A ROMAN WALLED CEMETERY AT COLCHESTER

By A. F. HALL

The burial-place here to be described lies in the grounds of the Colchester Royal Grammar School, on the south side of Lexden Road, the main highway westward out of the town of Colchester in Essex. It was discovered in the course of excavations conducted between 1934 and 1940 in the garden of the house once called Beverley Lodge, and now, since its acquisition by the school, Gurney Benham House.[1]

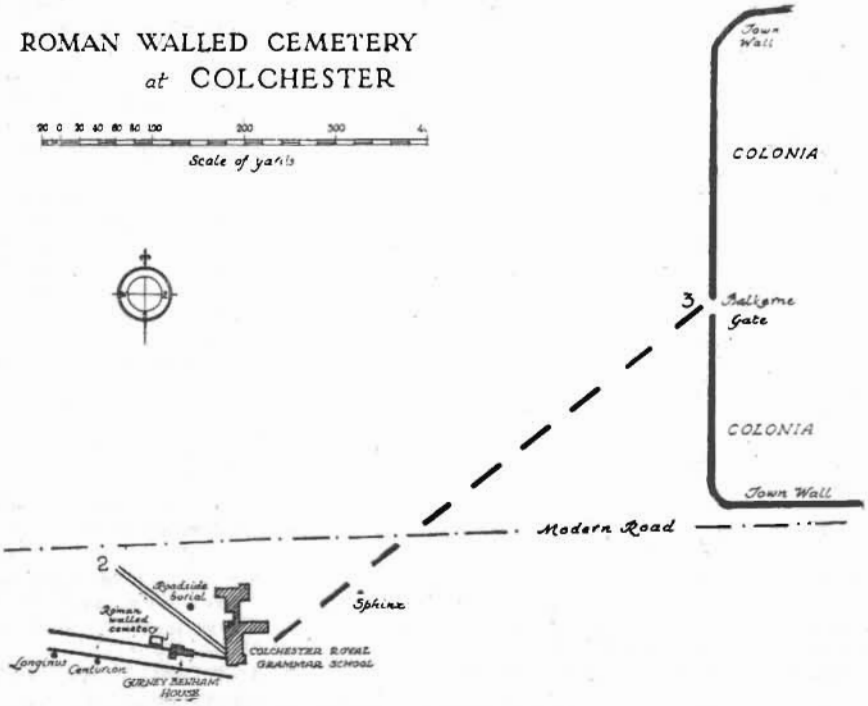


FIG. I. GENERAL SKETCH-PLAN

Roman roads :

1, three-tracked ;

2, single-tracked ;

3, probable course of a road entering Colonia by gate in west wall (Balkerne Gate).

Roman sculptured monuments :

Longinus, Centurion, Sphinx. Probable sites of the tombstones of Longinus and the centurion Favonius Facilis, and of the ' Sphinx ' monument (all now in Colchester Museum).

The excavations, which covered a great part of the garden, were carried out by the School, in conjunction with the Colchester and Essex Museum. In what

[1] In honour of the late Alderman Sir W. Gurney Benham, F.S.A.

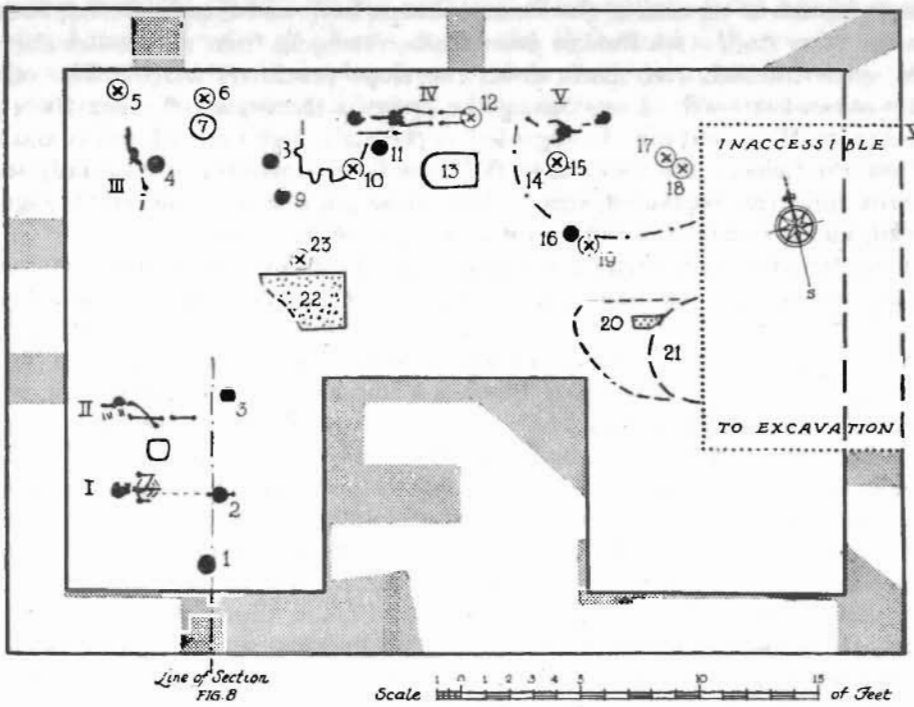


FIG. 2. PLAN OF THE WALLED CEMETERY ENCLOSURE

Cinerary urns *in situ* .. .. ●
Other finds .. .. ⊗
Margin of violent upheaval .. .. — · — · — ·
Margin of rubbish-pit, with overflow to west .. .. — — — — —
Margin (at gravel-top level) of deep disturbances, probably indicating sites of free-standing features .. .. ⌒

Foundation-trench of walls. The interior margin was plain (unbuttressed). Stippling indicates trenches by which the ground-plan was traced. Not all of these were taken to the bottom of the foundation-trench, in which, however, debris was always noted. No sign of external buttressing was encountered.

follows, the account of the work and observations on the site, and the inferences drawn therefrom, are given by the present writer on behalf of the School, with whom responsibility for all these matters rested ; the pottery, the one coin, and the loose structural fragments found were passed for examination to Mr. M. R. Hull, F.S.A., Curator of the Museum, and he has kindly described them, with his own illustrations, for this report.[1] Thus the advantage was gained of avoiding any possible bias in either investigation.

The site lies at the northern edge of the gravel plateau extending south-west of the modern town and Roman Colonia of Colchester (Camulodunum), above the valley of a short affluent of the river Colne. Lexden Road runs where the valley-slope begins to steepen down to the 100-ft. contour-line : the garden adjoins it on the gentler brow of the hill, just below the crest. The excavations proved the

[1] Mr. Hull's contributions are distinguished in the text and footnotes by his initials.

garden to be rich in remains of the Roman occupation ; and these included, besides the burial-place itself, two Roman main roads, diverging from each other (fig. 1). One is single-tracked, and slants down the slope north-westwards. The other, running somewhat north of west along the brow, is three-tracked, after the style of the Appian Way, and may be regarded as the main highway to London and the west from the Colonia, the well-known Balkerne Gate of which is distant only some 800 yards from the excavated area.[1] The burial-place was at the north edge of this road, and lay exactly parallel to it at a distance of 10 feet.[2]

It was found to have been a rectangular walled enclosure, measuring externally 38 by 27 feet (fig. 2). Its structure had all been removed in ancient times ;[3] but its plan is preserved in its foundation-trench, cut sheer in the firm gravel to a seemingly even depth of more than 4 feet below the earliest Roman surface (fig. 8, p. 80, and p. 71 below). This gives the walls a normal thickness of 2 ft. 6 in., while in the centre of the southern longer side was found a great bay, 11 feet by 9, opening inwards from the trench and of uniform depth and execution with it. Wherever examined, the trench contained a debris of mortar and chips of septaria to a height in one place (fig. 8) of some 4 feet, and elsewhere of nearly 2 feet above the bottom : on the bottom of the bay only, beneath this debris, was found a single course of unshaped blocks of septaria, set in a bed of mortar. As far as was ascertained, nothing else remained *in situ* of the structure. Such a thorough demolition was evidently the work of men who wanted all the good building-material they could get : what they most coveted they will of course have carried off with the greatest care, and there is probably no knowing whether the debris of septaria includes broken remains of actual building-stones, or represents only the footings and rubble core of walls from which a more precious masonry or brickwork facing was totally removed.

A little, however, may be inferred from the few structural fragments found loose in the internal area. The chief of these were two blocks of masonry (fig. 2, nos. 18, 19 ; cf. Inventory, p. 78), Mr. Hull's reports on which appear below, p. 79, Notes 18 and 19. No. 18 is a *finial* (fig. 3), almost hemispherically domed, with a raised band or collar round the base. No. 19 is a flattish block or slab, with two slightly sloped faces.

This finial, and probably also the slab, indicate that the structure or some feature or features of it carried ornamental coping or roofing. The other loose structural fragments were two imperfect tiles, and one broken imbrex-tile, presumably again from roofing. An obvious position for ornamental roofing would be upon whatever feature occupied the great internal bay in the south side of the foundation-trench. Moreover, close to the NE. corner of the bay was found one recognizable fragment of painted plaster, nearly 2 in. thick, the original colours, in Mr. Hull's opinion, having been probably red, blue, and white. Apparently, then, the structure

[1] Neither of these roads is that shown on O.S. maps before the 1939 revised 1/2500 sheet Essex XXXVII, 2. For the problem involved, see Hall, 'A Three-tracked Roman Road at Colchester', in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 3rd ser., vii (1942), 53-5, with (52, 56ff) description and discussion of the road-structure disclosed in these excavations, and (57) the evidence obtained for its dating ; also Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum : 1st Report*, 1930-9 (Rep. Res. C'ttee XV, Society of Antiquaries, 1946), 16-19. On the date of the three-tracked road, see further here below, p. 74.

[2] The site is just 12 yards west of the NW. corner of Gurney Benham House.

[3] On the evidence of skeleton V for this, see p. 74 below.

standing in the bay had sufficient ornamental importance to be wholly or partly plastered and painted. At all events, the size of the bay, and its central position in the symmetry of the whole plan, seem to show that this massive inwardly-projecting structure was the principal feature of the enclosure. The mortar-set course of

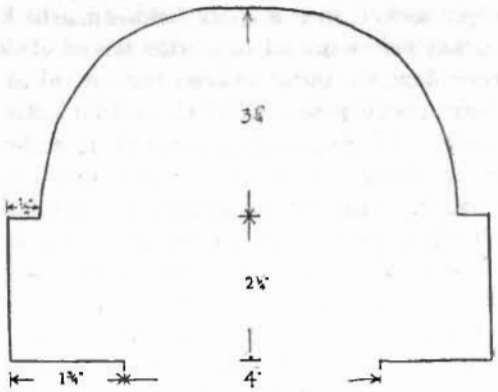


FIG. 3. FINIAL OF CALCAREOUS TUFA (NO. 18 OF FIG. 2 AND INVENTORY OF FINDS) : CROSS-SECTION

septaria on the bottom of the bay was evidently a foundation-course ; and unless the structure stood on a solid podium carried as deep as this, i.e. 4 feet, below the earliest Roman surface, it will presumably have contained a semi-subterranean chamber, with walls and floor supported on foundations of which one course of septaria alone survives.

At the same time, in the enclosed yard around it, other and smaller ornamental features appear to have stood free. The site of one such may be marked by an area of deep disturbance in the NE. quarter of the yard (fig. 2). This disturbance (p. 86) was an incident of the final demolition of the place : it may then have been caused by the grubbing-up of a monument or other free-standing masonry feature here. If so, the tufa blocks nos. 18 and 19 may have belonged to that and not to the structure in the bay, for, as fig. 2 shows, it was in this disturbed area that both of them were found. Near them, and within it, was a pile of mixed pottery fragments (fig. 2, no. 14) of various dates, the lid (no. 15) of the near-by 'face-urn' no. 16, a small vase by itself (no. 17) of the late Antonine period (M.R.H.), and also a bone sword-chape (fig. 4) and other loose material not shown. Other free-standing

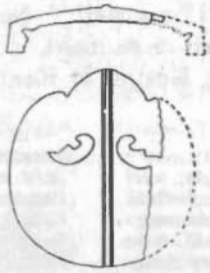


FIG. 4. SCABBARD-CHAPE IN BONE (UNSTRATIFIED)

features were more distinctly indicated. Between skeletons I and II was a square socket, filled with soil ; and near skeleton III a round socket (no. 7) cut 15 inches into the gravel and further indicated by a cylindrical mass of rubbish of the same diameter, eighteen inches, in the soil above the gravel. The pottery from this extends from the fourth back to the second or even the first century (M.R.H.). A yard from this was another much larger socket, in the space between urns 8, 9, and 11. Its level floor was some nine inches below gravel-top, with traces of decayed timber near its west edge and an entire flagon leaning against the gravel at the south-east corner (no. 10), probably of third century date (M.R.H.). In addition to these well-defined sockets, from which objects (all three perhaps of timber) had been removed, were the surviving foundations or plinths of two structures, presumably of masonry, consisting of small stones grouted into cement in a bed of sand (nos. 20, 22).[1] Adjoining no. 22 was a broken bowl (no. 23) of Antonine date (M.R.H.). No. 20 was found to be covered immediately by the overflow from a rubbish-pit, no. 21. This pit, containing shells of many whelks and oysters in addition to pottery, may possibly occupy the site of yet another free-standing feature ; but it extended under the ground at the east end of the site that was not accessible to excavation, and so could not be fully investigated. Lastly, the find at no. 13 was a bed of charcoal, so level-bottomed and neatly shaped that it is difficult to explain as mere rubbish : it lay exactly on the central north-south axis of the site, and could well represent some ornamental wooden erection ; but equally, perhaps, a wooden cist or coffin.

All the other finds in the yard, apart from loose potsherds and one loose bronze coin of Commodus, were certainly sepulchral. At least nine were cremations deposited in pottery urns ; five were inhumed skeletons ; while the remains of a sixth skeleton, with a pot, occurred just outside the east wall. Details of all, together with details of the various finds already mentioned, are given in the inventory on p. 77 below. They attest the use of the area for burial at dates ranging from the first century to the late Roman period. Similarly, the pottery from the site as a whole extends in date from the first to the fourth century. The place was then certainly a Roman burial-place ; and all its features, including the fragmentary and destroyed features which have been described or guessed at, must be viewed in the light of this identification. Of the free-standing features located or suggested in the yard, indeed, nothing more precise can be said : they were severally all no doubt either sepulchral or ornamental monuments, or altars, such as might be expected in such a place. Of the whole walled enclosure itself, however, there is more to say, for it belongs to a recognized, though rare, Romano-British type.

This, as will soon be seen, is not the same thing as any Romano-British graveyard that may be found bounded by a wall.[2] Nor, obviously, is it the same as any walled type of single or individual monument or tomb : e.g. that at West Mersea,[3] or even the circular structure at Keston in Kent, which, despite its possibly open

[1] On these see further p. 86 below.

[2] E.g. Litlington, Cambs., *Archaeologia*, xxvi (1836), 368ff ; Ward, *Roman Era in Britain* (1920), 138-9 ; Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, 188-9 ; or Plaxtol, Kent : *V.C.H. Kent* iii, 163, with reff. These are ordinary large graveyards, of which the wall is a merely incidental feature.

[3] A round barrow-mausoleum, walled peripherally and radially (on Mersea Island, Essex, only a few miles from Colchester) : A. W. Clapham, *Arch. Journ.*, lxxix (1922), 93-100 ; Collingwood, *Arch. Roman Britain*, 149-51. For built tombs in general, cf. the whole chapter, ibid., 146ff ; and for Romano-British barrows in general, Dunning and Jessup in *Antiquity*, x (March 1936), 37-53.

interior (24 ft. across, entered by doorway), had its subsidiary burials, and its own chief architectural embellishments, alike on the outside of its 3-ft. circular wall,[1] and so can hardly be what our type is, essentially not a tomb but a *walled cemetery*. The 'walled cemeteries' that have defined the type have all hitherto been found in Kent. They are built on a regular architectural plan, usually rectangular; their length has always been found less than 100 feet; and they contained burials in some number, whether by cremation or inhumation, together in most cases with one or more individual walled tombs, or monuments, standing in the enclosed area.

The exact dimensions of these 'walled cemeteries' are sometimes in doubt, but a rough approximation can be made, except for that at Sittingbourne, for which no such details are available. The area covered by the Colchester example, if walls as well as enclosure are included, was very slightly more than 1,000 sq. ft. (external dimensions 38 ft. by 27 ft.), and so forms a convenient unit for comparison with the Kentish sites.[2]

Name (with reference to *V.C.H.* iii)	Thickness of walls	Area of site including walls
Lockham (158-9; plan)	3 ft.	7,500 sq. ft.
Sittingbourne (98)	?	?
Springhead (91; plan)	2½-4 ft.	4,000 sq. ft.
East Barming (145)	'thick'	3,500 sq. ft.
Sutton Valence (170)	1 ft. 6 in.	1,000 sq. ft. ?
For comparison :—		
Colchester	2 ft. 6 in.	1,000 sq. ft.

Of these Kentish sites, Sittingbourne is in a more or less congregated settlement-area, Springhead just outside a small town; the other three are wholly rural, Lockham and East Barming having villa sites near by. In East Barming, perhaps the latest of them, the enclosed space had been used as a grave-yard; Sittingbourne contained one circular flint-built tomb and lesser interments both inhumed and cremated; Springhead had a rectangular stone tomb, and, in the centre, a group of cremations (one in a stone box) under a pavement, and one other cremation also. Lockham, the largest measured, contained a few cremated interments and four masonry tombs, all four towards one side of the enclosure: two small and square, and two larger, rendered outside in painted plaster or cement, one of them circular, one rectangular (14 by 12½ ft.). Lastly, Sutton Valence contained nearly 100 cremation-interments, the urns set out in several rows, and close to the wall (in one corner of which was a square enclosure 8 by 8 ft.) one principal cremation-grave. By comparison with these various features, it seems overwhelmingly probable that the rectangular structure in the Colchester cemetery, projecting inwards from the centre of one wall and apparently ornamented in painted plaster, was in fact a monumental tomb. Whether it was combined with an entrance to the enclosure is doubtful: the only ascertained Kentish cemetery-entrance, at East Barming, was next to the SE. corner, and our enclosure could well have been entered by one

[1] *V.C.H. Kent* iii, 119-21, group (*c*), with reff.; Ward, op. cit., 139-40 ('Holwood Hill'); Collingwood, op. cit., 150-1. The external embellishments of the circular structure included six peripheral columns or pilasters, or perhaps buttresses, and painted plasterwork: the subsidiary burials, one smaller walled tomb and two other graves, all placed in a line.

[2] These are described in *V.C.H. Kent* iii, with references to the original accounts. See also the archaeological Gazetteer in Jessup, *Arch. of Kent* (County Archaeologies, 1930).

somewhere in the SE. corner, which was wholly barren of sepulchral or other remains. In any case the Colchester cemetery, though perhaps smaller than any known in Kent, is shown to belong to the same distinctive type not only by the burials and lesser monumental remains variously located within it, but—and conclusively—by the regular architectural plan which it displays, having the centrally-projecting principal tomb as its major feature. The thickness of its walls, repeating the massive construction normal in the Kentish examples, is also notable: there would have been plenty of room in them for built-in tomb-spaces or niches for urns; and such disposal, if it was in fact practised, might well be employed for richer burials than those actually found in the ground of the enclosure. At all events, the cemetery may most naturally be supposed to have belonged to a family (or other social group, e.g. a *Collegium* or guild), as may most if not all of its counterparts in Kent: the principal tomb would be that reserved at least initially for the founder and perhaps those nearest to him, while lesser members and possibly servants would come to be buried elsewhere in the enclosure, in their varying degrees of simplicity or poverty. One inhumed burial (skeleton VI, with beaker, no. 24 in fig. 7 (p. 77) and Inventory) was found outside the enclosure, just over a foot from the east wall.

The cemetery was evidently in use over a long time. The latest pottery from it belongs to the fourth century; moreover, it must have been used till within a short time of its demolition, for skeleton V, which was overturned or even perhaps somersaulted during the destruction of the near-by north wall, remained yet in great part still articulated, and so cannot have been fully decomposed at the time. The demolition then took place late in or shortly after the Roman period. Its nature shows that the destroyers badly wanted building-material, but its circumstances otherwise can only be guessed at. The date of construction can perhaps be more closely fixed. The Kentish evidence shows that such cemeteries were being built as early anyhow as the earlier part of the second century; and since our cemetery was so carefully alined beside the three-tracked road already mentioned, it seems unlikely to have been built before the road was, that is (as the road-excavations proved) towards or about the end of the first century.[1] Such massive building is anyhow most unlikely (for a cemetery) much earlier than that; and that it cannot be much later is shown by the burial-urns, all of which except urn 1 seem to date, as will be seen below (M.R.H.), from about the reign of Hadrian onwards. On the other hand, urn 1 is dated Claudius-Nero (M.R.H.), i.e. before about A.D. 70. Unless, then, it was at least 20 or 25 years old when deposited, or the building, much against probability, is of correspondingly earlier date itself, this urn must have been deposited before the building was put up. This seems probable, for it is the only urn in the cemetery to be so early; its presence in the enclosure may be fortuitous, or one can suppose that the enclosure was only walled after an initial period of use in which it was protected in some slighter fashion which the massive walling superseded.[2] The building then is unlikely to be earlier, and cannot be much later, than a date about or soon after A.D. 100.

There remains one matter to be considered, which in the writer's opinion deserves critical attention. This is the relation in level between the burials, whether

[1] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 3rd ser., vii, 57; cf. p. 70 above.

[2] The three-tracked road may be, and in Mr. Hawkes' opinion most probably is, the successor of a single-tracked Claudian road on the same course, from which the alinement of the enclosure could then originally have been taken.

cremated or inhumed, and the contemporary Roman ground-surface. The question appears to have been generally neglected by archaeologists reporting on Roman sepulchral remains; but the evidence from this site strongly suggests that the

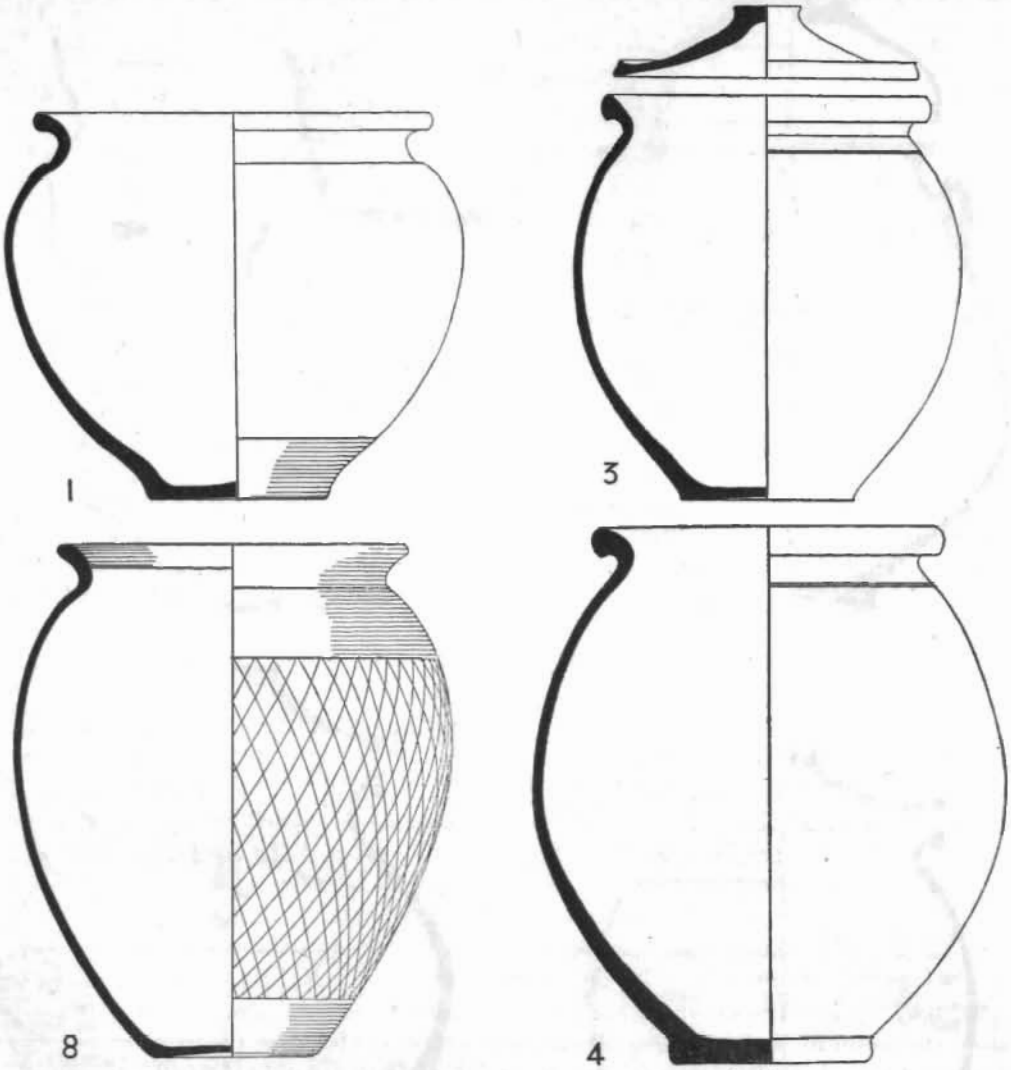


FIG. 5. POTTERY FROM WALLED CEMETERY. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

inhumed skeletons were in fact scarcely buried at all—recalling Horace's description of the old Esquiline graveyard at Rome as

albis informem ossibus agrum[1]

[1] Horace, *Satires*, I, viii, 16. The whole passage is well worth recalling in this connexion, although the graveyard in question was a large common burying-ground for slaves and paupers. Even after its conversion into public gardens (by Maecenas), Horace represents the wooden statue of Priapus there as watching two witches collecting, for their spells, material which included bones from the ground. In *Epodes* xvii, Horace returns to the same topic, and incidentally shows also that a witch might scatter 'recent' (literally, 'nine-days-old') ashes—*novendiales cineres*—in such a pauper's cemetery. See then Appendices I and II.

—and that the cremation-urns were deliberately left protruding above their contemporary surface-level. The importance of the suggestion to the archaeologist

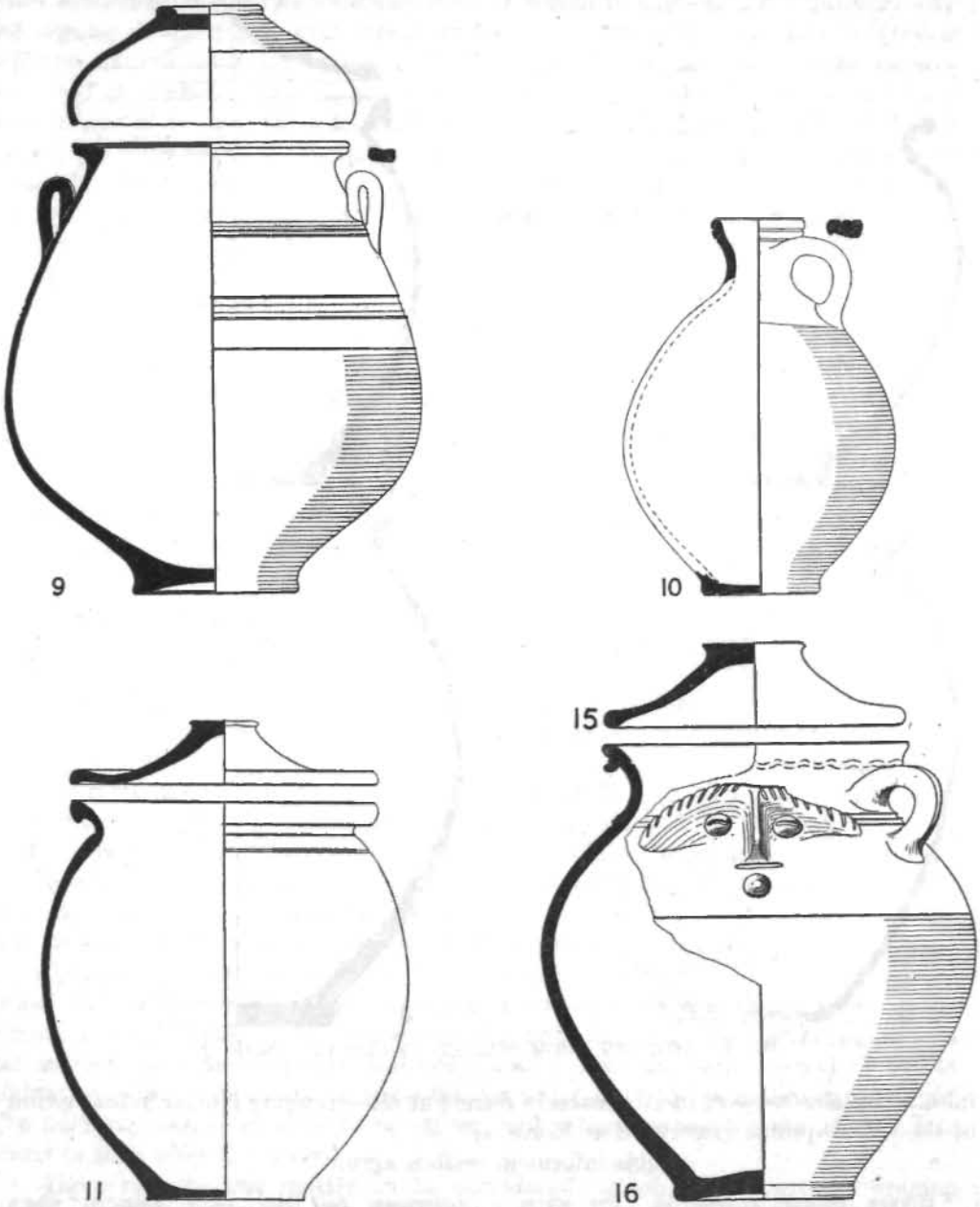


FIG. 6. POTTERY FROM WALLED CEMETERY. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

in quest of 'sealed' grave-groups is obvious. It will accordingly be discussed in detail in the ensuing Appendix I, with the addition of further matter, in Appendix II,

concerning another relevant burial, one of two found beside the single-tracked (more northerly) Roman road not far away.

First, however, the Inventory of the sepulchral and other finds from the cemetery must be given, together—either embodied in the Inventory itself or in the

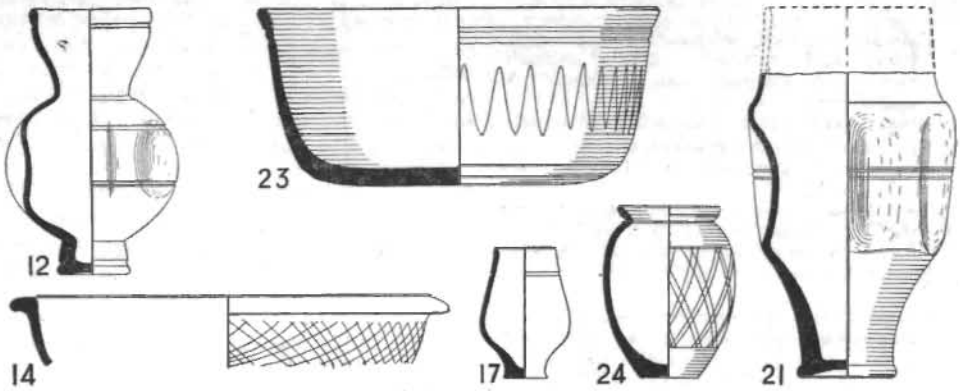


FIG. 7. POTTERY FROM WALLED CEMETERY. Scale ¼.

notes appended to it—with their summary description and dating, the former largely, the latter entirely, contributed by Mr. Hull. For the purposes of the discussion in Appendix I, the Inventory also gives the details of each find's position in the ground.

INVENTORY OF FINDS IN THE CEMETERY

FINDS

The numbers are those giving thelo cation of each in the plan, fig. 2 (cf. pp. 70-72). The descriptions are by M.R.H., as are the datings (all A.D.). The pottery form-numbers (f.) are those in use in the Colchester and Essex Museum: those up to 275 are published in *Camulodunum, First Report* (Rep. Res. C'ttee Soc. Antiq., 1946); the rest are as yet unpublished.
(Notes by the author are initialled A.F.H.)

POSITION IN THE GROUND

RB=in 'raised border': see p. 80. D= in 'disturbance': see p. 86. 'Top', 'b'm', indicate whether the top or the bottom of the find has been used for measuring its level. The *Datum-line* for the levels is the horizon of the bottom of the W. door of Gurney Benham House. For the early and late Roman ground-levels see lines A, B, fig. 8 (p. 80), and p. 81.

	No.	RB or D	top or b'm	Levels in Inches above (+) or below (−): Datum Line	Roman Level: Early (line A)	Roman Level: Late (line B)
1. Cinerary urn, grey; f. 266; the narrow polished band and breadth exceeding height make date prob. Claudius-Nero (fig. 5) ..	1	RB	top	−42	+4	−8
2. Cinerary urn, base only, with ashes	2	RB	b'm	−38	+8½	−3½
3. Cinerary urn, grey, with lid; f.268B; the thick lip and oval outline suggest date about 150-200 (fig. 5)	3	RB	top	−32	+16	+4
4. Cinerary urn, similar to no. 3, but a waster, out of straight (fig. 5)	4		top	−42	+9	−3
5. Part of urn, without ashes	5	D	b'm	−42	+8½	−3½
6. Impression of base of urn, with ashes ..	6	D	b'm	−56	−5½	−17½
7. Circular hole, used as rubbish-dump. *See note 7*	7	D	b'm	−84	−32	−44
8. Cinerary urn, grey; f.278; dating difficult: prob. not earlier than Antonine (fig. 5) ..	8		top	−43	+8	−4

Finds	Position in the Ground					
	No.	RB or D	top or b'm	Levels in Inches above (+) or below (−): Datum Line	Roman Level: Early (line A)	Roman Level: Late (line B)
9. Cinerary urn, buff, two-handled 'honey-pot', lower half polished; dating difficult: more prob. Hadrian than Antonine. *See note* 9 (fig. 6)	9		top	−38	+13	+1
10. Flagon, buff, whole, polished up to handle; ? a late f.156; ? third cent. (fig. 6) ..	10	D	top	−66	−15	−27
			b'm	−75	−24	−36
11. Cinerary urn, grey, with lid; f.268B; date, 150-200 (fig. 6)	11		top	−46	+5	−7
12. Thumb-pot, broken; f.403; fourth cent. (fig. 7). (Frags. spread as if on level surface, 9 in. above feet of skel. IV. A.F.H.)	12	RB		−48	+4	−8
13. Bed of charcoal	13	D	top	−55	−4	−16
			b'm	−58	−7	−19
14. Compact heap of potsherds: many frags. of Romanizing grey ware, f.272; date about 60-70; two frags. of f.268A, date uncertain; one frag. of a wide rim, f.278B, prob. third cent.	14	D	b'm	−60	−9	−21
Six inches distant from the heap was a broken platter, f.301, 'Antonine' (14 on fig. 7).						
15. Lid of no. 16 (fig. 6)	15	D	b'm	−54	−3	−15
16. Cinerary urn, buff, face-urn, face in high relief; three-handled; lid (15) of same ware; Hadrian-Antonine or later (fig. 6). (The face looked to south-east. A.F.H.)	16		top	−44	+6	−6
17. Small vase; f.392; late Antonine (fig. 7) ..	17	D	b'm	−48	−1	−13
18. Carved stone finial (fig. 3). *See note* 18 ..	18	D	b'm	−54	−3	−15
19. Carved stone slab. *See note* 19	19		b'm	−38	+12	0
20. Plinth, fragment of, but *in situ* (p. 86) ..	20		top	−42	+7	−5
			b'm	−47	+2	−10
21. Rubbish-pit. *See note* 21 (and fig. 7, 21) ..	21		top	−36	+13	+1
			b'm	−53	−4	−16
" Overflow of rubbish on W. of pit			b'm	−42	+7	−5
22. Plinth. *See note* 22	22		top	−40	+10	−2
			b'm	−46	+4	−8
23. Bowl, grey, sides broken; f.304B; distinct bevel at base; Antonine (fig. 7)	23		b'm	−44	+6	−6
Skeleton I	I	RB	(meas-	−34	+12	0
Skeleton II	II	RB		−50	−2	−14
Skeleton III	III	RB	ured	−40	+11	−1
Skeleton IV. For the fragmentary thumb-pot above the feet, see 12 above	IV	RB	from)	−57	−6	−18
Skeleton V	V	RB		−48	+3	−9
24. Skeleton VI. Accompanied by pot 24 (fig. 7) which is of a type common from Trajanic times onward: the multiple lattice-pattern appears to be most frequent in Antonine times	VI		spinal column)	? −66		

NOTES ON THE INVENTORY

(T.S. = Terra Sigillata, or Samian pottery)

NOTE 7

The size of hole could be established at base, where it pierced the native gravel to a depth of 15 inches, here being filled with earth. Above was found a compact cylindrical mass of potsherds, etc., indicating that after some object had been removed the hole was used as a rubbish-dump. This cylindrical mass was about 18 inches wide and the same in depth. (A.F.H.)

Analysis of pottery by M.R.H. :—

First century :—1 frag. platter, f.16C ; Nero-Vespasian.

Second century :—3 frags. T.S. bowl, f.18–31, stamped GEMINI MA (Lezoux ; date Hadrian-Antonine (Oswald, *Index of Potters' Stamps on T.S.*, 132)). Globular beaker, latticed, like f.278A, but with bead-rim ; ? Hadrian.

Second-Third century (*so-called 'Antonine'*) :—About 11 frags. of normal colour-coated beakers, approx. Antonine, and of local fabric ; base of a Rhenish beaker ; also base of a grey copy of beaker f.391 or 392. Lower half of a jar, f.268A, in one piece ; and a number of rims (four 268A ; one 268B) ; two frags. f.301 ; also forms 272, 278A, and some large thick frags. of the amphora f.188 ; and a black rim of fluted beaker, f.407.

Third-Fourth century :—Large rim of f.503 ; rim of f.280 (?) ; top of f.280 ; lower part of a fluted beaker, f.407 ; and many frags. of others, all red and prob. local. Frag. of face-urn, grey, white-coated. Also a quantity of animal bones, and small unshaped stones.

NOTE 9

This base was prob. originally a cover to urn 9 (A.F.H.). Lower half of a vessel (? flagon or flask) of coarse red-brown ware with dark stones in it. There is a foot-ring and polished band, but the manufacture is crude. The piece cannot be classified.

NOTE 18

Finial of Kentish calcareous tufa, almost hemispherical, with raised collar round base. Upper part, 6¾ by 6½ in., stands 3¼ in. above collar. Collar, about 2¼ in. wide, projects about half-inch all round. The under side is flat for about 1¾ in. round the outside ; and at the centre are slight remains of a raised disc, 4 in. in diameter. Total height 5⅞ in. (fig. 3, p. 71).

NOTE 19

Part (?) of a dressed slab of the same calcareous tufa, irregular on two sides. The two dressed sides are at a little under a right-angle, and their faces are sloped back a little, 2¾ in. high, one being 10¾ in. long, and the other 7⅛ in. ; overall the slab is 10¾ by 8½ in. The two surfaces of the slab have been roughly dressed.

NOTE 21

The bags containing the pottery from the rubbish-pit were broken in storage through collapse of a roof. It is therefore included in the 'unstratified' pottery, which M.R.H. dates from the first into the fourth century. One single item from the rubbish-pit, however, escaped disaster (A.F.H.), viz. (M.R.H.) :—Small beaker, f.407, red ware, of well-known type, date uncertain but post-Antonine and, to judge by the nature of the ware, probably fourth century (fig. 7, 21).

NOTE 22

These frags. were judged to be vertically below the plinth (A.F.H.). Analysis by M.R.H. : Group of 15 potsherds ; 5 are of large coarse brown 'native' store-jar (1 of these is Romanizing f.276) ; 1 frag. f.187 ; 4 buff frags., indeterminate ; 1 frag. coarse pot, 'native' (? Roman) ; 1 frag. f.108 ; 2 frags. f.218 ; 1 frag. rim f.268A or 268B. This last, prob. 268B, is the latest piece. Without it the group could fall between A.D. 50 and 100. With it I feel we should extend this period to about 150 ; but f.268B is not sufficiently well defined to make this binding.

APPENDIX I

A. THE INTERMENTS AND THE CONTEMPORARY GROUND-LEVEL

The burial-place was discovered in trenching across the north edge of the three-tracked Roman road (fig. 8). Because this section includes the edge of the road, which it will be noticed is bedded on a horizontal terrace cut into the hill-side, and also because the four interments occurring in it happen to include the highest inhumation-grave and both the highest and the lowest of the eight cinerary urns found *in situ*, it is well suited to the purpose of this Appendix, namely, a discussion of the interment-levels. The first urn to be exposed, No. 1, was subsequently found to be the lowest in the grave-yard ; yet what at once attracted our attention was its high level, for its mouth stood above what we supposed to be the ground-level contemporary with the building of the road. Accordingly

we photographed it *in situ* in the (unfulfilled) hope of so recording the stratification.[1] On a presupposition that urns were buried it was inferred that in crossing the wall (fig. 8) of the grave-yard, for such it proved to be, we had entered an area artificially raised above the natural slope of the hill-side ; and when next urn 2 was exposed at a still higher level,

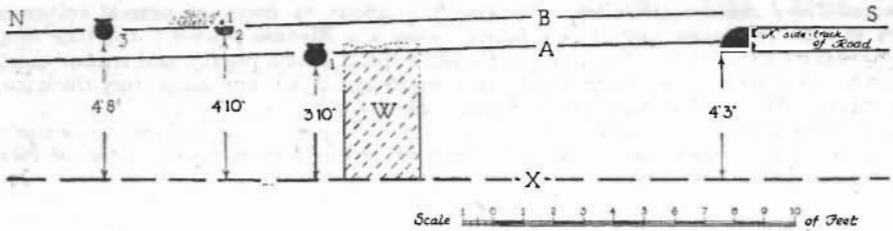


FIG. 8. SECTION, CROSSING SOUTH WALL OF CEMETERY

— — — X — — —	Horizon of bottom of south wall of cemetery.
——— A ———	Highest admissible estimate of natural ground-level immediately north of three-tracked road when it was built, probably in last quarter of first century A.D.
——— B ———	The same at later date, when at least the two-side tracks (of which the northern is shown) had fallen into disuse.
W	Foundation-trench of south wall of cemetery, filled with building-debris (here more copious than elsewhere).
1, 2, 3	Urns 1, 2, 3 of fig. 2 and Inventory of Finds.
I	Skeleton I, represented by shin-bone overlying remains of Urn 2.

and above that again, an inhumation-grave (fig. 8, shin of skel. I), it seemed that the surface of the yard must have been raised by several feet. But this supposition raised a serious difficulty, since twenty-three tons of carted soil would be required for every foot by which the level was raised ; and we were therefore not surprised when, in the middle of the grave-yard, unmistakable indications were found of an old ground-surface not so raised. It is contemporary with the destruction of the burial-place, and corresponds in level with the ground-surface, outside the burial-place, near the road at the date when it seems to have been abandoned by traffic.[2] It was thus established that by no means all of the grave-yard had been made up in level. But certainly the recess in the south-west corner had been raised, since the inhumation there is above the level of the centre of the yard (skeleton I, fig. 2 and fig. 8). It proved impossible by direct means to determine how much of the yard had been raised and to what height ; but it is perhaps not difficult to guess. When the foundation-trench had been cut for the masonry the gravel had been removed, doubtless as building-material ; but there could be no object in carting away the soil, whereas a raised border along the foot of the walls would be no disfigurement to an enclosed yard. Three of the skeletons lie along the border and two in the recess, which certainly was raised, as has been shown, by a spread of earth derived presumably from the foundation-trench of the walls and the adjacent protruding bay.[3]

[1] Its body was in firm light-coloured soil, and the shoulder, neck and rim in a darker looser soil.

[2] Since this was the only surface directly evidenced within the grave-yard, with the dubious exception of the stratification near urn 1, it must rank first in any consideration of levels. It was attested by a distinctive coloration of the soil and a spread of rubbish and debris from the demolition of the masonry. Below it were all the numerous signs of Roman occupation, while above it the soil was barren except for occasional potsherds of varying date, mostly recent. The surface is 3 inches below line B of fig. 8.

[3] In the early stages of the excavation the difference in level between urn 1 and urns 2 and 3 caused no surprise, for we accepted the interments as burials, at varying depths. But when it became necessary to conceive that the urns had protruded, the level of urn 1 appeared as a striking anomaly ; and the possibility emerged that urn 1 had been deposited before, and urns 2 and 3 after, the raising of ground-level—i.e. before and after the building of the burial-place. This speculation was confirmed by the subsequent dating of the pottery. For a discussion of this point see above, p. 74. From the difference in level of the urns it would appear that the recess was raised by about one foot.

Because the grave-yard was not all of one level it might be misleading to show in figure 8 the ground-level identified in the middle of it (i.e. some 10 ft. away); and it is enough to remember that it was three inches below line B. Yet it is of course desirable to include some reference to level, and preferably to the natural slope of the hill-side.[1] This seems to have risen during the Roman period by about one foot, according to measurements near the road; that is, between the date when the road was built (which will be before the building of the burial-place) and when it went out of use (which is likely to have been after rather than before the demolition). Instead, however, of indicating the 'probable' estimates for the ground-level of the hill-side at these two dates, which in each case would be some three inches lower, the lines A and B of figure 8 have been purposely drawn to represent the *highest admissible* estimates, in exceeding which one would introduce almost insuperable difficulties into problems connected with the road.

In a search for ground-levels at this or that point within the grave-yard, the inhumation-graves may be used in evidence, since no one will deny that bodies must have been buried; but not so the cinerary urns: for them, burial was not a necessity of hygiene, and indeed urns are known to have been left exposed to the air in the niches of columbaria.

Before leaving this subject a few words may be said about the significance of ground-level in connexion with these two very different classes of interment. The probability that Roman inhumation-graves may have been sometimes very shallow has been mentioned above (p. 75); and if in the cemetery described by Horace the ground was littered with bleached bones it is to be supposed that the bodies had been rather covered under mounds of earth than buried in the modern fashion, which it must be remembered is dictated by law. What Horace described was a paupers' cemetery, and perhaps depth of burial was proportional to wealth. Just outside the east wall of the Colchester burial-place was a skeleton (no. VI) more deeply buried than those in the grave-yard; and this had been provided with a jar (fig. 7, 24) at its chin. Whether too it had a coffin is not known, as only the skull was accessible; but none of the five bodies in the grave-yard had apparently been coffined, as we failed to find a single nail in their graves; and none, so far as is known, ever had a jar at its chin or other associated viaticum, though there were probably vases on the ground *above* the graves (e.g. no. 12, fig. 2 and fig. 7).

In the case of cremations the ground-level is a matter of less importance than might be supposed; for in considering whether the cinerary urns were deposited with their mouths covered or exposed it will be realized that so long as an urn's mouth was anywhere near ground-level, either above it or below, a small mound of earth or a small hollow would suffice to cover or to reveal it. Together, a six-inch mound and a six-inch hollow account for a vertical interval (one foot) equivalent probably to the rise in ground-level during the whole of the period with which we are concerned (see fig. 8, lines A and B). In coming to a conclusion, therefore, that the urns in this grave-yard were deposited with their mouths exposed we were influenced by evidence independent of ground-level—except, of course, that the estimated level had to be of an appropriate order, which will probably not be disputed. The matter will now be considered accordingly.

B. DID THE URNS IN THE GRAVE-YARD ORIGINALLY PROTRUDE ABOVE GROUND?

If it has to be conceded, as it has been suggested it must, that evidence concerning ground-levels is in this matter no better than circumstantial, it perhaps follows that there can be no hope of any certain answer to this question, since all the rest of the relevant evidence is circumstantial too. Yet, such as it is, it should not be ignored. What led to the conclusion that the urns probably protruded for some considerable time after the funerals was a very large number of very small clues, all tending in the one direction. And although these 'prove' nothing, because they are circumstantial only, they nevertheless form a consistent body of facts extremely difficult to reconcile with the rival theory that the urns were buried from the start. The following summary gives the most important

[1] The gradient of Roman times, shown in fig. 8, is calculated from the level of the beds of the two Roman roads (roads 1 and 2 of fig. 1). It is the same to-day.

features of this evidence. For convenience the eight urns are set in two groups (*A*, *B*), but their numbering (as in fig. 2 and the Inventory above) follows the sequence of discovery.

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE CONCERNING EIGHT CINERARY URNS

Urn	Condition	Lid	Snails	
(*A*) 1	whole, grey	missing		some ashes around base, but not under it, as if spilled
2	broken, grey	missing		upper part cut away in digging grave of skeleton I.
8	broken, grey	missing	2 snails noticed with the bones after emptying urn	badly broken, it is not certainly known how or when
16	broken, buff 'face-urn'	lid proper, found whole (15) some distance from urn	colony of small snails lying immediately on bones	upper part cut away in final demolition of the burial-place
(*B*) 3	rim only broken, grey	lid proper, broken and forced down on to bones, parts missing	1 snail noticed with the bones after emptying urn	
4	whole, grey	makeshift cover, a broken grey platter above urn, incomplete		
9	whole, buff	makeshift cover, broken base of a red-brown vessel, found in a heap some inches from urn at level of its neck, incomplete		
11	rim only broken grey	lid proper, broken and forced down on to bones, parts missing	1 snail lying immediately on bones, under a fragment of lid	

It is not intended to describe the evidence furnished by each of these eight urns in detail. The most important is no. 11; and since the condition in which it was found illustrates the various circumstances which must govern our judgement, it will be sufficient to describe this single urn as representative of all.

When the rim of urn 11 was exposed in the floor of our excavation it was observed to carry, precariously poised, numerous fragments of the rim of its shattered lid. When the urn had been removed from the ground it was carefully emptied of soil on a sheet of paper. In this operation small portions of the soil were successively reduced to powder

before removal from the urn, so as to ensure that no object such as a snail or ornament could lie in this layer of the contents without being noticed. The soil-layer was barren. Below it, and immediately on the bones, lay numerous potsherds ; and beneath one of these was a single snail-shell. When the potsherds were examined, some were found to belong to the urn's rim, the rest to the lid. But when the fragments of lid were put together, at least a quarter of the whole was missing—not all from one area, but sporadically.

The problems here raised are numerous. Why was there a snail in the urn ? Why was the lid shattered ? Why was the shattering blow otherwise so gentle as only slightly to damage the urn's rim, and to leave fragments of the lid *in situ* on the part that was not damaged ? And, lastly, how was it that in conditions in which (one would think) the whole of the lid should have fallen into the urn as much as one quarter of it was not there ? And, it will be noticed, the same problems are raised by urn 3. And there are snails in four out of eight urns.[1]

If an explanation is to be attempted of this various and complex evidence it must cover the whole history of the grave-yard site, a period of some eighteen centuries. Thus the snails (to start with this single feature of the evidence) must either (1) have burrowed down into the urns ; or (2) have crawled into them, or been born in them as perhaps in urn 16 ; or (3) have been deliberately laid on the bones by the bereaved ; or (4) have fallen into the urns with the soil which in every case has accumulated above the bones. Explanations 1, 3 and 4 are consistent with original burial of the urns ; explanation 2 entails a theory of protrusion. The case against explanations 1 and 3 is the extreme improbability of either ; and against explanation 4 that the evidence when closely studied is found to be inconsistent with it. It is not improbable that snail-shells should fall into urns with the soil ; but if they did it is far more likely that they would be found in the soil than on the bones ; and we shall not believe, where there are six shells on the bones and none in the soil (urn 16), or where a shell is covered by a piece of a collapsed lid (no. 11), that any of them entered the urns in this manner ; nor in urns 3 and 8 is it probable that, had they lain in the soil, they would have been noticed, after emptying, among the bones. One is thus led to explanation 2, that the urns protruded, not by its inherent probability but by the greater improbability of rival theories.[2]

Whether the urns were accessible to snails in an original protrusion or as the result of a subsequent uncovering is a problem not easily solved. Urns 2, 8 and 16 were all violently broken in accidents ; and it is conceivable that in each case the bones within the urns were then exposed, and that it was then that snails found their way into urns 8 and 16. But this suggestion cannot apply to urn 11 or, probably, to urn 3, which has suffered only superficial damage. We are thus led to consider this other feature of the evidence, the character of the damage sustained by the urns. Urns 2 and 16 were certainly broken in ancient times, and it is reasonable to suppose the same of urn 8, which was found broken at the edge of a deep disturbance of ancient times (see fig. 2). These three urns are therefore listed together in the summary (group *A*) ; and urn 1 is also assigned to this group, as a ' neutral ', since without knowing whether it ever had a lid it is impossible to class it either as damaged or entire.

[1] In urns 16 and 11 the snails were certainly lying immediately on the bones, as they were so emptied as to leave no doubt. In urns 8 and 3 it cannot certainly be stated where the snails lay, though it is probable that it was on the bones. After emptying these two urns on paper, soil and bones were separated, so that the bones might be restored to their resting-place. In both instances the snails were noticed among the bones after the soil had been separated. It was the second discovery of snails, in urn 8, which led to a more careful emptying of subsequently-found urns, Nos. 9, 11, 16. Further, the problem of snails is not quite the same for urns 8 and 16 as for urns 3 and 11. The former having been badly broken in some violent accident subsequent to the funeral, it is conceivable that the snails entered when the bones were thus accidentally exposed.

[2] An original protrusion may have been a matter of days or of years. Horace refers to ' novendiales cineres ' (p. 75 above, n. 1) without explaining what might happen afterwards (*Epod.* xvii, 48). A more permanent display is perhaps suggested by face-urns. The raised face on urn 16, all eyebrows and no chin, seems to gaze upwards (? from the ground). The chin, such as it is, is 3½ inches below the rim, which may give an indication of the extent of protrusion.

What is remarkable about the other group (*B*) is the uniformly superficial nature of the damage : all four lids or covers are shattered,[1] yet beyond this the damage is confined to the rims of two of the urns. If all this superficial damage occurred in ancient times (as with the more violent damage to urns 2 and 16, and probably urn 8), it may be regarded as a sort of ' fair wear and tear ' suffered by urns protruding above ground or so lightly covered that the lids would crack under the weight of overhead traffic. (Here the snails are ignored.) In either of these suppositions the fact that the damage is always superficial is accounted for. But when in the course of time the urns were sufficiently covered by an accumulation of soil for the lids to be protected, the damage, no longer attributable to wear and tear, must be due either to ploughing or to an accidental blow of fork or spade. Ploughing, which otherwise would well agree with superficial damage, must be rejected, however, since the urns were at various levels, whereas a plough planes everything to one common depth. Thus ploughing could have damaged only the highest urn, no. 3 ; and there it would not explain the presence of a snail. Accidental blows from fork or spade cannot be ruled out of court ; but if this is accepted as the cause of damage, one must be prepared to believe that four digging operations were carried exactly so deep as to shatter lids, but no deeper ; while it should further be explained why none of the urns thus disclosed had been removed as a curio. It cannot justly be argued in support of this cause of the damage that seven urns (in all) were broken, and only four superficially, since the three major breakages occurred almost certainly in ancient times. Indeed, if the three broken urns of group *A* are to be mentioned at all, it should be as illustration of the far from superficial damage sustained in the very sort of accident in question.

Enough has perhaps been said to show the character of the problems entailed and the evidence available for their solution. Because this evidence is essentially circumstantial nothing can be ' proved ' ; and one is faced with a number of rival hypotheses of various degrees of improbability, some of which will be rejected more readily than others ; and the only guide, perhaps, to a probable solution is that whatever this may be it must be such as to cover the whole of the evidence : one is not at liberty to adopt particular explanations of isolated facts. For this reason what may appear at first sight as an improbable explanation of this or that fact may in the end, when all of the evidence has been brought into focus, have to be accepted, as the least improbable solution.[2] In the present case the least improbable solution will depend on one's choice among the numerous hypotheses entailed, not all of which, perhaps, have been mentioned in this brief discussion ; and it is only when the great majority of these have been rejected that a position will be reached from which it may be possible to formulate a solution covering the whole field. As it is by no means certain that there would be agreement on the rejections to be made, it would be an endless task to outline what these solutions might be.[3]

[1] The cover of urn 9 is accepted as such because it was roughly a match in colour, because it was found only a few inches from the urn, and above all because all the fragments, found heaped together, belong to the base of a vessel no other part of which was represented.

[2] A good example is the juxtaposition of urn 2 and skeleton I, where the urn was beheaded in the digging of a grave ; and it is entertaining to envisage the very reasonable conclusions that might have been drawn, concerning (say) urn-burial and the local Roman ground-level, had it been an isolated find.

[3] The following are the rejections made by the writer, and the ' solution ' so implied :—

(*a*) *Rejected hypotheses* :—

Snails : 1, that the snails burrowed into buried urns ;
2, that the snails were deposited by the bereaved ;
3, that the snails crawled on to the bones when these were accessible in a secondary, accidental, exposure ;
4, that any of these snails fell into the urns with the soil.

Damage : 1, that any of the damage is due to accident in ' recent ' times ;
2, that the superficial damage is due to cracking of lids in shallow burials ;
3, that the missing fragments of the lids of urns 3 and 11 ever entered the urns ; and (alternatively) that had they entered the urns they could have been removed by worms, etc.

(*b*) *Implied solution* (urn 11 is taken as a fair example) :—

Snails : It must be supposed that the snail entered by the mouth of a protruding urn at some time when the lid was ' ajar ' and so constituted a veritable trap ; and it may be pictured at the date of the accident in which

The problem has been considered so far apart from its archaeological context—without inquiring whether urns in other grave-yards protruded, or whether the question had there been asked or answered. On this account one most important set of facts has not been taken into the reckoning, although it might be regarded as almost conclusive, in favour of protrusion, if one single assumption were legitimate: that Roman cinerary urns were always decently covered at the funeral *with lids to match*. It would not seem an unreasonable assumption. The answer to the question may or may not be certainly known; but because it is not known to the writer it is an issue which cannot be debated from the evidence in a single grave-yard without falling into a vicious circle. It is understandable that urns 2 and 8, both badly broken, should be found without lid or cover; and if these two urns are discounted we are faced with three urns with lids to match (3, 11, 16); two with makeshift covers (4, 9); and one without cover of any sort, but otherwise whole (1). This remarkable lack of uniformity may be an illustration of a certain Roman nonchalance, as if no one much cared whether or not a cinerary urn was covered or whether a cover, if one was furnished, matched its urn. This may be regarded as a fair inference from the facts, even if not very creditable to our ancestors; and it may be held that those who disposed of their relatives in cooking-pots will not have been oversensitive about details. But cooking-pots surely must have had lids. And if no one worried about a lid for a cinerary urn, why the two make-shift covers (4, 9)? In what more cogent manner could one express a compunction to cover a cinerary urn? And if this compunction was felt why did it not go that little further, to the provision of a proper lid? But if a lid on a protruding urn were broken, as well it might be, the makeshift cover is explained. It is to be mentioned that in addition to an urn without any cover (1) fragments of several lids were found loose, although these may of course be derived from urns destroyed in the demolition. Nevertheless, if it were known to have been the Roman custom always to equip cinerary urns with lids to match, the lack of uniformity in this grave-yard would provide almost conclusive proof of an original protrusion of the urns. There are urns with no lids, with makeshifts, and with lids-proper; but every lid or cover is shattered, or displaced, or both, and there are fragments of lids lying scattered all about the place.

C. A NOTE ON THE LEVELS IN THE INVENTORY OF FINDS (p. 77)

In the Inventory all finds from the raised border (RB) or a disturbed area (D) are so indicated in one column. Urns 1, 2, 3 are so accounted for; and it will be seen, if the plan (fig. 2) is consulted, that it so happens that all the other five urns occur so near either to the border or to some disturbance as to render them suspect. However, as all of them stood vertical and contained bones they have been accepted as found *in situ*, which need not mean of course that they were all in their precise original setting, since an urn might for some reason have been deliberately moved to new quarters, and yet from the excavator's point of view still be *in situ*. It has been frequently mentioned that the middle area of the yard revealed conspicuous indications of a ground-surface contemporary with the final demolition, and that its mean level was about three inches below level B of the inventory and figure 8; and curiosity alone will lead one to ask how the five urns were related to this surface, although it cannot be maintained that such an inquiry could have much serious merit, because in any case the surface of a grave-yard will not be dead smooth. (The modern surface appeared fairly smooth, but measurement proved that it undulated everywhere, between limits of plus and minus three inches in relation to the mean.) Yet, for

---

the urn was broken as either lying dead on the bones or clinging to the under part of the lid.

Damage: The mouth and lid of the urn are to be pictured as protruding above ground, but in a thick tangle of grass. So concealed, the lid is inadvertently trodden on; most of the lid and fragments of the urn's rim fall on to the bones; but several fragments remain held in the grass, or poised on the urn's rim. Most of the last-mentioned fragments have survived to tell their tale; but the rest of the fragments held in the grass were kicked aside in ancient times.

what it is worth, the five urns stand thus in relation to the mean level of the demolition-period surface, in inches :—

Urns	4	8	9	11	16
Mouths	0	−1	+4	−4	−3
Bases	−11	−11¾	−5¾	−12½	−12¾

If urn 9 were removed from the series these figures would provide a striking result, especially in regard to the bases. There is in fact to-day a slight fall in ground-level from west to east, with which the gradient indicated by the bases of the other four urns must almost exactly conform ; but probably the conformity is fortuitous. For comparison it may be mentioned that the bases of urns 2 and 3, on the raised border, fall within limits of one inch ; but that is after making allowance for the slope. Ingenuity might provide a variety of explanations for the anomalous level of urn 9 ; and anyhow it may not unreasonably be held that the exceptional shape of this ' honey-pot ', whose greatest width is towards the base, might from the ' protrusion ' point of view demand a higher setting in the ground (fig. 6, no. 9).

Apart from the urns there remain only the five items of the inventory numbered 19 to 23. No. 19, a tufa slab lying loose, is too close to a disturbance to be relied on. The level of the ground on which it lay is three inches above the demolition-period surface. And no. 23, a flat-bottomed bowl, is probably too insubstantial to count : it stood upright, but with sides broken, on ground three inches below the same surface. But the rubbish-pit and the remains of two plinths (nos. 21, 20, 22), are all obviously *in situ*, although the rubbish-pit of course is a disturbance in itself. One of the plinths is fragmentary, no. 20, but that it was *in situ* was proved by its association with a layer of sand, not shown in the plan (fig. 2). The most interesting feature of the rubbish-pit is its overflow, the even surface on which it was spread being flush with the top of the plinth (no. 20). This fact alone seems to dispose of a suggestion that no. 20 might be not a plinth (a surface-object), but the bottom of a deeper foundation to some massive superstructure. And no. 22 is almost equally clearly a plinth and not part of a foundation. It consisted of an even ' floor ' of small stones grouted into a bed of sand, and where the cement had not reached, the sand was unbound. Thus this object must have been *in situ*, as it could not be disturbed without disintegrating. Its having an even surface is altogether inconsistent with a suggestion that it was a fracture in a foundation ; nor obviously could a concrete foundation be torn out of the ground, leaving a few inches at the bottom anchored in loose sand. Of whatever objects may once have stood on these two plinths nothing remained. They have been removed—that from no. 20 before people ceased to throw their rubbish in the pit (no. 21). The levels of these three items, compared with the same old surface, are as follows, in inches :—

Object	Rubbish-pit	Overflow	Plinth 20	Plinth 22
Top	+4	+4	−2	+1
Bottom	−13	−2	−7	−5

Again there is an indication, here of more value, of a slight fall in level from west to east.[1]

[1] Too much stress should not be laid on these few finds. There is, however, a temptation to infer that the ornaments which stood on the plinths, and also in the socket (no. 7), and perhaps other ornaments, were all removed some time before the final demolition. Unlike the upheaval in the north-east corner of the yard, these others are ' tidy ' disturbances ; and clearly there were people still tidying the yard after the removal of the ornaments, at least at nos. 7 and 20.

D. A NOTE ON THE QUANTITY OF BONES IN NINE CINERARY URNS

Urn 2 is omitted from this analysis as its contents may be supposed to be incomplete. There are thus seven urns from the burial-place, to which have here been added the two from the pair of road-side burials close by (see Appendix II, where the urn fig. 10, 1 is here called A, and fig. 9 B). Since weighing had to be rejected on account of the 'marrow' of earth in many fragments, no accurate method could be devised of measuring the two classes of incinerated remains considered. The cubic content of these remains, as given in the table below, represents bulk rather than volume; and since small fragments pack more closely than large the percentage figures will always appear somewhat underrated, as what is shown is the ratio of the smallest fragments to a mixture of small and large. By 'total contents' is meant the whole of the incinerated bones; and by 'ashes' the fragments so much reduced in burning as probably to be unrecognizable. If a closer definition is required of the 'ashes' they are those fragments which would pass through a garden riddle of approximately 1 cm. mesh. If height of urn may be accepted as an indication of capacity it will be seen that there is no sign that the size of an urn was related to the quantity of bones to be housed. The wide range in the total quantities is remarkable, as also in the percentage of 'ashes'; and it may be significant that where there were no 'ashes' the total is always small, as if perhaps these three urns contained only token deposits (urns 3, 16, 8). It is perhaps not known whether bones were inurned at the crematorium or poured into urns already set in the ground ready to receive them; but it was noticed of urn 1 that there were bones outside it, around its base but not underneath, as if spilled in pouring them into a previously sited urn. Whether sometimes more than one body may be represented in an urn is not known; but if urns were left 'permanently' protruding that might perhaps be expected.

Urn	1	3	11	9	16	8	4	B	A
Height in mm.	202	218	222	245	252	274	282	325	340
Total contents in cu. cm.	1100	350	3150	3700	350	750	2250	1250	1420
Ashes in cu. cm.	110	—	900	400	—	—	360	570	570
% of ashes to total	10·0	—	28·5	10·8	—	—	16·0	45·6	40·1

The higher percentage of 'ashes' in urns A (fig. 10, 1) and B (fig. 9) is noticeable. These two cremations are probably considerably later than the others; and the more thorough burning will suggest a possible improvement in technique.

Appendix II

A ROADSIDE GRAVE FOUND NEAR THE WALLED CEMETERY

The urn indicating this grave was found by labourers in 1939, near another of the same type but indicating a second grave, a few yards from the north edge of the more northerly of the two Roman roads which run through the garden of Gurney Benham House (fig. 1). There was no indication of the contemporary ground-surface; but I should suppose from a familiarity with this part of the garden that the base of the urn was approximately at the earliest Roman ground-level. The slope must have been about 1 : 30 here; and there was clearly a horizontal terrace at least twenty feet wide cut into the hill-side. This was indicated by a considerable spread of burnt earth, perfectly horizontal, with some brickwork at what may have been the inner limit of the terrace, perhaps a furnace. Into the significance of terrace and brickwork we need not enter; but the two urns are to be pictured as standing at the outer (north) edge of these indications of terracing, with their mouths 13 and 18 inches above its level, and some twenty feet from the brickwork, which itself cannot have been many feet from the road. The second, and higher, of the two urns was lidless, but not otherwise remarkable (fig. 9); whereas that to be described (fig. 10, 1)

furnished the material of four separate problems. I was able to measure its level when only its rim was exposed, but did not see it being unearthed. When I took possession of it, the rim and shoulder were broken ; but the compact ball of soil sealing its contents was intact. In addition to the urn I took a large crock (not illustrated) said to have been found ' just above it, ' and numerous other potsherds which had been found ' near by the urn '. The crock has a black ring on its concave face of the same diameter as the urn's rim, as if it had once been gummed in position ; but whether it was actually in contact when found I do not know. Problem 1, therefore, is whether the crock is the original cover, or a substitute replacing a lost lid. The urn is thirteen inches tall. Embedded in the soil within it was a small jar (fig. 10, 2) tilted with its mouth under the urn's shoulder and its base 1½ inches above the surface of the bones. The overall diameter

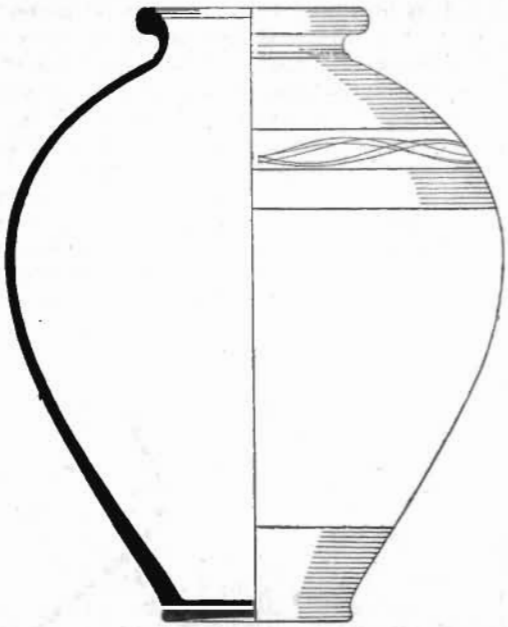


FIG. 9. CINERARY URN FROM SECOND ROAD-SIDE GRAVE. Scale ¼.

of the jar's mouth is ¼-inch less than that of the urn's throat. Problem 2 is whether the jar had been intended as a stopper, standing on a layer of soil thrown on to the bones in order to raise it to the appropriate height (in which case it would subside into the urn as the soil settled) ; or whether it was a ritual offering placed in the urn at the funeral, or at some later date ; a matter best left for the moment in suspense.

Immediately on the surface of the bones, and so 1½ inches below the base of the small jar, were four potsherds which when put together formed the complete base of a vessel ; and this base was found to belong to many of the potsherds which, as has been mentioned, were found outside the urn, but ' near by it ' ; and altogether there was enough of the vessel for Mr. Hull to be able to build it up, into a wide-mouthed black bowl (fig. 10, 3). Problem 3 is whether this bowl had ever served as a cover to the urn, inverted over its mouth, and there been broken, when its base must have fallen into the urn and the rest outside ; or whether it was a ritual offering, part of a broken bowl being sprinkled on the bones, but the greater part outside the urn. It will be seen that this problem is involved in the difficulties belonging to problem 2 ; for if both jar and potsherds were offerings, it must be explained why only the potsherds lay on the bones, from which the jar was separated by a layer of soil 1½ inches thick. And if the jar is to be regarded as a second offering, made at a later date than the potsherds, it must be explained why such a second ceremony was called for.

The fourth problem is of a different nature, and is perhaps best stated in the words of my original note :—' Burnt bones mixed with earth throughout. A very few bones in overlying soil. Worm-gravel at bottom of urn '. By worm-gravel is meant a deposit of fine clean grit often found on the surface of buried objects, such as large potsherds ; for I have always associated this grit with worms, though without knowing what may be the accepted explanation. If this assumption is correct, the grit at the bottom of the urn, the few bones in the soil-layer, and the mixture of earth with the bones ' throughout ', all indicate the presence of a worm ; but it must be supposed that it was a trapped worm, constrained to burrow in an uncongenial element, since the phenomena were apparently peculiar to this one urn, not having been noticed in any of the other urns, all of which must have been accessible to worms for some fifteen hundred years.[1] If, on the other hand,

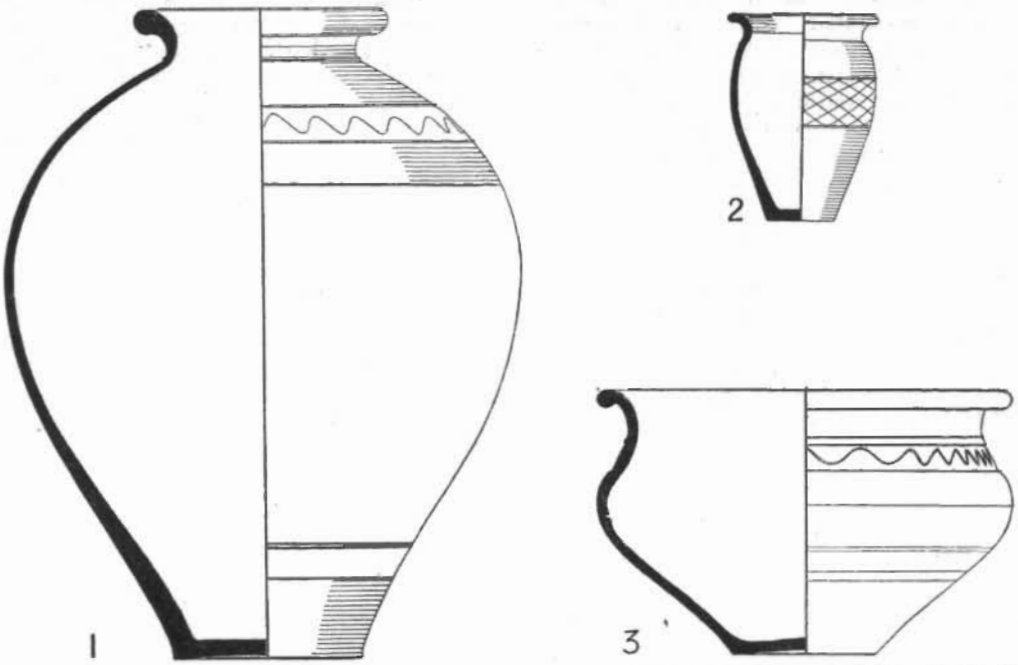


FIG. 10. CINERARY URN AND ASSOCIATED POTTERY FROM ROAD-SIDE GRAVE. Scale ¼.

the mingling of bones and earth is interpreted to indicate that the urn and its contents have been shaken, it has to be explained how the grit remained at the bottom of the urn, and all four potsherds on the surface of the bones ; and how, in a shaking violent enough to mix earth with the bones ' throughout ', only a few bones were separated from the mass. And some reason for shaking the urn at all must be found, for this cannot have been in transporting it from one site to another, since the included base and the excluded fragments of the same bowl have remained in company.

Although it would be rash in the extreme to venture an explanation of all the difficult evidence furnished by this single urn with any confidence, a simple solution is at least theoretically possible—that the urn had not been shaken at all, but that a worm had been trapped in it at some time before the large crock was gummed on the mouth as a cover. And the bowl, the jar, and the crock, may then be regarded as three successive substitutes for an original lid, which had been lost or broken, belonging to a protruding urn. Such a series of events may well have extended over a considerable period of time ; and from Mr. Hull's description of the pottery it will be seen that its typology allows some freedom in dating, within the third and fourth centuries.

[1] This speculation obviously lends itself to experimental test.

DESCRIPTION (M.R.H.) OF THE POTTERY (fig. 10)

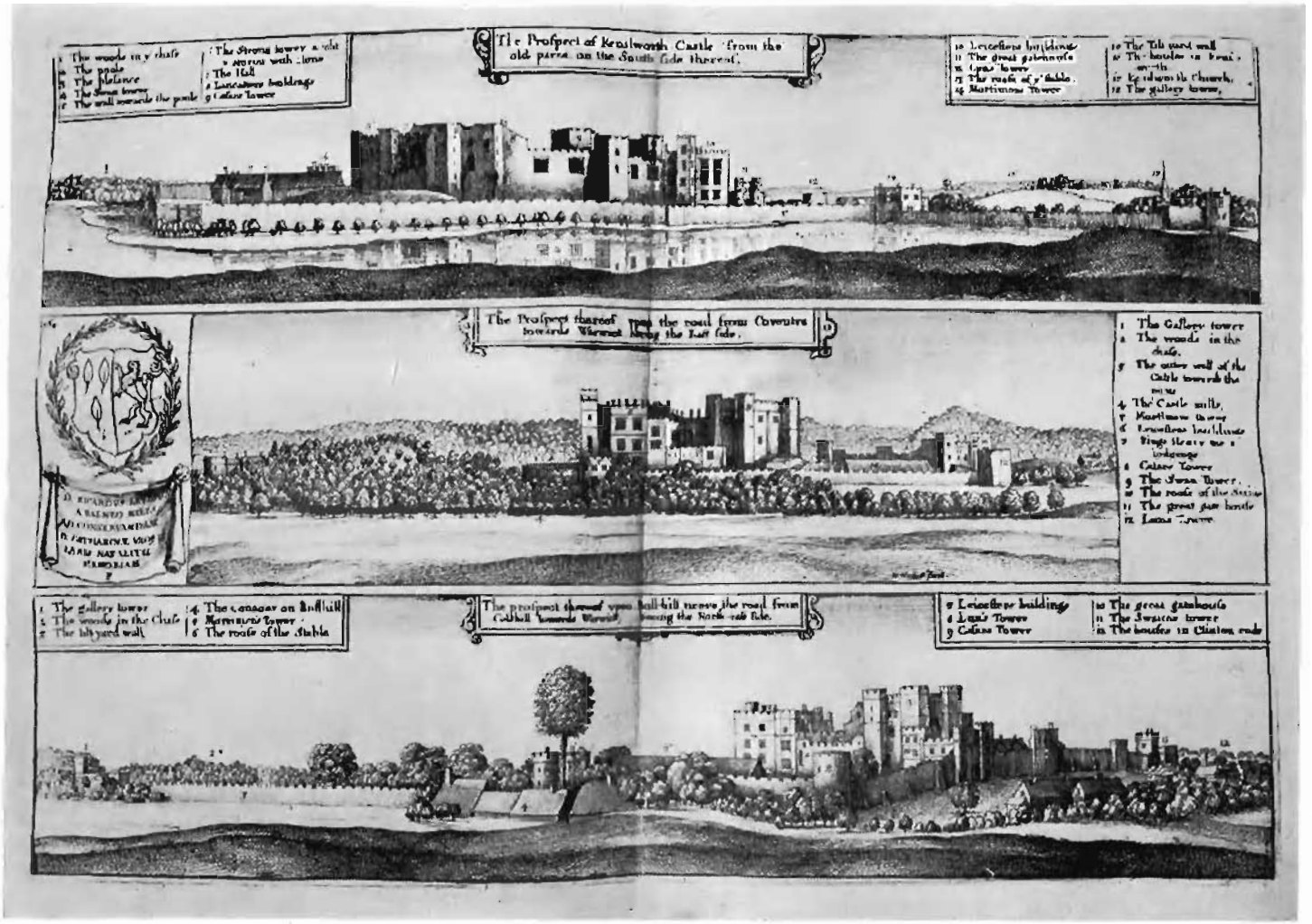
1. *The urn.*—Large urn of f.280 ; of fine smoke-grey ware ; very small cordon at the neck ; matt band on shoulder, decorated with meandering scored lines. The tallish outline suggests a third or fourth century date. (The rite of cremation should indicate third rather than fourth.)

The crock used as cover.—Fragment, approx. 12 by 6 in., from the shoulder of a globular amphora, f.187, not very closely datable. It is remarkable inasmuch as the upper edge seems to have been cut rather than broken. Indeed, it would appear that the top of the amphora had been cut off, as frequently, to allow the body to be used as a container for a burial. In addition it must be noted that part of the upper edge and adjacent interior surface is worn smooth, as if by much use. A further remarkable fact is the appearance on the under (concave) side of the most part of a circle, indicated by dark stains as of pitch or something similar, which exactly corresponds in diameter with the mouth of the urn. The largest break in the circle is where the worn and smoothed surface lies, already mentioned, suggesting that here the mark has been rubbed off. There is a further smudge of the same pitch-like nature just outside the circle. The interior of the circle is uniformly slightly darker in shade than the rest of the fragment. There is a careless graffito X on the convex face of the fragment.

2. *The jar.*—Small cooking-pot, f.278Bc. The wide mouth and projecting rim and narrow, obtuse-angled, latticed band demand a fourth century date.

3. *The bowl.*—Wide bowl, f.299 ; late third or first half of fourth century.

There is one further fact concerning this urn which I should be reluctant to omit. My notes of the levels, etc., were taken down by the late Reginald Smith, standing at the edge of the trench and fully prepared (I am sure) to climb into it if necessary. This was in the autumn of 1939, and it may perhaps have been his last contribution to the studies with which this journal is concerned. Not long afterwards, in the churchyard at Berechurch, near Colchester, Roman potsherds from this garden were sprinkled in his own grave.



VIEWS OF KENILWORTH CASTLE BY HOLLAR, FROM DUGDALE'S 'WARWICKSHIRE'

To face page 91