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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Archaeology

Volume 1 of 1

**The Past in the Past: Patterns of Interaction with Prehistoric Landscape Features in Late
Iron Age and Roman Britain.**

By

ANDREW JAMES SPENCER

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

April 2016

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

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THE PAST IN THE PAST: PATTERNS OF INTERACTION WITH PREHISTORIC LANDSCAPE FEATURES IN LATE IRON AGE AND ROMAN BRITAIN

Andrew James Spencer

With the beginning of Roman influence over Britain in the late Iron Age, and direct political and administrative control from A.D. 43 onwards, Britain underwent dramatic transformations in both social structures and ideologies. The remains of prehistoric constructions in the landscape may have been an integral part of these transformations, used as anchors of stability in a rapidly changing and expanding world. Over the past two decades, there have been a number of publications which have highlighted the ways in which later interactions with certain prehistoric funerary sites could be linked with a sense of respect or reverence of the past, focusing on the way in which later interactions could be used to manipulate the perceptions of a society in order to achieve certain goals, such as legitimising inequalities between certain social groupings. A group of studies, presented as papers to the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference in Leicester in 2003, discussed aspects of ephemeral and experienced landscapes and the roles which prehistoric monuments may have assumed during the late Iron Age and Roman periods. This research attempts to build upon those papers and looks at the evidence for later interactions with prehistoric monuments, or earthworks, during the period in which Mediterranean-centred material culture influenced the development of the landscape and social structures in the British Isles. It correlates a sample of the archaeological evidence regarding the repurposing of both singular features and wider landscapes from the end of the 2nd century BC, through to the beginning of the 5th century AD, in order to establish if any significant patterns of interaction can be ascertained.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Andrew James Spencer

Declare that the thesis entitled

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and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

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- Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
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- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
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- None of this work has been published before submission

Signed:

Date:

Acknowledgements

I am heartily thankful to my supervisor, Dr Joshua Pollard, whose encouragement, guidance and support from the initial to the final stages enabled me to develop a deeper understanding of the subject. I also acknowledge that with the oversight of Dr Pollard, editorial advice has been sought. No changes of intellectual content were made as a result of this advice. To Dr Mark Gillings, for his continued support and encouragement. To the curators of the online resources used for the production of this thesis that provided me with many details which would have otherwise been unobtainable.

I am also thankful to those officers of the Essex, Gloucestershire and South Gloucestershire heritage environment records, who were willing to provide access to data and details or clarifications of data where required. I would also like to thank the support staffs of both Bristol University, and subsequently Southampton University who were always willing and able to provide administrative help or clarification when required.

Lastly, I offer my regards and blessings to all of those who supported me in any other respect during the completion of the project.

Andrew James Spencer

Chapter 1: Interacting with Prehistory: An Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Communities, by their very nature, are formed on the basis of a set of shared values and ideals; ideals which are often expressed by marking the landscape in some way with a visible expression of them, which also serves to formalise communal space and rationalise the acceptance of contemporary social norms (Tilley, 1994; Whittle, 1994, 164). This research seeks to determine what happens to those markers long after those communities who constructed them, and their particular social and cosmological view of the world, have passed into obscurity. It examines how people in a much later time period may have perceived and interacted with what remained of the past, by looking in detail at a cross-section of prehistoric features and how they were recontextualised and incorporated into the landscape of social interactions and cultural paradigms that existed at a later point in time. No landscape or individual feature exists in a time vacuum, and whilst many prehistoric features would have been ploughed out or ignored, there could be many instances where they retained a visible presence for millennia and been the focus of a series of alterations, reflecting the changing ways in which objects were used as a medium of cultural expression.

There are many examples, even in prehistory, where places of significance underwent changes in perception and definition (Bradley, 2002). As Garrow (2009, 216) noted, landscapes, and the features that lie within them, are not static but constantly in transition. New perceptions may have altered the way in which episodic memory and culturally transmitted narratives were envisioned. Monumental examples are especially prone to episodic changes in perception. Whilst rooted in the cultural or social paradigms prevalent at the time they were constructed, they are in actuality, built with an inherent triple chronological trajectory. They not only represent ancestral connections but are statements of current temporal power and projections of these statements to future generations that may append them (ibid.). However, when definitive proof of original purpose is lacking and interpretation is the sole arbiter, these future statements can be as

diverse as in the case of Stonehenge, for example, a druidic temple, a place of healing, an equinox calendar, and a place of worship or a structure of reverence for the dead, dependent on the viewpoint of the observer.

Excavation data has, over time, revealed wide-spread practices of interaction in later periods with landscape features that were originally associated with prehistoric settlement or monumental constructions. With the beginning of Roman influence over Britain in the late Iron Age, and direct political and administrative control from AD 43 onwards, Britain underwent a transformation. The social structure, which in the very late Iron Age was gradually changing due to internal pressures and increasing trade contact with the Mediterranean world from a tribal base with disparate communities, was, in the decades following the conquest, exposed to a more rapid pace of change towards an overarching political framework, designed to draw communities into a much larger world (Creighton, 2006, 157). This pace of change was not constant through the entire island. The landscape in southern Britain, for example, was the object of previously unprecedented levels of economic exploitation, coupled with settlement nucleation urbanisation and development based on Mediterranean influenced cultural imperatives and technologies (Creighton, 2006; Millett, 1990). However, the effects of these changes evolve and diversify, occurring at a more sedate pace the further west or north from the southern coast of England a community is based, in an almost rippling effect over a greater timescale, if they occur at all, for example, in the Welsh Marches (Wigley, 2007, 173–89), or the Trent Valley (Knight, 2007, 190–219).

Are the remnants of prehistoric activity in the landscape significant: in some way informing interactions that occurred in late Iron Age and Roman periods? Is there any evidence of how features were interacted with? Would the examination of a series of landscapes bring to light any perceivable patterns of interaction?

1.2. Aims and Objectives

Is it possible to establish how people may have understood, displayed or ignored their connections with prehistoric remains, during the late Iron Age and Roman periods in Britain? By examining a series of landscapes in Britain, where prehistoric activity is known to have taken place, can it be determined whether:

- i) The remains of prehistoric activity were a significant factor that in some way, informed interactions occurring in the landscape during the late Iron Age and Roman periods?
- ii) There are any perceivable patterns of interaction?
- iii) There are any specific geographical or chronological factors influencing subsequent interactions, or any potential connections between interactions and significant social or political events?

In order to achieve these aims, the following objectives are pursued:

- i) The examination of published material regarding interactions with prehistoric features in much later time periods in order to establish the current body of available knowledge on the subject.
- ii) Creation of a robust methodological process to collate and examine data.
- iii) Creation of a hypothesis as a framework for data comparison.
- iv) In order to alleviate any problems that could arise due to the use of data sets from both modern and antiquarian or amateur excavations, the disparate data sets will be presented in a way which will highlight any anomalies in the datasets and remove any potential bias which could result from statistical weighting being given to a landscape feature based on modern terminologies; terminologies that would be irrelevant to those who were interacting with the landscapes during the research period.

- v) Where appropriate, a reinterpretation of the conclusions reached in older excavation reports due to the advancement of archaeological techniques and theories since they were initially published.

It is difficult, without the benefit of contemporary documentation, to ascertain how individuals or social groupings in the past may have perceived the visible alterations to the landscape of previous societies. The remnants of prehistory that existed during any prehistoric or historic period, whether they are linked with perceptual meanings or not, are an excellent place to begin the process of understanding how an individual or a social grouping, who may have interacted with those remains, defined themselves. Any aspect of material culture which is created in one period and then recontextualised to another set of cultural imperatives, provides a fascinating insight into the active use of material culture as a whole, and changing social attitudes in particular (Eckardt, 2004, 36). Episodes of later interaction, be they cosmologically or practically based, would have engendered new narrative connections in the social landscape of those who used them. Even in prehistory, places of monumental significance underwent changes in cultural perception and definition, which would have altered the way in which episodic memory and culturally transmitted narratives concerning them were envisioned.

This research looks at late Iron Age and Roman Britain from a somewhat unusual angle. There are, for example, a plethora of publications that deal with Roman settlement, governance, the military, and the history of the empire, but there has, as yet, been minimal drive to understand if any patterns of interaction exist where rural Romano-British communities are referencing the physical remains of the past in their particular temporal landscape, or to what degree these interactions influenced other aspects of society at the time. Works by researchers such as Mattingly (1997, 2006), Barrett (1997), Woolf (1992, 1995), and Webster (1996), have all called into question the single aspirational social trajectory Romanisation theory, arguing that not everyone would have been a willing or an enthusiastic participant in the process of diffusion of Roman material culture throughout Britain. The largest percentage of the population would have consisted of those already emplaced in the landscape, who would have had a plethora of different

social imperatives and reactions to the introduction of newer forms of material culture, forming individualistic, cultural hybrids. Their hybrid status may, in part, have been based upon important connections with their past, centred on specific visible locations in their temporal landscape (Campbell, 1995, 37–41), and partially reflective of a desire to control or manipulate space (Jones, 2013, 62).

The research attempts to collate a broad range of interpretive frameworks into a single, explanative model. The examination of data, under a hybrid interpretive framework and an understanding of any patterns of later interaction, could prove susceptible to adaptation for further research into other situations, where disparate cultural models and cultural templates were co-existing, providing an example of how to achieve meaningful, interpretive parameters when a hybrid framework is required. Hybridity is often ignored and by creating a sufficiently robust methodology, the multi-faceted nature of the different periods and cultural interactions will be highlighted.

The research also provides an opportunity to re-examine conclusions in excavation reports that may no longer be relevant. Excavation reports, especially older reports produced under tight, commercial deadlines, may include interpretations of evidence subsequently disproven, or evidence presented in a manner not always appropriate to the data recovered. Antiquarian excavations especially can be enhanced by applying a more modern perspective. Fresh interpretations on already published works should not be viewed as a condemnation of the way in which the evidence was disseminated originally, but rather as an opportunity to apply derived methodologies of interpretation to any evidence uncovered. Subsequent interpretations could therefore be enhanced by being less generalised, and more thoughtfully appropriate to the individual site under scrutiny and its wider landscape.

1.3. Previous Studies/Literature Review

The amount of material available which discusses expressions of identity and the way in which remnants of the prehistoric past were viewed during the late Iron Age and throughout the Roman period in Britain is limited. What follows is a discussion of the literature that is available and a selection of other works relevant to some of the primary concepts and themes included in the research, presented thematically not alphabetically. It gives a list of publications whose relevance is then discussed. Only the author(s), date and title of the volume or paper are presented here with a fuller notation provided in the bibliography.

1.3.1. Discussions involving interactions with prehistoric monumentality in the late Iron Age and Roman periods

- Bradley, R. 2000. Vera Collum and the excavation of a 'Roman' megalithic tomb
- Dark, K.R. 1993. Roman period activity at prehistoric ritual monuments in Britain and in the Armorican peninsula
- Eckardt, H. 2004. Remembering and forgetting in the Roman provinces.
- Esmonde-Cleary, S. 2000. Putting the dead in their place: burial location in Roman Britain
- Gosden, C. and Lock G. 1998. Prehistoric histories
- Launaro, A. 2004. Experienced landscapes through intentional sources
- Meade, J. 2004. Prehistoric landscapes of the Ouse valley and their use in the late Iron Age and Romano-British period.
- Vermeulen, F and Bourgeois, J. 2000. Continuity of prehistoric burial sites in the landscape of Sandy Flanders
- Williams, H. 2004. Ephemeral monuments and social memory in early Roman Britain

A series of papers presented at the TRAC conference in 2003 (Croxford, et al., 2004), discussed aspects of ephemeral and experienced landscapes and the roles which prehistoric monuments may have assumed during the late Iron Age and Roman periods.

Eckardt (2004), talked about the histories of objects and monuments and they way in which they could be used as manipulation devices for social memories, the efficacy of the term 'reuse' and the need for a more heterogeneous, multi-disciplinary approach to the material remains of the past in the Roman period. Chadwick's (2004) paper centred on the unwritten history of the Romano-British countryside, discussing the inherent bias seen in the written accounts of the period and the fallacy of extensive concentration on certain focused aspects of Roman Britain, to the exclusion of all other lines of investigation. He noted that villa estates, the road network, elite status and a coin based economy do not provide a whole, or rounded, picture of Roman life, especially in areas not subjected to massive cultural change. Launaro's (2004) central theme was the intentional experience of a landscape, discussing the spatial aspects of human interactions, what could be constituted as the economic role in the individual's perception of their personal landscape and the usefulness of written accounts which give subjective views on the past.

Meade's (2004) paper discussed the prehistoric landscape of the Ouse valley and subsequent interactions with this landscape during the late Iron Age and Romano-British period. The paper was concerned with issues of social groupings and interaction with examples of prehistoric monumentality. It concluded that interactions are not monocausal but are multilayered, complex and based on three factors: intent, visible indicators and memory associations (Meade, 2004, 86). These factors are important but they fail to take into consideration that the evidence of past interaction in any landscape may not be visible, having been erased. Meade acknowledges that many examples of prehistoric monumentality may have been ploughed out, destroyed or disregarded in the early Roman period (Meade, 2004, 79–81), but those that survived could have seen continuous narratives of interaction. Later interactions however, may not be intentional; some may be coincidental. Meade (2004), also observed that interactions could be either functional or symbolic. These categorisations, along with other observations concerning visibility: the identification of intentional and meaningful interactions and retained memories of significance, form a significant portion of the theoretical basis behind these discussions. Dark (1993) discusses the way in which the remains of prehistoric monumentality were

interacted with during the Roman period in Britain and Armorica. Bradley (2000) discusses discoveries made when Vera Collum excavated a megalithic tomb at Tressé in Brittany. Williams (2004) discussed ephemeral monuments and social memory in early Roman Britain with regards to the construction of temporary, funerary monuments and the mnemonic strategies behind impressive cremation rituals observed during the late Iron Age and Roman periods. Esmonde-Cleary (2000, 127–42) discusses a broad range of locations where the deceased were interred in Roman Britain. Gosden and Lock (1998, 2–12) discuss distinctions between genealogical and mythical histories, with particular reference to the landscape around the White Horse figure at Uffington. Finally, Vermeulen and Bourgeois (2000) examine whether the presence of prehistoric grave sites played any role in the selection of burial sites in Flanders during the Roman period.

1.3.2. Perceptions of time

Adam, B. 1994. Perceptions of time

Lucas, G. 2005. The Archaeology of Time

Gibson, C.D. 2013. Out of time but not out of place. Tempo, rhythm and dynamics of inhabitation in southern England

Adam (1994), examines the concept of other time and seeks to explain how it may be possible to extricate yourself from a modern concept of time to look at a landscape through the eyes of those who can only be studied anthropologically. This article can be used to understand how someone who has no idea how, or why, a particular landscape feature was constructed, can incorporate it into their own frame of reference. Lucas, (2005), looks at issues of chronology, dating and the perception of time and time as a theoretical concept. Gibson's (2013) paper builds a number of development led excavations into a discussion of multi-layered, multi-temporal landscapes, arguing in essence, that breaking the evidence of the past into a linear and diachronic time-scheme straitjackets multi-period landscapes, ignoring any connecting threads between them and interrupting the flow of an otherwise continuous process.

1.3.3. Adaption of monuments

Bradley, R. 1998. *The Significance of Monuments: on the Shaping of Human Experience in Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe*

Bradley, R. 2002. *The Past in Prehistoric Societies*

These publications concern methodologies used to interpret the change and adaption of monuments from a prehistoric perspective. Bradley (1998), looks firstly at the importance of monuments and their creation and goes on to discuss a series of case studies, examining how monuments may have been changed and reinterpreted by later societies. Bradley (2002), is concerned with how the remains of monumentality in the landscape can be invested with new meanings by cultural groups who retain no memory of their original significance.

1.3.4. Discrepant experience of materials and identities

Barrett, J.C. 1997. *Romanisation: a critical moment*

Dark, K. 2000. *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire*

Mattingly, D. 2006. *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC–AD 409*

Woolf, G. 1992. *The unity and diversity of Romanisation*

Woolf, G. 1995. *The formation of Roman provincial cultures*

These publications are useful collectively. They provide insights into the life of the ordinary person in Britain during the Roman period and discuss episodes of turmoil which could be extrapolated in order to ascertain how perspectives may have altered over time concerning the remains of prehistory. Dark (2000), undertakes a reinterpretation of the archaeology from Britain from the period AD 400–600, looking at a diverse range of evidence from the final occupation of villas to the use and relevance of towns and the use of hillforts. Woolf (1992, 1995), Barrett (1997) and Mattingly (2006), all question the theory that there is a single, aspirational goal and that all individuals are trying to define

themselves as somehow Roman. Instead, they argue, there were a multitude of possible Roman identities based on the discrepant experience of materials.

1.3.5. Repurposing of monuments

Semple, S. 2013. Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England: Religion, Ritual and Rulership in the Landscape.

Williams, H.M.R. 1997. Ancient landscapes and the dead: the re-use of prehistoric and Roman Monuments as Early Anglo-Saxon burial sites

Williams, H.M.R. 1998a. Monuments and the past in early Anglo-Saxon England

Whilst they do not specifically deal with the Iron Age or Roman periods these papers and publications look at practices such as the reuse of Roman and prehistoric monumentality for the construction and negotiation of myths, identities and social structures. Williams observes that there are patterns of continuity in memory, significance and meaning, underlying the way in which northern European and Scandinavian funerary rituals made use of places of past significance (Williams, 1998a, 90–108). This observation can be incorporated into a useful working hypothesis. Semple's (2013) work builds upon a large body of evidence regarding Anglo-Saxon use of prehistoric monumentality from a variety of perspectives published since 2003, examining diverse topics such as funerary and non-funerary repurposing, geographical diversity, possible Christian perspectives, assembly and judicial execution.

1.3.6. Data format

Smith, A. 2001. The Differential use of Constructed Space in Southern Britain from the Late Iron Age to the 4th Century AD

Smith's work focuses on the way in which temples were viewed and interacted with throughout the Roman period in Britain. The way in which it is presented has been extrapolated for the site specific data format.

1.3.7. *Memory*

Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*

Jones, A.M. 2013. *Memory myth, place and landscape inhabitation: a perspective from the south-west peninsula*

Thomas, J. 2013. *Mounds, memories and myths: ancient monuments and place in the Leicestershire landscape*

Connerton's (1989) work looks at how an individual or society chooses to remember. He argues that memory, in prehistoric terms, is often facilitated by what he calls ritual performances. Jones (2013), considers, from a purely prehistoric perspective, how memories of past actions associated with certain types of places could have embedded themselves into daily routines. Looking at evidence from modern day Devon and Cornwall, the paper argues that practices of deposition could become indistinct, cross-cutting through activity types and feature types, where, for example, distinctions between midden mounds and barrows would become blurred over time (Jones, 2013, 71). It was also noted that social memory could be of use in times of changing circumstances because when faced with new ways of interacting with a landscape, ingrained patterns of understanding would surface (ibid.). Thomas (2013), uses a number of case studies from excavations in Leicestershire with evidence of prehistoric and Roman period interactions targeting barrows: noting that any renewed significance meant that a communal memory of their original function must have survived. The paper also notes that monuments were important to the maintenance of social memories and mythologies and also helped communities understand their place in the world (Thomas, 2013, 95).

Chapter 2: Methodology/Approaches

2.1. Moving toward a methodology: Theoretical Considerations

In order to fulfil the primary aims of this research, it is essential to create a framework of theoretical considerations to aid in the development of a consistent methodology in order to analyse collated data and to construct a hypothesis, against which the data can be tested. The following discussion notes those considerations which are paramount in the thought process that determines how the data is collated, structured and disseminated.

2.1.1. Intentionality and purposeful interaction

The reasons why any individual or community would deliberately interact with examples of prehistoric earthworks, in the late Iron Age or Roman periods, including them as part of their contemporary social, practical, votive or ritual requirements, are complex. The values of individuals and communities, may have articulated a myriad of cultural responses to the spaces they interacted with: some practically based, others cosmologically based or a complex mixture (Woolf, 1992, 1995; Mattingly, 2006, 472–87, 520). In order for a prehistoric landscape feature to be considered a significant factor in any interaction, the interaction must be - whatever form it takes - intentional and purposeful, creating a tangible relationship between the contemporary individual or community and that feature or landscape. If the interaction is random and meaningless, then there is, by definition, no tangible relationship between that interaction and any perception of significance placed upon the object by an individual or social grouping that performs it (Vermeulen and Bourgeois, 2000; Hingley, 1996; Knapp and Ashmore, 1999).

The problem is, how to determine if the available archaeological information shows that any prehistoric feature has somehow been re-inscribed with some kind of contemporary significance. This can be achieved by examining artefact and ecofact distribution, stratigraphic and spatial relationships and the contemporary visibility and

inter-visibility of the feature, in order to determine what type of interaction is taking place and the intent behind it. It is possible, given the extent of the time period covered by this research, that landscapes, or individual features within them, will have been subjected to multiple layers of activity and any changes will need to be noted along with what these alterations in perception or activity may indicate. If significant changes in patterns of interaction occur in relation to, for example, a particular type of landscape or prehistoric feature or are chronologically similar, it may be possible to relate the changes to wider socio-political occurrences, which could feed back into previously observed changes in patterns of elite expression.

2.1.2. Types of interaction

Possible examples of interactions with prehistoric features are myriad and could include: deliberate placement of offerings, refurbishment for defensive purposes, construction of a small temple, burying the dead in proximity or using the feature as a boundary marker. Interactions can be functional or symbolic, divided into four sub-categories: reuse/repurposing, disregard, continuity and respect. These categorisations are based upon Williams' (1997, 1998a) examination of monumental repurposing in the early medieval period, Bradley's (1987) examination of the continuity of ritual use in prehistory, Dark's (1993) study of Roman activity in the Armorican peninsula, the evidence from Tressé excavations in 1931 (Bradley, 2000) and the examination of conceptualised landscapes by Knapp and Ashmore (1999). With a slight adjustment in definition the categorisations can also be applied in situations where there is settlement or subsistence activity in addition to features or landscapes of monumental significance.

i) Disregard

This category of interaction (or non-interaction) occurs when prehistoric features or landscapes are considered to display no evidence of any intentional or purposeful activity referencing them during the research period. They may have been built upon, cut into or

destroyed by ploughing, destroyed by the construction of dwellings, trackways, roads or enclosure systems or simply ignored.

ii) Continuity

This occurs when the activity associated with the original construction of a feature can be shown to have taken place continuously. This type of interaction is difficult to substantiate. Whilst it may be possible to identify that a certain activity, for example, funerary rites, may have taken place which correlate with the suspected original purpose behind a particular type of prehistoric construction (i.e. a barrow), it is unlikely that the same social or ritual motivations lie behind the later interaction, given that they occur in a much later time period with a very different set of cultural imperatives.

iii) Respect

This occurs when landscapes or features are left untouched by later activity. Instead of being ignored or destroyed, the feature or landscape is maintained in its current form, for example, a series of pits used as a boundary marker is actively preserved due to an actual, or created, sense of ancestral connection or the layout of a field system which abuts, but does not intersect, a barrow feature.

iv) Repurposing

This occurs when sites or features are the subject of a singular, or series of, activities that intentionally or purposefully seek to use the feature or the current perceptions of it, as an important component. The way the feature is interacted with does not necessarily correlate with its original suspected purpose.

These four categories of interaction can also be interwoven with two other factors identified by Meade (2004), Hingley (1996) and Knapp and Ashmore (1999) as

requirements for meaningful and intentional interaction, visible presence and a memory of significance.

2.1.3. The importance of presence, visibility and inter-visibility in determining the categorisation of interactions and their significance

The visible presence of a prehistoric feature, or at least those constituent parts of it which may have survived the centuries since its construction, is one of the most crucial factors to take into account when considering its significance in any later interaction. In order for the object, whatever its origins or form may have been, to have played a major role in episodic, later interactions, there needs to be some visual frame of reference in the landscape: a mound, ditch or circle of stones, for example, to act as a physical tether to the past. Perceived connections with the past need not be provably factual; those that are constructed to conform to some kind of current cultural or social paradigm may be more potent than the surviving memories of older ritual activity. However, regardless of the validity of the perceived connections or their origins at the time the interaction took place, an element of landscape presence is the basis for intentional and purposeful interaction.

Visible presence, or the lack of it, could explain why a community living and working in proximity to two Bronze Age barrows might extensively reuse one for burials over a period of time whilst the other remains untouched. Essentially, when this community decided that they wanted to interact with a feature that they believed held certain venerative qualities, which they understood, however inaccurately, to have had some previous significance, the feature that had disappeared from view would not have been considered as a candidate simply because, as far as they were aware, there was only one example that existed, the other having being ploughed out or destroyed by natural processes. This requirement of visibility imposes a particular viewshed upon the landscape, like a time encapsulated snapshot of perception, where it is possible, by examination of the patterns of interaction, to discern the general topographical arrangement at any given point in time.

Barring the existence of a previously unknown, complex selection procedure based upon a range of socially constituted parameters, the simplest explanation for any decision taken to repurpose or to respect a particular landscape feature may be the most likely one: simply put, the feature has a physical presence in an individual or in a community's current visual frame of reference. However, this should probably not be regarded as an all encompassing paradigm. The visibility of any feature could be argued as just providing a focus, or starting point upon which any interaction could be based. The fact that these features may have also had a degree of ephemeral connection to those communities that were proximal to them and were in some way symbolic, used as individual or community encapsulations of memory, or expressions of a real or imagined past cultural memory, should not be disregarded but it may be the case that upon closer examination, symbolism and cultural memory are actually secondary considerations in any decision making process.

However, it should not just be assumed that just because, for example, a number of 3rd century AD and later burials are located within the spatial confines of a prehistoric feature, that the visibility or presence of this feature was in any way related to why the community chose to bury people there; the interaction may be coincidental and without intent. Rather than concluding that this particular interaction is one example of a standardised process, what the archaeology reveals is the key to any interpretation of individual interactions and the possible intentions behind them. There are, after all, a plethora of possible, distinctive expressions of communal and individual identity that any activity, in relation to a feature, could be expressing, based upon chronological parameters, geographical location or the variances of perception between different communities towards the physical spaces they occupy and interact with (Mattingly, 2006, 520).

Visibility of any landscape feature must be considered on two levels. In addition to a purely localised perspective of the communities who lived and worked in its proximity, it is important to consider the possible reaction from the perspective of those persons whose

lives were not intimately connected with them, whose associations occurred only when they were moving through a particular landscape, defining what they saw by their own experiences or perceptions as they moved past. This is a necessary consideration, as some interactions may be predicated on a desire to display the power or wealth of an individual or community to a wider, transient audience. The way in which some prehistoric features were interacted with may have been influenced, in part, by exposure to the broader frameworks of the culturally complex and diverse Roman world. Does, for example, Silbury Hill or Avebury become a more widely appreciated ritual location to travellers passing by after the construction of the road network?

The symbolic nature of any landscape feature is, in general, likely to be more potent to those communities living in relative proximity. A significant amount of personal or inherited memories or associations could have developed with those features interacted with, even in passing on a regular basis, emphasising not only their importance, but also their localised connectedness, creating zones of intimate knowledge and imbuing them with greater symbolic importance. Outside this zone of intimate knowledge, whilst a certain commonality of usage may be recognised by form, the spectrum of perception, concerning possible interactions, will always be limited to those which fall within the experience of the perceiver.

The landscape of Roman Britain was one purposefully designed with the rapid movement of trade goods or military forces in mind, designed to both tie distant areas of the province together and connect it with the wider empire, both physically and conceptually. Earlier in the Iron Age, with the potential for intertribal conflicts, the fortification of nodal points and the lack of a good road system, journeys over longer distances may have been much more time consuming. Petts (1998), suggested that the ability to travel rapidly from one place to another with little or no constraint enhanced the significance of inter-visibility between highly visible features that lay in proximity to the Roman road network. This network of roads, towns and fortifications not only served to remind those who used them that the landscape was controlled by the Roman Empire, but also to integrate places of local significance, making them visible to a wider population,

conceptually linking them with other, more distant places of ritual significance or power be they prehistoric or Roman constructions.

Petts (1998) noted, when studying Wiltshire, that the main Roman road from Bath to London passed close by Silbury Hill, the Sanctuary and Overton Hill barrows near Avebury. Similarly, Ackling Dyke, the main thoroughfare in Dorset, was aligned on Old Sarum and Bradbury Rings, the latter acting as a major road junction. The commonality between these features is their imposing physical presence: they can all be seen from some distance. Does this really, as Petts suggests, serve to integrate places of prehistoric power with Roman ones? It probably conceptually integrates these particular features with Roman towns but they are all significantly visible examples, somewhat unique in that they have a significant degree of inter-visibility with other features in the surrounding landscape. The construction of the road network probably ignored or destroyed many more examples of prehistoric features. The reason why these particular features were used in this manner could be a practical necessity rather than anything to do with cosmological significance. It is much easier to ascertain the projected course of a road over a long distance if you have a highly visible landmark to work towards, Silbury Hill, for example, or from which to survey the route of your planned road. However, past significance should not be discounted as a factor. Given the diversity of feature types but the similarity in visible prominence of these locations, it would perhaps be better to consider the inter-visibility of each individual feature from a localised perspective at the outset, incorporating them into a wider schematic further into the process of interpretation, allowing any regionally distinct patterns of interaction to emerge.

2.1.4. The importance of communally retained or communicated memories of significance or memories associated with a constructed past to later interactions with prehistoric features

How can you determine, or quantify, an ephemeral quality, such as memory, through the spatial and contextual arrangement of material culture and further, determine the extent to which the arrangement of objects represents either a retained awareness of significance or are a recontextualisation, based upon more contemporary interactions? Is there a way to

determine if interactions are occurring as a result of what Connerton (1989) defined as conscious performances or unconscious routines? Though problematical, the interpretation of relationships between episodic or reoccurring interactions and the temporal or physical space which they occupy is a crucial undertaking. Without the benefit of definitive and detailed records, it is the only way to ascertain if memories, associated with a particular feature or landscape, are a significant determinant in those interactions or not. If, for example, a number of 1st century AD artefacts are recovered from a discrete, sealed context within a Bronze Age ring ditch, is this the result of some communally retained awareness of the prior significance of the location, marking it as a special place? Is it an interaction based solely upon the more immediate, contemporary requirements of the individuals making the deposit? Is this a random interaction, unrelated to the previous significance of the feature? Is there an awareness of past significance, or a constructed significance suggested by the artefact typology or location of the deposit?

A number of studies have been carried out examining how communities remember or forget, for example, Eckardt (2004), Hope (2003), Connerton (1989) and Forty (1999). Connerton (1989), concluded that the collective recollection of any social grouping is generally not based on certainty, rather on community interest, and the way in which a memory can profit a group or legitimise it. Van Dyke and Alcock (2003), also noted that people often interpret the distant past to serve the needs of the present. Take, for example, Dietler's (1998) discussion of the monumentalisation of Alesia by Napoleon III in 1860, which played a central role in the process of creating a distinct Gallic identity, begun in 1789. By commemorating the destruction of Gaulish resistance at the siege in AD 52, the defeat was portrayed as an example of the triumph of Roman civilisation over barbarism, used to legitimise French colonial expansion and as a lightning rod for emotionally charged anti-German sentiment.

On a lesser scale, the communally profitable memories of smaller rural communities are generally retained via communications based on observations or first-hand accounts, combined with mutual familiarity and the retelling of narrative histories (Connerton,

1989, 17). The more sedentary the community, the more likely it is to have a sense of ancestral connection or localised mappings of thought to the material spaces that collective thought occupies, articulating communal memory through visible objects in a space which provides a sense of permanence and stability (Connerton, 1989, 37). The features may be thought of, for example, as the reminders of ancestral territorial rights (Johnston, 2001, 2005), becoming an almost subliminal representation of an individual's or social group's past associations with the landscape: a conceptual, as well as a physical object or boundary, or in the case of prominent monumental features, possibly envisaged as liminal places where supernatural beings dwelt (Bradley, 1987; Tilley, 1996; 161–62). These representations should never be considered as static or unchangeable, rather they are mutable and evolving (Van Dyke and Alcock, 2003, 2), especially in periods where new objects or perceptions are being introduced. Locations and the long-held perceptions or memories associated with them, are frequently changed when they are exposed to a range of new ideas or cultural symbols which are embraced, adopted or discarded (Miller, 1994, 397). Activities upon landscape object, or a lack of them need to be considered in terms of Halbwachs' (1992) essay, which argued that, rather than preserved essences, collective memories are often reconstructed, based upon present circumstances; where the use of the past is frequently not perceived in an objective manner, but in a way that conforms with the predominant, current, cultural paradigm.

As Eckardt (2004, 37) noted, how these memories or objects are manipulated, or their actualisation, is complex. The previous significance of the feature may have been highlighted; it may have been forgotten and a constructed significance imposed. Perceptions of significance may have been, in some, way deliberately manipulated. These are just three examples of the way in which the actualisation could occur. The final manifestation will, of course, vary greatly from object to object dependent on the requirements of specific, personal or communal agendas, but the interactions themselves will be quite revealing about the perceptions of significance the object held at the time they occurred. After examining a variety of prehistoric locations from a Roman perspective, such as the votive wells nears Silbury Hill (Brooke and Cunnington, 1896; Brooke, 1910) and the Oakley Down barrow cemetery (Crawford and Keiller, 1928),

Ekardt (2004, 41), concluded that in Roman Britain, interactions with prehistoric features or objects tended to focus upon those associated with the distant past rather than immediate past, as this avoided any possible indication of resistance to Roman rule. Thomas (2013), took a similar tack, examining evidence from Cossington and Eye Kettleby in Leicestershire, noting that the evidence from round barrows suggested they were important, not only to those communities who constructed them, but also to all those who interacted with them over time. However, any discussion concerning how communities would have been able to ascertain the relative antiquity of any feature is curiously absent from these studies, as is any consideration that a hiatus in activity could have caused a break in long-term memory associations. Re-engagement with the features in question, some considerable time later, is more likely to be predicated on a completely constructed, rather than an actual, appreciation of their function. Perhaps it is simply the case that when the original purpose behind creation of the landscape object is likely to have been forgotten, it makes it a more malleable object, allowing for a greater diversity of expression to occur through it. There are two ways in which memories of significance, be they real or constructed, can manifest themselves through physical objects:

i) Inscribing practices

Inscribing practices are defined as actions that transmit social or cultural knowledge from person to person through an external storage or artificial memory system. It is a textual or visual aspect of remembering where a memory is recorded, becomes passive, is held or trapped within an object and is communicated via that object (Connerton, 1989; Lucas, 2005). The type of object or the materials that could comprise it are variable. An archaeological textbook which describes in detail how to conduct an excavation, Trajan's Column, the stones and the landscape surrounding Avebury, or a cave painting depicting a hunting scene, are examples of inscribed memory transmitters. The message which this static object may be trying to convey may not always be fully understood; it is, after all, much easier to ascertain the precise message an author wishes to convey, via his or her written text, than to ascertain the social status and relative power relationships conveyed by a large concentration of standing stones, not just because of the medium of

transmission, but because of the lack of comprehensive knowledge regarding the contemporary, social organisations or other factors that gave rise to its creation.

ii) Incorporating practices

Incorporating practices, on the other hand, are the practical aspects of memory transmission. They are the archaeological field school that teaches excavation techniques, the tricks of stalking deer imparted to the novice by the experienced hunter. In terms of this research, they occur when the object is an active participant in ritual practices and memories of significance, passed from generation to generation, are communicated through repeated ritual acts. Niblett (1999; 2000), for example, uncovered a complex sequence of funerary chambers and pyres dating from the 1st century AD and despite the lack of a physical visible reference, the fact that cremations were carried out at a specific location was remembered by the local inhabitants who, in the later Roman period, constructed a temple at the ritual site. This correlates with what Forcey (1998) noted, regarding the locations of a number of Romano-Celtic temples that subsequently became the focus of mortuary cults of remembrance. It should be noted that burial rites are not only part of a process of remembrance; they are also a component in a strategy of forgetting. By concentrating on promoting selective aspects of the deceased's identity, they can be portrayed in death in a manner which, few who knew them, would connect with their actual personality or identity.

Taking into consideration the above points, the assertion that memory is an important factor in the determination of significance relating to intentional interactions would seem to be substantively correct. Without any attachment, be it real or imagined, to a particular location, to what extent can any interaction be considered significant, intentional or purposeful? The perceived presence memory attachment will greatly depend on what the interaction is, or the purpose behind it. Building a road through a Bronze Age barrow is quite a significant interaction with a specific purpose, but this has no overt or even underlying intention of engagement with the past. The use of an object as a means of identity creation or retention, such as the construction of a temple at a previously

significant location, is quite different; it implies that, somehow, a memory of that significance survived, either through a distorted medium like verbal transmission or simply through the presence of a visual aspect. Whether or not this interaction is an attempt to manipulate memory, there is still a process of engagement taking place. The importance of memory also ties in with Gosden and Lock's (1998, 2–12) thoughts regarding genealogical and mythical history pertaining to the continued resurfacing of the White Horse figure at Uffington. Their reasoning, that a precise genealogical reference passed down from the early Bronze Age may be the base reference for interactions that are taking place at a location centuries later (Gosden and Lock, 1998, 8), may be correct. However, it may prove, upon closer examination, that there is quite a distinctive difference between the impetus behind a direct and knowledgeable appreciation of the original, communal decision to create and maintain a distinctive hilltop figure and what could be thought of as possibly rote interaction, based upon a wholly created sense of contemporary, mythological significance, carried out by a community where there is no absolute certainty of a generational connection with the original creators of the figure many centuries later; a community which is also operating under a quite different set of cultural imperatives.

2.1.5. Artefact/ecofact distribution and stratigraphic relationships

How can it be determined if an interaction taking place at any given location is intentionally referencing any real or constructed significance ascribed to prehistoric features? Artefact and ecofact distributions, and how they are interpreted, are one of the most important factors to consider when undertaking any site or inter-site analysis which attempts to categorise interactions and ascertain if communal memory is a factor. The distribution of objects and their relationship to each other allows you to determine, as per Schofield (1991), for example:

- i) Zones of activity.
- ii) Patterns of behaviour and ultimately, the cultural and ideological basis which forms them.

- iii) Recurring patterns of interaction or behaviour between individual sites or landscapes.
- iv) A chronological picture or set of references for interactions taking place with any feature.
- v) The construction of a contemporary viewshed of the landscape by assessing the relationships between features with differing chronological references (along with stratigraphy).

It is important to understand, not only the diagnostic qualities of the material recovered from any feature, its point of origin, manufacturing process, lifecycle or the more subtle, social aspects of its status in a particular cultural idiom, but also the process involved with its deposition or later dispersion. The type of process involved or the manner in which objects are deposited can be used to understand the level of direct engagement between the depositional act and any subsequent disturbance(s) of the feature within which the material is contained or overlays (i.e. Barker 1993, 16–35). Processes or types of deposit can be classed as primary, secondary, tertiary or post-depositional.

Extrapolating upon the definitions of primary and secondary contexts from Darvill (2002), primary and secondary deposits are defined as being created as a result of the disposal of objects during the use of a location for specific purposes. Primary deposits are those deemed to have been left *in situ*, directly referencing the location of a particular feature; giving the best indications of specific areas of activity. Secondary deposits are defined as those which occur when material is moved to a pre-designated disposal area. Post-depositional processes, whether they stem from environmental, human or animal origins such as erosion, water flow, root action, trampling, scavenging or the acidity/alkalinity of the soil which destroys or disturbs the stratigraphy, are generally less useful in defining specific activity areas. A great deal of care must be taken when making an assessment of the impact of post-depositional processes when attempting to ascertain similarities or differences between patterns of use in any given site or landscape. However, where there is a high degree of post-depositional movement, the problems associated with defining the areas of activity or interaction can be somewhat alleviated,

as Hodder and Orton (1976) noted, by comparing artefact distributions on different sites or by comparing the distribution of similar objects on an inter-site level.

It is important to analyse not only the stratigraphic locations of finds but the spatial relationships between the feature they are recovered from and other contemporary features in the relative proximity, in order to give some indication of the functional characteristics of any given space. From a wider perspective, all features or contexts, whatever their purpose(s) are important, as analysing specific refuse disposal areas on settlement sites can, for example, provide useful information on overall site functions in addition to the stratigraphic relationship observed at their specific recovery point. The proper assessment or categorisation deposits also highlight the fact that the collation and the presentation of the available data needs to note not only the types of artefacts recovered from each context but also the type of process which created the deposit.

2.1.6. *Boundaries*

The distribution of artefacts and ecofacts can be used to establish zones of activity which occur in specific time periods in any given structure, site or landscape, allowing for distinctive patterns in spatial structuring between locations of differing character of form or function to be recognised. Studies by behavioural scientists, such as Watson (1970) and Hall (1963), show that the imposition of structure upon the space we inhabit is an instinctive mechanism and a vital component in the psychological well-being of humans. Hall (1963), further noted that from a behavioural standpoint, spatial structuring, or the creation of boundaries (or the compartmentalisation of the landscape), is an inherent part of non-verbal communication or proxemics, which can be further categorised as personal or territorial. Boundaries are not just physical markers; there is often a hidden or conceptual aspect to the separation of space which is intrinsically or even culturally linked with the physical manifestation. Though there may be a physical presence, a cultural boundary or taboo is more of a social concept centred upon objects of a particular cultural value which displays the elevated social status of those who possess them, as the

majority of the population are, whether by convention or law, prevented from using or possessing them.

i) Physical

Physical boundaries are easier to discern archaeologically. Pit alignments, stone walls, hedge rows, or ditches often, but not always, have a visible or residual evidence of their existence. Their function can be further defined by the diagnostic qualities of the artefacts and ecofacts recovered in relation to them. The spatial arrangement or boundary has a visible presence, but may, in part, be based on a conceptual behavioural response or be a visible indication of different social, cultural or functional spheres. The civil laws relating to trespass and the restricted public rights of way through private land are a complex modern example, where a gate in a fence line restricts access to the majority, but still provides an open avenue of access for council employees, postal services, emergency services or salesmen through the concept of invitation to treat.

ii) Conceptual

Conceptual boundaries occur when a spatial arrangement or boundary may have a physical aspect, but the physical aspect is a secondary consideration as the division of space relies upon cultural cues which influence or stimulate a certain behavioural response. This response may or may not be immediately apparent to those whose experiences lie outside of the particular culture in which those cues are inherent or ingrained. Examples of cultural cues which can be used to illustrate these behavioural responses, to reinforce specific social orders or to separate the sacred from the profane include:

- 1) Superstitions: considering it to be unlucky, for example, to enter a dwelling using the left foot.

- 2) Denial of access to sacred spaces to those who are not deemed to be of a specific social status or priestly caste, even in situations where the sacred space is external and widely visible.
- 3) Tribal boundaries, where no natural barrier of demarcation exists and affiliation is based on perceived identity.
- 4) Access to certain rooms within a public or a private building restricted to those of a certain social status.
- 5) Activities restricted to a designated room within a building or specific section of an open plan dwelling (where it would be theoretically possible to perform those activities elsewhere).
- 6) Male and female bath houses.

A discussion of spatial arrangements or boundaries may seem a peripheral inclusion but when dealing with the compartmentalisation of any landscape they are an important consideration: interactions could be confined, defined or limited by residual memory associations dictated in some way by an understanding of their presence.

2.1.7. Whole landscapes

The phrase ‘whole landscapes’ refers to the interconnectivity between individual features or separate, but closely related, sites. Whilst the creation of certain earthwork features or a particular interaction with a pre-existing landscape object may be site specific, there is often a reason behind that creation or interaction that may be non-localised in its derivation. Looking at any interaction from a wider perspective allows for any possible patterns of similarity to be highlighted and for networks of significance to be recognised, placing individual interactions into an overarching framework. The work of Bell (2000), in the intertidal region of the Severn Estuary, is an example of this approach, where part of the intertidal zone that stretched over 27km was investigated and recorded. Bell knew that any particular feature or scatter of artefacts uncovered by any archaeological excavation are not deposited, or constructed, within a site specific void. There are no pristine landscapes where each interaction could theoretically be viewed as separate. All

landscapes are complex, simultaneously horizontal and vertical jigsaw puzzles where activity has been taking place for thousands of years, where current cultural or symbolic paradigms are slotted into pre-existing perceptions of place and then subsequently adapted, adopted or ignored. Bell's work however, is just a starting point as it provides insufficient detail, the majority of the intertidal zone having been surveyed for its archaeological potential rather than fully excavated.

The importance of wider relationships can never be sufficiently stressed. Is it possible, for example, to fully appreciate the interactions at The White Horse near Uffington without considering the nearby hillfort or Rams Hill, less than a kilometre to the east? Gosden and Lock (1998, 8), whilst concentrating their arguments on The White Horse and its immediate landscape and the differences between what they call genealogical and mythical histories, also note that Uffington, Liddington and Segesbury were all constructed at the ends of linear ditches, leading from the downs northwards towards the ridgeline. Bradley et al., (1994, 141), concluded that these landscape markers post date the long and round barrows near Uffington and may have been the termini of territorial delineations. The methodology of the research must take into consideration the wider implications of each individual site and rather than concentrate on a series of individual excavations, take a more expansive approach by appreciating each site within its wider context.

2.1.8. Symbolism and identity

Any intentional interaction that deliberately references the remains of the prehistoric past during the late Iron Age and Roman periods may not have been simply functional and is likely to have included two additional components:

- i) The interaction will have been, in some way, symbolic. The prehistoric features are used as a communication tool, designed to convey or enhance a deeper meaning or message, anything from a terrestrial consideration where the message is conveyed to individuals participating in a ritual

observance, or appending the object in the present through to an ephemeral message conveyed to the gods, spirits or ancestors associated with the object or location.

- ii) The interaction will have formed part of a process of identity formation or retention. The feature is interacted with in a manner which seeks to include it within, or to use it as, a conduit to express or display a distinctive individual or communal identity.

Symbolic interactions include: religious veneration, respect for the dead, superstition, ritual resistance, elite legitimisation, ancestral cult foci or territorial indications (Bradley, 1998). Any culture, whatever form it takes, is in essence, a system of symbolic meanings expressed through objects or cultural artefacts, manipulated in multi-layered webs of significance (LeCron-Foster, 1994, 375). The significance of any artefact produced by that culture, or those it comes into contact with, derives from temporal and spatial relationships, individual or community perceptions of the artefacts and the type of interaction occurring. These relationships are never static but constantly fluctuating; they change when acted upon by other cultural artefacts, depending on the perceptions of those who appended them (LeCron-Foster, 1994, 370).

The way in which an object could have been contextualised (or re-contextualised) may have been as simple as its destruction, removing it entirely from the current landscape and from any possible future interaction. However, it could be multi-layered and complex, with a feature undergoing multiple, episodic re-contextualisation in order to incorporate it into a rapidly fluctuating process of identity formation and retention, whilst others witness only singular adjustments. Just as each and every individual has a different and unique life experience, creating their own mental model of the world they occupy and perceiving the world through their own lenses of instilled cultural values, holding different individual perceptions of the material culture they interact with and expressing those perceptions through a medium of communication, such as language (Derks, 1998, 19); each and every prehistoric feature or landscape would have its own trajectory of contextual influences. These multiple trajectories, stemming from the range of possible

interactions, is what Mattingly (1997, 2006) described as the discrepant experience of materials, a process whereby where individuals, who bring their own faculties of reason to the constitution of the objects of their observation (Kant, 1781), create a myriad of cultural identities through objects, be they artefacts of landscape or otherwise. This theory is similar to Barrett's (1997) assertion that the process of Romanisation had no single trajectory. The empire, he postulated, was the construct of a collection of human experiences. What it meant to be Roman was in constant flux, with each individual continuously redefining its meaning (assuming they realised that it was a distinctive identity rather than a contemporary means of acquiring power) based upon their own life experience. Barrett's (1997) and Mattingly's (2006) theories can be extrapolated with regards to prehistoric landscape features which would be ignored or interacted with, based on practical necessities or individual or communal requirements for identity expression.

Symbolism and identity are inextricably linked and cannot be separated. Intentional interactions, referencing prehistoric features, could be viewed as symbolic adjustments, driven by an individuals or communities seeking to express their perceived identities to local or wider audiences: identities which are formed initially when individuals are inculcated with the structures and strategies of their society (Petts, 1998, 80), but latterly, subjected to and affected by a number of external, communal or peer based influences. The symbolic nature potentially ascribed to prehistoric features could be used as part of this process, centring disparate or individualistic tendencies into a communal relationship based upon geography, cosmology and spatial arrangements. The construction and the subsequent interaction with prehistoric landscapes are considered to be heavily influenced by ritual factors. Is the landscape of late Iron Age and Roman Britain just as much a product of ritualisation as its prehistoric predecessors, rather than a purely methodological rational compartmentalisation of space? The multitude of gods and goddesses and their aspects, along with the inclusion of their associated rituals into the daily life of a non-monotheistic society, gives rise to the speculation that from a certain cosmological point of view, fundamental changes could have occurred dependant on how resistant, or compliant, individuals or communities were to the pace of change after the

Roman state took control. However, prehistoric features could still be used, assuming that the processes of urbanisation, construction of rapid transit systems or the expansion of agricultural production had not removed them from the landscape, as a means of negotiating identity, by maintaining an individual or a community's connection with the past. The sense of past connections to the feature need not be real; it could be an imagined or constructed one, where the feature is used as a focus for a process of identity formation, where an individual or community deliberately seeks to re-contextualise their identity using that feature as a cultural marker.

These could be two, simultaneously occurring processes. As noted in the essays of Halbwachs (1992), identity construction or retention is possibly based upon present circumstances alone where the past is frequently not perceived in an objective manner but in a way that conforms to the currently dominant cultural forms. Whether the sense of past connections to the feature is constructed or actual, it is still being manipulated through the spatial organisation of the landscape, in order to project a cultural or a social identity. The feature is, figuratively speaking, a living participle of the past, rather than an inconsequential, dead object, used as a means of active, cultural negotiation. What kind of identity are these interactions trying to convey? Revel (2009), based on Barrett (1997) and Woolf (1992, 1995), notes that, rather than a static ideal Roman-ness, identity is a fluid, ever changing discourse. Mattingly (2006), describes discrepant identities as army, urban and rural, but these are quite broad definitions. In addition to these categorisations, there could be individuals whose fluid identities were based upon a conscious desire to resist, adapt or adopt aspects of the material culture and opportunities which access to the Roman world provided them with and who referenced prehistoric features as active agents in negotiating their identities.

i) Resistive identities

The prehistoric feature becomes a symbol of resistance to the imposition of, what is considered by those who interact with it, an unjust judgement by authorities; the imposition of unpopular laws or excessive taxation, for example, or simply as an

indicator that they see themselves as still tribally affiliated after the imposition of Roman rule. The feature is used as a focus of opposition. In the case of identity formation, individuals or communities could seek to construct an identity based on opposition to the currently, dominant religious or political hierarchy.

ii) Adaptive identities

The symbolism associated with the prehistoric feature is adapted by individuals or communities to fall within currently, prevalent cultural or social norms. An element of connection with past significance of the feature or landscape is required in order for adaptive interactions to be considered as intentional. Essentially, the feature or landscape is being re-contextualised in a process of hybrid identity formation.

iii) Adoptive/assimilated identities

Here the symbolism associated with the prehistoric feature is wholly assimilated into a new social and cultural paradigm. In this instance, the original or perceived original significance of the feature is sublimated and replaced with a re-contextualised significance through a process of identity formation.

How do these identities manifest themselves through objects? Take, for example three barrows at widely dispersed locations. The individuals or communities that have the potential, due to ownership or proximity, to interact with them have very different attitudes or agendas. The first community or individual worships a particular pantheon of gods; their ideas of the afterlife and their spiritual identity, as they perceive it, are closely tied into a particular landscape or object. These are put in jeopardy with the rise of a state sponsored religion. Their response is to contextualise a location that is assumed by them to have had some significance in the past, somewhere that edicts, concerning the new forms of veneration, are unlikely to be enforced, or possibly, in a highly visible place that becomes a statement, a symbol, a focus of resistance or an expression of a desire to retain their previous, spiritual connections, inextricably linked with their perceived or

internalised sense of identity. The temples at Breen Down, Chanctonbury and Maiden Castle, for example, are constructed in the 4th century AD, possibly in direct opposition to the rise of Christianity (Smith, 2001, 190; 192; 202). The second individual or community takes a more passive approach. Their identity, as they perceive it, is still bound to a particular landscape object or form but they lack either the desire to resist or are ambivalent to any changes in the prevalent, cultural paradigm. When they, for example, seek to expand the agricultural production of their farm or settlement, the location they choose happens to contain one or more examples of a particular feature that holds a degree of significance or ancestral reverence for them. The object is important to them, so the process of setting out a new field system, or constructing a villa farmstead, is carried out in such a manner that leaves the object of veneration intact using it, for example, as a sighting point, or subtly references its form in the curve of the field system. In this instance, the landscape object or what remains of the original form, is being adapted into the new layout, the landscape equivalent of incorporating a local deity into the Roman pantheon by identifying commonalities in their aspects, creating a hybrid entity. The third individual or community has no desire to connect with, highlight, or reference, the past significance of the landscape object. In this instance, the landscape object is used as a means of displaying the power of the new, cultural paradigm or social order over that which has been swept aside. The desire is instead to create a new identity, or power relationship, that sublimates the previous significance of the object. A much later example of this phenomenon comes from shortly after the Norman Conquest, where places of Saxon power or religious veneration were violated. Montacute in Somerset is a prime example, where a castle was constructed as a deliberate insult to the previous order and as a display of power (Prior, 2006, 104).

Historians, such as Herodotus, Diodorus and Strabo, when they examined complex, cultural relationships in the ancient world, for example, those between Cyrenaicans and Libyans, defined ethnic identities based on relative proximity, calling some barbarians and others civilised, based on their geographical location rather than the way in which they conformed to any particular blanket, cultural paradigm (Marshall, 1998, 49–51). If the nature of ethnic, or common, identity was so mutable then what it meant to be

Greek, Barbarian, Roman or Celtic was have been constantly fluctuating, based upon a range of localised factors and external contacts, then any rigid definition of identity construction, based on the concept of the other in the ancient world, needs to be examined very closely. The symbolic nature of prehistoric features and their ability to be re-contextualised in a multiplicity of ways to enhance or project a desired individual or community identity, is a crucial element of the research methodology and hypothesis.

2.2. Methods and process of analysis

The next part of the discussion centres on how an extensive, detailed examination of the topic is to be achieved, how aspects of the research, such as site selection processes, chronological parameters and collation of data, are to be achieved in a manner which allows meaningful conclusions, regarding the research topic, to be presented. It should be noted that sections of the methodology were, in fact, part of a feedback loop. Whilst an initial perusal of the available literature on the research question highlighted a number of theoretical considerations, others such as an appreciation of different aspects of boundaries, for example, were not immediately apparent without completing the test data chapter further into the methodological process. What follows is a representation of the methodological process, including those aspects already discussed, such as the study aims and objectives, a discussion of the available literature and a discussion of relevant theory in the form of a flow chart, followed by a discussion of the remainder of its components (Fig. 2.1).

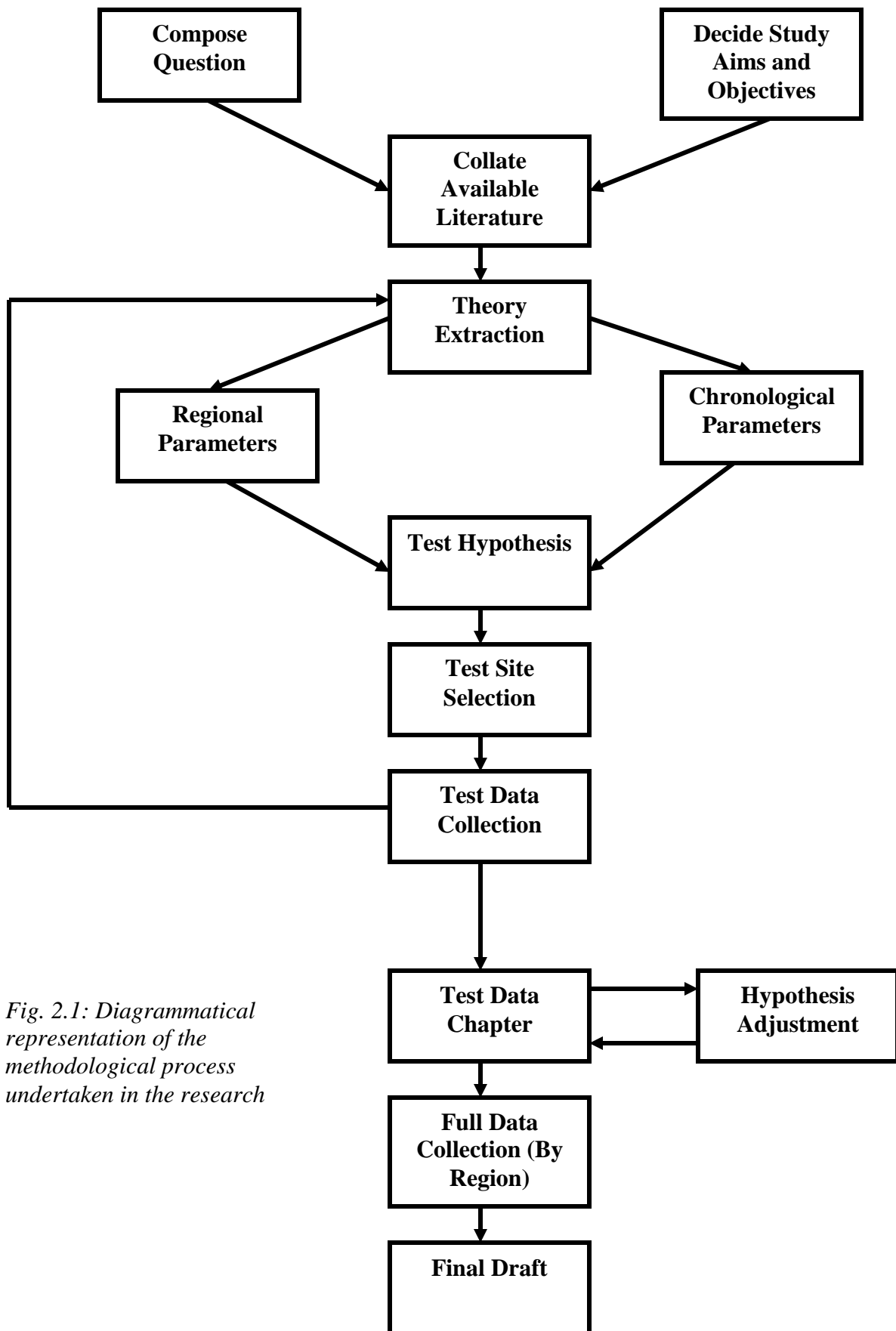


Fig. 2.1: Diagrammatical representation of the methodological process undertaken in the research

2.2.1. Regional parameters

It would, of course, be preferable to examine as much of Britain as possible in order to obtain the broadest base of knowledge to feed into any conclusion. However, the constraints of time and available space make this an impossible undertaking. In light of this, it must be accepted that some form of statistical sampling of the available data is required. When deciding the location of the sites, is it better to concentrate on one particular county or geographical region and collate all the data from a single area, for example, an examination of excavation data from Wiltshire, or would it be more appropriate to split the research into separate compartments?

With the choice of a single area, there exists the ability to delve deeply into how it was interacted with or repurposed but the problem then becomes one of singular focus. What if the chosen area is rather static in terms of the similarity of interactions? The whole exercise then becomes a repetitive alliteration of the same data. However, if a series of very different landscapes is chosen such as upland, riverine, lowland or estuarine, the potential to examine a series of very different trajectories of landscape exploitation both in prehistory and during the research period is gained. Did, for example, the Cotswolds and Essex have similar patterns of landscape exploitation in prehistory and during the Roman periods? Are patterns of interaction between these two general areas subtly different, partially because they possess distinctively different geological and topographical formations? A choice of multiple study regions builds a compare and contrast situation into the research at its base. By choosing two, three or four areas, any patterns of interaction that may be observed between them become more significant, precisely because of the potential differences in the way the landscape was, or could have been, exploited.

The single area choice was discarded as the concentration of research upon a series of landscapes within one region of Britain would be insufficient to provide enough diversity of character and usage patterns to allow for meaningful comparisons to be made. Concentration on a single, geographically defined area would also not take into account

the fact that, during the late Iron Age, there was no single, homogenous, cultural norm. Certain pottery styles in use during the 2nd century BC in what is now Kent, for example, did not spread to the upper Thames region until the 1st century AD (Booth et al., 2007 1–9). There were differing levels of engagement, or penetration, of externally derived expressions of material culture throughout the country (Haselgrove and Moore, 2007, 1–12). Similarly, by the end of the Roman period, there was a complicated situation after the breakdown of central authority, which eventually led to a tripartite split where the eastern portion of the country was generally following what could be described as a Germanic/Scandinavian cultural model, a central area that could be, at least initially, broadly defined as sub-Romano-British and the western Celtic kingdoms (Hindley, 2006, 1–31). The exact locations of the landscapes used in the study were decided upon using the following criteria (Fig. 2.2):

Criteria	Explanation
Data Availability	Due to the sheer availability of data and space limitations the landscapes included would need to be a sample of those available in the chosen areas.
Contrasting Geography/Geology	In order to provide landscapes of a sufficiently contrasting character, the information needed to be obtained from two or more areas with different geographical characteristics.
Variety of Features and Monumental Forms	In order to limit duplication and repetition, for example, a discussion solely concentrating on one particular prehistoric monument type, the landscapes should include locations where a variety of interactions took place in prehistory and during the late Iron Age/Roman periods.
Lack of Prior Knowledge / Bias Prevention	There needed to be a certain degree of ignorance regarding the archaeology of the study areas in order to prevent any bias towards known locations that would prove or disprove any hypothesis.

Fig. 2.2: The four initial landscape selection criteria

The chosen regions are the intensively farmed county of Essex, the upper reaches of the River Thames Valley and a segment of the Cotswold escarpment, with the Upper Thames

Valley and the Cotswolds partially overlapping. These landscapes are sufficiently diverse in character, both geologically and in the way they were interacted with in prehistory, the late Iron Age and Roman periods, that any patterns of interaction in common between them would be a significant discussion point. But why choose these particular regional areas? Would any other choices have made a great deal of difference? Would choosing a number of random locations from anywhere in Britain, or the near continent provide an equal, or even more diverse, dataset? Would this create a more robust, final conclusion, as any patterns of interaction in common between them would be even more significant discoveries? Probably yes, but in choosing widely dispersed locations, any sense of connectivity between the individual landscapes is then lost. Could common localised patterns of interaction be relevant to, for example, particular geologies? Could they be tied into similar landscape characteristics or based on attitudes of a particular group of pre-Roman close knit communities? A choice of widely dispersed locations, based on particular monumental classifications, for example, may not produce the same results. There is, of course, nothing preventing further research extending beyond these areas and in this respect, but relatively speaking, these concentrated sets of connective geographic discussions provide a baseline for an expansion of similar, future investigations into other areas.

It should be noted that these were not the original choices. The Cotswolds were not at first included. The original choice for the westerly area was the landscape around the Roman fortress at Caerleon and the Severn Estuary. Two facts conspired in the discarding of this original selection. Firstly, the older excavations carried out in the area provided very little evidence for prehistoric activity, almost as if there was a deliberate concentration solely on activity during the Roman period. Secondly, the collation of test data in the Upper Thames Valley had highlighted a potential pattern of interaction with a particular monument type which, although represented in the area of the Cotswolds, was not the dominant monumental form there. A study of the dominant monumental form in the region could provide a potentially interesting contrast.

The indicated areas (Fig. 2.3) have all been the subject of intensive research, both by antiquarians and modern archaeologists. They are placed in such a manner as to encompass areas of extensive, prehistoric activity and are also in proximity to the loci of intensive activity during the Roman period. They contain urban centres, trade routes and extensive villa landscapes, interspersed with many smaller, rural centres, a large number of which had pre-Roman origins. There are certain commonalities between the three areas, the majority of the population would have been engaged in agricultural activities, with stock rearing being more predominant in the west (Haselgrove, 1989, 3), their reliance on urban centres as markets for produce, the general importance those centres held in the Roman period in terms of a concentration of social elites, prior to the movement from urban to rural power bases in the 4th century AD (Millet, 1990, 197). However, this should not be assumed to imply that there was a homogeneity of practices between these areas, as the rural landscapes would have been exploited in many different ways (Smith, 2001, 12). The different landscapes, the differences in the way they were interacted with in prehistory, the variable levels or patterns of later settlement or other activities, makes any potential correlation in patterns of interaction with the prehistoric landscape features in the three regions more significant.

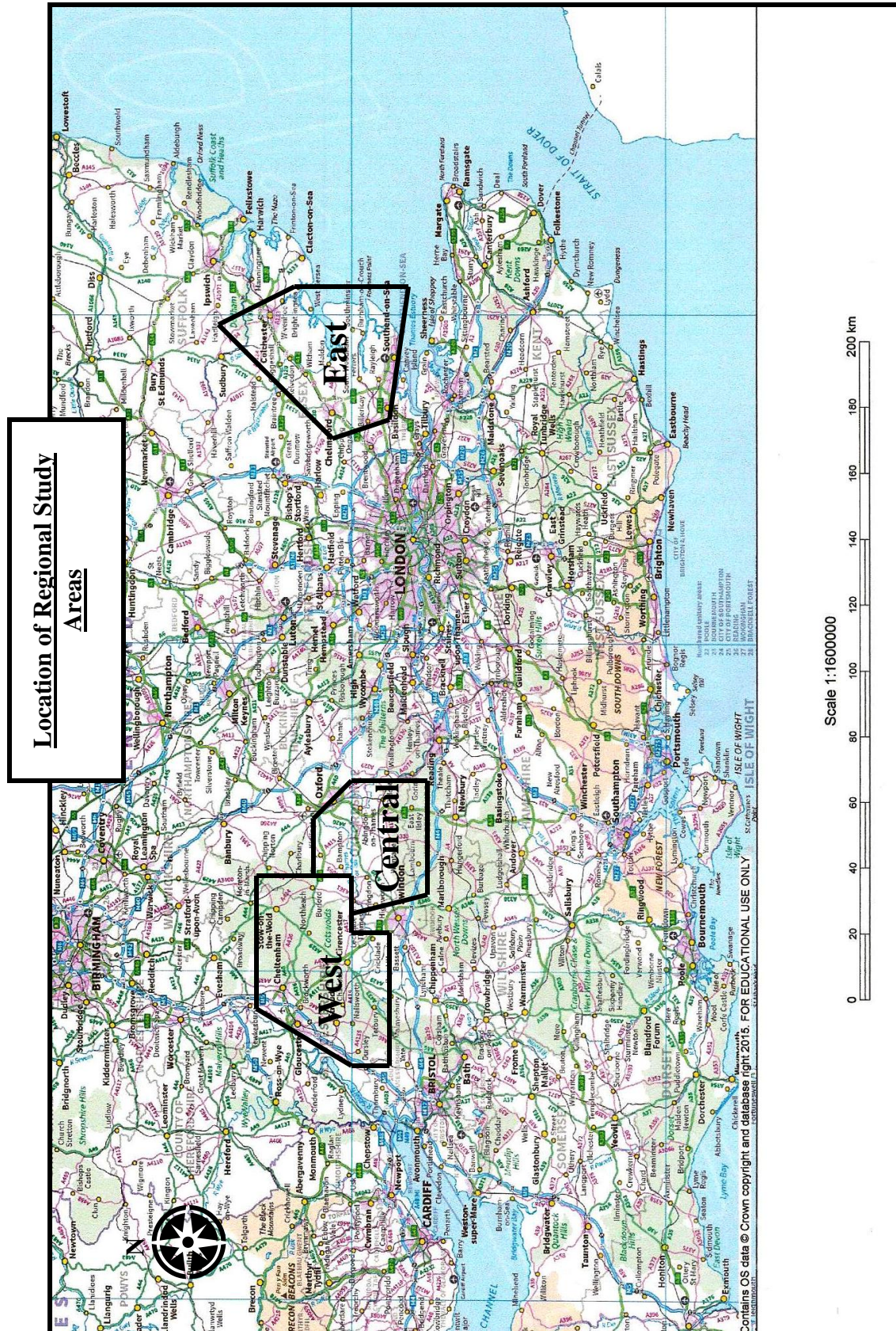


Fig. 2.3: The regional study areas (available from:
<http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).

i) The eastern region: Essex

Essex is a rich, agricultural landscape which was intensively farmed and managed by the beginning of the Roman period. The geology and geography of this region is diverse; the Southend Peninsula in Essex, for example, rises to 84m AoD at Bagshot and the major rivers that cut through the gravels reflect many episodes of changing sea levels and glacial formation (Wymer et al., 1995, 3). The northern part of the county rises to 120m AoD, with chalk escarpments rising into the Chilterns transected by the course of a number of rivers running through glacial sands, alluvial deposits, sandy and silty clays (Timby et al., 2007, 7). The main preoccupation of the Iron Age inhabitants was animal husbandry, the raising of sheep and cattle, along with wheat and barley production in a well-managed landscape (Kemble, 2001, 68–69). Ancient monuments tend to be less visible here than in other parts of Britain due to this agricultural exploitation, which destroyed many examples of prehistoric burial mounds, enclosures, ditches and boundaries (Kemble, 2001, 17). Any prehistoric features that survived the destruction could have been, in some way, symbolically linked with the identities of the communities which interacted with them.

ii) The central region: the Thames Valley and the Berkshire Downs

The central region, comprising of the Berkshire Downs and the Upper Thames Valley, encompasses an area roughly 30km x 25km between Oxford and Lechlade. The Thames drains down from the watershed of the Cotswolds to the north-west, flowing eastwards across a valley consisting of Oxford clay, flanked by gravel terraces up to 3km wide. The region has a wide lowland catchment and there are a few areas, most notably at the edge of the Berkshire Downs where the land rises and where acidic soils and plateau gravels present serious soil fertility problems. The intermingling of limestone from the Cotswolds gives soils that are, in general, easily worked, but often shallow and brashy. The gravel terraces are well-suited to a variety of agricultural practices as are the alluvial soils of the floodplain that have accumulated over the past 2000 years (Booth et al., 2007, 1–9). River valleys are often the focus of human settlement. They provide cultivable soil, ready supplies of water and avenues for communication. By the end of the early Bronze Age,

much of the Upper and Middle Thames Valley was characterised by a series of funerary and ceremonial complexes spread along the valley floor, especially at the river confluences, with settlements upon the less flood prone, upper gravel terraces (Lambrick and Robinson, 2009, 24). The major Neolithic and early Bronze Age monument complexes here do not appear to have been the foci of later prehistoric settlement activity, but by the Iron Age, this pattern of usage, which continued into the early Roman period, is less clear-cut (ibid.). The later Iron Age in the Upper Thames Valley and Oxfordshire is characterised by open settlement patterns and separate, but economically and socially integrated, communities (Hingley, 1984).

iii) The western region: the Cotswolds; Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire

The Cotswolds are part of an outcrop of Jurassic rocks which runs north-east from the Dorset coast into the North Sea off Yorkshire. The escarpment is the largest continuous landform feature in lowland England, a classic example of a scarp and dip landscape. The steep western scarp of the Cotswolds exposes sections through Lower and Middle Jurassic rocks which dip gently eastwards towards Oxford and London. Further to the east, the portion of the study area that lies within the Upper Thames Valley consists of Oxford clays. The soils and vegetation noticeably change as the underlying geology changes from one type of rock to another. The gentle undulations of the Cotswold landscape were formed by numerous streams cutting down through the rocks. Some of these streams still flow, but many were the result of melting snow and ice and higher levels of precipitation following the Ice Ages which have left dry valleys behind them (www.cotswoldsaonb.org.uk).

During the latter part of the Iron Age, an area of approximately 100km x 120km between modern day Swindon and the outskirts of the Cardiff conurbation was dominated by sub-rectangular enclosures, less than one hectare in size, and a large number of densely occupied hilltop settlements (Moore, 2007, 43). This contrasts with the rather open settlement pattern seen in the Upper Thames Valley. Many of these are isolated enclosures which indicate that the inhabitants were socially, and to some extent economically, independent (ibid.). In the Roman period, the Cotswold landscape becomes

an area of palatial villa construction (Millett, 1990, 181–211). These structures were slotted into a landscape dominated by prehistoric monumentality, especially the ubiquitous examples of long barrow constructions, many of which were agglomerations and extensions, rather than singular constructions with a plethora of variations in form (Darvill, 2004).

2.2.3. Chronological parameters

The original upper and lower chronological parameters of the research were rigidly defined as 100 BC–AD 450. However, this was altered due to possible exclusions that could arise when assigning arbitrary time parameters. There are always problems associated with imposing artificial breaks into what Moore (2007, 47), referencing changes in pottery styles, called a fluid and uninterrupted process of cultural change. The imposition of arbitrary date ranges could be problematic if any relevant data falls outside the chosen range. The fact that the chosen regions have, for example, in the late Iron Age, such a diversity of landscapes, regional trajectories and rituals, makes it difficult to make any generalised statements regarding them (Haselgrove and Moore, 2007, 5). Any arbitrarily imposed date range could be construed as an indication of homogeneity between them. Given the archaeological and latterly documentary evidence available on such subjects as settlement patterns tool technologies and the ways in which people lived and died (see, for example, Haselgrove and Moore, 2007) a decision was made to examine evidence from the late pre-Roman Iron Age, commencing in the last decades of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 1st century BC, and end with evidence from the end of the 4th century into the first decades of the 5th century AD. These broad time frames were chosen as they are periods where there is evidence of change in the patterns of social interactions and aspects of material culture, changes which could have affected the way in which people viewed, or interacted with, prehistoric remains in the landscape.

- i) Changes in settlement patterns; patterns of social interaction and aspects of material culture in late pre-Roman, Iron Age Britain.

In Iron Age Britain and Gaul, there was considerable differentiation in socio-political complexity, settlement patterns, economic activity and religious observations (Smith, 2001; Haselgrove and Moore, 2007; Cunliffe, 1988). The process of social development from familial or smaller cohesive social units with control over localised landscapes, into larger, more fluid confederations, culminated in more substantial centralised tribal groupings based broadly on shared cultural identities. This was not a universal singular or linear process of change. The adoption of new forms of social expression or material culture over the entirety of northern Europe was a complex process. A cursory examination of the three study regions shows that there were multiple ways in which the landscapes were interacted with in the late Iron Age alone. As noted by Haselgrove and Moore (2007), for example, or in earlier works by Cunliffe (1988), there were many different Iron Ages across the whole of Britain, with a veritable patchwork quilt of rejection, adoption or adaption of different aspects of external material culture influences, through trade contacts, along with visible changes in agricultural landscapes and settlement patterns in a complex, constantly evolving, simultaneously symbolic and socio-political environment.

Settlement patterns are one of the most visible and significant indicators of change. The situation in late pre-Roman Iron Age Britain is complex. Hertfordshire and Essex, for example, have a lack of settlement evidence from the 3rd – 1st centuries BC (Hill, 2007, 24). There is an increasing sense of permanency of settlement in the Thames Valley from the 4th century BC, with Cotswolds and the Severn Valley possessing well defined landscape divisions by the 1st century BC (Moore, 2007, 45). External influences are also a major factor. Their effects can be observed in the presence of amphorae in late pre-Roman Iron Age burial contexts (Williams, 1989, 145), especially in the case of rich burials containing a variety of Mediterranean manufactured luxury goods, indicating their prestige value. Burial practices are a key indicator of change in the 1st century BC with the introduction of La Tène D metalwork and the inception of Aylesford-Swarling type burials at Baldock (Stead and Rigby, 1986), Hall Farm near Colchester or Gatesbury Track (Williams, 1989, 145–50). The production of new pottery styles and the larger role played by alcohol in social contexts, most notably imported wine, are further indicators of a process of social change (Hill, 2007, 26–27). Whilst changes may have taken time to

filter through the country, some being quickly adopted and others wholly ignored, the end of the second century BC and the 1st century as a whole does provide a point of potential social change with which to begin the research. Although AD 43 was also considered as a possible starting point for the research, it is really only one point, albeit an extremely important point in an ongoing process of change.

Prior economic and urban developments in Iron Age Britain are important because in order for a Roman military campaign and occupation to be successful, certain economic pre-conditions must be fulfilled. Demand for trade goods and coinage and some degree of urbanisation are prerequisites for entry into the Roman sphere of influence (De La Bedoyere, 2006, 14). The Roman occupation of central Germany, for example, failed not only because of the military defeat at the Teutoburg Wald in AD 9, but because the population was fragmented and movable (Cunliffe, 1988, 160), and had not been properly prepared to accept the Roman way of life. It is somewhat curious that the initial Roman advance in Britain stopped until AD 47–52, at the subsequent line of the Fosse Way (Fig. 2.4), which is almost exactly the same as the limits of main, regional coin distributions in the late Iron Age (Laycock, 2008, 21; Mattingly, 2006, 55).

**AD 47: Coinage, Urbanisation
and the Fosse Way.**

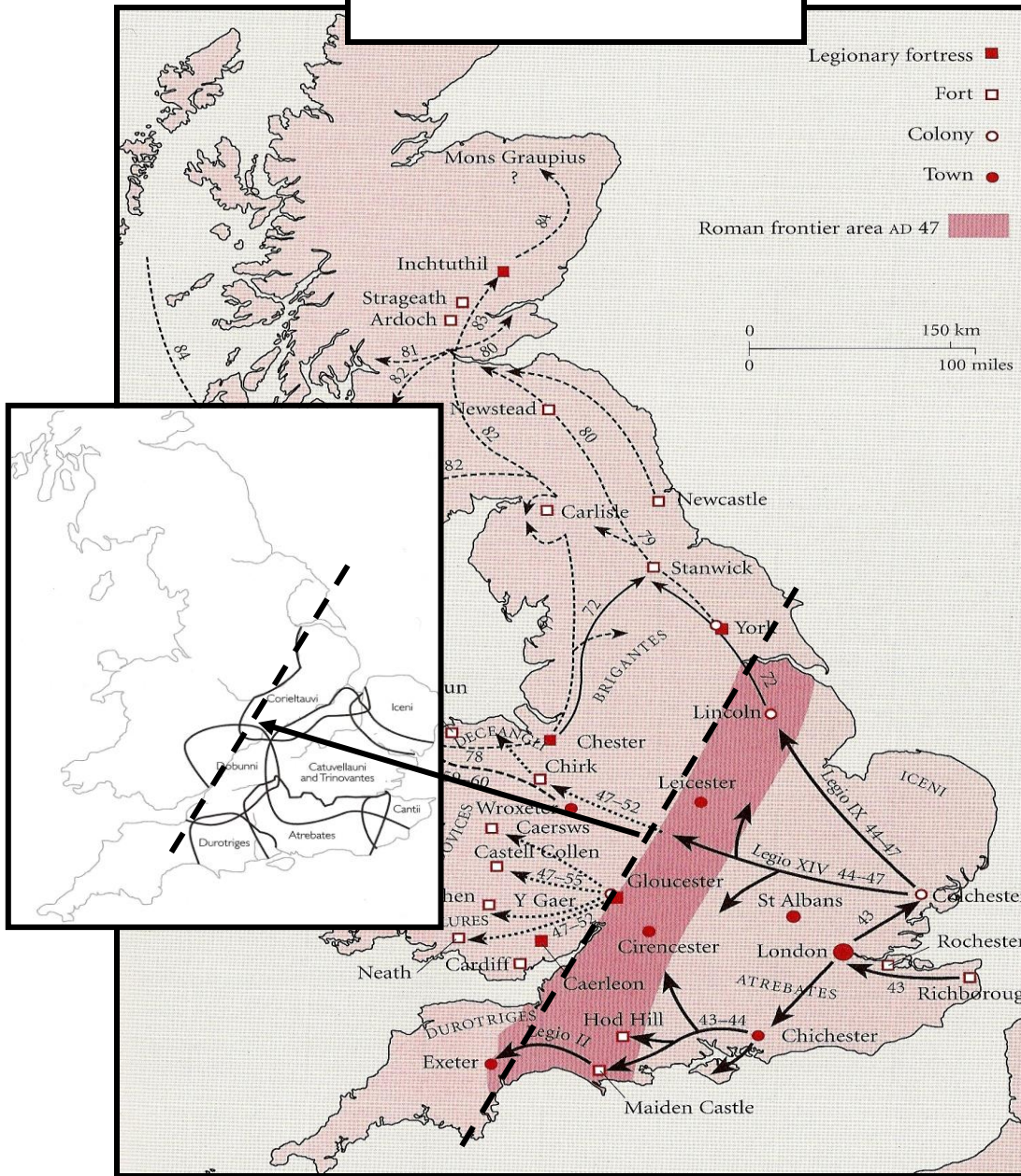


Fig. 2.4: This map shows where the Romans paused in A.D. 47, effectively the first phase of their invasion. This was the subsequent line of Fosse Way. The AD 47 frontier seems to follow the approximate limits to which use of coinage had penetrated Britain prior to the invasion (De La Bedoyere, 2006, 25, Laycock, 2008, 21; after Mattingly, 2006, 55).

- ii) Changes in settlement patterns; patterns of social interaction and aspects of material culture at the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century AD.

When Diocletian retired from public office, his successor in the west, Maximianus, appointed Constantius Chlorus as *Caesar*. Constantius' son, Constantine, manipulated a posting to Britain (Mattingly, 2006, 234), and on his father's death, was proclaimed by the garrison of Britain as emperor (Mattingly, 2006, 227). After Constantine's death, the centralised administration broke down, with usurpers using garrisons as a power base for their claims to the imperial throne (ibid.). These imperial candidates would pay donatives and overlook abuses of power by the soldiers in order to maintain their troops' support (Salway, 1993, 483), which in turn, led to economic ravages and inflationary pressures. Payments of taxes were now more often made in goods rather than with coinage (Salway, 1993, 245).

Alongside this meta-narrative of political events, there are a number of changes in both the rural and urban landscapes of Britain. Whilst no definitive, clear picture exists, it seems that, whilst larger towns in many cases remained administrative centres, they underwent fundamental changes in character, being dominated by small numbers of palatial town houses with little or no room for commercial or industrial activity (Millett, 1990, 221). Additionally, excavation and inscription evidence suggests that, in many urban centres, no new public buildings were erected (Blagg, 1981, 174). In the early and middle portion of the 4th century AD, it appears that the *curial* classes were engaging in a form of more individualised, personal expression, focusing on the construction of private indicators of their social status and wealth rather than public display (Esmonde-Cleary, 1989, 72; Millett, 1990, 197). The movement of power from the towns into the countryside (Millett, 1990, 186–88), coincides with major agricultural innovations which, it could be argued, were a by-product of the investment by the now rurally based elite in their surroundings (Smith, 2001, 13). This displacement of power is one possible reason for the increase in the occurrence of rural temple sites. However, there is also an element

of continental influence to consider; the temple at Brean Down, for example, is similar to regional rural temples in Gaul used in the later Roman period to legitimise and reinforce social hierarchies (Roymans, 1990, 262).

The steady decline of some urban centres continued until the end of the 4th century AD, when there is considerable evidence for an increasingly marked decline and recession in many of the towns and villas in Britain (Esmonde-Cleary, 1989, 131). The reasons for this decline have been discussed at length elsewhere (e.g. Reece, 1980), although it is likely that some are related to the breakdown of the economic system and a series of imperial usurpations, stemming from the garrison of Britain. Due to these instabilities, the high level of investment needed to construct symbols of Roman material expression would have been simply unsustainable (Smith, 2001, 13). This should not be taken to indicate that there was an abrupt cessation of activity, rather, an ongoing process of decline and change.

With the final withdrawal of support for the Roman garrison and the cessation of direct political intervention, social structures and aspects of material culture in Britain became what could, at best, be described as based upon a complicated mixture of Romano-Christian, Germanic, Celtic/*Combrogii* influences which created a multiplicity of possible discrepant identities. Dark (2000), describes an almost tripartite split between Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire which is influenced by Germanic material culture, the centre of Britain which could be described as sub-Roman Christian and a more Pictish, Irish, Gallic west. The mixture of cultural symbols, he points out, is best typified by the multicultural synthesis seen in burial practices at places such as Scole (Dark, 2000, 20). Petts (1998), also noted that in Wiltshire there were a series of changes, along with a decline in villa occupation and the construction of simpler and more easily maintained dwellings, movement through the landscape was restricted (or controlled territory was marked) by the construction of large scale ditch works and the refurbishment of prehistoric features such as Grims Ditch, Bedwyn Dyke and Combs Ditch and fortified hilltop enclosures which could be construed as territorial markers such as Cadbury/Congesbury were re-occupied (Petts, 1998, 90). This sort of activity suggests

that, for the first time since AD 43, there existed no means of mediation between regional elite power groups, or any fear of retribution by a powerful central authority that would have reigned in ambition or destructive impulses, leading to an increase in military action by local militias as a means of settling disputes (Petts, 1998, 90). Changes of this nature, where previously important defensive points are re-fortified, such as, for example, South Cadbury Castle (Williams, 1999, 79), could be a subtle indicator of the way in which the landscape was controlled or perceived. Whereas the Roman landscape was designed to facilitate rapid travel, the new or refurbished fortifications could have been designed, to some extent, to impede or control it and emphasise the difference between local power bases. It is this period of significant change in social structures, aspects of material culture and political imperatives which defines the upper chronological parameter used in this research.

2.2.3. *Test hypothesis*

The hypothesis presented later in Chapter Three was not the first iteration used for the test data. Part of the process of working out the final hypothesis to test against the collated data, was to consider the possible range of situations that would be encountered upon any site examination. As can be seen from the flow chart (Fig. 2.1) the final statement only evolved after a number of test data sites were examined and the results fed back into an expansion of the initial criteria. Initially, the criteria were very basic (Fig. 2.5):

Simple Test Criteria	Explanation
Prehistoric Activity	The site will contain archaeological evidence which indicates that the location was used for settlement or ritual purposes in one or more defined periods of prehistory.
Roman Activity	The site will contain evidence of later interaction in the late Iron Age and/or Roman period.

Fig. 2.5: Initial simple test criteria.

At the time of their collation, when no data had been examined, it was understood that they would be significantly amended. The expansion into the more rounded hypothesis statements presented in Chapter Three stemmed from the need to put in place a standardised process regarding three important methodological points: how to interpret physical evidence from excavation data, how to classify what type of interaction was taking place and how to ascertain if there was any deliberate attempt to reference an actual, or created, perception of the antiquity of any feature or wider landscape taking place.

2.2.4. Test site selection

Having made the decision regarding the broader regions to be covered by the research (see 2.2.1.), the next stage, prior to making the final choice of data to be sampled, was to choose a small number of locations to examine. This examination which would feedback into an updated detailed methodological structure into which any subsequently collated data could be fed. At first the expectation was that several county HER's, the PAS, ADS or Pastscape would be consulted to provide a small number of suitable locations. However, this was set aside after the acquisition of 'The Thames through Time: Prehistoric Volume' (Lambrick and Robinson, 2009), which provided an eclectic set of potential areas of rich data in the Thames Valley to examine. Used as a base document, this work provided a resource of potential locations for research which details from a

number of online resources and excavation reports could be fed in to. It was expected that some, but not all, of the test locations would be included in the final draft. Test locations such as Roughground Farm near Lechlade and the associated Cursus monument and Taplow Hillfort near Maidenhead however, were not subsequently fed into the final draft.

2.2.5. Test data collection/presentation

The collection and collation of data actually involved two processes. The first was the collection of the data itself and the second, the presentation of that data in a standardised format. Both of these processes were not as simple as first considered and involved several false starts or iterations.

i) Data presentation

The final method of data presentation is noted in appendices as site data sheets and site data, along with a summary of the data used in the research. This visual formatting was used, in part, in an attempt to negate any effect of modern terminologies on subsequent conclusions and to present data collated from very different excavation strategies in a standard format, with the expectation that this would go some way to alleviate any potential problems disparate data sets may have caused. This summary of all the most salient points regarding any excavation or feature is easy to understand and allows for independent verification of the stated facts in the main text. This is much simpler than the proposed original data format from which it evolved. This was presented in a notational, codified style with listings of 44 feature types along with 31 codified activities, split in 11 date periods and 51 artefact types which read, for example:

(ST) 34 (R) (**) (P7) (A) 31 (50/24) (E) (ART) 28 (1)**

This notation meant that the site is believed to have originally been a rectangular bank, marking the boundary of a space used for agricultural purposes, although the original date of construction is unknown. From AD 212–60 (a total of 48 years), for 50% of this time

or a period of 24 years, the location in question lay fallow or was not used for any archaeologically discernible purpose. There was one piece of a mosaic floor tile recovered whose origins were indeterminate.

ii) Data collection

The idea behind the collection of sample test data was to answer the questions: what potential sources of data are there available and what problems could be encountered in the process of data collection? There were a number of sources identified, from which a body of test data was extracted. These included:

- Interim excavation reports in journals
- Full published excavation data
- Online resources in PDF format of contract archaeology excavations
- Heritage environment records
- Limited data from the portable antiquities scheme
- Online archaeology data services (Pastscape, ADS)

The perusal of these data sources from the test sites brought to light two problems:

- i) How to account for the differences in the detail and interpretation of data derived from modern, open area excavations as opposed to older antiquarian or targeted excavations.

What happens when any attempt is made to compare and contrast the sometimes minimal data derived from 19th century antiquarian excavations and the detail present in a comprehensive, modern day open area excavation? When sourcing from both low and high detail data, it is a complex process to extract any potential similarities in usage of a particular landscape or feature typology. Radiocarbon dates, for example, may be included in the text of the modern report but for an older excavation, obtaining this information could involve locating the relevant artefacts, assuming they have not been

destroyed, and testing them. The best possible solutions are the re-interpretation of older datasets in order to make them viable, retrieving as much data from as wide a variety of sources as possible, and being as explicit as possible about any potential knowledge gaps or instances, where there is no viable solution to negate what from a modern standpoint, may be questionable conclusions. Additionally, the presentation of summary data in a standardised format could eliminate any potential bias or disproven hypotheses.

ii) The conventions regarding dissemination of data in archaeological reports

Archaeology is a complex and wide ranging discipline. It is not possible for one person to have the comprehensive knowledge to produce a fully detailed, modern excavation report. The discipline has therefore evolved understandably into one of specialisations. Pottery experts, Bronze Age experts and Neolithic specialists all work together to produce a time dependent, artefact separated, narrative in a conventionally produced site report. This research however, somewhat throws this aside somewhat by looking at interactions which are time separated, often by a considerable period, between the creation of a landscape or feature and interactions occurring potentially hundreds, if not a thousand years, later. This effectively cuts across the standard method of chronological presentation by attempting to create a feature evolutionary narrative.

It is often the case when examining site data that the whole lifecycle of a particular feature within a particular landscape is spread over, not just different sections in a singular report, but different publications entirely. It may be appropriate to examine whether the conventional narrative of publication is always the most appropriate. Surely there are circumstances where it may be appropriate to discuss the whole lifecycle of a particular feature as a singular entity rather than repeatedly covering the same basic information in a time compartmentalised manner? It cannot surely be the case that the curious mind of the archaeologist is so myopically concentrated on events occurring in a specific time frame that it would not appreciate a wide ranging discussion on the full evolution of the object of their enquiry. If the builders of a monumentally significant artefact, for example, are imbuing it with a potentially triple chronological trajectory, is a

disservice to not consider their construction in the same manner? If this same artefact of landscape is constructed and referenced by interaction in the Bronze Age, and then its location is deliberately referenced again in the 6th century AD, has it been destroyed and reconstituted? Has some memory of significance somehow survived? Is there a narrative of deliberate decisions taken in the intervening time between these interactions to leave whatever residual remains may exist intact, treating them as an inviolate object that has not been appreciated? Would it not be a curious phenomenon, that in a landscape strewn with the residual presence of the material remains associated with successive cultures, that none of these objects are present in, nor intersect that particular space?

2.2.6. Test data chapter

The next stage of the process was the production of a test chapter using the test data. This was a useful exercise as several approaches were considered, attempted and rejected. The final approach was to take sites detailed in either physical or digital excavation reports and examine a series of proximal locations. This approach was used as the initial data capture exercise had highlighted a notable fact that excavations and surveying work tended to be carried out in clusters. It could be argued that this clustering occurs as a result of the availability of locations free from built environments where work can be carried out, or because a number of proximal sites may be threatened with destruction, or due to a propensity to examine an area in proximity to previous discoveries, targeting likely areas of activity. This lends itself to the application of a methodological approach where a group of data could be examined as a standalone study, each combining into a regional conclusion. Due to this cluster phenomenon, each of the three chosen regions was divided into a number of landscape case studies, containing a variable number of individual sites with a range of prehistoric origins that would have been proximal, inter-visible, or could be reasonably considered to have been interconnected. Examples of this would be a settlement and nearby cemetery, thought to have been used by the same community, or a string of locations with a geographical homogeneity along a prominent ridge line. Each case study is presented in a format with an initial introduction to the landscape and a discussion, after which, an individualised conclusion is offered. These

conclusions are then fed into a regional whole which is then examined against the hypothesis criteria in the final thesis conclusion. This was only settled upon after a number of other formats were considered, for example, one that included a horrendous duplication of effort where individual sites were examined against the hypothesis criterion and eliminated as they failed to meet each in turn.

2.2.7. Hypothesis adjustment

Having located a reasonable body of data, the original basic hypothesis criteria were expanded, based upon situations observed in the landscapes used as test data. The expanded hypotheses are discussed in full, in Chapter Three.

2.2.8. Full data collection

The final process of site selection and data collection builds upon the test site and data collection process. In order to prevent any accusation of deliberate selection of sites where the hypothesis criteria would be universally proven, an element of randomness was introduced into the final site selection process. With little prior knowledge possessed of the archaeology of the chosen regions, apart from the site test data, the basis of final selection was to concentrate on areas where it was known that prehistoric activity had occurred, regardless of the details regarding subsequent interactions during the research period. A decision was taken to include some notable sites from the regional areas, such as Mucking in Essex, but to also include a number of less well known locations.

Excavation reports, regardless of their original production date, were chosen as the base medium for examination in the first two regions, primarily because, even if these reports did contain very basic information, it was considered that they could be easily expanded upon, using a number of online and heritage resources. How the final choices of location were arrived at is discussed in more detail in the introductory sections of the relevant regional chapters.

2.2.10. Final draft

The production of the regional chapters using the collated data that followed the format decided upon from the test completion of the test data chapter.

Chapter 3: Hypotheses

3.1. The need for a hypothesis

When performing any comparison of data, a statement of expectations in the form of a hypothesis is essential. A hypothesis allows for a framework of expectations to be put in place before any interpretation is conducted, which makes the discussion of the similarities between locations and the identification of patterns in later interaction a much easier task. The presented hypotheses provide a baseline of concepts where the data being analysed can be correlated in a meaningful way from a variety of site types. Testing a series of landscapes against pre-established criteria allows for a systematic overview of any relationships between them. This not only facilitates the comparison process in an individual case study, but also allows for the ‘Meta’ process of overall comparison to have the same base criteria. Each of these hypothesis tests, or statements of expectations, is not intended to prove or disprove any theory of correlation or causation. The research does not seek to convincingly prove that any pattern of interaction exists. A positive or negative correlation with each of the criteria outlined below is an equally useful outcome in terms of the research aims and objectives.

3.2. The six hypothesis statements to be tested

In order for any site or landscape to be considered as an example of a location where prehistoric activity is a significant factor in later interactions:

- i) There will be a direct correlation between prehistoric features and primary deposits of material, datable to the late Iron Age and/or Roman periods.**

Despite a multiplicity of possible site types: geographical locations, environmental factors and types of interaction, the location of primary deposits, datable to the late Iron Age or Roman periods, indicates a level of direct engagement between prehistoric

features and the activities which the deposited materials are diagnostically associated. A late Roman burial placed within the circumference of a ring ditch, or deposition of materials deemed to be votive offerings, could be taken to indicate that when these materials were being deposited, the individuals or the social groups responsible for the deposition were engaging with what, from their perspective, would be a significant feature, or using the feature as part of an affirmation or expression of their collective identity. The location of secondary or tertiary deposits away from areas of primary use, and the movement of material associated with post-depositional processes, means that it is increasingly unlikely that there is any deliberate relationship between recovered artefacts and any prehistoric feature in which they are contained or overlay. The relationship between these deposits and the feature are increasingly based on extrapolations, the further you move away from primary correlations but they can still be of use when there is a requirement to determine the extent of deliberately separated areas of specific activity.

Another factor to consider is the location of the feature where these deposits are made. It should not always be taken for granted that individuals or communities from nearby settlements are the sole source of these interactions. Can the same assumption be made regarding the source of material deposited in a feature close to a well-used route through the landscape, as opposed to one in a more isolated position? Is there any way of determining, purely from the artefacts alone, who deposited them and what they perceived their relationship to the feature to be, if any?

- ii) **There will be evidence of depositional practices or artefactual distributions that indicate intentional and purposeful interaction with prehistoric features in later periods where prehistoric features are used as part of a process of identity formation and/or retention.**

The excavation evidence must demonstrate that any interaction with a prehistoric feature is a deliberate and intentional attempt at positive engagement with the feature and not

occurring as a result of residual or post-depositional processes. The interaction could be occurring due to a deliberate decision made on the part of those responsible for the deposition of the material to deliberately exclude the feature from wider depositional practices, creating an inviolate memory encapsulated as part of an individual or communal identity retention process or to include the prehistoric feature as part of an identity formation process. The definition of residual or post-depositional practices extends to instances where domestic waste has been used for fertilisation purposes; the material has been spread over a field with the intention of increasing crop yield. Whilst the process in, and of itself, has a deliberate intent, it lacks any aspect of positive engagement with the prehistoric feature. Effectively, the interaction needs to demonstrate a positive agency. The caveats noted above, regarding the potential relationships between the depositor of material and the feature in which it is deposited, also apply here.

- iii) There will be deliberate segregation of features constructed in separate prehistoric or historical periods. Prehistoric features and their boundaries will be uncut, considered inviolate or respected by the boundaries of features securely datable to the late Iron Age and/or Roman periods.**

The excavations will show evidence that rather than, or in addition to, vertical stratigraphic relationships between features or material culture, which are diagnostically associated with the late Iron Age or Roman periods and earlier prehistoric periods, that there is a spatial or horizontally stratigraphic relationship. The spatial arrangement between features constructed in different time periods could indicate that prehistoric features are still extant, or a memory of their significance still exists at the time later interactions are taking place. There is such a degree of significance, or reverence, placed upon these older landscape features that they are considered to be inviolate. Perceptions of ancestral connections, either real or constructed, and/or the physical presence of the feature, are used to enhance the status of the current interactions. If it is proven that there is some commonality between these locations, i.e. all the respected features are part of the Bronze Age landscape, this could be interpreted as showing that the sedentary nature

of settlement patterns in the Bronze Age engendered a sense of closer ancestral connection with a particular landscape; stronger than the possibly long forgotten semi-sedentary connections to the Neolithic landscape. Alternatively, it could be an indication of the relative contemporary visibility of the respected features.

iv) There will be evidence that prehistoric features are being used as a socially important object in a process of display of wealth or status.

In order to meet this criterion, the excavation evidence will show that any feature or landscape has been interacted with in such a way that its geographical position and past associations have been exploited as a visible or subtle indicator, of the wealth and status of the individual or community involved in the interaction.

As Millett (1990, 690) notes, one of the most commonly quoted passages concerning Roman Britain is *Tacitus Agricola 21*, which explains that the Governor Agricola encouraged the building of temples, public squares and public buildings to promote competition for honour between native aristocrats and the emulation of Roman ways. This is a basic premise which is expanded upon greatly by Revell (2009), who explains that there was, in actuality, a nuanced and individualised, rather than singular, ideal approach to identity expression through elite competition and display in urban environments. This process was not however, confined solely to cities, as early palatial villa constructions and rural temple sites, for example, can also be argued to fall under this paradigm of elite display. The movement of the wealthiest members of the Romano-British society, around the middle of the 4th century AD, from the urban centres into the countryside, shifted the focus from public buildings to palatial villas, estates, private sanctuaries and temples (Millett, 1990, 197; Smith, 2001, 13). Along with the visually impressive constructions, there could have been subtle, underlying aspects where an individual's status could be enhanced based on an association with previously significant landscape features. These subtle associations could have been used to indicate relative social status and ensure the continuation of power for those who had held elevated ranks

within social hierarchies for hundreds of years. They also display the temporal power of the Roman state over those power groups they had assimilated or replaced. Take, for example, the subtle connotations of the lords' hunting preserve, fish ponds and dovecotes, in the medieval feudal system, which, it could be argued, linked the lord of a manor with the biblical power of God, who gave Adam control over the beasts of the land, the fish in the sea and the birds in the air (Prior, 2006, 104).

- v) **There will be evidence to suggest that prehistoric features of a similar form or a different form but with a similar landscape positioning, are subjected to similar types of interactions, indicating widespread, rather than localised, practices.**

One of the main aims of this research is to determine if any consistent patterns of similar interactions with prehistoric landscape features existed in the late Iron Age and Roman periods. When considering the potential range of different features, different landscapes and the length of time covered by the research, there are certain similarities to any potential type of interaction which could indicate the existence of widespread practices. There may be evidence that, for example, a tendency for certain broadly similar activities to occur at a number of separate locations; burials could be placed referencing the inner circumference of barrows, or cursus monuments could have their original layouts incorporated into later field systems. The interactions may not always be an exact match, just of a similar nature i.e. burials within a barrow ditch at one location being mirrored at a separate site but with different grave goods or different skeletal positioning. It could also be the case that a number of features, regardless of their morphology, which have a similar landscape position, are subject to the same types of interaction. Features on prominent ridge lines, could be used as part of a process of display of wealth and power, or features in proximity to the course of rivers and streams could be re-purposed with votive or ritual deposits. Both of these, if they occur in multiple instances in the case studies are examples, in geographical terms, of patterns of interaction.

- vi) There will be evidence of a chronological correlation between events taking place in a wider historical or socio-political context and changes in the way prehistoric features are interacted with at a localised level.**

Whilst any correlation in types of activity and between the places they are occurring are important, they are only two of the three possible aspects of any landscape interaction that need to be considered. Any chronological correlation between events is an equally important consideration. When prehistoric features that have been neglected for several centuries subsequently become the foci of particular interactions, for example, barrows that have been ignored are suddenly repurposed as burial sites, is there a wider, social, political or historical narrative that could explain why these changes are occurring? If these changes occur with a variety of chronological time stamps, then it could be argued that over an extended period of time, a number of communities in a particular region are gradually adopting new burial rites. However, if a number of separate locations begin to adopt a variant of the same practice within a much tighter time period, and that also correlates with a period of political upheaval or social instability, are those changes in the pattern of interaction part of a meta-narrative? Are social or political upheavals filtering down into changes in common practice toward prehistoric landscape features or is there just a non-correlating change in the patterns of symbolic perception concerning these locations?

If, for example, several communities are simultaneously beginning to express a similar, rather than discrepant cultural response to certain previously sacred or important spaces, displaying aspects of their social or individual cosmologies through the same medium of expression from the middle of the 3rd century AD onwards, could this in any way be connected with the capture of Valerian I by Shapur, large numbers of Frankish warriors breaking through the Rhine frontier, looting settlements as far south as Tarragona in Spain (Drinkwater, 1987, 23), and the formation of the breakaway Gallic Empire? Any chronological correlation could be a coincidence, but if it is not, it may help to explain possible alterations in patterns of interaction. These chronological markers may have a

time delay between the significant event and the adoption of new practices, but being aware of a framework of some of the more significant historical events may, in some cases, be an important determinant in the assessment of any changes in patterns of interaction.

Chapter 4: Case Study Region: Essex

4.1. Introduction

The site selection process for the case studies in Essex began with a consultation of Kemble's (2009) 'Prehistoric and Roman Essex', which is essentially a gazetteer of locations in the county where either prehistoric or Roman archaeology is present. The next stage was to carry out a search of the county HER records, located online at (http://unlockingessex.essexcc.gov.uk/uep/custom_pages/home_page.asp?) for other known, or remarkable, sites. Probably, one of the best known locations that this search highlighted was Mucking, a site with a large amount of published material available regarding excavations. Mucking is known for its early medieval settlement activity, but also has a number of prehistoric landscape markers and extensive Iron Age and Roman activity. In the light of Esmonde-Cleary's (2000, 134) comments regarding the proximity of Roman cemeteries and barrows, it was considered that perhaps looking at this location from a different perspective would prove to be enlightening. The next target of investigation was the area around Colchester. This city was an important part of the development of the region during the Roman period, but rather than look at the city directly, data on possible prehistoric use of the landscape surrounding it was sought, and found, in publications detailing excavations at Rivenhall and Kelvedon to the south and west, and those that took place at Ardleigh to the north of the city. Further to the south, along the main Roman road from London to Colchester near Chelmsford, lay Springfield and Springfield Lyons which were also considered as reasonable targets for examination due to extensive Neolithic use of the landscape. With no prior detailed knowledge of the development of the landscape at these locations, the choice was designed to supply places with as wide a range of activities as possible, be that alongside a main arterial road, a concentration of Bronze Age and Neolithic activity and both settlement and ritual landscapes. Perhaps the inclusion of coastal sites to the east of the county could have been considered, but it was noted that the chosen locations were all sighted on important points in natural route ways through the landscape county (Fig. 4.1), apart from Mucking, which overlooks an equally important trade route, the River Thames. It was considered

that the examination of these areas could highlight activity taking place in relation to a variety of prehistoric landscapes at a series of locations that may have been subject to a range of later interactions, based on the requirements of both *in situ* communities and individuals, or smaller groups, whose only contact with the landscape was of a transient nature.

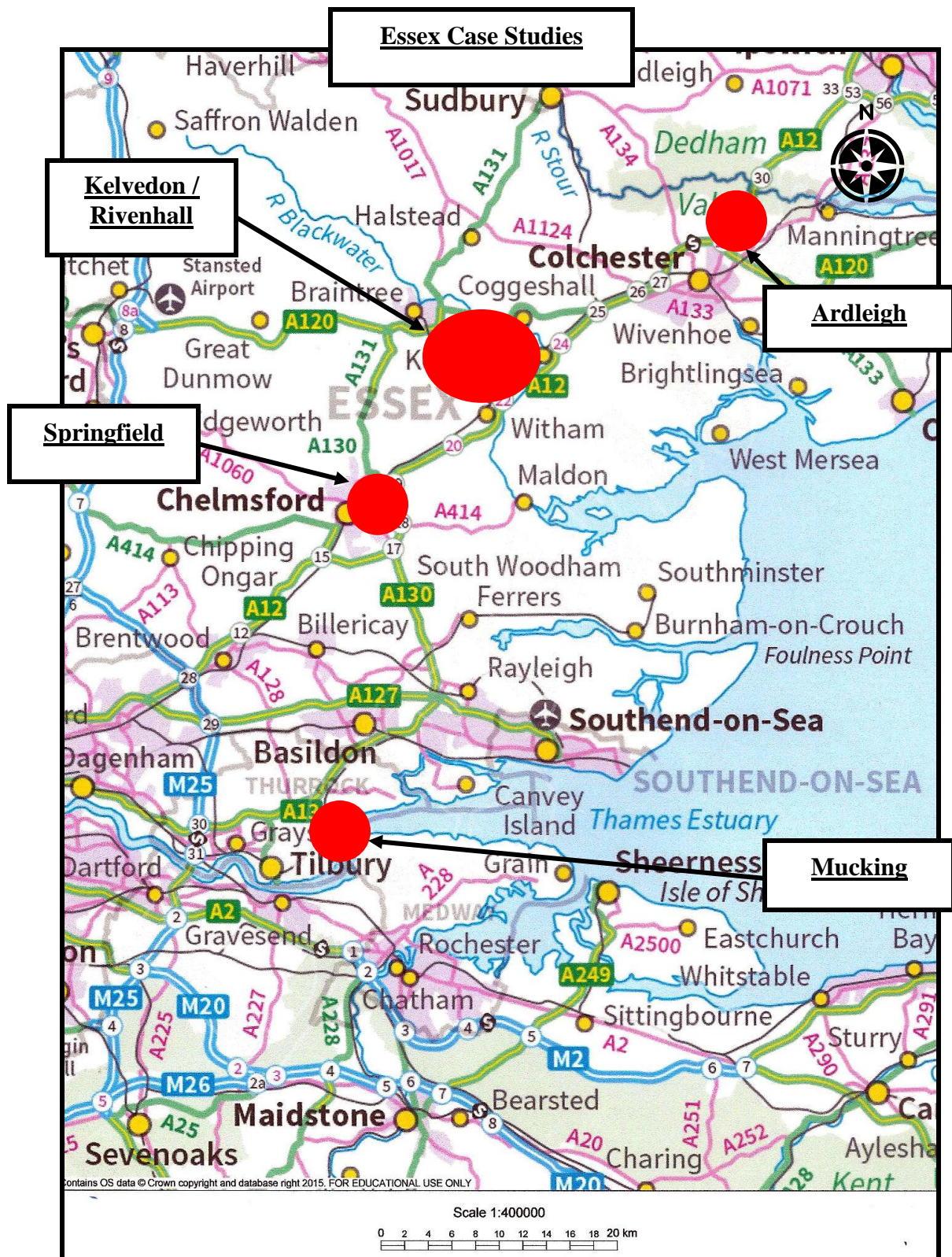


Fig. 4.1: Essex case study locations (available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).

4.2. Case Study: Mucking-Perspectives

Mucking is located on an elevated spur of the Boyn Hill terrace, overlooking the Thames Estuary (Fig. 4.2), roughly 3km south-west of Corringham in Essex and 5km west of the junction between the A13 and the M25 London ring road (Clark, 1993, 2). Excavations between 1965 and 1978 revealed one of the most interesting and complex multi-period sites ever investigated, with an estimated 44,000 features uncovered (Clark, 1993, 1).

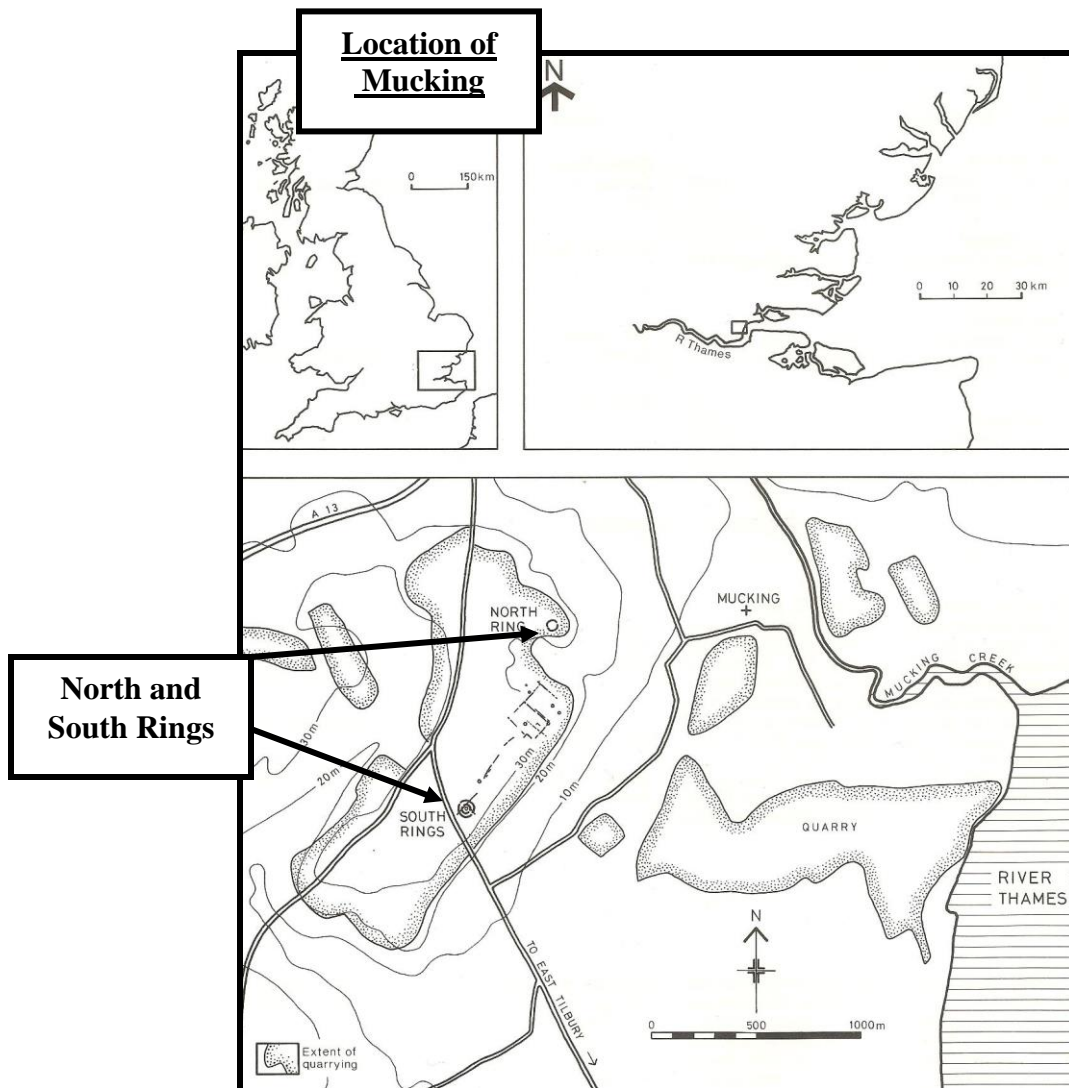


Fig. 4.2: The location of Mucking (Bond, 1988, Fig. 1 viii).

The excavations here began as a modest eight-week evaluation and exploratory exercise in advance of gravel extraction in 1965 (Clark, 1993, 1). Despite being underfunded and carried out in the face of time constraints, they are a remarkable example of high quality rescue excavations achieved in difficult circumstances. They produced evidence of activity in the early Neolithic period which increased in intensity, showing a number of discrete contexts with typical assemblages denoting settlement, or domestic use of the landscape (Clark, 1993, 18).

Bronze Age Mucking had a mainly pastoral economy with an extensive field system, but the presence of some bronze artefacts and residue indicate that there was a minimal amount of metalworking occurring here (Clark, 1993, 19). There were two large enclosures: the south being situated where the edge of the elevated area overlooks the estuary of the River Thames, and the north at the eastern end of the same elevated outlier, with a small inlet nearby, providing a natural landing spot (Bond, 1988, 3). Burial activity was concentrated upon several barrows that were interspersed throughout the mainly northern and central portions of the excavated area (Clark, 1993, 18). The late Bronze Age was dominated by activity at the southern enclosure, but settlement activity again shifts, and by the Iron Age, there are two, possibly three, nucleated small settlements in the area that develop from a spread of a substantial number of four, six and nine post constructions (Clark, 1993, 18–19).

The south and the south-east portions of the landscape (Fig. 4.3) have the greatest concentration of Roman period activity, along with agricultural use, there is a dispersed pottery industry with 23 kilns (Clark, 1993, 20–21). By far the most intensive period of activity is the 1st and 2nd centuries AD but the later Roman period lacks any evidence for production areas or dwellings. The main, later Roman use of the landscape is burial-related with the continued use of three of the four Roman cemeteries, alongside evidence of minimal agricultural activity in a semi-derelict scrubland landscape, until the establishment of the Saxon settlement (Clark, 1993, 21).

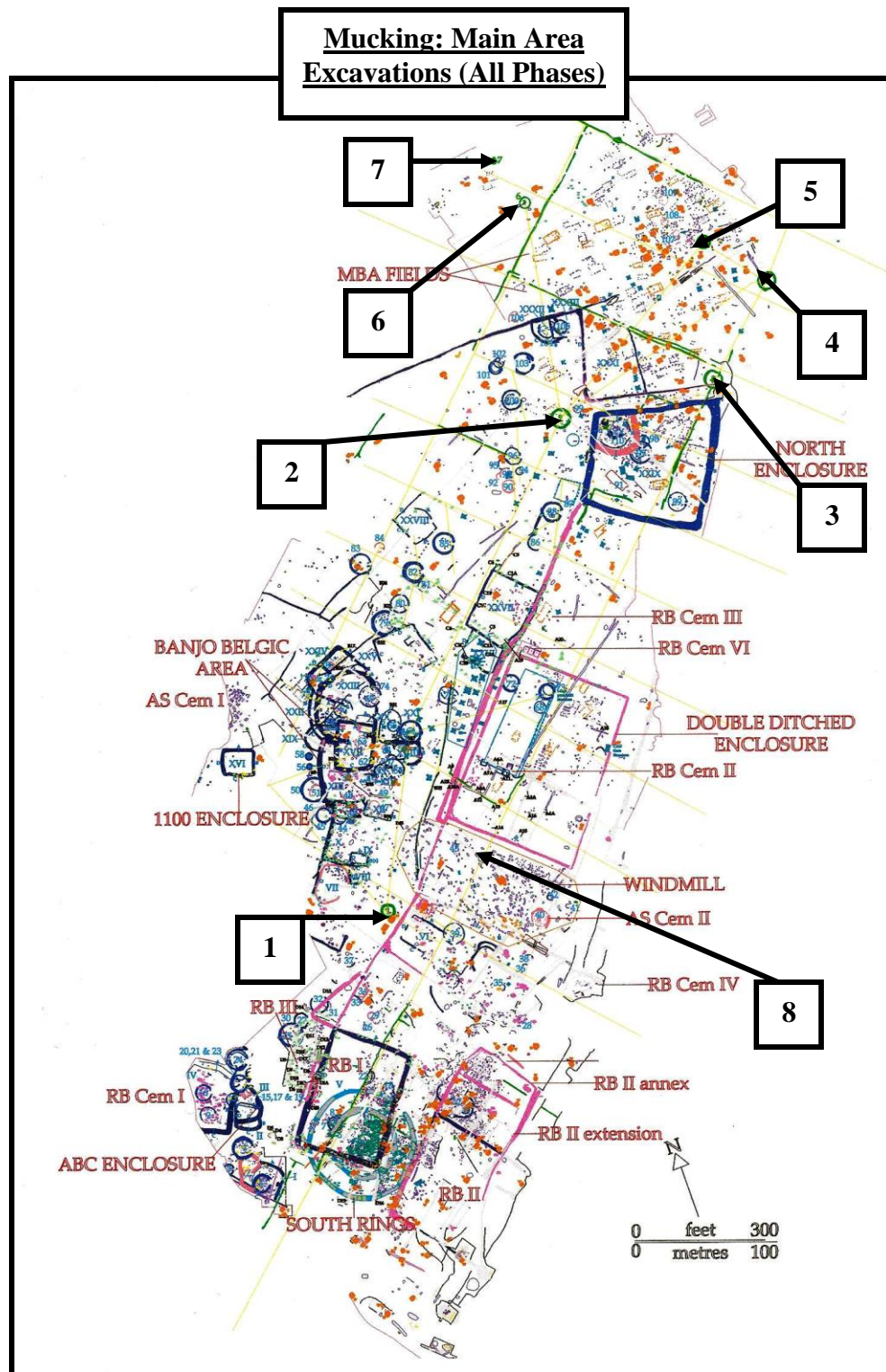


Fig. 4.3: Plan of the main Mucking excavation area showing all the phases of activity with the barrow location noted (available from: <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/.pdf>).

Whilst Mucking is by no means the centre of all activity in the region, it does have a unique concentration of activity from multiple prehistoric and historical periods. Nearby locations such as Linford, with Iron Age–Saxon occupation (Barton, 1962); Rainbow Wood, with Iron Age pits and post-holes (Potter, 1974), or the Orsett ‘Cock’, a triple ditched enclosure with occupation from the middle Iron Age to the 1st Century AD (Toller, 1980), are lacking, as they fail to meet the requirement for earlier prehistoric evidence to make them suitable sites for examination. This absence of evidence could indicate either a lack of identification of relevant features from the excavations, or the product of episodic settlement contraction, expansion, creation and abandonment in the area.

4.2.1. The north ring

The north ring at Mucking (Fig. 4.4), is a circular, ditched enclosure with associated internal structures and an assemblage of later Bronze Age material, lying within a pre-existing, middle Bronze Age landscape (Bond, 1988). The Bronze Age occupation at this site is preceded by slight traces of Neolithic use with Mortlake sherds in a single pit feature designated (656); (Bond, 1988, 14). When the southern ring fell out of use, there was a shift in focus to this northern point (see Fig. 4.2); (Clark, 1993, 19). The northern ring has several distinct phases of use (Bond, 1988, 14). The surrounding ditch, for example, is cut into two distinct phases with the second cut following the line of the original feature 0.5m outside, creating a prominent separating clay spine (Bond, 1988, 8). The cutting of the second ditch removed much of the filling of its predecessor, displacing many artefacts into residual contexts (Bond, 1988, 8). Whilst the functions of a great many of the excavated post-holes still remain unclear, three circular buildings and a fence or post line, splitting the internal area of the feature have been identified (Bond, 1988, 11; 19). Between these two phases of occupation, the ditch was used to deposit three cremations containing gold rings of middle, possibly late, Bronze Age date (Bond, 1988, 16). The feature had limited Iron Age use anywhere from 830–570 BC and some evidence of Saxon interaction (Bond, 1988, 8; 14).

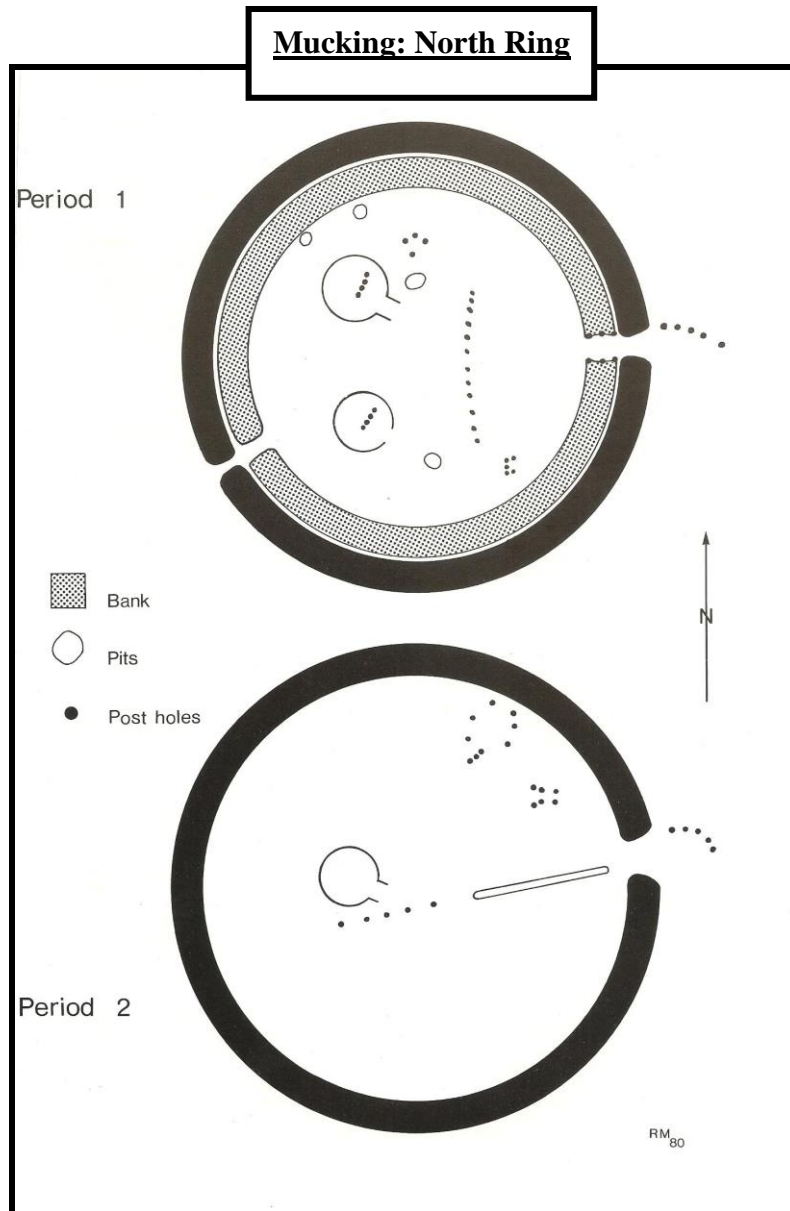


Fig. 4.4: Periods one and two of occupation at the North Ring, Mucking (Bond, 1988, 17).

Apart from a few sherds of pottery, there appears to have been little later Iron Age or Roman period activity here. Essentially, the feature was ignored during the late Iron Age and Roman periods. This lack of activity is reflected in the northern portions of the larger complex area, approximately 350m to the south-west along the spur (Bond, 1988, 54). Perhaps this is a reflection of settlement contraction occurring at some point in the middle

to late Iron Age: a notable feature of settlement patterns in Essex in the 3rd – 1st centuries BC (Hill, 2007, 24), or perhaps there is some connection to the development of the nucleated small settlements in the southern area of the spur, noted previously (Clark, 1993, 18–19).

4.2.2. *The south rings*

The chronological extent of the settlement at the southern rings during the Bronze Age is unknown (Clark, 1993, 19). The ditch profiles indicate that it was filled by silting to such an extent, that the feature all but disappeared as a visual marker in the landscape (ibid.). Overlain by four round houses in the late Iron Age, the southern ring is ignored by later settlement activity. However, it is cut by part of an extensive field system that spread outward from the main concentration of later settlement activity to the north and east of this feature (Clark, 1993, 20).

The construction of the rings (Fig. 4.5) appears to be aligned using part of the middle Bronze Age field system for the inner banks of some of the ditches. At the time they were constructed, there may have been some residual, or at least, visible element of the earlier field system, to provide a partial marker for the location of the ditches. The Iron Age and Roman activity here does not show any visible consideration for the presence of the prehistoric enclosure, nor is the feature used as a marker for later constructions, apart from one instance, where burial activity (RB II) to the south-east appears to abut the enclosure ditch. The later Roman enclosure ditches give no thought to its presence, indicating that any memory, or any visible indication, of prehistoric activity here probably did not survive. It is impossible to ascertain if any residual, visible marker of prehistoric activity would have had any effect on subsequent interactions in any case.

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4.2.3. The landscape between the rings

The Mucking excavations revealed no clearly identifiable Palaeolithic tool forms and only sparse evidence of Mesolithic activity (Clark, 1993, 18). Early Neolithic activity was in evidence with lithic assemblages in three pits: (11636), (6342) and (6349) (ibid.). Later Neolithic activity is more concrete and better defined, with large quantities of Grooved Ware being found in 13 features in a limited area to the north-west western extent of the Roman cemetery (III), although it does not appear that the placement of the cemetery boundary is in any way linked with this concentration. Overall, Neolithic activity between the rings is ephemeral enough to assume that it has no bearing on any subsequent late Iron Age or Roman activity. However, this is not the case with Bronze Age features. For simplicity's sake, these features can be split into two basic, morphologically similar types: field boundaries and barrows or ring ditches. Note that the following information is derived from several maps included with the main boxed Mucking reports that are not colour coded (Clark, 1993) and from the Mucking excavations online resource at:

(http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-879-1/dissemination/pdf/Prehistoric/barrows_text.pdf)

And

(http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/mucking_eh_2008/downloads.cfm)

The lines of the Bronze Age field systems (Fig. 4.6) are, to a large extent, ignored by the lines of the Iron Age and Roman field systems. Whilst there are some correlations between the locations of these features where they follow a similar topography, there are just as many instances where the earlier boundaries are cut by features at a 45 degree angle to their original course. This indicates that the later systems were, in all probability, following the current topography in the placement of their constructions, with little regard for the course of the pre-existing lines. Some remain uncut in the northern extent of the main excavation area, where the Iron Age and Roman field systems did not extend.

Eight features were identified as barrow structures by the comprehensive excavations at Mucking (Fig. 4.6). With early Roman activity largely confined to the southern extent of the excavated area, the northernmost portion of the site, where five of these features were situated, is left relatively free of interference. However, even those examples, in areas where extensive Iron Age and Roman period activity occurred, are left unscathed. When the landscape surrounding them is undergoing a great deal of change, they are largely left intact and respected, until after the 5th century AD. The way in which these features were respected, or interacted with, is as follows:

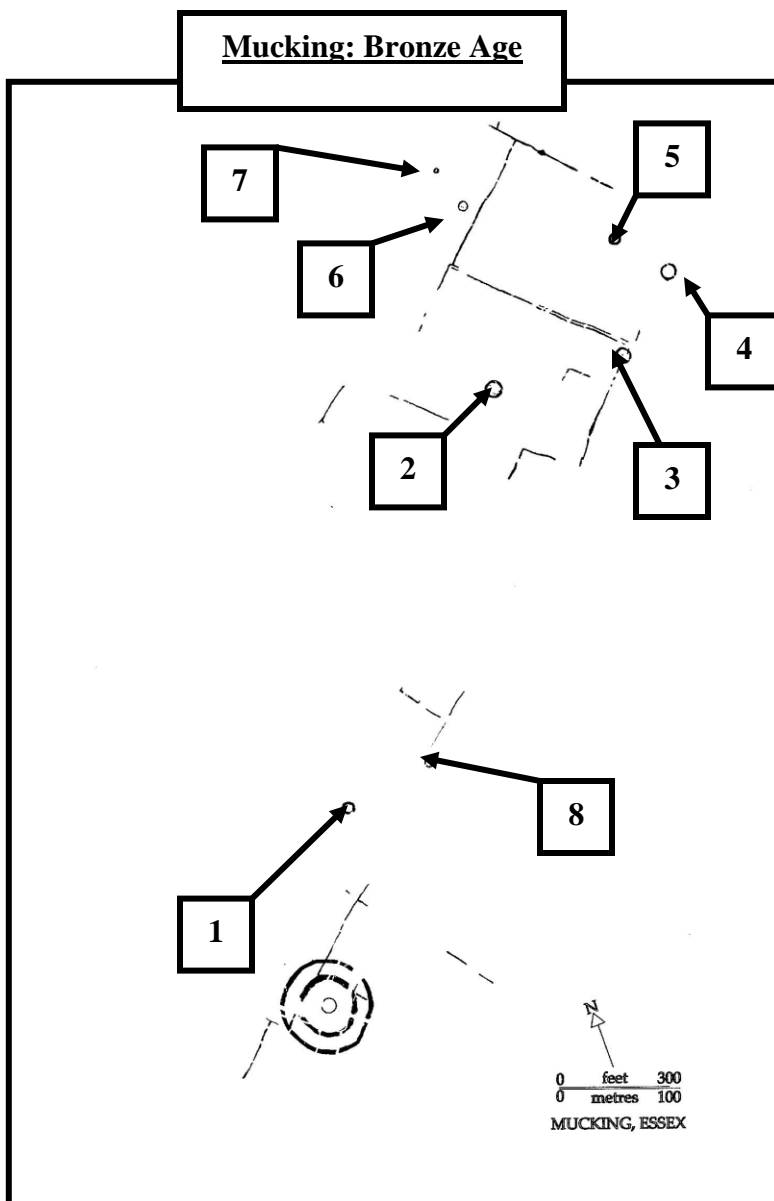


Fig. 4.6: The remains of Bronze Age activity (highlighted in green in Fig. 4.3) identified by the excavations carried out at Mucking, with barrow locations shown (available from the Mucking Archives: ADS.ac.uk).

4.2.4. Barrow one

Barrow one (Fig. 4.7), is a 9.75m diameter feature that is currently undated. It is located in that portion of the site which revealed intensive and extensive Iron Age and Roman activity. When other features are cut into the landscape nearby, including a large ditch feature that encloses one phase of the Iron Age/Roman settlement less than five meters away, the barrow itself remains mostly uncut by later activity, with only a small pit containing a single sherd of Iron Age pottery located in the interior. The very top fills, as well as the lower surface of the ditch, contained a small number of abraded sherds of mixed prehistoric and Roman pottery. It is not until after the hiatus in occupation at the end of the Roman period that its circumference is cut by Grubenhause number 76 (8925). Despite the concentration of later activity around the feature, it remains in an oddly featureless oasis. This could indicate that the mound remained a visible marker in the landscape for some considerable time and that some sense of sacred status, or other ritual significance, was ascribed, making it an inviolate space. It was unused until a community that either disregarded it, or had no prior sense of ancestral connections with the feature, began to live and work here. The spread of later material is not definitive and could equally indicate that the residual presence of the feature was respected, or largely ignored.

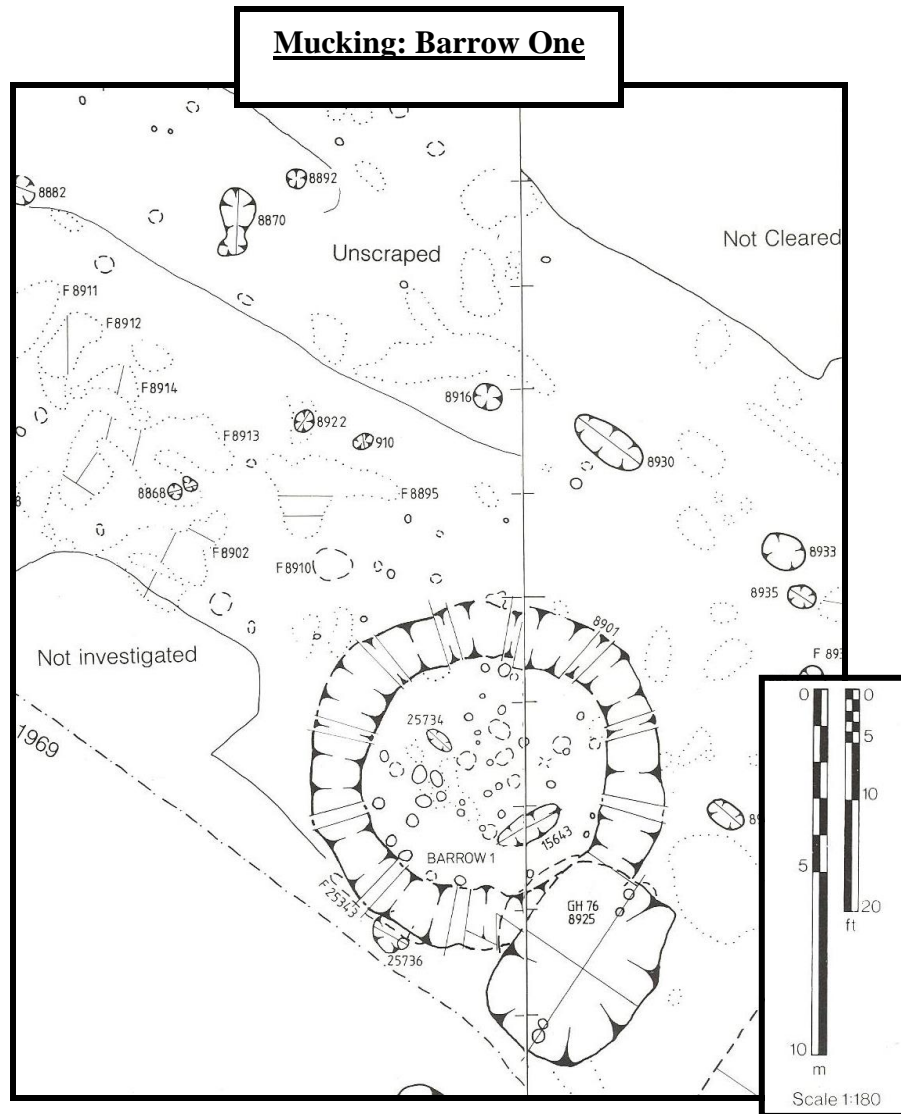


Fig. 4.7: Feature designated barrow one at Mucking (taken from the Site Plan Atlas produced by Ann Clark for English Heritage, 1993).

4.2.5. Barrow two

Barrow two (Fig. 4.8) is thought to have been constructed in the middle Bronze Age. It is located on the outer edge of the Iron Age and Roman period intensive activity zone. The 14m wide diameter of the feature is cut by feature (10674). Feature (10672) runs parallel to this, only 0.5m away and there is a series of post-holes abutting the northern ditch. Although it cannot be discerned from the site plans, the online recourses clearly show that all of these later features date to the 5th or 6th century AD (Hamerow, 1993, 86–87). Despite its location, the feature seems to remain inviolate during the research period, with no identifiable Iron Age or Roman material in the fills.

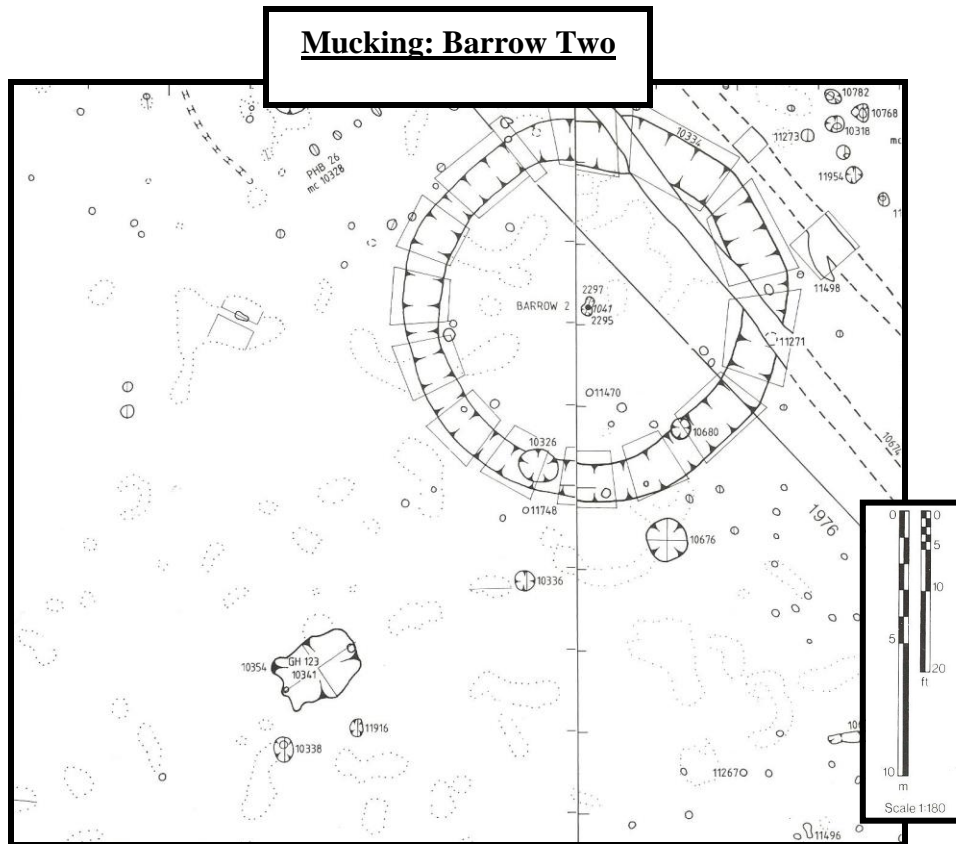


Fig. 4.8: Feature designated barrow two at Mucking (taken from the Site Plan Atlas produced by Ann Clark for English Heritage, 1993).

4.2.6. Barrows three and four

Barrow three (Fig. 4.9), another middle Bronze Age example (1590–1105 cal. BC), is 13.1m in diameter and lies just to the north of some of the most expansive Iron Age and Roman ditch cuts on the site. The southern extent of the feature shows a large amount of cut and recut features, including (10581) and (11302), cut into the southern portion of the feature and (11304) that protrudes into the northern hemisphere of the feature, with the southernmost cuts being Iron Age and Roman in date. Perhaps this is due to its positioning, 7–8m north of the main field systems. Possibly, this has occurred due to the fact that it is the most easterly barrow feature, positioned on a downward slope. It is possible that the feature had no visible reference; it may have been in-filled or destroyed prior to the later field lines being established, or its presence may have been simply ignored. Barrow four (Fig. 4.10), is a 12.8m diameter feature dated to 1450–950 cal. BC, aligned in close proximity to barrow five along a north-west, south-east axis with barrows six and seven. Barrow four has a later ditch cutting through the centre and a smaller intrusion of another linear feature but (25676) and (25670) respectively are 5th and 6th century AD features.

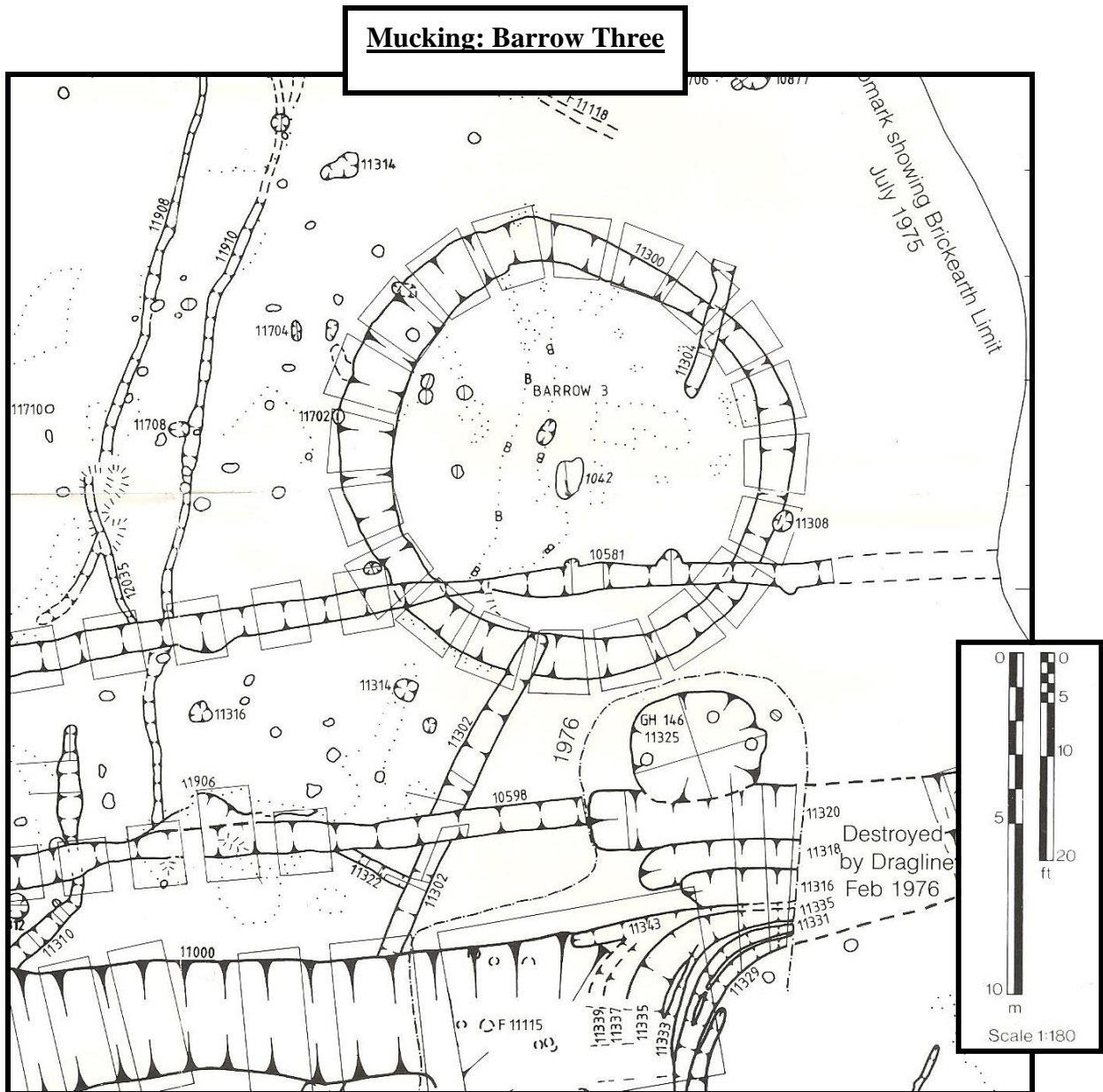


Fig. 4.9: Feature designated barrow three at Mucking (taken from the Site Plan Atlas produced by Ann Clark for English Heritage, 1993).

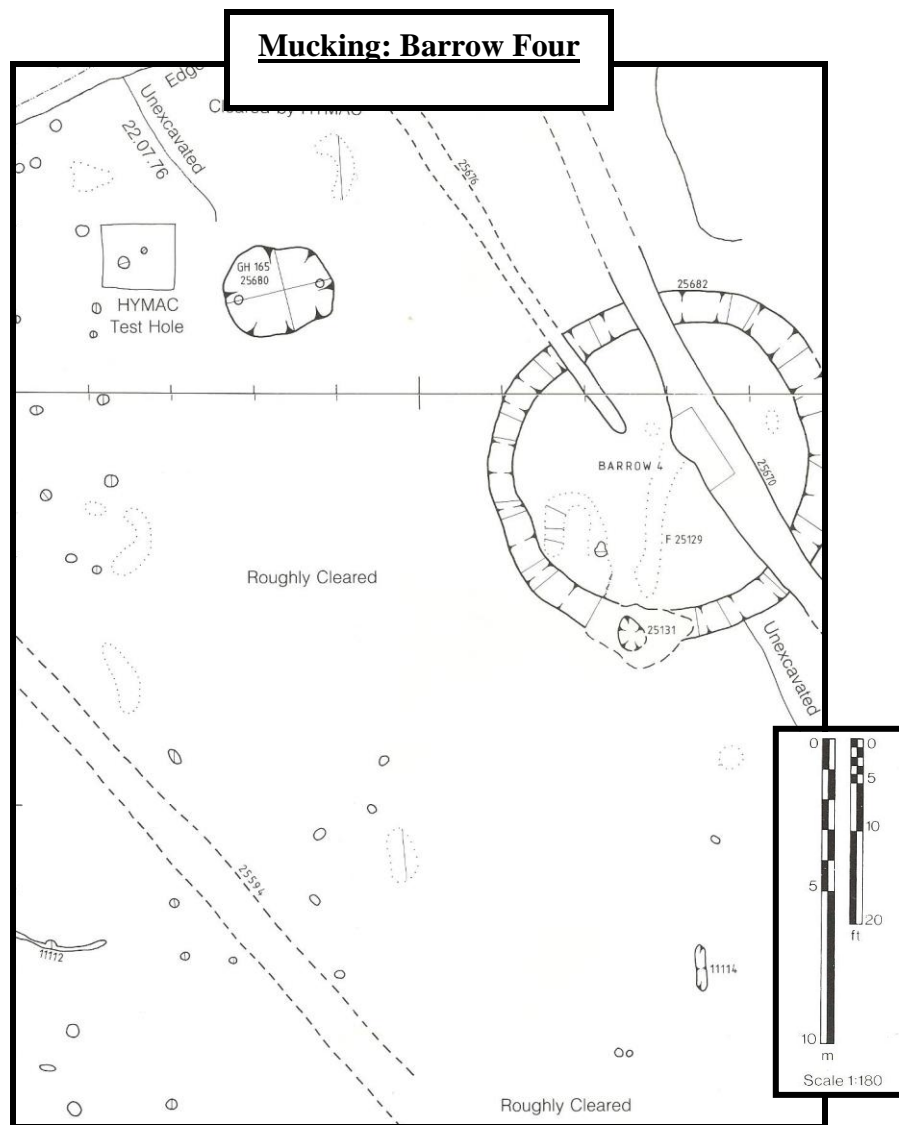


Fig. 4.10: Feature designated barrow four at Mucking (taken from the Site Plan Atlas produced by Ann Clark for English Heritage, 1993).

4.2.7. Barrow five

Barrow five is a 9.75m diameter feature located in the same general area to the south of barrow four. Charcoal, in the primary ditch fill, gives a potential date of use as either (1750–1420 cal. BC) or (1680–1315 cal. BC), meaning that it was constructed possibly as much as 300 years earlier than barrow four. The area in the immediate vicinity of the barrow has extensive Saxon, and three Iron Age, features, but there was no evidence for any later recuts of the feature itself.

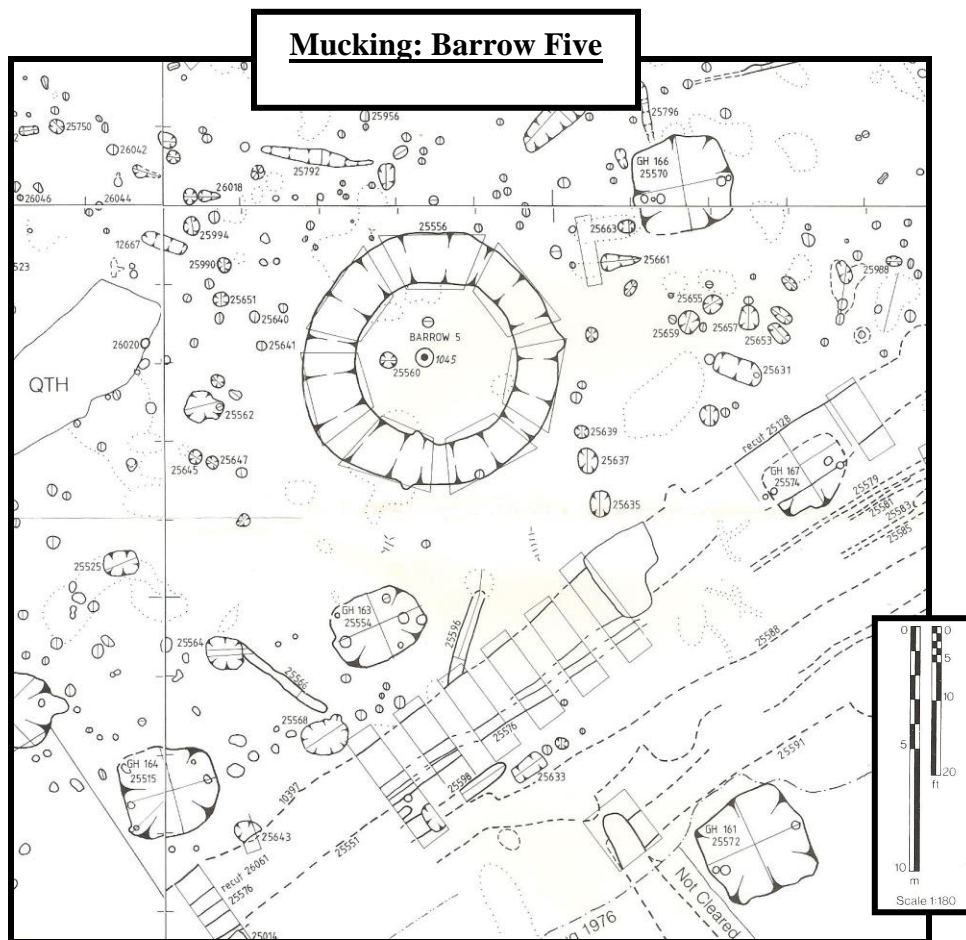


Fig. 4.11: Feature designated barrow five at Mucking (taken from the Site Plan Atlas produced by Ann Clark for English Heritage, 1993).

2.2.8. *Barrow six*

Barrow six (Fig. 4.12), is a 9.93m diameter feature, probably of middle Bronze Age date, that also contained late Bronze Age cremations. Located in the northern section of the main excavation area, it lies wholly outside of the Iron Age and Roman occupation area, 30m from barrow seven. One feature, (25101), cuts directly through the centre, but this singular cut is again from the 5th century AD. The lack of late Iron Age and Roman interaction here could be viewed from two perspectives. It could be argued that this feature, and those others in the northern part of the main excavation area, were the subject of deliberate respect. The fact that the Iron Age and Roman field systems did not extend into the area where this feature is located, was due to a collective, communal decision to reserve part of the landscape that had ancestral connections which provided a vital component in the cohesiveness of the community. Alternatively, it could be seen as a reflection of the subsistence needs of a smaller community. During the Iron Age and Roman periods, the population here could have been smaller than during the Bronze Age. They may not have required such an extensive agricultural area to meet their needs, with no need to use this portion of the landscape, it lie fallow. This scenario, discounts not only the extensive evidence of activity recovered from the excavations, but also the level of respect paid to similar features inside that portion of the landscape, subject to intense use during the late Iron Age and Roman periods, and that these are periods of population increase and agricultural expansion.

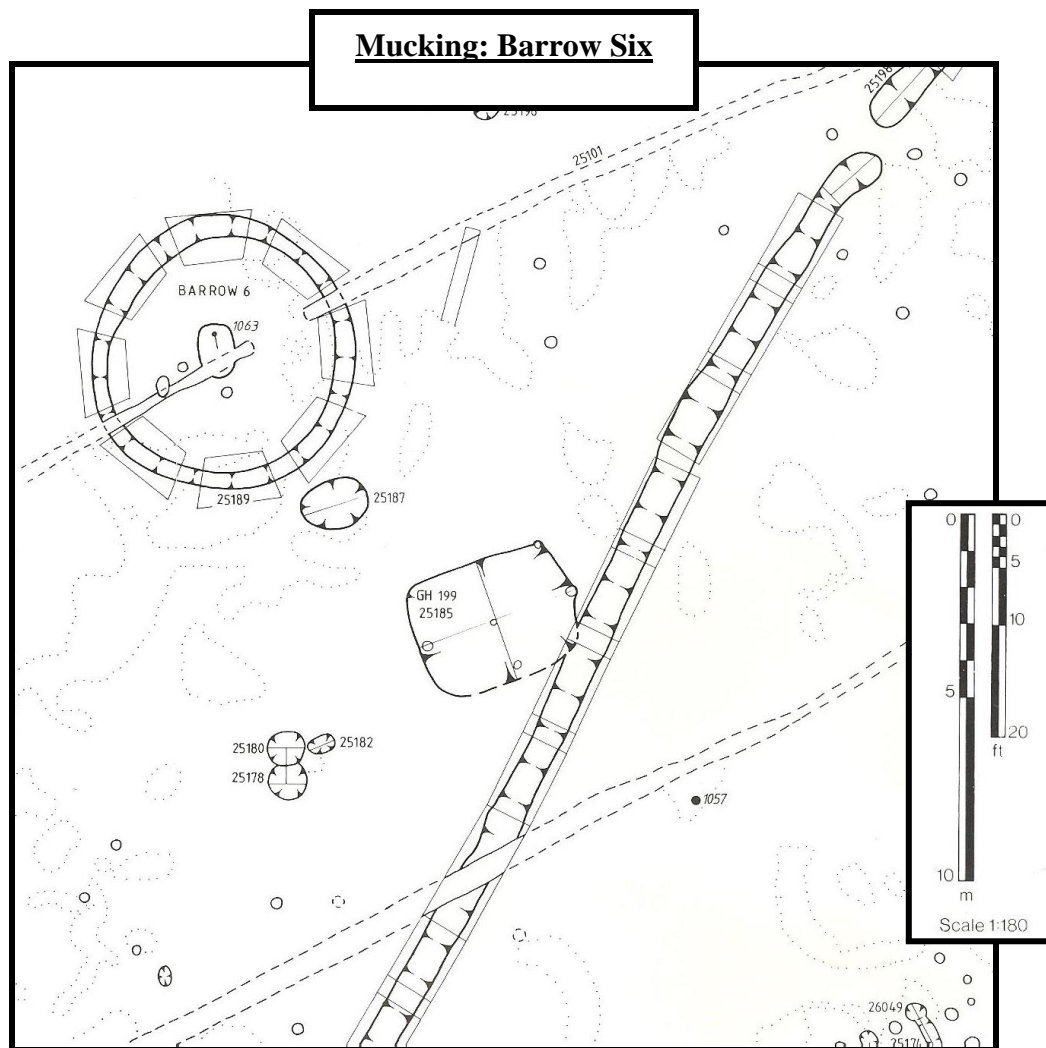


Fig. 4.12: Feature designated barrow six at Mucking (taken from the Site Plan Atlas produced by Ann Clark for English Heritage, 1993).

4.2.9. Barrow seven

Barrow seven (Fig. 4.13), is located in the upper northernmost portion of the main excavation area, away from the main areas of Iron Age and Roman activity. It is the smallest example at 4.27m in diameter. There are two Grubenhaus (203) and (204), along with a number of post features, located within a 9m radius of this barrow, but these are the closest that any later feature comes to intersecting it.

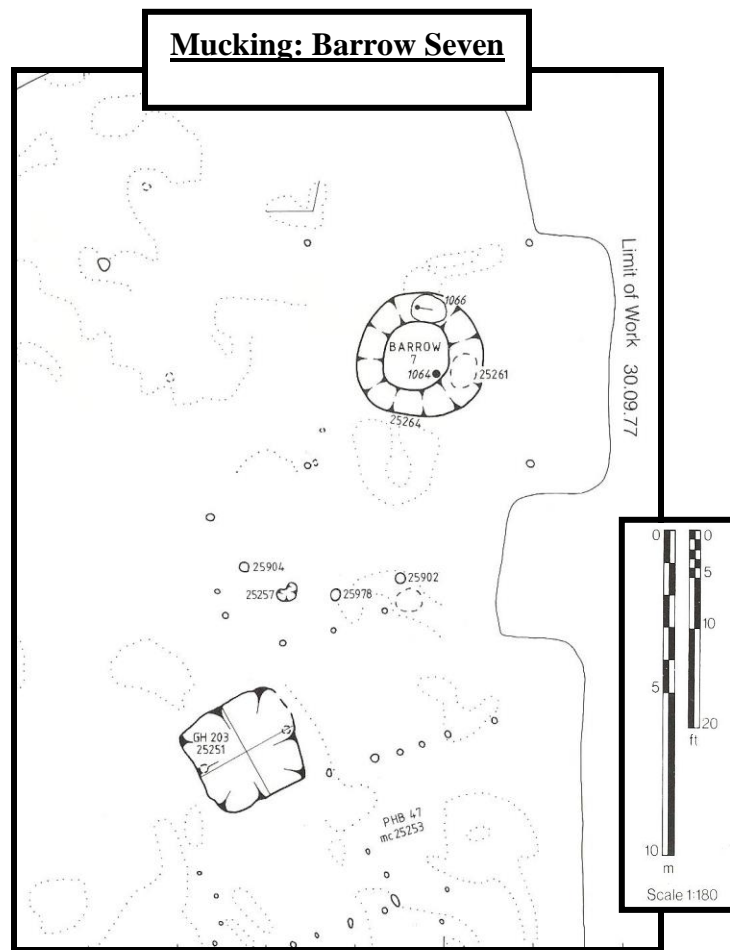


Fig. 4.13: Feature designated barrow seven at Mucking (taken from the Site Plan Atlas produced by Ann Clark for English Heritage, 1993).

4.2.10. Barrow eight

Barrow eight (Fig. 4.14), is an early, or middle Bronze Age, feature with an internal diameter of 6m. It is located in the main area of Roman and Iron Age activity 100m to the north-east of barrow one. It is cut by several later features attributed to the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, phase II. This feature is respected in a similar manner to its closest counterpart, with no evidence of disturbance present during the research period.

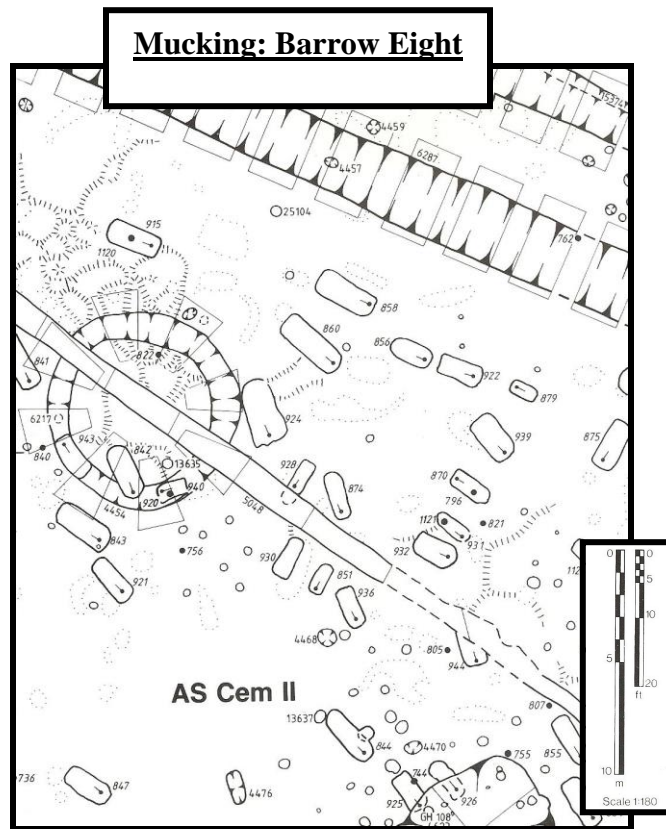


Fig. 4.14: Feature designated barrow eight at Mucking (taken from the Site Plan Atlas produced by Ann Clark for English Heritage, 1993).

4.2.11. Mucking: conclusions

When considering Mucking from the perspective of the reuse, or repurposing, of earlier prehistoric landscape features by the Iron Age and Roman period inhabitants, what stands out is the major commonalities in the way that features are treated, whether they are ignored, unreferenced, or appear to have been treated as inviolate, is largely based on their morphology. The amorphous pits of the Neolithic are unreferenced, as are the straighter features of the Bronze Age field system, whilst Bronze Age features with a rounded construction connected to burial activity, are treated in an entirely different manner. This possible pattern of respect, prefaced on feature morphology, does not, however, extend to the two large Bronze Age settlement rings.

Even when the landscape at Mucking is evolving, the fact that seven out of eight barrow features remain uncut by the course of features datable to the late Iron Age and Roman periods (see Fig. 4.3 and 4.7–4.14) could indicate that they were perceived as somehow inviolate or separate at that time, even after their original purpose was no longer relevant or remembered. Looking closely at the lines of the later field systems and the positioning of the barrows, it is also possible that some of them may have been used as sighting lines, forming the central spine of the layout of Roman Mucking (Fig. 4.15), an indication of their possible continued presence. Although there is no direct correlation between Roman cemeteries and the barrow locations, if you extrapolate an imaginary line between the central barrows, it does appear that the central spine of the later settlement and several of the cemetery locations, may be using an axis created by these features as a reference point for their location.

Perhaps the barrows were considered to be expressions of ancestral connection with the landscape; perhaps they were considered not worth the effort to destroy or were completely ignored. There may have been an element of diffused, or displaced, knowledge of their original function taking place: there are plentiful contemporary examples in Batavia, Brittany and Normandy, where there are widespread associations between prehistoric barrows and other examples of extant monumentality and Roman

burial practices occurring (Dark, 1993, 133–46). Is the way in which the area of the settlement and the surrounding landscape become wholly dedicated to the interment of the deceased after its abandonment in the later Roman period, predicated on the continuing presence of the barrows?

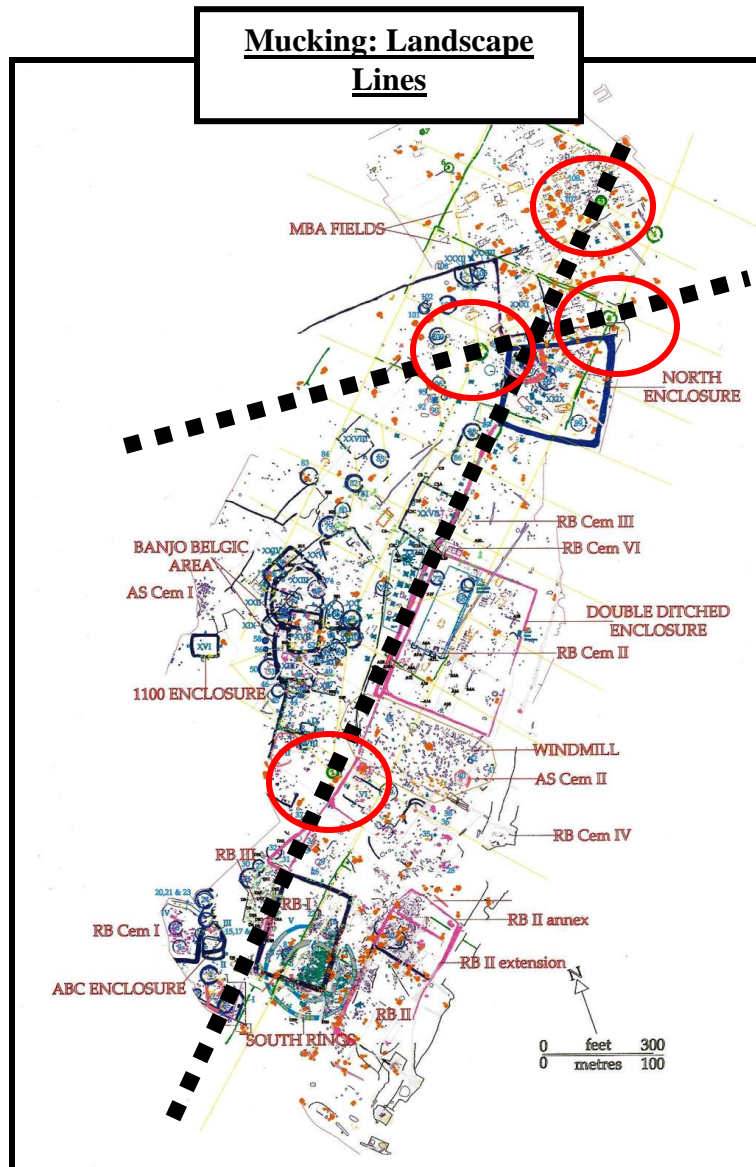


Fig. 4.15: Lines in the Mucking landscape, deliberate or coincidental placement of the Roman burial groups? (available from: <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/.pdf>).

Is there sufficient evidence from Mucking to state, with confidence, that the remains of Bronze Age interactions with the landscape are somehow more significant than those which came before? The evidence of respect paid, or significance ascribed, to the majority of the barrows must be weighed against that received by the field systems and the two enclosures. The Bronze Age field system has a relationship with many later features that is not uniform across the excavated area. There are instances where it is followed by the line of the later features, where it is cut by them, where the lines are ignored and places where later features run in a close parallel. This multiplicity of circumstances suggests that some ephemeral traces of the system still existed, but they were not considered to be of any importance. Even in those instances where Iron Age and Roman features do, partially, parallel the lines of this system, the correlations do not give the impression that there is any underlying past connection with these lines ascribing them symbolic meaning. Their presence indicates that the structure, or boundary, is following a course which happens to correlate with the line of the older feature; whether this is because of a residual visible presence, such as a ditch or hedgerow, or simply because it was the best place topographically speaking to place it, is uncertain. The enclosure rings are treated in a similar manner. The northern ring is ignored for at least 900 years after its last limited use at around 570 BC. The southern ring, whilst it does see some later period activity in the form of large, ditched enclosures being placed over its circumference, is equally as disregarded as the northern enclosure, 350m north of the main excavation area. Essentially, apart from the majority of the barrows here, other prehistoric features are largely ignored during the research period. It is possible that the size difference between the barrows and the rings is one reason why the barrow features may have survived for an extended period and the larger ring features did not. From a purely practical standpoint, at a maximum of 14m in diameter, it may have been easier to work around them rather than destroy them, as the agricultural requirements of the community expanded.

4.3. Case Study: Springfield/Springfield Lyons

Springfield is located between the old A12 London to Colchester road and the modern A12 bypass, on the eastern outskirts of Chelmsford, in Essex (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 1). This case study concentrates on the landscape surrounding two areas of significant prehistoric activity: the Springfield Cursus and the large, late Bronze Age enclosure at Springfield Lyons, approximately 950m–1km north-west of the cursus monument. Oval and sub-rectangular enclosures occur throughout the river systems in Essex, but it is only in the Springfield area where there is a complex series of prehistoric settlements, along with extensive Neolithic monumental activity (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 153). Other cropmarks appear between these locations but there are no records of any detailed investigations into their origins. A data query concerning the location on the ADS website revealed that there are a large number of Second World War defensive structures in the vicinity. It is possible that these cropmarks are unexcavated, prehistoric features but they are equally likely to be 20th century military constructions.

4.3.1. *Springfield cursus*

Springfield cursus is located at TL 732069, north-east of Barnes Farm (Fig. 4.16) which lies approximately 800m east of the junction of the A12 and A130 in Essex (Buckley et al., 2001, 101). Excavations were carried out between 1979 and 1985, on a gently sloping gravel terrace above the floodplain, north of the River Chelmer, which is approximately 25m AoD (Buckley et al., 2001, 103). The lines of the cursus are not exactly parallel. The distance between the two ditches of the monument is 49m at the western terminus and 39m at the east (Fig. 4.17). This arrangement is not due to any error on the part of those who constructed it, but deliberately done so as to conform to the topography of the slope along its 690m length (Buckley et al., 2001, 103). The presence of a large tree-throw at the point where the monument alters its alignment, could indicate that the layout was designed to take into account the placement of a sacred tree (Buckley et al., 2001, 153). There is an extended period of activity here, spanning the later Neolithic and early Bronze Age, with some deliberate, later deposition in the ditch (Buckley et al., 2001,

110). In addition to the main monument, a ring ditch is located immediately to the south which uses one of the cursus lines in its arc, and another, approximately 110–120m to the west of the western terminus (Buckley et al., 2001, 114–19). Neolithic and Bronze Age settlement activity at the monument was concentrated on the eastern terminus (Fig. 4.18). In addition to the settlement evidence, a series of post-holes forming a timber circle, the western arc of which had been destroyed by a sewer trench, was located inside the ditches (Buckley et al., 2001, 112–13).

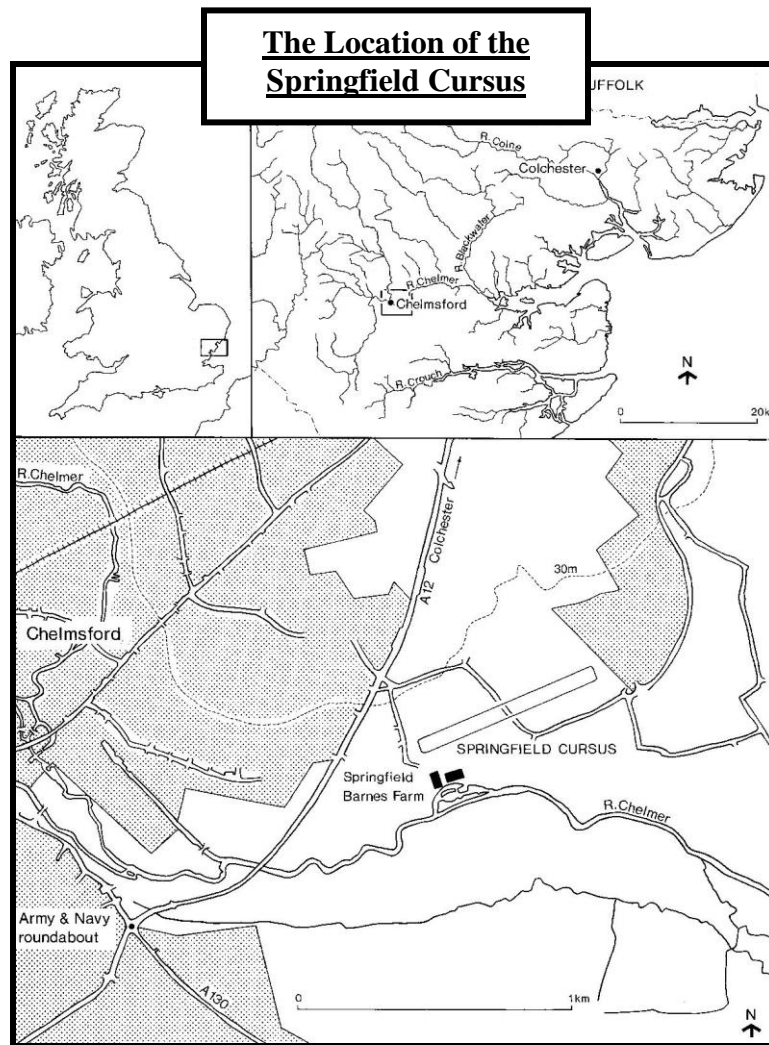


Fig. 4.16: The location of the Cursus at Springfield near Chelmsford (Buckley et al., 2001, 102).

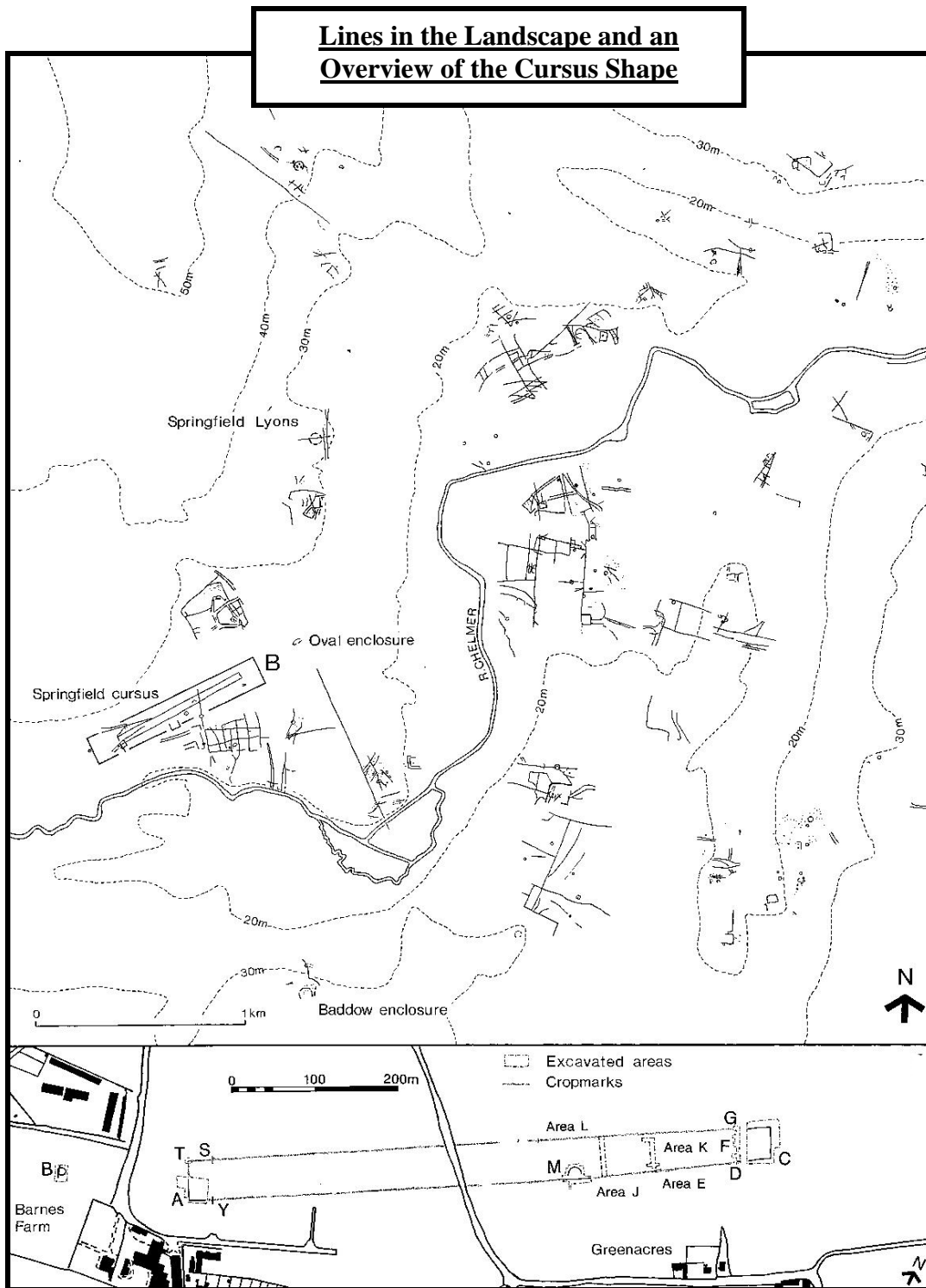


Fig. 4.17: An overview of the Springfield Cursus in the wider landscape and a plan showing its slight curvature (Buckley et al., 2001, 104).

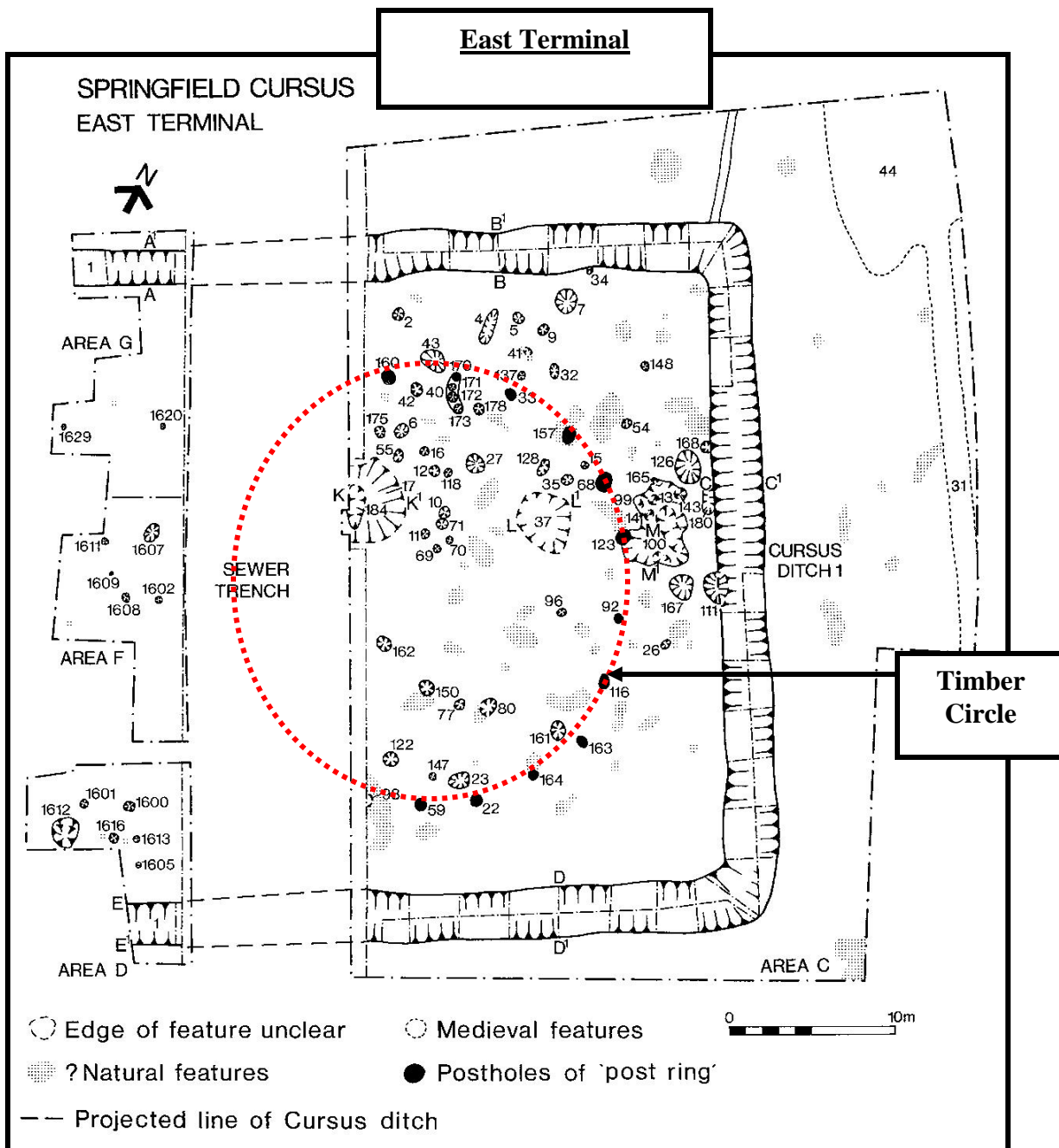


Fig. 4.18: Features from the excavations at the eastern terminal of the Springfield Cursus (Buckley et al., 2001, 106).

4.3.2. Springfield Lyons enclosures

The Springfield Lyons enclosures (Fig. 4.19) were excavated from 1981 to 1991 as part of a programme of excavations carried out due to a planned expansion of Chelmsford (Brown and Medlycott, 2013). The original focus of the fieldwork was a circular enclosure, 60m in diameter, located on a spur of land in the Chelmer Valley (Brown and Medlycott, 2013). The spur was relatively steep, shallowing out towards the valley floor and defined by the course of two small streams which were, at the time of excavation, little more than spring-fed ditches. The enclosure proved to be late Bronze Age in date, contemporary with the north ring at Mucking (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 1).

Examination of the area outside of the Bronze Age enclosure revealed the presence of an extensive causewayed enclosure of early Neolithic date (Fig. 4.20), rich in artefactual deposits. The form of the late Bronze Age enclosure is thought to have been a conscious emulation of the nearby Neolithic feature (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 1).

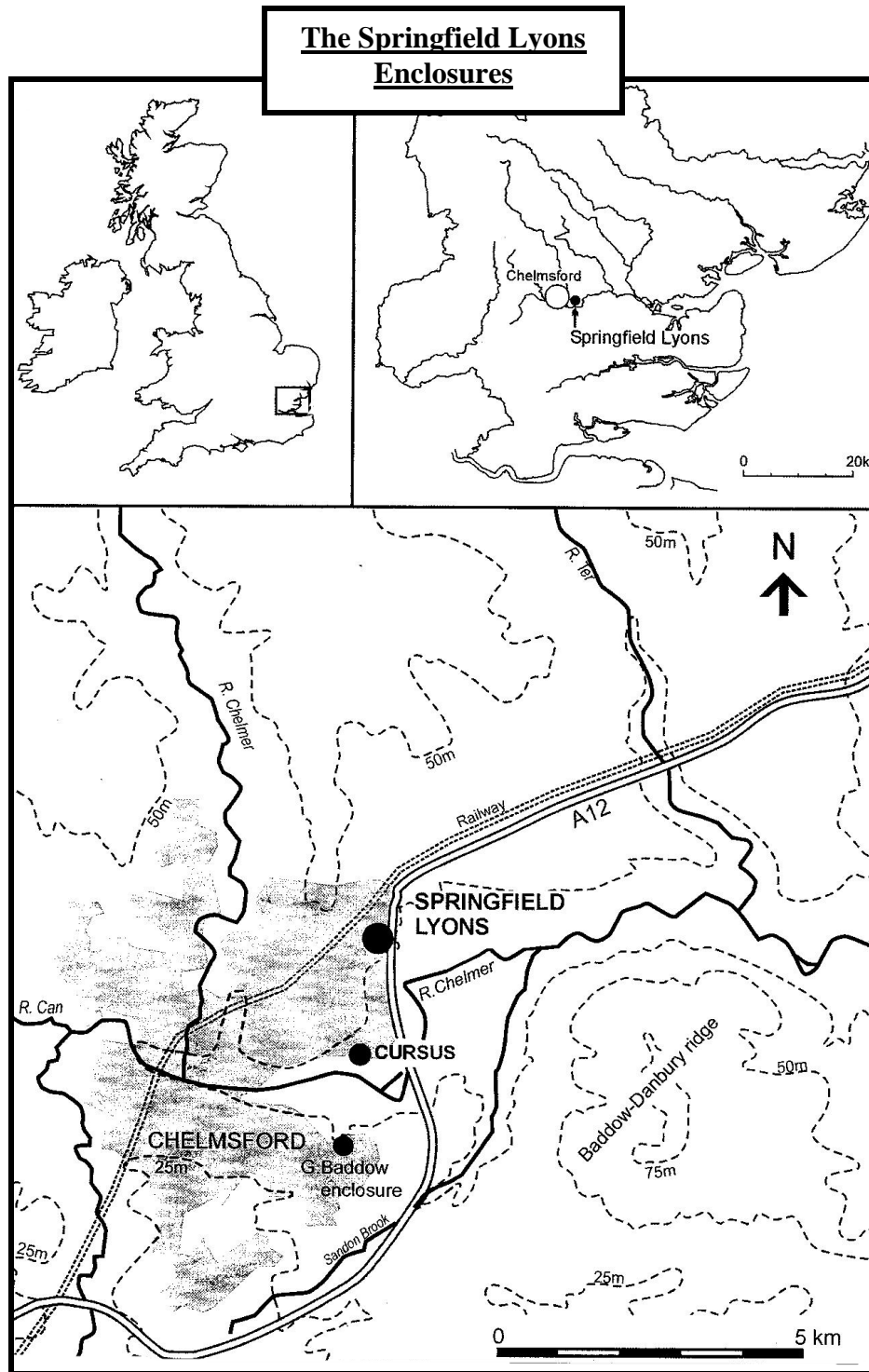


Fig. 4.19: Map showing the location of the Springfield Lyons Enclosure in relation to Chelmsford and the Cursus (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, Fig. 1.1, xii).

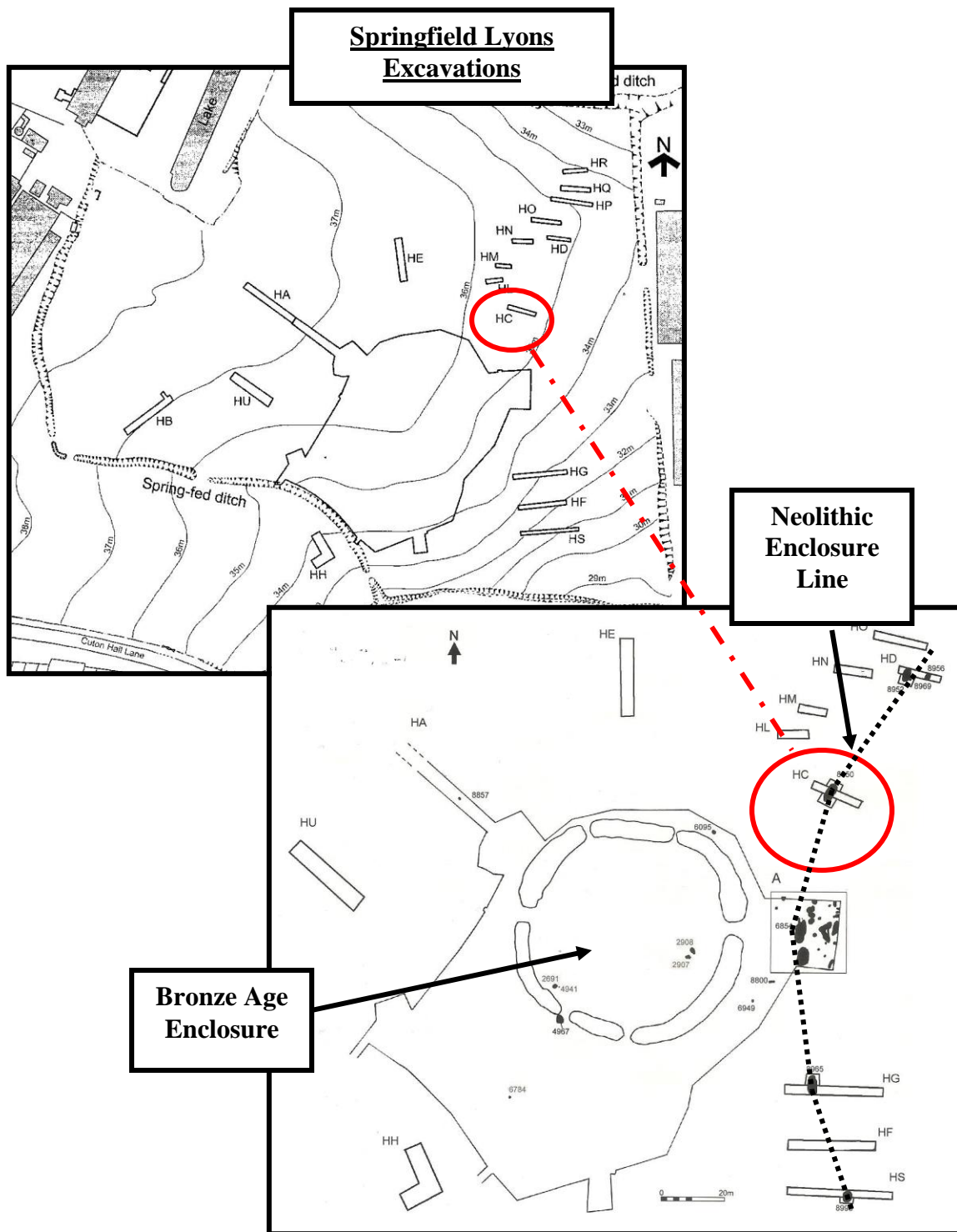


Fig. 4.20: The relationship between the Bronze Age and Neolithic enclosures at Springfield Lyons (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 2–3).

The excavations at Springfield revealed little evidence that prehistoric features were significant contributors to landscape development or were intentionally referenced by later interactions occurring during the late Iron Age or Roman periods. The two possible exceptions to this come from the interior of the Springfield Lyons Bronze Age enclosure. A purposely bent sword (Fig. 4.21) has been placed as an offering in a late Iron Age pit in the centre of the enclosure and a pit containing a large quantity of charcoal (Fig. 4.22) the majority of which, derived from oak branches, was located in the enclosure ditch (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 33). This was interpreted by the excavators as a possible indication of the continued ritual use of the feature (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 162). However, it could equally indicate a discrete episode of land clearance, unrelated to the presence of the earlier feature. Whilst there are a large number of prehistoric features in the landscape which contained examples of Romano-British material culture, mainly pottery fragments, this was recovered from only the upper fills or plough soil. The 21 trenches, located along the course of the cursus monument, revealed that the ditch was gradually silted by natural processes that continued until the late Iron Age and Roman periods, when a series of new field boundaries were laid out. Romano-British and Iron Age finds were recovered only from the upper 0.2m of all the trenches (Buckley et al., 2001, 110).

**Part of the Late Iron
Age Sword Deposit**

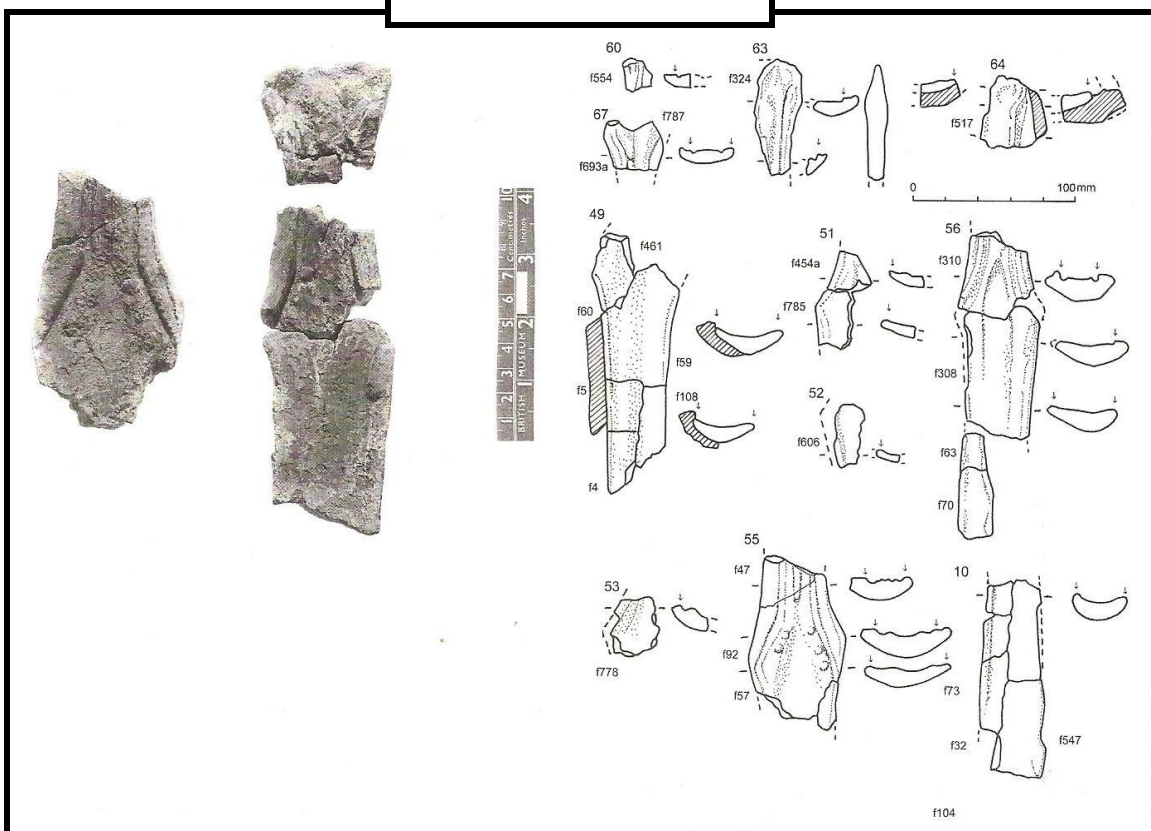


Fig. 4.21: Part of the deliberately placed sword recovered from the Bronze Age enclosure at Springfield Lyons (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 54).

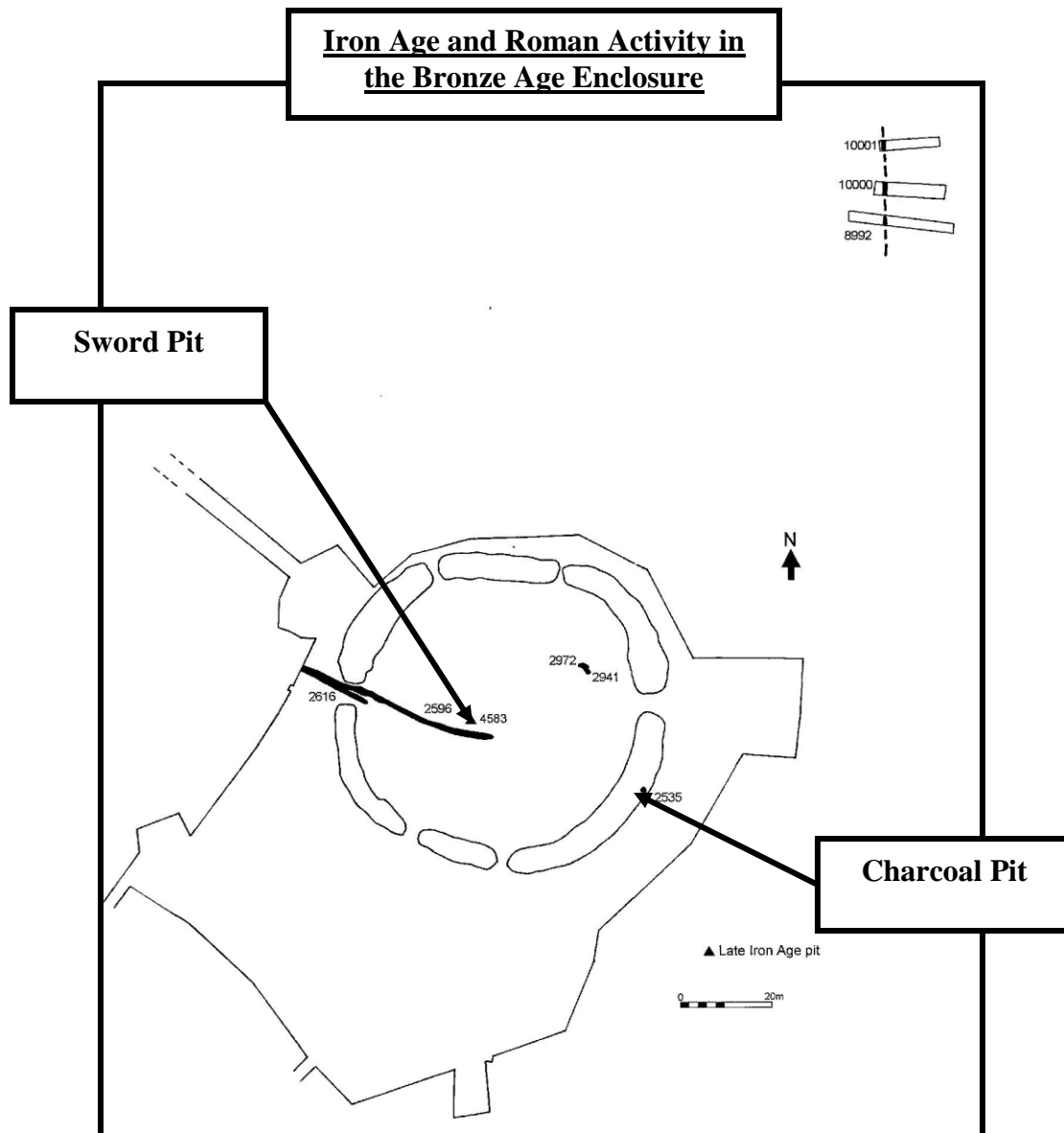


Fig. 4.22: Charcoal pit and field systems lines at the Springfield Lyons Bronze Age enclosure (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 45).

The Springfield enclosures also produced small amounts of early Roman tile fragments in the upper layers of five of the ditch segments (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 26–32; 44). The commonality between these deposits is that they are functional spreads of material, with no sense of any attempt being made to engage with the antiquity of the features they were spread over. There is no element of a deeper symbolic purpose behind these deposits that would indicate any intention to connect with any perceived past significance of the feature, or somehow incorporate it into a process of identity retention or formation.

One notable aspect of these deposits is their chronological split. Rather than a multiplicity of materials stretching throughout the Roman period, there is, for example, only 1st century and late 3rd plus 4th century material at the cursus (Priddy, 1983, 135). This could indicate that the ditches were filled completely in the 1st century AD, or there was a hiatus in use, during which, the fields are not being maintained. Either explanation is plausible, given the stratigraphic relationship between the early and late Roman material in many of the features.

The landscape of Springfield is remarkable for its chronological separation of prehistoric features. The position of the Bronze Age enclosure, for example, is a directly attributable to the nearby Neolithic feature, with a small transitional zone (see Fig. 4.20) between the two settlement areas (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 1; 152). A sense of separation can also be observed in the interior of the Lyons enclosure where it has discernibly different Bronze Age periods of occupation based on the different placements of five roundhouses (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 34–36; 40). The cursus and the Neolithic enclosure at Springfield Lyons do not appear to be contemporary constructions. Despite a very large quantity of Peterborough ware, for example, being recovered at the cursus, the causewayed enclosure has virtually none (Buckley et. al., 2001, 128). However, this separation of deposition by pottery form could equally indicate that distinctive styles were chosen due to certain ritual requirements for separate contemporary constructions.

This sense of chronological separation does not extend into the late Iron Age apart from one instance, where a small portion of a Roman field system runs through the entrance of the Bronze Age enclosure (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 44). Perhaps, at this time, the feature was of sufficient size that levelling it was considered a significant task; it was simpler to incorporate the remains of the extant ditches into any new field system rather than fill them and create a new landscape alignment. Part of the outer ditch was still apparent long after the period covered by this research as it formed a boundary of an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery, apart from the south-west side, where inhumations are unconstrained by the presence of the enclosure, indicating that this portion may have

been destroyed by that time (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 33–34). When discussing the cursus area, there is no such ambivalence; the western ring ditch is cut through by an Iron Age ditch (Buckley et al., 2001, 119). The plan suggests that this Bronze Age feature was, itself, overlaying an earlier, linear ditch. Those features that contained Roman, or later material, display no respect for the lines of the cursus, ring ditches or any feature attributable to the earlier prehistoric landscape (Buckley et al., 2001, 109).

4.3.3. Springfield conclusions

Similar to the situation at Mucking, Neolithic activity at Springfield is again, unreferenced during the late Iron Age and Roman periods. Contrary to the situation observed at Mucking, the Bronze Age evidence in the Springfield landscape fares little better. The Lyons enclosure is the only instance where significant, later interactions can be observed. The fact that the feature interacted with is Bronze Age may, however, be an irrelevant consideration. In this example, Gosden and Lock's (1998) theories on genealogical and mythical histories and memory associations begins to break down. When dealing with a significant, monumental landscape feature, they have validity but how does this apply to a circular ditch in a landscape of ditches and depressions? Would the relative antiquity of this particular feature be recognised? Would the chronological relationship between it, and all of the other instances of similar ditches and depressions, have been transmitted through the intervening generations? What sets it apart from the other examples are its circular form and the fact that it is a much deeper cut than other features in the immediate vicinity. The cursus ditch, is at best, 0.2m in depth in the 1st century AD (Buckley et al., 2001, 110), but the enclosure, whilst as shallow as this along some sections, was 0.75-0.8m in other areas, well into the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, with the additional remains of a mounded rampart in proximity to the ditch (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 24–25). This, relatively speaking, greater visible presence of the Bronze Age Lyons enclosure, over and above the other nearby examples of prehistoric features, could explain why this feature is singled out to ritually deposit the broken sword or place a later burial, simply because it had a more substantial visible presence. Perhaps, this is a

mono-causal explanation; there may have been any number of other factors influencing these placements.

The enclosure had no evidence for earlier ritual activity revealed by the excavations but this has been translated into a place of symbolic significance by those persons within whose visual frame of reference it fell. Whoever was interacting with the landscape at the time had quite a different perception of the feature from a strictly factual appreciation of its former function. It appears its past, ritual significance may have been a construct that served a communal or individual purpose. If any sense of ancestral connection exists at all, it is somehow being skewed, or morphed, and the feature is being contextualised as part of a process of hybrid identity formation that appears to conform to Halbwachs' (1992) observations regarding current, cultural paradigms and identity construction. Alternatively, these interactions could also be interpreted as occurring through a process of identity formation where a community, with no previous ancestral connections but with an appreciation of form, are contextualising it as a cultural marker. The former scenario is no more likely than the latter. However, placement in a specific feature would require a degree of intimate knowledge of the landscape, regardless of the perceived past function of the enclosure at the time of deposition. Otherwise, it is a random placement in a convenient visible ditch with no deeper, associated meanings or purpose. Other than these specific instances, the excavations in the Springfield area provide no indication that the residual evidence of prehistoric activity was, in any way, a significant factor in subsequent interactions, or the development of the landscape, during the late Iron Age and Roman periods.

4.4. Case Study: Ardleigh

Ardleigh is located approximately 7km north-east of Colchester on the edge of the Tendring Plateau (Fig. 4.23 and Fig. 4.24), (Brown, 1999, 1). The plateau occupies much of the peninsula in Essex between the Stour and Colne estuaries and is dissected by a series of streams, which, in some cases, form steep ravines (*ibid.*). Ardleigh is situated at the head of a tributary called the Salary Brook, which has, over several centuries of agricultural exploitation, gradually softened the natural contours of the ravine. The extensive gravel deposits at Ardleigh are overlain by a much disturbed cryoturbated paleosoil (Bridgland, 1994, 301), which appears to have caused some difficulties concerning the recognition of archaeological features during excavations.

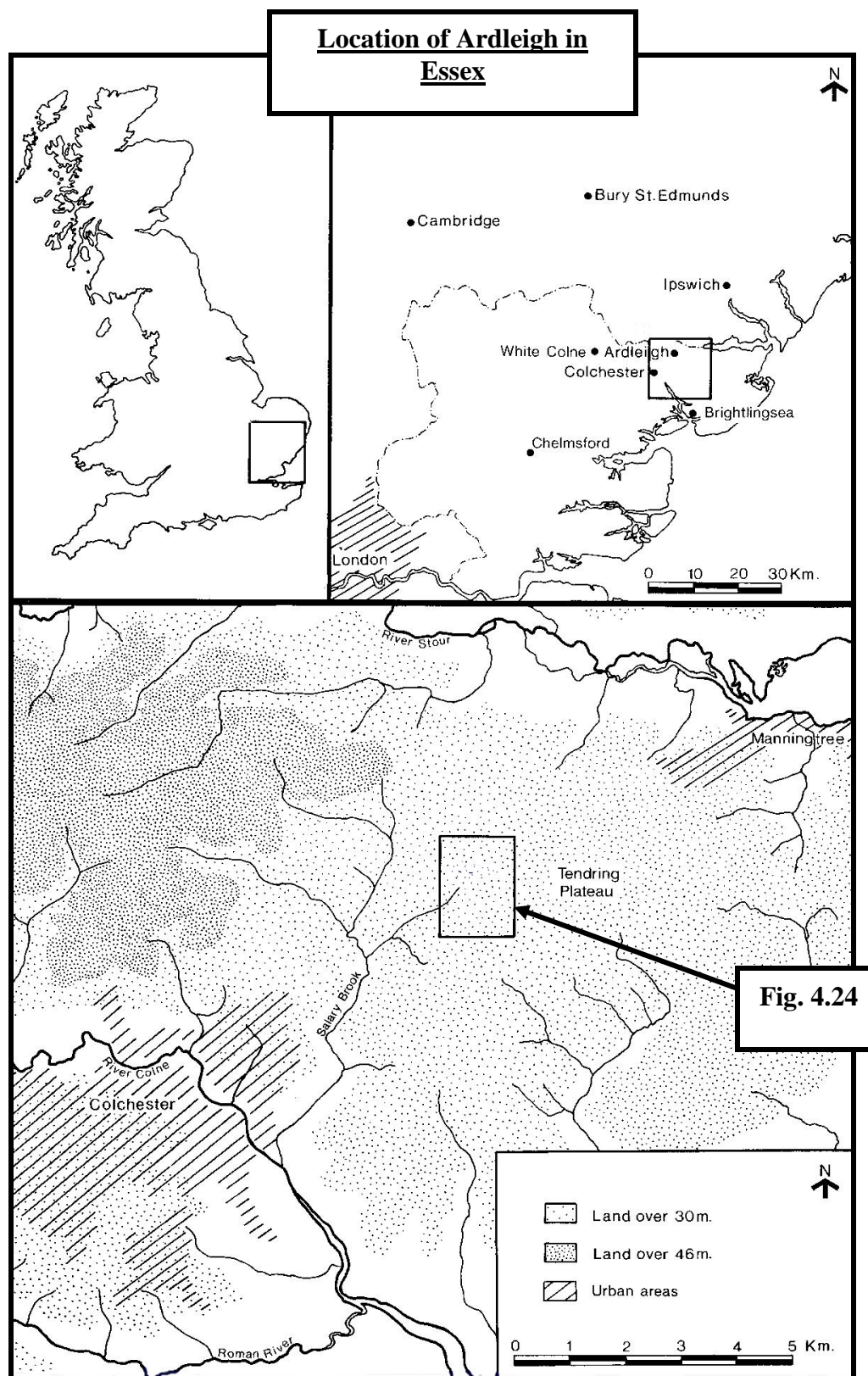


Fig. 4.23: The location of Ardleigh (Brown, 1999, Fig. 1, x)

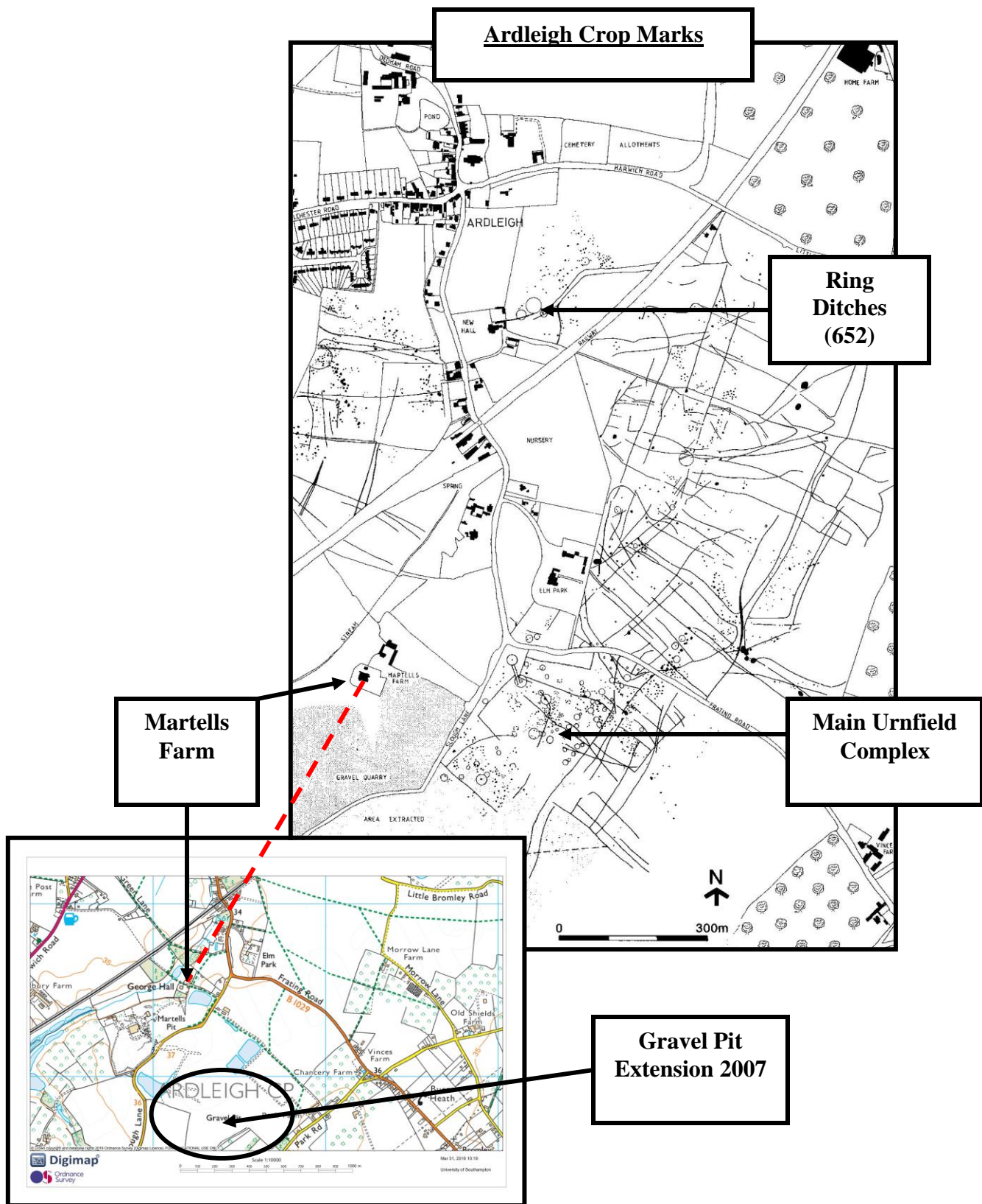


Fig. 4.24: Ardleigh showing crop marks and the main locations mentioned in the text
(Brown, 1999, 3; available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).

The earliest datable material recovered from Ardleigh is a Neolithic flint axe, recovered in 1942 (Brown, 1999, 1). Apart from this artefact, earlier prehistoric evidence is, at best, sparsely represented, with the main bulk of all the 572 excavated flints typologically representing the middle Bronze Age. Bronze Age activity is quite extensive. When mechanical ploughing was introduced to the area in the 1950s, it was noted that a large quantity of pottery was being brought to the surface. In a 20-year period, the landowner, Felix Erith with the help of the Colchester Archaeological Group in an advisory capacity, recovered in excess of 100 burial urns, most datable to the 2nd millennium BC, all within a 20 m x 250 m area. This makes Ardleigh the largest known concentration of Bronze Age burials in East Anglia (Brown, 1999, 1–4). In addition to the urnfield; subsequent excavations at Ardleigh, also revealed a group of barrows in the urnfield and a minimum of five other barrows, and two possible henges, spread throughout the vicinity. Three of the barrows within the urnfield contained Deverul-Rimbury pottery, but one had never been used (Couchman, 1975, 14). Ardleigh also has evidence of an extensive, late Iron Age settlement (Brown, 1999, 6); a middle Iron Age roundhouse, positioned well away from the main Bronze Age use in the landscape (Brown, 1999, 26), and three separate, late Iron Age burial groupings (Couchman and Savory, 1983, 7).

Given the proximity of the village to Colchester, the evidence of Roman period activity here is, understandably, quite prolific. Ardleigh was the centre of an extensive pottery industry during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD and a 2nd and 3rd century AD grave group was found to the south of the Bronze Age burial complex (Brown, 1999, 33). The presence of late Roman activity at Ardleigh is sparse and confined to one area: a series of burials in two conjoined ring ditches (652) to the north of the main cropmark complex (Brown, 1999, 182).

Before discussing the Ardleigh landscape, it is important to draw attention to a number of worrying notes in the later excavation reports and assessments concerning the level of accuracy of the initial excavations undertaken in the urnfield, especially concerning the relationship between Bronze Age features and the extent of the middle to late Roman

activity. These potential inaccuracies in the evidence were brought to light by a later interpretation of the initial excavation and by subsequent examinations of the landscape, carried out by professional excavation teams. Instances where burial pits in the major urnfield were thought to have cut through each other, on closer examination are actually instances of overcutting during excavation, with little or no thought being given to recording the pit surrounding the urns or anything else they may have contained (Brown, 1999, 165). In the more up-to-date CEU investigations of features in area seven in the late 1970s, features (7193), (7195) and (7144), in the area of the most intensive activity, all showed an unstratified mixture of Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman and modern pottery sherds along with animal and cremated human bone (Brown, 1999, 42). Features that were proximate to the urnfield and within its boundaries, have a similar lack of stratification and, whilst not stated directly, it does appear that a significant amount of artefacts were ignored by the original excavators, then backfilled into Bronze Age contexts. No thought appears to have been given to obtaining as complete a record as possible of the multi-period activity which occurred on the site: rather, there was an almost myopic concentration on Bronze Age urns. This essentially means that any statement regarding the inviolate nature of the wider urn field and the barrows during later periods, should be treated with caution. It is a possibility, that the site was used extensively for burial purposes during the research period. With no stratigraphic relationship, it is, however, impossible to determine how, or to what degree, the site may have been repurposed, or when any later interactions may have occurred. The only certainty is that what was considered detritus to the original excavators, indicates that later, episodic interactions in the area of the urnfield may have been significant.

4.4.1. The urnfield and ring ditch complex

The relationship between the prehistoric features in the urnfield and the ring ditch complex was not initially understood by the original excavators. The presence of the ring ditches (Fig. 4.25), for example, was not recognised until after the majority of Bronze Age urns had been recovered (Brown, 1999, 8). A series of further excavations carried out by the then CEU in the late 1970s was necessary in order to establish the relationship between the urn field and the ring ditches and whether the majority of cremations and interments were located within the ditches, or spread over a wider area. The data from the excavations in area seven (Fig. 4.26) showed that there was by no means any exclusivity where the deceased were placed within certain prescribed features (Brown, 1999, 173). The later excavations revealed a symbiotic relationship between the ditches and the wider urnfield, with three or four distinct episodes of mound and ditch construction. Burials were placed within some of the mounds or ditches, whilst others provided circumscribed platforms, or areas, where particular actions may have been carried out. This eventually created an elaborate cemetery topography with a convoluted access route from the east of the urnfield (ibid.).

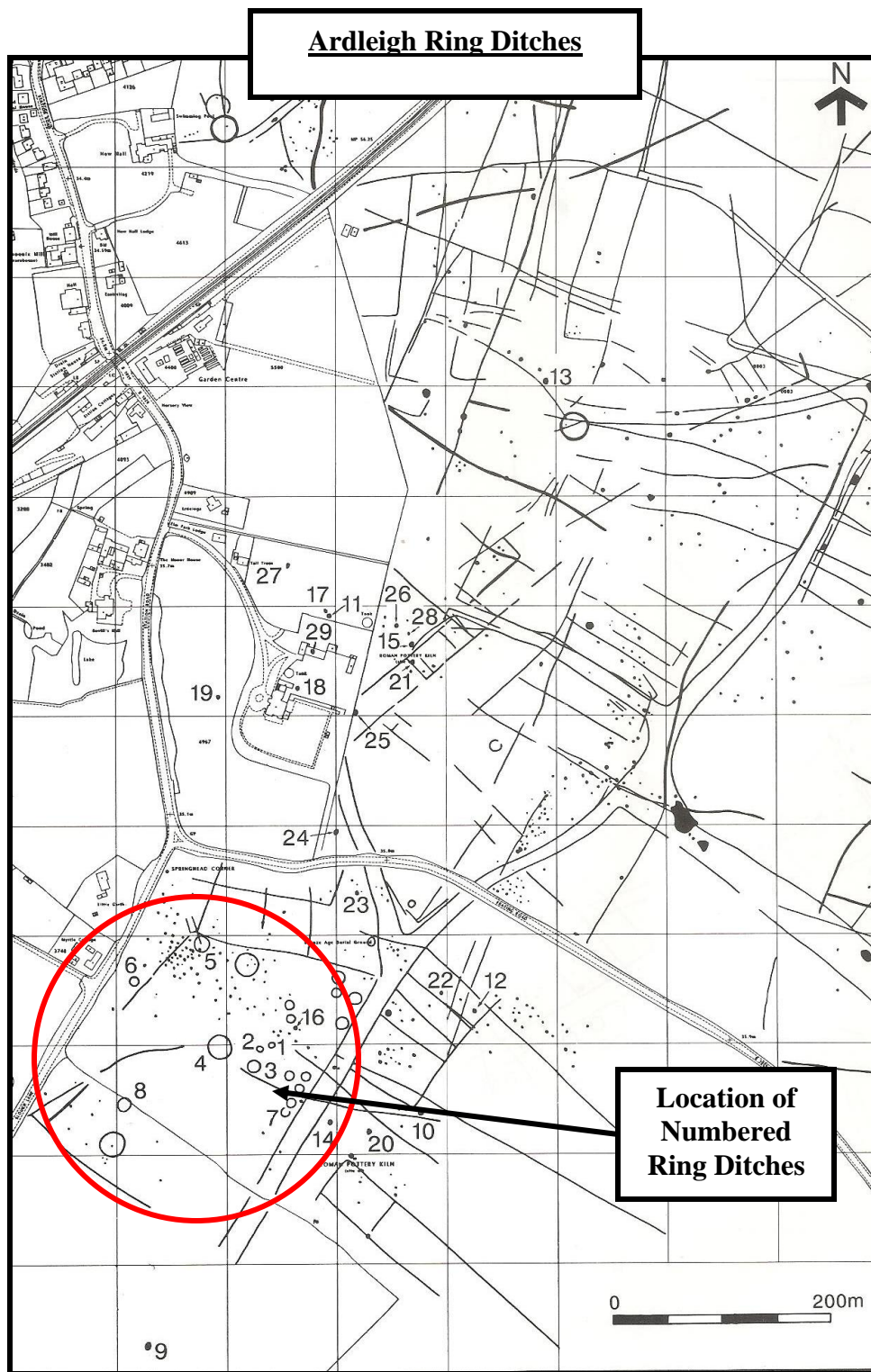


Fig. 4.25: Ardleigh cropmarks with the locations of the discussed numbered barrows highlighted (Brown, 1999, 9).

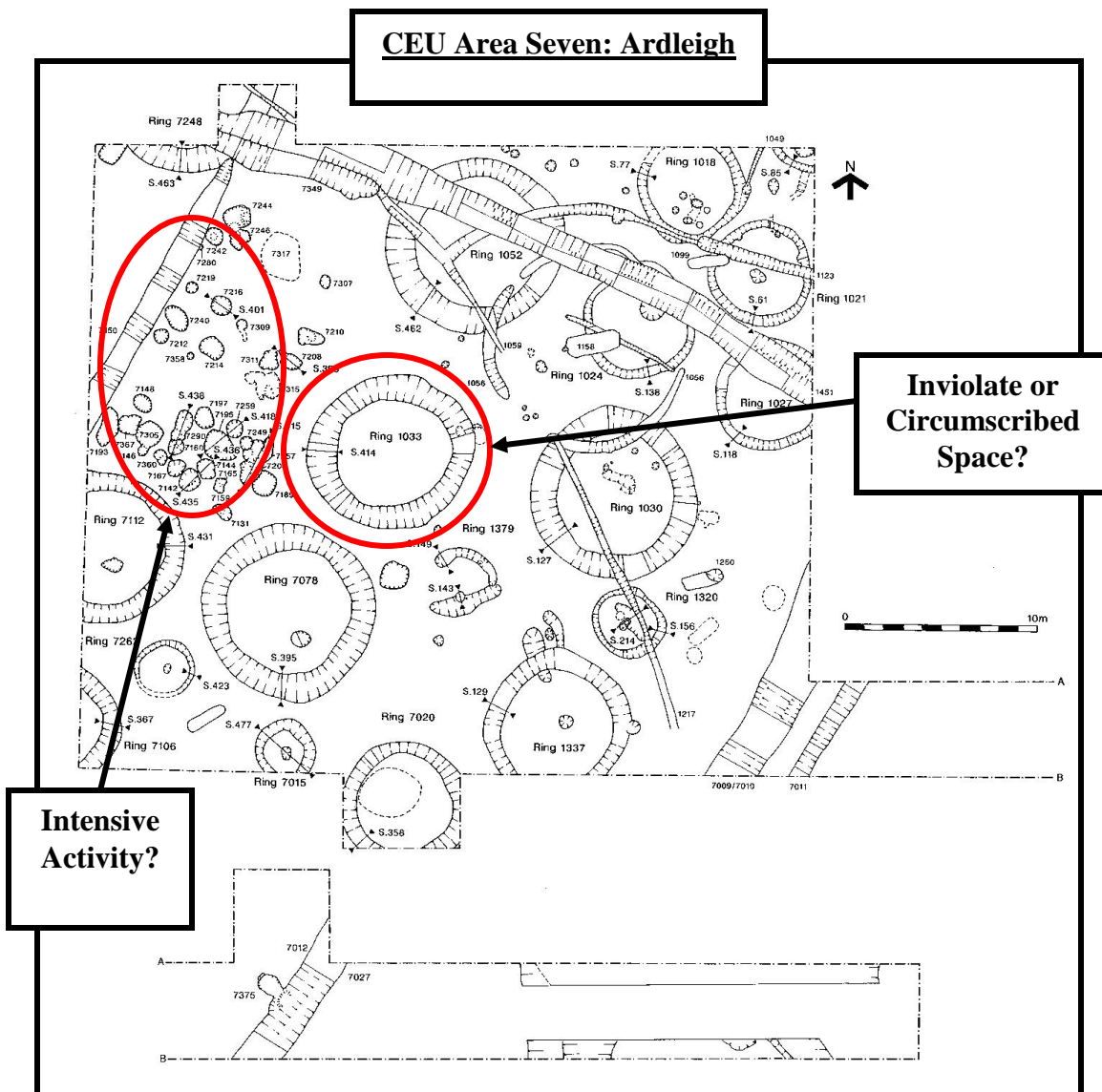


Fig. 4.26: CEU area seven excavations at Ardleigh (Brown, 1999, 40).

4.4.3. Ring ditch one

This feature had a central pit, 0.9m in diameter (Fig. 4.27), containing the upper parts of two large, inverted urns and a single sherd of Bronze Age pottery (Brown, 1999, 17). Four sherds of early Roman pottery were located at a depth of 37cm in the southern quadrant of the outer ditch (Brown, 1999, 17). These deposits give a possible indication of the depth of the outer ditch in the early Roman period.

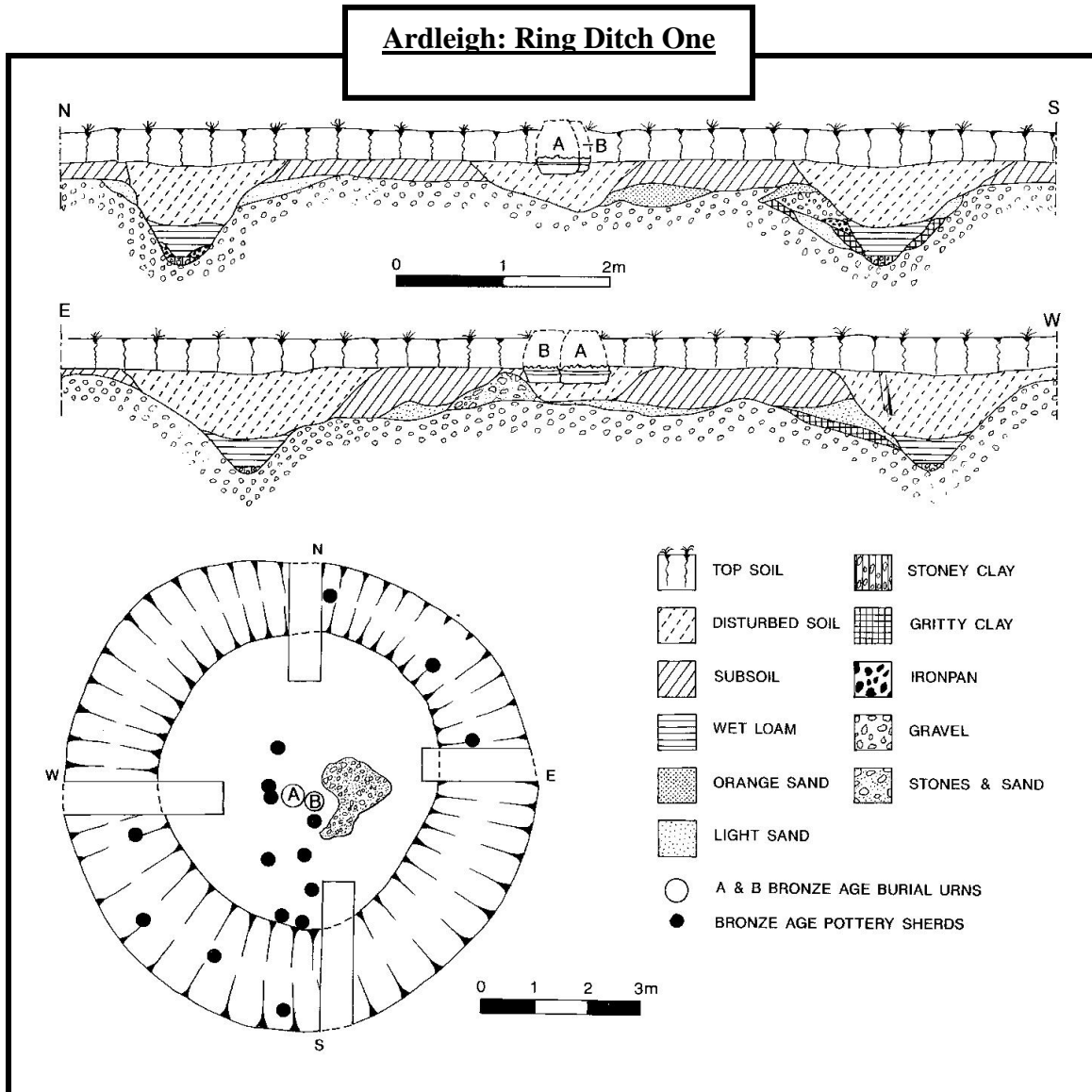


Fig. 4.27: Sections and plan of ring ditch one at Ardleigh (Brown, 1999, 18).

4.4.3. Ring ditch two

This feature (Fig. 4.28) contained no Iron Age or Roman artefacts. The recovery of the lower parts of two urns in the interior, along with cremated bone (Brown, 1999, 17), suggests that the associated mound was levelled at an unknown, earlier date, destroying any visible trace.

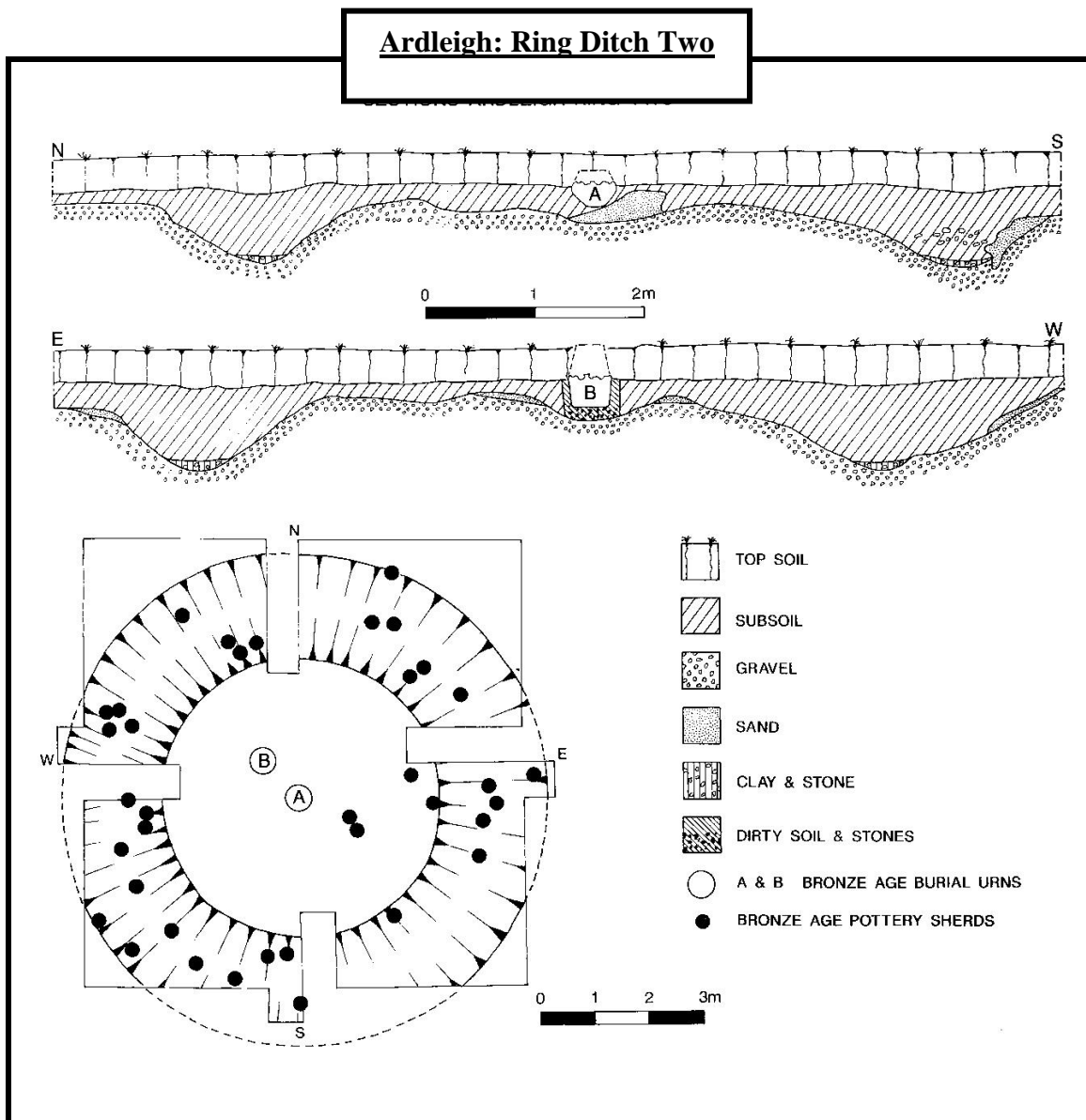


Fig. 4.28: Sections and plan of ring ditch two at Ardleigh (Brown, 1999, 19).

4.4.4. Ring ditch three

Prehistoric activity was not confined to the centre of the feature. In addition to three, centrally located urns and 23 loose cremations, 100 smaller sherds, and two, larger Bronze Age pot pieces, were also recovered from the exterior ditch (Brown, 1999, 17; 24). Section profiles (Fig. 4.29) show that there were multiple recuts in the interior of the feature and the ditch contained early Roman sherds in the very upper fills at a similar depth to those recovered at ring ditch one (Brown, 1999, 18).

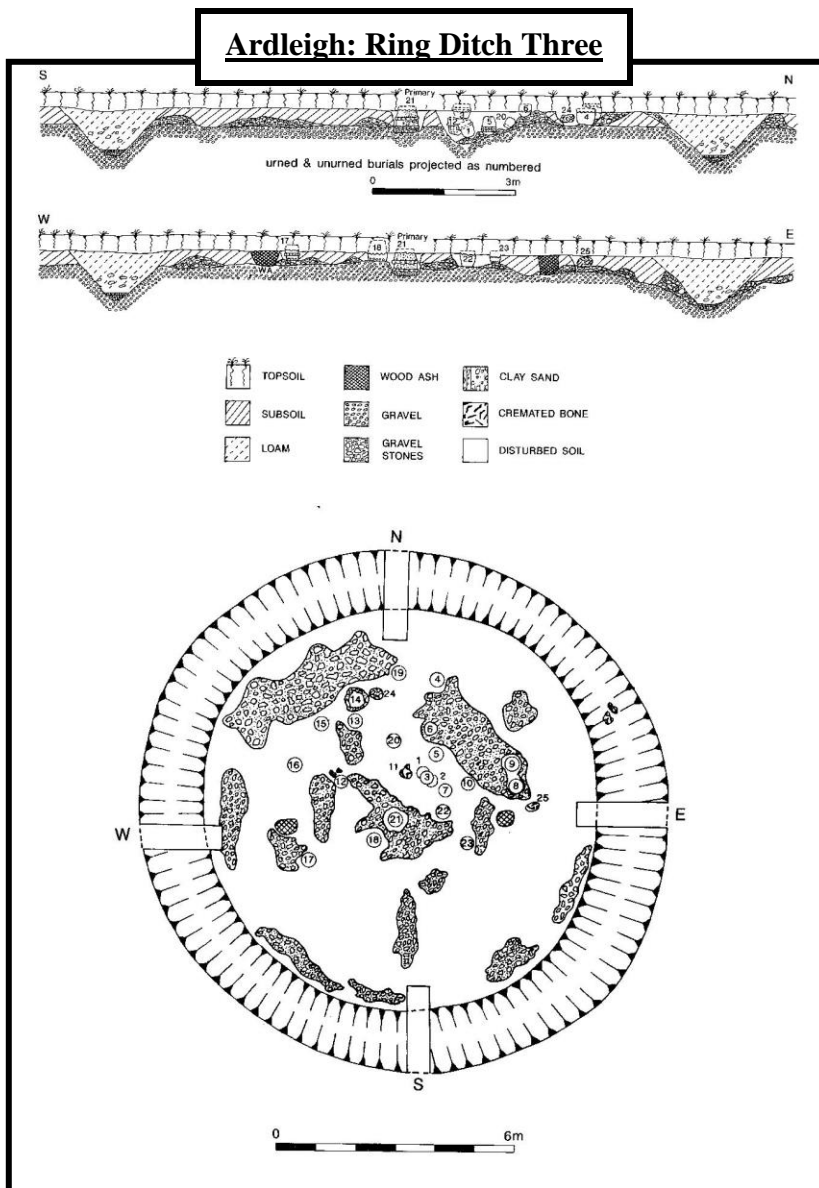


Fig. 4.29: Sections and plan of ring ditch three at Ardleigh (Brown, 1999, 22).

4.4.5. *Ring ditch six*

Neither plans of excavations, nor any sections were preserved from the 1959–60 seasons regarding work carried out on this feature (Brown, 1999, 26). However, there was a note that in excess of 100 early Roman pottery sherds were recovered from the outer ditch of within a 0.4m soil horizon and that Bronze Age examples were recovered from the bottom of the same ditch (ibid.).

4.4.6. *Ring ditch eight*

Ring ditch eight was destroyed by gravel extraction and recorded only as the destruction was taking place. Four, nondescript sherds, possibly Bronze Age pottery, were the only finds from the feature (Brown, 1999, 26). Despite this, the feature is still important; a complete, early Roman pot, containing soil, was buried 3.64m outside its circumference (Brown, 1999, 26). This was interpreted by Brown (1999, 182), based on Wallace (1989) and Wymer et al., (1995, 16–161), as an offering to the metaphorical death of the circle, made to the spirits of the ancestors residing there, ending the previous associations and allowing it to be repurposed in an act of ritual appeasement. Excavations in area seven similarly uncovered a complete jar (7150) and a complete platter (7011), placed as offerings to part of the landscape which was being enclosed (Brown, 1999, 182).

The main trackway of the early Roman field system (C10), (1451) also respected the boundary of the Bronze Age cemetery (Brown, 1999, 182). Later recutting of the system, however, indicates that the boundary had disappeared and the system was now aligned on the ring ditches (ibid.). It is possible that respect for Bronze Age features is not confined to the cemetery area alone, as the boundary of early Roman enclosures at Ardleigh are recorded as having Bronze Age origins (Brown, 1999, 183). However, (C10) and (1451) could be exceptional, but once again, the later excavation notes question the validity of their origins, stating that, apart from the feature designated as (1451), with finds datable to the 1st through to the 4th centuries AD, the recorded, later recuts of Bronze Age features may have been incorrectly assessed: many of them contained exactly the same

fill as the rest of the ditch. It is entirely possible that many of what were perceived as later recuts is the result of root action, animal activity or incorrect recording (Brown, 1999, 66).

4.4.7. The northern barrow(s): Ring ditch (652)

The conjoined ring ditches of feature (652) are located at TM 0550 2933, about 650m north of the main urnfield complex (Brown, 1999, 171). These features (Fig. 4.30) had one 1st century AD cremation in the periphery and five later Roman graves, running east-west across the feature but not intersecting the ditch (Brown, 1999, 36). The burials were of different depths indicating either multiple episodes of interaction or uneven deposition, or that the mound was largely intact, providing a visible focal point for the burials to be inserted (Brown, 1999, 182). Hadham ware dates these burials to the late 3rd and early 4th centuries AD (Brown, 1999, 183). They also contained chalcedony beaded styles of jewellery (Fig. 4.31). It was observed, by the excavators, that the feature had at least one, additional, parallel row of graves that could not be examined due to time and financial constraints (Brown, 1999, 36). This concentration of burials could indicate that either some real, or imagined, memory of its previous importance was retained. The deposition in the feature was noted by Brown (1999, 183), that these burials may have been the subject of continental influences, and possibly, given the presence of the beads, related to Sarmatian burial practices. However, as Philpott (1991, 134) stated, making such connections is fraught with difficulty. The presence of certain artefacts, associated with particular burial practices, being used to determine a certain place of origin for the deceased is an exercise in speculation, unless definitive proof has been obtained through scientific techniques, such as strontium isotope analysis, to determine place of birth, which have not been used in this instance.

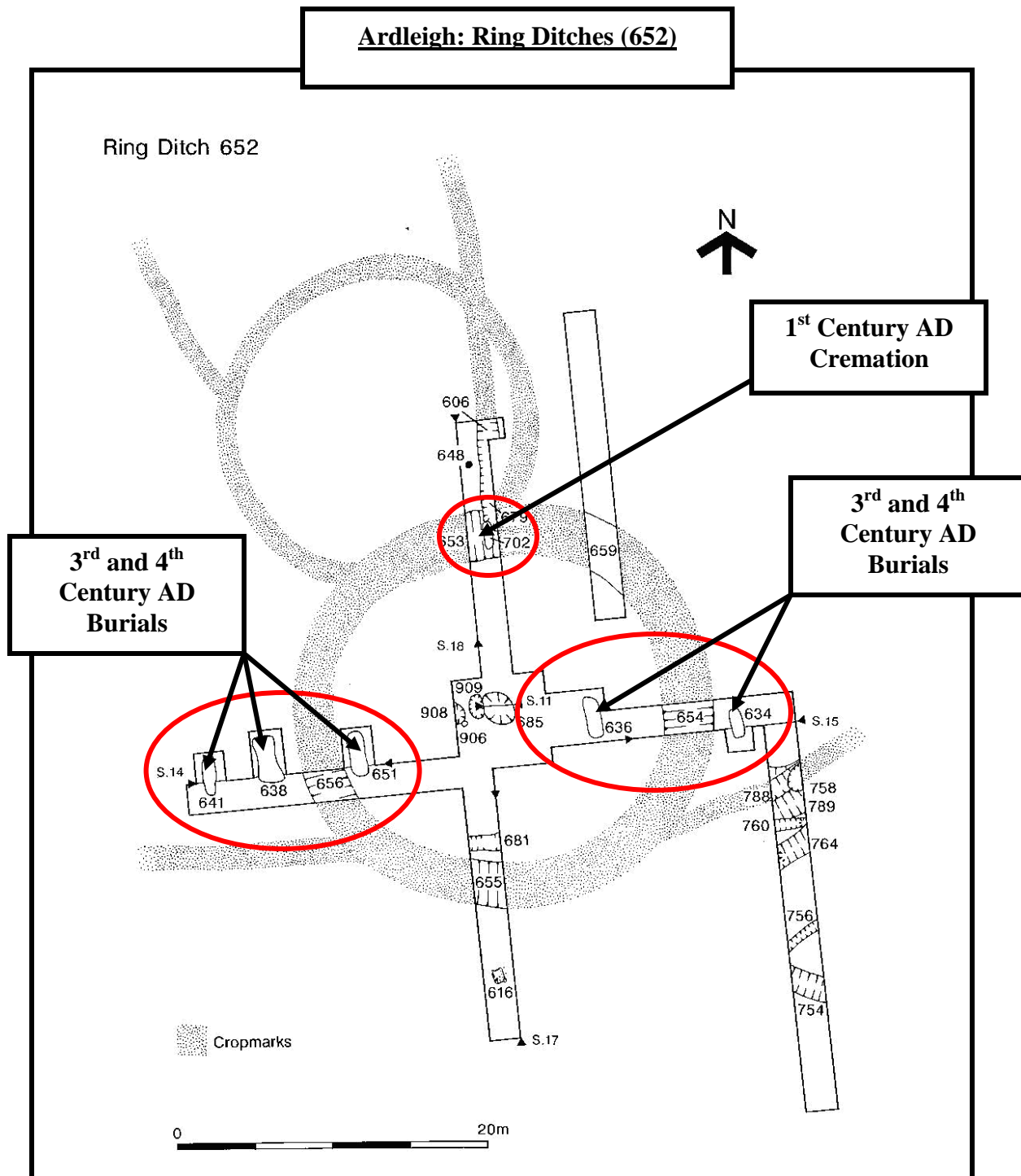


Fig. 4.30: Ardleigh conjoined ring ditches feature (652) (Brown, 1999, 37).

Ardleigh: Ring Ditches (652)
Chalcedony Beads



Fig. 4.31: Chalcedony Beads recovered from Ardleigh (652) (Brown, 1999, 73).

4.4.8. Settlement evidence, agricultural enclosure and pottery production in the main Ardleigh cropmark complex

The excavation evidence published regarding Ardleigh, appears to show a landscape that is split into multiple compartments of chronological interaction. The main concentration of Bronze Age activity, for example, supposedly remained completely inviolate for some considerable time after falling out of use sometime in the early Iron Age. Couchman and Savory (1983, 7–9), in their gazetteer of cropmarks, noted that, apart from very early Iron Age activity centred on ring ditch five, the focus of burial activity shifts, with three, late Iron Age burial groupings to the south-east of the urn field and to the north-west. Settlement activity also shifts to the immediate north-east of the Bronze Age concentrations. This gradually shifting pattern continues into the Roman period where the settlement spreads out from its Iron Age origins (Couchman and Savory, 1983, 8). The

landscape pattern continually changes throughout the entire Roman period, with Bronze Age features first being enclosed sometime in the 1st – 2nd centuries AD by trackways for managing livestock (Brown, 1999, 181–82). All the earlier Roman enclosures abut, or make use of, rather than cut through the Bronze Age features. It is only in the later Roman period that the trackways and field systems wholly disregard the layout of the prehistoric landscape; until then, the evidence gives the appearance of remarkable chronological separation. The location of finds related to the extensive pottery industry is an example of this separation; the kilns and concentrations of associated finds are compartmentalised, lying in their own distinct parcel of the landscape (Brown, 1999, 141; 154–55). A grouping of burials, with no accompanying evidence of prehistoric activity dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, lies between, but separated from, the Bronze Age and Iron Age groups (Couchman and Savory, 1983, 3). Overall, the evidence suggests that, despite a long history of interactions with this landscape and the fact that some of what may have been previously interpreted as compartmentalisation of the landscape is due to poor recording, there is some indisputable chronological separation between prehistoric and historical areas of interaction.

4.4.9. Martell's Quarry

Martell's Farm and Quarry are located to the west of Slough Lane: the modern trackway that defines the western side of the cropmark complex (see Fig. 4.24). Given the scale of activity in the cropmark complex, a series of trial trenches were excavated here in advance of modern gravel extraction to ascertain if prehistoric and Roman activity extended beyond its current known boundaries. Fallons' (2007) investigation of Martell's Farm Quarry proved notable, if only for the fact that the excavations revealed very little evidence of relevant interaction. Prehistoric evidence was particularly lacking, apart from a few flint pebbles and one trial trench with flint flakes and an end scraper (Fallon, 2007, 60). The trial trenches were large, with an average size of 22m x 2m, however, sixty four trenches of these dimensions produced the following relevant finds (Fig. 4.32):

Trench Number	Finds
TR 1	Fired clay, AD 70–80 pottery
TR 3	Unspecified Romano-British pottery
TR 4	Unspecified Romano-British pottery
TR 10	AD 120–250 pottery, flint
TR 16	Unspecified Romano-British pottery, nails
TR 25	A burial with greyware
TR 41	Flint pebbles (037)
TR 42	Unspecified Romano-British pottery
TR 44	Three flint flakes and an end scraper
TR 48	Unspecified Romano-British pottery (138) in a post-hole (137)
TR 49	Unspecified Romano-British pottery

Fig. 4.32: Finds from the excavations at Martell's Farm Quarry (Fallon, 2007, 41).

4.4.10. Ardleigh conclusions

The excavation evidence from Ardleigh provides examples of a number of different types of engagement with prehistoric features during the late Iron Age and Roman periods. Unlike the situation of the main urn complex, where there is more than a reasonable doubt over the quality of the process and the recording, the later excavations carried out by the CEU across the site were professionally undertaken and fully and comprehensively recorded, leaving no doubt as to their validity and accuracy. The best example of direct engagement from the CEU excavations is the series of burials within ring ditch (652). The placement of the burials within the circumference of the feature is either coincidence, or a deliberate act, referencing the antiquity of the feature to the status of the recently deceased. The enclosure offerings are also significant. Whilst it is true that they are not placed directly within what would have originally been prehistoric contexts, they are, however, primary deposits of material that have no other purpose than to appease some aspect of ancestral connection associated with the features. The placement of these deposits, is a well known phenomenon in Roman period ditches (Wymer et al., 1995, 16–161), but why are certain, specific features treated in such a way when there are a multiplicity of similar examples within a relatively short distance that are not. There are several factors to consider that could be influencing their placement:

- i) A selective sense of ancestral connection

The placement of deposits in association with very specific landscape features and the later burials in the conjoined ring ditches of (652), appear to be separating these features from the others, inferring that they were somehow different: not necessarily more significant, but with some, possibly ephemeral quality, that identifies them as unusual. How and why these examples were chosen could be part of an extremely complex process, with a deliberate selection criteria being employed regarding which features to preserve and which to ignore. However, if any procedure or selection process, is being adhered to, there is, at present, no method of detailing its parameters or origins. One possible reason for selection could be a multi-generational recognition of the perceived

ephemeral qualities of the feature which have been communicated over many centuries through a series of localised, oral histories. These local histories, whose origins could have been either constructed or actual, in some way, conceptually differentiated, or set them apart from, the surrounding landscape. It is just as probable however, that these qualities, or attributes, could be an entirely contemporary construction.

- ii) A communal sense of ancestral connection, constructed based upon the visible presence of the features

Another possible distinction that could set these examples apart from any other feature is a residual, visible presence in the landscape at the time the material was deposited.

Without an element of visibility, as identified by Meade (2004), Hingley (1996) and Knapp and Ashmore (1999), as a tether to the past, the other examples may have been excluded from any potential repurposing on this criterion alone. Distance from the main barrow grouping could also be a factor to consider with conjoined barrows (652).

However, the artefacts of Roman origin, and the pottery and human bones discarded by the original excavators in the main barrow area, suggest that an unknown, additional number of the features in the main complex may have been used in the same manner. However, the conjoined ditches are the only example where there is definitive proof, rather than speculation, of direct engagement occurring.

Deposits such as these seem to substantiate the speculation that prehistoric features could be repurposed, not only functionally, but with an underlying symbolism to the interaction, using them as a communication tool designed to convey, or to enhance, a deeper meaning or message. The enclosure deposits, for example, where the community is potentially venerating their perceived ancestral connections prior to repurposing, could be thought of as a simultaneously adaptive and adoptive identity retention process. The burials associated with barrow feature (652) are a more complex issue. The chalcedony beads, which have also been recovered in Caerleon (Zienkiewicz, 1986) and Lankhills, Winchester (Clarke, 1979), are typical of grave goods found in Hungary related to Sarmatian burials. It is impossible to state with certainty the reasons behind their

inclusion in the burial rites. They could have been traded, or brought across the breadth of the empire and interred with their final owners who, as no analysis was carried out on any remains to indicate their possible origin, are equally likely to have been local community members, citizens from the eastern empire, contracted soldiers or their descendants, who died somewhere in the vicinity of Colchester.

Although there are still indications of separation, the compartmentalisation of the landscape actually starts to break down sometime in the late Iron Age, when settlement areas remain in use into the Roman period (Brown, 1999, 7). Some of the unrecorded evidence from the urnfield is also noted as having possible Iron Age origins. Presumably, this indicates that at first, patterns of land use were so well-established that a change in the meta-political structure of the country had little to no initial effect on them. Such a level of separation should, however, have given pause for thought, simply because of the time scale involved between the first and last deposits. Is this a landscape compartmentalised to such a degree that it is littered with the remains of prehistoric features that any later construction is slotted into it in a checkerboard fashion? What we may be seeing at Ardleigh is the product of laxity in the initial excavation processes and recording, rather than a reflection of the evolving process of interactions with the landscape.

There is little indication from the evidence at Ardleigh that any of the prehistoric features were involved in a process of elite display to a non-localised audience. The chalcedony beads and the group of burials they were recovered from are a possible indication of an elevated social status being given to those individuals but it is only a very localised association. Once they had been interred, presumably in a ceremony of which the local populace was aware, if not active participants in, it would have been impossible to convey this, outside of that group, without a public record of the burials being kept, oral communication of the event to subsequent generations or a permanent, physical marker at the location; which there is no evidence for.

4.5. Case Study: Kelvedon and Rivenhall

With only a 3km separation between the centres of the two villages, rather than treat Kelvedon and Rivenhall as two, separate case studies, they have been amalgamated into one. This allows for a much wider area of the landscape between Chelmsford and Colchester to be discussed. The Neolithic enclosure at Rivenhall End, for example, located on the main junction of the route between the two villages, can be included in a singular study.

4.5.1. Kelvedon: introduction

Kelvedon, which means place on ‘the reedy river’ (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 296), is a linear settlement, located on the course of the A12 London to Colchester road, approximately half way between Chelmsford and Colchester, at a crossing of the River Blackwater (Rodwell, 1988, 1). At the time of Rodwell’s report in 1988, the village was an extended linear settlement along the main road (Fig. 4.33). In the intervening 25 years, this has expanded considerably (Fig. 4.34). The village is still, however, bounded by the River Blackwater and its floodplain to the south, and a railway line constructed around 1840 to the north (Rodwell, 1988, 1). It is situated on the lower gravel terrace of the Blackwater River (Haggard, 1972). To the west towards Rivenhall, lies a sheet of boulder clay broken by localised pockets of glacial gravels. To the east, the river terrace consists of London clay associated with the Tiptree Ridge (Rodwell, 1988, 2).



Fig. 4.33: Kelvedon with the village in 1988 inset (Rodwell, 1988, 1–2).

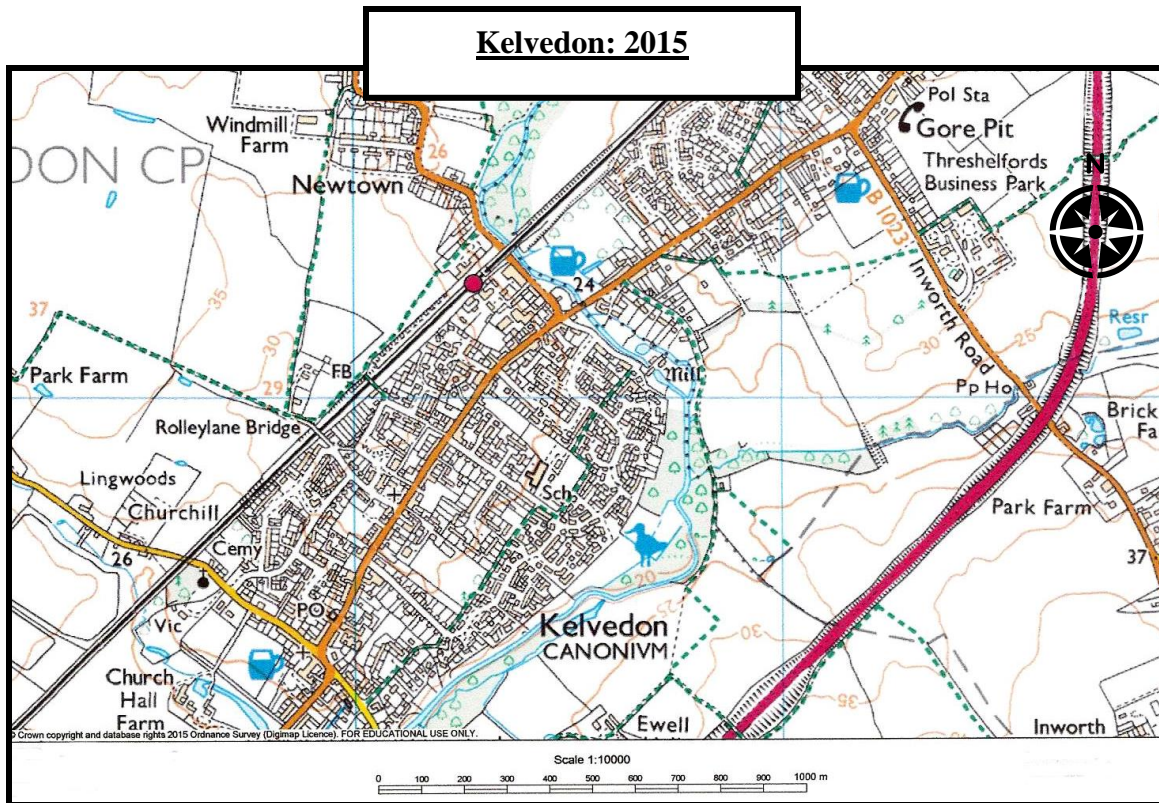


Fig. 4.34: Modern day Kelvedon (available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).

4.5.2. Rivenhall: introduction

Rivenhall is a small village, situated 18km south-west of Colchester in Essex (Fig. 4.35 and 4.36), approximately 3km west of Kelvedon (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 1). The parish of Rivenhall is a narrow strip of land which is steeper toward the north-west at 60m AoD, flowing down in the valley of the Blackwater River toward the south-east, the lowest point of which is approximately 15m AoD. The modern settlement is in the centre of the parish and is 1.6km north-west of the London to Colchester Roman road (the modern day A12). The geology consists of London clay to the south, boulder clay with chalk nodules to the north, forming a valley which is lined with alluvium and three modest gravel terraces (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 5).

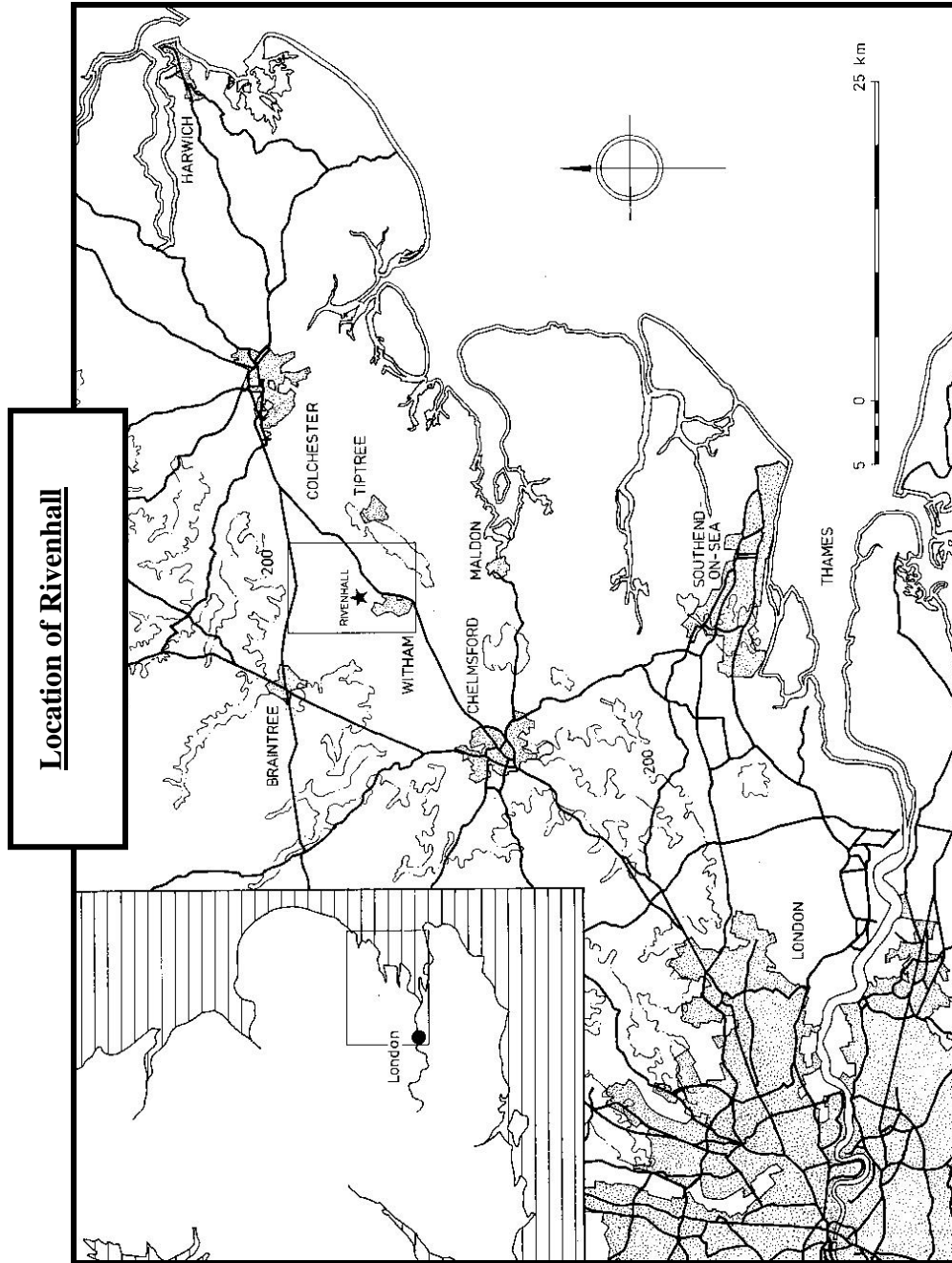


Fig 4.35: The location of Rivenhall (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 1).

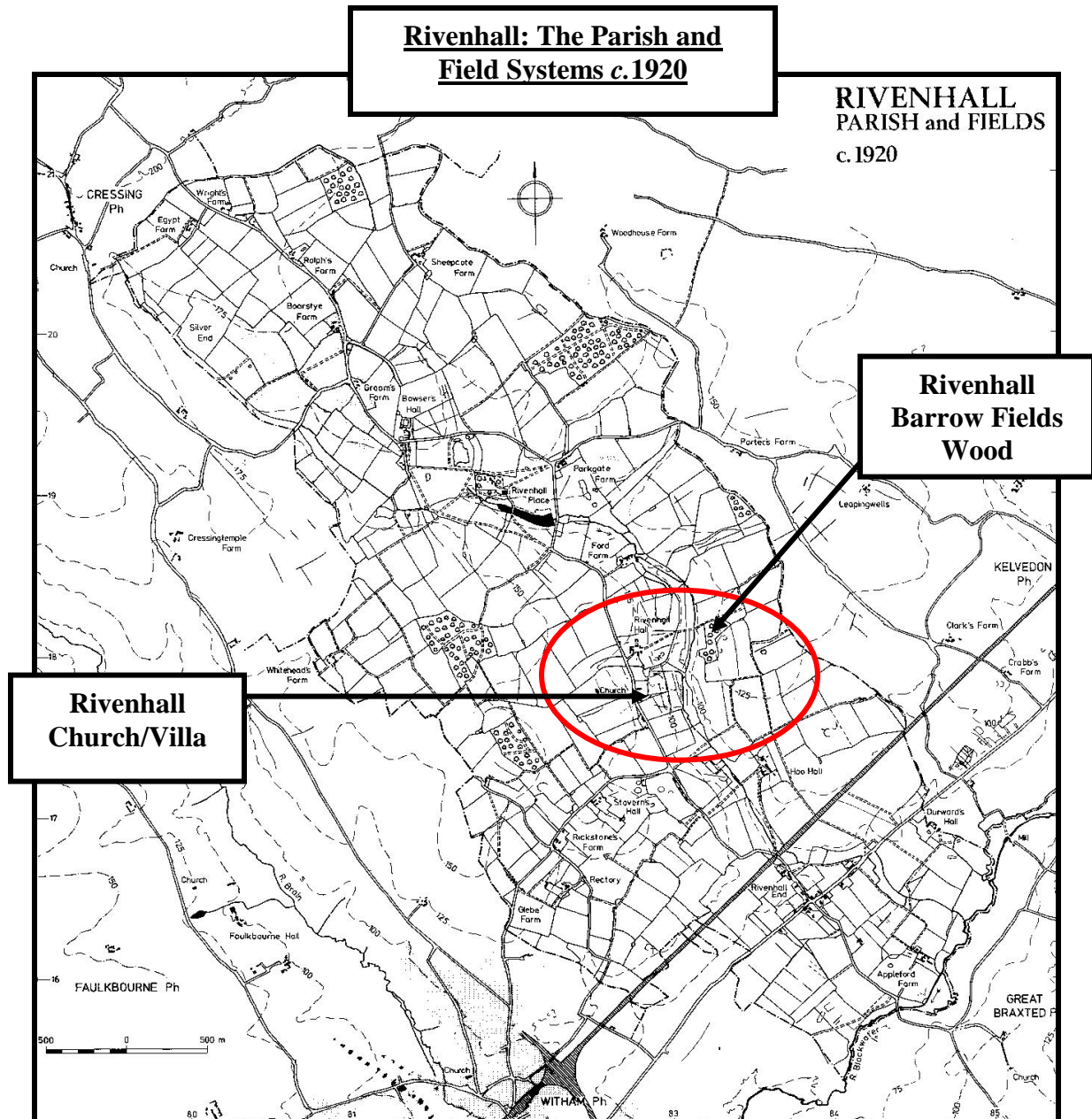


Fig. 4.36: Field system of Rivenhall Parish (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 3).

4.5.3. General notes

Archaeological investigations at Rivenhall have been extensive; individual artefacts, or small clusters, were first recorded in 1839, (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 5). Amateur excavations in Kelvedon are known to have occurred from 1938 onwards. Whilst some work was carried out on a group of barrows to the north of Kelvedon in the 19th century, no record of this survives (Rodwell, 1988, 3). Unfortunately, there are several anomalies concerning the quality of evidence recovered. At Rivenhall, for example, investigations over a number of years only ever revealed artefacts from the Roman period. It was not until the Rodwell excavations that prehistoric, Iron Age or Saxon material was recovered. Previous investigations either had a degree of fortune in their choice of locations, where only material associated with one historical period had been deposited, or artefacts from other periods were either incorrectly recognised, discarded, or deliberately ignored (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 75). Despite this fact, there is still a great deal of data available regarding the development of this landscape.

There is evidence of use of the landscape - however transient it may have been - from the Mesolithic onwards. By far the oldest artefact recovered in the Kelvedon area is a Palaeolithic hand axe from the School Field, however, this was retrieved along with bronze inscriptions, a silver necklace, bronze rods, a lion's head brooch and Samian Ware from the site of a Roman temple (Rodwell, 1988, 55). Evidence of use of the landscape from the Neolithic is present but not extensive (Rodwell, 1988, 132). A Neolithic long barrow is situated at Rivenhall End, 200m west of the River Blackwater on a gently sloping terrace of sandy gravel overlain by brickearth (Buckley et al., 1998, 77), along with settlement activity, pits, tree throws and periglacial features, containing beaker pottery, flint tools and debitage (Rodwell, 1988, 15).

Kelvedon and Rivenhall are thought to have been important north to south and cross country spinal routes by around 1000 BC (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 17), though it is probable that they have been used as route ways for a considerable period before this. Rivenhall parish, for example, is a natural route from the Chilterns to the lowlands in the

south-east (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 1). The village of Silver End to the north-west of Rivenhall, was a centre of metalwork production with bronze axes and bronze ingots disposed of as scrap material, uncovered in the 1920s (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1993, 27). There are indications of extensive Bronze Age activity with several axe hoards, located between Rivenhall and Kelvedon. These include examples such as the Hoo Hall Hoard, containing nine, socketed axes (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1993, 27). After the hiatus in settlement observed across the whole of Essex in the 3rd – 1st centuries BC (Hill, 2007, 24), the landscape is intensely managed for agricultural purposes (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 65). The road to Colchester becomes the dominant feature after the Roman conquest (Rodwell, 1988, 133). Despite its importance, the settlement at Kelvedon, which it passes through, did not develop linearly along its course but from a minor road to the south, suggesting that it was originally the vicus of a small fortification (Rodwell, 1988, 135). Roman Kelvedon had no constructions of significance other than the road and a shrine. The average population over a period of 340 years was roughly 10–12 people at any one time, representing a single extended family, or two, smaller family groupings (Rodwell, 1988, 50). Rivenhall was chosen as a location for the construction of a villa in the 1st century AD.

4.5.4. Kelvedon (The Village)

In each of the previous Essex case studies, there has been at least one, if not more, instances where prehistoric features were, in some way, referenced by interactions occurring during the research period, or at the very least, in all probability still had a residual visible presence in the landscape. There are, however, no examples from the village of Kelvedon. The prehistoric evidence from the environs of the village is limited to artefact scatters or domestic waste pits. Excavations in area B (Fig. 4.37 and 4.38), for example, showed two small pits (F55 and F68), with a few abraded pieces of flint debitage and sherds of Beaker pottery (Rodwell, 1988, 4). Area 'J' (Fig. 4.37 and Fig. 4.39) produced a series of tree throws or periglacial features containing examples of Neolithic pottery, and over 800 flint flakes and tools.

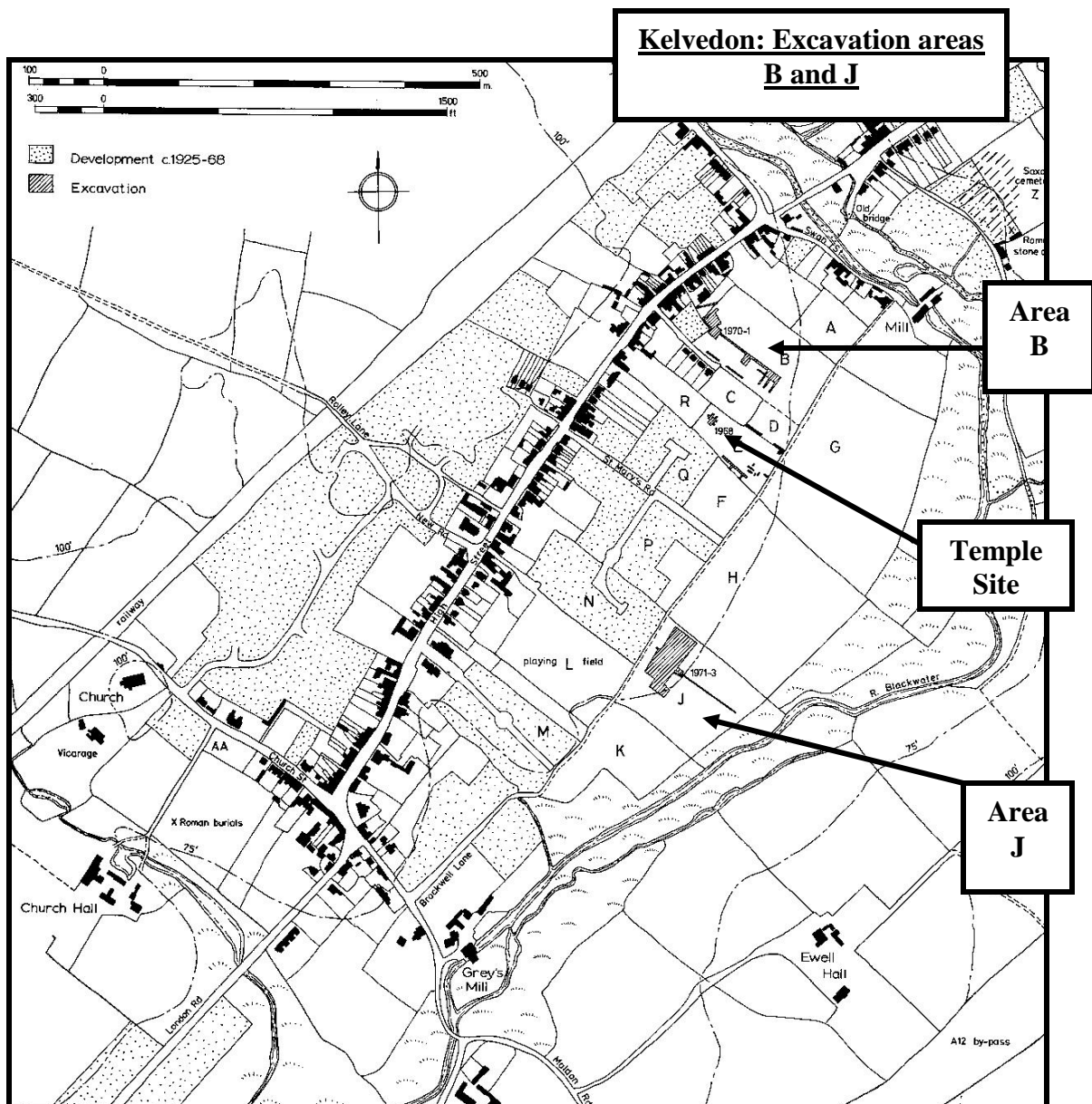


Fig. 4.37: Kelvedon excavation areas J and B (Rodwell, 1988, 2).

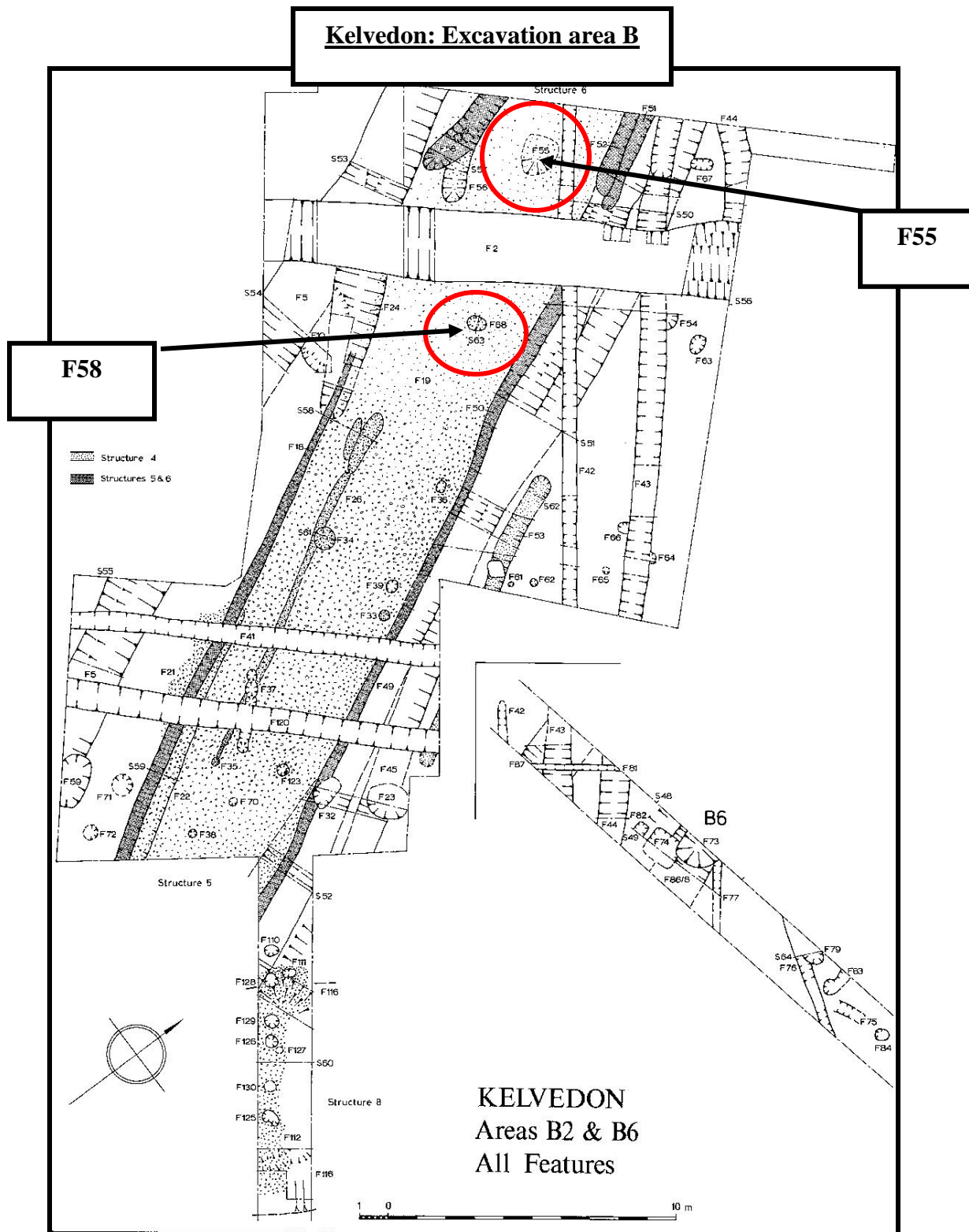


Fig. 4.38: The small pits (F55 and F68) in area B at Kelvedon (Rodwell, 1988, 8).

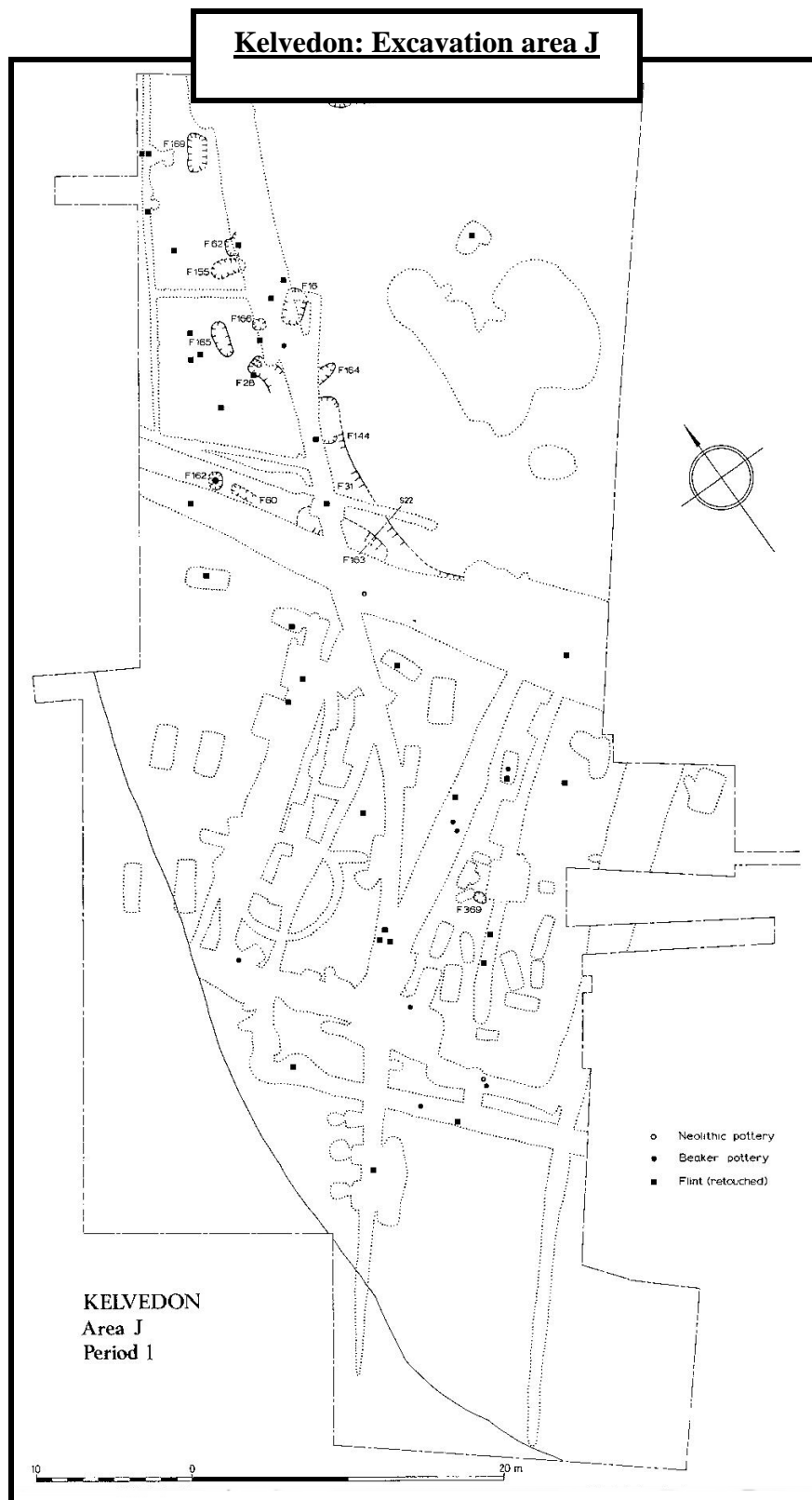


Fig. 4.39: Kelvedon: Area J, period one find spots (Rodwell, 1988, 17).

The site maps and excavation notes regarding Kelvedon reveal no evidence to suggest that there was any respect, deliberate separation, or even any awareness, of earlier, prehistoric activity in the landscape. Perhaps this lack of engagement, or the lack of prehistoric evidence in general from the village, is due to its use as a main artery of communication in the Roman period. There are, for example, several indications of military related industries here from the early Roman period (Rodwell, 1988, 5). This, combined with transient but intense activity along an arterial trade route, could have been instrumental in removing all, except the most deeply buried traces of prehistoric activity (Rodwell, 1988, 132). The presence of the Palaeolithic hand axe in the same area as the temple structure (Fig. 4.40); (Rodwell, 1988, 55–56), is intriguing. However, others have been excavated from similar ritual sites such as the 44 examples from nearby Witham (Turner and Wymer, 1987). Similar to the Witham examples - which had their origins at many different locations, collated into a hoard - the Kelvedon example does not consist of locally available materials, is deposited in proximity to a probable temple structure, or an area where ritual deposits occurred and, if Turner and Wymer are correct, does not represent a direct appreciation of the artefacts' prehistoric origins but are symbolic representations of Jupiter's thunderbolt (*ibid.*).

KELVEDON

Area E

Circular Temple (reconstruction)

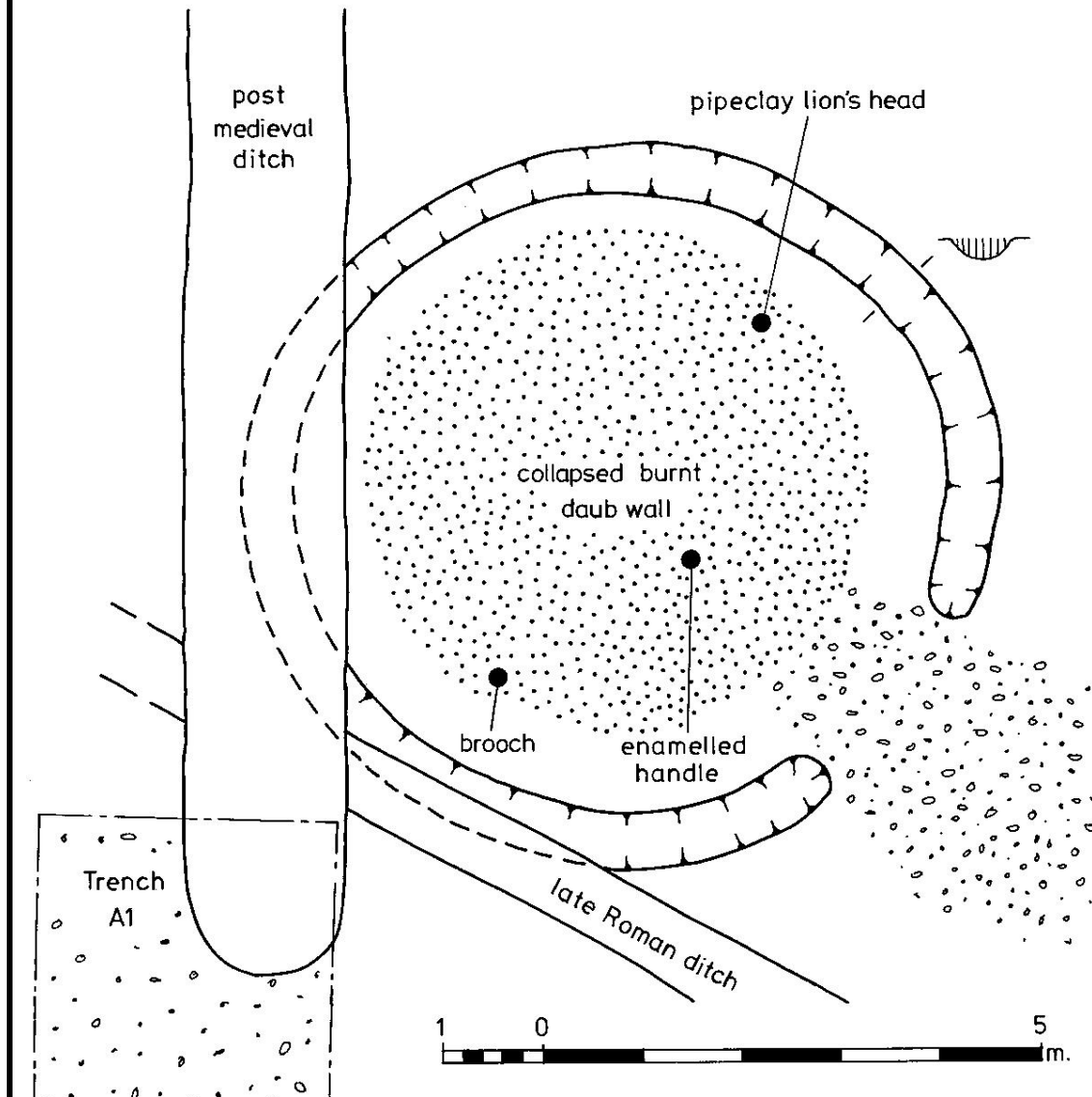
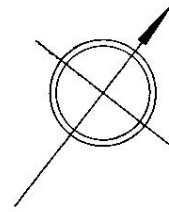


Fig. 4.40: Reconstruction of the temple from area E at Kelvedon (Rodwell, 1988, 56).

Despite suggestions that there may have been extensive prehistoric activity here, there are no surviving records of Bronze Age activity. The evidence of Iron Age activity is present, with assemblages of middle, and late Iron Age wares, middle, pre-Roman Iron Age pottery, and 11 later Iron Age coins recovered in 1968–73 excavations (Rodwell, 1988, 78). Curiously, the area to the south of the River Blackwater has in recent years, produced abundant examples of Aylesford-Swarling pottery and coins of Cunobelin, indicating a prosperous and thriving community (Sealy, 2007, 3), evidence which is not replicated in the earlier excavations closer to the modern day village. A series of excavations were also carried out in the 19th century, to the north of the town, in an area known as Barrow Fields or Barrow Hills, concentrating on one of four, Roman cemeteries that were never published (Rodwell, 1988, 136). Frustratingly, there is no material – published or held privately - available on these excavations. The lack of evidence for Iron Age activity in the village itself is especially curious given the material recovered from south of the river, the potential agricultural capacity of the area, the antiquity of the route way through the landscape, the number of small Iron Age farmsteads on the Rivenhall road and the proximity of extensive, Iron Age field systems associated with the Chipping Hill Camp near Witham (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 19). The lack of earlier prehistoric evidence cannot be solely based upon a desire to recover evidence from a singular historical period as this also occurs in more modern investigations. Those undertaken at 193 High Street, for example, revealed no finds of an earlier date than two, abraded sherds of Roman pottery, with a combined weight of 11g; one sherd of Fabric GX (a locally-produced coarse grey ware), and a sherd of Fabric HC (oxidised Hadham ware) dating to the 3rd or 4th century AD (Holloway and Brooks, 2009, 3), or those at Feering Hill, where burial or settlement evidence was expected, given its proximity to a potential Roman cemetery, but no traces were found (Orr, 2005).

The general lack of features which are datable outside of one, single specific historic, or prehistoric, period has always been considered an aspect of early archaeological investigations in Essex but how accurate is this assessment? The earlier Ardleigh excavations appear to have an almost myopic concentration on Bronze Age urns in the earlier excavation, and a considerable amount of later material is discarded in the

urnfield. Here, it appears on the surface, that Roman and Anglo-Saxon material was the focus, with prehistoric artefacts only considered as an afterthought, until the introduction of more modern excavation techniques. One argument concerning the lack of material would be that the fact the village is in such an excellent location near a crossing of the River Blackwater, was part of a spinal route in the Bronze Age, with at least one, potential burial site to the north, coupled with axe hoard evidence from the surrounding landscape and the Bronze Age metalwork production centre at Silver End, suggests that this location would not have seen such minimal use. But is this really the case? As a balance to any accusation of possible neglect by antiquarian excavators, it should be noted that even the modern excavations carried out in the vicinity of the village of Kelvedon have also revealed little earlier prehistoric material. The only regretful conclusion that can be made is that the majority of the evidence of earlier prehistoric activity has probably been expunged from the landscape by later activity.

4.5.5. Notes on a late Iron Age warrior burial at Kelvedon

Although there were no indications of earlier prehistoric connections with this site, there are two aspects which require consideration. Firstly, this late Iron Age warrior burial at Kelvedon is an excellent, illustrative example of the lack of recording that frustrates further investigations. The burial was recovered in 1982 during an episode of gravel extraction taking place to the south-east of the village at TL 8717 1782 (Sealy, 2007, 1); (Fig. 4.41). The main excavation was carried out in the bucket of a mechanical digger in which the archaeologist was lowered to retrieve the finds (ibid.). The acidic soil here had destroyed any human remains, but several significant discoveries were intact. The burial contained a sword: Type V Battersea group or a Stead (2006) type III or IV, and scabbard, a spear head, a tankard and an Engers 67: 1st century BC bronze Roman bowl (Sealy, 2007, 5). Whilst the major finds were recorded, drawn and analysed, no plans were made of the excavation, no logs were made nor any written records kept (Sealy, 2007, 1).

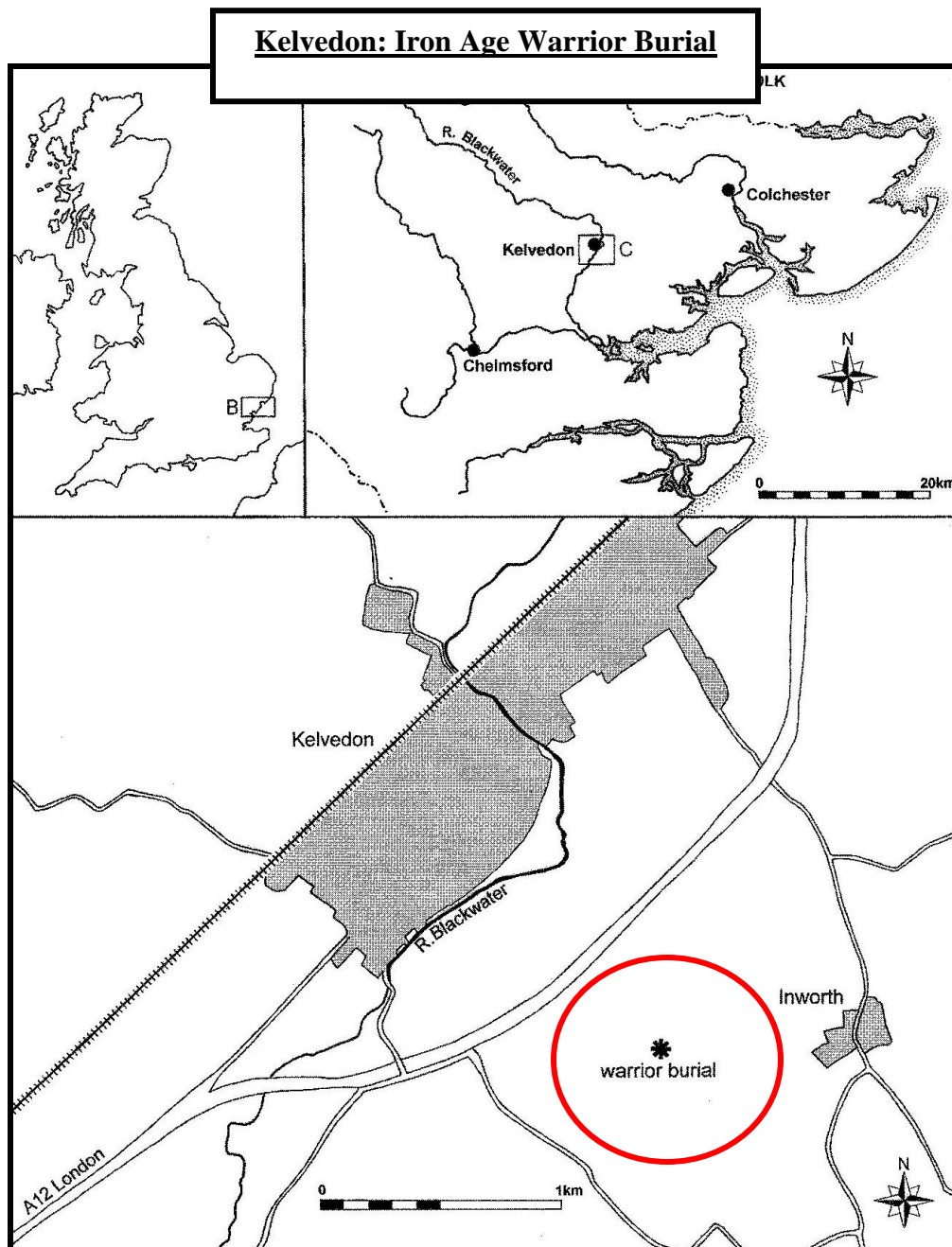


Fig. 4.41: The location of an Iron Age warrior burial in relation to Kelvedon (Sealy, 2007, 1).

The second discovery of note was a complete example of a late Iron Age foot ring pot c.150–100 BC was recovered (Sealy, 2007, 17); (Fig. 4.42). This has been noted as being recovered 12m from the burial location, although there is verbal evidence to suggest it may have been situated closer to the other discoveries (ibid.). This discovery is somewhat reminiscent of the ritual enclosure deposits of the sword at Springfield and the complete pottery vessels at Ardleigh.

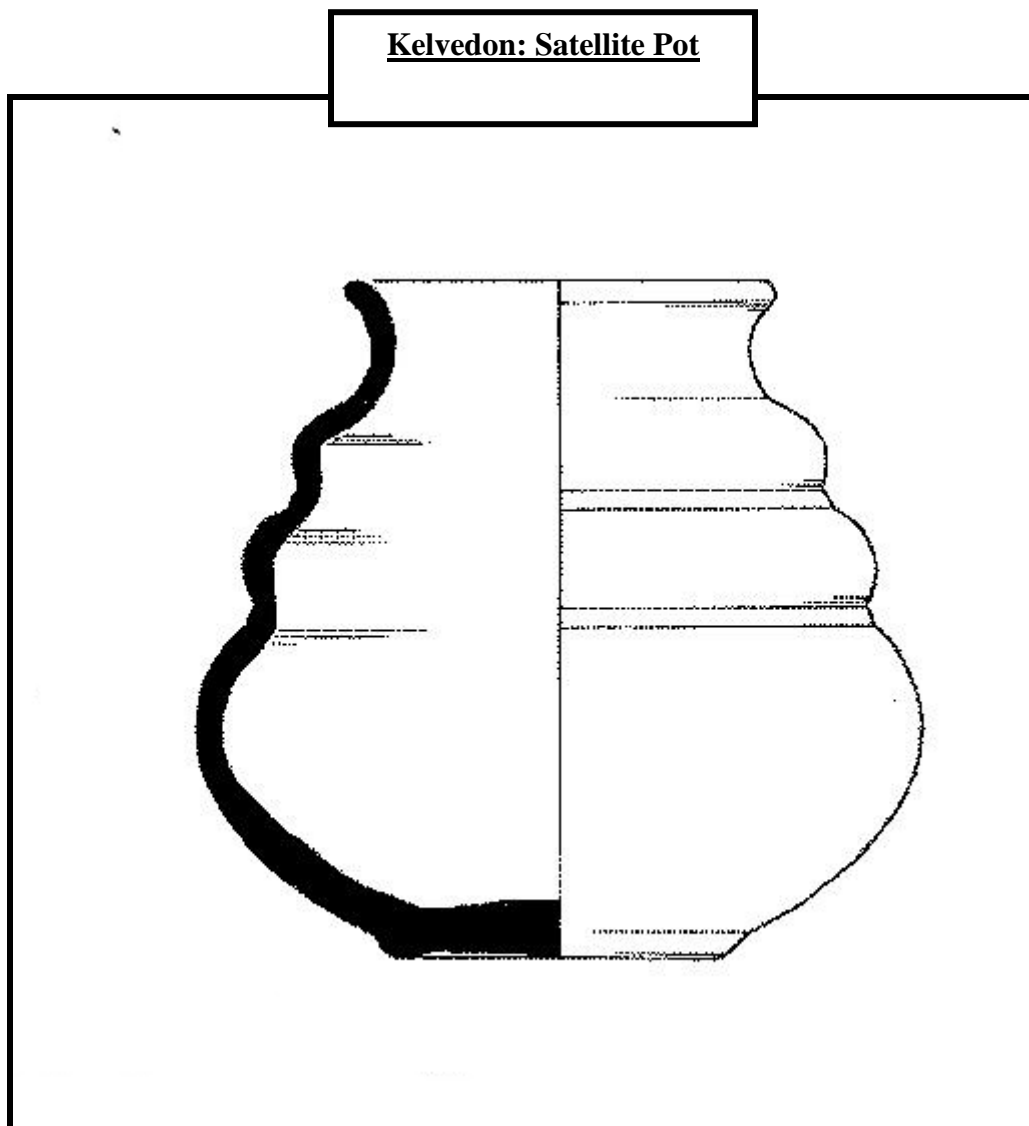


Fig. 4.42: The deliberately placed satellite pot near the Kelvedon warrior burial (Sealy, 2007, 16).

4.5.6. Rivenhall

Earlier investigations in the area of the village of Rivenhall appear to have concentrated upon uncovering Roman artefacts, somewhat neglecting prehistoric evidence. Upon reading the relevant excavation reports and specialist studies, there are several recurring phrases, for example:

- *Records of finds for the area are described as deficient and scanty from 1953 to 1971 (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 10).*
- *Concentration of excavations on Roman activity has led to the neglect of prehistoric evidence (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 17).*
- *Little, or no, systematic field work until 1986 (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 17).*
- *Despite years of activity and investigation only revealing Roman finds, it is not until the Rodwell excavations that any prehistoric, Iron Age or Saxon material was uncovered. Previous investigations concentrated solely on Roman material discounting, not recognising, or deliberately ignoring, material culture from any other period (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 75).*

4.5.7. Rivenhall villa, church and barrow field

Although none of these observations can be wholly disputed, they fail to take into account patterns in the layout of the present day landscape that may show possible prehistoric origins. Excavations, or investigations, at Rivenhall may not have been centred upon possible areas of prehistoric activity, but they are, at the very least present; most notably in the area immediately to the north of the church. Perhaps a closer examination of the evidence may prove that the elements of both the Roman and modern day Rivenhall landscape can be traced back to prehistoric origins.

The villa complex at Rivenhall (Fig. 4.43 and 4.44) has been noted by the Rodwells as having a peculiar layout (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 20). Many elements of the complex are similar to 1st century AD Gallic villas, but the main villa and the outer

buildings are placed within what the Rodwells argued appears to be an isosceles triangle, in a precinct-like arrangement (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 39–40).

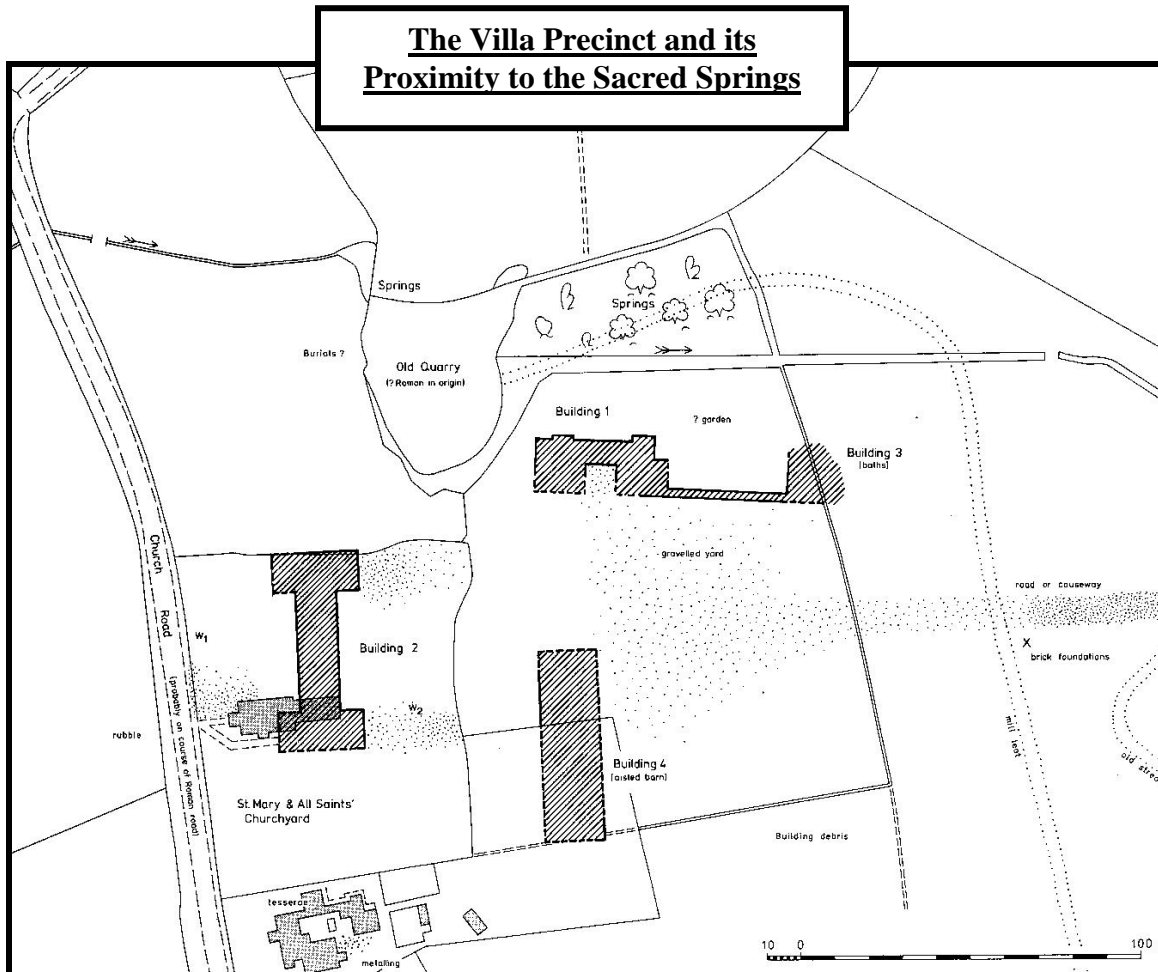


Fig. 4.43: The villa precinct at Rivenhall (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 20).

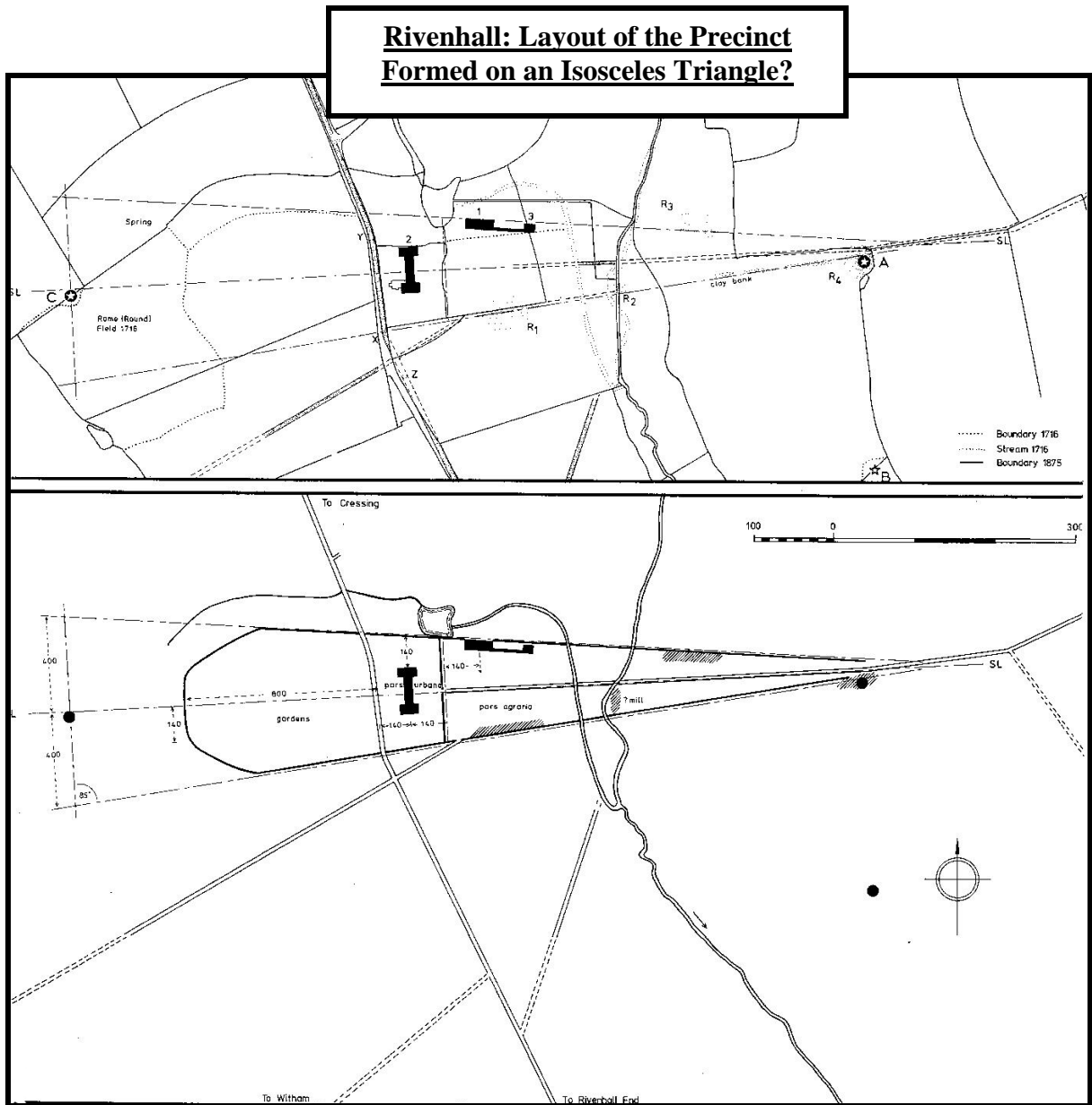
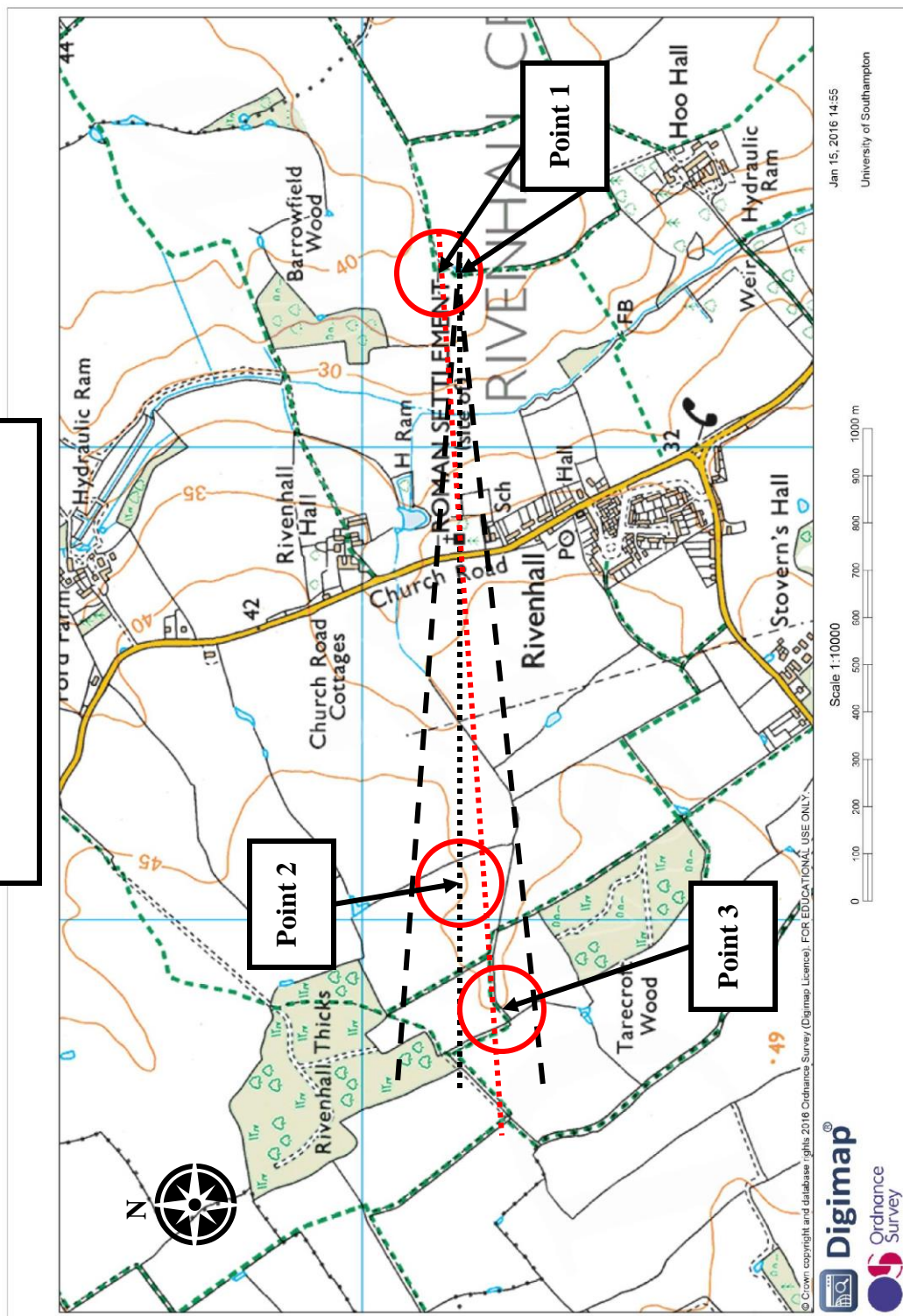


Fig. 4.44: Diagram showing how it has been assumed that the shape of the precinct area containing the villa buildings at Rivenhall were formed using sighting points and a geometrical shape (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 40).

There are, however, a number of questions concerning this assertion. The road that forms the spine of the complex runs at right angles to the main road through the parish (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 37). Looking at a modern topographical map (Fig 4.45), it does not appear that there are any convenient sighting points on which to base the outer limits of this supposed precinct arrangement. If another imaginary line is drawn for the east-west

central spine, the curvature of the field system and the elevation of the landscape at point one, it cuts through the 45m contour at point two, suggesting that there may have been some circular, or elevated features, at these points. Is the central spine of the complex based on two points that were, in some way, elevated from the surrounding landscape, or is there a potential barrow location to the east of the complex, between the 30m and 40m contours, whilst the western point was simply a prominent location at that particular elevation? The red line through the map shows another possibility. Rather than placing it at a right angle to the road way, it directly cuts through the centre of the churchyard but does so in a manner which intersects the curvature of the eastern field and runs through a cut in the landscape to an elevated position on the 45m contour line at highlighted location three. Are these the actual barrow and/or sighting points? Is the unusual angle of the precinct related to the course of the stream and the Cressing Brook rather than a complicated angular measurement? What about the possible barrow 20m to the north of the main villa building (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 7); how does this figure into the sighting arrangement? Does this define the outer limits of the precinct? If the villa is built on the location of the Bronze Age, and latterly Iron Age, settlement is this arrangement a peripheral consideration? Why not just place it where the settlement was? Was there any real need for such an overly complex mathematical process?

Rivenhall: Lines in the Landscape
Using the Modern OS Map



*Fig. 4.45: Rivenhall line of sight extrapolations
 (available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).*

Settlement activity can be traced in the churchyard back to the late Bronze Age. Scatters of middle, to late, Iron Age pottery indicate that the site was also in use into the beginning of the 1st century AD (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 19). The main report goes into some detail regarding the sighting and potential construction date of the potential barrows located here, stating that there were several artefacts of Roman date recovered from the fields further from the settlement area and no ditch-like cropmarks existed in the area that would indicate Bronze Age origins. The conclusion that all of the barrows in the area were probably of Roman construction (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 32–33), is surprising, considering that none were excavated. This conclusion is based on 1st or 2nd century Roman material recovered from ploughing in one specific area, and the extrapolated assumption that this means all of the uninvestigated features here must have the same origins. The main points that need to be considered when assessing their origins are (Fig. 4.46):

Reason	Explanation/Narrative
Sequence of Construction	The sequence proposes that the early Roman inhabitants of a landscape are adopting Roman burial practices prior to the construction of their new farmstead. The sequence of construction is possible. It is admittedly speculative but plausible that burial sites were built then a residential dwelling was constructed, but something does seem unusual about this. Is this a situation where a Roman official, or a tribal leader, is adhering to a particular form of burial practices for family members who died when the villa was in the process of being constructed?
Lack of Excavation Evidence	There is no record of finds being recovered from the vicinity of the possible barrow sites nor of them being excavated. Until excavations are carried out, it is impossible to state, with definitive clarity, the sequence of events in relation to these potential prehistoric landscape features, making them equally as likely to have had prehistoric origins as Roman.
Extensive Bronze Age Activity	Despite the presence of Bronze Age burial activity at Silver End to the north, the nearby hoard of Bronze Axes recovered from the Cressing Brook, just to the west of the villa site, and the presence of multiple spring heads to the north, indicate a possible area of ceremonial function (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 12), it there no possibility that any barrow constructions here had prehistoric origins?

Field Names	A significant proportion of the potential Bronze Age burial area is covered by Barrowfield Wood. The tree growth here may have destroyed any evidence of ditches.
Satellite Images and Uninvestigated Cropmarks	Widely available modern day satellite image searches reveal at least two possible instances of large ditch features east of Barrowfield Wood that remain uninvestigated. These cropmarks are actually highlighted on page nine of the report (Fig. 4.47) but ignored in the text.
HER Records of Other Bronze Age Ring Ditches	HER for Essex County Council, located at http://unlockingessex.essexcc.gov.uk , does indicate the possible presence of many examples in the surrounding area. Although the closest record, SMR: 8059, states that the presence of ring ditches is a conjecture, SMR: 8429, notes two possible cropmark ring ditches, a possible hengiform enclosure and a further 17m round barrow. SMR: 8454, closer to Witham, notes a further potential ring ditch from aerial photographs.
Sighting of Barrows	The closest Roman barrow feature lies just to the north of the main occupation area in the churchyard, noted in 1846 as containing a large amount of human remains (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 7). If the report is correct, this would indicate that a large burial mound was placed within 20m of the rear of the main villa building.
Evidence of Proximity to Temple Site	There is a particular series of depressions at (291) on the central crest of a south facing spur with a tantalising temple shape (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 32). The artefacts recovered, from ploughing there in 1839, include a patera and ewer in bronze and are typical of rich 1 st and 2 nd century AD Romano-British artefacts (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 32). There are no grave cuts or records of associated human remains, possibly due to the acidic soil conditions, but given their proximity to the possible temple site, they are just as likely to have been offerings associated with the temple or representative of period specific burials associated with the temple structure, rather than indicative of the whole use of the landscape between the temple and the villa.

Fig. 4.46: Possible arguments against classifying all Barrows at Rivenhall as Roman Constructions.

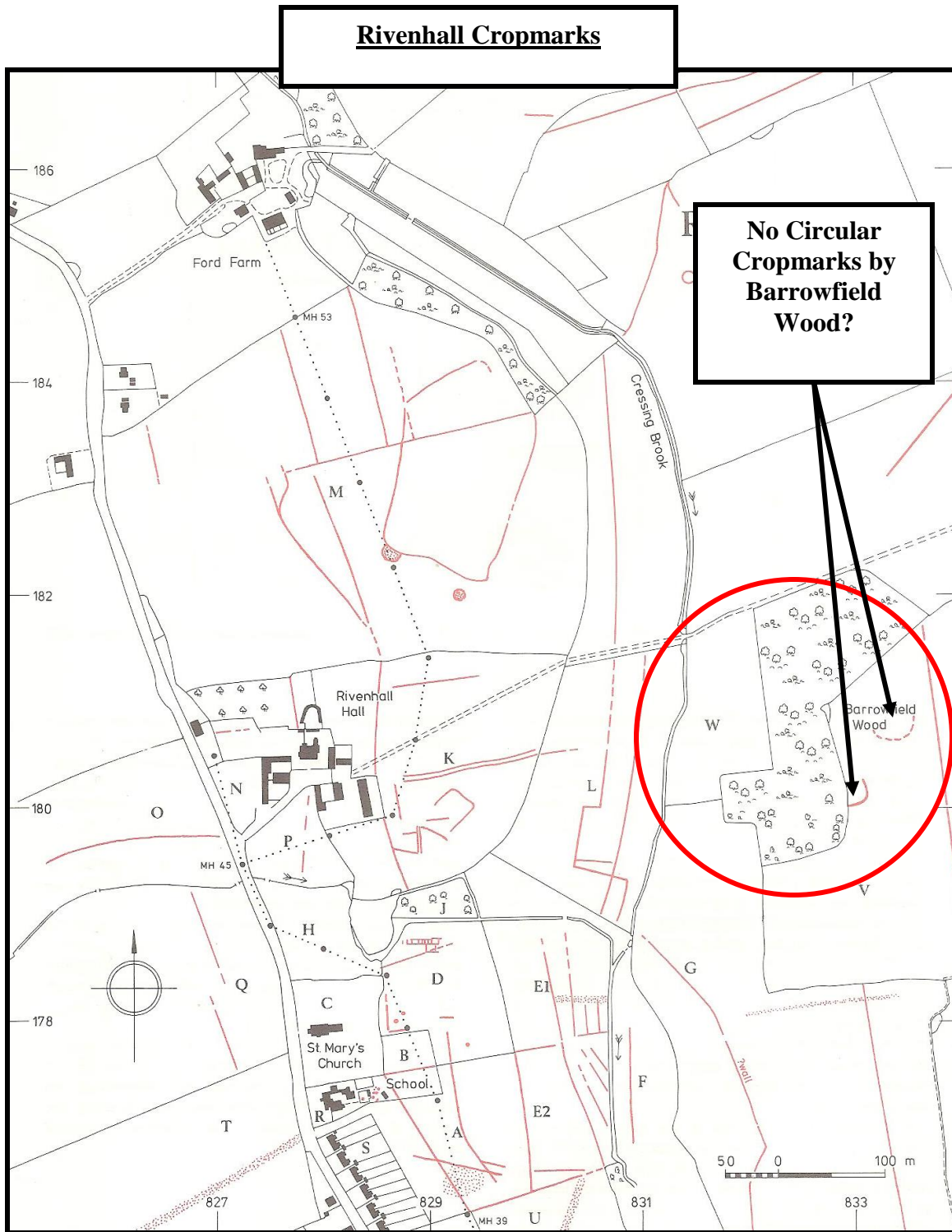


Fig. 4.47: Circular cropmarks at Rivenhall (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 9).

4.5.8. Rivenhall: boundaries in the wider landscape

There are suggestions from the layout of the surrounding field systems and artefact spreads, that prehistoric features may still be referenced in the makeup of the modern field boundaries, though it is possible that some of the evidence presented may be false positives. The spread of artefacts, for example, is somewhat anomalous. Romano-British material has been recovered from the edge of the main road side, beyond the western side of the churchyard up to the barrow field. However, this band of finds stops very abruptly at the edge of the field (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 37). This definitive edge that extends from the villa to the barrows is somewhat suspicious. Such a clear break in activity could indicate that the barrows were considered too important to allow the spread of waste materials into the area that subsequent agricultural activity had destroyed most of the evidence here, or that investigations ceased at a predetermined line and no attempt has been made to look further, creating a false cut-off point (Fig. 4.48).

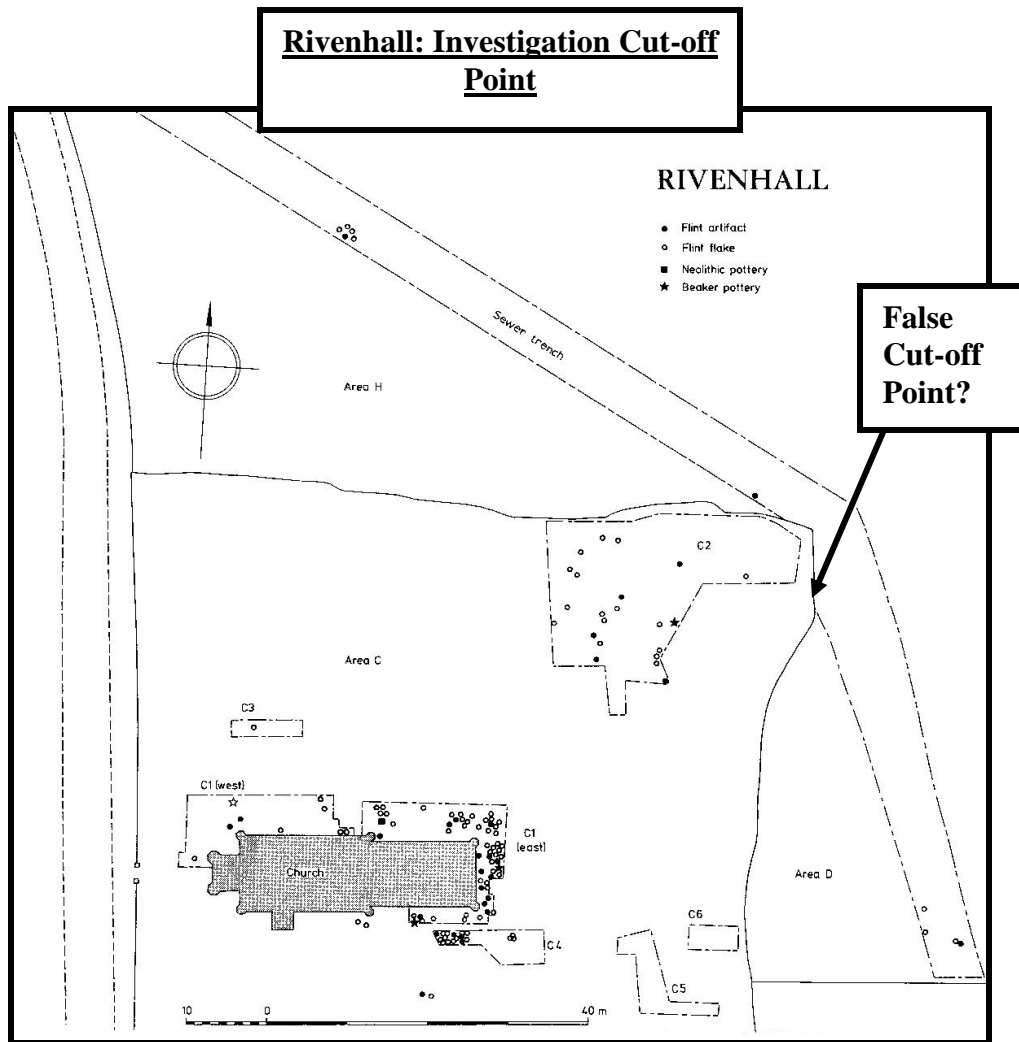


Fig. 4.48: The extent of Roman activity at Rivenhall or a false cut-off point? (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 13).

Looking further afield, the main Roman road slices through the valley diagonally (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 67). Several of the intersecting roads have an arrangement that shows circular features, which would have blocked the straight route, have been incorporated into the layout. These Swan Necks, mark where a circular feature has been used as a landmark to set out the course of a straight line, but when the linear boundary reaches that sighting point, the boundary becomes a half circle, skirting around the obstacle rather than going through it (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 32). The curve on one of the boundaries to the barrow field (Fig. 4.49 and 4.50), or the three-way junction along the course of the main road - where an obstacle, 20m in diameter, has been amalgamated

into the road layout in a place known as Round Field - are examples of this (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 37). With the origins of any potential barrows here open to debate, any conclusion can only be speculative. However, if these are Bronze Age features being referenced, then a proportion of the layout of the field systems at Rivenhall could be based upon respect of their extant remains, or alternatively, an indication that they were not considered worth the time or resources to destroy.

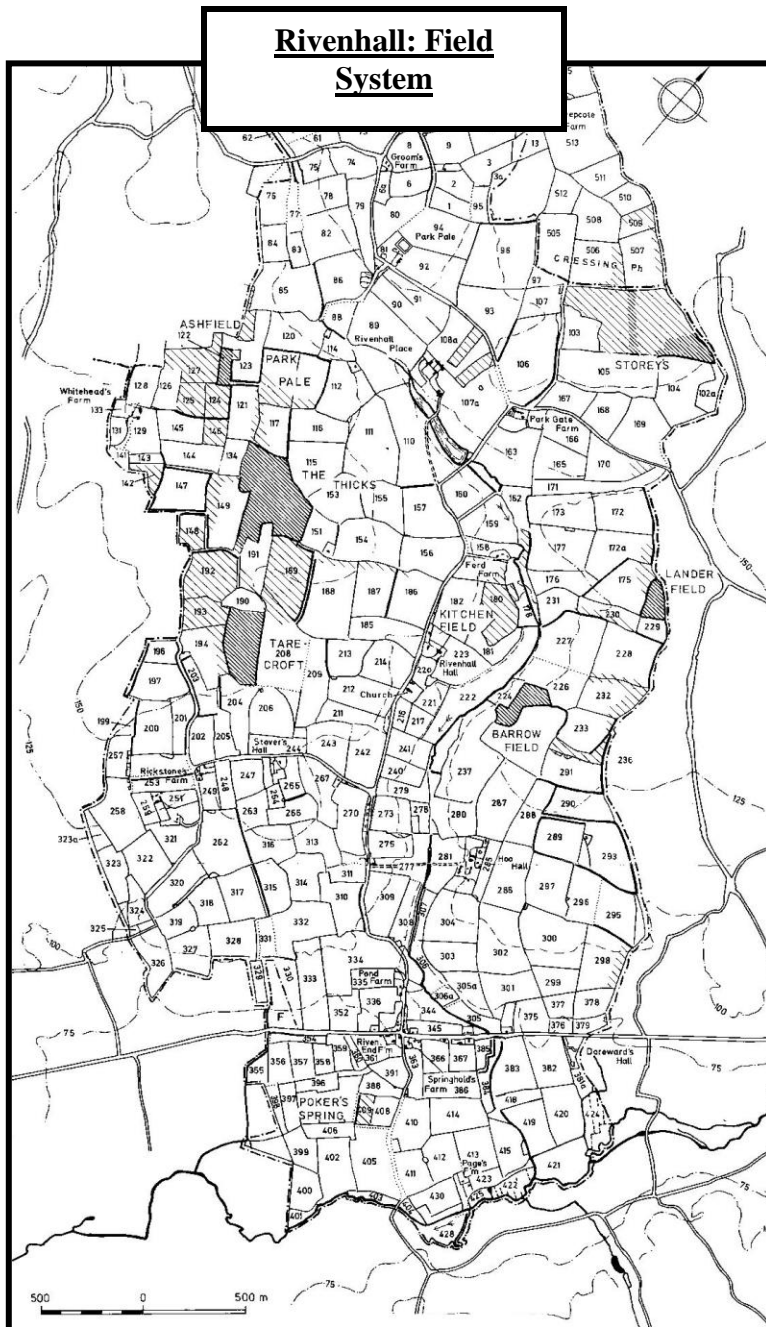


Fig. 4.49: Overview of the complete field system of the Rivenhall Parish (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1993, Fig. 57).

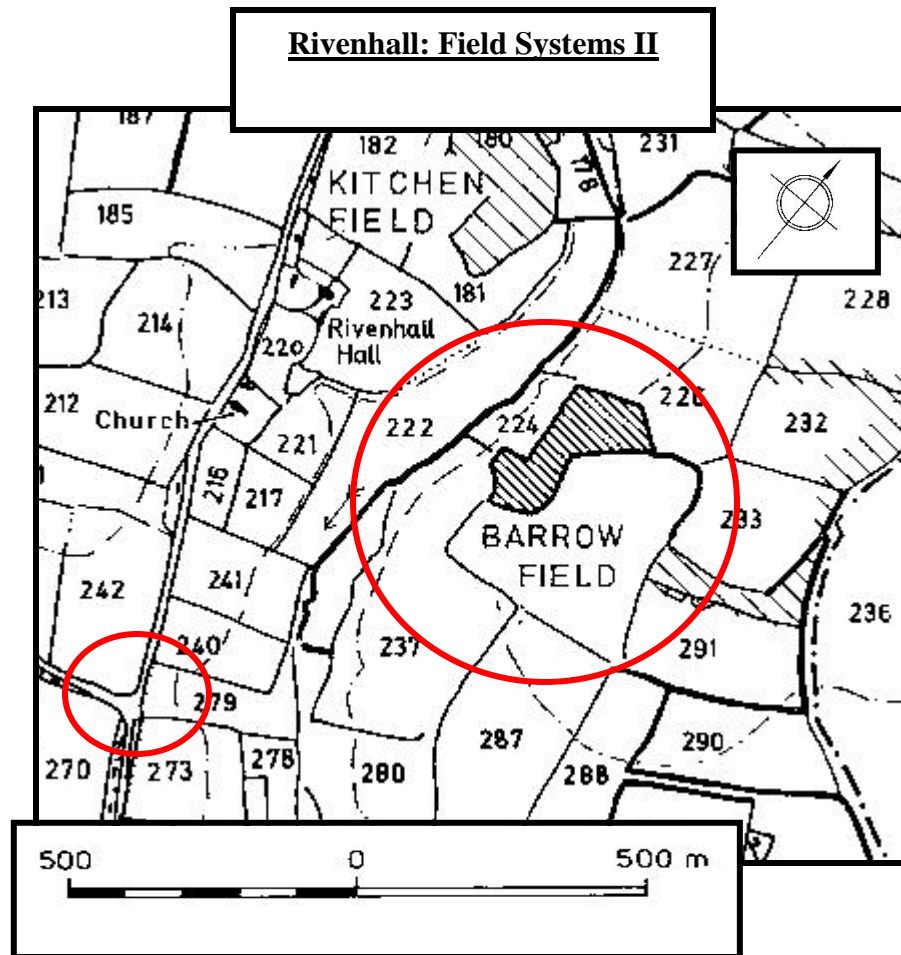


Fig. 4.50: Close up showing the curvature of field boundaries at Rivenhall (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1993, Fig. 57).

4.5.9. A Neolithic enclosure at Rivenhall End

As part of the ongoing work of the Essex County Council archaeology team to expand its sites and monuments record, a survey of an elongated enclosure (Fig. 4.51 and 4.52) located at TL 8457 1670, 300m south-east of the A12 Chelmsford to Colchester road and 200m to the east of the River Blackwater, was carried out on a gently sloping terrace of sandy gravel, which revealed substantial quantities of Neolithic and Mesolithic flint work (Buckley et al., 1998, 77). Based upon the quantity of material recovered in the survey, an excavation centred upon the enclosure undertaken in 1986.

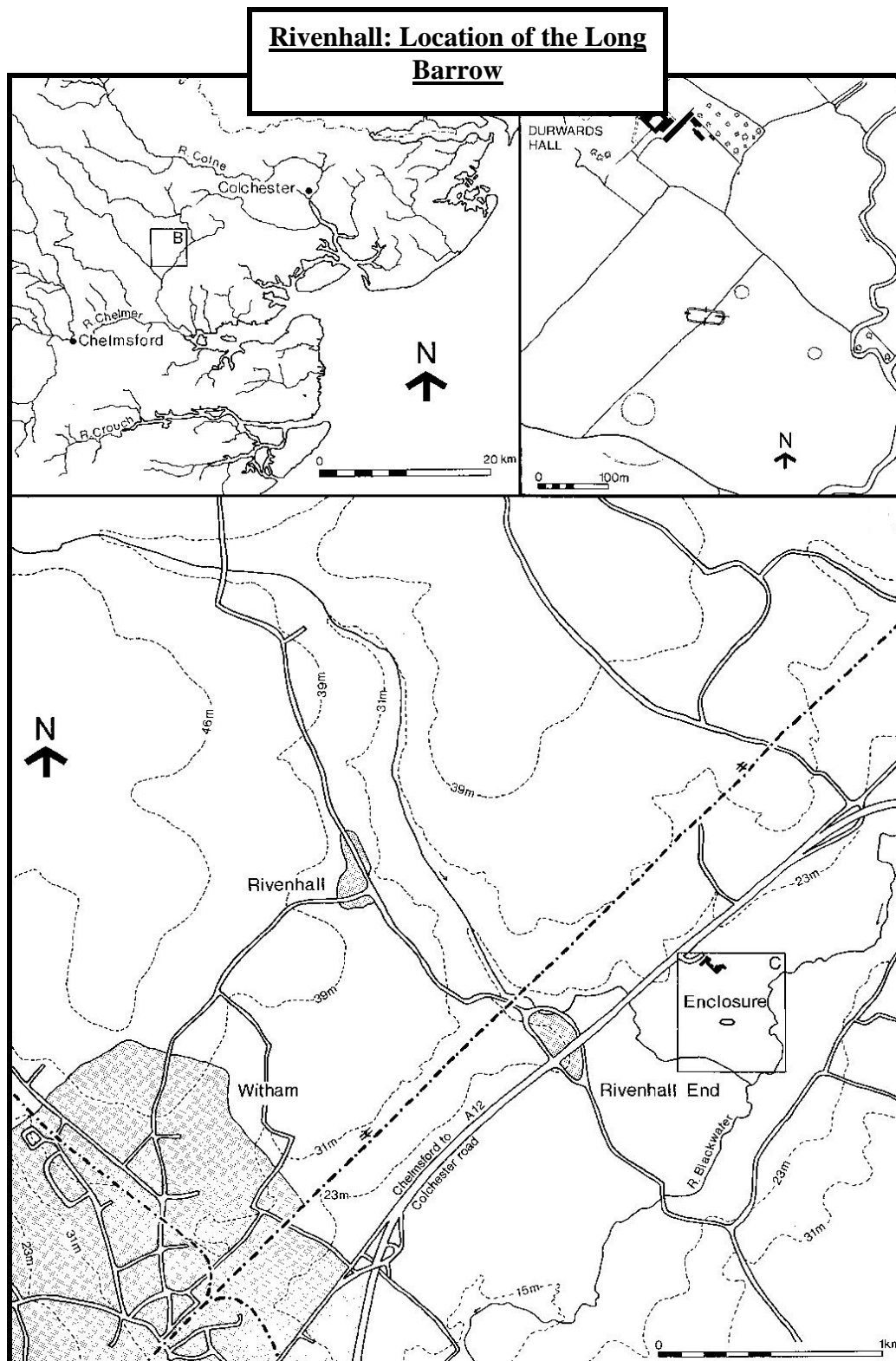


Fig. 4.51: Map showing the location of the Rivenhall End Neolithic enclosure (Buckley et al., 1998, 78).

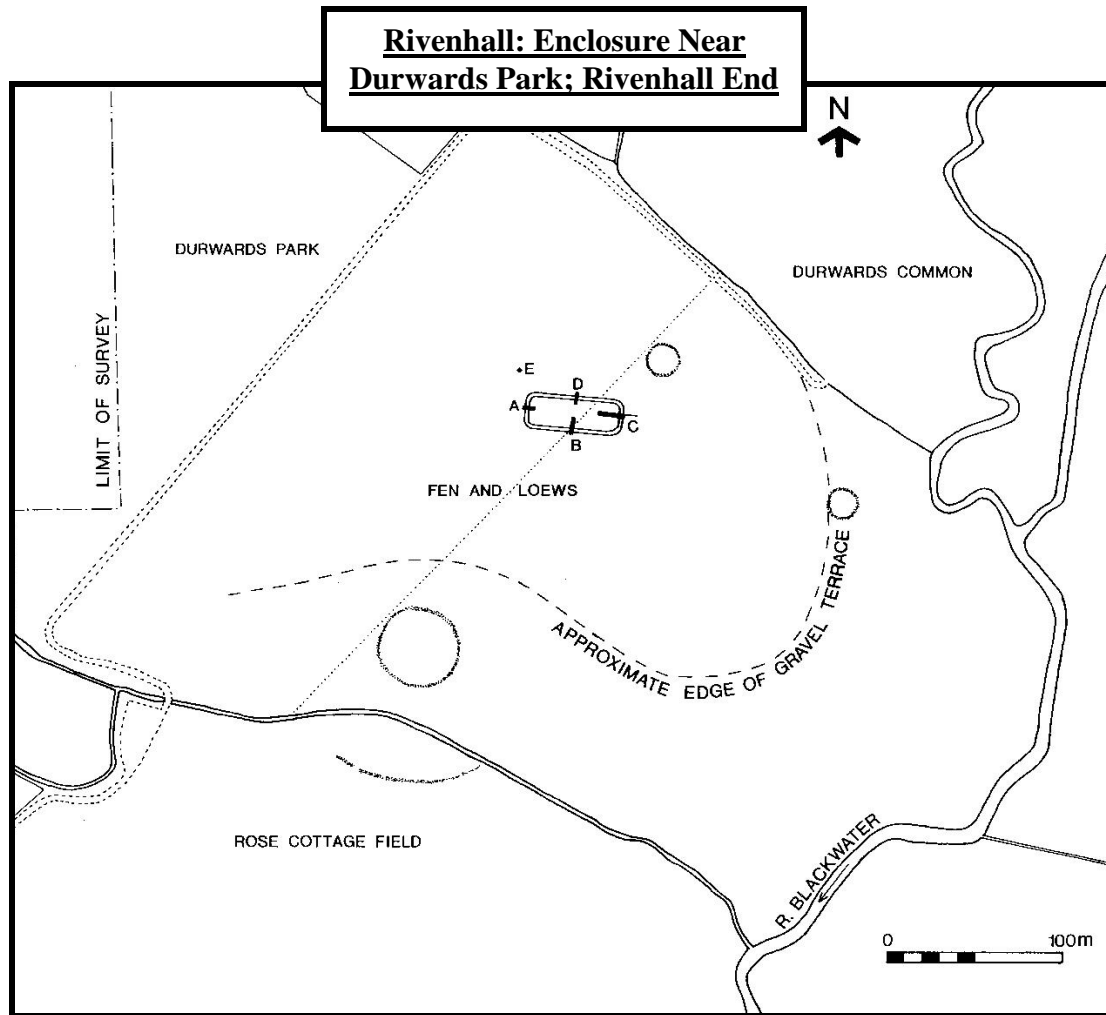


Fig. 4.52: Rivenhall End enclosure (Buckley et al., 1998, 79).

The feature was 49m x 16m with no breaks in the perimeter (Fig. 4.53). In the immediate vicinity were the remains of two, ploughed out Bronze Age round barrows and a larger circular feature, interpreted as a possible henge monument (Buckley et al., 1988, 77). In total, 173 flints were recovered from field walking and a total of 1055 from all excavations (Buckley et al., 1988, 83). The main flint concentrations were located at the edge of the gravel terrace along with a small quantity of worked flint and a few pottery sherds from the ditch (Buckley et al., 1998, 82–83). Roman period finds from the excavation totalled three sherds of pottery from the plough soil and subsoil in two trenches (Buckley et al., 1988, 86). The lack of finds here, confined to a very small pottery scatter, indicates that the construction, and the satellite monuments, had probably been erased from the landscape by the late Iron Age, and their locations forgotten, or the

remains of the features were just too distant from any settlement to be considered in any way useful.

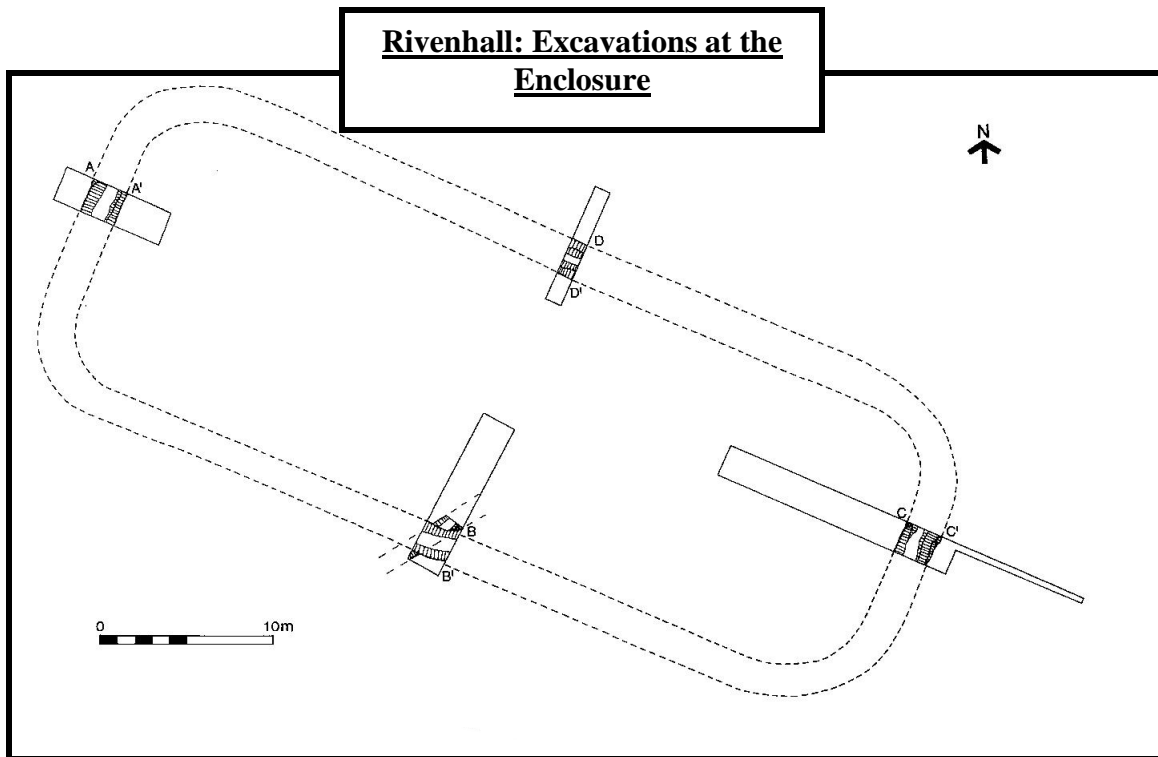


Fig. 4.53: Location of the excavation trenches at the Rivenhall End enclosure (Buckley et al., 1998, 80).

4.5.10. Conclusions

Kelvedon, largely due to the almost complete absence of earlier prehistoric activity, does not fulfil any of the stated hypothesis criteria. There is no correlation between prehistoric features and primary deposits of later material. There is no evidence of depositional practices indicating that prehistoric features were used as part of a process of identity formation or retention, no evidence of deliberate, chronological segregation, nor any evidence that the presence of prehistoric features were a component part of a process of display of wealth, or status, during the late Iron Age or Roman periods.

At Rivenhall, the location of Bronze Age and Iron Age finds in the churchyard suggests that this it had been in use as a settlement for a considerable period of time. But why place the villa here, and not in any of the hundred other potential locations along the same route? The location is, topographically speaking, on a rise in the undulating, modern day landscape (Fig. 4.54), but if you look toward the north from the churchyard, over the now dried up stream bed where the springs are located, Rivenhall Hall is on a higher elevation than the church building. The centre of the village is 32m AoD rising to 42m AoD to the north of Rivenhall Hall, with the churchyard at approximately 35m. This rules out the possibility that the site was chosen because it is the most visible point in the surrounding landscape, as the higher elevation would have partially blocked a panoramic view from the rear of the main building. Looking toward the west, it is located along a gradual slope downward, into the Cressing Brook and to the south, the elevation gradually dips toward a height of 32m over a distance of 400m at the crossroads to Stoverm's Hall.

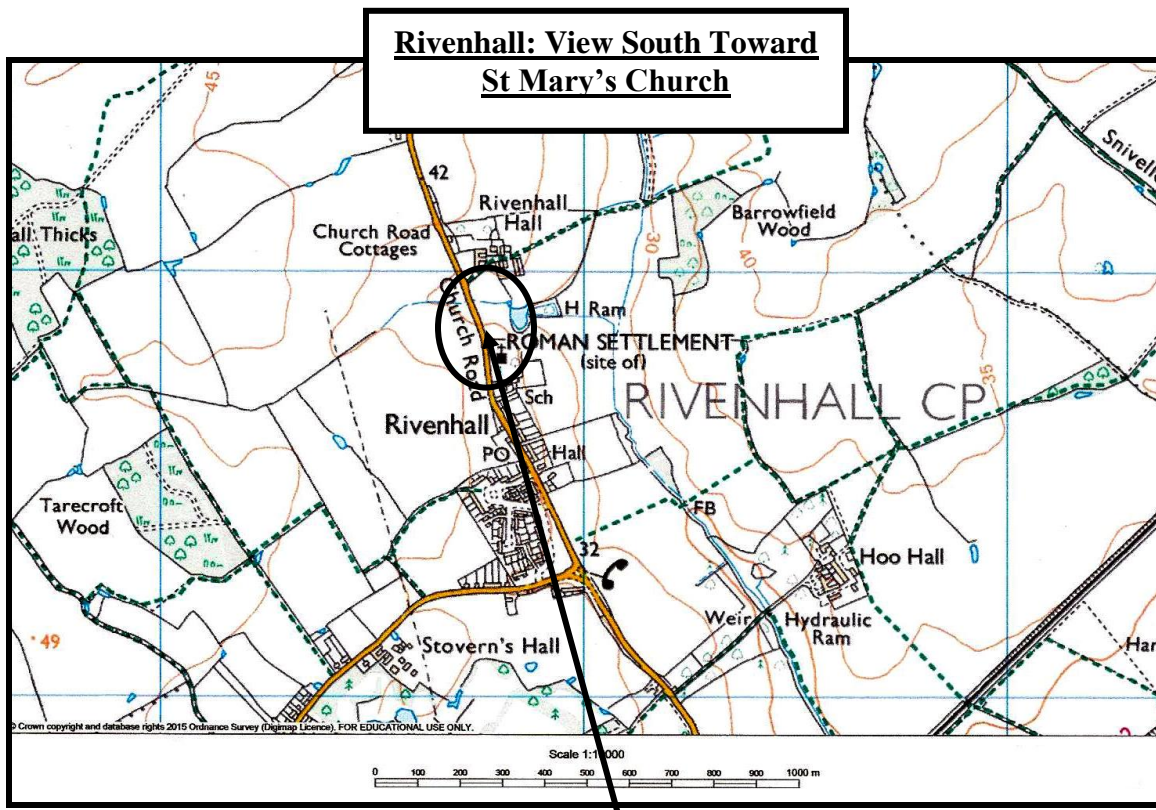


Fig. 4.54: Looking south to St Mary's Church from Rivenhall Hall (available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk> and [/www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1889127](http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1889127) by Mr. Paul Palmer).

Laying aside the topographical aspect, the chosen location for the villa is just one of many potential locations along the route from Silver End to Rivenhall End, or the main Roman road between Witham and Kelvedon that intersects it at Rivenhall End. There are multiple, small, late Iron Age settlements stretching in a chain along these routes. There must have been some other compelling reason to choose this particular location above all others, building a farm complex in the immediate proximity (20–30m) to a place where the recently deceased had been buried is highly unlikely. If the location, on the other hand, held some special significance, or a sense of connection with the past which could be exploited in some way to enhance the social status of those who owned the villa, it could have been a powerful symbolic tool.

Rodwell and Rodwell stated (1986, 19) that the villa was no impoverished farmstead. The recovery of one handle and one complete, late Iron Age mirror; 125 BC–AD 25 decorated in a Celtic style (Fig. 4.55), a style used from approximately 300 BC–AD 70, were found whilst draining the area to the east of the churchyard. They argue that these are an indication of the affluence of the villa; if the inhabitants could afford to discard them it follows that they were immensely wealthy. However, there is no indication of when, or why, these objects were discarded. The complete example was found, not in a discrete context, but during drainage operations in a location described as near to a Roman pavement in 1848. The handle, found in 1954, has subsequently been lost and no details regarding the recovery site are noted (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1993, 33). Their deposition could be unrelated to the villa construction. The location in which the 1848 artefacts were recovered is described as a swampy area to the east of the church. Looking at the map, this actually places them squarely along the course of the Cressing Brook: a watercourse that is already known as an important Bronze Age ritual or ceremonial site. Deposition here may have been an intentional act rather than an accidental loss, with the Cressing Brook and the nearby springs still being considered as a sacred site, possibly as late as the 2nd century AD.

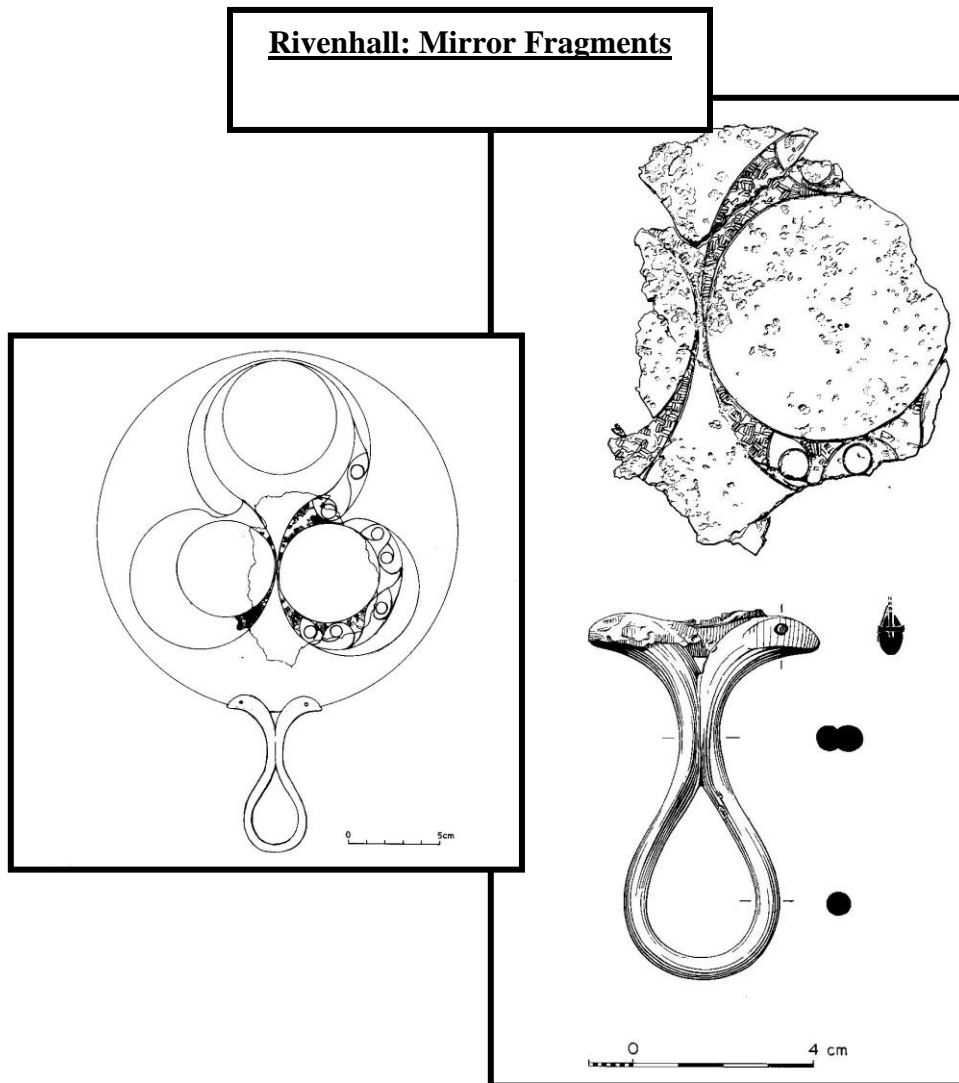


Fig. 4.55: Celtic mirror fragments from Rivenhall (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1993, 30–31).

If the sacred, or ceremonial nature of the spring was, somehow, still appreciated, this suggests that the location of the villa had a strong element of connections with past activity which could have played an integral part in the decision regarding its location. Without definitive excavation evidence, it is impossible to state the origin of the burial mounds at Rivenhall. A planned series of excavations may be useful in determining this, but would it be of any use for this research? As to the assertion that sighting points were required for the layout of the villa precinct, it seems rather a complicated mathematical solution to a problem that does not exist. The layout of the villa may be based upon

prehistoric use of the landscape but it seems more likely that it is the presence of the settlement and the sacred stream, rather than any association with any potential significance of the site provided by the presence of burial mounds, that could be subtly connecting the early, possibly middle, 1st century AD villa and temple to the prehistoric past. If the villa is of high status it can also be argued that it is an integral component in a display of contemporary wealth and power with direct associations to what is regarded as a significant symbolic location.

4.6. Conclusions: Eastern Region

4.6.1. Initial and general observations

Do the presented case studies indicate that the remains of prehistoric activity at these locations are significant contributors to the way in which they were interacted with, or evolved, during the late Iron Age and Roman periods? Were there any observable patterns of interaction here?

Prior to discussing any commonalities between each of the case studies; it should be noted that, with the exception of the excavations carried out at Mucking and the post 1970s excavations elsewhere, there is a general a lack of comprehensive and complete records, coupled with multiple instances of poor excavation strategies, in this study area. Perhaps this is a consequence of a certain antiquarian mindset in the 19th century, a failure of supervision or a concentration on one, specific aspect of a town or a village's past. However, regardless of the source, missing records and untraceable finds would have added great detail to the narrative. It is important to note the incompleteness of some of the records from which this information has been derived in order to appreciate that subsequent investigations may add to, or detract from, any conclusion. Looking purely at the evidence available at this time, there are several commonalties between the case studies in the eastern region.

4.6.2. Commonalities

One of the most immediately noticeable commonalities is the way in which Neolithic features are referenced. In all instances where they are present, there is a lack of positive interaction with, a lack of respect for, and a general lack of awareness of their locations. This observation is arrived at from two, very different bodies of evidence. The Kelvedon, Rivenhall and Ardleigh case studies revealed no evidence of significant, later interactions with Neolithic features as excavations had revealed sparse evidence of their presence, giving little opportunity for any engagement to occur. This does not imply that had

extensive evidence existed, instances of engagement would have been greater; merely that more opportunity would have existed for them to be referenced. However, overall, any lack of engagement cannot simply be explained away as a result of a lack of excavation evidence, as the pattern of disregard for Neolithic features is repeated at Mucking and Springfield. Neolithic activity was extensive at Mucking with the later Neolithic period showing a number of discrete contexts containing typical assemblages, denoting settlement or domestic activity (Clark, 1993, 18). By far the majority of the features excavated at Springfield and Springfield Lyons are Neolithic. Therefore, even when the examined landscape shows a much more intensive pattern of exploitation, the outcome is the same; the presence of Neolithic features is disregarded. Where significant later interactions do take place, they are in the majority, referencing features originally constructed in the Bronze Age.

Not all features of a particular chronological categorisation, or a similar morphology, are treated in the same way. Some are ignored or destroyed, whilst others, often exactly the same type of feature, for example, ring ditches, retain a prominent role in landscape development. This appears to be somewhat inconsistent: either there are certain socially or culturally imposed paradigms regarding ancestral connections associated with a certain category of landscape feature throughout the region or there are not. However, to expect a definitive consistency in referencing, or a singular trajectory of interactions for all examples of a particular morphological type of landscape feature, is rather a simplistic view.

The decision whether or not to interact is not a simple dichotomy. Looking at it from the point of view of the several generations which would have been present in these landscapes over a period of 600 years or more - with potentially multiple changes in social structures and cultural paradigms that may have altered the ways in which they were perceived - it is reasonable to take the approach centred around what Mattingly (2006), defined as the discrepant experience of materials. In essence, aspects of material culture, or physical spaces, in Roman provinces were not used as a means of expressing homogeneity, or universality, but altered in an infinite amount of ways to express

distinctiveness and segregation from other parts of Roman society. This means in most instances, prehistoric features could have been ignored or repurposed according to a multitude of possible requirements of those interacting with them at any given point in time. The desire to express a distinctive identity could be a major part of the equation, but it does not adequately explain why some features are repurposed whilst others remain dormant, nor the almost singular selectiveness that this process has for one particular category of feature. There must be other factors that would logically explain the seemingly random nature of these decisions. If you lay aside the irrelevancies of modern terminology (terms such as ‘henge’, or ‘Bronze Age barrow’ would have had no meaning) where positive interactions occur, the evidence suggests that firstly, some residual part of the feature is probably still visible in the contemporary landscape and secondly, features which are directly repurposed, left to lie fallow, used as landscape markers or that are proximal to locations where significant later interactions are taking place, tend to be circular.

i) Visibility

The fact that some features survived whole, or in part, for more than a millennia since their construction, could indicate that there may have been either an ongoing sense of respect for their locations, a general apathy or disregard concerning their presence or a tacit acknowledgement of their presence by communities for some considerable time. This does not, in any way, imply that the original purpose of the features would have been fully understood: just that it is possible, due to their continued presence, that they may have been appreciated in some way as special or inviolate. It is also possible that their survival has an element of practical reasoning; they survived so long, simply because it would have taken too much effort to destroy whatever extant portion of the features remained. It was simply easier to incorporate them into the burgeoning agricultural landscape.

Using the Springfield landscape as an example, the relative antiquity of the cursus or causewayed enclosure or any of the Neolithic, as opposed to Bronze Age, features would

probably have been meaningless when the sword was interred. Its location in a domestic enclosure, rather than a 'monumental' landscape feature could be explained by the assumption that there was no visible element present which set the other features apart, in order to - metaphorically speaking - hang a visual hook of ancestral reverence upon. The location of the deposit indicates that some memory of significance, in addition to the visual presence of the ditch, may have been a factor in the location of the deposit. However, this was somewhat misaligned as a deposit such as this would normally be expected in an ancestral burial mound, or site of sacred significance, rather than an old housing area. The fact that this feature latterly becomes incorporated into an Anglo-Saxon cemetery site indicates a possible continuation of its acquired ritual status. This example also serves to illustrate the potential imperfections in any long term memory associations. Another example of the importance of visible presence can be seen in the Mucking landscape. Whilst the majority of the barrows appear to remain visible, extant features in the landscape for an extended period, one of the barrows is destroyed by the course of later field systems or the defensive ditch features. There could have been a deliberate choice on the part of the community to respect some of the features here whilst ignoring just this particular example, or to exclude it in a complex process of selective engagement: it could simply be that it disappeared at some time during the development of the agricultural landscape prior to the late Iron Age.

Feature visibility is not an all-encompassing paradigm. It is rather one dimensional to suggest that just because there is a residual, visible presence, that any given feature would have been inviolate or respected. Taken to the extreme, this would mean that virtually the entire landscape development of Essex would have atrophied, being left in its entirety as a monument to the past. This is obviously impractical. Even if the evidence had suggested that all of the features had an equally significant presence in the landscape at that time, would it have made any perceptible difference to the location in which a deposit is placed or not? Perhaps the visible element of any feature is only an initial starting point for a series of decisions, or choices, made by the inhabitants of the contemporary landscape, according to their current requirements or desires. Just because there is a reference point which can be seen within a person's current, temporal

framework - which they may have understood to have been created at some time in the past; an understanding that may be based on a shared, communicated history or a contemporary construction - does not mean that it will automatically be the subject of any reverence or respect. There will be a large number of other factors specifically relevant to that person, their wider social circle or expanded community or imposed by outside sources that will influence how they interact with that specific landscape feature at any particular point in time. The fact that an element of the feature is visible is, however, probably crucial, as it provides a base point for the plethora of possible interactions to stem from.

ii) Morphology

Another commonality between the case studies is the different treatment of features based upon their shape. Generally, where there is, what could be defined as a positive, or significant, later interaction with a prehistoric landscape feature, where the feature contains a group of 3rd century AD burials, is used as a landscape marker for later construction or the presence of the feature is respected by the development of the landscape over a considerable period of time, they are, in the main, circular rather than linear. At Mucking, for example, regardless of the size of their construction, the majority of the barrow features are respected, whilst the Bronze Age linear field system is not. Similarly, at Springfield, the evidence of repurposing is confined to the circular enclosure alone. This pattern of interaction with features of a particular morphology also holds true at Ardleigh, at the very least, in the case of the ring ditches at (652) and possibly, within the main urnfield itself. However, this is a speculation based on the discarded finds noted by the CEU excavations.

If the repurposing of these features is viewed from the standpoint of modern classifications, the Springfield enclosure is an anomaly, as most of the other examples were used for burial purposes. However, stripping these classifications away and looking at these features simply as mounds of earth with a particular distinctive shape and no other ephemeral attributes or past associations, the respect shown to the Lyons Enclosure

is just another, similar example of engagement with a partially circular, or crescent shaped ditch.

Where does this apparent morphological requirement, regarding the locations for these interactions, stem from? Has the memory of their association with burial rights somehow survived, passed down through the intervening generations? Is it a more contemporary appreciation of their form? Or is this a conglomeration of both contemporary form and ancestrally communicated appreciations of these features? The use of the conjoined barrows at Ardleigh for later Roman graves (Brown, 1999, 36), and the way in which the Mucking landscape is given over to purely funerary use in the later Roman period, suggest a certain underlying commonality of use ascribed to features with a particular morphology after the middle of the 3rd century AD. Is there some new paradigm of interaction features being expressed at this point in time? One potential reason for change could be a form of regional identity expression through burial practices, related to the rise of the short lived Gallic Empire, based upon contemporary examples of Batavian or Amorian burial practices (Dark, 1993). This would have been a deliberate choice to differentiate, or separate, certain aspects of life, or the rituals associated with death from those observed in the wider empire. Perhaps, it just reveals a certain persistent and conservative character of burial traditions in the north-west provinces of the Roman empire, as noted by Vermeulen and Bourgeois (2000, 143), who discussed the longevity of burial traditions in Sandy Flanders, or those noted by Roymans (1995) regarding barrow cemeteries in the southern Netherlands.

4.6.3. Temporal clustering

Another observation regarding patterns of interaction is the phenomenon of temporal clustering of activity. Where excavation evidence is sufficiently robust, features belonging to one particular prehistoric or historical period, that in addition relate to a particular domestic or ritual activity, are often grouped into clusters, creating zones of specific activity. When studying the landscape at Mucking, there are portions of the Bronze Age landscape which are being used for what could be considered day-to-day

domestic activities, whilst other areas are set aside for the purposes of burial or other ritual purposes. This is quite a normal expectation concerning the spatial structuring of any landscape.

Over an extended time period, it would normally be expected that areas of specific activity would gradually, (or possibly rapidly, if a sufficiently destructive, intensive agricultural technique, or method of building, were introduced) be degraded, cut into, or overlain by the presence of later activity. However, the excavation evidence from the Mucking and Ardleigh case studies seems to show a desire to separate a range of domestic, or ritual activities, which extended beyond any defined prehistoric or historical period, although the separation seen at Mucking is much less pronounced than the, probably flawed, evidence from Ardleigh. The Mucking landscape appears to have been the subject of selective, rather than an all-encompassing spatial respect, where it is only the majority of Bronze Age burial barrows which are left inviolate. The fact that Iron Age, or Roman, settlement activity does not appear to have extended into what could be considered as the main area of Bronze Age burial activity, produces an interesting conundrum. Would the respect for these prehistoric features have been so evident if the settlement area had been further extended? Of the four barrows that fall within the designated settlement area, only one is repeatedly cut by later features, so it would appear, statistically at least, that there is a one in four chance that the surviving barrows would have been respected. A case could be made for the survival rate of the northern barrows in the circumstance of settlement extension from 'none' to 'all'. However, underlying any speculative assumption of destruction would be the fact that these monuments would have had little, or no, significance to the later inhabitants of the landscape. With no potential ancestral constraints on their actions, they would have utilised, or destroyed, the remains of the features at will. Perhaps, the very fact that the Iron Age and Roman settlement boundaries stopped where they did, and the way in which the field systems developed during these later periods, is indicative of the respect afforded to these features. Despite an increasing population and increasingly intensive, agricultural processes, a clear, conscious choice appears to have been made by the community to respect a particular type of earthwork which they may have considered to

be a physical expression of ancestral connections to the landscape. Individual objects within the main area of expanding domestic and agricultural activity are treated in the same manner as those in, what could possibly have been, a zone of respect, rather than a series of inviolate, individual features. Another, more practical less ritually based explanation, could be that this was designated as an area for grazing, or pasture, due to the presence of large mounds of earth.

The Ardleigh landscape - if the excavation evidence is taken at face value - shows that the main urn field and the features that surround it, are compartmentalised by activity type and time period in a patchwork that eventually filled all of the available space. The area appears to consist of an almost chess board pattern of separate zones. This pattern of activity breaks down sometime in the early Roman period when the features associated with the Bronze Age field system are incorporated into new field boundaries and trackways for livestock, and also later in the 3rd century, when the older field boundaries are ignored. However, the Roman period pottery industry is also located in its own separate compartmentalisation and burial areas of differing prehistoric and historical periods do not – on the evidence as presented – seem to overlap. It is as if small portions of the landscape were used for one purpose, at one point in time, and then disregarded.

This does give some pause for thought. This pattern of landscape exploitation would have required the presence of extensive earthwork markers over the entire area that remained visible features for an extended period of time, coupled with detailed knowledge of the past use of the landscape, dating back for almost a thousand years. However, the presence of unrecorded human remains, animal bones, cremated remains and pottery from the Iron Age through to modern examples in the backfill from the urnfield (Brown, 1999, 42), strongly suggests that the compartmentalisation of the landscape here is actually a product of poor excavation techniques, rather than a true reflection of the way in which the landscape developed. This false sense of separation is further highlighted when the evidence from the modern excavations near the urnfield that yielded these discarded artefacts, and those at Martell's Quarry, are considered. The CEU programme conducted under the more appropriately strict guidelines of modern, probative excavation

techniques, revealed certain specific indications of separation, but certainly not whole landscapes of unprecedented spatial separation suggested by the earlier work. Any of the details of excavations here that purport to suggest that there is an unusual level of spatial separation must therefore be treated as highly suspect. Despite the shortcomings in the earlier evidence, the CEU excavations did prove that Bronze Age field boundaries were incorporated into the landscape of Roman Ardleigh (Brown, 1999, 56), and the excavations of the main pottery production area do not appear to have been poorly executed nor recorded.

The Kelvedon and Rivenhall case study also seems to have highlighted other instances of spatial separation. The Neolithic long barrow, with its accompanying round barrows and potential henge monument at Rivenhall End seems to be an area of activity forgotten by later generations, so far removed from any settlements that it was irrelevant. The definitive edge to Roman activity to the east of the villa at Rivenhall is also noteworthy (Rodwell and Rodwell, 1986, 37). If the edge of this band of Romano-British material has been created as the result of a conscious decision to restrict the deposition of domestic waste material to a point that abuts the barrow field (rather than a reflection of a cut-off point in the excavations) it could indicate that the barrows were of such significance that they were not to be profaned with the detritus associated with everyday activities. Again, this can only remain a matter of speculation until further excavation work is carried out in this area.

4.6.4 Ritual appeasement deposition

There are three instances where part of the process of repurposing a particular segment of the landscape involved the placement of an offering to appease the ancestors or spirits associated with the location. The deliberately placed, purposely bent sword in the centre of the Springfield Lyons enclosure (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 33); the complete, early Roman pot buried, containing soil, near ring ditch eight at Ardleigh (Brown, 1999, 26) or the complete jar (7150) and a complete platter (7011) placed in a similar manner when Bronze Age features were enclosed in the 1st or 2nd century AD (Brown, 1999, 181–82),

all appear to have a similar purpose. If these deposits are of a similar nature, i.e. ritual enclosure offerings, then the material used indicates quite a profound change in what was considered to be a sufficiently high status object required to complete the ritual correctly. The Iron Age deposit of the sword could be associated with warfare and the status of the warrior, whilst the platter and jug with feasting or agriculture. These later deposits may be an indication of a generally more peaceful era where feasting artefacts took on a greater level of significance. Alternatively, they could reflect the nature of the particular spirits, or deities, that were being appeased.

It is possible that the late Iron Age foot ring pot, (Sealy, 2007, 17), found close to the late Iron Age warrior burial at Kelvedon is a similar deposit. The intact nature of the item, the angle of placement and the lack of any other artefacts within the pot, are close parallels to those other examples discussed and are reminiscent of other, complete vessels deposited in barrow mounds at, for example, Cossington in Leicestershire (Thomas, 2013, 82). The only real difference is that unlike Cossington, the offering was made to a more recently occurring event. This could indicate that the actual antiquity of a particular feature, or object, which was the subject of this ritual, was not a substantive factor. Instead, these rituals appear to have a contemporary derivation. The significance attributed to the object, by those performing the ritual at that particular point in time, looks to be the decisive factor, but in all probability is based on learned, or inherited, attitudes that define when and where the ritual is to be performed.

4.6.5. Time dependent separation of burial activity

In all of the locations investigated, there appears to have been a great deal of separation between inhumations, or cremations, from successive prehistoric, or historic, periods. Apart from one specific instance of the conjoined ring ditches at Ardleigh, burial activity occurs in quite distinctly compartmentalised sections. At Ardleigh, there remains the problem of the unrecognised, unrecorded Roman remains in the urnfield but other Iron Age and Roman burial groupings are quite separate (Brown, 1999, 33). Similarly, the

Mucking landscape has distinct Roman period cemeteries which do not appear to encroach upon the Iron Age or Bronze Age areas of burial activity.

What does this separation signify? There is a considerable amount of regional diversity in burial practices within Roman Britain. Esmonde-Cleary (2000, 127–42), provides an overview of burials by site type, including towns, wells, shafts, pits and those located within prehistoric monuments. Illchester, for example, is a type site for ‘Backland’ burials, where family members were interred, not only in the town’s communal cemetery, but in the areas at the rear of family residences (Esmonde-Cleary, 2000, 129). Dorchester has evidence of skull deposits in Bronze Age barrows and there is extensive evidence of deposition of valuables in wetland areas, such as along the River Thames (Esmonde-Cleary, 2000, 136–39). Perhaps in Essex, we have a Romano-British, regional extrapolation of the burial traditions revealed in the Flanders project. There, the adoration of ancestors and the conservative character of burial traditions were thought to have been a continuation of tribal ideologies, with urnfields, barrow burials and cult places, respected, and the subsequent intermingling of both pre and post Roman burial traditions (Vermeulen and Bourgeois, 2000, 143–46). In the case of Mucking, the respect of the ancestral burial mounds appears to be so ingrained that they remain inviolate for an unusually extended period. This is an inordinately long time to retain such a detailed communal tradition of respect for ancestral burial locations, but the prevalence of separation could be a deliberate and conscious recognition of the way the landscape developed in terms of ritual interment rather than a number of widespread, coincidental occurrences.

The evidence seems show that in this part of Essex, either there is some undocumented practice, where a memory of significance, specifically related to ancestral burial locations is retained for an extended period by communities, or alternatively, that when agricultural needs required that a certain proportion of the land to be set aside for grazing purposes; the presence of earthen mounds made these areas acceptable choices. No memory of the exact ritual practices involved appears to have been retained through multiple generations in repeated ritual acts designed to reinforce the perceived significance of these locations.

Nevertheless, whether for practical or spiritual purposes, these locations are somehow separated from the rest of the landscape. Perhaps the sense of connection is so strong, as in the case of late Roman Mucking, that the entire landscape is virtually abandoned and given over to ritual purposes. The specific barrows in the Ardleigh landscape, however, have a different trajectory of interaction. Assuming that it still had some residual visible presence, they are respected in the late Iron Age and up to the 3rd century AD, in the same manner as the barrows at Mucking. The feature is then directly repurposed as a location for interment by unknown individuals, whose grave goods consist, partially, of items traded, or sourced, from the Sarmatian tribes located to the north of the modern day Crimean Peninsula.

4.6.6. Instances of anomalous interactions in the eastern region

To conclude this discussion, it may be appropriate to consider instances of anomalous interactions which appear in the eastern region that may have parallels in other investigated areas.

At Springfield, there is a definitive, chronological hiatus in the deposit of domestic waste spreads associated with agricultural fertilisation. As previously noted, the fact that there is a continuous spread of material until the 1st century AD, which ceases until the late 3rd century AD (Priddy, 1983, 135), could indicate either a landscape that was extensively backfilled that did not settle back until the 3rd century AD, or that there is an undocumented pattern of abandonment of the landscape, or settlement contraction, in the middle of the Roman period. Finally, there is the possible use of barrows as sighting points at Mucking. A direct line of sight from barrow one to barrow five, for example, is a close match for the western extent of the major field system, enclosures and a spinal backbone for the placement of the cemeteries during the Roman period. It is possible that these, and other extant mounds, may have been used as sighting markers for the layout of later features. If paralleled in other regions, it expands the potential engineering-related uses of prehistoric monumentality, from major road systems to more localised uses.

Chapter 5: Case Study Region: The Upper Thames Valley and Berkshire Downs

5.1. Introduction

As a number of sites in this area had already been used in the production of test data and the test data chapter, the process of obtaining relevant data for case studies was more one of deletion and conglomeration, rather than of pure selection. The initial stages of determining specific, case study landscapes had already been partially completed in the test data process, by using a range of published materials concerning the area to identify areas of prehistoric activity. The recent publication by English Heritage, for example, of a series of volumes, comprehensively discussing the archaeology of the region, from earliest prehistory to AD 1000, (e.g. Lambrick and Robinson, 2009) detailed several, important prehistoric locations. Publications similar to ‘Understanding the Neolithic’ (Thomas, 1991) showed clustered areas of Neolithic activity, providing several potential case study locations. Using these publications, it was possible to locate several areas of extensive prehistoric activity. The selection of exact sites was made purely on this basis. At this point, the classification and extent to which Romano-British activity occurred was not a consideration, given that the main aim of the research is to determine the extent of and define any patterns of interaction with prehistoric features. After the initial selection was made, several online resources such as Pastscape, the ADS website and local heritage environment records were consulted to define additional sites in proximity to the main sites, in order to capture as many potential locations of activity as possible. The test data model had proven to be somewhat cumbersome, as many locations which were proximal to each other were being included in separate case studies. The next step in the process was to decide which of these could be treated as conglomerated, whole landscapes, which need to be discarded as duplications of effort. Did the studies really need to include the cursus monuments at Lechlade and Drayton, for example, or would one be sufficient? Finally, were there any interesting landscapes that had not been covered in the test data which needed to be included? For example, as Rams Hill had been included in the initial test data and no other site along the edge of the Berkshire Downs, would the inclusion of further locations in the same general area provide any

useful information? The problem then becomes one of bias in the selection of data points. With the hypothesis criteria already in place, and with prior knowledge of the archaeology from some of the locations from the test data, there could be a tendency to use locations that fit the criteria and discard those that do not. This needed to be avoided, if at all possible, in order to present a more accurate picture. Would the introduction of an element of randomness help? Would it be better to deliberately choose locations which revealed more activity, thereby giving something to discuss?

As an example, having taken a decision to include a hillfort as part of a case study, data had already been collated for Taplow near Maidenhead and Rams Hill along the edge of the Berkshire Downs. Taplow provided no evidence of Iron Age, or Roman, interaction as it had been comprehensively cleared in the Anglo-Saxon period but Rams Hill had some evidence of positive interaction. However, looking at the area around the initial site selection, Taplow had little evidence obtained by excavation from other potential sites whilst roughly 1km west of Rams Hill laid the Uffington White Horse figure where no test data had been collected. In essence then, the final site selection for this area is based around singular data points which had the capacity to be expanded upon due to the presence of other data in the immediate vicinity. The final site selection was (Fig. 5.1):

Location	Evidence
I) Stanton Harcourt	Multi-period settlements, barrows and a notable henge monument (Devil's Quoits)
II) Abingdon / Radley Barrow Hills	Settlement, villa estate, late Roman cemetery and barrows multi-period settlements, a causewayed enclosure and a number of Bronze Age barrows
III) Drayton	Cursus monument and barrows (Latterly an Anglo-Saxon Palace Complex)
IV) Uffington	The white horse, hillforts, settlements and Wayland Smithy
V) Cassington	Barrows, cemetery, enclosure settlement

Fig. 5.1: Case studies for the central region.

The case studies do have a certain homogeneity in that all five contain barrows, or ring ditches, but they also have a range of differing feature types which should make the discovery of any patterns of interaction between them a significant consideration. Each of these study areas (Fig. 5.2) was examined individually and an interim regional conclusion was then presented to feed into the research conclusion.

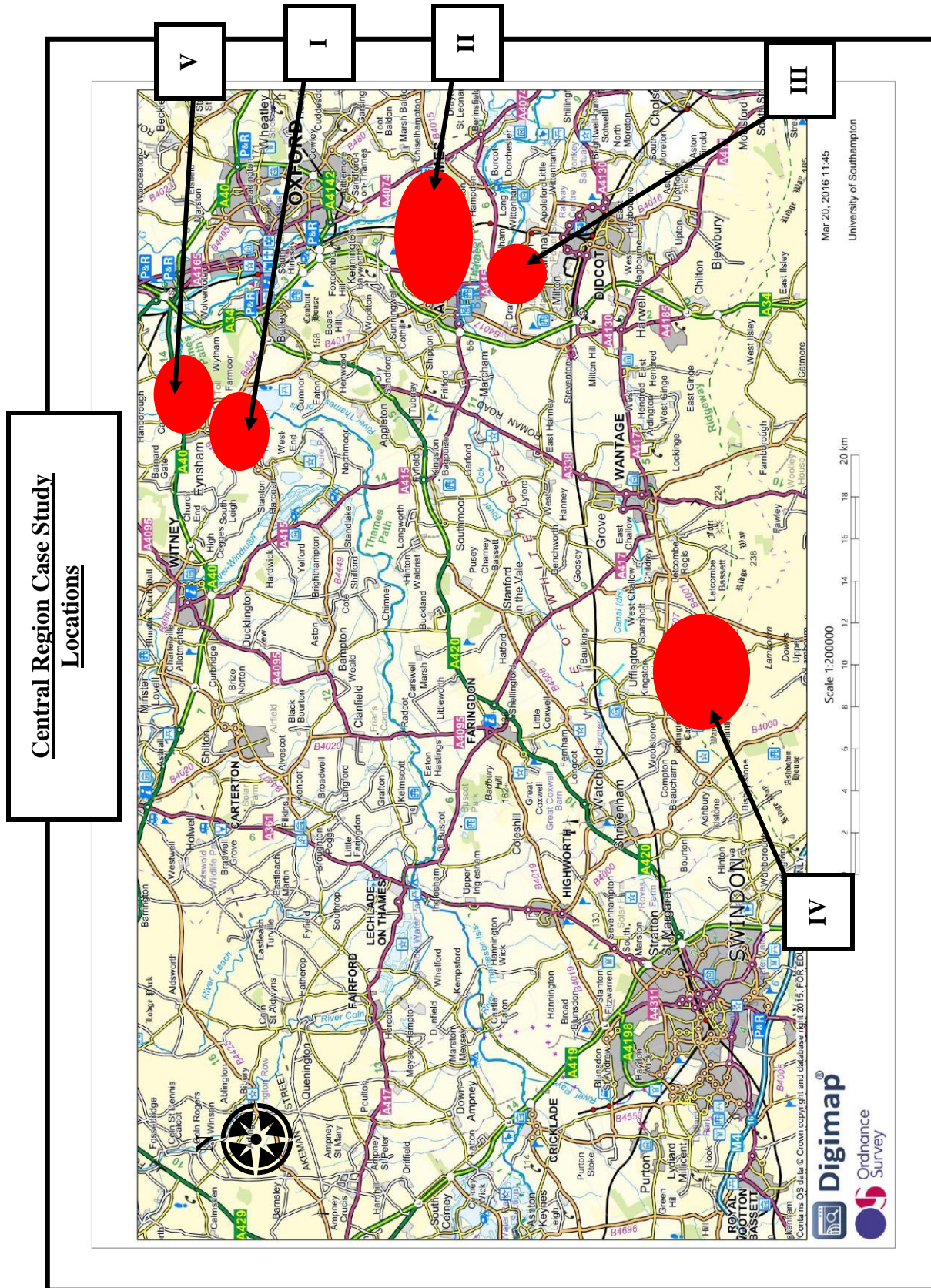


Fig. 5.2: Location of the case Studies in the Central Region (available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).

5.2. Case study: Stanton Harcourt

The village of Stanton Harcourt (derived from *stænen* or *stæner* herewīc - the dwelling or camp by the stones or on stony ground), is located approximately 10km, to the west of Oxford (Fig. 5.3). Excavations around the village revealed, over time, an extensive landscape of prehistoric settlement and monumental activity on the second gravel terrace of the upper Thames Valley, running approximately 70–93m AOD. These excavations produced evidence of Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age and Romano-British activity at a number of sites.

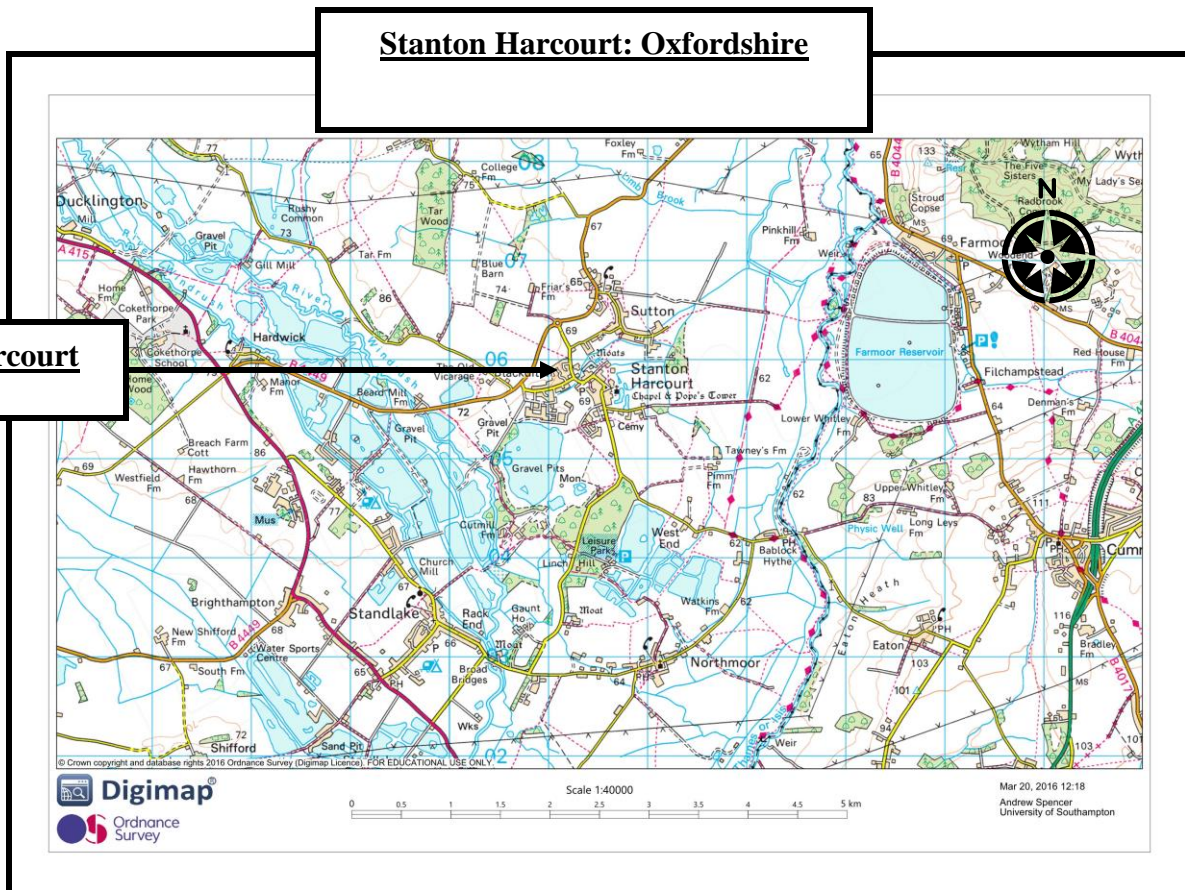
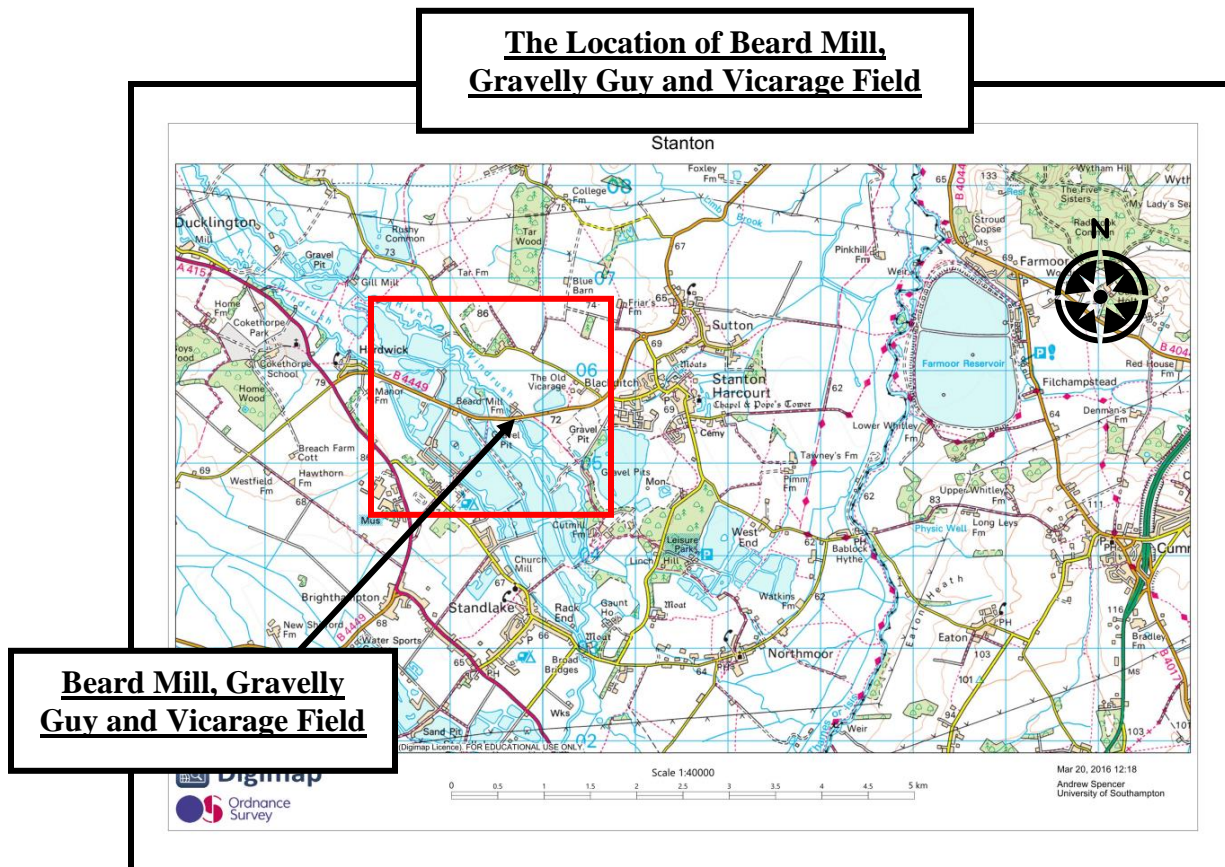


Fig. 5.3: Map of a portion of the Thames Valley showing Stanton Harcourt near Oxford.
(available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).

5.2.1. Research landscapes

Beard Mill (Fig. 5.4 and 5.5) is a large, Iron Age settlement enclosure, located to the north-west of the village. The Vicarage Field (Fig. 5.4 and 5.5) is a settlement and monumental landscape thought to be contemporary with the Devil's Quoits henge monument, located approximately 750m–1.2km north-west of the village. The site was abandoned sometime in the early Bronze Age and re-occupied in the late Iron Age. In addition, there are a series of Bronze Age ring ditches in the proximity of the settlement area (Case, 1982b). Gravelly Guy (Fig. 5.4 and 5.5) is a multi-period settlement with a possible Neolithic timber circle, Bronze Age barrows and a hengiform monument to the south-east of Beard Mill and the Vicarage Field (Lambrick and Allen, 2004).



*Fig. 5.4: Map showing Beard Mill, Vicarage Field, Gravelly Guy and Stanton Harcourt.
(available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).*

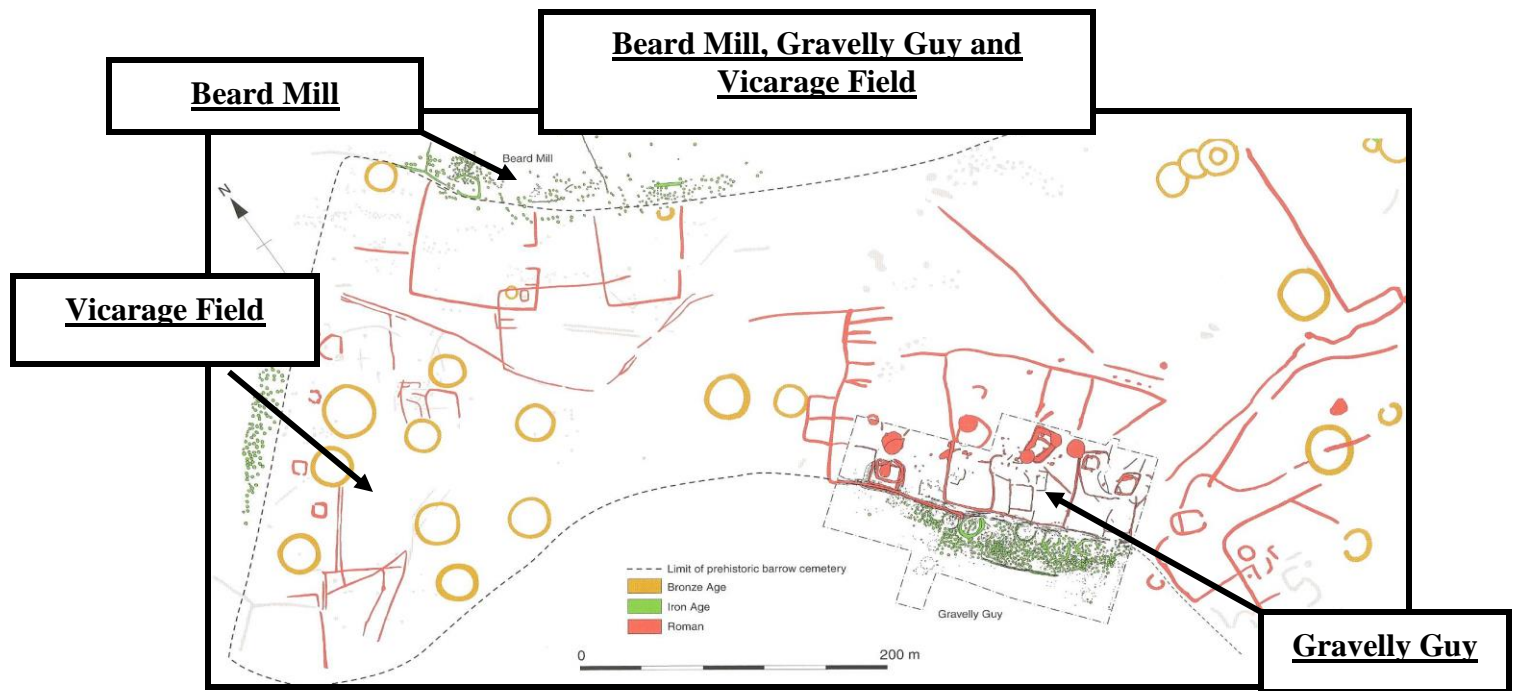


Fig. 5.5: Beard Mill, Vicarage Field and Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Robinson, 2009).

The Devil's Quoits (Fig. 5.6) is a late Neolithic henge monument to the south of the village; part of a settlement and a monumental complex, including Linch Hill Corner (Barclay et al., 1995).

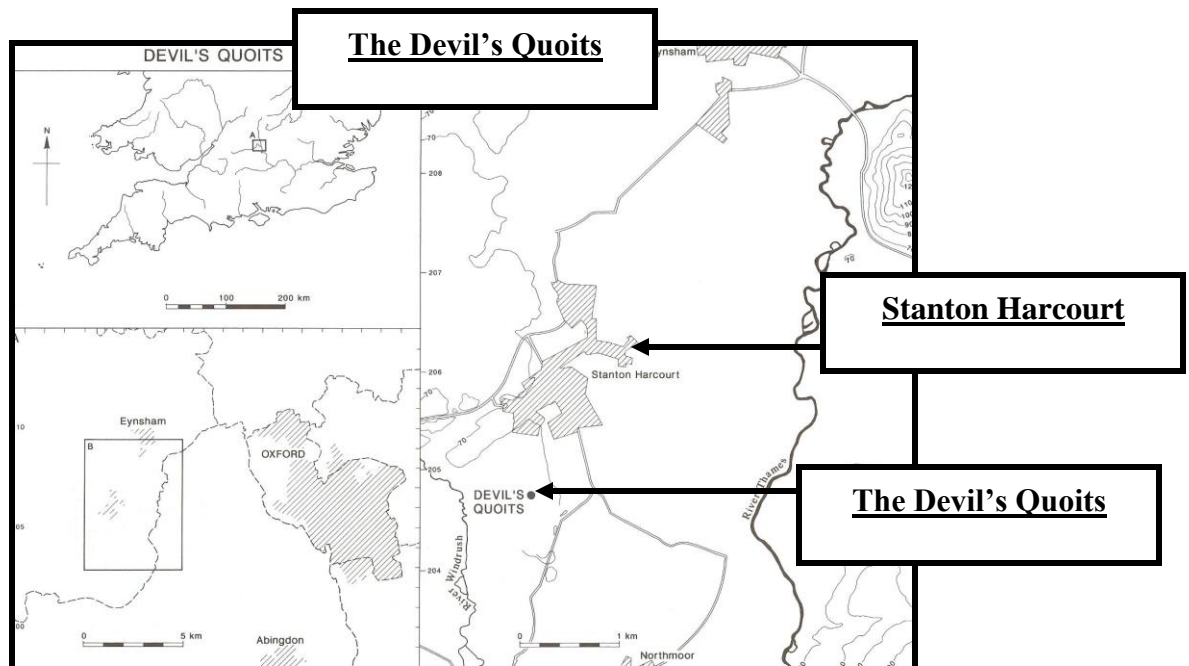


Fig. 5.6: Map showing Stanton Harcourt and the Devil's Quoits (Linington, 1982, 82).

Linch Hill Corner (Fig. 5.7) is south-east of the Devil's Quoits. The location has a series of ring ditches which display the same initial pattern of landscape use as the Vicarage Field to the north (Linington, 1982, 80–87).

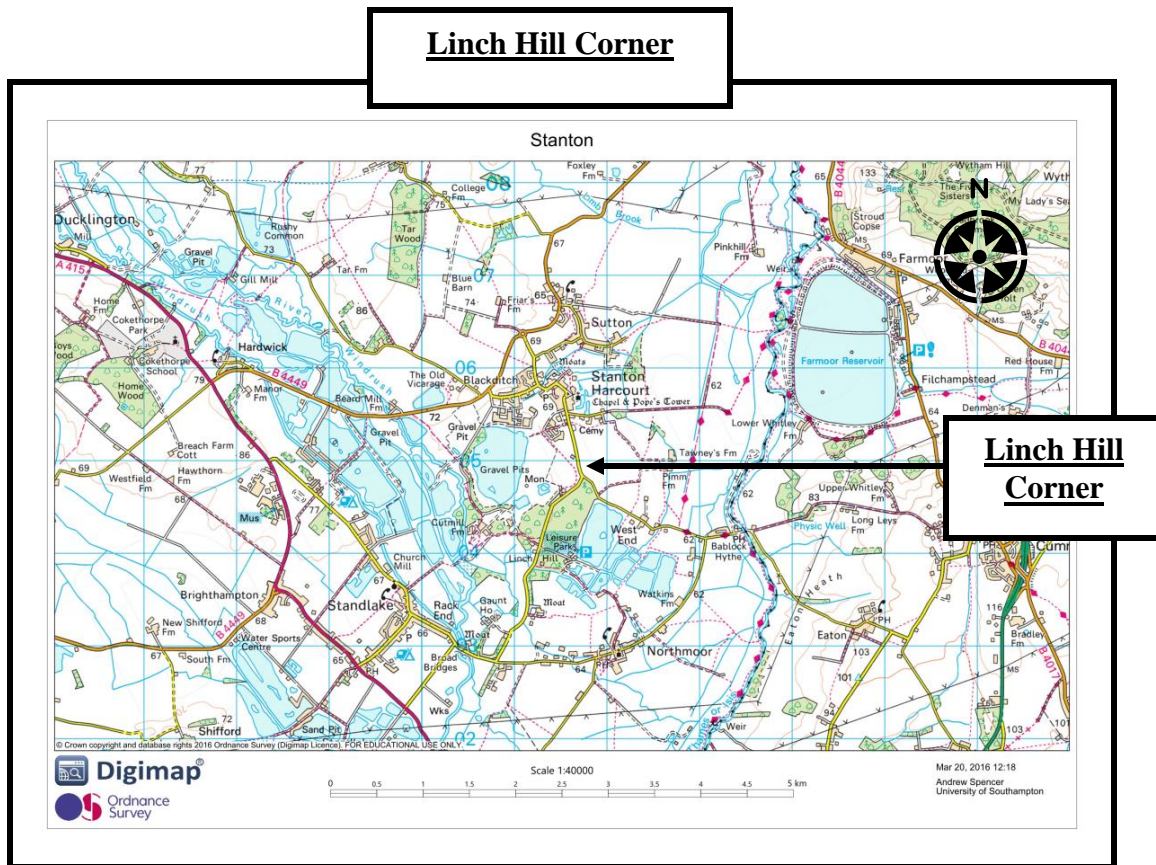


Fig. 5.7: The location of Linch Hill corner in relation to Stanton Harcourt (available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).

5.2.2. Later deposition in prehistoric features

There was little evidence of engagement between Romano-British interactions via primary deposition into prehistoric landscape features at Stanton Harcourt. Despite a number of prehistoric features in the landscape containing examples of Romano-British material culture, and vice versa, the majority of the material seems to have been deposited as a result of tertiary processes or was intrusive. There were, for example, 172 sherds of 1st and 2nd century AD pottery recovered from the excavations in the ditch of

the Devil's Quoits monument (Barclay et al., 1995, 112). However, these deposits are functionally intentional, as they are spreads of material filling the ditch (Fig. 5.8), rather than discrete, or separate, insertions.

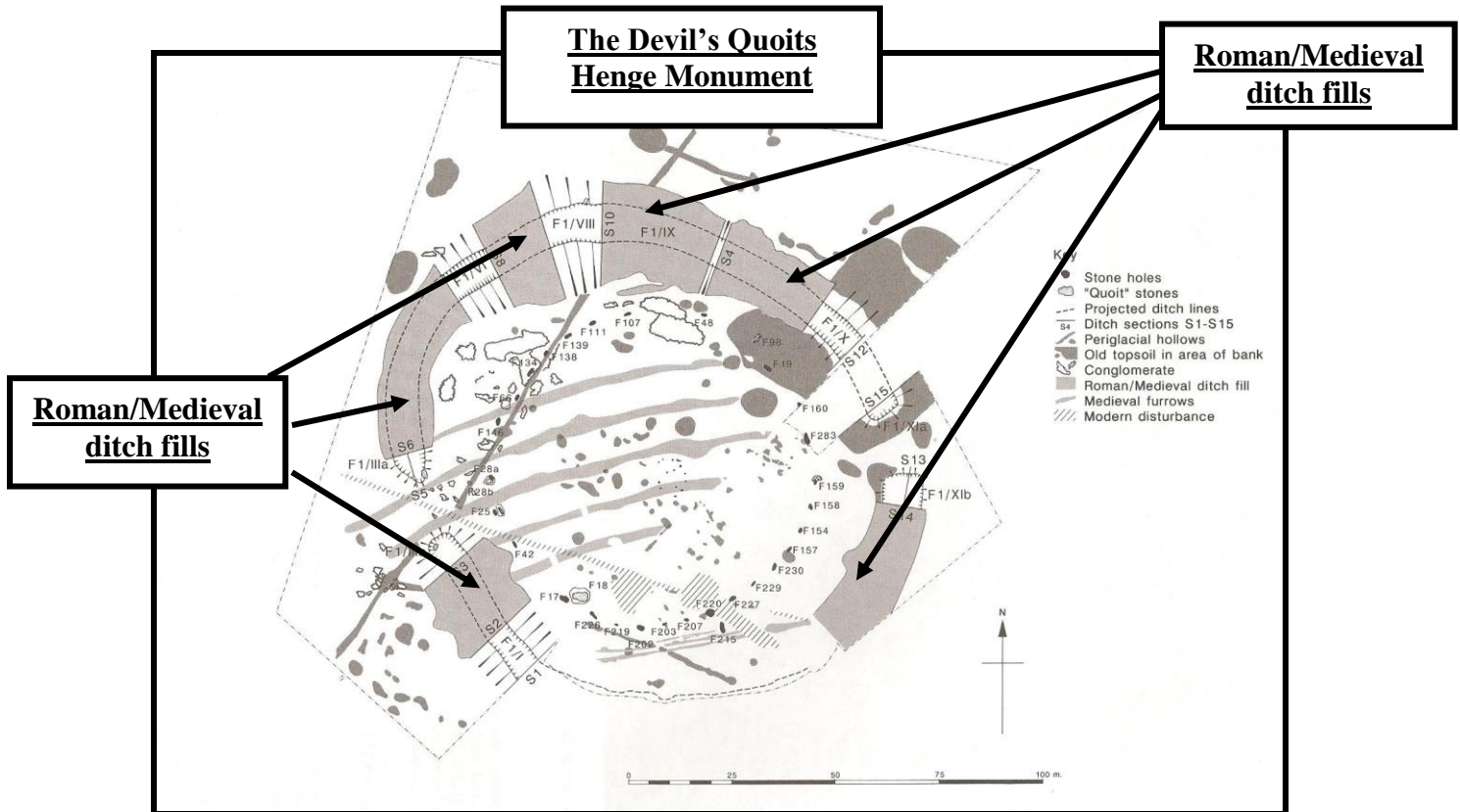


Fig. 5.8: Plan of the Devil's Quoits monument showing the excavated ditch fills (Barclay et al., 1995, 10).

Broken pottery is a recognised element of agricultural fertilisation spreads, and many of these locations exist in a modern-day landscape of intensive agricultural activity but is it always the case that deposits conform to the standard explanation that they are associated with agricultural activity? Is this a monocausal explanation for all these deposits that is not always appropriate? Is this a focus on what could be a final discard of material which may have had a longer lifecycle than can be appreciated from the evidence in the ground? The evidence from the ground is incontrovertible. The pottery vessels were, at some

point, broken, discarded and spread over an area but can it always be definitively certain that there is a direct relationship: that in all cases these spreads of domestic waste material? Take the material at Devil's Quoits for example: is this direct use discard? Looking at Peña's (2007, 9) work, is it equally plausible that they have been deposited at a later point in their lifecycle? Could they have been used as utensils, and then placed as votive offerings to the monument when largely intact, broken *in situ*, then finally spread in the immediate vicinity? Does the pottery contain charcoal flecks, animal bones or residual fat traces? What about the effects of later agricultural exploitation and the virtual destruction of the monument, halted only when the monument was investigated and repaired? This extended lifecycle is, however, only a speculation. The material has not been retrieved from discrete, or sealed, deposits that indicate it was used in any form of expression of collective identity. The spreads of material lack that element of definitive statement which the undamaged examples of vessels recovered from Ardleigh seem to project, and therefore, at this time, no other conclusions are possible. The majority of the material excavated from Linch Hill Corner and the Vicarage Field also seems to fall into the category of functional, intentional engagement without any indication of a deeper, symbolic purpose to the deposits.

There are two possible exceptions:

- i) A possible, later, Iron Age or early Romano-British burial in ring ditch XXIX, 1, at Linch Hill Corner (Linington, 1982, 81–83).
- ii) The deposition of 1357 flint tools and debitage in Iron Age and Romano-British contexts at Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen, 2004, 64).

The spread of materials and stratigraphic relationships at Gravelly Guy, however, do not allow for any definitive assessment to be made regarding the intentionality of the flint deposition. The stratigraphy was so shallow that it is described as mixed and blurred, with no long sequences to help in understanding the overall development of the settlement (Lambrick and Allen, 2004, 103). There is an equally large flint assemblage from the remainder of the site. Of the 1532 other pieces recovered, including 470 Mesolithic examples, 328 alone were gathered from field walking and surveying to the

south-east of the settlement area (Lambrick and Allen, 2004, 93–97). The only *in situ* flint was found in Bronze Age contexts, with the remainder being spread, or scattered, (Lambrick and Allen, 2004, 93). The flint assemblage in the Iron Age and Roman period contexts is not a respectfully, intentionally deposited, curated material; rather, it is scattered across the site filling the features.

The single example of a possible, deliberate, primary insertion into a prehistoric feature comes from Linch Hill Corner in ring ditch XXIX, 1, layer three, where evidence of a late Iron Age, or possibly an early Romano-British, cremation burial was recovered (Linington, 1982, 83). Layers one and two of the ditch contained early Romano-British pottery, which was also recovered from layer three in ring ditches XXIX, three and four, along with a small quantity of animal bone and bronze strips (Linington, 1982, 84). This one example is not indicative of a pattern of interaction in the landscape. There are 27 other examples of ring ditches surrounding the village which remain unused during the late Iron Age and Roman periods. Apart from the distinctive location of the burial in the ring ditch (Fig. 5.9), there is no other indication that the deceased would have been considered as part of a social elite, or otherwise singled out for such special treatment. The grave goods only consist of one squashed, and one small, straight bronze strip normally associated with leather fastenings (Linington, 1982, 83). It should also be noted, given the findings of Harden and Treweeks (1945) regarding the extensive Anglo-Saxon use of barrows in the area for burial purposes, that there is a possibility that this is not an Iron Age or Romano-British example.

Linch Hill Corner Sections

**Cremation
Burial**

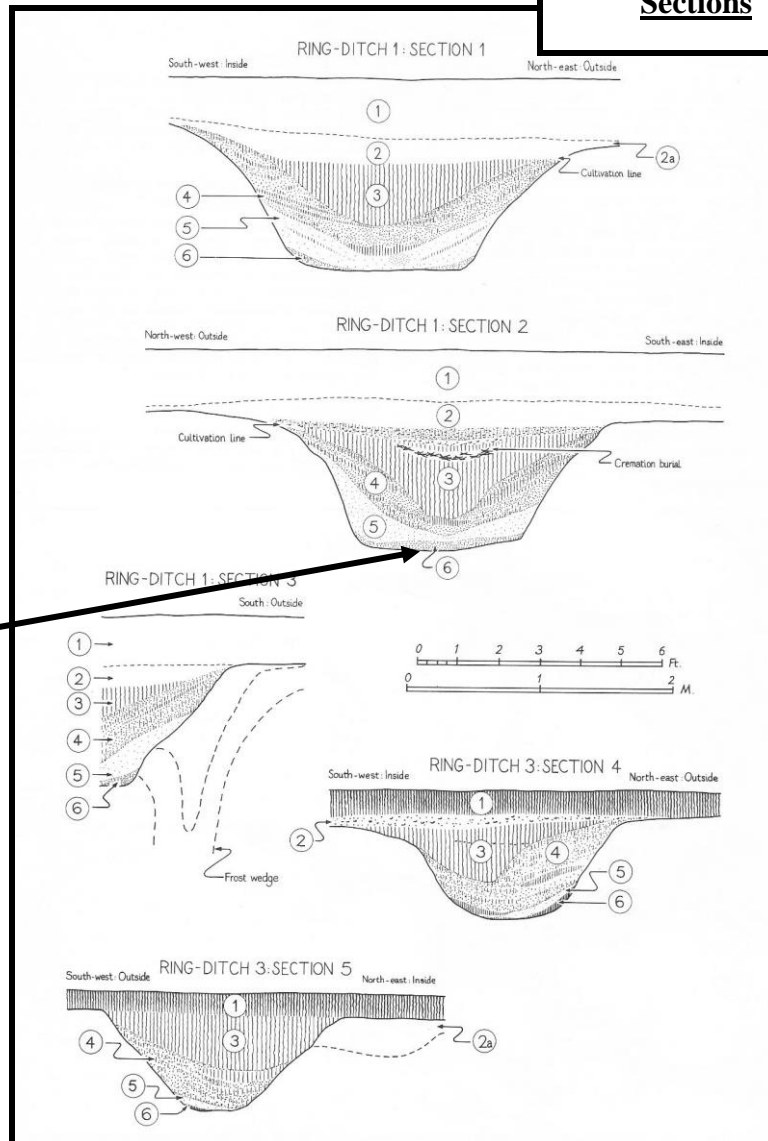


Fig. 5.9: Sections of the ring ditches at Linch Hill Corner, with the location of the cremation burial highlighted (Linington, 1982, 84).

5.2.3. Evidence of spatial respect

The landscape of the Stanton Harcourt area is the antithesis of the expectation that direct engagement with prehistoric features can be used as a means of identity formation or retention. Many of the lower layers of excavated features contain evidence that points to a hiatus in direct use, sometime after the Bronze Age, with beaker pottery, biconical urns, some grooved ware and struck flints being common in lower fills (Case, 1982b;

Lambrick and Allen, 2004; Linington, 1982; Barclay et al., 1995). After this point, the evidence, apart from one errant Iron Age sherd in the ditch of the Devil's Quoits, suggests that there is an almost universal non-engagement with the prehistoric features until the early Roman period, when evidence of pottery scatters, charcoal and animal bone become common. The wider landscape is, in actuality, an example of intentional and purposeful non-interaction, where the majority of the features that lay outside of the settlement areas have a distinct lack of deposition, almost as if they are in some way being functionally and symbolically respected. In this instance, the distribution of artefacts and ecofacts has established zones of inactivity regarding circular Bronze Age features.

In conjunction with these zones of inactivity, based upon the depositional evidence, there is a correlating high degree of spatial respect being paid to the prehistoric features in the landscape of Stanton Harcourt until the middle of the 2nd century AD. The diagram below illustrates this phenomenon (Fig. 5.10). Apart from two highlighted features, the early Roman and the late Iron Age field systems do not intersect the Bronze Age features; some even abut the circumference of the barrows. This cannot be as a result of random placement; there is an obvious, deliberate respect being paid to the circular Bronze Age features here. Along with the lack of depositional evidence, it appears that they may have been considered to be untouchable or inviolate.

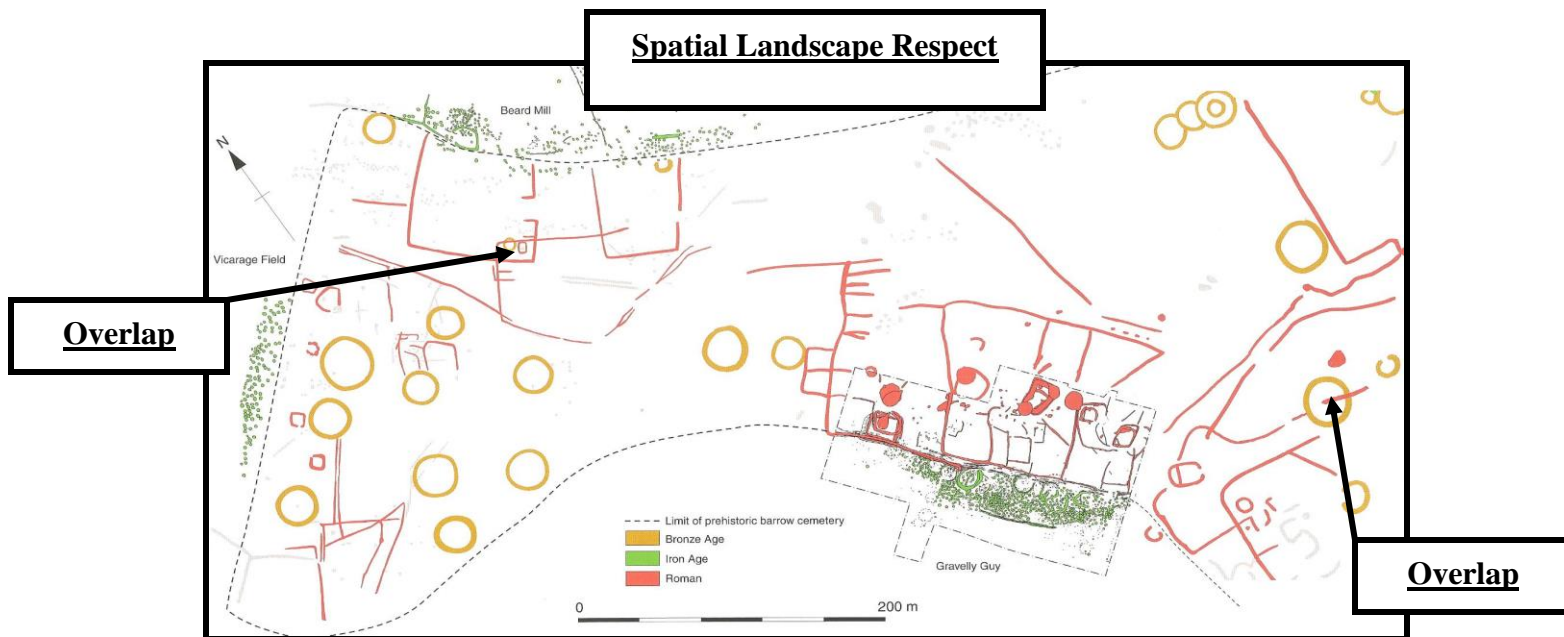


Fig. 5.10: Map showing where Roman field systems encroached upon Bronze Age features at Stanton Harcourt (Lambrick and Robinson, 2009).

Another incidence of spatial respect comes from the possible timber circle feature uncovered in the Gravelly Guy excavations. The main excavations here centred on a long-lived, contained settlement area, but a potential timber circle was also excavated (Fig. 5.11 and 5.12). Despite the density of later features around the rest of the ring, only one post-hole from the circumference of the circle appears to have been destroyed by later Iron Age and Roman activity (Lambrick and Allen, 2004, 61). Some of the section drawings indicate that the features - thought to be post-holes - were less than 50cm in depth (Fig. 5.13), but this does not take into account the level of truncation. One of the section details further to the north (1002) indicated that anywhere from 70cm–80cm of overlying topsoil may have already been removed prior to excavations taking place. It is notable that the remains of such a transient feature, which would have only survived in its original form for less than 100 years, would be curated in this way. It has been suggested that there may be some element of the construction not visible to the excavators, which would have given it a more permanent, visible nature (Dr C.J. Pollard, October, 2012: pers. comm.); perhaps piles of bracing stones or a ditch feature, but no relevant ditch feature was uncovered by the excavation. Miniature stone cairns, on the other hand,

would have survived longer than the posts themselves and could be a visible reminder of the structure, long after it degraded, leaving no long-term, visible marks on the soil and acting as a series of small, memory encapsulates reminding the inhabitants of the circle's location. It is, of course, possible that this is the remains of a more functional structure, as its diameter falls within the 5–15m normally associated with Iron Age round houses contemporary with this settlement and those in the wider region (Hey, 2007). The possibility that this may be a domestic structure is only enhanced when considering that the wider ditch features shown around the post-holes are in fact the remains of extensive, middle Iron Age activity (Lambrick and Allen, 2004, 151). If respect for the antiquity of the feature was a factor, then it is a remarkable change in attitude toward a series of post-holes that would, in all probability, not have been visible during the research period.

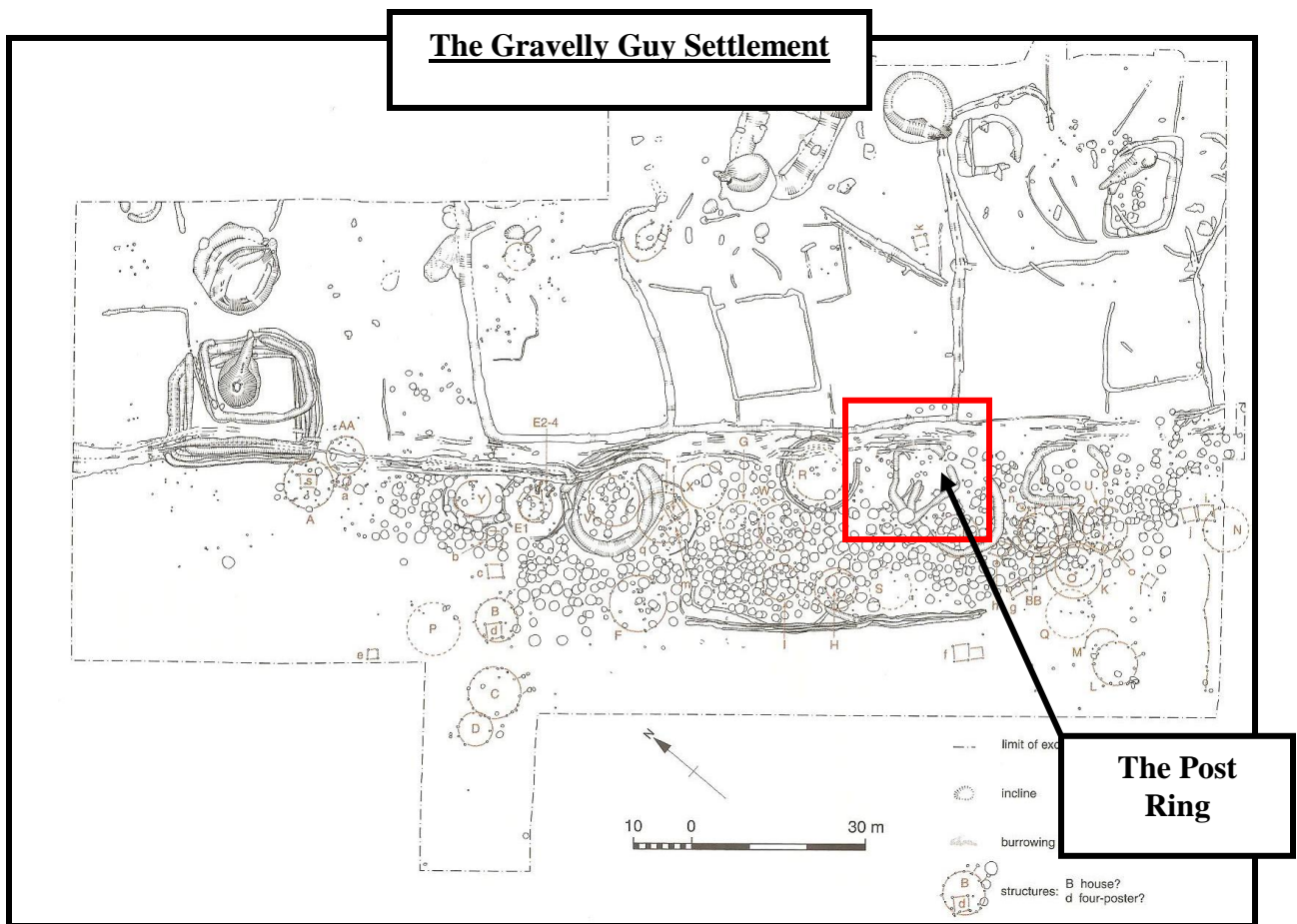


Fig. 5.11: The linear settlement area excavated at Gravelly Guy with the location of the post ring highlighted (Lambrick and Allen, 2004, 8).

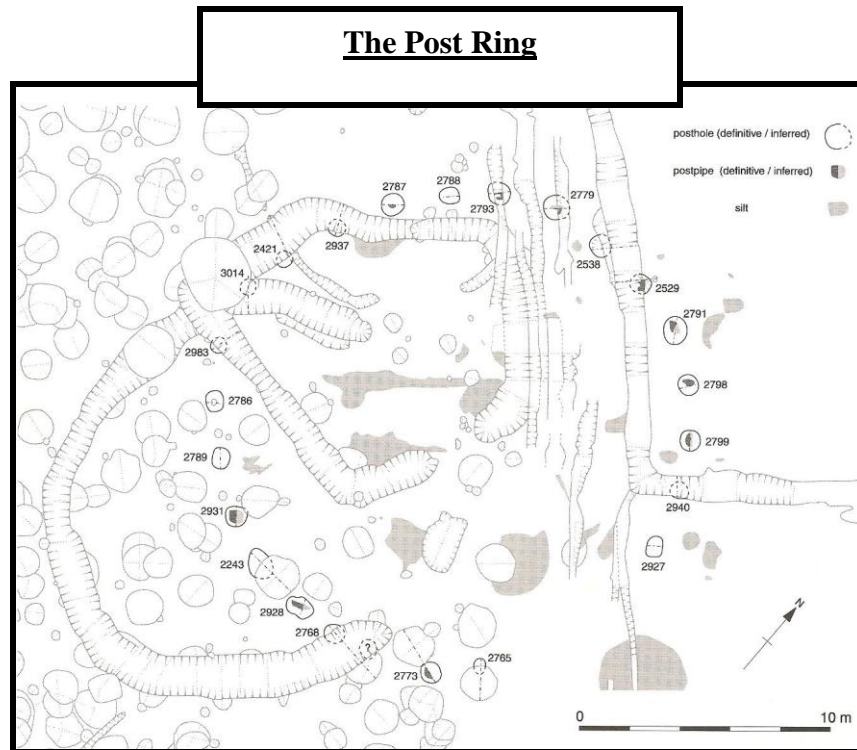


Fig. 5.12: The post ring at Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen, 2004, 62).

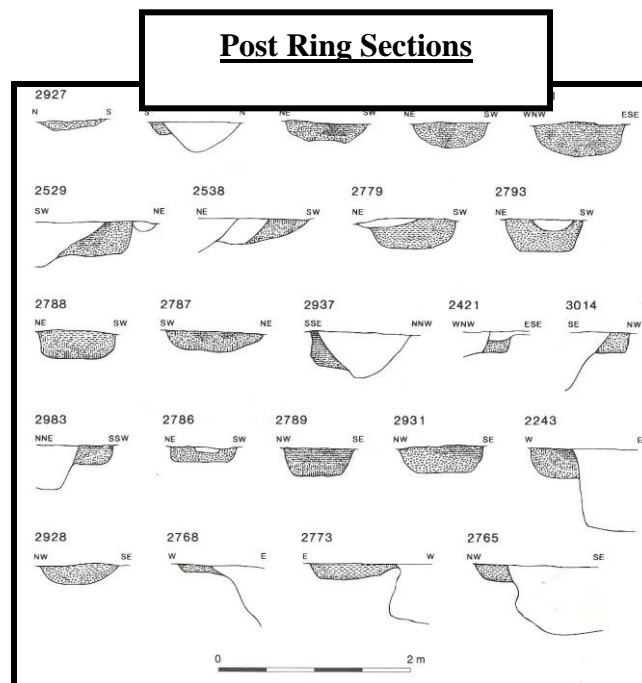


Fig. 5.13: The sections of the post rings at Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen, 2004, 63).

There appears to be an area-wide, definitive, chronological pattern to the depositional and the spatial evidence throughout many of the locations in the Stanton Harcourt landscape consisting of (Fig. 5.14):

Timeline	Occurrence
Late Bronze Age	A hiatus in deposition into Bronze Age features
1 st century AD	The circular Bronze Age features in the landscape are either abutted or bypassed by the lines of the field systems not truncated (apart from in two instances)
1 st century AD–AD 120	The Bronze Age features are then possibly flattened or filled in with domestic debris and there is a shift in the Gravelly Guy settlement toward the east.
AD 120–150	All evidence of occupation and other landscape use ceases.
3 rd century AD	The landscape is remodelled and re-occupied, apart from the Vicarage Field area.

Fig. 5.14: Pattern of abandonment hiatus in use and spatial respect in the Stanton Harcourt landscape.

It has been noted by Lambrick (1992, 83–84), Booth (2000) and Miles et al., (2007), that the ceramic data from the wider region indicates a significant hiatus in both settlement and agricultural activity, around AD 120–50. Booth et al., (2007) further noted that whilst this may not have occurred as a single event, the abandonment is not the manifestation of long-term settlement shift, rather a short-term process. The abandonment of the landscape was not universal in the upper Thames Valley region but it does coincide with the establishment of settlements at Wilford Bowmoor (Miles et al., 2007), Farmoor (Lambrick and Robinson, 1979), Bowling Green Farm and Stanford in the Vale (Mudd,

1993). This hiatus may have been the result of settlement nucleation rather than any catastrophic, natural event or violent confrontation.

The degree of spatial respect paid to the boundaries of the Bronze Age features in the late Iron Age and in the early Roman period at Stanton Harcourt is substantial, whilst other, earlier activity is disregarded. Perhaps, this is because no memory of the earlier, scattered Neolithic refuse pits was retained, or because they simply were not visible features that could be symbolically latched onto: only ever reused by chance. The evidence in the Stanton Harcourt landscape shows that Neolithic (or in the case of Gravelly Guy, Mesolithic) use of the landscape is not a significant factor in later interactions, with the notable exception of the continued survival of the Devil's Quoits.

This pattern of respect could have evolved, as Lambrick and Robinson (2009) or Thomas (2013) suggested, as a result of continuous use of the landscape or it may be based upon pre-existing patterns, coupled with the survival of communal, or spiritual, values, reflected upon symbolic boundaries with a visible, physical form. Their position seems to be that these communal connections are strongest with Bronze Age features. However, what these case studies show is that modern, segmented, temporal classifications are actually irrelevant. At a fundamental level, there is another commonality between the spatially respected features in that they are circular. Stanton Harcourt shows that features of a particular morphological form are revered or respected. Can we be certain that any memory of significance regarding these features survived into the late Iron Age or Roman periods? It is an inordinately long period of time for precise communal memories to survive through an oral medium, or is there an element of distorted, ancestral memory occurring alongside an appreciation of form, rather than function? Ancestral connections, in any case, do not survive the possible hiatus in use in the 2nd century AD. Throughout the Thames Valley, the late Roman period is a time when the pattern of landscape exploitation altered; existing settlements are remodelled and newly constructed locations are intertwined with those that survive, forming a landscape of pasture and arable crops linked by trackways (Booth et al., 2007, 378). At Stanton Harcourt, with no evidence of re-occupation at Linch Hill Corner and minimal artefactual or burial evidence, any

previous significance attached to the prehistoric features in the landscape is forgotten, as the area is developed as part of *Britannia Prima*.

5.3. Case Study: Abingdon

Abingdon is a medium-sized market town, approximately 8.9km south of Oxford and 8km north of Didcot. It is situated in the valley of the River Thames, on the west bank, near the confluence of the Thames and the River Ock which flows eastwards from The Vale of the White Horse (Fig. 5.15). Excavations around the village and toward Radley, some 3.2km to the north-east, have been extensive, producing evidence of Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman and later activity in the landscape from around 3700 BC onwards.

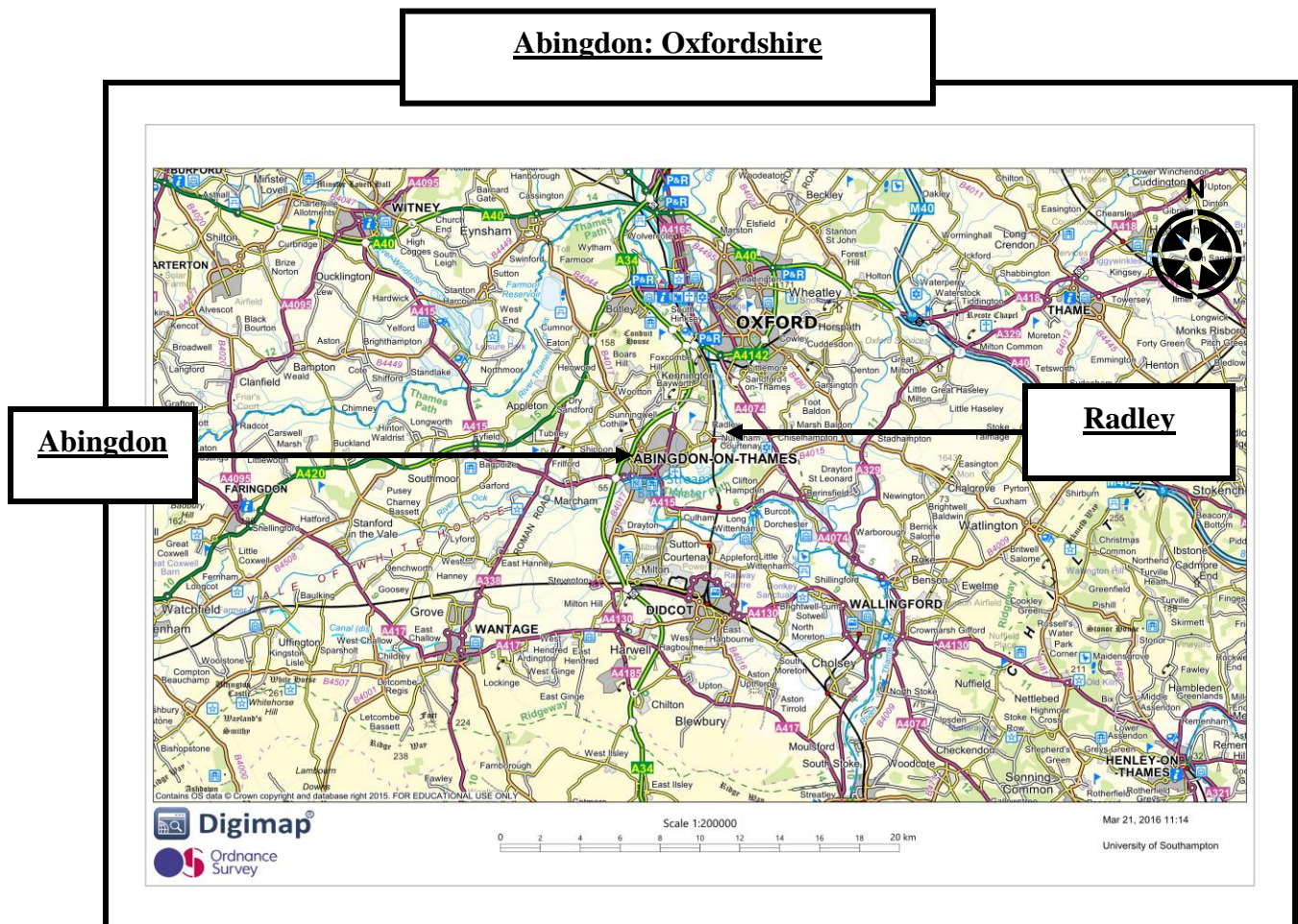


Fig. 5.15: Map of a portion of the Thames Valley, showing the location of Abingdon and Radley near Oxford (Available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).

5.3.1. Research landscapes

Barton Court Farm is 1.5km north-east of Abingdon in Oxfordshire (Fig. 5.16). The site was in use from around 3400–2500 BC onwards (Miles, 1986). Excavations uncovered material ranging from Peterborough and Grooved Ware, to coinage dated post AD 270, along with a grouping of later Romano-British infant burials. Activity intensified in the Iron Age when the site was in use as a farmstead, which developed into a fully-fledged villa estate in the 3rd century AD (ibid.). The adults from the settlement are thought to be buried in the extensive late Roman cemetery associated with the nearby Barrow Hills complex (ibid.).

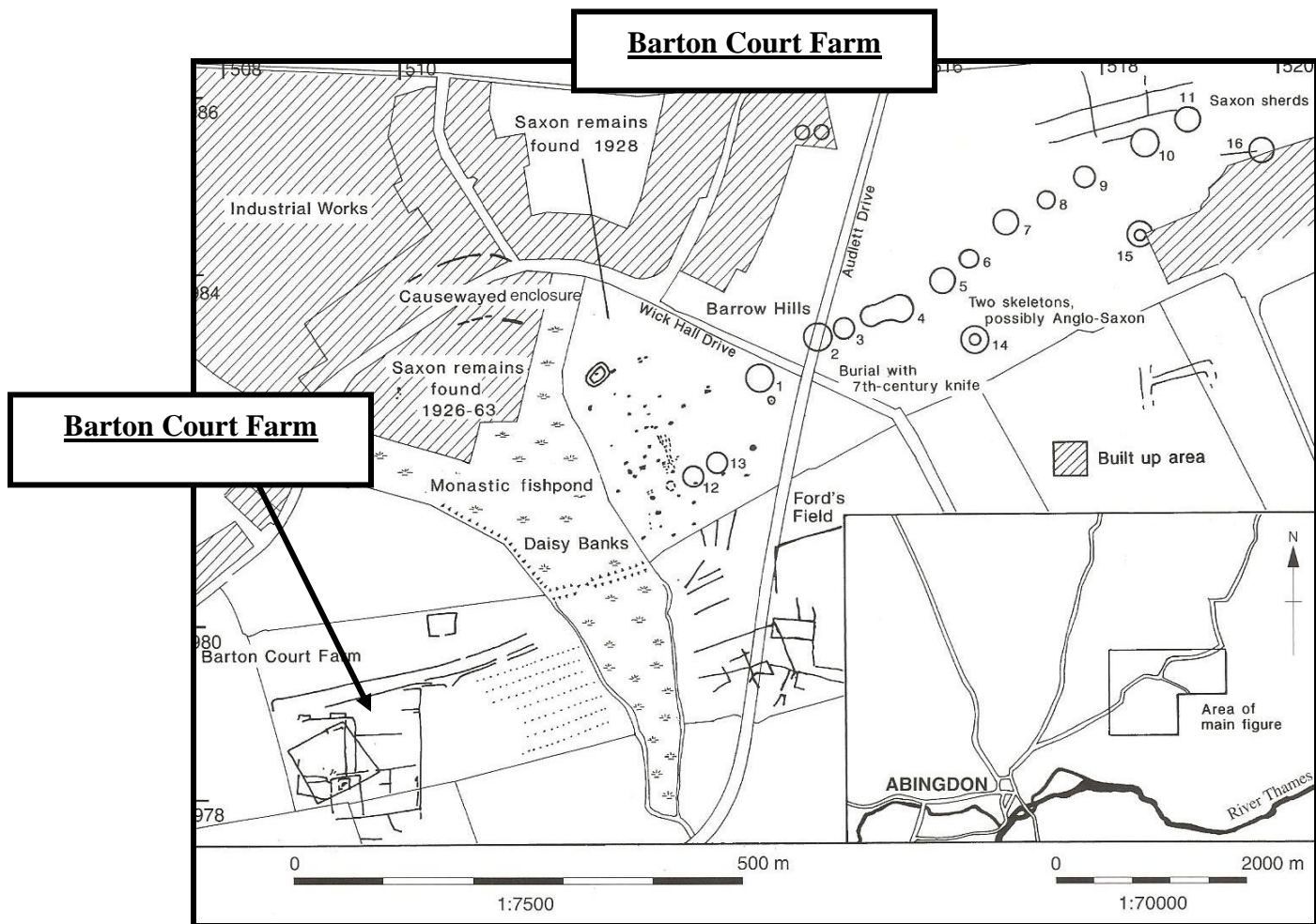


Fig. 5.16: The location of Barton Court Farm (Chambers and McAdam, 2007, 3).

The Ashville Trading Estate is located 1.6km west of the centre of Abingdon (Fig. 5.17). Originally a Bronze Age barrow cemetery, it was overlain by three separate phases of Iron Age settlement. The site continued in use until the early 2nd Century AD and, after a hiatus, was reoccupied from the late 3rd century AD onwards (Parrington, 1978).

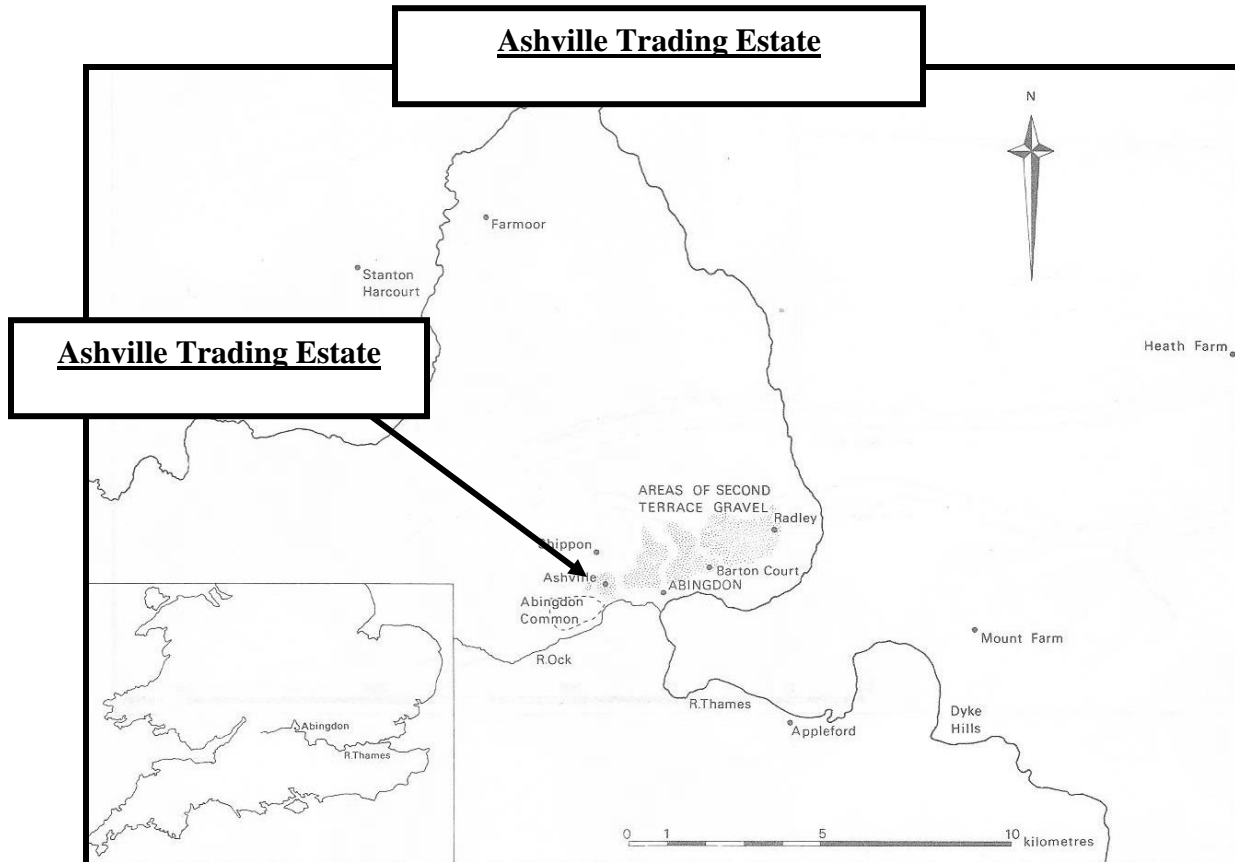


Fig. 5.17: The location of the Ashville Trading Estate (Parrington, 1978, 1).

Spring Road Municipal cemetery lies just to the north-west of the town centre of Abingdon (Fig. 5.18). Excavations revealed several Neolithic pits with discarded domestic waste material, and a timber circle, constructed around 1690–1510 BC. Romano-British use of the location was confined to agricultural activity.

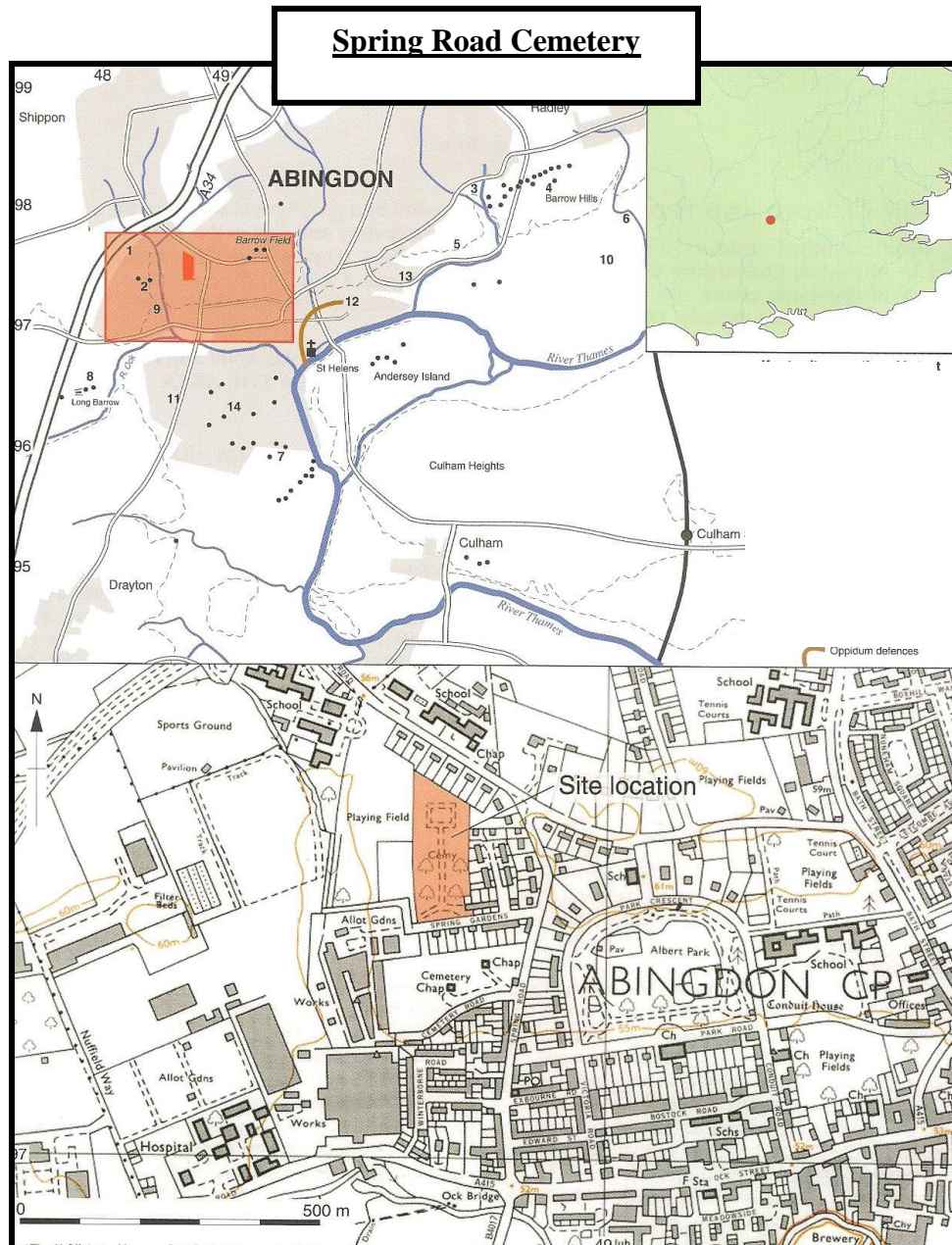


Fig. 5.18: The location of the Spring Road Cemetery (Allen and Karmesh, 2008, 2).

The causewayed enclosure at Abingdon dates from 3700–3600, cal. BC (Fig. 5.18). It lies to the east of the town on a raised spur of the first gravel terrace of the Thames Valley. Excavations here revealed minimal Bronze Age interaction and traces of two, small Iron Age farmsteads. A total of 13 pottery sherds, related to the Romano-British period, with

forms dating up until the 2nd century AD were recovered (Avery, 1982). An oval barrow, located between the causewayed enclosure and the line of barrows at Radley Hills (Fig. 5.19 and 5.20), lies on a promontory in the first gravel terrace between two streams which discharge south into the River Thames (Bradley, 1992, 127).

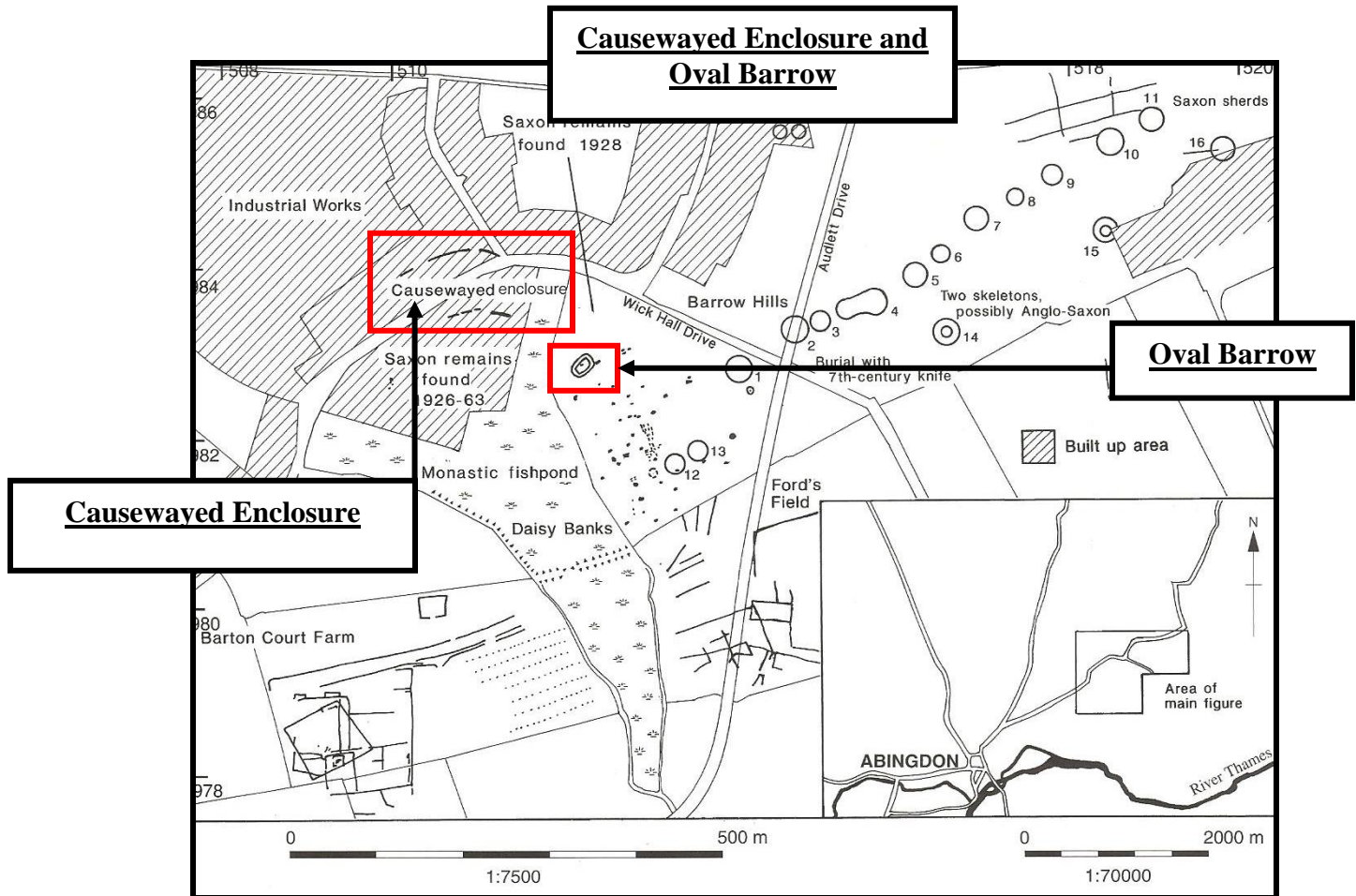


Fig. 5.19: The location of the enclosure and the oval barrow near Barton Court Farm (Chambers and McAdam, 2007, 3).

Radley Barrow Hills is located approximately 1.8–2km north-east of Abingdon, and 1.5km north of the River Thames (Fig. 5.19). The location has a grouping of Bronze Age barrows aligned along a prominent ridge line and, in the later Roman period, was used as a cemetery by the residents of the villa complex at Barton Court Farm. The barrows run

on a roughly north-east – south-west axis and the cemetery is positioned to the north of the barrows along the line of a natural trackway leading up to the summit of the ridge (Chambers and McAdam, 2007).

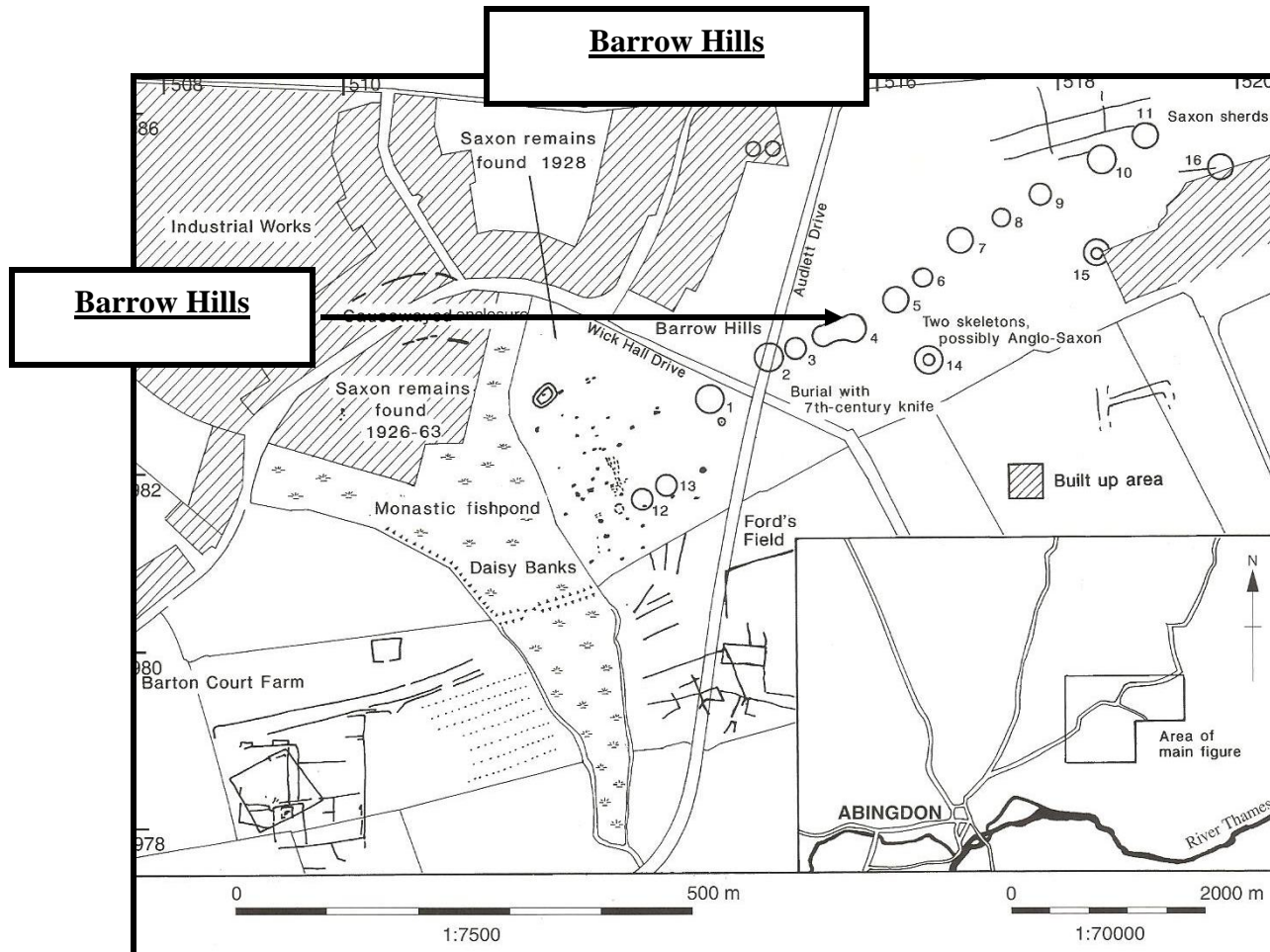


Fig. 5.20: The location of Radley Barrow Hills (Chambers and McAdam, 2007, 3).

5.3.2. Later deposition in prehistoric features

The majority of Romano-British material recovered from the Abingdon landscape at the causewayed enclosure, Ashville, Spring Road and Barton Court Farm was from tertiary activity, or intrusive, rather than from primary, deposits. There is no indication from the

deposition evidence that there was any intention to connect with the past, or express a collective, or individual, identity based upon the presence of prehistoric features, mirroring the pattern of deposition seen at Stanton Harcourt. Excavations in the Abingdon area only revealed two instances of direct engagement between prehistoric and Romano-British interactions in the form of primary depositions of later materials into prehistoric features:

- i) Later Roman infant burials in Neolithic pits at Barton Court Farm (Miles, 1986, 15–16).
- ii) A single, isolated inhumation and a single pottery sherd, related to the extensive late Roman cemetery within the circumference of a Bronze Age barrow at Radley Barrow Hills (Chambers and McAdam, 2007, 13–33; 118).

The site at Barton Court Farm contained examples of graves of new-borns and infants, overlaying pits containing artefactual evidence, indicating they were Neolithic in origin (Miles, 1986, 15–16). The stratigraphy gave no indication that these would have been visible features during the Roman period and it is their proximity to later features, such as a corn drier (Fig. 5.21), which is more likely to have influenced their placement, rather than any purposeful act of deliberate engagement. The late Roman cemetery at Radley Barrow Hills has four inhumations and one cremation (AD 390–400), which are isolated from the main cemetery area (Chambers and McAdam, 2007, 13). One inhumation (2147) is located in the terminus of a barrow ditch (Chambers and McAdam, 2007, 14–33) and a single Romano-British pottery sherd was recovered from the terminus of ring ditch (801). This sherd was intrusive and thought to be related to a later, sunken building, partially truncating the feature (Chambers and McAdam, 2007, 118). Due to the intrusive nature of the sherd, no inference of significance can be placed upon its location. The inhumation in the ditch terminus had no associated grave goods nor other indications of a differential status being placed upon a particular individual over any other recovered from the main cemetery area.

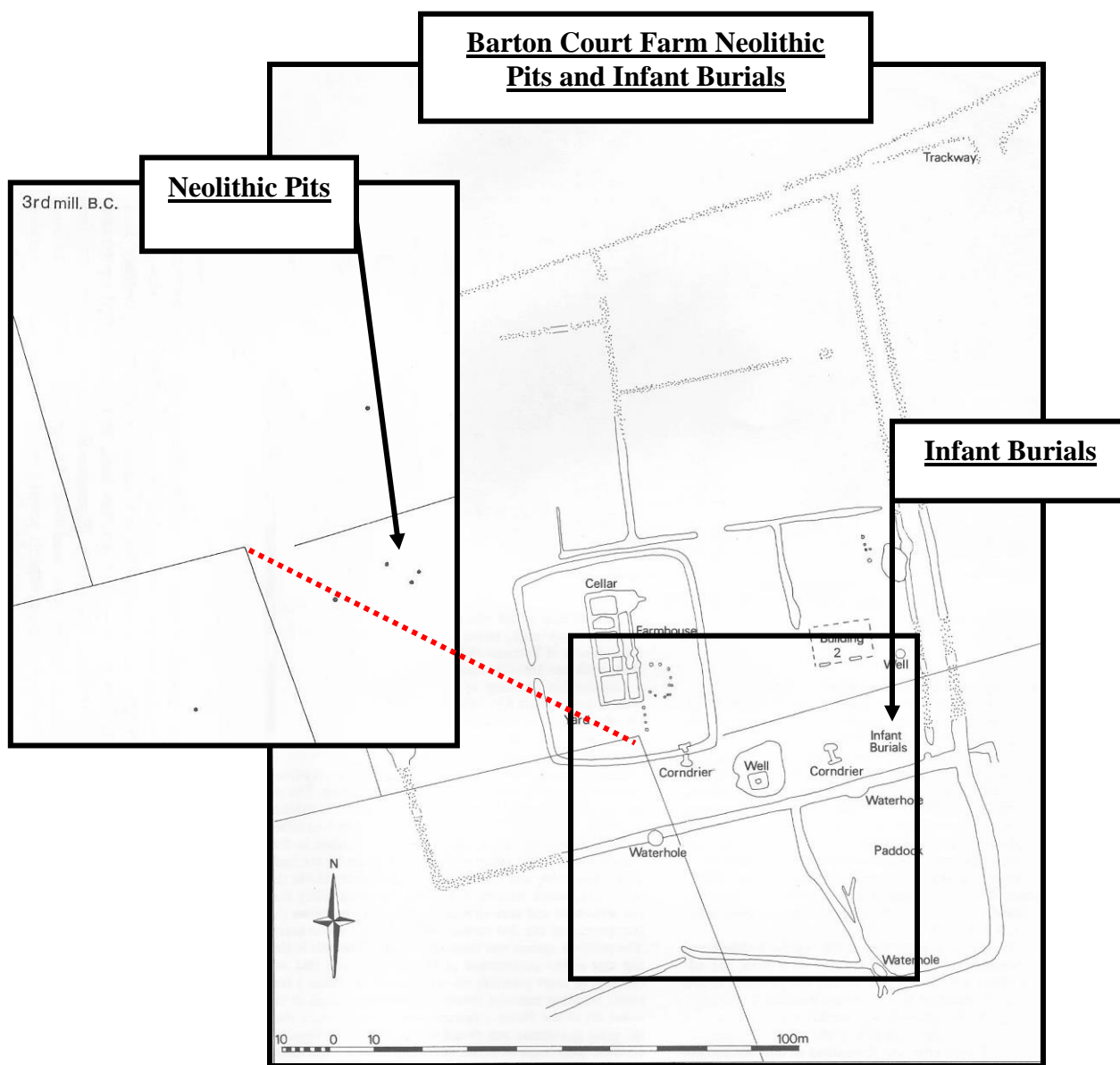


Fig. 5.21: Plan of the Barton Court Farm, showing infant burials in proximity to later features and Neolithic pits (Miles, 1986).

5.3.3. *Evidence of spatial respect*

Despite the lack of direct primary engagement, in terms of depositional practices at Barrow Hills, there is a similar pattern of landscape engagement to that seen at Stanton Harcourt. There is a great deal of spatial respect paid by later features to the barrows along the ridgeline. The late Roman cemetery follows a natural trackway that leads upwards toward the monument group to the south (Fig. 5.22) and, apart from one instance, the enclosure and the burial spread do not intersect, or overlay, areas of prehistoric activity (Chambers and McAdam, 2007, 13). This separation suggests a deliberately respectful relationship between the late Roman burial activity and the prehistoric activity, or at the very least, some awareness, based on memory associations, or possibly, an appreciation of the significance of a particular landscape form. These prominently visible features seem to be deliberately referenced as objects which enhanced the status of those who were interred there, displaying their possible ancestral connections with the prehistoric features. Alternatively, the location of the cemetery could be an indication of the practical limitations, or viable uses, of the landscape as the soil here is unsuitable for cereal production, or intensive, agricultural exploitation (Chambers and McAdam, 2007, 31).

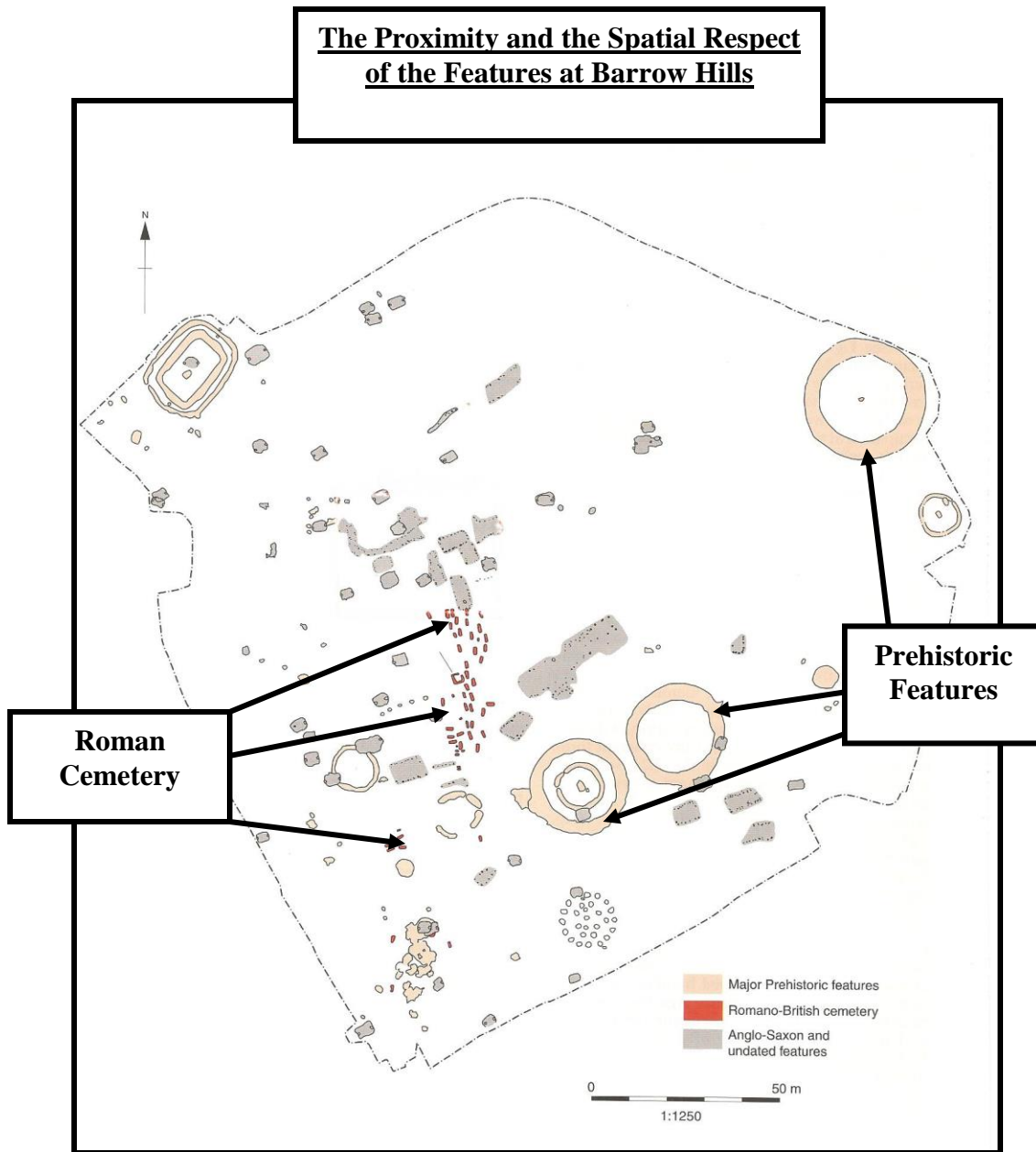


Fig. 5.22: The proximity and spatial respect of features at Barrow Hills (Chambers and McAdam, 2007).

The excavations at the Spring Road Municipal cemetery are intriguing. A feature interpreted as the partial circumference of a timber circle, constructed sometime around 1520–1310 BC, was uncovered in the northern extremity of the excavations. If the whole circumference of the circle is extrapolated from the excavated portion, the lines of the field systems constructed prior to the middle of the 2nd century AD pass within 5m of the

southern extremity of the circle but do not truncate it (Fig. 5.23). The lines of the earlier system, if extrapolated, running from north to south, either stop short, or pass alongside, the eastern edge of the circle. If the same exercise is carried out with the line of the later, 3rd century field system, it appears that had it continued, it would have clearly intersected the circular feature. The timber circle itself produced no artefacts which were later than Bronze Age in date (Allen and Kamash, 2008, 45). It is admittedly speculative, but do these extrapolations indicate that there has been a deliberate decision, when the earlier system was laid out, not to intersect the feature and that whatever may have set this particular feature apart, was no longer a consideration in the 3rd century?

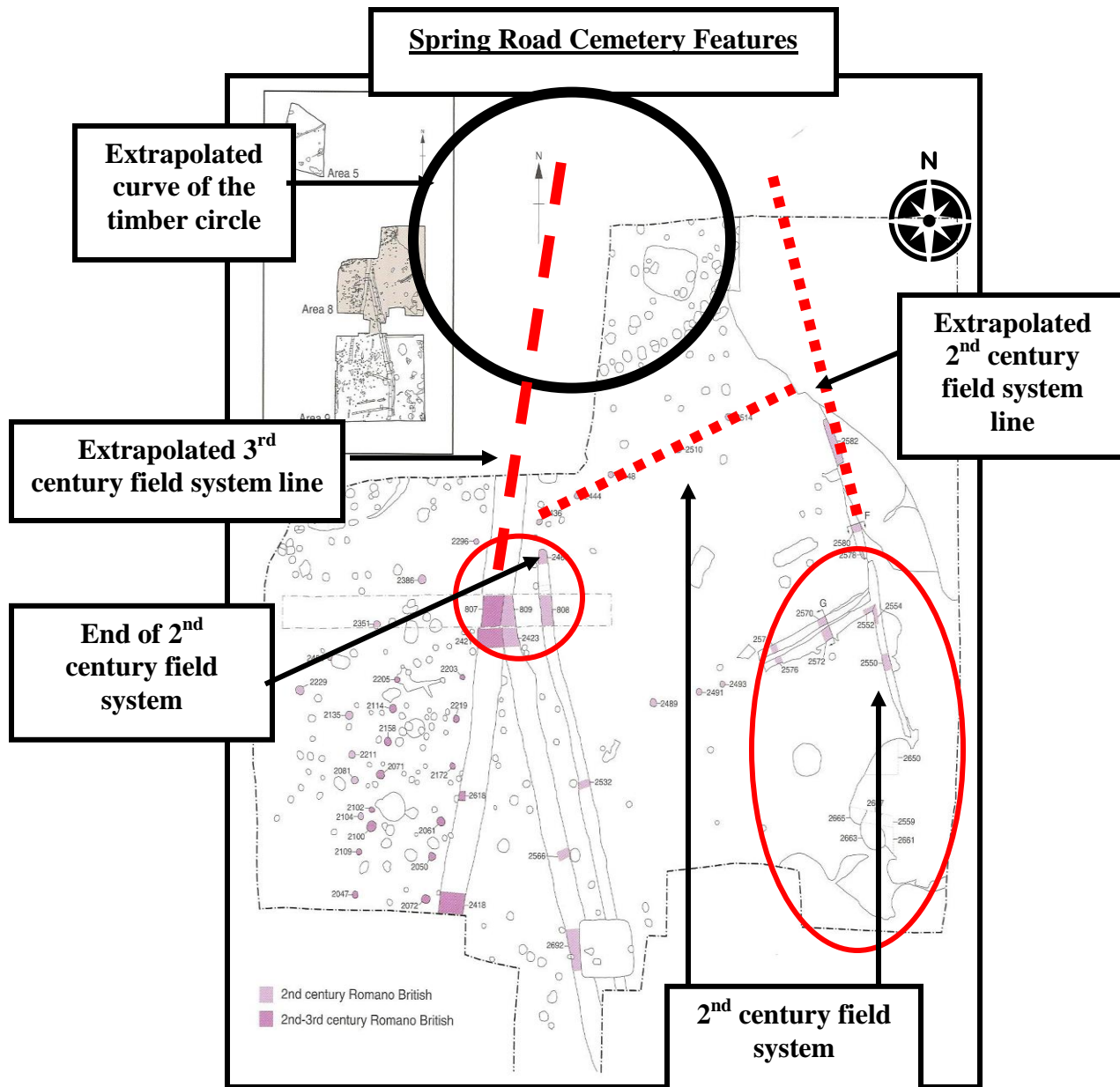


Fig. 5.23: Extrapolated diagram showing the relationship between the field systems and the timber circle at Spring Road, Abingdon (Allen and Kamash, 2008, 22).

The Bronze Age earthworks at the Ashville Trading Estate were severely truncated by Iron Age features (Fig. 5.24). Those features which could be securely dated as Roman, were laid out in parallel to the Iron Age earthworks (Parrington, 1978, 36), suggesting that earlier prehistoric features were either not visible, not considered significant or a combination of both.

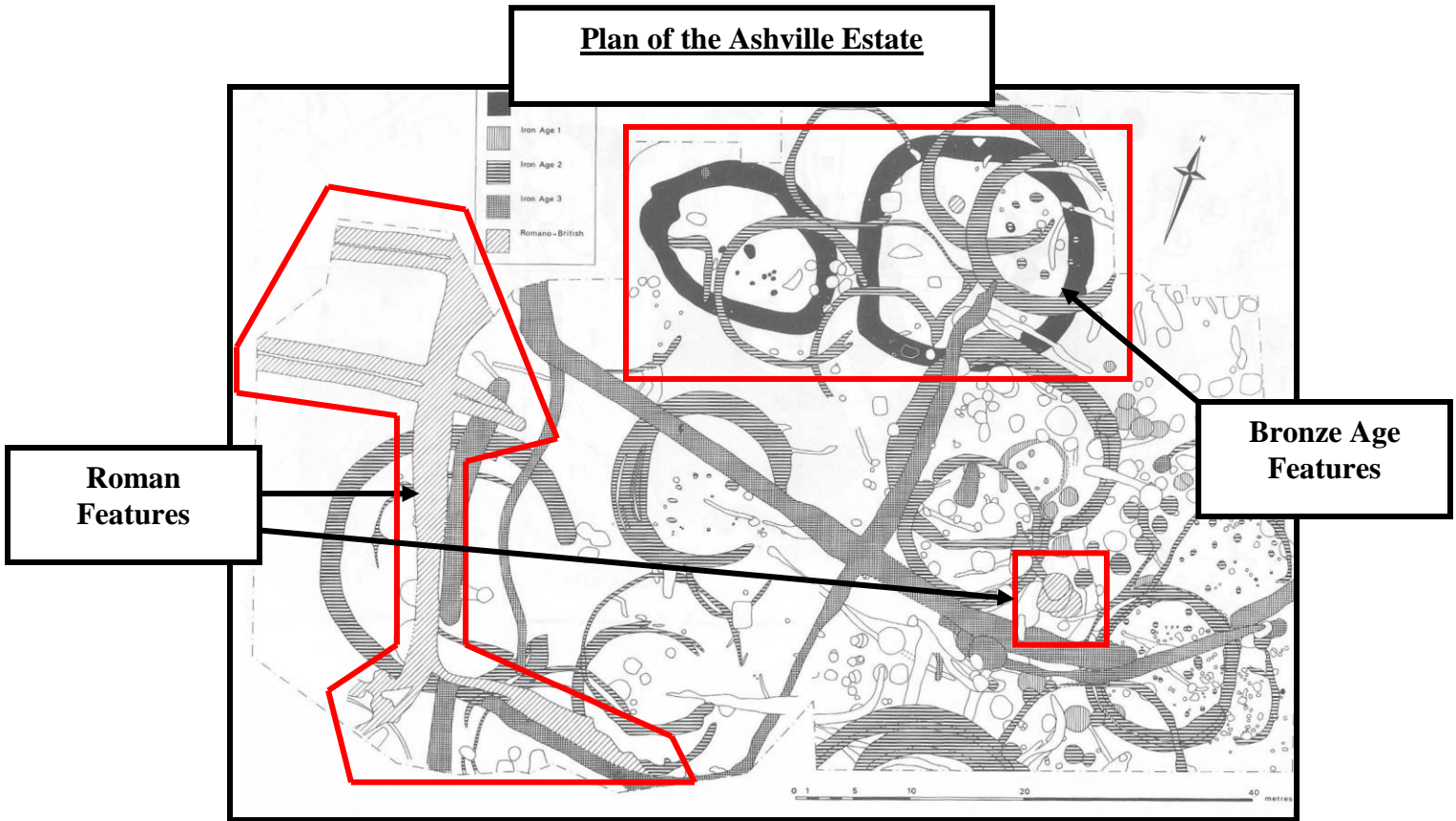


Fig. 5.24: Plan of the features at the Ashville Trading Estate, showing the relationship between features of different periods (Parrington, 1978, 3).

The potential relationship between the field systems and the possible timber circle at Spring Road is interesting as it raises questions concerning the visible longevity of such monuments. How does a prehistoric feature, which had a potential maximum lifespan of roughly 100 years before the timbers that comprised it were completely rotted, retain a presence in the landscape to such an extent, that it was respected by the lines of field systems constructed 1600 years later? It would be understandable in the case of a stone circle, where the building materials would not decay and would continue to remain a focus of veneration long after the original construction. How is this longevity achieved by a wooden structure? One suggestion noted previously, regarding Gravelly Guy, is that there are some elements of the construction which are not recoverable by excavation: a small outer ditch, a small turf rampart (Dr C.J. Pollard, November, 2012: pers. comm.) or

a series of stones supporting the structure which survived the timber itself. It is, of course, possible that the timber structure was replaced by stone settings but as Allen and Kamash point out (2008, 75), this is an area where stone structures of this nature are a rarity. The excavators recorded that the feature remained unseen until a layer, very similar to the subsoil, was removed, revealing two arcs of pits cut into the natural gravel. This may indicate that the area of the circle was stripped of soil before the structure was built. This spoil could have been set aside somewhere, possibly in a bank around the alignment. This raised area, consisting of the same material as the surrounding subsoil, could have been redeposited into the interior of the circle by later ploughing, masking any trace of its existence. However, it may have survived into the 2nd century AD as a visible indicator.

The causewayed enclosure provided minimal evidence of Roman activity; the entire evidence was limited to 13 pottery sherds which all dated from the 1st – 2nd centuries AD (Avery, 1982). There were no quantifiable stratigraphic or spatial relationships or Roman features in evidence. The oval barrow, between the causewayed enclosure and the Radley barrow grouping, had no Roman material recovered from any of its features. Barton Court Farm had no features displaying respectful, spatial relationships. The causewayed enclosure and the oval barrow, lying between Barton Court Farm and Radley Hills and the Neolithic pits at Barton Court Farm, probably would have not been visible by the late Iron Age.

There is a definitive alteration in the patterns of interaction at Abingdon between the early 2nd and late 3rd centuries AD, reflective of the hiatus in occupation seen at Stanton Harcourt. The dates assigned to the minimal artefactual evidence from the causewayed enclosure, for example, led to the conclusion that the site was completely in-filled and abandoned in the 2nd century AD (Avery, 1982). The Spring Road excavations showed that the later field system, if extrapolated, did not, in all probability respect the circumference of the timber circle. Radley Barrow's Roman cemetery is dated by finds from AD. 250–270 onwards and the settlement evidence at the Ashville Trading Estate showed a hiatus in occupation between the early 2nd and late 3rd centuries, which concurs with Allen and Karmesh (2008, 85), who noted that that settlement in the Abingdon area

sharply declined in the 1st century BC until the 2nd century AD, with evidence of limited occupation until the 3rd century AD, when Frilford and Marcham supplanted Abingdon as regional centres due to their proximity to the Roman Road system. This could explain the reasons behind the alteration in patterns of engagement with features before and after any hiatus in occupation. The original inhabitants who lived and worked there for generations were, in some cases, ascribing significance based on associations of some longevity, whilst those who inhabited the landscape in the 3rd century had no point of reference, or memory, of their importance.

5.3.4. *Notes on visibility*

The Abingdon case studies provide concrete examples regarding the importance of visible presence for intentional and purposeful interaction. The causewayed enclosure and the oval barrow are only slight depressions in the landscape and the Bronze Age features at Ashville Trading Estate were probably destroyed before the beginning of the research period and are no longer available as reference points, or visible markers, of the past.

The situation observed at Radley Hills is interesting. Perhaps the extant remains were employed as an emotional evocation of a sense of time passage; objects which triggered, in the beholder, a sense of lifecycle (Forty, 1999, 4). Significantly, this only occurs from sometime after AD 250 onwards, suggesting that either there was a change to the behavioural patterns that were projected upon the landscape by a community with a different attitude toward the presence of the features, or that some form of social change was taking place at this time. It is interesting to note that this date is very closely tied to the advent of the overt, manifestation of regional separatism under the Gallic Empire, culturally centred on Britain and Gaul (Drinkwater, 1987, 17).

5.4. Case Study: Drayton Cursus

The cursus at Drayton is approximately 2.5km south of Abingdon in Oxfordshire. The southern half of the monument, excavated from 1921–37, and the northern portion in 1979–86, run north-east to south-west on the floodplain of the River Thames; 1.5km north of a confluence between the River Thames and the River Ock (Fig. 5.25). The monument is approximately 1.6km long and 78m wide and is split into two distinct portions (Fig. 5.26). The southern portion is overlain by a Bronze Age barrow cemetery and an early medieval settlement, consisting of several examples of sunken buildings. There are some indications that this was used for agricultural purposes in the early Roman period but the evidence has been largely erased by later activity (Barclay and Loveday, 2003). However, evidence of agricultural activity during the Roman period survived in the northern section of the monument.

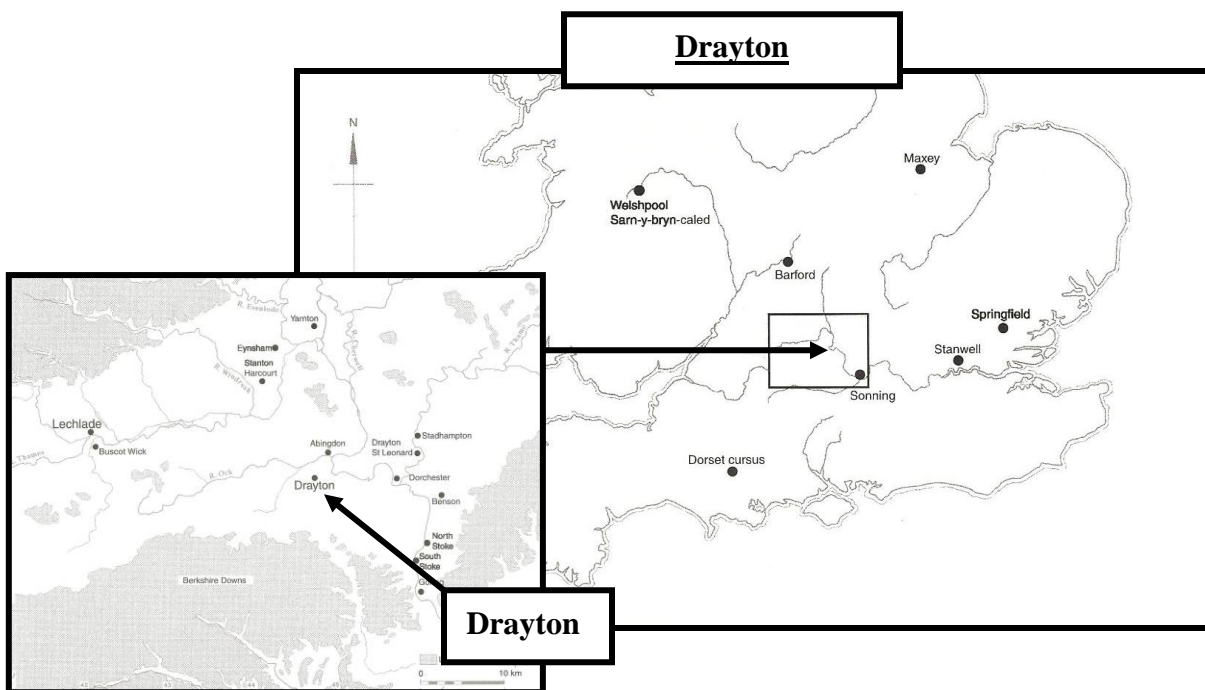


Fig. 5.25: The location of Drayton (Barclay and Lambrick, 2003).

A further series of excavations took place in 1994–95, at a local authority depot (Fig. 5.27), 55m to the west of the monument (Barclay et al., 2003a). A series of televised excavations took place at the Drop Short villa complex, 450m to the west of the depot; and more recently a series of excavations have been carried out to the south of the monument, concentrating on an Anglo-Saxon palace complex (Brennan and Hamerow, 2015).

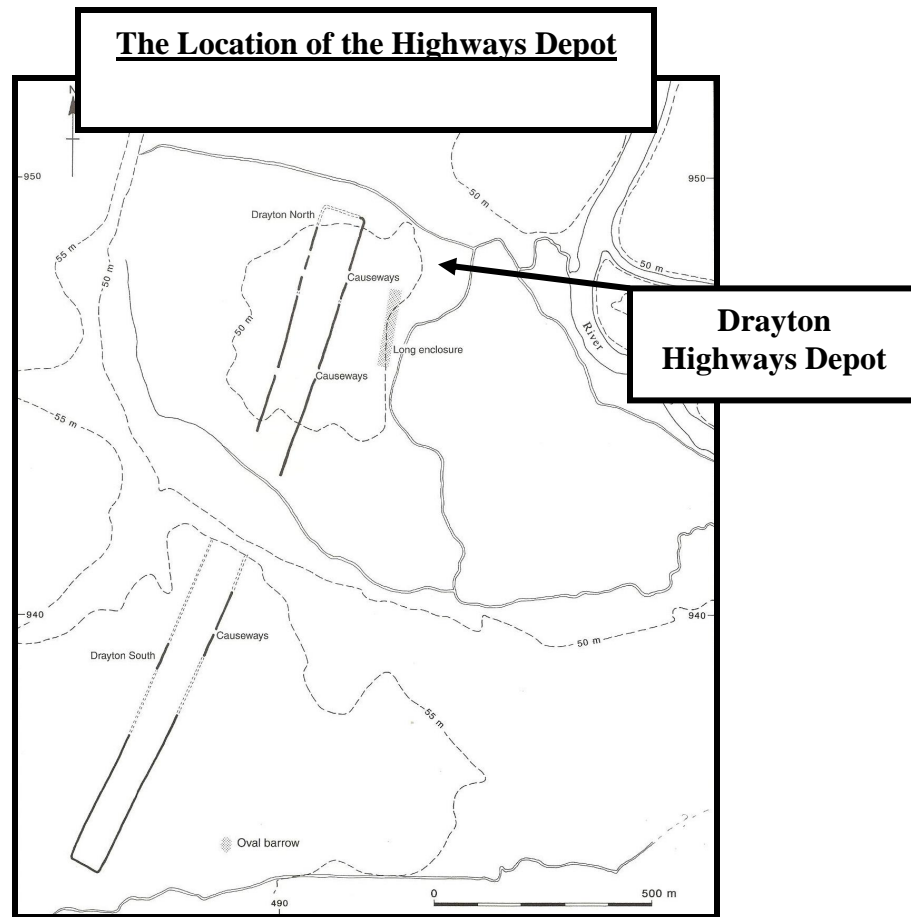


Fig. 5.27: The location of Drayton Highways' Depot (Barclay et al., 2003e, 9).

5.4.1. *Single monument: separate, monumental, afterlife trajectories*

Although originally constructed as a single monument, Drayton is an example of the potential diversification which can occur in monumental afterlives, based upon the way in which each episode of later interaction overlays the previous one. In diagrammatic form, the monumental afterlife of the Drayton Cursus would resemble something like (Fig. 5.28):

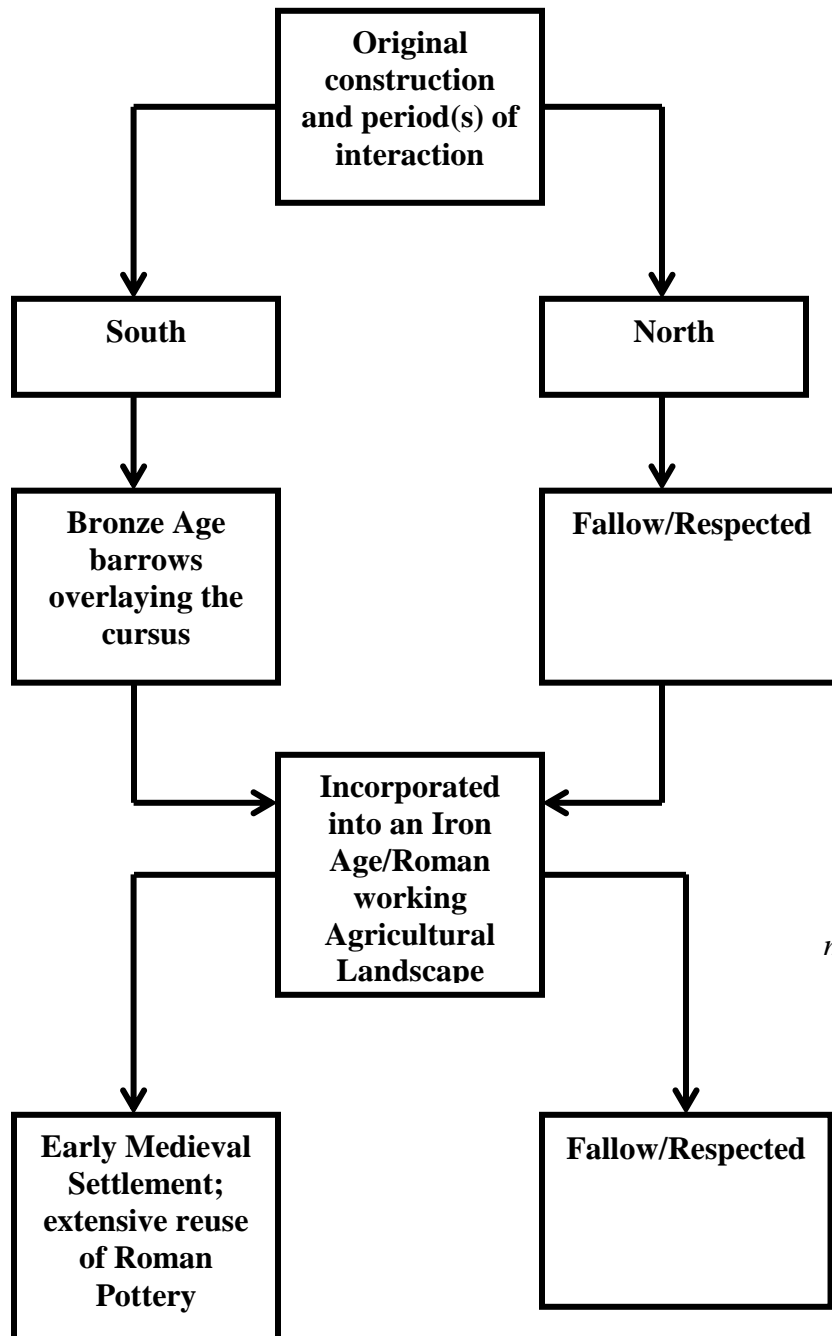


Fig 5.28: Flow chart representing the monumental afterlife of the Drayton Cursus.

This divergence between the separate portions of the cursus means that although the northern portion has significant evidence of Roman activity, the southern portion only had two features, designated as L and M, which were securely datable as Roman. Neither of these held deposits that could be considered as primary insertions (Barclay and Loveday, 2003, 23). Although a large quantity of Roman material was recovered from the early medieval sunken building features in the south, this material was curated and reused. This lack of primary deposits and stratigraphic relationships on the southern portion of the cursus is due to the presence of an early medieval settlement, palace complex (Fig. 5.29), and later gravel extraction, all of which destroyed any relationships. The lack of direct engagement with prehistoric features through the primary deposition of material is, however, mirrored in the northern portion of the monument. There were three features (507), (1004) and (503), which contained both examples of Peterborough or Grooved ware and upper context layers of Roman material (Barclay et al., 2003f). Despite this good stratigraphic relationship, these are not discrete, deliberate deposits: rather, the sections indicate that they are spreads of materials (Fig. 5.30), without the element of intentional engagement required to classify them as part of a process of identity retention or formation.

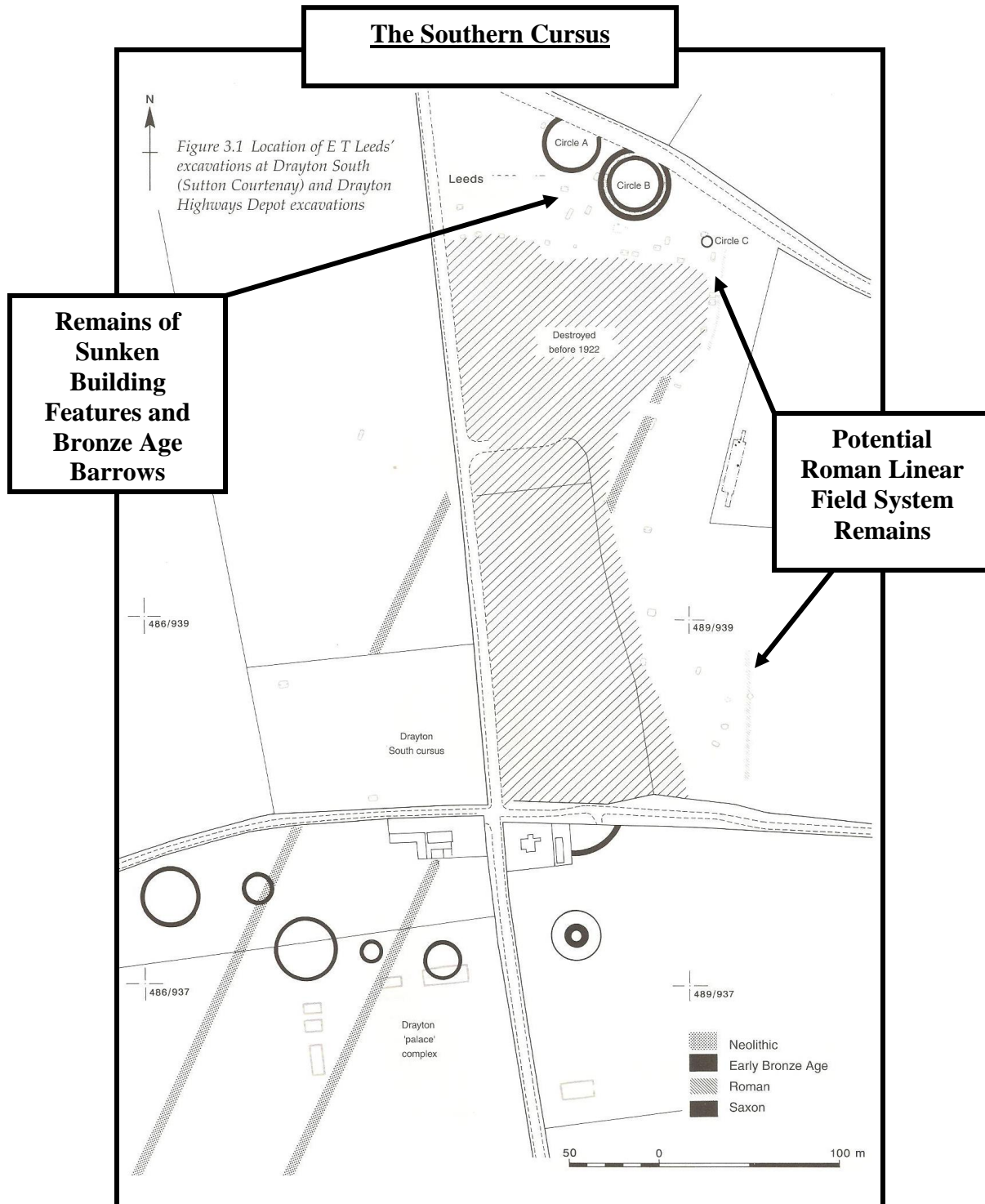


Fig. 5.29: Roman field systems, Saxon palace complex and destroyed areas on the southern cursus at Drayton (Barclay and Loveday, 2003, 17).

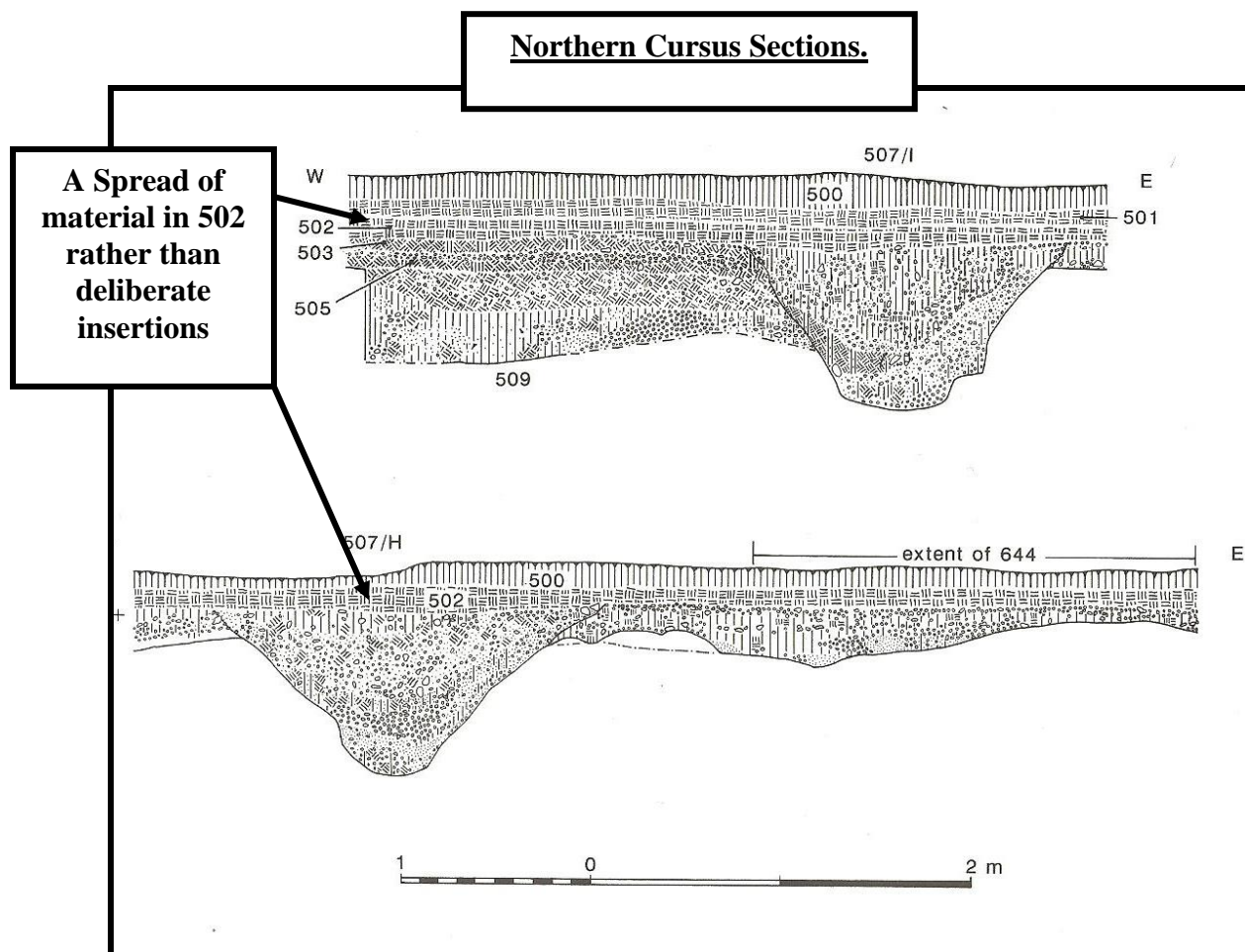


Fig. 5.30: Sections of the northern cursus at Drayton, showing a spread, rather than deliberate insertion, of material into prehistoric features (Barclay et. al., 2003d, 114).

The northern portion of the monument, however, did show a distinctive and respectful spatial relationship between Neolithic and Roman period features. The early Roman field system partially overlays the line of the northern portion of the cursus, following the prehistoric ditch line for over half of its length (Barclay et al., 2003d, 105). The remainder of the Roman field system curves into the centre of the prehistoric ditches where it ends in a small enclosure (Fig. 5.31). This arrangement may be due to an element of respect being paid to the existence of the cursus ditches by the later field system but it could equally indicate a functional, or practical, arrangement, rather than an expression of significance attached to the object in question.

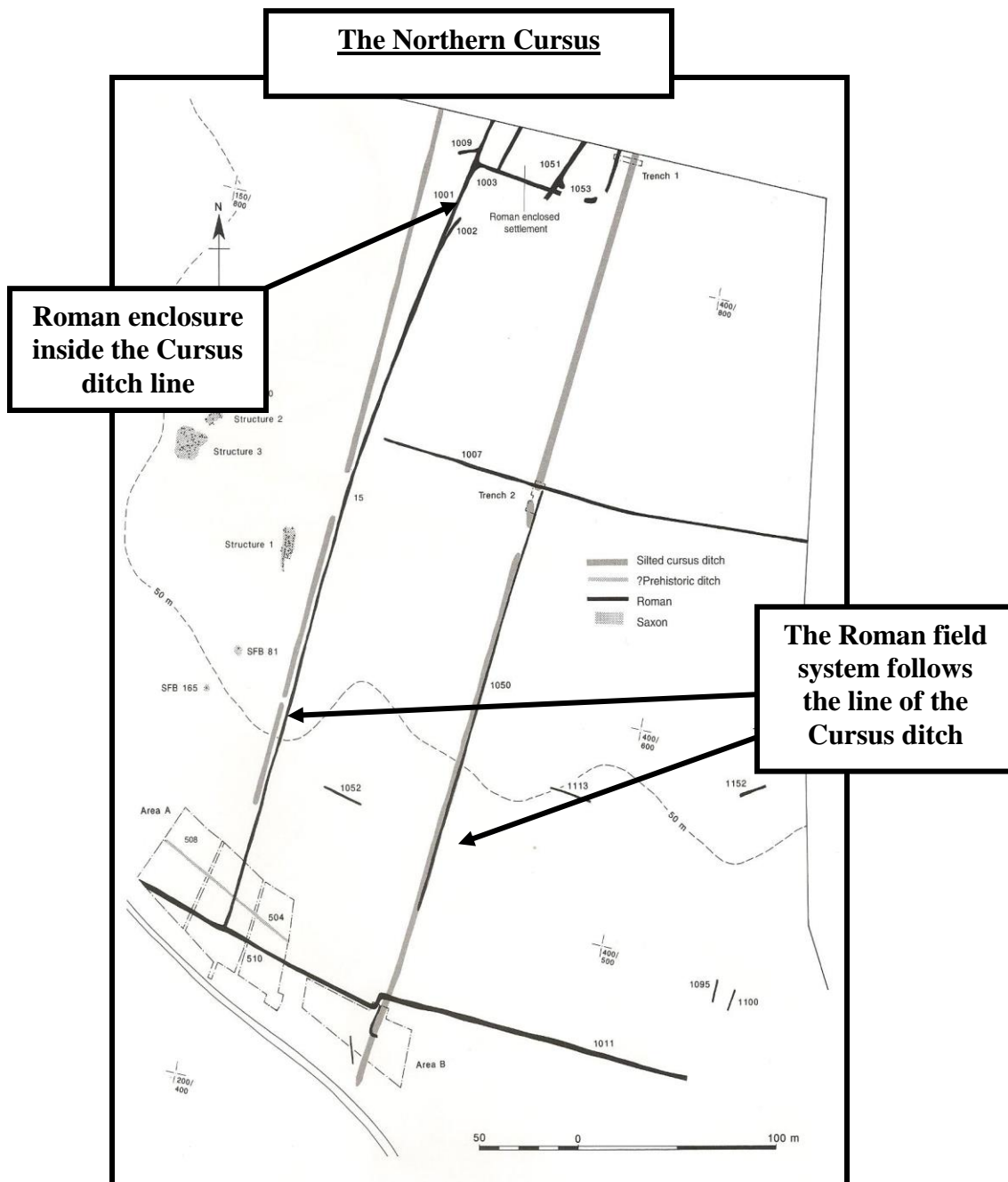


Fig. 5.31: The respectful relationship between the Prehistoric and Roman features on the northern portion of the Drayton Cursus (Barclay, et al., 2003d, 105).

When seeking to expand, or create, a field system as a communal undertaking, it has to be considerably easier to use pre-existing landscape features as markers for the alignment, rather than to destroy them and create an entirely new arrangement. In the case of Drayton, there may have been some sort of visible indicator, a ditch or a hedgerow, marking the location of the Neolithic construction in the northern, if not both, sections of the monument in late Iron Age and Roman periods, as there are some ephemeral indicators that a field system may have covered the entire area. The remains of the barrows overlaying the central portion of the monument appear to truncate the outer lines of the original Neolithic construction. It is not possible to say, with certainty, that they had the same spatially respectful relationship between them and the later features, seen at Radley Hills or Stanton Harcourt. Any assumption that there may have been a deliberate, or quantifiable, respectful relationship cannot be made due to the destruction of any evidence of late Iron Age or Roman activity by later interactions. However, the existence of a highly prestigious construction, in the form of a Saxon palace near to the southern end of the monument, does give pause for thought. It may indicate that there was some memory of significance associated with the monument that carried over into the early Anglo-Saxon period. However, Brennan and Hamerow (2015), discuss the recent excavations carried out at the complex at some length. They note that if there are any connections between the prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon evidence here, it is the barrows on the cursus and those evaluated, or excavated, more recently, which would have been factored into any decision to site a great hall, rather than the location of an - in all probability, either largely, or completely, obscured cursus monument.

5.5. Case Study: The Uffington White Horse and Berkshire Downs

5.5.1. *Research landscapes*

The White Horse near Uffington in Oxfordshire (Fig. 5.32), is an iconic landscape feature built from crushed chalk. The figure has been a visible presence in the landscape for possibly 3760 years (Miles et al., 2003b, 61–78). This monument does not stand alone; it is part of a wider complex close to its position on the edge of the Berkshire Downs and part of an extended series of locations with evidence of devotional and/or settlement activity that includes:

Rams Hill (Fig. 5.32): a hilltop enclosure in continuous use from the Bronze Age to the early 1st century AD. The enclosure itself was not re-occupied after this time, but the site is still in use during the later Roman period, with evidence of inhumations from a square enclosure ditch on the east side of the hill (Bradley and Ellison, 1975, 71; Piggott and Piggott, 1940).

Tower Hill (Fig. 5.32): a settlement area with extensive deposits of Bronze Age metalwork, located at the northern edge of a high chalk ridge within the Berkshire Downs. It lies in the centre of a triangle of hilltop enclosures, directly to the south of the Neolithic long barrow, known as Wayland's Smithy (Miles et al., 2003a, 142).

Wayland's Smithy: a Neolithic long barrow constructed around 3670–3610 BC. It is located to the north-west of the White Horse, sitting away from the ridgeline and the scarp of the Berkshire Downs. The barrow is isolated from the other monuments and settlements in the area (Whittle, 1991, 61). The name of the monument (Wayland is the Germanic equivalent of Vulcan or Hephaestus), suggests that some prominence may have been attached to the location in the Saxon period (ibid.); (Fig. 5.32).

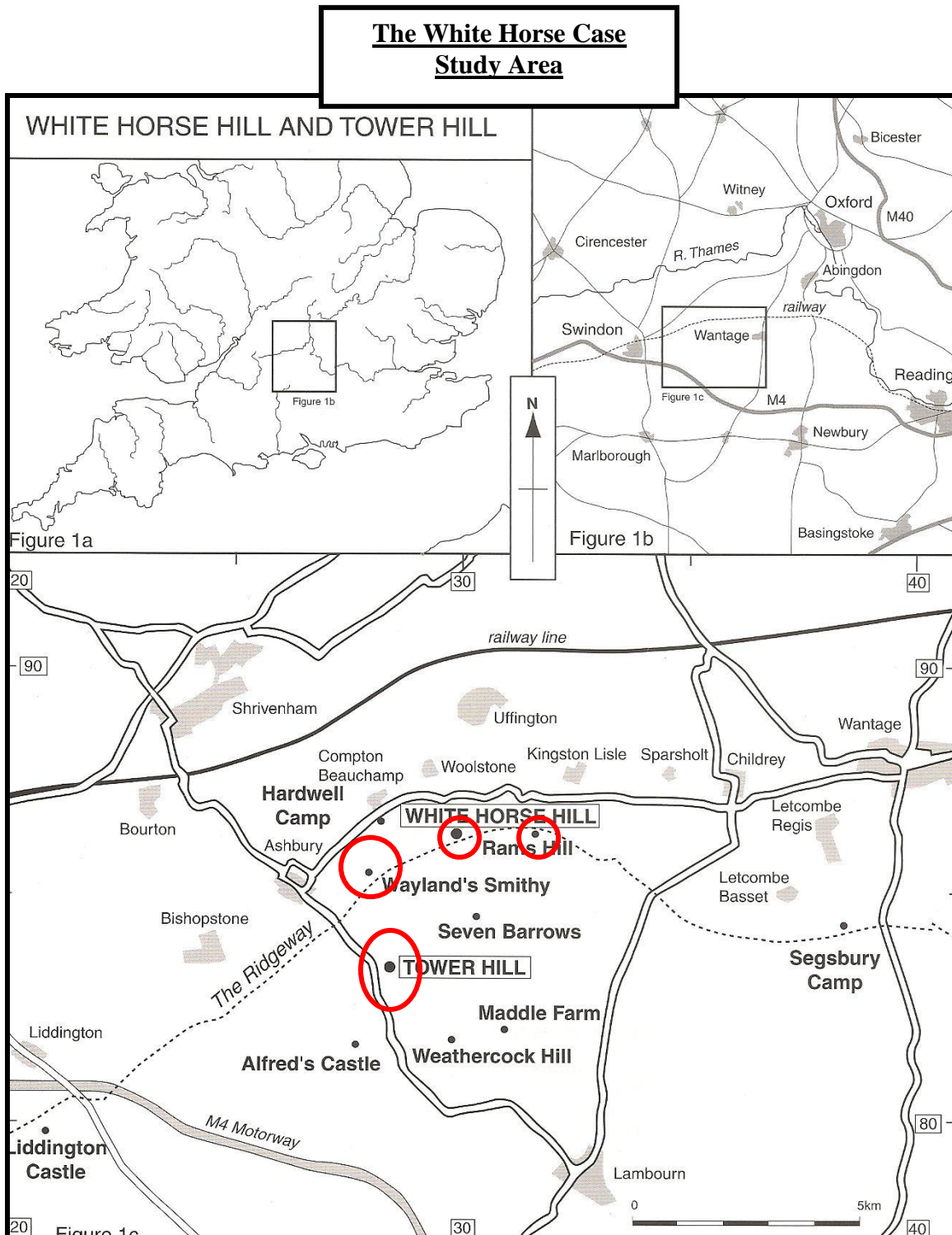


Fig. 5.32: The White Horse case study area, showing the locations of the major sites discussed (Miles et al., 2003c, 2).

5.5.2. *The Uffington White Horse*

The White Horse itself is located on the northern edge of the Berkshire Downs, near to the summit of a steep, north-west facing slope. The figure is approximately 110m long and is visible from the River Ock and The Vale of the White Horse, up to 32km away (Miles et al., 2003b, 61). The slope on which the figure is located is part of an undulating landscape dissected by dry valleys and the occasional seasonal stream feeding into the River Ock to the north. Dragon Hill is joined to the main White Horse Hill by a narrow spur of chalk (Barclay et al., 2003b, 34). The given name suggests that it was the possible site of an early Christian church (e.g. Semple, 2013). At the highest point of the escarpment, above the White Horse, is a 'D' shaped hilltop enclosure with a single circuit rampart enclosing approximately three hectares. To the north of this enclosure, a steep slope falls away whilst the slopes to the west, south and south-west are gentler (Lock et al., 2003, 79); (Fig. 5.33).

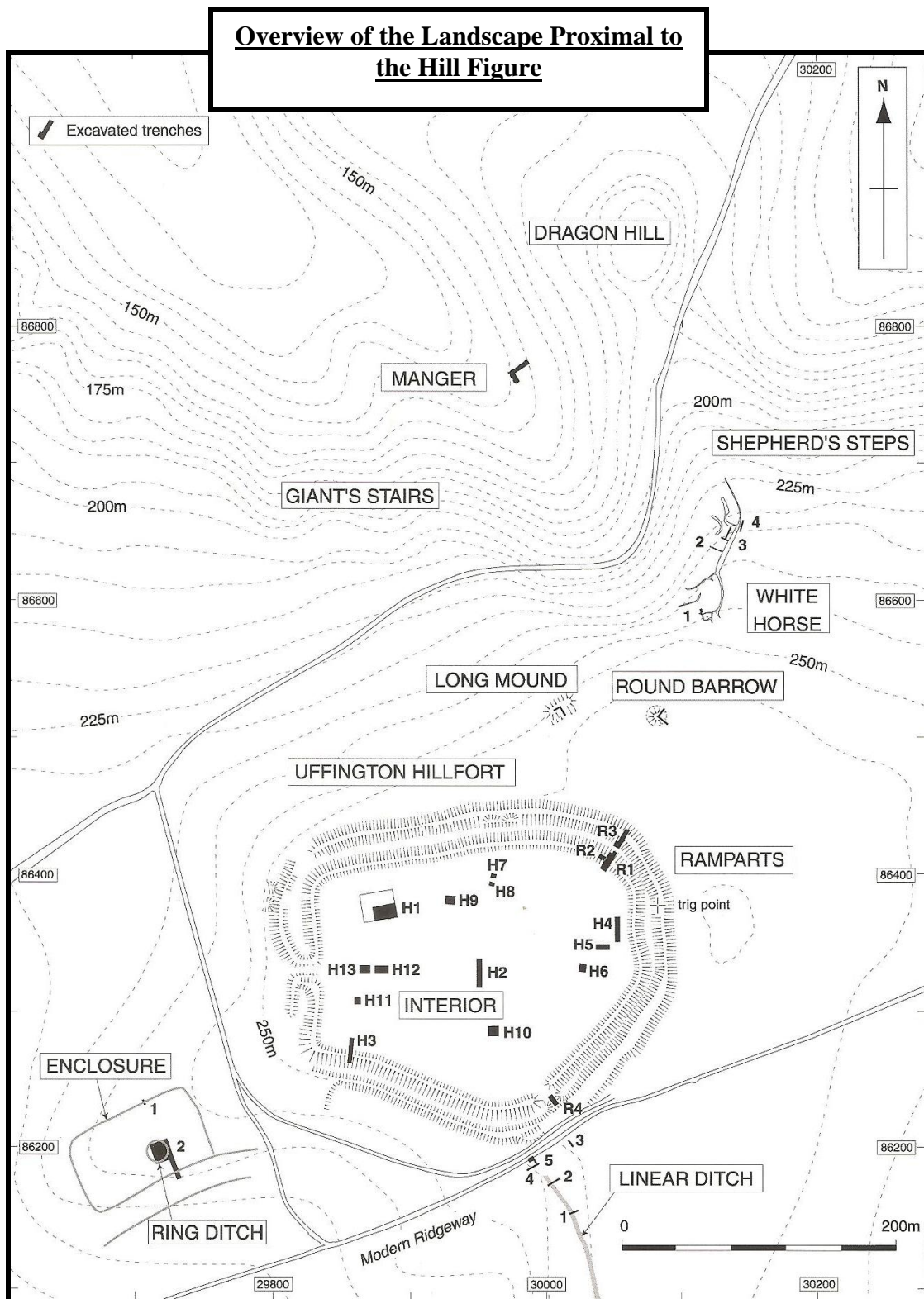


Fig. 5.33: A detailed plan of the landscape around the White Horse figure with the locations of excavation trenches highlighted (Miles et al., 2003d, 9).

To the south of The White Horse and approximately 120m from the head of the figure, is a late Neolithic long barrow (Barclay et al., 2003b, 38–40); (Fig. 5.35). The long barrow is repeatedly referenced by both inhumations and cremations. Despite the fact that the finds from the 19th century excavations of Martin-Atkins could not be traced for verification, the manner in which they are described in the published excavation accounts and the British Museum's Accessions Register, suggests they are all likely to have been 4th century in date (Barclay et al., 2003b, 56). The round barrow is located 59–60m directly west and upslope of the long barrow. This feature is set away from the current ridgeline on a downward slope. Later interactions with this particular round barrow have been dated as Saxon, due to the presence of a 7th century AD escutcheon (Barclay et al., 2003b, 46). However, Barclay et al., (2003b, 51) also note the presence of a wide date range of backfill deposits, including a 4th century iron cleat.

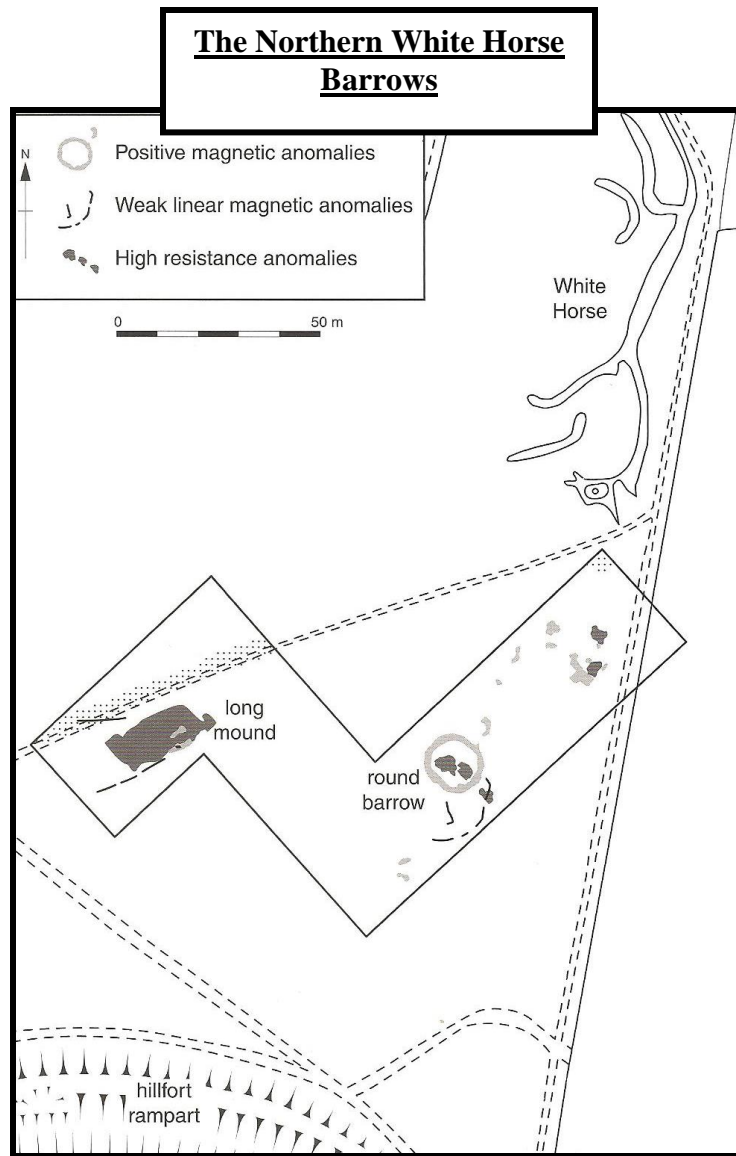


Fig. 5.35: The location of the two barrows closest to the chalk figure and resistance anomalies discovered during magnetic surveys (Barclay et al., 2003b, 39).

Together, this series of locations (with the exception of the offset Tower Hill) are located in a transitional landscape between the Berkshire Downs and the valleys of the Rivers Thames, Ock and Kennet below. They are prominent positions in a landscape where people moved both along the ridgeline (Fig. 5.36), and from the downs, into the valleys below, and vice versa, through any of the numerous cuts into the ridgeline. This transitional landscape, coupled with the potential wide visibility of features placed along the ridgeline make it the ideal location to place features, or structures, or to perform

devotional observances - whatever their function, or form - would be visible to both local communities and those passing through the landscape.

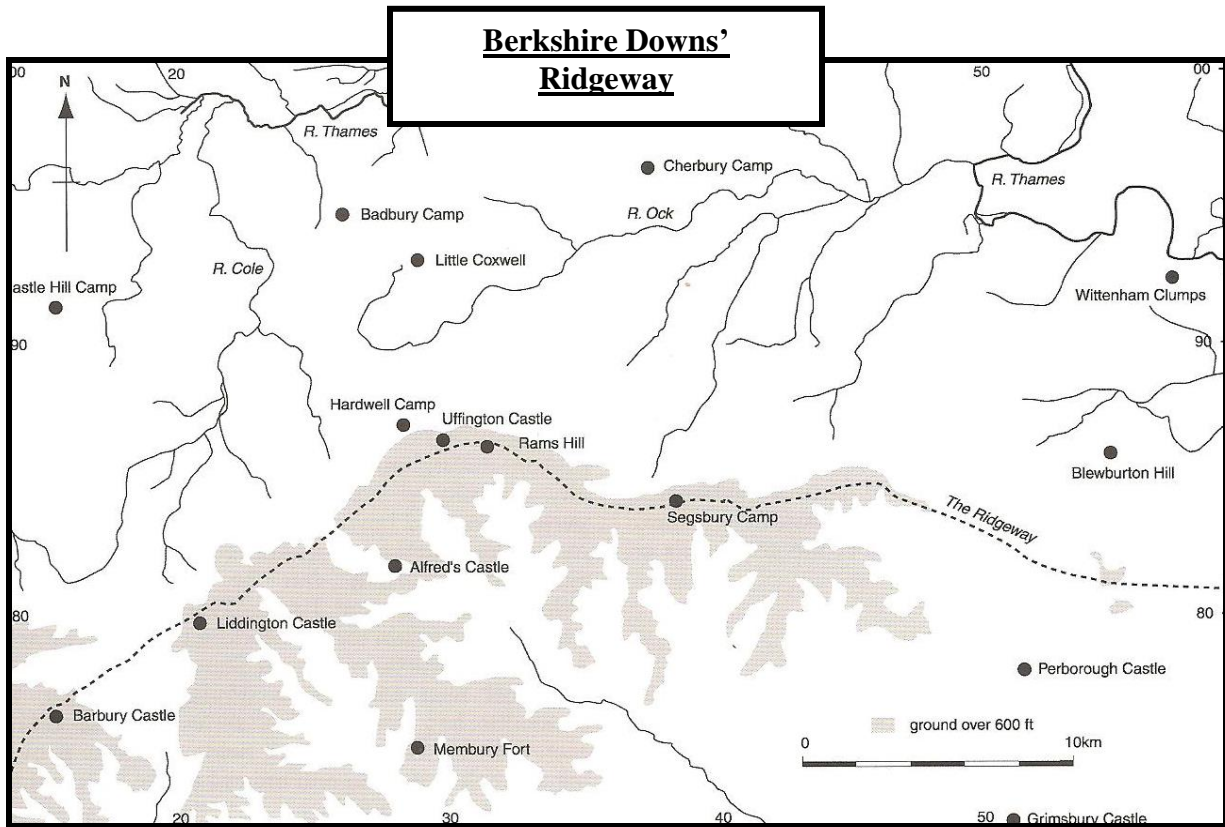


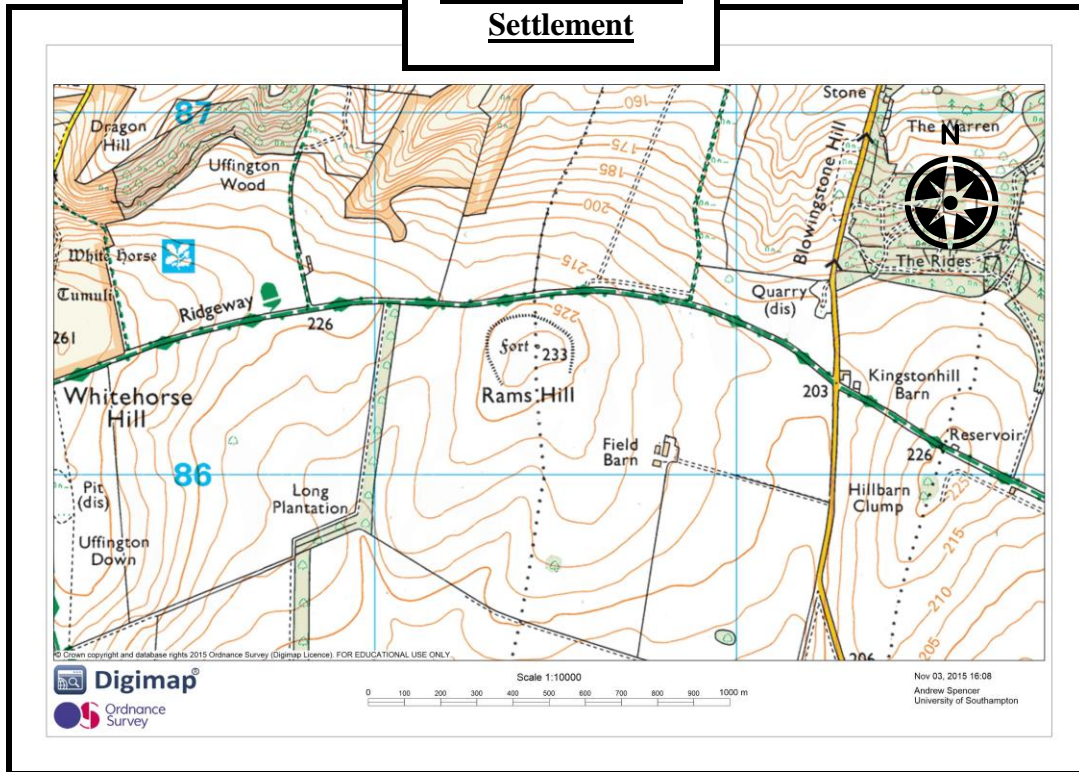
Fig. 5.36: How Rams Hill and Uffington Castle fit into the trade route along the ridgeway (Barclay et al., 2003c, 261).

5.5.3. Rams Hill

The evidence of activity during the research period from Rams Hill could be described, at best, as open to interpretation. Earlier excavations by Piggott and Piggott (1940) uncovered later Roman coinage and three skeletal inhumations within part of a complex of one rectilinear enclosure which abuts the eastern limit of the Iron Age enclosure. The complex comprises at least four, contiguous enclosures, one of which is double ditched. Two additional enclosures, one of which is a very small square, are

visible approximately 75m to the south-east. The enclosures are visible on aerial photographs but remain unexcavated apart from the Piggott's example (<http://www.pastscape.org.uk>: Monument Number: 1255796). The principal enclosure in the complex (SU 3159 3634) is double ditched, with dimensions of 80m x 70m. Contiguous enclosures to the south and south east are 65m x 55m (SU 3158 8627), 52m x 40m (SU 3157 8621) and 105m x 55m (SU 3165 8627). Diffuse marks within two of the enclosures may indicate internal features, or working hollows (ibid.). Pottery evidence is sparse. For example, the 1972–73 excavations uncovered only two shallow pits and a handful of pottery sherds along with 18 later Roman coins AD 268–378, a crude chalk figurine and a 4th century copper alloy bracelet by the southern entrance of the Iron Age fortifications (Bradley and Ellison, 1975, 71). The contrast between the lack of pottery, or animal bone, or other domesticated evidence, and the recovery of burials and coinage is intriguing. Although the evidence is not definitive, and no further excavations have been carried out, Bradley and Ellison, (1975, 71) speculate that this could be the remains of a hilltop shrine or temple. In contrast, however, Barclay et al., (2003b, 39) note that hillfort temples are more commonly found south and west of this location, where small groups of burials at, or near, hillforts are more common. Smith (2001), however, examining how sacred space was displayed to a wider audience and interacted with in southern Britain during the Roman period, drew several conclusions. One of the most relevant to this research was that the construction of rural temples in the late Roman period was often closely related to villa locations, both in a proximal, and in an ideological, sense. The same sense of power and prestige, it was argued was interconnected in both types of construction (Smith, 2001, 144). By placing your dwelling, or site of ritual observance, in proximity to a location which has been a visible landmark for generations, imbues it with an associative connection. This connection can transform the location from just one of many, similar, rural temples or farmsteads, into a structure that is the ultimate expression of power and prestige (ibid.). The deliberate placement of a temple structure in such a high visibility location, such as Rams Hill (Fig. 5.37), would be indicative of a deliberate act by an individual, or community, wanting to display their elevated social status by virtue of association.

Rams Hill Hilltop Settlement



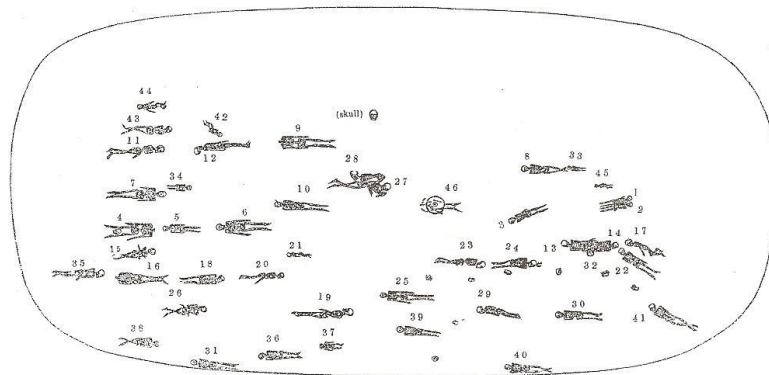
*Fig. 5.37: The hilltop settlement of Rams Hill (available from:
<http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).*

5.5.4. The White Horse proximal landscape

After a substantial hiatus in interactions of almost 700 years, the landscape surrounding the White Horse figure becomes a centre of activity in the 4th century AD (Lock et al., 2003, 124). Lock et al., (2003, 96; 124–26) also note that the hillfort is restructured and there is evidence, such as a small oven and post structures, to indicate that the enclosure was in use but not as a permanent settlement area. The activity at Uffington Castle could be related to the extensive repurposing of the barrows as a cemetery, in proximity to the White Horse. The long barrow and northern round barrow are the focus of later interactions in the landscape. The long barrow is part of an extensive, late Roman and

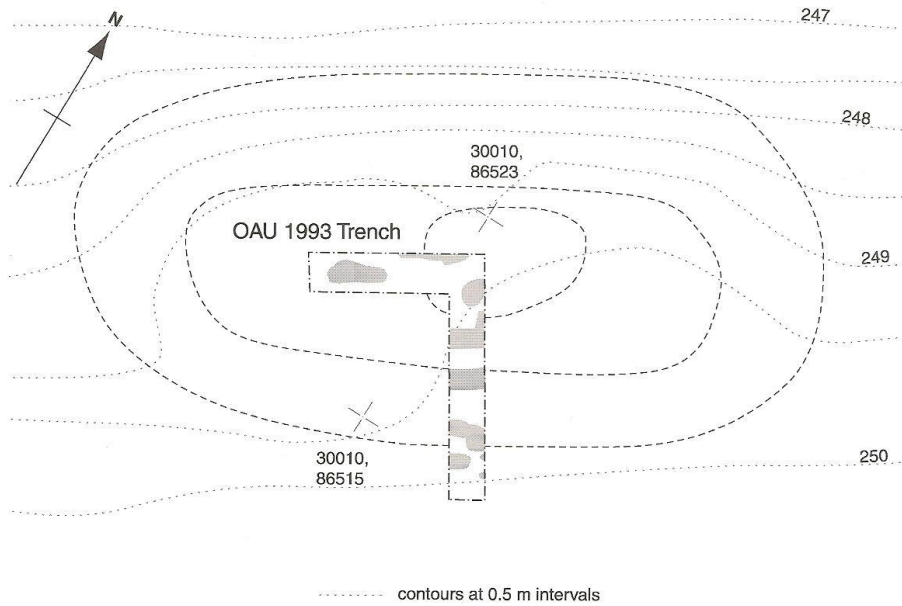
latterly, Saxon cemetery, consisting of 57 inhumations and 12 cremations (Barclay et al., 2003b, 39). The long barrow (Fig. 5.38 and Fig. 5.39), contains 46 of these burials, both late Roman and Saxon examples (ibid.), whilst the round barrow (Fig. 5.40), has exclusively Saxon burial activity with the notable exception of the 4th century iron cleat (Barclay et al., 2003b, 56). The lack of late Roman activity associated with the round barrow is intriguing, indicating a possible difference in perspective between the two features. The Roman burials were the subject of slightly altered burial rites. Five skeletons were placed face down; several had been decapitated and in addition to coins placed in the mouth of the deceased, one example had a purse and several coins placed upon the face (Barclay et al., 2003b, 41). The long barrow may not have been considered as an example of a typical long mound. The shape is somewhat amorphous and it may have been seen as an elongated, or flattened, circular feature. Another point to note is that burial activity is not solely confined to these features, as three inhumations, for example, were found side by side on Dragons Hill, indicting its use as an additional burial site (Wilson, 1871, 182; Barclay et al., 2003b, 36).

The Long Barrow



Scale approximately 1:200

a



b

Fig. 5.38: Plan of the burials and cremations placed in the long barrow at Uffington and the OAU 1993 trench location (Barclay et al., 2003b, 40; Martin-Atkins, 1904; Davies and Thurnam, 1865).

The Long Barrow Sections Showing Deliberate Insertions

Section 1

Section 2

Legend:

- original mound material
- Martin-Atkins excavations in the 1850s
- undisturbed burials
- early ditch fills
- old ground surface
- context containing skeletal material in 1993 excavation

The Round Barrow

The diagram is a plan view of a circular barrow. A thick, light-brown curved line represents the 'approximation of existing ditch', forming a semi-circle on the left and a smaller arc on the right. Inside this ditch is a circular area containing numerous small, dark, pointed shapes representing flint or stone fragments. To the right of the barrow, there are two rectangular areas with cross-hatching, labeled '30085, 86521' and '30085, 86514'. A north arrow points towards the top right. A scale bar at the bottom indicates a distance of 10 meters.

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What sort of status would have been ascribed to the deceased buried, or cremated, at this location? This cemetery is larger than some of those seen in smaller towns (Barclay et al., 2003b, 55). There seems to have been a conscious decision to repeatedly reference the barrow by a nearby community, the closest possibility being Woolstone, approximately 650m–800m north-west. The decision to inter the deceased such a distance from any settlement is intriguing. This is the same choice being made by those who lived at Barton Court Farm, where there is the curious split of infant burials, placed in close proximity to the villa complex, whilst the adults from the settlement were carried 450–500m to the north-east and interred on the track way leading up to the prominent features on the ridgeline. Although the displacement of the deceased away from the settlement is similar, the Radley Hills cemetery does not have the same direct engagement of primary deposits within prehistoric features, but a spatially respectful relationship.

The instances of primary engagement between prehistoric features and later deposits, seen at Uffington are tantalising. Dragon Hill and Rams Hill both have burial evidence. The deposits of late Roman coinage within Uffington Castle may have had a tenuous votive, or devotional, connection to the barrow burials. The singular example of an adult inhumation with Roman period pottery and iron objects in the ring ditch to the west of Uffington Castle (Barclay et al., 2003b, 53–54), suggests the possibility that burials here may have been more extensive. Due to later destruction of the site however, this remains a speculative assumption.

The way in which this landscape evolved over time has partial parallels with the other case studies in the central region, such as Abingdon and Stanton Harcourt. There is a period of hiatus in occupation evidence; either for a short time, as in the case of Tower Hill (Miles et al., 2003a, 151), or for an extended period, as at The White Horse complex (Lock et al., 2003, 124), ending sometime in the 4th century AD when the landscape is reused. It is not until the 3rd century or 4th century AD at the earliest, that specifically selected, prehistoric features are interacted with in a semi-consistent manner throughout the whole study area. This is not to suggest, in any way, that all prehistoric barrows became important ritual centres at some point in the late Roman period. This position is

not supported by the available evidence. The use of barrow to the south of the hillfort as an additional cemetery area, for example, is inconclusive due to later destruction. It should also be taken into account that, with the hiatus in occupation, a certain degree of separation has probably occurred. Any potential communal memory associations which may have held previously, regarding locations, would have been subjected to a dissociative break, when communities were no longer continuously referencing their connections to that particular prehistoric landscape marker.

Despite this hiatus, some memory of significance does survive. The continual resurfacing of The White Horse (Miles et al., 2003b, 70); (Fig. 5.41), the deliberate placement of burials in the long barrow (Barclay et al., 2003b, 39–41), the singular example in the mutilated barrow to the south of Uffington Castle and the burials at Rams Hill and Dragon Hill are all instances where there are later attempts by individuals, or communities, to connect with an important centre of visible local identity. This possible collective ritual landscape, consisting of the barrows near the White Horse and Dragon Hill, in addition to Rams Hill, show all of the common features associated with the reverence of respected cultural spaces: the prominent position; the interaction during later periods; the lack of contemporary, domestic activity within their boundaries (Smith, 2001, 162). Hutton (2011, 16: following Darvill [2004, 228]) also notes that this increasing activity, occurring after approximately AD 250, could be attributed, at least in part, to a widespread interest in local deities, a renewal of faith, construction of rural temple sites or the booming villa economy.

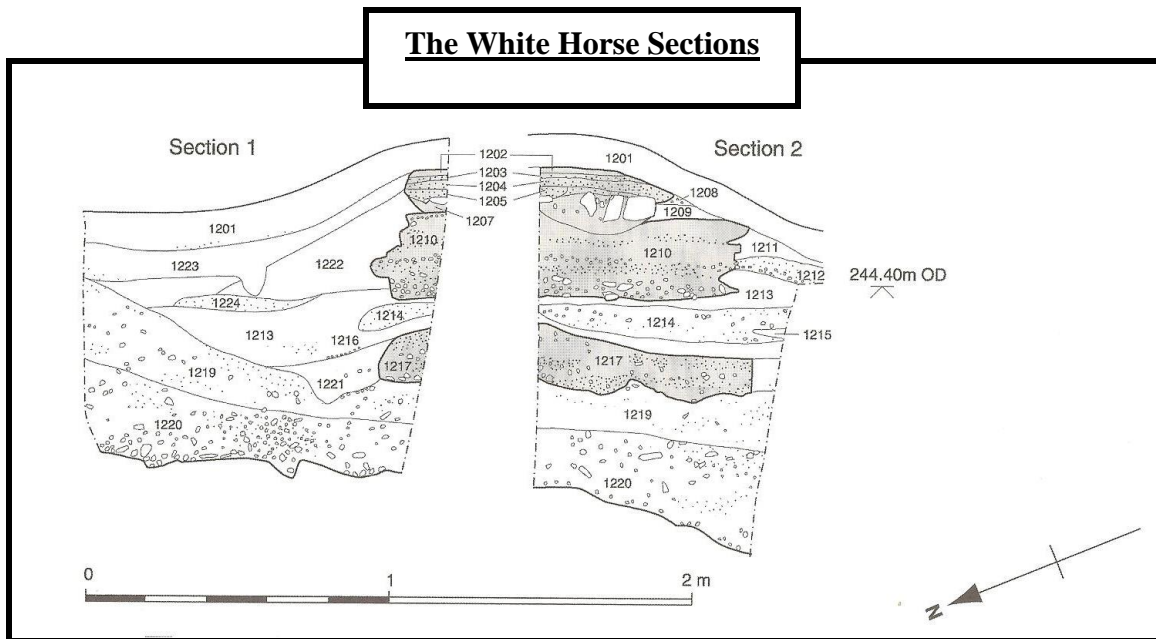


Fig. 5.41: A section of the White Horse figure, showing the resurfacing layers (Miles et al., 2003b, 70).

It has been noted that the Uffington Castle hillfort may have been viewed as an integral part of any votive, or ritual, activity taking place in the nearby landscape. There are a number of coin deposits from the latter quarter of the Roman period which could be related to the cemetery. The coin deposits in Uffington Castle are intriguing. They are explained in the report as either votive deposits, or a dispersed hoard (Lock et al., 2003, 124). Uffington Castle is described as a possible centre of ritual activity based on the proximity of the White Horse (Lock et al., 2003, 124–25), but the coin deposits are dispersed to such a degree, that it is uncertain whether they were related to ritual activity or not. There is a lack of fine ware or amphorae amongst the approximately 388 potential vessels in the pottery assemblage (ibid.). The remains of the fortification or settlement would have been an excellent nodal trading point, and the coin deposits and broken vessels could just as easily be related to potential trading activities, or subsequently scattered attempts to conceal wealth in periods of crisis, or social upheaval, funerary ceremonies or informal gatherings (ibid.).

5.5.5. *Chronological separation*

The White Horse case study area, apart from the possible exception of Tower Hill, does not display the same level of chronological separation of features seen in other studies of the central region. The features near the White Horse all see a mixture of multi-period use. Wayland's Smithy gradually deteriorates, though it is possible that the barrow may have been used as a sighting point to lay out later field systems. The main destruction of the monument appears to have occurred by the end of the Roman period, any significance it held in prehistory being ignored (Whittle, 1991, 61; 99). The situation at Rams Hill is possibly not dissimilar to that seen at Dragons Hill, near the White Horse figure, including the possibility that it may have been referenced by a temple, or religious structure. The landscape proximal to Tower Hill is the only area in this case study that displays some degree of chronological separation (Fig. 5.42). The Iron Age settlement area overlays the Bronze Age settlement and the bronze artefacts' hoard (Fig. 5.43) is indicative of a transitional period where the settlement remained static (Miles et al., 2003a, 155). The Romano-British settlement is displaced from this area towards the north but there are a number of negative lynchets that indicate the early Roman field system followed the same course as its predecessor which, like Stanton Harcourt, did not intersect the settlement area, only some earlier Neolithic flint extraction pits (Miles et al., 2003a, 138–39). It should be noted that this respect is a surmised extrapolation based upon the lynchet evidence, rather than a product of full, open area excavation, uncovering a distinct spatial relationship.

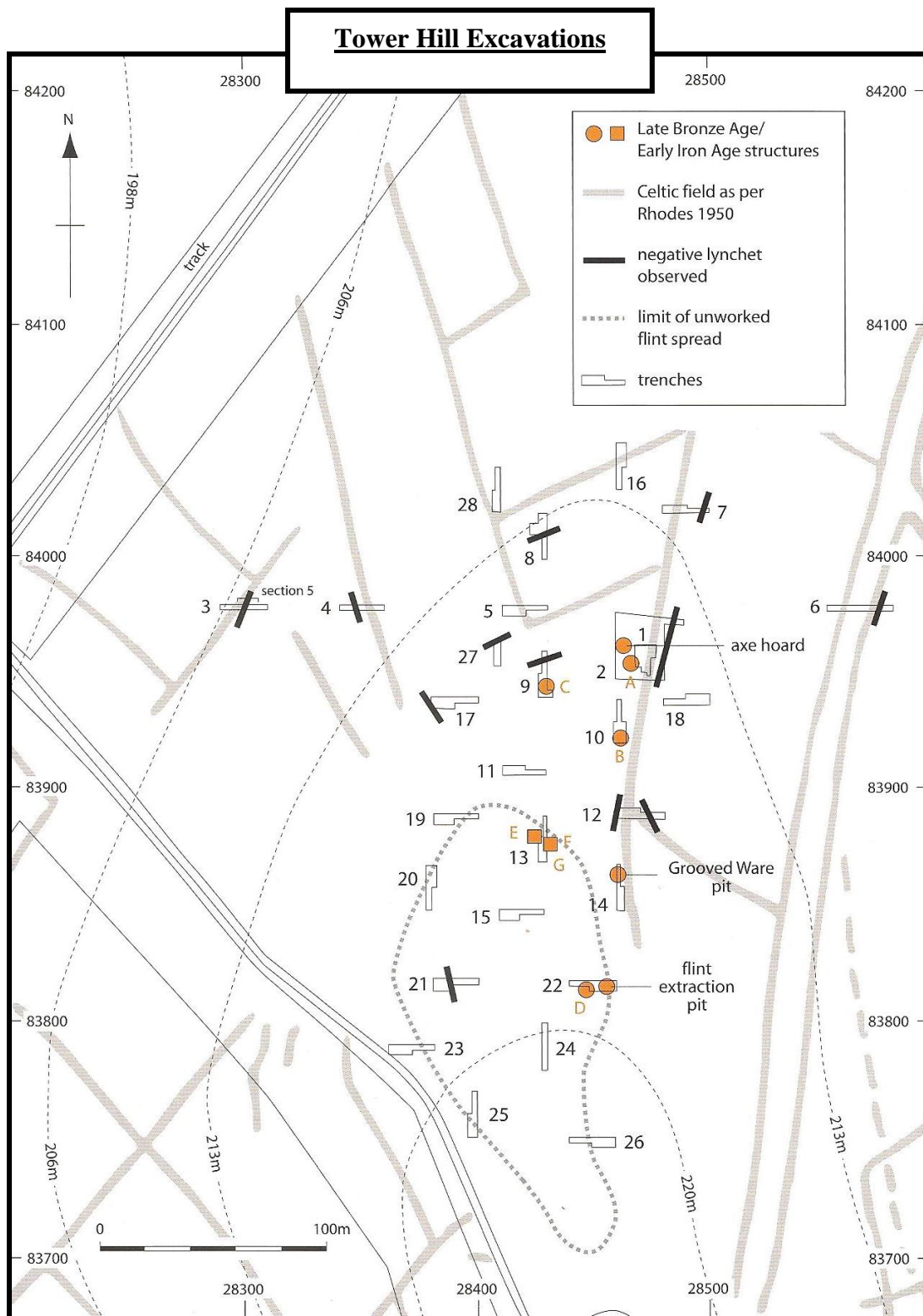


Fig. 5.42: Excavations at Tower Hill showing the Prehistoric settlements and the development of the field systems (Miles et al., 2003a, 139).



Fig. 5.43: Bronze artefacts recovered from Tower Hill (Miles et al., 2003a, 156).

5.5.6. *The White Horse: Summary*

The White Horse case study displays a mixture of interactions and levels of respect being paid to the prehistoric features here during the study period. Any significance attached to the barrow at Wayland's Smithy, despite its continued presence in the landscape, is forgotten or ignored. The monument decays and becomes incorporated into a working agricultural landscape, the majority of damage being inflicted prior to the end of the Roman period (Whittle, 1991, 99). Tower Hill, a centre of metalworking activity in the Bronze Age, becomes an agricultural settlement. The early Romano-British field system is laid out along the lines of its Iron Age predecessor and the main settlement shifts towards the north. The northern White Horse long barrow has a continuing visible presence in the landscape. The evidence of burials from Dragon Hill, the mutilated barrow to the south of the hillfort and the northern barrow suggests that much of the surrounding landscape may have been set aside for burial purposes. It is not possible at

this point in time to state exactly which nearby settlements were using these features. The way in which the White Horse long barrow (squat barrow?) is referenced does seem to be quite concentrated. The other known burials and cremations over the nearby hillside are (as far as the evidence currently shows) spread, rather than focused, whilst the barrow was continuously referenced. This could be partially due to the ease of use. Where the soil is already disturbed, it may have been considerably easier to dig but the soil at Dragon Hill is quite shallow so this may not be the case. Rams Hill, constructed in the Bronze Age as part of a system of enclosures along a ridgeline, becomes a small, seasonal settlement on a commercial trade route. The site continued to be used for this purpose into the 1st century AD. After being abandoned, it has a relatively small number of later Roman inhumations in the vicinity of the hillfort and it is possible, though untested, that a late Roman temple structure was constructed there. In a similar way to the White Horse and Radley Barrow Hills, Rams Hill (although not to the same extent) becomes a location where people living and working in the surrounding landscape, brought the deceased to inter them, in all probability due to the highly visible nature of the structure on the hill combined with real or imagined ancestral connections with the location or some form of elite social status display. The existence of a temple structure on the Dragon's Hill promontory is also unproven. It is only slightly less prominent and visible than the higher ridgeline and may have had its own level of significance ascribed to it by the inhabitants of the surrounding landscape rather than, or perhaps in addition to, that afforded by its proximity to the hillside figure. The White Horse itself has been periodically maintained since its construction. Although there is no indication of the direct insertion of material culture from any subsequent period into the feature, this lack of deposition only serves to indicate the level of respect given to its form over an extended period, regardless of any changes in material culture or wider social or political changes and upheavals.

5.5.7. Notes on elite display and identity in the Uffington landscape

If these later interactions are predicated on a desire to display a particular individual, or a group identity, which involved these locations as a visual component of its expressive qualities, exactly what were these individuals, familial, or wider social groupings trying to convey? What was the stimulus for these interactions after such a long period of neglect? Internal hierarchical changes occurring within that social group or changes in the perceptual framework toward particular landscape forms brought about by external stimulus?

An internal social stimulus for changes in patterns of interaction would have to come solely from within a particular social grouping, whether through consensus, or individual stimulus, and would require no external influences. Purely internally motivated change in any aspect of social engagement is quite a rare occurrence. Whilst the motivation necessary to effect a change in behavioural patterns often does come from within a social grouping, changes in patterns of behaviour often require an external stimulus. A new pattern of interaction is observed, or communicated, that engenders a need, a desire, or a want to activate, or energise, a new pattern of behavioural responses (Kleinginna and Kleinginna, 1981). The situation where a new pattern of behaviour develops regarding particular feature morphology is not isolated to the sites in a single case study, as a similar pattern of new forms of interaction occurs across the region in the 3rd century AD. The ability for each separate communal grouping in each case study (admittedly, within a defined, geographic region) to independently and simultaneously change their behaviour patterns is not plausible. This leaves the conclusion that there were external motivations for change. Possible external stimuli could be indicative of a new method of identity expression based upon Gaulish practices, specifically from Brittany and Normandy, or an expression of a new sense of localised identities based upon the regional compartmentalisation of the empire (Drinkwater, 1987). It could be predicated on an influx of a small number of high status, wealthy individuals into Britain bringing continental attitudes towards these features with them (ibid.). It could be an emulation of continental practices by a more cosmopolitan aristocracy. It could be the residual effect

of a new, insular, local outlook, given the increasing internal instability of the empire, which has its roots in the military reforms of Severus (Shotter, 1996, 13), or a result of a greater degree of personal freedom of expression after the universal grants of citizenship instituted by Caracalla in AD 212 (Salway, 1993, 197), or a reflection of reliance on local autonomies, rather than intervention by the wider state. Individually, each of these potential stimuli would be unlikely to cause local communities to reconnect with important landscape features associated with the past, but there could be a domino effect occurring here. Greater local freedoms, and a series of events, had the effect of calling into question the ability of the empire to protect its borders, resulting in a desire for local control over certain resources. This, in turn, leads to the empire being spilt in into regional compartmentalisations, a by-product of which is a change of behavioural patterns which, to paraphrase Bradley (1998), could serve to create a sense of stability, or even to conformity to a particular discrepant identity that is based on local points of previous significance within the landscape, intermixed with values, or forms, of ritual interaction from AD 250–260 onward; one of the more significant crisis points in the history of the Roman Empire.

5.6. Case Study: Cassington

5.6.1. Research landscapes

The final, central region case study centres upon the substantial Iron Age enclosure near Cassington in Oxfordshire (Fig. 5.44). The Cassington enclosure itself is formed of a 920m circuit that slopes downward from the crest of a raised island in the second gravel terrace of the Thames basin, with the eastern open section of the enclosure resting upon the River Evenlode.

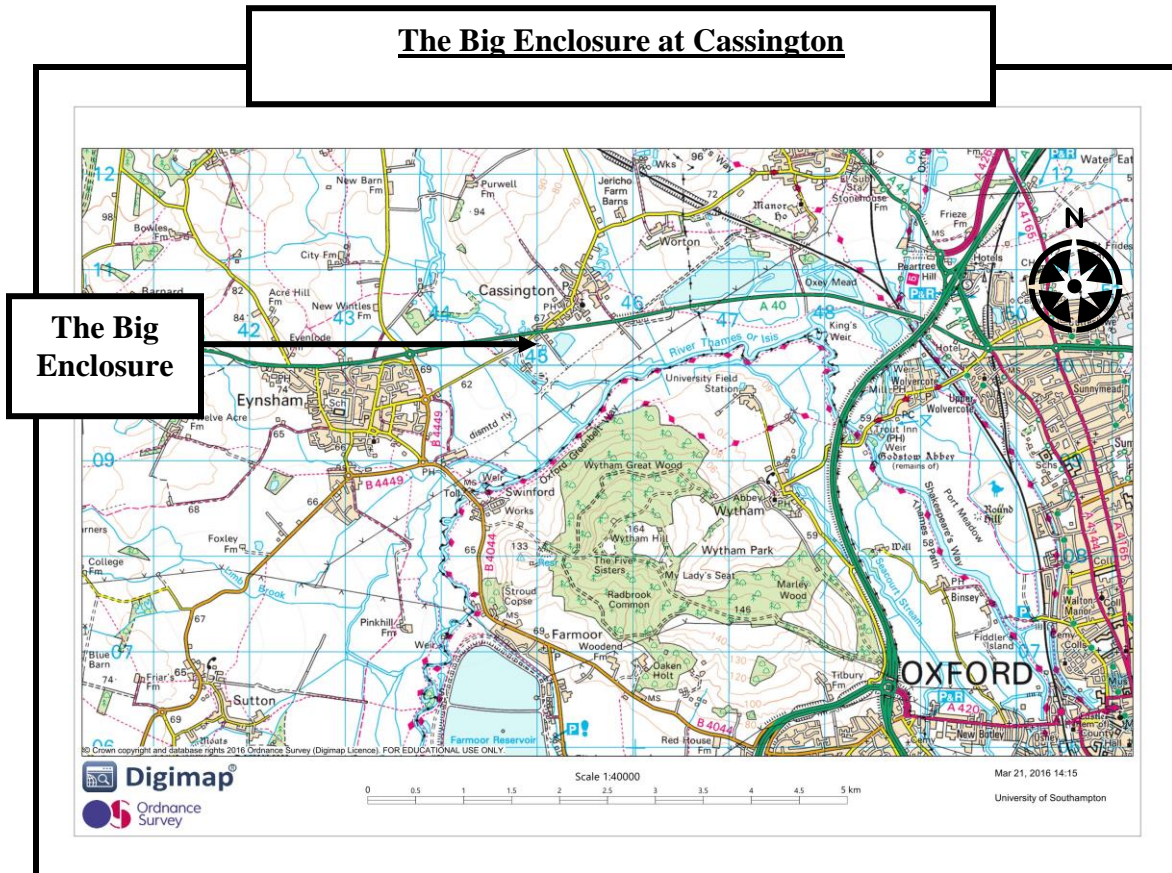
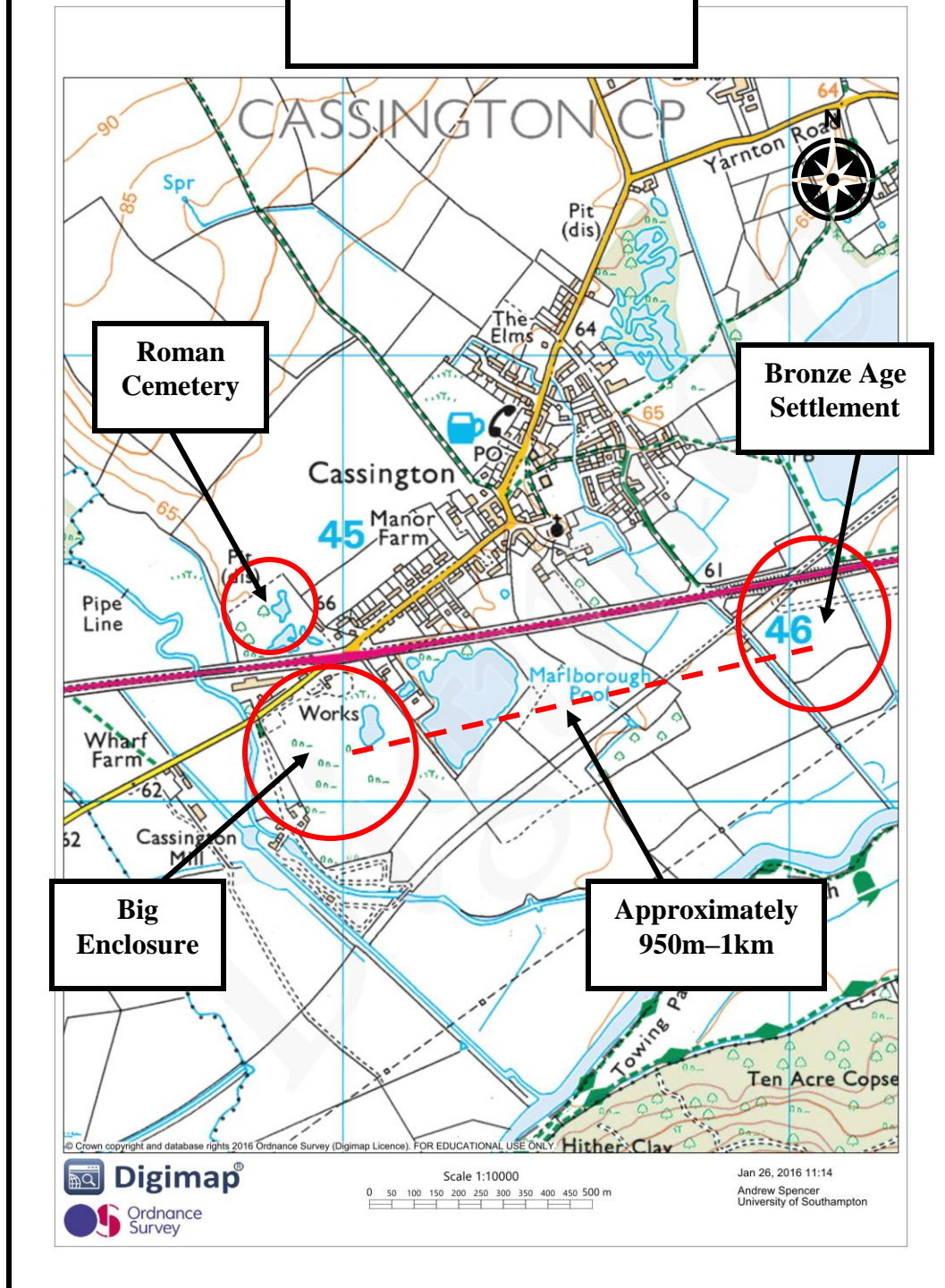


Fig. 5.44: The location of the big enclosure at Cassington (available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).

This case study focuses on three, concentrated segments of a broader landscape (Fig. 5.45). Unlike the other examples, where it has been possible to draw in a range of different monument types or features from a wider area, the collation of data from a wide area spread has not been possible at Cassington. The data here is confined to three islands of comprehensive, verifiable and peer reviewable information, in an otherwise overwhelmingly disjointed, and incomplete, archaeological record of landscape development. The older excavation information which could be considered as sufficiently robust has been collated from an almost unprecedented number of salvage excavations over a period of 20 years (Benson and Miles, 1974, 84). Adequate records were only kept in a small number of cases. It has been estimated, for example, that a minimum of 20–40 prehistoric features have been destroyed by excavations without records in the small area known as Smiths Field II alone (*ibid.*). Consequently, the records of finds are partially completed, or non-existent, and the overall pattern of discoveries, including their relative location and the way the landscape developed over time, cannot be reconstructed (Benson and Miles, 1974, 87). The absence of data is in stark contrast to the number of excavations mounted and the quality of the data published by the more recent Yarnton Project (Hey, et al., 2011) which only serves to highlight the inadequacies of undirected, piecemeal salvage work carried out over extended periods. This leaves the area of the enclosure itself (Fig. 5.46), along with the record of Iron Age pits, enclosures and a substantial Roman cemetery to the north comprising of 110 separate individuals (Fig. 5.47), 15 of whom were decapitated and three cremations briefly mentioned as being excavated by a Captain Musgrave of Oxford University in the 1936 edition of *Oxoniensia* (www.oxoniensia.org/volume/1936; p 201) and a plan of those excavations published in the early 1970s (Harding, 1972; Plate 27). Finally, the more recent excavations of the Yarnton Project uncovered an abandoned, dispersed Bronze Age settlement (Fig. 5.48) to the east of the Iron Age enclosure (Lambrick and Robinson, 2009, 100): a possible precursor to the Iron Age enclosure?

**The Area around The Village
of Cassington**



*Fig. 5.45: The Cassington area, showing the locations discussed in the case study
(available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).*

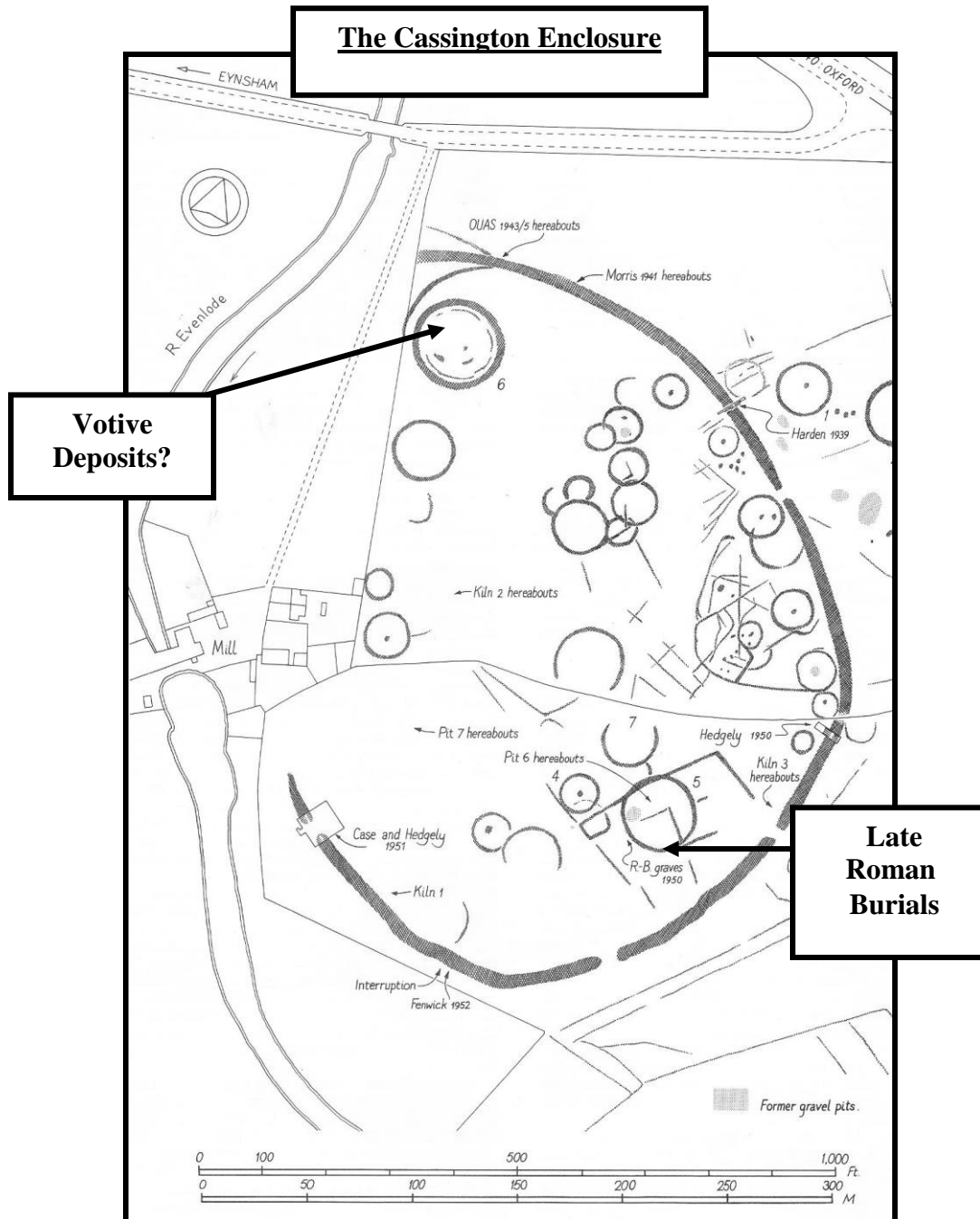


Fig. 5.46: The Cassington enclosure, with areas containing Roman votive deposits and burials in Bronze Age features highlighted (Case, 1982a, 119).

An Extensive Late Roman Cemetery

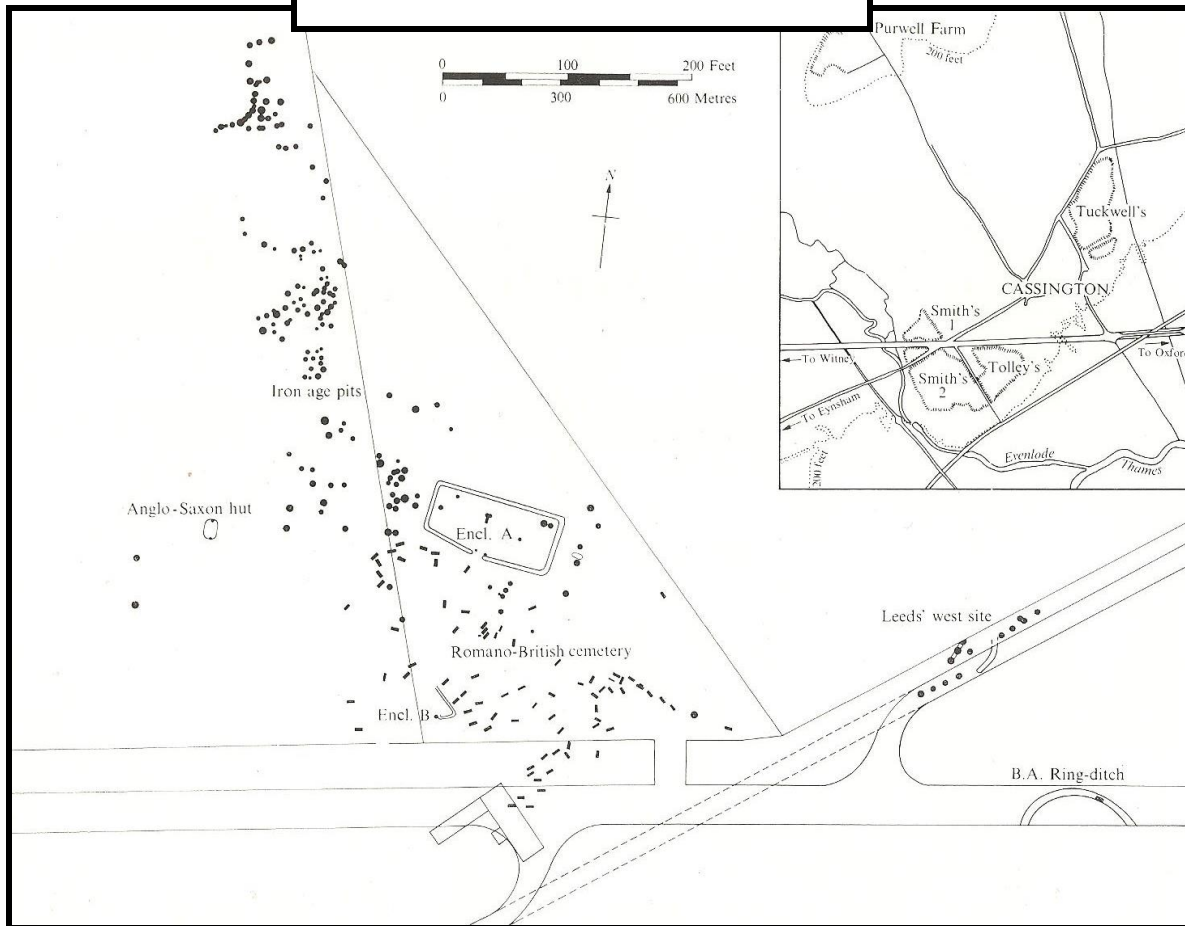


Fig. 5.47: Plan of the late Roman cemetery to the north of the main enclosure at Cassington (Harding, 1972, Plate 27; after Captain Musgrave's Cassington excavations: Oxoniensia, 1936, available from <http://www.oxoniensia.org/volume/1936/notes>; p. 201.).

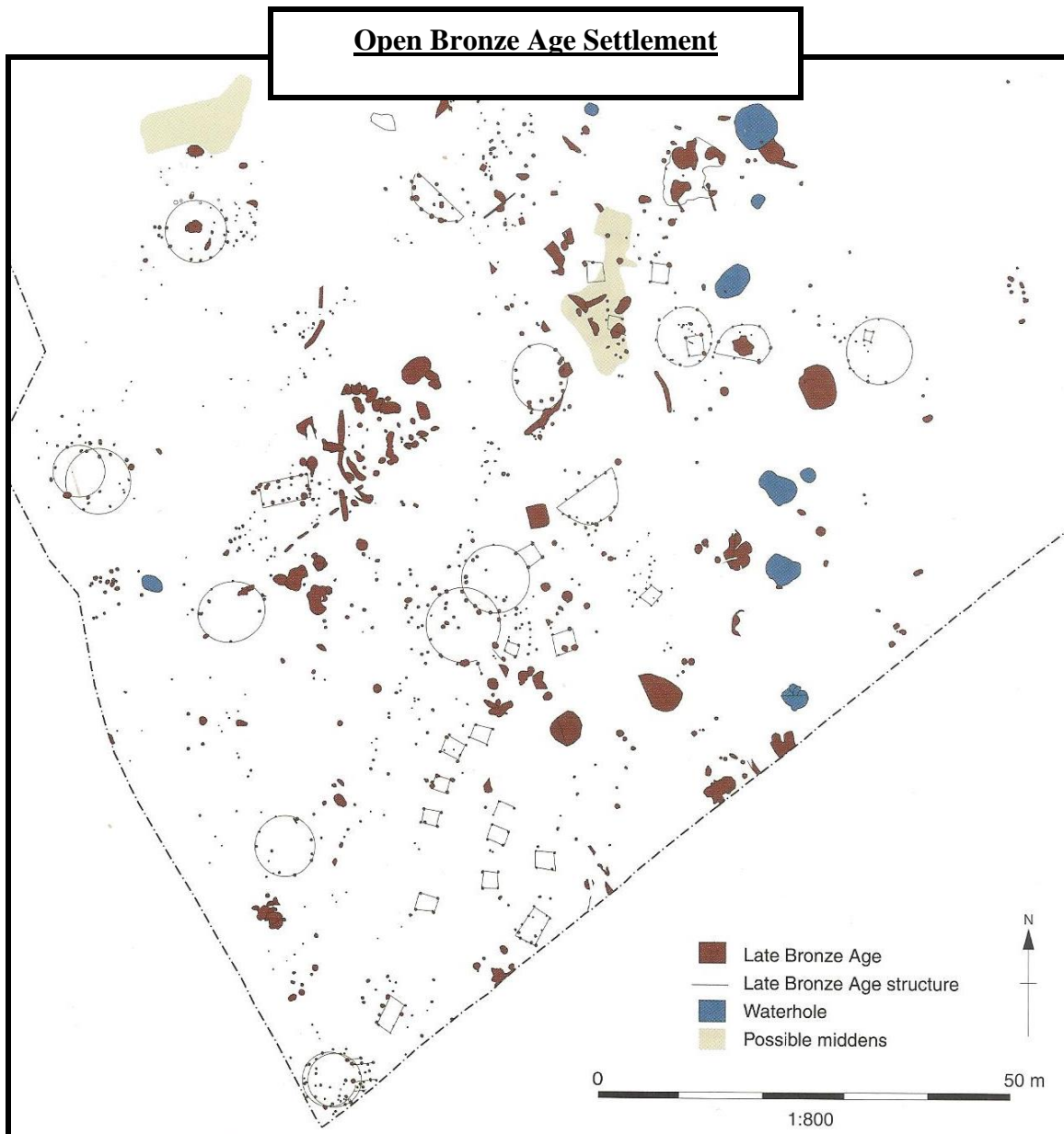


Fig. 5.48: The abandoned Bronze Age settlement to the east of the Iron Age enclosure at Cassington (Lambrick and Robinson, 2009, 100).

Whilst the cemetery does have an area of extensive Iron Age activity immediately to the north, there is no indication that it, or the area of Bronze Age settlement, were in use outside of their primary periods of activity. From the information available, it appears that they are spatially and chronologically separated. However, as large segments of the landscape have been effectively removed from consideration, due to poor excavation

recording, it would be remiss not mention the possibility that evidence, which could refute any assumptions regarding spatial separation, may have been overlooked in the rush to preserve as much of the archaeology as possible, as it was being destroyed by gravel extraction.

5.6.2. *The Cassington big enclosure*

Overall, the excavation evidence from the enclosure indicates that there were two, distinctive phases of interaction during the research period. The first phase was a period of continued use from the late Iron Age, where activity declines, the defences are eventually destroyed and the land is given over to limited agricultural production. The second phase begins sometime in the 3rd century AD. In addition to the extensive evidence of reuse for settlement purposes (Case, 1982a, 137), there is an alteration in perceptions regarding the enclosure that seeks to highlight a pre-existing, or create a contemporary location, of ritual significance. The main enclosure, from the middle of the 3rd into the 4th century AD, which is thought to have been the final phase of occupation, has a number of primary deposits made into prehistoric features (ibid.). The quantities of occupation material recovered increased after the contraction of activity noted in the 2nd century AD (ibid.). A possible ritual or shrine area is centred upon ring ditch six, which contained two coins of Constantine, minted in Trier, fragments of lathe turned shale, possibly from a ring, and most intriguingly, fragments of very thin sheet bronze embossed with the head of cupid, a milled border and curvilinear motif. This is comparable to the numerous examples from the Woodeaton temple (Kirk, 1949; Goodchild and Kirk, 1954) where they clearly had some votive purpose (Case, 1982a, 148). There were also three, late Roman burials recovered from the western edge of ring ditch five (Case, 1982a, 148). These are quite a distance from the main Roman cemetery located to the north of enclosure, but the grave goods, a fragmentary pottery bowl and a patterned bone strip inlay (ibid.), give no indication of any elevated status ascribed to these individuals. Whilst there is some possibility that there may be missing evidence that link the artefacts in ring ditch six to activity in the cemetery to the north, possibly

destroyed by the course of the A40, there is no such evidence from the remains of the enclosure which would indicate that those in ring ditch five are a discrete episode.

At first glance, it appears that the landscape outside the big enclosure is chronologically compartmentalised. The Bronze Age open area settlement shows no evidence of later, or earlier, use and the Iron Age pits are in a separate area to the north of the Roman cemetery. This is, to an extent, being duplicated in the enclosure itself. The main ditch of the Iron Age enclosure is formed in its peculiar, slightly constricted, almost sub-circular form, due to a deliberate attempt by those constructing the outer circuit to avoid destroying a number of Bronze Age features. Is the layout a statement of the ancestral significance attached to those particular features contained within the enclosure, or is it a function of practicality, where the line of the enclosure ditch uses pre-existing cuts into the landscape as guidelines or markers? There is no cross-cutting into the Iron Age ditch which would suggest that Bronze Age features were included in the construction of the ditch. Those sections that were recorded (Fig. 5.48) revealed only Iron Age and later finds, meaning that there is no conclusive, artefactual evidence indicating that earlier features were incorporated into its alignment; instead, they seem to have been built around them, confining them inside the interior of the enclosure. The possibility that the construction of the ditch destroyed any trace of previous activity should also be noted. Perhaps there were no ritualistic, or superstitious, elements at work here and the ditch was constructed purely with the practical necessity of needing a securely defensible area above the floodplain in mind. The placement does, however, indicate that there could have been some visual cue, or marker, referencing the older features, which remained extant. The continuing, visible nature of these features would explain the respect paid to them during the construction; a respect which appears to continue into the Iron Age and early Roman periods. This subsequently morphs, in the case of two of the features, into a perception of them as locations, where instead of inviolate respect, burial and votive interactions are taking place during the late Roman period.

Typical Cassington Ditch Section

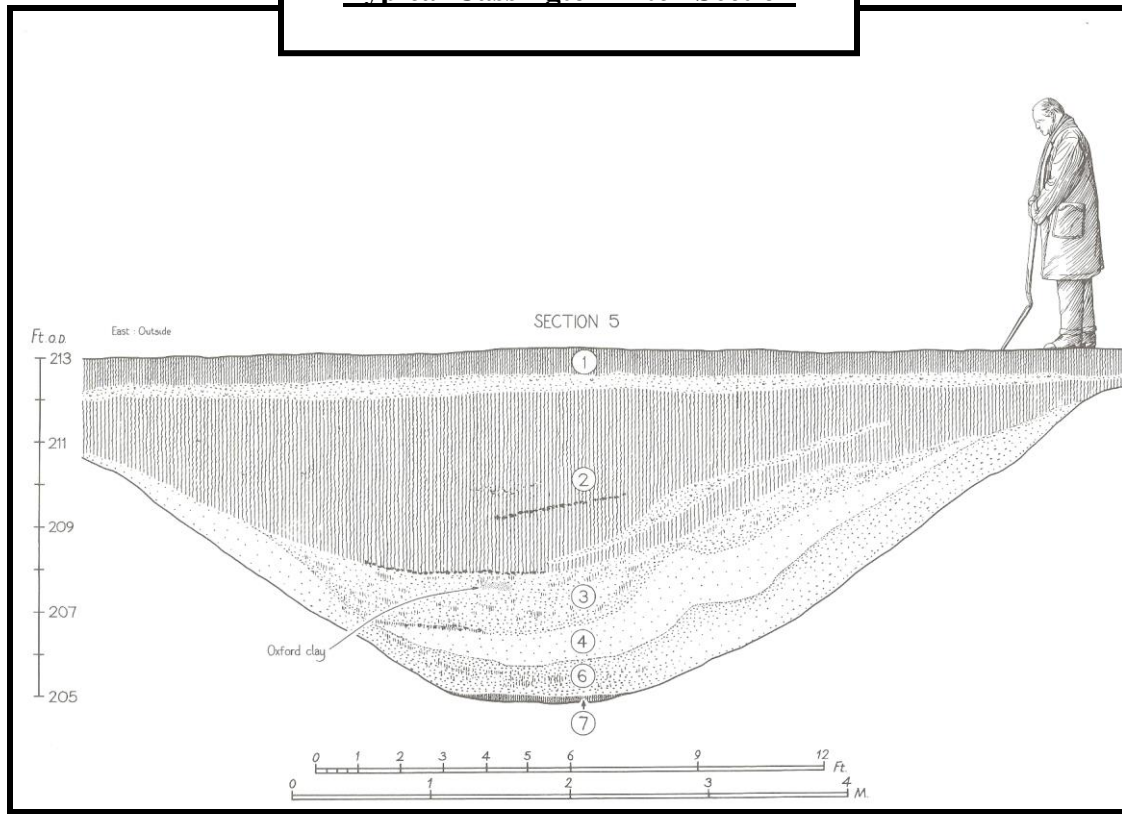


Fig. 5.48: Section of the main Cassington enclosure, ditch showing that earlier features were either avoided, or destroyed, by its construction (Case, 1982a, 133).

The evidence from Cassington does not suggest that there was a widespread use of prehistoric features but rather, a selective referencing and incorporation. There is no evidence of a temple-like structure centred on ring ditch six but the artefacts recovered from the feature, such as the embossed thin bronze sheet fragments (Case, 1982b, 137; 148), suggest that it may have held some significance that elevated it above any other example in the surrounding landscape. Perhaps, the significance of the feature was such that it was considered to be sacrosanct and unalterable in its present form. Regardless, there are a number of facts which indicate that it was, at the very least, probably considered to be a sacred area, or object, namely (Fig. 5.49):

Summary	Explanation
Artefacts	Shale adornments and worked bronze artefacts in layer 14, such as the embossed thin bronze sheet fragments (Case, 1982b, 137; 148) are classed as potentially votive in nature, due to their similarity with artefacts recovered from the Woodeaton temple (Kirk, 1949), are common finds associated with temple sites (Phillpott, 1991, 128–61).
Deposition	The deposits are primary insertions into a prehistoric feature rather than secondary or tertiary spreads, indicating a high degree of correlation between the feature and the devotional, or ritual, activity.
Similar Temple Constructions	There are many examples, such as Brigstock (Smith, 2001, 191), Bozeat (Smith, 2001, 217) or Kelvedon (Smith, 2001, 247) where circular temple sites have been constructed without an exterior ambulatory. Although as Case (1982b, 137) states, there is a curious ditch passing to the east of the ring ditch that may have been associated with the deposits.
Proximity to a Watercourse	Ring ditch six is the closest to a watercourse. Centres of ritual observance are often found in proximity to water during the research period, with spring heads, rivers or lakes being widely referenced (Smith, 2001, 24–32).

Fig. 5.49: Evidence for a temple, a sacred area, or a votive offering site at Cassington?

5.6.3. Notes on Cassington

Lack of comprehensive data renders any attempt to establish a coherent period, by period reconstruction, of the broader, social and economic changes at Cassington difficult, making any interpretation of the data an exercise in establishing the best available fit. Considering the reliable, available data, is the Cassington area an example of a landscape where prehistoric features play an integral part in the interactions occurring here during the research period? Like any other case study, the level of integration of the remains of earlier landscapes into the personal, social and cultural spheres of interaction which existed there during the late Iron Age and Roman periods is complex. Some features see

extended periods of later interaction and others are ignored. Evidence for general domestic activity during the early Roman period, for example, covered most of the enclosure. However, the kilns established for metalworking, did not consciously seek to reference areas of earlier activity and the majority of barrows were ignored whilst latterly, one is reused for the interment of the deceased, and another integrated into later devotional practices. Features appear to have been disregarded, respected, or reused, in a random pattern. However, perhaps this pattern is not as random as it appears. As has been noted previously, the one factor which would have had a major influence on any decision to incorporate a feature into a new construction, or landscape arrangement, was whether it could be seen or not. With no evidence for a complex system for selecting which particular examples of features to respect, reuse, or disregard, can it be assumed that this was based on much simpler criteria? Can it be assumed that those features which are referenced have a visible presence in the contemporary landscape? When a feature that had been covered over for considerable period of time suddenly becomes the focus of later activity, such as ring ditch five, is visibility still a factor? Has it been totally destroyed, or was there some residual presence? Is this an example of communal memory associations being suddenly rekindled? Is this just a random correlation in placement: a correlation of activity with no deeper meaning or resonance? Even in instances where it seems that features may have been temporarily masked by later activity, there may have been a visible indicator: for example, the remnant of a ditch cut deeper than the other features, a hedgerow, or an earthen mound which acted as a tenuous link for any past, or constructed, significance that the object may have held. It is also of note that Cassington is another example of a case study where repurposing seems to be occurring in reference to circular prehistoric features.

5.7. Conclusions: Central Region

5.7.1. Initial and General Observations

Having looked in detail at five examples of landscapes in the Thames Valley where a range of domestic and ritual activities occurred in prehistory, is there sufficient evidence to support, or disprove, the hypotheses that the remains of prehistoric features were a significant factor in the way the landscape was interacted with, or developed, during the late Iron Age and Roman periods? Are there any observable patterns of interaction in common between them? There are two, interesting commonalities which immediately stand out from these case studies:

- i) Apart from some very specific and visible examples, the presence of Neolithic activity is almost completely ignored.

Although there are a number of locations in these studies where Neolithic activity has occurred, the evidence of this activity is often limited to a variable number of pits where domestic refuse has been placed. It is understandable, that such ephemeral features are no longer referenced in landscapes where there have been multiple episodes of later interactions, each of which has the potential to destroy, or at the very least, cover and erase any trace of these features. However, when there are substantial visible indicators of Neolithic activity, for example, the Devil's Quoits, there is no direct evidence of any deliberate repurposing unless the feature. The long barrow, located near the White Horse, is an anomaly, although it could be postulated that it may have been mistaken for some form of elongated circular feature, it is nevertheless, specifically targeted by the late Iron Age and Roman inhabitants of the landscape for repurposing. However, in the overwhelming majority of instances where evidence of Neolithic activity has been uncovered, there is no observable, or at best, inconclusive evidence concerning any consideration of its existence, or of any direct intentional interaction.

With a general disregard of Neolithic features evident, it follows that, where instances of positive interactions occur, there is a particular correlation between significant interactions and Bronze Age features. On the surface, it appears that this is some sort of appreciation of features of a particular, specific chronology, but this could be misleading. Is it a reasonable assumption that the late Iron Age and Roman inhabitants of these landscapes would have understood the relative antiquity of a series of depressions or mounds, or is there another factor which has not been considered? Apart from being constructed in the Bronze Age, what do the majority of these features have in common? Most of the examples are circular. Is Johnston's (2001, 2005), assertion that there is a greater appreciation of certain features because they were constructed in the Bronze Age, when communities began long-term, sedentary associations with the landscape correct? Is Thomas' (2013, 95) assertion that later interactions are based upon some understanding of their original use, proven by the presented evidence? What they both fail to appreciate is that these interactions are not a reference to supernatural powers, or an appreciation of relative antiquity, they are also an appreciation of form. The fact that the enclosure at Cassington is built around Bronze Age barrows or the cemetery at Radley Hills respects, and leads up to, Bronze Age barrows on a nearby ridgeline, may be irrelevant. There may have been an element of memory associations, but a more basic commonality is their form. These are all instances of referencing that could be predicated on a contemporary appreciation of feature morphology, rather than one based on their relative antiquity, or their prior, designated function.

- ii) The decision to meaningfully interact with, or disregard, any prehistoric feature is based upon its visible presence, rather than a set of complex, culturally imposed, paradigms regarding ancestral connections.

Whether any given feature is visible or not is probably, the single most important factor, or starting point, in any individual's or community's decision to convey an aspect of their identity by using it as a communication tool. However, there are a range of other factors which could define whether or not any individual feature would, in some way, be interacted with. It would not be reasonable to assume (bearing in mind the way natural

forces such as animal and weathering effect a landscape) that even if the late Iron Age and early Roman landscapes of the upper Thames Valley were replete with a large number of visible prehistoric features (representative of every period of the past) that they would all have been the subject of meaningful and intentional interaction. There are many examples, where excavation has shown that features of a similar profile, constructed at the same time in relative proximity to each other, have been afforded different levels of respect. In all probability, the necessities of pre-industrial, subsistence economies would have placed an unsustainable burden upon communities, due to the level of resource allocation required to carry out continual maintenance on a range of features. These constraints would require a decision (be that collective, communal one or one that was hierarchically imposed) regarding which features were important enough to maintain, for example, the Uffington White Horse.

As the period under consideration in this research is separated potentially by thousands of years from those when these landscape markers were constructed, it is reasonable to assume therefore, that there must have been some element of selectivity regarding which earthwork to repurpose, and which to disregard. Any decision taken to repurpose, or to respect, a particular landscape feature, (regardless of its original purpose), could be, at least initially, based upon its physical presence in an individual, or community's current visual frame of reference. The requirement for a visual reference for a feature to be an active participant in any interaction would, explain why, for example, the inhabitants of Barton Court Farm used the barrows on the ridgeline for burial purposes, but ignored the intervening barrow and causewayed enclosure. The decision by the inhabitants of Barton Court to reference those barrows on the ridge line may not be simply based on their prominence, but also because, as far as they were concerned, the other example did not exist. This would also explain why the extrapolated line of the 1st – 2nd century AD field systems do not seem to intersect the Spring Road timber circle, and yet the extrapolated line of the 3rd century field system (after the circle has eroded or degraded during the hiatus in the occupation of the area) appears to cut through its circumference. A visible presence would also explain why the late Iron Age field system and the early Roman field systems and the settlement evidence do not intersect the Bronze Age remains in the

Stanton Harcourt landscape, because they were big mounds of earth that held some memory of significance, however distorted it may have been.

However, the fact that these features may have also had a degree of ephemeral connection to those communities which were proximal to them and were in some way symbolic, used as individual, or community, encapsulates of memory, or expressions, of a real, or imagined, past cultural memory should not be disregarded. It is possible that ephemeral connections could be just as important. How, for example, is a particular ditch targeted as a place of special significance if no ephemeral qualities or communal memory associations exist? Are activities upon a particular feature or the lack of them, part of a process of symbolic adjustment driven by human agency? The argument revolves around the source of any memory associations. When these later interactions occur, how positively can it be asserted that it is a direct memory associated with the feature that is being referenced, or a displaced memory from a different feature with a similar morphology translated into a communally profitable interaction? Are these interactions observed, or communicated, from an external source that triggers a localised response? Is this a situation where the alteration in perception occurs when individuals, or communities, are exposed to, and changed by, a range of newer perceptions, or objects, some, or all, of which are embraced or adopted (Miller, 1994, 397)? Is it a coincidence that the pattern of engagement in the later Roman period is similar to that seen in Gaul, Batavia, Flanders; or the Armorican peninsula (Dark, 1993, 133–46; Vermeulen and Bourgeois, 2000, 143–61)? Regardless of the source, this type of adjustment does not occur without an initial visual frame of reference, as the significance of any memory is lost when the feature, in temporal terms, ceases to be visually available.

5.7.2. A significant hiatus in evidence for the use of the landscape

One of the major correlations between the case studies is the gap in the evidence of occupation, or interaction with, the landscape from the late 1st or early 2nd century AD until the middle of the 3rd century AD. The disruption of rural settlement patterns in the Upper Thames region at this time, and the possible reasons behind the hiatus in occupation, have been discussed at length by Booth et al., (2007, 43–53). They concluded that whilst abandonment was not universal or consistent, it did occur over a relatively short period of time. This rapidity could indicate a reorganisation of the way in which the landscape was utilised, linked with increasing economic production or the establishment of new settlements in the region. After the hiatus, the pattern of interaction with the landscape changes, some Bronze Age barrows, that were wholly respected, were repurposed for the disposal of the deceased, and other, previously respected, features are disregarded.

At Spring Road, for example, the extrapolated lines of the field systems suggest that the area of the timber circle feature is transected by a new field system in the 3rd century AD. The barrows at Radley Hills became part of, or a marker for, an extensive cemetery. The Neolithic long barrow at Uffington began to be used for a series of burials and cremations in the 4th century AD. One of the barrows in the Cassington ring was used as a cemetery, whilst another became a possible location of devotional activity, also in the 3rd century AD; the previously respected, extensive barrows at Stanton Harcourt were disregarded. As iterated in the Uffington case study, this change in patterns of interaction, or behaviour, toward specific features at each of these locations is unlikely to have been as a result of internal stimuli. The adaptation of these features, to a more continental, Gaulish/Belgic, Batavian style of engagement, goes hand-in-hand with the decrease in public munificence in urban environments and the gradual shift towards a more rurally-based power structure in Britain. It is notable that this new behavioural pattern is indicative of a more individualistic sense of personal expression than was previously seen in the urban environments of Britain. As Mattingly (2006, 303) noted, the pattern of public munificence in the towns and cities of Britain, from the evidence that exists,

suggests that it was a collaborative activity, rather than stemming from individual benefaction, but a large villa complex in rural Britain, for example, is often associated with displays of personal, or familial, wealth. Is this shift an indication of an increasingly wealthy segment of the population moving into the rural areas from urban centres, bringing a Gaulish/Belgic method of internment of their deceased with them? Is it an adoption of a behavioural pattern based upon continental styles by an emplaced rural aristocracy? The grave goods recovered at these locations are not suggestive of any elite status being afforded to the deceased. There are no outstanding examples of domestic, or imported pottery, with only hobnails, or coins of lower denominations, being common. Perhaps, the more valuable items have been removed, perhaps the status of the deceased is ascribed through where they were buried rather than what they were buried with, which lends a great deal of importance to the locations that were chosen. A converse view to this is that if they are locations where the average rural inhabitant was being disposed of, the lack of grave goods indicates lesser status individuals and therefore, the choice of location is irrelevant, and in no way special. If this is correct, then it would not matter where the final burial rites took place. However, the fact that the deceased were being carried anywhere from 500m–1km away from the settlement at Barton Court Farm, or Uffington, surely indicates that it did matter where they were placed, otherwise there would have been no need to displace them in such a manner instead of burying them in proximity to the settlement or villa where they resided.

5.7.3. Late Iron Age 1st and 2nd century AD spatial respect for, or disregard of, prehistoric features

One of the parallels between the case studies is the evidence of spatial respect given to the prehistoric features by later constructions until the middle of the 2nd century AD. This is most clearly illustrated by the Vicarage Field in the Stanton Harcourt area. The way in which the Iron Age and the early Roman settlements, enclosures and field systems are laid out at Stanton Harcourt, abutting, not transecting the prehistoric remains in the landscape, and the way in which this overall pattern is maintained over an extended period of time, is indicative of a collective, articulation, of topophilia described by

Connerton (1989, 37), which is associated with communities who have a long-standing relationship and thus, an element of inscribed memory retained, or projected, upon the preserved landscape features. Lambrick's (2009) assertions that preservation is often as a result of continuous and unaltered patterns of use over extended periods of time, could be one element which creates these patterns of respect. Other possible reasons for this pattern of interaction could be presented. The level of technological sophistication, or the manpower, required to destroy these features, in order to incorporate them into a productive landscape, should also be considered. The fact the section profiles of the ditches at Stanton Harcourt show that these features were not recut, or the subject of a continual maintenance program, instead being left to gradually deteriorate and disappearing over time, is significant (Linington, 1982, 84–85). Rather than being actively maintained, these features are being passively respected and incorporated into the late Iron Age and early Roman landscapes of the region.

The pattern observed at the Vicarage Field is also reflected, to a lesser extent, in each of the other case study landscapes. The early Roman field systems at Drayton North and Spring Road, the lack of any substantial evidence other than the use of Uffington Castle for agricultural purposes and the maintenance of The White Horse and the presence of the barrow grouping at Radley, all conform to a similar pattern. Although the majority of the features concerned are Bronze Age barrows, the evidence is not solely confined to this monument type alone. This indicates that there could be a pattern of behaviour here that relates to selected individual features, rather than one of focused, non-engagement with a particular monumental typology. Whether their survival is due to intentional respect or a lack of available resources is debatable, but the widespread nature of this passive respect is such that it cannot be seen as a solely familial, or small, communal interaction, restricted to a single site, but a regional phenomenon, or an indication of an adaptable socially, or culturally, constituted behavioural pattern.

5.7.4. Topographically prominent burial displacement

Radley Barrow Hills, Rams Hill and the Uffington White Horse landscape are all topographically elevated locations. These three places have another similarity; they are places where the evidence shows that the deceased, possibly from nearby settlements, were being placed, not in proximity to the settlements themselves, but in a more prominent, highly visible location. It is uncertain as to the exact percentage of any settlements' population who were treated in this manner, or if their catchment areas were wider, with the deceased being brought from further afield to regionally prominent, ritual centres. Barton Court Farm, for example, is noted as having a close relationship with Radley Hills. Infant burials are placed close to the settlement, or villa, whilst adults are transported. However, it remains uncertain what settlement or group of settlements were using the barrows at Uffington or Rams Hill. The final interment rites were not the same at each of the locations but the practice of elevated displacement is similar. This practice appears to be exactly in line with Esmonde-Cleary's (2000, 136) observations that in general, the dead in the Roman period were not out of mind but located where the living would be constantly aware of their presence. It seems the deceased not only occupied a prominent role in urban morphology (*ibid.*) but in rural settings also. Perhaps, this is a continuation of the semi-functional rituals from the Bronze Age where the deceased were placed in these locations because their elevated topographical position made them excellent territorial markers. However, there could be a practical element to their position. It could be that ancestral connections, or reverence, were only elements of the decision to use these locations, another being a practical assessment of potential, in addition to prosaic, or ephemeral, considerations. There are statements made in the excavation reports of Rams Hill, the Uffington White Horse and Radley Barrow Hills which are, at first, easily overlooked. Chambers and McAdam (2007), state that the soil at Radley is of marginal agricultural quality. The poor quality of the soil at Rams Hill is briefly mentioned by Bradley and Ellison, (1975), and a similar observation is made regarding Uffington (Lock et al., 2003). The sacred, or the inviolate, status of these locations may just be a function of the only potential use that the landscape may have held. This is a similar situation to Gaul, where Derks (1998, 58–65) argues what other use

could you designate for land other than to leave it alone entirely, or bury your dead there, when crops cannot be planted or grazing of livestock is out of the question? The fact that it may have been a marginal location for an extended time period, would only serve to reinforce, or perpetuate, previous assessments of a location's potential.

5.7.5. Burial practices from the second half of the 3rd century AD onwards

After the extended hiatus in settlement and agricultural use revealed in some of the case studies or, for example, in the case of Barton Court Farm, a contraction in ongoing activity, there is a shift in the pattern of interactions, specifically in a burial context, toward a number of prehistoric features throughout the region. The earliest evidence, regarding the repurposing of circular Bronze Age features by interring the deceased within, or placing them in a location that references them, consists of coinage dating from around AD 250–260. The evidence for this changing pattern of engagement is (Fig. 5.50):

Location	Interaction
Rams Hill	The placement of burials abutting the eastern rampart ditch (Bradley and Ellison, 1975).
Cassington	The Bronze leaf and shale in ring ditch six near the River Evenlode, the burials associated with ring ditch five and the extensive cemetery that extends to the north of the main enclosure (Case, 1982b; Harding, 1972).
Uffington	The use of the Neolithic long barrow, Dragons Hill and the Barrow to south of Uffington Castle for the interment of the deceased near The White Horse (Barclay et al., 2003b)
Radley Barrow Hills	The use of the series of barrows on the ridgeline as a prominent marker for an extensive cemetery (Chambers and McAdam, 2007).

Fig. 5.50: Instances of burials placed in prominent elevated positions.

With the singular exception of the Drayton Cursus, each of the case studies contains at least one example of this behavioural pattern. This practice, where the remains of the

deceased are concentrated, or votive offerings are placed within specific, mostly circular features, occurred at a time when the previous levels of spatial respect afforded to the broader landscapes in the Stanton and Abingdon areas can no longer be discerned. The pattern of wider respect seems to have been broken by the hiatus in use of the landscape; local communities seem to have lost, or were now unaware of, the intimate sense of respectful connection which had existed previously. The key questions are, was this alteration in the pattern of interaction occurring because of a disconnect of previous memory associations, due to the roughly 100 year absence, when the landscape is mostly lying fallow or at the very least, restrictively used? Is it a combination of factors such as the disappearance of many of the features which have finally disintegrated? Is this evidence of a fundamental change to the way in which communities, who were occupying their ancestral landscapes, appreciated, or interacted, with them? Is this an indication that communities have been exposed to a new, socially, or culturally, constituted paradigm which references these particular landscape forms? The scale of the interaction, in terms of the fact that it occurs in some form in at least one location in 80% of the examined case studies, shows that any assertions, or blanket statements, such as those made by Pearce (2000), that prehistoric features were rarely used in Roman Britain for burial purposes, should perhaps be revised with the caveat that this was the case until the middle of the 2nd century AD. Assuming that this shift was not due to internal social stimuli in separate communities that somehow simultaneously altered their perceptions of these examples of the prehistoric past, external factors which could have influenced this new pattern of interaction could include (Fig. 5.51):

Summary	Explanation
Imitation of Amorican Practices	An imitation of the extensive practices in Brittany and Normandy (The Amorican Peninsula) where there is a widespread association between prehistoric monumentality and Roman burial practices (Dark, 1993, 133–46). The adoption or the adaption of Amorican/Batavian/North Gaulish practices (Vermeulen and Bourgeois, 2000, 143–61) by an already emplaced populace expanding back into the area; practices altered to conform to the presence of prehistoric features of a certain morphology.
Regional Identity Expression	The adoption of continental attitudes towards these features due to a new form of regional identity expression, initially fostered by the splintering of the empire into regionally controlled compartments, and the rise of the short lived Gallic Empire in AD 258 (Drinkwater, 1987).
Cosmopolitan Attitudes Based on Extensive Cultural Contacts	A breakdown in the traditional attitudes towards burial of the deceased in Britain and a cosmopolitan adaptation of burial practices from all over the empire due to the long term exposure of people in the province to traders and auxiliary solders from many different corners of the Roman world.
Greater Social Freedoms / Freedom of Expression	A consequence of greater social freedoms and freedom of expression after the reforms instituted by Caracalla in AD 212 (Salway, 1993, 197).

Fig. 5.51: Possible factors influencing interactions with prehistoric features.

Rather than a singular reason, it is likely that some combination of these factors may have influenced this shift. A foreign auxiliary or merchant, for example, would have been unable to pinpoint the remains of a particular type of prehistoric feature without reference to members of a community who had knowledge, whether this was real, or somewhat distorted of the landscape's past. Any means of visually referencing landscape features which were morphologically similar to those in their home provinces as in Britain, would have been just as likely to pinpoint a feature without past connections as it would be to ascertain those with them (or possibly, much more likely, given the potential ratio of prehistoric to contemporary features) without any prior local knowledge. Each location seems to convey that the deceased were tied to the ancestral landscape but with a certain, localised individuality in practices, which nonetheless, could be argued to incorporate

four of the five elements of early Roman depositional practices in Flanders and northern Gaul described by Vermeulen and Bourgeois (2000, 144), namely (Fig. 5.52):

Summary	Explanation
Looting Prevention	Shielding the deceased against grave robbery by placing them in a location where potential looters may be afraid of ancestral spirits.
Pragmatism	Pragmatic placement of the deceased with a connection to the road network or in a prominent location so that the cemetery was more accessible.
Property Rights	Placed with possible associations to a display of property rights or a desire to delineate or compartmentalise agrarian space.
Liminal Zones	Physically marking a liminal zone or a place of cult or ancestor worship.

Fig. 5.52: The five elements of depositional practices in Flanders (Vermeulen and Bourgeois, 2000, 144).

5.7.6. Identity expression or formation, using prehistoric landscape features

The evidence for patterns of interaction in the earlier and in the later Roman periods show two, very different processes. Until the middle of the 2nd century AD, the interactions with the surviving prehistoric features are based upon retaining a specific social, or cultural, identity and expressing it by passively respecting examples of what were assumed to be evidence of past connections with the landscape. After the hiatus in occupation, those examples which are repurposed for burial rites, are now active participants in a new form of identity expression, or formation, based on new socially, or culturally, constituted patterns of behaviour. Whatever these identities may have been, they are not expressed in a precisely similar manner in each location, as each has its very own, slightly discrepant personalised alliteration, such as the coin purses at Uffington or the spatial respect at Radley Barrow Hills. Despite these differences, the basic premise of incorporating these prehistoric landscape markers into these new burial practices remains a constant. Perhaps, these interactions are a form of the regional diversity in cultural identity (Mattingly, 2006, 520). These communities are conforming to the observation that aspects of material culture, or physical spaces, in Roman provinces are not used as a

means of expressing homogeneity or universality but altered in an infinite amount of ways to express distinctiveness and segregation from other parts of Roman society (ibid.).

Chapter 6: Case Study Region: The Cotswolds; Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire

6.1. Introduction

The process of site selection for the final case study region differs somewhat from the previous two examples. Originally, the study was to have been targeted in the area around modern day Caerleon, Usk and the Severn Estuary but after finding that many of the antiquarian excavations had effectively concentrated on Roman archaeology, this idea was abandoned. A secondary idea was to extrapolate from the information revealed in chapters four and five. The previous two, regional studies had revealed a bias toward the repurposing, or respecting, of Bronze Age circular features. The focus was shifted slightly to the east and centered upon an area that not only contained examples of circular prehistoric features, but also had in excess of 200 trapezoid, or rectangular, monumental forms namely, the Cotswold-Severn long barrow grouping. It was considered that this concentration would provide an interesting juxtaposition for discussion. If the data recovered from the previous case studies in Essex and the Thames Valley, showing that a particular form of monumentality was specifically repurposed, would concentration upon an earlier monumental form with a broadly similar purpose, that was much more prevalent in the designated target area, show a similar pattern of interaction? Would the selection of a random representation of this monument type prove that function over form was the base selective criterion, or vice versa?

Fortunately, there exists a wealth of published materials and additional information held in sites and monuments records regarding the development and excavations of these structures. Volumes, such as the catalogue produced by Crawford (1925), or Darvill's (2004) work, act as base points, providing multiple possible targets for investigation. As it is not possible to cover all examples in the research, a random representative sample of ten locations were chosen for inclusion in the research. The locations were confined to the Cotswold region in order to provide, geographically speaking, a sense of homogeneity between them. In addition, a potentially rich point of data revealed itself during an ADS database search (<http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk>). The area near the village of Bisley,

6km to the east of Stroud, was revealed to have a particular concentration of prehistoric features which could provide an interesting discussion on monumental associations. Bisley has examples of both long, and circular, mounds near to the village which it was thought would provide an interesting study in contrast. Finally, the inclusion of a highly detailed more recent series of excavations and publications associated with the Shorncote settlement to the south of Cirencester that revealed extensive settlement evidence, would hopefully provide a contrast to the two, other, more monumentally associated case studies.

The chosen areas for examination were finalised as (Fig. 6.1):

- i) Shorncote community and quarry excavations.
- ii) A grouping of ten Cotswold-Severn long barrows.
- iii) A selection of sites from the prehistoric monumental landscape of the parish of Bisley-with-Lyipiatt.

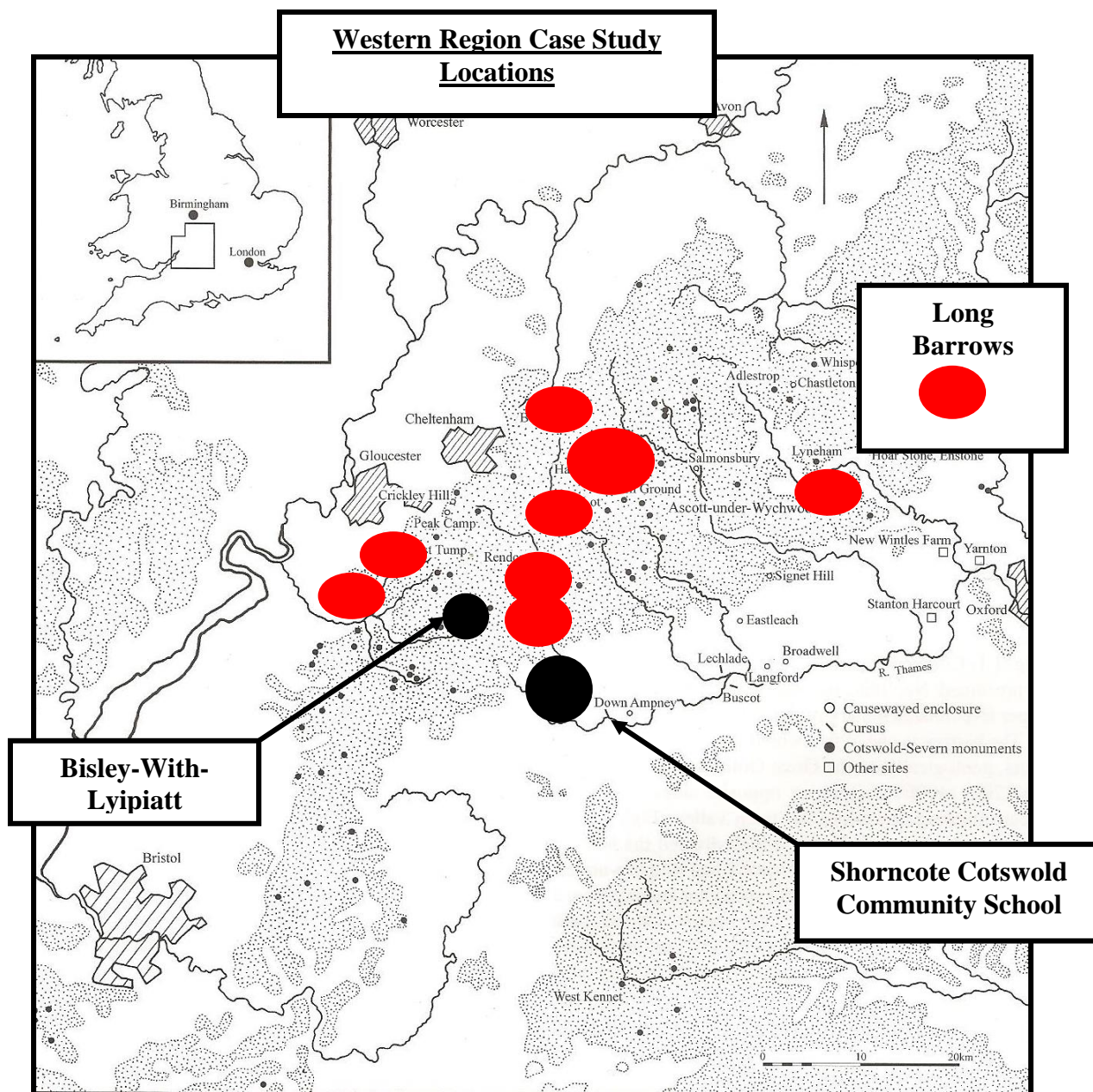


Fig. 6.1: Case study locations in the Western Region (Benson and Whittle, 2007, 2).

6.2. Case Study: Shorncote and the Cotswold Community School

Shorncote is approximately 5km south of Cirencester. A programme of excavation was carried out from 1999–2004 at SU 031 960 (Fig. 6.2), on a stretch of arable land sitting on the border of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, approximately 90–91.5m AoD, halfway between the course of the River Thames and the River Chrun, close to the main route between Cirencester and Swindon (Powell et al., 2010). In addition to these excavations, two previous programmes in 1992 and 1995–96 were carried out at a nearby gravel quarry. These were centered on SU 030 964 in 1992 (Hearne and Heaton, 1994, 17), and at SU 0310 9685, when plans for the extension of gravel extraction were proposed (Hearne and Adam, 1999, 35). This second season was focused in an area contiguous to the previous quarry excavations in a single field parcel to the north of the area excavated in 1992 (Hearne and Adam, 1999, 35).



Fig. 6.2: Shorncote Cotswold Community (Powell et al., 2010, 1).

6.2.1. *Shorncote*

The Shorncote excavations revealed multiple periods of occupation at the site from 3400 BC onwards. Early Neolithic evidence from the community site comprised 13 pits in the southern portion of the excavated area, clustered in groups, representing six or seven discrete episodes, or phases, of activity (Powell et al., 2010, 3). The late Neolithic and early Bronze Age evidence consisted of scattered pits and tree-throw holes: again, in pairs or groups of three. It is at this time that the first evidence of monumentality appears when a pair of barrows and a possible timber circle are constructed (Powell et al., 2010, 4). Around 1500–1100 BC, the pattern of occupation becomes sedentary and is continuous thereafter (Powell et al., 2010, 4). The middle Bronze Age shows no signs of arable agriculture, cattle husbandry being the main pastoral activity.

Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age activity was of a remarkable scale. The most intriguing feature of the settlement is a late Bronze Age, possibly early Iron Age, staggered series of pits aligned in pairs which stretches for over 500m (Powell et al., 2010, 8). By the middle of the Iron Age, the community settlement is limited to a small family grouping with a singular roundhouse. Animal husbandry continues to be the dominant practice but there is some evidence of small scale arable production (Powell et al., 2010, 9). From 300–100 BC, the settlement shifts to the north and expands into three domestic structures with associated wells and animal pens. In the early 1st century AD, despite the establishment of nearby Cirencester and its proximity to the course of Ermine Street (the modern A419 [T]), there appears to have been little disruption in the day-to-day activities here (ibid.). The period from AD 150–250 was the most intensive phase of landscape use, with two, north aligned trackways, a formalised and planned settlement, and a network of field boundaries, along with activities such as metalworking, crop processing and stock management (Powell et al., 2010, 9). Activity contracts in the later Roman period but it is at this point that the repurposing of prehistoric features becomes a prominent factor in landscape use (Powell et al., 2010, 10).

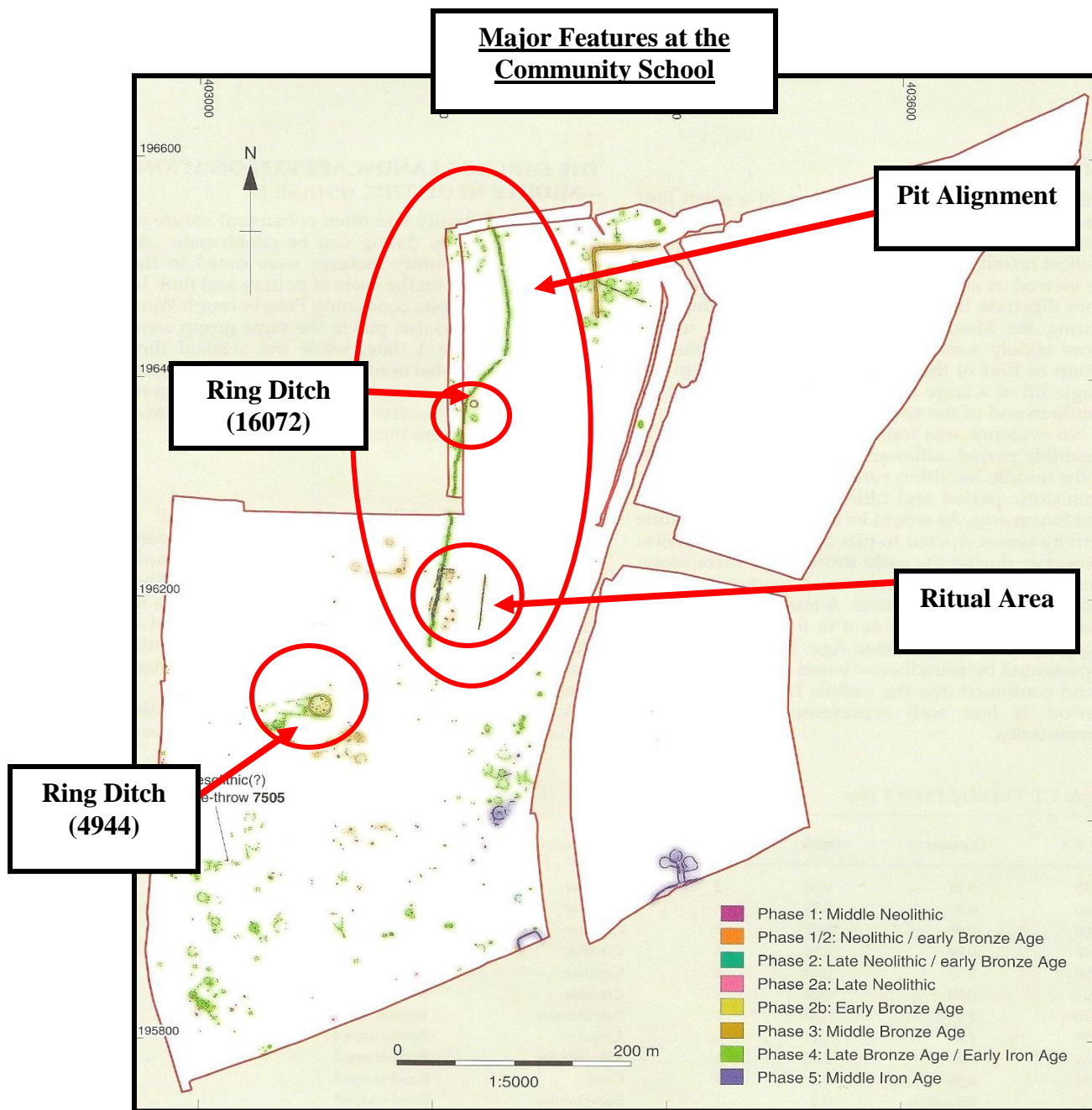


Fig. 6.3: Location of prehistoric features at the Cotswold Community (Powell et al., 2010, 12).

i) Bronze Age ring ditches

Two ring ditches (Fig. 6.4) were excavated at Shorncliffe. The smaller feature (16072) closest to the main settlement area, was repurposed as a cemetery (Powell et al., 2010, 159); (Fig. 4.5). A grouping of 23 burials, described as ‘Later Roman’, dating from AD 260–70, were centred on the feature (Powell et al., 2010, 165). Only 12 of these were located within the area defined by the ring ditch, with the rest located up to 20m away. The inhumations in the ring ditch are mostly male but three were identified as female and one as an infant, all aligned on a north-south axis. A burial which intersected the course of the pit alignment, showed highly elevated levels of seafood compared to the rest of the grouping (Powell et al., 2010, 158–59). The second and larger barrow (4944) showed no signs of later interaction until after the period covered by this research.

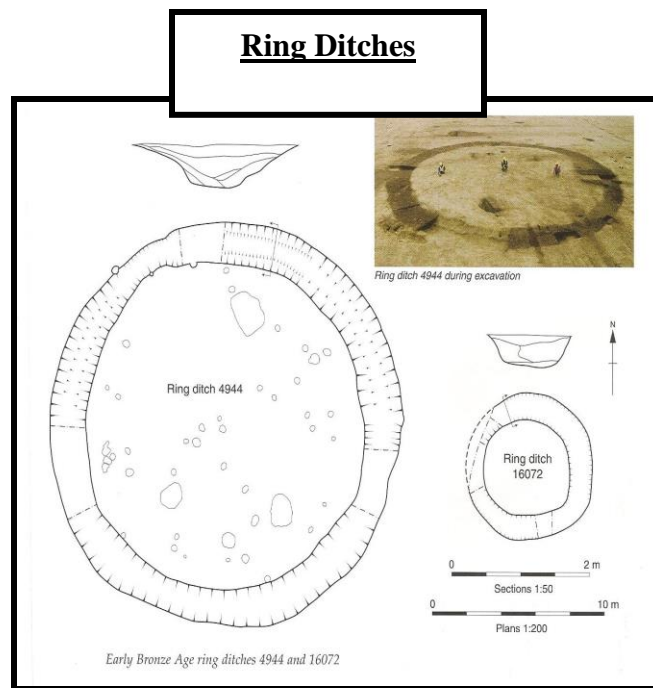


Fig. 6.4: The ring ditches at the Cotswold Community (Powell et al., 2010, 23).

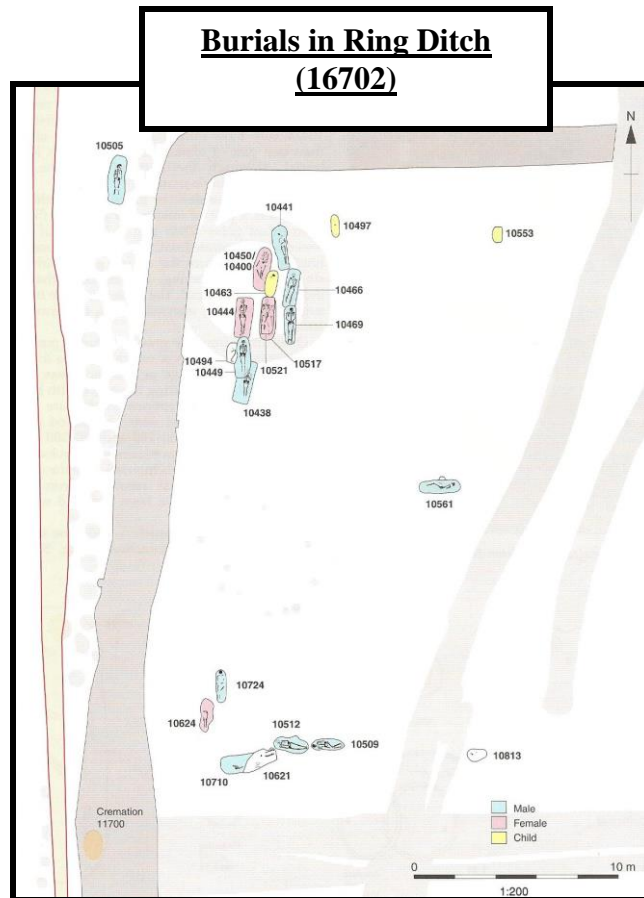


Fig. 6.5: Plan of the burials located in and around ring ditch (16072), (Powell et al., 2010, 159).

ii) The sacred area?

A middle Bronze Age (1510–1410 cal. BC SUREC 18831; 95.4 % Prob) ritual area contained a deliberately deposited, Cornish greenstone Neolithic axe and a quartzite hammer stone (Fig. 6.6). The sacred area consisted of a series of segmented ditches and pits, forming a three-sided enclosure open to the south (Powell et al., 2010, 41). Each ditch terminus contained post-holes that indicated a fenced off area with gate structures (ibid.). It was cut by the pit alignment and used as part of an outer boundary for the Roman settlement but otherwise, remained intact, with no evidence of later repurposing (Powell et al., 2010, 42). Its features are abutted, but not truncated, by the small group of late Roman burials in the pit alignment.

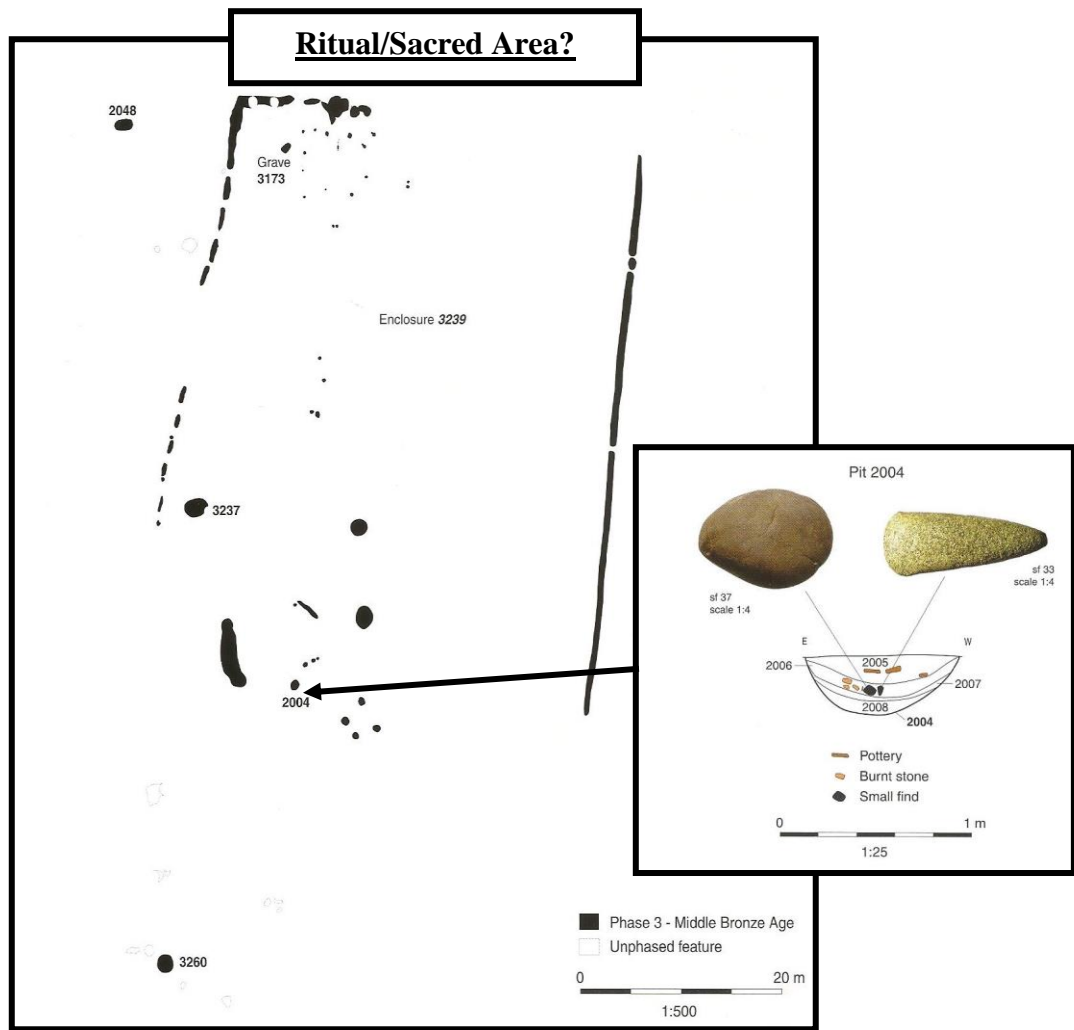


Fig. 6.6: The ritual area with the axe and hammer stone inset at Shorncote (Powell, et al., 2010, 40–41).

iii) The Iron Age pit alignment

A pit alignment of late Bronze Age, or early Iron Age, construction (Fig. 6.7) passes near to the western boundary of the main settlement area. The southern terminus was the focus of a small group of seven, late Roman burials (Powell et al., 2010, 47–51). The burials are dated to AD 332–436 (OxA-17649 Prob 90.9%), with the majority of the grave goods consisting of coffin nails and hobnails, found in a mixture of grave alignments (Powell et al., 2010, 162). Whilst they are located within the pit alignment, this grouping could also

be related to the location of the 'sacred area', or an 'agglomeration' marking the joining of the two features.



Fig. 6.7: The pit alignment plan with a photograph of the feature inset (Powell et al., 2010, 47–49).

6.2.2. *Shorncote Quarry excavations I (1992)*

The programme of excavations carried out at the Shorncote Quarry in 1992 (Fig. 6.8), revealed extensive Bronze Age settlement activity dating to the 11th – 8th century BC, a small, early Bronze Age barrow cemetery and a possible hengiform ditch dated 2500–1500 BC (Hearne and Heaton, 1994, 19; 39). Due to extensive gravel extraction occurring prior to excavations taking place, deposit survival was limited to feature fills from the underlying gravels (ibid.). Seven large pits, four circular post structures, gullies, grouped post-holes, depressions and scoops produced almost exclusively late Bronze Age material with no horizontal stratigraphic evidence that would enable the summation of a sequence of activity (Hearne and Heaton, 1994, 21). All the possible structures (1126), (1548), (1610), (1525), (1511) had no artefactual evidence later than the late Bronze Age (Hearne and Heaton 1994, 32–35). There was very limited evidence of any use of the location during the Roman period (Hearne and Heaton 1994, 19). The deepest pit excavated on the site, for example (1053), had 18 identifiable layers. The uppermost layer had a single sherd of greyware mixed in with late Bronze Age pottery (Hearne and Heaton 1994, 21). The only separate Roman features were ditches (1019) and (1008), part of an enclosure which overlaid Bronze Age evidence with no regard for its presence (Hearne and Heaton 1994, 34). It is possible that the settlement had been abandoned sometime in the late Bronze Age, or early Iron Age, or that the settlement continued in use but neither scenario can be proven due to the level of destruction of any potential upper deposit layers by gravel extraction.

Excavations at the Quarry
1992

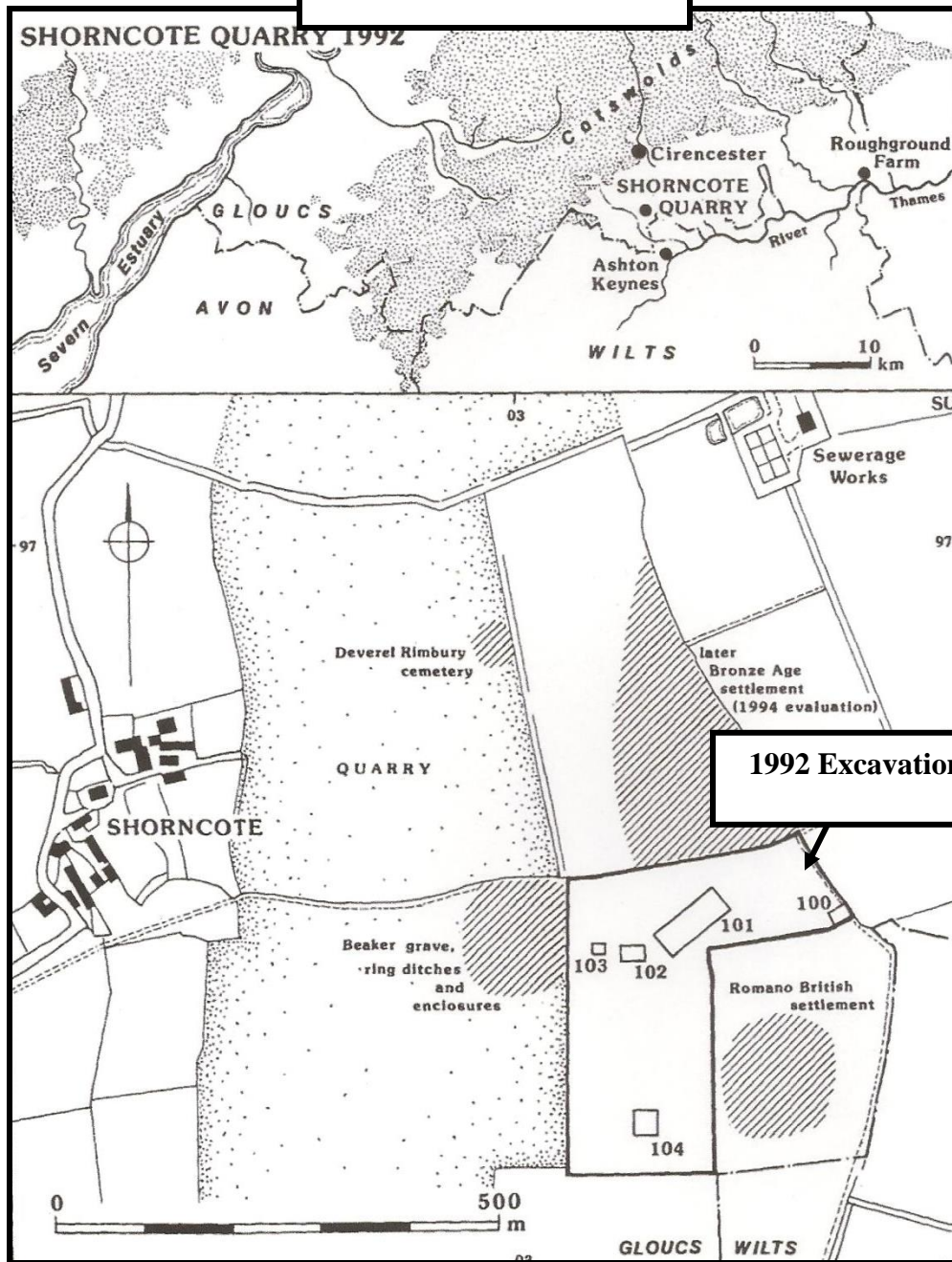


Fig. 6.8: The 1992 excavations at Shorncote Quarry (Hearne and Heaton 1994, 18).

6.2.3. *Shorncote Quarry excavations II (1995–1996)*

Similar to the 1992 programme, the artefactual evidence from the subsequent 1995–96 excavations (Fig. 6.9), revealed most of the features to be of Bronze Age origin (Hearne and Adam, 1999, 35). The use of these features may have extended into the early Iron Age, as 34 circular post structures and 33 squared post structures, with the bulk of ceramic evidence dating from the 9th – 8th centuries BC, were excavated (Hearne and Adam, 1999, 38–39). Earlier activity at the site is evidenced by a hengiform ditch dated 2500–1500 BC (Hearne and Adam, 1999, 39). What is significant is the overall lack of later truncation of the late Bronze Age features. However, this should not be taken as an indication of any special status attributed to them, as much of the site had already been destroyed by gravel extraction. Features attributable to the late Iron Age, or Roman, periods are sparse, confined to two ditches running parallel to the current eastern field boundary (Hearne and Adam, 1999, 37). These features followed the landscape topography. It did not appear to matter if they cut through, or went around, the late Bronze Age features, although part of a trackway does deliberately alter its course to avoid a pit containing 81 sherds of late Bronze Age pottery: feature (569) (Hearne and Adam, 1999, 37; 57). Finds totalled 31 pieces of Roman pottery, 17 of which came from one post-hole in a late Bronze Age structure (2313) and 11 roof tile fragments in features (2800), (817) and (818) (Hearne and Adam, 1999, 64–65). The surviving evidence was deemed to be of insufficient quality and quantity to be able to answer even the most basic questions concerning the development of the settlement (*ibid.*).

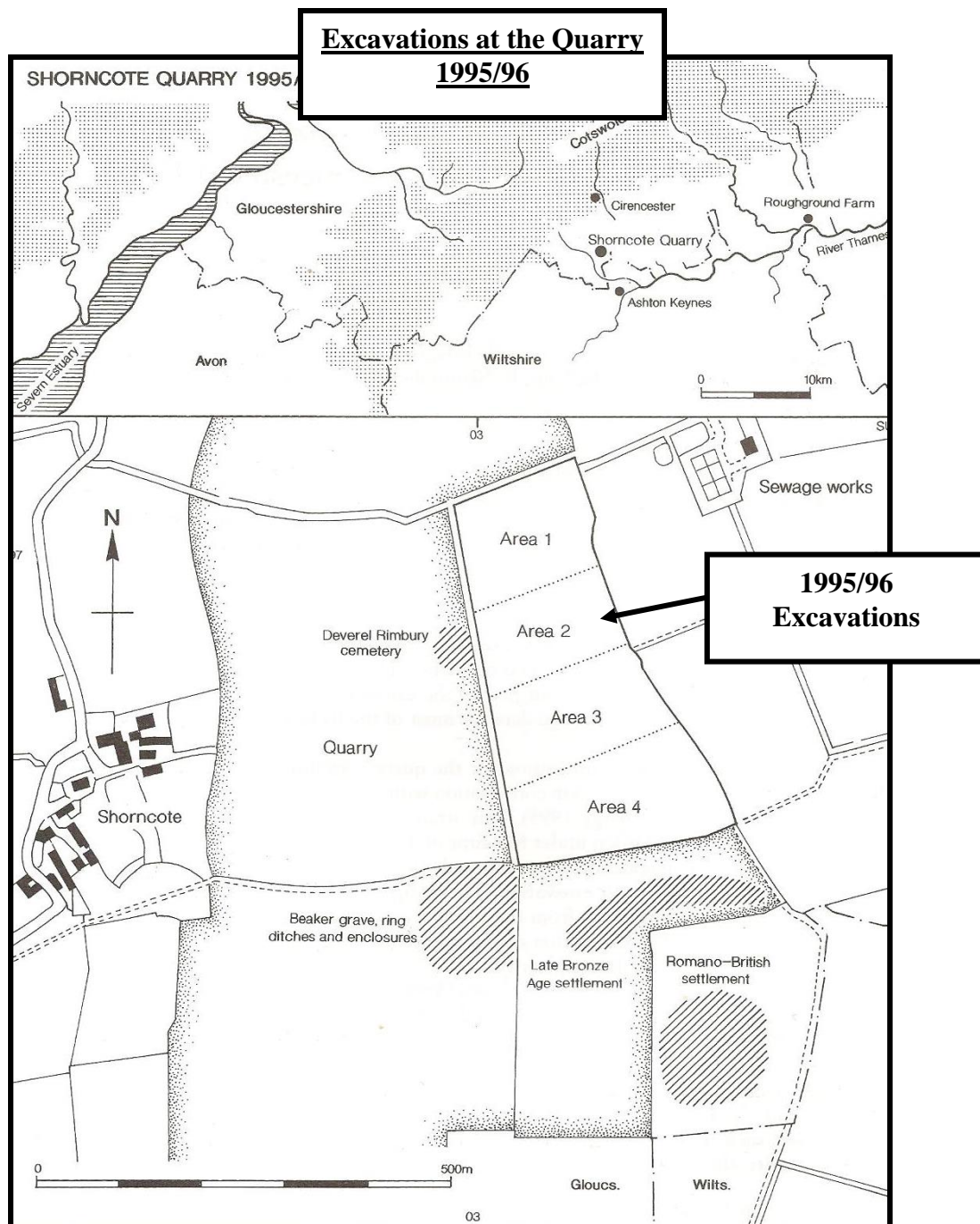


Fig. 6.9: The 1995/96 excavations at Shorncote Quarry (Hearne and Adam, 1999, 35).

6.2.4. *Discussion*

The two, excavated quarry areas produced no evidence to support any of the research hypotheses and have therefore been excluded from the following discussion. The excavations at the settlement and the surrounding landscape, by contrast, revealed multiple instances of significant, later interactions with prehistoric features. There are, however, several questions concerning the intentionality behind these interactions which need to be addressed.

- Is the repurposing of one ring ditch, and the lack of later activity at the other, indicative of different degrees of respect for these features? Why are they treated so differently? Is it due to relative visibility, memory associations or some kind of contemporary significance ascribed to one of the features?

The different treatment of these two features could be a reflection of their relative proximity to the main settlement area, with the smaller example, closer to the settlement area, being extensively repurposed. The section profiles of the two features (Fig. 6.10) are interesting. The larger of the two features shows that natural process of erosion began to fill the ditch shortly after it was constructed (Powell et al., 2010, 23), and no attempt was made to halt this gradual dilapidation. The profile of the smaller feature however, shows that the feature was heavily disturbed and truncated on multiple occasions (ibid.).

**Typical Sections of Ring
Ditches (4944) and (16072)**

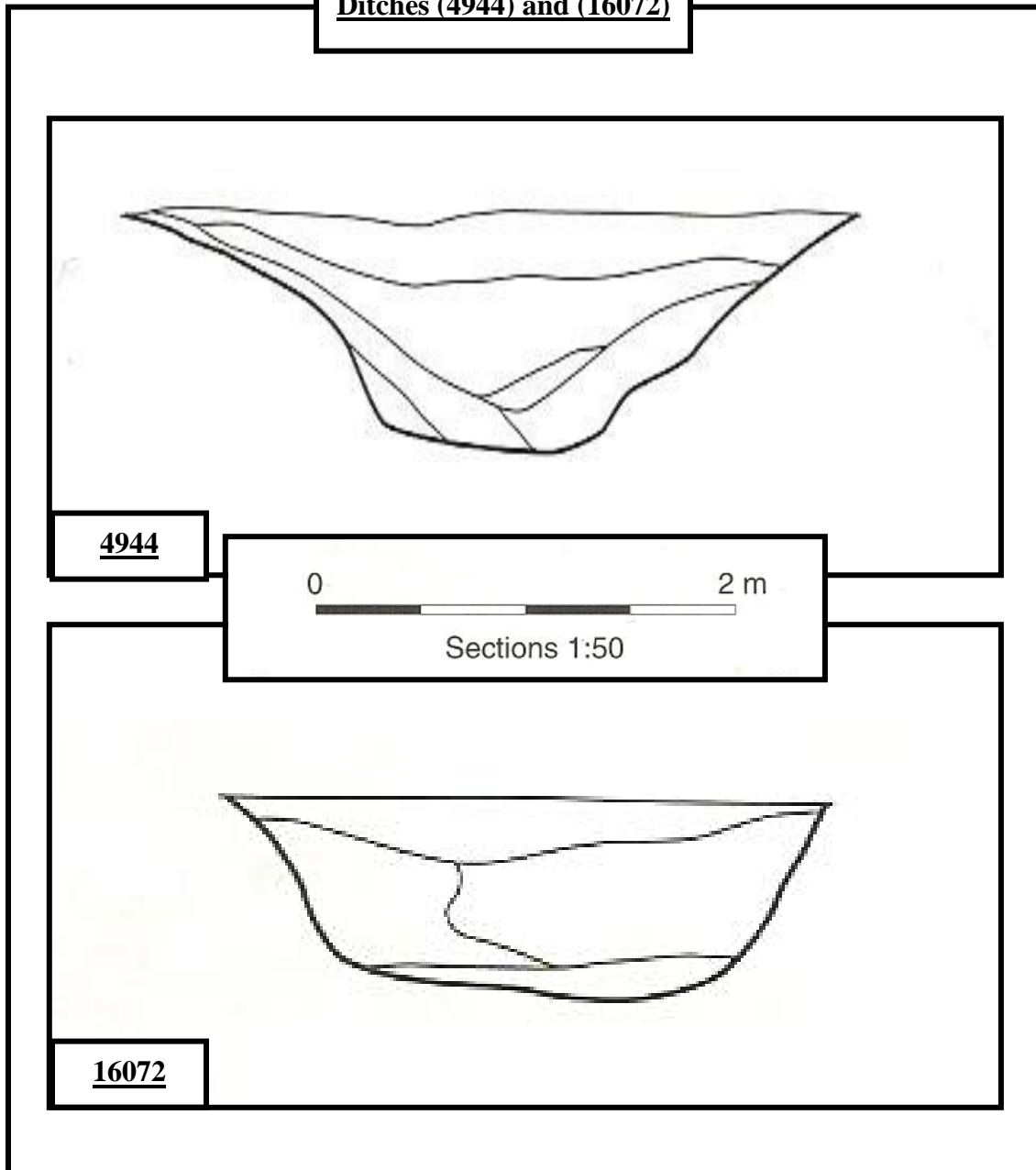


Fig. 6.10: Ring ditch sections, Shorncote (Powell et al., 2010, 23).

Even when the area containing smaller feature (16072) was given over to other purposes and was obscured by other activity (Powell et al., 2010, 124), the remains of a mound may have existed, setting it apart from the remainder of the enclosure as a marker upon which to centre later activity. When there is a shift in relation to burial practices which required a circular earthen mound to be used for interment, knowledge of past use, or requirements for a landscape feature based on a certain morphological profiling, may have been the motivation for its repurposing. However, it is equally possible that repurposing of the feature is an entirely contemporary act. Perhaps the morphology, visibility and proximity of the feature to the settlement were the only considerations.

- What is the significance of the pit alignment and the respect shown to its course by later features? Why are there a group of burials near its southern terminus? Is the fact that later field systems or settlement boundaries, do not significantly cut the pit alignment, an indicator of respect, or a coincidence?

The way in which the pit alignment is respected indicates a potential symbolic significance, in addition to an expression of respect for the presence of a possible physical barrier. Alignments such as these are thought to have been a representation of the demarcation of social and political control (Lambrick and Robinson, 2009, 53–80). In this regard, this example is interesting in its longevity as it runs along the current county boundary between Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. The physical construction would not have lasted for very long unless it was constantly maintained but there is no evidence for multiple episodes of recutting. The way in which the later boundaries of the settlement abut its course, or cut through between the alignment holes, rather than truncate them, suggests that there may have been a physical marker, or that, despite a lack of physical presence, some hidden memory, or conceptual aspect of spatial separation, remains intrinsically linked with the development of the community.

Perhaps the ultimate manifestation of this link is the group of late Roman burials at the end of the alignment. If it is the alignment, rather than the proximity, of the potential sacred area (which is also a distinct possibility) that somehow defines where this

grouping of burials should be located, it indicates that the feature was some sort of cultural cue influencing behaviour, or stimulating a certain behavioural response. The respect shown, and the subsequent way in which the boundary was referenced, is a deliberate act rather than a coincidental occurrence. This only enhances the speculation that there may have been another, no longer present, element acting as a visual anchor, or that it formed part of a natural route way through the landscape that has since fallen into disuse.

- Why is the middle Bronze Age sacred area respected?

The respect which appears to have been given to this particular feature is perplexing. A rectangular open-ended parcel of land is somehow mapped into the collective consciousness of the people who resided here, providing them with an anchor, or what Connerton would describe as, a degree of permanence, unmoved by the changing nature of other visible physical objects and a sense of stability (Connerton, 1989, 37). There is no indication that the gateways, or fencing, separating the feature from the remainder of the landscape, were maintained over an extended period, yet the specific area contained within its boundaries, is left free of any interference, with no artefactual evidence of any later agricultural activity, plough damage or artefactual scatters present in the upper layers. This supports the hypothesis that it had been somehow set aside for ritual activity in the Bronze Age, then left to lie fallow as a permanent, inviolate area (Powell et al., 2010, 42). The possibility that memories associated with ritual activity occurring here during the Bronze Age were orally communicated, is one potential explanation for the lack of later activity. The discrete episode of later burials abutting its features seems to confirm that some indication of its location was present, but whether this was a visually extant reference is uncertain. The presence of four, or more, episodes of ditch clearing and maintenance cannot be dated (Powell et al., 2010, 41). It is, of course, possible that this could have occurred contemporarily with the construction, or it could represent periodic efforts to retain the sense of separation. Given the available evidence, it is impossible to ascertain if the later community retained an awareness of the confines of

this feature as a composite, or were aware of the significance of its individual components.

There is, however, another possibility not considered by the excavators. The two burial groupings, the supposed sacred area, the smaller ring ditch and the pit alignment, may not have been seen as separate entities in the minds of the late Iron Age and Roman inhabitants of the settlement. They may have been considered as a homogenous, single boundary feature. Any interaction could therefore be seen as referencing a selected portion of a singular object with no demarcation between any of the individual features. The specific activity in the end of the pit line, for example, would be as much a reference to the overall reverence of the single conglomerated feature as the earlier burial grouping, centred 80 years previously, at the smaller barrow. If viewed from the perspective of being not three separate features, but a conglomerate, it explains why there is repurposing of elements of the whole that may have retained a degree of visible presence in the contemporary landscape, and those which were probably obscured, or covered. After all, there are a lot of strangely shaped lumps and bumps in any landscape; would the community at the Shorncote settlement have been able to distinguish the relative construction antiquity of each individual element? When viewed as a singular entity, the general respect shown to the pit alignment and the burials in the southern extremity, the respect of the inviolate area and the repurposing of the smaller barrow feature, it can be argued, are all intentional and deliberate interactions, referencing a special status attributed to a rather strangely shaped boundary marker and not the result of random, individual interactions which happened to coincide with a particular selected feature.

6.3. Case Study: Cotswold-Severn Long Barrows

Instead of concentrating on a specific small geographic area, this case study examines a sample of Cotswold-Severn Long Barrows. Ten examples have been chosen of the almost 200 known features of this broad type (Darvill, 2004, 83), in order to ascertain if there are any definitive patterns of interaction with their remains in the research period. Although given a regional appellation, the type of construction varies, defined by Darvill (1982, 6–8) on the basis of morphology as: aggregated, linear, lateral, dispersed or terminal. The constructions consist of locally available materials, range in complexity and are spread over an area that extends from the Gower Peninsula to Avebury in Wiltshire and into Somerset.

The decision to choose a representative sample of a particular monument type for this case study, instead of the usual concentration on all the available evidence contiguous in a geographically defined location, stems from two sources. Firstly, it provides a contrasting study to the others undertaken, where there appears to have been a significant concentration of positive and intentional interactions with features which are morphologically similar and secondly, it builds upon some of the conclusions reached in relation to those interactions in the first two regional studies. In many of the previous case studies, despite a plethora of different prehistoric features being present in many of the landscapes, it is, for the most part, only what modern classifications term as barrows, the majority of which tend to be of a circular construction, which are the subject of either significant respect for long periods of time, or are repurposed for reasons of identity formation, or retention. In the particular instance of this case study, any peripheral considerations are dispensed with and only examples of monumentality associated with prehistoric burial practices are being directly and solely considered. As a monument group, they are, for the purpose of this research, an interesting conglomeration of features to consider. Many are multiple, rather than single phased constructions, based on earlier structures, possibly seen as houses for the dead in an active, rather than dead, ritual, landscape. Many of these constructions have been modified, or extended, and lack a precise homogeneity in their forms, reflecting no singular tradition, rather, numerous,

local trajectories which conform to a wider practice that have been individualised, personalised or changed over time (Darvill, 2004, 69; 77). The chosen locations are, relatively speaking, concentrated in a specific geographical area. This is done deliberately in order to ascertain if there are any commonalties in interaction based on their placements in a defined, geographical upland area. A brief description of each chosen location: Ascott-Under-Wychwood, Uley, Randwick, Windmill Tump at Rodmarton, Hoar Stone Duntisbourne Abbots, Belas Knap, Sale's Lot, Notgrove and Hazleton North and South (Fig. 6.11) will be followed by a discussion of the available evidence. Structures belonging to the wider monument group in the middle and south of Wales, and the Marlborough Downs or Somerset have been excluded. This exclusion may have had an unintended effect of skewing the percentage of this monument type where evidence of interaction is found during the late Iron Age and Roman periods in Britain. It is therefore only appropriate to note that in Crawford's 1925 work, of the 149 catalogued sites, only five are mentioned in the introduction as having proven examples of what he termed 'Roman rifling' (Crawford, 1925, 17). The percentage of known and provable occurrences of Roman deposits at that time was therefore relatively small (3%), making any assumption of widespread practices of engagement an incorrect assertion based on this evidence alone.

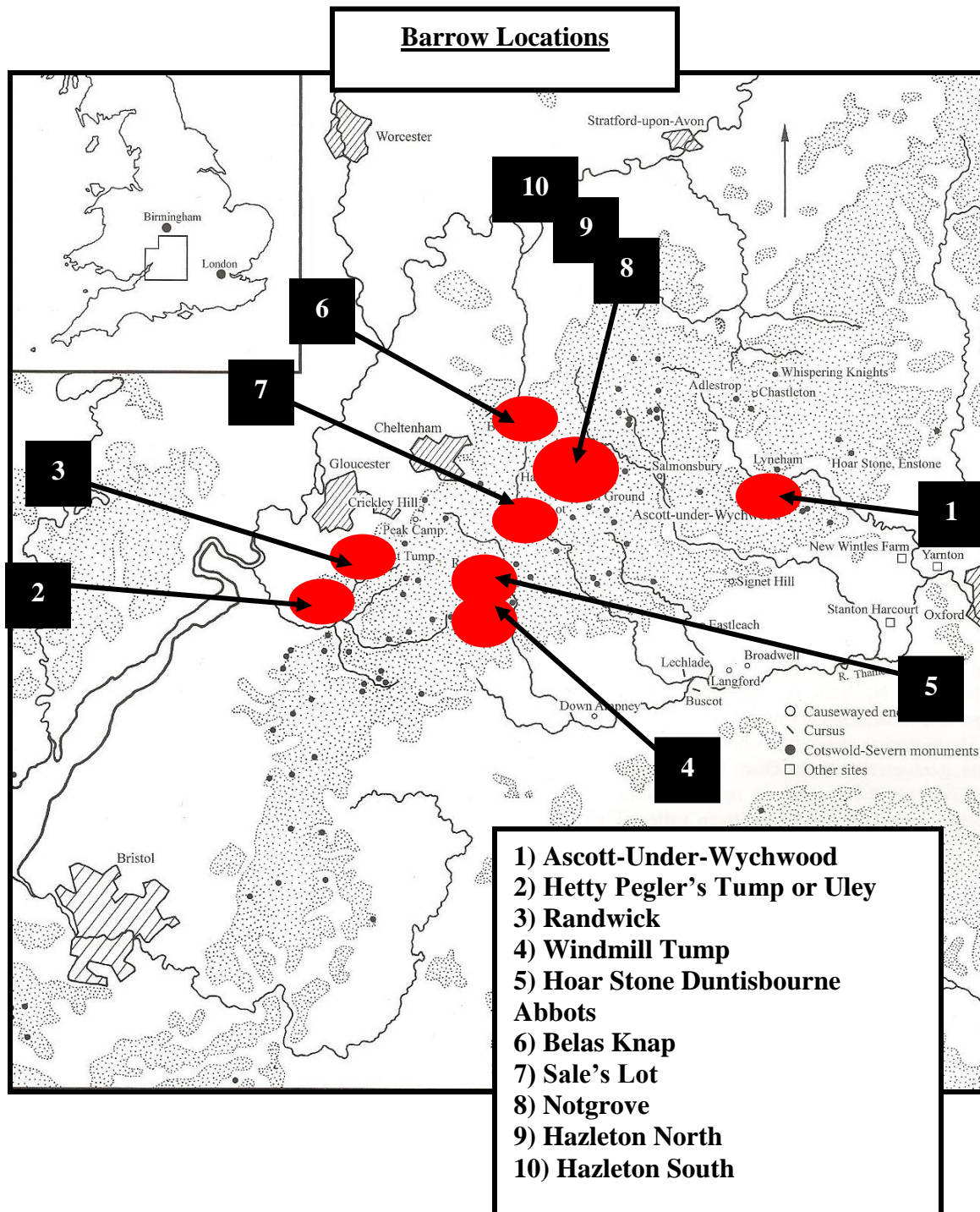


Fig. 6.11: The long barrows discussed in the case study (Benson and Whittle, 2007, 2).

6.3.1. Ascott-Under-Wychwood

The long barrow at Ascott-Under-Wychwood (Fig. 6.12), is dated by a pre-barrow phase of charcoal deposits (Benson and Whittle, 2007, 226). These deposits place the estimated construction date of the barrow as 3760–3700 BC (ibid.). It is located at SP 299 195, 4.8km to the west of Charlbury in the Oxfordshire portion of the Cotswolds, one of a set of two barrows at 120m AoD on rising ground above the River Evenlode (Benson and Whittle, 2007, 1). It is situated on a bluff above a stream called the Coldwell Brook which flows downwards from a small scarp to the west, a flow that has caused the line of the B4437 to dip and bend as it passes the location of the barrow (Benson and Whittle, 2007). The initial phase of construction was 31.33m in length and 11.7m wide. The secondary phase extended these dimensions to 45.87m and 14.67m respectively (Benson and Whittle, 2007, 80).

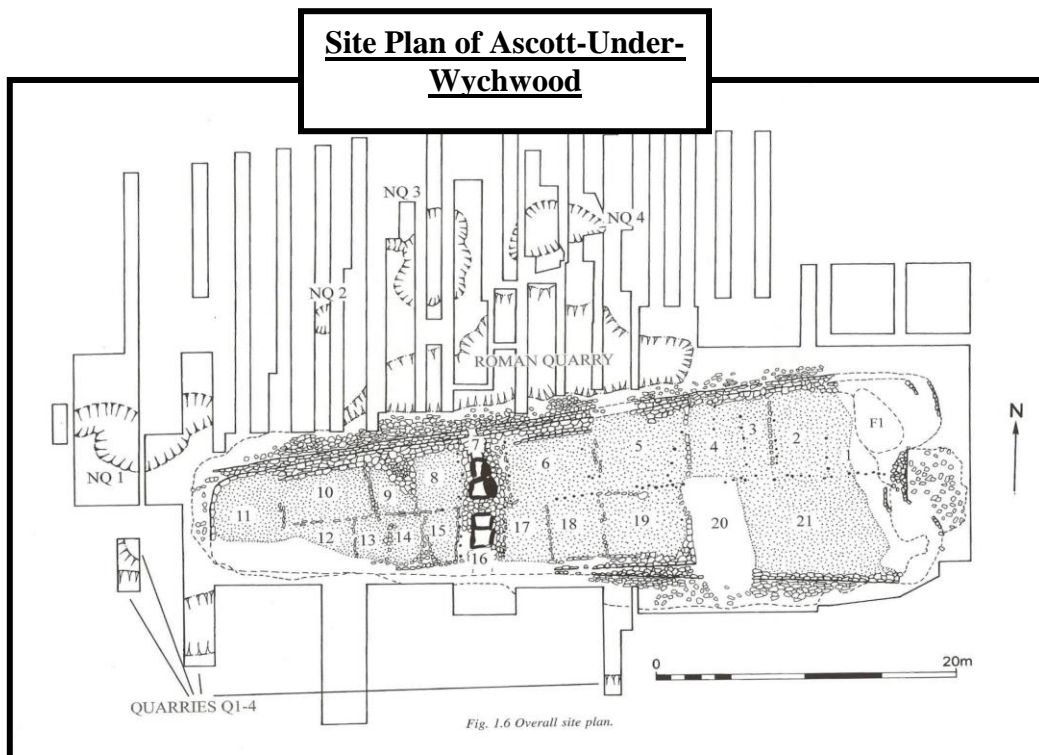


Fig. 6.12: Site plan of Ascott-Under-Wychwood (Benson and Whittle, 2007, 8).

6.3.2. Uley

The Uley Long Barrow (Fig. 6.13), constructed around 3700–3500 BC, is situated at SO 7895 0004, overlooking the valley of the River Severn at the summit of Crawley Hill, 3.2km north-west of Dursley. The barrow, excavated on five occasions between 1821 and 1906, is 36m in length and 27m wide at its greatest extent (Darvill, 2004, 264).

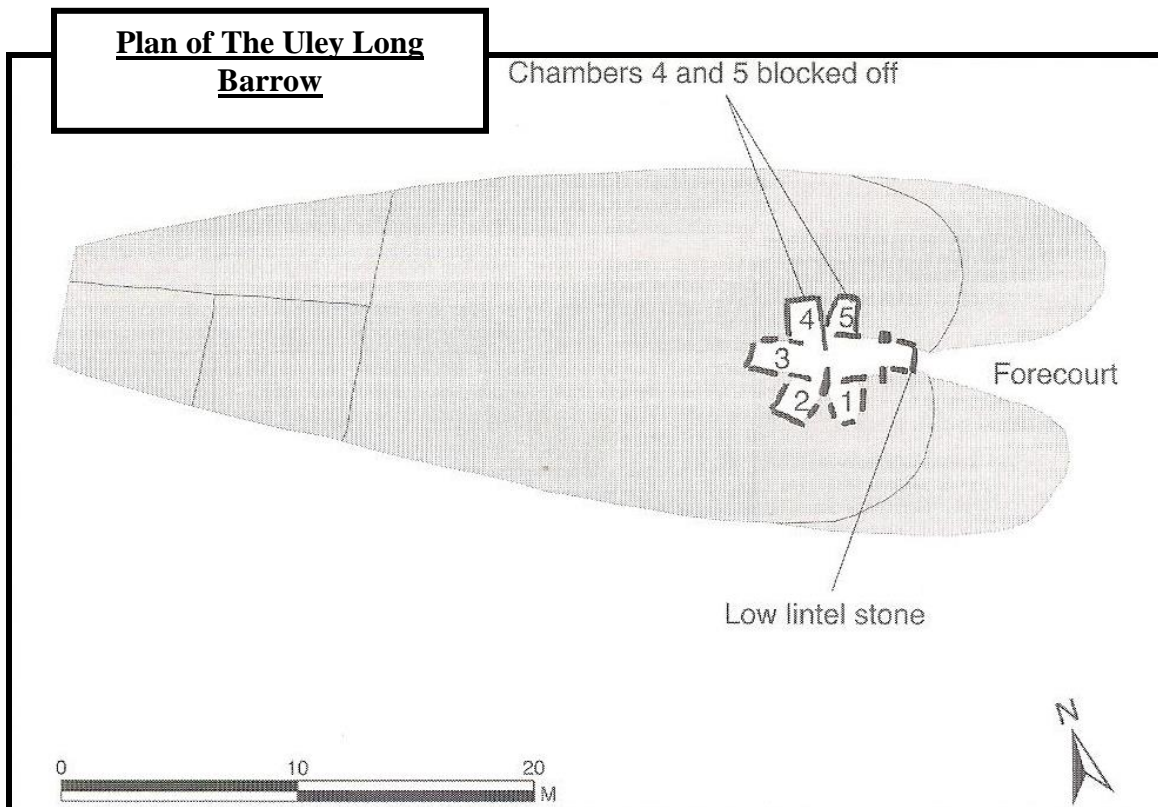
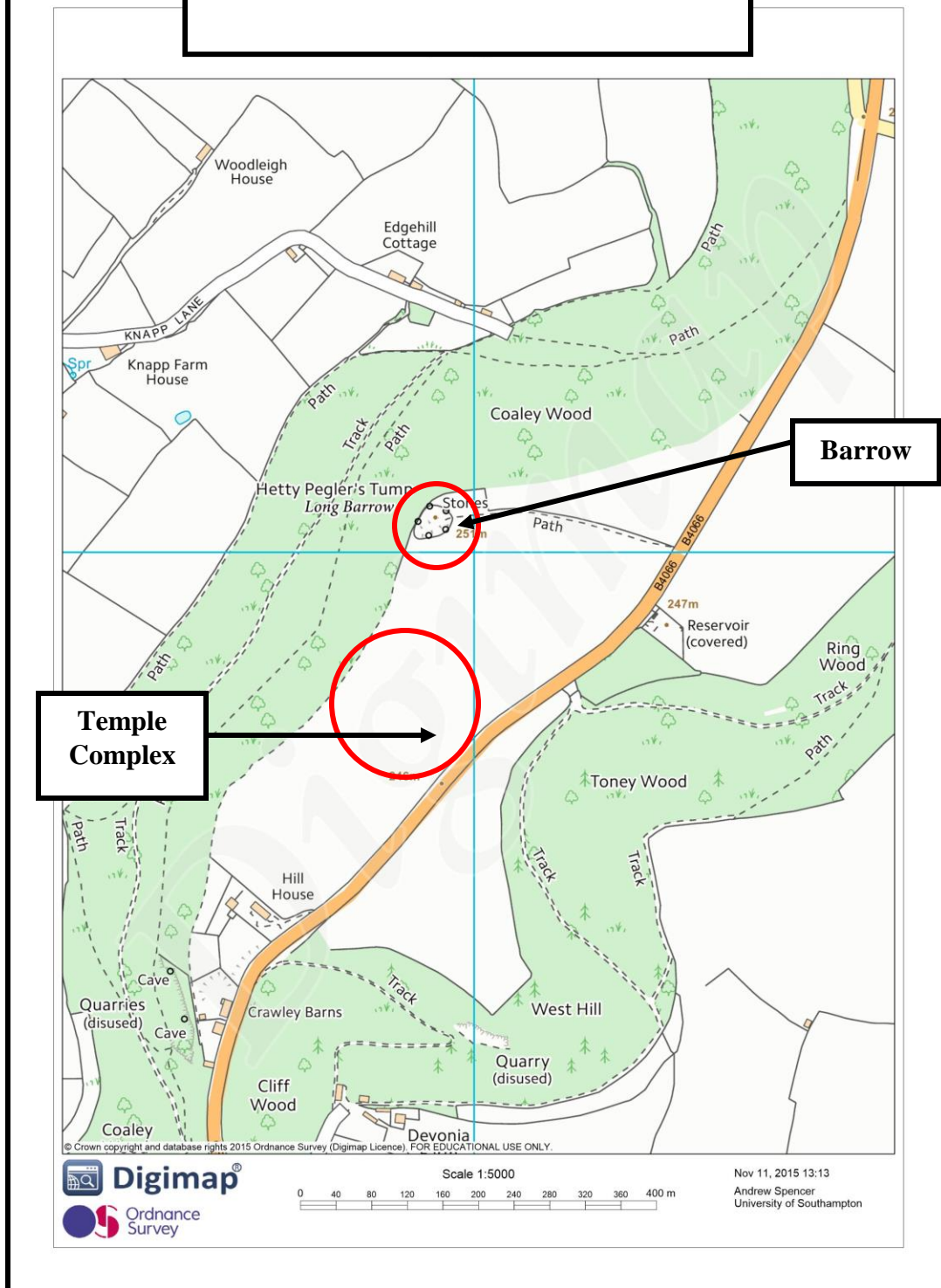


Fig.6.13: Plan of the Uley barrow (Darvill, 2004, 263; Clifford 1966 Fig. 2).

Whilst the barrow has a single skeleton, believed to be an intrusive Roman burial with three coins of Constantinian (AD 312–37) in close proximity to the surface of the mound (Crawford, 1925, 102), this is not the only evidence of Roman activity at the site. Less than one hundred meters to the south is a late Iron Age and Roman religious complex (Fig. 6.14). The complex initially comprised a large (50m x 15m) sub-rectangular enclosure, partly re-utilising two Neolithic ditches with timber palisades added. At a later point (middle/late 1st Century AD), the whole complex was re-modified with a possible second structure positioned over the northern enclosure ditches, along with a clay-lined pit. Structured deposits occur within some of the enclosure ditches and pits (Woodward and Leach, 1993). At some point in the early/middle 2nd century AD, the site appears to have been levelled and replaced by a substantial masonry Romano-Celtic sub-type of temple and surrounding ancillary buildings, sharing a similar orientation to their structural predecessors (ibid.). A large masonry building, interpreted as a guesthouse, lay to the north, while to the south-west and south-east were positioned two, further multi-roomed buildings. The buildings were all subject to much change and development from the 2nd to 4th century AD, including the addition of a podium to the front of the temple. The final structural phase of the temple (*c* AD 380) resulted from its partial collapse and subsequent 'L-shaped' form, utilising the remaining ambulatory corridors. This phase appears to continue into the early 5th century AD. Evidence from statues and curse tablets indicates the primary deity worshiped at this complex was Mercury (ibid.).

**Map showing Uley and the Proximity of the
Temple to the Barrow**



*Fig. 6.14: Proximity of the Uley temple to the long Barrow (available from:
<http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).*

6.3.3. *Randwick Long Barrow*

Randwick Long Barrow (Fig. 6.15) is located at SO 8249 0690 within Standish Wood on Randwick Hill, 3km north of Stroud and west of the A4173, approximately 400m north of Randwick Village (Darvill, 2004, 266; O'Neil and Grinsell, 1960, 87). Originally noted as 56m in length, 26.21m at its widest point and 3.96m high (Darvill, 2004, 266), only 34.44m remained un-quarried when excavated in 1883 (Crawford, 1925, 129). The remains of two round barrows stand close by, although neither of these features have been investigated.

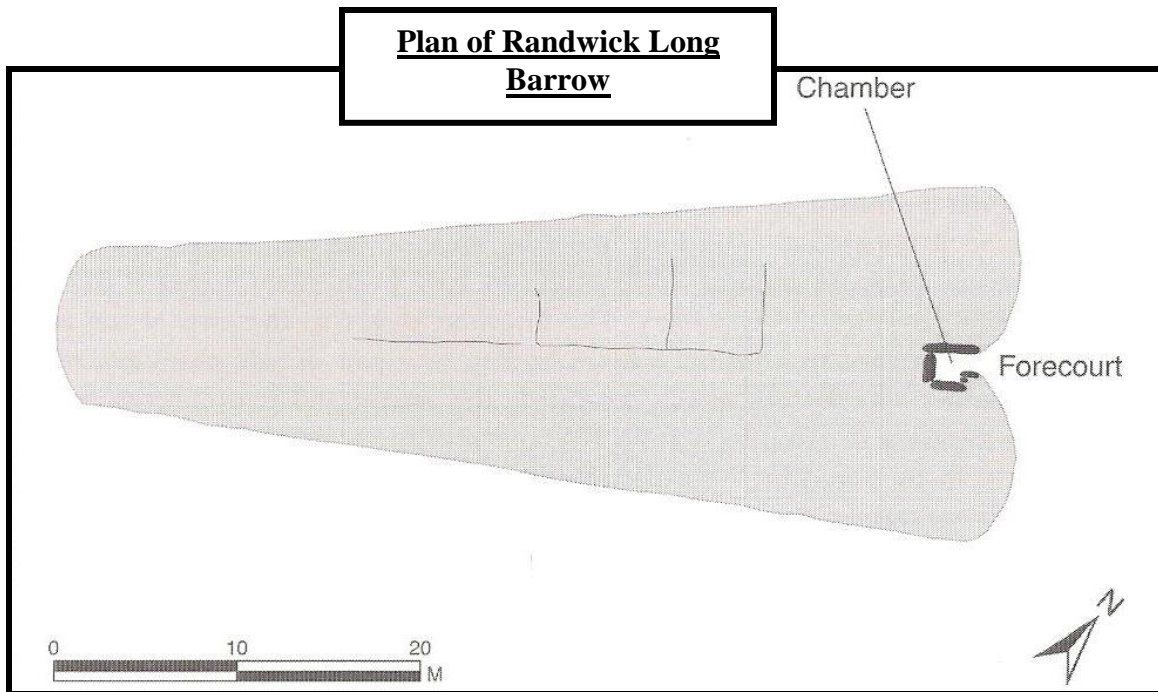


Fig. 6.15: Plan of Randwick long barrow (Darvill, 2004, 265; Crawford 1925, 130).

6.3.4. Windmill Tump, Rodmarton

Windmill Tump (Fig. 6.16) is situated upon a gentle west-facing slope, immediately below the crest of a ridge of arable land at ST 93255 97304. The barrow is 61m in length, has a maximum width of 21m and is 3m tall at its highest point (Darvill, 2004, 269). The barrow showed signs of extensive disturbance of the chambers.

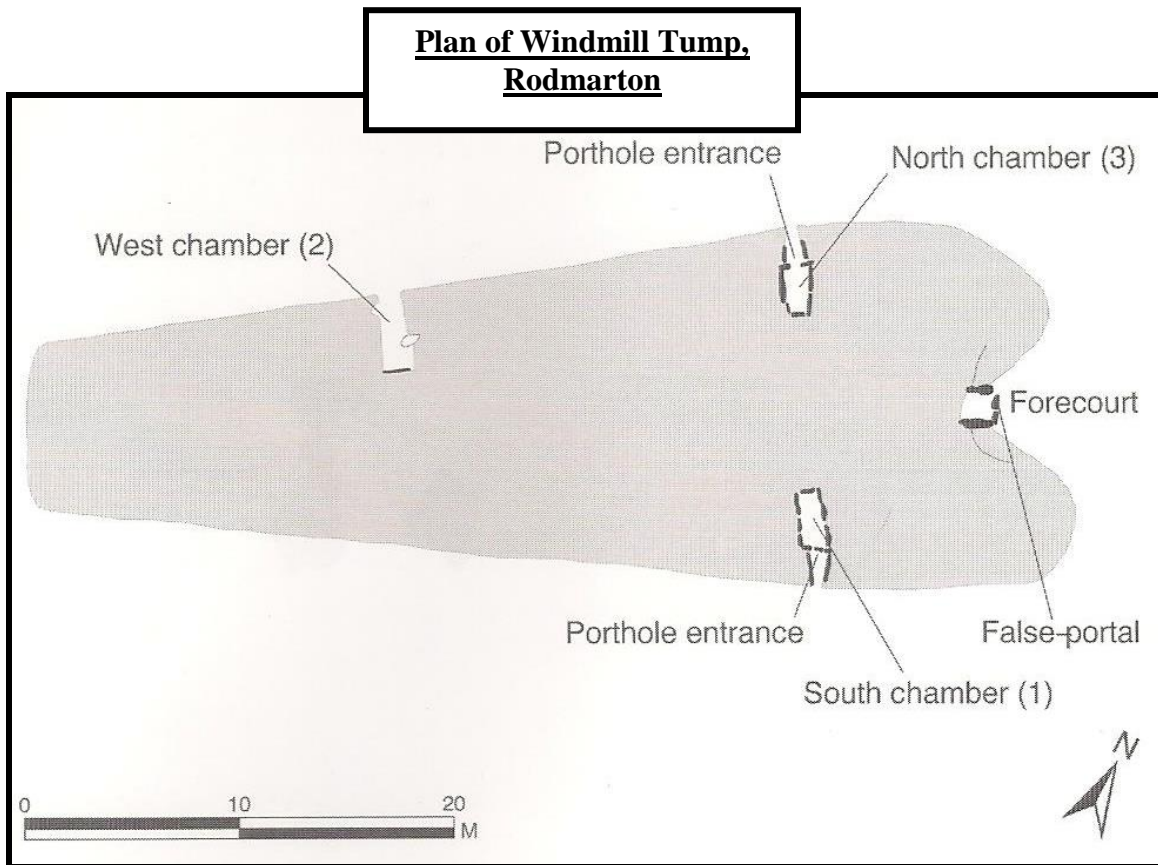


Fig. 6.16: Plan of the barrow at Windmill Tump, Rodmarton (Darvill, 2004, 270; Saville, 1989, Fig. 1).

6.3.5. *The Hoar Stone, Duntisbourne Abbots*

The Hoar Stone at Duntisbourne Abbots, is an undated, extremely mutilated long barrow (Fig. 4.18). It is located at SO 9650 0659 and oriented east-west in an arable field below the crest of a wide spur at approximately 213m above sea level (Darvill, 2004, 245). The mound, which has been extensively spread by ploughing, measured 48.0m long and 28.0m wide across the centre, attaining a height of approximately 0.5m in the east. To the south of the centre of the barrow are a large, prostrate slab and the capstone of the chamber, excavated by Anthony Preston in 1806, in which he found the remains of eight or nine skeletons (O'Neil and Grinsell, 1960, 77).

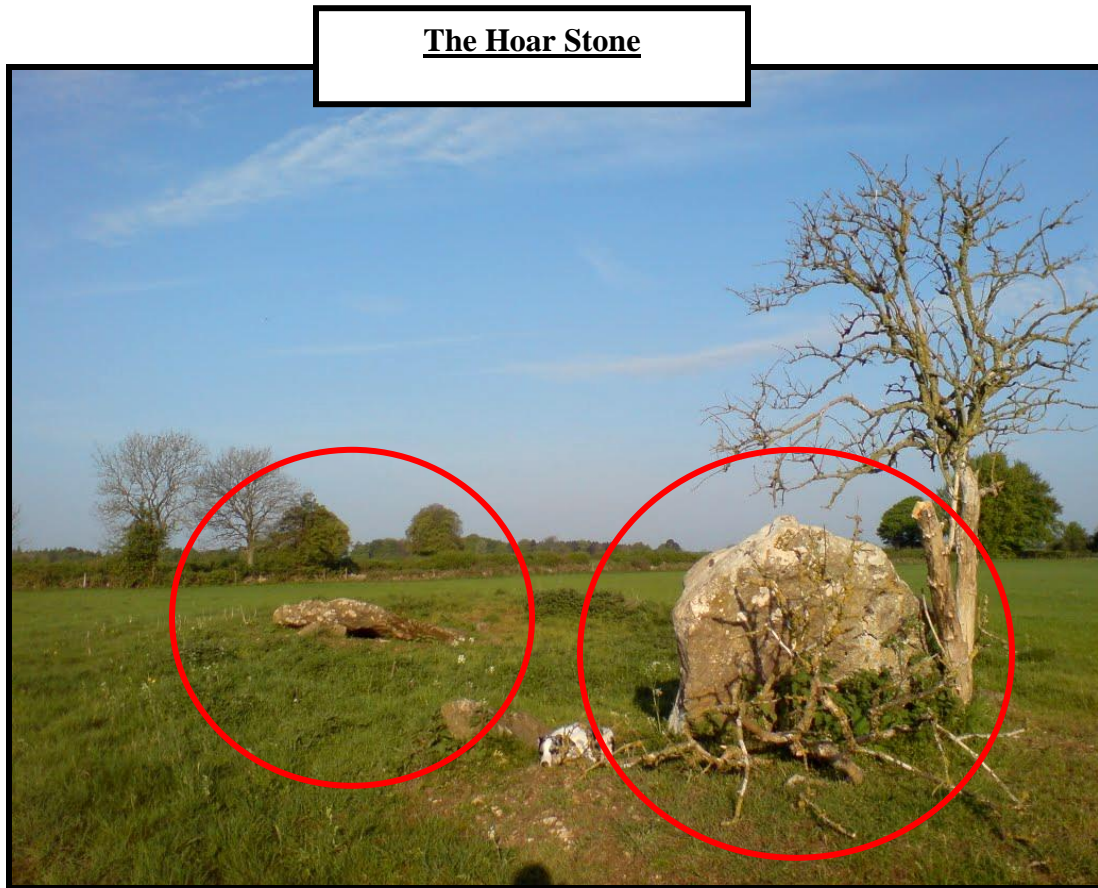


Fig. 6.17: All that remains of the Hoar Stone at Duntisbourne Abbots (available from: <http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=5222>).

6.3.6. *Belas Knap*

Belas Knap is a Neolithic chambered long barrow, situated at SP 02090 25431 just below the crest of a prominent ridge (Humblebee How, Cleave Hill) on a gentle slope with panoramic views over the surrounding countryside. Orientated north-south, it is approximately 55m in length, roughly 20m at its widest and 3–4m tall (Crawford, 1925, 67). Excavated in 1863–65, it consists of four burial chambers (Fig. 6.18 and 6.19): two on the east side, one at the southern end and another on the west side of the barrow (Darvill, 2004, 244). Human remains in the chambers date its construction from sometime prior to 4040–3530 BC (Darvill, 2004, 256).

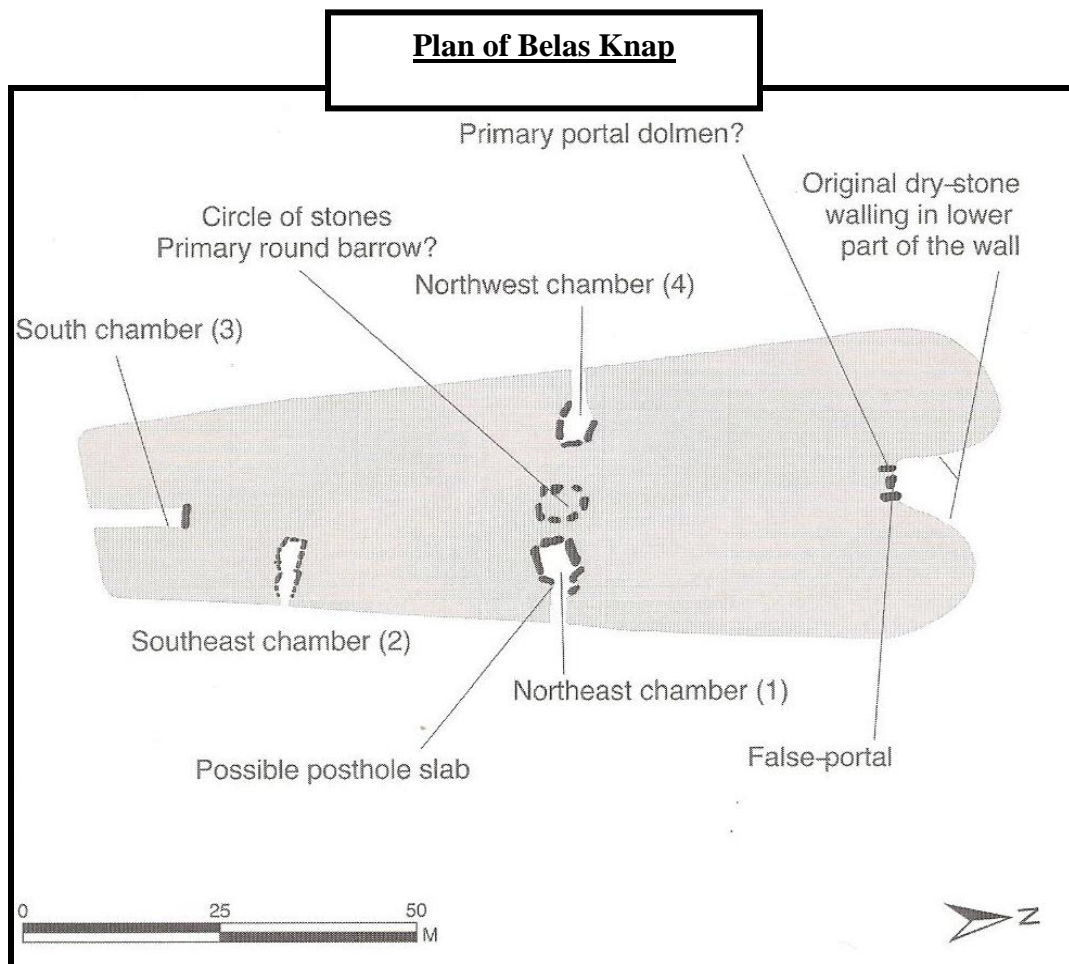


Fig. 6.18: *Plan of Belas Knap* (Darvill, 2004, 262; Grinsell 1966).

Picture of the Belas Knap
Barrow



*Fig. 6.19: Belas Knap from the north-east (available from:
<http://www.themodernantiquarian.com/site/54/>).*

6.3.7. Sale's Lot

Excavations by O'Neil in 1963–65, within an arable field upon a gentle south-east facing slope at SP 0487 1578, revealed a multi-phase construction, where an area of domestic occupation, a rotunda grave and simple passage grave were joined (O'Neil, 1966). The feature measures 36m long by 17m wide at its maximum (Fig. 6.20). The remains of 18 skeletons and a crouched inhumation were recovered. The forecourt of the monument was underlain by evidence of earlier Neolithic settlement activity (ibid.).

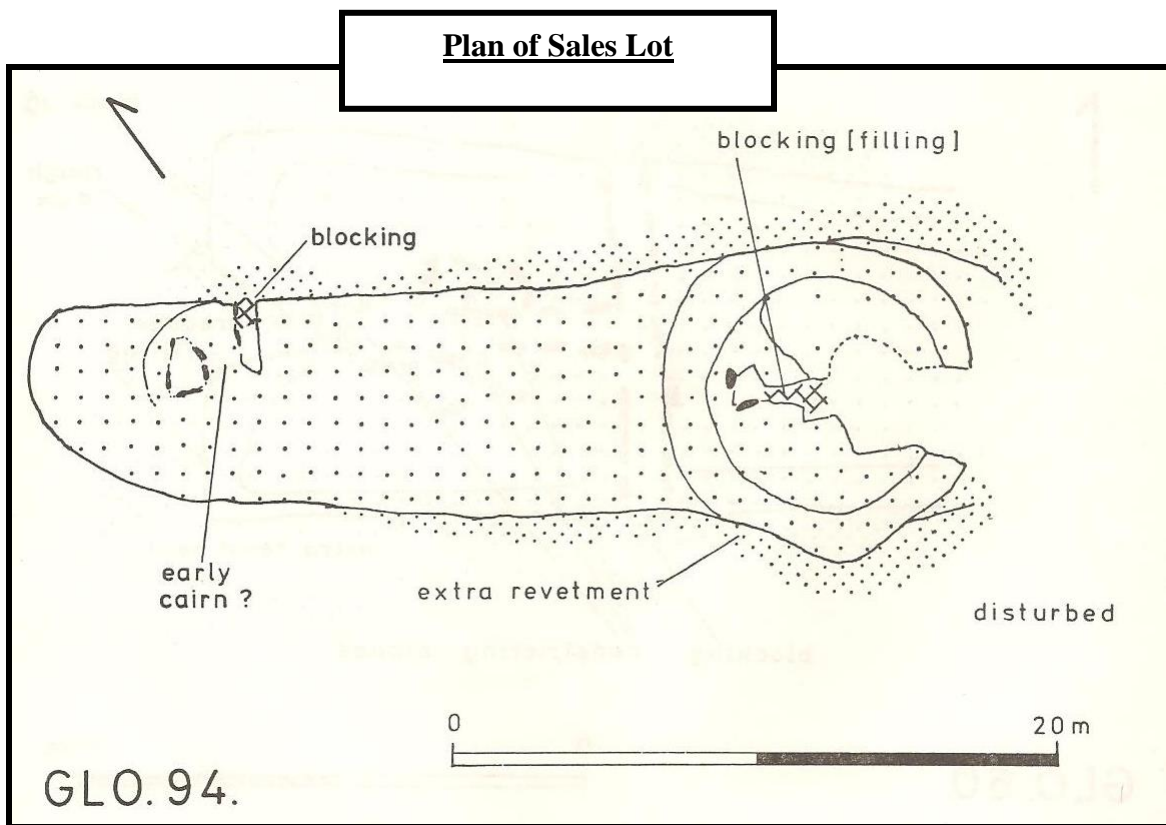


Fig. 6.20: The barrow at Sale's Lot (Darvill, 1982, 114).

6.3.8. Notgrove

Notgrove barrow (Fig. 6.21) is situated on the crest of a ridge in the Cotswolds, approximately 6km west of Burton-on-the-Water, to the north-west of Notgrove village at SP 09576 21203 (Darvill, 2004, 245). The monument is trapezoidal in plan and orientated east-west (ibid.). When surveyed in 1974, it was approximately 46m long, 30m in width and a maximum of 1.7m in height. Excavations revealed an earlier rotunda grave with a single cist containing an adult male (Darvill, 2004, 264).

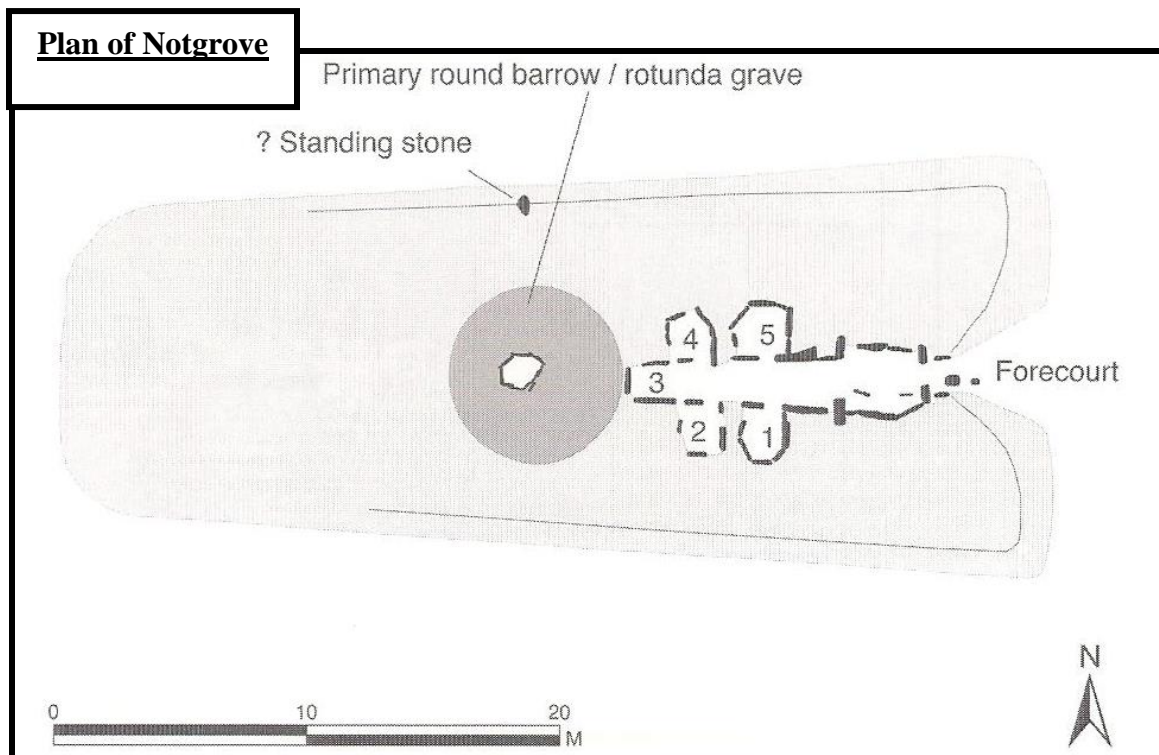


Fig. 6.21: Plan of the Notgrove barrow (Darvill, 2004, 265; Clifford 1936, Plate xlii).

6.3.9. Hazleton North and South

These two examples are close to each other (Fig. 6.22 and 6.23). The mound of the north barrow (Fig. 6.24) is located at SP 0727 1889 (Saville, 1990, 1), and the south in the same field at SP 0720 1882 (Saville, 1990, 152). These monuments are north-west of Hazleton village, 16km east of Cheltenham, in a field known as Barrow Ground, approximately 250m AoD (Darvill, 2004, 256). Twenty-three examples of human and animal remains indicate they were in use 4350–2900 BC (ibid.).

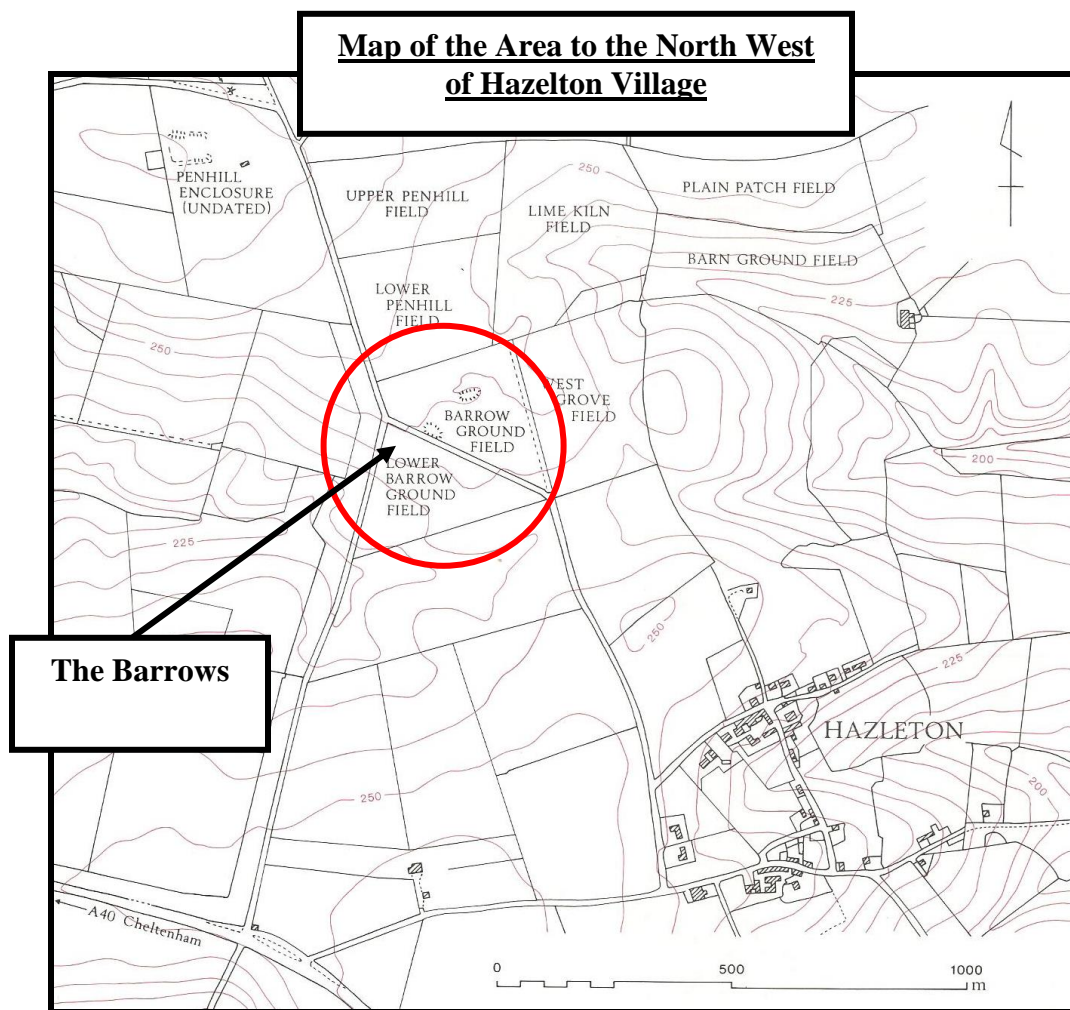


Fig. 6.22: Map showing the area to the north-west of the village of Hazleton (Saville, 1990, 2).

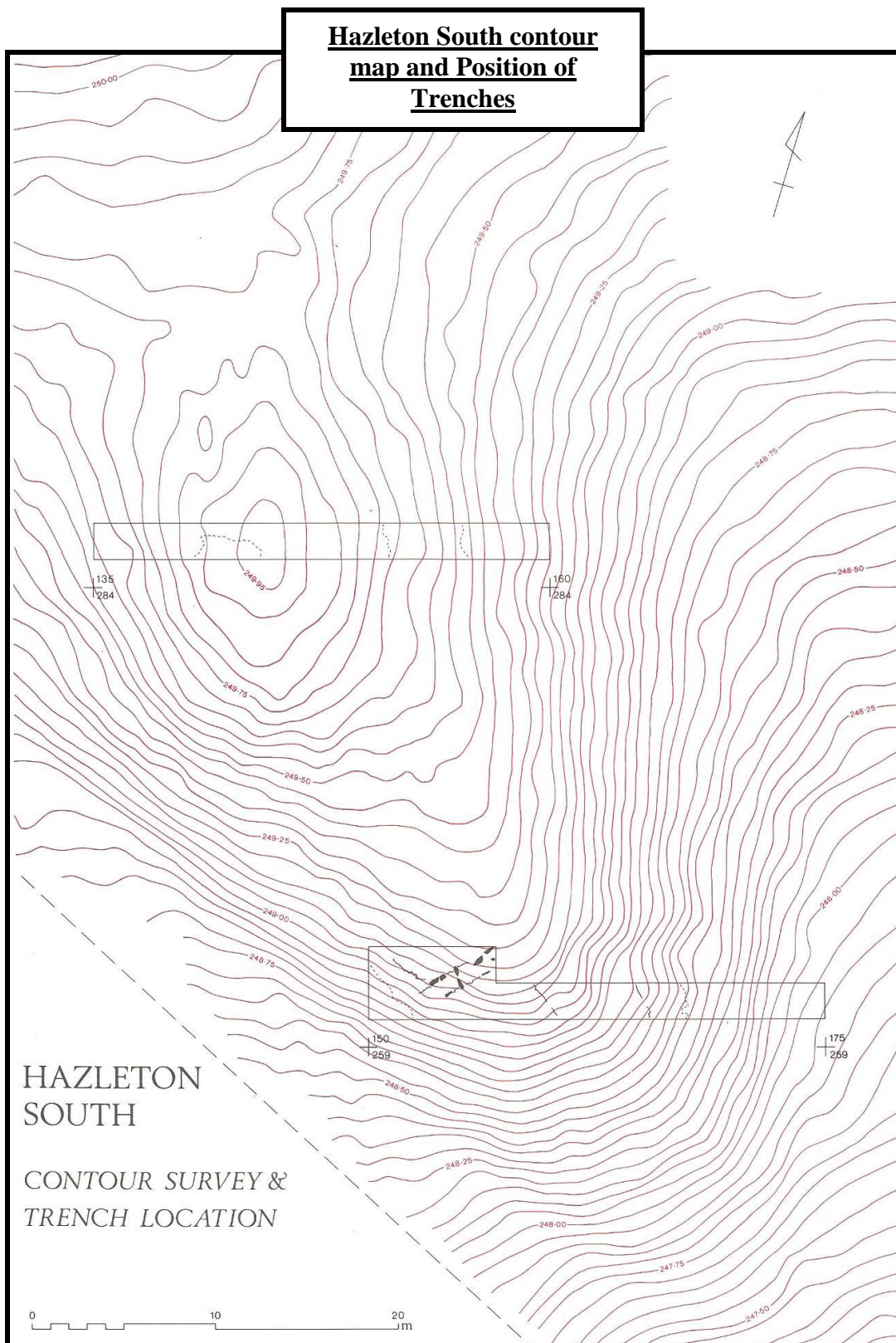


Fig. 6.23: Map showing the contour elevation and the position of the excavation trenches over the Hazleton South barrows (Saville, 1990, 136).

**Plan of the Hazelton North
Barrow**

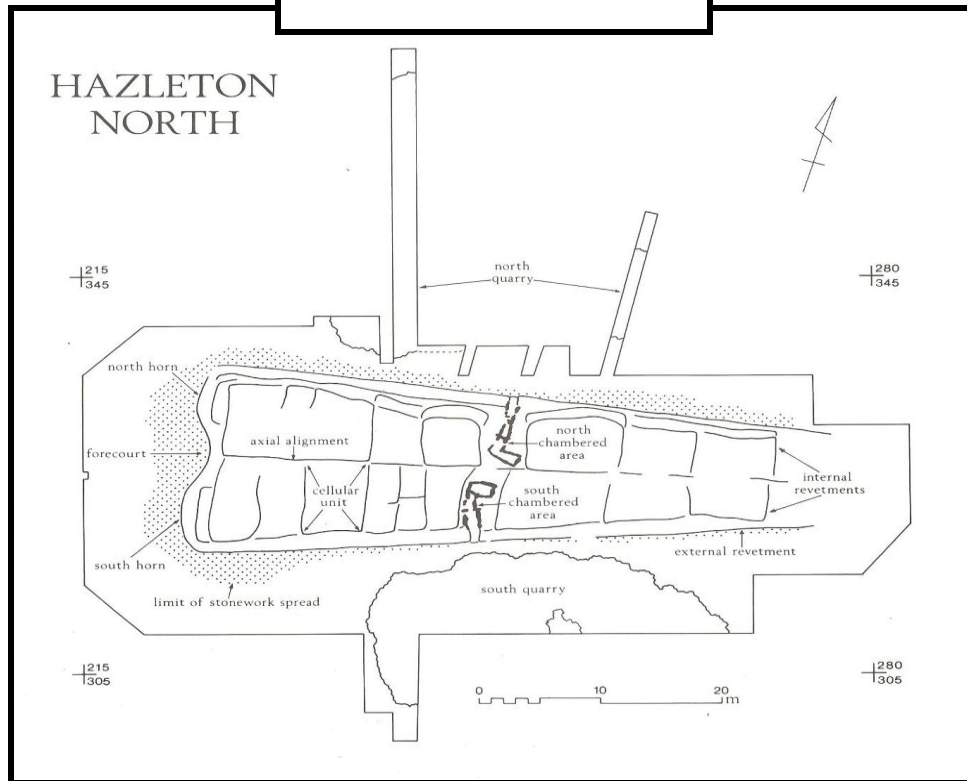


Fig. 6.24: The excavations at Hazelton North (Saville, 1990, 11).

6.3.10. Discussion

The sum of the available evidence (Fig. 6.25) on which to base any conclusions regarding patterns of interaction from these locations is:

Location	Finds / Reference
Ascott	An area of pits abutting the north side of the barrow, interpreted as a Roman quarry. Pottery, totalling 307 sherds from the Iron Age and from the 2 nd century onwards, and coinage dated after AD 330 (Benson and Whittle, 2007).
Randwick	Two fragments of Roman pottery and a horseshoe were found just above what was described as a confused mass of human remains in the single burial chamber between the horns of the structure (O'Neil and Grinsell, 1960, 87); (Crawford, 1925, 129).
Uley	A single skeleton, believed to be an intrusive Romano-British burial, and three Constantinian (AD 312–37) coins were excavated in close proximity to the surface of the mound. The multi-phase temple in proximity to the barrow (Crawford, 1925, 102).
Windmill Tump	Evidence of disturbance in the burial chambers in the Roman period, including pottery, and coins of Claudius Gothicus (AD 268–70), uncovered by Lysons in 1863 and Clifford in 1939 (Saville, 1989, 189–193).
Belas Knap	Roman pottery sherds were recovered near the false entrance. Finds from the 1929–30 excavation were mainly from the extra-revetment material, including Roman pottery, and two, small Roman bronze coins of late 3rd century AD (Grinsell, 1966).
Sale's Lot	Sherds of Roman pottery, 12 sherds and two fragments of tegulae stamped VLA from beneath the turf covering of the barrow. Roman pottery just below the surface of the grass of the mound and one, Bronze Age and two, Iron Age pottery fragments at the outer edges of the barrow (O'Neil, 1966, 11).
Hazleton North	Roman Pottery found in context (563) and above in the southern quarries (Saville, 1990, 26). The western trench of the north quarry had only a single Roman sherd, but in (48) a much deeper deposit than (563). One un-abraded sherd of Severn Valley ware in chamber (287), along with a large number of rabbit bones (Saville, 1990, 87).
Hazleton South	Two fragments of Iron Age pottery in upper contexts (3) and (566) (Saville, 1990, 152).

Fig. 6.25: Table of finds from barrow contexts.

The initial impression given by deposits is that there is not a great deal of diversity in the range of finds excavated from the barrows themselves, confined to one burial, one horseshoe, pottery sherds, and coinage. This narrow range of material occurs in even the most recent excavations using modern techniques. However, there is an argument to possibly extend the range of materials recovered. The earlier antiquarian excavations, with no access to modern dating techniques, would have been unable to determine if a skeletal deposit is a disturbed one, contemporary with the initial use of the feature or much later in date. Can it, in all cases, be reasonably expected that the deposits that were not in sealed contexts were not interfered with at any later point? The normal expectation is, that unless there are obvious signs of disturbance that artefacts recovered in proximity to skeletal remains, give the earliest possible date for their deposition. However, what about a situation where a structure has been broken into and no radiocarbon dates have been obtained? Can it always be the case that the jumble of bones discovered in the disturbed entrance of a monument in the late 1800s, all represented a series of discrete, datable burials in a roughly contiguous time frame?

Pottery scatters are another interesting conundrum. The traditional view of the broken sherds of pottery in these deposits is that they, along with coinage, represent dedications, or offerings, to the spirits of the dead when it was fashionable to visit ancient monuments (Annable, 1970; Annable and Simpson, 1964). This may hold true in some instances but a mono-causal explanation for all these deposits may not be correct. Semple (2013, 84), for example, offers other plausible explanations for discard, noting that veneration is not the only explanation for casual losses of small groups of coins which could include temporary losses during markets or from travelling vendors. To make the assumption that the Roman equivalent of an 18th century grand tour may have included, what are, after all, a series of trapezoid shaped earth mounds in a hilly area at the extremes of the empire, may be stretching the assumption a little too far. Perhaps a more logical explanation, if you assume that veneration is the derivation, is that they are localised expressions of a connection with a mythical, constructed, ancestral past, rather than deriving from a form of monumental tourism.

Are we able to ascertain if Annable and Simpsons singular, or any of Semple's multiple, possible explanations for these types of deposits are correct? Broken pottery is also a recognised element of agricultural fertilisation spreads, and many of these monuments still exist in a modern-day landscape of intensive agricultural activity. Is it possible that some of these deposits are related to the in-fill of the landscape, associated with agricultural activity? Whilst this alternative explanation may not be true for deposits in the chambers, or instances where animal activity is present, some of the external deposits present more of a complex problem. At Hazelton, for example, the sections of the northern and southern quarries, and the locations of the deposits above context (563) in the south quarry, (Fig. 6.26), do not seem to be deliberate intrusions related to the veneration of the monument; rather, they appear to have occurred as a result of levelling the landscape. The single sherd buried deeply in the northern quarry, in context (48), (Fig. 6.27) can easily be explained by natural processes rather than a deliberate deposition. Similarly, the deposits in the quarry abutting the barrow at Ascott-Under-Wychwood are suggestive of a gradual build of material, not a series of votive deposits (Benson and Whittle, 2007, 322). However, this does not mean that they could not have originally been offerings to the feature, subsequently broken and use as spreads of filling material, representing a two stage reuse and discard process, rather than a one use discard process.

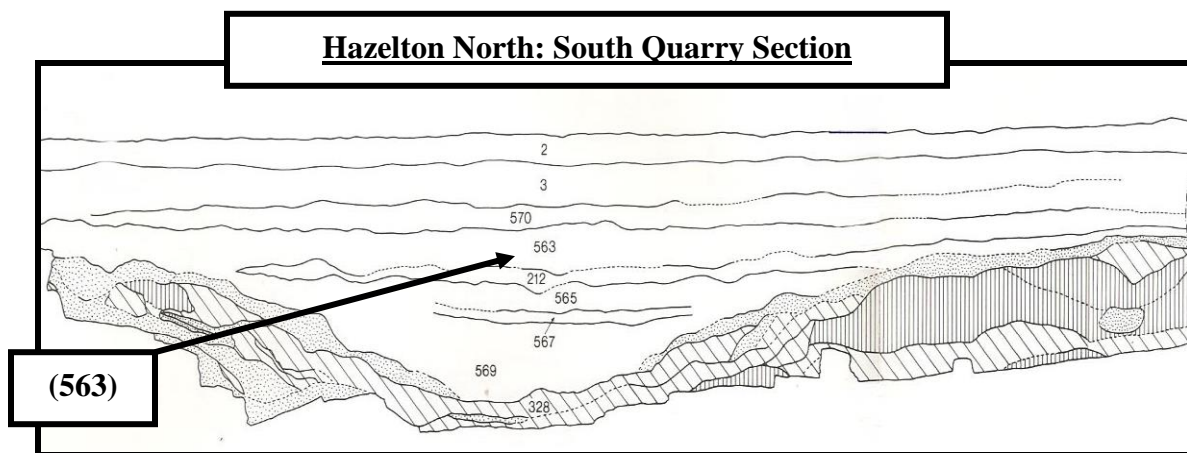


Fig. 6.26: Section from the southern quarry at Hazelton North (Saville, 1990, Fig. 26 Section 3 South Quarry).

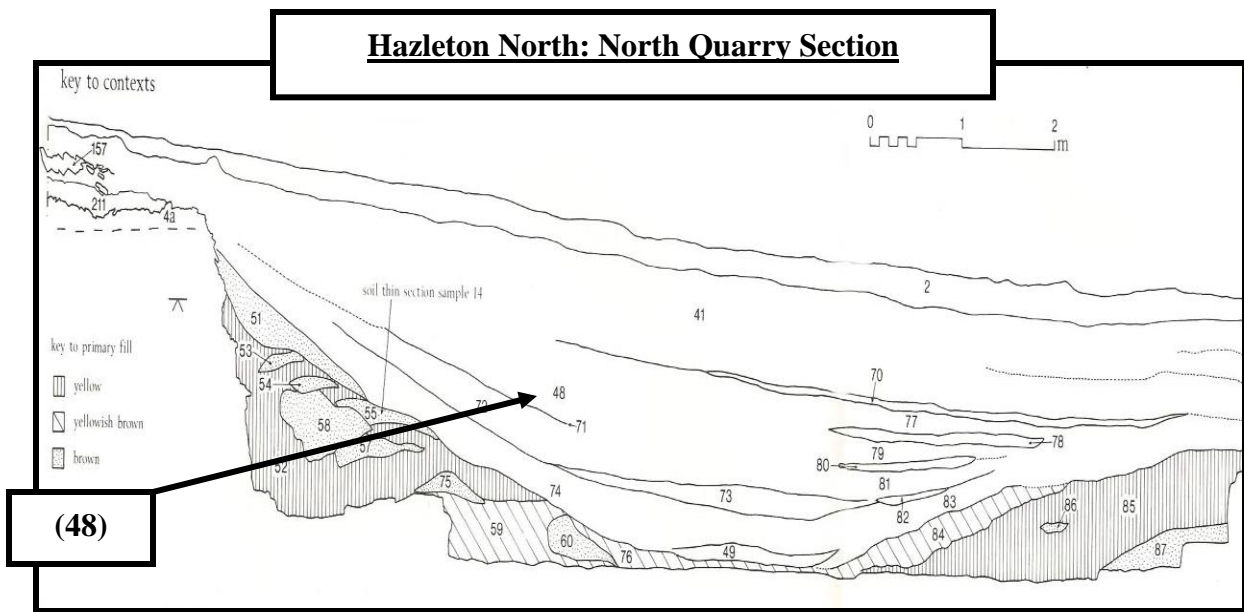


Fig. 6.27: Section from the northern quarry at Hazleton North (Saville, 1990, Fig. 32 Section North Quarry).

The intrusive burial at Uley is reminiscent of the inhumations located in proximity to ring ditches in many of the other case studies. If the date of the coinage recovered is any indication, then this burial could be a localised expression of the rituals which were occurring elsewhere in a similar time frame. The presence of the extensive temple site in such proximity, in addition to the burial, however, also sets Uley apart. It indicates the possibility that a ritual relationship of great longevity existed with the barrow and its surrounding landscape. The evidence from the temple and its precincts and the fact that it was updated and modified multiple times during the research period, indicates there may have been an appreciation of its proximity, whatever its derivation, to the barrow feature. Even though the actual antiquity of the site will probably not have been understood, the modifications to the temple indicates that identity, or social expression, in relation to the structure was an evolving process, changing at various points during the Roman period. However, the base point for this is the continuing presence of the barrow feature as an anchor point for all the subsequent evolutions of ritual, or votive, activity. The proximity of the shrine appears to be reminiscent of, but not precisely parallel to the activity observed at Cassington in ring ditch six, or the situation with the possible temple construction at Rams Hill.

Another notable aspect of these deposits is the date range of the coinage recovered, running from the earliest examples from AD 268–270 up to AD 337. These deposits are much later than at Bisley Common Barrow where the coin of Faustina, wife of Antonius Pius, potentially dates the deposition to the first half of the 2nd century AD. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that the deposits happen to coincide with the expansion and construction of a number of villas across what Salway (1993, 439) describes as an area with very pleasing upland valleys in good sporting country. The derivation of these deposits is, however, uncertain. They could just as easily be explained as the remains of larger offerings from an existing aristocratic elite settling in the area, visiting the locations of previous significance to appease older, ancestral connections, or the product of devotions by those with extended, past connections with the landscape, whose material wealth had increased. There is no reason to assume that any scenario is mutually exclusive, given the extant nature of many of these monuments and their locations in close proximity to routes through the landscape. It should be noted that the coinage recovered from the monuments and in their proximity, is generally low value denominations which would normally preclude any thought of a discussion regarding the intent of these deposits being associated with a display of wealth or status. However, any preclusion on this basis assumes a certain static nature of the depositions and discards any notion that additional, higher value coinage could have been removed in the intervening 1700 years or more since the deposits were created.

Perhaps these deposits are all that remain of an ongoing process of discard and retrieval of offerings to some imagined ancestral past connected to these locations. The date range of the coinage however, is interesting. Is it a coincidence that this material is being used as offerings in selected examples of the trapezoid remains of the prehistoric past in the Cotswolds, at almost exactly the same time communities in the Thames Valley and Essex were using selected examples of circular remains of the prehistoric past to inter the deceased? It could be a regional expression of a new culture of ancestor worship, where locations, which are associated at the time with some mythical past use of the landscape, are repurposed in a variation of a contemporary desire to express a certain regional

identity, or if Semple (2013) is correct, people with loose change suddenly became very careless in proximity to a number of large earthen mounds.

Is any memory of significance always a factor in the placement of these deposits? The features may not have precisely the same morphology as chambered tombs in western France, or be as elaborate as some earlier Etruscan examples, but the basic aspect of an elongated chambered mound, where the dead may have been interred, although in a much less sophisticated form, is present, making it much easier to appreciate their probable function without access to detailed local knowledge. It is interesting to speculate whether the inhabitants of the Cotswold region, especially those who were more influenced by external sources in the way in which they approached their interactions with the landscape, may have considered the presence of so many examples of what they understood to be a type of ancestral tomb in such a concentration as a sort of extended regional necropolis. The presence of temple sites, such as Uley or Hailey Wood Camp (Moore, 2001, 83–93), only serves to highlight this possibility.

6.5. Case Study: Bisley-with-Lypiatt

The barrows discussed previously are spread over a considerable area of the Cotswolds. Focusing on the Gloucestershire area, there are some locations with concentrations of prehistoric activity which could provide an interesting counterpoint to the previous discussion. Bisley, in the parish of Bisley-with-Lypiatt, is such an example.

Approximately 6km east of Stroud, the village lies on the north side of the valley of the River Frome, roughly equidistant from Gloucester and Cirencester. Despite the statement in the Gloucestershire Sites and Monuments record that there is no clear evidence of prehistoric activity (Douthwaite and Devine, 1998, 20), the records actually indicate that the landscape of the parish is replete with the prehistoric remains, with multiple examples of both long and round barrows near Bisley alone, some of which have been excavated.

There are no traces of prehistoric settlement but the very presence of such a large number of possible burial sites around the village indicates that the location may have been significant throughout prehistory. Roman ritual, or religious activity, in the area of Bisley church is thought to have been predicated on an even earlier ritual centre, which may have been associated with the Bisley springs (Douthwaite and Devine, 1998, 20). Altars and votive plaques have been found in such numbers as to suggest a religious centre or centres. In 1861, an altar of equestrian Mars and one of Silvanus, or a native counterpart, were recovered from under the south-west corner of St Mary's church tower. An extensive villa site (SO 9132 0438) at Lillyhorn, Bournes Green, was partially excavated by T. Baker in 1841–45, who uncovered a 3rd century coin hoard in the north-east cluster of rooms (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/ancient-glos/pp14-16>). Given this activity in the parish during the Roman period, it may prove interesting to consider how the prehistoric remains here may have been referenced.

6.4.1. Feature descriptions

There is such a concentration of prehistoric activity, especially to the east and south of the village, which due to the limits imposed on the research, seven examples (Fig. 6.28) have been chosen at random from those available.

Locations of the Features Discussed Around Bisley

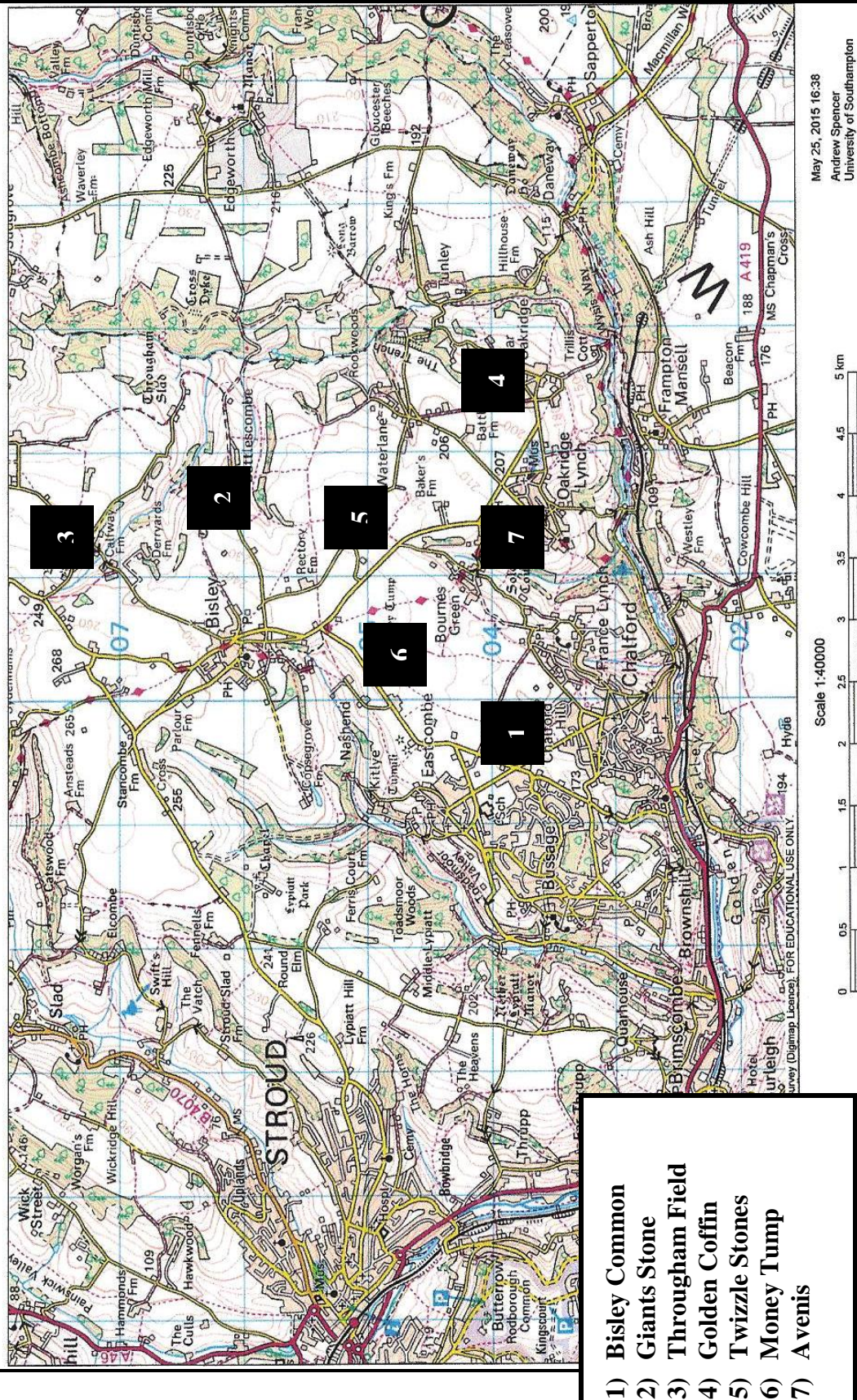


Fig 6.28: Bisley and the location of the prehistoric features mentioned in the text
(available from <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).

6.4.2. *Bisley Common barrow*

Located at SO 8956 0384 (Fig. 6.29), this Bronze Age barrow was first explored in the late 19th century (Clifford, 1938, 297). It was called a remarkable example of a tumulus that was of different ages, or at least, had been used in different ages. Initial investigations revealed no burials but when flattened in 1866, six Roman altars, pottery, and a copper coin of Faustina were found mingled with animal remains. Three of the altars were dedicated to Mars, one to Minerva and the two smallest bore no inscriptions; the coins gave a 2nd century AD date for the deposit of the altars (Clifford, 1938, 298). There has been some suggestion, notably by O’Neil and Grinsell (1960, 5–149), that the feature may have been Roman in origin. This suggestion, later repeated by Eckardt (2009), is somewhat at odds with what is known of the difference in the extant constructions of Roman, as opposed to Bronze Age, barrows. There is no suggestion or indication that the finds were placed high up in a tall mound, or sunk into shafts, there is even a specific mention that the finds were discovered, in proximity to an exploratory trench excavated some years earlier, and that this deposit was probably placed above a primary burial below ground level (<http://www.pastscape.org.uk>: Monument number: 115032). Whilst preferring the interpretation that this is Bronze Age feature rather than Roman, without further work to locate any primary burial, the derivation of this monument remains an object of speculation, rather than certainty.

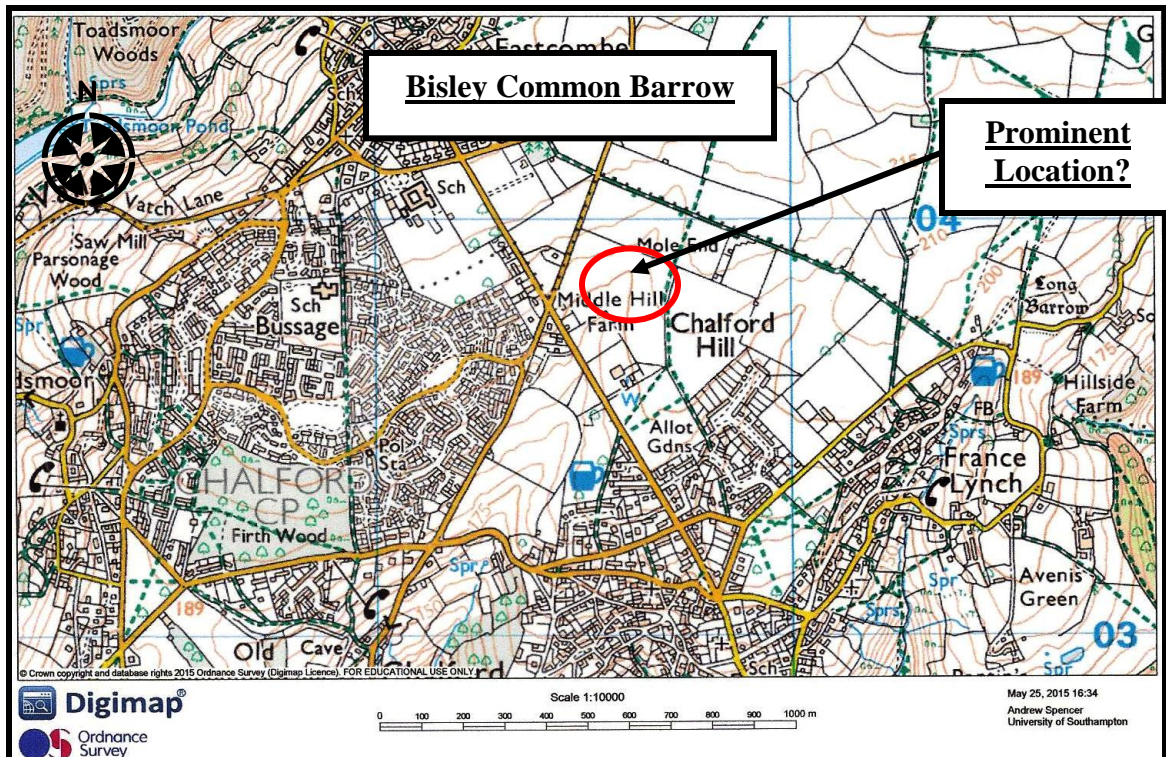


Fig. 6.29: Location of the barrow on Bisley Common (available from: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk>).

6.4.3. The Giants Stone

This is a chambered long barrow, located at SO 9177 0611. Virtually destroyed by 1883 (Fig. 4.30), the stones of its construction appeared to have been used to build a nearby dry stone wall. In 1920, all that remained of this monument were two, large, vertical authostat stones aligned east-west (Crawford, 1925, 100–101). There are no reports of any excavations taking place to ascertain the development of this monument.

Remains of the Giants Stone



*Fig. 6.30: The remains of the Giants Stone east of Bisley (available from:
<http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=5254>).*

6.4.4. Thorougham Field Long Barrow

Substantial remains of a long barrow (Fig. 6.31) survive near Thorougham Field Farm at SO 9108 0742 (<http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk>). According to Crawford (1925, 134), they consisted of a grass covered mound, 35.0m long, 19.0m wide and up to 1.3m high, with no visible ditch. The way in which the current landowners see fit to preserve this ancient monument is saddening.



Fig. 6.31: Thorougham Field long barrow, indicative of modern respect for the past or a modern reflection of the discrepant experience of materials? (available from: <http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=5256>).

6.4.5. Golden Coffin Barrow

Located at SO 9262 0388, the Golden Coffin Barrow is a low, slightly crescent mound (Fig. 6.32), 25.0m in length, 10.0m in width and not exceeding 0.3m in height. There is no visible evidence of a ditch. The mound has a slight concave scarp on the lower south side which suggests that it was dug into from this direction. The feature is also known as the Coffin Barrow, the Golden Barrow or the General's Barrow (O'Neil and Grinsell, 1960, 104).



Fig. 6.32: The Golden Coffin barrow from the south-west (available from: <http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=30584>).

6.4.6. *The Twizzle Stone*

The Twizzle Stone lies in a small spinney at SO 9142 0505 (Fig. 6.33). They were excavated in 1863 and have since been destroyed (Crawford, 1925, 80–81). Jowett Burton described the mound in 1924 as quarried out into a horseshoe shape. Grinsell, in 1959, found only large hummocks and hollows, unrecognizable as a long barrow. The monument now is a mutilated horseshoe-shape, 24m by 15.0m transversley and up to 1.5m in height. The centre of the mound has been gutted to a depth of 2.1m. Excavations produced only human remains which were held locally at the time of Crawford's description (ibid.).



Fig. 6.33: The Twizzle Stone and the tress which have grown over the barrow (available from: http://themodernantiquarian.com/site/11909/twizzle_stone_long_barrow.html).

6.4.7. Money Tump Round Barrow

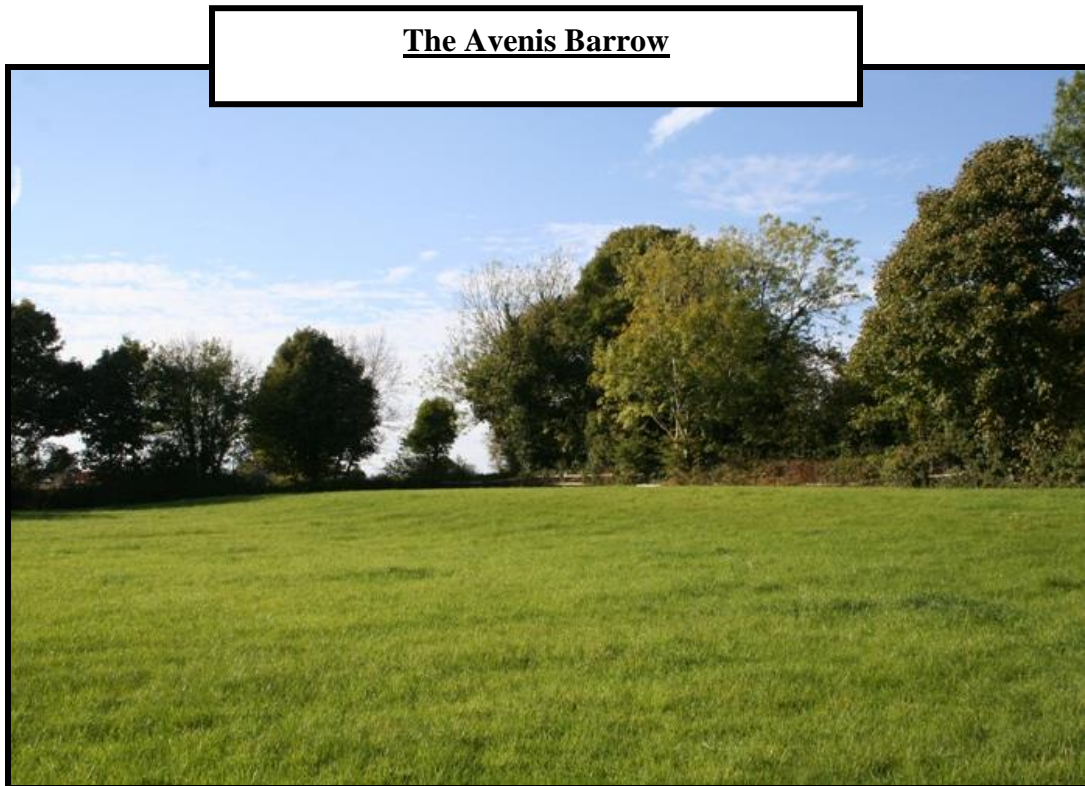
Money Tump (Fig. 6.34) is located to the south of the village of Bisley, directly on the route between the villa at Bournes Green and the village at SO 9030 0478 (O'Neil and Grinsell, 1960, 140). A large number of worked flints from the Neolithic period onwards have been located in the vicinity of the mound (ibid.). The barrow measures 28m in diameter and is 1.6m high.



*Fig. 6.34: The mound of the Money Tump barrow (available from:
<http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=29410>).*

6.4.8. *Avenis Barrow or Solomon's Court*

The Avenis, or Solomon's Court, barrow is located at SO 9060 0373. It is 87.0m in length, approximately 20.0m in width and 1.2m in height. The south side of the barrow has a strongly defined slope but the north side is unsurveyable (Fig. 6.35). The monument is located next to a roadside wall, on level ground, with steep slopes falling to the south immediately beyond the barrow (O'Neil and Grinsell, 1960, 71). It was excavated between 1865 and 1875 and contained two adult and one sub-adult skeleton, animal bone, flint fragments and two abraded sherds of pottery - probably Roman - described as reddish and well-baked (ibid.).



*Fig. 6.35: Avenis Barrow or Solomon's Court (available from:
<http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=5191>).*

6.4.9. *Patterns of Interaction*

The lack of modern, open area excavations around the village of Bisley is notable. Taking into account that most of the information here is derived from a variety of antiquarian and early 20th century sources, there is still a substantial body of evidence to collate and discuss. The interactions with the Bisley common barrow suggest that it was in some way, considered to be a more significant feature than other features nearby; a situation which is reminiscent of the extensive votive offerings recovered from barrows in the Raunds Project in Northamptonshire (Harding and Healy, 2007). Given the significant amount of finds associated with ritual or votive offerings from the 1st century AD onwards in the barrow and those from the church, it is perplexing that there is no substantive, or concrete, evidence for any significant interaction having taken place in relation to the long barrows in the late Iron Age or Roman periods. No record of any pottery, or coinage, is anywhere to be found. The choice to concentrate votive activity in one location could have been made, for example, because the landscape position of the feature gave it greater prominence but this cannot be the case, as all these examples are located in relatively prominent positions, either next to, or close by, the modern roads through the parish. If the available historical maps are to be believed, the roads have not altered their courses to any great degree for some considerable time. The Bisley common barrow is located close to the junction of a suspiciously straight road from Eastcombe to Chalford Hill, on elevated topography, between the Gloucester and Cirencester road and the Roman M543 (Fig. 6.36), which forms part of the modern route from Stroud to Cirencester.

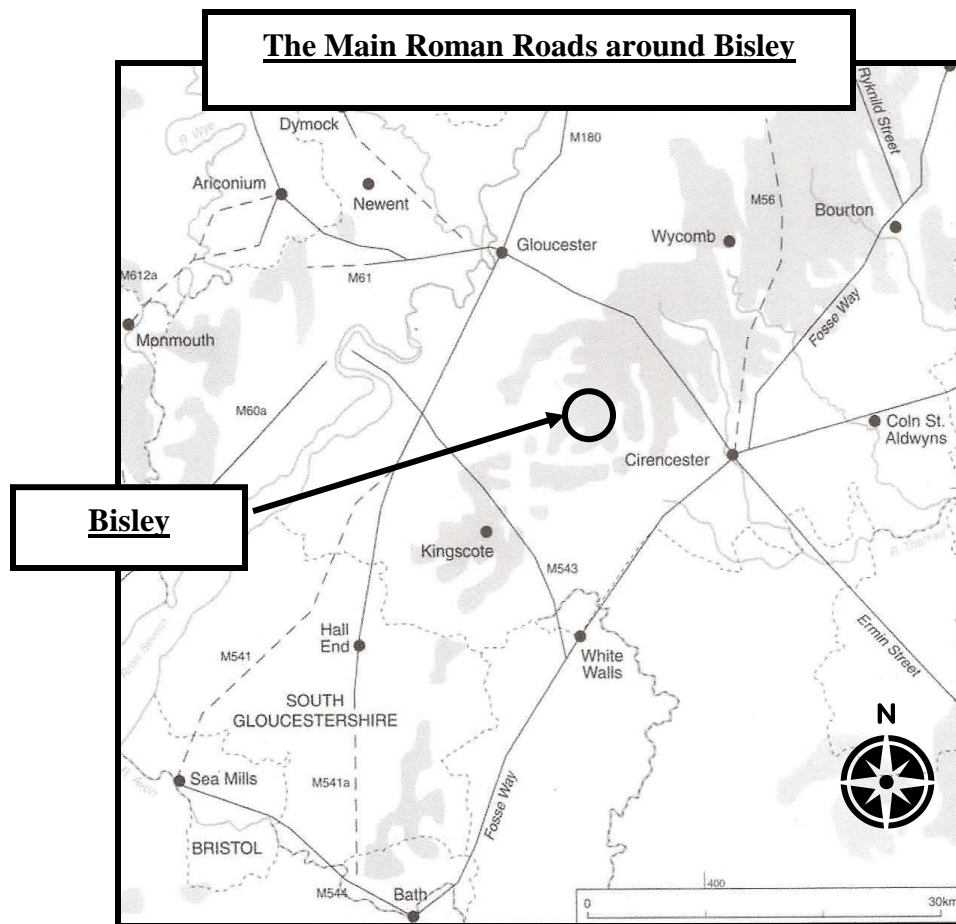


Fig. 6.36: The main Roman roads around Bisley (Margary, 1967).

Looking at the locations on a modern map (see Fig. 6.28), Money Tump and Solomon's Court are equidistant to the villa at Bournes Green, although topographically, Money Tump is on a higher elevation than the villa and Solomon's Court sits at the high point of a cleft, or a valley, near to Oakridge Lynch (O'Neil and Grinsell, 1960). They both have equally prominent, visible placements but Solomon's Court is a much more substantial feature. The descriptions of all the barrows, whatever their form, gives the impression that most of these features probably retained some visible presence well into the latter half of the nineteenth century, although features like the Giants Stone were merely two, extant standing stones. The only certainty is that Crawford was able to locate many examples for his gazetteer. Therefore, on the basis of landscape prominence, or visibility, or proximity to a route way through the landscape alone, there does not appear to be any compelling reason to make one object the focus of such concentrated votive activity.

There must have been some other contemporary, compelling reason why such direct and selective repurposing occurred. By choosing to repurpose a circular feature, the community at Bisley is conforming to the pattern of selective morphology revealed in the other case studies, although the offerings here are of a much earlier date. This could mean that there was a different underlying rationale, or motivation, other than a method of expressing an individual, localised identity at a time of regional empires, behind the decision-making process, unless, of course, the coinage deposited along with the altars represents curated examples, deposited much later than their minted dates would initially suggest. Perhaps, in this case, there is simply no connection with any meta-political events, simply, a symbolic interaction of identity expression designed to maintain the community's connections with the past through use of a landscape object, re-contextualising it through religious veneration for magical, ritual, resistance, legitimisation, ancestral cult foci or territorial purposes (Bradley, 1997; Williams, 2004).

The evidence from Bisley tentatively suggests that specific circular landscape features with possible prehistoric origins may have become venerative, or ritual, foci, possibly as early as the 1st century AD, a supposition that could be definitively tested with modern field work carried out at Money Tump and Golden Coffin barrows. At the same time, trapezoid or rectangular mounds within the landscape were either unappreciated for their antiquity, or were ignored, as they did not fit a contemporary cultural paradigm, to an even greater extent than suggested by Crawford (1925). The interactions with the Bisley Common Barrow echo the discussion by Eckardt (2009) concerning continuity of Iron Age traditions, or military repurposing, or the construction of prominent temple sites on, or in proximity to, barrows at locations such as Little Paxton Quarry, or Didington in Cambridgeshire.

6.5. Conclusions: Western Region

There is a certain selective continuity to the way in which a number of the barrow features in the Thames Valley and Essex were interacted with in the late Iron Age and Roman periods. Multiple instances of circular barrow features were repurposed for burials in the later Roman period, or in many other cases, such as Mucking or Stanton Harcourt, the remains of barrows were left alone for a considerable period of time, their presence respected as settlements expand in the landscape around them. Knowing this, the majority of investigations in the western region have been tightly focused on prehistoric features which are, generally, similar in purpose, although of a greater antiquity to the circular features found in the other two regions. Several examples of circular features were included in order to provide contrast. Perhaps there were some expectations, given the basic similarity in purpose, but not form, between the two types of monuments, that many of the Cotswold-Severn Barrows may have seen a similar pattern of respect and repurposing as the later barrows elsewhere.

The evidence revealed a very fluid situation regarding the way in which the remains of the past were interacted with. The pattern of selective, significant repurposing of circular features for burial again occurs at Shorncote with the insertion of the later Roman burials in barrow feature (16072), (Powell et al., 2010, 165). The placement of burials in proximity to locations of previous significance takes on a further dimension with the later inhumations at the end of the pit alignment (Powell et al., 2010, 162). This is perhaps, an indication that there were no absolute requirements for a certain feature morphology, that requirements changed over time, or that the suggestion that these were not separate features but a conglomerate is valid. The activity at Uley seems to be similar in certain respects to that observed at Uffington. Being a singular example of burial within this particular feature morphology, compared to the multiple instances of referencing the long barrow seen at Uffington, it cannot be taken as an indication of widespread practices, but considered alongside each other, they may indicate that there is some form of reverence associated with features in elevated topographies which occurs only at locations with a particular ancestral significance.

Is there any pattern of intentionality to the small number of verifiable interactions that are taking place here? Instances of ritual appropriation of the past, where offerings are made, or the deceased are interred, in order to maintain a contemporary relationship with ancient monuments, are a comparatively rare occurrence. Williams (1997), in his research into Anglo-Saxon monumental repurposing, noted that only 20% - 25% of the known burial sites at that time had any indication of significant later interaction. However, looking at those excavated after 1945, this rises to 35%, with 18% of the locations showing possible correlations. Williams (1997, 4–5), correctly draws the conclusion that many features have been inadequately excavated and published. This strongly suggests that the 10% known instances of late Iron Age and Roman interactions with features in the Cotswolds would have been much higher, if all the sites had been excavated using modern, open area techniques. This is amply illustrated by the increased detail available from excavations in an almost exponential relationship to the date of work being carried out. Having noted these shortcomings, based purely on the evidence available, there are two distinct correlations:

Firstly; where they have been included in the case studies, features that are circular in shape seem to have a greater chance of purposeful, or intentional, interactions occurring within, or proximal to, their confines, compared to those that are trapezoid, though in the singular instance where a trapezoid form is included in a landscape of veneration, the evidence of activity is significantly more substantial. The smaller barrow (16072) at Shorncote and the evidence from the Bisley Common Barrow, indicate that circular landscape features with prehistoric origins were selected as some sort of venerative ritual foci, from as early as the 1st century AD. Although they are types of activity, one being contextualized as a focus of ritual devotions whilst the other becomes a cemetery, and the interactions are separated by a considerable period of time, the features used are morphologically similar. Does this suggest a greater degree of respect is paid to circular features, as their origins are better understood, being constructed in a much later period than the trapezoid forms, or is it a reflection of differing local realisations of a more widespread tradition, for which there is no record: a tradition that is mutated based on requirements specific to a community at different points in time?

Whatever the derivation, it is possible that a grouping of burials, or a series of dedications, could reflect a much more significant appreciation of a particular site than discarded pottery and coinage. The interactions with the circular Bisley common barrow are remarkably similar to the extensive offerings made at five barrows investigated as part of the Raunds Project in Northamptonshire, where artefacts from the 1st, possibly as late as the 4th century, were recovered, ranging from spear and javelin heads to extensive pottery deposits in the surrounding ditches: evidence of insertion and removal of a plinth or column (Harding and Healy, 2007, 196–198), indicating a much more widespread practice of votive offerings to features with a certain morphology in Roman Britain. Apart from the deliberate burial at Uley, and the related complex, where there is any evidence of interaction with monuments of a trapezoid form, the said evidence is sparse, confined to a narrow range of materials and could be as a result of accidental discard, or agricultural activity, rather than offerings made to maintain ancestral relationships, or to communicate a contemporary idea of identity based on relationships with the feature.

There are several ways to interpret what the material recovered from these locations indicates. Whether these minimal pottery scatters and small amounts of coinage are random losses, or related to the remains of votive offerings, or savings deposits (Aitchison, 1988) depends entirely on the viewer's interpretation. Any interpretation hinges on the assumption that these deposits are representative of the totality of activity at these sites over a period of 500 years, or represent something not considered by Aitchison, (1998), are the residual remains of much more extensive activity. To assume these deposits show, that after a certain point in time, no further interactions occurred, that they remained where they were discarded, is quite a static view. What if they represent the remains of more extensive deposits which have gradually disappeared from these locations over the intervening 1500 years or so? Taking into account Peña's (2007) work on Roman pottery in the archaeological record, are we really able to ascertain if these deposits represent a prime use discard or a secondary use discard? Have they been placed here as a result of breakage after their primary use, or are they a secondary discard, placed after they were no longer functional for their primary purpose, used

initially as unbroken offerings to the feature, then subsequently destroyed sometime during the secondary phase and scattered? Their position in the ground does not give enough information to make this value judgment. Perhaps there is no single correct assumption. However, the scarcity of the examples of features, where material has been recovered, does give pause for thought. Given the evidence of selective repurposing seen throughout the case studies, is it possible that these locations represent those chosen out of the hundreds of examples available, to be the revered recipients of votive offerings, whilst other features are ignored? These locations were considered, for whatever reasons, to be more significant than the others? Is it possible, that all long barrows were revered in such a way? Has the evidence for more extensive engagement disappeared over time?

The coinage recovered also appears to show that selective veneration was occurring but again, this is a matter of interpretation. Should Semple's (2013) assumption that the minimal presence of the coins indicates random, episodic discard be followed, or do these deposits represent only what is left of much larger amounts of coins that have been subsequently removed? Essentially, it is a choice between the assumption of completely static deposits and the appreciation that a series of multiple interactions could have altered what was recovered from the ground. The fact that there are no earlier examples of coinage deposited in these long barrows on the surface indicates that there may have been some sort of change in attitudes towards these features over a number of centuries: is this correct? Given the discussion above regarding the potentially fluid nature of the pottery deposits, it would be remiss to assume that there is a singular explanation when there are a minimum of two alternatives.

It is possible that the coins represent a definitive change in the way these features were interacted with after AD 268. The deposits were representative of a ritual observation that sought to express a certain individualised, or localised, identity through these features, which only occurs after this point in time due to the fact that there is a fundamental change in the way these particular selected examples of monumentality are viewed by the local populace. Instead of being left to lie fallow or disregarded, they are brought into the contemporary landscape through a new form of cultural paradigm. Whether this change in attitude is linked to any appreciation of wider meta-political events, and is a localised

expression of a new regional identity, tied to the separation of the empire at this time is a matter for debate. Alternatively, if the assumption is to be made that the pottery fragments represent only a final snapshot of the life of the vessel, and in no way gives any indication of a multiplicity of possible events that would have happened over its lifetime of use, there is no reason to assume the coins are a static representation either. It is an intriguing thought to consider the possibility that many of these locations may have been the subject of random, or infrequent, devotions for a number of years prior to the date that the coinage would suggest. What we are seeing could possibly be just the residual picture of 1500–1800 years of interactions with these locations. With the continual debasement and reforms of Roman coinage (Reece and James, 1986), those materials that have been left were not considered valuable enough to recycle, or they were dropped during the course of plundering the location and not worth the effort to pick up. The excavations may be reflecting just a tiny proportion of the activity which actually occurred. It could be argued that the fact so many examples still survive in the landscape today is testament to the respect in which they were held in the past. Maybe, in this instance, direct evidence of interaction in the form of deposited material culture is only just one way in which these features were integrated into the lives of the late Iron Age and Romano-British inhabitants of the region. Their continued presence and lack of intrusive activity could be construed as a mark of the respect in which they were held.

Although the majority of this discussion has centered on barrows, there are instances of later interactions not connected with them, specifically at Shorncote, which need to be addressed. The linear post alignment is a particularly striking, singular example of non-burial related features, being given a significant degree of respect. Whilst this may be a singular example in these particular discussions, it should be appreciated that there are a considerable number of examples of this feature type from other areas of Britain. They are common in the Midlands and Yorkshire (Pollard, 1996, 109). The valleys of the Rivers Ouse and Nene have particular concentrations with some examples being 2km in length (Vyner, 2008). They are also present around hilltop settlements, such as Chesters and Kae Hughes, comprising part of a network of land divisions by the River Eack (Harding, 2004, 74).

The original form of the alignment remains largely intact; the only point where it has been redefined by a more conventional ditch is where it, and the settlement area, converge. This lack of redefinition is probably the crux of its significance. These alignments are generally held to have been more than just territorial markers. If a boundary needs to be delineated, it is much simpler to dig a ditch rather than a series of single, or double, holes that defy functional logic (Pollard, 1996, 93). Parts of the Iron Age settlement may have been separated by the alignment. Perhaps it was initially used to define particular land rights within the wider settlement but there is also a mention that it may have defined the course of a relict stream (Powell et al., 2010, 71–72). The fact that a linear set of pits, that may have been designed to mark important inter-community disputed boundaries, or divide different zones of resources or activity (Pryor, 1993, 142; Pollard, 1996, 110), has retained any significance long after their construction, is notable. The fact that this series of pits actually survived is not that remarkable. They are, after all, shallow depressions that could have been easily filled by natural processes. It is the way in which their presence is referenced by later interactions with the landscape which sets them apart. The placement of later Roman burials at the end of the feature could be indicative of some partial physical presence in the landscape. It is possible that the series of burials in the terminus is not only related to the end of the alignment but also to the nearby sacred area.

The activity associated with the sacred area is also notable. Despite the surrounding landscape having undergone a series of changes over time, as different agricultural practices are adopted or discarded, field systems are built, modified, or left to decay, and areas of domestic activity are created then abandoned, this specific, small parcel of the landscape remains inviolate. It is, of course, possible, without any material finds to reference, that episodes of ditch maintenance could have occurred at any time after its construction, even into the late Iron Age and Roman periods but equally, there is no evidence to suggest that these were not all occurrences contemporary with its construction. Even if maintenance is purely confined to the Bronze Age, what cannot be disputed is the fact that this portion of the landscape remains inviolate.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1. Dissecting the methodology

7.1.1. The success of the methodological approach

Having devoted a considerable proportion of the introductory chapter, and the individual research regional chapters, to discussing how to obtain and how to disseminate data which could feed into the final conclusion, it is perhaps useful to discuss the degree to which the approach was successful. It was noted at the outset that the final approach taken was not, by any means, the first, second, or even third, method attempted but in the final analysis of the options that were explored, it is probably the best approach to the collation and dissemination of data which could have been taken. One of the proposed formats for the data chapters was to examine individual sites against the hypothesis criterion where, for example, Drayton was discussed as three, individual, separate entities, ignoring the fact it was a singular monument. Each individual portion of the landscape would be examined against each of the hypothesis criterion in turn and eliminated from the discussion as it failed to meet the expectations. This approach failed to take into account the basic fact that each landscape could have been appreciated, or interacted with, in an entirely different manner based on communal requirements. If one of the criterion was not adhered it did not mean that there was no evidence suggesting that prehistoric features may have played a significant part in the development of the landscape. This approach also produced circumstance in which the situation observed at Stanton Harcourt, for example, would never have been discussed at all, as it failed to meet the first criterion of primary insertions of material in prehistoric features, even though the evidence shows an unprecedented level of deliberate, spatial respect. It should also be appreciated that this approach would have involved a horrendous duplication of effort and would probably have been unreadable.

The success, or failure, of the methodology really hinges on two factors: depth of data analysis; and its ability to produce results which are repeatable and substantial whomever

is carrying out the analysis. That is where the real test of the suitability of the methodology lies: within the answer to the question: if you were to choose any site or wider landscape in the whole of Britain, thoroughly read all the available text, apply the same approach and test against the same hypothesis questions, would the results, be they negative or positive correlations, be repeatable? Would anyone be able to use the criteria and be able to draw a similar range of conclusions? They would not, of course, be the same conclusions in each and every case. Not every site used in the research has presented the same kind of information; that is the nature of diversity in potential interactions with features or landscapes. The situation at Barton Court Farm, for example, is markedly different to that observed at Radley Barrow Hills, though both are located within the same area. If you know what to expect, generally, from any feature or landscape that could be said to fall within the range of interactions discussed, and where there is some evidence of late Iron Age, or Roman, interaction with prehistoric features that can be interpolated using the methodology and criteria, then they are fit for purpose. As a final point, it would be disingenuous to suggest that the presented criteria are infallible, or incapable of expansion, as they are as likely as any other theoretical framework to evolve over time.

The criteria, are however, only one part of the equation, the other being the data itself. It is not possible to carry out any real substantial analysis without the extraction of all details held on any location. The phrase ‘full data collection’ does not begin to express the level of data extraction, interpretation and extrapolation required. This can, on occasion, cause a number of problems. It has been alluded to in the introductory segment that the standardised way in which archaeological data is currently presented in a chronological manner within published reports can be somewhat problematic. Chronological presentation is understandable. It allows for those experts specialising in different historical and prehistoric periods to have a snapshot of information which is relevant to them and also feeds into specialist journals which cover those periods. Is it, however, always appropriate? What if the way in which a particular landscape, or feature, is interacted with is, in part, predicated on events that have occurred prior to that specific period of interest? Surely no one is so myopically concentrated on events occurring, for

example, in the early medieval period, that it cannot be appreciated that the way in which a landscape is used, even if it only partially, has the possibility to be predicated on what came before, and the way in which the remains of the past may have been interpreted? If you are attempting to understand the development of a particular feature, is it always appropriate to spread the development of that feature throughout different sections of a large report? When discussing a single entity, correlating all the information within its own dedicated segment, may be more useful, allowing for a greater depth in interpretation.

Ultimately, it depends on what sort of picture, or series of snapshots, of that landscape the report is trying to convey. It could be argued that the way information is presented should approximate to what any inhabitant, or transient visitor, would have seen at any point in time (a more phenomenological perspective). This is similar to Gibson's (2013) argument concerning data presentation in conventional linear time-schemes which essentially straightjackets multi-period landscapes, breaking the connecting threads of the narrative. Why present information regarding, say, an Iron Age landscape that would not have been recognised by the Iron Age inhabitants of that landscape? It may not always be possible to do so, but if, for example, you have a feature that has seen extensive use in the Bronze Age, minimal use in the Iron Age, is ignored in the Roman period, but repurposed in the 6th – 7th centuries AD, why not present at least some thoughts regarding the hiatus in activity? After all, the feature, or at least some element of the feature, may have survived since it was last referenced. It did not suddenly disappear from the landscape only to be reconstructed at a later point in time: it was still present. Why is it disregarded only to be reused once more? Often negative perspectives can be just as interesting as positive interactions; a fact which is amply illustrated at the Vicarage Field near Stanton Harcourt.

7.1.2. Reflections on the regional and chronological parameters

To be candid, with a sufficiently robust methodology in place, the regional and, by extrapolation, site selection process is almost an irrelevant façade. There are some locations where the depth of required information will not be available, such as in the

case of the rejected area around Caerleon, where either sufficient data regarding the prehistoric landscape had been ignored, or is not present. The chosen regions form a block, cutting through southern England with the Thames Valley and the Cotswolds overlapping. Yet, had any place been chosen – say the Greater Manchester area, Kent, Suffolk, Dorset or Norfolk – would it have made a great deal of difference to the outcome? Assuming that there were sufficient locations to be considered in these areas, the patterns of interaction may have been different due to the different ways the landscapes may have been actualised, but essentially, if they had disproved, or highlighted, the patterns of interaction which have been revealed, either result would have been equally welcomed. Yes, you can cherry pick sites that provide interesting and compelling data, or locations that provide a potential juxtaposition to patterns of interaction which already been revealed, but it really does not matter if the research sites had been chosen at random as long as there was the depth of data present and the hypothesis criteria are rigorously applied.

Looking at chapters four through six, the decision to have flexible, rather than rigidly defined, upper and lower chronological limits to the research, does not seem ultimately to have affected the data, nor any of the conclusions drawn from the chosen locations. None of the significant interactions that have been discovered or highlighted, with the possible exception of the warrior burial overlooking Kelvedon, have occurred at the upper or lower limits of the chronological research parameters. This does not invalidate this flexible approach; it was entirely possible that a series of interactions with a feature could have been occurring at a location over an extended period which could have gone outside of any fixed parameter and which could prove crucial in further studies. The Uffington White Horse barrows are a case in point, where burials continue to occur and the ritual deposition moves on to another feature for a considerable time after the defined research period. This is the sort of situation where a flexible chronological approach really comes into its own. Looking outside of our defined parameters for the moment, is the situation at Uffington a precursor to the more widespread use of barrows and ring ditches for burial purposes in the early medieval period? Rather than occurring as a result of Saxon, Frisian or Scandinavian influences in burial traditions in those parts of Britain dominated

by Germanic culture, does this practice have its origins firmly rooted in diverse expressions of identity with specific reference to a particular morphological landscape feature in the second half of the 3rd century AD?

7.1.3. Dealing with different data sets differently?

On the subject of data, the depth of data available and its interpolation, or extrapolation; the potential problems associated with data sets recovered from very different types of excavations were noted in the introductory section 2.2.5. The site forms are an attempt to present a standardised picture of data that has been obtained from excavations occurring in very different time frames using techniques that were the acceptable standard of the day and a number of publications concerning amateur excavations which were subsequently professionally collated, most notably, the Ardleigh excavations.

The use of the standardised form is essentially, in statistical terms, a repeated low-pass filtering of an observed random phenomenon, or the application of a Kolmogorov-Zurbenko filter in a smoothing process designed to standardise disparate data sets (Owen and Jones, 1982). By presenting the data in a standardised format and where required, ensuring that the conclusions derived from some of the older, or less well structured reports, are reassessed then presented in the same format as data derived from more recent excavations, any potential anomalies which occur can be factored, noted and highlighted. This process of the smoothing of data should only be used in a re-interpretive sense; it should never be used to remove any anomalies, biases or problems associated with the data as this could be viewed as an attempt to ignore potential problems, or statistical outliers, in order to arrive at a pre-desired conclusion. In cases where data may be suspect, the potential deficiencies must be forcefully and blatantly highlighted rather than ignored or sidelined. Take Ardleigh, for example. In light of the situation regarding the discarded material revealed by the CEU excavations, the older excavation data needs a degree of re-evaluation or re-interpretation. It must be absolutely stated that the data on which any conclusion is based could be suspect or interpreted in another way. It cannot be 100% certain that the ignored material is representative of

burial activity, or ritual activity, taking place in the main urn field, although the types of finds do suggest that this may be the case. Due to initial poor excavation, or evaluation design, or perhaps, a general failure to recognise what was being discarded and its potential importance, the extent to which this activity could have occurred will never be known. In any event, a degree of re-interpretation is required, as the conclusions offered in the excavation report did not seek to engage with the recovered data in the way this research has attempted.

7.2. The erroneous assumption of past connections

The way in which prehistoric remains are treated varies greatly from location to location and, whilst there may be some element of direct, sustained connection involved, it is only seen in the one, very specific instance with the periodic scouring of the White Horse figure at Uffington. Otherwise, the evidence of later interactions strongly suggests that they are almost wholly dependent, or stemming from, contemporary significance, ascribed by individuals, or communities, to the features at the point in time in which the interaction takes place. It would, perhaps, be most accurate to state that, whilst there is no universal paradigm of connective activity, the evidence from the case studies indicates that there are instances where selected, prehistoric features have been singled out as objects which helped imprint, remember or display a certain identity, or to retain, or create, a sense of connection with the object in question.

With the benefit of hindsight, the base assumption behind the question of whether people understood, displayed or ignored their connections with prehistoric landscapes during the late Iron Age and Roman periods is somewhat flawed. There can be no assumption, as is suggested, that there is any sense of ancestral connection with a particular prehistoric landscape as a basis for interaction. It is not always the case that multiple generations of a static community are engaging with physical representations of their past. The assumption fails to take into consideration not only the fact that cultural influences external to the community may reflect how these features are interacted with, but also what happens when there is a significant hiatus in the use of the landscape (seen at many

of the Thames Valley sites), or when interactions are being carried out by individuals with no prior connections to the landscape. The situation is far more complex. Rather than repurposing via some form of memory transmission alone when it does occur, there are three possible scenarios of engagement with the past: actual engagement, distorted engagement and displaced, or fabricated, engagement.

i) Actual Engagement

This occurs when it can be observed that there is a continuance of respect, more often than not, stemming from the way in which the landscape, or an individual feature, was engaged with for a considerable period prior to the late Iron Age. The way in which the landscape features are interacted with appears to stem from an appreciation of the longevity of their presence, which could only come from within a community that has a long standing association with the object in question. The Mucking landscape, for example, and the way in which this develops in relation to the barrows, is an entirely organic process of decisions taken within a relatively static, or entrenched, community. There are a number of outside influences which manifest themselves. The cemetery areas, the farmstead and the pattern of the Roman field system are all, of course, elements which are borrowed and incorporated. Even when, however, patterns of landscape use are in flux, with the introduction of new, agricultural techniques and cultural paradigms, the barrows are there to provide a base, or markers, for the laying out of the new field system. It could be argued that they are also providing to spiritual needs, as they are a comforting presence of stability, continuity and connection to the landscape, when other features are being overwritten and destroyed. This sense of longevity of communal connection also manifests itself in the similar treatment of the pit alignment and possibly - if the interpretation is correct - the supposed sacred area at Shorncote. In these particular instances of actual engagement, Thomas' (2013) assertions, concerning past connections and memories, appear to be correct.

ii) Displaced or Fabricated Engagement

This occurs when there is evidence of activity which appears to be an attempt by a community to associate with a landscape feature that gives the impression that the feature has retained a significant meaning to them for a long period of time, but which actually, is influenced from a source external to that community. These types of engagement can be fabricated by individuals with no prior, local connections, or based upon practices observed in their original context which are then displaced onto the current landscape. An individual, or group, for example, of Sarmatian auxiliaries in the Roman Army, who are posted to Britain, may have a tradition of burying their deceased in large mounds with a particular set of grave goods. When one of them passes away, they are aware of a similar construction near to them, which they then use to perform their ancestral rites. There could be an element of memory inherent with these interactions, but it is not directly related to the feature itself, rather, it is a transposed association based on an appreciation of form. The Hadham ware burials in ring ditch (652) at Ardleigh with chalcedony beaded styles of jewellery, suggesting that the deceased may have been of continental origin (Brown, 1999, 183), or that those performing the burial ceremonies were influenced by continental styles, or that specific, continental burial rites have been transposed onto the monument (Dark, 1993), offer the most specific example of this type of engagement. Any of the instances where similar deposition practices with a similar time-frame have occurred, whether this is Uffington or Shorncote, could be viewed in a similar manner.

In the previous discussions, it has been observed that the change to the way in which certain, selective circular barrows are interacted with is, in all likelihood, not derived from a situation where several different communities simultaneously decide to bury their dead in circular mounds, but is rather, a displaced appreciation of their function borrowed from an external source. This does not indicate in any way that those individuals or communities who are conforming to this new model of behaviour are not connected by generational ties to the landscape where the interaction is taking place or, conversely, that they are importing their appreciation of the purpose of these features from other parts of

the empire where they originated. It merely acknowledges that such a remarkable change in attitude - witnessed in so many locations from a similar point in time onwards - is likely to have had other than localised origins.

iii) Distorted Engagement

An instance of distorted engagement occurs when there is an attempt to make a connection with a landscape feature which is assumed to have had a particular purpose in the past, such as an ancestral burial mound, but due to imperfect knowledge, the understanding of its original function is distorted. This type of engagement is rare as it occurs specifically as a result of an incorrect appreciation of the past functions of the feature by localised sources. The best example of distorted engagement is the Springfield Lyons Bronze Age enclosure. The late Iron Age pit, with a deliberately placed, purposely bent sword (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 33), indicates that the remains of the ring-work earthwork were mistakenly attributed with significant votive, or ritual, associations, possibly because it was thought of as the remains of a barrow, rather than a settlement enclosure. The date of the deposit indicates that the misunderstanding of function has, in all probability, not been made by individuals with other than local origins. The possibility does, of course, exist that the past use of the feature was clearly understood and the weapon was an offering to an ancestor who had previously resided in that particular location.

These three engagement types could also be equally valid categorisations to explain how individuals, or communities, understood their connections with these features during the late Iron and Roman periods: i.e. they ignored them; they had an actual sense of their previous purposes, or a fabricated, or distorted, sense of connection with them. The differences between these types of engagement are, it could be argued, just one aspect of a larger discussion on what type of memory associations are being displayed through these interactions.

7.3. Hypothesis Correlation

In the final analysis, the presented criteria are useful but quite limited in scope. They only really provide partial expectations, snapshots or pictures of the range of interactions occurring at any one, particular site. When looked at as a whole, they do, however, at the very least, provide the required potential statements of expectations, or a basis for a wider discussion, concerning the use of prehistoric features during the research period at any site. Some of these criteria actively work against each other. It is not possible, for example, to appreciate the way in which a landscape may have been interacted with as a whole by just concentrating on the location of primary deposits as there could be, in addition to minimal interaction in this regard, a component of spatial respect where particular features were considered inviolate and were not to be used under any circumstances for deposition. In this instance, two of the expectations are actively opposing each other. Another location may have a mixture of inviolate features and features which were considered as perfectly acceptable targets for deposition, co-existing alongside each other. Each individual criterion then should not be taken as a final statement on the way in which a particular landscape was appreciated during the research period, but as a singular tool in a toolbox that aids in the construction of a wider discussion concerning the landscape in question. Effectively, they are contributory attributes whose presence may indicate the existence of a period in time, or a landscape, where prehistoric features were incorporated in some way into the consciousness of the communities that inhabited them.

There are a number of ways in which the case study information could be presented. Each individual location and the potential incidences of correlation with the criteria could be considered separately, but essentially, this would just involve the duplication of the case study and regional conclusions. Correlations could be presented in tabular form by site and criteria, or a table could be devised, where instances of correlation are rated on an imposed sliding scale from minimal to exceptional, but these would, in all probability, not provide a sufficiently well rounded picture. The least objectionable alternative is to

present the criteria in order, noting instances of correlation and then discuss any relevant points afterward.

7.3.1. *Primary deposits*

There will be a direct correlation between prehistoric features and primary deposits of material datable to the late Iron Age and/or Roman periods.

For this hypothesis to have been considered as substantiated, there would have been a multiplicity of instances where deposits in prehistoric features could be proven to have been created due to direct, positive engagement with the remains of the past by late Iron Age and Roman communities. Whilst there is some evidence that this has occurred, there are only a small number of instances. If the evidence of direct deposition of pottery in Gloucestershire long barrows is removed from the total (their derivation is uncertain and discussed in detail later in this section) only 14 examples of direct and deliberate engagement exist. All of these instances have a certain commonality in that they are either based around funerary, or some form of ritual, activity. These activities cover a broad time span and are not related to a single part of the research period. With such a small number of instances of direct engagement through deposition, the most positive statement that can be made is that the evidence as presented does not appear to indicate that there is any widespread pattern of direct engagement with prehistoric features through the insertion of primary deposits of material, datable to the late Iron Age and/or Roman periods in the study areas (Fig. 7.1).

Location	Interaction
Abingdon	Isolated inhumation at Radley Barrow Hills (Chambers and McAdam, 2007, 13–33).
Ardleigh	The offerings to the landscape feature in area seven and ring ditch (652); (Brown, 1999, 182–83).
Bisley	Bisley Common Barrow deposits (Clifford, 1938, 298).
Cassington	Ring ditch six votive deposits: late Roman burials in the interior of the enclosure.
Rams Hill	The burials associated with the potential temple site.
Shorncote	Barrow (16072) and burials in the southern end of the pit alignment (Powell et al., 2010, 162; 165).
Stanton	Linch Hill Corner a late Iron Age, or possibly, an early Romano-British cremation burial was recovered (Linington, 1982, 83).
Springfield	The late Iron Age pit with deliberately deposited sword (Brown and Medlycott, 2013, 33).
Uley	The singular burial (Crawford, 1925, 102).
Uffington	The long barrow late Roman cemetery (Barclay et al., 2003b, 39) and the periodic maintenance of the White Horse figure.

Fig. 7.1: Primary Deposits.

It appears that either communities, or individuals, are making specific use of selective examples of prehistoric monumentality in order to perform burial rites or carry out some form of votive, or ritual-based, activities. These instances, though rare, do require some discussion. Bisley Common barrow, for example, revealed no evidence of any burial activity either within its confines, or in the immediate proximity – it is repurposed as a shrine used for rites, or dedications to Mars or Minerva. The Cassington example is similar, in that the barrow is repurposed as a shrine with votive offerings, but differs in that its creation and operation are probably linked with the cemetery and burial spreads in proximity to the feature. The example at Cassington also differs from that at Bisley as the

Cassington votive area dates from the 3rd and 4th centuries AD whilst the Bisley shrine was active in the 1st and 2nd centuries.

It is only post AD 260 when the majority of the direct correlations appear to occur. There is a well-documented and widespread practice noted in the introductory section of this research of exactly the same use of both prehistoric and Roman barrows during the early medieval period by Williams (1997; 1998a). Although the body of evidence here is, relatively speaking, small, it could indicate that the more extensive Anglo-Saxon practice of interring the deceased in prehistoric and Roman barrows has not occurred as a result of a shift from Mediterranean influences to Germanic ones. Its origins actually lie at the time when Rome firmly controlled and influenced the cultural and social landscape of Britain. There may be some justification to argue the possibility that regional identities, based on old tribal areas, may have begun to creep back into the forefront of thought, influencing certain regional variations in burial practices. The argument that this may be a spreading, or continuation of 3rd century AD, not 5th or 6th century practices, is suitably reinforced when considering the situation of the barrows in proximity to the White Horse at Uffington, where there is direct evidence here that the same barrow is used initially for late Roman burials, that this practice continues on into the 5th and 6th centuries, and is further extended into a second, extant feature nearby. This criterion only considers the direct deposits and there are, of course, other factors to be taken into account.

The deposits recovered at the chambered tombs in the Cotswold-Severn long barrows are a conundrum. Adhering strictly to the definition of primary deposits discussed in the introduction, their recovery locations could put the majority firmly under the heading of either secondary, or tertiary, spreads. We have already discussed at length the supposition that the deposits which remain at these locations are just a small fragment of those that were actually made. The remains are just that; the remains of much more significant votive, or ritual, deposition in these particular examples, with the majority of the deposits having been disturbed or 'rifled' over an extended period. It just does not seem plausible that the deposits would have remained static, given the visible and extant nature of many of these mounds today, or that they would have been ignored or forgotten when

motivations such as greed or hunger, have caused the desecration, or destruction, in search of 'treasure' at locations such as these in the past (or indeed, currently). Although they were probably not all accorded the level of veneration seen at Uley (which again had minimal deposits of a votive nature in the barrow feature and extensive ones in the temple area) there is just something about the position that these represent more extensive remains, rather than the totality of deposits, which is more believable. Taking this position does not alter the general conclusion that there is a lack of direct depositional activity as a whole, but it does increase the instances of correlation with the criteria by seven bringing the total examples to 21. The situation at the Cotswold barrows raises an interesting debate. Can we always be certain that the material recovered from any site represents all the activity which occurred there? With sealed context burials such as Sherncote, for example, there is no debate, but what about other sites such as the votive ring ditch at Cassington? Is there any possibility that the material recovered from the ground does not represent the totality of interaction and that earlier offerings have been removed? This is where an appreciation of the stratigraphy shown in section drawings must be fully considered. In the case of Cassington, it does seem that this is a correct assumption, but when making any assessment, what the Cotswold-Severn barrows teach us is to look at carefully at a potential range of primary, through tertiary, possibilities for the deposition of material.

The lack of direct correlation in deposition should not always be taken to indicate a lack of engagement or respect. The limited scope of certain criteria has been highlighted by this discussion. Instances of primary deposition serve only as a springboard for further investigation; they are not a be all and end all assessment of any particular location's potential. The singular, direct insertion at Radley Barrow Hills, for example, needs to be considered in the wider context of the later Roman cemetery and the barrows, in order for a more meaningful conclusion of the relationship between them to be appreciated. Mucking and the Vicarage Field have no instances of direct deposition, but are still substantial landscapes of engagement. Does the singular instance of direct deposition at Radley mean that the site can be equated with Springfield Lyons, where this is the sum total of interaction over the entire landscape? Of course not. When you look outside of

this narrow focus and factor in the other criterion, it is just part of a toolset that allows you to build an individualised picture of landscape development. Having said this, even with its narrow scope, the potential use of specific, circular features at several locations as votive, or burial sites post AD 260, is one of the most interesting potential patterns of interaction revealed by the research.

7.3.2. Identity formation and/or retention

There will be evidence of depositional practices, or artefactual distributions, that indicate intentional and purposeful interaction with prehistoric features in later periods where prehistoric features are used as part of a process of identity formation and/or retention

There is a certain bias inherent in this criterion. It is inevitable that there will be some overlap between this, and those criteria which seek to look at primary depositions or spatial relationships, as the excavation evidence is the only thing to use in the determination. However, there appears to be quite a definitive dividing line between retentive and formative interactions. Until the middle of the 2nd century AD, there seems to be a pattern whereby interactions were predicated on respect being paid to the surviving prehistoric features, based upon retaining an existing social, or cultural, identity, treating them as inviolate expressions of past connections. After this point, there appears to be a shift where those minimal interactions which do occur, seem to be based around the formation of, rather than the retention of particular individual or communal identities.

The instances of sudden repurposing of circular mounds are individualised microcosms of this shift. It is probably correct to surmise that many of these features probably retained an element of visual presence in the landscape throughout much of the early Roman period. This suggests that they may have also retained a degree of respect from the proximal communities (even if they were obscured by corn driers, as in the case of Shorncote) since their mounds were not removed. However, the way in which they are

perceived is altered from passive symbolic indicators of ancestral connections within the landscape, to active participants in the ritual afterlives of the inhabitants. Whether this indicates a process of change in local identity perceptions which has grown organically, or has been adopted, is a matter of preference or interpretation. There is, however, a weight of evidence to suggest that this is probably best examined on a case by case basis. Again, this shift from retention to formation does not take a single trajectory, is individualised and is not present in all the examined locations where the features are initially respected. Examples of this individualised engagement include the relationship between the late Roman burial activity and the prehistoric activity at Radley Hills, or, at the very least, an awareness, however flawed it may have been, of the previous significance attached to the barrows, with their use as status enhancers based on ancestral connections (Chambers and McAdam, 2007, 31). The degree of spatial respect paid to the boundaries of the late Neolithic henge monument, Bronze Age features in the late Iron Age, and in the early Roman period at Stanton Harcourt, is another particularly prolonged example of identity retention through the respect of visible landscape objects. The Mucking landscape is similar, at least initially, but then latterly becomes an entire landscape of the dead in the later Roman period.

In all these examples of restive, adaptive, or adoptive interactions, the individuals, or communities, who carried them out were seeking to express an individualised, contextualised, cultural identity through that interaction. What kind of identity? Surely the repurposing, or respect, of a prehistoric landscape feature cannot unilaterally equate to a desire to express a Romanised façade to the surrounding world? Are the interactions designed to somehow hide, or express, the Roman aspects of their status, inferring deeper connections with the past, or some conglomeration of both, on an unfathomable sliding scale? The probable answer to this is that each and every interaction, regardless of its similarities to other examples, is designed to fundamentally express a connection with that particular landscape. Does it matter how Roman, Celtic, Pagan or Gallic (or any degree of hybridity between these multiple possibilities), their identity actually is, as long as the individuals, or communities, involved have a shared, common understanding of what they are trying to express? It may be that there are elements of display, and

certainly, with later burial interactions, a possibly more widespread understanding, transmitted from community to community, somewhat homogenising it as a practice. The fact remains that there is always an element that is different: the landscape position, the grave goods or alignment of interment do not exactly equate. There is a desire to individualise making even the most similar practices, at least partially, unique.

7.3.3. *Spatial separation*

There will be deliberate segregation of features constructed in separate, prehistoric or historical periods. Prehistoric features and their boundaries will be uncut, considered inviolate or respected by the boundaries of features securely datable to the late Iron Age and/or Roman periods.

The research shows that later boundaries often have a tendency to respect the presence of earlier features in the landscape: a possible indicator of the longevity in the practice of deliberate segregation, or a reference to the presence of a durable, physical marker such as a hedge. Those instances where there is evidence of spatial segregation seem to occur earlier, rather than later, in the research period. The assumption that in some cases, this criterion and the previous criterion would overlap, appears to be correct as there are a number of examples (such as Mucking and Stanton Harcourt) where features are being respected and used in retentive, rather than formative, processes of identity expression in the earlier part of the research period. This, however, could be just a function of the data, or a function of the way in which the data has been interpreted: i.e. because the same data is being used it correlates, or the same attributes are being ascribed to each of the instances. Equally, however, it could be evidence that there is, at some point in time, a direct overlap between the two criteria, or simply that the remains of Bronze Age barrows were treated as inviolate expressions of a community's previous connections with the landscape which helped to retain a sense of past connection with that landscape through deliberate, non-interactive respect. Although these examples merge the two criteria together, they then, by their very nature, exclude any correlation with the primary

deposition criterion, amply illustrating the point that there can be a direct opposition between them.

Landscape segregation is not a definitively singular practice where prehistoric features are compartmentalised into individual landscape packages or respected by later boundaries in one particular way throughout all of the study areas. There are, in fact, three, quite distinctive ways that earlier prehistoric landscape features are interacted with which can be broadly defined under the heading of segregation and separation: they can be used as active participial's, passive negotiators, or those that remain visible, but un-referenced, non-significant redundant presences.

i) Active participial

A feature which can be classed as an active participial in terms of spatial separation is one that plays a central role in any interaction. Generally, interactions with an active participial are practically based, but there can be symbolic aspects behind the practical use. Examples of this type of interaction occur in each of the three examined regions. The way in which the Roman field system is formed along a baseline at Mucking; the layout of many of the Roman cemeteries along that same base line using barrows as sighting points; the similar use of the same monument type at Rivenhall to form the villa precinct; the way in which the later field boundaries of Rivenhall may have incorporated many examples of Bronze Age monumentality (as there are several field boundaries in the parish which do not follow the natural topography of the landscape, with a definitively circular shape) and the way in which the shape of the Cassington enclosure uses the presence of the barrows within its circuit, are all examples of features which are playing an active role in a deliberate, territorial proxemic process, be it the formation of boundaries, defences or field systems, which separate, or segregate, one part of an otherwise continuous landscape from another.

ii) Passive negotiator

An individual landscape feature, or group of features, are passive negotiators in terms of spatial segregation when they are not actively used in the placement of, for example, a field system, or boundary, directly, but their presence is respected by later interactions in the landscape. The features may be enclosed by linear boundaries, or treated as a respected landscape encapsulate, with no additional linear delineations: for example, the group of barrows along the ridgeline at Radley Hills are referenced by the later Roman cemetery. Their presence is part of a negotiation which provides an ongoing sense of connection between communities and the landscape. They could be considered as individually important features, or as a conglomerate, that is, in some way, separated or delineated from the surrounding landscape, even though there are no physical boundaries to define the extent. Passive negotiators are often respected for ancestral, ritual purposes in a process of identity formation or retention, but as with those features that are actively participating in the recontextualisation process, there may be an element of practicality involved where it may have been considered too time consuming, or labour intensive, to destroy them. The best examples of passive negotiators are Radley and Stanton Harcourt. In both cases, the landscape development shows that they have not been used directly as sighting points and do not form part of any boundaries, but their presence negotiates the way in which subsequent interactions with that particular location are carried out. In the case of the Vicarage Field at Stanton Harcourt, the later field systems are constructed with the presence of the features in mind, leaving the barrows as, presumably, extant visual markers in the landscape.

iii) Redundant Presence

A feature with a redundant presence, in spatially segregative terms, is one that appears, on first examination to be passively present, in that there is no evidence of later interactions disturbing any of its constituent parts. What sets them apart from passive negotiators is that, whilst they may retain a visible presence in the landscape, there is no way to determine if there was any intentional decision-making process to deliberately

segregate the feature. Rather, the feature is essentially segregated because it is ignored, or considered to be insignificant. Probably the best examples of this are several of the Neolithic long barrows in Gloucestershire. Some of them, notably the Giants Stone, or the Avenis Barrow near Bisley, could have been instrumental in the formation of modern-day field boundaries whose origins may stretch back into antiquity. However, there is no definitive way to test this without detailed further investigations. A feature that is a redundant presence will be lacking that sense of positive agency in the interaction that sets the other two categorisations apart. Arguably, whilst there is an indication, purely through the fact of a continued extant presence, that they have been respected to some degree, they are more of a negative, rather than a positive, correlation with the hypothesis criterion.

Whilst spatial structuring of the landscape, based on the respect for the presence of prehistoric features, is not universal, the preponderance of evidence is significantly weighted, with at least one example of a feature or wider landscape, in nine of the 12 case studies (75%), showing specific selective, or probable, instances of positive correlation. Under the proviso that there is a degree of selectivity taking place, probably based around the continuing, extant, visible nature of at least some element of the feature (be it the remains of a ditch or mound, or something more substantial) there is sufficient evidence to indicate that this hypothesis criterion has been proven to be substantiated.

7.3.5. Display of wealth or status

There will be evidence that prehistoric features are being used as a socially important object in a process of display of wealth or status

Whilst the display of wealth, or status, is often considered to be related to the generosity, or beneficence, associated with the construction and dedication of prominent and impressive public edifices in Roman urban centres, or the construction of large villa estates, this is not always the case. An interaction which is designed to display the relative social status of an individual, or a group, does not automatically correlate with a

display of wealth. Whilst they could be considered as inextricably linked, this is the case only if the definition of a display of status is constrained to a very narrow focus on particular types of interaction which are considered to be highly Romanised. If correlation with the hypothesis remains rigidly centred on interactions which could be defined as those that reference competitive public display by the wealthiest members of Romano-British society, or those of elite status, then the instances where this occurs are only a handful. If, however, the definition is widened to include those instances of interactions where the features are also being included in a process of status display that has an element of subtle resistance, legitimisation or acceptance of a new social hierarchy, the instances of positive correlation increase dramatically.

The villa at Rivenhall, for example, symbolically connects the structure with the remains of the past in the landscape, inferring continuity. The symbiotic relationship between the Radley Hills cemetery and the barrows of the ridge, using their prominence as a visual marker, is another possible correlation. The possible increased status of the individual buried in the barrow at Uley; the use of the Bisley common barrow as a votive focal point (Clifford, 1938, 298); the prominent positioning of the possible temple precinct on Rams Hill; the singular burial inserted into the north facing side of the hillfort; the prominence of the Uffington barrows and, finally, the votive focal point at Cassington, are all examples of interaction where the sites may have been chosen with an element of display in mind. It is no coincidence that many of these locations are, topographically speaking, elevated. How could carrying the deceased a substantial distance from your settlement to a mound by a giant chalk White Horse, building a temple on a ridgeline, or for that matter, placing a cemetery on the route leading up to a prominent ridgeline, be defined as anything other than using their landscape positioning as part of a process of display? However, these interactions are not purely referencing how wealthy or, culturally speaking, how Roman these individuals or communities believed themselves to be. There are, in actuality, several possible underlying rationales:

i) Exclusion

In this instance, the individual, or community, is looking to use, or reference, only the newer forms of Mediterranean-centred cultural display by erasing that which has gone before. It is the equivalent of an interaction with a landscape feature which says, 'Look at the power we now hold! We have erased an important part of the past from the landscape and imposed our own identity upon it, solely because we have the ability to do so.' In this case, the remains of the past are being pushed aside, destroyed or sublimated in a direct attempt to impose a certain idea, or ideological order. In other words exclusion is the enforced legitimacy, or acceptance of a new social order and its power which seeks to negate, or exclude, the power of past associations which that particular feature may have held within a social, or cultural, landscape of an individual or community.

ii) Inclusion

This is a much more subtle rationale. In a time of political upheaval, or rapid economic change, one of the most effective methods of controlling any populace is to create hybrid institutions to impose order (Van Buren and Richards, 2000, 4). It is, after all, easier to coerce, or induce, an individual or community into acceptance of a new social order if what you seek to impose is, in some way, underpinned by an already emplaced and accepted cosmological understanding. Affirmation, or acceptance, of a previous cosmological hierarchy is a powerful tool for control. In this instance, the interaction – whatever its form – could be viewed as one that seeks to include, as far as possible, the remains of the past to create a form of cultural, or hybrid identity, using both old and new forms of social expression in its makeup.

iii) Rural resistance to the rise of Christianity

The second decade of the 4th century AD is a time of turmoil. The adoption of Christianity throughout the empire with Constantine I, as an enthusiastic and generous supporter, after Milvan Bridge, creates tensions in the social structure of the empire

(Salway, 1981, 339–41). As Salway (1981, 343) notes, despite initial resistance by the senatorial interest, with increasing temporal power given to the church; compounded by the presence of well-to-do Christian landowners, backed by the favour of the imperial house, any Roman governor had to take the wishes of the church and its officers – however few in number – very seriously. This ‘urban’ revolution is opposed by the construction of Romano-Celtic temples at many rural sites throughout Britain. The temples at Breen Down, Chanctonbury and Maiden Castle (Smith, 2001, 190; 192; 202), for example, are all constructed at this time, possibly in direct rural opposition to the rise of Christianity. It is certainly intriguing to consider that, part of the rationale behind the interactions at the White Horse and Rams Hill may have been the response of pagan individuals, or communities, to their decline in status. If, for argument’s sake, they were prevented from constructing locations of religious veneration in the cities by some edict, no one was able, nor willing, to stop them using the land they owned elsewhere to display their convictions, or practice any rites they pleased.

What if you take this theory of multiple, rather than a singularly focused, status or identity a stage further? What happens when you go beyond an orthodox definition of elite display and take the element of public display of wealth completely out of the equation and concentrate on just the status portion of the criterion? When this happens, when no assumption is made that each and every interaction with a landscape feature is trying to define how ‘Roman’ the individual or communities performing it want to be (taking into account that this term is highly subjective anyway and capable of being interpreted in a multiplicity of ways) the pool of correlative instances expands exponentially.

Looking at Stanton Harcourt, for example, surely there is an element of status display inextricably linked with the way these features are respected. In this instance, the ancestral connections that the barrows represent mean that the particular status, or identity, the communities are trying to display has little to do with conveying how ‘Roman’ they considered themselves to be. In fact, from a certain point, of view the continued presence and continued respect for these features could be explained as a

passive form of resistive identity retention. The inhabitants of the nearby settlements could be symbolically stating that, 'We may be occupied by Roman military forces; ruled by their appointed governor and controlled by their laws but look at the way in which we live. What we choose to surround ourselves with is the presence of our ancestral past; our identity as a community is linked with these landscape features and we continue to venerate them, even when exposed to a range of other cultural ideologies. We are symbolically displaying that we still consider ourselves to be Atribatian or Durotregian by continuing to venerate, or respect, these features that have been part of the landscape for as long as we, or our grandfathers, can remember.'

It status therefore inextricably linked with identity? They certainly form part of an individual's social concept, how they internalise or express themselves, or how they are perceived by others. They have a number of similar characteristics, or at least, characteristics which can affect perceptions that can be either flexible, or static, and are culturally, or biologically, cued such as elite, or non-elite, status freeman or slave, male or female, adult or child, civilised or barbarian. They can, for example, be hierarchical, and/or gender based where, male children born into a certain social class are afforded an elevated status beyond that afforded to female children of the same parents. Assuming there is a mutual understanding between individuals, or communities, of these properties and how they interact, they could potentially be re-assigned to objects which are then used as transmitters, communicators or expressers of status or identity. Perhaps, from this point of view, the lack of respect shown to previous inviolate landscape features, or the decision to repurpose selected examples of a particular morphological form in the latter part of the research period, could be an indication of an increasing marginalisation of those communities who sought to express themselves through objects which are not traditionally associated with hierarchical symbols of Roman power. It could also be a reflection of the success of a policy of integrating rural communities in Britain into the culture of the wider empire which latterly turns these landscape features into irrelevancies for increasing culturally hybrid communities.

Using these points as a template guideline, a strong argument could be made for the position that any significant interaction with a prehistoric feature in any of the case studies could have an element of status retention, formation or display involved as a symbolic element behind the actual physical interaction. There is then, depending on the spectrum of interpretation you prefer for this criterion, either a minimal amount, or widespread, correlation.

7.3.5. Correlation of form, or landscape activity, with types of interaction

There will be evidence to suggest that prehistoric features of a similar form, or a different form but with a similar landscape positioning, are subjected to similar types of interactions, indicating widespread, rather than localised, practices.

If there is one similarity between these case studies, it is a general pattern of intentional and purposeful interaction with features originally constituted at some point in the Bronze Age, as opposed to those constructed in the Neolithic. However, to simply state that Bronze Age features are selectively repurposed whilst Neolithic ones are not, is a far too simplistic dichotomy, as the long barrow at Uffington and the temple near the Uley long barrow are locations where this general pattern falls down. On the surface, the evidence seems to correlate with Johnston's (2001, 2005) observations that it is only in the Bronze Age, with agricultural intensification, clearly defined boundaries and defined activity zones, that the most profound and long-lasting connections with the landscape are made. Whilst this assertion may be correct, it does have one fundamental problem; without the benefit of scientific methods of dating each feature, or being able to arrange them chronologically by similarities in form, how would an Iron Age, or Roman, inhabitant of these landscape be able to differentiate between them, allowing them to select features from a particular date range to interact with? It could be argued that there may be some element of locally transmitted memory which appears in the decision making process but this would have to be a quite detailed calculation based on communal knowledge. It would be possible, of course, to invent some unnecessary, extremely convoluted and complex paradigm that attempted to encompass a rationale based on Johnston's

assertions but if you lay aside any consideration of a selection process based on relative chronology, there are other explanations for the patterns of interaction discussed.

i) The straight, the round, and the unusually amorphous

What has to be at the forefront of any consideration is that modern terminologies are, to all intents and purposes, irrelevant when considering how late Iron Age and Roman individuals, or communities, interacted with what they may have understood to have been the remains of earthworks from the past in their contemporary landscape. You only have to consider what they could see, what they may have thought about it and why, or how, they may have expressed a sense of identity, or connection, with the past using these landscape features, noting whether the connection has actual longevity or is a more recent construct. Further, it must be appreciated that we are dealing with features that were constituted under a number of very different cultural ideologies, which in no way match those that were prevalent at the time we are examining them.

There must be some other fundamental difference between the remains of these two earlier epochs that led to so many different communities making remarkably similar choices. The key word here is 'shape'. The excavation evidence suggests that in those instances where it can be proven that significant interactions have taken place and prehistoric features are being repurposed as a physical, or symbolic, reference point, in the majority of cases, the features are either circular in shape or topographically elevated or a mixture of the two. There are, of course, exceptions to this generalised statement; the pit alignment at Shorncote and the possible sacred, or at least, respected, compartment of the landscape that this alignment sits next to at its southern extent; the long barrow on the ridge near the White Horse at Uffington and the intrusive burial at Uley; the possibility of more extensive interactions with trapezoid, or rectangular forms, in a regional necropolis in the Cotswolds. However, even in those examples of long barrows where extensive deposits are made, they are either set apart, or elevated, visible examples. It should also be noted that the range of interactions is not limited to one similar ritual, even when the interaction is, broadly speaking, the same, for example, burial related, there are subtle

nuances which differentiate them. They include the insertion of deposits directly into the circumference of the feature, either in a surrounding ditch, or within the interior confines of the feature itself, a variety of graves goods or subtly altered burial practices and the internment of the deceased in multiple compass alignments. When they are not the subject of direct deposition, they are used as sighting points, layouts for field systems or left to lie fallow as reminders of ancestral connections in the landscape. Though there are a number of positive interactions, not all the examined features of a circular morphology are treated in the same way. There are quite a large number of similar features in the case studies for which there is no indication of activity.

What is it about circular mounds, or ditches, that focuses a very selective sense of symbolic fascination? Is it simply that at the time the interaction was taking place, they retained a prominent and visible presence in the contemporary landscape, allowing them to be used as a base point, or focus, for the interactions? Perhaps this selective focus stems from a much more recent source, or perhaps it illustrates a certain persistent and conservative character of burial traditions in the north-west provinces of the Roman empire, noted by Vermeulen and Bourgeois (2000, 143), who discussed the longevity of burial traditions in Sandy Flanders, or those noted by Roymans (1995) who discussed the ways in which barrow cemeteries in the southern Netherlands or Northern Belgium were used as a positive appropriation of the past, or Wigg's similar discussion on Gallia Belgica (Wigg, 1993, 378). The only problem is that in these particular instances, those circular features incorporated into burial rites have an extremely long hiatus in use before they once again become a focus of ritual, or votive, observance, indicating that there may have been an external source from somewhere in the wider empire, stimulating re-engagement, rather than a source that was purely organic, deriving from a British requirement to repurpose these features after such a long period of time. Is it also possible that it is simply motivations or requirements, based upon the lifting of certain social constraints or stigmas, that may previously have prevented direct interaction, are being imported from within the empire? This could be a regionalised effect that has its roots partially, within Severus' announcement of universal citizenship which decades later, fosters the idea that individuals, or communities, are able to freely express themselves in

terms of burial practices. They are now less constrained by the edicts of the Roman state and are increasingly free to express a sense of ancestral connection in their burial rites which previously, may have been considered an overt sign of rebellious behaviour, partially within a framework of ritual appreciation of form still retained from the Iron Age.

The evidence correlates with Williams' (1998b) argument that the use of these monumental forms, observed in the early medieval period where use of circular landscape features as part of a process of articulation of identity, constructed with the past as a constituent component but overlain with contemporary significance is much more widespread and actually has its origins in regional diversification in the 3rd century AD crisis of the western Roman empire, rather than purely in Germanic influences. Whether the provenance is contemporary, based on continental influences, or articulates a pre-existing communal memory which manifests itself through a visible, physical object that provides a sense of permanence and stability (Connerton, 1989, 37), it cannot be disputed that there is a correlation of interaction, or at least, a certain sense of coalescence of fluctuating relationships which appear to have included a particular landscape form in many of the examined case studies.

If the activity at the Cotswold-Severn barrows is of a similar character, then interactions with circular features in the other case study areas may just be regional variations of a widespread practice, centring on a variety of visible landscape constituents. There may be another explanation for this break with standardised practice. As noted in the Shorncote case study, the difference in treatment of the two examples of barrows may be down to natural processes of erosion, or even, their relative proximity to the settlement but it could also be an expression of an appreciation of the barrow as part of a conglomerated feature, rather than as a separate entity. The smaller barrow may have formed part of what was seen at the time as a larger ritual landscape feature encompassing the barrow, pit alignment and reserved, or ritual, area. This connectivity could be the reason why this particular feature regains a certain ritual prominence in the later Roman period but it could in no way be considered as a universally applicable paradigm, as there are just as

many instances when features are not proximal to each other, or only individual examples have been repurposed. This line of thought leads to the interesting sub-consideration that, in some of the instances where activity, or respect, have been observed, it may not have been individual features that were the target of veneration, only specific parts of what may have been considered as a much wider landscape of reverence. Using Stanton Harcourt as an example, there is no sense of individuality in the way the features are treated; the large grouping of barrows is probably seen as a conglomerate. There are, of course, parts of the later field system that pass by, or abut, the features, but as a whole, their presence is respected. There is no real pattern to their placement or representation of any known form. However, when you look purely at the placement of the ring ditches at Stanton, or even the pattern of placement of the respected barrows at Mucking, it is intriguing to think that there may be some element of deliberate positioning to their original locations: i.e. theirs is not a random placement nor indicative of the way in which the settlement expanded over time but is a deliberately positioned landscape of the dead that still resonated with the community. When viewed from this perspective, the theory that the grouping of Roman period deposits in particular examples of long barrows that form a specific sub-region of activity within the wider Cotswold area is a representation of a regional necropolis, takes on further credence. The idea that these mounds are linked in some way on an intuitive cosmological level, or may be appreciated as a whole object, is very reminiscent of the way in which the large patterns of earthworks were created based on astronomical events in the Adena or Hopewell cultures in the Ohio basin along the Mississippi River, the Ohio Serpent being the most outstanding example (Thomas, 1999, 128–32). If connectivity is part of the rationale between repurposing and respect for the constituent parts of a large amorphous feature, what effect does this have in disseminating the information of a multi-period conglomerate feature, in terms of the standardised methods of archaeological reporting? Looking solely at Shorncote, can we say with certainty, that some element of the pit alignment was not still visible? Could there have been some other element that still marked its course? Was there a hedge or a gully providing a visible reference? Was it just memory associations with the cut through the landscape that set this particular area apart? Was there any indication that the set aside area was marked in some way? Did the barrow mound still exist? Did all the

visible elements and memory associations mean that the features were considered, at the time, as just constituent parts of the boundary? By treating them from a report perspective as separate, purely due to the fact that the report we are preparing is ordered in a chronological manner, are we presenting a non-factual picture of the landscape in the Roman period? Surely it behoves the writer to at least consider that, without detailed knowledge of relative construction dates, the inhabitants of any location could only interact with what they perceived in their visual frame of reference?

Following this line of thought, the White Horse at Uffington, for instance, needs to be considered in the light of the landscape around it. Each individual constituent feature that could be seen at the point in time the interments in the barrow commenced, may have been considered as part of a singular episode of construction, each forming part of a whole pattern, however inaccurate a timeline of construction that may have been from a modern perspective. Similarly, the Cassington enclosure, or any grouping of features discussed, may have been considered, to all intents and purposes, as whole objects rather than palimpsests of individual timeframes overlaying one another. However, a problem arises when considering how far, in terms of distance on the ground, you need to stretch this possible sense of attachment. Whilst it may be perfectly acceptable, however prosaic or inaccurate, to consider those examples of features proximal to the White Horse as a singular whole, can this sense of connection be transmitted onto Rams Hill as well? They are, after all, connected along the path of the ridgeway. In making these possible connections, or in asserting the possibility that what we consider now as individual features constructed in very different time frames may have been seen as part of a conglomerated whole, any connective situation is wholly reliant on what could be seen from the view point of the average person's height, unless some nearby higher elevation was present, and the simple fact that any decayed, or destroyed, elements would be unavailable for consideration.

Another possible reason for this concentration on particular specific features could be the relative visibility of the different constructions. Some features will have had a much longer time period over which to decay and therefore, more of their original construction

would have been lost to either manmade or natural processes, assuming that there is no episodic maintenance of the feature. It is incorrect to assume that, just because a particular object is older, it will have a less visible presence in any landscape. Some features may have been maintained, reinvigorating them as a visible landscape marker as opposed to features in proximity which were left to lie fallow: the repeated scouring of the Uffington White Horse being an example of this. The material used in the original construction is also a consideration. It is, for example, much easier to imagine that the prominent stones of the Devil's Quoits would survive as extant objects, as opposed to a conglomeration of shallow depressions, where the residue of past occupation had been discarded.

ii) Somewhere up there

Many of the case study landscapes do follow the general pattern of repurposing, or respect for, circular features. However, the long barrow on the ridge near the White Horse at Uffington, the intrusive burial and the temple in proximity to Uley barrow, the possible temple precinct at Rams Hill or the residual traces of the offerings in other examples of Cotswold long barrows, directly contravene any set requirement for a specifically circular morphology for features where significant votive, or ritual, interactions are to be carried out. The evidence from Bisley Common barrow does suggest that circular forms may have been appreciated for their ancestral, or ritual, connections, even when a number of rectangular or trapezoid forms were close by. Many locations chosen to concentrate certain forms of activity, such as the grouping of Cotswold-Severn barrows, that would be excluded on purely morphological, grounds do have one other, correlating similarity; they tend to be in some way topographically prominent.

We have already considered the practical necessities that may be associated with elevated topographical locations: the use of features in such locations as territorial markers; their primary use as areas where burial activity occurs or fortifications are placed, is not only because of a prominent position, but also due to an unrecognised statement, or

assessment, of agricultural potential. Poor quality soil, or low soil coverage, rather than any a statement of prosaic, or ephemeral, considerations may have been the significant motivation behind the fact that these locations are set aside for other purposes. Along with the marginal quality of some elevated portions of the landscape for agricultural purposes, comes an ideal situation in which a landscape feature has a greater survivability potential. To illustrate this point, what is the probability that a circular mound of earth, located in a prime agricultural landscape with rich soil and a growing settlement nearby, will survive relatively intact for a considerable period of time, assuming there is no episodic maintenance occurring, as opposed to a similar mound, located on a ridge with marginal, or no, agricultural potential? More probable? Less probable? About the same chance? Looking at Shorncote and Uffington, the odds would seem to be relatively even, but other factors, such as the reverence in which the object is held, the position of other objects of significance in the surrounding landscape or the lack of regard may have equal weighting. Whilst there may be an element of display involved, it is perhaps less of a strict 'black and white' situation where locations are chosen for repurposing simply because they are so prominent or of marginal agricultural quality. Location is just one of the parameters' along with a mixture of desire, requirements, population pressures, religious or votive necessities and the availability of the required landscape forms.

7.3.6. Chronological correlation

There will be evidence of a chronological correlation between events taking place in a wider, historical, or socio-political, context and changes in the way prehistoric features are interacted with at a localised level.

Despite a marked preference for anti-historically correlative explanations for changing attitudes toward the ways in which prehistoric features are interacted with, it is impossible to ignore that there seems to be a definitive change to the way in which some features are interacted with after the middle of the 3rd century AD, approximately from AD 260 onwards. It would be remiss to ignore the fact that this corresponds to a period of time which all available historical records state, is a period of partition, or the ceding of

large portions of the empire into smaller, regional compartmentalisations, ruled by military usurpers, who are initially hard to distinguish from any other who occasionally attempted to seize the whole empire from their bases of power in the centuries from its creation to its eventual fall. The one thing that does mark the regional emperors of the Gallic Empire apart, however, is their willingness to forgo any thought of a march on Rome to solidify the broken frontier on the Rhine and stabilise the territory they controlled, altruistically sidelining any imperial ambitions (Drinkwater, 1987, 240), although there may have been eminently practical reasons of internal stability that led to a more passive military stance of Posthumous and his successors.

It is at this exact point that the historical records inform us that Valerian I fell prisoner to Shapur I, the Persian King, and as if sensing their opportunity, the Frankish, Alamanni and other barbarian tribes poured across the Rhine and Danube frontiers, reaching as far south as Tarragona in Spain. The final reason for the fracture in the west is a localised response to this crisis. As Drinkwater further notes (1987, 240–241), this was probably an opportunity to enact a change that had been effectively brewing for some time as, by the middle of the 3rd century, western Roman society had established its own personality and identity within the overall framework of Roman governance, which led to the most influential members actively supporting the usurpation to safeguard their regional interests.

Are the instances where the deceased are interred either directly within, or with a respectful spatial relationship to, prehistoric features that begins to occur sometime after AD 260, all coincidental correlations? Is this a pattern of interaction where a number of communities simultaneously make similar decisions for the disposal of the deceased? Is the attested movement toward a more regionally focused identity by the most influential members of Western Roman society, culminating with the direct split into regional empires, a further coincidence? Is the evidence of increased villa construction in the Cotswolds region is wholly organic, related to the increase in the wealth of the upper echelons of Romano-British society at the time, and in no way indicative that any wealthy citizens of Gaul have selectively migrated to a more secure environment? It is of

note that, although the instances of this occurrence are not remarkably widespread, it does highlight the possible ripple effects that could occur with localised patterns of landscape engagement from more politically important events; a filter comprising bodies, politics and landscapes that drips down, merging to create a very specific projective hybrid of self onto the surroundings with which it interacts.

The suddenness of the change does give pause for thought. The Ardleigh and Shorncote instances are, in particular, closely dated to the period of the short lived empire, whilst the other instances, are much later into the 4th century; a period of over fifty years or more in most instances where any changes in the appreciation for these features would have had a greater time period to filter gradually down into the more rural parts of Britain. It is notable firstly that Shorncote has two distinct episodes: one of a much later date in the end of the pit alignment and that both Shorncote and Ardleigh, the two locations where the most rapid change in attitudes appear to occur, are relatively, or in the case of Ardleigh, right next to, two important regional centres, namely Cirencester and Colchester. Perhaps their proximity to a more transient, urbanised and potentially, culturally mixed population, led to a much earlier dissemination of the practice.

7.3.7. Hypothesis correlation: final thoughts

The discussion has concentrated largely on those instances where correlation with the criteria and the evidence from the case studies does exist. It should, however, not be forgotten that instances of correlation are by no means in the majority. A far larger proportion of individual features and landscapes in the case studies shows no correlation, some of the examined locations having none at all. If you were to take the 14 instances of correlation with the primary deposition criterion, for example, as a percentage of the overall number of Neolithic, Bronze Age and early Iron Age features examined for the research (bearing in mind the situation at Beard Mill and Gravelly Guy, where there are quite literally a multitude of separate Iron Age pits and cuts, located around the Vicarage Field [see Fig. 4.45]) it drops to well below a 0.1 % correlative threshold. This is not to say that the patterns of interaction that have been revealed and discussed are of no

consequence or significance; it just has to be appreciated that they could, in no way, be termed as standard, regular or widespread occurrences.

In those instances where correlations do occur, it seems to be far more commonplace to see a situation where it was the ritual, or spiritual, requirements of individuals, or communities, which were being fulfilled when prehistoric features were referenced rather than practical requirements associated with construction projects. Even in those instances where practical considerations may have been paramount, there was often an element of connection to a location which had ephemeral overtones, such as the location of the villa site above, and the sacred stream at, Rivenhall, or the use of two of the examples of extant barrows at Mucking as sighting points for the layout of the backbone of the settlement, which seems, at first, to be a purely practical use of these objects. The location of the cemeteries along the base line however, strongly suggests that other, more ephemeral considerations were involved in the arrangement. Those ritual, or spiritual, requirements were manifested frequently in features which had some past association with burial practices. This was largely, it has to be said, with those that were of a particular morphology, usually circular in many of the studied areas, although it could be argued that this may be as a result of the dominant monumental form in the examined areas. There also appears to have been a general movement away from a venerative connection, where objects were inviolate expressions of identity, to a more interactive, or inclusive, interpretation when they became active agents of expression, at some juncture in the 3rd century AD.

Engagements which could be defined as positive appreciations of what may have been understood to be objects, or structures, of some antiquity, have no singular manifestation. It is often unclear whether the source of the engagement is as a result of a direct perception of past use of the object itself, or a perception of the meaning behind the form of the object, translated from a source external to the community which carried it out. Whilst there are certain similarities between them (i.e. burial practices and ritual deposition, segregated respect, or votive, offerings being the most common forms), each is, in some way, uniquely characterised with its own little element which sets it apart.

This is definitive proof that the theories concerning discrepant experience of materials, multiple trajectories of interactions which personalise even widespread ritual interactions and the potentially myriad Roman cultural identities in constant fluctuation, are correct.

7.4. Looking outside the study areas

Looking outside of the specific case study areas presented, there are many examples of similar practices occurring. As previously noted, there are strong indications of ritual appreciation of prehistoric circular forms on the European mainland; Eckardt (2009, 85–87) also provides an extensive list of intrusive burials in circular mounds from such locations as far apart as Buckinghamshire (Newport Pagnell, Hayhurst Quarry), Wiltshire (Fittleton) and Kent (Holborough), Little Paxton Quarry (Jones, 2001); Whiteleaf Hill in Buckinghamshire (Hey et al., 2007), the possible temple and shafts at Silbury Hill (Eckardt, 2004), or the alignment of the Roman road from Dorchester to Old Sarum on Shapwick and Bradbury Rings. At Mutlow Hill, the barrow is repurposed as a ritual centre 1st – 4th century AD (Neville, 1852, 226–30), Haddenham in Cambridgeshire has a temple built directly over a Bronze Age barrow (Evans and Hodder, 2006), and Shapwick in Somerset, where the presence of Bronze Age barrows are referenced by the course of the Roman Road (Fowler, 2000, 54–60), are just some examples of locations which fit into a bigger picture of both practical and ritual respect; referencing the remains of the prehistoric throughout the entire Roman period. Ritual engagement extends into even the most studied and recognisable examples of monumentality. Bowden et al. (2015), for example, have discussed, at some length, the direct deposition of extensive deposits of Romano-British material in proximity to Stonehenge, accompanied by coinage that dates this activity to AD 330 or later, suggesting that the monument was probably a ritual centre. There is also some indication that Bronze Age ditches and field systems are being directly repurposed as boundaries on Salisbury Plain (ibid.). There appears to be a potential wealth of information just in Britain, not even taking into account any possible continental similarities.

It should be noted, however, that the above examples are limited in aspect. They are mostly locations where only deposition in singular features or where associations with smaller groups of chronologically similar constructions have been discussed. There has been no attempt, as yet, to apply some of the more unique perspectives on deliberate spatial respect or the morphological aspects uncovered by this research. Take Mucking, for example, as it is one of the better known sites in this study; the way in which the landscape has been interacted with in each different prehistoric and historical period, all neatly and chronologically presented, has been discussed at length. However, until now, a more layered, or nuanced, perspective of the continuing respect for certain specific features within the landscape, long after their construction date, has not been presented. How many more sites such as Stanton Harcourt are yet to be appreciated?

7.5. Further research

There are a number of avenues of potential investigations which this research has highlighted. Looking firstly at the locations used for some of the study areas, the barrow fields at Rivenhall and the area around Bisley are two areas that could benefit from more concentrated studies. A targeted series of excavations at Rivenhall would put to rest, once and for all, any debate concerning the origins of the barrows in the parish near the churchyard. Two potential targets have been highlighted (Fig. 4.45), and there are also a number of cropmarks to the south of these examples which could, at the very least, be surveyed. It may also prove enlightening to investigate the precincts of the possible Roman temple to the east of the barrow field. Regarding Bisley, many of the barrows surrounding the village would be excellent targets for a more thorough series of excavation programmes in order to appreciate the actual development of these locations. A full, topographic survey of the entire area to the south-east of the village may also be useful. Not mentioned in the research, but one of the original locations which sparked the idea for the thesis, are the conjoined Bronze Age barrows on a ridgeline at South Lawn, near Swinbrook in Oxfordshire. Though the barrow has been investigated, its relationship with a possible Roman votive spring head to the south, has yet to be explored. Another avenue of further research, not involving excavation, would be an expansion of the

research, reinterpreting excavation reports using the methodology and criteria which fall outside of the study areas, in order to establish if there are any further instances of correlation and how widespread these may be.

7.6. Revisiting the theoretical considerations

What of the theoretical considerations discussed in chapter one? How important were visibility, artefact/ecofact distribution and stratigraphic relationships, ancient boundaries, memory associations, intentionality, the types of interaction, a whole landscape approach and symbolism or identity? To discuss these individually would involve a great deal of duplication of effort. Many of these theoretical considerations, such as identity and artefact/ecofact distribution, are firmly embedded within the methodology and hypothesis criteria which have already been discussed at length. In the introductory segment of the research, a great deal of time was devoted to discussing the crucial importance of the visible presence of constituent parts of prehistoric landscape features; the need for some visual frame of reference to act as a tether to the past, and the importance of memory associations to the assessment of the significance of any later interaction. Terms such as inscribing and incorporating practices were discussed in detail, but it was also noted that visibility may have been a contributing factor; the determination of memory associations was complex and many instances of interactions with the past were likely to have been based on current individual, or communal, requirements, and either practical or ritual-based.

Overall, the evidence indicates, in the majority of instances where there is significant later interaction with selective features, that Halbwachs' (1992) theories on collective memories are substantively, but not wholly, applicable and Thomas' (2013, 95) assertions, that there must always be an understanding of the original use of monumental forms, are, at best, only partially substantiated. There is quite a distinctive difference, for example, between the respect for the barrows in the landscape around Stanton Harcourt or Mucking: a respect which probably stems from a continuation of the way in which the landscape was interacted with in the late Iron Age as opposed to the burial practices

associated with certain specific examples of the same broad monument type in other case studies from the middle of the 3rd century AD onwards. Although direct repurposing, seen at Sherncote, does not occur at Mucking or Stanton, it is of note that if you consider visibility to be a factor in both of these types of activity, then one builds upon the other. Without the previous respect for the features in the late Iron Age and earlier in the Roman period, they would have been unavailable as landscape markers to use as a focus for later activity. Perhaps, this just highlights the complex nature of the plethora of possible distinctive expressions of communal and individual identity that any activity in relation to a feature could be expressing, based upon chronological parameters, geographical location or the variances of perception between different communities towards the physical spaces they occupy (Mattingly, 2006, 520).

Perhaps there are elements in these interactions based upon communally transmitted memories. It could be argued that, to continue to respect certain features, is a decision predicated on memory associations. Simply, they remain inviolate as they have always been inviolate; they are memory encapsulates where past significance is, in some way, held intact by their presence in the landscape. However, it could be the case that their presence, or past biography, is not as prominent a consideration as a desire to control space and manipulate, or transform, past traditions (Jones, 2013, 62), using a constructed rather than actual memory. A contemporary desire to manipulate, or construct, memory associations could also be a motivating factor behind the decision to directly repurpose some examples of circular features for burial purposes later in the research period. However, there may have been an underlying process of memory retention unrelated to the specific features themselves inherent in these interactions as well.

It would appear that Eckardt (2004, 37), was partially correct in the assessment that the previous significance of the feature may have been highlighted, or forgotten; a constructed significance imposed or the perceptions of significance may have been, in some way, deliberately manipulated, based upon the requirements of specific contemporary personal, or communal, agendas. Partially, as these case studies reveal, memory associations are a complex consideration. Are the incidences of retained, rather

than constructed, memory associations chronologically related? Is there a tendency to have retentive interactions related to memory associations earlier in the research period and formative, or constructed, interactions later, or is it a complex mix? Perhaps there is a visibility element as well? Is any difference the result of a conscious choice to remember, or forget, past forms of engagement with these features? When the majority of the features themselves, not just any memory associations, have been forgotten, is it a constructed sense of connection which motivates the majority of interactions?

What of visibility? It has also been observed at length, that even when some visual reference was available, there was, by no means, a guarantee that features would be included in any ritual, or practically-based, activity anyway. Other influences, such as the form of the feature's construction, was not considered to have been one of ritual, or votive, significance, or because they did not conform in some way to the contemporary needs of those individuals, or communities, who were interacting with the landscape at the time, look beyond the visual aspect. These influences on what, if any, episodic engagement occurred are also fundamental to the way in which the process of repurposing, or reimagining, occurred. The thoughts on physical and conceptual boundaries proved to be a central issue. Whilst it is true that older field systems seem to have been ignored, or referenced, depending on how their presence conformed to contemporary requirements, there seems to be a widespread separation, or segmentation, throughout the case studies, which references the points raised in this segment.

Symbolism appears to be an important consideration but what the features may have represented in the past, especially in the case of repurposed circular features, is probably not a consideration, with contemporary symbolic references highlighted. In essence, whilst some basic patterns of interaction do exist, engagement with prehistoric features in the landscapes of the Cotswolds, the Thames Valley and Essex during the late Iron Age and Roman periods is as diverse, situational, interesting, confusing, complex and varied as any socially constituted relationship to physical objects can be.

Chapter 8: Bibliography and Appendices

8.1. Bibliography

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Appendix 1: Site Data Summary Sheets

Because of the diversity of the locations covered by the research, it was necessary to establish a standardised data format in order to support subsequent conclusions. This standardised format was intended to:

- i) Collate the data into an easily readable format.
- ii) Summarise the data in a manner that tries to eliminate any potential interpretive bias based on modern terminology.

There is an understandable tendency, when dealing with prehistoric features to classify them, especially in the case of monumentally significant examples, using recognised modern terminologies. However, there is no contemporary documentation or any other indication that during the late Iron Age and Roman periods any of these modern terminologies would be recognised, descriptive terms. Presenting data from a number of different landscape features in a similar format, is an attempt to eliminate any interpretive bias that the modern terminology possesses, it is not possible however, to completely disregard it. A cursus, for example, is in essence two, very long, straight ditches and banks running parallel through a landscape and a barrow, despite a multiplicity of sub-defined shapes, is a mound of earth piled into a roughly circular or rectangular shape, with or without an accompanying ditch. To display the records in such a base format, however, would be undesirable as if the modern terminologies are completely set aside, then the process of extracting patterns of interaction from the data could become more complex. If, however, you retain the modern terminology, but present it in a format that looks the same, whatever the sites derivation and futures it contains, it has the subliminal effect of homogenising the information into a more comparative dataset.

The format used for the collation of data, displays each individual site as a single record. The categories have been extrapolated from those presented by Smith (2001); used for the comparison of the differential use of sacred space in late Iron Age and Roman Britain. These categories are:

- i) Site Name
- ii) Location
- iii) Landscape Position
- iv) Prehistoric Contexts
- v) Period(s) of Interaction
- vi) Excavations
- vii) Initial Interpretations
- viii) Reinterpretation
- ix) Ancillary Information
- x) Principal Reference(s)

Site Name

A notation to identify the site with the most commonly used name of the location.

Location

Notes the county; the nearest modern settlement and the NGR of the site, allowing its location in relation to other sites in the case study to be mapped and verified.

Landscape Position

This section notes the landscape position and the context of the site, providing a brief description of its location relative to features, such as river confluences or notes regarding its geology. This descriptive section allows for any similarities in landscape position, relative to the types of interaction to be fed into the case study and the regional conclusions.

Prehistoric Contexts

A summary of the prehistoric period(s), during which the location was occupied, fortified, or used for burial, or ritual, purposes. The inclusion of this information is another part of the dataset which allows for any patterns of interaction to be determined.

Periods of Interaction

This section denotes the periods of interaction with the location occurring within the chronological parameters of the thesis, for example 100 BC–AD 150 or the 4th century AD. The collation of this information allows for any chronological similarities in the patterns of interaction to be highlighted.

Excavations

This section references the excavation dates of the location. The inclusion of this information allows the user to easily identify data that may require significant reinterpretation due to the antiquity of the fieldwork.

Artefacts

This section denotes the classifications of artefacts, such as pottery, coinage or brooches recovered from what the excavation team defined as prehistoric features; noting, if applicable, the exact type of artifact and the exact feature, layer or context they were recovered from. The deposition of the artifacts, along with the ecofacts, is one of the most important diagnostic tools of this thesis. The type of context they came from - primary, secondary, tertiary or their residual nature - informs the interpretation of the intentional significance of interaction attached to the feature in question.

Ecofacts

This section notes the types of ecofacts, such as human bone, animal bone, oyster shells or daub, recovered from what the excavation team has defined as prehistoric features. This information is of similar importance and used in the same manner as the artefacts' section.

Initial Interpretation

A summary of the initial interpretation of interactions with prehistoric features, taken from published articles or excavation reports.

Reinterpretation

There are certain cases where published articles or excavation reports may not be wholly suitable for the purposes of this thesis. The implications of the deposited materials may not have been considered or the excavations and publication may have been carried out by antiquarians - obviously unaware of modern interpretive frameworks or techniques. This section addresses these specific problems and will therefore not always require completion.

Ancillary Information

This section contains any relevant information not covered by the other categories.

Principal References

This section shows the reference material that the information was collated from.

Site Details

Comprehensive summary details provided as separate file.

Name:	
Location:	
Landscape Position:	
Prehistoric Contexts:	
Period(s) of Interaction:	Excavation(s):
Ecofacts:	
Artefacts:	
Initial Interpretation:	
Reinterpretation:	
Ancillary Information:	
Principal References:	