2. *Rivet* (DAC 83) (FIG. 60.32)

As DAC 31, slightly smaller. Diameter 22 mm, broken shank.

3. *Rivet* (DAC 184) (not illustrated)

As previous. End of rivet bent over (thickness of wood 8 mm). Diameter 22mm, length 11 mm.

*34. *Large rivet* (DAF 114) (not illustrated)

Large rivet with oval head decorated with incised lines around the edge. From lower fill in the funerary shaft. Length 15 mm, length of head 11 mm, shank 4 mm. Thickness of object riveted 10 mm.

*35. *Two domed rivets* (DAA 38/39) (FIG. 60.35)

Two domed rivets on a strip of copper alloy sheet. The stem of the rivets can be seen on the underside. Possibly part of binding for a wooden bucket, for example as used on cauldrons at Glastonbury and Spettisbury (Spratling 1972, nos 401–4), but there the rivets were directly riveted into the sheet to join two sections together; they were not on strips of sheet. Found in the turf filling the funerary shaft.

Length of sheet 33 mm; width of sheet 15 mm. Rivets 13 mm, height 9 mm.

*36. *Domed rivet* (DAF 108) (not illustrated)

Fragment of another, with one rivet. From the lower filling in the funerary shaft. Diameter of head 15 mm, height 9 mm. Length 12 mm. Width of rivet base 6.5 mm.

*37. *Rivet* (DAF 108) (not illustrated)

Another rivet with solid head, dished underneath. From the lower filling in the funerary shaft. Diameter of head 15 mm, height 12 mm. Length 13 mm. Rivet base 6.5 mm.

38. *Rivet* (DAB 001) (not illustrated)

Another. Diameter 13 mm, height 8 mm.

Other rivets (not illustrated)

DAB 1; DAC 17a; DAB 78. White metal rivet. Length 7 mm, head 3 mm; DAC 165. White metal rivet with square flat head. 15 mm square. Shank broken.

Items for personal wear

39. *Mail* (DAC 198)

Near the south-west side of of the burial pit in a mass of charcoal was a large lump of chain mail. It was either in a bag gathered at the top (PL. XLI) or more likely had been displayed on a pole which collapsed during the burning of the pyre. The mail was examined by Brian Gilmour, who supplied the following report.

The mail shirt, *by* B. J. Gilmour

Apart from a few detached, small fragmentary groups of rings this object consisted of a single corroded lump of mail which looked likely to have been a complete (or nearly so) mail tunic burnt in the funeral pyre, described elsewhere in this volume. Exposure to the heat of the pyre had affected not only the iron rings of the mail, but had left a series of fused blobs or droplets of silver and partially fused pieces of copper alloy adhering to the underside of the mail. These were a small part of the heat affected remains of a series of silver and copper alloy objects which were also put on the pyre and are reported in more detail elsewhere.

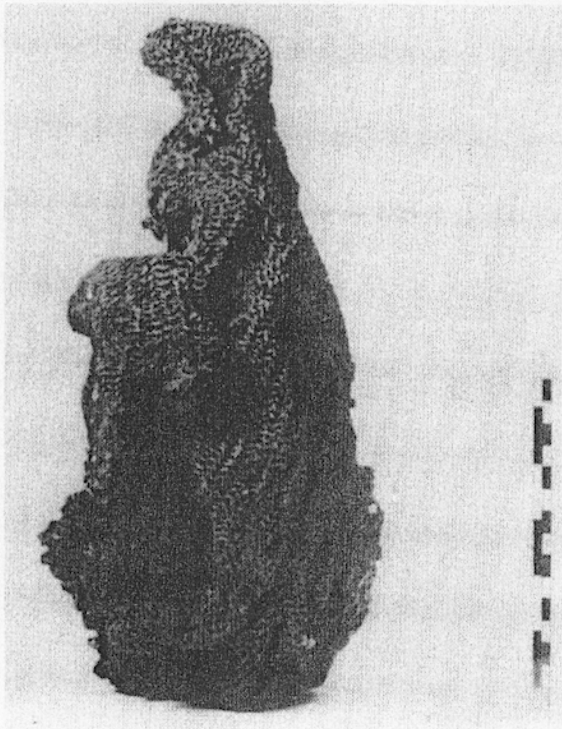

PLATE XLI. The mail tunic.
Photograph: P. Carter, St Albans Museums.

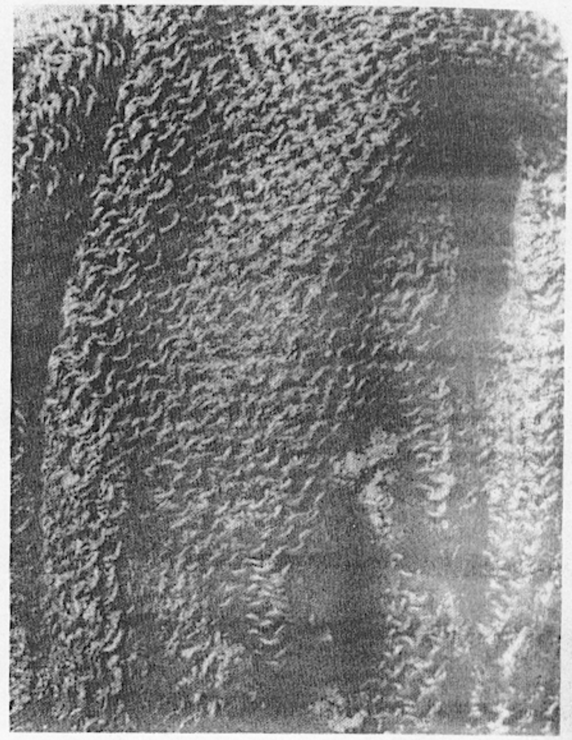

PLATE XLII. The mail tunic, detail.
Photograph: P. Carter, St Albans Museums.

Examination of the surviving mail

Comparison with a modern reproduction mail shirt, manipulated into a pile of a very similar shape and size (and weighing approximately 14 kg), would suggest that what now survives of the Folly Lane mail is the remains of a complete mail shirt or tunic. The surviving corroded lump that it now consists of (PL. XLI, FIG. 61) measures approximately 330 mm long by 247 mm wide by 145 mm high and weighs approximately 10.2 kg. Detailed examination and photography of this corroded lump was made possible by the extensive conservation cleaning[8] which revealed a surprisingly well preserved original surface to the mail despite the fact that there appeared to be no metal surviving in the rings.

Over much of the cleaned surface of the mail the shape of the individual rings survived well enough for their dimensions and method of manufacture to be fairly reliably recorded. This mail tunic is made up of alternate rows of riveted and plain or solid rings which would appear to have been welded rather than having been made of loops of wire with their ends simply butted together. The usual overall construction method for mail was used in which each ring was looped through four others, two in the row above and two in the row below. As far as can be seen, the individual rings are all of much the same size and are made of wire of a fairly uniform and circular section measuring 1.5–1.6 mm in thickness. The outside diameter of the rings mostly varies within the range 6.8–7.1 mm. The rows of riveted rings were easy to identify by the regular appearance of the bulging, flattened areas where the ends of these wire loops were riveted together. In each case the rivets had a distinctive domed-headed appearance on one side, although they appeared to be more flattened on the other. This would suggest that the riveting was done using a shaped swage block, possibly using much the same technique as that suggested by Burgess in his mail reconstruction experiments (Burgess 1953a, 1953b).

Unfortunately since no metal survived it is now difficult to be sure whether or not the plain rings of the Folly Lane mail are definitely welded, but enough surface detail, as well as overall structure, survives (preserved as hard and stable iron oxide) to be fairly confident that these rings were not made of butted wire loops. It is still possible to see that these plain rings consisted

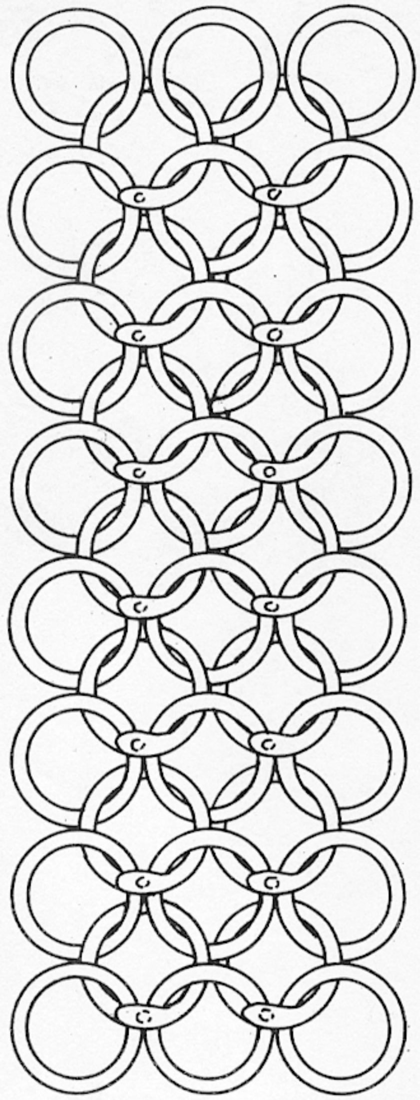

FIG. 61. Schematic diagram of the 4 → 1 construction of the mail tunic, involving riveted and welded links.
Drawn by David Williams, based on a sketch by Brian Gilmour, after O'Connor 1992.

of wire with an approximately circular cross-section that is fairly consistent around the circumference in each case (PL. XLII). No evidence was found of any gaps which would be consistent with a butted ring construction. Although the products of corrosion might have been expected to fill much of any narrow gaps like this, some evidence for the cutting of the wire might have been expected to be visible somewhere around the circumference of the rings if butted wire loops had been used. This evidence would be expected to take the form of single or double (opposed) notches indicating the use either of a chisel or wire snips to cut the wire.

Also, had these plain rings consisted of butted wire loops, although it is likely that the gaps between the ends would have become filled by corrosion products during burial, the corrosion products may be expected to be less dense and therefore visible on X-ray. The surviving structure of the plain rings was next investigated using projection X-radiography (which, by necessity, uses a micro-focal beam X-ray tube to project a clear enlarged image on to a piece of film) and this work was carried out on a small detached fragment of mail.[9] No evidence of any gaps was found to indicate the presence of the butted ends of wire loops. As far as could be seen all the plain rings appeared to be continuous around their circumference and therefore there seems little doubt that these were solid rings, whether or not they were made from welded wire or punched from iron sheet.

In the many cases where broken plain (or riveted) rings were visible in transverse section, the profile of the wire always appeared approximately circular. This contrasts with a D-shaped section that might be expected for any plain ring punched from an iron sheet then placed round a mandrel and finished with a hammer to give a more rounded profile (D. Sim, pers. comm.). This is the method shown recently to have been used for at least some of the plain rings in the five or six sets of mail from the third-century Danish votive bog deposit at Thorsbjorg (Sim forthcoming). These were previously described as being of an alternate riveted and welded construction with a diameter of 'a little less than half an inch' (Engelhardt 1866, 46 and pl. 6). This is equivalent to 12 mm, which according to the published drawings is the maximum dimension of the riveted rings. The plain rings are shown varying generally between 9 and 10 mm in diameter with a thickness of approximately 1 mm. If the two fragments of Thorsbjorg mail illustrated are both accurate and representative of the rest of the mail garments from this site then the Thorsbjorg mail is clearly both of a much coarser construction as well as being made of thinner rings than nearly all the late pre-Roman Iron Age examples (where measuring was possible) shown in TABLE 17. The apparent (but seemingly unlikely) exception to this is the unusual (with its 6:1 ring construction) late La Tène mail reported from Tiefenau, Switzerland, which is rather similar in its recorded ring size (diameter 13 mm and thickness 1 mm) to that from Thorsbjorg, although it is recorded as being of a butted ring construction.

TABLE 17. TECHNOLOGICAL DETAILS OF IRON AGE MAIL FROM BRITAIN

Site/context/date	**General description**	**Outside diameter of rings**	**Gauge of wire used**	**Comments**
Kirkburn, Yorks. barrow cemetery cart burial of third century B.C.	complete mail tunic: butted rings only	8.2–9.2 mm	1.5–1.6 mm	see Stead 1991, 54 and fig. 45.
Stanwick, Yorks. hoard of *c.* A.D. 50 poss. just pre-Roman	fragments of mail: butted rings only	not yet known	not yet known	see: MacGregor 1962, 28 and no. 117–20.
Lexden, Essex; cremation burial of about 15–20 B.C.	fragments of mail: riveted and (?) welded rings in alternate rows	5.5–5.8 mm	1.4–1.6 mm approx. circular in section	see Foster 1986
Baldock, Herts. cremation burial, *c.* A.D. 20–35	small fragments of mail: riveted and (?) welded rings in alternate rows	4.8–5.0 mm	1.2–1.3 mm approx. circular in section	
St Albans, Herts. cremation burial, *c.* A.D. 50	(?) complete mail tunic: riveted and (?) welded rings in alternate rows	6.8–7.1 mm	1.5–1.6 mm, approx. circular in section	
Maiden Castle Dorset from 'Belgo-Roman' levels near entrance, *c.* first century B.C. to first century A.D.	single triangular fragment: butted rings only (shown on drawing)	~7.0 mm	~1.0–1.3 mm	see: Wheeler 19[illegible] 284 & fig. 95.6

e/context/date	General description	Outside diameter of rings	Gauge of wire used	Comments
odeaton, Oxon. tive deposit m temple site te IA or RB, -m *c.* first ntury A.D.	unstratified larger fragment (in pot) riveted and punched rings in alternate rows	riveted rings 7.0–7.5 mm; punched rings 7.0 mm	~circular section, 0.8 mm across squarish section, ~1.0 mm x 0.8 mm	see: Jope 1957, 106–7 and Bagnall-Smith 1995
ayling Island, ants.; votive eposit from mple, ~early rst century A.D.	larger fragment — now destroyed ?X-ray exists (? + other frags.)	?	?	King and Soffe 1994 115, and Soffe *pers. comm.*

The plain rings from the Folly Lane mail, however, look very similar in their continuous ircular profile to the plain rings (8 mm diameter and wire thickness 1.1 mm) of the mail curtain ttached to the eighth-century A.D. Anglian helmet from Coppergate, York, which survive much etter and have been shown by metallography to be of a welded construction (Lang *et al.* 1992, 024). The surface of the Coppergate mail rings, however, did not survive well enough to allow he identification of parallel surface marks which would have confirmed that drawn wire was ised to make these, although this seems to be indicated by the longitudinal distribution (of the ittle) slag found in the iron of these rings. One interesting observation, which is mentioned but not further discussed, is that a cleaner (i.e. less slaggy) grade of iron appears to be used for the welded as against the riveted rings of the Coppergate mail. An obvious possible explanation for this is that relatively slag-free iron would be required for wire drawing if excessive and rapid wear of the drawplate that would otherwise occur, even if made of steel, was to be avoided (see Smith 1959, 67). Smith's objection to the suggested use of the drawplate to make early iron wire, by which he meant anything made before the sixteenth century, seems to be based on the assumption that all early iron was of rather variable, and uncontrolled, slaggy composition. Until regular and thorough metallographic investigation is carried out on iron from various periods and different types of objects, or parts of objects, then there can be no basis for a conclusion like this. On the contrary, there seems to be no good reason why Iron Age or later smiths were not perfectly competent in controlling the quality of their products. The wire for the Folly Lane mail may also have been made by forging, possibly with the aid of swage blocks to enable an even thickness and diameter to be achieved.

Since the appearance of the rings seems to be much the same it seems, on balance, most likely that the same welded construction was used for the plain rings of the Folly Lane mail as shown to be the case for the Coppergate plain rings. There seems to be no particular reason why the welded construction seen in the plain rings of the Coppergate mail should not have been in use by the late Iron Age, although only the very careful study and identification of future mail finds (preferably with metal still surviving) will confirm this. This method of joining the ends of wire loops at any period would seem likely to have been carried out in much the same way and, therefore, to have produced similar diagonal scarf welds to those shown metallographically (by examining rings both longitudinally and at right-angles to the plane of the weld) to be present in the plain rings of an early sixteenth-century German armour (Smith 1959, table 1 and fig. 3). Overall, the results of the investigations reported here lead to the conclusion that the plain rings of the Folly Lane mail were made of wire loops with their ends welded together.

Following an initial surface inspection the mail was examined using X-radiography. The purpose of this was partly to see if any indication of surviving metal could be found inside the lump, and also to test another possibility that was suggested — that the mail garment might have been used as wrapping for some other object. The thickness, density and irregular shape of the mail lump necessitated the use a comparatively high energy (320Kv) X-ray set together with filters to improve the contrast (this examination being carried out at the Royal Armouries at the Tower of London).

There was no indication from the resulting radiographs of the mail having been used as any kind of wrapping and it would appear that the mail was simply put or dropped into the burial pit and, in this way, ended up in its present shape. Again, experiments by the author with the same modern reproduction mail shirt mentioned above, showed that it would very often fall into a heap of a similar shape and size when dropped, which means that the Folly Lane mail tunic may well not have been in a bag when it went into the pyre, as has previously been suggested (Selkirk 1992, 486).

Radiography of this mail also confirmed that there is likely to be little or no iron left in the surviving corroded lump, which is only to be expected given the very long exposure in non-waterlogged burial conditions, together with the naturally aerated conditions that would have existed around what was essentially a pile of thin rings of iron wire. What is much more surprising is that such a relatively well preserved original surface should survive underneath an outer incrustation of iron corrosion products. Much of the original appearance of the rings would appear to have been relatively well preserved as a hard, dark grey or black surface layer of magnetic iron oxide (magnetite — Fe_3O_4). This gives the deceptive first impression that this mail is well preserved, whereas beneath the surface there actually appears to be little or no metal left at all.

It is quite possible that when this mail tunic went into the burial pit the outer surface of the iron rings from which it was made already consisted of a thin layer of magnetite, the evenness of which might suggest that this layer was present as an induced surface layer before the exposure of the mail to the pyre in which the extent of oxidation perhaps would have been more variable. Alternatively the whole pile of mail would have to have been subjected to a very even, semi-reducing atmosphere which, on heating, could have resulted in much of the upper surface layer of the rings being converted to magnetite. In any case conditions in this part of the fire would have to have been moderately reducing for magnetite to have been preserved at all rather than being burnt away.

From what survives, it seems not possible to demonstrate conclusively whether or not this mail already had a stable black oxide coating before it went into the pyre. Protective oxide coatings of this kind may well have been common or even usual at this time for many iron objects, especially where a valuable thing such as this was particularly vulnerable to corrosion in a damp atmosphere. For most archaeological ironwork, the destructive effects of corrosion during burial in the ground will mean that the presence (or former presence) of a layer such as this is going to be difficult to demonstrate unless it is looked for and consistently found at th original surfaces of corroded early iron artefacts.

The technology of early mail

There seems to be comparatively little yet known of the early development of mail manufac and use in Europe. The earliest known examples of mail came from a group of arte found in the remains of a boat, which formed a votive bog or pool deposit of material, Hjortspring in southern Denmark, which recently has been dated from radiocarbon resu the second half of the fourth century B.C. (Stead 1991, 56). This deposit, which has interpreted as the equipment of a defeated army (numbering about sixty), included be about ten and twenty sets of mail although these survived as little more than rust stains (J 1989).

From Britain the earliest find of mail is a complete tunic accompanying a cart burial (S the Iron Age barrow cemetery at Kirkburn in North Yorkshire which has been dated to Tène I period of the third century B.C. (Randsborg 1995, 20). It is reported as being m all butt-jointed rings, one of the three methods of mail ring manufacture which Stead sa used to make the rings for the mail found in a number of Iron Age and early Roman co the other methods involving the forming of rings from iron wire, the ends of which were flattened and riveted together and, thirdly, the punching of complete rings from iron sheet.

Not mentioned is the other possible method of making individual rings — by making loops of iron wire and (hammer) welding the ends together to produce a 'solid' ring which, as in the case of the punched rings, would have to be used in combination with one of the other types of ring. Welded rings have recently been shown to have been used in combination with riveted rings to make the curtain of the eighth-century A.D. Anglian helmet found at Coppergate in York (O'Connor 1992a, 1992b).

The recent examination of fragments of mail from a cremation burial from Baldock (Gilmour in Burleigh and Stevenson forthcoming) — more or less contemporary to that at Folly Lane — have shown that the surviving fragments, possibly from a single mail garment mutilated or 'ritually killed' before burial, consisted of alternating riveted and, as far as can be seen both by surface inspection and projection X-rays, welded rings, rather than the butted ring construction previously reported (Selkirk 1983). Apart from being smaller, both the plain and riveted rings from the Baldock mail survived in much the same way and appeared to have been made in very much the same way as the Folly Lane mail rings (TABLE 17).

At the same time that the Folly Lane mail was studied, the more or less contemporary mail fragments (mainly larger than those from Baldock) found in the tumulus burial at Lexden, Essex (Foster 1986) were examined so as to get a further comparison of the construction methods used in the late pre-Roman Iron Age. Although this material has not so far been fully cleaned it was possible to see (under a low power lens) the dimensions and shape of the individual rings, as well as the overall form of the mail. Like the mail from both Folly Lane and Baldock, the Lexden mail fragments were also made of alternating rows of riveted and plain rings and also, from the similarity in their appearance, possibly from a single mutilated mail garment.

Fragments of mail from both Lexden and Baldock were examined in very much the same way as that described above for the Folly Lane mail. Again, projection radiography failed to find any evidence for a butted wire loop construction for the plain rings, as did examination under a lens, which also failed to reveal any evidence for earlier gaps. This and their circular (rather than D) shape cross-sectional appearance would seem to leave welding as much the most likely method to have been used to join the ends of the wire loops of the plain rings from all three sites (TABLE 17). In size the Lexden mail rings are approximately mid-way, both in diameter and gauge of wire, between the rings from Folly Lane and those from Baldock, which are the smallest or finest of the three.

In each case the wire used looked to be of a consistent diameter and circular cross-section, suggesting that drawn wire may have been used for each of these three sets of mail although, if so, no wire drawing marks appeared to have survived on the surface of the rings, or at least none were found during the examinations reported here. Although (so far as I can find out) draw plates have not been recognized from any Iron Age context, they are now known to have been used as early as the Bronze Age (Northover 1995). Until early mail rings in sufficiently good condition can provide more conclusive evidence for the use of draw plates it seems just as likely that, during the Iron Age, iron wire was made by hand forging as is known to have been the case for the gold wire used for objects such as the Snettisham torc (Northover pers. comm.). Clearly more detailed technological investigation is needed before production methods such as these can be more positively identified.

The Kirkburn mail is much earlier than the other known examples of Iron Age mail which, apart from the eleven mail fragments in the Stanwick hoard from Yorkshire (MacGregor 1962), all come from southern Britain and all seem to be roughly contemporary in their deposition. This belongs to the final Iron Age phase with both Folly Lane and Lexden likely to postdate the early years of the Roman occupation of south-east Britain in the mid-first century A.D. A summary of the technological information relating to these examples of early mail is included here in TABLE 17. Some of this material has been re-examined recently but where earlier descriptions have been used the sources are shown. The mail from the Roman temple site at Woodeaton is included here as, although it was an unstratified find, it may belong to a late Iron Age phase, possibly as a votive offering (Jope 1957; Bagnall-Smith 1995).

It would appear from the reported construction of the Kirkburn mail tunic and the Stanwick fragments, as well as the continental European examples from Çiumesti, Romania and Tiefenau, Switzerland, that some Iron Age mail, particularly from earlier contexts, is being reported as being of an all butted-ring construction (quoted in Stead 1991, 56; see TABLE 18 below). By the late Iron Age, in Britain at least, the more technically demanding, but better quality technique involving alternate rows of riveted and welded rings may have been more common whereas the technique involving alternate rows of riveted and solid rings punched from sheet iron seems usually to be judged a Roman technique (Sim pers. comm.). The large third- century A.D. votive bog (or pool) deposit at Thorsbjorg, Schleswig (formerly southern Denmark) included five or six sets of mail which have been described as consisting of alternating rows of riveted and welded rings (Engelhardt 1866, 46), although some of this material has been re-examined and the plain rings identified as punched from sheet iron (Sim 1998).

TABLE 18. TECHNOLOGICAL DETAILS OF SELECTED IRON AGE MAIL FROM CONTINENTAL EUROPE

Site/context/date	**General description**	**Outside diameter of rings**	**Gauge of wire used**	**Comments**
Hjortspring, Denmark; votive bog or pool deposit (mid–late 4th century B.C.)	Very corroded and fragmented. Remains of approx. 10–12 mail coats	6.0–8.0 (most)? 4.0 (some)? 9.0–10.0 (a few)?		See: Randsborg 1995, 27
Tiefenau, Switzerland; metalwork deposit — La Tène II–III (first century A.D.)	fragments of mail: butted rings of rare 6 → 1 construction?	13 mm	1.0 mm wide	See: Stead 1991, 56 (from Müller 1986)
Çiumesti, Romania; cremation burial: late La Tène I (third century B.C.)	fragments of mail: butted rings only, usual 4 → 1 construction	mostly 8.5–9.2 mm; some finer, 7.2–7.5 mm	0.8–1.8 mm wire; 1.2–1.4 mm	See: Stead 1991, 56 (from Rusu 1969)
Thorsbjorg, Schleswig votive bog (or pool) deposit: third century A.D.	parts of 5–6 mail garments: alternate rows of riveted and plain, —? welded or punched, rings.	approx. 12 mm	approx. 100 mm	See: Engelhardt 1866, 46–8 + plate 6; Todd 1975, 170–1; Sim, 1997

As yet, too little surviving dated mail has been found to reconstruct more confidently the earlier technological developments of this form of defensive armour, although there seems no reason to doubt the suggestion by the Roman writer Varro that mail was a Celtic development adopted by the Romans (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 59) who, during this early period, accordi[ng] to Polybius writing in the second century B.C. (VI, 21), rated mail shirts as only affordable to soldiers who possessed more than 10,000 drachms, the less wealthy having to use plate armo[ur] instead (Engelhardt 1866, 48). The value of mail in the late Iron Age communities of north[ern] Europe can perhaps be gauged partly by the contexts in which they are found — such as weal[thy] or important burials like that at Folly Lane — and partly by the instances found in Ro[man] sculpture of this period where the wearer is depicted as being of Gallic or Celtic origin (Robi[nson] 1975, 164).

Note, by Jennifer Foster

Mail was a consistent feature of Iron Age rich burials and before the Roman conquest de[...] a wealthy individual. Mail was adapted by the Roman army (Robinson 1975, 164–73; Bi[...]

and Coulston 1993, 60), and was used by both legionaries and auxiliaries from the first century A.D. Cavalry mail had slits in the skirt for ease of movement. Most of the examples from the Roman period are only fragments, presumably because it was easy to repair; the fragments we have may have been the damaged pieces that were replaced (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 60). The statue from Vachères (50–0 B.C.; Szabo 1991, 332) shows the form of mail shirts before mid-first century A.D. They were long (knee-length) with a leather undergarment to prevent chafing and a belt to hold up the weight of the skirt (Robinson 1975). The shoulder flaps edged with leather were fastened with concave headed studs. The suit from Kirkburn has all these features (Stead 1991, 56) except a leather undergarment, though fragments of sewn leather were found at Lexden (Foster 1986, 139–42). Some suits were sleeved, as in the Vachères statue, others sleeveless (for example the Delphi relief (Robinson 1975, 165)). Around the mid-first century A.D. skirts become shorter, to hip level, and the belt was abandoned; there were still sleeves, but no shoulder flaps. This might be the type of shirt from Folly Lane: there is no sign of flaps, fastenings or studs, though these could, of course, be inside.

Hobnails

There are at least 299 hobnails from the grave, mostly occuring as single nails, but a few were fused together by corrosion. Some are fused three in a line, others are in groups: e.g. from DAC 78 is a group of five small hobnails (head diameter 4–5 mm) with short unbent shanks (10 mm long) that come together to a point. The great majority of the hobnails have bent-over ends to their shanks, which is the usual method of fastening the hobnail into the shoe. Unlike most archaeological examples, however, most of these are relatively unworn; they still have pointed heads, looking remarkably like toadstools from the side. A few are not worn at all and are probably replacements. In one fused pair from DAC 78, one nail overlaps its partner and is possibly later. Another appears to have a double shank where the old head only was removed and a new hobnail hammered in beside the old shank.

There is some variation in size, with head diameters ranging from 4–9 mm, and length from 7–19 mm. The square-section shanks are about 2 mm thick. Length was measured as they are now with bent shanks, because this is how they were worn in the shoe. When the dimensions are plotted out there are no clusters; the shorter nails have smaller diameter heads, as in a normal distribution expected for hand-made nails. There is no evidence, therefore, for different sized nails that might indicate different shoes. A survey of (almost) complete hobnailed shoes (TABLE 19) shows that the average had only sixty-seven hobnails: at 149 nails the shoes from Folly Lane would have have been abnormally large. It is likely, therefore, that at least two pairs of footwear are represented here, relatively unworn, though not new. The presence of shoes in the grave is another example of Roman influence, as hobnails rarely occur in pre-Conquest contexts.

TABLE 19. NUMBER OF HOBNAILS PER SHOE

Site	Number per shoe	Reference
Folly Lane	146	
Coventina's Well	68	Allason-Jones and McKay 1985, 37
York	82	MacGregor 1978, fig. 27
	47	
	25	
	5	
	60	
Mainz	49	Bishop and Coulston 1993, fig. 61
Valkenburg	124	Bishop and Coulston 1993, fig. 61
Velsen	98	Bishop and Coulston 1993, fig. 61
Lankhills	90	Clarke 1979, fig. 39
	91	