





CHAPTER 8

URBAN EXITS: COMMERCIAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF DEATH RITUALS AND THE DEAD IN THE TOWNS OF ROMAN BRITAIN

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INTRODUCTION

Since 1990 more than 4,000 burials have been excavated from Roman towns in Britain under the PPG 16 framework and its successors. When added to more than *c.* 7,000 from the preceding three decades, the last half century's work endows Britain with one of the richest urban burial datasets of any Roman province. This recent achievement is not to be measured in numbers alone, but also in the potential for significantly improved understanding of ancient demography, ritual process and urban social structure, a marked contrast with the characterisation of Roman funerary archaeology in the period preceding PPG 16 as an under-developed and insular field of enquiry (Morris 1992; Reece 1982; 1988, 187). This development is a product of new data, both from cemeteries excavated since 1990 and from key sites investigated in the preceding period, and of transformations in the wider research environment for funerary archaeology.

'Urban' burials can only be fuzzily defined. The inner edge of the urban margins where burial takes place may be defined by town walls, but otherwise this zone where burials intersperse with public buildings, domestic occupation, craft and quarrying, farming and rubbish disposal shades off gradually and discontinuously into a wider hinterland (Goodman 2007; Willis 2007). Those burials considered here are typically located within a kilometre or so of urban boundaries; on occasion examples are drawn from the more extended urban periphery. The main focus lies on the major towns of Roman Britain (the colonies, *municipium* at Verulamium and *civitas* capitals), including their military phases; comparable sites are served to varying degrees by other syntheses, evidence from the two legionary fortresses, Caerleon and Chester, being more recently summarised than the major small towns (Pollock 2006). Of those other towns which may have played the role of *civitas* capital in the late Roman period, only Water Newton has produced significant new funerary evidence in the review period (Casa-Hatton and Wall 2006).

In this period excavation of tombs has yielded some of the most evocative Roman objects discovered in recent years, for example the jet bears and polychrome cockerel figurine buried with children at Colchester and Cirencester respectively (FIG. 8), the mosaic glass bowl from Prescott Street, London, or the carved eagle from the Minories near by (FIG. 7), an extraordinary funerary sculpture. Likewise some skeletal groups, for example victims of martial or judicial violence from York, or (perhaps) of plague from Gloucester, vividly illuminate the precarious and brutal character of the period. Space precludes close attention to these, but in any case such a focus would risk falling foul of the criticism that funerary archaeology of the Classical period attends more to the exceptional than the typical (Morris 1992). After a general characterisation of the new data, the burial evidence is briefly put in its wider urban historical context (other papers more extensively review suburban topography). Settlements with nucleated populations of permanent residents numbering several thousand had not, with occasional exceptions,

previously been seen in Britain and may have been characterised by demographic, cultural and socio-economic dynamics in general lacking precedents in British prehistory. Using the evidence for ritual process and from osteological and biomolecular study, the discussion will highlight key questions and challenges in understanding their socio-economic, cultural and demographic history from recent cemetery excavations.

FIELDWORK ON URBAN CEMETERIES: BURIALS AND THEIR SETTING

The variable dissemination of fieldwork results makes precise quantification of the number of urban burials excavated since 1990 impossible. No single source, for example the annual catalogues of work by the Archaeological Investigations Project (AIP), fieldwork reports in the journal *Britannia* or references in local government Historic Environment Records (HERs), is complete, all having varying criteria for inclusion and uneven participation in their compilation. Nonetheless an outline may be given of the new excavation data, using references to Roman period cemetery excavations in *Britannia*. This may exaggerate the significance of projects for which activity takes place in several stages, for instance at Hungate, York, or where multiple discrete projects sample the same burial area in (near-)adjacent developments, for instance in Moorfields and Finsbury Circus, north London. However, its inclusion of reports on most key projects allows general trends to be documented.

The frequency of excavation over time follows general trends in fieldwork on sites of Roman and other periods, larger numbers of projects being undertaken from the mid-1990s with a significant decrease after 2006–7 (FIG. 1) (see also Booth and Boyle 2008). London, Colchester and, to a lesser extent, York, Canterbury, Gloucester and Leicester, have seen significantly greater levels of work than other sites, reflecting the general variability in fieldwork activity in suburban areas of Roman towns (i.e. on the margins of the historic centres of English cities), as quantified by number of reports submitted to the AIP (FIG. 2). In most cases the numbers of burials are small, either because of the limited extent of excavation or disturbance and truncation of strata of Roman date; fieldwork at Lankhills, Winchester (see Ch. 5, Fig. 12) and south of Colchester (FIGS 3 and 4) is unusual in its examination of more extensive areas with lesser damage of this type. Although the precise number of excavated graves is likely to be modified by final

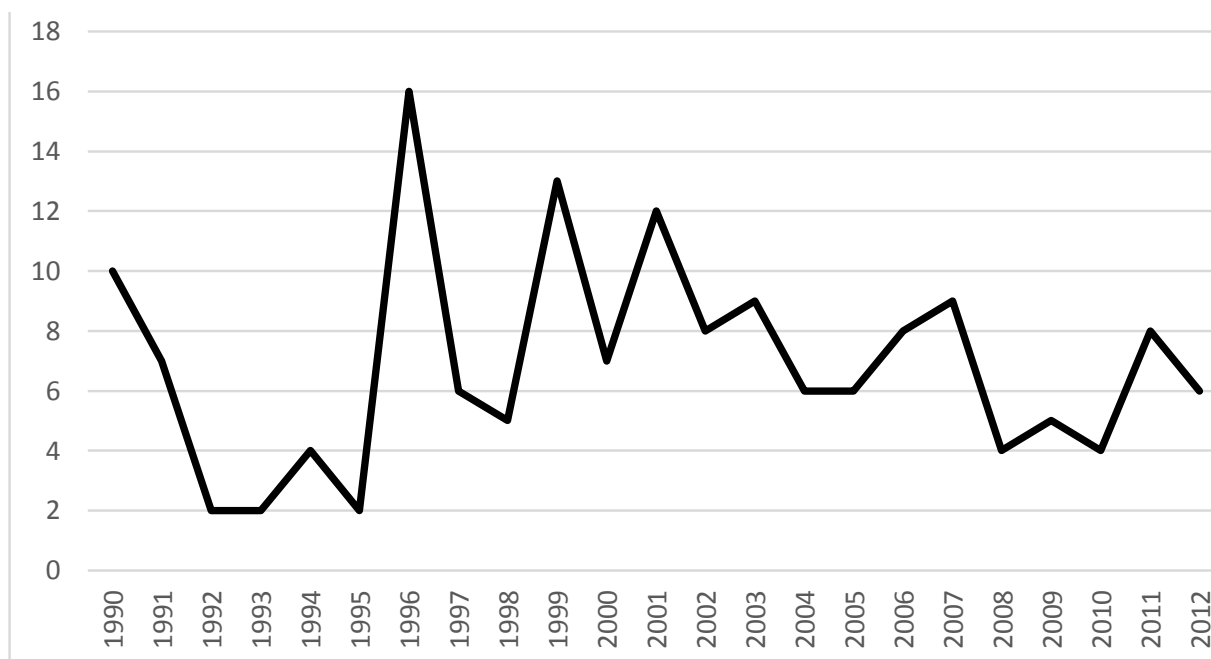


FIG. 1. Number of investigations of (extramural) burials, *Britannia* fieldwork reports 1990–2012 (isolated infant burials are excluded).

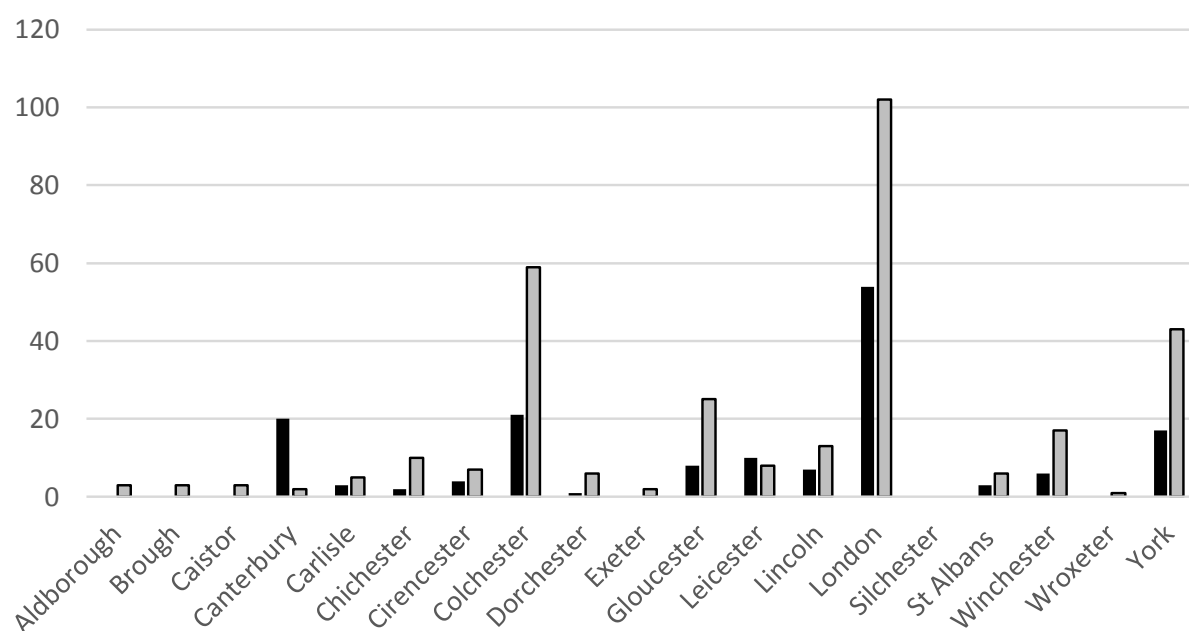


FIG. 2. Number of excavations of burials (black) from Roman towns in Britain, *Britannia* fieldwork reports 1990–2012, and number of investigations within 1 km of walled area (grey), as reported to the AIP 1990–2012 (see Appendix, Table 1).

publication, most of the larger fieldwork projects have also taken place in these cities as well as in Cirencester, reinforcing existing biases in the distribution of burial data (Appendix, Table 1). Of all the projects tabulated a minority has so far been fully published in print, although substantial digital resources are available in some other cases, especially from Colchester.

Two related matters are of potentially greater significance than speed of dissemination, the fragmentation of analysis and the challenge to print publication. Colchester is somewhat exceptional in the responsibility of a single contractor for almost all recent excavations considered: elsewhere burial areas have usually been investigated by multiple contractors, especially at London and York. The most obvious example of fragmentation is for only one of adjacent excavations to have so far been published, for example at Lankhills, Winchester (Booth *et al.* 2010). Where burial areas are sampled intermittently and on a small scale, the results may be thought to be of limited value and not taken beyond assessment-level analysis or remain unpublished. In such cases the integrated study of what may, cumulatively, be a substantial resource, will depend on research grants and/or exploitation by doctoral students as thesis material, for example for recent samples from the Railway Station cemetery at York (McIntyre in prep.), assuming that access is not compromised where a licence has stipulated reburial of human skeletal material (Parker Pearson *et al.* 2013). Notwithstanding the existence of guidelines on recording (Brickley and McKinley 2004), this fragmentation also risks amplifying the diversity of modes of publication of human skeletal material from the same cemetery populations, a persistent problem in the synthetic study of ancient populations. Even for small numbers of burials, good survival of evidence for ritual process and its setting allied to the expanding range of analytical techniques create publications which barely fit between two covers (e.g. Niblett 1999; Crummy *et al.* 2007). In particular, it is impossible for print publication to disseminate the skeletal data compiled during post-excavation analysis, although these are essential for detailed comparison between cemetery populations. Large-scale manipulation of skeletal and other data is only possible, realistically, where disseminated digitally, but there has been limited exploration of digital publication of cemetery data in formats more susceptible to manipulation than texts and tables presented as PDFs (Pearce 2013b, 471–2). As well as some non-urban projects disseminated through the Archaeology Data Service (e.g. Foreman 2009), other exceptions which facilitate demographic



FIG. 3. Plan of excavation area J1 North (Colchester Garrison Alienated Land), showing roadside ditches and a burial space used mainly from the first to third centuries A.D. (© Colchester Archaeological Trust)



FIG. 4. Plan of excavation area C2 (Colchester Garrison Alienated Land), showing burials of mainly late Roman date, barrow ring ditches and a mausoleum, south of the circus. (© Colchester Archaeological Trust)

syntheses based on human skeletal material include examples from London, the Wellcome Trust-sponsored WORD database, and Rome, where an Access-based database is shared between a network of scholars, enabling large-scale comparison of samples (Minozzi and Zabotti 2008; Redfern and Bekvalac 2013, 87–8). Outside an institutional framework such repositories raise perennial questions related to their long-term preservation and accessibility.

This evidence from recent fieldwork may be briefly set within a spatial and historical context.

Burials or monuments confidently dated to the pre-Flavian period are rare occurrences among the new data, as they are in general (e.g. Gascoyne and Radford 2013; Orr 2010; Simmonds *et al.* 2008). Most significant for the study of urban foundations is the discovery of major funerary complexes dated to the conquest period. The scale and complexity of rituals documented at Folly Lane, St Albans, and Stanway, Colchester, involving the destruction of feasting gear, weaponry and regalia, suggest a political role for the funeral, perhaps orchestrated by the successors of dynasts attested on Late Iron Age coins. The size and setting of the associated complexes make them major elements of the monumentalised space of the new urban communities (Creighton 2006; Crummy *et al.* 2007; Fulford, above, Ch. 5; Haüssler 2010; Niblett 1999).

Recent fieldwork shows the configuration of burial space for the common dead to be closely tied to the structuring elements of suburban landscapes — roads and field boundaries, ditches and streams (see also other contributions) — an impression amplified by prospection at Silchester (J. Creighton pers. comm.) and Cirencester (Chapman *et al.* 2009, 267–9; Holbrook 2008a; Pearce 2013a; Winton 2009). Burials vary in numbers from small groups in ‘backlands’ of houses to the ‘fields of the dead’ of Late Antiquity (Esmonde Cleary 2000). The clustering of first- and second-century burials along roadsides has been documented in the review period from Carlisle, Cirencester, London and especially Colchester, where some burials in the circus environs occur in a strip of land on the margins of a route leading south from the crossroads south-west of the Balcerne Gate (FIG. 3). At Colchester this same crossroads endures as a focus for funerary monuments into the late Roman period (Brooks 2006). Southwark supplies the main recent evidence of monumentalised *Gräberstrassen*, where tombs were built in walled enclosures running parallel to Watling Street (Mackinder 2000; Thrall 2008). Likely funerary enclosures have also been detected close to the course of the Fosse Way west and east of Cirencester. Although badly truncated by the construction of a garage in the 1960s, the excavation of one such enclosure at the Bridges Garage site revealed a high density of inhumation and cremation burials dating from c. A.D. 100 to the later fourth century, as well as the robber trenches of a possible mausoleum within it (FIG. 5) (Holbrook *et al.* 2013; McSloy and Watts 2013; Winton 2009).

In excavations prior to and since 1990 inhumation burials of late Roman date outnumber those of the early to middle Empire. The multiplicity of factors responsible makes this an unreliable index for changing urban population size; the most that can be said is that it suggests the continuing role of towns as social and ceremonial centres in the third and fourth centuries A.D. (cf. Mattingly 2006, 343; Millett 1990, 142; Pearce 2013a, 126–8). While cemeteries often extend much further from the roads and overlie boundaries of earlier date, the enduring influence of these other elements of peri-urban landscapes is visible in the orientation of graves, whether on similar or multiple alignments, illustrated respectively at Leicester, Canterbury and Winchester and at London Road, Gloucester, Colchester (e.g. areas J1 north and C2), north of London and Southwark (Appendix, Table 1 for references) (FIGS 3, 4 and 6). Within the late Roman period limited dating evidence hinders an evaluation of changing burial numbers over time. Stratified relationships between burials are generally uncommon and closely datable objects often absent; some artefact assemblages comprise almost entirely residual pottery from activity predating burial, for example at Houndsditch, London, or south-east of Leicester (Cooper 1996; Derrick 2009; Sankey and Connell 2007). Even where more generous furnishing exists, many artefact types cannot be more closely dated than to the nearest half century and deposition in burials of coins minted in the later fourth century A.D. is less frequent than for earlier periods, albeit with local variability (Philpott 1991, 210–12; Booth *et al.* 2010, 261–6). The application of radiocarbon dating has illuminated the chronology of inhumation as a burial practice (see below), but in contrast to rural and small town cemeteries radiocarbon dating has been applied to urban cemeteries on a very limited basis; in one major exception the dates obtained were incompatible with other evidence, suggesting a possible effect of marine consumption on the isotopic characteristics used in dating (Booth *et al.* 2010, 458–9).

Key changes in the relationship between living and dead mapped elsewhere for Late Antiquity have a limited echo in Britain, which remains impoverished in its evidence for extramural churches; neither in research excavations at St Albans Abbey nor elsewhere has substantial new evidence been acquired for martyrial shrines (Biddle and Kjølby-Biddle 2001; Schmidt 2000).

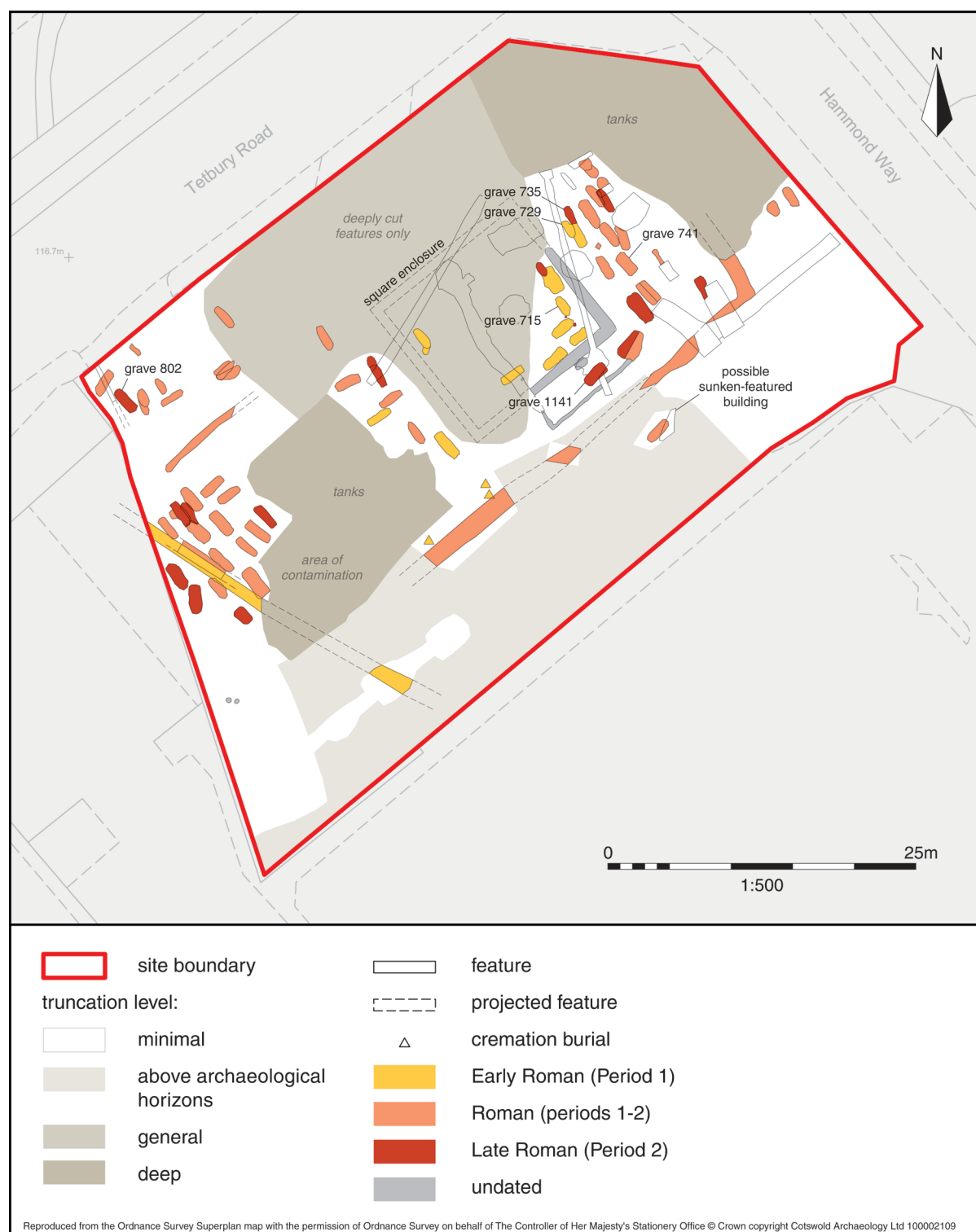


FIG. 5. Plan of the Bridges Garage site, Tetbury Road, Cirencester, excavated in 2013, showing cremation and inhumation burials as well as robber trenches related to foundations of a possible mausoleum within a ditched enclosure. The orientation of burial features suggests that Tetbury Road, immediately north-west, may overlie a Roman road which represents the earliest course of the Fosse Way which later moved to the south. (© *Cotswold Archaeology*)



Some further evidence has accumulated for encroachment of burial on (sometimes intramural) occupied areas, for example in West London and in Southwark (Bateman *et al.* 2008, 93; Cowan *et al.* 2009, 33, 36–7; Perring, this volume, Ch. 3; Watson 2006, 64–8). In general, however, evidence is limited for this signature motif of the ‘de-structuring’ of the classical city associated with changing land use, population decline and the toleration of the closer proximity of the buried corpse associated with Christianity (Leone 2007; Rogers 2011, 170–4).

BURIAL RITUALS

Although only some results of excavations in the survey period are in the public domain, our understanding of burial ritual has been significantly enriched. A richer and more complex characterisation of burial practice can be given, both in relation to the variety of burial practices observed and to the reconstruction of ritual process, especially with regard to cremation burials. In this respect, as in other aspects of ritual behaviour, the greater ability to establish ‘archaeologies of acts rather than just things’ (Chadwick 2012, 303) puts the description of provincial mortuary rituals on a stronger basis than might be provided by extrapolation from the problematic textual references from Rome (Scheid 2005, 161–88). Save for a small number of exceptional items, the objects buried with the dead mainly fall into the repertoire exhaustively documented by Philpott (1991); it is in their association with aspects of social identity that new insights have been derived. The larger sample of burials with osteological documentation and biomolecular analysis allows closer comparison of ritual, both grave good deposition and other aspects, with age, sex, geographical origin, diet and health.

A simple narrative of cremation as the dominant ritual, in towns and beyond, until replaced by inhumation in the third century A.D. must be set aside; inhumation can be confidently identified as a widespread ritual in the early Roman period. Poverty of dating information makes it difficult to assess its significance but substantial numbers of early inhumation burials are documented at several urban cemeteries listed in Appendix, Table 1, including Southwark, London Road, Gloucester, and the Colchester Garrison site among the published examples. These inhumations take varied forms, occasionally crouched, as at London Road, Gloucester, more commonly extended and supine, and sometimes subject to secondary rituals (see below). The frequency of inhumation in the early Roman period echoes other recent findings in the Western provinces and at Rome, where it accounts for many modest burials of early to mid-Imperial date (Faber *et al.* 2004; Buccellato *et al.* 2008). Conversely, late Roman cremation burials of diverse forms, including *busta*, occur in small numbers in the majority of late Roman cemeteries listed in Appendix, Table 1, undermining explanations of their presence as an isolated archaism (cf. Philpott 1991, 50–2).

The complexity of cemeteries as depositional environments is increasingly apparent. Research agendas for cemeteries typically focus on expanding the size and diversity of grave samples, but the grave is only one of a number of features containing the residue of funerary ritual. Recent fieldwork in Colchester’s cemeteries has been especially productive of other burial-related features such as pyre pits, *busta*, pyre debris deposits, and assemblages related to commemorative feasting, all of which significantly enrich an understanding of ritual process (Brooks 2006; Orr 2010; McKinley 2013; Pooley *et al.* 2011). Similar deposits have been documented elsewhere (e.g. Holbrook *et al.* 2008, 109–31; Mackinder 2000; Passmore 2013; Thrale 2008; Simmonds *et al.* 2008, 136–7; Zant *et al.* 2011, 103–4). ‘Structured’ or ‘placed’ deposits of whole objects are a recurring characteristic of burial areas, only some of which can be plausibly interpreted as cenotaphs (Cool 2011; Simmonds *et al.* 2008, 137–8). The frequent discovery in London’s cemeteries of horses and dogs, sometimes in pits or shafts dug for the purpose, sometimes in boundary ditches, illustrates the wider deposition of whole and part animal carcasses (Hiller and Wilkinson 2005, 47–9; Maltby 2010, 302). These deposits raise recurring issues of interpretation, both to identify the phase of ritual to which a deposit is linked and to distinguish the residues of ritual from those of profane activities, including rubbish dumping, quarrying, craft-working or crop-processing, often taking place in or close to cemeteries (Barber and Bowsher 2000; McWhirr *et al.* 1982; Ottaway *et al.* 2012; see other contributions in this volume). One key source for reconstructing behaviour in burial areas, the cemetery surface, is little represented in recent fieldwork, meaning for example that unburied residues of pyre debris or commemorative activity are lacking. Although typically truncated, the deposits recorded in East London and over late Roman graves at St Albans Abbey exemplify the potential for such contexts sometimes to survive (Barber and Bowsher 2000; Biddle and Kjølby-Biddle 2001). A focus on the grave at the expense of other features, prompting the machining of overlying layers, may have a deleterious effect here (Weekes 2007).

Understanding of cremation rituals has perhaps benefited most from investigation of these diverse deposit types, in conjunction with analyses of burnt human skeletal material, animal and plant remains. The examination of the deposit of burnt and broken material placed in a small pit on the edge of a likely mortuary chamber at Folly Lane, St Albans, is a torchbearer for the insights potentially to be derived from pyre residues (Niblett 1999, 56–64). Cremation processes and rituals of more common character are also now much better, if patchily, attested. Newly documented evidence for cremation fuels comprises non-arboreal plant remains, including common weeds of grassland and disturbed ground, cereal plants derived from kindling and plant communities on pyre margins. Among fuel woods oak is the most frequently attested, with occasional variation (e.g. Challinor in Booth *et al.* 2010, 441–3; Pooley *et al.* 2011, *passim*). The white or near-white colour of the majority of cremated human bone samples indicates com-bustion at a temperature over 700° C with near-complete burning away of soft tissue (e.g. Marquez Grant in Simmonds *et al.* 2008, 77–8). A slightly greater degree of colour variability in Romano-British assemblages than those of other periods may indicate limitations on fuel (McKinley in Cool 2004, 293–5; Birbeck and Moore 2004, 101). As for the presentation of the dead on the pyre, Colchester again supplies likely representative examples. A nailed wooden bier may have borne some individuals to the flames, but reused timber as pyre fuel and wooden boxes placed with the dead may also account for some nails found with pyre residue. The presence of hobnails from footwear and staining of cremated bone or burnt or broken dress items, for example brooches or hairpins, suggest the dressing of the corpse in some cases. Joints of meat are otherwise the most frequently attested items burnt with the dead. Fragments of pots and, less commonly, molten glass, usually from unguentaria, are also a recurring accompaniment (Brooks *et al.* 2007; Pooley *et al.* 2011).

Some ceremonies are marked by more extensive destruction of objects and commodities. At Colchester, for example, the burnt and broken artefact assemblage associated with CRNG8, a late first- or early second-century *bustum*, comprised at least seven ceramic vessels, unguent bottles, two ivory distaffs and fittings from a wooden box, as well as a coin, hobnails and nails (Pooley *et al.* 2011, 1142–6). Other assemblages reveal an abundance of plant and animal material as the residue of sacrifice or consumption, for example the stone pine, figs, almond, date and cereals as well as chicken bones from a *bustum* in Southwark, or whole pigs from single cremation graves at Gloucester (Mackinder 2000; Worley in Simmonds *et al.* 2008, 121–2). An assemblage of Flavian date from a roadside enclosure at Old Tetbury Road, Cirencester illustrates the dining material used in richer ceremonies, comprising ceramics dominated by continental finewares, including South Gaulish samian, and sherds from at least two amphorae, as well as oak and lime charcoal, animal bone, many nails and heat-damaged and molten glass and copper alloy (Holbrook *et al.* 2008, 109–31).

Inhumation burials occasionally preserve evidence for feasting of this type; for example, the fills of unfurnished graves from the corner of a nearby funerary enclosure on the Fosse Way contain amphorae, tazze and flagons from rituals associated with burial (Holbrook *et al.* 2013; McSloy and Watts 2013). In other respects, too, publication of pre-PPG 16 projects and recent fieldwork have patchily enhanced understanding of ritual process. Exceptional preservation of textiles, such as gold thread-embroidered silk or wool dyed with Tyrian purple, reveals significant investment in burial ritual, though even in these instances it is difficult to determine whether individuals were buried dressed or shrouded (Davies *et al.* 2002, 133–5; Swain and Roberts 2001). Where more typical evidence survives, such as textile remains preserved in plaster impression or mineral replacement, footwear, dress ornaments or the configuration of limbs, it is rarely possible to be conclusive (Booth *et al.* 2010, 474–6; Pearce 2013b, 450–1). Closer documentation of skeletal articulations during excavation may offer greater future insights into the decay process and, inferentially, into the original burial form and its lost perishable elements (Duday 2009).

Oak coffins, the commonest containers for the dead, have been shown to take quite diverse forms. The most common are of simple nailed construction, but the range spans from re-used boxes and hollowed logs to massive coffins with boards up to 75 mm thick and substantial metal fittings (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 92–5; Booth *et al.* 2010, 320–31; Ridgeway 2009, 10; Crummy *et al.* 1993, 210–11; Farwell and Molleson 1993, 114–27; Watson 2003, 33–4).

Stone coffins and lead liners were reserved for exceptional burials; in excavations in London since the 1980s, for example, only two and three complete examples respectively have been documented (Barber and Bowsher 2000; Russell 2010; Thomas 2004). They are similarly scarce from cemeteries at other cities, though in Leicester's cemeteries slab-lined graves are unusually common (Cooper 1996; Derrick 2009). Further analyses of the white mineral in 'plaster burials' have shown its diversity; gypsum is uncommon and in London calcium carbonate in the form of marine chalk is clearly the preferred material (e.g. Barber and Bowsher 2000, 101–3; Mackinder 2000, 29; Sparey-Green 2003). Emerging evidence for the associated use of diverse aromatic resins to anoint or preserve the corpse connects Britain to a wider imperial elite practice and has significant implications for resources expended in burial ceremonies (Brettell *et al.* in prep.).

New fieldwork has produced many examples of decapitated corpses (Boylston *et al.* 2000; Taylor 2008). From examination of the exceptional burials at Driffild Terrace, York and re-assessment of other samples, Tucker (in Hunter-Mann 2006; in Ottaway *et al.* 2012, 240–2) argues that many such individuals were executed rather than decapitated after death. In other cases, however, ante-mortem decapitation is unlikely (McKinley and Dinwiddy 2009; Booth *et al.* 2010, 480). The post-mortem rite is sometimes attributed to the 'deviant' status of the living or the inauspicious circumstances of their death, but Crerar's (2013) analysis reveals that rituals associated with decapitated burials were otherwise little different from local norms. Prone burials more commonly exhibit limited care (e.g. Simmonds *et al.* 2008, 21–2).

Secondary rituals associated with inhumation burials are also revealed in recent work, most commonly the occasional re-deposition of major skeletal elements from a single individual (Booth *et al.* 2010, 37–8; Simmonds *et al.* 2008, 24; Pearce 2013b, 461–2). On Roman London's northern margins evidence for burial disturbance is exceptional in its scale and form. Here numerous single bones, sometimes gnawed, found in and close to the bed of Walbrook tributaries, as well as burial location on stream banks, suggest deliberate placing of the dead so as to be susceptible to water erosion. While this choice of burial site may be attributed to cultural factors, the poverty of the burying community, exploiting a marginal landscape, may also apply (Butler 2006, 38–44; Perring this volume, Ch. 3).

Single skeletal elements are also documented sporadically outside funerary contexts, mostly in 'structured deposits' in sanctuaries and elsewhere (e.g. Beasley 2007; Birbeck 2009, 107; Connor and Buckley 1999, 365; Fulford 2001; Niblett 1999, 86–7). However context, pathology and taphonomy suggest skulls deposited in pits by the Upper Walbrook at London Wall are the remains of individuals denied formal burial as a final humiliation related to their status as *noxii* (Redfern and Bonney 2014; cf. Fulford 2000, 356).

The limited intercutting between graves in many cemeteries suggests that burials were commonly marked. Cemeteries at Colchester again illustrate the more abundant evidence for ephemeral markers now to hand; examples from south of the town include single and multiple post-hole settings and stake-holes around graves (Anon 2013b; Pooley *et al.* 2011, 210). Elements of superstructures discovered in the survey period include inscribed stelae from Gloucester (*RIB* 3072–3) and plaques from London, Canterbury and Colchester (*RIB* 3009, 3012, 3026, 3131; Tomlin 2008, 370–1, no. 3), as well as occasional fragments of funerary sculpture, again from London (e.g. Mackinder 2000). Of the latter the free-standing sculpture of an eagle entwined with a snake, from the Minories, in *Londinium's* Eastern Cemetery, buried adjacent to the foundations of a building interpreted as a mausoleum, is the best preserved example (FIG. 7). Its solar symbolism is clearly appropriate to a funerary setting, although other instances of the same pairing derive primarily from non-funerary contexts (cf. Beeson 2003). The masons responsible for these monuments have been shown to exploit stones of varied sources from the province and beyond (Hayward 2009). *In-situ* evidence of monuments is documented for more cities and over a longer period (Appendix, Table 2). Much of the surviving evidence falls into two groups, stone foundations (surviving or robbed) from roofed mausolea and enclosures, and ditches, some of which may have accommodated timber structures. Features documented in pre-PPG 16 excavations at Monson Street, Lincoln, have been interpreted as settings for stelae, a rare occurrence, associated with a possible walled enclosure (Steane 2001, 19–21). Barrows documented near Colchester circus are unusual both for their urban setting and late



FIG. 7. A funerary sculpture of eagle and snake entwined from the Minories, London, excavated by staff of Museum of London Archaeology in 2013. The lack of weathering suggests it may have decorated the interior of a mausoleum. (© MOLA/Andy Chopping)

Roman date (FIG. 4, cf. Struck 2000). For mausolea where stone foundations survive, modest tower and temple tombs similar to those of neighbouring provinces can be reasonably postulated (Blagg 2002; Mackinder 2000). It is difficult to establish what if any above-ground presence characterised the substantial timber-lined burial pits documented at London, Colchester and Dorchester (Birbeck 2009; Davies *et al.* 2002; Thomas 2004, 18–29). In several cases the funerary function of monuments is not definitively established, both for structures detected by prospection, like those around the Tar Barrow Cirencester, and excavated examples, for instance at Rhodaus Town, Canterbury or Shadwell, east London (Appendix, Table 2).

RITUALS AND URBAN SOCIETIES

The enriched evidence for ritual possesses significant potential for investigating urban identities, although the confessional status of urban populations is less often illuminated than other aspects.

Artefacts with Christian iconography remain rare discoveries, a possible example from Leicester being a recent exception, and claims of Christian affiliation continue to be made from the absence of grave goods with late Roman inhumation cemeteries (Anon 2013a; Cooper and Buckley 2003, 38–9). The difficulties of such identifications are well rehearsed (Petts 2003; Yasin 2009). As argued by Scheid (2005), Roman funerary rituals were directed at re-instating the boundaries between the living and dead through a sacrificial sequence, rather than articulating eschatologies. This may be a more productive perspective to explore in relation to the funerary behaviour documented in previous paragraphs; it also offers a context for the many objects or practices with likely apotropaic properties buried with the dead. At the different stages of ritual, for example at the procession, pyre or graveside, representations of the dead were created which embodied the traditions of the burying group in relation to the deceased and which in turn served to reproduce them (cf. Ekengren 2013). These are now briefly considered in relation to status, age, gender and cultural identity.

Informal disposal of bodies, a consequence of poverty or the noxious status of the deceased, is rarely attested among the new data; the collective grave in which at least 91 individuals were deposited within the burial area at London Road, Gloucester, remains exceptional (see below). Resources required for commonplace burials were substantial, both the *matériel* for rituals and a burial place, even if of limited duration. Whatever the mechanism, household, work/religious association or patronage, the dead were commonly integrated in networks that provided for funerals, the proper conduct of the occasion perpetuating the cohesion of such groups. Funerals also differentiated between the dead to a greater degree than is commonly allowed for through conspicuous use of resources, whether in pre-interment rituals, markers or grave goods. The latter are generally commonplace objects, selected with some variation by context from the repertoire of objects in circulation, as recent studies of ceramics illustrate (e.g. Biddulph 2005; Pitts 2005; Willis 2011). Some are, however, distinguished by material, craftsmanship, rarity or symbolic importance and their number is extended by recent data. For example, glass vessels buried with the dead in late Roman cities, especially London, include many types which are otherwise little represented in the province (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 125–30; Cool in Booth *et al.* 2010, 270–1; Shepherd in Ridgeway *et al.* 2013, 36–8; Shepherd and Hunt 2009; Thomas 2004, 18–29). Excavations at Lankhills and beyond have revealed a handful of further burials furnished with symbols of late Roman military or bureaucratic authority, including crossbow brooches, belts and spurs (Booth 2014; Cool in Booth *et al.* 2010, 278–91).

Status cannot be studied in isolation as its material expression is clearly conditioned by the age and gender of the deceased, including selection for burial in a formal cemetery setting (see below). Analysis of the relationship between age, gender and ritual at Lankhills (Clarke excavation) revealed an association between generous provision of grave goods, including but not limited to gender-specific dress items, and graves of children and older adolescent and young adult women (Gowland 2001). Similar patterning is documented elsewhere, for example in the Oxford Archaeology excavations at Lankhills, whilst the richest burials on the C2 and Abbeyfield sites at Colchester were those of young children, furnished with artefacts of amuletic character such as jet bears, echoing the deposition of apotropaic objects in exceptional burials in other provinces (Cool in Booth *et al.* 2010, 307; Crummy 2010; Martin-Kilcher 2000). In other cemeteries with less frequent furnishing, children, adolescents and younger women are similarly distinguished by richer object assemblages (FIGS 8 and 9) (e.g. Cool in Simmonds *et al.* 2008, 111; McSloy and Watts 2013; Ridgeway *et al.* 2013, 79; Thomas 2004, 18–29). Whatever the specific significance of such objects, perhaps endowed with a liminal symbolism from their association with rites of passage such as marriage, Gowland's (2001) application of a life-course approach demonstrates how burial contributes to the construction of cultural norms in relation to these dimensions of identity.

Similarly the varying traditions of the burying group will influence the representation of other aspects of identity. Diversity in this respect is a well-established characteristic of Roman burial, especially in the first two centuries A.D.; practice at London Road, Gloucester, for example, in the first century A.D. includes both crouched inhumation with echoes of Iron Age burial, and cremation with accessory objects such as lamps, unguent bottles, and coins as well as Latin



FIG. 8. An enamelled figurine of a cockerel (c. 125 mm high) from the burial of a two- to three-year-old child in the cemetery at Bridges Garage, Old Tetbury Road, Cirencester. The best preserved of the few known examples of its kind, the figure was perhaps created as a toy but in the grave may have acquired an additional significance as a sacrifice. (© Cotswold Archaeology)

epitaphs, more typical of colonial settings (Cool 2010; Jones 1993; Pooley *et al.* 2011; Simmonds *et al.* 2008). While such evidence hints at cultural diversity, it does not easily illuminate geographical origin, as the example of the *bustum* shows with its multiple places of possible derivation, and it is intrinsically unlikely that rituals will be transplanted without significant modification, either of form or of interpretation (Pearce 2010; Struck 1993a). Analysis of stable isotopes of strontium and oxygen from burials at Lankhills serves as a key ‘spoiler’ in this regard, revealing considerable migration to late Roman Winchester but no connection between geographical origin and burial ritual (Eckardt *et al.* 2009). It is more profitable to focus on burial tradition as an active element in the construction of group identity than as a key to population origin.

For this and other aspects of identity, ‘object biography’ has further potential (Gosden and Marshall 1999). Evidence such as inscriptions, wear and adaptation, or significant age at the time of deposition not uncommonly suggests a complex history of circulation and use for objects buried with the dead. A crossbow brooch from Lankhills with inlaid exhortations (*bene vivas, utere felix*) or the surviving element of a snakethread glass flask from Gloucester, both with evidence of significant modification during their use-life, provide vivid if not quite representative examples (FIGS 9 and 10) (Cool in Booth *et al.* 2010, 279–82; Cool in Holbrook and Bateman 2008, 96–100). Their ‘biographies’ may have endowed these objects with a mnemonic capacity, prompting recall of earlier occasions on which their exchange, display or use was significant for the burying group and the creation of its shared history, sometimes including a perceived ancestry in a distant place (e.g. Cotton 2008; Leach *et al.* 2010; Williams 2004).



FIG. 9. A glass flask with snakethread decoration buried with an adult female inhumation south of the *colonia* at Parliament Street in Gloucester. It was once part of a larger flask within which it was contained, its reduced state perhaps suggesting burial at a later period than its manufacture in the late second/early third century. (© *Cotswold Archaeology*)

URBAN DEMOGRAPHY

Changes in the wider field of study, including the reinvigoration of ancient demography, methodological advances in human osteology including biomolecular analysis and the espousal of a biocultural approach, integrating skeletal characteristics with socio-cultural context, give new data on ancient urban populations an interest well beyond the study of Roman Britain (Bramanti 2013; Chamberlain 2006; Holleran and Pudsey 2011; Scheidel 2013; Gowland and Redfern 2010). Factors associated with Roman towns such as high population density, poor sanitation and living conditions, nodal positions on communications and poverty are often considered to have facilitated rapid transmission of infection, compromised ability to resist it, and caused high mortality rates and decreased life expectancy and thus high levels of inward migration. This characterisation depends in part on comparative evidence from cities with population densities significantly higher than those likely for Roman Britain; the significance of the 'urban graveyard effect' is therefore uncertain (Scheidel 2004; 2013). Key surveys of skeletal characteristics from Roman Britain, mainly using late Roman urban cemeteries, reveal a mixed picture (Roberts and Cox 2003; 2004). Compared to previous periods higher frequencies occurred among some indicators of poorer health, including those related to infectious disease, metabolic disorders, and non-specific indicators of health status such as cribra orbitalia, linear enamel hypoplasia, periostitis, and dental health. On the other hand, average male stature, for example, was found by Roberts and Cox to be greater in the Roman period than in the Iron Age, although where stature has been consistently calculated from the same skeletal element more complex trends emerge;



FIG. 10. Gilded copper-alloy cross-bow brooch, spurs and gilded silver belt fittings (buckle, strap-end) from Grave 1846, Lankhills, Winchester. (© *Oxford Archaeology*)

in Dorset, mean male stature decreased but the variation in male stature was wider than in the previous period (Redfern 2008, 175).

A wider range of contexts is represented in the new sample, albeit with variable preservation (London and Colchester being affected respectively by truncation and soils inimical to bone preservation), with stable isotope analysis often complementing osteological reporting. Their integration with the results of the earlier surveys is beyond the scope of this paper and key urban sites are not yet published or published in a way that facilitates comparison. This is not to mention the difficulty of extrapolating from osteological data to the health status of the living and from this to the socio-economic, cultural or ecological factors that may have impinged upon it (Gowland and Garnsey 2010; Scheidel 2013). Instead selective observations are made in the following paragraphs concerning the possible inferences to be drawn from recent data in relation to the age and sex profiles of cemetery samples, health status and migration.

Selective burial practice, variable survival and differences in analysis and reporting have traditionally complicated extensive comparison of age-at-death between cemetery populations, but some observations on cemetery population structure are possible. The low numbers of

infant burials and, sometimes, other sub-adult burials characterise the major cemetery groups examined here as well as most from previous decades (Pearce 2001). Fewer infant burials have been documented on intramural occupation sites than on rural settlements, although individual projects in several cities have reported larger numbers. In these cases the depositional contexts are similar to those of farms and villas, burials being placed by walls, thresholds and in yards (e.g. Lewis in Fulford and Clarke 2011, 241–3; Ridgeway 2009, 10; Trevarthen 2008; Rogers in Woodward *et al.* 1993, 314–15; Snelling in Fulford *et al.* 2006, 200–5). The impossibility of estimating infant mortality remains a significant impediment to any demographic analysis.

Where samples are documented to consistent standards then greater confidence in comparison of adult ages at death between cemeteries is possible. The re-analysis of inhumation burials of Late Iron Age and Roman date from Dorchester and environs revealed, for example, fewer individuals reaching late adulthood in the Roman period and suggested too that age at death and extrapolated mortality risk can be linked to social status as indicated by burial treatment (Redfern 2008, 179; Redfern and DeWitte 2011). Some cemetery samples of Late Iron Age and Roman date also reveal age at death distributions characteristic of a catastrophic rather than attritional population in the percentage of young and younger mature adults represented. In two such cases, Maiden Castle, Dorchester (first century B.C.–first century A.D.), and Driffeld Terrace, York (second–fourth centuries A.D.), the latter a sample comprised almost exclusively of males, the association with frequent evidence for ante- and peri-mortem trauma suggests many deaths by violence, although imprecision of dating obstructs an association with specific historical episodes (Hunter-Mann 2006; Montgomery *et al.* 2011; Redfern and Chamberlain 2011). At London Road, Gloucester, the explanation of plague is preferred by the excavators for the skeletons in the mass grave but can be contested (FIG. 11). Their age profile is not different



FIG. 11. Excavation in progress on the mass burial pit of later second- or early third-century date at London Road, Gloucester. (© Oxford Archaeology)

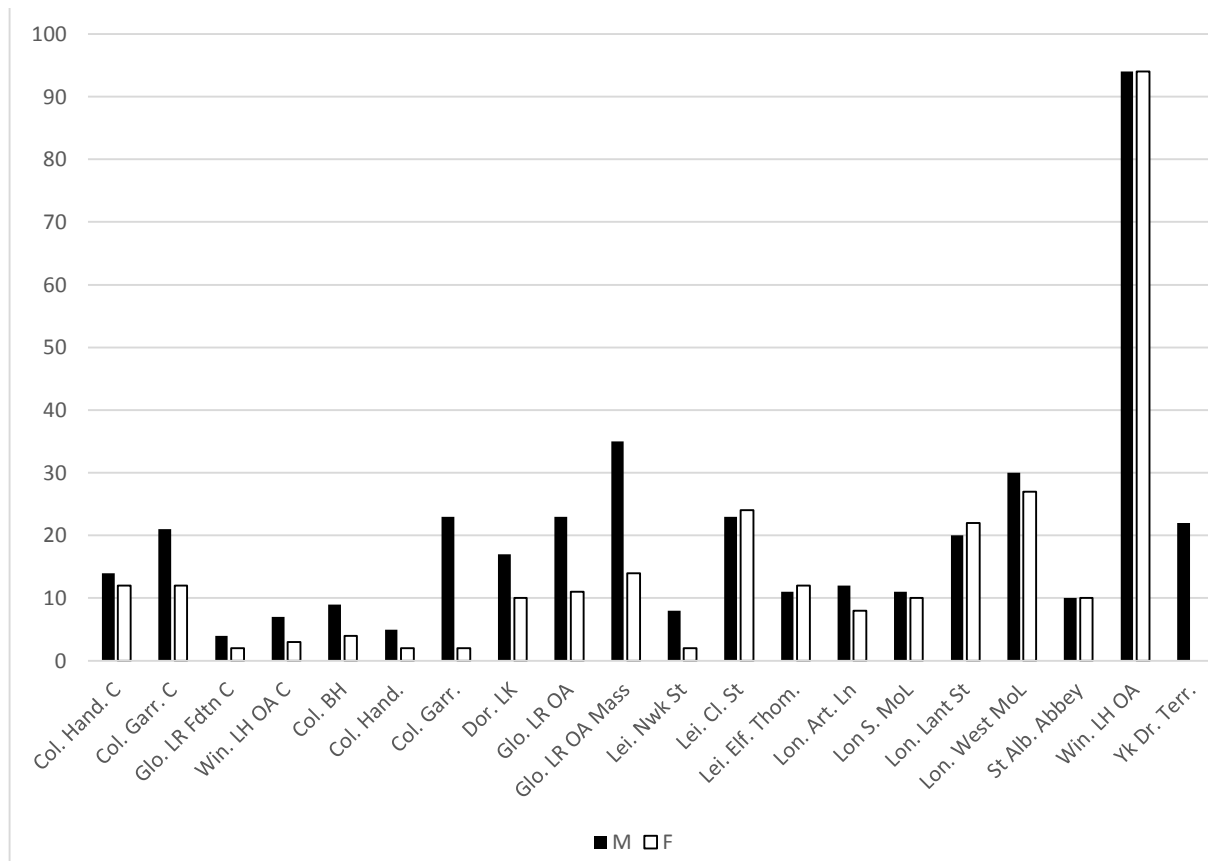


FIG. 12. Sexed inhumations from recent Roman urban cemetery excavations in Britain, including probable and confident identifications from skeletal remains.

to a statistically significant degree from the single burials within the cemetery, the date range for the filling of the pit is very wide, given the limited artefactual evidence, and the contemporaneity of deposition of the bodies within it is not certain (Hurst 2010; Loe *et al.* in Simmonds *et al.* 2008, 69–70).

FIG. 12 displays the numbers of male and female burials reported in the post-1990 sample. For some sites the quantities of sexed burials are based on preliminary assessment rather than full analysis and the figure includes possibly as well as confidently sexed skeletons, the two categories not always being straightforwardly distinguished in the sources of data used. In earlier studies of skeletal remains from Roman Britain a skewed sex-ratio has been documented which has been (partly) attributed to methodological factors, supported by re-analysis of the Lankhills sample excavated by Clarke which suggested near parity in numbers of men and women rather than the 112:71 ratio recorded in the first study (Booth *et al.* 2010, 346; Davison 2000; Gowland 2001). The manifestation of a continued discrepancy in the post-1990 sample is therefore somewhat surprising. When the less confidently sexed skeletons are set aside, a less skewed sex-ratio is sometimes apparent, for example in some samples from Colchester and Gloucester, but this is not always the case. Explanations for this discrepancy vary in the weighting given to ancient demographic factors, to cultural factors such as place or mode of burial and to methodological bias, including the potential difficulty posed by varied sexual skeletal dimorphism between populations, but whatever its causes, the distorted sex ratio also qualifies the demographic inferences to be drawn from the material (e.g. Mattingly 2006, 344–5; Simmonds *et al.* 2008, 141–2; Redfern 2008, 179–80).

The osteological analyses conducted on recent samples provide occasional further examples for the mapping of specific infectious diseases through osseous response, such as tuberculosis (e.g. McKinley in Birbeck 2009, 131; Redfern 2008, 177). More useful for characterising general

health status are the non-specific indicators which are composite markers of nutritional state and pathogen load. Some examples are given below of results, but few of the synthetic studies cited have made use of the post-1990 data. The sometimes poor preservation of skeletal material, delayed publication and the dissemination of extrapolated statistics rather than raw data (e.g. for stature) and of aggregate figures for pathological indicators compiled variably as crude or true prevalence rates continue to bedevil comparison between samples (cf. Roberts and Cox 2003).

Redfern and Roberts' (2005) survey of Roman urban health and regional studies from this perspective have supported the impression of a poorer health status for Roman period than pre-Roman and rural populations, albeit with variability according to osteological criteria and some differentiation by gender (Peck 2009; Redfern 2008). By contrast Pitts and Griffin (2012) infer better urban than rural health from the lower frequencies of pathologies documented in urban skeletal populations, but the rural sample is very small. The significant variability between individual urban samples also suggests considerable diversity in health status. This is visible in individual characteristics and across samples as a whole. For example, the very high percentage of periostitis, a non-specific infection marker, among the individual burials at London Road, Gloucester, contrasts with the much lower rates at Lankhills and elsewhere (e.g. Booth *et al.* 2010, 383–5; Simmonds *et al.* 2008, 71). Cribra orbitalia and linear enamel hypoplasia occur with exceptionally high frequency in the cemeteries of London (Gowland and Redfern 2010). For non-adults, very high frequencies of many indicators of poor health status and trauma characterise the sample at Poundbury, a widely referenced provincial Roman skeletal population because of its large sample size, good skeletal preservation and extensive published analysis, but unlikely to be typical (Lewis 2010; Redfern and DeWitte 2011; Redfern *et al.* 2012).

A more consistent picture currently emerges from analyses of stable isotopes of carbon and nitrogen for terrestrial and marine plant and animal dietary sources. Comparison of Iron Age and Roman samples reveals a significant shift which can be attributed to a greater seafood intake in the latter period, occasionally differentiating within populations in relation to gender and status (Müldner 2013; Cummings and Hedges in Booth *et al.* 2010, 419).

The analysis of stable isotopes, especially of oxygen and strontium, has also given key insights into mobility. While these have undermined associations made between particular burial rites and geographical origins, studies from York, Gloucester, London and Winchester have shown that a significant proportion of individuals, male and female, typically *c.* 40–60 per cent of those sampled, had spent their earlier years either in other regions of Britain or outside the province; occasionally long-distance migrants comprise an exceptionally high proportion of burials, especially at Driffield Terrace, York (Eckardt *et al.* 2010; Müldner *et al.* 2011; Ridgeway *et al.* 2013). Atypical diets revealed through analyses of nitrogen and carbon also occasionally identify individuals of extra-provincial origin, as may lead isotopes (Montgomery *et al.* 2010; Müldner 2013). Similar diversity of population origins is suggested by studies of skull morphology and metrics (e.g. Booth *et al.* 2010, 356–7; Leach *et al.* 2009).

This phenomenon has wider implications; as Gowland and Redfern (2010) observe from other data, high levels of migration to towns qualify the usefulness of urban cemeteries for insights into the relationship between specific urban environments and mortality. However, it is crucial to note the key biases to urban contexts of late Roman date in the isotope samples so far studied from the province. Origins of individuals are identified with significant margins of uncertainty, obstructing precise differentiation between local, regional and long-distance migrants. It is also not yet possible to establish how far this mobility is specifically urban; only with larger samples from more diverse contexts will it be possible to establish how far migration in relation to these towns is distinct from general human mobility in antiquity.

CONCLUSION

Assessing the impact of PPG 16 and its successor policies on understanding of the urban dead of Roman Britain is complicated by the variable publication of projects undertaken since 1990 and its coincidence with other key developments, especially changes of methodology and theoretical perspective. The number of burials excavated under this framework is also

not as large as in previous periods, and some samples are compromised by poor preservation, especially of skeletal remains. However numbers in isolation mislead. The insights which can be derived from cemetery excavations of this period are significantly enriched through better understanding of ritual process (in part by decentring the grave as the unit of analysis) and its associated material symbols and of skeletal populations, enhanced by the study of stable isotopes; biomolecular analysis is likely to be further extended by the examination of ancient DNA from buried individuals and their pathogens. The expanding Roman period dataset, including skeletal analyses, from other settings, especially the countryside (Fulford and Holbrook 2014), and the large-scale osteological analyses from other periods of occupation of the same cities also offer significant future opportunities to contextualise the Roman urban data from a demographic and cultural perspective.

Currently, however, the achievements of the last 25 years are most significant at the level of individual and local communities. What is not yet clear is how far these new data cumulatively inform the understanding of urbanism as a wider demographic, socio-economic or cultural phenomenon (cf. Millett 2001). A perspective focused on urbanism obliges an emphasis on comparability, and current publication modes for human remains in particular, perhaps the most analytically rich of all the evidence gathered through fieldwork, do not lend themselves to synthesis. Such data are crucial as even for well-funded projects the scope to re-examine key samples (assuming they have not been reburied) is curtailed by time and expense (Steckel *et al.* 2002); mechanisms for sustainable and comparable dissemination of digital data from individual post-excavation projects require development. The variability in publication is in part a consequence of a fragmentation of approach associated with competitive tendering. For the study of funerary rituals, recent work in France shows how greater coherence can be established between research questions, their methodological corollaries and application in development-related fieldwork. An approach inspired by Scheid's (2005; 2008) advocacy of a focus on ritual sequence has been applied in excavation and subsequent analysis across different projects. Its success is manifested in the greater harvest of well-documented para-funerary features such as pyre sites and ritual debris deposits, and enhanced understanding of taphonomic processes (e.g. Blaizot 2009).

In previous generations of scholarship 'iconic' cemeteries epitomised certain key interests, for example Lankhills the passing of Roman power to transfrontier migrants in the late fourth century A.D., or Poundbury or Butt Road Colchester the conversion to Christianity (Clarke 1979; Crummy *et al.* 1993; Farwell and Molleson 1993). It would be invidious to identify a specific cemetery that best evokes the *Zeitgeist* of PPG 16 and its successors, but the key note is, perhaps, the growing integration between the study of human skeletal material and the evidence for ritual and setting. Though they are so far few in number, this is best embodied in the 'osteobiographies' or similar analyses which link the lived experience of the individual marked in their skeleton and the representation of them created in ritual by the burying group (e.g. Booth *et al.* 2010, 401–2; Cotton 2008; Gowland 2004; Leach *et al.* 2010). The enriched archaeology of individuals thus reconstructed also lends itself to public engagement, demonstrated by the success of exhibitions like 'London's Buried Bones', a collaborative project between the Wellcome Trust and the Museum of London in 2008 (Sargent 2008). The challenge remains to transform these individual stories into a history of urbanism.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1. Burial groups comprising 25 or more graves excavated from 1990 to summer 2013, compiled from *Britannia*, AIP entries, other grey literature and publications. In the many cases of unpublished cemeteries, numbers are provisional and may change substantially. Groups have been amalgamated where context information showed a provenance from the same burial area, in particular for the Garrison Alienated Land sites at Colchester.

Site	No. of samples	No. and type of burial	Date	References
Canterbury St Dunstan's (Telephone Repeater, Hallett Garage)	2	93 CR and 161 IN	First to fourth century A.D.	Diack 2003; Gollop 2012; Weekes 2011
Carlisle (Botchergate and associated sites)	1	43 CR and 23 IN	First to fourth century A.D.	Zant <i>et al.</i> 2011
Cirencester (Old Tetbury Road)	1	4 CR and 71 IN	First to fourth century A.D.	Holbrook <i>et al.</i> 2013; McSloy and Watts 2013
Colchester South incl. circus environs (Abbeyfield + Circular Road north, C2 + Napier Road, J1 and J1 north; Butt Road car park)	4	290 CR and 257 IN + 350 U	First to fourth century A.D.	Anon. 2013b; Crossan 2001; Pooley <i>et al.</i> 2011
Colchester West (Handford House, Balcerne Heights incl. St Mary's Hospital)	3	59 CR and 115 IN	First to fourth century A.D.	Orr 2010; Birbeck 2009
Dorchester (Little Keep)	1	29 IN	Fourth century A.D.	McKinley and Dinwiddy 2009
Gloucester (London Road)	3	27 CR and 211 IN	First to fourth century A.D.	Clough 2003; Ellis and King 2014; Simmonds <i>et al.</i> 2008
Gloucester (Brunswick Road)	1	3 CR and <i>c.</i> 150 IN	Third to fourth century A.D.	<i>Britannia</i> 45 (2014), 380
Leicester West (40–46 Western Road)	1	58 IN	Late first to fourth century A.D.	<i>Britannia</i> 42 (2011), 359; <i>Britannia</i> 44 (2013), 308
Leicester South/South-east (21–33 Newarke Street; Newarke Street ('Elfed Thomas Law School'))	2	69 IN	Fourth century A.D.	Cooper 1996; Derrick 2009
Leicester East (Clarence Street)	1	91 IN	Fourth century A.D.	Gardner 2005
London West (Atlantic House)	1	29 IN and 19 CR	Second to fourth century A.D.	Watson 2003
London East (Prescot Street)	1	<i>c.</i> 40 CR and 50 IN		LP Archaeology n.d.; Shepherd and Hunt 2009
London North (Houndsditch Telephone Exchange; Spitalfields Market; 16–18 Finsbury Circus; 18–31 Eldon Street (+adjacent sites); Artillery Lane Spitalfields; Worship Street, Hackney)	5	20 CR and 166 IN, <i>c.</i> 200 burials + abundant disarticulated material	Second to fourth century A.D.	Sankey and Connell 2007; Thomas 2004, 18–29; <i>Britannia</i> 37 (2006), 419; <i>Britannia</i> 38 (2007), 288; <i>Britannia</i> 43 (2012), 330; <i>Britannia</i> 44 (2013), 330; Butler 2006; Douglas 2005

Site	No. of samples	No. and type of burial	Date	References
London Southwark (Great Dover Street; Lant Street; Trinity Street; America Street)	4	7 CR and 158 IN + c. 165 burials	Second to fourth century A.D.	Mackinder 2000; Ridgeway <i>et al.</i> 2013; <i>Britannia</i> 41 (2010), 393–4; AIP
(St Albans Abbey)*	(1)	(50 IN)	(Fourth century A.D.)	(Biddle and Kjølby-Biddle 2001)
Winchester (Lankhills, Wessex and Oxford Archaeology; Swan Lane)	3	25 CR and 345 IN + 56 burials	Fourth century A.D.	Booth <i>et al.</i> 2010; Ottaway <i>et al.</i> 2012, 120–7
York (nos 3 and 6 Driffield Terrace)	2	16 CR and 80 IN	Second to fourth century A.D.	Hunter-Mann 2006; Müldner <i>et al.</i> 2011

Total: 37 groups. 703 cremation burials; 2013 inhumation burials; 771 burials of unspecified type
 *Excavation 1982–4, 1991, 1994–95 in context of restoration and research at St Albans Abbey.

TABLE 2. Examples of Roman period funerary monuments documented from recent urban cemetery excavations in Britain.

Site	Description	Reference
Canterbury, Augustine House, Rhodaus town	Late Roman polygonal timber enclosure 11 m x 11 m, with possible ambulatory, with inhumation burials within enclosure. Role as funerary monument uncertain.	Helm 2012
Cirencester, Tar Barrow	Many ditched and stone-walled enclosures to the west, south and east of the Tar Barrow; the largest enclosing an area 21 m wide by at least 31 m long, with a further enclosure or building foundation in its centre, the rest square or nearly so in form and varying between 5 m and 10 m square in size. Funerary purpose not confirmed.	Winton 2009; Holbrook 2008; <i>Britannia</i> 40 (2009), 267–9
Cirencester, Tetbury Road	Stone-built roadside burial enclosure, c. 15 m square, with inhumation burials of possible early second-century date in south-east corner.	Holbrook <i>et al.</i> 2013; McSloy and Watts 2013
Colchester, Site C2, south of circus	Fourth century A.D., 10 barrows with ring ditches, enclosing areas 4 to 6.5 m in diameter, with central cremation burials.	Pooley <i>et al.</i> 2011, 32–34
Colchester, Site C2, south of circus	Late Roman monument, rectangular ragstone foundation 10 m by 7 m, possible associated marble veneer. The primary burial is perhaps an (unexcavated) inhumation within a lead-lined wooden coffin.	Pooley <i>et al.</i> 2011, 34
Colchester, Lexden Road	Third century A.D., outer wall encloses area c. 9 m square, within the foundation of a hexagonal structure (maximum width 5.2 m), with six associated cremation burials.	Brooks 2006
Dorchester, Little Keep	Fourth century A.D., single ditched enclosure, c. 16 m square, with inhumation burial in corner.	McKinley and Dinwiddy 2009
Exeter, Mount Dinham	Late second–third century, a 6 m-square ditched enclosure with a c. 1.8 m-long shallow depression at its centre, possible cremation burial. Ditch fills contain plaster and mortar.	Passmore 2013, 6–7

Site	Description	Reference
Leicester, 21–33 Newark Street	Fourth century A.D., two beam-slot and post-hole structures, possible timber mausolea.	Derrick 2009
Lincoln, Monson Street	Funerary structure, comprising wall foundation 5 m long at angle to Ermine Street, robbed by second century A.D., associated with cremation burials and two possible slots for tombstones.	Steane 2001, 19–21
London, Southwark (Watling Street)	Foundations of five structures of late first- to mid-second-century A.D. date excavated adjacent to road (west side), all heavily robbed; four in close proximity at 165 Great Dover Street, with some evidence for superstructure materials including sculptural fragments, and a fifth 800 m south at 82–96 Old Kent Road. Their location and associated burials and related deposits identify them as likely mausolea. 165 Great Dover Street Building 2. An outer wall encloses a c. 8 m square area with walled structure, well and stone base within. Structure 1. A c. 11 m x 9 m outer wall enclosing central masonry foundation and bases for other monuments. Structure 2. A c. 6 m x 5.8 m stone structure with buttresses on north-west and south-east sides. Structure 3. A c. 9 m x 4 m outer wall and central masonry foundation. 82–96 Old Kent Road A stone-built mausoleum c. 6.4 m x 5 m, with internal projection on north-east side and adjacent pits containing a burial and material from funerary ceremonies.	Mackinder 2000; Thrale 2008
London, 201 Bishopsgate, west of Ermine Street	Foundations for two heavily robbed structures of mid- to late Roman date, associated with inhumation burials, one associated with a well, the best preserved c. 8 m x 7 m.	Swift 2003
London, Shadwell	A 9 m-square-plan structure, heavily robbed, buttressed on one side, adjacent to second-century A.D. cremation burials, interpreted as possible tower tomb.	Lakin 2002, 7–11
Winchester, Lankhills	Fourth century A.D. A shallow ditched enclosure on three sides of an inhumation burial (28), similar to those found in excavations by Clarke (1979).	Booth <i>et al.</i> 2010, 35–40

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