found with a large part of a pig (which may have been jointed) in the grave of a female at Portesham, Dorset (as noted earlier, the details from this burial did not form part of this sample) (Fitzpatrick 1996). A number of pig remains were retrieved from graves at the late Iron Age cemetery (and in one possible case a Roman burial), at Westhampnett, West Sussex (Fitzpatrick *et al* 1997), as well as at Whitcombe, Dorset (Aitken and Aitken 1991), although there were no mirrors present with these particular depositions. It may be that these animal bones had been placed in graves as they formed part of a cemetery feast, or were food offerings to the dead.

This might also have been the case for a chicken skeleton that was found together with two mirrors, DB 848 and DB 849, in a cremation burial at the Eastern Cemetery, London, (Barber and Bowsher 2000), and for the bird remains discovered with a mirror, DB 767, at the late Iron Age Cemetery, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989). An assortment of animal bone was recovered from the London waterfront site, Governor's House. A large amount of material was present in a deposit from a revetment infill, which as well as a mirror DB 809, included pig, chicken and cattle. The only example of deer associated with a mirror, DB 810, was represented by a sawn antler tine from the same area, which was thought to come from industrial waste (Brigham and Woodger 2001).

7.8 Mirror Material

Regrettably due to a surprising lack of information in the published reports we do not know the type of material that 37 mirrors from this sample were made from (Table 14-1). Of those that were described, the majority 81 or 67% of the total mirrors were made of speculum, a mixture of high tin (18-21%) and bronze with varying amounts of lead. All the towns considered had at least two or more mirrors made of this material (Table 14-1). Speculum mirrors were found in a wide range of contexts, but the highest numbers occurred in graves. The single mirror that was associated with a well was also made of speculum (Table 15-1). This sample only produced two examples of glass mirrors, both from a grave (at the Eastern Cemetery, London). The only silver/bronze mirror in this data-set was not found in a grave, but in 'other features' (Table 15-1).

Only 15 complete (or substantially complete) mirrors were found from the main settlements, and these were all from graves. 'Other features' contexts produced most of the fragmented mirrors (33), although eighteen fragmented mirrors also came from graves (Table 16-1). The type of material of one complete mirror was not reported. Within the multiple mirror collection, the two mirrors found in grave 197, Eastern Cemetery, London were made of different materials, one from speculum and one from glass (Table 17-1). Examining the mirror material in relation to context and dates confirms that speculum mirrors dominated all periods (Table 18-1).

Speculum mirrors have a silvery white metal appearance (Craddock *et al* 1989; Caple 2006). They were widespread across the Continent during the Roman period (most likely exported from Northern Italy), and it is therefore not surprising that speculum was the most common material in this sample (Lloyd-Morgan 1977c). For example the mirror from Latchmere Green near Silchester, DB 1507, was made of this material (Figure 13) (Fulford and Creighton 1998). Far rarer are glass mirrors. They have also been found on the Continent, such as those from the Nijmegen collection, and a number have been reported from Ospringe, Kent, and there is a good example from York (Lloyd Morgan 1977a; 1981). Many were probably imported from the glass houses of Cologne (Lloyd Morgan 1977a). Glass is a fragile material and, given that the glass used in these mirrors was very thin, the chances of survival is low, which probably partly explains the small numbers in this sample. A complete glass mirror, DB 846, was retrieved in a grave at the Eastern Cemetery, London (Figure 14) (Barber and Bowsher 2000).

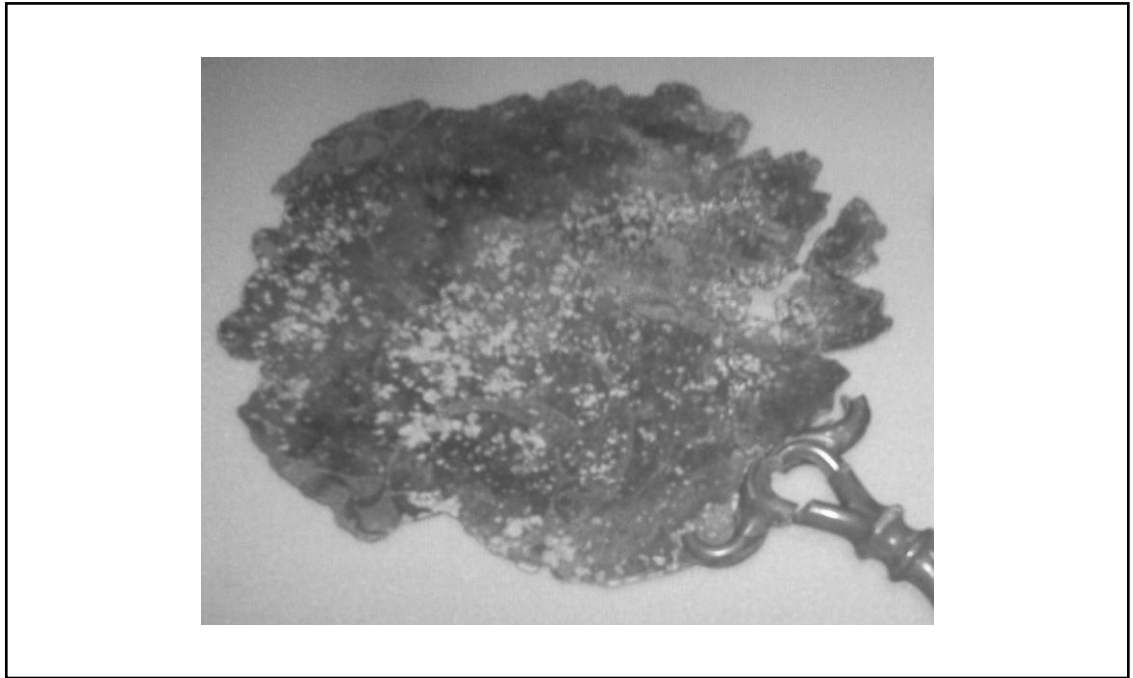


Figure 13 Speculum mirror, DB 1507, Latchmere Green near Silchester (Author's photograph, taken with the kind permission of the Museum of the Iron Age, Andover, Hampshire.)

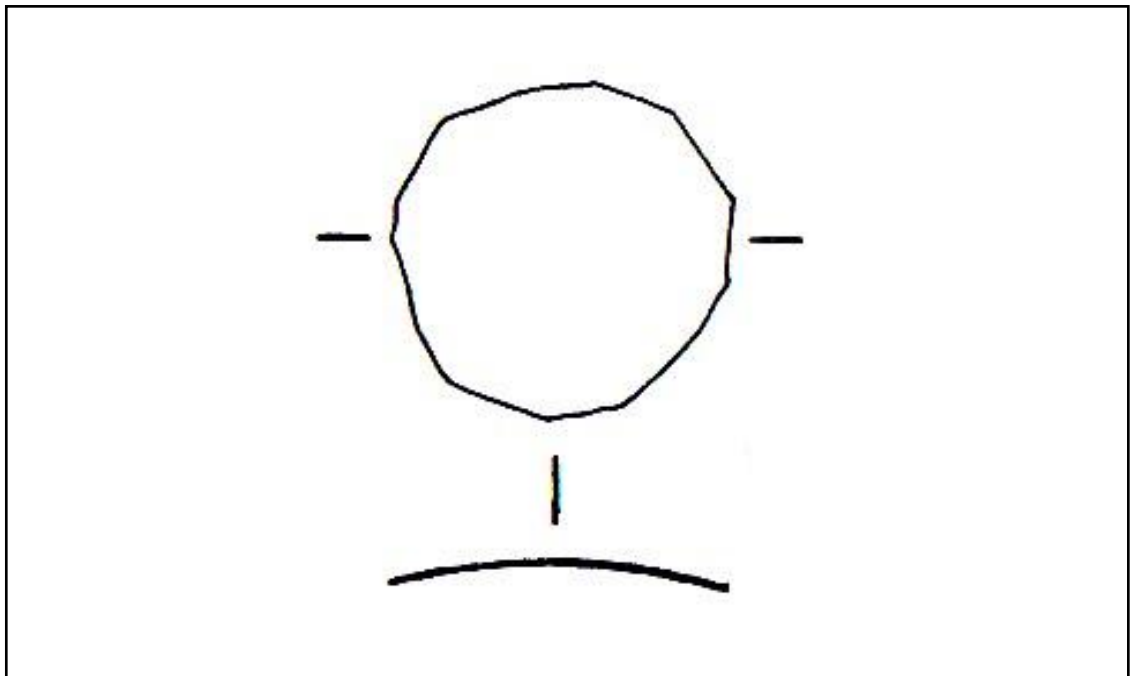


Figure 14 Glass disc mirror that probably had a frame, DB 846, Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 155).

The only silver/bronze mirror in this dataset was not found in a grave, but in a pit. The mirror, DB 1485, was discovered during a small excavation at 147, Lexden Road, Colchester, and there was no illustration (Brasier 1985). Silver mirrors are uncommon, although there are examples from Corbridge, Northumberland (Lloyd-Morgan 1977b), Infirmary Field, Chester (Allason-Jones 2005), and Backworth, Northumbria (Frere *et al* 1987). They are more often associated with the Continent, with a number of elaborate examples from Pompeii and Herculaneum (Lloyd-Morgan 1977c). These mirrors were probably regarded as luxury items, which makes it unusual to find one included in a pit.

Speculum mirrors can be brittle, but although not explicit in Table 16-1, 14 of the 15 complete examples were made of this material (Craddock *et al* 1989). Probably due to the nature of disposal, 'other features' produced most of the fragmented mirrors. However, as noted above 18 fragmented mirrors came from graves, and although some of these were probably broken after deposition, some may have been deliberately broken at or before they were placed with the burial. This may have been the case regarding a mirror, DB 769, from a cremation burial Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans, which seems to have been ritually 'killed' (Stead and Rigby 1989). It is difficult to explain why two mirrors placed in one grave would be made of different material, one from speculum and one from glass as was the case with DB 846 and DB 847, from the Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000). Glass mirrors have been seen as cheaper alternatives to speculum, but given that a speculum mirror accompanied the glass piece, that was unlikely to be a concern here. Finally it is acknowledged that some mirrors could be viewed as composite items since they had wooden frames. However, covers and cases were investigated separately, and were not, in this case, viewed as being integral to the mirror material.

7.9 Mirror Forms

Moving onto forms, the mirrors were divided into circular (disc) and rectangular. If the total percentage is considered, 58% were not reported as having any defined shape, and of the remainder about 31% were circular and 11% were rectangular. Circular forms have been found in all the towns surveyed. Although rectangular mirrors are generally rarer than circular specimens, five come from Chichester, the only settlement where they outnumber circular mirrors. Rectangular mirrors have not been found at Silchester and St Albans, but in the case of the latter settlement, the number of 'not reported' examples at this site was quite large (20) (Table 19-1). Circular mirrors were strongly associated with graves (15) and 'other features' (11), although six did come from domestic buildings and public areas. The rectangular mirrors were found in graves (6) and 'other features' (4), with the remaining three in unstratified locations (Table 20-1).

Victoria Road, Winchester and West Tenter Street, London both had graves where two deposited mirrors differed in form, one being circular and the other rectangular. Two circular mirrors were associated with one grave in London (Table 21-1). Twenty-nine of the speculum mirrors were circular, whereas 11 were rectangular. One glass mirror was circular in shape (Table 22-1). Turning to date and form, only one circular mirror was

found in a late Iron Age context and none were rectangular. The majority of both forms, (18 circular and six rectangular) came from the early Roman period, but only one circular mirror was from a late Roman date (Table 23-1).

Circular mirrors seem to be the most common form throughout the late Iron Age and Roman period, so this finding is reflecting the trend (Lloyd-Morgan 1981). A complete circular mirror, DB 637, was recovered from the Lower Slope, Folly Lane, St Albans (Figure 15) (Niblett 1999). There were also a number of rectangular mirror forms (13), such as the example from Cattlemarket, Chichester, DB 285 (Figure 16) (Down 1989), and indeed rectangular mirrors have been recorded from other towns outside the area, such as Roman Chester (Lloyd-Morgan 1977c). Two mirrors (one circular, DB 36, and one rectangular, DB 35) were located together in a burial at Victoria Road, Winchester (Rees *et al* 2008), and this pattern was seen again with DB 1139 and DB 1140, in a grave at West Tenter Street, London (Whytehead 1986).

7.10 Mirror Types

Only 13 mirrors, 11% of the total (121), were found with handles. Chichester was the only town where these have not been positively reported (Table 24-1). There was only one example of a handled mirror in a domestic building, with the large majority coming from graves (eight). Three handled mirrors were associated with ‘other features’ (Table 25-1). Table 26-1 shows there were no sites where two mirrors with handles were found in the same context. The only handled mirror retrieved with another mirror was the example from Victoria Road, Winchester, whilst the only box lid mirror found with another mirror came from the West Tenter Street site in London (Table 26-1). All the handled mirrors, where the material was reported, were speculum (ten), and 11 handled mirrors were circular, (Tables 27-1 and 28-1). As noted with other analyses of mirrors, most of the handled types were from the earlier periods. Six of the handled mirrors belonged to the early Roman period, with only one recovered from each of the late Iron Age/early Roman, Roman and Late Roman periods. There was one unstratified example (Table 29-1).

Therefore, a fairly small proportion of the total numbers of mirrors in the data-set were handled. The fact that most came from graves might again be due to their better preservation in these contexts. One of the mirrors in this sample, DB 637, from the Lower Slope, Folly Lane, St Albans, was from a grave and had a complete and intact handle (Figure 15) (Niblett 1999). Some handled mirrors are quite large and it has been suggested that these were hung up on a wall, rather than held (Fox and Pollard, 1973). There were two examples in this data-set of mirrors with a handle on the back, DB 765 and DB 1567, and these come from the Roman cremation cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989), and the Roman cemetery at Westgate Court Farm, Canterbury (Bennett 1983; Lloyd Morgan 1984). (This latter mirror can be seen in Figure 17) In addition, one of the mirrors, DB 847, Eastern Cemetery, London, belonged to a group that had a handle across the back. However the handle on this mirror is now missing and therefore could not be included in this section of the survey (Barber and Bowsher 2000). There is only one example of a handled (hand) mirror in a domestic setting, DB 1312. This was from



Figure 15 Circular, handled mirror, with concentric circular decoration, DB 637, Lower Slope, Folly Lane, St Albans (Niblett 1999, 304).

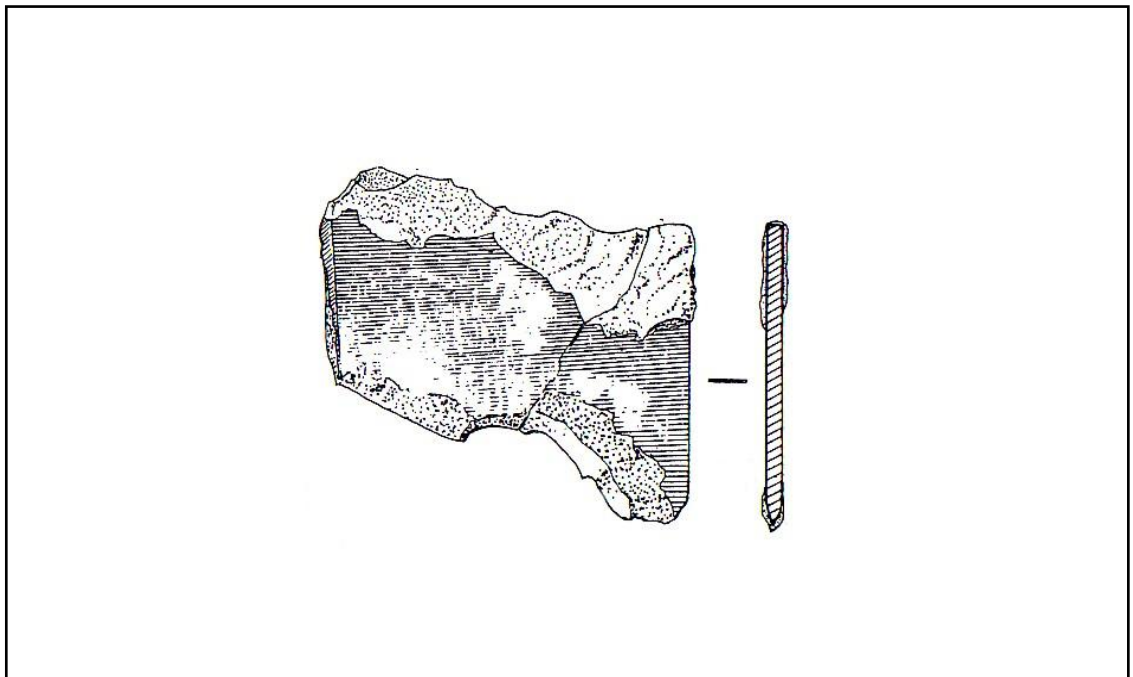


Figure 16 Rectangular mirror, DB 285, Cattlemarket, Chichester (Down 1989, 199).

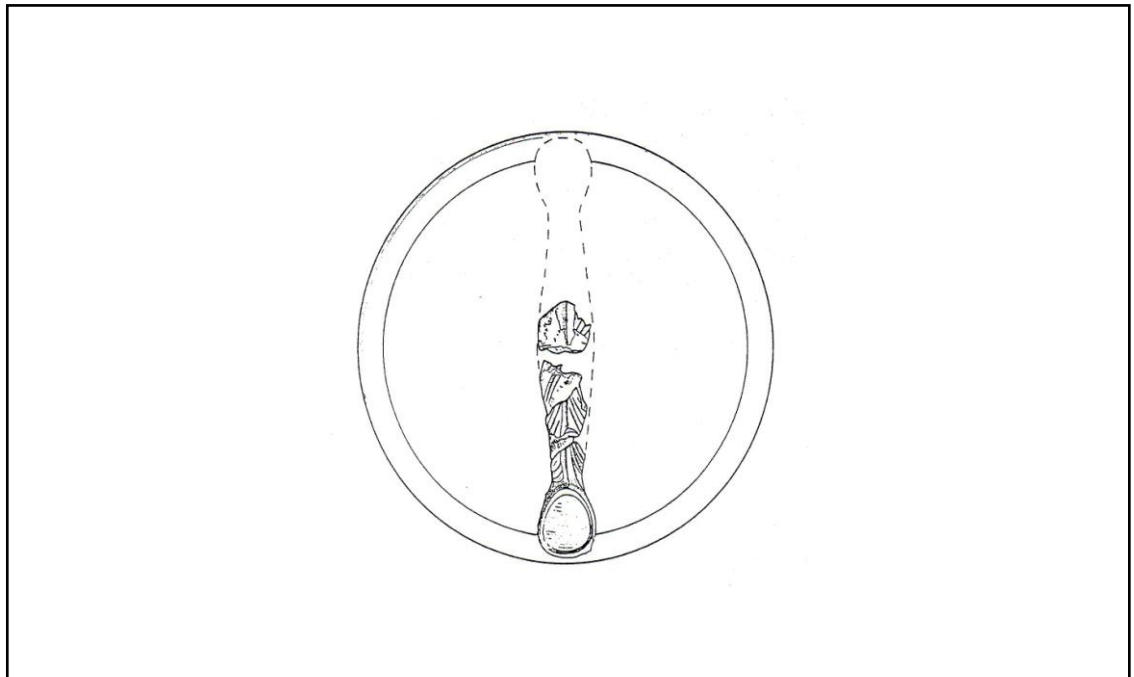


Figure 17 Mirror with a handle on the back, DB 1567, Westgate Court Farm, Canterbury (Bennett 1983, 6).

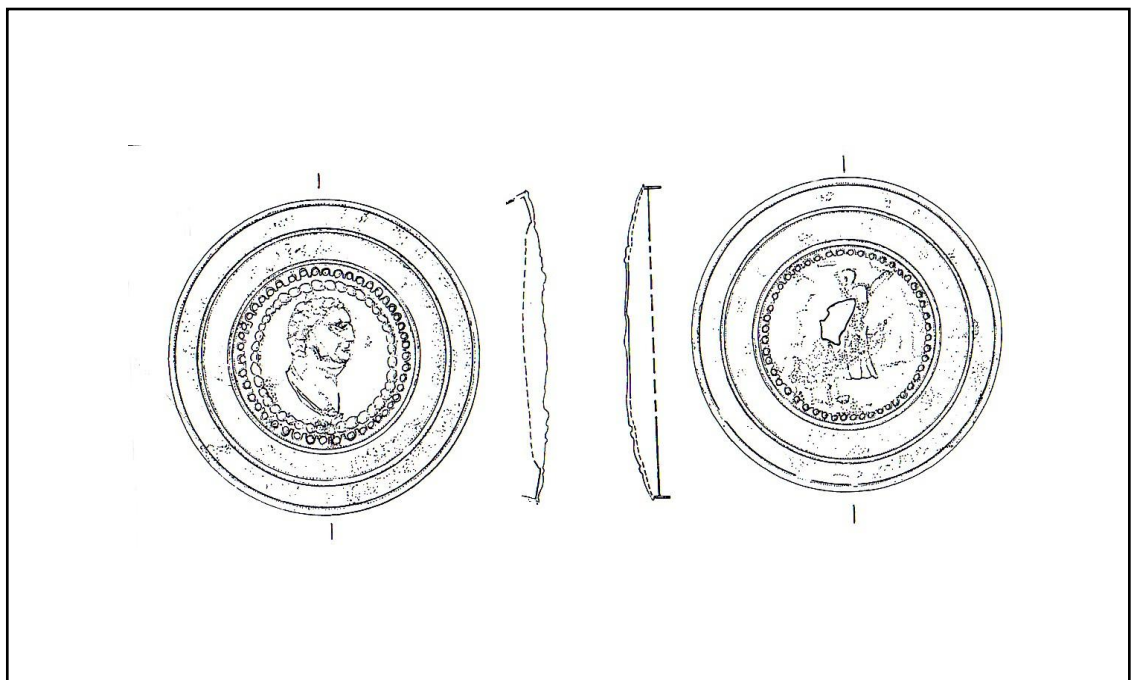


Figure 18 Box lid mirror with pictorial decoration, the Emperor Nero's head is on one side, whilst the other depicts a figure of Victory, DB 1139, West Tenter Street, London (Whytehead 1986, 90).

building 7, Leadenhall Court, London, which had been part of a strip building (Milne and Wardle 1993). The circular mirror, DB 36 (found with a rectangular mirror) in a grave at Victoria Road, Winchester, was a handled type (Rees *et al* 2008), whilst the only example of a box lid mirror, DB 1139 (Figure 18), came from a burial at West Tenter Street, London where a second rectangular mirror, DB 1140, was found (Whytehead 1986). It is not unusual to find that the handled mirrors in this sample were mostly circular and that they were made of speculum, since many would have been used as hand-held items.

7.11 Mirrors Zoomorphic Types

One mirror, DB 36, from a grave at Victoria Road Winchester has a zoomorphic style of handle, which has two dragons, leading to the suggestion that the style was part of the 'Celtic' mirror tradition, and similar to dragonesque brooches (Figure 19) (Rees *et al* 2008). Elsewhere a zoomorphic handled mirror is reported from the collection at Chester, although in this case it was in the form of birds-heads (Lloyd-Morgan 1977c).

7.12 Mirrors Decoration

While London yielded the largest amount of decorated mirrors (eight out of a total of 22), five were retrieved from both Canterbury and Colchester. No decorated mirrors were found, or at least none reported from Chichester and Winchester (Table 49-1). This table also shows that the most common decorative features were circular, with a total of 17 (14%). Turning to Table 50-1, although decorated mirrors were most prevalent in 'other features' (6), they were also common in graves (5). If domestic buildings and areas of public occupation are considered together, there were four examples of mirrors with circular decoration. There were fewer abstract decorated mirrors, with domestic buildings and graves yielding only one at each. The only pictorial mirror (from West Tenter Street, London) was associated with a grave. In respect to the instances of multiple depositions of mirrors, the pictorial example from West Tenter Street, London, was found with an undecorated mirror, and there was one instance when a mirror (from the Eastern Cemetery, London site) with a circular design was found with a mirror that did not have any decoration (Table 51-1).

Eighteen of the 22 decorated mirrors were made from speculum, with the material of the other four not reported (Table 52-1). None of the rectangular mirrors were decorated, while 15 circular forms of mirrors had circular decoration. In addition, the remaining five decorated mirrors (four abstract and one pictorial) were also circular forms (Table 53-1). In Table 54-1 it can be seen that five handled mirrors had some form of decoration, three circular and two abstract. The only pictorial example came from the box lid mirror from West Tenter Street, London. The single zoomorphic type of mirror did not have any other decoration (Table 55-1). Chronologically ten mirrors with circular decoration came from the early Roman period, while only one was from a later date (from the Roman burials, King Harry Lane, St Albans). The other four Roman examples were not assigned to any specific period. One abstract mirror came from the late Iron Age and early Roman period (Latchmere Green, Silchester), with another two examples from the early centuries AD.

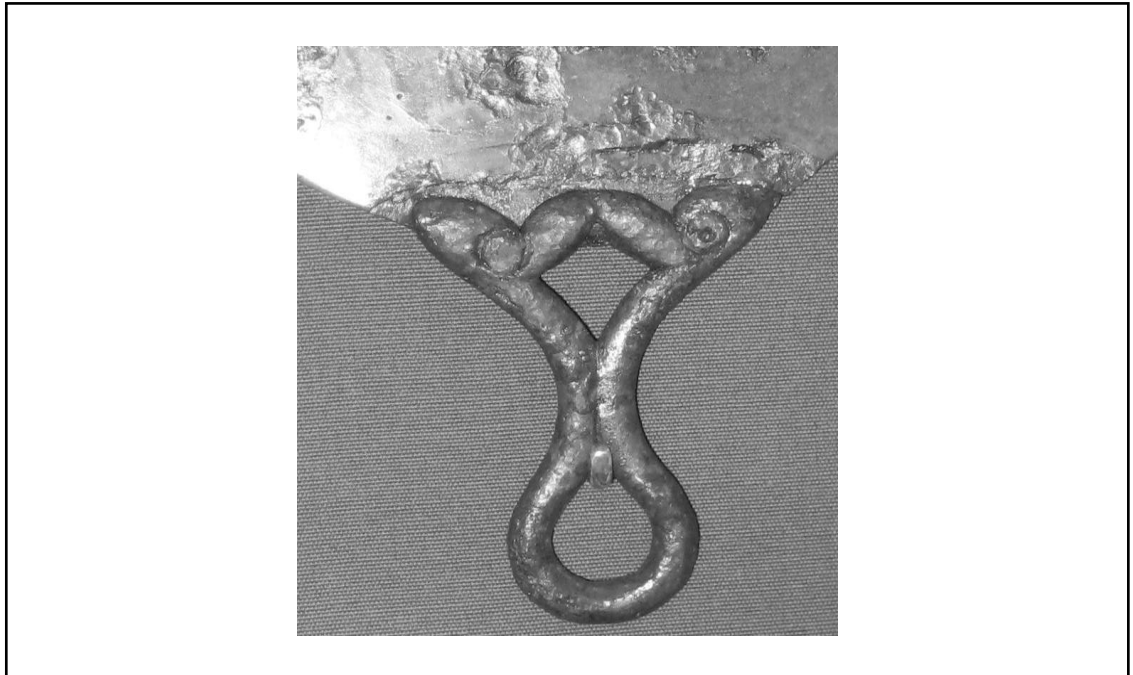


Figure 19 Zoomorphic mirror handle of confronting dragons with joined snouts, DB 36, Victoria Road, Winchester. (Author's own photograph, taken with kind permission of Winchester Museum Service.)

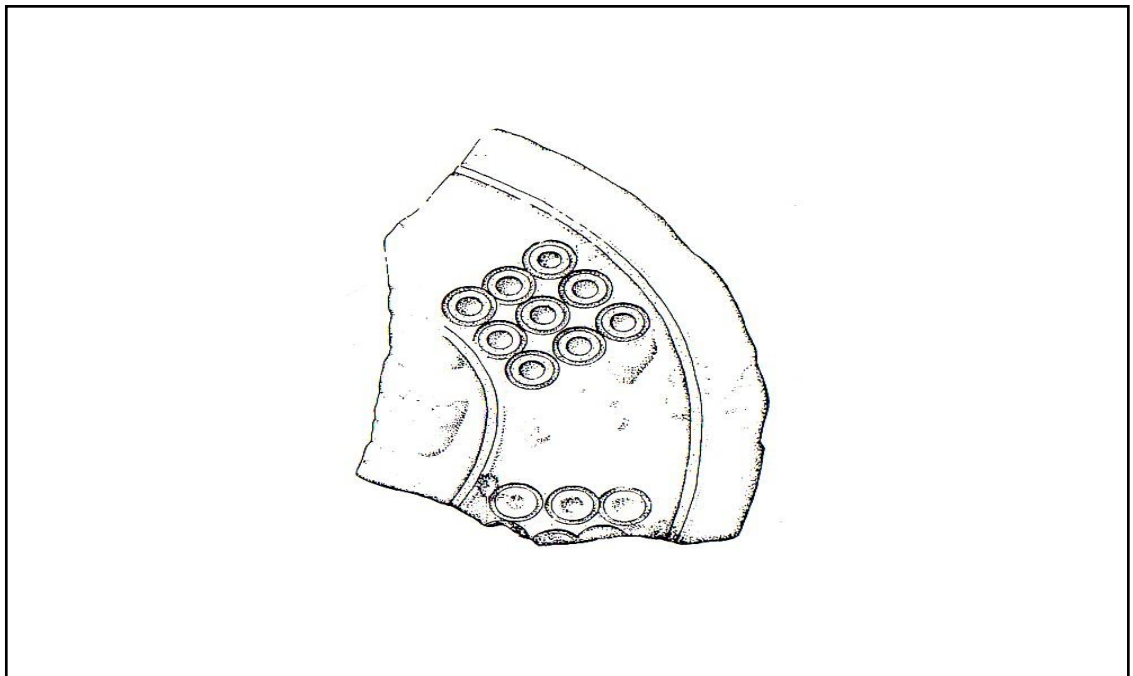


Figure 20 Mirror piece with multiple (circular) ring-and-dot decoration, DB 571, Culver Street, Colchester (Crummy 1992, 153).

The pictorial mirror (from West Tenter Street, London) was also dated to this period (Table 58-1).

The majority of the decorated mirrors therefore had a circular design. Many had one or more concentric circles on the inside of the mirror or on the edge (e.g. DB 637, Lower Slope, Folly Lane, St Albans (Figure 15) (Niblett 1999). The others had various ring-and-dot styles (e.g. DB 571, Culver Street, Colchester (Figure 20) (Crummy N. 1992), and DB 826 from the settlements, Southwark (Figure 21) (Drummond-Murray *et al* 2002), although many examples were not illustrated. There were no mirrors with elaborate borders such as those with garlands (see Lloyd-Morgan 1981). From the abstract decorated examples, the Colchester Barracks mirror, DB 1513, had regular incised lines and curved zigzags (Figure 22) (Sealey 2006), whilst the Silchester, Latchmere Green piece, DB 1507, was decorated with a typical late Iron Age style of basket whirligig (Figure 23) (Fulford and Creighton 1998). The one pictorial mirror, DB 1139, from West Tenter Street, London shows the same design as an obverse and reverse of a coin. The Emperor Nero's head is on one side, whilst the other depicts a figure of Victory (Figure 18) (Whytehead 1986).

Once again there are two instances where mirrors were placed in the same grave, but varied in appearance. Firstly the pictorial mirror, DB 1139, from West Tenter Street, was associated with a complete plain mirror (Whytehead 1986), and secondly the mirror with circular decoration (two concentric circles), DB 847, from a grave at the Eastern Cemetery, was found with an almost complete undecorated piece, DB 846 (Barber and Bowsher 2000). None of the decorated mirrors were made from materials other than speculum. This would seem reasonable as the addition of lead to the high tin-bronze mix makes the molten metal more fluid. This in turn facilitates the machining to produce the decorations (Craddock *et al* 1989). This was possibly made easier by a circular form. Finally, the context dates reveal that only one decorated mirror, DB 1507 (from Latchmere Green, Silchester) was discovered in late Iron Age and early Roman deposits (Fulford and Creighton 1998). As this was the period of the British Series of mirror (for further discussion see section 7.3 in this chapter), it is not surprising to find that the decoration on this mirror was of an abstract style. The mirror from the later Roman period, DB 765 (King Harry Lane, St Albans) had two concentric circles (Stead and Rigby 1989).

7.13 Mirrors Covers and Cases

Four mirrors from graves provided evidence that they had once been framed, and these came from Chichester (one), and Winchester (three) (Tables 59-1, 60-1). Two mirrors from Chichester and one from London had covers (Table 59-1). One framed mirror was associated with an unframed example (Victoria Road, Winchester) (Table 61-1). Neither of the two glass mirrors recorded in this survey have any records of frames (Tables 62-1, 14-1), while four of the framed mirrors and three covers were found with mirrors made of speculum (Table 62-1). In relation to form, three of the rectangular mirrors were framed, whilst two had covers (Table 63-1). Only one mirror with a frame also had a handle, and this was once again an example from Victoria Road, Winchester (Table 64-1). None of the

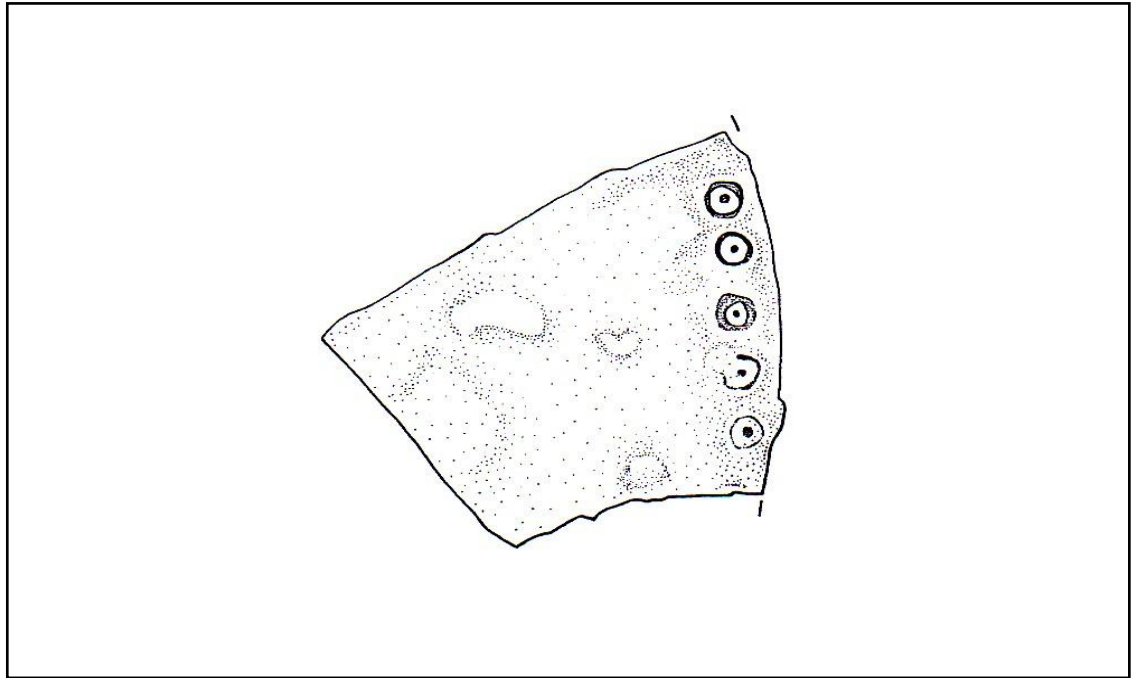


Figure 21 Mirror piece with single (circular) ring-and-dot decoration on the outer edge, DB 826, settlements in Roman Southwark, London (Drummond-Murray *et al* 2002, 89).

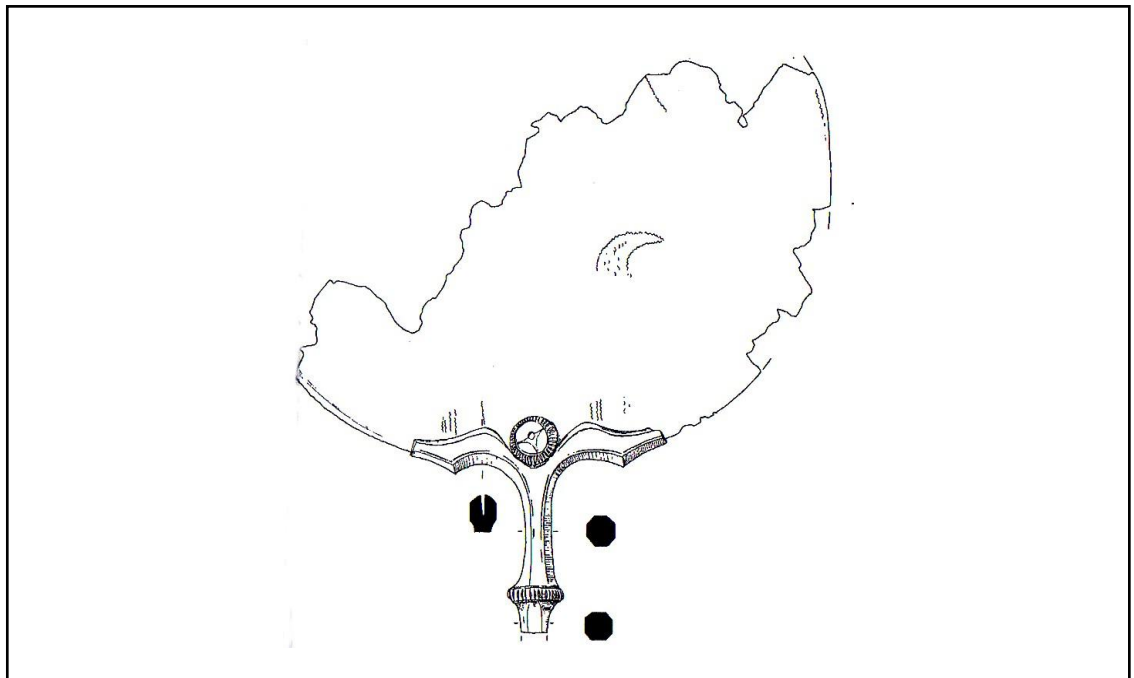


Figure 22 Mirror with abstract decoration, incised parallel zigzag lines, DB 1513, Hyderabad Barracks, Colchester (Sealey 2006, 13).

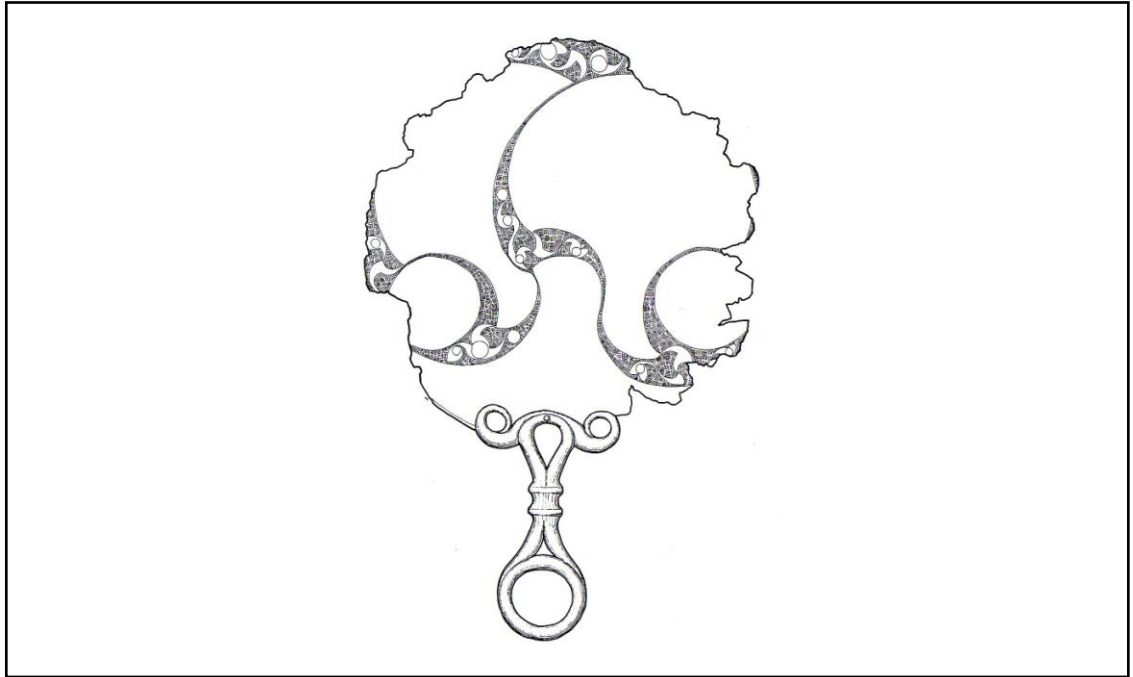


Figure 23 Mirror with abstract decoration, basket whirligig, DB 1507, Latchmere Green near Silchester (Fulford and Creighton 1998, 335)

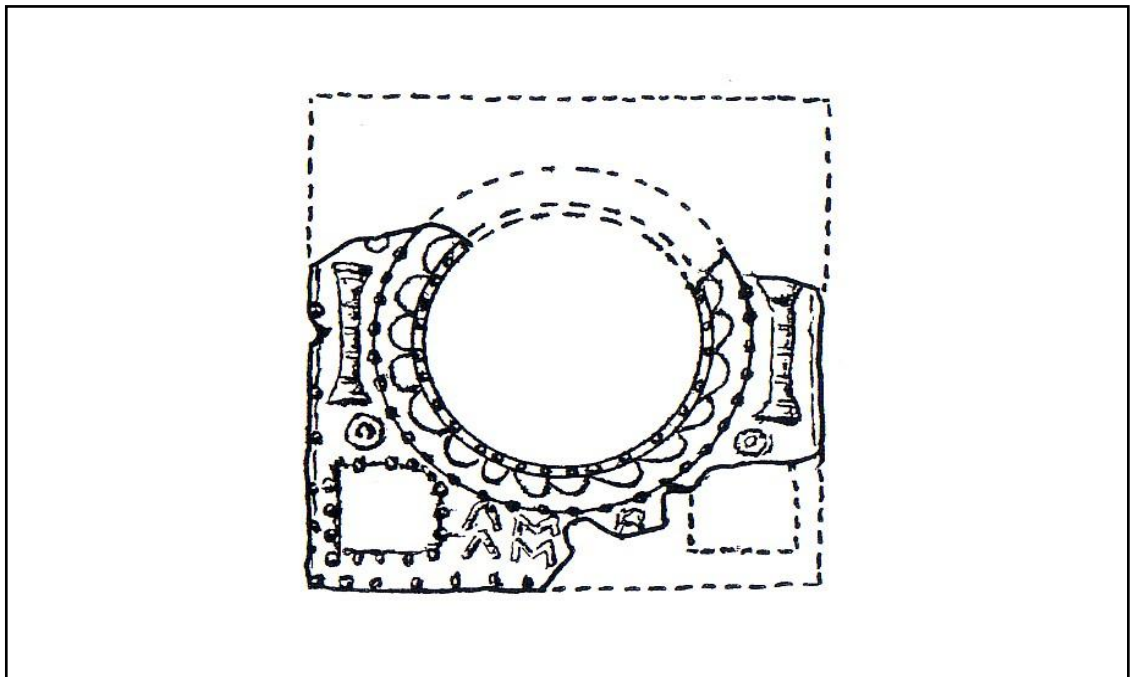


Figure 24 Lead mirror cover, 3, Group Y (Lloyd-Morgan 1981, 105)

decorated mirrors had covers or cases (Table 65-1). The highest number of frames and covers were from the early Roman period (Table 66-1).

Mirror frames were usually made of wood. The single mirror, DB 43, from a grave at St Pancras, Chichester may have had a wooden frame (Down and Rule 1971), while the Winchester examples (DB 35, DB 34 and DB 33, all from Victoria Road) had traces of preserved maple, willow and, or poplar on the reverse (Rees *et al* 2008). These have all been counted as having frames, although it is just possible that the preserved wood on the mirror, DB 33, was from a box rather than a frame, making this a box lid mirror (Rees *et al* 2008). Frames are also known to have been made from lead, which most likely housed glass mirrors. One was found without the mirror in Roman Chester (Lloyd-Morgan 1977c). The best examples of glass mirror frames are from the Nijmegen collection, such as the lead mirror cover 3, Group Y, (Figure 24) (Lloyd-Morgan 1981). Neither of the glass mirrors recorded in this survey was reported as having frames.

Mirror covers were sometimes made from leather, although it was noted that in one of the graves at Victoria Road, Winchester, a mirror, DB 34, was accompanied by a fragment of woven cloth, possibly used to cover this item. This potential mirror cover was not included in the frequency table, as the author of the site report also speculated that it could equally have been a bag that held the cremated bones (Rees *et al* 2008). The only mirror cover, DB 1240, from London (Billingsgate Market Lorry Park) was made of copper alloy (Brigham and Hillam 1990; London Archaeological Archive Research Centre online). A framed mirror from Victoria Road, Winchester, DB 35 was found in the same grave as an unframed example (this being the hand held mirror with the distinctive dragon handle). Only one mirror with a frame also had a handle and this was once again an example from Victoria Road, Winchester, in this case DB 34. It appears that the wood formed a frame and handle for the mirror. Sometimes frames are found without the mirror, which is often the case when the mirror is made of glass (which has not survived), but in this data-set all the mirrors that had frames and covers were made of speculum. Since none of the examples in the sample had any other form of decoration, it is possible that the frames for the mirrors acted as an extra decorative element.

7.14 Summary of Mirror Findings

- **Summary of Settlements and Mirrors**

London and St Albans produced the highest count of mirrors.

- **Summary of Contexts and Mirrors**

Mirrors were most often retrieved from graves and ‘other features’, with fewer from domestic and public areas. One was recovered from a well. Graves were the most common context where mirrors had been deposited together, although this occasionally also occurred at ‘other features’.

- **Summary of Context Dates and Mirrors**

Most mirrors were dated to the early Roman period.

- **Summary of Associated Small Finds and Mirrors**
Glass unguent containers (from graves), and additional toilet items (from areas of public occupation) were the most common small finds found with mirrors. There were two cases when two mirrors were found in the same context (graves) as glass unguent containers. Two mirrors were also discovered in ‘other features’ with an additional toilet item.
- **Summary of Associated Non-Toilet Finds and Mirrors**
There were a number of occasions when vessels and jewellery were recovered from the same contexts as mirrors, as well as some coins. Graves featured strongly, but there was a range of different contexts. Other artefacts of interest included a few examples of boxes that might have held mirrors, and a Venus figurine that was deposited along with a group of other items in the same context as a mirror.
- **Summary of Associated Human Skeletal Remains and Mirrors**
Mirrors were more commonly recovered from female graves, although males were not excluded. There were two cases when ‘young middle adults’ were found with mirrors, although there were no ‘mature’ adult burials discovered with this artefact. There were two occurrences of mirrors being deposited in graves containing an adult and a child.
- **Summary of Associated Animal Skeletal Remains and Mirrors**
The most common animal remains came from pigs, but skeletal remains were found for horse, wild bird, cattle, chicken, sheep, goat, fish and deer. Again most of these were from grave contexts.
- **Summary of Mirror Material**
Speculum was the most common type of material for mirrors, and at least two or more mirrors made of this material were recovered from all the settlements. The highest count came from London. Speculum mirrors were found in a wide range of contexts, but the highest numbers occurred in graves. Speculum mirrors dominated all periods. There were two examples of glass mirrors, both from graves in London, and a silver/bronze mirror from ‘other features’ at Colchester. There were a few complete mirrors which were all recovered from graves. There was one burial where two mirrors were found with different material, one speculum and one glass.
- **Summary of Mirror Forms**
Mirrors were mostly circular in form, although there were a few that were rectangular. Circular mirrors were most commonly found in London, but they were retrieved from every settlement. There were just slightly more rectangular mirrors from Chichester, although many came from London. Both forms were found in graves and ‘other features’, but the circular mirrors were also retrieved from domestic buildings and areas of public occupation. The majority of speculum mirrors were circular, and one of the glass mirrors was circular (the other was not reported). There were two cases where two mirrors were found in the same context (grave), each with a different form.

- **Summary of Mirrors Types**

Few mirrors in the data-set had handles, but they were found in every town except Chichester. Most handled mirrors came from graves, although a few were found in 'other features' and domestic buildings. There was only one mirror that was a definite box lid type and this was found in a grave from London. There were no sites where two handled mirrors were found in the same context, but there was one case where two mirrors were found in the same contexts, one with and one without a handle. The only box lid mirror was found with another mirror in a grave. All the handled and box lid mirrors, where the material was reported, were speculum. Most of the handled mirrors were circular, as was the box lid example. The majority of handled mirrors were from the earlier periods, with a few from later dates.

- **Summary of Mirror Zoomorphic Types**

There was only one zoomorphic mirror. This had a dragon-style handle, and was found in a grave in Winchester. It was a circular, speculum mirror, and was dated to the early Roman period.

- **Summary of Mirror Decoration**

Most mirrors had circular decoration. The majority of circular decorated mirrors were from London, although they were also found in a number of other settlements. There were fewer abstract decorated mirrors, although examples were recovered from various settlements. Both types of decorated mirrors were prevalent in 'other features', but were also common in graves. In addition, a number of circular decorated mirrors and one abstract example were found in domestic buildings and areas of public occupation. The only pictorial mirror was recovered from a grave. There were no examples of 'circular and abstract' decorated mirrors in this data-set. In two cases, plain and decorated mirrors were deposited in the same context (graves). Apart from unreported examples, all the decorated mirrors were made of speculum. The circular decorated mirrors were all circular in form, and three had a handle, while all the abstract decorated mirrors were circular and two had handles. Chronologically most of the mirrors with circular decoration came from the early Roman period. One abstract decorated mirror came from the late Iron Age and early Roman period, with another two examples from the early centuries AD. The pictorial mirror was also dated to this period.

- **Summary of Mirror Covers and Cases**

A few mirrors in the data-set were found with a frame or a cover. The majority of framed examples were found at Winchester, whilst most mirrors with covers were recovered from Chichester. Of those that were reported, they were all retrieved from burial contexts. There was one case where a framed mirror was found in the same grave as an unframed example. All the mirrors that had frames and covers were made of speculum, and most were rectangular in form, although one framed mirror was circular, and one framed mirror had a handle. None of the decorated mirrors had covers or cases, and the highest number of mirrors with frames and covers were from the early Roman period.

CHAPTER 8

COMBS FINDINGS

8.1 Settlements and Combs

A total of 90 combs were recorded from the various settlements in this study (Table 1-2). Forty-two percent (38) of these were found in Winchester and 41% (37) in London, a combined 83% of the total number of combs in this sample. Far fewer combs came from Colchester (ten) and there were no combs from St Albans, whilst only two were found at Canterbury and Chichester, and only one can be attributed to the town of Silchester (Tables 1-2, 2-2).

There are therefore a considerable number of combs from London and Winchester, yet these finds do not appear in large numbers in any of the other settlements. This may in part be due to the number of excavations undertaken in the late Roman cemetery areas of Winchester, yet Butt Road in Colchester (which was also a late Roman cemetery site), only provided a few examples. London has of course a number of Roman cemeteries, as the town has been extensively excavated (see Chapter 7, Section 7.2).

8.2 Contexts and Combs

Graves yielded 44% (40) of the total number of combs. Of these Winchester was the most common site (29), with seven from Colchester. Four combs were located in domestic buildings, two of which were from Winchester. Three combs came from areas of public occupation, two from Canterbury and one from London. The context was not reported for the majority of combs from London (27) (Table 3-2). This was the same in respect to the multiple depositions of combs (Table 4-2).

Graves therefore dominate these findings. A large proportion (21) of the combs came from the Lankhills Cemetery, Winchester (Clarke 1979), with a number from various other cemeteries around the town, four from Victoria Road, DB 29, DB 30, DB 31, DB 32, one from Hyde Street, DB 40, two from St Martin's Close, DB 41 and DB 42 (Rees *et al* 2008), and one, DB 23, from the Eagle Hotel site, Andover Road, Winchester (Teague 1998). All the Colchester comb finds were from cemeteries, DB 130, DB 131, DB 132, DB 133, DB 134, DB 135, DB 138, DB 139, were from Butt Road, Colchester (Crummy 1983). In contrast, only three of the combs from London were recorded as coming from graves. Two, DB 1177 and DB 1178, were found at 24-30, West Smithfield, 18-20, Cock Lane, and 1-4, Giltspur Street, London (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), with the third, DB 851, from the Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000). One other example from this latter site, DB 852, was from pyre debris deposits.

It is generally known that combs are often found in burials. However, this sample also revealed that they have been found quite commonly in other contexts. For example, there

were two combs, DB 24 and DB 25, from different contexts, associated with a building (VIII9a, a large town house) at the Brooks site, Winchester (Zant 1993; Winchester Museum Service unpublished). One comb, DB 930, was found in London, Building 33 (a possible stone house with upper storeys) from the Courage's Brewery Bottling Plant site in north-west Southwark (Cowan 2003a), and another, DB 105, from Building 154, Cups Hotel, Colchester (Crummy 1983). Although rarer, some of the combs in this sample were found in public areas. The comb DB 1053, for example, came from a room at St Margaret's Street Baths, Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury (Blockley *et al* 1995). Elsewhere a number of combs were found around the Hot Spring at Bath, Somerset during the excavations of the Temple of Sulis Minerva (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985; Davenport *et al* 2007). Although no combs were recovered from wells in this data-set, they have occasionally reported from these contexts elsewhere. A comb was, for instance, found at the Flood Alleviation Scheme, Newport Drive/Willow Close site, Alcester, Warwickshire (Burnham *et al* 2003).

8.3 Context Dates and Combs

Table 5-2 shows 48 combs were dated to the later Roman dates, and 40 of these (85%) were associated with graves. There were no combs recorded from graves for any other periods. There were two examples of combs from the early Roman period (one from a domestic building, and one from 'other features'), but there were none for the late Iron Age (Table 5-2).

The majority of combs in this sample therefore occur in contexts from the third, fourth and early fifth centuries, and most were from graves. This reflects the general chronological trend of comb deposition in Roman Britain, but it is worth highlighting that combs are present in burials from many parts of the Roman world from the first century onwards (Pugsley 2003). Still, the widespread use of combs in late Roman Britain suggests there might have been an increase in interest in caring for the hair during this period. It was not surprising that there were no toilet combs associated with the late Iron Age in this sample, as only textile weaving combs are usually reported from this period. There is however one example of a late Iron Age cast copper-alloy comb listed on the Portable Antiquities Scheme (online) website. This item may have been as used as a curry comb for horse's manes and tails, but it could also have been used for personal grooming. The find spot is not known.

A few early Roman combs have also been reported from the pre-Hadrianic fort at Vindolanda in Northumberland, and from Fishbourne Roman palace, Chichester (Birley 1977; Henig and MacGregor 1996). In this sample there were only two combs from this period. The first, DB 1271, came from a revetment dump at Billingsgate Buildings Triangle in the City of London, and was similar to a type found at Vindolanda. During the post- excavation work on the combs at Vindolanda it was found that one comb had a cow's hair attached to it (Birley 1977). This led to the suggestion that the comb from Billingsgate might also have been used for industrial purposes, such as tanning, rather than as a toilet article (Jones and Rhodes 1980) The second example in this data-set, DB 930

came from Building 33, Courage's Brewery Bottling Plant, Southwark, London, and was dated to the second century AD (Cowan 2003a).

8.4 Associated Small Finds and Combs

Two glass unguent containers were found with combs (a grave and 'other features') (Table 6-2), though neither were associated with more than one comb (Table 8-2). None of the other small finds (including any of the additional toilet items) have been discovered in the same context as combs (Table 6-2).

The first comb, DB 130, found with glass unguent container, DB 245, was discovered in a grave in Butt Road cemetery, Colchester (Crummy 1983), the other unguent container, DB 864, was recovered with a comb, DB 852, from pyre deposits which were not assigned to a particular burial, from the Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000).

Elsewhere at Poundbury Roman cemetery, Dorset, a comb was found with a piece of glass in the same grave, but due to it only being a fragment it is not known whether this was an unguent container (Farwell and Molleson 1993). It is a little surprising to find so few items from this sample deposited in the same context as combs. This is especially the case for the additional small finds as they are so numerous in this study (a total of 724). There were no pairs of shears found in the same location as combs (although there were eight in this sample), nor were there any mirrors. This might be because some shears and combs were not for use on human hair.

8.5 Associated Non-Toilet Finds and Combs

One or more pieces of jewellery were the most frequent non-toilet items deposited with combs (16). There were 13 occasions when jewellery was retrieved with combs from graves, as well as nine occurrences of vessels, and six of coins from this type of context. There were two instances of jewellery being found with combs, both from areas of public occupation (Table 9-2). Only two hairpins were found with combs. There were seven occasions when other artefacts had been deposited with combs.

Jewellery and vessels therefore were the most common non-toilet find deposited with combs in graves. The presence of these items in burials has been discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 7, Section 7.5). There were only two instances when hairpins were retrieved with combs, DB 131 and DB 138, and both cases were from graves at Butt Road, Colchester (Crummy 1983). There were also three occasions when needles (classified under other artefacts in the data-set) were deposited with combs. The needles had been placed with two combs, DB 18 and DB 20, from burials at Lankhills, Winchester, and with DB 18 which also included a spindle-whorl (Clarke 1979). The other comb found with a needle, DB 1053, was from St Margaret's Street baths, Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury (Blockley *et al* 1995). It is possible that some of these combs were intended for textile work as well as personal grooming, although this seems unlikely in the Canterbury case, given its location.

8.6 Associated Human Skeletal Remains and Combs

About a quarter of the reported combs came from male graves (four), 11 were associated with female skeletal evidence (Table 10-2). Eight combs came from burials of young middle adults, six from children and five from young adults. None were associated with mature adults, and only one with middle aged adults. Eleven combs were found with individuals whose age was thought to be adult (Table 11-2). There were no occasions when two bodies were associated with a comb (Table 12-2).

There is a tendency to associate combs with women during this period, underpinned by evidence from sites such as Poundbury, Dorset (not part of this sample), where all the combs that had been deposited in graves, where the skeletal gender was identified, were with females (Farwell and Molleson 1993). However, whenever there was more than one comb found at the sites in this data-set (not in the same graves), such as at Lankhill, Winchester (Clarke 1979), or Butt Road, Colchester (Crummy 1983), they were recovered with male burials (e.g. DB 3, DB 12, DB 16, DB 132), as well as with females. In respect to age, combs were not common in the graves of middle aged or mature adults, a finding that replicates the mirror results. Six combs were found with children, three were from Lankhills, Winchester, DB 1, DB 6, and DB 17 (Clarke 1979), and three from Butt Road, Colchester, DB 130, DB 133, and DB 138 (Crummy 1983).

8.7 Associated Animal Skeletal Remains and Combs

All the associated animal skeletal remains were from two London sub-sites, and were deposited with combs in 'other features' (Table 13-2). The remains of cattle, deer, pig and sheep came from one context, with dog and horse from the other.

Both contexts containing combs and animal bones were revetment dumps. In the first case, a tooth from a horse and a fragment of maxilla from a newborn puppy were found with a comb, DB 1271, at Billingsgate Buildings Triangle, London (Jones 1980). The other waterfront site, Governor's House, London, revealed a mix of cattle, sheep, pig and deer bones with a comb, DB 812 (Brigham and Woodger 2001).

8.8 Combs Material

Apart from the one ivory comb, there were largely even numbers of combs made of wood (29), bone (33) and antler (27). The distribution was more uneven, particularly in relation to wooden combs. Leaving St Albans out of the discussion, since no combs were found at this settlement, of the 29 wooden combs, 90% (26) came from London and 10% (three) from Winchester. There were no wooden combs from the remaining four urban-type centres. Chichester and Silchester had no combs made of antler. Combs from this material were mostly found in Winchester 50% (14) and Colchester 36% (10). While Colchester did not reveal any bone combs, the highest count came from Winchester (21). The single ivory comb came from London (Table 14-2)

Table 15-2 shows the contextual patterns of the comb material. Forty-four percent (40) of the combs came from graves, of which, 23 were made of bone, 16 of antler, and one of

wood. The 23 bone combs in graves made up 70% of all the bone combs found, and the 16 antler combs comprised of 57% of the total antler combs. Three antler combs were retrieved from domestic buildings, as was the ivory example, but there were none made of wood or bone from this context type. One comb made from each of the different materials (except ivory) was found in public occupation areas.

There were only nine complete combs. Six came from graves and one from a domestic building (Table 16-2). In the two cases of multiple depositions of combs, there was one instance when a wooden and a bone comb were found together, while two bone combs were from the same context in the other example (Table 17-2). Twenty-four bone and 22 antler combs were found in late Roman contexts. None of the bone combs (where the dates had been recorded) were earlier than this. The two combs from early Roman Britain were made from wood and ivory respectively (Table 18-2).

Surviving combs therefore were made from wood (usually boxwood), bone, antler, and occasionally ivory, horn (from cattle, sheep and goat), and metal. There were no combs made of horn or metal in this sample. The large number of wooden combs (29) from London and Winchester relates to the waterlogged conditions that affected the archaeological sequences at some of their sub-sites. Number 1, Poultry, London for instance (where 6 wooden combs were found, DB 1555-DB 1560) lies on the west bank of the Walbrook stream (Rowsome 1995; Pugsley 2003; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), while another wooden example, DB 796, was found nearby at 72-75, Cheapside, 83-93, Queen Street in a Roman dump that contained a varied assemblage of organic material (Hill and Woodger 1999; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). It is likely that wooden combs would have been recovered from other settlements, had conditions permitted.

There were a number of antler combs at Winchester (14), but so far no evidence of antler workshops has been found in this settlement. No bone combs were reported from Colchester, although evidence for bone working has been found in the suburbs at Butt Road. However the objects found at this sub-site were probably intended as applied wooden furniture ornaments (Crummy 1981). A bone worker's shop was also discovered at Crowder Terrace, Winchester, but again this did not seem to be related to combs as rough-outs were only found for pins, spoons and possibly knife handles (Wilson *et al* 1975). There was one bone comb from Silchester, although based on the findings of animal scapulae material, it is speculated there may have been some bone working there (MacGregor 1985). Whilst not part of this data collection, seven bone combs were recorded at a site that was relatively close to Silchester and Winchester, that of Poundbury, Dorchester, Dorset (Farwell and Molleson 1993). Overall, there is no evidence for comb blanks in Britain, and very little from throughout the Empire during the Roman period. Still, based on the cut, appearance and typology of wooden combs, it has been suggested that some form of local production may have developed in Britain (Pugsley 2003).

There was a fairly even distribution between bone and antler combs in graves. The wooden combs tended to come from sites that were not associated with cemeteries, although many were recorded from London where the context was missing. There was one instance where two combs of different material were found together (wood and bone) at the Cannon Street Station North, London DB 1161 and DB 1162, but unfortunately the context details were not reported (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). There was only one example of an ivory comb, DB930, from a building at Courage's Brewery Bottling Plant, Southwark. The lack of ivory combs may be due to difficulties with identification, since worked bone, antler and boxwood have properties which give them a feel close to ivory (Pugsley 2003). Bone and antler working was reported near to where this comb was found, and pieces of sawn antler might have been used for the manufacture of combs in this general area (Cowan 2003b). However the building where the comb was deposited did not have any evidence of such activity. Ivory objects are known throughout the Roman world, but there is no evidence of manufacturing or carving waste from Roman Britain (MacGregor 1985).

8.9 Combs Forms

A single piece comb is made from one block of material, while a composite comb is constructed by using various pieces of material, which are held together by rivets. Fifty-four percent (49) of combs were in a composite form, and only 4% (4) were single pieces. The remaining 41% (37) were unreported. The largest number of composite piece combs came from Winchester (31), with 10 from Colchester. London (two) and Winchester (two) were the only settlements where single piece combs were found (Table 19-2). Thirty-seven composite piece combs were associated with graves, while two single piece combs were found in a grave and cemetery area. The domestic buildings locations revealed three composite combs and one single piece comb, and in addition there were two composite combs from areas of public occupation (Table 20-2). The forms of the combs from the multiple deposition sites were not reported (Table 21-2).

There were almost equal numbers of bone and antler composite piece combs (24 and 23). There were two wooden combs of composite form, and also two single piece combs of this material. The remaining single piece combs were made from bone (one) and ivory (one) (Table 22-2). Nearly all (43) of the composite combs were of late Roman date. Early Roman (one single piece comb), and Roman (one single piece comb and two composite piece combs) periods can be attributed to the remaining known forms (Table 23-1).

The two single piece combs that came from cemetery sites in this sample, DB 852, Eastern cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000), and DB 1, Lankhills, Winchester (Clarke 1979), were both made of wood. The single-sided Winchester example is shown in Figure 25. There were also two single piece combs made of different material, one of ivory, DB 930, Courage's Brewery Bottling Plant, Southwark, London (Cowan 2003a), and the other of bone, DB 995, Cathedral Green, Winchester (Biddle 1970). It has been noted that bone is quite a difficult material to work when creating a single piece comb, partly because the size of the comb is limited by the dimensions of the available raw material, and also

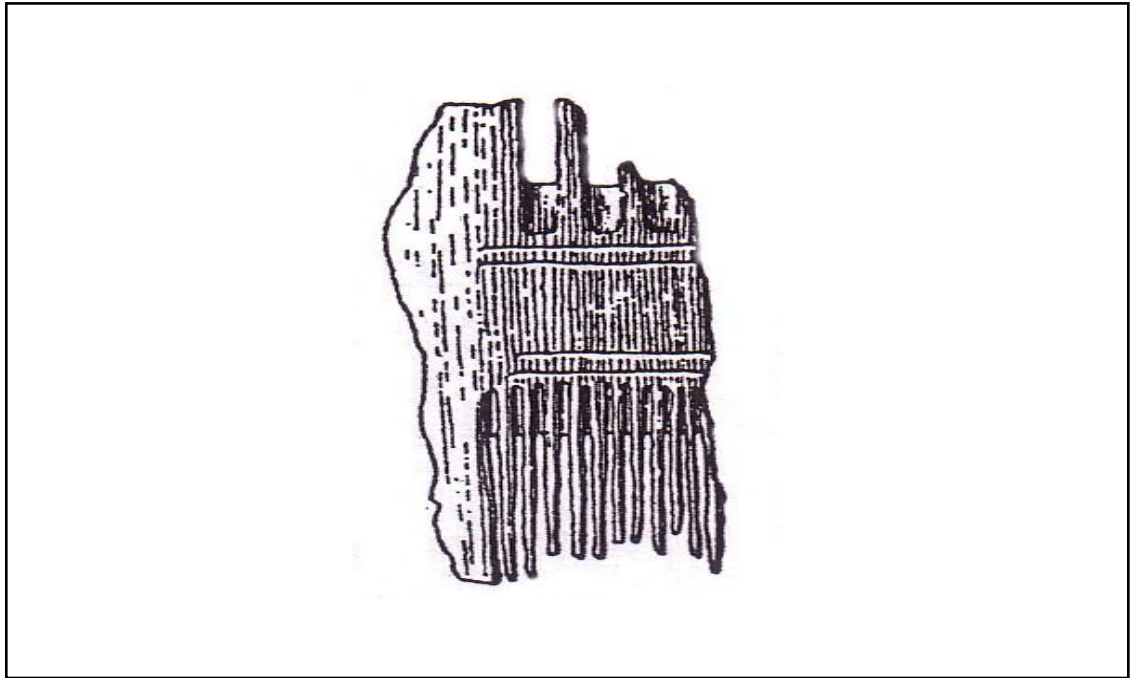


Figure 25 Single-piece wooden comb, DB 1, Lankhills, Winchester (Galloway 1979, 249).

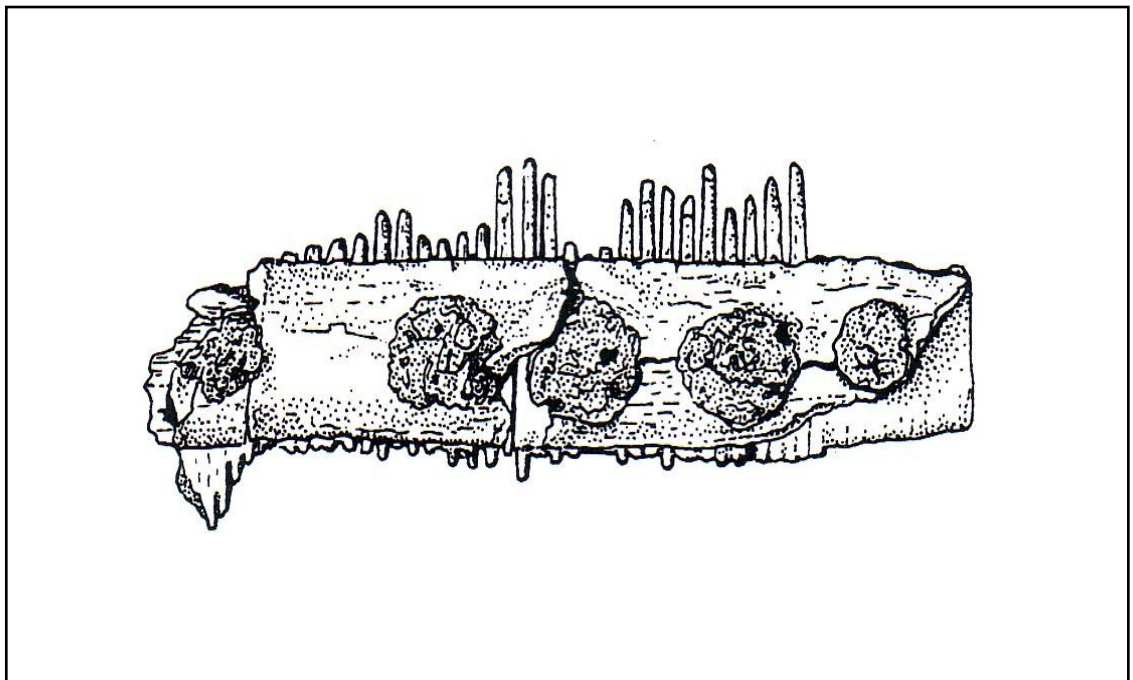


Figure 26 Composite-piece antler comb with rivets along the central bar, DB 130, Butt Road, Colchester (Crummy 1983, 55).

because the teeth of the comb have to be aligned with the grain of the bone (Galloway and Newcomer 1981; Macgregor 1985). The single piece comb from a domestic location in this sample, DB 930, was from Building 33, Courage's Brewery Bottling Plant, Southwark, London (Cowan 2003a).

It has been suggested that a composite comb design was popular as damaged tooth-plates could have been replaced, without having to buy a new comb (Macgregor 1985). This would not, however, have been especially useful in a burial setting, and indeed in this sample the composite combs were mostly found in graves, many for instance from Butt Road, Colchester. An example of one of these composite combs, DB 130 from Butt Road, with the rivets clearly visible can be seen in Figure 26. The single composite comb from Chichester, DB 312, was also recovered from a grave at the Theological College site (Down and Magilton 1993). The examples of composite combs from domestic locations were from the Brooks, Winchester and the Cups Hotel, Colchester. The public occupation areas included Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury. As these were three different settlements, it confirms composite combs were distributed fairly widely. The two composite wooden combs were, not surprisingly given the earlier discussion about preservation, both from London (DB 812, the Governor's House (Brigham and Woodger 2001), and DB 1129, St Magnus House, New Fresh Wharf (Miller *et al* 1986; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online)). There were no examples of composite combs of mixed material in this data-set, although one has been reported from Annetwell Street, Carlisle, where metal was combined with wood to create a composite piece (Pugsley 2003).

8.10 Combs Types

Sixty percent (54) of the total count of combs are double-sided, with 8% (seven) more identified as single-sided. The types of 32% were not reported. Forty-one of the double-sided combs came from London (21) and Winchester (20), and six single-sided combs came from London (two) and Winchester (four). Colchester provided a further ten double-sided types (Table 24-2). Twenty-eight double-sided combs came from graves, and one was from a cemetery area. The finding for the same context in respect of single-sided combs was two from graves, and one from a cemetery area. Domestic buildings and areas of public occupation combined produced four double-sided, and three single-sided combs (Table 25-2). The types of combs from the multiple deposition sites were not reported (Table 26-2).

With the exception of the ivory comb, double-sided combs were evenly spread between the different materials (wood 18, bone 17, antler 18). Of the single-sided combs, three were made of bone, three of antler, and one of wood (Table 27-2). Two single-sided combs were from a single piece of material, while four single-sided combs were of composite construction. The highest numbers of double-sided combs were composite forms (36) (Table 28-2). Thirty-two double-sided and five single-sided combs were attributed to the late period. Two double-sided combs came from the earlier period, while two double-sided combs and one single-sided example were assigned to an unspecified Roman period (Table 29-2).

A double-sided comb is one that has a row of teeth on both sides of the comb, and in some cases there are coarse teeth on one side and fine teeth on the other. Double-sided combs are by far the most frequent types within this data-set, and are commonly found throughout Roman Britain. There are many examples, such as those from Vindolanda in Northumbria (Birley 1977), the Temple of Sulis Minerva, Bath, Somerset (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985), and Porchester Castle, Portsmouth, Hampshire (Cunliffe 1975). Within this sample it was found that double-sided combs were often deposited in graves especially at Lankhills, Winchester (Clarke 1979), and Butt Road, Colchester (Crummy 1983; Rees *et al* 2008), and the one example (DB 312) from Chichester, Theological College, Westgate (Down and Magilton 1993). This latter double-sided comb with the two sets of teeth coming off the central bar can be seen in Figure 27. A double-sided comb was retrieved from a grave during the excavation at Winchester Street, Andover. This site was close to the Roman road which went from Winchester to Cirencester. However, given its rural location it was not included in this data-set. Nevertheless, it has been proposed that this community were influenced by the burial customs practised at Lankhills, Winchester (Jennings 2000). This also indicates that the use of combs was not restricted to those who were resident in major towns.

A single-sided comb is a piece that only has teeth on one side, with some designed in a triangular form. With respect to graves, examples in this data-set include one comb from Lankhills, Winchester, DB 2 (Clarke 1979), and the other, DB 851 from the Eastern cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000). The general lack of these triangular single-sided combs in Roman Britain may be attributed to their design, which it has been suggested, was not particularly good for combing hair (Pugsley 2003). Despite this, there are a few found on the Continent, and it has been suggested that the presence of this type of comb on a site may indicate a link with Germanic peoples. Of course this does not necessarily mean that the individual in the grave where the comb was found was from abroad (Clarke 1979; Philpot 1991).

None of the other single-sided pieces were from graves. There was one other example of a triangular shaped comb, DB 995, from Cathedral Green, Winchester, but the context was not reported (Biddle 1970). This particular comb can be seen in Figure 28. The remaining single-sided combs were longer combs with teeth on one side, and almost all were from domestic areas at the Brooks, Winchester (DB 24 and DB 25) (Zant 1993; Winchester Museum Service unpublished), and Rosemary Lane Car Park, Canterbury (DB 986) (Bennett *et al* 1982). The final single-sided comb in this latter group came from pyre remains at the Eastern Cemetery, London, DB 852, but its type is not altogether clear as it was not well preserved (Barber and Bowsher 2000).

Even in waterlogged contexts there was little variation in comb materials in respect to the comb types from this data-set. Wood, bone, antler and ivory were all used to construct double-sided combs, and apart from ivory, all of these materials were represented in single-sided combs as well. Having said that, the use of wood for this type of comb is quite rare, and there is only one instance in this data-set, DB 852, Eastern Cemetery,

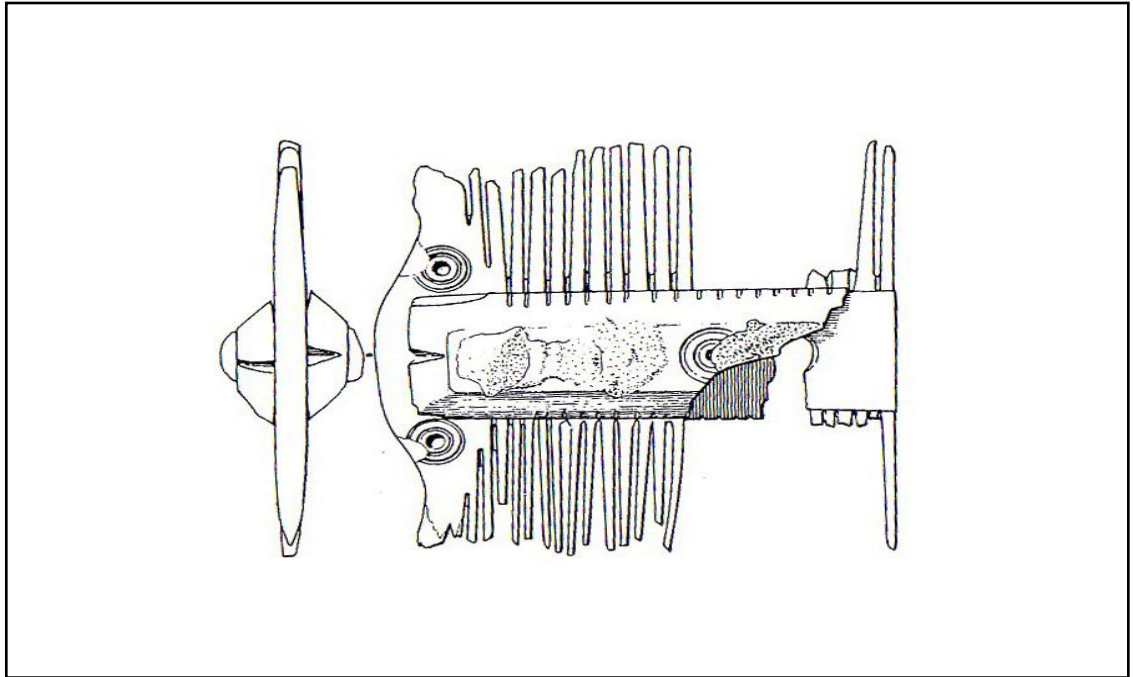


Figure 27 Double-sided, antler comb, with ring-and-dot decoration on the central bar and the terminal plates, DB 312, Theological College Westgate, Chichester (Down and Magilton 1993, 237).

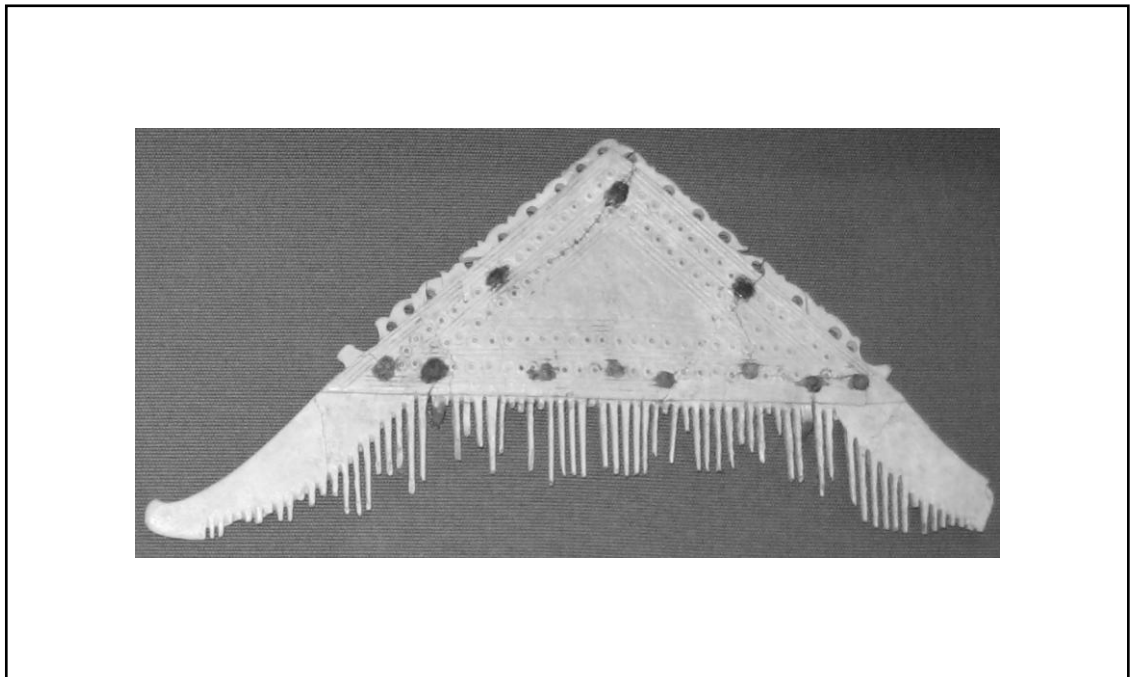


Figure 28 Single-sided (triangular) bone comb, with ring-and-dot and abstract decoration, DB 995, Cathedral Green, Winchester (Author's photograph, taken with kind permission of Winchester Museum Service).

London where this occurred (Barber and Bowsher 2000). Wooden combs of this type have been recorded elsewhere, with a similar example from Vindolanda in Northumbria (Birley 1977; Pugsley 2003).

Not surprisingly given the frequencies, double-sided combs are usually of a composite form in this sample. There were a couple of cases where two double-sided combs were constructed from single pieces, DB 930, Courage's Brewery Bottling Plant, Southwark, London (Cowan 2003a), and DB1, Lankhills, Winchester (Clarke 1979). Of the few single-sided examples, the majority were also of a composite construction, DB 24 and DB 25, the Brooks, Winchester (Zant 1993; Winchester Museum Service unpublished), DB 2, Lankhills, Winchester (Clarke 1979), and DB 851, Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000).

8.11 Combs Zoomorphic Types

The zoomorphic combs that had recognisable animal forms (one bird, three horses) were all reported from Winchester (Table 30-2). All these examples were found in graves apart from one horse-shaped comb, which was found in a domestic building. The remaining zoomorphic combs of unidentified animals were from Colchester, with two from graves and cemetery areas respectively, and one from a domestic building (Table 31-2). All the zoomorphic types of combs were made of antler and are of a composite construction. One was single-sided, and the remainder (six) double-sided (Tables 32-2, 33-2, 34-2). One zoomorphic comb was from the unspecified Roman period, whilst all the others were late Roman examples (Table 35-2).

The zoomorphic form on a comb is usually found on the terminal plates on a composite piece. Of the combs in this sample, the horse was the most popular animal, with two from graves at Winchester, DB 40, Hyde Street, and DB 42, St Martin's Close (Rees *et al* 2008). Figure 29 shows the Hyde Street comb with the zoomorphic horse-shaped features on the end plates. The last in this group, DB 24, was from the domestic building at the Brooks, Winchester (which was also the single-sided comb) (Zant 1993; Winchester Museum Service unpublished). The other zoomorphic comb, DB 105, from a building at the Cups Hotel site, Colchester, was of an unidentified animal (Crummy 1983). The only other identifiable animal in this data-set was a comb with an owl shape, DB 29, Victoria Road, Winchester (Rees *et al* 2008). Outside of this sample other animal forms have been reported, such as a hedgehog-shaped terminal on a comb from 9, Blake Street, York (Cool *et al* 1995).

In respect to the combs in this sample, antler seems to have been the preferred material. Antler is a very hard material, and there are some discussions about whether it was softened using an acid-based solution, or simply water, to facilitate the process of shaping the material (MacGregor 1985). As this might have been undertaken for all bone, ivory and indeed antler, there seems to be little difference in the choice of material in respect to zoomorphic shaping. For example, a comb with two stylized animal heads at one end of

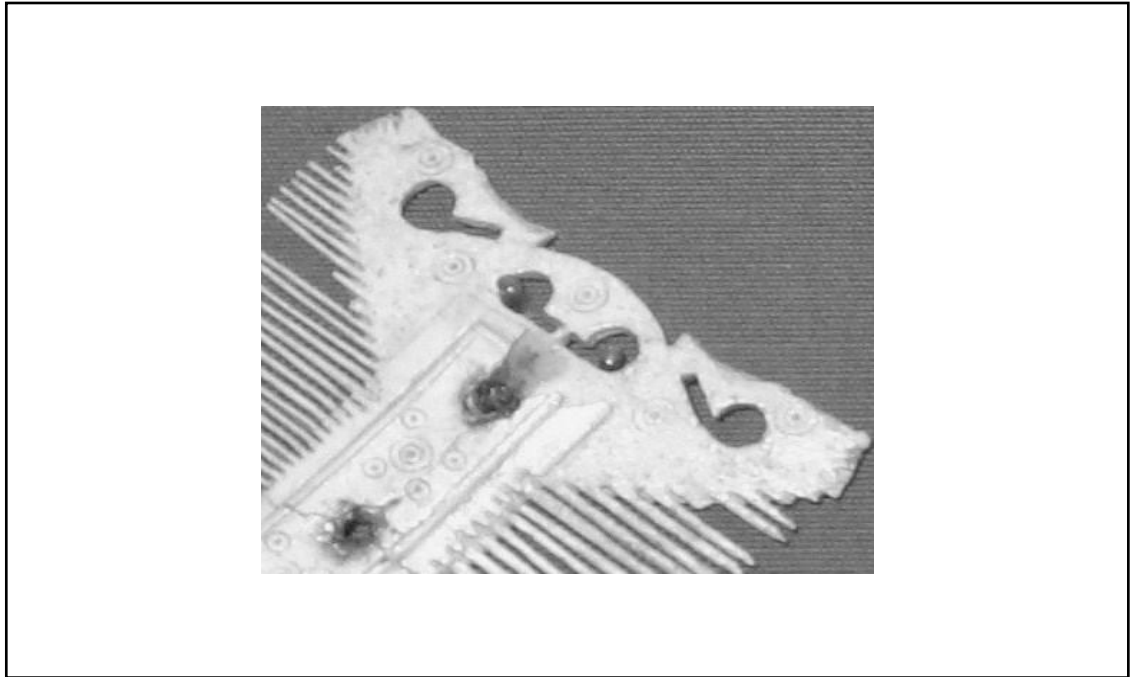


Figure 29 End plates on an antler comb, shaped like horses heads, DB 40, Hyde Street, Winchester (Author's photograph, taken with kind permission of Winchester Museum Service).

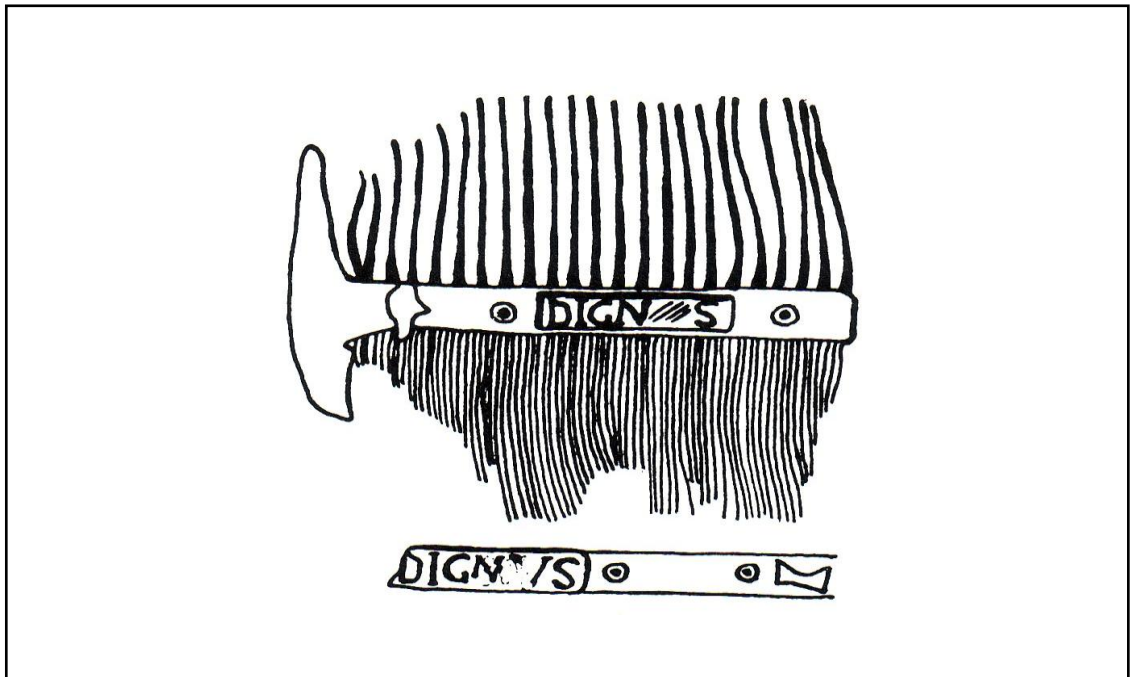


Figure 30 Stamped comb, DIGNVS, DB 1561, Moorgate Street, London (Frere and Tomlin 1991b, 171).

the terminals from the Temple of Sulis Minerva, Bath, Somerset, was made of bone (Cunliffe 1985).

8.12 Combs Stamped

There was one stamped comb from London (Table 41-2) which was made of wood (Table 43-2) and was double-sided (Table 45-2). Stamped combs are not very common. The only comb from this sample, DB 1561, came from Moorgate Street, London and had the maker's stamp which read DIGNVS (Figure 30) (Frere and Tomlin 1991b). The comb was originally reported as bone, but seems to have been reclassified as boxwood. Given that boxwood is very hard, the maker's mark would probably have been applied with a metal die (Pugsley 2003; Wilson *et al* 1971). Other inscribed combs include a boxwood example from Annetwell Street, Carlisle, Cumberland, with two impressed stamps on each face LVGRACI[...] and MARCELLIN[...] (Burnham *et al* 2002; Frere and Tomlin 1991a), and another from Fishbourne Roman Palace, Chichester which had a graffito reading C TA[. (Henig and MacGregor 1996). Unfortunately the context (Table 42-2), the form (Table 44-2), any zoomorphic style (Table 46-2), and the date (Table 48-2) were not reported.

8.13 Combs Decoration

The decoration on combs was varied. Ten percent (nine) combs had a form of circular decoration, 10% had abstract decoration, while 10% had a combination of circular and abstract. Seventy percent (63) of combs had no decoration or this detail was not reported. Of the 27 with reported decorations, 15 came from Winchester, seven from Colchester, and one from Silchester (Table 49-2). Eighteen of the decorated combs came from graves and cemetery areas. A further four combs were found in domestic buildings and areas of public occupation (Table 50-2). The circular and abstract decorated combs combined were predominantly from graves (Table 50-2). In the instances where more than one comb was found in the same context, these were either not decorated or not described (Table 51-2).

Fifteen antler combs were decorated, as were the nine bone examples. Circular decoration was more common on bone combs (six), whilst antler was used as a material for abstract (five) and combined decorated (five) combs. The three decorated wooden combs all had abstract decoration, while the ivory comb was not decorated (Table 52-2). Of the circular decorated combs, eight were composite forms, and six of the abstract decorated combs were of a composite design (Table 53-2). Only two single piece combs had any obvious decoration, one abstract and one combined decoration (Table 53-2). The majority of circular decorated combs (eight) were double-sided, as was the case for abstract (six) and combined (six) (Table 54-2). There was only one instance of a circular design on a single-sided comb, and only a few single-sided (three) combs had combined forms of decoration (Table 54-2). There were only six examples of decorated combs reported with zoomorphic end plates. Of these, one, a horse, was circular, one, an unidentified animal was abstract, and four, (two horses and two unidentified animals) were combined. The comb which had a bird zoomorphic element was not decorated (Table 55-2). None of the decorated combs

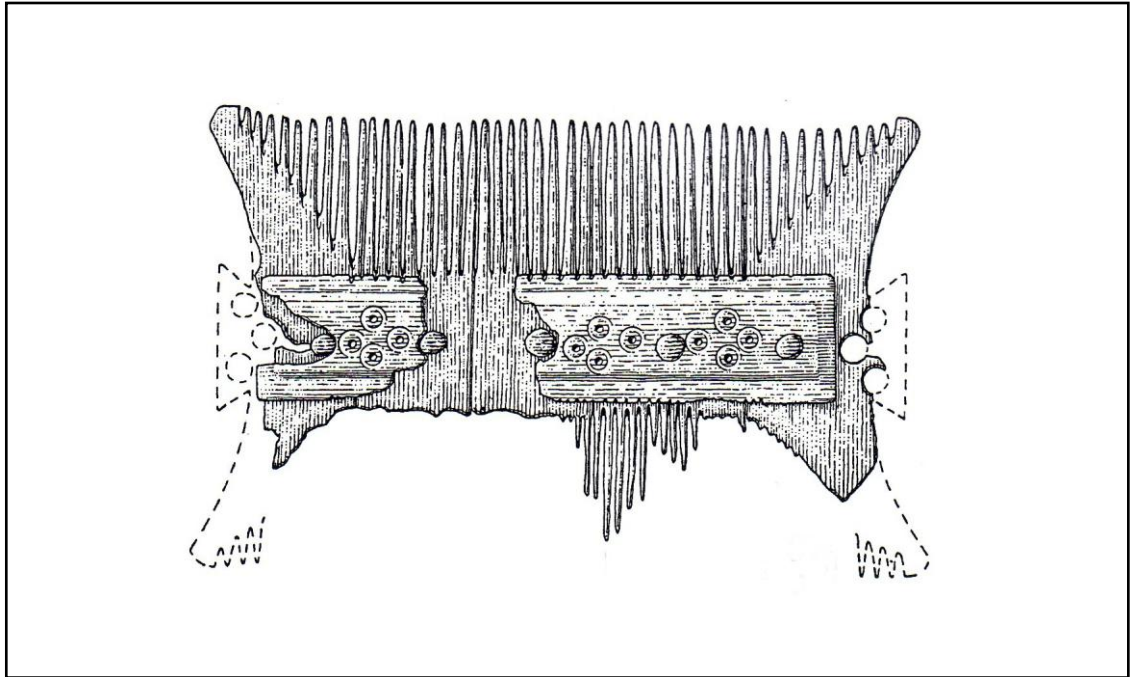


Figure 31 Circular decoration, ring-and-dot on the central bar of a bone comb, DB 12, Lankhills, Winchester (Galloway 1979, 250).

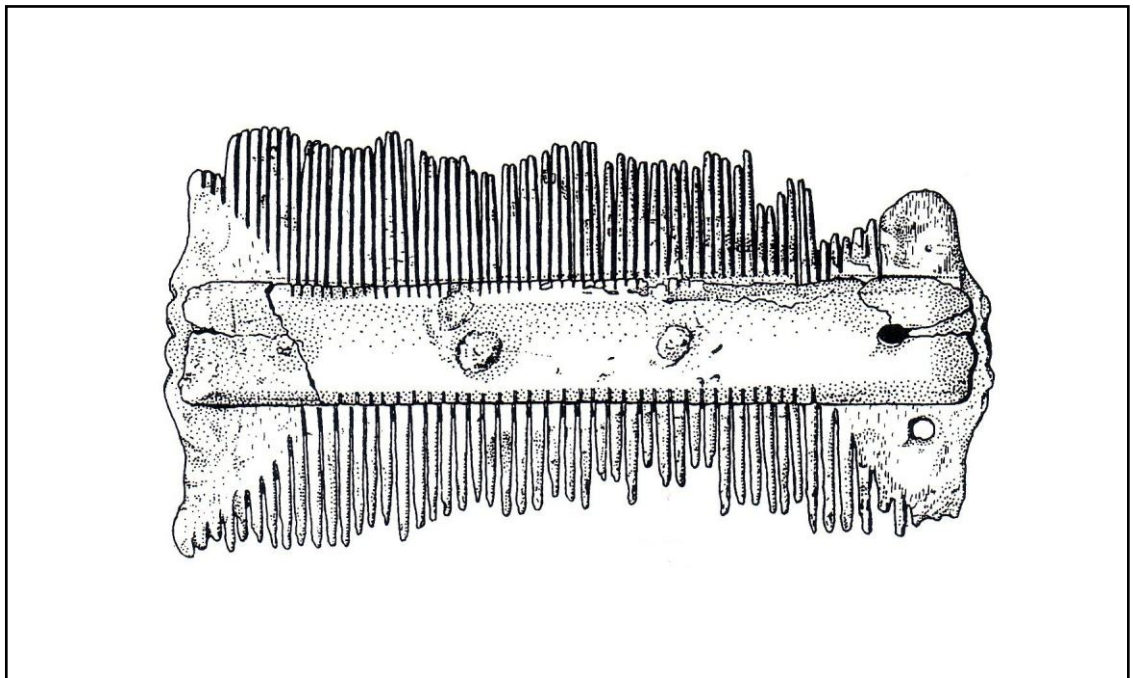


Figure 32 Circular decoration, small dot on the upper right section of the end plate of this antler comb possibly from a ring-and-dot motif, and small hole on the right lower section of the terminal piece, DB 132, Butt Road, Colchester (Crummy 1983, 55).

were stamped (Table 57-3). Apart from one abstract decorated comb from the Roman period, the remaining decorated combs from known contexts (21), were from the later periods (Table 58-2).

Almost all the circular decorated combs had a ring-and-dot design, and many were from graves. This design was applied to different parts of the comb, sometimes on the terminal plates, or on the central bar. For example, three combs from Lankhills, Winchester, DB 3, DB 14, DB 12 had a ring-and-dot decoration on the central bar (Clarke 1979), as did a comb from Hyde Street, Winchester, DB 40 (Rees *et al* 2008). One of the Lankhills combs with this type of decoration can be seen in Figure 31.

Occasionally the ring-and-dot design was only applied to the end plates of the comb. This might have been the case with a comb from Butt Road, DB 132, which had a small dot on the terminal piece, leading to the suggestion that this represented a ring-and-dot decoration (Crummy 1983) (Figure 32). There were also combs that had circular decorative motifs on the central bar, as well as the end pieces. Examples include DB 4, Lankhills, Winchester (Clarke 1979), DB 28, Victoria Road, Winchester (Rees *et al* 2008), and DB 312, the Theological College, Westgate, Chichester (Down and Magilton 1983). The ring-and-dot decoration on both parts of the comb can be seen on the Chichester piece in Figure 27.

While some combs with an abstract design were recovered from graves, one came from domestic buildings and one from a public area. Comb DB 1053 from the St Margaret's Street Baths, Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury site, has a pattern of Xs running along the centre with rivets in between (Blockley *et al* 1995). However, this piece is quite fragmented, so it is possible that other decoration had been applied to the missing end plates (Figure 33). Similarly a comb decorated with diagonal lines in pairs, DB 67, from Balkerne Lane, Colchester (Figure 34) was also missing the terminal pieces. Still, a comb with cross-hatched diagonal lines on the central bar from Silchester, Inner Earthworks, DB 1480, clearly shows undecorated end plates (Figure 35). All these combs have horizontal lines surrounding the central bar, which as well as acting as decoration, may have been used as guidelines for centring rivet holes during the comb construction (Galloway and Newcomer 1981).

There were a number of combs that had both ring-and-dot and abstract decoration. These include three from Butt Road, Colchester, DB 133, DB 135, and DB 134 and one of these can be seen in Figure 36 (Crummy 1983). The Winchester examples included combs from Lankhills, DB 6 (Clarke 1979), the Brooks, DB 3 (Zant 1993; Winchester Museum Service unpublished), and St Martin's Close, DB 41 and DB 42 (Rees *et al* 2008). The decoration was usually applied to the central bars and the end plates, except of course in the case of the triangular-shaped combs, such as those from Cathedral Green, Winchester (DB 995) (Figure 28) (Biddle 1970), and the Eastern Cemetery, London (DB 851) (Figure 37) (Barber and Bowsher 2000).

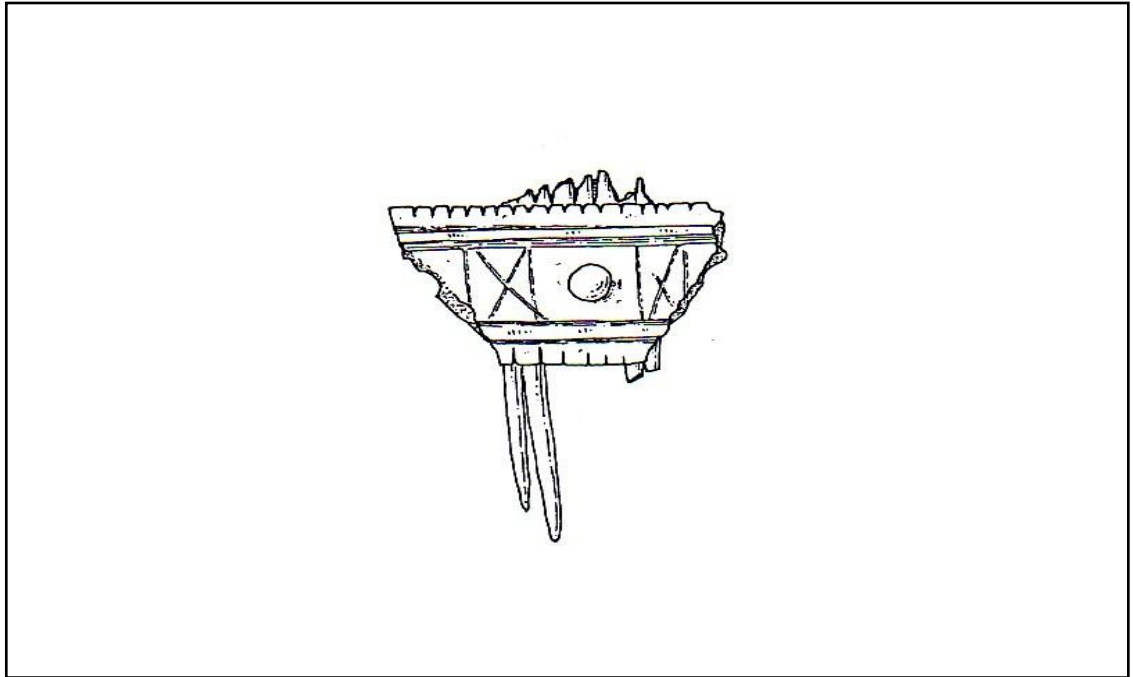


Figure 33 Abstract decoration, single diagonal crossed straight lines, on the central bar of a fragment of antler comb, DB 1053, St Margaret's Street Baths, Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury (Blockley *et al* 1995, 1168).

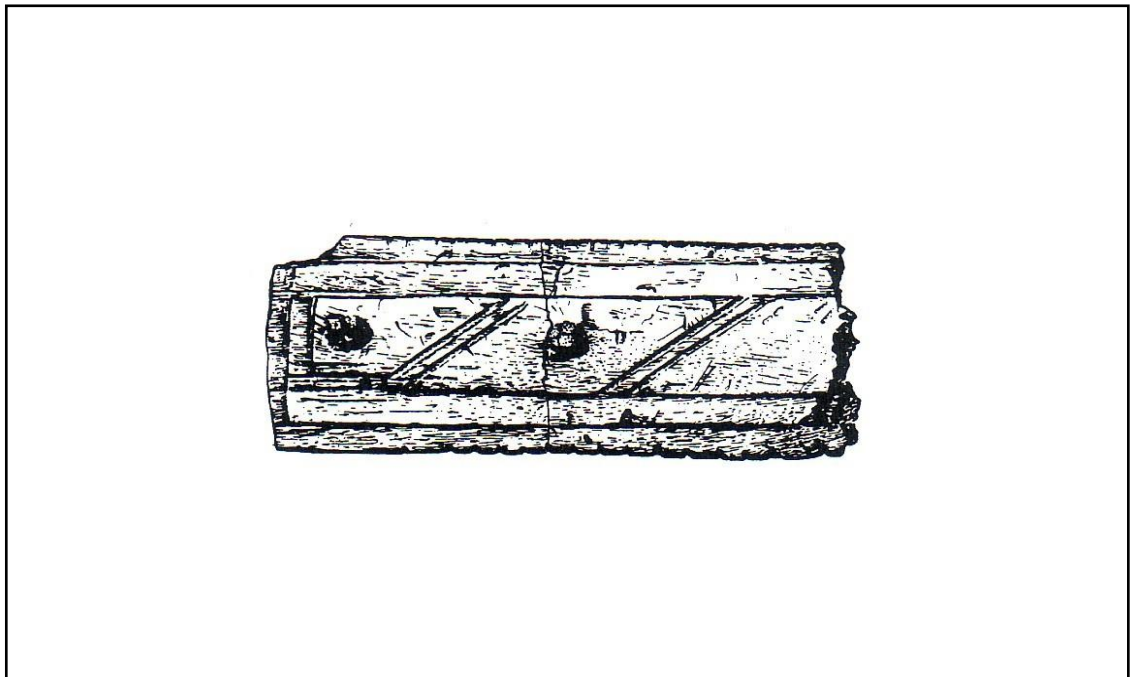


Figure 34 Abstract decoration, diagonal lines in pairs, on an antler comb, DB 67, Balkerne Lane, Colchester (Crummy 1983, 55).

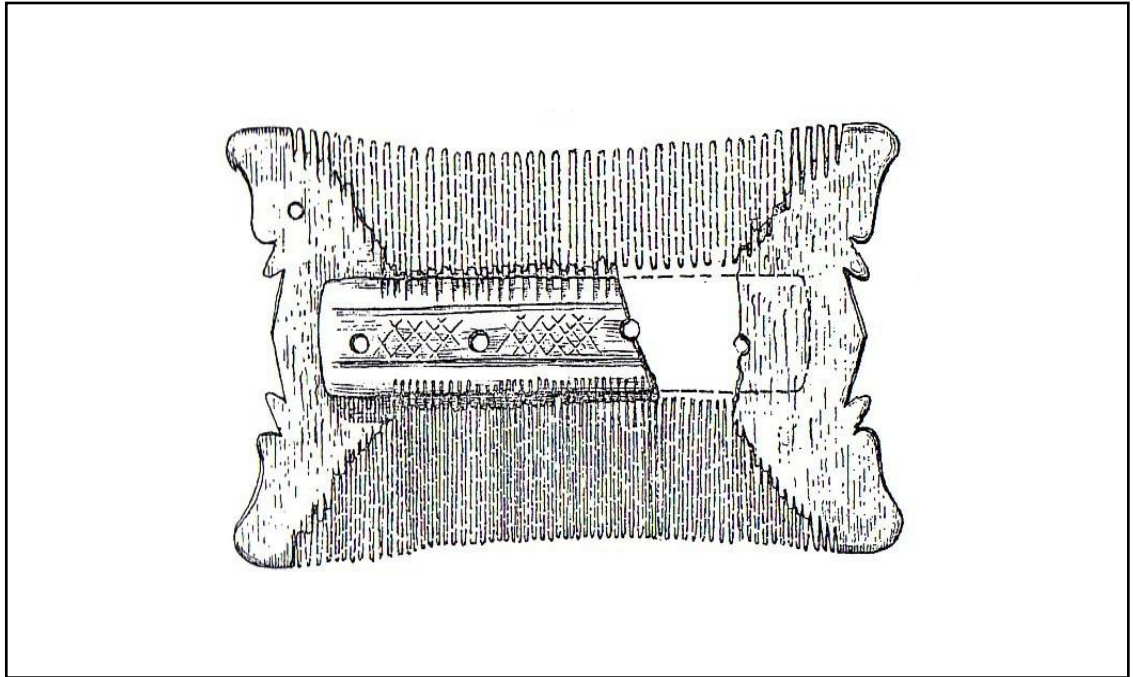


Figure 35 Abstract decoration, numerous diagonal crossed lines on central bar of a bone comb, and small hole, upper left end plate, DB 1480, Inner Earthworks, Silchester (Boon 1974, 124).

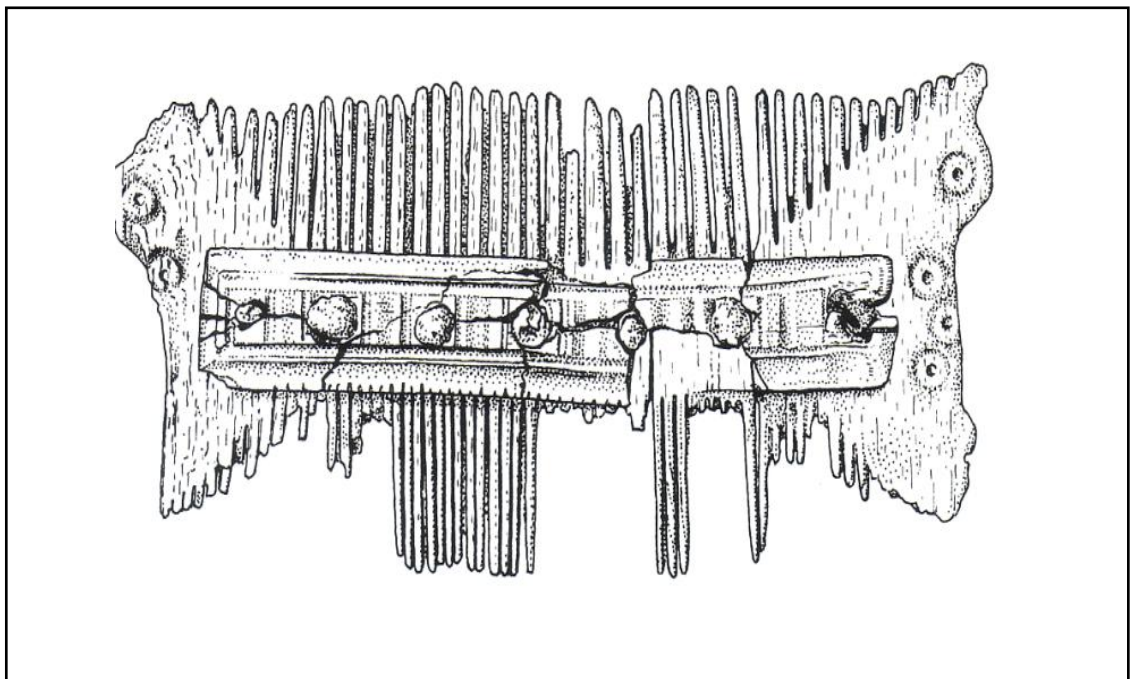


Figure 36 Circular (ring-and-dot on the end plates), and abstract decoration (vertical lines between the rivets, and horizontal lines on the central bar), on an antler comb. The end plates have a zoomorphic shape of an unidentified animal, with the ring-and-dot motifs, DB 134, Butt Road Cemetery, Colchester (Crummy 1983, 56).

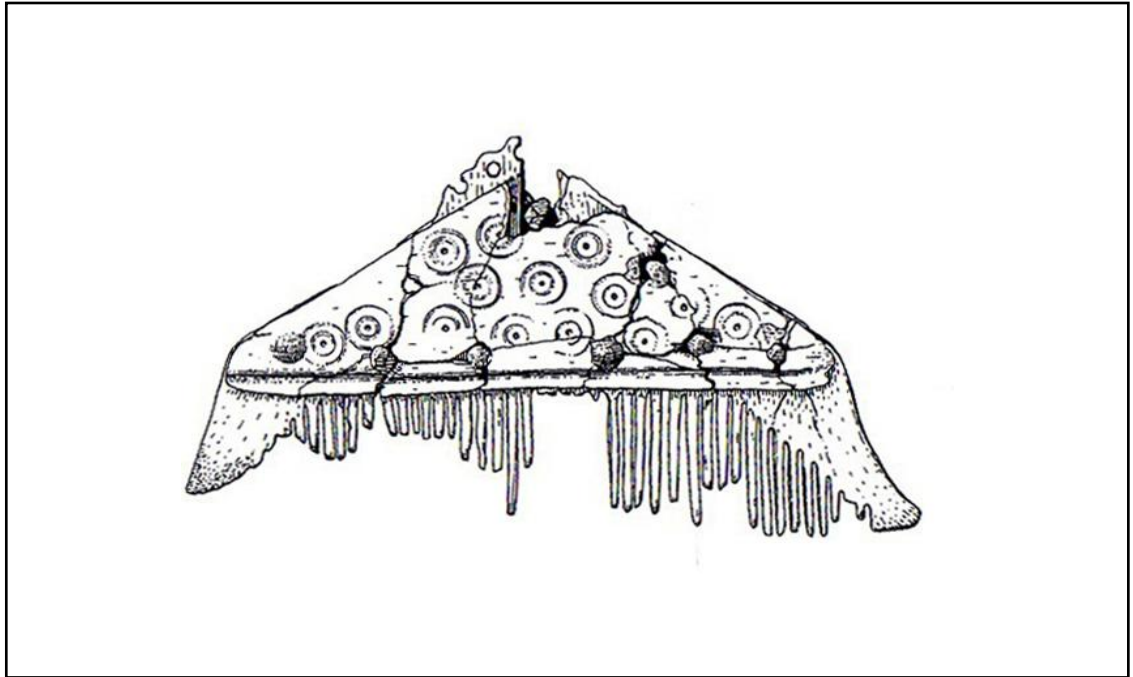


Figure 37 Circular decoration, ring-and-dot and abstract decoration, horizontal line above the teeth, triangular antler comb, DB 851, Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 184).

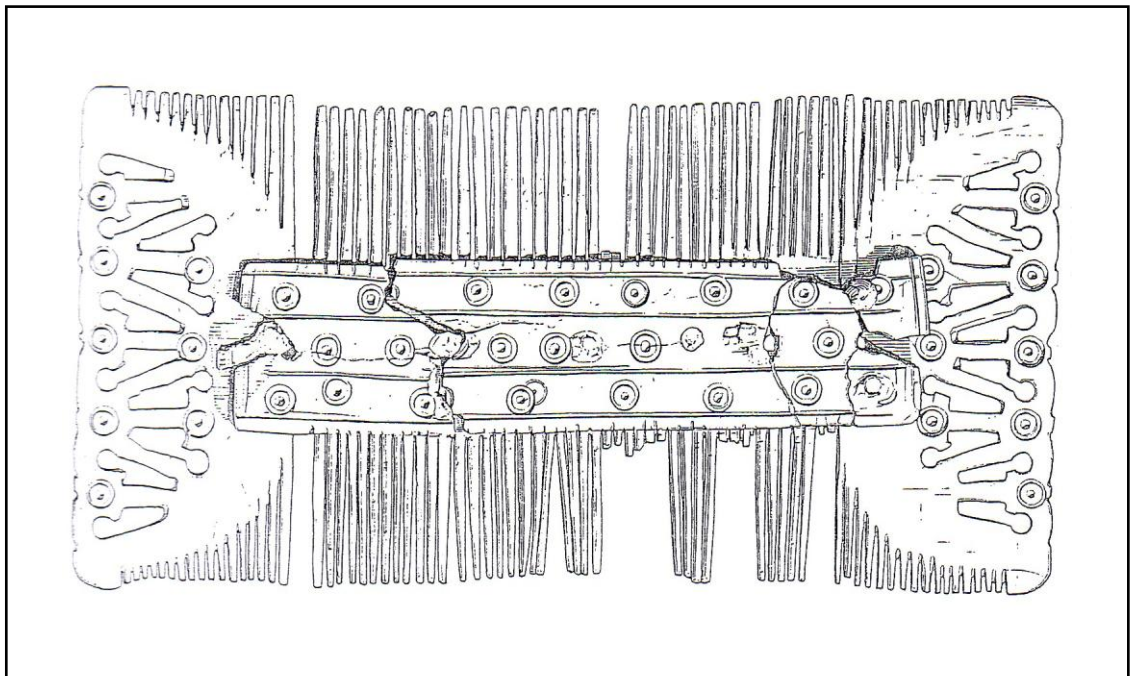


Figure 38 Stylised zoomorphic end plates purported to be shaped like horses heads, formed by holes and ring-and-dot decoration on an antler comb, DB 42, St Martin's Close, Winchester (Rees *et al* 2008, 18).

Although not strictly decoration, small holes (not for rivets) were placed in many of the combs. This feature can be seen on a comb from DB 986, Rosemary Lane Car Park, Canterbury (Bennett *et al* 1982), and on an example DB 132, from Butt Road, Colchester (Figure 32) (Crummy 1983), as well as on DB 1480, Silchester, Inner Earthworks comb, which had a hole in upper left hand end plate (Figure 35) (Boon 1969). These holes may have been used to hang the comb up, or carry them on the person, although almost all of the Lankhills, Winchester combs have more than one circular hole in the terminal pieces. A number of non-circular holes form part of a zoomorphic horse-shape design on the end plate of a comb DB 42, St Martin's Close, Winchester. It is suggested that while the holes create the appearance of the animal, the ring-and-dot decoration causes them to appear like the horse's 'eyes' (Figure 38) (Rees *et al* 2008). A similar idea can be seen on DB 134, Butt Road, Colchester (Figure 36) (Crummy 1983). Given the large variety of decoration on combs, it may be that combs were mass-produced, allowing the makers to apply decoration to order (Clarke 1979). Still, there were no combs with a pictorial decoration in this sample. One has been found at Annetwell Street, Carlisle which had figures of deities portrayed on the central bar (Pugsley 2003).

In respect to material and decoration, there was no particular difference between the use of bone or antler from the combs in this data-set. Wooden combs did not have any circular designs, and only three had abstract decoration. However the details relating to the decoration on a large proportion of these combs (26), which were mostly from London, were not reported. Single-sided and double-sided combs all had circular and abstract decoration, as did single piece and composite combs. It has been suggested that the decoration was done on composite combs before the rivets were inserted, as it would have been easier to apply (Galloway and Newcomer 1981).

8.14 Summary of Comb Findings

- **Summary of Settlements and Combs**
London and Winchester produced the highest count of combs.
- **Summary of Context and Combs**
The majority of combs were found in graves, although a few were found in the remaining contexts, except for wells and military establishments.
- **Summary of Context Dates and Combs**
Almost all the combs in this data-set came from late Roman contexts.
- **Summary of Associated Small Finds and Combs**
Glass unguent containers were the only small find discovered with combs, and these were found in a grave and 'other features'.
- **Summary of Associated Non-Toilet Finds and Combs**
Jewellery was the most common occurring item with combs, although vessels featured in a number of cases. A few coins were also associated with combs, as were a couple of hairpins. Within the 'other artefacts' category there were a

number of needles. Many items were deposited together in graves, although there were finds from various contexts.

- **Summary of Associated Human Skeletal Remains and Combs**

Combs were most commonly found in female graves. Many combs were located in the graves of 'young middle adults', although there were no 'mature' adult burials discovered with this artefact.

- **Summary of Associated Animal Skeletal Remains and Combs**

Horse and dog were found with combs, as well as cattle, sheep, pig and deer bones.

- **Summary of Comb Material**

The most common material for combs was bone, but there was very little difference in the counts between this, antler and wood. (There was only one example of ivory). Most wooden combs and the only ivory example were from London, while most bone and antler combs were found at Winchester. Bone and antler combs were generally recovered from graves, but wooden combs were more often located in 'other features'. The ivory comb was from a domestic building. In one case two combs of different material (wood and bone) were found in the same context (grave) together. Most complete combs were found in graves, with a few from 'other features' and domestic buildings.

- **Summary of Comb Forms**

The majority of combs were composite pieces. Graves were the most common context, although these combs were present in many of the other locations. The largest number of composite piece combs came from Winchester with the remainder from Colchester. London and Winchester were the only towns where single piece combs were found. A number of composite piece combs were found with graves, while two single piece combs were found in a grave and cemetery area. Composite combs were also found in lower numbers in domestic buildings and areas of public occupation, and there was one single piece comb from the former context. The forms of the combs from the multiple deposition sites were not reported. Composite combs were made of bone and antler and a few from wood, while the material for single piece combs was wood, bone or ivory. Almost all the composite combs were from the late Roman dates, with one single piece comb being dated to the early period.

- **Summary of Comb Types**

Many of the combs are double-sided, with fewer single-sided examples. The majority of double-sided combs were found at London and Winchester, whilst more single-sided combs were recovered from Winchester, with fewer from London. There were a number of double-sided combs from Colchester. Both double-sided and single-sided combs had been deposited in graves, although they were also both discovered in domestic and public locations. The types of combs from the multiple deposition sites were not reported. With the exception of the ivory comb, double-sided and single-sided combs were spread between the different materials, wood, bone and antler. Double-sided and single-sided combs were mostly composite

forms and the majority of both types were from the later Roman period. There were two examples of double-sided combs from early Roman dates.

- **Summary of Zoomorphic Types**

Of the identified animal zoomorphic type combs in this sample, the horse was the most popular animal, although there was one bird. They were all retrieved from Winchester. Most of the zoomorphic combs were from graves, except in one case where it was retrieved from a domestic building. All the zoomorphic combs were made of antler, and were of a composite form. One of the horse type combs was single-sided, whilst the remainder were double-sided. One zoomorphic comb was from the Roman period, whilst all the others were late Roman examples.

- **Summary of Combs Stamped**

There was only one stamped comb in this data-set from London, which was a wooden double-sided example and had a maker's mark.

- **Summary of Comb Decoration**

The decoration was fairly evenly spread in frequency between circular, abstract and a combination of circular and abstract. Most of the decorated combs were retrieved from Winchester, although they were found in many of the other settlements. The highest count of decorated combs came from graves, but other contexts such as domestic buildings and areas of public occupation were represented in the sample. Wood, bone and antler combs were decorated. Almost all were composite pieces that were double-sided. Two zoomorphic combs that were of known animals (horse) also had circular, and circular and abstract decoration. Some combs had circular holes in their design. Apart from one abstract decorated comb from the Roman period, the remaining decorated combs from known contexts were from the later periods.

CHAPTER 9

GLASS UNGUENT CONTAINERS FINDINGS

9.1 Settlements and Glass Unguent Containers

There was a large group of glass unguent containers, with 614 coming from the seven towns (Table 1-3). A considerable number were from Colchester (316) and 160 from London, making a combined 77% of the total. There were by contrast, only three glass unguent containers from Winchester (Tables 1-3, 2-3).

The total number of glass unguent containers was high possibly because Roman glass, unlike medieval pieces, tends to survive quite well. It is generally recognised that Colchester has one of the best collections of Roman glass, and indeed the highest counts in this data-set came from this settlement. This may partly be a consequence of the detailed publication of all identifiable glass fragments from the large excavations undertaken in the town during the 1970s and 1980s (see Cool and Price 1995). London was again the other settlement where there was a high frequency of glass unguent containers (see Chapter 7, Section 7.1 and Chapter 8, Section 8.1 for discussions on London and the frequency of mirrors and combs). The low counts from Winchester may similarly be due to publication issues, in this case the lack of literature on glass material from this settlement, which had not been fully published during the data collection period. Even so, it would seem Winchester had fewer glass unguent containers.

9.2 Contexts and Glass Unguent Containers

The most common contexts for glass unguent containers were domestic buildings (156), although there were none from these locations in Chichester and Winchester. An additional 108 pieces came from areas of public occupation, but only from three sites, Canterbury, Colchester and St Albans. One hundred and thirty-three were associated with 'other features', whilst 70 came from graves and cemetery areas. Ten were from military buildings at Colchester, with a single example from a well in London (Table 3-3).

Table 4-3 shows that three glass unguent containers were found together, on three occasions in graves, as well as there being five instances when two of these items had been retrieved together. If we consider the domestic buildings contexts in respect to multiple depositions of these finds, then three were found together at two subs-sites from London, and two were placed together on nine other occasions. There were eight, five, four and often two glass unguent containers found in the same location from 'other features'. The majority of multiple glass unguent container finds came from sites in London, particularly, 15-23, Southwark Street and Leadenhall Court (Cowan 1992; Milne and Wardle 1993).

The number of glass unguent containers from domestic and public areas in this sample was affected by the Colchester counts, 64 and 99 respectively. This is slightly increased if military sites are included (ten). Military sites have been connected with glass making in

Britain. In late second to mid-third century debris at Coppergate, York, receptacles to melt glass, semi-reacted batch materials, and glass fragments associated with glass blowing were found. In the York case it is suggested that soldiers from the Sixth Legion were manufacturing glass from raw materials to make windows, rather than glass wares (Cool *et al* 1999). Still, as the pottery industries were supported by the military, it is probable that there was also a demand for glassware at fortresses such as Colchester (Cool and Price 1995). Glass waste and a moile (the surplus part of the glass left on, or cut away and discarded from, the blowing iron when the vessel was removed) was found at Culver Street, Colchester, although there were only three glass unguent containers directly associated with the military structures, DB 406, DB 419 and DB 234 (Cool and Price 1995). There were many more glass unguent containers (53) retrieved from the houses and street areas in Culver Street, Colchester. For example DB 204, a rim fragment from a glass unguent container was found in room 4, building 112, where it was reported there was an excellent sequence of floor and occupation deposits (Cool and Price 1995; Crummy P. 1992). Two glass unguent containers were found together on four occasions at the Forum-Basilica site, Silchester, DB 544 and DB 545, DB 541 and DB 542, DB 547 and DB 550, DB 551 and DB 545, and three were retrieved from the entrance area of the Flavian timber basilica (Fulford and Timby 2000).

Both Chichester and Winchester failed to reveal any glass unguent containers from either domestic buildings, or areas of public occupation. There were more of these items from 'other features', ten from Chichester for instance. Indeed the largest group of multiple depositions of glass unguent containers (seven, DB 1417 – DB 1424) from 15-23, Southwark, were found in a pit (Cowan 1992). Old broken glass (cullet) had a value (unlike broken pottery), in that it could be collected and returned to the glass-blowers, who could melt it down to make new vessels (Cool 1995). A recreation of a Roman glass maker's workshop can be seen in the Museum of London, the cullet on the floor next to the newly made glass unguent containers in a basket (Figure 39). It has been argued that the presence of glass unguent containers in features such as pits may be due to a lack of local recycling (Price and Cottam 1998). However at Sheepen, Colchester (a site where there seems to be evidence of glass manufacturing, see Cool and Price 1995) concentrations of glass (including unguent containers DB 883 and DB 884) have been found in pits such as feature 102 (Niblett 1985). It is of course worth reiterating that, as with mirrors (see Chapter 7, Section 7.8), much of the glass was imported from the Rhineland and northern Gaul.

Fewer glass unguent bottles (55) were found in graves, compared to domestic buildings and public areas, although apart from Silchester, these finds were retrieved from burials in every town. Many were from large burial sites such as the Eastern Cemetery, London (nine, DB 853-DB 861) (Barber and Bowsher 2000), Watling Street, Southwark, London, (seven, DB 898 - DB 904) (Mackinder 2000), St Pancras, Chichester (six, DB 48 - DB 53) (Down and Rule 1971), Lower Slope, Folly Lane, St Albans (four, DB 664 – DB 667) (Niblett 1999), and Butt Road, Colchester (three, DB 213, DB 227, DB 245) (Crummy 1983), suggesting that the deposition of glass unguent containers in graves was common



Figure 39 Recreation of a glass makers workshop, with cullett on the floor and new glass unguent containers in the basket nearby (Author's photograph, taken with kind permission of the Museum of London).

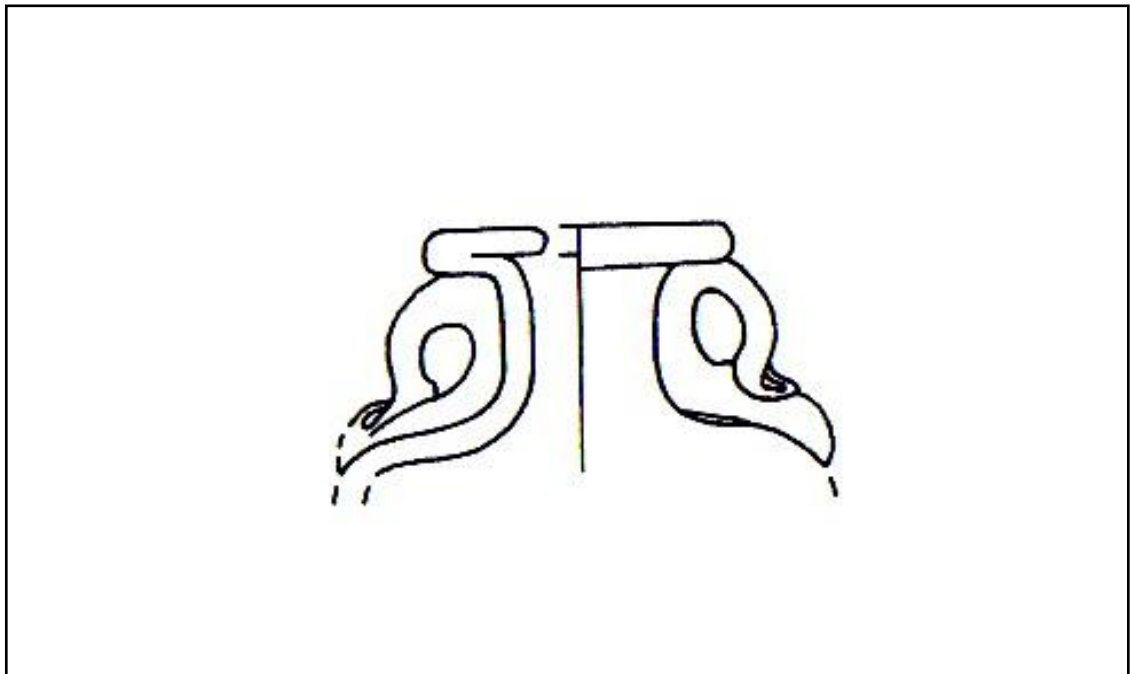


Figure 40 Zoomorphic dolphin handles on a glass unguent container (bath flask), DB 214, Culver Street, Colchester (Cool and Price 1995, 158).

practice throughout the south-east of Britain. These finds were found in double and triple numbers in single graves, so for instance at the Lower Slope, Folly Lane, DB 664, DB 666 and DB 667 were retrieved from one burial (Niblett 1999).

9.3 Context Dates and Glass Unguent Containers

In relation to dates, the largest number of glass unguent containers came from early Roman Britain, although about half that amount (105) came from later periods. There were 122 examples of unspecified Roman date. Forty-two percent (101) of the early glass unguent containers were associated with domestic buildings, while three late Iron Age and Roman containers were recovered from graves, with one from 'other features' (Table 5-3).

Only four glass unguent containers were associated with late Iron Age and Roman deposits, DB 1568 and DB 1569, Stanway, Colchester (Crummy 1997b; Crummy 2002a; Crummy *et al* 2007), DB 786, Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989), and DB 880, Insula 28, St Albans (Frere 1984), with the vast majority from the early Roman periods. Indeed it is generally accepted that glass items, including unguents containers, became more common in Britain during the first century AD, and this sample seems to conform to this pattern (Harden 1970; Price and Cottam 1998). The many pieces recorded in this data-set were recovered from the remaining periods, suggesting that glass unguent containers were in circulation and popular throughout the entire Roman occupation of Britain.

9.4 Associated Small Finds and Glass Unguent Containers

Twenty additional toilet items were associated with glass unguent containers. All the mirrors and combs found with glass unguent containers were from graves and cemetery areas, as were five additional toilet items (Table 6-3). If the additional toilet items are subdivided, the most common were unspecified items (seven), (one ear-scoop, one bath flask chain, five cosmetic boxes), followed by tweezers (four), and *ligulae* (toilet spoons) (three). The most common location for additional toilet finds and glass unguent containers was 'other features' (ten), with six being in graves and cemetery areas, and four from domestic settings (Table 7-3). Table 8-3 shows that two glass unguent containers were deposited in a grave with two mirrors, while in 'other features' eight glass unguent containers were found together with two additional toilet items. One additional toilet item was also found in a domestic building with three glass unguent containers. No combs or bronze cosmetic grinders were found with unguent flasks

The presence of mirrors (DB 846, DB 847, DB 1139, DB 1140 and DB 47) and combs (DB 130, DB 131 and DB 852) with glass unguent containers has been discussed in previous chapters (Chapter 7, Section 7.4 and Chapter 8, Section 8.4). There were a number of additional toilet finds (20) with glass unguent containers. Of particular interest were three *ligulae*, (toilet spoons with long-handles) (DB 1415, DB 1396 and DB 935), for it is argued that these were used to extract substances such as cosmetics from narrow bottles and flasks. (See Chapter 11, Section 11.1 and Figure 63 for discussions and an example of a *ligula*. Also see Chapter 10, Section 10.4, for further discussions on bronze

cosmetic grinders and *ligulae*). However, while the three *ligulae* that had each been found with a glass unguent container came from different contexts (domestic building, cemetery area and ‘other features’) they were all from Southwark, London (Cowan 1992; Graham 1978a; Yule 2005). This therefore means that within this sample there were no *ligulae* directly associated with glass unguent containers outside this area of London. It is also often reported that stirring rods may have been used to mix oils and perfumes in the glass containers (see Chapter 11, Section 11.6, and Figure 68 for a discussion and an example of a stirring rod). There were no examples of these finds found with glass unguent containers, with the exception of a long tapering jet rod (listed as unspecified toilet items in the database, DB 975) recovered from a grave, Spitalfield, London (Thomas 1999).

Other finds included three cosmetic boxes, DB 840 and DB 866 (not from the same context) from Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000), and DB 976, Spitalfield, London (Thomas 1999). It seems unlikely that glass unguent containers would have been stored in these items. Two strigils, DB 772 and DB 773, were recovered from the same grave as a glass unguent container, DB 1573, during the rescue excavations at King Harry Lane, St Albans (Niblett 1990; Niblett and Reeves 1990). It is known that unguents mixed with oil were applied to the body for cleansing purposes, and strigils (curved metal implements) (Chapter 11, Section, 11.1; Figure 69) were used to scrape this off, along with sweat and grime. In addition, a very small bowl, DB 1529, which might have been used to grind materials for cosmetics, was discovered with an unguent container, DB 1525, in a pit at 20-30, Aldgate, London (Chapman and Johnson 1973). One item listed in the sample as an unspecified find, was a bath flask chain, DB 1374, from 201-211, Borough High Street, Southwark, London (that was found with glass unguent container, DB 1380, and tweezers, DB, 1375) (Ferretti and Graham 1978). This chain could have been included in the unguent container count, but as it was not glass, it was recorded in this manner.

9.5 Associated Non-Toilet Finds and Glass Unguent Containers

There were 265 occasions that non-toilet finds were associated with glass unguent containers and of these, 115 were vessels, 37 jewellery, and 31 coins. One hundred of the finds were in the context of ‘other features’, 96 in domestic buildings, and 65 in graves and cemetery areas. There was one weapon found in a grave along with a glass unguent container (Table 9-3).

Vessels, coins and jewellery, and on five occasions, a number of hairpins were deposited with glass unguent containers. Venus figurines were recovered with glass unguent containers DB 860, DB 1491 and DB 1492 in graves from Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000), and Beverley Road, Colchester (Eckhart 1999). Part of a ball of blue frit (raw pigment of blue colouring) was found in the same context (pit) as the eight unguent containers (DB 1417-1421, DB 1423 and DB 1424). This may have been used for paints, enamelling or even cosmetics (Cowan 1992). There was also a pendant with a hand pointing from Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury found with a glass unguent container, DB 1057.

The weapon recorded with glass unguent containers (DB 1568 and DB 1569) was an iron spearhead from the 'Warrior's' burial, Stanway, Colchester (Crummy 1997b; Crummy 2002a; Crummy *et al* 2007). A few knives or their handles were also associated with other glass items (DB 294, St Pancras, Chichester (Down and Rule 1971), DB 1438, DB 1439 and DB 1440, 15-23, Southwark Street, London (Cowan 1992), and DB 1106, Paternoster Square, London (Watson and Heard 1996)), but these were not noted as weapons. A slightly more unusual set of items, a miniature sword and scabbard (a close copy of their full-size counterparts) was found with glass unguent container DB 990 in a grave from Cranmer House, London Road, Canterbury (Frere *et al* 1987). The range of other items found with glass unguent containers included needles, lamps, horse tack, writing tablets and gaming items. There was also a dog figurine (broken below the muzzle) found with a number of other objects in a pit with two glass unguent containers, DB 1444 and DB 1445, at 15-23, Southwark Street, London (Cowan 1992).

9.6 Associated Human Skeletal Remains and Glass Unguent Containers

Seven male burials were recovered with glass unguent containers from four different settlements (Canterbury, Colchester, London and St Albans), while female skeletal remains were only recovered with these items from two settlements (Colchester and London) (Table 10-3). Glass unguent containers were found with seven young middle adults, two young adults and three children. There were no findings from middle or mature adults although glass containers had been recovered with seven bodies estimated to be adults (Table 11-3). Table 12-3 considers the data of multiple human skeletal remains and their association with glass unguent containers. It shows one burial contained two young adult females and three glass unguent containers, while one of these items had been placed with an adult and child, and another with two adults.

In most cases the gender and age of human skeletal remains recovered with glass unguent containers was not reported. There were more male burials with glass unguent containers than female, and the distribution of the male graves was wider than that of the females. As with mirrors and combs (see Chapter 7, Section 7.6 and Chapter 8, Section 8.6) middle and mature adults were not represented in the human bone findings. Young middle adults and young adults were more strongly represented along with children, all of whom were buried with glass unguent containers. Each of the double burials had different groupings of gender and age. Glass unguent container, DB 990, was found with a male adult, and a second adult (gender not reported) from Cranmer House, Canterbury (Frere *et al* 1987), while DB 665 from Lower Slope Folly Lane, St Albans, was retrieved with an adult and a child (gender not reported) (Niblett 1999). Three containers, DB 952 – DB 954, had been deposited in a grave with two young female adults (possibly twin sisters who had died at the same time), from St Mary's Hospital, Colchester (Colchester Archaeological Trust 2002; Crummy 2006a). These findings show considerable variation in the age and gender of the people who were buried with glass unguent containers.

9.7 Associated Animal Skeletal Remains and Glass Unguent Containers

The remains of cattle and pig were the most frequent animal bones found with glass unguent containers, while pig, as well as wild bird and chicken, were most commonly deposited in graves with these types of artefacts. Apart from some cattle remains from a cemetery area at Winchester, there was always a mixture of species recovered with glass unguent containers. On one occasion dog remains were found in 'other features' at Colchester. No fish or cats were associated with glass unguent containers (Table 13-3).

The dog remains from Sheepen, Colchester, deposited with glass unguent container, DB 886, were also found with cattle, sheep, goat, pig and deer remains from a large rubbish pit (Niblett 1985). There was a similar picture with the horse remains (also found with cattle, sheep and pig) found in pits at Sheepen, Colchester and Silchester, Insula 9 (associated with glass unguent containers, DB 887 and DB 824 respectively (Niblett 1985; Fulford *et al* 2006)). The only animal grave deposits (wild bird, chicken and pig), were recovered with glass unguent container, DB 1364, from the Milland site, Winchester (Collis 1978). It is worth noting that pig bones are known to have been found alongside glass unguent containers at a number of other cremation burials, such as those at Fishergate House and Blue Bridge Lane, York (Burnham *et al* 2003).

9.8 Glass Unguent Containers Material

All unguent containers in this sample were made of glass (see Chapter 6, Section 6.10 for further discussion). Table 16-3 shows that, of the 35 complete glass unguent containers, 33 were found in graves, and two in cemetery areas. However the majority (571) were incomplete.

Roman glass was made of silica (sand) with soda added as an alkali and calcium to keep the material stable when cooled, and it was the most commonly used material for unguent containers (Cool 1995; Cool and Price 1995; Price and Cottam 1998). In respect to the number of complete unguent containers, given the fragile nature of glass, it is not surprising that in this sample the majority came from graves. However a complete glass unguent container, DB 893, was found in an open area at the Cripplegate site, London (Howe and Lakin 2004), while two almost complete examples were also discovered in 'other features' contexts. DB 758 had been deposited in a pit at the Roman settlement, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989), and DB 1138 was found by a Roman defensive wall at the Tower of London site (Parnell 1985).

9.9 Glass Unguent Containers, Zoomorphic Types

Thirty-one glass unguent containers had a zoomorphic marine element, of which 15 were from Colchester. There was one example of a bird from Silchester (Table 30-3). Eleven of the zoomorphic marine type containers were from domestic buildings and public occupation, three from a grave, and seven from 'other features' (Table 31-3). Table 35-3 shows that of the zoomorphic marine glass unguent containers, eight and seven were from the late and early Roman periods respectively, while six could only be dated to the Roman occupation. None of the zoomorphic containers were from the late Iron Age.



Figure 41 Zoomorphic dolphin handles on a glass bottle (Author's photograph, taken with kind permission of Winchester Museum Services).



Figure 42 Zoomorphic dolphin handles on a glass unguent container (modern copy of a bath flask) (Author's photograph).

Apart from one instance, the zoomorphic elements on the glass unguent containers in this sample related to dolphin-shaped handles, applied in several different ways to the neck and shoulder of flasks (usually on bath flasks) (Figure 40; Figure 41; Figure 42) (Price and Cottam 1998). The dolphin was a common zoomorphic form during the Roman period and has been found as a flagon lid at 15-23, Southwark Street, London (Figure 43) (Beard and Cowan 1988), and as bronze handles for bowls, wooden boxes and military helmets (Hall 1977). The bird (the only example of this type of animal in the data-set), formed the shape of a blue thin-blown glass unguent container from Silchester (Figure 44) (Boon 1974). Similar bird unguent containers are known from the Continent, including examples from Pompeii and Herculaneum (Isings 1957).

9.10 Glass Unguent Containers Coloured and Colourless

Of the 544 coloured glass unguent containers that formed this sample, 289 came from Colchester and 136 from London. From the 46 colourless containers, excavations at Colchester yielded 24, with 13 from London. A small number of glass unguent containers were found at Chichester and Winchester, but none were reported as colourless (Table 36-3). Domestic buildings provided the largest number of coloured glass unguent containers (147), whilst the highest numbers of non-coloured items (12) were found in graves. One hundred coloured containers were recovered from areas of public occupation (Table 37-3). There were three graves where coloured and colourless glass unguent containers were found together. There was, in addition, one other instance where this occurred in an 'other feature' context. In other cases of multiple depositions the majority of glass unguent containers were coloured, with the exception of one from Spitalfield, London where there were two colourless items found together. There were four cases of coloured and colourless glass unguent containers deposited in the same context (Table 38-3). All the zoomorphic types that were reported were coloured (Table 39-3). The coloured and colourless items were spread across a range of late Iron Age and Roman dates (Table 40-3).

Natural glass has a greenish appearance (because of the iron in the silica, see Figure 45), while strong colours (such as blues, yellows, browns, oranges and reds) were created by adding different agents (Harden 1970) (Figure 46). Glass could be made colourless by the addition of a de-colorant to the batch. This sample shows that there were much larger numbers of coloured unguent containers (they were found in every town), compared to colourless items, suggesting that coloured items (both natural and those that had additional colour added) were popular. Indeed all the zoomorphic glass unguent containers were coloured, although this may partly be due to many of these being in the form of bath flasks, often made in natural glass. In the Iron Age it was found that boiling wool with yellow plant dye produced dark green, which led to the popularity of this colour in plaids (Barber 1999). This might be one reason that natural (green) glass was attractive to people in the early Roman period. It is generally reported that colourless glass was an expensive commodity, which might help explain some of these findings. However, despite the differences in the counts, almost all the different types of contexts contained both coloured and colourless containers (the only absence being colourless glass in military buildings and

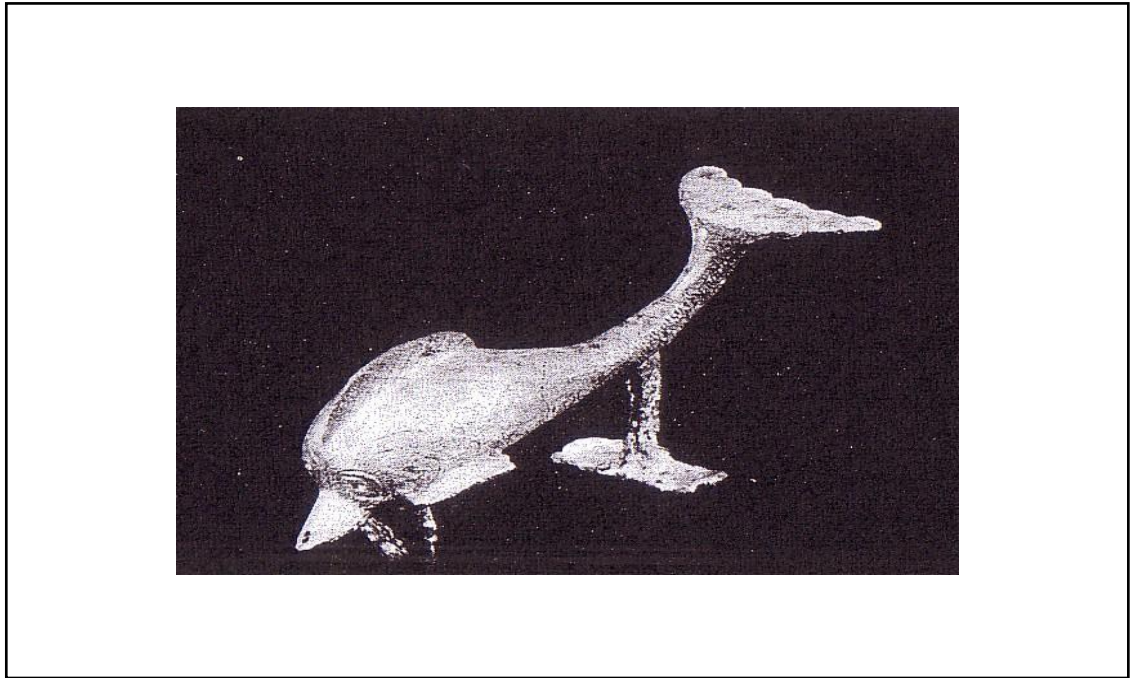


Figure 43 Dolphin flagon lid, 15-23 Southwark Street, London (Beard and Cowan 1988, 377).

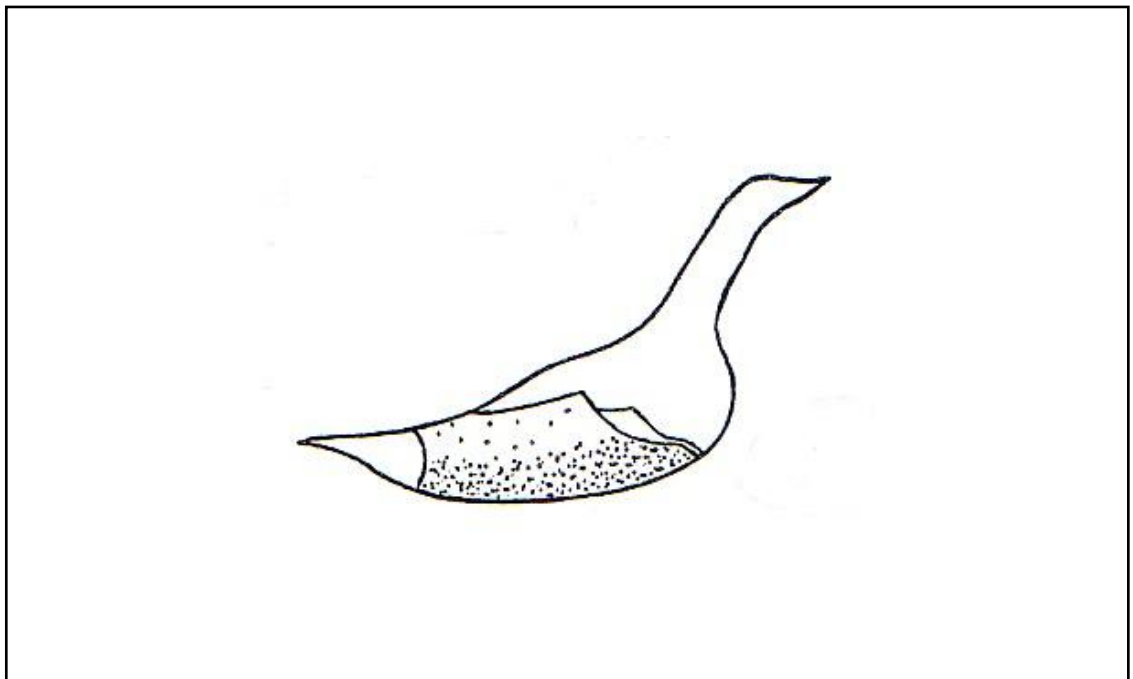


Figure 44 Zoomorphic bird glass unguent container, Silchester (Boon 1974, 231).



Figure 45 Natural coloured glass unguent container (author's Roman glass unguent container) (Author's photograph).



Figure 46 Blue coloured glass unguent container (modern copy of a phial) (Author's photograph).

wells). While there were more coloured glass unguent containers in graves, a number of colourless examples were also retrieved from burial contexts. The presence of this type of glass unguent container in these locations might have been an attempt to represent the spirit form of the dead person.

There were four instances where coloured and colourless glass unguent containers were discovered together in the same context. Two different unguent containers were found together in a burial at Watling Street, Southwark, London. The first was a colourless ovoid bottle, DB 898, whilst the second, DB 899, a small natural green-blue jar (Mackinder 2000). The 'Warrior' burial at Stanway, Colchester had two small glass phials, one, DB 1568, was blue, and the other, DB 1569, was colourless. Along with many finds from this burial, there was a glass bowl that was also a different colour (amber) to the two unguent containers (Crummy 1997b; Crummy 2002a; Crummy *et al* 2007). There were two glass unguents (one coloured and one colourless), DB 854 and DB 853, found in a burial in the Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000). The final example was from a layer of dark earth sealing two gullies of unknown function from 199, Borough High Street, where DB 1408, a colourless flask, was found with DB 1409, a brown example (Schaaf 1988). All the remaining glass unguents flasks found in the same context were coloured, with the exception of the London Spitalfield grave.

9.11 Glass Unguent Containers Stamped

A total of five glass unguent containers were stamped (two from Chichester and three from London). A further 609 containers were not stamped (Table 41-3). Two of these stamped artefacts were associated with graves, one from London and one from Chichester (Table 42-3). Thirty-one of the non-stamped glass unguent containers were zoomorphic marine styles (Table 46-3), although there were also three stamped coloured examples (Table 47-3). Four were from the early Roman or the Roman period (Table 48-3).

The glass unguent container from a grave at Chichester, St Pancras, DB 52, contained the stamp, 'Product of Briginius Ingenuil', which was most likely a maker's mark (Down and Rule 1971). Another Chichester example, DB 315 (from Central Car Park, David Grieg), was inscribed with letters, the first being 'P' (Down 1974), while at Watling Street, Southwark, London, there was a glass unguent container, DB 901, from a grave which had 'PATRI' on its base (Mackinder 2000). It has been suggested that these writings might relate to the legend 'PATRIMONI' which, it has been argued, was a validation of products from an Imperial Estate, rather than the name of the manufacturer (Mackinder 2000; Allason-Jones 2005). Finally, the other two inscribed glass unguent containers came from Southwark, London, with the first, DB 1370, from Toppings and Sun Wharf (Sheldon 1974), and the other, DB 1394, from 1-7, St Thomas Street (Dennis 1978). In both cases details of the inscriptions were not reported.

9.12 Glass Unguent Containers Decoration

Ten percent (61) of all the glass unguent containers were decorated, while 90% (553) had no decoration. Thirty-three of the decorated containers had abstract designs, with 79% of

these from Colchester, although there were also six from St Albans and one from Canterbury. There were no abstract decorated glass unguent containers from London, but two containers with circular designs came from this town. These latter artefacts contributed to the total of 19 glass unguent containers that had circular decoration, with another eight from Colchester, five from Canterbury and four from St Albans. A few glass unguent containers (6) were decorated with both abstract and circular styles. In respect to pictorial decoration, two were from Colchester, and one was from Canterbury (Table 49-3).

Fifty-seven percent (19) of the abstract decorations were found in domestic buildings and areas of public occupation. Twelve percent (4) came from graves and cemetery areas. In addition, there were two from 'other features'. Circular decorated glass unguent containers were found in all contexts apart from military and wells. One container with a pictorial design was from a domestic building (Table 50-3). There was only one case of multiple depositions of glass unguent containers where the decoration varied. In this instance one container had both circular and abstract designs, whilst the other was not decorated (Table 51-3).

Of the abstract decorated items, two had zoomorphic (marine) elements, while the glass unguent containers with circular designs had one piece with this type of zoomorphic feature (Table 55-3). Three of the colourless glass unguent containers had abstract designs, although 30 examples with this decoration were coloured. Fifteen circular, all three circular and abstract, and the three pictorial decorated glass unguent containers were also coloured (Table 56-3). None of the decorated examples were stamped (Table 57-3). One of the circular decorated, and one undecorated glass unguent containers were dated to the late Iron Age or early Romano-British periods. In addition, two undecorated containers came from the late Iron Age and Roman period. There was one pictorial example from early Roman dates, as were 11 of the abstract designs, as well as six from the later period. Eight glass unguent containers with an abstract design were from unspecified Roman periods, as was one pictorial piece. Seven circular decorated glass unguent containers were from the later dates. Of the non-decorated and non-reported items, 222 were from early Roman dates, 89 from the later Roman centuries, with 112 dated to the general Roman period (Table 58-3).

There is a wide variation of decoration on glass unguent containers, much of which has contributed to typological classifications (Isings 1957). The decoration may have been formed when the glass unguent container was hot, as was the case with applied blobs, trails or tooling (used to create folds or indents), or decoration could be formed on cold glass by cutting or abrasion (Price and Cottam 1998).

A number of the glass unguent containers had abstract designs, such as those with elongated indentations. Examples include DB 241 (a complete unguent bottle) from a grave at Maldon Road, Colchester (Figure 47) (Cool and Price 1995), and DB 991 (body of an unguent bottle) from a grave at Cranmer House, Canterbury (Figure 48) (Frere *et al*

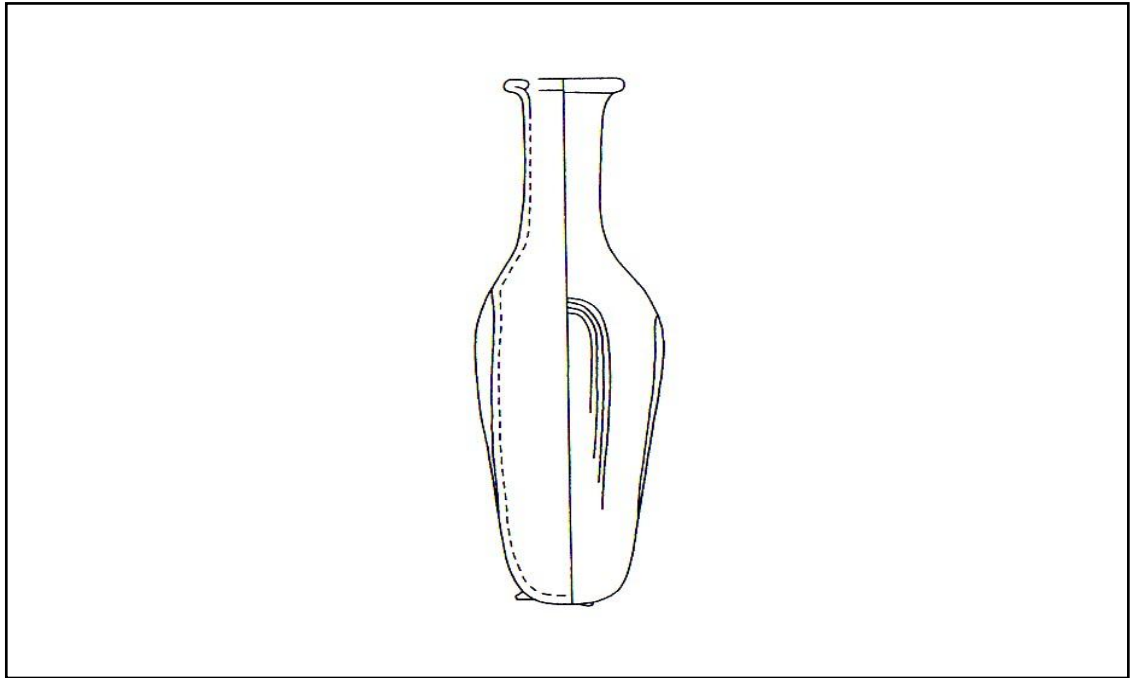


Figure 47 Abstract decoration, elongated indentations on a complete unguent bottle, DB 241, Maldon Road, Colchester (Cool and Price 1995, 163).

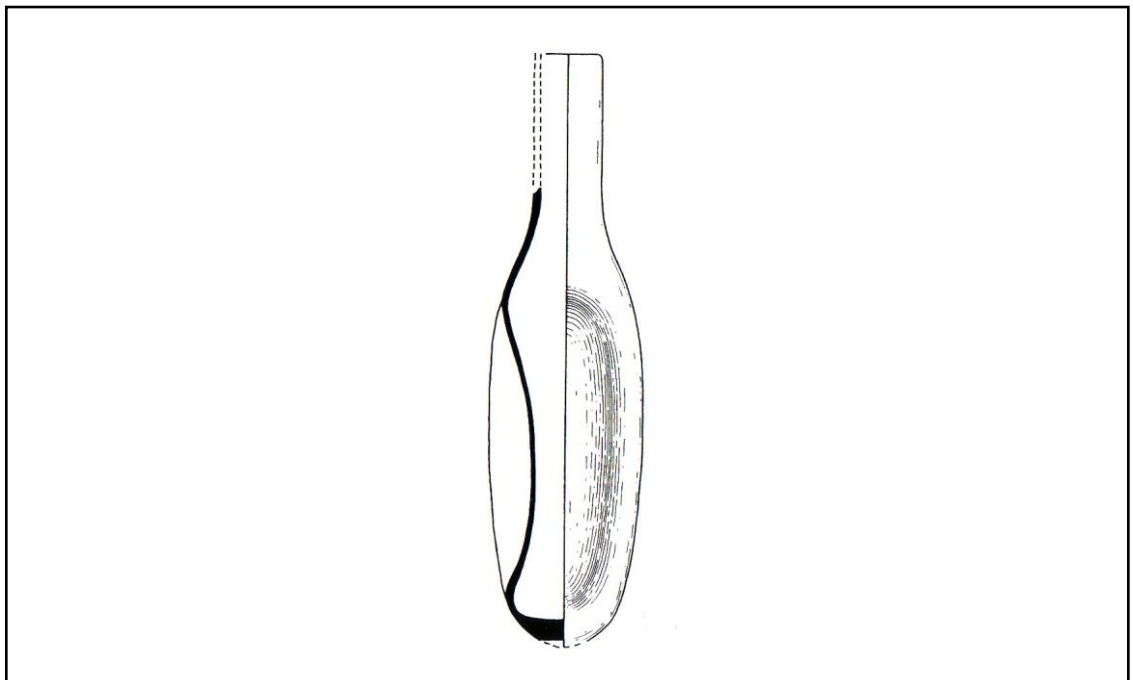


Figure 48 Abstract decoration, indents on the body of glass unguent container, DB 991, Cranmer House, Canterbury (Frere *et al* 1987, 279).

1987). Other types in this category are asymmetrical forms, such as the decoration on DB 240 (a lower body fragment from an unguent bottle) found at Culver Street, Colchester (Figure 49) (Cool and Price 1995), or even the tooling on the rim of a glass unguent flask DB 757 from the Roman period at King Harry Lane, St Albans (Figure 50) (Stead and Rigby 1989).

One type of circular decoration consists of wheel cuts around the neck or body of the glass unguent container. This type of design was found on a neck fragment, DB 277, from Balkerne Lane, Colchester, and part of the base of an unguent container, DB 719, Insula 17, St Albans (Cool and Price 1995; Frere 1984). Spirals, applied to the glass, often ran horizontally around the neck or base areas of glass unguent containers (others such as the 'snake thread' trails were abstract in appearance). Of the circular forms, DB 786 a distorted melted unguent bottle from the Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans, had applied opaque bright blue spiral trails (Stead and Rigby 1989). A number of glass unguent containers with this type of circular decoration came from Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury (DB 1092-DB 1096), which, although recorded as *aryballoi* (bulbous-bodied oil-flasks) by the authors, are rare and there is a slight possibility that the glass fragments came from jugs instead (Blockley *et al* 1995). Blobs of glass are another type of decoration included in this section, although it can be argued that these are not true circles. Glass unguent containers, DB 879, Sheepen, Colchester (Niblett 1985), and DB 1432, 15-23, Southwark Street, London (Cowan 1992) fall into this category respectively. There are no illustrations of these particular finds, but similar features are shown in Figure 51.

Both circular and abstract types of decoration were present on DB 877, from Sheepen, Colchester, where white vertical trails are overlaid by combed horizontal trails (Niblett 1985). Glass unguent containers, DB 681 and DB 682, from Insula 14, St Albans, displayed horizontal trails around the neck, and abstract tooling on the rim (Figure 52) (Frere 1972). The final item in this section relates to the glass unguent container, DB 973, from Spitalfield, London, where applied glass in zigzags was surrounded by circles (Figure 53) (Thomas 1999). In addition, there was only one instance in this sample where two unguent containers, one decorated, DB 973, and one plain, DB 974, were found together, and this was from the Spitalfield site.

There were three pictorial examples in the data-set. The first, a mercury flask (DB 206 from Balkerne Lane, Colchester) had a raised palm branch design (Figure 54), whilst another was a discoid unguent bottle, DB 413 (Culver Street, Colchester) impressed with a leaf design (unfortunately this latter container had not been illustrated) (Cool and Price 1995). The third item, DB 1098, from Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury was an impressed stamp. It depicted a female with ringlets of hair by the side of the face, a wreath, and possible sun rays around the head (Figure 55) (Blockley *et al* 1995; Price and Cottam 1998). It should be noted that given the state of preservation it was difficult to establish the exact glass item that this stamp came from, but an unguent container was one suggestion.

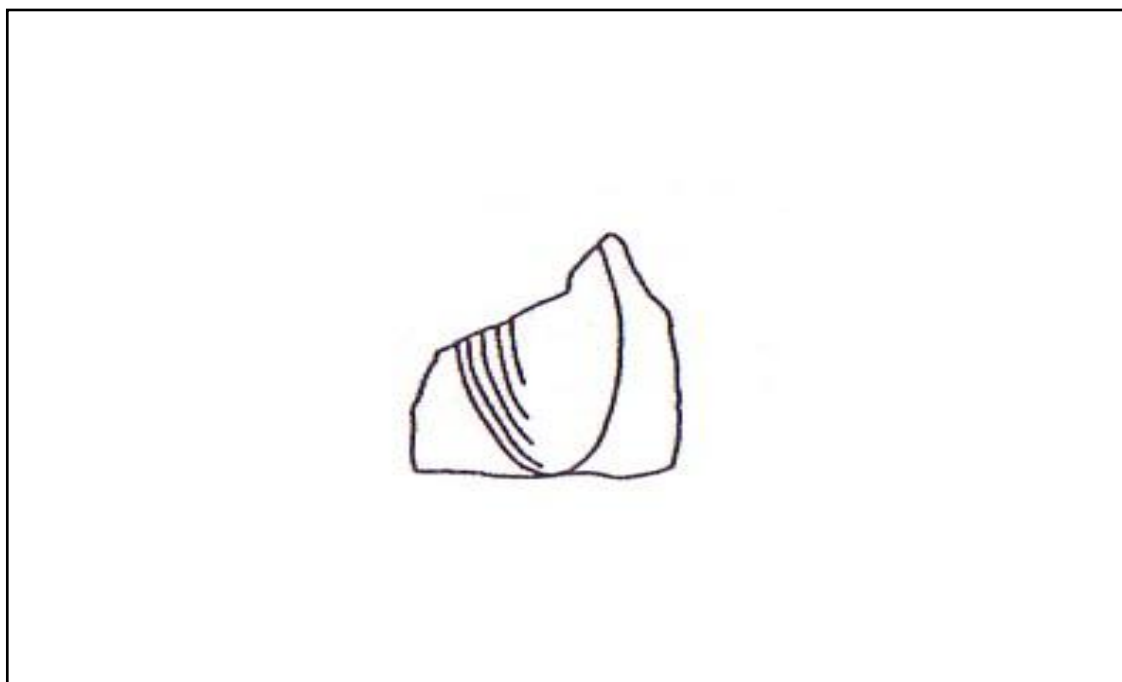


Figure 49 Abstract decoration on a fragment of the lower part of an unguent bottle, DB 240, Culver Street, Colchester (Cool and Price 1995, 163).

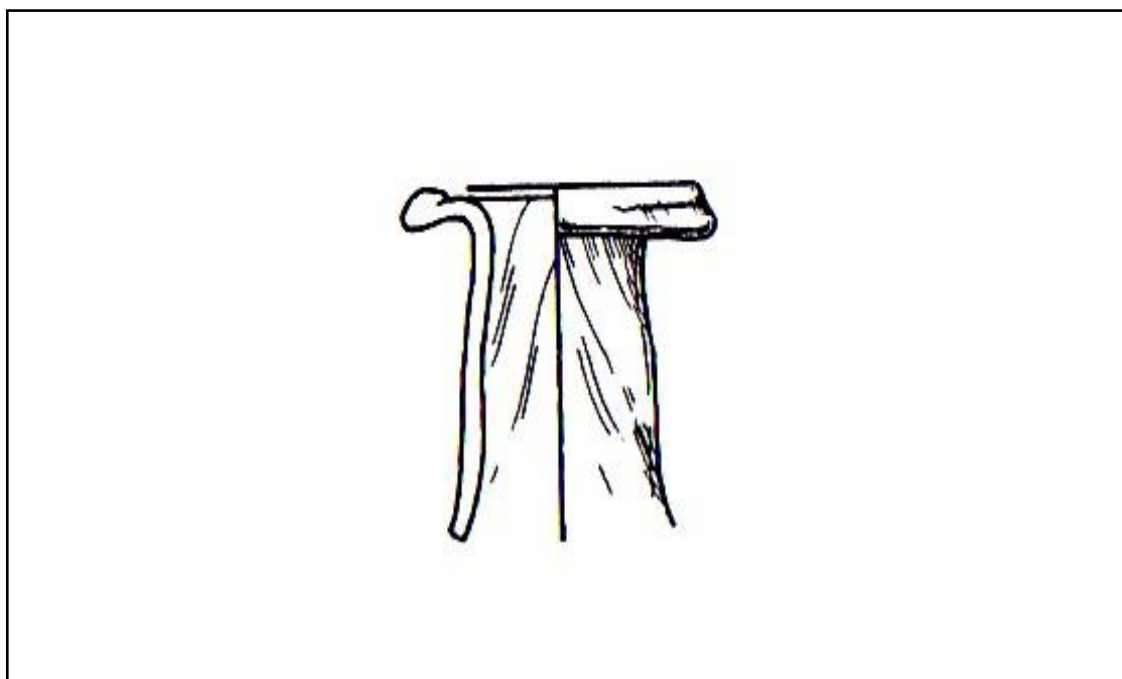


Figure 50 Abstract decoration, tooling on the rim, of a glass unguent flask, DB 757, Roman settlement, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989, 43).

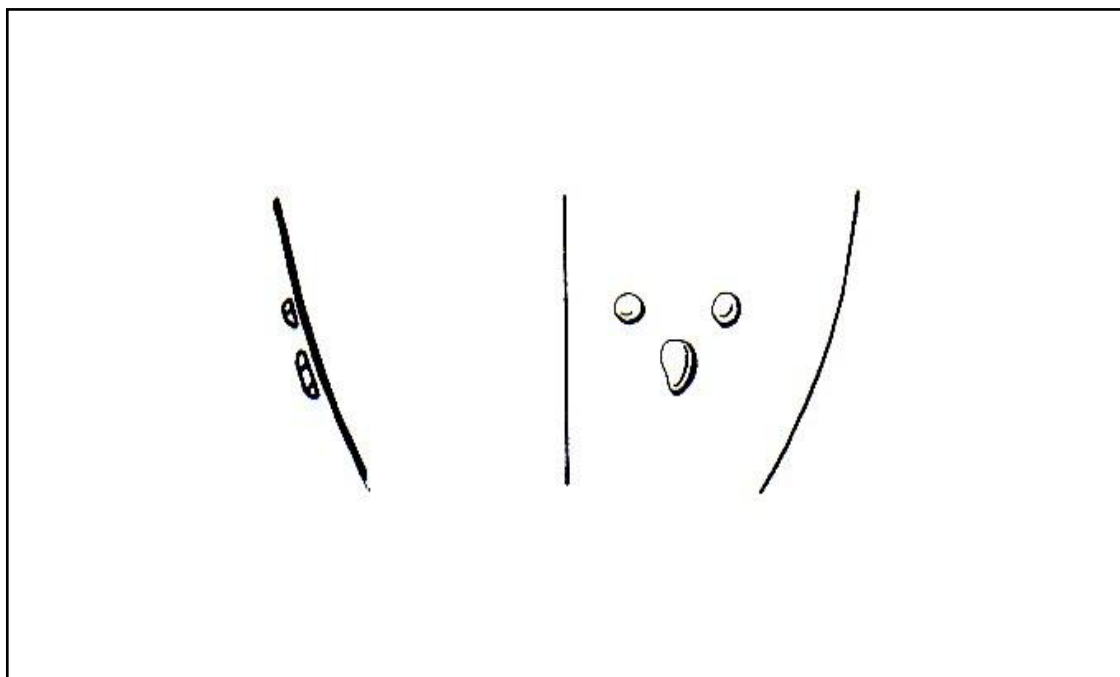


Figure 51 Circular decoration (applied blobs) on glass items (Price and Cottam 1998, 31).

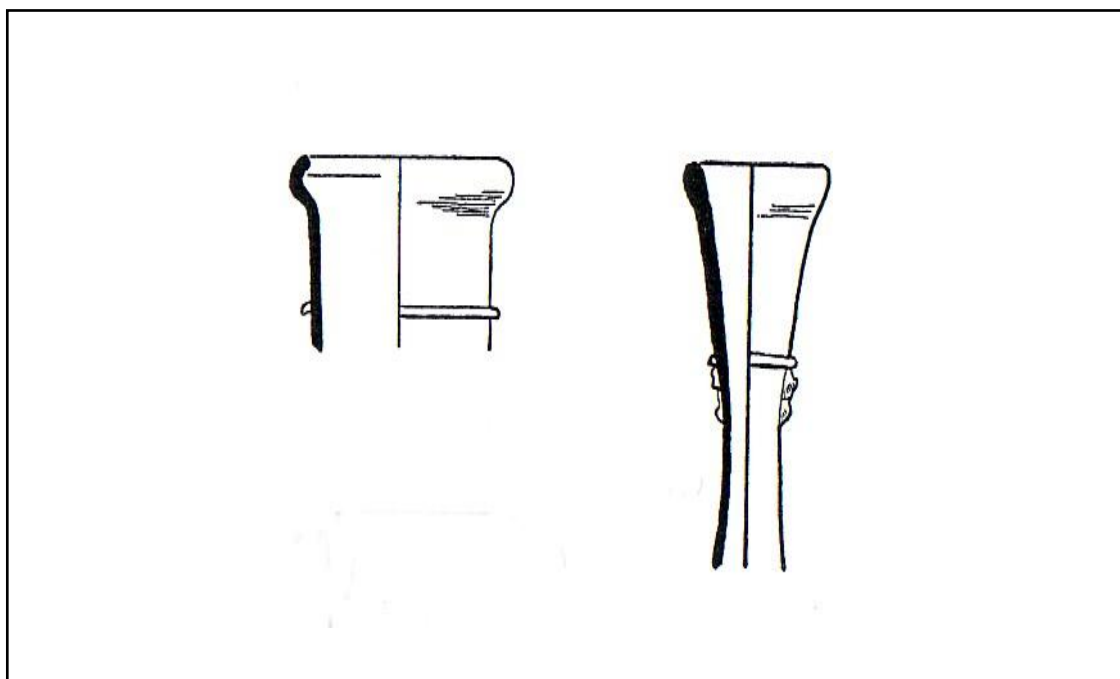


Figure 52 Abstract and circular decoration (horizontal trail around the neck, and abstract tooling on the rim), glass unguent containers DB 681 and DB 682, Insula 14, St Albans (Frere 1972, 207).



Figure 53 Abstract and circular decorations, zigzags surrounded by circles, DB 973, Spitalfield, London (Swain and Roberts 1999, 14).

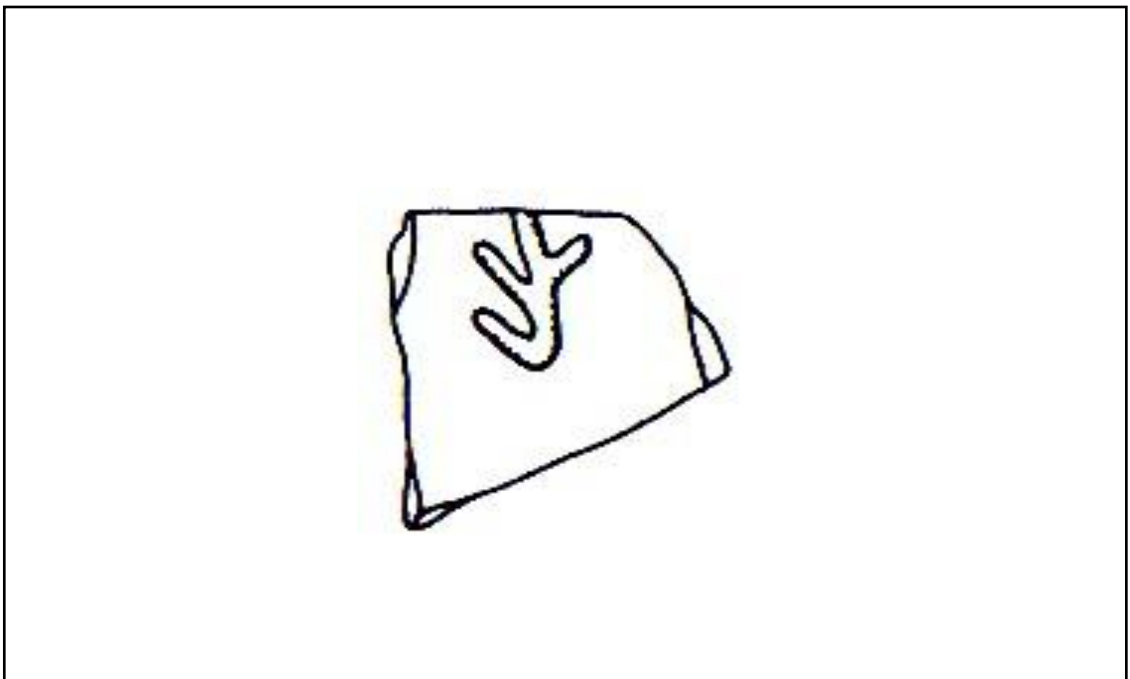


Figure 54 Pictorial decoration, raised palm branch design, on glass unguent container DB 206, Balcerne Lane, Colchester (Cool and Price 1995, 153).

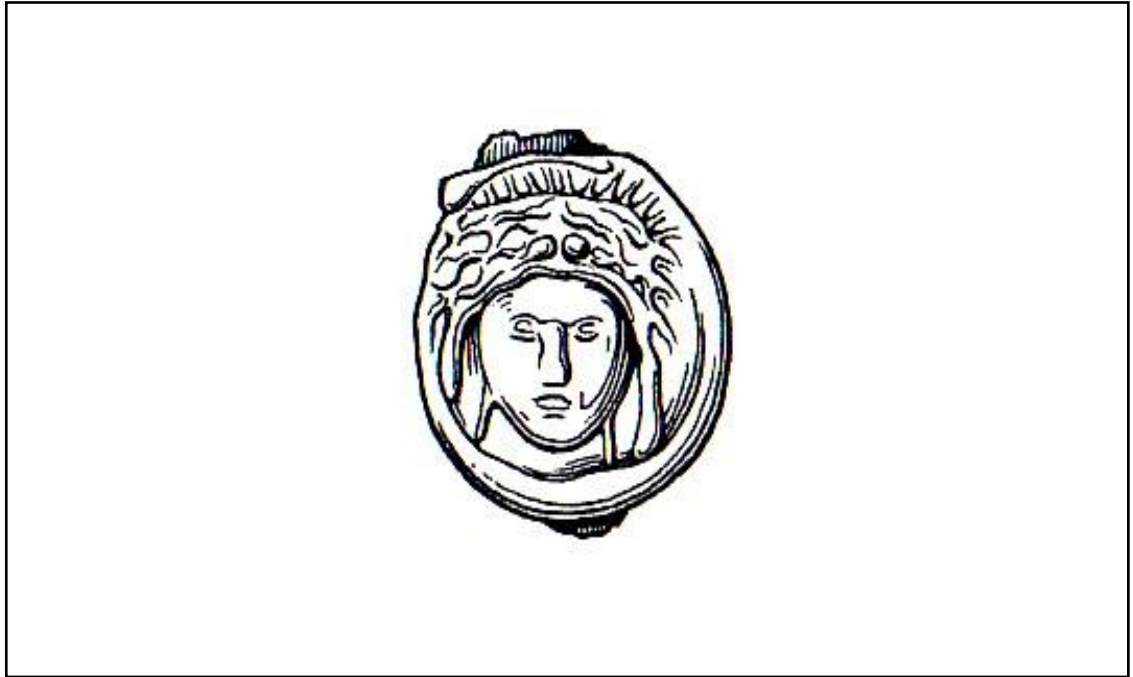


Figure 55 Pictorial decoration of a female face, possibly applied to a glass unguent container, DB 1098, Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury (Blockley *et al* 1995, 1239).

9.13 Summary of Glass Unguent Container Findings

- **Summary of Settlements and Glass Unguent Containers**
London and Colchester were the settlements with the highest count of glass unguent containers.
- **Summary of Contexts and Glass Unguent Containers**
Glass unguent containers were mostly found at domestic buildings and public areas. A number had been deposited in 'other features' with the remainder found in graves, cemetery areas, and a few at military buildings. One was found in a well. Multiple depositions of glass unguent containers were recovered from domestic buildings, graves and 'other features'.
- **Summary of Context Dates and Glass Unguent Containers**
Most glass unguent containers were found in contexts from the early Roman period.
- **Summary of Associated Small Finds and Glass Unguent Containers**
Mirrors and combs were found in the same contexts (graves and cemetery areas) as glass unguent containers. A number of additional toilet items were also found with these glass unguent containers from various contexts. There were a number of occasions where there had been multiple depositions of glass unguent containers with other small finds, including mirrors and additional toilet items from graves, domestic buildings and 'other features'.
- **Summary of Associated Non-Toilet Finds and Glass Unguent Containers**
There were a number of occasions when vessels and jewellery were located with glass unguent containers, and there were a few cases when coins and hairpins were found with these items. There was a variety of 'other artefacts', which included Venus figurines, a dog figurine, some knives, and an unusual find of a miniature sword and scabbard. The main contexts were 'other features', domestic buildings and graves and cemetery areas.
- **Summary of Associated Human Skeletal Remains and Glass Unguent Containers**
Glass unguent containers were frequently discovered in male burials, while most of these items were recovered in graves with young middle adults. None of the glass unguent containers were recovered with middle or mature adult burials. The remains of males and females were found in the double burials that contained glass unguent containers and there was a mix of age ranges.
- **Summary of Associated Animal Skeletal Remains and Glass Unguent Containers**
Cattle and pig were the common animal skeletal remains recovered with glass unguent containers, although other animals included horse, dog, sheep, goat, domestic bird, deer, chicken and wild bird.
- **Glass Unguent Containers Material**
The highest numbers of complete glass unguent containers came from graves, whilst a few were found in domestic buildings and areas of public occupation.

- Summary of Glass Unguent Containers Zoomorphic Types**

The zoomorphic glass unguent containers were found in every town, except Winchester, with the majority from Colchester. All the glass unguent containers that had a zoomorphic style were in a marine form, with one exception, which was shaped like a bird. They were spread throughout many of the contexts and recovered from throughout the Roman period.
- Summary of Glass Unguent Containers, Coloured and Colourless**

There were more coloured than colourless glass unguent containers, although both were mainly found in Colchester and London. Coloured containers were discovered at all the settlements, whilst there were no colourless items from Winchester and Chichester. Domestic buildings provided the largest number of coloured glass unguent containers, whilst the highest numbers of non-coloured items were found in graves. A large amount of coloured and colourless glass unguent containers were discovered in ‘other features’ and areas of public occupation. There were many cases of multiple depositions of coloured glass unguent containers, and there were four occurrences when coloured and colourless glass unguent containers were found together in the same context, usually from graves. The zoomorphic-styled glass unguent containers (that were reported), were coloured in appearance. The coloured and colourless items were spread across a range of possible late Iron Age and Roman dates.
- Summary of Glass Unguent Containers Stamped**

Five glass unguent containers from this data-set were stamped. These were found in London and Chichester. Of the reported examples, two were recovered from burials, with two from ‘other features’. Three of the stamped glass unguent containers were coloured. For those glass unguent containers that were dated, two were from the early Roman period and two were from unspecified Roman dates. The stamps were either maker’s marks, or a validation of the product.
- Summary of Glass Unguent Containers Decoration**

The majority of decorated glass unguent containers were from Colchester, with other examples from St Albans and Canterbury. Most had abstract decoration, although a proportion had circular motifs, and a few had both circular and abstract designs. Three had pictorial motifs. Decorated glass unguent containers were mostly retrieved from domestic buildings, with others found in areas of public occupation, ‘other features’ and graves. In cases of multiple depositions, a glass unguent container with circular and abstract decoration was found with an undecorated piece. A few of the zoomorphic (marine) containers had abstract decoration, and in one case this was circular. Most of the decorated glass unguent containers were coloured, but there were a few colourless examples in all the various decorative styles, except pictorial. One of the circular decorated glass unguent containers was dated to the late Iron Age and early Romano period. However, the majority in this category were dated to late Roman dates, as were the combined circular and abstract containers. Most of the abstract decorative glass unguent containers were dated to the early centuries AD, with fewer examples from

later periods. The pictorial glass unguent containers came from throughout the Roman periods.

CHAPTER 10

BRONZE COSMETIC GRINDERS FINDINGS

10.1 Settlements and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders

There were 34 bronze cosmetic grinders from this sample (Table 1-4). Eighty-three percent of these came from Colchester (20), while eight were from London. Fewer cosmetic grinders have been found in the remaining towns of Chichester (three), St Albans (two) and Canterbury (one), and there were no examples from Silchester or Winchester (Tables 1-4, 2-4).

Until the 1980s, the small crescent shaped copper-alloy artefacts were interpreted as barnacle or grooved pendants (see Trett 1981). However Ralph Jackson re-examined these finds, and noted that in some instances there was another separate section, a rod-like piece, and subsequently termed these two items as a mortar and pestle (Figure 56). He interpreted their use for grinding cosmetics (coloured ores of copper and lead), for eye and face paints (Jackson 1993). It is generally accepted that this was their primary function, although critics have pointed out that there has, as yet, been no finds with residual remains of make-up. Another suggestion, that the grinders may have been used to break up salt, spices or similar food substances, has been challenged by Jackson (personal communication). He argued that experimental archaeology had shown that these items would not have been suitable tools to undertake these tasks. Jackson (1985) noted that Colchester produced a number of cosmetic grinders, and this sample reconfirmed that finding, although grinders were also recorded (in lower numbers) from four of the other settlements in the south-east. Cosmetic grinders are almost always found in Roman Britain, with only one reported example from France (Jackson 1993).

10.2 Contexts and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders

Apart from wells and military buildings, bronze cosmetic grinders were spread in low numbers throughout the different contexts, which included domestic buildings (two), areas of public occupation (one), graves (three) and cemetery areas (five). 'Other features' had a slightly higher count (six), but the non-reported category was the largest with 17 (Table 3-4). There were no multiple depositions of cosmetic grinders (Table 4-4).

It is thought bronze cosmetic grinders were often deposited in graves (see Jackson 1985; 1993) and indeed there were a number in this sample. Three were directly associated with graves, DB 775, from a cremation burial, Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989), DB 1514, from an inhumation, Area J1, north of the Garrison, Colchester (Jackson 2006), and DB 45, a box burial, St Pancras, Chichester (Down and Rule 1971). A few grinders also came from cemetery areas in Colchester, DB1542-DB1545, near to Balkerne Gate (Crummy 1983), and DB 328, Butt Road (Crummy *et al* 1993). Two cosmetic grinders had been deposited in domestic structures. DB 1458 was

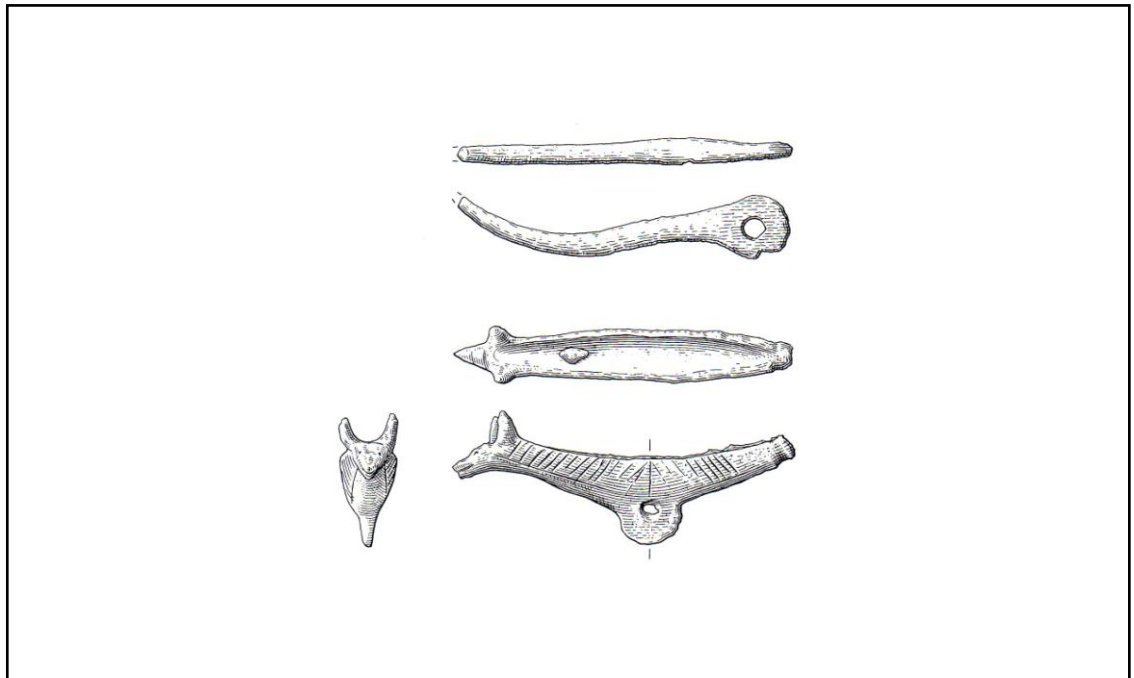


Figure 56 Zoomorphic bovid head on mortar and abstract incised line decoration, cosmetic grinder, DB 1522, Blossoms Inn, near Cheapside, London (Jackson 1993, 166).

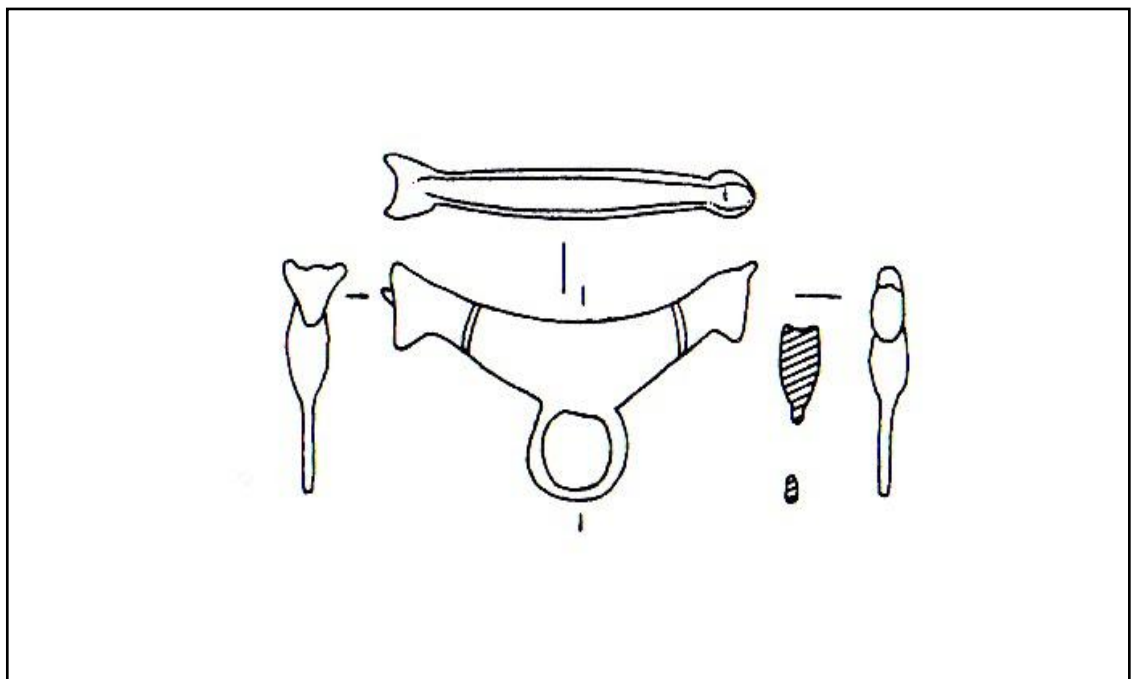


Figure 57 Zoomorphic bovid heads at each end of the mortar, and abstract parallel line decoration on cosmetic grinder DB 1579, Colchester (Jackson 1985, 185).

discovered in clay levelling under a hearth, south of a building in Insula 2, St Albans (Niblett *et al* 2006), and DB 922 was located in domestic building 15, Courage's Brewery Bottling Plant, Southwark (Cowan 2003a). One grinder, DB 1539, was found in a layer (617) at a temple precinct, Cakebread Robey, Canterbury (Jackson 1985). A cosmetic grinder, DB 192, was also found in an area of turf (trench 18) inside the Gosbecks Roman theatre (Dunnett, 1971).

10.3 Context Dates and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders

Sixteen of the 34 grinders were not reported either by context or date. There were two Roman, and one late Iron Age/early Roman from graves, with one early Roman and one late Roman grinder found in domestic buildings. Areas of public occupation had one Roman example (Table 5-4).

The only cosmetic grinder from the late Iron Age and early period, DB 775, was not surprisingly, from the King Harry Lane cemetery at St Albans, discussed above (Stead and Rigby 1989). The only item from the later period, DB 922, came from a domestic building, Courage's Brewery Bottling Plant, Southwark (Cowan 2003a).

10.4 Associated Small Finds and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders

Six additional toilet items were found with cosmetic grinders. Two were from the same domestic building, two from graves and the remaining two not reported. There were no mirrors, combs or glass unguent containers found with cosmetic grinders (Table 6-4). Of the six toilet items, one was a toilet set from a grave, one a *ligula* (toilet spoon) also from a grave, and two *ligulae* from domestic buildings (Table 7-4).

The lack of any mirror finds in the same context as cosmetic grinders seems a little unusual, especially if the possible primary use of these items is considered, and indeed there were no combs or glass unguent containers. The most common additional toilet items found with cosmetic grinders were *ligulae* (toilet spoons). These artefacts had the highest count of additional toilet items in this data-set (Chapter 11, Section 11.1; Figure 63). DB 55, a *ligula*, was found with bronze cosmetic grinder DB 45 in a box burial at St Pancras, Chichester (Down and Rule 1971), while *ligulae* DB 1459 and DB 1460 were discovered with DB 1458, the bronze cosmetic grinder from under the hearth in Insula 2, St Albans (Niblett *et al* 2006). The St Albans *ligulae* were also associated with other material (discovered during 1930s excavations), including some bone phallic amulets (Niblett *et al* 2006).

Tweezers and nail cleaners, DB 1523 and DB 1524, were found with cosmetic grinder DB 1522 (from a piece of iron, originally thought to be slag before it was X-rayed to reveal a number of copper-alloy artefacts), Blossoms Inn, near Cheapside, London (Jackson 1993). These types of items often formed part of a chatelaine, and indeed DB 774 a nail cleaner, and a possible ear scoop, were discovered with a bronze cosmetic grinder, DB 775, in a burial at the Iron Age cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989).

Based on this data-set, it would seem that additional toilet items are occasionally found in the same location as cosmetic grinders.

10.5 Associated Non-Toilet Finds and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders

Coins (two occasions), pieces of jewellery (two occasions) and vessels (two occasions) were discovered with cosmetic grinders. These were generally found in graves, but in one case coins were also recovered with a grinder in a domestic building. There were also two occurrences of other artefacts found with cosmetic grinders in domestic buildings, and one occurrence of other artefacts in 'other features' discovered with a grinder (Table 9-4).

There were two cases when pieces of jewellery (as well as vessels, and in one instance a coin) were retrieved from the same context as cosmetic grinders DB 775 and DB 45, and these were both in graves (Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Down and Rule 1971), and St Pancras, Chichester (Stead and Rigby 1989)). In respect to jewellery, a miniature cosmetic grinder has been found at Worlington, Suffolk in the form of a brooch, suggesting it served a dual purpose (Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service 2003). Unfortunately as this was part of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, the context was not reported. In this data-set the jewellery found with cosmetic grinders comprised of a brass brooch from King Harry Lane, and two bronze brooches, a variety of beads and a bronze ring found at St Pancras. A possible dog tooth with a hole drilled through was also found in this latter grave. Dog teeth are known from other burials such as Grave 450, Lankhills, Winchester, where two pierced dog canines had been deposited with a possible pendant (Clarke 1979).

Other items of interest found with cosmetic grinder DB 922 at a domestic building, Courage's Brewery Bottling Plant, Southwark, London, included a needle and a cylindrical tube, which was identified as needle case (Cowan 2003a). Brown (1974) (who investigated bronze medieval and Viking examples), has argued that some of these items are not closed at one or both ends, which he suggested makes them unsuitable for holding needles. He proposed that the tapering tubes may instead have once held bundles of hairs or bristles, and had been used as face brushes for putting on make-up. Unfortunately there was only a fragment of the side wall remaining with the needle case from Courage's Brewery, so it is not clear whether this find had ever had a bung at the end. Given that the item was deposited with a needle and a cosmetic grinder, either explanation could be possible. A number of needles were also found with the bronze cosmetic grinder DB 45 in the St Pancras, Chichester grave (Down and Rule 1971).

10.6 Associated Human Skeletal Remains and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders

There was one male skeleton associated with a cosmetic grinder from St Albans, and one burial where the gender was unreported from Colchester. In both cases the age was not reported (Table 10-4 and Table 11-4). There were no instances when cosmetic grinders were associated with human skeletal remains from two bodies (Table 12-4).

The only bronze cosmetic grinder, DB 775, found in a grave where the gender was known, was from a male burial, Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989).

10.7 Associated Animal Skeletal Remains and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders

There was only one example of animal bones (pig parts) found with a cosmetic grinder in a burial at St Albans (Table 13-4).

There were two pig mandibles that had been deposited with cosmetic grinder DB 775, in a burial from the Iron Age Cemetery King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989). (Discussions about the presence of pigs in graves can be found in Chapter 7, Section 7.7).

10.8 Bronze Cosmetic Grinders Material

A total of twenty-nine mortars and, or pestles were complete, compared to five fragments (Table 16-4).

The casting of copper-alloy was quite common in many of the Roman towns in the south-east of Britain. Cosmetic grinder DB 154 was recovered from Sheepen, Colchester which is a site where there is evidence for the working of copper-alloy, although it is not known what types of objects were made (Jackson 1985; Niblett 1985). Similarly bronze working took place in Chichester, where three grinders were found, DB 45, DB 287 and DB 299. Direct manufacturing evidence for these items remains elusive, but a possible lead piece-mould has been found in outer London at Skipton Street, near the Elephant and Castle (Jackson 1993).

Turning to complete or incomplete cosmetic grinders, mortars are larger and more robust compared to pestles, which is probably why more survive. While three complete sets were recovered from graves, DB 45, St Pancras, Chichester (Down and Rule 1971), DB 1514, Area J1, north of the Colchester Garrison (Jackson 2006), and DB 775, Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989), one set, DB 1458, was also recovered from a domestic buildings at Insula 2, St Albans (Niblett *et al* 2006), and one, DB 1539, from a public area, Cakebread Robey, Canterbury (Jackson 1985). While there were a few complete cosmetic grinders from 'other features', none of these were found in sets.

10.9 Bronze Cosmetic Grinders Forms

There were 18 mortars, nine pestles, and when found together these contributed to seven sets. A set was found at each site, except Silchester and Winchester (Table 19-4). There were three complete sets from graves, as well as four mortars and one pestle from cemetery areas. One set was recovered from domestic buildings, and one from areas of public occupation. There was, in addition, one pestle recovered separately from a domestic building (Table 20-4). One set was dated to the late Iron Age and early Roman Britain. Of the other 33 items, 12 were from the Roman period, the others unreported (Table 23-4).

The crescent shape of the mortars is interesting, as it is unlike the flat stone mixing pallets (Figure 66), or indeed the very small pottery bowls (Chapter 9, Section 9.4) thought to have been used to grind make-up. Cosmetic grinders might have been the portable equivalent of these items, for they had loops (holes) to allow suspension.

10.10 Bronze Cosmetic Grinders Zoomorphic Types

There were six cattle zoomorphic types from three different towns (Chichester (two), Colchester (three) and London (one)), as well as one bird from Colchester, and one cat from St Albans (Table 30-4). In Table 31-4, it can be seen that three of the cattle zoomorphic type of cosmetic grinders were from graves (one) and cemetery areas (two). The cat was from a domestic building, while the one bird and one cattle type cosmetic grinder were from 'other features' (Table 31-4). It was only mortars that were reported as zoomorphic types (Table 33-4). All the reported grinders were from the unspecified Roman or early Roman periods (Table 35-4).

Zoomorphic forms are a feature of many cosmetic grinders, especially the mortars. In this sample cattle dominate the findings. Examples included, DB 1522, Blossoms Inn, near Cheapside, London (Figure 56) (Jackson 1993), DB 328, Butt Road, Colchester (Crummy 1983), DB 1544, cemetery area outside Balkerne Gate, Colchester (Jackson 1985), DB 1579, from an unreported sub-site, Colchester (Figure 57) (Jackson 1985), DB 45, St Pancras, Chichester (Figure 58) (Down and Rule 1971; Jackson 1985) and DB 287, Cattlemarket, Chichester (Down 1989). Some of the zoomorphic features on these cosmetic mortars have been compared to late Iron Age firedog terminals (Jackson 1985), such as the piece from Capel Garmon, Gwynedd, Wales (Figure 59). However, it may be argued that this particular firedog could also represent a fusion of zoomorphic forms of bull and horse. The only other animals represented in this sample was the zoomorphic cat mortar, DB 1458, from a domestic building, Insula 2, St Albans (Figure 60) (Niblett *et al* 2006), and a duck, DB 192, from the Roman theatre at Gosbecks, Colchester (Dunnett 1971).

10.11 Bronze Cosmetic Grinders Decoration

Each of the sites in which bronze cosmetic grinders were found, revealed at least one which had an abstract decoration. Seven abstract examples were recovered in Colchester. There were no circular or pictorial decorations on any cosmetic grinders (Table 49-4). Four abstract decorated grinders came from graves and cemetery areas, as did four with no decoration. There was one undecorated example from domestic buildings, and one with abstract designs from this context (Table 50-4). All the abstract decoration was on the mortar, other than in one instance when decoration was seen on both parts of the set (Table 53-4). Four cosmetic grinders of abstract decoration were of cattle zoomorphic type, whilst one was a cat (Table 55-4). Two of the abstract decorated artefacts were from early Roman contexts, and four were Roman (Table 58-4).

A number of the mortars had abstract decoration of varying types, which included incised lines such as DB 1522 from Blossoms Inn, Cheapside, London (Figure 56) (Jackson 1993),

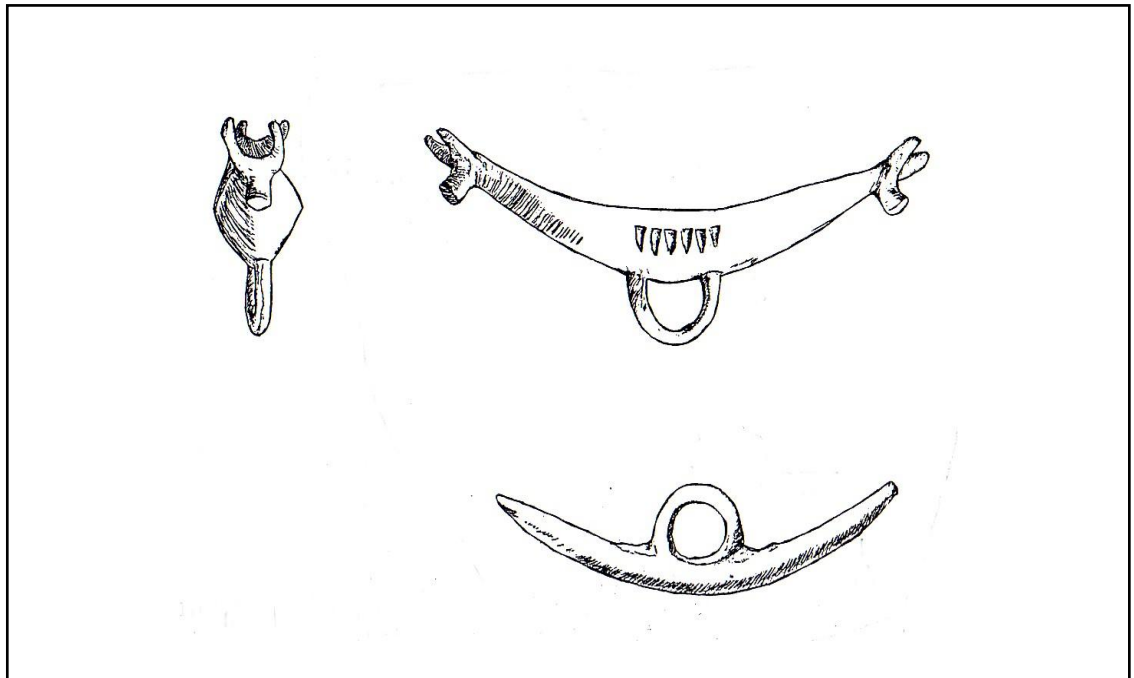


Figure 58 Zoomorphic bovid head on mortar and abstract decoration triangular cells that may have held enamelling, bronze cosmetic grinder DB 45, St Pancras Roman Cemetery, Chichester (Jackson 1985, 185)



Figure 59 Firedog with zoomorphic bovid head (possible fusion with a horse), Capel Garmon, Wales (Green 1996, 65).

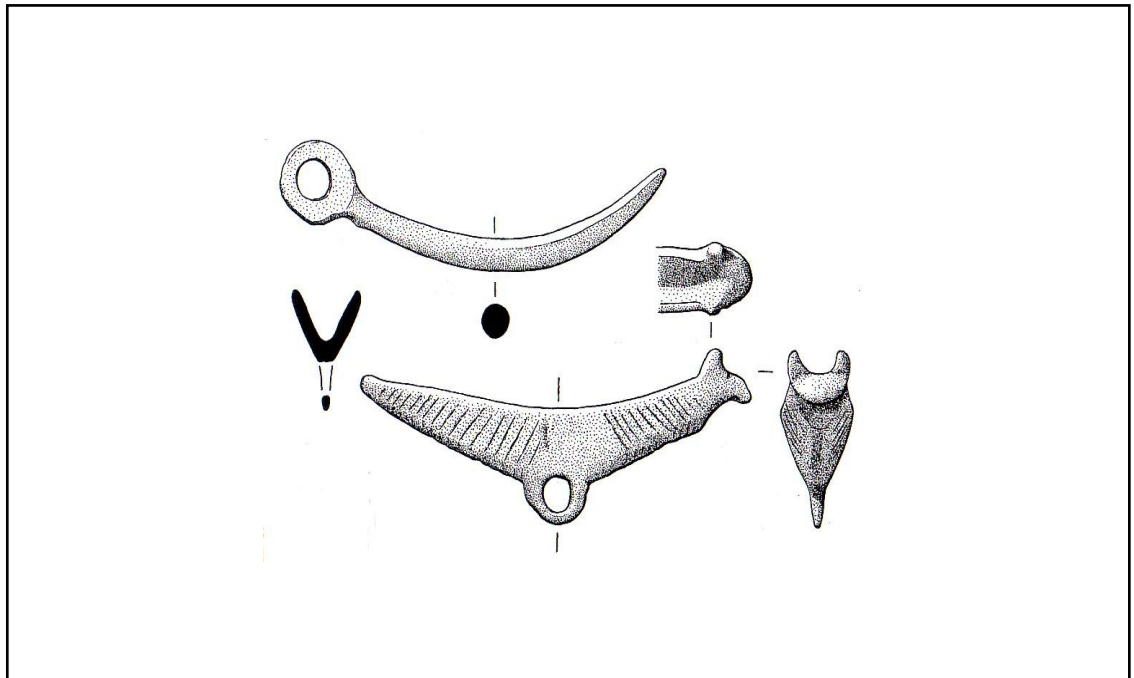


Figure 60 Zoomorphic cat head on mortar and abstract incised line decoration, bronze cosmetic grinder, DB 1458, Insula 2, St Albans (Niblett *et al* 2006, 143).

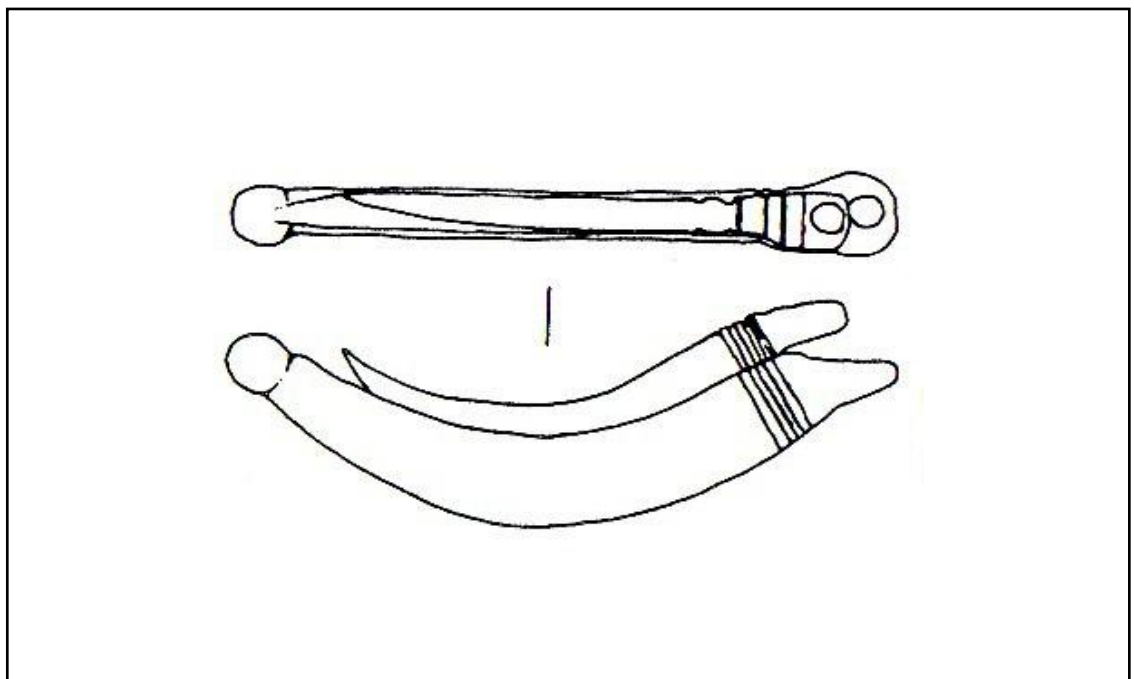


Figure 61 Abstract parallel line decoration on mortar of cosmetic grinder DB 1539, Cakebread Robey, Canterbury (Jackson 1985, 177).

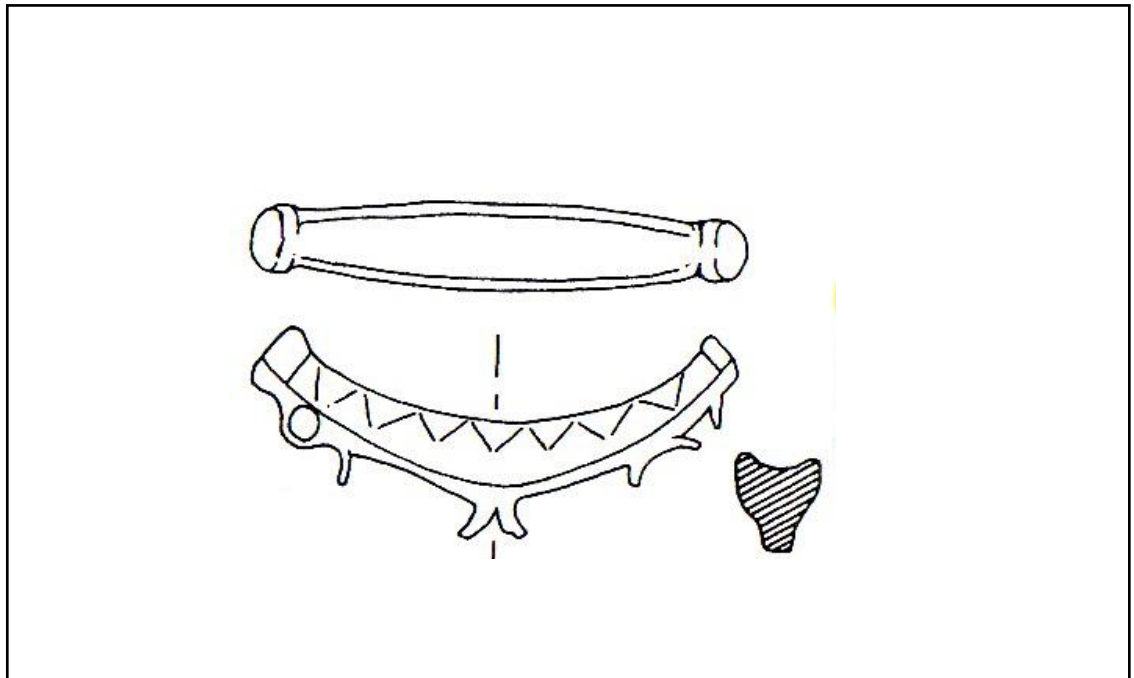


Figure 62 Abstract zigzag decoration on the mortar of a bronze cosmetic grinder DB 1542, cemetery area outside the Balcerne Gate, Colchester (Jackson 1985, 177).

DB 1458, recovered from Insula 2, St Albans (Figure 60) (Niblett *et al* 2006), and DB 1544 found at Balkerne Gate, Colchester (Jackson 1985). Parallel lines are visible on cosmetic grinders DB 1539, Cakebread Robey, Canterbury (Figure 61), and DB 1579, Colchester (Figure 57), while zigzags appear on DB 1542 (Figure 62) from the area outside the Balkerne gate, Colchester (Jackson 1985).

Included in the abstract designs were three cosmetic grinders that had triangular cells which, as well as acting as a decorative feature, were also spaces for enamelling. Enamelling techniques involved heating small lumps of glass, shaping them when they were soft, and attaching them to the bronze by sinking them into a cut out pattern, in this case the triangular cells (Green 1996). One of the cosmetic mortars with the triangular cells, DB 45, came from St Pancras, Chichester (Figure 58) (Down and Rule 1971). A fragment of a crucible thought to have been used in enamelling was found at the Central Girls school site, Chichester, near to a bronze working industrial area. It is not clear whether enamelling did take place in this location, or that it was associated with the bronze working. Still, Down (1978) has suggested that this was the case, arguing that the enamelled items must have been small (brooches, studs and loop fasteners), since the crucibles were not very large. If enamelling did indeed take place, perhaps the cosmetic grinders were decorated in this area, although the evidence is limited. It is known through the analysis of strips of red glass from a late Iron Age and Roman industrial area at Heybridge, Maldon, Essex, that enamelling was undertaken in Britain during the Roman period (Bayley 2003; English Heritage Archive Reports online). The other two cosmetic grinders in this dataset that were enamelled (DB 1580, green, and DB 1581, green and red) were both recovered from Colchester (Jackson 1985). Finally, whilst not classified as decoration, most of the cosmetic grinders, both the mortar and the pestle, had a circular hole as part of their form (see illustrations of cosmetic grinders).

10.12 Summary of Bronze Cosmetic Grinder Findings

- **Summary of Settlements and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders and Settlements**
London and Colchester produced the highest counts of cosmetic grinders.
- **Summary of Context and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders**
Cosmetic grinders were recovered mostly from ‘other features’, graves and cemetery areas, with a few examples from domestic and public locations.
- **Summary of Context Dates and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders**
Most cosmetic grinders could only be reported as having been deposited sometime during the Roman period. However, a few could be dated to the late Iron Age and early Roman periods.
- **Summary of Associated Small Finds and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders**
The only small finds associated with cosmetic grinders were additional toilet items found in domestic buildings and graves.

- **Summary of Associated Non-Toilet Finds and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders**
Jewellery, vessels and coins were found on equal occasions with cosmetic grinders. More unusual items included a dog tooth with a hole drilled through, and a possible cosmetic brush, or needle holder. The contexts included graves, domestic buildings and ‘other features’.
- **Summary of Associated Human Skeletal Remains and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders**
A cosmetic grinder was found with one male burial. The age was not reported.
- **Summary of Associated Animal Skeletal Remains and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders**
Pig bones were the only animal bones recovered with cosmetic grinders.
- **Summary of Bronze Cosmetic Grinders Material**
Most cosmetic grinder pieces were complete, and these were generally recovered from graves, although there were a few from ‘other features’ and areas of domestic and public occupation.
- **Summary of Bronze Cosmetic Grinders Form**
More mortar forms were recovered than pestles, and when found together these contributed to seven sets. A set was found at each site, except Silchester and Winchester. There were three complete sets from graves, as well as four mortars and one pestle from cemetery areas. One set, and one separate pestle were recovered from domestic buildings, and one from areas of public occupation. A number of bronze cosmetic sets were dated to the early Roman period, and some were from unspecified Roman dates.
- **Summary of Bronze Cosmetic Grinders Zoomorphic Type**
Zoomorphic cosmetic grinders were discovered in Colchester, Chichester, London and St Albans. Cattle were the most common zoomorphic shape, but there was one bird, and one cat. The contexts did vary slightly with graves and cemetery areas being the most common, although one of these cosmetic grinders was recovered from domestic building and ‘other features’. All the zoomorphic cosmetic grinders were mortar pieces, and two of these belonged to sets. Most of the reported grinders were from throughout the Roman period, with one early Roman example.
- **Summary of Bronze Cosmetic Grinders Decoration**
Most of the decorated cosmetic grinders were found at Colchester, although a few were found in other settlements, except Silchester and Winchester. All the decorated examples were abstract in design. Of those reported, these were mostly found in graves, but other contexts were represented in the data-set. It was mortars that were usually decorated, but there is one example of a pestle carrying a decorative motif. A number of the known animal zoomorphic cosmetic grinders were also decorated. Many had a circular hole in their shape. Two of the abstract decorated artefacts were from early Roman contexts, and four were from unspecified Roman dates.

CHAPTER 11

ADDITIONAL TOILET ITEMS FINDINGS

11.1 Settlements and Additional Toilet Items

There was a total of 724 additional small finds (Table 1-5) with 62% (454) from London and Colchester. St Albans yielded 14% (103), and there were small percentages from all the other sites (Table 1-5(a) and Table 2-5). Table 1.5(b) shows the sub-division of these finds. The highest count came from *ligulae* (toilet spoons), with 99 from London and 60 from Colchester. Tweezers accounted for 135 additional toilet items, with London and Colchester again providing the largest numbers. There were also 93 nail cleaners.

Toilet and cosmetic items have been found at sites in both Continental Europe and Britain, and it is probable that trade in these items took place. Tweezers for instance found at Piddington villa, Northamptonshire have been identified as coming from the workshops of the Gaul, Agathangelus the bronzesmith (Gostencnik 2002; Friendship–Taylor 2004). In respect to material, tweezers, nail cleaners, ear scoops, *ligulae*, spatulas and surgical instruments were usually made from copper-alloy, although occasionally it was bone or antler and more rarely pewter. Shears and razors were frequently made of iron, whilst stirring rods were generally glass, and mixing pallets stone.

In this sample the total count of additional toilet items was 724, although this includes a variety of finds. However, even when these items were subdivided (see Table 1.5(b) some of the counts from the categories are quite high. The highest frequency of additional toilet items were *ligulae* (toilet spoons) (Figure 63), with 216 from all the settlements in this study. Even the lowest counts of *ligulae*, from Canterbury and Silchester, amounted to seven. Long handled *ligulae* may have been used to extract substances, such as oils from narrow bottles and flasks, but they might also have been used with cosmetics (for a further discussion see Chapter 10, Section 10.4). Included here are double-ended *ligulae*, toilet spoons that had a probe on the other end (Figure 63).

Tweezers were common in this data-set (135), as were nail cleaners (93) (Figure 64), and ear scoops (11). These items often had a suspension loop, which meant they could be kept together as a set known as a chatelaine (Figure 65). There were 18 of these toilet sets in this sample. No sets were found at Winchester, but see Section 11.2 in this chapter for a discussion on the multiple depositions of nail cleaners and tweezers from Victoria Road, Winchester. Mixing pallets (of which there were 41), such as DB 1102, Paternoster Square, London (Figure 66) (Watson and Heard 2006) might have been used to grind and mix make-up (see Chapter 10, Section 10.9 for further discussions).

There were 32 spatulas (Figure 67) recovered from all the main towns in the south-east of Britain. Whilst there were slightly more stirring rods (56), (Figure 68) (used to mix

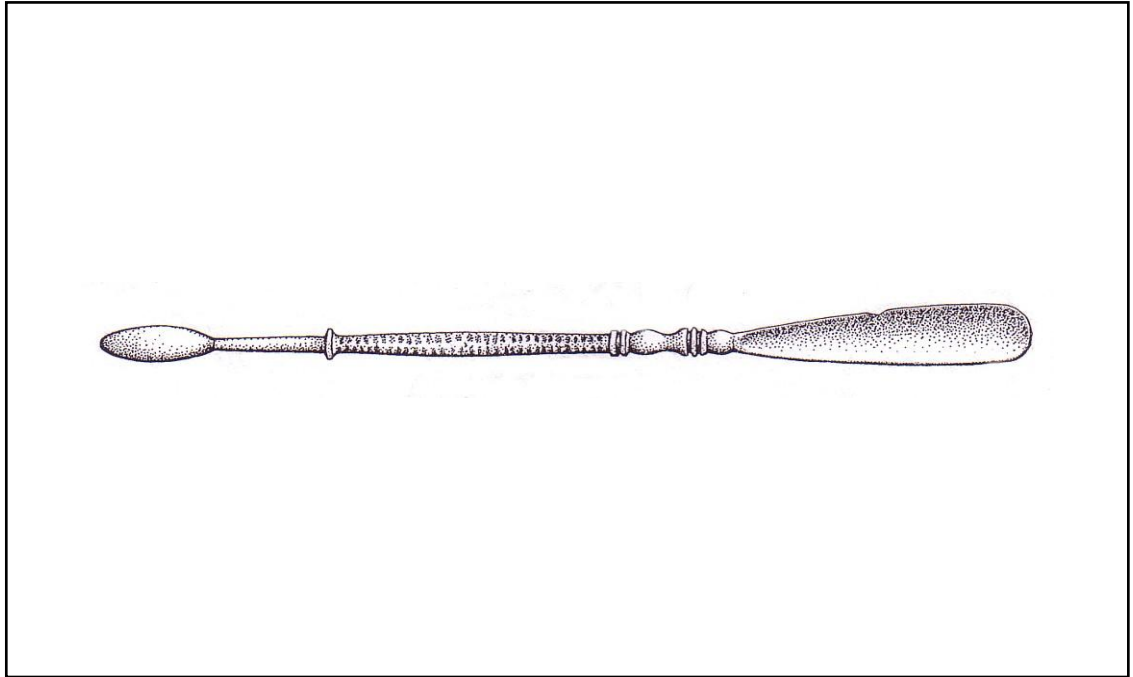


Figure 63 *Ligula*, with probe at the other end, decorated with dots, DB 578, Culver Street, Colchester (Crummy 1992, 155).



Figure 64 Nail cleaner, decorated with dots and semi-circles on central area, DB 301, Central Girls School and Clemens Yard, Chichester (Down 1978, 303).



Figure 65 Toilet set (chatelaine) comprising of nail cleaner (left), ear scoop, (centre) and tweezers (right), modern copy (Author's photograph).



Figure 66 Stone palette, DB 1102, Paternoster Square, London (Watson and Heard 2006, 95).

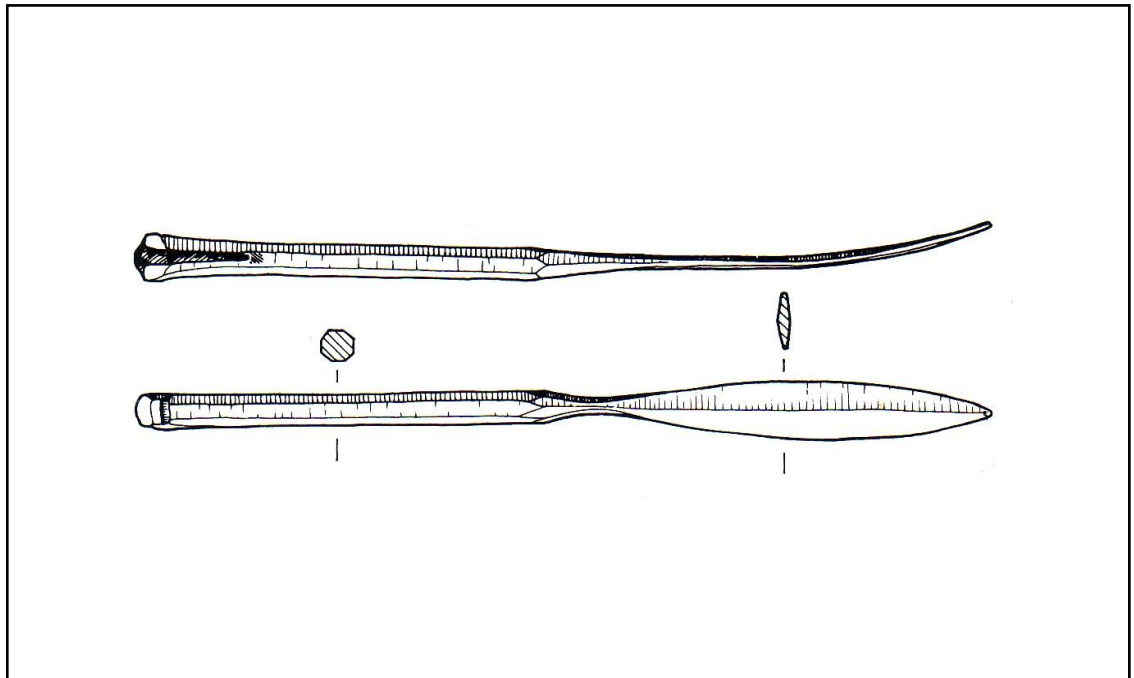


Figure 67 Spatula, DB 1045, Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury (Blockley *et al* 1995, 1015).

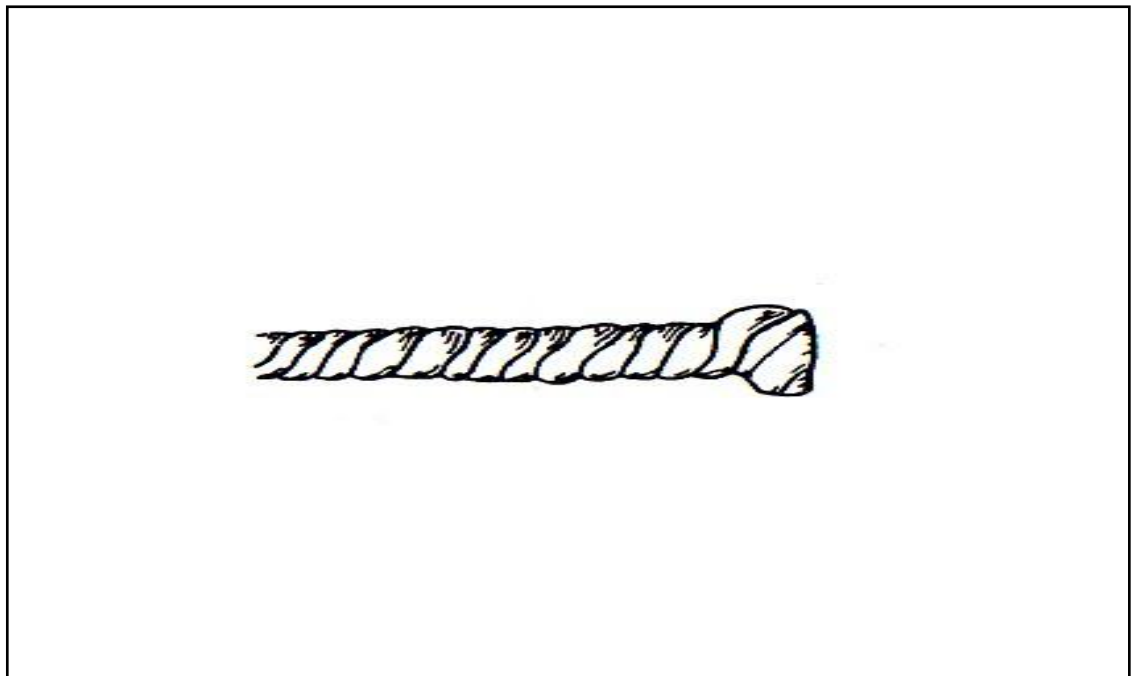


Figure 68 Stirring rod, DB 1381, 201-211, Borough High Street, Southwark, London (Ferretti and Graham 1978, 152).

cosmetics as well as unguents), these items were not found in Canterbury or Silchester. In this sample strigils were only recovered in three of the seven towns, with four from St Albans and three from London (Figure 69). There were a few razors and shears, 14 and eight respectively. Examples included a razor (or toilet knife), DB 539, from Silchester, (Figure 70) (Fulford and Timby 2000), and shears, DB 779, located in the Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Figure 71) (Stead and Rigby 1989). Surgical instruments were included in this survey, as occasionally these items were used with cosmetics. A number of these artefacts were probes, but there were also forceps, DB 1477, from the Inner Earthworks, Silchester (Boon 1969), and DB 961 and DB 963, discovered at Stanway, Colchester (Crummy 1997b; Crummy 2002a; Crummy *et al* 2007). In addition, there were the remains of scalpels (DB 694, Insula 21, St Albans (Frere 1984), DB 1045, Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury (Blockley *et al* 1995), DB 1475, Inner Earthworks, Silchester (Boon 1969), DB 955 and DB 966, Stanway, Colchester (Crummy 1997b; Crummy 2002a; Crummy *et al* 2007)). It is probable that most of these latter items were used for medical procedures.

Within the unspecified toilet items section, cosmetic boxes (pyxides) featured occasionally and included DB 825 from the settlement in Roman Southwark (Drummond-Murray *et al* 2002), DB 976, Spitalfield, London (Thomas 1999), DB 866, and DB 840, Eastern Cemetery London (Barber and Bowsher 2000). Pyxis DB 840 was made of bone and had a turned body and a lid, but it is worth noting that in some cases these have been interpreted as inkwells, rather than containers for cosmetics or medical substances (Johns 1993; Barber and Bowsher 2000). Perhaps one of the most interesting items in this group was a metal pot, DB 1384, from Tabard Square, London. This contained a white cream, which when chemically analysed confirmed it had probably been used for cosmetic purposes (Durrani 2004). Finally, there were a couple of possible toothpicks, DB 297, David Grieg Central Car Park, Chichester (Down 1974), and DB 1519, south-west angle, Canterbury town wall, Canterbury (Figure 72) (Johns and Potter 1985).

11.2 Contexts and Additional Toilet Items

The largest frequency of additional toilet items, 38% (272) came from 'other features', and in each of the seven town sites the highest proportion of these finds came from this location category. One hundred and thirty six additional toilet items were found in domestic buildings, and when divided by urban location there were 32% from St Albans, and 30% from Canterbury. Eight percent were associated with graves (44) and cemetery areas (16) combined. Twenty-seven percent (193) were unstratified, and, or, residual, and unreported (Table 3-5a). When the additional toilet items were broken down (Table 3-5b), there were substantial counts of *ligulae* and tweezers in domestic buildings (39 and 28) and areas of public occupation (11 for both these items). Within graves 13 were surgical instruments, whilst there was one mixing palette in a military area. The evidence from wells revealed three *ligulae* as well as a mix of other items.

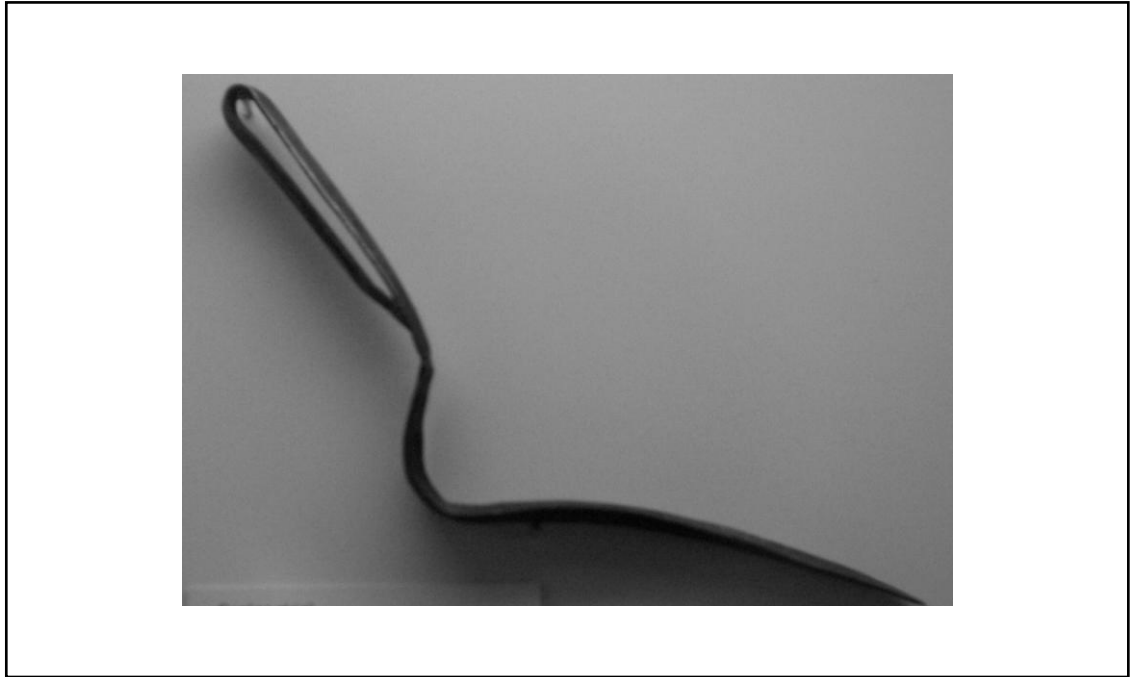


Figure 69 Strigil, St Albans (Author's photograph, taken with kind permission of Verulamium Museum, St Albans)

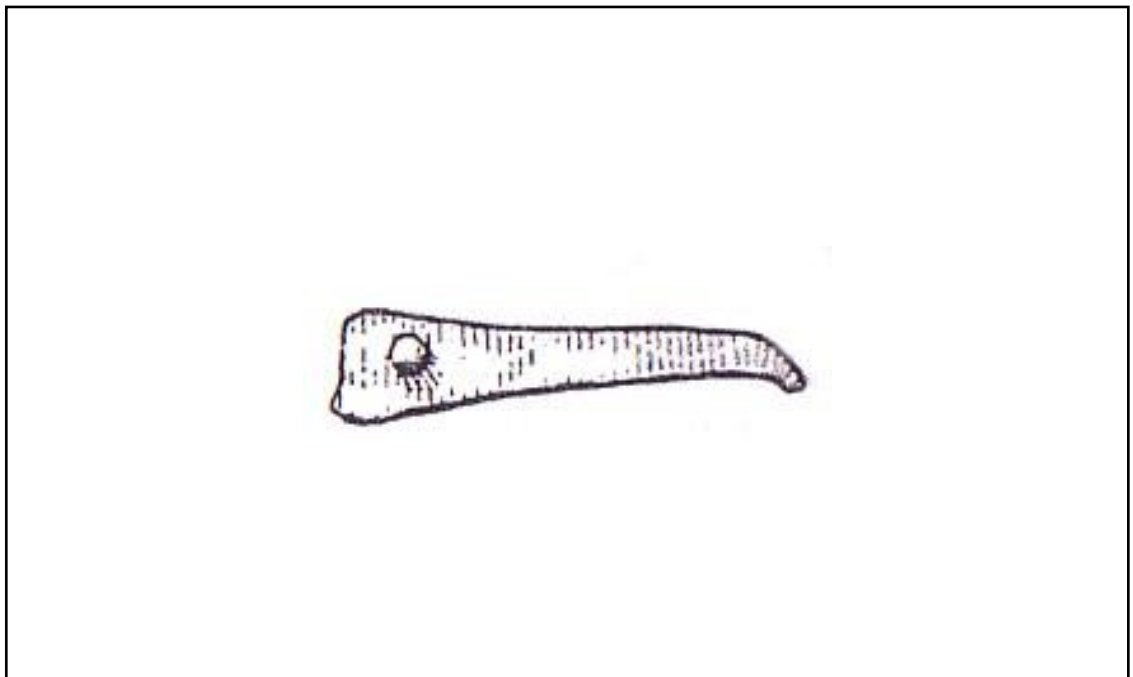


Figure 70 Razor (or toilet knife), DB 539, Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000, 364)

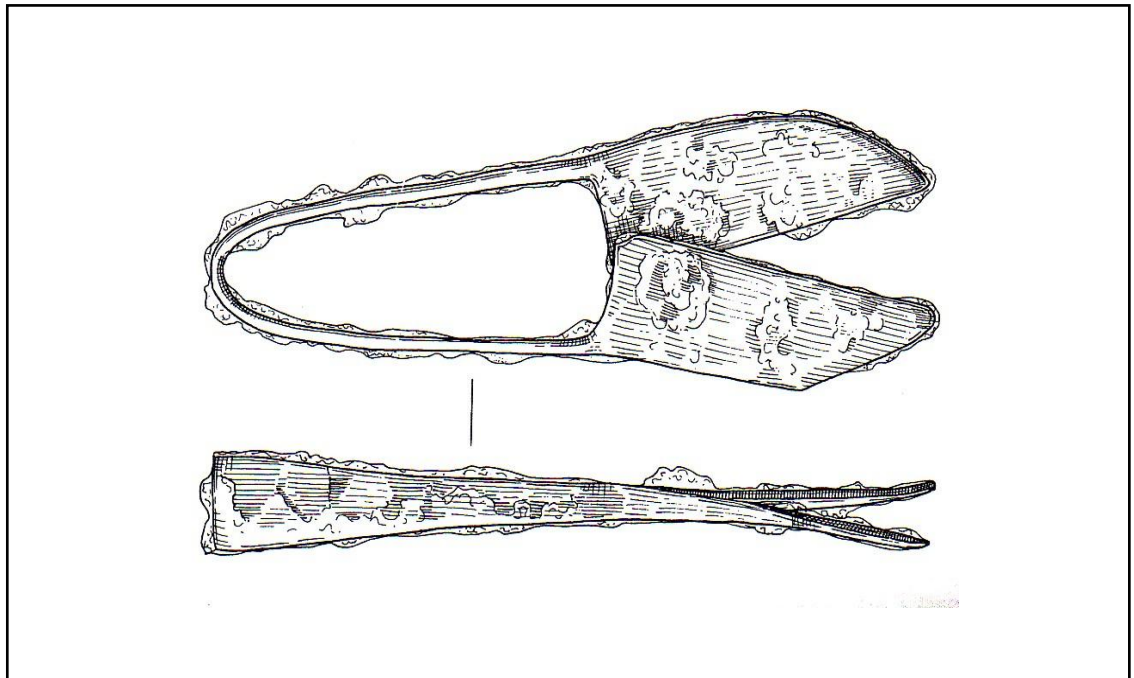


Figure 71 Shears, DB 779, Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989, 337).



Figure 72 Toothpick, decorated circles enclosing a Christian *chi-rho*, DB 1519, south-west angle, Canterbury town wall, Canterbury (Johns and Potter 1985, 327).

There were forty occasions of multiple depositions, nine of which were from graves. This is a higher proportion (23%) than the total finds from graves (6%) would suggest. The multiple depositions of additional toilet items revealed 13 items together at Stanway, Colchester. There were three additional toilet finds in the same context at Fleet Valley, London, and three at Leadenhall Court, London. Four of these finds were in the same location at the Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, and three from the Roman Settlement, St Albans (Tables 3-5, 4-5).

Almost all of the different types of additional toilet items were, in varying numbers, located in domestic buildings, and areas of public occupation, except strigils and razors which were not found in public areas. It should be noted that the strigil DB 804, from Cheapside and Queen Street, London, might have been located in a building (it was recorded as such in this sample), or on a road surface, as the site report was not entirely clear (Hill and Woodger 1999). Still, given that strigils were commonly used for bathing during the late Iron Age and Romano-British periods, these counts do seem a bit low. The other strigil from a domestic setting, DB 1428, 15-23, Southwark Street, London was found in a trench from a building (Cowan 1992). A set of tweezers, DB 872, was recovered from a latrine at Sheepen, Colchester, although it was close to large quantities of copper-alloy scrap suggesting this toilet was, by this stage, being used as a rubbish tip (Niblett 1985). One mixing palette, DB 795, came from barracks building 11, Cripplegate, London (Howe and Lakin 2004). A few additional toilet items were excavated from wells. These included *ligulae*, DB 317, from Eastgate, Needlemakers, Chichester (Down 1981), and DB 819 and DB 820, Insula 9, Silchester (Fulford *et al* 2006), a spatula, DB 977, Church Lane, Canterbury (Frere *et al* 1982), a probe, DB 1500, from the Forum Basilica, Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000), and finally a stirring rod, DB 1381, and a mixing palette, DB 1376, from 201-211, Borough High Street, Southwark, London, (Ferretti and Graham 1978).

Apart from the Stanway, Colchester group of surgical instruments (see the discussion later in this section), there was a fairly even distribution of all the additional toilet items from graves. Stirring rods were the only artefacts not present in this location, although one, DB 140, was located in the Butt Road cemetery area (Crummy 1983). There were two toilet sets, both from burials at the late Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989).

It is worth remembering that the frequencies of multiple depositions of additional toilet find relates to a variety of finds, rather than one type. There were occasions when the same artefacts were found together in the same contexts. Two *ligulae* were found under a hearth, Insula 2, St Albans (DB 1459 and DB 1460) (Niblett *et al* 2006), and two of these items were discovered in a layer, building R19, Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury (DB 1044 and DB 1050) (Blockley *et al* 1995). In addition, there were two stirring rods (DB 1301 and DB 1302) that had been deposited together, along with a toilet set DB 1306 (and a mirror DB 1309) on a road at Leadenhall Court, London (Milne and Wardle 1993; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). DB 819 and DB 820, both *ligulae*,

were discovered in a well with a toilet instrument handle, DB 821, in Insula 9, Silchester (Fulford *et al* 2006).

Additional toilet items that had been placed together in graves included two sets of tweezers (DB 782 and DB 783) from the late Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989), as well as two strigils (DB 772 and DB 773) from the same town (but in this case they were discovered during a rescue excavation at King Harry Lane) (Niblett 1990). The largest group of a multiple deposition of additional toilet finds in this sample came from a group of surgical instruments (DB 955 – DB 967), from a grave at Stanway, Colchester (Crummy 1997b; Crummy 2002a; Crummy *et al* 2007). This was a unique find and the items were almost certainly used for medical purposes. Finally there were a few occasions when the same additional toilet items were recovered together from ‘other features’. Two *ligulae*, DB 1211 and DB 1212, were found from Palmerston House, London (Frere and Tomlin 1991a; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online), and two more DB 1265 and DB 1266, from Billingsgate Buildings Triangle, London (Jones 1980; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online).

No complete sets of chatelaine’s were found together, but on a number of occasions nail cleaners were found with tweezers, and/or ear scoops. If these items had been placed in the same context, it is probable they came from the same chatelaine. In this sample only two of these artefacts ever occurred together, as opposed to the usual number of three. Nevertheless, the cases included finds from an area of buildings, Victoria Road, Winchester, where a nail cleaner, DB 171, was found with a set of tweezers, DB 178, and at the same site a nail cleaner, DB 170, and set of tweezers, DB 174 were found together in a ditch (Rees *et al* 2008). Nail cleaner DB 732, and tweezers DB 741, had been deposited along with a *ligula* DB 725, in an ‘other feature’ context (in this case a quarry) at the Roman settlement, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989), and a set of tweezers, DB 557, and an ear scoop, DB 558, came from the same layer (5) in trench B, at the Inner Earthworks, Silchester (Boon 1969). While it is not clear whether nail cleaners, tweezers and ear scoops deposited together had once belonged to the same set (there are a few cases in this data-set, DB 178, DB 174, DB 557 and DB 558, when it is not known if they had a hole for a suspension ring), it does suggest these toilet items were commonly used together.

There were a few occasions when nail cleaners, tweezers and ear scoops were found with other additional toilet finds that did not form a chatelaine. Tweezers, DB 1145, and a *ligula*, DB 1146, had been placed in a single grave at West Tenter Street, London (Whytehead 1986), as were tweezers DB 842, and *ligula* DB 841, from the nearby Eastern cemetery (Barber and Bowsher 2000). Tweezers DB 661 were found with a toilet knife DB 674, in a cellar fill at the Lower Slope, Folly Lane, St Albans (Niblett 1999). A nail cleaner, DB 921, and spatula, DB 914, were found together in an open area at Courage’s Brewery Bottling Plant, Southwark, London (Cowan 2003a), as was a nail cleaner, DB 1520, and a probe, DB 1521, in a soil layer at Custom House, City of London (Tatton-Brown 1974; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). Nail cleaner,

DB 1527, was found with *ligula* DB 1528, in a pit at 20-30, Aldgate, London (Chapman and Johnson 1973), and tweezers, DB 817, and a *ligula*, DB 818, were also discovered in a pit at Insula 9, Silchester (Fulford *et al* 2006).

11.3 Context Dates and Additional Toilet Items

The highest numbers of additional toilet items, 234, were dated to the early Roman period, while another 102 came from the later Roman period. An additional 129 were dated to the unspecified Roman period. There were also 28 items with a context date that included the late Iron Age. Twenty-four of these came from graves (Table 5-5).

In this data-set the early Roman period was the most common for the deposition of additional toilet items. With one exception, late Iron Age and the early Roman artefacts were all recovered from graves, and all came from the same site, King Harry Lane, St Albans. The one additional find from these periods, a set of tweezers, DB 942, were recovered from a domestic location at Gorhambury, St Albans (Neal *et al* 1990).

11.4 Associated Small Finds and Additional Toilet Items

The highest number of associated small finds was 25 glass unguent containers, followed by ten mirrors and four bronze cosmetic grinders. There were no combs. The main contexts of small finds associated with single additional toilet items were ‘other features’, with 14 glass unguent containers and six mirrors located in these features. Six glass unguent containers were also found with additional toilet items in domestic buildings (Table 6-5). The largest count of associated small finds were the seven glass unguent containers found at 15-23, Southwark Street, London, along with two additional toilet items. One mirror had been deposited with three toilet items in an area of public occupation (Table 8-5).

The presence of glass unguent containers with additional toilet finds was discussed in Chapter 9, Section 9.3, while the details relating to the deposition of mirrors and additional toilet finds were reported in Chapter 7, Section 7.19. Discussions on bronze cosmetic grinders and the various additional toilet finds can be found in Chapter 10, Section 10.4.

11.5 Associated Non-Toilet Finds and Additional Toilet Items

The most common non-toilet finds deposited with additional toilet items were vessels (86). There were 66 occurrences of jewellery, 35 coins, and 12 hairpins found with these artefacts. Sub-dividing this by context, there were 18 cases where jewellery had been recovered with additional toilet items from domestic buildings and areas of public occupation, compared to 11 in graves and cemetery areas (Table 9-5).

There were a number of occurrences of non-toilet finds being found with additional toilet items that were not in ‘other features’ (the most common context). Jewellery was recovered on 14 occasions, and vessels on 13 occasions with additional toilet items in domestic settings. Jewellery was placed with these items on ten occasions in graves. A hairpin was found with a mixing palette, DB 1456, in the same domestic occupation context at 15-23, Southwark Street, Southwark, London (Cowan 1992), and a hairpin and

an ear scoop, DB 726, came from the Roman Settlement, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989). There were two cases when coins were found in a well with additional toilet finds, a stirring rod, DB 1381, from 201-211, Borough High Street, Southwark, London (Ferretti and Graham 1978), and an unidentified toilet instrument handle, DB 318, found at Eastgate, Needlemakers, Chichester (Down 1981).

There was a wide range of other artefacts found with additional toilet items. Figurines had been placed with a cosmetic box, DB 840, in a grave at the Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000), as well as with a set of tweezers, DB 741, at the Roman Settlement, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989), and with *ligulae*, DB 1117, and DB 1406, from Angel Court, London (Blurton 1977), and 199, Borough High St, Southwark, London (Schaaf 1988) respectively. A model arm and leg had been placed in the same context as a *ligula*, DB 676, Insula 14, St Albans (Frere 1972), while a model leg and two mask roundels (one a Medusa bust, the other a male head) were all found with tweezers, DB 1036, in a layer of the *palaestra* (gymnasium area) Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury (Blockley *et al* 1995). A glass mask that depicted a female face, possibly from a glass unguent container, DB 1098 (see Chapter 9, Section 9.12), was also discovered with a spatula, DB 1048, at the Marlowe Car Park site (Blockley *et al* 1995). Finally a horse's incisor with a hole drilled into it was found in the same context as a razor, DB 525, in the Forum-Basilica site, Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000).

Given that some of the toilet items were suspended on the body it is not surprising to find that a belt clasp was found with a nail cleaner, DB 1012, at the Marlowe car park site, Canterbury (Blockley *et al* 1995), and a buckle was discovered with an ear scoop, DB 693, at Insula 17, St Albans (Frere 1984). A strap fragment was found with a razor, DB 252, in the Forum Basilica, Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000). It has been proposed that some leather belt strap ends may have also functioned as nail cleaners (Eckardt and Crummy 2006). Another item of interest was a bone cylinder, found with tweezers, DB 1032, Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury (Blockley *et al* 1995). (See Chapter 10, Section 10.5 for a further discussion)

11.6 Associated Human Skeletal Remains and Additional Toilet Items

Seven male and one female human skeletal remains were found with additional toilet items. However, the majority, nine, did not have their age specified (Table 10-5). The human skeletal remains of known age groups were evenly spread. The highest count came from the estimated adult age group and the unreported bones (Table 11-5). There were no instances of two bodies associated with additional toilet items (Table 12-5).

Male graves dominate the findings from this sample, although the gender details from the other skeletal remains were not reported in nine cases. There were only two occasions when the same additional toilet finds were deposited in a grave. In both instances these were male burials from London cemeteries. The items were tweezers, DB 842, and a *ligula*, DB 841, from the Eastern Cemetery (Barber and Bowsher 2000), and tweezers, DB 1145, and a *ligula*, DB 1146, from West Tenter Street (Whytehead 1986). There were also

two *ligulae*, DB 1265, and, DB 1266, that had been placed with male human remains at Billingsgate Buildings Triangle, London, as well as surgical instrument, DB 1269 (possibly a scalpel or toilet knife), found with a different group of male remains from the same excavation (Jones 1980; London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online). The last site from this town was the Courage's Brewery Bottling Plant, Southwark, where a mixing palette, DB 923, was discovered with a male burial (Cowan 2003a). The remaining male graves that contained additional toilet items came from St Albans. A set of shears, DB 785, had been placed in a male grave at the Iron Age Cemetery, St Albans, while a chatelaine, DB 774, had been discovered in a different male burial at the same site (Stead and Rigby 1989). A razor, DB 673, was also found with male skeletal remain at the Lower Slope, Folly Lane, St Albans (Niblett 1999). The only instance in this data-set of a female being buried with additional toilet items was from the Spitalfield, London site, where a jet rod, DB 975, and a cosmetic box, DB 976, were found in the same grave (Thomas 1999). Although there were none in this sample, chatelaines are known to have been placed in female graves elsewhere, such as in the late Iron Age Portesham burial at Dorset (Fitzpatrick 1996).

Additional toilet items were found in the burials of every age group except neonates. (It has already been noted in Chapter 7, Section 7.6 that the limited number of very young children may partly be explained by the fact that their bones do not always survive.) A number of different additional toilet items had been deposited in graves with adults whose age range was not reported. In respect to the other groups, a cosmetic box, DB 840, was found with a child burial in the Eastern Cemetery, London (Barber and Bowsher 2000), while cosmetic box, DB 976, along with a jet rod, DB 975, had been deposited in the grave of a young adult at Spitalfield, London (Thomas 1999). The young middle adult, and the middle adult burials were found with *ligulae*, DB 841 and DB 1146, and tweezers, DB 842 and DB 1145, Eastern Cemetery and West Tenter Street burial site, London (Whytehead 1986; Barber and Bowsher 2000). A mixing palette, DB 923, was found with a mature individual at Courage's Brewery Bottling Plant, Southwark, London (Cowan 2003a).

11.7 Associated Animal Skeletal Remains and Additional Toilet Items

Pigs (14) were the most common animal remains found with additional toilet items, closely followed by goats (11), sheep (10), and cattle (10). There were also eight cases of horse and deer deposited with these artefacts, as well as six occurrences of wild bird, and four of dog. Pigs (four) were found in the same graves as additional toilet finds, although in one instance cattle, deer, domestic bird, pig and sheep were found in a cemetery area. Wild bird, cattle, goat, pig and sheep had also been placed in a well (at Silchester), along with three additional toilet items (Table 13-5).

Pig remains were regularly found with additional toilet items, and they were present in all the graves that contained animal bones. However, these were all located in St Albans. A razor, DB 673, was found with pig in a burial at the Lower Slope, Folly Lane (Niblett 1999), while a toilet set, DB 774, was placed in the same grave as pig remains from a grave at the late Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, as were a pair of shears, DB 785,

located in a different burial from the same site (Stead and Rigby 1989). Pig was also found with four additional toilet items at King Harry Lane, which included a toilet set, DB 776, shears, DB 779, a nail cleaner, DB 777 and ear scoop DB778 (Stead and Rigby 1989). (For further discussions about pig remains in graves see Chapter 7, Section 7.7)

11.8 Summary of Additional Toilet Items Findings

- **Summary of Settlements and Additional Toilet Items**

London and Colchester had the highest count of additional toilet items.

- **Summary of Contexts and Additional Toilet Items**

Many of the additional toilet finds were recovered from ‘other features’, although a considerable amount were found in domestic buildings. The other additional toilet items were distributed between areas of public occupation, graves and cemetery areas. Ten were discovered in a well, with one from a military building. Every type of additional toilet item that was considered in this sample was sometimes recovered from ‘other features’ and domestic buildings. Multiple finds of additional toilet items (not necessarily the same type of item) were found in all contexts (except military buildings, cemetery areas), including wells. The same types of additional toilet items were, however, recovered following multiple depositions in at least three types of context (domestic occupation, graves and ‘other features’). Some of the items that had been placed in the same context might have been part of the same chatelaine group.

- **Summary of Context Dates and Additional Toilet Items**

The late Iron Age and early Roman dates were the most common periods for the deposition of additional toilet finds, and these were mostly found in graves.

- **Summary of Associated Small Finds and Additional Toilet Items**

Three of the small find groups in this data-set (mirrors, glass unguent containers and bronze cosmetic grinders) were found with single, or multiple groups of additional toilet items from a variety of contexts. These were primarily ‘other features’, domestic buildings and areas of public occupation.

- **Summary of Associated Non-Toilet Finds and Additional Toilet Items**

Vessels and jewellery were often found with additional toilet items, and there were a couple of occasions when coins and hairpins had been deposited in the same context as these personal artefacts. Other items of interest included a number of figurines, roundels depicting faces, miniature body parts, a horse’s incisor, and some belt strap-ends. Non-toilet finds were recovered with additional toilet items from a range of contexts with the majority of depositions occurring in ‘other features’, domestic buildings, graves and areas of public occupation.

- **Summary of Associated Human Skeletal Remains and Additional Toilet Items**

Additional toilet items were more commonly found in male burials. They were found with every age group (including one mature adult), except the very young (neonate).

- **Summary of Associated Animal Skeletal Remains and Additional Toilet Items**
Pig and cattle were most often found with additional toilet items, although other animals were represented horse, dog, cat, wild bird, chicken, goat, sheep, deer, domestic bird and fish.

CHAPTER 12

SUMMARY OF ALL SMALL FIND RESULTS

12.1 Introduction

The different data categories were chosen for this research with certain expectations in mind (see Chapter 6 for further discussion). They were split to allow for the investigation for some artefact details to be considered, but broad enough to allow comparison between the different small finds. The variables that were selected attempted to ensure there was a reasonable balance between these two extremes. This chapter brings together a summary of all the small find results, and notes areas within the findings that reflect general trends or areas of ambiguity. The specific interpretations relating to healthiness will be discussed in the next chapter.

12.2 Settlements – All Small Finds

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Every settlement revealed evidence of small find material.
- b. Mirrors, glass unguent containers and additional toilet finds were recovered from all the settlements.
- c. London featured in the higher percentage range for all the small finds.
- d. Combs and cosmetic grinders were the most concentrated of the small finds with 83% in each case found at two sites (London in both cases, plus Winchester and Colchester respectively).
- e. Additional toilet items and mirrors were the finds most evenly spread amongst the sites.

Much of the small find material was retrieved from London and Colchester. As has been suggested in the previous chapters (Chapter 8, Section 8.1 and Chapter 9, Section 9.1) this probably reflects the large number of excavations undertaken in both these towns. There are variations in the relative abundance of different find types in the different towns. Object material and preservation and will be discussed later in this chapter (Section 12.9). There is a slight possibility that the presence of combs at Winchester may in part be attributed to Germanic influences (see Clarke 1979). The additional toilet items group in the dataset was a large collection of finds, rather than one individual artefact, which may explain their distribution throughout the settlements considered in this study. Mirrors are sometimes seen as luxury objects, and these findings may reflect the presence of wealthy individuals in many of the large settlements of south-west of Britain.

12.3 Contexts – All Small Finds

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. No single type of context dominated the findings.
- b. Apart from the ‘not reported’ and ‘unstratified/residual’ results, ‘other features’ (see Chapter 6, Section 6.5 for definition of ‘other features’) were the most common contexts for cosmetic grinders and additional toilet items.

- c. Equal number of mirrors were found in 'other features' and graves, and the greatest number of combs came from burials.
- d. Domestic buildings were where most glass unguent containers were found, and these buildings also produced many examples of the various additional toilet items. Glass unguent containers have a different distribution to other objects studied. Compared with the other small finds, 25% of all glass unguent containers were found in domestic buildings, where as other types of small finds were as low as 4% and never exceeded 19%.
- e. Every type of small find was found in areas of public occupation (glass unguent containers 18% and other types of small finds 3-7%).
- f. Mirrors, glass unguent containers and additional toilet items were all found in wells, though in low numbers.
- g. There was one instance each of glass unguent containers and additional toilet items discovered in military buildings.
- h. A review of the contexts of multiple depositions of mirrors and glass unguent containers show that the areas for this phenomenon were limited to 'other features', graves and areas of domestic buildings. The incidents of multiple depositions (apart from additional toilet items) where the number was high (greater than three) was confined to 'other features'.
- i. Multiple depositions of additional toilet items (not necessarily the same type of item) were found in all types of contexts (including wells), apart from military buildings and cemetery areas.
- j. The same types of additional toilet items were recovered as multiple depositions in at least three types of contexts: domestic occupation, graves and 'other features'. A few of the items that had been placed in the same context might have been part of the same chatelaine group.

The lack of contextual information in site reports has been discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.9, and contributed to the high percentage of 'not reported' figures. It is worth speculating that some of the unstratified items made of metal, such as the additional toilet items from this data-set, might have been retrieved by the use of a metal detector over spoil heaps. Whilst helpful to the finds specialist, this is of little value to those who undertake contextual analysis. Many of the items within this data-set were retrieved from 'other features'. It has already been noted in Chapter 6, Section 6.5 that this term may reflect discard or structured deposition practices that include abandoning items away from the main settlement areas. Other social or economic practices may have influenced this count. Cosmetic grinders and additional toilet items were probably less expensive personal items, which might explain why they were recovered from 'other features' in more numbers than combs or glass unguent containers. This is in contrast to mirrors. Similar numbers of mirrors were retrieved from graves as from 'other features', perhaps reflecting both the greater value of these items and probably their close association with the individual buried. In respect to graves, a significant proportion of the Roman population may not have received a formal burial within designated cemetery areas (Pearce 2000), so the high counts of finds from these contexts only reflect the practices of perhaps more affluent

people within society. Three types of small finds (mirrors, glass unguent containers and additional toilet items) were recovered from wells, although it is worth noting these may not necessarily have had usable water when these items were deposited. Sometimes the water dried up or it became contaminated, and occasionally wells collapsed (Burgers 2001), and many of the items recovered from wells were in contexts associated with the infilling of the shafts.

It is often difficult to define and distinguish between the boundaries of domestic and public areas from the archaeological record in this period. There were, for example, many glass unguent containers and additional toilet items found in domestic areas, but it is known that glassware and metal production was common in these settings (MacMahon 2005). It is possible that glass unguent containers may not be linked to the individual quite as closely as other items, and these may have been regarded more as household rather than personal objects. However, as a proportion of the sample glass unguent containers occurred at least twice as frequently as the other small finds in areas of public occupation, which suggests there were instances when these items were for personal use. The finds recovered from military buildings need not have been used solely by army personnel, for these establishments probably housed both military and local civilian people.

Single finds can be interpreted as accidental losses or evidence for the disposal of broken objects (with the notable exception of graves), but the presence of more than one item in the same location creates a stronger argument that this was not the case. The multiple depositions of the same small finds found in 'other features' suggests this might, on some occasions, have been structured deposition (see Chapter 1, Section 1.5).

12.4 Context Dates – All Small Finds

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Apart from 'unstratified' and 'not reported' categories, the early Romano-British period was the most common date for the deposition of most of the types of small finds, with the clear exception of combs, which were nearly all associated with late Roman contexts.
- b. However, many examples of the other types of small finds were also dated to the later Roman periods.
- c. There was a small difference with cosmetic grinders, where there was a slightly higher number from contexts dated to an unspecified Roman period, rather than the earlier dates.
- d. Examples from two types of small finds (mirrors and additional toilet items) were dated to the late Iron Age, and there is no definite evidence that any of the other types were used prior to the Roman period.
- e. However, apart from combs, all the other types of small finds included some items that could only be dated within the broader category of the late Iron Age and Roman periods, and therefore a pre-Roman origin for their introduction and use cannot be ruled out.

Context dating can pose some problems. The ground within large urban-type settlements was, and is, often continually disturbed making dating slightly less secure than some other archaeological sites, and in addition, since features such as pits and wells may be slow to silt up fully, the date of the finds from the fill might be significantly later than the date when the feature was in use (Maltby unpublished). A number of small finds were recovered in later contexts than their expected date of manufacture. Residual material is quite common on urban sites, and might be related to the nature of activities at settlement, such as cuts into previous deposits (Evans and Millett 1992).

The results from securely dated finds showed that many of them came from early Roman deposits. This might be attributed to the possibility that more early Roman features have been excavated in these towns, although a large proportion of the artefacts were recovered from multi-period sites (see site periods in Appendix 2). There does therefore appear to be a convincing case that more of these objects were produced and used in the early Roman period than later (with the exception of combs). This supports Hill's (1997) contention that the adoption and use of this type of new material culture in the advent of Roman influence was partly driven by an increase of interest in the body.

12.5 Associated Small Finds – All Small Finds

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Additional toilet items (41) occurred more frequently as an associated small finds than the other artefacts under consideration.
- b. Combs and bronze cosmetic grinders had a low frequency of association with other small finds (three and four respectively).
- c. Glass unguent containers were regularly found in association with all the small finds categories except bronze cosmetic grinders.
- d. The main contexts for the multiple depositions of small finds were graves and 'other features', although there were also occasions when associated small finds were recovered from domestic buildings and areas of public use.

The large numbers of glass unguent containers found with other small finds, including additional toilet items, was discussed in Chapter 9, Section 9.4, where it was highlighted that items such as *ligulae* might have been used to extract substances such as cosmetics from glass flasks. The higher numbers of associations in graves supports the contention that these objects were often placed together, and that they were sometimes more closely associated with the deceased, as opposed to being communal objects. Given that there were cases where multiple depositions of the various small finds were recovered from 'other features', it is possible that some were placed there for ritual purposes.

12.6 Associated Non-Toilet Finds – All Small Finds

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Vessels, jewellery, and to a lesser extent coins and hairpins were regularly found with the small finds.

- b. The ‘other artefacts’ category included some very interesting objects which included, figurines and objects depicting the face or miniature body parts, personal items such as a possible cosmetic brush or belt strap-ends, animal-related artefacts, such as dog and horse pieces, and miniature items.
- c. The contexts were usually graves, domestic buildings or ‘other features’, and to a lesser extent areas of public occupation.

Discussions concerning the presence of vessels, jewellery and coins associated with these small finds have been discussed in the previous chapters (Chapter 7, Section 7.5; Chapter 8, Section 8.5; Chapter 9, Section 9.5; Chapter 10, Section 10.5 and Chapter 11, Section 11.5). As with other aspects of this analysis, attempts to discover general patterns and frequencies of associations were not as successful and informative as the study of specific finds in key contexts. Once again the contexts for associated non-toilet finds were graves and ‘other features’, which may have been for the same reasons discussed in Section 12.5.

12.7 Associated Human Skeletal Remains – All Small Finds

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. There were no clear patterns of inclusion or exclusion as regards the gender of the human remains associated with the small find categories found in graves, with similar numbers of males and females found with various small finds.
- b. The ‘estimated adult’ category was the one most commonly associated with the small finds. Of those that have been assigned a more precise age, ‘young-middle aged adults’ were most often found with these small finds.
- c. There were no ‘mature’ adults found with mirrors, combs and glass unguent containers, but other categories were associated with them.
- d. Gender and age varied when two bodies associated with the small finds were recovered from the same grave.

Disappointingly, there were only a few graves where gender and age have been ascertained, as many of the finds were recovered from cremations. Some of the problems relating to burials within different age groups were discussed in, for example, Chapter 7, Section 7.6. These problems might also have influenced all these results, for there was only a very small percentage of human bone found in the same context as the small finds (17.6% with mirrors, 35.6% with combs, 4.1% with glass unguent containers, 5.9% with bronze cosmetic grinders and 2.3% with additional toilet items). In respect to the variation of age and gender the study did not consider the exact placement of the small find in the grave in relation to the body or cremation material, and when two bodies associated with the small finds were recovered from the same grave, it was not always clear which objects were associated with which body. Unfortunately such information was often lacking in the published reports. It is interesting that the finds seem to be more commonly associated with young adults than the old, a point that will be returned to in Chapter 13, Section 13.3.

12.8 Associated Animal Skeletal Remains – All Small Finds

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Pig was present with every type of small find, and there were a number of occasions when cattle was also found.
- b. Many different animals were represented. Dogs were, for example, sometimes found with combs, glass unguent containers, bronze cosmetic grinders and additional toilet items, while horse bones were sometimes found in association with combs, glass unguent containers, mirrors and additional toilet items. Wild bird remains were occasionally recovered with mirrors, glass unguent containers, and additional toilet items.
- c. The contexts where these associations were most commonly recorded were ‘other features’ and graves.

There were only a few cases where animal bone could be traced to the same context as the small finds, which meant the findings were very limited. The results show a greater number of cases of large mammals which are generally more visible during excavation, although there were some cases of other species such as wild bird. In some of the graves it is possible to argue that animals were deposited with the body and the associated artefacts. Other bones could have been redeposited in grave fills or been deposited or redeposited as rubbish alongside discarded objects. However, some specific associations were informative and are discussed in Chapter 13, Section 13.4.

12.9 Material – Mirrors and Combs

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Nearly all the mirrors were made from speculum, with only two examples of glass mirrors, and one of bronze/silver. The most common material for combs was bone, but there was very little difference in the counts between bone, antler and wood. There was only one example made from ivory.
- b. Most wooden combs and the only ivory example were from London, as were the majority of speculum mirrors, and both glass examples. The majority of bone and antler combs were found at Winchester, while the single silver/bronze mirror came from Colchester.
- c. Most bone and antler combs, as well as the majority of the speculum and glass mirrors were found in graves. Wooden combs were more often located in ‘other features’, as was the silver/bronze mirror. The ivory comb was from a domestic building.
- d. In one case two combs of different material (wood and bone) were found together in the same grave, and there was one burial where two mirrors made of different material (speculum and glass) were found.
- e. Thirty-five percent of speculum mirrors, and the single silver/bronze mirror, one of the two glass mirrors and the ivory comb were all dated to the early Roman period. However, 81% antler, 73% bone, and 7% of wooden combs were all dated to the late Roman period. (This latter finding is not surprising as the majority of combs are dated to the late Roman period.)

The large number of speculum mirrors seen in this data-set was discussed in Chapter 7, Section 7.8, where it was highlighted that this material was very popular throughout the continent during the Roman period. The discovery of organic materials, particularly wood, is dependant upon survival conditions, which accounts for the great frequency of these combs in London and ‘other features’. It is highly likely that similar objects were made and used in the other towns, but have not survived in non-waterlogged conditions. Most of the unusual materials such as the two glass mirrors and the single silver/bronze example, as well as the ivory comb could be dated to the early Roman period, which may link to the use of these objects in this period by the wealthy.

12.10 Complete or Fragmented – All Small Finds, Except Additional Toilet Items

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Most of the small finds in the data-set were fragmented.
- b. All the types of small finds included some pieces that were complete, and these were often recovered from graves. However, complete glass unguent containers and bronze cosmetic grinders were also occasionally found in ‘other features’, and a few complete combs, glass unguent containers, and bronze cosmetic grinders were found in domestic buildings and areas of public occupation

Many of the objects reviewed in this study were fragmented, and therefore discussions concerning the small finds were often based on incomplete material. The lack of complete glass mirrors from this data-set might be attributed to them being very thin and fragile, while silver mirrors were probably expensive, making them rare items. Ivory might also have been costly as it was probably an imported material. As noted earlier, there might also have been various industrial activities undertaken, such as metal working close to where the finds were recovered. Despite this, the survival of more unbroken objects in graves indicates not only their careful deposition, but the association of the dead body with objects that were ‘still alive’. In many cases where broken objects were found in graves it was not always clear whether these had been broken before or after deposition.

Deliberately broken objects (such as a mirror recovered from a grave at the Iron Age cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989) see Chapter 7, Section 7.8) may imply quite a different relationship with the deceased. The presence of complete objects in other types of contexts such as ‘other features’ may be attributed to structured deposition.

12.11 Form – Mirrors, Combs and Bronze Cosmetic Grinders

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Mirrors were mostly circular in form, although there were a few that were rectangular, while the majority of combs were composite pieces. In respect to bronze cosmetic grinders, more mortars than pestles were recovered, and on seven occasions they were found together.
- b. Although circular mirrors were most commonly found in London, they were retrieved from every settlement. There were more rectangular mirrors from Chichester, although many also came from London. The largest number of

composite piece combs came from Winchester, with the remainder from Colchester. London and Winchester were the only towns where single piece combs were found. A bronze cosmetic grinder set was found in each town, apart from Silchester and Winchester.

- c. Both circular and rectangular mirror forms were found in graves and ‘other features’, but some circular mirrors were also retrieved from domestic buildings and areas of public occupation. A number of composite piece combs were found in graves, while two single piece combs were found in a grave and cemetery area. Composite combs were found in smaller numbers in domestic buildings and areas of public occupation, and there was one single piece comb from the former context. There were three complete bronze cosmetic grinder sets from graves, as well as four mortars and one pestle from cemetery areas. One set, and a separate pestle, were recovered from domestic buildings, and one from an area of public occupation.
- d. The majority of speculum mirrors and one of the glass mirrors were circular. Composite combs were made of bone and antler, and a few from wood, while the material for single piece combs was wood, bone or ivory.
- e. There were two cases where two mirrors were found in the same context (graves) each with different forms (one circular and one rectangular). The forms of the combs from the multiple deposition sites were not reported.
- f. Unsurprisingly, given the dates of the objects in general, most of the circular and rectangular mirrors were dated to the early Roman period. Almost all the composite combs were of late Roman date, with one single piece comb being dated to the early period. A number of bronze cosmetic sets were dated to the early Roman period, and some were from unspecified Roman dates.

The shape of an item is created to meet various needs, and the design works within the context of materials, technology, as well as the economic and social conditions (Caple 2006). Many of these elements could have contributed to the different forms seen in mirrors, combs and cosmetic grinders. The forms might have been created for functional, artistic or symbolic purposes, and their location both in different settlements and contexts might have been influenced by these factors. This is discussed again in Chapter 13, Section 13.4. Single piece combs are limited in size by the dimensions of the available raw material (MacGregor 1985), which might explain why composite combs (although more complicated to make) were more popular.

12.12 Type – Mirrors and Combs

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Few mirrors in the dataset had handles, but examples were found in every town except Chichester. Many of the combs were double-sided, with fewer single-sided examples. The majority of double-sided combs were found at London and Winchester, but more single-sided combs were recovered from Winchester than London. There were also a number of double-sided combs from Colchester.

- b. Most handled mirrors came from graves, although a few were found in ‘other features’ and domestic buildings. There was only one mirror that was a definite box lid type, and this was found in a grave in London. Both double-sided and single-sided combs were sometimes deposited in graves, but both types were also discovered in both domestic and public locations.
- c. There were no sites where two handled mirrors were found in the same context, but there was one case when two mirrors were found in the same context, one with and one without a handle. The only box lid mirror was found in association with another mirror in a grave. The types of combs from the multiple deposition sites were not reported.
- d. All the handled and box lid mirrors, where the material was reported, were made from speculum. With the exception of the ivory comb, double-sided and single-sided combs were evenly spread between the different materials, wood, bone and antler.
- e. Most of the handled mirrors were circular, as was the box lid example. Double-sided and single-sided combs were both mostly composite forms.
- f. The majority of handled mirrors were from the earlier periods, with a few from later dates. The majority of both types of combs were from the later Roman period. There were two examples of double-sided combs from early Roman dates.

The lack of handles on mirrors may be related to them frequently being broken off from the main piece, and certainly the presence of handles on circular mirrors would seem to make sense when considering the function of these items. Box lid mirrors were often placed into wooden boxes, and in many cases this material would not be preserved. Both comb types have been reported at sites on the Continent, and it is possible that some of those in this data-set came from abroad. It has been speculated that a few of the individuals buried at Winchester had links with Germanic peoples, some of whom, it is suggested used single-sided combs (Clarke 1979). This might help explain the number of single-sided combs recovered from this settlement. Overall, there generally does not appear to have been much in the way of contextual variation in the deposition of different types of mirrors and combs.

12.13 Zoomorphic Type – All Small Finds, Except Additional Toilet Items

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Zoomorphic types of small finds were occasionally retrieved from all the different settlements.
- b. There were a number of zoomorphic types which included combs (horse), glass unguent containers (marine), and cosmetic grinders (cattle). Three different small finds (combs, glass unguent containers and bronze cosmetic grinders) had bird zoomorphic shapes. There was one zoomorphic dragon shape.
- c. Zoomorphic types of small finds were found in a range of different contexts.
- d. The zoomorphic mirror was circular and made of speculum. All the zoomorphic combs were made of antler, and were of a composite form. One of the horse-type combs was single-sided, whilst the remainder were double-sided.

All the zoomorphic bronze cosmetic grinders were mortar pieces, and two of these belonged to sets.

- e. The single zoomorphic mirror was dated to the early Roman period, with most of the zoomorphic of combs coming from late Roman contexts as was the case of combs in general. Most of the zoomorphic glass unguent containers and bronze cosmetic grinders were recovered from contexts of unspecified Roman date.

Zoomorphic representations on a small find are not always easy to categorise and interpret. It is assumed, for example, that one of the mirror handles was a dragon shape (Chapter 7, Section 7.11, Figure 19), although it might be interpreted as a different creature. One of the combs categorised as a horse-type also suffers from stylistic ambiguity (Chapter 8, Section 8.11, Figure 38). There are too few objects to merit detailed discussion of their distribution and context in general. However, it can be argued that some of the images have relevance to the concepts of healthiness and wellbeing, and these will be discussed in Chapter 13, Section 13.4.

12.14 Coloured and Colourless – Glass Unguent Containers

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. There were more coloured than colourless glass unguent containers, although both were mostly found from Colchester and London.
- b. Coloured containers were found at all the settlements, whilst there were no colourless items from Winchester and Chichester.
- c. Domestic buildings provided the largest number of coloured glass unguent containers, whilst the highest numbers of non-coloured items were found in graves.
- d. There were many cases of multiple depositions of coloured glass unguent containers, and there were four occurrences when coloured and colourless glass unguent containers were found together in the same context, which was mostly graves.
- e. The zoomorphic styled glass unguent containers (that were reported) were all coloured. The coloured and colourless items were spread across a range of dates, including some possible late Iron Age examples as well as many examples of Roman date.

This section did not include inlay or overlay colour. As with the discussions concerning forms and types, colours might have been driven by industrial and economic pressures. Natural glass (which is green) was, for example, cheaper than glass where a colorant or de-colorant had been added. This might explain why it was popular in domestic settings where breakages might often occur. Since this category only relates to glass unguent containers, further details concerning these results can be found in Chapter 9, Section 9.10.

12.15 Stamped – Combs and Glass Unguent Containers

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Stamped combs and glass unguent containers were mostly recovered from London, with a couple of examples from Chichester.
- b. The contexts, which were only reported for glass unguent containers, were graves and ‘other features’.
- c. The stamped comb was a wooden, double-sided example, while three of these glass unguent containers were coloured.
- d. The dates were only reported for glass unguent containers. Two were from the early Roman period, and two from unspecified Roman contexts.

Although it is assumed that these stamps were either makers’ marks or a validation of the product, it might be argued that the text could also have had a hidden meaning for those who owned and/or used the item. This could perhaps be used to explain why several of these pieces occur in graves. Again their rarity precludes detailed analysis, but the specific examples are informative of their value as personal items.

12.16 Decoration – All Small Finds, Except Additional Toilet Items

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Decorated small finds were found from all the settlements, with no single urban-type location dominating the results.
- b. While mirrors had the highest number of circular decoration, the findings from combs reflects that this was also popular design for this item. Abstract decoration was commonly found on glass unguent containers and bronze cosmetic grinders, whilst some combs also had this design. Combs and glass unguent containers had both circular and abstract motifs. Pictorial decoration occurred on two types of finds, glass unguent containers and mirrors. Some combs and cosmetic grinders had circular holes in their design.
- c. The decorated items were fairly evenly spread between the different contexts, with the exception of wells where no decorated items were found.
- d. In respect to multiple depositions, there were occasions when decorated small finds (mirrors and glass unguent containers) were found with differently decorated or undecorated pieces.
- e. All the decorated mirrors that were reported were made of speculum, while wood, bone and antler combs were decorated.
- f. The circular decorated mirrors were all circular in form, and three had a handle, while all the abstract decorated mirrors were circular and two had handles. Many of the decorated combs were composite pieces that were double-sided. In respect to cosmetic grinders it was mortars that were usually decorated, but there is one example of a pestle carrying a decorative motif.
- g. A few zoomorphic combs, glass unguent containers and bronze cosmetic grinders were decorated with a mix of circular or abstract types of decoration.
- h. Both coloured and colourless glass unguent containers were decorated.
- i. Circular, abstract, and a combination of both these decorations, were found in the early and late Roman periods.

Decoration is created by the use of simple patterns, or more complex motifs, and can be difficult to categorise. It is usually clear when decoration has been applied to an item, although it is possible that unintended marks that occurred by accident during the manufacturing processes were mutated into decorative forms. (This might have been the case very occasionally in respect to the abstract forms.) This does not, of course, include features that have occurred on small finds as a result of industrial processes, such as pontil marks on blown glass vessels (Price and Cottam 1998). The lack of decoration might also mean that an item was not finished, rather than being deliberately left undecorated. Decoration (abstract and circular forms) is seen on many other materials from this period, suggesting that their appearance on small finds replicated this interest. However, some elements might be linked to good health, and this is discussed in Chapter 13, Section 13.4.

12.17 Covers and Cases – Mirrors

The patterns in the data analysis showed:

- a. Only a few mirrors in the data-set were found with a frame or a cover. The majority of framed examples were from Winchester, whilst most of those with covers were recovered from Chichester. Of those that were reported, they were all retrieved from burial contexts.
- b. There was only one case where a framed mirror was found in the same grave as an unframed example.
- c. All the mirrors that had frames and covers were made of speculum, and most were rectangular in form, although one framed mirror was circular, and one framed mirror had a handle.
- d. None of the decorated mirrors had covers or cases, and, as expected, the highest number of mirrors with frames and covers were from the early Roman period.

Since most of the examples of the frames and covers in this data-set were made of organic material, it is probable that there were many others which have not survived.

Consequently the low count is not necessarily a good indicator of their frequency.

Although they may survive better in contexts such as graves because of careful placement, their absence from the other waterlogged feature of London, in particular, is probably worth noting. The low count may also indicate that framed and covered mirrors were regarded as high status items. The deposition of covers with the mirror added protection both physically and symbolically to the personal item deposited.

12.18 Summary

The general traits have been discussed and it is clear that some aspects of the analysis have been more successful than others. Problems that were encountered could be related to the lack of details published about the material. (These included missing contextual data, imprecision or non-recording of dates, lack of information about the form of the object or the material it was made from, lack of information about associations of objects, and problems encountered by the splitting up of archaeological data to different specialists). Nevertheless it was possible to disentangle some general trends relating to the distribution of objects in different types of contexts, the chronology of deposition of different objects,

the association of the small finds with other archaeological material, and the forms, types, decoration and inscriptions relating to these artefacts. In conclusion, although this general survey has been valuable, not all of the results have proved as informative as hoped in relation to the aims and objectives of this thesis. However, specific attributes and examples from within the data-set have provided relevant information that is central to this research, and it is these that will be considered in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 13

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF LATE IRON AGE AND ROMAN HEALTHINESS THROUGH THE SMALL FIND EVIDENCE

13.1 Introduction

Having considered the various details and attributes of these items at the broad and specific levels this chapter continues by directing its attention to the interpretations. It is worth reiterating that there are multiple ways that the patterns in the data can be ‘read’ and understood, but as this research concentrates on healthiness, it is this topic that will form the main focus.

13.2 Interpretations of Healthiness

In the early chapters of this thesis healthiness was explained as being about the interior and exterior of the self, defined by the individual and the ‘other’. It was seen as a fluid multifaceted state of being, with no temporal stability. It incorporated every aspect of the body, and existed in the physical, social, psychological and spiritual dimensions. It was suggested that healthiness could be found in the archaeology and history of the late Iron Age and Roman peoples. In Britain many of these people gathered in settlements that eventually became towns, and during this time made, used and discarded large amounts of material. This research continued by examining one group of small finds from these large proto-urban and urban settlements of the south-east of Britain, and suggests that the archaeological information they hold could be used to glimpse practices of healthiness. The themes that emerge are healthiness in personhood and in domestic and public life, healthiness through religion, and controlling healthiness. For ease of consultation, reference will be made to previous chapters and sections.

13.3 Healthiness in Personhood and in Domestic and Public Life

Gender is the first aspect of personhood to be considered. It is worth reiterating that there is a distinction between biological sex (distinguishable from human remains) and the social construction of gender (see Chapter 5, Section 5.12). The findings report that glass unguent containers had been deposited with seven male burials, whilst mirrors and combs were found in male graves on four occasions (Chapter 7, Section 7.6; Chapter 8, Section 8.6; Chapter 9, Section 9.6). The only sexed skeletal remains with a cosmetic grinder were from a male grave, and in respect to additional toilet finds, tweezers, *ligulae*, one chatelaine, a mixing palette, a razor, and a set of shears were found in male burials (Chapter 10, Section 10.6; Chapter 11, Section 11.6). There was a similar picture for the types of finds associated with female graves, although there were fewer additional toilet finds, and no cosmetic grinders. In all cases a number of small finds were found with skeletal remains whose gender was not reported. It has often been the case that objects such as combs, mirrors and toilet items are discussed in relation to women (e.g. Allason-Jones 2005), and indeed sometimes the iconography of the period reflects this (Figure 73). However if it is accepted that the artefacts in the grave once belonged to the interned

individual, it seems probable that both men and women used these objects in life. Indeed Cool (2002) has highlighted that two males were found buried with various pieces of jewellery, that are traditionally associated with women at Bainesse (site 46), Catterick, North Yorkshire. The male in grave 951 was found wearing a jet necklace, bracelet and a torc-twisted anklet, whilst another male body from grave 752 was recovered wearing a similar anklet (Cool 2002, 29). The classical authors provide an ambiguous picture of men and women's interest in their facial appearance. There is some suggestion that if men went too far, their suitability for public life was questioned. Yet men were viewed as being healthy if their skin was tanned, and oil might have been applied to the body to assist with the bronzing process (Stewart 2007). Women were similarly both encouraged and castigated for using unguents and cosmetics. Of course, as mentioned previously, social identities such as gender are not fixed, and therefore it is plausible that the mixing palette from the barracks building in London, may have belonged either to a female who had been visiting the premises, or a member of the military (Chapter 11, Section 11.2). Andrew Gardner's (2007) overview of small finds from four sites that had military association, Caernarfon, Birdoswald, South Shields and York Minster, revealed that all had significant counts of toilet and medical finds. It is proposed that the use of these small finds contributed to an individual's positive health by providing the means with which to present the 'self' to society, in a manner that they felt comfortable (see Chapter 2, Section 2.11 for further theoretical discussion).

If the artefacts are considered in more detail, there are findings that might further support this idea. The two hairpins found in the same contexts as combs (Chapter 8, Section 8.5), were probably used to help create one of the many and varied hairstyles that existed in this period. A coil of brown hair from the Poundbury Cemetery attests to this practice (Farwell and Molleson 1993). Indeed long hair was a sign of potency in the late Iron Age period, and there may have been a continuity of this idea into the Roman period (Millett 1995). Combs would have detangled hair, and it has been speculated that the fine teeth on one side of the double-sided comb (common in this data-set, Chapter 8, Section 8.10), were used to help control head lice (Pugsley 2003). Two combs recovered from Ribchester, Lancashire were found with fragments of human head lice (*Pediculus humanus capitis*), suggesting that this might have been the case (Fell 1991). Hair-pins were also recovered with a number of glass unguent containers (Chapter 9, Section 9.5), and whilst these might traditionally have been related to women (and indeed this was the case in two instances), Pliny the Elder complained that Roman soldiers used scented hair oil under their helmets (Natural History XIII.4.3). A cosmetic grinder found with a possible make-up brush (Chapter 10, Section 10.5) could have been used to create the 'classic' Roman female appearance which, according to the ancient authors, consisted of a white, pale complexion, with a touch of blusher on the cheeks. The use of rouge on the face, and its connection to healthiness was discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.11, whilst the application of make-up to the eyes (perhaps using the pointed end of a grinder, see Bird 1999), would have enlarged them, causing them to seem wider and more appealing (Chapter 2, Section 2.12). Given that mortars were more common in the data-set than pestles (Chapter 10, Section 10.9) conceivably an owner could have had more than one mortar for different make-up colours.

Skin softeners, such as the face cream found in a cosmetic container from London (Chapter 11, Section 11.1), would have provided a method of hiding wrinkles or blemishes.

Staying with cosmetic grinders, the crescent shape of the mortar meant it would not have stood independently on a surface. The person crushing and perhaps then applying the cosmetics from this container would have had to hold both the mortar and grinder. Even if a mirror was used, *speculum* (the most common material for mirrors in the data-set, Chapter 7, Section 7.8) did not give a very good reflection, which meant there would always be some tension between the image and reality. The procedure would have been made much easier, if another person assisted in this process, and there is evidence that wealthy individuals had help from slaves or servants (Stewart 2007). In Goffman's (1969) terms, there was a reliance on another team member who helped construct 'the show' (Chapter 2, Section 2.13). Indeed many of these individuals would have been skilled 'service specialists' and trusted members of the household, and as such were partly responsible for the 'others' well-being. The painted frieze from the Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii reiterates this idea. The picture shows a lady being assisted with her hair style, but she is not even looking in the mirror (Figure 73).

The small find patterns suggest that many of these practices were taking place during the early Roman period (this was the most common context dates for mirrors (Chapter 7, Section 7.3), glass unguent containers (Chapter 9, Section 9.3) and additional toilet items (Chapter 11, Section 11.3)), when it seems an interest in the body became more prevalent. Still, the data-set results suggest that there was a steady continuation of the use of personal small finds throughout the Roman period. Whilst combs were not regularly found until later dates, once established, they too became part of the tools for wellbeing.

Another point of interest was that the small finds were recovered from every settlement considered in this research, but they were found in particularly high numbers in London and Colchester. It has already been noted that this finding could have been caused by the large numbers of excavations undertaken in these areas (Chapter 9, Section 9.1), but of course Colchester was the provincial capital from AD 49 to AD 90, after which London assumed this title. Inscriptions and letters suggests the presence of imperial staff and servants in London (see Hassall 2000), and no doubt the governor and procurator resided there when London took over administrative responsibilities from *Camulodunum* as the provincial capital. The role of London shrank around the third century, when Britain was split into *Britannia Inferior* and *Britannia Superior*, with York taking over as the *colonia* in the north (Milne 1995). It seemed this would be the case again, when the provinces were subdivided in the early fourth century to make four, and then five sub-provinces. However, a new level in the administrative hierarchy saw London promoted to become the capital of Britain (Hassall 2000). The presence of elite staff at sites such as London during this time would have made these settlements attractive not only to Roman citizens, but also for those who were interested in the seeing, and at times choosing to replicate elements of urban social practices.

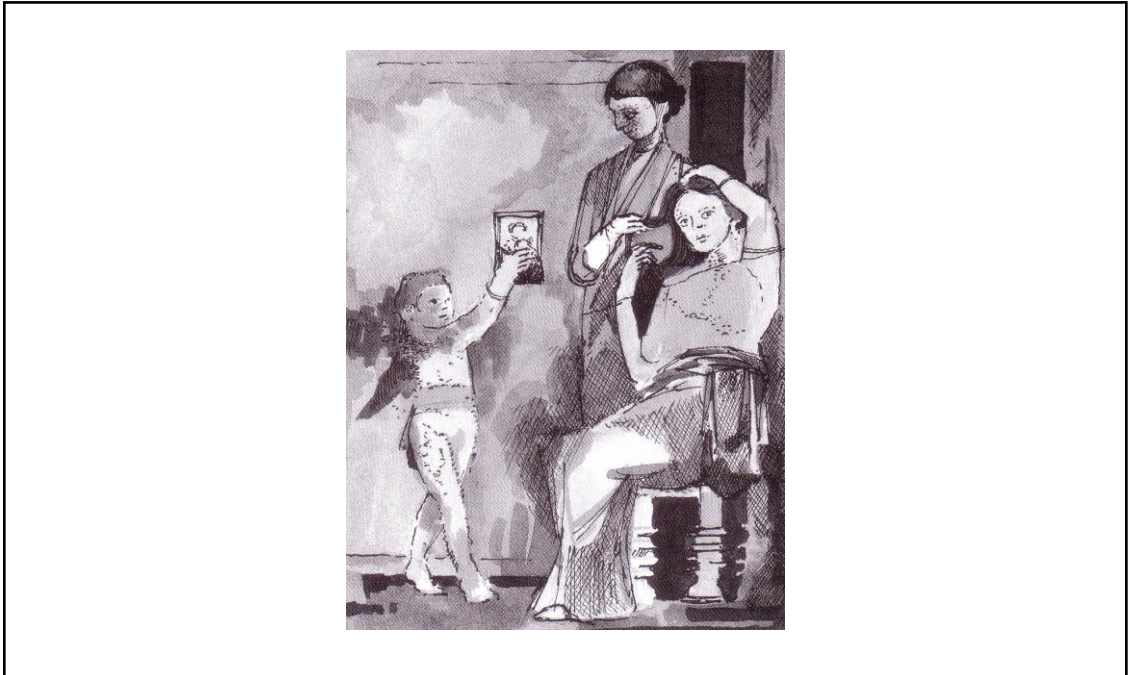


Figure 73 Lady having her hair styled, with cherub holding a mirror, Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii (Stewart 2007, 80).

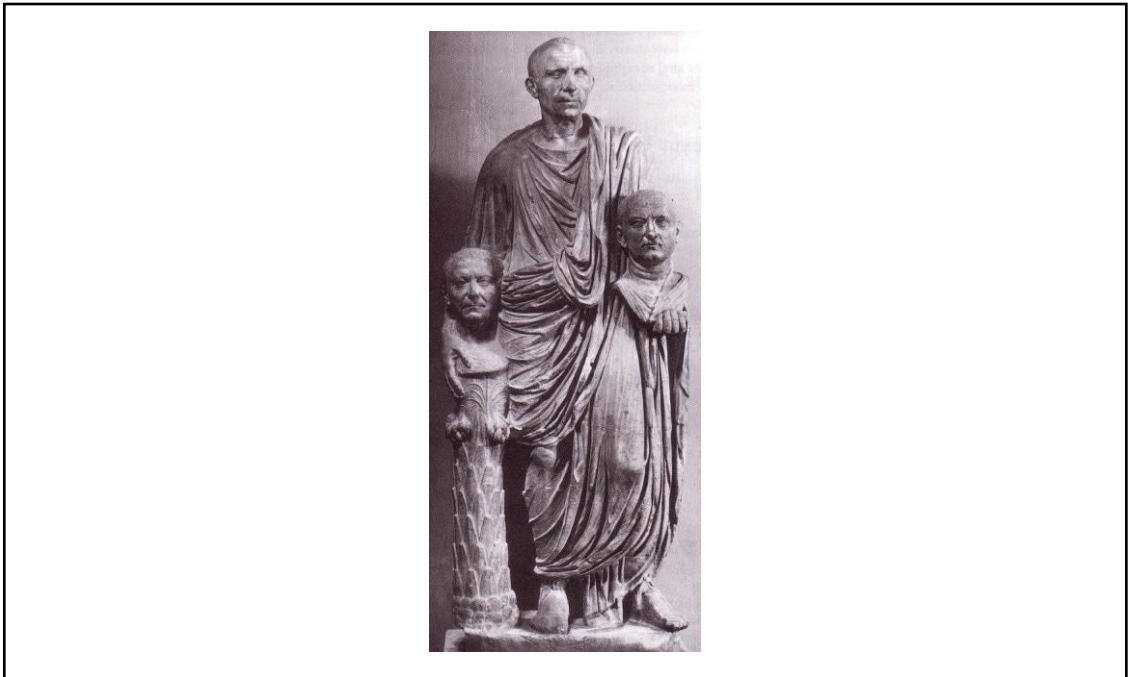


Figure 74 Roman statue of a man displaying two ancestor portraits (Zanker 1990, 164).

Civic life was, especially for the Roman elite, defined by their domestic dwellings, and in many houses there seems to have been a number of different functional spaces. These included work places, reception areas and residential quarters (Perring 2002). (It is worth noting that these areas are quite difficult to define through archaeology). All the types of small finds considered in this sample were found in domestic buildings. There were occasions when two small finds had been deposited in the same context in a domestic building, such as a *ligula* with a glass unguent container from London (Chapter 9, Section 9.4). Two *ligulae* were found with a bronze cosmetic grinder in Insula 2, St Albans, and it is possible these items were used to spoon cosmetics into the grinder (Chapter 10, Section 10.4). In some cases there were other items associated with ‘the person’ found in the same domestic settings, such as hairpins with a mixing palette, or with an ear scoop from London and St Albans respectively (Chapter 11, Section 11.5).

The owners and some family members of these large types of properties would have been engaged to a greater or lesser extent in the various complexities of Romano-British town life, which almost certainly involved acting as patrons. It has been suggested that the networks of patronage and dependency sustained authority in the Roman towns, and generated power for the elite (Wallace-Hadrill 1989). All the parties who participated in this relationship would have been actively negotiating their positions. In the case of the patron, this was supported by the architecture and spaces of the reception areas in the house, the items on display, and perhaps, most importantly, the personal appearance of the individual and the family. It is known that there were dress codes amongst the elite in Rome, such as the purple stripe for senatorial and equestrian ranks. Advertising the self was crucial in this social setting, and to appear healthy would have mattered. When giving advice to a friend, the very rich Pliny the Younger talks about good health (Pliny VII .1). A patron would often receive his guests personally, and it is in this setting that there would be face-to-face encounters while sitting or standing next to statues of supposed ancestors, all with faces made to appear as a ‘good’ Roman should look, and these were certainly not reflecting suffering, pain or signs of severe disease (Figure 74). Juxtaposed against this would be the patron, and it would be in their interest to create the right sort of face and hairstyle. The tools used to create this manufactured image were in this sample. In a section of a letter from Vindolanda, the writer Cerialis is requesting further patronage for a transfer or promotion. It is probable that the wealthy Crispinus had already met Cerialis, and it is worth noting that healthiness is mentioned almost immediately in this request.

“To his Crispinus. Since Grattius Crispinus is returning to ... and ... I have gladly seized the opportunity my lord of greeting you, you who are my lord, and the man whom it is my very special wish to be in good health, and master of all your hopes. For you have always deserved this of me right up to the present high office (?)”
(Vindolanda Tablet 225).

It might be suggested that issues of power and healthiness were behind the deposition of small finds and age group patterns. The findings show that apart from estimated adult age groups, the small finds in this data-set were consistently found in the graves of young

adults (17-25 years), or those of young to middle adults (26-35 years) (Chapter 7, Section 7.6; Chapter 8, Section 8.6; Chapter 9, Section 9.6; Chapter 11, Section 11.6). Whilst acknowledging the osteoarchaeological problems associated with the ageing of human skeletal evidence (Chapter 2, Section 2.5), and that some of the deaths were premature, the presence of these small finds with members of this age group might sometimes be attributed to that fact that these individuals were in the process of climbing the political ladder within a Roman-based civic system. The legal age of entry to the senate in Rome was for instance 25. While it should not be forgotten that these finds were all recovered from graves (for a further discussion on the deposition of these small finds in graves, see Section 13.5 later in this chapter) they may, nevertheless, have been used during the person's life to improve their social standing. This would have partly been achieved by displaying the signs of good health, perhaps similar to the statue of a young woman from Silkstead in Hants (Figure 75). In respect to the lack of small finds from the graves of 'middle' or 'mature' adults (Chapter 6, Section 6.7 for explanation), (only a *ligula*, tweezers and a mixing palette were found) (Chapter 11, Section 11.6), there is some criticism by classical writers at the time, such as Lucretius, that the use of cosmetics, at least by older women, was a waste of time (Stewart 2007).

Taking this a step further, the face could be seen and socially understood by others in a wider setting, and indeed some of the small finds in this data-set were found in a number of public areas. For example, a mirror was found with a chatelaine and some additional toilet finds on a Roman London road, while a comb had been discovered at a bath house in Canterbury, and a cosmetic grinder was found at the Gosbecks Roman theatre, Colchester (Chapter 7, Section 7.4; Chapter 8, Section 8.2.; Chapter 10, Section 10.2). In theatres people were usually separated into social ranks, and there was a strong competitive element. It could be suggested that this need for display meant good health was seen as part of this public social consciousness. Along with the theatre there were other religious practices, such as processions through streets, and signs of communicable diseases on an individual at these mass gatherings could easily have created a sense of panic and fear. Consider the anxiety in the modern world surrounding the recent influenza pandemic. Again, for many the need to 'hide' symptoms, or show evidence of healthiness might have mattered in these urban settings, and the senses such as smell and vision would have played a significant role in communicating this state of being (Chapter 2, Section 2.12).

13.4 Healthiness through Religion

Theoretical work has shown that there is a close connection between religion and the maintenance and improvement of health (Chapter 2, Section 2.13). The literature review in Chapter 3 revealed that the late Iron Age and Roman world was a place where people used different methods to keep sickness at bay, including drawing on religion. This section now expands this discourse.

The small finds in this sample were recovered with images of deities from various locations, including graves, areas of public occupation and 'other features'. Venus figurines were found in the same context as glass unguent containers, *ligulae*, tweezers and



Figure 75 Roman statue of a woman, Silkstead, Hants (Author's photograph, taken with kind permission of Winchester Museum Service).

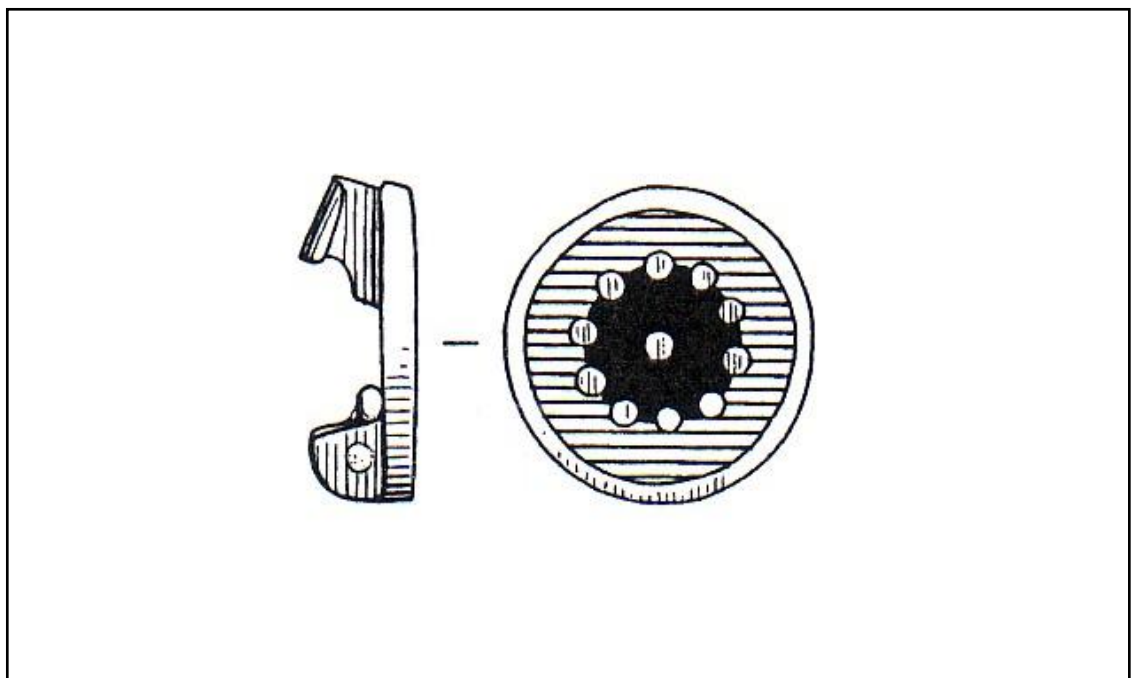


Figure 76 Round brooch decorated with enamel dots arranged in a circle around the central stud, North-West Quadrant, Chichester (Down 1978, 284).

a cosmetic box (Chapter 9, Section 9.5; Chapter 11, Section 11.5). In a waterfront area at the Governor's House, London part of a mirror was deposited with a base and lower part of legs of a figurine of Venus, with the drapery to one side. The object is thought to have been imported from its manufacturing centre in Gaul, though believed to be a waster (Brigham and Woodger 2001). However, it is questionable why it was not destroyed at its production base. Given that it was found with other items such as jewellery, this figurine might have been in circulation prior to its disposal. It has been proposed that the nature of deposition of groups of small finds, such as these, during the Roman period may represent deposits by individuals, or family groups (Gosden 2005).

A set of tweezers and a *ligula* were also discovered in different locations with model arms and legs, which might have once been part of a statue (Chapter 11, Section 11.5). The presence of roundels depicting faces (one of Minerva) in a group from Canterbury suggests a deliberate attempt to place items used for the body with deities. Excavations from elsewhere, such as those at Muntham Court, Chanctonbury Ring, Wiston, West Sussex (not part of this sample) revealed a set of tweezers with a clay model of a human leg, found in a circular Romano-British building (Bedwin *et al* 1980), so the Canterbury case is not isolated. It is interesting to note that larger statues found in religious sanctuaries were often dressed and treated as if they were real people (Stewart 2003). Bearing in mind the discussion concerning the function of cosmetic grinders (Chapter 10, Section 10.1), it could be possible that the example found in a temple precinct, Cakebread Robey, Canterbury (Jackson 1985), was used to apply make-up to a statue that was on display in the temple (Chapter 10, Section 10.2).

As noted with the Canterbury hoard, the face (especially of divine beings) was sometimes associated with the finds from this data-set. A female face with ringlets and sun rays around the head, possibly applied to a glass unguent container was, for example, found with a spatula (Chapter 9, Sections 9.4 and 9.12; Chapter 11, Section 11.5). Coins often depict the face of a deity, be that a member of the Olympian pantheon, or a deified emperor. The Emperor Augustus even blended his features with that of the god Jupiter-Herm (Zanker 1990). It is regrettable that many published site reports tend not to provide in-depth details or illustrations of coins. Still, popular images on coins included goddesses such as Minerva, who might well have been on the Neronian coin (an *as*) found with cosmetic grinder DB 45, and *ligula* DB 55 at St Pancras, Chichester (Casey 1994; Down and Rule 1971). It is possible to speculate that a Hadrian *dupondius* brass coin that was deposited in the same grave as Venus figures, a glass unguent container and a pyxis, at the Eastern Cemetery, London (Chapter 9, Section 9.5), may have had the depiction of a god on the obverse side. A mirror from a site in London (which is a copy of a coin) depicts the Emperor Nero's head on one side, and a figure of Victory on the other (Chapter 7, Section 7.12). The face was important in late Iron Age and Roman religion, and the so called 'cult of the head' is known from towns such as London, where chalk heads and numerous human skulls have been discovered (see Cotton 1996). Some finds associated with the face have also been recovered in temple areas, such as a face-urn, found with a bronze

Silenus head, and a clay figurine outside the chapel of St Gabriel in the Cathedral at Canterbury (Grew *et al* 1980).

There is another element in the small finds patterns which, it might be argued, have a connection to the gods, and it is based on the pairing of deities. There is a tradition of the same gender and different sex twins, and their association with health. In Greco-Roman myth, the god of health Asklepius had a twin Erichthonius, and he was father to twins, whilst the brothers Castor and Pollux were seen as protectors in battle (to prevent injuries or death), and helpers of women in childbirth (Hankoff 1977). Another interesting aspect relates to the late Iron Age and Romano-British deities who had two names. Whilst not twins, there was a conflation of the late Iron Age goddess Sulis, venerated at Bath, with the Roman Minerva. In Gaul and the Rhineland, Rosmerta (see Chapter 3, Section 3.9), was paired with Mercury, who had a fertility function (Green 1986). As noted in Chapter 3, Section 3.10, representations of triple mother goddesses were also common in this period.

When the data-set was examined, it became apparent that some of the small finds (particularly mirrors and glass unguent containers) had been placed together (often in a grave), but varied in the detail. In London for example, a pictorial mirror was found with a plain mirror (Chapter 7, Section 7.12), and on another occasion a mirror with circular decoration had been placed with an undecorated piece. A mirror that had traces of maple-wood on the reverse and around the edges of the front (which suggested it had originally been framed), was found in the same grave as a non-framed example (Rees *et al* 2008). A speculum mirror was recovered from a grave with another which was made from glass (Chapter 7, Section 7.8), whilst a decorated and a plain glass unguent container had been placed together in the same burial. In addition, there were a number of cases when two unguent containers, one coloured, the other colourless had been retrieved from the same context (Chapter 9, Section 9.10).

Outside London a blue phial and a colourless phial had been placed in the same grave in Colchester, and two mirrors, one circular and one rectangular were found together in a grave at Winchester (Chapter 7, Section 7.9). Two combs, one made of wood and the other of bone were found in together at the Cannon Street Station North, London, but there were no context details (Chapter 8, Section 8.8). Although there were occasions when the same material, forms and, in the case of glass unguent containers coloured, small finds were located together (Chapter 7, Sections, 7.8 and 7.9; Chapter 8, Section 8.8; Chapter 9, Section 9.10), this does not rule out that, along with the examples mentioned above, these depositions were a deliberate attempt to reproduce elements related to the divine dualities that existed in this period. Indeed the mirror, by creating an image, produces in a sense two beings. There were also two cases where glass unguent containers were found in groups of three. Whilst the forms and types of these particular small finds were not investigated (see Chapter 6, Section 6.12), the question of whether these containers were coloured and, or colourless, and if there was any decorative element was considered. However, in these two instances there were no variations in either of these details (Chapter 9, Section 9.10).

When the evidence is drawn together, it can be seen that divine images were located with items from the sample, and that there was an association between the small finds and the body through facial images and body parts. In addition, the grouping of some of the small finds may have represented a deliberate attempt to symbolically create a set of twins or triplets, which had some ritual significance. All these actions might be interpreted as attempts to take aspects of the god or goddess to the self. These may have included beauty and fertility, both connected to healthiness. There might have been a hope that part of the god's or goddesses' immortality, or ultimate healthiness, was transferred to the individual through the use of these items on the self, or by the other, in either life or death.

This might also have been considered in other practices. For example, the data-set showed that a number of vessels were deposited with these types of small finds. A mirror, DB 766, was found in a burial with a group of pottery items including, a platter at the Iron Age Cemetery, King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989). There were a number of vessels, such as flagons, found in graves with items like combs (DB 1, DB 2 and DB 5) at Lankhills, Winchester, and with a glass unguent phial, DB 90, at Watling Street Roman cemetery, Southwark, London (Mackinder 2000). A cosmetic grinder, DB 45, was recovered at St Pancras, Chichester with a range of different types of dishes and flagons (Down and Rule 1971). As shallow bowls and flagons were the main equipment for libations to the gods (Henig 1984), it might be argued that a few of these vessels were placed in the grave to maintain spiritual links. Religious centres, such as Bath, had altars set up by individuals as a way of asking the divinities for the health, welfare and safety, (Cunliffe 1969), and the pouring of libations would have taken place on these stones. The pottery wares that had been placed in the same context as the personal small finds may have been used in this practice, and could have been deliberately placed in the grave to maintain that link of sacrifice and prayer for the wellbeing of that individual, although this time in the spirit.

Some of the additional toilet items were located in wells, including *ligulae*, a spatula, a stirring rod, a mixing palette, a probe and the handle of an unidentified toilet instrument (Chapter 11, Section 11.2). On two occasions coins were found in these contexts along with the toilet finds (Chapter 11, Section 11.5). Areas of water were sacred to Iron Age and Roman peoples, and items were often thrown into springs such as Bath for religious purposes (Chapter 3, Sections 3.6). Wells went deep into the earth, and represented liminal places between the land and another world, but were also located in central areas within a civic setting. Wells have been associated with health at shrines such as Coventina's Well, at Carrawburgh on Hadrian's Wall, which was a site where the well took a central position in a possible temple enclosure. The water (which was still being used in 1877) was described as being highly prized. Various artefacts were retrieved from the area, including an altar that stated an individual called Crotus had willingly fulfilled his vow for his welfare (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985). It has been suggested that when an object is offered as a symbol of something that is desired, such as good health, then this also expresses the belief that the wish can be fulfilled (Webster 1986). Returning to the small finds in this sample, given their direct association with the body, and in some cases the

additional presence of coins, these items can be seen as votive offerings. The combination of religious belief coupled with magic would have been perceived as the instruments for healthiness. Indeed, wells might have continued to be significant places, even if the water was no longer present.

Other patterns in the material revealed that animals were sometimes found with, or depicted on, the artefacts from this sample. Two animals, the dog and the horse, appear quite regularly. Three zoomorphic horse-shaped combs came from Winchester (Chapter 8, Section 8.11), while a horse's tooth with a hole drilled into it was found in the same context as a razor in the Forum-Basilica site, Silchester (Chapter 11, Section 11.5). Horse remains were found with glass unguent containers at Silchester and Colchester, although there were other animal remains present on both occasions (Chapter 9, Section 9.7). A dog figurine was found with two glass unguent containers in London (Chapter 9, Section 9.5), and a dog tooth with a hole drilled through had been placed with a cosmetic grinder at Chichester (Chapter 10, Section 10.5). In respect to dog remains, some were recovered from Colchester with a glass unguent container, but these were also found with cattle, sheep, goat, pig and deer skeletal material (Chapter 9, Section 9.7). A tooth from a horse and a fragment of maxilla from a newborn puppy were found with a comb in a revetment dump in London (Chapter 8, Section 8.7).

Animal teeth with a drilled hole may have been worn around the neck like jewellery and acted as amulets. A pierced dog's canine found inside a purse from a possible child's grave (278), at Butt Road, Colchester (Crummy *et al* 1993), may have once been worn in an attempt to prevent the young individual from becoming ill, and it is known that sculpted dogs were venerated at the water shrines connected with health and healing, such as Lydney Park near Chepstow (Woodward 1992). A horse plaque and possibly a bronze statuette of a dog were also recovered at Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh on Hadrian's Wall (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985). In addition, the late Iron Age deity Epona (representing corn, fruit and fertility) was associated with dogs and horses (Green 1992). Given this evidence, and that horse and dog teeth have been found in the same context as toilet items within this data-set, it could be speculated that the deposition of a comb in the same watery context as the horse and puppy remains in a London dump could have had some ritual element. Whether this is accepted or not, the case for the horse and dog, and a connection between these types of small finds with health and well-being remains probable.

There is a slight chance that the zoomorphic bird elements seen on a comb from Victoria Road, Winchester (Chapter 8, Section 8.11), and a glass unguent container from Silchester (Chapter 9, Section 9.9), and the bronze cosmetic grinder from the Roman theatre at Gosbecks, Colchester (Chapter 10, Section 10.10), as well as the skeletal remains of wild birds recovered with a mirror (Chapter 7, Section 7.7), a glass unguent containers (Chapter 9, Section 9.7), and additional toilet items (*ligulae* and a toilet instrument handle) (Chapter 11, Section 11.7) could be also be associated with health. (It should, however, be noted that the zoomorphic items were not recovered in the same contexts as the skeletal

evidence). Whilst not part of this data-set, it is worth noting that a zoomorphic handled mirror with bird heads was reported from the mirror collection at Chester (Lloyd-Morgan 1977c). Birds were seen as important for divining, and while disparaging about this practice, Cicero noted that,

“Romulus, who founded the city by the direction of auspices (signs from the birds), believed that augury (those who worked as diviners) was an art useful in seeing things to come” (Cicero 2.33).

In Rome decisions on whether to take action or not were often undertaken on the basis of the auspices (Barton 2002). If these were good, then it was assumed there would be a positive outcome for a future event, which would keep both state and individual safe and well. It may be that in some cases the small finds and their association with birds was a means of memorialising these moments from life.

The circle was a prominent feature seen in the decoration and as part of the forms for many of the small finds in the data-set. A number of the mirrors were circular in shape (Chapter 7, Section 7.9), and had concentric circular decoration (Chapter 7, Section 7.12). Some of the glass unguent containers had round wheel cut marks, while others were decorated with blobs of glass, giving a polka-dot effect (Chapter 9, Section 9.12). All the forms of the glass unguent containers were round. A number of mirrors and combs had a ring-and-dot decoration (Chapter 7, Section 7.12 and Chapter 8, Section 8.13), and although it was beyond the scope of this research to examine the decorative element of every additional toilet item, it is known that this motif could be found on some of these items. A spoon probe from a building at Culver Street, Colchester had dots covering the shaft (Chapter 11, Section 11.2), and circles enclosed the Christian *chi-rho* on the toothpick from the Canterbury treasure (Chapter 11, Section 11.1). Some of the small finds such as combs, had small holes placed in their design, as did the mortar of a cosmetic grinder (Chapter 8, Section 8.13 and Chapter 10, Section 10.9). It was also interesting to note that when the mortar and the pestle of cosmetic grinders are placed in an opposite direction, they too form a circle. A glass unguent container recovered from a grave at Cranmer House, Canterbury was believed to have been deposited with a small sword and scabbard, which has a circular loop just below the guard (Chapter 9, Section 9.5) (Frere and Bennett 1987). The circle is sometimes present on miniature weapons, such as an axe headed pin from Richborough, or on a sword and shield from Argentomagus, Saint-Marce Indre, France. Some of these models have been located at Gallo-Roman sanctuaries, and have been associated with Minerva (a small axe was found with her name at Allmendingen, Switzerland) (Green 1981; Fauduet 1983). Full size weapons were used to kill in religious rituals, and it is may be that these miniatures were representations of these ‘special’ swords and axes. Perhaps the association of these models with unguent containers, sanctuaries and a health goddess suggests a link to healthiness, and the circle helped signal this connection.

The circle’s association with small finds in this data-set can be viewed simply as a decorative style, or as an integral part of the form (a means to suspend the item from the body, for example), but there might have been deeper, less visible, reasons for its presence.

During the late Iron Age wheels, wreaths and circles were common, and often linked to the sun or sky god. However, the circle was also associated with fertility and spirituality. Three gold wheel models were deposited with jewellery, coins and, significantly, a silver *patera* (offering plate) dedicated to a mother-goddess from Backworth, Durham, and a stone genius recovered from Netherby, Cumbria is seated like a mother goddess, holding a cornucopia in one hand, with a wheel over an altar nearby (Green 1986). As well as being found on the items from this sample, the circle also appears on other objects related to the body. A bone weaving heddle from South Shields, used for making hair ribbons has a distinctive ring-and-dot design, as did two different sandals from the Governor's House, London (Allason-Jones 2005). (One had a ring-and-dot decoration with an eagle in a circle design, the other had a series of concentric circles (Brigham and Woodger 2001)). Brooches, often used to fasten clothing, sometimes had circular forms and decoration. There is a good example from the north-west quadrant, Chichester, where a round brooch has enamel dots arranged in a circle around the centre (Figure 76) (Down 1978). Coins are naturally round, but again the circle often appears with a face or a figure on late Iron Age coinage. The obverse side of a bronze coin discovered at 15A, Dane John, Canterbury, was described as having a young male head to the right, and ring-and-dot ornaments in front (Frere and Bennett 1987).

The circle can be seen as part of fertility, and was closely associated with the body. By the late Iron Age and Roman period it was already an ancient religious symbol. Consider the Neolithic Avebury rings, or the Bronze Age round barrows at Normanton Down, Wiltshire (Parker Pearson 1999). It was present in the landscape, visible at shrines such as Harlow, Essex, or the temple at Hayling Island (Woodward 1992). The circle may have represented the cycle of birth, life, death, and rebirth, themes that have resonance with the domains of good health. Its connection to well-being may also be found in the name of the goddess Sulis who was worshipped at the temple at Bath. When translated, her name means the sun, the largest round object in the sky (Green 1998). So the circle was already embedded in a collective memory, and its presence on, and as part of the small finds may have served to remind people of its significance in respect to their health in their individual lives.

13.5 Controlling Healthiness

The final area that will be investigated relates to controlling healthiness in life and death. This has already been touched on in the previous sections both from the position that the small finds may have once been owned and used by the individual during their life, and that some of these might have been seen as having some form of religious properties that enhanced good health, even in the afterlife. This section offers some further interpretations that compliment the previous models. (Also see a copy of author's publication based on this section in Appendix 3, Turner-Wilson 2007).

It is known that the Romans, honoured the honourable in death (Hope 2000). Providing you were not too poor, or seen as a criminal, the corpse took centre stage in a funeral. The body was prepared for the funeral by the family or, if they could afford it, by morticians (*pollinctores*), (Plautus *Peonulus*, 63). John Bodel (2000) noted that the undertakers took

their name from the practice of covering the face of the corpse with powder in order to conceal the discolouration of death. After death the corpse was washed, perfumed and dressed. Having been laid out on a funeral couch (*lectus funebris*), the corpse was taken by procession for incineration (or inhumation) on a litter. A number of these couches have been identified from Italy, France and Britain (Eckardt 1999). Many parts of a funeral rite were public, and as noted earlier, public display was important for the wealthy. Livy (5.41) noted that senators prepared for death by putting on their finery. Jewellery was often found in graves with the small finds in this data-set, suggesting that the corpse was clothed (Chapter 7, Section 7.5; Chapter 8, Section 8.5; Chapter 9, Section 9.5; Chapter 10, Section 10.5; Chapter 11, Section 11.5). During the period of mourning family members covered their hair with ashes, wore darkened clothes, and those who attended the funeral refrained from bathing (Catullus, 64.349–51; Virgil *Aeneid*, 10.844, 12.611). On their return they underwent a cleansing rite as death was seen as a social pollutant.

It has been suggested that medical tools deposited in graves were deliberately put there as they had been used in an unsuccessful operation, or by a failed doctor, and were, as a consequence, seen as socially polluting items (Baker 2001). It may be proposed that, if elements of the cremation rites in Britain were similar to those reported by the texts, the presence of small finds, such as those in this data-set that were excavated from funerary contexts, may have been placed there because they were used by the morticians or the family to create the appearance and smell of the living person for this public event. In this sample single combs, glass unguent containers, bronze cosmetic grinders and additional toilet items were all found in some numbers from graves (Chapter 7, Section 7.2; Chapter 8, Section 8.2; Chapter 9, Section 9.2; Chapter 10, Section 10.2; Chapter 11, Section 11.2). There were, in addition, a number of occasions when different items were found together. These included a box burial cremation with a cosmetic grinder and *ligula* at St Pancras Roman cemetery site Chichester, and a cosmetic grinder was recovered with part of a set from a chatelaine, which consisted of a set of tweezers, and a possible nail cleaner in a burial at King Harry Lane cemetery, St Albans (Chapter 10, Section 10.4). Two strigils were found in the same grave as a glass unguent container from the same location (Chapter 9, Section 9.4). Tweezers and *ligulae* were recovered from graves at two different cemeteries in London (Chapter 11, Section 11.2), while a glass unguent container was found with a comb from a burial in Colchester (Chapter 8, Section 8.4).

Sometimes larger numbers of the same item were located in graves, particularly in the case of glass unguent containers. These might have had a ritual purpose (as discussed in Section 13.3), or they might have been used on different parts of the body creating the need for more than one. (This is unlikely to have been the case in respect to combs, but the only two multiple finds from this data-set were from unreported contexts from town sub-sites, as opposed to cemetery sites in London). So what would have emerged is a carefully crafted presentation of the body, with wellness superimposed on the face of the dead. This would be contrasted with the relatives who deliberately disfigured themselves with ashes in their hair. The person's living smell would be present through the use of unguents. The small finds may have once belonged to the deceased person, but as they were used on the

body, they were polluted and therefore they accompanied the corpse. While the healthy 'self' can be defined, modified and controlled in life, Hope (2000) reminds us that in death the body is reliant on 'others'.

Taken further, the funeral provided a ritual social frame which produced embodied memories for 'significant others'. These 'others' acted as agents in the creation of this memory by transforming the dead, and briefly reconstructing the living healthy person. It is known that in Egypt during the Roman period so called 'Mummy portraits' showed individuals after they had died. The person was shown as they would have been (or tried to appear) in life, with their make-up, hair and jewellery, and as with the statues, there is no suggestion of ill health in these representations (Figure 77). (An exception to this might have been Christian burials, especially during the persecution years where disfigurement through martyrdom was celebrated.) It is acknowledged that this framework does not explain the presence of mirrors in burials. However, mirrors may have been used to confirm death, by placing them near to the mouth and the nose to check for the cessation of breathing. This would have meant they were included in the group of polluted items, especially if they were seen as catching the last sigh, the final moment of life. A few mirrors have been found in these contexts with glass unguent containers, which lends some support to this idea (Chapter 7, Section 7.4).

The discussion continues by considering small finds recovered from 'other features'. There were a few items in this data-set that were complete and still in 'good order'. It has already been noted, that objects found in these contexts might have occasionally been deposited for ritual reasons (Section 13.3). In this data-set one complete glass unguent container was recovered from an open area in Southwark, London, and two almost complete examples were similarly retrieved from 'other features' (Chapter 9, Section 9.8). Although this variable was not considered as part of the investigation into additional toilet items, it was noted that some of the additional toilet finds from the Roman settlement at St Albans were complete, yet found in discard areas. Tweezers, DB 736, were discovered in a ditch, and tweezers, DB 737, were recovered from a pit at the same site (Stead and Rigby 1989), while a complete, although bent spatula, DB 80, had been recovered from a pit at Balkerne Lane, Colchester (Crummy 1983). It has also been noted that some of the items from the Walbrook, London sites still had 'continuing serviceability' characteristics, even though they had been placed in refuse areas (Merrifield 1995, 33). Of course it must be said that most of the artefacts from these contexts were incomplete (Chapter 7, Section 7.8; Chapter 8, Section 8.8; Chapter 9, Section 9.8; Chapter 10, Section 10.8), but whether this was due to accidental damage or deliberate breakage in the past, or indeed other factors related to deposition and preservation, is difficult to establish. Despite this there were a number of occasions when different groups of items were discarded together. For example, nail cleaners were found with various items including a spatula from an open area in Southwark, London, a probe from a soil layer at Custom House, London, and a *ligula* from a pit at Aldgate, London. A *ligula* was also recovered with a set of tweezers in a pit at Insula 9, Silchester (Chapter 11, Section 11.2). It could be argued that, as with the small finds in a grave, some items had been used on a body that was seen to be physically,

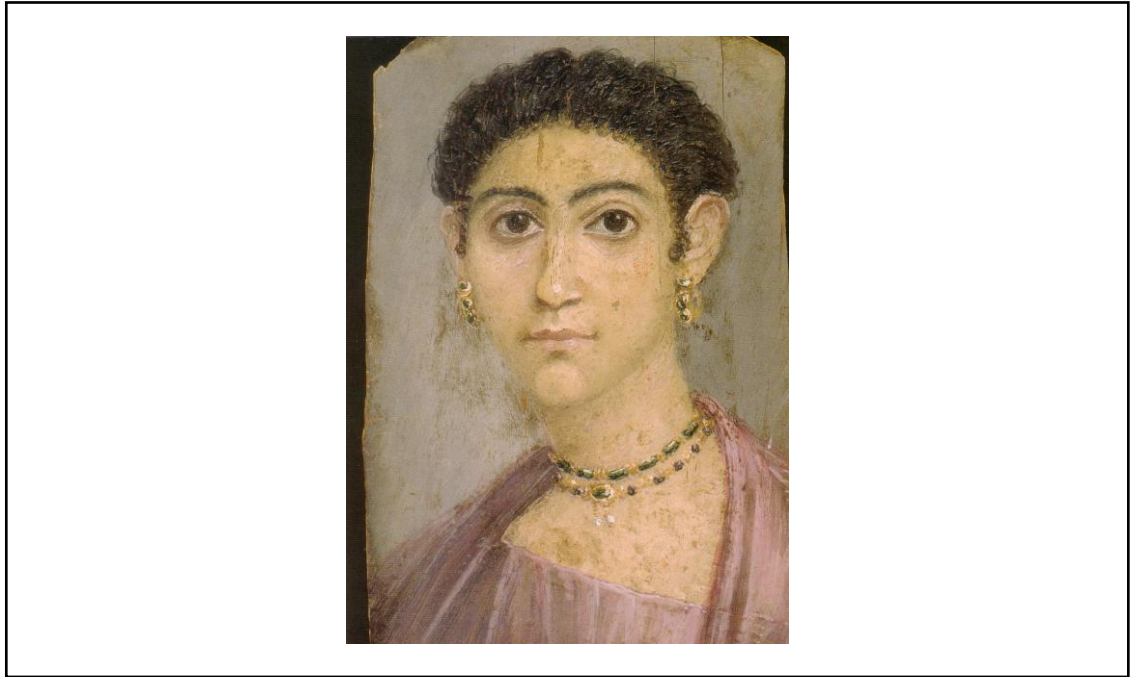


Figure 77 Mummy portrait of a woman from Hawara, Egypt (British Museum Postcard).

socially or spiritually corrupt. This state of being could potentially be transferred via the object back onto, and into the person who used these tools. It has been suggested that personal objects were perceived as having ‘contact magic’, since these items might have been seen as holding the persona of an individual (Webster 1986). If this was the case, it is conceivable that in order to maintain a sense of healthiness, these objects were discarded. Any sickness associated with items that had been used to create health was ‘thrown away’, along with the rest of the rubbish.

13.6 Conclusion

Much detail was recovered from the investigation into the small finds in this sample. It might be argued that once we have this information, and proposed there was evidence of everyday and ritual practices, then this is as far as archaeology should go. Taking the interpretations further, could for some, mean stretching to the very top or even beyond Hawkes (1954, 161-162) ladder of inference. Yet, if no attempt is made to create some explanation, then archaeology is writing about the present, and the past remains dead. In this chapter the small find evidence, current understandings of the past and established theoretical models were brought together in order to provide an insight into this period, and to give us a glimpse at the hidden concepts of healthiness.

The use of contextual detail illuminated the areas of civic life where small finds were created, used and discarded for the underlying purpose of holding onto a healthy state of being. The majority of these objects were located in the towns of London and Colchester which, at the height of the Principate period, were populated by those with some wealth, and who chose at times to emulate urban-type practices. Different items were discovered in domestic spheres, in streets and public places such as the theatre, which were important locations for those with political ambition. These individuals almost certainly participated in the patronage system, and used open areas within their houses to serve this need. In this world visibility mattered, and it was important to be seen at public and religious events. To appear healthy was part of this presentation of the self and behind this image lay the tools of the trade, which included the mirrors, combs, unguent flasks, cosmetic grinders and other toilet paraphernalia. In addition, these items contributed to a person’s gendered social construction of identity, as well as aspects of personhood, such as the recreation of youth. In effect, the Roman political systems helped drive a change towards an individual’s interest in healthiness.

There was another strand in this story of good health. Religion underpinned life and played a central role in the prevention of illness and disease. Amulets were worn, and items were placed as votives into wells (due to their link with water), as a means of obtaining and maintaining health and safety. The presence of decorative forms such as the circle suggested the symbolic nature of some of these items. Spiritual practices also came to light when this research turned its attention to the archaeology that was association with the small finds. Statues of deities (which we know are often found in religious places, see Chapter 1, Section 1.5) were found with toilet items, suggesting a close connection between the gods and a person’s body. A particular interesting result was the presence of

two objects placed in the same location. Sometimes these items were from the same category of finds, for example two mirrors, but on examination revealed slight variations. One mirror was, for instance, circular with the other rectangular, or there were two glass unguent containers of which one blue and the other colourless. Given that the twinning of deities was popular at this time, and in many cases these gods were important for health and well-being, it was proposed that these objects might have had some connection to these divine beings. Healthiness it was suggested could be obtained by buying into, or making deals with deities, mirroring them and taking aspects of their immortality.

The context analysis showed that many of the small finds were found in places of rubbish and places of the dead, and indeed it might be pointed out that health and death appear at opposite ends of a spectrum. However, studies of the rituals involved in the preparation of the dead person can shed light onto this thorny issue. It revolves around the public nature of the procession, and gathering at the cemetery site, for it was here that communities adopted practices that reflected elements of civic life. The dead person was on display as they had been when they were living, except on this occasion 'the other', perhaps a relative or the undertaker, had applied make-up, unguents, and dressed the hair before the ceremony. The dead body was stage managed to appear healthy and well prior to their burning or inhumation. Having been used on the corpse, the small finds were perceived as polluted items and therefore buried. This idea could be extended to material discovered in 'other features'. Items used on a diseased body (the owners or indeed someone else) might have been discarded as they were perceived to be holding onto the illness. The personal objects having some form of 'contact magic'. The ephemeral nature of healthiness meant it could easily be lost, so any threat of misfortune (created by the use of one of the small finds on an ill or dead body), might have been attached to the items. These had, therefore, to be removed from circulation thus minimising the risk, and controlling healthiness. To conclude this chapter, this particular study has shown that individuals made deliberate choices to ensure their good health, and that it was so significant in their lives, that it was even replicated on the bodies of their dead. Healthiness was a real issue for those in who lived in the late Iron Age and Roman periods, and so the question now is whether it can be seen in other pieces of archaeological material, and this is where future work should be directed.

CHAPTER 14

CONCLUSION

14.1 Introduction

This final chapter brings together the main points of the study, while highlighting areas of originality and confirms that the aims and objectives of this research have been met. It revisits some of the themes that emerged from the literature review concerning healthiness, such as the importance of this concept to late Iron Age and Roman people. It also reminds us of the discussions concerning the rich archaeology uncovered in urban-type settlements in south-east Britain, and revisits the different ways in which objects have been studied, including the contextual approach. This chapter provides an overview of the various theoretical models that supported this research. The data collection and analysis is considered, followed by the limitations of this study, which includes some of the findings that did not fit into models of healthiness. The interpretations of this research are outlined, and the central themes stressed. This chapter notes the main points within this work that lend themselves to further investigation, and those that make a contribution to archaeology and other disciplines.

14.2 Healthiness and Archaeology

An investigation into the literature concerning healthiness from anthropology and modern western perspectives, as well as other ancient cultures demonstrated that this concept can be separated from ideas of diseases and illness. This work also found that while the study of health in archaeology is popular, it was generally explored from a medical perspective. Healthiness as a separate issue is underrepresented, especially in late Iron Age and Roman studies. It was found that those who did examine health, and more rarely healthiness, tended to do so by adopting historical, osteological, bio-cultural and ethnographic methods. As theoretical approaches were less common, it was suggested that this might provide a different and potentially interesting method with which to study good health in the past. The careful scrutiny of archaeological material and historical narratives clarified that the idea of health and well-being certainly existed during the late Iron Age and Roman period.

14.3 Settlements and Small Finds

The literature review found that the excavations that have taken place over the last fifty years in the urban settlements of south-east Britain provide an excellent resource for late Iron Age and Roman studies. It was noted that the remains of domestic buildings, temples, baths and cemeteries give an idea about the different types of places found in these civic settings. It was also recognised that the study of objects has become less popular in recent years, although within the specialist area of finds work that there have been different and novel ways of studying these items. One method, the contextual approach was considered in more detail, and its problems and merits highlighted, in particular its benefits for undertaking a social archaeological study. Given the philosophy and aims of this work, it was clear that such an approach would be helpful, although it was recognised that there were elements from other methods that could also be incorporated into the research design.

14.4 Theoretical Concepts

The social world is deeply complex and understanding it requires careful consideration, especially when the place under scrutiny is chronologically distant. This is where theoretical models become so helpful, as they offer a means of appreciating elements of life that might otherwise be overlooked. This work established that there was a functional association between the small finds, the body, and appearance, so in order to answer the research question, models were needed that would connect these to states of healthiness. A range of frameworks emerged that were based within personhood and crossed the science and social science paradigms. Facial studies, including the eyes, hair and touch offered a means to bridge this gap. They proposed that an individual's face could be 'read' by society, and that it was in the interest of the person to present an appearance that was perceived to be socially healthy. The philosophies of Cooley (1902) and Goffman (1969) suggested that the self deliberately creates their outward image, a projection that is sometimes supported by the 'other' or even trusted teams of others.

Another strand came from work in the field of material culture. For the purposes of this research concepts of agency were considered. These were concerned with the ways in which an object can take on different culturally bound meanings that are apparent to those within a society, or a social group. It recognised that an actor understands and appreciates these conditions, and undertakes intentional actions based on cultural understandings. Certain characteristics of an object are seen by some in society as symbolic, thus influencing the practices of an individual. Within material cultural studies it has been recognised the body can be transformed by items, such as small finds, which in turn allows a person to create different types of identity. Other areas of theoretical investigation based on the object have stressed memory, and the means by which artefacts have been used to deliberately influence remembering or forgetting. When the different models were used to support the interpretations, it was clear that while a single theory can be used in isolation, it becomes more powerful when combined with other frameworks.

14.5 Data Collection and Analysis

Turning to the data collection, this research adopted small find categories that included details concerning the settlements, contexts and dates, as well as any associated archaeology, the materials, forms, types, zoomorphic features and decoration of the objects. By using these variables the small finds could not only be examined separately (mirrors, combs etc.), but it also meant intra-find analysis could be undertaken, and as a consequence some interesting patterns emerged. Comparing finds from one functional group together in this way is a slightly different approach to understanding data.

14.6 Limitations to this Research

There were a number of self-imposed limitations within the research design. The chronological period was clearly defined, the research focused on a very specific geographical area in Britain, while the data was gathered from large urban-type settlements, rather than military, rural and small towns sites. This study was largely based within a qualitative, rather than quantitative framework, although extensive tabulations of

data were provided. The data-set comprised of a narrow group of small finds, and the choice of variables was pre-determined. The analysis was driven by a contextual approach, with the interpretations based on the findings and the pre-identified theoretical models. The rationale for these decisions was discussed in Chapter 1.

There were some limitations that could not be forecast. Staying with the interpretations, not all the findings from the data-set could be successfully applied to a model of healthiness. For example, the pig and cattle remains recovered with various items could probably be more readily explained as being food sources for general consumption, or feasting. A review of the stamped items, the comb materials, or indeed some of the different decorative elements applied to the various artefacts, did not shed any further light into ancient practices of well-being. Further cases were discussed in Chapter 12.

14.7 Research Interpretations

The interpretations suggested that as late Iron Age and Roman people gradually settled into the buildings and utilised the spaces of urban-type settlements, they became involved with different social groups, of which some were based on a Roman type of political and administrative structure. For those interested in engaging in this world, they had to become socially astute public actors, for it was a lifestyle that favoured networking and being seen. As a consequence individuals attempted to manufacture a healthy image, bolstered by the need to create the ideal urban citizen, a concept entrenched in prestige, self-advertising and power. The different contexts such as strip buildings, theatres, and even the places of the dead were the locations where appearance mattered, and the small finds were the tools used to reproduce this healthy persona. As these items were seen as important, they also acquired a symbolic religious aspect. Some were decorated with circles, emphasising a spiritual connection, others were associated with animals that had a link to the positive aspects of health. Concepts of divine twins and the assistance of various gods contributed to this state of being. However, the benefits to healthiness were at risk if the small finds were seen to become socially and physically contaminated. Healthiness was a precious commodity, and sometimes the cost of keeping it was high. Polluted small finds could be dangerous, and this had to be controlled. They were therefore discarded, even if they were undamaged and intact.

This work was not simply about collating the archaeology of healthiness in this period, although this was incorporated into the work. This research went further, by looking for the more elusive elements to this state of being. The interpretations not only offered suggestions as to how healthiness was practised, but also, and perhaps more importantly, why these practices were undertaken. It was these insights that contributed to the originality of this work, and formed the central theme of the thesis. However, these understandings could only be achieved by taking into consideration patterns within the findings, the various previously identified theoretical frameworks, and the underlying archaeology and history of this period. The different theoretical models that supported these interpretations were discussed in Chapters 2 and 5, and it was noted that these had not been used together in this manner in previous works.

14.8 Further Research

The work could be extended by examining other time periods. Given that many of these small finds are recovered from sites dated to the medieval periods, this could provide an interesting study. The geographical areas could be widened to include other parts of Britain, or even areas on the Continent that were nearer to central Italy. As this work focused on civic-type settlements, it would be interesting to examine other, non-urban sites, especially villas, and these findings could then be compared to the urban observances. The types of finds could be expanded to include items such as brooches, footwear and clothing, or incorporate inscriptions, mosaics and art. Rather than relying on published material, the methods for gathering small find data could include studying unpublished or archived site paperwork, or visiting the various museums that house these collections. If this approach were adopted, there would have to be some consideration of the time and travel involved. This work examined some of the decorative elements found on the small finds. It would be fruitful to extend this, and compare these results with different objects. In respect to the research design, the small find variables could be created to collect ordinal or interval/scale data, allowing statistical models to be utilised.

14.9 The Contribution of this Research to Archaeology and Other Disciplines

Since healthiness has received limited attention in archaeology, the literature review provides a good reference point for anyone wishing to undertake further investigations into this topic. This work reiterates the importance of theoretical models in interpretative archaeology, and how their use can generate different thinking concerning healthiness. The small finds were the material of choice. Since the study of objects has recently become quite unfashionable, this research returns archaeology to its traditional roots, but within a newer framework. The range of interpretations relating to good health in late Iron Age and Roman Britain provides a different perspective for those studying this field.

There is another contribution that this research can make, and that is to a wider audience. It shows that healthiness can resonate through the ages, and whilst the rationale for seeking and trying to hold onto good health may differ vastly between cultures and periods, it is a subject that can link the past and the present. As it is a topic that is still important in the modern world, it seems reasonable to suggest that practices of ‘good health’ from the past would be of interest to us today.

14.10 Conclusion to the Thesis

It is recognised that healthiness is an ill-defined concept, but one that deserves further enquiry, especially in archaeology. It was clearly a part of late Iron Age and Roman society, but how and why this was the case, was central to this investigation. The findings coupled with theoretical models and supporting archaeological and historical discourse, led to results that were enlightening. They provided the realisation that such an inconspicuous part of the self could have motivated social practices that contributed, and helped to define the public and private social worlds of this period.

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