

Britannia 48 (2017)

The Minorities Eagle: A New Sculpture from London's Eastern Roman Cemetery

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL



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The Minories Eagle: A New Sculpture from London's Eastern Roman Cemetery

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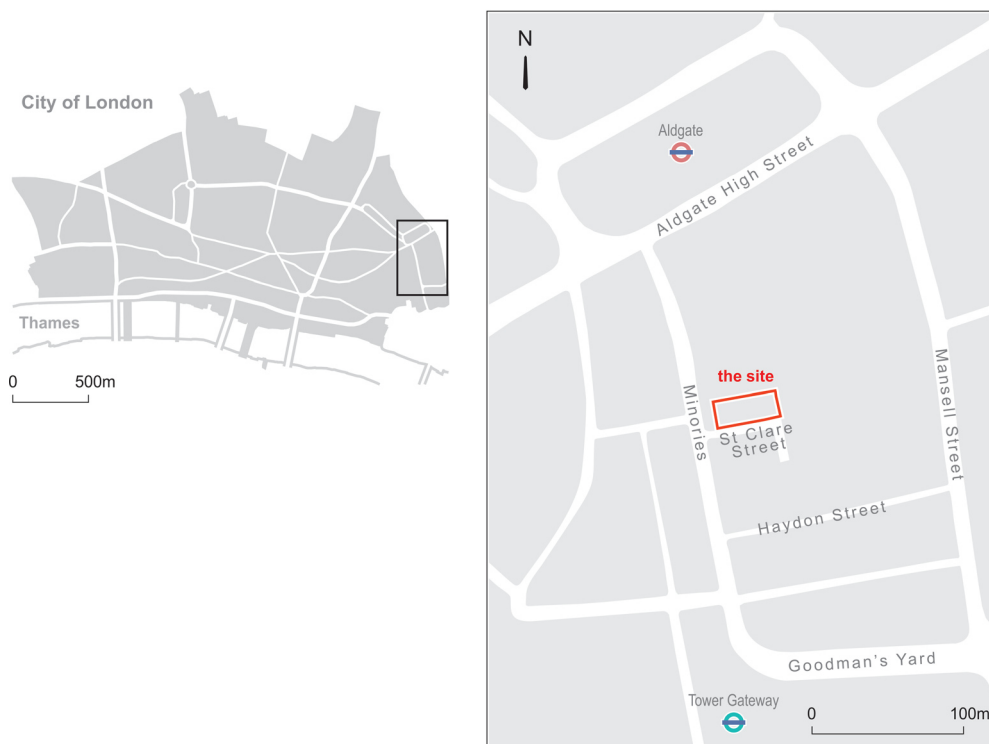
By **Antonietta Lerz**

With contributions by Ian M. Betts, Charlotte Burn, Michael Marshall, Alan Pipe, Karen Stewart and Don Walker

Excavations at 24–26 Minories, EC3 in 2013 produced important evidence for London's eastern Roman cemetery, together with the limestone eagle which is described in detail in the main text. The supplementary material presented here provides an account of the site stratigraphy, integrated with the specialist finds and the environmental reports. It describes the development of the cemetery on the site from the first century A.D., when the access road leading out of the town was laid out, through to the fourth century. Most of the evidence dates to the first and second centuries; though burials were sparse, an isolated first-century grave may be a rare example of an early interment pre-dating the foundation of the cemetery road. Following the backfilling of the first-century roadside ditch, a monumental tomb was erected on the north side of the road possibly associated with a chalk-lined burial of an adult female. The roadside ditch was backfilled and recut on two occasions. It was from the fill of the late first- to second-century ditch that the limestone sculpture of the eagle was recovered. The backfill of this feature also produced a rare and important assemblage of mid-second-century pottery which is catalogued here.

Introduction: the site and its setting

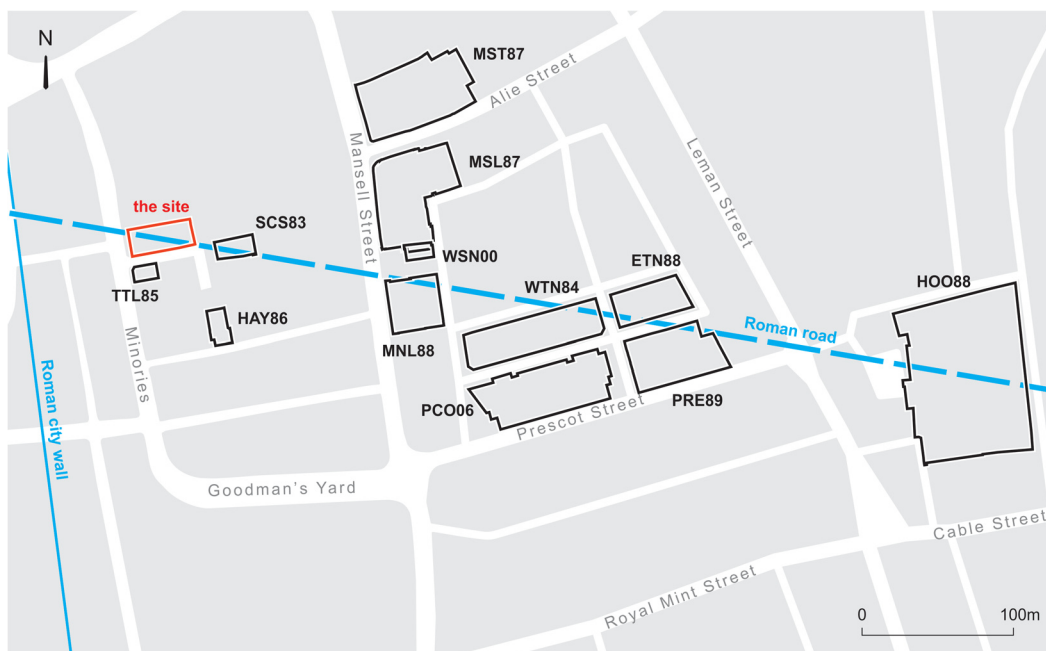
The excavation of the site of 24–26 Minories, within the City of London, EC3N (site code: MNR12, NGR 533660 181065) (ONLINE FIG. 1) was undertaken by MOLA (Museum of London Archaeology) in the spring



ONLINE FIG 1 Site location (scale 1:5,000)

and summer of 2013. The redevelopment of the site comprised the demolition of a 1960s office block to make way for a 16-storey hotel in a development by investor Aberdeen Asset Management and developer Endurance Land.

The site lies on the route of the access road through the Roman cemetery and is located some 200 m outside the eastern limits of the third-century A.D. Roman city (ONLINE FIG. 2). The eastern Roman cemetery was one of several cemetery areas serving the town¹ which were all sited beyond the city limits and adjacent to a road leading from the city². The cemetery is thought to have been established around the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D.³ and continued in use into the fifth century. The road may have been established at the same time, or perhaps a little earlier, and may originally have been laid out to provide access to Ratcliff or Shadwell to the east.⁴ To date, over 700 burials have been recorded in an area covering c. 16.5 ha, though the full extent has yet to be established.⁵



ONLINE FIG 2 The location of MNR12 in relation to sites excavated in the cemetery area east of the Roman city along the course of the access road (scale 1:5,000)

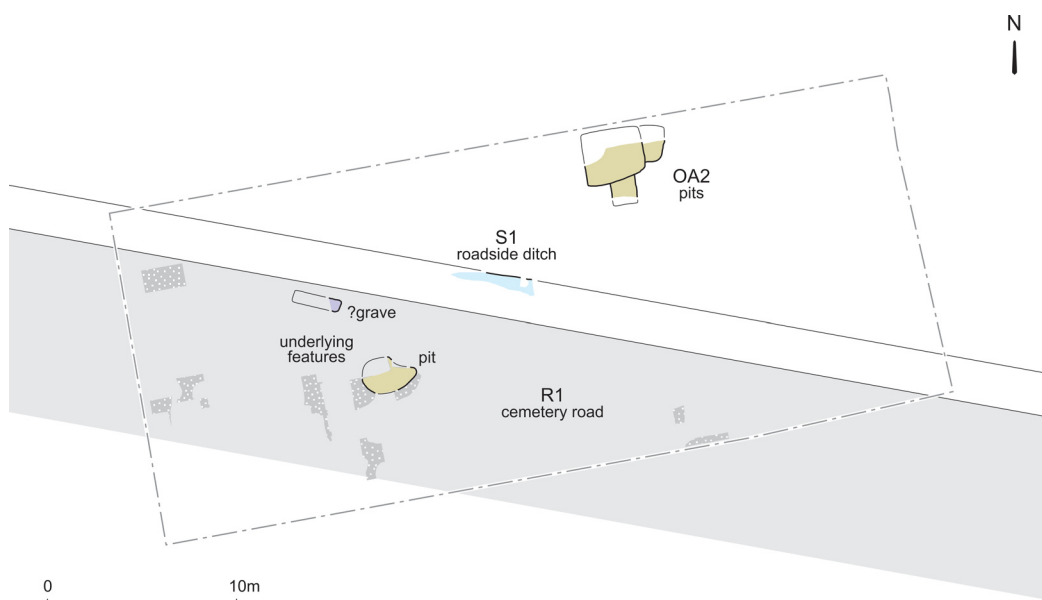
Several archaeological investigations undertaken in this Roman cemetery during redevelopment of the area in the 1980s and early 1990s were published in the East London Roman cemetery volume.⁶ The more recent redevelopment of the Aldgate area has revealed further evidence of the cemetery, including 50 inhumations and around 40 cremation burials unearthed during excavations at 41–63 Prescott Street.⁷

This report integrates the archaeological stratigraphy with the specialist finds and environmental reports. This publication employs the standard MOLA recording system: context numbers cited in the text appear in square brackets [10] and accessioned finds are shown in angled brackets <20>. Landuse entities consist of Buildings (B), Structures (S), Roads (R) and Open Areas (OA). Certain categories of finds have been given illustration numbers preceded by a letter denoting their category. Concordance tables for illustrated accessioned finds (<S 1>), building material (<T 1>), pottery (<P 1>) and bottle glass (<G 1>) are provided at the end of this report in Table 1.⁹ The Latin names of plants and animals are given at the first mention of the species.

First-century A.D. land use and the establishment of the cemetery road c. A.D. 50–100 (Periods 1 and 2)

The geology in the area of Minories consists of London Clay overlain by a gravel terrace, known as the Taplow Gravel Formation, which represents the remains of a former floodplain of the river Thames. The gravel is overlain locally by brickearth though much has been removed by later activity and modern development. The gravels were typically observed across the site at c. 10.5 m OD and in areas of minimal or low truncation the overlying brickearth survived to a high point of 11.7 m OD in the west part of the site gradually falling away to the east.

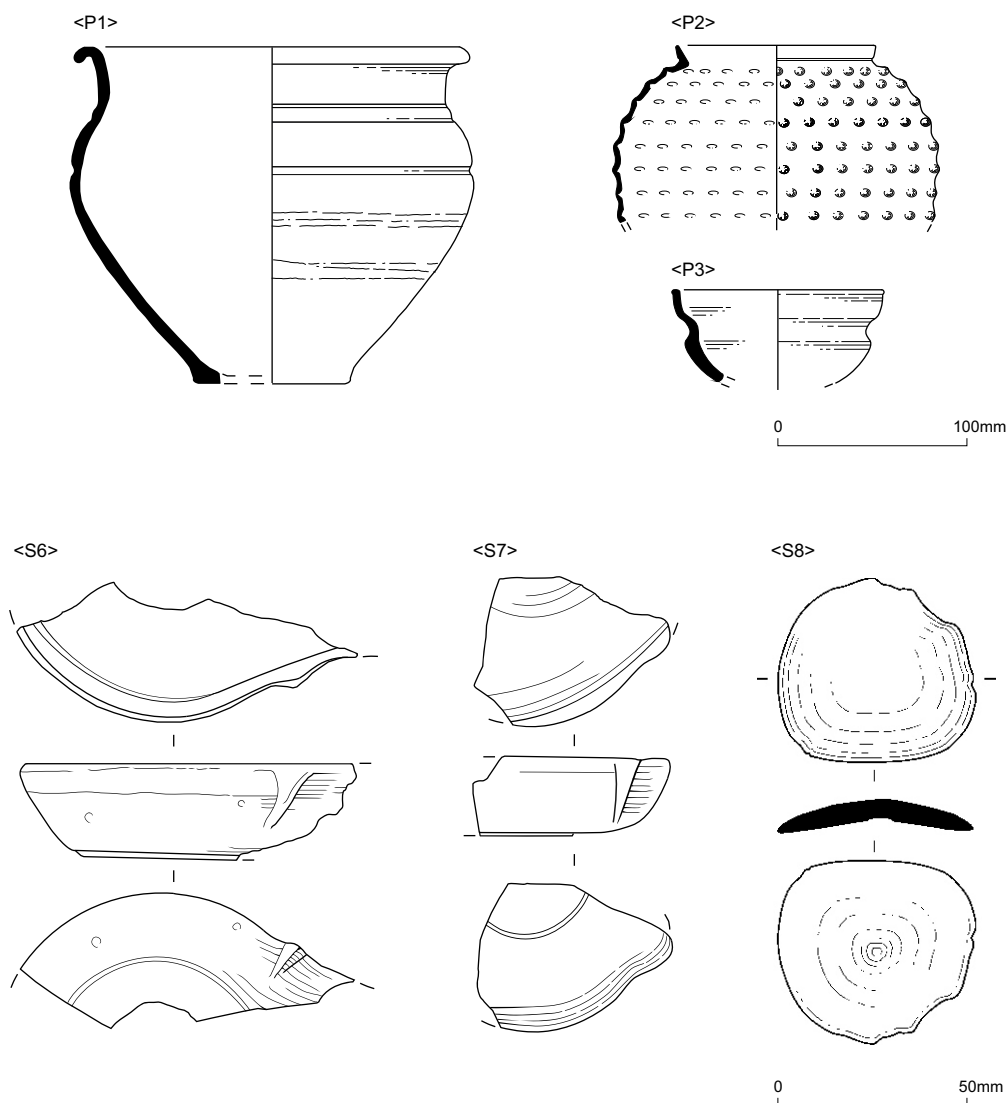
The earliest phase of occupation on the site can be dated to the first century A.D. or perhaps a little earlier. A small number of quarry pits in the south part of the site (ONLINE FIG. 3) were overlain by the first-century road gravels (R1) or on the course of the projected road. The pits were undated though their location could suggest they are associated with the construction of the road. One of the features in this area appears to be a grave (ONLINE FIG. 3). No human bone was recovered, though the wooden coffin was identified by timber staining and the pattern of nails. The grave was orientated ENE–WSW, in alignment with the road (R1), and was very broadly dated by pottery to A.D. 50–400. The grave was stratigraphically isolated, though it is likely to pre-date the foundation of the road in this area due to its location between the surviving areas of road gravels (R1) and its associated north-flanking ditch (S1).



ONLINE FIG 3 First-century A.D. activity showing the possible early grave underlying the cemetery road (R1) (scale 1:400)

Evidence for the road (R1) consisted of several truncated areas of compacted sand and gravel laid directly on the natural brickearth or on bedding layers of redeposited brickearth (ONLINE FIG. 3).¹⁰ Horizontal truncation by the most recent buildings on the site had removed all but the lowest layers of the road gravels which survived to a thickness of 20 mm with a maximum surface level of 12.18 m OD.¹¹ The road appears to have measured c. 6.5–7 m wide and can be seen to be broadly aligned on an ENE–WSW orientation, in line with the north-flanking ditch (S1) (ONLINE FIG. 3). Its southern limit may be inferred from a small number of second-century pits presumably dug to the side of the road (Period 3, discussed below). The full width of the road has not been revealed on any eastern cemetery site,¹² though a broadly comparable measurement can be found at Hooper Street where the surviving north- and south-flanking ditches were located c. 7.8 m apart.¹³

The surviving north section of the ditch (S1) measured 1.17 m deep. Its single fill was dated to the Flavian period (A.D. 69–96) and contained some interesting ceramic elements among the assemblage, including a semi-complete fragmented Alice Holt/Surrey ware (AHSU) round-bodied necked jar <P 1> (ONLINE FIG. 4, also shown in the fill of S1 in ONLINE FIG. 13) and large sherds from a mica-dusted (MICA) beaker with embossed decoration <P 2> (ONLINE FIG. 4). Sherds from a hook-flanged mortarium, miscellaneous jars and flagons and a campanulate cup, imitating samian Dragendorff form 27 <P 3> (ONLINE FIG. 4) in Verulamium/London region white ware (VRW) were also recovered. The latter is a fairly rare form for this fabric¹⁴ but it is also unusual as the burning on the sherd is restricted to the interior which may suggest a substance was burnt within the vessel.¹⁵ Also recovered were fragments from two imported Central Gaulish colour-coated ware (CGOF) picture lamps <S 6> and <S 7> (ONLINE FIG. 4), dating to c. A.D. 43–70/90, both missing further diagnostic features such as the nozzle and discus design; and a sub-circular disc or counter fashioned from a Highgate Wood ware C (HWC) base sherd <S 8> (ONLINE FIG. 4). A few fragments of animal bone were recovered, including single fragments of adult horse skull, mandible (lower jaw) and femur (upper hind leg).



ONLINE FIG 4 Flavian vessels and finds from roadside ditch (S1): Alice Holt/Surrey ware round-bodied necked jar <P 1>; mica-dusted beaker with embossed decoration <P 2>; Verulamium/London region white ware campanulate cup <P 3> (scale 1:4); Central Gaulish colour-coated ware picture lamps <S 6> and <S 7>; and a disc or counter fashioned from a Highgate Wood ware C base sherd <S 8> (scale 1:2)

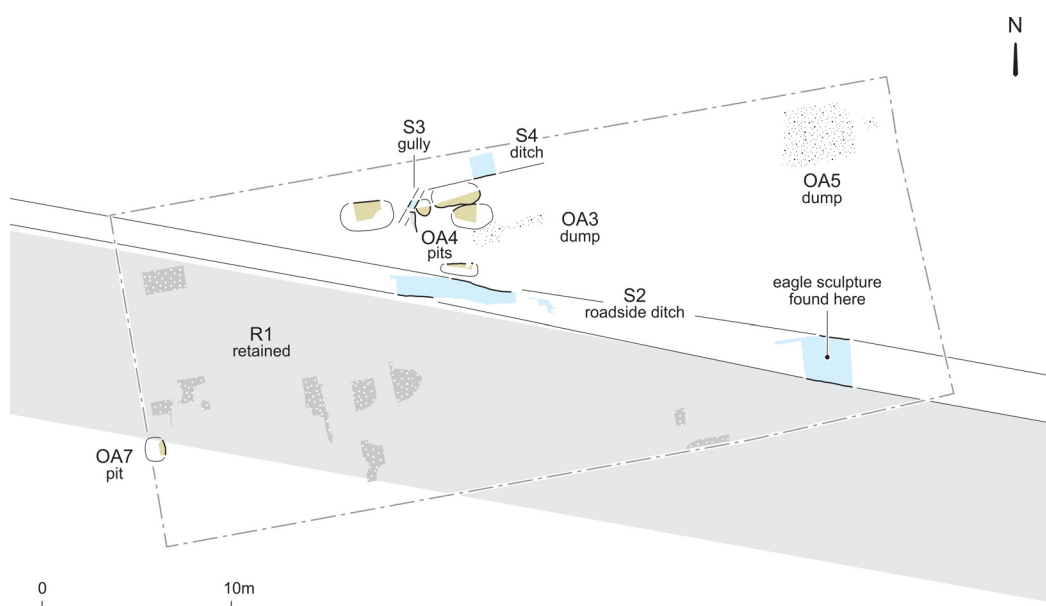
The alignment and dating of the cemetery road are comparable with those observed at the neighbouring site at 9 St Clare Street (SCS83) (ONLINE FIGS 2 and 14). Here, dating evidence from the earliest phase of road and ditch suggests they were constructed towards the last quarter of the first century, possibly c. A.D. 70–80, which is consistent with the evidence from elsewhere in the cemetery.¹⁶

Although no contemporaneous late first-century burials survived on the site, the overall sherd size and condition of the ceramics recovered from the ditch (S1) can be paralleled among grave goods from London cemeteries. They might have come from disturbed burials or could suggest the remnants of funerary activity/ritual as has been suggested at West Tenter Street.¹⁷ It is also worth noting that groups of lamps do appear in graves from the London area¹⁸ and it has been argued that lamps found in cemeteries outside of burials could derive from graveside rituals.¹⁹ In addition, an almost-complete early Roman micaceous sandy ware (2B) round-bodied jar with thickened or out-turned rim recovered unstratified (usually dated A.D. 50–100) could potentially be a displaced burial accessory vessel.

There was little other evidence for activity contemporary with the ditch apart from a small cluster of intercutting pits in the north-east part of the site, in Open Area 2 (OA2; ONLINE FIG. 3). The relatively small size and shallow depth of the pits rules out quarrying on the scale seen elsewhere in the cemetery,²⁰ though the clustering may be evidence that the area had been divided into plots, perhaps as part of a pre-existing wider field-system.²¹ The group is tentatively dated to the late first century A.D. from a single fragment of a La Graufesenque samian Dragendorff form 33 cup (SAMLG, dated A.D. 70–100) recovered from the latest pit in the sequence.

Second-century development of the site c. A.D. 100–60 (Period 3)

In the late first or early second century the roadside ditch (S1) was recut on a similar alignment. Ditch (S2) had a wide V-shaped profile (ONLINE FIG. 5) and survived to a maximum depth of 1.1 m (ONLINE FIG. 6). The road (R1) also showed signs of maintenance: a deposit of sandy clay on its surface (R1) may represent a localised repair or resurfacing. This contained a sherd from an unsourced fine reduced ware beaker (FINE) with short everted rim dated A.D. 70–160.



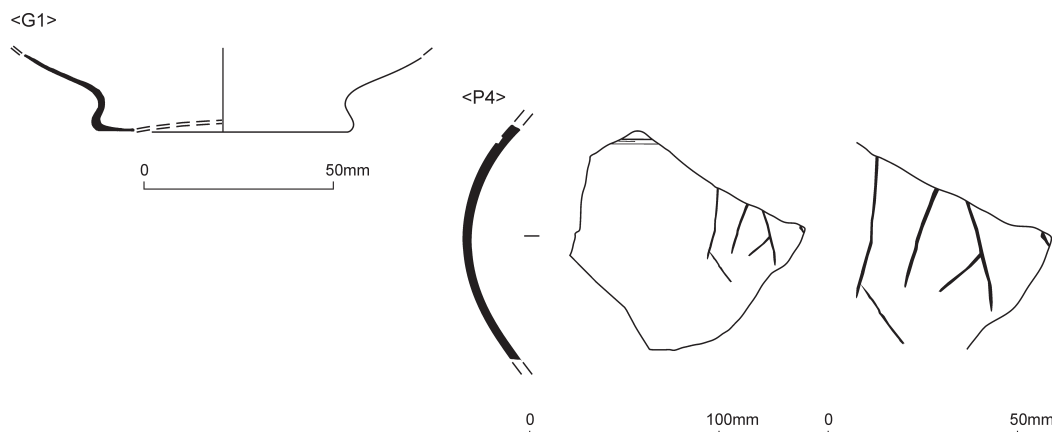
ONLINE FIG 5 The site in the second century A.D. (Period 3) showing the findspot of the eagle sculpture in the roadside ditch (S2) (scale 1:400)



ONLINE FIG 6 View of roadside ditch (S2), looking south-east (1 m scale)

A small pottery assemblage from the primary fills of the ditch (S2) indicates it had started to silt up in the first half of the second century. A little first-century material recovered may be residual, deriving from the preceding ditch (S1) which it truncated. Food remains included oyster (*Ostrea edulis*) shells, egg shells, fragments of cattle (*Bos taurus*)- and sheep (*Ovis aries*)-sized ribs, and single fragments of calf cervical (neck) vertebra and sheep/goat (*Ovis aries/Capra hircus*) metatarsal (hind-foot).

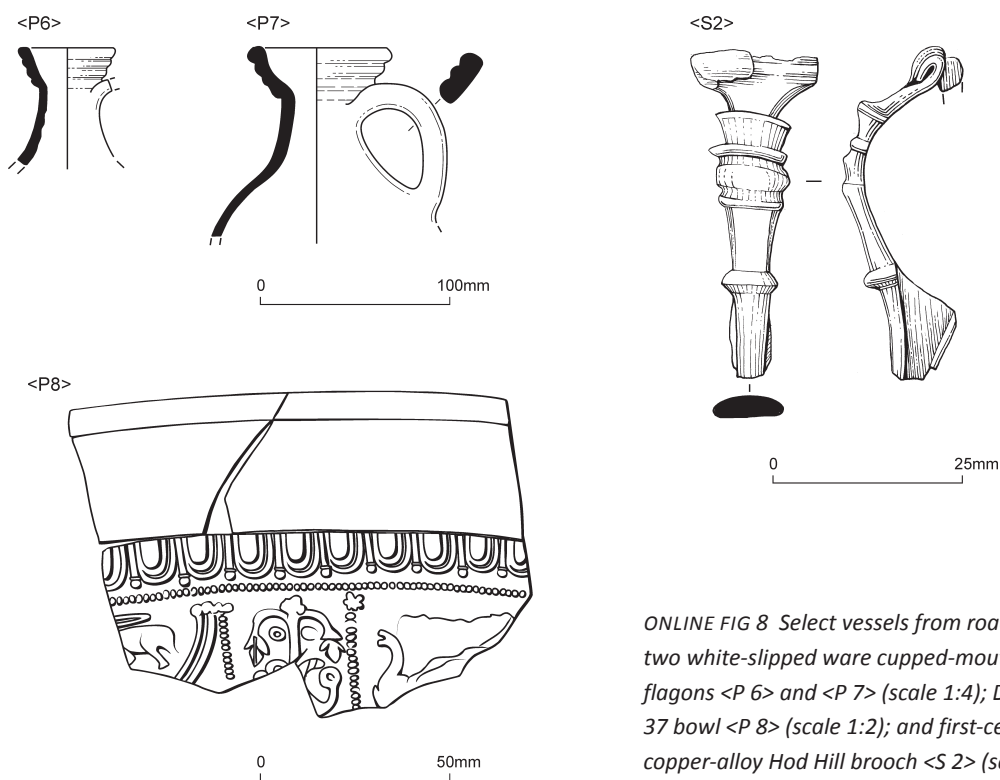
The upper fill in the south-east section was far sandier in composition and it was within this deposit that the limestone sculpture of the eagle and snake was recovered.²² The sculpture is dated to the late first or early second century A.D. on stylistic grounds and the high quality of the carving suggests it may have adorned the monumental tomb of a wealthy and important person or family located nearby. The sculpture was recovered with a small contemporary group of pottery dated A.D. 120–160 which included a sherd from a London ware (LONW) flagon or jar <P 4> (ONLINE FIG. 7) with a graffito reading LA[...].²³ This was found together with the base fragment from a naturally coloured glass vessel <G 1> (ONLINE FIG. 7), probably from one of a range of common forms of jug or jar²⁴ which can be dated from around the third quarter of the first century to the mid-second century.



ONLINE FIG 7 Finds recovered with the eagle sculpture from the roadside ditch (S2): first- to second-century A.D. naturally coloured glass vessel <G 1> (scale 1:2); and a body sherd from a London ware flagon/jar with graffito <P 4> (scale 1:4, detail 1:1)

The deposition of the sculpture occurred while the ditch was open and in use; it was not completely backfilled until the mid-second century. The upper fill produced the largest Roman assemblage of ceramics and animal bone recovered from the site, with large sherds representing an estimated 95 vessels. It is a good example of an early Antonine (A.D. 140–60) group, an otherwise poorly understood Roman pottery period when the main ceramic industries which supplied London, the Verulamium and Highgate Wood production centres, were in decline.²⁵ Furthermore, the context appears to contain little residual material and the pottery comprises an interesting range of forms, some of which may have connotations of ritual activity and is therefore intriguing in terms of function and deposition.

The assemblage, which is summarised in Table 2, post-dates A.D. 140 primarily from the presence of two cupped-mouthed ring-necked flagons: one is an unsourced white-slipped ware (RWS) <P 6> (ONLINE FIG. 8); the other a Verulamium/London region coarse white-slipped ware (VCWS) <P 7> (ONLINE FIG. 8), the most common form of flagon at this time in London. Additional confirmation of the context date comes from the stamped and decorated samian. A stamped dish of Sedatus iv <44> dates c. A.D. 130–60 and is potentially an unused vessel or was used very little before deposition. The decorated sherds are from a Dragendorff form 37 (SAMCG) bowl in Criciro's style with panelled decoration depicting a seated hare <P 8> (ONLINE FIG. 8) dated c. A.D. 135–65.

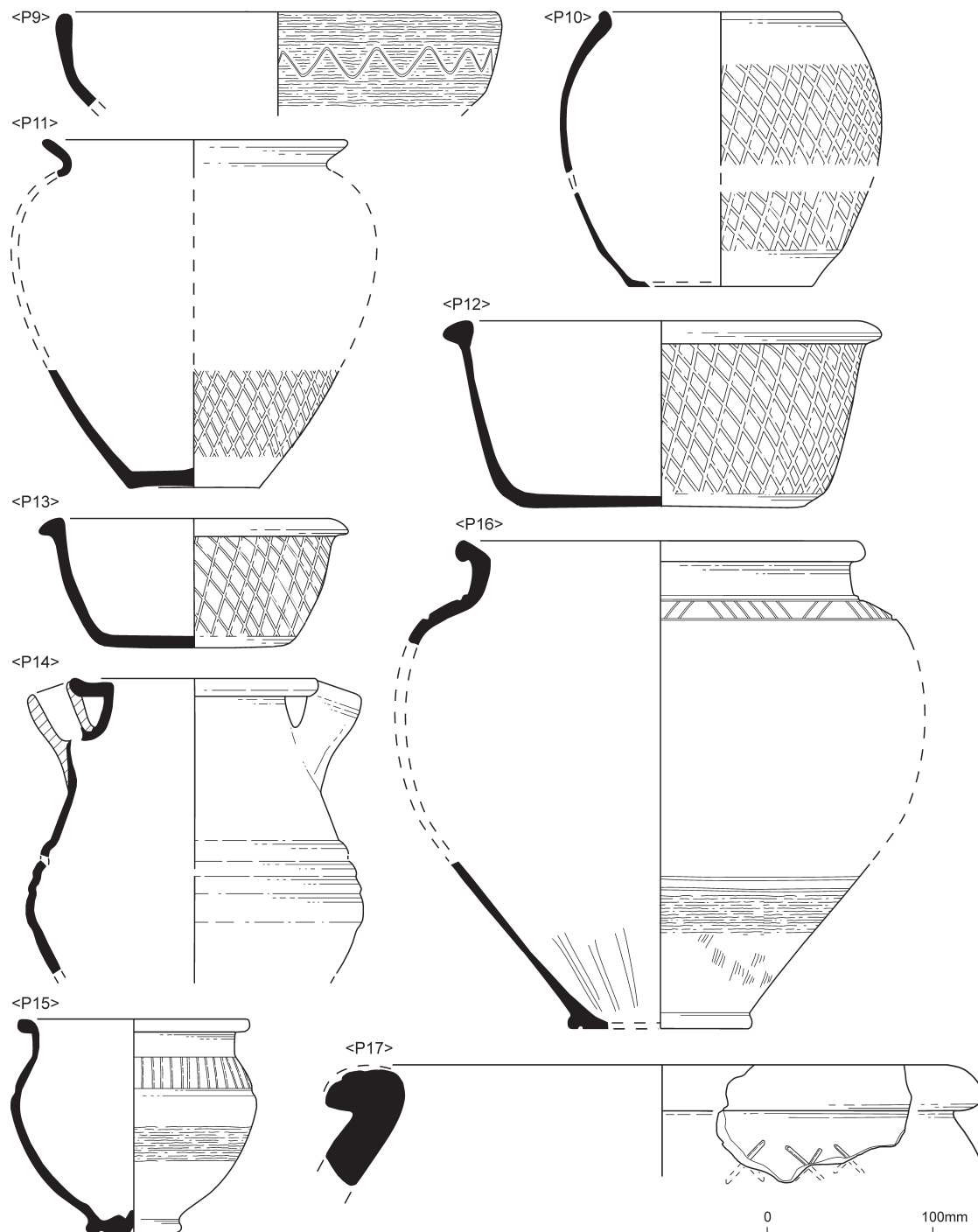


ONLINE FIG 8 Select vessels from roadside ditch (S2): two white-slipped ware cupped-mouthed ring-necked flagons <P 6> and <P 7> (scale 1:4); Dragendorff form 37 bowl <P 8> (scale 1:2); and first-century A.D. copper-alloy Hod Hill brooch <S 2> (scale 1:1)

Also present were high proportions of black burnished ware 2 (BB2) and black burnished style (BBS) wares. In the former were a shallow simple dish <P 9> (ONLINE FIG. 9) and a less common black burnished type bead-rimmed jar <P 10> (ONLINE FIG. 9), a form which mostly appears in early Antonine contexts.²⁶ Present in BB2 and BBS ware are the common black-burnished type everted rim jars <P 11> (ONLINE FIG. 9, one not illustrated). However, the dominant form is the black burnished type round-rimmed bowl which is represented by semi-complete vessels <P 12>, <P 13> (ONLINE FIG. 9).

The dominance of black burnished ware vessels has parallels with ceramic groups from the City, particularly with the Leadenhall Court group 50²⁷ which is representative of domestic occupation rubbish from nearby buildings. The Minorities assemblage could represent rubbish disposal in the cemetery, though the nature of the assemblage could potentially suggest the vestiges of burial ritual/feasting. The possibly ritual significance

of this assemblage is indicated by the presence of forms attributed to a ritual function: an unsourced white-slipped ware (RWS) jar with attached cup on the rim <P 14> (ONLINE FIG. 9) and the pedestal base from a Verulamium/London region coarse white-slipped ware (VCWS) tazza. In addition, the lack of residual material and the overall sherd size and fragmented nature of several of the vessels such as the aforementioned black burnished wares and also two semi-complete vessels, a Highgate Wood ware C (HWC) round-bodied necked jar with decorated shoulder <P 15> (ONLINE FIG. 9) and an Alice Holt/Surrey ware (AHSU) round-bodied necked jar with figure 7 rim <P 16> (ONLINE FIG. 9), could suggest that the material from this group was



ONLINE FIG 9 Select black burnished ware vessels from roadside ditch (S2): black burnished ware 2 dish <P 9> and jar <P 10>; black burnished style everted rim jar <P 11>; and black burnished type round-rimmed bowls <P 12> and <P 13>; unsourced white-slipped ware jar with attached cup on the rim <P 14>; Highgate Wood ware C round-bodied necked jar with decorated shoulder <P 15>; Alice Holt/Surrey ware round-bodied necked jar with figure 7 rim <P 16>; and unsourced sand-tempered ware seria/dolium <P 17> (scale 1:4)

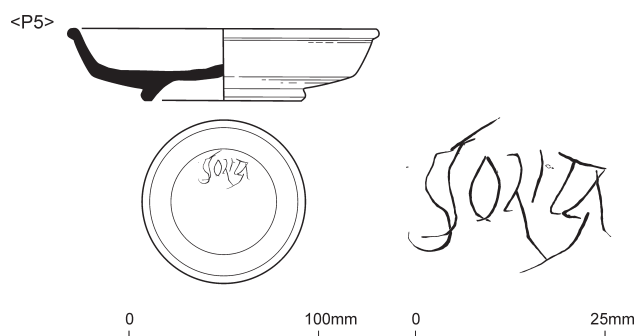
brought to the site for the purpose of ritual feasting and then discarded, as has been postulated by S.J. Pierpoint and J. Hall.²⁸ Another unusual vessel is represented by a sherd from an unsourced sand-tempered ware (SAND) seria/dolium with incised decoration on the shoulder <P 17> (ONLINE FIG. 9). These vessels were used in wine-making processes, as storage jars or even as boundary markers.²⁹

Other types of finds were few and far between: a bone pin or needle shaft <28> was recovered together with a few pieces of roofing tile and brick. In contrast to the tightly dated ceramic group, a copper-alloy Hod Hill brooch <S 2> (ONLINE FIG. 8) dating to around the middle of the first century A.D.,³⁰ indicates that the fill includes some redeposited earlier finds as well as an accumulation of freshly deposited material.

The animal bone from the ditch fill mainly comprised adult cattle though it included smaller numbers of horse (*Equus caballus*), with occasional recovery of sheep/goat, pig (*Sus scrofa*) and the skull of an adult dog (*Canis lupus familiaris*). The cattle group included skull, maxilla and mandible (upper and lower jaw), vertebra and metacarpal and metatarsal (fore- and hind-foot). The metacarpal showed knife scrapes on the anterior surface of the mid-shaft, probably associated with removal of the hide. The same bone also showed some splaying of the distal ('lower') end, possibly associated with heavy work.

Horse bone comprised a small group of adult tooth, scapula and humerus (upper fore-leg), calcaneum lower hind-leg, and metacarpal and metatarsal (fore- and hind-foot), all possibly from the same animal. Sheep/goat bones were single fragments of mandible (lower jaw), vertebra and femur (upper hind-leg) and there were single fragments of pig skull and adult mandible (lower jaw).

The area to the north of the ditch (S2) contained a small number of fragmentary gullies and an east-west-orientated ditch (S4) which may have subdivided the area into separate enclosures or 'plots' (OA3, OA4; ONLINE FIG. 5), as seen elsewhere in the cemetery.³¹ Activity in these plots was limited to the disposal of rubbish in pits and dumps, while there was no surviving evidence for contemporary burials. Despite the differences in the alignments of the two ditches (S2) and (S4), the dating of the pottery recovered from their fills indicates they were contemporary. The infilling of gully (S3) may have occurred earlier and is dated to A.D. 50–160 on the presence of sherds of an Alice Holt/Surrey ware (AHSU) necked jar with carinated shoulder and figure 7 rim. The fill of ditch (S4) contained medium to large sherds of several fragmented vessels and is more tightly dated to A.D. 120–60.³² These included a fine micaceous reduced ware (FMIC) jar or beaker, Verulamium/London region white ware (VRW) vessels, a Highgate Wood ware C (HWC) lid and the profile of a residual La Graufesenque samian Dragendorff form 18 (SAMLG) dish <P 5> (ONLINE FIG. 10) which is hardly worn.³³ The latter is stamped by Patricius i (A.D. 65–90) and has a graffito on the underside of the vessel reading SOLITA with the S scratched twice.³⁴ Also recovered was a small piece of box-flue tile with combed keying which almost certainly derives from the hypocaust of a masonry building.



ONLINE FIG 10 Graffito on stamped samian dish <P 5> from the fill of ditch (S4) (scale 1:4, detail 1:1)

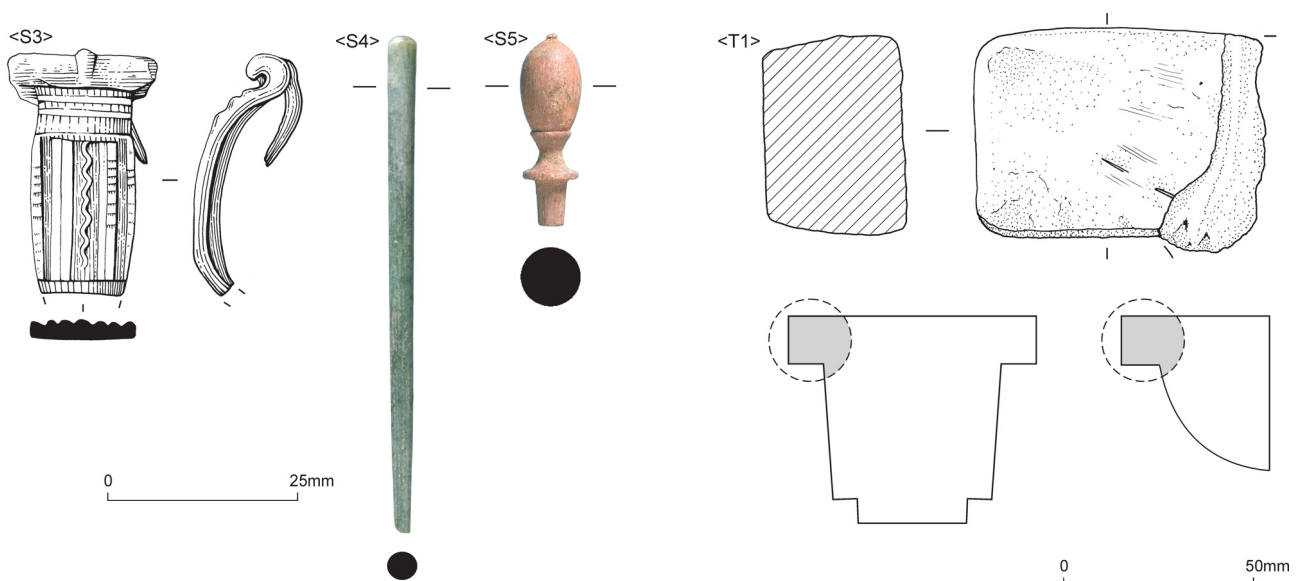
Along with low amounts of wood charcoal a substantial and comparatively diverse group of animal bone derived mainly from cattle with smaller groups of horse, sheep/goat, pig, chicken and unidentifiable fish was also recovered. There were two fragments of chicken (*Gallus gallus*) tibiotarsus ('drumstick') and three unidentifiable fragments of fish vertebra and fin ray which notably represent the only recovery of fish bone from the Roman assemblage.

In contrast to the wealth of material recovered from the fills of the ditches, the cluster of pits and dump deposits in OA3, OA4 and OA5 (ONLINE FIG. 5) contained few finds; OA5 may have lain in a neighbouring plot, though no associated boundary ditches were observed. The majority of these contexts are dated post-A.D. 120 from sherds of black burnished wares 1 and 2 (BB1 and BB2), black burnished style ware (BBS) or Central Gaulish samian (SAMCG). Sherds of Verulamium/London region white ware (VRW) and Highgate Wood ware C (HWC) with added coarse sand were present, the latter in forms such as a poppy-head beaker and a round-bodied necked jar with a decorated shoulder. This selection of forms and fabrics provides an end date of A.D. 160 as these pottery industries were in decline by the mid-second century.³⁵ One pit contained a few pieces of roofing tile and a brick³⁶ that was probably made at Radlett, Hertfordshire, and occasional animal bones, including single fragments of cattle mandible (lower jaw), adult horse first phalange (basal toe joint), and an adult dog femur (upper hind-leg). The horse phalange showed knife cuts at the mid-shaft, probably resulting from removal of the hide.

On the south side of the road (OA7, ONLINE FIG. 5) a truncated pit produced a moderate-sized group of horse teeth, thoracic (upper back) vertebrae and ribs, all probably from the same animal, as well as a fragment of sheep-sized rib. The presence of horse bones (which were also recovered from the fill of roadside ditch (S2)) is not unusual in the cemetery and both the eastern and Upper Walbrook cemeteries have produced a significant number of horse skeletons compared to their relatively poor representation in the occupied Roman city.³⁷ This has given rise to the suggestion that horses were kept in the hinterland areas outside the town for grazing. The location of the cemeteries adjacent to roads may have provided a convenient place to dispose of their carcasses.³⁸

The question of whether the horses represent ritual deposits has been raised though clear examples of 'ritual' horse burials from the eastern cemetery are rare.³⁹ The majority are often composed of partial articulations, which suggest the carcasses were either dumped on the surface or very casually interred.⁴⁰ The horse bones from the pit at Minories were recovered with a single sherd from a Verulamium region white ware (VRW) tazza with rouletted decoration (dated to A.D. 50–160). Tazze are not uncommon finds on cremation and inhumation burial sites⁴¹ where it is suggested that they were used as graveside incense burners.⁴² However, the fragmentary nature of the tazza makes it more likely to represent redeposited material.

A small number of objects dated to the first or second century were recovered from post-Roman contexts. These were mostly items for personal use and adornment. Dress accessories include an early Roman bone hairpin of type 1⁴³ <S 4> (ONLINE FIG. 11) and a copper-alloy Hod Hill type brooch <S 3>⁴⁴ (K. 11). Hairpin

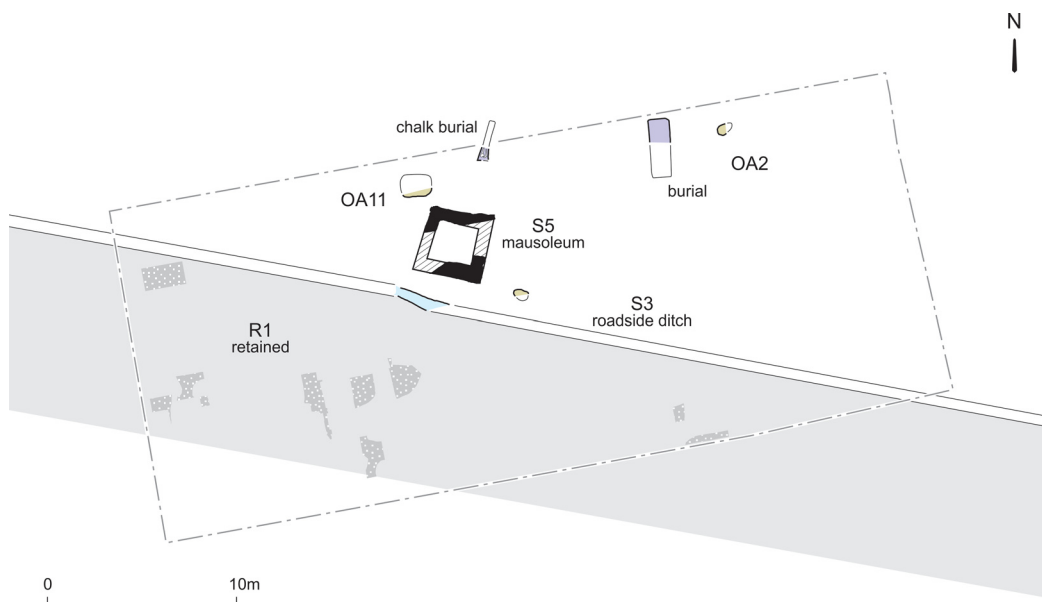


ONLINE FIG 11 Roman small finds recovered from later contexts: copper-alloy Hod Hill brooch <S 3>; bone hairpin <S 4>; bone peg from a pyxis or hinge <S 5> (scale 1:1); and voussoir tile <T 1> with reconstructed complete tile (from Brodrigg 1987, 46) (scale 1:2)

<S 4> (ONLINE FIG. 11) is deliberately stained green, a decorative feature which has been noted on pins from other Roman sites,⁴⁵ but which is quite rare in Roman London. A bone peg with an acorn-shaped head <S 5>⁴⁶ (ONLINE FIG. 11) could be the terminal from a cylindrical hinge or the handle from a small circular pyxis. In addition, discarded building material includes what may be the lower corner of a solid so-called 'armchair' voussoir <T 1> (ONLINE FIG. 11). These voussoir tiles, which are rare in London, were used in the vaulted roofs of bath buildings.⁴⁷

The late second-century development of the Roman cemetery (A.D. 160–400) (Period 4)

The roadside ditch was recut during this time on a north-west to south-east alignment (S6) and remained open until at least the mid-third century (ONLINE FIG. 12). A masonry structure (S5, ONLINE FIG. 13), possibly a mausoleum or funerary monument, was built against the north bank of the backfilled ditch (S2). The



ONLINE FIG 12 The Minories cemetery in the mid-second to fourth century (scale 1:400)



ONLINE FIG 13 The south and east walls of mausoleum (S5) built on the north bank of roadside ditch (S2) (1 m scale); the surviving rim of the Alice Holt/Surrey ware round-bodied necked jar <P 1> can be seen in the fill of the underlying first-century ditch (S1)

mausoleum was square in plan measuring c. 3.5 m east–west by 3.3 m north–south externally (2.25 m by 1.8 m internally) with trench-built foundations constructed from alternate layers of unmortared Kentish ragstone chips and loose gravel. The foundations measured c. 0.8 m wide, indicating that this was a fairly substantial structure which could have supported a masonry or clay-and-timber superstructure. The central part of the structure had been destroyed by post-Roman truncation and any burial situated inside it would have been removed. No evidence of the internal or external decoration survived, though a fragment of brick found in the overlying demolition deposits may have derived from it.

Remains of similar structures have been found across the eastern cemetery⁴⁸ and along the Watling Street roadside in Southwark,⁴⁹ where they have been interpreted as ‘mausolea’. Although no associated burial survived in the Minorities example, comparison with structures of similar dimensions suggests that a mausoleum of this size may have held one or two graves, sarcophagi, or perhaps cremation vessels in niches.⁵⁰ These structures are viewed as evidence of high-status burials and it has been noted that these monuments had a tendency to be located towards the road.⁵¹

To the north of the mausoleum was an inhumation burial of an adult female, laid supine and extended, with the right hand placed over the pelvis. The grave was aligned NNE–SSW (with feet to north) and extended beyond the site boundary leaving only the lower limbs and part of the torso within the site.⁵² The burial was of a female aged ≥ 46 years with pathological changes indicating degenerative disease of the vertebral column, osteoarthritis and injuries affecting the ribs and right hip; the latter, a healed transcervical fracture of the femur, is a type of injury commonly encountered in pathological hip fracture as a result of osteoporosis and it is notable that this individual was a mature adult female. Bone tissue loss is particularly associated with oestrogen deficiency in post-menopausal women.⁵³ While age and sex are key factors in the development of osteoporosis, dietary deficiency can also cause the disease.⁵⁴ Hip fracture normally requires internal fixation or hip replacement. Such procedures were not part of Roman medical practice but the fact that the injury healed perhaps demonstrates a level of care for the woman who would have been severely incapacitated. At the same time, the resulting deformity of the femoral head would have left it severely weakened and vulnerable to dislocation. Without physiotherapy the right leg would have suffered muscle, and bone, atrophy. The fact that the right femur shaft is not reduced in size relative to the left bone suggests that atrophy had little time to set in, so although the individual survived the injury and the healing process, they probably did not live long beyond this.

A crushed chalk-like substance had been placed around the body and most of the bones were covered in a light dusting of chalk. Chalk or plaster burials in Britain are usually associated with fourth-century inhumations,⁵⁵ though further examples from the eastern cemetery show that they may have begun at the end of the second century, and possibly earlier.⁵⁶ Chalk burials have been interpreted as symbolising high status, perhaps with the intention of imitating plaster or gypsum burials,⁵⁷ and the location of the burials, close to the road and to a mausoleum, would support this.

The grave was aligned with the centre of the mausoleum so it is quite possible that they were located in the same roadside plot (OA11, ONLINE FIG. 12). It is not clear when the mausoleum was built: a small amount of pottery dated to A.D. 120–250 was recovered from the construction material; no dating evidence was recovered from the grave, though it was cut into the fill of ditch (S4) (dated A.D. 120–60) which gives a *terminus post quem* for the burial compatible with the dating of the mausoleum. It is not known when the mausoleum was demolished. The surviving foundations were sealed under deposits of chalk and ragstone rubble which contained a small amount of residual pottery dated A.D. 70–200.

Interment in the site area appears to have continued up to the fourth century, with a second burial located c. 9 m to the east of the mausoleum, perhaps in an adjacent plot (ONLINE FIG. 12). The grave was orientated north–south and contained the remains of a young adult (18–25 years of age) of undetermined sex. The grave had been disturbed by post-Roman activity but chalk fragments surviving along the inside west edge of the grave suggest the grave may have been lined or packed with stone, parallels for which have been found elsewhere in the eastern cemetery.⁵⁸ The fill of the grave contained the latest group of Roman pottery from the site (dated to A.D. 250–400), mostly comprising sherds from black burnished wares (BBS), including shallow simple dishes, round-rimmed bowls and a flanged bowl. These were recovered together with some

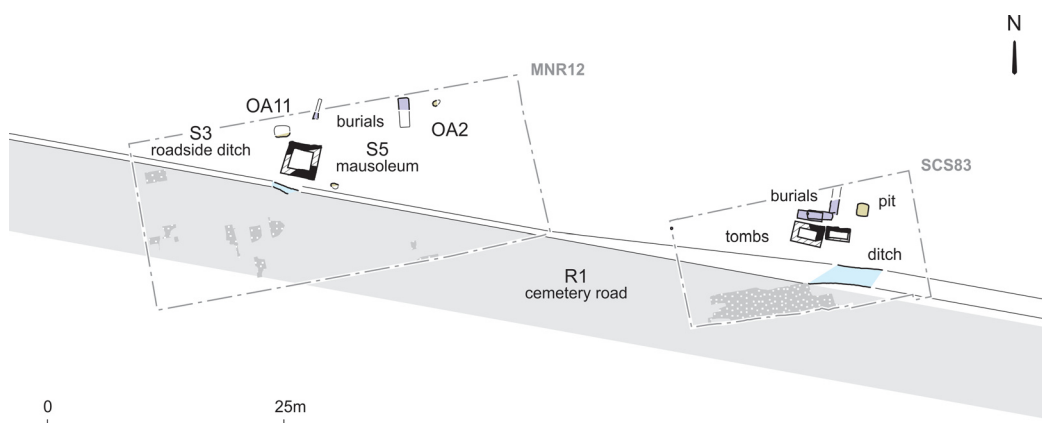
earlier material including a late second-century beaker (3E2) with a short everted rim with handle and lattice decoration. It seems likely that the burial occurred in the later Roman period, though it is possible that the material was introduced when the grave was disturbed.

The other late Roman material from this period consists mainly of occasional sherds of distinctively 'late' Roman fabrics such as an Oxford white ware (OXWW) mortarium, an East Gaulish samian (SAMEG) Dragendorff form 38 bowl and a Central Gaulish samian (SAMCG) Curle form 21 bowl. These were recovered from the small number of pits dotted across the site area and would appear to be contemporary with the burials.

Discussion

The findings from the Minories site provide valuable insights into the development of this major urban cemetery. It is particularly interesting in what it contributes to our understanding of the level of care available to the population of London and the care of women in general. Archaeology has a significant role to play in this regard as most Roman texts citing medical treatment come from other areas of the Empire.⁵⁹ To survive and recover from severely debilitating injuries such as hip fractures requires access to shelter, food and general nursing. Perhaps this role was performed by this woman's immediate family. Redfern and Roberts suggest that urban civilians may have benefited from the presence of the military, with access to treatment from their doctors and surgeons.⁶⁰ Even so, medical practices of different military units may have varied according to ethnicity; they may also have been subject to influence from local non-Roman tradition.⁶¹

The presence of a potential first-century burial is of interest as it occurs at a time when there is little other evidence for human burial in the area. In fact, there is no direct evidence for further burials on the site until after the mid-second century. This contrasts somewhat with the quantity and condition of the recovered finds from the roadside ditches; the sculpture alone speaks volumes about the character of the cemetery in the late first to early second century, which perhaps cannot be fully appreciated from the surviving archaeological remains. The evidence for early high-status burials from the eastern cemetery is limited and to date, few first-century structures of either wooden or masonry construction have been found. The majority are dated post-A.D. 120,⁶² though the existence of earlier monuments is inferred from architectural and sculptural fragments found residually in second-century contexts, such as the fragments of inscribed marble slabs from 9 St Clare Street. Excavations at this nearby site revealed a number of roadside burials which parallel the sequence at Minories. The majority of the burials dated from the mid- to late second century, though a stone-lined tomb and possible contemporary mausoleum are earlier, dating from the late first to early second century (ONLINE FIG. 14).



ONLINE FIG 14 The eastern cemetery in the Minories area in the late first to late second century showing the graves and tombs discovered at the site and at 9 St Clare Street (Site Code SCS83) (scale 1:800)

The other finds evidence from the Minories site in this period is inconclusive. The elements of the ceramic and finds assemblages recovered from roadside ditches (S1, S2) and ditch (S4) which could have derived from disturbed burials and funerary feasting are mixed with typically domestic vessels including jars and mortaria. This is paralleled by the small assemblage of domestic and dress accessory finds which could represent a mixture of rubbish dumping, casual loss and displaced burial goods. The material from substantial buildings (voussoir and hypocaust tiles) also indicates that at least some of the finds material was redeposited from settlement contexts some distance away. While the apparent absence of burials could be explained by later truncation, if this material came from nearby disturbed graves we might expect some of it to have associated human bone, of which very little was recovered.⁶³

¹ Key to site codes used in the report: ETN88 East Tenter Street, E1; HAY86 13 Haydon Street, EC3; H0088 Hooper Street, E1; MNL88 65–73 Mansell Street, E1; MSL87 49–55 Mansell Street, E1; MST87 7–43 Mansell Street, E1; PCO06 41–63 Prescott Street; PRE89 63–66 Prescott Street; SCS83 9 St Clare Street; TTL85 The Three Lords Public House, 27 Minories, EC3; WSN00 25 West Tenter Street, E1; WTN84 West Tenter Street, E1.

² Other known cemetery areas lie to the south, west and north of the city walls (Mackinder 2000; Watson 2003; Hall 1996).

³ Marsden 1980, 24.

⁴ Barber and Bowsher 2000, 51.

⁵ Barber *et al.* 1990.

⁶ Barber and Bowsher 2000.

⁷ Site code PCO06; Hunt and Shepperd 2009.

⁸ The MOLA specialist contributions to this report were made as follows: Burn 2015 (pottery); Marshall 2015 (accessioned finds); Betts 2015 (building material); Walker 2015 (osteology); Pipe 2015 (faunal remains); Stewart 2015 (botany). Mills (2014) identifies and catalogues the stamped and decorated samian pottery; Tomlin (2015) transcribed the inscriptions on the vessels. The site archive and detailed specialist reports will be deposited under the site code MNR12 in the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC) following completion of analysis and publication work. The archive may be consulted by prior arrangement at the Museum's London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC) at Mortimer Wheeler House, 46 Eagle Wharf Road, London N1 7ED.

⁹ Detailed descriptions and expansions of the building material fabrics and pottery codes with date ranges are available from the LAARC as part of the research archive and are also posted on the LAARC website online at <http://www.mola.org.uk/resources/roman-pottery-codes>.

¹⁰ A single sherd from a Rhineland white ware (RHWW) jar gives a broad date range of A.D. 50–300.

¹¹ At the neighbouring site of 9 St Clare Street, the first road deposits had a surface level of c. 11.98 m and were laid directly on the natural brickearth (Ellis 1985).

¹² For instance, at 9 St Clare Street only the northern 3 m of the road was exposed (*ibid.*).

¹³ Site code H0088; Barber and Bowsher 2000, 29.

¹⁴ Davies *et al.* 1994, 47.

¹⁵ The context contains 42 sherds/17 estimated number of vessels (ENV). Verulamium/London region white ware products in a variety of forms account for over a quarter of this context by sherd count and nearly half by ENV.

¹⁶ Barber and Bowsher 2000, 51, 298.

¹⁷ 'The lack of pottery grave-goods for the stratigraphically earliest burials is of interest, but this does not mean that pottery vessels were not brought to and deposited at the cemetery during and after the burial rites' (Pierpoint 1986, 78).

¹⁸ Mackinder 2000, 33–7, <P1 – P8>, figs 24–6.

¹⁹ Eckardt 2002, 109.

²⁰ Large quarries preceded the use of the site as a cemetery at West Tenter Street (Whytehead 1986, 28–31, fig. 9).

²¹ Barber and Bowsher 2000, 50.

²² The full description and discussion of the eagle sculpture <1> by Martin Henig and the results of the petrological analysis by Kevin Hayward are published in the in-print version of this article. The sculpture is also published in the Corpus of Roman Sculpture from London and the South-East (Coombe *et al.* 2015, 124–6) where it is included as an appendix (Catalogue entry 229).

²³ Readings and identifications by R.S.O. Tomlin.

²⁴ cf. Price and Cottam 1998, 137–8, fig. 58 or 150–2, fig. 66 for similar.

²⁵ Symonds and Tomber 1991, 82; Davies *et al.* 1994, 213.

²⁶ Davies *et al.* 1994, 114.

²⁷ A similar dominance of black burnished type vessels is seen with the Leadenhall Court group 50 where over a third of estimated vessel equivalents (EVEs) are black burnished and black burnished type wares; 16.8 per cent of these being black burnished ware 2 round-rimmed bowls. Interestingly the proportions of black burnished ware 1 and black burnished ware 2 from Ironmonger Lane (IRL95) context [58] are almost level at 26 per cent and 25 per cent respectively; however it is noted that the lack of similarity with other recently published groups from London is one of the most important features of the Ironmonger Lane pottery group.

²⁸ 'In the second century in particular the cemeteries may have been a place of pilgrimage, involving the carrying of pottery vessels out from the city to the place of burial. Flagons, beakers, amphorae and Samian bowls seem to have been brought to the site, perhaps in the activity of feasting, and broken' (Pierpoint 1986, 68); Hall (1996, 74) goes on to suggest that 'the feast was held and then the vessels deliberately broken'.

²⁹ White 1975, 187.

³⁰ Hod Hill type 6, as Mackreth 2011, 135–6; a close parallel from Vienne illustrated by Feugère (1985, 332, pl. 143, no. 1780) is assigned to his type 23c.

³¹ Discussed in Barber and Bowsher 2000, 51–2.

- ³² Pottery from the ditch (S3) is dated to A.D. 50–160 on the presence of sherds of Alice Holt/Surrey ware (AHSU) necked jar with carinated shoulder and figure 7 rim. The pottery from (S4) comprised 83 sherds from 31 estimated number of vessels (ENV) (3432 g) and post-dates A.D. 120 on the presence of two sherds from a black burnished ware 1 (BB1) lid with burnished decoration.
- ³³ Mills 2014.
- ³⁴ Stamp identified by Mills 2014. The ‘S’ was extended by a single upward diagonal, the intention being perhaps to reinforce the initial letter. *Solitus*, although apparently Latin (‘accustomed’), like *Solinus* (RIB I, 22), incorporated the element found in Celtic names such as *Solimar* and is found in Celtic-speaking provinces (Tomlin 2015). In the feminine form *Solita*, as here, it is found in the dative *Solitae sorori* (CIL xii, 95, Brigantio).
- ³⁵ Davies *et al.* 1994, 213.
- ³⁶ Fabric 3060.
- ³⁷ Barber and Bowsher 2000, 80.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 79–80. One example from Mansell Street (Site code MSL87) is clearly ritual (buried together with a dog and a juvenile red deer arranged nose to tail).
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 80.
- ⁴¹ Twelve examples are held in the Museum collections from London cemeteries (Hall 1996, Appendix 1). Eight tazze and eight ceramic lamps were recovered from the fill of a *bustum* at the Dover Street cemetery (Mackinder 2000, 12).
- ⁴² Philpott 1991, 193.
- ⁴³ Crummy 1983, 20–1.
- ⁴⁴ Hod Hill type 1b, as Mackreth 2011, 135–6.
- ⁴⁵ Crummy 1983, 21.
- ⁴⁶ Mikler 1997, Taf. 55, 14–19, but could also be a handle from a pyxis lid as with a peg of slightly different form in a bone pyxis from the eastern cemetery (Barber and Bowsher 2000, 188, B392.7, F<335>).
- ⁴⁷ Brodrigg 1987, 46.
- ⁴⁸ Barber and Bowsher 2000, 110–16.
- ⁴⁹ Mackinder 2000, 31.
- ⁵⁰ Barber and Bowsher 2000, 111–13.
- ⁵¹ Ellis 1985; Whytehead 1986. At 49–55 Mansell Street (Site code MSL87) four mausolea structures were aligned north–south, perhaps flanking a pathway perpendicular to the cemetery road (Barber and Bowsher 1990, 9; Barber *et al.* 2000, 116).
- ⁵² Articulated context [223] was moderately preserved and 50 per cent complete, comprising elements of torso, lower limbs, lower arms, hands and feet. A distal right radius and bones of the right and left hand from context [222] were matched to this individual.
- ⁵³ Brickley and Ives 2008, 151, 153.
- ⁵⁴ Roberts and Cox 2003, 142.
- ⁵⁵ Philpott 1991, 91.
- ⁵⁶ Barber and Bowsher 2000, 103–4.
- ⁵⁷ Chalk and lime may also have been used in an attempt to preserve the body, possibly for Christian resurrection (*ibid.*). However, the packing of a grave with chalk might have served as a means of keeping the dead body in the ground and the evidence from the eastern cemetery suggests that it was a method of preventing the premature dead from rising (Black 1986, 227; Barber and Bowsher 2000, 104; Philpott 1991, 90–5).
- ⁵⁸ Barber and Bowsher 2000, 110–11.
- ⁵⁹ Redfern and Roberts 2005, 124.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ Redfern 2009, 446.
- ⁶² Barber and Bowsher 2000, 111–12.
- ⁶³ Single elements of redeposited disarticulated bone, each representing a minimum number of individuals (MNI) of one individual were recovered from three contexts. The lack of repeating, identifiable elements presented an overall MNI count of two adult individuals for the assemblage as a whole (including disarticulated and articulated remains) (Walker 2015).

Acknowledgements

MOLA (Museum of London Archaeology) would like to thank Scottish Widows Investment Partnership Property Trust and its development partner Endurance Land for generously funding the fieldwork, post-excavation analysis and publication of this site and McAleer & Rushe for their support throughout the fieldwork. We would also like to thank Kathryn Stubbs (Assistant Director Historic Environment, City of London) for assistance and guidance throughout the project.

Thanks are also due to Simon Davis the MOLA site Project Officer and the MOLA field team for their hard work on site. MOLA project management was undertaken by Louise Davies and post-excavation management by David Bowsher. Thanks to the following MOLA specialists for their contributions to the post-excavation programme: Charlotte Burn (pottery), Angela Wardle and Michael Marshall (accessioned finds), Ian Betts (building material), Don Walker (osteology), Alan Pipe (faunal remains) and Karen Stewart (botany). Roger Tomlin kindly transcribed the inscriptions on the Roman vessels and J.M Mills identified and catalogued the stamped and decorated pottery. The graphics were produced by Sarah Jones and Carlos Lemos, the finds drawings are by Hannah Faux and the photography by Andy Chopping and Maggie Cox.

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Table 1 Illustrated Roman finds

Pottery	Period	Land use	Context	Fabric	Form	Accession No.	Online Fig. No.
<P 1>	2	S1	[350]	AHSU	2T	<169>	4
<P 2>	2	S1	[350]	MICA	3	<167>	4
<P 3>	2	S1	[350]	VRW	6A	<168>	4
<P 4>	3	S2	[569]	LONW	1/2	<136>	7
<P 5>	3	S4	[224]	SAMLG	5DR18	<43>	10
<P 6>	3	S2	[335]	RWS	1B7-9	<162>	8
<P 7>	3	S2	[335]	VCWS	1B7-9	<161>	8
<P 8>	3	S2	[335]	SAMCG	4DR37	<155>	8
<P 9>	3	S2	[335]	BB2	5J	<159>	9
<P 10>	3	S2	[335]	BB2	2A17	<165>	9
<P 11>	3	S2	[335]	BBS	2F	<164>	9
<P 12>	3	S2	[335]	BB2	4H	<157>	9
<P 13>	3	S2	[335]	BB2	4H	<158>	9
<P 14>	3	S2	[335]	RWS	2CUP	<156>	9
<P 15>	3	S2	[335]	HWC	2E	<163>	9
<P 16>	3	S2	[335]	AHSU	2D	<166>	9
<P 17>	3	S2	[335]	SAND	9D	<160>	9
Registered finds	Period	Land use	Context	Material	Object	Accession No.	Online Fig. No.
<S 2>	3	S2	[335]	Copper alloy	brooch	<58>	8
<S 3>	8	B10	[402]	Copper alloy	brooch	<59>	11
<S 4>	5	OA8	[435]	Bone	pin	<27>	11
<S 5>	8	S12	[458]	Bone	peg	<25>	11
Registered finds (ceramic)	Period	Land use	Context	Fabric	Form	Accession No.	Online Fig. No.
<S 6>	2	S1	[350]	CGOF	9LA	<137>	4
<S 7>	2	S1	[350]	CGOF	9LA	<138>	4
<S 8>	2	S1	[350]	HWC	9	<140>	4
Glass	Period	Land use	Context	Fabric	Form	Accession No.	Online Fig. No.
<G 1>	3	S2	[569]	Glass	Jug/jar	<135>	7
Building material	Period	Land use	Context	Fabric	Form	Accession No.	Online Fig. No.
<T 1>	0	0	[181]		Armchair voussoir		11

Table 2 The Antonine pottery from ditch [335] quantified by fabric and form

Fabric	Form	Décor	Acc. No.	Sherd count	ENV	Weight	EVEs	% EVEs	Illustration caption
AHSU	2/4	-	-	2	2	83	-	-	
AHSU	2	-	-	6	2	103	-	-	
AHSU	2D	-	<166>	13	1	371	0.18	2.1	<P 16>
AMPH?	8?	-	-	1	1	224	-	-	
AMPH1?	8?	-	-	2	1	64	-	-	
AMPH2	-	-	-	1	1	233	-	-	
AMPH3	-	-	-	1	1	50	-	-	
BAETE?	-	-	-	2	2	126	-	-	
BB2	2A17	-	<165>	22	1	345	0.21	2.4	<P 10>
BB2?	4/5	-	-	1	1	21	-	-	
BB2?	5J	-	<159>	3	1	105	0.16	1.9	<P 9>
BB2	4H	-	<157>	28	2	1580	1.51	17.4	<P 12>
BB2	4H	-	<158>	28	2	1580	1.51	17.4	<P 13>
BB2	2F	-	-	3	3	79	0.32	3.7	
BBS	4/5	-	-	1	1	16	-	-	
BBS	4/5	AL	-	2	1	25	-	-	
BBS	4	-	-	3	1	73	0.13	1.5	
BBS	2F	-	<164>	17	1	332	0.34	3.9	<P 11>
BBS	2	AL	-	3	2	23	-	-	
FINE	3	BDD	-	5	2	70	-	-	
GAUL1?	8?	-	-	1	1	48	-	-	
HWC	2	-	-	3	1	92	-	-	
HWC	3	-	-	1	1	10	-	-	
HWC	2T	-	-	1	1	14	0.19	2.2	
HWC	2/4	-	-	4	4	66	-	-	
HWC	-	-	-	2	2	5	-	-	
HWC	2E	-	<163>	4	2	211	0.21	2.4	<P 15>
HWC	2/3	-	-	1	1	16	-	-	
IMPT	7HOF?	-	-	1	1	177	0.12	1.4	
KOLN	3	BFD	-	1	1	19	0.22	2.5	
MICA	-	-	-	1	1	5	-	-	
OXID	1/2	-	-	2	2	53	-	-	
OXID	9A	-	-	2	2	41	0.15	1.7	
OXID	4?	-	-	3	1	54	-	-	
OXID	-	-	-	2	2	32	-	-	
RWS	2	-	-	1	1	67	-	-	
RWS	1B7-9	-	<162>	5	1	100	1.00	11.5	<P 6>
RWS	1/2	-	-	6	4	102	-	-	
RWS	2CUP	-	<156>	2	1	162	0.38	4.4	<P 14>
SAMCG	6DR33	-	-	2	2	38	0.24	2.8	
SAMCG?	5	-	-	1	1	66	-	-	
SAMCG	5DR18/31	-	<44>	7	1	270	0.75	8.7	
SAMCG	4DR37	-	<155>	3	1	90	0.15	1.7	<P 8>
SAMLG	6DR27	-	-	2	2	14	0.11	1.3	
SAMLG?	6DR33	-	<42>	1	1	78	-	-	
SAMMT	4DR37	DEC	-	2	1	43	0.21	2.4	

Table 2 (continued)

Fabric	Form	Décor	Acc. No.	Sherd count	ENV	Weight	EVEs	% EVEs	Illustration caption
SAMMV	6DR33	-	-	2	1	13	0.18	2.1	
SAND	2E	BUD	-	8	1	114	0.65	7.5	
SAND	2/3	-	-	3	1	8	-	-	
SAND	2/3	BUD	-	1	1	6	-	-	
SAND	9D	-	<160>	1	1	303	-	-	<P 17>
SAND	2/4	-	-	3	3	30	-	-	
SAND	2	-	-	12	5	259	-	-	
VCWS	1B7-9	-	<161>	2	1	224	0.8	9.2	<P 7>
VCWS?	1/2	-	-	3	3	42	-	-	
VCWS	9C	-	-	1	1	71	-	-	
VRG?	2/4	-	-	3	1	61	0.19	2.2	
VRW	4A	-	-	2	1	140	0.26	3.0	
VRW	-	-	-	1	1	6	-	-	
VRW	1	-	-	14	3	618	-	-	
VRW	1/2	-	-	9	4	190	-	-	
VRW	7	SPT	-	1	1	34	-	-	
TOTAL				243	95	7915	8.66		

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