

# THE ROMAN CEMETERY AT ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

DAVID BENTLEY and FRANCES PRITCHARD

## SUMMARY

*Excavation in advance of redevelopment within St. Bartholomew's Hospital, West Smithfield, in 1979, revealed evidence of at least twenty inhumation burials from a Roman cemetery in use during the 3rd and 4th centuries. The burials were arranged in three clusters, with up to five successive burials in each cluster, and six further individual graves. This implies marked plots, and an ordered layout while reinterment of casually disturbed bones was also found. It is possible that up to eight individuals were buried in wooden coffins, and in two cases were accompanied by grave goods. The skeletons were of adult and juvenile men and women, together with children, which in the case of the clusters probably indicate family plots. In two of the three clusters the final burial showed a relaxation of the previous, formal arrangement; the cemetery deposit was thereafter overlain by 'dark earth'. The present discoveries can be set in a context of the development of cemetery zones to the west and northwest of the Roman city: a distinction is made between mid 1st to mid 2nd-century 'linear' cremations along the main western road to the city and a defined zone of mid 2nd to early 3rd-century 'nuclear' cremations overlapping with 3rd and 4th-century inhumations.*

## INTRODUCTION

The precinct of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in the north-west of the City, lies just outside the Roman and medieval city wall, facing West Smithfield to the north (Fig. 1). In March 1979, following the discovery of several skeletons during preliminary work for the reconstruction of part of the former medical school, the Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London, took the opportunity to examine part of the known Roman cemetery in the Smithfield area.<sup>1</sup> Efforts were concentrated on an area 18m × 2m (Area A, Fig. 2 below), where observations revealed the survival of stratified archaeological deposits in a northwest-southeast aligned strip beneath a disused 18th-century sewer and also in a 19m long construction trench at right angles to this (Area B, Fig. 2). A five-week watching-brief to proceed in conjunction with redevelopment was envisaged, but during this time it was realized that the evidence merited a more thorough investigation, and as the developers (the Hospital

Trustees) proved sympathetic, a two-week excavation was mounted under rescue conditions.

This report describes and discusses the Roman cemetery which constitutes Period IV of the archaeological sequence. The periods before and after the cemetery are mentioned only in outline, and may be the subject of later reports incorporating contemporary sequences from other recently excavated sites. Similarly, only finds from Period IV are given a detailed treatment here.

In what follows, the early, pre-cemetery periods are summarized, the cemetery itself then described in detail, with the finds information incorporated under the individual burials. The cemetery as a whole is then discussed. Other burial sites in the Smithfield area, and the finds derived from them, have been reconsidered and more general discussions on these, the first on the actual burials, the second on the finds and dating of the burials, follow the discussion of the exca-

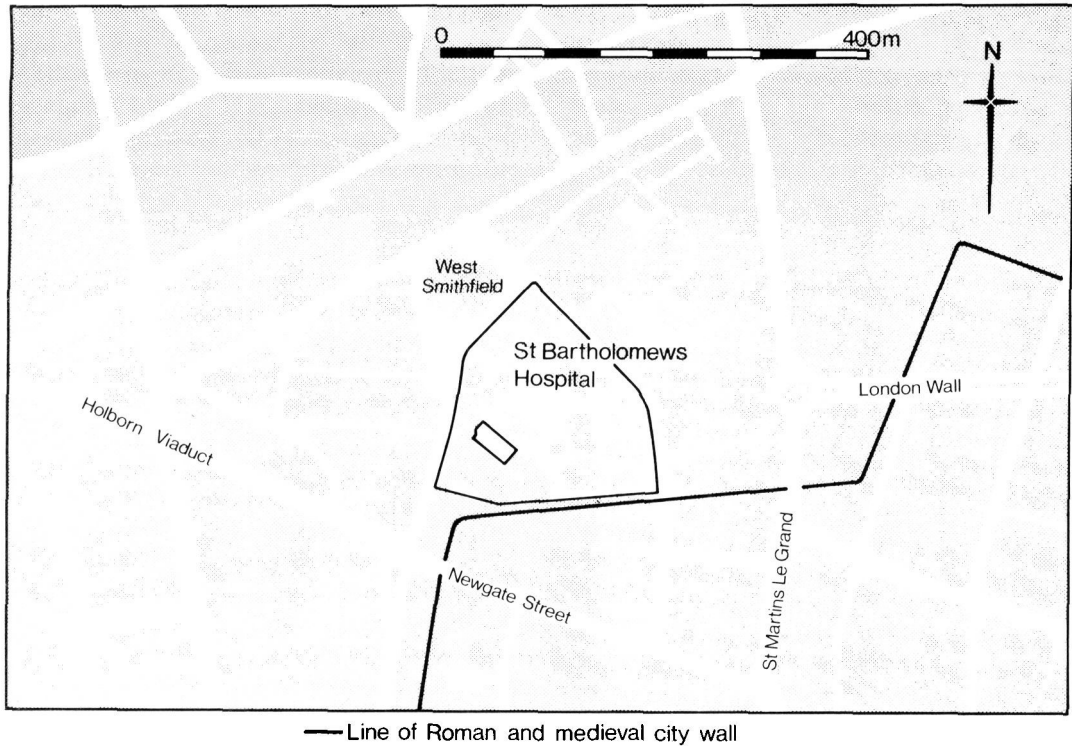


Fig. 1. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Location of excavation.

vation. The specific details of the various sites in the latter discussions are given in an appendix at the end of the report.

### NATURAL TOPOGRAPHY

The site (TQ 3188 8151) is situated on the more westerly of the two low hills on which London was established and which form part of the Thames river terraces.<sup>2</sup> To the west, the modern topography drops away sharply, reflecting a fall in the natural topography where it is cut by the valley of the River Fleet. In addition the natural strata on the site, consisting of yellow gravels and coarse sands lying in alternating, well-defined bands, survived to a height of 14.75m O.D. in the north and 14.58m O.D. in the south-east. This southward and eastward slope con-

tinues to Newgate Street where the highest point at which brickearth has been recorded in the City occurs at 13.11m O.D.<sup>3</sup> Hence the falling away to the south and east, though less perceptible than to the west, means that the site stands on a plateau in one of the highest parts of the City.

### SUMMARY OF THE PRE-BURIAL PERIODS

#### Period I (1st century)

An extensive horizon of disturbed, silty gravels overlain by less pebbly material of a more trampled, clayey nature sealed the natural gravels, possibly indicating superficial cultivation. Fragmentary evidence was found of four shallow pits cut into the clayey silts, probably for the extraction of gravels. They were subse-

quently backfilled with gravel and included a small quantity of domestic refuse of pre- to early Flavian date. The evidence of cultivation and small-scale quarrying suggests that the area was not extensively developed at this time.

#### Period II (Late 1st to mid 2nd centuries)

Levelling and gravel make-up in preparation for a building in the centre of Area A represented the first comprehensive development of the site. Traces of three possible walls (Fig. 3) with associated brickearth floors were found, indicating an east-west aligned building of timber frame and sill-beam construction. Subsequent development altered the layout of the rooms, and included the construc-

tion of an *opus signinum* floor in the central area and the extension of the building possibly by means of lean-to constructions, to the north and south.<sup>4</sup> Occupation may have taken place any time between the late 1st and mid 2nd century.

#### Period III (Mid-late 2nd century)

This building was now dismantled and brickearth debris, probably derived from the process, was spread across the site and levelled off, except in the central area where it was absent. Here there was evidence of a posthole (0.18m square) on the line of a former wall, suggesting the re-use of the *opus signinum* surface within a short-lived, timber-framed structure. Small-scale pitting for the disposal of

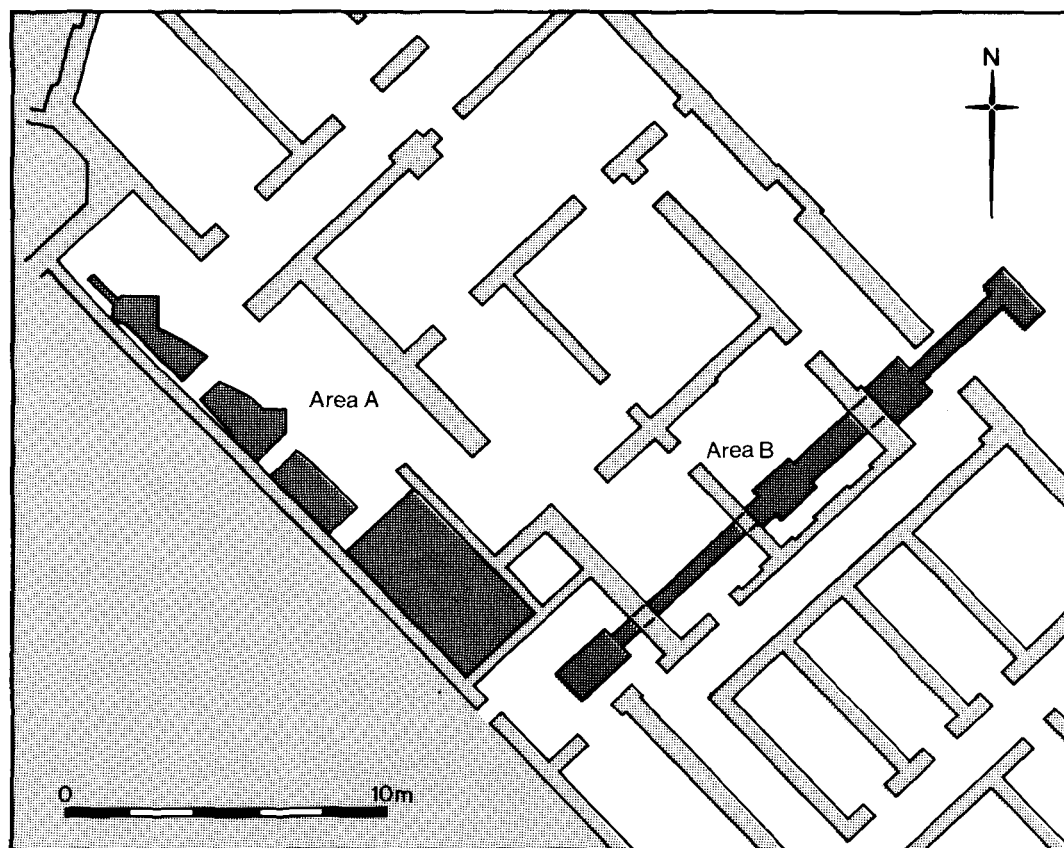


Fig. 2. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Site plan.

refuse was also recorded. A lack of datable finds leaves it uncertain whether this activity was contemporary with the destruction of the Period II building, but it is unlikely to have taken place before the end of the 2nd century. This is supported by the evidence of root-channels through the destruction horizon which indicates the presence of trees or shrubs and demonstrates that the site would have been derelict for some time.

There was no direct evidence to indicate the function of the Period II building. However the nature of its construction and of its subsequent destruction during the 2nd century can be compared with Roman building activity in areas to the east, nearer the main centre of the Roman city, at Milk Street, Watling Court and the GPO site, Newgate Street, where commercial and domestic buildings fell out of use by the late 2nd century.<sup>5</sup>

## THE ROMAN CEMETERY

### Period IV (3rd–4th centuries)

Traces of twenty inhumations were found on the St. Bartholomew's site, together with scattered human remains. It is suggested that they date to the 3rd and 4th centuries.<sup>6</sup> Grave-cuts were identified in all but five instances and were aligned roughly east-west, cutting through a deposit of silty soil which covered the entire site, sealing the occupation levels of Periods II and III (Fig. 3).

Of the twenty burials (B1–B20), fourteen occurred in three groupings or clusters (A–C) in the centre of Area A. Five individual interments (B15–B19) were located to the south-east of these clusters, while a further individual burial of more doubtful date (B20) was found 8m to the east in Area B.

The similarity in content between the cemetery soil and grave fills, and the dis-

turbance caused by animal and plant penetration, made it impossible to identify the upper level of grave-cuts or horizons of activity within the soil, so that no sequence of interment could be established except where graves intercut.

### The cemetery soil

The cemetery soil appeared as an homogenous deposit ranging in thickness between 0.12m and 0.2m over most of the site, with a maximum height of *c.* 15.60m O.D. An exception was in the area directly overlying Period II and III occupation, where an initial deposit of darker material was identified. This comprised a greyish-brown clayey silt containing quantities of abraded building debris in the form of frequent mortar and plaster fragments, moderate fine and medium pebbles, daub, charcoal, tile and pottery sherds and occasional lumps of brickearth.<sup>7</sup> It is probable that the fragments of building debris were derived from the Period II building, becoming mixed with the introduced soil. This initial deposit was made up to the height of the surrounding Period III brickearth horizon and probably represents a localized dump above the Period II building to level the area. There is no evidence to suggest that those burials which intruded into this darker deposit were any earlier than the rest.

Other evidence (below p. 138) implies that elsewhere the cemetery soil comprised similar stratified dumps of material, although they could not be distinguished at the time of excavation. The main deposit in which the burials occurred was a mid-grey, clayey, charcoal-flecked silt (becoming browner over the Period II and III occupation), with a distinct greenish hue. Included were small quantities of abraded debris similar to those described above and, as

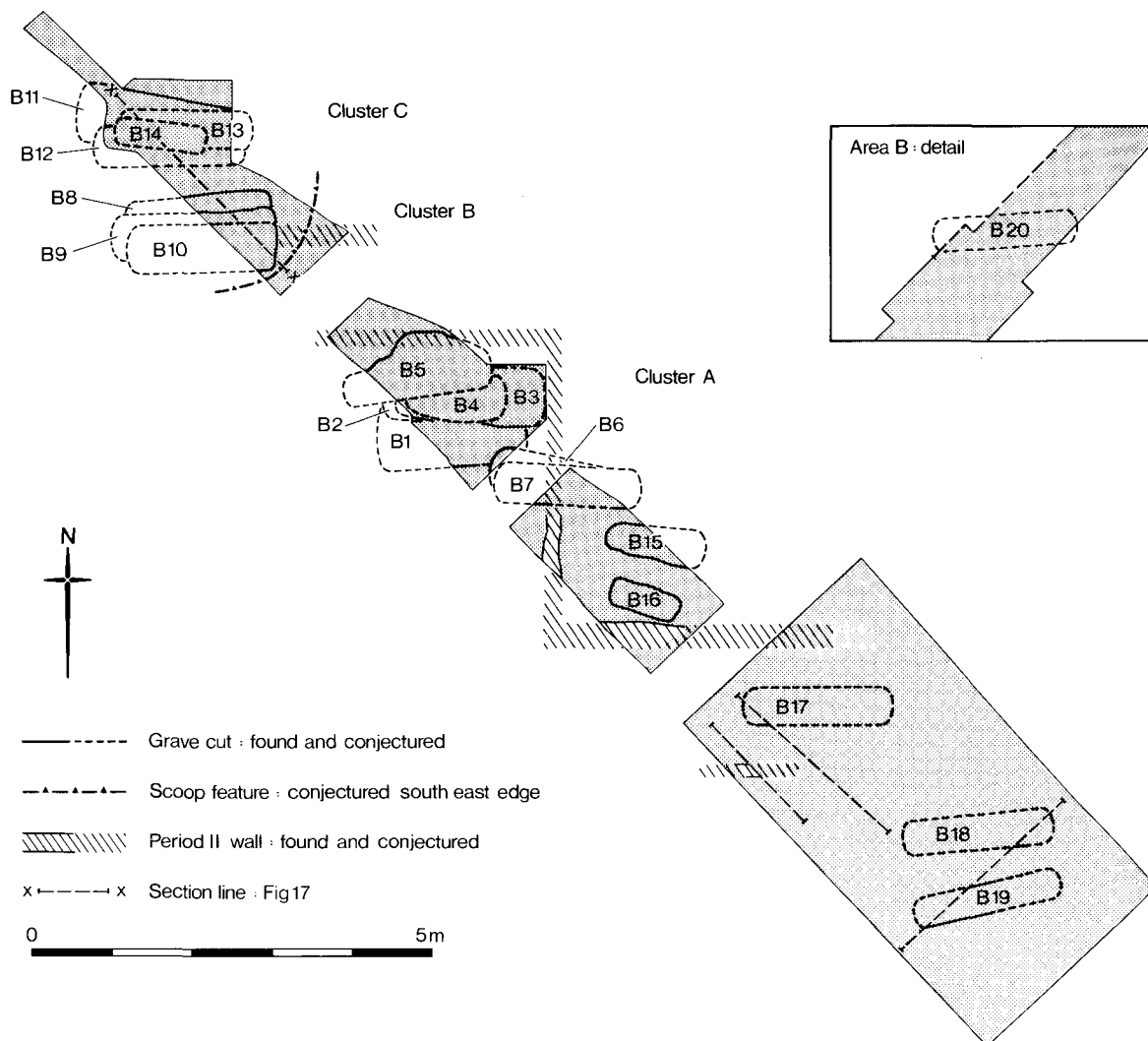


Fig. 3. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Site locations of burials in relationship to Period II building.

with the former deposit, such debris occurred more frequently over the area of the Period II building. Occasional fragments of human bone were found scattered throughout the horizon and demonstrated the process of displacement and accumulation of soil and debris that continuous grave-digging involved.

Pathological evidence showed that human skull fragments from an upper level of the cemetery deposit were derived from an underlying burial (B3), although

there were two intervening burials (B4 and B5), the first of which had clearly disturbed the initial burial and thus displaced part of its skeleton. Although no grave cuts were found completely intact at their upper extent, three graves (B3, B5 and B17) showed in their profiles a tendency to be rounded off at their upper extremities, but at different levels, suggesting that they were dug from different surfaces. The implied rise in surface levels indicates that as well as reworked

material derived from repeated grave digging, additional soil could have been dumped to provide an increased depth in which graves could be dug. This may have been in order to minimize disturbance to earlier interments, especially around the clusters.

Pottery from the cemetery soil was predominantly abraded 1st-mid 2nd-century material which is clearly residual. The remainder had a 3rd to 4th-century date range, with several sherds of Portchester 'D' ware. Small fragments of glass, tile and animal bones were also severely abraded and appear to have had no connection with the use of the area as a cemetery. The only possible exceptions

were one worn barbarous minim of the late 3rd century, part of a cast copper alloy object of uncertain use,<sup>8</sup> and the iron nails which are of the same type as those indicative of coffins in some of the burials (p. 144). A group of hobnails was also found and may represent a nailed shoe from a disturbed burial. As a whole the finds suggest that the cemetery was in use at least as early as the mid 3rd century and well into the 4th. The cemetery deposit was overlain by a well defined undisturbed dark soil (Period V),<sup>9</sup> which contained finds of a mainly late Roman date and marked the disuse of the cemetery.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE BURIALS

The clusters are described first, starting with the largest (A), followed by individual burials from northwest to southeast. All burials are shown in their east-west alignment (north at

the top of the page), cross-sections appear facing east. Associated deposits are shown if they demonstrate a significant feature of the burial.

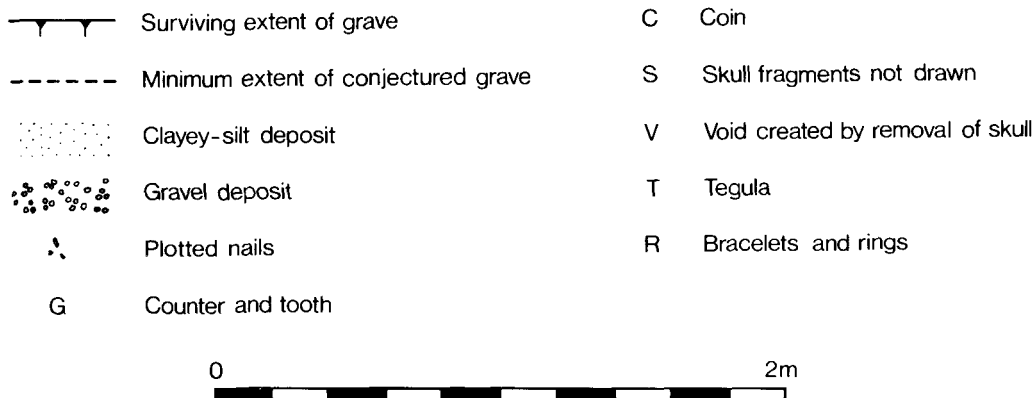


Fig. 4. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Key to Figs 5-11; 13-15; 18-19; 21-22; 24-25 and 27-30.

#### CLUSTER A: BURIALS 1-7

The first group of burials (A) was located in the centre of the site in Area A (Fig. 3).

#### BURIAL 1

The earliest and least intact grave, consisting of a cut made into the Period II build-

ing, was almost completely cut away by later grave-digging and lacked any skeletal

material (Fig. 5). However, its alignment and surviving fill of light greenish-brown clayey silt was characteristic of overlying graves and

its close proximity to them suggested a similar function.

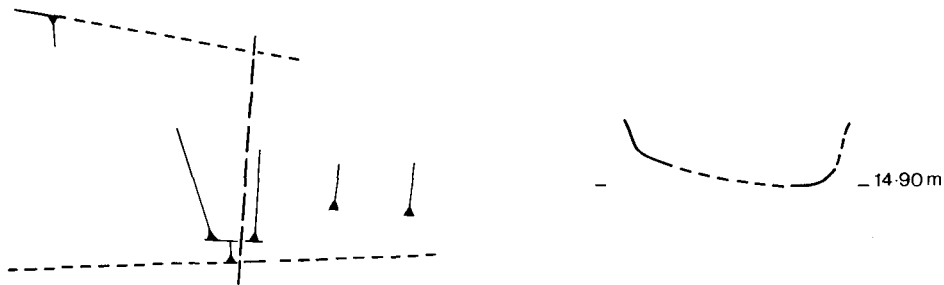


Fig. 5. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 1.

### BURIAL 2

*Male; aged 35–45 years; 3 teeth lost ante mortem probably due to caries; abscesses in 3 upper molars; caries in 1 of 29 surviving teeth; 1 impacted third molar (wisdom tooth); moderate calculus; slight periodontal disease; moderate hypoplasia.*

Overlying B1 and cutting from a level within the cemetery soil was the west end of an apparently rectangular grave with rounded corners, but otherwise completely cut away (Fig. 6). The first of its two fills, a mid-greenish-brown clayey silt, contained part of the crushed skull of an adult male. The position of this skull at the west end of the grave suggests a primary, east-facing inter-

ment disturbed by later intrusions. Traces of a second fill of slightly darker material containing moderate fragments of brickearth, animal bone and Roman pottery sherds of an abraded nature covered the primary fill and also appeared to spread south to seal the primary fill of B1 up to the apparent level from which that cut was made. The slightly concave profile of the primary fills of B1 and B2 suggests possible subsidence, and so the secondary fill with its content of mixed material may represent backfilling of the resultant depression at a later date.

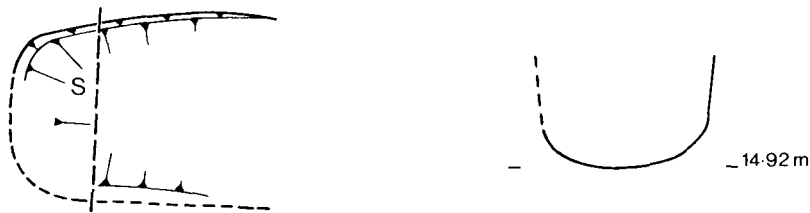


Fig. 6. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 2.

### BURIAL 3

*Adolescent/adult (sex indeterminate); aged at least 17 years; osteoporosis on frontal skull fragment. Fragments of 12 iron nails distributed around all four corners of grave pit.*

Almost directly over B2 on the same east-west alignment was a third rectangular grave

cut from within the cemetery soil and surviving intact except for its east end, cut away by modern foundations (Fig. 7). Within the grave was the articulated skeleton of an adult laid on its back and facing east; legs parallel and outstretched, the right humerus parallel to

the body. The entire torso area, most of the skull including the teeth, left arm and both hands had been removed by intrusive activity, probably disturbance from an overlying burial. Concentrations of iron nails found at either end of the grave suggests that the

inhumation was contained within a nailed wooden coffin. The skeleton was covered by a fill of light reddish-brown clayey silt containing frequent flecks of charcoal, daub, mortar and shell, except in the area over the torso where the bones were absent.

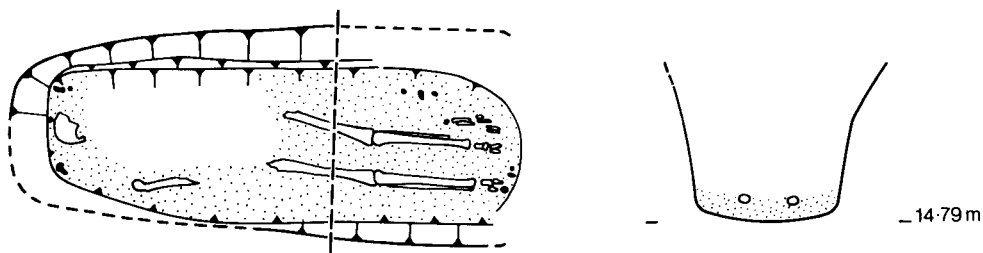


Fig. 7. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 3.

#### BURIAL 4

*Child (sex indeterminate); aged 4½ years; carries in 1 of 14 surviving milk teeth. Corner fragment of red tegula (240 × 168mm) with part of 'signature' mark; both broken edges smoothed; flanged edge placed downwards. Small copper alloy fragment, heavily corroded with dark layer of (?) sulphide on one face;<sup>10</sup> 4 fragments of iron nails.*

The primary fill of B3 was overlain by mid-greenish-brown clayey silt containing moderate fragments of disarticulated and broken human bone and two complete femurs of an adult male laid against the south side of the grave. This in turn was overlain by the disarticulated skull of a child of approximately four and half years (Fig. 8), on a level *c.* 0.25m above the primary burial. The skull, without its lower jaw, was set upright at the west end of the B3 grave-cut and faced an upright fragment of tegula (on the same horizontal plane) 0.38m to the east, which effectively

enclosed an area containing a small unidentifiable bronze fragment and four iron nails, all but one of which occurred on the same east-west axis as the other objects. This axis was centred on the B3 grave-cut and suggests that the bones from B4 represent deliberate reinterment, the cut for which disturbed the primary burial and caused the displacement of bones found within the intervening fill. The reinterment of long-bones, as well as that of skulls, has been found at Lankhills Roman cemetery, Winchester.<sup>11</sup> As none of the bones could be derived from B3, however, the site of their original burial is unknown. B4 was overlain by material indistinguishable from its underlying fill up to the highest identified extent of the B3 grave-cut where, cut into the south side of that grave and adjacent to B4, was an area of localized disturbance (not illustrated), resembling B4 grave fill material

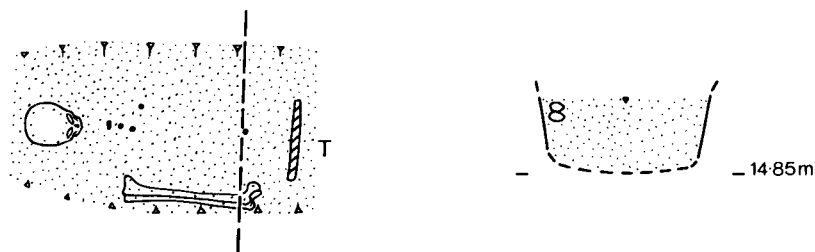


Fig. 8. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 4.



as distinct from surrounding soil. It contained several fragments of human arm and leg bone in an upright position. This would seem to

be an attempt to dispose of the larger bones derived from the disturbance of other graves (see p. 158).

### BURIAL 5

*Female; aged 16–18 years; 156.06cm tall (5ft 1.4in). 2 coins within grave fill; (i) Claudius II, antoninianus, AD 268–70 (R.I.C. 15 or 197), worn;<sup>12</sup> (ii) Constantius II, AD 341–346 (L.R.B.C. ? 273), mint of ? Lyons, slightly worn.<sup>13</sup>*

At 0.15m above B4 a fifth grave was found in the form of a shallow, irregular cut identified only on its north side as a roughly east-west aligned scoop (Fig. 9). It contained the skeleton of an adolescent female lying on its back and facing east, which was partially cut away by modern intrusions and showed signs of having been crushed. Its legs were slightly bent at the knees towards the south, the right arm and hand over the pelvic region and the left arm tightly flexed over the chest. It was overlain by mid-greenish-brown clayey silt containing moderate quantities of tile fragments and two coins of Claudius II and Constantius II (late third and mid fourth centuries). The difficulty in distinguishing this fill

from surrounding deposits and underlying fills accounts for the incomplete grave-cut evidence. It also means that the coins cannot definitely be associated with the burial. The irregular shape of the grave and the flexed form of the skeleton, supported by a general absence of nails, suggests that this burial was not contained within a coffin. The shallow and apparently superficial nature of the B5 burial, almost certainly cut from the latest cemetery levels, shows that little effort was made to locate and inter the body in accordance with earlier burials, which may indicate a changed practice or at least a less formal interment procedure. But although B5 represents the last in a sequence this may not necessarily be a chronological distinction. The burial is paralleled by B13 and B14, the latest Cluster C burials, which also display a lack of formality in burial procedure (see below, p. 150).



Fig. 9. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 5.

### BURIAL 6

*Adult (sex indeterminate); periostitis in right tibia.*

One metre to the south of B5 and cutting into B1 from within the cemetery deposits was

the rounded west end of an east-west aligned grave, mostly cut away by modern intrusions but containing within its base the top of an



Fig. 10. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 6.

adult skull, which would, if *in situ*, imply that the individual was interred on its back facing east. The fill of greenish-brown, pebbly silt with a preponderance of pebbles beneath the skull fragment suggests a simple form of bedding. Seen in section, about 0.50m further east, but not excavated, was evidence of a grave, cut away on all but its south side,

containing within its base the lower half of an east-facing adult skeleton lying on its back, legs outstretched, within a primary fill of greenish-grey pebbly silt. Alignment, base-levels and the nature of the fill all suggest that these two features represent the same interment (Fig. 10).

**BURIAL 7**

A second deposit of mid-greyish-brown clayey silt containing moderate mortar, tile and human bone fragments overlaid the primary interment at the east end of B6, completely filling the cut (Fig. 11). It was not possible to excavate this area by hand but a disarticulated skull was seen in section within this second fill, and may have represented

another burial (B7) within the B6 grave. Bones later retrieved from this fill during removal by machine could not account for an entire individual, so that it would seem most likely that B7 represented a partial reinterment over the position of B6, though not from that burial which already had a skull.



Fig. 11. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 7.

The consistent positioning of B1-B4, and to a lesser extent of B5, implies a burial plot marked in some way (below, p. 157). This relationship is demonstrated by Fig. 12 which indicates a burial cluster (A).

the fills of Cluster A is mostly late 2nd century, except for B4 and B5 which produced 4th-century sherds. This indicates a probable 3rd to 4th-century usage, although in the case of the upper two burials intrusive activity derived from 4th-century disturbance of the cemetery horizon, such as is suggested by the small cut feature adjacent to B4, could account for the late date.

The relationship of B6 and B7 to the cluster is less obvious. It could be fortuitous, but their peripheral position may indicate a continued practice of locating burials in proximity to earlier graves. Datable evidence from

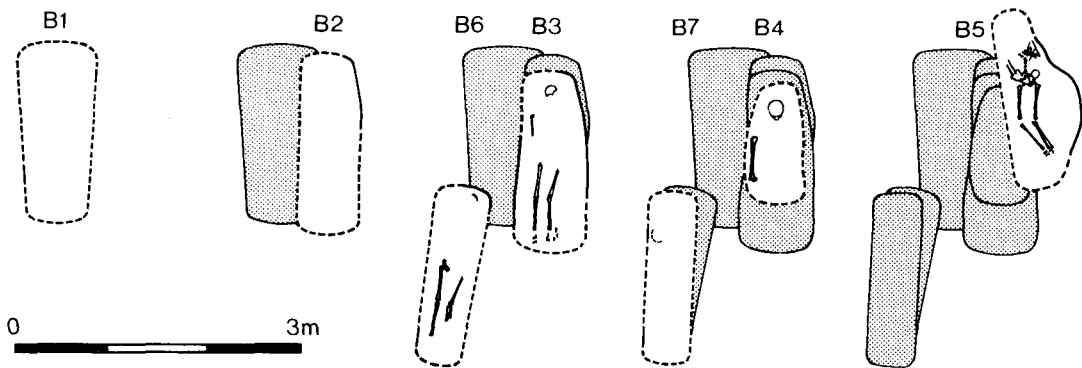


Fig. 12. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Cluster A; sequence of burials. (Tone is used to show the position of the underlying graves in relation to each subsequent burial.)

## CLUSTER B: BURIALS 8-10

A group of three burials (B) occurred in an area two metres to the north of Cluster A (Fig. 3).

## BURIAL 8

*Male; adult; 172.41cm tall (5ft 7.8in); 10 upper teeth lost ante mortem, probably due to caries; severe attrition on the 2 surviving premolars; slight osteoarthritis in right wrist. Corroded fragment of copper-alloy within grave fill.*<sup>14</sup>

The surviving north and east sides of a rectangular grave was set into the Period II levels on an east-west alignment (Fig. 13). It contained within its base an isolated skull of an adult male placed upright without its lower

jaw, against the south side of the grave, facing west and overlain by a deposit of greyish-brown clayey silt with a greenish hue. This would suggest that B8 was a partial reinterment, signifying an earlier, unlocated burial, the position of which could have been masked by B9. Although described separately, B8 was possibly inserted at the same time as the adjacent burial (Burial 9, see below) and could therefore be part of it.



Fig. 13. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 8.

## BURIAL 9

*Adult (sex indeterminate); periostitis in both legs; both Achilles tendons pulled at some time during life. Fragment of iron strip fitting, severely corroded;<sup>15</sup> iron fragment with curvilinear forging pattern;<sup>16</sup> 2 complete iron nails: (i) length: 102mm (bent); diameter of head 24mm; (ii) length: 77mm (straight), diameter of head 27mm and 30 fragments of iron nails including 13 with heads still partly intact, 6 fragments have shanks in excess of 50mm and 5 have shanks bent at right angles; distributed around the corners and along the one surviving longitudinal edge of grave pit.<sup>17</sup> In common with nails from Roman cemetery sites elsewhere in Britain, the coffin nails do not appear to be of a standard size.*<sup>18</sup>

Burial 9 appeared to be cut into the south side of B8 and had a similar alignment and shape but was cut away at its west end by modern foundations. The partial remains of a skeleton, probably adult, were found within the base of the grave, covered by a deposit resembling the fill of B8 only slightly darker. The surviving outstretched legs, indicating an

east-facing interment, were found in proximity to a series of iron nails most of which occurred around the edge of the B9 grave cut; a second group of nails was found on an horizontal plane about 0.2m above the skeleton, in a similar arrangement and indicating the position of a coffin. This coffin would appear to have been larger than was necessary for the individual concerned but is unlikely to be accounted for by the presence of some unarticulated foetal bones within this grave. The coffin may therefore have been reused. Although B9 was interpreted as a separate burial it is possible that B8 forms part of the same grave; that the north side of B9 was not a cut at all but the extent of staining from the decayed B9 coffin (an effect which was not noticed elsewhere on the excavation). The grave cut would then have been considerably wider than the coffin and have provided room for the insertion of the B8 skull beside the coffin.



Fig. 14. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 9.

**BURIAL 10**

*Adolescent/adult (sex indeterminate); aged at least 17 years. Fragment of iron nail found corroded to left tibia.*

Part of the south and east sides of a third rectangular grave, cut away by later activity, was set into the latest Period II deposits, adjacent to B9. Evidence of the original east-facing inhumation was slight and consisted of a single, left tibia of an adolescent

resting on a horizontal course of fine and medium pebbles occurring within a greyish-brown clayey silt deposit containing occasional nails but otherwise resembling the fill of B9. The similarity of the pebbles to the bedding found within the base of B11 (below page 146), helps to distinguish the burial and substantiate what would otherwise be limited evidence of an interment.



Fig. 15. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 10.

As with the burials that formed Cluster A, the consistency with which the burials in this second group were positioned (Fig. 16) strongly suggests a marked plot, although all three burials within Cluster B were truncated by a large, shallow feature, probably of 4th-century date (Fig. 17), which masked the

relationship between them and the cemetery soil, and was perhaps also responsible for the removal of further burials within the group.

The evidence of abraded late 2nd-century pottery sherds found in the fill of B9 and B10 would suggest a date for Cluster B not earlier than the 3rd century.

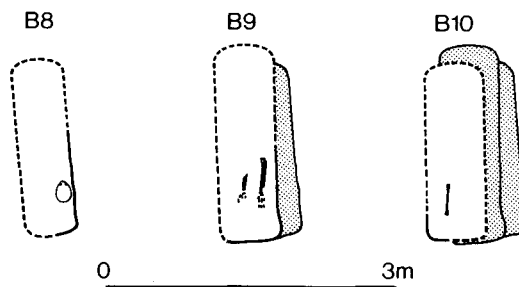


Fig. 16. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Cluster B; sequence of burials.

## CLUSTER C: BURIALS 11-14

The south side of a large, shallow scooped feature was cut into the Period II deposits, sealing Cluster B and extending down for *c.* 2m to a flattish base on the Period I gravel horizon (Fig. 17). Because it was extensively cut away by modern intrusions the evidence amounts to little more than a broad section through part of one side of the feature. It was consequently impossible to ascertain its relationship with the graveyard soil or its complete extent and form, although it is likely to have been considerably larger. Four similar deposits filled the feature and appeared to rise *c.* 0.4m above the south edge (and above the

latest cemetery horizon), to a level of 15.85m O.D., while still reflecting the profile of the scoop. The four inhumations of a third grouping (Cluster C) occurred within these deposits, and therefore post-dated Cluster B. No grave cuts were identified for the three later burials in Cluster C, and due to the difficult excavation conditions most of the scoop-deposits were not differentiated either in the vicinity of Cluster C, or in a narrow strip to the north-west where the fills might be expected to extend. Thus their exact relationship to the individual burials was not established.

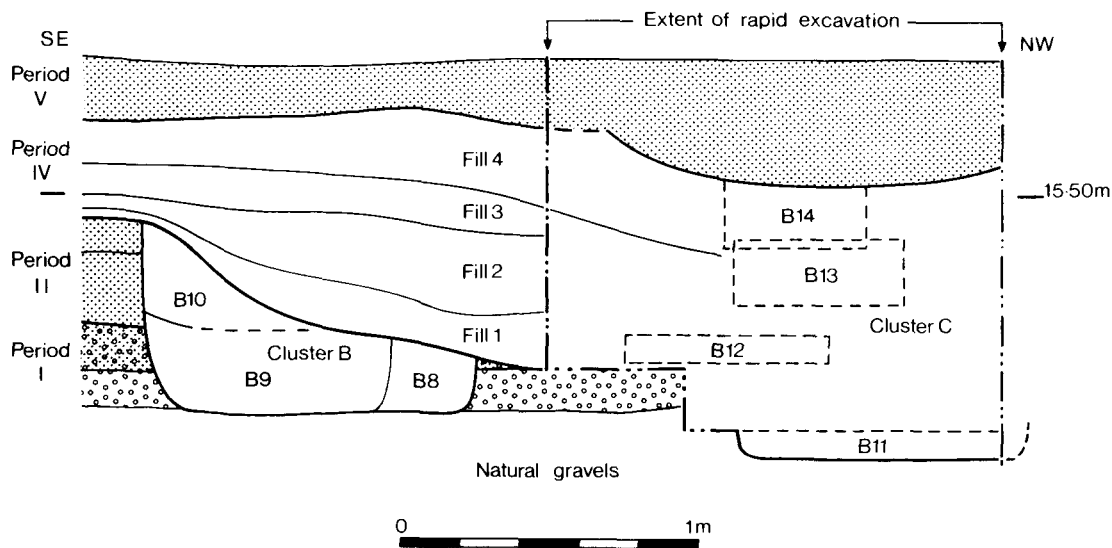


Fig. 17. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Section showing relationship of scoop features to Clusters B and C (see also Fig. 3).

## BURIAL 11

*Male; aged at least 26 years; 166.35cm tall (5ft 5.4in); moderate osteoarthritis in the spinal column. 4 iron nail fragments, maximum surviving length 70mm, distributed along one longitudinal edge of grave pit. Barbarous radiate, late 3rd century, worn, positioned below right knee.<sup>19</sup> 2 hobnails within grave fill.*

The first burial of the third grouping, located *c.* 0.50m north of Cluster B (Fig. 3),

represented the articulated skeleton of an adult male found within the base of a roughly rectangular grave (Pl. 1; Fig. 18). The grave was identified where it cut through the Period I activity below the base of the scoop and it may have been cut from a higher level. There is a possibility that, like the Cluster B burials, it was truncated by the scoop, but the relatively deep grave that this would imply



Plate 1. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 11 looking south (note gravel bedding). (Photo. J. Bailey.)

(0.80m–1m below the cemetery horizon) and its close association with later burials make this unlikely. The skeleton was laid on its back and faced east on a bedding of compacted gravel, legs parallel and outstretched, the arms beside the torso with the right hand over the pelvic area. The left hand was absent, probably caused by intrusive activity while the head and some foot bones had been destroyed by modern intrusions. Moderate quantities of broken pottery were arranged in upright positions around the skeleton sug-

gesting a simple form of grave-packing while several iron nails distributed throughout the fill may indicate that the skeleton was contained within a wooden coffin. The inhumation was covered by a deposit of greenish-grey clayey silt containing moderate flecks of charcoal and daub. A late 3rd-century barbarous radiate coin, found beside the skeleton (Fig. 18, 'C'), could have been residual but provides a *terminus post quem* for this and subsequent burials in the grouping.

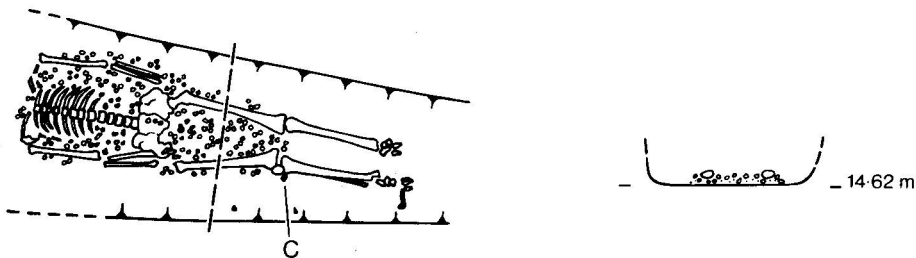


Fig. 18. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 11.

## BURIAL 12

*Female; aged 17–24 years; 171.9cm tall (5ft 7.7in); metopic; no ante mortem tooth loss; caries or calculus in the 29 surviving teeth; slight hypoplasia. 7 bronze bracelets and 2 bronze finger-rings placed in pile on its chest (Fig. 20). There is no evidence that the bracelets interlocked. The bracelets are described from the lowest of the pile followed by the finger-rings, the position of which in the pile could not be determined.*

(i) Strip bracelet decorated with zones of oblique grooves separated from central panel of ribbing by single rectangular device; riveted, lapped fastening; internal diameter *c.* 65mm.<sup>20</sup> The arrangement of a simple central motif flanked by two zones of identical decoration occurs elsewhere in SE England, for example, Richborough, dated *c.* AD 300<sup>21</sup> and probably Fulham, dated before *c.* AD 370.<sup>22</sup>

(ii) Strip bracelet decorated with elaborate central panel of imitation beads bearing ring and dot motifs separated by transverse grooves, flanked by linear groove and notch zones; no fastening survives; internal diameter *c.* 65cm.<sup>23</sup> Lankhills, type E1(a), 4th century or later.<sup>24</sup>

(iii) Strip bracelet decorated with zones of transverse grooves, linear groove and notch pattern and elaborate (?) central panel of imitation beads with ring and dot motifs; no fastening survives; internal diameter *c.* 65mm.<sup>25</sup> Lankhills, type E1(a) (*c.f.* (ii) above).

(iv) Solid bracelet decorated with small notches along each edge; no pattern discernible due to severe corrosion; butt terminals; internal diameter 58mm.<sup>26</sup> A similar bracelet from Richborough dates to *c.* AD 300 or later.<sup>27</sup> At Lankhills bracelets with butt terminals were considered to be more characteristic of the late 4th century<sup>28</sup> but an example from Shakenoak is provisionally dated to the late 3rd century.<sup>29</sup>

(v) Strip bracelet decorated with transverse grooves; expanding fastening; internal diameter 60mm.<sup>30</sup> The single repeating pattern is similar to an example

recovered from 4th-century destruction rubble at Gad-ebidge Park.<sup>31</sup>

(vi) Strip bracelet with beaded decoration; lapped fastening; internal diameter *c.* 65mm.<sup>32</sup> Similar in most respects to Lankhills, type D2(g), 4th century.<sup>33</sup>

(vii) Strip bracelet with cogwheel decoration and a varying number of 6 or 7 transverse grooves between the cogs; (?) lapped fastening; internal diameter *c.* 60mm.<sup>34</sup> This type is common throughout central and southern England in late 3rd to 5th-century deposits as at Lydney, type S<sup>35</sup> and Lankhills, type D1(e).<sup>36</sup>

(viii) Both finger-rings appear to be continuous circles decorated with a series of ribbed grooves but they are extremely corroded and fragmentary.<sup>37</sup> Such rings are common in late Roman deposits, Lankhills, type A2.<sup>38</sup>

A group of ornaments placed in a pile is not unusual. Graves with similar unworn ornaments appear to date from the 4th century and at Lankhills a date of *c.* AD 350–370 is suggested.<sup>39</sup>

*Fragments of at least 4 iron nails distributed around sides of grave pit. Within the overlying fill were (a) a miniature bronze bell cast in one piece with a polygonal canon and an iron clapper, the method by which the clapper is attached is obscured by corrosion; no evidence of tinning or silvering; height 22mm; diameter 26mm<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 20, ix); similar bells have been recovered from other burials, e.g., an adult grave at Grange Road, Winchester, late 1st century;<sup>41</sup> in a child's grave at Guilden Morden, 3rd–4th century;<sup>42</sup> and in the cemetery soil at Trentholme Drive;<sup>43</sup> (b) fragment of copper alloy (?) bracelet (?) decorated in relief; riveted lapped fastening<sup>44</sup> (Fig. 20, x). Relief decoration is not common on bracelets, one example only occurs at Lankhills, type D2(e), mid 4th century.<sup>45</sup>*



Fig. 19. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 12.

Burial 12, the skeleton of an articulated adult female, occurred 0.3m above B11 and on the same alignment. There was no evidence of a grave-cut, but the skeleton was laid on its back facing east with legs parallel and outstretched arms by its side with the right

hand over the pelvis (Pl. 2; Fig. 19). As with B11, the left hand was missing and it is conceivable that both deficiencies could be accounted for by the same (unidentified) intrusive activity, while the lower legs and most of the upper right side were removed by

modern intrusions. Iron nail fragments (not illustrated) distributed around the skeleton indicate that, like B11, it was contained in a wooden coffin. A group of seven late Roman bronze bracelets and two finger-rings (Figs. 19'R',20), were placed on the chest and

appeared to be *in situ*, while a small bronze bell and a further fragment of bracelet (Fig. 20), found within the deposit directly over the skeleton may also be *in situ*, although the bell could have rested on top of the B12 coffin.

The first three deposits within the scooped

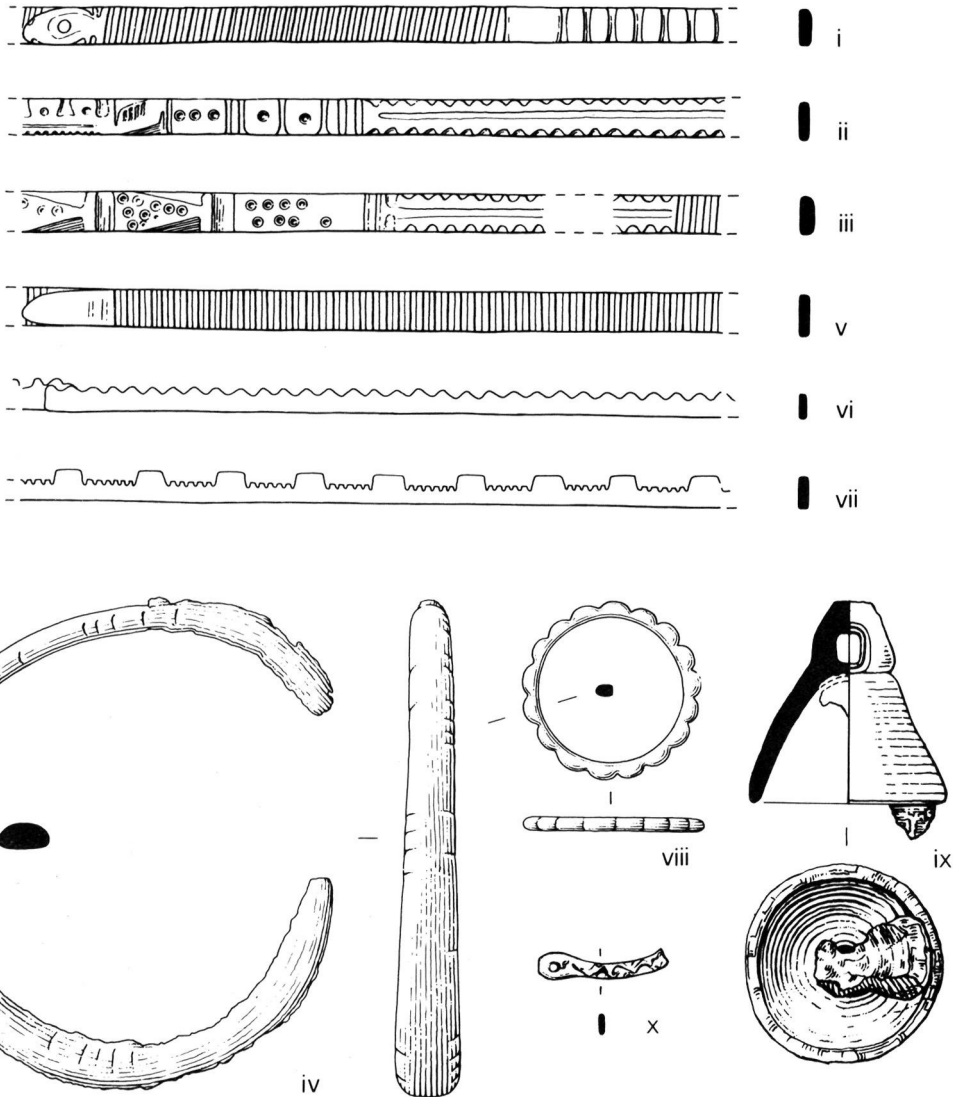


Fig. 20. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Grave goods and associated finds from B12; i-vii and x—Bronze bracelets; viii—Bronze finger-ring ('R', Fig. 19); ix—Bronze and iron bell (1/1).





Plate 2. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 12 looking south (note position of bronze bracelets on chest). (Photo. J. Bailey.)

feature sloped towards the position of B11 and B12. They contained small quantities of refuse in the form of pottery, shell, iron nails including hobnails, animal and human bone and building debris such as mortar, tile, occasional tesserae and ragstone fragments. Pottery suggests a 3rd-century date for the first two fills although the first did contain a small square-sectioned bead of possible 4th-century date.<sup>46</sup> The interface between these and the fourth scoop-deposit, identified more clearly than the others, was seen to extend further north effectively sealing B12 within a

deposit containing 3rd-century material (Fig. 17).

The fourth scoop-deposit contained similar inclusions and two highly corroded bronze coins,<sup>47</sup> a 3rd-century *antoninianus* and a late 3rd-century barbarous radiate. As the pottery from this fill included 4th-century sherds the coins were clearly residual, supporting the evidence of fragmented human bone and hobnails in suggesting that these deposits represented excess material derived from other grave digging in the cemetery.

#### BURIAL 13

*Female; aged 15–18 years; metopic; 6 teeth lost ante mortem, probably due to caries; no caries in 23 surviving, fully erupted teeth; moderate calculus. Fragment of iron (?) nail found corroded to right mandible.*

The third burial in this group occurred about 0.15m above B12 on the same east-west alignment and, though not seen to be sealed by any scoop-fill, must have been cut into the latest of these deposits. It represented the

skeleton of an adolescent female found in close association with a fourth individual (Burial 14), that of an eight year old child. The proximity of the latter makes it difficult to envisage how it could have been interred separately without disturbing B13, and this may imply that the two represent a joint burial.

There was no evidence of a grave-cut and

B13 was laid on its back, on a slightly east-sloping plane. The body was aligned generally east-west but the head was twisted to the south; the surviving right humerus was parallel to the torso (Fig. 21), where the entire left side of the body and all the bones below the rib cage were removed by workmen before the burial could be recorded.



Fig. 21. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 13.

#### BURIAL 14

*Child (sex indeterminate); aged 8 years; carries in 2 of 5 surviving milk teeth; slight calculus.*

Burial 14 was separated from B13 by a deposit of material *c.* 0.05m thick which could not otherwise be distinguished from the deposit underlying B13. The skeleton was laid on its back and, like B13, was set on a plane tilting down to the east. The head was raised up and turned to the north, and the surviving right arm lay parallel to the body (Fig. 22). The skeleton was sealed by a deposit of material which was again indistinguishable

from the underlying deposits, and contained one sherd of probable 4th-century date which is consistent with dating from the adjacent, fourth scoop-deposit. The distinctive tilt of both interments, the proximity of these two skeletons and an absence of coffin evidence suggest that they were buried together possibly in a casual fashion (similar to the latest burial from Cluster A). The material dividing them probably derived from subsequent decomposition and earth movements.



Fig. 22. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 14.

Although grave-cut evidence was mostly lacking in this group of burials, the relative position of the four individuals showed the same consistency of alignment and accuracy of location (above Fig. 23), as did Cluster B and the early Cluster A burials, supporting the suggestion that this third cluster also represented a group of burials on a marked plot. Although the fills could not be directly related to the burials the cluster was clearly associated with the large scoop-feature by virtue of the absolute levels of B11–B14 compared with those of the four scoop-deposits, and of their

late 3rd to mid 4th-century date. The evidence that two burials were sealed by the third deposit, and the implication that Cluster C continued to be marked so that further interments (B13 and B14) could be positioned, argues strongly that the feature was dug for burials. The deposition of quantities of cemetery soil in the depression can be seen not as a piecemeal disposal of excess grave-yard material in a convenient depression but as a deliberate sealing of the successive burials of Cluster C.

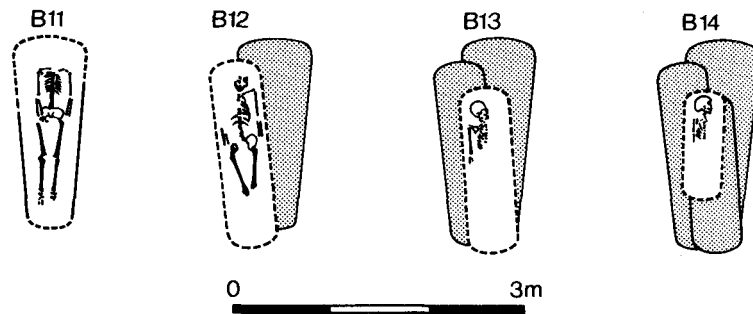


Fig. 23. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Cluster C, sequence of burials (the conventional grave-form is shown for B12–B14).

#### INDIVIDUALS BURIALS: Burials 15–20

Five individual burials were found in an area to the south-east of Cluster A (Fig. 3).

#### BURIAL 15

*Child (sex indeterminate); aged 6 years; no caries or calculus in the 23 surviving teeth; recurring hypoplasia. Hadrian, dupondius, AD 118 (R.I.C. 116); relatively unworn within overlying grave fill.*<sup>48</sup>

The nearest to Cluster A, Burial 15, 0.5m to the south, represented the skeleton of a child set into a roughly rectangular, east-west aligned grave. The grave was cut through the initial cemetery deposit (which covered this part of the site), down to a Period II *opus signinum* pavement which formed a base on which the skeleton was placed. It was laid on its back with the head turned to the north, the arms beside the body and the hands placed over the pelvic region. The eastern part of the grave, where the legs should have been, was

removed by modern foundations and the spine, finger bones and some ribs were absent and may have decayed, while those bones which had survived were severely crushed, probably as a result of compaction against the hard, *opus signinum* surface. The burial was covered by a greenish-brown clayey silt which showed the same compacted characteristic as the skeleton, and which contained a *dupondius* of Hadrian (early 2nd century) over the area of the torso. Although the coin occurred above the level at which the grave was identified, its presence close to the inhumation may signify a kind of burial offering placed within the grave fill, as may similarly located coins found near B5 and B11.



Fig. 24. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 15.

**BURIAL 16**

Child (sex indeterminate); aged 2 years; no caries or calculus on the 16 surviving milk teeth. Placed between both knees were (i) bone counter, lathe turned with bevelled edges, diameter 19mm, worn<sup>49</sup> and (ii) a canine tooth of domestic pig, broken at one end and polished, possibly from handling<sup>50</sup> (Fig. 26). The tooth may have been a plaything and might be compared with a flint pebble from a child's grave at Chichester<sup>51</sup>. There is no evidence to connect it with the pierced teeth worn as pendants or part of necklaces found in some late Roman or Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.<sup>52</sup>

Iron nail in one corner of grave pit, surviving length 60mm, diameter of head 18mm. Within overlying fill (iii) fragment of strip bracelet, silver-plated<sup>53</sup> (Fig. 26). The dating of silver-plated bracelets is uncertain. None were found amongst the 174 bracelets excavated at Lankhills cemetery but at least one was present in a group of 15 bronze bracelets found at Upper Upham, Aldbourne, Wiltshire, which otherwise included late 3rd–4th-century types.<sup>54</sup> (iv) 12 hobnails (position not recorded).



Plate 3. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 16 looking south (the hole in the head represents an unfortunate placing of a grid-post). (Photo. T. Hurst.)



Fig. 25. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 16.

A second child burial was found 0.30m south of B15 with a rectangular grave, identified only where it cut through the underlying *opus signinum* pavement and Period III destruction (Pl. 3; Fig. 25 above). The surviving bones were partially articulated and showed that the skeleton was laid on its back with the head turned to the north, the legs parallel and outstretched, the arms in a folded position across the chest; while the spine, ribs and most small bones were absent and had

apparently decayed. The fill of greyish-brown clayey silt, with frequent *opus signinum* fragments and occasional lumps of brickearth, contained one large nearly complete iron nail close to the skull, which indicates that B16 could have been interred within some form of container. A small bone counter and canine tooth of a pig, placed close together between the knees, may have been associated grave goods (Fig. 26). A fragment of silver-plated bracelet within the fill was probably residual.

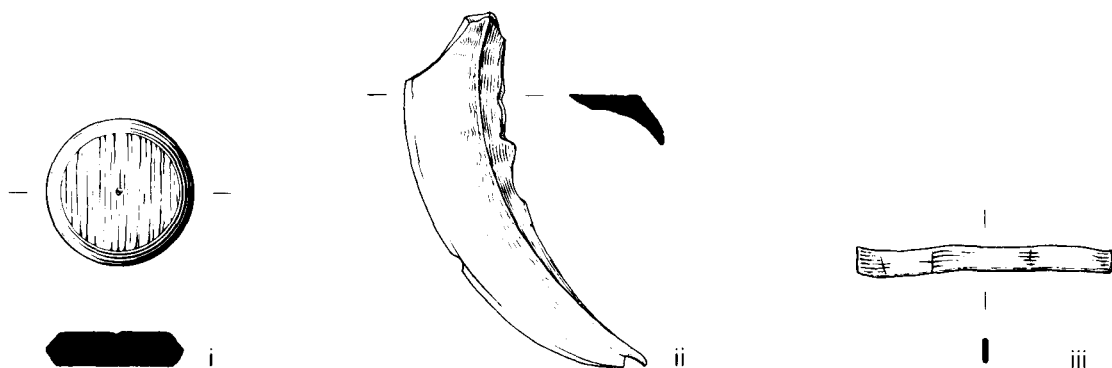


Fig. 26. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Objects derived from the grave-fill of B16: i—Bone counter; ii—Pig's tooth ('G', Fig. 25) and iii—Fragment of bracelet (1/1).

#### BURIAL 17

*Female; aged 17–25 years; metopic; caries in 3 of the 9 surviving teeth; slight calculus; moderate periodontal disease; slight hypoplasia.*

Seen in section, about 1.5m to the southeast of B16, was the extreme west end of a grave which had originally contained an articulated east-facing skeleton laid on its back, and briefly observed during its removal

by machine. Bones retrieved show that it represented an adult female placed within a deposit of what the surviving fill indicated to be greyish-brown clayey silt. This contained moderate charcoal flecks, occasional brick-earth lumps and a preponderance of fine and medium pebbles in the base of the grave, which could signify a simple form of bedding.

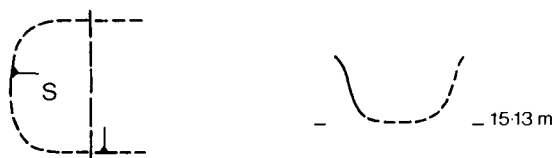


Fig. 27. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 17.

**BURIAL 18**

*Adult (sex indeterminate); evidence of a healed wound and resulting periostitis in the right tibia, which may have caused the slight osteoarthritis in the right foot and ankle.*

Two metres to the south-east of B17 was a further burial, uncovered and partially destroyed by machine. An examination of those bones still *in situ* revealed it to be the interment of an east-facing adult laid on its

back with legs parallel and outstretched, the right humerus beside the body, surviving within the base of a grave filled with a greenish-grey clayey silt containing occasional fragments of brickearth and pottery, the latter being noticeably less abraded than that from other burials and including a rim sherd of a rare Lezoux bowl.



Fig. 28. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 18.

**BURIAL 19**

*Male; aged 35-45; 1 tooth lost ante mortem, probably due to caries; caries in 1 of only 2 surviving teeth; slight calculus; severe periodontal disease; advanced osteoarthritis in the lower spinal column, hip joints and both wrists. Fragments of 2 iron nails positioned along one longitudinal edge of grave pit. Part of decorative copper alloy fitting within fill<sup>55</sup> (Fig. 29).*

A fifth individual was found lying parallel to B18, 0.5m to the south. The narrow sided grave was cut from within the cemetery soil and contained within its base the articulated skeleton of an adult male. It was laid on its back, aligned east-west with the head turned to the south. The upper arms were parallel to the body and the lower arms were crossed,

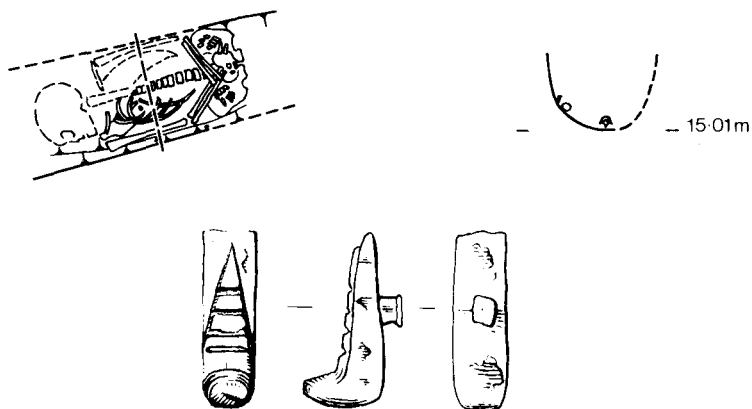


Fig. 29. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 19 and copper alloy object from grave-fill (1/1).

left over right, in the abdominal region; the right hand was turned in and clasped. All evidence below the pelvis had been destroyed by later intrusions, while the skull and upper, left side of the skeleton were removed by workmen under observation. It was contained within and sealed by a deposit of greenish-grey clayey silt with moderate quantities of

pebbly brickearth. There was a slight increase in small pebbles beneath the skeleton which, like B6 and B17, suggests a superficial bedding. Several iron nails located around the skeleton indicate a form of burial container, although the narrowness of the grave implies that it could not have been as large or substantial as those from B3, B9 or B11.

## BURIAL 20

*Male; adult.*

In Area B, 8m to the east of Cluster A, a sixth isolated burial B20 was seen in section. A small excavation revealed the skull, scapula and left humerus of an adult male skeleton, lying on its back and facing east, within a deposit of grey, clayey silt with moderate fine charcoal and daub fragments. All other bones had been removed by workmen and the difficult lighting conditions in this area (within a basement at the time of excavation), prevented the identification of an associated grave cut or of any horizontal stratigraphy. Area B was particularly cut into by later activity, and although cemetery soil was identified in the vicinity at approximately the same level, the isolated position, limited survival and the unusual content of the burial matrix must raise doubts about its relation to the Roman cemetery.

The first five isolated burials all had similar grave-profiles, but in no instance was a definite grave top found, even though there was no obvious overlying activity to disturb

horizons. Hence the level from which each was cut could not be determined. Their fill-content, which included brickearth, was derived from a disturbance of the underlying Period III stratigraphy during the digging of each grave, and helped differentiate the lower part of the burials. But although this material was not seen in the upper levels, its absence is insufficient evidence for concluding that the graves were sealed by any subsequent deposition of cemetery soil.

Five of the burials had similar characteristics in that the individual graves had relatively shallow and narrow profiles and four of them produced sherds of exclusively 2nd-century date, suggesting that, as with the three clusters, burial would not have taken place before the early 3rd century. The extent of the site was however too limited to draw any conclusions as to whether the individual burials represented a type of activity peculiar to this part of the cemetery.



Fig. 30. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial 20.

## DISCUSSION OF BURIALS 1-20

The evidence of twenty burials presented here consists in the main of the partial remains of inhumations, in some cases reinterred, contained within east-west aligned grave cuts. It shows that at

least eight of the individuals (which included men, women and children) were probably buried within wooden coffins, five of them apparently being laid on a superficial gravel bedding, and two of

them (a further three when coin evidence is included) were found in association with grave goods. Fourteen burials were grouped together in three clusters (A–C, Figs 12, 16 and 23), whilst the remaining six were found in isolated positions in one part of the site. The evidence is not adequate to date the burials individually but does suggest that none was interred before the 3rd century, and that of the clusters, the largest (A) had a 3rd to 4th-century range, B was probably 3rd century and C, which sealed B, was late 3rd to mid 4th century in date.

The clusters are of considerable interest. Had the burials represented random interment and incidental disturbance, the digging of graves (in the absence of any other known factors) would be expected to occur evenly throughout the area. The presence of clusters, however, implies that

they were identifiable in antiquity and were probably marked in some way, perhaps with burial mounds such as may have distinguished individual grave plots at Lankhills cemetery, Winchester.<sup>56</sup> Between the clusters were areas free from intrusion, with the exception of B6 and B7 which may represent unintentional, intercutting. The other, individual, burials can also be seen to be isolated from their immediate neighbours and from the clusters. In addition there is a consistency of orientation; with the exception of one west-facing reinterment (B8), all the burials that could be measured showed only a 31° divergence (+18°–13°) from 270° (head due west). The implications, even within so small a group, of an ordered layout—a necessary prerequisite in a formal cemetery—is too strong to be discounted in terms of coincidence.

Burial no. (Cluster)	Survival	Orientation	Level	Sex	Age	Bedding	Coffin	Grave Goods	Fig.	Page
1(A)	D	*	14.90	*	*	*	*	*	5	139
2(A)	D	*	14.92	m	35–45	*	*	*	6	140
3(A)	D	272	14.78	*	>16	—	yes	*	7	140
4(A)	I	272	14.84	*	4.5s	—	pos	pos	8	141
5(A)	D	263	15.29	f	16–18	—	—	pos C	9	142
6(A)	PD	279	14.91	*	adult	pos	*	*	10	142
7(A)	PD	*	c15.00	*	*	—	*	*	11	143
8(B)	D	*	14.67	m	adult	—	—	*	13	144
9(B)	D	269	14.73	*	adult	—	yes	*	14	144
10(B)	D	269	15.00	*	>16	yes	pos	*	15	145
11(C)	D	275	14.58	m	>26	yes	yes	pos C	18	146
12(C)	D	268	14.92	f	17–24	—	pos	yes R	19	148
13(C)	D	271	c15.10	f	15–18	—	—	*	21	150
14(C)	D	276	c15.29	*	8	—	—	*	22	151
15	D	280	15.34	*	6	—	—	pos C	24	152
16	I	288	15.12	*	2	—	pos	yes G	25	153
17	PD	*	15.13	f	17–25	pos	*	*	27	154
18	PD	265	15.02	*	adult	—	*	*	28	155
19	D	257	15.01	m	35–45	pos	yes	*	29	155
20	PD	*	14.39	m	adult	*	*	*	30	156

Fig. 31. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Burial data table. \*: evidence uncertain; lack of data may reflect only the limitations of survival and observation. *Survival*: D—disturbance of burial either in antiquity or by modern building activity; I—burial intact; P—surviving evidence only partially observed. *Orientation*: of burial to true north. *Level*: lowest recorded point of burial in metres O.D. *Age*: s—data based on skull alone. pos: possible interpretation of evidence. *Grave goods*: C—coin; R—bracelet, rings, bell; G—bone counter, pig tooth.



This conclusion is reinforced by an examination of the layout of the much larger burial groups at Lankhills and Poundbury cemeteries.<sup>57</sup>

The continued use of a marked plot suggests that the site was owned or reserved by some individual or group. The presence of children might seem to preclude burial associations or guilds, though little is known of the workings of such institutions. The general mixture of males, females and children suggest rather some form of small family group. The close proximity of mixed groups has been taken as evidence of familial association at Lankhills and again at Butt Road, Colchester, but in both instances the examples took a slightly different form.<sup>58</sup> Although there is no direct pathological evidence to indicate such groups, examination of some of the elements within Cluster C (tabulated in Fig. 31) shows that a fair degree of consistency existed between it and the other clusters. This might be expected with family units, despite the imprecise age given for several individuals, the presence of reinterments and the fact that some of the data from Cluster B, which may have included further individuals, is incomplete.

In the case of Cluster C an adult male was buried first and was followed by a female, with a younger female and child probably buried together on top. The cases of A and B, though less complete could, in terms of sex and age, contain similar elements. Although the coffin associated with the second burial in C is unlikely to have been as substantial as that containing the male, the contrasting absence of container evidence in the subsequent burial(s) is clear. The presence of substantial coffins among the first buried might suggest a status commensurate with the person's position within that group, perhaps as a senior member of the family and although it emerges less

clearly this pattern can also be seen among one of the first adults in both clusters A and B. However, the lack of a coffin for the latest burials in C (also in A) could suggest a more casual approach to interment, such as has been found in late 4th-century burials at Lankhills.<sup>59</sup> This reduced formality may be the cause of the subsequent disuse of the plot.

An alternative explanation of the clustering could be that, under difficult physical conditions, it might have been quicker and easier to inter an individual on the site of any other conspicuous grave. For example, a skull (B7) had apparently been reinterred within an existing grave (B6), which already cut through the hard *opus signinum* pavement of Period II.<sup>60</sup> However, consideration of the site evidence in general does not favour this explanation.

Reinterment is usually caused by disturbance of existing graves by subsequent burials and is seen here in the form of three skulls and two long bones from B4, B7 and B8, and, less formally, the collection of broken bones close to B4; all occur within the clusters. Such disturbance contrasts with the organized approach indicated by the clusters which are suggestive of marked plots, though it might have been unavoidable given the relative shallowness of the graves and cemetery soil. The subsequent reinterment could have been a mark of respect or of superstition, despite the original disturbance, or a desire to dispose of disinterred bones lying around the area.

The phenomenon of clustering apart, the number of burials involved with here is too small a sample for their data to be assessed in terms of funerary practice (as emphasized below, page 163). Overall, however, a coherent picture is presented, of a cemetery in use from the 3rd century until sometime in the 4th, covering a derelict area previously occupied by a build-

ing, with fourteen of the twenty burials arranged in three clusters, one of which occurred in a scooped-out feature, but all of which suggest separately reserved areas, possibly for individual families; of

a number of cases of reinterment, though the full significance of this is not understood; and of the discontinuation of the cemetery, marked by a layer of dark earth which was not itself disturbed.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

### PART I

#### A ROMAN CEMETERY IN THE SMITHFIELD AREA

by David Bentley

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The excavation has provided evidence of at least twenty burials from a small area on the plateau of the hill on the western side of the Roman settlement. Although this is a relatively small number of burials, repeated interment and the positioning of graves suggests that they represented part of an organized urban cemetery. This discussion considers such a cemetery in terms of its relationship to the development of the settlement by re-examining the chronological and topographical distribution of other recorded evidence.

The St. Bartholomew's Hospital excavation lay within an area near West Smithfield where twenty-two Roman inhumation and cremation or accessory-vessel find-sites occur (Fig. 32), observed mainly in the 18th and 19th centuries but unfortunately often imprecisely located and inadequately recorded.<sup>61</sup> From such data the area was first defined in the Royal Commission's survey of 1928,<sup>62</sup> in which it is described as the 'Newgate-Smithfield-Farringdon Cemetery' extending between the Roman city wall to the south-east, and the river Fleet to the west, and one of four broad zones of burial activity identified outside Roman Lon-

don. This discussion concentrates on evidence from that part of the area north of Newgate Street (Sites 11-21, Fig. 32 and Appendix pp. 160,166), which includes most of the sites around West Smithfield.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF BURIALS

Within this area is a variation in burial rite between cremation or funerary vessels,<sup>63</sup> which date from the 1st to early 3rd centuries, and inhumations, which date from the 3rd and 4th centuries. The existence of two distinct rites with a possible 3rd-century overlap is consistent with known burial practice elsewhere in Roman Britain, where they are often found on the same site.<sup>64</sup> But the distribution of cremations within West Smithfield suggests that this practice can be further divided by date. A later sub-division, cremations of the mid 2nd to early 3rd centuries, showed a distinctive arrangement corresponding to the location of the inhumations and they are accordingly discussed together as Sites 13-21.

The early cremations of the mid 1st to mid 2nd centuries, which reveal a different pattern, are considered first. Those which fall within the study area occur on

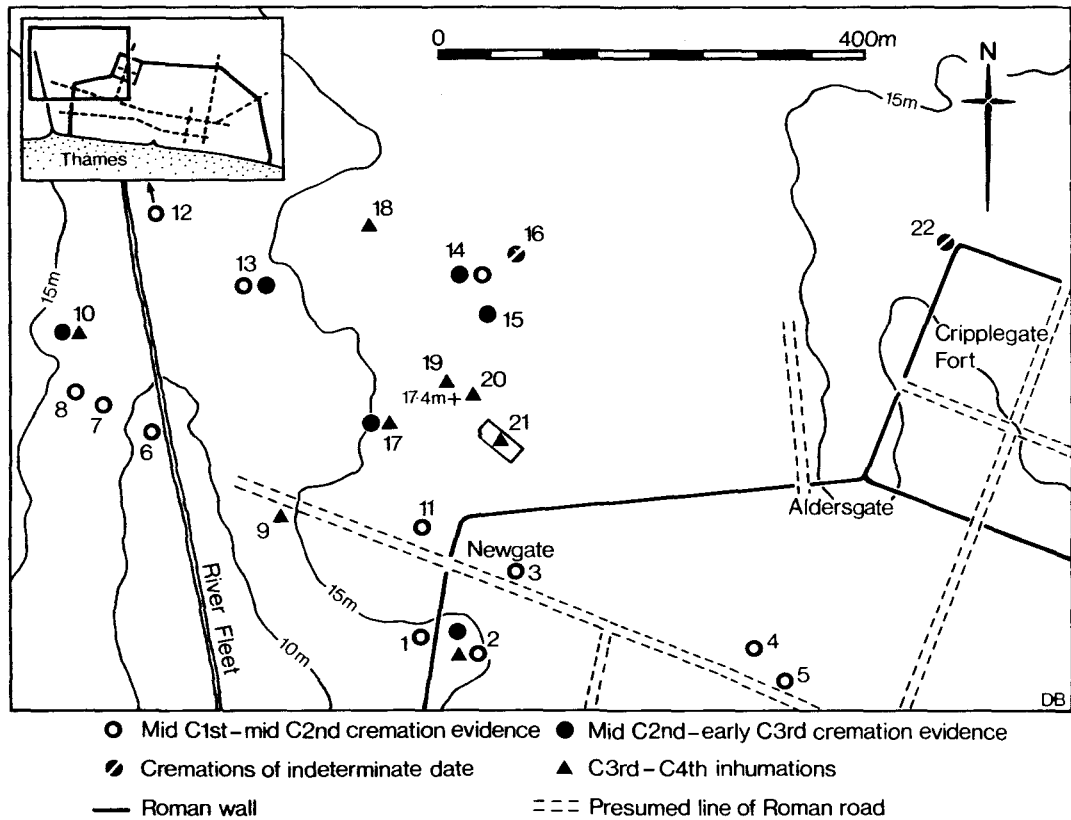


Fig. 32. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Roman burial sites and topography. Numbers refer to find-sites discussed on pages 159–167 and note 61 and listed below. Sites 11–21 lie within the Smithfield area. Roads and walls are based on the Ordnance Survey's *Londinium* (1981) Crown copyright.

Find Site 1: Old Bailey.  
 Find Site 2: Warwick Square.  
 Find Site 3: Newgate Street.  
 Find Site 4: St. Martins le Grand.  
 Find Site 5: St. Martins le Grand.  
 Find Site 6: Vicinity of Holborn Viaduct.  
 Find Site 7: Holborn Hill.  
 Find Site 8: St. Andrews, Holborn Circus.  
 Find Site 9: Newcastle Street/Seacoal Lane.  
 Find Site 10: Charterhouse Street.  
 Find Site 11: St. Sepulchre's, Giltspur Street.  
 Find Site 12: Underground Railway, Clerkenwell.  
 Find Site 13: Snow Hill/West Street vicinity.

Find Site 14: 'West Smithfield area'.  
 Find Site 15: 'Near St. Bartholomew's Hospital'.  
 Find Site 16: Clothfair.  
 Find Site 17: Cock Lane.  
 Find Site 18: The Ram and the Rose public houses, Smithfield Market.  
 Find Site 19: Hosier Lane.  
 Find Site 20: St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Medical School (1878).  
 Find Site 21: St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1979 excavation.  
 Find Site 22: Well Street/Jewin Street.<sup>65</sup>

Sites 11–14, and are broadly contemporary with certain more distant cases (not covered in detail here) which, with some outlying exceptions (Sites 12–14), extend both east and west along Newgate Street, whose Roman predecessor led westwards towards Silchester. Those to the east are found as far as St. Martin's le Grand (Sites 1–5), and most lie within the Roman defences of *c.* AD 200. Since burial in the Roman period was legally confined to areas outside the limits of the settlement,<sup>66</sup> this distribution would suggest that the early western boundary of *Londinium* was well to the east of its successor, perhaps on a line projected south from the western side of the Cripplegate fort.<sup>67</sup> This general area has also produced evidence of industrial activity<sup>68</sup> and buildings of 1st to 2nd-century date at the GPO Newgate Street<sup>69</sup> and, further north, from the St. Bartholomew's site itself (Period II, p. 136).

Further to the west, evidence of early cremations again occurs close to the road (Sites 6, 7 and 8), although Site 6 is concentrated in the valley of the Fleet; most of it observed during the construction of Holborn Viaduct in the 1860s when precise locations were not recorded. Taken together this group of early sites demonstrates a linear distribution alongside Newgate Street, a common burial pattern since main thoroughfares offered the most accessible and conspicuous places for extramural burial.<sup>70</sup> The few early sites within the area of study should therefore be seen as part of a linear arrangement which continues in both directions outside that area. In this sense the 'Newgate-Smithfield-Farringdon cemetery', as defined by the Royal Commission, requires reinterpreting to take account of the early Roman period.

In contrast, the later group of late 2nd to early 3rd-century cremations, and 3rd–4th-century inhumations, suggest a

nucleated rather than linear, pattern of distribution in that they concentrate around the city walls, in a broad sweep up to 300m from Newgate. Many of these burial sites are well away from any known thoroughfares of the Roman period (although the possibility of a north-south road bisecting this area cannot be discounted and it is certainly likely that a trackway would have provided access to the burials from near Newgate). But this concentration, together with the evidence of cemetery organization indicated by the excavation at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, (pages 156–159), suggests that for the later period, the area of study does cover a substantial cemetery.

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL INFLUENCES

Some of the limits of such a cemetery can be given. To the south-east, the defensive line of the city wall would have been a definite limit of any cemetery development after its construction in *c.* AD 200<sup>71</sup> and no inhumation which could be construed as evidence of an organized cemetery has been found within its line.<sup>72</sup> It is interesting that cremations from the mid 2nd to early 3rd century also lie, with one exception<sup>73</sup> (Site 2), outside the line of the wall although at least some of them must ante-date it. This might imply an earlier boundary on this line which the wall subsequently reinforced. It is likely however that the construction of the wall was the main spur to the specific concentration of the cemetery in the Smithfield area.

Other topographical features which perhaps define the limits of a Smithfield cemetery are less easy to identify. Few sites have been found to the south of Newgate Street between the wall and the river Fleet, perhaps because of the restricted area available, while those which have been found (see above and p. 162) lay close to the course of the road.

At the Lankhills cemetery at Winchester it is demonstrated that main thoroughfares could offer well-defined boundaries to cemetery development,<sup>74</sup> and this perhaps was the case with Newgate Street, which may have formed the south-west boundary of the Smithfield cemetery.

To the west the limit of the cemetery is unknown. Here the most significant topographical feature was the steep eastern side of the valley of the River Fleet. Although this represents a considerable physical barrier (possibly accounting for the southern return of the defensive wall further to the east), this does not appear to have prevented burial along its slopes. A group of mostly 2nd century or later vessels (Site 13, Fig. 32) were found on the side of the valley *c.* 300m north of Newgate Street, and two small groups, one of inhumations, the other of mixed rite, have also been found, also within the valley but beyond the defined area of study. Of these one was located to the south of Newgate Street (Site 9) and the other just west of the river, north of Newgate Street (Site 10) and might represent overspill, a late extension to the nucleated cemetery. But equally, their position close to the thoroughfare could be taken as evidence of the continuity of the linear distribution of the 1st and 2nd century into the 3rd,<sup>75</sup> comparable with a small group of inhumations found beside the Roman road at Notting Hill, 7km further west.<sup>76</sup> These roadside inhumations, like the isolated, early cremations within Smithfield, do however demonstrate that any regulations or conventions which might have governed the distribution of burials were fairly flexible.

The burial sites suggest an eastern limit to the cemetery which would have run north slightly to the east of Newgate, with the St. Bartholomew's Hospital excavation (Site 21) at its edge. The northern limit is less obvious, and neither side can

be associated with any major man-made or natural topographical feature. They may therefore have been demarcated by less substantial boundaries such as ditches or hedges,<sup>77</sup> especially given the organized approach to burial implied by the St. Bartholomew's excavation.<sup>78</sup>

The area defined above, a relatively open area covering at least 9 hectares and conveniently close to Newgate, was the nearest available space outside the western walls. The natural topography gives the site an elevated position. In fact there is some suggestion that the distribution of the inhumations may be concentrated around a spot which represented the highest point of this hill (at least as identified in the modern contours, see Fig. 32).

In the area to the east of the cemetery which is bisected by the Roman forerunner of Aldersgate Street<sup>79</sup> no burials have been found except for two adjacent cremations close to the wall of Cripplegate Fort<sup>80</sup> (Site 22); in an area of intensive post-war development it is likely that at least some grave evidence would have been forthcoming had it existed. The gate at Aldersgate itself however was a late Roman addition to the city wall,<sup>81</sup> and was of a lower status throughout its existence. This, and the fact that the nearby cemetery had already been formalized, probably accounts for the absence of burials in this area.

#### SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE FOR OTHER CEMETERIES IN ROMAN LONDON

Three other areas in London are suggested by the Royal Commission as likely Roman cemeteries: Bishopsgate and Aldersgate in the north and east, and Ludgate in the west, south of Newgate Street, though included under a general heading of more remote burials,<sup>82</sup> while further burials have been identified across the

Thames in Southwark. Those in Bishopsgate, Aldgate and Southwark were all of mixed rite, possibly nucleated in the first two cases, and close to the main Roman roads leading away from the settlement in the case of Southwark.<sup>83</sup> Ludgate on the other hand, has produced only cremation evidence and it is noticeable that this was distributed in linear fashion along the course of Fleet Street, west of the river. Further study of these locations

is essential to a fuller understanding of the nature of burial practice in London in terms of Roman demography and in distribution of burials according to type and dating. But such an examination must await the production of more data following excavations within the areas concerned as well as further research into vessels already held in museum collections.

## PART II SUPPORTING FINDS EVIDENCE

by Frances Pritchard

The excavations at St. Bartholomew's Hospital prompted a re-examination of Roman artefacts recorded from the area defined above (p. 159) in order to clarify the extent and development of the Roman cemetery.

Although few in number, most of the objects with a Smithfield provenance are of types likely to be associated specifically with burials.<sup>84</sup> They chiefly consist of complete flagons, platters and cups, which are common as accessory vessels in graves, and large jars, which are likely to have been used as cinerary urns.<sup>85</sup> There are also three complete mortaria, which are rarely found in association with burials elsewhere in Roman Britain.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless an inhumation observed near West Street is said to have included a mortarium,<sup>87</sup> later described as being 'bent out of shape when fired' and therefore presumably a kiln second (Figs. 32 and 33, No. 18).<sup>88</sup> Burials at Cock Lane are also referred to as having mortaria 'found in conjunction with human remains' (Figs. 32 and 33, No. 17).<sup>89</sup> Personal ornaments which may also be derived from graves include a jet bead

from St. Sepulchre's Church (Fig. 32, No. 11)<sup>90</sup> and two glass finger-rings, both of which are 4th century types (Figs 32 and 33, No. 14).<sup>91</sup> A third ring with a Smithfield provenance is, however, suspect since it is a Greek signet ring probably not later in date than the 4th century BC.<sup>92</sup>

Another notable find from the area is the 'Smithfield Buckle', a type of personal ornament well known from late Roman burials (Figs. 32 and 33, No. 14).<sup>93</sup> The so-called 'Smithfield altar', however, may not with certainty be located within the limits defined, since the earliest recorded reference mentions it as being found either at St. Bartholomew's Hospital or in Noble Street, which would place it within the vicinity of the Roman fort at Cripplegate.<sup>94</sup>

This reassessment, therefore, cannot go further than establish the occurrence of eight definite cremations (as evidenced by the recorded observation of burnt bones); four possible cremations and five inhumations, including two joint burials, in addition to those recovered during the 1979 excavations (Figs. 32 and 33). The

small number and incomplete record of the burials consequently precludes any wider discussion of burial practices or demographic inferences.

### TYPES OF CREMATION

The cremations date from the 1st to the early 3rd century.<sup>95</sup> Only one cinerary urn contained a second vessel within it.<sup>96</sup> Also mixed with the skeletal remains within the same urn were fragments of an iron nail; part of the sacrum of a small rodent, probably either a field or wood mouse; a

cervical vertebra of a field mouse and the vertebra of an eel.<sup>97</sup> No elaborate box or tile burials are recorded from the Smithfield area, although they are known from nearby, for example at St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, west of the River Fleet<sup>98</sup> and Warwick Square, south of Newgate Street<sup>99</sup> (Fig. 32, Nos. 8 and 2).

### TYPES OF INHUMATION

In contrast, a more varied range of inhumations has been recorded from this area, including those from the 1979 exca-

Burial Site No.	Cremation evidence	Inhumation evidence	Sex	Age	Wood	Coffin Lead	Stone	Sarcophagus	Grave goods	Appendix Nos.
11	D	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	C(1)	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	1
11	A	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	CV	2
12	A	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	CV	3
13	A	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	CV	4-12
14	D	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	27
14	D	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	28
14	C(2)	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	20 and 26
14	A	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	CV	13-19; 21-25 and 29-33
14	—	C*	+	+	+	+	+	—	O	—
15	D	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	34
15	D	—	?F	c. 20-24	—	—	—	—	VAn	35, 36
15	D	—	M	c. 45	—	—	—	—	—	37
15	C(1)	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	38
16	D	—	+	? Juv.	—	—	—	—	—	39
17	D	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	40
17	—	D	?F	+	Yes	—	—	—	O	—
17	—	C	+	+	+	—	—	—	CVO	—
18	—	D	+	+	Pos	—	—	—	V	41-44
19	—	D (?2)	+	? Juvs.	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
20	—	D(2)	M and F	Adult	—	—	Yes	—	—	—
20	—	D	F	Adult	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—

21 (See Fig. 31, St. Bartholomew's 1979, burial data table)

D —definite evidence of cremation or inhumation  
C —conjectured cremation, inhumation or grave goods  
A —burial evidence based on presence of accessory vessels  
\* —burial evidence based on particular types of finds

+ —no information available  
V —vessels  
O —personal ornaments  
An—animal remains

Fig. 33. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Smithfield Roman Cemetery, burial data table.

vations, but this is probably an accident of survival. They include two burials within decorated lead coffins, one of which was encased within a stone sarcophagus; a stone coffin and various wooden coffins as well as burials probably lacking any rigid container (Figs. 32 and 33, Nos. 17–21). This evidence suggests a difference in status between many of the individuals buried within the cemetery.

The disposition of the body in each grave is not fully noted in any of the 18th or 19th-century discoveries while conditions prevented the recovery of any complete skeletons during the 1979 excavations. In only one of nine burials where the position of the legs could be determined were they bent, which may simply reflect the lack of a coffin. The position of the arms varied more widely. However, a recent survey of late Roman inhumations was unable to establish any clear trends with regard to the position in which a body was lain in its grave.<sup>100</sup>

Two multiple burials occurred. One consisted of two (?) juveniles buried within a lead coffin, embossed with pecten (shell) motifs,<sup>101</sup> and the other a male and female lain at opposite ends to one another within a limestone coffin which was placed beside a further elaborately furnished burial of a female within a lead coffin and stone sarcophagus with part of a moulded stone column nearby<sup>102</sup> (Figs. 32 and 33, Nos. 19–20). Such extravagant burials suggest that the occupants came from wealthy families. It is of interest, therefore, that none of them contained any grave goods.

Indeed, only seven of the inhumations are recorded as having grave goods present. One contained a group of food and drinking vessels—a beaker being placed above the corpse's head and a platter, flagon and mortarium placed to the left of the body (Figs. 32 and 33, No. 18).<sup>103</sup> Three had personal ornaments, a child

being buried with two playthings<sup>104</sup> and two females with jewellery. In one instance the woman was observed to have been buried in a wooden coffin with bracelets on both of her wrists<sup>105</sup> while in the other a pile of jewellery was placed on top of the woman, who had also been buried in a wooden coffin<sup>106</sup> (Figs. 32 and 33, Nos. 17 and 21).

The remaining grave goods consisted of four coins. One was positioned within the grave of a man below his right knee, while the other two, where the evidence of association was more doubtful, comprised two coins in the grave of a young woman and one coin, which was probably at least two hundred years old at the time of burial, in the grave of a child (Figs. 32 and 33, No. 21).<sup>107</sup>

The dating evidence for the inhumations is slight. None of the vessels described in the grave above survive although an unworn coin of Gratian, *Gloria* type, minted pre AD 375 was recorded from the overlying fill.<sup>108</sup> The other coins date from the late 3rd to mid 4th century with the exception of a *dupondius* of Hadrian which was probably kept as a talisman for a long period before burial. The bracelets are probably attributable to the 4th century (see p. 148). In addition, the dating of stone and lead coffins is ill-defined, although none seem to occur before the 3rd century. The stone used for the sarcophagus and coffin has recently been identified as Upper Lincolnshire Limestone, probably from Barnack, Northamptonshire,<sup>109</sup> which is a type of stone that does not appear to have been imported to London earlier than the late 2nd century when it was used, for example, in the construction of the monumental arch.<sup>110</sup>

None of the inhumations are therefore earlier than the 3rd century and probably none occurred until after AD 250. The practice apparently continued in the



locality throughout most of the 4th century.

### FUNERARY RITES AND BELIEFS

That funerary rites were practised is clear from the presence of broken and unbroken drinking and eating vessels and animal remains associated here with both cremations and inhumations. A more spiritual note is suggested by the grave goods and decoration on the lead coffins, including pecten motifs, which are peculiar to Roman Britain,<sup>111</sup> and cable moulding in the form of saltires.<sup>112</sup> A lack of precise dating for many of the burials and the small number recorded means, however, that shifts in beliefs and resulting changes in burial practice cannot be closely identified. The predominantly west-east orientation of all the inhumations is not exclusive to any one religion and no positive evidence of Christianity occurred although a mineral substance<sup>113</sup> was encountered in two of the coffins lacking any grave goods which may indicate a Christian burial custom (Figs. 32 and 33, No. 20).<sup>114</sup>

### CEMETERY POPULATION

Consideration of the demography or racial affinities of the populace similarly cannot be undertaken in view of the limited numbers involved. In addition to the skeletal details outlined above, recent examination of two of the cremations dated to the late 2nd–early 3rd centuries indicates that they represent a male in his mid-forties and a (?) female in her early twenties (Figs. 32 and 33, No. 15).<sup>115</sup> Further, the stature of the male buried in the stone coffin is estimated to have been 172.81cm (5ft 8in) (Figs. 32 and 33, No. 20).<sup>116</sup>

The stature, nevertheless, could only be ascertained for three men and two women. The height of one of the females at 171.9cm (5ft 7¾in), is however, well

above average and the tallest yet recorded from London.<sup>117</sup> The evidence of disease, dentition, congenital abnormalities and age at death is unexceptional although it may be noted that the incidence of tooth decay is higher than that recorded from larger cemetery groups.<sup>118</sup>

### APPENDIX—LIST OF COMPLETE VESSELS FROM SMITHFIELD

(Figs 34–35)

Many complete vessels of Roman date have been recorded in the past from within the limits of the cemetery defined above (see p. 159). It is likely that these complete vessels (broken and unbroken) are derived from disturbed burial groups and a preliminary survey of all such vessels from the City reveals a distribution pattern which closely corresponds to that of known burial areas.<sup>119</sup>

Not all the vessels survive; some are known only from a written description and others from a manuscript of watercolour and line drawings compiled in the mid 19th century by John Walker Baily, a well-known local antiquary, whose collection of antiquities, which included certain of the vessels cited below, was bequeathed to the Guildhall Museum. Accordingly, the amount of detail given varies considerably.

Vessels, both ceramic and glass, are listed chronologically in order of find site (see Fig. 32).<sup>120</sup> Vessels with an asterisk are known to have originally contained cremations.

St. Sepulchre's Church (Fig. 32, No. 11)

1. Beaker; fine greyware; source unknown. Flavian (MOL Acc. No. 420) (Illus.).
2. Squat, necked jar; greyware; source unknown. 1st–early 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. 340) (Illus.).

Underground railway, Clerkenwell (Fig. 32, No. 12)

3. 'Cologne' roughcast beaker with cornice rim. Height: 110mm (4¼in). Early–mid-2nd century. (Not illus.).<sup>121</sup>

Snow Hill/West Street (Fig. 32, No. 13)

4. Platter with illiterate stamp; terra nigra imitation, probably Romano-British c. AD 50–80. (MOL Acc. No. 2792) (Illus.).
5. Poppy head beaker; greyware; source unknown, c. mid 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. 3083) (Illus.).
- 6–7. Samian cups; form Dr. 44; Central Gaulish. Antonine. (MOL Acc. Nos. 3182 and 3207) (Not illus.).<sup>122</sup>

8. Samian dish; form Dr. 31R; stamped TINTIRIO; Central Gaulish. Mid-late Antonine. (MOL Acc. No. 3271) (Not illus.).
  9. Samian dish; form Dr. 31; Central or East Gaulish. Antonine. (Not illus.).<sup>123</sup>
  10. Flanged bowl. Antonine or later. (Not illus.).<sup>124</sup>
  11. 'Cologne' beaker with barbotine slip decoration. Late 2nd-early 3rd century. (MOL Acc. No. 3036) (Illus.).
  12. 'Rhenish' ware beaker with beaded rim. Height: 110mm (4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in). Late 2nd-early 3rd century. (Not illus.).<sup>125</sup>
- Smithfield (Fig. 32, No. 14)
13. Poppy head beaker; Highgate type. Flavian. (MOL Acc. No. 1204) (Illus.).
  14. Samian cup; (?) form Dr. 27; rim diameter: 102mm (4in); South Gaulish. 1st century. (MOL Acc. No. 3194; not located) (Not illus.).
  15. Samian dish; rim diameter: 153mm (6in), height: 38mm (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in). 1st-2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. 3272; not located) (Not illus.).
  16. Mortarium; Brockley Hill/Verulamium region; stamped SOLLVS F. c. AD 70-100. (MOL Acc. No. A1257) (Illus.).
  - 17-18. Mortaria; Brockley Hill/Verulamium region; similar to No. 16 above but unstamped. c. AD 60-120. (MOL Acc. Nos A1254 and A1255) (Not illus.).
  19. Squat, necked jar; greyware; source unknown; similar to No. 2 above but smaller; height: 90mm (3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in). 1st-early 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. A1234) (Not illus.).
  20. Shouldered jar; greyware; source unknown (not Highgate). Late 1st-mid 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. A1205) (Illus.).
  21. Beaker; greyware (?) Highgate type. Late 1st-late 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. A1239) (Illus.).
  22. Aryballos; bluish-green glass; form Isings 61. Early-mid 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. 2259) (Not illus.).
  23. 'Unguentarium'; (?) Brockley Hill/Verulamium region. First half of 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. A1717) (Illus.).
  24. Flagon with flared rim, short expanding ring neck, pearshaped body and ridged handle; greyware. Probably first half of 2nd century. (Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery Acc. No. P1939.31) (Not illus.).
  25. Beaker with red slip, probably Rhenish. Mid-late 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. 2937) (Illus.).
  26. Jar; BB2; cavetto-rimmed, decorated with 4 line chevron pattern; burnt to a red buff colour. 2nd century (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Acc. No. 939.9.89) (Not illus.).
- \*27. Jar; BB2; decorated with 4 line lattice pattern with

- 2 intersections per line. Height: 195mm (7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in). Late 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. 2932; not located) (Not illus.).<sup>126</sup>
- \*28. Jar; BB2; decorated with 4 line lattice pattern with 3 intersections per line. Height: 270mm (10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in). Late 2nd century. (Not illus.).<sup>127</sup>
29. Beaker/jar; greyware. Probably not later than 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. A1235; not located) (Not illus.).
30. Beaker/jar; greyware. Probably not later than 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. A1240; not located) (Not illus.).
31. Beaker/jar; greyware with 'pinched decoration'. Probably not later than 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. A1736; not located) (Not illus.).
32. Beaker; greyware with 'indented central band'. Height: 60mm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in). Probably not later than 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. 2937; not located) (Not illus.).
33. Flagon; source unknown. 1st-2nd century. Acquired from the collection of W. Chaffers; provenance doubtful. (MOL Acc. No. 21995) (Not illus.).<sup>128</sup>
- Near St. Bartholomew's Hospital, West Smithfield (Fig. 32, No. 15)
- \*34. Jar; BB2, decorated with intersecting chevron pattern. 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. 2822) (Illus.).
- \*35. Jar; BB2 with lattice decoration. Late 2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. 2821) (Illus.).<sup>129</sup>
36. Jar; BB2 decorated with groups of 3 vertical lines. Early 3rd century. Found broken within cremation urn No. 35 above. (Not illus.).<sup>130</sup>
- \*37. Jar; BB1; Dorset. Late 2nd-3rd century. (MOL Acc. No. 2818) (Illus.).<sup>131</sup>
38. Jar; BB1; Dorset. Similar to No. 37 above but slightly narrower and taller. Height: 202mm (8in). Late 2nd-3rd century. (MOL Acc. No. 2930) (Not illus.).
- Clothfair (Fig. 32, No. 16)
- \*39. Jar. (?) 1st-early 3rd century. (Not illus.).<sup>132</sup>
- Cock Lane (Fig. 32, No. 17)
- \*40. Jar; greyware; source unknown. (?) 2nd-3rd century. (MOL Acc. No. C549) (Illus.).
- The Ram and the Rose, Smithfield Market (Fig. 32, No. 18)
41. Beaker; (?) greyware. (?) Late 1st-mid-2nd century. (Not illus.).<sup>132</sup>
42. Platter; (?) 'ordinary material'. (?) 1st-2nd century. (Not illus.).<sup>132</sup>
43. Flagon. (?) Flavian or later. (Not illus.).<sup>132</sup>
44. Mortarium; (?) Brockley Hill/Verulamium region; kiln second. (?) Flavian-mid-2nd century. (MOL Acc. No. 3321; not located) (Not illus.).

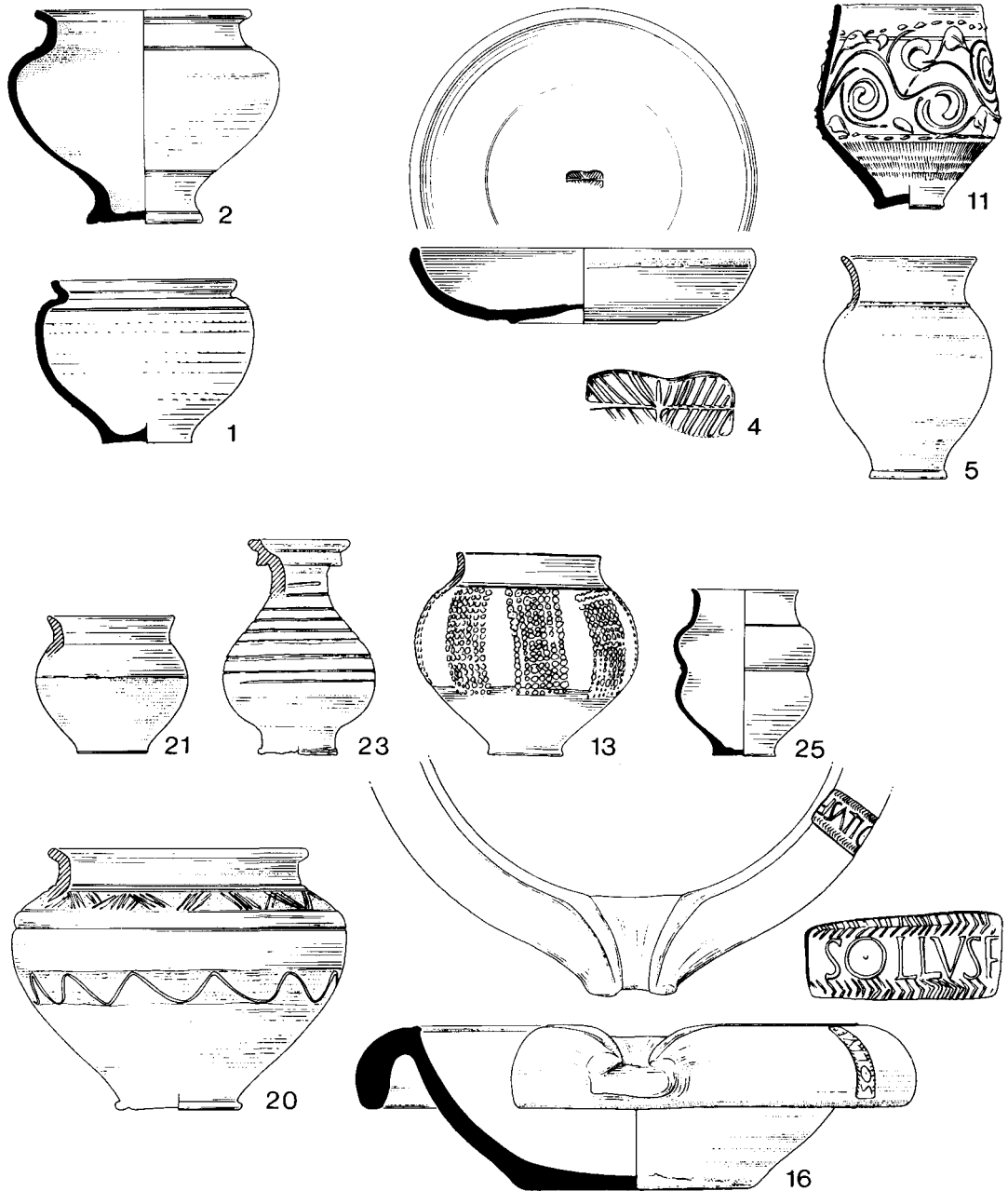


Fig. 34. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Smithfield Roman Cemetery, complete vessels Nos. 1–25 (1/4; details No. 4. 1:1, and No. 16, 1/2).

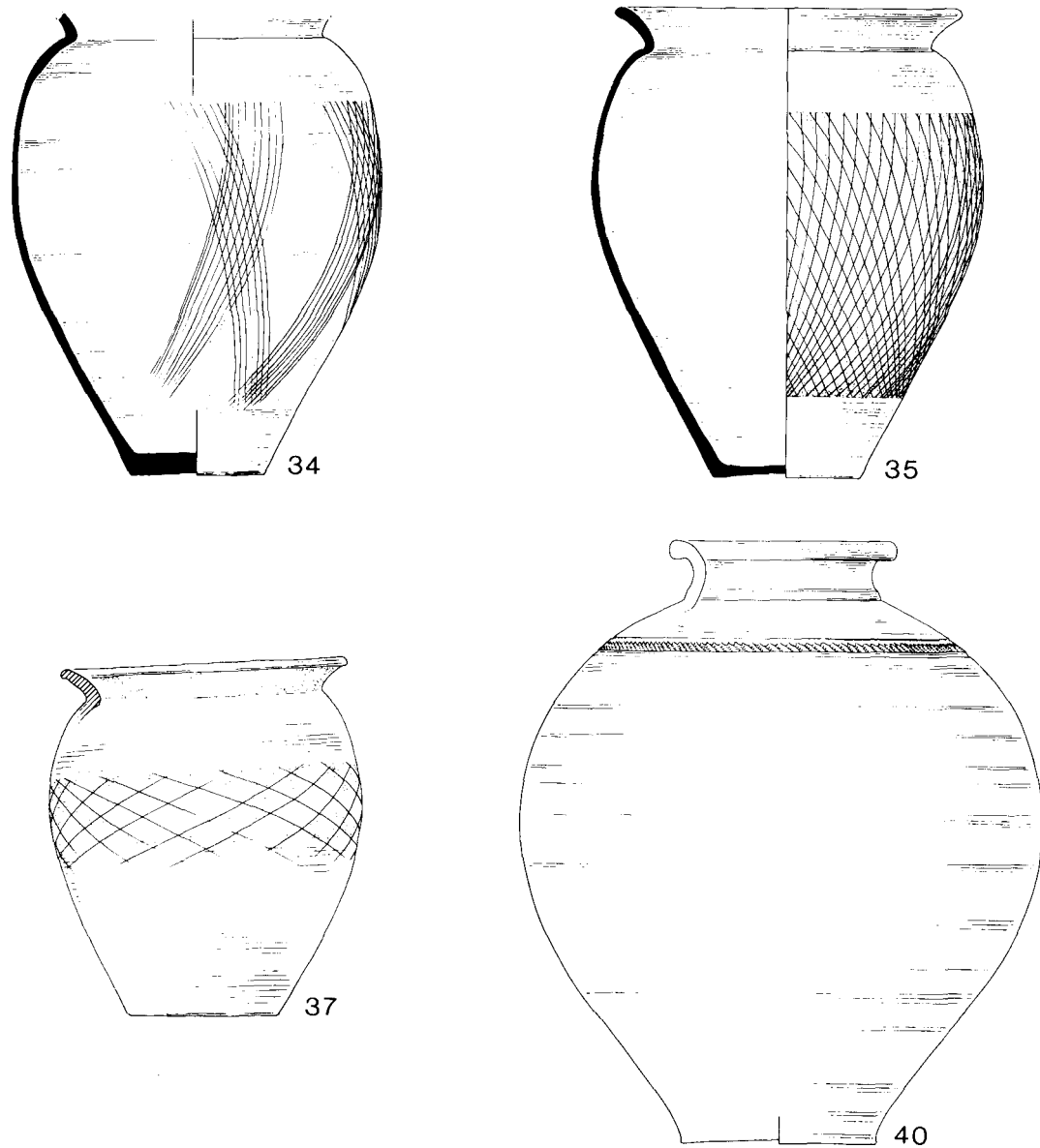


Fig. 35. St. Bartholomew's, 1979: Smithfield Roman Cemetery, complete vessels Nos 34-37 (1/4).

## NOTES

1. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London 3: *Roman London* (London 1928) 161–3.
2. P. Marsden, *Roman London* (London 1980) 12; Ordnance Survey, *Geological Survey: London*, (1924).
3. Marsden, *ibid.*, 16.
4. Similar in construction to examples found at the Watling Court and GPO Newgate Street sites. A full examination of 1st and 2nd-century buildings, west of the Walbrook is in preparation by D. Perring and S. Roskams.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Analysis of human skeletal remains was carried out by Deborah Downs and Barbara West. For an interim report see Deborah Downs 'Archaeology at Barts: The Human Skeletal Remains', *The Barts J.*, (1980) 20–23.
7. These terms are based on those given in the Department of Urban Archaeology's *Site Manual* (copies available from the Museum of London). For the frequency of occurrence of an inclusion within a deposit the terms 'occasional', 'moderate' or 'frequent' are used up to 10% of the total, beyond which they are given as a proportion of the layer. Particle size, using the Atterberg scale, runs from 'clay' and 'silt' to 'coarse sand', and to 'fine', 'medium' and 'large' pebbles.
8. Registered numbers BAR 79, 8 and 36 respectively. Registered numbers equate with MOL Accession numbers except that they have not been entered in the E.R. numerical sequence adopted in previous reports produced by the Department of Urban Archaeology.
9. R. I. Macphail describes this in detail in *Special soil report on the micromorphology of 'Dark Earth' from Gloucester, London and Norwich: An analysis of urban anthropogenic deposits from the late Roman to early medieval periods in England*. Anc. Mon. Lab. Rep. No. 3633, 1982 (unpublished). The material often appeared as a single, homogeneous deposit but the indications of pitting and occasional tip-lines do not suggest that the site was still occupied in the late and post-Roman period. Macphail identifies various grass-types predominant at different times but seems to preclude cultivation. Not until the 12th century and the foundation of the Priory and Hospital of St. Bartholomew's is there definite evidence of reoccupation in the area.
10. Registered no. BAR 79.50.
11. G. Clarke *The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills II* (Oxford 1979) 188, gives two examples of leg bones and one of a skull, carefully reinterred at the east end of graves.
12. Registered no. BAR 79.48.
13. Registered no. BAR 79.47.
14. Registered no. BAR 79.45.
15. Registered no. BAR 79.81.
16. Registered no. BAR 79.106.
17. All the ironwork is poorly preserved and the nailforms could only be ascertained to a certain extent by radiography. Within such limitations all the nails from the cemetery appear to conform with Manning's Type 1. W. H. Manning 'The iron objects' in Sheppard Frere *Verulamium Excavations I* Rep. Res. Com. Soc. Antiq. Lond. 28 (Oxford 1972) 187.
18. Clarke (*op. cit.* in Note 11) 332 and L. P. Wenham *The Romano-British Cemetery at Trenholme Drive* (London 1968) 39.
19. Registered no. BAR 79.7.
20. Registered no. BAR 79.1.
21. J. P. Bushe-Fox *Fourth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent* (Oxford 1949) 142–3, No. 177 and Pl. XLIX, No. 7.
22. P. Arthur 'Small finds' in Paul Arthur and Keith Waterhouse 'Report on excavations at Fulham Palace Moat, 1972–1973' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 29 (1978) 58.
23. Registered no. BAR 79.90.
24. Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 307.
25. Registered no. BAR 79.91.
26. Registered no. BAR 79.92.
27. Bushe-Fox (*op. cit.* in note 21) 142–3 No. 17 and Pl. XLIX No. 6.
28. Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 310.
29. A. C. C. Brodribb, A. R. Hands, D. R. Walker *Excavations at Shakenoak Farm, Near Wilcote, Oxfordshire, Part II* (Oxford 1971) 110, No. 74.
30. Registered no. BAR 79.93.
31. David S. Neal *The Excavation of the Roman Villa in Gadebridge Park, Hemel Hempstead, 1963–8* Rep. Res. Com. Soc. Antiq. Lond. 31 (London 1974) 138, No. 153; Fig. 60, 136.
32. Registered no. BAR 79.94.
33. Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 307.
34. Registered no. BAR 79.95.
35. R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire* Rep. Res. Com. Soc. Antiq. Lond. 9 (London 1932) Fig. 17, 83.
36. Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 305.
37. Registered nos. BAR 79.96 and 97.
38. Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 318.
39. *Ibid.*, 360–1.
40. Registered no. BAR 79.2.
41. M. Biddle 'Two Flavian burials from Grange Road, Winchester' *Antiq. J.* 47 (1967) 244, No. 23.
42. T. C. Lethbridge 'Further excavations in the early Iron Age and Romano-British cemetery at Guilden Morden' *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* 36 (1936) 119.
43. Wenham (*op. cit.* in note 18) 97, Fig. 36, No. 7.
44. Registered no. BAR 79.5.
45. Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 306.
46. Registered no. BAR 79.27. M. Guido *The Glass Beads of the Prehistoric and Roman Periods in Britain and Ireland* (London 1978) 92, Fig. 36, No. 7 and 96.
47. Registered nos. BAR 79.30 and 31.
48. Registered no. BAR 79.38.
49. Registered no. BAR 79.33.
50. Registered no. BAR 79.98.
51. Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 178.
52. *Ibid.*, 296–7.
53. Registered no. BAR 79.34.
54. M. E. Cunningham *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society at Devizes* (Devizes 1934) 222.
55. Registered no. BAR 79.68.
56. Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 185–6, 197.
57. *Ibid.*, Fig. 9 and C. Green 'Interim report on excavations at Poundbury, Dorchester 1973' *Proc. Dorset Natural Hist. Archaeol. Soc.* 95 (1974) Fig. 13.
58. *Ibid.*, 97–9, 183, 429–30, Fig. 4. The mid 4th century Feature 6 represented a series of east-west aligned graves located over a small, ditched compound and surrounding a central burial of a male; their careful disposition suggested some regard for earlier burials but included a few which intercut and overlay each other. J. L. Macdonald states that this was the only instance out of 451 burials found where a direct familial relationship is likely. Similarly the proximity of burial groups with certain shared characteristics is thought to demonstrate such a relationship at the 4th-century Romano-British cemetery at Butt Road, Colchester: Carl Crossan, Colchester Archaeological Trust (pers. comm.). These consist of two types (i) three adjacent, east-west aligned adults contained within their graves similar glass vessels otherwise unique to the site where nearly 700 burials were found, and (ii) a series of boxed grave plots of shallow timber construction, set into the ground with successive burials (tentatively of men and women) inserted into them at different times in the 4th century.
59. Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 132–6, 142–3, 352–4 demonstrates that graves were becoming shallower and increasingly badly dug towards the end of the 4th century and that the use of coffins prevailing until that time began to fall thereafter.
60. Lethbridge (*op. cit.* in note 42) 109–20 mentions the difficulty in digging through natural stratigraphy as the reason for graves being sited over earlier Roman burials.
61. Find-sites are locations where individual or groups of burials may have been found. Where the individual references are particularly vague but represent observations in the same area and at roughly the same time (e.g. Site 6: 'Holborn Viaduct'; 'associated with the construction of Holborn Viaduct', 'Holborn Valley'; 'Farringdon Street' etc., they are grouped together under one find-site number (see pp. 160–161).
62. RCHM, 3 (*op. cit.* in note 1) 153, 157, 161–3; Pl. 55.
63. It is considered likely that some groups of complete vessels derive from burial contexts, despite an absence of associated human remains. The work of Frances Pritchard on the present material (see pp. 163–169) and of Geoff Marsh on material elsewhere in London (see note 83) has shown that there is a correlation between the distribution and dating of this material and the known areas of burial. The inclusion of these vessels in the discussion does not affect the argument but extends slightly the areas of distribution.
64. Wenham (*op. cit.* in note 18) 4.
65. Most of these sites are referred to in RCHM, 3 (*op. cit.* in note 1) 153–4, 161, 163–5 Pl. 55. The remainder are: part of Site 2 in Guildhall Museum 'Archaeological finds in the City of London 1966–9' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 22, pt. 3 (1969) 4–6; Sites 6, 12 and 13 in J. W. Baily 'London Antiquities', Guildhall Library MS. 17-131, 27 ff, 63 and 30 respectively; Site 10 unpublished MS notes in the Museum of London; parts of Sites 14 and 15 London Museum, Guildhall Museum and Museum of London Accession registers.
66. C. G. Bruns *Fontes Iuris Romani* (ed. 7, 1909).
67. P. Marsden 'Two Roman public baths in London', *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 27 (1976) 47–9.
68. Evidence summarized by R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London 1965) 92.

69. *Op. cit.* in note 4.
70. Demonstrated by J. Liversidge *Britain in the Roman Empire* (London 1968) 468. Little of the fabric of this road has actually been found, but burial sites further to the west (beyond the extent of Fig. 32), which follow the line of the present-day High Holborn and Oxford Street, also show a linear disposition and may offer the best evidence of the line of the western approach to the city in the early Roman period.
71. W. F. Grimes *The excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (London 1968) 50-1 and Guildhall Museum 'Archaeological finds in the City of London 1965-6' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 22 pt. 1 (1968) 9.
72. RCHM, 3 (*op. cit.* in note 1) 153-6.
73. That from a localized site just inside the wall, c. 100 metres south of Newgate Street where a group of eight mid 2nd-century cremations and vessels have been found. Based on the (unpublished) work of Geoff Marsh at the Museum of London, some of these vessels originally described as of 1st-century date (RCHM, 3 *op. cit.* in note 1, 134) can now be attributed to the 2nd century. An inhumation dated not later than the 3rd century was found together with a 1st-century cremation, on an adjacent site (*op. cit.* in note 65, 4-6) may represent a contemporary burial, but is too isolated from the Smithfield burials to be considered part of a larger cemetery.
74. Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 10, Fig. 2.
75. RCHM, 3 (*op. cit.* in note 1) 163, describes 1st to 3rd-century cremations and inhumations along the course of the London to Colchester road from Aldgate.
76. *Ibid.*, 165.
77. Boundary hedges and ditches have been interpreted at Lankhills; Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 113-4, 183 and 172 and C. Green mentions boundary ditches at the large 4th century Romano-British cemetery at Poundbury Green, *op. cit.* in note 57, 95 (1974), 97-100, and 96 (1975) 56, Fig. 13.
78. The 'Book of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Priory', surviving as a copy of 1400-4, records that in 1123 the bishop of London consecrated that place on the east side of the same field (Smithfield), and dedicated what was at that time quite a small cemetery (*breve tunc admodum ceterium*) (E. A. Webb *Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and Church of St. Bartholomew's the Great* 1 (Oxford 1921) 48). It is interesting that the western boundary of the precinct approximated with the suggested eastern limit of the Roman cemetery, especially as a cemetery of some kind was already in existence at the time of the foundation of the hospital. I am grateful to John Schofield for this suggestion.
79. J. Haslam 'Excavation of a section across Aldersgate Street, City of London 1972' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 24 (1973) 74-81.
80. 'Proceedings' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 2 (1846) 273. These cremations were of an indeterminate date but their proximity to the wall may indicate an association with the early 2nd-century fort.
81. Unpublished excavations recorded in MS notes, deposited in the Museum of London are summarized in R. Merrifield (*op. cit.* in note 68).
82. RCHM, 3 (*op. cit.* in note 1) 153, 157-9, Pl. 55.
83. Martin Dean and Michael Hammerson 'Three inhumation burials from Southwark' *London Archaeol.* 4 (1980) 17-22 and 'Evidence for more Roman burials in Southwark', *ibid.*, 52-3, discuss the evidence of burial distribution in connection with recent excavations in Southwark and also present the results of Geoff Marsh's re-examination of complete vessels from the area.
84. This is not to imply that only a limited number of finds have been recovered. Building and redevelopment of the area over many centuries probably means that the majority of the finds have never been recorded. Indeed, several Victorian antiquaries allude to Smithfield as the site of an extensive Roman cemetery, e.g., J. E. Price 'Archaeological intelligence' *Archaeol. J.* 34 (1877) 197. The surviving finds are now scattered in museum collections throughout the world, including the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery; the British Museum and the Museum of London.
85. Five of the jars are recorded as containing cremations and a further cremation was discovered inside a vessel during examination; Baily (*op. cit.* in note 65) 15-26, Appendix Nos. 27, 28, 34, 35, 37 and 40.
86. For example out of some ninety vessels recovered from the Roman cemetery at Lankhills only part of a single mortarium occurred, Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 234, Cat. No. 469.
87. J. E. Price 'Roman interment in west Smithfield' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 3 (1870) 37.
88. *Catal. Coll. London Antiq. Guildhall Mus.* (2nd Ed) (London 1908) 102 No. 662, MOL Acc. No. 3321.
89. Price (*op. cit.* in note 87) 37.
90. MOL Acc. No. 2608.
91. MOL Acc. Nos. A1267 and A1268. *London in Roman Times* London Museum Catalogue No. 3 (London 1930) 100, Fig. 30, Nos 20-21, 101.
92. Dr Martin Henig pers. comm. MOL Acc. No. A7996, *Ibid.*, 98, Fig. 30, No. 6, 101. This example highlights the caution with which one has to consider 19th and early 20th century acquisitions in museum collections, cf. G. Marsh 'Nineteenth and twentieth century antiquities dealers and Arretine ware from London' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 30 (1979) 125-129.
93. C. Roach Smith 'Discoveries of Frankish sepulchral remains' *Collectanea Antiqua* 4 (1857) 193.
94. *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: a History of London* (London 1909) 135.
95. This is based on the dating of the cinerary urns and probable accessory vessels, see Appendix.
96. Baily (*op. cit.* in note 65) 19, Appendix Nos. 35 and 36.
97. The animal and eel remains were identified by Dr Philip Armitage, British Museum (Natural History) and Mrs Alison Locker, Institute of Archaeology.
98. RCHM 3 (*op. cit.* in note 1), 164-5.
99. Guildhall Museum (*op. cit.* in note 65) 4-6.
100. Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 353.
101. *Soc. Antiq. Ms. Min.* VI, 2; H. Toller *Roman Lead Coffins and Ossuaria in Britain* (Oxford 1977) 64, Note 14.
102. N. Moore 'On two Roman tombs from the foundations of St. Bartholomew's Hospital' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 5 (1880) 295-297; Price (*op. cit.* in note 84) 197.
103. Price (*op. cit.* in note 87) 37.
104. B16, above p. 153.
105. *Archaeol. Rev.* I, 276.
106. B11, above p. 146.
107. B11, B5 and B15.
108. Price (*op. cit.* in note 87) 37. In Roman Britain generally vessel deposition became less frequent during the 4th century and examples dated to the later part of the century are exceptional, Clarke (*op. cit.* in note 11) 359.
109. Identified by Martyn Owen, Geological Institute of Sciences.
110. T. Blagg 'The sculptured stones' in C. Hill, M. Millett and T. Blagg *The Riverside Wall and Monumental Arch in London* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper 3 (London 1980) 199-200.
111. J. M. C. Toynbee *Art in Britain under the Romans* (Oxford 1964), 347-348.
112. H. C. Coote 'Remarks on the ornamentation of Roman coffins with scallop shells' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 2 (1864) 268; J. M. C. Toynbee *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London 1971) 33.
113. The substance was described as adipocere at the time of discovery but is more likely to have been a form of calcium carbonate, Toller (*op. cit.* in note 101) 16.
114. C. Green 'The significance of plaster burials for the recognition of Christian cemeteries' in R. Reece (ed.) *Burial in the Roman World* (London 1977) 46-53.
115. John Cresswell, University College London, examined the cremated remains which are preserved at the Museum of London. The Level III archive report compiled by Mr Cresswell may be consulted on request at the Museum of London, MOL Acc. Nos 2818 and 2821; Appendix Nos 37 and 35. The cremated remains from within vessel MOL Acc. No. C549, Appendix No. 40, have not yet been analysed.
116. Barbara A. West, Museum of London, pers. comm. The calculation is based on femur and tibia measurements recorded in Moore (*op. cit.* in note 102) 297.
117. The average height of women was 5ft 1in at Trentholme Drive Romano-British cemetery, R. Warwick 'The skeletal remains' in Wenham (*op. cit.* in note 18) 149.
118. C. C. Cooke and T. C. Rowbotham 'A dental report' in *ibid.*, 208.
119. Geoff Marsh pers. comm.
120. The pottery has been identified and dated by Chris Green, Geoff Marsh and Beth Richardson, Museum of London. This includes a revision of the dating of the vessels referred to in the R.C.H.M. 3 (*op. cit.* in note 1) 161, 163.
121. Baily (*op. cit.* in note 65) 63.
122. These two vessels probably represent a pair.
123. Baily (*op. cit.* in note 65) 122.
124. *Ibid.*, 30.
125. *Ibid.*, 65.
126. *Ibid.*, 15.
127. *Ibid.*, 26.
128. The collection of W. Chaffers is known to contain wrongly attributed provenances. Marsh (*op. cit.* in note 92) 127.
129. R.C.H.M. 3 (*op. cit.* in note 1) Fig. 66, No. 40.
130. Baily (*op. cit.* in note 65) 19.
131. R.C.H.M. 3 (*op. cit.* in note 1) Fig. 66, No. 41.
132. Price (*op. cit.* in note 87) 37.

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