TRAC Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference
www.trac.org.uk

Paper Information:

Title: Age and Identity in Funerary Contexts: The Elderly in Southern Roman Britain
Author: Alison Moore
Pages: 105–119

DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/TRAC2009_105_119
Publication Date: 25 March 2010

Volume Information:

Moore, A., Taylor, G., Harris, E., Girdwood, P., and Shipley, L. (eds) 2010. *TRAC 2009: Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Michigan and Southampton 2009.* Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Copyright and Hardcopy Editions:

The following paper was originally published in print format by Oxbow Books for TRAC. Hard copy editions of this volume may still be available, and can be purchased direct from Oxbow at http://www.oxbowbooks.com.

TRAC has now made this paper available as Open Access through an agreement with the publisher. Copyright remains with TRAC and the individual author(s), and all use or quotation of this paper and/or its contents must be acknowledged. This paper was released in digital Open Access format in March 2015.

Age and Identity in Funerary Contexts: The Elderly in Southern Roman Britain

Alison Moore

Introduction

The old in the Roman world remain the invisible social demographic. In contrast to recent archaeological interest in children and childhood, the old are often subsumed within the general category of adulthood in both funerary analyses and in commentaries on the social organisation of the Roman provinces. Currently within western societies there is an increased awareness of the social impact of an increasingly ageing population. Modern medical techniques, coupled with the post-war 'baby boom' generation now reaching the age of retirement, means that those aged over 60 years now form an increasing percentage of modern western European populations, with far-reaching socio-economic implications. This new awareness of the elderly and ageing makes it an appropriate time to examine the elderly in the Roman world. Within the framework of a life course methodology, this paper utilises two aspect of funerary evidence – that of the material culture and grave treatment – to identify whether the elderly were visible as a distinct age group in one region of southern Roman Britain, and to explore whether a gendered identity played a role in elderly burial.

Old Age in Roman Thought

In the Roman period, as much as now, old age and the elderly were regarded with a degree of ambivalence. The textual sources which refer to old age – written primarily by, and for, the benefit of elite Roman males – reflected both a positive and negative attitude towards ageing (Parkin 2003: 57–89). To some, old age could be seen as a good period of life, one associated with wisdom, which could be harnessed to remain a 'useful' member of society (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 111–127; Cokayne 2003: 94–104). The ideal was to be old but not decrepit, an aspiration summarised by Seneca (*Epistles*: 12.4) who wrote that 'life is most delightful when it is on the downward slope, but has not yet reached the abrupt decline.' Similarly, in his treatise on old age, Cicero summarised his attitude towards growing old as 'age will only be respected if it fights for itself, maintains its own rights, avoids dependence and asserts control over its own sphere as long as life lasts' (*De Senectute*: 11.38). A 'good' old age depended upon living a 'correct' life, practicing the philosophical virtues and maintaining physical and mental health (Cokayne 2003: 92–3).

In contrast, the physical decay and mental senility of old age formed the butt of jokes in comedies and satires. The stereotypical portrayal of the elderly was as physically and mentally decrepit, deaf, parsimonious, irascible and sexually impotent (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 129–130). Elderly women were a particular target, often portrayed as drunken, sexually voracious or as evil witches (Esler 1989: Janowitz 2001: 88–9; Cokayne 2003: 150). Parkin (1997) argues that the elderly, as a group, could be portrayed in literature as conduits for excessive or liminal behaviours, as they stood in opposition to the social ideal of the freeborn young adult male. Grotesque characterisations of the elderly also acted as a means of dispelling social fears (Cokayne 2003: 152–3), particularly suggesting an underlying fear of a helpless

and hopeless old age. With little or no state provision for elderly welfare, the responsibility for maintaining elderly relatives was the duty of the family (Finley 1989: 6; Parkin 1997: 125–9). For those without family, income or other forms of support, becoming old would be something to fear.

Whilst these positive and negative attitudes towards the elderly tell us how old age was viewed in Rome itself, how being old was experienced at a provincial level remains virtually unexplored. Whilst it is problematic to establish the number of elderly people within the Roman Empire, due to provincial patterns of age commemoration (Revell 2005) and 'age-rounding' (Scheidel 2001: 11), estimates have been attempted using life tables. Parkin (2003: 50), for example, proposes that around 4 million people (or 6–8%) of an assumed Empire-wide population of 60 million, may have been elderly, defined by Parkin as being aged over 60 years. However, the epigraphic habit was very limited in Roman Britain, and little has survived, so that inscriptions provide little that helps to understand the numbers of elderly and their position within society. Applying a life course methodology to the funerary evidence can, though, provide a means of recognising the elderly.

A Life Course Approach

Age and gender – along with other concepts including ethnicity, social status and religious affiliation – are two aspects upon which personal identity is formed and social organisation is negotiated. In turn, these aspects of social identity are socially constructed as organisational categories (Lucy 2007). Within past societies the role of age can be explored through life course theory (e.g. Sofaer Derevenski 1997; 2000; Joyce 2000; Meskell 2000; Stoodley 2000; Gowland 2002; 2007), which examines the socio-cultural constructions associated with different age stages. The life course can be defined in three ways: biological (physical), chronological (time) and social (behaviour and attitudes) (Gowland 2006: 143). These three forms of age are intertwined and are not necessarily primarily biological, but also encapsulate the fulfilment of social roles and obligations (Hareven 1978: 1–2; Gowland 2006: 143). Each stage within the life course is often marked by 'rites of passage', which in themselves are socially variable, and participation is often dependent upon the social class or gender of the individual (Ginn and Arber 1995: 2; Sofaer Derevenski 1997: 876; Gilchrist 1999; 2000: 235). For example, an upper-class boy in Rome became an adult male citizen with the donning of the toga and dedication of his bulla to the gods (Wiedemann 1989: 114–7; Fraschetti 1997: 65–9). In contrast, for an upper-class Roman female, the transition to full adulthood came with marriage, signified by a change of dress and the covering of the hair (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 61–2).

Within archaeological contexts, the most visible expression of the social life course is often found within the mortuary record. A society's burial practices often encapsulate the social norms and expectations relating to age and gender, and it is often through the material culture provided at burial – which can have both a functional and symbolic meaning – that these norms were created, expressed and reinforced (Sofaer Derevenski 1994: 8; 1997: 876; Gilchrist 2000: 325). Just as the types of material culture can reflect the social expectations associated with certain age groups, transitions within the composition of the grave goods, and within other aspects of mortuary data, can signal that an individual has undergone a transition from one life course stage to another. Through tracing these age-related changes, cultural attitudes towards age and gender can be explored on a social level.

Identifying the Elderly: Data and Methodology

To explore age construction of the elderly in detail, I applied a life course analysis to urban burials from the colonia site of Gloucester and civitas capital of Cirencester, located in the west of the province, and to rural burials from a sample area of the modern day counties of Gloucestershire, Avon, Somerset, Wiltshire, southern Worcestershire and Oxfordshire. As this paper is concerned with the expression of elderly age identity, I have concentrated on analysing the mature adult sample, i.e. those osteologically aged from 30 years, and this produced a basic sample of 677 burials. A total of 181 of the basic sample were osteologically aged at 50+ years, and this age category is defined as 'elderly' in this paper. Defining the criteria for identifying the 'elderly' in past skeletal samples is problematic. Establishing the osteological age of adult skeletal material becomes progressively more inaccurate with age (Schwartz 1995: 185; Aykroyd *et al.* 1999; Cox 2000: 62–63); a difficulty compounded by many existing archaeological publications pre-dating recent re-evaluations of osteological age distinctions in the mature adult category, such as the analysis of the burials from Spitalfields, London (Molleson and Cox 1993). In the context of the Roman world, with no set age marker or concept of retirement, the point at which old age began was fluid. As early as the sixth century B.C., Servius Tullus apparently set 46 as the age of seniority (Wiedemann 1989: 113); whilst Augustan laws indicated that women after 50 and men after 60 were not expected to remarry and men were free of the possibility of military service from 60 years (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 117–118). In order to account for the methodological, cultural and osteological problems discussed above, all burials aged 50+ years were classed as 'elderly.' Whilst this broad category does lose a degree of detail in differentiating between elderly age stages, it does allow a comparison of elderly burial treatment to be made with that of younger adults aged 30–39 and 40–49 years. The burials within the data-set were predominantly late Roman (third-fourth centuries), when inhumation was the prevalent burial rite. As has been discussed elsewhere (e.g. Davison 2000), adult males predominated across all age groups, particularly in the urban sample.

The 295 burials aged 30–50+ years which comprised the urban sample from Cirencester and Gloucester mainly came from the later Roman inhumation cemeteries situated alongside the main roads into the city. At Cirencester, five cemeteries contained burials of adults aged 30–50+ years. These were Bath Gate/The Querns and Oakley Cottage, to the west of the city, together with Verulamium Gate and Silchester Gate, to the south. The largest of these was Bath Gate/The Querns, which contained more than 400 inhumation burials dating from the third to the early fifth centuries. The burials at Bath Gate were characteristic of fourth century urban managed cemeteries, being predominantly supine in timber coffins, with few grave goods (McWhirr *et al.* 1982). Oakley Cottage, thought be the original core of the Bath Gate cemetery, contained both cremations and inhumations of a second-third century date (Reece 1962; Holbrook 1994: 81). The remaining cemeteries at Cirencester which produced burials used in this analysis have been less comprehensively excavated. These include a cemetery at the Verulamium Gate, attested through occasional excavations of burials, whilst a cemetery at Silchester Gate has produced a mixture of cremations, inhumations and Flavian period military tombstones (McWhirr 1976: 195–7; Holbrook 1994: 82–3). The cemeteries at Cirencester produced 226 burials aged 30–50+ years, 60 of which were aged 50+ years (Appendix). Of the total of 226 burials, 75.2% (170/226) were sexed as male and 24.8% (56/226) as female.

Six cemeteries from Gloucester were included within the urban data-set. Wotton Pitch, aligned to Ermine Street, was originally a second century cremation cemetery later used for inhumations during the third to fourth centuries (Heighway *et al.* 1980: 58). To the south-west

of the city a further cemetery lay below the medieval St Oswald's Priory. Although originally examined in the late nineteenth century, excavation during the 1980s found 16 late Roman burials below the medieval cemetery levels (Heighway 1980). A further cemetery was excavated at Barton Street/Brunswick Road to the east of the Roman city wall and included outliers from Wellington Street, St Margaret's (Rhodes 1980: 67). A fourth to early fifth century Roman cemetery was situated at Kingsholm, to the north of the city (Hurst 1975: 291–4), whilst another cemetery was situated alongside the main London Road (Foundations Archaeology 2000). The majority of the cemeteries in Gloucester were heavily excavated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so that vital ageing and sexing skeletal evidence, as well as secure contextual dating, were not thoroughly recorded. However, a total of 69 burials aged between 30–50+ years from Gloucester were included within the urban data-set, of which 54 were accurately sexed as 59.3% (32/54) male and 40.7% (22/54) as female.

A total of 382 rural burials were aged between 30–50+ years and these came from a variety of contexts including villas, *vici*, rural settlement sites, small towns, isolated farmsteads, religious sites and isolated single burials. With villas, the burials of adults were primarily within small, enclosed cemeteries within the villa environs (e.g. Darvill *et al.* 1993; Masser and McGill 2004: 97–9). Similarly to larger urban centres, burials at *vici* and small towns were located in small cemeteries on the outskirts of the settlement. For example, at Sea Mills cremation and inhumation burials, ranging in date from the late first to fourth centuries, have been excavated from the south of the settlement (Bennett 1985).

Burials associated with small rural settlements and farmsteads were predominantly located adjacent to the settlement, often enclosed within ditches as at Charlton Mackrell, Gloucestershire, where a scatter of five inhumations were situated to the south of the settlement (Leech 1980). The re-use of disused religious sites as cemeteries also occurred within the rural area, and examples which produced burials utilised in this study include Lamyatt Beacon and Yatton, Somerset (Leech 1986; Watts and Leach 1996). Inhumation was the predominant burial rite in the rural area, although mixed rite cemeteries are known, as at Winterbourne, Wiltshire, where a total of 37 cremations and 14 inhumations were recovered (Foster 2001: 165, 171). Burials were predominantly supine single inhumations in coffins or simple rectangular grave cuts with only limited grave goods. Of the total of 382 rural burials, 99 were aged at 50+ years, whilst 54.6% (197/361 sexed burials) were male and 45.4% (164/361 sexed burials) were female.

As a feature of later Roman burials was a limited use of grave goods, the total sample of 677 burials produced a total of only 318 items of material culture which formed the basis of the analysis. Those items which came as pairs, such as shoes or earrings, were counted as one item. Similarly, unless otherwise stated in the site report, beads were treated as a single necklace and counted as one. These items were either placed within the grave as grave goods or were items of apparel worn at burial. In order to identify how being elderly was expressed in burial, two forms of analysis were employed. The first examined the average number of grave goods per burial. The second form of analysis traced changes in the types of material culture provided at burial. The grave goods were divided into type (e.g. coins, pottery and jewellery) and the amount of times each item appeared in each age group was counted. The total amounts of each item were then converted into percentages of the total number of grave goods. The levels of grave good provision and transitions in material culture were then compared by age and gender and the results were compared between the urban and rural data-sets.

Identifying Old Age in Adulthood

Overall, the percentage of burials with grave goods peaked at 32% (72/225 burials) at 40–49 years, before declining to 24.3% (44/181 burials) at 50+ years. When broken down into urban and rural data-sets, there was an increase in the percentage of burials with grave goods between 30–39 years and 40–49 years in urban areas. In contrast, grave goods were concentrated at 30-39 and 40-49 years in rural contexts before declining at 50+ years (Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage of furnished burials with adults aged 30–50+ in urban and rural contexts.

CONTEXT	Age	No. of burials	No. of furnished graves	Percentage
URBAN	30–39	106	24	22.6
	40–49	107	34	31.8
	50+	82	24	29.3
RURAL	30–39	165	49	29.7
	40–49	118	38	32.2
	50+	99	20	20.2
TOTAL		**677**	**189**	

In contrast, the overall use of coffins rose slightly with age, up from 24.2% (63/260 with grave treatment recorded) at 30–39 years to 30.3% (53/175) at 50+ years. Similarly to the analysis of the percentage of furnished burials, the greatest differentiation in the urban sample was between 30–39 years and older adults. Again, the rural elderly showed a separate pattern to younger adults, recording a slight increase in the use of coffins at 50+ years (Table 2).

Table 2: Grave treatment with adults aged 30–50+ in urban and rural contexts.

CONTEXT	Age	No.	Coffin %	RGC* %	Cist %	Pit %	Urn %
URBAN	30–39	101	27.7	62.4	2.0	-	7.9
	40–49	101	38.6	55.4	3.0	-	3.0
	50+	79	32.9	62.0	3.8	-	1.3
RURAL	30–39	159	22.0	72.3	4.4	1.2	-
	40–49	116	22.4	70.7	6.0	0.8	-
	50+	96	28.1	62.5	7.3	2.1	-

*RGC = rectangular grave cut

When the average number of grave goods in each band was examined further, differences in the age patterning between urban and rural burials were visible. Within the urban contexts the levels of grave good provision rose from 0.36 items per burial at 30–39 years to 0.49 items at 50+ years (Table 3). This rise in the number of grave goods at 50+ was recorded at both Cirencester and Gloucester at 0.43 items (26/60 burials) and 0.64 items (14/22 burials) respectively. In contrast, grave goods were concentrated at 40–49 years at 0.61 items per burial (72/118 burials) in rural contexts.

The gendered analysis of the data-sets also recorded some degree of age-based variation, particularly visible amongst elderly rural males and urban females. Elderly rural males showed a decline in the numbers of furnished burials from 32.1% (17/53 sexed burials) at 40–49 years

Table 3: Average number of grave goods with adults aged 30–50+ in urban and rural contexts.

CONTEXT	Age	No. of burials	No. of grave goods	Average
URBAN	30–39	106	38	0.36
	40–49	107	43	0.40
	50+	82	39	0.47
RURAL	30–39	165	76	0.46
	40–49	118	72	0.61
	50+	99	50	0.50
TOTAL		**677**	**318**	

to 16.7% (9/54 burials) at 50+ years in contrast to urban elderly males, whilst the average number of grave goods per burial also declined from 0.74 items at 40–49 years (39 items) to 0.39 (21 items) at 50+ years. Elderly urban males showed a less pronounced decline in the number of furnished burials from 29.5% (23/78 burials) to 22.8% (13/57), whilst the average number of grave goods remained steady at 0.39 and 0.4 items. Elderly urban female burials recorded a rise in the number of furnished burials from 30.8% (8/26) at 40–49 years to 47.6% (10/21) at 50+ years. Elderly urban females also had the highest average number of grave goods at 0.66 items per burial, and this focus on the older female was a feature of both urban sites. Overall rural elderly females showed a similar pattern of decline in the number of furnished burials from 34.5% (20/58 burials) at 40–49 years to 26.3% (10/38 burials) at 50+ years, but the average number of grave goods rose from 0.55 items per burial at 40–49 years to 0.73 items at 50+ years.

The analysis of grave treatment by gender also showed a small increase in the concentration of coffined burials with elderly rural females, from 24.1% at 40–49 years (14/58 burials with grave treatment recorded) to 31.6% (12/38) at 50+ years; there was no corresponding increase in coffin use amongst elderly rural males. In the urban data-set, differentiation was again visible between 30–39 years and older males, with a rise in coffined burial from 23.9% (16/67) at 30–39 years to 36% at 40–49 years (27/75). Amongst elderly urban females, the provision of coffins declined sharply from 42.3% (11/26) at 40–49 years to 23.8% (5/21).

Table 4: Percentage of grave good types with urban and rural burials aged 40–49 and 50+

TYPE	Urban 40–49	No.	Urban 50+	No.	Rural 40–49	No.	Rural 50+	No.
Metalwork	23.3	10	5.1	2	6.9	5	4.0	2
Coins	44.2	19	38.5	15	36.1	26	30.0	15
Jewellery	4.6	2	28.2	11	1.4	1	24.0	12
Utensils	2.3	1	5.1	2	2.8	2	6.0	3
Dress accessories	4.6	2	10.3	4	5.6	4	10.0	5
Hobnail shoes	4.6	2	5.1	2	15.3	11	16.0	8
Glassware	2.3	1	-	-	9.7	7	-	-
Pottery	14.0	6	5.1	2	6.9	5	6.0	3
Caskets	-	-	2.6	1	2.8	2	-	-
Animal bone	-	-	-	-	11.1	8	4.0	2
Amulets	-	-	-	-	1.4	1	-	-
TOTAL		**43**		**39**		**72**		**50**

Whilst the analysis of levels of grave good provision recorded a degree of age and gender patterning, the analysis of the types of material culture recorded a more restricted range of items being placed with the elderly, particularly in rural burials. Whilst coins remained the most common type of grave goods in urban contexts at 40–49 years and 50+ years, the provision of jewellery increased sharply at 50+ years from 4.6% (2/43 items) to 28.2% (11/39 items) (Table 4). This pattern was also mirrored in the rural data-set, where jewellery formed 24.0% (12/50 items) of the grave goods with elderly adults.

Table 5: Percentage of grave good types with male urban and rural burials aged 40–49 years and 50+ years.

TYPE	Urban 40–49	No.	Urban 50+	No.	Rural 40–49	No.	Rural 50+	No.
Metalwork	27.6	8	9.1	2	10.2	4	9.5	2
Coins	44.8	13	54.5	12	38.4	15	52.4	11
Jewellery	6.9	2	13.6	3	2.6	1	-	-
Utensils	3.4	1	4.5	1	2.6	1	14.3	3
Dress accessories	6.9	2	9.1	2	2.6	1	9.5	2
Hobnail shoes	3.4	1	4.5	1	15.4	6	14.3	3
Glassware	-	-	-	-	15.4	6	-	-
Pottery	6.9	2	4.5	1	5.1	2	-	-
Animal bone	-	-	-	-	7.7	3	-	-
TOTAL		**29**		**22**		**39**		**21**

Table 6: Percentage of grave good types with female urban and rural burials aged 40–49 years and 50+ years.

Type	Urban 40–49	No.	Urban 50+	No.	Rural 40–49	No.	Rural 50+	No.
Metalwork	22.2	2	-	-	3.2	1	-	-
Coins	44.4	4	18.8	3	35.5	11	14.3	4
Jewellery	-	-	50.0	8	-	-	39.3	11
Utensils	-	-	-	-	3.2	1	-	-
Dress accessories	-	-	12.5	2	9.7	3	10.7	3
Hobnail shoes	11.1	1	6.2	1	12.9	4	21.4	6
Glassware	11.1	1	-	-	3.2	1	-	-
Pottery	11.1	1	6.2	1	6.5	2	7.1	2
Caskets	-	-	6.2	1	6.5	2	-	-
Animal bone	-	-	-	-	16.1	5	7.1	2
Amulets	-	-	-	-	3.2	1	-	-
Total		**9**		**16**		**31**		**28**

When the material culture types associated with the elderly in both urban and rural contexts were examined by gender, further patterns could be seen. In urban contexts there was no visible difference in the range of material culture types with males aged between 40–49 years and 50+ years, with coins predominating at 44.8% (13/29 items) at 40–49 years and 54.5% (12/22 items) at 50+ years (Table 5). In contrast, elderly rural male burials showed a restricted

range of only five types of material culture, with coins predominating at 52.4% (11/21 items) of the total.

Amongst the elderly female sample in both urban and rural contexts an age transition at 50+ years was visible. At 40–49 years coins were the most common form of female grave goods in both contexts at 44.4% (4/9 items) in the urban sample and 35.5% (11/31 items) in the rural group. At 50+ years jewellery predominated, forming 50% (8/16 items) of the grave goods with female urban burials and 39.3% (11/28 items) with elderly females in rural contexts (Table 6).

Contextualising Old Age in Roman Britain

The results outlined above do indicate that the 'elderly' are recognisable in the burial record, primarily through changes in the levels and forms of material culture and, to a lesser extent, through an increased use of coffin burial. However, these variations are embedded within the overall pattern of adult burial in general. The 'elderly' were not differentiated in burial through age alone, but rather through variations which related to environment and gender. Amongst urban males, for example, there was little variation in the burial treatment between those aged 40–49 years and 50+ years; rather, the difference lay between younger males (30–39 years) and the older age groups. In contrast, rural male burial revealed a sharper division between the 50+ age group and younger adults. Although the numbers are small, an increase in the provision of jewellery was seen with females at 50+ years in both urban and rural environments. How, then, to interpret these patterns within the mature and elderly adult burials?

Whilst the elderly remained a part of the wider social group, evidenced by similar types of material culture and burial treatment as younger adults, growing older may have well impacted upon the social roles of males and females. As an individual ages through the life course, how he or she is perceived, their social role and relationship to others within both the familial structure and the wider world, changes. In the Roman world, the idealised social role of males was primarily external, relating to the world beyond the immediate domestic sphere. As such, the impact of the environment in which he moved, whether urban or rural, may have been influential on how the elderly male was perceived. Funerals function as a means of repairing the break in the familial and social fabric caused by the death of an individual (Shaw 1991: 75, 81). Within an urban environment, where people lived and inter-acted closely on a daily basis, the mourners may have included not only children and grandchildren, but also those with whom the elderly male had associated outside of the domestic sphere, such as close neighbours and those with whom he had worked or socialised. It may that the focus on the mature and elderly urban male in burial was an acknowledgement of the value of life experience, learnt knowledge and the social networks which come from living within a tightly knit community.

In contrast, the patterns seen in elderly male burials in rural contexts, with a decline in the range of material culture and levels of provision, may represent a transition in how males in old age were perceived. Whilst the elderly rural male retained knowledge and experience, the ill-health and physical degeneration associated with old age may have precluded him from being able to engage fully with the labour-intensive work required in a predominantly agricultural society such as Roman Britain. Allied to this possible transition, it has been suggested that attitudes and behaviour towards the elderly within agricultural societies is conditioned by the underlying economic and social system (Johnson 1998: 7). For example, in medieval northern Europe, where the nuclear family was the prevalent social structure, the elderly peasant transferred the management and working of the land to his children in return for support in old age (Gaunt 1983: 255, 365–66). Whilst what constituted the prevalent social structure in rural

Roman Britain remains open to debate, Millett (1990: 205–10) argued that by the late Roman period, from where the majority of these burials originated, small nucleated agricultural settlements of *coloni* were closer to the pattern of medieval villages. If this was the case, it may represent a transition towards a more nuclear family structure closer to that of medieval northern Europe. As such, the patterning visible in elderly male rural burials may be representative of the impact of the demands and needs of the rural environment on the perceived value of the elderly male.

Amongst females, the most striking pattern associated with the elderly was a transition in the type of grave goods provided, from coins at 40–49 years to jewellery at 50+ years. This transition, seen in both urban and rural contexts, suggests that the patterning may be related to the social identity of elderly females as a whole in this region. If the male social role was external, the predominant role of the female in antiquity was internal: focussed around the home and the roles of wife and mother (Harlow 2007: 197). It may be that what is visible in burial is a transition in the position of elderly females in relation to these social roles. During her younger adult years, the female would have been constrained by the social norms and expectations inherent within the domestic role and by her relationships to family members: firstly as a daughter, then as a wife and mother (Parkin 2003: 246). In old age, transitions within these social relationships would have impacted upon the female. For example, one possible transition could be widowhood. In particular, the transition to widowhood would have been a reality for many elderly women in the Roman period (McGinn 1999). Studies on age at marriage in Roman contexts show that males tended to marry, on average, a decade later than females (Saller 1987; Shaw 1987). Unless they remarried, this age difference would have led to a high proportion of elderly women outliving their husbands.

A preponderance of older females over older males, due to widowhood, may have moved the older female into a more central familial role. She may have become a focus of the household structure, providing a degree of continuity with the past. It may be that, on being widowed at a relatively young age, females would have taken on economic roles to support themselves and their families. Utilising skeletal data from Poundbury, Dorset, Allason-Jones (2005: 81) estimates that the majority of females had given birth by their late twenties. Hypothetically, if a woman was widowed at 40, she may still have had young children to support. The economic role played by women in Roman Britain remains unknown, but females may have been involved in aspects of, for example, agricultural work. Recent studies on rural land use in southern Roman Britain have suggested that agricultural development strategies were designed to create a surplus for sale or trade, with evidence for the cultivation of marginal land for both arable and animal husbandry (Taylor 2007: 115). Many settlements would have relied upon the labour of the immediate household, particularly at times of intense activity such as harvesting (Scheidel 1995: 207; Erdkamp 1999: 558). The differentiation seen in the burial of elderly women may have been associated with a transition in working patterns. As her children grew and could support themselves, the elderly female entered a new phase in her life course, reflected in changes in grave good provision.

The differentiation in the provision of type of grave goods between younger females and those aged over 50 years may have been related to perceptions of fertility. The menopause – and the biological ending of the primary female role in reproduction – may have impacted upon the perceived social identity of elderly women. It has been suggested that concentrations of grave goods with children and young females in some Romano-British cemeteries may be related to fertility, either in actuality or in potential (Oliver 2002; Puttock 2002: 41–55). Whilst it is problematic to tie the menopause into the elderly female burial record, as the ending of fertility and the physical symptoms associated with the transition may have been essentially a

private matter, the 'social' end of fertility may have been recognised. Under the Augustan marriage legislation, women over 50 years were not expected to remarry, tacitly assuming that the ability to bear children had passed (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 127–9). Similarly, physical signs of ageing, or social transitions such as the birth of grandchildren or great grandchildren, may have impacted on the identity of elderly females. This latter milestone may itself have provided elderly females with a continued role in old age, and many elderly women may have been involved in the upbringing of grandchildren. It has been suggested that patterns of epigraphic commemoration from Roman Spain showed a bias towards elderly females (Revell 2005: 53–4; 57), interpreted as an increase in social status due to their roles as grandmothers and great-grandmothers (Nielsen 1989: 79). Such transitions as widowhood, grown children and the arrival of grandchildren may have freed older women from the social constraints of expected behaviour, but may also have provided a continuing social role in both urban and rural contexts. Thus the social identity of the older female – rather than being subsumed within the family – may have become more visible and reflected within the burial record.

However, the change in material culture in burial between younger and older females may have more negative interpretations. The biological ending of fertility, and the arrival of grandchildren, may have removed the elderly female from her position at the centre of the family structure to a more peripheral position (Harlow 2007: 200). This marginal position within the familial structure may have brought a greater level of dependency on economic resources from children or other relatives (Hin 2007: 4). In many traditional societies the social position of elderly females was uncertain. In Roman literature witches were usually portrayed as elderly females; characterised as dabbling in fortune-telling, casting spells and mixing love-potions (Rosivach 1994: 113, 116; Maxwell-Stuart 2000: 28–29; Janowitz 2001: 88–89). In Anglo-Saxon contexts, the *wergild* (social worth of the individual expressed in monetary value) of a post-menopausal female was one third that of a free-born female of child-bearing age (Crawford 1990: 30). It may be that the transition visible in burial at 50+ years reflected a degree of ambiguity in regard to the elderly female.

Conclusion

The elderly in the Roman world were not invisible but remain overlooked in archaeological discourse. A life course approach, when applied to the funerary evidence, can provide a means of exploring the experience of age and ageing in the past. Within this small group of burials the elderly were acknowledged within the adult burial rite through degrees of variation in grave treatment, levels of grave good provision and the range of material culture. However, age alone was not the only factor which influenced how the elderly were buried; the impact of environment and gender were also at work. Whilst possible interpretations as to the meanings behind these variations in the treatment of the elderly are open to debate, they do underline how much remains to be understood about the elderly in the past. This survey utilises only a fraction of the available funerary data relating to the elderly in Roman Britain, and it is likely that these burials represents only one of many ways of expressing 'being old' in the burial record. The results here, coupled with other studies (e.g. Gowland 2002; 2007) on age identity in Roman Britain, hint at a multiplicity of attitudes towards the elderly which need to be explored further to gain a more rounded picture of social organisation in Roman Britain.

Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Louise Revell for reading and commenting on drafts of this paper, the anonymous reviewers for their advice and Geoff Taylor for his editorial efforts. Thanks also to Alison Brooks at Cirencester Museum and Phil Greatorex at Gloucester Museum for their time while gathering data for the database.

Appendix

Burials with adults aged 50+ years used in this study.

Site Name	**Total**	**M**	**F**	**Date (A.D.)**	**Reference**
Abingdon, Oxfordshire	2	1	1	300–400	Parrington 1978
Alcester, Warwickshire	3	2	1	250–400	Cracknell and Mahany 1994
Appleford, Oxfordshire	1	1	-	350–400	Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980
Barton, Gloucester	11	6	3	300–400	Rhodes 1980
Bath Gate/Querns, Cirencester	59	45	14	230–400	McWhirr *et al.* 1982
Bishops Cleeve, Gloucestershire	1	-	1	200–400	Parry 1999
Bristol, Avon	1	-	-	350–400	Rahtz and Clevedon Brown 1958/9
Bradley Hill, Somerset	8	6	2	300–350	Leech 1981
Cassington, Oxfordshire	2	1	1	300–400	Harman *et al.* 1981
Cave's Inn, Warwickshire	3	1	2	300–400	Cameron and Lucas 1973
Charlton Mackrell, Somerset	1	-	1	300–400	Leech 1980
Curbridge, Oxfordshire	1	1	-	350–400	Chambers and Williams 1976
Devizes, Wiltshire	1	1	-	300–400	Annable 1962
Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire	25	17	6	350–450	Chambers 1988
Frilford, Oxfordshire	1	-	1	300–400	Gosden *et al.* 2004
Frocester, Gloucestershire	4	2	2	300–400	Price 2000
Gatcombe, Somerset	1	1	-	300–350	Brannigan 1977
Hardwick, Oxfordshire	1	1	-	300–400	Chambers and Williams 1976
Henbury, Gloucestershire	1	-	1	300–400	Russell 1983
Hucclecote, Gloucestershire	5	-	5	100–200	Thomas *et al.* 2003
Illchester, Somerset	3	1	2	300–400	Everton and Rogers 1990
Kemble, Gloucestershire	3	-	1	300–400	Timby 1998
Kingsholm, Gloucester	1	-	1	200-300	Atkin 1987
Lamyatt, Somerset	2	-	2	350–450	Leech 1986
London Road, Gloucester	10	6	3	100–400	Foundations Archaeology 2000
Naunton, Gloucestershire	4	3	1	100–200	Mays 1980
Nettleton Shrub, Wiltshire	1	1	-	350–400	Wedlake 1982
Oxford, Oxfordshire	1	-	-	100–200	Hassall 1972
Roden Downs, Oxfordshire	6	2	4	300–425	Philpott 1991
Radley, Oxfordshire	10	8	1	300–400	Atkinson 1952
Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire	1	-	1	200–300	McGavin 1980
Tockington, Gloucestershire	2	1	-	350–300	Masser and McGill 2004

Winterbourne, Wiltshire	1	-	1	300–400	Algar 1961
Wyre Piddle, Worcestershire	1	-	1	300–400	Mercian Archaeology 2003
Verulamium Gate, Cirencester	1	1	-	-	McWhirr *et al.* 1982
Yatton, Somerset	2	2	-	270–450	Watts and Leach 1996
Total	**181**	**111**	**59**		

Bibliography

Ancient Sources

Cicero (Translated by W.A. Falconer 1946). *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione.* London: Heinemann.

Seneca (Translated by R.M. Gummere 1937). *Epistulae Morales.* London: Heinemann.

Modern Sources

Algar, D.J. 1961. Winterbourne Down: Roman Cemetery. *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* 58: 470.

Allason-Jones, L. 2005. *Women in Roman Britain: New Edition.* York: Council for British Archaeology.

Annable, F.K. 1962. *Wiltshire Archaeology Magazine* 58: 222–223.

Atkin, M. 1987. *Found at Richard Cound: The Kingsholm Dig.* Gloucester: Gloucester Excavation Unit and Richard Cound (BMW) Ltd.

Atkinson, R.J.C. 1952. Excavations at Barrow Hills Field, Radley. *Oxoniensia* 17: 32–35.

Aykroyd, R., Lucy, D., Pollard, M.A. and Roberts, C.A. 1999. Nasty, brutish, but not necessarily short: A reconsideration of statistical methods used to calculate age at death from adult human skeletal and dental age indicators. *American Antiquity* 64(1): 55–70.

Bennett, J. 1985. *The Roman Town of Abonae: Excavations at Nazareth House, Sea Mills, Bristol 1972.* Bristol: City of Bristol Museum.

Brannigan, K. 1977. *Gatcombe: The Excavation and Study of a Romano-British villa.* BAR British Series 44. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Cameron, H. and Lucas, J. 1973. Tripontium: Second interim report. *Transactions and Proceedings of the Birmingham Archaeological Society for 1971–1973* 85: 93–144.

Chambers, R.A. 1988. The late and sub-Roman Cemetery at Queensford Farm, Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxon. *Oxoniensia* 52: 35–70.

Chambers, R.A. and Williams, G. 1976. A late Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Hardwick. *Oxoniensia* 41: 21–35.

Cokayne, K. 2003. *Experiencing Old Age in Ancient Rome.* London: Routledge.

Cox, M. 2000. Ageing adults from the skeleton. In M. Cox and S. Mays (eds.) *Human Osteology in Archaeology and Forensic Science.* London: Greenwich Medical Media Ltd: 61–81.

Cracknell, S. and Mahany, C. 1994. *Roman Alcester: Southern Extra-mural area 1964–1966 excavations. Volume 2: Finds & Discussion.* CBA Report 97. York: Council for British Archaeology.

Crawford, S. 1999. *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England.* Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd.

Darvill, T.C., Green, L.S. and Jones, M.V. 1993. *Excavations at Roughground Farm, Lechlade, Gloucestershire: A Prehistoric and Roman Landscape.* Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit.

Davison, C. 2000. Gender imbalances in Romano-British cemetery populations: a re-evaluation of the evidence. In J. Pearce, M. Millett and M. Struck (eds.) *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World.* Oxford: Oxbow Books: 231–237.

Erdkamp, P. 1999. Agriculture, under-employment and the cost of rural labour in the Roman World. *The Classical Quarterly: New Series* 49(2): 556–572.

Esler, C.C. 1989. Horace's Old Girls: Evolution of a Topos. In T.M. Falkner and J. De Luce (eds.) *Old Age in Greek and Latin Literature.* Albany: State of New York University Press: 172–182.

Everton, R.F. and Rogers, J. 1990. The Human Remains. In P. Leach (ed.) *Ilchester Volume 1: Archaeology, Excavations and Fieldwork 1970–1975.* Sheffield Excavation Report 1. Sheffield: University of Sheffield: 263–267.

Finley, M.I. 1989. The Elderly in Classical Antiquity. In T.M. Falkner and J. De Luce (eds.) *Old Age in Greek and Latin Literature.* Albany: State University of New York Press: 1–20.

Fraschetti, A. 1997. Roman youth. In G. Levi and J.C. Schmitt (eds.) *A History of Young People in the West. Volume One: Ancient and Medieval Rites of Passage.* Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press: 51–82.

Foster, A. 2001. Romano-British burials in Wiltshire. In P. Ellis (ed.) *Roman Wiltshire and After: Papers in Honour of Ken Annable.* Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society: 165–175.

Foundations Archaeology. 2000. *124–130 London Road, Gloucester: Archaeological Excavation Report.* Wiltshire: AMS Ltd.

Gaunt, D. 1983. The property and kin relationships of retired farmers in northern and central Europe. In R. Wall (ed.) *Family Forms in Historic Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 249–281.

Gilchrist, R. 1999. *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past.* London: Routledge.

Gilchrist, R. 2000. Archaeological biographies: realizing human lifecycles, -courses and histories. *World Archaeology* 31(3): 325–328.

Ginn, J. and Arber, S. 1995. ‘Only Connect’: gender relations and ageing. In S. Arber and J. Ginn (eds.) *Connecting Gender and Ageing: A Sociological Approach.* Buckingham: Open University Press: 1–14.

Gosden, C., Lock, G. and Daly, P. 2004. *The Ridgeway and Vale Project: Excavations at Marcham/Frilford 2004.* *http*://www.arch.ox.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf-file/1545/Interim_2004.pdf (accessed 23 June 2007).

Gowland, R.L. 2002. *Age as an Aspect of Social Identity in 4th–6th century AD England: The Archaeological Funerary Evidence.* University of Durham: Unpublished PhD Thesis.

Gowland, R. 2006. Ageing the Past: Examining age identity from funerary evidence. In R. Gowland and C. Knusel (eds.) *Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains.* Oxford: Oxbow Books: 143–154.

Gowland, R. 2007. Age, ageism and osteological bias: the evidence from Late Roman Britain. In M. Harlow and R. Laurence (eds.) *Age and Ageing in the Roman Empire.* Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series No. 65. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Journal of Roman Archaeology: 153–169.

Hareven, T.K. 1978. Introduction: the historical study of the life course. In T.K. Hareven (ed.) *Transitions: The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective.* London: Academic Press Inc (London) Ltd: 1–16.

Harlow, M. 2007. Blurred visions: Male perceptions of the female life course – the case of Aemilia Pudentilla. In M. Harlow and R. Laurence (eds.) *Age and Ageing in the Roman Empire.* Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series No. 65. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Journal of Roman Archaeology: 195–207.

Harlow, M. and Laurence, R. 2002. *Growing Up and Growing Old in Ancient Rome: A Life Course Approach.* London: Routledge.

Harman, M., Molleson, T. and Price, J.L. 1981. Burials, bodies and beheadings in Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries. *Bulletin of the British Museum Natural History Magazine* 35(3): 145–188.

Hassall, T.G. 1972. Roman finds from the Radcliffe Science Library Extension, Oxford, 1970–71. *Oxoniensia* 37: 38–50.

Heighway, C.M. 1980. Excavations at Gloucester: 5th interim report: St Oswalds Priory 1977–8. *Antiquaries Journal* 60: 207–226.

Heighway, C.M., Garrod, A.P., Rhodes, J.F. and Goudge, C.E. 1980. Roman Cemeteries in the Gloucester District. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 60: 57–72.

Hin, S. 2007. *Family Matters: Economy, Culture and Biology: Fertility and its constraints in Roman Italy.* Princeton: Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics.

Hinchliffe, J. and Thomas, R. 1980. Archaeological investigations at Appleford. *Oxoniensia* 45: 9–112.

Holbrook, N. 1994. Corinium Dubunnorum: Roman Civitas Capital and provincial capital. In T. Darvill and C. Gerrard (eds.) *Cirencester: Town and Landscape*. Cirencester: Cotswolds Archaeological Trust Ltd: 57–86.

Hurst, H. 1975. Excavations at Gloucester: Third Interim Report: Kingsholm 1966–75. *Antiquaries Journal* LV: 267–94.

Janowitz, N. 2001. *Magic in the Roman World: Pagans, Jews and Christians.* London: Routledge.

Johnson, P. 1998. Historical readings of old age and ageing. In P. Johnson and P. Thane (eds.) *Old Age from Antiquity to Post-Modernity*. London: Routledge: 1–18.
Joyce, R.A. 2000. Girling the Girl and Boying the Boy: The production of adulthood in Ancient Mesoamerica. *World Archaeology* 31(3): 473–483.
Leech, P. 1986. The Excavation of a Romano-Celtic temple on Lamyatt Beacon. *Britannia* XVII: 259–328.
Leech, R. 1980. Religion and Burials in South Somerset and North Dorset. In W. Rodwell (ed.) *Temples, Churches and Religion: Recent Research in Roman Britain Volumes I and II.* BAR British Series 77. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports: 329–366.
Leech, R. 1981. The excavation of a Romano-British farmstead and cemetery on Bradley Hill, Somerton, Somerset. *Britannia* XII: 177–253.
Lucy, S. 2007. The archaeology of age. In M. Diaz-Andreu, S. Lacy, S. Babic and D.N. Edwards (eds.) *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. London: Routledge: 42–66.
McGavin, 1980. A Roman cemetery and trackway at Stanton Harcourt. *Oxoniensia* 45: 112–123.
McGinn, T.A.J. 1999. Widows, orphans and social history. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12: 617–632.
McWhirr, A. 1976. The Roman Town Plan. In A. McWhirr (ed.) *Archaeology and History of Cirencester: Based on papers presented to a research seminar on the post-Roman development of Cirencester held at the Corinium Museum, November 1975*. BAR British Series 30. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports: 5–15.
McWhirr, A., Viner, L. and Wells, C. 1982. *Romano-British Cemeteries at Cirencester.* Cirencester: Cirencester Excavation Committee Report II.
Masser, M. and McGill, B. 2004. Excavations of Romano-British sites at Tockington Park Farm and Westerleigh, South Gloucestershire in 1997. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 122: 95–116.
Maxwell-Stuart, P.G. 2000. *Witchcraft: A History*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd.
Mays, S. 1980. *Romano-British Skeletons from Naunton, Gloucestershire.* AML Report 1980. English Heritage: Unpublished Report.
Mercian Archaeology. 2003. *Osteological Analysis of Human Remains from Upper Moor, near Wyre Piddle, Worcestershire*. Mercian Archaeology Specialist Reports PJ108. Worcester: Mercian Archaeology.
Meskell, L. 2000. Cycles of life and death: narrative homology and archaeological realities. *World Archaeology* 31(3): 324–441.
Millett, M. 1990. *The Romanisation of Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Molleson, T.I. and Cox, M. 1993. *The Spitalfields Project: Volume 2: The Anthropology – The Middling Sort.* CBA Research Report 86. York: Council for British Archaeology.
Nielsen, M. 1989. Women and family in changing society: a quantitative approach to late Etruscan burials. *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 17–18: 53–98.
Oliver, A. 2002. Jewellery for the unmarried. In D. Kleiner and S. Matheson (eds.) *I Claudia II: Women in Roman Art and Society.* Austin: University of Texas Press: 115–124.
Parkin, T.G. 1997. Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Elderly Members of the Roman Family. In B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds.) *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space.* Oxford: Clarendon Press: 123–148.
Parkin, T.G. 2003. *Old Age in the Roman World: A Cultural and Social History.* Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press.
Parry, C. 1999. Iron Age, Romano-British and Medieval Occupation at Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire: Excavations at Gilder's Paddock 1989 and 1990–1. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 117: 89–118.
Parrington, M. 1978. *The Excavation of an Iron Age Settlement, Bronze Age Ring-Ditches and Roman Features at Ashville Trading Estate, Abingdon (Oxfordshire) 1974–76.* London: Council for British Archaeology/Oxford Archaeological Unit.
Philpott, R. 1991. *Burial Practices in Roman Britain: A survey of grave treatment and furnishing AD43–410.* BAR British Series 219. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Price, E. 2000. *Frocester: A Romano-British Settlement, its Antecedents and Successors, Volume 2.* Stonehouse: Gloucester and District Archaeological Research Group: 203–210.

Puttock, S. 2002. *Ritual Significance of Personal Ornament in Roman Britain.* BAR British Series 327. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Rahtz, P.A. and Clevedon Brown, J. 1958/9. Blaise Castle Hill, Bristol, 1957. *Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society* 8(3): 147–171.

Reece, R. 1962. The Oakley Cottage Romano-British Cemetery, Cirencester. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 81: 51–72.

Revell, L. 2005. The Roman Life Course: A view from the inscriptions. *European Journal of Archaeology* 8(1): 43–63.

Rhodes, J. 1980. College of Art Site. In Heighway, C.M. 1980. Roman Cemeteries in Gloucester District. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 98: 67–68.

Rosivach, V. 1994. *Anus:* Some Older Women in Latin Literature. *Classical World* 88(2): 107–117.

Russell, J. 1983. Romano-British burials at Henbury Comprehensive School, Bristol: A preliminary report. *Bristol & Avon Archaeology* 2: 21–4.

Saller, R. 1987. Men's age at marriage and its consequences for the Roman family. *Classical Philology* 82: 21–34.

Scheidel, W. 1995. The most silent women of Greece and Rome: Rural labour and women's life in the ancient world (II). *Greece and Rome, second series* 43(1): 1–10.

Scheidel, W. 2001. Roman Age Structure: Evidence and Models. *The Journal of Roman Studies* 91: 1–26.

Schwartz, J.H. 1995. *Skeleton Keys: An Introduction to Human Skeletal Morphology, Development and Analysis.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shaw, B. 1987. The age of Roman girls at marriage: some reconsiderations. *Journal of Roman Studies* 77: 30–46.

Shaw, B. 1991. The cultural meaning of death: Age and gender in the Roman family. In D.I. Kertzer and R.P. Saller (eds.) *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press: 66–90.

Sofaer Derevenski, J. 1994. Where are the children? Accessing children in the past. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13(2): 7–20.

Sofaer Derevenski, J. 1997. Age and gender at the site of Tiszapolgar-Basatanya, Hungary. *Antiquity* 71: 875–888.

Sofaer Derevenski, J. 2000. Rings of life: the role of early metalwork in mediating the gendered life course. *World Archaeology* 31(3): 389–406.

Stoodley, N. 2000. From the cradle to the grave: Age organisation and the early Anglo-Saxon burial rite. *World Archaeology* 31(3): 456–472.

Taylor, J. 2007. *An Atlas of Roman Rural Settlement in England.* CBA Research Report 151. York: Council for British Archaeology.

Thomas, A., Holbrook, N. and Bateman, C. 2003. *Later Prehistoric and Romano-British Burial and Settlement at Hucclecote Gloucestershire.* Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Report No. 2. Gloucester: Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society.

Timby, J.R. 1998. *Excavations at Kingscote and Wycomb, Gloucestershire.* Cirencester: Cotswolds Archaeological Trust.

Watts, L. and Leach, P. 1996. *Henley Wood, Temples & Cemetery Excavations 1962–69 by the late Ernest Greenfield and Others.* CBA Research Report 99. York: Council for British Archaeology.

Wedlake, W.J. 1982. *The Excavation of the Shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, Wiltshire, 1956–1971.* Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No. XL. London: The Society of Antiquaries of London.

Wiedemann, T. 1989. *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire.* London: Routledge.