

Roman cremations and a possible *bustum* at Old Ford

Neil Hawkins, with contributions from Enikő Hudák,
James Langthorne and Kate Turner

Introduction

This article summarises the results of an archaeological excavation undertaken by Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd (PCA) at Appian Court, 87 Parnell Road, Bow, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, E3 2RS (Fig 1).¹ The excavation was subsequent to an evaluation of 2017 which recorded Roman ditches and pits.² The excavation recorded evidence for further Roman activity across the site associated with the known Roman settlement of Old Ford, including two cremations and a possible rare example of a *bustum* burial or pyre.

The site lies c. 500m to the west of the River Lea, on the Quaternary Taplow Gravel Member, which was recorded as sandy-gravel deposits located between 11.26m OD and 10.66m OD. The site was situated

approximately 40m south of the line of the Roman road from London to Colchester within the well-documented Roman settlement of Old Ford.³ The road, constructed c. AD 50, has been located during several excavations in the area (Fig 2: Lefevre Road 1969, LEK95, RBW03 & ROB05)⁴.

Evidence for this Roman settlement has been recorded from the mid-19th century onwards, with systematic archaeological excavation taking place since the late 1960s. Building foundations and posthole structures have been found along with multiple concentrations of burials, localised metal-working and kilns, drainage and boundary ditches, and refuse and quarry pits which date from the 1st to 4th century AD.⁵ A possible *mansio* has also been identified further to the east at Wick Lane (Fig 2, WKN06).⁶

the only animal bone assemblage of this period, which was notably scarce across all Roman periods. It comprised the remains of cattle and equid bones.

Ditch 2 projected into the site from the eastern side. Aligned north-east/south-west and 4.1m long, it had an apparent terminus at its western end. Recorded at 10.34m OD, the ditch was 1.12m wide by 0.46m deep and held three sherds of BB1 dated AD 120–400.

A small section of a third ditch ran parallel to and south-west of Ditch 1 for 1.55m with a terminus at the north-western end. Recorded at 11.19m OD, the ditch was 1.3m wide and 0.82m deep. Its southern end was truncated by later Roman features. Its fill held two sherds of Central Gaulish Black-slipped ware (CGBL) dated AD 150–250.

Pitting

Three shallow sub-circular pits were dispersed across the area with one containing a single sherd of pottery dated AD 50–200. However, this pit cut Ditch 2 and therefore post-dated it. The lack of material culture within these pits negates their use as refuse disposal, and instead may represent *ad hoc* quarrying of the underlying gravel. To the south-east of Ditch 1, a cluster of postholes formed no definitive alignment, varied considerably in dimensions, and contained no dating evidence.

Period 3, AD 250–350

The late 3rd century saw a marked increase in Roman activity across the site and represents the most intense period of occupation (Fig 3).

Ditches 4 and 5

A large boundary ditch recorded as two ditches, 4 and 5, and orientated with a return, as shown on Fig 3, ran along the south of the site. This was observed at

The archaeological sequence: Period 2, AD 150–250

The initial Roman period comprised the division of the land, with a series of ditches where infrequent pitting and posthole clusters were located (Fig 3). The ditches respected the alignment of the Roman road to the north. This period of activity is generally poorly dated with only 10 sherds of pottery recovered.

Ditches

Ditch 1 ran through the centre of the site perpendicular to the road (north-west/south-east) for c. 15m and measured 1.65m wide by 0.47m deep. Recorded at 10.91m OD, the ditch contained a small amount of pottery dated to AD 50–200 and Dorset black-burnished ware (BB1), dated AD 120–400, with a fragment of funerary monument of burnt Barnack stone, dated AD 200–400. It contained



Fig 1: site location

c. 19.97m OD – the ditch was approximately 3.5m wide by 0.75–1.0m deep and had a vertical-sided flat-bottomed ‘ankle breaker’ within its base. It contained Alice Holt Farnham ware (AHFA), Thameside Kent ware (TSK), Oxfordshire Red colour-coated ware (OXRC) and Much Hadham red ware (MHAD), which suggests deposition post AD 250–70.

A possible continuation of this boundary, Ditch 7, was located to the north-west of Ditch 5 and aligned north-west/south-east. This heavily truncated feature lay largely outside the excavation limit and therefore its full profile was not recorded. Dating material from this ditch was dominated by Alice Holt Farnham ware (AHFA) and Thameside Kent ware (TSK) suggesting deposition post AD 250.

Directly to the north of the western end of Ditch 5 was an anomalous alignment of three heavily-truncated, parallel north-west/south-east gullies, which contained a small amount of heavily abraded building material dated AD 55–160. Potentially these gullies also represent a boundary, but their relationship with Ditch 5 to the south was truncated by later activity.

Intermittent pits were dispersed across the site with no pattern to their distribution. The pits were mostly sub-circular in shape and up to 0.4m deep – a few contained small assemblages of Alice Holt Farnham ware (AHFA) dated AD 250–400+. The lack of material culture in these pits precludes their use for refuse disposal, and again may represent *ad hoc* quarrying. The Roman road would have required continual repair, and the underlying natural terrace gravels were a readily available source material.

Possible posthole and stakehole structures were again located in the eastern area of the excavation north of Ditch 4. Clustered into two locations, there was no coherent alignment or pattern. They were notably shallow, less than 0.1m deep, and could not have supported anything substantial even when horizontal truncation is accounted for. The only dating evidence was a small fragment of abraded building material dated AD 55–160.

Ditches 8 and 6

Ditch 8, south of Ditch 5 (Fig 4), was composed of two separate truncated

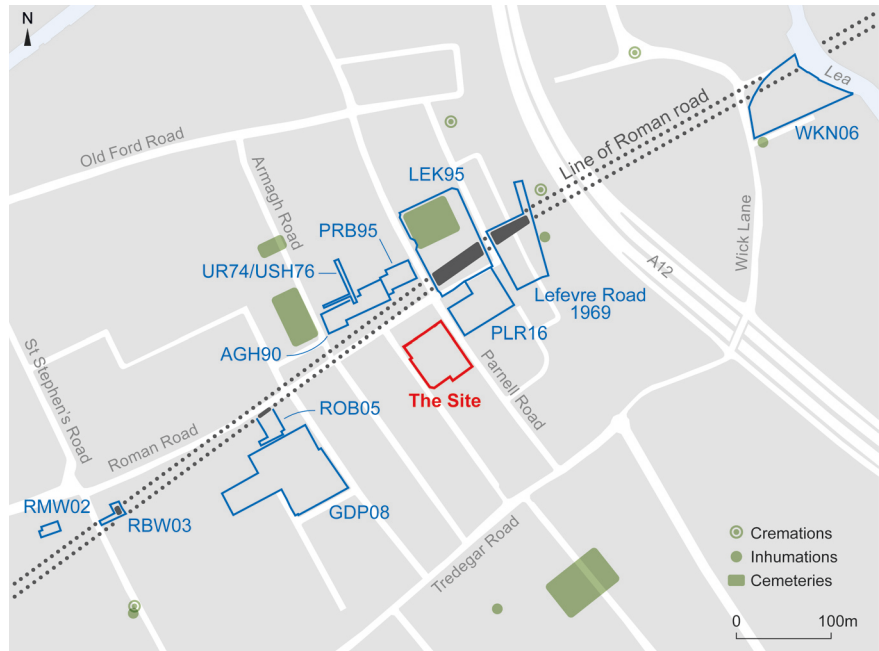


Fig 2: site location showing the location of the Roman road and adjacent sites with cemetery evidence: AGH90 72a Armagh Road; GDP08 Gladstone Place; Lefevre Road 1969; LEK95 Lefevre Walk Estate; PLR16 64 Parnell Road; PRB95 91–93 Parnell Road; RBW03 510–518 Roman Road; RMW02 490 Roman Road; ROB05 568a Roman Road; UR74/USH76 Usher Road; WKN06 419 Wick Lane

lengths. It formed the corner of a boundary measuring 3.3m north-east/south-west and returning 4.2m to the south-east. It was 2.1m wide by 0.81m deep (Fig 4). The internal area of this boundary lay beyond the limits of excavation. A small assemblage of Alice Holt Farnham ware (AHFA) was recovered along with fragments of German lavastone quern.

Ditch 6 was aligned north-east/south-west in the northern area of the excavation. It ran for 3.8m, being truncated at both ends, with a width of 1.1m by 0.22m deep. Two sherds of Alice Holt Farnham ware (AHFA) were dated AD 250–400+.

A group of five sub-circular and sub-rectangular heavily truncated pits lay to the north of Ditch 6. Three contained fragments of abraded early Roman building material and small groups of Alice Holt Farnham ware (AHFA). Like all the Roman pits on the site, they only contained small assemblages of material culture and therefore did not appear to be simple rubbish pits.

Possible *bustum* burial

A possible *bustum* cremation burial where the pyre and burial would have been carried out *in situ* was located to the north of Ditch 6 at 10.42m OD. This feature, rectangular in shape and measuring 1.88m x 1.36m x 0.1m deep,

contained a moderate assemblage of Roman pottery, which comprised diagnostic sherds of at least eight different vessels: a flat-rimmed jar, bearing decoration including combed chevrons and burnished lattice; a cable-rim storage jar; a large cordoned storage jar; a late everted-rim cooking jar and a flat-rimmed jar (all AHFA); a BB1 flanged bowl; a beaker with thumbled decoration (MHAD); another showing rouletted, barbotine, and white painted decoration (NVCC); and a hemispherical bowl (OXRC type 4C56) with white painted decoration (AD 300–400+).

While this varied and rather elaborate assemblage could fit with a burial assemblage, none of the sherds showed signs of burning. The fill also contained a small amount of unidentifiable fragments of cremated human bone, and a large amount of wood charcoal, carbonised seeds of bedstraw and wild grasses and several burnt cereal grains. Also recovered were fragments of late Roman laminated roofing and paving, and Millstone Grit quern fragments.

Two stakeholes, 0.06m in diameter by 0.1m deep, spaced 0.62m apart, were set into the northern edge of the pit. They formed the structural elements which may have supported a pyre platform.

Other cremations

Two truncated urned cremation burials (Figs 5 and 6), set approximately 1m apart, were located north of Ditch 5.

Cremation 1 (Fig 5) comprised the lower half of a Thameside Kent ware (TSK) jar, dated to AD 180–300, and contained 471g of cremated human bone. Much of the bone could not be identified, but there were fragments of tibia, vertebra and skull. Based on the weight, size and character of the bone fragments, the cremation represented either token amounts of human bone or came from a truncated adult.

Thameside Kent ware (TSK) jars were often used as cremation vessels. Several cremation burials in the eastern cemetery of London were contained in TSK jars – either TSK 2F-type cooking or 2X-type lid-seated jars.⁷

To the south, Cremation 2 (Fig 6) was earlier and comprised the complete lower half of a Verulamium Region White ware (VRW) jar or possibly a flagon, dated to AD 50–200, which contained 27g of cremated human bone. The small amount and fragmentary size of the cremated

remains made them unidentifiable.

A group of 16 coloured glass beads of various shapes, mostly globular, in blue, white, green and pink, and three tubular green beads, were recovered from the cremation urn (Fig 7).

It is possible that this vessel was a curated piece. An interesting parallel is a cremation burial from the eastern cemetery (CB349), which was deposited in a necked jar (VRW 2G3). Based on its associated vessels, it was dated to post AD 180 and was thought to be part of the latest VRW production.⁸ It must also be noted that excavations at Lefevre Walk, one of the four cremation cemeteries at Old Ford, uncovered the remains of a cremation deposited with an empty Verulamium ware flagon dated to the 2nd century AD.⁹

Late Roman: AD 350–410

Late Roman activity post-dating AD 350 consisted solely of two features. A ditch appeared to re-cut Ditch 4 which was later cut by a pit (not illustrated). These features yielded a small pottery assemblage of 3rd-century date, together with a single sherd each

of Portchester D ware (PORD) which suggests deposition after AD 350.

Roman land-use and layout

The Roman activity on the site follows the same generally accepted pattern for the Old Ford settlement, consisting of boundary ditches, pitting, along with small cemetery areas. Activity prior to AD 250 was present, albeit poorly dated, but land management was represented by ditches and pitting.

The various pits had very small assemblages of material culture, which have been interpreted elsewhere as *ad hoc* quarrying, for example at 64 Parnell Road (Fig 2, PLR16).¹⁰ This may well be the case at Appian Court, where site activity reached its zenith in the second half of the 3rd century lasting into the 4th century. It comprised the same landscape of ditches, pitting and ephemeral posthole structures, but also had cremation burials and the possible *bustum*.

Settlement activity

Despite the abundant archaeological interventions undertaken across Old Ford, there is still some debate over the nature of the settlement, notably the limited evidence for buildings and the presence of a number of cemetery areas in the area (Fig 2). The most recent broad synthesis of Old Ford and the discussion of one of the largest areas excavated¹¹ mirrors this interpretation, with evidence for the continuous use of the London to Colchester road. Localised areas of burials were sited alongside the road and short-lived buildings existed in a broadly agricultural landscape.

Finds from other sites in the area have allowed a re-appraisal of activity. At 490 Roman Road (Fig 2, RMW02), for example, it has been suggested that, while many ditches clearly marked field boundaries, some of these may have defined funerary enclosures.¹² The predominance of jars within the ceramic assemblage correlates well with that from a cemetery – jars were the most common vessel form in the eastern cemetery of London.¹³ The number of jars recovered from Appian Court are consistent with other Greater London 3rd- and 4th-century extra-mural sites. Other nearby sites in the area also indicate some degree of ritual practice in the landscape based on the

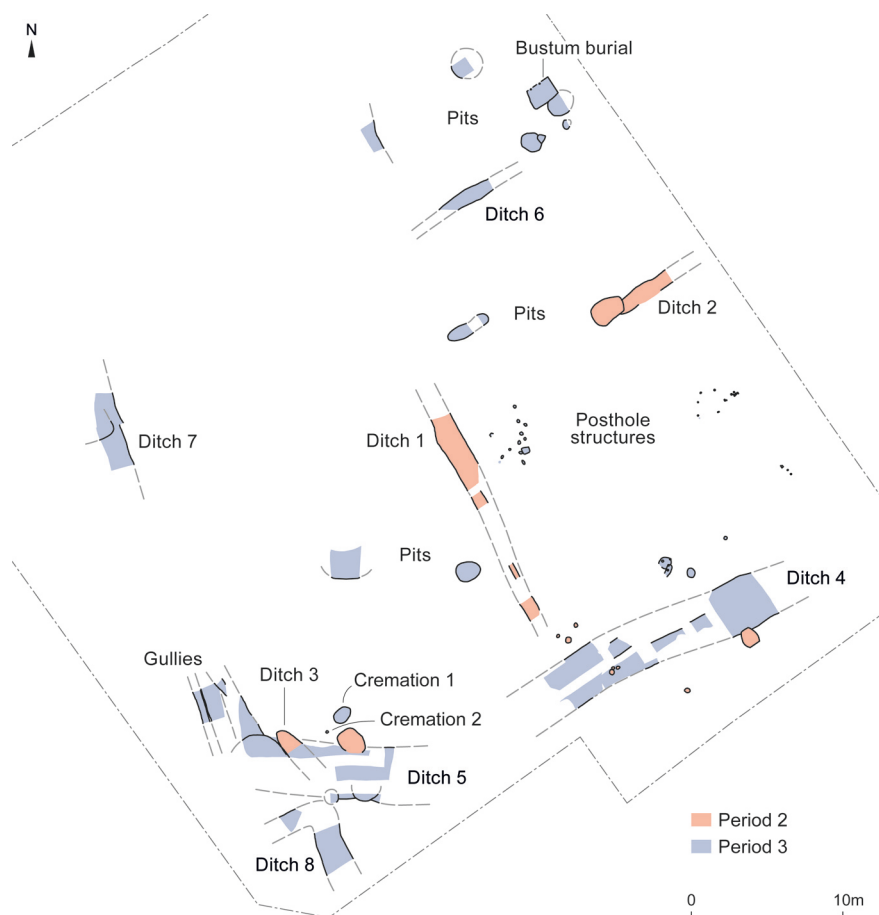


Fig 3: site plan showing the Roman features of Periods 2 and 3, dated to AD 150–300

artefactual evidence, including a shark's tooth recovered from Gladstone Place (Fig 2, GDP08).¹⁴

How the activity at Appian Court fits into these interpretations is difficult to assess. Clearly the ditches across the site define specific areas, and the cremations and possible *bustum* are located alongside and within them, but do they exclusively define a cemetery area? This seems unlikely, given the size of the defined area and the small volume of burials within it, although truncation should not be discounted.

The wider material culture recovered, with the exception of the cremations and possible *bustum*, does not seem to be related directly to any funerary practices or ritual activity. The pottery, other than the funerary vessels, is thought to be consistent with extra-mural sites of the 3rd and 4th centuries. Building material, including small assemblages of quernstone and late Roman roofing and paving, is more suggestive of farmstead activity. The animal bone assemblage was small, poorly preserved, and comprised cattle, sheep and equid bones – they were similar to other assemblages of the area.

The small finds assemblage was equally small and included a fragment of an iron hook, part of a hipposandal, a copper-alloy hairpin, the possible remains of a carpenter's axe and a figure-of-eight chain link. The only exception was a fragment of burnt Barnack stone funerary monument, recovered from a ditch. This was of interest, but is also unsurprising, given the presence of burials on the site.

With the exception of the presence of the cremations and possible *bustum*, the site would appear to fit well with being sited on the periphery of a small extra-mural settlement, in an agricultural landscape with little tangible activity occurring within boundaries defined by the ditches. The cemetery areas of Old Ford are reminiscent of the 'southern' Roman cemetery in Southwark which saw a number of burial areas across poorly-defined boundaries. The areas were often divided into plots with burials aligned with ditches, but with only fragmentary evidence for other activities in the same location.¹⁵

Discussion

There is a well-documented history of

Roman burials, both inhumation and cremation, in the Old Ford area, including a series of high-status burials within lead and stone coffins.¹⁶ It may be that the cremation and inhumation cemeteries were separate entities.¹⁷

The two cremations found during the excavation are the first to be recorded under controlled excavation conditions, and add a new location to the cemeteries already identified. However, they were severely truncated with only the lowest elements of the pottery urns surviving, and minimal cremated bone present. The impact of truncation across the site should not be underestimated, and it could be argued that further cremations may have been present but have been wholly removed.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that the disturbed nature of the cremations meant that almost no information regarding the population of this small cemetery area can be deduced. The presence of a group of glass beads, forming either an anklet, bracelet, or necklace, within Cremation 2 is of note, although such personal items are common finds as grave goods in London, for example in the northern cemetery.¹⁸ The lack of burning on them precludes them as pyre goods, being worn at time of cremation, and they were most likely added to the urn afterwards.

The possible bustum burial or pyre site

The most important feature of the excavation was arguably the so-called *bustum* burial (not illustrated), where the material falls into its final resting place within the pit below. This was represented by a shallow pit, which had



Fig 4: excavation of Ditch 8 in the southern part of the site

two regularly-spaced stakeholes on the edge – these could be interpreted as the supports for the burial platform. A small quantity of unidentifiable cremated human bone, a large amount of wood charcoal, carbonised seeds of bedstraw and wild grasses, along with several burnt cereal grains were recovered. However, it may be that it was a pyre site, rather than a *bustum* burial, where the body was burnt and the bones then removed for burial elsewhere. Precise interpretation is difficult due to horizontal truncation of the feature.

Bustum burials are not common in London, with single examples from both the eastern cemetery and the southern cemetery on Watling Street at Great Dover Street. The *bustum* at Great Dover Street was of similar dimensions – 0.8m wide by over 1m long – and there were no signs of *in-situ* scorching recorded on the edges. Stakeholes were also recorded along at least one edge.¹⁹ Within the fill were unopened stone pine nut shells, pine scales and charred seeds of the same species, a virtually complete date, a fig and fig seeds, an almond, and a large number of cereal grains, barley, wheat, along with small



Fig 5: Cremation 1 urn from Period 3, under excavation

fragments of charcoal.²⁰ This *bustum* contained the cremated remains of an adult female with numerous grave goods including eight ceramic lamps and eight tazze. Various suggestions were made as to who she was, including a supporter of gladiatorial shows or possibly a female gladiator.²¹

Traditionally, a *bustum* burial is thought to have contained a large volume of charcoal and large-sized pieces of charcoal, with cremated remains in correct anatomical position on a bed of charcoal, something not recorded here. No *in-situ* burning was recorded within the feature, but pyre

sites can show minimal burning to the upper edges of the pit. The possible *bustum* from the eastern Roman cemetery only recorded evidence of burning to a depth of 0.02m²² and its absence in Appian Court can be easily attributed to truncation.

The small amount of cremated human bone present may also negate the feature being a *bustum*, although such other features elsewhere have contained small quantities of cremated bone.²³ The eastern cemetery *bustum* was not environmentally sampled and was only noted as having a charred deposit of charcoal and cremated bone. Similarly, the possible *bustum* at Appian Court was not identified as such during excavation and the cremated bone and environmental remains were recovered from a standard 40-litre bulk sample rather than from a 100% sample. The finds, therefore, especially the cremated bone, may be under-represented.

In addition to the supposed *bustum* burial in the eastern cemetery, a series of pyre debris deposits, deposited as surface spreads within shallow features, were identified.²⁴ These included charcoal, cremated bone, charred seeds, fuel ash slag and various burnt and unburnt artefacts. It is possible that features interpreted as *bustum* burials may instead have been simply pyre sites and associated debris.²⁵

It may be that the possible *bustum* at Appian Court was a pyre site instead, or merely pyre debris deposited within a shallow feature. The two stakeholes on one edge may indicate the former. It also contained a group of pottery in a range of fabrics, which could fit with it being a burial assemblage. There was no sign of burning, and they may have been added to the pyre afterwards. There was a small group of animal bone dominated by cattle bone



Fig 6: Cremation 2 urn from Period 2, under excavation

with sheep/goat and some equid. None of these stand out as particularly funerary or indeed ritual. Whether this feature is a *bustum* burial or a pyre site, it is the first of its kind recorded within the Old Ford Roman settlement and is a welcome addition to the expanding evidence of the settlement.

Acknowledgements

PCA would like to thank Hill Partnerships for commissioning and funding the project and Adam Single, Historic England GLAAS, for monitoring the site on behalf of the Local Planning Authority. The author thanks Helen Hawkins and Jonathan Butler, for project management and post-excavation management respectively, and Joe Brooks for supervising the majority of the fieldwork.

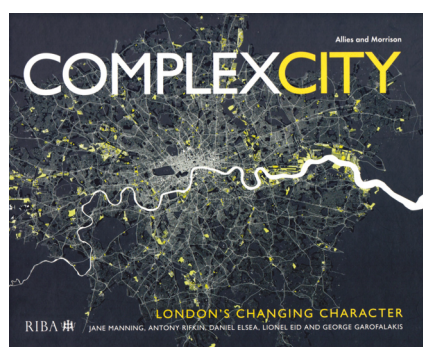
The author would also like to thank Enikő Hudák (Roman pottery), James Langthorne (human remains), Kate Turner (environmental), Märit Gaimster (metal and small finds) and Amparo Valcarcel (ceramic building material) for their contributions. The illustrations were created by Carlos Lemos; photography was by the author, Joe Brooks and Strephon Duckering.

Neil Hawkins is a Project Officer at PCA. He initially joined them in 2002 and, since then, has supervised a number of sites including the large urban excavations at Drapers' Gardens and 120 Fenchurch Street in the City of London.



Fig 7: 16 glass beads of varying colours from the Cremation 2 urn

Complex City: London's Changing Character



Jane Manning, Antony Rifkin, Daniel Elsea, Lionel Eid, George Garofalakis

RIBA Publishing

2020

xvii + 190 pages

ISBN 978 1 85946 894 4

Hardback, £35

Reviewed by Sandy Kidd

Complex City is a fascinating study of our nation's capital. It is not written by or for archaeologists, but it does use some of our information in ways that will be novel to many readers of this magazine. The book's authors are a group of urban designers and planners who work for Allies & Morrison, a company that styles itself as 'urban practitioners'. Its origins lie in a study of the relationship between character and density commissioned by Historic England to inform and influence the new London Plan published in March 2021.

Complex City has expanded on that technical study to provide a lavishly illustrated story and atlas that explores the complexity of London's development from prehistoric landscape to modern conurbation. It also provides pointers for future development. The book's canvas is the whole of modern Greater London and the picture it paints is necessarily broad-brush. The city's development is divided into eight 'layers', which are partly chronological and partly thematic to differing degrees. Each is provided with a pen portrait drawing out key aspects, particularly those that have influenced the modern city.

The first layer entitled 'Natural Landscapes' covers prehistory, geology, topography and ecology. Some readers will likely be frustrated by its simplifications and it must be said occasional misconceptions, such as agriculture being 'gradually adopted

along the Thames Valley in the Bronze Age' instead of beginning in the Neolithic. Subsequent chronological layers cover 'The Square Mile', 'Georgian Planning', 'Victorian Enterprise' and '20th century Modernity'. Thematic layers cover 'Ancient Routes', 'London's Centres' and 'Artificial Landscapes'.

For archaeologists, each section contains fascinating and unfamiliar insights deriving from the authors' urban planning perspective. For example, 'street sections' and block sizes are shown for the square mile emphasising how the experience of different streets and properties varies. The study of 'Ancient Routes' illustrates the great longevity and durability of the capital's main road transport arteries – although the limited attention to water transport along the Thames is a surprising omission.

Across the capital, the relationship between heritage and density is explored in detail, showing for example that conservation areas often achieve high densities without the need for high-rise buildings, which ironically haven't always provided particularly high densities.

In its own words, *Complex City* makes a compelling case for a finer-grain understanding of density as an essential ingredient in accommodating growth responsibly and concludes with recommendations for any city which is facing the dual dilemma of accommodating growth and preserving local character. It is aimed at design and planning professionals to help thinking on developing the conceptual stages of a project.

For professional archaeologists engaged with the development process this sentiment should be a clarion call. If urban designers and planners really want to know about London's deep-time history that is good news indeed, and we are the specialists they should be coming to. To really make an impact we will likely need to adopt new modes of thinking and create fresh products that they can assimilate and use. That is why archaeologists with an interest in London, or urban planning generally should read this important book.

1. Site code APC17 and centred at NGR 53696 18347.

2. J Brooks *Appian Court, Parnell Road, Bow, London E3: An Archaeological Evaluation*, PCA unpub rep (2017).

3. G Brown, B Bishop, A Douglas, J Leary, V Ridgeway, & R Taylor-Wilson in prep. *Traffic Control to Development Control: Archaeology at Lefevre Walk Estate and Adjacent Sites in Old Ford*. PCA Monogr series.

4. G Brown. 'Archaeological evidence for the Roman London to Colchester road between Aldgate and Harold Hill', in J Clark, J Cotton, J Hall, R Sherris & H Swain, *Londinium and Beyond: Essays on Roman London and its hinterland for Harvey Sheldon* CBA Res Rep **156** (2008), 82–9.

5. H L Sheldon 'Excavations at Lefevre Road, Old Ford, E3, Sept 1969–June 1970' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* **23** Pt 1 (1971), 42–77; H L Sheldon 'Excavations at Parnell and Appian Road, Old Ford, E3, Feb–April 1971' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* **23** Pt 2 (1972), 101–47; W McIsaac, I Schwab & H Sheldon 'Excavations at Old Ford 1972–5' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* **30** (1979), 39–96; *op cit* fn 3.

6. R Humphrey & G Seddon *An Assessment of an Archaeological Watching Brief on Land at 419 Wick Lane, Old Ford, London Borough of Tower Hamlets*, PCA unpub rep (2008).

7. B Barber & D Bowsher *The Eastern Cemetery of Roman London, Excavations 1983–1990*, MoLAS Monogr **4** (2000), 404–6: Table 6.

8. *Ibid.*, 179.

9. G Brown "'The Graveyard Draws the Living Still, But Never Anymore the Dead.'" 150 Years of Roman Funerary Archaeology in Old Ford, Tower Hamlets' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* **62** (2011), 31–68.

10. I Hogg 'Excavations at Parnell Road, Bow: Roman activity in Old Ford, a roadside settlement on the periphery of Londinium' *London Archaeol* **15** (10) (2019), 283–5.

11. *Op cit* fn 3.

12. T Wilson, R Cowie & R Symonds 'Field Boundaries or funerary enclosures – a new look at Old Ford' *London Archaeol* **11** (1) (2005), 20–3.

13. *Ibid* and *op cit* fn 7.

14. I Bright 'Filling our minds with rubbish and facts at Gladstone Place, Old Ford' *London Archaeol* **13** (10) (2013), 260–4.

15. V Ridgeway, K Leary & B Sudds *Roman burials in Southwark: Excavations at 52–56 Lant Street and 56 Southwark Bridge Road* PCA Monogr **17** (2013); N Hawkins 'A Roman cemetery at Dickens Square, Southwark' *London Archaeol* **15** (10) (2019), 275–82;

C Edwards 'Ditches, the dead and domestic dumping: Roman and later activity at Harper Road, Southwark' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* **70** (2019), 81–104.

16. *Op cit* fn 12.

17. *Ibid.*, 32.

18. M McKenzie & C Thomas with N Powers & A Wardle *In the northern cemetery of Roman London: Excavations at Spitalfields Market, London E1, 1991–2007* MOLA Monogr **58** (2020) 154–5.

19. A Mackinder *A Romano-British Cemetery on Watling Street: excavations at 165 Great Dover Street, Southwark*, London MoLAS Archaeol Stud Ser 4 (2000), 10–11.

20. *Ibid.*, 12.

21. *Ibid.*, 28.

22. *Op cit* fn 7, 62–6.

23. R Philpott *Burial Practices in Roman Britain: a survey of grave treatment and furnishing AD 43–410*, BAR **219** (1991), 48–9; J I McKinley 'The cremated human bone' in N Hair & C Howard-Davis 'The Roman cemetery at Low Barrow Bridge, near Tebay' in J Lambert (ed) *Transect through time: the archaeological landscape of the Shell NW ethylene pipeline* Lancaster Imprints **1** (1996), 87–126.

24. *Op cit* fn 7, 63.

25. *Ibid.*