THE PAST IN THE PAST: THE REUSE OF ROMAN OBJECTS IN EARLY ANGLO-SAXON SOCIETY c. AD 400 – c. 700

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c. AD 400 – c. 700

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Abstract

This thesis examines and analyses the reuse of Roman portable material culture in pre-conversion Anglo-Saxon grave assemblages dating between AD 400 and 700. In total, 908 curated Roman objects were recorded from 65 cemeteries across the modern English counties of Kent, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk. The introduction chapter provides a general overview of the historical context of Anglo-Saxon England and the end of the Roman Empire. Chapter 2 is concerned with the methodology and data collection which was carried out to compile this data. The third first chapter gives an outline of the existing theoretical framework on curated Roman material in Anglo Saxon contexts. A general overview of all collated Roman objects gathered for this study is given in chapter 4. Each object type is examined according to its nature, chronology, purpose, social intent and circulation patterns. The relationship between Roman ruins and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries is also discussed. Chapters 5 - 7 analyse the objects within their archaeological contexts and in relation to the body. Chapter 5 engages with items found in concealed circumstances, such as in bags and wooden boxes, while chapter 6 discusses items which were openly displayed on the body as personal adornments, jewellery and costume accessories. Chapter 7 examines objects which were not found as part of the costume, but in the fill or placed beside the body. The focus of these thematic chapters is to critically engage with the different ways Roman objects were used in Anglo-Saxon funerary ritual. Chapter 8 contextualises the findings by drawing on the continental evidence for Roman object reuse. Chapter 9 discusses the findings of the previous chapters, setting them into context? with existing theoretical frameworks on the early medieval world with emphasis on chronology, regionality, the body and the impact of Christianity in the 7th century.

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Preface

Some of the images in this thesis have been removed due to copyright reasons. Where this is the case, a short description has been added within the body of the text. I have written permission by the late Prof. Vera Evison and her colleague Valerie Cooper to use illustrations from the reports produced by Evison for my research.

The thesis is 93, 397 words long.

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me constant and emotional support throughout my studies and in my personal life, always believing in me to get to the stage of life I find myself currently in. What we do in life, echoes in eternity.

To Rónán and my parents

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The ending of Roman Britain saw the removal of a militarised presence in AD 410 (e,g, Faulkner 2000, 174 - 80; Cleary 1989, 142 - 44) but left behind a Romanised society (Dark 2000, 227-30; Swift 2000, 119-21; Millett 2005, 134; Gerrard 2013, 245-6). In the 1st to 4th centuries, the populations of Britain had been introduced to a new array of material culture including glass items, ceramics, metalwork and dress fittings and these influenced and changed late Iron Age material traditions (Millett 2005, 45-6). Roman pottery production had thrived in regions such as the Nene Valley, while the Weald was exploited for iron (Cleere and Crossley 1985, 57-60; Fleming 2010, 7). Roman art and architecture also had an impact, leaving a striking sculptural and architectural legacy (Millett 2005, 85-100; Fleming 2010, 30). By the late 4th century, migrant groups are thought to have already settled in parts of eastern England (Cleary 1989, 197 - 199). These groups were initially employed by the late Roman Empire as so-called *Foederati*, free barbarians who entered the Empire under late Roman treaty terms (Cleary 1989, 6-7; Dark 2000, 35). These were seemingly recruited from the homeland areas of the Angles and Saxons and defended the territory of south-east England (Cleary 1989, 33-4; 56). After the fall of Roman Britain it is argued that Foederati remained in Britain and mixed with the incoming Anglo-Saxon settlers during the 5th century (Cleary 1989, 191-2). This viewpoint is now considered rather simplistic, as late Roman cemeteries, such as at Winchester and Colchester, did incorporate early medieval individuals buried with items of military equipment that would once have been worn by Late Roman troops (Yorke 1990, 5; Jones 1996, 34). These characteristic buckles and belt fittings are not confined to male graves and can be found in female burials as well (see Jones 1996, *ibid*.). The occurrence of these items at the very least implies a change in fashion and signals the arrival of new forms of material culture and dress item in late Roman Britain that might be indicative of the presence of individuals connected with the military. These individuals were some of the migrant groups that scholars argue

arrived in eastern and southern Britain in the late 4th to 5th centuries AD. These people brought with them a new material repertoire: ceramic urns for burials, new brooch types and weapon sets (Lucy 2000, 4). However, existing Roman material culture still circulated, including objects made in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd as well as 4th centuries AD, including coins, ceramics and dress fittings (Swift 2000, 136; White 1988, 164-5). The value of portable Roman material seems to have sustained successive centuries, but attitudes and uses may have changed in the 6th century and again in the 7th century. Principally through Roger White's (1988) work, Roman items, such as beads, pins, brooches and scrap items are well-recognised elements of 6th-century funerary traditions (White 1988, 154-6; 159-65).

When considering recycled Roman material in the early medieval period, it needs to be kept in mind that in the 4th century, the Roman Empire was divided into two parts and each had no direct correlation to Rome itself anymore (Swift 2000,14). The Eastern Roman Empire and its capital in Constantinople did not fall until the sack of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 and while the western Roman Empire gradually ceased around AD 476-80, the Eastern Roman Empire was still in control of the Balkans and Egypt to the Danube and Caucasus, experiencing an economic boom (Swift 2000, 15; Dark 2000, 22). Furthermore, the capital of the Western Roman Empire depended on the residency of the Emperor and in the 4th century, he resided in Trier, Rhineland. The Western Roman Empire appears to have become a changeable concept without clearly defined borders, sharply contrasting with the model of the Eastern Roman Empire (Swift 2000, 14-5). The reuse of Roman material by the early medieval populations of Northwest Europe needs to be evaluated in this context, in order to question the extent to which the use of Roman objects reflects their value as 'antiquities', or if this material culture represents instead a connection and interest in the surviving eastern Roman Empire and its goods.

This thesis takes as its focus the reuse of Roman objects by the populations of early Anglo-Saxon England. While the adoption and reuse of ancient monuments has seen intensive discussion since the early 1990s along with the exploitation of Roman structures and spolia, the continued circulation and use of Roman portable has received comparatively little attention. In 1988, Roger White produced a well-known, thorough overview of Roman objects found within furnished graves of Anglo-Saxon

communities. White stopped short of a full contextual exploration of purpose and meaning, preferring to interpret the material as scrap (White 1988, 163). In the early 2000s, Hella Eckardt and Howard Williams explored in a short paper the recycling of Roman material in a variety of contexts, concluding that such appropriations had significant meaning for early medieval communities for the transformation of the individual in death (Eckardt and Williams 2003, 165). An initial pilot study conducted in my Master Thesis (2012) and subsequently published as an article (2017) provides results that underlined that the usage of Roman items was purposeful within early Anglo-Saxon funerary contexts (Werthmann 2012; 2017). Roman objects were used as personal ornaments, such as pierced Roman coins, Roman beads and spindle whorls, and were included with the assemblages in furnished graves. Distinct aspects of reuse were also present: at Great Chesterford, Esx, for example the majority of reused Roman coins were found in infant burials (Werthmann 2012, 21; 2017, 11). There was also a correlation between individuals showing signs of illness or physical impairment. At Beckford, Herf. and Wor. a cemetery that included burials of lepers and other individuals with evidence of physical health problems; in these graves Roman objects were personal items, such as perforated coins, spoons and beads (Werthmann 2012, 30-2; 7-9). Meanwhile, influential works have been published on curated and recycled Roman material found in late Roman and Anglo-Saxon graves (Fleming 2012; Swift 2012). Robin Fleming has argued that metalwork was collected, curated and recycled by early medieval communities during a time of impoverishment, while Ellen Swift identified particular age-correlations with the deposition of metal scrap in late Roman and Anglo-Saxon burials (Fleming 2012, 10; Swift 2012, 181-2). These works have shown that curated material and its social intentions for the community and individual during a time of transition provided much potential for exploration as a research topic.

This PhD project is thus conceived as a comprehensive exploration of this phenomenon. Using regions along the eastern English seaboard, a detailed analysis of the presence of Roman objects in graves across the 5th to 7th centuries seeks to establish the extent of 'recycling' practices. Furthermore, in chapter 8, the results from the UK material are set against case studies collected from Germany and France, to identify any similar practices from the same period on the continent and their connections with the English material.

1.2. Setting the background – the transformation of the Roman Empire

The late Roman 4th century in Britain can be divided into four zones (Gerrard 2013, 246). Hadrian's wall in the north was the furthest point of Roman Britain. South of the Limes, which is now northern England, had a strong military control, whereas in the far west of Wales and Cornwall there was almost no Roman presence. The south of England and east of the Fosse way, however, represented communities which were parts of the late antique main stream (Gerrard 2013, *ibid*.). Robert Collins (2007) has argued that the northern frontier zone crystallised itself from the Western Empire in the late Roman period, by consolidating their own regionalised identities through localised trade and craftmanship, rather than being dependent on incoming goods acquired through long distance trade (Collins 2007, 151-5).

There are many approaches towards the transformation of the late Roman Empire. The biggest divide seems to be between those who argue that the Western Roman Empire collapsed, labelling it the 'Fall of the Roman Empire' (Cleary 1990; Faulkner 2000; Fleming 2012) and those who believe that the Roman Empire continued in a variety of ways (Kent 2000; Swift 2000; Todd 1992; Gerrard 2013; Pohl 2013; Collins 2007). The main argument for a total collapse in Roman Britain is the cessation of the Roman military at forts and frontiers and an economic decline in the late 4th century (Faulkner 2000, 134; Fleming 2012, 34). Faulkner stresses that this collapse can be seen in the material culture, as towns and villas were abandoned, the mass production sites ceased to be in use and through the liquidation of the superstructure of the army, civilisation came to an end (Faulkner 2000, 137; 176). As has been mentioned briefly above, Collins has produced a strong counter argument to Faulkner's model through his examination of the northern frontier zones, suggesting that localised production and continued use of structures indicate a continuous occupation of the Roman forts well into the 5th century (Collins 2007, 153-6). Furthermore, he stresses the transformation of the northern frontier identities, as they may have regarded themselves as soldiers of the wall, rather than soldiers of Rome (Collins 2007, *ibid*.).

As an advocate of the 'collapse theory', Cleary suggests that such a collapse was the result of the weakness of the Roman state in the early 5th century, which gave rise to the barbarian successor states (Cleary 1989, x). The ending of Roman Britain was therefore not the result of a sharp end, but the outcome of preceding political, military and financial difficulties in the 3rd century, the so-called 'third-century-crisis' (Cleary 1989, 1). Roman Britain relied heavily upon the structure of the Empire and when it ceased, this system deteriorated completely in Britain within a generation (Cleary 1989, 195). In addition to this, Robin Fleming argues in a similar way that the collapse of the economy is evident through an impoverished lowland Britain, where iron, bronze and brass objects were collected from abandoned sites in order to be used as scrap metal (Fleming 2012, 10). The process of recycling Roman material during the 5th and 6th centuries occurred repeatedly, whereas in the late 6th and 7th century, fresh metal became more favourable again, which Fleming ascribes to the emergence of a new elite group (Fleming 2012, 23; 29). However, Gerrard has pointed out that the reuse of earlier structures/material culture or even the abandonment of certain sites do not necessarily mean a 'decline or impoverishment of society', but rather that these activities can be regarded as evidence for changing communities who made of use of earlier structures/material culture in newer and more productive ways, and that their resettling from one site to another was due to social and economic strategies (Gerrard 2013, 84).

Roman and Iron Age identity in Britain changed over time. Many scholars believe that the Roman Empire should be regarded as subject of transformation, based on the emergence of new political identities (Pohl 2013; Gerrard 2013; Dark 2000; Todd 1992; Swift 2000). The 'barbarian' groups, which were labelled by Faulkner (2000) as 'Dark Age warlords' and as cultural opposites to the Roman 'gentlemen bureaucrats', were in fact living on Roman territories for decades and were therefore equally transformed by the Roman provinces, before they came to power in the west (Pohl 2013, 6).

Pohl (2013) suggests that although the central power of Rome had diminished, the notion of Romanitas persisted in a variety of ways (Pohl 2013, 27). One aspect which he ascribes as important factor is the role of perceived ethnicity in the establishment of emerging identities, as the Roman Empire was based on multi-ethnic groups, who later on, with the aid of Christianity, conceptually at least

underpinned the power houses of the Middle Saxon period (Pohl 2013, 11, 26). In addition to this, as has been described above, frontier societies began to emerge in the late 3rd century, developing their own material culture that defined their identity and own political order, leading to a redefinition of what it meant to be 'Roman' on a localised level, rather than being part of a wider 'Roman Commonwealth' (Todd 1992, 147; Collins 2007, 151-6; Collins 2010, 67-68; Halsall 66-7). Furthermore, in the middle of the 3rd century, the importation of Samian pottery ceased; decades later, however, Romano-British pottery producers began to imitate the red-slipped Samian vessel forms (Gerrard 2013, 8). Furthermore, scholars have suggested that the restrictions of imported goods in the 4th century did not necessarily have a negative impact on Post-Roman societies, but that these restrictions were contributors to the formation of distinct group identities, displaying different kinds of messages (e.g. Gerrard 2013, 12-4; Collins 2007, 155; Halsall 2006, 30-4)

On the continent, interactions between barbarians and Roman provincials are well attested, as Roman imports flourished in barbarian territories and many barbarians entered the Empire from regions relatively close to the frontier before migration began, merging Barbarian identities with Roman ideologies together and leaving behind communities who expressed new ideas and social structures through distinct material culture (Todd 1992, 137-8; Halsall 2006, 30-4). Guy Halsall suggests that this merging of identities is illustrated in Merovingian funerary displays, linking the past to the present by displaying new Germanic grave goods with Roman antiques in the 5th to 7th centuries AD and thus claiming power by newly established families (Halsall 2010, 206-8; 259-60). In this context, the Germanic people were not unfamiliar with the Roman ways of life, instead they made use of remnants of Roman structures, ideologies and material culture for their own purposes. The glass industry set up by the Romans in the Rhineland was unaffected by the changes at the end of the 4th century and Roman style vessels were still produced, until their forms developed into new types (Swift 2000, 135-6). Richly furnished and aristocratic burials, such as that of Childeric dating to the 5th century, contained many Roman insignia expressing an 'inheritance of the Roman legacy' (Swift 2000, 198-9). The presence of prominent Roman sites was also an important factor for the placement of wealthy burials, in the Rhineland during the 6th and 7th centuries, many were situated in close proximities to former centres of Roman authorities. Meanwhile, in

Gaul from the 7th century onward, cemeteries were placed within Roman structures and sites, perhaps as a strategic appropriation by emerging families to claim landownership and a legacy to Rome (see Swift 2000, *ibid*.; Effros 2002, 191; Halsall 2010, 254-8). As Bonnie Effros has noted, there was a shift from using Roman material culture in everyday life to strategic usages in funerary displays (Effros 2002, 197).

In Britain, the past was also used for mortuary rites during the 5th to 7th centuries, as prehistoric barrows were frequently the focus of cemetery sites and, in some instances, Anglo-Saxon burials were incorporated in Roman structures (Bell 2005, 68; 127; Williams 1998, 92-5). Furthermore, Tyler Bell's study has demonstrated that in the 7th century, medieval churches were identified near or integrated with Roman structures, illustrating a link between the Roman past and the formation of ecclesiastical sites (Bell 2005, 69). Pohl observes that all the emerging kingdoms in the mid-1st millennium AD adopted Christianity and this seems to have been a driving force in the development of forms of group identification and social cohesion (Pohl 2013, 5). This feeds into Dark's suggestion that differences in the 7th century material culture and fashion in Britain show a more integrated approach towards new continental culture, which was not focused on the Empire or late Roman church, but on the Frankish kingdom and the papacy in Rome (Dark 2000, 230). He further argues that urbanism did not collapse but that the nature of occupation changed in the 5th and 6th century. This can be regarded as part of longer-term transformations, which were also found on the continent. As we have observed above, already in the late Roman period, Roman structures and sites were adapted and repurposed for the needs and maintenance of localised groups in the so-called frontier societies in northern England, before the cessation of centralised Roman control (e.g. Collins 2007, 151-6). Thus, it appears that the developments of Roman towns in the 4th century were subject to similar transitions, as overall inhabited areas shrunk, economic functions of larger towns and structures ceased and smaller, organic settlements emerged as local market places (Halsall 2013, 69-70). In addition to this, the so-called 'black earth', the layer overlaying the last Roman occupation level, has been frequently interpreted as evidence for an abandonment of towns, but this might be in fact evidence for a change of building material and thus continuous habitation during the 5th century (Halsall 2013, 72). In any case, this indicates a continuous

transformation of Roman towns used and maintained by changing communities, making it difficult to find linear patterns across different regions. The rural evidence presents a different picture, as there appears to be a rise of nucleated rural settlements and decline in farmsteads in the late Roman period, suggesting a continuous and flourishing habitation (Gerrard 2013, 239; Taylor 2007, 111-3). Thus, it might be argued that rural settlements persisted longer than their urban counterparts, as they were not subject to drastic transformations as observed above. Rather, the lives of these rural populations were shaped by their landscape and agricultural cycles instead of supplies of raw materials and localised productions (Gerrard 2013, 215). It is in the semi-rural settings that the church could be firmly established by the end of the late Roman period, and from which it could spread into other parts of Anglo-Saxon England (Petts 2003, 171).

The above discussion has shown that the transformation of the Roman Empire should be viewed as a multi-layered event, operating on different levels with different outcomes according to a variety of factors. On the continent, Roman goods such as glass and pottery were still produced after the cessation of the Empire and Roman symbols and structures were continuously used as focus for cemetery sites, prominent burials or for mortuary displays (see Effros 2002, 191; Halsall 2010, 254 - 8). Although in the transition period Britain has been described as 'impoverished' after the cessation of military troops, the emergence of frontier societies illustrates a different picture, suggesting that Roman features and material culture were used on a local level, creating new Post-Roman identities (see Collins 2007, 151-6; Collins 2010, 67-8). The picture of Roman reuse changes in the 7th century, when Roman derived and Byzantine material appeared in richly equipped graves in Britain. Helen Geake interprets these as a reminder of the Roman past, providing justification for the user as a legitimate heir of the lands which used to be under Roman role (Geake 1998, 296-8). Through this discussion, the significance of Roman objects becomes evident and it is not sufficient to ascribe the use of Roman objects merely as items from scavenger hunts during a time of impoverishment (see Fleming 2012, 15-6). Although accessibility to raw material was an important factor and Fleming has demonstrated ongoing recycling processes during the 5th century, Sue Harrington and Martin Welch (2014) point out that even if there is a scarcity of raw material, it is unlikely that metal items, in particular personal items were left behind on abandoned

sites; instead, the circulation of scrap and recycled material might be regarded as evidence for ongoing trade and exchange networks (Harrington and Welch, 139-41). Furthermore, it should be taken into account that humans are multi-faceted and fashion, desire, status and beliefs may all have played a part in an ongoing use of Roman material by the populations of the old Roman provinces. Accessibility to material also varied, and we might expect the populations of the south of England to have had a much higher pool of Roman material to draw on than the communities inhabiting the west and north of Britain. In fact, Fraser Hunter has observed trade and exchange of Roman goods beyond the Scottish frontier through the occurrence of silver coin hoards. He argues that these coins were used as 'prestige goods' rather than being objects to be melted down; as items of status they were instrumental to local power politics (Hunter 2009, 1623). Thus, instead of explaining the phenomenon with a single concept, a careful consideration of the ways in which Roman material was used by different populations is needed. Developments in the former Roman Empire were fluid and it is difficult to pin point archaeological evidence as categorically 'Roman' or 'early medieval'. By reviewing the Roman objects included in graves, this thesis will give an account of individual statements and shared similar values in relation to Roman material culture in the period AD 400-700. In doing so, it will explore the potential influences of the Roman past and Roman present on these populations and the economic connections and drivers after the 4th century.

1.3. Aims, Objectives and Research questions

The usage of Roman objects in early Anglo-Saxon England is an understudied topic, which needs to be re-assessed in the light of new approaches and developments towards Anglo-Saxon as well as late antique archaeology. The central aim is to examine the reuse of Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon graves in terms of nature, occurrence, use and treatment. Continental evidence is also examined in chapter 8, as this enabled me to compare and contrast the Post-Roman practices evident in areas within and beyond the frontiers.

The research questions posed here are:

- What types of objects were circulated and deposited in graves?

- Who was buried with Roman objects?
- Were objects modified or do they show signs of wear?
- How were they included in graves?
- Were there chronological or regional variations in their usage?
- Did economic factors in Post-Roman Britain play a role in the circulation of this material?
- Did the Roman material and usage change with the introduction of and conversion to Christianity?
- Why were these objects valued by early medieval people?
- Were the objects valued for their antiquity or in terms of prestige, beliefs, cultural affiliations or even social divisions?
- Were there connections with similar types of practice on the near continent in the same time frame?

In order to answer these research questions, the primary objective of this study is to create a comprehensive study of reused Roman material in Anglo-Saxon graves from the coastal counties of England, namely Kent, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk. This is long overdue, as the only systematic review by Roger White dates to 1988.

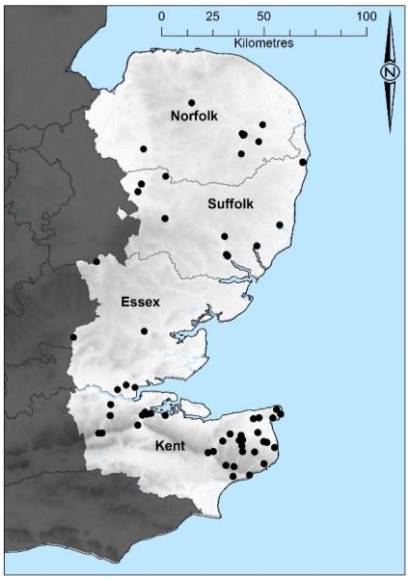
The collected data and identified patterns are then contextualised without a broader theoretical framework which considers the transformative period between the 4th and 7th centuries.

1.4. Regions

As this thesis is primarily concerned with the evidence of transition between the Roman to the Anglo-Saxon world, it was of paramount importance to choose regions that were already significant in both time periods, In particular the coastal regions of England offer insights of changes in material culture or behavioural patterns driven by external factors, as their communities could more easily access new material brought over by either trade or exchange or new incoming groups of people. The regions of Kent, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk are of particular interest here, as they

were prominent regions during the Roman period and in later stages, crystallised themselves into their own distinct cultures that ultimately resulted in the formation of new kingdoms (see Fig. 1.1.).

Fig. 1.1. Map of chosen countries



The regions have natural boundaries and waterways, of which early medieval communities made use (see Bruce-Mitford 1974, 15, 80; Harrington and Welch 2014, 13; Pestell 2004, 12; Hoggett 2010, 2-3). The soil conditions of Norfolk and Suffolk somewhat differ from those of Kent, consisting of mainly heathland with acidic conditions, while Kent mainly consists of chalk and limestone with varying soil types, some of them being fertile (Bruce-Mitford, 15; Harrington and Welch 2014, 43-4). These varying conditions also have an impact on preservation of artefacts and/or organic material (see ch. 2).

During the Roman period, these areas were already of paramount importance, as they were part of the 'Saxon shore', which was characterised by a series of 3rd and 4th centuries fortifications near harbours and estuaries (Gerrard 2013, 32). Here, prominent forts within this study area were Reculver Knt, Richborough Knt, Lympne Knt, Bradwell Esx, Walton Castle, Sfk, Brancaster, Nfk, Burgh Castle Nfk (see Fig. 1.2.).

Fig. 1.2. Map of Roman landscape in chosen counties (see Gerrard 2013, 33)


Image removed due to copyright reasons

Given the close proximity to harbours and water ways, these regions benefitted from a constant influx of new material culture coming in through trade ways, which may have continued throughout the centuries, even when the fortifications came out of use. This is evidenced by coin finds at the 3rd century fortifications of Richborough Knt and Brancaster Nfk which both produced 4th-century coin issues, leading Gerrard (2013) to the conclusion that trade and exchange continued well into the early 5th century (Gerrard, 2013, *ibid*.). This would suggest that the communities settled around these shores made use of the social and economic structures from the Roman landscape and continued to use incoming Roman material culture.

This fits into the overall model that the Anglo-Saxons made use of earlier Roman roadways and prehistoric sites, respecting the structures left behind and integrating them into their customs and traditions (Harrington and Welch 2014, 6, 93; Semple 1998, Williams 1997). In particular, the pre-existing road network and trackways may have been beneficial for trading links and movements of people and new ideas. Sue

Harrington and Martin Welch (2014) observe a correlation of Frankish material with Roman roads and major riverine networks, suggesting that this might be evidence of movements of people rather than solely imported goods (Harrington and Welch 2014, 195). Furthermore, prominent early medieval cemetery sites were frequently situated near Roman roads, trackway- and waterway junctions, such as the Sutton Hoo Sfk boat burial or the Holborough Knt mound (Harrington and Welch 2014, 208). These observations demonstrate the importance of Roman structures in the early medieval period, thus, examining regions with prominent Roman features and possible evidence for continued activities may provide insights into the meaning of reusing Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon graves within a landscape littered with Roman remnants.

1.4.1 Pre-existing Roman archaeology in the chosen study areas

The regions examined in this thesis are also showing local differences during the Roman period, which will be briefly discussed here. It is interesting to note that specific patterns are evident from the coastal areas of Kent and further inland.

As has been mentioned above, Kent held a distinctive role during the Roman and Anglo-Saxon period through its close proximity to the continent and its established trade routes. Canterbury established itself as the urban centre of Kent, as it was linked through water ways and road ways to important trading sites such as Dover Knt, Richborough Knt and Rochester Knt (see Fig. 1.3.) (Williams 2003, 235). In this way, military men and traders could travel by water, shortening the route to the urban centre. It is therefore suggested that social groups were organised by river valleys rather than by territories (Millet, 2007, 148, 153). The incoming traders and goods would have left a lasting impact on the communities well connected to the trade ways, as there were in constant contact with the continent through economical and perhaps political exchanges. These influences may have not reached as far inland and thus a distinct way of life may have established itself around the coastal regions of East Kent.

Fig. 1.3. Road and trade ways of Roman Kent (after Williams 2003, 220)

The Roman landscape of Kent of the 1st to 2nd century AD became increasingly populated as evidenced by structural remains and fieldworks, suggesting that many agricultural settlements were spread around this region, but with a comparatively low number of high status villas around the coastal lines (Wallace and Mullen 2019, 76; Williams, 2003, 229, 231-5). The distribution of coinage, pottery and burial rites also varied and there was a clear lack of hillforts and oppida in East Kent in comparison to the west.

Thus, similar to the Anglo-Saxon period, eastern Kent and its coastal regions were of distinct character in comparison with the rest of the region, as they had access to different supplies and exchanges that inland communities may not have had in such quantities. Furthermore, it appears that local influences shaped the archaeology of west Kent and East Anglia.

In west Kent, archaeological remains suggest that pre-existing features from the Iron Age were adopted for high status Roman sites. This is can be seen at Springhead, Knt, where a pre-existing Iron Age sanctuary was transformed into a Roman settlement site with a religious focus (see Fig. 1.4.) (Wallace and Mullen 2019, 76; Williams 2003, 224-5).

Fig.1.4. Map of Springhead, Knt, where an Iron Age sanctuary (marked red) is incorporated in a Roman settlement site (after Williams 2003, 223)

Similarly, the Late Iron Age ritual site at Elm Farm in Heybridge, Esx. metamorphosised into a Roman settlement with a temple complex, suggesting that the incoming Roman communities made use, shaped and transformed pre-existing sites (Pitts and Perring 2006,191; 205). Ritual sites and practices were also found in the frontier zones from the regions of Essex and Suffolk, as votive deposits were found at the border or immediately after the northern territory (Pitts and Perring 2006, 193). Furthermore at Mildenhall, Sfk, buildings were connected to an open space for family units, which may have been also used as a place for ritual gatherings (Bowden 2011, 384). It has been therefore suggested that the adoption of

pre-existing sites and practices during the Roman period is indicative of contact between the Romans and the local elite (Wallace and Mullen 2019, 101; Willams 2003, 235-6). Local exchange between incomers and natives are also evident at sites such as Colchester, Esx, where Gallo-Roman luxury items were found and with the establishment of the Roman town at Great Chesterford Esx, strategically controlling the northern exits by the 4th century and leaving an impact on the locals movements (Warwick and Rodwell 1972, 290-2). Furthermore there were numerous Roman sites recorded within the vicinities of Essex, demonstrating that this region was well incorporated into the Roman landscape (Fig. 1.5.) (Warwick and Rodwell, 1973, 121).

Fig. 1.5. Map of Roman landscape of Essex (see Pitts and Perring 2006, 195)

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In contrast, there were much fewer Roman sites and villas recorded in Norfolk, suggesting that this area was less Romanised than other territories (Bowden 2011, 383). One significant site was that of the Roman administrative complex site *Venta Incenorum,* which was set up in the 1st to 2nd century, most likely for trading purposes and went out of use in the 4th century (Myres 1973, 74-6). There was also a series of Roman buildings recorded near the site, however, the area was not as densely populated as observed in the region of Kent. Nevertheless, it appears that some of the recorded buildings were specifically built for ritual purposes, similar as observed in Essex, Suffolk and west Kent. Winged villa structures found at Gayton

Thorpe, Nfk may have incorporated indigenous architectural forms and thus were purposely built as a shrine or temple, strategically situated on a hilltop close to a Roman road (Bowden 2011, 384). Significant sites were also found around the Fenlands, including a villa and bath complex at Feltwell, Nfk, a temple site at Hockwold Nfk. and Denver and Brampton were industrial sites, producing salt and pottery in kiln site (Potter 1989, 271; Knowles 1978, 215). There was a series of small estates dotted around the fen edge as well as Romano-British occupation in the north of ancient rivers in the north of the regions (Knowles 1978, ibid.). Furthermore, John Davies and Tony Gregory associated coin finds with excavated and un-excavated features in the landscape, suggesting that there were some trade activities between the indigenous groups and Roman incomers in this mostly rural region (Fig. 1.6.) (Davies and Gregory 1991, 90-1).

Fig. 1.6. Map of Roman Norfolk, based on coin finds (excluding villas) (see Davies and Gregory 1991, 90).

Image removed due to copyright reasons

The impact of Roman culture may not be as obvious in these territories, however, the establishment of trade markets and industrial sites around the fens show that Roman incomers made use of the landscape and influenced or were influenced by local communities. This may have been on a much smaller scale as observed in Kent and Essex and partly Suffolk, however, it was still there and it is interesting to investigate how Anglo-Saxon communities adapted to the different cultural influences left be the exchange of the Romans and the local elite.

It appears therefore, that the Roman landscape was shaped by different influences, varying from one region to another. The Kentish coastal lines were of distinct nature as direct trade ways through the ports to urban centres, with very few villas found

here. The use of pre-existing Iron Age structures for settlement and ritual sites were found rather inland and pre-existing architectural styles were also absorbed in the far north to create new meanings for buildings. It is therefore possible that there was more of an interchange between the local elite and the Roman occupants further inland, while at the coastal regions, the focus was placed on incoming goods and thus connectiveness to the continent.

The incoming Anglo-Saxons would have encountered a landscape shaped by interchanges and absorbed cultural influences, some of them specifically Roman and others a mixture between local influences with Roman elements. This thesis will therefore analyse if the regional differences of interactions with Roman groups also had an impact on the selection and use of Roman objects by Anglo-Saxon communities and in what way they become parts of their everyday life.

1.4.2. The Anglo-Saxon evidence in the chosen study areas

Little is known about the first Anglo-Saxon polities established in 5th century in the chosen study areas, however, it is clear from the differing burial rites (mainly a preference for cremation in East Anglia and inhumation in Kent) that the study area encompasses distinct communities with their own cultural identity expressed through distinct material culture (e.g. Lucy 2000, 83, 140-144; Sørensen 1999, 225, 279). Bede's *Historica Ecclesiastica* and the *Tribal Hidage* written by an unknown author suggest that political units were already established in the south east in the 7th century, with Kent encompassing the highest amount (15,000 hides) in comparison to the East Saxons and the South Saxons (each 7000 hides) and the West Saxons and Isle of Wight (600 hides, indicating the special significance Kent held during that time period, however, the making of these units is largely unclear (Welch and Harrington, 5; Campbell 1986, 85-98). A similar picture is presented in East Anglia. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* provide an account of the kingdom of the East Angles during the 6th and early 7th centuries, mainly from the kings Aethelfrith, king Northumbria and Raedwald, but there was no information provided on the consolidation of communities in the 5th century and the extension of the territories belonging to the kingdom of East Anglia, although it has been argued by Robert Bruce-Mitford that the core areas belonged to the modern counties of Suffolk and Norfolk (Bruce-Mitford, 1974, 107). Furthermore, documentary evidence

suggests that there was a distinction between the ‘north folk’ and the ‘south folk’, which appears to be still relevant in the 7th century, as each of them were provided with a separate bishop. Their distinctiveness is also illustrated by the dominant funerary rites, as Norfolk consisted of mainly large cremation cemeteries, while at Suffolk, only a handful of sites are known for practising cremation rites (Bassett 1989, 26; Hoggett 2010, 38). Stephen Bassett (1989) has put forward two models of ideal types to link the ambiguous political units with the formation of large kingdoms: Political units steadily integrated to adjacent settlement areas and with the gradual increase of families belonging to a particular unit, there was a steady increase of hierarchical kingship development and as such, more territories and goods were absorbed, leading ultimately to the formation of the later Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The second model involves the integration of Post-Roman territory, which Bassett argues is a peaceful fusion of Germanic incomers and the latest Roman population (as seen at Great Chesterford, Esx) and although this model may appear superficial, the significance of Roman structures for incoming early medieval communities would favour such an interpretation (Bassett 1989, 23-6).

As has been mentioned briefly above, Kent was of special significance in Anglo-Saxon England through its distinct material culture and the written sources suggest that it presented itself as the first English kingdom, an independent entity from the rest of the regions, producing rich funerary and settlement archaeology (Fig. 1.7.) (Brookes 1989, 55). Its political unit centred on the eastern half of the county with many sub-divisions ruled by overlords, expanding to the west before the 590s, however, West Kent was later absorbed by the political zone ruled by the East Saxons (Welch and Harrington 2014, 3-5; Yorke 1990, 13).

Fig. 1.7. Map of early Kent (see Brooks 1989, 55)

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Being separated as such, the archaeology of West Kent is also distinct from its eastern counterpart, as it is poorer in material culture and demonstrates greater links with the lower Thames valley, especially Surrey and Essex (Brookes 1989, 68-9). Furthermore, the documentary evidence suggests that Essex did not fully develop in its own political unit as observed with Kent, but was governed by a shared kingship at times until it was ruled by an overlord of Aethelbert I of Kent (Dumville 1989, 135-40). The changing kingship of Essex demonstrates that counties lying on the periphery of larger kingdoms became subsumed during power struggles and this might be also reflected in the usage and preferences of particular material culture (Harrington and Welch 2014, 5). This changing political scene in Essex, located in-between the prominent kingdoms of Kent and East Anglia, is interesting in its own right for this study, as we might observe distinct patterns in the usage of Roman material culture, independent from prominent regional preferences.

Similarly to Kent, East Anglia emerged as a strong political unit from the mid-6th century onward based upon their claim to be descendants from the Wuffinga dynasty (Evans 1986, 107). Although the information is sparse from the documentary evidence, Martin Carver has suggested that there is little indication for continued use of Roman settlements in the 5th and 6th centuries, with an intensification of settlements in south-east Suffolk (Carver 1989, 144). Furthermore, it seems that different external factors shaped the political units in this region, as strong Scandinavian connections can be observed in Suffolk in particular (see below), while the large cremation cemeteries may have been the result of links between communities in northern Germany between the late 4th to the 5th centuries, as is shown by the similarities of pottery and artefact types (Hills and Lucy 2014, 318).

Fig.1.8. Map of East Anglia with settlement and cemetery sites (see Carver 1989)

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It has been suggested that from the mid-6th century, new incoming settlers brought a change in burial rite and material culture, as evidenced by the rich boat burials at Sutton Hoo Sfk and Snape Sfk, which are also geographically separated from the large cremation cemeteries found at Cambridgeshire and Norfolk (Evans 1986, *ibid.)* (see Fig. 1.8.). It seems, however, that these changes did not appear overnight, as John Hines observed a new strand of material culture, in particular wrist clasps, arriving from across the North Sea in the 5th century, which showed strong similarities with material culture found in Scandinavia and Norway (Hines 1994, 52). Furthermore, the spread of this new material culture appears to stop at the geographical boundaries separating the East Anglian political units from southern Britain and on the peripheries, the items are used as brooches rather than for their original purpose (Hines 1994, *ibid.).* This uniform use of these dress ornaments in East Anglia and Scandinavia is suggestive that their meaning went beyond upholding the dress, but that they were an expression of a shared group identity, distinctive from those found in Kent. The striking similarities of cremation burials in Norfolk and northern Germany from the late-4th century and the Scandinavian burial customs which intensified in the mid-6th century, particularly in Suffolk, are interesting in their own right and reflect the significance of strong continental

connections during the time of the merging of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Boat burials appeared during the same time period in the Swedish upland province of Uppsala and are frequently ascribed to the Vendel dynasty, indicating that this particular site had strong links to the communities across the North Sea (e.g. Bruce-Mitford 1982, 81; Yorke 1990, 15). Furthermore, taking Helen Geake's interpretation, the Roman derived grave goods found at Sutton Hoo, Sfk might be regarded as evidence for claiming their lands as a Roman legacy (Geake, 1998, 296-8). This is also supported by the documentary evidence as the Wuffinga dynasty shared a conscious claim to inherit Roman authority in Britain by incorporating the name Caesar (Bruce-Mitford 1974, 11-2). Thus, we are confronted with a particular region that claims landownership through a Roman legacy and seemingly through the support of shared material culture and funerary customs across the North Sea.

Fig. 1.9. Map of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (see Yorke 1990, 15)

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It appears that the region of Kent is following a similar pattern by consolidating itself through strong links with Frankish territories, as evidenced through shared material culture and written sources (Harrington and Welch 2014, 6). In this regard, Ian Wood has suggested that Kent might have been subject to a Frankish hegemony, ruled by a Frankish overlord (Wood 1983, 17-19; 1993, 237-41). Although this might be disputable, the significance of incoming Frankish material is undeniable and it has been suggested by Harrington and Welch that the material had a transformational effect, which lead to the distinctive Kentish style (Harrington and Welch 2014, 178-9). Similarly to the observed patterns with the wrist clasps, Frankish material appears to be incoming from the mid-5th century onward through trade and exchange and there is also evidence of Anglo-Saxon material in Merovingian graves (Harrington and Welch 2014, *ibid.*; Soulat 2009, 9). It might be suggested that the continuous use of Roman structures for burials and Roman symbols as grave furnishing in prominent Frankish graves had an impact on Kentish communities and the meaning of reusing Roman material in this particular area, which might differ from the usage observed in East Anglia. These differences and similarities will be explored in this thesis in order to explore the significance of the Roman past during the process of shaping the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

1.5. Chronology

The chronological scope of this thesis is the 5th to 7th centuries AD: a time of significant change. However, the late 4th century is also relevant to this thesis, in order to assess the transition from late Roman society to early medieval communities. Recent research on the continent indicates that Roman objects were in much longer use and were still in mass production. For this reason, it is vital to understand varying trajectories of Roman influence across the chosen regions.

In the 5th and 6th centuries, emphasis was placed on burying the deceased in their clothes and, in the case of female graves, with personal jewellery, which also included Roman coins and dress ornaments (e.g. White 1988,101, 111-2; Meaney

1981, 220; Hoggett 2010, 101). Male burials comprised fewer dress accessories, but textile impressions and occasionally cloak brooches and belt buckles suggest that they were also dressed when buried, some of them with weapons (Hoggett 2010, ibid.). Previous studies have noted correlation between age, sex and objects deposited in burials, reflecting various stages of the life course (e.g. Stoodley 1998; Härke 1990; Lucy 2000, 87-9). The same patterns can be found on the continent, as Halsall observed age-related patterns in the deposition of objects at the cemetery of Lorraine in north-eastern France (Halsall 1995, 254-7). There are regional variations in burial depositions; the first and foremost being the distinction between inhumation rites in southern Britain and cremation rites in the northern parts of East Anglia, and subtle variations from cemetery to cemetery were also recorded and discussed in this study, in order to examine a variety of factors to reusing/the reuse of Roman objects.

Furthermore, from the mid-6th to 7th century onward, new burial rites were introduced in the examined study regions (as discussed in 1.4) with the arrival of newly emerged elite groups. As we have seen, in burial sites such as Sutton Hoo Sfk, certain individuals particularly in East Anglia were buried with symbols of power and prestige that seem to have referred to Roman traditions and goods relevant to the contemporary early medieval world of the 6th and 7th centuries (Geake 1997, 29 -9). The number of unfurnished graves increased at this time, with furnished graves largely comprising relatively sparse assemblages mostly containing just a single knife (Geake 1997, 277-8). The major brooch types of the 6th century, long bead festoons and many girdle items ceased during the 7th and early 8th century and were replaced by classically inspired single disc brooches, single pins, and pairs of pins linked by chains, new types of necklaces with pendants and girdle items. (Lucy 2000, 84-5). From c.650 AD, girls were buried with the same grave goods as adult women, suggesting that these depositions were not as heavily relying on age differences as previously observed (Geake 1997, 286). In addition to this, the earthen mounds developing roughly around the same time used to cover graves were less frequent and when used were monumental in size and as at Sutton Hoo, Sfk marked burials of great wealth which stood apart from the rest of the community (Hoggett 2010, 107; Lucy 2000, 4). These burials are often interpreted as ‘princely’ and evidence for an emerging social stratification, however, it the monumental built of a barrow also

suggests that these were places of commemorations of a high status individual (Semple 2013, 48-9; Van der Noort 1993, 70). It is tempting to set this in the context of the arrival of Christianity once more to England. By the 7th century in some regions, the Roman church was establishing ecclesiastical foci in Roman towns and buildings and were even using Roman fabric in its new architectural repertoire of churches, monasteries and religious centres (Morris 1989; Bell 1998, ch.2 and 3; Blair 2005, 11-2; Senior *et al.* 2014, 13-4) Britain was not the sole example for these processes, similar trends are known from Merovingia, Hispania and North Africa where similar ideological and functional reclamations of Roman spolia by the early church are evident (Semple 2013, 238).

Apart from Roman spolia, Roman sites including villas, temples and forts, were also adopted in the 5th to 7th centuries, as places for the burial of the dead (Bell 1998, ch.2). Such associations have frequently been interpreted as attempts to signal connections to an ancestral past as a way of claiming land (e.g. Lucy 1992, 98; Williams 1997, 998; 1998, 92) and regional variations in monument reuse are shown to exist in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Semple 2013, 50-1). Such processes are also argued as integral to 'elite-power strategies' in the 6th and 7th centuries which involved the use of ancient monuments and remains in the processes of identity creation and memory making (Williams 1997, 26; Semple 2013 too, 59 - 60).

It is disputable as to whether the reuse of Roman objects by early medieval populations was regarded in the same way as the reuse of prehistoric or indeed Roman monuments. Howard Williams has observed that the variety of Roman objects used as grave goods contrasts with the apparent uniformity and scale of the processes of monument reuse suggesting the motivations for using or recycling Roman objects may have been quite distinct (Williams 2003). However, as discussed above Sarah Semple has pointed out that there are also regional variations in monument reuse and that this is indicative of distinct relationships between local communities and their surrounding landscapes (Semple 2013, 52-3).

Just as the processes of adopting prehistoric and Roman sites and monuments changed across the 5th to the 8th centuries AD, so did the use/reuse of objects, as they may have changed in terms of types, purposes and meaning.

1.6. Limitations

The limitations of this PhD are first and foremost the scope. While this study aims to examine regional variations of the reuse of Roman objects in early Anglo-Saxon England, conducting a more empiric and careful study would require a much tighter geographic scope. I have chosen, therefore, four counties that will allow me to compare traditions in Kent with practices in East Anglia in the 5th - 7th centuries AD. This will also provide sufficient evidence to explore the near continent as well in terms of establishing if similar trends were apparent and bore any relation to the evidence from south-eastern and eastern England. However, comparing the core data with case studies from the continent meant that there was little space for broader comparisons with regions formerly belonging to the heartlands of Roman Britain. This will remain possible avenue for exploration in future works. Another limitation was the time frame examined here, comprising the 5th to 7th centuries AD. As will be mentioned in 3.3., curated Roman material also occur in graves beyond the chronological time frame discussed in this study and it appears that over time, there were changes in the meaning of employing objects of Romanitas. These changes are outside of the scope of this study, but similarly present an area for future work.

It also needs to be taken into account that there is a bias of surviving Roman material within different soil conditions. The soil of East Anglia tends to be more acidic than in Kent and thus, objects made from certain fabrics might not survive as in more fertile soil. Thus, some areas might show more intense Roman activities than others as a result of variables such as poor preservations which might obscure the overall picture.

Another important factor to keep in mind is the date of the excavation reports examined. Especially in Kent, many excavations were carried out during the 18th and 19th century, without appropriate excavation techniques and records, thus, the identification of curated material in these reports represents a challenge.

My comparative work on the cemeteries of Germany and France will be case-study-led. This is due to the confines of the timeframe of the project, as research trips to archives and collections are time-consuming processes, placing limits on the

collection, analysis and presentation of this data. This is also particularly the case where literature was presented in a different language. For this reason, this thesis will focus on well documented large-scale excavations from the continental data.

All the objects represented in this study have been individually classified with reference to published typologies, in order to eliminate any possible misinterpretations by the excavators and establish a comprehensive picture of curated Roman material in Anglo-Saxon graves.

CHAPTER TWO

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. Introduction: Collecting the data

This PhD thesis is based upon a large data set of Roman objects in early Anglo-Saxon graves and structures from Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex dating from the 5th to 7th centuries AD. The complete data is kept in a Microsoft Access (2013) database and 51 fields have been created to query the data in order to record the types and the contexts they were found in.

The database catalogues information including the name of the sites, grave number, their dimensions and relationship to other features and their location within the site. Each data entry also lists information relating to the skeletal remains, including age and gender, body positions, where applicable, trauma and abnormal diseases and the amount of individuals within one grave. If Roman material turned up as part of an assemblage within a grave, the relationship of the object towards the body was recorded and the amount of other grave goods and their association with the item in question. The database records detailed description of each Roman object, including information on use wear where applicable. In some cases, it is possible to provide close dates for the objects, especially in the case of Roman coins, which offer greater insights into the circulation history and biography of the object. In some cases, there were difficulties in determining the exact number of Roman objects present in the grave. This was particularly the case with Roman potsherds and tiles found in the fill, or excavations from antiquarian reports where descriptions are ambiguous or unclear, often recording the quantity of objects as ‘several’ or ‘multiple’. In order to quantify items for comparison, the assumption was made that there were more than a pair of objects, thus, a general number of at least five objects were given for the deposits.

The data from Britain has been collected from a variety of sources, including the Archaeology Data Service, the Historic Environment Records and online resources such as the Norfolk Heritage Explorer and the Anglo-Saxon Kent Electronic

Database (ASKED). The different establishments were contacted for information on Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, settlements, burials and structures dating from AD 400 to 800. These sources facilitated the compilation of bibliographic references of 324 sites, consisting of cemeteries and settlements. However, the degree of ease to compile this list of sites varied from region to region. The process was particularly complicated as a result of mislabelling and disorganised records, especially in Norfolk and Essex. While Kent County Council produced a list of 3000 potential sites in PDF format within a couple of days when I sent my request and Suffolk County Council provided me with a large amount of additional information alongside their list of sites, the county councils of Norfolk and Essex proved to be more difficult to communicate with. The county council of Norfolk did not produce a list of sites, but referred me to their Norfolk Heritage Explorer Website. Although useful, their labelling of cemeteries and settlements is problematic, as they also use these terms for sites which were not excavated but subject to metal detecting activities. It was possible to create a list by working carefully through the entries of the Heritage Explorer, but published gazetteers of sites in Norfolk were also used to cross check this list. A similar approach has been used for the evidence of Essex, as the county council could not produce a complete list of sites. By drawing on different sources during the data collection and a careful process of cross-checking information, I have produced a comprehensive list of bibliographic sources from early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and settlements in Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. These sources largely consisted of published excavation reports, but also include antiquarian accounts, journal articles and in some cases, unpublished excavation reports.

In order to examine the reuse, curation and biographies of Roman objects in later contexts, a significant factor of this PhD thesis was to examine sources which provide contextual information for these. For this reason, stray finds and data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme without any given context are excluded from the main body of data. This does not, however, preclude the possibility to draw on stray find examples in comparison with the contextualised data in the database. This approach will be effective when discussing material from Frisia and northern Germany where no clear context has been recorded and unobtrusive methods of field work were applied, such as field walking and geophysical surveys.

In total, the database comprises 65 cemeteries across the four coastal counties, with 322 graves and 908 identified Roman objects. This data will be contextualised with finds from selected cemeteries in Germany and France in chapter 8.

This data will be analysed on a regional level, in order to shed light on the cultural connections across different regions and to highlight any regional variations. However, each site will be carefully analysed in order to evaluate the individual factors at play when choosing to include a Roman item. This will be facilitated by use wear analysis, by examining the objects first-hand or through the examination of drawings, images and descriptions of items in reports. By drawing on continental material, another layer will be added to this study, setting it into a wider geographical framework. This study is therefore unique, as previous scholarship has shown limited engagement with the similarities of reuse and curation practices between early Anglo-Saxon England and the continent (White 1988). Furthermore, reused Roman material has never been discussed on a regional basis, but was either integrated in broader patterns (Meaney, 1981; White 1988; Fleming 2012) or evaluated on an individual level without contextual analysis (Eckardt and Williams 2003). In order to create a holistic examination of object reuse, it is therefore of paramount importance to query the data on different levels, from an individual level, to a regional level, and to a wider geographical level beyond.

2.2. Gender and age associations

The recording methods of excavation reports varied greatly, resulting in different ways in defining age categories and methods of assigning age to an individual, especially in antiquarian reports. In order to systematically record and standardise the data, age categories in the present database have been borrowed from Sue Harrington and Martin Welch's classification (see Harrington and Welch 2014, 27). To simplify their classification even further, individuals aged between 12 - 25 years have been broadly categorised as juveniles, as classification vary within excavation reports between juveniles/young adults/sub-adults/adolescents.

The age categories of this study are as follows:

Adult: 25 - 44 years

Child: 2 - 12 years

Infant: 0 - 2 years

Mature: 45+ years

Young Adult/Juvenile: 12 - 25 years

The age categories have been primarily recorded according to the specialist reports based on skeletal evidence. However, on some rare occasions, age categories are assumed based on the lengths of the graves which might suggest that these were child or infant burials. This enables age-related practices of object reuse to be scrutinised even when there is insufficient skeletal evidence.

A similar approach has been taken to determine the gender of individuals. Where possible, biologically sexed individuals have been used in this study. However, in many cases, biological sex could not be determined, either because of antiquarian reports or due to poor preservation, such as in acidic soil in East Anglia. In these cases, gender information by grave goods is recorded in addition to skeletal evidence, in order to avoid skewing the overall broad patterns as a result of the high number of unsexed individuals. Gendered graves are determined with reference to associated grave goods. These associations were made through the grave good assemblages which were either distinctively female or male (see Stoodley 1998, Härke 1999). Through these associations, gender-specific patterns could be discerned in terms of the usage of Roman objects which may not have been as clear if biologically sex would have been used only. No distinction has been made between gendered and biological sexed individuals, as the primary concern is here to examine overall patterns of gender associations and when the study refers to female and male burials, it considers both gender and sex categories.

2.3. Defining the term 'Roman'

In this study, the prerequisite is to identify Roman antiques which dated to the 1st to 4th century in early medieval graves from the 5th to 7th century. It is to a lesser extent significant whether the items were Romano-British or Roman imported from the continent, unless they were specifically exotic items where the origin might have been worth to mention. Furthermore, for specific objects, such as glass, it is more

difficult to discern where the raw material came from, and if there was Anglo-Saxon glass manufacture, it probably derived from recycled Roman glass. The circulation of glass and other raw materials will be discussed in the thematic chapters 5 to 7. It is, however, of interest for this study to consider all objects of Roman manufacture dating to the 1st to 4th century, as 'Roman' instead of making sub-distinctions. This relates to the notion that the antiques which were chosen for the graves were Roman in character rather than indigenous (e.g. Romano-British) or imitations. It will be noted that in the later centuries, namely the 7th century, there was a difference between practices associated with Roman derived objects and with true antiques from the Roman period. This will be discussed below.

2.4. Identifying Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon graves

In most cases, Roman objects are identified according to their labelling in reports and the related images. However, for various reasons, this approach could not be applied to all the collected data. One reason for this was that antiquarian accounts sometimes mislabelled objects according to their style, and in other instances, excavations were carried out by commercial archaeology units who occasionally misidentified curated Roman material in Anglo-Saxon contexts. In order to rectify these issues, chapter 4 has drawn on published typologies and catalogues for cross-referencing. Using these reference points helps to minimise errors within the data and to ensure that the catalogue of reused Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon graves is as complete as possible.

There are limitations in this thesis in the identification of certain Roman object types which are difficult to date. These include beads and glass, as different classifications and ongoing bead-making on the continent made it extremely difficult to ascertain if these were curated objects. Hence, apart from those beads which were clearly labelled in the excavation reports to be Roman, only Roman Melon beads and glass fragments are included in the database. They are distinguished from their Anglo-Saxon counterparts through their characteristic features mentioned by Brugmann (2004) and through the identification of glass fragments by the specialist reports incorporated in the excavation reports. The same approach is taken for the identification of other Roman glass fragments due to the confines, and only the glass fragment which have been categorised as Roman in the reports are included in the

database. For this reason, the bulk of the material consists of easily identifiable curated Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon graves. In some instances, entries are made for objects which were possibly Roman in character, but they have not been specified as such. In some cases, they can be cross-checked with the catalogues. Other cases, however, are mentioned in antiquarian accounts and not illustrated, which makes it more difficult to determine if these are, in fact, Roman. These objects are not queried in the same way as the identified Roman material, but as they were possibly Roman, they will be included in comparative analysis to identify any patterns.

Furthermore a distinction is made between metal objects that are commonly found as grave deposition in forms or jewellery, dress fasteners or coins, such as copper-alloy, iron, silver and gold and metal that is rarely found, such as lead. For this reason, the rare occurrences of stone and lead artefacts are analysed separately.

2.5. Presentation of the data

This study aims to present an overview of the Roman objects included in early Anglo-Saxon burials, in terms of their nature, date, function and social meaning. chapter 4 gives an account of Roman objects included in the graves, from the most popular object types right through the ones which could be termed as peculiar items due to their rare occurrences. This is followed by three thematic chapters, based upon the distinct positioning of objects. Three placements can be distinguished here: the first two placements of objects are on the body, in a concealed or openly displayed fashion, and the third placement is away from the body, either placed beside it or in the fill. The results discussed in these chapters are supported by graphs, site maps, and tables listing objects and nearby Roman sites. Furthermore, histograms are used to compare Roman object reuse with overall occurrences of certain objects types, providing a wider perspective.

As this thesis is based upon a large data set and for a continuous flow of text, complex tables have been moved to Appendix A, all images (apart from some key images) to Appendix B and schematic drawings of items on the body are included in Appendix C. The appendices are in volume II.

Apart from the overall patterns, tables are also used to sub-divide objects according to their nature and associated items. In this way, it was possible to identify certain assemblages, which were possibly put together for specific uses within their respective communities.

In some instances, images of objects are used to show evidence for alteration for specific purposes, or to demonstrate how the objects bore particular visual significance for the viewer.

In this thesis, graves are generally referred to by name of the cemetery and grave number in the main text, e.g. **Buckland Knt gr. 48.** Where regions are mentioned, they are abbreviated as follows:

Kent – Knt

Essex – Esx

Suffolk – Sfk

Norfolk - Nfk

In tables, abbreviations are used for age and gender associations and described as follows:

Biological sex/gender:

F - Female

M - Male

Poss F - Possibly Female

Poss M - Possibly Male

U - Unknown

Where age ranges are given in the specialist reports, specific numbers are given; otherwise, age ranges are categorised as follows:

A - Adult

C - Child

I - Infant

Ju - Juvenile

M - Mature

These abbreviations are used throughout the text where necessary to create an easier flow for the reader and lesser repetitiveness.

Apart from chapter 4 which describes the overall patterns (as mentioned above), the thematic chapters of this study are structured according to general observations, distribution patterns, accessibility to Roman material and the finds section, where all the objects are discussed according to their fabrics, age and gender associations, position and assemblage association.

In this way, it was possible to ascribe different meanings to the objects and explore patterns in the object reuse.

2.6. Chronology of graves with Roman objects

The burial record discussed in this thesis dates to the early Anglo-Saxon period, between the 5th to 7th century AD. **Late Roman** refers to the 3rd to 4th century, while **early Roman** is used as a term to describe the 1st to 2nd century. Using these terms creates an easier flow for reading generally, and the associated century will be mentioned only where it is necessary to specify.

While these terms are used throughout the studies, careful attention is also given that these categories distinguish between time periods and it is important to evaluate the degree of continuity between the time periods, suggesting that they all can be summarised under the umbrella of the **transition period.**

Where possible, graves were re-dated according to John Hines and Alex Bayliss (2013) influential work where the authors re-dated graves from cemeteries dating to the 5th to 7th century through different dating techniques, including correspondence analysis, seriation of grave assemblages, radiocarbon dating and through a review and revision of artefact typologies. In some instances, Hines and Bayliss provide revised dates for specific graves through the aforementioned techniques, and in

other cases their revised typology is used to re-date some of the graves presented in the study.

In this way, it is possible to re-date some of the graves to earlier dates as previously thought, determining some overall patterns in object reuse throughout the centuries, which will be discussed in each chapter.

The dating of the individual graves is also hugely valuable in identifying age and gender associations. It is possible that the reuse of Roman objects did not only change in its nature, but that there was also a chronological shift from a specific age or gender group to another. These aspects have been evaluated further to establish a comprehensive picture of Roman object reuse over time.

2.7. Summary of results

The results of each chapter are summarised and contextualised by drawing on wider perspectives and existing syntheses of notions such as exchange, mortuary rights, gift giving, memory and circulation patters in the late and Post-Roman world. It is important in this regard to contextualise the results from a transitional perspective, by taking into account late Roman practices and ways of living instead of considering a complete break to the Roman past and regarding the objects as curiosities in the Anglo-Saxon world.

Apart from brief summaries at each chapter with a brief discussion about the purpose of the different uses, the discussion aims to set the results of the study within existing theoretical frameworks of the transition period from the late Roman to the early medieval world. In this regard, it is important not only to draw on the summaries, but also compare the results with continental cemeteries in chapter 8, namely from Germany and France. The evidence from these sites are more selected than the evidence from the core area examined, as only large-scale excavation reports from the continent are considered. However, the comparative analysis illustrates a pan European phenomenon of object reuse and circulating Roman material.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE PAST IN THE PAST IN ANGLO-SAXON SOCIETY

3.1. Introduction: Recycling the Past

It is now well recognised in medieval archaeology that past societies were conscious of their past and utilised it. This recognition stems from substantial work on reuse and recycling practices by prehistoric scholars (e.g. Bradley 1987, Brück 1995, Needham 1992), whose theoretical approach became influential among medieval archaeologists (e.g. Lucy 1992; Härke 1994; Blair 1995; Semple 1998; 2013; Williams 1997; 1998). This trajectory of work has been much rehearsed (see for example overviews in Williams 2006 and Semple 2013) and does not need synthesising again here. What is notable, however, is that while the 'reuse' or 'curation' of objects has featured prominently in prehistoric scholarship and to some extent in discussions of the medieval era, ideas of curation, recycling, repair and reuse of objects have received much less attention compared to work on landscapes and monuments (e.g. see Semple 2013 for the history of recycled landscapes, 5-7).

From the reuse of human bones in Atlantic Scottish later prehistoric settlements to the presence of deliberately placed disarticulated human remains in the Bronze Age in domestic contexts, the idea of 'special' and 'curated' objects has been explored in depth in relation to British prehistoric archaeology (e.g. Brück 1995, 24; Bedwin 1979, 23). Discussions of a similar kind have only been pursued in medieval archaeology in the last decade (e.g. Tipper 2004; Hamerow 2006; Morris and Jervis 2011; Sofield 2012; 2015; Gilchrist 2008; 2013). These can be divided into three genres of work: discussions of 'special deposits' or objects deposited in a ritual fashion in relation to non-funerary contexts (see Hamerow 2006; Reynolds and Semple 2011 for overviews); the use of Roman building material/stone or spolia in the context of buildings and sculptural repertoires (see Eaton (2000) and Bell (1998) for overviews); and the use or ownership of heirlooms or amuletic objects - objects

that were unusual and curated, kept over long periods of time before deposition, and some were never deposited (see Gilchrist 2008/2015 for overview). These are discussed in turn below.

3.1.1. Special deposits

By examining three Middle Saxon settlements, Jess Tipper (2004) recognises the placement of deposits in post holes from *Grubenhäusern* which might have had a specific purpose in these houses. Possible interpretations include foundation or closing deposits for some, but Tipper stresses that their meanings could be varied (Tipper 2004, 159). Helena Hamerow (2006) conducted a more in-depth analysis in which she observed parallels in the deposition practices from Anglo-Saxon settlements with prehistoric sites. In her study, she analysed 42 special deposits from 16 Anglo-Saxon settlement sites with comparative material drawn from northern Germany and the Netherlands. Similar to prehistoric settlements, animal and human bones were found in entrances, postholes of buildings and at boundaries (Hamerow 2006, 8-13). To a lesser extent, Hamerow (2006) observed the occurrence of pottery sherds, vessels and loom weights, the latter perhaps showing some ritual aspects, in the form of textile production tools. (Hamerow 2006, 18). Hamerow (2006) makes a distinction between 'true' foundation and 'termination' deposits, the latter being the deposition of objects after the building structures ceased to exist (Hamerow 2006, 18; 26-28). She concludes that instead of interpreting such deposits as residual or rubbish, they may have borne ritualistic aspects. This discussion has been picked up by James Morris and Ben Jervis (2011) and although they acknowledge that Hamerow demonstrates a careful analysis of these deposits, they criticise her study for using a meta-level ritual interpretation instead of exploring to a greater extent the specific contexts and material (Morris and Jervis 2011, 74-5). Morris and Jervis (2011) point out the difference between prehistoric and medieval archaeology and their history of interpretations, the latter perhaps not having benefitted from the former. Thus, Morris and Jervis suggest that medieval deposits should be interpreted by their variability and by methods such as object biographies and interdisciplinary studies combining literature, historical and archaeological evidence for a more thorough investigation of the motifs behind the deposition (Morris and Jervis 2011, 78). Clifford Solfield extends the debate further by arguing that special deposits were not meant to be understood for their composition, but rather for what they were

meant to achieve (Solfield 2012,194-197; Solfield 2015, 111). He argues further that the special deposits represent beliefs which are embodied in ritualistic practices. Within this context, Solfield (2015) makes a distinction between ritualistic themes such as sacrifices, association with ritual structures (including shrines, churches and free standing posts) and evidence for ritual feasting and offerings. These activities initiated specific results in the renewal of boundaries, control of entrances and exits, and the construction and the destruction of structures. He also observes that the deposits occurred more frequently at secular spaces (Solfield 2015, 117). Thus, he argues, the notion of 'ritualistic' was by no means confined to religion but was interwoven with aspects of traditions carried out across the medieval period. Furthermore, Sally Crawford has pointed out that although 'ritual deposits' are much rarer in the Anglo-Saxon period, the deposition of grave goods next to the corpse can be interpreted in a similar light as a 'ritual display' of the deceased, and thus the distinction between 'votive deposits' and 'burial deposition' might not be as clear as previously thought (Crawford 2004, 89-90). As an example, Crawford describes the significance of female 'Final Phase' graves, as they were frequently found away from churches in ancestral cemeteries or barrows, yet their jewellery items incorporate religious iconography (Crawford 2004,92-5). She thus argues that the choice of objects and places to bury the dead were not a direct reflection of a dichotomy between pagans and Christians, but that the deposition of objects in funerary displays was a fundamental part of the burial rite to express religious belief and devotion (Crawford 2004, 98). In addition to this, Sally Crawford examines the non-normative deposition of infant bodies, juveniles and 'special' adults within Anglo-Saxon settlement sites, suggesting that these occurrences might bear purposeful and symbolic meaning rather than convenient disposal methods, an interpretation rarely used in specialist reports (Crawford 2006, 199-200). She observes that there was little change in the patterns of disposal from the 5th up until the 9th century, when burial rites changed through the consolidation of the parish church and the deposition of the dead in the churchyard, suggesting that there might have been a relationship between dwelling places, built structures or other ritual deposits and the dead, which is difficult to acknowledge from our perspectives (Crawford 2006, 202).

The relationship between votive depositions and the landscape has been recently explored further by medieval archaeologists, particularly objects found in watery

places (Semple 2010; Stocker and Everson 2005; Reynolds and Semple 2011). Stocker and Everson (2005) observe distinct clustering of votive metalwork deposits around causeways at Witham in Lincolnshire, suggesting that the practice of depositing particular items was part of a larger ritual landscape from the prehistoric period into the medieval period (Stocker and Everson 2005, 272, 280-1). Sarah Semple has stressed the significance of tidal regimes and rivers as centralised places for community, where much activity too place and the deposition of certain objects within the landscape might have had varied meaning, being part of wider, complex, and to an extent, regional practices (Semple 2010, 30-1). Furthermore Semple and Andrew Reynolds also observe nuanced patterns in the deposition of weapons in non-funerary contexts, as they observed an increase in weapon finds in watery places during the cessation of weapon burials from the 8th to 11th centuries, suggesting that the deposition may have been deliberate and perhaps an activity performed by many (Reynolds and Semple 2011, 45). The disposal of weapons at prehistoric sites, however, was much rarer and the practice emerged between the 5th to 10th centuries, leading Reynolds and Semple to the conclusion that these were personal disposals (Reynolds and Semple 2011, *ibid*.). Given the significance of weapons, in particular swords, as personified items in medieval societies, they argue further that these weapons were heirlooms, passed down from one generation to another and with this 'ritual' deposition, they ensured that these living objects were deposited in a safe setting (Reynolds and Semple 2011, 46).

These studies show that medieval archaeologists are beginning to examine the significance of secondary uses of material within specific contexts, borrowing theoretical frameworks from other time periods and thus, nuanced patterns emerge in the deposition of material made from different fabrics within the wider landscape and in burials. Object biographies might be of significant value for the study of recycling processes in exploring a range of questions: which objects are deemed valuable for what contexts? Was there a difference between depositing human and animal remains, between disarticulated and articulated bones? What role did the age of the bones or material play here? Hamerow's (2006) example of a dog placed upon a Roman potsherd at Car Dyke, Cambridgeshire might be of interest in this regard (Hamerow 2006, 19). Thus, there might be potential for future studies to examine the role of recycling practices in medieval contexts within these frameworks.

3.2. Roman spolia

In contrast to the advances made in studies of prehistoric monument and object reuse, the use of Roman sites, monuments and objects has, by comparison, seen far less exploration. Tyler Bell points out that from the 18th century onwards up to the 1950s, there was a strong belief that at Roman sites, Post-Roman activities were non-existent and if there was evidence for such activities, it had been interpreted as coincidental (Bell 2005, 1). The first study conducted on the relationship between churches and Roman features was carried out by Richard Morris and Julia Roxan (1980), in which they examined medieval churches associated with Roman buildings, cemeteries and military and urban sites, a practice which they ascribed to convenience rather than specific ritual meaning (Morris and Roxan 1980, 191). Tyler Bell (2005) picked up on this study and produced a survey in which he identified several hundred churches on top of or adjacent to Roman ruins in Britain and in Gaul (Bell 2005, 69). In contrast to the previous studies, he also included early medieval cemeteries incorporated in Roman buildings, the majority of which occurred in Essex, Kent and the south west, such as the Severn estuary. Where cemeteries were associated with Roman buildings, he observed that the burials had been carefully fitted into the structures. Where this was the case, no more than 10 individuals were buried in these structures and there appeared to be a preference for villas as burial ground (Bell 2005, 68; 127). Bell (2005) suggests that there was a peak in the reuse of sites in the 7th century, although it also occurred in the 5th and 6th century. However, he acknowledges that the evidence was limited due to many excavations carried out without phasing or by antiquarians (Bell 2005, 68). Furthermore, Bell (2005) makes a distinction between true, perceived, affirmed and geographical continuities, concluding that in early medieval Britain, there is no evidence that a Roman structure continued without any breaks into the 7th century, but that the Roman landscape was reused and adapted either for ecclesiastical purposes or in the case of burials, as legitimisation of claim and power over territories (Bell 2005, 131-52).

There is a divide in the interpretations of reused Roman stonework by archaeologists and art historians. Greenhalgh (1989) argues that the reuse of spoils in early medieval Britain might have been a result of shortage of resources, but he also acknowledges that on the continent, certain spoils, such as arches and marble,

might have been intentionally reused for their visually striking effects (Greenhalgh 1989, ch.7). He investigates this phenomenon further by concentrating exclusively on the reuse of marble in the Mediterranean during the medieval period (Greenhalgh 2009). Arguing that the material signalled prestige and luxury, he makes a clear distinction between the reuse of such precious material and the notion of Romanitas. Greenhalgh (2009) states that marble was employed in structures signalling power and prestige, such as church tombs incorporating relics, churches, mosques and palaces. He argues further that no more interpretation on the reuse of Roman material can be given, as theories on the use of Rome's past to legitimise power or other statements would be highly speculative (Greenhalgh 2009, 527-530). Although primarily concerned with the style and function of reused and re-carved portraits on the Constantinian Arch, Maria Prusac (2012) points out that the act of reusing images in prominent features was creating collective memories within the society in which remembrance was a central topic. Prusac (2012) makes a connection between the perception of images and messages which are communicated through these images on different levels depending on their visibility (Prusac 2012, 131- 35). Again, the emphasis of interpreting spolia in art historical terms is highly influenced by the perception of the artwork, instead of the idea of a past which the images might bear.

Theoretical advances have been made by archaeologists from the 60s (e.g. Jope 1964; Stocker and Everson 1990; Cramp 2005; Turner, Semple and Turner 2013; Senior *et.al.* 2014). However, similar to the art-historical approach, many scholars did not go further than interpreting the reuse on grounds of necessity after the cessation of specialist knowledge during the transition period (Jope, 1964; Stocker and Everson 1990; Eaton 2000). Using a petrological analysis, E.M Jope (1964) examined 500 Anglo-Saxon stone works and demonstrated that reused Roman stonework was an integral part during the construction of early phased Saxon churches (Jope 1964, 91; 97-100). Studying reused Roman stones in Lincolnshire, David Stocker and Paul Everson (1990) distinguish between casual, functional and iconic reuse. In these instances, casual and functional reuse are more concerned with the availability of raw material or used for their original purposes (such as windows reused for windows, or doorways reused for doorways), whereas iconic reuse describes the use of material for particular symbolic associations (such as for

its Romanitas) (Stocker and Everson 1990, 84-93). In their study, they conclude that all three types of reuse occurred all through history, and were particularly prominent from the 10th century to modern times, which they suggest is related to the value of stone throughout the ages (Stocker and Everson 1990, 99). Tim Eaton (2000) takes the interpretations further by distinguishing between 'practical' and 'meaningful' reuse, the former driven by economical, convenient and professional preferences or necessity and the latter being influenced by curious choices related to amuletic values or age (Eaton 2000, 135). Central to his work are the motifs behind the selection of reused stones, pointing out that depending on the reuse, it was not always for convenience. In some cases, stones travelled some distances to be integrated into churches, thus sites need to be analysed on an individual basis. The meaning of stonework is explored further by Sam Turner, Sarah Semple and Alex Turner (2013) in their study of the monasteries at Jarrow and Wearmouth. They identified reused Roman masonry as building material in the early medieval monasteries at Jarrow and Wearmouth, Tyne and Wear, and observed that the majority of cut stones were of good quality and carefully chosen with little or no modification for different purposes, some were even used as embellishments for windows and doors (Turner, Semple and Turner 2013, 139). It is interesting to note here, that the stonework was used in the churches in accordance with local and regional styles, thus showing an integration of late Roman influences in the medieval world. Furthermore, they argue that the late Roman fort at South Shields, Tyne and Wear might have become an Anglo-Saxon royal site in the 7th century. Thus, the integration of Roman stonework in Jarrow and Wearmouth might also be evidence for an interchange between these sites that went beyond its Romanitas (Turner, Semple and Turner 2013, 159).

Recently, Howard Williams (2015) has suggested that the reuse of stone sculptures, including Roman specimen, drew upon social memory. He argues that memories were created through reuse practices and subsequent replication of these ancient works in the early medieval period. Furthermore, these memories could be manipulated and transformed during the continuous process to create social and religious structures (Williams 2015, 18-25).

Whether prompted by the same concerns or not, the reuse of Roman objects has also seen some specific study. Reused Roman jewels have been discussed in

greater length than any other object type, as these were frequently used in elaborate settings with other gem stones and tended to occur over the long term from the Roman period towards the Carolingian period. Furthermore, they appear in an array of different contexts (e.g. Henig 1978/2007; 2008; Kornbluth 1989; 2012; Platz-Horster 2012; Sena Cheise 2012). However, the interpretations of reused gem stones is somewhat lacking, which might be because they are mostly discussed by art historians who are more concerned with descriptions of their elaborate decorations and visual impacts. Genevra Kornbluth (1989; 2012) discusses in detail the settings of the jewels in ecclesiastical panels and in metalwork mounts. She focuses particularly on the craftmanship of these objects and although she acknowledges that the jewels could be regarded as markers for identity, social status and continuity, she suggests that the strength of the material and the imagery is of greater value to medieval societies than the objects' antiquity (Kornbluth 1989, 35-6; 2012, 248; 254). This echoes similar interpretations by fellow art historians (see Paltz-Horster 2012; Sena Cheise 2012 in the same volume); as Michael Greenhalgh remarks, the aesthetics of marble can visualise power and prestige, but any further interpretations beyond this are fitting the evidence to an unproven theory (Greenhalgh 2009, 530). Thus, the past in the past and its meaning in new settings has never been debated thoroughly.

The most systematic review on gem stones has been written by Martin Henig (1978), providing a catalogue of 867 engraved gems found at British sites, including 34 intaglios set into medieval rings. Henig (1978/2007) interprets the latter as curiosities or as counter seals for private communication (Henig 2007, 71-73). He goes further into his interpretations by arguing that reused intaglios in pendants, rings and brooches were worn for amuletic purposes in the early medieval period before they gained popularity from the 12th century onwards as seals (Henig 2008, 26-27). In the same paper, he also questions if the intaglios were indeed chance finds or if there was a supply of antique gem stones in circulation (Henig 2008, *ibid.*). He notes the superior quality of the intaglios which, he argues, suggests that these objects were more likely to be traded items through well-organised networks than mere chance finds.

In sum, the reuse of Roman sites and spolia has been discussed in recent decades, but the meaning of the past in the past in Post-Roman societies has been rarely discussed.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, Roman objects in graves were noted by excavators, but their purpose was not examined in detail; they were merely seen as curiosities occurring in graves from time to time (e.g. Payne 1844; Faussett 1856; Brent 1866). This remained the case up until the 1980s, when the reuse of Roman objects became the focus of several works (see Meaney 1981, ch.6; White 1988; King 1989). Similar to the reuse of Roman spoils, there is a divide between scholars who interpreted the objects as purely functional, and those who argued that they were magical items.

The school of thought regarding the functionality of reused Roman objects had been created by Roger White in 1988. White (1988) created a catalogue in which he reviewed 539 Roman objects retrieved from 242 Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. He interprets the items as purely functional, suggesting that they were used during a time of scarcity when raw material was difficult to come by, thus he regards the items as scrap or cheap substitutes for contemporary items (White 1988, 163). Although his interpretations are outdated in the light of new data that has become available since its publication date, it remains a benchmark study that has influenced subsequent work (e.g. Eckart and Williams 2003,147; Kay 2016, 87).

Mike King (1989) examines Roman coins deposited in a selected number of grave assemblages and settlements. He acknowledges that some of the coins, especially in form of pendants, were used as personal ornaments, but also suggests that coins in settlement contexts were most likely used for scrap (King 1989, 227-228). However, King does not provide details on the meaning of wearing coin pendants in Anglo-Saxon society, neither does he offer an explanation for why certain coins were used as pendants, while others seemed to have been used for scrap.

3.3. Heirlooms and special magical or amuletic objects

One of the first works debating the reuse of Roman objects in more detail was that by Audrey Meaney (1981). She discussed the reuse within a framework of amulets and charms used in the Anglo-Saxon period, stating that old things we acquire in our

life time are worth more than their intrinsic value (Meaney 1981, 192). Furthermore, she evaluates the meaning of Roman objects in the same category as other “old” things, as she argues that “old objects” formed an important part of bag assemblages (Meaney 1981, 222-8). The individual object was of lesser significance; the composition of the bag as a whole held amuletic properties. She regards in a similar way the significance of Roman coins in necklaces, as she interprets them as worn charms, similar to other old objects (Meaney 1981, 220). Thus, the notion of Romanitas is not considered in particular here.

Similar to Meaney’s (1981) interpretations, Helen Geake defines the reuse of Roman material culture within the context of object types deemed to be amulets (Geake 1998, 99). In her concluding chapters, Helen Geake considers Roman-derived material found in 7th-century contexts as evidence for a Roman Renaissance following a time of discontinuity in ‘Roman traditions’ in the previous centuries (Geake 1999, 121). Although she acknowledges that Roman antique objects appeared in migration period graves, she falls short of discussing the difference between the inclusion of curated Roman antiques and that of Roman derived objects, the latter appearing more frequently during the conversion period. A shorter and more dubious paper was published by Hella Eckardt and Howard Williams (2003) in which they similarly argue that the inclusion of Roman objects within graves bear magical and amuletic purposes. Within this framework, Eckardt and Williams discuss in greater depth the significance of the retrieval of these objects. They suggest that Anglo-Saxon society was oblivious to the fact that these curious looking objects bore a Roman past and that was precisely the reason why they were chosen for inclusion, as they bore no past. Eckardt and Williams conclude that objects without laden meanings could take on new meanings and thus creating a map of identity, which ultimately supported the transformation of the deceased in death (Eckardt, Williams 2003, 155).

A more recent study with a more progressive approach is that by Janet Kay (2016). By analysing data sets from the 5th century, Kay demonstrates that there was an age-related dimension to depositing Roman material culture (Kay 2016, 89). While adults were buried with Roman artefacts alongside early medieval deposits, she states that child burials often contained an exclusively Roman assemblage, including objects made of copper-alloy, jet, ivory and bone which she classifies as Roman

items (Kay 2016, 91-2). She argues that there was a link between the past and children in the early medieval period (Kay 2016, 102-4). Although Kay's data is comprehensive, she does not provide any hard evidence of how she classified some of the copper-alloy objects as being of Roman manufacture, nor does she offer a distinction between repurposed and unaltered items.

Age-related correlations have also been observed by Ellen Swift (2012), who examines the occurrence of rings that were cut down from late Roman bracelets in late-4th- and early-5th-century graves. These rings, coming in all shapes and sizes, were found mainly with child burials and larger examples were worn as bracelets (Swift 2012, 181-2). Swift argues that the apparent disregard of decoration and fabric might be indicative of the significance of the reuse itself, suggesting that the cutting down may have been a form of transition, from adult-sized to child-sized bracelet and thus, may be regarded as passing down of an heirloom object (Swift 2012, 193). She acknowledges that the inclusion of the rings in Anglo-Saxon burials might have had a different meaning, ascribing them amuletic values, as she suggests that they might have been the result of scavenging activities (Swift 2012, 201-2). However, the study shows that objects, which might be regarded as scrap from our perspective, were kept and curated by early medieval communities, bearing special meaning to their owners.

Roman objects as heirlooms in later medieval contexts have also been discussed by Roberta Gilchrist (2008; 2012), as she observes an inclusion of antique items in graves dating to the 11th to 16th centuries, similar in character to those already observed in early medieval burials (Gilchrist 2008, 123). However, she makes a distinction between Roman objects and medieval material as heirlooms as she argues that the latter are remembrances of a person within the family, while the former are valued for their antiquity and thus, bearing magic qualities (Gilchrist 2008, 144; 2012, 241-6). Gilchrist describes them as objects from the 'natural world', found in the earth and thus bearing amuletic and apotropaic properties that accumulated over time through the passing down from one generation to another (Gilchrist 2008, *ibid.*; 2012, 246-7). Although her interpretations appear to be influenced by the conclusions already made by Audrey Meaney (1981), it is interesting to note that the inclusion of antique items in graves was a significant practice that spanned across

the early and later medieval periods, taking on new meanings throughout their different life stages.

3.4. Most recent thoughts on Roman objects in early medieval society

More recently, scholars began to focus more on the economic aspects which might be drivers for reuse, and many of the scholars doing so came from a different background beyond Anglo-Saxon archaeology. With a background in Roman archaeology, Ellen Swift has tried in recent years to fill the gap between the Late Antique and early medieval period by writing several papers on the transition period and how this period is expressed by material culture (e.g. Swift 2012; 2013; 2014). This was possible as she created large data sets of reused or recycled Roman objects from the late Roman period and compared these results with occurrences of particular Roman objects types in Anglo-Saxon contexts. Swift (2012/13) favours a functional approach, by linking reuse with a shortage of raw material after an economic collapse caused by the cessation of the Roman Empire. In her recent work (2014), she also demonstrates that the recycling and reuse of objects started already in the late Roman period, including in particular items made of glass, metal and pottery. However, Swift (2012;2014) associates the reuse in the Anglo-Saxon period with scavenging activities at abandoned sites (Swift 2012,194 – 202; 2014, 136). The historian Robin Fleming comes to similar conclusions by examining recycled Roman material. She argues that Anglo-Saxon communities scavenged Roman material culture, especially metalwork, for recycling purposes during a time of poverty after the Roman Empire. Although acknowledging the presence of unaltered Roman objects, her main emphasis is placed on the economic situation in early medieval society and where the use of recycled material culture fits into this overall theme. In this scenario, the Roman-ness of the items would have been meaningless and their usage depended entirely on the need for raw materials (Fleming 2010, 31-3).

As this range of secondary literature demonstrates, approaches to recognising and understanding Roman items from early medieval graves are diverse – there is no common theme or strand. Broadly speaking, arguments fall into the ‘functional’ and ‘ritual’ categories, with emphasis in the former on recycling traditions and scrap. In terms of the latter – Romanitas is argued to be the stimulation for reuse or emulation, while ‘magical’ associations are also commonly claimed. Although all approaches

are important, they are not mutually exclusive. Rather, different categories of objects have been treated differently and Roman material features across discussions of spoliation, economic discussions of recycling and across arguments for magical or ritual object categories. The question is whether all of these practices can be linked to a common perception of the Roman past, and given the differing contexts of 'reused' or 'special use', the answer is likely to be negative. However, there is clearly evidence here for an early medieval interest in old things and in Roman things and that provides an excellent basis for this project.

3.5. Interpreting portable material culture

In the above synthesis, it is notable that many authors use the notion of 'reuse' in trying to understand the presence of Roman material in early medieval contexts. There are other ways of thinking about objects, however, such as considering things as items with their own identity and agency (e.g. Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2009). In this section, approaches to understanding the 'lives' of artefacts are reviewed. Up until the mid-20th century, artefact studies were heavily influenced by typological studies, which supported existing theoretical frameworks of cultural-historical and later processual schools of thoughts (e.g. Leeds 1912; Baldwin Brown 1915; Aberg 1926; Myres 1976, Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Evison 1965, Sheperd 1979). A new perspective on artefact studies was offered in particular by Arjun Appadurai (1986) and Igor Kopytoff (1986), published in the same volume. Both papers argue that objects have life cycles, and their meanings change at different stages of life and use (1986). Kopytoff (1986) describes that objects are exchanged in different spheres of values that can overlap in certain circumstances (Kopytoff 1986, 70-73). In some instances, commodities can be singularised by their restriction to particular spheres of exchange (Kopytoff 1986, 74). This is particularly the case with heirlooms, which he regards as commodities as well as singularised objects. These two authors and their notion of 'object biographies' have become highly influential on succeeding works, which will be discussed in turn below (e.g. Tilley and Shanks 1987a; 1987b; Hodder 1989; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2010).

Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley suggest that artefacts were regarded as part of larger social systems concerned with commerce and consumption and were

effective as tools for power strategies and could be used to legitimise the wearer's status in these groups (Shanks and Tilley 1987a, 130-134; 1987b, 97-102; 116-7). Echoing this, Polly Wiessner suggests that the way style is used within a group is dependent on social comparisons and the self-image of the wearer, and allows the individual to negotiate her/his personal and social identity (Wiessner 1989, 57-8). She also suggests that the changing roles of the artefact depend on changes in the social landscape and so examining these changes can enable an analysis of the relationship between the individual and society through time and ultimately individual and group expressions of identity (Wiessner 1989, 60-62). Material culture can also be regarded as a form of communication, a visual vocabulary consisting of a code of signs and symbols, which is placed in the centre of social interactions (Webster 2012, 13-29, Tilley and Shanks 1987b, 102-5; Hodder 1982, 201-4). Leslie Webster (2012) argues this for early medieval metalwork on the basis of its elaborate patterns of animal and human elements, which she suggests to be an expression of artistic vocabulary and grammar that followed a clear aesthetic in its form and organisation (Webster 2012, 14-15).

Portable material culture, particularly personal ornaments, can thus carry meanings that are intended for the wearer/user and the viewer. Objects can accrue meaning through the social spheres in which they operate, or are exchanged, and can achieve seminal value through circulation. Time can change objects and their contexts and through this their meanings and value. Objects can carry their own agency and through changing contexts or changes to the object different agency can be achieved. Thus, time can have an important effect on objects, rendering them rarer, altering them and changing their potency and meaning. However, this relies on audiences that read objects in these ways, that understand the messages of form and decoration and the visual grammar of an object. For an object to be special because of its age, the audience needs to recognise what age and the passing of time are. Thus, it can be difficult to distinguish whether an object is special because it is an heirloom and old, or whether instead it is special just because it is different or rare.

3.5.1 Object Biographies

Objects and people are closely interwoven and at times interchangeable. Both elements can accumulate histories throughout their lifetime and objects can take on aspects of personhood through their social interactions and relations to their manufacturer, wearer or the recipient of gift giving (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2009; Tilley 2006). Biographical changes of these objects result in objects accumulating new meaning in new contexts (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Tilley 2006). Some scholars differentiate between the different ways object biographies can be applied. Gosden and Marshall argue that artefacts can either accumulate their own histories or contribute to performative acts (Gosden and Marshall 1999, 176-7). The life of an artefact can thus be argued to be non-linear and may be exposed to changes over time (Joy 2009, 542-543).

It is interesting, therefore, that curated items feature prominently in medieval society and as we have observed above, some scholars have focused on exploring the phenomena of heirlooms or keepsakes and the curation of portable items. It is argued that these kinds of objects are associated with memory-making and emotions and could be closely connected to an individual or a family (Eckardt and Williams 2003, 161-2; Gilchrist 2012, 243-6). As has been mentioned above briefly, old objects are also argued by some to be powerful objects — charms and amulets —— with apotropaic values (Meaney 1981; Gilchrist 2012, 246). Thus, old objects can be regarded in the light of memory making, and perhaps spiritual belief as well whether pre- or post-conversion, as being connected to events and people and to lie, therefore, at the heart of social processes (Eckart, Williams 2003, *ibid*.; Gilchrist 2012, *ibid.*).

3.6. Artefacts as grave goods in Anglo-Saxon archaeology

Artefacts, specifically personal ornaments, have been the subject of debate over many decades in studies concerning identity creation by early medieval communities, and it is the definition of their roles in grave assemblages which determine these kinds of interpretation (e.g. Leeds 1912; Hawkes and Dunning 1961; Evison 1965; Stoodley 1999; Härke 2014). Artefacts in grave contexts have been recorded and interpreted since the 18th and 19th centuries (Douglas 1793;

Roach Smith 1850; Faussett 1856). Large-scale excavations were conducted and after carefully recording grave goods and assemblages, scholars such as Douglas (1793) and Roach Smith (1850) were able to distinguish between sets of artefacts and ascribe them to distinct time-periods, thus creating a framework for future methods for identifying and interpreting Anglo-Saxon graves. Reused Roman objects were identified in these early studies/publications, but their meaning within these assemblages had not been explored.

3.6.1 Typologies

This remained the case throughout the beginning of the 20th century, when typologies and associated chronologies were created by leading scholars in their field (Leeds 1912; Baldwin Brown 1915; Aberg 1926). The aim of these typologies was to trace ethnic groups through their artefacts and in some cases, link those objects with historical events (see Leeds 1912 for an overview). Much attention was paid to items made of precious metals and elaborate decorations, including weapons and jewellery, while curated objects or scrap included in graves were mentioned in passing and hardly illustrated (e.g. Baldwin Brown 1915, 103; 118).

3.6.2 Artefacts and 'ethnicity'

The notion of identifying ethnicity and origins prevailed in the 1950s and 1960s. Scholars such as Vera Evison (1965) interpreted different types of artefacts in terms of evidence for 'invasions' by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes in 5th to 7th centuries (Evison 1965 79-87). However, the increasing availability of data and careful excavation techniques and recordings have enabled a better understanding of social structures and economic developments in early medieval England (Myres 1976; Hawkes and Dunning 1961; Sheperd 1979). Developments in post-processual and interpretative research and a new take on the meaning of objects as facilitators of social relations and identity construction have created some new frameworks of understanding (e,g, Shanks and Tilley 1987a, 97-8; Stoodley 1999, 138-43). Objects are no longer regarded as inert and passive, but are considered to be actively involved in the construction of identities. Through these advances, Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon assemblages can gain new meanings and values, as has been

demonstrated by the scholars who have discussed these items (e.g. Meaney 1981; White 1988; King 1989; Eckardt and Williams 2003; Swift 2012).

3.6.3 Artefacts and the body

Central to the meaning of grave goods is the relationship to the body, in terms of gender and age. As Julian Richards (1992) put it, grave goods are not only defining ideas of an afterlife, but they also classify age, sex and social status of the deceased and ascribe people to social groupings and identities (Richards 1992, 135-6). Several scholars have suggested that early Saxon burials had a strong gender display based on artefacts, which either were part of the dress or deposited separately in inhumation graves and while some graves are also described as gender neutral, it is suggested that the overwhelming majority of graves incorporated female and male kits (Härke 1990; 1992; 1997, 132). These masculine and feminine kits consisted of weapons and tools for the former and jewellery, dress ornaments, keys, textile tools and girdle hangers, spindle whorls and amulets suspended from the belt for the latter (e.g. Härke 1990, 22; Halsall 1992, 6). The intensity with which gender is illustrated varies, however. While graves with the male kits repeatedly use masculine gendered artefacts, e.g. multiple weapon types in one grave, feminine gendered artefacts in graves were less repetitive, but these particular graves could incorporate a wealth of other artefact types, including gender neutral goods. These differences were ascribed to separate intentions of expression; male kits displayed economic power, while feminine objects held strong symbolic roles that did not require underpinning (Richards 1992, 134; Halsall 1996, 8). The open display of power in male graves is illustrated through weapon burials. Heinrich Härke (1990) pointed out that these graves are not necessarily “true” warrior graves, but that the incorporated weapon sets are frequently incomplete fighting equipment and also found with individuals who were incapable to fight due to illnesses or disabilities, suggesting that they were not used for practical purposes but rather to signal social, economic and legal status (Härke 1990, 31-4). Furthermore, weapon burials are more richly furnished than those without weapons, including precious metals, suggesting that these belonged to a certain group of people within the community, perhaps families or households with a different social standing (Härke 1990, 36-41). Women also held a prominent place in society and Guy Halsall (1997) describes their role in the household as prestigious, securing family lines with heirs and tie

different families through marriages. He therefore interprets the funerary rite as a grammar of display which is intended for an audience that can read those messages (Halsall 1996, 13-9, 22). Spatial relations within cemeteries are further indicating these family/household groupings, as Härke observed that burial clusters frequently incorporated similar grave goods and thus, may have had some sort of special relation with each other (Härke 1997, 138)

Apart from gender, the life cycle of an individual is of upmost importance in the selection process of grave goods. Heinrich Härke observed in his original weapon analysis that weapons were deposited with all male individuals, from 12 months up until 60 years, however, he nuanced his observations in his later works by defining thresholds (Härke 1990, 36; 1997). Thus, the teenage years (12-15 years) marked an important threshold, as there was a steep increase of objects in female graves with elaborate dress accessories and male graves occasionally incorporated shields and swords, the latter becoming more frequent in the adult years (18- 20 years) (Härke 1997, 127). He also observed that some artefacts were exclusively found with adult graves, including musical instruments, scales, gaming pieces, horse harness, axes and seaxes (Härke 1997, *ibid*.). This topic has been intensively scrutinised by Nick Stoodley (1998/2000), who has written on the subject of how age is defined by the community and how grave goods are part of this definition. Similarly to Härke, he defines thresholds for certain age groups, suggesting that the number of grave goods and types increase with age, with some objects being found with all age groups (e.g. knives and certain types of vessels) (Stoodley 2000, 459). Stoodley also ascribes thresholds to different stages of the individuals lives, suggesting that the entry to masculinity begins as early as 3-4 years with the deposit of weapons and that the majority of weapons were deposited between 20-25 years which is being halved once the individuals reach maturity (Stoodley 2000, 461-2). Furthermore, Stoodley also draws some parallels between age and bead association. While certain types of beads are included with infant burials, the number of beads steadily increases with age, with the adult group showing the greatest variety and similarly, the number of brooches used also increases, simply to be decreased at a mature age (Stoodley, 2000, *ibid.*). He thus associates the deposition of grave goods with a complex age organisation that characterises the social life of early Anglo-Saxon England, with the age of puberty being one of the most important thresholds, as

witnessed by the stark increase of grave goods. Stoodley concludes that the age relation and artefacts were used as medium to indicate the position within the household based on their life cycle (Stoodley 2000, 465).

It appears, however, that these age and gender correlations primarily observed in the 5th and 6th century, change alongside the overall mortuary rites in the 7th century. Children, who were buried and equipped with grave goods on their own in order to express their social ranking, are found accompanied by an adult and while wealthy male gendered graves were buried with elaborate belt buckles made of precious metals, the female artefacts became much plainer and more standardised (Härke 1997, 133; Halsall 1996, 12). Weapon burials were also in decline, phasing out from children graves first up until adult graves, corresponding with the overall decline of grave goods and isolated barrow graves (Härke 1992, 140-2). These barrow graves, also termed as princely burials as they coincide with the emergence of royal dynasties, were carrying prestigious grave goods, rather than everyday objects (see Richards's (1992) discussion on the usefulness of the grave goods found at Sutton Hoo, ch.5) (Lucy 1992, 85-6)., Härke thus describes that the age and gender association has been replaced by other symbols, invisible on the dead as they accompanied the living instead (Härke 1992, 165).

It seems therefore that up until the 7th century and to a certain extent beyond, age and gender associations had a major impact on the deposition of grave goods. Grave goods were selected and deposited with the body with great care, they were not randomly selected and carried great value and meaning for the individual, defining his or her position within the community. Thus, reused Roman objects were part of this deliberate selection and their relationship towards the body and social identity of the individual will be scrutinised in chapter 5, 6 and 7. .

3.6.4 Artefacts, trade/exchange and political alliances

Connections between Britain and mainland Europe in the early centuries of Anglo-Saxon England have been well attested in the vast array of imports and exports, archaeologically as well as historically (e.g. Evison 1965, ch.18; Yorke 1990, 6, 18; Richardson 2005; Soulat 2009a overview; 2009b overview; Fleming 2009). Kent and Merovingia shared a close relationship with each other which was characterised by

prestigious burials with elaborate Frankish imports (Hawkes 1969, 191). Arguing from historical sources, Ian Wood suggests that Kent was a sub-state of Francia, merged together through intermarriages between the powerhouses of both regions (Wood 1983, 17-19). The close relationship between Francia and Kent has also been noted by other scholars. Brookes argues that not only did Francia have an influence on Kent, but also partly on East Anglia (Brookes 2007,167-9). While the relationship between Francia and Kent intensified from the 6th century onwards, East Anglia became strongly connected and influenced by parts of Scandinavia (Hines 1994, 52; Harrington and Welch 2014, 6)

Although these North Sea connections are recognised, Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian archaeologies have been dealt with on separate bases and limited attention has been given to the overarching connections. This is partly due to the fact that recent archaeological studies have been more concerned with analysing the micro-level and specific themes instead of establishing a grand narrative on social developments in early medieval north-western Europe (e.g. Effros 2002, ch.2 and 3; Halsall 2010; Carver 1993 overview; Hamerow 2002; Loveluck 2013, 4-7).

More recently, new ideas have been put forward that give the emerging maritime scene more primacy and suggest the existence of seagoing communities consisting of traders and merchants (Loveluck and Tys 2006; 2013; Fleming 2009; Scull and Naylor 2016). Christopher Loveluck and Dries Tys argue that, through a constant flow of ideas, goods and commodities, maritime communities from southeast England, Flanders and France were accumulating portable wealth unmatched with inland societies, thus creating a distinct maritime identity and increased social status (Loveluck and Tys 2013, 361-3). This is supported by recent discoveries of the geographical distribution of sceatta coinage, occurring primarily in furnished graves on coastal areas in southeast England, northern Gaul and the Low countries. Chris Scull and John Naylor ascribe this to economic and monetary activities along the coastal and maritime exchange systems (Scull and Naylor 2016, 229). Thus, the use of sceattas in conversion-period graves actively shaped maritime identities. This distinct culture is also supported by the presence of boat burials and boat fragments alongside the coast, stressing the significance of travel and trade in early medieval societies (Brookes 2007; Fleming 2009, 398-400; Loveluck 2013, 229-230). By

evaluating textual sources, Walter Pohl suggests that these groups looked beyond their regional kingdoms and created wider networks (Pohl 1997, 25).

Similar to the distribution and use of sceattas, there is a wealth of evidence for the occurrence of reused Roman objects in Merovingian graves (e.g. Mehling 1998 overview; Fremersdorf 1978, 43; La Baume 1977,16-9; Joffory 1974; Pilet 1978; such inclusions from France and Germany will be explored later in Chapter 8). The circulation and deposition of these items need be evaluated against the British evidence. Many excavation reports provide a brief account of reused Roman objects in particular cemeteries, but little study has been carried out on curated Roman material in such graves. In addition to this, similarities in types and treatment are evident, but this connection between lowland Britain and Merovingia has yet to be discussed in depth.

French-speaking archaeologists acknowledge the presence of Roman antiquities, but no universal work has been undertaken (Périn pers.comm.). From the English-speaking side, Merovingian specialists are rare, and those who have written substantial amounts mention the reuse of Roman objects merely in passing (Halsall 1995; Effros 2002). It is Roger White who gives an insight into similar practices on the continent, by pointing out the ongoing tradition of Charon's Obol in Merovingian graves (White 1988, 156-8). Discussing a specific cemetery site in France, Bonnie Effros interprets reused Roman objects as amulets as described by Meaney (Effros 2002, 145). Chris Scull and John Naylor contend that the use of sceattas in conversion-period burials was based upon an ongoing tradition of depositing Roman coins from the 5th century onward (Scull and Naylor 2017, 228). It is apparent, therefore, that the usage of Roman items recurred throughout the North Sea area and given the evidence presented here, the connections between the trade merchants and reused Roman coins and other antiquities need reassessment.

The accumulation of portable wealth became increasingly important from the 6th century onwards. Trade connections were established, and through them, influence and fashions spread along the coastal corridors shaping new identities. Taking into consideration the constant influx of ideas and notions of the self, it is not sufficient to consider the reuse of Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon society from an insular perspective: it needs to be contextualised against the background of the flows of

influence of the Western Roman Empire, on the continent and in Britain, and the notion of Romanitas.

3.7. Being Roman

The notion of Romanitas was not a concept exclusive to Britain, but an idea which had an impact on the whole of the former Western Roman Empire. While the military presence ceased in Britain from AD 410, Roman rule on the continent did not come to an abrupt ending and still prevailed until the latter half of the 5th century (e.g. Naumann-Steckner 1997, 153). The continuing Roman economy and co-existence of indigenous people and Roman populations must have had a significant impact on society which persisted even after the 'end' of the western Roman Empire. This co-existence is well demonstrated in some cemetery sites, where there was a continuation of late Roman graves alongside Merovingian/Frankish burial practices (e.g. Pilet 1978; Pirling 1985; Joffroy 1974). In these cases, the earlier graves were respected and not disturbed, indicating that there was an awareness and respect of preceding Roman graves (Cleary 2013, 345; Dierkens and Périn 1997, 89).

Wolfgang Böhme describes this co-existence and evidence for a Roman goods economy as indicators of a 'Mischzivilisation' (Böhme 1974, 209 - 211). This mixing of different groups of people paved the way for a continuing development of a culture, integrating elements of the Roman world within the new arrays of material culture. Over the course of the establishment of the Roman Empire, a distinct provincial Roman identity was shaped, especially within the region of the Rhineland (Cleary 2013, 377).

The notion of identities and ethnogenesis during the transition period of the Roman Empire have been recently the focus of discussion led by Walter Pohl and Walter Goffart, termed by Cleary as the 'Vienna school' and 'Toronto school' respectively (Cleary 2013, 356). These schools attracted many followers, providing different angles on how societies perceived themselves and others during the cessation of the Roman sphere.

By interpreting textual sources, Pohl (1997) argues that ethnicity is a sense of belonging to a particular group. This sense of belonging is expressed through symbolic, oral or written media manifested in objects, texts and place names as tools

for communication (Pohl 1997 8-9). In terms of Post-Roman communities in the former Roman Empire, Pohl suggests that multiple groups who were formerly held together through Roman Rhetoric, used their sense of belonging and thus, ethnicity, real or perceived, as a basis for power (Pohl 1997, 10-11).

In contrast to the Vienna school, Walter Goffart (2006) argues that the Roman world continued from the 4th century onwards through an elaborate machinery of civil government and a population producing and circulating goods for the upkeep of the army (Goffart 2006, 234). Thus, he argues that the northern barbarians were concerned to fit into the Roman world, adapting the Roman ways of life and abandoning their own past in the process. As evidence for this, Goffart claims that by taking up new roles to defend the Roman provinces, the barbarians realised that the Roman sphere offered greater creative opportunities than their own origins (Goffart 2006, 9-10). Goffart disputes that there was a German-ness in the former Roman provinces, but rather that northern barbarians participated with the Romans in helping to shape Late Antiquity (Goffart 2006, 234). Romans and barbarians influenced each other throughout decades and merged into one (Geary 1988, vii; 8). Geary stresses the importance of individuals and groups forming ethnic identities in specific situations and for specific purposes crucially concluding that ethnicity is subjective could be manipulated symbolically to create identities (Geary 1983, 16).

Halsall argues that similar linguistics from different regions cannot be regarded as evidence for sharing the same ethos and being bound together as one group (Halsall 2006, 23-24). His interpretations are closely aligned with Geary's view (Geary 1983; Halsall 2006, 90). Halsall asserts that in the 4th century late Roman metalwork was distributed to civil and military positions, in order to link the Roman Empire with its power structures. Thus, in period of transition, alterations in dress adornments expressed both changes in ideas of social structure and the coming to terms of people with this transformation (Halsall 2006, 90).

Although there are different approaches and interpretations presented here for what happened after the cessation of the Roman Empire in the West, it is evident that there were interactions between different social groups and that these relationships can be traced back through linguistics, written sources, political structure and organisation as well as material culture.

3.7.1 The special case of Roman Britain

The notion of Romanitas permeated Post-Roman Europe. As chapter 1 has shown, there have been many interpretations around this topic (e.g. Collingwood and Meyers 1937; Alcock 1971; Basset 1989; Cleary 1989; Snyder 1998; Loveluck 2002) and these are summarised briefly here.

R.G. Collingwood and J.N.L. Myres (1937) argue that there was a slow deterioration of Roman culture after the cessation of the Roman troops, ultimately leading to the revival of 'Celtic' art and life styles (see Collingwood and Myres 1937, 450-55). Leslie Alcock (1971) discusses the myth of King Arthur and the origins of these legends in the 4th to 6th century (Alcock 1971, 359-64). An important aspect in both is the intermingling of historical and archaeological evidence. During the same decade, Malcom Todd (1977) argues that population levels in late Roman and Post-Roman societies hardly changed, thus implying a sense of continuity. The notion of continuity has been picked up and critiqued by scholars in recent decades and remains an important area of work, as has been discussed in chapter 1 (e.g. Todd 1992, 59-61; Dark 2000, 228-30; Gerrard 2013, 276).

The collapse of Roman culture in Britain is another pervasive model. It is assumed that with the cessation of the Roman troops, Roman culture vanished (Faulkner 2000, 137). Cleary suggests that Roman Britain went into a socio-economic collapse in the early 5th century, which left a power vacuum. Furthermore, he suggests that the 'collapse' was based upon mechanisms and integral issues which were present as early as the 3rd century (Cleary 1989, x; 195).

More recently, the notion of continuity has been rigorously debated suggesting that the end of Roman Britain and beginning of the early medieval period, termed 'late antiquity', was subject to transformation similar to other provinces in the Western Roman Empire (see also Pohl 2013 27-33; Swift 2000).

Robert Collins (2007) and James Gerrard (2013) argue for the need to evaluate the ending of Roman Britain on a regional basis. By focusing on the northern frontier, Collins (2007) concludes that the stationed soldiers there regarded themselves as soldiers of the wall instead of soldiers of Rome, hence already adopting new, localised identities in the late Roman period. He argues that the forts played a

significant role in the sub-Roman and Anglo-Saxon period, as he demonstrates that they were quite frequently burial focal points for ritual activities in the Anglo-Saxon period (Collins 2007, 151-4).

James Gerrard (2013) argues that identities and ethnicities were in constant flux in the 5th century. All these identities co-existed in a mutable and blurred fashion before groups and their collective identities began to crystallise in southern Britain in the late 5th and 6th centuries (Gerrard 2013, 262-3). Thus, Gerrard refers to a fluid period in the 5th century when identity was negotiated and challenged, prior to the elite displays and furnished inhumation burials of the late 6th century.

3.8. Summary

This chapter has argued that the recycling processes evident in the landscape were present as well in the material record in the transitional period from the Roman to Medieval eras in Britain. A range of established interpretations have been reviewed here but no single one interpretation seems wholly convincing. The questions remain as to how people found or acquired Roman objects, why they chose to own them, and why they then chose to deposit them in individual graves. The evidence for the choice and the use and reuse of Roman objects by early medieval populations in England is considered, in this thesis, against the background of continental late Roman and Post-Roman life and practice with a view to explore how these objects informed the broader transformative processes at play in Post-Roman and early medieval south-eastern and eastern England.

CHAPTER FOUR

IDENTIFYING ROMAN OBJECTS IN ANGLO-SAXON GRAVES

4.1. Introduction

The dataset for this study includes 908 Roman objects from 322 Anglo-Saxon graves across 65 cemetery sites. These have been collected and recorded based on the descriptions and classifications contained in excavation reports. The classifications of some objects are straightforward, e.g. coins and late Roman military belt sets. In some instances, however, it is necessary to draw upon existing typologies to aid my identification of Roman object types. Sometimes illustrations were not offered in reports, especially when the object was low value, for example potsherds or scrap fragments. Even first-hand examinations in the museum collections was sometimes problematic when it came to identifying Roman scrap or distinguishing certain types of objects as Roman or early medieval. For this reason, where possible, I have classified all identified objects in this chapter using excavation reports and cross-checked this information with published catalogues and typologies. I have also included items where illustrations were unavailable or the identification of the item as Roman is less secure but where the excavators had identified the item as Roman. Where possible I have also sought out and looked at some of these items first hand. For a continuous flow of text, the tables associated to this chapter can be found in Appendix A, while images, if provided, are located in Appendix B.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a general overview of the items recovered in funerary contexts from the core areas of Kent, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk. Some classes and types of object occur more frequently than others and the chapter is structured according to frequency. In some instances, classes of material and object types could be Roman or early medieval products; this is specifically the case, for example, with lead, jet and shale objects. For this reason, these items are included in a specific section which includes contextual discussion under the heading ‘Possibly Roman’ (see section 4.16. below).

In this chapter, each object type/class is identified and described with reference to key examples and scrutinised under six sub-headings. Sub-heading 1 *Overview* is concerned with the physical description of the artefact type and with the quantities found in the study area. Where distinct patterns emerge, sub-heading 1 also provides a brief description of how the artefact type is treated, e.g. if it has been modified for a specific purpose. Taking the physical descriptions into account, sub-heading 2 *Classification* provides background information about the artefact type based upon existing typologies. Where possible, this section also offers date ranges for specific object types. Sub-heading 3 *Purpose* offers a brief description of the placement of the object type within the grave. The placements and their associated meanings will be discussed in greater detail in the succeeding chapters. Thus, these three sub-headings are primarily concerned with the physicality of the object type, such as determining whether the objects are Roman and if so, whether they are fitting the artefact type in existing categories or date ranges as well as their specific applications. This is crucial in order to evaluate selection processes and object preferences.

Sub-headings 4 and 5 take a more thematic approach. Sub-heading 4 *Social intention* explores the occurrence of objects with specific gender and age categories. Here, gender is based upon osteological evidence as well as gendered grave goods. Although a case may be made that secured sexing should be separated from ascribed gender based on artefacts, the sheer number of unsexed graves would skew the general pattern of Roman object reuse associated with a specific gender category. Furthermore, this study does not set out to sex individuals, but to determine in which 'gendered assemblages' Roman objects predominantly occurred. Thus, a category termed 'unsexed' describes the individuals for whom no gender or sex could be ascribed. As discussed in Section 2.2 in chapter 2, the age categories used are based on Sue Harrington's classification (Harrington and Welch 2014, 27) comprising children, juveniles, adults and mature adults. These categories make it simpler to standardise age based on the variable information provided in excavation reports and allow comparative analysis of age-related practices across different sites.

Lastly sub-heading 6 *Circulation Patterns* is concerned with the frequency of specific types of object categories in the study area. Here, regional preferences for certain types of Roman object such as brooches, coins etc. are explored.

4.2 Coins (Appendix A Table 4.1; Appendix B Fig. 4.1)

Overall: 234 coins are found to have been included in 134 graves in 43 cemeteries across the entire study area, thus comprising the most frequent Roman object type in grave good assemblages. There was a higher tendency to include only one coin in graves, as 94 (70%) of the 134 graves contained a single coin. In some instances, the graves contained large numbers of coins, for example in four burials in Kent. In these instances, the coins were associated with scales and the quantity ranged from 10 to 14 coins, some of them cut down in size. These rare graves are also known as 'smith's graves' and examples are known from the continent (Scull, 1990). However, apart from these exceptional graves, the treatment of coins within these cemeteries was largely uniform. 62 (27%) of the coins were altered either by piercing, re-cutting or polishing, demonstrating that coins were mostly valued in their original state and that the modified coins were only used by certain individuals within the community.

Classification: Of the 234 coins, 110 (47%) have been dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries; the latter being slightly higher in quantity (58 coins as opposed to 52 dating to the 3rd century). The quantities of 1st- and 2nd-century coins were significantly lower in Anglo-Saxon deposits, with 35 coins dating to the 2nd century and 11 coins to the 1st century, making up 20% of the overall corpus. The remaining 78 coins were undatable due to heavy wear or lack of information from the reports. There was one example dating to the 1st century BC set in a bracelet at Northwold Watermill, Nfk and a 5th-century coin integrated in a four-coin necklace at Chatham Lines 2, Knt. These are unique examples, it can be suggested that 3rd- and 4th-century coins were favoured more frequently for Anglo-Saxon assemblages. This may well be due to availability and the accessibility and circulation of certain types. Their purpose will be discussed in more detail in succeeding chapters.

Purpose: Two major trends can be observed in the positioning of coins with the body. Coins were either found around the chest area as jewellery items, intermingled with beads or they were found on the lower torso. When they were found near the

torso, they were quite frequently associated with textile remains and other items, implying they belonged to a bag collection. In other cases, coins were associated with the limbs and the skull. These will be explored in detail later in discussing variations in practice.

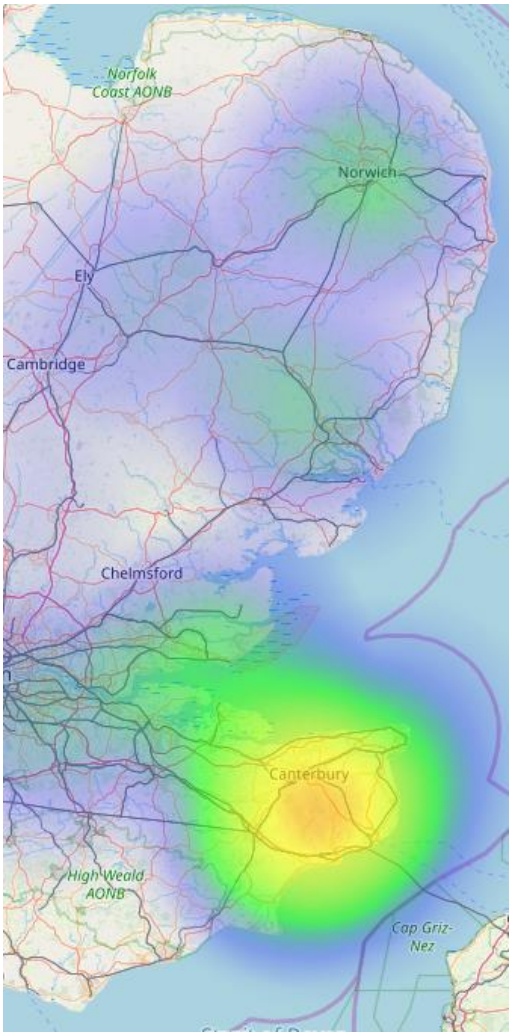
Coins generally seem to have played an active role in the attire of the individuals, either as dress ornaments or as items in bag collections. Only in rare cases do they appear to fulfil other tasks, signalled either by a location on or near the head or away from the body, i.e. in the fill. In the case of coins associated with hands, skulls or cremation pots, quite frequently heavier coins were selected, weighing between 18.3g and 26.3g (see Great Chesterford Esx 29, 122, C26, C29). A number of coins found in graves were altered before deposition and cut down into weights. In all instances, these cut down coins were found with balances. It is interesting to note that the quantities of coins as weights were fairly uniform, ranging from 10 to 14 coins per collection. As the weight of the coins played a major role in these collections, it should be not surprising that the coin issues were similar or identical, as can be seen in the examples from Gilton 6, Knt and Sarre 26, Knt including identical Urbs Roma coins. The different purposes of coins indicate a careful selection process and deliberate choices.

Social Intentions: The majority of the graves containing Roman coins were those of adult females aged between 25 to 44 years according to Sue Harrington's classification (Harrington 2008). These age and gender categories are recognised generally as being associated with the highest amount of material culture; thus, Roman coins can be regarded as an active component of this composition. Across the regions, 56 (42%) female gendered and 18 (13%) male gendered inhumations contained Roman coins, and in 44 (33%) of the graves the gender could not be identified and 15 (11%) were cremations. In one instance, a coin was associated with a dog (see Great Chesterford Esx D2), but the usage of coins was mainly limited to human burials. Given the high percentage of female burials containing coins, it can be suggested that coins were more favoured in female assemblages. This corresponds in particular with the two general trends to use coins either as jewellery adornments or in pouches. However, in the cases of special treatments, such as coins being used as weights or found associated with the skull, the associated assemblages were predominantly male (see Chapter 7).

Circulation patterns: Coins are found in 43 cemeteries, illustrating that the use of coins in graves was widespread across the study area. However, coin issues were diverse. Kent appears to be quite unique with significantly low variation in coin issues. From 171 coins found in graves in Kent, 32 different issues were recorded. The majority of coins were 4th-century issues, in particular from the Constantinian era. Essex and Suffolk are fairly similar with 16 different issues were recorded from 31 coins in Essex and 5 issues recorded from 11 coins in Suffolk. The greatest variation was recorded from Norfolk where 16 different issues could be identified from just 21 coins. These variations may reflect the supply of coin types in different regions. It appears that the influx and circulation of 3rd and 4th century coins were higher in the south-east of England than in East Anglia, perhaps facilitated by the strong maritime connections between Kent and the neighbouring regions of the continent, where Roman ways of living continued and coins from a particular era were more readily exchanged.

Considering the late Roman economy, there was a reduction in coin use during the 4th century, however, as Gareth Williams discussed, Anglo-Saxon coinage did not develop from a vacuum, but from monetary contacts across the Channel and in the shadow of the legacy of Roman monetary systems (Williams 2010, 50-1). He suggests that 4th century issues may have been reused for economic values and as will be discussed in Chapter 5, the occurrence of 'money bags', consisting of metal scrap and 3rd to 4th century issue coins in pristine conditions, might support such an interpretation (Williams 2010, 58-61). Evidence for ongoing trade and exchange can also be observed from late Roman coin hoards found in Britain, as they seem to have been carefully packaged and brought over from the continent in the 5th century (see Hoxne, Sfk and Patching in West Ssx.), perhaps for retrieval (Sawyer 2013, 39). This is indicative for an ongoing 5th-century coin circulation and close contacts to the continent.

Fig. 4.1.1. Map of coin distribution



4.3. Pottery objects (Appendix A Table 4.2; Appendix B Figure 4.2)

Overall: An array of pottery sherds, pots and spindle whorls made of Roman pottery were found in graves across all regions: 17 intact vessels, 6 spindle whorls and a copious amount of potsherds, bricks and tiles. The latter categories were frequently

not specified in detail in terms of quantity or characterizing features, but their purpose within cemeteries was significant, as they quite often appeared in heaps which could be identified as grave markers, or in some instances, as covers for cremation pots (see as examples Caistor-by-Norwich, Nfk, Bloodmoor Hill, Sfk, and Great Chesterford, Esx). This was specifically the case for cemeteries that were situated near Roman pottery production sites or pits.

Classification: As described in the introduction, the dating of pottery was limited to intact objects. This is because illustrations of fragments are usually very crude and the form is hard to identify. Here, visits to museum collections would have been highly beneficial, but as pointed out in Chapter 3, access to collections was denied at Norfolk museum which housed significant numbers of relevant mortuary assemblages. The identification of fragments thus depends heavily on the classification by the excavators. Identified potsherds included Samian ware from grave 96 at Polhill, Kent which can be ascribed to the 1st century AD, and a flanged rim sherd from a Nene valley coated dish bowl, both dating from the 3rd/4th century AD from Morning Thorpe, Norfolk. Intact vessels are dated according to existing data sets by R.J. Pollard (1988) and Vera Evison (1980) and a detailed description is provided for each vessel in the associated tables. The origins of spindle whorls made of pottery have been recently debated by Ellen Swift (2010), who ascribes them to late Roman military sites. It may be therefore suggest that early medieval communities did not reshape pottery themselves, but reused late Roman products.

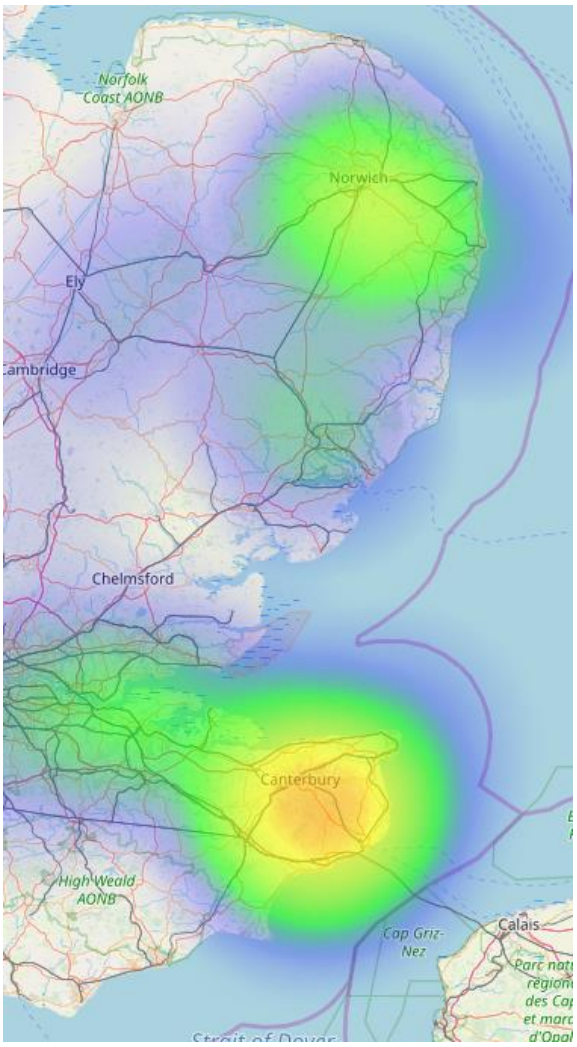
Purpose: The position of the objects very much depends on the type, for example the majority of potsherds were found in grave fills or in cremation pots. More skilfully reworked objects such as spindle whorls appeared in more obvious positions such as in work boxes or near the feet of the deceased. The same applies to intact vessels, which are quite frequently placed near the head or the feet with other containers. Given that cemeteries with high frequencies of pottery were situated near Roman production sites or larger sites with many residual material (see Spong Hill, Nfk, Caistor-by Norwich, Nfk, Bloodmoor Hill, Sfk Great Chesterford, Esx), it could be suggested that potsherds in many instances are residual. However, the seemingly intentional placements of heaps of tiles, bricks and potsherds, such as in grave 8 above the feet at Caistor-by Norwich, might suggest intentional placement in the graves (Myres, Green 1973, 221).

Social Intention: Potsherds are found with those of all ages and genders. If they are intentionally included in the fill, it seems that the attributes of an individual played a minor role. Three spindle whorls were found with female inhumations, two with individuals whose gender could not be determined, and one with a cremation. Noting the burials where age could be determined, it appears that spindle whorls were associated with females who were coming of age and those who accumulated most wealth in their graves. Given that spindle whorls reshaped from Roman materials were frequently associated with work boxes or pouches, this might suggest that they were included with the full range of material culture with the individuals in the graves. A similar picture can be seen from intact vessels. The majority of intact vessels were placed in the graves of adult females, though not exclusively. An urn was found at the head of grave 33, a male inhumation, at Breach Downs, Knt. This position is not unusual, as intact vessels were often found near the head or feet of female adult inhumations, e.g. in Grave 178 at Kingston Down Knt and Grave 37 at Sibertswold, Knt, at the feet. As indicated above, they might have been used alongside other contemporary or imported vessels as symbolic containers within these graves.

Circulation Patterns: Roman pottery can be found across all the study regions. However, unlike coins where circulation patterns of issues can be traced, it appears that the quantity of pottery at each site depended on the availability of pottery from nearby Roman sites. Examples for this are the cemeteries at Caistor-by-Norwich, Nfk and Spong Hill, Nfk: both were situated nearby abandoned Roman kilns. Although it could be argued that the large quantities of potsherds might be partly residual, Catherine Hills has pointed out that some might be in fact intentionally used (Hills 1984, 7). This is supported by the evidence from Caistor-by-Norwich, where Roman urns were reused for Anglo-Saxon cremations and tiles and potsherds were used as lids for urns (see N48, N56, P21, P43, P45, P48, Y2, Y4). Pottery which was not locally produced was more limited in Anglo-Saxon graves. In Kent and in Norfolk, only 5 burials contained Samian ware fragments (see Barfriston 39, Polhill 96, Sarre 130, Sarre 128, St. Peter's Tip 48, Upchurch I 1 for Kent and Caistor-by-Norwich P43, Spong Hill 2481, 2501, 2664, 3022 for Norfolk). In addition to this, Spong Hill also contained some exotic wares, such as a Rhenish ware potsherd in the pit of cremation 2390, Iceni rusticated potsherds in the pits from 2442, 2771, 2864 and a potsherd from a Spanish amphora in the fill of inhumation 57. These occurrences

might be dependent on the individual cemeteries and their significance, given that Spong Hill is the most prominent cemetery in East Anglia and Kent is well connected to the neighbouring continental countries. Given its substantial amount of potsherds, the pottery from Spong Hill will be discussed separately in ch.7. As Tim Eaton (2000) has pointed out, after the cessation of the Roman military presence from Britain, the landscape was littered with military outposts, walled forts, farmsteads and villas, which early medieval communities might have made use of. In most cases, this might have been due to 'practical uses' based upon economic, convenient or professional preferences; in other scenarios, the use might have been of a more 'meaningful' nature, such as the insertion of exotic potsherds or covering urns with lids (see Eaton 2000, 133, 135). These uses will be discussed in more detail in the succeeding chapters.

Fig. 4.2.1. Map of pottery distribution



4.4. Glass (Appendix A Table 4.3; Appendix B Figure 4.3)

Overview: 73 burials from 20 cemeteries contained objects made of glass. 113 glass fragments have been recorded in total; the majority of these were blue and blue-

green in colour. These consist of single fragments, multiple fragments (often from one vessel), intact vessels and beads. The majority, however, were single fragments. Of these, seven were window fragments and nine bottle sherds, the remaining amount either were not specified or came from vessels or bowls. In addition to this, 24 beads and only three intact vessels (see Chatham Lines Knt 17/18, Lyminge 13 Knt, Great Chesterford 33 Esx) were identified, which may be an indication of existing circulation patterns of different types of glass (see below). Generally, glass fragments occurred individually in graves, multiple fragments were only occasionally found.

Classification: Similarly to the issues presented by pottery fragments, the classification of glass proved to be difficult, as many reports do not determine if the glass was of late-Roman manufacture and chemical analysis of glass went beyond the scope of this PhD. Thus, where possible, glass is recorded using the classifications by the excavators, as many reports include dedicated specialist reports (e.g. Birte Brugmann provides comprehensive bead classifications for Mill Hill, Deal, Knt And Finglesham, Knt). In other instances, Roman melon beads have been identified according to their characteristic features (see Brugmann 2004). Glass have also been recorded based on discussions included in antiquarian reports. However, the lack of information and illustrations in these sources on particular fragments is taken into consideration by labelling these items just as 'possibly Roman'. The high frequency of blue and blue-green glass is of particular interest here. Jennifer Price notes that glass manufactured from the 4th century onwards was of much lesser quality, being of light greenish colour with bubbles and specks and Ellen Swift observes that glass used for recycling purposes in the 3rd and 4th century showed a much earlier production date, i.e. from the 1st and 2nd centuries (Price 2010, 37; Swift 2016, 138). Thus, it can be argued that early medieval communities were carefully selecting glass fragments of higher quality to be incorporated in funerary attire or context.

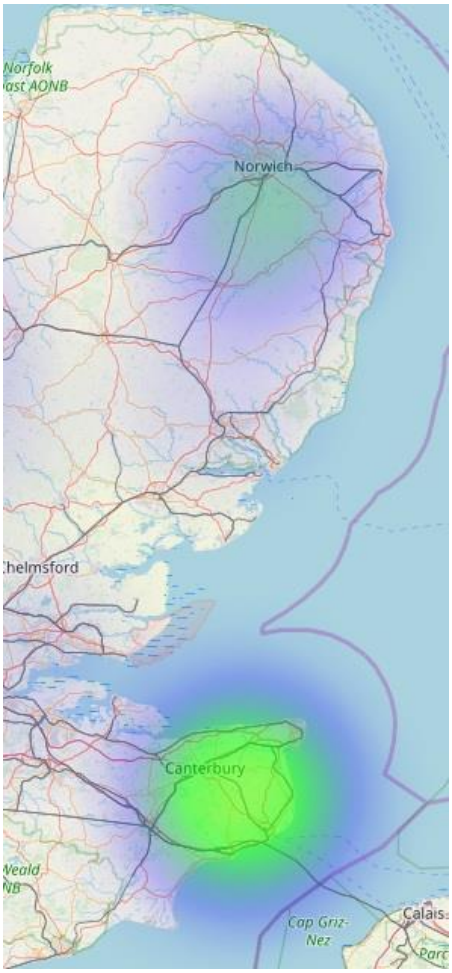
Purpose: Glass was generally found in the same positions as coins, either as beads or fragments near the chest area or around the lower torso, suggesting that they were part of necklaces or bag collections. In some instances, however, glass was also found in the fill or strewn around the body. The different applications and their particular purposes will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5, chapter 6 and chapter 7. No distinction is apparent in the use of fragments from vessels or

windows, suggesting that their original purposes were not as relevant. When intact vessels were encountered, they were often found at the feet of the individual alongside other standing vessels. Again, this trend shows that Roman objects were included in grave assemblages in a similar way as contemporary items, be it as beads in necklaces or as possible containers for food and liquid offerings placed within the graves.

Social Intention: From the 73 identified burials, 38 (52%) were female and 7 (10%) male gendered, the remaining graves did not contain sufficient evidence to be assigned gender. Of those, 15 burials were cremations, showing that glass was mostly reserved for inhumation burials or failed to survive the cremation process and the sifting of cremains for burial. Given the comparatively higher percentage of female gendered graves, it can be suggested that the selection and use of glass was predominantly of interest when burying women. The age categories are more varied. The burials of 23 (32%) adults and 12 (16%) juveniles/young adults contained glass, with only a few graves of children (seven individuals) and mature adults (three individuals). It can be suggested, therefore, that glass was more frequently included in adult graves.

Circulation Patterns: Kent showed the highest amount of glass in Anglo-Saxon graves and thus, variation of types, including a fair amount of beads and window glass. As has been mentioned above, the quality of glass deteriorated from the 4th century onward, as raw material became scarcer and the late-Roman population in Britain heavily relied on recycling mechanisms (e.g. Price 2010; Swift 2013; Peake 2013). Thus, the higher frequency of raw glass in early medieval burials, in particular in Kent, might be suggestive of the ongoing circulation of glass through trade and exchange with the continent. This might be also the case for beads and bead manufacture (e.g. see Guido 1999; Peake 2013). It could also imply glass was more highly prized as well in Kent with specific inclusion of glass in largely female adult graves.

Fig. 4.3.1. Map of glass distribution



4.5. Brooches (Appendix A Table 4.4; Appendix B Figure 4.4)

Overview: Roman brooches were identified in 33 burials across all regions in this study. Generally, Roman brooches were single finds within burials; only in the case of Ozengell, Knt 183 two copper-alloy bow brooches were found. 27 brooches were made of copper-alloy, the remaining amount were made of iron and one identified example was, in fact, a lead pattern for an annular brooch found at Great Chesterford, Esx 127.

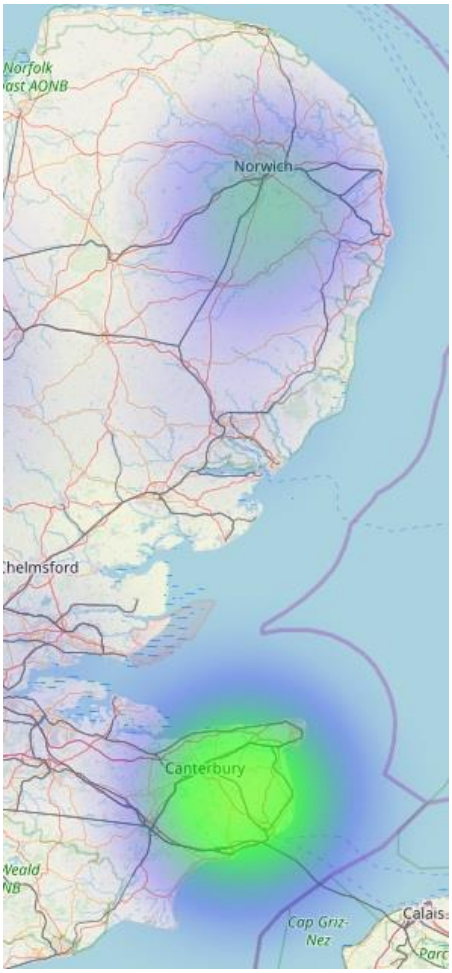
Classification: The dating derives from the reports themselves and has been cross-checked where possible against published typologies, in particular with Donald Mackreth's (2010) rigorous publication. In these instances, a short description with references and illustrations are provided (see Table 4.4). Where no closer classification could be provided, due to a lack of description or illustrations, the classifications by the excavators were used and marked as possibly Roman. The majority of brooches were of late Roman manufacture; however, in some instances, closer dating was possible. 8 brooches dated in the range of the 2nd to 3rd century and 3 from the 1st to 2nd century, suggesting that Roman brooches were curated over long periods of time. This becomes especially clear when brooches were modified or repaired, such as the disc brooch from the 2nd century which was used as a pendant at Morning Thorpe, Nfk 133, the pierced catch plate of the Hod-Hill-type dating to the 1st century at Polhill, Knt 8 or the repaired copper-alloy penannular brooch at Holywell Row Sfk 83 and gild disc brooch at Spong Hill, Nfk 26, the latter dating to the 2nd century.

Purpose: Where the position was given, 11 brooches were found near the chest area or on the shoulder, seemingly worn as dress adornments. A further 6 brooches were found near the waist, frequently with textile traces, suggesting that they belonged to bag collections. In three cases, brooches were found in the fill. It is interesting to note that the latter category belonged to male gendered burials (see Finglesham Knt 22, Buckland Knt 264, Mill Hill, Deal Knt 40). Thus, it might be suggested that the wearing of brooches is confined to female gendered burials.

Social Intention: 17 burials were female gendered and as has been mentioned in the previous section, only three male gendered burial included brooches in the fill. The latter occurrence will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. When age categories were identified, brooches are mostly found with adults (10 individuals) in contrast to three mature, two children/juveniles and with four unidentified cremations. No closer age categories could be given to the remaining burials. However, in all instances they were used as components of attire and were worn alongside contemporary brooches. Brooches are often interpreted as badges signalling belonging to particular groups (e.g. Martin 2012, Fisher 1995, Swift 2010). Roman brooch types in graves could carry similar distinctive meanings.

Circulation patterns: There is significant variation in the Roman brooch types circulating in south-eastern England and East Anglia. In comparison to the previous object types, however, it is difficult to recognise specific regional patterns. It appears that the use of different brooch types is dependent on the availability of such types in the specific locale of the community. It is unusual that at Morning Thorpe, Nfk, a high amount of penannular brooches with coiled terminals were found within graves, indicating that the local community favoured this specific brooch type and had access to it. This might be suggestive of particular flows of object types circulating within sectors of the post-Roman population. The variation in Roman object types also their frequencies were much higher here than in other examined cemeteries, ranging from one specimen to four different brooch types (e.g. see Spong Hill, Nfk). Thus, the use of brooches needs to be assessed on an individual basis, by examining the assemblages in which they were found.

Fig. 4.4.1. Map of brooch distribution



4.6. Keys (Appenix A Table 4.5., Appendix B Figure 4.5.)

Overview: 20 Roman keys have been recorded from 14 graves and nine cemeteries in this study. The majority of keys were simple in design and made of copper-alloy, only one example was manufactured from iron; a few examples were padlock keys or showed signs of engravings and elaborate handles. Generally, each grave contained one key, but two graves in the dataset included up to four keys each. One

example was bifurcated, which is discussed below in the section on mended and repaired objects.

Classification: Where possible, keys were classified according to typologies provided by Nina Crummy (1983) and W.H. Manning (1985). All keys have been classified as late Roman; in three cases it was possible to date the keys more specifically to the 4th-5th century AD (see the lever lock keys at Chartham Knt 16, Kingston Down, Knt 222, Saltwood Knt C1702). The iron key from Orpington Knt 39 was similar in design to a fleur-de-lis ring from Colchester dated by Crummy (1983) to post-150 AD. Where keys were identified by the excavators but there was a lack of illustrations, they are marked as possibly Roman.

Purpose: The majority of keys were associated with the lower torso or positioned in between the legs. In the latter position, all keys were found in association with hinged fittings and wooden remains, suggesting they were associated with work boxes. In some cases, keys were attached to rings or suspension loops and found together with other suspended items and girdle hangers implying they were once suspended from a girdle. At times, they appear alongside Anglo-Saxon keys. Two examples were found in the chest area, both associated with knives (see Sibertswold, Knt 101, St. Peter's Tip Knt 59). The majority of keys were intact apart from a bifurcated key.

Social Intention: 11 graves were female gendered and only one was that of a male, the latter also including box fittings, suggesting that the key may have been associated with a wooden box (see Stowting Knt 4). Age categories could be ascribed to five burials only, ranging in age from juveniles to adults and one child burial. Although this small number of age categories might not be statistically relevant, the significance of girdles with female burials is a well-known phenomenon (e.g. Stoodley 1997; Lucy 2000; Taylor 2001; Walton Rogers 2007). In particular keys and girdle hangers have been associated with the costume of female individuals and interpreted as symbols for their social roles as keepers of the household. They have been found as well in wooden boxes, which might have once been locked with these keys. In this regard, the significance of keys might be very similar to the use of contemporary keys in early medieval communities.

Circulation pattern: Similarly to brooches, keys rarely turn up in graves and if they do, they appear to be confined to Kent, suggesting that the pool of curated Roman material was more diverse in this region than in East Anglia. In only two instances, keys were found in Suffolk, in the cemetery at Holywell Row, with one of them an accessory to a lock (see the padlock found in gr.99 and classified by Manning (1985)). The key in gr. 52 was similar to a find from the Roman well at Exning Sfk and the padlock bore similarities with a padlock found at the Lakenheath hoard, Sfk, thus suggesting that the keys were local items. There is some variation in design in the keys from Kent and one example closely matches a specimen found in Germany (see Orpington Knt 39). The origins of these Roman keys might be diverse, given that Roman keys have also been found in Frankish graves (see as an example section 8.3.1) and it is possible that Roman keys as items were exchanged or traded with Kent or eastern England. However, it is also possible that the idea to incorporate keys in funerary assemblages, regardless of Roman or Anglo-Saxon origin, was more important than any Roman connections.

4.5.1. Map of key distribution

4.7. Belt Buckles (Appenix A table 4.6; Appendix B Figure 4.6)

Overview: 10 Roman belt buckles sets and three strap ends were found in 8 cemeteries in the study area. The vast majority of identified belt buckles were made of copper-alloy and carried zoomorphic designs, only in few cases were they made of iron and simpler in shape. One complete military belt set was recorded from Mucking II, Esx 979, which included a belt buckle Type III B (Hawkes and Dunning 1963, 58), a rosette disc belt attachment type IV (Hawkes and Dunning 1963, 67), a

belt stiffener (see Hawkes and Dunning 1963 and a rectangular plate which has been identified by the excavators as a strap end (see Hirst and Clarke 2013, 210, fig. 4; however, after Hawkes and Dunning (1963) this might be an attachment plate type VII, 67).

Classification: The belt buckles have been classified after the typologies from S.C. Hawkes and G.C. Dunning (1963), W.H. Manning (1985) and Moosbrugger-Leu (1971). All of the belt buckles recorded were of late Roman origin, dating from the 3rd to 4th centuries. Seven belt buckles could be classified after types by Hawkes and Dunning (1963). Four were of type II, two of type III and one was classified as type I. The late Roman D-shaped bronze belt buckle from Orpington, Knt 39 could be classified after Manning (1985) showing similarities with a Hod Hill buckle from Dorset (see Manning 1985, p. 147. Pl. 71). Finally the belt buckle from Mill Hill, Deal, Knt 91 is of an unusual shape and was classified after continental examples by Moosbrugger-Leu (1971). Belt buckles classified solely by the excavators are marked only as 'Possible Roman' finds.

Purpose: Five belt sets were found in a position near the waist/at the pelvis, suggesting that they were worn as dress fasteners (see Mucking II Esx gr. 979, 987, 989, Oprington Knt 39, Lyminge Knt 3). The remaining buckles were found at the left hip with a group of items. While decomposition processes can cause the movement and slippage of the corpse and associated goods, the presence of the belt buckles with other items implies they are likely to have been part of bag collections. The peculiar belt buckle from Mill Hill Deal, Knt 91 was placed in a special position on the body, as it was found at the chest underneath a shield boss, perhaps having a symbolic rather than practical use. Whole buckle sets were rarely found; most were deposited as fragments.

Social Meaning: Apart from the Mucking belt sets, the antique belt buckles recovered from funerary assemblages were fragmentary and found as part of collections or were located in peculiar places on the body, i.e. the chest. Five female gendered and three male gendered burials included belt sets, the remaining burials were unsexed, including one cremation. Three graves were those of juveniles and another three were adults and one mature individual. Although it is difficult to make demographic interpretations from the small number of graves which included Roman belt buckles,

it is of particular interest that the complete military belt sets from Mucking II, all worn by male gendered individuals, were closely group together forming a circle in one part of the cemetery. Similar to brooches, belts also signify the belonging to social groups, especially elaborate sets. The position and meaning of belt buckles are discussed in chapter 7.

Circulation patterns: In this study, late-Roman belt buckles were exclusively found in cemeteries from south-eastern England. The greatest variation was found in Kent, but the only complete sets were confined to the cemetery at Mucking II, Esx. This could suggest that the populations burying at Mucking did not have access to scavenged or circulating Roman material, but that the buried belt buckle sets were selected and used by a specific group of people within the community – perhaps relating to the military value. There was a slightly higher preference for type II A belt buckles than other types, but the occurrences of belt buckles are too varied from one cemetery to another to argue for any coherent patterns of use.

Fig. 4.6.1. Map of belt buckles distribution

4.8. Rings (Appendix A Table 4.7, Appendix B Figure 4.7)

Overview: Nine rings were recovered from nine cemeteries. The fabric of the rings varied: the majority were made of copper-alloy, with some examples which were made of silver and one specimen which was manufactured from iron. Most examples bore decoration, some with more elaborate motifs, and others with crude incised lines (e.g. see Morning Thorpe Nfk 384 in comparison to Westgarth Gardens Nfk 6). In some instances, the rings were made from other objects. At Westgarth Gardens, Suffolk, a bronze ring was made of a flat decorated strip; it is argued that this ring was made from reused material, similar to the recognised late-Roman tradition (Swift

2013). In addition, a ring at Holywell Row 12 was probably manufactured from an annular brooch with a missing pin.

Classification: The rings were primarily classified through the typologies provided by Nina Crummy (1983) and Giles Clarke (1979) from the excavations of the Late Roman cemeteries at Colchester and Lankhills and to a lesser extent by W.H. Manning's (1985)'s iron implements typology. Three cases could not be classified due to a lack of illustrations and descriptions and are therefore marked as possibly Roman accordingly. The majority of rings date to the late Roman period, only in certain cases was a closer date provided (see Great Chesterford Esx 71, Lackford Sfk, 48,2474, Morning Thorpe 384, Nfk). Lackford Sfk 48, 2474 and Morning Thorpe Nfk 384 were both given a 4th-century date, while the ring at Great Chesterford Esx 71 is an unusual example dating to the 3rd century, with parallels from the continent. It could be argued in this regard that finger rings were of special interest and curated over a long time period before being deposited in an early medieval grave.

Purpose: The position of the rings varied, though none of the finger rings were actively worn or found associated with the hand. The rings were found near the skull or feet (see Great Chesterford Esx 71 and Sarre, Knt 260) or associated with the chest, suggesting that some might have been worn as pendants (see Bifrons Knt 63, Morning Thorpe Nfk 384 and possibly Riseley, Knt 36). The silver ring from Lackford Sfk 48,2474 was found inside the cremation pot, which might suggest that the ring was one of the personal belongings of the individual, and the ring repurposed from a brooch found near the right humerus in Holywell Row 12 could be associated with other brooches that had been reformed to make a chain in order to suspend a key. Finally, the fragmentary silver finger ring at Mucking II, Esx 537 was found in the fill, which could have been placed there by the mourners. These suggest that the inclusion of finger rings was quite an idiosyncratic act and needs to be explored in more depth on individual bases.

Social Intention: Four burials were female gendered individuals and of those two were double burials and each included an additional child burial (Sarre Knt 260 and Morning Thorpe Nfk 384). In the latter instances, it is not entirely clear if the ring was associated with the female inhumation or the child. The remaining burials were of uncertain gender, as two of them were cremations and one burial was that of an

infant (see Great Chesterford, Esx 71). Apart from the child and infant inhumations, only two graves could be identified as belonging to adult inhumations (Riseley Knt 36 and Mucking II Ex 537). Although where gender could be determined, rings were recovered from female assemblages. The age categories and purposes of the rings within graves show that their use was not confined to a particular purpose or group of people, but that their inclusion was based upon varied factors.

Circulation patterns: The number of rings found in Anglo-Saxon burials is too low to examine statistically for circulation patterns. However, comparing the data of rings identified here with rings found in late-Roman cemeteries suggests that a generic late-Roman date can be ascribed. At Great Chesterford Esx 71, however, the ring dates to the 3rd century and has some continental parallels. It might, therefore, be suggested that alongside other late Roman items, rings might have been curated and selected for particular purposes within funerary contexts.

Fig. 4.7.1. Map of ring distribution

4.9. Pendant (Appendix A Table 4.8; Appendix B Figure 4.8)

Overview: Six pendants were found exclusively in Kent in three cemeteries. The pendants were almost exclusively made of copper-alloy, only one nautilus shaped ornament at Sarre Knt 23 appears to be made of green porcelain. The majority of pendants were equestrian equipment, while the pendant at Finglesham Knt 22 was identified as a belt slide reused as a necklace fitting and at Sarre Knt 17, a bronze model of an axe was included in a burial from a female gendered individual and a child.

Classification: Pendants were classified by their shape and decoration and identified through the typologies provided by Giles Clarke (1979) and Ian Riddler (2010) on late Roman metalwork and Sabine Deschler-Erb (1999) and M.C. Bishop (1988) on late Roman equestrian equipment. The mini axe pendant from Sarre 17 could be identified as an axe brooch after Mackreth (1999), dating to the 2nd to 3rd century AD. No closer date could be provided for the remaining pendants and there was no illustration provided for the nautilus shaped ornament. However, the description and fabric of the pendant suggests that it might be Roman.

Purpose: Where recorded, pendants were found around the chest area associated with beads (see Finglesham Knt 200, Buckland Knt 377, Sarre Knt 23). One horse harness pendant was found to the left side of the body, together with other suspended items, probably belonging to a girdle collection (see Sarre Knt 187). No positional information was provided for the two pendants from Sarre Knt 148 and 17, but given pendants' tendency to occur as part of necklaces and girdles, it seems likely that these were displayed rather than concealed items.

Social Intention: Four graves were female gendered individuals, two of whom were double burials with a child in each. Finglesham Knt 200 was that of a female child and another child burial recorded at Buckland Knt 377 included a horse harness pendant. Given the relatively high proportion of these finds with children aged between 2 and 12 years, it might be suggested that pendants were included with this specific age category, if included at all. The pendants might have been buried with an intention to ward off evil, an interpretation which will be explored further in the succeeding chapters.

Circulation pattern: Roman pendants were exclusively found in Kent, suggesting that the curated objects were found in the region with the highest variety of Roman objects in comparison to East Anglia. This might be supported by the fact that pendants are frequently found on the continent with child burials, suggesting that this particular tradition might have originated on the continent (Koch pers. Comm).

Fig. 4.8.1. Map of pendant distribution

4.10. Bracelets (Appendix A Table 4.9; Appendix B Figure 4.9)

Overview: Five bracelets were found from five cemeteries in Kent, Essex and Norfolk. These were made of copper-alloy, mainly consisting of hook and eye fastening, but the bracelet at Lyminge Knt 16 also showed unique decoration and the bracelet in grave 6 at the cemetery of Bifrons was made from a repurposed penannular brooch with animal heads. Apart from one example at Spong Hill Nfk which was found in the fill, all the bracelets were intact in the graves.

Classification: The bracelets are classified according to the typologies after the Colchester excavations by Nina Crummy (1983) and by the Roman iron tools catalogue by W.H. Manning (1985). The burials from Lyminge Knt 16 and Great Chesterford Esx 16 can be closely dated to the 4th century, but the majority are ascribed to the late Roman period.

Purpose: Two bracelets were found near or on arms, specifically at the left side of the body. Two were found next to the knees and feet and one example from Norfolk appeared in the fill. Apart from the latter, all of them occurred without any associated goods or items and seem to have been worn as jewellery items.

Social Intention: Three burials were unsexed, two of these were adults, aged between 25 and 44 years. The other two burials included a possible female adult and a female infant aged between 12 and 18 months. The deposition of bracelets which had been cut down into rings is already a known practice from late-Roman burials and is especially associated with children (Swift 2013). As has been the case with the other metalwork, so too it seems the inclusion of Roman bracelets is confined to individual cases rather than belonging to an overall pattern, especially in the regions which had a high circulation of Roman artefacts.

Circulation patterns: Similar to the previously discussed metalwork, only one reused bracelet was found in each of the five cemeteries where bracelets occurred, implying these items were scarce and their usage was not a widespread trend. The reuse of bracelets may not be statistically meaningful in these regions, however, it is associated with areas that demonstrate a broader diversity and proportion of Roman material in Anglo-Saxon burials. Bracelets are known from late Roman burials (see Lankhills, Winchester and Colchester, Esx) and it might thus be possible to associate the use of these items in Anglo-Saxon graves with the continuance of late Roman traditions.

Fig. 4.9.1. Map of bracelet distribution

4.11. Tweezers (Appendix A Table 4.10; Appendix B Figure 4.10)

Overview: Eight tweezers were found in three cemeteries in East Anglia. These tweezers were made of copper-alloy and decorated with incised lines and notches. They are decorated with simple blocks of horizontal grooves, complex designs with facets, horizontal grooves and diagonal crosses in the upper half and vertical border lines in the lower half, which can be often stamped. Other tweezer types of Roman origin are just plain (Dickinson 1977, 221 - 222). All of them, bar one, were found with cremation burials.

Classification: The tweezers are classified by the existing typology from Barbara Green (1973) who identified Roman manufactured tweezers at the cemetery of

Caistor-by-Norwich Nfk. She identified four different types at Caistor: functional bronze type I, small bronze tweezers cut from sheet bronze type II, small iron tweezers type III, and small iron tweezers type IV (Green 1973, 205). In addition, Tanja Dickinson's typology on tweezers found in the Thames valley also provides an in-depth discussion of the decoration styles of all four types, comparing Green's (1973) identified tweezers with those from the Thames Valley (see Dickinson 1977, 221 – 223).

Purpose: All tweezers were found in urns together with human remains. Two tweezers from the cemetery at Lackford, Sfk, have been described as showing no signs of wear, while one example from Caistor by Norwich Nfk, had a D-shaped looped wire threaded through the tweezer loop (Myres, Green 1973, 136; Lethbridge 1951, 16-17). This suggests that the tweezers at Caistor by Norwich were suspended beforehand. 28 tweezers in total were found at the cemetery at Caistor by Norwich Nfk, seven at Lackford Sfk, and four at the inhumation cemetery at Holywell Row Sfk, suggesting that the inclusion of Roman tweezers was situated within a wider trend of including tweezers with cremation burials in general.

Social Intention: No gender could be ascribed to the individuals furnished with tweezers, mainly because all of them bar one were unsexed cremations. The inhumation burial containing Roman tweezers together with an ear pick at Holywell Row, Sfk 51, contained gender-neutral grave goods and was not biologically sexed. However, it appears that tweezers in general were more favoured as objects in cremation rites compared to inhumation burials, as the number of tweezers recovered from the two cremation cemeteries was significantly higher than the proportion recovered from the inhumation cemetery at Holywell Row. Tweezers and bone combs occurred frequently in cremation burials in East Anglia and their possible use in funerary rituals has been widely discussed (see works on cremation cemeteries such as Lucy 2000, 108-9; Williams 2010, 73-6). The use of Roman tweezers does not appear to differ from the ways in which those of Anglo-Saxon date were used in funerary rituals.

Circulation patterns: It is interesting to note that there is a relatively high occurrence of Roman manufactured tweezers in the cemeteries at Suffolk and Norfolk and less evidence for their use in south-eastern England. Roman tweezers were found in

cremation burials at Little Wilbraham Cambs., Heworth, Yorks., Long Hanborough, Ox, Abingdon, Ox and Bledlow, Bucks, suggesting that there was a preference of including tweezers in cremation cemeteries. However, a few examples are also found in inhumation burials, such as Petersfinger, Wilts, Girton Cambs, Brighthampton Sx and Long Wittenham Berks. However, the slightly higher number of tweezers retrieved from cremation cemeteries might be an indication as to why so few tweezers have been identified in Kent, which is a region where inhumation cemeteries predominated. Furthermore, Green (1973) argues that the tweezers found at Lackford might be the product of local preference or production, rather than evidence for any wider circulation pattern (see Green 1973, 105).

Fig. 4.10.1 Map of tweezer distribution

4.12. Intaglio (Appendix A Table 4.11; Appendix B Figure 4.11)

Overview: Seven intaglios were found in five cemeteries from the study area. All of them were highly decorative, carrying male and female figures. All intaglios were made of semi-precious gemstones. The two intaglios from Buckland, Knt were made from crystal and jasper, the intaglio found at Lyminge 32 Knt was also made from jasper and the examples from Snape, Sfk, Pakefield Sfk and Sutton Hoo Sfk were all made from onyx (it is tempting to see a correlation here, as they all come from barrow burials). Finally, the fabric of the intaglio found at Harford Farm in Nfk was a

cornelian. The intaglios were mounted on rings, pendants or on buckles made of precious metal; the example from Harford Farm was framed with twisted and beaded gold wire and mounted on a suspension loop.

Classification: The intaglios are classified using the typologies provided by Martin Henig (1978/2000/2007), who provides detailed descriptions of each figure and motif. Three intaglios could be dated in more detail; the intaglio at Lyminge Knt 32, depicting the god Ceres and the intaglio from Snape Sfk 1 depicting Bonus Eventus both date to the 2nd century AD, while the intaglio from Buckland 391B with a carved image from the Lybian goddess Omphalae could be dated to the 1st century AD. The intaglio which was recovered from Pakefield Sfk is now missing and unfortunately no detailed description is given.

Purpose: Where sufficient information had been recorded, the relation to the body could be determined. The intaglios from Kent were found on the left side of the body, near the waist or hip. At Snape Sfk, the intaglio was set into a 6th-century gold finger ring but its location in the grave was not recorded. At Harford Farm Nfk, the intaglio with suspension loop was found at the chest, suggesting that it was worn. Apart from the unidentified jasper intaglio found in a pouch at Buckland Knt 407, all the other intaglios were openly displayed and worn as jewellery items.

Social Intention: Intaglios were found with three male gendered and two female gendered individuals in this study, there was not sufficient detail to ascribe gender to the remaining two. Two adult female inhumations were identified at Buckland that included intaglios in their dress. In grave 407, the jasper intaglio was placed together with a coin and Iron-Age toggles in organic remains next to the left hip. The crystal pendant in grave 391B was held in silver slings, with a ring, and found with beads to the left of the left knee. In both instances the contexts suggest that these were once worn on necklaces which had later been concealed with the body in pouches or bags. Another jasper intaglio was found with a male juvenile aged 12-15 years set onto a silver-plated iron buckle found at the waist at Lyminge.. No skeletal information was recorded from inhumation in the boat burial at Snape, Sfk, Sutton Hoo, Sfk and the barrow burial from Harford Farm, Nfk, due to the poor preservation of human remains in the soil. However, as mentioned above, the intaglio at Harford Farm was probably used as a pendant due to its location in the chest area and the

intaglios at Snape and Sutton Hoo were used in a ring. This suggests that intaglios were actively used in the attire of individuals, as the majority were mounted. At least one featured in a bag collection but in two instances the position of the jewel with other items in the lower regions of the torso and body implies these items might have been located in bags, purses or pouches.

Circulation patterns: Intaglios were found across the study regions, but the number of intaglios is quite limited and rather confined to one lavishly equipped burial per cemetery. Furthermore, their depictions vary greatly, indicating that personal taste of the individual wearing the intaglio might have been of significance here, or that these were gifts or special tokens of some kind, given that these items were not readily available to a broader community. It is also interesting to note that the intaglio from Buckland 391B of Opheliae is an exotic depiction, which was borrowed from oriental cults such as Egypt and Levant (Henig 2007, 43). Thus, the taste and choice of intaglios was highly specific and these items might have been used for social display within the community in terms of status, in life and in death.

Fig. 4.11.1. Map of intaglio distribution

4.13. Comb (Appendix A Table 4.12., Appendix B Figure 4.12.)

Overview: Five bone combs were found, all of which came from Lackford, Sfk. The combs from graves 49.19, 48.2490, 50.99 and 49.26A of triangular shape were bearing some dot decoration. In addition to this, the comb in grave 49.6 was double sided and showed some more elaborate circle and dot decoration.

Classification: Similar to the tweezers, the combs are also classified according to the typology provided by T.C. Lethbridge (1951). Lethbridge (1951) was able to match the combs to specimens found at Roman sites, particularly the specimen from

48.2490, which he matched to an exact copy at Roman Chesterford (Lethbridge 1951, 96).

Purpose and social meaning: The combs were exclusively found with cremation burials. It appears that their usage in these graves were similar to tweezers as toilet instruments, which are frequently found in cremation graves (see Lucy 2000, *ibid.*; Williams 2013, 31-4). This would imply that they are not treated in a different way than contemporary combs; in fact there were only seven combs in total recorded from Lackford, Sfk indicating that combs could be quite restricted and even rare items.

Circulation pattern: Given that the reused Roman combs were solely found in this community across the whole study area and that Lethbridge (1951) (see table 4.12.) was able to match the combs to those found at Roman sites, it might be suggested that these were available and claimed from nearby sites or that due to production at some point in time, there was a flow of this material within the immediate area.

4.13. Marble (Appendix A Table 4.13; Appendix B Figure 4.13)

Overview: Two marble fragments have been found at Buckland Knt 266 and Hadleigh Road, Ipswich, Sfk 68. The marble fragment from Buckland was trapezoid in shape with a bevelled edge and showed light green streaks on a dark green background. The Ipswich example was not illustrated.

Classification: No further details were provided for the marble fragment found at Hadleigh Road; however, the fragment recovered from Buckland was classified as being dark green porphyry marble veneer (Parfitt and Anderson 2012, 407). Similar marble veneer have been found in Roman structures, such as in Bath (see Devon, Parkins and Workman 2001) and the bath structures at Lincoln (Peacock and Williams 1992).

Purpose: The marble fragment at Buckland was found alongside Roman glass and iron fragments in a wooden box near the left pelvis. It could therefore be suggested that these fragments were significant enough to be kept secure in a box. Possible meanings for such collections are discussed in ch. 5. The marble fragment from Hadleigh Road was found beside the skull and was the only grave good included in

this burial. Although it could be argued that the fragment might be residual, there is also the possibility that it was strewn into the grave before it was back filled. The meaning of strewing objects in graves is further discussed in ch. 7.

Social Intention: The inhumation burial at Hadleigh Road was in a poor fragmentary state and thus no gender or age could be ascribed. Buckland 266 was that of a female adult, who was richly equipped with a matching pair of silver cast openwork radiated brooches with garnets. Given that the inclusion of boxes was rarer than of bag collections and that fairly large amount of Roman fragments were deposited as keepsakes, it might be suggested that the Buckland individual bore a special role in the cemetery and that the uniqueness of including a marble fragment in her collection might have played a role in this.

Circulation pattern: Marble is a lot rarer than other Roman items, such as glass and pottery, and given that the fragment from Buckland was classified as veneer, it can be interpreted as a piece originating from Roman buildings in Britain, in particular Roman baths such as those recovered from Lincoln. It is possible that the fragments were picked up near the vicinity rather than being in general circulation as might have been the case with pottery and glass. However, the marble from Roman structures were imported from different locations. As an example, the Roman baths from Lincoln sourced their marble from Egypt, Northern Italy and several locations from Greece (see Peacock and Williams 1992, 2). The marble fragments retrieved by early medieval communities were probably no exception to this and might have been fairly visually striking and exotic to the viewer. In fact, it seems that there was a wider tradition to include reworked marble pieces in Christian features and burials, as is evidenced by a marble piece with filed edges recovered from a pre-11th century fill deposit in a 11th century church and by pieces found at the Viking settlement and cemetery at Westness-on-Rousay and Brough-of-Birsay (Lowe 2002, 92). These were widely used in bath and temples and quarried from Greece and Lowe, suggesting that they might have been imports or redistributed items within Britain from the 7th century onward (Lowe 2002, ibid.). He further argues that they might have been relics or souvenirs of the Roman world and used as raw material for jewellery, as evidenced by examples found from workshop areas in Dublin. In addition to this, Lowe observes that the thickness of the pieces might have been of significance, suggesting that they possibly derived from the same circulation patterns

and might have been distributed between ecclesiastical sites with potentially pre-Norse foundations (Lowe 2002, 94). This suggests that the material had significant meanings associated to a Roman past rather than being an accidental inclusion.

4.15. Miscellaneous metal objects (Appendix A Table 4.14; Appendix B Figure 4.14.)

Classification: Apart from the above major categories, other Roman objects occur in much fewer numbers and are mostly made of copper-alloy with a few iron examples. These objects range from items that would have been worn, such as pins and bells, to use items including spoons, hooks, chains, razors and hob nails. A short description of each object type is given here and the circulation patterns are discussed more generally at the end.

Object: Bell

Overview: Four bells were found in three cemeteries in Kent and in Norfolk. The bells were made of iron and copper-alloy. One of the bells is incomplete (Sarre 259) and no illustration was provided for the bell from Kingston Down 222, but the Kentish bells appeared to be all quadrangular in shape, while the bell retrieved from Spong Hill 1281 was of a hemispherical design.

Classification: The bells are classified according to the bell typology provided by Hella Eckardt (2018) and Nina Crummy (1983). Furthermore, Eckardt (2018) divides bells according to different types, in which the quadrangular bells were of type 1 and the hemispherical bell could be categorised as type 2 (see Eckardt 2018 p. 183, illus. 184)

Purpose: At Kingston Down, one bell hung from a girdle, presumably on the body of the deceased; the other was placed in a pot with a selection of other items. The bell found at Spong Hill Nfk was made with an elaborate handle and although this was a cremation burial and thus the exact position on the body is unknown, the handle showed use-wear, suggesting that the bell was being worn or used on something during its life time.

Social Intention: None of the examples have been biologically sexed and only the two burials at Kingston Down were ascribed a female gender due to their grave

goods. The sample is difficult to assess because these finds are rare. The bell found attached at the girdle and the hemispherical bell with worn handle suggest that they were suspended during their time of use, perhaps as part of the attire. As has been observed by Eckardt (2018), bells were frequently mentioned in Greek and Roman literature as items warding off evil, giving a warning or frighten enemies or being used as sign for associates that no danger was lurking (Eckardt 2018, 180). In any case, the sound was a central part of its appeal. This might have been also the case in Anglo-Saxon society. The treatment of the bell in the iron pot is peculiar, as it had melted and was in a fragmentary state. According to the image, there were textile remains visible on the body of the bell, suggesting that this too was worn.

Object: Pin

Overview: Three pins and one pin head were found from four cemeteries in Kent and in Essex. All of the pins are made of copper-alloy and vary in type and size; from a pin head fragment of 1.5cm to a flat disc head of the size of 14cm. Two examples were skilfully made: in one example, the bronze pin head represents a man's bust, and the other shows two animal heads, which might have represented monkeys (Roach-Smith 1853, 105). The other two are simpler in the form of a flat disc head and a bodkin.

Classification: The pins are classified according to the existing typologies from Nina Crummy (1983), H.M. Cool (1990) and Martin Henig (1986). The pins representing a male bust and an animal headed decorated example could be ascribed to the late Roman period (see Crummy 1983, 30 and Cool 1990, 168). The example from Great Chesterford Esx 116 is quite peculiar. It was identified by Martin Henig (1986) as a pin which was repurposed from a late Roman ear probe. Similar examples have been found at Roman Chesterford (Henig 1986, 11).

Purpose: The position of the pins varied; the fragmentary bronze pin head was found at the left hip and associated with an iron rod, while the skilfully made zoomorphic pin was found at the head, suggesting it was used as a hair pin. The bodkin was found in the chest area and the converted ear probe at the left shoulder, indicating that these were perhaps used as dress fasteners. This shows that pins were used for different purposes, according to their style and size.

Social Intention: Two of the burials were adults with feminine assemblages, one was a gender-indeterminate adult, and one was a gender-indeterminate subadult. The meaning of the inclusion of pins probably varies from one individual to the next, as there is no clear pattern which distinguishes them from other material culture. Furthermore, it seems in the case of the converted ear probe from Great Chesterford Esx 116, the function as fastening the dress purposefully was more significant than style. The head pin, however, from Sarre Knt 259 was chosen by the individual for its elaborate style.

Object: Spoon

Overview: Five spoons were found in four cemeteries in Kent and Suffolk. All of the spoons were made of copper-alloy and three of them were complete (see Chartham Down Knt 26, Holborough Knt 7, Lackford Knt 48,2474). Although the spoons varied in shape and design, none of them were decorated, suggesting that their function was important than their aesthetics.

Classification: The spoons are classified according to the typologies provided by Giles Clarke (1979), Nina Crummy (1983) and Wolfgang Böhme (1968). Four spoons are classified as late Roman, while the spoons from Saltwood, Stone Wall Bridle Farm, Knt W1453 and Lackford Sfk 48,2474 are similar to spoons dated to the 2nd century by Crummy (see Crummy 1983, 60-61 for the spoon retrieved from Saltwood and 69-70 for the spoon from Lackford). In addition to this, the 4th century spoon at Chartham Down also has continental parallels, suggesting that late Roman metal artefacts might have been in wider circulation (see Böhme 1968, 174-175, illus. 2 and 3). Furthermore, the spoon at Lackford can be more specifically classified as type 1 after Crummy (1983, 69, illus. 7).

Purpose: Only the positions of the spoons from Chartham Down, Knt and Lackford, Sfk were recorded. At Chartham Down, the spoon, which might have been used as spatula, was found near the right hip alongside a belt buckle and a knife. The spoon seemed to have been originally covered with a leather sheet, as organic remains were found around it (Roach Smith 1856, 171-2). The spoon recovered at Lackford from a cremation was placed inside the cremation pot together with a Roman silver finger ring (Lethbridge 1951, 17). Two of the spoons recovered were made as

tableware (see Chartham Down 26 and Lackford 48,2474), while the remaining three were scoops probably used for toiletry purposes.

Social Intention: The only burial including a spoon which could be gendered was that of an adult male from Holborough Knt 7. Apart from Holborough Knt 11 which included an unsexed juvenile, all the remaining inhumation burials were those of adults. It is interested to note that in the study area, cosmetic spoons were favoured instead of tableware. Tableware spoons were also found outside the study area, including in the cemeteries of Beckford, Heref and Worcs, Worthy Park, Kingsworthy, Hants and Oakington, Cambs. All of them were perforated, suggesting that they were suspended previously. At Oaktington in grave 66, the spoon was still hanging from a girdle, while the spoon bowls at Beckford were placed in pouches. The spoon bowl at Worthy Park, Kingsworthy was placed inside a handmade pottery jar together with two Roman coins (Chadwick-Hawkes and Grainer 2003, 65; Evison and Hill 1996, 77-78). Apart from the latter, it appears that these spoon bowls may have been actively used according to their position, perhaps as a tool of measurement spices in preparing medicine, a procedure also known from Roman texts (see Eckardt 2014; Cool 2006, 50). The identified cosmetic spoons in this study probably continued to have a cosmetic purpose, as some of them were found associated with girdle hangers and toilet sets (see Holborough 7 and 11 associated clusters of material). Active usage is also implied by the treatment of the spoon at Chartham Down as it was placed into a protective leather cover.

Object: Scales/Hanging chain

Overall: Two scales were found in two cemeteries from Kent. A hanging chain was found at Ozengell 100 and bronze scales were identified at St. Peter's Tip 76. The bronze scales were identified as being Roman in manufacture and the hanging chain was identified as part of scales. The scales were made of copper-alloy, while the hanging chain was of iron.

Classification: The scales and hanging chain have been identified as Roman by Sue Harrington (2008) in her database Anglo-Saxon Kent Electronic Database. Unfortunately, no illustrations were provided.

Purpose There are no further details on the position of the hanging chain, however, it was found with many other iron fragments, possibly including keys. The copper-alloy scales were found on the left bottom beside the body and associated with a Roman coin and wooden vessel with copper-alloy mounts. This is similar to the scales and coin weights found in other graves from the cemeteries of Sarre, Buckland and Guilton. The scales and coin weights were found near the foot in organic material. However, the number of coin weights included in these examples were substantially higher than in the example of Ozengell.

Social Intention: No details were given of the inhumation grave at Ozengell. However, the inhumation burial at St. Peter's Tip was that of a female aged 18-25 years. This burial was lavishly equipped with 21 grave goods in total, including amethysts beads, a Kentish pendant and bulla and belt mount of Frankish origin. It is interesting to note that this is the only burial considered in this study here containing scales with only one Roman coin, whereas the other so-called "smith graves" contained a wide range of coins, recut coins and other weights (see ch.7 for a more detailed discussion). The coin itself was worn and thus might have been in circulation for a while before being deposited. This burial differs in the selection from the other smith's graves, so perhaps the inclusion of the scales and coin was more symbolic than representative of daily function.

Object: Terrets

Overview: Two terrets were found in burials from Mucking II Esx 350B and Morning Thorpe Nfk 250. Both of them were made of copper-alloy and circular in shape; the shape appears to be of significance, as the example from Mucking II was used as dress fastener.

Classification: The terrets were classified based upon similar terrets found at the Colchester excavations and identified by Nina Crummy (1983). She categorises them as Colchester types period 5c (see Crummy 1983, 106).

Purpose: At Mucking II, the terret was found at the centre of the pelvis and has been interpreted as a slide buckle, as organic material was found over the central part, suggesting the remains of a strap. This is supported by the fact that there was organic material found on the end of the ring opposite of this (Hirst and Clark 2009,

34). At Morning Thorpe the exact location of the terret could not be found, as it was found at the surface of the grave during machining (Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 92).

Social Intention: There was no skeletal information on the grave at Morning Thorpe. However, the individual was buried with objects with masculine association, i.e. an iron spearhead and shield boss. Interestingly, at Mucking II, Essex, the grave belonged to that of an adult, who was sexed as a female and was also buried with artefacts attributed to a masculine identity: a spearhead. As the terret was reworked as a belt slide, it was openly displayed and part of the attire of the individual.

Object: Mirror

Overview: A Roman mirror was found at Guilton Knt. It is made of copper-alloy and is flat and circular in shape. The handle is elaborately decorated and the complete mirror is 11cm long.

Classification: The mirror was classified as a specimen from Proto Group H, identified though the Roman mirror typology provided by Llyod-Morgan (1977). These are of late Roman date and examples have also been found on the continent.

Purpose: The mirror was found at the feet of the individual together with other iron objects and rings. As iron casket hinges have been found, it is possible that the mirror was placed with other objects in a wooden box.

Social Intention: As this was an antiquarian report, the sex is unknown. However, the grave good assemblage suggests that this was the burial of a woman. The mirror was used in a casket with several unidentified iron objects and rings. This might be suggestive that the mirror belonged to a particular selection of objects which were worth keeping in a casket. The meaning of objects in caskets will be discussed in chapter 5.

Object: Instrument

Overview: Two Roman copper-alloy instruments were found at Gilton in grave 98. One is 12cm long, the other 17.5cm. The shorter instrument has a long shaft with pointed end. There was a small circular lobe attached to the stem. The other had a sharpened rounded point with a flat handle and blunt edges.

Classification: The instruments were classified as two probes based on Nina Crummy (1983), as they are fairly similar in form and function to the identified spoon-probes in the Colchester excavations (see examples Crummy 1983, 61).

Purpose: The exact position of the objects was not specified in the antiquarian report. However, the other items included a belt buckle and an iron spearhead. Given the nature of the object itself (as they have been classified as instruments), it might be possible that they served a functional purpose.

Social Intention: The individual of this grave could be identified as male-gendered, but no age category could be given, except for the fact that this was a grown individual. The burial was modestly furnished; given the nature of the Roman objects, it is possible that these were used as functional tools instead of having amuletic values or being kept as trinkets.

Object: Knife

Overview: A Roman knife was found at Chatham Lines 20, Kent. It was made of copper-alloy and had an elaborate handle with an openwork design, its decoration showing a dog chasing a hare.

Classification: The elaborate handle of a dog chasing a hare is a common motif for Roman folding clasp knives. George C. Boon (1991) provides a classification for such toilet knives, which characteristically show zoomorphic handles of a short length (see Boon 1991, 22-24).

Purpose: The exact position of the knife has not been recorded; however, it was found together with two Roman coins, a Frankish bronze buckle loop, chatelaine and beads. Given its effectiveness as a folding clasp knife, it is likely that it was used for functional purposes and carried securely in a pouch or other dispenser.

Social Intention: The grave belonged to a female adult and was placed in a barrow. As mentioned above, the burial also contained continental imports, therefore it might be suggested that the individual had access to a wealth of material, including such an elaborately designed knife from past times. Being a toilet knife, it might have been used for aesthetic purposes for the individual.

Object: Chain/Hook

Overall: A pot hanger was found at the cemetery of Holborough 2 in Kent. Two rods were linked together with a ring; both of the rods were twisted and the second was attached with rings for the suspension of a pot. These pot hangers date back to the late Roman period and were used up until the 6th century. This item could therefore be Roman.

Classification: The pot hanger was classified as Roman after W.H. Manning's (1985) typology of Roman iron tools (see Manning 1985, 209). Furthermore, the elaborately twisted rod is similar in design to a lamp hanger which was found at the excavations at the Pre-Flavian military site at Usk, Monm. (see Manning *et al.* 1993, 208-9).

Purpose: The position of the pot hanger was not recorded, and the practice to include pot hangers in Anglo-Saxon graves appears to be rare. In the initial report, Vera Evison mentions a similar pot hanger found at Chartham in grave 34 (Evison 1956, 100). More examples are known from the continent, such as from Saalburg, Mainz or Gotland (Evson 1956, ibid.).

Social Intention: The hangers would have been of practical use during the life time of the individual, as it had suspended a cooking pot. It is unfortunate that there is no information on the skeletal remains and that the pot was not tested for any residues it might contain.

Object: Iron Razor

Overview: Two razors were found at Great Chesterford Esx 54 and Spong Hill Nfk 1672. The handle of the razor found at Spong Hill was made of copper-alloy and ornamented with a griffin head, the other was a simpler type made of iron and 6.5cm in length. The dimensions of the griffin headed razor have not been provided.

Classification: The razors are classified through the existing typologies provided by W.H. Manning (1985) and George C. Boon (2011). The razor found at Great Chesterford had a curved back and could be matched to a similar example from Walthamstow, Esx and the elaborate razor from Spong Hill could be matched with examples from a specimen at the Ashmolean Museum from Narona (Dalamatia) and an early medieval grave at Netta, Poland. The latter was probably curated over a long time period and it suggests that this kind of razors circulated over a wider geographical area (see Manning 1985, 115, plate 55; Boon 2011, 28-9, fig. 3f).

Purpose: Remains of leather were found with the griffin-headed knife, which probably was used as a cover. The razor was included in a cremation burial at Spong Hill together with tweezers, a hone stone and glass (Hills 1977, 65). These are primarily utensils, so it could suggest that the razor was actively used, especially as its blade was protected. The razor retrieved from Great Chesterford Esx 54 was found near the skull without any associated objects, it might therefore be an object which was either deliberately placed here or put into the grave alongside other personal items.

Social Intention: The inhumation grave of Great Chesterford was that of a mature male aged 45+. Given that the razor was kept in its original shape and found nearby the skull, it is possible that this item was used for a functional purpose. Similar to the knife from Chatham Lines, Knt, the razor retrieved from the cremation Spong Hill 1672 was fairly elaborate in its design and given that it could be matched to continental counterparts, it may have signalled the individual's access to exotic objects and exchange/trade over a wider geographical area.

Object: Nail/Rivet

Overview: Four nails and one rivet have been found in various burials from Great Chesterford, Esx and Caistor by Norwich, Nfk. Three of those nails were hob nails, the other had a large head with the shaft missing. The rivet was dome headed. All of them were made of iron.

Classification: The nail and hook retrieved from Caistor by Norwich Nfk 8 were classified through W.H. Manning's (1985) typology of hooks and nails. The nail was of type 1 which is described as square sectioned tapering stem with a rounded or rectangular head while a similar example of rectangular sectioned hook with a slightly turned out tip could be found at Hod Hill, Dorset (see Manning 1985, 129, 134-5). The hobnails could be classified according to similar examples with a dome shaped head and short narrow stems found at the late Roman cemetery of Lankhills, Winchs. Hobnails are known from graves and deposits throughout the Roman period (see Clarke 1979, 322-3, 325).

Purpose: Hobnails were primarily used for the sole of Roman leather boots and depending on the shoe, the number of used hobnails in each grave greatly varied.

For example, at the cemetery at Lankhills, the graves 212, 238 and 294 contained fewer than 10 hob nails, while grave 14 contained more than 200; the average would lie between 10 to 100 hob nails per grave (Clarke 1979, 322). However, these occurred in different positions in inhumation graves at Great Chesterford, including near the skull, inside a pot and at mid waist, suggesting they had a use other than for footwear in these graves. The rivet was also placed in a pot with other objects, such as a bone comb fragment and cow vertebra. At Caistor by Norwich, the nail without shaft and the hook were found in the northern area of the grave and were perhaps previously used for some kind of functional purpose, perhaps as fittings for a leather item, but no details were recorded to verify this.

Social Intention: Two of the hobnails were placed in the graves of infants, the other with a middle-aged male adult inhumation, aged 35-45 years. The rivet was placed with a juvenile and the nail without shank at Caistor by Norwich with an unsexed double burial. It is difficult to discern if these items were scrap, residual or intentionally selected for the graves; however, the unusual amount of hob nails at Great Chesterford may be an indication of a localised practice.

Object: Bowl

Overview: Two bowls were found in this study area, an intact one was retrieved from Howletts Knt 2 and a piece of a flanged bronze bowl was discovered in the cremation burial Lackford Sfk 50.172A.

Classification: The bowl fragment at Lackford Sfk 50.172A could be classified as being Roman by comparison with similar examples found at the cemetery at Lankhills, Winchs. In particular the decorations on the pewter vessels appeared to be matching the design of the bronze bowl fragment (see Clarke 1979, 206, fig. 97). Unfortunately, no illustration has been provided for the bowl identified by Harrington (2008), although it has been interpreted as a curated Roman object.

Purpose: The bowl fragment was included in the cremation burial and given its fragmentary nature, it appears to be placed with the body during the cremation process. Thus, it might have been used as an accessory vessels holding liquids or food for the deceased. Although the exact position of the bowl at Howletts Knt 25 is not known, it could be suggested that it was used for similar purposes as the bowl

fragments during the funerary process. The significance of vessels in graves is further discussed in ch. 7.

Social Intention: The cremation could not be sexed and the inhumation burial at Howletts appears to be female gendered. However, vessels have been well recorded as part of Anglo-Saxon burial furnishings for both genders. In this regard, the significance of including copper-alloy bowls might not be related to gender or age, but rather formed part of the general funerary traditions in the early Anglo-Saxon period. This will be explored further in the succeeding chapters.

Object: Sword equipment

Overview: A sword hilt and guard and a scabbard mount were found in the graves at Lackford Sfk 49.582 and Riseley Knt 86. The hilt was made of ivory and the guard and scabbard mount were both manufactured from copper-alloy.

Classification: The hilt and guard were both classified by the excavator T.C. Lethbridge (1951), who could match an identical sword from the Roman fort at Richborough (see Lethbridge 1951, 16-7). Due to a lack of illustration, the sword scabbard from Riseley Knt 86 could not be further classified and the identification was taken from Harrington and Brookes (2008) database.

Purpose: The hilt and guard at Lackford were both found with a cremation, hence the exact location on the body is unknown. However, there is a strong possibility that the sword belonged to the individual and may have been used during the individual's life time. The scabbard mount holding the sword and including a sword bead was found along the left side under the arm, which is a characteristically position of swords included in graves (e.g. Härke 1992; 1998).

Social Intention: The cremation could not be further gendered, while the inhumation at Riseley 86 was that of a male adult. Sword graves are of special significance and confined to a specific group of individuals within communities; quite often they are defined through lavishly equipped graves and swords are regarded as items of prestige (see Härke's (1992) discussion on weapon burials and prominent graves such as Sutton Hoo (Bruce-Mitford 1978) and Snape (Pestell 2001)). Thus, swords in graves can be regarded as markers of identity and in the case of including Roman

manufactured swords and sword equipment, the act may have held some special meaning. Such ideas are explored in the succeeding chapters.

Object: Figurine

Overview: One figurine was found at Bradstow School Knt 5. The figurine is made of copper-alloy with incised lines, representing a female figure with bowed legs, a tunic around the hips and inward turned feet. The head is corroded and unidentifiable through iron residues.

Classification: The figurine was classified by Sue Harrington and Stuart Brookes (2008) as a curated Roman item and the array of female figurines identified by Walters (1899) in the British Museum agrees with such a classification.

Purpose: The exact location of the figurine within the grave is not known; however, given its unique nature as a female representation, it can be suggested that it carried special value within this grave.

Social Intention: The individual in this grave was that of a male sexed individual, aged 45+ years, buried with an array of gender neutral objects, such as box fitments, keys, a bronze ring, a knife and tweezers. Thus, the inclusion of the statue must have has some special significance for this particular individual, and such a find is very rare among both sexes.

4.15.1 Non-illustrated objects which could not be further classified but are of Roman origin according to the excavation reports

Objects: Cosmetic Grinder, Mount

Overview: Some of the objects identified as being Roman in this study were not illustrated, and therefore the classification was taken from the excavation reports provided by Sue Harrington and Stuart Brooke's (2008) Anglo-Saxon Kent Electronic Database. The inclusion of these objects is a demonstration of the wide array of Roman object circulation in early medieval times and the selection and choices early Anglo-Saxon communities made to incorporate Roman objects. All of these objects were single examples and could therefore not be compared with other items from the same category which were retrieved from Anglo-Saxon burials. These include a cosmetic grinder at Riseley Knt 69, which was described by Richardson (2005) as

bow-shaped object (Richardson 2005, 223), and a Gallo-Roman copper-alloy rim with Christian repoussée motifs from Temple Farm Knt 3.

Classification: The excavators have identified the copper-alloy rim and the bow shaped cosmetic grinder as Roman items, due to their style and decoration.

Purpose: The cosmetic grinder was found on the chest of the individual, with a hole for suspension. It might be therefore assumed that it hung around the neck and given its function, may have been used for cosmetic/medicinal purposes, or had a decorative purpose. The rim of the drinking horn was highly elaborate and given its use on a horn, probably served ceremonial activities.

Social Intention: The cosmetic grinder was included in the grave of a female gendered child, aged 3 to 6 years. Given that the object was found alongside three contemporary brooches, it might be suggested that these objects were inherited objects rather than items acquired in the child's life time, signalling the child's identity or association with a specific group. The rim of the drinking horn was included in a grave of a male gendered individual, based on its grave goods. It might be assumed that this inclusion was evidence for an antique-drinking horn placed beside the body. This was a lavishly equipped burial, including a sword, shield and spearhead and it is possible that the elaborate rim would have made a statement on the status of this specific individual, as would have been the case with the sword.

Fig. 4.14.1. Map of miscellaneous metal work distribution

4.15.2 Circulation patterns for miscellaneous metal objects

A fairly large number of miscellaneous Roman metal objects were found in graves across all four counties and although they varied in nature and use, it demonstrates that Roman material culture was still actively used for original or new purposes by post-Roman communities. Late-Roman metal hoarding might have played a significant part. This was a tradition unique to Britain and involved the personal collecting and hoarding of an array of metalwork, including coins, plates and

jewellery (Hobbs 2006, 53-8; Guest 2014; 2005, 125). Such collections might have been retrieved by post-Roman communities. Trade and circulation might also have played a part with metalwork, objects and scrap circulating in England and arriving from the continent (this might be particularly the case for objects such as the Gallo-Roman drinking horn rim from Temple Farm Knt 3). The contact between Kent and the continent is important given that the highest amount and variety of Roman artefactual evidence in early medieval graves is found in Kent. This could reflect close contacts with Francia and the trading or circulation of Roman metalwork across the Channel as well as connections between these two regions in terms of the reuse of Roman items in post-Roman dress and funerary fashions. As H.E.M. Cool (2014) suggests, the material culture before AD 410 did not abruptly end and changes in material culture largely depended on changes in fashion (see Cool 2014, 19-20). The abundant amount of Roman metalwork retrieved from Anglo-Saxon graves in the examined regions may support this idea of a time of transformation and change during which Roman items continued to be used and repurposed within changing fashions and customs.

4.16. Possible Roman objects: jet, lead and shale (Appendix A Table 4.15; Appendix B Figure 4.15)

Overview: 17 jet objects, 10 lead pieces and 8 shale fragments have been recorded across the examined regions. Of the 17 jet objects, 14 were beads and one bracelet, ring and spindle whorl were also recorded. Shale was primarily used for spindle whorls, as can be seen in 6 recorded specimen and one was a bracelet. The lead items consisted of 8 spindle whorls, one fragment, bead and plug.

Classification: The objects have been recorded as possibly Roman due to their fabric. Scholars have interpreted jet, shale and lead as material sourced from the late Roman period onwards (e.g. see Davis 1936; Calkin 1955; Earwood 1993). However, there is also evidence that raw material such as jet continued to be sourced in the early medieval period, specifically in Ireland and in Scotland (see Stevens 2018; Hunter 2008a/b). Western and eastern Scotland became also prominent during the proto-historic period, for the sourcing of coal, oil shale and

lignite (Hunter 2008, 198-201). However, here it is the form which is of significance. Shale armlets for example such as the one found at Orpington Knt 80, were a specifically Roman industry (see Calkin 1955) and the majority of spindle whorls of different fabrics appear to be quite symmetrical in shape, which might suggest that they were lathe turned, a manufacturing method primarily Roman (see here shale techniques described by Davis 1936; Alcock 1963; Comber 2008; Earwood 1993). Many of the shale objects are labelled “Kimmeridge oil shale”. Kimmeridge in Dorset is renowned for extensive industrial Roman activities and the identified objects are likely to have been the product of this industry (see Calkin 1955). The broken jet bead at Spong Hill Nfk 29 appeared to be lathe turned, as it has round edges and cylindrical in shape (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 78-9). Furthermore, the lead fragment from the smith’s grave Buckland Knt 265B was shaped in the form of a bird of prey and could perhaps have been a fragment of lead form used to create a mould for a zoomorphic brooch, a brooch category characteristic of the Roman period (Parfitt, Anderson 2012, 407-9). However, some production using jet-like materials carried on during the early medieval period and therefore these objects are classified in this study as ‘possibly Roman’, in order to provide a wider circulation picture of Roman objects in the early medieval period.

Purpose: The majority of objects were either used for textile manufacturing or as jewellery pieces. 13 spindle whorls were recovered, which were used for textile production and 19 items were personal adornments, including beads and bangles. The lead plug found in the cremation pot from Spong Hill Nfk 2545 might have had some ritualistic aspects. Lead plugs are frequently associated with cremation pots when a hole is deliberately punched into them and they are sealed with plugs, a tradition reaching back into the Iron Age (see Perry 2013, 89; Leahey 2007b; Huggins 1978; Webley and Anderson 2008; Green 2004 for similar examples).

Social Intention: The majority of jewellery and textile tools were found with female gendered graves, as 22 burials could be ascribed this gender. Three further inhumations were male gendered and two could not be gendered. In addition to this, four burials were cremations. 11 graves were adult inhumations, five were children and three juveniles, showing a slight variation in the age categories. However, it appears that most of the artefacts are associated with female adults, which is not as surprising given their functions. The shale bracelet, however, was found with a male

gendered child at Orpington Knt 80. The other four child burials included two spindle whorls and five jet beads (the inhumation grave at Boss Hall 313 included three jet beads as jewellery items), perhaps suggesting that the inclusion of these objects with children may have made a statement on the status of the individuals within the community or the items had apotropaic value (in reference on jet, see Pliny Natural history, in Bostock and Riley, 1855, 141-2).

Circulation patterns: As mentioned above, the main production centres for jet, lead and shale objects are the regions where the raw material is sourced naturally, including northern England, west and east Scotland and Dorset. This might be evidence for trade and exchange between the regions where the items naturally occur and those examined in this study. It is possible that these items were picked up at nearby Roman sites. However, the usage of these objects is reminiscent of Roman traditions, such as the association of bangles with child burials and lead plugs with cremation urns. It is possible that these items were thus curated and used in Roman-influenced rites and practices. The spindle whorls on the other hand might have been favoured due to their weight. Given the abundant amount of lead, jet and shale sourcing centres in Britain, it is possible these items are early medieval in date, but there are good Roman analogies. Whether curated or found objects, there is evidently a preference for including these in female graves.

4.16. Accessibility to Roman material

The accessibility to Roman material through the means of nearby Roman ruins need to be discussed here. It appears, that only a few Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were located near Roman structures. This is not to say that there may be undiscovered Roman features in short proximity to the other sites discovered in the study area; however, it provides a starting point for comparing the amount of Roman objects found in graves and the accessibility of curated material from prominent Roman sites. Table 4.15. presents the sites that were located near Roman structures.

Table 4.15. Anglo-Saxon cemeteries near Roman sites

Cemetery site	**Dates occupied**	**Roman site**	**Roman site occupied**	**Distance**
Barber's Point, Esx	early 7th to 8th century	Barber's Point, seasonal occupation, 22,200 Roman greyware found	1st to 3rd century AD	Found at site
Great Chesterford, Esx	5th to 6th century	Roman town Great Chesterford, Roman cemetery and graves	1st to 5th century AD	North-west of town and next to cemetery
Harford Farm, Nfk	7th to 8th century	Roman field system	3rd/4th century	Within cemetery plot
Mill Hill Deal, Knt	6th century	40 Iron Age and Roman graves, Roman ditch and complex of shallow quarry pits	Abandoned in 4th century	South-west from cemetery
Mucking, Esx	First half of the 5th century to the 7th century	Roman settlement	---	North-end and south-end of site
Shrubland Hall Quarry, Coddenham, Sffk	7th to 8th century	Roman field systems associated with Roman town *Combretovium*	1st to 4th century	South-east from site
Springfield Lyons, Esx	Mid-5th - 8th century AD	Several Roman settlements, pottery and tiles found at site	Not specified	Vicinity of Springfield area
Morning Thorpe, Norfolk	5th to 7th century	Roman settlement/farmstead	2nd to 4th century	West of cemetery
Spong Hill, Norfolk	Mid-5th to 6th century	Trackway, enclosures, farmstead, pottery kiln, evidence for iron smelting and crop processing	1st to 4th century	Also on site
Crundale, Ashford, Knt	5th to 7th century	Roman cremations	Unknown	Within the site
Temple Farm, Strood, Knt	6th to 7th century	Roman cremation cemetery	Unknown	Within the site
Caistor by Norwich, Nf	5th to 7th century	Roman town Venta Icenorum	2nd to 4/5th century	c. 335m south-east of Roman east gate
Nazeingbury, Esx	7th to 9th century	Roman settlement	1st to 4th century	Immediate next to site
North Stifford, Nfk	6th to 8th century	Roman occupation, pottery in fill in area A, Roman burials in area D	1st to 2nd century	Within the site

Bloodmoor Hill, Sfk	Mid- to Late 7th century	Roman settlement and enclosure system with small pits and surface heaps	2nd to 3rd century	At the site

All of these cemeteries showed low numbers in the frequency of Roman items deposited in graves, which is in stark contrast to cemeteries with higher amounts of Roman objects, such as Buckland, Knt. There is no definitive evidence for Roman sites in the vicinity of the cemetery, but the burial site is situated within a few miles from the Roman port *Dubris* and the site is connected via the river Dour. As the closest land mass to the continent, the port has been an important trading route and part of the Saxon Shore (e.g. Threipland 1957, Philp 1971). It is possible that the circulation patterns of Roman material were enhanced by this trading post which provided an important trade and exchange route between Kent and the continent. The location of the sites that are potentially connected to trade routes could be an indication that the Roman material included in these assemblages are not solely related to scavenging activities, but that they were an integral part in the material culture of Anglo-Saxon communities. It is also important to note that the material need not have come from proximity of sites or through continental exchange. A flow of old Roman items and fragments may have been established through local curation and exchange systems. Whether scavenged, curated or imported, these items clearly retained significance leading to their use in these assemblages.

The high amount of Roman objects identified in these cemeteries suggests that the objects were not the result of scavenger hunts, but sourced from elsewhere. This is particularly evident when examining the care that has was taken to curate and repurpose certain items for visual display (see chapter 6). As the discussion above has demonstrated, some of the items were fairly unusual and prestigious. Thus, it seems unlikely that these are items retrieved from abandoned kilns or industrial complexes, but people appear to have had the ability to access a general flow of particular items and scrap material and were handing these items on from one generation to the next.

By discussing objects found in the fill, Chapter 7 will discuss possibilities of residuality in more detail. However, as will be observed, objects that are residual from nearby sites were also selected and made use of (see section 7.2.2).

4.18. Summary

The above discussion has demonstrated that there was an abundant amount of Roman objects in circulation and many had been deposited in graves during the early Anglo-Saxon period. The motives for inclusion varied. The most frequently included objects were coins, glass and pottery, which might come as no surprise, as these items would have being the most common in circulation in the Roman period and would thus have remained more available in the late Roman and early medieval era in circulation or from Roman sites. H.E.M Cool (2014) argues that post-Roman societies continued to make use of everyday life objects and structures (Cool 2014, 19-21). Furthermore, she suggests that society was continually transforming, taking up varied and different fashion trends, and that the use and disuse of specific material culture should be regarded as logical outcomes for these trends (Cool 2014, *ibid.).* In addition to this, Ken Dark (2014) observed that in western British sites between the 5th and 6th centuries, a consistent range of artefacts can be traced, consisting of pottery, glass vessels, metalwork, organic artefacts, combs, dress pins, plaques and handles as well as stone objects (Dark 2014, 29). The Roman objects identified in this study of south-eastern and eastern England fall into these categories and it might be possible to suggest that this reflects broader trends in usage in the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

This chapter has described all the classes of object recovered from Anglo-Saxon burials in Kent, Essex and East Anglia and has offered a brief discussion for each on purpose, social intention and circulation patterns. Three strong themes are apparent in the data collected and presented here and these are the presence of concealed Roman items in graves, openly displayed Roman objects on the corpse, and items included in graves that have non-costume applications. In the next three chapters the objects presented in here are discussed, contextualised and interpreted according to these three thematic categories. In doing so I argue that early medieval populations had access to a variety of old Roman objects but that they used them with clear preferences, making specific choices with regards to use and inclusion. These objects played a significant role in identity creation as objects of status,

economic significance and symbolic and magical value, as well as carrying a significance as curated and heirloom curios.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCEALED ROMAN OBJECTS

5.1. Introduction

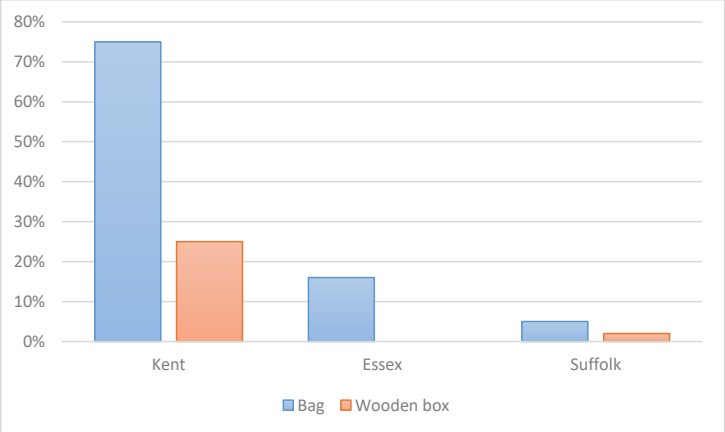
Roman objects in early medieval grave assemblages are primarily found as part of the dress or costume as adornments and jewellery items, or they are located in bag collections or in wooden containers. Bag collections are groups of objects found with inhumations that seem to have been held in organic bags or pouches worn by or accompanying the deceased. More rarely within the corpus of graves discussed here, Roman items have also been found in inhumation graves within wooden containers or boxes. The Roman material present in these bag- and box collections were thus concealed in enclosed assemblages and differ to the items displayed more openly on the body of the deceased or within the grave. These 'concealed collections' comprise unusual combinations of material, hidden from view. These two categories of material — Roman items from bags and those from boxes — are considered here together as a group.

5.2. Bags and boxes containing Roman material

From the entire corpus of graves including Roman objects studied, some 14 % (44 in total) included evidence for Roman material that was held in bags or boxes in graves. Of those, 32 bags and 12 wooden containers were recognised as an element of male and female grave good assemblage in the early Anglo-Saxon period (for regional comparison, see Fig. 5.1). Audrey Meaney considers some of these items to hold magical properties (Meaney 1981, 239). Bag assemblages are usually found by the deceased at the waist, knees or hip (see Appendix A Table 5.1.). Boxes are identified in inhumation graves by the presence of the metal fittings that held together the wooden panels or parts (see Fig. 5.4. for the number of graves containing boxes). Box fittings are usually found near the feet of the deceased in inhumation graves (see Appendix A Table 5.2).

A total of 44 graves were identified from 20 cemeteries where Roman objects were included in concealed collections. 65 Roman objects were found within bag collections and 20 Roman items were placed in boxes. There were no apparent occurrences in Norfolk where Roman material was curated in such a way.

Fig. 5.1. Frequency of bags and wooden boxes containing Roman items in the study area (percentage from the total of bags and boxes containing Roman items)



The inclusion of bags and boxes in graves was a relatively rare fashion in comparison to the other ways artefacts were included as grave goods. Bags and wooden containers were used across the full corpus of cemeteries included in this project but they were present in just 3% of the total corpus of inhumation graves (173 graves from an overall corpus of 5310 graves).

Fig. 5.2.a. Bags in total in comparison to bags containing Roman items (shown in percentages from the total amount of graves in each cemetery)

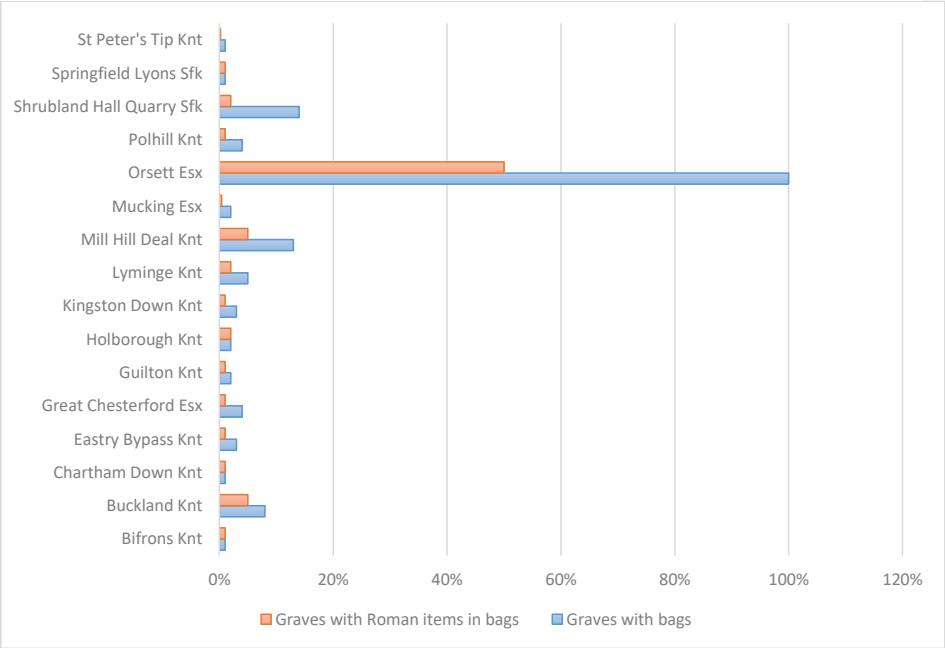
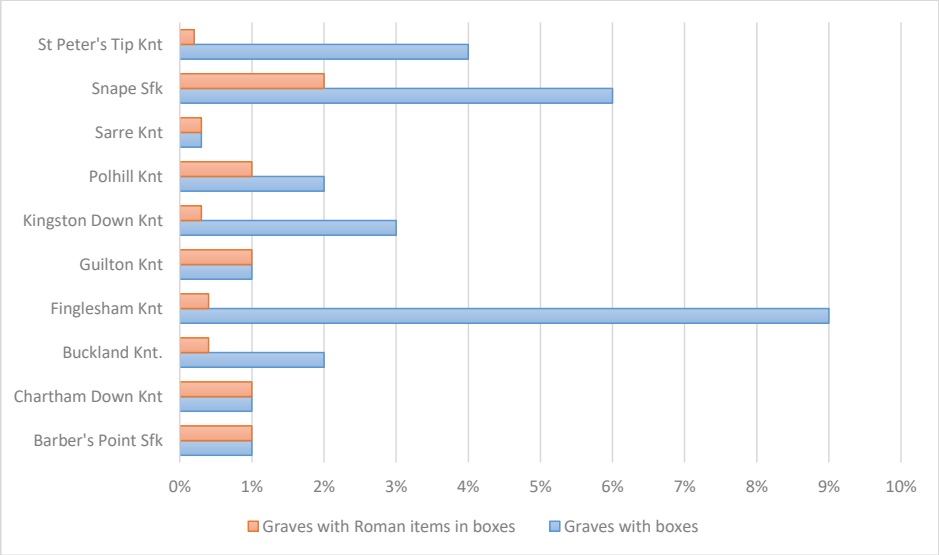


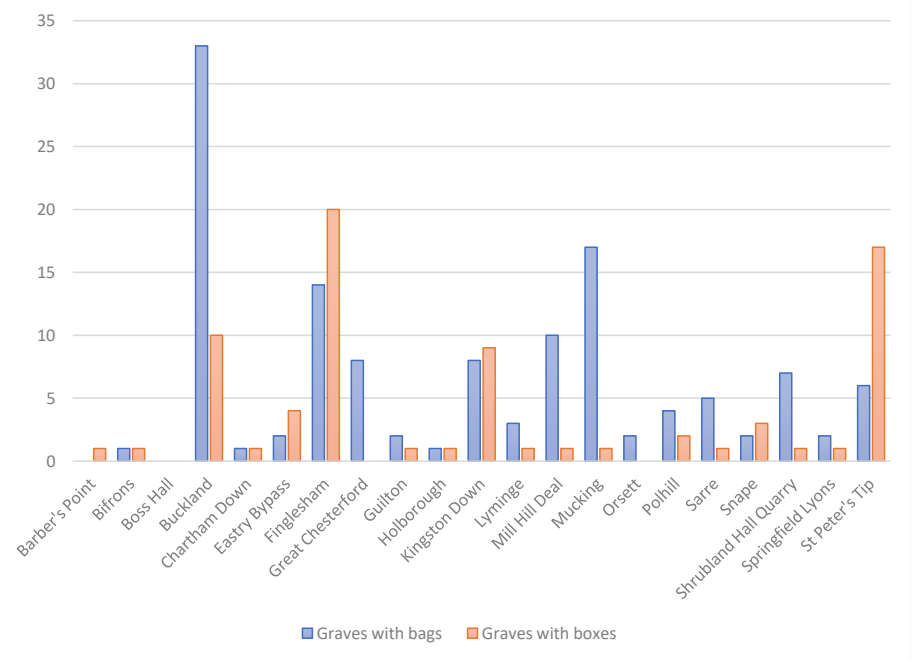
Fig. 5.2.b. Boxes in total in comparison to bags containing Roman items (shown in percentages from the total amount of graves in each cemetery)



Bag collections are generally identified through organic remains or textile impressions on objects (see as examples Buckland Knt 204, Kingston Down Knt, 299 or Mucking I Esx 100). A total of 116 bags were recorded across the regions (see Fig.5.2.a.). On occasion, particular sets of items were found in clusters which have been generally identified as bag collections (see here Meaney 1981, old items included in bag collections, 148-151). The overall number of wooden containers present in inhumation graves in this study area comprised of just c. 10% (57) of the graves examined (see Fig.5.2.b) . The majority of these examples seem to have been made of wood as suggested by the presence of metal fittings or residues. Bags were thus more common within inhumation graves, although both rites were evident in some cemeteries.

On the whole boxes usually occurred within graves dated to the late 6th and 7th centuries AD. On two occasions bags and boxes were found in a single burial, namely Buckland Knt 141 and St. Peter's Tip Knt 323. However, in most cases, no single burials within the study area contained both a bag collection and a box collection. This seems to suggest a change in emphasis in inhumation rites in the late 6th century in terms of including closed assemblages of material within boxes placed separately from the body, rather than material in bags perhaps worn as part of the dress of the deceased. However, the good preservation of wood and box traces at St. Peter's Tip Knt cemetery, may account for this apparent divergence (Klevnäs 2010, 87). Fig. 5.3. provides a comparison of bags and boxes found in this study area, suggesting that generally, a higher proportion of bags were included in inhumation graves.

Fig. 5.3. Graves with bags in comparison to graves with containers (shown in total numbers recorded)

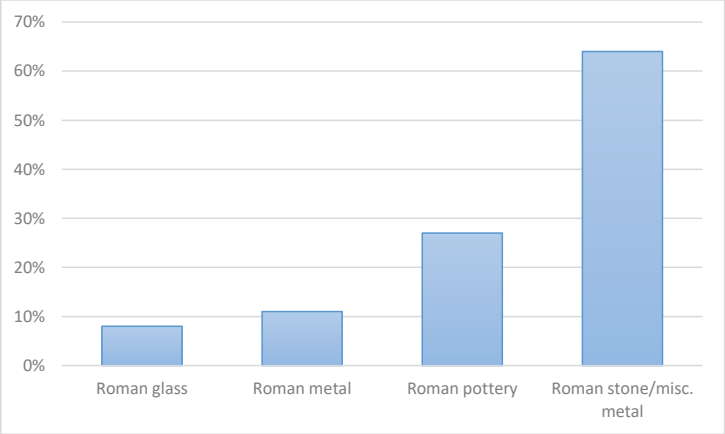


5.3 The Roman finds

A total of 72 Roman objects were identified in bag collections. Nearly 70% of these were metal items (49 in total), glass and stone/miscellaneous metal items were also represented, but in lower numbers (18 glass items and 5 stone/miscellaneous objects). Just one fragment of Roman pottery was present in the form of a spindle whorl in the grave Boss Hall Sfk 32. By comparison, just 21 Roman objects were identified in box collections. These assemblages were more varied as just under half of the items were metal, while six glass fragments, four ceramic sherds and three stone objects accounted for the rest. To put these figures in perspective, across the entire cemetery/grave corpus considered here, proportionally Roman metal objects account for 11% (out of 2040), glass for 8% (out of 708), ceramic 27% (out of 361) and stone/miscellaneous metal 64% (out of 39), suggesting that Roman stone/misc. metal and ceramic objects were more frequent choices. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, Roman stone objects cannot be classified for certain. In addition to this,

proportionally metal and glass objects occur more frequently in bag collections and so the higher incidence of these Roman materials may reflect their more common inclusion in these kinds of assemblages (see Fig. 5.4).

Fig.5.4. Roman objects included in the graves in box and bag collections according to fabric (in percentage from the total amount of pottery, glass and stone/misc. metal objects included in bags and boxes)

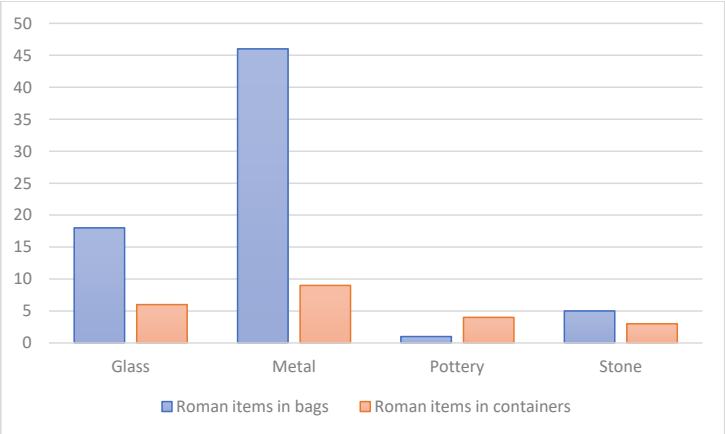


It seems from the evidence available here, that including Roman items in bags may have been a popular and or accessible fashion in the 6th century and that this changed over time. Containers or boxes appeared in the late 6th and 7th centuries in lower numbers in graves, but these appear to have performed the same role as bags in terms of containing Roman objects and other items, although the numbers of Roman objects present was lower.

5.3.1. Object types and materials in bag collections

As briefly mentioned above, the greatest proportion of concealed Roman objects were metal, with glass a closely favoured second. This is reflected in both bag and container assemblages (see fig. 5.5.).

Fig.5.5. Roman objects made of different fabrics found in bags and containers (shown in total numbers)



Out of 49 identified metal objects contained in bags, 36 were Roman coins (77%). Of those, 16 coins were found in association with other forms and fragments of scrap metal, while one bag contained only two coins (see Buckland Knt 427A). In addition to this, broken brooch fragments from Polhill Knt 53, Mucking I and II, Esx 100 and 650, were also present in the metal collections (Philp 1973, 178; Hirst and Clark 2009, 360-1; Hirst and Clark 2009, 112, 115). Of the coins, 10 in total were identified as late Roman, minted in the 4th century AD, while seven dated to the 3rd century AD.

Quite frequently, multiple coins were found deposited in bags. Out of 10 bags that included metal scrap, 50 % (5 of 10) of the coins were found as pairs, triplets or quartets. In addition to this, the broken brooch fragments were also associated with clusters of metal scrap. This might indicate that Roman coins and Roman metal objects such as brooches or brooch fragments carried similar values, perhaps in economic or ideological terms. The individuals buried with bags containing these items were largely adults, and in the majority of cases the human remains were identified as female gendered (7 female: 2 male: 3 unsexed adults). The graves of two children were found to contain a bag with coins and metal scrap (see Buckland, Knt 392 and Mucking II, Esx 650). In these instances, one coin was found with an unsexed child at Buckland Knt and a 1st-century bow brooch with a pin missing was buried with a female child at Mucking II, Esx 650. In both examples the bags

contained metal scrap. Taking into account that over half of the adult graves contained multiple coins with scrap and only one child grave in this study area included a single coin, it is possible that the individual contents of the bag collections may have been accrued during an individuals' lifetime .

The coins present in these bag collections are largely of late Roman origin, Richard Reece interprets these as fairly homogenous in late Roman Britain (see Reece 2003, 142-3). Furthermore, Rob Collins (2007) analysed coin loss at military sites and suggested that 2nd and 3rd century coin issues decreased in circulation during the late 4th century, while coins of the House of Constantine were predominately found (Collins 2007, 128-9). These patterns also occur in the coin issues included in bags within the examined graves. This might suggest that circulation of such material continued in the late Roman and post Roman eras, and while these coins may no longer have carried a monetary value by the 6th and 7th centuries, perhaps along with the scrap metal included with them, they either carried some purpose in terms of recycling, manufacturing or reuse, or a symbolic value as old items associated with monetary, or other forms of, exchange.

As has been mentioned above, brooch fragments were also recorded in these bag collections as well as metal scrap (see Table 5.3). These finds were in a fragmentary state, some of them missing their pins or had broken catch plates. Every example of this artefact type was found in association with a burial that was either biologically sexed as female or assumed as female based on the gendered nature of the entire assemblage. Given that old Roman brooches were also found with early medieval burials as dress items, for example at Mucking, Esx, where a woman was buried in the 5th to early 6th centuries with two late Roman bow brooches on the chest (Hirst and Clark 2009, 220, gr. 989), it seems certain that such things had a meaning for wearer, giver and viewer. What is interesting here in terms of brooch fragments in bags is that like late Roman and Roman coins, even fragments of old brooches seem to have retained a special use and meaning leading to their inclusion in such collections with the dead. Again, it is possible these fragments were intended for recycling but may equally have carried a symbolic value and monetary value too.

Table 5.3. Overview of metal finds in bags and their associations

Grave	Object	Date	Other grave goods
Buckland Knt 427A	Silvered copper-alloy radiate Tetricus I, silvered copper-alloy nummus Constantine I	AD 270-273 AD 310-2	None
Buckland Knt 391B	Silvered copper-alloy radiate of Tetricus I x 2	AD 270-273	Iron lead fragments, nails
Buckland Knt 138	Constans	AD 333 – 335	two copper-alloy S-shaped hooks, a copper-alloy tab, copper-alloy band fragments, a Knife, an iron shaft and a small fragments of iron looped rods at the left hip
Buckland Knt 351B	Silvered copper-alloy nummus of Magnentius,	AD 350-353	Iron knife, cast copper-alloy ~~ear-ring~~earring with polyhedral terminal, iron pin
Buckland Knt 392	silvered copper-alloy nummus, Constans.	AD 347-348	Copper-alloy rectangular sheet, plain, with traces of gilding on surface
Bifrons Knt 41	Carausius Contantine I Constantius II Urbs Roma	AD 287 – 293 AD 308 – 310 AD 337 – 347 AD 333- 335,	Copper-alloy finger ring, a shale counter, a glass fragment, an iron knife, key and two rings
Mucking Esx -789	Silver radiates of Postumus x 3 Silver radiate of Tetricus I	AD 260-9 AD 271-4	Three fragments of copper-alloy sheet, a lump of solder, iron fire steel fragments, flint flake
Buckland Knt 428	Divus Claudius type, silvered copper-alloy radiate, details illegible (pierced), silvered copper-alloy nummus, GLORIA ESXERCITVS. Details illegible	AD 270s- 280s, Late 3rd century AD AD 300-335	Glass vessel Copper-alloy belt plate fragment

Lyminge Knt 1	Constantine I	AD 308 - 310	Iron Knife; pair of Copper-alloy tweezers
Shrubland Hall Quarry Sfk 30	House of Valentinian (nummus)	AD 367-375	Copper-alloy bag fitting, two copper-alloy bag fittings, copper-alloy strap end, silver sceat, copper-alloy suspension ring and attachment
Polhill Knt 53	Bow brooch of Colchester Camulodunum type IV imperfect with a pin missing	1st century AD	Iron ferrule with attached iron ring
Mucking II Esx 650	Bow brooch with solid head loop, short grooved wings, rosette shaped stud on head and moulded flat-bottomed foot, pin catch broken off	1st century AD	Incomplete iron loop, flat cu plate, iron object, flat tapering iron strip, small iron knife
Mucking 100	Broken copper-alloy bow brooch (Armbrustfibel)	Late 4th century AD	Iron Knife

Roman coins in bag collections were also frequently found in association with unusual items such as bones, teeth, fossils and shells. Beads were also present. In this study, seven bags included coins with peculiar items, while 13 bags included coins associated with metal scrap. One of the bags included a single coin in association with a glass assemblage.

Table 5.4. Overview of Roman coins associated with peculiar objects

Grave	Coin Type	Dating of grave	Other grave goods
Buckland Knt 205	silvered copper-alloy nummus possibly from Constantine II with a chipped edge	AD 330 - 335	Fossil shark's tooth and fragments of a copper-alloy
Buckland Knt 204	Vespasian debased silver copper-alloy radiate with broken perforation	AD 69-79 3rd century AD	Shale spindle whorl, a small grey oval stone pebble, a marine shell, iron and copper chatelaine and the

			remains of two hooked keys
Buckland Knt 141	Denarius of Clodius Albinus	AD 193	Knife, S-shaped copper-alloy wire, iron pin fragment, perforated shell pendant, beads, copper-alloy S-hook and fragments of iron pins
Buckland Knt 408	Dupondius of Aurelius; defaced coin through hammering	AD 161-180; 1st to 2nd century AD	Fossil bead
Mill Hill, Deal Knt 105c	heavily worn coin	illegible	A disc brooch, wire loop, strap end, fittings, rivets, rods, a spring, a circular garnet case setting and a circular piece of greenish cut bone and a cut of a half tooth
Kingston Down Knt 299	Claudius Caesar Carausius (perforated)	AD 41-54 AD 287-293	Copper gilt fragment of a rim binding from an organic vessel, a bone counter and an irregular piece of yellowish earth with a hole in it, used as a bead
Great Chesterford Esx 111	Claudius II deified (two perforations)	c. AD 270-1	One small roughly shaped amber bead

Some of these coins were altered. Three 3rd-century coins were recovered from Great Chesterford Esx 111, Kingston Down Knt 299 and Buckland Knt 204, all showing some alterations in forms of broken or unbroken perforations indicating that they may have been used as pendants before being included in bag assemblages (Evison 1994, 106; Roach Smith 1856, 91). Three coins also showed heavy wear, hammering or clipping (see here Buckland, Knt 204; 205; 408; Mill Hill, Deal, Knt 105c), suggesting that these were intensively used for different purposes before they became part of bag assemblages.

There was a slightly higher variation of coin issues within particular bag selections. While no 1st-century coin issues were identified within bags with the metal scrap, three coins associated with unusual organic items dated to the 1st century AD (see Buckland Knt 204; 408; Kingston Down Knt 299). Two coins from this bag selection dated to the 2nd century (see Buckland Knt 141 and 408) and three were 3rd century issues (see Buckland, Knt 204; Kingston Down Knt 299 and Great Chesterford Esx 111). In contrast to the previous discussed metal scarp assemblages, where the majority of coins were late-4th-century issues (10 out of 18 coins), only one coin was identified as a 4th-century issue at Buckland Knt 205 and included in a collection containing a fossil's shark tooth and some copper-alloy fragments. This coin, however, was altered, as it showed a chipped edge (Parfitt and Anderson 2012, 387). Given the careful selection of coins within these assemblages and their associated material, it might be suggested that the contents of these two different bags were intended for different purposes. This is aligned with Audrey Meaney's (1981) observation of five instances where coins issued from the 1st to 2nd centuries were found with amuletic material, such as hair and fossils (Meaney 1981, 148).

In addition to coins and scrap metal fragments, fragments of glass, beads or small tools; semi-precious stones were on occasion also found in these bag collections (Table 5.5.).

Table 5.5. Glass and semi-precious stones in bags

Grave	Type	Details	Other grave goods
Buckland Knt 15	Glass sherd, antoninianus of Carausius	Curved vessel fragment of thick blue-green glass AD 287 – 293	Perforated copper-alloy band fragment, beads
Buckland Knt 48	Glass fragment	Light green glass fragment part of folded lip or base	Knife, copper-alloy fragment from a bowl rim, copper-alloy strip, part of iron diamond, iron disc and beads
Buckland Knt 350B	Shoulder from glass bottle	Fragment of glass vessel. Small naturally -coloured blue green fragment	Three fragments of iron, cast copper-alloy shoe shaped stud with pierced attachment lug
Buckland Knt 326	Bead made of a rim sherd	Made from rim of a Roman vessel,	Fragment of iron ring, copper-alloy annular brooch, copper-alloy

		translucent blue green in colour	mount or patch, copper-alloy wrist clasp, iron knife, oval open iron ring, iron pin, iron pin
Buckland Knt 238B	Glass fragment x 2	Window glass	Copper-alloy rod with broken ends
Buckland Knt 367	Handle	Fragment of glass vessel, handle sherd from bottle in naturally coloured blue green glass, folded on one side	Iron knife, copper-alloy tweezers, small indistinct iron object
Buckland Knt 407	Jasper intaglio, silvered copper-alloy nummus from Crispus	Oval, with a bevelled edge AD 317 – 326	None
Eastry Knt 18	Glass sherd Constantine II	Window AD 330 - 335	Riveted iron fragment
Mucking II Esx 935	Base of a glass bottle Glass sherd Copper-alloy sesterius of Antoninus Pius	Translucent green blue thin colourless translucent AD 138-61	Copper-alloy strap end
Mill Hill Deal Knt 86	Glass sherd	Window	Iron fragments including a bent rod, a copper-alloy broken needle point, an iron pin, a fossil brachiopod and a bead
Mill Hill Deal Knt 95	Glass sherd	Foot of glass vessel	Iron ring, a copper-alloy small quoit brooch, a fragment of a hooked shaped key and an iron knife
St. Peter's Tip Knt 135	Glass sherd		Copper-alloy tweezers, an iron artefact and amber bead

St. Peter's Tip Knt 323	Two glass sherds		Bag/Pouch; cowrie shell, fruit stone/nutshell fragment, copper-alloy wire ring, limpets, iron box fitments, textile fragments from key (wool)
Mill Hill Knt Sk25	Spindle whorl	Shale	Iron knife, hooked ends of iron rods
Adisham Down Knt 38	Spindle Whorl	Lead	Ceramic vessel, iron buckle, round piece of lead, urn of reddish earth with one handle, fragment of iron knife, openwork leather fragment with copper-alloy hook
Boss Hall Sfk 32	Ceramic spindle whorl	Made from a sherd of Roman greyware pottery, probably a base sherd,	Wrist clasps, copper-alloy disc, copper-alloy object, Fragment of iron rod, Fragment of copper-alloy sheet
Orsett Esx CF9	Drum-shaped bead of Kimmeridge shale	Traces of iron fitting remaining in the central perforation	Copper-alloy ring shaped collar of sub rectangular cross section; Copper-alloy flat curved strip; two iron ring fragments; complex of iron linked elements from a chatelaine; complex of iron objects with traces of textiles adhering; iron linked element from a chatelaine; two fragmentary iron elements
Holborough Knt 7	Copper-alloy spatula	Rod missing	Iron buckle loop, copper-alloy buckle, small copper-alloy buckle, two shapeless fragments of iron rust
Chartham Down Knt 26	Copper-alloy spoon/spatula	Organic remains	Iron buckle, iron Knife

In total 19 graves from 10 cemeteries were found to include either glass scrap, semi-precious stones or tools in bag collections. Glass fragments, which could include vessel and bead fragments, were frequently found in association with scrap metal and on three occasions with Roman coins (see Buckland, Knt 15, Eastry Knt 18 and Mucking II, Esx 935). These coins were singular finds and their date range varied from the 1st century to the 4th century AD. When coins occurred with glass fragments, the bags were also associated with an elongated, perforated metal fragment. For example, Buckland, Knt 15 contained a copper-alloy perforated band, Eastry Knt 18 included a riveted iron fragment and at Mucking II, Esx 935 a perforated strap end was associated with both objects. These bands and the strap end may have been used as means to close an existing bag. Grave Buckland, Knt 15 also included beads in its pouch, it might be therefore suggested that glass fragments and 'old' coins were kept separate from other objects on the body. The glass primarily consisted of naturally coloured glass fragments, which may be an indication that raw glass was favoured for the inclusion in these collections (see chapter 6). From the 12 bags that contained glass fragments, five were associated with female gendered individuals. These could be divided further into three adults, one juvenile and one mature individual. The remaining graves were unsexed, however, Buckland Knt 367 was the grave of a male gendered individual. The associated bag contained a glass handle alongside copper-alloy tweezers, an iron knife and an iron object (Parfitt, Andersen 2012, 429). It can be suggested that the collection and inclusion of glass fragments might be a primarily female gendered activity.

Three bags contained spindle whorls alongside a variety of other objects, including iron knives, metal scraps and potsherds (see Adisham Down Knt 38, Mill Hill Deal, Sk25b Knt and Boss Hall, Sfk 32). These collections belonged to female adult inhumations and given the objects usage for textile working, it can be suggested that they were used for functional purposes. A similar argument can be made for the bags containing tools (see Holborough Knt 7 and Chartham Down, Knt 26). In both graves, copper-alloy spatulas were found with organic remains associated with knives and copper-alloy buckles. In these instances, the bags may have been used as a protective layer for the instruments and they were suspended from the belt together with knives and other objects. No gender could be ascribed to Chartham Down, Knt 26, however, Holborough Knt 7 was the grave of a male adult. These

particular bags contained tools and utensils that may have been associated with the occupation of the individuals within their communities, such as textile working, mixing specific tinctures or other remedies.

Two bags were individual cases that did not match the patterns discussed previously. At Orsett, Esx gr. CF9 included a bead made of Kimmeridge shale in a bag together with iron fragments, suspended from a chatelaine (Hedges, Buckley 1985, 123). The bead showed traces of iron fittings in the centre of perforation, suggesting that it must have been suspended previously before it was placed in the bag alongside other fragments. Perhaps this bead was a keepsake from a previous necklace from the unsexed owner.

The bag from the female adult at gr. 407 at Buckland, Knt contained a coin from Crispus, AD 317 - 326 and an oval jasper intaglio with a bevelled edge (Parfitt, Anderson 2012, 440). It is interesting to note that this particular bag did not contain any other objects, suggesting that it was a collection of 'old' items. However, given that the coin was a 4th-century issue and the intaglio a semi-precious stone, it might be suggested that the particular contents of this bag may have held some economic value, similar to the bags with the coin collections. This might be supported by the fact that intaglios appear to be rare within this study area, with only seven examples known from graves (see ch.4 for more details).

In summary, the observations made here suggest that bags were used in three particular ways:

- To hold a collection of items with economic value, either for monetary purposes or for scrap that could be reworked;
- To contain items with special or magical properties;
- To include utensils and tools relevant to the social status or occupation of particular individuals.

5.3.2 Object types and materials in box collections

In comparison only 12 out of a total of 44 (27 %) graves included evidence that suggested that the excavated Roman items had been deposited in a box. The majority of these examples contained glass items or fragments rather than metal, but

in four instances Roman ceramic items and two Roman stone/miscellaneous metal objects were also present. These included circular potsherds, a shale spindle whorl and a marble fragment (see Buckland Knt 60, St. Peter's Tip Knt 297/a and Snape Sfk 47) (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6. Overview of Roman material and associated objects in boxes

Grave	Object	Other objects
Sarre Knt 4	Two coins, Marcus Aurelius and an illegible coin due to heavy wear	Large crystal ball, two long fibula, two fragments of copper-alloy ferule, with wood remains; fragments of a silver binding or edging with wood remains; silver wire; copper-alloy buckle; two small rivets; fragments of comb; copper-alloy pin with head lost,; fossil echinus,.
Buckland Knt 60	Flat disc of Roman pottery, a disc shaped shale spindle whorl	Key, Iron diamond, roughly shaped amber bead, animal tooth
Buckland Knt 266	Window glass, glass body bottle fragment, marble fragment	Iron rod, broken at one end, U-shaped iron staple with Ash wood remains attached to both sections
Gilton Knt 94	Mirror, mixed metal, flat and circular	Two iron casket hinges, iron object. white metal ring, copper-alloy object, several pieces of iron
Finglesham Knt 163	Cylindrical neck of a Roman glass vessel, probably a bottle	Clay spindle-whorl
Snape Sfk 47	Foot ring of Roman greyware	Large comb, rivets with fibre, leather, iron and organic material, silver of horn, wood and iron fitting
Barber's Point Sfk 6039	Two glass fragments	Cowrie shell, pierced sea orchin fossil, irregular amber bead, miniature Iron Age terret ring
Kingston Knt 222	Copper-alloy Key	Wood remains and two iron hinges as casket, several nails
St Peter's Tip Knt 56	Two glass fragments	Iron box fitments
St. Peter's Tip Knt 161	Four copper-alloy keys	Seven iron keys, ivory ring, copper-alloy bracelet, copper-alloy ring, copper-alloy suspension loop, box fitments
St. Peter's Tip Knt 297/a	Two potsherds	Iron box fitments

Coins have rarely been found associated with boxes assemblages: only one box from a grave at Sarre Knt 4 included two coins: a coin from Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180) and an illegible coin. Scrap metal was also present as well as a fragment of a bone comb and a polished fossil echinus (Brent 186, 310 -314). At Snape, Sfk

grave 47 included an Anglo-Saxon antler comb alongside the foot ring of a Roman grey ware vessel (Pestell 2001,99-111); two Roman glass pieces were found at Finglesham Knt 163 with a clay spindle whorl (Chadwick-Hawkes, Grainer 2006, 114-5). At Gilton Knt, grave 94 included a box that held a Roman mirror and iron objects (Roach-Smith 1856, 30). A more elaborate collection containing four Roman copper-alloy keys was identified at St Peter's Tip Knt in grave 161. Here box fittings suggest that there was a container and this seems to have held seven iron keys, an ivory ring, a copper-alloy bracelet, a copper-alloy ring and a copper-alloy suspension loop (Harrington and Brooks 2008).

Wooden boxes were included in equal numbers in adult and juvenile graves, but just one was associated with a male grave that was identified by gendered goods rather than biological sex (for an in-depth discussion on gender and age correlation see section 5.4.).

Although a fairly small sample, the greater frequency of glass than metal items in these box collections is interesting, and could point to the significance or status of old glass as a material in the early Anglo-Saxon period and a preference for this material particularly in the late 6th and 7th centuries. As Figs 5.6. and 5.7. show, these graves are largely later in date than the corpus of graves containing bag assemblages with Roman items.

Fig. 5.6. Dating of graves including Roman objects in bags (shown in total numbers)

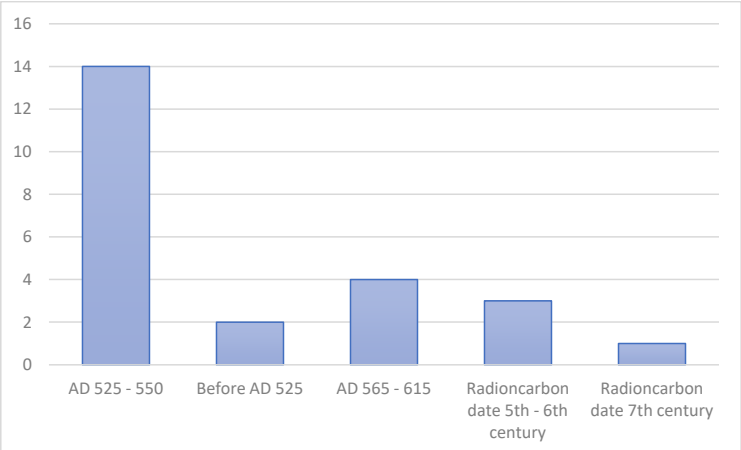
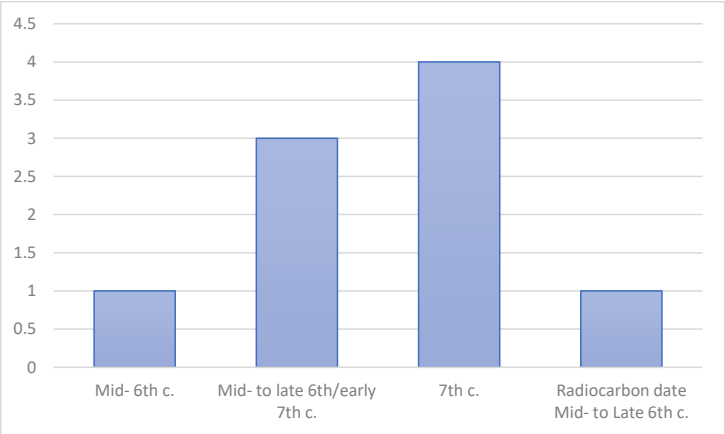


Fig. 5.7. Dating of graves with Roman objects in containers (shown in total numbers)



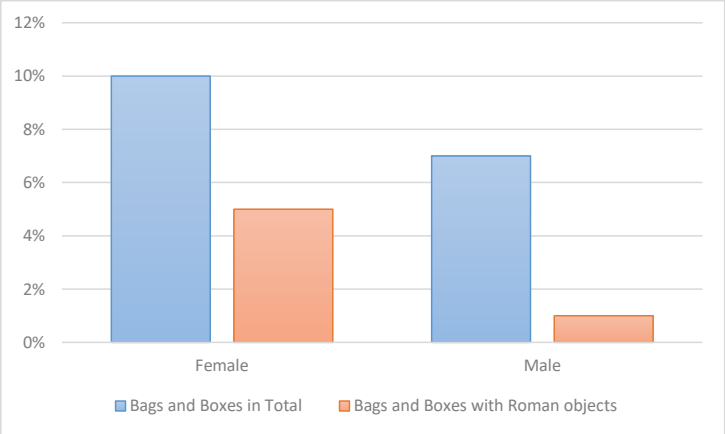
The inclusion of a box within graves may have been a prestige act in the late 6th and 7th centuries given their comparative rarity in grave assemblages in the study regions considered here, but it is interesting that fewer objects were concealed in boxes than in bag assemblages. Of course, we may be missing textiles and other organic items from boxes, but it is interesting to note that boxes also contained unusual items, alongside old Roman bits and pieces. For example, four boxes contained animal teeth, sea shells, fossils, plant remains and or crystals (see Sarre Knt 4, Buckland Knt 60, Snape Sfk 47 and Barber's Point Sfk 6039), suggesting that in these particular situations, boxes could have been used to hold objects with magical properties perhaps. However, it appears that the majority of objects contained in these wooden boxes have some functional use and consist of tools and utensils. This contrasts with the three different interpretations provided for the use of bags discussed above (see section 5.2.1). Apart from the two coins found in a box at Sarre Knt 4 and the exotic material of marble at Buckland Knt 60, all of the Roman objects found in the wooden boxes follow the same pattern of being useful tools or utensils. For example, circular objects, such as the foot ring of Roman grey ware at Snape Sfk 47 and a flat disc of Roman pottery at Buckland Knt 60 may have been used for smoothing textiles (see Walton-Rogers 2007, 39). Keys may have been symbolic of women being the keeper of the household (see Owen-Crocker 1986, 66) while glass fragments and potsherds may have been of similar use as those found in bags from female adults within the community. Finally, the shale spindle whorl in

Buckland Knt 60 and the late Roman mirror found at Gilton Knt 94 were probably used for their functional purposes.

5.4. Associations in terms of gender and age

The bags and containers discussed in this research were identified within 72 female gendered and 51 male gendered burials. These gendered associations were made on the basis of either biological sexing or more commonly assumptions based on the gendered nature of the finds assemblage. Thus when compared to the full corpus of inhumation graves considered in this project, bags and boxes in general were found in 10% of female graves (out of 691) and 7% of male graves (out of 683). Of these, 33 female graves (46%) and 7 (14%) male graves were accompanied by bags or containers that included Roman items (see Fig. 5.8.).

Fig. 5.8. Gendered burials in total in comparison to gendered graves with bags and containers (shown in percentage from the total number of gendered burials)



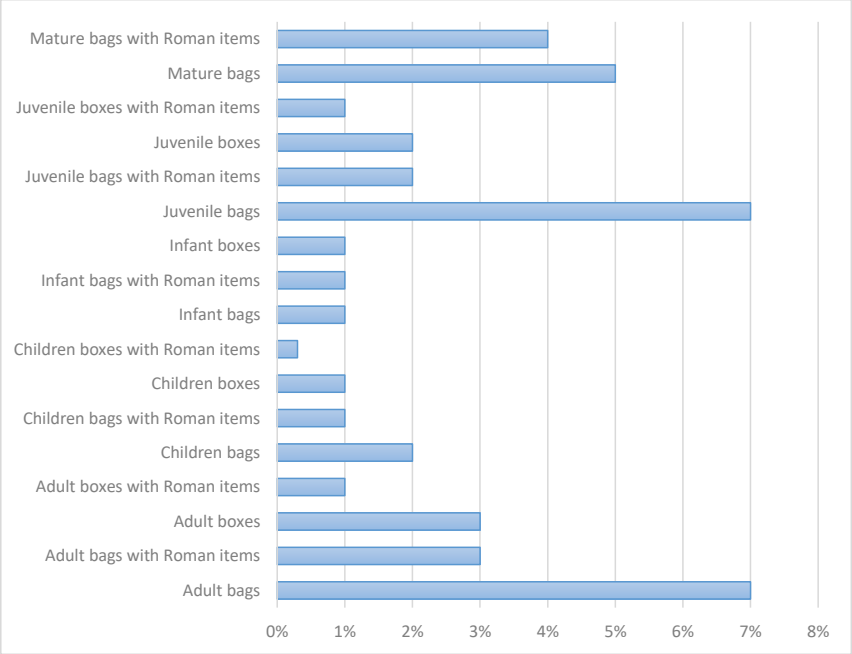
Thus proportionally, more female graves than male graves provided evidence for Roman objects being deposited in bags and boxes.

Female inhumation burials generally possess a greater repertoire of grave goods than their male counterparts, and exotica objects such as reused or old Roman items appears to have been included more frequently in these diverse assemblages. However, the greater association between Roman objects and identified female burials is evident. This could suggest that old and fragmentary Roman material were

credited with particular values or carried specific associations for (at least some) adult women.

Where the age of the individual could be identified, the vast proportion of bags and boxes (and thus incidences of bags and boxes containing Roman items), were found with inhumed adults. Containers and bags were rarely discovered in the burials of mature adults (just 8 in total), but over 20 juveniles or young adolescents were buried with bags or containers (see Fig. 5.9).

Fig. 5.9. Comparison of age categories with bags and boxes in total with those including Roman items (shown in percentage from the total amount of graves with associated age)



Roman objects occurred frequently in these assemblages, appearing in collections associated with mature adults (6), adults (28), young adults and juveniles (8) and children and infants (5).

As we have already seen, bag assemblages were far more common than boxes and as a result in these age categories, there were in general higher instances of individuals with bags than individuals with boxes (see Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 Overview of graves with bag/pouches and containers in comparison to those containing Roman objects

Graves with bags/pouches in total	116
Graves with bags/pouches with Roman material	32
Graves with containers in overall	59
Graves with containers with Roman material	12

It is interesting, however, to note that given the fewer numbers of young adults, juveniles, children and infants buried with boxes or bags, the proportion that held Roman items is disproportionately higher than other age categories (see Fig.5.8). Although Roman items in concealed collections were found with all age categories and genders, they were more likely to be found in the grave goods accompanying adult females and younger individuals in the community. If they had boxes or bags in their grave, they were highly likely have been provided these at death and old Roman items appear to be part of these concealed collections.

5.5. Chronology

A high proportion of graves identified with collections of material that included Roman objects date to the 5th and 6th centuries AD. A total of 27 graves with bags containing Roman objects could be closely dated through the means of Hines and Bayliss (2013) artefact typologies, specialist reports from the excavation reports and with radiocarbon dating. Of those, 21 graves out of 27 (78%) dated from the 5th to first half of the 6th century AD and six graves (22%) dated from the late 6th to 7th century AD. This demonstrates that the inclusion of pouches within graves was more prevalent during the migration period rather than in conversion burials (see Appendix A Table 5.8.).

Four out of the 27 graves could be radiocarbon dated which presented interesting results, as three of the graves dated to the early 5th century. Buckland Knt 391B of a female adult dated to AD 405-535 (with 95% probability), and the two graves at Mill Hill, Deal, Knt 95 and 105c of a female mature and a female adult showed a similar date range, with gr. 95 dating even earlier to AD 399-75 (with 49.2% probability) and AD 485-535 (46.2% with probability). Gr. 105c dated to AD 420-537 (with 95.4%

probability) (Parfitt, Anderson 2012, 436-7; Parfitt, Brugmann 1997, 155; Parfitt, Brugmann 1997, 11-2). Although radiocarbon date ranges can vary in accuracy and span over a century, these dates nevertheless indicate that there is a high probability that the usage of Roman items in bags has a long tradition starting from the end of the late Roman period up to the first half of the 6th century, before gradually decreasing. Only one burial has been radiocarbon dated to the 7th century, the grave of a female adult at Shrubland Hall Quarry, Coddenham Sfk 30 which was dated to cal. AD 600-660 (with 95% with probability) or cal AD 610–655 (with 68% confidence). This grave contained two bags, one of them including a Roman coin. The usage of a coin issued from Valentinian AD 367-375 was interesting, as it was deposited with a silver sceat and copper-alloy scrap metal from the bag that contained more precious material, including a gold coin from Dagobert I AD 629-639, two silver toilet sets, various silver rings and a crystal (Penn 2011, 24-5). Clearly, this bed burial made a distinction between old Roman coins and contemporary coinage. Perhaps the inclusion of the coin together with scrap and a sceat symbolised a reminder of the value these bag collections had in previous times, or perhaps this particular set has been inherited by the buried individual. Given that this grave has been interpreted as a 'founders' grave, it is also possible that these two distinctive bags show the ending of something old (perhaps an abandoned community) and the beginning of something new. In any case, this example presents a case where old items are separated from contemporary objects and precious metal by being deposited in a separate pouch within the same grave fill. Such a clear division between the old and the new appears to have been absent in 5th to 6th century graves.

As has been mentioned above, the graves that included wooden containers with Roman items were of much later date than the graves with bag collections. Nine graves could be closely dated and eight of them dated either to the mid-6th and later 6th century AD or to the 7th century AD (89%). Only Buckland Knt 266 which contained a wooden box with Roman glass and a marble fragment could be dated to the early 6th to mid-6th century (Parfitt, Anderson 2012, 407).

In addition, gr. 6039 of the female gendered founder's grave at Barber's Point, Sfk has been radiocarbon dated to AD 550-591 (with 68.2% probability) (Meredith 2017, 38-40). Similar to the bag collections with unusual objects found at the 7th century

grave at Shrubland Hall Quarry Sfk 30, the wooden box in this grave also included old objects, including two Roman glass fragments, shells, fossils, an amber bead and Iron Age terret ring (Meredith 2017, *ibid*.). The reason behind keeping such items will be discussed below (see Section 5.6) but the collection seems to have been of high significance for the individual given its containment in a wooden box.

5.6. Concealed Roman objects in the community: the spatial evidence

Fig. 5.10. Distribution map of cemeteries containing Roman objects in bags and wooden boxes

The above discussion about the contents of bags and containers and the dating of individual graves has provided sources of information about how and when Roman objects played a major role in bag assemblages. The analysis of cemetery phasing and positioning of individuals within communal spaces can give us further information on possible spatial associations with individuals buried with bags or containers. Furthermore, the analysis of individual cemeteries provides insights in the availability of Roman objects at that particular site. For this reason, the proximity of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries to Roman sites will be discussed in more detail below.

From the excavations at Buckland Knt, 26 graves containing bag collections were identified and 18 (69%) of these included Roman material, showing that in this cemetery Roman objects played a significant role in bag collections (Evison 1987; Parfitt and Anderson 2012). As has been briefly mentioned above, the bag collections containing Roman items dated primarily to the 5th to mid-6th century AD and at Buckland Knt, the graves containing Roman objects in bags were associated with graves from Phases 1 and 2 and dated between AD 450-550. The only grave containing a wooden box was dated to Phase 3, AD 575-625 (see dating map Parfitt and Anderson 2012, 336). The remaining bags without Roman objects varied in their phasing, however, five were associated with Phases 1 to 2 (AD 450-550), two were associated to Phase 3 (AD 550-600) and only one to Phase 5-7 (AD 650-750). The latter being Buckland Knt 376 contained two ivory purse mounts, however, no content was recorded (Parfitt and Anderson 2012, 432). This may support the fact that bag collections are more frequently found in earlier graves within cemeteries. As Fig. 5.11. shows, the graves containing bags are found frequently in clusters, particularly those containing Roman objects in plot S, X and to a lesser extent V. Even the much later dated gr. Buckland Knt 266 that contained the wooden box is close to the bag cluster in plot S.

Fig. 5.11. Map of 1994 Buckland excavations with graves including bags (black), bags with Roman material (red) and wooden boxes (yellow) (see Parfitt and Anderson 2012, Fig.4)

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Furthermore, apart from plot U, all plots shown on the map contain bag assemblages. Given the predominantly earlier phasing of the graves containing bags in this cemetery, it might be suggested that the positioning of graves was intentional and the individuals found in clusters were somewhat related.

Inhumations containing bag collections were also frequent at the 6th-century cemetery at Mill Hill, Deal, where the graves appeared as clusters in the south-west corner and in the north-east edge of the barrow, while wooden boxes appear in the north-west corner, which is shown in Fig. 5.12.

Fig. 5.12. Map of cemetery plan at Mill Hill, Deal with bags (black), bags with Roman items (red) and wooden boxes (yellow) (see Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, Fig. 4)

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Similarly, to Buckland, the clusters of graves containing bags were present across Phases II-IV (AD 500-580/90) (Brugmann 1994, 100) and those containing Roman items were dated to Phase II (AD 530/40 to 560/70). As has been mentioned above, two graves including Roman items were radiocarbon dated to the 5th to early 6th century (see Mill Hill Deal, Knt 95 and Mill Hill, Deal Knt 105c). Gr. 105c was located in the south-west corner near the barrow, while gr. 95 cut the barrow in the north-east corner. Thus, it is interesting to note that both clusters show early dates. The grouping of graves may be again related to social relationships, based on kinship,

occupation or social status within the communities. Finally, the two graves with wooden containers (grs 67 and 68) were assigned to later phases (AD 560/70 to 580/90) and grouped together in the north-west corner. Again, these positions might have been intentional and phase-related. The cemetery of Mill Hill, Deal Knt is interesting in its own right, as it shows how a Bronze Age barrow can become a focal point for a cemetery and respected within the community (see Fig. 5.12.). This clustering just might provide a glimpse of the kinds of choices and associations involved in inhumation burial which involved both the selection and inclusion of material culture with the deceased and then, perhaps, a correlation in terms of where people with certain objects were buried. In fact, Duncan Sayer has examined cemetery plots and correlations of grave goods at the cemetery of Mill Hill, Deal, Knt and Finglesham Knt, suggesting that the provision of grave goods in the 5th and 6th centuries burials are expressions of identity of the deceased as a member of a particular family or household unit (Sayer 2009, 159). Furthermore, he argues that a difference in the wealth of grave furnishings provided in inhumation graves is evidence for a distinction between the core members of the household and other participants, demonstrating the close link between artefacts and family members (Sayer 2009, 166). The apparent cessation grave goods in the 7th century is evidence for a transformation and Sayer suggests that prominent grave forms become more significant in the Middle Saxon society than the inclusion of a range of grave goods (Sayer 2009, *ibid.)*. It is interesting to note that the inclusion of Roman objects appears to follow similar trends as the overall grave goods distribution discussed here, as they seem to belong to distinct groupings, perhaps based on kinship.

At the mid-6th to 7th/8th-century cemetery of Finglesham, Knt, more wooden boxes than bag collections were present. Out of 34 concealments, 20 graves (59%) contained wooden boxes and 14 graves (41%) included bags. From those, only two graves included Roman objects, one burial contained a Roman key in a pouch (gr.200) and the other (gr.163) included a glass fragment together with a clay spindle whorl in a box. Here, it appears that the inclusion of Roman objects in bags or boxes was not as prevalent as in the previously discussed cemeteries above. The cemetery has been dated to AD 575-750 (based upon that most graves were dating to

Buckland Knt phases 3-7, see Chadwick Hawkes, Grainger, 21). The majority of the graves appear to date to the 7th century AD.

As Fig. 5.13. shows, the spatial distribution of the graves containing bags and wooden boxes is more dispersed at Finglesham, Knt than in Buckland Knt or Mill Hill Deal, Knt. Nevertheless, gr. 200 containing the Roman key in a pouch is positioned nearby gr. 213 including a pouch with iron scrap (see Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006, 156). Similarly, gr. 163 of a female adult was located near gr. 159 of a male adult containing an empty wooden box (see Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006, 112-3). It is possible that these particular pairings may be intentional.

Fig. 5.13. Map of cemetery plan at Finglesham with bags (black), bags and boxes with Roman items (red) and wooden boxes (yellow) (see Hawkes and Grainger 2007, 29)

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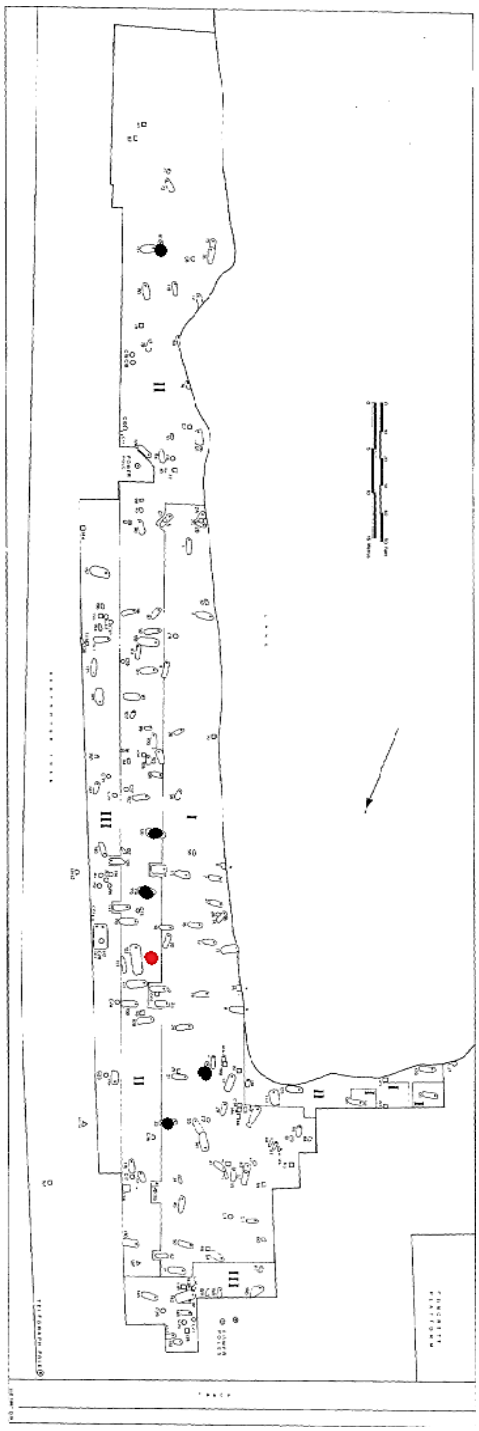
There is a faint concentration of graves with wooden boxes in the south-central part of the cemetery, which might be significant, however, there is no direct clustering of graves. It appears that in this later cemetery, the inclusion of bags and boxes may have become more standardised throughout the cemetery and antique Roman objects are no longer a prevalent part of these collections.

Similar trends of the spatial positioning and phasing of graves including bags and boxes can also be found outside of Kent. At Great Chesterford, Esx, out of 194 graves, eight included bags and were dated to the earlier Phases I (AD 450-500) and II (AD 475-525). As Fig. 5.14. shows, two small clusters could be identified, one was situated in the north-east corner dating to Phase I and the other in the north-west corner dating to Phase II. However, only one bag contained concealed Roman coins in an infant grave (gr.111).

Fig. 5.14. Map of cemetery plan of Great Chesterford with bags (black) and bags with Roman items (red) (after Evison 1994)



150

While Roman items were present as much here as concealed items, there is still an interesting spatial distribution with individuals with these items in bags or boxes seemingly buried in particular zones. More generally speaking, the lack of Roman objects in graves might be surprising, considering that the cemetery was situated near the Roman town of Great Chesterford and a Roman cemetery (Evison 1994, 42).

A similar trend is also shown in the cemetery at Shrubland Hall Quarry, Coddenham, Sfk. Although a higher frequency of bag collections were recorded in this cemetery, the only grave containing a Roman coin in bag was that of the chamber burial grave 30, which was one of the wealthiest graves in the cemetery; its grave goods has been discussed above (Penn 2002, 98). As illustrated in Fig. 5.15, this particular grave lies somewhat isolated in the north-west corner, while the other occurrences of bags and containers are clustered in the northern and southern corner.

Fig. 5.15. Map of cemetery plan at Shrubland Hall Quarry, Suffolk with graves with bags (black), Roman objects in bags (red) and containers (yellow) (see Penn 2011, 4)

Given that the cemetery only contains 30 graves in total, the excavators suggest that this is a relatively small community, perhaps family or kin, generally dating to the 7th century. The bed burial 30 in the centre of this cemetery might be of a slightly earlier date, it is therefore possible that this might be a founder grave (for a general discussion on social structure and dating see Penn 2002, 98-9). This might be supported by the fact that the other graves are modestly equipped in stark contrast to the wealth of gr.30.

Similarly, gr.6039 of a female juvenile contained a box and was also interpreted as a founder's grave (Meredith 2017, 38-40). The grave was centrally located in a cluster of 19 graves ranging from the 6th to 7th centuries (see Fig. 5.16.).

Fig. 5.16. Map of cemetery at Barber's Point, Suffolk with container including Roman objects (see Meredith 2017, 20)

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This was the only grave that contained a wooden box and no bags were recorded in this small community, which may have resembled family or kin. The earliest phases were in a diagonal line from the founder's grave, while the graves north and south were associated with Phase 2 (AD 600-650). Other graves in irregular rows were dated from Phase 3 to Phase 5 (AD 615-880), this demonstrates the long-time span of this cemetery. However, the inclusion of Roman objects in a casket centrally located in this cemetery is suggestive of its value in this Anglo-Saxon community. Another coin was found suspended from a necklace at a child's grave from Phase 2, showing that a distinction has been made between coins and other materials such as glass and pottery.

The above discussion has shown that bags and boxes occur in spatial groupings, special graves and quite frequently in clusters within cemeteries. As we have seen, clusters such as this, have often be interpreted as social or kin-based mortuary plots (see Sayer 2009, 159; 166). The overall number of bags and boxes included in graves in overall and those including Roman objects vary from cemetery to cemetery, which might depend on multiple factors. This discussion has demonstrated that Roman objects in bags were more frequently associated with the earlier phases of the site, while the inclusion of boxes increased in popularity in the late-6th to the 7th-century AD. In addition to this, individuals with bag collections or boxes are frequently clustered together, suggesting that these particular groups of people may have been connected through social status, their occupation or similar possessions during their life-time. However, one more aspect needs to be analysed, that is the accessibility of Roman material at the particular sites. This will clarify if Roman items were randomly picked up or if they were part of wider circulation practices.

5.6. Bag and box collections in a biographical context

The data has shown that Roman objects were an integral part in box and bag collections, suggesting that these items bore significant value for the owner. In this section, a biographical approach of the objects is taken in order to evaluate the meanings of bags and boxes on an individual level.

The grave of the female adult inhumation at Buckland Knt. 204 included two coins together with a shale spindle whorl, a small grey pebble stone and a marine shell at the left femur (Parfitt and Anderson 2012, 386). Textile remains on some of the objects suggest the presence of a bag, which probably hang from a chatelaine together with hooked keys (Parfitt and Anderson 2012, *ibid.*). The coins were of unusual character, as they one of them was a very old issue of Vespasian, dating to AD 69-79, and that was probably not in the general circulation flow as 3rd to 4th century issues (not illustrated). The other, an illegible 3rd century issue, showed heavy wear with a broken perforation (Fig. 5.15).

Fig. 5.17. Coin with broken perforation at Buckland Knt 204 1:1 (see Parfitt, Anderson 2012, 454)

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This suggests that this coin had a different 'life' before it became part of a bag collection. As section 6.4.1. will discuss in more detail, perforated coins were frequently find as components of necklaces and thus, as items of display, they were transmitting symbolic messages that needed to be understood and read by the viewer. Furthermore, 3rd- and 4th-century issues are not uncommon necklace components. The meaning of these messages is discussed in section 6.10. In the past, the female individual was associated with the group of individuals who were wearing coins openly and thus, stood apart from the rest of the group. The coin must have been worn frequently until the wear became too heavy and the perforation broke. At this point, the imagery of the coin was hardly visible, but it still held value for this woman, so she decided to place it in a pouch instead. Here it intermingled with an older coin, that of Vespasian. This item was passed down from one generation to another, reminding her of her unique lineage. This was an item with personal value and therefore not perforated; its meaning was not to be shared with the rest of the community but kept hidden inside the bag. Other additions to the bag were items taken from nature. It might be suggested that this particular individual was drawn to watery places, as the small grey oval pebble stone and marine shell were made and shaped by water. With this addition, the special meaning of the bag for the individual was complete, it contained items of her ancestral past and items sourced from water, an element that the community depended on. Thus it can be said that this bag collection contained a selection of talismans that maintained the well-being of herself and her community.

Another valuable member of the community at Buckland Knt was the female inhumation in gr. 367. Slightly more advanced in age (this individual was aged 30-40 years, while the female inhumation in gr. 204 was aged between 22-27 years according to Parfitt and Anderson 2012, 368; 429), a small assemblage of tools and

glass were found near the left elbow, its position suggesting that it may have been placed together in a bag, as there was no indication that the items were suspended from the costume in an open manner. The piece of blue glass was a handle sherd from a bottle of natural blue green colour that was folded on one side and thus, an item of unusual form.

Fig. 5.18. glass found at gr. 367 Buckland Knt 1:2 (see Parfitt, Andersen 2012, 497); photographs scales shown in image (pictures taken at the British Museum)

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Similar to the coin with a broken perforation, the object's previous 'life' involved to hold liquid as a bottle. Considering its striking colour, it probably had been used as an item of table ware until it broke and was discarded. As section 4.4. argued, after the cessation of the glass industry, blue glass was a commodity which was sought after. The owner may have come across the item at the local market, where scraps of metal, glass and pottery were traded. It was then stored in a pouch together with an iron knife, copper-alloy tweezers and an iron tool. As evidenced by evidenced by the photographs, the piece had rounded edges and was probably smoothed down over a prolonged period of time, perhaps through continued usage. Considering the other items found in the bag, this woman may have been responsible for the treatment and healing of individuals within her community. She may have treated sicknesses and wounds by separating infections from the body with the knife and tweezers and produced healing elixirs and creams by grounding pieces of glass into it. Here the Roman past may have been not as significant as the fabric of the material.

Finally the female juvenile in gr. 6039 at Barber's Point Sfk aged 16 years was of special significance to her community, as her burial has been interpreted as the Founder's grave of the 7th century cemetery (Meredith 2017, 38-40). Thus, she must have come from a very important lineage that justified the beginning of a cemetery at this particular location. Her burial has been richly equipped, including a box at the feet that contained several items not visible to the mourners. The items within this box included two Roman glass fragments, a cowrie shell, a pierced sea orchin fossil, an irregular amber bead and a miniature Iron Age terret ring (Meredith 2017, *ibid.*).

Fig. 5.19. Drawing of box and photograph of finds at gr 6039 at Barber's Point Sfk. Roman glass behind the Iron Age terret (see Meredith and Gillingwater 2017, 24; 26).

Images removed due to copyright reasons

In addition to this, the female inhumation was also buried with an amber and glass bead suspended from a chatelaine and a large T-shaped iron key, which is suggestive that she had access to lock away items, such as this box. Not much detail is provided for the Roman glass, however, it would have belonged to some sort of container that was broken down into pieces. The selection of the box appears to be highly symbolic, the cowrie shell might be a symbol for fertility, while sea urchins and other fossils have been interpreted as amulets to ward off evil (see Meaney 1981, 117-27). Furthermore, amber beads were frequently used as talismans by men and women (Meaney 1981, 239-62). In this regard, the miniature Iron Age terret ring and Roman glass might be also have a symbolic role and were perhaps regarded items that claim lineage to a distant past. The selection of glass fragments might be interpreted in as items that heal sicknesses similar to the fragment found in gr. 367. However, these items were not actively used, but kept under lock and key as talismans for the newly settled community.

These examples have shown that every item discussed here had unique purposes in the box and bag assemblages and that they enriched the lives of the individual and community, as items of magic, healing or ceremonies.

5.6. Summary

Several differences are apparent in the cemeteries studied here, in terms of the practice of including Roman objects in bags and wooden containers. Roman objects were more frequently included in bag assemblages than in boxes. Where this is the case, the graves date to much earlier phases of cemetery activity, notably the 5th to early 6th centuries. This in fact reflects the fashion for including bags with buried individuals in the 5th and 6th centuries and the inclusion of boxes with individuals in the late 6th and 7th centuries. This fits well with the general change of burial rites during the conversion period, as discussed in sections 3.1., 3.2. and 3.6.3. In the 5th and 6th centuries, a wealth of grave goods was deposited within the grave, associated with the body. These consisted frequently of male and female kits, demonstrating the significance of gender and age when carefully selecting grave goods (e.g. Richards 1992; Halsall 1996, Härke 1990; Stoodley 1998). In the 7th century, this wealth of grave goods associated with the body is replaced with a desire to associate the individual with prominent structures or fabrics that help 'build' the grave (see e.g. Bell 1998; Senior *et al.* 2014; Sayer 2009). Despite these changes in burial rites and depositing boxes with the deceased rather than pouches as part of the costume, Roman items were still consistently present in these collections across the 5th to 7th centuries.

The collections with Roman items were more frequently associated with adult females, although a significant proportion of the younger buried populace were also accompanied by concealed Roman items. This is especially the case with female young adults/juveniles who are 'coming of age' and thus are marking an important threshold, tying families together through marriage (Stoodley 2000, 459; Härke 1990, 36-41) In the 5th and 6th centuries bag collections with Roman items were largely found with female adults, by the late 6th and 7th centuries the fashion had changed and boxes were included, often with women but also with younger members of the community and these again contained Roman items. This suggests the Roman scrap and pieces may have been of value to these sectors of the population in

functional or symbolic terms (see section 5.4). The living chose to invest particularly in the burials of adult women and younger members of the community, despite the changes in the way Roman items were included and concealed within the grave. This fits well with distinction being made between the grave good repertoire of male and females. While men demonstrated their status and rank through repetitiveness and masculine grave goods, female kits were more subtle and did not need constant underpinning (see Richards 1992, 134; Halsall 1996, 8). Personal items hidden away from view creates exclusion. Bags and boxes appear to be mediums that are connected to women with status; they include objects that did not require to be openly displayed, but their power and significance were recognised by the community and therefore commemorated through the deposition within the grave.

The majority of bags contained coins and metal scrap. The coins found in these assemblages were minted in the 3rd-to 4th-centuries AD. Given the 5th- and 6th-century date of these graves, such coins may have remained in circulation and could have carried a value of some kind monetary or otherwise. The high frequency of scrap metal present in the bags often in collections with multiple coins, could suggest that these items were assemblages of material relevant to exchange and or manufacture. These items could have been used as a low level currency of exchange that was perhaps necessary for making items of jewellery and or other purposes (e.g. brooches, beads and pendants). Section 3.6.4. has demonstrated that there was a constant flow of material culture around the coastal region of southeast France and England, contributing to the accumulating of wealth and creation of maritime identities (Loveluck and Tys 2013, 361-3). These objects had therefore economic value and it is possible that the items included in bags were chosen and selected from trade contacts between the coastal line of England and the continent. This will be explored further in chapter 8.

The graves that included Roman objects in boxes all date to the late 6th and 7th centuries. This fits well into the changes in grave investment during the conversion period in general. Furthermore, the composition of these assemblages change with glass items and fragments becoming a more common feature in box collections than metal items. Unusual curiosities appear alongside Roman items in both bags and boxes including fossils, shells and plant remains. Roman coins are also far less frequent in box collections. Considering that objects in boxes become more symbolic

in character rather than showing use wear (see here examples discussed in section 5.5.), it can be suggested that the meaning of Roman antiques change alongside the general decline of grave goods and increased importance of associating the dead with prominent structures (see section 3.1.1. and 3.2).

The discussion has also shown that the individuals buried with bags that included Roman items in the 5th to 6th centuries were quite frequently grouped together in cemeteries. Thus, these particular clusters may have been evidence of special groups of people who could access these assemblages for specific purposes within the communities. These groupings ebb in the later centuries, as wooden boxes are spatially more dispersed in the late-6th to 7th-century cemeteries, where their inclusion is more frequently associated with founder's graves.

It is also noteworthy that Roman objects appear quite frequently in these collections, particularly in the 5th- to early 6th- century graves, and this is unrelated to any proximity to Roman sites. Although it cannot be discounted that some Roman material was scavenged from abandoned sites, the high frequency of particular items within these assemblages suggests that there was a more regular flow and circulation of Roman fragments and scrap.

The purpose of these collections and what they symbolised remains open to debate. The composition of bag collections have been considered in this chapter to relate to specialised activities and specialists (see sections 5.3.1, 5.3.2 and 5.7.). Scholars such as Audrey Meaney have argued the material might be amuletic or magical and that the female adults buried with these collections may have practiced magic (Meaney 1981). Bags frequently contained coins some of which were perforated as though they had been used previously in necklaces. Coins may in the 5th and 6th centuries have retained a monetary value or at least a value in terms of exchange for early medieval communities. However, coins are often found with Roman scrap metal items and glass fragments. It is possible that all such material had a value in terms of trade and exchange, but it seems more plausible to see these old items and fragments as materials that could be transformed into new items of jewellery or adornment. From the discontinuance in use of late Roman coinage to the emergence of Anglo-Saxon sceatta coinage, the evidence for payment in early Anglo-Saxon society is fragmentary. Economic decline during the transition period may have resulted in an increased value being placed on of raw or recyclable material with

coins continuing to carry an importance for local patterns of exchange (e.g. Fleming 2009; White 1988; Myres 1976). A small assemblage with scrap glass, brooch fragments and beads may have carried a significant value in a local exchange context in a society in which wearing wealth is evident via the inclusion of elaborate assemblages of dress items in female graves. The high proportion of these collections associated with female graves is also interesting.

This is not to discount arguments for the amuletic or magical association of objects in these collections; in early societies value is placed on natural and manufactured material and on real and supernatural qualities. The presence of fossils and other unusual items in these collections may also be connected to exchange value: perhaps these were relevant to magic, protection or even medicine, carrying similar significant value in terms of local networks of power and prestige. Glass is the second most popular item in these assemblages and in (much later) written recipes for cures and charms, glass plays a role in curing the disease “fig” (haemorrhoids) (see Bald’s Leechbook translated by Cockayne and Cantab 1865). Furthermore, some sicknesses were associated with worms which could be treated with broken glass: with recipes advising that a worm eating through a person’s skin, can be drawn out of the wound with honey mixed together with broken glass made into powder (Cockayne and Cantab 1865, 198). Karen Jolly has pointed out that illnesses associated with worms are frequently featured in medical texts and which may be a reflection of Christian beliefs where unknown illnesses were often associated with the devil and the serpent of Genesis (Jolly 1996, 125, 129). Furthermore she argues that the majority of sicknesses described in Anglo-Saxon literature are either written by famous people or illustrate unusual circumstances. This leaves little room for rural practitioners and given the evidence of women’s magic and witchcraft in texts, it is likely that a large proportion of women were healers (Jolly 1996, 103).

This fits well with the evidence presented here. These assemblages of old items and scrap items and oddities may have served a range of purposes but have all come within the ambit and power of women. The fact that younger adults, juveniles and children show a high investment too in relation to collections, could perhaps reflect the strong connections within these populations between women and children. It is possible that these collections whether in bags or boxes, represent materials that

women had specific control and rights over, allowing them to accrue and inherit such material, but also gift it to children or younger relatives.

Based on the association with adult females and the (admittedly small) number of collections that contain unusual items and old objects, Audrey Meaney argued that these types of distinctive bag sets might signal the burial of 'cunning women'. Meaney also linked such incidences to the presence of organic materials in bags with female burials over the *longue durée* citing examples from the Bronze Age and Iron Age in Scandinavia and south-west Germany (Meaney 1981, 185). This view seems fairly tenuous, but the unusual nature of bag collections which contained both Roman scrap, fossils and or other organic items, presents a noteworthy and distinctive pattern. While the practice of magic provides a possible motive for collection and deposition, one cannot discount ideas of healing or medicine and neither can the idea of value or wealth be discounted.

The collections represented in wooden boxes in the later 6th- to 7th-century graves seem to somewhat differ from those of found in bag assemblages. As previously discussed, Roman objects deposited in boxes consist largely of tools and utensils with little use wear, suggesting a symbolic character rather than coins or other Roman metal or glass scrap which were found more frequently in bag collections and showed wear. It seems therefore, that the significance of concealed Roman material decreases in the later centuries. A wooden box is a different medium in comparison to a leather pouch. In Anglo-Saxon graves, bags and pouches are worn on the body, while wooden containers are placed within the grave. Helen Geake (1998) suggests that these are grave offerings, rather than being included as part of the funerary dress, which may have also been actively used during the life time of the individual (Geake 1998, 186). In this regard, the boxes and their items may have retained a symbolic meaning.

Similarly to bag collections, wooden boxes were also frequently found with female adults and juveniles, suggesting that these specific collections of household utensils and organic material were part of female assemblages. In fact, the much later 10th century text of the will of Wulfaru produced by a noblewoman specifically states that she would bestow her lands to "all my household women, in common, a good chest (*godes casteneres*) well decorated" (Craig 2009, 369). Although the meanings associated with these 10th century chests may have differed from those attributed to

wooden boxes inserted into late-6th to 7th-century graves, the importance of boxes as a possession for women cannot be discounted. Boxes can also be locked, making its contents only accessible to the person who possesses the key.

Thus, the insertion of wooden boxes and their contents in the later 6th- to 7th-century graves differs from the inclusion of bag assemblages in the 5th- to early 6th-century burials and this divergence is also recognisable in the frequency of antique Roman objects within these collections. Bags and pouches were actively used, perhaps, to hold items as charms, or for medicinal purposes or scrap of value in terms of making portable decorative objects. Wooden boxes and their contents appear to have held some symbolic meaning, but this meaning remains unclear (see section 5.5. for some interpretation). Roman items, however, remained present within these more specialised personal collections.

The evidence examined in this chapter strongly suggests that there was an availability of Roman scrap and material made of different fabrics among early medieval communities, which were kept and curated for different kinds of purposes. Given the re-occurring composition of box and bag assemblages, it seems that the owners made deliberate choices of what to keep in these collections and thus, it seems unlikely that these consisted of chance finds from abandoned Roman sites. Rather, the collected scrap may have been in wider circulation through local markets which particular individuals visited in order to trade and exchange much needed items for their bag or box collections. These items went through different life-cycles by being broken, fragmented, kept and passed down in family/household units, before they were taken out of circulation and deposited with significant individuals within this unit. As we have observed, the meaning of keeping curated Roman material varies and different social aspects are expressed depending on the object type and the assemblage it is found in. However, the significance of Roman material as an integral part of concealed collections has been demonstrated here.

In sum, bag collections are found in graves dating to the 6th century and boxes appear in late 6th to 7th century graves. Roman items appear in both kind of container, and so the presence of concealed Roman material in graves continued across the 6th and 7th centuries. However, boxes contained less frequent finds and bags were less common in 7th century graves, thus there is a change in the way concealed items were included in burials and in the frequency and scale of activity.

While Roman objects are present in these collections throughout the early medieval period, the quantity and composition of the Roman collections changed over time (for composition see Section 5.3.1 and 5.3.2).

CHAPTER SIX

OPENLY DISPLAYED ROMAN OBJECTS USED AS PART OF THE FUNERARY COSTUME

6.1. Introduction

In the Anglo-Saxon period, the meaning and role of jewellery and dress accessories as costume adornments surpassed merely aesthetic purposes, as they were part of a larger social structure of displaying rank, status, wealth and relationships (see ch.3.5). Roman objects were used as part of these social displays. Some of these were jewellery items worn as components in necklaces, belt suspensions or they were stitched on clothing. Other objects were used as dress accessories in the form of brooches or belt buckles to hold clothing together. The selection and choice of these displayed items on the body of the deceased may have different motivations to the inclusion of Roman objects in bag collections. A few examples are known where both types of collection and use are found within a single grave. These instances are particularly interesting, as they provide opportunities to assess different treatments of object types within the same grave and it appears that there is little chronological variance to these practices. Roman jewellery items and dress accessories are both considered here as displayed objects on the body of the deceased.

6.1. Roman objects as jewellery and dress accessories

In this study, 98 graves contained Roman objects that were used as jewellery items or dress fittings. This represents 30% of the overall corpus of graves (98 out of 322 graves) that include Roman objects. As we have observed in chapter 5, concealed Roman items only made up 14% from the overall corpus (44 out of 322 graves), which is indicative that there was a higher preference for visually displaying Roman material on the body rather than concealing them (see Appendix A table 6.1.). Of these, 75 graves include Roman objects used as jewellery items and 23 contained items used as dress fittings and in a few instances, Roman jewellery and dress fittings were found in the same grave (see above for definitions for each type of use).

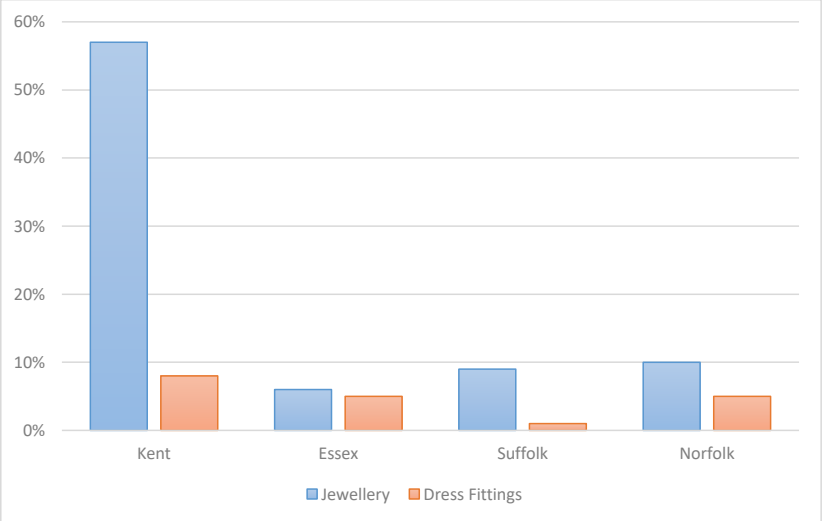
These adornments were found as integral parts of male and female gendered dress assemblages. The location of the objects in the grave were recorded for this study but I have also considered the potential decomposition processes that might affect object locations in the grave.

The use of jewellery items was versatile. They were found in different positions on the body of the deceased. The majority of objects are found around the neck and or chest area where they were presumably worn as necklaces. These objects consisted of glass beads and pendants, and they were quite often associated with other beads. Other occurrences have been noted at the arms, wrists or fingers of the deceased. In some rare cases, jewellery items were identified on the skull of the individual, where they may have been associated with head adornments of some kind (see Sibertswold, Knt. 18 and Stowting Knt. 9). To a lesser extent, Roman objects were identified as items suspended from belts. These were items which may have been suspended from a girdle (for example keys, spindle whorls and spoons). The latter object types are unusual pieces of jewellery. However, the display of utensils and tools on the costume might still carry a similar significance to the use of Roman objects in elaborate necklaces (see 6.4.2. for further discussion). On some occasions, beads and pendants seemed to have been suspended in a similar way as parts of girdles. The positioning of some objects on the body was unclear, however in the context of other findings presented here, we might assume that these too were worn as jewellery items. For instance, Morning Thorpe Nfk 66 has been identified by the excavators as a possible grave although no human remains were found and the finds were a clustered on surface of natural gravel (Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 54). Nevertheless, the composition of the assemblage suggests that they belonged to a female gendered burial and the two coins included were both twice perforated antonianii of the same size with beads. Similarly, a barrow burial found at Northwold Mill, Nfk with no associated context, included a silver bracelet with a rare coin of Gens Lucretia set into a circular loop (Clarke 1939, 226; Meaney, 180). Other items within this barrow included female gendered jewellery (including beads, crystals and brooches) as well as male gendered items (such as shield bosses and swords). Even if the context is obscure, the craftmanship of including a coin such as this in a bracelet made of precious metal might be regarded as an indication that this item was used for visual display. Dress fittings, including brooches, pins and belt

buckles, are frequently found either at the chest area or at the pelvis, waist or hip, depending on the type of fastener. The majority of these objects were used to hold or fasten attire. In some instances, fasteners were repurposed as jewellery items, such as the brooch with pierced catch plate of Colchester BB type at Polhill, Kn. 8, which was found at the left waist, or the copper-alloy disc brooch at Morning Thorpe Nfk 133, repurposed as a pendant and found at the chest of the deceased (Philp B, 2002, Group F Brooches and bronze mount; Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 73). Although their primary function was no longer of value, they clearly carried a symbolic purpose as visually displayed items. Thus, jewellery and dress accessories shared similar values for early medieval communities and are discussed here as one artefact group.

In total, 125 Roman items were visually displayed in 33 cemeteries. Of those, 102 were pieces of jewellery and 23 were dress fasteners.

Fig. 6.1. Frequency of Roman objects used as jewellery and dress fittings in the study area (shown in percentage from the total of graves including Roman objects as jewellery and dress fittings)



Jewellery and dress fittings were important components in grave furnishings more broadly in this study and were found in 2136 graves across the counties, making up 56% (out of 3847) of the overall number of inhumation graves examined here. Of

those, 60% (1267 of 2136 graves) included dress fittings, indicating that the inclusion of jewellery is a rarer aspect of funerary fashion in these inhumation graves and perhaps exclusive to specific members of the community. Fig. 6.2.a and 6.2.b demonstrated the proportion of Roman jewellery and dress ornaments in each examined cemetery.

Fig. 6.2.a. Frequency of graves including Roman jewellery items in examined study area (shown in percentage from the total number of graves including jewellery items in each cemetery)

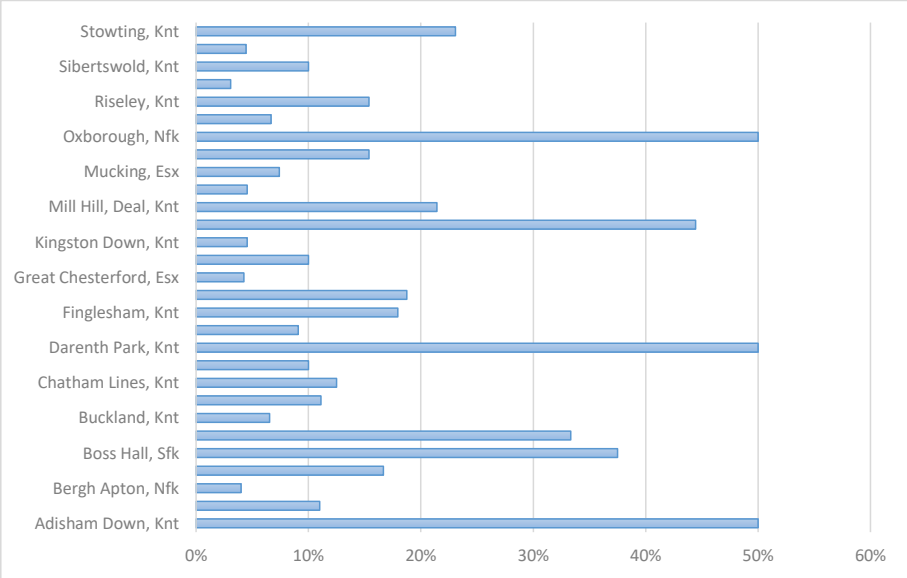
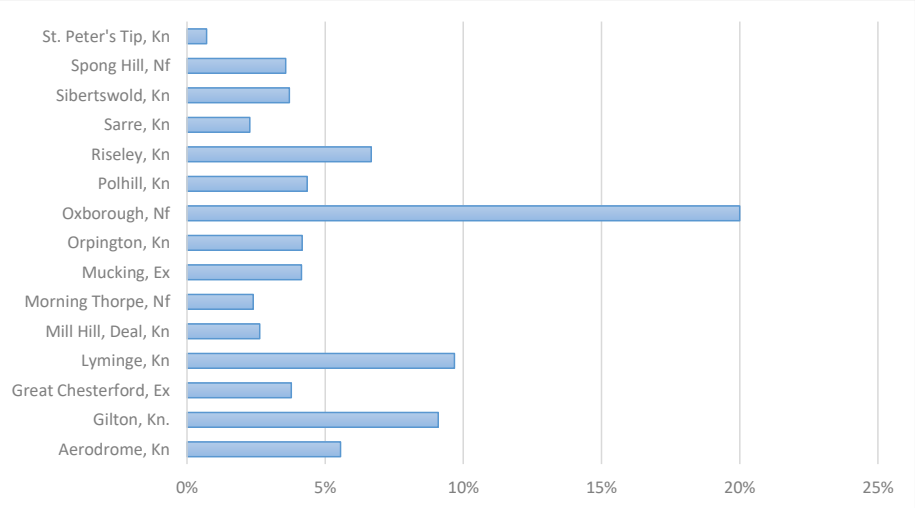


Fig. 6.2.b. Frequency of graves including Roman dress fasteners in examined study area (shown in percentage from the total number of graves including dress fasteners in each cemetery)



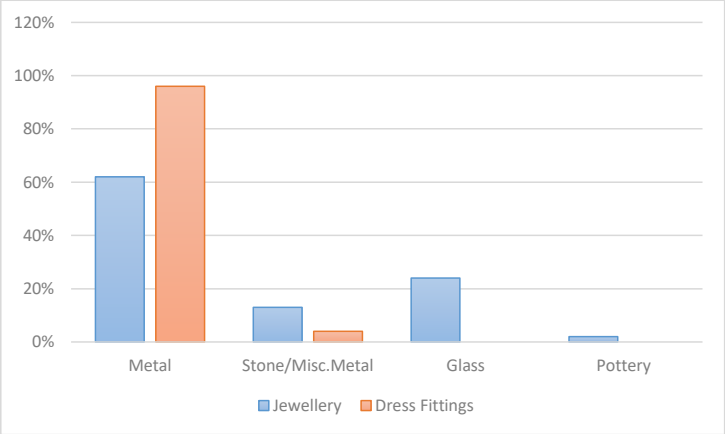
Putting these numbers into perspective, from those cemeteries that included Roman jewellery and dress fittings, proportionally, Roman objects as jewellery items accounted for 12% (102 out of 836), while dress fasteners accounted for just 4% (23 out of 831). This indicates that Roman items were more preferred as part of jewellery assemblages and were less likely to be included as dress fittings.

The graves that could be more closely dated suggest that an increasing number of Roman jewellery and dress adornments were included with burials by the 6th century, with a high peak occurring in the early- to mid-/later-half of the 6th century. By the beginning of 7th century, the amount of Roman dress adornments is halved, suggesting that chronological changes in inhumation rites had an impact on the inclusion of Roman items worn on the body in the grave. These changes appear to follow the trend discussed in chapter 5, where the numbers of 'worn' bags with Roman items on the body also decreased over time.

6.3. The Roman finds

As mentioned above, 123 Roman objects were found on the body of the deceased in an openly displayed manner. There was a higher preference for metal objects, which may be to do with soil conditions and object survival, 85 in total of the Roman items displayed on the body were manufactured from metal, 24 glass items and 13 stone/miscellaneous metal objects were also identified and only two spindle whorl made of Roman pottery was recorded in a grave Mill Hill, Deal Knt 18 (see Fig. 6.3.). These objects can be divided further into jewellery items and dress fittings. A total of 63 items of jewellery and 22 dress fittings were made of metal. The majority of dress fasteners were made of copper-alloy (17), while three were identified as iron brooches and one was made of lead in the grave Great Chesterford Esx 127. The remaining glass and stone objects were also used as costume items.

Fig. 6.3. Quantity of displayed Roman material according to their fabrics (shown in percentage from the total amount of Roman dress and jewellery items)



Unlike jewellery, dress fittings are common in both male and female inhumation graves for symbolic but also practical purposes (such as fastening the dress). It is therefore not surprising that the number of Roman dress fittings accounted for just 2% from the overall corpus of dress fittings identified within this study area. Across the entire cemetery corpus considered, proportionally Roman metal jewellery account for 12% while Roman glass and stone accounted for just 4%. Contemporary ceramic fragments were not used as jewellery items in this study here, suggesting

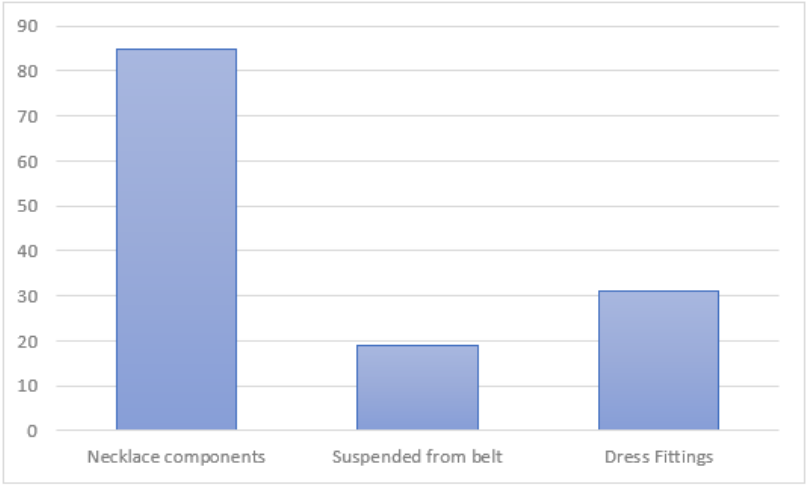
that the use of Roman potsherd fragments as openly displayed items was a unique practice.

Roman metalwork was thus favoured over any other material as part of the dress assemblages. Given that the overall number of graves containing jewellery items was generally much lower than graves that included dress fasteners, it is interesting to observe that there is a higher amount of Roman material found as jewellery pieces than as dress fasteners. This suggests the conscious choice of Roman items for jewellery assemblages.

6.4. Object types and material found as jewellery items

Similar to material found in bag collections, the highest proportion of Roman objects as jewellery pieces were metal. Roman objects made of glass and stone were found in Anglo-Saxon graves to a lesser extent, however, if they occurred, they were used as jewellery items instead of dress fasteners. Jewellery items were used as components in necklaces, bracelets or finger rings; in some instances, they were suspended from belts (see Fig. 6.4.).

Fig.6.4. Jewellery pieces as necklace components in comparison to objects suspended from belt and dress fittings (shown in total numbers)



Out of the 63 metal objects identified as jewellery items, some 50% (31 of 63) were Roman coins, suggesting that they were the most favoured Roman item worn as

jewellery component. The 31 coins were pierced for the purpose of being suspended, while three were fastened for visual display through other means (see Cuxton Knt 262, Gilton, Knt 3 and Northwold Watermill, Nfk). With few exceptions, coins were found at the chest area of the deceased. Other metal items used as jewellery pieces were three pendants, consisting of a horse harness pendant (Sarre, Knt 187), cosmetic grinder (Riseley, Knt 69) and pierced disc brooch (Morning Thorpe, Nfk 133). Three bangles were also identified, comprising of two hook-and-eye bracelets (Chartham Down, Knt 16 and Great Chesterford, Esx 31) and gr. 83 at Holwell Row, Sfk also included a reworked penannular brooch. However, the hook-and-eye bracelet at Chartham Down, Knt 16 was not worn in the traditional way around the wrist, but served as a means of suspension for a key near the right knee (Roach Smith 1856, 171).

Three rings were also found in various positions on the body. The rings in gr. 63 at Bifrons Knt and gr. 384 at Morning Thorpe, Nfk were both found at the chest area together with beads, while the reworked annular brooch made into a ring in gr. 12 at Holywell Row Sfk was found near the right humerus together with an assemblage of other rings, keys and a knife, suggesting that it might have been part of a chatelaine perhaps (Lethbridge 1931, 9).

Roman glass fragments and beads were almost exclusively found in necklaces around the chest area. Exceptions here are the melon bead in gr. 263B at Buckland, Knt that were located between the deceased's femurs, together with other beads and three Roman beads that mingled with beads positioned by the lower leg of the female gendered inhumation at Mill Hill, Deal, Knt 92 (Parfitt and Andersen 2012, 4045; Parfitt and Brugmann 1997,151-2). Nevertheless, the suspension of beads around the waist is not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon graves (see Owen-Crocker 1986/2004, 85-6). These festoons may have served a similar purpose as elaborate bead necklaces, making visual statements of wealth, accessibility and status. They may also have had acoustic values – jangling and making noise if worn by the living (see Vedeler *et al.* 2018, 22). A particularly elaborate example of displaying glass is the gaming piece set as an inlay in a belt buckle from Mill Hill Deal, Knt 61 (see Fig. 6.5.). (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 138). The grave of the female gendered adult also included two bird brooches from different casts, which have been identified as an early-6th century *Aubing* types, originating North of the Alps and which are also

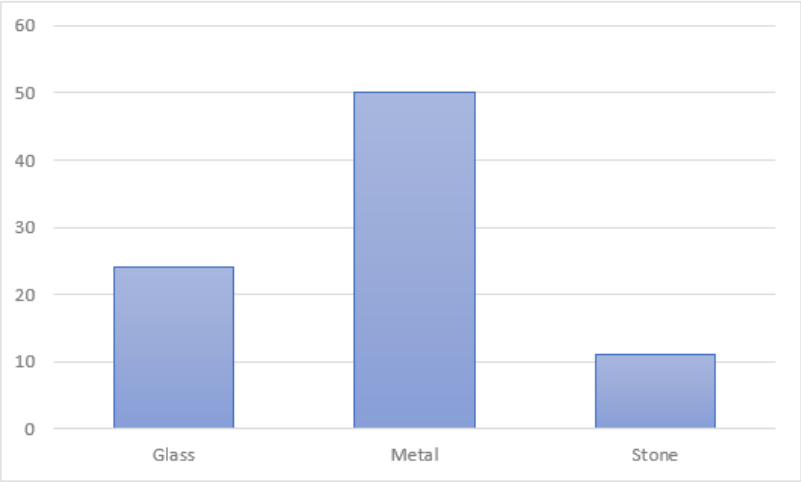
common in Northern France (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 45). There was only one other grave (gr.71 of a female adult) that included similar brooches, this suggests that these “exotic” brooches and elaborate belt buckle with glass piece may be regarded as indication of specific individual status in this community.

Fig.6.5. Gaming piece used as buckle inlay at gr. 61 at Mill Hill, Deal Knt (see Parfitt, Brugmann 1997, 173)

Image removed due to copyright reasons

Depending on their nature, stone/ceramics artefacts were also used in varied positions. Five jet beads were found as components in necklaces (Holywell Row, Sfk 48, Morning Thorpe, Nfk 276, Riseley, Knt 100 Riseley, Knt 66a, Sibertswold, Knt 172) and one nautilus shaped ceramic pendant (Sarre, Knt 23) was associated with beads at the chest area. Interestingly, the female gendered individual at Kingston Down, Kn. 8, incorporated a shale spindle whorl together with beads as visual display on the chest. A more elaborate display is the gold and cornelian pendant displayed at the chest from the unsexed individual at Harford Farm, Nfk 33. No other objects were found associated with the pendant (Penn 2000, 34).

Fig.6.6. Overall number of metal, glass and stone components in necklaces, bracelets and finger rings (shown in total numbers)



As briefly demonstrated by a few examples above, jewellery pieces were not only shown as components in necklaces, but they were also visibly suspended from belts. In fact, 28 objects made of metal, glass and stone/miscellaneous metal were suspended from the waistline or found near the left side in assemblages, suggesting they belonged to a chatelaine. Out of 22 metal objects, four different objects types reoccurred in graves and these were found in the chest area. These objects consist of 11 keys, five coins, three brooches and three pendants. As mentioned briefly in chapter 5, keys suspended from belts have been interpreted as symbols of status that suggest that the buried individual was a household keeper who had access to locked away items (see Owen-Crocker 2004, 67). Old Roman keys may have been of particular value. In this study, keys are usually deposited as single finds, there are also occasionally examples where two keys are found together (see Orpington Knt 39 and Holywell Row Sfk 99). The cases where multiple keys are suspended from the costume may suggest that the individual had a higher status within the community, by having access to multiple locked things – whether boxes or structures. Multiple keys were found at St. Peter's Tip Knt 161. The grave of the female gendered juvenile incorporated four Roman keys in a chatelaine in addition to seven contemporary iron keys (Harrington and Brooks 2008). This would suggest that keys were more symbolic than functional in the assemblage, unless this

individual had access to a significant range of locked chests or buildings. To a lesser extent than as part of necklaces, coins also occur around the waist (see Chartham Lines Knt 4 and Cuxton Knt 262). Of particular interest here is gr. 4 at Chatham Lines, where four coins were suspended together with beads around the waist, probably having a visually striking effect on the viewer and perhaps also carrying an acoustic value if worn in life (Vedeler *et al.* 2018, 22). At Aerodrome Knt 11, Polhill Knt 8, Sarre Knt 187 and Morning Thorpe Nfk 378 a horse harness pendant and three brooches were suspended around the waist of the individual (see 6.4. for a more detailed discussion on brooches used as pendants). Brooches are regarded as signifiers or badges for particular groups in communities (see for example Martin 2013, 174-9); the fact that these individuals continued wearing these brooches in their fragmentary state might be an indication of the importance of these Roman fragmentary items' as symbolic items and as representations of the identity or role of the individual. At the cemetery of Morning Thorpe Nfk, there was a lack of perforated Roman coins. It is perhaps possible that the use of a perforated disc brooch is an imitation of the wider trend of pierced coins in bead necklaces during this time. A peculiar example is that from the female adult inhumation grave Buckland Knt 116. Here, a copper-alloy peg and hook were suspended as girdle hangers from the waist of the individual. These were the only grave goods found in this burial and given the grave's isolated position from the other inhumations (see Fig. 6.30), it might be suggested that this particular individual was of special significance within this community. The hook and the peg might have been used as tools for certain activities, alternatively, they may have been used as *exotica* for visual display or as has been suggested above, the items may have made a distinctive sound when worn closely together, jangling against each other and contributing to the sensory perception of the wearer (see Vedeler *et al.* 2018, 22). In any case, their peculiar shape and distinctiveness within this community would have made this particular individual stand out.

Glass bead festoons around the pelvic area have been mentioned above and the remaining stone artefacts suspended from belts consisted of a spindle whorl made of shale (Buckland Knt 21) and an intaglio set in silver slings (Buckland 391B) (Fig. 6.8.).

Fig. 6.7. Crystal intaglio set in silver slings, suspended from belt in gr. 391B at Buckland, Dover 1:1 (see Parfitt, Anderson 2012, 506) ; scales shown in image (pictures taken at the British Museum)

Image removed due to copyright reasons

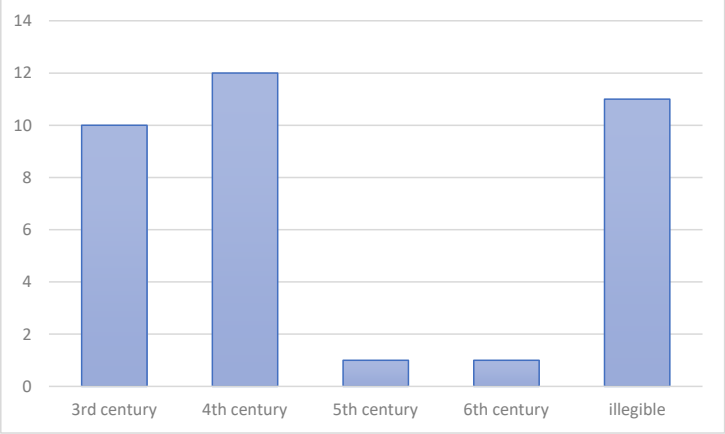
In addition to this, an intaglio was also set as inlay in a belt buckle in gr. 32 at Lyminge Knt, which will be discussed below. One spindle whorl was reworked from Roman red pottery and also suspended from the belt (Mill Hill, Deal, Knt 18). Utensils, such as spindle whorls, may have had a similar symbolic role comparable with suspended keys, while simultaneously providing information on the occupation of the household keeper. The role of intaglios around the waist on the other hand, may have provided information on the status of the individual, whether on the waist or chest.

In any regard, jewellery pieces found at the chest and suspended from belts appear to have been used for the same purposes: to visually display something about the individual at death and perhaps in life. This could have been about their role within the community, their status, rank, occupation or ability to access certain resources that others could not.

6.4.1. Coins as jewellery components

The majority of the 31 coins identified in necklaces and around the waist dated to the 3rd and 4th century; 20 coins (10 each) dated to the 3rd to the 4th century; given that the issues were also found in late Roman coin hoards (e.g. King 1981, 5-8) it is possible, that these issues were more accessible and still in circulation, as has been suggested for the coins occurring in bag collections (See section 5.2.1).

Fig. 6.8. Coin issues found in necklaces (shown in total numbers)



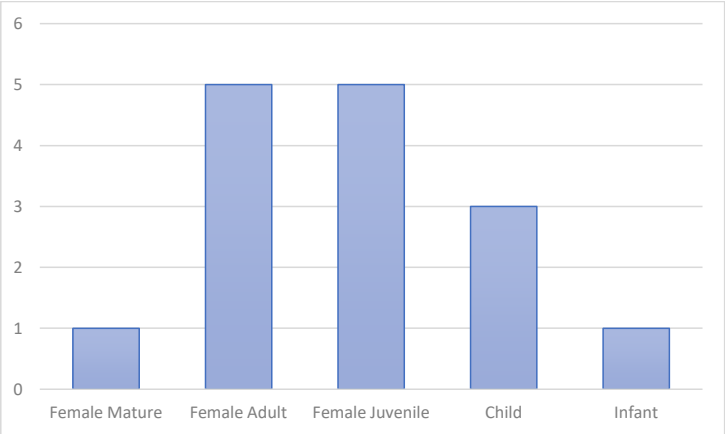
On some rare occasions, 5th and 6th century issues were used as pieces of jewellery. At Chatham Lines Knt. 2, four coins were incorporated in a bead necklace, with one issue being from Anthemius AD 467-72 (Richardson 2005, 138). In comparison (and not illustrated in table 6.1. and 6.2. due to its late date), at Sarre Knt 286 a Byzantine gold coin from Justinian II AD 527-65 was also found. These are rare examples and there might be a correlation with the later date of cemeteries. The cemetery of Sarre was in use during the 6th and 7th centuries and although no closer date could be given to the grave, it is interesting to note that no pierced Roman coin was found at this site. A similar picture can be seen in the application of the four Roman coins at Chatham Lines Knt 2. This was the only burial with perforated coins. Notably related the coins are not worn in the common manner at the chest area but appear to have been suspended from a belt as they were found near the pelvis. This might be evidence for a change in the trend of wearing late Roman coins in later dated

cemeteries with a move to suspending them from the costume, if perforated, rather than including them in necklaces.

Perforated coins are almost exclusively found in female inhumation graves. Out of 21 graves, 15 (71%) were that of female individuals. Two burials were that of male adults. A Roman coin imitation from AD 300 -350 was found in Cuxton Knt 262 which was associated with a buckle plate and two discs (see below for further discussion in section 6.4.) (Blackmore, Mackinder and Powers 9-10). At Mucking Ex. 552, a coin was integrated into a toilet-set of a male adult inhumation, positioned on the chest (Hirst and Clark 2009, 55 and 57).

A total of 16 graves can be closely identified in terms of age and gender (see Fig.6.9). Three female adults and six juveniles included perforated Roman coins, showing a tendency to include coins with these age categories. Six graves which contained perforated coins were identified as those of children and infants. All of the coins were associated with beads in these graves. Only on one occasion was a perforated Roman coin found with a mature individual at Brunel Way Nfk 7 (Penn, Andrews 1999, 420).

Fig. 6.9. Age and gender associations with perforated coins based on Harrington and Welch (2014) (shown in total numbers)



The 21 graves containing perforated coins were found in 18 cemeteries and the latter comprised a total of 2242 graves. This demonstrates the comparatively low number of graves that contained Roman coins, which suggests that the inclusion of perforated Roman coins was highly selective and limited to certain individuals. In this

regard, the example of the triple grave at Mill Hill Deal, Knt 105c is of interest. A pierced coin was found in a necklace together with beads, dating to AD 364-378 and another illegible coin was found on the left-hand side of the female adult, suggesting that it was deposited as part of a bag collection (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 11-2). Another example is that of Great Chesterford Esx 29 where a female juvenile wore a perforated coin from Allectus AD 293-6 in a bead necklace and a coin from Lucilla AD 161-9 was placed under the left hand (see section 6.9) (Evison 1994, 96). The coin integrated in the necklace was a large radiate, with the reverse being completely effaced. Photographic evidence suggests that this could have been done deliberately. The coin was placed in the middle of the chest together with beads. The holes were drilled above and beside the emperor's face, suggesting that care has been taken not to damage the image of the emperor. The personal value and age of the coin was demonstrated by being pierced twice seemingly after one perforation broke in antiquity. Apart from the difference in date, the coin from Lucilla was significantly heavier, weighing 19,62g as opposed to 2,77g (see section 7.8.). These coins may have had a different purpose than coins worn in necklaces and this is discussed in chapter 7.

6.4.1.1. Modified and double pierced coins

At Mucking II Esx 878, two holes were drilled into a coin that was associated with the fragmented remains of bronze wire. Nearby four amber and glass beads were found, which might be an indication that the coin may have been used as a pendant on a necklace (Hirst and Clark 2009, 167). The coin, dating to AD 260-74 showed no clear impression of the emperor and given its position at the lower central chest area, may not have been used in the usual way around the neck, but rather as a centre piece for the clothing. Double pierced coins are also known from a grave where they were concealed in textiles (Fig. 6.10., see also ch. 7 Great Chesterford Esx 111).

Fig. 6.10. Coin from Great Chesterford Esx. gr. 111 1:1, (after Evison 1994, 163); photographs scales shown in image (pictures taken at the British Museum)

Unfortunately, the context is more uncertain in an example from Morning Thorpe Nfk 66 where two double pierced coins were found as surface finds of a grave, one from Postumus AD 259-268, the other illegible (both antonianii). However, the coin was carefully pierced and the emperor's impression upright (Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 54). Although no clear context is given for the silver coin of Gens Lucretia found in the barrow burial at Northwold Watermill, Nfk, the special treatment of encasing this coin in a silver bracelet is also suggestive of its importance to the owner, as labour and care must have been taken to fit the coin into the bracelet. Given that the bracelet and coin is made of silver, the bracelet must have held some special value for the owner, and it must have made a visually striking effect (Clarke 1939, 226, Meaney, 180). Unfortunately, a precise date was not provided for the coin, but it is possible that it dated before the 1st century AD, making it the only coin of an older date being visually displayed. Its rareness and precious metal must have made a prestigious item to wear. A coin from Constantine AD 307-337 was also suspended from a copper-alloy holder and located at the chest of an unsexed individual in gr. 18 at Stowting Knt. In this particular grave, one glass bead and a belt buckle were the only other grave goods found, suggesting that similarly to Harford Farm Nfk 33, the only centre piece of the costume was the coin (Brent 1866, 413).

The sole example from a modified coin in this study area was found at Eastry Kn. 45. A late Roman coin was cut down into a roughly circular copper-alloy disc with perforated centre and had been clipped at the edge in three places (Philip, Keller 2002, 3-5). The lettering was illegible. The coin was found, with beads, at the neck of a female gendered inhumation. In this instance, the emperor's impression was not as

important as the shape of the coin for use as a pendant. This trend suggests that generally coins were worn as part of Anglo-Saxon dress and that care was taken to respect lettering and or images. Different treatments are evident above, however, and this will be discussed below in section 6.10.

6.4.2. Other metal objects

As has been mentioned briefly in section 6.4., a variation of other metal objects were found around the chest area or wrist. In contrast to the inclusion of coins, no apparent trend can be discerned, and it is possible that these objects were used as *exotica* within the graves. The cemetery of Great Chesterford, Esx had a high infant burial rate and gr. 31 is no exception, where a hook and eye fastening bracelet was included within the grave (Evison 1994, 96). This is similar to the late Roman tradition of including bracelets with infant burials and examples are known from the late Roman cemetery at Lankhills, Winchs (see Clarke 1979, fig 37; Swift 2012). The cemetery at Great Chesterford appears to be unique in its usage of Roman objects and this is discussed in chapter 7.

Special attention should be also given to the modification of a copper-alloy belt slide and key into two necklace fittings in Finglesham Knt 200 (Chadwick-Hawkes, Grainer 2006, 133f). This grave of a female juvenile aged between 10-12 years, dated to the later phases of AD 585–615. The necklace fitting consists of a long sub-rectangular cast bronze plate with a central field and two circular terminals. It also has a circular sectioned cast ring with of a circular sectioned shank; due to its composition it was used for a bead necklace around the clavicles (Chadwick-Hawkes, Grainer 2006, *ibid*.). As mentioned briefly above, a similar treatment can be seen at Bifrons 6, Knt of a female gendered inhumation where a penannular brooch has been repurposed into a bracelet (Chadwick-Hawkes (published post-mortem 2000), 10-13). No closer date was given to the grave, except the general date of the 6th century for the cemetery. However, the brooch may have been modified for its aesthetic value and used as an exotic item within the dress assemblage. The two necklace rings from Finglesham Knt 200 appear to have been used for their shape and functional purposes rather than being valued as *exotica* or as remembrance of their Roman past. In addition to this, a highly elaborate zoomorphic pin was included in the gr. 18 at the skull of a female gendered inhumation at Sibertswold, Knt. The pin,

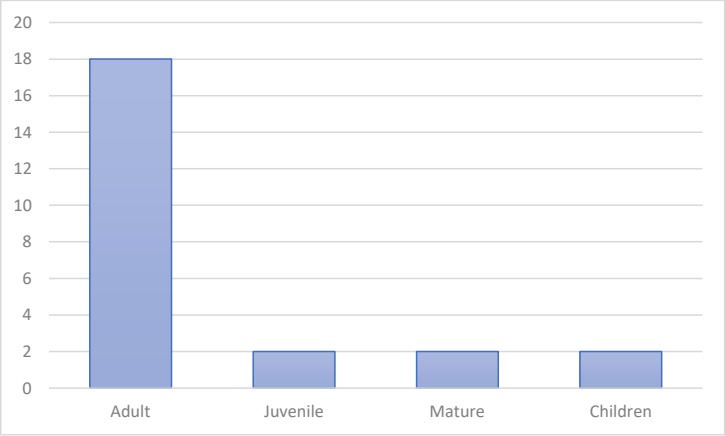
resembling two animals kissing each other, was the only head piece in this grave and may have been valued as an added exotic element in the overall wealthy dress assemblage of this particular individual who was equipped with an amethyst and glass bead necklace, white metal pendant, keys, shears and two knives (Roach Smith, 105-6).

6.4.3. Roman beads and glass

Bead necklaces were common finds in the examined Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and out of 1304 graves, 46% (602) included bead necklaces. Proportionally, the number of graves that included Roman beads and glass (4%) is comparatively low (see above).

In total, 31 objects made of glass or jet were identified as Roman survivals. This included 22 beads, consisting of five jet and one glass beads, seven glass fragments, one jet bracelet and one glass gem were found with 18 female gendered and five unsexed inhumations. As Fig. 6.11. demonstrates, the highest proportion of glass was found with adult inhumations (78%), these items were associated to a lesser extent with other age categories.

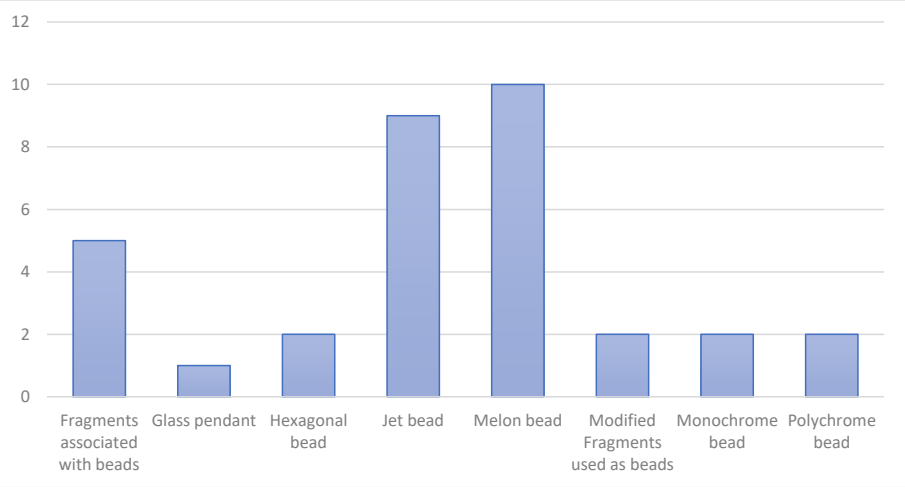
Fig. 6.11. Inclusion of glass in graves by age (shown in total numbers)



Two interesting examples of wearing beads can be seen in the graves 120 and 132 at Finglesham, Knt. Two melon beads were found suspended from a ring, isolated from other beads necklaces. These graves dated to the later phase of the cemetery,

AD 585-615 (see Appendix A Table 6.3.). This might be suggestive that fashion of wearing beads changed in later phased cemeteries and instead of mingling Roman beads with contemporary ones, these items were displayed separately. The frequency of different bead types and glass fragments is demonstrated in Figure 6.12.

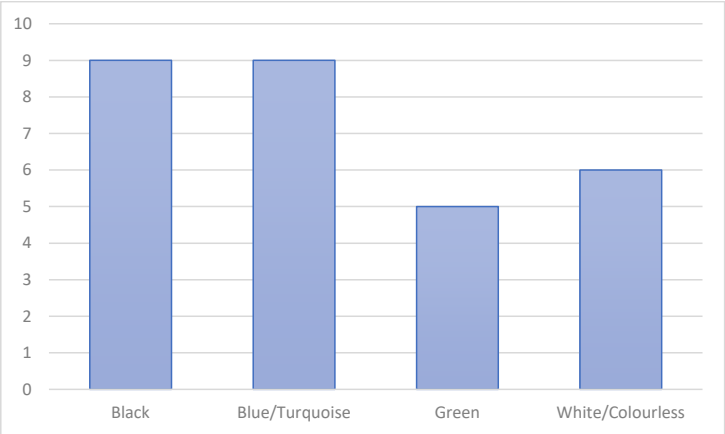
Fig 6.12. Frequency of glass types found in graves (shown in total numbers)



Roman melon beads were the most frequently found as part of necklaces (Finglesham Knt 120, 132, 203; Buckland Knt 263B; Mill Hill Deal Knt 92, 102; Sibertswold Knt 172; Mucking I Esx 283; Mucking II Esx 334), followed by five jet (Riseley Knt 66a, Sibertswold Knt 172, Holywell Row Knt 48), two polychrome (Mill Hill Deal, Knt 71, 92), two hexagonal beads (Buckland Knt 372) and two glass fragments which were re-purposed as beads (Mill Hill Deal Knt Sk25b, Bergh Apton Nfk 44). In some instances, glass fragments were found near the neck in association with beads, although they did not show visible signs of being repurposed (Barfriston Knt 6, Finglesham Knt G1, Buckland Knt 49, 59, Sibertswold Knt 27). This is suggestive that the visual display of Roman glass may have been of significance.

A total of 24 beads and fragments could be identified by colour: nine were of blue/turquoise colour, which appears as the most popular. Six were white/colourless, six black and two of green colour (see Fig. 6.13).

Fig. 6.13. Beads and glass sorted by colour (shown in total numbers)



Colour and quality of the beads may have played a significant role in the selection process of bead necklaces. As has been mentioned above, in Mill Hill, Deal Knt gr. 92 of a female mature inhumation, a cluster of 46 individual beads was found around the lower leg, suggesting that the composition of beads may have been individualistic and perhaps accrued over a life time (Parfitt, Brugmann 1997,151-3). This might be supported by the fact that in some cases, children/infant burials only contain a small number of beads (for example see infant burials Great Chesterford Esx 34, 57, 111; Sarre Knt 17, 23; Owen-Crocker 2004, 85). The lesser numbers of items with young individuals may imply they had less time in their short lives to accrue or collect special items of dress.

6.5. Dress fasteners

By comparison to jewellery items, only 20 Roman dress fasteners have been identified in graves from 13 cemeteries. This is comparatively low in comparison to the total number of graves that contained dress fasteners in this study area (some 1304 graves). In addition to this, as briefly mentioned above, not all dress fasteners were used for holding the costume in place and some of them were reworked as jewellery items (see the belt slide at gr. 200 at Finglesham Knt and the three pierced brooches at Morning Thorpe Nfk 133, Polhill Knt 8 and Spong Hill, Nfk 26).

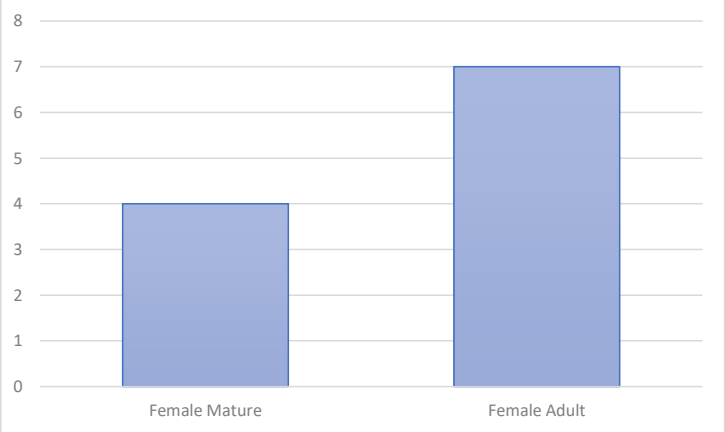
Dress fasteners were almost exclusively made from copper-alloy and iron; one exception was the lead mould for an annular brooch found in gr. 127 with a female adult inhumation at Great Chesterford Esx. However, the material of this brooch was very soft and therefore could not have been used for a functional purposes; Vera Evison suggests that the brooch dangled from a necklace instead, hence it can be categorised as another jewellery item (Evison 1987, 27).

The majority of the metal dress fasteners were brooches (12 in total), with buckles being the second favoured (8 in total). In addition to this, two pins and one terret reused as a belt buckle were also identified (see Great Chesterford Esx. 116, St. Peter's Tip, Knt 252 and Mucking II Esx). Where the dress fasteners were used for their original purposes, they were found either around the chest area or at the pelvis.

6.5.1. Brooches and Pins

The brooches were included exclusively with female gendered inhumations in seven cemeteries across the examined regions (see Fig. 6.14). Six of those burials could be identified further: two were that of female gendered mature and four of female gendered adult individuals, none of the brooches are found with younger individuals. Considering the argument that brooches are signifiers or badges for status and rank within early medieval communities, the absence of Roman brooches with juveniles and children might be an indication that they carried messages linked to rank and status which needed to be 'earned' during a life time, rather than inherited.

Fig. 6.14. Number of graves with brooches by age and gender (shown in total numbers)



In this study, no grave included more than one Roman brooch, suggesting that they might have been used as exotic components within the attire, instead of following a trend. This is supported by the fact that the brooches are frequently associated with beads and in some instances were 'added' to existing Anglo-Saxon brooches (see Table 6.2.). Furthermore, the majority of the brooches (nine in total) may have been used in a central position around the chest area, probably creating a visual striking effect (Gilton Knt 67; 70; 87; Holywell Row Sfk 83; Morning Thorpe Nfk 133; 304; 385; Oxborough Nfk 9 and Riseley Knt 95).

Table 6.2. Roman brooches associated with beads and other Anglo-Saxon brooches

Grave	**Object**	**In relation to the body**	**Other grave goods**
Gilton Knt 67	Enamelled copper-alloy ring brooch	Lower from neck	20 glass beads, knife, iron nails
Gilton Knt 70	Enamelled copper-alloy disc brooch	Lower from neck	20 glass beads, Iron knife, Iron nails, Glass vessel fragments
Gilton Knt 87	Copper-alloy gilt disc brooch with missing glass inlay	Lower from neck	15 glass beads, Iron knife, iron chatelaine with copper-alloy pendants,. some iron nails, four iron angle brackets
Sarre Knt 27	Copper-alloy ornamented annular brooch	Unclear	Associated with beads
Great Chesterford Esx 127	Lead pattern for mould of an annular brooch.	Top left chest	Tinned bronze disc brooch x 2, beads, iron pin, half of an iron ring, nail, knife
Holywell Row Sfk 83	Penannular brooch	At clavicle	Amber beads x 15, copy of penannular brooch, amber pendant, wrist clasps
Morning Thorpe Nfk 304	Iron penannular brooch	At chest (in line with brooches)	Pair of bronze annular brooches, Beads x 10, iron buckle, iron spearhead, iron knife, iron ring
Morning Thorpe Nfk 385	Half an iron penannular brooch, textile	At neck (associated with beads)	Five beads, bronze annular brooch, lumps of dark brown fused glass,

			pot, containing cremated bone, pots x 2
Morning Thorpe Nfk 131	Enamelled leaded bronze disc brooch, used as pendant	At chest under annular brooch	Amber bead, annular brooch, annular brooch, cruciform brooch, beads x 11

The pierced enamelled disc brooch found as pendant in a necklace from the female inhumation in Morning Thorpe Nfk 131 is of special significance, as it demonstrates that the brooch were specifically selected for visual display rather than as a dress fitting (see Fig. 6.15.).

Fig. 6.15. Pierced brooch in gr. 133 at Morning Thorpe, Norfolk, 1:2 (see Green, Rogerson. White 1987, 244)

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Similar treatments can be observed from the brooches found at Aerodrome Knt 11 and Polhill Knt 8. At Polhill Knt, the female adult inhumation was equipped with two 1st-century brooches of Clochester and Hod Hill type. The catch plate of this particular brooch was pierced for suspension, seemingly for the purpose of suspending it from the left side of the waist (Philp B, 2002). In gr. 11 at Aerodrome, Knt of a female adult inhumation, a penannular brooch had been attached to a triangular catch plate of a belt buckle, which is another example for the importance of its visual striking effects rather than its use as dress fitting (Harrington and Brookes 2008)

Only just over a half of the brooches in this study were intact and could have been used as functioning dress accessories (54%) in comparison with brooches used

solely for their visually striking elements as pendants, fragments or around the waist. Of those, four brooches (57%) were identified as centre pieces on the chest of the deceased. This might be suggestive that the visual striking effect was important, and the use of Roman brooches had a specific meaning for the individual and viewers.

Two pins were also identified in one female and one unsexed inhumation graves from two different cemeteries (St Peter's Tip Kn. 252, Great Chesterford Esx. 116). The pins were found around the chest area, perhaps securing clothing. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the pin found at Great Chesteford Esx. 116 is of particular interest here, as it had been identified as an ear probe which was repurposed as a pin (Evison 1994, 19, Henig 1986, 11). Vera Evison (1994) also mentions other disc headed pins recovered from the cemetery, which might be Roman in origin. Four of these were stray finds and one pin with perforated head was also recovered from gr. 112 of a female mature individual at Great Chesterford (Evison 1994, 86). However, the head of the pin recovered from gr. 112 differs from the ear probe identified through Henig's (1986) typology, thus it cannot be classified as an ear probe with certainty. Furthermore, the cemetery of Great Chesterford incorporated a vast amount of unstratified Roman artefacts (276 were recorded in total from all three excavations) to which the stray finds of ear probes may belong. In this regard, they cannot be identified as repurposed objects. However, the array of unstratified finds indicates that the incorporation of Roman finds in Anglo-Saxon graves at Great Chesterford Esx was highly selective. The occurrence of the ear probe pin is not following a general pattern but is evidence for an individual's choice. In any regard, these selected items differ from general trends and may be indicative that they were chosen as *exotica* for female attire.

6.5.2 Belt buckles and -accessories

As mentioned above, the number of Roman belt buckles and accessories within the examined study area is low in comparison to the overall number of reused Roman objects found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Five belt buckles, a repurposed belt slide and a bronze disc attachment were identified from six graves, making up 8% of the graves containing Roman metalwork. Two adult graves of a female and male, one mature female and one unsexed adult were found with Roman buckles and accessories.

Of special interest here are the graves at the cemetery of Mucking, Esx. The graves 979, 987 and 989 included unique belt buckles and plates. The possibly male adult inhumation in Mucking II Esx. 979 was equipped with a late military belt set, including a disc belt attachment and strap fittings while the possibly female adult inhumations in Mucking II Esx. 987 and 989 each contained a buckle, one that depicted horse heads and the other showed a dolphin (Hirst and Clark 2009, 209-224). These graves appear to have a spatial relation to each other within the cemetery plot (see Fig. 6.16) and it has been suggested that the graves dated to the earliest phases of the cemetery of the early to mid-5th century (Hirst and Clark 2009, 701-3).

Fig. 6.16. Map of Mucking II with graves containing late Roman belt buckles (red) (see Hirst and Clark 2010, 683-7)

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This corresponds with the re-dating of the graves through Hines and Bayliss (2013) classification, suggesting a date range between AD 525-550 (for more information on chronology, see below 6.6.). Given that military belt sets were important markers of status and wealth in the late Roman period (see Coulston 2010), it might be suggested that this group of individuals were also of importance in this community. They may have displayed their status and connection to a Roman past by wearing items of Roman prestige.

Apart from this example, no complete belt buckle set has been found in the examined study area. A Roman terret was repurposed as belt in Mucking II Esx 350

(Hirst and Clark 2009, 34). Given that the terret showed no elaborate designs, which would have been visually striking for the viewer, it might be suggested that its form was of more value than its original purpose.

The remaining two graves are single examples from the cemeteries at Lyminge Knt 3 and Orpington Knt 39. The female inhumation of Orpington Knt 39 was equipped with a Roman copper-alloy D-shaped buckle while the female adult inhumation of Lyminge Knt 3 incorporated a copper-alloy buckle with crude animal heads (Warhust 1955, 8; Tester 1968, 143). Given the lack of reusing belt buckles in other cemeteries it can be suggested that the belt sets found in Mucking II, Esx hold some special significance.

6.5.2.1. Modified belt buckle sets

As mentioned briefly above, special attention should be given where contemporary belt buckles were modified and Roman elements were added. Lyminge Knt 32 was the grave of a female adult that included a Roman intaglio which was set onto silver plated iron buckle and a bronze kidney shaped attachment plate (Warhust 1955, 20). The intaglio was probably reused from a seal ring and carries an image of Ceres with a shield in the left hand and a bird in the right. Henig (2016) identifies the female figure as Ceres, while the excavation report originally named her as Athena (Henig 2007, 71; Warhust 1955, 20). In addition to this, the buckle showed some Frankish affinities, which is perhaps an indication that the intaglio and the belt set originated from Northern Gaul (Henig 2007, *ibid*.). In any case, the selection of a fierce female with armour on an elaborate cloisonné belt set might be intentional in this female gendered grave, demonstrating again the careful selection of items. In addition to this, this usage is similar to the glass gaming piece which was also used as striking centre piece as keystone inlay in a buckle in Mill Hill Deal Knt 61 (Parfitt and Brugmann 1994, 138). Finally at Cuxton Knt 262, a male adult inhumation included an illegible coin fitted onto a belt together with a perforated iron disc. The excavators suggest that these might have been symbolic coins (Blackmore, Mackinder and Powers 2006, 9-10).

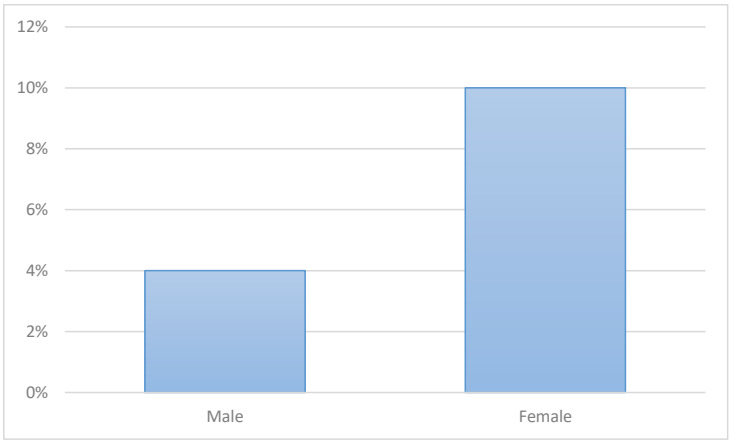
Here, the elements of the belts may have left a striking visual impact on the viewer. Although it could be argued that these are exotic elements within the attire of

individuals, items such as coins, intaglios and gaming pieces may have been recognisably Roman. Perhaps in these instances the items were valued for aesthetic purposes while also drawing on a Roman past. The graves at Mucking II Esx seem to be of special significance, particularly as they have a spatial relationship with each other.

6.6. Associations in terms of gender and age

In this study, 750 female and 438 male burials contained jewellery or dress fittings, based on biological sexing and assumptions on gendered grave goods. Proportionally, this makes up 70% of the full corpus of the female inhumation graves and 52% of the corpus of the male inhumation graves. This high frequency of dress adornments, in particular in female graves, show that these sets of items were of great significance in early medieval graves. The frequency of Roman material is comparatively low and presented in fig. 6.17., as 10% (73) of female graves and 1% (6) of male graves.

Fig. 6.17. Comparison of Roman objects as jewellery and dress fittings in male and female graves (shown in percentage from the total of gendered burials including jewellery and dress fittings)

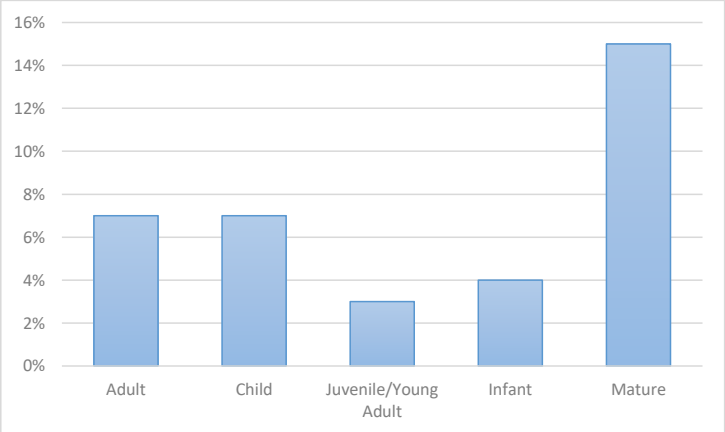


Similarly, to the gendered graves with bags and boxes, female burials demonstrate the proportionally higher inclusion of Roman objects as dress adornments than their male counterparts. As mentioned in chapter 5, the greater repertoire of graves goods in female inhumation graves might partly account for this. In particular jewellery is

largely confined to female dress assemblages and thus the high number of Roman objects as jewellery pieces are frequently found with female burials. If the Roman past of the objects is a relevant factor for the selection and choice of these items for visual display it might be suggested that the expression of drawing on the Roman past was transmitted through women rather than men, at least in funerary rites.

Jewellery items and dress fittings were largely associated with adult inhumations (482 in total), with a lesser extent of dress adornments found with juvenile or young adults (185 in total) or mature individuals (65 in total) (see Fig. 6.18). This is also reflected in the amount of Roman material included with these age categories, as there was a higher number found in adult burials (33 in total) than with other age categories (five in juvenile and 10 in mature graves) Proportionally, Roman items made up 14% or less of the overall number of jewellery and dress fittings in all age categories, suggesting that the inclusion of Roman objects was unrelated to age, but followed the general trends of investing and equipping different age categories with different amounts of dress fittings and adornments.

6.18. Comparison of age categories in total with age categories including dress fittings/ jewellery (percentage shown from the total number of graves including jewellery and dress fittings according to age)



Roman dress fittings were found with all age categories (35 graves in total). Of those, the highest number was recorded with adult inhumations, making up 46% (16 out of 35). Juveniles and young adults made up 25% (9 out of 35) and children 20% (7 out of 35). Metal items appeared much rarer in infant and mature graves, as only one infant and two mature individuals contained Roman objects. An age category

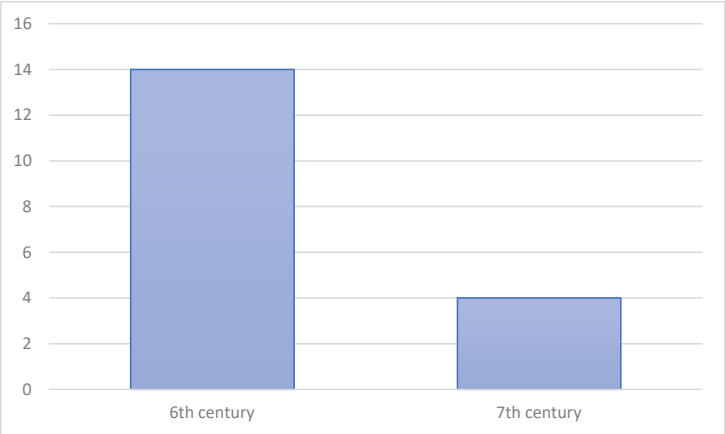
could be given to 17 graves of that included glass. The highest amount of this fabric was found with adult inhumations (12 in total). No Roman glass was recorded with juveniles or young adults and three mature individuals included Roman glass, making up 18%. Two children, aged between 2-12 years were buried with glass. Here, the choice of including glass might have been motivated by factors other than age. The same applies to stone objects. None were found with mature individuals and out of nine graves, five were those of adult inhumations, making up 56%. One juvenile and three children were accompanied by stone objects that were used as jewellery components, again indicating that the inclusion of these items within inhumations was related to factors other than age.

The inclusion of certain items, especially Roman metalwork, follows the general trends of including jewellery and dress fittings in relation with gender and age, with the majority found with female adult inhumations, and to a lesser extent with juveniles or young adults, mature adults and children.

6.7. Chronology

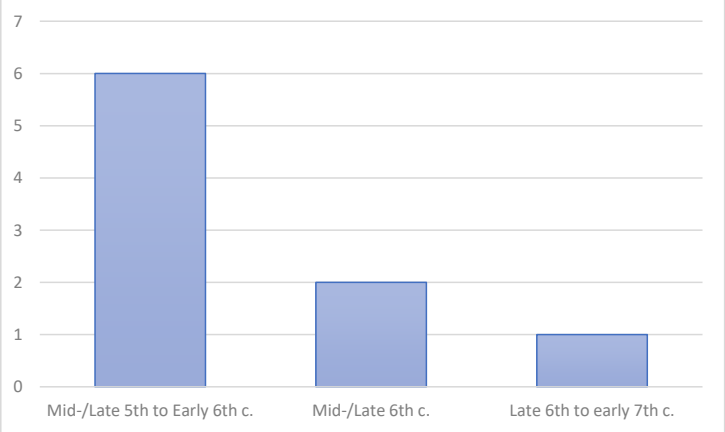
All the graves considered here that included Roman objects as jewellery components or dress fittings generally dated to the late 5th- to 6th- or early 7th-centuries. Some chronological variation was present, however. Out of 26 graves with perforated coins, 18 could be generally dated to 6th century (see Fig. 6.19), which is supported by Roger White's (1988) observation that this century witnessed a high point in Roman object reuse.

Fig. 6.19. General overview of graves containing perforated coins by date (shown in actual numbers)



Using Hines and Bayliss (2013) new typologies and available radiocarbon dates, 10 graves could be more closely dated (see Appendix A Table 6.3. and Fig. 6.17)

Fig. 6.20. Frequency of graves with perforated coins by date (shown in actual numbers)

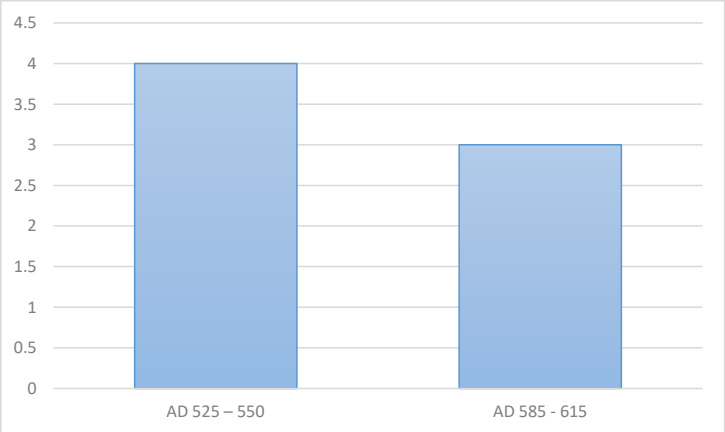


Of those, six dated to the late 5th to mid-6th century and three to the mid- 6th to late 6th century. Only one grave was late 6th to early 7th century in date from Mucking Ex, (gr. 878) that contained a double pierced coin. Special attention should be given here to grave 105c at Mill Hill, Deal, Knt which is now scientifically dated to AD 420–537 (with 95.4% confidence). This grave contained a lead spindle whorl and two coins; a 4th century issue worn in a necklace and another, illegible coin concealed in a bag collection (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 11-2). Graves that contained both,

coins in necklaces and in pouches are rare occurrences in this study area and it is therefore interesting to note that the radiocarbon dating suggests a date to a potentially earlier period than previously assumed. This raises the question of how we should perceive the presence of Roman objects in burials that are potentially so close in date to the late Roman era. Are the coins really 'reused objects' in these early post-Roman contexts or are they simply Roman material that was still in circulation but that was used for more diverse purposes other than just exchange? (see chapter 8). The majority of graves that included perforated Roman coins seem to date to relatively early phases in each cemetery.

As shown in table 6.3. in Appendix A, Roman objects suspended from belts were from in similar date ranges to those used in necklaces. Seven of the graves containing Roman items suspended from belts could be more closely dated using Hines and Bayliss (2013) chronology. As Fig. 6.21. shows, four of the graves were of an early date, that ranged from the early 6th to mid-6th century, but two graves dated to the mid-6th to early 7th century.

Fig. 6.21. Number of graves including objects suspended from belts by date (shown in actual numbers)



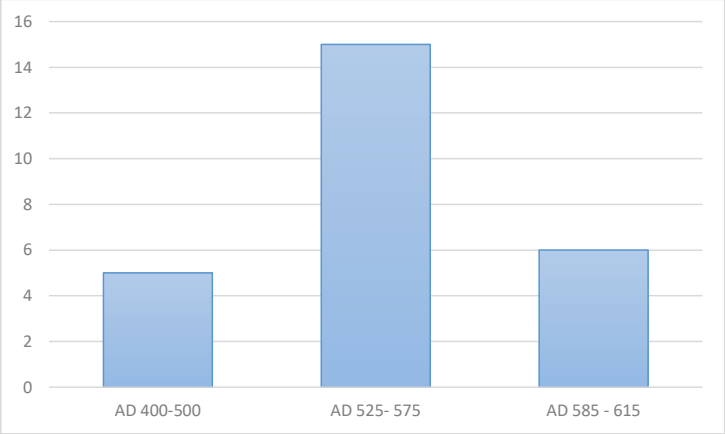
An early date range could be also assigned to the grave of the female adult inhumation at Buckland Kn. 391B, who was wearing an intaglio at the waist in addition to a bag that contained two coins and metal scrap (Parfitt and Anderson 2012, 436-7). The burial was radiocarbon dated to AD 405-535 (with 95%

confidence) again putting the use and display of Roman objects as costume items in a 5th to 6th century time frame.

It is interesting to note that in two graves, Roman coins and beads were found near the pelvis and femurs, thus suggesting perhaps that they were deposited in a bag that was suspended from a belt (Buckland Kn. 263B and Chartham Lines Kn. 2). These graves are similar in date to graves that incorporated Roman beads and coins in necklaces, AD 525–550 respectively. This demonstrates the versatile use of Roman items as components of visual displays during the early 6th century.

A similar chronological trend can be observed in the use of Roman glass in necklaces and other displayed formats. A total of 24 burials show a slightly higher use of Roman glass and beads in these contexts between the late 5th to mid-6th century (see Fig. 6.22.).

Fig. 6.22. Chronology of graves including Roman glass and beads (shown in actual numbers)

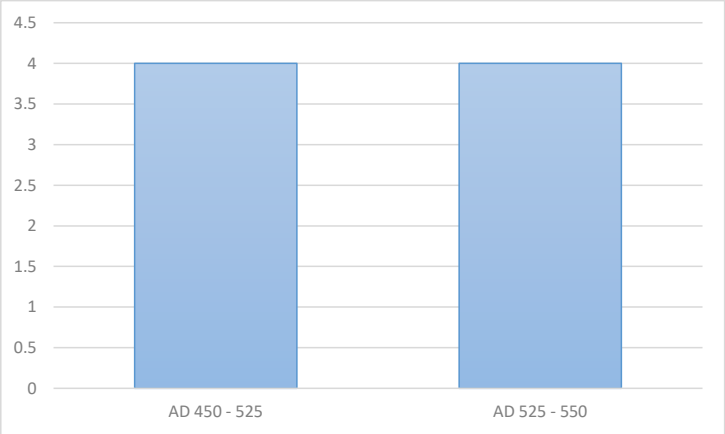


Grave 92 at Mill Hill, Deal Knt contained a female of mature years. This inhumation burial was radiocarbon dated between AD 399-75 (with 49.2% confidence) and AD 485–535 (with 46.2% confidence). Given the early date of this particular grave and the tendency for Roman beads to occur in the early phases of cemeteries, it is possible to suggest that Roman bead types may have continued in circulation in these post-Roman regions.

As Fig. 6.23 demonstrates, eight graves containing dress fittings could be closely dated. Of these, eight graves dated to the earliest phases of the cemetery, four of

which were from before AD 525 (Great Chesterford Esx 127, Mucking II Esx 350, Mucking II Esx 979, Spong Hill Nfk 26) and four between AD 525-550 (Mill Hill, Deal Knt 61, Morning Thorpe Nfk 133, Mucking II Esx 987, Mucking II Esx 989).

Fig. 6.23. Graves with dress fittings by date (shown in actual numbers)

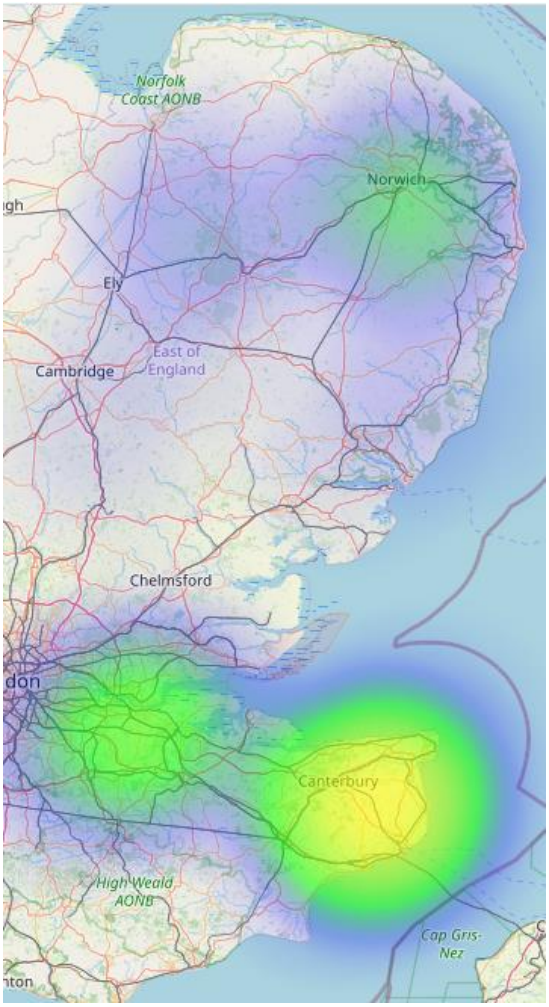


These included the graves containing late Roman military belt fittings and buckles at Mucking II Esx, and the modified buckles found with a glass gem and coins at Cuxton Knt 626 and Mill Hill, Deal Knt 61. These dates correspond with general trends in Roman object reuse in these regions. It seems that in these centuries, the visual display of objects in the form of jewellery and dress fittings was a deliberate choice for just some special individuals within communities (in the burial rite at least).

The evidence collected here demonstrates that a wide variety of Roman objects were consciously used in forms of open display on the body. The most common was copper-alloy metalwork, with fewer numbers made of iron, lead or silver, including coins, brooches and miscellaneous items, followed by glass. It can be suggested that glass and coins, which occur most frequently, are the types of material and object valued most by these post-Roman people. The relatively early dates for the use of these items in forms of visual display also might imply these materials were in circulation and readily available, although quite possibly, their unusual treatment could suggest such things were becoming rare and thus more symbolic and important in terms of meaning.

6.8. Visually displayed items – The spatial evidence

Fig. 6.24. Distribution map of cemeteries including Roman objects as visual displays



Similarly to observations made in chapter 5, the analysis of cemetery phasing and positioning of individuals within communal spaces proved to be useful when assessing spatial relations of graves openly displaying Roman objects. The cemeteries already discussed in chapter 5 are also scrutinised here.

Nine graves contained Roman objects used in necklaces or as dress fittings at Buckland, Knt, making up 7% (9) of the overall corpus of graves including jewellery and dress fittings. At Mill Hill Deal, Knt, 10 burials contained such items, making up 23% (10). These graves are accordingly marked within the cemetery sites in Fig. 6.21-6.23.

At Buckland Knt, glass beads are a common occurrence in all identified cemetery plots, but Roman beads were found exclusively in three graves situated in plots S, V and X (see Fig. 6.25.). The graves containing the beads (grs. 263B, 372 and 391B) all dated from Phases 1 to 2 (AD 450–550) and they were surrounded by burials of a similar date range, some of them dating from Phase 1-2 (AD 450-550) (according to the dating map provided by Parfitt and Anderson 2012, 336). It is interesting to note here that these were the same plots that were already identified as resting places for individuals buried with Roman items in bags and boxes and it is therefore possible, that there is a correlation with the social groups using Roman items in these plots.

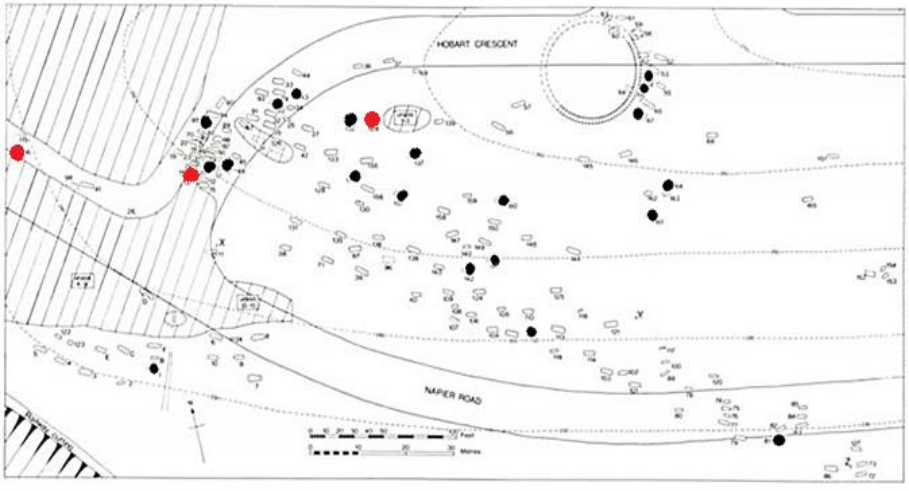
Fig. 6.25. Roman glass and beads (red) found at Buckland Knt. in comparison to other glass bead necklaces (black) (see Parfitt and Anderson 2012, Fig.4)

Image removed due to copyright reasons

The two pierced coins were found during the 1951-3 excavations Buckland Knt (gr. 14 and 129) (see Fig. 6.26.). In addition to this, a Roman bead and two girdle hangers, consisting of a hook and a peg were also found in gr. 59 and 116. The graves with Roman objects are found within the plots A, E and G. Although the plots are covering multiple chronological phases, the majority of graves are considered to belong to the earliest phases 1-2 (AD 450 - 550) and 3 (AD 575-625). Plot G containing gr. 129 is ascribed to a later phase, Phase 5 (AD 650-675), however, through Hines and Bayliss (2013) typologies, the grave could be dated more closely

to AD 525-550, which might suggest that this is one of the earliest graves in this cemetery. As Fig. 6.22. shows, gr. 14 is located in a dense main row of graves in the north-west corner of plot A and surrounded by other graves including beads and dress fasteners. This plot also includes a grave with a bracteate (gr. 20) and metal pendants (gr. 28 and gr. 95). This particular plot consists mostly of women and children and Evison (1994) observes that this grouping, in contrast to plot B, is mostly richly furnished. The selection of grave goods is more distinctive and there are variations in the richness of the graves (Evison 1994, 19). Buckland Kn. 116 is of particular interest here, as it only included the identified Roman hook and peg. This grave was on a fairly isolated position within the plot and Evison has suggested that it may have belonged to a separate group in the community (Evison 1994, 135). Although the phasing might differ from the closer date given to gr.129, it is interesting that plot G consisted of mostly female inhumations and that many other graves included distinct jewellery pieces, such as garnet and gold pendants, silver rings and bracteates (grs. 132, 134, 137, 157).

Fig. 6.26. Pierced coins and girdle hangers found at Buckland Kn. (red) in comparison to disc pendants/bracteates and metal pendants (black) (after Evison 1987, Fig. 2)



There are no clear groupings of Roman jewellery or Roman dress fittings within these plots, rather, jewellery and dress fittings occur in plots where there is a general wealth of grave furnishings with mainly women. However, those with Roman jewellery or dress fittings belonged to the earlier phases of the cemetery. The only odd grave is that of 116 which is located in an isolated position.

Similarly to Buckland Knt, Roman glass also played a significant role in the cemetery at Mill Hill Deal Knt. Four graves included beads and glass fragments. These graves appear to be clustered as pairs, cutting the Bronze Age barrow in the north-east corner (Plot A) and in the south-west edge (Plot B) of the cemetery. Moreover, the graves were fairly close to clusters of graves containing jewellery items (see Fig. 6.27).

Fig. 6.27. Graves with Roman items as jewellery or dress fittings (red) in comparison to graves with jewellery (black) and dress fittings (yelllow) (see Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, Fig. 4)

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Three graves (gr. 61, 71, 92) were associated with the Bronze Age barrow. The former located inside the ditch burial mound and the latter two cutting the ditch. The

graves contained the remains of one female adult (gr. 61) and two female mature inhumations (gr. 71 and 92). Grave 61 is of particular interest, as it included a Roman glass gaming piece used as belt inlay, which would have made quite a striking effect (see Fig. 6.30). The inhumations in gr. 71 and 92 were both accompanied by Roman beads worn in elaborate bead necklaces (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 143; Parfitt and Brugmann 1997,151-3). The graves belonged to a cluster of other burials ascribed to Group 1, mostly containing dress fittings but some also included beads (Parfitt and Anderson 1997, 15).

These graves all dated to the earliest phase of the cemetery, Kentish Phase II, AD 500-530, bar gr. 92 which could be ascribed to Phase III (AD 530/40-560/70) (See Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 105).

The graves in plot B were dating to Phases II and III due to their north-east to south-west orientations, while later burials which cut earlier ones were aligned on an east-west orientation. Gr. 18 and gr. 25b were located in the same row and both contained spindle-whorls made from Roman material (see table 6.1.). In addition to this, gr. 25b included a glass fragment reworked as a bead (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 128-9; 130-1). Both graves were situated in a cluster of graves containing dress fittings and jewellery items, suggesting that Roman objects again turned up in clusters of graves where the individuals were heavily invested in, in terms of jewellery and dress items.

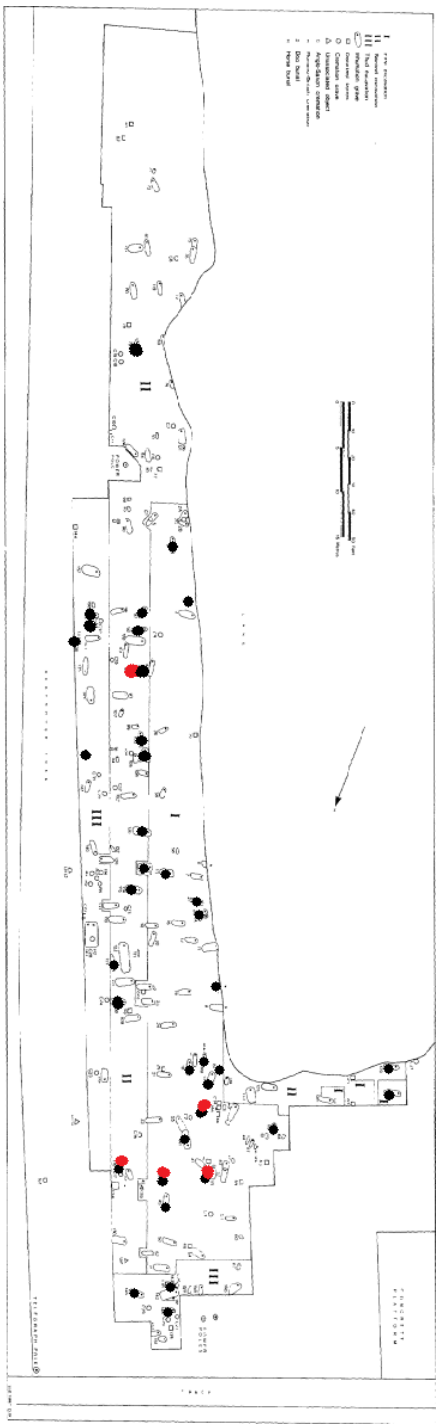
Reused Roman glass was also found in four graves dating to the mid-6th to 7th/8th-centuries at the cemetery at Finglesham, Knt, including two beads in graves 120 and 132 which were surrounded by a ring ditch. The graves of the female gendered adult and a child both contained a melon bead that was suspended from a silver ring, and these were kept separate from the bead necklaces included in the grave. These two graves were in fairly close proximity to each other (Fig. 6.28.). Reused Roman copper-alloy objects were found in graves 180 and 200, which were lying almost on a parallel line with grave 203. The latter contained a bracteate and reused Roman glass bead. Grave 200 contained a repurposed key fragment and belt slide which were used as necklace fittings, which may be regarded as evidence that the fabric of the objects or their significance as curios were of more value than their association with the Roman past.

Fig. 6.28. Finglesham cemetery plan with Roman jewellery/dress fittings (red) in comparison with overall number of jewellery (black) (see Hawkes and Grainger 2006, 29)

Duncan Sayer has divided the cemetery sites in plots A to C and it is interesting to note that Roman objects occur in all of the plots without any apparent relation to each other (see Sayer 2009, 162). However, the majority of these burials are prominent Anglo-Saxon barrow burials (grs 120, 132, 180, 203), while G1 is associated with one of the largest barrows, gr. G1 (see Sayer 2009, *ibid*.). Sayer has pointed out that in this cemetery, visual grave forms are of a higher significance for the social community than the inclusion of prestigious artefacts for the expression of social identities (Sayer 2009, 166). This might be also the reason why there is no apparent correlation of group clusters containing Roman objects, as their importance of visually expressing social identities may have ceased.

At Great Chesterford, Esx only five graves included Roman objects in an openly displayed fashion. Two graves of infants were situated in a parallel line and contained jewellery, including a Roman bracelet and a perforated Roman coin. Another grave of a child in gr. 29 was fairly close to this cluster and contained a secondarily perforated coin at the chest area (see Fig. 6.29.). These graves date to the earliest phase of the cemetery, AD 450–500. The other two graves were that of female adults and contained two dress fittings in the form of a brooch and a pin and these burials were dated to phase II, AD 475-525. This might be another indication that reused Roman jewellery features in some of the earliest graves and cemeteries in this region. Great Chesterford, Esx. is of special significance, given that there is a high amount of infant burials, including six of them with Roman objects.

Fig. 6.29. Graves with Roman jewellery and dress fittings (red) in comparison with graves with jewellery items (black) at Great Chesterford, Esx. (after Evison 1994, Fig.2.)



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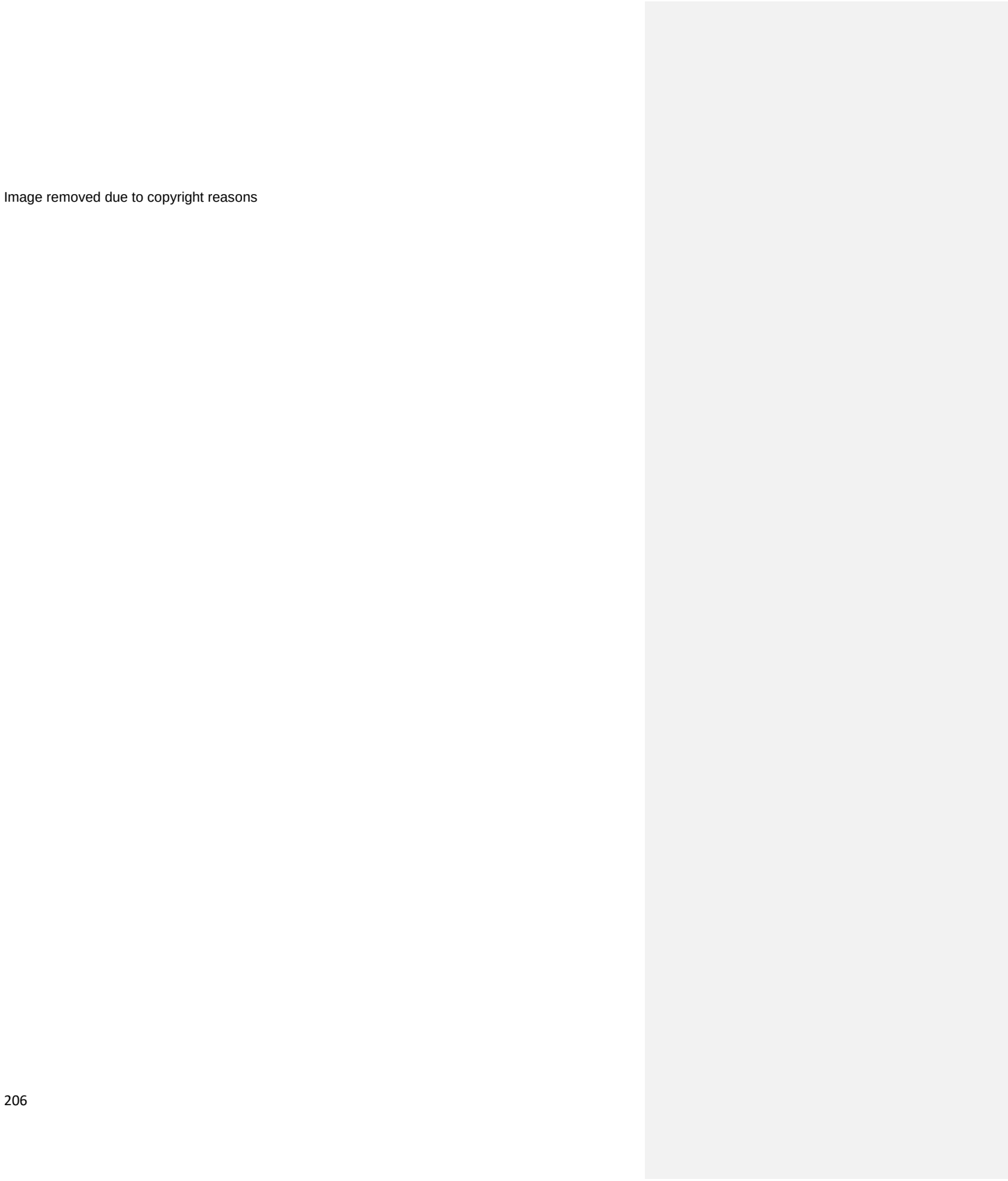
104 (65%) graves included dress fittings and jewellery. These consisted of 47 (45%, 47 out of 104) graves containing jewellery pieces and 53 out of 104 (51%) burials with dress fittings. Out of 42 graves in phases I and II, 21 jewellery and dress fittings were found in phase I burials and 21 items were found in phase II graves. In phase III, dating to AD 500 – 575, the number of dress fittings and jewellery is considerably lower with only 9 graves containing these objects. This might be an indication that the variety of items and use of Roman jewellery and dress fittings occurred more frequently in the earlier phases in the mid-5th to early 6th century. This would correspond with more intense furnishing practices during the period.

Vera Evison made the observation that the graves including coins were somewhat connected to pre-existing Roman burials from the 2nd century AD and covered by tumuli, which were respected by the later additions of Anglo-Saxon graves (Evison 1994, 41-2). In particularly gr. 29 of a female child aged between 10-12 years was found to have been wearing a Roman coin at the neck and holding a coin in the left hand (Evison 1994, *ibid*). This grave was located near a Roman cremation alongside other inhumations of women and children (Evison 1994, *ibid*.). This distinctive application of coins within the grave and the spatial relationship to Roman burials implies that this community was not only aware of the pre-existing graves, but they were also signalling a connection to Roman origins and perhaps associated themselves with this kind of identity by using Roman objects too (see chapter 7).

At the cemetery of Morning Thorpe Nfk the inclusion of dress fittings and jewellery was generally sparse, however some spatial correlations between graves including Roman coins were evident (see Fig. 6.30.). The two graves containing pierced coins (Morning Thorpe Nf. 66 and 73) were positioned in close distance to each other and gr. 85 of a female juvenile, who was wearing a late Roman blue translucent bi-convex gem worn at the chest area (Green, Rogerson. White 1987, 59).

Fig. 6.30. Roman jewellery items (red) in comparison to brooches and jewellery items in general (black) (see Green, Rogerson and White 1987, Fig. 5)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The coins were both antoninianii and used in elaborate ways. In Morning Thorpe Nfk 73 the coin of Gallienus AD 253-268 with an illegible reverse, was positioned as centre piece of a necklace and in Morning Thorpe Nfk 66, two antoninianii both of the 3rd century were found with two suspension holes as surface finds. Care had been taken to pierce the coins and not intrude the Emperor's head (Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 54). The items were exclusively found with female juvenile and young adults. Roman brooches were also found in this cemetery, without any apparent clustering. Four brooches were in a position suggesting that there were used for securing garments (grs 304; 328; 385), while two also occurred at the waist (grs 369, 378). Compared to the other cemetery sites examined in this study, there was an unusually high number of brooches in this cemetery. In gr. 133 at Morning Thorpe Nfk, a pierced disc brooch was found with the inhumation of a female adult. This is of particular interest here, as the pierced disc brooch has been repurposed into a pendant (Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 73). Perhaps its Romanitas is not as relevant here as its shape and elaborate decoration (see Fig. 6.15.).

Other graves with openly displayed Roman objects occur in much lower numbers in Norfolk, which may be an indication that the accessibility to Roman materials was limited in comparison to the southern regions. In the 5th to 6th cemeteries of Spong Hill Nfk and Bergh Apton Nfk, a wide array of jewellery and dress fittings have been recorded from graves. A total of 89% (51) of the burials at Spong Hill Nfk included jewellery and dress fittings and at Bergh Apton, Nfk 92% (57 out of number) of the graves recorded also included such adornments (see Fig. 6.31.a. and b.). Given that these inhumation graves in these cemeteries are well equipped, it is surprising that only two graves contained Roman objects (Spong Hill Nfk 26 and Bergh Apton Nfk 44).

Fig. 6.31.a. Cemetery plan of at Bergh Apton with Roman jewellery (red) and overall number of jewellery/dress fasteners (black) (see Green and Rogerson 1978, Fig.5.)

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Fig. 6.31.b. Spong Hill with graves including Roman objects (red) and jewellery and dress fittings (yellow) (see Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, Fig.1.)

There appears to be no direct correlation between burials with Roman items and social groupings within these two cemeteries. Both graves were dated to the earliest phases of the cemeteries; alongside three other graves, Spong Hill Nfk 26 dated to phase FA1, AD 480, while Bergh Apton Nfk 44 and six other burials dated to phase FA2, AD 480 – 530/50, both of them belonging to the earliest phases in the cemeteries (see Penn and Brugmann 2007, Fig. 5.14, 5.16 and 5.20).

At Snape, Sfk spatial correlations between graves equipped with jewellery and dress fittings and those including Roman objects were even less significant. The boat burial in mound 1 with the Roman intaglio mounted on a gold ring was isolated from other clusters with jewellery items. Generally, 55% of the graves (26) included either jewellery or dress fittings, of those, the majority were dress fittings (17 in total), suggesting that jewellery items were generally scarce in this cemetery. Given the later date of mid-6th to 7th century, it might be suggested that the scarcity of lavish dress ornaments were perhaps subject to similar motivations already observed at Finglesham, Knt.

Fig. 6.32. Cemetery overview and plans from Snape Sfk mound 1, area A and B with Roman openly displayed objects (red) and graves with jewellery and dress fittings (yellow) (see Pestell 2001, Fig. 5)

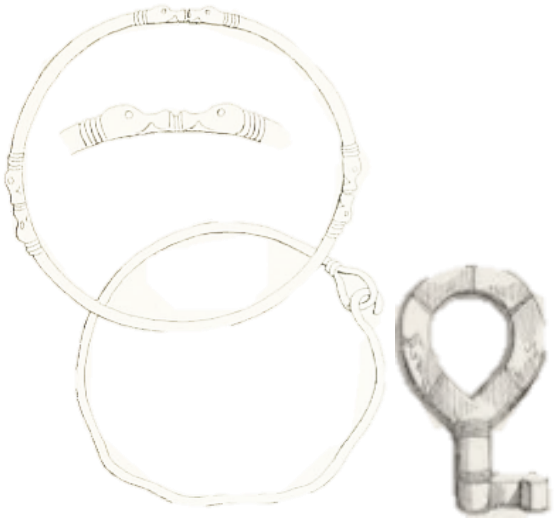
Mound 1, however, was one of the most prominent burials, as it was the largest mound in the cemetery, dating to the mid-to late 6th century AD (Filmer Sankey and Pestell 2001, 196-7). Thus, the inclusion of a Roman finger ring in such as prestigious burial may have had some special significance. The ring with the set Roman intaglio has parallels to continental high status graves and the boat burial at Sutton Hoo gr. 1 (see Filmer-Sankey 2001, 169-70), thus, the inclusion of Roman gemstones in rings may have shown connections to other prestigious burials established by an emerging elite. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

6.8. Special individuals with openly displayed Roman objects

The female gendered individual in gr. 16 Chartham Down, Knt included two rings forming a chatelaine with a suspended Roman key near the right knee (Roach Smith

1856, 171). No other grave goods were found; the selection and choice to deposit only Roman objects must have had therefore some special meaning.

Fig. 6.33. Rings made from Roman bracelets and Roman key from gr. 16 Chartham Down, Knt (key 1:1 after Roach Smith 1856, 171 1:2; bracelet 1:2 after Roach Smith 1856, pl. 16)



As has been discussed in chapter 5. women were frequently associated with keys which have been interpreted as status symbols for women as keepers of the household (Owen-Crocker 2004, 67). The woman in this grave was also of high status with a special lineage that she expressed by using exclusively a Roman repertoire. The two rings where formerly used as jewellery items, but they were revived as objects as chatelaine links from which the key was suspended. The decoration of the first ring with two beasts created a visually striking effect, while the hook-and-eye bangle was easily attached together with the key and thus, valued for a functional purpose. They key may have held many secrets, this might be an heirloom from one generation to another, linking their household to a Roman lineage. It may be just a symbol of the household or perhaps the female also owned a box that could be unlocked with the key. In any regard, it was important for the individual to express these associations visually.

Two peculiar items, a hook and peg, were also found with the female adult inhumation in gr. 116 at Buckland Knt, aged 30-45 years (Evison 1987, 242). The two items were suspended from a girdle and as was the case at Chartham Down Knt 16, no other grave goods were deposited.

Fig. 6.34. Hook and peg from gr. 116 Buckland Knt scale 1:2 (see Evison 1987, 321)

The items were formerly used as tools for suspension and keeping material in place. The community who were buried at Buckland, Knt, appeared to have access to a larger pool of Roman objects, it could be therefore suggested that there were markets set up for the living where items could be traded and purchased. It is here where the hook and peg were brought to after a long history of circulation and picked up by the current owner. This woman selected these items and incorporated them into her dress for their unusual shape as items of *exotica* and for the sound they made jangling together. Sound was associated with magic in the Anglo-Saxon world (see Vedeler *et al.* 2018, 22) and thus this special individual was recognised as a 'cunning' woman. These distinct pieces made her unique within her community, for this reason the magical items were deposited alongside her in a special plot selected within this cemetery (see section 6.7.).

Finally, the female juvenile aged 10-12 years at Chesterford Esx 29 incorporated a perforated coin as necklace component and a larger coin in her hand (Evison 1994, 96). The female inhumation had been lavishly equipped with dress adornments and beads and considering that the perforated coin was located on the centre of the chest indicates its importance.

Fig. 6.35. Coin from gr. 29 at Great Chesterford, Esx 1:1 (after Evison 1994, 146); photographs scales shown in image (pictures taken at the British Museum)

As Fig. 6.35 shows, the coin of Allectus (AD 293-6) was perforated twice, as one perforation broke. This indicates its long life span and that after heavy wear, its significance as openly displayed jewellery item did not diminish. Considering the age of the female juvenile, the wealth of grave goods in this burial may have been the result of the individual entering puberty and thus, was supposed to be married to another household. One or both families may have had links to a Roman legacy, thus, displaying the coin in a bead necklace demonstrated the ties between the households through marriage. The perforated coin may have been passed down from one generation to another as an heirloom, but when the juvenile died at a young age, the necklace was deposited as grave goods as a reminder of those links for the rest of the community. The cemetery at Great Chesterford Esx. Is unique in regards to the placement of coins in graves and drawing on pre-existing Roman features, suggesting that there were strong links to the Roman past. The coin was therefore strategically placed within the grave, demonstrating ancient lineages that bound families together.

6.9. Discussion

The evidence has shown that Roman objects were commonly used as dress fittings or jewellery components in the attire of the deceased to create visual displays and perhaps to signal an individual's identity within communities. As section 6.8. has shown, the transmitted messages could vary depending on the object types and their particular usage. Generally, Roman objects were more commonly used as pieces of jewellery, centrally placed at the chest area, rather than as dress fittings. In particular

Roman metalwork was used either in the form of late Roman coins, pendants, bracelets or other miscellaneous items. Roman glass and stone objects were found, to a lesser extent, worn openly on the body, which might be an indication that either Roman metalwork was in broader circulation than artefacts made of other fabrics or that metal items were more favoured and of greater value.

Visually displayed Roman artefacts were either worn as components on necklaces, suspended from a belt in the pelvic area or they were associated with the arms. All of these positions would have been highly visible to the viewer. The question remains what was the reasoning behind wearing curated Roman items in such a visual manner? The general background of curated Roman material may give us some insights as to why early medieval communities collected, kept and curated certain objects made from different fabrics over a considerably long time.

As Table 6.1. has shown, a considerable amount of glass beads and fragments were openly displayed. The Roman glass fragments that were openly worn mainly consisted of body sherds made from convex glass, handles or rims which could be easily turned into beads. It is possible that these came from closed glass forms with rolled rims and convex bodies, which were much favoured in the 4th century AD (Price and Cottam 1998, 163-5). This might be evidence for a continuous flow of 4th century vessel fragments in Post-Roman communities. The quality of the glass fragments identified is of special interest here, as nearing the end of the 4th century, glass became so expensive (as evidenced by late Roman price lists charging customers by weight) that a considerable amount of vessels were thinly blown, greenish in colour and contained lots of impurities (Price 2010, 48). In fact, glass was so valuable in the late Roman period, that they rarely turned up in graves, but were found at high status residences (Price 2010, 37). It is therefore interesting to note that the glass fragments identified here are made of thick blue/green or clear glass, suggesting that early medieval communities had access to highly priced glass fragments. This material may have been made available through existing trade routes of raw glass and bead manufacturing. Peake (2013) suggests that during the Anglo-Saxon period, local networks and small-scale trade routes were covering short distances, that supported local bead making in Britain and on the continent (Peake 2013, 504-506). Perhaps raw glass and curated beads were also subject to these trade routes, as they were collected, curated and offered on local markets within

communities. As discussed in section 3.6.4, these items may have been part of the pool of material that was used by the maritime regions to accumulate portable wealth and glass was therefore a highly valuable commodity (Loveluck and Tys 2013, 361-3). Some glass fragments may have been more valuable than others and thus, thick, pure glass sherds were more likely to be visually displayed than small pieces of fragments which were included in bag collections.

We have also observed that late Roman coins were favourable items as frequently centre pieces in necklaces. The evidence here strongly suggests that Anglo-Saxon society was aware of the use and value of Roman coinage before the introduction of their own currency and that coins that were the centre-pieces of necklaces, worn on strings around the waist or concealed held economic value as well as a symbolic value. The common interpretation that coin pendants were amulets also holds little value if Roman coins were still in use in various ways. Similarly to Roman glass, it could be suggested that wearing Roman coins signalled the ability of the wearer to access limited and valuable material. However, there are other ways to interpret the use of coinage as pendants. Coins have a stronger connection to the former Roman Empire than glass as they present clear impressions of the Emperor in the form of the Emperor's image in addition to lettering. This interpretation is validated somewhat as often the Emperor's image is not disturbed by perforations (see section 6.3.1). As has been suggested in section 6.8., it is possible that the open display of coins were also symbols for lineages to a Roman past or marriage to households with such a lineage. Other affiliations are also possible; intermarriages between the powerhouses of Kent and Francia are known from written sources, perhaps this lineage was shared across different regions (see chapter 8 for further explorations). Objects are associated with memory-making and emotions and are therefore closely connected to an individual and particular households (Eckardt and Williams 2003, 161-2; Gilchrist 2012, 243-6).

The inclusion of distinctive metal objects within the attire of the deceased might be an indication that certain items were chosen for their peculiar shapes or elaborate designs, adding an exotic element to the individual's dress (see section 6.8.). Similarly, some brooches or fragment of brooches were repurposed as pendants. The continued usage of broken brooches as visual elements was also significant. This is supported by the fact that only half of the recorded Roman brooches were

intact and the majority of brooches were used as centre pieces on the chest, leaving a visual striking effect. Brooches have been interpreted as badges and signifiers of status and identity in Roman and early Anglo-Saxon times (Allason Jones 2010, 82; Collins 2010, 64; Martin 2013). In particular Roman cross bow brooches were part of 4th century uniforms and state officials, thus indicating imperial identity and supply of official items (Jobst 1975, 93, Heurgon 1958, 23, Swift 2000b, 3, Collins 2010, 67). Rob Collins (2010) argues that during the course of the Roman period, brooches may have become more important and associated with prestige as fewer brooches were available in the 4th century and perhaps their use was limited to a selected group of people (Collins 2010, 67-68). A similar argument is made by Toby Martin (2013), who suggested that the cruciform brooch is a marker of ethnicity that is associated with certain groups of people who shared a similar past (Martin 2013, 174-179). As has been argued in section 3.7.1., in the late Roman period provincial identities were shaped by frontier communities with the means of their own material culture (see Collins 2007, 151-6; Collins 2010, 67-8). Brooches could be part of this repertoire, signalling affiliations with particular communities during a time of 'co-existence', rather than a strict segregation of particular groups that is evidenced in the conversion period burials. This demonstrates that early medieval communities were carefully selecting their brooches as symbols of a shared group identity, thus, it seems unlikely that curated Roman brooches were randomly selected within the attire of the individual. Instead, early medieval communities may have been attracted to their rarity and perhaps to their *Romanitas* as items of a prestigious past. In fact, Margaret Nieke (1993) suggests that the use of brooches as markers of social status in early medieval societies was a retention of Roman tradition.

The occurrence of Roman belt sets may fall into a similar category and it is of particular interest that some Roman objects were added to contemporary belt sets, suggesting that wearing Roman items on belt sets carried some special significance. Comparing the evidence with late Roman graves shows that only a few graves contained military equipment, examples being found at Lankills, Winchs 376 and Dorchester on Thames 1 (Coulston 2010, 51). However, a significant amount of belt sets are known from the 4th century in inhumation burials from the continent. Continental developments could also be observed along the Saxon shore, which might be an indicator of shared material culture and values. As discussed in section

3.7., on the continent there was a co-existence of social groups with different origins in the 5th century who were bound together through common ideas and material culture of a Roman past (see Pohl 1997, 8-11). It is therefore possible that the early date of the graves with complete belt sets found at Mucking II Esx is no coincidence but rather a reflection of such affiliations. Furthermore, Jon Coulston argues that belt sets worn in continental graves, particularly those that included mounts with rosettes for suspending toiletries and amulets, were used to advertise the wealth and status of soldiers between the 1st century BC and 6th century AD (Coulton 1010, ibid.). These military belt sets were constant visual identifiers of military service within the late Roman period and could be found as such in Britain, Northern Gaul and along the Rhine and Danube frontiers, with new distinct regional and local types evolving in the 5th century. There seems to be some correlation with these type of graves and the distinct cluster identified at Mucking II, Esx, however, the different shapes and forms and fragments of belt buckles identified in the other graves here might have been chosen for different purposes, perhaps even as *exotica* in graves. It is evidence, however, that there was a surplus of circulating Roman metalwork, and this contributed to the appearance and perhaps social identity of the wearer.

Other items identified here, consisting of keys, peculiar shaped objects, tools and utensils suspended from the belt may have served various purposes; some were collected and curated alongside contemporary material (e.g. keys and spindle whorls), while others were strikingly different in visual displays (e.g. intaglios, the identified hook and peg or horse harness pendants). As has been discussed above, perhaps they were also used for sensory appearances, as the clinging of metal objects suspended from belts may have made a distinct sound associated to a particular individual. Other items may have provided information on the wearer. As has been suggested in Chapter 5, in particular keys are symbolic for the role of women as keeper of the households. The use of curated keys with elaborate design or in fact, multiple keys suspended from the waist may have been evidence of the status of this particular individual. These items, alongside metal scrap, may have been available on local markets within communities, enhancing the visual display of the wearer.

There are strong gender and age associations, as female adults are the predominant group that included Roman items in an open display. This is similar to the

observations made in chapter 5 and the inclusion of bag collections. Although the majority of graves displaying Roman items in their attire were those of female adults, the graves of juveniles also included a wide repertoire of Roman antiques. As has been observed in section 3.6.3., this corresponds to the overall pattern of including jewellery in graves, suggesting that out of all social categories, female adults were the most richly adorned with a wide variety of Roman antiques, rather than a standardised gendered set. The messages of these depositions might be as subtle as those discussed for bags, nevertheless openly displayed repaired items or scrap can be regarded as very distinct symbols that were read and understood by the audience. A display of prestigious items such as weaponry that were repeated throughout the grave was not required to affirm the individuals status, rather, the wealth of material demonstrated the access and affiliations to existing trade networks and communities. It is largely women who apparently expressed their affinity to *Romanitas* through the means of open display. However, caution is needed when interpreting mortuary displays. Given the general lack of dress adornments with male inhumations in comparison to their female counterparts, it is also possible that any personal possessions and items affiliated with the Roman past were simply not included in the grave assemblage but were handed on to the living. Nevertheless, the evidence here suggests that women, especially in their adult life, played an important role in wearing Roman objects, perhaps as heirlooms that signalled connections with a Roman past.

In addition to this, the majority of graves including Roman objects dated to the earliest phases of cemeteries, between the 5th- to mid-6th centuries AD. This is supported by the refined dating given to individual graves. It is interesting to note that some radiocarbon dates suggested even earlier dates, from the late 4th-to late-5th centuries for some graves with Roman dress and jewellery items. This fits well into the existing time frame for the emergence of Post-Roman communities (see section 3.6.3.). As has been demonstrated above with the inclusion of belt sets, the open display of Roman antiques as jewellery and dress adornments might also signal a shared cultural identity that was not necessarily based on an ethnic background, but rather on common perceptions of the present and the past and shared material culture.

In addition to this, the graves belonging to the earliest phases of the cemeteries are found frequently in clusters or in distinct groupings, suggesting that the inclusion was not a random act, but was part of a repertoire of investment made at death in relation to particular groups. These particular groupings were motivated by various factors, depending on each community, but some may have had similar special roles comparable to the founder's graves discussed in chapter 5. In the later 6th- to 7th-century cemeteries and the emergence of conversion period burials, Roman dress and jewellery items were limited to more prominent graves. Thus, similar to the concealed Roman items in bags and box collections, there appears to be a change in object types and frequency again here in terms of jewellery and dress items with a reduction in their presence and use in costume by the late 6th/7th centuries. It can be suggested that Roman objects were perhaps becoming rarer in terms of circulation and thus more precious and perhaps less connected as well to the 'Roman past'. The Roman past seems to have become less important at an individual level with as demonstrated by a reduction of the kinds of reused items evident in largely female dress and attire during the 5th and 6th centuries. It appears that the shared identities of the previous centuries were replaced by a strict segregation within the communities, which crystallised later into the emerging Middle Saxon kingdoms (see section 1.5.). As has been argued in section 3.1.1 and 3.2., the emergence of Christianity had an impact on grave good deposition; while grave goods declined, Roman structures and fabrics that were used to incorporate or 'build' the grave became more prevalent (see Bell 1998; Senior *et al.* 2014). By then, the nature of the Roman artefact type has also changed, and more precious material is evident as dress and jewellery items, including intaglios or beads on silver slings. The impact of Christianity will be discussed in more detail in section 9.6.and 9.6.1.

CHAPTER SEVEN
INTERACTING WITH THE DEAD – NON-COSTUME APPLICATIONS

7.1. Introduction

A substantial number of Roman artefacts were recorded in positions which were not directly associated with the attire of the individual or personal equipment (as we have observed in the previous chapters with jewellery, dress fasteners, bag and box collections). These items were not unique in their own right, rather, they were found frequently in an assemblage with related items placed beside the body, such as vessels, hanging pots, food remains or tools (e.g. scales, weights). If they do occur on the body, these items were unrelated to the costume (e.g. items in the hands, skull or mouth) and thus, their inclusion within the grave must have had some special meaning. Other items seem to be included while backfilling the grave and are therefore found a few centimetres above or around the body. Although it can be argued that the mourners dress the dead in a 'burial costume' and thus, this is also part of the funerary ritual (e.g. Lucy 2000, 8; Eckardt and Williams 2003, 155), there is nevertheless a distinction made between dress adornments and personal items worn as part of the attire that may have been accrued during a life time and the inclusion of objects placed beside or on the body for ritualistic reasons (such as ritual feasting or as communication with deities). Roman objects played a part in both types of deposits and the differing positions of these items within the graves are explored further below.

7.2. Roman objects used in non-costume applications

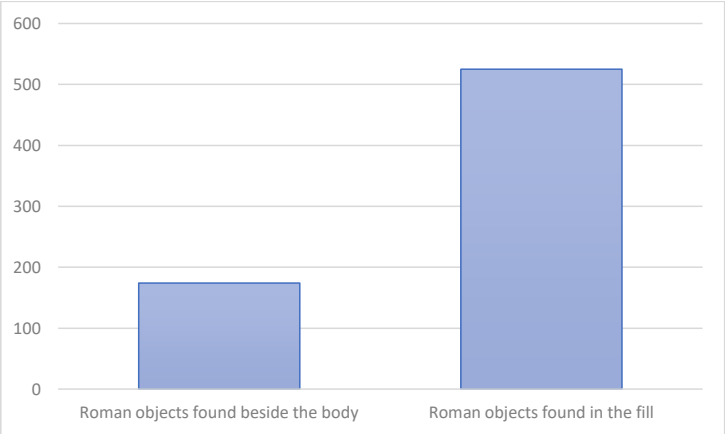
From the corpus examined in this project, which includes inhumation and cremation graves (excl. Spong Hill, Nfk, see below), 52% (169 in total) included Roman material in a manner suggesting that these items were not included (whether concealed or displayed) as part of the costume (see Appendix A Table 7.1.).

Of the 100 graves that included objects placed either beside or on the body, 69 graves included items in the fill. Objects beside the body were frequently placed near

the feet or the skull, while in rarer instances they were placed on, or beneath, certain body parts. The latter suggests that the body was placed on top of some items of the assemblage. Careful consideration has been given to taphonomic processes; as such, the objects included are those which appear to not have moved or been from a nearby cluster of objects perhaps as a result of de-compositional processes. Cremation burials are also considered in this category, as the items discussed are found either as an added element within the cremation, or directly associated with the urn. These processes of addition make these objects distinctive from personal adornments related to the attire that were selected by the mourners to burn alongside the body. Objects found in the fill without an obvious relation to the body are frequently regarded as residual. Although residuality can never be completely ruled out, this study examines the frequency of certain Roman object types found in graves, and where possible the associated assemblages, in order to highlight possibility of the intentional inclusion of objects in the grave.

From the 169 graves identified in 35 cemeteries where Roman items were included as non-costume objects, 174 items were placed beside or on the body or included in cremations, while 525 objects were found in the grave fills (Figure 7.1).

Fig.7.1. Frequency of graves with Roman items found in the fill and beside the body in the study area (shown in actual numbers)

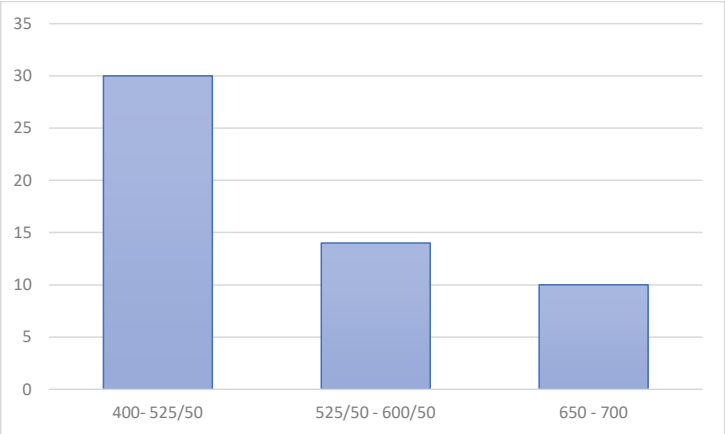


The inclusion of grave goods in general beside the body or in the fill is relatively low in comparison to other grave furnishings, as only 11% from the entire corpus of examined inhumation and cremation burials in this study included artefacts added to graves in these ways (600 graves from an overall corpus of 5310 graves). There was a slightly higher preference of objects included beside the body (331 in total, making up 55%) as opposed to items included in the fill (269). Although this is only a slight variation, it highlights the care that has been taken by the mourners to furnish the grave carefully (perhaps for visual display), before it was backfilled. The items included vary, however. Those placed beside the body are frequently heavier items which could not be worn or carried on the body, including vessels or pots made from different material, and equipment for a wide range of activities such as feasting, weighing or carrying. Grave fills incorporated smaller artefacts, such as potsherds, flints, glass fragments, bones or occasionally metal items, some of which were Roman. This study shows that while 31% of the graves included objects on or beside the body that were of Roman manufacture, only 25% of graves contained Roman objects found within the grave fill generally (Figure 7.2).

Fig. 7.2. Number of graves containing Roman items beside the body and in the fill (shown in percentage from the total number of graves including items in such ways)

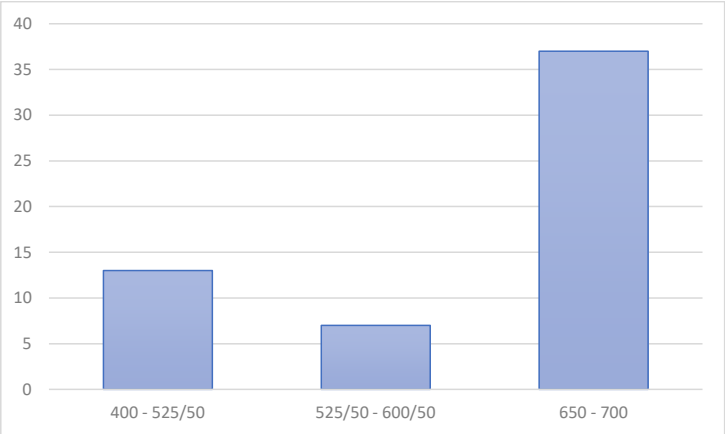
The amount of Roman objects included beside or on the body steadily decreased from the 5th to the 7th century (Fig. 7.3). This corresponds with the general observations made on the date ranges of graves that included Roman objects in concealed and in openly displayed contexts (see sections 5.5. and 6.7. for comparison).

Fig. 7.3. Chronology of graves including Roman objects beside the body (shown in actual numbers)



The graves that included Roman objects in the fill produced different results. There is no apparent decrease between the 5th and mid-6th centuries; rather there is a marked increase in this practice in the 7th centuries (see Fig. 7.4).

Fig. 7.4. Chronology of graves including Roman objects in the fill (shown in actual numbers)

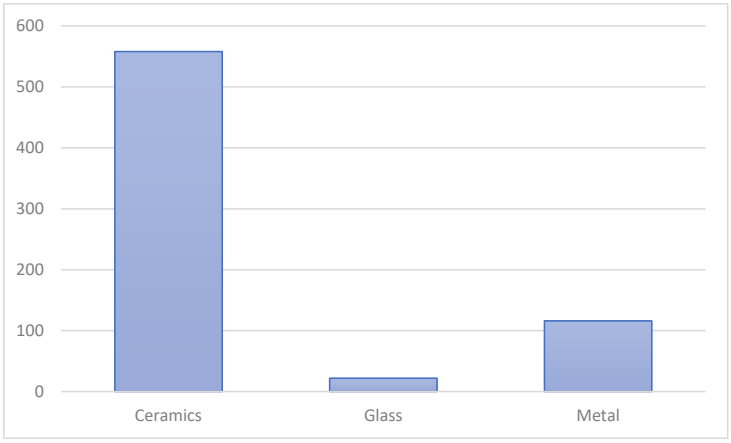


This is due partly to the fact that large numbers of graves in later cemeteries, such as Adisham Down, Knt, or Bloodmoor Hill, Sfk, included higher quantities in the grave fill, largely consisting of potsherds, tiles and flints (see section 7.2.2 for a discussion on this). This is likely due to their proximity to nearby Roman sites (see 7.7.), including the mid- to late-7th century cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill, Sfk, which is nearby to a Roman settlement. Due to the proximity, it might be argued that the numerous potsherds and tiles found in the fill are residual. However, it is of note that even in the cemeteries close to Roman settlements, some of the grave goods appears to show some special treatment, such as gatherings of objects into heaps and piles, perhaps intentionally.

7.3. The Roman finds

As Fig. 7.5 demonstrates, 696 Roman objects have been identified as items used in non-costume applications within the graves. The large majority of these items were ceramics (79%) including Roman pots and potsherds, tiles and spindle whorls. 116 metal objects (16%) and 22 glass objects (3%) were also identified and to a lesser extent stone and bone artefacts accounting for 1% of the corpus each.

Fig. 7.5. Quantity of Roman material used in non-costume applications by fabric (shown in actual numbers)



Patterns emerge when these objects are divided further into objects found beside or on the body (or in cremations) and items found in the fill, perhaps unrelated to the body. Of 179 Roman items found on or beside the body, 108 (61%) were made of metal. Roman pottery and glass were found in lesser quantities, as 35 ceramic (21%) and 20 glass (12%) items were identified alongside seven stone/miscellaneous metal artefacts (6%) and 10 objects made of bone (6%). In contrast, Roman pottery and tiles were found in larger quantities within the fill, accounting for 98% of the overall number of Roman objects found in the grave fills (514 in total). Roman metalwork and glass fragments were rare finds included in the fill with only two glass fragments and six metal objects were identified.

Fig. 7.6.a. Comparison of Roman objects placed beside or on the body according to their fabric (shown in percentage from the total of Roman items found beside the body)

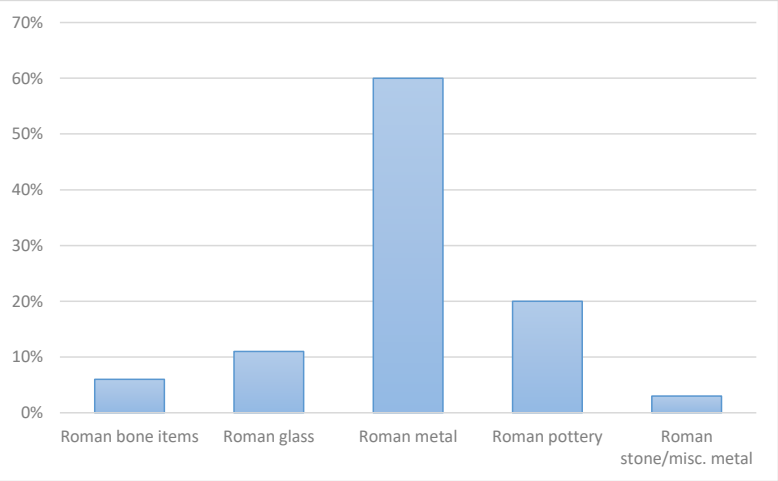
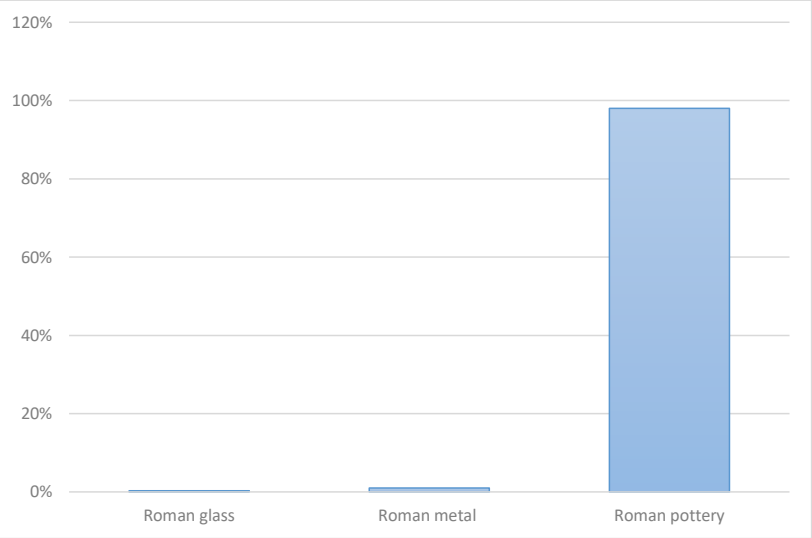
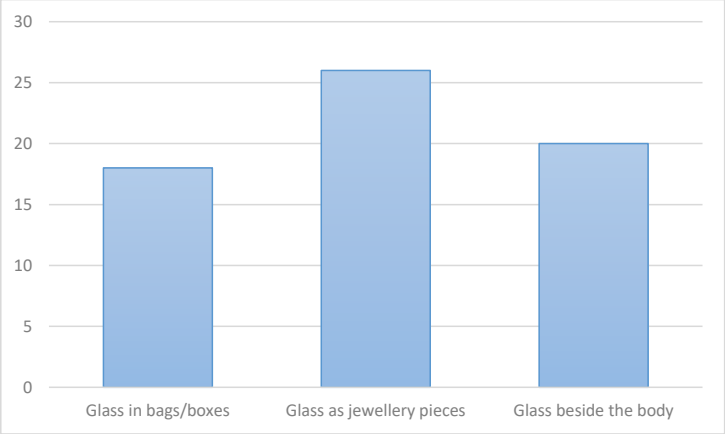


Fig. 7.6.b. Roman objects found in the fill according to their fabric (shown in percentage from the total number of Roman items found in the fill)



The cemeteries considered here that include Roman objects in the fill or beside the body, show that 108 Roman metal objects were found beside or in special positions to the body, accounting for 28% (from 380 identified metal objects in total). This is proportionally higher than the amounts of Roman metalwork found as jewellery or dress fittings or in bag or box collections. There is a bias, however, in the record, as objects such as coins used as weights occurred in significantly higher numbers than coins worn as centrepieces in necklaces (see the smith's graves Ozengell, Knt, Buckland Knt C, Buckland 265B Knt and Gilton Knt XV). While these results are crude, they demonstrate that a considerable amount of Roman metalwork was included in the grave as items other than dress accessories. This in turn may indicate that these objects were valued, possibly aesthetically. Glass was included to a lesser extent in graves, as 56 glass vessels or fragments were identified beside or on the body. Of these, 20 were of Roman manufacture (36%). This seems to indicate that Roman glass was proportionally significant; however, comparing the amount of Roman glass vessels with the overall amount of Roman glass in the form of jewellery or bag and/or box inclusions shows that there is little variation overall (Fig. 7.7.)

Fig. 7.7. Comparison of glass found in bags/boxes, as jewellery pieces and placed beside the body (shown in actual numbers)



This demonstrates that the use of Roman glass was fairly versatile within the graves and appeared in almost equal numbers in all three applications. This suggests Roman glass beside the body may be subject to similar circulation and availability processes. A small proportion of stone/lead artefacts were included (17 in total), six

of which were possibly Roman material (35 %), including jet. These also included objects which were usually found as part of the costume (such as spindle whorls), but were placed at or near the head of the individual, perhaps as an addition to the funerary dress. Roman ceramic (12%) and organic artefacts (14%) occurred in proportionally fewer numbers indicating a preference for Roman metal and glass.

Different observations can be made when comparing the inclusion of Roman items in the fill with objects in the fill in general. As has been mentioned above, Roman pottery and tiles appear in much larger quantities in the fill than any other Roman object type (514 in total), making up 46% from a total of 1106 potsherds and tile fragments found grave fills. A high proportion of these may be residual which is discussed in section 7.3.2. In addition to pottery, stone artefacts, such as flints, are common components within the grave fill at cemeteries with a high proportion of 'residual' potsherds. However, there is no evidence for the inclusion of Roman stone artefacts. Similarly, Roman metal and glass artefacts were rare inclusions within the fill, accounting for 10% (of 61 metal artefacts) and 12% (of 17 glass artefacts) respectively.

This demonstrates that the range and frequency of objects included in the fill when compared to those placed consciously in correspondence near or with the body were fairly distinctive and this might imply different depositional processes were at play.

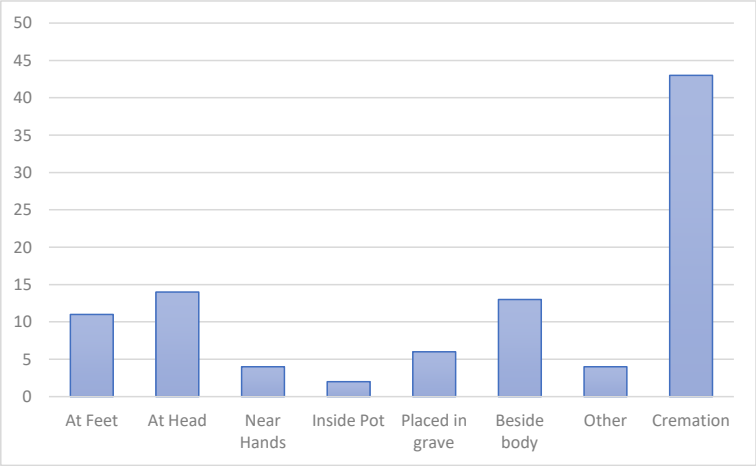
7.3.1 Objects placed beside or on the body (non-costume related)

The most frequent types of Roman object found beside or on the body were made of copper-alloy metal and glass, and to a lesser extent, pottery, lead, stone or bone (Appendix A Table 7.2.).

The research includes placement of intact objects in cremation urns and unburned items (Table 7.2). There is scant evidence of Roman objects found burned or fused from cremations. As Fig.7.8. shows, many identified items were associated with the head and extremities of the individual, where the body position was known, and in some instances, items appeared to have been placed in special positions on the body. These included the objects found at the waist in Great Chesterford Esx 117 or Finglesham, Knt 170 or on the chest in Mill Hill, Deal, Knt 91. In other cases, items

were carefully deposited and sometimes even wrapped (as evidenced by textile traces) and placed or included along the sides of the grave or placed inside a pot (see Great Chesterford, Esx 98 and Barfriston, Knt 25).

Fig. 7.8. Positions of objects found in association to the body (shown in actual numbers)



Similarly to jewellery components, the large majority of metal objects identified near, or on, the body were coins, accounting for 79% (85 in total). A large majority of these coins were included in the so-called smith's graves identified at Buckland Kn. C, Buckland Knt 265B, Gilton Knt XV, Sarre Knt 26 and Ozengell, Knt. These graves are thought to have held some significance, as they included altered coins used as weights. Some coins were cut, others effaced or punched. The coins are similar in character and where it was possible to identify, also similar in weight (see Table 7.3.). This is particularly evident in examples from Sarre Knt 26 and Gilton Knt XV, as they both contained exact copies of the coin issue *Urbs Romae*. This suggests the coins were not random choices; instead, they appear to have been selected because they served a purpose in terms of exchange prior to deposition in the grave.

Table 7.3. Coin issues found in the identified smith's graves

Site's name	Number of coins	Coin issues	Weight in total (where identified)
Gilton Knt Tumulus XV	10	Faustina the Younger and Elder, Constantine, Urbs coin identified (among other weights)	222.69 g
Buckland Knt C	14	Faustina II; Hadrian; Antoninus Pius x 2; Caracalla; Caligula; Carausius x 2; Tetricus I x 2; Claudius II x 2; barbarous radiate; Constantine I	110.17 g
Buckland Knt 265B	15	Dupondius x 2; sesterius x 3; Gratian; radiate, probably a Gallic usurper; Trajan; Septimius Severus; copper-alloy disc adapted from coin; Constantinopolis; Hadrianic or Antonine; Lead fragment in form of a bird of prey, seen in profile, weights	111.48 g
Sarre, Knt 26	19	Faustina the Elder; Antoninus Pius x 2; coin obliterated x 5; Nero; Constans; Constantine; small coin, Urbi (Romae?), reverse the wolf and twins, exact copy of that found in Gilton, weights	198.96 g
St. Peter's Tip, Knt 76	Not clear	Coins/scale	-
Ozengell, Knt U	14	Coins	116.32 g

The coins may have been valued primarily for their weight, rather than for their Romanitas, suggesting that Roman material had multiple uses and meanings. Scull (1990) examined the weights discussed here and comparable sites Barton-on-Humber Lincolns. and Watchfield, Oxfords.. He noted that the weights within these assemblages were composed largely of the standard measurements necessary to weigh continental gold coinages and uncoined bullions (Scull 1990, 183; 197). There was a higher distribution of the smith's graves in Kent and the Upper Thames valley; areas in which the first Anglo-Saxon coinages were minted in the 7th century (Scull

1990, *ibid.*). Smith's graves are also known from the continent, particularly in the areas with high concentrations of Merovingian finds, such as Northern France, Belgium and the Rhineland, and Southern Germany and Switzerland (Scull 1990, 200). This suggests that Kent was well-connected with the continent, particularly Frankish territory. This is also supported by studies on exchange and trade networks in the 5th century and the use of scales and cut Roman weights in these broader networks (see for comparison e.g. Evison 1979, 60-5; Dickinson 1976, 415-6).

The coins in this study were associated with scales and placed nearby the feet or skull or in the example of Buckland Kn. 265B, some of the coins were placed below the skull. This particular placement might be suggestive of a symbolic role for coins in signalling the occupation or status of the deceased. Scull (1990) observes that in some instances, the scales were found in unusable conditions (see Gilton Kn. 66 and Buckland, Kn. C) and quite frequently associated with male-gendered weapon burials, suggesting that these were symbolic insertions for high-status individuals (Scull 1990, 205-7). A Roman coin was also associated with scales in gr. 76 at St. Peter's Tip Knt and both items were identified by the excavators as being Roman (Harrington and Brookes 2008). The record was incomplete and it is therefore difficult to determine if there was only one or if there were multiple coins deposited, the latter being a characteristic feature of a smith's grave. Furthermore, no more details on the issue of the identified coin was provided. However, the size and unique location of the cemetery at the parish of Broadstairs and its close proximity to the continent might be suggestive that this community also included and valued an individual versed in exchange. The remaining coins were found in different positions, either associated with the head or extremities or placed some distance away from the body. Coins associated with hands and skull seem to have had a special significance which will be explored further in 7.8. Other metal items consisted of jewellery and dress fastenings (see Finglesham Knt 22; Lyminge Knt 16; Mill Hill, Deal, Knt 91; Sarre Knt 260; Great Chesterford Esx 71; Morning Thorpe, Nfk 328), nails (see Great Chesterford, Esx 58; 98;117; Caistor by Norwich Nfk 8), tools (see Caistor by Norwich Nfk 8; Holborough Knt 2; Howletts Knt 26; Ozengell Knt 100; Temple Farm Knt 3) and toilet instruments (Holborough Knt 11; Great Chesterford Esx 54). This is also reflected in the Roman metalwork recovered from the cremation burials, as they contained coins (see Great Chesterford, Esx C26; C29; Lackford, Sfk

50,127; 50,71; 49,579; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk A5; Y40), jewellery items (see Lackford, Sfk 48,2474), utensils (Lackford Sfk 50, 172A), nails (Great Chesterford, Esx C12) and toilet implements (see Lackford, Sfk 49,580; 49,19; 49,581; 48,2474; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk K7; M28; N28; Markshall, Nfk IX). It is therefore noteworthy that these categories which recur as items located in association with bodies are also regularly included as components that would have been worn for visual display. Toilet implements are of interest here, as they are interpreted as items used by the mourners in final funerary ceremonies (see Williams 2007, 75; 85-6). It is interesting, therefore, that Roman toilet items are integrated for similar purposes into cremation and inhumation assemblages like their contemporary counterparts.

Roman glass and pottery are found in similar positions within the graves. They are either placed in a complete state near the head or the feet in the form of vessels or as spindle whorls (see Caistor by Norwich, Nfk X29; North Stifford (Ardale School), Esx 3) or they are found as fragments, near the body or in the case of cremations, inside the cremation urn. Finglesham Knt 170 is of interest here, as four fragments of glass are seemingly scattered over the body of a male inhumation (Chadwick-Hawkes and Grainer 2006, 118-9). This is similar to the observation made by Owen-Crocker (2004) that sometimes scattered beads within the grave may reflect just that, rather than intimating the excavation dispersal of a string of beads (Owen-Crocker 2004, 89). It is therefore possible that in this particular instance, scattered glass fragments served a similar purpose as scattered beads. This will be explored further in section 7.8. Another interesting example using glass in a non-costume application is that of the cremation 457 at Mucking II, Esx. A piece of Roman window glass was found underneath the base of the cremation urn and although it was a few centimetres below, it fitted into the recessed hole in the urn, suggesting it may have been part of it (Hirst and Clark 2009, 283). A similar example is found in the cremation 2738 at Spong Hill, Nfk where a piece of Roman glass was inserted in the middle of the base (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1987, 74-5). These so-called 'window-urns' are also known from other cremation cemeteries, such as Castle Acre, Nfk, Helspton, Derbys., Girton Cambridgs. and Kempston, Bedfords., to name a few (see Meaney 1964, 172; 189-90; Lethbridge 1938, 313; Roach-Smith 1857, 159-61; Lucy 2000, 15). This may suggest that Roman glass was integrated in similar ways as Anglo-Saxon or indeed imported glass vessels in wider funerary traditions. This is

also demonstrated by the use of some Roman potsherds, which were used as lids for cremation urns (see Caistor-by-Norwich Nfk grs. M34; P46 and Great Chesterford Esx C20; C32). This practice can be found across different cremation cemeteries, (see overview Lucy 2000, 114). The lid found at Spong Hill Nfk C3324 was an elaborate example of a seated human figure, suggesting that covering cremation urns was not solely a practice to separate the cremation from the fill, but also held some symbolic role. Although it can be argued that lids made from Roman material were used in cemeteries where an abundant amount of Roman pottery was present from nearby, it is nevertheless interesting to note that they were selected and used in a similar fashion than contemporary elaborately made lids from other cremation cemeteries.

Roman stone/lead and bone artefacts were found to a lesser extent, with bone combs and a sword hilt found exclusively at Lackford, Sfk (see 49.26 A; 50.99; 48.2490; 49.19; 49.6; 49.582). This cemetery had a high frequency of bone combs inserted into cremation urns, including five instances of Roman bone combs (31% from a total of 16). Roman bone combs were absent in other cremation cemeteries examined here, suggesting either explicit local access or a locally distinctive rite. Antique combs may have been favoured for their fairly elaborate designs. Alternatively, these Roman bone combs may have been curated carefully rather than being found or scavenged from a Roman site. This could have made them less likely to decay as others may have due to their fragile nature. The sword hilt may have been included in the grave due to it being a personal belonging.

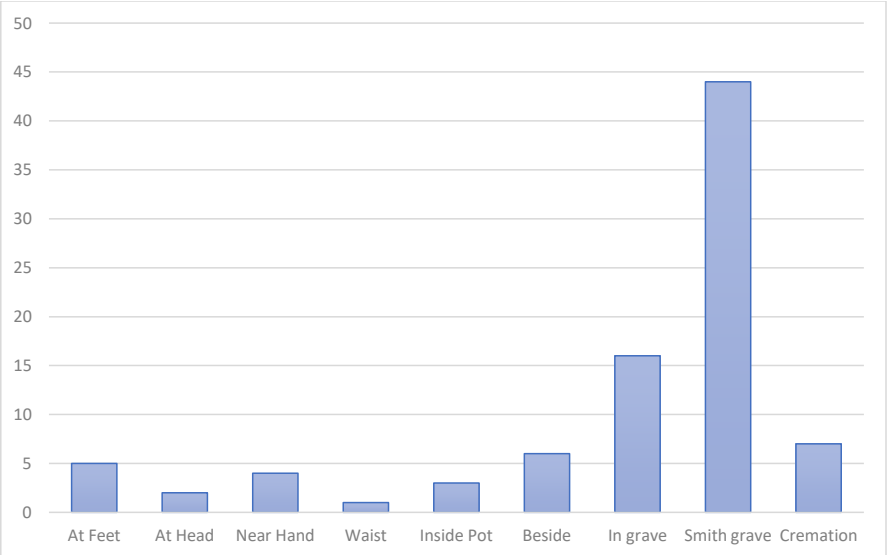
The remaining stone/lead artefacts vary, as two jet beads (see Bloodmoor Hill, Sfk 15), two lead spindle whorls (see Aerodrome, Knt 24; Buckland, Knt 347), a marble fragment (Hadleigh Road; Ipswich, Sfk 68) and two pieces of lead (Buckland, Knt 265B; Gilton Knt XV) were identified in different positions. Their purpose also varied. The two lead fragments were included with a set of coins used as weights, one of them being shaped as a bird of prey (Buckland Knt 265B), while the jet beads were found on a ring with other beads, leaning against the box found in this grave near the feet. As we have seen in chapter 6, spindle whorls made of different materials are commonly found suspended from the belt, perhaps visually displaying the occupation of the individual. In addition to this, a marble fragment was also identified as part of a bag collection near the pelvis at Buckland, Knt 266. The spindle whorls identified

here are both in a fragmentary state and the piece of marble at Hadleigh Road, Ipswich, Sf. 68 was the only inclusion in this grave. Their state may have been a reason why they were not directly included as items of dress; however, they may have retained their importance as visual displays of the individual's rank, status or occupation and were, therefore, placed beside the corpse.

7.3.1.1. Coins found near or beside the body

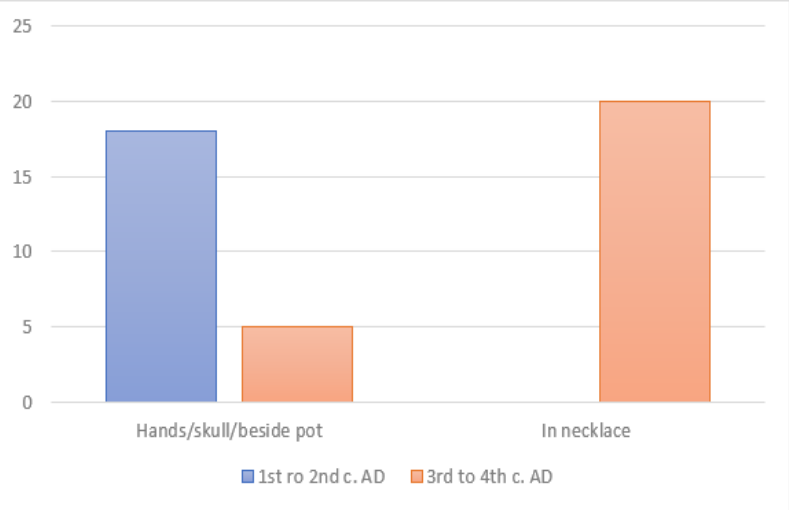
From the 85 coins identified near or on the body/cremation, 45 belonged to smiths' collections. The remaining 40 coins were largely associated with the limbs or head of the individual (see Aerodrome, Knt 37/38; Crundale, Knt 24; Lyminge, Knt 28; Orpington, Knt 51; Sarre, Knt 54; Great Chesterford, Esx 122; 132; 136; 149; 71). In other instances they were placed in the grave in varied ways (Adisham Down, Knt 30; Barfrestone, Knt 25; Breach Downs, Knt 1; Buckland, Knt 218; Buckland, Knt 347; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk 13) or associated with cremations (see Great Chesterford, Esx. C26; 29; Lackford, Sfk 50,127; 50,71; 49,579; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk A5).

Fig.7.9. Overview of coin usage according to their position in non-costume applications (shown in actual numbers)



Eight coins found in three cemeteries in this study were particularly heavy or described as large specimens (see Caistor by Norwich Nfk 13; Great Chesterford Esx C26; C29; 122; 132; 29; Crundale Knt 24). These were mainly identified as sestertii, weighing between 16-25g (see Table 7.2) and found near the limbs, head or next to the cremation pots. It is interesting to note that these coins exclusively dated from the 1st to the 2nd centuries AD, which differs from the general date range of coins identified as jewellery items. This might suggest that they were selected for their age and value and placed within the graves for a different purpose than previously observed. 10 further coins were identified as issues dating from the 1st to 2nd centuries, albeit they varied in weight. An interesting example is that of the infant inhumation in gr.136 at Great Chesterford Esx. Nine coins, all dating to the 1st to 2nd centuries (apart from one 3rd century issue), were carefully placed in four lots near the feet (Evison 1994, 11, 86). Not only does this illustrate a careful execution for including coins within the grave, it also demonstrates that the coins were not included as symbols of wealth accumulated during life (as might have been the case for the identified money bags in chapter 5) but they could signal a kind of inheritance of gift at death for the child (explored further in section 7.8.). Generally speaking, the cemetery at Great Chesterford, Esx appears to be unique in the application of Roman coins, as they were found as jewellery items, in hands or on the skull of individuals, suggesting that coins were valued for different purposes according to their size, shape or perhaps type. Gr. 29 of a female child inhumation included a sesterius of Lucilla (AD 161-9) under the left fingers and wore a radiate from Allectus (AD 293-6) with the reverse filed flat (Evison 1994, 96). Apart from the difference in date range, both coins also differed in their weight, as the radiate only weighed 2.77g (as opposed to the sestertius weight of 19.62g). This shows that a distinction has been made between the coins placed in the hands and those which were actively worn in necklaces (see Fig. 7.10).

Fig. 7.10. Comparison of coin issues found in hands/skull in comparison with coin issues found in necklaces (shown in actual numbers)



Coins were also found on or near the skull of individuals (see Great Chesterford, Esx 122; 149). These graves belonged to adult male inhumations and although the coins were of lighter weight than those placed in the hands, they may have served a similar purpose. 3rd and 4th century coins placed or associated with hands are also found with the female adult inhumations at Orpington Knt 51 and at Aerdrome, Knt 38/37. The latter is of special interest, as coins were placed in both hands and although this was a double burial, the other unsexed interment has not been equipped with two coins in his/her hands, but with a coin from Constantine at the waist (Richardson 2005, 126). Due to lack of information, it is difficult to know if the latter was used for visual display or part of a bag collection (as discussed in ch. 5 and 6), but this shows that the mourners carefully orchestrated the placement of Roman coins with individuals. Similar occurrences of coins could be found at the late Roman cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester, where coins were also found in the hands of the deceased (Clarke 1972). This tradition has been associated with the ancient custom of Charon's Obol, where the seafarer was handed an obolus to grant passage to the soul of the dead across the Styx, Charon. Usually these coins were also found in the mouth of the individual according to Roman tradition and cases are known from the Merovingian cemeteries, such as Rhenen, Dorestadt in the Netherlands and Frénouville in Northern Gaul (Pilet 1978; Wagner and Ipey 2012). In

eastern England, however, placement on the skull rather than in the mouth is more common. Two exceptions can be found in the graves at Bradstow School Knt 71 and St. Peter's Tip Knt 362. In both cases, no Roman coins were used, but contemporary ones; at Bradstow School a tremissis was found in the mouth of a juvenile, aged between 7-15 years. Harrington dates the grave between AD 575-600. At St. Peter's Tip 362, dating to AD 690-725, the female gendered inhumation contained a silver sceat in the mouth (Harrington and Brookes 2008). Perhaps there was a connection to drawing on ancient traditions for payments with contemporary currency and as these graves are later in date, the value of Roman coins may have ceased.

The placement of coins with cremations demonstrates some interesting patterns. In this study it appears that larger coins were placed nearby the cremation urns (see Great Chesterford Esx C26; 26; Caistor by Norwich Nfk A5), while worn and perforated coins were included inside the pots (see Lackford, Sfk 50,127; 50,71; 49,579; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk Y40). This might be suggestive that the perforated coins may have belonged to the attire of the cremated individuals. This observation is supported by the fact that two of the coins included in the pots could be identified as 3rd and 4th century issues, while the larger coins nearby the pots were dated to the 1st to 2nd centuries AD.

In the instances where coins were found as single items or in unassociated assemblages (Adisham Down, Knt 30; Barfrestone, Knt 25; Breach Downs, Knt 1; Buckland, Knt 218; Buckland, Knt 347; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk 13), the date range and positions varied. It is perhaps possible to associate the large coin of Lucius Verus (AD 161-169) in gr. 13, containing an unsexed individual at Caistor by Norwich, with those similar in date and weight found with the cremations. The excavators describe the coin as a find from near the grave, which probably belonged to it (Myres and Green 1973, 223). Perhaps taphonomic processes account for this. The coins recovered from Adisham Down, Knt 30 and Breach Downs, Kn. 1 of a child and female adult inhumation, however, were both light weight 3rd century issues, incorporated into the earthen side of the burial (Harrington and Brookes 2008). Finally the coin found with the male adult inhumation at Buckland Kn. 347 was also a third century issue and placed underneath the sword (Parfitt, Andersen 2012, 422-3). Although it can be argued that the coins found in the earthen sides of the grave may be residual, it is also possible that they were intentionally incorporated

while creating the grave, similar to the placement of the coin underneath the sword. Interestingly, the graves at Buckland Knt 218 and Barfrestone Knt 25 of two unsexed individuals incorporated multiple coins in their graves, all dating to the 4th century. Three coins at Barfrestone Knt 25 were included into an urn, while the five identified coins at Buckland Knt 218 were placed in together in the south corner of the grave. Unfortunately no closer study for textile remains could be conducted on the latter assemblage, but given their issues and concealment of the former, these collections may have treated and included in similar ways to the concealed collections similar to those discussed in Chapter 5.

Coins in such special positions are found in both male and female graves, with a slightly higher presence with women (8 female graves included coins as opposed to 4 male burials). The majority of the graves were those of adult inhumations (10 from a total of 15 graves which could be ascribed to a certain age category), while the remaining graves consisted of two infants, a child, a juvenile and a mature individual (see Fig. 7.11.a. and 7.11.b.).

Fig. 7.11.a. Gender categories with coins placed beside the body (shown in percentage from the total amount of gendered graves with coins in special position)

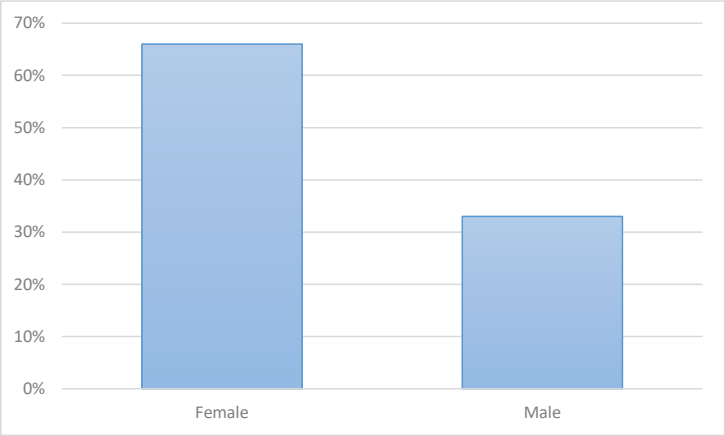
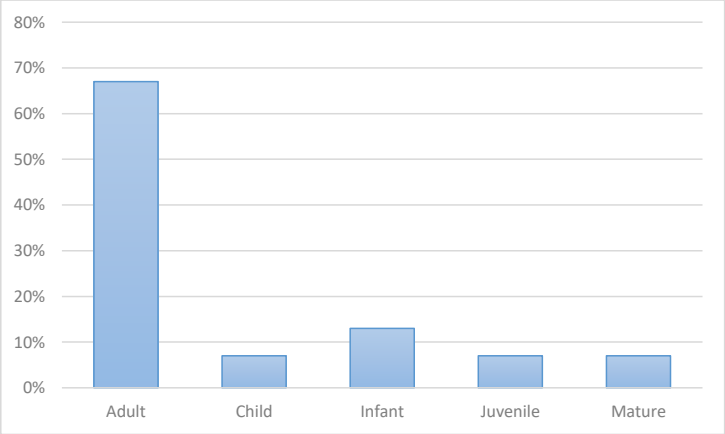


Fig. 7.11.b. Age categories with coins placed beside the body (shown in percentage from the total amount of graves that could be ascribed an age with coins in special position)



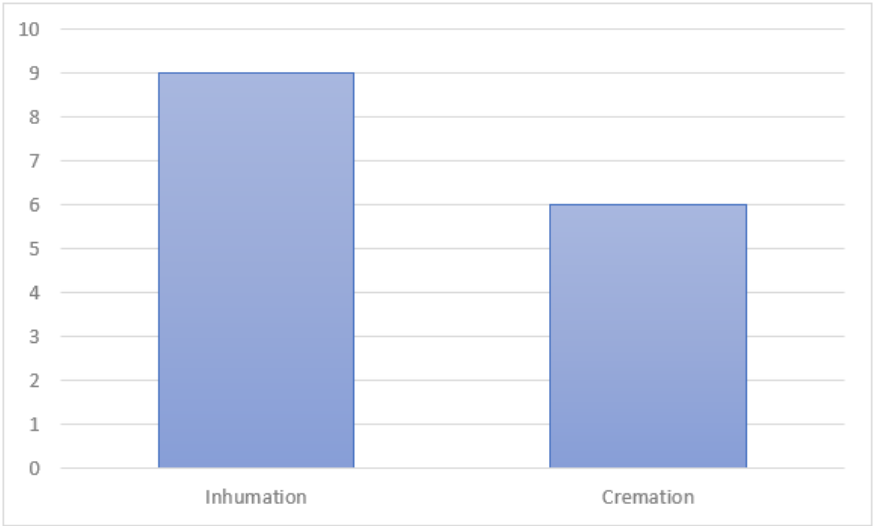
In this regard, the inclusion of coins in special positions followed the general patterns of age associated grave furnishings. Nevertheless, coins were clearly selected for other purposes than their counterparts associated with dress (and ultimately gender) and these motivations are discussed in more detail in section 7.8.

7.3.1.2. Jewellery and dress fasteners found near or on the body (non-costume related)

Seven graves from seven cemeteries included personal adornments made of metal in the forms of jewellery or dress fasteners which were not included in the dress. These consisted of three finger rings (Sarre Knt 260; Great Chesterford, Esx 71; Lackford, Sfk 48,2474) two brooches (see Finglesham Knt 22; Morning Thorpe Nfk 328), one bangle (Lyminge, Knt 16) and one belt buckle (Mill Hill, Deal 91). In addition to this, two jet beads were included in a ring of beads near the feet against a casket with the female-gendered juvenile at Bloodmoor Hill, Sfk 15. As mentioned above, the position of these items varied. Six items were associated either with the head (Great Chesterford, Esx 71; Morning Thorpe Nfk 328) or the feet of the deceased (Finglesham Knt 22; Lyminge, Knt 16 and Sarre Knt 260; Bloodmoor Hill Sfk). In the case of the female gendered female inhumation at Morning Thorpe Nfk 328, it is possible that taphonomic processes may have moved the brooch in its current position. However, the adult sized ring found at the head of the infant inhumation at Great Chesterford Esx 71 suggests that it was placed intentionally in this grave. The ring and a Roman coin near the feet may have been placed in the grave for symbolic purposes, perhaps as items the infant inherited as markers of his/her identity. Similarly to this, the other finger ring placed in an inhumation grave included a female and a child at Sarre Knt 260, while the third finger ring had been placed together with a spoon in a cremation (Lethbridge 1951, 17). These might have been personal objects of the individuals, or inherited items, which they did not have the chance to wear during their life time. The brooch found with the male adult inhumation at Finglesham, Knt 22 was of special character, as it was a Neronian/Claudian bow brooch dating to the 1st century AD (Chadwick-Hawkes, Grainer 2006, 118-9). This is interesting in its own right, as chapter 4.4, demonstrates, only three brooches in this study dated to the 1st to the 2nd centuries AD and usually modified as pendants in necklaces or belt sets. This specimen was also found as fragment and no longer functional; furthermore, it was the only Roman brooch found in the cemetery of Finglesham, Knt. This is similar to the brooches found in the fill of the male adult inhumation graves Buckland Knt 264 and Mill Hill, Deal, Knt 40 which is discussed in section 7.3.2. Jewellery and dress fittings near the skull or feet appear rarely in the examined study area, with one or two graves

including these adornments in this special position per cemetery (e.g. in Buckland, Knt; Lyminge, Knt; Orpington, Knt; Polhill, Knt; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk). These graves were those of female adult inhumations, however, one burial was identified as male adult which included a bead and belt buckle on top of the skull (see Polhill, Knt 65). These rare occurrences may suggest that the special positions are not following overall patterns in funerary furnishings, but that they were added extras in graves as items of gift giving and remembrance. Thus, the meaning of Roman jewellery or dress fittings inserted in these special positions differed from the coins. This might be also the case for the distinct oval loop found at the chest of the male gendered inhumation at Mill Hill, Deal, Knt 91 (see section 4.7. for information on its classification). As a weapon burial, this grave was of special significance and placed at the outskirts of the cemetery. The distinct placement on the chest and underneath the shield boss may have been another symbolic act carried out by the mourners, instead of being an item of visual display as discussed in chapter 6. As Fig. 7.12. shows, a slightly higher amount of jewellery and brooch fragments were found in inhumation burials (see Lackford, Sfk; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk).

7.12. Comparison of jewellery items placed beside the body in inhumation graves with objects placed inside cremation urns (shown in actual numbers)



Although this insertion can be compared to the funerary dress in inhumation burials, it is noteworthy that the cremated bones and jewellery or dress fragments were carefully selected and the mourners made an active choice to place some of the burnt fragments or complete objects into the urns for some. This integration is not necessarily for visual display or comparable with box or bags collections in inhumation graves, and the objects were likely symbolically placed inside urns for other purposes than those discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

7.3.1.3. Tools and toilet implements

Tools and toilet implements may have been included in some graves for similar purposes to what has been discussed before. Roman tools consisted of three hobnails (Great Chesterford Esx, 58, 98, 117), a rivet (Great Chesterford Esx C12), large domed headed nail (Caistor by Norwich, Nfk 8), two chains (Holborough Knt 2; Ozengell Knt 100) and two hooks (Holborough Knt 2; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk 8). It might be suggested that some implements served a similar purpose to the inclusion of jewellery and dress fasteners and smith's graves, that is, by providing information on the individual's occupation during his/her lifetime. This might be also the case for tools made out of other materials, such as four spindle whorls made of pottery and lead near the skull, hands or placed inside the urn (see Aerodrome, Knt 24; near the hand, Buckland, Knt 347 left of skull; North Stifford (Ardale School), Esx 3, head, Caistor by Norwich, Nfk X29, in pot). The inclusion of weaponry in predominantly male-gendered inhumation burials have been interpreted as markers of status and rank (e.g. James 1989; Härke 1997; 2014). In this regard, the sword hilt found in the cremation urn of Lackford Sfk. 49.582, may have served similar purposes, particularly as the mourners deemed it important to place a fragment of a sword as a 'secondary' inclusion after the cremation process. Perhaps the inclusion of tools can be regarded in a similar way: as markers for the roles individuals held within their communities. The occurrence of singular nails, in particular hob nails at Great Chesterford Esx is of note, as they are also seen in late Roman burials (e.g. Lankhills, Winchs). Although the majority of burials contain a large number of hobnails, due to their use in shoes, there are also examples of burials with only a few

hobnails, held in hands or in other positions that can be interpreted as a form of symbolic use (Powell 2010, 313).

Toilet implements, specifically those found with cremation burials have been interpreted as items with some special meaning, as they may have been actively used during the funerary processes to transform body and soul (see Williams 2007, 9; 26-8). In this regard, tweezers and combs are frequent finds inside cremation pots and in some instances, miniature versions are included, demonstrating a symbolic as opposed to functional nature (e.g. Williams 2007, *ibid.*, Lucy 2000, 61). Some of these toilet implements were of Roman manufacture (see ch. 4.10). Seven tweezers (see Lackford, Sfk 49,580; 49,19; 49,581; Caistor by Norwich Nfk K7; M28; N28; Markshall, Nfk IX), five bone combs (Lackford, Sfk 49,26 A; 50,99; 48,2490; 49,19; 49,6) and one spoon (Lackford, Sfk 48,2474) were identified as Roman in cremation urns, while one razor (Great Chesterford Esx 54) and one spoon (Holborough Knt 11) were placed with inhumation burials. Although it has been questioned in the past if the identified Roman tweezers are truly Roman or an adaptation of the Roman style (Williams 2007, 7-8), the evidence shows that Roman implements (or imitations) played a role in the construction of identity in Anglo-Saxon funerary rites. Given that there was a wide array of contemporary tools and toilet implements in graves of similar shape and character and in the same positions, it might be suggested that these items were not valued for their *Romanitas* as has been observed in chapter 6, but for their social implications as items of use, perhaps connected to individual roles.

Where age and gender could be identified, it seems that the placed objects were fairly gender-specific, as spindle whorls were found with female juveniles and heavier tools such as hooks and chains were deposited with male gendered adults (see table 7.4).

Table 7.4. Overview of tools and implements with gender and age associations

Site's name	**Skeletal data**		**Object**
Aerodrome, Kn. 24	F	Ju	Spindle whorl
Buckland, Kn. 347	F	14 - 16 y	Spindle Whorl
Holborough Kn. 2	Poss M	N/A	Chain/Hook

Buckland, Kn. C	Poss M	N/A	Scales and weight
Buckland, Kn. 265B	M	25 -30 y	Scales and weight
St. Peter's Tip, Kn. 76	F	18 – 25 y	Coin/ Scales
Great Chesterford, Ex., 117	M	35 - 45y	Nail
Great Chesterford, Ex. 54	M	45+ y	Razor
Great Chesterford, Ex. 58	U	Infant	Nail
Great Chesterford, Ex. 98	U	Infant, 0 - 2 months	Nail
Great Chesterford, Ex. C12	U	Ju	Rivet
North Stifford (Ardale School), Ex. 3	Poss F.	N/A	Spindle whorl

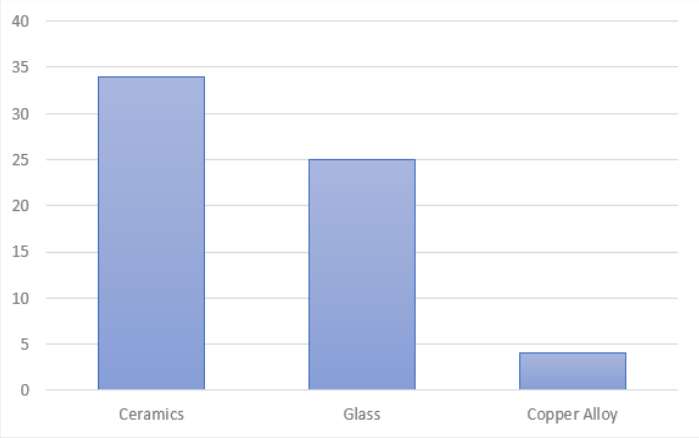
This corresponds with the overall patterns of grave goods placed with the dead (e.g. Stoodley 1998; Härke 2013, 3-4), demonstrating the integration of these Roman specimens into existing forms of social structure and display. Some of the hobnails were placed with infant burials under the skull and inside a burnished pot (see Great Chesterford Esx 58; 98), which may support the interpretation of a symbolic meaning to integrate hob nails in such a manner, as they were not objects accrued in life. In any case, the discussed Roman objects were not ascribed to a specific gender, but according to the object type, were part of the female or male kit included in the graves.

7.3.1.4. Pottery, glass and drinking equipment

19 graves from 10 cemeteries included pots and potsherds placed beside the body in this study area, with an additional four graves from Caistor by Norwich, Nfk using tile fragments as covers for cremation urns (see Caistor by Norwich, Nfk N48; N56; P21; P46). In some instances, tiles were replaced by base sherds to cover up cremations (see Great Chesterford Esx C20; C32; Caistor by Norwich Nk. M43). A further nine graves included intact glass vessels (Finglesham, Knt 7; Lyminge, Knt 13; Great Chesterford, Esx 33) and fragments (Finglesham, Knt 170; Mucking II, Esx

457; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk M57; N52; P46) while three graves also included copper-alloy bowls and the rim of a Gallic Roman drinking horn (see Howletts, Knt 26; Temple Farm, Knt 3; Lackford Sfk 50, 172A).

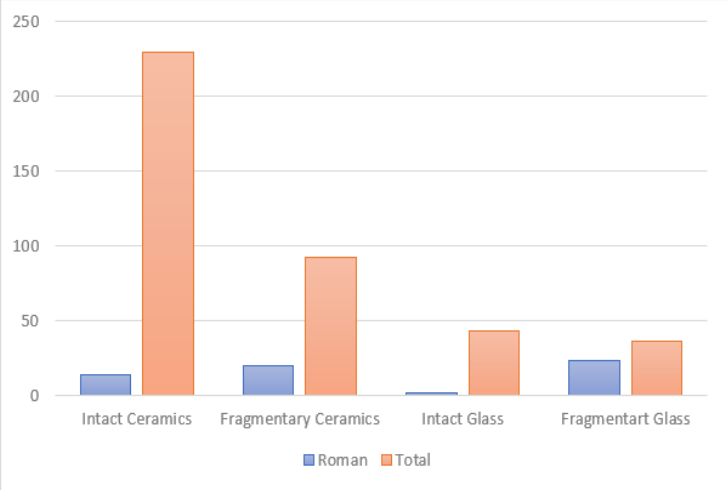
Fig. 7.13. Roman food and drink equipment found in graves by type (shown in actual numbers)



The significance of lids for Anglo-Saxon cremation urns and the use of glass fragments (in particular for window-urns) has been already discussed in section 7.2., showing that certain fragments in non-costume applications can hold some symbolic significance. Perhaps this was similar to the inclusion of potsherds inserted into cremation urns. The careful selection of Roman objects in graves at Great Chesterford, Esx. has been demonstrated with multiple examples, thus, it might be possible that the placement of potsherds in cremation C11 may have been also deliberate. Section 3.1. has demonstrated that special deposits consisting of fragmentary recycled objects were used for ritualistic acts (e.g. Hamerow 2006; Solfield 2012). In addition to this, Härke (2014) suggests that incomplete, broken or out of place items may have been regarded as Anglo-Saxon amulets which may have prevented the dead from returning (Härke 2014, 51). It might be suggested that the fragmentary state of potsherds included in cremation burials served a similar

purpose. In particular the base of the Roman cup with inscription in cremation P43 at Caistor by Norwich Nfk seemed to be quite a rare find (Myres and Green 1973, 177).

Fig. 7.14. Comparison of intact/fragmentary pot and glass vessels in total with intact/fragmentary pot and glass vessels of Roman manufacture placed in graves (shown in actual numbers)



As Fig. 7.14. reveals, intact pots are frequently inserted into graves, whilst glass vessels are placed with the dead to a lesser extent. It is noteworthy that some of these are of Roman manufacture, positioned in a similar way than their contemporary counterparts. However, the overall number of Roman pots inserted in the graves is quite low, making up 6% (from a total of 229 identified pots). Similar observations can be made for intact glass vessels, as only 5% of those included are of Roman manufacture (from a total of 43 vessels). In addition to the intact vessels, two graves also contained vessels which were placed into the grave in a fragmentary state (see Finglesham Knt 170; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk M57). The glass fragments at Caistor by Norwich Nfk M57 were inserted into a cremation urn and it may be suggested that this was perhaps similar to a special deposit already discussed with potsherds. Another interesting way to include potsherds could be observed in gr.1 at Brundall II, Nfk. An unsexed individual has been placed on pieces of coarse ware, including Caistor Ware, which may have been residues from a nearby hut (Clarke

1939, 236; Meaney 1964, 170-171). In this case, potsherds were integrated as packing elements within the grave structure. Similar use is also known from sites such as Loeveden Hill, where Roman tile was used as pack material. Similarly to Great Chesterford Esx, the cemetery of Caistor by Norwich Nfk is interesting in its own right, as it is situated near an administrative Roman complex, Venta Icenorum, that went out of use in the 4th century and it has been suggested that some of the reused urns were taken from the buildings (Myres 1973, 74-6). Fig. 7.15. demonstrates that at this site some Anglo-Saxon cremation urns (including those containing Roman objects) were concentrated nearby Roman features.

Fig. 7.15. Map of the cemetery at Caistor by Norwich Nfk with marked cremation urns containing Roman objects (red) (see Myres and Green 1973, map 2)

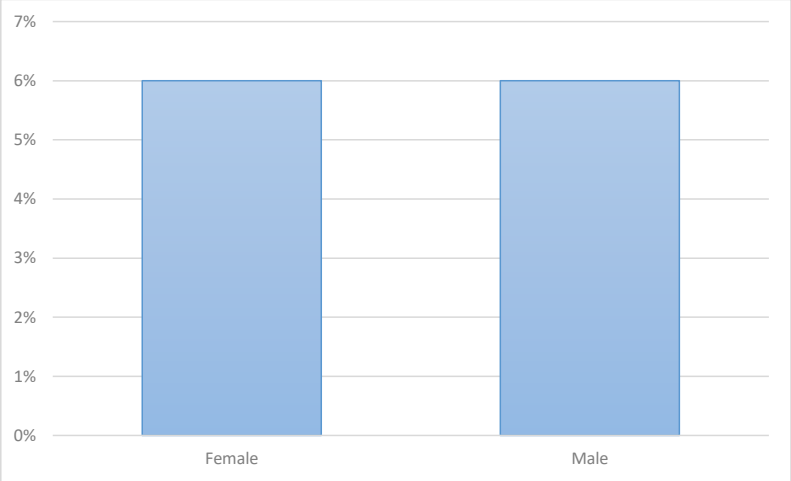
Image removed due to copyright reasons

Myres (1973) argues that there may have been an overlap between the final phase of the complex and the introduction of an Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery, perhaps in the late 4th century (Myres 1973, 8-9; 13). In fact, the reused urn P45 was found beside structure F of the complex (Myres and Green 1973, 177). Regardless, there

was an abundant amount of Roman objects available from the structures and it is therefore noteworthy that only a handful of Roman pots were scavenged from this site and used in a similar fashion for ceremonial purposes as Anglo-Saxon urns. The cemeteries of Great Chesterford Esx. and Caistor by Norwich Nfk show the importance of considering the spatial evidence for each site in terms of the reuse of Roman objects (discussed below in section 7.7). These cemeteries show a unique way of integrating Roman elements, which seem to be unparalleled in the other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries discussed here. The occurrence of a Gallo-Roman rim of a drinking horn at Temple Farm, Knt 3 with a male gendered is of special significance, as drinking horn equipment appears rarely in this study area (3 in total) and none of Gallic-Roman origin. The grave was richly furnished with weaponry including a sword, shield and spear and it might be suggested that this rim was placed within the grave as an item of exotica. It also demonstrates the access this particular individual had to trade and exchange networks with the continent and given its elaborate Christian *repoussé* design, it may have been inserted as an item displaying status in this particular instance. Unfortunately, not much is known of the cemetery at Temple Farm, Knt and only three graves have been fully recorded, one containing a Roman tile fragment within the fill (see Temple Farm, Knt 1). However, the uniqueness of the drinking horn item shows the careful selection of curated Roman objects within the grave, which provides additional information on the use and meaning of Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon grave contexts.

Where age and gender could be determined, pottery and glass was found with an equal amount of female (4) and male (4) gendered individuals, ranging from juveniles/young adults to adult inhumations. This corresponds with the overall number of pots and vessels, as there is only a slightly higher preference of pots and glass vessels found near the skull or feet of female inhumations, making up 52% (71 in total) as opposed to male inhumations (65 in total) (Fig. 7.16).

Fig. 7.16. Gender associations pots/vessels made of Roman manufacture (shown in percentage from the total amount of gendered graves including pots/vessels)

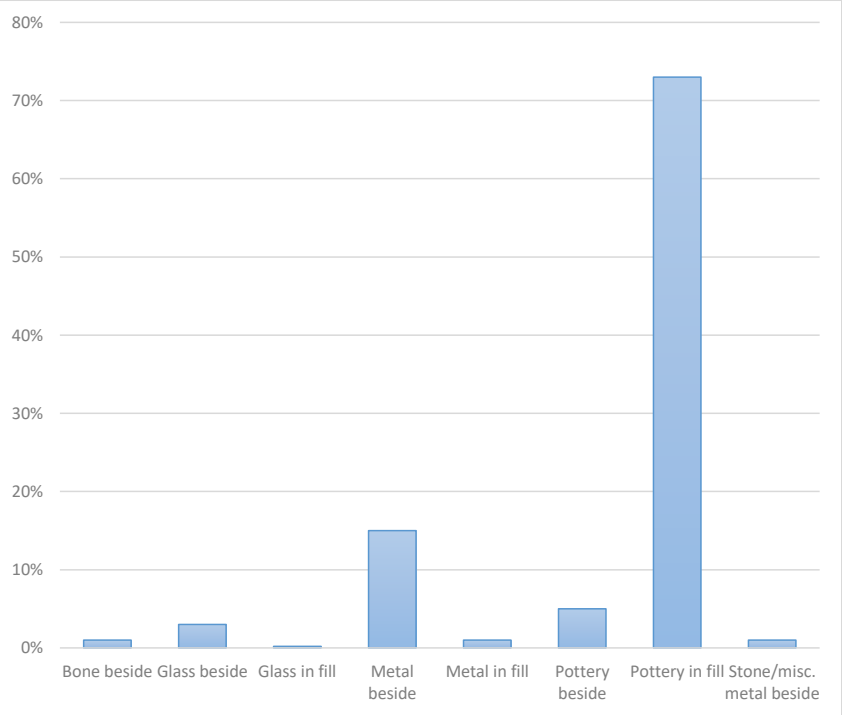


This shows that the placement of pots and vessels was not as gender specific as those worn as dress adornments or in concealed assemblages.

7.3.2. Roman objects found in the fill

As mentioned in section 7.3., 69 graves included Roman objects in the fill. These objects somewhat differed in quantity and type in comparison to those found beside the body, with the highest proportion consisting of potsherds, tiles and bricks (514 in total) (Fig. 7.17).

7.17. Roman objects found beside the body and objects found in the fill by fabric (shown as percentage from total number of graves including Roman objects in such position)

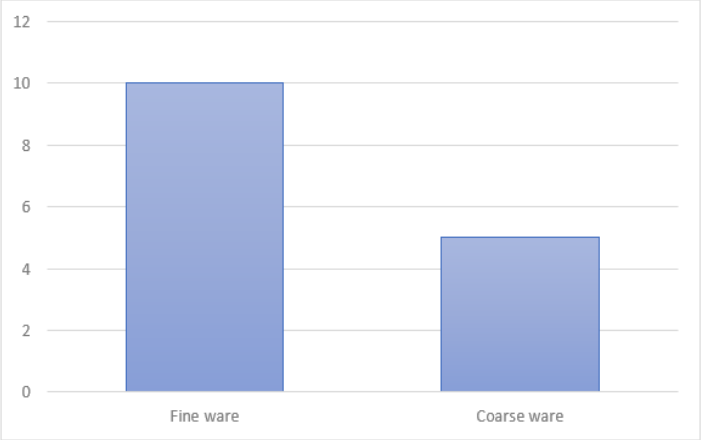


Little information is provided on these fragments, as they are often interpreted as residual inclusions. This is particularly the case with cemeteries where a vast amount of graves include residual material (e.g. Caistor by Norwich Nfk. and Bloodmoor Hill, Sfk). However, in these instances, it is of interest to examine the usage of assemblages containing these seemingly ‘residual’ potsherds. We have already observed in section 7.2.1.4. that Caistor by Norwich Nfk was situated near a Roman administrative complex and that some intact pottery from these complex were reused as cremation urns. An array of pottery and tiles was also found within the fills and above several graves (see Appendix A Table 7.5.)

It is noteworthy, however, that these assemblages appeared to be placed as heaps alongside flints above the inhumation and cremation graves (see in particular grs. 1, 2; 3; 13; A8; N52; Y29). In addition to this, description of gr. A8 states that the flints and tiles covered an area of c. 45cm, indicating that these may have been deposited as markers for the cremation urn (Myres and Green 1973, 123). This suggests that

the accumulation of sherds, tiles and flints in this cemetery was a purposeful, visual display. A similar observation can be made for the numerous sherds and tiles recovered from Bloodmoor Hill, Sfk. All of the 28 graves at the site included Anglo-Saxon and Roman potsherds and although residuality cannot be ruled out completely, it is interesting to note that the material found in the fills of the Roman ditches is significantly lower than those found in the Anglo-Saxon features. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the deposits from the Roman features were deliberately moved into the Anglo-Saxon site (Lucy, Tipper and Dickens 2009, 22-3). In this regard, it might be possible that the abundant material found in the fill of the inhumation graves at Bloodmoor Hill, Sfk was used for similar purposes as already observed at Caistor by Norwich Nfk. It should be noted here that deliberate fine ware selection is also known from the settlement sites at Heybridge, Esx., Mucking Esx and West Stow Sfk. Chris Going (1993) demonstrated that high quantities of Oxfordshire oxidised and Nene valley colour coated wares were found at Heybridge Esx and West Sfk, while Mucking Esx produced high amounts of Samian ware. Such fine wares appear in lesser numbers at late Roman settlements, such as Icklingham, Sfk, as they produced greater amounts of coarse ware (Going 1993, 71-2). In addition to this, it appears that rim and base sherds were favoured at West Stow, Sfk and Mucking Esx, suggesting a deliberate curation of potsherds (Going 1993, *ibid*.). The potsherds, including a selection of rim sherds, in the fill from graves at Mucking II. Esx were exclusively found with cremation burials (see Mucking II, Esx 201 and 743). The infant cremation at Mucking II, Esx included several potsherds with two identified rim sherds, while the potsherds included in the fill of the adult cremation gr. 743 all came from one accessory pot with a distinctively flaring rim (Hirst and Clark 2009, 201; 327-8). Given the significance of curated rim sherds at this particular site, it might be therefore suggested that these potsherds were deliberately inserted within the fill, perhaps for ceremonial purposes. Other distinct potsherds were also found in the fill of graves from other cemeteries, including a Nene valley base sherd (Morning Thorpe, Nfk 97), a hooked rim sherd (Morning Thorpe, Nfk 369) and three Samian ware potsherds, one being identified as a rim sherd (Barfriston, Kn. 39; St. Peter's Tip, Kt. 48; Polhill, Knt 96). Fig. 7.18. provides a comparison of fine wares and coarse wares found in the fill of Anglo-Saxon graves in this study; however, Roman potsherds with no further details were left out in this comparison.

Fig. 7.18 Frequency of fine wares found in the fill of Anglo-Saxon graves in comparison to identified coarse ware (shown in actual numbers)



The occurrence of Samian potsherds in early medieval contexts is particularly interesting, as they seem to be significant in early medieval contexts on the continent. Volkers (2014) has examined Samian fragments found in the Dutch frontier settlement at Ezinge, Friesland, identifying an array of potsherds with evidence of secondary use and alterations (Volkers 2014, 157-8). These sherds have been primarily reshaped as gaming pieces, pendants or spindle whorls and Volkers (2014) observes that they were evenly broken off from a vessel, their edges smoothed down and shaped in form of a square or rectangular (Volkers 2014, ibid.). From 172 Samian sherds found in this settlement, 105 showed such alterations, suggesting that there was a high preference for reusing Samian ware in various forms. High quantities of Samian ware are also found in a further 16 terpen north of the *limes*, present-day Groningen and Friesland, showing its significance as imported goods and versatile reuse (Volkers 2014, 157). The preference of fine wares in Anglo-Saxon settlements and the reuse of Samian ware as imported goods outside the *limes*, might suggest that these fragments held a specific value for early medieval communities and it is possible that the inclusion of a single fragment of this valuable material may have held some special meaning during the funerary process.

Perhaps similar motivations were used for the inclusion of the two glass fragments in the graves of the female gendered inhumations at Sibertswold Knt 151 and

Springfield Lyons, Esx 6501. Both contained raw glass, one of them turquoise and opacified in colour with a roughened side (Springfield Lyons, Esx 6501), the other a long narrow neck from a clear glass vessel (Sibertswold, Knt 151). Given the value of raw glass (as opposed to recycled thinly green glass with bubbles) and the patterns observed with the inclusion of Samian ware, it might be perhaps suggested that these two fragments were also intentional inclusions. This might be supported by the fact that these were the only graves within the cemeteries including glass in the fill. Perhaps the mourners scattered the piece of glass in a similar fashion as already observed with glass around the body. Glass fragments may have held a similar symbolic value as fine wares within the fill.

The cemetery at Adisham Down, Knt also showed some interesting patterns. The fill of the three graves at Adisham Down (gr. 41, 42, 44) included potsherds alongside animal bones and animal bones were also placed in gr.43. This suggests that the bones and sherds might not have been residual but actively used by the mourners, for example for feasting purposes. This is supported by the fact that there was also evidence of charcoal within the fill of Adisham Down Knt gr 42, which might be indicative of cooking activities. Similar patterns can be observed at Bloodmoor Hill Sfk, as 25 graves from 26 also included animal bones. In some instances, animal bones showed some butchery marks. In Bloodmoor Hill Sfk 2 of an unsexed adolescent one piece of tile was found together with animal bones showing butchery marks and fired clay, while in Bloodmoor Hill Sfk 5, seven Roman potsherds were included in the fill alongside butchered ox bones, remains of sheep and a goat as well as a skull of a cow (Lucy, Tipper and Dickens 2009, 389-90). This might be another indicator of ritual feasting taking place at this site. The potsherds identified within these assemblages of butchered bone and charcoal were a mix of Roman and Anglo-Saxon potsherds; if they were intentional inclusions or at least evidence for feasting activities during the funerary process, it shows that Roman and Anglo-Saxon sherds were used in a similar way. Härke (2014) suggests that feasts are essential parts of funerals in many societies and that pots, food offerings and animal bones in graves could be regarded as an inclusion of the deceased to partake in these activities (Härke 2014, 50). This could be extended to objects being placed inside the graves (e.g. Price 2002, 133-134).
The remaining potsherds, brick and tile fragments identified in the fills of graves are

rare inclusions in each cemetery; therefore, it is more likely that these were residual (see Bradstow School, Knt 94; Holborough, Knt 18; Buckland, Knt 208; Buckland, Knt 203; Primrose Hill, Knt 16; St. Peter's Tip, Knt 12; 147; Valetta House, Knt 1; Watts Avenue, Knt 37). However, the above-mentioned observations have shown that objects thought of being residual in the past may have had some value and have been placed in the grave intentionally.

In contrast to the vast amount of pottery and tiles recovered from the fill or as surface heaps, only eight metal artefacts were found in the fill. These consisted of brooches, coins and miscellaneous metal objects (see table 7.5). Given the rarity of metal artefacts included in the fill, residuality or accidental loss by the mourners cannot completely ruled out. However, it might be also possible that those items were deliberately thrown into the grave during the backfilling process. Although low in numbers, metal artefacts do occur in fills across the examined study area and 33 graves showed such an inclusion.

The nature of the objects varied, some of them rim bindings, other metal scrap or jewellery items. It might be suggested that the occurrence of a single Roman metal object in the fill illustrated a wider trend, as was the case with the inclusion of pottery and tiles at the aforementioned sites. If they were deliberate, the compilations suggests another ritual act by the mourners. It is interesting to note here that the Roman metal objects included in the fill do not differ from those placed beside the body, as they also consisted of jewellery items, coins and nails. In particular the large coin found in the fill of the double burial at Nazeingbury Esx 53/A of a male adult and a child might have been inserted into the grave for similar ritualistic reasons as already mentioned above (Huggins 1978, 52). Gilchrist has pointed out that patients in Middle-Saxon institutional cares were buried with healing charm amulets, such as textual amulets, rings, spindle whorls, coins or parcels with hair (Gilchrist 2012, 152). This might have been also the case with the radiate found in the fill of the dog burial at Great Chesterford Esx D2 (Evison 1994, 114). In particular, the cemetery at Great Chesterford, Esx has demonstrated the careful consideration and placements of coins at this site, so it might be suggested that this inclusion may have been also deliberate. Similar, to coins, we have also observed that the inclusion of nails may have had a symbolic character, perhaps this can also be ascribed to the coins found in the fill of the cremation of Caistor by Norwich Nfk

D1 and the double burial of a male and female adult in Gr. 2 (Myres and Green 1973, 125; 219). Nails and iron fragments occur within the fill and although residuality cannot be ruled out, the inclusion of metal scrap in the fill (as observed in concealed assemblages), may have had some symbolic meaning and Roman nail fragments were part of these special assemblages. As has been mentioned briefly above, of special interest here are the brooches included in the fill of male adult inhumation burials (see Buckland Knt, 264 and Mill Hill, Deal, Kt. 40). Similar, to those placed beside the body, these were very old specimen dating to the 2nd and 3rd century (see here Appendix A Table 4.5.). Unlike the previously discussed brooches that were placed beside the body in a fragmentary state, both of these brooches were fully intact and may have been actively worn before they were deposited in the fill. Similar to the bead and bronze buckle found on the skull of the male adult inhumation at Polhill, Knt 65, a bead was also found in the filling of gr. 264 of a male mature/adult (Parfitt and Anderson 2012, 205). Perhaps this single bead as included in the fill for similar reasons as observed with the brooches. Generally, the majority of metal objects found in the fill consist of metal scraps, only on rare occasions are jewellery items included (e.g. a finger ring found at Springfield Lyons, Esx 2954 and wrist clasps included in the fill at Watts Avenue, Kn. 29/30). Jewellery items made of Roman manufacture included a finger ring fragment at Mucking Esx 537 of a female gendered individual (Hirst and Clark 2009, 47), a copper-alloy strap end in cremation 2454 at Springfield Lyons Esx (Tyler and Hilary 2005, 33) and a terret found with an unsexed individual at Morning Thorpe Nfk 215, which may have been reused as dress fastener as observed with the specimen found at Mucking II, Esx 350 (Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 92; Hirst and Clark 2009, 34). It might, therefore, be suggested that these were gifts for the deceased included during the backfilling process. The Romanitas of these objects may not have played a central role in the deposition of these items, but they may have been objects highlighting certain relationships between the deceased and the mourners. It is also interesting to note that at Great Chesterford, Esx, numerous Roman stray finds were found in the ground, but only 21 objects were included within the grave, none of them in the fill (Evison 1994, 27). It could be therefore argued that the inclusion of finds within the fill was deliberately selective and limited.

Where sex could be determined, Roman finds found in the fill were divided equally among the sexes. The burials of 17 male (53%) and 15 female (47%) individuals included Roman material (Fig. 7.19). Of those, objects made of clay were most frequently found. 14 potsherds were found in the fill from male inhumations and 13 in female graves. Where it was possible to determine the sex for metal objects, a nail was found with a female and male double burial (see Caistor by Norwich Nfk 2) and three metal were found with male inhumations. Glass was exclusively found with female inhumations; three female individuals contained glass fragments. Proportionally, there is no profound difference in the inclusion of pottery and metal between the sexes and similar observations can be made for the age categories. 20 adults, nine juveniles, nine children and one mature individual contained pottery in the fill. In addition to this, four adult graves and two children burials incorporated metal artefacts in the fill.

Fig. 7.19.a. Gender comparison of Roman objects found in the fill (shown in percentages with the total amount of gendered graves including Roman objects)

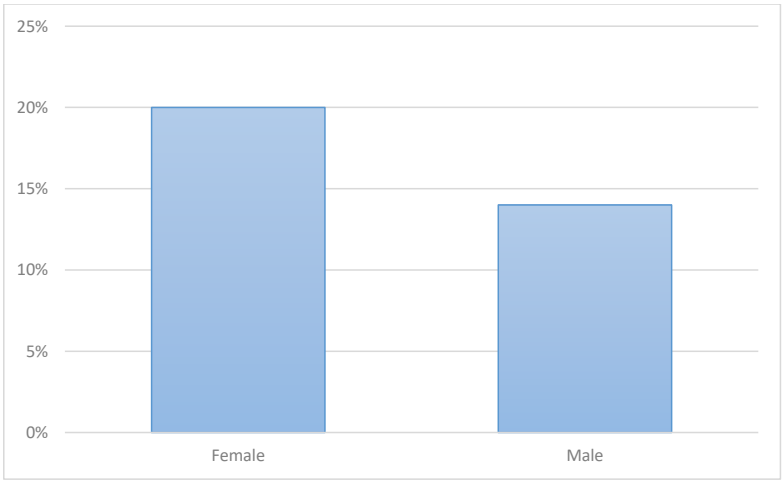
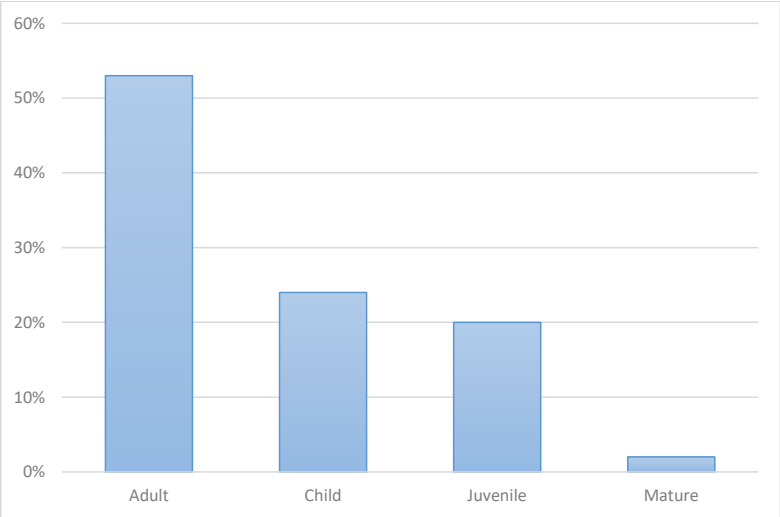


Fig. 7.19.b. Age comparison of Roman objects found in the fill (shown in percentages with the total amount of gendered graves including Roman objects)

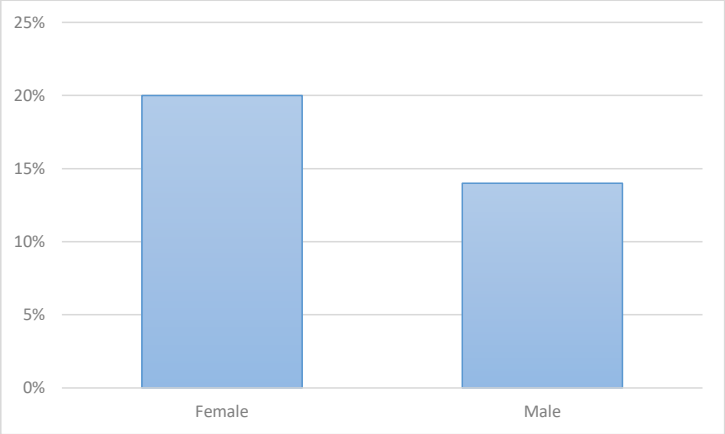


Comparing these numbers, it is interesting to note, aside from the high number of adult inhumations including these objects within the fill making up 53%, a significant proportion of children burials also included objects in the fill (24%). This might be indicative that these activities were independent from the status. It may also signal the possibility that at least some of this material was also residual thus creating a better balance in terms of material by age.

7.4. Age and gender associations

From the cemeteries including objects in the fill and/or beside the body (including Roman material), 168 were female and 231 male burials, based on biological sexing or gendered artefacts. Compared with the full corpus of inhumation graves, objects found in the fill or beside the body occur in 16% of the female graves and 27% of male graves. Of these, 33 female graves (20%) and 32 male graves (14%) included Roman material.

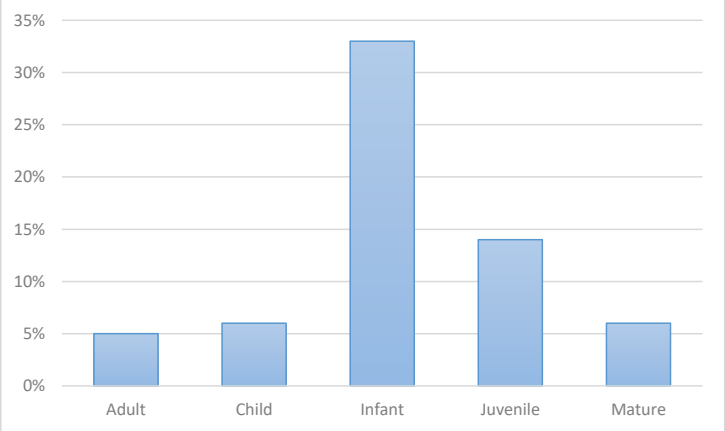
Fig. 7.20. Gendered burials in comparison (percentage shown from the total of gendered burials recorded)



Thus proportionally, there was a slight preference for including Roman objects in the fill or beside the body of female graves than male graves, although the actual amount of objects identified does not differ between sexes. It is thus interesting to note that when Roman objects are placed beside the body or found in the fill, they are again slightly more frequently associated with female burials, suggesting perhaps that curated or heirloom materials were more valued by women.

Similar to the observations made in the previous chapters, objects found in the fill or beside the body, are more commonly found with adult inhumations burials. In the study area, 220 adult inhumations contained placed objects of any kind, comprising c. 50% of the corpus (from a total of 442). A significant proportion were also found with juveniles (99) accounting for 22% and with children (66) accounting for 15% and to a lesser extent with mature adults (36) and with infants (21), suggesting that the inclusion of objects beside the body or in the fill are corresponding to the overall patterns of age-related grave furnishings.

Fig. 7.21. Age categories with Roman objects found in the fill or beside the body (shown in percentage from the total number of graves with objects found in the fill or beside the body that could be ascribed age)



Roman objects found in these distinct positions correspond with the general patterns, as the objects are most frequently found with adults (12) and juvenile/young adults (14) and appear to a lesser extent with mature (2), infant (7) and child graves (4).

Roman items were found with all age categories and genders and although there is a higher proportion of objects found with female adult inhumations, as observed in chapters 5 and 6, a significant amount were found with male burials and juvenile/young adults and proportionally, with infants. It seems therefore, that the inclusion of Roman objects in the fill or beside the body is not as gender and age specific as other rites involving the inclusion of Roman objects. This might indicate a different purpose and meaning, but could also reflect the likelihood that a proportion of Roman material in the graves fills is residual.

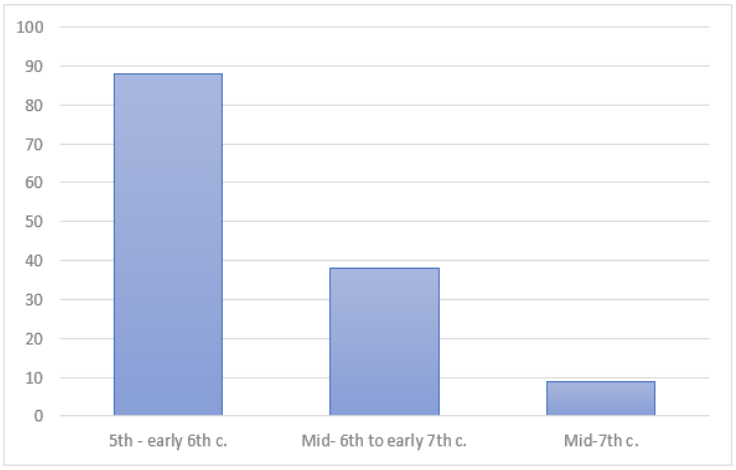
7.5. Chronology

The graves considered here including objects placed beside the body or found in the fill covered a broad range of dates, beginning from the possibly late 5th to the late 7th century. The dates were largely drawn from specialist reports in excavation reports,

only on one occasion a grave could be closer dated through the Hines and Bayliss (2013) typology (see Buckland Knt 264). In addition to this, 37 graves could be closer dated through Harrington and Brookes (2008) Kent Database and a further nine graves could be radiocarbon dated (see appendix A table 7.6.). As table 7.6. shows, some of the graves have a very long time span, in these cases, the earliest date was used for the statistical analysis.

135 graves could be ascribed to a certain date range. Of these, the majority of graves dated from the late 5th to early 6th century, making up 65% (88 graves in total). 27% of the graves could be more closely dated to the mid-6th and early 7th century (38 graves in total), while there was an apparent decrease of Roman object inclusions from the mid-7th century (4%). This corresponds with the overall patterns in object reuse.

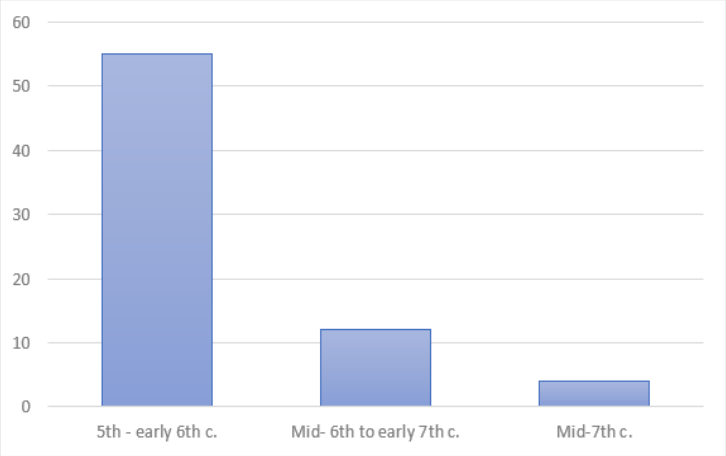
Fig. 7.22. Overview of date ranges with objects included beside the body and in the fill (shown in actual numbers)



Corresponding patterns also occur when a distinction is being made between objects placed beside the body and those found in the fill. As Fig. 7.23. demonstrates, the highest amount of graves with objects placed beside the body dated to the late-5th to early-6th centuries (55 in total), with a steep decrease in the practice in the mid-6th to

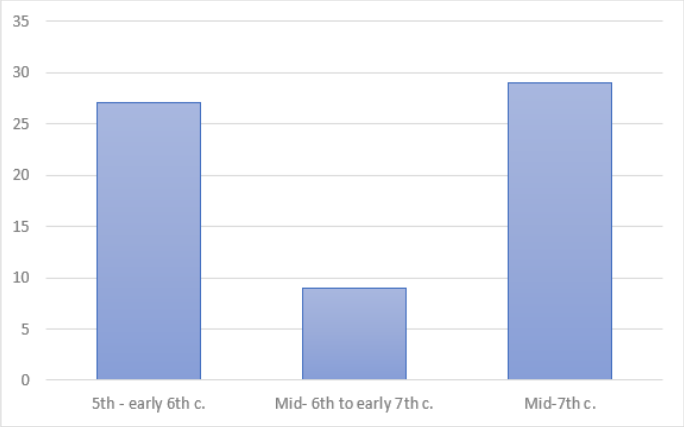
early 7th-century (12 in total), becoming almost non-existent in the mid-7th to later-7th-centuries (4 in total).

Fig. 7.23. Dating of graves with Roman objects placed beside the body (shown in actual numbers)



A different picture is presented with the inclusion of objects in the fill. Although a higher amount is found in graves dating to the late 5th-to early 6th-centuries (26 in total), the number of graves with objects in the fill dating between the mid-6th to early 7th-centuries showed a decrease (9) while in mid-7th to late 7th-centuries, there was a stark increase (see Fig. 7.24). This could support the idea that items in the fill were not chosen for their Romanitas, but were gifts or mementoes of remembrance or even the traces of ritual feasting traditions. The increased intensity in the presence of these items in the mid-7th to late 7th century could suggest a greater investment in the practice of feasting at funerals and the graveside at this time. However, this is somewhat conjectural. It is also possible that there is a greater degree of residual material present in the fills of graves.

Fig. 7.24. Dating of graves with Roman objects found in the fill (shown in actual numbers)



Different motivations may have driven the inclusion of objects beside the body, as they may be interpreted as additional reflections of aspects from the individual's life, complimenting the funerary dress. The gradual decrease from the late 5th- towards the late 7th-century corresponds with the decrease of furnished graves during the conversion period and it also suggests that Roman material was more valued for funerary displays in the late 5th-to early 6th-centuries. Their purposes are discussed below.

7.6. Spong Hill

Spong Hill has been deliberately left out in the above discussion and examined separately due to its special significance and the wealth of material in over 2000 graves.

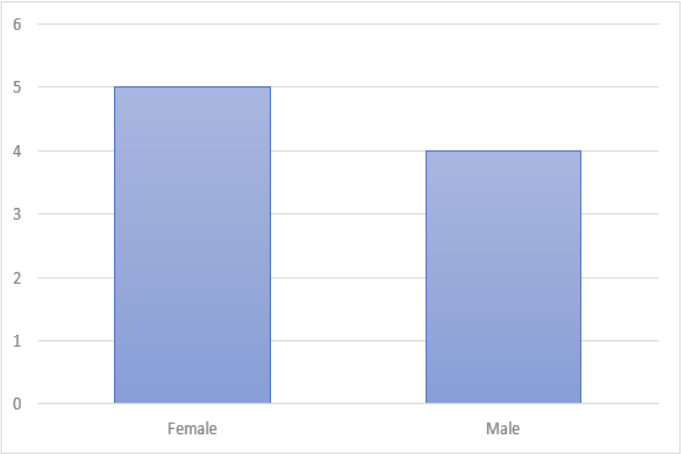
Spong Hill Nfk is the largest recorded Anglo-Saxon cemetery and therefore might not provide an accurate statistic in comparison to the smaller sites. A significant amount of potsherds (89) were found in the pits from the cremation graves at Spong Hill Nfk and in a few instances, coins (3) and glass fragments (2) were also found. No detailed description was provided for the majority of the potsherds, as they were only identified as Romano-British. However, it is interesting to note that the potsherds mingled with Anglo-Saxon pottery and on some occasions they were also included in the urn, which may have been deliberate. This is supported by Hills (1984) who

argues that at Spong Hill Nfk, Roman potsherds are so common in backfills that they may have been intentionally inserted (Hills 1984, 7) (see Appendix A Table 7.5).

Apart from the cremations, 23 inhumation graves also contained Roman objects in the fill (see table 7.5). The fill of the graves included primarily potsherds; in addition to this, gr. 31 of a male adult also contained a glass fragment and coin from Constantine AD 335-341 and gr. 54 of an unsexed individual included a part of a hook-and-eye-bracelet (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 81-2; 107). These graves also comprised several contemporary items, including some exotic sherds such as the Spanish globular amphora fragment, three amphorae sherds, a Roman flagon fragment and the base of a strainer in Gr. 31 (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, *ibid*.). Given their distinct nature, it can be suggested that the fragmented objects scattered in the fill may have been deliberate inclusions.

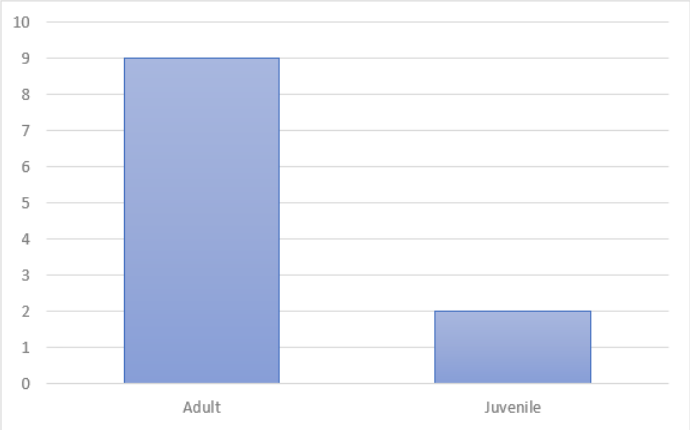
The 91 cremations were unsexed; of the inhumation burials, five were that of female gendered and four that of male gendered individuals. Given the high proportion of unsexed burials, it is difficult to discern if there is a particular trend of Roman objects incorporated in with a specific gender associations.

Fig. 7.25. Gender associations of graves with Roman objects at Spong Hill, Nfk (shown in actual numbers)



A similar situation arises when comparing age categories. From the 23 inhumation burials, nine were that of adults and two of juveniles. No mature or child burials were found with Roman objects (Fig. 7.26).

Fig. 7.26. Age categories of graves with Roman objects at Spong Hill, Nfk (shown in actual numbers)



However, Spong Hill Nfk as a site in this study is interesting in its own right, not at least for its sheer amount of Roman objects. The beginnings of the cemetery at Spong Hill Nfk have been recently ascribed to an earlier date than its surrounding cemeteries, beginning in the 5th century (Hills and Lucy 2013, 229). Thus, the funerary rite of including exotic or Roman potsherds, metal artefacts or glass within the fill appears to have been present from the earlier phases.

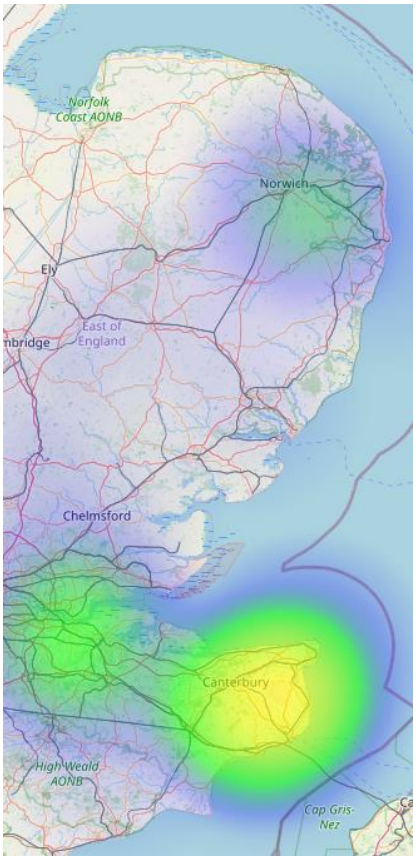
The use of unburnt Roman objects in cremation burials is of particular significance, as Williams (2004) has pointed out that a careful selection process took place in order to determine which objects were burnt and which ones remained unburnt. It is difficult to discern for what reasons the objects were deposited, as Härke (2014) suggests, the process could comprise a wide range of meanings, which may have changed over time (Williams 2003, 282-3; Härke 2014, 54). In contemporary society,

it is known from Jewish communities that earthen ware was used to wash the corpse and then smashed into sherds before being included inside the grave (De Vries 1986, 275; Härke 2014, 51). The inclusion of Roman and Anglo-Saxon potsherds may have had a similar ritualistic significance.

This section demonstrates that Roman objects contained in graves next to the body or in the fill in general may have had a multitude of meanings, depending on character, fabric and context. The Roman objects in this context were largely, it seems, carefully selected and included, sometimes even scattered or thrown in the grave, as part of the choreography of Anglo-Saxon funerary rites.

7.6. Interacting with the Dead - The spatial evidence

Fig. 7.27 Distribution map of cemeteries with Roman objects deposited beside the body or in the backfill



An assessment of the spatial evidence for objects placed in special positions proved difficult. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, the occurrence of objects in the fill is either so sporadic (see Great Chesterford Esx) or so frequent (see Spong Hill, Nfk) that no obvious patterns could be discerned. This is supported by the fact that there seem to be no major chronological differences in the deposition of objects in the fill, which might be related to the notion of personal gift giving or remembrance of individuals, or to the fact that intentional acts of deposition are blurred by a percentage of casual and residual inclusions in graves. For this reason, the only valuable comparison could be made with graves that included objects placed beside the body.

The cemetery at Mill Hill Deal, Knt has been already discussed in chapters 5 and 6 where it is shown that there were some spatial relations between graves that included objects as concealed deposits or in visual displays. Graves with objects placed beside the body occur in much lower numbers, as only 25 graves (33% of the total amount of graves) were recorded with such assemblages, occurring both in Plot A and B (see Fig. 7.28.).

Fig. 7.28. Map of Mill Hill Deal, Kn. with Roman objects (red), vessels (yellow), weaponry (black) placed beside the body (see Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, Fig. 4)

Image removed due to copyright reasons

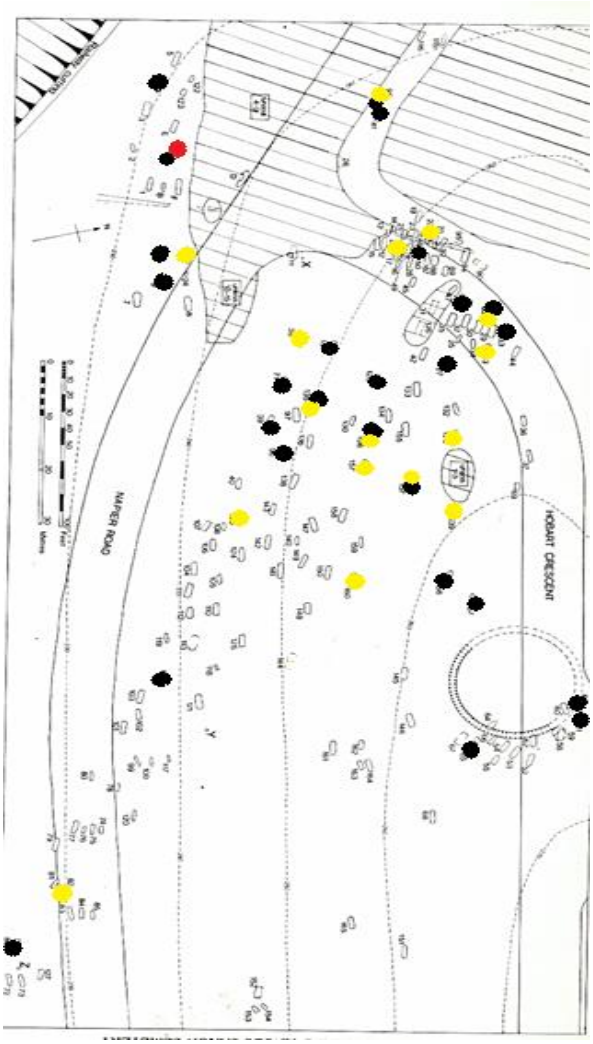
The Roman belt buckle found in the male gendered Gr.91 at Mill Hill Deal, Kn., has been discussed already in section 4.6. as an unusual ribbed loop continental specimen, unparalleled in this study area. Perhaps its special value led to its placement in such unusual position, as it provided additional information on the individual besides his status expressed through the inserted weaponry. It is interesting to note that the nearby sword burial Gr. 81 of a male mature inhumation also included a special placement underneath the shield boss. An elaborately decorated maplewood case including copper-alloy tweezers and a pair of shears were placed on the chest of the deceased (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 149). Both graves were located in close proximity to each other at the south-eastern edge of the cemetery, thus not belonging to the identified plots A and B. It is therefore possible that these graves, with their rare items, differed from the rest of the community, which is expressed through the care that has been taken to furnish these graves. Both graves were dated to Kentish Phases III- IV (AD 530/40 – 580/90), suggesting that their position in this cemetery and the inclusion of grave goods may have been chronologically related.

Although Gr. 32 of an unsexed infant and Gr. 33 of a female inhumation aged 17 to 19 years, both including glass vessels near the skull, were found in proximity to each other, it is still uncertain if they were spatially related, as they did not belong in the same cluster. Similar observations can be made with Grs. 61 and 70, both belonging to adult inhumations, the former being that of a female individual. Including glass vessels near the skull, they were nevertheless located in the barrow in a fair distance to each other, while Gr. 93 of the male mature weapon burial was isolated in the south-west corner. However, apart from the latter, dating to the Kentish phases II – III (AD 500-560/70), all of the graves date to the earliest phases of this cemetery, AD 500-540, suggesting that there were some chronological parallels in relation to the inclusion of food/drinking vessels inside the grave.

A similar situation is evident at the cemetery at Buckland Knt At the site of Buckland Kn. excavated in 1994, almost all plots contained graves with objects placed beside the body (the exception being plots R and U). As has been already observed with the distribution of graves at Mill Hill, Deal, Kn., there were only a selected number of

graves containing objects placed beside the body, making up 25% (60 from a total of 244).

7.29a Buckland cemetery 1951-3 excavations with graves containing objects placed beside the body, Roman objects (red), weapon (black), vessels (yellow) (after Evison 1987, Fig. 2)



7.29b Buckland cemetery 1994 excavations with graves containing objects placed beside the body, Roman objects (red), weapon (black), vessels (yellow) (see Parfitt and Anderson 2012, Fig. 4)

Image removed due to copyright reasons

Similar, to the more recent excavations, 41 graves in total included objects found near the body at the site of the Buckland excavations from 1951-3, making up 24% from the overall amount of graves found at this site (171 in total). Only one grave with Roman objects placed beside the body was found in the excavations from 1951-3. This was the male gendered inhumation in Gr. C containing scales and coins reused as weights. This burial was located in an isolated group of graves. Gr. 116 with the hook and peg as girdle hangers is also part of this plot, although the two burials are spatially separated by terracing for houses, which probably destroyed a few burials in the middle (Evison 1994, 20). Instead of following spatial patterns, the inclusion coins and scales may be regarded as reflections of the individual. It is noted that the other burial containing coins and scales in Gr. 265B is found in a different cemetery plot S, uncovered in the 1994 excavations by Parfitt and Anderson (2012) (see fig. 7.29b). As shown, plot S also contained graves including Roman objects in bag collections (grs. 350B, 351A) and visually displayed (gr. 263B), dating to the earliest phases to the cemetery, Phase 1-2 (AD 450 - 550). Gr. 265B has been ascribed to an earlier phase using Hines and Bayliss (2013) typology, AD 525-550, and as was the case with the other identified graves, the inhumation burial is also surrounded by graves dating to the earlier phases of the cemetery. Also included in plot S is Gr. 218 of an unsexed juvenile containing five coins at the end of the grave and Gr. 347 of a female juvenile including a fragmentary lead spindle whorl near the skull, dating to Phase 2, AD 510–560. Gr. 437 with a coin placed underneath the sword (similar to the position observed in Mill Hill Deal, Knt), was located in plot Y, in

a fair distance to plot S. However, Gr. 265B also contained a sword, it can be therefore suggested that these graves had some special status in their particular groupings. Similar to the graves found in plot S, this particular grave dated to the earliest phase of the cemetery AD 405 – 530. Plot S is noted as a plot with a particularly wealthy graves, it is therefore significant that the highest concentration of Roman objects also appear in this particular plot (Parfitt and Anderson 2010, 15-6).

As described above in section 7.2.1.1., the cemetery at Great Chesterford, Esx appears to use Roman objects in very unique ways, unparalleled with the other cemeteries examined in this study area. In this regard, the graves containing Roman objects placed beside, or in, an unusual position on the body also show some spatial relations.

Fig. 7.30. Comparison of graves at Great Chesterford, Esx with placed Roman objects (red) and other objects placed beside the body, including glass and pottery (black) (after Evison 1994, Fig. 2)

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There seem to be two concentrations of graves with objects placed in the graves; the first cluster consisting of C32, 136 and 149. Although Gr.136 and 149 lie in a fair distance to each other, it is interesting to note that both burials included coins in unusual positions (discussed in 7.2.1.1). Perhaps here there may have been some relationship between these graves. Using a moratorium base as a cover, C32 with remains of an infant does not seem to be related to the other two graves in this area, but rather correspond with the surrounding graves 154, 155 and 156 containing infant inhumations. These graves were all dated to Phase III, AD 500 – 575. Another concentration found in this cemetery are the two graves 122 and 137, where a large Hadrian coin was found on the middle of the head (122) and a hobnail at mid-waist (117) in male adult inhumations. Furthermore, Gr. 98 of an infant and in close distance to Gr. 117 also included a hobnail inside a pot. The significance of hobnails, especially isolated finds, have been already discussed above and it is possible that both graves were using Roman items in a symbolic way and may have been related in their grouping, albeit the choice of item differed. This might be supported by the fact that a double perforated coin, perhaps stitched on textile, evidenced by textile impressions, was also found in front of the arms in Rr. 111, directly above 122. This concentration of graves was slightly earlier than the previous one, as they were located in Phase II, AD 475–525. The remaining graves containing Roman objects appear to be more dispersed within the cemetery, with some dating to the earliest phase I, AD 450–500. It appears the use of coins changed here, as the heavy coin of Lucilla is found underneath the fingers of the female child inhumation, rather than on the head (Evison 1994, 96).

In overall, 52 graves included objects placed beside the body in this cemetery, making up 27% of the overall number of graves. These consisted of 16 graves including weaponry placed beside the body, 22 graves including pottery or glass vessels and in 14 burials, metal objects were placed beside or on the body. From the latter, 13 graves included Roman metalwork, the highest proportion being coins (see table 7.2). Objects placed beside the body are found in all three cemetery phases, showing there are no chronological correlations to the tradition of placing objects

inside the grave. In this regard, the concentration of certain burials with Roman items might be of interest here, as these groupings be related in some way in their similar usage of Roman items.

The spatial evidence for objects placed beside the body differs somewhat from the patterns we have observed in the previous two chapters. Items are more dispersed across cemeteries and across phases. Some correlations could be made with Roman items at Buckland Knt and Great Chesterford Esx and the weapon burials at Mill Hill Deal, Knt.

7.7. Roman objects as spiritual items accompanying the dead

The female juvenile, aged 10-12 years at Great Chesterford Esx 29 held in her hand a large coin of Lucilla (AD161-9) that weighed 19,62g, considerably heavier as the perforated coin of Allectus (AD 293-6) on her chest (2,77g) (Evison 1994, 96).

7.31.Coin from gr. 29 at Great Chesterford Esx 1:1 (after Evison 1994, 146); photographs scales shown in image (pictures taken at the British Museum)

The coin was originally used as currency in the Roman Empire and thus, was probably circulating for a very long time within the different spheres of exchanges, before it was selected to accompany the young female in death. The community that buried their dead in this cemetery had strong links to the Roman past; some of the graves here were drawn to pre-existing Roman features and as the study has shown, a selected few also included a wide variety of Roman items. As section 6.8. has demonstrated, this particular individual expressed her Roman lineage through the visual display of wearing a coin as jewellery component. This may have also

bound two families together that were supposed to be united through marriage. The ties to the Roman past of this family are deeply rooted. For this reason, it was important for the family of the deceased to acquire a large coin that could be used as payment for the sea farer of the underworld. During the funeral ceremony, the laid out the corpse carefully with all her personal jewellery and dress adornments and as the last gesture, placed her left hand over the coin. This ensured the safe travel to another world, giving the left behind mourners peace of mind.

The adult male buried at gr.40 at Mill Hill Deal Knt was of high status during his life time. He was buried with family heirlooms that were passed down from one generation to another, including a pattern welded sword, shield boss and spear head. Furthermore, two beads and a Roman brooch were also found in the fill (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 136-7).

Fig. 7.32 Oval gilded copper brooch with conical blue glass settings from gr. 40 at Mill Hill Deal, Knt 1:2 (see Parfitt, Brugmann 1997, 171)

Although he never used the weapons during his life time, the ceremonial inclusion was of high significance for the mourners to display the wealth and status of his household. One of the mourners may have been his wife; while backfilling the grave after the ceremony, she scattered two glass beads and her antique brooch into the grave. The Roman brooch may have been purchased by her husband at the local market, it was made of precious metal with a conical blue glass setting and thus visually striking. It had been used as a centre piece of her dress and was a much valued dress adornment, accumulating personal value over the years. With the deposition of the brooch into the grave fill, a sentimental item was integrated into the burial that an audience were not required so see as an open display during the ceremony.

At Lyminge Knt 13, a female adult was buried with a late Roman/Frankish clear glass cylindrical bottle near the right side of the skull and an iron buckle at the pelvis (Warhust 1955, 13; 37).

Fig. 7.33 Cylindrical glass bottle from gr. 13 at Lyminge, Knt, scale 1:4 (see Warhust 1955, Pl. 6)


Image removed due to copyright reasons

It was important for the mourners to feast with the dead, for this reason, food was prepared nearby and brought to the funerary ceremony, so that everyone attending the funeral could partake in it. The mourners placed the bottle near the head of this woman so that they could feast with her. The cylindrical bottle has been in circulation for centuries, but its original purpose did not change; since production it was used as an item to store liquid inside and was purchased from incoming traders from the continent. Its unique shape was highly valued and thus, the bottle not only facilitated feasting with the dead, but it was also deposited within the grave as reflection of the family's access to exported goods.

7.8. Discussion

This chapter has demonstrated that Roman objects could become parts of the broader funerary scene, either placed beside a body in the grave or cast into the fill during closure. As with necklaces, bags and boxes, Roman items were frequently mixed in with contemporary objects. The types of Roman item used in graves in this way greatly varied. Objects were used in different funerary rites (cremation and inhumation), were found in burnt or unburnt, fragmented or in complete states and were both altered or unaltered. Placed beside the body, they were found near the skull, feet or in hands or on special positions on the body. In some instances, the items may have had a symbolic role, signalling the occupation or status of the deceased, such as the smith's graves, who may have been involved in a trade and exchange systems, or the placement of tools and toilet implements which may have

belonged to the individual. Other deliberate acts are evidenced by the placement of heavy coins in the hands, on the skull or beside cremation urns, seemingly drawing on ancient traditions. The coins might be related to the ancient custom of Charon's obol. As we have observed, some of the coins used in these positions were much heavier than coins found in necklaces or in bag assemblages, frequently, these were old issues of the 1st to 2nd centuries AD. It is known that the custom of the 'charon' coin tended to use coins without much value (Stevens 1991, 215). Although Stevens (1991) refers to these as usually being much lighter in weight, it is also possible that old issues did not hold as much value as 3rd- and 4th-centuries issues. Stevens (1991) argues that coins are common finds throughout the Roman period and even found in 5th century Greek burials, displaying a variety of purposes within the graves. The cemetery at Olynthus, coins were found in the mouth, or on the head, which has been interpreted as a tip for Charon ensuring a safe journey to the underworld (Stevens 1991, 224; Robinson and Prisco, 1981, 205). Stretching back further, coins were also found during the Hellenistic period in graves at the Kerameikos cemetery associated with the mouth, hands and in the fill or in vessels of burials, mainly made of bronze (Stevens 1991, 225; Kurtz and Boardman, 163-166; Hermann 1044-45). Examining Gallic-Roman cemeteries, Susan Stevens (1991) also makes the observation that the usage of coins becomes more variable from the 3rd century onward, where single coins were more often associated with the head, on the arms, near the shoulders and near the feet (Stevens 1991, 226). This demonstrates that the placement of coins within the graves was part of a broader set of traditions. Nevertheless, the origins, no matter how variable, are rooted in ancient times, and this custom continued and changed according to individual needs in different communities.

Roman jewellery and dress fasteners placed beside the body may have been personal belongings, heirlooms or gifts for the dead. In addition to this, feasting equipment placed beside the body may have helped the mourners to interact with the dead in funerary rites. Williams (2003) suggests that personal objects accumulated memories which the mourner then disposed of by placing it in the grave in order to forget the individual. Once the individual and the possessions are hidden from view, the image of the grave remains in the mind of the mourners, while the individual can be also forgotten through the disposal of their personal belongings

(Williams 2003, 239-40). As has been discussed in section 3.6.3. and 5.6., hidden items were particularly part of the female repertoire, as their status and rank did not require repeated deposition of high status items, but was expressed through careful placements of symbolic and personal items which were not accessible openly displayed to an audience. In addition to these observations, Härke (2014) pointed out that the placement of tools could be indicative of the socio-economic rank of the individual and provide display for the mourners before the grave was closed (Härke 2014, 47).

This may have been also the case with items found in the fill of the graves, seemingly unrelated to the body. Roman objects found in the fill differed in the quantity and type in comparison to those found on the body; in particular potsherds were identified in this study, but also glass fragments and metalwork. Residuality cannot be completely ruled out, but the use of abundant material of potsherds at some sites suggests that residual material was purposefully used for visually display. In other instances, there was a preference for fine wares and rim sherds included the fill, suggesting that their inclusion may have been a deliberate act, perhaps for ceremonial purposes. This might also apply to the rare occurrences of glass fragments and metalwork. Other inclusions may be regarded as evidence for feasting activities during the funerary process (see also section 7.7). Thus, it might be possible that some items were deliberately thrown into the grave during the backfill process. The chronological variation between Roman objects placed beside the body and objects found in the fill might be evidence that there was an increase of feasting practices in the mid-7th to late 7th century, leading to a greater degree of residual material in fills rather than careful placements of objects beside the body. This fits well into the observed change of burial rites in section 3.1.1. and 3.2., where the general decline of grave goods were linked with an increase of significance of highly visible features (see also Sayer 2009, 166). This will be discussed in more detail in section 9.6. Furthermore the gender associations were also decreasing, as these activities did not correlate with social groupings of age and gender to that degree as has been observed in chapters 5 and 6.

Thus, it can be suggested that similarly to the decline of grave good depositions (and apart from the coins in special positions), the *Romanitas* of these objects did not play a central role in the deposition beside the body or in the fill, but active

interactions between the dead and mourners in form of ‘building’ graves or feasting with the deceased became more significant than the expression of wealth in form of grave goods.

The high peak in the usage of Roman items in these graves appears to be the mid-6th century, however the few graves which could be radiocarbon dated in contrast suggest a much earlier date-range in the 5th century. Notably Roman items in grave fills seem to increase dramatically in the 7th century, in stark contrast to trends for Roman items in bags and on necklaces but corresponding to the changing burials rites (see section 3.1.1. and 3.2.). This also correlates with the greater number of Roman objects in workboxes by the 7th century and it also points to changing customs for how old Roman objects were before they were selected and used as dress fittings and as part of the funerary ritual.

Apart from the objects associated with hands and skulls, especially coins, which seem to share connections to the Greek and later the Roman tradition of including a monetary payment with the deceased for Charon the boatman, all other Roman items within the contexts discussed in this chapter seem to carry little Roman resonance. Roman objects are used alongside Anglo-Saxon grave furnishings, often appearing in graves that are part of clusters of especially well-furnished and wealthy graves. This points to the continuing value of Roman artefacts, fragments and scrap to 5th and 6th century populations and to changing desires and customs in the 6th and 7th centuries AD.

CHAPTER EIGHT
THE MEANING AND USE OF ROMAN OBJECTS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL COMMUNITIES – THE CONTINENTAL EVIDENCE

8.1. Introduction

The previous chapters have shown that reused Roman antiques formed a significant part of the lives from Anglo-Saxon communities. As demonstrated, their meaning and purpose changed according to their usage, but they all carried value for their owner, either as items of Romanitas, as heirlooms and/or as symbols for exchange. The objects take on new meanings and were transformed based upon the owner's needs. In particular the examined regions from Anglo-Saxon England provided grounds for speculation how these objects could acquire new meanings, as the relationship between a remaining Romano-British population and incoming communities is fairly obscure. The cessation of the Roman troops and the ending of Roman Britain in the 4th century is also associated with a limited influx of fresh supply, leaving behind an impoverished landscape where it was necessary to recycle and reuse old objects (Fleming 2010, 10; White 1988, 163). This study has shown, however, that Roman objects were carefully selected and that their use is not solely based on being items of scrap that are occasionally found through scavenger hunts. On the contrary, the low number of graves that are containing these objects appear to be of special significance, the individuals were holding distinct roles within their communities.

In order to demonstrate further that the items are not just chance finds but the results of careful selection processes, continental evidence is taken into account here, as abundant Roman material was still in circulation within the former western Roman Empire and the usage might have been more intense than in an "impoverished Britain". In particular Merovingian Gaul and the Rhineland were examined in more

detail, as they are regions that are close to the coastal regions of England and bear a rich Roman history and funerary evidence.

8.2. The late Roman Landscape of the West

As I have discussed in section 3.7., several scholars have argued that in the late Roman Empire, different social groups on the continent were bound together through linguistics, written sources, political structures, and material culture, thus Roman rule did not come to an abrupt ending, but saw some form of continuity until the latter half of the 5th century (e.g. Naumann-Steckner 1997; Böhme 1974, Cleary 2013; Goffart 2006). Cultural influences were adapted and made use of in different forms for particular purposes, shaping a new provincial Roman identity (Böhme 1974, 209-11; Cleary 2013, 377). However, to what degree Roman influences were absorbed is subject of debate. Goffart (2006) argued that the barbarian identity and past was given up by the newcomers, while Geary (1988) suggested that their identities merged into one and Halsall (2006) remarked that the identities were not bound together, but in a fragile state that needed assertion through rich dress adornments and burial rites (Goffart 2006, 9-10; Geary 1988, 8-16, Halsall 2006, 23-4; 90).

This subject can be examined further by drawing onto the archaeological evidence. Similarly to the concept of merging identities, the pre-existing Roman archaeological remains also experienced changes in Gaul and the Rhineland during the 3rd and 4th century. The monetised economy saw a drastic reduction, urban life had been scaled down and villas were either abandoned or downsized and restructured, in which case they remained in continued use until the 6th century (Halsall 2010, 176; Fisher and Lindt 2017, 99-100 Lewitt 2003). However, their usage was dramatically changed, as the elaborate bath houses, habitation rooms or pagan temples served as burial sites (Lewitt 2004, 260-2). This can be regarded as a break from Roman ideas of an afterlife and settled landscapes, where the dead were buried outside of towns. Parallel to these developments, urban towns were also downsized and fortified, leading to the conclusion that these changes were the result of socio-cultural and conceptual shifts among the urban elites (Lewitt 2004, 266-70). Fisher and Lindt (2017) regard this as a reaction to the collapse of the central government, its cessation commencing from the late 2nd up to the 3rd century (Fisher and Lindt 2017, 100, 111). During this time, old coins were also kept in circulation and it has

been suggested that by downsizing their villas, urban centres and economy, the urban elite could control the regions for a longer period of time (e.g. Hostein 2012; Fisher and Lindt 2017, 263; Goffart 1989). This prolonged control was also facilitated through the emergence of Christianity, which transformed the relationship between clergymen and urban elites and by giving up land to the church, the urban elite could manifest itself further (Fisher and Lindt 2017, 108, 116-9).

The Rhineland area is of special interest here, in particular the city of Cologne. Although some towns witnessed similar fates of downsizing or abandonment, as already described for the regions of Gaul, Cologne continued to flourish and last town developments occurred during 400 AD. With the movement of new social groups into the city, buildings were not destroyed, but integrated into new dwellings; the Frankish made particularly use of public buildings and former religious or political centres (Höltken 2016, 1; Dietmar and Trier 2011, 83). Furthermore, there appears to be evidence of co-existence, as in some early medieval churches, a few graves were found without grave goods or with grave stones inscribed in Latin, which might be indicative for a continued Roman way of life and mortuary traditions (Höltken 2016, 5; Dietmar and Trier 2011, 85).

From the above discussion, it seems that Roman structures and life were not abandoned on the continent with the cessation and ultimate collapse of the Roman Empire, but that they were merely adapted for new circumstances and ways of life. They acquired new meaning and were shaped and transformed based upon the needs of these social groups, transmitting particular messages through the continued use. The mortuary evidence that is briefly touched upon here, will be discussed in more detail below.

8.3. Trade and exchange between the continent and Anglo-Saxon England

Apart from inhabiting Roman structures or making them places for the dead, continued Roman manufacturing centres still flourished on the continent and contact with Anglo-Saxon England is also evident. In particular Roman production centres were flourishing in Merovingian Gaul and the Frankish Rhineland. Many Merovingian sites north of the Alps continued with the production of craft and everyday goods and pottery and glass were still manufactured in large quantities (Henning 2008, 10-

11). Glass making is particularly known from the Frankish Rhineland, as shown by the ongoing glass manufacturing site at Heumarkt in Cologne. Here, markets were established at the Heumarkt near the harbour and while the workshops appeared to be in sunken featured buildings, there is evidence that the community lived in a nearby Roman building that was restructured for their living conditions (Höltken 2016, 6). Glass frits were also found in 6th-century Maastricht, casting moulds for non-ferrous metal were found in Namur and Tournai and pottery workshops were discovered in places such as Krefeld-Gellep and Bonn to name a few (Loseby 1998, 283-4; Dijkmann 1992, 370-71; Pirling 1960, 149; Soelter 1976, 71-2). This is suggestive that craft production did not end, but continued in late antique urban centres, which also may have had an impact on Anglo-Saxon society and their access to this material. In fact, evidence of productions in towns such as Geneva and Mainz indicated that some goods were manufactured for specific markets, including Anglo-Saxon England (Henning 2008, 15 -16). These production and trade routes were connected with centres already of importance in antiquity and is evidence for a continuing Post-Roman urban development, which not only made use of the old structures, but also continued the crafts known from the late Roman period (Henning 2008, 29).

The significance of smith's graves in Kent and in Merovingian Gaul has been demonstrated in section 7.2.1 and interpreted as evidence for ongoing trade and exchange networks between Kent and the continent. In these instances, Roman coins were used for practical purposes as they were cut down into weights to measure standard gold or bullion units.

Other object types identified in this study may be interpreted in similar ways, as evidence for trade and exchange with the near continent. As discussed in section 6.10., the bead manufacturing industry may have traded in small distance trading routes, connecting Britain with the continent (Peake 2013, 504-6). On a smaller scale, there also seem to be ongoing production sites in Anglo-Saxon England, showing an intermingling of Romano-British traditions and incoming Anglo-Saxons. Roman pottery was found in the Anglo-Saxon contexts of Heybridge, Esx. and Shakenoak, Oxfords., while an Anglo-Saxon stamped pot was discovered in a Roman kiln at Westwick Gardens, Lincolns. (Dark 1996, 58). Furthermore, an Anglo-

Saxon potsherd was retrieved at the Orton Hall villa and an Anglo-Saxon pottery stamp was found on an Oxfordshire ware vessel in the Barrow Hill cemetery, Oxfords. (Howe, Perrin and Mackreth 1980, 10). It has also been suggested in section 4.16. that after the cessation of industrial activities to quarry jet, shale and lead in the Roman period, some sites still provided evidence for continuing production in the early medieval period (Stevens 2018, Hunter 2008a/b).

The evidence discussed here demonstrated that Late Roman life continued, albeit being restructured and adjusted for particular purposes. In terms of structures and urban centres, buildings were used and manipulated to maintain control and power over lands, whereas Roman manufacturing centres were kept and used to stimulate trade and exchange. As has been discussed, Anglo-Saxon England was not untouched by these developments, but connected with these centres, as is indicated by imported goods in Kent. These pre-requisites of an inter-connectiveness between Anglo-Saxon England and the nearby continent is also shown in the development of mortuary rites and material culture and the role Roman objects played in this, will be discussed with fresh research below.

8.4. Merovingian mortuary rites and the significance of Roman antiques

When discussing Merovingian mortuary rites, one has to start with the most significant 5th century burial of Childeric I at Tournay. This grave was exceptionally rich, surrounded by pits filled with 23 horses and there is evidence that the grave was covered by a large mound (e.g. Effros 2003, 120-1; Halsall 2010, 171). The grave goods included artefacts made of precious metals, weapons and coins. Halsall (2010) also suggests that the bulls head on the horse harness pendant is a symbol for the Merovingian origins myth and thus, this grave marks the beginning of the Merovingian period (Halsall 2010, 171-3). Of particular interest here are the Roman symbolic objects. Childeric appears to have been dressed in a chlamys with golden bees and a crossbow brooch of eastern Roman origin, a signet ring, symbolising a Roman Emperor with long hair, a sceptre similar to those found on the north eastern Palatine in Rome, cloisonné work of Mediterranean origin, a bowl made of agate and Roman coins in purses. Four of these coins were perforated, including a coin from Hadrian (AD 134-38), Antonius Pius (AD 148-49), Lucius Verus and, the only siliqua in this grave, from Constantine (AD 351-55) (Quast 2015, 167-78; Fisher and Lindt

205, 7; 19). It is interesting to note here that a rare coin such as that of Lucius Verus was also found in the Caistor-by-Norwich gr. 13 grave, which has been interpreted as bearing a similar function to the large coins found in the cremation burials at the site, drawing on ancient Roman traditions (see section 7.2.1.1.). The coins of the grave from Childeric have been discussed recently by Fisher and Lindt (2015) who observed that the coins were in pristine condition when interred into the graves and only coins were included from emperors with legitimate power spanning 300 years and starting with a rare coin of Nero AD 41-54 (Fisher and Lindt 2015, 19). The hoard included 100 gold coins and 200 silver coins found in four vessels, these could be subdivided further into 89 solidi, 41 denarii and one siliqua and it is suggested that the solidi coins were the result of a compilation from three sources originating in Scandinavia, Poland and Italy (Fisher and Lindt 2015, 3; 13, 20). The insertion of Roman objects in this prestigious grave has been interpreted as links to a Roman past and its splendour, legitimising the power of Childeric I and his son Clovis, who would have been the conductor of the funeral, targeting a selected audience (e.g. Quast 2015, 232; Fischer and Lind 2015, 29; Halsall 2010, 187). The combination with German elements demonstrates the merge of cultures and that barbarians were exposed to Roman symbols and could also read them. In fact, Fischer and Lind (2015) point out that signet rings were also worn by barbarians and used as means to exchange meaningful texts (Fischer and Lind 2015, 11). The elements of the eastern Roman Empire are also of importance here, as they show that this region was connected with the existing empire and had the access to the trade ways (see coins from Theodosius II (AD 430-40) and Zeno (AD 476-91), crossbow brooch form). Furthermore the slaughtering of horses also demonstrates an element of barbaric traditions and thus, a connection to an old elite (Quast 2015, 232).

Childeric's grave was not the only exceptionally rich burial in Merovingia. Other so-called princely burials were found in Northern Gaul and Cologne. At St. Denis, Ile de France, the speculated grave of queen Aregund was buried with a wealth of precious metals and with a buckle that showed the same Merovingian symbols as observed in the grave of Childeric (Quast 2015, 232, Effros 2003, 121). The rich male burial at Lavoye, Meuse 319 had been buried in a similar style to Childeric, with weapons, gold and silver as well as an eastern Roman gold coin from the eastern emperor Zeno (AD 476-91), suggesting that this individual had access to similar material and

trade ways (Joffroy 1974, 130-1). Finally the much later 6th-century female burial underneath the dome in Cologne of a 28 year old (probably Wisigarde the wife of Theudobert, who died in AD 538) may have not demonstrated the same linkages to the Roman past as previously observed, but she was also buried with a large amount of 5th- and 6th-century coins in necklaces and purses (demonstrating the value of coins inserted in graves) and as this was a burial interred within the walls of Cologne, it also illustrated its uniqueness (Höltken 2016, 3-4; Dietmar and Trier 2011, 95).

These examples of princely burials that are openly displayed with much grandeur, using heirlooms from a Roman past and contemporary Roman derived or Byzantine items, can be regarded as stark reflections of the wealthy burials appearing in 7th century Britain that used a similar material language to legitimate power. It has been discussed in the previous chapters that these 7th-century wealthy burials made use of precious gemstones and intaglios as opposed to old antiques and scrap (as observed in Sutton Hoo, Sfk gr. 1, Snape, Sfk. gr. 1, Harford Farm Nfk gr. 33) and it appears that this is also the case for the continental 5th- and 6th-century princely burials, using coins in pristine conditions and exotic items from the eastern Roman Empire. Helen Geake (1998) has argued that the use of Roman inspired and Byzantine material was based upon the idea that they were the "inheritors of Rome", actively reminding the population of the former glory of the Roman Empire and that their kingship is legitimised through the links to the Roman Empire (Geake 1998, 296-8). The continental burials appear to use Roman objects with similar motifs and thus, it can be argued that there is an intercontinental connection between these two regions.

However, as has been argued in the preceding chapters, Roman antiques were much longer in circulation before the establishment of the prestigious burials that created social stratification in the 7th century. Old Roman metalwork, scrap and coins were actively used by distinct individuals within the community for a variety of purposes and as discussed in 8.1., old structures have also been transformed and reused on the continent from the 5th century onward, suggesting that not only kings and queens made use of the remnants of the Roman past, but also a wider spectrum of people in different forms. Given the wealth of the Roman material on the continent in comparison to Anglo-Saxon England and that Roman workshops were still in use,

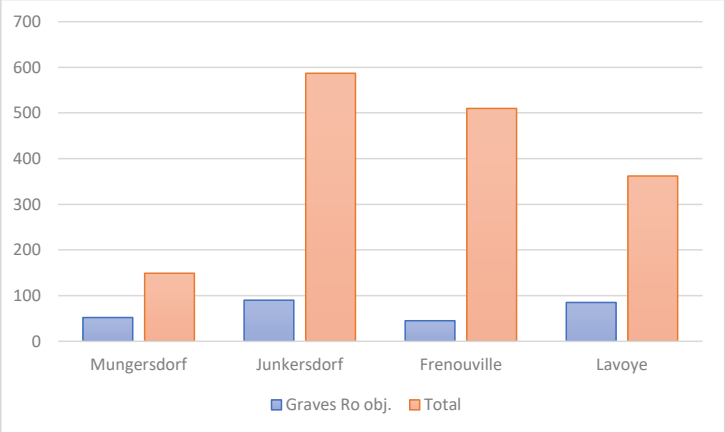
one might suspect that the general population would deposit more or newer material of Roman manufacture within their graves or perhaps none at all, if the perception of Roman antiques differs from those held by Anglo-Saxon communities who are dependent on it due to shortages of fresh supply.

Surprisingly, this does not seem to be the case. Four cemeteries have been studied in more detail here, two of them were located in Northern Gaul, Frenouville, Calvados and Lavoye, Meuse and two were just outside the city of Cologne, Junkersdorf and Müngersdorf. The cemeteries at Junkersdorf and Müngersdorf in Cologne were located near a Roman villa and given that there were ongoing production centres for glass and pottery at Cologne, it is surprising that even here, only a selected few Roman objects were inserted into the graves. In Müngersdorf, 18% of the graves from a total of 149 contained Roman objects and at Junkersdorf, it was only 11% (from a total of 587). This supports the interpretation that the use of Roman objects were limited to distinct individuals rather than subject to scarcity, as already observed in Anglo-Saxon communities. Similar observations can be made with the Merovingian cemeteries in Northern Gaul, Frėnouville and Lavoye. Similarly to Cologne, Northern Gaul was also a region with continuing Roman production centres and Roman towns and cemeteries were rather adapted than showing a complete break and abandonment, suggesting a stabilised population (e.g. Dierkens and Pėrin 1997, 86-89). This is supported by the fact that both cemeteries also incorporated pre-existing Roman burials facing north to south, as is illustrated by Figure 8.1.

Fig. 8.1. Cemetery map of Frėnouville with Merovingian graves including Roman objects marked red (see Pilet 1978, Pl.1)

As Alain Dierkens and Patrick Pėrin (1997) point out, the late Roman graves dating from the 4th to 5th centuries were largely not disturbed by the later additions from the 6th century, illustrating an awareness of these burials and respect for the resting places of the Gallo-Roman population. In this regard, it is also interesting to note that the quantity of reused Roman items found in the Merovingian graves is surprisingly low, as only 5% of the graves included Roman antiques (from a total 510 graves). There was a higher amount of objects found at Lavoye, as 19% of the graves included such items (from a total of 362 graves), however, in both instances the low quantities of inclusions are surprising, given the abundant Roman material available on these sites.

Fig. 8.2. Comparison of graves with Roman antiques in comparison with graves in total (shown in actual numbers)

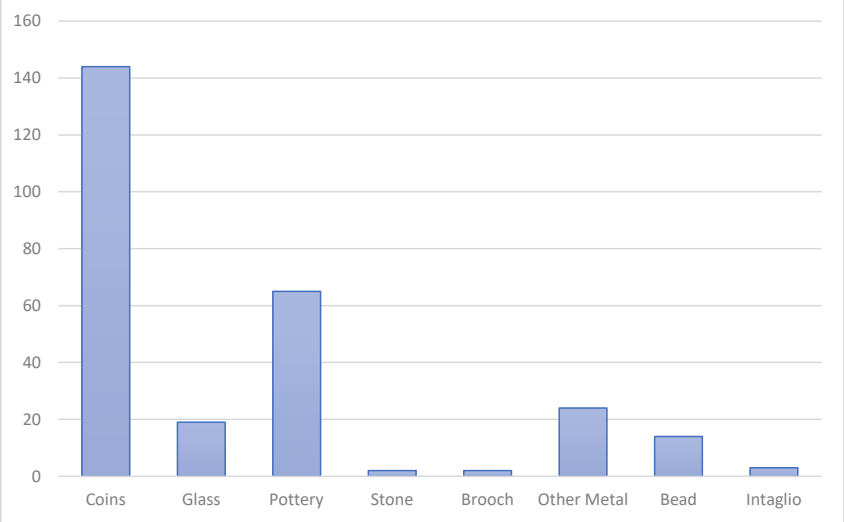


As has been already discussed above, one of the burials at Lavoye was a princely burial with exceptional wealth (Joffroy 1974, 130-1). However, instead of using Roman antiques, this grave contained a gold coin from the Byzantine Empire and thus, a connection to the existing empire, rather than to the Roman past long gone.

The object types identified on all four sites are fairly similar in character and correspond with the patterns we have observed with the object types included in Anglo-Saxon graves. Coins were the most prominent finds at all four sites, making up 53% of the overall amount of identified Roman antiques (272 in total). A substantial amount of pottery was also identified, accounting for 24% while glass and beads were accounting for 12%. Other metal objects included sieves, keys, bells,

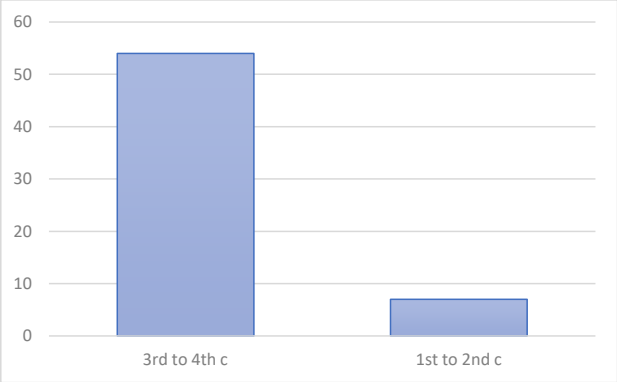
rings, chains and brooches, making up 7%, intaglios (3), glass pendants (7) and objects made of stone (2) (see Fig. 8.2)

Fig. 8.2. Object types identified at all four sites according by their fabric (shown in actual numbers)



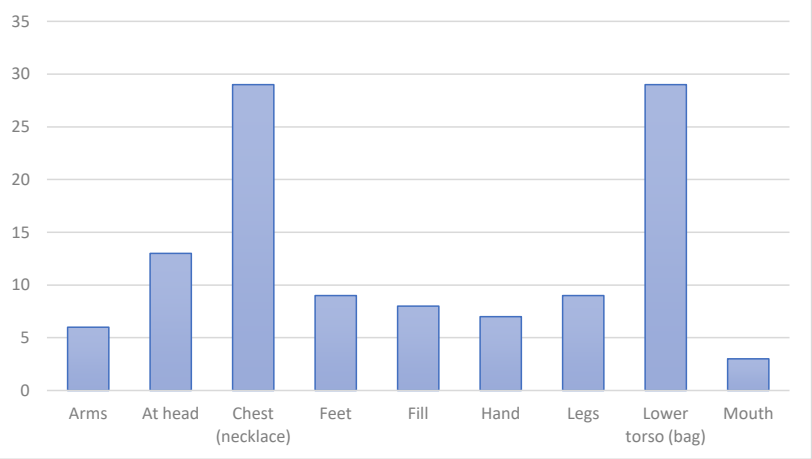
From the coins which could be more closely identified, the large majority were 3rd- to 4th-century issues accounting for 89% (from a total of 61). This percentage corresponds to the majority of coin issues identified in Anglo-Saxon graves, suggesting that the use of these issues was not an insular phenomenon based upon a limited supply of coins, but evidence for wider circulation patterns (see Fig. 8.4.).

Fig. 8.4. Coin issues found in Merovingian graves (shown in actual numbers)



The use of these coins is similar to those observed in Anglo-Saxon graves, as three different applications can be identified: they are either worn perforated in necklaces, found in bags with other coins (similar to the bags identified with economic value) or placed in the hands, mouth or skull of the individual (see Fig. 8.5.).

Fig. 8.5. Comparison of position of coins in graves (shown in actual numbers)



The uniform usages of coins on both sides of the channel is suggestive of shared ideas of the Roman past (and perhaps present) and possible affiliations. As has been discussed, it is also interesting to note that a broad array of Roman material culture was available in Merovingian Gaul and the Frankish Rhineland, yet the object types included in the graves are fairly standardised, and like Anglo-Saxon England were clearly items carrying value (such as coins, glass fragments, metal scrap), everyday items which had been retained for use but probably still carried a local/personal value as older objects (pottery, tiles, bells, keys and other household tools), and items that were clearly used in terms of their connection to a Roman past (perforated coins in necklaces, coins found in special positions, intaglios) as well as relatively rare items that could be terms exotica (pins, beads, pendants). Furthermore, the material and origins were of relevance here, as prestigious and pristine objects such as gold coins, Byzantine or Mediterranean material were found in princely burials, whereas bronze coins, antiques and scrap were found in a wider spectrum of graves and thus may have born different meaning.

8.4.1. Case study: Roman objects in Müngersdorf

The variety of objects found in the graves and their careful application is demonstrated on selected graves from Müngersdorf. Three bronze coins were found just below an elaborate bead necklace of a female gendered inhumation in gr. 25 on the chest (fig. 8.6).

Fig.8.6. Burial plan for gr.25 with coins on chest (no scale provided, after Fremersdorf 1955, Tafel 29)

Image removed due to copyright reasons

The position would suggest a visible display, however, the coins were illegible and one of them had a broken perforation, which would rather suggest a bag collection, as discussed in chapter 5. A piece of glass scrap was also found next to the coins, which would confirm an assemblage kept in some material. The only other grave goods found was a scatter of beads and a girdle hanger, which might be indicative of the female's position in the household (see section 5.2. and 6.3. on keys). Considering that the grave goods were highly selective and limited, the assemblage of old things may have had a special meaning to the individual and as described in sections 5.2.1 and 5.6., was perhaps used for magical purposes. A Roman key was also found in gr. 72 together with an array of rings and a knife at the left hand side of a female gendered individual, demonstrating that Roman keys were equally used as status symbols (Fig. 8.7).

Fig. 8.7. Burial plan gr. 72 and key (no scale,see after Fremersdorf 1955, Tafel 11; 74)

Images removed due to copyright reasons

Roman coins were also found in necklaces, as can be seen from the grave 79, where a 4th-century coin from Magentius and a 2nd-century coin from Hadrian were incorporated in a bead necklace (Fig. 8.7.).

Fig. 8.8. Coins in bead necklace, gr.79 (see Fremersdorf 1955, Tafel 11)

Image removed due to copyright reasons

Unfortunately no grave plan was provided, but it is suggested that the necklace had been worn by a female gendered inhumation. Both coins were legible and did not interfere with the emperor's head. Other grave goods included a Germanic bronze bangle, demonstrating the intermingling of contemporary jewellery items with Roman antiques. Another interesting deposition is that of coins in bowls near the feet. This can be seen in grave 90, where four illegible coins were found in a bowl together with a Roman gaming piece (fig.8.8.)

Fig. 8.9. Grave 90 burial plan and coins in bowl (no scale provided, see Fremersdorf 1955, Tafel 15 and 46)

Images removed due to copyright reasons

This reminds of the wooden boxes in Anglo-Saxon graves and may have had some special significance within this burial, perhaps as symbol that this individual had access to antiques or it might have been an offering, giving its unique placement (see section 5.2.2 and 5.6.). This grave also contained a Roman flask near the lower right tibia and a Merovingian coin on the right hand shoulder. Clearly the varied positions of the Merovingian and the Roman coins show that these were valued for different purposes. In this regard, it is also interesting to note that gr. 91b of a double burial contained a Merovingian coin in the mouth of the individual, rather than an old Roman coin (fig. 8.9.).

Fig 8.10. Burial plan grave 91b (no scale provided, see Fremersdorf 1955, Tafel 47)

Image removed due to copyright reasons

The deposition of the coin in the individual's mouth reminds of the old Roman tradition of charons obol (see section 7.2.1.1.) and as had been suggested by White (1988), it appears that on the continent, Frankish coins were used for this purpose (White 1988, 156-8). As we have seen, coins placed in the mouth of the dead also occurred in Anglo-Saxon England, albeit in rare circumstances. The examples found from Bradstow School Knt 71 and St. Peter's Tip Knt 362 were a tremissis and a silver sceat instead of old Roman coins, thus the placement of contemporary coins in the mouth may have been intentional (see section 7.2.1.1.). Grave 91b also included a Roman bonze bell together with iron tools and a comb on the left hand side, perhaps hanging from a girdle (fig. 8.10). The significance of bells has been discussed in section 4.14. and the inclusion of the bell in the dress of the female gendered individual here may have born a similar purposes.

Fig. 8.11. Roman bell (no scale provided, see Fremersdorf 1955, Tafel 16)

Image removed due to copyright reasons

8.5. Summary

In sum, the more in-depth discussion from a selection of graves in Müngersdorf have demonstrated that Roman objects were not just used by the elite, but also present in the lives from the general community. The antiques and their usage were as versatile as those found Anglo-Saxon England, showing that although we are presented with a society that had access to a large pool of material culture and for whom Roman objects were not obscure items, but parts of a living past, the material was carefully selected, handled and used by certain individuals in the same manner as in Anglo-Saxon society. Thus, the connections between Merovingia and Anglo-Saxon England can be attested through exchange of material culture and ideas of the Roman past.

Comparing the data from Merovingia with Anglo-Saxon England further, Kent as a region is of particular interest here. As the closest part to the continental mainland, imported goods flourished in Kent (e.g. Evison 1965, ch.18; Yorke 1990, 6, 18; Richardson 2005; Soulat 2009a overview; 2009b overview; Fleming 2009). This part of England has even been suggested as coming under Merovingian rule (Wood 1983, 17-19). Given that the majority of Roman objects are also found in this region, and Roman objects are used in Merovingian graves as well, it is possible that the objects denote a thriving trade in Roman commodities and scrap. Instead of simply exchanging goods, ideas and fashion too were likely shared between these populations. In section 8.2.1 it has been argued that in Merovingia/Francia Post-Roman societies although transformed, continued to organise themselves into social groupings based on Roman ways of life, within provincial social groups (see Böhme 1978, Cleary 2013; Pohl 2013; Goffart 2006). Furthermore it was stressed that the urban elite of the 5th century reshaped and maintained Roman villas and town centres, creating their own provincial identities when the power of a central ceased. It might be therefore suggested that one purpose of wearing of coins in necklaces in an open fashion is to show affiliations with these continuing provincial Roman groups found in Merovingia and access to their economic goods. Continental connections may not have been as significant in Essex or East Anglia, but the rarer inclusions of perforated coins in inhumation and cremation burials still provide evidence for inter-regional contacts. Section 7.2.1. has shown that unburnt grave goods were also included in cremation urns. It is interesting that among those, perforated coins were also selected as items worthy to be placed inside the urn after the cremation (see Lackford, Sfk 50,127; 50,71; 49,579; Caistor by Norwich, Nfk Y40). The inclusion of large coins nearby cremation pots or placed in the hands or by the heads of inhumed individuals in the cemeteries at Great Chesterford Esx. and Caistor by Norwich Nfk also illustrates some awareness, continuity or revival of Roman funerary traditions. In this study, only three sites in total demonstrated the use of coins in the hand, or mouth, in the tradition known as Charon's obol, although the custom is more frequently found in Merovingian cemeteries. This is important as it demonstrates that if the use of Roman objects was influenced in part by connections with Merovingia, insular rites and traditions prevailed and Roman objects were part of these funerary rituals. However, the similar nature of reused Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian graves suggests that there were strong cross-channel links evidenced

by objects from the Roman past. There may well have been a general flow of late Roman/Roman material around the coastal routes of Europe and a brisk trade in small portable and recyclable objects such as metal and glass items.

Taking into consideration the continuity of Roman production sites and structures in Merovingian Gaul and the Frankish Rhineland, it is also surprising that the reuse of Roman objects in early Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian graves is very similar in terms of being highly selective and confined to particular social groups. This might be indicative perhaps that these social groups were influenced by similar driving factors in their selection and choice of particular items with a Roman past. This applies to the graves from the general community as well as to the wealthy princely burials a century later. As briefly mentioned in section 8.1., there was evidence for a 'co-existence' of a Roman population and indigenous groups on the continent whose identities are shaped and transformed into Roman provincial identities (see also Cleary 2013, 377). The discussed evidence here supports a newly found provincial identity; ideas and material from a Roman past were exchanged across the channel and moulded and altered for particular needs of distinct individuals.

CHAPTER NINE

ANGLO-SAXONS AND THE PORTABLE ROMAN PAST

"Wondrous is the stone-wall wrecked by fate; the city buildings crumble, the works of giants fall (…) The place falls to ruin, shattered into a mound of stone, where once many a man, joyous and gold-bright, dressed in splendour, proud and flushed in wine, gleamed in his armour; he gazed on his treasure – silver, precious stones, jewellery and wealth, all that he owned – and on this bright city in the wide kingdom."

The Ruin Poem, in Crossley-Holland 2009, pp. 59 -61

9.1. Introduction

The Anglo-Saxon poem "The Ruin" written by an anonymous author, originating in the 8th/ 9th and compiled in the 10th-century *Exeter* book, describes the past grandeur of Roman buildings in the Anglo-Saxon landscape that were now crumbling into dust. While this study focused on the period between the 5th and 7th century and the poem had been written a few centuries later, being part of a Christian literate milieu, these words provide nevertheless insight into how Anglo-Saxon populations may have viewed the Roman past and its remains with romantic nostalgia. The vision presented in The Ruin implies a shared awareness of the Roman past and its associated material culture.

This project is focused, in contrast, on small and portable objects. These are items such as jewellery, pendant and tools. It has also concentrated on the 5th to 7th centuries, a time long before The Ruin was set down in manuscript form. While we cannot say whether people at this time viewed and perceived Roman objects in a similar way to the sentiments expressed in poem, it remains clear in this study that Roman objects and scrap were valued, used, and modified by early Anglo-Saxon populations. This study has demonstrated that the reuse of Roman objects by eastern communities was a multi-layered phenomenon. Artefacts were selected with

great care and for particular purposes. Similarly, I have demonstrated here that there was extensive variation in the nature and use of Roman objects by these eastern early Anglo-Saxon populations. This variety alone suggests that the purposes and meanings behind the use of Roman objects was also varied and probably context-specific. The sheer variety of objects used is set out in Chapter 4 and their uses are analysed across chapters 5-7. During this detailed analysis, it has become apparent that not all these items can be described or placed under the umbrella term “Roman” (see past studies such as White 1988; King 1981; Williams 2003). These objects appear to have carried some very specific, and at times, different meanings according to their nature, position and assemblages.

Rather than collating and assessing curated Roman material culture in isolation, this dissertation has attempted to consider Roman objects as part of early medieval grave assemblages. Careful consideration is given here to the individuals buried with Roman objects, the ways the Roman objects were included in assemblages and their relation to non-Roman objects and the spatial location in the cemeteries of individuals invested with Roman items at death. This study has proved that Roman objects included in graves were not chosen at random. It also reveals that these objects may have been more than curiosities that were valued for their connections to the Roman past. Instead, some objects, such as Roman metal fittings and beads, may well have been circulating alongside contemporary items as accessible goods for use with costume and as jewellery items. Objects, especially when curated, were not always adapted and used in their original state, but modified, and items often took the form of scrap or fragments. Furthermore, signs of repair and care imply long lifespans. This shows that some objects were not easily replaced and continued to hold enough meaning and value to prevent them from being discarded or remodelled completely. These object biographies could also be traced in the varied uses and depositional contexts of Roman items in early medieval graves. As the study has shown, the nature and condition of objects used for concealment (ch.5), visual display (ch.6) or placements in the grave/fill (ch.7) varied. However, when compared with their associated assemblages, their choice for inclusion could be more easily explained e.g. 3rd and 4th century coin issues were turning up with metal scrap in bags, perhaps holding some economic value, coins in pristine conditions and elaborate metalwork were used for visual display as part of the dress, and cut down,

effaced coins were parts of weight assemblages deposited next to the body in smith's graves.

The aim of this chapter is to contextualise and interpret the findings made in this thesis by evaluating the use and meaning of Roman objects used as grave goods in early Anglo-Saxon graves and more broadly to discuss the circulation patterns of Roman objects in Post-Roman Britain and beyond. The first section offers interpretations on the different meanings Roman objects held in early medieval societies by categorising their uses in broad terms based upon the observations made in chapters 5-7. Although the chapters differ in their focus common themes are apparent:

- Objects valued for their Roman past
- Items that carried some value to post-Roman populations
- Objects valued as items of trade and exchange
- Items valued as heirlooms

It was intended to discuss comparable continental material in a separate chapter, however, due to time constraints, this material is included here for comparative purposes. This discussion situates the findings from this thesis in broader and relevant current debates on continuity vs. reuse, and provides insight into the changing perspectives on the Roman past evident in early Anglo-Saxon society.

9.2. Roman objects enriching the Anglo-Saxon ways of life

Chapter 4 has demonstrated that there was an abundant amount of Roman material included in Anglo-Saxon graves. 908 objects have been identified in 322 inhumation and cremation graves from 65 cemeteries, dating from the 5th to 7th centuries AD. The large amount of Roman potsherds found at Spong Hill, Nfk, led to the decision to examine this particular site separately, adding an additional 473 identified objects from 104 graves (see section 7.5). A further 95 Roman objects were also recorded from 64 graves; however, no position on the body was provided nor were they described in great detail, making it impossible to scrutinise these unassociated objects in any further detail (see Table 9.1. for unassociated objects in Appendix A).

However, a list of these objects demonstrates the sheer variety of artefact types found in Anglo-Saxon graves as well as certain preferences.

Of the objects that could be located in relation to the body, these varied in their nature and position, and discernible patterns could be established. From the overall corpus of graves with positioned objects studied, 17% were found in concealed positions on the body, but 30% took the form of items used in varying forms of visual display as jewellery or dress fasteners. 52% were found either in the fill or beside the body. However, there is the caveat that it is in this position that residuality is most likely (e.g. numerous potsherds found in the fill sites such as Bloodmoor Hill, Sfk and Caistor by Norwich, Nfk). In these instances, it is more useful to interrogate if residual material demonstrates qualities, or is positioned in a way, that suggests intentionality.

It has been discussed in section 3.6.3 that the wealth and type of grave goods are depending on the life cycle from the individual (Härke 1990; 1997; Stoodley 1998/2000). The quantity of grave goods increased through age and while some artefacts are found with all ages, others are largely confined to a certain age group (Stoodley 2000, 459). This included elaborate artefact types, such as musical instruments, scales and gaming pieces that were exclusively found in adult graves (Härke 1997, 127). The age and gender associations varied in this corpus of material, but mostly conformed with the overall trends for the period generally seen eastern England where richer grave furnishings are found with female-gendered inhumations (see Stoodley 1999, 462-3). Similar to Härke's (1997) observations, the majority of graves containing reused Roman items were adult inhumations (54%) and to a lesser extent, young adults/juveniles. However, the latter group aged between 10-18 years also included coins in elaborate bead necklaces (see Great Chesterford Esx. 29, Morning Thorpe Nfk 79 and possibly St Peter's Tip Knt 230/a and 283). In particular Great Chesterford of the female inhumation aged 10-12 years is of interest here, as the coin was perforated twice due to damage, suggesting that the message signalled through coins in necklaces was too significant to be discarded through damage. The significance of elaborate burial displays with females and males who were 'coming of age' has been attested and it might be not a coincidence that female juveniles included pierced coins similar to adult female inhumations. This is discussed below.

Only a small proportion are identified as children (17%) and mature individuals account for 13%. It is possible that Roman objects, either as part of the dress, or placed beside the body, may have been 'earned' throughout a life time or passed down from one generation to another as a symbol of status within a household unit or community, although the limited numbers of Roman objects with mature adults would tend to argue against this.

It is particularly of interest here to analyse the role of Roman objects in the characteristic female and male kits that have been discussed in section 3.6.3. Masculine grave goods (e.g. weapons) in male graves were fairly repetitive, which has been interpreted as a constant underpinning of the individual's status, rank and economic power, while female burials also made use of a greater repertoire of material culture, including gender neutral objects (see Richards 1992, 134; Halsall 1996, 8). As Härke demonstrated, this also applied to burials of individuals incapable to fight, suggesting that the symbolic role these artefacts carried were more important than their actual usage (Härke 1990,1). Females appeared to have different means to demonstrate their power, less obvious than their male counterparts and partly hidden from view but equally powerful. As chapter 5 has demonstrated, bag and box collections carried special significance in female graves; some of them were included in founder's graves (see Barber's Point Sfk 6039), others were associated to magic and healing and thus possessions of 'cunning' women (see Meaney 1981, 247). Grave goods belonged to a grammar of display, which was intended for an audience that can understand those messages (see Wiessner 1989, 60-2; Halsall 1996, 13-9, 22; Webster 2012, 14-5), it is therefore possible that items that are not obvious items of prestige, such as scrap or old Roman items, can indeed hold powerful meanings and symbolic roles of the deceased and the associated household. The 'hiding' of these objects in female graves through the means of bags and boxes from the visual display also indicates that these objects were not accessible to everyone, but a particular set that was reserved for the individual only. This also applies to openly worn jewellery items and dress fasteners. When they appear in male graves, they are frequently prestigious items such as intaglios or elaborate belt buckles (e.g. ship burials in Suffolk; Lyminge Knt 32; Mucking II Esx 979), while female burials show again a wider repertoire of items that might be regarded as scrap, but hold significant value. This is not to say

that female burials do not include prestigious goods (see the intaglio at Buckland Knt 391b or dolphin buckle at Mucking II Esx. 989), rather, that they have different means to reflect their prestigious role within the community. In chapter 6 it has been discussed that glass fragments demonstrate the accessibility to glass during a time of scarcity and that the open display in necklaces show the individual's accessibility of these networks (see section 6.9.). Other scrap may have borne a similar purposes as has been noted by Swift (2012), the reuse of the objects might bear significant value than the object itself (Swift 2012, 193). This might be also the case with the reuse of coins in elaborate necklaces from female individuals. As Halsall (2010) has pointed out, women were securing family lines with heirs and they tied different families through marriages (Halsall 1996, 13-9). Grave goods are therefore interpreted as a reflection of these ties, showing the wealth and unity of two families connected through the female of the household. Thus, coins could be interpreted as symbols for intermarriages between certain groups of households, one or both of them claiming ties to the Roman past. This might be also the reason why only a selected few are wearing coins in each cemetery, as these old ties are only associated with certain social groups.

The gender and age correlations are mostly observed in 5th- to 6th-centuries graves; chronological variations are therefore discussed in section 9.5.

More generally it is clear these objects along with their contemporary Anglo-Saxon counterparts were a reflection of the individual's identity, denoting gender, rank, status or wealth. The evidence has presented in the previous chapters suggests there is no single explanation for the incorporation of Roman objects, but that a variety of purposes and influences were responsible for the presence of Roman material culture in Anglo-Saxon graves. There are many subtle variations in the usage are difficult to embrace simplistically under an umbrella term of 'Roman reuse'. Four key themes have been already identified above and these are not mutually exclusive. A range of different factors can be determined which may have influenced the use and incorporation of such items in dress and funerary ritual:

Romanitas: Some objects may have been truly valued for their Roman past. These include, in my opinion, 3rd- and 4th-century coin issues in necklaces as these were clearly and visually displayed and in frequently in pristine condition; late Roman

dress fasteners which were sometimes broken and yet were retained and used for similar visually display; the large coins found in the hands, skull or beside or in cremation urns; and the symbolic inclusion of hob nails observed in Great Chesterford Esx and Caistor by Norwich Nfk, drawing on late Roman traditions. These objects, whether openly displayed, used despite their broken or fragmentary nature, or consciously included in acts such as folding them into a hand or placing them by a head, seem to signal a conscious knowledge of the Roman past and ancient traditions. Other items may have been used as heirlooms to signal status and prestige. Examples for these are the intaglios set as pendants in rings or used as belt suspensions (in particular here are the rings from the boat burials at Snape Sfk 1 or Sutton Hoo Sfk) or the complete Roman belt sets found in the particular cemetery plot at Mucking II, Esx. I argue here that due to the Roman qualities and perhaps in some instances, their role as heirlooms, their use may have been to reaffirm ties to the Roman past at death by drawing on ancient traditions or visually displaying an affinity towards a perceived Roman past. However, the unique and ostentatious character of prestigious goods such as intaglios, may also make them items of value.

Items of Value. Objects were identified in this study that carried certain values for the wearer which will be explored here further. Some of the assemblages carried economic value, as they consisted of 3rd- to 4th-century coin issues and scrap metal, which may have been useful during a time of scarcity and before the first Anglo-Saxon coins were struck from the 7th century onward. There were termed 'money bags' and similar accumulations of exclusively coins were also found in Merovingian cemeteries (see section 8.2). Other items of value were also visually displayed or concealed, in particular beads and glass fragments found in necklaces or in bag collections (see section 5.2 and 6.10). When visually displayed, the items showed the access the individual had to raw material that might have operated as a monetary equivalent that may have been limited or restricted in terms of circulation. Items in concealed assemblages may have had other values too, such as healing (see section 5.5). This also applies to potsherds found in these assemblages. Metal scrap found in concealed contexts or suspended from belts in the form of pierced brooch fragments, such as the two 1st-century Colchester type brooches at Polhill, Knt grs. 8, 53 or the 2nd-century gilt disc brooch from Spong Hill, Nfk gr. 26 may have

held also some economic purpose. Not only were they visually displayed, demonstrating a wealth of sorts and access to materials, they were also easily used for exchange or recycling, although it should be born in mind that by burying this material, it was being taken out of circulation. Furthermore, the use of very worn illegible coins may have had a different purpose again – perhaps magical – particular when found in bag collections and contexts that contained other odd and organic items (see section 5.2.1). Tools and implements of Roman manufacture may have held some functional value used during the life time of the individual or during the funerary process, the objects may have provided information on his/her status or occupation within the community (smith's graves fall in this category). Other items, such as brooches found in the fill of the three male inhumation burials Buckland, Knt 264, Mill Hill Deal, Knt gr. 40 and Finglesham, Knt gr. 22 may have been thrown into the graves as sentimental additions during the backfilling process. In these instances, the Romanitas of the objects may have not played a central role, but it demonstrates how well Roman antiques were integrated in Anglo-Saxon communities for various purposes. Finally, exotica also belong to this category, as their rare and unique character as items of visual display make them desired objects for expressing individuality, status and wealth. Examples include the zoomorphic pin found at the head of the female adult inhumation at Sibertswold, Knt 18; the horse harness pendants found suspended from the belt at Sarre Knt 187 and Morning Thorpe Nfk 378 and the glass inlays in belt buckles at Mill Hill, Deal, Knt 61 and Lyminge Knt 32. The hook and peg used suspended from the belt at Buckland Knt 116 may belong to the same category as they were unique as visual display, however, as has been discussed in section 6.3., they may have been also used for their distinctive sound when cluttering together during movement.

Exchanged goods and ideas. Some objects discussed here may have been, in fact, items which were brought into eastern England as part of a flow of circulated items through existing trade and exchange networks. The trade connections became apparent in this study through the identified smith's graves in south-east England and Merovingian territories (see section 7.2.1.) and exotic items found in Anglo-Saxon burials such as the elaborate Roman-Gallic drinking horn at Temple Farm Knt gr. 3. However, it also appears that the ways Roman objects are used within the graves are also similar in funerary traditions on the continent. Thus, it is also

important to consider them as a reflection of a broader portfolio of post-Roman ideas that spanned Francia/Merovingia and eastern England which seem to relate to the retention of, and reinvigoration of, ideas of Roman material culture and ritual behaviours. This has been explored in chapter 8

Prestigious Heirlooms. These are items of prestige objects which were used in special ways to signal status and a connection to the Roman past. Their uniqueness and ostentation are key factors of their inclusion in the grave assemblages, examples being the intaglios set in gold rings found in the lavishly equipped boat burials at Sutton Hoo Sfk and Snape Sfk.

9.3. Remembering Rome – Valuing Roman antiques in a diverse Anglo-Saxon community

Throughout the thesis, evidence has shown that roughly only 10% or less of each buried community was invested with Roman objects as grave goods, illustrating a fairly limited usage in comparison to other grave furnishings. As we have observed in section 7.6., these particular graves were frequently isolated from other burials, suggesting that these individuals were unique within their community. It is this uniqueness that needs to be explored further.

In chapter 6, evidence was presented for objects that appear to have been valued for their Romanitas. These mainly comprised jewellery and dress fittings. Similar to the smith's graves, the burials containing such items are not found in clusters (Mucking II Esx being the sole exception) in this study area, suggesting that the wearing of certain jewellery items was confined to particular individuals who may have had links to a Roman past. Robin Fleming (2010) has argued that Romano-British culture continued after the cessation of the Roman troops in AD 420 and that these indigenous groups mingled with the new incomers from the 5th century, as evidenced by Romano-British fashion styles found with Anglo-Saxon women and children (Fleming 2010, 30-1, 53-4). Furthermore, as has been already suggested above, she suggests that in the eastern half of Britain, there may have been intermarriages between the newcomers and natives, leading to a continuous exchange of material culture and traditions (Fleming 2010, 59). In addition to this, Ken Dark has argued that the end of Roman Britain may have been in living memory for the generations that came after and only be forgotten in the AD 600 with the arrival of a new political

organisation and material culture (Dark 2000, 229). Taking these arguments into consideration and given that the large majority of burials with Roman objects show the earliest dates in each cemetery, it can be argued that the findings of these thesis support these interpretations. In particular the wearing of coins and displayed brooches or belt buckles may have been markers of a lineage or ancestry to Romano-British families. In this regard, the items presented in this study may have been family heirlooms that were passed down from one generation to another, signalling the descent and claiming lands in this new diverse environment. This might be also one factor why the overall number of Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon graves is so low, as these lineages are very distinct from the rest of the communities. Similar motivations may have driven the Frankish and Merovingian population in Gaul to include such objects in graves and the exchange of ideas and goods which was discussed in chapter 8. Although it cannot be entirely ruled out that Roman coins in necklaces may also have at least partly taken on new meanings, their frequent pristine conditions, the recurrence of coin issues and a common avoidance of perforating the Emperor's impression, all suggest that their Roman appearance was meaningful. Figure 6.9 has shown that 65% of the perforated coins were issues of the 3rd and 4th centuries and common issues are also found in late Roman hoards (King 1981, 5-8). Thus, these coin types integrated in necklaces may have been items still valued for their *Romanitas* in the living memory of Post-Roman communities. Similar interpretations can be drawn from openly displayed dress fasteners, consisting of belt buckles and brooches. These are rare occurrences, only accounting for 17% of the identified visually displayed items (section 6.1.). As section 6.4.3 has shown, brooches were part of uniforms from state officials and used as badges to create a sense of belonging and a shared identity (Jobst 1975, 93, Heurgon 1958, 23, Swift 2000b, 3, Collins 2019, 67-68, Ucko 1994, xviii). Brooches create notions of inclusion and exclusion, by setting boundaries for who belongs to a particular group and who is excluded from it (Jones 1997, 52 -3, Barth 1998). Thus Roman brooches had the power to determine group dynamics and given their similarly rare occurrences in post-Roman contexts may have continued to enhance the individual's distinctiveness in front of others.

Similarly to brooches, there is the well-known suggestion that belt sets, given their restricted circulation, were kept and worn by a particular group, with a continuing

Post-Roman status and rank connected to the late Roman military era. 73% of the belt buckles and brooches discovered in this study were of late Roman manufacture, while the fragmentary brooches in bag collections or for gift giving purposes appear to be much earlier in date and can be placed between the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (see above). As section 6.7. demonstrated, apart from Mucking II Esx, no coherent spatial relation could be found either for these group of artefacts, suggesting again that these were distinct individuals in their community, comparable with those wearing coins or being buried with scales and weights. As section 6.4.3. demonstrates, the graves containing complete late Roman military buckle sets at Mucking II, Esx are of particular interest, as they are not only unparalleled in this study area, but also located within a circle (see Fig. 6.18). This group, consisting of one male and two female adult inhumations, dated also to the earliest phases of the cemetery (Hirst and Clark 2009, 701-3), suggests that there was some correlation in the chronology and spatial position of these graves in the cemetery, and the grave may have operated as founder burials. Either way, the elaborate belt buckle sets showed prestige, rank and status in the late Roman period and their condition and completeness suggest similar messages were conveyed in their use by post-Roman wearers. Furthermore, section 6.4.3. has suggested that the overall evidence of late Roman belt buckles is scarce in Anglo-Saxon graves; this is similar to late Roman graves in Britain where only a few belt buckle sets were recorded (see Lankhills, Winchester 376 and Dorchester on Thames 1). On the continent, however, belt buckle sets are more frequent during the 4th century in inhumation graves used to advertise wealth and status of soldiers, starting in the 1st century BC up until the 6th century AD, it is therefore possible that the occurrence in Mucking, Esx is also a reflection of continental trends and contacts with shared cultural values and material culture (Coulston 2010, 51-3), as well as markers of a Roman lineage, as has been suggested for the use of coins in necklaces.

Other possible meanings cannot be entirely ruled out. We have seen in Chapters 5-7 for example that Roman coins can take on a variety of meanings, be it large coins placed on the head or hands of individuals or beside a cremation pot; heavily worn or in mint condition in bag collections or pierced for suspension; worn as necklaces or suspended from belts. In each setting, coins take on a specific meaning and can be interpreted as items of value, either monetary or in terms of their value as metal

scrap, as items drawing on Roman funerary traditions or as objects bearing magical properties. Of interest here is also the identified copper-alloy hook and peg found with the female adult inhumation at Buckland Knt gr. 116. Being the only grave goods in this burial that was in an isolated position within the cemetery, it might be that these distinctive objects were signalling a connection to the Roman past/lineage while simultaneously being magical items, creating a distinctive sound unparalleled in this community.

Distinctive items, based on their rare occurrences, may have similar double meanings. Pendants, consisting of ornaments, miniature brooches or repurposed metal items are frequently found with children (see Fig. 4.8.) and have been interpreted as protective charms, making them items of value for their apotropaic powers (Meaney 1981). Furthermore, Nick Stoodley (1999) has also pointed out that children and infants were often buried with arrowheads and bracelets, which might be an indication of the rare occurrences of Roman bracelets included in graves (Stoodley 1999, 190-1). As mentioned in chapter 1, bracelets were also included in infant burials found late Roman cemeteries and at times were cut into smaller rings from an adult sized bracelet, perhaps as heirloom (see Clarke 1979, fig. 37, Swift 2012). The variety of objects found in these graves might be not as distinctively Roman as coins and brooches, nevertheless, their inclusion might be evidence for continuous Roman funerary practices that were carried out by a particular social group drawing on the Roman past. This might be also the case for items worn by women and seemingly chosen for aesthetic purposes, such as the elaborate head pin at Sibertswold Knt 151 or repurposed items (see the bracelet at Bifrons Knt 6, the ear probe at Great Chesterford Esx 116 and brooches repurposed into pendants at Morning Thorpe Nfk 133 and Spong Hill, Nfk 26). These items, with their unusual shape and elaborate decorations, were distinctive within their community but were not necessarily exotica. They may have been distinctive family heirlooms in a particular kin group, which makes the wearer stand apart from the rest of the community, while their aesthetics draw attention to a distinct lineage within a diverse community. In addition to this, the items are likely symptomatic of the general flow and circulation of Roman objects in Post-Roman society and have survived as rare examples during a process of transformation when most items would have been lost, broken repurposed and remade.

Objects have the power to connect to the past and symbolise heredity and family connections – in this light it is remarkable considering how many women were wearing these items and buried with them.

9.4. Objects holding some value for Post-Roman communities

As chapter 5 has shown, other female adult inhumations were buried with bag collections that contained Roman objects and scrap as items of value (ch. 5.2.). They are found in spatial clusters within cemetery plots, suggesting that they may have belonged to particular social groupings, perhaps based on family or household units (see Sayer, 2009, 166; see ch. 5.5.). The contents of the bags, in particular, the raw material such as glass, potsherds or very worn objects, suggests that the individuals buried with them held distinctive roles in these communities and although a Roman lineage similarly as observed in section 8.2. cannot completely ruled out in some instances, some of the occurrences suggest that these bags belonged to women with medicinal or magical roles. But given the presence of coins and metal scrap, these may instead have been individuals who had access to specific economic networks, in a similar fashion to the smith's graves. Audrey Meaney (1981) has interpreted these individuals as 'cunning women' who used these amulet bags for magical rituals within the community (Meaney 1981, 259). Much later in time, long after the conversion to Christianity, in the 10th century leech books (Cockayne 1865/Jolly 1996), raw materials such as glass and pottery are noted as having some practical, medicinal uses. While it is difficult to draw any conclusions about 5th- to 7th-century bag assemblages in the context of the leech books from a much later Christian milieu, it is possible that just by being 'old' and rare, Roman objects carried resonance and potency as materials relevant to healing and magic. Meaney (1981) argued something similar for illegible coins, hair or animal teeth in bag collections and other contexts (Meaney 1981, 250). Here, the texture of rough very worn coins seemed to be of significance and even perhaps the absence of any diagnostic image that was discernibly Roman.

Individual preference or context can be seen in graves with assemblages that are contained in wooden boxes. As we have observed in section 5.2.2., gr. 6039 of the female young adult/juvenile at Barbor's Point, Sfk is interpreted as the founder grave of this late-6th-century cemetery. The burial included a particular set of items

concealed in a wooden container (Meredith 2017, 38-40). As this was the only wooden container recovered from this cemetery, it reinforces the significance of such assemblages as unique in some cases to specific individuals. Apart from raw material, we also find household tools and utensils in containers, sometimes made of Roman fabrics, such a spindle whorl (gr. 60 Buckland, Knt), a mirror (gr. 94 Gilton, Kn.) or keys (gr. 161 St. Peter's Tip, Knt.; Kingston Down, Knt 222). Meaney (1981) has suggested that these were symbols of the household and manifested the different roles women held in their family (Meaney 1981, 247). While such points of view are now quite outdated, the point holds that the objects chosen to put in boxes are likely symbolic and powerful and say something about the independent identity of the women they accompanied.

Keys and spindle whorls are also found suspended from belts as visual displays. These may have had acoustic values as well along with the strings of scrap items found hanging from belts with some other burials. These too are much more than domestic items when included in the grave, they signal instead, individual female status and power. As we have seen in 6.3., keys may have been suspended from belts to illustrate the individual's access to old chests passed down from one generation to another or when found with multiple keys, it is possible that it symbolised access to broader wealth or inheritance. Roman keys and spindle whorls are interesting as these items could easily have been Anglo-Saxon in manufacture and date. This suggests something quite specific about their choice. Perhaps the added 'age' of these objects conveyed additional information about the lineage and inheritance of the deceased.

Objects classified as possibly Roman in section 4.15, made of jet and shale, were probably chosen for their attributes rather than for the value of the particular fabric. Jet was a desired material and the curation and use of jet/shale items by post-Roman communities suggests a continuing interest in the qualities of jet perhaps outweighing the status of these items as old and of Roman manufacture.

The residual material included intentionally either in the grave fill or as surface heaps to mark out graves (as discussed in chapter 7) is an interesting category of material. Some of this may of course be residual, but in terms of the heaps of pottery, it seems that residual waste took on a new important role within the funerary sequence. Apart

from numerous potsherds, including those of Roman manufacture, the cemetery of Bloodmoor Hill Sfk included also bones with butchery marks in the fill (section 7.2.2.), suggesting activities of feasting and although the bones found in the fill of graves at Adisham Down, Knt do not have been examined on such a level, some graves evidence for charcoal residues have been found, suggesting comparable activities. These finds offer information on the mourning processes. During the act of furnishing the grave, food and glass vessels were deposited inside the grave. These inclusions may have given the deceased the opportunity to partake in the ongoing social activities during the funerary processes (see Härke 2014, 50; Price 2002, 133-134). During the process of backfilling the graves, the residual material from the feasting activities may have been included as items of remembrance. Here, items of gift giving were also found. As has been discussed above and in section 7.2.2. the identified brooches (Mill Hill Deal, Knt 40; Buckland Knt 264 and Finglesham, Knt 22), may have been sentimental inclusions. An act of remembrance is also evident in the careful arrangements of pot sherd heaps alongside flints to mark out the graves. The use of these collected sherds of Roman ceramics seems to have been a performative act redolent with symbolism rather than any intimation that the pots or potsherds carried any special value to the living or the dead.

9.5. Regional variations

The study has shown that the reuse of Roman objects in early medieval graves was a widespread practice, as all the examined regions included graves with deposited Roman material. It was also demonstrated that a wide variety of material was used and adapted according to the individual's needs.

However, through further examination, subtle regional variations in the practice became apparent. Kent as a region incorporated the highest variety of grave goods, including different types of metal work (some precious, others might be deemed as scrap) and 3rd- and 4th-century coin issues in pristine condition. Furthermore, it is the only county in this study area where medieval coins were found in the mouth of two individuals (see Bradstow School Knt 71 and St. Peter's Tip Knt. 362). As has been discussed in section 8.3.1., Merovingian coins placed in the mouth were also found at the cemetery of Müngersdorf near Cologne, suggesting an exchange of ideas and traditions across the channel. Roman coins, however, are also found in the hands,

mouth and skull from other cemeteries (see the cemeteries Frenouville, Aerodrome Knt and Great Chesterford Esx), which indicates that material culture was adapted and used in a variety of ways in order to draw on ancient traditions. The high influx of Roman objects in Kent and their various applications may be also indicative for cross channel communications between the near continent and southern England. As observed in chapter 8, the variety and quantity of Roman objects in Merovingian graves was on par with the Roman antiques found in Kent. Taking into consideration that Roman manufacturing centres were much longer in use and that there may have been a co-existence in urban centres such as Cologne, it can be argued that the low number of graves including antiques and fragments were not the result of scavenger hunts but a deliberate selection of items and cultural exchange across the channel. This fits well with the into the theory of maritime identities who bring a constant flow of ideas, good and commodities between southeast England, Flanders and France (Loveluck and Tys 2013, 361-3). Trade and exchange networks are also evidenced by the smith graves in Kent and Northern Gaul (see section 7.2.1), indicating that there a standardised and developed trade system across the countries. Through those channels, influences and fashion could spread along the coastal corridors that help shaping new identities.

The notion of Post-Roman identities has been discussed in section 3.7., arguing that social groups were bound together through linguistics, written sources, political structures and material culture and that cultural changes were adapted and made use of in different forms for specific needs (see Naumann-Steckner 1997; Böhme 1974, 209-11; Cleary 2013, 377; Goffart 2006). This was important, as material culture and common burial rites held these identities together (e.g. Halsall 2006, 23-4; 90). Considering the cross-cultural communication and exchange of Roman antiques and scrap, it can be thus argued that these objects played a fundamental part in the shaping and maintaining of these identities in southeast England.

As has been discussed above (section 9.1.), the coins in necklaces of adult females and those coming of age might be evidence for intermarriages, linking households together. Similar motivations may have been the driving factors for the inclusion of coins in necklaces in Merovingian cemeteries. Documentary evidence suggests that that Kent and Francia were connected through intermarriages and although Wood's interpretation that Kent was a sub-state of Francia might be far-fetched, it

nevertheless demonstrates the importance of Roman antiques in these possible allegiances between the two regions (Wood 1983, 17-19).

The outset of this study has demonstrated there were regional variations between Kent and East Anglia, while Essex as a sub-region showed a variety of influences (see section 1.4). Given the trade routes and proximity to the continent, it was expected that there is a higher variety and quantity of Roman antiques in southeast England rather than in East Anglia. The assessment of the material confirmed these expectations in terms of quantity, however, through the study it became clear that there was more variation in terms of object types in East Anglia. As has been discussed in section 4.1., the variety of coin issues in Kent is comparatively low; 4th -century issues were deposited in graves most frequently. Further north, the variation increases, with the highest variety found in Norfolk. It can be argued here that this is related to the trade routes and Kent had a higher influx of coins in comparison with the other regions. However, it also demonstrates intra-regional contacts and that the display of coins was important to communities in East Anglia, although the motifs for such inclusions might differ from those of Kent. This is also demonstrated by the pierced Roman disc brooches found at Morning Thorpe Nfk 133 and Spong Hill Nfk 26 which are similar in shape as coins, but do not bear the same imagery, thus it might be an imitation of coin use from the southern regions. Other preferences of object types are region-specific, as the cremation rite was predominant, it might be expected to find objects related to this process, such as Roman bone combs, tweezers and at times large coins near a cremation pot. The communities here may have not made a distinction between a Roman comb and an Anglo-Saxon one, but rather integrated Roman material with contemporary assemblages according to their needs. This might be also the underlying factor for high frequency of pottery and potsherds found at cemeteries, they intermingled with contemporary pots or were used as heaps as grave markers (see section 7.1.). In this regard, the high variety of coin issues and usage to ‘build’ the grave might suggest that the source of the Roman material found here is from nearby Roman sites, rather than established trade ways. The selections and choices made in southeast England were more conservative and great care was taken to display certain messages through the means of Roman antiques.

These changes, however, are reflected with the emergence of barrow burials in the 7th century, when semi-precious stones are used as pendants and in rings (see section 9.5.). Clearly the perception of Roman objects has changed by then and this will be discussed further below.

In sum, it can be argued that in the 5th and 6th century, populations in Kent and its surrounding regions were predominantly reusing Roman objects in the same fashion as observed in Merovingia in an almost conservative way, suggesting that there was direct communication and exchange of ideas and material between these two 'maritime' regions. Although the object reuse differs in East Anglia and the objects may well be selected from scavenger hunts, their applications and types mirror the fashions observed in Kent and Essex, suggesting that there was intra-regional contact between the regions. In the 7th century and with the emergence of a new elite, the burials rite of East Anglia is transformed and so is the type and usage of Roman objects.

9.6. Heirlooms expressing prestige and status

Some of the items identified in this study, but rarer occurrences, are characteristic for their prestigious nature, signalling status. Intaglios found in Anglo-Saxon graves fall under this category, as they differ from the objects discussed above and mostly appear in graves dating to the later 6th century onwards (with the exception of Buckland Knt 391B). In these instances, they are set into elaborate gold rings or pendants in lavishly equipped graves (see the finger rings in the boat burials at Sutton Hoo, Sfk and Snape Sfk and the pendants used at Harford Farm, Nfk and Pakefield, Sfk), suggesting that their use was based on a need to signal prestige and connections to a Roman past but they are also exotica. Although much earlier in date, the application of a crystal intaglio set in silver slings and found with the female adult inhumation in gr. 391B at Buckland Knt is also signalling wealth, as it is reminiscent of a similar suspension of rock crystals set in silver slings and worn by 'cunning' women (Meaney 1981, 247). Meaney (1981) observes a tendency of rich women replacing metal bands with precious silver or gold bands to hold the rock crystal (Meaney 1981, *ibid.*). Perhaps the use and suspension of this particular gem stone can be interpreted in a similar way: being made of crystal, it held the same

attributes to the undecorated counterparts, but with the elaborate carving of a Roman deity.

The intaglios set into rings in the lavishly equipped boat burials at Snape Sfk and Sutton Hoo Sfk or the prestigious Gallic-Roman drinking horn with elaborate Christian repoussé found at Temple Farm Knt 3, all dating to the mid-6th to 7th century, may be regarded as heirlooms from a distant Roman past that claimed landownership and status through their uniqueness and ostentatious nature. This fits well with Helen Geake's (1998) interpretations of Roman and Byzantine material found in conversion period burials, arguing that they were included in these burials to legitimise claims to power based on the idea of being 'inheritors of Rome'. These notions differ from the previously observed ones discussed above, which appear to be evidence for an intermingling of a Romano-British population and incoming Anglo-Saxons. Here, Geake argues that in the 7th century, the objects are used as a reminder for the population of the former glory of Roman Empire and a need to establish kingship through the revival of antiques, before the notion of Romanitas is interwoven with the Church, Rome and the Eastern Empire from the mid-7th century onward (see Geake 1998, 296-8). This is supported by Dark's argument that the notion of 'Roman Britain' is no longer a living memory from the 7th century onward (Dark 2000, 229). Thus, the use and choice of Roman objects changed.

9.7. Chronological variation in Roman object reuse

The study has shown that the inclusion of Roman objects in graves became rarer in conversion period burials and if they were included, they were either made of precious stones (see Sutton Hoo Sfk, Snape Sfk, Peakfield Sfk and also 6th-century continental princely burials) or elaborately made imitations of Roman items or Byzantine material (see Sutton Hoo, Sfk and Byzantine coins at Childeric grave and Lavoye 319). Simultaneously, there was a decline in grave goods in the 7th century and the furnishings became more standardised (Härke 1997, 133; Halsall 1996, 12). During this time period, weapon burials also started to decline, phasing out from children burials at first and as suggested by Semple and Reynolds, the practice of depositing weapons in water instead became more widespread in the 8th to 11th centuries (Reynolds and Semple 2011, 45). Furthermore, as has been discussed in section 3.2., Bell observed that there was a high peak of integrated Roman

structures for churches and cemeteries in the 7th century and if used as burial grounds, only a selected few were integrated within structures, primarily villas (Bell 2005, 68-9; 127). Chapter 8 has shown that these changes, a transition from grave goods towards integrated structures for cemeteries and adaptation of urban centres, could also be observed on the continent a century earlier, when the princely burials emerge.

This is indicative that the decline of Roman antiques in graves corresponds to a general change of funerary rites in the conversion period.

The relationship of grave goods towards the body, gender and age become less significant, instead the body is buried in structures that are visible in the landscape. This is also evidenced by barrow burials, as Sayer suggested that with the cessation of grave goods, marked burials became more prevalent (Sayer 2009, 166). The analysed heaps of potsherds in section 7.2.2. might be also evidence for such a change. As Effros has argued, there appears to be a shift from using material culture in everyday life to strategic usages in funerary displays (Effros 2002, 197).

This is not to say that the existence of 'cunning' women and their role in society declined, rather that the need to express social identities in graves were not as important as in the previous centuries and the objects may have remained in circulation and passed down as heirlooms rather than being deposited in burials.

Furthermore, the relationship between the emerging elites and the Byzantine Empire appeared to intensify, as is indicated by the wealth of Byzantine material in the princely burials of the 7th-century grave Sutton Hoo Sfk and 6th-century grave of Childeric I. This is suggestive that the ties to the western Roman Empire became less significant to legitimse power, but that the display of access to trade ways with the Empire still in existence was more valued during the conversion period.

The change in social stratification and kingship from the 7th century onward is well attested (see below section 9.5.) and the role of Roman derived objects and Byzantine goods may well reflect the prestigious connections the high status individual held in contrast to the rest of the community. However, the findings of this thesis have demonstrated that reused Roman objects are not items of 'revival' to legitimise power during the emergence of kingdoms, but that early Anglo-Saxon

communities were exposed to Roman remnants long before that and distinct individuals made use of the abundant material available, perhaps through markets and exchange mechanisms, perhaps to signal, for a variety of purposes. In some instances, items signal an interest and reference to Roman rites and traditions and the visible signalling of affiliation through the wearing of coins or prestigious dress fasteners. Roman objects in some instance were also kept and curated from one generation to another and may have belonged to specific family/household units. However, chapter 7 has also demonstrated that other Roman material such as pottery, tiles and food and drinking vessels were used within funerary ritual in some places which might point to more collective or communal acts of remembrance involving Roman material culture.

It seems therefore, that with the changes in funerary rites from the mid-6th century onwards, the attitude and accessibility to Roman antiques changed. Rare items or symbolic household tools were also included in wooden containers (as observed in the founder grave at Barbor's Point, Sfk gr. 6039). The decline of Roman coins also coincided with the emergence of Anglo-Saxon coinage (Scull 1990) and higher occurrences of bracteates as pendants. Thus, it can be suggested that the there was a change in the early medieval economy from the 7th century onward, with Roman items proving more scarce and an increase for elites in terms of access to contemporary Byzantine silver, skilfully made Roman imitations and Frankish coins (as observed at Sutton Hoo, Sfk. (see overview Bruce Mitford, 1951)).

9.7.1 The impact of Christianity

Within the framework of changing burial rites and the impact on the deposition of Roman antiques, the significance of Christianity needs to be assessed within these developments. It appears that the growth of the church was associated with the development of other key institutions and the state. As has been argued in section 8.1., on the continent, the church could establish itself in urban centres in the 5th century, by assisting the urban elite to hold continuous power in transformed towns after the decline of the western Roman Empire, while in Britain, the church was strategically placed in semi-rural settings to spread into the adjacent regions (Fisher and Lindt 2017, 108, 116-9; Petts 2003, 171). Ecclesiastical nuances were already visible on the continent by the princely burials such as Childeric I (see section 8.3.)

However, in Britain the changes of burial rites and their association to the church become more apparent in the 7th century. As is evidenced by the incorporation of Roman structures and fabrics, the church established itself on selected sites as ecclesiastical foci (Morris 1989; Bell 1998, ch.2 and 3; Blair 2005, 11-2; Senior *et al.* 2014, 13-4). Through this consolidation, the dead were frequently buried in churchyards and Crawford argues that this indicates a relationship between dwelling places and built structures with the deposition of the dead (Crawford 2006, 202).

In addition to this, the decline of grave goods as observed in section 9.6. might suggest that the attitudes towards the body has changed, but that the relationship between the landscape and the body becomes more significant. As has been discussed above, this fits well into Sayer's interpretation that during the later phases, prominent grave forms become more important than the inclusion of a range of grave goods (Sayer 2009, 166). In this regard, it is also meaningful if a body is deposited in a churchyard, minster or field, as evidenced by deviant burials from the Late Saxon period being deposited on estate boundaries rather than churchyards (see Reynolds 2009, 221-3). It seems therefore that the deposition of the dead within the landscape became of paramount importance and that careful consideration was taken where the body was buried, not only as a reflection of status of the individual, but also for the associated household. As discussed in section 9.6., the inclusion of grave goods drastically changed and so did the incorporation of Roman antiques. Prestigious items were more favoured over old objects and the inclusion of Roman derived objects and Byzantine material may be also regarded as evidence for symbolic resources of the Christian world. These symbols needed to be transmitted and negotiated to a pre-Christian community by individuals who are bound to the same faith (and claimed legitimate power over lands) through elaborate barrow burials that combined pagan elements with Christian symbols (see Sutton Hoo, Sfk). Roman antiques were no longer part of transmitting the desired messages, binding households together. Instead, it was the church and the prospect to be buried in churchyards that connected communities. Burial rites are thus not passive, but carefully constructed responses to these religious changes, building new identities out of a new symbolic repertoire.

8.8. Summary

The above discussion has demonstrated that curated Roman material formed an important part of Anglo-Saxon life, either as items for the expression of the individual, their power and access over economic goods, their claim over ancient legacies or as evidence for a distinctive status. It also has demonstrated that the selection and use of Roman antiques in early medieval graves was greatly influenced by gender and age, regional and chronological variations. The finds made in this thesis point to the flow and circulation of a wide range of Roman items in Post-Roman society but also demonstrate that across the 5th-7th centuries these goods were being disposed of in burial rites, a process that must have increased the rarity of old Roman goods. As accessibility diminished and with the emergence of Christianity, there are signs that Roman items took on a more symbolic importance in elite funerary dress and symbolism. In this way these Roman objects are symptomatic of the processes of transformation in Post-Roman society and demonstrate the actual reworking of the materials of the Roman world in to a new early medieval repertoire.

9.9. Conclusion: The Past in the Past – Using Roman antiquities in Anglo-Saxon England

The findings of the thesis and the above discussion have shown that Roman antiques were not just curiosities in graves, but that they shaped and enhanced the lives of the Anglo-Saxons on multiple levels. A wide array of Roman objects in Anglo-Saxon graves have been identified; they were part of visual displays or concealed and used for various purposes by distinct individuals within their communities, they were part of wider funerary traditions and useful tools for remembering the dead or they were items for gift giving. As section 9.1. has shown, there were nuanced differences in the use of different types of objects. All of these applications demonstrated that there was an abundant amount of Roman material available in the 5th and 6th centuries, which the Anglo-Saxons and Romano-British encountered and used. While material could have been scavenged from Roman sites in some regions, it seems likely there was also a local circulation and flow and exchange of Roman materials in the form of low-level wealth. This is also reflected in the Merovingian cemeteries, suggesting that the motivations behind selecting particular object types for distinct individuals might have been also part of wider exchange network centred on goods and shared ideas of the Roman past. The appreciation of Roman antiques changed during the 7th century with the emergence of kingship and hierarchical stratification and the disassociation of grave goods with the body. New Roman derived or Byzantine material appears in richly equipped graves indicative of new alliances and perhaps a new set of ideas about the Roman past and present.

The findings of this thesis have wider implications on the discipline of archaeology, as they demonstrated the significance of object biographies. In particular curated objects used in new applications or found in particular assemblages can provide detailed information on a communities' perspective of the past, shared values and ideas in life and in death.

In conclusion, the thesis has shown that the Roman ways of life did not just end with the cessation of Roman troops in AD 410, but the notion of Romanitas and its

associated material culture lingered on and was made use of by existing populations and new incoming groups. The much later poem *The Ruin* may have romanticised the former glory of the material culture of Roman Britain, but there might have been also some truth in it, as curated Roman objects played a significant role in the lives of early medieval communities between the 5th to 7th centuries.

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“Freund, es ist auch genug. Im Fall du mehr willst lesen,

So seh und werde selbst die Schrift und selbst das Wesen.”

Angelus Silesius