

## CHAPTER 9

# THE PERSONAL ORNAMENTS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the majority of the objects that in common archaeological parlance are referred to as small finds. Items other than vessels appear only very occasionally to have been placed in the grave as a grave good, and so the Brougham small finds tend to be fragmentary, reflecting their frequent origin as pyre goods. The chapter will be structured according to a modified version of the functional categories proposed by Crummy (1983), including coins but ignoring the site and activity specific ones (category 9, buildings and services; category 12, agricultural activities; categories 15–17, objects and waste associated with a variety of craft activities). Category 6 can also be disregarded as items associated with weighing and measuring always tend to be rare in any assemblage whereas the remaining categories tend to be present in greater or lesser numbers in most. An alternative would have been to structure the finds according to the categories devised specifically for cemetery assemblages (Clarke 1979, 147; Barber and Bowsher 2000, 117). The modified Crummy scheme has been preferred here as, though it was intended to present the material culture of the living rather than the dead, it is a useful way to think about these finds. It highlights which categories of material it was thought appropriate to place on the pyre and occasionally in the grave, and those which were not so regarded. As on domestic sites, jewellery and other items associated with dress are common, but other categories that often make up a noticeable proportion of domestic assemblages are conspicuous either by their rarity or absence. Toilet and sewing equipment and items associated with recreation such as gaming counters, for example, are represented by at most a handful of pieces and are less common than military equipment and items that would normally be attributed to religious practices. No items associated with writing such as styli, or objects associated with transport such as harness have been identified.

Some types of finds are represented by only one or two examples. Where that is the case, the typological discussion that allows them to be placed in their chronological and cultural context has been placed with the catalogue entry in Chapter 4. In other cases where the same types occur in a number of deposits, most noticeably glass beads, the typological discussion is placed here to avoid repetition.

### COINS

Coins are surprisingly rare at Brougham given that generally the rite of placing a coin with cremation burials was widespread across Britain (Philpott 1991, 208). An illegible copper coin appears to have been found with a Phase 2 urned cremation burial of an infant (181.5) though the records are limited. In the other cases where coins were found they do not appear to have been directly associated with the burial. Thus a *denarius* of Hadrian (205.3) was

described as 'next to' the burial, while a *denarius* of Antoninus Pius (99.3) and a *dupondius* of Domitian (99.4) were found 'near' the boulder which the machining had driven into the cist 99. If they were associated with the cist they would have been old when deposited as the other items suggest it was of Phase 2 date. It might be tempting to see 99.3 as having been specially selected for deposition in a cemetery as the reverse shows Salus feeding a serpent that rises from an altar, and the association the world of antiquity made between snakes and ideas of death and rebirth is well known (Toynbee 1973, 233–4). Despite this, however, it is clear that coins did not generally play a part in the interment ritual in this cemetery.

## JEWELLERY AND DRESS ACCESSORIES

### JEWELLERY OF PRECIOUS METALS

Gold jewellery was found in eight deposits and silver in three, with a further three deposits having scraps of silver that might have come from items of silver jewellery (96.1, 253.1 and 270.1). The commonest gold items were earrings. These were found in a Phase 2 urned cremation burial (250.4), in one of Phase 3b (75.1), in a Phase 2 deposit of pyre debris (326.13) and in three unphased deposits of uncertain character (220.1, 237.4 and M1 see p. 263). One showed signs of melting (237.4) and another was found with the cremated bone suggesting it too had been a pyre good (75.1). The others do not show any obvious signs of having been affected by heat. Pure gold melts at 1063°C, a temperature that many of the pyres would have reached (see p. 366), so one might have expected more to have shown evidence of heat if they had all been worn when the body was burnt. The presence of so many earrings in cremation burial deposits is exceptional. In his gazetteer of burial furnishings from Roman Britain, for example, Philpott (1991, 132, table 25), lists only six earrings in total and four of those were a selection of these earrings from Brougham.

Two of the earrings were found associated with bones of possible female adults (220.1 and 237.4) and one with an infant (250.4). The others were associated with either subadult to adult or adult bones but the sex could not be established. The bias towards females is to be expected as the wearing of earrings was confined to women during the Roman period (Allason-Jones 1989a, 16).

Two gold necklaces may be indicated by two other finds, both from Phase 3b deposits of pyre debris. A gold pendant set with an intaglio (281.1) had clearly been placed on the pyre of a possibly male adult, whereas the lengths of gold chain (106.12) are like the majority of earrings in showing no obvious evidence of burning. The small bell-shaped element (75.2) associated with the cremated bones of an adult could have come from a necklace or an earring.

The silver jewellery consists of two brooches (discussed below) and a finger ring set with intaglio (273.1) from a Phase 1 urned cremation burial of an adult male. This had been placed on the pyre but in discussing this piece (p. 219) Henig raises the interesting possibility that it was not the possession of the deceased by suggesting that from its size it may have belonged to a woman. The diameter of finger rings is not an infallible guide to the sex of the wearer as a man wearing a ring on the little finger or on an upper joint of a finger will need a ring of smaller diameter than if he was wearing it on the lowest joint of the index finger. However, the possibility remains that this may have been a gift placed on the pyre by a mourner.

### BROOCHES

Brooches were definitely found in five of the deposits and a fragment of a silver object that had been melted through the heat of the pyre (258.1) may have come from a sixth. All were from deposits interpreted as urned cremation burials. A P-shaped brooch (138.4) came from one of Phase 2, and crossbow brooches came from ones of Phase 1 (273.2) and Phase 3b (122.1 – silver). In two other cases, both from Phase 3 contexts, the form cannot be identified with certainty because of the degree of deformation caused by the heat of the pyre. Deposit 219.1 has characteristics consistent with being a T-shaped brooch though, if it was, it would have

been very old when placed on the pyre as they had generally gone out of use by the mid second century. In **285.1** the presence of a spring strongly suggests that it was originally a brooch but there is no hint of the shape.

Brooch **138.1** had been precisely placed in the grave covered by a samian dish and may have been a grave good. It showed no obvious signs of burning but all of the others had clearly been burnt on the pyre. Though brooches have not infrequently been found with Romano-British cremation burials (Philpott 1991, 129), they tend to be deposited in an unburnt state. The burning of the brooches, possibly suggesting they were being worn on the body, seems exceptional. Given the patterns of brooch wearing in Britain during the third century it is not to be expected that cemeteries in the South would often produce them. By that time, the majority of the population seem to have abandoned brooches, though they did remain fashionable amongst the military. Northern garrison towns such as Catterick, for example, frequently produce large assemblages of late second and third-century brooches (Cool 2002, 30, table 91) whereas in the South they are found in far fewer numbers. Even in the contemporary northern cemeteries, however, brooches only appear to have been recorded as pyre goods at Low Borrowbridge and even here it was uncertain whether they had been on the pyre or not (Lambert 1996, 105).

An interesting association is noticeable when the age and sex of the individual being buried in the graves is inspected. Four of the graves have the remains of a single individual. They are one adult male (**273.2**), one adult of uncertain sex (**122.1**), one juvenile–subadult (**258.1**) and one infant (**285.1**). They are also present in two burials with two individuals. One is a combination of an infant–juvenile and a subadult–adult who may have been female (**138.1**), and the other an adult and infant (**219.1**). Given that the majority of the identified individuals in the cemetery are adult, there seems to be a disproportionate bias towards graves that include young people. Even if the molten fragment **258.1** is ignored as possibly coming from something other than a brooch, the other three associations still point to brooches being seen as appropriate for younger people. The type of brooch used may have varied on sex and age grounds. Both of the crossbow brooches occurred with adults, one of whom was definitely male. By the fourth century, developed crossbow brooches can be seen as a marker of military and official rank and thus mainly a male preserve (Swift 2000, 3–4). The status of the early crossbows, such as those here, is not so well understood, but perhaps they were already a marker of rank. It is interesting to note that the P-shaped brooch, by contrast, comes from a ?female and child grave. If the Low Borrowbridge brooches were pyre goods as seems likely, the associations are less informative. One was found in a deposit without any human bone. Of the others the knee brooch was found with a subadult–adult in the urned cremation burial 51 and the crossbow in the unurned cremation burial of an adult (240). In neither case could the sex of the individual be established. As the brooches from Brougham and Low Borrowbridge appear to be the only early crossbow and P-shaped brooches recognised from late second and third-century graves in Britain (*cf.* Philpott 1991, 138), it is at present impossible to explore the possible gender difference further. If the early crossbows do indicate some form of rank marker, then the fact that **122.1** is made of silver may be significant and indicate that the individual buried in the grave was of higher status than many of the other adults in the cemetery.

#### IRON BUCKET PENDANTS

By Quita Mould

Four miniature bucket pendants were found. One (**217.6**) was found amongst pyre debris containing the remains of an adult ?male aged between 30–45 years. Another (**227.4**) came from the fill of a complex cist grave with an organic lining of Phase 2. These deposits are thought to be undisturbed. A third bucket pendant (**133.3**) was recovered from possibly redeposited pyre debris containing the remains of a subadult–adult of Phase 1, and believed to be plough or machine damaged. No record exists for the context of the remaining example (**M5**).

The miniature bucket pendants were made of iron. Two of the pendants were analysed and found to have copper-alloy brazing. Brazing was detected both on the interior and exterior of one example (227.4). Investigation of a bucket pendant (217.6) by Karla Graham of the English Heritage Centre for Archaeology established that it had been constructed in three separate sections: the handle, body and the base. The copper-alloy coating would serve to join together the individual components (brazing) and also produce a decorative surface. One pendant (227.4) contained 'heavily burnt organic remains'. These organic remains were analysed in the 1980s but found (at that time) to be unidentifiable; they are most likely to be cremated material from the surrounding burial deposit.

Miniature bucket pendants are highly unusual finds in Britain at this date. At present the bucket pendants from Brougham are the only British examples from a Roman context known to the author. Prior to their discovery at Brougham, miniature bucket pendants appear to have been exclusively associated with Anglo-Saxon burial in this country. Bucket pendants of copper alloy have been found in graves in both Saxon and Anglian cemeteries from Kent in the south of the country to Cleveland in the north (Lucy 2000, 43), frequently in graves attributed to the sixth century (Meaney 1981, 166–7). It is to the homelands of the ancestors of these people buried with miniature bucket pendants of copper alloy that we must look for examples of comparably early date to the iron examples from Brougham.

The origin of the bucket pendant has been the subject of some discussion. Traditionally considered an item of Sarmatian culture originating from the Pontus area (Schach-Döriges 1970, 84), examples of copper alloy, silver, iron and occasionally of gold are known from the first century (Vaday 1983, 174–5). In the third and fourth centuries miniature bucket pendants are found as decorative elements deposited in burials in areas bordering the Roman Empire stretching from the Black Sea in the south to Denmark and the Baltic coast in the north (Kokowski 1997, 714, Abb. 47; Meaney 1981, 167–8). Examples of copper alloy, and occasionally of iron, first occur in south-eastern Europe in the area of the Wielbark culture during phase C which is attributed to A.D. 230–260 (Kokowski 1997, 713). Here they are a common jewellery type and occur in relatively large numbers in the Maslomecz-Gruppe. They are a similarly popular decorative element in the Sinata de Mures/Cernjachov cultures, being particularly common in burials in the area between the Dnjesr and Prut, and in the Tarnopol cemeteries (Kokowski 1997, 713). Miniature bucket pendants, therefore, would seem to be closely associated with the Gothic occupation of the trans-Danubian regions during the third and fourth centuries. Those from the Carpathian/Dacian territory are chiefly of iron (Vaday 1983, 175) and it may be from this region that a number of the occupants of the Brougham cemetery derive.

The iron bucket pendants from Brougham provide little evidence of how they had originally been worn. As has previously been noted, a single example was found in four separate deposits. Similarly, a single iron example was found in a cremation from Stolpe, Kr. Parchim in northern Germany dated from the A.D. 170s to the mid third century (Schach-Döriges 1970, 84, Grab 2, Taf. 58, no. 3). The recovery of a number of pendants found together in burial contexts elsewhere suggests they had been worn as part of a necklace. Five silver and five copper-alloy bucket pendants, together with two *bullae* pendants, beads of amber and glass, and spirals of copper alloy and silver, presumably components of the same necklace, along with a silver-gilt swastika brooch, were found in a woman's grave of third or fourth-century date at Skyttesmarksvej, in Denmark (Hachmann 1971, 197, figs 74–5). Bucket pendants recovered from inhumations, albeit of later date, have provided more direct evidence that they had been worn suspended from a necklace. Sets of copper-alloy bucket pendants have been found in four inhumation burials of mid sixth-century date at West Heslerton, Yorkshire, three in relatively richly furnished female burials, the other in that of a child (Haughton and Powesland 1999, 115). Here twelve pendants threaded onto a leather thong were found lying in an arc on the breast of one burial (G167), and a minimum of nine associated with a fragment of cabled cord were similarly arranged in another (G177). Four pendants recovered from the grave of a child (G172) may have been suspended on a fine, copper-alloy wire necklet that disintegrated



on excavation. A group of six that were recovered from the Vimose bog in Denmark is threaded onto a wire necklet (Meaney 1981, 168–9, fig. V.v 1).

Bucket pendants do not seem to have been exclusively used as necklace components. Bucket pendants were found in five female burials at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Norton, Stockton on Tees (Sherlock and Welch 1992, 44). Whilst they were found in positions consistent with that of necklace components in three burials, those in two graves (Gr 35 and 71) were arranged above and around the skull suggesting that they might have originally decorated a veil or hair ornament (*ibid.*, fig. 44, 56). The position of bucket pendants in other graves suggests they might have been worn on a bracelet. Grave 1 in the Mezöcsát cemetery, a Samatian cemetery in Hungary of the first to second century, had a pair of slightly larger copper-alloy bucket pendants present at the lower right arm (Vaday 1983, 174). Two were found by the right hand of a mid sixth-century woman's grave at Nassington, Northants (Meaney 1981, 166), and may have been worn on a bracelet or have been placed in a purse with an ivory ring.

One bucket pendant from Brougham (227.4) was found attached to a wooden 'box or tray' at the south end of a complex Phase 2 cist. This brings to mind the description of the recovery of a group of possibly 20 bucket pendants of copper alloy found in an adult female inhumation at Cheesecake Hill, Yorkshire (Meaney 1981, fig. V.u. (2)). In this burial the pendants were found standing upright along the curved edge of a crescentic-shaped item of sheet bronze, tentatively identified as a possible musical instrument, breast ornament or purse decoration.

The four deposits which produced the iron bucket pendants at Brougham were found some distance apart and so would appear to derive from four individual necklaces or bracelets. It is also possible, however, that the four pendants were components of the same necklace and had been separated into different deposits as the result of the collection and subsequent deposition of only a part of the pyre material within each.

#### GLASS BEADS AND NECKLACES

Glass beads were recovered from 21 deposits<sup>1</sup> as summarised in TABLE 9.1. The majority still survive in the archive and have been examined for this report, but in the case of 52.4, 57.5, 114.10, 196.6 and 243.6 the information is derived from the excavation records as the beads have not been located. The records either explicitly note fused beads or record the presence of melted blue glass. As such a colour is common amongst the beads but does not occur amongst the vessel glass, it seems safe to assume that originally such glass came from beads placed on the pyre. In general the state of the beads ranges from apparently unburnt to fused together to completely molten. Most show some degree of being affected by heat and it seems reasonable to assume that these beads stem from bead necklaces, or possibly bracelets, placed on the pyre. In deposit 257 blue glass was noted fused to the temporal vault of an unsexed subadult. Fused, blue glass beads were also recovered from the deposit, and it is probable that the glass on the temporal vault indicates that the beads were being worn when the body was placed on the pyre. This seems the only occasion where glass noted fused to bone (see p. 302) originated from jewellery, as in the other deposits there is independent evidence that glass vessels were being placed on the pyre.

In addition to the glass beads, two bone beads (186.4 and 215.12) and a copper-alloy gadrooned bead (227.1) were also recovered. In none of these deposits was any debris from glass beads found and it seems unlikely they came from necklaces with glass beads.

TABLE 9.1: OCCURRENCE OF GLASS BEADS BY DEPOSIT TYPE AND PHASE

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 3b	Unphased	Total
Urned burial	1	5	3	1	–	10
Unurned burial	–	–	–	–	1	1
Redeposited pyre debris	2	1	2	3	1	9
Unknown	–	1	–	–	–	1
Total	3	7	5	4	2	21

Given the level of fusion and melting that the beads exhibit, it is often difficult to be precisely sure of the types of beads represented. Eleven different forms can be identified, but it is possible that others were also present, but are now melted beyond recovery. In what follows the individual bead types will be discussed first, before a consideration of the combinations seen on the different necklaces.

Three bead types, each represented by a single example, are long-lived ones. The annular deep blue bead from a Phase 2 urned cremation burial (**181.1**) belongs to Guido's group 6iva (Guido 1978, 66), a type with antecedents in the British Iron Age which continued to be used throughout the Roman period. Examples in a pre-Flavian context can be noted at Usk (Manning *et al.* 1995, 108, no. 11) and in one of c. A.D. 70–85 at Castleford (Cool and Price 1998, 187, no. 113). They are probably commonest in the early Roman period but continue to be found intermittently and some were still in use in the fourth century as several were found on a bead armlet found in an infant's inhumation postdating c. A.D. 330 (Crummy 1983, 218, nos 556–7). The blue/green annular bead from a Phase 3b redeposited pyre debris deposit (**281.13**), is of a type with a similarly long lifespan (Guido 1978, group 6iia). They have been found in a cremation in the late pre-Roman Iron Age cemetery at King Harry Lane, Verulamium (Price 1989, 108, nos 1a–b, d), but most are clearly of Roman date making use of the copious supplies of blue/green vessel glass that were available for their raw material. Again they occur intermittently in first and second-century contexts and examples from fourth-century contexts such as at Birdoswald (Summerfield 1997, 271, nos 14–15) and Segontium (Allen 1993, 226, no. 47) suggest they were in use throughout the Roman period. There is also one long hexagonal cloudy emerald green bead that was found unstratified (**G13**). This is a very common bead type in use throughout the Roman period (Guido 1978, 96, 215–18), but probably most numerous in the later Roman period.

The other bead types are ones that do not appear to have been in use before the late second century in Britain. The commonest type, judged by the number of deposits it is present in, is the short square-sectioned bead made in deep cloudy blue glass, i.e. glass that is not truly opaque but which gives the appearance that it is. These were found in one Phase 1 deposit (**77.6**), two Phase 2 deposits (**135.4** and **257.4**), and three of Phase 3b (**281.5**, **282.9** and **307.35**). Such beads are not uncommon from fourth-century Romano-British contexts (Guido 1978, 212–14), but have not often been found in undoubted third-century ones. Other than **77.6**, the earliest stratified examples appear to come from the Caerleon fortress baths deposit of A.D. 160–230 (Brewer 1986, 151, nos 71–2). That deposit also produced examples of emerald green short, square-sectioned beads (*ibid.*, 149, nos 27–9) which also tend otherwise to come from fourth-century contexts. At Brougham these could be recognised in a single Period 3b deposit (**282.9**). The same deposit produced the only long square-sectioned deep blue bead (**282.8**). These are less common than the shorter cubic form. Examples from stratified contexts have been noted on necklaces from fourth-century inhumation graves at Poundbury, Dorchester (Guido and Mills, 1993, 102, fig. 72.5a), and Butt Road, Colchester (Crummy 1983, 226, nos 1387–1413), but this example from Brougham appears to be the earliest stratified example yet found in Britain. Given that the type is not that common, it is of some interest to note that an unstratified example is known from Ravenglass (Potter 1979, 73, no. 62), another Cumbrian fort.

Two examples of long blue biconical beads were recovered from a Phase 3 urned cremation burial (**152.2**). Though short blue biconical beads are quite common, the long form such as this is rarer, and Guido (1978, 98) suggested that it might have been predominantly a second and third-century form.

Gold-in-glass beads where gold foil is sandwiched between an inner and outer layer of colourless glass were found in a Phase 1 urned cremation burial (**36.9**) and in another of Phase 2 (**253.6–7**). Melted colourless glass was found amongst other melted beads in an urned burials from Phase 2 (**135.4**), Phase 3 (**257.3**) and Phase 3b (**282.9**). As colourless glass is very rarely used for beads other than gold-in-glass, or the less common silver-in-glass, beads, it is likely that the necklaces in the these three burials also had gold-in-glass beads. This type of

bead was first studied in detail by Boon (1977) who suggested that it did not occur in Britain until the second quarter of the second century and drew attention to the unusual distribution of the type across Europe in the second to third centuries. This may be summarised as not uncommon in Britain, absent across much of western Europe and appearing again in Central Europe east of the Oder. Boon suggested that such a date and distribution might be consistent with the transfer of 5500 cavalymen from the Iazyges tribe, presumably with their families and personal possessions, to Britain which was ordered by Marcus Aurelius at the end of the Marcomannic war in A.D. 175 (Cassius Dio, lxxii, 16). The Iazyges were part of the Sarmatian peoples and this transfer is assumed to have provided the origin of the *Ala I Sarmatarum* attested at Ribchester (Jarrett 1994, 43), though that of course would only have accounted for 500 of the troops.

Since Boon's suggestion these beads have often been cited, possibly too enthusiastically, as providing evidence for the Sarmatians at a variety of military sites, such as Castel Collen (Britnell *et al.* 1999, 84). Caution needs to be exercised as they also occur early in their lifespan in contexts which have no overtly military connections. One of the earliest and largest occurrences, for example, are the 44 found with a cremation burial at Baldock (Westell 1931, 272, group 89). The cremated bones were placed in a samian form 37 bowl with a mould stamp of Doecus, a potter active in the last third of the second century (for the potter see p. 349). This might suggest it was a late second-century group though, as the evidence of 107.7 makes clear, such bowls were still extant in the first third of the third century. A gold-in-glass bead does, however, occur in a late second-century context at Catterick where a Sarmatian unit is believed to have been present at some point on the basis of a tile stamp (Wilson 2002b, 451–2). New discoveries in the last quarter of a century do not seem to have contradicted the unusual distribution that Boon observed. New finds in Britain are not infrequent, many were found for example in the drain deposits of the fortress baths at Caerleon accumulating between A.D. 160 and A.D. 230 (Brewer 1986, 151–2, nos 1–26). They remain uncommon in western Europe. In discussing the unusual discovery of 17 on a necklace found in an infant cremation burial at Avenches in Switzerland postdating A.D. 150, Amrein (1999, 312) noted the extreme rarity of the type in Italy, Gaul and Germany prior to the fourth century and had to look either to Britain or to Regensburg on the Danube for contemporary *comparanda*. The distribution pattern still looks unusual for normal trade, and the military transfer explanation for their appearance in Britain remains a distinct possibility. The likely occurrence of gold-in-glass beads on five different necklaces at Brougham, suggests the type was very common within the community who were burying their dead in the cemetery, which might hint that it had amongst it families who had had their origins on or beyond the Danube.

Another bead type that might hint of foreign links are the cubic blue beads with an opaque red trail outlined in opaque white running around the centre. An unburnt example (106.14) was found in a Phase 3b deposit of pyre debris and melted examples were found on a necklace (135.4) in a Phase 3 urned cremation burial. These beads occur in both this cubic form and in a long biconical one, and Guido (1978, 98) tentatively suggested a third to fourth-century date for them, though adding the proviso that as many were unstratified it was difficult to be certain of this. They were certainly in use in Britain by A.D. 230 as one was found in the Caerleon fortress baths drain deposit of A.D. 160–230 (Brewer 1986, 151, no. 73, fig. 48) and three were found on a necklace in a deposit at Nettleton which appears to have a *terminus ante quem* of about that date (Wedlake 1982, 154, no. 5). It is noticeable that when they occur in north-western Europe, they are normally attributed to an external source. Guido suggested an origin in North Africa or the east Mediterranean, whereas in Switzerland scholars have proposed a southern Italian source (Amrein 1999, 312). The form does not occur in the *corpus* of beads published by Tempelmann-Maczynska (1985) though it is possible that it was cubic beads of this sort that were found in a melted state in two later second and third-century cremation burials at Regensburg (von Schnurbein 1977, 159, no. 3b, Taf. 51.7, 194, no. 14, Taf. 105.7). These are described as marbled blue-white and blue-yellow but from the illustrations appear remarkably similar to the Brougham beads. The biconical form is also known in Poland.

Kokowski (1997, 657, Variante P8, Abb. 4h, 683) uses it as one of his characteristic artefacts for defining Phase B (end of the second to early third century) of the Maslomecz-Gruppe. The people who used the artefacts that make up this culture were to be known to history as the Goths. Normally the contemporaneous presence of beads of the same type in such geographically and culturally diverse settings as Roman Britain and the Polish heartlands of the Gothic peoples would be attributed to the fact that beads as trade items can travel long distances. It would not imply any direct contact between the areas. In this case, given the presence of the bucket pendants at Brougham (see p. 383), such a connection has to be considered. Wherever these beads were made, there is a distinct possibility that they arrived in Britain via movements of people from the north-eastern frontiers of the Empire.

Spherical beads were present in three deposits. Spherical emerald green and deep blue examples were found in a Phase 2 pit containing redeposited pyre debris (**141.5–7**). Spherical beads in both these colours are present in the A.D. 160–230 drain deposit at the fortress baths at Caerleon (Brewer 1986, 149, nos 40–56, 58–9), and emerald green ones are present in contexts of A.D. 140–180 in the *vicus* at Castleford (Cool and Price 1998, 189, nos 212–13), and by the fourth century blue and green spherical beads are very common. There are also spherical beads in uncommon colours in two other deposits. One in glass that appears black (**164.3**) comes from a Phase 1 pit with redeposited pyre debris, whilst in an urned cremation burial of Phase 2 there are two beads which appear to have a black body with red surfaces (**253.8**). These are heat affected with blistered surfaces, and it is not entirely certain whether the unusual colour combination is the result of reactions brought about by the heat of the pyre. Guido (1978, 70, group 7viii) notes that the combination of spherical shape and black glass was very rare in Roman Britain, and since her work this picture has not changed. The only additional ones known to me are two from Castleford (Cool and Price 1998, 187, no. 111, 189, no. 211) from a late first-century and a late-Roman context respectively, and an unstratified one from Gestingthorpe (Guido 1985, 66, no. 339). It may be noted that beads of any shape made of this type of glass are very rare in Britain, and it might be suspected that when they do occur they are exotic imports.

In addition to the recognisable beads, melted blue beads were present in three Phase 2 deposits (**96.4**, **170.1** and **269.8**), one of Phase 3 (**270.10**) and in one unphased deposit (**237.7**). Melted green beads were found in one Phase 1 deposit (**76.6**) and in one of Phase 3b where they were fused to melted blue beads (**6.6**). Beads of opaque white, translucent pale green and deep blue appear to be represented in a fused lump (**106.7**) from a Phase 3b deposit of pyre debris.

In two deposits substantial lengths of fused beads were found indicating that the beads did indeed come from necklaces. That in a Phase 3 urned cremation burial (**135.4**) consisted mainly of the blue beads with red and white chevrons as 18 of these could be recognised. These seem to have been threaded in groups interspersed by the occasional short square-sectioned blue bead and colourless ones which, as noted above, might have been gold-in-glass beads. The necklace from the Phase 3b urned cremation burial (**282.8–9**) had short blue and green beads sometimes threaded alternately and sometimes in blocks of one or the other colour. Again there were traces of colourless glass in the fused lumps hinting at the presence of gold-in-glass beads. Necklaces combining blue and emerald green beads are also suggested by **141.5–8** (Phase 1) and **6.6** (Phase 3b). The necklace **257.3–4** (Phase 3) appears to have been predominantly blue, possibly with some gold-in-glass beads. Gold-in-glass beads were found fused together (**253.7**) in a Phase 2 urned cremation burial which also had black beads (**253.8**) and blue beads (**253.9**). Clearly the gold-in-glass beads were threaded together but whether the others were on the same necklace is not clear. An unusual combination of blue, translucent pale green, and opaque white is suggested by the fused lump **106.7** (Phase 3b) and this may have had blue beads with red and white chevrons elsewhere, as an unburnt example (**106.14**) was also found in the deposit. This necklace is the only one to retain any hint that the beads may have been threaded onto copper-alloy wire links or had any copper-alloy sheet fittings such as necklace fasteners as the fused lump included a small fragment of copper-alloy sheet.



The majority of the necklaces would appear to have used an organic thread and would either have been large enough to slip over the head or have been tied in place.

It is noticeable that though beads are found throughout the sequence (see TABLE 9.2), the groups of fused beads that clearly came from threaded necklaces occur disproportionately in Phases 3 and 3b. This may be a coincidence, but it might hint that wearing threaded necklaces on the pyre was a fashion of the later third century at Brougham.

An interesting association is apparent when the age and sex of the individuals in the deposits with glass beads is inspected (TABLE 9.2). Glass beads do not occur in deposits where the bones indicate adult males to have been present, only in those with female remains or those of children and young people. Glass beads therefore appear to be a sex and/or age specific pyre good at Brougham. The table can be re-expressed as TABLE 9.3 which shows the association with all sexed adults including those in the double deposits. The association with females is statistically significant at less than the 1% level. In the past the presence of bead necklaces in late-Roman inhumations has often been one of the pieces of evidence used to identify the skeleton as female in the absence of good osteological evidence. The Brougham evidence provides useful independent evidence that glass bead necklaces may well have been a personal ornament that only females wore.

TABLE 9.2: OCCURRENCE OF GLASS BEADS BY AGE, SEX AND PHASE OF DEPOSITS

Age and Sex	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 3b	Unphased	Total
Adult	–	2	1	1	1	5
Female	1	3	1	1	1	7
Female and infant	1	–	1	–	–	2
Infant	–	2	–	–	–	2
Immature	–	–	2	–	–	2
Uncertain	1	–	–	2	–	3
Total	3	7	5	4	2	21

TABLE 9.3: PRESENCE AND ABSENCE OF GLASS BEADS WITH THE REMAINS OF SEXED ADULTS

	Beads present	Beads absent	Total
Female	9	20	29
Male	–	25	25
Total	9	45	54

Glass beads were found associated with just over 7% of all deposits thought to relate to the cremation cemetery. If the 72 deposits whose precise character is unknown (see TABLE 4.1) are excluded, the proportion rises to 10%. Given that males do not appear to have worn them, such a proportion is high suggesting that it was not at all uncommon for women and girls to go to the pyre wearing bead jewellery. This seems to be an unusual phenomenon in Roman Britain. Site finds suggest the wearing of such jewellery only started to be noticeable in the mid to late second century, and even then it may only have been amongst certain sectors of the population. The women who lost so many beads in the fortress baths at Caerleon, for example, would not have been typical of native civilian women. It would be pointless to expect to find the remains of beads in first to mid second-century cremations, but there are considerable numbers of later second and third-century cremations known and these have rarely included glass beads amongst their inventories. The group of gold-in-glass beads from Baldock noted above are the only beads noted at that extensive cemetery and there is no indication that they were burnt. At Ospringe, another cemetery with many late second to third-century cremation burials, a bead necklace was found amongst the cremated bone in a

third-century burial (Whiting *et al.* 1931, 34, pl. xi C.H.), and from the description and illustration these too were unburnt. In both cases therefore the necklaces appear to be grave goods rather than pyre goods. In other southern cemeteries with later second to third-century cremation burials such as the East London cemetery (Barber and Bowsher 2000) and the Puckeridge/Braughing area of Hertfordshire (Stead 1970; Partridge 1977; 1981), no glass beads, burnt or unburnt, were associated with any of the cremations.

Amongst northern cremation cemeteries which would have been in use contemporaneously with Brougham, a single burnt glass bead is recorded from the Trentholme Drive, York, cemetery and *ustrina* (Wenham 1968, 99, no. 65). At Low Borrowbridge one or two beads were found in two infant cremation burials and an elaborate stranded necklace was found in a possible inhumation burial (Howard-Davis 1996), but none of these had been burnt. No beads of any type are recorded at Lanchester (Turner 1990) or Petty Knowes, High Rochester (Charlton and Mitcheson 1984). The not infrequent habit of dressing the Brougham women and girls with their bead necklaces before placing them on the pyre, does seem therefore to be a most unusual custom within third-century Roman Britain. It may also be noted that site finds of small beads prior to the later third century do not tend to be very common. When the majority of the population used beads these tended more to be the larger annular beads similar to **181.1** and **281.13**. The fact that so many of the Brougham women wore bead necklaces, presumably in life as well as in death, may well have marked them out as exotic and different to visitors from elsewhere.

#### BEADS OF OTHER MATERIALS

##### By Quita Mould

A single, gadrooned bead of copper alloy (**227.1**) was found in the fill of a complex cist burial of Phase 2. Gadrooned or melon beads made of other materials are often found, those of glass are common finds, those of jet are more rare. These beads frequently occur as single finds, and while many single examples may be due to casual loss, this copper-alloy bead recovered from a burial context would appear not to have been a component of a string of beads originally. Allason-Jones (1995, 27) has pointed out the occurrence of a single glass bead of this type found attached to a *dolabra* sheath in Germany and suggested that such beads may have been considered to have amuletic properties. This bead may have been worn on the body, or fastened to another item, and carried as a good luck charm. The occurrence of this example in a male grave at Brougham would also suggest that it served a different purpose than the glass beads. The two bone beads (**186.4** and **215.12**) were associated with adult, but unsexed, human bone and their function cannot be suggested.

#### BRACELETS

Copper alloy bracelets were found in two Phase 2 deposits. Deposit **181.4** is a torc-twisted bracelet with an expanding joint fastening and was associated with an urned cremation burial of an infant. The records of this deposit are unsatisfactory and it is not clear precisely what the status of the bracelet was. It could have been a deliberately placed grave good. The plain penannular bracelet **145.7** does appear to be a grave good as it was placed below one of the boulders in the pit below the possible cairn **145** which had the unurned remains of an adult, possibly a male. Plain penannular bracelets occur throughout the Roman period (Cool 1983, 139), whereas torc-twisted bracelets with expanding joints are normally found in the late third or fourth century (*ibid.*, 136). It is possible that the presence of the bracelet in **181** may indicate that it belongs to Phase 3 rather than Phase 2. The BB1 jar on which the Phase 2 date depends, lacks its rim which would be the diagnostic feature for deciding if it was a vessel that postdated A.D. 270 or not. The scarcity of metal bracelets amongst the Brougham finds is to be expected as the habit of wearing bracelets was still uncommon during much of the third century and it is only in the later third and especially in the fourth century that bracelets became very fashionable.

The status of the jet bead bracelet **307.36** is uncertain. The beads were found scattered in redeposited pyre debris of the Phase 3b urned cremation burial but no obvious signs of them being burnt were recorded, and given that jet was a fossil fuel, it might have been expected that they would have burnt away if placed on the pyre.<sup>2</sup> A complete bracelet when new would have had many more beads than the 14 recovered here. One from York, for example, has 48 beads (Allason-Jones 1996, 28, no. 28), but it is clear that they were valued sufficiently to be re-strung as bracelets even when there were no longer sufficient to form the appearance of a solid penannular bracelet as they would have had when new. Twenty-four were found threaded onto a bronze wire in a cremation burial at Ospringe (Whiting 1926, 146, group LXII; Whiting *et al.* 1931, pl. lvii, fig. 2), and a bracelet worn on the left wrist of an inhumation at Verulamium had only 14 (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 210, no. 48, fig. 45). It is possible, therefore that **307.36** could have been placed in the grave as a re-strung bracelet of this sort and thus have been a grave good, though the scattered locations indicate that they did not enter the grave still strung.

The occurrence of the bracelet in the burial of an adult male is of interest as the wearing of bracelets appears normally to have been a female trait within Roman Britain. It is noticeable, however, that when these beaded bracelets have been found with burials recently, and the human bones submitted to expert anthropological inspection, they have been found with males. At Baines Farm near Catterick a bracelet like this was being worn by an adult male along with an elaborate jet necklace, another jet bracelet and an expanding torc-twisted 'bracelet' used as an anklet (Wilson 2002b, 176). At Westhawk Farm, Ashford, one was found in the cremation burial of a male (Booth and Lawrence 2000; skeletal identity Angela Boyle pers. comm.). The ornamentation of the Catterick male is most unusual and has led to the suggestion that he may have been a priest of the cult of Cybele (Cool 2002, 41). The possibility that the bracelets could have had some religious implications cannot be ruled out and the presence of the bracelet in **307** may hint that the individual being buried was different in some way. Certainly he was buried in one of the more elaborate compartmented cists (see p. 306).

## HOBNAILS AND SHOES

By Quita Mould

Hobnails occurred in the fill of 56 (20%) of the deposits<sup>3</sup> as summarised in TABLE 9.4, and were associated with the bones of individuals of all ages and sex (see TABLE 9.5). The majority occurred in very small numbers within each deposit and could be interpreted as occurring residually within the fills. In the light of the other finds in these deposits, however, it is likely that the small quantity of hobnails found in such a large number of burials are the result of gathering an arbitrary amount of cremated material for deposition rather than the careful collection of each cremation. In the past it has been suggested that a handful of hobnails may have been thrown into a grave as a symbolic gesture representative of either actual shoes or the journey to the underworld which the deceased was about to undertake (Salway 1981, 706). While this may have been the case at Brougham the partial collection of the cremated remains would appear more plausible.

TABLE 9.4: OCCURRENCE OF HOBNAILS BY DEPOSIT TYPE AND PHASE

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 3b	Unphased	Total
Urned burial	3	11	4	2	–	20
Unurned burial	–	2	–	–	2	4
Redeposited pyre debris	1	4	3	2	7	17
Special pot deposits	–	1	–	–	–	1
Unknown	5	2	3	1	3	14
Total	9	20	10	5	12	56

TABLE 9.5: OCCURRENCE OF HOBNAILS BY AGE, SEX AND PHASE OF DEPOSITS

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 3b	Unphased	Total
Adult female	1	3	—	—	3	7
Adult male	1	2	3	1	2	9
Adult	3	9	4	2	5	23
Adult female and infant	1	—	1	—	—	2
Adult and infant	—	1	—	—	—	1
Adult female and juvenile	1	—	—	—	—	1
Infant	—	2	—	—	—	2
Immature	—	—	1	—	—	1
Uncertain	2	3	1	2	2	10
Total	9	20	10	5	12	56

Only eight of the deposits contained ten or more hobnails. Only four (**198.8**, **273.5**, **6.3** and **280.3**, containing 130, 44, 41 and 23 hobnails respectively) contained sufficient hobnails to suggest that shoes of nailed construction were originally worn by the body when cremated, placed on the pyre, or deliberately deposited unburnt in the burial. Hobnails were recovered during the close examination of the cremated bone from 24 of the deposits, and in these particular cases were certainly part of the cremated remains. Whether the shoes from which they came were worn on the body or added separately to the pyre cannot be determined. The recovery of 130 hobnails from the cremated remains recovered from deposit **198** would initially suggest that several pairs of nailed shoes had been placed with the body. Deposit **198** was found to contain only a small amount of human bone but considerable quantities of pyre goods and charcoal and has been interpreted as redeposited pyre debris. Again, the possibility remains that the large amount of hobnails from this deposit is the result of the collection of debris from more than one cremation. Similarly, the 41 hobnails from **6** also come from redeposited pyre debris. The 44 hobnails from **273**, an urned cremation of an adult male more than 40 years old placed in a wood-lined or wooden box in a pit, accompanied by both pyre goods and unburnt offerings, do appear to represent a pair of nailed shoes.

Nailed shoe construction was a technological development brought by the Romans and may be considered a truly Roman fashion. The military boot worn during the early years of the Roman conquest, hard-wearing outdoor shoes worn by both soldier and civilian from the second century onward, and sandals intended for some outdoor use, all had soles studded with hobnails. It should be remembered that shoes made of stitched construction and shoes made from a single piece of leather were also worn at this time and would, of course, leave no trace in the archaeological record.

The subject of the recovery of hobnails from burials has been fully discussed by Philpott (1991, 165–75). One should, perhaps, not read undue significance into the recovery of hobnails from a burial context as their presence is not a reflection of the choice to include shoes or not to include shoes as part of the funerary rite. Hobnails indicate only the use of shoes of nailed construction. As such, their presence reflects the choice of shoes made using one particular method of construction, but was not the only one available. It is quite possible that shoes were worn by, or placed on the pyre of, every body that was cremated, or later placed in the grave when the pyre remains were deposited. The presence of shoes of a different construction is hinted at by **130.3** from a deposit of pyre debris from the cremation of an adult. A very similar bone ‘stud’ has been recovered from Vindolanda where it was holding the toe strap to the sole of a sandal (Vindolanda Site Museum, unpublished).

### TOILET EQUIPMENT

The only item in this category that can be identified are the tweezers (**307.37**) and it is not clear that they were associated with the grave. The excavator noted that he could not define



the southern edge of the pit, and they may have lain beyond it. They appear unburnt suggesting that if they were part of the original grave contents they had been placed separately in the burial after the cremation.

### SEWING AND OTHER TEXTILE EQUIPMENT

Two iron needles showing the effects of heat that suggested they had been on the pyre were recovered. One (168.1) came from an urned cremation burial of a young person, the other (265.1) was found in an unphased deposit of uncertain attribution. The only other item that would normally be assigned to this category was a fragment of a spindle whorl made from a fragment of samian pottery from the spread over F28.

Philpott (1991, 184) noted the rarity of needles in Romano-British cremation burials. The only occurrences broadly contemporary with the Brougham cemetery are a group of eight bone and one copper-alloy needles damaged before being placed in a late second-century or later box burial at St Pancras, Chichester (Down and Rule 1971, 113, nos 228.I–J). Three burnt bone needles that were clearly pyre goods have also been found in cremation burials at London ranging in date from early/mid second century to c. A.D. 180 or later (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 353, table 125). It is to be suspected that bone needles were used differently than those made of metal, certainly bone needles would not have been as suitable for fine sewing as metal ones could be, so it is open to question as to whether placing bone needles in a grave or on a pyre is an equivalent action to the placing of metal ones in the same way. If there was a difference then the placing of the iron needles on the Brougham pyres is even more unusual, though caution has to be exercised over this conclusion as iron ones are only likely to be recognised when X-radiography of all the iron is routinely practiced. Given the connections that can be seen in the beads and pendants in the Danubian lands and beyond, it is of some interest to note that the placing of metal needles in Sarmatian graves is well attested (Vaday 1985, 377) and it has been suggested from their positions in the inhumations that they were used to fasten sleeves and belts (Vaday 1989, 122).

### HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FURNITURE

In some respects this category is very well represented. As discussed in Chapter 8, vessels are common as both pyre and grave goods though only a subset of those to be expected in a domestic assemblage were selected. This selection can also be seen in the small finds, there are for example no eating utensils such as spoons. The presence of specialised furniture such as biers is hinted at by the nails and bone veneers (see Chapter 5), but items such as lighting equipment seem entirely absent. Boxes seem occasionally to have been used as containers for cremated bone, but there is little amongst the finds or the excavation records to suggest that this was common.

#### BOXES

By Quita Mould

During excavation the presence of possible wooden boxes was noted in five burials (82, 215, 223, 227 and 237). In addition the remains of a wooden box inside a line of nails was noted on the west of pylon 2 during the 1966 excavations. On a further two occasions a wooden tub-like structure was suggested (272–3). The metal finds associated with these deposits are discussed here. It seems likely that several represent casket burials where the remains have been placed in boxes rather than urns. The most convincing candidates for these are 272–3 and possibly 237.

In the Phase 1 deposit **273** 'many' nails were noted by the excavators in a ring around the burial spaced 2–3in (c. 45–50mm) apart all around the edges all the way down the fill in a circular pit. The excavators suggested that 'it seems likely that this cremation was originally contained within a wooden tub-like structure. Whatever it was it must have been pretty substantial – the nails were large'.

A minimum of 64 nails were recovered from the cremation material in the pit (**273.8**) along with 48 broken shank fragments. More nails came from the contents of the cinerary urn (**273.7**). As already discussed (see p. 271), two principal sizes were noted. The smaller (15 nails) measured 16–22mm in length, with head lengths between 8–11mm. The majority were of medium size, the largest nail head recovered measuring only 25mm, the longest complete shank length was 62mm, although the majority of the shanks were broken when examined. It would seem unlikely that a barrel would be nailed and it is perhaps more plausible that the nails represent a wooden box, the nails falling as the wood rotted into the pattern recorded due to the shape of the pit. A fragment of copper-alloy sheet with a D-shaped handle (**273.3**) was found in the burial and appears to be a box fitting. Other finds, such as the silver intaglio ring and copper-alloy crossbow brooch, make this burial one of the mostly richly furnished in the cemetery. The evidence seems to be consistent with the urned cremation being placed in a casket along with debris from the pyre.

The unphased **272**, located close to **273**, was described as a circular pit containing a pot but not a cinerary urn as such and 'many iron nails in circular pattern at all levels'. For some reason this same pattern of nails as recognised in **273** was here interpreted as 'presumably the grave was looted before the box decayed'. A minimum of 32 nails were examined from the burial along with 38 broken shank fragments. Whilst one larger headed nail (head length 28mm) was noted, the majority were nails of medium size with head lengths ranged between 11–20mm and complete shank lengths less than 57mm. The original sketch plan of the burial states that the pit was 'full of cremated bones and fused bronze'. It is likely that the cremated remains were placed in a wooden box in the pit suggesting it to be another casket burial.

In **237** the excavators noted a possible wooden box at the west inside a line of nails on the north-west side. The burial comprised the cremated remains of an adult ?female c. 30–40 years old, some pyre goods and a very small amount of pyre debris within a cist. A minimum of 20 nails were recovered from the burial, all but one being a small nail of the classification in use here (see p. 271). A total of 16 complete examples measured between 20–4mm in length, with head lengths between 9–12mm. As the burial contained no pots, this may have been a casket burial also.

Three sides of a square box with a bronze binding were recognised by the excavators in **215**. The edges of the feature were noted as having heavily burnt material. The lengths of narrow U-shaped binding (**215.2**) were c. 5–6mm (1/4in) in width, being so narrow they could not have bound the box corners, as might be expected, but must have run around the single thickness of the top edge of the box and its lid, if they were correctly identified as box binding. Fragments of similar binding were also found in a Phase 2 deposit of pyre debris (**175.2**). When found in military contexts at other excavations such copper-alloy binding is usually considered to be binding from around the edge of a shield and this is more likely to be the case at Brougham. Similar copper-alloy binding is used around the edge of scabbards, and, indeed, a possible scabbard chape fragment was found within **215**. However, the riveted lugs present in the bindings from Brougham are characteristic of shield binding. Edge binding (termed by Bishop and Coulston 'metallic edge guttering') does not appear to be a feature of third-century shields, being absent on the surviving shields from Dura, nor has it been commonly found in third-century contexts elsewhere (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 149). Deposit **215** also contained fragments of broken sheet and a ring handle (**215.1**), probably box fittings, as well as pieces of metal vessel rim and fragments distorted by heat. A minimum of 18 nails were found in the burial, the majority were of medium size with a small nail and a noticeably larger nail also present. Neither plans nor photographs exist of the burial to provide further information. No pots were found in the burial, suggesting that the cremated remains may

have been deposited within a wooden box in the manner of a casket burial. While it is interesting to speculate whether a shield had been placed in the burial, indeed whether the square feature originally observed might have been the remains of a rectangular shield rather than a box, the character of the burial is unknown.

'Several large nails *in situ* at the west end of an oval pit containing an inverted cinerary [urn]' suggested the presence of a wooden box to the excavators of the Phase 3 deposit **82**. Eight nails were recorded at the time of excavation, but the remains of only three nails, of medium size, were available for study while a nail shank with minerally preserved wood present was found within the cremated remains. The burial was that of the remains of a young female adult placed in an urn.

The Phase 1 deposit **223** was recorded by the excavators as comprising a rectangular pit 'with dark outline suggesting the presence of a wooden box and a pattern of nails [not described] within the grave'. A minimum of nine nails was found in the burial (three small nails, six medium). A single small nail showed signs of burning. The burial contained a very small amount of cremated bone and some pyre goods.

A small number of metal objects are thought to be fittings from boxes. A fragment of copper-alloy sheet with a D-shaped handle (**273.3**) found amongst the items in the Phase 1 urned cremation burial of an adult male probably in a wooden box in a pit has already been mentioned. In this context the D-shaped fitting may well be a simple handle, but it should be remembered that a range of third-century *phalerae* have such a fitting on the back by which they were secured to the baldric (Bishop and Coulston 1993, fig 91, nos 1–3, 6), and an alternative interpretation could be argued. A box corner fragment of copper-alloy sheet with an iron nail passing through it to secure it to the wood was found along with other fragments of sheet (**77.8**) in a Phase 2 urned burial of an adult ?female. A copper-alloy strap with a decorative terminal (**304.1**) from a Phase 1 deposit of pyre debris is also a fitting from a box.

In addition, fragments of riveted copper-alloy sheet that derive from broken box fittings such as corner bindings, lockplates or other sheet mounts were found in six deposits (**107.2**, **128.3**, **114.6**, **196.1**, **198.4** and **254.1**) and unstratified. Small fragments of copper-alloy sheet that may also come from box fittings were recovered from 53 of the deposits. Alternatively, these sheet fragments may be vessel wall fragments, and it is not possible to distinguish between the two functional categories. In 37 of these deposits copper-alloy sheet was not associated with fragments of vessel rim or base and are probably more likely to be fragmentary box fittings. Similarly, the copper alloy and iron rings recovered could have served as small ring handles on a box or a vessel; these have been discussed with the sheet metal vessels elsewhere (see p. 377).

Fragments of iron strap that may derive from box hinges were found in two deposits, a long cist containing redeposited pyre debris of an adult (**26.1**), and an urned cremation burial of Phase 3b (**126.6**) with the remains of an adult. An iron split-spiked loop (**124.3**) that may be a component of a simple hinge, or alternatively derive from the burning of reused timbers as fuel on the pyre, was found in a Phase 3 deposit of pyre debris. The fragmentary remains of two sets of iron strap hinges articulating with a ring-and-hook terminal were recovered 'adjacent to **F46**'. The hinges having a maximum length of 275mm come from a large box or chest. The mixture of simple, plain terminals and decorative, pointed terminals indicates that the hinges had an ornamental as well as a practical function. An angled binding of iron was also found but contextual information was lacking.

Four bell-headed studs (**105.2**, **128.1**, **277.1** and **269.3**) and a further two objects likely to be examples distorted by heat (**3.1** and **76.1**) were found in separate burials, another occurred unstratified (**M3**). All differed in size and shape, but examples of Allason-Jones' type 1 with a separate iron shank (**76.1** and **277.1**) and type 2 with the shank cast in one with the head (**105.2** and **128.1**) were present. Various suggestions have been put forward as to their use (see Allason-Jones 1985). As they each occurred in separate burials they might be considered initially to lend support to the idea that they are pommels from knives or daggers like the stud found *in situ* at the end of a knife tang at Carnuntum in 1902 (*ibid*, pl. ii). Unfortunately

none of the studs from Brougham were found with any fragments of iron which could come from a blade, indeed the large type 1 stud from **277** was the only small find other than a hobnail from the burial. Four of the studs (**76.1**, **105.2**, **128.1** and **269.3**, ranging in diameter from 15–25mm), were associated with possible fragmentary box fittings and, therefore, may come from boxes. The studs may be occurring singly because of the incomplete collection of the cremated remains or burial disturbance. Three were from deposits of pyre debris (**3**, **128** and **269**) and two from urned burials (**76** and **105**) with noticeable quantities of pyre debris in the fill. All the studs were recovered from deposits containing adult cremated remains, those that could be identified were female. One came from an unphased deposit (**3.1**), two from Phase 1 urned burials (**76** and **128**), one a double cremation (**76**), and the others from Phase 2.

## OBJECTS USED FOR RECREATIONAL PURPOSES

This is another category that is conspicuous because so few items can be assigned to it. There are two counters made from reused fragments of samian vessels. One was associated with a Phase 2 urned cremation burial of an infant (**253.17**) and the other came from **F38** (see p. 26). There appear to be no glass counters or ones made of bone amongst the pyre goods. Given that unburnt bone does not survive well at Brougham, the possibility exists that bone counters and dice could have been put into the grave as unburnt grave goods and have left no trace. The rarity of unburnt grave goods other than vessels within the cemetery suggests this was unlikely.

The rarity of counters at Brougham is noteworthy because they have not infrequently been recovered from later second and third-century burials. At Trentholme Drive, York, 46 burnt bone counters were found with an urned cremation burial of late second-century date (Wenham 1968, 32, no. 41), and a single burnt counter was found in an urned cremation burial of third-century date (*ibid*, 30, no. 24). At Ospringe a set of mainly glass counters was found with two dice in a mid second to early third-century cremation burial (Whiting 1925, 93, group xxxvii; Whiting *et al.* 1931, pl. lvi), and two cremation burials of the later second and third centuries at St Pancras Chichester had sets of bone counters (Down and Rule 1971, 97, burial group 66, 117, burial group 250).

## TOOLS

By Quita Mould

The only tools recognised were knives. Three iron knife blades occurred in separate deposits. In one (**95.8**) the knife had been placed on a BB1 dish in a Phase 2 urned burial. The other two came from unphased deposits, **109.1** from redeposited pyre debris and **280.7** lying on a group of unurned cremated bone. In radiographs two of the knives (**109.1** and **95.8**) showed slight signs of having been burnt. A fragment of a strap or possible blade (**226.2**) and a tang from a small implement, again possibly a blade (**143.1**), could also be recognised. In both cases the deposits were unphased and the records do not allow the nature of the deposit to be identified. An iron rectangular shoulder plate with cropped corners, curved profile and large central tang hole from a knife or possibly a dagger was found associated with small timber nails and hobnails in redeposited pyre debris (**198.7**). A strap or possible blade fragment (**26.1**) was found associated with a long cist, but probably in a redeposited context.

Fragments of burnt antler and bone handles were found in nine deposits (**163.1**, **198.14**, **216.2**, **236.10**, **276.4**, **286.6**, **289.3**, **301.3–4** and **307.11**). They could have hafted a number of implements but it is most likely they were knife handles. Only in the redeposited pyre debris deposit **198**, however, were there both a handle fragment and any metal fragment that could be interpreted as a possible blade. The majority of the handle fragments were found in



unphased deposits that either consisted of redeposited pyre debris or were of uncertain attribution. The human bones in these deposits were those of adults, with the exception of 95.8 which though burnt seems to have been placed as a deliberate grave good in the burial of an infant. The probable and possible blade fragments were also associated with adult bones.

A broken copper-alloy handle fragment (114.3), possibly from a knife, mirror or key, was found in a Phase 3 deposit of pyre debris in a cist with a small quantity of cremated human bone from an adult ?female.

### FASTENERS AND FITTINGS

The fasteners and fittings category is always a rather miscellaneous one as it includes many items that were parts of composite objects such as boxes and items of furniture. In most domestic assemblages many items can be attributed to it and the same is true of the Brougham assemblage, though it is difficult to say with any certainty what they were originally part of. Frequently they show signs of being affected by heat and clearly came from items placed on the pyre.

Copper-alloy nails were found in four deposits (6.1, 114.4, 236.2 and 258.2). These were both decorative and large enough to have served a useful role in the jointing of wooden items, as might the composite piece with a copper-alloy head and iron shank (88.1). Copper-alloy studs were more numerous. The bell-headed ones have already been discussed as possible box fittings (see above), and there were also nine of slighter construction (7.1, 22.1, 75.5, 198.5, 269.2, 273.4, 278.1, 282.1 and 320.1) and a rivet (303.3) which would have been more suitable for fixing material in thin layers such as copper-alloy sheet to backings of wood or leather. Given the paucity of perforations seen on the bone veneers, it seems unlikely that the studs would have been used to attach them to a backing. Studs like these were often used in the construction of wooden boxes decorated with metal fittings (see for example Crummy 1983, 85–9), though they could also have been used for a wide variety of other purposes. One stud is of particular interest as it is made of bone (130.3), but as already noted this may have been part of a shoe (see p. 392) rather than having had a similar function to the metal studs.

A number of decorative copper-alloy mounts were also found (75.4, 107.1, 177.1, 215.5, 264.1, 270.3, 299.1, 301.1 and 303.4). Most are too fragmentary to identify their precise shape but two (177.1 and 301.1) are clearly military and are discussed below, and 75.4 was clearly of a swastika pattern with a central perforation for a stud to fix it to a backing. It was found in a Phase 3b deposit of pyre debris along with, amongst other things, a pair of matching copper-alloy studs (75.5) suggesting a possible use in decorating a box. The swastika motif is usually regarded as a symbol of the sky or the sun and therefore connected with the Romano-Celtic Jupiter Taranis (Green 1976, 42–3).

The swastika is a common motif on Anglo-Saxon ceramics and metalwork, but the presence of the swastika at Brougham is interesting. Though Johns (1996, 172) notes that it is widespread in Roman decorative art, it is not a motif that often occurs in Romano-British contexts on portable material culture. It is found on the bases of a very small number of square blue green bottles (Price 1982, 183), which on general grounds can be attributed to a later first to early third-century date, and as a plate brooch design in the late second to third centuries. Hattatt, citing the Hull *corpus* (Hattatt 1987, 222, no. 1145), knew of only four examples of this brooch type from Britain, all in the North. Swastika plate brooches have a wide distribution across the empire and occasionally occur in Free Germany. A concentration is noticeable in the area of the Upper German/Raetian *limes* and they are frequent in Pannonia (Riha 1979, 88, Typ 3.19). Perhaps this mount can be viewed as another strand of evidence pointing to the fact that the community burying its dead in this cemetery originally had contacts with that area.

The contexts and associations of the studs and mounts are summarised in TABLES 9.6 and 9.7 which also include the occurrence of sheet copper alloy as this may well have been derived from the same objects that the other items were used on. From TABLE 9.7 it can be seen that

TABLE 9.6: OCCURRENCE OF STUDS, MOUNTS AND SHEET FRAGMENTS

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 3b	Unphased	Total
Bell-headed stud	2	3	–	–	1	6
Other studs	2	8	4	5	3	22
Mounts	–	3	2	1	3	9
Sheet	7	13	8	7	15	50
Total	11	27	14	13	22	87

TABLE 9.7: ASSOCIATIONS OF HUMAN REMAINS WITH STUDS, MOUNTS AND SHEET FRAGMENTS

	Bell-headed stud	Other stud	Mount	Sheet	Total
Adult	3	11	6	18	38
Adult and infant	–	–	–	2	2
Female	2	5	1	8	16
Female and infant	1	–	–	–	1
Male	–	2	1	9	12
Immature	–	1	–	2	3
Uncertain	–	3	1	11	15
Total	6	22	9	50	87

with one exception the objects these items decorated were being put on the pyres of adults. The tables also highlight the unusual distribution of the bell-headed studs. Unlike any of the other categories they are concentrated in the early phases of the cemetery's use and are absent from the later phase. They are also associated with female human bone to a much greater extent than any of the other items. Whatever object they were used with at Brougham it would seem probable that it was used by females to a greater extent than by men.

Another item that falls into the fasteners and fittings category is the iron barrel padlock key (135.1) from the double-urned burial of a possible female with an infant–juvenile in a Phase 3 urned burial. As the handle is broken just before the bit the identification cannot be certain, and it is possible that it may come from a bucket handle rather than a padlock key, but this seems unlikely. Keys are found intermittently with burials in Roman Britain (Philpott 1991, 187) but these are generally either tumbler-lock lift keys or lever-lock rotary keys, the latter often associated with the caskets sometimes placed in the grave. Barrel padlock keys seem much less common.

## MILITARY EQUIPMENT

Several of the individuals buried at Brougham appear to have had sword scabbards as part of their pyre goods. These can be most easily identified when they were made of bone, but in three cases (78.1, 215.4 and 217.3) there are cast copper-alloy fragments that could also have come from pelta-shaped chapes. The fragments found at Brougham may be compared with more complete pelta-shaped chapes from Caerleon (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 131, fig. 90, no. 8), South Shields (Allason-Jones and Milet 1984, 160, no. 401 and *comparanda*) and elsewhere.

### THE BONE SCABBARD FITTINGS

By S.J. Greep

Two-piece rectangular box scabbard chapes from Phase 2 contexts are represented by the distorted fragments 81.3 and 94.4. The form is well known, particularly the front parts, being

decorated with pelta-shaped cut-outs. Such chapes are common finds in military contexts on both German (e.g. Oldenstein 1976, Taf. 25–8) and British (e.g. Allason-Jones and Milet 1984, 49) *limes* areas but are also found in civil contexts in south-east England (e.g. Frere 1984, fig. 30,262). They may be dated to the late second to mid third centuries, the earliest British find being a chape slider from Dover (Philp 1981, fig. 43,242) dated *c.* A.D. 163/5–208. The majority of well-dated examples, however, belong to the third century (e.g. Nash-Williams 1932, fig. 43; Philp 1986, fig. 8,8). For a short discussion of bone scabbard chapes *cf.* Greep (1993).

At least one of the two fragments making up **20.3** (Phase 3) is possibly from the front of a two-piece box scabbard chape, having traces of the pelta-shape decoration and a small perforation above. The second piece is plain but has a small metal rivet passing through it. Such perforations are known on other chapes, the rivet having been used to assist in the fixing of the chape to the wooden scabbard.

Both the function and typology of scabbard slides have been discussed in detail by Trousdale (1975), the appearance during the Roman period of a small number of pieces in bone and ivory being realised by Chapman (1976). Examples of both the major forms of scabbard slide were found at Brougham (**194.3** and **303.9**). Although those of more ornate form like **194.3** are sometimes found in ivory, both Brougham slides are in bone, as was **198.12**, a small fragment that may also be from a scabbard slide.

The dating of these forms is difficult. Examples of both types are found on the Rhine *limes* and a parallel for **303.9** (Phase 3) is known from Vindonissa (Vindonissa museum, Brugg, unpublished) which should indicate a first-century date. A similar example, however, from Shakenoak (Brodrick *et al.* 1973, fig. 73,131) is from a late third to fourth-century context. Other British examples of this form include those from Colchester (two examples, Colchester Museum, one possibly unfinished), Great Chesters (Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle, unpublished), Wroxeter (three examples, unpublished) and Caerleon (National Museum of Wales, unpublished), but none are closely dateable. The limited evidence, therefore, suggests that these forms continue throughout the Roman period.

The second, more decorative example (**194.3**, Phase 1) is of the form discussed by Chapman (1976). In addition to those examples listed by Chapman may be added pieces from York (Yorkshire Museum, unpublished), Colchester (Wheeler 1921, fig. 9) and Llandough (Robinson 1988, 172, fig. 75.1). The dating evidence for these forms points to the late-Roman period though examples from forts on the German *limes* abandoned *c.* A.D. 260, and finds from Nydam, Denmark in early third-century contexts, and a third-century piece from Novae, Bulgaria, point to their currency in the third century (e.g. Greep 1983b, 63) though continuing later (Chapman 1976).

#### OTHER POSSIBLE MILITARY ITEMS MADE OF METAL

##### By Quita Mould

In addition to the three copper-alloy fragments possibly broken from pelta-shaped scabbard chapes (**78.1**, **215.4** and **217.3**) mentioned above, two fragments of folded copper-alloy sheet (**98.1b** and **186.1**) were suggested to be the distorted remains of scabbard chapes by the original excavators, and, indeed, may be so. A looped copper-alloy strip terminal (**298.1**) possibly from a scabbard fitting or the suspension loop from a pendant was also found amongst the pyre goods associated with an urned cremation with redeposited pyre debris assigned to Phase 2.

A vulva mount (**301.1**) is of a type commonly found in military contexts. It is less easy to allocate a certain military association to a number of different metal items because of their fragmentary nature or distorted shape. A flat mount with decoratively shaped edges may be a fragment of military belt plate (**177.1**). The mis-shapen remains of a large copper-alloy openwork mount (**126.3**) is comparable with a range of horse harness fittings of third-century date. There are small fragments (**303.4**) broken from a copper-alloy openwork buckle (or mount), whilst the possible scrolled arms visible amongst heat-distorted copper-alloy folded

sheet (**82.1**) may also come from an openwork fitting. The fragment of copper-alloy sheet with a D-shaped handle (**273.3**) may be a large sheet-metal baldric fitting of a type in use during the third century (see for example Bishop and Coulston 1993, fig. 91, nos 1–3, 6), or a box fitting as discussed above (see p. 395).

Small fragments of copper-alloy U-shaped binding with small dome-headed rivets were found in two burials. Such copper-alloy sheet binding may have bound the edge of a shield or possibly a scabbard, as discussed above (see p. 394). Many small fragments (**18**) were found in a deposit of uncertain interpretation (**215.2**), a feature interpreted as a square box with a bronze binding by the excavators. The lengths of narrow U-shaped binding measured c. 5–6mm (1/4in) in width, a single fragment was 9mm width. Fragments of similar binding (**175.2**), 7mm in width, were also found in redeposited pyre debris. Surviving shields of third-century date from Dura comprise a series of wooden boards between 8–12mm in thickness, glued edge to edge (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 149). On this evidence the majority of the small fragments of binding found at Brougham might be considered rather narrow to bind the edge of a shield so that the identification as shield binding may only be tentatively suggested.

Two narrow hinge plates (**145.1**) of copper-alloy sheet possibly from *lorica segmentata* were recovered from a Phase 2 deposit interpreted as an unurned cremation and/or redeposited pyre debris. A wider hinge or buckle plate was found unstratified. It is interesting to note here that a similar ‘hinge plate’ was used to secure a small ‘swing-handle’ to the body of a large basin with a vertical wall and an everted rim recovered from the Neuss-Novaesium (Simpson 2000, 141, pl. 15, 8).

The only weapon that could be identified was a barbed-and-tanged arrowhead (**307.2** – Phase 3b). It is one of the less common types of arrowhead (Manning 1985, 177, type 1), and within military contexts of the second to third century the tanged trilobate form is more often found (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 139). It is, therefore, open to question whether this arrowhead is an item of military equipment in the strict sense. It could have been a non-military hunting weapon. It does not appear to have been burnt and was probably placed separately in the burial. Arrowheads are uncommon in Romano-British burials – a single example was found at Lankhills in a child’s grave (grave 378) associated with coins dating after c. A.D. 390 (Clarke 1979, 369).

Where human bone was present and could be aged, certain items of military equipment were associated with adults. The probable scabbard chape **20.3**, the possible belt-plate **177.1**, the possible *lorica segmentata* hinge plates **145.1**, the possible baldric fitting **273.3** and the arrowhead **307.2** were associated with males, but the two scabbard slides (**194.3** and **303.9**) were associated with female remains as were **82.1**, **298.1** and **303.4**. If the sex identification is correct, this would be a most unexpected association, but then to find military equipment such as this in several deposits is most unusual. In his survey of grave furnishings, Philpott (1991, 187) could only point to three burials within the Roman period prior to the fourth century where the deceased had been buried with fittings suggestive of belts, and only one where weapons were also included, and that had all the hallmarks of not being an interment marked by normal funeral rites.

## OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The only explicitly religious item in the assemblage is the pipeclay figurine of Venus (**106.11**). It seems very likely, given the discolouration observed, that this piece had been on the pyre. Certainly the other material in the Phase 3b context it was found in has all the hallmarks of being redeposited pyre debris. A survey of the literature initially seemed to suggest this would be unusual. Pipeclay figurines have been noted with a number of cremation burials within Britain (see for example Alcock 1981, 50, 53), and the assumption is generally made that these were grave goods in the same way as the ones with inhumations were. In some cases the positioning and the state of the figurines suggest that this is indeed the case (Taylor 1997). In



other cases, however, this may not have been so. The bust, possibly of Faustina I, that was found with a mid to late second-century cremation burial at Skeleton Green was in fragments and had a surface that was described as 'badly flaked' (Jenkins 1981). In my experience pipeclay figurines tend not to suffer from surface degradation like this under normal burial conditions, but such a condition might have resulted if it had been placed on or near the pyre. At Canterbury a *Dea Nutrix* figurine found in fragments inside an urn with the cremated bones has been interpreted as ritually smashed prior to deposition (Jenkins 1957, 41), and it has been suggested that this was to free the life-spirit of the object to accompany the deceased (Alcock 1981, 51). While this may have been the motivating force, it is tempting to wonder whether given its association with the cremated bone, the fragmentation came about from the more prosaic reason that it had been on the pyre.

Other cases where it is likely that figurines had been on the pyre can also be cited. Fragments of several figurines showing evidence of burning were recovered during the excavations of the East London cemetery (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 262–3) including part of a Venus figurine. It is also possible that at least some of the figures from what is probably the most famous grave in Britain with figurines, that of the mid first-century Childs Grave at Colchester, were also pyre goods. A reconsideration of the grave (Eckardt 1999) pointed out the damaged state of various pieces when found. Discolouration is also remarked on in the case of several of the figurines, including on the damaged pieces (*ibid*, nos 3/1129, 5/1130, 6/1132, 11/1126). Thus though the practice of placing figurines on the pyre does not appear to have been considered before, it may well have occurred and the burning of the Brougham figurine may not have been an unusual practice.

What is unusual about the figurine is that it appears to have been made in the Rhineland rather than in the Central Gaulish area. By far the majority of figurines in Britain come from the latter area and Rhenish figurines are rare outside of the south east (*cf.* Schauerte 1985, 31, fig. 1, 34, fig. 3). This figurine is thus another example of the strong connections with the Rhineland demonstrated by the pottery (see p. 338).

It is possible that 71.1 represents another figurine that may have been placed on the pyre. It is a fragment from the corner of a cast item that could be interpreted as the base of a figurine. It was found with a Phase 3 urned cremation of an adult.

The small bell (171.5) found in a Phase 1 urned cremation burial of an infant may have been a grave good as opposed to a pyre good as it does not show any signs of burning. It was placed with the cremated bones inside the urn that was in turn lidded. Whilst the inclusion of the bell may represent nothing more than the inclusion of a nursery decoration, the role of bells in antiquity to ward off evil spirits is well attested (Johns 1982, 67–70) and it is as probable that it was provided to give protection to the child in its journey to the afterlife.

Bells are not uncommon as site finds (see for discussion Manning *et al.* 1995, 55), but they are rarely found in graves in Roman Britain (Philpott 1991, 163), and where they do they tend to be in fourth-century graves. An early example is in a cremation burial of a child at the St Pancras cemetery in Chichester (Down and Rule 1971, 91, no. 11.C). The associations of the two found in the fourth-century Butt Road cemetery at Colchester (Crummy 1983, 51, nos 1808 and 1811) are of some interest. One was found with a ten-year-old child (Crummy *et al.* 1993, 137, table 2.52, no. G1). The skeleton in the other grave did not survive but the narrowness of the coffin suggested it too was of a child. The bell was found amongst a group of items that seemed to have amuletic significance (*ibid*, 41). A small bell was also found in the fourth-century grave of an adult female at St Bartholomew's Hospital, London (Bentley and Pritchard 1982, 149, fig. 20, ix). There does, therefore, seem to be an association between bells as grave goods and children in Roman Britain. This association can also be seen elsewhere in the Empire. Numerous bells, for example, have been found in the Roman catacombs associated with children's graves (Nuzzo 2000, 252), and small bells were also found in two cremation burials of children at Apt Vacluse (Dumoulin 1964, 106, no. 33.i, 107, no. 34.g). Perhaps it came about because the children were thought to be in need of some special protection in the afterlife, or they may be a reflection of the custom of depositing *crepundia* (amulets that rattle) in the burials of unmarried girls (Martin-Kilcher 2000, 67).

Again, in the light of the similarities of some of the jewellery with that worn in the Danubian lands, it is of interest to note that small iron and bronze bells are not uncommon grave goods in second to third-century cemeteries both within the Empire as at Regensburg (von Schnurbein 1977) and in the Sarmatian cemeteries of the *Barbaricum* (Vaday 1985, 371).

## MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

Amongst the finds there are also a number of items for which no precise function can be suggested with confidence, and these are discussed here.

### THE MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS OF METAL

By Quita Mould

Fragments of an annular iron ring decorated by a pair of spirally wound bands of copper alloy (**181.3**) were found in with other pyre goods and finds, including the twisted bracelet **181.4**, with a Phase 2 urned cremation burial of an older infant.

The fragments are difficult to interpret. A single pierced terminal remains, the other terminal is missing, but is likely to have been hooked. The use of the ring is uncertain. The decorative spiral inlay of copper alloy suggests it was ornamental as well as functional. An iron ring similarly decorated was found in an early military context of A.D. 50–70 at Wroxeter (unpublished) and in a context dating to A.D. 100–160 at Catterick (Mould 2002, 97, no. 210). The possible military association suggests a potential use as a decorative item of military equipment, perhaps used to suspend a weapon scabbard for example. Alternatively, it may have been a penannular brooch or possibly a large annular earring, hair ornament or necklace fitting. This same decorative technique of spirally-bound, non-ferrous strips wrapped around an iron core can also be seen on a group of rings from a necklace found in an Anglo-Saxon cremation (grave 2376) along with a pair of saucer brooches with chip-carved decoration at Spong Hill. In this instance, silver wire had been wound around an iron core with two slightly larger loops of the wire serving for suspension (Hills *et al.* 1987, 41, fig. 125). These necklace ornaments, though of much later date, provide evidence for another possible use for the Brougham example and the continuance of this particular decorative tradition.

A copper-alloy spiral (**272.3**) was recovered from an unphased pyre debris deposit, and one of silver (**270.1**) came from a Phase 3 pyre debris deposit. While these might be brooch springs they might have come from a necklace. Five silver bucket pendants and five of copper alloy from a rich woman's grave of third or fourth-century date from Skyttesmarksvej, Denmark, were associated with glass and amber beads, spirals of silver and copper-alloy wire, a pin and a silver-gilt swastika-shaped brooch (Meaney 1981, 166–8).

A large fragment of sheet lead apparently from a rectangular *ossarium* was recovered from the pyre debris deposit **217**. The sheet fragment (**217.7**), measuring 360 × 255mm and 4–6mm thick, appears to have been nailed along one edge, the corners of which are folded in order to join the base and sides. It should also be noted that a fragment of another lead casket salvaged from the road building works was donated to Tullie House Museum many years later (Richardson 1998, 23; see also p. 10)

A length of lead sheet tightly rolled into a double-walled cylinder was found unstratified in the vicinity of **F42**. Pipes were used to allow the pouring of libations or other offerings from the surface directly into the burial and while the lead sheet may be scrap it could have been used for this purpose.

A rectangular fragment of lead sheet was also found unstratified, while fragments of lead solidified from the molten state were found in **213** and **303**, in both cases associated with female remains.

## THE MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS OF BONE, ANTLER AND IVORY

By S. J. Greep

Rings with turned decorative exterior grooves were recovered from a Phase 2 urned cremation burial (70.4), a Phase 3b urned cremation burial (307.12) and in an unphased deposit of pyre debris (130.4). In all cases the associated bone was that of an adult, and in the case of 307.12 it was that of a male. It is possible that some may have functioned as finger rings since the use of bone finger rings is recorded in funerary contexts elsewhere (Mertens and van Impe 1971, pl. lix, 8). Those pieces interpreted as finger rings, however, are usually of plainer design than the Brougham pieces. Groove-decorated rings have been recorded at British sites previously (e.g. Greep 1986, 207, no. 6, fig. 73) though in no case in such a position as to indicate their true function.

Four antler 'cylinders' were recovered, three of which were ornamented with V-shaped lines (264.2, 266.4 and 286.6), and one (240.3) with decoration similar to that seen on the majority of type F veneer (see p. 282). These pieces are not veneer because they are much too thick and their sections are heavily rounded (i.e. when complete they were cylindrical not rectangular or D-shaped in section) and they are not handles because they appear solid in cross-section. All were found in Phase 1 or 2 deposits with the cremated bone of adults, which in one case (286.6) was that of a female.

A Phase 2 urned cremation burial of an adult male produced two fragments of square-sectioned rods of bone, one of which was complete, 60mm in length (102.9). Along one edge of these rods a deep slot had been cut. Four square-sectioned rods of ivory were found in a grave at York (*RCHM York*, 82, burial IV (c) iv) and have been identified as parasol ribs, but these appear to have been much larger than our pieces whose function must remain uncertain. Fragments of rectangular-sectioned rod were also found amongst the cremated bone in a Phase 2 urned burial (238.2) and an unphased unurned burial (280.5). Bone strips were also present in a Phase 2 deposit of pyre debris (278.4) and the Phase 3b urned cremation burial of an adult male (307.10).

Burnt ivory could be recognised in nine deposits<sup>4</sup> as associated mainly with the bones of adults but also with one juvenile aged 5 to 15 and apparently with one infant (see TABLE 9.8). The occurrence of ivory in the infant grave (95) cannot now be proven as the fragment is missing from the archive and known only from the original records. All the ivory had been burnt and split into small curving strips. It clearly derived from objects placed on the pyre but it is not now possible to determine what they had been. Ivories are rare in Roman Britain, only about 60 pieces having been previously recorded. Their presence at Brougham however should occasion little surprise since those ivories which are known occur throughout the period and are found on civil and military sites alike.

## SHALE

By Quita Mould

The presence of fragments of shale was noted by the excavators in 69, a deposit of pots or a 'memorial' of Phase 2. The shale fragments may come from an armlet, beads, pendant or possibly a turned vessel. The absence of bone pins from the cemetery makes it unlikely that

TABLE 9.8: OCCURRENCE OF IVORY WITH HUMAN REMAINS

Age/sex	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 3b	Total
Adult	—	1	—	—	1
Adult female	1	—	1	—	2
Adult male	—	1	1	1	3
Infant	—	1	—	—	1
Juvenile	1	—	—	—	1
Uncertain	—	1	—	—	1
Total	2	4	2	1	9

the fragments come from a hair pin or pins. It should be noted that the term 'shale' used here is the term used by the original excavators, no analysis has been undertaken and it is not known whether the material is shale, jet or other black, shiny material.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Deposits with glass beads:

6     76     77     96     106     114     135     141     152     164     170     181     196     213     237     253  
257   269   270   281   282.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this interesting observation to an anonymous referee to whom I extend thanks.

<sup>3</sup> Deposits with hobnails:

3     6     17     18     20     22     38     49     52     54     75     76     77     78     90     91  
96   102   105   106   122   128   135   145   151   180   198   204   215   221   223   224  
225   234   236   237   239   243   244   245   247   253   269   270   272   273   277   279  
280   286   293   298   299   300   301   307.

<sup>4</sup> Deposits with ivory:

20     95     102     153     236     299     303     308     310.