

**Personal adornment and the expression of
identity in Roman Britain: a study of the
material culture of appearance.**



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Abstract

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This thesis focuses on the use of personal adornment in south-east Roman Britain and examines if and how appearance was manipulated to express different identities. Individual categories of items associated with appearance have received much attention in Roman-British studies in recent years. However, to understand the complex systems of communication being played out through the display of adornment, these different artefact categories need be studied in conjunction with one another. Using Baldock, a site in North Hertfordshire, as the primary case-study, and drawing on other sites in the region—Braughing, Dunstable, Verulamium and Colchester—for comparative purposes, this study has analysed the effect of context on identity display, using the entire range of personal adornment data available from each site. Focusing specifically on the variable use of adornment in burial and settlement contexts and between different site types, this study has provided an insight into how daily interaction between different aspects of society were overlain with a complex, non-verbal communication system, and how in death, the population was unified through the same means that were used to separate during life.

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To Esther

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 SETTING THE SCENE

This thesis is concerned with the role appearance played in the expression and display of identities in the Roman period, with focus on civilian sites in south-east Britain. Research into this area relies primarily on the remains of personal adornment items given the scarcity of clothing, pictorial and textual evidence from this province. In recent years, detailed analysis of adornment items has become more prominent in Roman archaeology, with major studies carried out by Cool (1990), Swift (2000; 2003) and Eckardt (2005; 2006) among others. But whereas these scholars have focused on typologies and/or distribution patterns of single item types, less attention has been paid to how the various items of adornment occurred in conjunction with one another. Although constructed from individual items, it is the combination of body accessories that creates an appearance, and therefore, it is only when the overall appearance is considered, that the possible manipulation of items for identity expression can be fully appreciated. Analysis of this ‘complete’ look has tended to remain the domain of cemetery reports, this type of work being pioneered by Clarke in the Lankhills report, and developed in subsequent cemetery reports such as that of Brougham (Cool 2004). Limiting this aspect of identity studies to cemetery data is understandable as it is only in this context that specific combinational use of items can be recognised. However, although cemetery analysis can reveal artefact use patterns, it will be argued that these cannot be fully understood in isolation from the repertoire of artefacts from which these deposited items were selected. Given this, there are two main shortfalls in current approaches to the analysis of personal adornment use; the lack of a relational analysis between different types of adornment items and a comparative analysis between cemetery and settlement distributions.

The research presented here redresses this by examining the range of appearance related items used and how their display was affected by the contextual situation, in terms of both the extent of variable use between settlements and cemeteries at individual sites and by comparing between different sites. In doing so, it not only provides a new way of analysing the vast body of adornment finds data recovered from excavations, but also allows an assessment of the extent to which appearance was used as a means of communication among different sections of the population in Roman Britain. This is approached initially through the analysis of a single case study site then developed through a comparative assessment of

additional material to establish whether results seen in the case study are site specific or indicative of broader regional trends. It will also enable the extent of inter-site personal adornment variability to be assessed.

Baldock, a Late Iron Age and Roman site in Hertfordshire, was selected as the initial case study. A number of factors contributed to this choice, relating to both the nature of the settlement and the amount of data available. The importance of Baldock as an Iron Age centre and its continuation throughout the Roman period, but as a rural centre of minimal Roman interest and significance implies that a largely indigenous community was present at this site; a suggestion supported by the continued use, well in to the Roman period, of many of the associated cemeteries that surrounded the site, and in the continuity of the settlement layout (Burleigh 1991b). As a result, the surviving material has the potential to provide an insight into the social systems and expressions of identity *within* the indigenous population, rather than purely between ‘native’ and ‘Roman’ identities, or ‘military’ and ‘civilian’ as has so often been the case (critiques of such approaches having been discussed at length elsewhere: James 2001; Mattingly 2004: 10-14; Pitts 2007: 693-5).

This ‘indigenous’ angle requires attention for several reasons, not only because the majority of the population was rural (Evans 2001: 35) but also because if appearance *was* used to demonstrate differences between ‘natives’ and ‘Romans’ (as demonstrated by e.g. Jundi & Hill 1998) it implies that the expression of identity through appearance was an important aspect of communication. It is therefore unlikely to have stopped at just one form of expression, but also have been used to express an array of identities. However, the systems of identity expression and communication that may have operated within the indigenous population, in addition to those that served to separate and/or merge ‘native’ and ‘Roman’ populations, can only be identified if we look at the use of artefacts from sites of a more native character rather than the more cosmopolitan urban centres. The problem in this arises in the more prominent focus of archaeological investigation at these larger centres, but unusually for a rural site, Baldock has undergone extensive archaeological investigation. As a result, not only does the nature of the site lend itself to a study of identity expression within rather than between different communities, but the quantity and type of archaeological data required to carry out an investigation of this type is also present.

The multiple cemeteries of Baldock, many of overlapping chronology, allow first and foremost, for comparative assessment of the use of personal adornment in different burial

areas at a single site. This is important, as it establishes both the extent to which personal adornment was used in burials, and whether there was any apparent variability of use by different groups using the different cemeteries. An understanding how personal adornment was used in burials allows for a more nuanced interpretation when comparing the burial to settlement finds. Furthermore, if minimal personal adornment is recovered from this context, it would show that to compare cemetery and settlement material would be a fruitless task. The second key aspect in the selection of this site was the presence of data from the settlement as well as the burial area, to enable analysis between these contexts. Thirdly, the region is well supplied with sites that provide a good comparative sample, not least due to high levels of excavation in the area, but also because the Roman road network linked many of the sites, opening them up to the same influences and market accessibility. For comparative purposes, this is significant as it reduces the possibility that inter-site variation simply reflects variable distribution. Furthermore, there are a range of different site types present. This provides more depth to the inter-site analysis as any variable use of personal adornment at different sites types, and potentially, therefore, different sections of the population, will be identifiable.

On the basis of the level of excavation data and location, three sites in the immediate region of Baldock are used for comparative purposes – Braughing, Durocbrivis (Dunstable) and Verulamium. All are within 30km of one another, and with Baldock, form four points of a rectangle in the road network. Given the imbalance of rural to urban sites, Colchester is also included in the comparative sample, as another large urban centre to complement Verulamium. This increases the possibility of any site-type variability in the use of personal adornment being revealed. Furthermore, although at greater distance from the other sites, it does link into the same roads via Braughing, thereby reducing the possibility of variable personal adornment distribution relating solely to distribution zones. Wholly military sites have not been included. This is partly due to the appearance of the military having been discussed at length elsewhere (e.g. Coulston 1988; Gardner 2001a; James 2004), but also because the high number of foreigners, combined with more directed operations of production and supply at these sites means that a range of influences not present at civilian sites are likely to have been in operation. Including military sites in the analysis would not, therefore, be conducive to developing an understanding of the use of appearance among the more general population.

To aid and inform interpretation, ideas are drawn from current anthropological and sociological discussions on the use of the body and adornment as means of communication

and the relation of such manipulation to the expression of identity. At the same time, archaeological studies relating to appearance and adornment, both theoretical and analytical have been used to situate the work within the discipline.

In all, this thesis explores the use of appearance as a means of identity expression in Roman Britain through multiple channels of analysis, while using an inter-disciplinary approach to develop the interpretation. It will demonstrate that appearance could be a powerful means of expression during this period, with context playing a crucial role in determining what aspects of identity were portrayed and how this display was manifested.

1.2 STRUCTURE

The thesis is set out according to the following structure. Chapter 2, which follows, reviews the development of Roman personal adornment studies. It also addresses why an understanding of identity has come to play such an important role in current archaeology, assessing the influence of other fields of academia including sociology and anthropology, while also looking at the theoretical approaches to identity studies within Roman archaeology.

Having set out the context of this research, Chapter 3 goes on to address the theoretical issues bound up in the analysis of Romano-British personal adornment finds. Themes such as the perceived value of these items in Roman times, preservational concerns that have affected assemblages, and the difficulties and limitations of comparing assemblages from different contexts (settlement settings as opposed to military or temple sites, as well as the differences between cemetery and settlement assemblages) are discussed.

Chapter 4 explains the methodological approach used in this thesis. It describes the selection of sites in more detail and pays particular attention to the ways in which data has been collected and recorded over the years at the various sites and the effect this has had on the level of detail that can be reached in the analysis. It then goes on to discuss how the data is analysed both for the initial study of the Baldock material and for the subsequent inter-site comparison.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 focus on Baldock. The first introduces the site, looking at its history and development. Chapter 6 then goes on to analyse the use of personal adornment in the cemeteries and the level of inter-cemetery variation, while Chapter 7 focuses on the

differences between the cemetery and settlement assemblages. The analysis has been separated in to two chapters as each section approaches different themes. Those addressed in Chapter 6 demonstrate the role and genuine significance of appearance in identity expression through variable cemetery use whereas Chapter 7 develops a means of combining the cemetery and settlement data so as to assess the different use of items in these different contexts.

This leads into Chapter 8, which introduces the comparative data from Braughing, Dunstable, Verulamium and Colchester. This compares the site assemblages from each, while Chapter 9 looks specifically at the cemetery and settlement assemblages from sites, comparing both within and between sites. The degree of similarity or variability between the uses of personal adornment items in the two contexts at each location is assessed.

The final chapter, Chapter 10, brings together the results and interpretation carried out in Chapters 5-9, and, drawing on the theoretical considerations laid out in Chapters 2 and 3, discusses the significance of the results. It re-contextualises these in the context of current archaeological understandings of the use appearance and identity expression in Roman Britain, and suggests future avenues of work that have become apparent through the development of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH CONTEXT: STUDYING DRESS AND IDENTITY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Academia is unavoidably influenced by the world in which it operates. In recent years discussions on social complexity in the modern world have gathered pace (West 1995: 112) following the identity and civil rights movements of Blacks, gays etc. of the 1950s onwards (Aronowitz 1995: 119; West 1995: 156). The increasing recognition of the multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic nature of most societies and the realisation that any one culture may contain many 'cultures' came with this (Friedman 1994: 75), and the concept of 'identity' as we use it today developed (Appiah 2005: 64). Through the understanding and manipulation of these combined factors people develop their identity and their understanding of the world around them. The development of this concept of 'identity' has generated much discussion, political and otherwise (Mouffe 1995; Scott 1995), which have in turn fed into the academic world. The effect in archaeology has been palpable.

Recognised through developments in the modern world, this multi-dimensional cultural and identity structure is not limited to the present. Any society coming into contact with external influences would be similarly affected, as the development of the Roman Empire demonstrates. The vast geographical spread of the Roman Empire encompassed hugely variable cultural groupings, the different cultural histories of the provinces affecting their development once incorporated (Huskinson 2000: 23). Roman Britain was no exception despite its peripheral position, being open to a wide range of influences, albeit much (e.g. samian ware) coming from closer continental provinces (Willis 2005: 6.2). New artefacts, ideas and cultural behaviours would have been brought across by traders, soldiers, administrators, slaves and immigrants etc. (Cunliffe 2004: 8; Dobson & Mann 1973: 198; Goodman 1997: 215). These factors, combined with the varied social organisation and positions of those in Britain (Creighton 2000) would have created an environment of discrepant experiences (Mattingly 1997: 14; Mattingly 2004). In this atmosphere, group associations and affiliations are likely to have been of considerable importance as individuals and groups sought to locate a position within the new political context. One aspect of this would have been a (re)negotiation of identity, and as such, research into this area potentially

offers an opportunity to understand some of the ways in the lives of those living in Britain came to be structured following the Roman conquest.

To place the following work in context, this chapter will present a number of issues concerned with the study of identity. First and foremost, what is meant by ‘identity’ and the way it has been defined in academic discussion must be determined. The relationship between identity, the body and appearance will then be explored, and the application of identity display in this manner demonstrated through case studies. Discussion will then turn to the theoretical concerns bound up in identity studies in Roman archaeology, before moving on to look specifically at the state of work with regard to appearance in Roman Britain.

2.2 WHAT IS IDENTITY?

Identity can perhaps best be described as a collection of traits that combine to express the singularity or collective perception of a people, group or society (Balibar 1995: 174; Turner 1982: 82). These traits act as a series of signifiers, through cultural aspects such as names, food, dress etc. that serve to distinguish one group from another (Huskinson 2000: 15). Totally dependant on context and needing to be learnt, these create a fluid situation that requires constant negotiation (Lucy 2005a: 43; Lucy 2005b: 86). This fluidity has led to identity being understood as “a process not a thing” (Craib 1998: 4) and as such, people cannot be described as having ‘identities’, but rather ‘identifications’ (Appiah 2005: 66; Balibar 1995: 187). More often than not these factors only come into play through the identification of what we are not as this makes us aware of what (and how) we are. It is at this point, when in opposition to the ‘other’, that identities become active and discursive. Individuals identify with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant (Diaz-Andreu & Lucy 2005: 1) and it is these identifications that provide a means of expressing people’s understanding of who they are (Giddens 2001: 29) and of allowing others to interpret them.

However, the concept of identity is not this straightforward. The above refers largely to social identity – the placing in and understanding of the world around one – but individuals also have personal identities, those of the embodied self (Craib 1998: 4; Synnott 1993: 1), which makes each individual unique. The academic idea of self was largely developed by Foucault (1988) as a way of comprehending the techniques used by humans to understand themselves, and through this, how they perceive themselves and others. Yet understanding of the body and

self are ultimately social constructions and the relationship between social identities and personal identities is entwined (Synnott 1993: 1-4). Given the contextual nature of identity, the process is based on shifting, subjective and situationally specific identifications of self and others, rooted in practice and experience (Jones 1997: 13).

The concept of 'other' is essential to understanding identity. The process of identity operates on many different levels and is affected by every arena of life in which an individual, group or society participates, but it can *only* operate in relation to others (Appiah 2005: 63; Craib 1998: 4; Deschamps 1982: 87; Jones 1996: 69). Without an 'other' against which to differentiate the concept of identity cannot exist as there needs to be a point of reference from which alternative identities can be established. Indeed, identities only exist because of this perception of 'other' and, as sociological experiments have shown, when groups become aware of each other, there develops a desire to maximise their distinctiveness as a means of reinforcing self-identification in opposition to this perceived otherness (Wetherell 1982: 208-9).

In the discussion above, the concept of 'identity' has so far only been introduced as a single phenomenon, but it is in fact a many faceted process. Some of the main dimensions of identity include gender, nationality, language, ethnicity and social class (Meskell 2001: 189), but it is much more than this. Take, as an example, a man (this term itself indicating an identity). Combined with the factors just listed, his identity would also include the fact that he was a son, possibly a father, a husband and brother. His identity would be further extended by any hobbies, interests, occupations, religious beliefs etc. – any given individual always having multiple identities (Meskell 2001: 188). These operate simultaneously but different aspects may be emphasised, not activated or actively suppressed as appropriate to a particular context or situation (Edwards 2005: 116).

Despite the continual negotiation involved in the process described above, some aspects of identity are considered biologically given rather than culturally and socially constructed. Sex and physical characteristics provide some examples, but now, even the static nature of these is being brought into question (Dark 1995: 109), although confusing sex with concepts of gender is perhaps a common mistake. Any manifestation of identity that is not a clearly defined biological given is open to political, social, cultural and symbolic influences and can therefore show change situationally and temporally (Stig-Sorensen 2000: 10) and the body.

despite being a biological given, can provide one of the most readily recognisable manifestations of identity display given our ability to manipulate it.

In discussions on identity, the many facets of which it comprises (age, sex, gender, status etc.) are often discussed separately (e.g. Diaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005; Emberling 1997; Hope 2000; Jones 1997). This is largely for analytical purposes, and one recurring theme through all is that identity is never fixed. Despite common separation in literature, it is recognised that identity is constructed through the interplay of these separate strands, and furthermore that these are inseparable (Lucy 2005b: 100). All identities are fluid, undergoing constant negotiation. Given the complexity of identity, and the suppression or exaggeration of any given aspect depending on the situation, it is never possible to show, and therefore recognise, all the different facets (Hodder 2000: 26; Wiessner 1989: 57).

2.2.1 IDENTITY AND THE BODY

“Humans...interact not with other humans *per se* but with artefacts and humans compounded with artefacts” (Schiffer 1999: 3). The body provides the most personal way in which humans and artefacts can interact, given the physical proximity of modifications through over-layering (e.g. clothing) and/or inter-layering (intrusive procedures such as piercings, tattooing) the body with material culture. This personal nature provides each individual with a means of proclaiming or disguising identities and social distinctions through their appearance (Lurie 1981: 27) and as such appearance can act as a powerful means of communication (Eicher & Roach-Higgins 1992: 15; Eicher & Sumberg 1995: 1). Because of this, any items, such as ornaments, used on the body to alter appearance, can also contain much more meaning than simply signifying purely personal decoration (Kassam & Megersa 1989: 23).

Throughout history humans have manipulated the appearance of the body, be it through alteration or addition (Barnes & Eicher 1992: 1). Layers of meaning can be imposed through strategic modification (Atkinson 2006: 90) so much so that this ‘social’ body can come to have more significance than that of the physical body (Synnott 1993: 5). These actively applied additions to the body can act as a means of distinction (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992: 75), how we mark and adorn bodies constituting who we are, both to ourselves and others through the images we are projecting (Barnes & Eicher 1992: 1). In addition, movement, stance and actions can add to the overall image portrayed, though unfortunately for archaeologists, this aspect of appearance can never be preserved. Statues, mosaics and frescos

go some way to demonstrating this aspect of appearance, but as static images representing often idealised scenes, the use of these in understanding the details of movement and carriage in everyday life are limited. The overall projection may be real, or an artificial construction aimed at misleading the viewer, but either way, it relies on alteration of the body image, and changing the way we mark and adorn ourselves changes who we are (perceived to be) (Grahame 1998: 3).

This can be easily demonstrated with the example of hair, possibly one of the most powerful symbols of individual and group identity as it is personal yet public, and highly malleable (Synnott 1993: 122). Cutting or growing hair cannot fail to make an impression, especially when the chosen style goes against accepted social norms, commonly a gender distinction, with men donning shorter cuts and women longer tresses. But so much more can be done with hair than just this. There are endless styles – crew cuts, mohicans, dreadlocks, and less extreme and instantly reversible up and down ‘do’s – all of which can express ideals, group affiliations etc. of the wearer (Synnott 1993: 122). It could be argued that all these represent modern examples, but the longevity in hairstyling statements can be seen at least as far back as the Roman Empire, as empress hairstyles developed, changed and were copied around the empire (Bartman 2001).

The importance of all aspects of appearance—hair styling, dress, grooming etc.—depend on the meanings people give to them (Huskinson 2000: 10). This varies from group to group, being culturally learned as individuals are immersed in social understandings of their society and become (or resist) the image of it (Bradley-Griebel 1995: 216; Comaroff & Comaroff 1992: 71). Given this, the meaning of appearance is highly dependant on circumstance. In one location the style of appearance may be bound up in the social constructions relevant to that society – perhaps indicating age, gender, marital status etc. However, taken out of context and placed in another group or society, these complex meanings may be lost, but the appearance would take on a different set of connotations, signifying foreignness and origin, be it ‘exotic’, ‘strange’ or ‘novel’ (Lurie 1981: 5, 12). Within groups there may be a number of identities displayed by different sections but externally, the group would appear to have consistent characteristics. This local ‘homogeneity’ depends on a wider heterogeneity (Hines 1996: 257). As such, although identity can serve to mark people out as individuals, it also serves to integrate those individuals into the wider community to which they belong (Petts 1998b: 80).

An important point arises from this; if understanding is so highly context dependent, can we, having been raised in a modern, westernised culture, ever escape the present in our interpretations (Diaz-Andreu 1996: 57)? Interpretations of identity are unavoidably affected by our present understandings (Emberling 1997: 300). What may seem like a rational explanation to us may bear no relevance to the reality of the past and vice versa. Indeed, as a material object is recovered by an archaeologist, it becomes a point of discourse, gaining a position of privilege and priority that it may not have been endowed with in the context of its original existence (Barkan 1999: 4). How past material culture is interpreted depends on the context (social climate) of its discovery, and now that it has been realised that each generation reinterprets and re-contextualises material we can at least acknowledge the extent to which our own world socialisation affects the way we read the past (Hingley 2005a: 4). By broadening our approach to include developments in disciplines other than archaeology, we can extend our knowledge of the extent and manifestation of variation between cultures. Ethnography in particular is useful to archaeology; it demonstrates some of this variety, but it also shows some of the ways these practices may be preserved. Many artefacts may not have been actively deposited with the intention of showing identity (Emberling 1999: 27) but ethnography can show how these practises may come to mark the archaeological record (Cameron 2006: 22).

2.3 IDENTITY AND THE USE OF ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES

Ethnography, and its association with archaeology, is not a new field, but arguably it was not until the later twentieth century that its value for archaeological studies was rediscovered. Ideas of the past can never be more than educated guesses (Orser 2001: 8), and we rely on understandings developed in the modern world.

Some of the first major archaeologically relevant studies took place in the 1980s, focusing specifically on the use of material culture and the different meanings and uses to which items could be put. Ian Hodder, one of the main protagonists, carried out a ground-breaking study (Hodder 1982) examining the use of different materials among a number of East African peoples. This showed how certain items were used not only to create and establish identity, but also as a means of subverting the 'correct' order of things. He also developed the idea that the material remains of cultures form their text and language, and that we, as archaeologists, must learn to read it if we are to understand the past (Hodder 1991: 126-8). The level of complexity and variability in identity display of different cultural groups was further

emphasised through the subsequent increase of ethnographical studies that focused on material culture, such as those of Wiessner (1983) and Larick (1986).

Influenced by these and the more general increasing interest in identity (discussed above) a second phase of ethnoarchaeological studies took place during the 1990s that focused on specific aspects of material culture, often appearance. These looked at many different living communities from Old World (e.g. Sumberg 1995) to New World (e.g. Atkinson 2006), covering a range of practices, including those now obsolete (Berns 1988; Welters 1995). These studies led to a number of important observations regarding uses of appearance. Among the Ga'anda of Nigeria, for example, the complex system of scarification designs marked on the body were also reflected on specific forms of architecture and ceramics (Berns 1988), which, in archaeological terms, would be the surviving forms of material culture from which we would seek to understand their culture.

Other studies have served to show how all groups undergo constant change as they borrow, adopt and adapt material culture from others (Bradley-Griebel 1995: 208). In situations when contact with other groups becomes more intense, such as in colonial situations, material culture and dress can fuse in unexpected way to create distinctive identities (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992: 87). These situations often affect male and female approaches to appearance in different ways, men more commonly switching to newly introduced modes of dress while women tend to retain traditional dress for a much more extended period (Eicher & Sumberg 1995: 298). Interestingly, this also tends to affect the uptake of other aspects of cultural practice as well, with men adopting new modes of burial more rapidly than women (Cannon 2005: 42). This may be due to the types of gender divisions in activity roles in many societies, with men more likely to come into longer and more sustained contact with others than women.

The observations resulting from this work are of particular use for archaeological analyses of appearance that focus on populations that were forcefully taken over, as was the case in Roman Britain. Understanding the variety of possible ways in which indigenous populations may have reacted and changed to the new situation, including the possible retention of indigenous styles by women and changes by men, provide a more open-minded perspective from which to approach the material. The ideas taken from ethnographic studies cannot, however, be applied too rigidly as this would negate any broadening of perspective. Rather, they indicate possible lines of enquiry in interpreting material.

2.4 INTERPRETING IDENTITY IN ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY

This thesis is focused on interaction and identity. However, the issue of 'Romanisation' continues to be a key theme in Roman archaeology and in any study of the Roman period a discussion of this term unavoidable as it affects the way we approach the material culture. Further, it is through the dissemination of this interpretive model and the search for more appropriate methodologies and terminology that identity studies have become more prominent in this field. Given this, the key theoretical ideas will be summarised to show the development of the concept of identity in Roman archaeology, but fuller discussions are available elsewhere (see e.g. Barrett 1997; Freeman 1997b; Hill 2001; James 2001; Millett 1990; Webster 1996).

The history of the debate is important for understanding the motivations behind the current usage of the term (see e.g. Freeman 1997a; Freeman 1997b; Hingley 1996). Ultimately, this comes down to the fact that the concept of Romanisation was developed during a period of colonial expansion, with the Roman Empire being seen as a model for the growing European empires of the 18th and 19th centuries (Hingley 2000: 26). The structure of the terminology '*Romanisation*' alone demonstrates one of the main criticisms levelled at the theoretical concept - that it ignored the multi-directional flow of ideas, material culture and experiences that are inevitably felt to happen when different cultures come into contact with one another, reducing cultural identity to the binary opposites of 'Roman' and 'native' (Mattingly 2004: 6; Mattingly 2006: 520-5). It also implied that this mono-directional flow was wanted by the indigenous populations, as it enabled them to become more 'civilised' (Webster 2001: 215). Moreover, much discussion of Romanisation focused solely on the elite, ignoring the vast majority of the population. Given this, the term would seem obsolete, yet it is undeniable that the Roman Empire spread over a vast area of Europe and brought with it aspects of material culture (e.g. coins, sculpture, architectural styles) that are recognisable and identifiable the Empire over. Britain in the fourth century, after several hundred years of Roman occupation, was very different to Iron Age Britain, Roman influences being evident in many of the changes (e.g. monetary economy, urban settlements, architectural forms etc.). Becoming Roman was not a defined process in which a *set* 'cultural package' was acquired, but an acquisition of what was considered an accepted 'Roman' style or practice at any given time and place (Woolf 1998: 11).

The way in which archaeologists approached the material culture of the period was brought to the forefront of Roman archaeology in 1990, following the publication of *The Romanization of Britain* (Millett 1990), one of the first major studies to discuss how *native* populations had an active role in bringing about the cultural changes which were seen to represent Roman occupation. The book, which argued for native elite-led emulation, but still followed the idea that natives wanted to become Roman has since been much criticized for its approach (Hingley 1996: 41; Hingley 1997b: 83; Webster 2001: 213-14). However, it stimulated the following decade of debate, as a result of which a number of new approaches and interpretive models have been developed.

The initial reaction to Romano-centric interpretations was to empower the native populations. This first took form in the idea of ‘resistance’, which gave native populations the power and ability to act, rather than simply accept. How such resistance to Roman rule may have manifested itself through the use of material culture was explored in depth in *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives* edited by Jane Webster and Nick Cooper (1996). ‘Resistance’, however, itself can be seen as a value-laden term, and in trying to bring to prominence the previously largely ignored native populations, there was perhaps a tendency to over-emphasise the role of active resistance.

Following this, several less polarised ideas were put forward, a number of which have since been discussed and developed and others. Of the more successful interpretative approaches developed, cultural bricolage (Terrenato 1998), creolisation (Webster 2001) and discrepant experiences (Mattingly 1997; Mattingly 2004) are the most commonly cited. The concept of cultural bricolage suggests a complex patchwork of old and new was created as items were refunctionalised and relabelled, leading to new forms and uses (Terrenato 1998: 23). By taking account of the influence of pre-existing culture and the way this combined with new influences, this concept comes closer to modelling behavioural complexity (Eckardt 2005: 141). Taken from linguistics, creolisation describes the merging of two languages into a single dialect, often in a colonial situation where power is unequally distributed (Webster 2001: 209). This last aspect is crucial to creolisation – the emerging language resulting through a negotiation of an unequal power structure and providing a means for those with less power to maintain their culture. Webster has suggested that these ideas can also be applied to material culture to explain why new forms emerged in the provinces following the Roman conquest, as a means of explaining how less dominant groups maintained traditional ways of life by adapting aspects of the dominant culture. Through such negotiation, an ambiguous

material culture can emerge, the reading of which becomes highly dependant on context (Webster 2001: 217-18).

Giving a voice to the non-elite by instead focusing on the lower orders of society, it continues to provide an unequal approach to the study of societies, running parallel to studies focusing on the elite. 'Discrepant experience' on the other hand, argues for a non-exclusive approach that acknowledges the complexity of different experiences. Drawing on the theoretical ideas of Edward Said's (1993) work on social aspects of modern colonialism, David Mattingly has suggested that the notion of 'discrepant experience' is equally applicable to the Roman world (Mattingly 1997: 12-14; Mattingly 2004). This recognises that not only were different things experienced by different people, but that the same process, activity etc. may have been experienced differently by each individual involved (Mattingly 2006: 525). As such, it suggests that we need to recognise that not only were there different variants on what it was to be Roman, but also different ways of not being Roman (Mattingly 2004: 9). This position provides the opportunity to look for the variable responses to Roman influence as it does not approach the material with a preconceived idea of who or what we would or should expect to find in the archaeological evidence.

The publication of Millett's book acted as a stimulus for the development of many of the new approaches. Most probably, it is through a combination of the ideas raised in each approach that the most plausible reading of the past will be gained. No single approach can cover the entire range of experiences. How people were affected, as with identity display and representation, would have been highly dependant on context. Time, place, geographical location, gender, age, pre-Roman social position etc. would all have affected how Roman material was used and how new identities were constructed through this use.

This theoretical debate influences all aspects of Roman archaeology and particularly that of identity, as it affects the way in which the material culture is approached, and ultimately therefore, how it is analysed and interpreted. If one begins with the idea that native populations strove to become more Roman, then one looks for (and usually finds), evidence for this. However, due to the 'Romanisation' debate, it has become increasingly recognised that searching for Roman influence does not provide a rounded picture of experiences for this period. Rather, such an approach provides an insight into, at best, a narrow aspect of experience, and most likely that limited to a very small percent of the population. Indeed, many now argue that an absolute Roman identity did not exist at all, given the marked

differences both between different inhabitants of the empire and among those within given communities (see e.g. Hingley 1996; Woolf 1998). As a result, it is now acknowledged that there were a range of influences affecting the lives of those living in the Roman period and that Roman culture itself may have played but a small part. From this, there has been a movement to explore the range of experiences, examining use of material culture in its own right rather than searching specifically for 'Roman' or 'native', in an attempt to break down the binary Roman:native divide. As such identity studies in Roman archaeology owe much to the Romanisation debate. Through this it was recognised that not only did native populations play a significant role in the Roman period, but that their life experiences and use of material culture were equally important for understanding the complexity of the period as the study of material purely of Roman influence. The theoretical debate in Roman archaeology is now feeding back into way material culture is studied. This thesis, taking the lead from these developments, is using a specific aspect of the material culture, personal adornment, to look for the way identities may have been expressed in Roman Britain, turning the focus from specifically Roman:native to different types of identity that may have been important among the civilian population such as age, gender etc.

2.5 APPEARANCE AND IDENTITY IN ROMAN BRITAIN

Many aspects of appearance, such as the type and colour of clothing and how the physical body was altered (tattooing, piercing etc.) rarely survive in the archaeological record. The Roman period has the benefit of visual representations and texts and when combined with the artefactual material, these have enabled archaeologists to make some generalised insights into how the broader population may have appeared. Although commonly representing only those wealthy enough to be commemorated in such ways (Struck 2000: 86), evidence from the Mediterranean region does show that even those of humble origins, including slaves, were sometimes provided with stone memorials (Carroll 2006: 153-7). In Britain, however, sculptural evidence is limited, and as the geographical coverage of the *CSIR* volumes show, the majority of this comes from the military zone. For understanding the construction of appearance among the south-eastern civilian population this evidence is therefore problematic, as the extent to which the appearance of the military community reflected that of the civilian population of Britain is questionable. Having said this, a study of the sculptural depictions of dress in Britain would provide a valuable insight into how aspects of the community were represented through appearance. In turn, this would provide a valuable point

of comparison for the more commonly surviving types of evidence for appearance—the artefacts—associated with the civilian population.

This section will look at appearance and identity in Roman Britain from two directions. It will establish what evidence there is for appearance in the region covered by the case studies, and it will discuss the current state of identity-based research into this material.

2.5.1 THE MATERIAL CULTURE

There are three main archaeologically recoverable aspects of material culture from Roman Britain that were used in the construction of appearance: the types of clothing worn, artefacts associated with grooming and hair-styling, and the range of personal adornment items used. This section will look at what material culture contributed to these categories and how it was used. Each aspect is inter-linked with the others as appearance takes into account all factors affecting overall look. However, for clarity, the evidence for each is presented separately.

Clothing

Evidence of the clothing styles comes largely from surviving imagery. However, during the first hundred years or so of Roman occupation this evidence is extremely sparse (Wild 2004: 305) and reconstructions of clothing draw heavily on circumstantive evidence from Gallic and Roman-Germanic representations (Mattingly 2006: 320). From this it has been suggested (Allason-Jones 2005: 105; Wild 2004: 306) that in the 1st-2nd century AD women wore a loose tube tunic fastened at the shoulders with brooches, over a close fitting long-sleeved bodice. Although there is little evidence, pairs of brooches fastened by chains and so designed to be worn together have been recovered (Figure 1). These discoveries give some support for this mode of dress, however, only a very few examples are known and it is therefore questionable whether this was a common or typical dress style. Men, on the other hand, may have worn a short tunic, trousers and a cloak, as implied by the engraving of a bird-catcher on a nicolo gem (Figure 2) recovered from Verulamium (Adamson & Niblett 2006: 141). Roman military graves show that soldiers wore cloaks fastened on the right shoulder with a brooch (Swift 2000: 4). However, there were many different cloak designs, from rectangles to half-moons shapes with integrated hoods (Wild 1985: 374-86), and the limited evidence from Britain makes it difficult to know what styles were worn by male civilians.

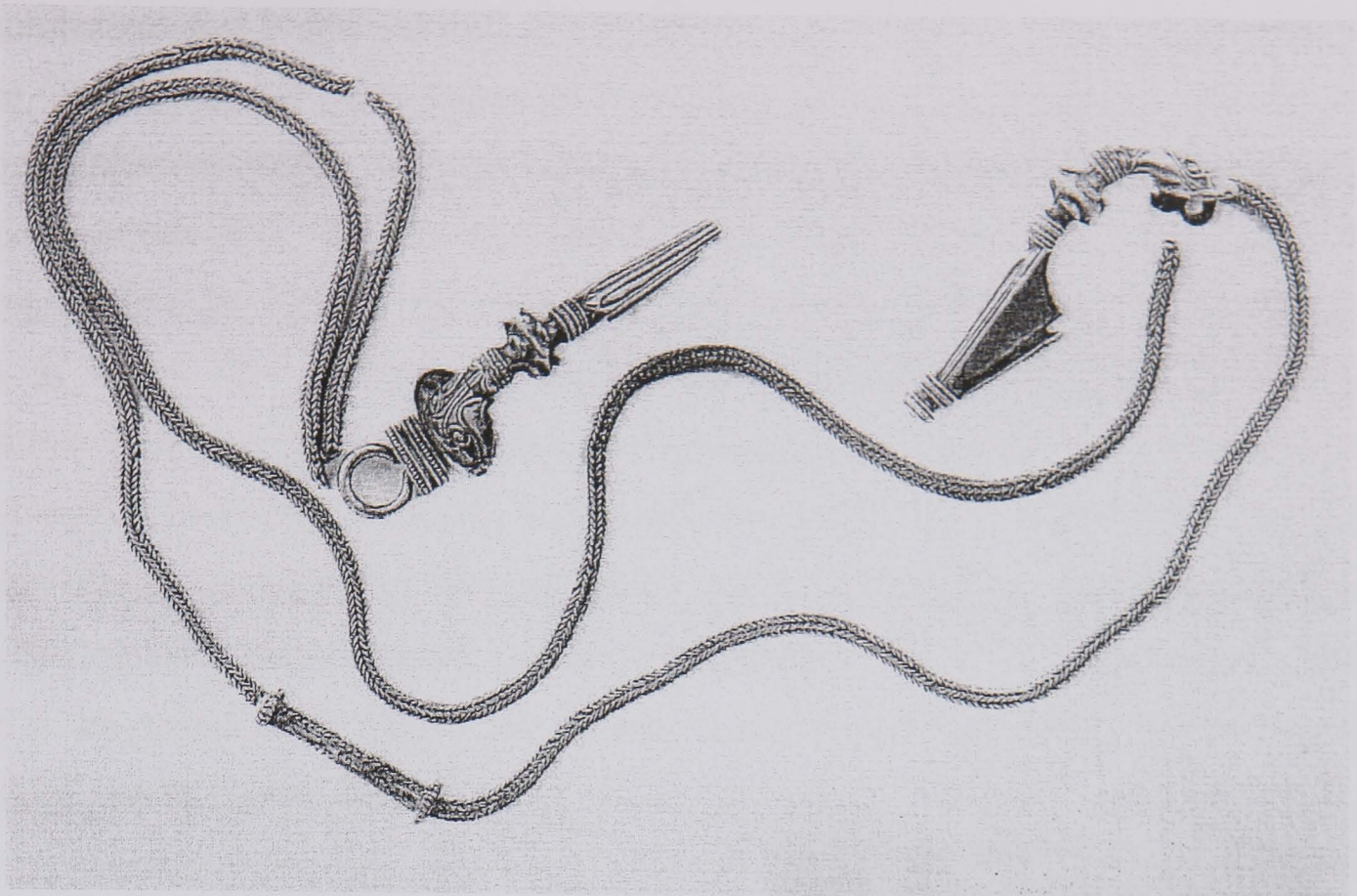


Figure 1 The Chorely brooches joined by a silver chain (Potter & Johns 1992: 151)



Figure 2 Nicolo intaglio, showing a bearded bird catcher in a short tunic and cloak (Adamson & Niblett 2006: 89).

The Gallic coat, a loose fitting tunic, appears to have been adopted during the 2nd century AD. Regional variations most likely existed, but this garment was similar to the Gallic coat worn on the continent by men from all levels of society during much of the imperial period (Allason-Jones 1989: 110; Wild 2004: 300). It also seems to have become the main female garb at this time, albeit in a slightly different form to that of the male version, being worn full instead of knee length and often with a cloak (Wild 2004: 303). Unlike the earlier fashions, this style is well represented on tombstones in Britain, as can be seen from examples from Carlisle (Figure 3) and York (Figure 4). Both these examples also depict children and seem to show that they wore similar clothes to adults. However, both the children represented in the

York tombstone died before the age of two, but are represented as much older children in the carving (Tufi 1983: 24). This discrepancy between real and portrayed age cautions against taking the other 'evidence' from the tombstone, such as that of dress styles for children, as a genuine representation of what was actually worn. Importantly, all depictions of females wearing Gallic coats have so far been recovered from the military zone in Britain and the extent to which this sculptural evidence reflects southern civilian dress needs to be considered. It is possible that this style was introduced into Britain by continental women accompanying the soldiers stationed in the north, and may instead represent the dress styles of this very specific group rather than the general garb of indigenous women (Mattingly 2006: 209). Having said this, a general decline in brooches in the 2nd–3rd century AD, which is linked to the spread of the Gallic coat, is seen in civilian lowland Britain but not so much in the military north (Snape 1993: 1).

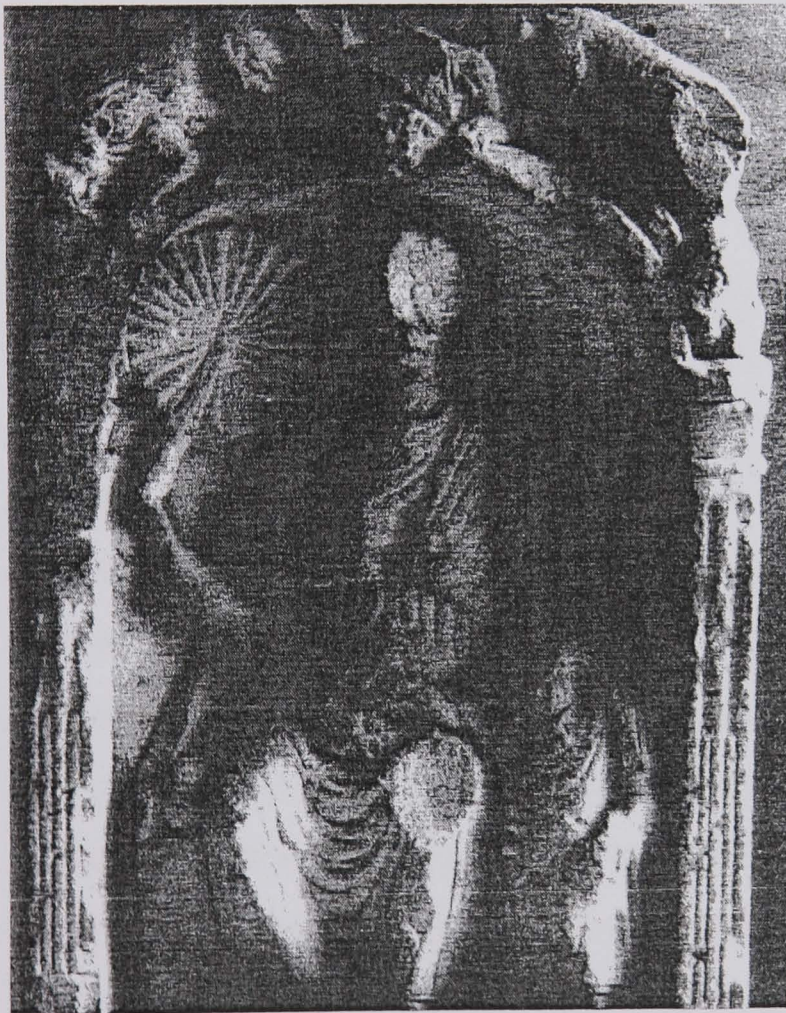


Figure 3 Tombstone from Carlisle, showing dress styles (Coulston & Philips 1988: plate 497)



Figure 4 Tombstone from York, showing a family dressed in the same garments (Tufi 1983: plate 39)

Wool and linen were the most common textile fibres used for garments in Roman Britain, (Wild 2004). Fabrics like cotton and silk, which relied on importation, were rare (Wild 2002: 1), although examples have been recovered, such as the silk fragment from a grave (77) at Colchester (Crummy *et al.* 1993: 129) and from a child burial at Holborough (Alcock 1996:

87). However, the cost of production and importation would have made these the preserve of the rich (Croom 2000: 20). Non-woven fabrics including knitted, knotted and netted yarns are also likely to have formed part of the repertoire, as are natural materials such as leather and furs (Croom 2000: 20).

Although there is little direct evidence, it is probable that clothing came in a range of colours. Unbleached wool itself can range from white to dark brown/black (Ryder 1990: 139), and additionally a variety of dyes would have been available. Animal based dyes, though more costly, produce rich hues (Sebesta 2001: 71) and a number of colours, including red, purple, blue and yellow could also have been made from plant extracts (Wild 2002: 8). Garments may also have been embellished with other materials, and, although not found woven or sewn into fabric, gold thread has been recovered from burials at both Verulamium (Anthony 1968: 42) and Poundbury (Farwell & Molleson 1993: 64).

Footwear also forms an important aspect of clothing. Until recently it was thought that single-piece leather shoes (van Driel-Murray 1987: 33) or those tied with thongs (Allason-Jones 2005: 113) were the main type present in Britain prior to the Roman conquest. However, a recent discovery by Stephen Reed of Exeter Archaeology in 2005, of a sewn leather shoe dating back more than 2000 years, suggests that more complex forms of footwear were used in the Iron Age (BBC 10.05.2005). Found in a hollow tree trunk used to construct the entrance to a well, it is unclear if the shoe was ritually deposited or simply lost in the mud (Exeter Archaeology 2005). However, its discovery may indicate that pre-Roman footwear was more sophisticated than has been thought, although as yet, this example is unique. Nonetheless, shoe making was still affected by Roman practices, as this saw the introduction of types unrelated to native styles, notably sandals and hobnailed varieties, in addition to single-piece, sewn and clog types (van Driel-Murray 2001: 185). Some of the variety of styles can be seen in the shoes recovered from Vindolanda, a selection of which are illustrated below as they represent some of the best preserved examples of footwear from Roman Britain (Figure 5). Coming from a military site rather than a civilian settlement, this footwear, although showing the extent of variety, does not necessarily provide an accurate representation of what was used and/or available by civilians. However, elaborate footwear has been found in non-military contexts, including a shoe with a cork sole and gold-leaf decoration from London and a blue leather shoe from a grave in Southfleet, Kent, with cut-out decoration and gold edging (Alcock 1996: 94).



Figure 5 Army marching boot, slipper and baby boot (©Vindolanda Trust)

Shoes of all sizes have been recovered from archaeological contexts, from the smallest babies' feet through to adult sizes, indicating that footwear was widely worn (van Driel-Murray 1998: 343). Having said this, it is likely that not everyone actually wore shoes, or at least not all the time, as implied by a number of barefoot impressions on tiles, such as those discovered in Leicester and Silchester (Allason-Jones 2005: 116).

Grooming and Hairstyling

That grooming was practiced in Roman Britain is evidenced through a number of surviving implements, and our understanding of the extent of use and distribution of such items has been transformed in recent years by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) data. These so-called 'toilet implements' ranging from tweezers, probes and spatulas (Crummy 1983: 51), to possible nail cleaners (Eckardt & Crummy 2006) and cosmetic grinders (Jackson 1985), are

found both individually and in sets. The sets, known as *chatelaines* (Figure 6), were designed to be hung from a belt or brooch (Crummy & Eckardt 2003: 48) and would have had the double affect of implying certain grooming practices (though not necessarily enabling them as many were too small and flimsy to be practical: Johns 1996: 179), and being displayed in their own right.

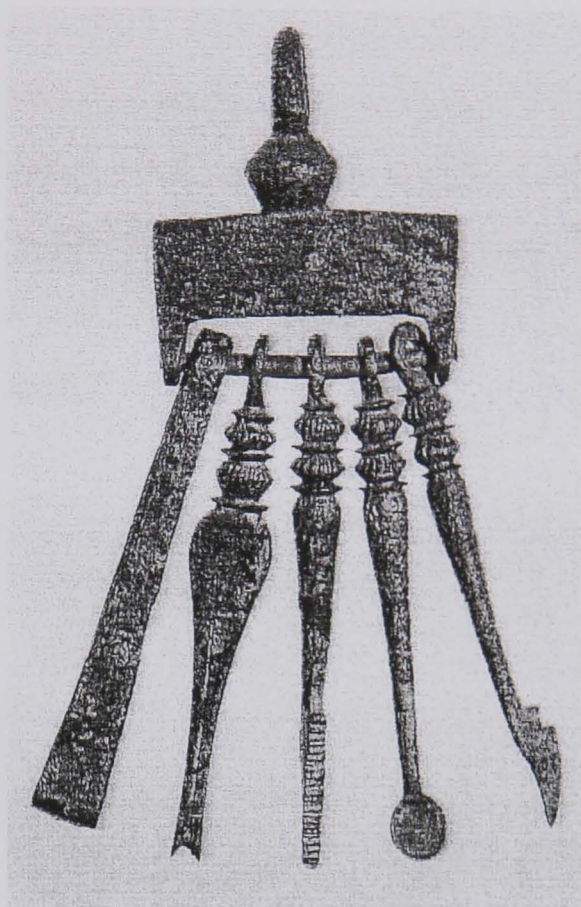


Figure 6 Chatelaine brooch (Allason-Jones 1989: 132)

Toilet implements were introduced into Britain from the Roman world during the Late Iron Age, the earliest examples dating to 10/20BC-AD40/50 (Hill 1997: 98). Despite becoming increasingly rare on the continent, these items persisted in Britain throughout the Roman period, developing into an insular trait (Mattingly 2006: 473). Within this trend, the presence of toilet implements was further divided, being most common in rural locations and rare on military and urban sites (Crummy & Eckardt 2003: 48). This may suggest that, having developed as part of a Late pre-Roman Iron Age (LPRIA) grooming repertoire, it became part of an indigenous approach to appearance that was maintained in areas less effected by foreign influences (Mattingly 2006: 173). Carr (2005) has suggested that cosmetic grinders, too, represent indigenous approaches to cosmetic practices, only becoming part of a hybrid Romano-British grooming kit from the 2nd century onwards. The results of these grooming practices are more difficult to ascertain (Baker 2001: 56) but inferences can be made; tweezers, for example imply hair removal, while other items indicate manicures etc.

The dressing of the face through cosmetics is also difficult to determine, as survival of these is extremely rare. Cosmetic grinders, though apparently a native-derived material culture form (Carr 2005: 273), are thought to have been used in the grinding and preparation of cosmetics but as yet none have been found with residues (Jackson 1985). Likewise, 'Roman'-style cosmetic preparation equipment – stone palettes – have also been recovered from Britain (Carr 2005: 274). Make-up flasks and tools to extract it are similarly known from Romano-British contexts (Allason-Jones 2005: 126) and an extremely rare find from London of an ointment pot that still contained its contents (Figure 7) shows that whitening face creams were also used by some (Vince 2003). However, most evidence for the effect achieved through cosmetic application relies on descriptive texts and imagery from elsewhere in the empire, such as the Egyptian mummy portraits, although the extent to which these indicate make-up practices in Britain is questionable.

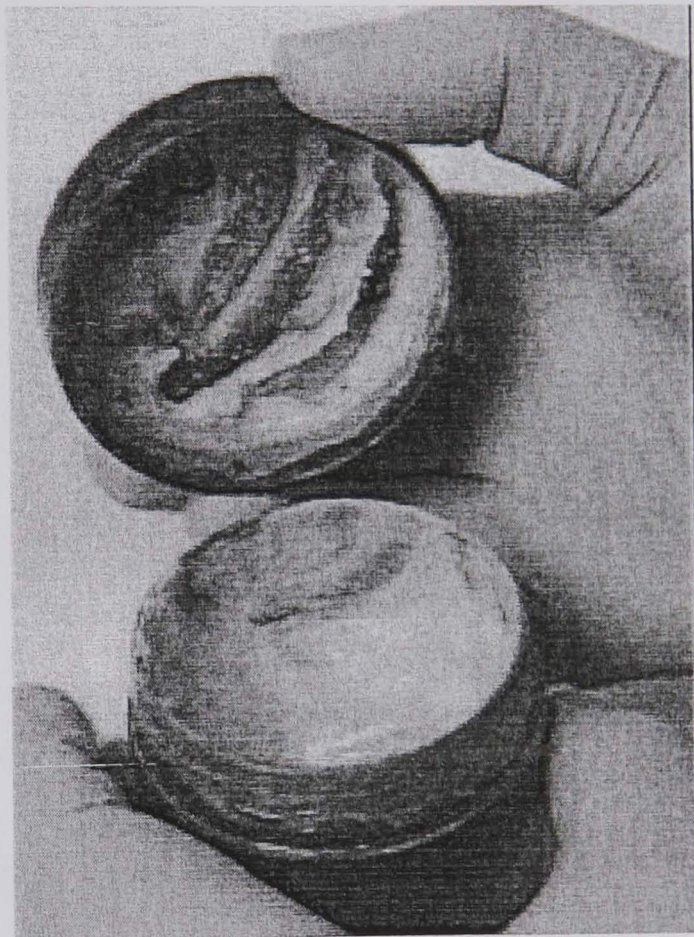


Figure 7 Roman cosmetic cream (Sherwood & Killock 2004)

Care and styling of the hair represents another aspect of grooming. The evidence from Rome suggests that women wore elaborate styles, oiled hair on men was considered effeminate and barbarians in the conquered provinces wore their hair long and unkempt (Bartman 2001: 3-6). However, the evidence from Britain suggests that outside Rome and her elites, a range of styling practices were followed. Combs, most usually of wood and bone, have been found in Romano-British contexts (de la Bedoyere 1989: 115) and indicate that hair was brushed, at least by some. From statuary and grave finds, we also have a fair idea of the range of styles

used in Britain, showing much variation from elite Roman fashions. Reliefs from Ilkley (Yorkshire) and Carlisle have images of women with loose hair (Alcock 1996: 97), and direct finds of hair in simple styles, such as chignons held in place with hairpins, as seen at York (Alcock 1996: 98) and plaits from Dorchester (Millett 1995a: 130) and Poundbury (Farwell & Molleson 1993: 205) were also used (Figure 8). Furthermore, head-dresses are occasionally depicted on provincial sculptures and intaglios (Figure 9), indicating that a variety of head-coverings may have been worn (Allason-Jones 2005: 109; Birley & Greene 2006: 79), which would hardly have been suitable over elaborate styling. This is not to say that elaborate styles were not utilised, and the large number of hairpins, some of which are exceptionally fine (discussed below), would indicate otherwise, but this was not the only practice.



Figure 8 Roman hair from burials at Poundbury, near Dorchester (Alcock 1996: 98; Millett 1995a: 130)



Figure 9 An intaglio from Vindolanda. The figures appear to be wearing hats (Birley & Greene 2006: 79)

Evidence for dressing the hair has been recovered too. At Poundbury a number of graves contained preserved hair or hair etchings on the skull (a process that occurred during decomposition which caused the way hair was lying to be marked on the skull) and from this it was possible to identify the way hair had been combed (side partings, forward fringe) as well as hair that had been curled and hair that had been ‘set’ in waves with the aid of oil prior to styling (Farwell & Molleson 1993: 146). Post-styling dressings were also used, as demonstrated by a netted hairstyle preserved at York (Allason-Jones 2005: 136).

Last but not least, mirrors can also be considered part of the grooming repertoire as they would have aided grooming practices and/or allowed the result to be viewed by the wearer. Mirrors were present in Britain long before the Roman period, and have been found in association with female burials of the Arras culture as early as the 3rd century BC (James & Rigby 1997: 68). However, it was not until the 1st century BC that they become more common (Haselgrove 2001), and from this period onwards their distribution focused in the south of the country (Lloyd-Morgan 1977: 239).

Personal Ornaments

In addition to clothing and grooming, appearance could also be altered through the use of personal adornment, of which we have many surviving examples from Roman Britain. This ranges from functional-decorative items such as brooches, hairpins and (some) finger rings, to purely decorative bracelets, earrings and necklaces. Having said this, if the latter items were used to display identities then they too could be described as functional-decorative items. The possible social use of these items is discussed in the following section. What is presented here is an overview of the artefacts types that have survived from Roman Britain.

Brooches were part of the personal ornament repertoire well before the Roman conquest, a number of different styles developing throughout the Iron Age (see Hattatt 2000; Hull & Hawkes 1987). Indeed, from the Early Iron Age (c.500BC), brooches were used throughout Eastern England and from c.450BC onwards, this distribution expanded rapidly, extending from the lowlands of the south to Yorkshire in the north, with materials at this early date traditionally being bronze or iron (Haselgrove 1997: 53, 56). An explosion of types then occurred in the south and east in the 1st century BC, the so-called 'fibula event horizon' (Hill 1995a: 85), and this spread northwards during the early years of the Roman period (Jundi & Hill 1998: 2). Given the dress styles thought to have been worn in the 1st century BC-2nd century AD (p. 27), the primary role of brooches in this period seems to have been functional, holding garments together at the shoulders. However, their prominent placing on the body meant brooches could also be used for decorative purpose, and this 'secondary' role began to surpass their functional role from the Late Iron Age onwards (Johns 1996: 147). The range of brooch types can be divided into three main forms—bow, plate and penannular—though within these groupings there was much scope for variation (Snape 1993: 8). Some of the varieties of styles from the Roman period are shown below (Figure 10). Brooch use declined during the 3rd-4th century AD in the lowland civilian parts of Britain, though they remained common in the military north (Snape 1993: 1). Concurrently, purely decorative forms such as plate brooches became more common, the pin backs becoming too small to hold the substantial amounts of material required for fastening (Allason-Jones 1995: 24).

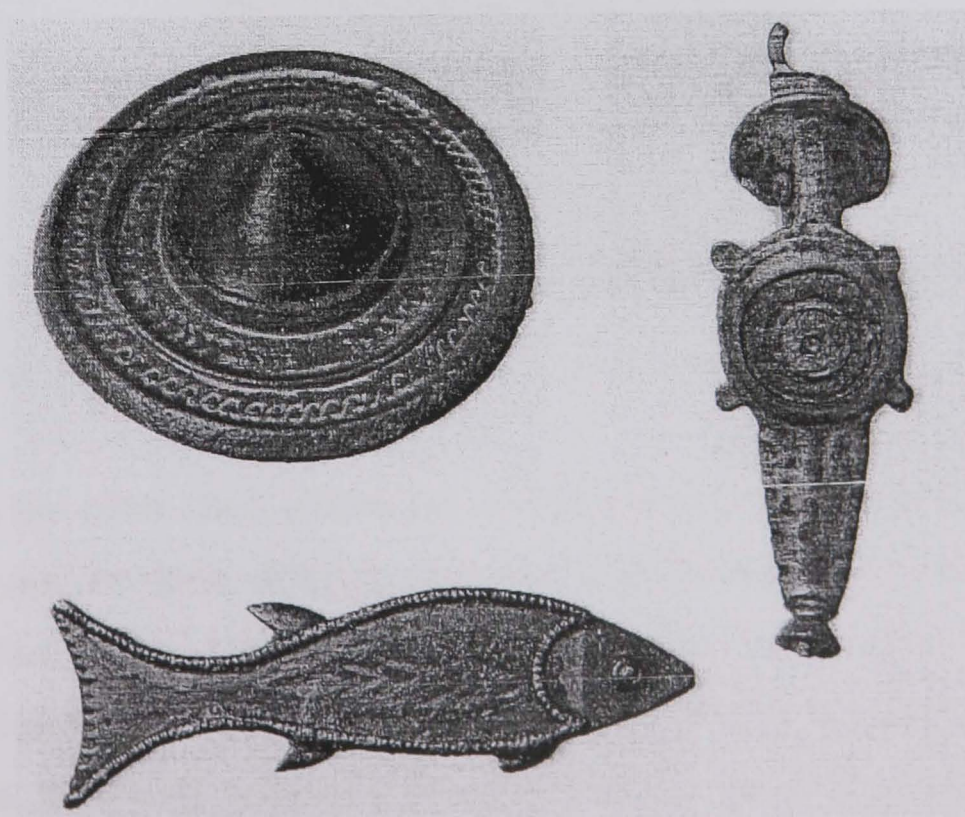


Figure 10 Some brooches from Roman Britain (Bayley & Butcher 2004: 49), showing examples of decorative plate brooches (top left, bottom left) and a functional-decorative trumpet brooch.

Depending on design, hairpins and finger-rings can also be considered functional-decorative items. Hairpins were introduced into Britain following the Roman conquest and quickly became widespread items (Cool 1990: 150). Primarily designed to hold hair up, the protruding tops of hairpins provided ample opportunity for decorative expression (Figure 11), as can be seen in the extensive typologies developed by Cool (1990) for metal hairpins and Crummy (1979) for bone examples. Hairpins have also been found in other materials including precious metals, jet, shale and glass (Cool 1990: 149) and it is likely that organic materials such as wood were also utilised, though an example is yet to be recovered. Given their Roman introduction, choosing to wear or avoid hairpins presumably had the potential to be particularly evocative of specific identities, especially those linked to affiliations with the occupying force.

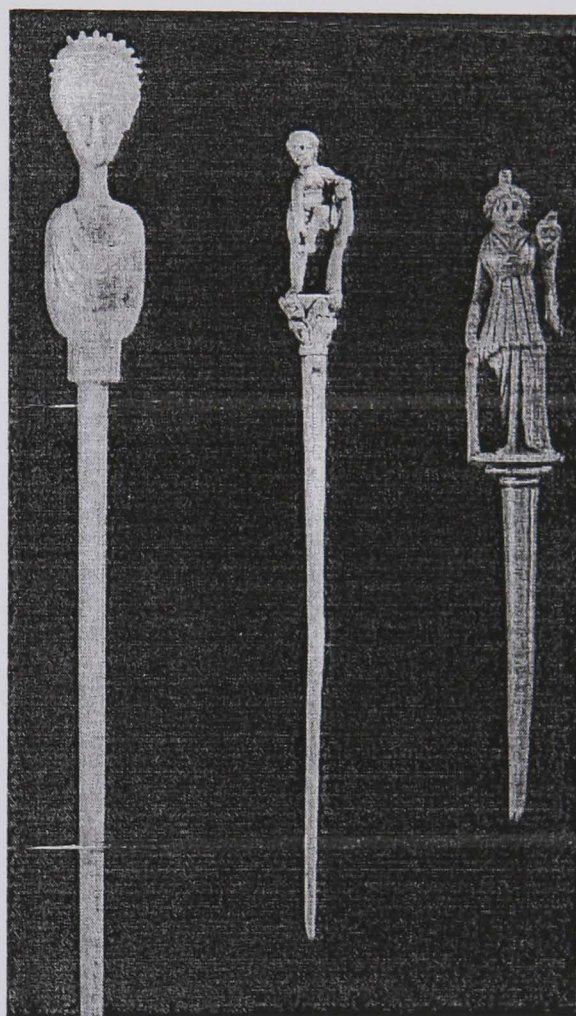


Figure 11 Selection of hairpins, showing their decorative potential (Johns 1996: 141)

Finger rings, on the other hand, are known to have been used in pre-Roman times, in both southern Britain and the north, although there was a rapid adoption of Roman forms following the conquest (Cool 1983: 357; Hunter 2007). Of these, signet rings had a dual role as functional yet decorative items (Croom 2004: 288). Given this the range of forms was relatively limited, but purely decorative rings had no such constraints and as such made much greater use of a range of materials, styles and (gem and glass) colours (Henig 1981:128-138).

Several other categories of jewellery were also used, notably bracelets and necklaces. Bracelets of overlapped wire are known from the Iron Age, but glass examples, although common on the Continent, were rare in Britain, not developing as a part of the repertoire until the mid 1st century AD (Johns 1996: 118, 121). On the whole, however, bracelets were uncommon in the first two centuries, forming a larger part of the repertoire from the 3rd onwards, a pattern also followed by necklaces, whereas brooches and finger rings saw a decline at this time (Swift 2000: 6).

Necklaces took many forms from pendant designs and chains to beaded and gem/glass-and-wire examples. Iron Age torcs show that some forms of neck adornment existed in pre-Roman Britain (Creighton 2006: 42; Hill 1995a: 62), but given they are most commonly recovered from hoard contexts (e.g. Snettisham, Winchester), their use as common or every-day adornment items is unlikely. Fine gold wire working was unknown at this time so delicate chains were not made (Johns 1996: 30). Last but not least, earrings were also worn in Roman Britain. A large number of these come from forts and fortresses (Allason-Jones 1995: 26) and perhaps, therefore, indicate a fashion among women associated with the military rather than a British fashion.

A range of materials and finishes were used for adornment items, adding to their decorative nature. If used to distinguish identities, this would have provided a means of creating or enhancing specific appearances. In terms of metals, iron, copper alloys and occasionally silver and gold were used (Johns 1996: 149). Tinning and gilding is also evident, particularly on brooches, and provided a way of making an article appear gold or silver. Furthermore, some copper alloys, such as bronze, would have appeared gold when new and kept in good condition (Henig 1981: 140). Copper items may have been allowed or even desired to oxidise to give a bright green effect and it has been suggested that bone hairpins stained green were trying to imitate this (Crummy 1983: 20). Having said this, this may be stretching the evidence for copper surface treatment somewhat as red stained bone hairpins have also been found (Crummy 1983: 20), and the colouring may have been purely decorative rather than imitative. Other surface treatments such as enamelling were also used, and white, yellow, red and blue were often utilised (Johns 1996: 171).

Other than metal, an array of other materials was used. Bone was a particularly common choice for hairpins (Crummy 1979), given its ease of carving and wide availability, but glass and jet were also utilised. Jet too was used for bracelets and the occasional finger ring, as was

shale (Allason-Jones 2005: 123). All these items could be enhanced with decorative materials such as gems, and of these, garnet, emerald, and amethysts were common (Henig 1974: 41). Imitative versions in glass were not unknown, but glass was also used in its own right, either as a decorative substance or in the form of beads (Johns 1996: 100).

In terms of organic substances, other than bone little evidence survives. Pearls are known to have been favoured, and the yellowish-brown British pearls were highly desirable (Ogden 1982: 121), but these are rarely recovered in archaeological contexts. Coral too was used, apparently purely as a decorative material in the Iron Age, but regarded as magical by the Romans (Allason-Jones 2005: 122). Similarly, there is no reason why wood or (woven) grass/rushes would not have been used for bracelets or hair ornaments but unfortunately nothing of this kind has been preserved. As such, any analysis of the material culture of appearance relies heavily on the metal, stone and more sturdy (bone) organic items.

2.5.2 STUDIES ON PERSONAL ADORNMENT AND IDENTITY

Having provided an overview of appearance in Roman Britain and the artefacts that we can use to investigate how appearance was manipulated, this section summarises the current state of research into appearance and identity.

The dominant approach to small finds, particularly those associated with appearance, has been typologically based. This can be seen in the work on beads (Guido 1978), hairpins (Cool 1990; Crummy 1979), bracelets (Cool 1983) and brooches (Bayley & Butcher 2004; Hattatt 2000; Snape 1993). Interspersed with this, steps have been taken by some to develop a more interpretive approach to items of adornment, much of which has revolved around the issue of identity. This is not to detract from the importance of the typological work, which, as can be seen from the dates of the above publications, has continued alongside preliminary identity studies; without understanding the development of types and their dates and origins interpreting identity display would be impossible. Furthermore, it is due to these works that we have come to have a detailed grasp on manufacture processes, trade and functional aspects of adornment items. However, it is the interpretive work which moves our understanding of *social* behaviour forward. That adornment has so much to offer archaeological interpretation is due to the large quantity recovered from Romano-British sites, commonly representing the largest group of excavated small finds (Cooper 2000: 83).

One of the first major studies in Roman archaeology to move beyond the cataloguing and description of personal ornaments was that of the Lankhills, Winchester, cemetery report by Clarke (1979) (although this shift in approach had already taken part in other areas of archaeology by this time, notable, Anglo-Saxon studies). By assessing the combination of adornment artefacts, it became evident that part of the burial group displayed mortuary rites not witnessed in other burials. On further investigation of the types and styles it was possible to suggest that these individuals represented a foreign population, and this has now been confirmed by an independent isotope analysis study on these skeletons (Evans *et al.* 2006). The details of this interpretation are discussed at length in Chapter 3 (pp. 64-65). What is important to note here is that this work showed adornment items could effectively be used to expand our understanding of spheres of interaction in Roman Britain and as a result an increasing number of studies started to develop this potential.

Also influencing this field is the relatively recent appreciation that jewellery and clothing items do not necessarily inform (just) on the gender of the wearer, as traditional views would suggest. This is in large part due to the increasing awareness of the variability of identity in the modern world, which has led to a more open-minded approach to the past use of such items. For example, taking into account the date of the Lankhills report, the incomplete nature of the skeletal analysis at the time of writing meant that many of the interpretations were based on assumptions of what was suitable for a given sex (the concept of gender in archaeology being in its infancy at the time of the report). Subsequent work such as that of Allason-Jones (1995) and van-Driel Murray (1998) have shown that it is often inaccurate to assume certain items reflected a specific sex, as with grooming implements with women, as this fails to recognise that understandings and interpretations of gender (as well as different cultural norms to our own) may have affected use. As a result, it is now accepted that in locations previously thought to have been dominated by a single sex, such as males in forts, the actual population was much more mixed. These developments have enabled personal adornment to be approached in a new light, as a result of which work focussing on the variability and multiplicity of identities is emerging.

Exploring brooches, and the Dragonisque type in particular, so named for its resemblance to this mythical creature (Figure 12), Jundi & Hill (1998) were among the first to assess the potential meaning bound up in the wearing of a specific item type. With its distinctive shape and bright enamelled colour, these brooches were designed to be seen. By looking at the origin of the form, and the date and context of use, both in terms of site type and geographical

location in Britain, Jundi & Hill concluded that the visually distinctive Dragonesque brooch may have provided a way of displaying a non-military, non-Roman identity in the years following the conquest (Jundi & Hill 1998: 134). The important point to emerge from this work was to show that not only could combinations of adornment items be used to display certain identities, as in the Lankhills example, but the suggestion that individual items could also play a significant role in this non-verbal form of communication.



Figure 12 Dragonesque brooch (© Vindolanda Trust)

In a much broader look at dress accessories, Swift (1999; 2000) analysed their distribution across the later Roman West including Britain. While the overriding conclusion was that the distribution of objects was affected by the geographical, social and political realities of the specific area (Swift 2000: 232) a number of more detailed trends were also identified. In particular, items linked to female identity were shown to be more spatially variable than male identity items, and in Britain specifically, strong insular styles developed in the 4th century among female items such as bracelets (Swift 2000: 211, 213). Similarities and differences in stylistic detailing were approached largely in terms of regional and local scales of production, and stylistic overlap between different types of adornment, such as brooches and belt buckles, was shown to represent production at the same workshops (Swift 2000: 29, 205). The study provides an impressive amount of information on patterns of personal adornment use, however given the vast geographical focus, the localised use of adornment and variations within the insular trends in Britain is not approached in any great detail.

In a separate work, Swift (2003) has also demonstrated the importance of context in the interpreting the meaning of adornment. Comparing the distribution of Baltic amber beads both near and removed from its source, she was able to show that as the material became

more exotic, its use apparently became more structured and selective, with increasingly gender and age specific associations developing.

Looking at grooming equipment as opposed to display items, Crummy & Eckardt (2003) have shown that for some articles, notably (probable) nail cleaners, a distinct distribution is witnessed in Roman Britain. A few of these items have been recovered from Wales and the north but the vast majority have a southern distribution (Crummy & Eckardt 2003: 51. 57). Furthermore, within this distribution, very few were recovered from military sites, but rural sites – ‘small towns’, villas and roadside settlements – were strongly represented (Crummy & Eckardt 2003: 59). Although not a worn item, with the exception of examples on chatelaine brooches, their contribution to the grooming process makes the distribution of these items important in terms of understanding approaches to appearance in Roman Britain. The LPRIA presence of nail cleaners, their distribution, and their focus on native settlement types suggests that these items may have been part of a grooming practice associated with indigenous peoples (Crummy & Eckardt 2003: 61; Mattingly 2006: 473). If so, this has interesting implications for potential differences in appearance among those from the south and those from northern regions.

Taking this analysis one step further, Eckardt (2005) has also looked at the site type distribution of nail-cleaners, as well as that of three distinct brooch types, in more detail. By classifying sites (e.g. rural, urban, military etc.) she was able to compare the number of finds from the different site types to the relative proportions of those different site types in each sample. For example, 42 percent of all nail cleaners were from ‘small towns’, but ‘small towns’ represented only 32 percent of the sites where nail cleaners were recorded (Eckardt 2005: 146). In this way, she started to examine the ‘social distribution’ (Eckardt 2005: 139) of artefacts. This demonstrates that although broad geographical distribution analysis can indicate whether items were used largely in civilian or military zones, such analysis fails to take account of full complexity of the situation. As such, it reinforces that idea that, whenever possible, the information also needs to be approached on as small a scale as the evidence permits.

Gillian Carr, on the other hand, has approached identity by looking at a range of artefact types—brooches, hairpins, toilet implements and cosmetic grinders—to analyse how appearance may have been used for being or ‘becoming Roman’ (see Woolf 1998, for discussion of this concept), in 1st century BC-1st century AD south-east Britain (Carr 2006).

By looking at presence/absence and artefact-style types on a range of sites, she suggests the personal adornment may have been used to show class and social hierarchy (Carr 2006: 104-9). The results are interesting but by drawing so strongly on ideas of colonialism and resistance for interpretation, the argument tends to focus strongly on ideas of a native:Roman dichotomy as the sole influence on the use of appearance, thereby downplaying any potential use of appearance by indigenous peoples in their own right or the possible affects of context on display and meaning.

Hilary Cool, too, has approached identity through the analysis of the range of artefacts relating to personal adornment in Roman Britain, using the material from Catterick to develop a more analytical rather than 'theory-led' approach (2002). For each artefact type the data is presented by material, excavation area and date, to show the distribution of items across the site. For the analysis, the settlement and cemetery material was combined, and by attempting to integrate the study of the material from these two contexts, the report provides a precedent for the work presented in this thesis, by showing that site-wide trends can be gained in this way. It does not, however, compare the settlement and cemetery material to assess the extent to which the material from each context varied from the overall site assemblage, and this limits the extent to which interpretations of identity can be gained from the data as it does not allow for the specialised circumstances in which grave good deposition occurs.

2.6 THE FUTURE OF ROMAN STUDIES OF IDENTITY

This chapter has reviewed how and why identity studies have come to the forefront of Roman archaeology and has introduced the material available to approach it. It has also introduced the current state of research in this field. The works discussed above have all contributed to our understanding of the use of adornment and appearance in identity display but despite the broadly differing scale of their approaches, all have tended to treat the different aspects of adornment as separate categories, and grooming and adornment articles are also analysed separately despite both relating to appearance. Furthermore, the cemetery analysis carried out by Clarke at Lankhills, as well as more recent examples such as Brougham (Cool 2004), have demonstrated that foreign populations were often distinctive, but, with the exception of Eckardt and Carr, little has been done to show whether different groups within the *indigenous* population also made use of personal adornment to explore their distinctiveness.

This thesis takes appearance-based identity studies to the next stage by combining the analysis of the separate components of personal adornment and refining the scale of approach to examine how the various items combined to display identities at a more local level. If items such as brooches were being used for broad regional identity display, it is probable that the manipulation of appearance did not stop here but was also utilised on a smaller scale to indicate other identities. To assess how different identities may have been expressed this study will look at the difference between two contexts in particular—burials and settlements—to assess the extent to which appearance may have been reliant on social context. For both contexts, the collection of personal adornment items will be broken down into its constituent parts, and these will then be analysed in relation to one another, comparing relative proportions of the different items to one another (e.g. percentage of hairpins to brooches etc.) and differences in material types (copper alloy, bone, glass etc.). The results from the different contexts will then be compared so that the extent and type of selectivity of personal adornment for different activities can be assessed. Such analysis will be undertaken for a number of sites that provide cemetery and settlement excavation material. This will also provide a means of assessing another aspect of context, that of site type, in the use of personal adornment as cross-comparison of the settlement find analysis, as well between the cemetery: settlement variability at each site, will be undertaken (see Chapter 4 for a full description of the methodology).

Before embarking on an analysis of context specific personal adornment use, it is first necessary to show that personal adornment items *were* actually used to distinguish identities among those other than foreigners. Looking at a rural site with multiple cemeteries, in this case Baldock, will enable an inter-cemetery analysis to be carried out to investigate if and how people manipulated adornment for purposes other than indicating a civilian, military or foreign affiliation. Once this has been established the effect of context on use and display can be approached, through comparative analysis of the burial and settlement material both at this and other sites in the region.

CHAPTER 3

APPROACHING AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF APPEARANCE AND IDENTITY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous discussion of appearance and personal adornment has shown that the manipulation of the body, be it physical or superficial, is a communication tool used by many cultures. Archaeologists unavoidably rely on modern understandings and parallels to theorise on the nature of past human behaviour, activities and cultures, and interpreting the use of adornment in the past is no exception. Acknowledging the extent to which this reliance on modern conceptual frameworks pervades our understandings of the past is key to providing the most informed interpretation possible of these societies within the bounds of our own modern constrictions.

Much of the archaeological evidence for Roman Britain comprises inorganic items: brooches, bracelets, beads etc., hairpins being the main exception as many are bone. We do not have the whole range of artefacts affecting appearance available to us. Interpreting who was using this material and how relies largely on a combination of literary and pictorial evidence, and (better preserved) burial finds. This issue of preservation has a number of implications that further affect the study of appearance, not least in that organic materials rarely survive. For example, we know that pearls and coral formed a part of the material repertoire of items used for jewellery (Allason-Jones 2005: 122-3), yet these are rarely recovered in archaeological contexts. What other perishable materials were being used? For jewellery, materials such as wood, shell, grasses and reeds, and feathers etc. may well have formed part of the repertoire and for clothing – textiles, leathers, furs. This highlights the incompleteness of the data we are working with but despite the limitations, personal adornment forms one of the largest groups of small finds types recovered from excavations of Romano-British sites, commonly contributing to between c.35–70 percent (Cooper 2000: 83). This percentage is no doubt affected by what is included in the category of ‘small finds’, but it still demonstrates that personal adornment is consistently recovered from Roman period sites.

By showing an awareness of the limitations of the data it becomes possible to develop a more nuanced interpretation of the extensive surviving evidence. This chapter will focus on

interpretational issues bound up in the study of adornment items by addressing two main facets. Firstly, it looks at the way in which personal adornment was used in Roman Britain and secondly, a more detailed assessment of the data available to study this, is provided.

3.2 THE USE OF PERSONAL ADORNMENT

The question of who was adorning themselves or being adorned needs to be approached from several angles. Were some items reserved for specific groups by arbitrary ‘taboos’ (cultural rules) or limited through availability, cost etc. to any particular social strata? How were personal adornment items valued (economically, symbolically and sentimentally), and how did this affect their use and display?

It has become increasingly apparent that traditional views (e.g. Matthews & Warren 1992: 20) associating personal adornment solely with females and their presence at sites is simplistic. The Romans themselves, or at least the Italian senatorial classes, had very clear ideas of acceptable ways for men and women to be adorned and, as shown by Pliny the Elder (writing in the 1st century AD) in his description of Caligula wearing “effeminate slippers sewn with pearls” (*Hist. Nat.* 37.6) the wearing of jewellery and jewels by men was not considered appropriate (Stout 2001: 77). More than a century later, Tertullian’s *De culta feminarum*, shows that appearance was still an issue of concern for some, as he described the impropriety of wearing luxurious dress and jewels merely to attract male attention. Such harsh criticisms of dress styles within descriptions of what was one (elite) ideal appearance give an indication of the extent to which jewellery was actually worn. Given such works, one could be forgiven for thinking that adornment was solely the domain of women in the Roman world, but sources also show that although in Roman upper classes these ideas prevailed, there was in fact much variation throughout the Empire. Of course, there are problems with these sources given that not only do they represent the viewpoint of their authors, but opinions were also probably tailored to suit the likely readership, a common problem for the reliability of literary sources, especially when looking at themes that affected those outside the social class from which they were written (Williamson 2005: 22).

The wearing of ear-rings among men is referenced for many areas; Isodorus, (1st century AD), referred to Greek youths to wear a single ear-ring in one ear (*orig* XIX.31.10), and some Syrian and North African men are also known to have worn earrings (Montserrat 2000: 167). Although only referring to a single item, the broad geographical area covered hints at the

extent of variation throughout the Roman Empire. They also imply that although elite Italian society may have had set ideas on appropriate modes of appearance, traditional practices in the provinces were not discarded following their incorporation. Further, despite the southern and eastern orientation of these references, given the amount of movement around the Empire, it should not be assumed that gender associations for some types of personal adornment would have been absent in western areas.

Other items with a practical functional role (e.g. brooches) were used by both sexes, although within this, there do appear to be some distinctions. An obvious example is crossbow brooches, which although occasionally found in the graves of women and children, are largely limited to associations with males (Swift 1999: 17). In Egyptian mummy portraits, on the other hand, many of the faces are androgynous, but the addition of jewellery such as necklaces, was used to indicate the deceased as female, the correlation between gender and jewellery being supported by the name plates (Montserrat 2000: 167). Here then, jewellery indicated the gender of the deceased. From this, the importance of context when interpreting meaning is evident, as can be further demonstrated by returning to the example of earrings. As mentioned above, in Greek areas, the wearing of ear-rings among males was a sign of their age (Allason-Jones 1995: 25), whereas among Persians, ear-rings were a sign of wealth (Stout 2001: 96).

Associating items of personal adornment with a specific gender is not, however, straightforward. Even when items are shown, through the combined sources of literary references, portraits and statuary and sexed graves to be predominantly associated with one sex, this does not show that such associations were *exclusively* so. Furthermore, gender categories in themselves are not necessarily absolute, being affected by context, social norms and individual preferences and choices.

The goods recovered from two graves at Catterick demonstrate the complexity of the issue. Both sexed as male, the grave goods consisted of an anklet in one, and an anklet, necklace and bracelets in the other, these being interpreted as representing, respectively, an eccentric and a transvestite (Cool 2002). This may well have been the case, but Cool makes the assumption that among the community of this settlement, strict rules in the use of personal adornment, that delineated males from females, were adhered to (Cool 2002: 30) and as she goes on to discuss, the adornment may instead relate to religious preferences (Cool 2002: 41-2). This example shows how defining strict identity categories and applying them to an incomplete

record can be unreliable. Interpreting identities is a complex process and there are many reasons why different appearances may have been cultivated. The range of factors which can influence the use and significance of adornment for identity expression is large; modern ethnographic examples show the varying level of complexity that can be involved in the manipulation of appearance (see p. 22).

3.2.1 ECONOMIC AND SYMBOLIC VALUE OF ADORNMENT: METAL ITEMS

We need to consider whether the surviving artefacts represent items that were accessible to all, or whether, due to cost, availability etc., they were the domain of a more select group. If archaeologically recoverable examples of personal adornment were available to all, then the analysis of this material has the potential to reveal variable use throughout society. If, on the other hand, the material is representative of a more limited group, use patterns would instead indicate variable intra-group identities. To try to understand what components of society the material is most likely to represent, one has to turn to the value.

The value of personal adornment items in the Roman period is difficult to know and must be approached from several angles – that of economic value and that of sentimental and symbolic value (Hobbs 2007: 78). Looking first at the economic factors the assumption that these items *were* valuable i.e. that they required some outlay of wealth to be obtained, needs to be qualified. One of the best ways to demonstrate this is to turn again to imagery. Monuments bearing sculpture or representations of individuals could only ever have been afforded by a small minority (Pearce 2000: 4). When depictions such as those on memorial pieces show individuals, care was often taken to depict jewellery. This can be demonstrated on examples as far apart as the tombstones from Pannonia (Topal 2000: 197), to the mummy portraits of Egypt, frequently showing the deceased heavily laden with jewellery (Roberts 1997: 21; Scott 1997: 56). In such cases it appears that it is not a sentimental attachment of the deceased to specific personal items that is being shown but rather a display of the wealth of the deceased and/or their family.

Continuing with the idea of economic value, the worth of metal must be taken into account. Metal has an intrinsic economic value both due to its relative rarity as a resource (particularly gold) and the amount of work required to collect (gold) or extract it (silver, copper, iron etc.). Following this, the material has to be worked into a finished article, which would not have been as economical as materials (e.g. wood, bone) that are worked in their natural state and do not require additional resources, such as fire wood for heat, to be able to get them into a

workable state. The effort required to extract silver can be seen in the example given by Rhill (2001: 129) which although referring to Greek coinage would have been equally applicable to silver working in the Roman period (Table 1). Given this, in Roman times gold and silver jewellery were given in weight and the cost was based on a percent of the value of the weight rather than the craftsmanship involved (Ogden 1982: 175). To give an idea of the economic value of gold to silver, calculations based on the mean weight of aureus and denarius from the early Empire suggest one gram of gold was equivalent to 11.8 grams of silver (Hobbs 2007: 82).

	<i>Weight per drachma (kg)</i>	<i>Ratio material : silver</i>
Ore selected after sorting by hand	16	3711:1
Ground ore feed to washery	15	3425:1
Concentrate feed to smelting furnace	5	1140:1
Work-lead feed to cupellation furnace	2	500:1
Silver produced	0.004	

Table 1 Materials required to make one silver drachma (Rihl 2001: 129)

That gold was considered valuable, or at least, known to be valuable to those outside the British Isles is evident in the fact that it was among the items of export listed by Strabo (*Geography* 4.5.2). This also listed silver and iron, implying that all three metals were of some importance. As a Greek geographer who never travelled further west than Corsica and Sardinia, the accuracy of Strabo's texts need to be questioned, and many inaccuracies have been identified (Dueck 2000: 13-17). Having said this, by listing these metals, it does imply that they were considered important commodities, whether they were genuinely exported by Britain or not.

That the less wealthy aspired to own and wear gold in Britain is perhaps implied by the increasing use of brass for brooches from the late Iron Age onwards, examples known from the Colchester and Baldock among others (Creighton 2006: 42; Dungworth 1996: 408); brass has a much more golden colour than other copper alloys (Creighton 2000: 42). The gilding of

less precious metals' would have had a similar effect. This would have given the objects, commonly brooches, the appearance of precious metal, at a fraction of the cost of a purely gold construction. However, as implied by Strabo's list of exports, other metals did also have value, and assuming gold was most important based on modern western world views can be misleading. Furthermore, it may well be that rather than trying to imply greater wealth, imitation gold was used as a means of coming closer to symbolic meanings associated with the metal. A number of examples from Africa, old and modern, demonstrate how the importance of a material is not always determined by economic value. In pre-colonial Africa, copper not gold was perceived as higher value and used to consecrate kings (Creighton 2000: 37-8). Among the Oromo, iron is the most valued metal as it is tied up in mythical conceptions of the development and safety of the tribe (Kassam & Megersa 1989: 26). An interesting quote from Herodian, although unlikely to be accurate and perhaps only giving a sheltered 'central' view of life and value at the 'edges' of the empire, does suggest that in the Roman periods too, different groups may have valued the same materials in completely different ways (Mann & Penman 1996: 43):

"They [Britons] are unfamiliar with the use of clothing, but decorate their waists and necks with iron, valuing this metal as an ornament and as a symbol of wealth in the way that other barbarians value gold..." (Herodian 3.14.7)

Although economic cost would have affected the number of people able to obtain precious metals, this was not the only factor contributing to the value of jewellery. Indeed, 'value' is notoriously difficult to define as so many factors, different for every group or society, can affect how materials are perceived (Henderson 1992: 110). As suggested above, symbolism can be extremely important (Hosler 1998) and in terms of the Roman period a number of examples can demonstrate this. In the early imperial period gold rings were reserved for particular classes of people; nobles who had held curial offices and their descendants, and later on, also those of equestrian class (Henig 1974: 47; Stout 2001: 78). In the reign of Tiberius the right to wear a gold ring depended on whether one was born free and the amount of land owned. By the 2nd century AD, it had also become customary for married women to wear gold rings (Stout 2001: 78), though this was most likely limited to the sub-group of more wealthy women. Other examples of the symbolic value of gold can be seen in the richly adorned visual depictions (such as those of the Egyptian mummy portraits), and in literary sources that used descriptions of dress to portray the status of their subjects. Josephus, for example, writing in the first century, embellished the story of Solomon by describing his escorts as being dressed in Tyrian purple and having gold dust in their hair (*Duo Gallieni*

16.4), the inclusion of gold having the effect of heightening the power and prestige of the characters (Edwards 2001: 155).

Thus far, gold has been the focus of the discussion, but iron and copper alloys were also used for jewellery (Henig 1974). In Britain, gems set in iron bezels are not uncommon and this seems to imply that there was a continued observance of the sumptuary laws (Henig 1974: 47). If this is the case, then gold finger-rings represented wealth and status, whereas iron finger-rings with elaborate settings may have indicated wealth but limited status. Flimsy copper alloy rings, set with paste intaglios, on the other hand, were most likely used by lower orders of society (Henig 1974: 50). Interestingly Pliny the Elder mentioned that senators wore gold rings in public but iron rings in private (Stout 2001: 78), copper alloy examples not being mentioned.

However, a special mystique seems to have been attached to the blacksmiths craft (Hingley 1997a: 9; Merrifield 1987: 29) and the use of iron over copper alloy may instead reflect these beliefs. In Britain specifically, pre-Roman hoarding patterns seem to suggest that iron may have been held in special regard (Hingley 2005b; Hingley 2006) and so its use for jewellery in the Roman period may be more complex than simply reflecting observance of Roman laws. Iron may also have been a more valuable (and therefore expensive) resource than copper given increasing demand during times of war and following its widespread use for agricultural tools in the Roman period (Hitchner 2005: 214; Rogers 2005: 33).

The value of jewellery was not based on an economic scale alone and it is likely that in at least some cases, symbolic value also played an important role in the use of certain materials and items. As the examples above indicate, both types of value could operate simultaneously on a given item, indicating for example wealth (economic success) and status (social ranking). In addition sentimental value may also have affected the use of some jewellery.

3.2.2 ECONOMIC AND SYMBOLIC VALUE OF ADORNMENT: NON-METAL ITEMS

Metal was not the only material used for items of personal adornment and as with metal value could be both economic and symbolic. The use of amber in burials on continental Europe demonstrates this. Close to the source, along the North Sea coast, amber occurred relatively equally in male and female graves. However, as the distance from the source increased towards the Elbe and Rhine, gender associations became the dominant defining factor (Swift 2003), indicating that as the material became less accessible, its symbolic value developed.

Many other materials could also be used in their natural state, making them more widely accessible. Bone, frequently used for hair pins, was readily available, and there is no reason to suppose that the use of bone hairpins was affected by wealth. Working it into items of personal adornment could be done by anyone, skilled or otherwise, as shown by a number of very crude hairpins found at Colchester (Crummy 1981: 285). In terms of affordability, this material would have been accessible to all levels of the social scale. This does not mean that people from all levels actually wore bone items, but that they would have been able to if they so wished, assuming no taboo prohibited it. Further, it does not mean that bone items were limited to those of less wealth; some of the most elaborate hairpins are in bone given the extremely delicate and intricate patterns than can be carved in this material. An infant burial at Cirencester (burial 197) for example contained a silver-clasped bead necklace and two bone bracelets, representing the richest burial in the cemetery (McWhirr *et al.* 1982: 128).

Interestingly, bone pins that had been deliberately stained green have been also recovered from Roman contexts (Crummy 1983: 20). This may have been done to imitate copper alloy, which, if true, has some interesting implications for the maintenance of copper alloy items, implying that they were not kept polished but allowed (or desired) to oxidise, or were perhaps kept for a long time, possibly becoming heirlooms. Alternately they may have been imitating glass, the natural colour of which is greenish, or were coloured green for aesthetic reasons. This last point may be the most plausible as other colours have also been found, such as the red stained pin from Colchester (Crummy 1983: 20). Other than hairpins, bracelets and beads, bone (and antler) was also occasionally for finger rings (Johns 1996: 71, 123).

It is probable that other perishable materials were used but have not survived. Wood could easily have been carved into bracelets and hairpins, shell could have been made into decorative items, and simpler objects which required no work may also have been used to adorn the body. Turning to the Ga'anda of Nigeria as an example, during everyday activities, blades of grass were worn in their ears (Berns 1988: 62), replaced by iron or brass only during ceremonial occasions (Berns 1988: 62). A more ancient example can be seen in Egyptian graves, where necklaces of dried berries have been preserved (Ogden 1982: 116). These examples demonstrate the potential simplicity of adornment, but also the importance of context in understanding its meaning.

3.2.3 ADORNMENT: CONTEXT AND MEANING

Analysis of burials forms a major element in the study of adornment and identity but there are many complications when using data from this type of context. Burials are the result of a ritualised activity (Pader 1982: 36) and goods may be added to honour the occasion rather than to display the identity of the deceased and/or mourners (Dark 1995: 92). This may be problematic if trying to use a range of personal adornment items to distinguish identities. However, if social norm dictated that everyone honoured the dead to the best of their ability, distinctions, at least in terms of relative wealth, should still be visible. In the Roman period the situation is complicated by the presence of burial clubs (Dark 1995: 92), ensuring all members received an acceptable burial. If enough members were buried in a single location, the consistency of approach may serve to separate them out from other burials and indicate a cohesive social group. Furthermore, it may be inaccurate to assume that cemeteries were for/used by everyone. Certainly the treatment of the rural dead in Roman Britain is little understood, burials being found in a variety of contexts (Pearce 1999: 151), and it is possible that many more (poor and the young) were not buried in cemeteries, or disposed of in archaeologically detectable ways.

Any analysis of personal adornment in the Roman period is likely to start with some level of exclusion, as it is probable that objects used by the poorest sections of society will not have survived. Brooches, like bone items, may represent all levels of society including the poorest groups given that the majority of these were primarily functional, but I would argue against this. Many depictions show brooches being worn to fasten clothes, cloaks for male and females, females with pairs of brooches and so on, but sculptures, paintings etc. only refer to the small minority who were able to commission such pieces. Was this also the garb of those of lesser wealth? It is far more likely that the many people wore simple clothes that were woven in one piece (Allason-Jones 2005: 104) and would have required no additional fastening in the form of costly brooches. In the early Roman Period the basic garment for both men and women was probably the tunic, an item of dress easily made from rectangles attached at the shoulders and sewn from the underarm to the bottom of the cloth (Goldman 2001: 221). For many, it is likely that this was all that was worn, in terms of clothing, with no further embellishment required. Clothes such as these would have negated the need of potentially costly brooch fastenings and sewn shoulders rather than brooch fastened shoulders would have been more durable and practical for any work involving heavy manual labour, as would be involved in agricultural activities – the occupation of the majority. From the second century onwards the “Gallic coat”, a wide, loose fitting tunic, was common in the western

provinces (Snape 1993: 5), a style that had no need for brooches and was seemingly worn by both sexes at all levels of society (Wild 2004: 300). It is possible that this fashion was introduced into Britain via the 'wives' of soldiers given that it is along the frontiers where depictions of it are most frequent (Mattingly 2006: 209), though this apparent zoning may be affected by the dearth of visual representations recovered from the non-military zones of Britain (p.29). Brooch usage in the south-east apparently declined as a result of the introduction of this fashion, but did not cease. Plate brooches were often too small to hold enough fabric to be practical (Johns 1996: 148, 170) and so were purely decorative, or may potentially have been used primarily to display specific identities.

So who exactly are we studying when we look at personal adornment items? Given that many items (those of metal, glass, exotic items) would be costly it is unlikely that studies looking at the expression of identity through appearance can be fully representative of Romano-British society. However, lack of non-perishable adornment may be as revealing as archaeologically surviving items in a society where at least some were able to adorn themselves in substantial materials. In such a society, those who did adorn themselves would be visually distinct from those who did not, thereby portraying a very distinct identity, whether intentional or not. By looking at the range of surviving adornment items—most commonly brooches, hairpins, bracelets and finger-rings—and comparing the commonality of each artefact type between a range of site types, including villas, 'non-villa' settlements, forts, cities, small towns, native settlements and temples, it would be possible to examine the variability of personal adornment use. It would also then be possible to see if any distinctions were made through the way in which such items were distributed among those who used them. That this would not represent the entire population does not negate the value of such studies; it simply reinforces the fact that when discussing this sample of material it is unlikely to represent everyone, and should not be discussed as though it does. The negative evidence, (evidence that people were not using personal adornment) can perhaps best be gauged through the study of cemetery remains, as these allow such individuals to be revealed. However, cemeteries as with the finds from other context types do have limitations. These are discussed below.

3.3 THE EVIDENCE

Given the highly personalised nature of adornment and appearance, and their potential to communicate the identities of the wearer, interpretation would ideally be based on artefacts that could be linked directly to groups and individuals. However, a direct link is rarely

achievable, given the incomplete nature of the archaeological record. The interpretation can also be confused by the potential array of meanings an artefact may have depending on the exact context of its use. With items relating to appearance in Roman Britain, finds are generally limited to personal adornment and functional-decorative items made of durable materials (brooches, hairpins etc.), and the context of their recovery tends to be quite limited. There are three main site types from which much of the data comes: settlement sites (which can be divided into sub-categories - urban, military etc.), sites of religious significance and cemeteries. Each type represents a different social setting in which a different range of social interactions and daily activities would have been experienced. Any artefacts therefore have to be examined in the context of their site setting, as each has implications for how and what may have been deposited, thereby affecting how the material can be approached. It is only once this contextual situation is appreciated that the social meaning can start to be understood (Kleppe 1989: 197). The potential, possibilities and problems for each site type are set out below.

3.3.1 MATERIAL FROM SETTLEMENT SITES

A range of settlement types was present in Roman Britain, from isolated rural farmsteads and villas, to urban centres and military bases. The proportion of different small finds is apparently consistent between sites, personal ornaments being the most common, followed by household then manufacturing artefacts (Cooper 2000: 77), although the nature of deposition for small finds, possibly as intentional deposits, may influence these proportions (discussed below). This implies that personal adornment items were available to at least some at all sites. Secondly, it suggests that, given such similarities in site assemblages, to identify variations between sites a more refined analysis looking at differences within each artefact category rather than between finds assemblages as a whole is needed. Traditionally, the interpretation of Romano-British sites has been based largely on the architectural details (Cooper 2000: 75), but more recent in-depth artefact analyses has started to show specific site profiles for certain classes of material. Hella Eckardt (2002) has shown, for example, that in Britain ceramic oil lamps are present mainly on military and urban sites, rarely occurring elsewhere and samian ware, too, has shown different patterns of consumption at different site types (Willis 2005: 13.1.1). In terms of personal adornment, Swift's (2000) work on crossbow brooches shows a similar pattern in Britain and across the western Roman Empire.

Although detailed artefact-based analysis has been pioneered by Ellen Swift and others (e.g. Allason-Jones (1988) on the finds from the turrets of Hadrian's Wall), there still needs to be a

more comprehensive project that combines the range of personal adornment items in Roman Britain. Specifically the comparison of the proportion of various categories of artefacts at different site types and contexts needs to be addressed, as has been done by Eckardt (2002) for oil lamps. This has the potential to reveal any differential use of adornment at different site types. From this, variable approaches to appearance among different sectors of the population may be identified. The matter is complicated by the fact that people would have travelled between sites, thereby ‘contaminating’ site-specific profiles. However, if analysis encompasses a large enough body of data, the effect of this type of deposition on overall patterns should not have too much influence on results.

This raises the question of the extent to which finds from settlement sites were the result of casual loss. Casual-loss deposits, that is, those that result from the accidental misplacement of items, are most likely to provide an indication of the types of item used in everyday life as no human selection would have applied. Having said this, casual losses would be biased towards smaller items as these would be less noticeable if lost or misplaced, and probably to items of lower value as less effort may be put into recovering these (although this ignores the potential affect of sentimental value in relocating objects). Highly formalised deposits, on the other hand, suggest a degree of choice in what was deposited. When trying to ascertain visual differences that would have marked out specific identities on a daily basis, it is therefore highly likely that formalised deposits would not be wholly representative. The massive increase of personal items recovered from settlement sites from the Late Iron Age onwards may indicate increasingly common use, and loss, of items such as jewellery and clothing fasteners (Cooper 2000: 83). It is equally possible that this increase represented changing depositional practices, resulting in higher visibility rather than an actual absolute increase in artefact availability, or most likely, that both factors contributed to the change. Many contexts from which site finds are recovered are more structured (and therefore the result of active choices) than previously realised (see Chapman 2000: 23-27; Hill 1995b: 2-3; Jundi & Hill 1998; Pope 2003: 363-75). As a result, wherever possible, settlement finds should be examined in relation to the specific contexts from which they were recovered. If being used for ritual deposits, then this also raises the question of how we know whether items of personal adornment were actually used to enhance appearance, rather than for some other, unworn, purpose. Having said this, the recovery of worn items from burials, combined with imagery and literary accounts of dress, do suggest that adornment was the primary purpose of these items, despite the fact that they may also have had a secondary role in ritual deposition. This will be explored more fully in the discussion of ritual sites (p.59).

Several other factors need to be taken into account when using settlement finds. Historically, archaeological research has been biased towards larger urban and wealthier centres. Despite c.90 percent of the Romano-British population living on rural settlements, these sites have received the least attention (Evans 2001: 35). Any study of material culture that seeks to compare all site types therefore has to rely on an archaeological record that over-emphasises the trends of urban populations to the detriment of the more common, rural sites. When looking specifically for identities, this is significant as urban sites, given the more pronounced Roman administrative presence at these larger settlements, are more likely to have had increased contact with Roman influences, perhaps masking indigenous identities that may be more prominent at other site types. Differential preservation at sites may also have an effect on artefact recovery, rural sites that have remained so, coming under destructive farming practices, and urban sites, under development. Furthermore, behavioural patterns and socio-cultural conditions, both of which are highly variable and dependant on the individuals and societies involved, affect patterns of disposal and therefore the archaeological signature of any given site (Staski & Sutro 1991: 1-4)

Details of individual sites must also be considered. Sites with production centres may inflate the number of artefacts beyond levels of actual use (Crummy & Eckardt 2003: 45) as they are likely to have been producing in sufficient quantities both for the immediate settlement and the surrounding local market. As such, for items made in workshops, which was most likely the case for metalwork (although production evidence is limited) the location of manufacturing may influence the quantity of items recovered. However, given that metal can be recycled, any surplus is likely to have been reused, so the effect on assemblage size may not be so noticeable. For other classes of item, such as bone pins, domestic production is known to have taken place alongside workshop production (Crummy 1983: 20). Workshop production of artefacts made of non-recyclable materials may, however, have more of an effect on the relative proportions of one item type in relation to others from a given site. At a bone working site at Verulamium, for example, large numbers of hairpins were recovered at this specific location, exceeding the quantity used by those using the site (Niblett *pers. comm.*). Although in this specific case bone working debris and tools combined with a high number of hairpins to identify the area as a production site, the link between large quantities and production can only be assumed if such additional production evidence is available.

To complicate matters the level of production most likely affected consumer choice and vice versa, with demand affecting production. Further, when unusual types do occur, they are often too infrequent to permit identification of trends and patterns (Swift 1999: 43). Having stated this, studies that have looked at specific items have been able to relate some finds to particular site types, as shown by the work of Ellen Swift, who demonstrated that certain bead types were only found on military sites in Britain (Swift 2000: 211). This indicates that despite the many drawbacks, settlement data does have the potential to reveal insights into the nature of appearance among different communities. The presence of single items of unusual type, such as particular styles of brooch or hairpin may indicate that some individuals chose (or following societal conventions, were encouraged or required) to appear different to others, but it would not be possible to link this to specific individuals. However, in developing settlement profiles, a prevalence of any unusual items at a given site or a higher/lower proportion of specific item types compared to other sites, would be highlighted, making it possible to recognise settlements that did not conform to local patterns. Taking all these factors into account demonstrates the need to give thorough consideration of the contexts of recovery at any occupation site, be it rural or otherwise, to enable interpretation of the material culture remains.

3.3.2 MATERIAL FROM RITUAL SITES

‘Ritual’ is notoriously difficult to define (de Coppet 1992: 2; Parkin 1992: 13). Archaeologically, it tends to be recognised through deposition of objects for no apparent reason, often including object(s) that are still usable and/or valuable (Merrifield 1987: 22), or through deposition resulting from formalised, repetitious actions (Insoll 2004: 148). Ritual activity need not be religious, but religious activity forms one aspect of ritual behaviour (Insoll 2004: 10).

Ritual deposition had a long indigenous tradition in Britain dating back into the Neolithic, and continuing through the Bronze Age and Iron Age (Hill 1995a: 65) so there is no reason to suppose it stopped with the advent of the Roman period. From the late Iron Age onwards, designated, archaeologically visible religious ritual sites such as Hayling Island and Uley developed in Britain (Merrifield 1987: 35).

During the Iron Age, levels of deposition varied spatially and temporally, but a significant increase in votive offerings, in both wet and dry places, occurred in the 1st century BC (Haselgrove 2004: 16) through into the Roman period. In south-east England, formal temples

and shrines began to appear, and items of personal adornment such as brooches were used as offerings, as at the temple on Hayling Island (Haselgrove 1997: 65). The trend of depositing adornment items at ritual sites continued into the Roman period, as demonstrated, for example, by the so-called cosmetic pestles and mortars, mainly recovered from temple sites (Jackson 1985: 172).

Locationally the significance of these finds is based on the understanding that ritual acts, although not unrelated to mundane activities, do stand apart (Pader 1982: 37). In ritual activities, material culture is an integral part of the symbolic system being drawn upon and in these situations any deposition is the result of intentional behaviour (Pader 1982: 44). At designated ritual sites (as opposed to site where ritual deposition took place in a less formalised setting), even if not seemingly important in themselves, the items deposited must have had a set of meanings for those depositing them. If they were meaningless, they would not have fulfilled the requirements that the act of donation was intended to achieve (Jundi & Hill 1998: 98). As such the items deposited may well represent an 'inflated' view of what was used, each individual or group giving their 'best', rather than their 'normal'. This, once again, raises questions as to the value and primary use of personal adornment items, both of which have been discussed above (pp. 49-54).

Despite ritual acts guiding much of the deposition at these sites, it would be wrong to assume that all material deposited was the result of such behaviour. Certainly at busy temple sites e.g. Uley and Bath, where large numbers of people would have been coming and going, a combination of everyday and 'special' items would have been taken to, and potentially lost in, the vicinity of the site. As a result, differentiating between votive items and non-votive items would not be possible (Dark 1995: 145). With the combination of the likely desire to impress and make the most of one's position, to others and the gods, the beliefs bound up with ritual actions, and the complex influences operating at ritual places, it makes finds from such sites unsuitable for assessing daily practices.

Material from Cemetery Sites

Burial, one form of highly ritualised activity, requires additional discussion as artefacts interred with human remains provide one of the most direct relationships between past people and their material culture. However, the dead do not bury themselves (Huggett 1996: 338), and mortuary practices, of which the burial is but a part, represent another strand of ritual behaviour. Discussing preferences before death or through a will may give the deceased some

influence, but ultimately they have no direct control over the final details of their own mortuary event.

Funerary rituals tend to represent idealised conceptions of society (Dark 1995: 92). As a result, the impression given by burials may be far removed from reality, and directly translating burial rites to interpret everyday practices can be misleading (Pader 1982: 82). Despite this, anthropological and sociological studies have shown that burial treatment does tend to closely relate to the social position occupied in life. 'Superior' burials usually reflect elite status, but circumstances surrounding the death, such as an untimely or heroic death, may alter such patterns (Struck 2000: 85).

Furthermore, given the multiplicity of an individual's identities, mortuary rite, as a particular process taking place in a specific context, cannot fully represent all that was encapsulated by the individual involved. Burials, therefore, are highly selective processes during which some identities are revealed and other are intentionally or unavoidably suppressed (Petts 1998a: 112). What is preserved represents a combination of societal attitudes of the living to the deceased in general, to the particular individual in question and how this person was perceived (or how they had wished to be perceived).

More problems arise when considering who is actually represented by the buried population as it is not known if everyone was accorded the same rites, a problem enhanced by the fact that few Romano-British cemeteries have been fully excavated (Quense-von-Kalben 2000: 219). To place Romano-British practices in context, we must turn again to the Iron Age. There are various ways of disposing of the dead, not all of them archaeologically visible. In Iron Age Britain, most of the dead were invisible, with some exceptions such as the Arras burials in the 3rd century BC (O'Brien 1999: 1). It was not until the later Iron Age that visible funerary traditions became more common in other parts of the country, such as the small inhumation cemeteries in Dorset and the 'pit burials' in south Britain, which, although appearing as early as the fourth or third century BC, reached their peak in the hundred or so years preceding the Roman conquest (Whimster 1981: 191). From the 1st century BC up to the mid-1st century AD visible burials in the form of individual cremations and inhumations increased significantly in number (Hill 1997: 98). Strongly local traits developed, with many areas having distinct preferences. In the south-east, cremations became the most prominent visible rite, whereas in Dorset, and the richer burials of the west and north, inhumation was favoured (Haselgrove 2001). Into this mixed rite tradition Roman burial ideas were

introduced and two main methods of visible funerary rite were used in Roman Britain; in the 1st-2nd century AD cremation was the dominant, though not universal, practice changing largely to inhumation during the third century (Black 1986: 216; Pearce 1999: 152).

Despite burial practices becoming much more visible in the Roman period, we can be fairly sure that the invisible rites practiced in the Iron Age did continue (Pearce 2000: 5). Approximately 10,000 burials dating to the 1st-3rd century have been recorded in England. At any one time the total population has been estimated at three to four million for this period (Struck 2000: 86). Assuming four generations a century and a stable population of three million, at least 36 million people would have lived in Britain between AD1-300. This would mean that 0.03 percent of the total population for the period is represented by the excavated burial data, yet despite this, it is still difficult to appreciate that burials represent only a fraction of this past society (Cannon 1995: 3). By looking at burials, studies are already restricting themselves to a limited section of society, and patterns within burials, such as those with personal adornment as opposed to those without, represent an even smaller fraction. But it is not just the number of burials that is problematic; the way in which we identify the skeletal data, and subsequently the way in which this is used to aid interpretations of associated material also has limitations.

Studies of skeletal material for which secure aging and sexing information is available have consistently shown that methods used to determine such information, based on skeletal analysis alone, can be highly inaccurate. This was demonstrated with burials from the Purisima Mission Cemetery in California. Franciscan priests kept detailed records of who was buried there between 1813-1841. Most were children or elderly, but when the skeletal material was analysed, many were 'identified' as young adults (Walker 1995). This problem was also noted in the 18th-19th century Spitalfields material, which showed that when skeletons were aged using archaeological methods and subsequently compared to the written records, differentiating those between 30-70 years old was often inaccurate (Molleson & Cox 1993: 169). In older collections, preservation differences and identification problems can also affect interpretations. In Roman Britain, it has often been noted that females are underrepresented in the burial population, and interpretations invariably cite how formal cemeteries were largely the domain of military veterans, as a means of explanation (McWhirr *et al.* 1982: 135). The pelvic bone is one of the most reliable indicators of sex but when this has disintegrated, robusticity and skull morphology are commonly used. However, it has now been shown that the robusticity of post-menopausal female skeletons changes and presents

instead much as one would traditionally expect a 'male' skeleton to appear (Walker 1995: 35 - 36).

Returning to the burial sample from Roman Britain, in addition to the identification difficulties of skeletal material, the way in which the associated material can be approached must also be considered. This varies for inhumations and cremations, given the different ritual practice guiding each.

Inhumation burials may be considered the more useful of the two when looking at appearance since the relation of artefacts to the body is often direct, and in undisturbed burials it can be possible to distinguish between worn and unworn items. Such an observation is important as unworn items *may* relate more to the attitudes of the mourners, their own self-representation and/or their attitudes to the deceased rather the preferences of the specific individual. This can perhaps be demonstrated by the plait of hair added to a burial in Dorchester, Dorset (Millett 1995a: 130), which probably represents the offering of a single mourner, or by the torc found by the feet of a woman in London, which, by design would have been extremely awkward to wear, and is more likely to represent an offering (Merrifield 1987: 68). However, it can not be assumed that worn ornaments indicate what the deceased would have worn in life any more than unworn ornaments do, as the individual may have been 'dressed' for burial. Either way, included items give an idea of the types of objects considered important. If the same group of artefacts are consistently provided with specific groups of individuals (e.g. bracelets with juvenile etc.) it implies that this item portrayed an aspect of their identity (at least in idealised terms at death).

Cremation burials do not provide such a direct link between the deceased and artefacts, but they do still have the potential to reveal a wealth of information. Depending on the particulars of the rite, the temperature reached and the degree of burning, items included on the pyre can remain in sufficiently good condition to be recognised and analysed (Pearce 1998: 107). In some cases, metal staining or fusing on bones can also be used to indicate where on the body items had been placed prior to burning (Cool 2004: 438) although determining what artefacts the staining once represented is not possible. It is also not possible to identify whether items included on the pyre were placed on or by the body, but as with inhumations, whether worn or not, consistent patterns of use have the potential to reveal underlying social trends or ideals. Nor can items added during the burial phase of the funerary rite after the cremation process has taken place be associated with dressed appearances. However, as with items placed on the

pyre, these may also reveal trends if consistently included in some burials. At the same time, it may be that not all the pyre debris was collected for burial, thereby failing to show the full extent of artefacts originally present.

Despite the problems associated with burial material, it remains the only data to provide a direct link between artefacts and individuals, so its use in such studies is unavoidable. Given the many limitations, the approach to the data is crucial. The way in which this material has been used to identify and interpret identities is therefore discussed in relation to two case studies: Lankhills and Brougham.

3.3.3 LANKHILLS CEMETERY, WINCHESTER

Lying 500m outside the north gates of *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester, Hants.), Lankhills cemetery formed one of the northern cemeteries of this town (Figure 13). Occasional finds were reported from the site throughout the nineteenth century, but it was not until rescue excavations prior to development in the 1960s that the full extent of the site was recognised. A late Roman inhumation cemetery with significant quantities of grave goods was uncovered, and the publication by Clarke (1979), was one of the first major Romano-British cemetery site reports to provide a detailed interpretation of the artefacts.

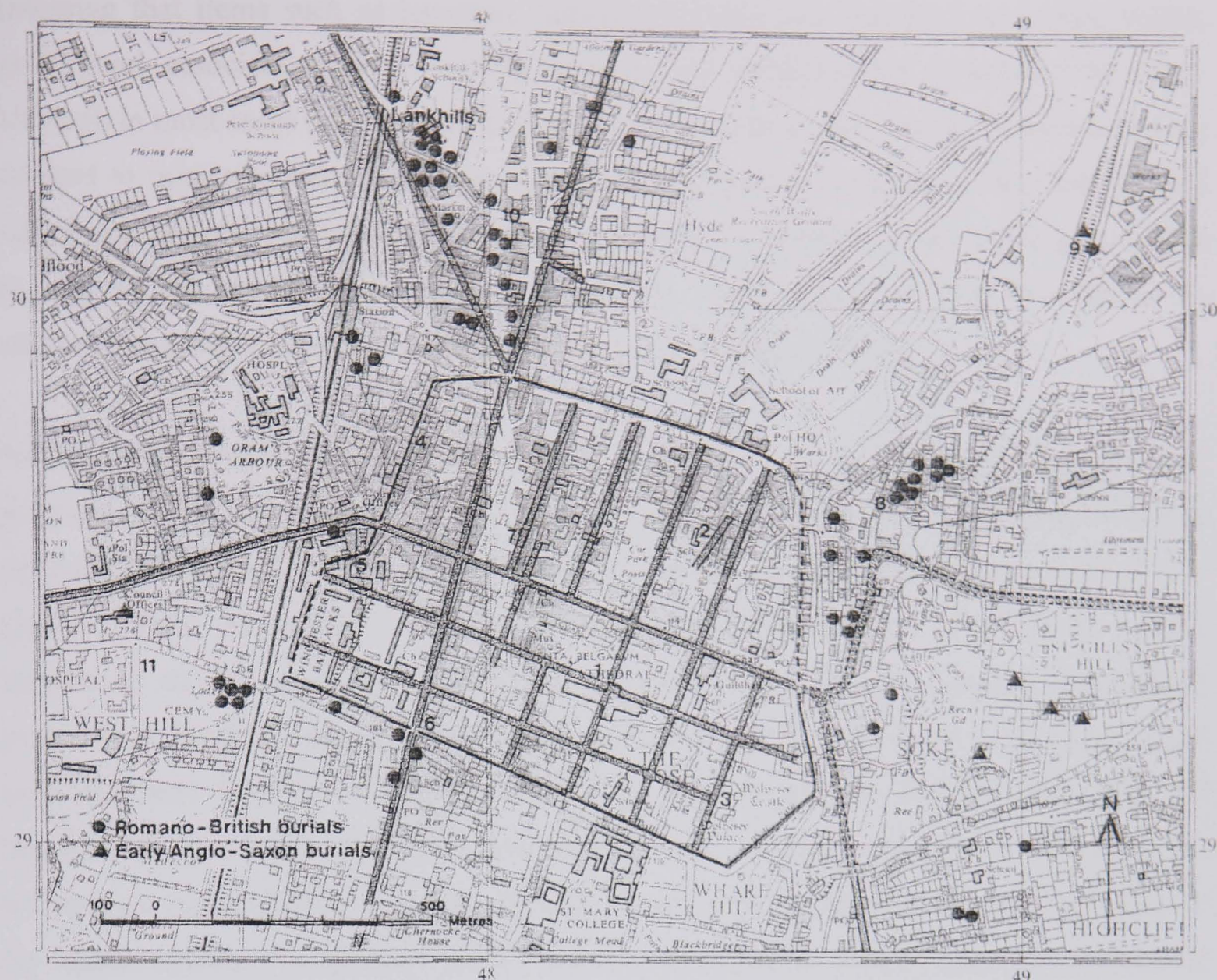


Figure 13 Map of Winchester, showing the location of Lankhills cemetery and other burials (Clarke 1979: 1)

Of 451 burials excavated, 375 were intact. Most were inhumations but 12 cremations were also recovered. Grave goods, including coins, vessels, equipment, personal adornment items and hobnails were associated with 237 burials (Clarke 1979: 145-156). These categories were analysed in conjunction with the age and sex of the skeletons to help define artefact group associations. The artefact analysis was carried out before work on the skeletal assemblage had been completed and as such, a few points need to be taken into account when looking at the results. Both the age at death and the sex of skeletons was taken from preliminary examination results. The age at death was backed up by the size of the grave pits, categorised as adult or child. Sex was assessed through analysis of the pelvis, skull morphology and 'ruggedness' of skeletons (Clarke 1979: 123). The pelvis is one of the most reliable indicators of sex, but the build or 'ruggedness' of a skeleton can be affected by both the type of physical activities undertaken by the individual (Mays 1998: 5) and by the life stage (e.g. post-menopausal) (Walker 1995: 35 - 36).

Assuming that items such as jewellery indicated females and weaponry and tools, males, grave good associations were used to support sex identifications (Clarke 1979: 123). Although in most cases these assumptions are probably true, to start with such preconceptions can lead to misinterpretations. Having said this, the preliminary sexing of the skeletons did correspond with the sex inferred from the grave goods. It should be noted at this point that at the time of the report gender as an interpretative archaeological concept was still in its infancy, hence the supposed association between 'sex' and grave goods.

Personal ornaments were recovered from 53 graves, but worn examples were limited to 22 (possibly 25) burials. Examples of worn adornment do occur in other Romano-British cemeteries (Philpott 1991: 129 - 36). However, the fact that these burials contained a very specific range of artefacts—necklaces, bracelets, brooches and belt fittings—placed consistently in the same way on the body, suggested the group was foreign. Two distinct groups were identified through variations in this rite. In the first group of (16) burials, males were associated with brooches placed on the right shoulder and belt fittings by the waist, and females with necklaces, bracelets and occasional combs. Through a comparison of burial rites and artefact types, Clarke suggested that these burials corresponded to those seen in part of the Danube region. The intensive nature of the rite at Lankhills implied that this represented a group that had migrated rather than an imported foreign fashion (Clarke 1979: 377 - 89). The remaining six burials lacked the consistent layout of the Danubian burials and were inconsistent in themselves, although they too had an emphasis on personal adornment. Despite the inconsistencies, the layout and goods of these also pointed to foreign origins. The recognition of these groups demonstrated not only the importance of analysing grave goods, in particular those associated with appearance, but it also served to highlight the cosmopolitan nature of Roman Britain.

Since the publication of the original report, skeletal assessment methods have advanced massively. The 'foreign' burials have since been subjected to isotope analysis as were a control group of burials identified as Romano-British, both being compared to one another and the strontium and oxygen isotope ranges for the chalk layers in southern England (Evans *et al.* 2006). This has shown that although several skeletons did produce results within the range expected for south central Europe, one was more likely to have originated from the region covered by Holland/France/Germany. Furthermore, several of the adults and juveniles fell within the isotope range of southern Britain. This implies two things: firstly, that some of this group *was* foreign to Britain as originally suggested by the artefacts but that not all were

from the same place of origin; and secondly, that once here, intermixing with the local population occurred. Children subsequently born in Britain were given an upbringing that maintained, at least in burial rites, elements of the homeland culture of the first generation (Evans *et al.* 2006: 270). This work confirms the conclusions suggested by Clarke and demonstrates that careful analysis of adornment styles can effectively identify distinct groups.

3.3.4 BROUGHAM

Although the material was excavated forty years previously, in 1966-7, as a rescue operation during road construction, the Brougham report has been completed using recent archaeological approaches. As construction progressed an extensive third century cremation cemetery was revealed. A large body of data was recovered, but given the circumstances of the excavation many individual records are incomplete or contain minimal information. Post-excavation work started the year after excavations were completed but remained unfinished. It was not until English Heritage commissioned the preparation of the final report that the material was fully assessed, the results of which were brought to publication by Hilary Cool in 2004 (for location see Figure 14).

Despite the excavation circumstances, a large quantity of material was recovered. Many artefacts were recorded from the pyre deposits and 350 burials were recorded. A significant number of beads were found, along with gold and silver jewellery (in eight and three burials respectively). Hobnails accompanied 20 percent of the burials and bracelets, brooches and toilet implements were also recorded. Based on the artefact analysis, two main themes were approached in terms of the identity of the people using the cemetery, the first part relating to in-cemetery differences, the second to the origins of the population.

Given the number of personal ornaments found in the pyre debris, Cool has suggested that many of the deceased were cremated dressed rather than shrouded (Cool 2004: 438), and fused sets of glass beads imply many (females) were adorned with necklaces. Beads found with three-four year olds suggested that young girls were also adorned (Cool 2004: 438) but given the difficulties in sexing young skeletons this gender association is an assumption. Genuine gender differences in appearance are hinted at by the different brooch types associations – males with crossbow brooches and females, brooches of other types. Alongside gender, age also seems to have been significant, hobnails predominantly associated with adults (Cool 2004: 439). There was also an absence of hairpins among the finds which may suggest that people were buried with unstyled (or shaved?) heads, or used styles that did not

require pin fastenings. Hair is known to have been worn in plaits in Britain, as shown by the surviving example from Poundbury (Farwell & Molleson 1993: 205) and statuary evidence from the military zone have depictions of women with loose hair (Alcock 1996: 97).

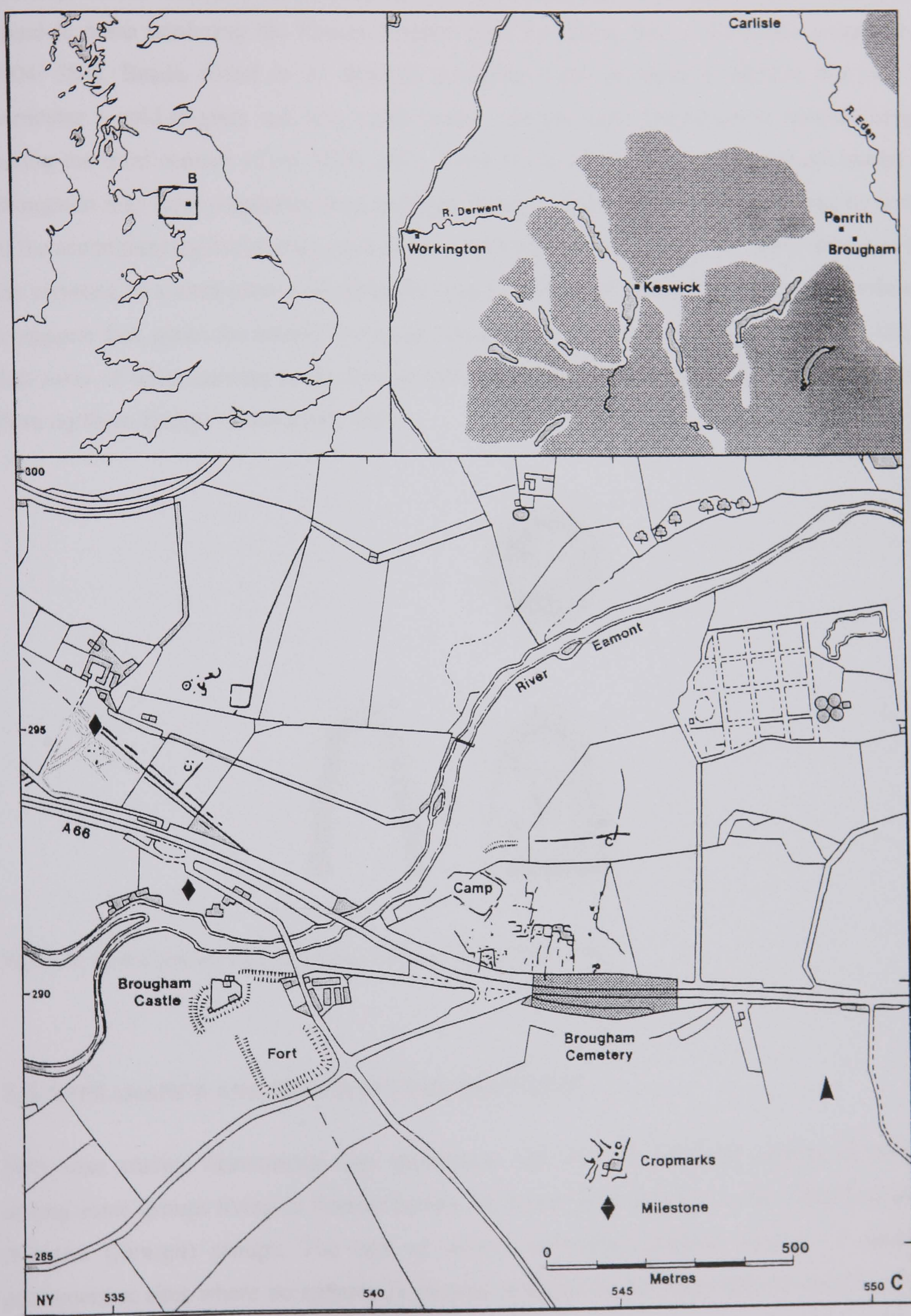


Figure 14 Location map of Brougham (Cool 2004: 7)

The second part of the interpretation centred round the possible origin of the dead. Bucket pendants (Figure 15) were among the jewellery items recovered, and as yet, these represent the only known examples in Britain (Mould 2004: 383-384). The type is more commonly found in areas bordering the Roman Empire from the Black Sea to the Baltic coast (Cool 2004: 384). Beads, found in 21 deposits, comprise types common to Britain, but two in particular – gold-in-glass and blue cubic beads – are far more prominent in central Europe during the third century (Cool 2004: 387). These finds indicate that some of those buried at Brougham may have originated from northern Europe. This suggestion is supported by some of the accompanying burial rites, such as horse offerings on the pyre (Cool 2004: 464), and by the presence of a tombstone indicating this origin (Cool 2004: 464). Cool takes this evidence to suggest that, given the nearby fort some 500m to the west of the cemetery, it is most likely that *some* of those serving at the fort or living in the associated settlement may have been from northern Europe (Cool 2004: 465).

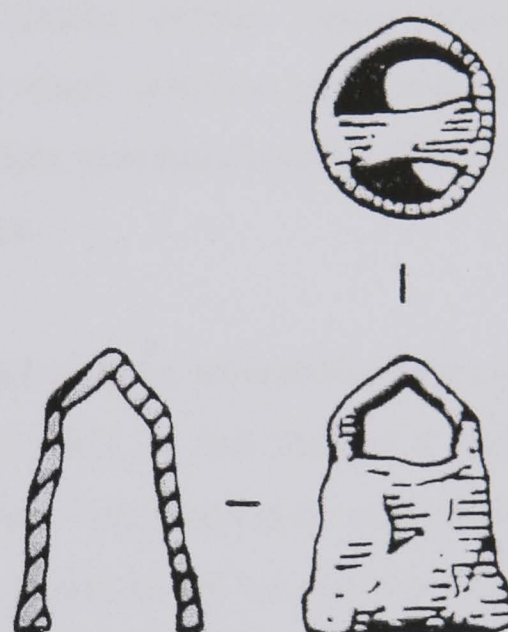


Figure 15 Bucket pendant from Brougham, burial 133 (Cool 2004: 139)

3.4 APPEARANCE AND IDENTITY: THE NEXT STEP

Both case studies demonstrate that appearance was used to highlight aspects of identity among some groups living in Roman Britain. However, both focused on the identification of *intrusive (foreign)* groups. The lack of reports providing detailed analysis of personal adornment at sites where no apparently unusual material occurs highlights the need to assess the use of personal adornment items in their own right, not just when in comparison to foreign elements.

Cemetery evidence does not provide a reliable indicator of everyday practices, nor does it represent all of society. To rely entirely on this material excludes the massive corpus of material from settlements. Such a highly directed focus on cemeteries also makes it difficult to stop studies becoming an analysis of mortuary rites rather than an investigation into appearance and identity.

To address these issues, analyses of cemetery and settlement data need to be combined. The collection of artefacts from a cemetery cannot be fully understood in isolation from settlement material as it is not possible to determine the extent to which the burial assemblages were the result of selective choice. For example, at Brougham the bucket pendants recovered may have indicated the origins of the wearer. Assuming the associated fort and *vicus* were excavated and no such items were recovered from these locations, it may then be possible to suggest that the bucket pendant were reserved for burial rituals only. This in turn would have implications as to the extent to which identity display varied between everyday life and mortuary situations, and the degree to which selective processes affected burial finds. It would also raise questions as to why certain identities became dominant in death and what significance these differences may have had.

Such a combined approach can only be attempted where *plausibly* associated settlement and cemetery sites have been excavated, so that there is a high probability of the finds coming from the same population group. This remains an assumption, but is as close as we can come to linking such assemblages. It would not be possible simply to use settlements within the vicinity of a cemetery as there is no guarantee that these sites would have been used by the same population. Comparing each settlement assemblage to that of the cemetery would therefore be pointless. Further, combining finds from different site types for analysis would only serve to misrepresent the populations from each, diluting some assemblages and enhancing others, as we cannot assume that everyone was buried in the same cemetery or disposed of using archaeologically visible methods.

Despite these problems, comparing the personal adornment assemblages from settlements and cemeteries has considerable potential to reveal how appearance was manipulated to demonstrate identities in different contexts. That settlement and cemetery populations may not be related is a risk that must be taken, but given the more limited scale of travel and ability to preserve bodies in past, a direct association, although not provable, is more than

likely. Ideally, several medium-sized, well excavated cemetery/settlement complexes would be used in this study, to allow comparative analysis. However, as yet only a few sites fulfil these requirements. Baldock, in North Hertfordshire, represents just such a case study. A small settlement surrounded by a series of cemeteries, the site provides the opportunity not only to compare the differences between settlement and cemetery assemblages, but also to approach the material in finer detail, comparing inter-cemetery approaches to appearance in mortuary rites. This second aspect is an important component of the analysis as it will indicate the extent to which smaller scale inter-cemetery trends become masked when the dataset is combined for larger scale analysis.

Analysing a site in isolation would not, however, prove particularly informative for Romano-British archaeology. To evaluate the significance of any findings, the published data sets are required for comparison. Initially sites in the vicinity of Baldock need to be used to develop an idea of the variation between burial practices and settlement artefact availability at a localised level (Figure 16: p.75). There are several nearby sites that can be used for this. Braughing, to the south-east of Baldock, has undergone relatively extensive work, and provides one such case study. Dunstable, to the west, although a smaller, less thoroughly explored site, also has a range of cemetery and settlement finds and Verulamium to the south, has received much excavation for both types of context. These four sites provide a coherent sample as they are all linked by the same Roman road network. Colchester, to the east, although further away, has also undergone extensive excavation and publication, and links into the same road network, joining it at Braughing. This provides an additional case study and a good comparative site for Verulamium, these two being large urban centres, while the remaining three sites were smaller, more rural settlements.

That the sites are linked to one another by road is significant as it means that differences in artefact assemblages between the sites cannot be attributed to differential access in terms of the geographical situation. Furthermore, they are more likely to have been open to the same influences, imports and so on, than if they were all located in different regions to one another. If, therefore, there are any consistent trends to be revealed, there will be fewer variables affecting these than there would be if sites from the highly militarised north were included. The dating, size of settlements and degree to excavation needs to be taken into account during the analysis and the way this material is approached is discussed in the following chapter (Chapter 4).

One final note must be made of the terminology used to describe the smaller settlements. The term 'small-town' is controversial, given its (over)use with settlements of a hugely varied nature. What is actually meant when using this description has been the cause of much debate elsewhere, as has discussion of settlement terminology in general given the variability among all settlement 'types' (Burnham 1995; Burnham *et al.* 2001; Burnham & Wachter 1990; Hanley 2000; Millett 1995b). Suffice to say, where 'small town' is used in the following pages, it refers to a settlement that consisted of multiple habitations, but did not reach the proportions of fully urban centres such as Verulamium and Colchester.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Having set out the theoretical concerns involved in interpreting archaeological data associated with cemetery and settlement sites, this chapter presents the material being used for analysis and how it is approached in this thesis. Baldock, as the main case study, is discussed with reference to both the cemetery and settlement data. Following this, the way in which the material from the comparative sites is collected, assessed and analysed is presented.

4.2 THE SITES

The selection of Baldock has already been discussed (p.69). The data from this site will be analysed in two ways; to reveal any inter-cemetery variations and to compare the cemetery and settlement finds. The first part of this analysis is possible due to the multiple cemeteries surrounding the site, which between them contain more than 1800 burials. In the second part of the analysis, this data will be combined to create an overall 'cemetery profile' which will be analysed to show firstly, the frequency distribution of different items of personal adornment in burials and secondly, how this compares to the distribution of finds from the settlement. This will make it possible to determine the extent to which inter-cemetery patterns are masked within an overall 'cemetery assemblage profile', as it will show if over-riding personal adornment preferences in burials are different from those witnessed in any of the individual cemeteries. This is important since although it would be ideal to compare each cemetery individually to the settlement finds, there is not sufficient material in any single site to enable reliable settlement comparison. Looking at variables between cemeteries at Baldock and comparing this to inter-cemetery variables at other sites is not possible either as there are so few sites that have both multiple cemeteries and settlement areas that have undergone extensive excavation.

Using Baldock as a case study has three specific purposes; to assess, through inter-cemetery comparison, if and how personal adornment may have been used to display varying identities among different groups within rather than just between communities; to see the effects on distributions patterns of combining the data from many cemeteries at a single site; and to assess whether a comparison of cemetery and settlement finds has the potential to reveal any

contextually dependent use of personal adornment for identity display. It is the variation between cemetery and settlement finds both within and between sites that will be used for comparative purposes, Braughing, Dunstable, Verulamium and Colchester providing the case studies. Developing 'settlement find profiles' also enables the range of settlement finds between sites to be compared, allowing the extent of variation in personal adornment use between sites to be assessed.

As the use of personal adornment among military groups has already received some attention (e.g. Allason-Jones 1988; Cool 2004; Gardner 2001b; James 2004: 243-9) this study will focus on sites with a predominantly civilian focus. To fulfil all the criteria discussed above the sites being used for this analysis are all from the same region as Baldock, i.e. the civilian south-east, and with the exception of Colchester, all the sites are within 30km of one another, forming roughly a rectangle on the Roman road network (Figure 16). Colchester joins the network at Braughing, through which it links to the other sites, so although further away, it is not isolated from the main case-study region.

The level of analysis is constrained by the amount of information recorded for the artefacts at each site. All the sites in this study have undergone excavation by a number of archaeologists over the last 80 years or so. The level of detail for small finds is consequently highly variable between different excavations at individual sites, let alone between sites. Indeed, it becomes clear from this how problems in archaeological practice for retrieving context information can be critical to how such material can be studied (Papaconstantinou 2006: 2, 8). It is necessary therefore to provide a brief excavation history of these sites, before pursuing the details of the comparative work. Baldock, being the main case study, will also include a discussion of the cemetery and settlement data to be used.

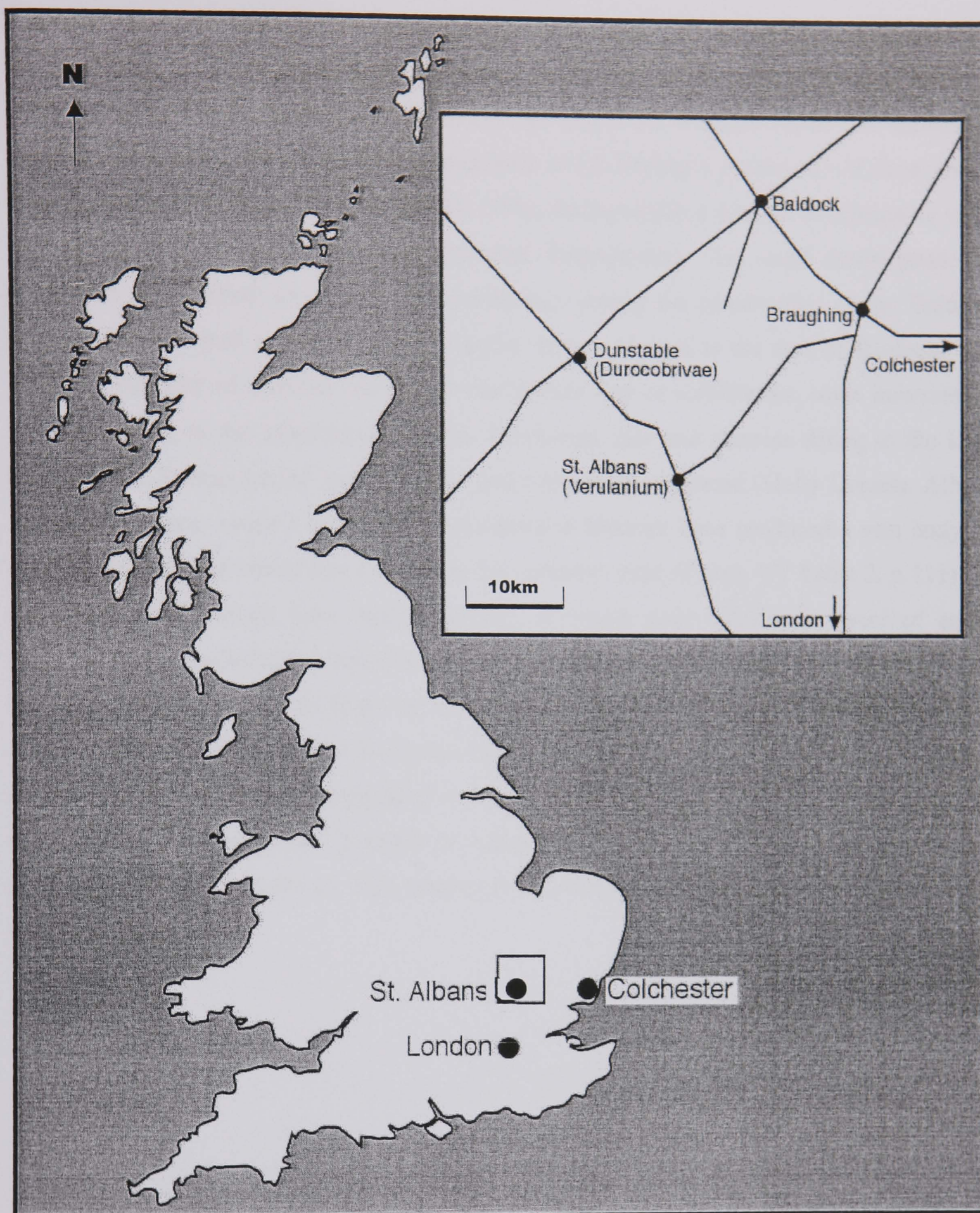


Figure 16 Location map of study area

4.2.1 BALDOCK

Hertfordshire

NGRef: TL2433/ OS: LR153/166

Baldock first received intensive archaeological interest in the 1920s when Percival Westell excavated the south-eastern end of the Walls Field cemetery (Westell 1931). This was

followed with excavations by Westell and Applebaum (1932), and a further small excavation by Applebaum (1932). Following this, interest subsided until 1967, when a rich Late Iron Age burial was uncovered during road construction, the discovery of which led to five seasons of work by Ian Stead (1986). Under the directorship of Gil Burleigh, another set of excavations began in the late 1970s, continuing into the 1990s, during which a number of cemeteries were investigated (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). The most recent phase of excavation was carried out by Albion Archaeology during the construction of the Baldock Bypass. This covered a narrow though lengthy stretch of land to the east of Baldock, and while the majority of material uncovered was Bronze Age or sub-Roman, some information has been added to the intermediate period. Trackways, pits and quarries dating to the Late Iron Age and Roman period were revealed and a few finds recovered (Holly Duncan, Albion Archaeology *pers. comm.*). In all, the excavations at Baldock have produced a vast body of data, the majority of which has come from the cemetery sites (Figure 17/ Table 2, p.111). In total over 1800 burials have been recorded, of which over 1200 have received some osteological and pathological analysis (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). These include a number of burials from the Iron Age phase, over 50 of which have been found within 1.7km of the cluster of rich burials of this date (Bryant 2007). As a result of all these excavations and additional geophysical surveys over half the town has been investigated in some form and it has been possible to reconstruct the possible layout of much of the settlement (Matthews 2005:1). The nature of the settlement is discussed more fully in the following chapter.



Figure 17 Map of Baldock (after Matthews, forthcoming)

Cemeteries: 1. Icknield Way East (Iron Age and Roman phases), 2 & 3. Royston Road Complex (Yeomanry Drive, Stane Street, Royston Road), 4. California, 5. Wallington Road, 6. Walls Field, 7. Clothall Road, 8. South Road, 9. The Tene and Iron Age 'Welywn' burial, 10. Mercia Road, 11. Area 1&2 and Iron Age 'chieftain' burial, 12. Area 12/13, 13. Brewery Field Temple & burials.

Cemetery material

Multiple cemeteries surround Baldock, including both inhumations and cremations. The results of the many excavations are currently being brought to publication (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). These will take the form of five volumes, providing a catalogue of all the finds recovered from settlement and cemetery contexts, (excluding those already published by Stead & Rigby), as well as osteological results from many of the burials. Work on the settlement area has also been undertaken (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming; Stead & Rigby 1986), allowing here a site profile of the personal adornment assemblage to be developed and compared to items deposited with the burials. The history of the site is discussed below (Chapter 5); the aim here is to outline the available material and how it will be investigated.

The cemetery areas and burial groups vary massively in size, from less than ten to more than 900 bone records. There is an important distinction between the number of bone records in the catalogues and the actual number of burials, as in many locations the disturbed nature of the

site meant that scatters or individual bones were recorded. For the purposes of this study, bone that could not be identified as belonging to a definite burial has not been including in the total numbers of burials per cemetery as not only may they have originated from the definite burials, inflating the total number actually present, but any finds located with this material is more likely to be redeposited than genuinely associated. Cemetery data have been taken from the unpublished reports. These are continually being worked on as they approach publication, and the most up-to-date versions available to the author (received 2005) were used for the following analysis. It has not been possible to work from the artefacts themselves as the stores are in some disarray and trying to locate specific items has proved largely unfruitful.

Given the variable cemetery sizes, a combination of spreadsheets and a database have been used to record the information. Adornment finds from the smaller cemeteries have been recorded in spreadsheets, one workbook per cemetery. Included in each work book is the total number of burials from that site, recorded by age and sex. This information is also recorded for the finds, so that any intra-cemetery use patterns based on age or sex divisions can be identified. The remaining categories of information recorded are as follows:

- burial report number
- burial type (cremation/inhumation)
- burial date
- find type
- quantity (e.g. for hobnails and beads which (probably) come from a single item)
- material
- colour (where applicable e.g. beads)
- position in burial

Information for these categories has been given in as much detail as the working draft reports allowed. However, variable excavation recording has meant that in some instances information was not available for all fields.

One cemetery, Royston Road, had over 900 records in the catalogue. Given the quantity of material potentially available from this site a database was initially designed to record the information, using the same categories as for the spreadsheets. Subsequent to the data entry, reanalysis of the site by Keith Matthews (*pers. comm.*) during processing for publication revealed that the cemetery in fact contained three distinct clusters, which have now been interpreted as three separate groups. The burial report numbers were used to locate the burials in the two 'new' sites in the database and were reassigned new site name locations.

For each individual cemetery the range of artefacts, the percentage of burials containing such items, the age and sex of the burials with which the items occurred, and the fabric of the items is assessed. Where possible (i.e. for inhumations of sufficient preservation), a distinction is made between worn and unworn personal adornment. The location of placing on the body of any worn goods is also recorded. While taking into account date range differences between the cemeteries, comparison of these results will indicate different approaches to the personal adornment accompaniments of the deceased between cemeteries and between mortuary rites. Although it is not possible in this dataset to gauge whether items associated with cremations were worn, placed on the pyre, or added during burial, the range of artefacts present is still compared to the inhumation information as it shows whether or not a different range of items were drawn on for use during the different mortuary rites. The variable dates of a number of cemeteries also serve to indicate how approaches to adornment of the deceased changed over time.

Following the inter-cemetery analysis, the entire assemblage of personal adornment from the cemeteries is combined to create a 'cemetery profile' of artefacts. The range of items types and their relative proportions to one another is determined, as are the overall proportions of different fabric types for each artefact group. This makes it possible to compare the cemetery profile to that of the settlement finds to assess the extent to which specific types of items may have been selected for inclusion in burials.

Site material

The settlement finds are approached in a similar manner to the cemetery finds, the range of items being combined to create a 'settlement profile'. Likewise, the fabric of construction is also recorded so that it can be compared to the cemetery material. The nature of deposition on settlement sites is not straightforward and the degree to which the artefacts are the result of casual losses is questionable (p. 56). However, given that the settlement material comes from a range of sources (multiple excavations over many years by different people: Chapter 5. p.92), the amount of contextual information is variable and often minimal. Unfortunately this means that the date of deposition and context is not always available and it is therefore likely that some artefacts may be residual, but identifying where this is the case has not been possible.

Comparing the settlement material to the burial material enables an analysis of the degree of selection involved in the range of adornment chosen to accompany the deceased. There is no way of knowing if this related to the preferred appearance of each individual during life but it will indicate which aspects of appearance or items of adornment were considered important by those carrying out the mortuary rites.

4.2.2 BRAUGHING

Hertfordshire

NGRef: TL3824/ OS: LR166

Initially excavated in the 19th century, further investigations took place at Braughing in the 1940s, during which a stone building, some timber huts and roadways were recorded. A trial trench followed this in 1951 (Holmes 1955: 97) the records of which the author has not been able to locate. In the late 1960s the site was affected by road development and a larger series of excavations took place. Occupation levels and burials were recovered by Stead (1970) and more extensive work was carried out by Partridge (1978; 1981) and Potter & Trow (1988), during which several more cemetery and settlement areas were revealed. Little has been done at this site since these excavations were completed. The finds information in the following analysis has been taken from these publications (Appendix I).

The Braughing-Puckeridge complex (Figure 18), which initially formed a LPRIA site (Curteis 2005: 221), consists of multiple finds areas, of which the best known are Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981) and the Ermine Street site (Potter & Trow 1988). The nature of the site and scattered excavations make it hard to determine the size of the settlement, but it may have covered up to 10ha (Bryant 2007).

The Late Iron Age evidence of imported pottery, including much tableware, sea-fish and coins suggests the Braughing-Puckeridge complex was of some importance, and the often votive context of these finds indicates a site of possible ritual significance (Bryant 2007: 3; Curteis 2005: 221). The occupation evidence for the settlement in the Late Iron Age is not clear due to Roman occupation and plough damage, however, it appears to have been sporadic, with no clear chronology related to the variable use across the site (Bryant 2007: 63; Potter & Trow 1988: 1). Towards the end of the 1st century BC there was an increase in occupation, with timber buildings being constructed, but this was followed by a marked decline in settlement activity in the 1st century AD, directly pre-conquest (Haselgrove 1987:

171; Partridge 1981: 28). Following the conquest the site continued as a minor settlement, and the cemetery at Skeleton Green was laid out towards the end of the 1st century AD (Partridge 1981: 34). Ermine Street, laid out in the Claudian period, became the later focus of activity, occupation increasing from the 2nd century AD as a number of buildings flanking the road were constructed (Potter & Trow 1988-9). Although not reaching its pre-conquest importance, the site did continue as a minor settlement throughout the Roman period (Partridge 1981: 30).

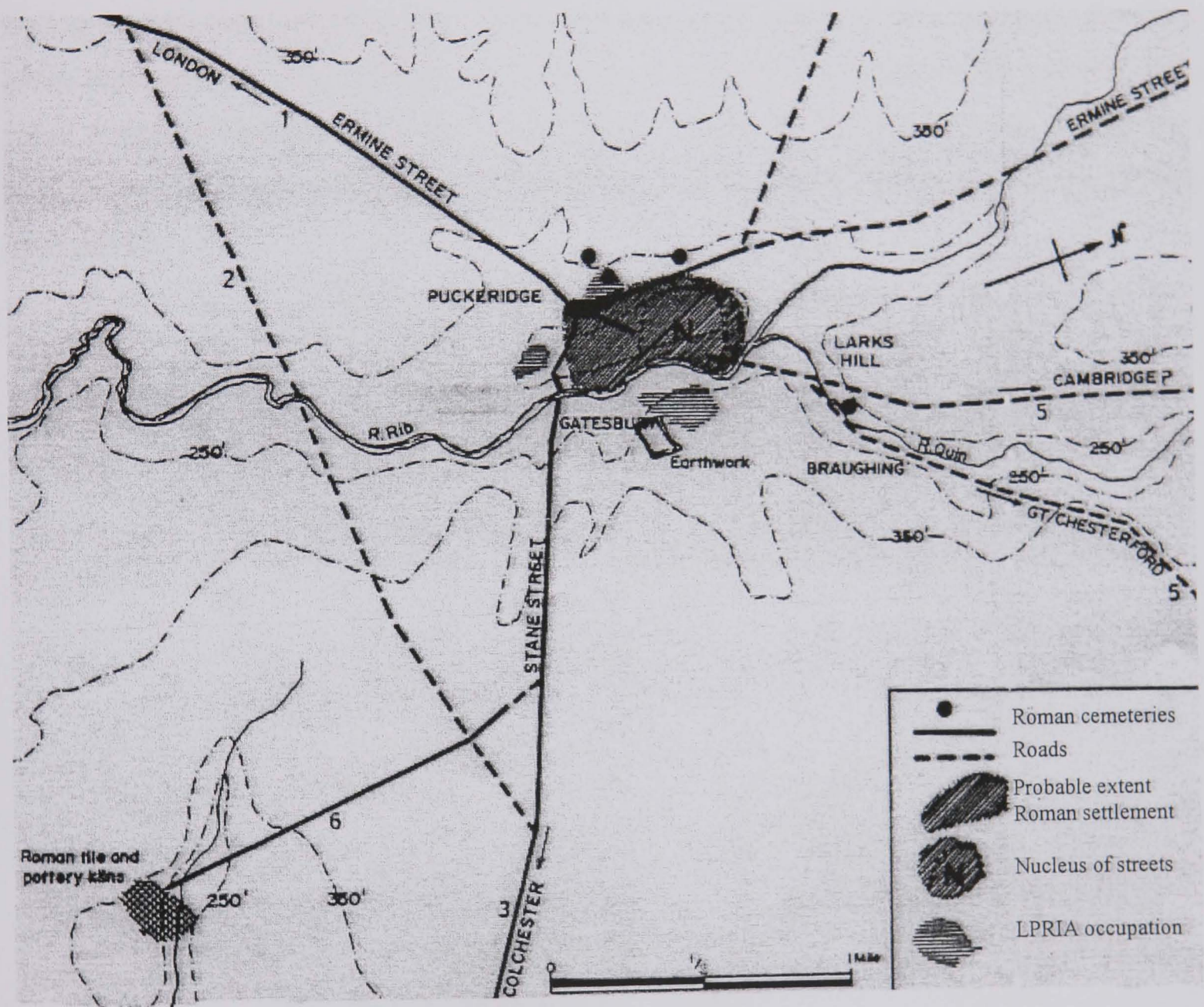


Figure 18 The Braughing-Puckeridge complex (Partridge 1975: 140)

The evidence suggests that although the Iron Age site consisted of a collection of areas that developed and declined with little apparent relation to one another, the Roman period settlement area was more focused and consistent. Indeed it is possible that the primary purpose of the Iron Age site was not as a settlement but as a gathering area, as implied by the evidence for ritual activity and high quality imports. Given this, it may be suggested that those occupying the site in the Iron Age consisted of separate but related communities, which became more unified in the Roman period as the settlement became more consolidated.

4.2.3 DUNSTABLE

Bedfordshire

NGRef: TL0121/ OS: LR166

Dunstable (*Durocobravis*) was a minor rural settlement of apparently Roman foundation, containing only one metalled road and no substantial houses (Matthews 1989: 67-8). Not having an Iron Age precursor little can be said about the origins of the occupants. However, given the small size and rural nature of the site, it is likely that settlers came predominantly from dispersed farmsteads in the surrounding countryside. Having said this, Dunstable's location on the road network may have led to a more mixed community, given its easy accessibility.

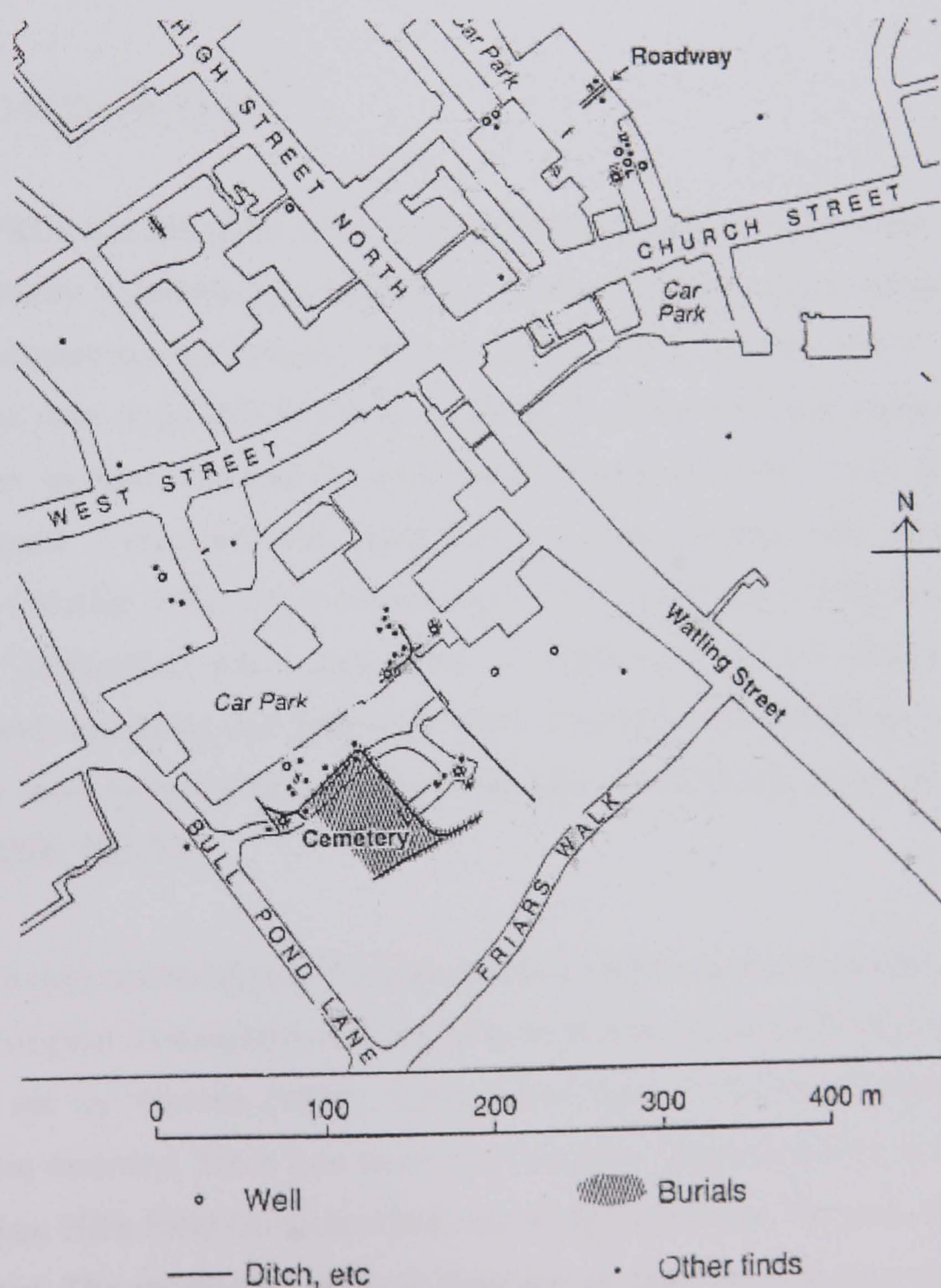


Figure 19 Map of Dunstable, showing find spots (Matthews 1989: 66)

Excavations have in large part been carried out by members of the Manshead Archaeological Society from the late 1970s onwards. Initially a well containing material culture remains was recorded (Matthews & Hutchings 1972), and following this a larger scale excavation took place during which a Romano-British cemetery containing 112 burials was uncovered (Matthews 1981/ Figure 19). Some additional burials have been found in more recent excavations (Gardner 2004: 180-4), and more settlement information recovered in a series of test trenches (Mudd 2004: 141). The finds information has been taken from these reports and supplemented by the card index of finds kept by the Manshead Archaeological Society which has recorded casual finds from the site in addition to those found during excavation.

4.2.4 VERULAMIUM

Hertfordshire

NGRef: TL134072/ OS: LR166

Initially a LPRIA site identified with the name of Verlamion from the coins of Tasciovanus, the site originally consisted of a large dyke system complex with a number of dispersed compounds displaying agricultural and industrial activity (Bryant 2007). The settlement seems to have risen in prominence from c.AD1 at about the time that nearby Braughing and Baldock seem to have declined in importance (Haselgrove 1987: 178). Shortly after the Roman conquest Verlamion was designated a *civitas capital* and became known as Verulamium (Wacher 1995: 219). Tacitus implies that by the time of the Boudican rebellion in AD60/1, Verulamium was a *municipium* (Creighton 2006: 124). Despite the extensive destruction and rebuilding that followed, which included public buildings and temples, the layout of the town seems to have remained strongly influenced by its pre-Roman landscape (Creighton 2006: 125-30).

In terms of its excavation history, Verulamium has perhaps the most colourful history of these sites, archaeological investigations dating back more than 70 years. Formal excavations were first carried out by Wheeler (1930), during which part of the town defences and a small cemetery were recorded. Since then three more cemetery areas including St Stephens (Davey 1935), Verulam Hills Field (Anthony 1968) and King Harry Lane (Stead & Rigby 1989) have been excavated. The excavations at the St Stephens site have recently been extended by the St Albans Museum Service. Unfortunately the post-excavation work has not yet been carried out

A large part of the settlement area at Verulamium has also been investigated over the years, largest excavations being directed by Frere in the 1960s (Frere 1972; Frere 1983). This, combined with earlier excavations (Cotton & Wheeler 1953; Richardson 1944; Saunders 1975) means that a large part of the town, including the theatre (Kenyon 1934) have been investigated (Figure 20).

The St Albans Museum Service has developed a database that combines all the finds recovered from Verulamium, including those from unpublished work. The finds information has been taken where possible from the published reports as these generally give more detail. However, given the number of excavators and the time span, the amount of information for the finds is highly variable. The remaining information has been taken from the database and where possible, this was compared to the corresponding card index as the information in the database was often minimal. For many finds from the database, little information other than their existence was recorded.

4.2.5 COLCHESTER

Essex

NGRef: TL995252/ OS: LR168

The Roman past of Colchester has been well known since the 19th century when construction work disturbed a number of burials (Hull 1958: 255). The first formal excavations were carried out in the 1940s, when Hawkes investigated both cemetery and settlement areas (Hawkes & Hull 1947). The next major excavations were undertaken in the 1970s, following the establishment of the Colchester Archaeological Trust (CAT) in 1963. As a result of this work a large part of Colchester was investigated and a mass of information was brought together in a series of publications (Crummy 1983; Crummy *et al.* 1993). Subsequent work has continued to be carried out by CAT, and since 1997 each excavation has been recorded in reports. The finds information has been taken from the publications and the CAT reports.

The pre-cursor to Colchester, as with Verlamion, consisted of a dyke system complex known as 'Camulodunum' or 'Calmulodunon' (Crummy 1999: 88; Potter 2002: 21). The dykes, which were constructed from the end of the 1st century BC, were not defensive in nature and so the extent of Camulodun(on/um) is unclear (Crummy 1999: 88). The nature of the site, too, at its earliest stage is also unclear as intensive occupation does not seem to have started until

after the turn of the century (Haselgrove 1987: 164; Hawkes & Crummy 1995: 54, 74). However, from this period onwards, occupation did develop and imported wares, notably amphora, were present (Hawkes & Crummy 1995: 74).

The Roman phase began with the foundation of a legionary fortress within the dyke system.

When the legion was moved in AD 49 the fortress was converted into a *colonia* (Crummy 1999: 89). The settlement was severely damaged during the Boudiccan rebellion of AD 60/1, but not to the extent that the town had to be re-planned, and it was rebuilt following the revolt (Crummy 1999: 91). The fort annexe, rather than the main fort, became the focus for public buildings, and the layout implies that a degree of planning went into the construction of the settlement (Creighton 2006: 115). A number of cemeteries surrounded the site, many of which have undergone archaeological investigation. Unfortunately, a number of these were discovered in the 19th century, including the North Cemetery and the North-East Cemetery, and there is little surviving information about the finds from these sites (see Hull 1958: 256-8). More recent excavations have been carried out on the cemeteries to the south of the settlement, and these have been used in the current study (

Figure 21).

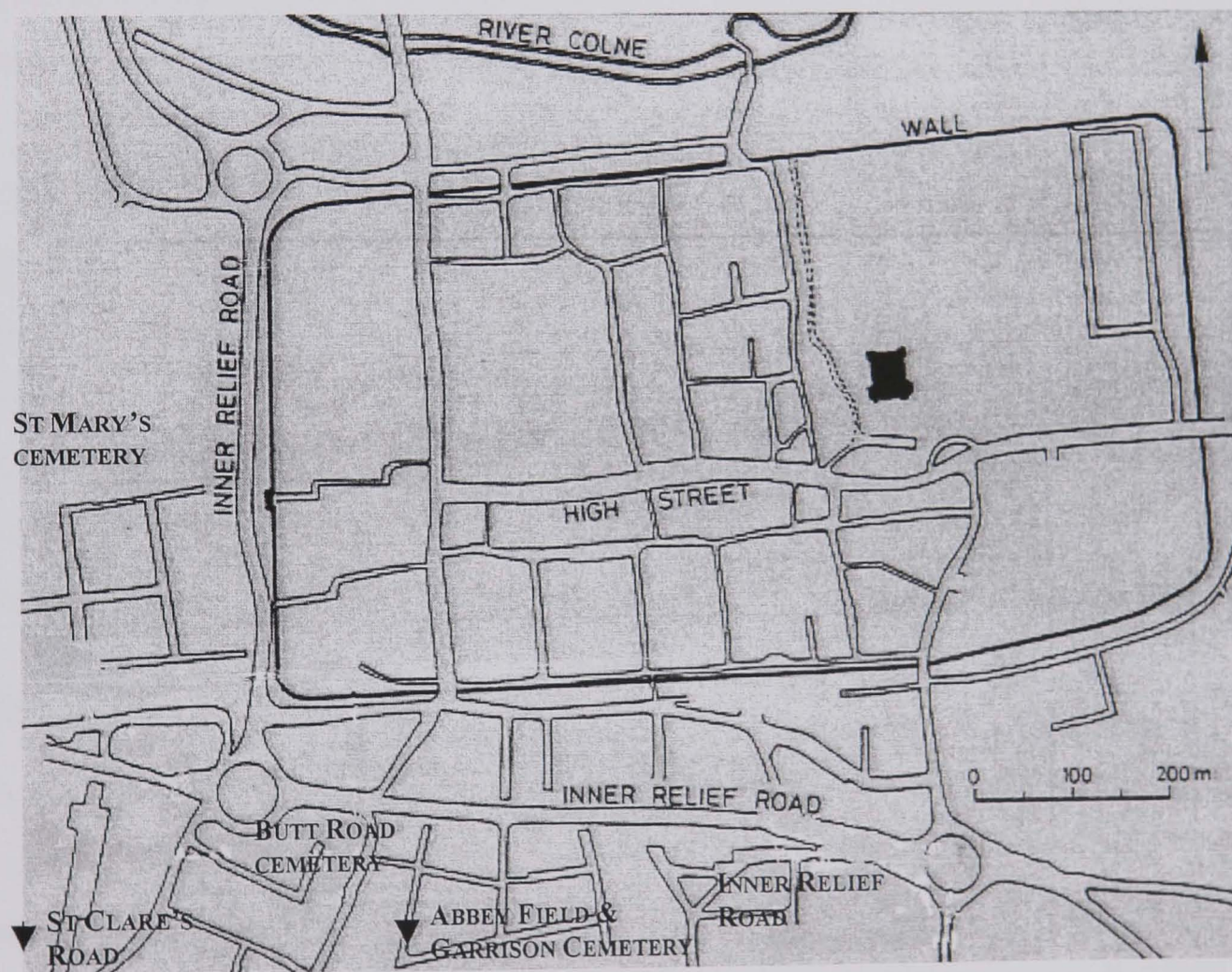


Figure 21 Location map of Colchester (after Crummy *et al.* 1993: 2)

Contemporary to the fortress, if not slightly earlier, was the site of Sheepen, also located within the dyke system, 0.75 km north-west of the legionary fortress. Although erosion had adversely affected preservation on the site, excavations revealed a larger number of pits containing debris and rubbish, suggesting that industrial activities, largely metalwork although also possibly including leatherworking, were carried out at the site, most probably to

supply the nearby fortress and settlement (Niblett 1985: 25). Evidence for a few buildings was found at the site but on the whole, occupation evidence was relatively scarce. Furthermore, many of the finds, which included brooches, cart- and military-fittings were fragmentary, most probably representing scrap-metal awaiting reworking (Niblett 1985: 24). Given the scrap nature of the majority of finds, the material from the Sheepen site has not been used for this study, as they represent the remains of specialised activity rather than everyday loss and deposition.

4.2.6 SUMMARY OF SITE HISTORIES

All these sites but Dunstable had Iron Age activity and although the degree and extent of this varied, Braughing beginning slightly earlier and beginning to decline as Verulamium and Colchester developed, the nature of occupation at all three sites seems to have followed a similar pattern. Occupation at all was dispersed in their earliest phases, with a range of other activities, such as industrial work, importation and possible ritual activity, apparently taking place. The nature of the sites diverged much more in the Roman period, and although at all more focused settlement can be attributed to this phase, Verulamium and Colchester developed into important urban centres while Braughing became little more than a minor rural settlement. Baldock too, the development of which is discussed at length in Chapter 5, followed this pattern, and became an insignificant settlement within the Roman administrative system. In this phase Dunstable was founded, but as with Braughing and Baldock never became more than a minor Roman settlement. It is this divergence in the sites type that provides the point of comparison for the distribution patterns of personal adornment items.

4.3 DATA RECORDING

A spreadsheet workbook has been created for each site, the cemetery and settlement material being entered into separate spreadsheets, but recording the same information as for the Baldock material. The finds have been divided in to type categories (e.g. brooches, hairpins, finger-rings etc.), and the range and proportion of different fabrics used for each category calculated. In many cases, particularly in the St Albans and Manshead Archaeological Society archive material, the style of item was not recorded. As such, it has not been possible to develop artefact analysis based on the specific details of the various styles within each category. The data used for each site is listed in Appendix 1 (p.222).

For artefacts where use as adornment items cannot be guaranteed, items have not been included in the analysis. This includes buckles, which could have been used on a range of items, including, but not exclusively, to clothing, and amulets, as these could have been worn by humans, animals, placed on door posts etc. (Janowitz 2001: 56). Taking this into account, items that have been included are as follows:

- brooches
- hairpins
- finger-rings/intaglios
- bracelets
- ear-rings
- gems
- necklaces
- pendants
- mail/armour
- hobnails
- combs
- toilet implements
- mirrors (these are not adornment items but have important implications for the creation and viewing of appearance, and so are included in the analysis).

As with Baldock, the cemetery and settlement profiles for each site has been developed and compared, so that site-by-site use of personal adornment can be analysed. Following this, inter-site comparisons have been carried out between both the range of items present on the settlements and as provided in burials. This assesses whether there were any differences in use and selection of adornment between sites or whether there are over-riding trends that carry across the settlements, regardless of site type.

4.4 FACTORS AFFECTING ANALYSIS

There are a number of factors that need to be taken into account when analysing the material used in this study, both in terms of general problems associated with archaeological material and specific to the material used here. The former has been discussed at length in Chapter 3, as have the problems associated the identification and analysis of skeletal material (p. 55-64). What follows below is a discussion of the issues associated with this collection of data.

The quantity of relevant finds from each assemblage is hugely variable, from over 2000 finds from Verulamium compared to nearer 200 from Dunstable. This largely reflects the massively different size of the sites although the extent of excavation carried out at each also plays a role. This raises two main issues; how to compare assemblages of such vastly differing size and how to deal with the statistical chance of absence of some artefacts in the smaller assemblages.

To look at the differences in the range of personal adornment from each site, the data has been broken down into its constituent parts (e.g. brooches, bracelet, hairpins etc.) and the relative proportions each form as part of the given site assemblage is given as a percentage. By comparing percentages of artefact types as opposed to the quantity, the variable assemblage sizes ~~should~~ not be too detrimental to the comparative process. At the smaller sites, the sample sizes sometimes give misleading percentages due to the small numbers in the datasets, but in all cases, both the total numbers and the percentages are provided, to allow cross-checking for reliability. The second issue is only likely to apply to the more rare items of personal adornment, such as precious metals and gems. Given that these are unlikely to form a significant part of any assemblage (Spradley 2001: 106), this will not have a significant effect on the comparative results, although an absence from the smaller sites may *imply* slightly differential use/availability of adornment items. This highlights one of the difficulties of studying small assemblages, as finds that may be present in insufficient numbers to show a statistically derived association but may still represent archaeologically significant patterns (Huggett 1995: 184; 1996: 345).

A further consideration affecting the finds is the broad date range assigned to many, often being no more detailed than 'Roman period'. Ideally these would be reassessed and given a more restricted date range. However, the fragmentary and imperfect preservation of many of items, combined with the limitations, largely in older reports, of minimal detailed contextual information and drawings of only a representative sample of items have meant that in many cases, this is not possible. Where more refined date periods have been given, analysis of temporal frequency distribution has been done. As these limitations apply equally to all the sites, any gross differences between the assemblages will still be revealed. It is unfortunate, however, that more detailed used patterns cannot be assessed. As burials generally have a much more restricted date than the vast majority of settlement finds a more refined approach can be taken for these. Furthermore, large scale patterns across western Europe, including Britain, show that certain classes of artefact were more common in certain periods, notably

brooches and finger rings in the 1st-2nd century and bracelets and necklaces in the 3rd-4th century (Swift 2000: 6). Taking Dunstable as an example, where the cemetery dates to the 3rd-4th century, material is compared to artefacts seen to be more popular in the later Roman period (e.g. necklaces and bracelets) to determine if the use of adornment matches or diverges from general use patterns at the time.

As with the limited date information, for many finds there is also limited contextual information. Although contextual analysis would give an indication of deposition practices (casual or intentional), as it would only relate to very limited areas within the settlements sites—those that have undergone more recent excavations—there is a danger that factors specific to these particular areas within the sites, rather than genuine site-wide trends, would be presented. As these results are therefore unlikely to be representative, contextual analysis to determine the extent to which settlement finds were derived from ‘special’ deposits has not been undertaken. However, where personal adornment use seems unusual, reference is made, where possible, to any contextual information that is available in the reports. It is known from statuary e.g. tombstones (Hope 1997: 245), pictorial (Walker 1997: 1) and textual evidence (Stout 2001: 78) that a primary purpose of jewellery items was as worn adornment. That some may subsequently have been used in ‘special’ deposits, or as bullion, does not detract from this. As such, although an interesting area of research to explore in the future, the minimal contextual evidence available for many items will not detract from the primary aims of following analysis.

Differential preservation can be problematic when looking at finds assemblages (Niblett 2004: 30) and the study of personal adornment items is no exception. The lack of preserved organic goods (with the exception of bone) is a well known limitation. However, given that this affects all but the most exceptional sites (e.g. parts of Vindolanda), and the fairly similar preservational conditions across the sample sites, the lack of (non-bone) organic items will not distort analysis. Less consideration has been given to differential preservation of non-organic items, in particular iron as opposed to copper alloy, which is often in a much poorer state of preservation (Blagg *et al.* 2004: 86; Haselgrove 1997: 51). Poor preservation and cultural attitudes to what should be kept may have affected what was recognised, recorded and/or retained, especially in the older excavations. These factors are important when trying to determine if the surviving assemblage is representative of what was in circulation. At Baldock, many of the excavations from the 1980s onwards used a recovery system of metal detection combined with excavation (Matthews K.M. *pers. comm*), so any iron objects present

are likely to have been recovered. At the remaining sites there is a distinct possibility that iron objects are under-represented, especially from settlement contexts, as these are often less well preserved than burials.

This also raises the question of the extent to which metal objects were recycled and therefore not deposited in the archaeological record. Jewellers commonly reworked gold and silver items and often used coins as a source of metal (Creighton 2000: 40; Ogden 1982: 174); copper-alloys and iron could also be recycled (Hingley 2006: 215). If re-using coins, then why not items of jewellery that had become unfashionable or broken? As with the above, there is no way of knowing the extent to which reuse occurred and how this affects overall assemblage composition, although this may become clearer as the analysis progresses as the range of materials and their relative proportions for each item type is examined. However, given that personal adornment artefacts usually form the largest group of small finds from excavations, it would seem that even if some was recycled, this was not universally, or possible even commonly, practiced.

Last but not least, given the assorted range of excavations at the sample sites and the period from which a number of the cemeteries were excavated, the recording of the position of items in burials (whether worn or not) is somewhat variable. The sample also includes a number of cremations, for which the worn status of items cannot be determined. In many cases therefore, it is not possible to distinguish between the worn items and the unworn items in the burials. However, in cases where the distinction has been made, this information is analysed.

CHAPTER 5

INTRODUCTION TO BALDOCK

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The excavation history of Baldock dates back to the 1920s, and continued sporadically throughout the twentieth century, the most recent work, in 2005, resulting from road expansion (p. 75). The layout of the site and location of cemeteries can be seen on Figure 17 (p.77). This Chapter introduces the site setting, the material recovered from the site, and the archaeological context for this data.

5.2 SITE SETTING: GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

The site lies on Cretaceous chalk. The landscape was shaped during the glacial and periglacial periods of the Pleistocene (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming) during which the Eastern Chilterns were formed. Baldock itself, situated in north Hertfordshire, lies on the north scarp of the chalk ridge (Figure 23). The site is dominated to the south by Weston Hills. To the south-east this range is broken by a valley that provides more open access (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming) and to the north are springs which give rise to the river Ivel, a tributary that flows north to join the Ouse. In the middle Iron Age, the springs may have been enclosed by a series of ditches, but the exact location of these is known to have changed quite frequently and so the correlation between the source and features is not certain (Moss-Eccardt 1988: 73).

The main soils of the area consist of rendzinas and calcareous soils. These provide good agricultural land suitable for long term cultivation (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). In some areas, more loamy soils are present. Neither soil type preserves pollen well (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). Large-scale forest clearance took place during the Iron Age and it was at this time that settlement in the area began to develop.

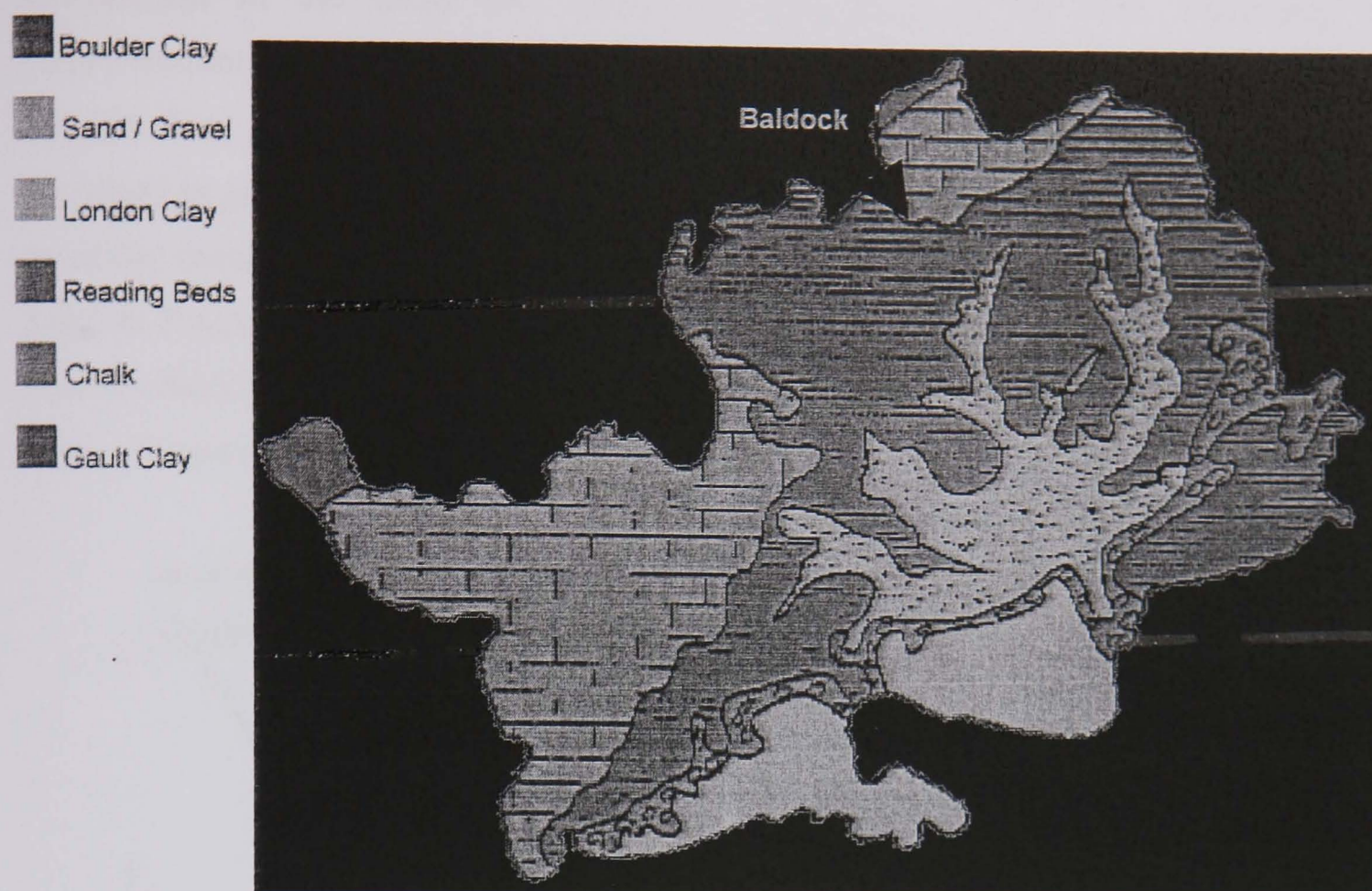


Figure 23 Geological map of Hertfordshire, showing the location of Baldock
(EHGC <http://www.ehgc.org.uk/html/hertsgeo.htm>)

5.3 SITE DEVELOPMENT AND INTERPRETATION

5.3.1 THE IRON AGE

During the Iron Age, two main groups of dykes were constructed in the region. To the south-west a system known as Grimm's Ditch followed the contours of the Chilterns. To the east, where Baldock lies, were a number of single and multiple dykes associated with the Icknield Belt geological formation. The latter system consisted largely of cross-contour dykes, many of which were associated with barrow burials at Baldock (Bryant & Burleigh 1995: 17). A concentration of pit alignments also developed, and these served to mark the eastern limit of the settlement in the 1st century BC (Burleigh 1995a: 103). The relationship between the dyke and pit systems is currently not understood, and excavation has not been widespread enough for interpretations to be properly supported (Bryant & Burleigh 1995: 24).

By 100 BC the area was occupied by a number of settlements, from villages and hamlets, to enclosed and unenclosed farmsteads (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). In the vicinity of Baldock, Middle Iron Age enclosures, roundhouse and pits are attested (Moss-Eccardt 1988: 33). Baldock began to develop as a discrete site in the 1st century BC (Stead &

Rigby 1986: 84) at the intersection of a number of trackways that led to Welwyn and Verulamium in the south and Sandy and Braughing to the east, continuing on to Camulodunum (Davies 1982: 19). This road, now known as the Clothall Road, met the Icknield Way at the northern fringe of the site (Burnham & Wachter 1990:282). The site continued to grow, reaching c.20 ha in the pre-Roman period (Figure 24), and by c.20BC it is generally thought to have developed into an *oppidum* (Bryant 2007; Burleigh 1995a: 103; Stead & Rigby 1986). The definition of this term with regard to British sites, and its use to describe Baldock in particular, has been discussed at length elsewhere (Bryant 2007; Burleigh 1995a; Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming).

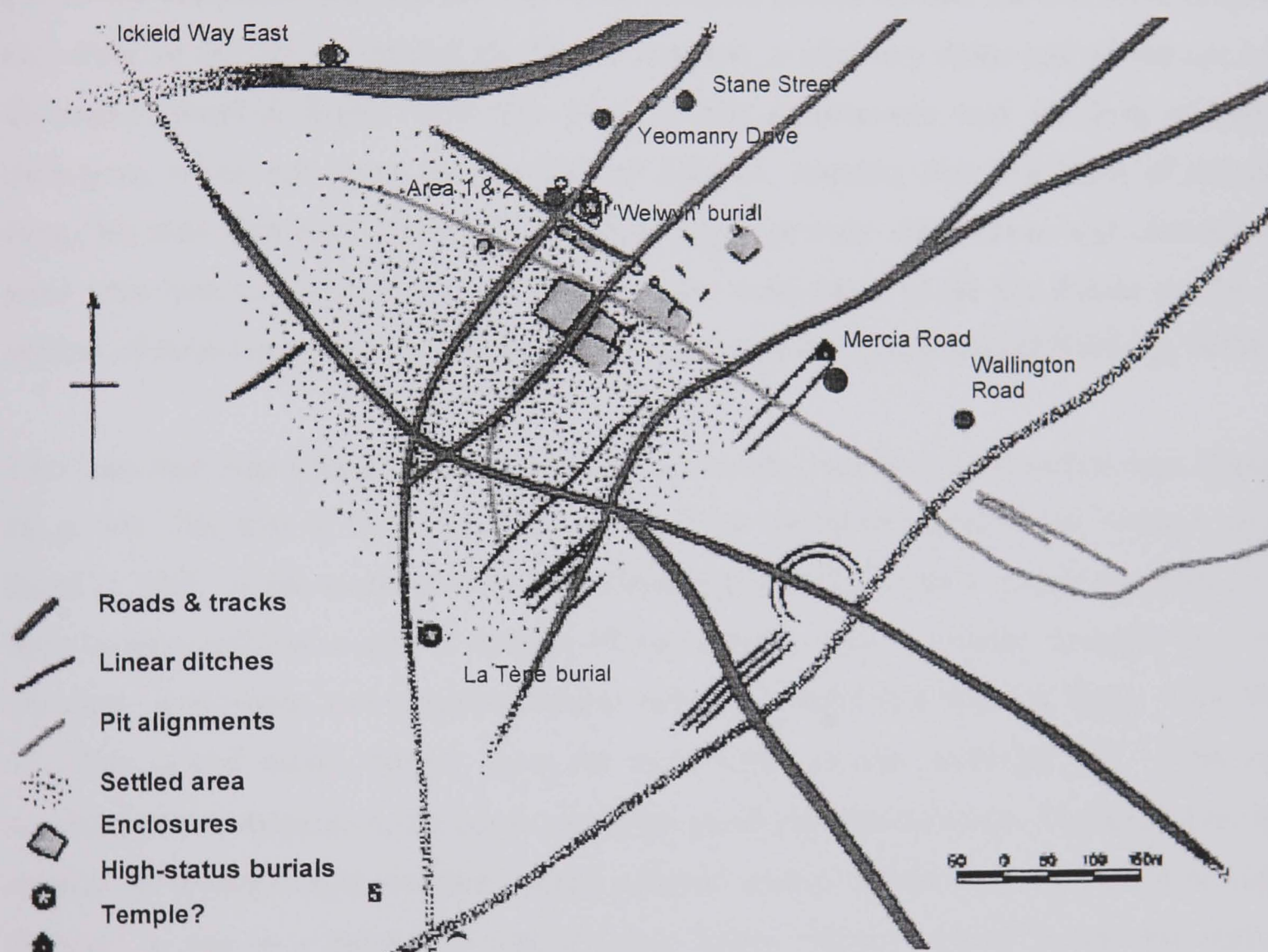


Figure 24 Interpretive map of Iron Age Baldock, showing Iron Age burial sites (after Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming)

The range of artefacts present suggests that Baldock was a place of some importance in the Late Iron Age. Imported goods such as Gallo-Belgic wares, and a number of pre-conquest brooches indicate substantial levels of activity (Bryant 2007; Burleigh 1995a: 106). The imported wares suggest that either people using the site had access to continental items through trade and exchange, or there was sustained contact with people from overseas. Given its location it has been assumed that Baldock belonged to the Catuvellauni (Millet 1990: 24),

and subsequent to the Roman conquest, the territory was administered as part of the *Civitas Catuvellauniorum* (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming).

Despite the coins, pottery and small finds dating to the late Iron Age, the level and type of occupation of the site during this phase is not well understood. Some early pits are present, and a prominent ditch appears to date to the early 1st century BC, but no contemporary houses have been located (Stead & Rigby 1986: 84). By the end of the 1st century BC, the ditch line had been redefined and a number of plots were laid out, one of which formed a small cremation cemetery (Stead & Rigby 1986: 85). As the 1st century AD progressed, new pits, gullies and deposition indicate that use of the complex spread beyond the area of its original enclosures so that by the time of the Roman conquest, a relatively dense area of site use had developed (Stead & Rigby 1986: 85). Much of this development took the form of burial enclosures, which ran along the east side of Baldock, stopping later expansion of the site along this side (Burleigh 1995a: 103). At least eight cemetery areas, some with cremations, some with both cremations and inhumations, have been dated to the pre-Roman period. A number of these continued, for varying lengths time, into the Roman period (Burleigh 1991b).

Two Late Iron Age burials in particular have generated much interest (location map: Figure 24, p. 94). The first of these was the Late La Tène cremation burial of the Welwyn type, found in 1967, to the south-west of the settlement (Figure 25). Grave goods consisted of: a large bronze cauldron, a pair of shallow bronze dishes, a pair of wooden buckets, two iron fire-dogs, an amphora, and cremated remains wrapped in bead skin (Stead & Rigby 1986: 50 - 61). The second burial, further along the same route, on the north-east side of the site consisted of two deposits in the centre of a large square ditched enclosure. In one pit were the remains of bronze-bound wooden bucket, pedestal pottery vessels and parts of three pigs. Adjacent to this in a second pit was the pyre debris, which included human and animal remains, burnt and crushed bronze fragments and several pieces of iron mail (Burleigh 1982: 8 - 10): see Appendix II, Figure 36. Towards the edges of the enclosure were several satellite burials, paralleling the layout of similar enclosures at nearby King Harry Lane, Verulamium (Burnham & Wachter 1990: 282).

The lack of habitation evidence at this time is due, in part, to severe plough damage (Stead & Rigby 1986: 32) although slight traces of Late Iron Age timber structures have now been found (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). With no definitive evidence of domestic occupation but many surviving burials, it seems likely that the Late Iron Age site

was primarily a focus for ritual and ceremonial activities rather than settlement (Bryant 2007: 67-8; Curteis 2005: 216). If this was the case, the quantity of burials suggests that people in the broader region may have deposited their deceased at Baldock, the burials therefore representing a number of communities rather than a single settlement population. However, interpretations that place a burial focus on the site do not fully explain all the evidence, such as the presence of specialised manufacture and the large amount of coinage, and it is possible that the site was also used for trading (Bryant 2007: 68-9; Burleigh 1995a: 107). This, combined with the structural evidence, which although limited, indicates some settlement in the form of enclosed farmsteads with paddocks, fields and tracks (Burleigh 1995b: 179), suggests that the Late Iron Age site was a heterogeneous agglomeration of burial and ritual, trading and some settlement activity.

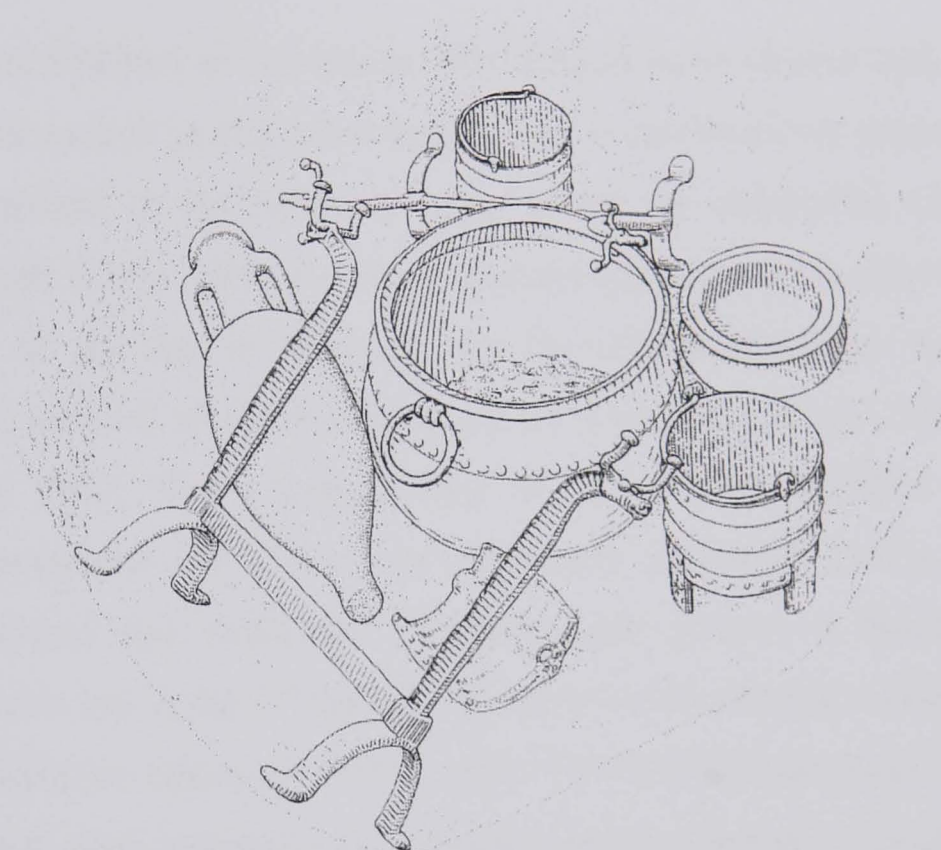


Figure 25 Reconstruction drawing of the Welwyn type burial at Baldock (Figure 41, Longworth & Cherry 1986: drawn by Simon James)

5.3.2 THE ROMAN PERIOD

Despite the apparent importance of the Iron Age complex there is no evidence of Roman military activity at Baldock (Burnham & Wachter 1990: 282). The Roman period site occupied the same area as the Iron Age site, and the marked continuity of layout (Figure 17, p. 77 & Figure 24, p. 94) and use suggests that those using Baldock remained the same (Burleigh 1995b: 180). Occupation evidence from the Roman period (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming; Stead & Rigby 1986) shows Baldock developed and expanded as a settlement site, reaching a maximum extent of 40-48ha in the 2nd century AD (Burleigh 1995b: 177). The growth of the settlement was restricted to some degree by the cemeteries ringing it (Burleigh

1991b: 1). Burial activities remained an important feature of the site with many of the Iron Age cemeteries continuing and a number of new cemeteries being laid out in the Roman period, and it is possible that some people were still brought to the site for burial (Burleigh 1991b). In terms of the occupation of the site, settlement also expanded as a ribbon development beyond the main focus of the town, notably to the north, along the Sandy-Braughing road (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). By the fourth century the site had reduced to 28ha, but continued, some buildings dating to the fifth century (Applebaum 1932: 251). However, occupation was much reduced and by the seventh century, all that remained were a few isolated farmsteads (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming).

The archaeological evidence of occupation still remains more limited than the burial evidence, even in the Roman period, as continued land-use since the Medieval period at the focus of the settlement, as opposed to the periphery areas where the cemeteries are located, has been damaging (Burleigh 1995b: 180). However, enough has survived to allow some inferences as to the character of the site to be made. By the Claudio-Neronian period, a rough grid developed from a network of roads running off from and parallel to Clothall Road (Burnham & Wachter 1990: 283). These tracks, some of which were metalled and ditched, show extended use throughout the life of the settlement (Burleigh 1995b: 180). In terms of buildings, both round and rectilinear structures were present at Baldock. Both styles of construction were in use in the 1st century AD, and round structures were still being built as late as the third century (Burleigh 1995b: 181). Of the buildings found, many were timber, cob or wattle and daub construction, although some masonry structures have also been identified (Stead & Rigby 1986: 86). Those currently known date mainly to the late Roman period, and by this stage some buildings had both painted wall plaster and concrete mouldings (Stead & Rigby 1986: 86). For much of the Roman period, the peripheral areas appear to have been divided in to paddocks and agricultural plots, some of which contained single buildings (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming).

As well as occupation evidence, several temple complexes are also known from the Roman period. Aerial photography has revealed the location of a Romano-British style temple, and excavations uncovered an enclosure containing a round structure and a number of pits, dating to the 3rd century AD, filled with votive offerings, including, among other items, forty-four iron spear heads, of which thirty-three belonged to one feature (Burleigh 1995b: 181; Stead &

Rigby 1986: 86). This, combined with the continuing extensive cemetery evidence suggests that although Baldock was not apparently of importance in terms of Roman interests, the ritual significance of the site was retained to some degree throughout the Roman period. However, given the settlement element of the site developed significantly, the balance of activities apparent in the Iron Age seems to have changed somewhat, with occupation becoming a more prominent feature of the site and suggesting, perhaps, a more unified community in the Roman period.

5.3.3 TERMINOLOGY

Roman Baldock is commonly referred to as a 'small town' (Burnham 1995; Burnham & Wachter 1990; Millett 1990) although this term is problematic. Fitzpatrick-Matthews (forthcoming) prefers to refer to Baldock as a *vicus*. This brings its own problems as it imposes a Roman term on a settlement which had few Roman characteristics, and implies some form of self government, despite the lack of any public buildings, with the exception of two temples, identified at Baldock. The problems of these definitions have been discussed elsewhere; suffice to say that Baldock was a rurally located site that spanned the Late Iron Age to the post-Roman period, during which time a range of buildings including temples and houses both round and rectilinear were constructed. Settlement features are currently underrepresented in relation to the number of people contained within the cemeteries, which has led to suggestions that Baldock was not primarily a settlement, acting instead as a ritual focus for the surrounding countryside (Fitzpatrick-Matthews *pers. comm.*). However, given the nature of recent development on the site, it is mainly the peripheral areas, where the cemeteries are located, that have been available for larger scale archaeological investigations.

5.4 THE PEOPLE OF BALDOCK

Inscriptions from the site are few and currently the name of only one individual, Tacita, is known from a curse tablet (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). Instead, we have to rely largely on the extensive cemeteries surrounding the town, which, through recent town development, have been accessible for intensive investigation. Thirteen formal cemeteries sites and several areas of more scattered burials have been identified. Three of the main cemeteries have been totally excavated (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming).

The first formal burials are dated to the 1st century BC. During the LPRIA both inhumation and cremation rites were practiced (Burleigh 1991b) and two types of burial ground were utilised; enclosed and unenclosed (Matthews 1999: 144). The majority of early burials ran north-east/south-west along the ridge to the east of the settlement, their line later determining to some extent the eastward expansion of the town (Burleigh 1995a: 106). It is from this period that the ‘chieftain’ burials (discussed above) were recovered.

Despite the general trend in Britain for cremation rites to dominate the first two centuries before gradually giving way to inhumation rites (Black 1986: 216), the pattern at Baldock was more mixed, and details of each rite highly variable. Both urned and un-urned cremations are common, the site having the largest assemblage of un-urned examples yet known from Roman Britain (Philpott 1991: 46). Of the urned cremations, the number of accessory vessels most commonly ranged from one to three (Burleigh 1991b, unpub.). Cremated remains were also interred in non-ceramic containers, most probably a box, but it is also possible that a number were placed in organic bags that have since decayed (Matthews *pers. comm.*). Of the inhumations, both coffined and uncontained burials were present, with every body position from contracted to extended, to decapitated (Burleigh 1991b, unpub.).

Osteological and pathological analysis has shown that the population of Baldock was healthy and well nourished. Bone wear indicates that both sexes at most ages were involved in regular heavy manual labour (Burleigh 1991b, unpub.), as expected for a rural population. Overall the aging of the community is also consistent with a ‘normal’ population, with all ages, from neonates to the elderly present, but the most frequently represented group being between c.20-45 years old (Burleigh 1991b, unpub.). Having said this, the mortality profile of pre-industrial population tends to be ‘U-shaped’, with many more children and elderly dying (Walker 1995: 32). However, studies of cemeteries where the ages of death are known have demonstrated that surviving skeletal records show the opposite to the mortality profile given by the records, the majority of remains being those of young adults (Walker 1995: 33). The assumption that the age distribution of burials more or less corresponds to the age distribution of people buried can, therefore, be very inaccurate.

5.5 THE DATA AVAILABLE

The data from Baldock come in a variety of forms – published articles and site reports, and from ‘work in progress’ reports on all the excavated material due to be published in the next

year or so. Much of the settlement data has already been published by Stead and Rigby (1986). The Westell and Applebaum articles of the 1930s are somewhat vague and although the dating and contextual information is not always reliable these do add to the overall quantity of finds from the site. The excavations led by Burleigh concentrated largely on the cemetery areas but some settlement areas were included, and the recent Albion Archaeology work provides further information. It is from these that the settlement find information has been largely derived. The identification of the objects relies on the catalogue descriptions as it has not been possible to locate or access much of the original material.

Assessment of the finds groups associated with the burials has been carried out for several of the cemeteries, most notably California Cemetery, and to a lesser extent Wallington Road and Icknield Way East (the California material due to the unusual discovery of a Dea Nutrix figurine in an infant inhumation), the results summarised by Matthews (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). However, despite representing the largest single collection of burials from Baldock, those from Royston Road have not received such treatment and nor have the remaining cemeteries sites (Figure 17, p. 77). The methods used for the following analysis of the material have been discussed in Chapter 4.

5.5.1 AGING AND SEXING METHODS

The skeletal analysis has been carried out by three separate osteoarchaeologists. For Wallington Road aging and sexing of the inhumations was carried out by Charlotte Roberts, and the cremations by Jacqueline McKinley. Sexing of the inhumations was based on morphological assessments and metrical analysis of bones where possible. Four levels of identification were used: definite sex, probable, possible and unknown. For aging, a variety of methods were employed. For individuals up to twenty-five years of age epiphyseal fusing and tooth development were used. Beyond this age, levels of dental attrition were combined, where possible with changes on the pelvic bone (Roberts 1992: 37 - 42). For the cremated remains, tooth development and eruption and the stage of epiphyseal bone fusion was used for aging, combined with the degree of degenerative changes to the skeletal material. Sexing was based on sexually dimorphic traits of the skeleton. Where no clear differences were visible the sex was not given (McKinley 1992: 42 - 46). The reliability of sexing and aging, particularly for older skeletons, has been discussed in Chapter 3 (pp. 59-64).

Charlotte Roberts (1993) was also responsible for the skeletal report for California, whereas those from the remaining Iron Age cemetery sites, Roman period Icknield Way East, Royston

Road and remaining scattered burials were assessed by Jacqueline McKinley (McKinley 1990: 86; McKinley 1991; McKinley 1993a; McKinley 1993b). The same methods were employed at all the sites. For Area 30, the part of cemetery known as The Tene, excavated by Stead in the late 1960s, the skeletal remains were analysed by C. B. Denton (1978). Measurements of the skull and long bones were used for aging. The methods used for sexing are not stated. The remaining parts of The Tene cemetery, excavated at various points throughout the 1980s-1990s, were assessed by McKinley.

The age categories used throughout the Baldock reports followed consistent age divisions:

Neonate

Infant	0-4
Juvenile	5-12
Sub-adult	13-18
Young adult	18-25
Mature adult	25-40
Older adult	40-50
Old	50+

However, given the difficulties in distinguishing the exact ages of those between 30-70 years (Molleson & Cox 1993: 169), it is more realistic to have a single 'adult' category. In the following analysis, find associations are given with the more detailed age divisions given in the reports, but overall interpretations take into account these aging difficulties.

5.5.2 CORRELATION WITH THE BALDOCK CATALOGUES

Having made extensive use of draft catalogues (the material available at the time of research) a number of inconsistencies have become apparent. With relation to Royston Road for example, the bone analysis and cemetery population statistics were based on the number of individuals identified from all contexts in which bone was found (see McKinley 1991). I have chosen, in the data that follows, to use only the records that actually refer to burials. Within this, where the nature of remains has been such that identification as a definite burial has been questioned (e.g. where there has been no bone recorded, or a burial has been assumed on the basis of pottery assemblages alone), this has been recorded. This is necessary as many of the deposits were highly disturbed. By excluding contexts that do not represent definite burials (i.e. bone scatters or single bones which may be redeposited from incomplete but definite burials) the possibility of double counting burials is reduced. As a result, the number of burials in my data is smaller than the number given in the bone report for Royston Road.

A number of errors have also been noted in the cemetery analyses in the draft reports. For The Tene, for example, the numbers in the table given for age, sex and phase of each skeleton neither match the number of individuals listed in the catalogue nor the totals provided at the end of the table. Errors such as these are also present in the data analysis for the Icknield Way East cemetery, both for the same range of data as was in error for the The Tene cemetery material, and for the total number of personal adornment items records in the catalogue. Due to this, the following analysis is based solely on data collated from the catalogue records of burials rather than the summary tables provided at the end of each section.

A brooch report, written in 1992 by Don MacKreath provides identification details and dating of the brooches from the site found to that date (excluding those already published in Stead & Rigby 1986) (Mackreth 1992). Details of brooches, have been taken from this report. It excludes brooches recovered from California, Wallington Road and Royston Road, given their later discovery, but work on the collections from these sites is now underway.

A complete set of illustrations of the personal adornment finds for both the cemetery and settlement material from Baldock was not available. However, some have been obtained and are provided as an example of the types of adornment present at Baldock (Figure 25-Figure 34).

Hairpins

Both the bone and copper alloy examples presented here demonstrate the relative simplicity of hairpins present at Baldock. The bone pins are all easily carved forms, with no detailed decoration beyond the basic shape. Similarly, although copper alloy could be cast in complicated mould patterns (Cool 1990: 149), those represented by this sample are also simple.

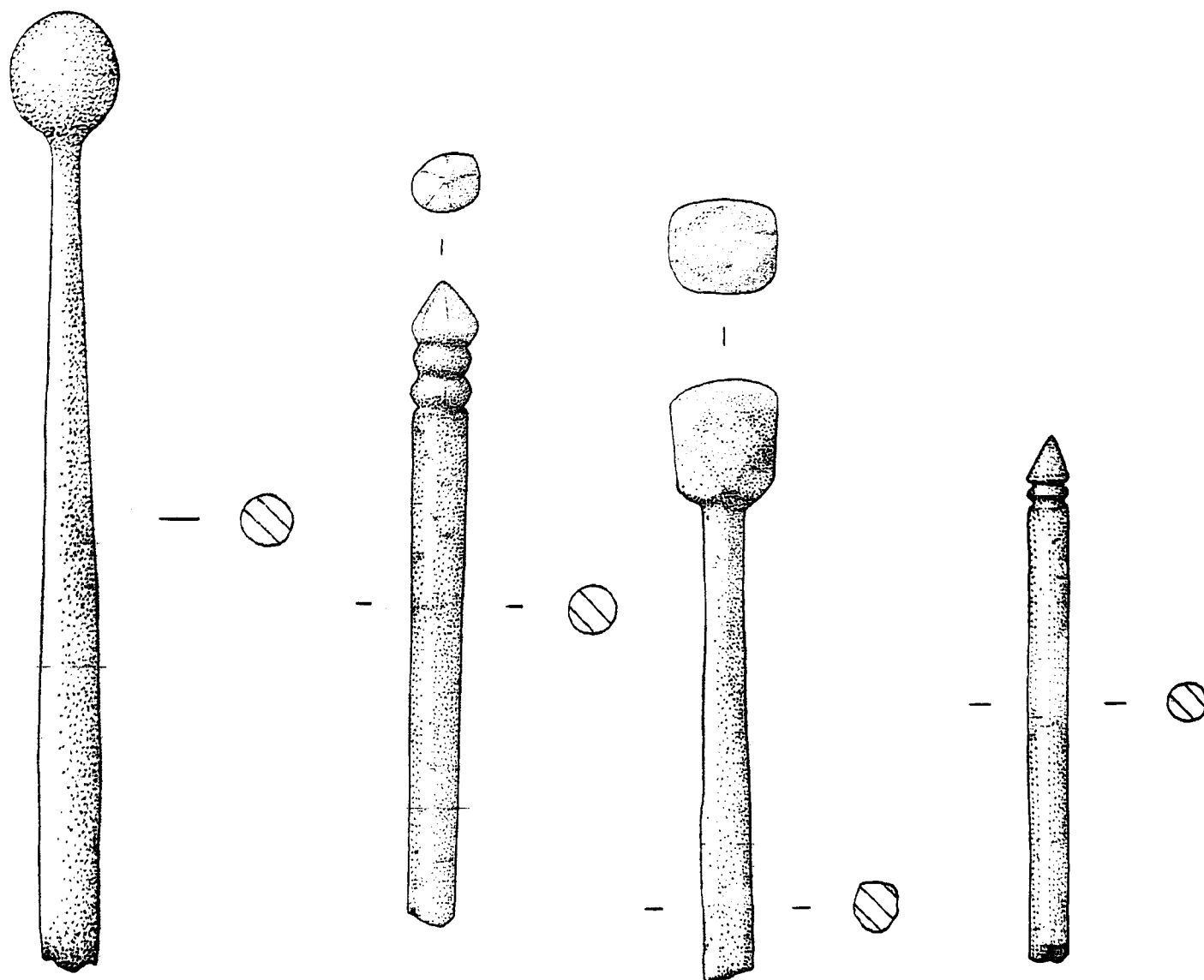


Figure 25 Selection of bone hairpins from Baldock (drawn by Jane Read and Keith McBarron. Scale 2:1)

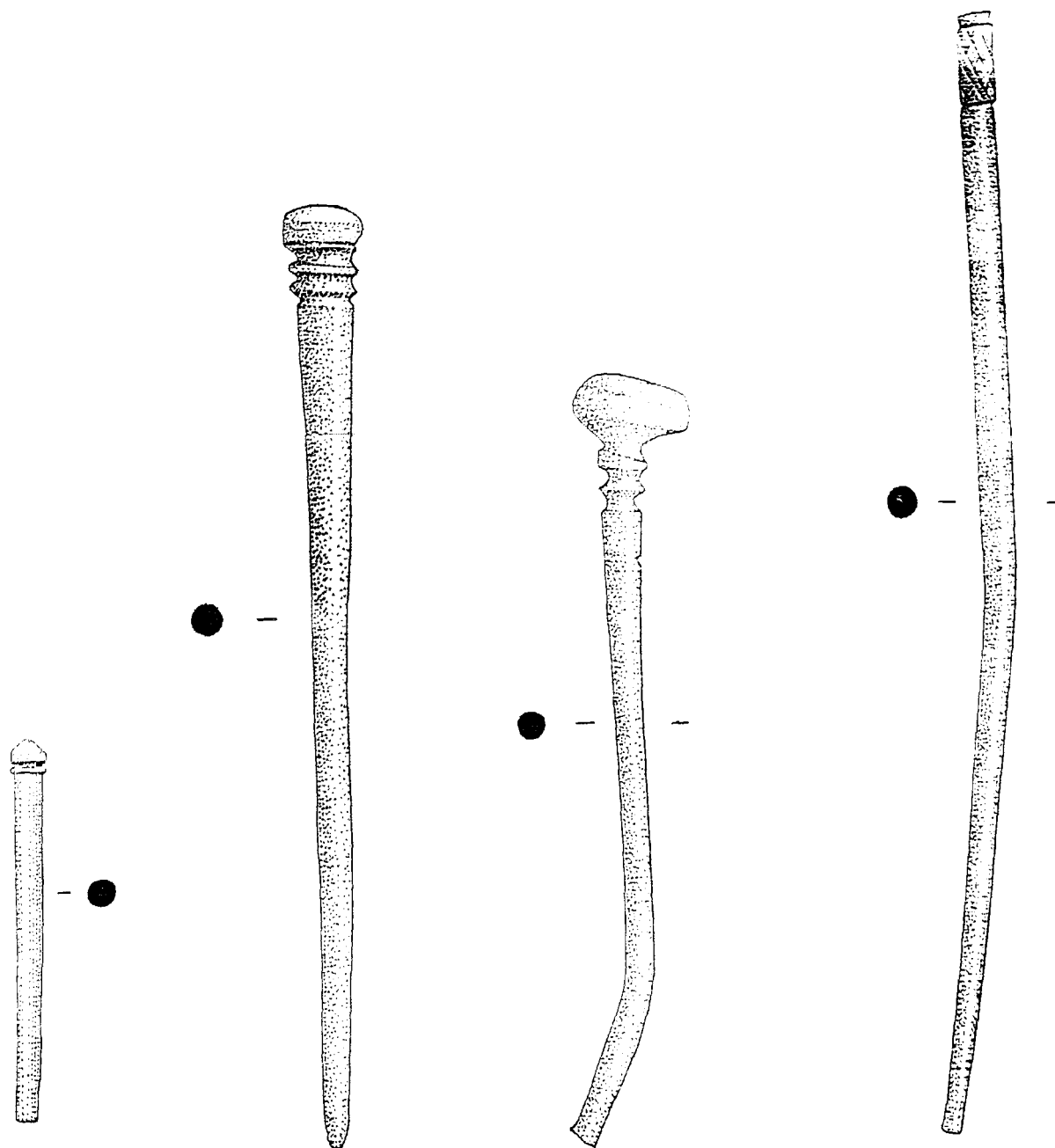


Figure 26 Selection of copper alloy hairpins from Baldock (drawn by Keith McBarron. Scale 2:1.)

Finger-rings

As a new item introduced to Roman Britain, finger-rings rapidly became common (Johns 1996: 41). The finger-rings at Baldock show more elaboration than the hairpins, with wire forms, plain hoops and bands set with bezels all present. Forms dating to the 1st-2nd century AD are represented by those with broad hoops tapering towards the back, and the 3rd century forms can be seen in those with 'heavy' angular shoulders (Johns 1996: 42-9). The intaglios have not survived.

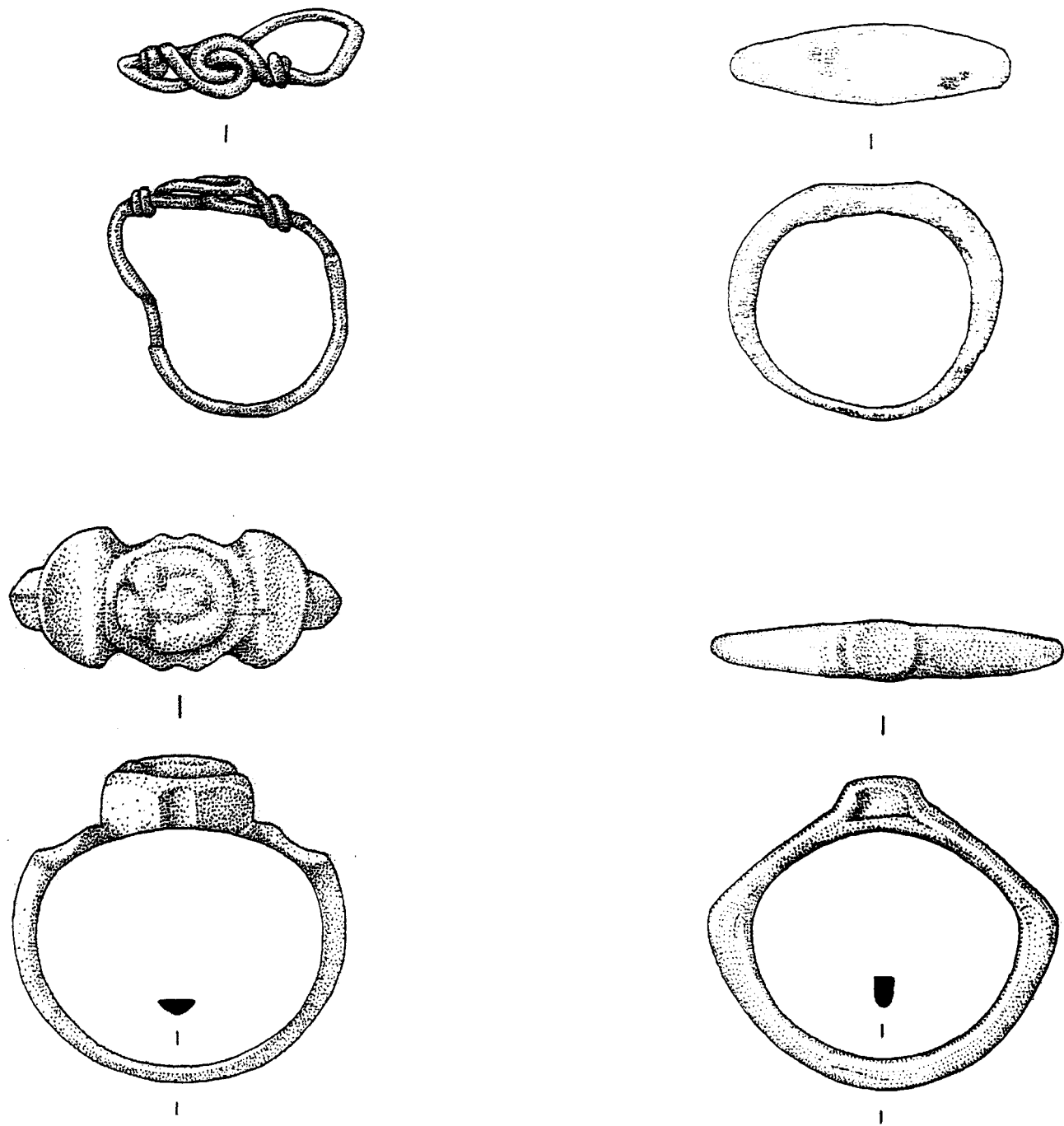


Figure 27 Selection of finger-rings from burials (drawn by Jane Read. Scale 2:1)

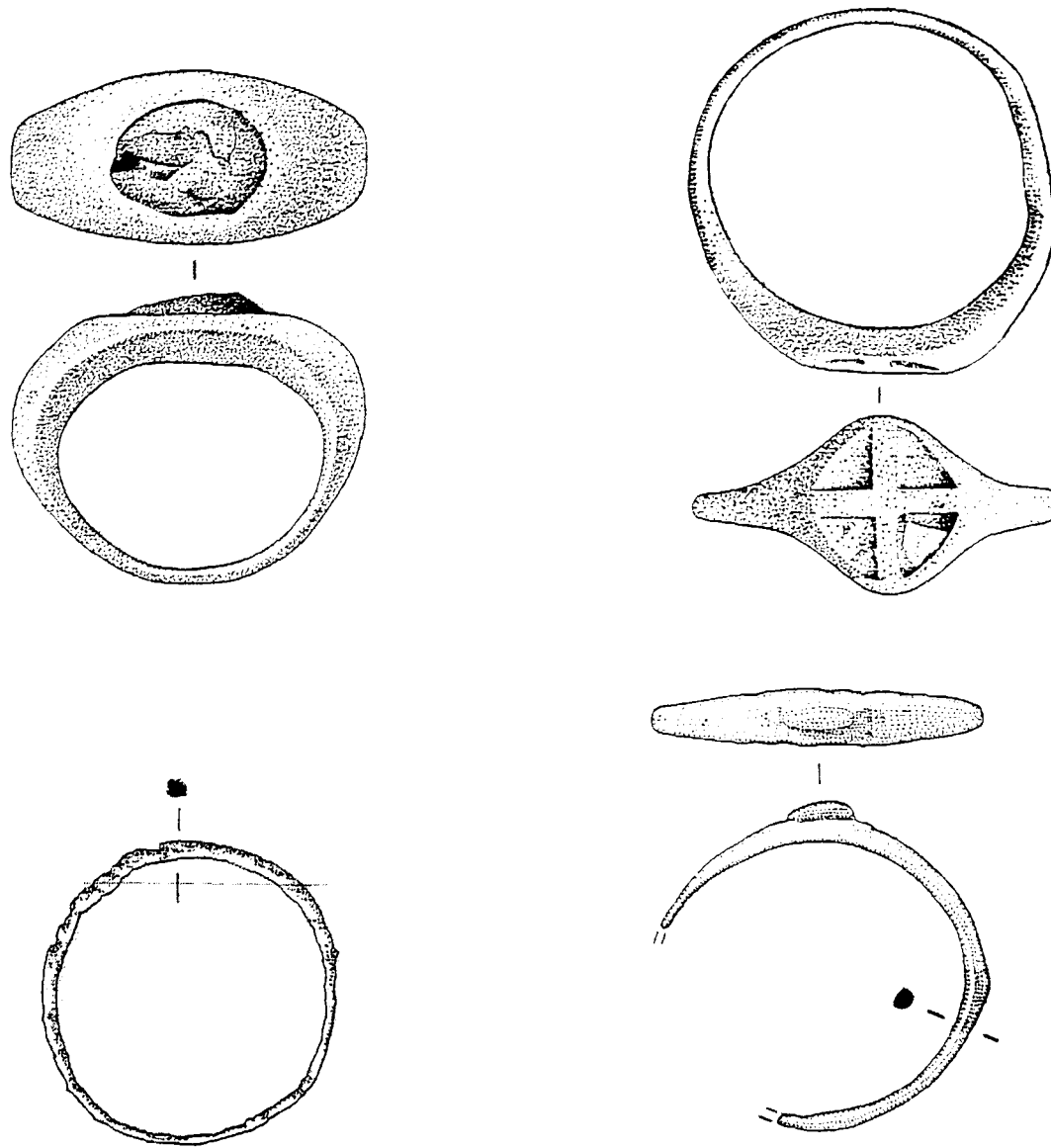


Figure 28 Selection of finger-rings from Baldock settlement (drawn by 1-2 Keith McBarron; 3 Stephen Player; 4 Jane Read. Scale 2:1)

Bracelets

Although metal bracelets existed in a number of styles, including cable (twisted wire), simple wire, solid cast, hollow and strip (Cool 1983: 120), the sample below indicates that only the simpler types—strip bracelets, were present at Baldock. Of these, various decorative designs were employed, including strip motifs and cogwheel decoration, both common types in Roman Britain (Swift 2000: 127). Other materials, including shale were also utilised at Baldock.

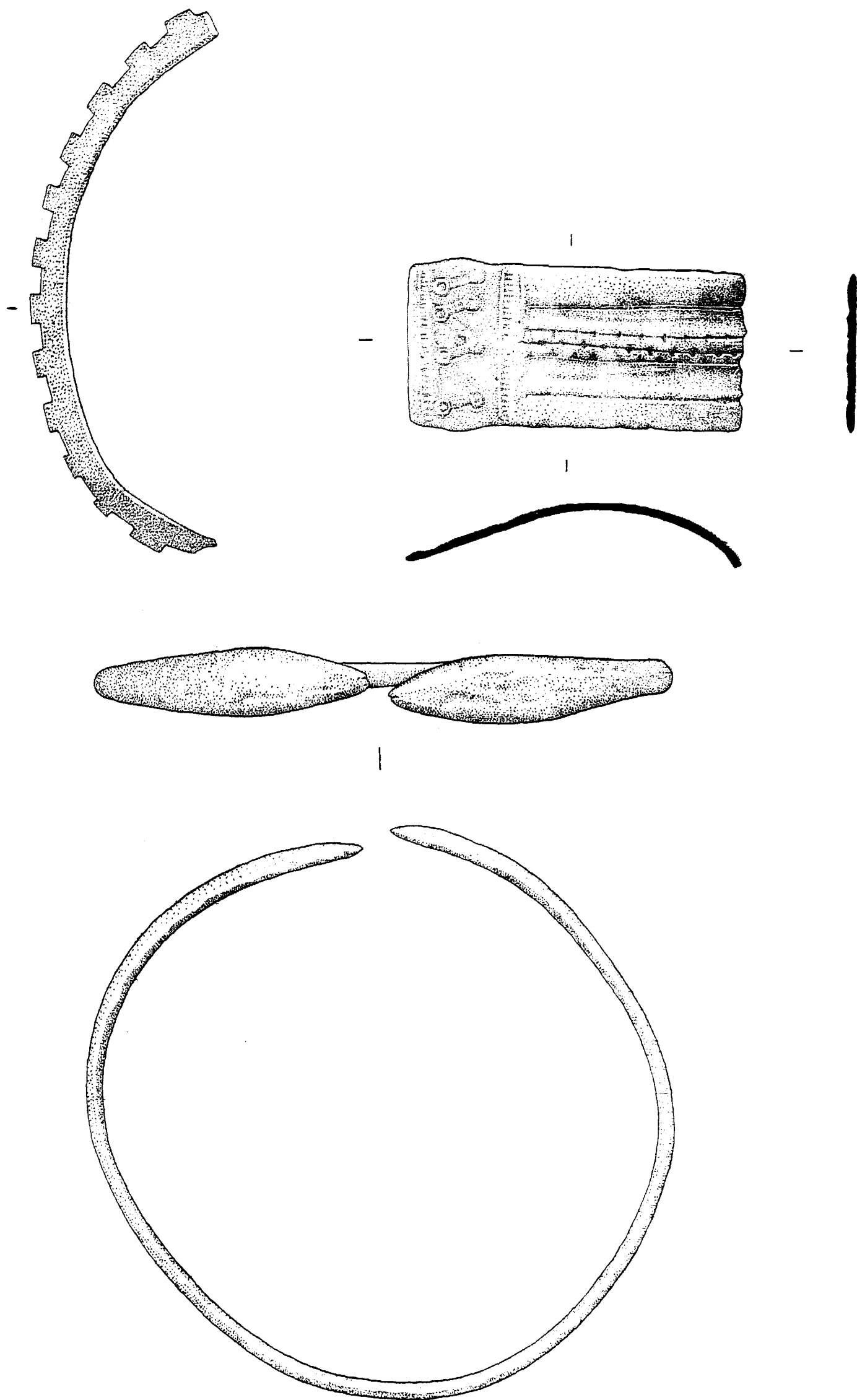


Figure 29 Some bracelets from Baldock (drawn by 1 Keith McBarron; 2-3 Jane Read. Scale 2:1)

Toilet Implements

Toilet implements of the kind illustrated below—tweezers and ‘nail cleaners’—occurred predominantly in the south, although some tweezers have also been found along Hadrian’s Wall (Eckardt & Crummy 2006: 83). Of the ‘nail cleaners’ represented here, both 1st-2nd century and 3rd-4th century types are present, the former being represented by the ‘Baldock’ type, with the suspension loop at right-angles to the leaf shaped blade, the latter by the ‘Grooved Collar’ type, with diagonal grooves cut into the upper part (Crummy & Eckardt 2003: 51-4).

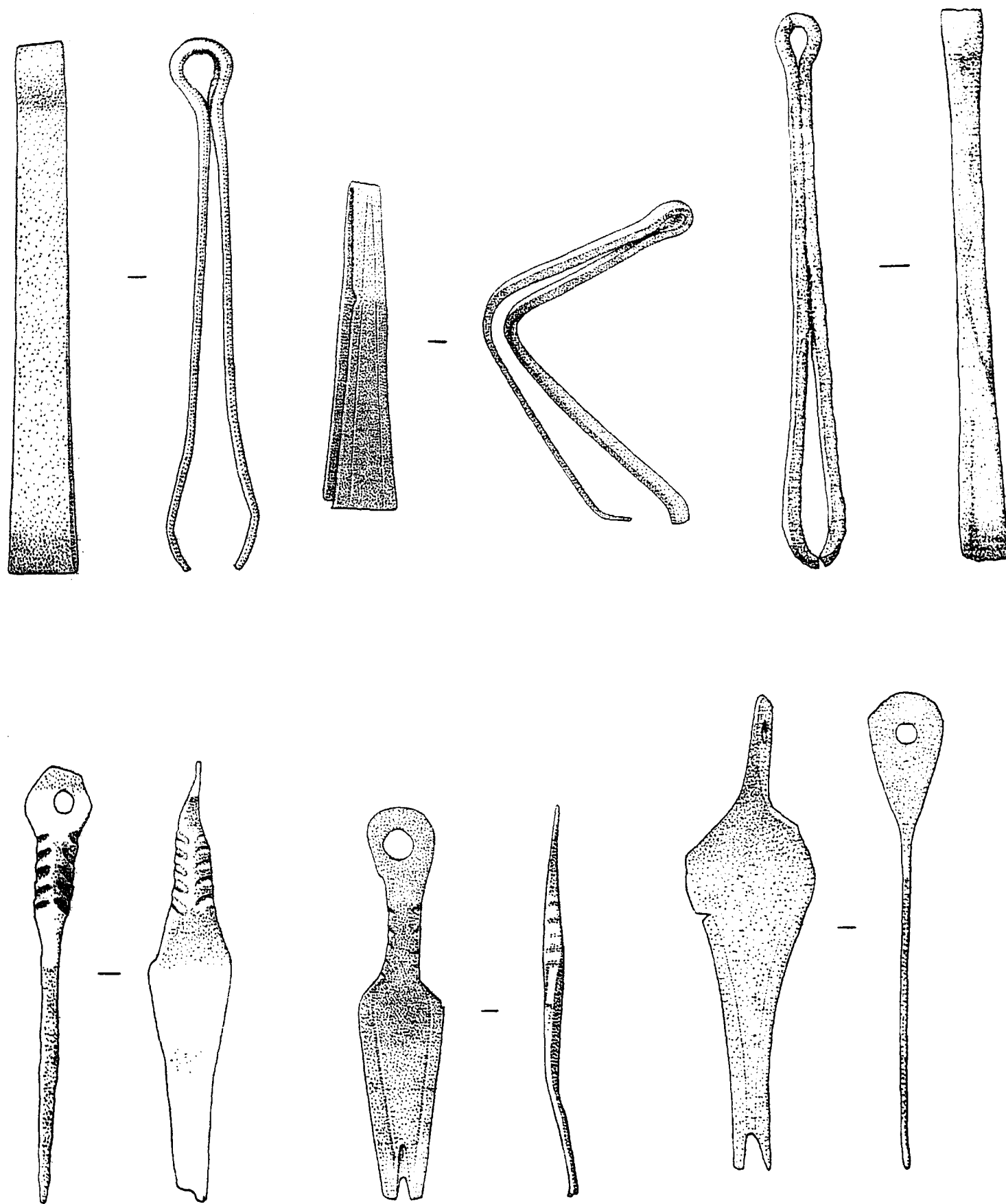


Figure 30 Selection of toilet implements from Baldock (drawn by 1-2 & 5-6 Keith McBarron; 3 Jane Read; 4 Stephen Player. Scale 2:1)

Brooches

(All drawn by Keith McBarron. Scale 1:1)

The first three brooches illustrated are 1st century AD bow-brooch types. Colchester brooches are the commonest of British types of this date (Haselgrove 2005: 4), and are well represented at Baldock. Polden Hill brooches, a Colchester type derivative, were most common in southern England, although examples have also been found in northern England (Blagg *et al.* 2004: 87; Snape 1993: 12). The third example is a derivative of the Aucissa brooch, an imported type (Haselgrove 1997: 56).

The rosette brooches illustrated in Figure 32 were also imported types (Johns 1996: 156). Highly decorative, these brooches were well adapted for ostentatious display (Haselgrove 2005: 4). Although this may suggest the presence of foreigners at Baldock, the role of trade, exchange and patronage should not be overlooked.

Figure 33 shows Hod Hill and variant brooches. These are commonly associated with sites that had a Roman military phase (Haselgrove 2005: 5). Baldock does not appear to have had any military occupation, but the proximity of the site to the major settlement of Verulamium and its location on the road network, makes military contact highly probable.

Last but not least, a selection of plate brooches dating to the 1st-3rd century AD, are illustrated. These were largely decorative brooch types, being too small for the pin to hold sufficient material to hold garments together (Johns 1996: 157). Often ornamented with bright enamel decoration, this type of brooch came in a huge variety of forms, just some of which are demonstrated by those in the Baldock collection.

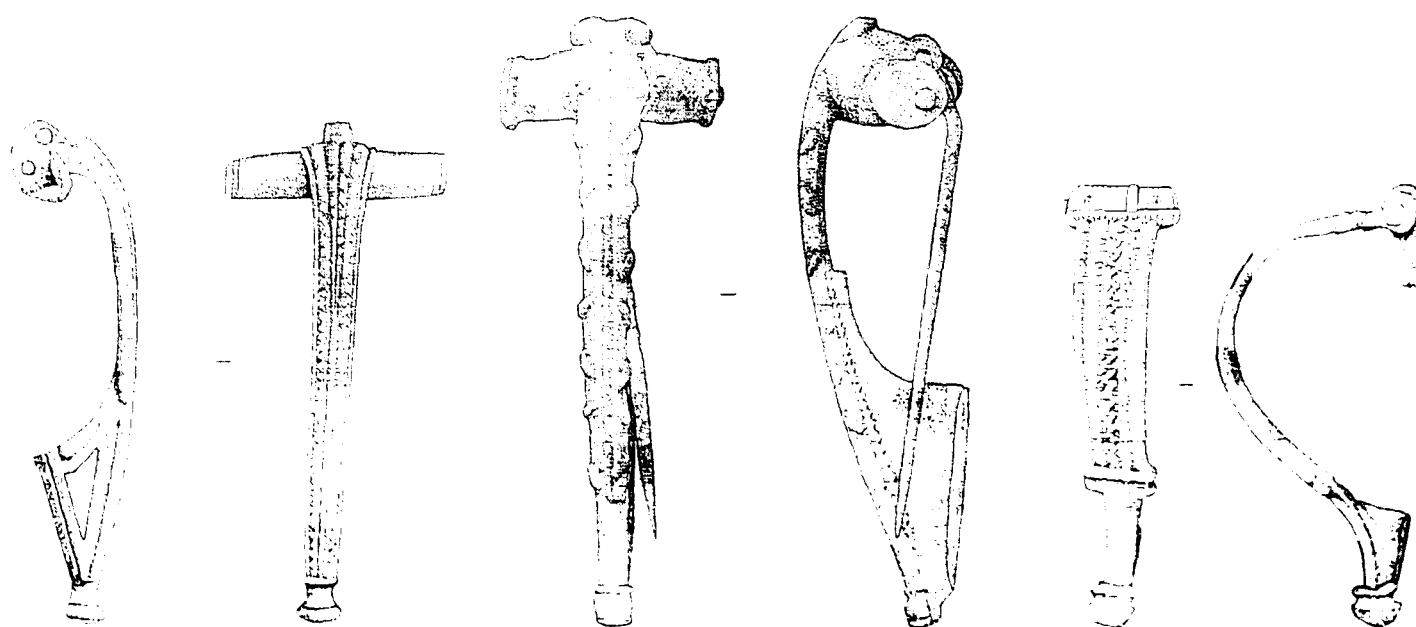


Figure 31 Colchester type brooch 1st century AD (left); Polden Hill type brooch 1st century AD (middle); Aucissa variant brooch 1st century AD (right)

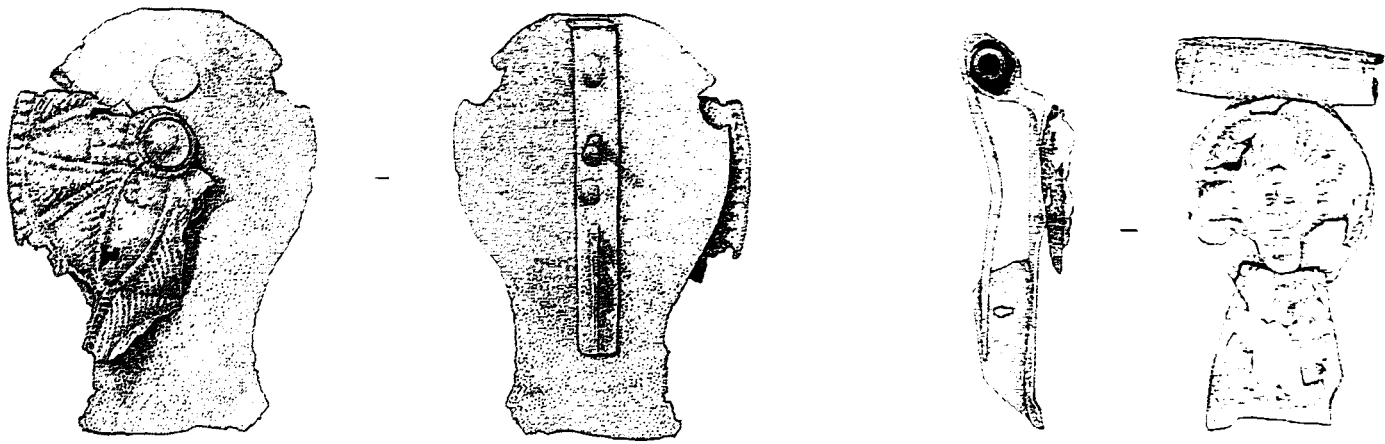


Figure 32 Rosette brooches 1st century AD

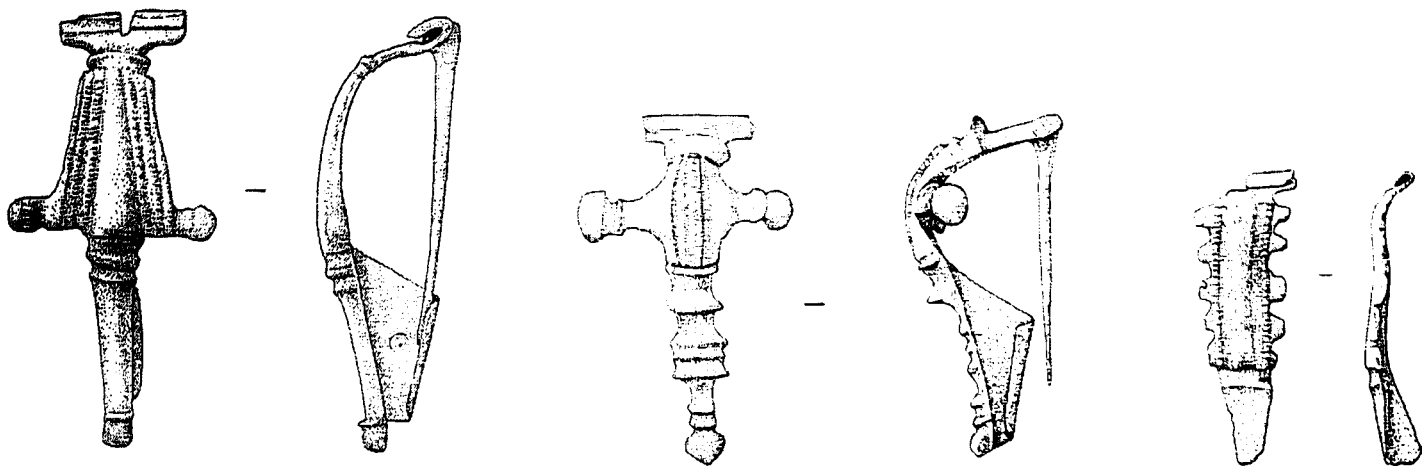


Figure 33 Hod Hill brooches and toothed variant, 1st century AD

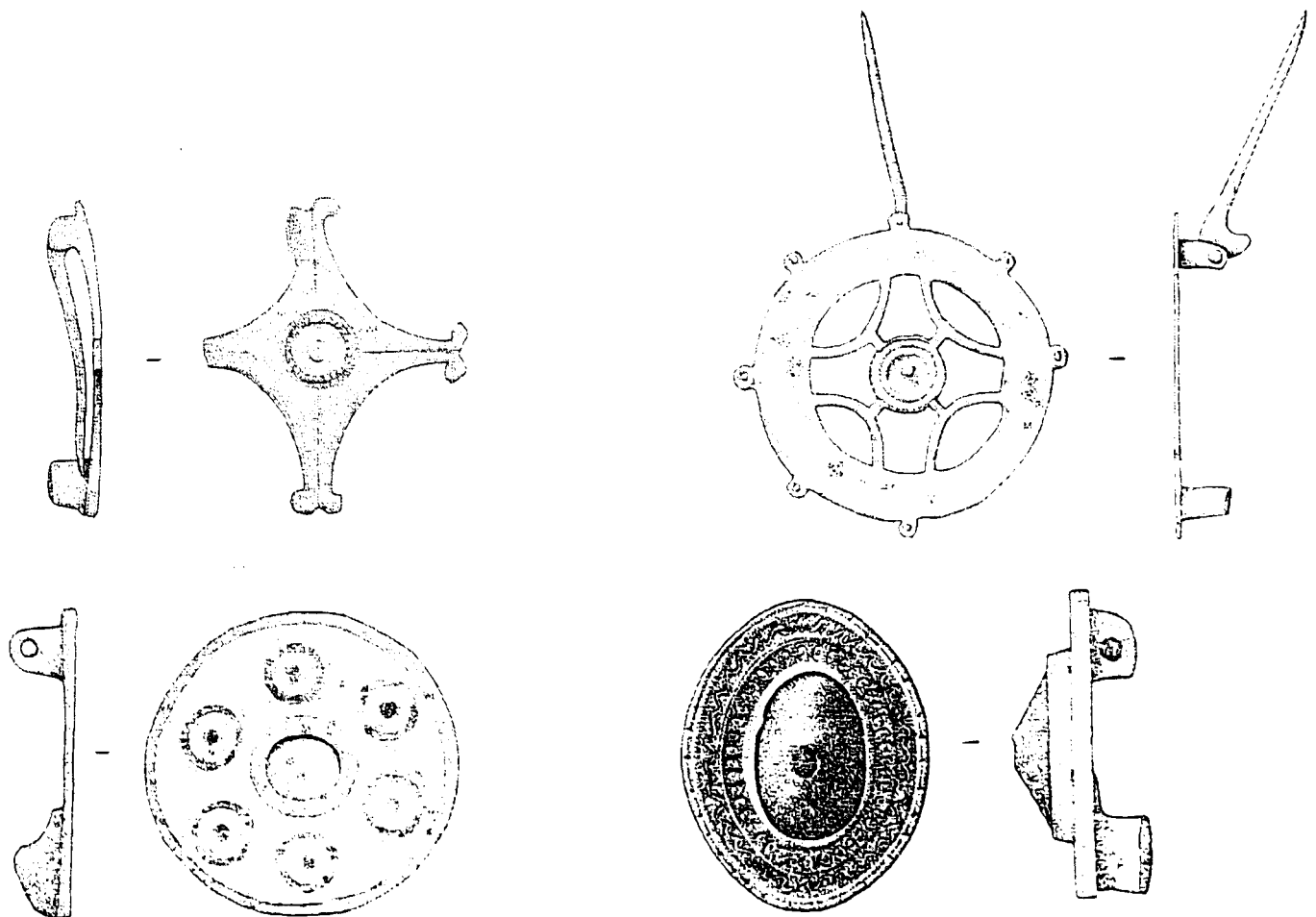


Figure 34 Plate brooches

(from top left: mid-late 1st century AD; 2nd century AD; 2nd century AD; 2nd-3rd century AD)

CHAPTER 6

BALDOCK: CEMETERY FINDS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The catalogues, combined with the reports by Westell (1931) and Stead & Rigby (1986) contain the results of excavation from thirteen discrete burial areas within Baldock. Excavations around the site have also revealed additional burials either in isolation or in small clusters. The date range covered varies, but all date to between the late Iron Age and fifth/sixth century. The sites and the number of definite burials from each are presented below (Table 2). The location of the cemeteries can be seen on Figure 17 (p.77).

Cemetery	Date	Cremation	Inhumation
Royston Road	c.AD50-450	768	88
Stane Street	c.20BC-AD125	1	82
Yeomanry Drive	c.AD1-125	49	0
California	c.50BC-50AD/ c.AD250-550AD	173	4
Icknield Way East	c.25BC-AD40	13	0
Icknield Way East	c.AD175-425	10	36
The Tene	c.AD100-400	0	49
Wallington Road	c.50BC-AD310	23	164
Area 12 & 13	c.AD250-410	1	8
Brewery Field (Area 33)	c.AD250-410	0	10
Iron Age Area 1& 2	c.AD1-50	19	10
Walls Field	c.AD50-310	376	32
Mercia Road	c.AD1-50	4	0
Clothall Road	c.AD50-200	8	0
South Road	c. AD70-250	7	0
Total		1437	483

Table 2 The Baldock cemeteries

Burials from Walls Field have not undergone osteological or pathological analysis as the majority of these were excavated by Westell in the 1920s. The level of recording and dating from the Westell burials is crude and unreliable (Fitzpatrick-Matthews *pers. comm.*) so this cemetery group will not be included in the following analysis. A list of personal adornment items recorded from this cemetery site is included in Appendix II.I (Table 52).

As each cemetery represents a discrete burial ground they are initially discussed individually. The order in which the cemeteries are presented is roughly chronological based on their apparent starting date, although given the long period of use at a number of sites, there is some overlap. To present the results as clearly as possible, descriptive details of the burial areas is largely confined to Appendix II, as are cemeteries containing no burials with associated appearance items. Similarly, population age and sex distribution tables for each cemetery are also in the appendix, but when the distribution is analysed in terms of personal adornment, the information is provided in the main text. Observations for each cemetery are noted as results are presented, but interpretation is largely reserved for the discussion.

The following cemeteries contained no personal adornment finds. Their details are provided in Appendix II:

- Area 1 – scattered burials, California Large Enclosure, California Small Enclosure
- The Tene – Iron Age period
- The Tene – Roman period
- Clothall Road
- South Road

6.2 THE CEMETERY SITES

6.2.1 AREA 2

Three cremation burials were recorded from Area 2, all dated to c. AD1-40. These were located between two parallel ditches to the south of a built structure, which has been interpreted as having a non-domestic function, possibly processional or ritual (Burleigh 1991a: 60). In contrast to the Area 1 burials, two of these contained personal adornment, three items in total. The first, an adult of unidentifiable sex, was accompanied by a brooch and a brooch pin, both of iron. The second, a probable adult of unknown sex, was buried with a copper alloy pin, likely to have been a cloth or shroud fastening. The small sample size means that no conclusions can be drawn as to associations of these items with specific age groups.

The inclusion of personal adornment items here is at variance to the practices in Area 1 where no finds were recovered (Appendix II p. 226). The layout of the Area 1 burials indicates that the burials within each enclosure were related. The Area 2 burials may also be related, given the consistency of treatment and their proximity to one another, but the nature of the relationship is open to interpretation. The relationship, if there is one, cannot be assumed to

indicate a familial link. This is one option, but given the probable ritual nature of the site, the individuals could equally be associated through a mutual religious role or status. Either way, the inclusion of dress items suggests that certain groups may have started to separate themselves visually through the use of their appearance by the late 1st century BC. However, differences between Area 1 and 2 may reflect no more than changes over time. The Area 2 burials dated between 20-60 years later the Area 1 burials, and the presence of items may, therefore, represent the increasing availability or active deposition of personal adornment items, specifically brooches, in the period leading up to the Roman conquest (see Haselgrove 1997: 51-53; Hill 1997: 98).

6.2.2 ICKNIELD WAY EAST: THE IRON AGE BURIALS

This cemetery site had two phases of use, the first dating to c. AD 1-40 and the 2nd to 3rd-4th century AD. Given the period of separation between the two phases, the reuse of the site was probably coincidental.

Thirteen cremation burials belong to the Iron Age phase, AD 1-40. Of these, 12 were aged but only two could be assigned a definite sex (Appendix II: Table 53). Three were associated with a total of six items of personal adornment. As with Area 2, which dates to the same period, all but one of the artefacts were brooches, the other being a probable bead (Table 3).

Age	Sex	Burial	Item	Type	Type Date	Material	Position
Adult	?female	3889	Brooch	Fantail Rosette	c.AD1-40	Cu	?in urn
			Brooch	Late La Tène	c.75-0BC	Fe	By vessel
Mature adult	Female	3905	Brooch	Colchester	c.20BC-AD40	Fe	By vessel
			Brooch	-	-	Fe	By vessel
Older adult	Female	7003	Brooch	Lion Rosette	c.AD20-40	Cu	In urn
			?bead	-	-	Ceramic	?in urn

Table 3 Personal adornment from Icknield Way East Iron Age burials

All the items of personal adornment were associated with females. As much as the limited sexing permits, this may imply that in the early 1st century AD brooches were associated with females. That the individuals are also adults implies that age may also have been important. The styles of clothing used in the Late Iron Age may partly explain the association of brooches with females. No depictions of female dress exist from 1st century AD. Britain, but it

is generally thought that females wore a close fitting bodice held together at the shoulders with brooches (Wild 2004: 305). Questions can be asked, however, about how widespread this style of dress actually was. Would the entire female population have worn tight bodices, or was this reserved for those of higher status, the majority making do with an over-the-head garment sewn up the sides, which would have required no additional fastenings? Could the presence of brooches also therefore provide indications of the level of status of those with whom they were buried?

One of the brooches (burial 3905) dates to before the turn of the 1st century AD, and may have been old when deposited. It is possible therefore, that it was an heirloom. The remaining brooches are dated to the same period as the burials. They are all common forms and it is more likely that these examples were actually used. Three of the five brooches were iron. This may relate to the early date of the assemblage, as iron brooches are often commoner in earlier Late Iron Age assemblages than later ones (Colin Haselgrove *pers. comm.*). Once the material of brooches from the remaining cemeteries has been assessed, this will be discussed in more depth.

6.2.3 STANE STREET

Initially thought to be part of the Royston Road cemetery, distributional analysis and dating suggests that this is in fact a discrete site (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). Dating to c.20BC-AD105, the site contained eighty-two inhumations and one cremation. Of these, eight burials (10 percent), all inhumations, contained some item of personal adornment, the details of which can be seen below (Table 4).

Item	Material	Date of burial	Sex	Age
Hobnail	Iron	25BC-AD100	Male	Young adult
Finger-ring	Copper alloy	AD1-25	??male	Older adult
Finger-ring	Copper alloy	25BC-AD125	Female	Young adult
Finger-ring	Copper alloy	AD25-125	Female	Sub-adult
Pin	Copper alloy	25BC-AD125	Female	Mature adult
Brooch	Iron	25-1BC	?	Older mature adult
Bracelet	Copper alloy	AD100-125	?	Juvenile

Table 4 Personal adornment from Stane Street cemetery

The small number of burials containing personal adornment items makes analysis difficult. However it appears that items were distributed among males and females alike, across all but the youngest age groups. Infants and neonates were present in the cemetery (Appendix II Table 53), so the lack of items with individuals of this age may be through choice rather than coincidence. The hobnail was represented by a single example, and its inclusion may not therefore have been intentional. If this burial is removed from the analysis, then the number of

burials with personal adornment falls to just over eight and a half percent. Once again, as with the other early cemeteries, the brooch is iron. Looking at positioning on the body, both one finger-ring and the bracelet with the juvenile were worn on the left, the brooch was lying over the right forearm, suggesting the fastening of some garment, and the hairpin was found by the skull. Of the remaining finger-rings, the position of one was not recorded and the other was found near the head and may have been redeposited.

6.2.4 YEOMANRY DRIVE NORTH

As with Stane Street, this too was initially thought to be part of the extensive Royston Road cemetery, but has since been identified as a separate cemetery. Dating from AD1-125 the site started approximately twenty years after Stane Street, and was then used contemporaneously, until both sites fell into disuse in the first quarter of the 2nd century AD. Containing fifty-one cremations, the community using this site apparently followed a different burial rite to those at nearby Stane Street, as is suggested by the finds (Table 5). Only twenty-eight burials have received palaeopathological examination and only six of these could be sexed.

Item	Material	Date of burial	Sex	Age
Pin	Iron	AD100-125	?	Sub-adult
Pin	Copper alloy	AD50-100	?	?
Brooch	Copper alloy/glass	AD25-75	Female	Adult
Brooch	Copper alloy	AD1-100	?	Adult
Hobnail	Iron	AD25-100	?	Sub-adult
Hobnail	Iron	AD25-100	?	Sub-adult

Table 5 Personal adornment from Yeomanry Drive

Most noticeable is the lack of finger-rings, in contrast to Stane Street assemblage. Both brooches are copper alloy. The date range for these is broad but goes well into the Roman period possibly reflecting changing personal adornment styles relating to Roman influences and increasing availability of copper alloys. The distribution of finds by age group also appears to have a more distinct pattern, leaning towards sub-adults and adults with neither younger nor older individuals being represented in those burials associated with personal adornment.

6.2.5 ICKNIELD WAY EAST: THE ROMAN BURIALS

The Roman burials at this location date largely to the c.3-4th century AD. Of the 46 recorded, 36 were inhumations, 10 cremations. Among the inhumations, individuals of all age ranges were present (Appendix II: Table 56), and of those sexed, the proportion of males to females is equal, at eight each. Of the cremations, only one burial could be assigned a possible sex and the age ranged from sub-adults upwards.

Hobnails were found with three burials, one cremation and two inhumations. In the cremation and one of the inhumations only single examples were recovered and their relationship to the burials was questionable. The second inhumation contained five hobnails, again a very small number, but in definite association with the burial. The hobnails do not indicate a worn pair of shoes as they were recovered from the top of, or inside a box (Burleigh *et al.* 2006), which, was placed on the individual. The hobnails may have been placed in as a token, a symbolic gesture of shoes, possibly to help with the spiritual journey of the afterlife (van Driel-Murray 1999: 131). This reason may have some substance given the other articles included in this inhumation, which make it unique at Baldock. The burial was of a confined infant (burial 3960, 3958) approximately one year old, accompanied by an intact pipeclay *Dea Nutrix* figurine, apparently placed against a now decayed casket that was resting on the infant's chest. The details of this burial have been discussed in detail by Burleigh *et al.* (2006). Of relevance to this discussion, however, is the possibility that shoes, parts of shoes or a reference to footwear may have been included in burials for reasons other than appearance. The extremely limited nature of the finds show, that for the people using this cemetery in the c.3rd-4th century AD, adornment of the dead does not seem to have been the common way of identifying (with) the deceased.

The late Roman practices displayed at this cemetery are somewhat different to practices of the Late Iron Age population using the same site. Most obvious is the change from cremation to largely, but not entirely, inhumation burial rites, combined with the apparent change in importance of grave goods associated with dress and adornment. Given that the Iron Age cemetery rites seem to associate specific items, notably brooches, with females, the total lack of goods in the Late Roman period indicates a change in practices in the intervening years.

6.2.6 WALLINGTON ROAD

This cemetery dates from the 1st-3rd century AD. A total of 23 inhumations and 164 cremations were recovered during excavation but the first phase of salvage work was rushed, and although this improved in the following phases (Burleigh 1992: 25), the assemblage is likely to have been affected. Despite the nature of the excavation, an estimated 90 percent of the burials making up the cemetery were recorded (Burleigh 1992: 25). Of the cremations, only 61 out of 164 did not apparently suffer from some degree of post-depositional damage (Burleigh 1992: 29). Ninety-four burials have been aged, and fifty-two sexed. Given the conditions of the excavation, it is highly likely that smaller artefacts may have been

overlooked during excavation of the site, and as such, items of personal adornment may be under-represented.

The inhumations date largely to before the Roman conquest. Before the mid 1st century AD cremations made up less than 25 percent of the burials, but this rose to 100 percent by the end of the century (Burleigh 1992: 28). No items of personal adornment were recorded with any of the inhumations, but a total of twelve items from eleven burials were found in cremations. From a total of 187 burials, therefore, personal adornment was found in six percent of the burials. A further three items were recovered during cleaning and metal detecting, which may or may not have originated from cremation burials. Due to the uncertain nature of the context of these last finds they will not be included as part of the burial assemblage analysis (for details, see Appendix II: 230-232).

Nine of the eleven burials associated with finds dated to between AD100-200, the period during which the cemetery was most heavily used. The remaining two belonged to AD200-300. Where dating has been more precise it shows more than half come from the later half of second century. This indicates that inclusion of personal adornment did not form part of the burial rite until the beginning of the 2nd century AD at the earliest, developing substantially from the mid 2nd century AD onwards. The decline in items of personal adornment in the 3rd century AD reflects the decline in the use of the cemetery.

Hobnails were the most common find, in six burials (below). Of these, four groups were found in the burial urns, and may have been placed on the pyre with the deceased. Whether or not they were worn on the pyre is impossible to say. The largest group of hobnails were from footwear placed either side of the urn. Only two burials were sexed, one with a finger-ring, one with hobnails, and few could be aged (Appendix II: Table 57).

Date	Age	Find	Quantity
100-200	Juvenile	Hobnail	21
100-200	Juvenile	Hobnail	13
125-200	Young adult	?belt fitting	1
125-200	?	Pin	1
150-200	Young adult	Bead	1
175-200	Adult	Hobnail	17
175-200	Juvenile	Bracelet	2
175-200	?	Hobnail	2
175-200	?	Hobnail	1
200-300	Older adult	Finger-ring	1
200-300	?adult	Hobnail	45

Table 6 Wallington Road personal adornment finds

The remaining items of personal adornment make up a varied group. A glass bead from the urn of a young adult was burnt. So too was a bone pin, recovered from in the urn of an un-aged and unsexed individual. The burning of these items indicates that they were present on the pyre. An iron finger-ring was also recovered. The remaining finds include a bracelet and one probable bracelet, both of copper alloy, found in the urn of a juvenile, and a probable belt fitting accompanying the remains of a young adult.

Seven of the accompanied burials could be aged, three of which were juveniles. Only 12 percent of cremations were identified as juveniles. That 27 percent of the cremations associated with items of personal adornment were juveniles suggests that, in this cemetery, juveniles were treated in a similar manner to adults. This contrasts with California where items of personal adornment were noticeably absent from juvenile burials. The use of the two cemeteries overlapped by a hundred years or so, but different burial rites were practiced at both, cremations at Wallington Road, inhumations at California. Given the different rites, and different ways in which personal adornment items were distributed, it can be suggested that discrete communities may have made use of the separate cemeteries. Although no distinctions could be determined through personal adornment use, analyses of other artefacts from Wallington Road do reveal some distribution patterns (Appendix II: pp230-232).

6.2.7 CALIFORNIA CEMETERY

California is a complex cemetery site that was in use mainly from the 2nd – 5th century AD. Many of the burials were redeposited or disturbed as a number of the primary graves were reused for secondary burials. The careful and often precise re-digging of the earlier graves has meant that it has generally been possible to identify which remains were earlier and which were later (Burleigh 1993). In the other Baldock cemetery sites, where this re-digging was not practiced and individual burials were discrete, only the data from definite burials has been used. Given the unusual nature of California cemetery however, the redeposited records have been included in the analysis as these form a major part of the cemetery assemblage. As a result, 173 burial cuts but only 98 individuals have been identified. Four cremations were also excavated at the site.

Twenty-four individuals, consisting of twenty-three inhumations and one cremation (although its interpretation as a burial is in doubt), contained items associated with personal adornment. Taking the number of individuals, as opposed to grave cuts, recovered, 24 percent were

associated with appearance related objects, a marked contrast to the previous sites. Several of these individuals were furnished with multiple items, with thirty-three artefacts from twenty-four burials.

The cemetery was used for approximately 300 years. The long time span has made it possible to divide the finds by the dating of the burials. The results are shown below (Table 7). In the hobnail category, the numbers cited relate to the number of groups of hobnails identified, rather than the actual number of hobnails (Appendix II: Table 60). Although adornment related finds can be attributed to all phases of cemetery use, the majority of items belong to the 3rd-5th century AD. In the period AD175-300 two bracelets were recovered from the re-cut grave, but these may have been associated with an earlier occupant (Burleigh 1993: 183). In the period dating to the AD300-400, five finger-rings were recorded, four of which were from a single individual. This reduces the number of graves with personal adornment items in this period to five. From the period AD400-500, a single burial contained four items: a finger-ring, ear-ring, hobnails and pin fragment, giving a total of nine individuals in the 5th century AD with adornment items. This shows that although there are more items from 4th-5th century AD contexts, from the 5th century AD there were more individuals with personal adornment

Date	100-200	175-300	300-400	325-475	400-500	500-600	Undated	Total
Item								
Brooch		1	1	-	-	-	2	4
Finger-ring	1	-	5	-	4	1	-	11
Chain	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Ear ring	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Bracelet	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hobnails	-	1	2	2	5	-	-	10
Nail cleaner	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Pin fragment	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2
Total	1	4	9	2	12	1	3	32

Table 7 Personal adornment by date at California cemetery

Fifty-eight individuals were definitely sexed, and the proportion of males to females was relatively equal (Appendix II: Table 62). Of the unsexed individuals, only one was identified as an infant. In the cemetery young individuals were present (Appendix II: Table 61), so the association of personal adornment with adults may be intentional. Looking at distribution by sex the two most common articles, finger-rings and hobnails, are almost equally distributed between males and females (Table 8), although given the numbers involved, the pattern can be taken as an indication only. The remaining articles do not occur in numbers that enable an

assessment of sex biases. A relatively even distribution of males and females associated with personal adornment items can also be seen when comparing their frequency distribution across the different phases of the site (Appendix II: Table 63) so items do not favour a given sex in any one period either.

	Male	?male	Female	?female	Unsexed	Total
Brooch	1		2		1	4
Finger-ring	1	1	2	1	2	7
Chain					1	1
Ear ring		1				1
Bracelet			1			1
Hobnails	3	2	2	2	1	10
Nail cleaner			1			1
Pin fragment		1			1	2
Total	5	5	8	3	6	27

Table 8 Distribution of personal adornment by sex at California cemetery

Returning to the finds, division of the types by material shows that there was no uniform material for any of the items (with the obvious exception of hobnails). Finger-rings stand out as being the only items made to look like precious metal; the remaining artefacts consist of iron, copper alloy, and occasionally bone (Table 9).

	Iron	Copper Alloy	Gilt	Silver	Bone	Total
Brooch	3	1				4
Finger-ring	4	3	3	1		11
Chain		1				1
Ear ring		1				1
Bracelet		1			1	2
Nail cleaner	1					1
Pin fragment					2	2
Total	8	7	4	1	3	22

Table 9 Distribution of adornment by material at California

The three gilt and one silver finger-ring were recovered from the right and left hands of an adult female. A second individual, a probable female adult, was found with two rings, both iron. The remaining finger-rings were individual examples. That both the multiple examples were recovered from females may indicate that multiple wearing was limited to this sex however the numbers concerned are small and may be no more than coincidence.

Further observations can be made of the finger-rings with regard to how they were worn. For those that were found on fingers (or with the hand bones), iron rings were apparently only worn on the left hand, and copper on the right (Appendix II: Table 64). This division does not

relate to differences between males and females as iron and copper alloy finger-rings were associated with both sexes. The silver and gilt rings have not been included in the table as they represent only one burial, and would distort the results.

The hobnails were found in varying quantities and in a variety of positions. Of the ten burials they were associated with, only four had the location of the hobnail groups recorded. Of these, one pair was worn, one was by the feet and the remaining two were placed on the coffin lids. Both groups found by the feet consist of a large enough number of hobnails to suggest that complete shoes were included, whereas those placed on the coffin lids would not have been sufficient for even a single shoe, and may have been a symbolic representation of footwear instead (Appendix II: Table 60). This practice also seems to have been used at Icknield Way East, where a small number of hobnails were found on the lid of a box included in an infant burial (see p.116). The distribution of hobnails between males and females is relatively even, however, it can be noted that both the burials in which the hobnails had been placed by or on the feet were sexed as males, whereas those on the coffin lids were a probable female and a probable male. Again, conclusions are limited by the sample size, but it may indicate that (hobnailed) footwear was more commonly associated with males.

Apart from the individual with the multiple finger-rings, only one other individual stands out from the cemetery assemblage. An older, probable male adult was associated with a finger-ring, an ear-ring, a small group of hobnails (10) and a bone pin, although the last item may have been redeposited. Both the finger-ring and ear-ring, though not worn, were directly associated with the individual, placed on the body. The ear-ring is of particular interest as within the Roman Empire, the association of ear-rings with males is largely attributed to those from the eastern Empire (Allason-Jones 1995: 25). That the item was not worn may indicate that although buried with the deceased, it did not belong to him, and may represent a token from a female associate. If the ear-ring did belong to the deceased, it has some interesting implications for his origins, possibly indicating foreignness.

Compared to the other cemeteries so far discussed, the occupants of California cemetery displayed an unusual selection of burial rites. Not only were graves repeatedly reused, a trait not witnessed at the other Baldock cemeteries, but there were a comparatively high level of burials associated with personal adornment. This, combined with the male associated with the ear-ring may point to the origins of those using this cemetery as being foreign to Baldock. The use of unusual rites combined with unusual adornment has been used to suggest foreign inhabitants at a number of other sites in Britain, such as Winchester (Clarke 1979: 377- 386)

and Brougham (Cool 2004: 384 - 389), to name but two. Is it possible that the small town of Baldock, too, had its share of foreigners?

6.2.8 ROYSTON ROAD

Royston Road is the largest cemetery at Baldock. Containing cremations and inhumations, the cemetery spanned the late 1st century BC to the 5th-6th century AD. A number of deposits could not be definitely identified as burials, and were recorded as 'isolated remains' and 'scatters' during excavation. Since their interpretation as burials is tenuous they have not been included in the analysis. As such, there are 71 inhumations and 415 cremations, giving a total of 486 burials. Bone analysis carried out by McKinley (1991: 1) covered all recovered bone hence the disparity between numbers discussed here and this report. A small number of the inhumation and cremation burials contained more than one individual, and although it was not always clear if these represented accidental inclusion or double burials, it means the number of individuals is slightly higher than the number of burials. Given the large numbers and mixed rites, the inhumations and cremations are assessed separately then compared.

Inhumations

Excluding hobnails the number of burials with finds was relatively small, occurring in only four burials. In these, with the exclusion of beads, 128 of which came from a single burial, eight items were recorded (Table 10). The most common artefact is the finger-ring, but the apparently high number is misleading as three of these came from a single burial. The occurrence of bracelets is notable as these are rare at the other cemeteries; conversely there is a distinct lack of brooches from this assemblage.

Artefact	Number of burials	Number of Items
Bracelet	3	3
Pin	1	1
Finger-ring	2	4
Bead	1	128

Table 10 Adornment from inhumations at Royston Road

The burial of a possible female sub-adult contained several items; a jet bead necklace, three finger-rings, a bracelet, a pin and hobnails. These items were made out of a range of materials; the bracelet and one finger-ring were of silvered copper alloy, the remaining finger-

rings copper alloy and the pin, bone. Given the age of this individual, the finds are unlikely to represent the wealth of the buried individual *per se* but that of her family/associates.

When looking at age, bracelets are only associated with individuals aged sub-adult or younger (Appendix II: Table 65). Although the numbers involved are small, this may imply that this object type was linked to age. Finger-rings, on the other hand, were only found with individuals aged as sub-adults or older, potentially creating a further visual distinction between children and adults. However, the size of the sample makes this difficult to quantify. Only two could be assigned a sex, an older mature adult female, and a possible female, the sub-adult with multiple finds.

The dating is equally problematic, covering much of the time-span of the cemetery. Two of the four dated from the 1st century AD to the mid-5th century AD, one dates to between the 1st century AD and the mid-4th century AD and the sub-adult with multiple items is more closely dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD. The extended time covered by these few burials questions the legitimacy of any apparent trends. However it has been documented that in societies changed by incoming cultures, the burials rites often retain highly traditional aspects even if such traditions are no longer strongly adhered to in daily life (see for example Sumberg 1995: 174).

A further aspect of these finds can also be looked at, namely the material of the items (Table 11). In contrast to other cemeteries, none of the finger-rings are iron. This is an apparently prominent difference and may be further evidence that different communities or sections of the community were using separate contemporaneous cemeteries. However, preservational factors affecting the survival of iron may also account for these differences.

	Iron	Copper alloy	Silvered copper alloy	Bone	Jet	Glass
Bracelet	-	2	1	-	-	-
Hairpins	-	-	-	1	-	-
Finger- ring	-	3	1	-	-	-
Bead	-	-	-	-	127	1

Table 11 Adornment by material among inhumations at Royston Road

So far the hobnails have not been taken into account. When included, the number of burials accompanied with appearance related artefacts increases. Fourteen burials contained hobnails

only one of which also contained other items of personal adornment (the richly furnished sub-adult). Taken together a total of 17 burials or 24 percent of the inhumations contained some item associated with adornment and appearance.

However, of the burials with hobnails, only seven contained enough hobnails to represent a shoe or pair of shoes. Of the remaining seven, one contained twenty-five, one eight and the remaining five contained three or less hobnails and may well have been accidental inclusions. Taking this into account, and excluding the burials with fewer than eight hobnails, only thirteen burials (18 percent) can be said to have contained some element of personal adornment, of which nine (12.5 percent) were associated with footwear.

When looking at the sex of those with hobnails, some patterns emerge. With one exception, all the burials containing many hobnails have been identified as female, and those containing very few, as males (Appendix II: Table 66 p.234). This does include those where the identified sex has been probable or possible, but nonetheless, the distribution is marked. It was suggested above that where hobnails numbered less than eight, their inclusion in the burials may have been accidental. However, that these burials, with one exception, have all been identified as male, of which three are definite, the consistency of limited numbers of hobnails with a single sex requires further interpretation. It seems that females, when so furnished, were apparently provided with complete footwear, whereas males were given a token number of hobnails. This may have implications about perceived different needs for males and females in the afterlife, possibly with female considered to require complete footwear, while males only required a symbolic token of the item.

Cremations

As with the inhumations, the cremations contained a mixture of hobnail and other items of personal adornment. Of the non-hobnail artefacts, 30 cremations contained a total of 37 items. The distribution of artefact types is noticeably different to those associated with the inhumations as brooches are present, hairpins are much more common, finger-rings less so, and bracelets are extremely rare (Table 12). Multiple occurrence of the same item within a given burial was not common; only two contained more than one brooch. One of these also contained a hairpin. Several other burials contained multiple items of different types. The groupings are as follows; a ring, brooch and pin; a pin and possible pin; a finger-ring/ear-ring and bracelet. These multiple item burials seem to be affected by the age of the deceased as all but one are adults, and of these, three of the four are older adults (although the accuracy of

such precise aging is questionable). The remaining multiple item burial was a juvenile, the only burial to contain a bracelet and finger-ring/ear-ring. As indicated by the inhumation burials, bracelets appear only to be associated with young individuals and support is given to this argument given that the single example of a bracelet from the cremations follows this pattern. This continuity in age distinction by artefact between the inhumations and cremations may have implications about the relationship of those using the different rites, perhaps suggesting sub-group differentiation within a single community.

Artefact	Number of items
Brooch	10
?brooch pin	3
Pin	13
?pin	6
Bracelet	1
Finger-ring	3
Finger-ring/ear-ring	1

Table 12 Adornment from Royston Road cremations

A further three burials contained adornment items and hobnails; two with possible hairpins, and one with a possible brooch pin. One of those with a hairpin was aged as a sub-adult, and the remaining two were with adult females. Of the thirty burials it was only possible to sex eight, and of these only five were definite (Appendix II: Table 68). The aging of skeletons was more complete, and other than the associations already noted with the juvenile, some other trends are also apparent. Of the eight burials containing brooches, seven were identified as adult, one as sub-adult. The lack of brooches with juveniles or younger suggests that this item may have had age identity associations. It may indicate that the young were dressed differently to adults, wearing garments that did not require brooch fastenings. If this was the case, wearing brooches would indicate the maturity of individuals, a feature that would have been further emphasised by the type of garment in which the individual was dressed. Similarly, all but one of the pins was associated with adults, the exception again being a sub-adult.

As with the inhumations at the site, the finger-rings were more commonly associated with young individuals, with two of the three being with juveniles. The third example came from an individual of questionable age and no identifiable sex. Both rites were being used simultaneously and given the apparent continuity of the artefact use, may indicate that the same community, while having overriding acceptance of some aspects of identity display,

such as age divisions, shown through the provision of personal adornment, may have used different burial rites to differentiate between aspects of identity that were not shared by all.

The age correlation of certain artefacts seems to show that more practical items of personal adornment, brooches and pins, were largely associated with adults, whereas more decorative items such as finger-rings and bracelets were associated with immature individuals. Little can be added on the basis of differences in sex in the distribution of personal adornment as only five cremations could be positively identified either way (Appendix II: Table 68).

Bringing the burials containing hobnails into the equation significantly increases the number of cremation burials containing items associated with appearance. Hobnails were present in 52 burials, of which three also contained other items of personal adornment. A total of 79 (19 percent) cremations therefore contained some form of personal adornment. Nine of these contained more than 28 hobnails, the remaining 45 containing 11 or less. Too few of have been sexed with certainty, and likewise none were dated than closer to the 1st-3rd century AD. In contrast to the inhumation burials, the age distribution of the hobnails among cremations are much more dispersed, with young individuals and adults represented.

Number of Hobnails	Age	Sex	Date
69	Older mature adult	??male	50-275
38	Sub-adult	-	100-275
88	Adult	-	75-275
29	Sub-adult/adult	-	100-275
34	Adult	?male	200-275
28	Adult	-	50-275
80	Adult	Female	200-275
28	Juvenile/sub-adult	-	100-325
43	Old adult	?female	50-275

Table 13 Large hobnail groups from Royston Road cremation

Of the cremations with 11 or less hobnails, a further six were assigned a sex or possible sex (Appendix II: Table 68 p.236). Young individuals are absent from these, and adults, as opposed to older individuals are relatively poorly represented at three to thirteen. It is also noticeable that only three of the sexed burials were identified as male (or possible males). The identification of sex for many was tentative, but females seem to be more commonly represented, as are older individuals possibly suggesting hobnails were associated with mature females. However, given the difficulty of sexing younger individuals, and the accuracy of

identifying the precise age of adults, this is a bit misleading; among the non-sexed burials with few hobnails, five sub-adults or younger were identified.

6.2.9 BREWERY FIELD, AREA 33

This site was first excavated in 1968, during which a number of buildings were revealed. Burials were also scattered about the area, and a total of ten inhumations were recorded (Burleigh 1993: 231). Of these, half were neonates, and a further one was of an infant. The remaining burials consisted of a male adult, a probable male older adult, an old female, and a highly disturbed burial that could only be assigned as a probable adult of undetermined sex. It is unfortunate that this individual was so highly disturbed, only the pelvis and legs surviving, as it is the only burial from the area to contain personal adornment. A total of ten beads and two bone items were uncovered (one of which was not recorded or planned). Nine of the beads were circular, the other triangular, ranging in colour from dark blue and green to brown and yellow. One of these was a melon bead, most common in the 1st-2nd century AD, but given this area had originally been used for occupation, a Late Roman date has been suggested for the burial (Burleigh 1993: 234). This complies with the other burials, which all came from contexts indicating that the burials post-dated the main occupation at the site. The surviving bone item was a dog's canine pendant. The beads were found to one side of the feet and may have been part of an anklet (Burleigh 1993: 234).

Given the results from the other cemeteries, it is not surprising to find that infants and neonates were buried without adornment at this site. The adult with whom the finds occurred appears unusual as few beads and no anklets have been found at the other cemeteries. Brewery Field is just north-west of a Romano-British temple, and it is possible that this influenced the treatment of this burial (Figure 17, p.77).

6.2.10 AREA 12 & 13

The area was excavated during several phases of building development and extension during which two cremations and seven inhumations were recorded. Of the cremations, one was completely destroyed by machinery. The other, an adult of unknown sex dating to the late 1st - 2nd century AD contained two bronze pins.

Where dated, the inhumations proved to be a disparate group, one dating to the 1st - 2nd century AD, one to the 2nd-4th century AD, and four to the 3rd-4th century AD. The last four, two juveniles, a young male adult and an older male adult, were deposited in a single event in the

base of a shaft (Burleigh 1993: 195). From the arrangement of the bodies, it is clear that they were not dropped into the shaft, and they were either laid in the shaft following their death, or they died in the shaft (Burleigh 1993: 196). In the layer directly over the skeletons and at the top of the shaft fill (implying the shaft was filled in a single event) was found the remains of a fine necklace. Three fragments remain; a length three beads long joined by copper alloy chain, a length four beads long and similarly joined, and a smaller fragment of amber and copper alloy. It is unclear if the necklace was directly related to the individuals in the shaft but it is important as it shows that amber was available at Baldock. This is significant as it indicates people using this site were aware of and had access to exotic materials. Obtaining such items would have required some level of wealth and this necklace indicates that such wealth was likely to have been displayed in part through personal adornment. This has implications for the interpretation of personal adornment finds from other burials as it suggests that when available wealth was being spent on such items, supporting the idea that personal adornment was an indicator of wealth.

6.2.11 MERCIA ROAD

Four cremation burials, of which three were definite, were discovered during excavation at this location. As with the above two sites this does not represent an actual cemetery site. All the burials date to AD1-50. One, of an unsexed mature adult, was accompanied by an iron brooch, and another, a possible adult, was accompanied by a copper alloy hairpin. Given that hairpins are generally thought to have been introduced into Britain following the conquest (Cool 1990: 150), this burial is likely to belong to the end of the date-range to which it has been assigned. The material of the brooch is in keeping with the majority of those from other early burials.

6.3 DISCUSSION

The above analysis has taken into account more than 1450 burials. Of these, 158, nearly 11 percent contained between them 182 artefacts associated with appearance. Although this overall figure is low, inter-cemetery variation was high, with the number of accompanied graves in different cemeteries ranging between 0-20 percent. This includes cremations and inhumations, dating from the 1st century BC through to the fifth century AD, though a number came from contemporary cemeteries. Inter-cemetery analysis has been constrained by a number of limiting factors, not least by the number of burials that could not be aged and/or sexed. Despite this, some patterns of use are apparent. However, to discuss these without

reference to the many hundreds of burials without personal adornment would provide a misleading understanding of the use of personal adornment at Baldock, as the absence of items should be seen as being as significant as their presence.

There are a number of possibly reasons why many burials did not contain adornment items. Those being buried may not have been dressed in everyday apparel and/or many people may not have worn adornment in everyday circumstances and did not have their appearance changed when buried. The use of non-surviving organic forms of personal adornment (textiles, hairstyles, tattoos etc.) is also a possibility. Each interpretation has different implications for the appearance of the communities at Baldock. If not dressed in daily apparel the different appearance given to the deceased would have created a clear visual separation between the living and dead, in which case the identities of the deceased would have been seen in different terms to those of the living. If adornment was rare, its minimal use in burials would provide information on the appearance of the living population, suggesting a largely unadorned population. However, it is not possible to know if adornment was worn continually, or reserved for specific occasions. The potential use of organic items is more problematic due to their lack of survival. Use of easily and freely available materials such as wood may indicate a poor population, but at the same time, such materials could be very finely carved, requiring time and skill. Until organic objects of adornment are found, it will not be possible to determine the extent of their use.

A number of cemeteries, displaying different rites (cremation and inhumation) were used contemporaneously, and may represent different sections of the community. If so, the lack of adornment may therefore imply that differing identities were not, generally, visible through the presence of jewellery alone. Other aspects of appearance may have been altered through hair styles, grooming and the application of make-up, or the underlying dress could have been different. Alternately an unadorned appearance may have been considered an important aspect of identity expression among many and if so, then the 10 percent that did make use of personal adornment would have been very visibly distinct from the majority of the population.

It is also possible that personal adornment may have had limited use traditionally, and the continued lack of use may reflect a continuation of these practices. Having said that, of the Late Iron Age burials from the site, five of 26 (those with date spans going to no more than 25 years after conquest) contained items of personal adornment and the increase in deposition in the Late Iron Age, especially in brooches, implies that pre-Roman groups did make use of

adornment (Hill 1995a: 85). Indeed, the nearby site of King Harry Lane, Verulamium, where 276 brooches were recovered from just 150 burials, is a good example of this (Stead & Rigby 1989: 98). However, as a society that already had external contacts (as shown by Gallo-Belgic ceramics and brass brooches: section 5.5.2), adorned burials may have represented newer ideas rather than traditional approaches. In addition (some) personal adornment may have been reserved for specific people within the society or represented some kind of taboo.

Alternately, and perhaps probably, the use of adornment may have been linked in some way to the identity of individuals and their families through wealth display. Given that several of the burials contained highly adorned individuals (including the sub-adult with a jet bead necklace, the adult with multiple gilt finger-rings and the necklace with an amber bead), it seems that when excess wealth was available, this was expressed through the use of (more elaborate) adornment. If the custom was to dress the deceased for burial in the best possible manner then it is likely that a higher percentage of burials would have contained adornment. This does not take into account the possibility of items of adornment being made of perishable materials, such as wood, leather and shell, but it does not detract from the idea of the use of adornment as a wealth signifier.

The discussion of wealth is not, of course, so straightforward. The majority of the population may not have chosen to express their wealth through personal adornment, preferring instead, other modes of display. Many burials contained pottery vessels and/or animal remains. Ideally, the analysis of these would be combined with that of the personal adornment to gain a better insight into the distribution of wealth, but collating the material for the pottery alone would be the basis of another thesis, and so has not been possible at this stage. Pottery was a very common commodity, and although portable, is unlikely to have been carried round by individuals on a daily basis to display some aspect of their identity. Appearance and therefore personal adornment is the most portable commodity given its 'attachment' to the body, and provides one of the most visible, easy and direct ways of displaying different identities. Taking into account the rural location of Baldock, the agricultural occupation of many of its inhabitants (as indicated by the bone analysis (Burleigh 1991b: 14)) and the fact that several burials were highly adorned, it seems most likely that a low level of wealth for the majority of the population contributed to the general lack of personal adornment witnessed. This in turn implies that those with higher levels of wealth did chose to display this aspect of identity through the use of personal adornment, at least during burial.

However, wealth is not the only identity that may have been displayed through adornment. Its use could equally feasibly be related to religion, ritual use, status distinctions, gender etc., though all these, as with wealth, may have relied more on aspects of appearance that do not survive such as with hairstyles and clothing. By turning to the settlement material to look at the presence and accessibility of different forms of personal adornment, it may be possible to start narrowing down these options.

Returning to the burials that did contain items of personal adornment, the data hints at a number of patterns. Given the time-span of the period covered by the cemeteries, this is first discussed on a chronological basis, before considering the cemetery data as a whole. Iron Age burials come from many of the cemeteries at Baldock, including the formalised cemeteries of Area 2, Icknield Way East, Stane Street and Yeomanry Drive North, and the non-cemetery collection at Mercia Road. Both cremations and inhumations are represented at these sites. The earliest formalised burial areas started in c.20BC, and of the five, only Stane Street and Yeomanry Drive North continued into the Roman period. Limited numbers of earlier burials are also present at Royston Road, but the relatively crude dating only places these within the 1st century AD, as opposed to a pre- or post-conquest date.

The amount of personal adornment in early burials was not large (9 accompanied burials), but when objects were included, it was most frequently brooches (9 of 12 items), examples coming from all of the five main sites. Additional brooches (from Yeomanry Drive North) have date ranges that start in the LIA but end after the Roman conquest. All but one these brooches are iron. Of the seven burials containing brooches, four could be sexed, all of which were female (three definite and one probable). Taking into account the age of the individuals as well, which includes those that could not be sexed, brooches were only associated with adults. Looking at all early burials (including those with a pre-conquest starting date but an end date more than 25 years after conquest), the only other item to occur with any regularity was finger-rings, three coming from Stane Street. Of these, two were associated with females and the other with a possible male.

Although inhumations were included in this sample, the majority of finds were from cremations. The recording of the location of the brooches is variable so it is not possible to determine if these were worn at death, included on the pyre or added at the burial stage. However, a number of possibilities can be discussed. If the brooches were worn during the burial rites, their presence is most likely to be linked to the way in which the deceased were

dressed. The possible association with females may imply that for these individuals, their mode of dress required the use of brooches. From this it could be argued that the presence of brooches only indicates dress styles rather than identities. However, I would argue that this is not the case. If males were not being so adorned, this implies a different mode of dress to females. Female identity may, therefore, have been displayed in part through their style of dress, of which brooches were a part, although whether the same styles were worn by all levels of society is debatable (see section 3.2.1 for discussion).

It is also possible that brooches were added to the burial deposit subsequent to the pyre event (cf. Pearce 1998), in which case their inclusion would provide more information about burial practice or the identity of the deceased as seen through the eyes of the mourners, than of the individual in question. Either way, the consistency of approach, cross-cutting cemetery sites and burial rites, suggest that brooches may have had associations with adult females, regardless of the specifics of the community group with which they were associated. Given the lack of other personal adornment items, it can also be suggested that among those burying their dead at Baldock, personal adornment, be it due to their style of dress or otherwise, may have been considered appropriate for females specifically at this early date, as is further supported by the sex of individuals with finger-rings at Stane Street. However these interpretations can be no more than suggestions.

The consistency in the provision of *iron* brooches in the early burials also requires some explanation. A quick look through any number of brooch reports shows that copper alloy brooches are much more commonly recorded than iron examples. This may be due to preservational factors that affect iron more than copper alloy, thereby artificially increasing the relative proportion of copper alloy to iron examples. Heavy corrosion experienced by iron can also have adverse effects, hindering identification, as heavily corroded items are often unidentifiable, and are less easy to notice during excavation. The conditions in burials, which provide a more protected environment may aid the preservation of iron brooches, hence their increased occurrence. At Baldock many of the burials were plough damaged (Burleigh 1982: 8), so preservation conditions are unlikely to be the sole explanation for the high number of iron brooches. It is possible they represent no more than the early date of many of the burials as iron brooches are more common in early assemblages, copper alloy becoming increasingly common during the 1st century AD. However, in later periods, iron brooches may have come to signify native or local identities as a contrast to imported materials and ideas, as the use of more traditional materials may have provided a link back to the pre-Roman period.

Moving into the Roman period, the variability between cemeteries massively increased. Many of the cemeteries were at least partly contemporaneously, some with no, or minimal finds, and others with up to 20 percent with some appearance related artefact. Combining the data, burials containing items of personal adornment span the entire Roman period. The Tene and Icknield Way East, dating from 2nd-4th century AD and the 3rd-5th century AD respectively, start too early for their lack of grave goods to indicate Christian burial practices, thought to be the cause of unaccompanied burials from the 4th century AD onwards (Petts 1998a: 115). Instead, those using the sites may have followed slightly different rites to others, or it may have related to the status of wealth of the groups using these cemeteries.

Of the sites with items of personal adornment, the early cemeteries of Stane Street and Yeomanry Drive continued into the Roman period to the end of the 1st century AD, Wallington Road overlapped these, covering the 1st-3rd century AD, California was in use from the 3rd-5th century AD, and Royston Road covered the entire period, while Brewery Field and Area 12/13 provided later Roman informal burial areas. It is unfortunate that the burials from these last two sites were isolated, given they provide the only examples of an anklet and wire and bead necklace.

Several differences to the burials of Iron Age date are immediately noticeable in the Roman evidence, the first of which is linked to the distribution of brooches. In the Roman period, this item type continued to be deposited with burials but less consistently than with those of earlier date. Wallington Road, for example, had no brooches among its burials, nor did Icknield Way East. Royston Road, on the other hand, did have a number of burials with brooches, but this was limited to the cremations. The association of brooches with adults continued, but as the sexed individuals from California show, this was not limited to females. The material of brooches also changed, copper alloy becoming more prominent, although a number of iron brooches were still deposited.

The second major change is the presence of hobnails in many of the burials. Hobnailed shoes are thought to have been introduced into Britain following the Roman conquest (van Driel-Murray 2001: 185), so their absence in Iron Age burials is not surprising. That they occur in the post-conquest burials shows that new forms of footwear were adopted by at least some of the population at Baldock. Introduced Roman styles of shoes massively increased the styles available, possibly replacing non-hobnailed Iron Age varieties, and further, the use of

hobnails would also have affected the sound of movement of those wearing them (James 1999: 19, 21). This in turn may have aided the identification of certain individuals as not only would they have been wearing non-traditional footwear, but they would also have been identifiable through the sound of their approach. Such differences may have been further enhanced if many at Baldock were unshod. It is known that not everyone wore shoes, or at least not all the time, as bare foot impressions on tiles occur, as at Silchester and Leicester (Allason-Jones 2005: 116).

Of the 182 items of personal adornment recorded, 87 were hobnails. As seen in the above analysis, many of these did not represent complete footwear, often with less than ten hobnails in the burial. Given such a small number were consistently present suggests that inclusion was not accidental, and this may in large part be down to poor preservation and/or excavation. If it was genuinely a small number that were included, it may be that it was not so much the inclusion of hobnailed footwear as a worn item that was important but some meaning associated with footwear. Footwear in burials may have been linked to the spiritual preparedness of the dead for the journey of the afterlife, rather than with dressing the deceased (van Driel-Murray 1999: 131). If so, then a few hobnails rather than a complete pair of shoes may have been sufficient to fulfil this role. It is likely that some burials were furnished with shoes constructed with-out the use of hobnails. Since these would provide no archaeological trace in the conditions present at Baldock, it is not possible to explore this idea.

California and Royston Road did have a small number of burials that contained complete footwear, as implied by the number of hobnails, and there may have been some differences between their provision at each site. At California, one pair was worn, one was placed by the feet and the remaining two examples were placed on the coffin. Both those by the feet were associated with males, whereas those on the lids were a probable female and probable male. At Royston Road, the opposite seems to be the case, with large numbers of hobnails associated with females (one definite female, three probable and three possible) and small quantities with males (three definite males, one possible). This may imply that the needs of women and men may have been viewed differently by the groups using these cemeteries, and these differences would have been visible through differing footwear provisions during burial. Common to both, however, was the association of large quantities of hobnails (footwear) with adults. However, if we include the other sites, hobnails have been found in association with most age groups.

California and Royston Road require some further discussion as each revealed patterns not witnessed at the other cemeteries. At California, two trends are noticeable. Firstly, personal adornment was only associated with adults. The second relates to finger-rings, worn by both females and males. Five of seven examples were worn and of these, iron rings were worn on the left and copper alloy on the right. There are too few to say whether this is purely coincidence but the pattern is certainly intriguing. Compared to the other cemeteries, California had a relatively high proportion of individuals associated with adornment, at more than 13 percent. The range of items was extensive and a number of these were gilded to give the impression of precious metal (notably the finger-rings). Also notable was the male associated with multiple items of adornment including an ear-ring. Men from the eastern provinces, including Greeks, Carthaginians and Libyans are all documented to have worn ear-rings (Allason-Jones 1995: 25) and it is possible this burial may indicate a foreign element at Baldock. This idea, combined with the extensive range of personal adornment items gains credence if one also looks at the burial styles practiced at this cemetery. California was the only cemetery in which graves were intentionally reused, often twice and sometimes more, and other 'exotic' rites such as decapitation were also present, with 15 percent of burials showing this treatment (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). However, decapitations have been recorded at over seventy other sites in Roman Britain, most often in association with rural settlements (Philpott 1991: 71). Rather than representing a foreign community, the people using this cemetery might represent a discrete and distinct social group within the broader community at Baldock, such as a specific class, clan, or cult. Unfortunately with the limited evidence, this can never be more than speculation. Whatever this difference, it seems to have been expressed through the burial rites, within which further distinctions were then made for some individuals, who were marked out above others through the inclusion of personal adornment.

Royston Road also presents an interesting site as cremations and inhumations were practiced simultaneously, with some items of adornment showing distinct differences between the rites and others similarities. Brooches were only associated with the cremations; finger-rings, on the other hand, were present in cremations and inhumations and where aged, were all associated with juveniles or younger. Similarly, bracelets were also associated with young individuals, yet across both burial types hairpins were limited to adults. Differential inclusion of brooches suggests some fundamental differences between those using cremation and those using inhumation, which would have been visible through differing styles of adornment.

Despite this, the over-riding similarities which seem to link practical items with adults (hairpins and brooches) and decorative items with younger individuals (finger-rings and bracelets) imply that some aspects of identity, that is, those associated with age, were treated in the same way by both groups. If, as was suggested earlier, the presence of brooches indicated a degree of wealth it may be that those using cremation rites represented a more wealthy section of the community. Cremation may have been considered a more expensive burial rite than inhumation as materials are required for the pyre, whereas little more than a digging implement is required to inhumate someone (although this did require more land). It is possible therefore that those burying their dead at Royston Road were members of a community in which wealth and age was demonstrated through subtle variations of their burial rites and appearance.

In all, the Roman period cemeteries show a lot more variation than the Iron Age burials, but despite this, some over-riding inter-cemetery trends are visible. These indicate that aspects of identity were consistent and unchanging among the community at Baldock even though apparently disparate groups were using the many cemeteries over a long time-span. The first of these relates to finger-rings, as with the exception of the Royston Road cremations where all but one were found with juveniles, they were associated with all age groups, with no apparent distinction between males and females. The second relates to hobnails, which, once into the Roman period, became the most commonly provided items, with finds at California and Royston Road indicating that for some, their provision may have been affected by sex.

Brooches and bracelets on the other hand, had a much more limited distribution. In the Iron Age, where skeletons could be sexed, brooches were only associated with females, whereas in the Roman period, they were associated with males and females. However, at all times, brooches were almost exclusively associated with adults, with two exceptions. This includes a sub-adult at Royston Road (but given different rates of maturing, it is certainly possible that this individual could have appeared more mature than their years), and an infant inhumation from a rubbish pit at California, but its context does not follow the norm for either California or the other cemeteries, and so does not detract from the main trend. The association of brooches with adults implies that the style of dress for adults and infants was different and so the maturity of an individual would have been identifiable through their garb.

In contrast to brooches, bracelets are almost exclusively associated with sub-adult or younger individuals. The total number of bracelets recorded is small at eight in total, but these have been found from five separate burials areas and despite covering a range of dates and burial

rites (Stane Street, California, Wallington Road, Royston Road cremations and inhumations), all fall within the same age distribution. This may imply that bracelets had an association with age. Possible parallels come from the cemeteries and East London and Poundbury, where a number of bracelets were also associated with sub-adults and juveniles (Barber & Bowsher 2000: 118; Farwell & Molleson 1993: 16). The consistent use of brooches with adults and bracelets with immature individuals suggests that age was an important aspect of identity among those at Baldock and was so deeply embedded that it cross-cut generational and social groupings.

An argument can also be made for the association of personal adornment with wealth. It is important to remember that the concept of wealth was probably defined on very different terms to modern ideas. When talking about wealth, it is not extensive wealth that is being referred to here (although occasional burials do appear to demonstrate this), but rather a level of wealth that was slightly higher relative to the rest of the community. A single finger-ring here, or a hairpin there may not seem particularly important to us, but these types of items may well have been quite valued by people in Roman Britain. Possible evidence of this comes from curse tablets, such as those found at Bath, asking for the return of items of clothing or jewellery, although it should be borne in mind that the matter of principle and the annoyance at having an item taken may be more important than the actual 'value':

"The name of the culprit who has stolen (my) bracelet (is given)"

"Basilia gives <in> to the temple of Mars (her) silver ring, that so long as (someone), whether slave or free, keeps silent or knows anything about it, he may be accursed in (his) blood and eyes and every limb or even has all (his) intestines eaten away, if he has stolen the ring or been privy to (the theft)"

Tablet 15 and 97 (Tomlin 1988: 130, 230)

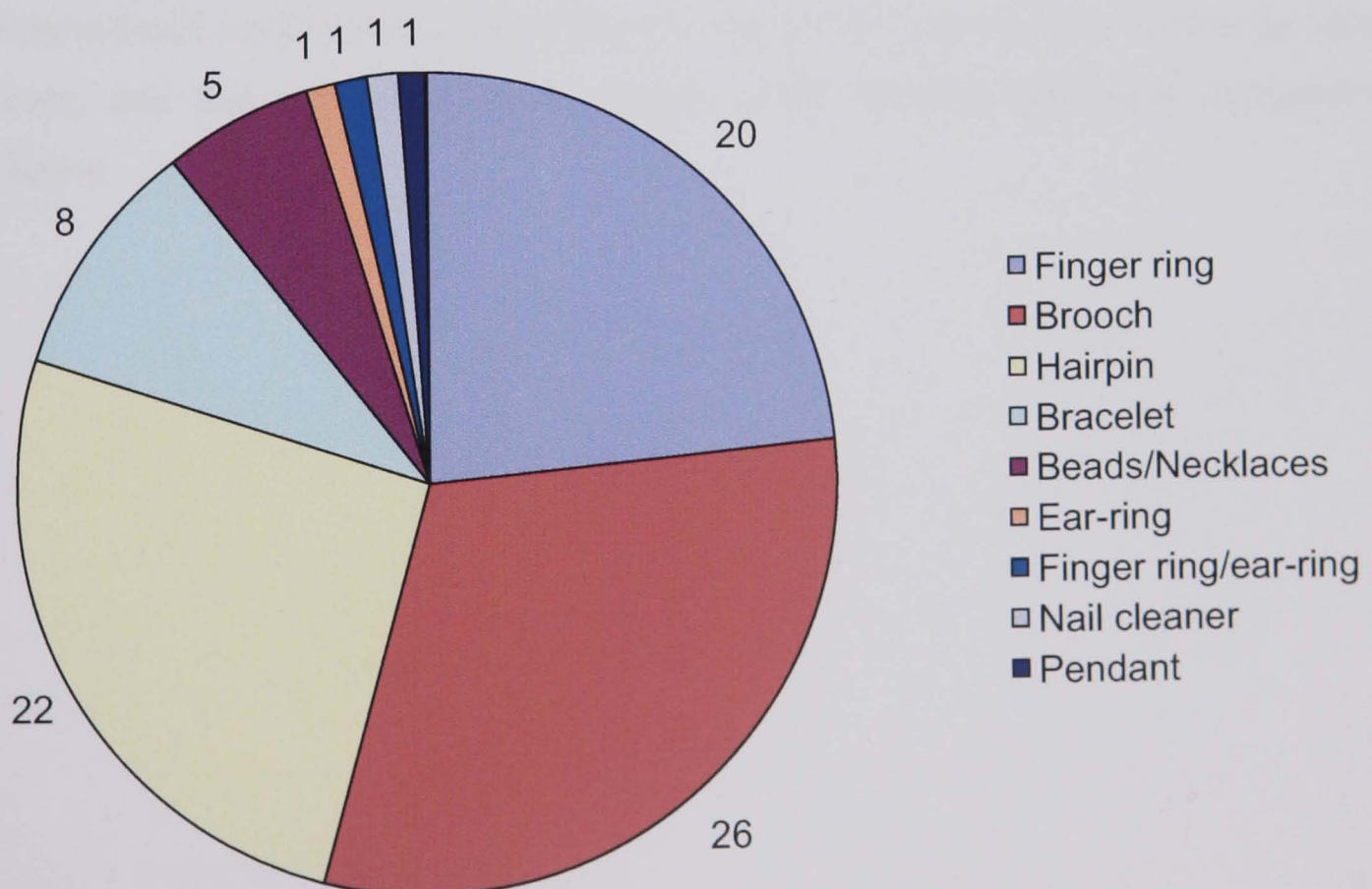
Although one refers to a stolen item and the other to a gift offered to the gods if a crime against the giver is punished, that both highlight the adornment items suggests such goods held some value, materially as well as sentimentally.

Taking this into account, there are three distinct aspects of identity which were demonstrated through the use of personal adornment in the burials at Baldock. The first, and also the most consistent and perhaps, therefore, significant, is linked with age. Although the total numbers

are small, they seem to imply that adulthood may have been an important and enduring aspect of identity consistently marked out by those using adornment, as indicated through the associations of brooches and bracelets. The second refers to gender differences, and specifically Late Iron Age burials, where brooches, when with sexed individuals, were associated only with females. However, giving the small sample size, this too is only implied. Moving into the Roman period, any distinction that may through the display of brooches seems to have declined, and previously female only items were increasingly associated with both sexes. Last but not least, wealth may have been an influencing factor, as suggested by the amber, jet and gilded items, suggesting the use and display of adornment at least partly related to this.

6.4 CEMETERY SUMMARY

To allow for comparisons with the settlement data, the last aspect of the cemetery discussion brings together all the cemetery data to show the overriding personal adornment types used in the burials. As Graph 1 (below) shows, brooches, closely followed by hairpins and finger-rings were the most commonly provided items, making up more than seventy-five percent of all non-hobnailed items.



Graph 1 Total personal adornment from the Baldock cemeteries, excluding hobnails.

Given distribution of finds shown above, and the number of artefacts involved, the breakdown into fabric type has only been done for the three largest categories; the brooches, hairpins and finger-rings.

	Bone		Copper alloy		Iron		Cu/iron		Silver		Gilded	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Finger-ring	-	-	9	45	5	25	1	5	2	10	3	15
Brooch	-	-	16	61.5	10	38.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hairpin	6	27	13	59	3	14	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 14 Artefacts by material, shown as total number and % of each artefact type

For each of the three main categories, copper alloy was the most common material. However, it is apparent that iron contributed significantly, representing a quarter of all finger-rings, more than one third of brooches and a small number of hairpins. Finger rings were the only artefact type to have gilt metal examples, but most of these came from a single burial from the California site. What is interesting is that iron figures so prominently and the relative proportions of iron to copper alloy finds from the burials to those of the settlement is compared below (Chapter 7) to see how this relates to material selection among the settlement finds. Preservational conditions and the effects this has on iron survival rates have to be taken into account, and this will be discussed further in the cemetery-settlement comparative analysis below.

CHAPTER 7

BALDOCK SETTLEMENT FINDS AND THE CEMETERY: SETTLEMENT COMPARISON

This chapter presents the personal adornment finds from the settlement, looking at the range of items and materials used. It then compares the results to the cemetery data. The cemetery finds are treated as one assemblage. A comparison between each individual cemetery has not been undertaken as no one site has enough material to make this viable. By using the cemetery material as one assemblage, the body of material becomes large enough to enable comparative analysis. This merging of the cemetery finds means the differences between the individual cemeteries will be lost. However it was necessary to establish the extent of this before merging the data, as it provided the opportunity to examine the variable use of personal adornment among different groups within a single community. Bringing the settlement data into the equation now makes it possible to investigate another level of complexity in the selective process of using personal adornment, by identifying whether certain items or material were apparently favoured for burial situations, as well as being further divided among the accompanied burial populations in specific ways.

It has not been possible to include a contextual analysis of the settlement finds as this information was not available at the time of writing. Ideally, the settlement finds would also have been analysed in terms of their deposit type, to assess the extent to which they represented 'accidental losses' or 'intentional' deposits (see p.56 for discussion). Comparing the range of adornment items intentionally deposited in an occupation context to those selected for burials has the potential to reveal further insights into the complexity of the meaning bound up in the final use of these items. This line of investigation may become possible following the publication of the Baldock reports (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming).

7.1 THE SETTLEMENT FINDS

The personal adornment settlement assemblage at Baldock consists of 550 items in total, over half of which are brooches (although including both complete and fragmentary examples, this may be slightly inflated). Following this, hairpins and toilet implements both contribute more

than 10 percent of the assemblage and finger-rings and bracelets are equally common at six percent each (Table 15). Additional items of adornment are present in negligible quantities. As such, it is apparent that appearance was primarily enhanced in three ways at Baldock—with the use of brooches, hairpins and through grooming practices—and that this was occasionally supplemented with the use of additional items, primarily rings and bracelets.

Item	Number	% of assemblage
Bracelet	33	6
Ring/intaglio	35	6.3
Hairpin	82	14.9
Earring	4	0.7
Bead	14	2.5
Brooch	315	57.3
Mirror	3	0.5
Toilet implement/set	64	11.6

Table 15 Baldock personal adornment settlement finds

Hobnails are notable by their absence among the settlement assemblage. However, as small iron objects, not only are they less likely to be noticed during excavation, but if found, corrosion can render their identification impossible. That they are found in burials most probably reflects both the more protected condition of these contexts, aiding survival and recognition, but also an increased level of care that is often given when excavating discrete burials as opposed to extensive occupation levels. Indeed, the unique nature of each and every site and the diversity of archaeological practices can have a big affect on the recovery (Papaconstantinou 2006: 9)

Items such as necklaces are also lacking, yet as the burial sample has shown, they were present at Baldock. It is possible that necklaces were only used in burial contexts, but the presence of the occasional bead among the settlement finds suggests that necklaces were worn, at least by some, during life. Furthermore, it is likely that the settlement assemblage has been affected by the ease of loss of specific item types, their commonality, and increased time spent searching for more valuable items (Cooper 2000: 83). This assumes that all settlement finds are the result of casual loss rather than selective and intentional deposition, which given the limited contextual information cannot be proven either way. However, if some deposits were the result of intentional deposition we must consider the possibility that necklaces were not thought suitable for this. In looking at coin distributions across the site in the LPRIA, Curteis (2005: 217-21) noticed that toilet implements and jewellery were frequently found in the same features, with 14 percent and 21 percent with coins respectively, implying that intentional deposition may form a significant part of settlement deposits at Baldock at this

time. Given the continuity in occupation and cemeteries which implies a continuing population from the Iron Age into the Roman period, any depositional practices of this population group are unlikely to have stopped or instantaneously changed at the exact moment of the Roman conquest.

The limited contextual information available has implications for how detailed an analysis can be carried out on the settlement assemblage, and it is unfortunate that the Late Iron Age practices identified by Curteis cannot be extended into the Roman period by this study. It also means that finds from over 400 years of occupation have to be treated together as one group for the present. Furthermore, taking the most common categories (excluding brooches, which are discussed separately below), Table 16 shows that for any one category, no more than two-thirds have been dated, and for some items, such as finger-rings, this is less than one-third. For those with dates, this is generally crude, often providing a time range of several hundred years. As such, for those that have been dated, a division of early Roman (<AD 200) and late Roman (>AD 200) is used, as a finer resolution is not practical for the number of finds involved. However, the analysis of some classes of artefact benefit from detailed typologies, which, although not taking into account redeposited material, does make it possible to suggest tighter dating for some styles. This is particularly applicable for the brooch assemblage (see below) which has received a large amount of typological work (see e.g. Bayley & Butcher 2004; Hattatt 2000; Snape 1993), but broader observations of personal adornment use, such as the generalised trend of brooches and finger-rings in the first two centuries AD and necklaces and bracelets in the 3rd-4th century AD (Swift 2000: 6) can also be used to guide interpretation. When using sweeping trends such as this, there is a danger that localised variations in use, such as early bracelet wearing, would be overlooked, but when limited contextual information is available, we have to rely more heavily on these widely observed patterns. Table 17 shows the date distributions of the adornment artefacts at Baldock.

	Total	Dated	% dated
Bead	14	8	57
Bracelet	33	20	61
Toilet implement	64	43	67
Ring/intaglio	32	10	29
Hairpin	82	40	49

Table 16 Baldock settlement finds with date information (excluding brooches)

	Early	Late
Bead	3	5
Bracelet	1	19
Toilet implement	25	18
Ring/intaglio	4	6
Hairpin	14	26

Table 17 Baldock settlement finds by date (excluding brooches)

Given the percentage of each item type that could be dated, only one category, bracelets shows any definite date distribution, being almost entirely limited to the later Roman period. This supports the suggestion that bracelets were largely a later fashion (Swift 2000: 6). Toilet implements show a leaning towards the earlier period, and hairpins to the later period, but both occur throughout the occupation of the site.

More information can be gleaned from the brooches as there is a much larger assemblage of these. By dividing those that could be identified (nearly one-fifth are unclassified) into their type groups shows that the majority of brooches are early forms (arranged roughly chronologically in Table 18), belonging largely to the 1st-early 2nd century AD. Brooch use declined across lowland Britain in the mid-2nd century AD (Snape 1993: 1), probably as the result of/in conjunction with changing fashions (Mattingly 2006: 209; Wild 2004: 305), so witnessing this pattern at Baldock is unsurprising. Slightly later forms, such as penannular, plate and trumpet brooches, provide only a small contribution, most probably due to a combination of their date range and their distribution in Britain, more commonly being associated with northern sites than southern civilian settlements (Snape 1993: 100).

Brooch	Total Number	%	Of which n. = iron
One-piece (c.100 BC-AD 100)	70	27.1	3
Colchester (c.AD 40-70)	20	7.8	-
Colchester Dr (c.AD 47-70)	30	11.6	-
Langton Down (c.AD 30-70)	19	7.4	-
Thistle (c.AD 30-70)	1	0.4	-
Aucissa (c.AD 40-60)	12	4.7	-
Aucissa Dr (c.AD 40-60)	1	0.4	-
Fantail (c. AD 50-200)	1	0.4	-
Bagendon (c. AD 43-70)	1	0.4	-
Hod Hill (c. AD 40-70)	37	14.3	-
Polden Hill (c. AD 50-100)	1	0.4	-
Eye (c. AD 40-70)	2	0.8	-
Hinged (c. AD 50-200)	14	5.4	4
Dolphin (c. AD 50-100)	1	0.4	-
Nertomarus (c. AD 40-70)	1	0.4	-
Rosette (c. AD 30-70)	12	4.7	-
Plate (c. AD 50-300)	24	9.3	-
Trumpet (c. AD 70-200)	1	0.4	-
Penannular (c. AD 50-400+)	10	3.9	-
unclassified bow/fragment	58	-	-

Table 18 Baldock settlement brooches by type and material. Percentage calculated excluding unclassified brooches.

The brooch assemblage can also be looked at in terms of material, as has been done for the burial data. With the brooches, the vast majority are copper alloy – 95 percent including those with surface treatments of gilding or tinning/silvering (Table 19). Although the number of brooches with evidence of tinning/silvering and gilding is given, it is probably under-represented as these surface treatments are prone to post-depositional destruction or obscuring. Similar problems apply to enamelled brooches. As a result, although we can begin to understand the range of styles used, we cannot know if/how the finish and colour affected the choice of brooches. Iron brooches also contribute to the assemblage but at less than five percent their presence is minimal. As with other iron objects, survival, recognition as artefacts during excavation and subsequent identification probably contribute to this low number, however, given the metal-detecting used during the Burleigh excavations, their minimal presence may well reflect a genuine pattern, even if not in the exact proportions originally present.

Material	Number	%
Cu	279	88.6
Fe	15	4.8
Gilded	1	0.3
Tinned/silvered	19	6
?	1	0.3

Table 19 Baldock settlement brooches by material

Other than brooches, only rings, hairpins and bracelets are present in sufficient quantities to warrant further analysis. For each category, the materials used have been given and the results are as follows (Table 20, Table 21, Table 22).

Material	Number	%
Cu	29	90.5
Fe	3	9.5

Table 20 Baldock settlement finger-rings by material

Material	Number	%
Cu	36	44
Fe	2	3
Ae	1	1
Bone	43	52

Table 21 Baldock settlement pins by material

Material	Number	%
Cu	32	97
Shale	1	3

Table 22 Baldock settlement bracelets by material

For both finger-rings and bracelets, copper alloy examples dominate the assemblage. Given the delicacy of finger-rings, iron examples are least likely to have survived in recognisable form, and this, combined with the possibility that iron rings may have declined in use after the 1st AD (Henig 1974: 48), perhaps accounts for their limited representation. That no finger-rings of other materials survive is also interesting, and indicates a limited repertoire at Baldock, given examples are known from Britain in a range of materials including bone, glass, shale, jet, silver, gold etc. (Allason-Jones 2005: 123). In Roman law gold rings were reserved for those of equestrian rank or above, and it is possible that the lack of gold rings indicated recognition of this (Henig 1974: 47), although whether or not these laws were actually known or followed in Britain is unclear. More likely is the probability that firstly, precious metal items were searched for more thoroughly when lost, secondly that if broken the metal was recycled (although this would also apply to other copper alloys and iron) and thirdly that, as a rural population, those living at Baldock were probably not particularly wealthy and did not have the means and/or desire to make use of precious metals. Given the relatively small size of the assemblage (32), it is also possible that the example is not wholly representative of what was actually in circulation at Baldock. Likewise, the bracelet assemblage is also extremely limited, with only one example that is not of copper alloy, and

as with the rings, this does not show the diverse range of materials that could be used. Consisting of 33 examples, this assemblage faces the same limiting factors likely to have affected the ring assemblage. However, it is also possible that personal adornment at Baldock simply did not form a major part of the material culture or did not contribute to the material culture of the majority of the population; a suggestion that is supported by the limited use seen in the burials.

The hairpin assemblage is somewhat more varied, composed primarily of bone and copper alloy, but also containing one silver and two iron pins. Bone and copper alloy pins are frequent site finds but iron examples are very rare. This is most likely due to iron pins suffering from rust and being passed over as unidentifiable corroded lumps/nails, or being re-forged and reused, but there is no reason why iron could not be used for this purpose as iron hairpins are known from other sites in the broader region, notably at Park Street Villa (Hertfordshire) and Kelvedon (Essex) (Carr 2006: 171). The silver example is interesting as it hints that more precious materials were used, though rarely (though see discussion on 'value' p.49).

7.1.1 SETTLEMENT FINDS SUMMARY

With the exception of brooches, immediately noticeable is the small size of the personal adornment assemblage from Baldock given the site was occupied from the Late Iron Age throughout Roman period. This in part may reflect the incomplete nature of settlement excavations, but work by Stead and Burleigh (p.75) covered several areas within the settlement site. It is possible that rubbish deposition practices at the site (such as dumping away from the settlement) may have contributed to the low number but much pottery and animal bone was recovered during excavations (see Stead & Rigby 1986), suggesting that the low presence of personal adornment items was not due to off-site dumping of rubbish but reflects a genuine low level of use. Instead, the nature of the site and use of items among the burials need to be brought into the equation to try and understand the apparent dearth of adornment. In the Roman period Baldock was a minor rural settlement with a farming based economy, having no apparent role in the Roman administration system. Although some later substantial houses have been located most buildings were of timber and clay construction (Burleigh 1995b: 181) and it seems there was little evidence of excessive display of wealth. That the amount of personal adornment was quite small supports the suggestion that the majority of those residing at Baldock were not especially wealthy. The cemetery assemblage

showed that approximately 10 percent of burials were accompanied with some aspect of material culture relating to appearance, many of these as (hobnailed) footwear. Given the settlement sample size, it may be that a similar proportion of the living population made use of this aspect of material culture too. As the dating implies, the items were distributed throughout the period, so use at any one time is likely to have been quite sparse. Once again the possibility of non-surviving organic adornment has to be taken into account, but even with this, metal personal adornment, if genuinely as rare as the settlement assemblage implies, would have been highly visible. In contrast, the brooch assemblage is much more substantial, and probably relates mainly to the more functional nature of this item compared to finger-rings, bracelets and hairpins.

The second observation is that the range, both in terms of the selection of items and the materials used for these, was fairly limited, with only four types—brooches, finger-rings, bracelets and hairpins—occurring with any regularity. With the exception of hairpins (where bone was prominent) copper alloy was the dominant material, although occasional iron finds were present. Other materials, notably shale and silver, only occurred once each, but no other materials, such as glass or jet, which are known to have been used for adornment items (Allason-Jones 2005: 123; Johns 1996: 120), were attested. Looking at the range of personal adornment from both the settlements and cemeteries of the comparative sites—Braughing, Dunstable, Verulamium and Colchester—all of which were on the same road network and therefore able to access the same markets, will show whether this limited assemblage reflects the use of adornment of Baldock specifically or the broader region (Chapter 7).

Thirdly, although no single items, bar brooches, contributed significantly to the appearance of the population at Baldock, grooming was apparently quite important, as indicated by the toilet implements and mirrors, to which 12 percent of the assemblage can be attributed. As with the other items, these were found in both early and late contexts, implying a low but more constant use throughout the Roman period. Whether or not these items were used by a specific group within the community or more generally is impossible to determine, especially given the dearth of toilet implements from burials to inform on any possible associations. However, what can be said is that for at least some at Baldock, appearance was affected by grooming and/or adornment. If, and how this was affected by the context of use is assessed through the comparison of the settlement and cemetery assemblages.

7.2 SETTLEMENT:CEMETERY COMPARISON

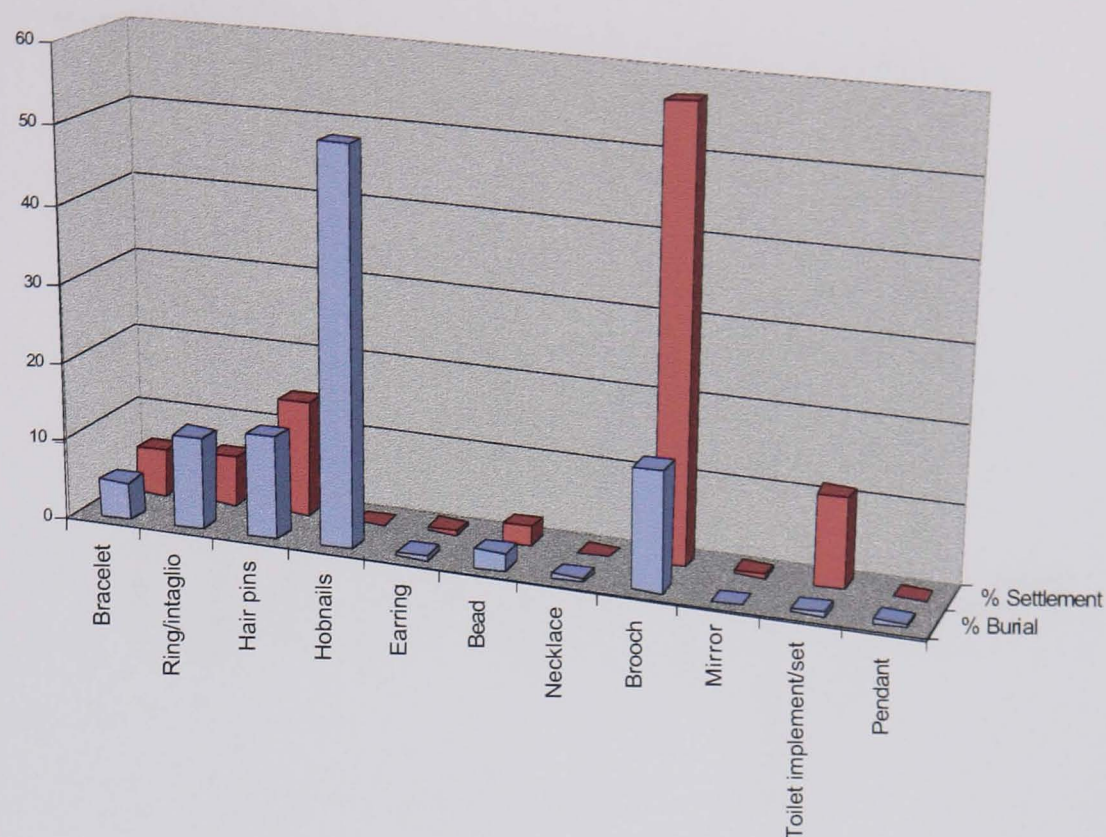
The settlement assemblage, in general, is much larger than that of the cemeteries so in order to compare them, both the total numbers and percentages of items in the respective assemblage are given for each part of the analysis. When only a few items are represented, the percentages may be slightly misleading, giving the impression of a much greater quantity than is actually present, hence the inclusion of total numbers as well.

Several differences are immediately noticeable (Table 23/Graph 2). Brooches are much more strongly represented among the settlement than the burial finds, whereas finger-rings from burials are nearly double the proportion of those from the settlement. Bracelets and hairpins, on the other hand, seem equally prevalent in each context. Grooming equipment is almost absent from the burials but forms more than 10 percent of the settlement assemblage. This perhaps has something to do with the functional nature of these items, not being of use to the dead nor having the same personal associations that other items associated with appearance may have had. The other major difference is that hobnails contribute the main part of the burial assemblage but are absent from the settlement assemblage. Although this may indicate a real absence of hobnailed footwear from the settlement it is far more likely that this simply represents survival and recovery problems. Unlike more discrete burial contexts, settlement contexts are more likely to be subject to higher degree of post-depositional corrosion, rendering small iron items such as hobnails unrecognisable.

	Burial	Settlement	% Burial assemblage	% Settlement assemblage
Bracelet	8	33	4.7	6
Ring/intaglio	20	35	11.8	6.3
Hair pins	22	82	13	14.9
Hobnails	85	0	50.3	0
Earring	1	4	0.6	0.7
Bead	4	14	2.3	2.5
Necklace	1	0	0.6	0
Brooch	26	315	15.4	57.3
Mirror	0	3	0	0.5
Toilet implement/set	1	64	0.6	11.6
Pendant	1	0	0.6	0

Table 23 Burial and settlement assemblages at Baldock

BALDOCK: SETTLEMENT AND CEMETERY COMPARISON

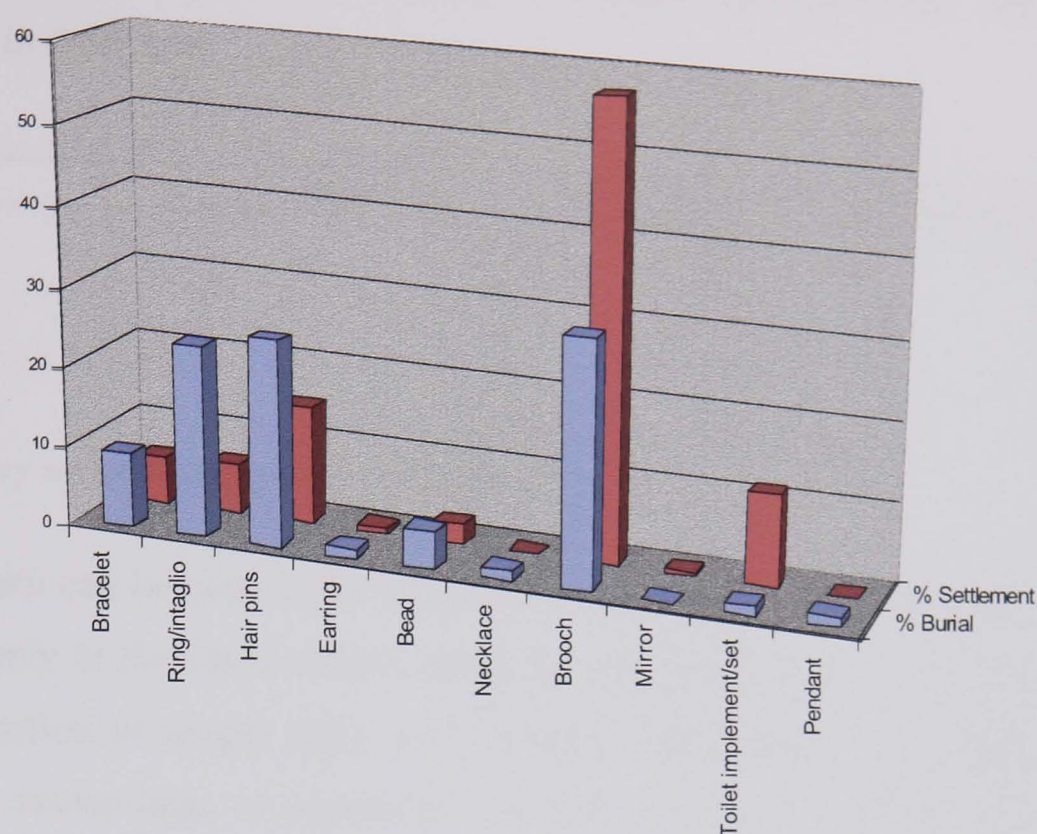


Graph 2 Burial and settlement assemblages at Baldock

Given the potentially misleading absence of hobnails from the settlement, the relative proportions of personal adornment have also been calculated without them (Table 24/Graph 3). This gives some very different results. While brooches remain much more highly represented on the settlement than in burials, they are now only twice rather than four times as common. However, the most striking differences can be seen in the change in relative proportions of rings and hairpins in the burial assemblage compared to that of the settlement, becoming nearly four times and twice as common respectively.

	% Burial exc. hobnails	% Settlement
Bracelet	9.5	6
Ring/intaglio	24	6.3
Hair pins	26	14.9
Earring	1.2	0.7
Bead	4.8	2.5
Necklace	1.2	0
Brooch	31	57.3
Mirror	0	0.5
Toilet implement/set	1.2	11.6
Pendant	1.2	0

Table 24 Baldock burial and settlement assemblages, excluding hobnails



Graph 3 Baldock burial and settlement finds, excluding hobnails.

Having established that there were some differences in the range of appearance associated artefacts between the cemeteries and settlement, this can be further explored by examining the differences in material used for each item. As with the settlement analysis above, this has been restricted to the four most commonly occurring items—brooches, finger-rings, hairpins and bracelets—as the small quantity of remaining item types is not sufficient for such analysis to be meaningful.

Comparison of the brooch assemblage immediately throws up some differences between the settlement and cemeteries. Including those with surface treatments, copper alloy accounts for 95 percent of settlement finds, a third more than for burials (Table 25). Several influencing factors need to be considered for this, not least the small size of the cemetery sample. Many brooches from the cemeteries were associated with early burials and given the more frequent use of this iron for Late Iron Age brooches (Haselgrove 1997: 56) this may account for the differences. However, if we look at the brooch types that make up the settlement assemblage (Table 18), it is apparent that a significant proportion of these were early types, yet iron examples are few. Unfortunately, comparing burial and settlement brooch types has not been possible in the present study as complete information for the burial sample was not available at the time of writing. Once again, the issue of survival rates also has to be taken into account, but given the metal detection used during many excavations, larger iron items such as brooches are likely to have been recovered, should they have survived. Although the size of

the burial sample makes any firm conclusions impossible, they do suggest a degree of selection in which brooches were included in burials, iron apparently being more strongly favoured than in daily use.

	Settlement	Burial	% Settlement	% Burial
Cu	279	16	88.6	61.5
Fe	15	10	4.8	38.5
Gilt	1	0	0.3	0
Tinned/silvered	19	0	6	0
?	1	0	0.3	0

Table 25 Cemetery and settlement brooches by material

A similar pattern can be seen in the finger-ring assemblages, iron once again featuring much more prominently in the burial sample, although including those with surface treatments does raise the proportion of copper alloy to 70 percent. Nonetheless, iron finger-rings contribute quarter of the assemblage, as oppose to less than 10 percent of those from the settlement (Table 26).

The sample size from the burial assemblage renders the proportions somewhat misleading (only three iron finger-rings from the settlement), but they do indicate at possible variations in use. As with other iron items, finger-ring survival and recognition from settlements is likely to be hindered by post-depositional factors and the fact that it can be difficult to distinguish finger-rings from other rings, whereas burial associations aid their interpretation as items of adornment. Whether these results reflect a genuine variation will become clearer following the comparisons of finger-rings from settlement and cemetery assemblages from the comparative sites (Chapter 8).

	Settlement	Burial	% Settlement	% Burial
Cu	29	9	90.5	45
Fe	3	5	9.5	25
Cu/fe	0	1	0	5
Tinned/silvered	0	2	0	10
Gilt	0	3	0	15

Table 26 Cemetery and settlement finger-rings by material

The most striking difference in the use of hairpins in settlements and burials can be seen between the relative proportions of metal to bone pins, metal pins forming 48 percent and 73 percent of the respective assemblages (Table 27). Although the size of the burial sample is once more problematic, these results imply that metal may have been favoured for hairpins included in this context. These results also have interesting implications for the question of

reuse and recycling of metal. It is generally thought that metal was commonly recycled, with the result that archaeologically, numbers of surviving metal artefacts have been suppressed (see Swift 2000: 7; Wild 2002: 31). However, the high number of metal as opposed to non-recyclable bone hairpins in the burials may suggest that the impact of this may not be as high as previously thought, recycling perhaps being reserved for larger items that would provide enough metal on their own to be made into a new object. It is also possible that it was not considered appropriate to recycle personal items of deceased people, as items worn in life were thought to have been imbued with that person's spirit (Barber & Bowsher 2000: 118). Alternately, these differences may relate to what styles of dress were considered most appropriate for burial, with the deceased perhaps being presented in their 'Sunday best'.

The proportion of different materials among the hairpin assemblage also has implications about artefact recovery, as the data demonstrates that there was no systematic bias towards copper alloy items in the settlement excavations. This is important as it suggests that variability in the settlement assemblage is not due to excavation shortcomings and is therefore more likely to be indicative of genuine trends, although preservational issues still need to be taken into account.

	Settlement	Burial	% Settlement	% Burial
Cu	36	13	44	59
Fe	2	3	3	14
Ae	1	0	1	0
Bone	43	6	52	27

Table 27 Cemetery and settlement hairpins by material

	Settlement	Burial	% Settlement	% Burial
Cu	32	6	97	75
Fe	0	0	0	0
Cu/fe	0	1	0	12.5
Bone	0	1	0	12.5
Shale	1	0	3	0

Table 28 Cemetery and settlement bracelets by material

Last but not least, the bracelets have been subjected to the same material analysis (Table 28). Copper alloy once again dominates the assemblages, with just single examples of other materials from both the settlement and cemeteries. Given the small sample size from the burials, the percentages are a bit misleading, but they indicate a slightly higher degree of variability among burial articles over settlement use. What is noticeable is that, as with the other classes of artefacts, the overall use of materials is very limited, not reflecting the full

range that is known to have been used for bracelets (e.g. glass, jet, other metals). At the time when bracelets were more common, in the 3rd-4th century AD, burials were on the whole unfurnished (Philpott 1991: 54) and this may explain their limited presence in the cemetery data.

7.3 DISCUSSION

The settlement assemblage comprised 550 artefacts in total, covering approximately 500 years of occupation. Although the assemblage is unlikely to represent everything that was in use, the consistency and range of objects present suggest that it does reflect a reasonable cross-section of the personal adornment objects used at Baldock. Given the minimal contextual information available, it has not been possible to provide a detailed study of the distribution of finds throughout the period, but breaking the assemblage down crudely shows that there were approximately 100 finds per century. This number is small and would not reflect the entire population of Baldock, estimated to have been at no more than a thousand during its largest extent in the 2nd century AD (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). This suggests that (archaeologically surviving forms of) personal adornment was probably not used by everyone. This is consistent with the cemetery data, which showed that approximately 10 percent of the buried population were associated with artefacts relating to appearance. This means that the following observations relate not the population as a whole, but to the (probable) minority who were making use of such artefacts.

Bearing this in mind, a number of points have arisen from the comparison of the burial and settlement assemblages, as well as some more general points about the appearance of the population as a whole. The first significant observation relates to the apparently selective use of specific artefacts for burial out of the repertoire available. Finger-rings and hairpins formed a much greater part of the burial assemblage, whereas brooches were almost twice as common among the settlement finds as for the cemeteries. The reasons behind this selection may lie with the conception of finger-rings and hairpins as highly personal items, therefore containing something of the soul of the deceased if worn in life (Barber & Bowsher 2000: 118), whereas brooches may have been classed as more functional rather than personal items, required to hold clothing or cloaks together, which, under social understanding, would allow them to be kept by those outliving the deceased. The differences seen with finger-ring provision is unlikely to reflect the display of specific identity attributes such as gender, as the cemetery analysis suggested that no distinctions could be made for this item type.

Secondly, the absence of hobnails from the settlement finds requires a further mention. As discussed above this is unlikely to reflect a real difference but rather survival, excavation techniques and recognition. However, the possibility of this being genuine does need to be considered. Hobnail shoes are unlikely to have been the only forms of footwear available, especially given this form is thought to have been introduced to Britain following the Roman conquest (van Driel-Murray 1987: 33). Single-piece, sewn and wooden clogs (van Driel-Murray 2001: 186) may be used instead, but in the soil conditions at Baldock these would provide no archaeological trace. Hobnail shoes, requiring the additional use of iron, a valuable commodity given its uses for military equipment and agricultural tools among other things (Hitchner 2005: 214; Rogers 2005: 33), may have made this style unobtainable for many Baldock inhabitants. At the same time there would be no inherent reason to change shoe styles when what they already did the job. Additionally, many may have gone unshod. There is also the possibility that hobnailed shoes held some kind of taboo. Although far removed from Britain, an example of how this may have coming into being can be seen in the surviving texts of the Babylonian Talmud, which banned Jews from wearing hobnailed shoes because the noise hobnails made provided a warning of approaching Roman soldiers (Roussin 2001: 188). Alternately, the inclusion of hobnails in burials alone (if this was the case), may perhaps relate to the longer lasting nature of iron over organic materials, better aiding the journey of the afterlife, for those who could spare footwear or a few token hobnails.

A note also needs to be made about the distribution of brooches. Many of the burial brooches were from earlier burials, but having analysed the distribution of types from the settlement this is unsurprising, as the majority were of forms dating to the first two centuries AD. This follows general trends across Britain, which saw the decline of brooches from the mid-2nd century AD onwards (Snape 1993: 1; Swift 2000: 6). It is also notable that the proportion of iron brooches from burials is significantly higher (38.5 percent) than from the settlements (4.8 percent), and this brings us onto the next point, the apparently variable use of materials between the two contexts.

With the exception of hairpins, the main materials of construction for the surviving articles of adornment are metals, predominantly copper alloy. Iron also features, and although never as frequent as copper alloy, it is consistently higher among the burial assemblage than the settlement material. Given the less protected environments generally offered by settlement deposits, the issue of survival and recognition during excavation once again raise questions as to the genuine nature of these findings. However, the consistency of this pattern across

artefact types does seem to imply that out of the personal adornment items available, iron was more frequently chosen for burials than as used in daily life. Comparing the differences between both metals in the two contexts from the comparative sites in the following chapter (8) will help determine if this pattern of use is indeed genuine. Possible reasons for a preference for iron in funerary deposits may lie in the mystique apparently attached to blacksmithing during the Roman period, and because one of the Roman underworld deities may have been a smith (Henderson 1992: 120; Hingley 1997a: 9; Merrifield 1987: 29). Furthermore, at least in Roman traditions, iron finger-rings in particular were associated with ideas of high status (Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 33.8.33), and if this use was practiced among officials in Britain it may have been observed and copied by some of the native population. However, this does not explain the high proportion of early burial brooches of iron, and native Britons may well have had their own set of meanings and associations for this metal, hinted at in Iron Age deposition patterns at boundary locations (Hingley 2005b; 2006), which were reflected in part by its more frequent use in burial contexts.

The third point relates to the use of materials across both contexts, and the implications this has for the appearance of those using these forms of personal adornment at Baldock. Across all the artefact types, the range of materials represented in both the assemblages is very limited, largely consisting of copper alloy, occasionally iron, and for hairpins, bone. Precious metals and gems are extremely rare (with the exception of a single silver hairpin from the settlement, and the amber bead necklace and a couple of gilded finger-rings from the cemeteries), and other materials such as glass and shale are all but absent. Although it is probable that more time would have been spent searching for more precious lost items (Cooper 2000: 83) it is likely that if available at least some would have made it into the burials, if not the settlement assemblage, as demonstrated by the range of materials used for bracelets found in the Eastern London cemeteries, where copper alloy, jet, shale, glass, silver, iron, ivory and tortoiseshell were all recovered (Barber & Bowsher 2000: 118). This highlights, therefore, the value of cross-checking between cemetery and settlement material at individual sites. Furthermore, although limited to hairpins at Baldock, bone was more widely used for personal adornment elsewhere, as at Poundbury where it was also used for both bracelets and finger-rings (Farwell & Molleson 1993: 66, 67).

Mention should also be made of the items not present in sufficient quantities to warrant individual analysis, but nonetheless contributing to the overall settlement assemblage. Both beads (14) and earrings (4) have been found at Baldock. Their small size increases the

possibility of being overlooked during excavation, but it is also possible that their use was rare among the population at Baldock, hence their minimal contribution to the assemblage. Given that even among burials necklaces (beaded or otherwise) were very uncommon, this is the most likely explanation.

Toilet implements, related to appearance rather than adornment specifically, also need to be considered. These items contributed significantly to the settlement assemblage (12 percent), but only a single cosmetic grinder was associated with the burials. This implies that although grooming played a role in daily life, being equipped to groom in the afterlife was not perhaps considered necessary. This may suggest that if the deceased had their appearance prepared for burial, they had no further need for these items. Last but not least, several mirrors (three) have also been found on the settlement, which indicates that some individuals paid particular attention to facial appearance and adornment and/or grooming.

Overall these results imply that among those using (surviving) personal adornment at Baldock, a relatively limited range of items were actually worn. Given the rural nature of the site and limited evidence of wealth in other aspects of archaeological remains (e.g. architecture), this perhaps reflects the relatively limited wealth of the population rather than cultural choices. Located on a road that linked Baldock directly to Verulamium less than 30km away, the limited range of objects cannot be ascribed to inaccessibility of substantial market and trading areas. The estimated population size of the settlement combined with the quantity of adornment items recovered further suggests that such personal adornment was unlikely to have been used by everyone, and so those who did may have had a level of wealth slightly above that of the majority, but only inasmuch as they could afford to own some basic items in the most commonly available materials. Furthermore, the occasional survival of slightly more unusual material types seems to imply that when personal adornment of such materials could be obtained, it was. The use (or overall lack of use) may have had nothing to do with wealth at all, perhaps reflecting some social norms that restricted wearing to specific sectors of the population, but given the commonality of personal adornment finds across sites in Roman Britain (Cooper 2000: 83) this is unlikely to be the case.

To summarise, it would seem that durable elements of appearance at Baldock were in the first instance limited to a relatively small range of items—brooches, finger-rings, hairpins and bracelets—and that for these, only standard materials were used. No items of adornment were exceptional in their nature, or indicative of excessive wealth. Furthermore, out of the objects

present, there seems to have been a degree of selection for which items and materials were deposited with burials, with iron in particular featuring more prominently among the cemetery finds. By bringing more sites into the analysis it should be possible to determine if similar patterns are visible elsewhere or whether this type of use was limited to Baldock. As such, the comparative analysis sheds more light on the significance of these results.

CHAPTER 8

COMPARATIVE SITE ANALYSIS: BALDOCK, DUNSTABLE, BRAUGHING, VERULAMIUM AND COLCHESTER

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The personal adornment assemblage from Baldock has indicated some interesting trends, showing potential differences between everyday settlement adornment use and items deposited in burials. Bringing other sites into the analysis provides a means of, firstly, assessing the extent to which the selection/use of personal adornment varied between sites, and secondly whether the cemetery/settlement patterns at Baldock are specific to this site or indicative of a more general regional trend. The first stage of analysis, which compares the combined settlement and burial data from each site to assess the extent of any overriding differences in use of personal adornment between the sites, is presented in this chapter. In Chapter 9 the material is then divided into the cemetery and settlement components and the extent of differences between the two contexts, both with the individual sites and between the others sites in the sample, are assessed. The results of both aspects of analysis are brought together in discussion at the end of Chapter 9.

The five sites used in the study are linked via the Roman road network, four—Baldock, Dunstable, Braughing and Verulamium—are within 30km of one another, and all of which have cemetery and settlement assemblages. Despite this increasing the probability of all the sites being open to the same external influences (e.g. markets), the comparison of the material is not without problems. This has been discussed at length in Chapter 4 (88-92), but the apparent significance of iron, suggested in the analysis of Baldock, which showed an increased proportion in the burial material compared to settlement deposits, raises a further issue. Many of the excavations at Baldock included a metal detection programme, maximising the recovery of iron objects. At the comparative sites, excavated by many different people over a period of nearly a century the extent of iron recovery is unlikely to be as complete. The role of individual excavators can be a significant factor in iron recovery, especially given recognition difficulties

resulting from the preservational problems that effect iron more than other metals. It is important to remember this as the analysis and interpretation progresses.

8.2 ASSEMBLAGE COMPARISON

The assemblages vary massively in size from less than 100 to over 2000 items (Table 29). Given the difference in the size of the settlements, from the minor rural sites of Dunstable, Braughing and the slightly larger Baldock, to the *municipium* of Verulamium and the *colonia* of Camulodunum, this is unsurprising, but it makes direct comparison between the assemblages difficult. Furthermore, among the smaller sites, there is the possibility that less common items are not represented in the surviving material. This is because the chance of any given item forming part of an archaeologically recoverable assemblage is small, and when the item is rare even before deposition, the chance of survival is further reduced. Assessing this is made more difficult by the fact that small datasets do not lend themselves to statistical analysis as patterning may not be demonstrated as being statistically significant, despite containing patterns of archaeological significance (Huggett 1996: 359). However, given the incomplete nature of the archaeological record, limitations to any data are unavoidable. As it is, there are over 4800 items in the following dataset and there is still much that can be done with it. To make the different sized assemblages more comparable, much of the analysis is based around the relative proportions of the different components of personal adornment at each site, given as a percentage of the total. When small numbers are involved, this can appear misleading, so total numbers are also provided.

Despite the size variation, the total numbers already hint at which items were most common across these sites – hairpins, brooches, bracelets, finger-rings, and to a lesser extent, toilet implements. Hobnails also feature quite prominently but the size and material of these items makes it extremely unlikely that their recovery from settlement contexts has been comprehensive. Furthermore, as with beads, multiple examples may have come from a single item, so beyond indicating that hobnail shoes were worn, little as to the commonness of this dress item can be said. The percentage each item contributed to its assemblage is given below (Table 30).

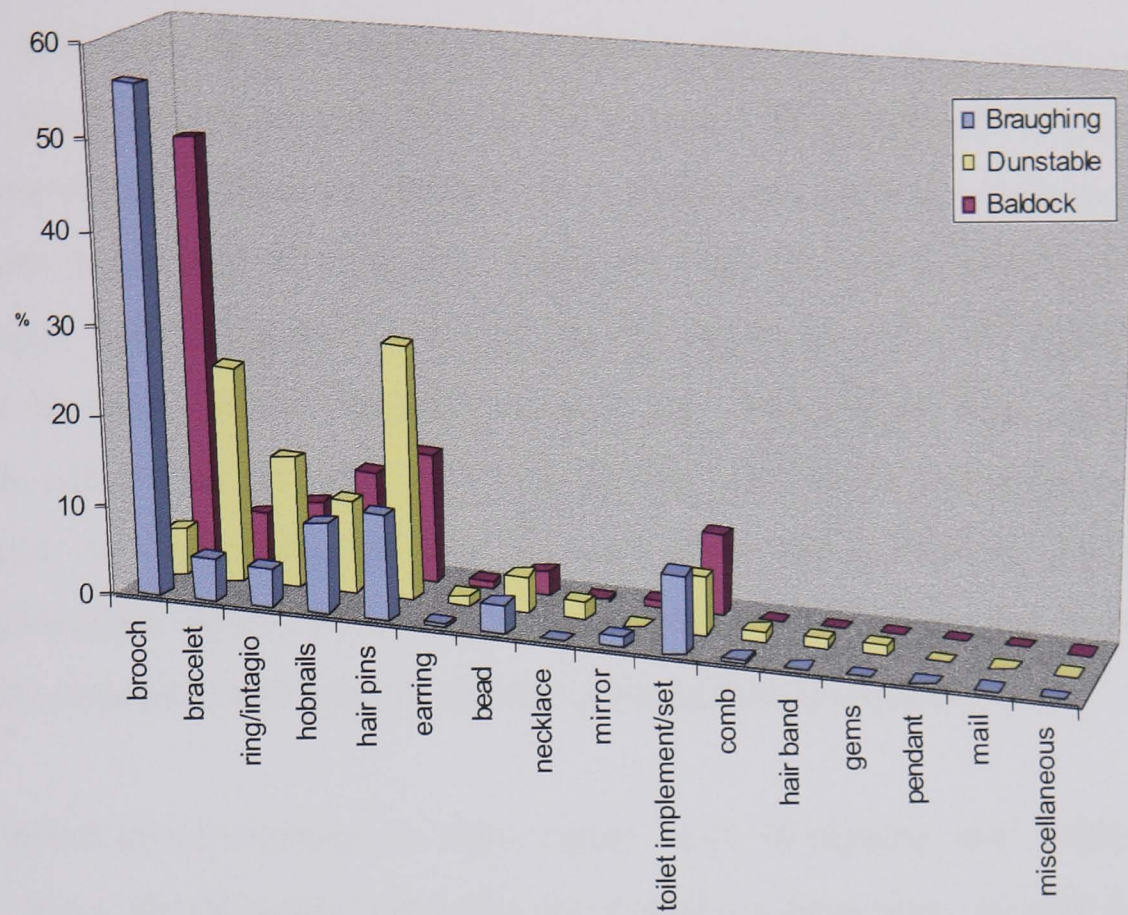
	Dunstable	Braughing	Baldock	Verulamium	Colchester
Bracelet	23	16	41	306	239
finger- ring/intaglio	15	15	52	261	78
hair pins	27	40	104	824	434
Hobnails	10	34	85	42	79
Earring	1	1	5	27	5
Bead	4	11	18	204	107
Necklace	2	0	1	11	5
Brooch	5	193	342	693	161
Mirror	0	4	3	18	5
toilet implement/set	6	30	65	207	91
Comb	1	1	0	1	10
Hair band	1	0	0	0	0
Gems	1	0	0	0	0
Pendant	0	0	1	4	6
Mail	0	0	0	1	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	8
Total	96	345	716	2591	1228

Table 29 Personal adornment assemblages: absolute numbers of adornment artefacts by category

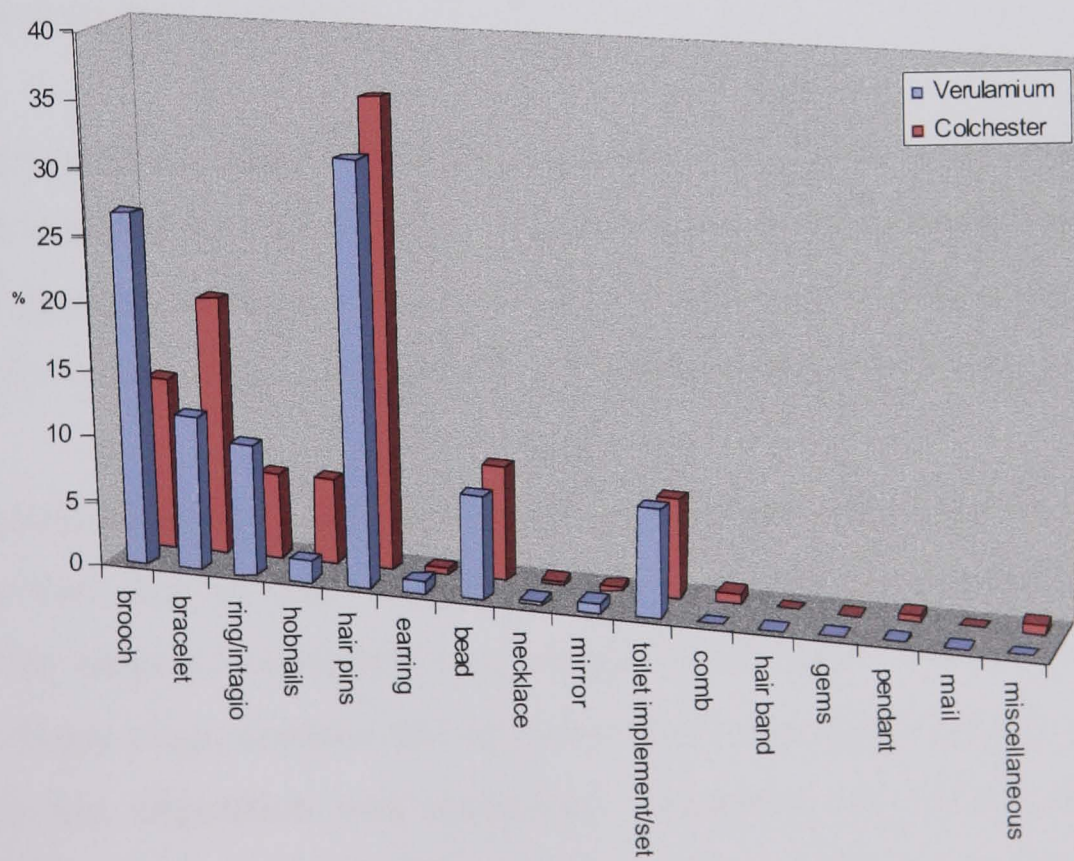
	Dunstable	Braughing	Baldock	Verulamium	Colchester
	% of assemblage	% of assemblage	% of assemblage	% of assemblage	% of assemblage
Bracelet	24	4.6	5.7	11.8	19.5
Ring/intaglio	15.6	4.3	7.3	10	6.4
hair pins	28.1	11.6	14.5	31.7	35.3
Hobnails	10.5	9.9	11.8	1.6	6.4
Earring	1.1	0.3	0.6	1	0.4
Bead	4.2	3.2	2.5	7.8	8.7
Necklace	2.1	0	0.1	0.4	0.4
Brooch	5.3	55.9	47.8	26.7	13.1
Mirror	0	1.2	0.6	0.7	0.4
Toilet implement/set	6.3	8.7	9	8	7.4
Comb	1.1	0.3	0	0.04	0.8
hair band	1.1	0	0	0	0
Gems	1.1	0	0	0	0
Pendant	0	0	0.1	0.2	0.5
Mail	0	0	0	0.04	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0.7

Table 30 Personal adornment by percentage of site assemblage

This reveals some clear differences between the most common categories of personal adornment across the sites, which can be more clearly seen through graphical representation (Graph 4 and Graph 5).



Graph 4 Personal adornment by percentage of site assemblage, showing Baldock, Braughing and Dunstable.



Graph 5 Personal adornment by percentage of site assemblage, showing Verulamium and Colchester

Baldock and Braughing have a distinct personal adornment finds profile, as do Verulamium and Colchester. Dunstable, interestingly, is more similar to the urban sites, despite being the smallest settlement in the sample. How this is affected by the contribution of the cemetery group to the sample is assessed later in the chapter. The results here are intended to show any initial over-riding differences between the assemblages, several of which can be seen. This is particularly noticeable for bracelets, where the proportion at Dunstable exceeds even that of Verulamium and Colchester. A similar pattern can be seen for the finger-rings/intaglios, and although for these items, Dunstable is more like Verulamium than Colchester, it is still an urban site rather than the other rural sites that the distribution resembles. At Colchester, on the other hand, the finger-rings fall into the range witnessed at Baldock and Braughing. Whether these differences relate to the type of occupants at each site and therefore the identities outwardly presented will become clearer as the analysis progresses.

The distribution of hairpins is quite varied, with Braughing and Baldock at less than 15 percent, being significantly lower than the remaining three sites. As with bracelets and finger-rings, the proportion of hairpins at Dunstable compares much more closely to that of Verulamium and Colchester than the rural sites. However, unlike bracelets the frequency of hairpins at Dunstable is not higher than the latter two sites, both of which have assemblages consisting more than 30 percent.

In a reverse pattern to that of bracelets, finger-rings and hairpins, the proportion of brooches at Dunstable is extremely low at just five percent, whereas Baldock and Braughing, falling either side of 50 percent, are double the proportion at Verulamium and four times that of Colchester. The context for these finds, whether burial or settlement, is assessed later on in the chapter.

Of the remaining items, toilet implements form a small but relatively consistent proportion across the sites, and all other artefacts occur in almost negligible quantities. This shows that although the range of adornment items available was large, only a very limited selection—bracelets, finger-rings, hairpins and brooches—were deposited with any regularity. This is not to suggest that deposition was necessarily intentional, but rather, without more detailed contextual information, the deposition patterns cannot be directly associated with usage. Which items were most commonly deposited/used seems to have been site-dependent. At Baldock and Braughing brooches are by far the most common item. At Verulamium and Colchester hairpins

are dominant. Dunstable does not appear to fit with distributions witnessed among either of these groups, having many bracelets and hairpins and more finger-rings than brooches.

These results show some interesting over-riding patterns, but thus far no date distinctions have been made within the Roman period. To see if distribution is affected by date, the finds need to be analysed in more discrete time periods. However, there are a number of problems with the dataset that affect such analysis. For some of the artefact categories there are so few finds, often just one or two examples, that their date distribution may not accurately reflect the period of use for the item type in general. As such, date distribution analysis can only be carried out for the most common categories. For less commonly occurring items, little more can be done than noting their presence, to show that such items were used, but did not contribute significantly to the appearance of the population. For items such as necklaces, it is unfortunate that many materials, such as leather, twine, shell and pearls, do not survive, as this type of adornment is perhaps most likely to have utilised these materials and may originally have contributed to appearance far more than is evident.

Even for the more common items, the size of the assemblage is problematic for the smaller sites, particularly Dunstable. Once divided by date, there would be so few finds per century to again become an unreliable indication of use. Having said this, given general trends witnessed in changing preferences of different adornment items, which suggest brooches and finger-rings were more common in the first two centuries AD and necklaces and bracelets in the 3rd-4th century AD (Swift 2000: 6), any trends in this dataset may be taken with this evidence to suggest possible preferences in certain periods. This is not to *assume* brooches were only in use in the earlier Roman period and bracelets only used later as local use patterns may be very different from broader use patterns. However, when dating information is lacking, these more general dating distributions do provide guidance for likely phasing. If, on the other hand, no apparent preferences are indicated by the date distinctions, it would suggest a low but continued use of these items throughout the Roman period.

A particular problem is also presented by the Verulamium material. Much of the finds information, particularly from older excavations, was recorded with little if any contextual or dating information. Finds from more recent excavations do provide this information, but their quantity is massively outweighed by the older undated material and so does not provide a reasonable sub-sample to compare with the results from the remaining sites. Furthermore, any

patterns indicated by the dated material is unlikely to be representative of actual use at the site as the more contextualised data comes from excavations that focused on specific areas within the settlement. Given this, the distribution of Verulamium material will not be presented here so there is no temptation to compare potentially misleading results.

Given the crudity of much of the dating (as seen in Chapter 6 for the Baldock material), the finds are assigned as early Roman, taken as pre-AD 200 and later Roman, post AD 200. For finds with very broad date ranges, or ones that span the early-late period, e.g. AD 100-300, they have been placed in a general 'Roman' category. Brooches, providing, in general, a much larger sample and benefiting from detailed typological dating, are dealt with in the following section (7.2.1). Table 31 shows the percentage of different artefact types that have date information. The date distribution of these is given in Table 32 and Graph 6-Graph 8. A graph has not been provided for Dunstable given the small numbers involved.

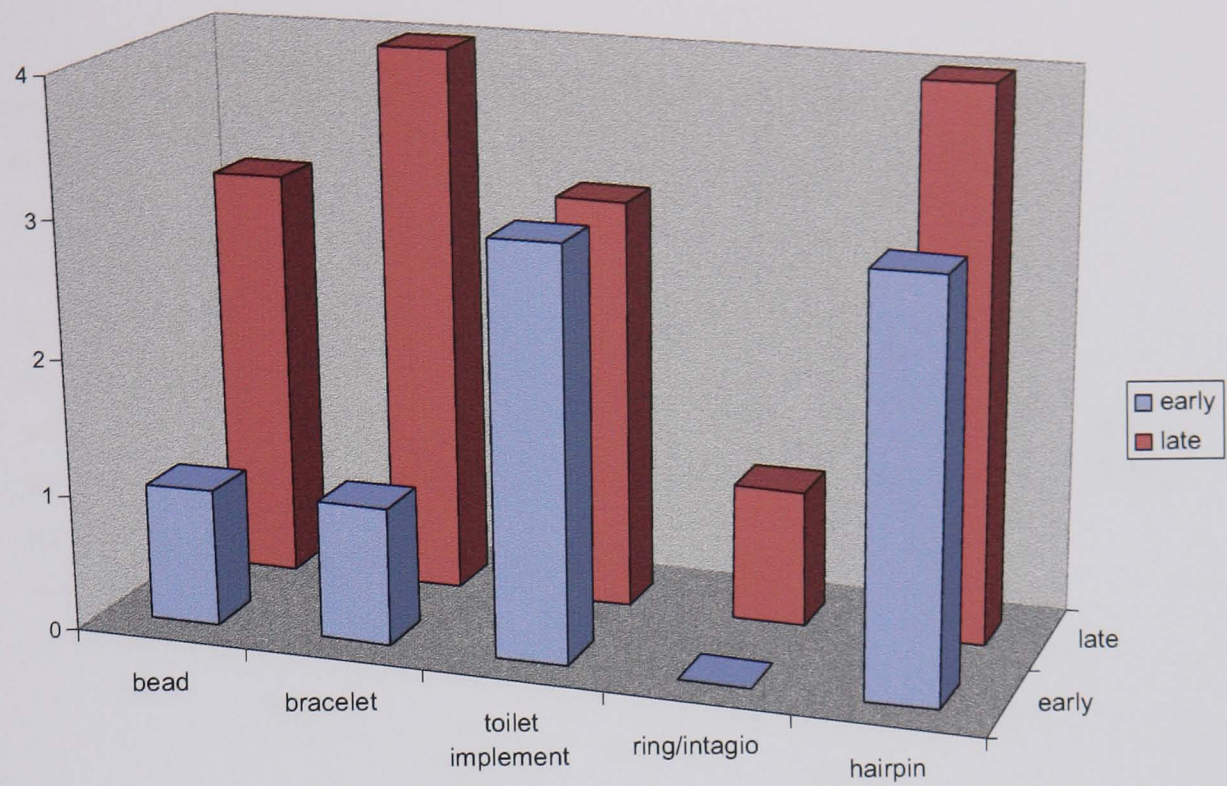
% dated	Braughing	Dunstable	Baldock	Colchester
Bead	55	66	64	84
Bracelet	50	0	61	91
Toilet implement	60	17	67	90
ring/intaglio	13	20	31	87
Hairpin	48	4.5	49	76

Table 31 Percentage of dated finds

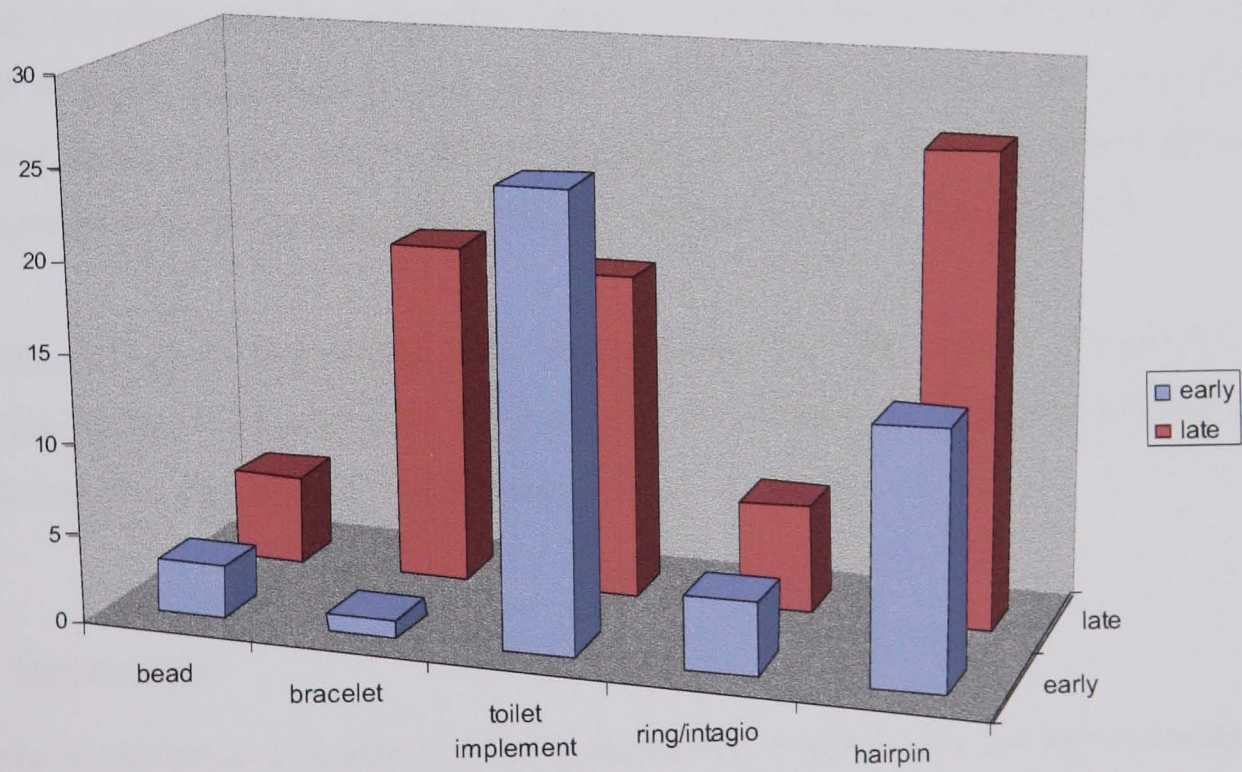
	Braughing			Dunstable			Baldock			Colchester		
	early	Late	Roman	Early	late	Roman	early	late	Roman	early	late	Roman
Bead	2	4	0	0	0	2	3	5	1	14	12	38
Bracelet	3	5	1	0	0	0	1	19	0	7	28	63
Toilet implement	14	4	1	0	1	0	25	18	0	18	7	50
Ring/intaglio	0	2	0	0	1	0	4	6	1	8	9	23
Hairpin	29	19	0	0	0	1	14	26	0	38	92	175

Table 32 Numbers of dated finds by period

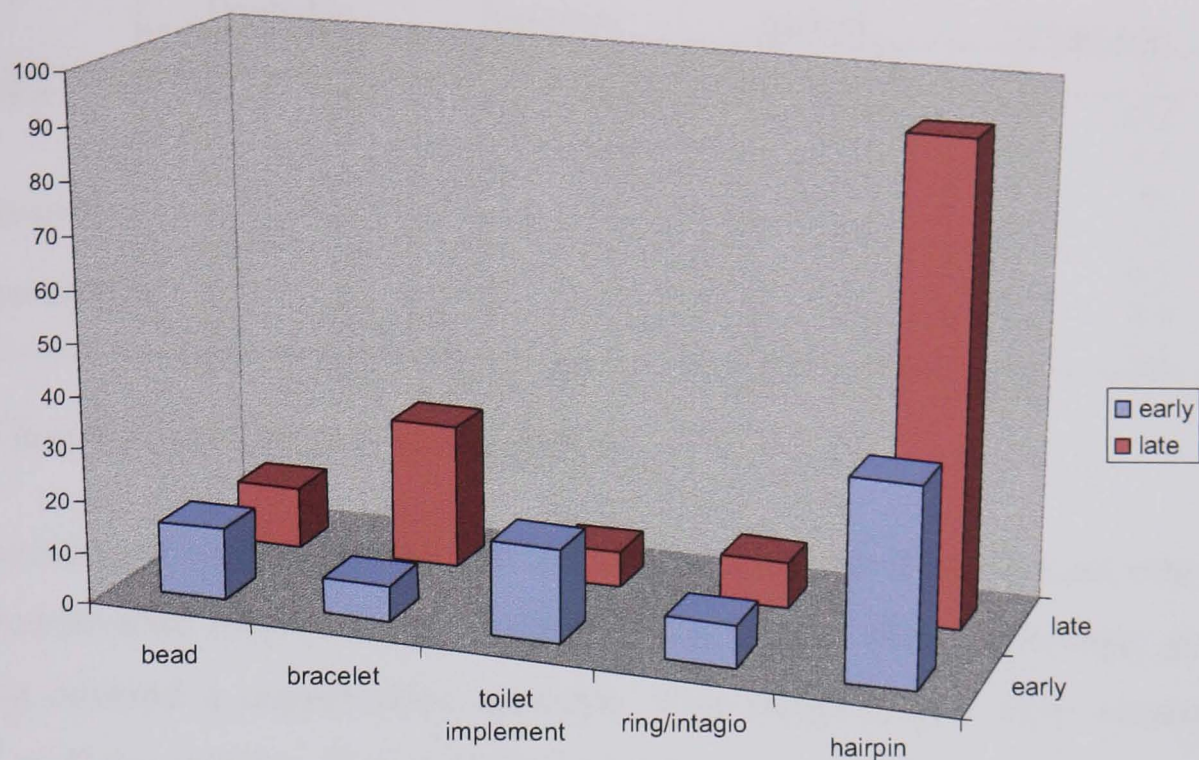
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SITES



Graph 6 Braughing: distribution of dated finds



Graph 7 Baldock: distribution of dated finds



Graph 8 Colchester: distribution of dated finds

These results show that with this dataset it is not possible to refine the following assemblage analyses into date periods within the Roman era as the quantities involved are not sizeable enough to make analysis plausible. This is unfortunate as it reduces the level of resolution. However, as all the sites cover a similar time-span and were open to the same influences, given their proximity to one another, any differences between them should be genuine.

Brooches, hairpins, finger-rings and bracelets are the only groups present in sufficient quantities to enable comparative analysis of material types. Each item is assessed separately, and the results are combined in discussion.

8.2.1 BROOCHES

In terms of differences in materials of manufacture, copper alloy examples dominate all the assemblages (Table 33). Given the size of the Dunstable brooch assemblage, the results from this site are discounted from the following discussion. However, using the profiles from the other sites, we can suggest that approximately four to nine percent of brooches at Dunstable may have been iron, but with rates of survival and the small sample size, no examples have been preserved. As such, it can be suggested that iron brooches formed a small but constant presence.

	Dunstable		Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium		Colchester	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Copper alloy	5	100	185	95.8	295	86.5	607	87.6	148	92
Iron	0	0	8	4.2	25	7.3	65	9.4	6	3.7
Gilded	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0	0
Tinned/silvered	0	0	0	0	19	5.6	12	1.7	6	3.7
Silver	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.7	1	0.6
Iron/copper alloy	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.3	0	0
?	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	2	0.3	0	0
Total	5	-	193	-	341	-	693	-	161	-

Table 33 Brooch assemblages by number and percent

The proportion of copper alloy to iron brooches between the sites becomes even more similar if the tinned/silvered examples are included in the copper alloy percentage, given the surface treatment covered a copper alloy substrate. This brings copper alloy examples to over 90 percent in all the samples. It is perhaps misleading to provide the percentages of brooches with surface treatments because different excavators both within sites and between sites may not have made note of, been looking for, or accidentally but actively removed surface treatments during cleaning. This, combined with post-depositional damage makes it highly probable that the number of brooches originally tinned, silvered or gilded are massively under-represented. Despite these problems, acknowledging they were present is important, as it gives some indication of the variation in appearance available and used for common adornment items. It is also interesting to note that only a few silver examples were recovered and these were all from the two largest (and wealthiest?) sites, Verulamium and Colchester. However, as with Dunstable and the lack of iron examples, the sample sizes of the smaller assemblages means rarer brooches, such as those of silver, may well be unrepresented in the surviving samples even if they originally existed in the same proportion as at the larger sites. Furthermore, although a single gilded brooch is present, no gold brooches are recorded. Despite it being likely that more care would have gone into searching for lost gold brooches, combined with probable increased chance of reuse of this material in particular once out of fashion or broken, that there are no examples in a sample of over 1000 brooches indicates the extreme rarity of precious metal use for this adornment item in south-east Britain.

Although little difference could be determined from the materials used from brooches across the sites, the detailed typology developed for this item provides another line of analysis. This is included in this section of the site analysis for several reasons. Firstly, not all the brooches

from burials at Baldock had been identified by type in the material provided, updated data was not forthcoming and the finds were inaccessible for identification by the author. Secondly, neither Dunstable nor Braughing had any brooches associated with burials, and with only five brooches at Dunstable in all, it has been excluded from the following table (Table 34). That so few brooches have been found at Dunstable is significant in itself, as this may well reflect on the type of clothing worn, and therefore the appearance of people living at this small rural site. The tight-fitting bodices held together at the shoulder by brooches, the supposed dress style of the 1st-2nd century AD (Allason-Jones 2005: 105; Wild 2004: 305) would have been impractical for heavy manual labour. Such labour would also have negated the need for cloaks much of the time, the other item requiring brooch use. It is far more likely that tunics, woven in a single piece (Allason-Jones 2005: 104) and requiring no additional fastening would have been worn as not only would this have allowed ease of movement and removed the problem of garment weakness at the shoulder, but it would also remove the additional cost of brooches. Tunic styles of dress may well have continued unchanged into the later Roman period, but even if the apparent transition to the Gallic coat did occur, as no brooches were needed for this either, the use of brooches would not have been altered.

However, taking this vision of rural dress at predominantly agricultural sites, we would expect Baldock and Braughing to be similar, yet in fact they have been shown to have the highest proportion of brooches across the sites. Both these sites were of more importance in the Late Iron Age than the Roman period and it is possible that, following the Roman conquest, as a means of (re)establishing their identity and/or distinguishing themselves from incomers during and after the Roman invasions, many may have reverted to, or started wearing 'traditional' clothing. It may also be that the nature of the sites, in terms of their role in the community in the pre-Roman Iron Age, may also have been relevant to the way in which subsequent identities were demonstrated. In times of change, 'traditionalism', that is, using material culture that links back to heritage in a way that appears consistent with older cultural precedents are often drawn on as a means of preserving identity (Bell 1997: 145; Eicher 1995: 4). Dress would have provided a very visual way of doing this, and if this was the case, the (im)practicality of garments will not have affected the process. Dunstable, although a rural settlement, was an inconsequential site of Roman period foundation, and having no 'traditional roots' to draw on, instead appears to have been influenced most strongly by the site of closest proximity – Verulamium.

Colchester and Verulamium, although important Iron Age centres, both had much shorter Iron Age histories than Braughing and Baldock, with little evidence of activity before the 1st century AD (Haselgrove 1987: 168; Hawkes & Crummy 1995: 54, 74; Stead & Rigby 1989: 9). This, combined with their subsequent prominence as Roman settlements, and the new types of lifestyles this implies (e.g. urban living, non-agricultural occupations) may have encouraged occupants to take on new ways of living. This suggestion is supported not only by the apparent differences in personal adornment use demonstrated here, but also through differences in other aspects of material culture, notably the ceramics assemblage. Analysis of this material has shown the assemblages at indigenous and Roman sites in south-east Britain in the post-conquest period to be dissimilar, indicating that variable eating and drinking habits also served to differentiate these communities (Pitts 2005: 156; Pitts 2007: 706).

Regarding the typology used below, the identification of brooches and the names given to the different types varied between excavations and sites and, given much of the material is from databases and reports, it has not been possible to identify each brooch anew. As such, using a combination of the identifications and drawings given by the reports and cross-referencing with Hattatt's *A Visual Catalogue of Richard Hattatt's Ancient Brooches* (2000), as consistent a typology as possible between sites has been derived. A number of unclassified brooches were recorded at all the sites, including generic 'bow' brooches, fragments, pins and springs. These have been included below (Table 34), but as a separate row and for the purposes of comparison were not included when calculating the percentage of different brooch types at each site or providing graphical representation of the distribution (Graph 9). Allowing for the coincidence of dates, the brooch types are listed in the table roughly chronologically.

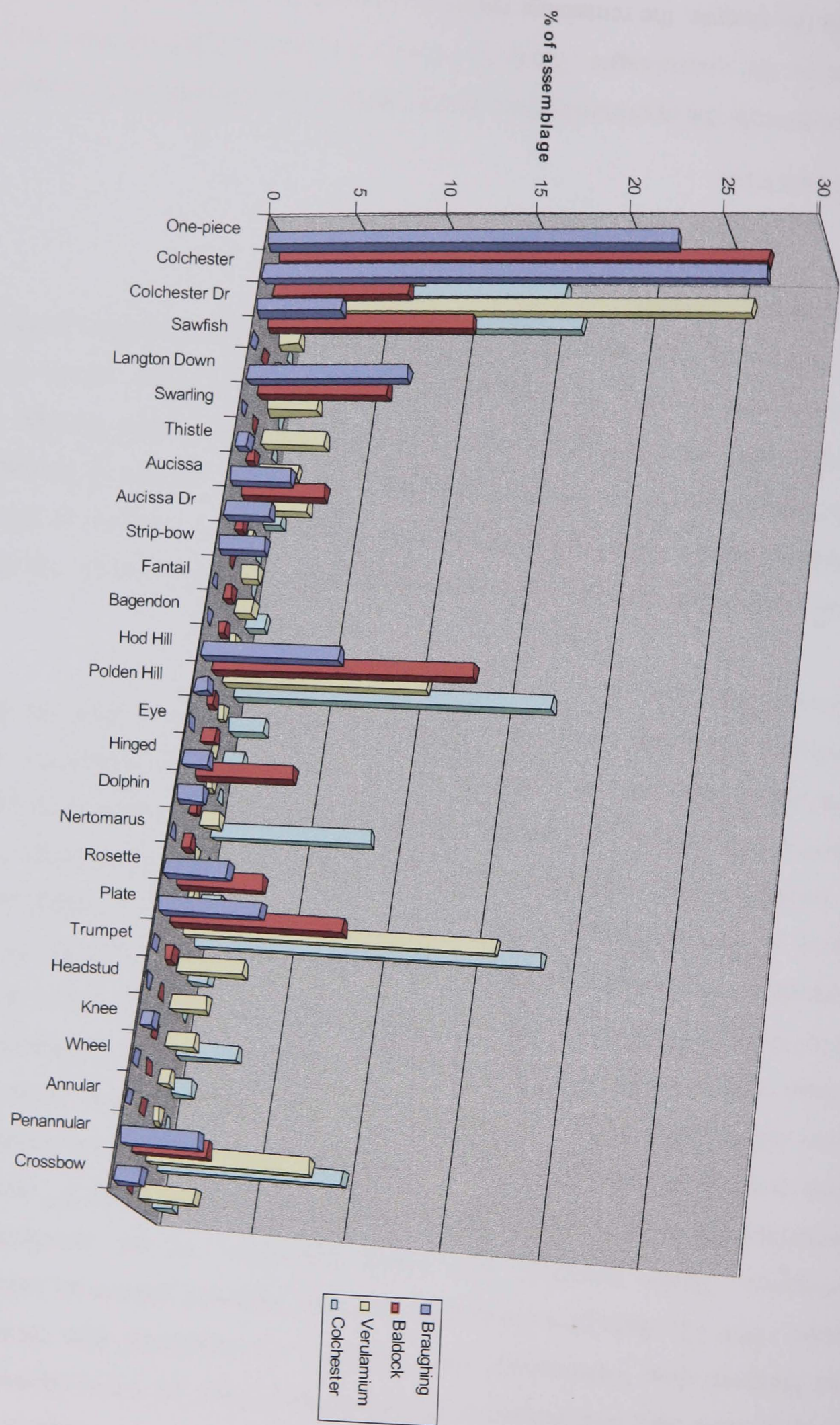
Following the general trend in south-east England, early brooch forms dominate the assemblages (Snape 1993: 1). Within the Late Iron Age brooch types, slightly earlier types are more common at Braughing and Baldock, and later forms at Verulamium and Colchester, and this perhaps reflects the fortunes of the sites, Braughing and Baldock declining towards the end of the Iron Age as Verulamium and Colchester become more prominent. Types commonly associated with a Roman military phase—specifically Colchester and Hod Hill (Haselgrove 2005: 5)—are well represented at Verulamium and Colchester. Colchester brooches also contribute significantly to the Braughing and Baldock assemblages, as do Hod Hill brooches at Baldock, although neither has revealed evidence of military phases. Given the location of these two sites and their proximity and road links with the larger sites, although not having military

occupation phases themselves, they would have had contact with goods associated with the Roman military, if not the military themselves.

	Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium		Colchester	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One-piece (c.100BC-AD100)	33	22.7	70	27.2	24	7.7	14	15.4
Colchester (c.AD40-70)	40	27.6	20	7.8	81	26.2	15	16.5
Colchester Dr (c.AD47-70)	7	4.8	30	11.6	4	1.3	0	0
Sawfish (c.AD40-100)	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	0	0
Langton Down (c.AD30-70)	13	9	19	7.4	9	2.9	0	0
Swarling (c.AD40-70)	0	0	0	0	11	3.6	0	0
Thistle (c.AD30-70)	1	0.7	1	0.4	7	2.3	0	0
Aucissa (c.AD40-60)	5	3.4	12	4.7	10	3.2	1	1.1
Aucissa Dr (c.AD40-60)	4	2.6	1	0.4	1	0.3	0	0
Strip-bow (c.AD40-70)	4	2.6	0	0	3	1	0	0
Fantail (c.AD50-200)	0	0	1	0.4	3	1	1	1.1
Bagendon (c.AD43-70)	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.3	0	0
Hod Hill (c.AD40-70)	11	7.6	37	14.3	35	11.3	16	17.6
Polden Hill (c.AD50-120)	1	0.7	1	0.4	1	0.3	2	2
Eye (c. AD40-70)	0	0	2	0.8	0	0	1	1.1
Hinged (c.AD50-200)	2	1.4	14	5.4	1	0.3	0	0
Dolphin (c.AD50-100)	2	1.4	1	0.4	3	1	8	8.8
Nertomarus (c.AD40-70)	0	0	1	0.4	0	0	0	0
Rosette (c.AD30-70)	5	3.4	12	4.7	1	0.3	1	1.1
Plate (c.AD50-300)	8	5.5	24	9.3	52	16.8	17	18.7
Trumpet (c.70-200AD)	0	0	1	0.4	11	3.6	1	1.1
Headstud (c. AD100-200)	0	0	0	0	6	1.9	0	0
Knee (c.AD150-200)	1	0.7	0	0	5	1.6	3	3.3
Wheel (c.AD50-200)	0	0	0	0	2	0.6	1	1.1
Annular (c.AD200-400+)	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	0	0
Penannular (c.AD50-400+)	6	4.1	10	3.9	27	8.7	9	9.9
Crossbow (c.AD250-400)	2	1.4	0	0	9	2.9	1	1.1
Unclassified bow/fragment	27		58		144		59	
Total (excl. fragments)	72		258		309		91	

Table 34 Brooches by type, shown as total number and percentage of assemblage

Graph 9 Brooch types by percentage of assemblage



Rosette brooches, although well adapted for ostentatious display (Haselgrove 2005: 4), were in limited use in Britain (Johns 1996: 156). This is seen in the above sample, but although never forming more than five percent of the assemblages, they are better represented at Braughing and Baldock than Verulamium and Colchester. A continental type (Haselgrove 1997: 56; Snape 1993: 12), their presence at these sites may represent imports or, indeed, the presence of foreigners. Thistle brooches, also highly decorative, do not contribute to any of the assemblages in large numbers. Plate brooches, more common in the 2nd century AD onwards, come in many different decorative forms (Snape 1993: 24) and were primarily used for their visual effect rather than as fastenings, given their often small size (Johns 1996: 170). It is perhaps unsurprising therefore, that it is at the larger sites, where distinguishing oneself from the crowd would have been harder, and where there is more likely to have been excess wealth to purchase non-essential goods that these largely impractical brooches form more than 16 percent of the assemblages. Indeed, it could be argued that plate brooches and bow brooches are actually different kinds of adornment as the former was a visual badge whereas the latter primarily functioned as a fastening. This is suggested by the name of some garments, such as *infibulatoria* (Bowman & Thomas 1996: 303) also known as *fibulatoria* (Wild 1968: 207) denoting a particular cloak style which was fastened with a fibula. As such, each style performed different roles.

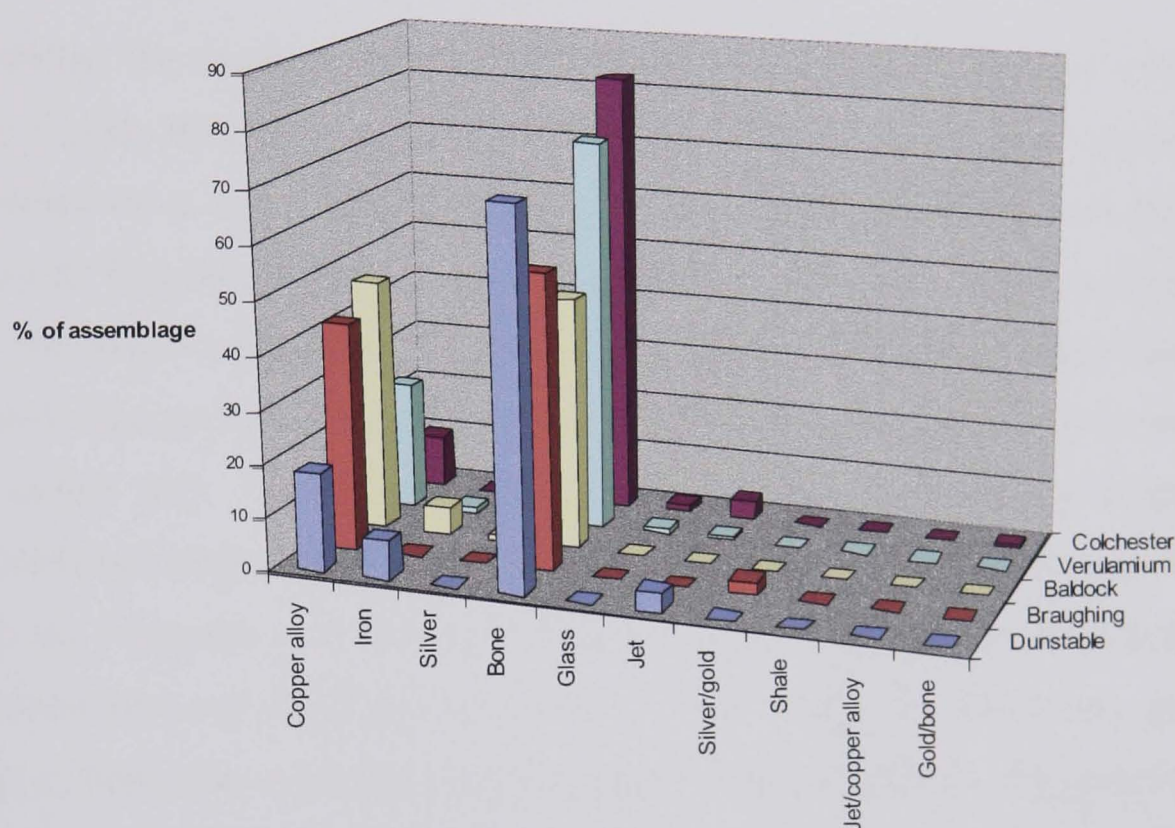
It is also noticeable among the brooch assemblage that although many of the styles only occur in minimal numbers, there is much more variation in types at Verulamium and Colchester. Of the 32 types covered in the above typology, only 14 are present at Braughing and 22 at Baldock. This, combined with the often colourful effect achieved through enamelling, as commonly used on plate brooches, suggests that those from larger centres would have been more variably and more colourfully decorated than those from rural sites, particularly from the second century onwards.

8.2.2 HAIRPINS

Hairpins provide the opportunity for a much greater range of materials to be utilised and this is reflected in the assemblages (Table 35/ Graph 10) but as expected, bone and copper alloy dominate the sample, the remaining materials representing few examples, inconsistently across the sites.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SITES

	Dunstable		Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium		Colchester	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Copper alloy	5	18.5	17	42.5	49	47	197	23.9	43	9.9
Iron	2	7.4	0	0	5	5	7	0.9	0	0
Silver	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	0.4	9	2.1
Bone	19	70.4	22	55	49	47	602	73.1	359	82.7
Glass	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.7	6	1.4
Jet	1	3.7	0	0	0	0	5	0.6	15	3.5
Silver/gold	0	0	1	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shale	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.2	0	0
Jet/copper alloy	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1	0	0
Gold/bone	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1	2	0.5
total	27		40		104		824		434	

Table 35 Hairpin assemblages by material**Graph 10** Hairpin materials by percentage

Baldock and Braughing stand out in this collection as being significantly different to the remaining three sites. Comparing the proportion of bone to copper alloy, the results from Baldock and Braughing both lay at c.50 percent each, whereas at the remaining sites bone is much more common, at between 70-83 percent. These differences are interesting when we refer back to the relative proportions each item contributed to the overall assemblage at each site (Table 30) as here too, Baldock and Braughing stand apart, hairpins contributing less than 15 percent compared to c.30 percent at the other sites. Once again, it seems that the nature of

these sites or their Iron Age significance may have affected the way in which appearances were constructed in the Roman period.

The most varied assemblages come from the two urban sites although single silver hairpins come from both Baldock and Braughing. The rarity of many of the materials—glass, jet etc.—would have caused them to stand out against the far more common bone and copper alloy examples, and given the small quantity and the sites types they are recovered from, these examples most likely indicated wealth, rather than a more specific group identity.

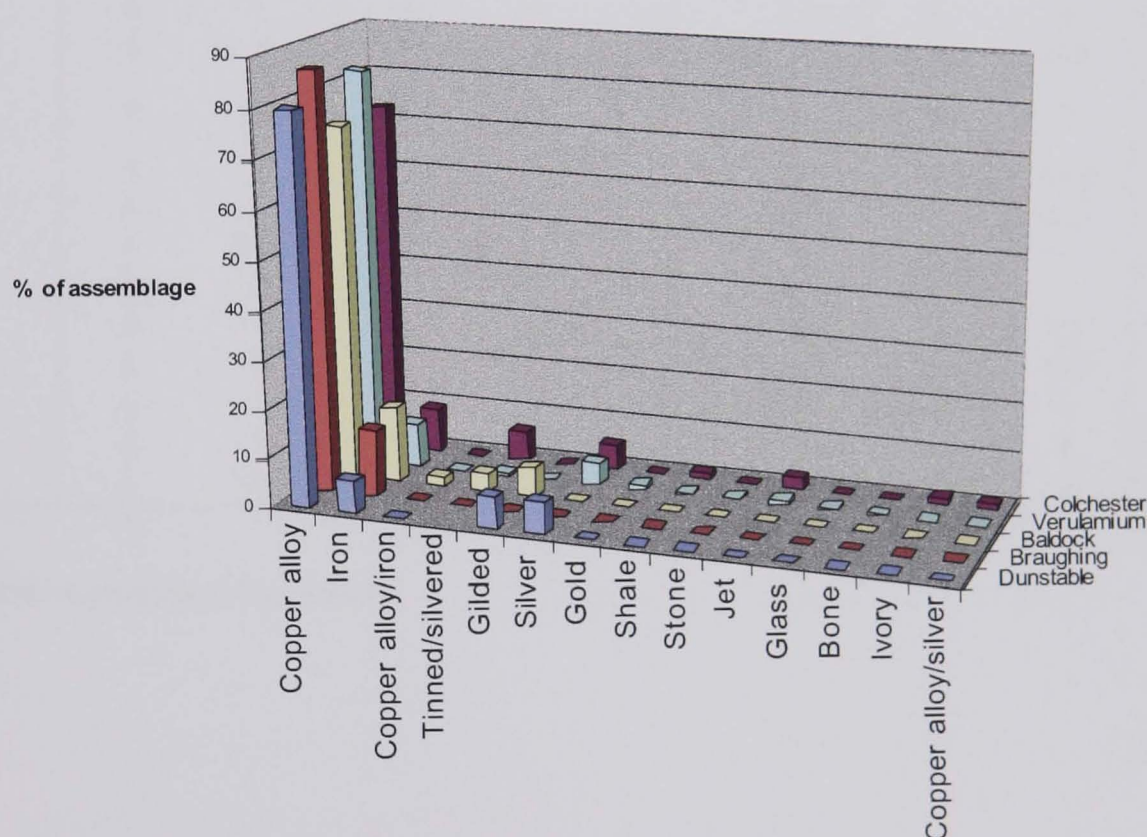
8.2.3 FINGER-RINGS

As with hairpins, the range of materials used for finger-rings is much more varied at the two largest sites (Table 36/Graph 11). Copper alloy examples dominate all the assemblages, with iron represented by a small but consistent proportion. Both Dunstable and Braughing have extremely small finger-ring assemblages, but they both follow the same material distribution patterns as the larger assemblages implying that despite this they are representative of the materials used. The percentage of silver and gilded examples from Dunstable is exaggerated by the small sample size. That finger-rings contributed a fairly consistent proportion of the personal adornment assemblages across all the sites, hovering around 10 percent (Table 30, p.160), and the consistency of materials suggests little difference in use across the region. Some at Verulamium and Colchester made use of ‘rarer’ materials, but in very small numbers. Finger-rings in these materials would have stood out against the norm, and given the decorative nature, are again most likely linked to the display of wealth. The presence of gold finger-rings, although only from Verulamium, re-emphasises that this metal was used for personal adornment, in sufficient quantities to exist in the archaeological record, albeit in minimal numbers. However, their rarity, despite the fact that they are more losable than larger items such as brooches as they are less noticeable, harder to find, and not performing a practical function (i.e. holding up clothes) suggests precious examples were genuinely extremely uncommon.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SITES

	Dunstable		Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium		Colchester	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Copper alloy	12	80	12	86	38	73.1	215	82.4	57	73.1
Iron	1	6.7	2	14	8	15.4	23	8.8	7	9
Copper alloy/iron	0	0	0	0	1	1.9	0	0	0	0
Tinned/silvered	0		0	0	2	3.8	1	0.4	5	6.4
Gilded	1	6.7	0	0	3	5.8	0	0	0	0
Silver	1	6.7	0	0	0	0	12	4.6	4	5.1
Gold	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1.1	0	0
Shale	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	1	1.3
Stone	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	0	0
Jet	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1.1	2	2.6
Glass	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	0	0
Bone	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	0	0
Ivory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.3
Copper alloy/silver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.3
Total	15		14		52		261		78	

Table 36 Finger-ring assemblages by material



Graph 11 Finger-ring materials by percentage

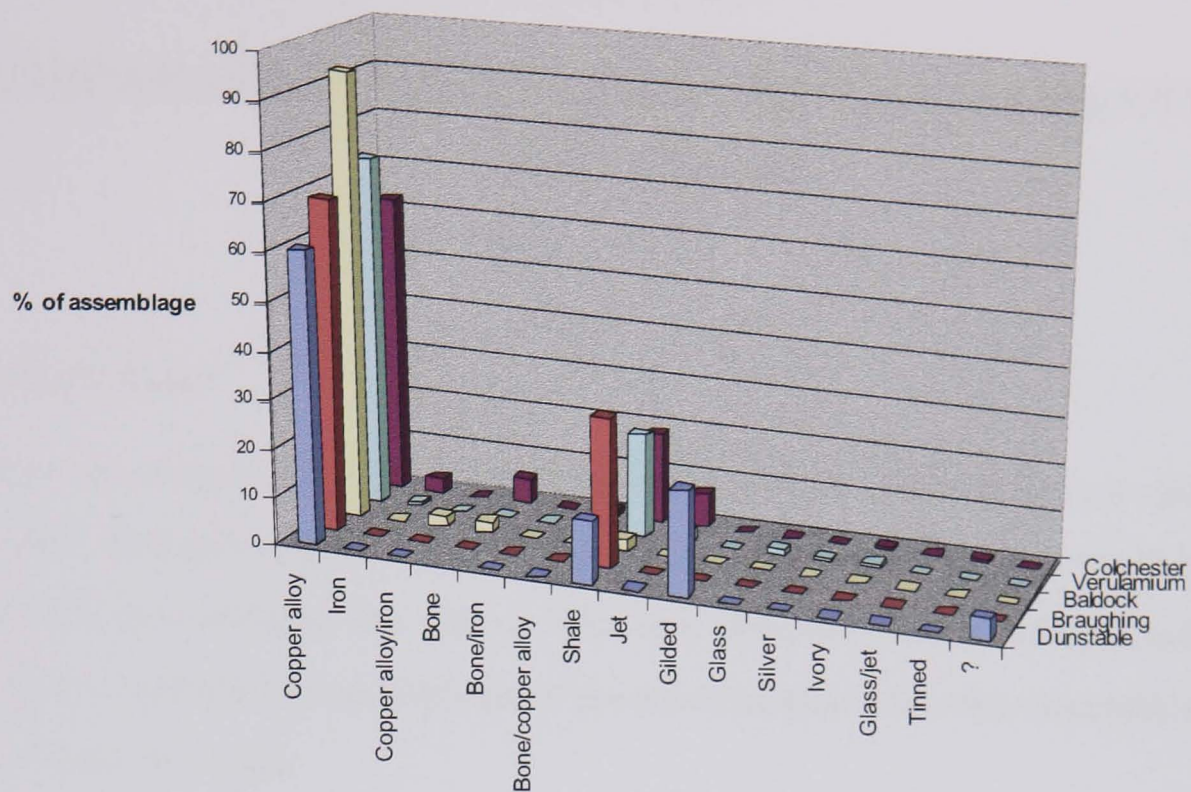
8.2.4 BRACELETS

Last but not least, bracelets follow a similar pattern to the previous items – most variation coming from the two largest sites, but copper alloy forming the dominant material at all, and

shale contributing significantly, even at the smaller sites (Table 37/Graph 12). This suggests shale was not an exclusive material, however, it can be noted that although contributing notable to the Dunstable and Braughing assemblages, the presence of shale at Baldock was minimal. The bracelets from Dunstable, although few in number compared to the larger sites, contribute nearly 25 percent of this sites' assemblage. Furthermore, a number from Dunstable are gilded, making bracelets the 'richest' group of adornment items from this site. The comparison of the settlement and cemetery finds will show if their use was context specific or not, but either way, given the lack of gilded bracelets from the other sites, and the relatively high proportion among the Dunstable sample, it may be that bracelets formed an specific aspect of display among the occupants of this site.

	Dunstable		Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium		Colchester	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Copper alloy	14	60.8	11	69	38	92.7	224	73.2	150	62.8
Iron	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.7	7	2.9
Copper alloy/iron	0	0	0	0	1	2.4	0	0	0	0
Bone	0		0	0	1	2.4	0	0	13	5.4
Bone/iron	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	0	0
Bone/copper alloy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.8
Shale	3	13	5	31	1	2.4	66	21.6	45	18.8
Jet	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2.3	17	7.1
Gilded	5	21.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glass	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0
Silver	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	0	0
Ivory	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.7	2	0.8
Glass/jet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4
Tinned	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.8
?	1	4.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	23		16		41		306		239	

Table 37 Bracelet assemblages by material



Graph 12 Bracelet materials by percentage

8.3 SUMMARY OF RESULTS

This analysis has shown that four main items—brooches, hairpins, bracelets and finger-rings—contributed to appearances across all the sites. However, the proportions in which they contributed varied significantly. Most notable is the differing proportion of brooches to hairpins, the former being most common at Baldock and Braughing, and the latter at Dunstable, Verulamium and Colchester. At these three sites, it is also apparent that bracelets contributed more significantly than elsewhere. Despite these differences in proportion, the materials used for each adornment item type was similar, with the proportion of copper alloy to iron, specifically, remaining fairly constant between sites. For all items, the two urban sites—Verulamium and Colchester—have the most variation in materials used for personal adornment. It may well be that at the smaller sites, where the assemblages are not as large, rarer items simply have not been preserved, but the consistency with which this pattern occurs across all the item types assessed suggests appearance at the larger centres was more variable. The significance of these results is discussed in combination with the results of the settlement:cemetery analysis at the end of Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 9

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SETTLEMENTS AND CEMETERIES

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Having given an overview of the total site assemblages the material is now divided into the settlement and cemetery data to see how the use of personal adornment varied between these contexts. In the first instance the data is split into cemetery and settlement assemblages for each site. This is followed by an analysis of the material types between contexts for each of the four main adornment items.

Mention needs to be made of several of the sites contributing to the Verulamium material. The early cemetery of King Harry Lane, dating from c.AD1-60, contained an extremely high number of brooches, 236 in total from 150 of the 472 graves (Stead & Rigby 1989: 84). The high incidence of brooches from this cemetery, far exceeding the number recovered from any of the other burial areas associated with Verulamium, of contemporary date or otherwise, would dramatically alter the results, and as such, figures and percentages have been given both to include and exclude this information. The high incidence of brooches at this cemetery is of note itself, as it suggests the group using this burial site at Verulam made extensive use of brooches, at least during burial rites. This would have set them apart from other contemporary burials, such as the earlier burials at St Stephens cemetery (Davey 1935; Rees 1937) and the Verulam Hills Field burials (Anthony 1968), where brooches were scarce. Unfortunately, the King Harry Lane burials are cremations, and the subsequent advances made with sexing this material since the publication of the report in 1989 mean that analysis of the distribution of brooches between males and females is not reliable (Chapter 3.3). It has been suggested that this group may have been wealthier and higher status than those from the contemporary burial areas at the site, as implied by the frequent deposition of brooches (Haselgrove 1987: 176), but also perhaps by the dress styles potentially implied by this brooch use.

Note also needs to be made of Folly Lane. The material from excavations covering this area have been included in the following analysis, as, with the exception of some hobnails, all the

personal adornment items found were recovered not from the burial complex but from debris on the lower slope (Niblett 1999: 198-201). This area consisted of shafts that may have had a votive function, wells and cess pits, and industrial and agricultural activities (Niblett 1999: 73). Given the mixed nature of the area, and the fact that no distinction has been made between 'special' deposits and other deposits for the other sites in the sample (due, in the large part, to limited contextual information), the items from the lower slopes at Folly Lane have been included in the settlement assemblages, as material being used/lost/deposited on a daily basis.

Taking these factors into account, the distribution between burials and settlements is shown below and the results are looked at on two levels: intra- and inter-site comparison.

9.2 SETTLEMENT : CEMETERY ANALYSIS

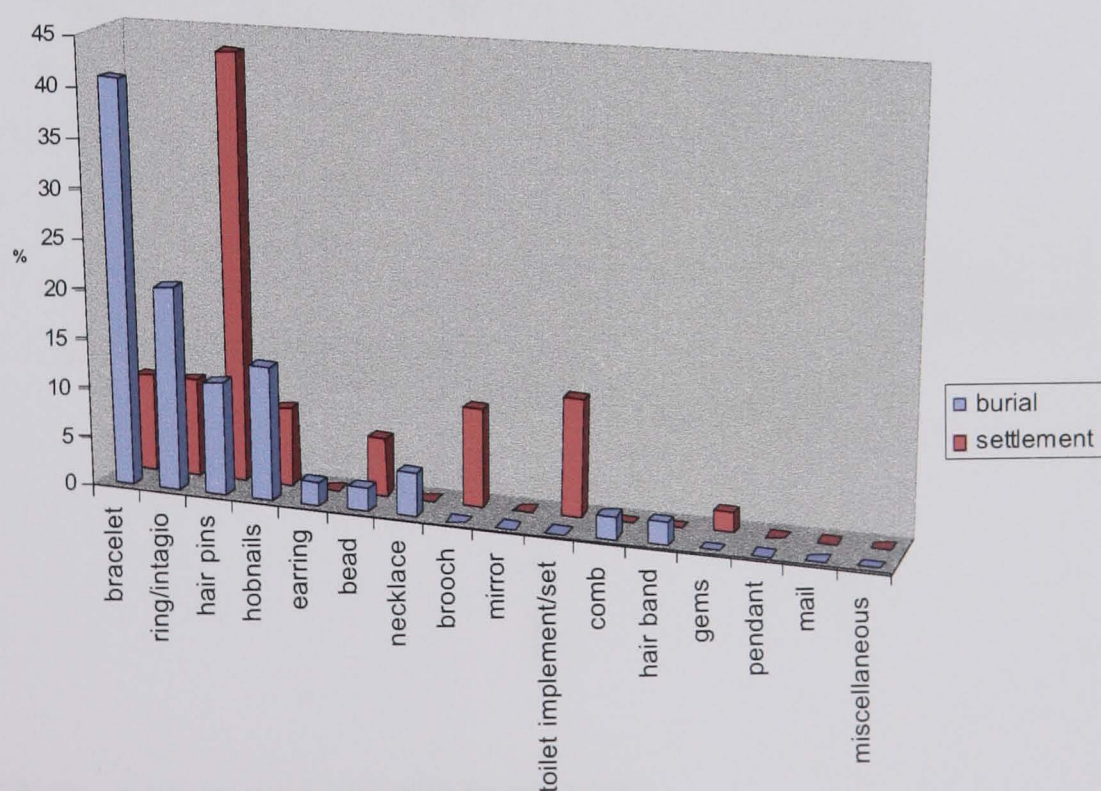
First and foremost, the settlement and cemetery assemblages for each site are compared. This is shown as both total numbers and as a percentage of the settlement and burial assemblages (Table 38 and Table 39 respectively). Each site is also shown individually in Graph 13 to Graph 17.

	Dunstable		Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium			Colchester	
	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Exc. KHL brooch.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.
Bracelet	18	5	3	13	8	33	22	22	284	131	108
Ring/											
Intaglio	10	5	5	10	20	32	1	1	260	32	46
Hair pins	5	22	2	38	22	82	1	1	823	32	402
Hobnails	6	4	34	0	85	0	10	10	32	49	30
Earring	1	0	0	1	1	4	0	0	27	4	1
Bead	1	3	0	11	4	14	6	6	198	31	76
Necklace	2	0	0	0	1	0	9	9	2	5	0
Brooch	0	5	0	193	26	315	240	4	453	11	150
Mirror	0	0	1	3	0	3	8	8	10	5	0
Toilet set/ implement	0	6	1	29	1	64	6	6	201	8	83
Comb	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	8	2
Hair band	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gems	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pendant	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	4	0	6	0
Mail	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Misc.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0
Total	44	51	46	299	169	550	308	72	2291	330	898

Table 38 Personal adornment assemblages divided into settlement and burial finds

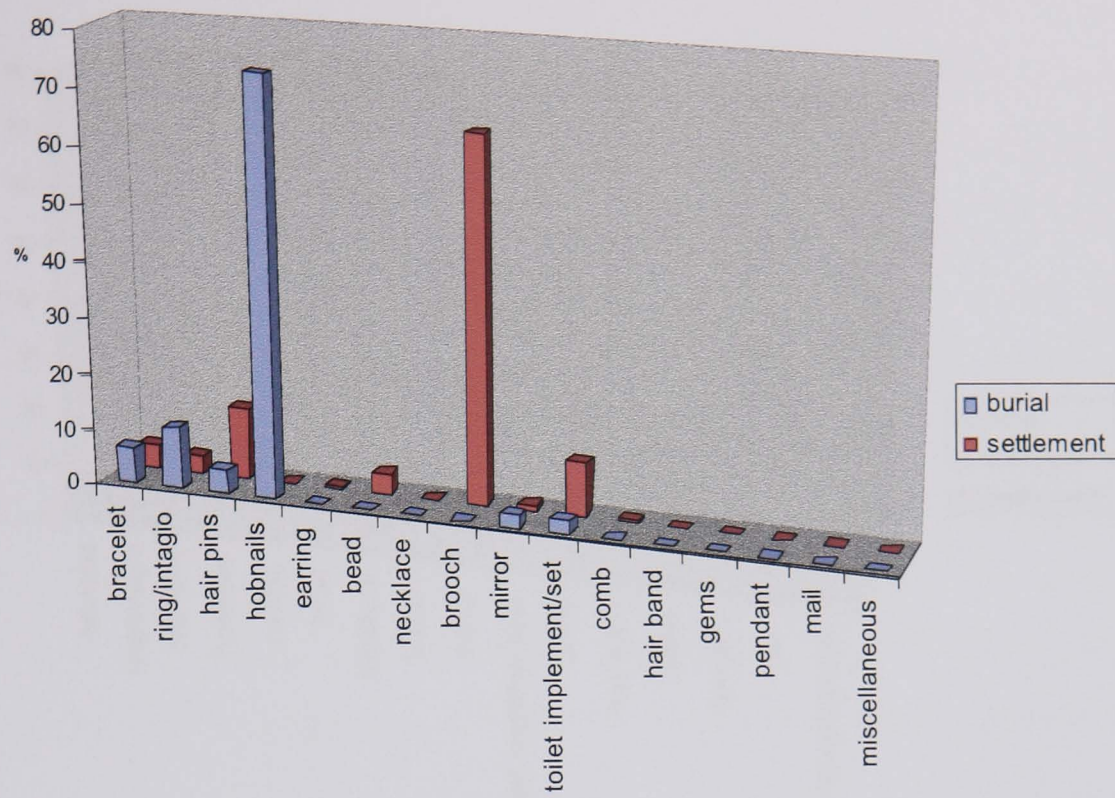
	Dunstable		Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium			Colchester	
	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Exc. KHL brooch.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.
Goss no.	45	51	46	299	169	547	308	72	2291	330	898
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bracelet	40	9.8	6.5	4.3	4.7	6	7.1	30.6	12.4	39.7	12
Ring/ Intaglio	22	9.8	10.9	3.3	11.8	5.8	0.3	1.4	11.3	9.7	5.1
Hair pins	11.1	43.1	4.3	12.7	13	15	0.3	1.4	35.9	9.7	44.8
Hobnails	13.3	7.8	73.9	0	50.3	0	3.2	13.9	1.4	14.8	3.3
Earring	2.2	0	0	0.3	0.6	0.8	0	0	1.2	1.2	0.1
Bead	2.2	5.9	0	3.7	2.4	2.6	1.9	8.3	8.6	9.4	8.5
Necklace	4.5	0	0	0	0.6	0	2.9	12.5	0.1	1.5	0
Brooch	0	9.8	0	64.5	15.4	57.6	77.9	5.6	19.8	3.3	16.7
Mirror	0	0	2.2	1	0	0.5	2.6	11.1	0.4	1.5	0
Toilet set/ implement	0	11.8	2.2	9.7	0.6	11.7	1.9	8.3	8.8	2.4	9.2
Comb	2.2	0	0	0.3	0	0	0	0	0.04	2.4	0.2
Hair band	2.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gems	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pendant	0	0	0	0	0.6	0	1.3	5.6	0	1.8	0
Mail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.3	1.4	0	0	0
Misc.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.4	0

Table 39 Personal adornment by percentage of assemblages of burial and settlement material

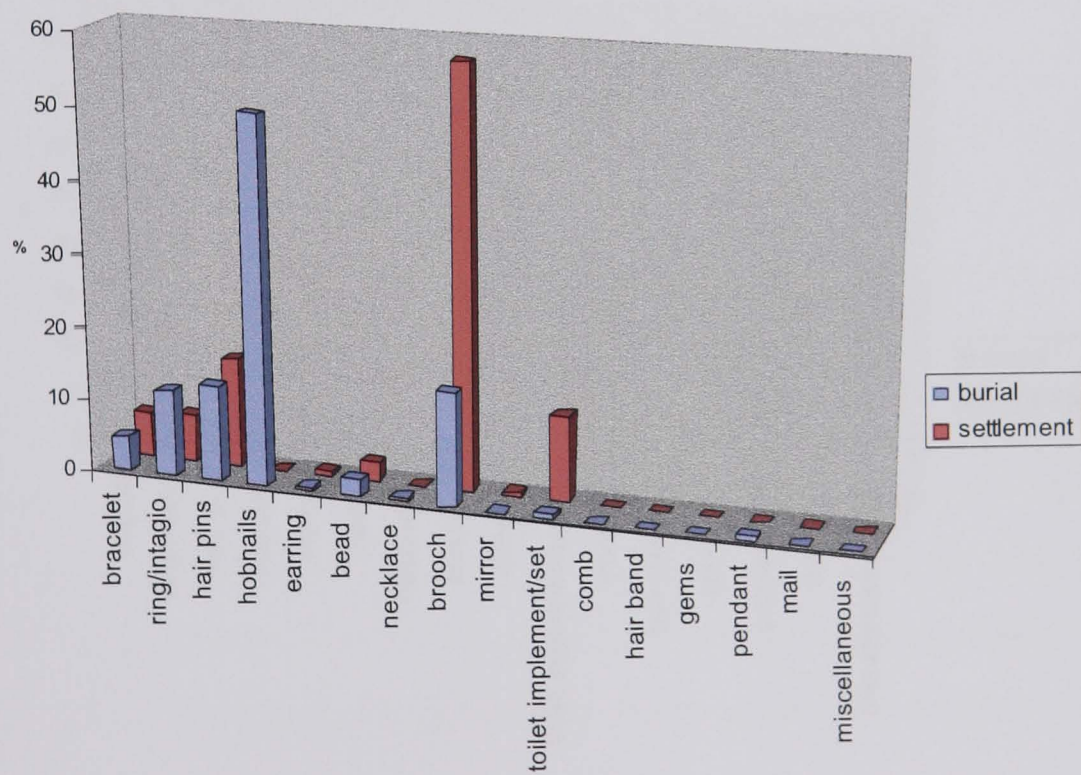


Graph 13 Dunstable: settlement and burial items by percentage

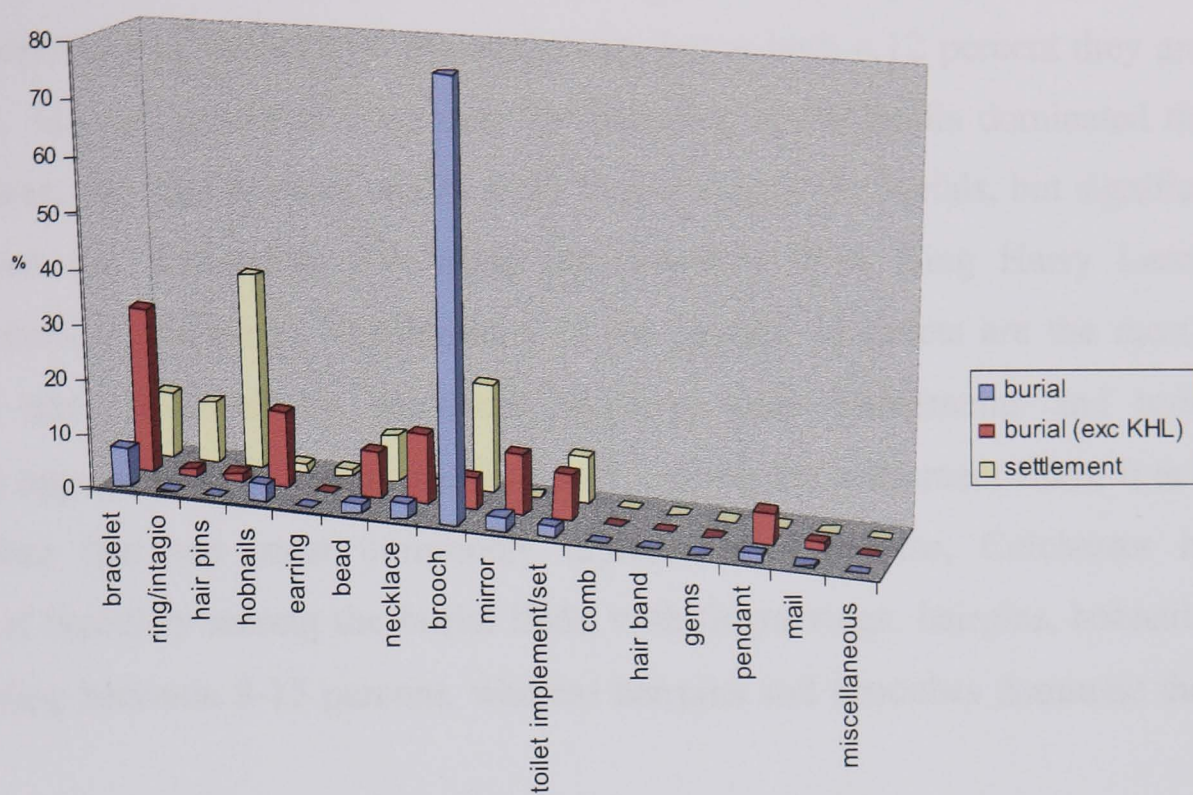
SETTLEMENT : CEMETERY ANALYSIS



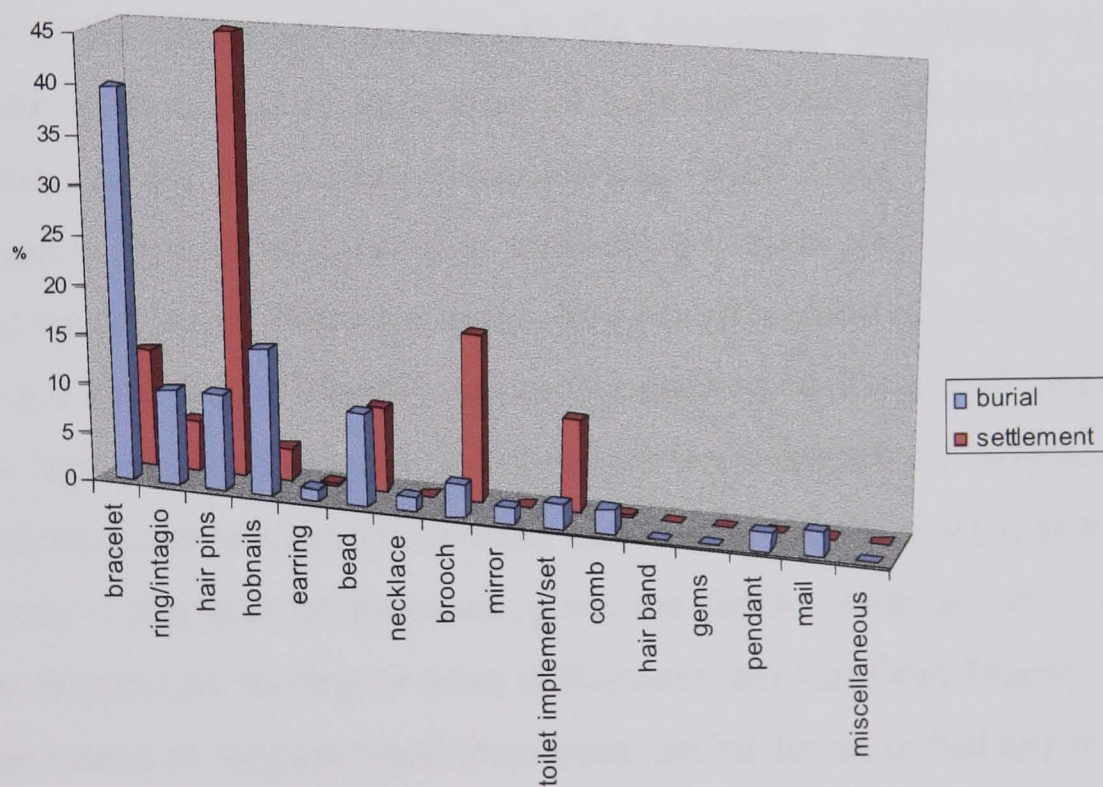
Graph 14 Braughing: settlement and burial items by percentage



Graph 15 Baldock: settlement and burial items by percentage



Graph 16 Verulamium: settlement and burial items by percentage



Graph 17 Colchester: settlement and burial items by percentage

At Dunstable bracelets and finger-rings dominated the cemetery assemblages, being proportionally much more common in burials than settlements (40.9:9.8 percent and 20.9:9.8

percent respectively), but hairpins formed a much greater proportion of the settlement finds. A similar pattern is seen for the finger-rings and hairpins at Braughing, at approximately three times the proportion of those from the settlement, but at both c.12 percent they are not major contributors. The settlement is dominated by brooches but hobnails dominated the cemetery group. Baldock, too, has proportionally more finger-rings from burials, but significantly fewer brooches than the settlement. Excluding the brooches from King Harry Lane a slightly different pattern is visible at Verulamium. In the burials, bracelets are the most commonly represented item followed by necklaces, mirrors, toilet implements and hobnails, each contributing approximately 10 percent. However, among the settlement finds, it is the hairpins then brooches that are most commonly represented. Likewise, Colchester has a large proportion of bracelets among the burial finds, with finger-rings, hairpins, hobnails and beads all contributing between 9-15 percent, whereas hairpins and brooches dominate the settlement material.

At all the sites, hobnails contributed a much greater proportion of burial than settlement finds, but this is unlikely to be representative of use. To counter-act the problem of under-representation in the settlement assemblages the percentage of different artefacts in each context has also been calculated excluding the hobnails (Table 40). However, that they are frequently found in all the cemetery assemblages, even those with little other personal adornment suggest that shoes formed a relatively common part of the costume or goods accompanying the deceased. There are many more burials without hobnails than with, but shoe types that did not make use of hobnails are rarely preserved, so the lack of data cannot be taken as a definitive lack of use. It is possible that people went unshod, and maybe especially so in burials if the shoes could be used by surviving members of family or associates. Roman beliefs that the shoe was a signature of the owner, given the distinct patterns they could leave in the dirt, may have stopped the sharing or reuse of footwear (see van Driel-Murray 1999), but there is no particular reason to suppose these ideas were carried across or had any relevance in rural Britain.

Without hobnails, the differing proportion of adornment items in burials becomes more exaggerated, and the contrast between burial and settlement finds greater (Table 41). Colour tables allow easier visual comparison of the different distribution among the most common categories of personal adornment, hobnails being excluded due to recovery limitations from settlements (Table 41 to Table 43).

	Dunstable		Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium			Colchester	
	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Exc. KHL brooch.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.
Gross No.	39	47	12	299	84	547	298	62	2259	281	868
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bracelet	46	10.6	25	4.3	9.5	6	7.4	35.5	12.6	46.6	12.4
Ring/ Intaglio	25.6	10.6	41.7	3.3	23.8	5.8	0.3	1.6	11.5	11.4	5.3
Hair pins	12.8	46.8	16.7	12.7	26.1	15	0.3	1.6	36.4	11.4	46.3
Earring	2.6	0	0	0.3	1.2	0.8	0	0	1.2	1.4	0.1
Bead	2.6	6.4	0	3.7	4.8	2.6	2	9.7	8.8	11	8.8
Necklace	5.1	0	0	0	1.2	0	3	14.5	0.1	1.8	0
Brooch	0	10.6	0	64.5	31	57.6	80.5	6.5	20.1	3.9	17.3
Mirror	0	0	8.3	1	0	0.8	2.7	12.9	0.4	1.8	0
Toilet set/ implement	0	12.8	8.3	9.7	1.2	11.7	2	9.7	8.9	2.8	9.5
Comb	2.6	0	0	0.3	0	0	0	0	0.04	2.8	0.2
Hair band	2.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gems	0	2.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pendant	0	0	0	0	1.2	0	1.3	6.5	0	2.1	0
Mail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.3	1.6	0	0	0
Misc.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.8	0

Table 40 Personal adornment by percentage of assemblages of burial and settlement material, excluding hobnails

	Dunstable	Braughing	Baldock	Ver.	Colchester
Brooches					
Hairpins					
Finger-rings					
Bracelets					

Table 41 Settlement finds distribution

	Dunstable	Braughing	Baldock	Ver.	Colchester
Brooches					
Hairpins					
Finger-rings					
Bracelets					

0 %	
1-10	
11-20	
21-30	
31-40	
41-50	
51-60	
61+	

Table 42 Cemetery finds distribution (excluding KHL brooches)

	Dunstable	Braughing	Baldock	Ver.	Colchester
Brooches					
Hairpins					
Finger-rings					
Bracelets					

Table 43 Cemetery finds distribution (excluding hobnails, and KLH brooches)

At Dunstable, bracelets are even more strongly represented in the burial sample compared to the settlement, whereas hairpins remain dominant among the settlement finds. At Braughing the difference is far more striking, finger-rings becoming the main burial item followed by bracelets, showing a big divergence from the settlement profile. At Baldock, hairpins become much more prominent in the burial profile with the exclusion of hobnails, as do finger-rings,

the settlement profile remaining the same with brooches and hairpins forming the two most common categories. At Verulamium (excluding KHL brooches), even with the exclusion of hobnails, bracelets continued to dominate the burial finds. Necklaces, mirrors and toilet implements also contributed to the burial assemblages, while hairpins, brooches and finger-rings remained prominent on the settlement. Last but not least, finds at Colchester also demonstrated a considerable increase in the proportion of bracelets from burial contexts, finger-rings, hairpins and beads contributing in equal proportions at c.11 percent, whereas the prominence of the two main items from the settlement, hairpins and brooches, was slightly raised.

This suggests that at all sites the range of personal adornment items chosen for inclusion in burials was distinct from the range of items most commonly found on the settlements. However, which items were favoured varied between sites. Given the different, and often small size of the assemblages, only the four most common items—brooches, hairpins, finger-rings and bracelets—were compared in detail, although the contribution of other items has also been discussed. The key points may be summarised:

- **Brooches:** At all sites, brooches are much more strongly represented among settlement finds than burials
- **Hairpins:** At Dunstable, Verulamium and Colchester hairpins contribute more than 36 percent of settlement finds, but between only 1.6-12.8 percent of burial finds. At Braughing and Baldock this is reversed, though not to the same extent, hairpins being more strongly represented in burials.
- **Finger-rings:** At Baldock, Dunstable and Braughing finger-rings contribute more than 20 percent burial finds, and at all sites except Verulamium, they are more prominent among burial than settlement finds.
- **Bracelets:** These contribute more than 25 percent burial finds at all sites except Baldock, compared to less than 12.5 percent settlement finds at any site.
- **Toilet implements:** At Dunstable, Baldock and Colchester, these are more common among settlement finds, consistently contributing approximately 10 percent of the assemblage. At Braughing and Verulamium, they are more strongly represented in burials, but only by a few percent.
- **Hobnails:** Consistently dominated the burial assemblages.

The implications of these results are discussed in detail following the rest of the analysis.

9.3 MATERIAL ANALYSIS OF THE SETTLEMENT : CEMETERY FINDS

The second source of evidence, the differences between materials used to construct the main items, is now explored. Given that toilet implements are almost exclusively of copper alloy, the analysis will be restricted to the brooches, hairpins, finger-rings and bracelets. The numbers in each assemblage are highly variable. As before, the data is tabulated, but also presented as pie charts to enable easy visual comparison between the burial and settlement material at each site. When any particular category of finds from a site is extremely low or not present in one of the two contexts, graphs for that site or context are not included.

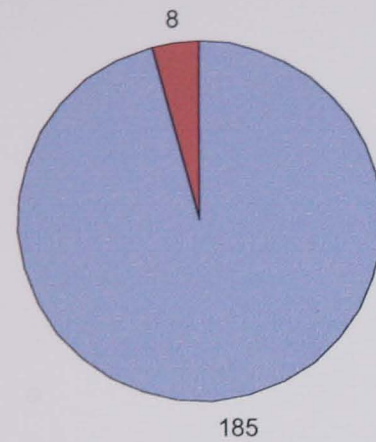
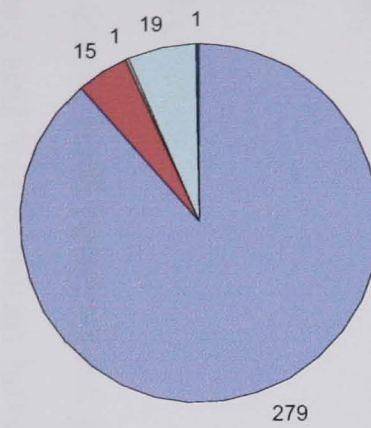
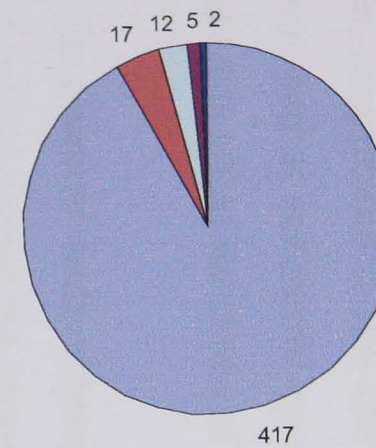
9.3.1 THE BROOCHES

Tinned/silvered and gilded brooches have been included in the analysis (Table 44) and graphs (Graph 18 to Graph 24) as, despite probable under-representation, they indicate the range of different finishes employed on this type of artefact.

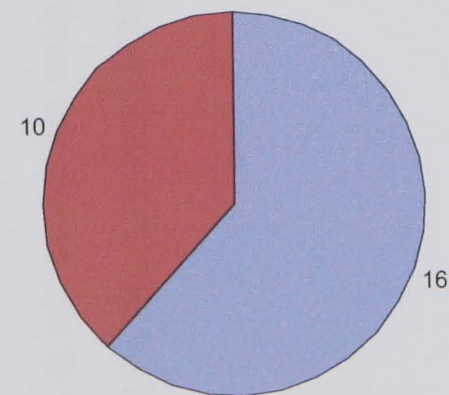
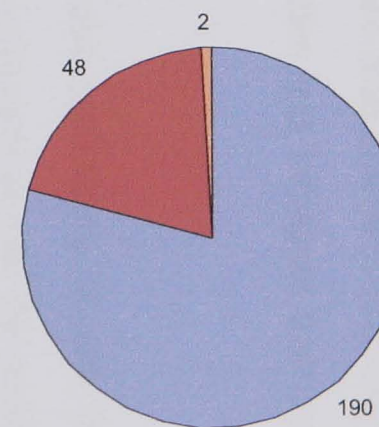
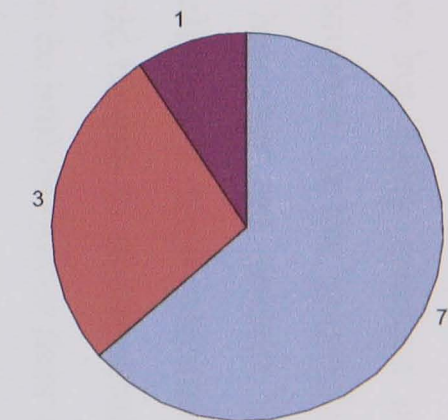
	Dunstable		Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium			Colchester	
	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Bur. exc KHL	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.
Copper alloy	0	5	0	185	16	279	190	4	417	7	241
Iron	0	0	0	8	10	15	48	0	17	3	3
Gilded	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tinned/silvered	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	0	12	0	6
Silver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0
Iron/copper alloy	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
Total	0	5	0	193	26	315	240	4	453	11	250

Table 44 Brooches by material for burial and settlement

The Verulamium burial chart includes the King Harry Lane material as there are only four brooches associated with burials that are not from this site; however, the brooches recovered from these burials date almost exclusively to c.AD1-70 (Stead & Rigby 1989: 84) or slightly earlier (Mackreth 1994).

Braughing**Graph 18** Braughing settlement brooches by material**Baldock****Graph 19** Baldock settlement brooches by material**Verulamium****Graph 21** Verulamium settlement brooches by material**Colchester.****Graph 23** Colchester settlement brooches by material

	Copper alloy
	Iron
	Gilded
	Tinned/silvered
	Silver
	Iron/copper alloy
	?

**Graph 20** Baldock cemetery brooches by material**Graph 22** Verulamium cemetery brooches by material**Graph 24** Colchester cemetery brooches by material

Several patterns are instantly visible across the sites. As expected copper alloy and iron are the main materials for the brooches, with copper alloy the substantially dominant. Across the settlement assemblages, iron contributed a low but fairly constant proportion, although slightly lower at Colchester. Most interesting however, is the proportion of iron brooches among the burials. At the three sites where brooches are present in burials—Baldock, Verulamium and Colchester—iron is proportionally much more common in this context than on the settlements. However, this difference could be due to preservational and depositional factors. Items from settlements are more likely to be broken (hence their loss or discard) than those selectively deposited in burials and this fragmentation, combined with the effects of corrosion makes iron brooches from settlement deposits harder to identify than copper alloy examples. Fragmentation and corrosion also make iron artefacts less easy to identify during excavation, and as settlement excavations are often less stringent than excavation of burials this would also affect the levels of recovery.

Despite the assumed under-representation, it is also interesting to note that at the sites with tinned/silvered brooches the proportion is very consistent across the settlement assemblages. This may be a coincidence, but it is possible that despite the varied excavation histories of the sites, the extent of surface finishes recorded on brooches may be more accurate than presumed.

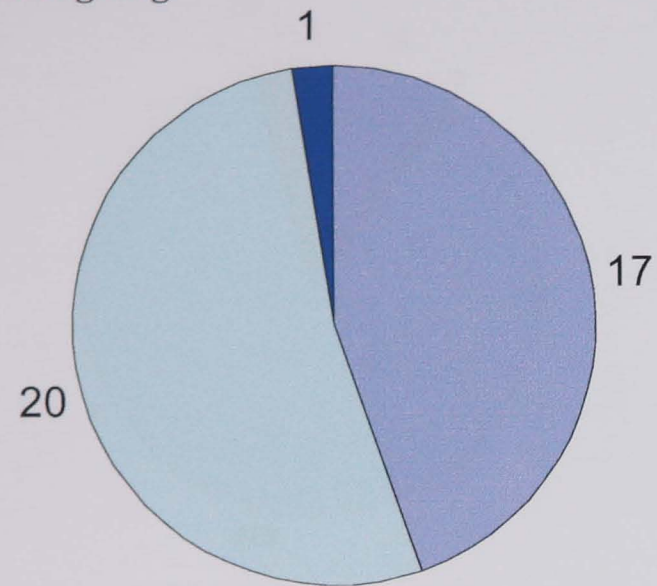
9.3.2 HAIRPINS

The results for both contexts are provided in the table (Table 45). The burials from Dunstable, Braughing and Verulamium have been excluded from the charts due to the small quantities but their settlement information is included to allow cross-site comparison (Graph 25-Graph 31).

	Dunstable		Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium		Colchester	
	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.
Copper alloy	2	3	0	17	13	32	0	197	4	39
Iron	0	3	0	0	3	2	0	7	0	0
Silver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	3
Bone	0	18	2	20	6	43	1	601	16	343
Glass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	5	1
Jet	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	15
Silver/gold	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Jet/copper alloy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Gold/bone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Total	3	24	2	38	22	77	1	823	32	402

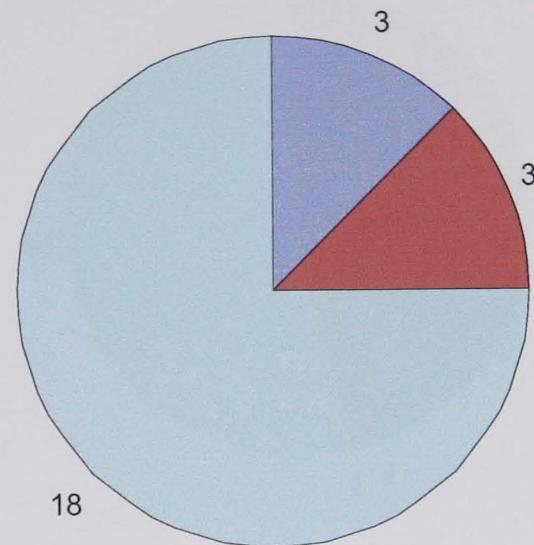
Table 45 Hairpins by material for burials and settlements

Braughing



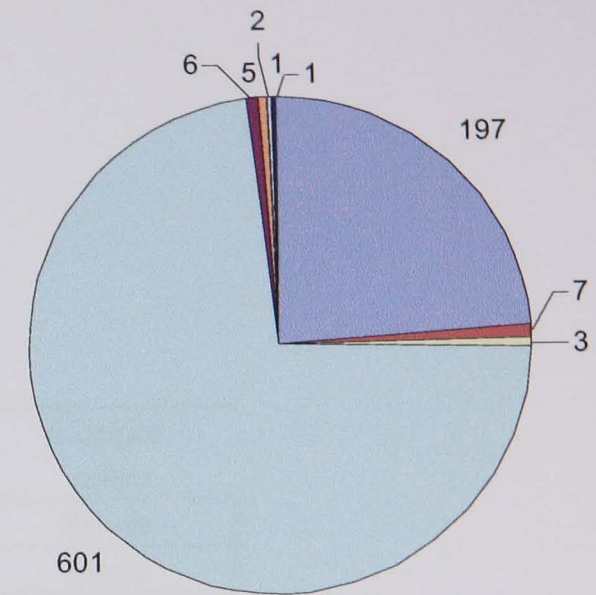
Graph 25 Braughing settlement pins by material

Dunstable



Graph 26 Dunstable settlement pins by material

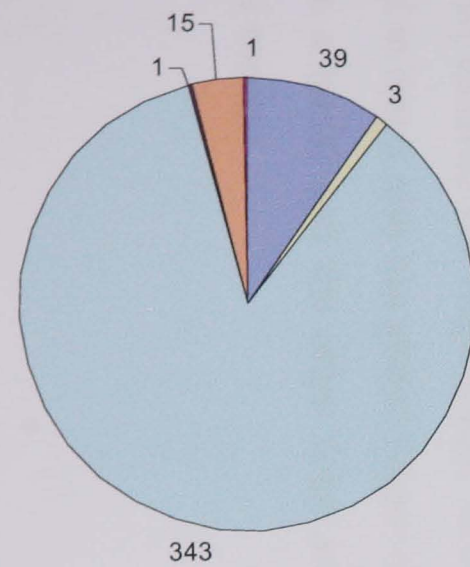
Verulamium



Graph 27 Verulamium settlement pins by material

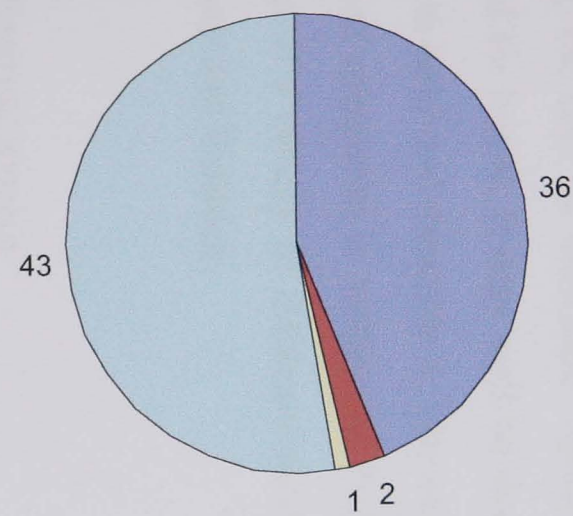
	Copper alloy
	Silver
	Bone
	Glass
	Jet
	Gold/Bone
	Iron
	Silver/gold
	Jet/gold
	Shale

Colchester

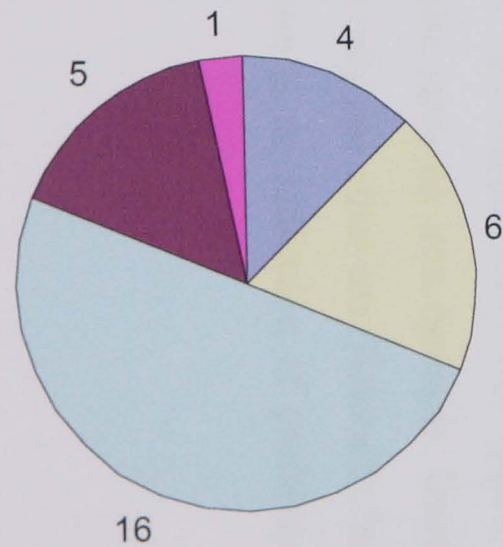


Graph 28 Colchester settlement pins by material

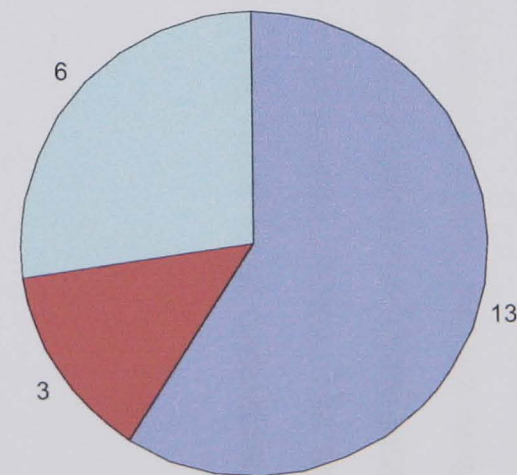
Baldock



Graph 30 Baldock settlement pins by material



Graph 29 Colchester burial pins by material



Graph 31 Baldock burial pins by material
192

	Copper alloy
	Silver
	Bone
	Glass
	Jet
	Gold/Bone
	Iron
	Silver/gold
	Jet/gold
	Shale

A less distinct distribution pattern is visible among the hairpins compared to brooches. Bone is the most common settlement material, present in similar proportions at Dunstable, Colchester and Verulamium, at approximately 75 percent, whereas just over half those at Baldock are of this material. This shortfall in bone pins at Baldock is made up largely by copper alloy examples, and although copper alloy pins are present at the other three settlements, it contributes less than 15 percent. At Braughing, although extremely few, copper alloy hairpins dominate the settlement assemblage (eight of nine), indicating a pattern more like that of Baldock, a site of similar type, compared to the urban setting of Colchester and Verulamium.

Among the burials, the first important point is that only two sites had pins in this context in any quantity, and even here the numbers are small. This suggests hairpins, and by extension dressing the hair in elaborate 'up-do's', was not commonly used for preparation of the deceased for burial. It may well be that the hair was dressed or styled, but not using this type of item to hold and decorate it. The second point is that the proportion of bone pins in burials is reduced compared to settlement finds at both sites, at 30 percent or less. The remainder is made up of a variety of different materials, but within this, there is no consistency between Colchester and Baldock.

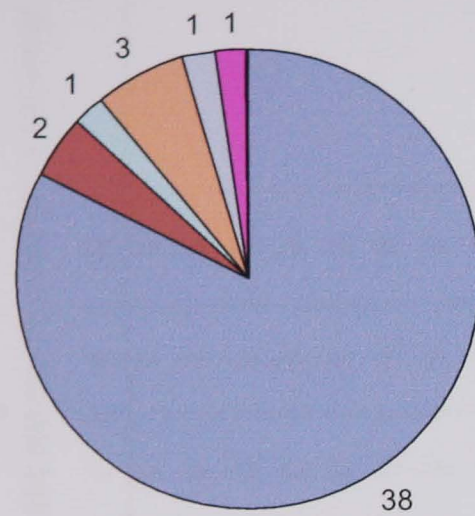
9.3.3 FINGER-RINGS

The size of the finger-ring assemblages means that graphical analysis (Graph 32-Graph 36) is restricted to Baldock and Colchester, and the settlement material from Verulamium. However, at both Dunstable and Braughing, it can be noted that copper alloy was apparently the preferred material for finger-rings, although both also have an iron example. Dunstable is unusual in that it also has gilded finger-rings, seen at only one other site (Baldock), but as one is from a burial and the other from settlement, there is no indication of preference for a specific context.

	Dunstable		Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium		Colchester	
	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.
Copper alloy	8	4	3	9	9	29	1	214	19	38
Iron	1	0	1	1	5	3	0	23	5	2
Copper alloy/iron	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tinned/silvered	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	4	1
Gilded	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Silver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	1	3
Gold	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Shale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Stone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Jet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1
Glass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Bone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Ivory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Copper alloy/silver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total	10	5	4	10	20	32	1	260	32	46

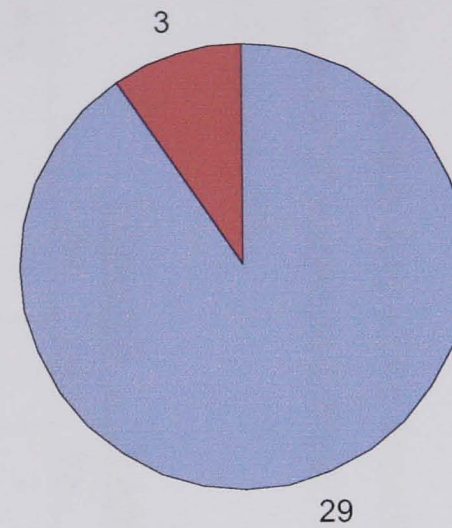
Table 46 Finger-rings by material for burials and settlements

Colchester



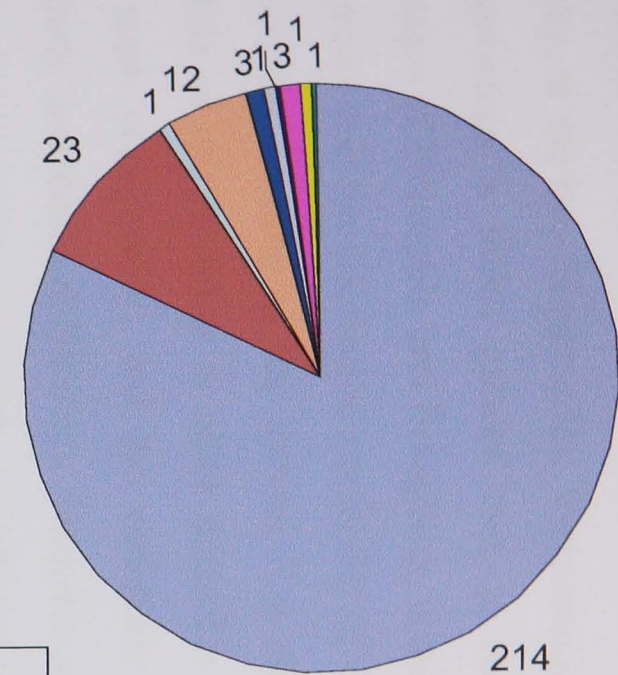
Graph 32 Colchester settlement finger-rings by material

Baldock

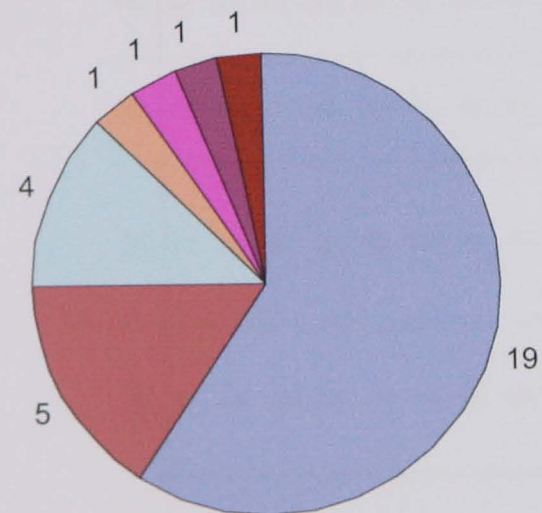


Graph 34 Baldock settlement finger-rings by material

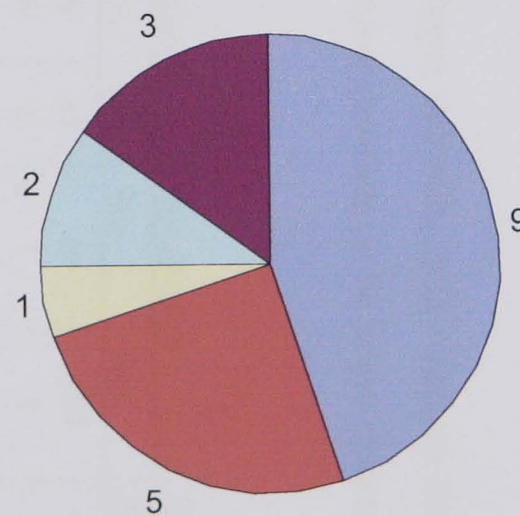
Verulamium



Graph 36 Verulamium settlement finger-rings by material



Graph 33 Colchester cemetery finger-rings by material



Graph 35 Baldock cemetery finger-rings by material

	Copper alloy
	Iron
	Tinned/silvered
	Silver
	Shale
	Jet
	Ivory
	Gilded
	Copper alloy/silver
	Copper alloy/iron
	Bone
	Gold
	Stone
	Glass

Across the settlement sites, the main material is copper alloy. In terms of cross-settlement variability, at the two largest sites, Verulamium and Colchester, the range of materials used for finger-rings is much greater than at Baldock. If we take into account the small assemblages of Dunstable and Braughing, which all show a limited range of materials, it can be suggested that the decorative variability of finger-rings was much more pronounced at the urban centres. Turning to the burials, it is clear that although still the main material, the proportion of copper alloy to other materials is reduced. It is also clear that iron features rather more prominently, and the variability of materials as a whole increases. This is particularly noticeable at Baldock. Similarly at Dunstable, where only ten finger-rings were found in burials, three materials contributed to their make-up as oppose to two among the settlement finds.

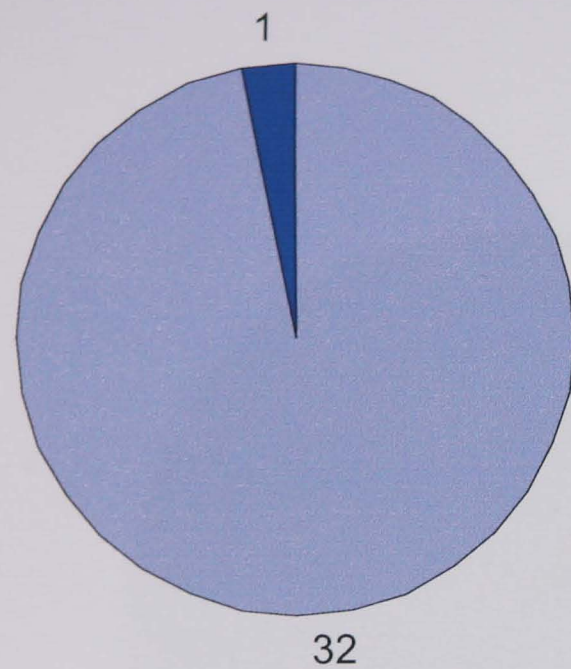
9.3.4 BRACELETS

The highly variable size of the bracelet assemblages between both contexts and sites makes the comparison of materials difficult. However, there do seem to be some generalised patterns (Graph 37-Graph 43).

	Dunstable		Braughing		Baldock		Verulamium		Colchester	
	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.	Bur.	Sett.
Copper alloy	11	3	1	10	6	32	19	205	92	58
Iron	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	7	0
Copper alloy/iron	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Bone	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9	4
Bone/iron	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Bone/copper alloy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Shale	2	1	2	3	0	1	1	65	11	34
Jet	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	6	11
Gilded	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Silver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Ivory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Glass/jet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Tinned	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Misc.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	18	4	3	13	8	33	22	284	131	108

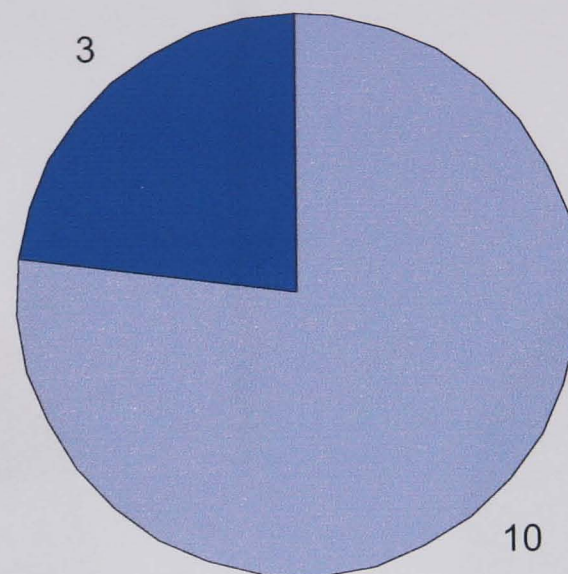
Table 47 Bracelets by material for burials and settlements

Baldock



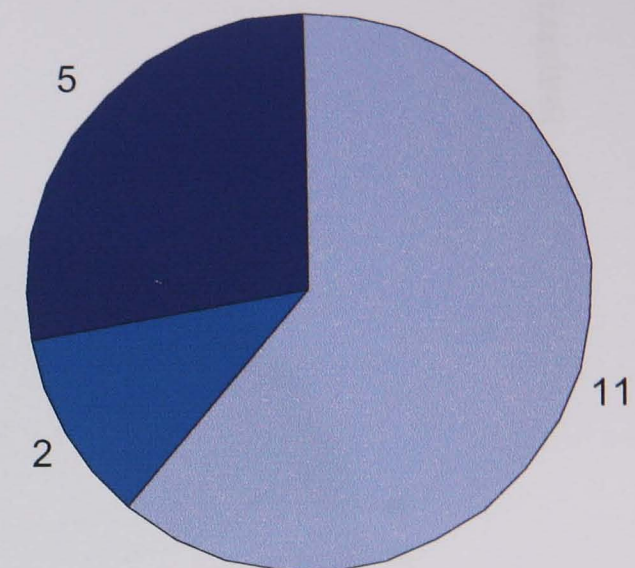
Graph 37 Baldock settlement bracelets

Braughing



Graph 38 Braughing settlement bracelets

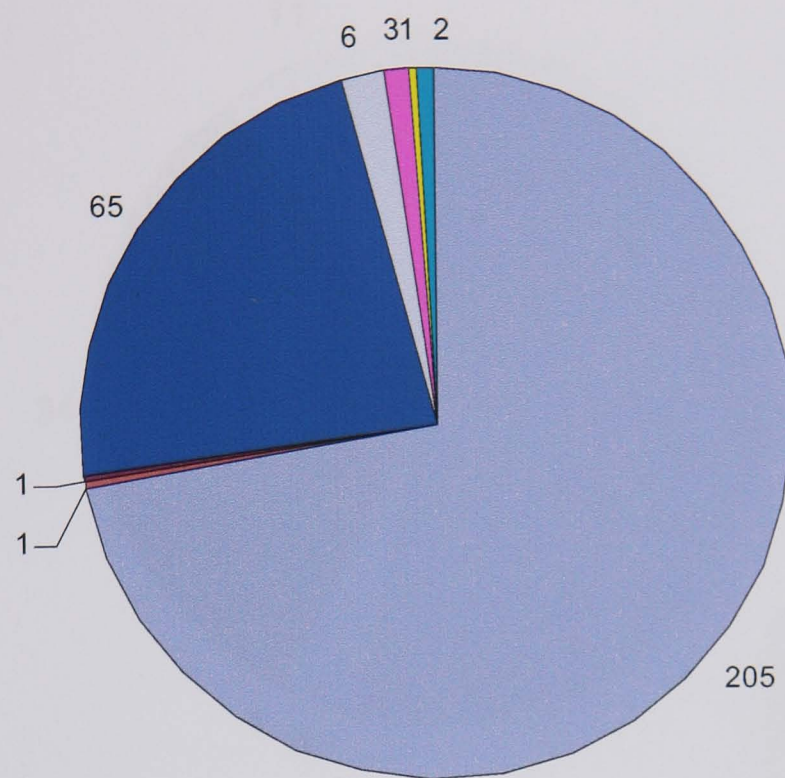
Dunstable



Graph 39 Dunstable cemetery bracelets

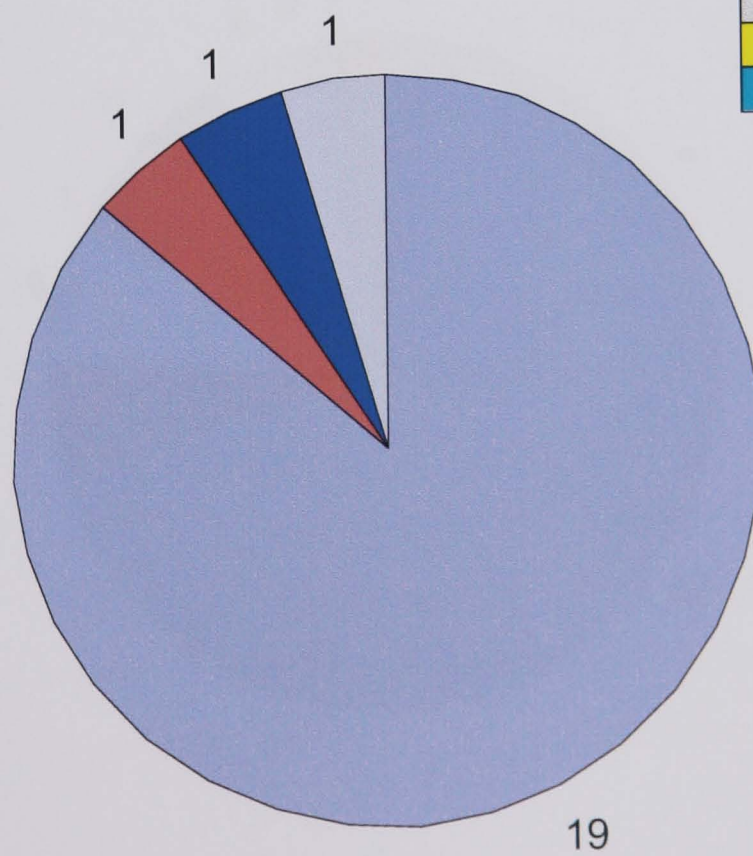
	Copper alloy
	Shale
	Gilded

Verulamium



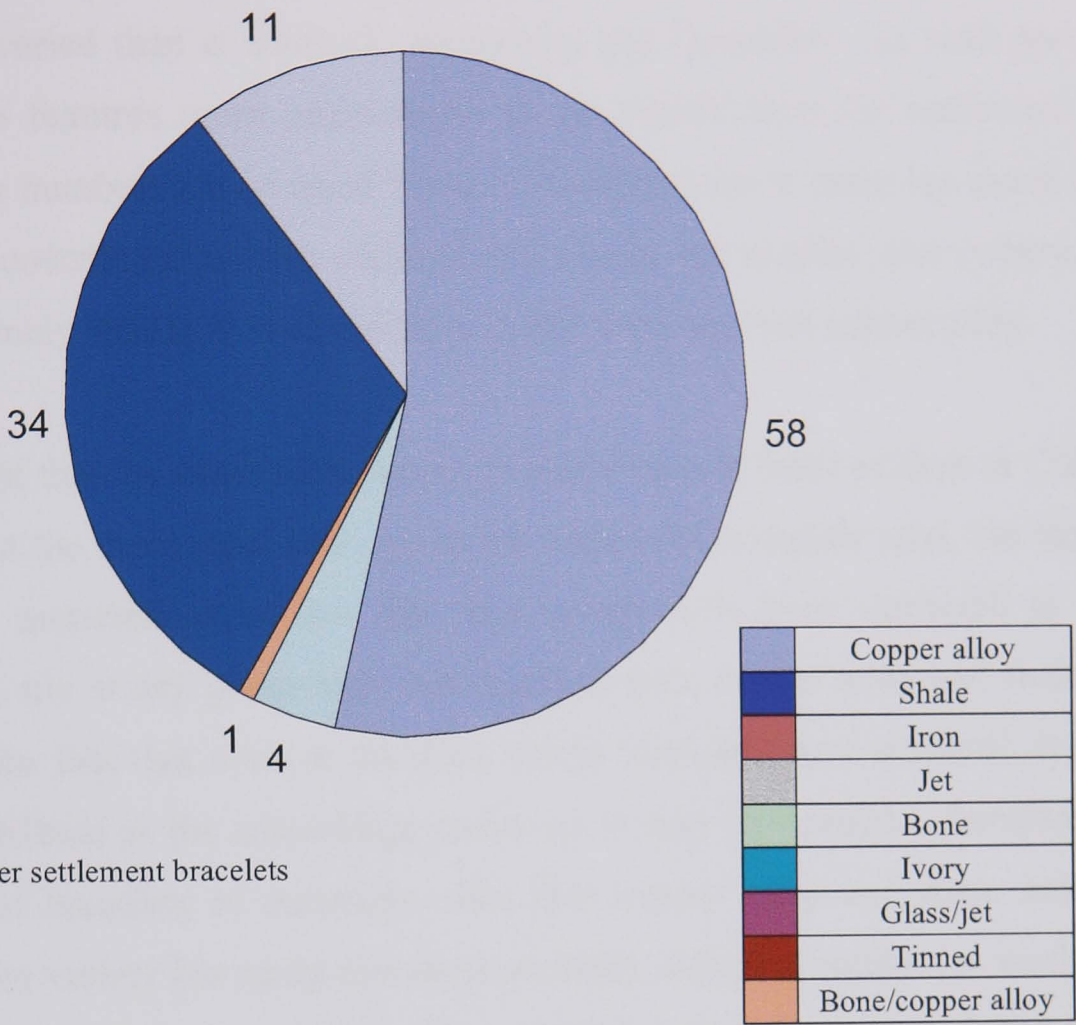
Graph 40 Verulamium settlement bracelets

	Copper alloy
	Shale
	Iron
	Bone/iron
	Glass
	Jet
	Silver
	Ivory

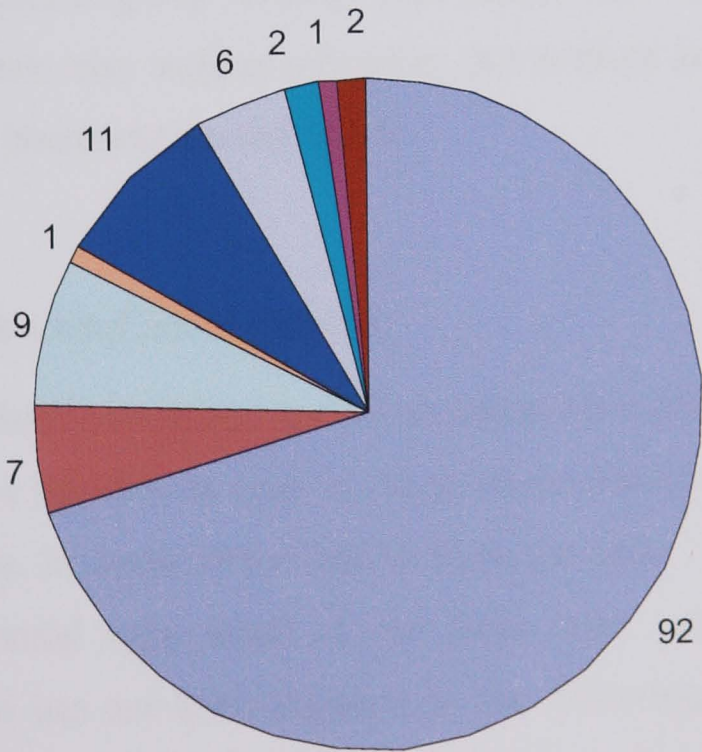


Graph 41 Verulamium cemetery bracelets

Colchester



Graph 42 Colchester settlement bracelets



Graph 43 Colchester cemetery bracelets

Copper alloy is once again the most common material, but at Colchester and Verulamium many different materials were used in addition to this. The most variability at Colchester is among the burial finds, whereas it is among the settlement data at Verulamium, but for both sites, both contexts are more varied than at Baldock, Braughing and Dunstable. As with previous items, proportionally, iron features more prominently in the burials than the settlement at the two largest sites, but the numbers are so small that it is important not to place too much significance on this. Shale also contributes to both contexts and among the smaller sites (where, admittedly the sample is extremely small), it is as common, if not more so, than copper alloy.

These results suggest that the decorative nature of bracelets was more evident at Colchester and Verulamium than at the more rural sites, given the variety of materials used, but the quantity of the more 'exotic' materials is so low that this would have been restricted to a very few individuals at each site at any given time. For the most part, copper alloy and shale were used, as emphasised by the fact that even at the sites where bracelets were minimal, it is these two materials that contribute to the assemblage make-up. It may be possible, therefore, to suggest that the wearing of bracelets of materials other than copper alloy and shale indicated town-dwellers, and by the variety but rarity this most probably indicated wealth (or wealthy contacts) rather than a more specific group identity. That gilded bracelets have been found at Dunstable, the smallest of the sites, may suggest otherwise, but as these are limited to burial contexts, on a day to day basis this interpretation still holds.

9.4 INHUMATIONS AND CREMATIONS

For the sites where both cremations and inhumations have been found—Baldock, Verulamium and Colchester—it is possible to look at the personal adornment assemblages in terms of the different burial types. In some of the reports from the early twentieth century it is not always clear with which burial type some of the finds were associated. Where there has been uncertainty, the item has not been included in the following analysis, hence the discrepancy between the figures below and the total burial assemblage figures seen earlier in the chapter.

For many of the categories of adornment, very small quantities are present, and when divided by burial type, numbers are often reduced to just one or two examples. As such, only the most commonly occurring categories—brooches, hairpins, finger-rings, bracelets, and also

beads/necklaces and hobnails—are assessed. The remaining item types—earrings, combs, hair-bands, gems, pendants, mail etc.—are not assessed, a factor also contributing to the discrepancy between these figures and the total burial assemblages for each site.

Also to be taken into account is the long time-span, approximately 400 years, covered by these finds. Changes in use and practice will have taken place during this period, not least the generalised change from inhumation to cremation from the 1st- 3rd century AD and return to inhumation in the 4th century AD. However, the small number of finds does not make division into these periods feasible as the resulting figures would provide too small a sample. What can be assessed is the nature of any generalised over-riding patterns between burial types.

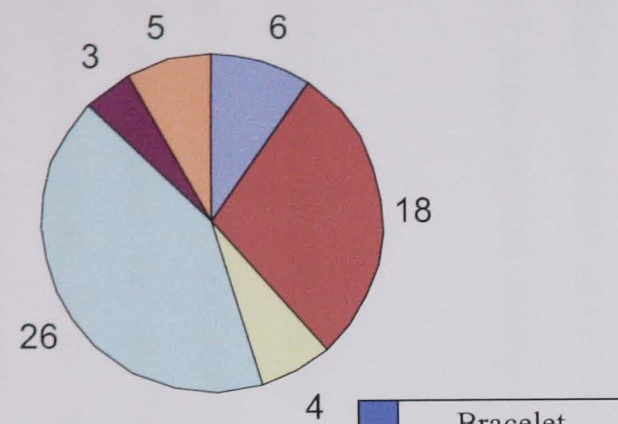
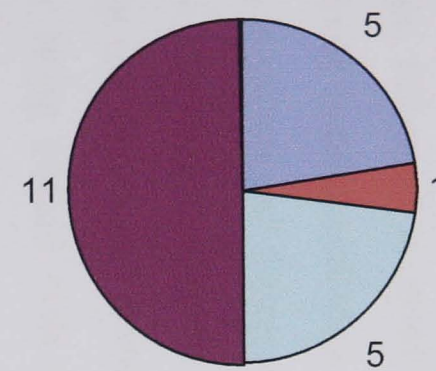
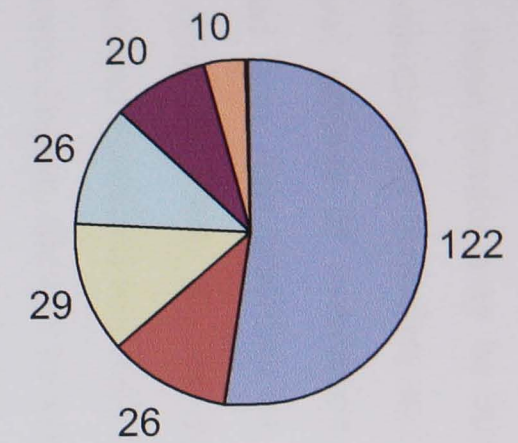
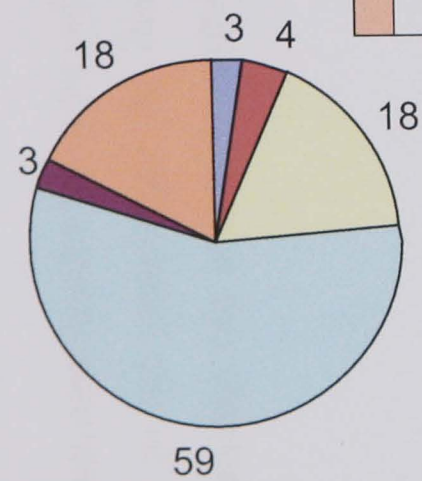
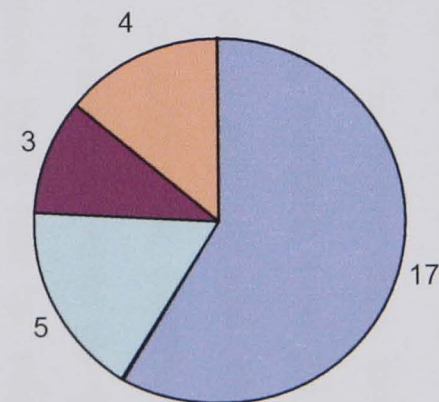
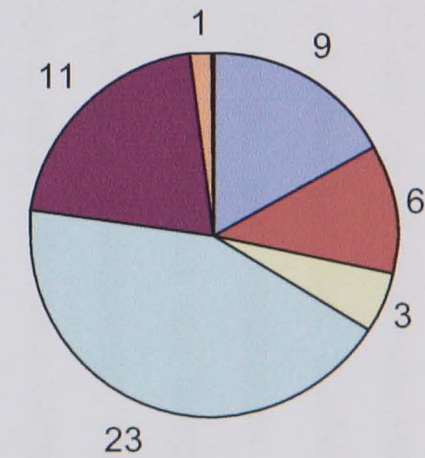
The finds are given in total numbers, percentage and in pie charts to enable pattern visibility and comparison, bearing in mind that the percentages and charts have been calculated based only on the numbers of the six most common item types (Graph 44-Graph 49). The figures do not take into account the rarer items.

	Baldock		Verulamium		Colchester	
	Inhum.	Crem.	Inhum.	Crem.	Inhum.	Crem.
Bracelet	6	3	5	17	122	9
ring/intaglio	18	4	1	0	26	6
hair pins	4	18	0	0	29	3
Hobnails	26	59	5	5	26	23
beads/necklaces	3	3	11	3	20	11
Brooch	5	18	0	240 (236)	10	1
Total	62	105	22	265(261)	233	53

Table 48 Distribution of personal adornment items between inhumations and cremations (bracketed number representing the KHL finds)

	Baldock		Verulamium			Colchester	
	Inhum.	Crem.	Inhum.	Crem.	Crem. (exc KHL)	Inhum.	Crem.
Total	62	105	22	265	29	233	53
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bracelet	9.7	2.9	5	6.4	58.6	52.4	17
ring/intaglio	29	3.8	1	0	0	11.2	11.3
hair pins	6.5	17.1	0	0	0	12.4	5.7
Hobnails	41.9	56.2	5	1.9	17.2	11.2	43.4
beads/necklace	4.8	2.9	11	1.1	10.3	8.6	20.8
Brooch	8.1	17.1	0	90.6	13.8	4.3	1.9

Table 49 Distribution of personal adornments between inhumations and cremations by percentage

Baldock**Graph 44** Baldock inhumation finds**Verulamium****Graph 46** Verulamium inhumation finds**Colchester****Graph 48** Colchester inhumation finds**Graph 45** Baldock cremation finds**Graph 47** Verulamium cremation finds**Graph 49** Colchester cremation finds

Looking at the distribution, there do seem to be differences in the provision of personal adornment between cremations and inhumations, although these differences are site specific. However, these results may be due to chronological rather than social differences. Given the earlier preference for brooches and hairpins and later use of necklaces and bracelets taken with the general pattern of cremation as an early-Roman practice, following on from a well established Iron Age tradition in south-east England, and inhumation as a mid/late-Roman practice (Philpott 1991: 8), we may expect to find brooches and hairpins more common in cremations and bracelets and necklaces more common in inhumations. This is visible at all three sites to some degree, though to a different extent at each, with some variability between exactly which adornment items were most favoured. At Baldock, hobnails and finger-rings dominated the inhumation assemblage but among cremations, hobnails then hairpins and brooches were proportionally more common. At Verulamium, beads/necklaces, bracelets and hobnails were most common in inhumations, whereas bracelets, then hobnails and brooches seem to have been favoured in cremations. Colchester is different again, with bracelets dominating the inhumation assemblage, followed in nearly equal proportions by finger-rings, hairpins and hobnails, and slightly fewer beads/necklaces. Among cremations, hobnails were the main item, followed by brooches, bracelets and finger-rings. Although the proportions and order of items varies at each site, in a generalised manner they do seem to follow the early/late variations in personal adornment use. However, overall the extent of variation between the assemblages suggests that for those being buried with personal adornment there was no strictly adhered to socially prescribed appearance followed for different burial types in the region. At each site, the data hints that certain types of personal adornment were favoured in the different burial types, but the numbers involved make this difficult to clarify and most likely, this represents variable uptake of more general changes in fashion.

8.6 SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Two main strands of analysis have been brought together in this chapter; the comparison of personal adornment use at different sites and the differential use of adornment between settlements and burials, both within and between sites. All aspects have assessed both the range of items and the materials used.

The results of the inter-site analysis are summarised in the following points:

- Four main durable items of adornment contributed significantly to appearance at these sites. These were brooches, finger-rings, hairpins and bracelets. In addition, toilet implements and footwear were consistently present.
- Brooches were the most common item at Baldock and Braughing, whereas hairpins were the prominent item at Colchester, Verulamium and Dunstable.
- The range of materials used for any given item was apparently linked to site size, the large urban centres of Colchester and Verulamium showing the most variability. This may be due to survival rates affecting the smaller sample sizes but the consistency of this pattern across all the item types analysed suggests other factors may have been at play.

The cemetery/settlement analysis can also be summarised:

- Brooches and hairpins were more prominent as settlement finds, whereas bracelets were prominent among burial finds. The distribution of finger-rings was more varied.
- The materials used for brooches and hairpins were more varied among settlement finds, whereas for bracelets and finger-rings there was more variation of material in burials.
- Iron was proportionally more common in burials than settlements for all the main categories of adornment item.
- Differences in personal adornment provision between cremations and inhumations were apparent at each site but this is most likely to have represented widespread changes in fashion over time.

9.7 DISCUSSION

The results suggest, on the basis of inference from deposition, that appearance between sites and between contexts did vary significantly and that personal adornment was actively used to display different identities within the civilian population in south-east Roman Britain. This seems to have been done on two levels; to distinguish different community groups from one another and to separate the living from the deceased. How this was achieved and what identities these differences may relate to will first be discussed with reference to the variable use across sites. The significance of the similarity of burial trends despite over-riding differences in settlement use will then be examined. The contribution of different types of material to the display of different identities is discussed in conjunction with these.

Before discussing the significance of the results, however, the problem of determining what percentage of the population at these sites is represented by the personal adornment finds needs to be approached. It is unlikely that everyone was adorned beyond their basic clothing, and given the small number of burials with such inclusions, as demonstrated at Baldock, it may be suggested that only a limited proportion of the population actually wore such items. Inferring quotidian use from the burials cannot be taken as definitive evidence for this, and it is of course possible that non-archaeologically surviving styles of adornment were widely utilised. Instead, given the types of surviving material and the probable need for some outlay of wealth that these imply (see Chapter 3.2.1) combined with the burial evidence, it is highly likely that the above results relate to limited sections of society. Once the finds are divided by context, this seems very clear for the burials, as comparatively few contained any form of personal adornment. It is likely that this carried through into the settlement material.

However, reading off from the burial data is not so simple. It is possible that the apparently low level of personal adornment in burials reflects ways of dressing the deceased rather than in-life adornment use. For example, when dressing the deceased, cloaks, as an outer-garment that could have used brooches as a means of fastening, may not have been seen as a necessary part of the burial costume. If this was the case, then items associated with them i.e. brooches, would not have been deposited in burials in levels that reflect daily usage. Having said this, where burial monuments exist, they frequently show cloaks being worn, and while this may represent nothing more than artistic representation it is possible that as the deceased were thought of as making a journey to the underworld they were dressed in travelling costume (Wild 1968: 177). Secondly, a number of cloak styles, such as the Gallic cloak, thought to have been common from the 2nd century AD onward, and the *paenula* and *cucullus*, did not use brooch fastenings (Goldman 2001: 217; Wild 1968: 178, 226). Taking these factors into account, the low numbers of brooches identified in the burials in the above sample may be more reflective of levels of use than initially given credit for.

Despite possible under-representation in burials, the discussion of the use of appearance to express identity is still unlikely to relate to the population as a whole, but those privileged with the ability to obtain durable adornment. For those without such jewellery, identity display through types of clothing, styles of wearing clothing and hair and grooming methods may well have been utilised, but little evidence relating to this survives. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, the analysis has revealed a number of intriguing use patterns.

First and foremost, is the clear distinction between the assemblages of Braughing and Baldock on the one hand, and Verulamium and Colchester on the other; the two former sites have a massively higher proportion of brooches, while hairpins are much more prominent at the latter. Braughing and Baldock were both relatively large active sites in the 1st century BC, and this period of activity coincided with the ‘fibula event horizon’- a massive increase in brooch deposition (Hill 1995a: 85). Given that these sites continued into the Roman period without a break in occupation, no distinction between Iron Age and Roman finds were made in the analysis as this would have created a false division in the history of the sites. Verulamium and Colchester, on the other hand, have little evidence of activity before the 1st century AD, increasing in prominence throughout this century and into the rest of the Roman period (Creighton 2006: 124; Haselgrove 1987: 164-70). It is possible, therefore, that the difference in brooch prevalence reflects the different occupation histories of the sites rather than any genuine difference in brooch use and appearance. However, although this may account for some of the difference, a closer examination of the brooches, suggests that some level of variable use was present in the Roman period. Specifically, plate brooches were proportionally better represented at the two large urban centres, but formed a more minimal presence among the rural assemblages. Putting aside earlier site histories, this suggests that in the Roman period at least, particularly in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, decorative brooches formed part of the costume of certain urban dwellers, but rarely contributed at rural locations.

A second possibility is that the massively different proportion of brooches across the sites relate to variable dress styles of the occupants. In times of marked change, it is common for people to draw on cultural traits that provide strong links to the ancestral past, as a means of maintaining that which is familiar and understood (Eicher 1995: 4). Dress styles provide an easy way of doing this, and their highly visual nature can act as reassurance to the wearer while also demonstrating to others the position of the individual. Furthermore, it is most commonly traditional *female* dress items that are retained longest in such situations, especially in more rural areas (Eicher & Sumberg 1995: 302; Welters 1995: 76). At Baldock and Braughing, both rural sites in the Roman period but with long-established pre-Roman histories, the conquest may have caused the occupants of these sites to draw heavily on tradition dress forms, most probably a bodice held by brooches at the shoulder, as a reaction against incoming groups and foreign styles. If dress styles were used in this way to maintain or (re)develop identities, it is likely to have become a more prominent mode of dress among women than it was prior to the

conquest, and this may account for the high proportion of brooches. Verulamium and Colchester, in contrast, had a much shorter pre-Roman history and subsequently both became prominent Roman sites, with Colchester also undergoing a period of military occupation (Creighton 2006: 111; Crummy 1999: 89) before forming part of the administrative system of the new province. As such, there may have been both a much stronger Roman presence and a much less developed or defined native character to the sites. The need to express a strongly native identity may not, therefore have been relevant to the occupants in the context of these two sites.

Having said this, prior to c.AD70, the layout of Verulamium appears to have developed gradually, following a very different spatial geography to the more 'Roman' towns of Colchester and London (Creighton 2006: 125-30). It is possible that prior to the Boudiccan rebellion, Verulamium had a more 'native' character and the King Harry Lane burials, which date to this early phase may support this, given the extensive use of brooches, which more closely resembles Baldock and Braughing than Colchester. It may not have been until after the revolt, when development was re-established (Niblett 1999: 413), that the population of Verulamium moved away from a strongly defined native character, and the end of the distinctive King Harry Lane burials at this time may represent this shift.

The 'native'/'Roman' divide in the use of adornment and appearance is perhaps supported by the variable distribution of hairpins. Thought to be an entirely Roman introduction to Britain (Cool 1990: 150), the dominance of hairpins among the urban assemblages and respective minimal presence at Braughing and Baldock further suggests that the appearance of those occupying the respective site types differed in such a way as to reflect native (ethnic?) identities.

Dunstable, with a personal adornment profile resembling the urban sites, despite being the smallest rural site in the sample, seems to challenge these interpretations. On closer inspection however, the specific circumstances relating to this site can explain this apparent anomaly. Although there was pre-Roman activity in its vicinity, the site of Dunstable itself does not appear to have had a Roman precursor, owing its existence to the crossing of Watling Street, the main Roman military highway, and the ancient Icknield Way (Matthews 1989: 89). Being a newly established settlement, the site would not have had the opportunity to develop the distinctive native character that Baldock and Braughing had. Secondly, the closest site to

Dunstable, at approximately 15km, was Verulamium, the remaining sites being nearly double this distance or more. Thirdly, the location of the site on Watling Street, one of the main Roman roads bisecting the country, meant that passing traffic and trade was likely to include many items supplying the military communities, and was therefore of a different nature to locally used items. Despite being linked by the road network, it is probable therefore that occupants of Dunstable would have been able to obtain everything they needed from nearby Verulamium and passing trade and would have had little requirement for travelling to Baldock or Braughing. As such, occupants of Dunstable would have used, and therefore been more influenced by what was available at Verulamium than elsewhere, the result of which can be seen in the mimicking effect of the Dunstable personal adornment profile on that of Verulamium.

In considering the acquisition of objects, however, it is important not to over-emphasise the role of a market economy. The supply of small coinage needed for everyday purchases was low and erratic at least until the 2nd century AD (Mattingly 2006: 497) and it may well be that items were acquired through a system of patronage, as seems to have been the case for many metalwork items in the Iron Age (Haselgrove 2001: 24). If so, the role of contacts, as well as wealth, would be important when assessing the distribution of personal adornment.

Overlying the apparent 'native': 'Roman' division influencing the use of personal adornment at settlements, is the differences in materials used. At all sites, the dominant materials for each item (copper alloy for brooches, bracelets and finger-rings, bone for hairpins) is the same, but, with very few exceptions, more luxury materials—glass, jet, ivory, silver, gold etc.—are *only* found at Verulamium and Colchester. These luxury materials contribute only a tiny amount to the assemblages, so those wearing them would have been few and far between. Indeed, the rarity of 'exotic' within the larger assemblages imply that even if the occasional item had originally been present at the smaller sites, even in the same proportion as those at larger sites, the chance of survival within such small assemblages is minute. Having said this, some conclusions can still be drawn. The small numbers recovered and the lack of favour for any one material type suggests that items of these materials would have indicated wealth, rather than a specific group membership. Their rarity would make such items stand out even more prominently against the backdrop of minimal or standard adornment items, but would also suggest that very few either had the ability to, or chose to, express their wealth through elaborate adornment. For several item types, notable finger-rings and bracelets, burials at the

rural sites showed a greater variability in material types than the settlement finds. This may suggest that use of rarer items may have been reserved for special occasions at rural sites, rather than forming part of everyday attire. Despite, therefore, the effects of preservation on the assemblages, the lack of luxury materials at the rural sites seems to suggest there were wealth differences between occupants at different site types and if someone was wearing adornment made of more unusual materials it would probably identify them as a town/city dweller.

The second aspect of the analysis, comparing settlement and cemetery finds both within and between sites, has also revealed some interesting depositional patterns, which serve to further highlight the complexity of the language of appearance in Roman Britain. In particular, bracelets are proportionally more prominently as burial items than settlement items, and at all sites except Verulamium, finger-rings too, are more common in this context. Brooches, on the other hand are much less common as burial finds (excluding the King Harry Lane material). This implies that in burials, more decorative items—bracelets and finger-rings—were favoured, whereas more functional items, especially brooches, were often excluded. It is possible these differences relate to the more personal nature of decorative items over functional items. The belief that personal items were imbued with the spirit of the owner (Barber & Bowsher 2000: 118) may have affected the choice of items deposited in burials, as it would be less acceptable to separate such items from the owner or to reuse them. The majority of brooches, on the other hand, although contributing to the appearance of individuals and often highly decorative, were primarily functional items, and may have been seen as part of the outer garments (e.g. cloaks) rather than additional adornment. The effect of this, whether intentional or not, would have been to separate the appearance of the living from the deceased. This does not take into account whether burial items were worn or not, but the inclusion of a particular range of items in favour of others would still have distinguished the deceased as different.

The fact that finger-rings were proportionally more common in burials rather than in settlement deposits is also interesting as this has implications for the deposition of these items. It could reasonably be expected that items such as finger-rings would be lost relatively easily, being small and able to roll, and that they would therefore be more strongly represented in settlement deposits. However, that the results are the reverse of this suggests that either these items were not lost as readily as we might assume, or that they were genuinely rare but specifically selected for inclusion in burials. If so, this may relate back to the suggestion that more personalised items were actively chosen to accompany the deceased.

In comparing the settlement and cemetery material, there are several points that need to be taken into account. Although the differences noted above, in the proportion of different items in the different context, are evident, the extent to which these proportions varied between the two contexts at the different sites is irregular. At Baldock, for example, although brooches were proportionally much more common as settlement finds, they did still contribute over 30 percent of burial items. It is also worth noting that although this range of items displayed relatively consistent patterns between the sites, the contribution of other items of adornment to the burial assemblages was more variable. The distribution of hairpins, for example, shows the site distinctions seen in the settlement finds, but in reverse, contributing more prominently in burials at Baldock and Braughing. This reversal of deposition patterns may relate to the relative paucity of hairpins at these two settlement sites. Their relatively unusual presence among the living population may have led to hairpins taking on a more personal nature for the few in possession of them, in which case their relative commonality in burials would comply with the suggestion that personal items remained with the individual when they died. The lack of hairpins in burials from sites where they were common on the settlement also has implications for the way the deceased were 'dressed' for burial at more 'Romanised' sites, as it suggests that pinned-up hairstyles were only used by the living. The association of more personal items with the deceased is further supported by the burial finds from Verulamium, where necklaces and mirrors contribute significantly to the burial finds though minimally to the settlement material.

These findings suggest that despite differences in personal adornment between the occupants of different settlement types, underlying social norms of what was acceptable to include and exclude from burials resulted in the deceased being associated with a personal adornment repertoire distinct from the living population. This would have created a visually defined division between living and dead. This distinction can perhaps be seen even more clearly when the materials of the adornment items from burials and settlements are compared.

For the burials that did contain brooches, iron was more prominent than on settlements, though the more protected condition of burials makes iron more likely to be preserved and identified in this context. However, the proportion of iron brooches is very similar across the settlements, as is the much higher representation in burial contexts, and the consistency of this between sites, despite very varied excavation histories, suggests that the pattern may be more than just preservational differences. Turning to the other items of adornment, similar patterns can be seen

in the finger-ring assemblages, particularly for Baldock and Colchester, but also at Dunstable, despite the very small assemblage. Unfortunately the minimal numbers of finger-rings from burials at Verulamium (one) and Braughing (four) do not allow for such observations. Aside from the iron examples, it is also noticeable that at Baldock and Colchester, the variety of materials used for finger-rings is greater in the burials than the settlements.

The inconsistent presence of hairpins among the various burial assemblages also hinders inter-site comparisons, but an increased presence of iron is once again visible at Baldock, although the same cannot be said for Colchester, the only other site with sufficient numbers of burial hairpins to allow burial-settlement comparison. A particular hindrance for material assessment of hairpins is the lack of recognition of iron examples, as corrosion often makes it impossible to distinguish between any variety of items of a long thin shape (Carr *pers. comm.*), including brooch fragments. Furthermore, as iron can be reused (Hingley 2006: 215), many iron hairpins may not have been kept, although as copper alloy could also be recycled, whether this would affect relative proportions in the archaeological record is unclear. However, taking these factors into account, it is certainly possible that at all sites, iron hairpins from both contexts are massively underrepresented.

The range of materials used for bracelets was more variable. Among the Baldock and Colchester examples, the variety of materials in the burials exceeds that of the settlement examples, whereas at Verulamium the reverse is the case. Within this, however, iron is not obviously more prominent at any of the sites in either context, so the significance of the material in burials seems to relate primarily to brooches. That brooches may have been used to display indigenous identities, combined with the fact that they were not common burial items, makes the high presence of iron examples deposited in this context intriguing, and it is frustrating that we know so little about the beliefs of native Britons at this time. Roman beliefs connected iron working with the deceased as one of the underworld deities seems to have been regarded as a smith (Merrifield 1987: 29), but the extent to which this, or similar beliefs were present in Britain, is hard to know. Possible evidence that iron was held in special regard may come from eighth-century Irish texts which show that some smiths were considered sacred (Henderson 1992: 120). Furthermore, historical and ethnographical observations show that in pre-industrial and non-westernised societies, iron working is often considered in some way mystical, and linked to ideas of the life-cycle and regeneration (Hingley 1997a: 9). It is important not to give too much weight to such indirect evidence, but it does suggest that the

higher prevalence of iron in burials should not simply be regarded as preservational coincidence. It should also be noted at this point that (despite preservation and recognition issues on settlements) hobnails were a massive contributor to burial finds, and these too, may have had associations with the underworld, making the journey easier (Barber & Bowsher 2000: 134; van Driel-Murray 1999: 131).

Looking to pre-Roman brooch use and materials may shed more light on this. Firstly, brooch use at the sites in this sample suggest that more traditional forms of dress, requiring multiple brooch use may have been drawn on among indigenous groups to demonstrate their native identity. Secondly, iron was much more commonly used for brooches in the late Iron Age than the Roman period (Haselgrove 1997: 56). It is possible, therefore, that in death, traditions that re-associated the deceased with ancestors were drawn on far more heavily than was evident in day-to-day life (a practice observed in anthropological studies, see e.g. Sumberg 1995: 174). In this case, the use of more traditional materials combined with more traditional dress styles may have been important and guided the resurfacing of such ideas during burial, even if not practiced on a day-to-day basis.

It is also possible that associations of iron went further than that of ancestors, linking back into ideas of birth, life, death and regeneration. Deposition of items of iron on or near settlement boundaries is documented from the Middle Iron Age, and even in the later Roman period, deposition continued to focus on certain features, specifically deep pits and wells (Hingley 2005b; Hingley 2006). As iron could be recycled, choosing to deposit it may suggest the material had ritual significance. The ‘harvesting’ of the raw materials from the ground, transformation into objects and subsequent deposition at boundary locations may have been associated with the cycle of life and death. This gains credence when it is seen that some Iron Age iron currency bars, specifically those of a plough shape, have been found in association with human bones and at religious sites (Hingley 2005b). Associations of iron in burials may have been drawing on ideas of boundary associations, focussing in this case on the cross-over between life and death (Hingley 2005b: 201). The increased use of iron adornment in burials compared to settlements may represent a continuation of these Iron Age beliefs and practices in the Roman period.

These results have provided some interesting insights into appearance in south-east Roman Britain. They suggest that adornment items were used to display different identities and that this manipulation occurred on two planes; to distinguish between different living populations, and to separate the living from the deceased. Although the former seems to be related to native identities, as suggested by the site types and their histories, the latter separation cross-cuts this, influencing the selection of burial items at all sites. The limited number of burials that actually contained adornment (fewer than actual finds numbers as some contained multiple items) show that the active display of differences through adornment may not have been a wide spread practice, most likely influenced by wealth limitations, but if these distinctions could be made, they were, and consistently so. That the differences between settlements strongly relates to native and Roman-influenced settlement types implies that distinctive costume may have been used to retain or develop 'traditional' group identities following the Roman conquest, and had clothing and evidence of hair-styling survived, this may have been even more pronounced. Furthermore, although wealth may have affected who could use durable items of adornment to display such identities, it also served to define the more and less wealthy among those that did, thereby providing yet another level of identity display within this broader use. Taking all these factors into account this demonstrates that the use of appearance could and did enable different groups to be distinguished and as such, appearance and adornment do seem to have played an important role in daily-interaction and communicative processes in south-east Roman Britain.

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In recent years a number of studies have focused on adornment items and distribution patterns but the dominant trend has been to study the different artefact categories independently. Furthermore, there has been a reluctance to compare burial and settlement material as these contexts are commonly considered too different to enable such assessment. This thesis has addressed these issues, bringing together for analysis the many artefact categories that contributed to appearance as well as demonstrating that such analysis can be used on settlement and cemetery material, for both independent and comparative purposes. It accepts that settlements and cemeteries represent very different spheres of activity but argues that for this very reason they *need* to be compared. Different activities often stimulate different uses of material culture and only through analysing variation between contexts can we begin to appreciate the multi-layered meanings associated with artefacts.

By comparing the range of adornment items between sites and between different contexts within sites this thesis has demonstrated how personal adornment played an important role as a form of visual communication in south-east Roman Britain. In doing so it has moved beyond the commonly dominant but narrowly focused dichotomy of Roman: native identity recognition, by exploring the use of adornment within and between various Romano-British communities. It has argued that if appearance was used as a means to distinguish identities, it would have included, but not been exclusive to, the two forms of identity mentioned above. Furthermore, it has demonstrated, through the comparison of settlement and cemetery material, that although different settlements outwardly began to segregate in the Roman period, the population was united through underlying social norms that resurfaced in cemetery contexts.

10.2 SUMMARY OF RESULTS

To assess whether there was any evidence of variable use within the native community, a minor settlement was used in the first instance. The multiple, but often coinciding dates of the cemeteries of Baldock provided the opportunity to carry out a detailed analysis to see, firstly, if

different groups within a single community used different aspects of personal adornment and, secondly, whether there were any cross-cemetery use patterns. By starting with this site, it was possible to determine the extent to which personal adornment was used to display different identities among different groups within a single community. Showing that intra-community variation was present demonstrated that appearance did form a complex system of non-verbal communication within the Romano-British population, rather than just a means of distinguishing between 'natives' and 'Roman'. These results therefore justified the need to develop a more widely applicable approach to analyse if the system guiding the use of adornment was further influenced by the context of display. To investigate this second aspect, the cemetery finds at Baldock were compared with the adornment items from the settlement. Developing a methodology to carry out such comparison was crucial as most sites do not benefit from multiple cemeteries that enable intra-site cemetery comparison, and so settlement-cemetery analysis provides one of the only means of assessing the extent of selective personal adornment use within a given settlement group. It was therefore this second aspect that was used for the comparative analysis in conjunction with inter-site analysis. A variety of site types in the vicinity of Baldock and beyond—the minor rural sites of Braughing and Dunstable and the urban centres of Verulamium and Colchester—were used to assess whether the results from Baldock represented a site-specific quirk or an indication of broader social trends in patterns of adornment use and manipulation of appearance as a means of identity expression.

The results from the Baldock cemeteries suggested that there was some variation in use between groups using the different burial grounds, but despite this, three main aspects of identity—age, gender and wealth—were consistently visible across the cemeteries where durable items of adornment had survived. The first, relating to the association of bracelets with juveniles, has also been recorded elsewhere (e.g. the London cemeteries: Barber & Bowsher 2000: 118), suggesting that this represents a widespread trend over south-east Britain. The gender association, of brooches with females, is more tentative due to the limited finds, and relates to the Late Iron Age-early Roman period only, after which distribution between males and females was more consistent. The occasional presence of more precious items—gilded jewellery, amber bead, jet necklace—but the lack of consistency of distribution associated with these suggests that such items indicated wealth rather than other forms of identity. More importantly, they imply that even though those using (durable) personal adornment items were relatively few and far between, when elaborate items could be obtained, they were, suggesting that wealth display through this means was desirable. These results showed that in burials at least, for those who

were deposited with personal adornment, statements about identity were being made. Comparing the distribution of different items of personal adornment between cemeteries and settlements then enabled broader use trends to be identified.

Further observations as to appearance and display at Baldock were made in the second phase of analysis. Firstly, there was a distinct difference in the most common adornment items from the different contexts, brooches dominating the settlement assemblage but finger-rings and hairpins contributing proportionally more to the cemetery data. Secondly, there was an apparent preference for iron articles in burials compared to the relative proportions of iron and copper alloy from the settlement finds. The third point relates to the range of adornment from both the burials and settlements. Only four items were commonly present in either context—brooches, finger-rings, hairpins and bracelets—suggesting that only a limited range of item types contributed with any frequency to the appearance of those using adornment at Baldock. Other classes of artefact, such as necklaces, were present but were exceptions rather than the norm. Linking into this is the relatively limited range of material used for the adornment items. Depending on the item, copper alloy or bone dominated the assemblages, with more luxury materials being extremely rare. Taking all the evidence into account, it can be suggested that for those using durable adornment at Baldock, the range was limited both in terms of items and materials. However, as hinted at by both the burials (where only c.10 percent contained adornment items) and the size of the settlement assemblage, the majority of the population probably did not have any such items. Therefore, despite the relatively bland examples that were present, they would have stood out against the norm of either no or non-surviving forms of adornment used by the majority.

Bringing in the comparative sites demonstrated that this trend was not limited to Baldock, it also occurring on the other rural sites, whereas the two large urban centres in the sample consistently display more frequent use of luxury materials. Despite this, the most common articles of adornment remained the same. However, the relative commonality of these four items—brooches, hairpins, finger-rings and bracelets—did vary between sites, with brooches dominating rural assemblages at sites of pre-Roman foundation that did not go on to become important Roman centres, while hairpins contributed more significantly to the urban sites. The rural site of Dunstable went against this trend, but the specific nature of this site, being a purely Roman period settlement, combined with its vicinity to Verulamium, suggests that it mimicked the nearby urban centre. This presents an interesting opposition. Those living at settlements that

developed in the Late Iron Age but did not go on to become important Roman centres seem to have retained and/or developed a distinct use of adornment that was different to those at 'Roman' sites. This apparent visual difference between communities may have been limited to only a subset of population (those with durable adornment items, although the role of non-surviving items is not known), and in some cases is represented by only a few items, but this subtlety does not diminish the importance of the patterns identified, having been demonstrated consistently between sites.

It is difficult to say whether this distinction between sites continued beyond the 1st century AD as many of the brooches, one of the main items contributing to this distinction, date to this period. However, all the sites, bar Dunstable, did have pre-Roman histories and were occupied throughout the Roman period. As such, it is likely that although chronological differences in the development of the sites may have emphasised some trends, the patterns observed were not wholly created by this and may have persisted to some degree beyond the 1st century AD.

Overriding these settlement differences a more consistent use of adornment in burial contexts is displayed. This is not perhaps as surprising as it first seems. Burial often retain traditional practices much longer than daily activities when new influences are introduced (Sumberg 1995: 174), so even though some settlements developed a character that was different to the existing social landscape, burial practices are more likely to have retained a more traditional approach. Brooches and hairpins were proportionally more common as settlement finds whereas bracelets were more frequently associated with burials. As witnessed at Baldock, a preference for iron adornment items in burials was also seen in the comparative example. These results suggest that despite different styles of appearance being utilised by different settlement groups, underlying social norms continued to influence appearances created for burial, both in terms of item types and materials. This would have had the effect of creating a strong visual distinction between the way the living and the dead were portrayed through adornment display. The significance of iron in particular for burial contexts may have further emphasised this, though with the numbers involved, this additional emphasis may have been quite slight. It is possible that this material had associations with Iron Age beliefs in the cycle of life, and its increased presence in burials compared to settlement finds may imply that such beliefs continued to be drawn on in the context of death.

10.3 CONCLUSIONS

Although durable adornment items were apparently restricted in use (burial evidence indicating perhaps no more than 10 percent of the population using such adornment other than footwear), these results provide a fascinating insight into the use of appearance as a means of communication in south-east Roman Britain. Distinguishing between 'native' and 'Roman' seems to have been one aspect, as implied by the difference between the (Iron Age) rural sites and Roman influenced urban centres, but using or looking for this division alone is too simplistic. Adornment was also used to mark out other facets of identity, such as the differences between the living and deceased, as well as aspects such as wealth, and, as hinted at among the Baldock cemeteries, age and gender, showing that a complex interplay of identities operated through the manipulation of appearance. How strongly these identities were displayed and which aspects were emphasised would have varied over time and between people, context and sites. Continual negotiation of what was considered appropriate at any given time by each individual, group or community, combined with a broad range of responses to daily pressures, including, but not exclusive to the Roman presence, would have given rise to an array of discrepant experiences (Mattingly 1997: 12-15; Mattingly 2006: 525; Woolf 1998: 11). That consistent patterns still emerge despite this suggests that the aspects of identity identified in this study had a deeply rooted significance among the population of south-east Roman Britain.

On a daily basis, the extent to which this identity display was intentional is difficult to determine as the different histories of the various settlements may have led to the evolution of different styles of appearance rather than deliberate distinction, but either way, the net result would have been the same. Moreover, once such differences had been observed, they may have been more actively developed and maintained; a phenomenon demonstrated in sociological studies on multi-group interaction and behaviour (e.g. Deschamps 1982: 91; Turner 1982: 27; Wetherell 1982). In terms of the apparent variation between the use of personal adornment among the living and provision for the deceased, the fact that these cross-cut settlement boundaries suggests that, in the least, this aspect of appearance-based identity display was *actively* demonstrated and linked the various communities through under-lying social norms or beliefs associated with death.

Throughout this it is significant that these results refer to perhaps as little as 10 percent of the population. As such, the variable adornment use demonstrated relates, most probably, to those

of a slightly higher degree of wealth than the majority of the population, which, among other aspects of identity, their use of adornment would have served to display. Different types, styles or ways of wearing clothing and/or hair, or non-surviving types of adornment may have served as a means of distinguishing between those not represented here, but unfortunately, there is no way of investigating this. However, it does not detract from the observations that have been made from the surviving material. Certain patterns of use did, very clearly, exist, and for those represented by this, appearance played a significant role in the creation and expression of identity.

Taking all the above into account, the following contributions have been made to the field of identity and appearance studies in Romano-British archaeology:

- Personal adornment items *were* used to construct and display identities.
- Four items in particular—brooches, hairpins, bracelets and finger-rings—contributed to this, other items, such as necklaces, being present only in small quantities.
- The extent to which each of the items was used varied between site types, with rural sites showing a distinct use pattern different to that of urban sites.
- Despite outwardly ~~presented~~ differences among the living, the population was unified through underlying social norms that influenced what items of adornment accompanied the deceased.

In terms of broader reaching contributions to archaeology it has demonstrated:

- That when looking at the use of adornment, the range of items used need to be assessed in conjunction with one another if we are to understand how the use of appearance varied between different groups.
- That despite the very different context types, not only *can* cemetery and settlement material be meaningfully compared, but that such comparison is essential if we are to understand more fully the affect of context on the display of identities.
- A methodological approach for comparing artefacts from different contexts.
- A methodological approach for comparing artefact distributions between sites, which can be applied regionally, provincially and inter-provincially.

10.4 FUTURE PROSPECTS

In terms of the current data, as the information becomes available, a more detailed contextual analysis that takes into account the nature of deposition for the settlement finds should be developed. Assessing the extent of ‘casual’ loss versus intentional deposition and comparing the range and type of items and materials from these to the intentional deposits in burials would provide further insights into the use and deposition of adornment items. Not only would this enhance understanding of how such items were used (i.e. the role it played in special deposition, not just as worn items), but comparing the results from special settlement deposits to those from burials would also enable analysis of the significance of the specific items shown to have been favoured in latter context. Furthermore, as more excavation reports and updated skeletal analysis become available it will be possible to examine cemetery material more fully for evidence of identity display among the native population.

However, the analysis presented here need not be limited to the sites used in this study. Initially it would be beneficial to expand the number and range of settlement sites examined, to test the results presented here and to look at the extent of regional variation. From this, expanding the study to include different site types, such as sanctuary and military sites, would provide further insights into the role of context on adornment use and deposition. A province wide analysis of this nature would make it possible to assess how identity expression through appearance varied, and whether the settlement-type (population type?) split seen in the study area used here is specific to this region or indicative of more wide-spread trends across Roman Britain.

Furthermore, comparative analysis could and should be applied to other provinces of the Roman Empire. In particular, Gallia Belgica would provide an interesting study given the strong pre-Roman links that existed between this area and south-east Britain. Not only would inter-provincial analysis give an insight into the variable use and expression of identity across the empire, but it may also provide a key for identifying foreigners in a given context, for example, within Britain, where some of the population would have come from overseas.

A geographical expansion of this approach, of the nature described above, is desirable, but equally important is the need to cross period boundaries—to cover the pre-transitional period of the Iron Age as well as the early Medieval period—to understanding the changing use of adornment over time. Furthermore, although having so far focused only on the Roman period,

the approach presented here is not limited to Roman archaeology. The principles behind the study are applicable to any society that has substantial quantities of surviving personal adornment, whether from settlement sites alone or a variety of site/context types. The cultural development and influences of each specific society have to be taken into account and would affect the exact way in which such analysis could be used, but the concept of comparing material from different settings within a single community could still be applied. The approach may be particularly useful in societies that experienced an influx of people, aggressive or otherwise (i.e. migrants), but it would also be applicable in societies where the population was somehow divided, be it through different settlement types, occupations, wealth etc. Any such opposition in a society provides the opportunity for different identities to develop. If personal adornment formed part of the material culture, then a study such as this would be applicable.

In all, this thesis has presented an insight into the use of appearance for identity expression in south-east Roman Britain, but in doing so it has set forth the principles behind, and a means of, studying this aspect of material culture in a much broader context.

APPENDIX I

COMPONENT ASSEMBLAGES USED FOR DATA ANALYSIS

SITE	TYPE	EXCAVATION	DATE	PUBLICATION
Baldock	Burial	Royston Road	c.AD50-450	Fitzpatrick-Matthews (forthcoming)
	Burial	Stane Street	c.20BC-AD125	
	Burial	Yeomanry Drive	c.AD1-125	
	Burial	California	c.50BC-AD50/c.250-500	
	Burial	Ickniel Way East	c.25BC-AD40	
	Burial	Ickniel Way East	c.AD175-425	
	Burial	Mercia Road	c.AD1-50	
	Burial	Wallington Road	c.50BC-AD310	
	Burial	Area 12&13	c.AD250-410	Westell (1931)
	Burial	Brewery Field	c.AD250-410	
	Burial	Walls Field	c.AD50-310	
	Burial	The Tene	c.AD100-300	Stead & Rigby (1986)
	Settlement			Stead & Rigby (1986)
	Settlement			Fitzpatrick-Matthews (forthcoming)
	Settlement			Applebaum (1932)

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	Settlement			Holmes (1955)
Verulamium	Burial	St Stephens	c.AD40-160	Davey; Rees (1935; 1937)
	Burial	Verulam Hills Field	c.AD200- 400	Anthony (1968)
	Burial	-	c.AD200- 300	
	Burial	-	c.AD200- 400	Wheeler (1930)
	Settlement			Adamson & Niblett (2006)
	Settlement			Cotton & Wheeler (1953)
	Settlement			Frere Vol I & II (1972, 1983)
	Settlement	Theatre		Kenyon (1934)
	Settlement	Folly Lane		Niblett (1999)
	Settlement	Insula XVII		Richardson (1944)
	Settlement	Insula XIX		Saunders (1975)
	Settlement			St Albans Museum database
Braughing- Puckeridge	Burial	Skeleton Green	c.AD100- 200	Partridge (1981)

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	Burial	Cemetery A	c.AD300-400	Partridge (1978)
	Burial			
	Burial	Cemetery B	c.AD200-400	
	Settlement	Skeleton Green		Partridge (1981)
	Settlement	Ermine Street		Potter & Trow (1988)
	Settlement			Holmes (1955)
	Settlement			Stead (1970)
Dunstable	Burial	-	c.AD200-300	Matthews (1981)
	Settlement	Friary Fields		Gardner (2004)
	Settlement			Matthews (1972)
	Settlement			Manshead Archaeology Society Database
	Settlement	Queensway Hall		Mudd (2004)
Colchester	Burial	St Clare Road/ St Clare Drive		Hawkes (1947)
	Burial	Butt Road, Maldon Road		Crummy (1993)

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	Burial	Abbey Field, Garrison Cemetery, Inner Relief Road, St Mary's		Colchester Archaeological Trust
	Settlement			Crummy (1981, 1983)
	Settlement			Hull (1958)
	Settlement			Colchester Archaeological Trust

Table 50 Data used for analysis

APPENDIX II

CEMETERY DETAILS

II.I WALLS FIELD

Burial Group	Report date	Item	Material	Type
7	Late third century	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Snakes head
19	Early second century	Mirror	Speculum	-
32	Late first century	Mirror	Speculum	Circular
		Chatelaine brooch	Copper alloy/enamel (red/blue/yellow)	Nail-cleaner, ear-pick, tweezers
41	Mid-second century	Bracelet	Copper alloy/enamel (green)	Wire – expanding
66	c.120-160	Armlet	Copper alloy	Loop end
89	140-180	Necklace (incomplete)	Glass/gilded wire	-

Table 52 Personal adornment finds from Wall Fields

II.II AREA 1

Two groups of burials have been recovered from this area. The first consisted of thirteen burials, three cremations and ten inhumations. These burials do not represent a discrete group, as between them they date from the Early to Late Iron Age. These represent some of the earliest inhabitants of Baldock. The burials range from neonates to adults. Only two have been sexed, one female, the other probably female. No associated items of personal adornment were found.

California Large Enclosure

The second group is more tightly dated to c.20BC, and represents two burial enclosures plus burials within the enclosure ditches. The first enclosure consisted of a central cremation burial, with a further three definite and one possible cremation within the boundary ditches. No items of personal adornment were associated with any of these. However, a pyre pit was also present in the enclosure, and among the debris was a well preserved section of iron mail. It was of very small rings and may have belonged to a shirt similar to one excavated at St Albans (Gilmour 1991: 33).

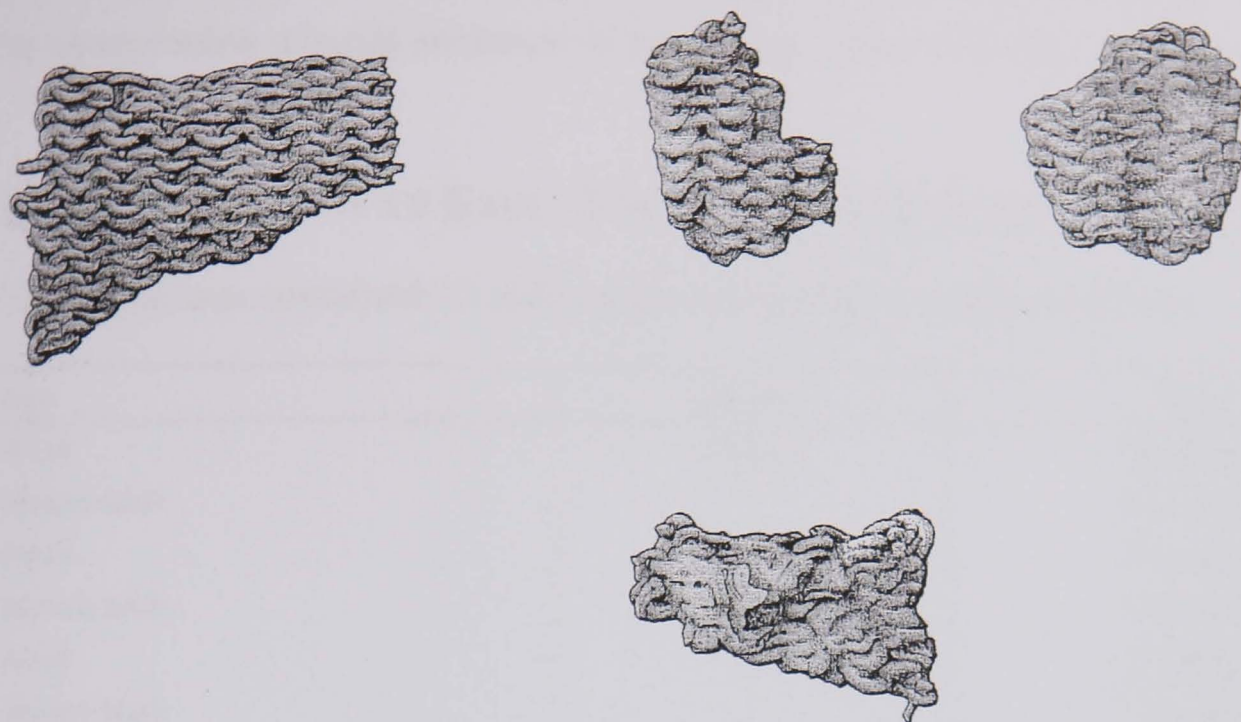


Figure 36 The iron mail. Drawn by Jane Read

The mail is most likely to be associated with the central burial given the inclusion of other fine items with this, including a bronze bound bucket and pottery, and the absence of goods with the satellite burials. Unfortunately, the sex and age of the central burial are unknown. Within the ditch of the enclosure were a possible inhumation and four cremations, of which three were adults and one was a juvenile. None were accompanied by goods.

California Small Enclosure

The remaining five cremations, all adults, were contained within a second, smaller enclosure, also dated to c.20BC. The layout implied that, like the large adjacent enclosure, there was a central burial surrounded by satellites, despite the central burial not being located in the course of the excavation (Burleigh 1991a: 45). As before, no finds were associated with this group of adult cremations. It can be suggested, therefore, that despite the burials occurring within areas formally marked by ditches, implying a degree of care and attention to the mortuary rites and burials, the lack of personal adornment items, or indeed any items other than the occasional pottery vessel, that grave goods were not considered important in defining these individuals in their burial.

Within this area were two further burial enclosures excavated by Stead (Stead & Rigby 1986: 61). The first enclosure contained a central cremation and one outlying burial, both of which contained a single vessel. No surviving bone was recovered from the second feature, but

giving its proximity to the other burial enclosures and its similarity in layout, design and date, its interpretation a burial enclosure is most likely (Stead & Rigby 1986: 61).

II. III ICKNIELD WAY EAST: THE IRON AGE BURIALS

This burial area contained 13 individuals, the details of which are below.

Age	Gender	Type
Adult	?female	Cremation
Mature adult	?	Cremation
Adult	?	Cremation
Mature adult	Female	Cremation
Adult	?	Cremation
Mature adult	?	Cremation
?	?	Cremation
Older adult	??male	Cremation
Older adult	?male	Cremation
Older adult	?male	Cremation
Adult	?	Cremation
Older adult	Female	Cremation
Sub-adult	?	Cremation

Table 53 Icknield Way East Iron Age burials by age and sex

II.IV THE TENE: THE IRON AGE BURIAL

The Tene had two phases of discrete use, one Iron Age, the other Roman. The name of the site was taken from the road name on which the excavation took place, and not the Iron Age burial of this type. During road construction in the 1940s a number of burials were uncovered. La Tene was suggested and accepted for the name of the road as experts at the time believe the skeletons to date to the same period as a site that French archaeologists had recently given the same name. Coincidentally, twenty years later, a genuine La Tène burial was uncovered (Burleigh & Salisbury 1985).

The genuine La Tène burial was uncovered by workmen in 1967, and excavation followed approximately three weeks after the initial discovery, after the first find, an iron firedog, came to the attention of John Moss-Eccardt, the archaeologist at Letchworth Museum (Stead & Rigby 1986: 51). The burial was completely disturbed by the construction work, but many smaller fragments of the goods were recovered *in situ* and, together with stains from other objects and workmen's accounts it was possible to reconstruct original layout. Grave goods comprised a large bronze cauldron, a pair of wooden buckets, two firedogs, two bronze bowls

and an amphora (Stead & Rigby 1986: 51 - 55). This represents the only Iron Age burial from this cemetery site.

II.V STANE STREET

This cemetery contained 83 individuals, of which 81 could be aged.

Age	Frequency
Neonatal	2
Infant	4
Juvenile	3
Sub-adult	6
Adult	13
Mature adult	52
Old adult	1

Table 53 Stane Street Age distribution

II.VI CLOTHALL ROAD

Eight cremations, dating from c.AD1-200 were recovered from the Clothall Road area. The details of these burials are presented below (Table 54).

Age	Sex	Date
Young adult	-	c.AD50-80
Adult	-	c.AD50-80
Adult	-	c.AD50-80
Adult	-	c.AD50-100
Adult	m	c.AD50-100
Adult	-	c.AD50-120
Adult	-	c.AD1-50
Adult	-	c. AD100-200

Table 54 Age, sex and dating of Clothall Road burials

II.VII SOUTH ROAD

Seven cremations were recovered from South Road, dating from c. 10BC to AD125 (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 2007: 155). Information, which is presented below (Table 55), was only available for three of these.

Age	Sex	Date
Old adult	m	c.AD50-125
?	-	c. AD175-250
?	-	?

Table 55 Age, sex and dating of South Road burials

II.VIII ICKNIELD WAY EAST: ROMAN BURIALS

A total of 46 individuals were buried in this cemetery, 36 inhumations and 10 cremations.

	Age	Frequency
Inhumations	Neonatal	-
	Infant	7
	Juvenile	-
	sub-adult	2
	Adult	8
	mature adult	16
	old adult	2
	?	1
Cremations	Neonatal	-
	Infant	-
	Juvenile	-
	sub-adult	4
	Adult	4
	mature adult	2
	old adult	-

Table 56 Age distribution for burials at Icknield Way East: Roman period

II.IX WALLINGTON ROAD

This cemetery contained 187 individuals. Those with associated with personal adornment finds are shown below.

Sex	Inhumation	Cremation
Female	6	14
?female	2	4
Male	3	9
?male	2	1
Unsexed	10	125

Table 57 Sex of burials at Wallington Road

	Age	Frequency
Inhumations	neonatal	-
	infant	1
	juvenile	2
	sub-adult	1
	adult	9
	mature adult	8
	old adult	-
	?	2
Cremations	neonatal	-
	infant	7
	juvenile	14
	sub-adult	2
	adult	35
	mature adult	25
	old adult	-
	?	79

Table 58 Aging distribution of burials at Wallington Road

Artefacts from the cemetery site

Three artefacts were found within the cemetery area during the excavation which were not directly associated with burials. This included the only brooch from the cemetery, found during metal detecting, a group of 95 hobnails representing a pair of shoes, which, it has been suggested, indicated the almost completely destroyed remains of an inhumation (Burleigh 1992: 164), and a mirror fragment. The mirror-plate, made of silvered copper alloy, was found in a sub-rectangular pit between two groups of nails, indicating that it was originally contained in a box. Most likely, the deposit represented either the remains of a grave that was subsequently truncated by a later burial (B17), or was unrelated to any burial, instead representing some other type of ritual pit (Burleigh 1992: 164). Either way, the presence of the mirror shows that such items were available at Baldock. Mirror use has implications about the level of care and attention paid to appearance, as it enables careful application of cosmetics. The inclusion of such an item in a burial could therefore be seen as a way of indicating the wealth of the deceased. If the mirror was from a non-burial deposit, it may still have ritual connotations, but of a different nature, with individuals in possession of mirrors perhaps indicating an attachment to a particular aspect of their life through the formalised deposition of the item. However, with a sample of one in an unidentified context, it is not possible to go beyond supposition.

Analysis of ceramics

Analysis of finds other than personal adornment at Wallington Road has shown that for some artefacts, distribution seems to have been affected by sex. Colour coated beakers were only provided with females (Fitzpatrick-Matthews & Burleigh forthcoming). This indicates that certain distinctions, such as that of gender, were considered important, but not necessarily to such an extent that it affected daily life. It has been shown that customs have a tendency to be emphasised in burial practices (Sumberg 1995: 174), and the lack of use of personal adornment to display gender distinctions, despite the obvious use of certain ceramic types, indicates that for those using this cemetery, altering appearance for this purpose was not part of their practices. The relative value of personal adornment items to ceramics may also have played a role, although it is not possible to know how the value of these two classes of item was actually perceived (see Chapter 3 for discussion of value).

II.X THE TENE: ROMAN PERIOD

The Roman cemetery dates to the 2nd-4th century AD. The site has been excavated piecemeal as and when redevelopment has allowed. The first burials, those that gave the site its name, were discovered in the 1940s, however there are few details for these seven burials. The second phase of excavation took place under Stead in the 1960s. Twenty-one inhumations and a possible cremation were recovered (Area 30). None of the burials were fully excavated, with the exception of one feature, a possible cremation, due to its unusual nature (Stead & Rigby 1986: 78). All the inhumations were orientated west-east and were unaccompanied by grave goods. The possible cremation, set apart from the inhumations, consisted of a pit containing a single individual, fifteen pedestalled cups and thirty-one lamps.

The remaining areas (Area 31, 40 and 48) were excavated over the following twenty or so years. Area 31 was the largest of these, 28 burials being recorded. Two further outlying burials were recovered from Area 48 (Burleigh 1993: 202). In total forty-nine inhumations were recovered. A further seven redeposited inhumations and fifteen miscellaneous bone collections, plus the possible cremation excavated by Stead gives a total of sixty-five individuals. It is likely that the cemetery contains more than this, given the layout of the areas so far investigated, and figure of 150-180 burials have been estimated (Burleigh 1993: 202). Of the recovered burials an almost equal number of males and females are present, ranging in age from young to old adults (Table 59). A number of younger individuals, which were not possible to sex, were also recorded, including juveniles and sub-adults. No burials had associated grave goods.

	female	?female	??female	male	?male	??male	unsexed	total
Neonate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Infant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Juvenile	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6
Sub-adult	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	3
Adult	10	4	-	5	1	-	2	23
Older adult	4	1	-	10	1	-	1	16
?adult	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	15	5	-	16	3	-	10	49

Table 59 Age and sex distribution of burials at The Tene

II.XI CALIFORNIA

The reuse of graves and the resulting redeposition of bones in this cemetery makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to know how many burials were actually present. The numbers for the age distribution (Table 61) represent identifiable burials, but it is highly likely that this does not represent the total number of burials originally there.

Age	Sex	Number hobnails	Location
Adult	?	?	?
Adult	Female	2	?
Adult	Female	10	?
Adult	?male	10	?
Adult	?female	12	Coffin lid
Adult	?male	17	Coffin lid
Adult	?male	23	?
Adult	?female	24	?
Adult	Male	68	Feet
Adult	Male	146	By feet

Table 60 Total numbers of hobnails and location in burial at California cemetery

Age	Frequency
Neonatal	1
Infant	5
Juvenile	4
Sub-adult	3
Adult	57
Mature adult	3
Old adult	17

Table 61 Age distribution at California cemetery

Sex	Frequency
Female	32
?female	7
Male	26
?male	5
Unsexed	6

Table 62 Sex distribution at California cemetery

	Male	?male	Female	?female	Unsexed	Total
100-200	-	-	-	-	1	1
175-300	1	-	2	-	-	3
300-400	2	1	1	1	1	6
325-475	1	-	-	-	1	2
400-500	1	1	3	2	1	8
500-600	-	-	1	-	-	1
Undated	-	-	1	-	2	3
Total	5	2	8	3	6	24

Table 63 Sex by phase at California cemetery

	Iron	Copper alloy
Right hand		2
Left hand	3	
?	1	1

Table 64 Placing of finger-rings on burials at California cemetery

II.XII ROYSTON ROAD

Inhumations

The apparently high number of sub-adults associated with adornment at this cemetery is misleading as this represents a single individual (Table 65).

	Bracelet	Pin	Finger-ring	Bead
Infant	2	-	-	-
Juvenile	-	-	-	-
Sub-adult	1	1	3	1
Young adult	-	-	-	-
Mature adult	-	-	-	-
Older adult	-	-	1	-
Old adult	-	-	-	-

Table 65 Personal adornment distribution by age for inhumations at Royston Road, excluding hobnails

APPENDIX II

Number of Hobnails	Sex
1	Male
1	??male
2	Female
3	Male
3	Male
8	?female
25	? (infant)
38	?female
44	?female
71	??male
71	??female
73	? (sub-adult)
88	??female
128	Female

Table 66 Inhumation hobnail groups by sex at Royston Road

Cremations

Item	Age	Sex	Date
Brooch, finger-ring, pin	Older mature adult?	-	-
Pin	-	-	-
Pin	Older mature adult	-	100-200
Pin?	Adult	-	100-200
Brooch	Older mature adult	-	100-250
Brooch pin?	Adult	-	100-275
Brooch, brooch, pin	Older adult	?female	100-275
Pin	Older mature adult	-	100-275
Pin, pin?	Adult	-	100-275
Brooch	Adult	Female	125-200
Brooch pin?	Older adult	Male	125-225
Pin?, hobnail	Mature adult	Female	125-275
Pin?	Older mature adult	Male	150-250
Bracelet, finger-ring/ear-ring	Juvenile	-	150-275
Pin	Adult	-	150-275
Pin?	Older mature adult	?male	150-275
Pin, hobnail	Sub-adult	-	200-275
Pin	Older mature adult	-	25-150
Pin	Mature adult	-	25-200
Brooch	-	-	50-125
Finger-ring	Juvenile	-	50-225
Brooch	Sub-adult	-	50-275
Brooch pin?, hobnail	Older mature adult	Female	50-275
Pin	-	-	50-275
Pin	Adult	-	50-275
Pin	Mature adult	-	50-275
Pin?	Mature adult	?male	50-275
Brooch	Adult+juvenile	-	50-75
Brooch, brooch	Older adult	-	50-75
Finger ring	Infant/juvenile	-	75-200

Table 67 Cremation finds at Royston Road by age, sex and date

Sex	Adult	Mature adult
Female	1	2
?female	1	3
??female	-	5
Male	-	2
?male	-	1
??male	1	-

Table 68 Age and sex of cremations at Royston Road with 11 or less hobnail

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