An Imperial Impression: Roman engagement with prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire and the Peak District National Park

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy,

University of Leicester

Philip John Hughes

School of Archaeology and Ancient History

University of Leicester

2020

Abstract

This thesis investigates the use of prehistoric monuments during the Roman period in Britain. There is a growing body of evidence that prehistoric monuments were significant to later societies (Díaz Guardamino, García Sanjuan and Wheatley 2015), yet such manifestations are largely neglected by orthodox models of cultural change examining Roman imperialism. Since the early 1990s, a consensus has emerged abandoning the linear, top-down imposition of Roman culture onto the people of the provinces, instead emphasising a varied picture of local acceptance, resistance and reworking of extant and incoming norms (Gardner 2013; Mattingly 2006). Given this, there is a need to integrate the use of prehistoric monuments our understanding of Roman Britain. To achieve this, this thesis analyses prehistoric monuments such as Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cave systems, Neolithic causewayed enclosures, long barrows, henges and stone/timber circle complexes, Bronze Age round barrows and Iron Age hillfort yielding evidence for Roman engagement in two case study areas focussed upon Wiltshire and the Peak District National Park. Consequently, this thesis explores how two areas inhabited in markedly different ways during the Roman period responded to the extant prehistoric monuments.

It does so from a perspective of non-representational analysis by employing new materialist theoretical ideas. In this way, the analysis that unfolds begins from a position that understands the material realm to be actively situated among active human agents. Consequently, rather than perceiving prehistoric monument engagement to be merely representative of diverse identities in the Roman period, or idiosyncratic and unusual practices removed from the realm of the everyday, it posits that monuments of the past actively co-constituted Roman identities through their relationships with other local archaeological phenomena (Van Oyen and Pitts 2017), such as contemporary settlement, funerary practices and coin loss patterns. In this regard, analysis is undertaken on the scale of landscape exploring the relationships between monument engagement and contemporary inhabitation, synthesising archival data and newly generated fieldwork. The strength of this approach is that it enables an understanding that extant prehistoric monuments were active material components of their Roman period landscapes (Cooper 2016).

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

442

Abbreviations

AWHS	Avebury World Heritage Site
DAJ	Derbyshire Archaeological Journal
FISH	Forum on Information Standards in Heritage
GIS	Geographical Information System
HER	Historic Environment Record
IARCH	Iron Age and Roman Coin Hoards
LPRIA	Late Pre-Roman Iron Age
OD	Ordnance Datum
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme
PDNP	Peak District National Park
RRSP	Roman Rural Settlement Project
SWHS	Stonehenge World Heritage Site
WAHNS(M)	Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (Magazine)
WHS	UNESCO World Heritage Site

Chapter One: Introduction

"We swim in the past as fish do in water and cannot escape from it. But our modes of living and moving in this medium require analysis and discussion"

(Hobsbawm 1972: 17).

The term 'archaeology', from the Greek *arkhaiologia*, literally translates as 'the study of ancient things'. Today, the discipline is concerned with the study of past societies and their environments through the recovery and analysis of their material remains. In order to do so, it relies on period specialists to answer contextual and temporally specific questions of the material recovered. It is rarer, however, to encounter consideration of how the material traces of older societies were utilised by subsequent people in the past (Bradley 1987; 2002). To that end, in this thesis, I explore the ways monumental structures constructed during British prehistory (c.500,000 BCE-43 CE) influenced the behaviours of people inhabiting the island during the Roman period (43-409 CE).

As we navigate the world, we are surrounded by human made structures that shape our activities. Peering out of my office window from the top of a tall 1970s modernistic structure, I see a repurposed Georgian asylum; an internationally famous example of 1960s brutalism; an energy efficient early 2000s glass-covered structure and a 1950s copper-topped building, elaborated in the early 2010s, now undergoing further expansion. A university campus like this is, in many ways, a microcosm of some of the issues explored in this thesis: it is palimpsest of different periods, reflecting different architectural movements and historical values, occupying the same space and time. It provides a window into how landscapes should be understood as assemblages of past and present which *collaborated* (Van Dyke 2017) with one another to inform how the present is *inhabited* (Barrett 1999). Rather than inert stages for human activity, such landscapes, always "pregnant with the past" (Ingold 1993: 153), actively co-constitute the present. This prompts consideration of the role artefacts of the past played in how people in later times made sense of their worlds.

As a starting point, then, it is crucial to recognise that many monuments constructed in prehistory remained prominent, visible entities by the Roman period. Prehistoric monuments that had fallen into disuse by the societies that preceded them were not

mute or dormant, merely awaiting discovery, recording and categorising by heritage professionals. As the Hobsbawn quotation at the top of this chapter emphasises, they require being understood as meaningful components of how people in the Roman period negotiated their environments. This central premise forms the main research questions I address in this thesis:

- What did prehistoric monuments *do* in Roman Britain?
- How did they relate to contemporary Roman practices?
- Were they engaged with in different ways in diverse landscape contexts?

Before I discuss how this thesis answers these questions, it is necessary to outline why this study should limit itself to both monuments and the Roman period. In the case of the former, a more diverse array of features and artefacts could be incorporated such as:

- linear ditches, field systems and dwelling structures (Chadwick 2013: 512; 2017: 299-301; Spencer 2016);
- natural places such as watery contexts, often foci for long-term depositional practices (Bradley 1998a; Crease 2015; Erdman and Chaume 2019; Fulford 2001);
- multi-period artefact scatters (Daubney 2015).
- portable artefacts of prehistory recovered from Roman sites, such as the cache of Palaeolithic handaxes recovered from the Iron Age/Roman shrine at Ivy Chimneys, Essex (Turner 1999)

Each of these elements could allow a fuller appreciation of prehistoric 'materialities' in Roman contexts (Ferris 2012: 77-93). It was determined, however, that monuments as "durable, large-sized and conspicuous structures" (Díaz-Guardamino, Garcia Sanjuan et al 2015: 4) would have been more prominent and dramatic visual phenomena. Their overt presence on the scale of landscape consequently allows them to be addressed on their own terms and enables the research questions to be answered.

Secondly, it could reasonably be argued that a foray into 'the archaeology of deep time' should eschew a rigid period focus and instead analyse long-term trends, developments and changes, as some accounts have (Chadwick and Gibson 2013; Cooper 2016; Van Beek and De Mulder 2014). It is useful, however, to consider the contextually specific roles that monuments played within certain societies, because

they performed different roles within different temporal contexts (Díaz Guardamino, García Sanjuan and Wheatley 2015). Indeed, analyses on this scale have shown to be particularly salient in new world colonial-period archaeologies, providing insights regarding expressions of identity and power-relationships (Silliman 2009). With this in mind, Britain - as a Roman imperial possession (Mattingly 2006) - provides a fertile ground to explore these issues. Certainly, the transition from the Iron Age to the Roman period in Britain was not merely of prehistory to history but also laden with profound cultural changes with material consequences. The political domination of Britain resulted in the military garrisoning of the new province and the imposition of tax obligations which integrated Britain into the Roman realm. As part of this process, myriad novel forms appeared, such as new types of settlements and structures (Jones and Mattingly 1990: 153-178; 233-264; 285-294), currency (Moorhead 2011a), religious practices (Aldhouse Green 2018), artistic repertoires (Scott and Webster 2003) and artefacts of personal adornment (Swift 2011), to cite just a few material arenas. Recent theoretical reorientations in the post-'Romanisation' milieu (Gardner 2013) emphasise that this package of 'Roman culture' was spread neither inevitably nor consistently. Rather, it emerged differently owing to manifold variables including environment, topography, status, wealth, gender, age, ethnicity, linguistics and kinships, among many others, all of which meant there was no single way to 'be Roman'. Rather, it emphasises that 'Romanness', if we can speak in such terms, was a multifaceted patchwork of different experiences (Mattingly 2006; Revell 2009; Taylor 2013).

Within this discourse, it is notable that there has been a dearth of systematic study regarding the roles that ancient features played in how provincial communities reproduced different versions of 'Romanness' (cf Spencer 2016). This thesis therefore fits alongside, and contributes something new, to a body of works over recent decades that have investigated how ancient artefacts were used in later societies. The title of this work is, therefore, a respectful *jeu de mots* of Mattingly's *imperial possession* (2006) to become an *imperial impression,* where an impression of prehistoric monuments was made by people in the Roman period and, equally, the monuments can be thought to have physically impressed upon the Roman period landscape. The latter idea, that the monuments themselves were active participants, is explored via

the utilisation of a new materialist theoretical paradigm, employed throughout this thesis as an interpretative methodology.

As Chapter Two highlights, new materialist perspectives form a set of ideas that are at times competing and contradictory but united by a number of broad principles. Two of the pertinent principles employed here are:

1. That the human subject is decentralised and the capacity for non-human subjects (such as monuments) to act is explored;
2. That the impacts the monuments exerted was the result of their relationships with contemporary Roman features and practices on the scale of landscape.

By focussing upon the *relations* that the monuments were part of, it is possible to understand not merely what monuments meant as representational expressions of identity but, rather, what the monuments did and how they contributed to different expressions of identity (Van Oyen and Pitts 2017: 14). In this way, the thesis is also an exploration into the agency of material remains (Mol 2017: 169) and it facilitates a perspective where the research questions can be met. The work, therefore, stands as a rallying cry for the *different* archaeologies that we can produce when we think about the relationships between the sites we excavate over longer durations and larger scales than archaeological period specialisms more typically prescribe. It argues that we can only do this when we emplace the materials themselves centrally within our analyses, outlined in the first part of Chapter Two.

In order to carry this out, I investigate the different roles that monuments played in two case-study zones in England: Wiltshire and the PDNP (Figure 1.1), each of which was (and is) replete with monuments constructed during prehistory but inhabited in markedly differently ways during the Roman period. The methodological discussion in Part Two of Chapter Two outlines why these zones have been selected and how a systematic comparison can elucidate the answers to the research questions.

Figure 1.1. Location of study areas in England.

Chapters Three and Four present the landscape study of Wiltshire, where a larger dataset exists than in relation to the PDNP. Chapter Three discusses its geological and topographical context and provides contextual information pertaining to its extant prehistoric monuments, before discussing the character of Roman period Wiltshire. The Chapter subsequently discusses Roman engagement with monuments through their morphological forms. This enables the case-studies relating to the AWHS and areas peripheral to these sites in Chapter Four. Chapter Five investigates engagement with the PDNP in its entirety, enabled by a smaller dataset. First, it contextualises the prehistoric monuments that would have been encountered in the Roman period for context and contextualises the development of the landscape through prehistory and the Roman period. Subsequently, it outlines how they were engaged with in a series of thematic case-studies focussed upon cave and barrow use, which were the only monuments with engagement in this region. It is maintained and, discussed in each Chapter, that Roman engagement with prehistoric monuments in each region must be investigated relationally to environmental contexts, the trajectories of the prehistoric

landscapes, and development of local Roman settlement, explaining why each Chapter is structured in this way.

Chapter Six comprises a detailed comparison between the two datasets. It considers similarities and differences that are evident from the patterns revealed by the case-studies and appended information. Crucially, it ruminates upon how those differences emerged. It considers monumental engagement as a whole before analysing each morphological form engaged with on its own terms. Subsequently, analysis is undertaken in relation to funerary use and artefactual deposition, and consideration of monumental engagement in both regions is undertaken proportionally. This highlights some stark differences which are illuminated by detailed contextual consideration. It is argued that those differences stem from the differential sets of relations that the monuments were embedded within in each diverse context.

Finally, Chapter Seven presents the major conclusions derived from this study and makes recommendations for future directions of research. The thesis is supplemented by appendices which contain the datasets for both study-zones, from which the case-studies are drawn. It is intended that this research can be utilised to aid in the development of detailed programmes of fieldwork which give weight to the demonstrable impact that prehistoric monuments had in the Roman period.

Chapter Two: Theory and method

'Time is not a rope one can measure from knot to knot; time is a slanted and undulating surface'.

(Saramago 2008 [1991]:117)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first charts some of the major ideas and approaches concerning engagement with past features whilst the second is a discussion of method. Part One is a broad discussion of how engagement with older features has been investigated across archaeology as a broad discipline. It is subsequently narrowed into a discussion concerning the Roman world, before finally consideration is given specifically to evidence concerning Roman Britain. Each of these segments is composed of a critical discussion outlining some of the strengths, weaknesses and influences of various approaches and interpretations. Finally, I discuss the tenets, relevance and impact of the new materialist approach taken throughout this thesis and outline where it fits in relation to previous approaches.

Part Two outlines the study areas and the rationales for their selection. It discusses issues relating to terminology and outlines the sources of information utilised in order to undertake this analysis before discussing the types of evidence the thesis will engage with. The aim is to provide a firm theoretical and methodological foothold through which the evidence can be discussed in Chapters Three, Four and Five before being compared in Chapter Six. This enables the conclusions and recommendations outlined in Chapter Seven.

Part One

2.2 Ways of looking: the past in the past

It was only fairly recently that the question of how people in the past engaged with material remnants that pre-dated them was first asked with any serious academic rigour. Interest in the topic largely stems from a pioneering paper by Richard Bradley, who argued that long-term, multi-period use of places and sites has been neglected in

archaeological research. In his discussion, Bradley emphasises 'reinterpretation' rather than 'ritual continuity', underscoring that meanings changed through time (1987). This prompted archaeologists to think about the significance of old features in later contexts on a wider scale, leading to a notable edition of *World Archaeology* devoted to '*the past in the past',* as the topic is now widely known (Bradley and Williams 1998). This edition, which collated contributions from geographically and temporally diverse contexts, contained no individual paper dedicated in its entirety to discussing the phenomenon in the Roman world. This likely reflected that the topic gestated primarily among prehistoric specialists, reflected in an assertion from Gosden and Lock in the opening paper that "all prehistoric societies orientated their worlds with the past in mind" (1998: 2). Indeed, *the past in the past* has largely been examined within a prehistoric temporal arena (Bradley 1998b; Bradley 2002, Bradley and Nimura 2016, Gerritsen 2007, Hingley 1996, Hingley 2009, Mullin 2001, Quinn 2015), while a rich tradition in Early Medieval contexts has been similarly articulated (Eckardt and Williams 2003; Petts 2002; Semple 1998; 2013; Williams 1997; 1998; 2015). For the Roman period, meanwhile, it has been suggested that some communities in the northwestern provinces were people without any sense of past (Woolf 1996). How, then, did the monuments of earlier periods impact upon how they behaved if was not, as implied by Woolf, based upon conscious invocation of a pre-Roman past, nor done so with a world view orientated towards the past like prehistory, as suggested by Gosden and Lock?

Across the discipline, two commonly encountered terms are 'reuse' (Hutton 2011) and 'afterlife' (Edmonds 2012, Oswald, Dyer and Barber 2001: 133-146), each of which I briefly wish to reflect upon, because the ideas underscoring them have important implications. The terms are widely employed to reflect how artefacts were integrated in new cultural contexts (Eckardt and Williams 2003). My view is that both are misleading within the context of answering the questions in this thesis. 'Reuse' can imply a continuity of meaning in a later context: i.e. a monument that was primarily used for burial might not necessarily have been utilised for the same purpose subsequently). 'Afterlife', meanwhile, reinforces a hierarchy of meaning attached to sequential, linear development: i.e. Stonehenge's original development in the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age and its subsequent 'afterlife' (Parker Pearson et al forthcoming). Instead, a crucial point is that *must* be recognised is that artefacts do not

belong to one particular period, a notion reified by imposing linear temporal boundaries upon them, often for ease of reference as heritage 'assets', as well as a product of contemporary period-based research agendas. This is reflected in the place of Avebury henge in contemporary heritage discourse, which Wheatley incisively argues is intended to be preserved as a snapshot in time where:

> "parts of the monument were utterly transformed from archaeological remains, embodying the successive periods of engagement and reinterpretation of the monument, into an archaeological reconstruction of the monument at one mythical moment in the past"

(2015: 112-113).

The mythical moment in the past referred to is an artificial composite of its Neolithic and Bronze Age iterations. The consequence is that Avebury is intrinsically thought of as a monument belonging to those periods, rather than an emergent and influential artefact through time. Critiquing this, we must recognise that monuments like Avebury create and recreate significance for people who experience, encounter and utilise them in what can be termed an "ongoing web of becoming" (Fowler 2013: 24). In order to extirpate the privileging of the original era within a chronological sequence, a better framework might be to think of 'lives' rather than 'afterlives' (Díaz-Guardamino, García Sanjuan and Wheatley 2015: 14). However, this nomenclature is irrevocably bound with the metaphor of 'biography' which emerged in anthropological discourse during the late 1980s (Koptyoff 1986) and subsequently became influential within archaeological perspectives as 'cultural biography' (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2009). Though useful, the biographical metaphor can often foreground what happens *to* artefacts rather than exploring how they influenced human actions (Jones, Díaz-Guardamino and Crellin 2016: 125-127; Van Oyen and Pitts 2017: 14).

A different approach examines ideological uses of the past, attested in the influential work of Hobsbawm and Ranger's *invention of tradition* (1983). This showed how the construction of imagined collective pasts, and the appropriation of past events and artefacts, are tools consciously utilised by modern nation states to in order ascribe political or cultural legitimacy. In these scenarios, attempts at continuity/discontinuity with the past are made. A useful near-contemporary example is the iconoclasm of monumental architecture perpetrated by ISIS at Palmyra in the mid-2010s. For ISIS,

this was motivated by a desire to expunge a perceived impure past. The subsequent western-sponsored 3D printed reconstruction of the destroyed Arch of Palmyra (Kamash 2017), rather than an attempt to recreate historical or experiential authenticity, arguably operated as a material juxtaposition of apparently enlightened western values of heritage conservation and appreciation of past against the supposed barbarity of ISIS and their wanton destruction of it. It highlights how remembering and forgetting are simultaneous contemporary ideological processes mediated by ancient material artefacts.

These issues entered wider archaeological discourse largely under the rubric of the 'memory boom' that emerged across the social sciences (Borić 2010, Mills and Walker 2008, Olivier 2015, Peterson 2013, Rowlands 1993; Van Dyke and Alcock 2000; Williams 2003). The development of memory in archaeological discourse has been well summarised in these sources and I do not propose to reflect any great detail but it is worth noting that is largely influenced by a tradition stemming from philosopher Maurice Halbwachs, who espoused that memory is transmitted not just individually but collectively, which has morphed and developed into 'social memory' (Berliner 2005, Connerton 1989, Fentress and Wickham 1992, Klein 2000; Middleton and Edwards 1990, Olick and Robbins 1998). Regarding social memory, Bradley notes that oral traditions in pre-modern societies generally faded after a duration of c.200 years (2002: 14). Accepting this as true, many prehistoric monuments encountered in the Roman period would have been interpreted in novel ways, unrelated to the original intentions of the builders, though potentially related to their conception in the LPRIA, as those meanings endured into the early Roman period. This is further reflected in Chadwick's meditation that artefacts do not specifically enshrine memories but instead might evoke 'remembrances' which provide a vague awareness of temporal depth if not knowledge of specific events (2013: 293-294). In relation to the *past in the past*, it is this focus on the *perception* of the past and its *appropriation* that is largely the object of memory approaches. Indeed, Van Dyke and Alcock suggest:

> 'Sites were built on sites; landscapes were occupied and reoccupied time and time again. Rarely was this a meaningless or innocent reuse. Like us, past peoples observed and interpreted traces of more distant pasts to serve the needs and interests of their present lives'

> (2003: 1).

Though not in dispute, this quote is revealing of some of the underlying issues that are bounded with the development of the *past in the past*, memory and the *invention of tradition*. Here, the artefacts are passive elements in the process of reinterpretation by intentional, cognitive human agents. Conversely, this thesis centralises how monuments performed roles as contemporary agents, and actively influenced how different experiences of being Roman were made manifest.

2.3 Roman archaeology: the past in the past and memory

Though demonstrably well-explored in other temporal eras, the above approaches have been relatively underdeveloped regarding the Roman world. However, this position has begun to change in the twenty first century (Alcock 2002; Eckardt 2004; Hope 2003; Kamash 2016) and, within the last half decade particularly, three separate monographs have probed these themes in antiquity (Diaz-Guardamino et al. 2015, Doschung et al. 2015, Galinsky and Lapatin 2015). The papers in Galinsky and Lapatin focus upon cultural memory whilst those in Boschung et al (2015) consider the perception and use of 'indigenous pasts in the Roman present', each from diverse locations and temporal contexts across the Roman world. Diaz-Guardamino et al (2015) is broader in scope, considering the roles that prehistoric monuments played in Iron Age, Roman and Medieval Europe (2015). The collection of papers in Galinsky are informed by *social and collective memory*, whilst Boschung et al utilise *invented tradition*. The papers included in Diaz-Guardimino et al reflect a broad array of these two approaches and are focused, in particular, upon ideological and/or political appropriation across a wider temporal range.

Creating a distinction between the uses of the past in the East and West of the Empire, Galinsky endorses Woolf's aforementioned assertion that a pre-Roman past was forgotten or irrelevant to western populations during the Roman period as they became 'Roman' (2015: 10). Woolf makes his case based on the lack of literary accounts, iconography on coinage and epigraphy specifically evoking a pre-Roman past. The production of these media, we should note, were largely the preserve of the elite echelons of society. More recent work, however, suggests that 'structured deposits' found on a multitude of different types of Roman settlements consciously evoked practices that occurred in prehistory (Fulford 2001), hinting at complex continuities between past and present. Further, since Woolf's paper, postcolonial approaches

(Cooper and Webster 1996; Mattingly 1997; 2006; 2011) have elucidated the need to highlight a broader array of perspectives which demonstrate the multiple and varying experiences of being a provincial subject in the Roman world. A question we need to consider as part of this theoretical realignment is what role did old artefacts – in this case monuments – play in contributing to how *Roman Britain* was experienced?

In this regard, Bradley asserts that monuments enable the creation of many different pasts (2015: 325). Consequently, the lack of elite evidence from the West explicitly referencing the pre-Roman past should be not seen as indicative of either (a) an absent sense of past nor (b) that the material remnants of the past did not contribute to how people made sense of their worlds. Instead, we should try to discern how these artefacts impacted upon people's behaviors. In this way, Bradley further asserts that monuments create memories – either real or constructed - resulting in temporally changed meanings, even if it does not result in changing forms of the places themselves (Bradley 2002: 17-49). Holtorf goes further, suggesting monuments are constructed with the future in mind, to transmit values in a durable form which are subsequently reinterpreted (1997). Both remembering and forgetting, or perhaps engagement and non-engagement, are, therefore, important in this respect. Engagement with an ancient monument could denote that it was a significant material component of the contemporary world. But this is equally true of non-engagement: absence of activity could indicate a respect or fear of a place, or an active attempt at ignorance rather than irrelevance. Spencer terms this a "purposeful non-interaction" (2016: 175-189) where ancient boundaries were followed or aligned with subsequent ones, for instance. These debates are further explored below.

2.4 Roman Britain

Whilst notable work considering prehistoric monuments, places and small finds in the Roman period have begun to take place on the continental mainland (Fontijn 2015, Díaz-Guardamino, García Sanjuán and Wheatley 2015, Van Beek and De Mulder 2014, Vejby 2015), little systematic work has been undertaken regarding Roman Britain (cf Spencer 2016). Indeed, typifying the dearth of discussion, Pitts noted that the interior of Stonehenge contained more Roman pottery than all other periods combined, yet contends activity was likely explained merely by stone robbing (Pitts 2001:308-10), an interpretation that could be argued to reflect Roman engagement

being perceived as pragmatic, profane and fundamentally different to a more ritually infused prehistoric engagement. Lacking from the discussion is the notion that the evidence for Roman activity could indicate that the monument played a more significant role within the context of Roman Wiltshire, and this lacuna specifically addressed in this thesis (Section 4.3.4).

Beyond Stonehenge, Woodward noted the tendency of some Roman shrines to be placed within or close to henges, barrows and hillforts (1992: 19-30). Indeed, Woodward demonstrated isolated rural shrines such as South Cadbury, Somerset; Maiden Castle, Dorset; Blaise Castle, Bristol; Lydney, Gloucestershire; Chanctonbury, West Sussex and Croft Ambrey, Herefordshire were associated with hillforts whilst long barrows and round barrows such as Mutlow Hill and Haddenham, both Cambridgeshire; Hetty Pegler's Tump, Gloucestershire and Slonk Hill in Sussex became foci for shrine structures or votive activity. On this basis, Woodward contended that there was a religious significance to the use of prehistoric monuments in Roman Britain, providing a more cogent train of thought than Pitts' perception of Stonehenge's use. Woodward further emphasised that it could denote a duality where there was a desire to ascribe either a continuity with earlier practices or to symbolically impose a rupture between past and present, an approach largely reflecting the ideological interpretations of the *invention of tradition.*

Subsequently, Dark undertook a study of Roman period activity associated with prehistoric barrows, megalithic structures and henges (1993). Whilst Woodward emphasised actions signifying religious engagement alone, Dark was interested in a more diverse range of actions. Comparing evidence from Britain to the Amorican peninsula in Gaul, Dark concluded that monument engagement was a more significant element of life on the continent. Where engagement did occur in Britain, Dark suggests that it was characterised by a lack of overtly religious artefactual material. Nevertheless, significant concentrations of coins, pottery, burials and shrines - or proxy evidence for shrines - were noted. As a result, and with analogy to Irish mythological conceptions of prehistoric megalithic sites, Dark suggested that prehistoric monuments in the Roman world could have been perceived as important 'numinous' places for 'supernatural beings', perhaps as entrances to 'underworlds' in the consciousness of the people performing these actions (1993: 141-142).

Elsewhere, Darvill noted later Roman period use of long barrows in the Cotswolds, with

concentrations of coinage, pottery, animal bones, metalwork and stone altars recovered from chambers and mound material (2004). Particularly revealing of a potential religious element to long barrow use was the recovery of three inscribed altars to Mars and Minerva, three uninscribed altars and a *sestertius* of Faustina from a barrow at Bisley, Gloucestershire in 1866 (Clifford 1938: 297-298; Figure 2.1). Thinking about barrows in other arenas, Williams investigated their integration in Roman funerary contexts, noting that there appeared to be deliberate use of 79 prehistoric burial sites repurposed for burial in Britain (1998). Williams suggested this signified an explicit veneration of 'ancient ancestors' and, consequently, was an assertion of group identity via conscious invocation of the past (1998: 78).

Figure 2.1. Altar to Mars recovered from a round barrow in Bisley, Gloucestershire in 1866. From Clifford 1938: plate XIII, fig 23.

Subsequently, Hutton investigated Roman period use of caves yielding prehistoric material in Somerset, the chambered long barrows of the Cotswolds, the Peak District and the 'great Wessex monuments'. Hutton suggests these engagements represented the 'ritual reuse' of significant 'pagan' places (2011, 2013: 268-273) reflecting a reconnection with ceremonial places associated with pre-Roman activity, perhaps as a form of rejecting the emergence of Christianity during the later Roman period (2011: 17). Developing the idea of 'ritual reuse', Meade outlined a framework to investigate the phenomenon across a broader array of actions (2004). Mead suggests Roman

activities can be considered on a spectrum of ritual to functional, where features were:-

- Disregarded: i.e. settlements ignored the boundaries of older features;
- Continuously settled: i.e. continued inhabitation over a long period;
- Respected: i.e. where boundaries were acknowledged and referenced when new settlements emerged;
- Reused: i.e. where engagement suggests an awareness of the past significance resulting in new ritual and religious interpretations.

Though offering a practical methodology, this spectrum is based on duality of ritual versus functional, which perhaps hinders more than helps our thinking. Indeed, Bossy observes that, prior to modernity, there would have been no way for people to conceptualise 'religion' as distinguishable from any other aspect of their lives. Instead, religion was grounded in the everyday, in rituals and practices which ordered peoples' worlds (1985: 170-171). For the Roman world, this is reflected in the prevalence of the *Lares*, the *Genii* and the *Penates,* sacred entities present in all manner of locations including street corners, doorways and domestic hearths, which existed independently from official civic cults (Flower 2017; Hughes 2013: 31-33). It highlights that ritual and religion permeated all aspects of life in Roman antiquity. Any notion that religion or ritual, situated against the secular, existed prior is therefore anachronistic and should be treated with caution to avoid projecting the values of present onto the past. Prehistorian Joanna Bruck offers a convincing way forward to overcome this dichotomy. Showing that, to pre-modern peoples, ritual and religious activity can be explained as entirely 'rational' actions, Bruck shows the question becomes not a discussion of how we identify ritual or religion in the archaeological record through material representative of non-utilitarian activities but, rather, what past actions show us about the nature of pre-modern rationalities (1999: 326-328). In this sense, we need to think about how prehistoric monuments were incorporated into the realm of everyday actions that people undertook, rather than engagement with them *representing* idiosyncratic actions, sitting outside of and distinct to the everyday. In this regard, Meade's scheme and spectrum is perhaps too rigid and the distinctions that we should make are more fluid and, crucially, placed in context. This is discussed further in Section 2.8.

In addition to elements of ritual and religion which should be problematised, it is clear from terminology employed that some the above interpretations have been over-reliant

on nebulous ancestor-centric models that have not been robustly theorised. In this respect, Whitley argues convincingly that ancestor interpretations are problematic: convenient and expedient explanations not up to the demands of illuminating complicated processes of how the past and the present relate to one another (2002). Though levelling his criticism in the main at scholarship of the British Neolithic, Whitley asserts that the 'reuse' and 'reinterpretation' of monuments explained by ancestor veneration are often divorced from any contextual framework and consequently should be thought of as incongruous (2002: 122-123).

Related to ancestral veneration is the idea that the use of prehistoric monuments reflected soft resistance to Roman imperialism. Darvill, for instance, asserts that later Roman period engagement with long barrows connoted a "return to the faith of the spirits of the countryside" (2004: 228), while Wells contends it was a reflection of the resurgence of earlier cultural traditions, representing conscious decisions to return to prehistoric practices, as a way of asserting non-Romanness (2015). In these analyses, the utilisation of prehistoric monuments, particularly in the later Roman period, are viewed simply as physical expressions of native identities which lurked underneath a superficial Roman façade.

Though valuable, these perspectives are perhaps too simplistic. They rarely consider the specific landscape contexts in which traditions of engagement emerged and their use is taken to be merely *representative* of human identities. Investigating Bronze Age artefacts from Iron Age contexts, Hingley offers a slightly different approach, suggesting that artefacts of the past could be valued for their otherwordliness as 'esoteric' knowledge (2009). This is perhaps a more cogent train of thought, where an explanation of the later significance of ancient materials emerges through their understandings in folklore and myth, creating physical links to a past that could be mythohistorical or legendary (Mayor 2000). But this approach is beset by the same issues; the materials are merely markers of identity, engagement with them is removed from the everyday, and we are not provided with a mechanism to understand how they became active participants in shaping people's worlds.

A way to move beyond this is to recognise the notion of 'inhabitation' advocated by Barrett (1999). Discussing the Bronze Age to Iron Age transition, Barrett maintains that "earlier remains were [not] absent from the later period for the simple reason that the Iron Age was actually an inhabitation of Bronze Age residues" (1999: 258). Barrett here

posits that relics of the Bronze Age actively constituted the way people experienced subsequent Iron Age. Inhabitation, in this sense, is an archaeological landscape conceived of enduring material remains and active human social agents for whom the extant remains actively aided in the construction of their behaviours. This is a significant departure from some of the approaches advocated above. An inhabited landscape imbues prehistoric monuments with the power to be active components of a contemporary landscape. Fully endorsed, 'inhabitation', therefore, is a term regularly deployed in this work.

Thinking about this theme further, three pieces of research are explicitly influential here, and shall be discussed in turn. First, Spencer's thesis investigating *the past in the past* in the LPRIA and Roman Britain evaluates features originating in prehistory and their associations with Roman period features from Essex, the Upper Thames valley and the Berkshire Downs, the Cotswolds, Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire. Spencer rightly understands that later prehistoric and/or Roman period engagement with earlier features should not be assessed in isolation but emplaced within multi-scalar modes of analysis, from sites to landscapes to regions (2016). As Moore rightfully suggested, we must strive to think of activities within the context of landscape rather than individual sites (2007) and it is an explicit aim of thesis to understand the phenomenon of prehistoric monument engagement within their wider landscapes. A major conclusion drawn from Spencer's work is that engagement with prehistoric features intensified from the middle of the second century, similarly reflected in the data herein. This, Spencer, concludes, could be related to broader historical meta-narratives, perhaps as a facet of wider upheaval in the Empire and potentially related to the so-called 'pagan revival' of the later Roman period (2016: 352-354). This may, however, seem counter-initiative: recourse to wider historical events as explanatory paradigms for the emergence of actions is often countered by local archaeological evidence. For example, the original interpretation for late Roman burial deposits and burning activity at the shrine of Nettleton Scrubs, Wiltshire (Section 3.4.2), was considered to be indicative of violence and conflict derived from 'seaborne raids' associated with the 'Barbarian Conspiracy' of the fourth century (Wedlake 1982), rather than contemporaneous intensification of the local rural landscape demonstrated by archaeological evidence (Draper 2006; Section 3.4). Taking this to its conclusion, we might ask whether the increased engagement with prehistoric monuments at this time

was an inevitable component of the intensification of the landscape, bringing monuments into the orbits of people's lives in a way that was absent prior.

Consideration of landscape context was a theme specifically addressed in the GIS-driven case-study of seven first and second century Roman funerary barrows at Bartlow Hills, Cambridgeshire (Eckardt et al 2009). The authors emphasised that there was a need to situate the barrows within the context of the contemporary landscape and their associations to other features, such as roads and settlements explored. In this regard, relationships with two local villas were spatially expressed, potentially indicating that the funerary structures were associated with the occupiers of elite residences (2009: 79). The authors additionally noted that the Roman barrows' landscape setting was an area containing nearby prehistoric round barrows. The GIS analysis demonstrated that the prehistoric barrows had the potential to have played an important role in the emergence of the Roman barrow tradition, perhaps reflecting deliberate links with extant landscape entities (2009: 87). This work shows that there was a relational connection between contemporary Roman features and extant prehistoric monuments. It is through these relationships that analysis of the research questions should be situated. From here, a more robust line of enquiry than the interpretative models explored above emerges.

Continuing this theme, Cooper investigated the relationships between round barrows and landscapes from the Middle Bronze Age through to the beginning of the Medieval period in the east of England (2016). Cooper's investigation highlights how round barrows became enmeshed in human practices over long temporal durations. Similarly critiquing ancestral and memory-centric models as causal factors for why engagement with ancient barrows occurred emerged, Cooper asserts that other types of meanings are observable by an approach that is focused upon a) a detailed landscape investigation and b) a recognition that the meanings monuments came to engender emerged *through* their associations with other contemporary archaeological phenomena (2016: 671). In this way, Cooper showed that round barrows were not intrinsically Neolithic/Bronze Age features 'reused' in later periods but, rather, features which continued to be produced through and in time (2016: 690-691), echoing Barrett's inhabitation perspective. This conclusion, wholly endorsed here, is a fundamental theoretical realignment from the approaches discussed above and owes much of its philosophical underpinnings to ideas emerging within 'new materialist' discourse.

These ideas form the theoretical approach of this thesis and are, therefore, the subject of the final section of the first part of this chapter.

2.5 New materialism and relational archaeologies: new perspectives

The approaches critiqued in the previous section largely emerged as components of post-processual perspectives, characterised by the constructivist approach of postmodernism in the latter part of the twentieth century (Johnson 2010). A facet of this discourse has been an increasing emphasis on identity, an influential subject encompassing a broad range of themes including ethnicity, community, gender, sexuality and age etc that can be asked of archaeological remains, material culture and the people associated with them (Harris 2016). Identity is a particularly powerful notion in contemporary Roman provincial archaeology (Eckardt 2014; Gardner 2013; Huskinson 2000: 10-17; Mattingly 2006: 522-52; 2011; Revell 2009). At its most fundamental, it asks: how did subjects incorporated into the Roman realm respond to aspects of incoming colonial culture to reproduce differing versions of Romanness? To do this, scholars have taken influence from elements of postcolonial theory (Mattingly 1997; 2006; Webster 2001), globalisation (Hingley 2005; Pitts 2008), and practice theory perspectives derived, in particular, from sociologists Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu (Revell 2009). The lure of identity, mediated by these broader ideas, in relation to this thesis is clear. It would ask: how was prehistoric monument engagement representative of multiple identities? For example: was it a way of asserting non-Romanness in a Roman colonial milieu by depositing a 'Roman' coin at an ancient 'native' site?

It is not my intention to subvert the aims, merits and vibrancy of these research questions nor their theoretical trajectories. Indeed, I should specify that these ideas have each been influential in my own journey through the discipline (Hughes 2013). Rather, with recourse to ideas gestating and becoming influential across recent archaeology theory, I wish to explore how some of these concepts can be reframed by paradigms with radically different philosophical underpinnings. In this regard, Ghisleni recently suggested that the application of identity in Roman archaeology has failed to transcend dichotomies of Roman versus native, continuity versus change and traditional versus innovation:

"If change cannot be conceived of aside from rupture or departure from a pre-Roman past, then recognition of change after conquest, and the location of that change in material contexts, will remain unidirectional, static and essentialist"

(2018: 140).

A reason why this is the case is because, in some of these analyses, artefacts have been viewed merely as proxies for peoples' identities in what could be described as a 'representational approach' (Van Oyen and Pitts 2017). Critiquing this, Eckardt rightly suggests "objects are not mere passive reflections of people and societies but their use can challenge, change and shape both" (2017: 24). Consequently, it is useful to explore alternative perspectives that are non-representational to allow us to start asking different questions (Harris and Cippola 2017: 146-7). A productive way forward, then, is to think about the role and agencies of prehistoric monuments as contributory components of how differing versions of Romanness were reproduced rather than simply elements of a "fixed baseline with what is delimited as old and new already known" (Ghisleni 2018: 142). This differs from how the idea of agency has, until recently, been utilised in Roman archaeology, concerned predominantly with locating the active human agent (Revell 2009). Object agency is not, in this sense, a crass assignment of either personhood or intention to objects (Mol 2017) which could, problematically, facilitate a perspective where objects are 'othered' in the same way that has enabled human beings to oppress others (Harris and Cipolla 2017: 199-200). Rather, it is an understanding that both human actors and things are active entities involved in the production of 'social order' as they co-exist in networks (Preda 1999). In this way, humans and things are understood to be 'ontologically inseparable': that is the relationships between humans and non-human entities are entwined and co-constitutive. Crucially, they are also non-hierarchical, and the human subject is not privileged within analysis. This is a departure from the predominant Cartesian humanist position that underscores identity-centric perspectives, where binaries such as subject versus object; sacred versus profane; mind versus body; male versus female; nature versus culture and, of course, Roman versus native are perceived as discrete (Watts 2013). Sociologist Bruno Latour described this process of oppositional thinking as 'purification' (1993: 47), reified throughout the history of western philosophy, stemming from the idealism of Plato through to the onset of the enlightenment, and especially

rooted in the tenets of modernism and humanism (Bolt 2013: 2-6; Domanska 2006; Malafouris and Knappett 2008; Olsen 2010; Van der Tuin and Dolphijn 2010).

Alternatively, Latour uses the action of shooting a gun as a way to highlight how agency is distributed between entities in a network. Within a traditional Cartesian analysis, the locus of agency in this action is clear: it is the intentionality of the human *subject* using a passive *object*. For Latour, however, the process is fundamentally different: the intentional human 'actant' can only make the decision to shoot the gun by holding and using it, embracing its productive, shooting capabilities (1999: 176-180). The result is a new subject, a human-gun subject, where agency is dispersed by the coming together of these two entities. In this model, each component could be said to be in a 'dependent entanglement' with the other (Hodder 2012: 88-94).

Just as the development of postcolonialism (in Anglophone archaeology) was born out of an historical context of western decolonisation, identity emerged from postmodernism and third wave feminism in particular (Butler 1990), and the 'structuration' of agency perspectives from Third Way thinking (Giddens 1984), our own contemporary milieu is producing the space for new materialism to become influential intellectual apparatus. As we enter a zeitgeist where increased attention to the 'anthropocene' and the devastating impact humans have reaped upon the Earth is recognised in the past and present (González-Ruibal 2018), a set of ideas emphasising the co-constitution of reality where humans and non-humans alike are considered to be part of an interdependent ecology is becoming increasingly urgent (Conty 2018; Ghosh 2016). As part of this dialogue, questions have opened up regarding how we understand activities in the past through this framework of 'ontological flatness', where humans have no hierarchical privilege over artefacts and other non-humans in how culture is created and recreated, broadly understood as the 'new materialisms' (Alberti 2016; Witmore 2014).

A strength of this approach is that it decentralises the spectre of anthropocentrism. Indeed, Poe suggests that hitherto the human subject "cares too much for itself'" in our understanding of how societies are produced (2011: 153). This is a position endorsed by Ghosh who contends that:

"non-human forces and systems had no place in the calculus of liberty….only those people who had thrown off the shackles of their environment were thought to be endowed with historical agency; they alone were believed to merit the attention of historians"

(2016: 119).

By removing the human subject from the centre of the physical and social world, however, and emplacing humans within a relational network situated among other non-human actants, an emphasis on how agency is distributed between humans and non-humans emerges: what Barad terms a "congealing of agency" (2013: 17). This provides space for the non-human world to transcend its hierarchical marginalisation and, instead, become *vital materiality*, or *agential matter*, where things are not reducible to objects upon which human meanings or agendas are projected representationally but active agents situated relationally with (or without) human actions (Bennett 2010).

In her now classic example, philosopher Jane Bennett considers the mechanisms of distributed agency during a blackout affecting 50 million people across 24,000km^2 in North America in 2003. Using the idea of the assemblage developed by Deleuze and Guatarri, Bennett convincingly shows that the resultant failure of the power grid emanated from multiple agencies including "the quirky electron flow and spontaneous fire to members of Congress who have a neoliberal faith in market self-regulation" (2010: 31). The result, Bennett contends, is that the blackout arose as an assortment of "agentic sites" where causality must be considered "emergent" (2005: 459). While Latour's example involved a human and a gun, Bennett's multi-scalar example shows not so much an agent and event but, rather a 'doing' and an 'affecting' by a federation of human and non-human actants, which congealed to facilitate the potential for this outcome to occur. Through this perspective, agency is determined to be relational, involving human and non-human entities and associated with a wider variety of active components operating on different scales, which must be considered in relation to each other.

Much of this can seem somewhat abstract and a valid question at this point is: what does this have to with Roman period engagement with prehistoric monuments? For archaeology, the impact of these ideas is profound and is becoming increasingly

influential across the discipline (Alberti 2016; Fahlander 2018; Fowler 2013; Harris 2016; Hicks 2010; Hodder 2012; Lash 2018; Olsen 2010; Van Dyke 2018; Watts 2013; Witmore 2014). This 'return to things' (Domanska 2006), would seem to have an immediate value to archaeology in a broad sense; we evaluate the human past by the material vestiges in the archaeological record which are, in these analyses, understood to be non-representational and active, relational agents. For Roman archaeology in particular, it has resulted in a renewed focus on the 'materiality' of artefacts and, crucially, how they contributed to the production of different experiences of Roman imperialism, without merely being proxies for human intentionality (Van Oyen and Pitts 2017). The questions that subsequently emerge then are not: 'what did engagement with prehistoric monuments in the Roman period represent' but rather: 'what did prehistoric monuments do in the Roman period' and 'through which relations did they have the capacity to act'?

This is a radical reorientation; by focussing on the latter questions, the aim is to understand how the physical presence of prehistoric monuments exerted influence on landscapes *inhabited* during the Roman period through the contemporary *relations* they *became* embedded within. In turn, it is possible to understand the contributory impact they had on how different experiences in the Roman world were created. To ground this in a tangible example, consider again the Bartlow Hill Roman barrows investigated by Eckardt et al (2009), mentioned in Section 2.4. This example shows that there were Roman barrows containing funerary deposits. But the meanings of the barrows were derived from and connected to other archaeological phenomena: there were Roman period settlements, roads and burial sites, each of which was related to the barrows. Moreover, there were prehistoric barrows in the localised landscape. Each of these components could be considered to be embedded in a relational matrix: the construction of the barrows could be argued to have evoked the material presence of extant prehistoric barrows; the cremated interments may have reflected localised burial tradition; the presence of the nearby villas potentially provided the identity of the interred and, lastly, their location demonstrated that they were to be observed conspicuously within the local landscape, reflecting notions of Roman social identity. In a new materialist, relational perspective, each of these elements is enveloped in a "collaborative dialogue" (Van Dyke 2017). It is through this dialogue that agency emerges, and so we see how the extant prehistoric barrows can have exerted agency

in the process. Without any of these elements, the possibility for the Roman barrows and their interments to have emerged in the form they took is debatable. Indeed, if there were no extant round barrows in the landscape, it is arguable that there would have been no impetus for barrow construction.

Consequently, this impacts how we think about issues that are pertinent in relation to this thesis: temporality and change. Though utilising branches of new materialist discourse that do not chime in perfect harmony, Olsen (2010) and Crellin (2017) respectively highlight how these concepts are reframed by new materialist ideas. Regarding temporality, Olsen maintains that a position grounded in an anthropocentric perspective leads to the imposition of enclosed segments of time, horizons with watertight boundaries (2010: 111). Flattening to include the non-human, however, as Olsen advocates, makes visible "enduring material" (2010: 158-159), where temporal horizons exist within networks to past, present and future times. In this way, the inherent durability of some material things results in an agglomeration of multiple temporalities situated simultaneously in space (Olsen 2010: 107-128). The result, as Barad argues, is that "past, present and future [are] threaded through one another in a non-linear enfolding.…where matter enfolds different temporalities" (2013: 17). Though somewhat dense in its prose style, the implication of Barad's claim is clear; material things endure in time, and usually discrete temporalities mix as a result. This marries well with Barrett's notion of inhabitation referenced in Section 2.4.

Crellin similarly argues that archaeological narratives of change have often traditionally rested upon blocks of linear time being considered in opposition to one another (2017). Alternatively, Crellin posits that new materialist perspectives demonstrate that change occurs not as punctuated events but constantly, as new sets of relations emerge and others drop off. For example, at Killeaba on the Isle of Man, an Early Bronze Age cremation deposit was found scattered in a pit accompanied by a contemporaneous vessel. While scattered cremation deposits placed within pits reflected local Late Neolithic burial practice, the accompanying vessel was a novel practice associated with the Early Bronze Age. As a result, Crellin argues that the burial deposit was influenced by existing tradition, indicating that some relations endured but were also changed by new practices. This shows that, just as physical material can endure, some relations persist, and it is in the shifting of the relations where change germinates:

> "new [components] have to fit within existing assemblages of components; they alter these assemblages they enter, but they also exist within them and are understood in relation to them and their histories"

(2017: 120).

Thinking through these issues, it is salient to reflect again upon the Bartlow Hills barrows. The appearance of the barrows could, as suggested, have referenced the durability of earlier extant round barrow forms, emphasising that the prehistoric barrows were active landscape entities. In this way, their relations as funerary sites endured. Consequently, the prehistoric barrows' durability and meanings were ensconced within a new relational milieu comprised of Roman period practices, from where new meanings were created. In a relational perspective, different relations could result in different outcomes. For example, the Bartlow Hill barrows' morphology conformed to a conical Roman barrow tradition, prevalent within the eastern region, emphasising that they were part of a wider Roman barrow-building practice (Dunning and Jessup 1969). In other areas, however, where conical Roman barrows were rarer or absent, Roman barrows could mimic the prehistoric form, a theme picked up in Sections 3.5.8, 4.1.3, 5.5.2.1 and 6.6.2. This shows that the relations were different, highlighting how prehistoric monuments impacted contemporary practice in different ways. Crucially, within this analysis, the role of older objects in the Roman period does not need to be attributed to pre-Roman tradition utilised as veneration of undefined ancestors or an assertion of non-Roman identities but, rather, as elements of an inhabited landscape which participated in the creation and re-creation of different Roman identities.

This has a profound impact: the demonstrable regional variation in practices throughout Roman Britain (Jones and Mattingly 1990; Mattingly 2006), and indeed throughout the western Empire (Revell 2009), can consequently be filtered through analysis which prioritises different sets of relations which result in different outcomes. The postcolonial Roman archaeologies which emphasise such multivocality and discrepancies, therefore, have the capacity to emerge through the differences in relations. It is the analysis of the relations that, therefore, must be prominent. To follow this to its conclusion, it must be accepted that durable sites, and landscapes, are in a process of continually becoming (Fowler 2013); they are perpetually changing as they

are altered by new presences, new relations, where the boundaries between old and new are not oppositional but mutually co-constitutive.

But this invites more profound questions: were prehistoric monuments intrinsically prehistoric monuments altered by Roman period engagement or were they material forms that became Roman monuments because of Roman period engagement? To put it another way: "do objects exist and then enter into relations? Or are the relations themselves primary?" (Fowler and Harris 2015: 128). Different branches of new materialism have competing perspectives on these issues and it is important to briefly reflect on them. The object-orientated-ontology of Harman, which has impacted the second wave of 'symmetrical archaeology' (Olsen 2010; Witmore 2014), for example, prescribes that things consist of 'withdrawn essences'. That is: a monument like a long barrow, as encountered in the Roman period, would fundamentally be a prehistoric a long barrow before it enters new relations in the Roman period. Alternatively, relational notions such as Latour's network can be interpreted to suggest that only elements of the network can endure (Fowler 2013: 35), suggesting that by the Roman period the long barrow was a blank canvass, its meaning derived from the new relations it became caught up in.

Fowler and Harris (2015) analyse this debate by considering the West Kennet long barrow, Wiltshire, as a case-study. Like Crellin, they contend that some relations endured in time, indicating that a thing can retain an element of being a thing in its own right as a consequence of the historic and emergent relations that comprised it (Fowler and Harris 201: 132). In this way, the West Kennet long barrow retained elements of its original use as a tomb long after it was sealed (Section 3.3.1.2), which subsequently remerged and entered new relations when its deposits and internal structure were archaeologically identified. Crucially, in the interim, which included the Roman period, when knowledge of its original use and sealing had long since faded from human memory, it would perhaps not have been recognised as tomb. Instead, it endured as a landscape entity to the Roman period, when it consequently entered new relations (Section 4.1.2). It may seem somewhat academic but this is a key distinction. The pertinent question therefore becomes to determine the monument's relationship to other archaeological phenomena in the Roman period, the sum of its relations, to ascertain how it acted in the Roman period.

In this sense, monuments inextricably thought of as *prehistoric* in popular imagination and scholarly discourse became tangibly Roman because of the new relations they were caught up in. They were visible in the Roman period, they drew people to interact with them with material consequences, and their meanings were derived from their associations with Roman period cultural practices. Thus, their meanings rather than abstract and idiosyncratic, were integrated within everyday practices in the local landscapes. Prehistoric monuments that were extant in areas of Roman settlement might therefore be considered, for all intents and purposes, Roman monuments that were engaged with differentially because of the different contemporary relations they were entwined within. Consequently, this thesis is an exploration of the differing relationships prehistoric monuments found themselves situated in within two different Roman landscapes. It operates from a position that they should be thought of as acting, Roman entities.

Part Two

2.6 Study areas

Data collection began with a preliminary survey of sources which discussed Roman engagement with prehistoric monuments in Britain and contained references to examples which could be followed up (Woodward 1992, Dark 1993, Williams 1998b, Mead 2004, Hutton 2011). They were largely exploratory meditations, comprising journal articles, conference proceedings or chapters rather than systematic analyses, further emphasising the topic's marginality within scholarly discourse.

Synthesising the sites referred to within these sources, a total of 172 prehistoric monuments with engagement in the Roman period were recorded from England and Wales, divided by their contemporary administrative county boundaries (Figure 2.2). Though a wide geographical coverage was attested, the preliminary dataset is small and irregularly distributed. Indeed, the average number of sites per county produced a mean average of 6.1, and Figure 2.2 demonstrates substantial differences in the volume of examples between the counties.
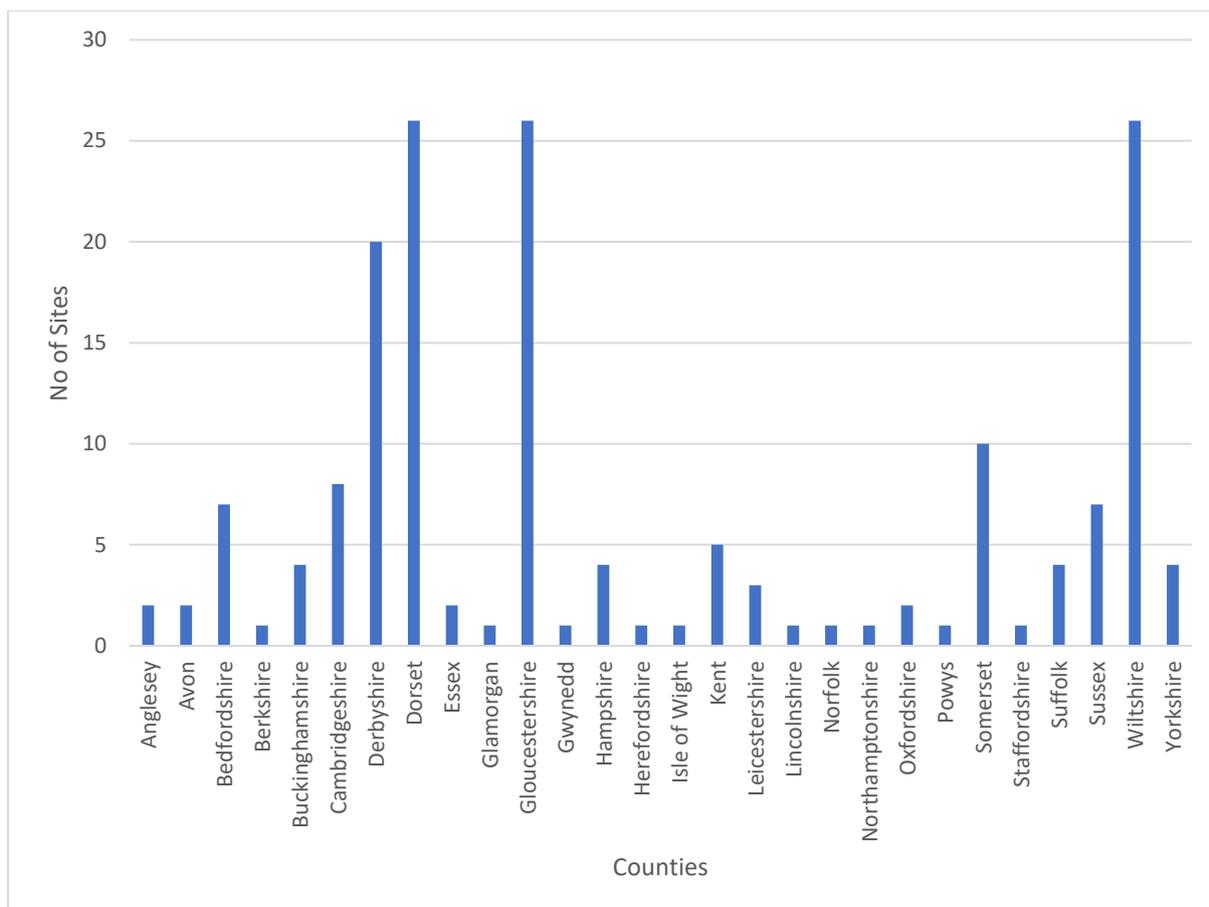
Figure 2.2. Preliminary data set by county based on sites included within Woodward 1992, Dark 1993, Williams 1997, Meade 2004, Hutton 2011. N=172.

The largest concentrations pertain to Derbyshire, Dorset, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, each exhibiting over 20 attestations. The latter three counties are, of course, contiguous and reflect the pervasive presence of a southwestern prehistoric tradition of monumental construction, including the Cotswolds-Severn Neolithic long barrows (Darvill 2004), the Avebury and Stonehenge WHS of Neolithic and Bronze Age ceremonial structures (Pollard and Cleal 2016), an abundant Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age round barrow tradition (Pollard and Healy 2008: 99-10), the Wessex hillfort tradition of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age (Payne, Corney and Cunliffe 20016) as well as the hillforts of Dorset (Stewart and Russell 2017). It should also be noted that Somerset, also contiguous with these counties, and rich in prehistoric monuments, yields a higher than average proportion of sites demonstrating Roman engagement.

Though a study of the phenomenon within the southwest could therefore be justified on its terms (Section 7.3), a decision was made that the volume of sites from Derbyshire, comparable to the numbers from individual southwestern counties,

indicated that the phenomenon was spatially diffuse and therefore not dependent upon the co-presence of contiguous communities. Indeed, Derbyshire also yields a strong tradition of prehistoric monumentality (Barnatt 1990; Barnatt and Collis 1996). It follows, therefore, that where there was a proliferation of extant prehistoric monuments with a landscape, communities in the Roman period engaged with them.

Armed with these preliminary data, a direct comparison between Derbyshire and the southwestern region could yield a range of similarities and differences that had the potential to elucidate the phenomenon within radically different contexts of Roman Britain. The benefit of a comparative approach is that it enables one of the central research questions to be answered: can similarities and/or differences in the use of prehistoric monuments by different Roman period communities be determined? Or: can different relations be identified that result in different outcomes? In order to answer this question, it is germane to define precisely which areas are being compared. The intensive tradition of monumentality in Derbyshire is not distributed evenly within the county but, instead, concentrated within a specific landscape zone: the upland of the PDNP (Barnatt 2004: 42; Brightman and Waddington 2011). The PDNP, in fact, transcends multiple administrative borders to encompass parts of Cheshire, Greater Manchester, Staffordshire and West and South Yorkshire, although the majority of its 1,440km^2 terrain falls within the jurisdictional borders of modern Derbyshire (Brightman and Waddington 2011). Moreover, prehistoric monumentality within the PDNP falls, in the main, within one geological area: the limestone plateau (White Peak) (Barnatt and Collis 1996; Section 5.2). A decision was made, therefore, to eschew the artificial borders of 'Derbyshire' revealed by the way the preliminary data collection was recorded. Instead, attention is focussed upon the PDNP, which yields a more contextually specific archaeological dataset, defined by environment and topography rather than modern bureaucracy.

Dorset, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire meanwhile yield a composite land area of 33,140km^2 and, consequently, a comparison between the entire region and the PDNP would be wildly disproportionate. The southwest was, therefore, truncated in order to produce more comparable data. Because prehistoric monumentality in Wiltshire was largely confined to its chalkland geology (section 3.2; Wilkinson and Straker 2008: 66-68), Wiltshire provides a pertinent point of convergence to the White Peak of the PDNP, enabling a comparison based on geographical and environmental factors (Section

6.11). Furthermore, as Sections 3.4 and 5.4 emphasise in detail, the two regions demonstrate discrepant Roman period landscapes. Briefly for context, Wiltshire was characterised, in the main, as a lowland, rural and civilian community and the PDNP, in the main, an upland, military and rural community. Consequently, it was determined that the PDNP and Wiltshire would provide two datasets with points of convergence and variance conducive for direct comparison, enabling the research questions to be answered. It should be noted, however, that the area of Wiltshire at 3,485km^2 is still over double that of the PDNP. These discrepancies in area are picked up in Section 6.11 when the data are compared proportionally so that robust conclusions can be extrapolated.

2.7 Terminology

Some of the terms referred to herein are loaded with considerable baggage and, therefore, require unpacking. Accordingly, this section discusses what is meant by both 'prehistoric' and 'monument'. As has become clear, a central argument of this thesis is that, by referring to monuments through their original period designation, we occlude and/or marginalise their roles in later contexts. As such, rigidly referring to monuments through period designations is generally avoided but it is the case that activities during specific periods had a bearing on both monument location and trajectories of landscape occupation. Consequently, it is useful to contextualise a broad prehistoric chronology and its relation to monumentality before the case studies begin.

Prehistoric monumentality in Britain largely emerged as part of the transition from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic (Russell 2002; Cunliffe 2012: 149-166), although caves frequently exhibit evidence for earlier utilisation (Chamberlain 2012). The dates prescribed by FISH are useful guides and replicated here for ease of reference (Table 2.1). However, it should be noted that the application of Bayesian statistical analysis to radiocarbon dating of sites has recently refined chronologies (Whittle 2011) so these should be treated with a degree of caution.

Table 2.1. Broad chronology of British prehistory.

Period	Dates
Palaeolithic	500,000 BCE-10,000 BCE
Mesolithic	10,000 BCE-4,000 BCE
Neolithic	
Early Neolithic	4,000 BCE-3,300 BCE
Middle Neolithic	3,300 BCE-2,900 BCE
Late Neolithic	2,900 BCE-2,200 BCE
Bronze Age	
Early Bronze Age	2,600 BCE-1,600 BCE
Middle Bronze Age	1,600 BCE-1,200 BCE
Late Bronze Age	1,200 BCE-700 BCE
Iron Age	
Early Iron Age	800 BCE-300 BE
Middle Iron Age	300 BCE-100 BCE
Late Iron Age	100 BCE-43 CE

Similarly, monument types need to be outlined and nomenclature clarified. Table 2.2 communicates the range of monument types referred to in the text and their generally accepted origin dates. In general, the FISH thesaurus has been retained as a shorthand, in part to enable effective and consistent data collection through standardised terminology. However, issues concerning caves, hillforts, long barrows and round barrows and aspects of their terminology related to each of the study areas require unpacking.

Table 2.2. Prehistoric monumental forms.

Monument Type	General Dates
Artificial mound	Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age
Causewayed enclosure	Early Neolithic
Cave	Palaeolithic/Mesolithic/Neolithic/Bronze Age/Iron Age
Cove	Late Neolithic
Henge	Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age
Hillfort	Late Bronze Age/Early-Middle Iron Age
Long barrow	Early Neolithic
Round barrow	Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age
Standing stone	Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age
Stone/timber circle	Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age

The monuments referred to in this thesis are artificial human constructions save for cave sites, which are, of course, created through natural formation processes. As Moyes makes clear, however, caves held significance for virtually all human societies (2012). Tomkins further notes that cave utilisation in prehistory, particularly the Neolithic and Bronze Age, was spatially separate from areas of habitation in the same way that monuments were, emphasising a similarity between caves and monumental structures (2012: 112). Taking the comparison further, Barnatt and Edmonds stress that caves can be imbued with the same meanings as human made features and, as a result, ought to be considered architecture in the same way as monuments (2002). Whilst cave use in the Roman period can be associated with dwelling (Branigan and Dearne 1992), it is clear that caves served a range of functions, including as foci for 'structured deposition' (Crease 2015: 80-83) as well as industrial production. It is, therefore, useful to consider the impact of their long-term use as analogous to human made monuments, providing there is evidence for both prehistoric and Roman period activity.

Hillforts, long barrows and round barrows, meanwhile, are contentious shorthand monikers for an array of morphological forms and diversities in use (Harding 2012;

Woodward 2000; Russell 2002). While recognising the problems in perpetuating these broad umbrella terms that some scholars wish to abandon because they obfuscate a prehistoric realities (Russell 2002: 22), they are employed within the text for brevity, although morphological breakdown is considered where appropriate to enable multi-scalar analysis (i.e. where certain morphological forms were utilised and others ignored).

In this regard, hillforts can be categorised by criteria including the number of their surrounding ditches and ramparts, whether those ditches were partial or enclosed, their entrance types or the terrain upon which they were situated or through chronological sequencing (Harding 2012). Because the prehistoric chronological sequence is largely irrelevant in the context of assessing their roles in Roman period, the preferred categorisation here is the scheme employed by the Atlas of Hillforts Project based upon terrain, further according with the environmental factors justifying the selection of the study areas. That scheme is: contour fort, partial contour fort, promontory fort, hillslope fort, marsh fort and multiple enclosure fort (Lock and Ralston 2017). Lock and Ralston note that no hillfort is the same and these categories can be artificial. In particular, the division between contour forts and partial contour forts is largely descriptive than qualitative.

Additionally, Darvill notes the plethora of terms used to describe long barrows: stone-chambered long barrow, megalithic tomb, chambered tomb, earthen long barrow, non-megalithic long barrow, timber-chambered long barrow, long cairn oval barrow, short-long cairn and tumuli (2004: 14-56). This research shows that the major division of consequence is between the earthen long barrow (Field 2006; Kinnes 1992;) and the chambered long barrow (Darvill 2004; Section 6.5) and consequently this divide that drives the way these data are presented. Furthermore, it should be born in mind that research traditions in Wiltshire and the PDNP have recorded these monuments differently. For example, chambered long barrows in Wiltshire are referred to as 'megalithic long barrows' (Grinsell 1957) whereas in the PDNP they are termed 'chambered passage graves' or 'long barrows with cists' and in some cases it is not clear whether the chambered passage graves were either long or round barrows owing to local morphological idiosyncrasies (Barnatt and Collis 1996). A decision was made to retain these differences in the spirit of 'characterful data' (Cooper and Green 2016). In this way, rather than imposing a homogenous structure upon diverse datasets which

are historically and contextually produced, it is useful to recognise the incoherencies of different datasets and to ensure that they have a practical relevance as future research resources on their own terms. Indeed, it is intended that the data in this thesis can be utilised to discover aspects of prehistoric monument use within the context of each study area and its research traditions. The retention of localised, characterful nomenclature, therefore, facilitates this aim.

Equally, round barrows have been categorised to a degree of morphological minutiae that understanding their functions is notoriously difficult (Russell 2002: 28-32). Their lengthy morphological scheme includes: bell barrows, bell disc barrows, bowl barrows, chambered round barrows, disc barrows, platform barrows and saucer barrows (Woodward 2000). In Wiltshire, their categorisation falls under the system above (Grinsell 1957) whereas in the PDNP they are referred to either as 'chambered round barrows', 'round barrows with cists', or 'unchambered round barrows', should they be of earthen composition only (Barnatt and Collis 1996). This precludes direct morphological comparison between the two zones in these terms, though detailed discussion, analysis and breakdown does facilitate a comparison (Section 6.6). As above, their characterful nature is retained under the broad term 'round barrow' and engagement with different morphological forms is undertaken where applicable.

2.8 Sources of information

The preliminary data and subsequent study area rationalisation enabled a targeted search of the HER, the definitive repositories of information pertaining to archaeological sites in England (Historic England 2019). A central point of this process was to test an initial hypothesis that, where the preliminary data collection provided only small samples, more systematic investigation would likely reveal further evidence, allowing appreciation of the scale to which the phenomenon has hitherto been underestimated (Section 7.2), and providing a mechanism for it to be investigated systematically for this and future studies.

Enquiries of the HER in each study area were, therefore, made generating all prehistoric monuments detailed in Table 2.2 that recorded any find or event that was either definitely, probably or possibly dated to the Roman period. It should be noted that the data recorded on each individual HER is inconsistent and fragmentary, creating inevitably biased archaeological representativity (Illsey 2019: 122-124) and

this should be borne in mind throughout. To supplement the HER and somewhat offset this issue, a number of supplementary sources were utilised in order to establish as complete a dataset as possible, detailed below.

For the two regions together, this included queries being made of the Atlas of Hillforts Project, a digital GIS resource containing contextual and spatial information comprising the most up to date synthesis of the 4,147 certain or possible hillforts in Britain and Ireland (Lock and Ralston 2017). Regrettably, no similar resource is yet available in relation to barrow structures, so two primary sources were utilised for each region. For Wiltshire, Grinsell's archaeological gazetteer (1957) contained then definitive information on long barrows and round barrows divided by morphological form and has not been superseded by an all-encompassing gazetteer. Consequently, these entries were analysed for entries indicating there was an association with Roman period material or remains. Reviews of salient regional archaeological literature were also undertaken (Bowden et al 2015; Darvill 2006; 2015; Gillings and Pollard 2004; Leivers and Powell 2016; Parker Pearson 2012; Pollard and Reynolds 2002) and, where appropriate, antiquarian sources were retrieved (Colt-Hoare 1975a; 1975b; Stukeley 2010) to supplement detail.

For the PDNP, the fragmentary and inconsistent HER is exacerbated by the jurisdictional spread of the boundaries of the study area. This was offset somewhat by a number of sources containing gazetteers. For barrows, the Peak District Barrow Survey (Barnatt and Collis 1996) was combed alongside Jones' thesis investigating Roman and 'Anglian' engagement with prehistoric monuments in the Peak District (1997). The former was analysed for entries indicating Roman period material was associated with a barrow, whilst all instances of Roman material in the latter were recorded and cross-checked. Both resources catalogued barrows that were described in the publications of antiquarian Thomas Bateman who, in the course of his short life, 'excavated' over 200 barrows in the PDNP in the nineteenth century (Barnatt and Collis 1996:11; Marsden 1988; Parsons 2006). Bateman's two publications accounting his 'diggings' were subsequently analysed for information (1847; 1861). Bateman's legacy on these data is profound; only 25 of the total barrows recorded in Barnatt's survey were excavated after 1925, indicating that much of the dataset is beset by the problem of having been dug prior to the application of modern methods. This is further exacerbated by the loss of the much of the antiquarian archive. Fortunately, Bateman

was somewhat more responsible than many of his contemporaries and his records are extensive in detailed descriptions if not robust contextual data and are, therefore, still valuable resources.

Though no henges and stone circles exhibit Roman period material (Section 5.6) these monuments were present in the PDNP and details were extracted from the Barnatt's gazetteer (1990). Caves are a feature of the PDNP rather than Wiltshire and the primary source of information in this regard is Branigan and Dearne's gazetteer of cave sites exhibiting Roman period material in Britain (1992), which was cross-checked against Chamberlain's dynamic gazetteer of caves, fissures and rock shelters in Britain containing human remains (2014). These data were complemented by the retrieval of grey literature pertaining to the cave site at Reynard's Kitchen Cave, post-dating the above sources (Section 5.5.1.1) Similarly, further information was subsequently provided when metal detectorists reported the recovery of a hoard of late Roman coins from the site of an unscheduled barrow recorded within the Barnatt's catalogue in 2018. Subsequent rescue excavation generated original data included here (Section 5.5.4.2.2). In addition, a review of the most recent archaeological research agenda for the PDNP was undertaken (Brightman and Waddington 2011), complementing an earlier East Midlands agenda (Cooper and Clay 2006).

The synthesised data was then cleansed of information deemed insufficient to warrant inclusion. For instance, relationships between features expressed only through aerial photography were expunged. Similarly, Roman period artefacts recovered from ploughsoil related to monuments known only through aerial photography were also removed. That is not to say that these relationships are of no value; quite the contrary; they could direct further research questions and fieldwork but it was felt that the most archaeologically robust dataset possible was desirable in order to answer the research questions. The synthesised and cleansed data form the Appendices. It should be noted that the information included within them remains of varying quality and, in some cases, relationships hinted at can only be more extensively revealed by programmes of dedicated fieldwork. Consequently, the case-studies forming Chapters Four and Five comprise robust examples included in the dataset, driven too by their landscape contexts.

As Section 2.5 made clear, the theoretical approach driving this thesis necessitates that prehistoric monument engagement is considered in relation to aspects of each

Roman period landscape. Consequently, it was necessary to create dynamic GIS of each study area so that monument use could by mapped and perceived in relation to Roman period sites and settlements. As such, each study area contains distribution maps for prehistoric monuments exhibiting Roman engagement together with all known Roman sites. The sources used for this task vary in each study zone. For both areas, CSV files were extracted from the digital data recorded on the RRSP, which synthesises information regarding sites in 'the countryside' from both traditionally published reports and grey literature since the onset of PPG16 (Allen et al 2015; Allen and Lodwick 2017; Smith 2018; Smith, Brindle and Fulford 2015).

For the PDNP, sites contained within the Peak District Romano-British Survey (Bevan 2005) were cross-checked against and synthesised with the RRSP. The sites from the survey did not contain morphological information beyond 'rural settlement' and, therefore, are recorded as such, often reflecting that investigation was undertaken by non-invasive methods. Information regarding military and civilian sites was also recorded (Patterson 2016) while funerary data was also extracted from Philpott's gazetteer of burial sites (1991).

For Wiltshire, the RRSP was supplemented by data gleaned from Draper's gazetteer of Roman sites (2006). It should be noted that the Draper's classification scheme and that of the RRSP contain contradictions. For example, Draper terms small rural settlements spanning numerous buildings over multiple square metres 'villages' whilst the designation 'nucleated settlement' is employed by the RRSP. The preferred term here is 'nucleated settlement'. Within the RRSP, however, some larger settlements clearly associated with roads are recorded as nucleated settlements when they might be otherwise more traditionally understood as 'roadside settlements' and/or 'small towns' (Burnham and Watcher 1990). The list of Roman settlement forms referred to in the text is documented in Table 2.3. In addition to the RRSP, funerary sites were extracted from Foster's gazetteer which, while comprehensive, was beset by issues of following up robust spatial data and burial deposit statistics owing to their recording prior to the advent of modern fieldwork methodologies (2001). Only those sites which were plottable have been taken forward and this should be born in mind when those data are related to funerary use of prehistoric monuments.

Table 2.3. Roman settlement forms referred to in the text.

Preferred Roman Settlement Types
Fort
Small town
Roadside settlement
Nucleated settlement
Villa
Rural settlement

These methodological concerns emphasise that archaeologists can only ever deal with a partial dataset which is inconsistent and can be contradictory, rendering an absolute like for like comparison between different regions an elusive fantasy. This is an inevitability of the archaeological record. The remit, therefore, is not to arrive at a 'truth' that these data reveal, for they can only ever provide a keyhole view into life in the past. Furthermore, the way these data have been collected, interpreted and presented are influenced by the theoretical methodology outlined in Section 2.5. The outcome of what follows, then, is a set of questions which can be answered via the theoretical and methodological apparatus selected. As a consequence, this research is an assemblage in its own right, and it generates further questions which are picked up in Section 7.3. It cannot and does not aim to be definitive.

2.9 Qualitative assessment

Section 2.4 outlined Meade's qualitative scheme assessing Roman engagement with prehistoric features. While it was argued that Meade's criteria were unhelpfully based upon a sacred-profane dichotomy which should be avoided, the data herein should be filtered through a qualitative matrix unimpeded by the same baggage. This enables the selection of robust case-studies in Chapters Four and Five and adequately demonstrates the range of responses to prehistoric monuments in both study areas, synthesised for discussion in Chapter Six. The scheme adopted here runs through several layers. First, all sites recorded in the database outlined in Section 2.8 were

assessed in relation to the quality of the evidence they contained, using criteria outlined in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Qualitative scheme outlining the broad range of Roman engagement with prehistoric monuments.

Engagement classification	Wiltshire criteria	PDNP criteria
Casual/accidental	- Fewer than 100 sherds recovered within, on/in or around a monument accompanied by no other type of material. 2 or fewer non-precious metal coins accompanied by no other type of material. 2 items of metalwork accompanied by no other material.	- Fewer than 10 sherds recovered from within, on/in or around a monument accompanied by no other type of material. 1 non-precious metal coin accompanied by no other type of material. 1 item of metalwork accompanied by no other material.
Deliberate	- Where a monument was altered or transformed by intervention such as the deposition of a burial within a monument; the construction or excavation of features; the deliberate destruction of a monument or the incorporation of a monument within the boundaries of, or closely associated with, a settlement. 100 or more sherds in isolation. 1 or more precious metal coins. 3 or more non-precious metal coins. 2 or more non-precious metal coins accompanied by any other material. 2 or more items of metalwork accompanied by any other material.	- Where a monument was altered or transformed by intervention such as the deposition of a burial within a monument; the construction or excavation of features; the deliberate destruction of a monument or the incorporation of a monument within the boundaries of, or closely associated with, a settlement. 10 or more sherds in isolation. 2 or more precious metal coins. 1 or more non-precious metal coins. 1 or more items of metalwork. 5-9 sherds accompanied by 1 item of metalwork **and** 1 or more coins.

The criteria for dividing between casual/accidental and deliberate are different for each study area, with a lower threshold of Roman material required to assign deliberate engagement in the PDNP than Wiltshire. The reason for this is because, as Chapters Three and Five demonstrate, Wiltshire was more intensively inhabited than the PDNP resulting in a broader range of settlement types and higher numbers of material recovered from excavations. This is further reflected in PAS artefact data gleaned from the two areas, detailed in Table 2.5, which shows almost 10 times as many artefacts recovered from Wiltshire than the county of Derbyshire, encompassing the PDNP. The data were extracted from the PAS based on 'object type' with a broad period of 'Roman'. This produced an extensive array of object types, with 123 listed for Wiltshire and 51 for Derbyshire. Additionally, the object types are at times contradictory, demonstrating regional idiosyncrasies. For example, some 'plate brooches' are recorded as a separate category to 'brooches' in Wiltshire, which is not the case for the PDNP, despite plate brooches being present. Consequently, each object type was assigned an 'artefact classification' based on the scheme utilised in the RRSP (Fulford et al 2016: Appendix 5). Additions to this scheme here include 'industrial'; 'miniature object'; 'mount'; 'miscellaneous' and 'vessel', where concordance between the PAS and the RRSP was impractical based on the information available in the PAS records. Coins are not included within Table 2.4 because they are assessed on their own terms in Chapters Three and Five. For the purposes of this exercise, it should be noted that 13,265 coins have been recorded on the PAS in Wiltshire compared to 168 from the PDNP.

Table 2.5. PAS artefact data from the two case-study regions.

Artefact classification	Wiltshire	Derbyshire
Agricultural tool	3	0
Bracelet	177	7
Brooch	1,993	206
Building material	105	2
Equine/Transport equipment	14	4
Finger ring	247	8
Food processing	18	1
Funerary	1	0
Hair pin	40	3
Household object	124	4
Industrial	9	4
Knife/tool	36	2
Lighting equipment	1	0
Military fittings and weaponry	4	14
Miniature object	41	0
Miscellaneous	20	1
Mount	49	8
Other dress accessory	122	18
Recreation object	7	2
Religious object	2	4
Security object	20	3
Textile processing	9	33
Toilet/cosmetic instrument	106	3
Vessel	938	53
Weighing object	97	40
Writing equipment	26	8
Total	**4,209**	**428**

The majority of artefacts reported to the PAS derive from metal detecting (Leahy and Lewis 2018), an activity which is discouraged in the PDNP owing to much of the land being in pasture, with the effect that metal detecting could damage in situ archaeological features. Consequently, the figures in Table 2.5 should be caveated with this fact, though the inclusion of PAS data for lowlying Derbyshire, where detecting activity is permissible on ploughed land, hints at the broad disparities in levels of

Roman occupation between the two regions. In any event, the broad results are commensurate with settlement and coin data from each study area detailed in Chapters Three and Five. Ultimately, Table 2.5 emphasises that the criteria for ascribing deliberate engagement with prehistoric monuments in each area require different values. In keeping with the results of the PAS data, ten times as less material is required to have been recovered in/on or around a prehistoric monument in the PDNP than Wiltshire in order to assign deliberate engagement, detailed in Table 2.4.

While casual/accidental losses are recorded within the full dataset in Appendices 1 and 2, the key criterion we are interested in is deliberate engagement. Because of the range of monumental forms being taken into consideration, engagement with them could lead to an almost innumerable range of actions. Consequently, it is useful to assess them against criteria which enable a degree of standardisation to facilitate a comparison. Consequently, deliberate engagement follows the actions outlined in the flowchart depicted in Figure 2.3.
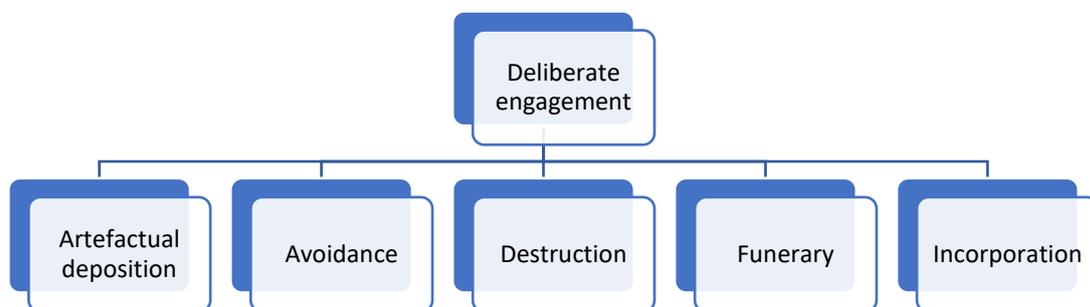
Figure 2.3. Qualitative flowchart for 'deliberate engagement'.

From here, there are a range of elements we are interested in. Artefactual deposition might involve material recovered from earthen or megalithic long or round barrow interiors, the ditches of virtually all monuments outlined in Table 2.2 and the interiors/exteriors of caves and hillforts. Avoidance here follows the concept of 'purposeful non-interaction' outlined by Spencer (Section 2.4) and is applied only to

monuments which demonstrate associations with other archaeological phenomena, though the wider implications of this are picked up in Section 6.12. Destruction constitutes monuments which appear to have been flattened or obliterated, such as a barrow flattened during the construction of a road. Like artefactual deposition, funerary engagement might denote the inhumation or cremation of an individual or individuals recovered from the examples listed in relation to artefactual deposition. Furthermore, as Chapters Three, Four and Five demonstrate, funerary evidence in relation to barrows demonstrates a division into what we might distinguish as:

- Mimicry: that is barrows constructed in the Roman period mimicking the local prehistoric form rather than conforming to more conventional Roman period conical barrows such as those at the Bartlow Hills, Cambridgeshire discussed in Section 2.4;
- Intrusive: that is Roman period burial deposits recovered from extant prehistoric barrows.

Lastly, incorporation is applied to denote where prehistoric monuments were clearly integrated within Roman period settlements. Inevitably, these criteria need not be mutually exclusive and, indeed, some sites demonstrate a multiplicity of forms. Furthermore, no one criteria ought to be thought of as intrinsically more meaningful than another but rather qualitatively different.

It will become clear that the funerary evidence forms a large bulk of the types of engagement, and the implications of these data are explicitly explored in relation to each study area and in the comparison (Sections 3.4.5, 5.5.3.1 and 6.8). Similarly, coin assemblages form a large proportion of what is termed artefactual deposition. Their fine-grained chronology presents a window through which to explore material associated with prehistoric monuments juxtaposed against excavated sites in each case-study zone (Sections 3.5.4; 5.5.4.2 and 6.10). The coin dates utilised here are based on those developed by Reece (1995), divided into 21 periods from pre 41 CE to 402 CE (Table 2.6). Many of the coins analysed as part of archival research were too worn or damaged to enable definitive Reece Period designation but it was possible to group them to a specific broader period to enable a fuller comparative dataset. The groupings used here replicates those employed by Bland et al 2020 (Table 2.7). Coin hoards are generally referenced using Robinson's inventory (2000) but on occasion, the IARCH database hosted by the PAS is utilised. In this scenario, the IARCH prefix

is followed by the six-character PAS reference. Where evidence is extracted from dynamic resources like the PAS, it is accurate as of 13th September 2019.

Table 2.6 Reece Periods.

Reece Period	Dates (CE)	Period Name
1	Pre 41	LPRIA and pre-Claudian
2	41-54	Claudian
3	54-68	Neronian and civil wars
4	69-96	Flavian
5	96-117	Trajanic
6	117-138	Hadrianic
7	138-161	Antonine I
8	161-180	Antonine II
9	180-193	Antonine II
10	193-222	Severan I
11	222-238	Later Severan
12	238-260	Gordian III to Valerian
13	260-275	Gallienus (sole reign) to Aurelian
14	275-296	Tacitus to Allectus
15	296-317	The Tetrarchy
16	317-330	Constantinian I
17	330-348	Constantinian II
18	348-364	Constantinian III
19	364-378	Valentinianic
20	378-388	Theodosian I
21	388-402	Theodosian II

Table 2.7. Reece Period groupings.

Reece Period group	Dates (CE)	Broad period
1-2	Pre 41-54	LPRIA-Claudian
3-6	54-138	Neronian-Hadrianic
7-11	138-238	Antoninine-Severan
12-14	238-296	*Radiate*
15-18	296-317	Tetrarchy-House of Constantine
19-21	364-402	Valentinianic and Theodosian

Finally, it is necessary to impose a scheme which classifies elements of monuments which became the focus for deliberate engagement. This will facilitate a discussion as to the differences in the character and appearance of the monuments and how those characteristics could lead to different forms of transformation and modification in Section 6.12. The scheme is depicted in Table 2.8. It is focussed on which parts of the different types of monuments yield evidence for Roman engagement.

Table 2.8. Elements of monuments which became the focus for engagement.

Monument	Location of Engagement
Artificial mound	Ditch, Earthen interior, Exterior, Summit
Cave	Exterior, Interior
Causewayed enclosure	Ditch, Entrance, Exterior, Interior, Summit
Cove	Exterior
Henge	Ditch, Entrance, Exterior, Interior
Hillfort	Ditch, Entrance, Exterior, Interior, Rampart
Long barrow	Chamber, Ditch, Earthen Interior, Exterior
Round barrow	Chamber, Ditch, Earthen Interior, Exterior
Standing stone	Exterior
Stone/timber circle	Ditch, Entrance, Exterior, Interior

Chapter Three: Wiltshire

3.1 Introduction

Section 2.6 outlined the rationale for conducting landscape case-studies in Wiltshire and the PDNP. Chapters Three and Four investigate Roman period engagement with prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire. Driven by the patterns these data yield, Sections 4-4.5 examine case-studies centred upon the AWHS and SWHS and their associated monuments. Evidence for Roman intervention at monuments in these locations is presented. In so doing, I consider the relationships between monuments and Roman settlement and practices, emphasising that prehistoric monuments were woven into the fabric of the contemporary Roman landscape. I argue that their meanings emerged relationally.

In order to facilitate this discussion, it is necessary to elucidate the topographical, geological and environmental profile of the county because they have played roles in the development of the county's archaeology (Section 3.2). Similarly, it is essential to outline the types of monuments that would have been encountered in these regions during the Roman period. Section 3.3 places those monuments within their landscape contexts. In addition, in order to understand how prehistoric monuments were relationally situated with Roman practices, it is vital to contextualise settlement and society in Roman Wiltshire. Consequently, Section 3.4 considers the roadways, quasi-urban sites, villas, nucleated and rural settlements funerary information and coin loss patterns. Section 3.5 subsequently introduces Roman engagement with Wiltshire monuments, discussing their distribution and different forms of engagement before focussing on morphological breakdown. This lays the necessary groundwork for the detailed Wiltshire case-studies studies in Chapter Four.

3.2 Wiltshire: landscape, topography and environment

Located in the southwest of England, covering an area of c.3,485km^2, Wiltshire exhibits a topographical divide between the chalk downloads of the east and south and the clay soils of the north and west (Figure 3.1). These different zones have led to Wiltshire's geomorphology being colloquially labelled as 'chalk' and 'cheese' (Draper 2006: 4),

and intensive investigations have taken place on the chalk, creating an inevitably biased archaeological dataset (Wilkinson and Straker 2008: 66; McOmish et al 2002). The chalkland landscape is divided into two primary parcels of land: the Marlborough Downs to the north and the South Wiltshire Downs to the south (Figure 3.1). The Marlborough Downs are drained by the River Kennet and its tributaries, where deposits of sarsen stone, utilised in megalithic construction, are abundant (Geddes 2000: 60). In the north and the west of Marlborough lies the summit of chalk elevation, c.150-200m OD. Capping the high chalk summit is a stony layer of clay-with-flint centred, in the main, on the area of Savernake Forest (Geddes 2000: 58-59). The landscape is primarily characterised by arable soils.

The South Wiltshire Downs are divided into three smaller landscape areas: the West Wiltshire Downs in the west, Salisbury Plain in the middle and the northern tip of Cranborne Chase in the south. The majority of the downland landscape contains a mixture of pasture and arable land, with elevations of 100-200m OD, characterised by steep escarpments. Dissecting the chalk plateaus of the Marlborough Downs and Salisbury Plain to the east are the river valleys of the Wyle, Ebble, Kennett and Avon, which have resulted in the formation of alluvial river terraces comprised of silt and clay. The largest concentrations of prehistoric monuments are located among the alluvial deposits in the chalkland.

At the interface between the Marlborough Downs and the South Wiltshire Downs lies the Vale of Pewsey, comprised in the main of London clay. Its upper greensand landscape is a mixture of lime woodland, arable and pasture land where multiple natural springs sprinkle the valleys. Beyond the chalklands, in the northwest, lies the eastern fringe of the Cotswolds limestone plateau, where the topography is comprised primarily of Jurassic oolite, spreading from Bradford-on-Malmesbury in the north. This area is characterised by flat topped hills rising to 180m OD. The Northern Clay Vale consists of a belt of clay interspersed with river gravels and sand, where woodland was extensive.
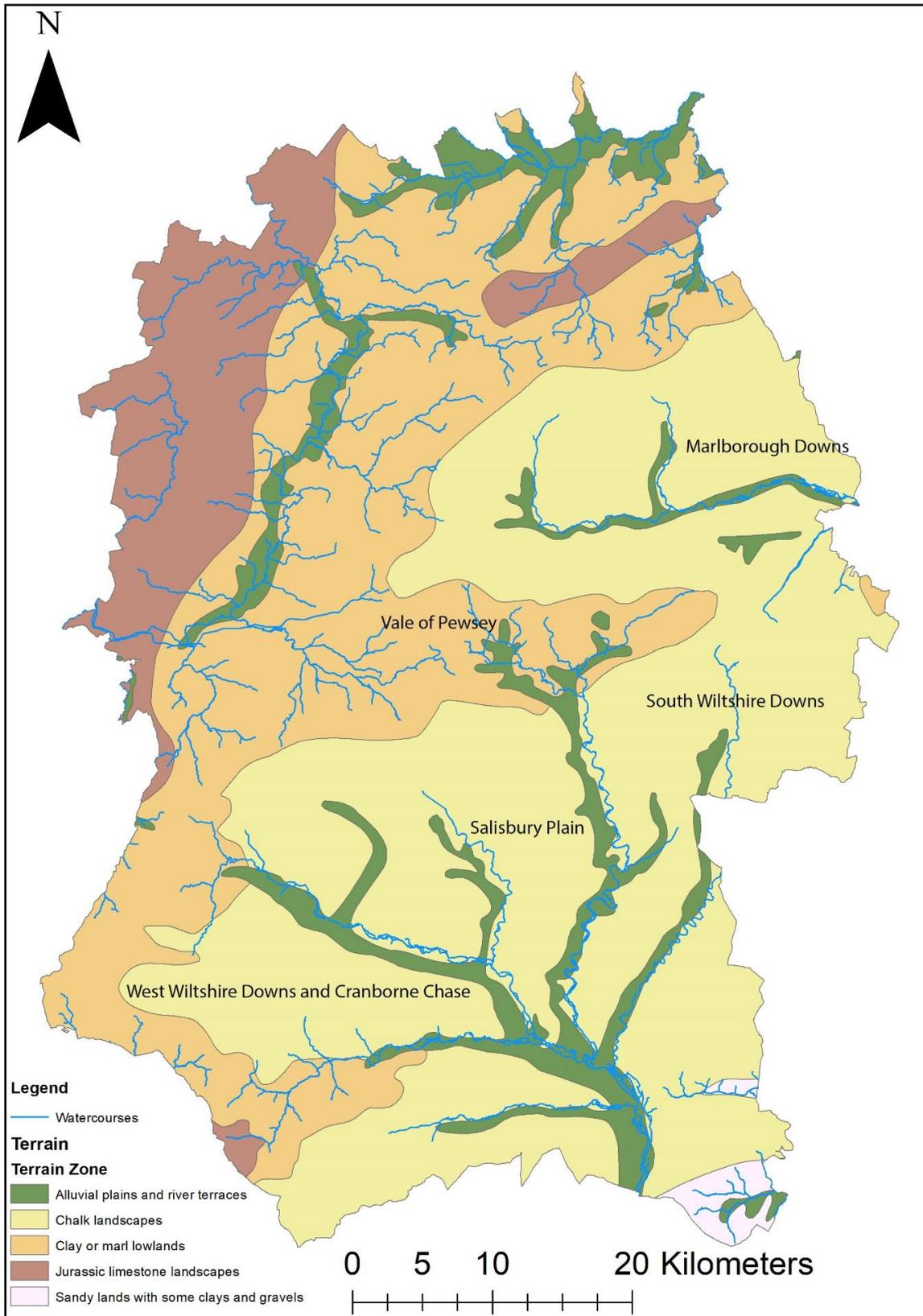
Figure 3.1. Geological zones of Wiltshire.

3.3 Prehistoric Wiltshire

Wiltshire contains two concentrations of sites analogous to the prehistoric monumental complexes in the Boyne Valley in the Republic of Ireland and Carnic in Brittany, France (Gillings et al 2008: 1). 'Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites' became the first British entry into the UNESCO World Heritage List, recognised as a "masterpiece of human creative genius that demonstrates the technological and engineering skills of a long-lost Neolithic and Bronze Age culture" (Wilson 2016: xi). Consequently, they are fertile frontiers in which to explore how prehistoric monuments impacted on people's lives after the Roman conquest. In order to explore these questions, it is necessary to place these landscapes within a wider Wiltshire context and to demonstrate that focussing on the WHS is a cogent methodological decision.

The WHS demonstrates a locus for Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monumental structures, and the predominance of the chalk downlands in Wiltshire's prehistoric development is overt. Indeed, the 148 Early Neolithic long barrows from the county recorded on the HER are predominantly associated with the WHS and the West Wiltshire Downs (Grinsell 1958). The 2,595 confirmed and probable Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age round barrows are attested almost exclusively from the chalk around the WHS (Figure 3.2; Woodward 2000: 103-109). Their distribution evinces the primacy of a riverine siting, located in particular along the trajectories of the Kennet and Avon. As a consequence, they pointedly eschew prominent elevated locations (Field 1998: 320-321) in notable contrast to the PDNP (Section 6.11).

Additionally, 74% of the 50 Late Bronze Age to Iron Age hillforts are located on the chalk (Figure 3.3). In particular, there are large concentrations on Salisbury Plain and the West Wiltshire Downs, focussed around the river valleys. Unlike the round barrows, a number are known from beyond the chalk, particularly in northeastern Wiltshire.
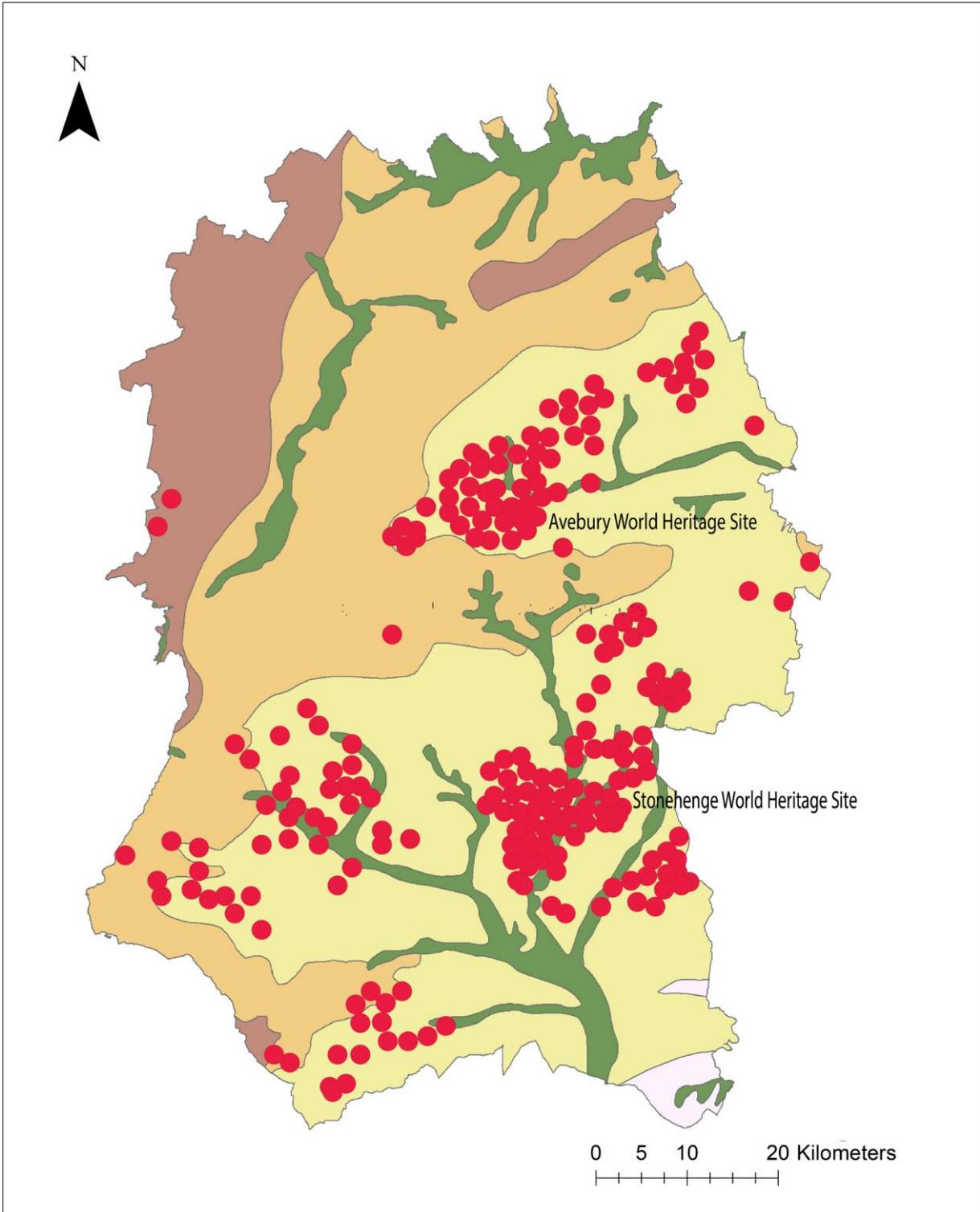
Figure 3.2. Distribution of round barrows in Wiltshire. After Pollard and Healy 2008: 98, figure 4.2).
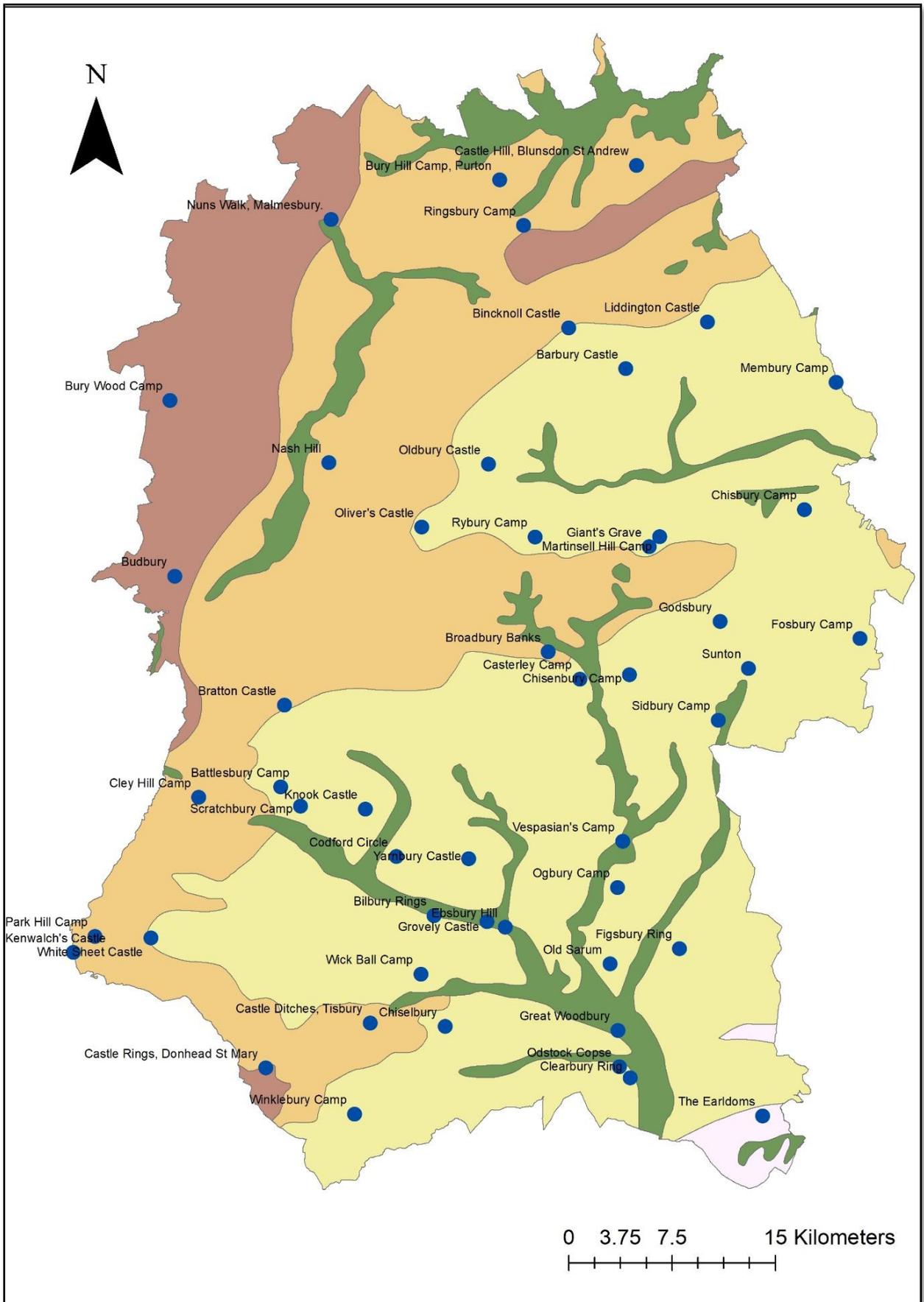
Figure 3.3. Distribution of hillforts in Wiltshire.

3.3.1 The Avebury and Stonehenge UNESCO World Heritage Site

The WHS comprises two parcels of Wessex chalkland separated by 40km (Figure 3.4). Though their boundaries are largely arbitrary, each zone is distinguished from its surrounds by the complexity and volume of structures and sites (Simmonds 2016: 7). In order to explore how the prehistoric monuments became part of Roman period landscapes, it is necessary to outline the germane monuments that constituted the WHS. The sites included in this discussion, therefore, form the basis of the case studies in Chapter Four. Where pertinent, prehistoric chronological sequencing is outlined.
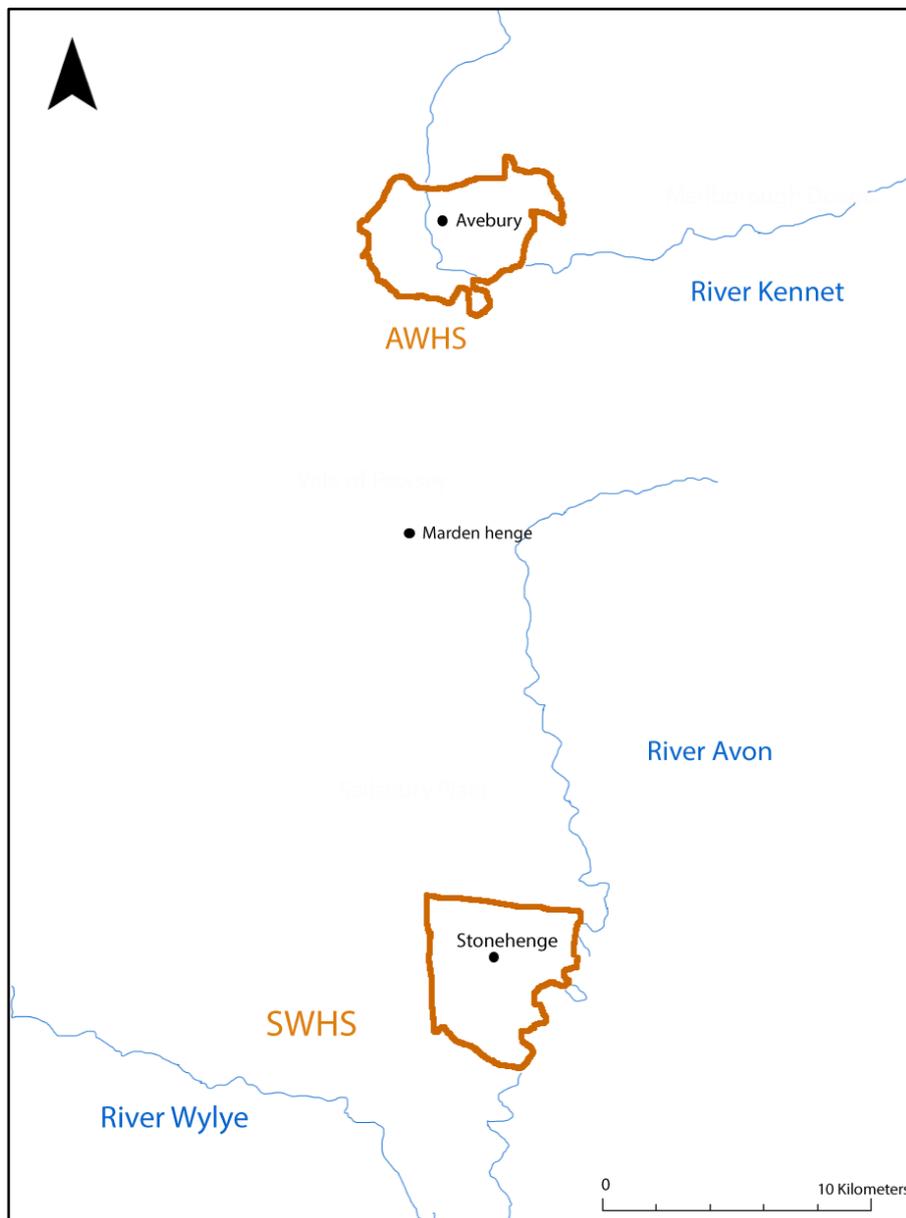
Figure 3.4. The AWHS and WHS. After Lievers et al 2016: 2.

3.3.2 The AWHS

The modern village of Avebury gives its name to the henge within which it is nestled and the wider monumental landscape (Figure 3.5). In this section I discuss monuments that would have been encountered during the Roman period in the low-lying valley of the River Kennet before turning attention to the monuments set just outside the AHWS on predominantly higher ground.
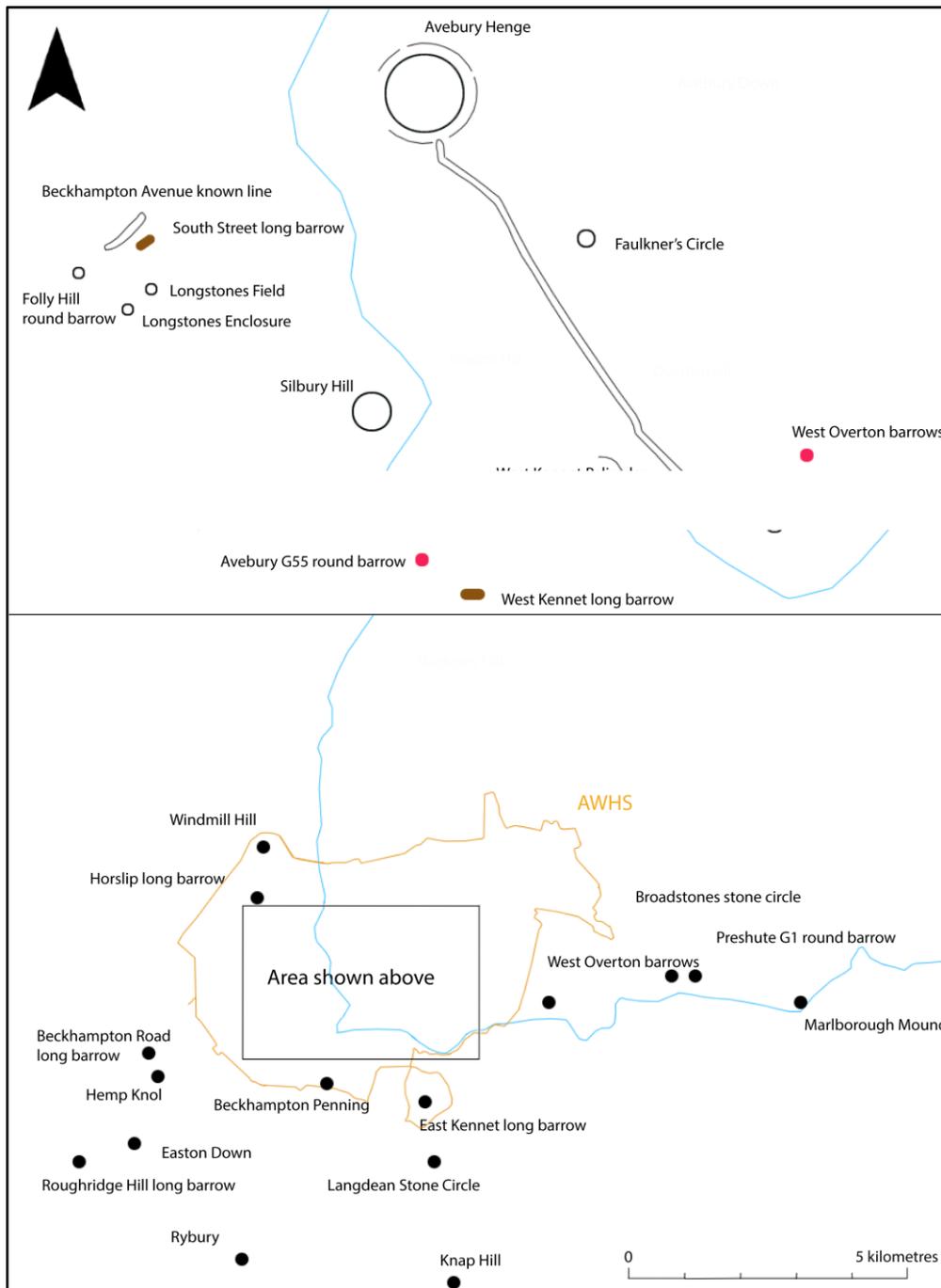
Figure 3.5. The AWHS. After Cleal and Pollard 2016: 82.

3.3.2.1 Silbury Hill

Skirted by the Roman road running between Silchester and Bath, Silbury Hill is argued here to be at the centre of how the AWHS was encountered and engaged with during the Roman period (Section 4.1.1). This discussion therefore begins with contextualising the monument.

Figure 3.6. Silbury Hill. Photo by author.

Set within the low-lying valley of the River Kennet and constructed from the chalk, soil, clay and gravel of the North Wessex Downs, the monument dominates its shallow surroundings with a basal diameter of 160m, standing at 39.3m high (Figure 3.6) (Leary and Field 2010; Pollard & Reynolds 2002: 119). Whilst no longer visible due to silting, it was flanked by a large external bank and ditch (the position of which altered as the mound was enlarged). Dated to between 2,445-1,950 cal BCE (Bayliss, McAvoy and Whittle 2007) and constructed across 16 phases (Leary, Field and Campbell 2013), its precise function is elusive. Ironically, as recently as 1867, it was speculated to be of

Roman making until excavations revealed that the adjacent Roman road was constructed around the monument, rather than the monument constructed as a point along the already extant road (Wilkinson 1867).

3.3.2.2 The West Kennet long barrow

920m south of Silbury Hill lies the West Kennet long barrow. Excavated in the late nineteenth century and again in the 1950s (Piggott 1962), absolute dates reveal that its construction began c.3,600 BCE (Bayliss, Whittle and Wysocki 2007). 100m in length and occupying a prominent position on a hillcrest above the valley of the River Kennett, the monument is an imposing presence within the contemporary landscape, just as it would have been in antiquity (Figure 4.51). Particularly elaborate in scale and design, its megalithic chambers, passage, forecourt and façade were constructed from local sarsen blocks and oolitic limestone (Pollard and Reynolds 2002: 65). The interior consisted of two pairs of chambers situated either side of a 12m axial passage, leading into a large sub-oval chamber (Figure 4.6). The chambers were utilised until the early second millennium BCE, whereupon the interior was sealed off by the filling up of the chambers and the closing of an imposing stone façade (Cleal and Pollard 2016: 85-86; Piggott 1962: 26-27), important factors to bear in mind regarding its Roman use. Though falling into disuse, its scale and association with other monuments in the region, particularly Silbury Hill, ensured it remained a prominent actor within the landscape (Fowler and Harris 2015). In this regard, it is notable that a round barrow, Avebury 55, was situated between Silbury Hill and the West Kennet long barrow (Section 4.1.2).

3.3.2.3 The Sanctuary and associated round barrows

The stone and timber circle known as The Sanctuary is located at one end of the 2.4km. Situated on the southern spur of Overton Hill 1.4km northwest of the West Kennet long barrow, it was re-discovered in the mid-seventeenth century before being investigated in 1930 (Cunnington 1931). It comprised a series of stone holes forming two concentric circles, with a diameter of 40m. Excavations also revealed post-holes for timber posts, which would have stood up to 6m above ground. Within the centre of the monument was a single upright post. Recent investigations suggested the stone settings were dug slightly later than the timber post holes, with an initial phase of construction beginning

circa 2,500 BCE (Lees 1999; Pollard and Cleal 2016: 92). Recent work indicates that that the structure would not have been roofed (Pollard and Reynolds 2002: 108), an important point to bear in mind in relation to the palisaded Roman barrows on Overton Hill (Section 4.1.3) Later, the megalithic West Kennet Avenue connected the northwest of the monument to the southern entrance of Avebury (Figure 3.5). How much of the site was visible by the Bronze Age, and beyond, is difficult to determine but it was aligned with a subsequent round barrow cemetery on Overton Hill (Pollard and Healy 2008: 79), around which the Roman road between Silchester and Bath was subsequently constructed (Section 4.1.3), indicating its continued importance in the landscape.

In the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age, round barrows became the predominant monumental form with c.150 known from the AWHS and around 300 recognised within the wider area landscape (Pollard and Cleal 2016: 97). Their locations show associations with earlier monumental sites (Cleal 2005: 121). By the Iron Age and Roman period, the round barrows would have been prominent visual entities (Section 4.1.3).

3.3.2.4 Longstones Cove

Longstones Cove, part of the Longstones Enclosure, is situated at one end of the Beckhampton Avenue, which runs from the western entrance of the Avebury henge. Today, its only surviving elements are two adjacent megaliths colloquially known as 'Adam' and Eve'. The original sockets, and post-medieval destruction pits associated with them, suggest the stones were substantial, standing c.2.5-3.5m above ground (Section 4.1.4). In its final iteration, the Cove consisted of a rectangular setting of four sarsen megaliths, c.15x10m, aligned northwest to southeast, with splayed sides opening to the southeast. The Cove was a multi-phased construction, replacing linear arrangements of stones set at right angles to the Beckhampton Avenue. The central stone of the terminus of the Beckhampton Avenue was retained as part of the Cove, constructed on a slightly different alignment (Gillings et al 2008).

3.3.2.5 Avebury henge

The Avebury henge was central to life within the Kennet Valley in the Neolithic and Bronze Age. Situated on a ridge of Middle Chalk at the bottom of the northwestern portion of Waden Hill, it is a sub-circular earthwork c.420m in diameter broken by four entrances. It encloses an area of c.115,000m^2, consisting of an enormous 5m deep ditch surrounded by an external bank standing 6m high (Figure 4.14), as it is encountered today (Pollard and Reynolds 2002: 84). Its interior comprises an outer stone circle which encloses two smaller stone circles. The huge flat-bottomed ditch and bank form the basis of the first phase of the monument, known as Avebury 1, and their prominence in the Roman period landscape is reflected in Section 4.1.4.

Its interior features, known as Avebury 2, comprised of a series of sarsen stone settings, packed with chalk, clay and smaller sarsen blocks. The first, Outer Circle, the largest stone circle in Britain, was comprised of c.100 stones running the circumference of the ditch. The two Inner Circles are 100m in diameter, with the Southern Inner Circle circular and the Northern Inner Circle oval in plan. Set within the centre of the Inner Circles were the Cove and Obelisk. The Obelisk, located in the Southern Inner Circle, was destroyed in the eighteenth century but was recorded by Stukeley to have been 2.5m in diameter, standing 6m high (Stukeley 2010 [1743]: 24). The Northern Inner Circle enclosed the Cove, a box shaped setting of three sarsen slabs open to the northeast. One slab was destroyed in 1719, whilst the two remaining stones stand at 4.4 and 4.9m high respectively (Gillings and Pollard 2004). Recent geophysical survey suggests that the Obelisk was surrounded by a sub-rectangular arrangement of stone settings (Gillings, Pollard and Strutt 2019).

3.3.2.6 Knap Hill causewayed enclosure

Knap Hill's dimensions, encompassing an area of c.21,400m^2, were typical of an Early Neolithic causewayed enclosure. Situated just outside the boundaries of the AWHS, it is located on a steep-sided ridge 255m OD, 6.5km south-southeast of Avebury, from where it is strikingly viewed from Salisbury Plain. It faces, and is intervisible with, the monuments of the AWHS (Oswald et al 2001). Recent analysis suggests the site was constructed between 3,620-3,375 BCE (Whittle, Bayliss and Healy 2011: 97-102). Excavated between 1908-1909 (Cunnington 1911) and 1961 (Connah 1965), its

enclosure consists of a single sub-circular ring of interrupted ditch segments forming causeways. Two round barrows were subsequently constructed within and around the earthworks (Cleal 2005). The monument is unusual, appearing incomplete as a sub-triangular structure, with one side conforming to the contours of the hill on which it is situated. The structure is abutted by a Roman period settlement known as 'The Plateau' (Figure 4.17; Section 4.2.1).

3.3.3 The Stonehenge UNESCO World Heritage Site

The c.26.6km^2 of the SWHS (Figure 3.7) encompasses a cluster of monuments surrounding the later Neolithic stone circle and ditch structure of Stonehenge, situated on Salisbury Plain (Bowden et al 2015; Cleal, Walker and Montague 1995; Darvill 2006; Parker Pearson et al 2007; 2008; Parker Pearson 2013; Richards 1990a). As per the AWHS, I characterise the development of the area in prehistory through consideration of key sites germane to the central questions of this thesis.
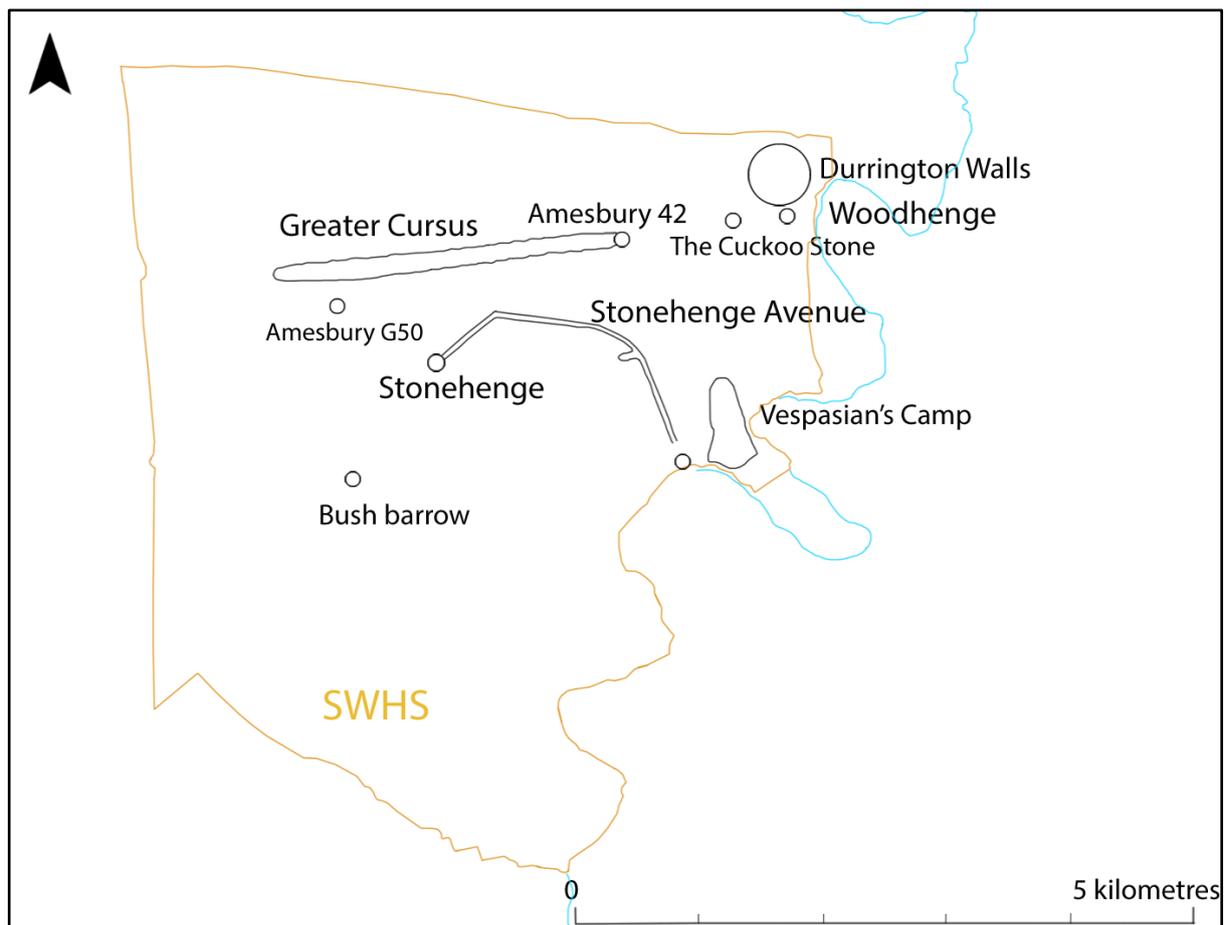
Figure 3.7. The SWHS. After Darvill 2015: 5.

59

3.3.3.1 Durrington Walls

Though Stonehenge played an important role within the Roman period landscape (Section 4.3.4) it is evident that Durrington Walls, together with the closely associated monuments including The Cuckoo Stone and Woodhenge, were central to experience of the SWHS during the Roman period (Sections 4.3.1-3). I therefore begin this section by characterising those monuments.

Situated 3km northeast of Stonehenge in a dry valley next to the River Avon, Durrington Walls is the largest henge in Britain. Located on a pre-existing settlement (Craig et al 2015), it encloses an area of c.110,000m$^{2.}$ The structure consisted of two opposing entrances, each in excess of 20m wide, and a large encircling ditch and bank. The internal area was comprised of by two circular wooden structures known as the Northern and Southern Circle. Each circle consisted of two main phases, predating the construction of the encircling ditch and bank. Excavations in 2005 confirmed the presence of a 30m megalithic avenue connecting the eastern entrance of the henge to the River Avon, situated 175m east (Parker Pearson et al 2008). As Stonehenge's Avenue also lead to the Avon, and the monuments were broadly contemporaneous, Stonehenge and Durrington Walls were likely connected in a highly meaningful relationship beginning with the former a village housing people constructing the latter (Craig et al 2015) and changing to potentially to one of symbolism (Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998). It is argued here that the sites were connected in the Roman period based on the archaeological evidence emerging from each monument (Section 4.3.4).

3.3.3.2 The Cuckoo Stone

A block of sarsen measuring over 2m long, 1.5m wide and 60cm thick, the Cuckoo Stone today lies prostrate having tumbled at some point in modern history (Figure 3.8). The megalith is situated 500m southeast of the centre of Durrington Walls, and aligned with Woodhenge to the east (Figure 3.7). Recent excavations revealed it was deposited in its position through natural agencies before being placed upright and held in place by a wooden stanchion, erected circa 2,900 BCE (Parker Pearson et al 2008: 157; Parker Pearson 2012: 147-150). The placement of three Bronze Age cremation urns next to it (Parker Pearson 2012: 147-150) demonstrates it continued to be an

important node in the landscape (Darvill 2006: 90), a role it may have performed in the Roman period (Section 4.3.2).

Figure 3.8. The Cuckoo Stone. Available at
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Cuckoo_Stone,_Wiltshire.jpg.

3.3.3.3 Woodhenge

Woodhenge lies 70m south of Durrington Walls (Figure 4.19). At 86.9m in diameter, it is significantly smaller in scale than Durrington Walls. It consisted of an external bank and perimeter with an entrance to the northeast. Now ploughed out, it was rediscovered by aerial photography in 1925 and excavations showed its internal arrangement consisted of six concentric ovals of timber uprights (Cunnington 1929; Evans and Wainwright 1979). The posts were potentially capped by timber lintels forming a roof. By the time the monument would have been encountered during the Roman period, the only trace of what had once stood at the site would have been the external bank, with the ditch also having silted.

3.3.3.4 Stonehenge

Long attracting public, antiquarian and archaeological interest (Darvill 2006; Parker Pearson 2012: 27-50; 2013; Darvill 2006; Walker 1995), Stonehenge, paradoxically, does not constitute a true morphological henge but a stone circle with bank and ditch

on account of the inverted arrangement of its ditch and bank (Darvill 2006). Based upon this technicality, it is here termed a stone/timber circle, categorised in the same group as The Sanctuary and Woodhenge. The monument has recently undergone a renewed phasing model as a result of fieldwork programmes, archival reassessment and Bayesian modelling, revealing five main phases, dating to between 3,000-1,500 BCE (Darvill et al 2012; Bowden et al 2015: 28-54). A full breakdown of the complex phasing is unnecessary here and the crucial aspect of the monument's appearance is how it would have appeared in its final iteration, summarised below.

The complete monument consists of a circular earthwork with a diameter of 110m, bounded by a 4-6m wide ditch (Figure 4.22). Set either side were outer and inner banks, measuring c.5m wide. An entrance to the northeast and smaller entrance to the south were constructed, whilst 56 small post/stone holes encircling the inner edge of the bank, known as Aubrey holes, were set up (Parker Pearson 2012: 181-186). A posthole structure was built by the entrance, while Stones B, C and 97, replaced subsequently by Stone 96 (the Heel Stone), were erected outside the entrance. Five sarsen trilithons joined by resting lintels were constructed within the centre of the monument, aligned to the solstices. Outside the Trilithon was a rebuilt oval ring of bluestones, known as the Q and R holes, consisting of c.25 monoliths. Outside this circle, a sarsen circle of 30 upright megaliths with lintels was erected, forming a diameter of c.30m. The final iteration of the monument (in its constructional sequence at least) involved the digging of the Y and Z holes between 1,630-1,520 BCE. Forming two concentric circles of stoneholes around the sarsen stone circle, they were spaced at irregular intervals. By the modern period, much of the megalithic interior had disappeared through robbing in subsequent centuries, and it is unclear precisely how much of the monument's final phase would have been visible in the Roman period.

3.3.3.5 Round Barrows

The SWHS and wider Salisbury Plain area demonstrate a rich round barrow tradition, with c.670 barrows known yielding an average density of 5 barrows per km^2. Some 40% of have been excavated, though the vast majority were antiquarian interventions with many assemblages and archival material now lost (Darvill 2006: 164). Their distribution shows several concentrations, with a notable density enveloping Stonehenge, indicative of the stone circle's continued significance (Pollard et al 2008:

79). Recent survey additionally suggests there were relationships between round barrow cemeteries and contemporary field systems (Bowden et al 2015: 64). A number of round barrows were concentrated on the western side of Beacon Hill where, crucially, the Roman road runs through, and the relationship between the road and round barrows in the SWHS is explored in Section 3.5.8.

3.3.3.6 Old Sarum

The large contour hillfort of Old Sarum is situated 9.6km south of Stonehenge. Enclosing an area of c.120,000m^2, excavations revealed it was built across multiple phases, beginning as a univallate structure before being elaborated with subsequent ditches. The site has two visible entrances, one on the east approached by a causeway and one on the western side, though it is likely that the latter was constructed in the Medieval period. Its interior contained a number of structures dating to the Early Iron Age, as well as pits and ceramic finds dating to the late Iron Age (Rahtz and Musty 1960. Sections 3.4 and 4.4.1 discuss its role in the Roman period.

3.3.4 The Avebury and Stonehenge WHS Dark Age

After the decline of megalithic traditions during the Middle Bronze Age, direct activity with the WHS was minimal. At Avebury, the period is characterised as a 'Dark Age' with direct engagement with or around the monuments, as well as settlement within the area, largely absent (Gillings & Pollard 2004: 84-88). Though there is some evidence to suggest that round barrows were incorporated into new field systems (Mullin 2016: 98-100), and a cemetery was perhaps located around the barrows on Overton Hill in the Middle to Late Bronze Age (Anon 1988: 181-182), the monuments may have been actively avoided. Indeed, by the Iron Age, the dearth of material has led some scholars to suggest that the AWHS may have been "taboo" (Gillings and Pollard 2004: 86). Nevertheless, there is room for the position to change, reflected by the modicum of evidence for Iron Age activity from Silbury Hill, with finds including an early La Tene brooch (c.500-300 BCE) (Adams 2013: 281) and a possible circular shrine revealed by geophysical survey (Chadburn & Linford 2013: 260). Additionally, there is evidence to suggest that *some* Iron Age period activity occurred at the Avebury henge, with a charcoal sample from Stone Hole 8 of the Outer Circle from a tree felled between c.770-390 cal BCE (Fitzpatrick 2016: 103).

This pattern of avoidance of the monuments in later prehistory is similarly reflected in the SWHS. After the decline of monumental traditions, the landscape was parcelled by arrangements field systems and agricultural regimes. Small rectangular fields were set up and a concentration of linear ditches and enclosures emerged, c.1,000-800 BCE (McOmish, Field and Brown 2002: 56-66). By the Iron Age, pastoral agricultural regimes were sited away from areas of monumentality (Bowden et al 2015: 76-79). Like the AWHS, there is a modicum of evidence for engagement with monuments: storage pits dating to this Middle Iron Age were found within Durrington Walls, whilst scattered potsherds were recovered from the Y and Z holes from Stonehenge, and a human skull recovered from its ditch is speculated to be Iron Age in date (Gardiner 1995: 337). By the LPRIA, however, the SWHS shows a remarkable dearth of activity to the extent that no pottery, burials or settlements have yet been found with the boundaries or surrounding area in the century and a half prior to the Roman invasion. Overall, as with the general picture in the AWHS:

> "there was a palpable sense that the Iron Age people were concerned to keep the spirits of the Neolithic megalithic ceremonial sites out of their lives."

> (Bowden et al 2015: 78-79).

3.3.5 Discussion

The monumental features in the WHS, and the wider chalkland of the West Wiltshire Downs and Salisbury Plain, held powerful meanings that impacted the ways in which generations of people inhabited, visited and moved within the topography. In this way, the monuments, as active participants, were continually emergent in time, affecting how place and identity were constructed and reworked. The important question is how we understand the ways people's activities collaborated with the monuments in new cultural settings. At different points in prehistory, engagement was demonstrably manifested through both action and inaction, engagement and avoidance, underscoring how different societies and generations interpreted the relics of the past. Indeed, the sense that the monuments in the WHS were avoided in the LPRIA highlights their continued influence in what must be seen as changed relationship, characterised by different relations. As research presently stands, this is the picture we find at the onset of the Roman period. But can the response to these monuments in the Roman period be said to have been a continuation of LPRIA attitudes? Before

probing these questions, the nature of Roman activity in Wiltshire must be contextualised. Indeed, as Section 2.5 asserted, engagement with prehistoric monuments must be situated with how people in Roman Wiltshire dwelled within the landscape. Moreover, it is vital to situate the context of Roman Wiltshire against the PDNP so that appropriate comparisons can be meaningfully explored in Chapter Six.

3.4 Roman Wiltshire

Wiltshire was intensively inhabited during the Roman period (Figure 3.9). Here, I characterise the patterns of settlement and chronological development through the emergence of the road system, quasi-urban sites and shrines and the villa landscape, before discussing nucleated and rural settlements and finally considering elements of the funerary profile. This discussion is not an exhaustive account of sites and activities in Roman Wiltshire but, rather, aims to place Roman engagement with prehistoric monuments within appropriate temporal, spatial and cultural contexts.

Figure 3.11 shows the diversity of settlement forms. Strong concentrations were situated within the north belt of clayland close to the Gloucestershire border, which itself yielded a high density of palatial villas by the later period (Mattingly 2006: 393-399). Beyond, there were numerous nucleated and rural settlements within the chalkland, especially on Salisbury Plain. A number of elaborate villas were concentrated in northern Wiltshire towards the Jurassic limestone of the Cotswolds. Equally, villas were sited within the chalk downlands and the presence of quasi-urban settlements emphasises the strong civilian character of the county. As a whole, the settlement types typically accumulate surrounding the routes of the road system and in and among the alluvial river valley deposits in low-lying areas.
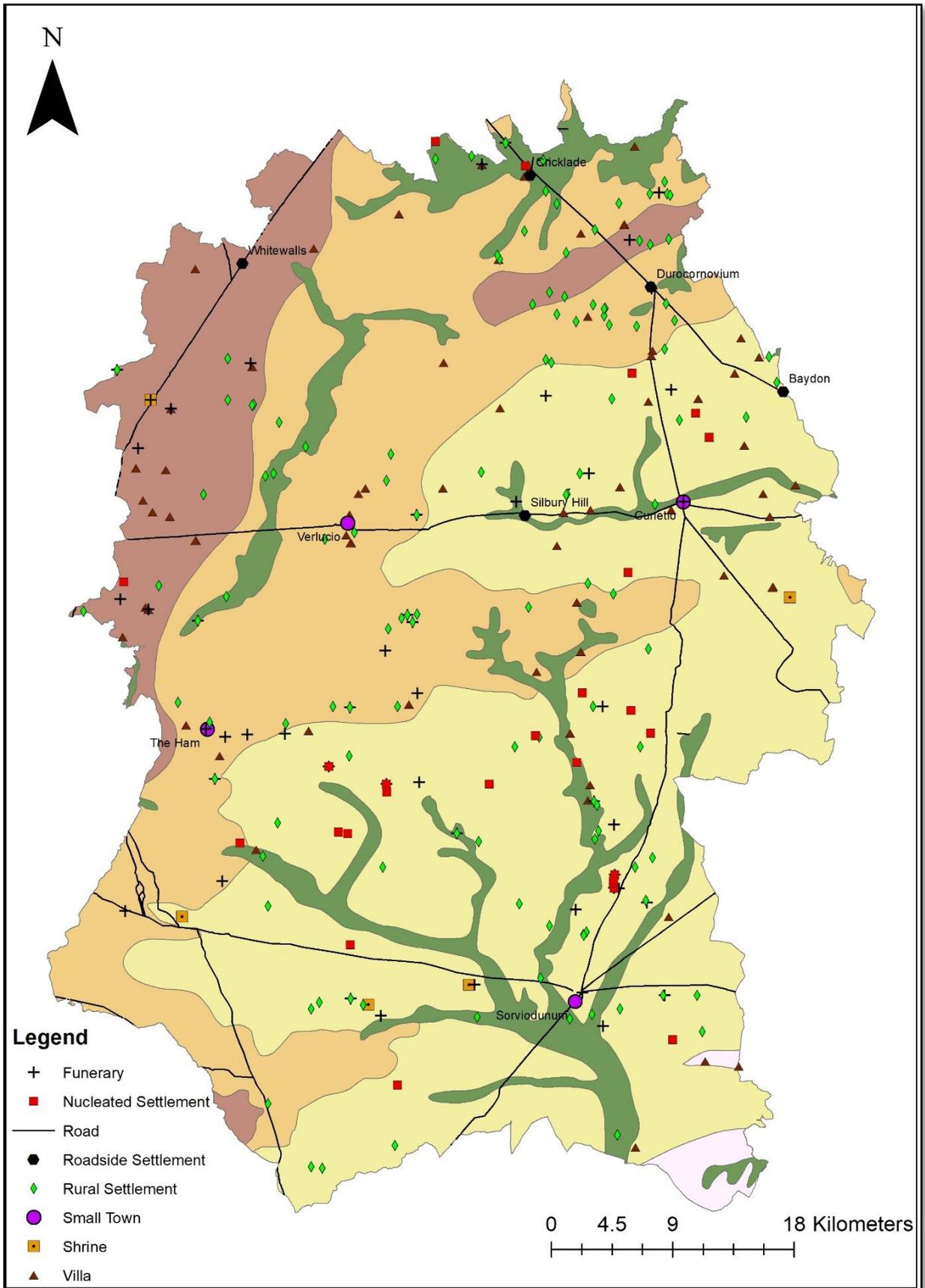
Figure 3.9. Sites and settlements in Roman Wiltshire.

Notably, there was an absence of a significant and sustained military presence. Suetonius suggested that Vespasian's campaign across the southwest of England in the mid to late 40s CE saw the capture of in excess of 20 *oppida (Vespasian*, 4), which are now recognised to be hillforts associated with the *Durotriges* in Dorset (Russell 2017: 155). This could indicate a potential conflict between the local inhabitants of southern Wiltshire and the invading forces (Griffiths 2001). However, Wiltshire appears to have been incorporated into the Roman realm rather swiftly and easily, evidenced by the continuation of LPRIA banjo settlements towards Cranborne Chase and there is little evidence for destruction or rapid abandonment of settlements (Griffiths 2001: 41). Further, finds associated with military use, such as buckles and spearheads, are concentrated along the roadways, with soldiers potentially garrisoned at Old Sarum in the south (Griffiths 2001: 46) and what was to become *Cunetio* in the north (Corney 1997). Structural evidence definitively supporting these assertions is elusive, however.

3.4.1 The road network

The settlements that emerged in the subsequent centuries were clustered around the arterial road networks. The major roads were laid during the initial phase of military expedition, moving towards the Severn Estuary and the southwest during the later first century (Draper 2006: 23-25). The two major routeways running from east to west across the county connected Silchester to *Bath* via *Cunetio* and *Verlucio* in the Marlborough Downs. In Salisbury Plain, the route connecting Winchester to Charterhouse runs via *Sorviodunum* at Old Sarum. The western portion of this route is postulated from an excavated 17.7km stretch (Margary 1967).

The roads substantially re-ordered the landscape and how the monuments would have been experienced. Indeed, the road running through Marlborough Downs transects the AWHS (Section 4.4.1), while the SWHS is flanked to the east by the road from *Cunetio* to *Sorviodunum*. Gillings and Pollard remark that AWHS road would have been an active agent of change, initiating a new axis of movement and imposing a new spatial order around which new settlements would have emerged (2004: 93). This would similarly have been the case in the SWHS where new routeways would have changed the ways the monuments were experienced from the LPRIA. The differential effects of the road routes in the WHS are discussed in sections 4.1 and 4.3.

That is not to say, however, that extant prehistoric trackways became redundant. The Ridgeway, long suggested to be of Neolithic origin, begins at The Sanctuary (3.3.1.3), slaloming across Overton Hill towards the foot of Avebury Down before turning east and eventually terminating at Brancaster, Norfolk. Fowler demonstrated that sections of The Ridgeway were reconstituted during the Roman period (2000: 30-32), emphasising that it was an active contemporary landscape feature (Section 3.6.3). Similarly, beyond the chalk, the villa at Tockenham is sited beside a crossroads of tracks which were formed as part of a prehistoric agricultural landscape (Harding and Lewis 1997: 38-44). These routeways, though unofficial and absent from our typical Roman period maps, continued to orientate the ways people went about their daily lives during and after the army had moved north in the 70s CE (Griffiths 2001: 47).

3.4.2 Quasi-urban Settlements and Shrines

Wiltshire demonstrates a number of small towns and roadside settlements, here grouped as quasi-urban settlements (Figure 3.10) The small towns are situated at *Cunetio*, *Verlucio,* The Ham and *Sorviodunum* distributed, in the main, at the convergence of the major road systems in northern and southern Wiltshire. The roadside settlements meanwhile are focussed in the north of the county at Cricklade, Whitewalls, Wanborough (*Durocornovium)* Baydon and Silbury Hill (4.4.1). Rural shrines are not particularly well understood though are generally located in elevated positions, such as at Cold Kitchen Hill and associated with palatial villa complexes, as at Great Bedwyn.
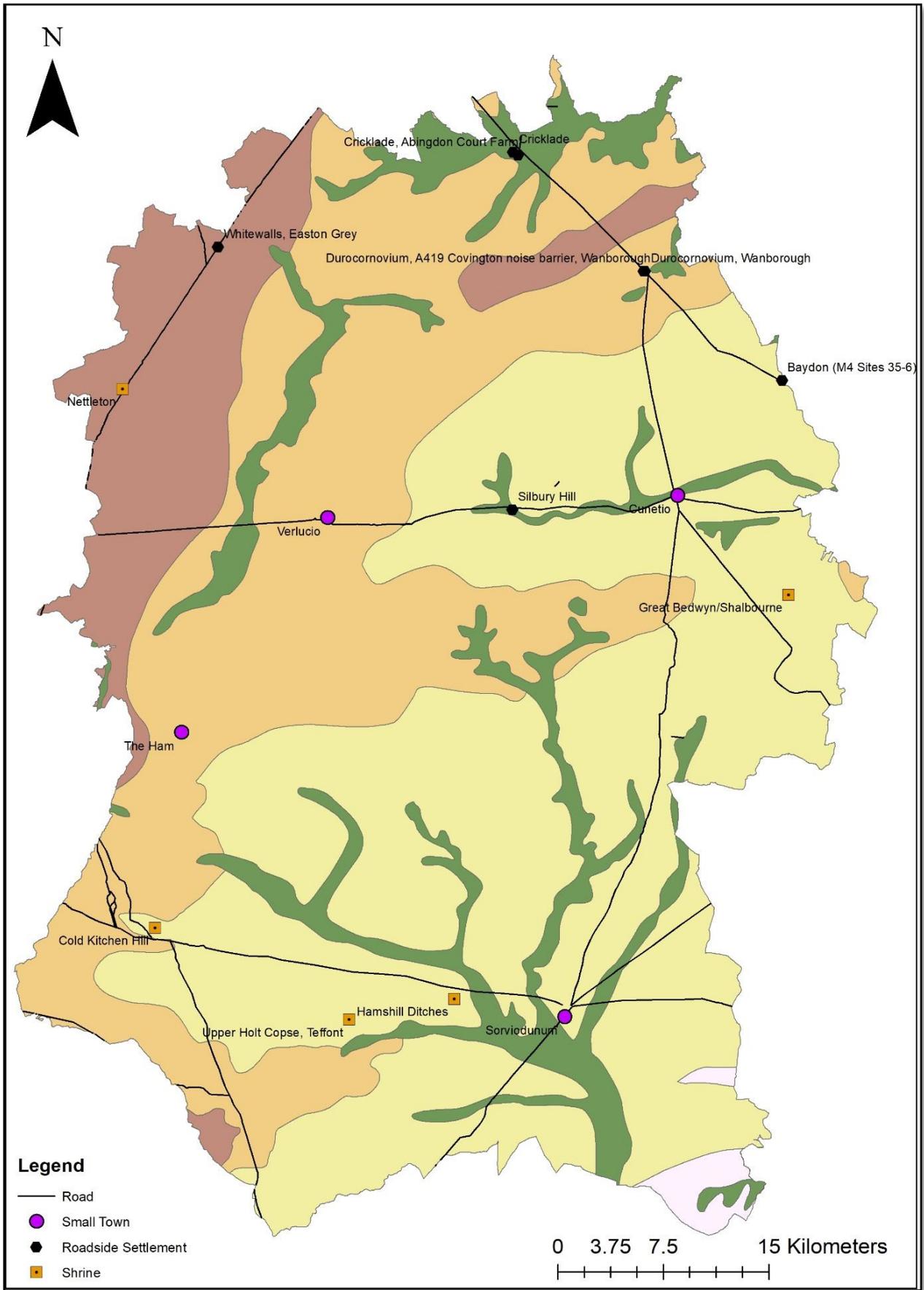
Figure 3.10. Quasi-urban settlements and shrines.

Though Wiltshire lacked a major urban settlement, a *civitas* capital at Cirencester was located in Gloucestershire, just over the northern border at the intersection of the roads running through Whitewalls to the east and *Durocornovium* to the west, 11.9km northwest of Cricklade. Emerging from a fort in the first century CE, Cirencester grew to become an important settlement in the later Roman period, probably the capital of *Britannia Prima*, and had a profound impact on its hinterland which stretched to include north Wiltshire (Walters 2001). Similarly, the urban religious site at Bath in Somerset – reaching its greatest extent in the later Roman period (Cunliffe and Davenport 1984) - was located to the west of Sandy Lane, and each of these sites would have exerted a gravitational pull on northern and western Wiltshire, influencing its economic, administrative and settlement profile.

Verlucio and *Cunetio* were located in the vicinity of the AWHS and are briefly elucidated here. *Verlucio*, sited at the halfway point between *Bath* and *Cunetio,* may have possessed a *mansio* (Draper 2006: 9). Recent survey highlights potential shrine structures and villas in its hinterland, underscoring its local importance (Linford, Linford and Payne 2018). *Cunetio,* meanwhile, is one of the better explored sites. Located within the valley of the River Kennet, it demonstrates a regular street plan and *mansio,* likely being an administrative hub, potentially becoming a *pagus* in the late Roman and Early Medieval period (Reynolds 2005). Chronologically, it yields a sequence from the second through to the fifth century, becoming an important settlement in the later Roman period, operating as a tax and agricultural depot (Corney 2001: 12-18). Additionally, its coin profile was focussed upon the third to fourth centuries (Moorhead 2001: 100), reflected by the 54,951 coins constituting the Cunetio hoard, with the greatest number being *radiate* issues of the late third century (Robertson 2000: 160-163, no. 707).

Nettleton Scrubs, while here categorised as a shrine, was also quasi-urban in nature, representing a temple complex and small roadside settlement, founded in the mid to late first century (Robinson 2001: 157; Wedlake 1982: 121) or the end of the second century (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 190). Its earliest assemblage suggested it served a religious function from its commencement before being enlarged. During the third and fourth centuries, some 30 stone rectilinear buildings were constructed, including a possible *mansio* and auxiliary shrines. In the course of the third century, the original temple was burned, replaced by an elaborate octagonal temple (Wedlake 1982). Whilst

its religious importance seemingly waned during the later fourth century, its numismatic profile continued to 402 CE and it may have become a focus for metalwork production, potentially converted into a small farmstead (Draper 2006: 30). It additionally served a funerary purpose, with three separate zones containing 28 burials comprising the period c.75-400 CE.

Beyond Nettleton, formal shrines are not especially well understood, evidenced by the litany of small finds indicative of a shrine at Cold Kitchen Hill (Nan Kivell 1928; 1929). The villa at Littlecote probably contained a shrine to Orpheus, congruent with a wider regional tradition (Cosh and Neal 2005: 353). Orphic imagery on mosaics from elaborate villas, for example, were well attested from the area, emphasising the close relationships between villas and shrines in the later Roman period landscape (Scott 2000: 129-130).

3.4.3 Villas

Wiltshire is one of the densest villa landscapes in Britain (Appendix 14; Walters 2001). The majority were situated in northern Wiltshire, while there was a notable lacuna in southwest (Figure 3.11), an area mostly populated by nucleated and rural settlements (Section 3.4.5). This is probably explained by the importance of Cirencester in the later period, impacting on how the surrounding region was inhabited. Perhaps the most high-status complex was Castle Copse in Great Bedwyn, situated on the Marlborough Downs south of *Cunetio*. The site formed a courtyard villa with tessellated mosaic flooring, a hypocaust system, frescoed walls, glazed windows and carved capitals (Hostetter and Noble Howe 1997). Initial phasing indicates it began as a granary during the early Roman period. By c.350 CE, a substantial stone structure was constructed before aisled buildings were rebuilt and re-orientated. Its mid-fourth-century zenith is further reflected by coin loss where, of 74 coins recovered, 39% date to Reece Period 18.

Courtyard villas such as Castle Copse are considered to have been occupied by the highest echelons of provincial society (Faulkner 2000: 131-137) and the chronological overlap in both Castle Copse and *Cuneti*o suggests the villa could have been occupied by a local administrator flitting between rural residence and administrative hub (Draper 2006: 13). This is reflected further by wealthy villas at Box, and Bradford on Avon, sited close to Bath along the Fosse Way*,* while Draycot Foliat and Badbury, were each

71

located beside the Roman road a short distance from *Durocornovium*. Further, Castle Copse demonstrates a number of nearby ancillary buildings, potentially tenant structures which formed part of the wider Castle Copse estate (Walters 2001: 131).

Additionally, Nettleton Scrub was, for a time in the later period, probably associated with the villa at Truckle Hill, situated to the immediate south east. It was a courtyard villa, comprising 16 rooms and bathhouse, together with an associated mausoleum, with a chronological profile from the later second century to the end of the fourth century (Andrews 2009: 129-149). This chronology is reflected at Castle Copse, where a probable rural shrine was recently discovered dating to c.260-402 CE (Brindle, Payne and Hinds 2013: 81-88). These examples reflect that elaboration of extant religious settlements and the construction of new shrines was related to the patronage of villa owners during the later Roman period (Scott 2000), leading, in turn, to a rise in more modest forms of rural living within the county.

Indeed, villas were not simply elaborate structures ensconcing wealthy landowners but served economic functions with smaller structures were often run by tenant farmers (Kehoe 2012). A number of smaller scale villas demonstrated areas for pottery production, metalworking, quarrying and agricultural activity. Pottery and kilns, for example, were associated with Tockenham, while others demonstrate evidence for corn drying (Rahtz 1963: 304), characteristic of the southwest (Lodwick 2017: 55-61). Netheravon on Salisbury Plain was sited to exploit the arable field systems of the high chalk downs (Draper 2006: 14; Rawlings 2001: 148-54), while pastoral farming was attested at the Truckle Hill villa and sheep farming was prevalent among the downland Cotswold villas (Walters 2001). Netheravon grew from an enclosed Iron Age settlement, emphasising a degree of continuity between the LPRIA and the Roman period in areas beyond the WHS (McOmish, Field and Brown 2002: 104-105).
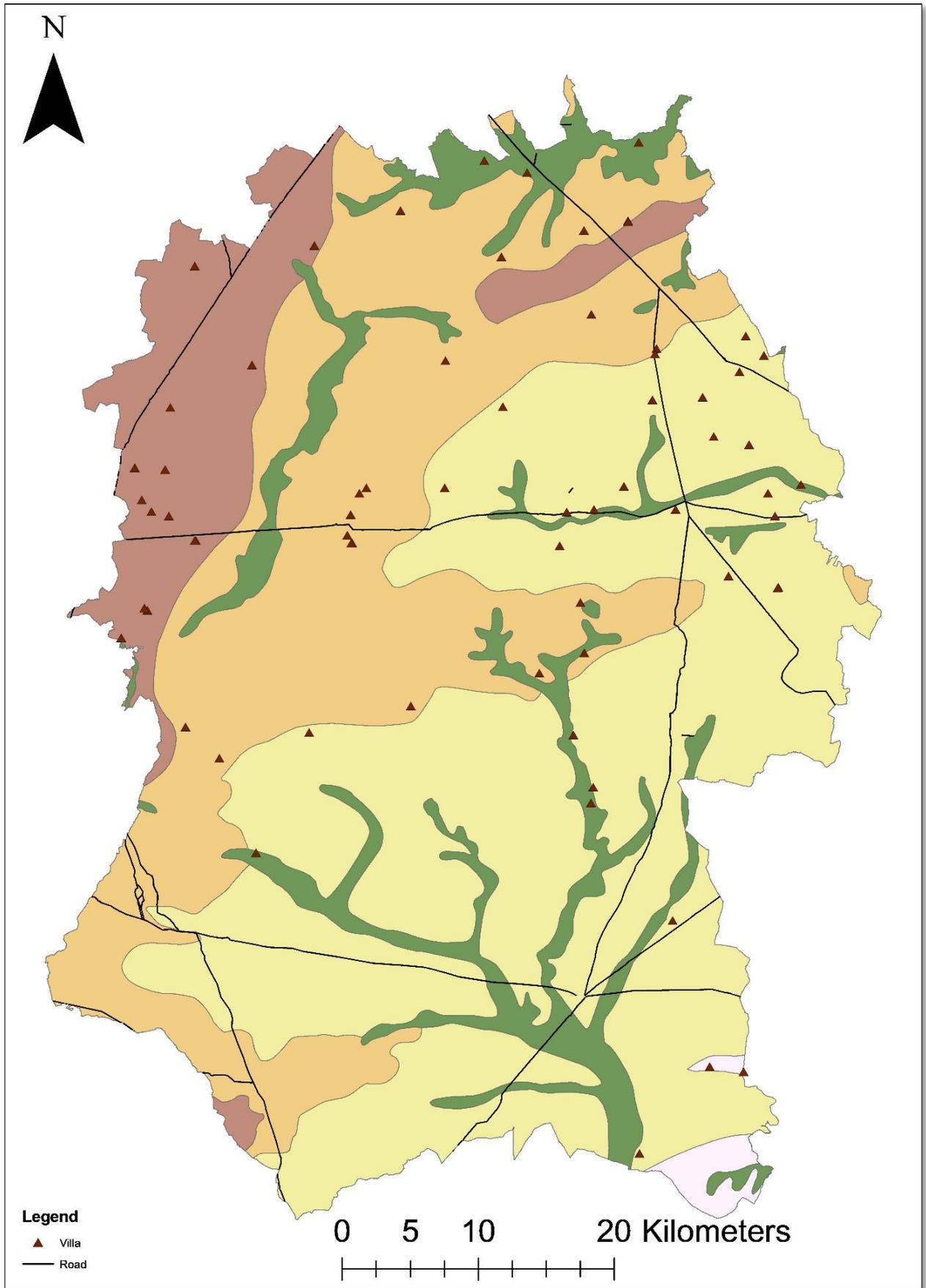
Figure 3.11. Location of villas in Wiltshire.

Wiltshire was replete with smaller rural settlements, ranging from groups of farmsteads or villages through to isolated farmsteads which was "dramatically intensified" during the fourth century (Fowler 2000: 228-231). Their distribution shows nucleated settlements were particularly abundant on the chalk downs (Figure 3.12). Their prevalence has resulted in Salisbury Plain being perceived as a planned imperial estate, though it is more likely that groups of smaller settlements engaged in small scale industrial activity (Walters 2001: 141-142) related to the waning of *Sorviodunum* in the later period (Section 4.4.1). The nucleated settlements can generally be divided into two discrete forms: compact and linear settlements. The former were clustered around a crossroads of trackways while the latter grew around a principal street (Draper 2006: 11). Excavation of Chisenbury Warren, situated within the Salisbury Plain Training Area, revealed a series of enclosed plots were linked by pathways, initiated during the early Roman period before being subsequently modified. Indeed, during the later fourth century, the presence of horticultural soils suggests agrarian activity, whilst chalk quarry pits and corn drying ovens provide further evidence of production activities, typical of the region (Fulford et al 2016).

Within the Marlborough Downs, excavations of the rural settlement complexes at Overton Down, situated on the eastern edge of the AWHS, showed a series of smaller scale settlements than the nucleated forms of Salisbury Plain (Fowler 2000). Overton Down South demonstrated a set of earthworks resembling a ladder settlement, while two settlements nearby perhaps formed part of a wider, connected settlement (Draper 2006: 12). The first, known as ODX/XI revealed an early Roman trackway and field system constructed over a prehistoric settlement. In the later second century, new field boundaries marked by sarsen stones were placed along extant prehistoric lynchets. The OD XIII farmstead, however, 170m south of Overton Down South, was founded during the early years of the fourth century in timber. By the mid third century, the main phase of occupation showed between a dozen regularly space building platforms respecting an earlier boundary ditch. Some buildings yielded evidence of reconstruction between 370-405 CE, and further building phases were attested in the first decades of the fifth century, before the site was deserted and robbed by the mid-fifth century (Fowler 2000). This chronological range is reflected in the coin profile for

the site, where over 300 coins were recovered from stratified contexts, evidencing a per mill ratio of well above the national average for the later fourth century (Moorhead 2001: 90-96).

During their periods of activity, the people living at the Overton Down sites practiced a mix of arable and sheep farming (Draper 2006: 11-12; Pollard and Reynolds 2000: 161-164). Though it is unclear whether the Overton Down sites were related to one another, there are suggestions that they may have been satellites of the putative Roman villa at Headlands, situated 1.5km to the south (Fowler 2000: 28) which, in turn, may be associated with the large prehistoric ditch enclosure known as Headlands (Fowler 2000: 59-60).
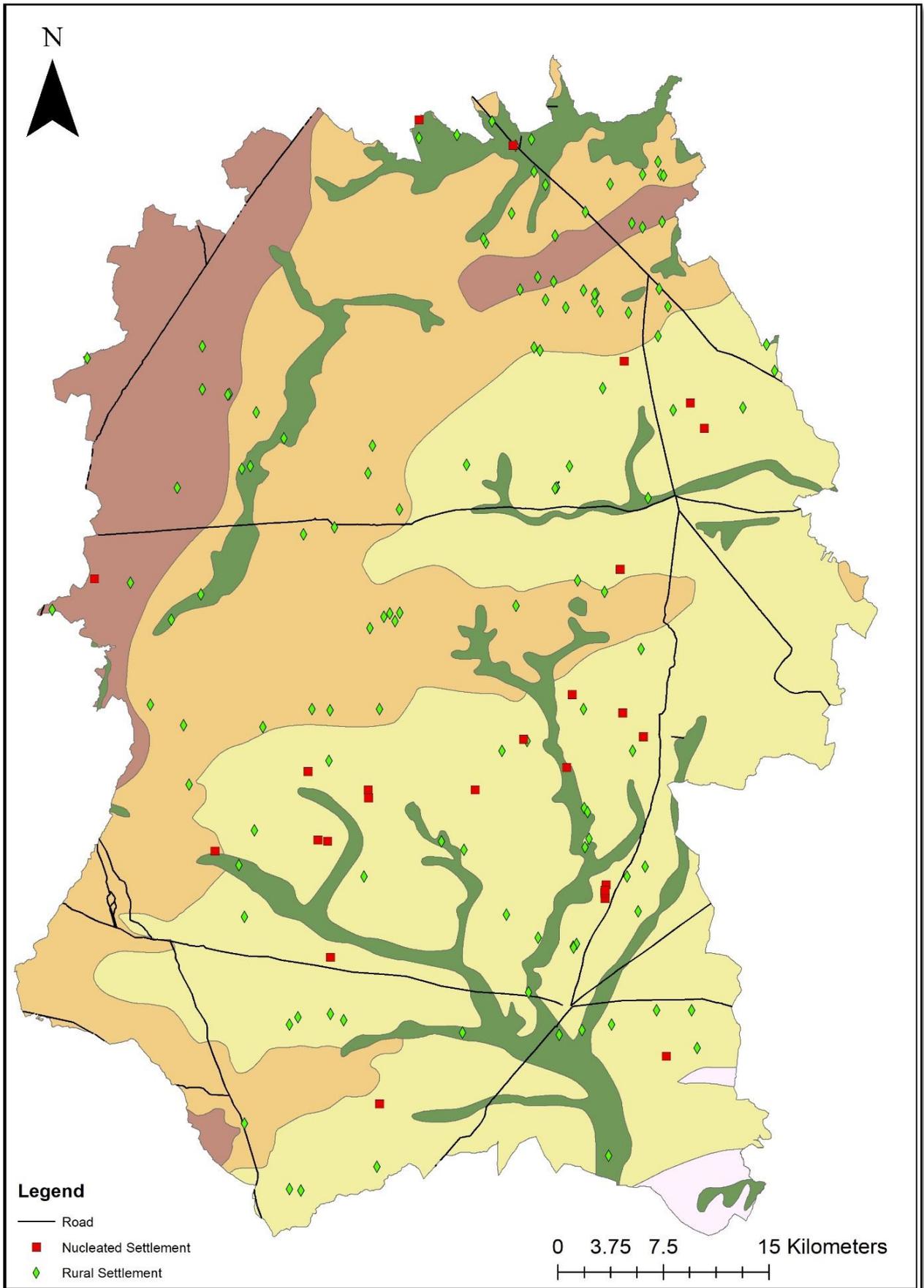
Figure 3.12. Nucleated and rural settlements.

3.4.5 The Funerary Profile

A key aspect of this discussion is to ascertain the relationship between the use of prehistoric monuments for burials and the local Roman funerary profile (Section 3.5.3). Consequently, it is necessary to understand the county's Roman funerary profile. A wealth of funerary information is attested, though a high proportion were dug prior to the twentieth century and have been poorly recorded (Section 2.8). The distribution of funerary deposits (Figure 3.13) shows clustering in the middle of the county, on both the chalk downlands and the London clay, though a significant proportion are situated beyond the chalk. The relationship between prehistoric monuments utilised for funerary purposes and the local funerary profile is explored in Sections 3.53 and 6.4.

The county demonstrates a mixed profile of both inhumation and cremation. As was typical of the southwest (Holbrook et al 2008: 159-160) and wider province (Smith 2018: 216-226), inhumation predominated but cremation persisted throughout (Section 6.8). Indeed, the cemetery at Winterbourne Down, situated east of *Sorviodunum*, contained 37 cremations and 14 inhumations, with the latest cremation deposits dating to the later fourth century (Foster 2001: 174). The later chronology of the burial deposits reflects the increased visibility of burial in the later Roman period, particularly in the southwest (Smith 2018), and was surely related to the concurrent increase in the density of rural settlement (Smith and Fulford 2016: 407, fig 12.19). Indeed, Winterbourne Down appears to be associated with a rural settlement of the same name and this typifies the relationship between many of the larger cemeteries, such as the burial deposits from Boscombe Down West on Salisbury Plain, itself related to a clutch of funerary sites and settlements including Boscombe Down Sports Field and Boscombe Down (Fitzpatrick 2003). Other smaller cemeteries were linked to small rural settlements as at Eyewell Farm, Maddington Farm and Erlestoke Detention Centre (Foster 2001: 165), whilst a stone mausoleum was found associated with the villa at Truckle Hill, surely the private burial ground of a wealthy family unit. Within the Jurassic limestone uplands Truckle Hill is situated, a number of burials deposits must have been associated with villa settlements, as is the case at Stanton Park Northwood Farm and Budbury. Other sites, such as Hamshill Ditches, were associated with the route of the roadways, typical of Roman funerary practice (Aldhouse Green 2018: 211).

Though many cemeteries demonstrate associations with wider infrastructure, a quarter of inhumation burials were isolated burials (Foster 2001: 165). Of these, inhumations were dominant, and it is noteworthy that accompanying grave goods were rare, though hobnail cleats were common. Indeed, very few inhumation deposits contained artefacts and many burials have historically been assigned Roman dates solely on the basis of funerary rite, which should be borne in mind when these data are utilised for proportional comparison (Section 6.8). Finally, at quasi-urban sites, infant burials were recorded from Nettleton Scrubs (Section 3.4.2), Durrington Walls, Silbury Hill and Knap Hill (Appendix 12), reflecting a wider province-wide practice of burying infants within settlement boundaries (Mattingly 2006: 246; Millett and Gowland 2015) and these themes are picked up in the case-studies in Chapter Four.
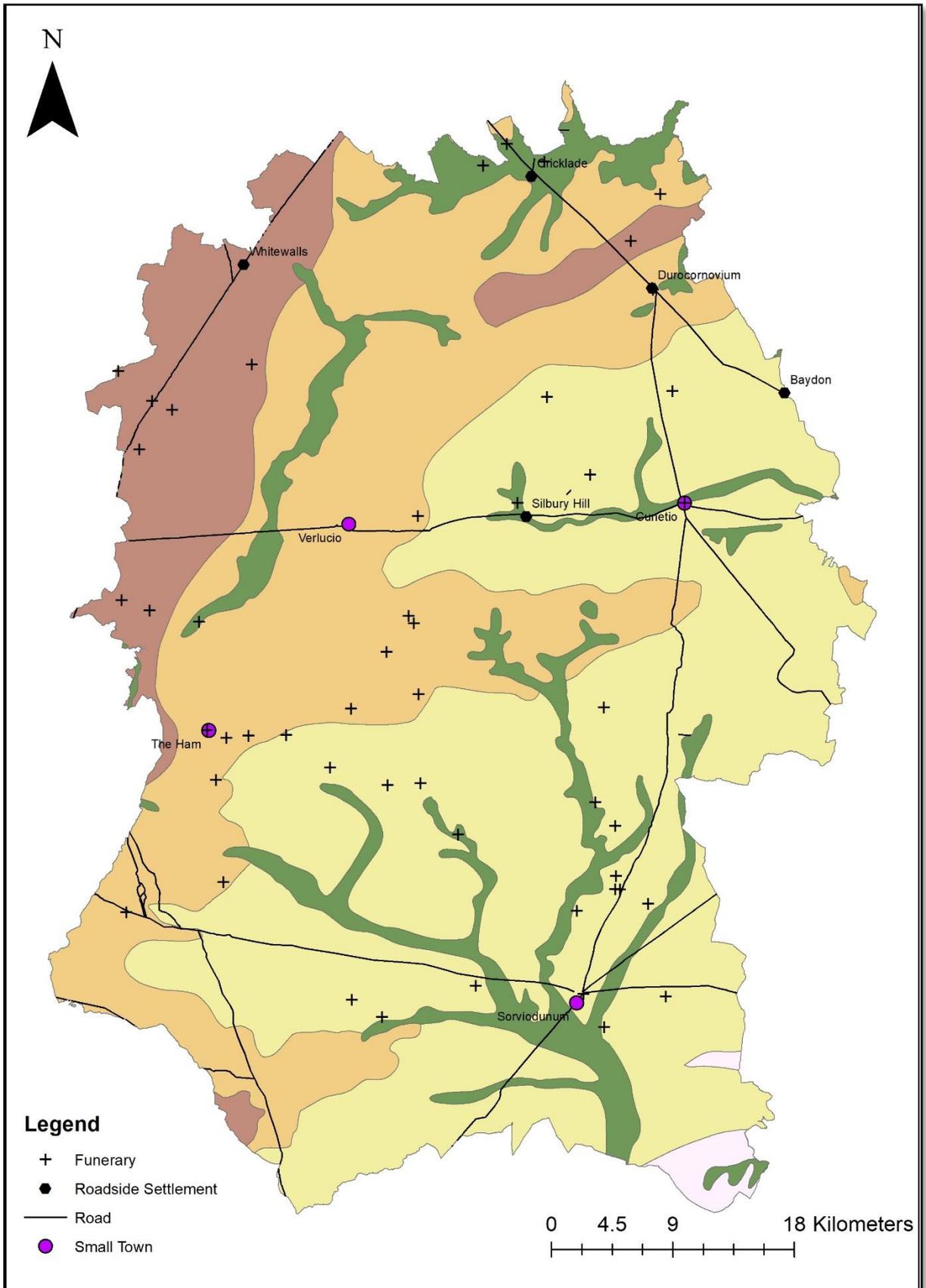
Figure 3.13. Location of funerary sites in Wiltshire.

3.4.6 The context of Roman Wiltshire

Overall, Wiltshire was a wealthy civilian rural zone with an abundance of villas, nucleated settlements and rural settlements (Figure 3.14). In the absence of any significant military presence beyond hypothesised ephemeral structures constructed during the early period, daily life in the country likely centred upon the importance of markets at the quasi-urban sites once they had emerged around the road network, from the second century onwards. These settlements would have served the localised agricultural economy which demonstrated a mix of pastoral and arable farming, particularly on the well-drained chalkland (Walters 2001). The roads forged a new order upon the landscape whilst existing trackways emphasised a continuity of landscape occupation between later prehistory and the Roman period.
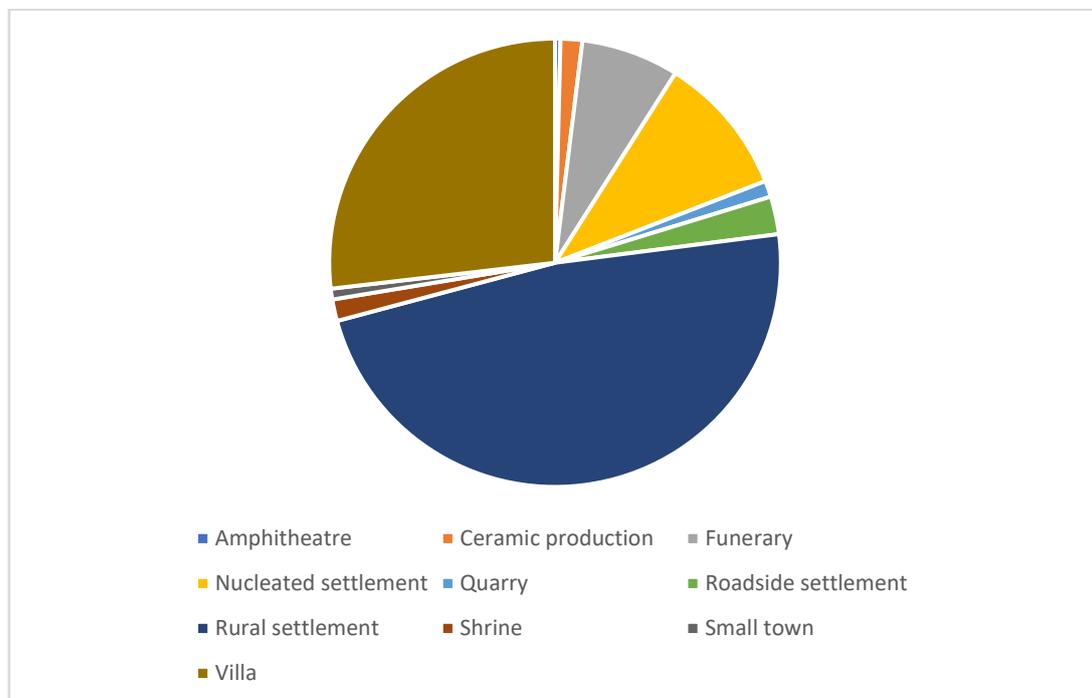
Figure 3.14. Roman sites in Wiltshire by settlement type. N=265.

The chronological sequence conforms to the general picture of third to fourth century intensification in the southwest (Moorhead 2001: 94) with mixed burial forms attested throughout. By the mid-fourth century, however, many of the smaller rural settlements contracted, with the notable exception of OD XIII on Overton Down. By contrast, the large villa estates reached their apogee during the mid-fourth century. In addition to the evidence at Castle Copse, the villa at Cherhill within the AWHS, demonstrates an

elaborate hunting dog mosaic associated with the *Durnovarian* workshop, dating to c.350 CE (Henig 2001; Johnson and Walters 1988).

This chronological sequence is underscored by coin loss. First, early issues dating to the periods in and around the conquest are sparser than the national average (Moorhead 2001), highlighting the dearth of a sustained and meaningful military presence. Secondly, Wiltshire exceeds the national mean for issues postdating 350 CE from excavated contexts and the PAS (Figure 3.15). From excavated sites, issues of Reece Period 19 were the most prevalent, reflective of a wider southwestern pattern (Moorhead 2001; Walton 2011: 28-29). Additionally, Moorhead noted that, of the 11 hoards from Britain containing more than 100 Reece Period 19 copper-alloy issues, 27% were discovered in Wiltshire (2001), interpreted to denote continued wealth and prosperity during the later phases of Roman period (Draper 2006: 31-33). This pattern might further be reflected in the recovery of artefacts of personal adornment; a later fourth century finger ring inscribed *NIKH*, recovered from Roundway Down near Devizes, has been considered to emphasise later period wealth (Henig 2001: 122). Furthermore, excavations at *Cunetio* suggested that its late period walls dated to a single phase of construction in the period just after c.360 CE (Corney 1997: 344), around the start of Reece Period 19. This highlights that *Cunetio* likely played an important role in the collection of agricultural produce from the rich villa and rural landscape of northern Wiltshire, emphasising a boom period.
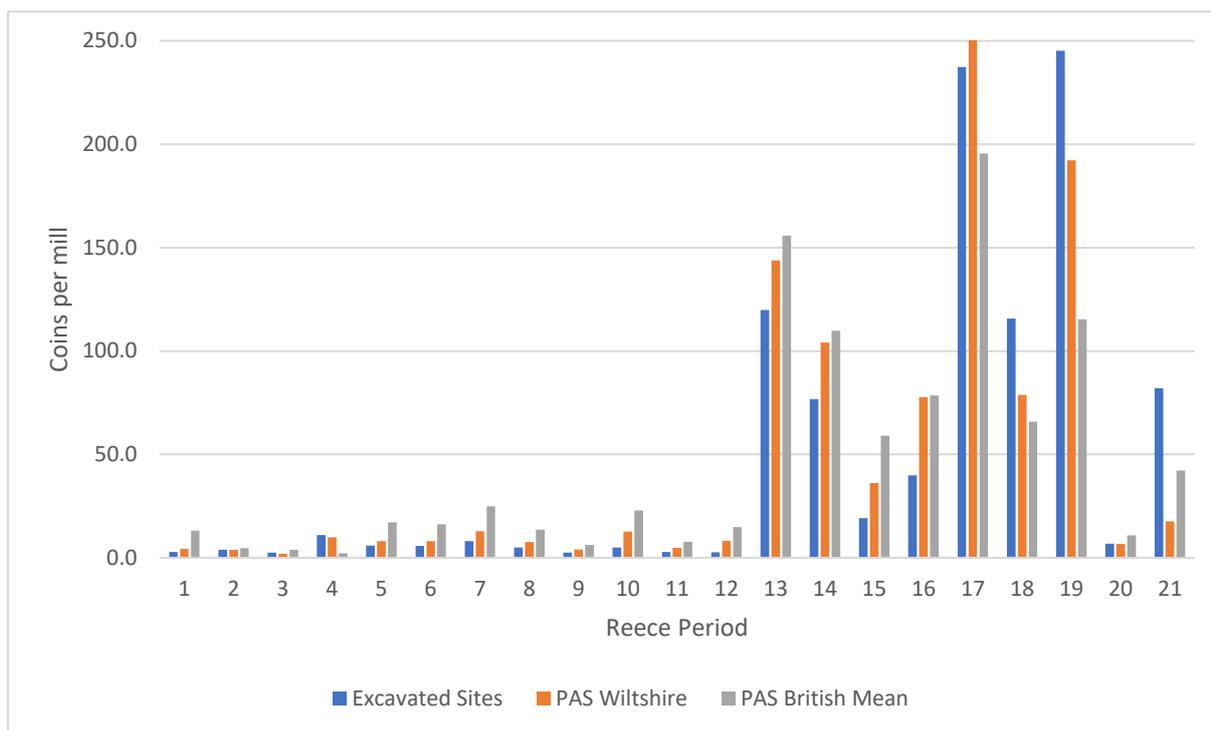
Figure 3.15. Coins from Wiltshire from excavated sites, the Wiltshire PAS and the PAS British Mean. N of excavated sites: 6,771; N of PAS Wiltshire:13,265; N of PAS British Mean: 204,854.

Consequently, set within a wider southwestern provincial landscape including the wealthy later Roman setting of the Cotswolds, the *colonia* at Gloucester and *civitas* capital at Cirencester, and towards the spa-town of Bath, Wiltshire can be thought of as a thriving late Roman landscape whose denizens resided in a mix of small quasi-urban locations, lavish villa retreats and more modest nucleated and rural settlements. Their economy was likely related to the growing importance of Cirencester in the fourth century, particularly for the communities in the north of the county. Indeed, it is notable that Cirencester has been referred to as a 'bad town' numismatically, based upon its rather more 'rural' coin loss patterns when compared to a more typical urban profile (Moorhead 2001: 95). In this regard, it is likely that the similarity between the coin assemblages from Cirencester and rural sites and roadside settlements in northern Wiltshire reflect the town's strong influence upon the surrounding settlements and demonstrate a reason for some of the significant differences that characterise northern and southern Wiltshire.

As Section 3.3 emphasised, Wiltshire was unusual for quite another reason in that many of its abundant prehistoric monuments remained extant in the landscape. Their impacts are discussed in the following section.

3.5 Roman Engagement with Prehistoric Places in Wiltshire

3.5.1 Distribution

106 prehistoric monuments yield evidence for Roman period engagement. Plotting their distribution by morphological form highlights concentrations on the chalk downloads and, in particular, strong clusters associated with the WHS (Figure 3.16). This pattern is to be expected, given the proclivity for fieldwork in these zones (Section 3.3.1) the proliferation of monuments in the WHS (Section 3.3.) and the development of Roman period settlement, particularly in the third and fourth centuries (Section 3.4). Marked patterns also occurred in the areas beyond the boundaries of the WHS on Salisbury Plain and West Wiltshire Downs, undoubtedly spurred too by intensive Roman settlement and the volume of fieldwork that has occurred in these zones. Further, smaller concentrations were present towards Cranborne Chase in the south and on the western portion of the Marlborough Downs. Additionally, there were isolated examples on the belt of London clay and on the Jurassic limestone of the Cotswolds in the northwest. This demonstrates that intensive engagement was largely a phenomenon associated with the WHS and the chalk.
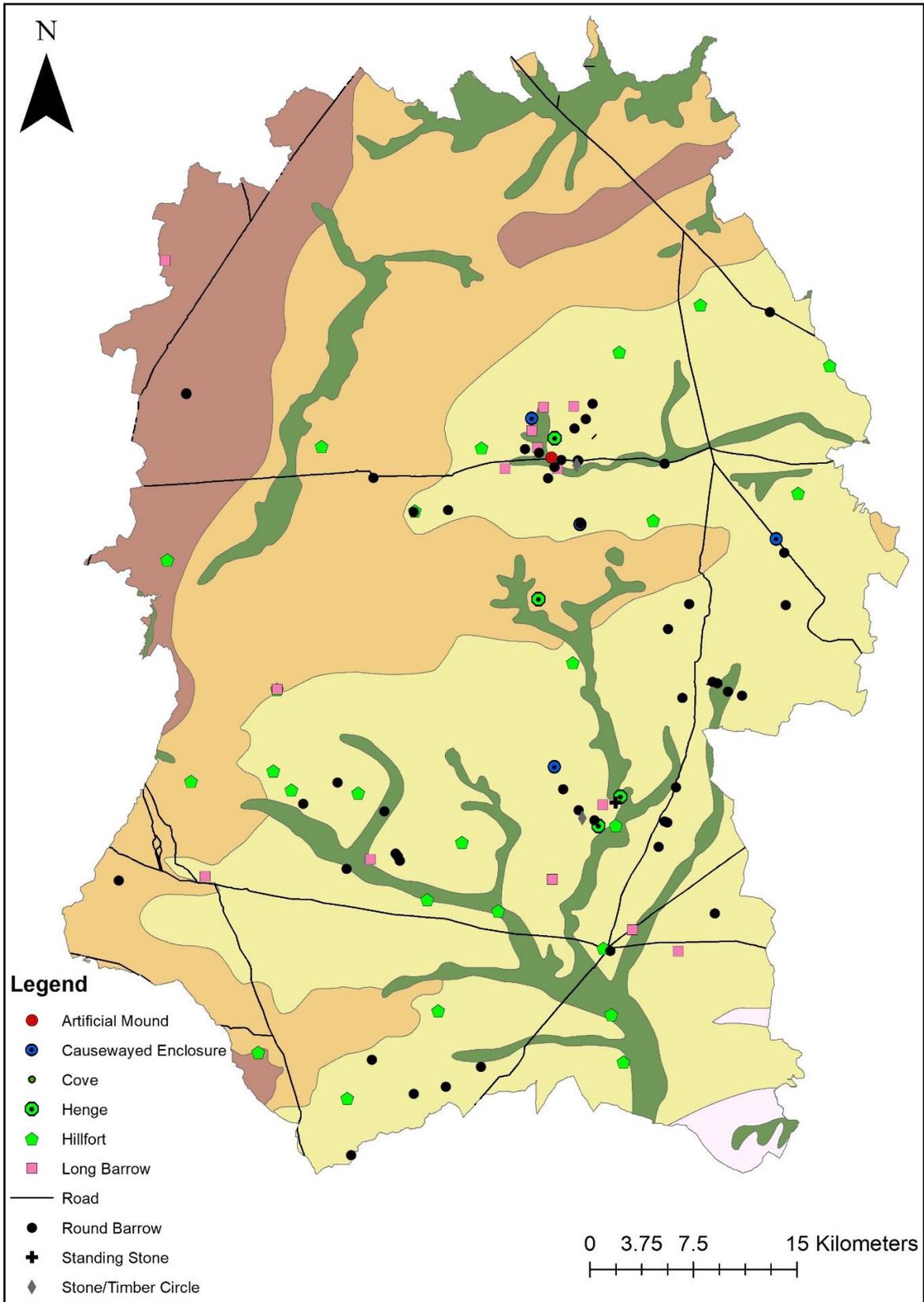
Figure 3.16. Distribution of monuments with Roman engagement in Wiltshire.

This suggests that engagement with a wide variety of monuments became established practice for communities on the chalk in a way not similarly manifested elsewhere. This is demonstrated when considering the distribution of hillforts yielding both evidence for, and an absence of, Roman period engagement. Where Roman period engagement with hillforts occurred, it was concentrated in areas where engagement with other forms of prehistoric monuments was manifest, centred upon the chalklands (Figure 3.17). Unlike round barrow distribution, which was concentrated in the WHS and chalk downlands (Figure 3.2; Section 3.3), hillfort distribution was more diverse (Figure 3.3) with a clutch situated, in particular, upon the London clay in the northern part of the county at Castle Hill, Bury Hilll Camp, Ringsbury Camp, Nuns Walk and Blinknoll Castle. It is notable that no single hillfort in this area yields any evidence for Roman period activity, and this area is devoid of barrows.

In seeking an explanation, it cannot be concluded that this was because the area revealed a dearth of Roman period settlement, being a zone rich in quasi-urban sites, villas and rural settlements (Figure 3.17). In this way, proximity of a prehistoric monument to areas of Roman period settlement was not the only causal factor in why monuments were engaged with. Rather, there was no localised precedent for engagement with other forms of prehistoric monuments in the same way expressed around the WHS and the chalk. Therefore, the hillforts in outlying zones from the chalk had little frame of reference to *become* meaningful for the communities occupying these zones. In this scenario, we should not expect that every hillfort *on the chalk* should be engaged with and every hillfort *way from the chalk* be ignored. Rather, in areas where there was no precedent for engagement with other forms of monuments, hillfort engagement should be significantly reduced, and this is the picture supported by distribution maps.
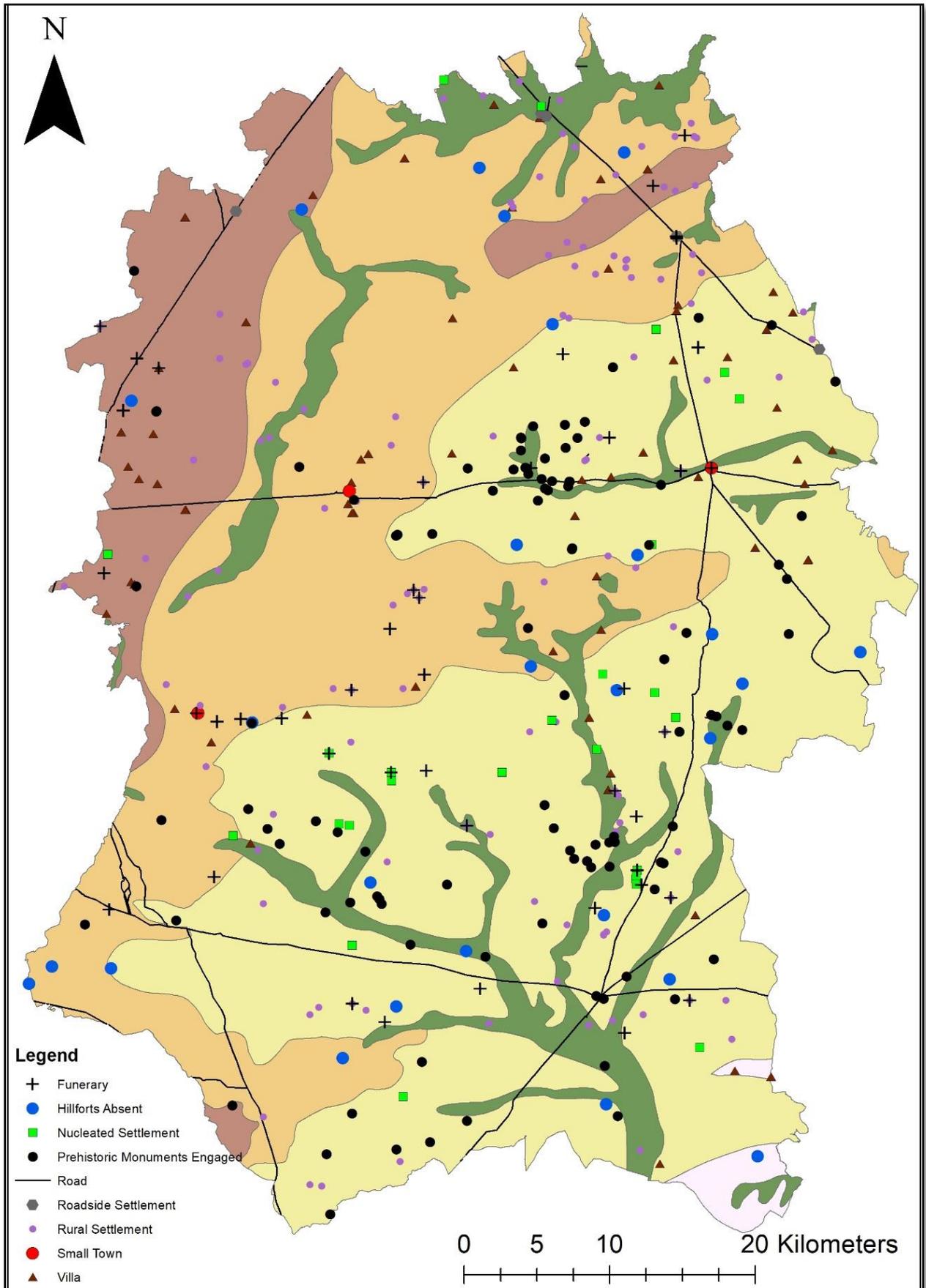
Figure 3.17. Location of hillforts with no Roman engagement in Wiltshire.

3.5.2 Types of material and types of engagement

Further insights are revealed when considering the types of material associated with the monuments (Figure 3.18) and the forms of engagement that these materials can denote (Figure 3.19). Pottery comprises the most common form of material present, with 84 sites yielding evidence for ceramics, a frequency rate of 78%. In some cases, there remains the possibility that ceramic assemblages alone, particularly in small proportions, are intrusive material redeposited through centuries of historic ploughing. A degree of caution should, therefore, be borne in mind when asserting such material is indicative of engagement. In examples where this was apparent, such as the ceramic material from the South Street long barrow in the AWHS (Appendix 1), the evidence at least hints at Roman period cultivation of the surrounding fields, or closely associated settlements which have as yet been undiscovered, each of which would have brought the monument into consciousness. It is difficult to extrapolate any further significance beyond this, however.
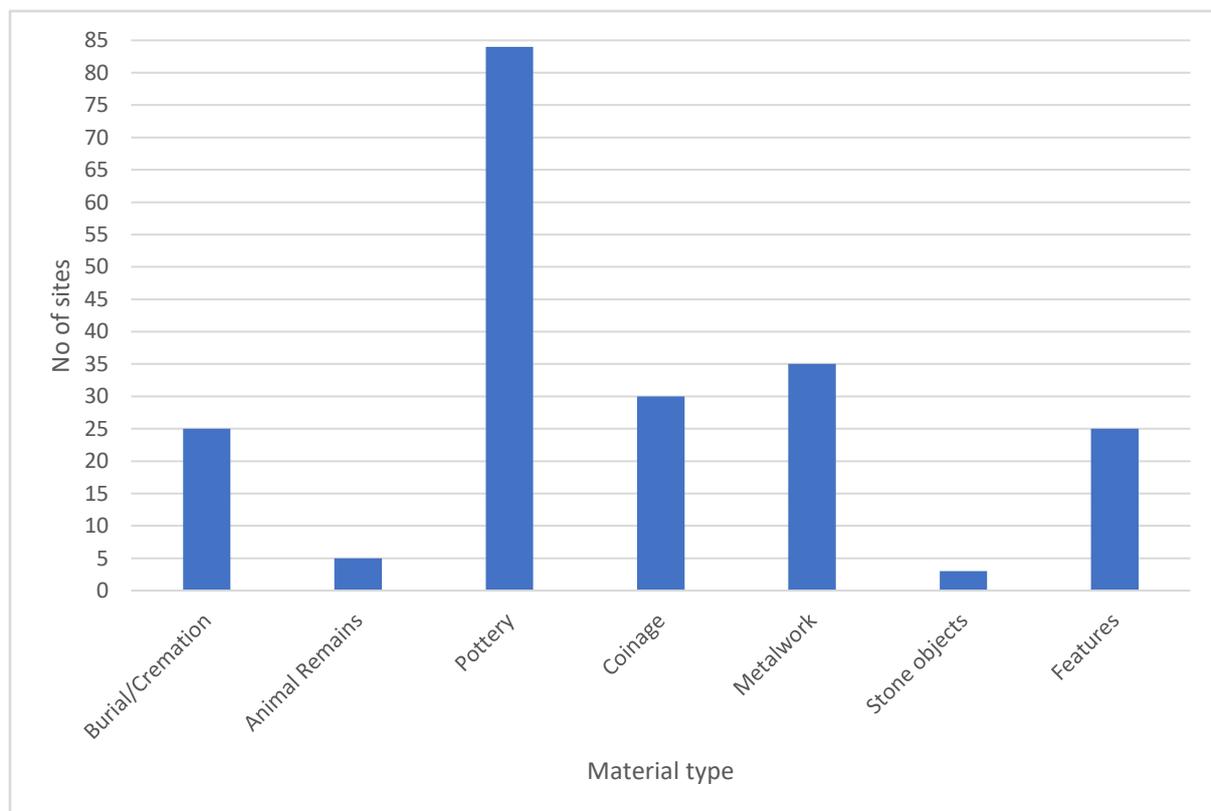
Figure 3.18. Types of material from prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire.
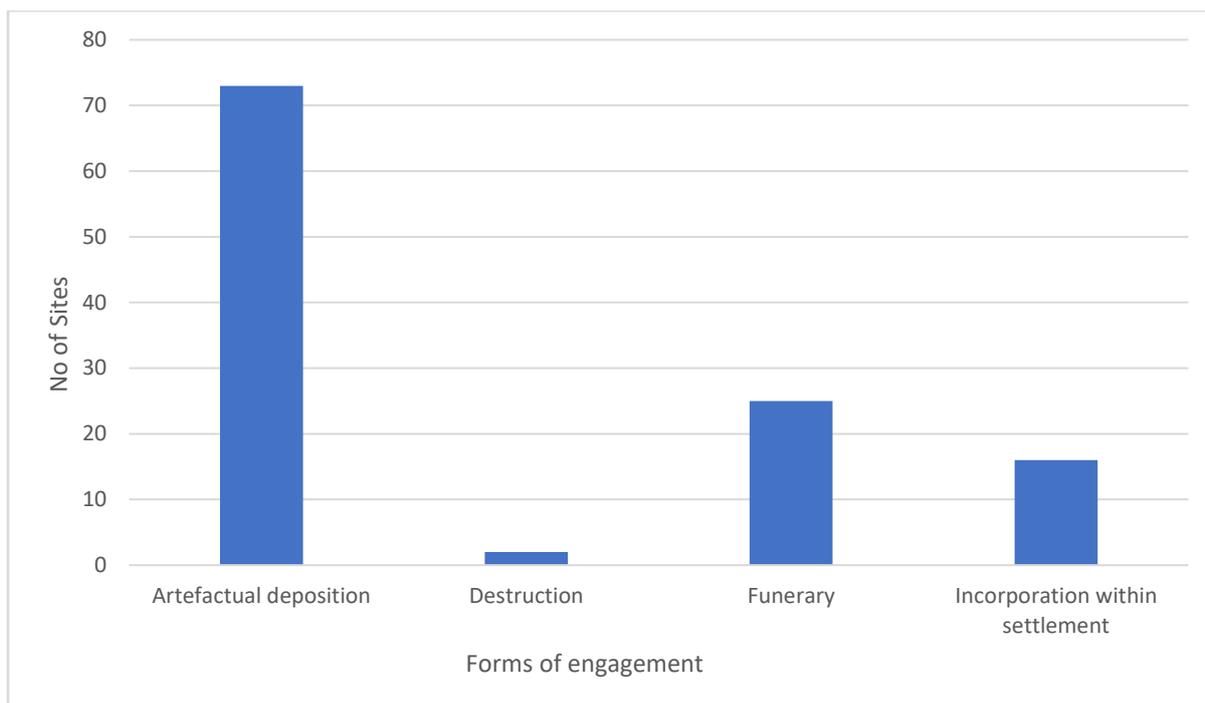
Figure 3.19. Types of engagement with prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire.

Where it has been possible to ascertain detail, ceramic assemblages in the main, comprise locally produced coarsewares and finewares, particularly Savernake material of the first and second centuries (Timby 2001) and New Forest slipped ware of the third and fourth centuries (Fulford 1975: 108-109). Imported *terra sigillata* fineware vessels were attested from 32 sites, representing 38% of all sites yielding ceramic material and 29% of the 106 sites. Given that 63% of rural sites in Britain yield *terra sigillata*, which predominantly emanated from larger sites such as roadside settlements, villas and nucleated villages (Brindle 2017: 282-286), the incidences of imported finewares at prehistoric monuments at this rate reflects the access denizens had to important regional markets, the relative wealth of the southwest and its connectivity to the wider Roman Empire. In some cases, for example at the round barrow at Lamb Down C (Section 4.4.2), it is suggested the *terra sigillata* vessels were curated and deposited with coarsewares of the third and fourth centuries, forming larger funerary deposits (Vatcher 1963). This raises the possibility that artefacts such as brooches, with many types demonstrating start dates concentrated within the first two centuries CE, with use-lives peaking in the mid second century (Cool and Baxter 2016), could have been heirloom artefacts (Caple 2010) by the time they were deposited within monuments.

Chapter Two showed that some barrows in Gloucestershire contained stone altars (Section 2.4). In Wiltshire, however, the few stone artefacts that have been recovered

were more quotidian. Indeed, three were found from the hillforts at Bilbury Rings, Casterley Camp and Oldbury Castle in the form of whetstones and beehive querns, whilst a perforated macehead made of local sarsen, supposedly Roman but more likely prehistoric in date, was recovered from excavations at the round barrow Winterbourne Monkton 2, set within the causewayed enclosure of Windmill Hill, from the AWHS in 1935 (Stone and Wallis 1951: 99-158). The hillfort examples suggest that they were utilised in settings for wider everyday domestic actions, further reinforced by the sorts of features present (section 3.5.10). The perforated macehead is a more intriguing artefact owing to its barrow provenance, raising the possibility that it was a structured deposit inside the earthworks of a visually prominent landscape node which itself was set within the earthworks of an earlier, larger visually prominent node. Here, the macehead was associated with an assemblage of ceramic sherds and a dolphin brooch (Grinsell 1957: 154; 200; 212). It is notable that at the eastern foot of Windmill Hill lies a probable villa (Scott 1993: 197), evidenced through the recovery of a tessellated pavement and associated late Roman black burnished ware (Goddard 1923), potentially providing the impetus for Winterbourne Monkton 2 to become meaningful in the later Roman period.

Faunal remains, too, are infrequent though this may reflect that most material of this kind has not been carbon dated and that barrow excavations undertaken before the widespread adoption of modern fieldwork standards have generally underemphasised the importance of animal remains (Banfield 2018: 7-19). As a whole, barrow archives would benefit from systematic, widespread reappraisal of faunal remains, particularly to ascertain if the assemblages are typical of Roman proportions, and subsequently cross-checked against local assemblages from excavated contexts.

Destruction is noted in relation to the round barrows Aldbourne 19a (Grinsell 1957: 216) and Avebury 53a (Grinsell 1957: 216), each situated with the northern portion of Wiltshire and the latter lying within the WHS between The Sanctuary and Silbury Hill. In both cases, destruction was attributed to the construction of the road. Consequently, they were likely early engagements associated with the military administration of the county (Section 3.4). Destruction, however, was a rare phenomenon and in many cases the construction of the road system respected and/or consciously incorporated existing monuments, evidenced by the causewayed enclosure at Crofton (Section 3.5.6) or became a crucial new axis around which settlement emerged, as at Silbury

Hill (Section 3.6.1). In these cases, the surviving earthworks were significantly larger than the destroyed round barrows, highlighting that morphological variation could result in different types of engagements.

That destruction was isolated to the earlier Roman period is important because, as will be highlighted throughout this chapter, engagement largely pertains to the later Roman period. This suggests that some monuments held different meanings at different temporal points in the Roman period. It further highlights that if the monuments were indeed perceived as taboo in the LPRIA (Section 3.3.3), then those who destroyed the monuments along the roads did so without any fear of divine reprisal, hinting at different interpretations by local inhabitants and the military communities within the early years of Roman occupation. Certainly, the military at this point would have been comprised of soldiers from Italy and the provinces (Cunliffe 2012: 371). This is a theme picked up in relation to deposition activity in the AWHS (Sections 3.3.1.4, 3.3.1.5) and discussed comparatively in Section 6.11.

It is notable that burials/cremations, coinage, metalwork and features demonstrate broadly consistent rates at between 25-35 sites, representing 23-33% of all sites engaged with. Here, coinage and metalwork, together with the presence of potsherds are considered to denote artefactual deposition, whilst inhumation and cremation deposits ascribe a funerary use though, of course, there can be overlap with these artificially imposed categories. Features too can represent each of these categories and each form requires further elaboration, explored in the sections below.

3.5.3 Funerary Use

A number of trends emerge in the funerary data. First, the predominant rite was inhumation, largely consistent with the funerary pattern for the county and wider region (Appendix 12; Figure 3.20; Section 3.4.5). Barrows constituted the largest part of the assemblage, comprising 90% of the funerary deposits (Figure 3.21) and 30% of the ways in which barrows were utilised, suggesting that their relations as funerary sites endured when they were interpreted in the Roman period (Section 2.5). This is not altogether too surprising given that c.100 Roman barrows containing burial deposits are recorded from Britain (Eckardt et al 2009: 68) (Section 2.4), indicating that an understanding of barrows as receptacles for burial was established in contemporary practice. Prehistoric barrows in Wiltshire (Sections 3.3.2.3; 3.3.3.5; 6.11) collaborated

with this contemporary understanding to create the space for funerary relationships between prehistoric barrows to emerge.

Funerary engagement can be further broken down by consideration of engagement with long barrows and round barrows. Burial deposits are recorded at two long barrows whilst a funerary profile is evidenced at 18 round barrows (Appendix 12). This suggests that round barrows performed more prominent funerary roles. Consideration of the funerary contexts at round barrows specifically is developed in further detail in Section 4.5.8.
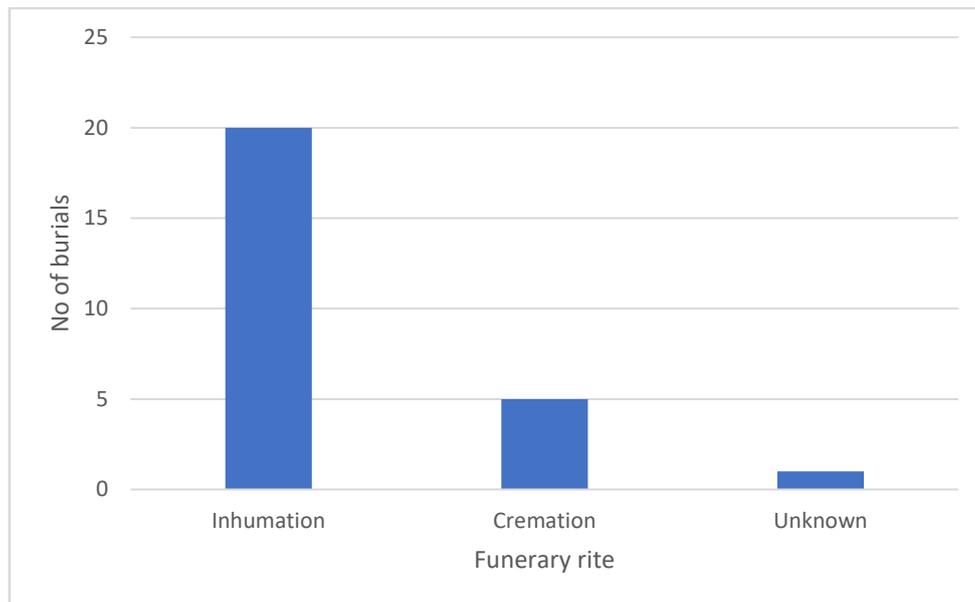
Figure 3.20. Funerary rite from prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire.
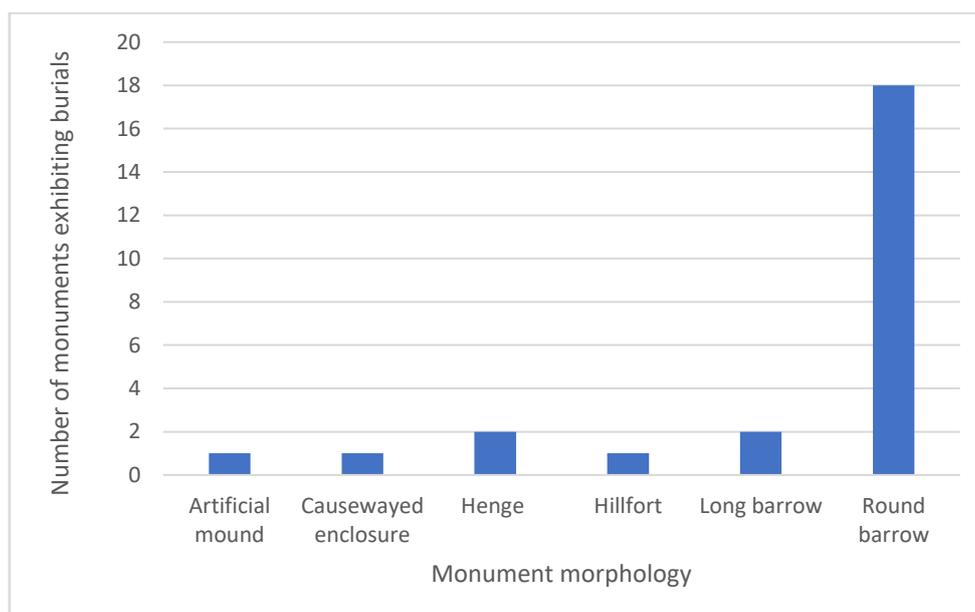
Figure 3.21. Burial deposit by monument morphology.

Key criteria can first be distinguished from the funerary data as a whole. Some deposits represent funerary insertions into extant prehistoric monuments, here termed intrusive burials. Other sites were Roman period structures exhibiting a morphological similarity (mimicry) to earlier prehistoric forms, as is the case at Lamb Down on Salisbury Plain (Section 4.4.2) and Overton Hill within the AWHS (Section 4.1.3). Figure 3.22 shows that intrusive burials were more prevalent, while other burials were found from settlements associated with prehistoric monuments, as at Silbury Hill (Section 4.1.1) and Knap Hill (Section 4.2.1). Similarly, some prehistoric barrows yielding intrusive deposits demonstrate relationships to Roman period settlements. For example, four crouched inhumations recovered from Collingbourne Ducis 3a were likely associated with the nearby settlements of Beach's Barn, Coombe Down South and Chisenbury Warren (Appendix 14). Indeed, the influence of nearby settlements, together with roads in and around barrows engaged with, suggests that funerary utilisation emerged in relation to contemporary inhabitation of the landscape.
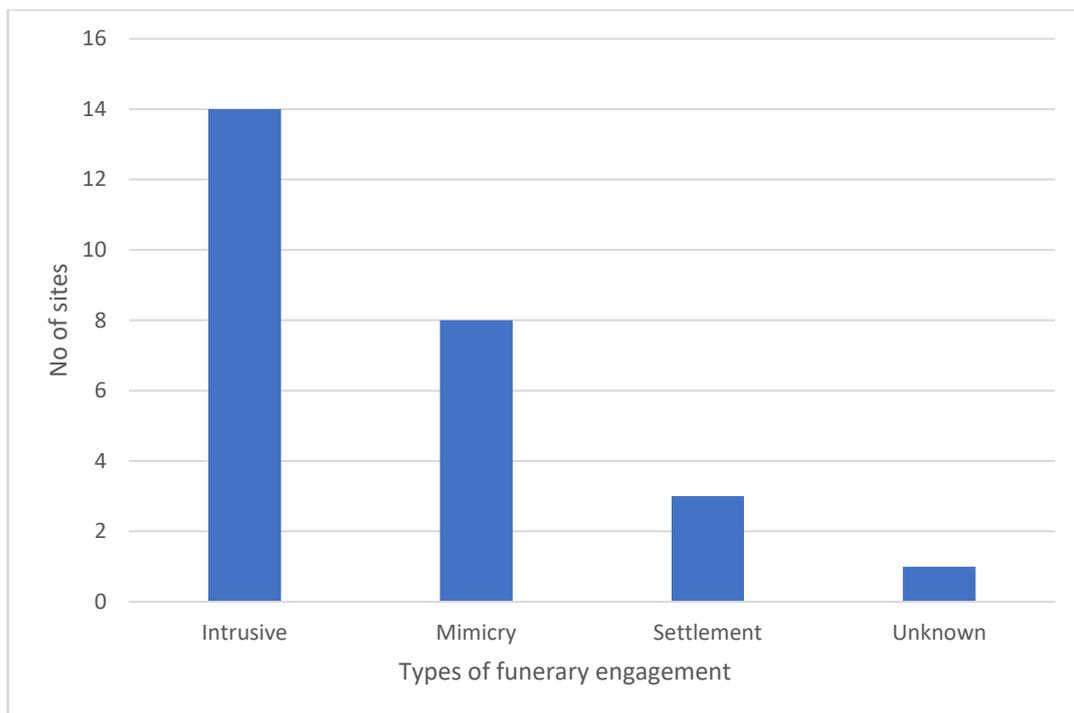
Figure 3.22. Types of funerary engagement from prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire.

A final point to note is that the round barrow of Idmiston 19 displays a somewhat unorthodox funerary profile in that it contains the deposit of a Roman period inhumation (Anon 1934: 387) and is nestled in a barrow cemetery where two purported conical Roman barrows were constructed around it (Grinsell 1957: 178). These are the only examples of conical barrows from Wiltshire, notably contrasting with their absence in

northern Wiltshire (Section 4.1.3). Whether the intrusive insertion predated the construction of the conical barrows or was subsequent to them is unclear from the evidence, but the two traditions were clearly related in either scenario. Either the intrusive deposit enabled the construction of the Roman barrows, or the presence of the conical barrows created the space for the intrusive interment to emerge.

3.5.4 Coinage and artefactual deposition

Coins found within or associated with prehistoric monuments constitute a large portion of the overall assemblage of Roman material recovered. A total of 5,657 coins have been recovered from 35 of the 106 sites with 5,414 dateable (Appendix 3; Figure 3.23). This suggests an average assemblage of 161.6 coins from each monument containing coins, and 53.4 coins from all monuments yielding Roman period engagement. In reality, the coins were unevenly distributed from the sites they were recovered from, divided between isolated examples, grave goods, deliberate depositions into megalithic chambers or earthen structures, hoards and coin loss recovered from settlements set within and around prehistoric monuments.

By far the largest assemblage pertains to the two hoards associated with The Cuckoo Stone, together totalling 3,955 coins, forming 70% of the total coin assemblage (Appendix 3; Section 4.3.2). Reece Period patterns from The Cuckoo Stone contrast slightly with wider patterns revealed from the other monuments and so it is necessary to consider the information the coins tell us by both accounting for and discounting The Cuckoo Stone assemblage, undertaken below.
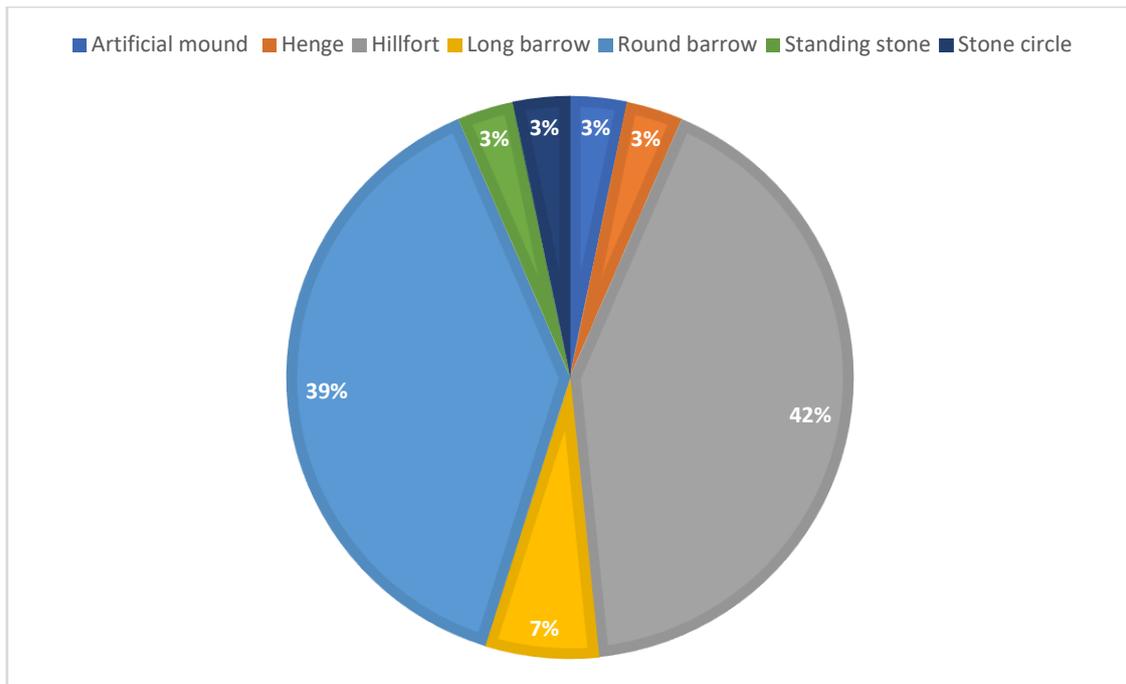
Figure 3.23. Monuments yielding evidence for coins by morphology in Wiltshire. No=35.

Section 3.4.6 showed that coins of Reece Period 19 were the predominant issue recovered from excavated Roman period contexts while stray finds from the PAS exhibit a higher than average province wide proportion of coins post-dating Reece Period 18. Considering the coin assemblages from prehistoric monuments in relation to these data, two points emerge. Incorporating the material from The Cuckoo Stone, coins of Reece Period 15-18 were the largest issue attested, according more with the national pattern of coin loss rather than the county and regional pattern (Figure 3.24). Removing the assemblage from The Cuckoo Stone, however, coins of Reece Period 19-21 dominate, suggesting a slightly later fourth century date for the activities associated with prehistoric monuments as a whole, and conforming to regional coin loss patterning (Figure 3.25). This suggests monument engagement and contemporary inhabitation of the landscape were inextricably associated.

The material associated with The Cuckoo Stone is important within the wider context of hoarding because coin hoards in Britain are largely comprised of *radiate* issues of Reece Period 12-14 (Bland et al 2020; Guest 2015: 109-110), reflected in Wiltshire by the *Cunetio* hoard (Section 3.4.2). However, *radiate* issues are generally lacking from The Cuckoo Sone assemblage (Appendix 3), and prehistoric monuments as a whole yield significantly lower proportions of Reece Period 12-14 set against the national average for coins of this type. Additionally, Reece Period 12-14 issues from

monuments are expressed at a lower rate than those from local excavated contexts and PAS finds. The implication is that hoarding and deposition of coinage at prehistoric monuments was largely a phenomenon of the fourth century, belying the province wide pattern for coin hoarding.

Coin hoarding of the later period is often related to wider historical narratives of economic debasement, political upheaval, civil unrest and invasion, a theme explored in more detail in Section 5.6. The evidence above, however, supports the notion that coin deposition at monuments emerged as a facet of the intensification of the late Roman landscape, when rural landscapes were more integrated within the imperial economy (Moorhead and Walton 2014). Consequently, it further reifies the perspective that monument engagement was a constituent and rational element of the inhabitation of Roman Wiltshire, rather than existing as idiosyncratic behaviour outside the realm of the everyday (Section 2.4). This theme is discussed in more detail in relation to the case-studies presented for coin deposition in the PDNP (5.5.4.2.4) and compared in section 6.6.
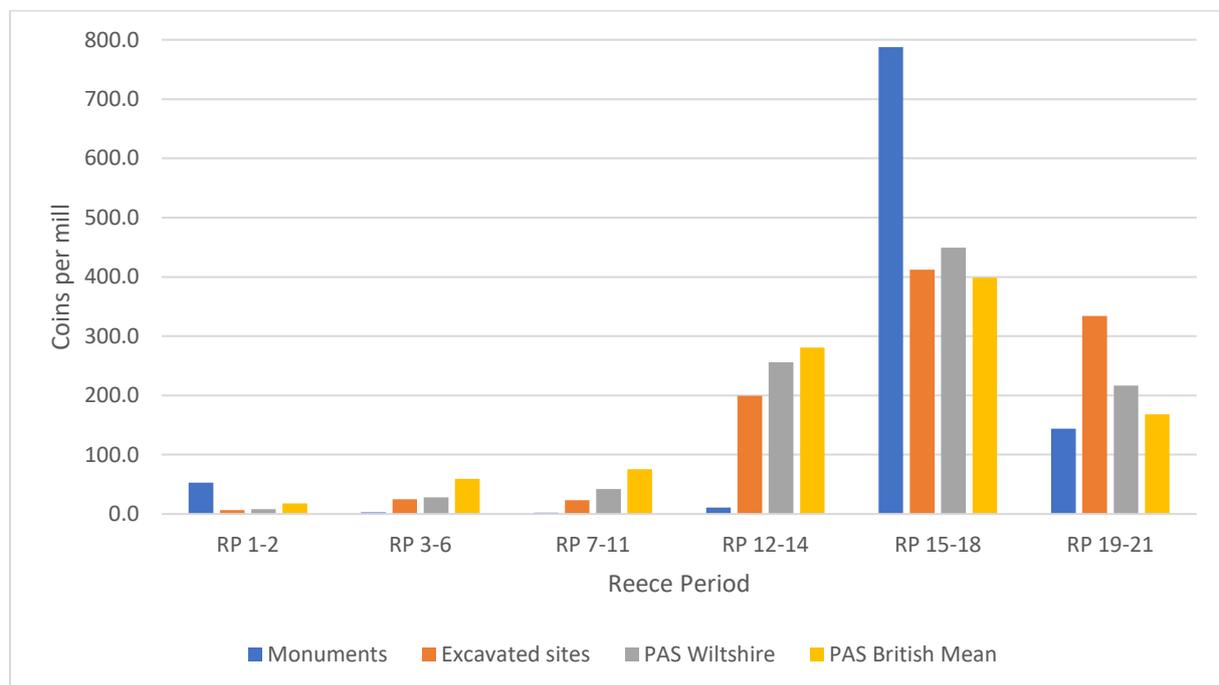
Figure 3.24. Coins from Wiltshire prehistoric monuments including Cuckoo Stone v PAS British Mean, PAS Wiltshire Mean and Wiltshire excavated sites. Coins from monuments N=5,414.
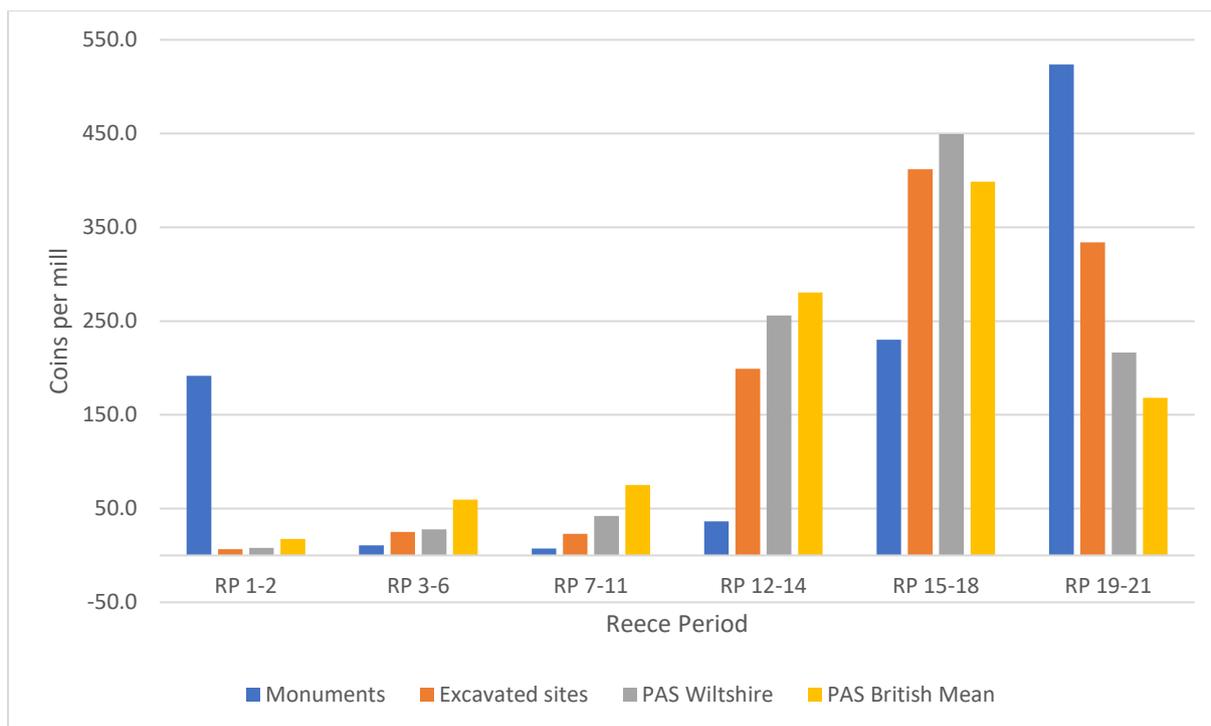
Figure 3.25. Coins from Wiltshire prehistoric monuments excluding Cuckoo Stone v PAS British Mean, PAS Wiltshire mean and excavated sites. Coins from monuments N=1,486.

Further points of comparison emerge when considering coin assemblages by monument morphology. Site types that evince multiple coin assemblages include hillforts, long barrows, round barrows (Figure 3.26). Coins recovered from these monuments largely conform to the wider county and regional pattern, with Reece Period 19-21 issues most prevalent at both hillforts and long barrows. At round barrows, coins of Reece Period 15-18 were most prevalent, an assemblage dominated by the now lost 84 coins recovered from the bowl barrow Avebury 35a in 1849 (Appendix 3; Robertson 2000: 279, no 1176).

Important further patterns to note are that issues pre-dating 238 CE were almost entirely absent from long barrow and round barrow assemblages save for an *as* of Vespasian/Titus of Reece Period 4 from the Dane's Tump 1, part of coin assemblage otherwise dominated by Reece Period 19-21 issues. Given this pattern, the *as* was probably curated and deposited as part of the activities associated with a purported later Roman shrine incorporating the barrow in the later period (Shaw Mellor 1953). It is notable that this activity occurred in the otherwise engagement-scarce limestone of the Cotswolds in the northwest of the county. From hillforts, earlier issues were more frequently represented, though still rarer than third and fourth century issues (Figure 3.26). A large bulk of this relates to the 282 silver *denarii* recovered through metal

detecting at Membury Camp, which contains Reece Period 1 issues, pre-dating the conquest (Appendix 3; Robertson 2000: 2, 9a). No coins of a later date were recorded at this site. This engagement event, containing valuable metal denominations, surely occurred within the first century CE, perhaps associated with the period of military administration. That barrows demonstrated no similar form of early engagement suggests they were largely irrelevant at this time or retained their LPRIA legacy as 'taboo', an interpretation given further credence by the likely military destruction of two round barrows discussed in Section 3.5.2.
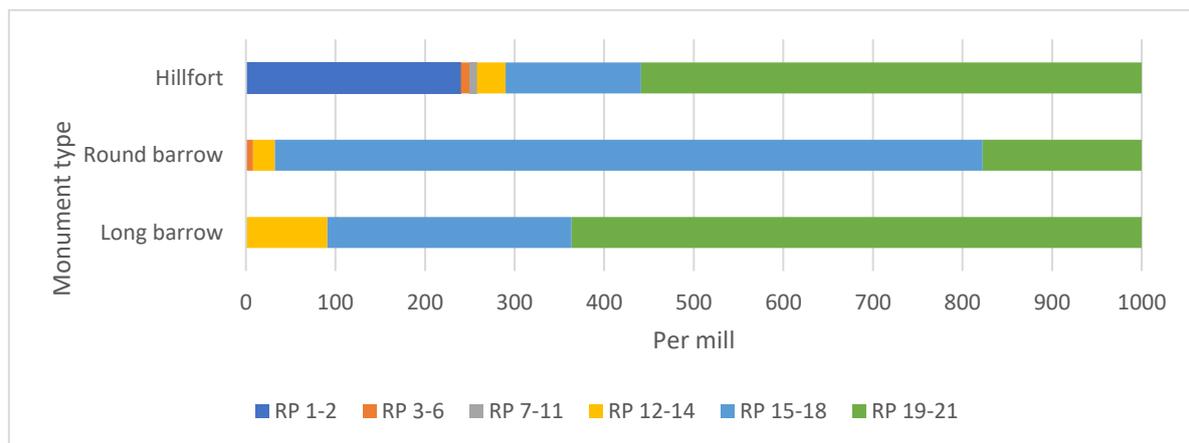
Figure 3.26. Coins from hillforts, round barrows and long barrows in Wiltshire. Hillfort N=1,179; round barrow N=124; long barrow N=11.

An additional point of comparison emerges when considering the coin assemblages associated with the settlements forming the small town of *Sorviodunum* set within and around the hillfort at Old Sarum (Appendix 4; Section 4.4.1) and the roadside settlement sited around the artificial mound of Silbury Hill (Appendix 5; Section 4.1.1). Figure 3.27 suggests that Sorviodunum was founded and engaged with earlier than Silbury Hill. Indeed, coins from *Sorviodunum* follow a decreasing trajectory after peaking between Reece Period 12-14. At Silbury Hill the opposite is true, where the coin assemblage increases in Reece Period 14 before peaking dramatically in Reece Period 19. Explanations for this temporal variance are surely rooted within the supposed military foundation and earlier function of *Sorviodunum* (Griffiths 2001; Section 3.5.4) and the later foundation of Silbury Hill and its association with the later rural boom in the area of northern Wiltshire (Sections 3.4 and 4.1.1). It further reinforces the position outlined in Section 3.4 that there were different profiles in Roman settlement between northern and southern Wiltshire. These variations are argued to have had an impact on how the prehistoric monuments in each zone were

engaged with. Indeed, the coin evidence supports a hypothesis of a later Roman period retraction of *Sorviodunum*, which correlates with the contemporaneous burgeoning of the settlement associated with Durrington Walls (Section 4.3.1) within the context of southern Wiltshire. These examples highlight how monument engagement must be situated relationally with contemporary habitation of the landscape at localised scales.
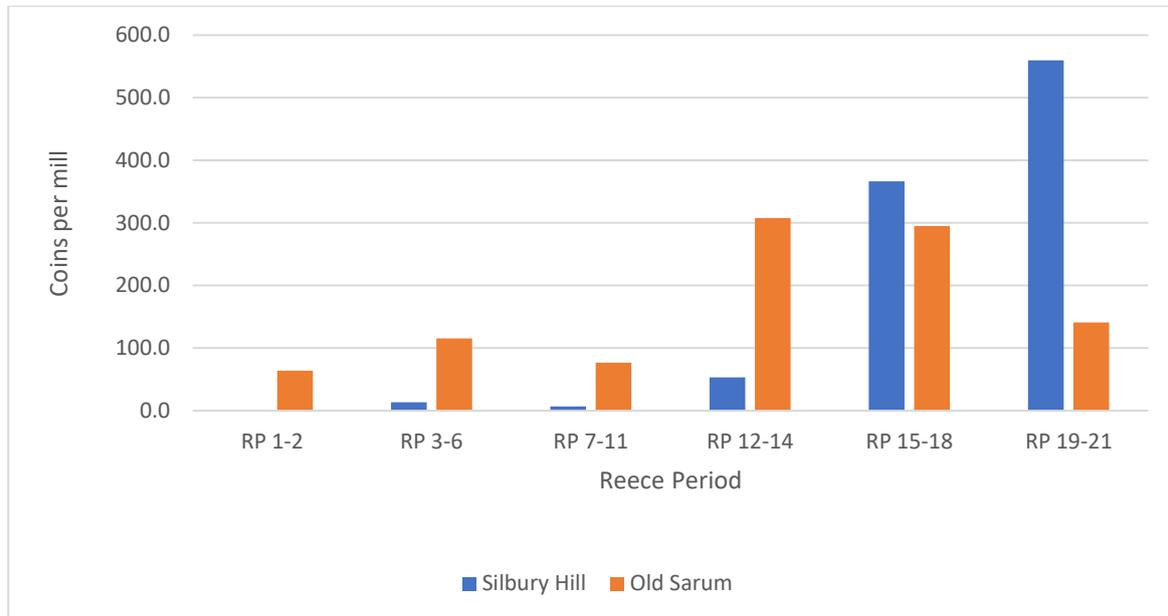
Figure 3.27. Coins from the settlements associated with Silbury Hill (N=150) and Old Sarum (N=78).

The coins form a wider part of a material classified as artefactual deposition, expressed particularly in the form of metalwork. Metalwork is attested at 35 sites, with artefacts typically comprising portable items ranging from swords and spears, armour, sickles, knives, brooches, belt hooks, rings, decorated strips, chain mail, spoons, a stylus, a curse tablet, toilet instruments, hobnails and nails through to larger artefacts such as a 'window girdle'. The artefacts are made from metals ranging from silver, copper-alloy and iron, with copper-alloy artefacts dominating the assemblage of items classified for personal adornment, whilst iron items typify the more functional artefacts such as nails, and even through to the swords which might also have been ritually deposited (Bradley 2000).

Harmonising with patterns seen in the coinage, round barrows and hillforts dominate the morphological breakdown of the monuments containing evidence for metalwork (Figure 3.28). Further, 15 sites exhibit evidence for both metalwork and coinage; within this group round barrows again dominate but hillforts are represented by a higher volume than the overall patterns pertaining to metalwork alone (Figure 3.29). This

becomes important when compared against sites yielding evidence for burial and metalwork, where 80% are represented by round barrows while no hillfort demonstrates a profile of metalwork and a funerary deposit (Figure 3.30). This again suggests that hillforts and round barrows exhibited different meanings underscoring their utilisation. For instance, metalwork in association with the burial deposits highlights that they could have been grave goods, explored further in a case-study regarding the Lamb Down barrows (Section 4.4.2). At hillforts, however, the deposition of metalwork displaying no funerary association perhaps emphasises a more votive character, reflected in the assemblages recovered from Barbury Castle, Chisbury Camp and Ebsbury Hill (Appendix 1). The votive character of hillfort use is explored in more detail in section 3.5.10.
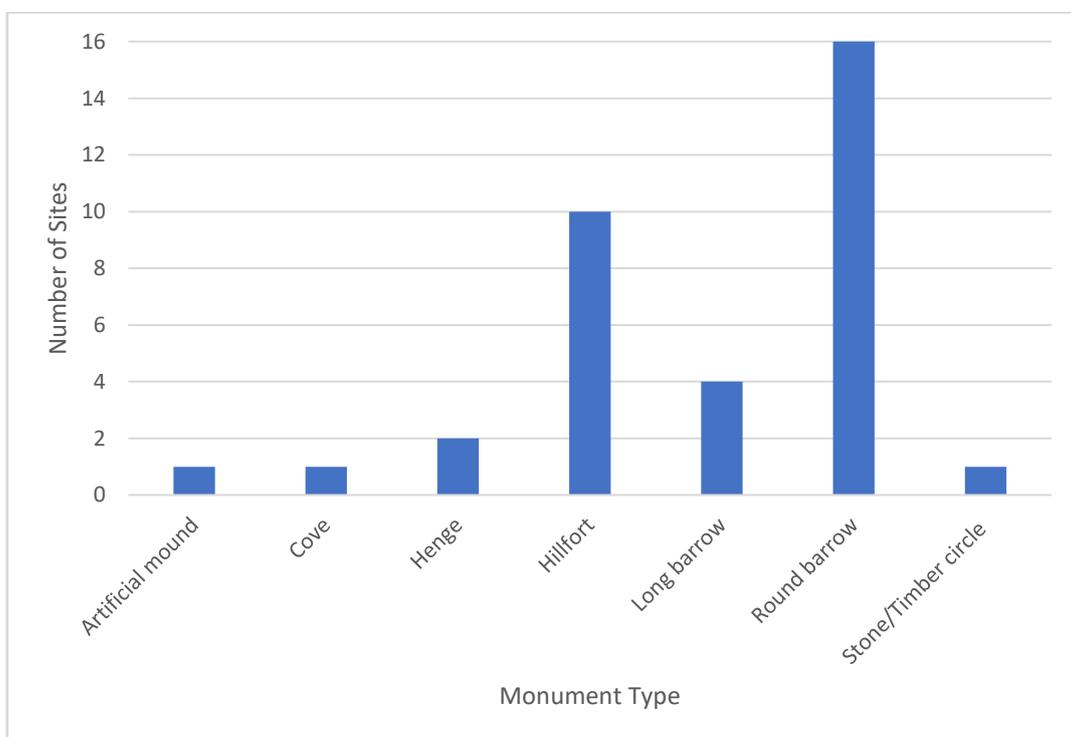
Figure 3.28. Metalwork deposits by monument type.
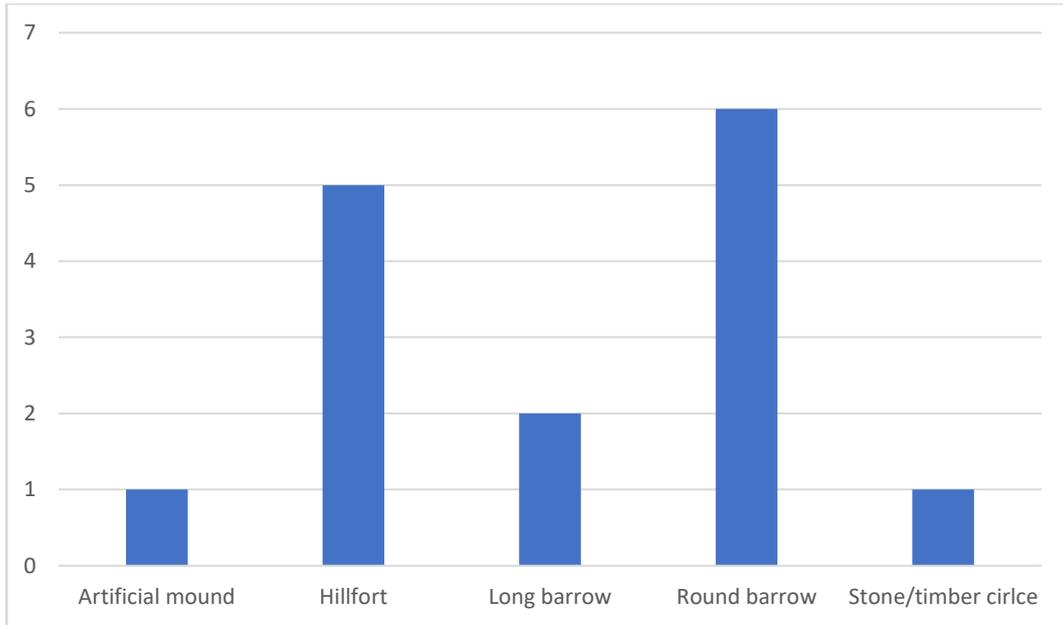
Figure 3.29. Monument morphologies yielding both metalwork and coinage in Wiltshire.
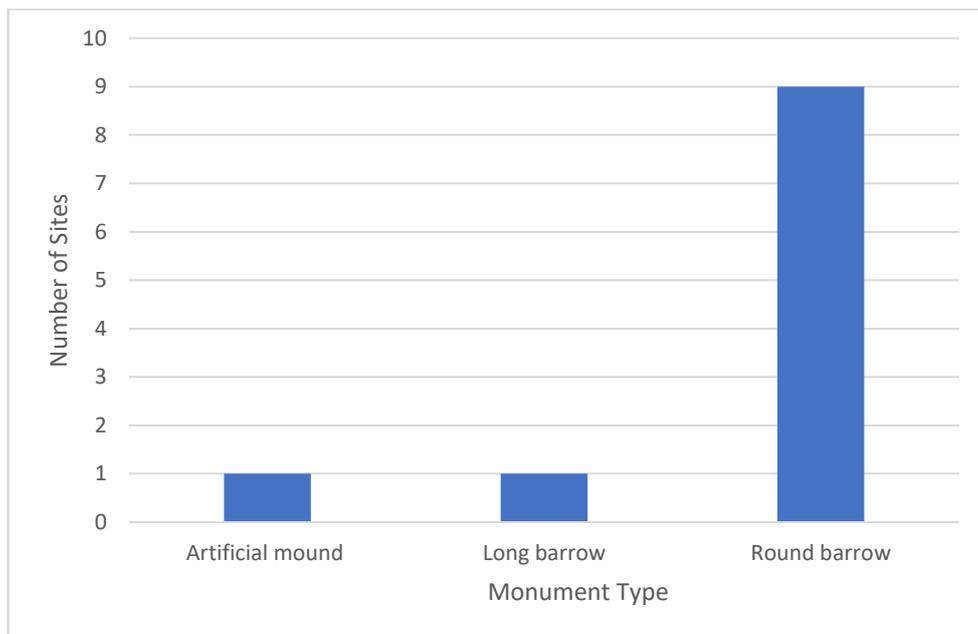
Figure 3.30. Monument morphologies yielding both metalwork and funerary deposits in Wiltshire

3.5.5 Features

Figure 3.18 showed that 27 prehistoric monuments yield evidence for features. The features range from monuments incorporated into larger sites such as *Sorviodunum* (Section 4.4.1), through to individual features such as shafts, as at Stonehenge (Section 4.3.4). Some sites display evidence for multiple engagements, as at Silbury

Hill, where a midden was located within the ditch of the ancient mound around the time the settlement in its shadow emerged (Section 4.4.1.3).

Given the strong civilian character of Roman Wiltshire, it is not surprising that diverse monument morphologies display evidence for features. Figure 3.31 demonstrates that shrines were most prevalent, perhaps supporting the long-held view that Roman engagement with prehistoric sites denotes a predominantly ritual or religious infused series of activities (Section 2.4). Unequivocal evidence for this is attested elsewhere in the province by the later Roman period stone shrine constructed at the hillfort at Maiden Castle in Dorset (Wheeler 1943). However, this position has been critiqued in Chapter Two. Where shrines were present, three in fact related to one structure; the incorporation of three round barrows, the Dane's Tump 1, 2 and 3 into the shrine at Colerne Park (Appendix 1; Shaw Mellor 1953). Others related to the probable, but unconfirmed, structure associated with the hillfort at Liddington Castle (Hirst and Rahtz 1996), whilst the assemblage and votive character of the material from Oldbury Castle is indicative of, but not definitive evidence for, a purported shrine structure (Payne et al 2006: 291-293).
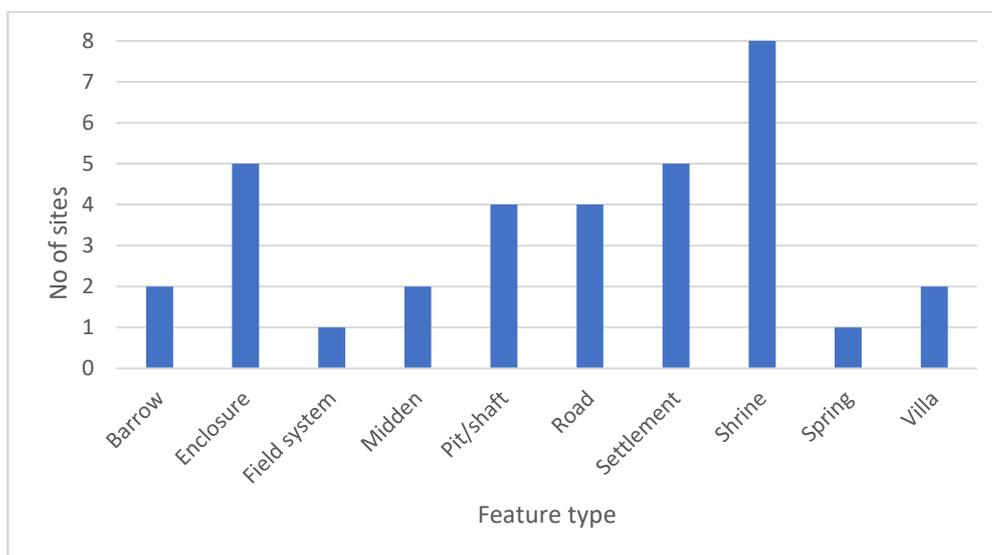
Figure 3.31. Features associated with prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire.

Similarly, the material, and features recently uncovered in the vicinity of The Cuckoo Stone are hypothesised to be a shrine. This was likely a consequence of the proximity of the rural settlement associated with the henge at Durrington Walls and, therefore, needs to be set within the context of the nexus of actions that occurred within that micro-landscape (Section 4.3.2). It may be, therefore, that an unequivocal religious

association, though clearly present and important, is overstated, a legacy of *expected* relationships between Roman material and prehistoric monuments on the basis of evidence that requires more detailed consideration in relation to wider patterns of inhabitation.

Indeed, it is clear the incorporation of monuments into settlements took on an array of characteristics. Other features which have been recorded as 'enclosures' may be representative of much larger settlements, such as the earthworks associated with the causewayed enclosure at Knap Hill (Section 4.2.1) and the circular enclosure and ditch at Ebsbury Hill which, given the assemblage recovered from the site, could equally be consistent with a shrine structure (Appendix 3; Robertson 2000: 396, no 1597). Figure 3.32 shows that many hillforts were the dominant morphological form yielding evidence for features, explored more fully in Section 3.5.10.
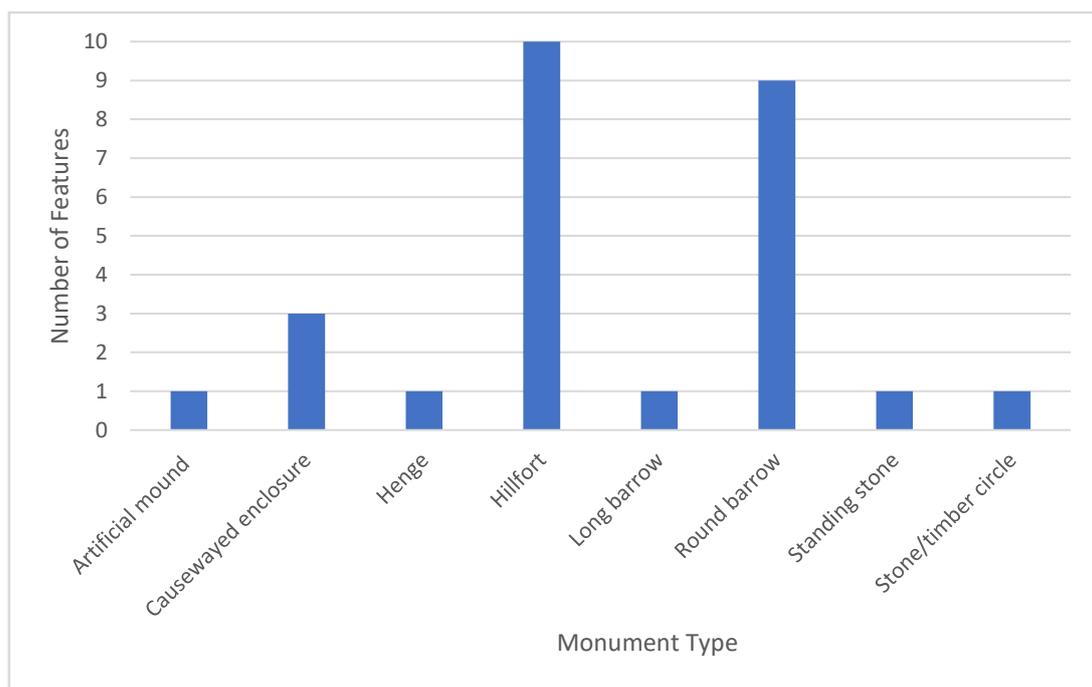
Figure 3.32. Features by monument morphology in Wiltshire.

A direct relationship between roads and monuments is recorded in just four instances; two of which pertain to the destruction of the round barrows in the northern portion of the county (Section 3.5.2) and others to Silbury Hill (4.1.1) and Crofton causewayed enclosure (3.5.6). However, Figure 3.16 demonstrates that many monuments with engagement have a close spatial association with the road network. This is reflected

in GIS buffering analysis, where 84.9% of all monuments with Roman engagement are located within a 5km radius of the roads. It is important to note some disparities between monument types in this regard. 97% of long and round barrows are situated within 5km of the roads (Figure 3.33). For hillforts, this number is reduced, with only 64% situated within 5km of the roads (Figure 3.34). For barrows, it suggests that the imposition of a new spatial axis manifested in the road network became a significant causal factor in how they became significant for Roman communities, explored in Section 3.5.8. Because the hillforts were situated further away from the roads, it suggests that their emergent significance was based on factors either less or unrelated to movement along the roads.
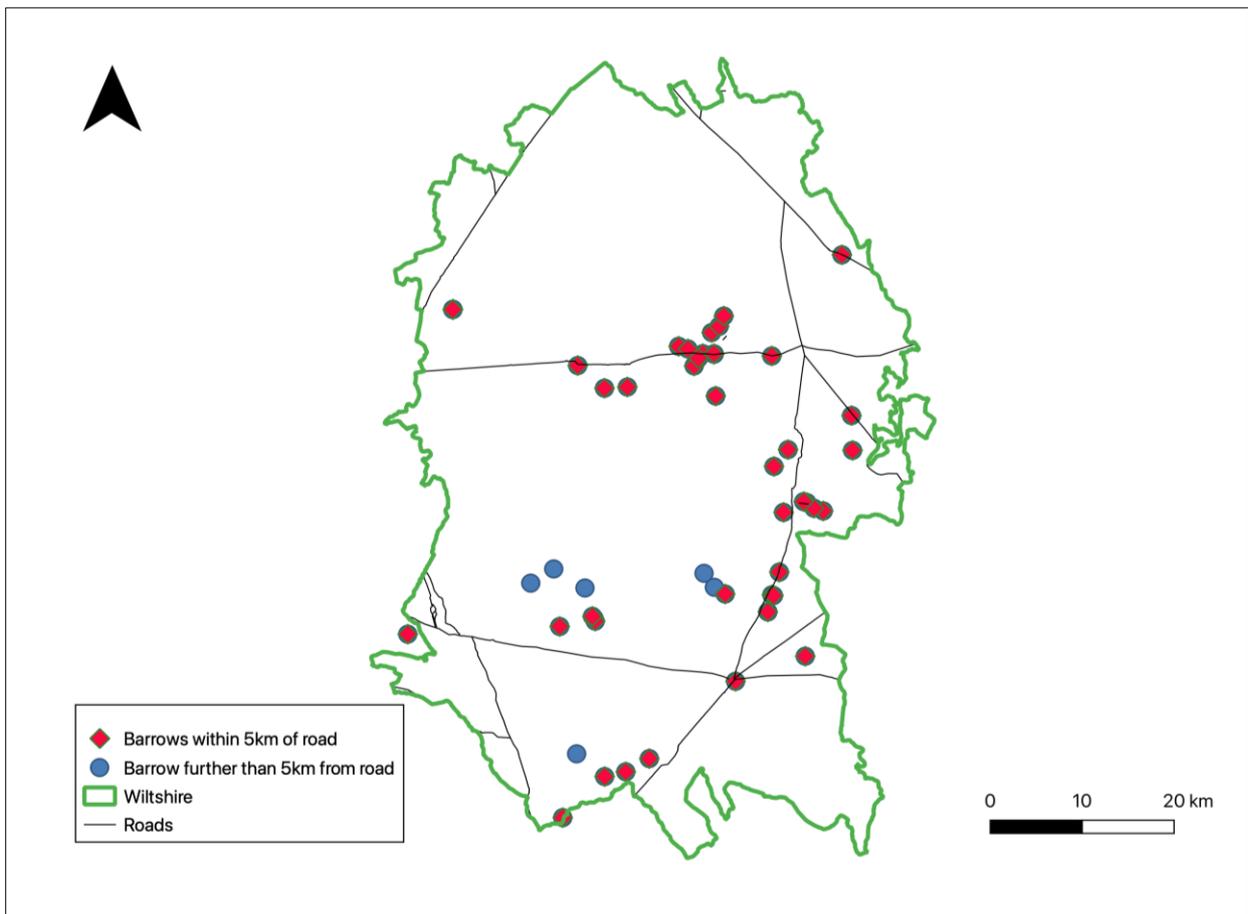
Figure 3.33. Barrows within a 5km radius of roads in Wiltshire.
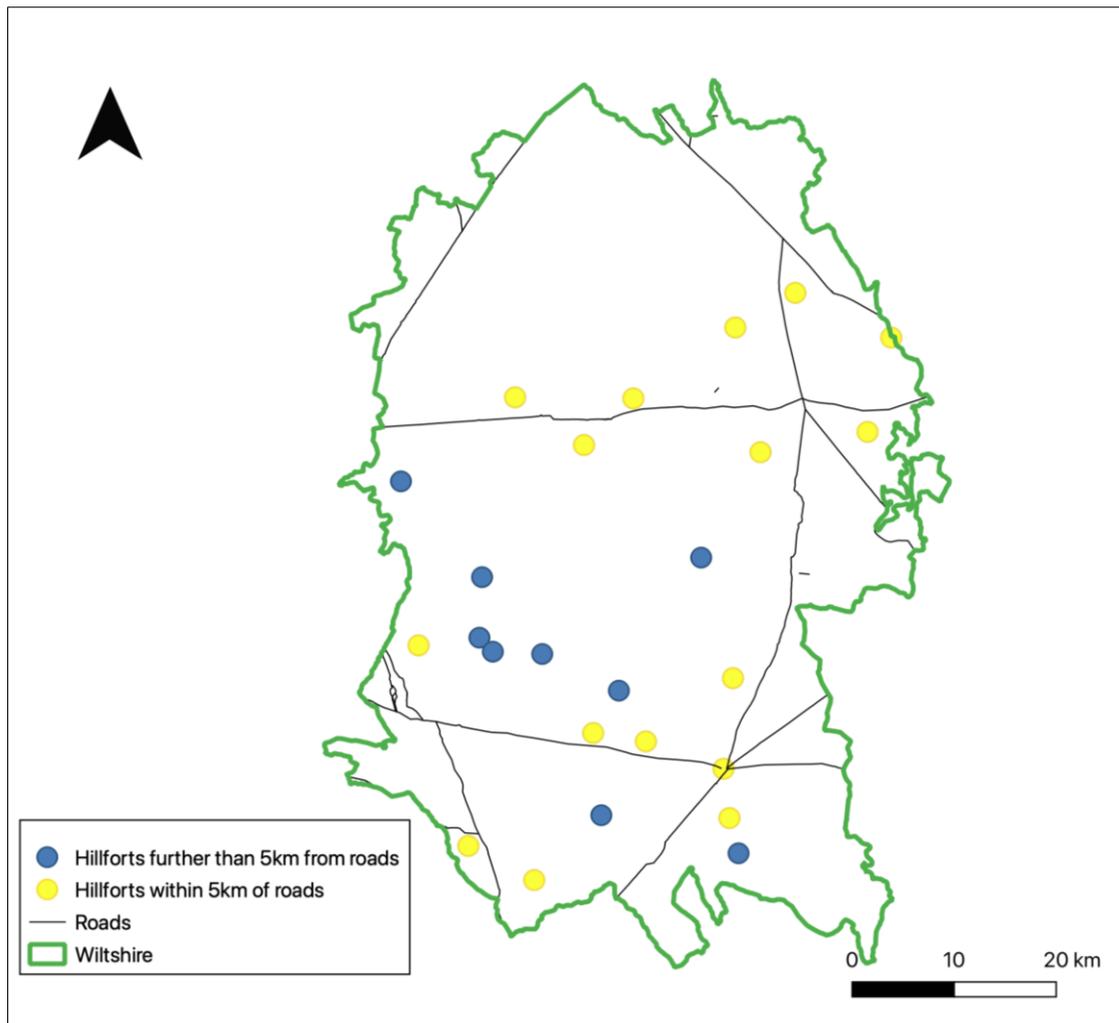
Figure 3.34. Hillforts within a 5km distance of the roads.

Sections 3.5.1 to 3.5.6 have demonstrated that a wide variety of activities occurred at different types of monuments. The remaining sections of Chapter Three consequently explore the patterns observed when morphological breakdown is considered in more detail. In this regard, a broad array of morphological forms were attested namely: an artificial mound, causewayed enclosures, coves, henges, hillforts, long barrows, round barrows, a standing stone and stone and timber circles, the numbers of which are depicted in Figure 3.35.
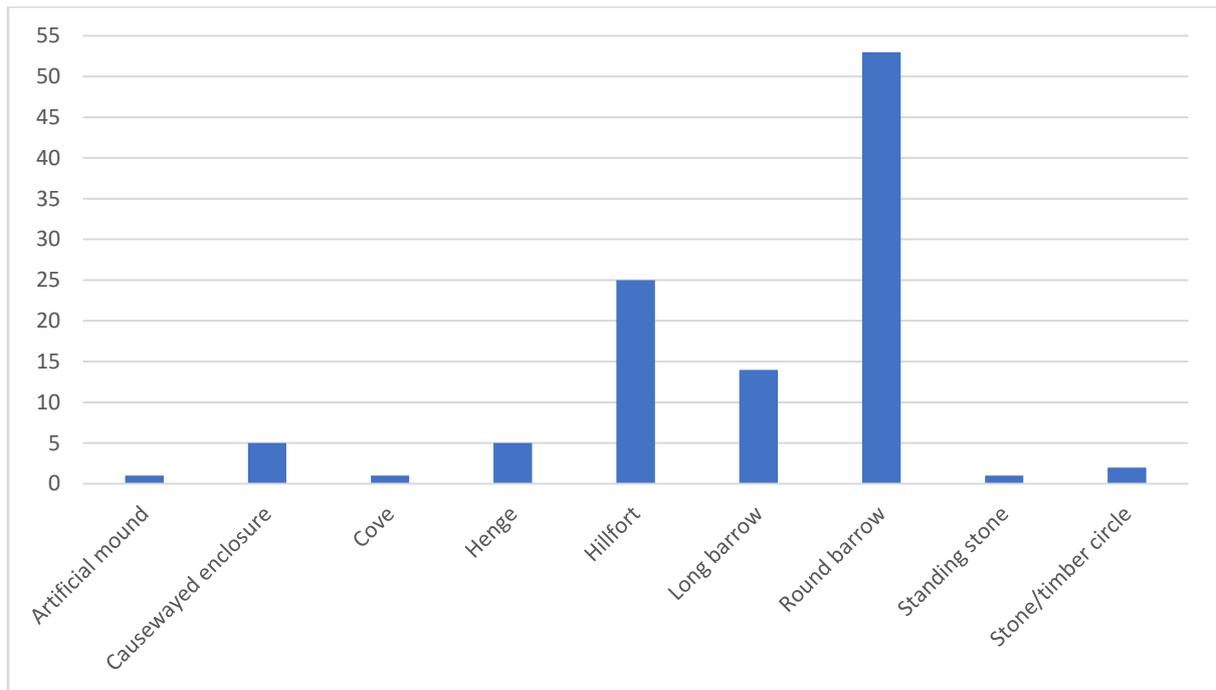
Figure 3.35. Prehistoric monuments with Roman engagement by morphology in Wiltshire.

3.5.6 Causewayed enclosures

Six certain causewayed enclosures are recorded at Crofton, Knap Hill, Robin Hood's Ball, Rybury, Whitesheet Hill and Windmill Hill, all situated on the chalk (Figure 3.36). Three possible sites are attested Luckington, Overton Hill and West Kington although none of these sites have been excavated and Overton Hill in particular is tenuous (Pollard and Reynolds 200: 48). Roman engagement occurred at four causewayed enclosures, ranging from potsherds discovered during fieldwalking and small scale excavation, as is the case at Crofton (Lobb 1995) and Robin Hood's Ball (Thomas 1964), through to the presence of a settlement at Knap Hill (Section 4.2.3) and a villa near Windmill Hill (Section 3.5.6), the latter two situated with the AWHS and wider Avebury landscape (Appendix 14). Consequently, Roman engagement with causewayed enclosures occurred at a frequency of 66.7% for confirmed sites or 44.4% for all potential sites. This level of engagement highlights that these large earthworks constituted significant, visual landscape entities that demanded responses during the Roman period.
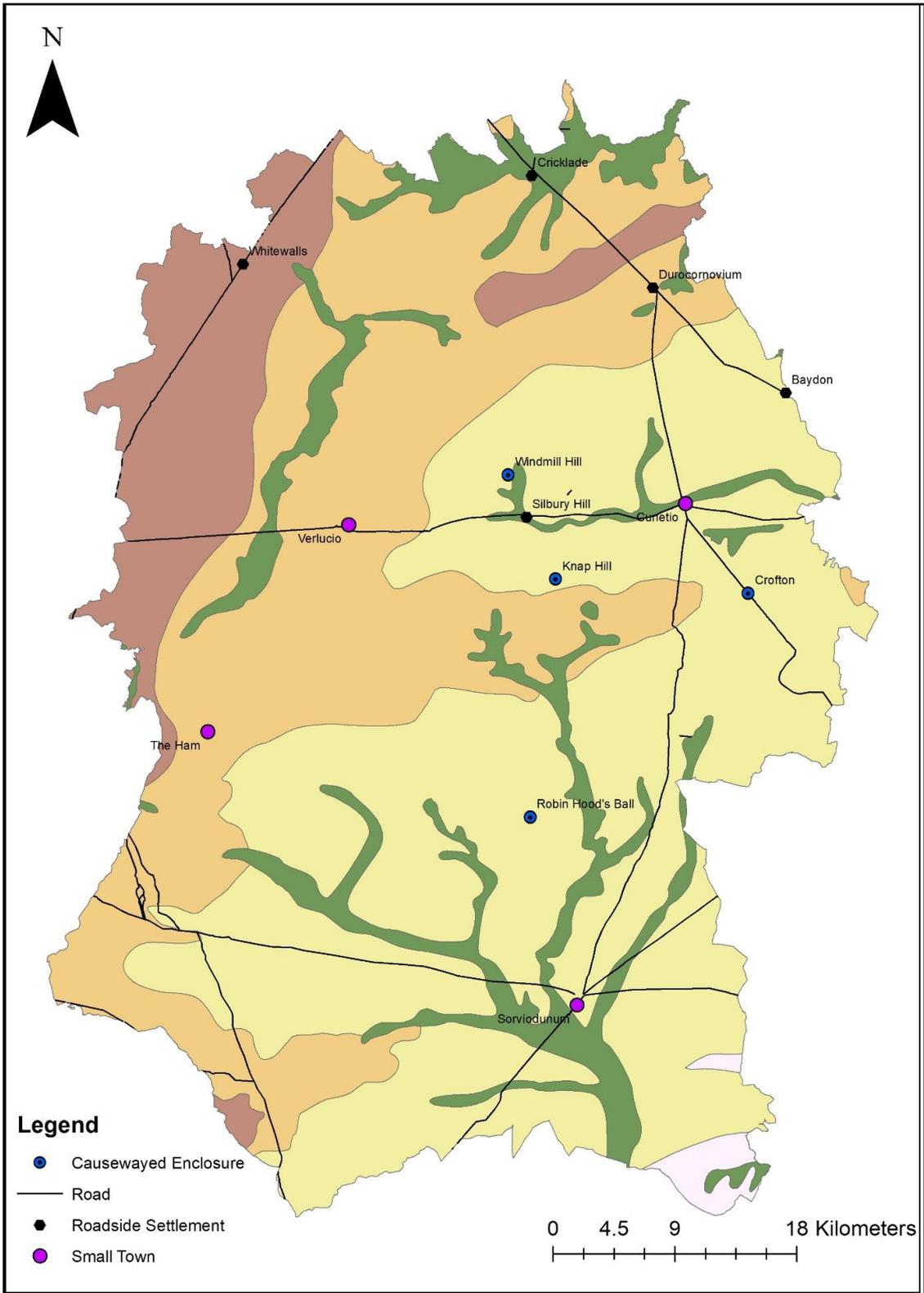
Figure 3.36. Distribution causewayed enclosures with Roman engagement in Wiltshire.

Certainly, the Roman road running south from *Cunetio* to Winchester in the east of the county appears to run directly adjacent to or through the causewayed enclosure at Crofton, though limited excavations of the site's ditches have as yet not revealed the

presence of the road (Lobb 1995). Roman sherds represent 26% of the 339 potsherds collected during fieldwalking within the southern portion of the enclosure, though it is unclear whether they correspond to the earlier or later Roman period (Lobb 1995). No pottery was recovered from the ditch fills though a fragmentary copper-alloy pin was unearthed from the subsoil. Without further investigation, it cannot be determined of the material is indicative of any settlement activity and it may be that its earthworks instead formed a siting point in the construction of the road route, a phenomenon noted elsewhere in relation to Silbury Hill (Section 4.1.1). Similarly, the presence of the elaborate fourth century palatial villas of Tottenham House and Castle Copse complexes (Section 3.4.3), together with the associated rural shrine of Great Bedwyn/Shalbourne were located with the surrounding 2km, providing potential late dates for the ceramic material, and emphasising that that siting of the villas and religious complex would been placed with easy access to the main roadway. Consequently, the relationship between the causewayed enclosure, the roads and the later villa and shrine highlight that these features were integrated within a relational network (Figure 3.37).
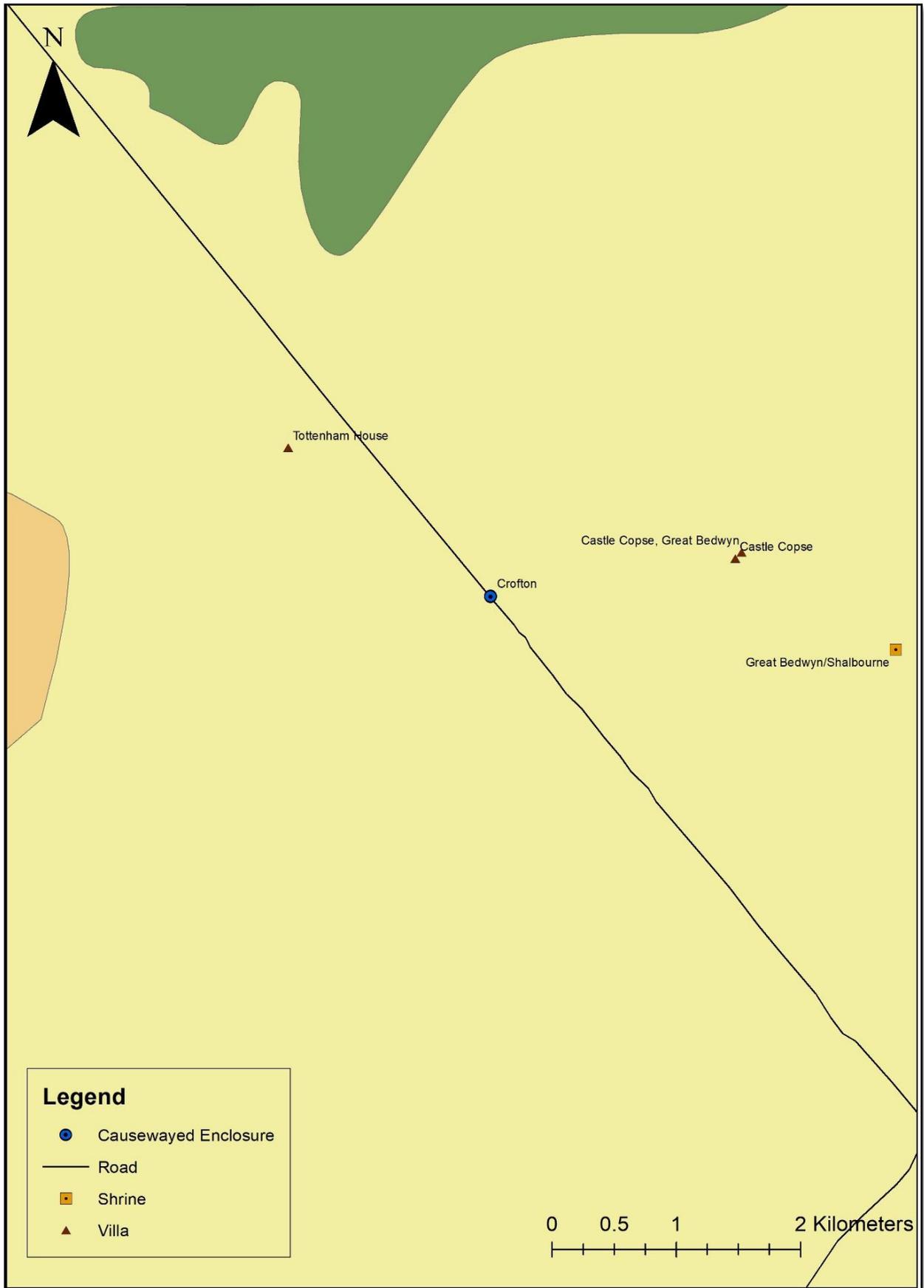
Figure 3.37. Location of the Crofton causewayed enclosure in relation to the local landscape.

3.5.7 Long barrows

148 confirmed and probable long barrows are recorded in Wiltshire. Roman material is present at 14, representing 9.5%. This constitutes a significantly reduced figure compared to causewayed enclosures, though explanations for this frequency may reflect the nature of their location, survival in the archaeological record, appearance and scale. For instance, causewayed enclosures would have been more visible in the landscape, comprising huge earthworks (Windmill Hill, for example, consists of three concentric ditches encircling an area of 85,000m^2) in prominent, elevated visible locations. Long barrows, meanwhile, are much smaller in form, typically rectangular in shape and, as Kinnes calculated for non-megalithic structures, measuring an average of 47m in length (1992).

Roman engagement with long barrows is clustered in the low-lying Kennet valley of the AWHS whilst, in southern Wiltshire, engagement is more dispersed across Salisbury Plain. Isolated examples at the edge of the chalkland and beyond include Kingston Deverell G1 associated with the probable shrine at Cold Kitchen Hill and Giant's Cave on the Jurassic limestone (Figure 3.38).
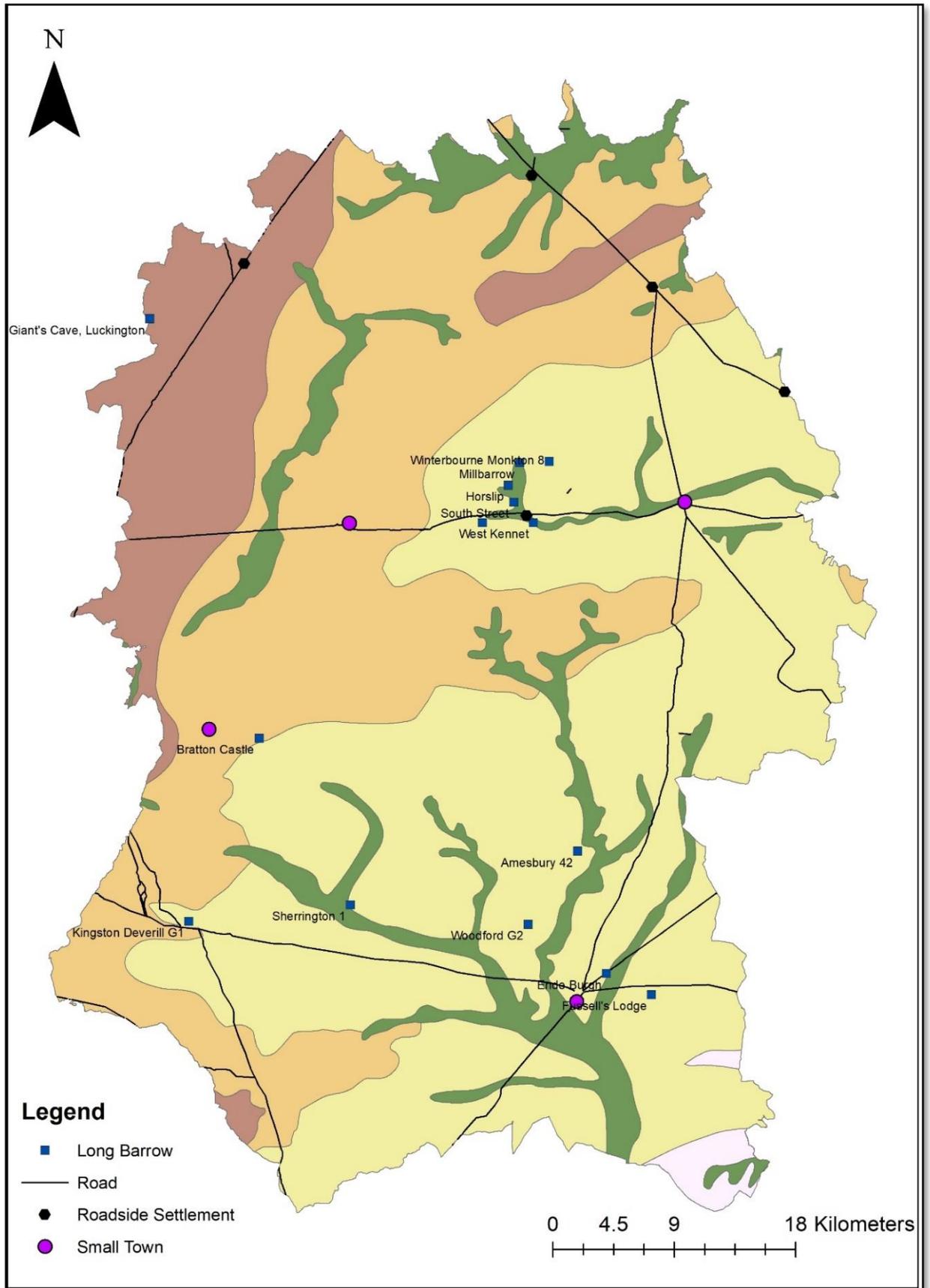
Figure 3.38. Distribution of long barrows with Roman engagement in Wiltshire.

Long barrows are generally divided by morphological form into those of earthen composition and those exhibiting chambered passage graves (Field 2006; Kinnes 1992; Woodward 2000). In Wiltshire, 16 of the 148 long barrows demonstrate evidence for chambered passage graves, allowing us to perceive that 89% of all long barrows are earthen compositions. Their distribution is stark: in north Wiltshire around the Jurassic limestone of the Cotswolds and the AWHS, long barrows demonstrate morphological diversity, with both megalithic chambers and earthen compositions attested. Around the SWHS, Salisbury Plain and the West Wiltshire Downs, however, no chambered long barrows are present and, indeed, none are recorded further south of the region around the Crofton causewayed enclosure (Grinsell 1957). Roman period engagement with long barrows based on morphological breakdown reveals insights that relate to this morphological diversity. Of the 14 long barrows showing evidence for Roman period intervention, megalithic structures account for 21% of barrow engagement (Figure 3.39), with chambered passage graves attested at Giant's Cave, Milbarrow and the West Kennet long barrow. Set against the figures of total megalithic long barrows, this is a significant figure, suggesting the chambered form played a prominent role in the Roman period.
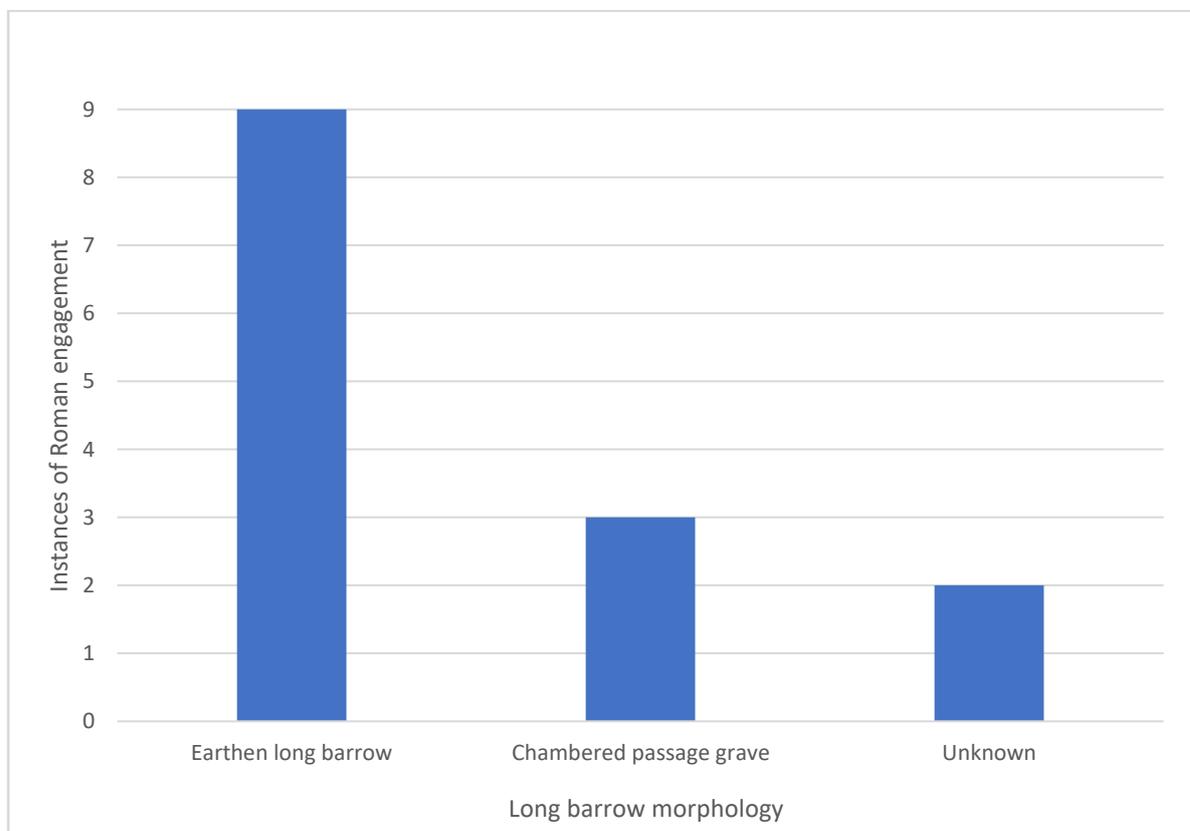
Figure 3.39. Long barrows with Roman engagement by morphology in Wiltshire.

Indeed, this pattern suggests that the morphological elements chambered barrows contained could have rendered them more favourable than their earthen counterparts for Roman period intervention, particularly in the north of the county. The most likely explanation is that the appearance the megalithic long barrows was more conspicuous, demanding responses from Roman inhabitants of the area. Although the chambers themselves were covered by earthen mounds, megalithic barrows of the Cotswolds-Severn group were also present in north Wiltshire, exhibiting elaborate stone entrances and facades framing the entrance to the structures (Russell 2002: 44-48). Consequently, they were visually striking artefacts that may well have been recognised as human made. Earthen barrows, meanwhile, will often have appeared as a prominent lump in the ground which, though significant, does not belie the fact megalithic entrances would have provided a greater optical impact.

Within some megalithic long barrows, material was not merely concentrated in the mound material but appears to have been deliberately deposited within or associated with the megalithic features themselves. Indeed, at Giant's Cave, 571 potsherds, constituting in excess of 100 vessels, of third-fourth century ceramics were recovered scattered throughout Chambers C and D, among the main passages and in the forecourt. Further, six coins ranging spanning Reece Periods 18-21 were recovered from extra-revetment material forming the southeastern entrance, while a decorated copper-alloy strip was unearthed from the southern part of the monument (Appendix 3; Corcoran 1970). This indicates the interior of the monuments were known about to people in the Roman period and there was an understanding of the interiors of barrows and their functions. The totality of these actions suggest that the monument became an important element of the Roman period landscape, and that the chambers and megalithic entrance were key aspects in ascribing its significance in the later Roman period. As Section 4.1.2 shows, a similar range of activities occurred at the West Kennet long barrow, emphasising that chambered passage graves in the north of the county were interpreted in similar ways. The landscape setting of Giant's Cave away from the chalk is unusual, however, and the impetus for engagement with it in the form of deposition may reflect its location between the two major religious settlements at Bath to the west and Nettleton Scrubs to the north.

3.5.8 Round barrows

Figures 3.35 and 3.40 show round barrows were the most abundant form of prehistoric monument engaged with, distributed predominantly upon the chalk. Figure 3.2 demonstrates round barrows were the most prevalent type of prehistoric monument within the chalk downlands. Indeed, a maximum of 2,595 confirmed and probable round barrows are recorded from Wiltshire. Roman period material is attested at 53, representing a mere 2% of all such monuments. It would be disingenuous, therefore, to assert that round barrows were the preferred monumental form for engagement but, nevertheless, the raw numbers suggest that some round barrows played a significant role in the Roman period landscape. Morphologically, bowl barrows dominate the types engaged with (Figure 3.41), forming 81% of the round barrow assemblage. However, bowl barrows constituted the largest form of prehistoric round barrow type (Grinsell 1957: 147-206) and this likely reflects accessibility rather than specific choices determined by morphology.
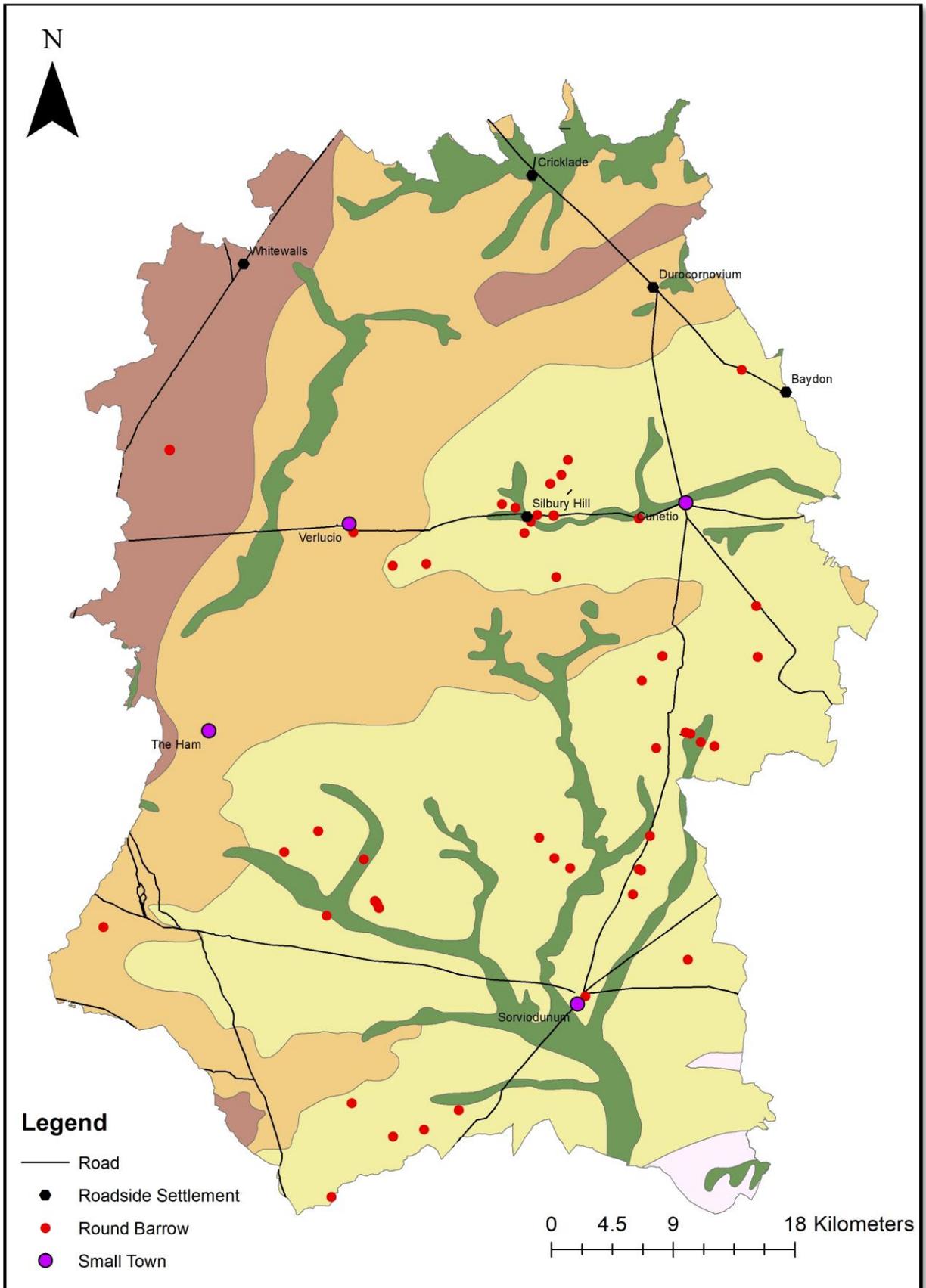
Figure 3.40. Distribution of round barrows with Roman engagement in Wiltshire.
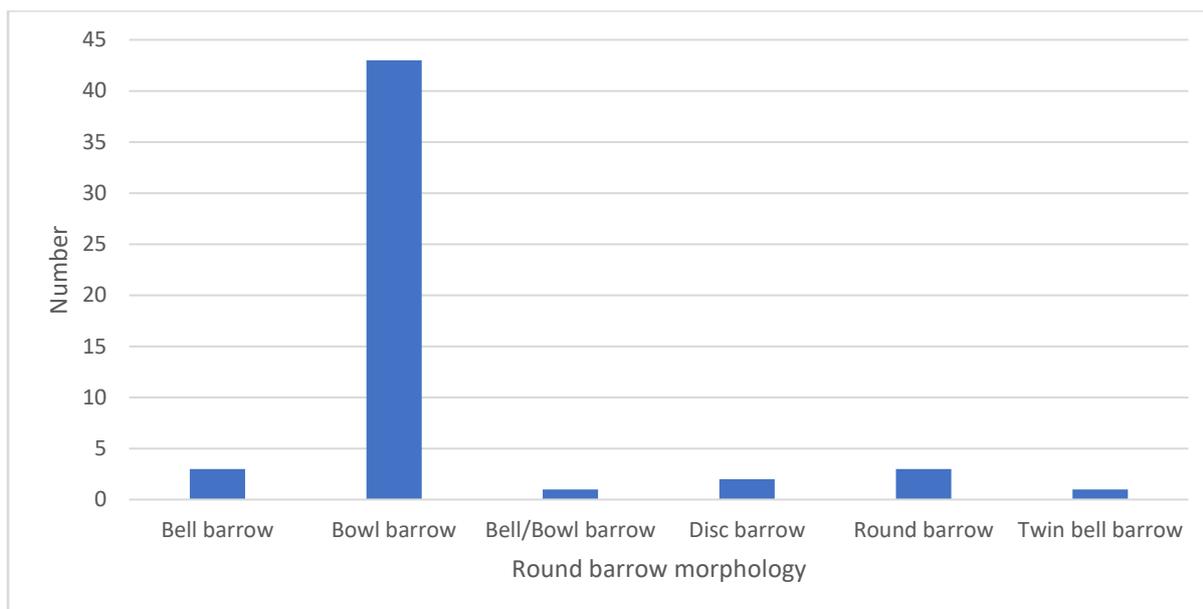
Figure 3.41. Round barrows with Roman engagement by morphology in Wiltshire.

While some long barrows received artefactual material in isolation, funerary engagement constituted a significant of element of the ways round barrows were used (Figures 3.19 and 3.20). Significant patterns emerge when the breakdown of funerary rite at round barrows is considered. Inhumation is the predominant form of burial rite (Figure 3.42) though divergences in this pattern occur when the barrows are subdivided into those that represent intrusive insertions into extant prehistoric barrows and those that constitute primary Roman barrows mimicking local forms. Indeed, 100% of intrusive deposits were inhumations whilst every known cremation from a barrow context pertains to barrows that have been assigned the status of mimicry, suggesting a significant divide between these two forms. Additionally, cremations outnumber inhumations in this category (Figure 3.43). No single barrow contains evidence for mixed burial rites, contrasting with patterns from orthodox cemeteries (Section 3.4.5). This suggests that funerary engagement with barrows was a relatively short-lived phenomenon rather than sustained over multiple generations. Further, it may be that, rather than the foci of community burials, funerary use of barrows was related to individuals or small group units, echoing their function in the Early Bronze Age (Cunliffe 2012: 220-222).
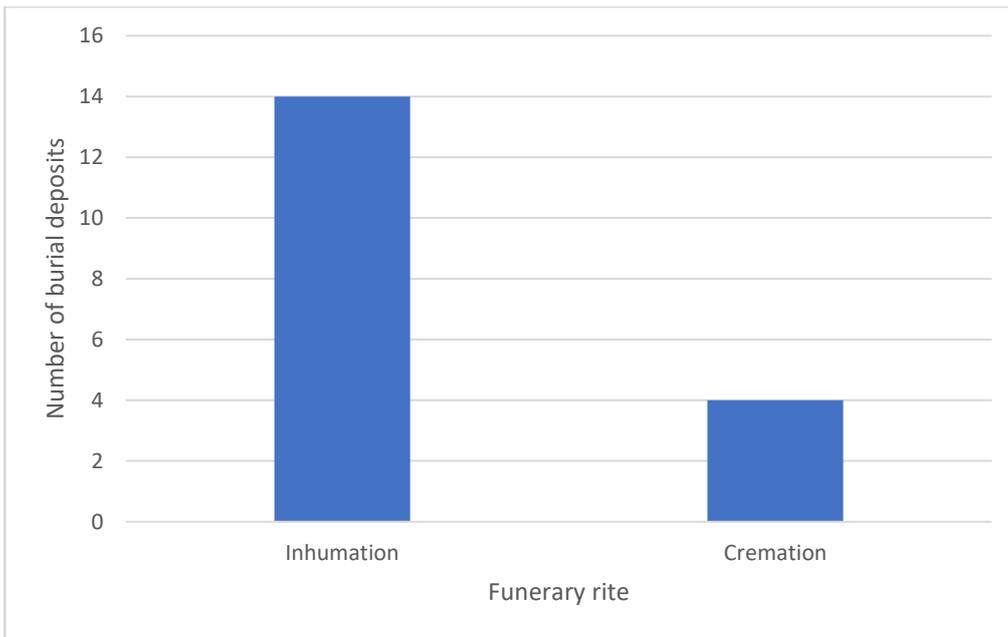
Figure 3.42. Funerary rite from round barrows in Wiltshire.
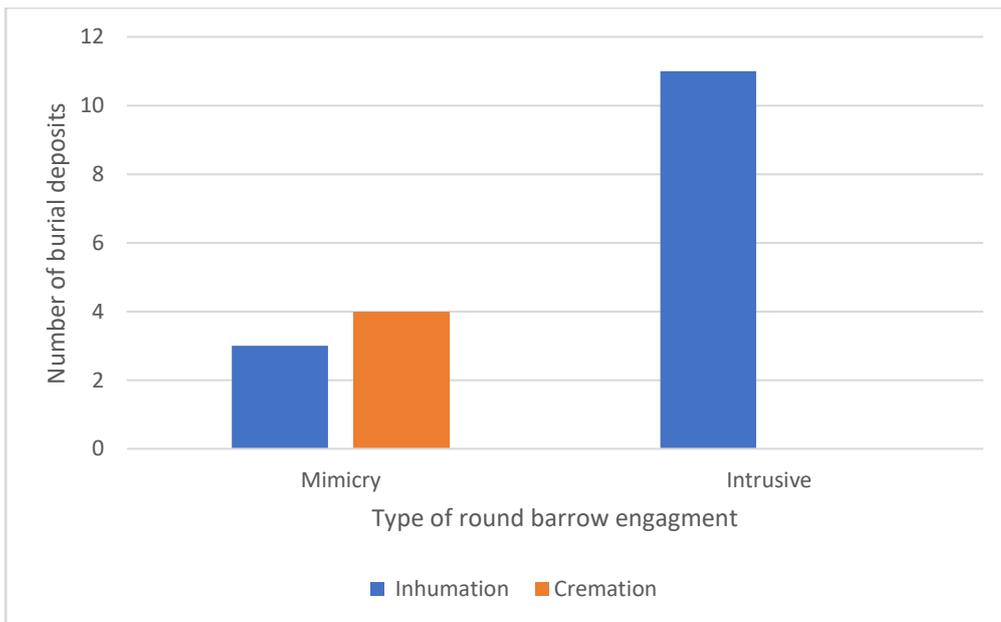
Figure 3.43. Funerary rite from round barrows divided by mimicry barrows or intrusive deposits into extant prehistoric round barrows.

Section 3.3 showed round barrows were distributed mainly among the trajectories of the river valleys of the chalk downlands and that they emphasise visual and spatial relationships with the extant monuments that form each WHS. This is reflected in barrows showing Roman engagement, with only two situated beyond the chalk downlands. From their distribution, it is notable that the round barrows yielding Roman period material had close spatial relationships to the road system and were generally

associated with settlements (Figures 3.33 and 6.20). The strong relationship between barrows and the road is expressed particularly along the road running from *Cunetio* to *Sorviodunum* past the SWHS, along the eastern portion of Salisbury Plain (Figure 3.41). Here, the round barrows of Milton Lilbourne 3, Everleigh 1, the thee round barrows constituting the Collingbourne Ducis group, Fittleton 9a, Bulford 22, Amesbury 71, Amesbury 85 and Statford Sub Castle 1 (Appendix 1), straddle the road and suggest a relationship with nearby associated rural settlements.

This is an important point because the barrows at Everleigh 1, Collingbourne Ducis 3a, Fittleton 9a, Bulford 22 and Statford Sub Castle 1 yield Roman period funerary profiles (Appendix 14). Their proximity to the road and settlement indicates two important factors influencing the decision to directly engage with these features in this manner. First, a well-established Roman period funerary practice involved the interment of individuals and/or the erection of funerary iconography such as tombstones along roadways, as a means of communicating the identity of the deceased to travelling audiences moving through the landscape (Aldhouse Green 2018: 211; Pearce 2015). This is also reflected in the Bartlow Hills Roman barrows, where viewshed analysis revealed limited intervisibility between the barrows, but rather emphasised that they were to be viewed and appreciated by people moving along the roads (Eckardt et al 2009). This ensured that individuals were kept alive in social memory via durable monuments which commemorated ephemeral events such as funerary rituals.

Consequently, the adoption of round barrows for the interment of people, in some cases containing multiple interments as in the case of Statford-sub-Castle 1 near *Sorviodunum,* where 14 inhumations were recovered (Goddard 1913-1914: 325) can be thought of a set of relations which involved more normative Roman period funerary practices becoming enmeshed within a collaborative dialogue with prehistoric round barrows. This, of course, was predicated upon specific local conditions; the utilisation of prehistoric round barrows, very obviously, could not have occurred in locations were there were no barrows and so, upon the London clay where there was a paucity of barrows, the Roman period funerary profile conforms to more standard isolated burials or cemeteries (Figure 3.13). Where barrows did proliferate, however, around the WHS and on the chalk downlands, they became active landscape entities which collaborated within contemporary funerary practices. It is notable that the extant round barrows in these areas did not replace the phenomena of cemeteries or individual burials but,

rather, sat alongside those practice. In the southwestern portion of Salisbury Plain, however, a number of barrows have both intrusive elements and mimicry, while there is a paucity of known cemeteries (compare Figures 3.13 and Figure 3.41), indicating that barrow utilisation was a significant form of burial within this micro-landscape.

A further important point pertains to the location of Idmiston 19, situated to the northeast of *Sorviodunum.* Section 3.5.3 showed that that Idmiston 19 contained a contracted inhumation assigned a Roman period date, and that the structure was subsequently integrated within a group of two conical Roman barrows. In this instance, the prehistoric barrow structure became enmeshed within a network including Roman funerary practice, a clearly localised tradition of the insertion of funerary deposits in prehistoric monuments, as well as the tradition of conical barrow building attested elsewhere in the province. Additionally, we cannot overlook the role that the road played in this relationship. The trajectory of the road must have created the potential for this relationship to emerge, providing the impetus for the siting of subsequent rural settlement, bringing a prehistoric round barrow cemetery into the orbit of people's lives, whereupon Roman period barrows were constructed with reference to them. The utilisation of Idmiston 19 reflects its embeddedness within the wider patterns of everyday life in the Roman period and shows that its emergence can be understood to be situated relationally with other landscape phenomena (Section 2.5)

3.5.9 Henges

26 confirmed and potential henges are recorded Wiltshire. Roman material has been found at five: Avebury, Coneybury, Durrington Walls, Marden and Woodhenge, a frequency rate of 15.4% (Figure 3.44). Engagement is, in the main, concentrated within the WHS. Material was recovered from the henge at Avebury in the AWHS. In the SWHS, Roman material was unearthed at Durrington Walls, Woodhenge and Coneybury. This highlights that engagement was concentrated within the areas of the chalk downlands around the WHS, argued here to be the result of systematic and widespread engagement with the diverse array of monumental forms in these areas. The outlier to these patterns pertains to Marden henge, a huge enclosure comparable in size to those at Avebury and Durrington Walls though comparatively little explored, situated almost equidistantly between and perpendicular to Avebury and Stonehenge (Figure 3.4). Excavations focussed upon a portion of the 13.5m wide encircling ditch

uncovered a copper-alloy plate brooch from ploughsoil (Wainwright, Evans and Longworth 1971). It is consistent with other examples recovered from second to fourth century contexts (Mackreth 2011a: 157; 2011b: plate 106, no. 11606). Given the provenance within the ditch and extent of historical ploughing on site, it is likely that this single instance constitutes intrusive material rather than the deliberate deposition. However, precedent for the deposition of a brooch is attested from the Avebury henge (Section 4.1.4) so cannot be ruled out.
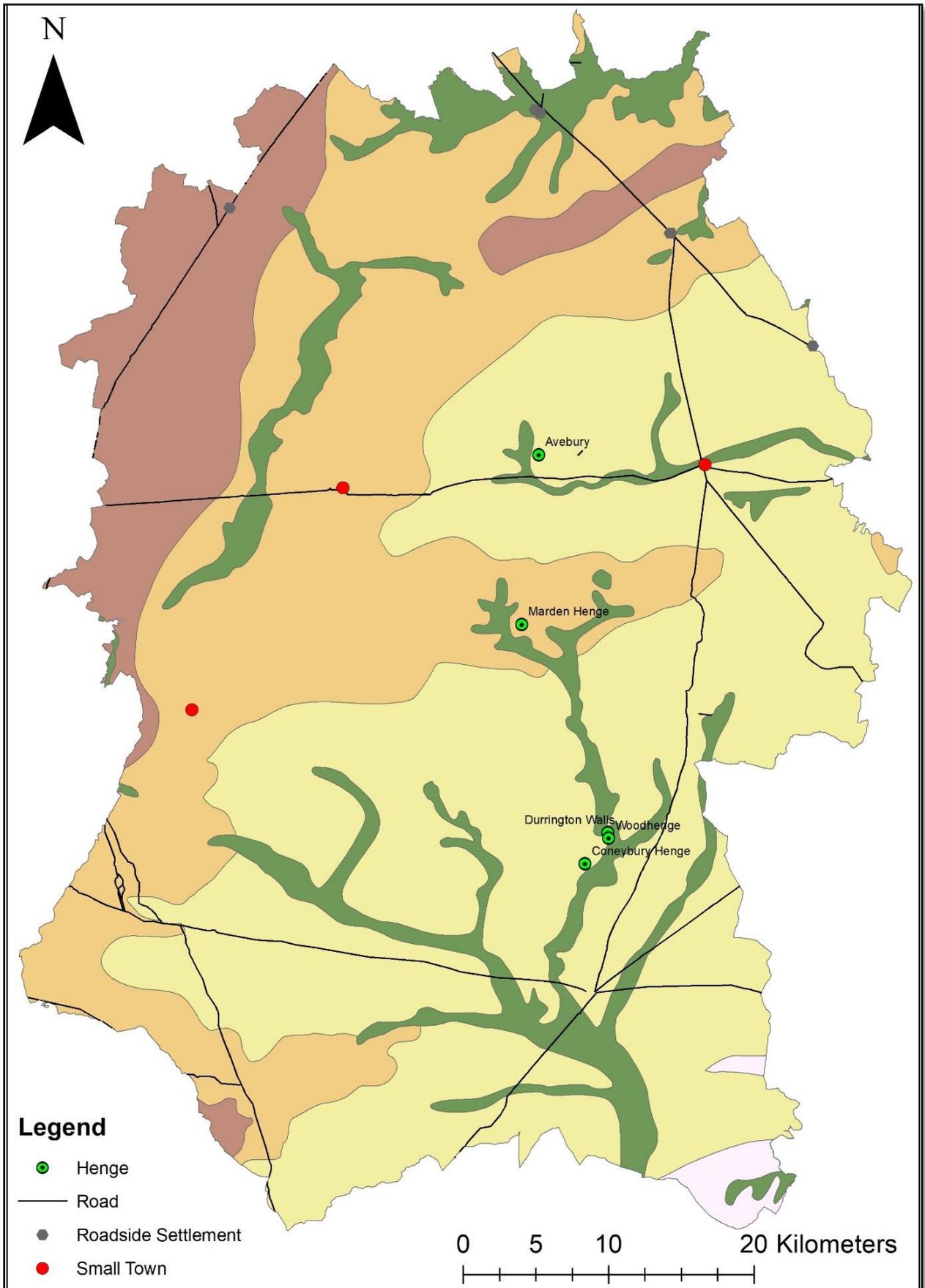
Figure 3.44. Distribution of henges with Roman engagement in Wiltshire.

Legend

- Henge
- Road
- Roadside Settlement
- Small Town

Avebury

Marden Henge

Durrington Walls Woodhenge

Coneybury Henge

0 5 10 20 Kilometers

The types of engagement at henges varies between artefactual deposition, incorporation within settlement and potentially funerary engagement. At Woodhenge skull fragments were recovered from the ditch (Section 4.3.3), whilst Durrington Walls was connected to a rural settlement (Section 4.3.1). At Avebury meanwhile, an Aucissa brooch was recovered from the ditch on the southwestern side (Section 4.1.4). At Coneybury, 117 sherds were unearthed from two contexts: 36 were recovered from ploughsoil whilst 81 were recovered from a colluvial deposit overlaying the ditches, indicating that activity may have be residual (Richards 1990b: 124). The reasons for this variation in use are argued here to be connected to the different ways that monuments in the AWHS and SWHS were integrated with the composition of the Roman period landscape, elucidated further in Chapter Four.

3.5.10 Hillforts

There are 50 confirmed and probable hillforts from Wiltshire which, as Section 3.3 showed, are distributed throughout the county with particular concentrations upon the chalk downlands and in the north of the county on the London clay (Figure 3.45). Precisely half yield Roman engagement. 60% of the 25 hillforts conform to the Contour type, which is defined by the enclosing earthworks following the contour line to maintain the same altitude around hilltop. This reflects the national picture, where 48% of all hillforts recorded on the Atlas of Hillforts database are contour forts (Lock and Ralston 2017) and so does not necessarily reflect any qualitative choice based on morphology. Instead, it is more likely hillfort use was a consequence of location. Indeed, where engagement did occur, it was concentrated within the chalk downlands. The reason for which is argued to be because the utilisation of other prehistoric monumental forms was a well-attested practice in these areas, not similarly reflected beyond the chalk (Section 3.5.1).
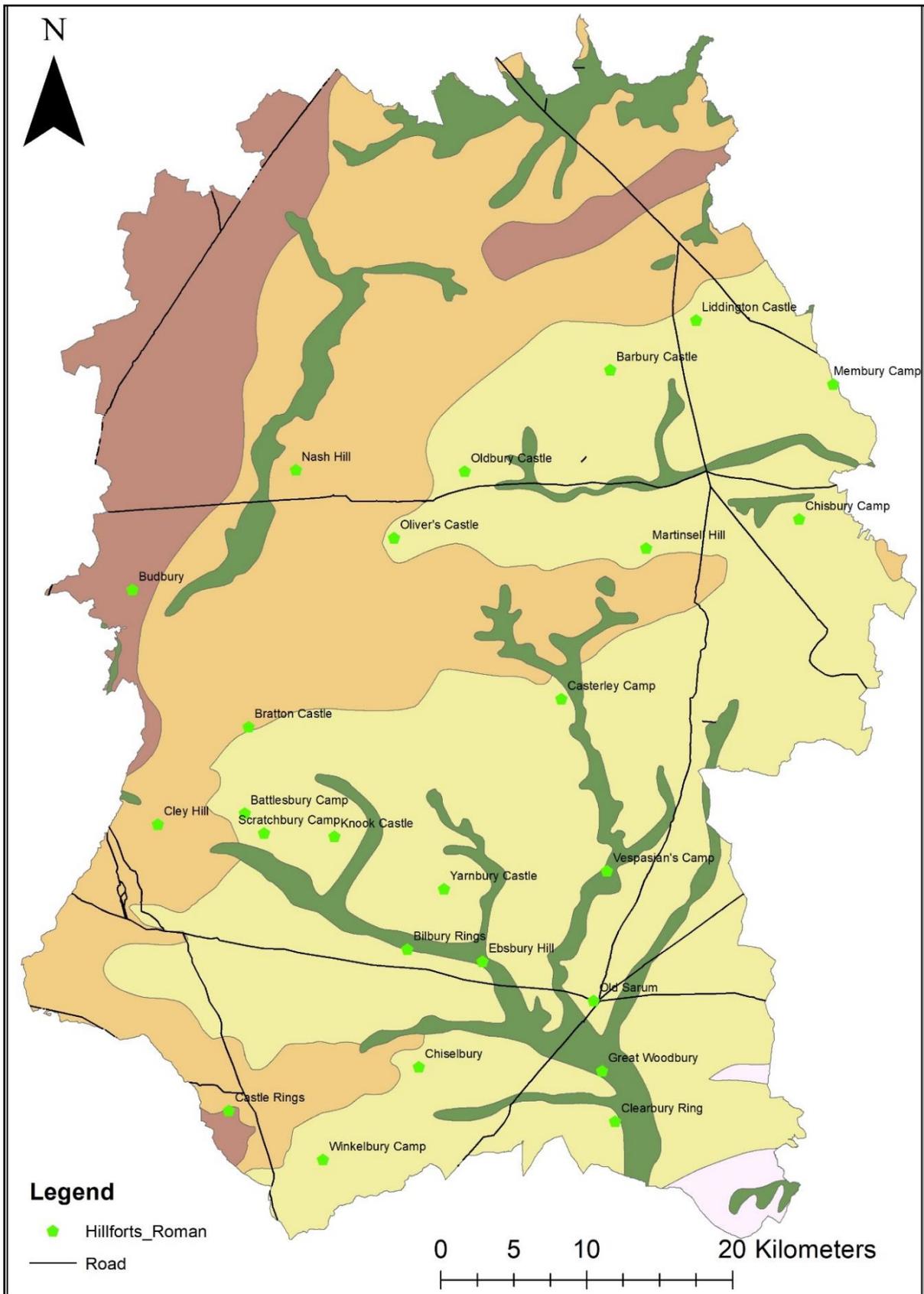
Figure 3.45. Distribution of hillforts with Roman engagement in Wiltshire.

Section 3.5.4 showed that hillforts constituted the most dominant monumental form yielding evidence for Roman coin assemblages. The coins recovered from hillforts were characteristically earlier than the profiles exhibited with other monumental forms (Figure 3.26). Moreover, whilst a funerary profile was demonstrated in particular with regard to round barrows, this was not the case concerning hillforts, with only one hillfort demonstrating evidence for Roman period burial: the contour fort at Yarnbury Castle (Appendix 14). Here, a male inhumation was associated with grave goods of cleats and hobnails and an infant burial, which may belong to either the Iron Age or the Roman period, recovered from the rampart ditches (Cunnington 1933). A break in the rampart ditches was also associated with the subsequent construction of a stock enclosure, with finds including tile, pottery, an annular/pennanular brooch and toilet instruments reflecting settlement activity (Figure 3.46). Additionally, the site is included in Scott's gazetteer of villas (1993: 207). Though this designation is perhaps tenuous, it does highlight that hillforts could be incorporated within settlements, with features in their interiors.

Figure 3.46. Annular/penannular brooch from Yarnbury Castle. DZWS 1963.10.2. With permission of Wiltshire Museum, Devizes.

There are a number of reasons as to why this may have been the case. The most obvious concerns their location, situated upon high ground whilst the barrows are characteristically nestled in the lowlying areas of the river valleys. Further, the hillforts engaged with encompassed much wider areas than barrows and other monumental forms, with an average internal area of 87,000m^2. Figure 3.32 emphasises that hillforts exhibited more features than other monument forms, further suggesting their

association with larger scale settlement activity, while their distance from the roads in comparison with barrows (Figures 3.33 and 3.34) suggests how they were encountered, and consequently the way they were used differed substantially.

The types of features recorded in association with hillforts range from small features such as pits and middens through to incorporation into settlements as at Knook Down and small towns as at Old Sarum (Figure 3.47). Similarly, features such as shrines were evident either within the interiors or associated closely with them, as was probably the case concerning the level terrain hillfort Oliver's Castle, where potsherds were recovered from the interior and within the ditch fills (Cunnington 1907), and where the natural spring known as Mother Anthony's Well, c.500m southwest of the hillfort interior, became a foci for the deposition of both Iron Age and Roman period metalwork (Moorhead 2001: 99; Payne et al 2006: 129-130). Further, a small enclosure enclosure/settlement immediately adjacent to the well yielded both *terra sigillata* and coarseware ceramics, variously described as a villa, bathhouse, or shrine (Griffiths 2001: 60; Moorhead 2001: 99; Walters 2001: 128). Recent geophysical survey was interpreted to reflect curvilinear enclosures of the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age followed by the emergence of Roman features (Dando 2012; Figure 3.48). This emphasises that Roman period deposition and settlement were likely related to long-term practices in prehistory, highlighting that their relations endured, while the presence of the hillfort's earthworks likely precipitated structural and votive activity, sustained and elaborated in the Roman period. This underscores that the hillfort was caught up in these relations.
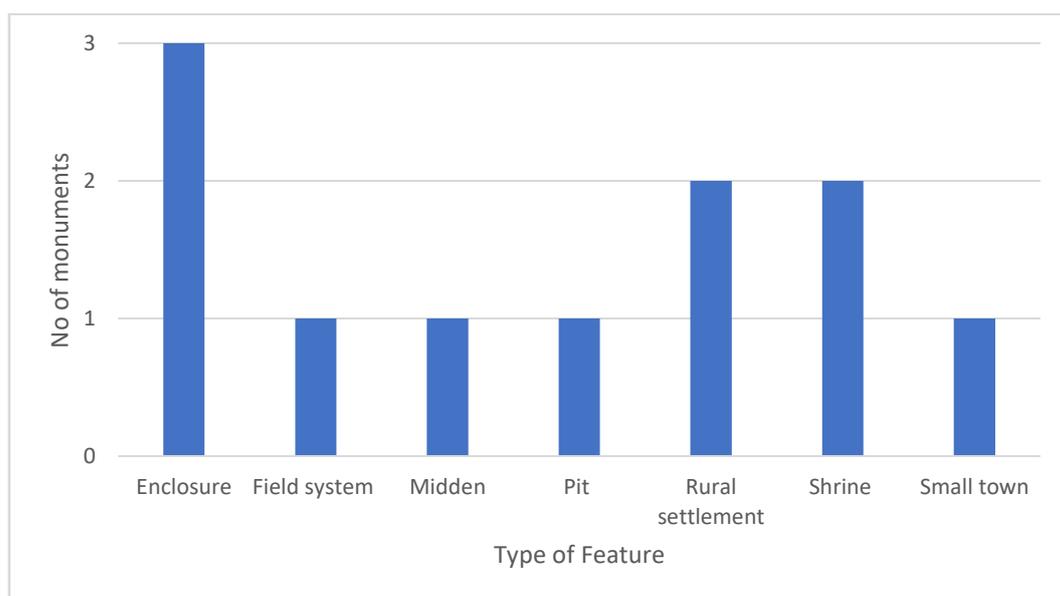
Figure 3.47. Features associated with hillforts in Wiltshire.
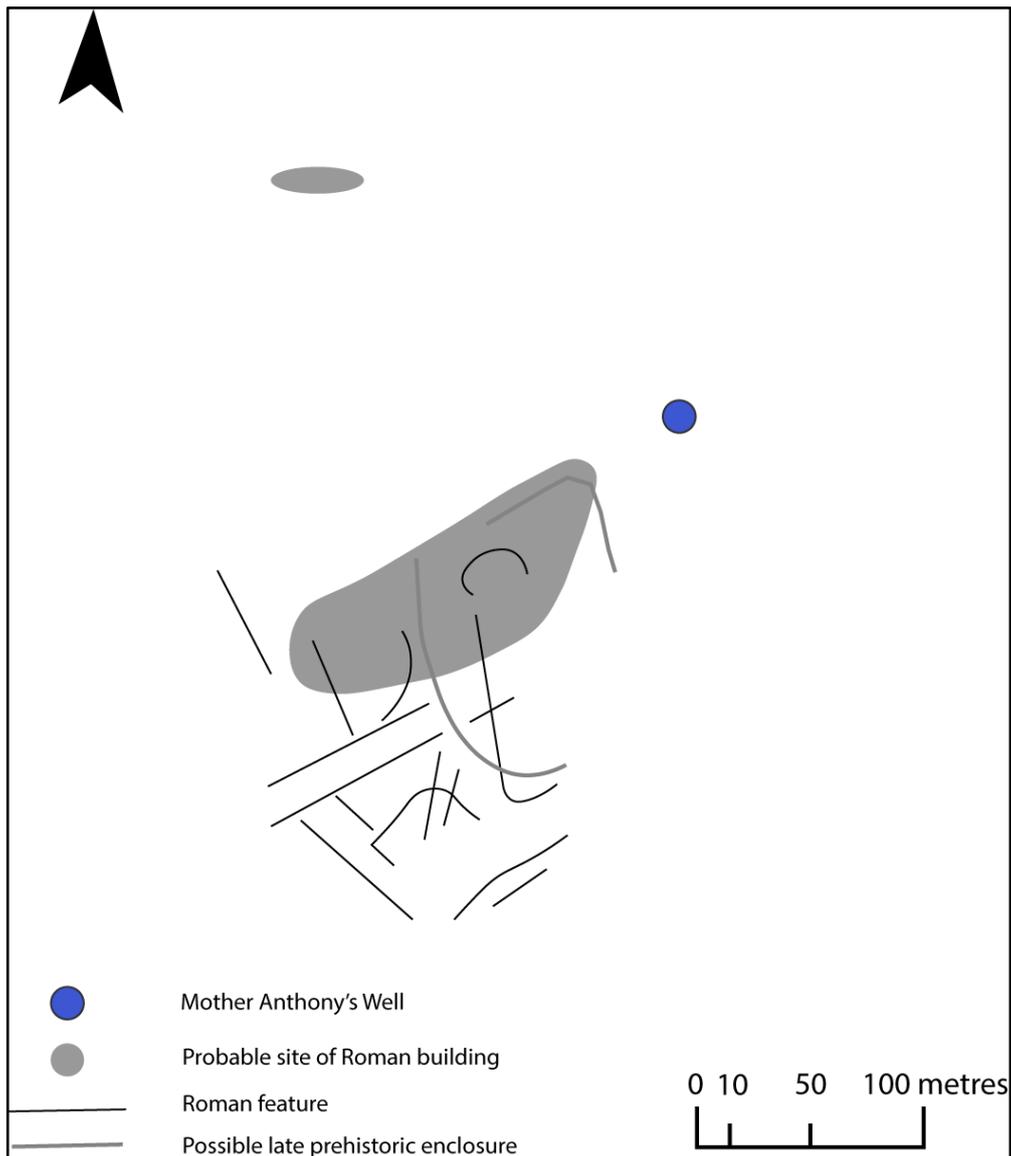
Figure 3.48. Mother Antony's Well and enclosure. After Dando 2012: 37.

Votive engagement may characterise a large form of activity at hillforts. This is reflected in the coin evidence. For example, in 1994 and 1996, a hoard of 18 silver *denarii* was recovered 600m southeast of the contour fort of Cley Hill, containing Republican and Imperial issues dating to between 154 BCE-4 CE (IARCH-BBC132). Section 3.5.4 showed that a similar pattern was evidenced by the 249 coins recovered from Membury Camp, which contained issues from 149 BCE to 37 CE as well as three early brooches, demonstrating sustained practices of deposition in association with hillforts in the LPRIA (Appendix 1). Though typical of earlier engagement with hillforts, the practice was sustained into the later period; at Ebsbury Hill two large hoards containing a combined 837 coins largely dating Reece Period 19-21, six silver finger rings and part of a glass vessel were recovered from ceramic beakers and flasks on the line of the

hillfort ramparts (Robertson 2000: 396, no 1597). The site also exhibited a small circular enclosure within the interior, postulated as belonging to the Roman period (Grinsell 1957: 36; 74; 262; 266), indicating that settlement activity and votive deposition at hillforts were related.

The above sections have characterised the sorts of patterns that have emerged when considered in relation to morphological forms and types of engagement. In the course of doing so, it has become clear that engagement was largely confined to the chalkland associated with AWHS and SWHS and that there were some fundamental differences in engagement between these areas. Consequently, Chapter Four places the above patterns within their appropriate landscape contexts and investigates how the monuments forming each WHS would have been encountered and engaged with.

Chapter Four: Wiltshire case-studies

4.1 The AWHS

Section 3.3.1 discussed the prehistoric ceremonial monuments in the AWHS which would have been encountered during the Roman period. On account of the eventual settlement which enveloped it, and activity with local monuments that this precipitated, Silbury Hill is argued to have been the centre of the Roman period landscape, and it is from here that understanding of the landscape must begin. However, as its coin profile demonstrated (Section 3.5.4), the settlement was a comparatively later foundation than *Sorviodunum* in the south and likely drew impetus for its foundation from the development of *Cunetio,* and the first century CE construction of the road. Indeed, Section 3.4.1 discussed that the emergence of the road would have created a radically different spatial alignment of the AWHS, transforming how it would have been experienced, contributing to Silbury Hill's centrality in the landscape. Indeed, the road from *Cunetio* to Bath slalomed past The Sanctuary and Overton Hill round barrows, and meandered sharply to avoid Silbury Hill, which was likely used as a sighting post during the road's construction (Figure 4.1).

The deliberate use of the monument during the creation of the road led to the subsequent emergence of the roadside settlement, which was itself related to the series of actions that would occur at the West Kennet long barrow (Section 4.1.2), The Sanctuary and the barrows at Overton Hill (Section 4.1.3). Moreover, the path of the road, and subsequent importance of Silbury Hill, marginalised the henge, rendering Silbury Hill the primary Roman period landscape entity. Indeed, it may even by more appropriate to speak of the Silbury Hill Landscape rather than the Avebury Landscape during the Roman period, such was the impact that Silbury Hill had in defining actions that occurred within the Roman AWHS.
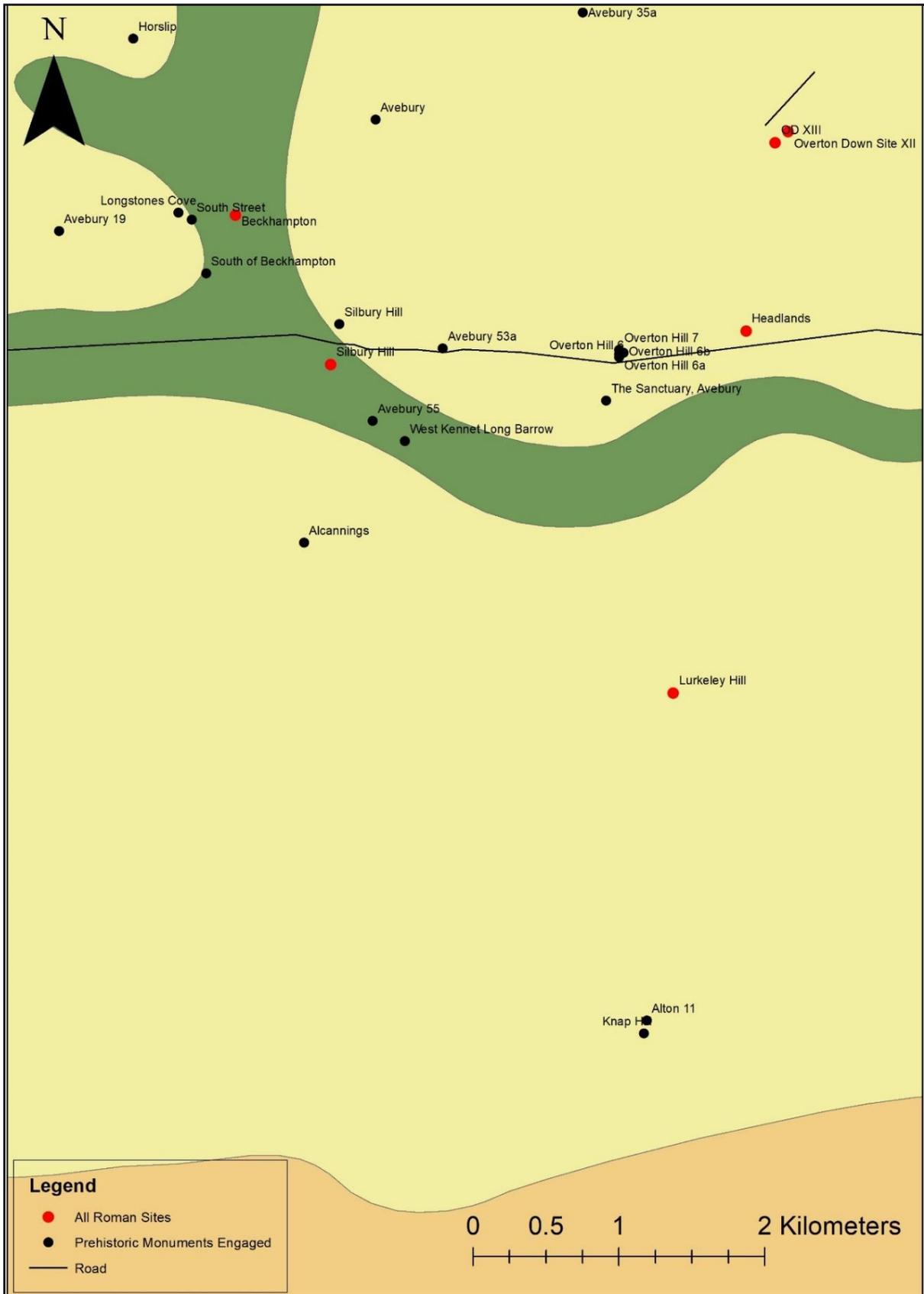
Figure 4.1. Distribution of Roman sites and prehistoric sites with Roman engagement in the AWHS and wider Avebury landscape.

4.1.1 Silbury Hill

A number of excavations have revealed evidence for Roman period activity both directly on Silbury Hill and in its immediate surroundings. A brief chronology is set out below before their findings are discussed in more detail in each sub-section. Whilst Roman pottery and coinage were noted from Stukeley's records, it was not until the 1867 excavations in search of the road presumed to be under Silbury Hill that Roman material was recorded, and the first hints that a Roman settlement was situated in the immediate vicinity postulated (Wilkinson 1867). Subsequently, a number of small trenches in the ditch extension unearthed Roman material in 1886 (Brooke and Cunnington 1897) and a well immediately south of the mound and the road (connected to what would later be revealed as the roadside settlement) was excavated (Pass 1887). Additionally, another well was discovered in the same field 1908 (Brooke 1910). During the excavation of a sewer pipe along the lower slope of Waden Hill to the north east of the mound in 1926, an abundance of Roman material was uncovered together with an inhumation by chance, followed by a rescue excavation in the 1960s (Evans 1966). Between 1968 and 1970, a trench was opened along the monument's external ditch, revealing the first meaningful evidence of a significant Roman settlement (Atkinson 1967; 1970). In the early 1990s, the Waden Hill pipeline was renewed, where excavations to the immediate east of the Hill identified more Roman structures, features and material, suggesting significant Roman activity (Powell et al 1996; Corney 1997). Subsequently, geophysical survey and aerial remote sensing were undertaken between 2005 and 2008, demonstrating the extent and character of the roadside settlement in the field south of Silbury Hill (Figure 4.2; Linford et al 2009:) As a result, evaluation excavations were undertaken in 2010 with the opening up of seven trenches, together with the re-interpretation of previous investigations (Crosby et al 2013; Crosby & Hembrey 2011; 2013; Moorhead 2011b; 2013a; 2013b; Timby 2013).
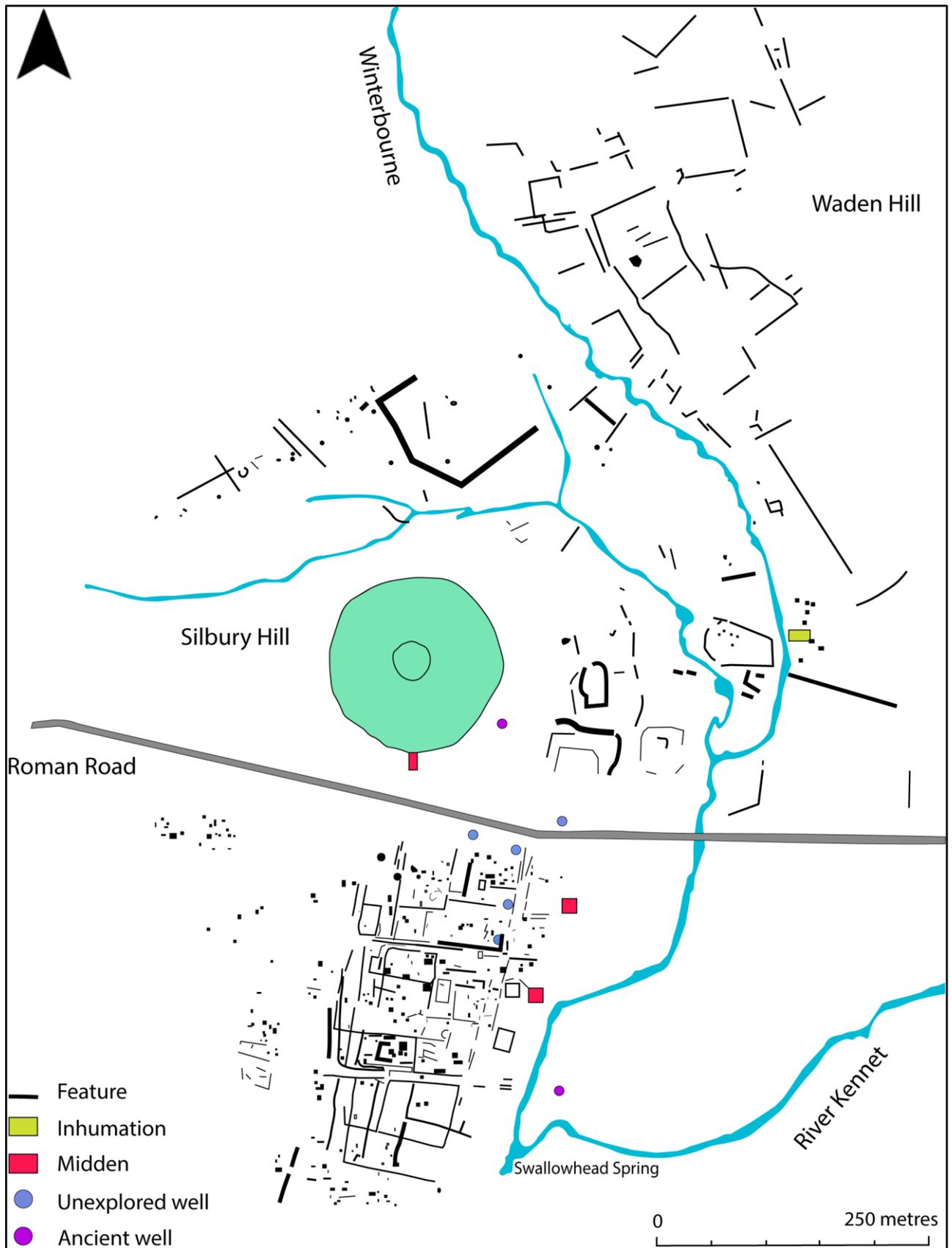
Figure 4.2. Plan of features around Silbury Hill. After Crosby & Hembrey 2013: 104.

Winterbourne

Waden Hill

Silbury Hill

Roman Road

River Kennet

Swallowhead Spring

Feature

Inhumation

Midden

Unexplored well

Ancient well

0

250 metres

4.1.1.2 Roman activity directly on Silbury Hill

A number of finds dating to the Roman period were recovered from both the slope and the summit of the mound. Wilkinson's mid-nineteenth century excavations found deposits of wood lying next to the blade of an iron clasp and a small whetstone (Wilkinson 1867). Whilst it is difficult to identify a typology and in turn a relative dating sequence, the artefacts were recorded as dating from the Roman period. A number of other finds were recovered as part of Atkinson's excavations, including a brooch from a cutting on the top of the mound (Atkinson 1968; Whittle 1997: 21). Also found in this context was a penannular brooch typologically dated to the first century CE. In layer 3 from the upper steps of the monument, a probable Roman floor tile fragment was unearthed, and a combed tile fragment was found within another cutting of the upper steps. A further small fragment of flue tile was found within layer 2 of this cutting. In 1776, a shaft was excavated in the centre of the mound and encroached upon by the 1968-1970 excavations, whereupon a tiny rim fragment of greyware was recovered from topsoil around the shaft entrance. In addition to the coins already noted by Stukeley, Atkinson's excavations identified 103 from the summit of Silbury Hill, yielding a date range from the late third to early fifth centuries, with a significant peak dating to Reece Period 19 (Moorhead 2011b: 7-9). This material was either deliberately placed or casually lost, with the volume of coins probably indicating the former. It highlights that people ascended the monument and that it was not inactive. Additionally, a watching brief in 2001 identified a *nummus* of Constantine II, dating to Reece Period 18 (Moorhead 2011b).

The presence of tile fragments could be indicative of a structure. As we have seen, large monuments such as hillforts have associations with features (Figure 3.32). However, Eaton demonstrates that Roman tiles were utilised throughout the Medieval period (2000: 129-30) and trial trenching in 2001 revealed the presence of medieval postholes cutting the prehistoric strata, possibly indicative of a fortification (Leary and Field 2010: 166-172). Consequently, it is likely that any features at the apex of the Hill were post-Roman, utilising material associated with the Roman period. Evidence for the curation of Roman artefacts in the Early Medieval period is attested from ploughsoil at the nearby Neolithic Palisades Enclosure where a perforated *nummus* of Valens dating to Reece Period 19, likely reused as a pendant, was recovered (Gillings, Pollard

and Pike forthcoming), indicating this practice occurred within the immediate vicinity. Whatever the case in relation to the structure on the mound, the Hill demonstrably became a significant node in the later Roman. The actions on the Hill were likely related to activity occurring in its immediate vicinity, outlined below.

4.1.1.3 Midden activity in the Silbury Hill ditch

The ditches surrounding Silbury Hill were an important aspect of its impact and meaning in prehistory (Leary and Field 2010: 122). An initial surrounding ditch was opened in order to obtain the material with which to construct the mound. Later, it was elaborated to 100m in diameter and accompanied by an external bank. The ditch was backfilled when chalk banks were added to the mound, before a larger ditch was excavated and filled with water, complete with a rectangular extension (Leary, Field and Campbell 2013: 47-56).

Atkinson excavated a 5m wide trench across the ditch on the south side, finding what was deemed to be a Roman midden (Figure 4.2). Frustratingly, there is no official report from Atkinson's excavations and contextual information is inconsistent, but the assemblages and stratigraphy have been re-evaluated, with Whittle determining that the feature is consistent with a midden (1997: 172). While Atkinson initially noted nine layers, Whittle identified 44 separate ditch contexts spanning prehistory to the Medieval period, with Roman activity located in three subsections of one upper layer. They contained an abundance of pottery (Timby 2011) together with 102 coins (Moorhead 2011b), as well as a concentration of faunal remains from the lower segment of the layer. Further, a penannular bracelet from either the Bronze Age or the Early Iron Age, which could have been a curated 'ancestor artefact' (Caple 2010; Ferris 2012: 77-93; Hingley 2009), was placed at the bottom, perhaps representing an opening deposit for the Roman sequence.

55% of the 96 coins recovered from the ditch were provenanced from the top of the midden and the top-soil, whilst 45% were from the centre of the midden, and a further 12% recorded from the ditch but with no further information (Moorhead 2011b). 51% of the assemblage were issued in Reece Period 19. The faunal remains were in good condition and free from abrasion, consisting predominantly of sheep/goat but also containing pig, horse and dog, consistent with the assemblage recovered from the 2010 trenches in the adjacent settlement (Wright, Tecce and Albarella 2019). Fine

tablewares dating to the later Roman period were recovered from the ditch, including black burnished ware from Dorset in addition to white wares, mortaria, parchment ware and colour-coated wares fired in kilns from Oxfordshire and the New Forest. The pottery assemblage ranges from the second century through to the later fourth century, mainly located in the upper fills of the ditch. A small assemblage of shelly-ware from the Midlands indicates contact with the wider province, while 29 sherds of *terra sigillata*, two of which were decorated, attest continental imports (Timby 2011). Three head fragments of bone hairpins were recovered from the top of the midden and top-soil but are separated typologically by in excess of 100 hundred years, suggesting that the earlier artefact was curated, perhaps as an heirloom artefact, before being deposited with the more recent artefact. The remainder of the assemblage was concentrated in the midden, containing a brooch, a probable curse tablet, an oval ring, a domed fragment of ironstone and a slag fragment. 8 fragments of clear light blue or light-greenish blue glass vessels were also recovered, while the midden was packed with stone, chalk and flint rubble, probably deriving from construction of the settlement and road surface.

Whittle assigned the assemblage as a whole functional properties (1997: 24) which, given the faunal remains and proximity of the Roman settlement was taken to denote feasting waste associated with dwelling activities. The presence of six dogs, and the known 'ritual contexts' of their deposition (Crease 2015: 133), together with dog iconography from religious sites (Boon 1989), however, emphasises that this interpretation is not clear-cut and it may be that the midden held multiple meanings. This is perhaps further reinforced by the fact that the majority of the coins were recovered from the upper layers and top of the midden, indicating that they could have been closing deposits, similar to wells which are now recognised to have performed both functional and ritual roles (Van Haasteren and Groot 2013). Similarly, the presence of the curated bracelet and possible curse tablet, which were generally inscribed with pleadings to deities deposited in springs, wells and shafts (Mattingly 2006: 310-317), underscores that there was likely a functional and ritual element to the feature and its contents. Sections 2.4 and 2.5 emphasised that a sacred-profane dichotomy is clumsy and anachronistic in relation to the pre-modern past and it is worth reflecting again on this theme. Indeed, research carried out in relation to waste deposits in the Iron Age (Hill 1995) and Early Medieval period (Jervis 2014) has

rendered such a dichotomy difficult to sustain, while Pollard suggests that even the act of digging a pit was a highly meaningful, performative process (2001: 325). Instead, the midden and its varied deposits likely evidence what might be better categorised as the ritualised actions of everyday practice (Lamdin-Whymark 2008: 19-24). In this regard, the digging of the feature itself, within the silted ditch of visually impactful artificial mound set immediately opposite a roadside settlement, would have been a highly significant performative action, containing the waste of settlement activity in conjunction with artefacts that may have had individual or communal value such as the curated bracelet or more overt religious significance in the form of the curse tablet.

4.1.1.4 The wells or 'ritual shafts'

Prior to the excavation of the midden, two wells or shafts explored in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were recorded. The first, excavated in 1896, was located between the Roman road and the modern A4 which deviated slightly for the main Roman trackway immediately south of Silbury Hill (Figure 4.2). It produced a large assemblage including:

- a quernstone;
- a large iron double hook;
- three pitcher handles;
- one blade from a set of shears;
- a small iron stylus;
- part of a pillar;
- an iron shoe/cleat;
- a simple bronze finger ring or earring;
- a bronze beam;
- a tiny notched fragment of a small pair of scales;
- broken tiles and several large sarsens and flints;
- two bronze coins with dates ranging from 383 through to 450 CE.
- a number of animal bones were also discovered including deer – with an antler pick – fox, pig and horse (Brooke & Cunnington 1896)

Another excavated in 1908, approximately 9m deep located in the settlement zone, between the 1896 well and the 2010 one produced a cache of 40 coins, the most

prevalent being of Reece Period 21 (Moorhead 2011: 5). In addition, it produced copper alloy artefacts, beads, stone masonry including the base of a column, iron nails, an iron bucket handle, pottery, glass, and oyster shell. The animal bones – again inclusive of an antler pick – included deer, dog, sheep, ox, pig and rat (Brooke 1910). As part of the 2010 trenching, another well was found very close by, 30m south of the 1908 well. The presence of the coinage suggests the well was used in predominantly the later Roman period, closed in either the later fourth or early fifth centuries.

There have been a number of interpretations that the wells represent 'ritual shafts' (Corney 1997). Indeed, Pollard and Reynolds indicated that the wells are unlikely to have been domestic due to the presence of the River Kennet, Winterbourne and the nearby Swallowhead Spring as natural sources of water (2002: 178), while Gillings and Pollard have advocated the position of deliberate 'ritual deposition' in these features (2004: 99-100). Crosby et al, however, suggest this could be overstated due to the need for uncontaminated water sources in an agrarian landscape, particularly in the summer, and instead contend that the wells were functional in design and use (2013: 281).

Once more, the imposition of a dichotomy between the functional and the symbolic is perhaps unhelpful. Recent work on Roman wells has suggested that, within their biographies, they served multiple purposes, inscribed simultaneously with what we would define as quotidian versus symbolic actions (Van Haasteren & Groot 2013). Further, watery features are often considered important spaces to receive votive deposition, a practice emerging in later prehistory (Bradley 1990) which persisted well into the Roman period (Crease 2015; Fulford 2001) and was reflected in relation to the activities at Mother Anthony's Well (3.5.10). The presence of the high number of ritual wells/shafts in the vicinity of the mound and in association with the roadside settlement, therefore, could have been at once pragmatic choices based on landscape economy as well as symbolic choices to fill the wells with structured deposits. In this regard, it is surely impossible not to envisage a scenario where the impact of the artificial mound itself, and the demonstrable role it played for receiving deposits at its summit and in its ditch, played an active role in determining the location of these features. This emphasises the relational importance of the mound associated with the breadth of actions associated with the roadside settlement(s).

4.1.1.5 The Roadside Settlement(s)

Excavations as part of the renewal of the West Kennett pipeline in 1993 revealed the presence of Roman period structures east of Silbury Hill on the lower spur of Waden Hill. Known as the 'Winterborne Roman settlement', a watching brief discovered five buildings, eight pits and seven ditches spread over an area of 390m. The buildings were distributed along the pipe trench running south to north. It is difficult to determine precisely what the buildings were, as a result of robbing, but the pottery assemblage, including four sherds of central Gaulish *terra sigillata*, dated to the early second century, providing a broad idea of chronology. The pit closest to the road contained first-second century sherds while the pits situated further north contained second to third century, and late fourth and early fifth century material, which comprises the bulk of the assemblage. This indicates that activity gradually moved further from the road. The ditches, meanwhile, appear to be field boundaries (Powell, Allen & Barnes 1996: 27-58).

An inhumation was also discovered in this area, set within a grave 1.5m long, 0.65m wide and 0.55m deep. It contained the remains of an adult male approximately 25 years old, with grave goods including later Roman pottery and 30 hobnails placed by the feet. The grave fill also contained remains of cattle, sheep/goat and horse, oyster shells, flint flakes, limestone, sandstone and roofing tile as well as a single rim of wall-sided *mortarium* and undiagnostic *terra sigilatta* (Powell, Allen and Barnes 1996: 27). Roman period burials and cemeteries were, of course, generally located alongside roads and outside settlement boundaries (Jones and Mattingly 1990: 301). Smaller settlements often demonstrated burials in groups in the 'backlands' of settlement enclosures, situated away from roads but close to boundary ditches (Crosby et al 2013: 282). The excavations revealed a boundary 9.5m wide and at least 100m long with an open ditch in use until at least the mid-third century (Powell, Allen & Barnes 1996: 35-39). Therefore, the burial could have been part of a larger cemetery north of this boundary and away from the road, associated with the burgeoning importance of the settlement situated south of Silbury Hill. Indeed, geophysical surveys in this area hunt at the extent of a settlement in this area (Figure 4.2) Consequently, the features and burials forming the Winterborne settlement and those in the fields south of Silbury Hill

likely formed one cohesive settlement with associated burials, indicating that the sprawling roadside settlement was set either side of the road, enveloping Silbury Hill.

The settlement to the south of the Hill shows a grid pattern of roads and trackways including a central road perpendicular to the main road, organised in a dense network of enclosures (Figure 4.2). Numerous enclosure ditches of multiple phases were aligned with the roads and at least three stone buildings are evident. One sat in the middle of the settlement with internal divisions, and may have been associated with a hypocaust. Another was located to the immediate east and a third lies just south of the road. Numerous pits were scattered around the settlement and anomalous magnetometry readings were recorded, indicating they could have been the focus of metalworking, attesting industrial production. In 2010, five evaluation trenches were opened in the area of the settlement with a further three located in the adjacent Watermeadow. The Watermeadow yielded no archaeological phenomena suggesting that Roman activity south of the road was concentrated exclusively in the area to the west of the line of the River Kennet. The five trenches in this area were located to investigate the sub-rectangular enclosure blocks, creating a site sequence across three distinct Roman phases:

- early/mid second century
- second century
- third and fourth centuries.

The earliest period is characterised by the presence of a newly discovered well, an infant burial, two ditches, a series of pits and postholes. Though not fully excavated, the well was funnel-shaped with a diameter of 3.4m at the surface, excavated to a depth of 90cm (Figure 4.3). The infant burial lay in a shallow cut to the west of the well. The metrics of the remains indicated a perinatal death c.40 weeks in utero. Orientated on an east to west axis, the body was probably placed on its right-hand side facing north, missing its spine and skull, likely the result of taphonomic factors. Disarticulated bones from a second infant were found in a fill of the upper well indicative of a second burial nearby, further emphasising the multifunctionality of the wells in the area.

Infant burial has traditionally been interpreted as either the infanticide of unwanted children or un-mourned deaths disposed of unceremoniously based on comparative evidence from Roman Palestine and the fact that infant burials were often provenanced

from within settlement boundaries (Mays 1993; Smith & Kahlia 1992). However, recent research by Millett and Gowland, analysing Roman infant burials in East Yorkshire, shows that perinatal infant burials are often recovered from small pits close to or within settlement structures, frequently close to water-sources. They conclude that there was a separate infant burial rite distinct from adults that should not be associated with neither sacrifice nor disposal. Rather, they argue it reflected the need for a community to maintain a physical and symbolic connection to the deceased child (2015). This interpretation accords with the contextual evidence for the infant burial at the Silbury Hill settlement.
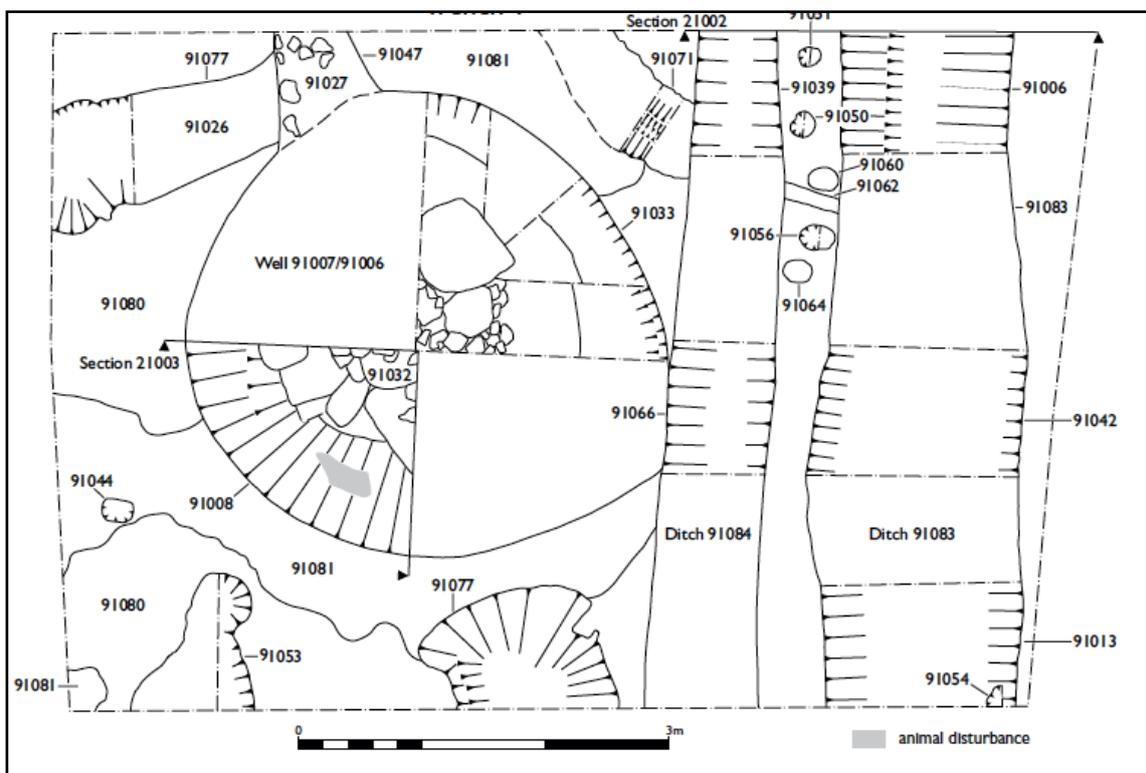
Figure 4.3. Plan of features in Trench 1 including the newly discovered well [feature 91007/91006] and the infant burial located in feature 91044. After Crosby and Hembrey 2013: 111.

The second century phasing consisted of a series of ditches and the creation of two rectilinear enclosures to the east of the settlement, backfilled towards the end of the century. Phases representing the third century onwards are difficult to identify, largely because of a large volume of undiagnostic sherds. However, a ditch in trench two can be assigned a mid-third century date. In trench one, ditch 91083 was likely closed towards the end of the second century. Contexts dated to the fourth century were mostly backfilled quickly suggesting short time-frames of use. The upper fills of ditch

91083 contained a large assemblage of mostly third century pottery with a few third and fourth century sherds in the upper fills. These fills contained a large proportion of burned material, including nearly 1kg of fired clay, likely the lining of hearths. The latest activity for this phase was the infilling of the well, which consisted of large stones and pottery assemblage of the late fourth century. Pottery accounts for the bulk of the finds assemblage with 2,002 sherds dating from the early-mid second century through to the end of the fourth century. It comprised mostly local coarse wares, though there are a few instances of *terra sigillata* and two pieces of amphora, indicative of a relatively low-status settlement. However, by the later period there was a more diverse range styles emanating from elsewhere in the province, indicative of a settlement growing in size, importance with wider-connectivity. The local wares were characteristic of forms found in the North Wiltshire industries, dominated by jars. 46 pieces of stone were found including two whetstones from the topsoil of trench one and an incomplete roof tile from the well, also in trench one. Ceramic building material was found in small quantities with 26 small, abraded fragments from the site as a whole. The small finds consisted of 354 artefacts, mostly metal in composition. Notable were eight items of personal adornment including an iron buckle, pin fragment from the topsoil of trench one, and a possible copper-alloy bracelet fragment, an enamelled Colchester Deriviative brooch from ditch 91083, a copper-alloy cable twisted bracelet fragment from the well, and a copper-alloy disc shaped brooch found within the topsoil of trench one. An assemblage of glass similar in character to the types found in the Silbury ditch were also found within the well in trench one, and another well in trench five.

In addition, 17 coins were recovered in the 2010 excavations, dating between Recce Periods 13-21. The character of the coin assemblage was congruent with the coins recovered from the external ditch of the mound, with Reece Period 19 coins predominant (Moorhead 2013b: 122-126; Section 4.1.1.3). This supports the notion that activities on the summit of the mound, the surrounding ditch and roadside settlement were contemporaneous actions occurring largely within the fourth century, associated with the zenith of the settlement. Considering the coins from each of these contexts as a whole assemblage, Silbury Hill yields a higher proportion of Reece Period 19 issues, compared with settlements and finds reported to the PAS, according with the pattern of coins recovered from prehistoric monuments as a whole (Figure 4.4). This supports the notion that the development of the Silbury Hill settlement played a

central role in the emergence of monumental engagement as a phenomenon within the context of the AWHS and northern Wiltshire. Consequently, this attests to the veracity of the theoretical approach outlined in Section 2.5, where monumental engagement must be situated in relation to the development of the contemporaneous Roman period landscape.
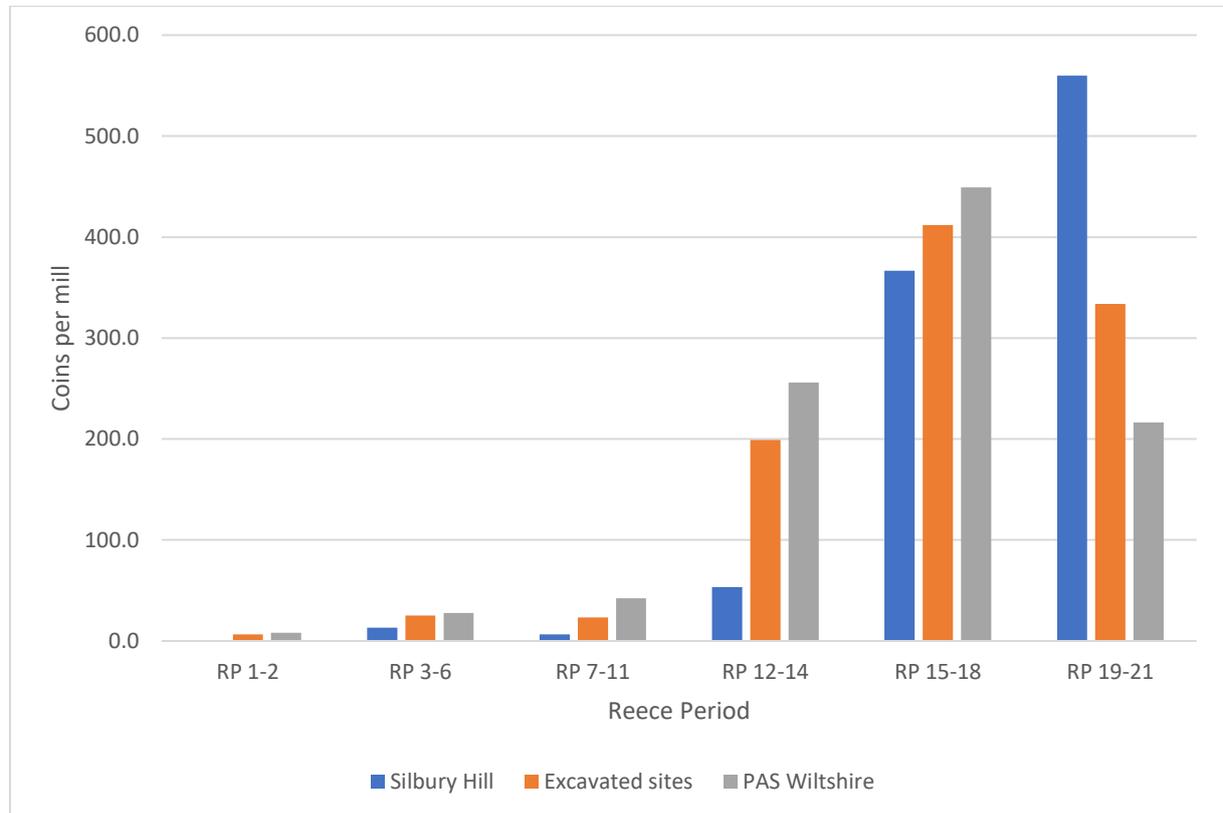
Figure 4.4 Coins from Silbury Hill (N=150) compared to coin loss patterns from excavated sites in Wiltshire (N=6,771) and coins recorded on the Wiltshire PAS (N=13,265).

The settlement contains features and material typical for a site of this size and type, though this should be qualified with an acknowledgement that the excavations were small-scale, taking place over just two weeks. The site can be categorised alongside a group of settlements describe as 'small roadside settlements' (Burnham & Wacher 1990). Corney has suggested that the town could have been a *mutatio* relay station, then later a *mansio* (1997) while Reynolds suggests a *pagus,* the smallest administrative district of a province (2005). Given the proximity and importance of nearby *Cunetio*, however, this is unlikely. Rather, it is more probable that Silbury Hill grew in significance as a result of its relationship to *Cunetio* (Section 3.4.2), which in turn was associated with the rising importance of Cirencester (Section 3.4.6).

The number of wells, and the interpretation of their deposits as being ritually orientated, in conjunction with the interpretation of the midden deposit within the ditch, has led some to confidently assert that the Silbury settlement must have been a 'religious' settlement (Draper 2006: 9-10), potentially echoing Nettleton Scrubs to the northeast (Section 3.4.2). This tradition of interpretation, however, denotes an obsession with fitting archaeological evidence into rigid classificatory hierarchies of urban and quasi-urban sites (Eckardt 2000: 9), rather than necessarily reflecting on landscape context. Indeed, in this case, the most striking element of its construction and continued use from the second century through to the early fifth century is the relationship it had with Silbury Hill, and this must be centralised in any analysis.

In this regard, some rightly consider it was inconceivable that the lives of the people dwelling in this settlement were unaffected by the presence of Silbury Hill, though much of their argument rests on the settlement demonstrating a religious component (Field and Leary 2010: 160-164; Crosby et al 2013). Similarly, Crosby and Hembrey suggest that the potential presence of an Iron Age shrine next to the Winterbourne settlement could be an aspect of continued religious function (2013), although regrettably no fieldwork has explored this feature. Whilst each of these discussions and interpretations are valid, they perhaps become too mired in a discussion as to what represents either ritual or functional activities:

> 'There is a danger that recognition of ritual permeating the domestic leads to the term itself becoming meaningless…to investigate the significance of Silbury Hill in the Romano-British period, we need to look for something distinct from normal ritual of a rural settlement or small town'.

> (Crosby, Baker and Hembrey in Leary, Field and Campbell 2013: 279-280)

The problem here is that by seeking to find activities that were exceptional and, in turn, ascribing the function of the settlement on this basis, we forget that the position of the settlement in relation to the mound is, itself, unique and demonstrates a collaborative and relational dialogue between the monument the actions around it in the settlement. The underlying assumption that, because Silbury Hill was associated with the roadside settlement, the settlement itself must yield some sort of special religious element, neglects to centralise the role of the Hill. This is perhaps best underscored by the fact that much of the evidence from the settlement is consistent with the range of activities

typical of a roadside settlement. Indeed, the infant burial conforms to comparative evidence from settlements elsewhere in the province. Analysis of the faunal remains reveals patterns consistent with other roadside settlements in southern England, demonstrating large concentrations of horse remains, potentially suggesting a specialised function for horse breeding, often overlooked at these forms of settlement (Wright et al 2019). We should expect that that these everyday actions would be present and instead problematise any binary between ritual and quotidian in trying to understand the relationship between the monument and the settlement.

In this regard, the evidence above shows that Silbury Hill was involved in the siting the settlement, and continued to play a significant role as a locus for the deposition of material on its summit, as well within its external ditch, whilst simultaneously becoming a monumental fixture of the wider Silbury settlement. In this way, the monument was an active collaborator in the range of activities that occurred at the site. Given this influence, the next important element to consider is the way that the actions around Silbury Hill brought other surrounding monuments in the AWHS into its orbit, demonstrating how they must be relationally situated with activity around Silbury Hill.

4.1.2 West Kennet long barrow

Section 3.3.1.2 highlighted that the West Kennet long barrow was situated in close proximity to Silbury Hill. Like Silbury Hill, the long barrow was and is a visually prominent landscape entity, viewable from both the Sanctuary and Overton Hill, which in turn are visible from both Silbury Hill and the West Kennet long barrow (Figure 4.1). Access to the barrow would have been easily available to residents and those travelling through the roadside settlement, as they turned left past Swallowhead Spring situated at the southern end of the settlement and proceeded to walk the short 500m journey southeast up a gentle incline to reach the imposing east facing entrance of the 100m long structure (Figure 4.6).

As Section 3.5.7 discussed, long barrow engagement was characterised rather differently from round barrows. Further, we have seen that activities at the chambered long barrow known as Giant's Cave involved the deposition of pottery and coinage within the megalithic chambers and around the façade. A similar set of actions were expressed at the West Kennet long barrow, where 28 sherds of pottery were recovered from the topsoil of the mound including a pot of imitation *terra sigillata* dating to the

second century (Piggott 1962), while later Roman period ceramics were also unearthed from around the forecourt area. Tellingly, six copper-alloy coins of the third-fourth centuries were deposited around the entrance to the monument (Piggott 1962). The complete profile of the six coins is set out in Appendix 3, consisting of issues ranging from Reece Period 13-21 (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5. Copper-alloy *nummus* of Constantius II dating to the period 335-341 CE. Recovered from the top-soil above Stone 1 from the West Kennet long barrow. Photo by author of coin held in Devizes Museum under accession number DZWS 1960.8.857A.

The coins were scattered within two zones, focussed upon the blocked façade. Coins 2, 3, and 6 were recovered from the soil above Stone 1 whilst coins 1, 4, and 5 were unearthed from soil disturbing the empty Stone Hole 39, which had been removed either before or during the Roman period leaving behind an area of disturbance (Figure 4.6; Piggott 1962). Piggott was unequivocal when discussing the finds, asserting that they "represented something more than casual losses" (1962: 55). This is surely the case, and echoes the activities at Giant's Cave. However, material from Giant's Cave was also recovered from within the internal chambers. No Roman material was recovered from the megalithic interior of the West Kennet long barrow, likely because the chambers were filled in the early second Millennium BCE and access sealed off by the monument's façade (Section 3.3.1.2). Though this would have rendered any attempt to excavate into the interior of the monument an extremely arduous task, the character of the secondary fills of the chambers and the passage do not suggest that any attempt was made to do so (Piggott 1962: 26-27).
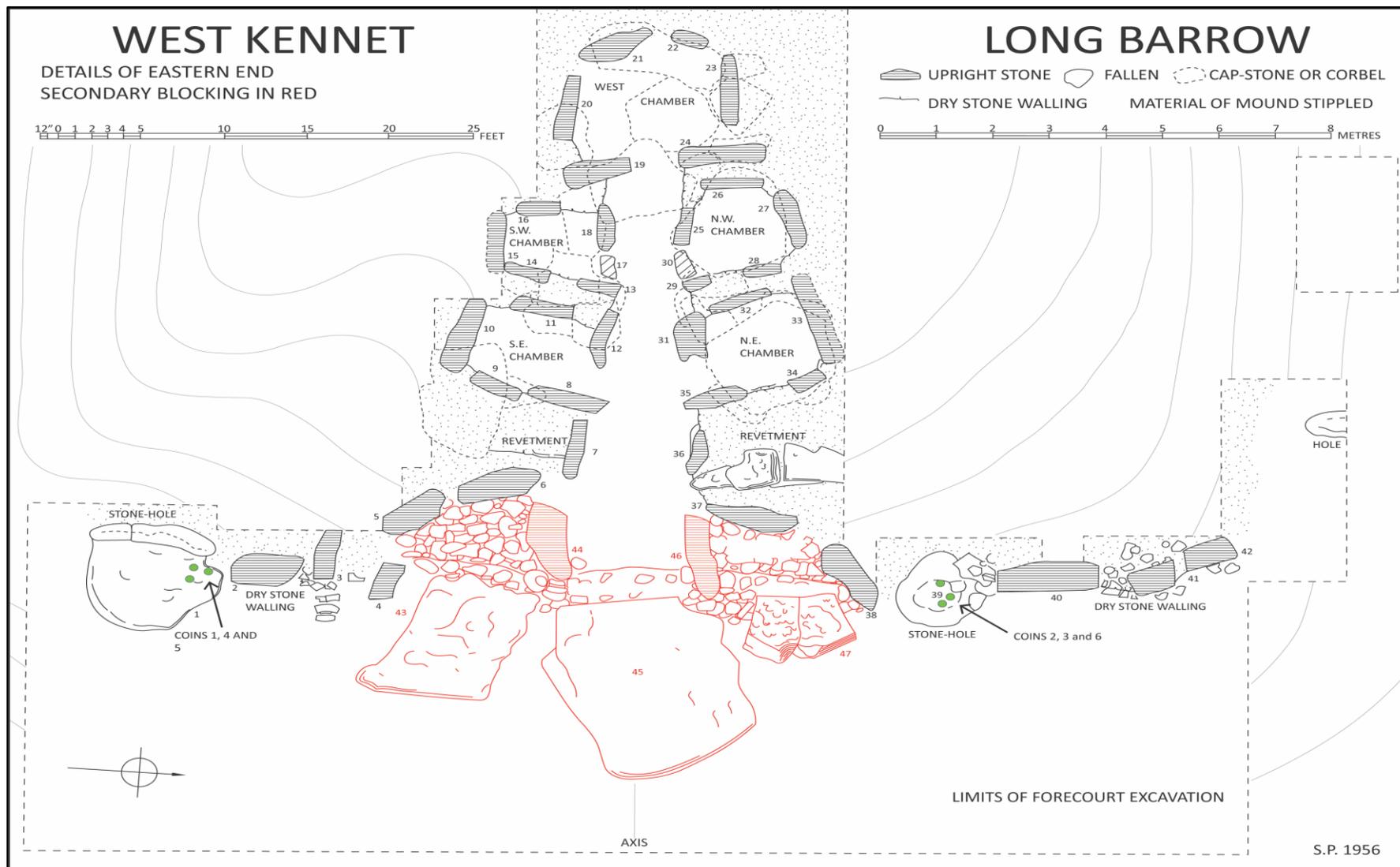
Figure 4.6. Plan of the West Kennet long barrow. The location of the coins were clustered above Stone 1 and in the void left at Stone Hole 39. After Piggott 1962: fig 4.

The elaborate façade of the monument is one its more striking features, even by the grandiose standards of the Cotswolds-Severn long barrows (Darvill 2004). It is not altogether too surprising, therefore, to find that the deposited coins were associated with the façade, which would have been visually impactful as it was approached (Figure 4.7). The façade itself was comprised of irregular blocks on a north-south alignment 5m in length (Piggott 1962: 17-18) and engagement with it would have involved interfering with the layout of the megaliths. Whilst it is impossible to tell from the stratigraphic account in the archaeological report whether the megalith that sat within Stone Hole 39 was removed prior to or in Roman period and the coins scattered within the empty space; whether the megalith was lifted in the Roman period, and then replaced; or whether it was removed in a later period, the deposition of the coins in this feature unequivocally constituted a significant action. The coins from Stone 1, meanwhile, were provenanced from the soil immediately above the Stone, suggesting they were placed on top of it. This echoes the placement of coins on capping stones from chambers in the Minninglow 1 long barrow in the (Section 5.5.4.2.3).

Figure 4.7. The façade of the West Kennet long barrow. Photo by author.

Assessing the significance of the finds, Piggott asserted the Roman activity was indicative of religious symbolism:

> 'Roman interest… in the fourth century may be connected on the one hand to the association between Roman cults and pre-existing native traditions, and on the other with the circumstances of the building of Romano-Celtic temples of the double-square plan and the restoration of the Jupiter-column at Cirencester'

(Piggott 1964: 55-56).

There are a couple of implicit assumptions made by Piggott in this statement which require unpacking. First, Piggott implies that engagement with the West Kennet long barrow, and utilisation of prehistoric monuments more generally, is associated with the so-called 'pagan revival' of the later Roman period, and the fourth century in particular, which saw dedications through coin deposits at urban shrines replaced by rural shrines (Mattingly 2006: 348). Second, reference to the re-erection of the Jupiter Column at Cirencester in the fourth century (which may, in fact, have occurred during the reign of Julian in the later third century) reifies the notion that activity at the West Kennet long barrow represented a reaction to Christianity associated with the conversion of Constantine, whereby rural shrines continued to receive coin deposits as part of the fourth century boom attested in the southwest of England (Mattingly 2006: 487). This process would apparently have involved the appropriation of the West Kennet long barrow as a means of asserting a pagan identity rooted in a native tradition.

However, it is now recognised that the relationship between fledgling Christianity and paganism as dichotomous in a later Roman context is problematic. Indeed, the shrine at Uley in nearby Gloucestershire (which itself demonstrates a significant relationship between a Neolithic long barrow, an Iron Age hillfort and a Roman shrine) involved the utilisation a limestone bust of Mercury, potentially reconstituted as an icon of Christ when the structure was reconstructed in timber in the later and post-Roman period (Aldhouse Green 2018: 192-193). The inference here is that the bust was at once both Christian and pagan, demonstrating the complex dialectic between these seemingly binary practices. Consequently, the deposition at the West Kennet long barrow need not connote a religious association related to broad historical narratives. Rather, to understand how and why the West Kennet long barrow *became* significant we should look at its local context. In this regard, the dates of the coins recovered were consistent

with the coin profile from Silbury Hill in that more than half of the issues post-date the House of Constantine, to Reece Periods 19-21 (Appendix 3). This suggests a relationship between the sites. Consequently, it is no stretch to suggest that the West Kennet long barrow became meaningful to the people who lived around the Silbury Hill settlement as a consequence of the emergence of that settlement and its proximity to the visually impactful long barrow. We cannot, therefore, understand the significance of the activities at the West Kennet long barrow without understanding its relationship to Silbury Hill, and its place within the AWHS. As Chapter Two emphasised, this is often lacking from interpretations of material recovered from prehistoric monuments, where activities are removed from their landscape contexts.

Considering the relationship between activities at Silbury Hill and the West Kennet long barrow, both monuments demonstrate evidence for the deposition of coinage. While these actions could indeed imply some form of religious activity, it does not follow that both Silbury Hill and the West Kennet long barrow were appropriated as pagan monuments as part of this process, which is more likely to be a projection based upon what *we* know about their origins and use in prehistory. Instead, the actions indicate that their significance derived from their spatial and visual relationship to one another, emphasising their relationality. Consequently, their capacity to act as Roman period landscape entities emerged through their embeddedness within the contemporary landscape rather than through any intrinsic quality which rendered them special artefacts representative of an intact prehistoric identity reanimated by contemporary social conditions.

Additionally, it is worth noting that the round barrow Avebury 55 was situated between the West Kennet long barrow and Silbury Hill, 30m northwest of the long barrow (Figure 4.1). The round barrow was of the bell barrow type with an encircling ditch, the only measurements of which were provided as "20 paces in diameter" (Smith 1965a). It was excavated in 1964 though, by this time, had been flattened by historical ploughing. It is not clear whether it would have been standing or destroyed by the time it was encountered in the Roman period. If it were, anyone journeying from Silbury Hill to the West Kennet long barrow would have passed it. Though it is recorded here as engaged with on account of 18 potsherds and 6 tile fragments recovered from within and on the base of a ploughsoil layer from the encircling ditch, it cannot be asserted with any degree of certainty that they connotate anything more than intrusive material.

On the basis of activities on and around Silbury Hill and the West Kennet long barrow, a broader volume of material might be anticipated. Given the paucity of any hypothesised engagement, it demonstrates that round barrow engagement was only a small proportion of the total volume of round barrows in Wiltshire (Section 6.6). However, this cannot be similarly argued for a clutch of round barrows situated nearby on Overton Hill, 1.75km to the east of Silbury Hill following the trajectory of the Roman road, discussed below.

4.1.3 Overton Hill Roman Barrows

Section 3.3.1.3 showed that 15 round barrows were aligned with The Sanctuary on Overton Hill, flanking the route of the Ridgeway. That they were conspicuous landscape entities surviving long after their construction is evidenced by the fact that an Early Medieval boundary surveyor described their location '*seofon beorgas'* (seven barrows) in 972 CE (Pollard and Reynolds 2002: 176). The cemetery was typical of the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age, where the barrows were arranged in lines. However, three barrows which formed the group and its alignment were discovered to have been Roman period constructions: West Overton G6, West Overton G6a and West Overton 7 (Appendix 1; Appendix 13). Unlike the example pertaining to Idmiston 19 (Section 3.5.3) which displayed a conical exterior, the Overton barrows mimicked the extant prehistoric round barrow form. They do, however, contain unique configurations that could have taken inspiration from the nearby stone and timber circle, The Sanctuary, emphasising the relationally between these features (Figure 4.8).
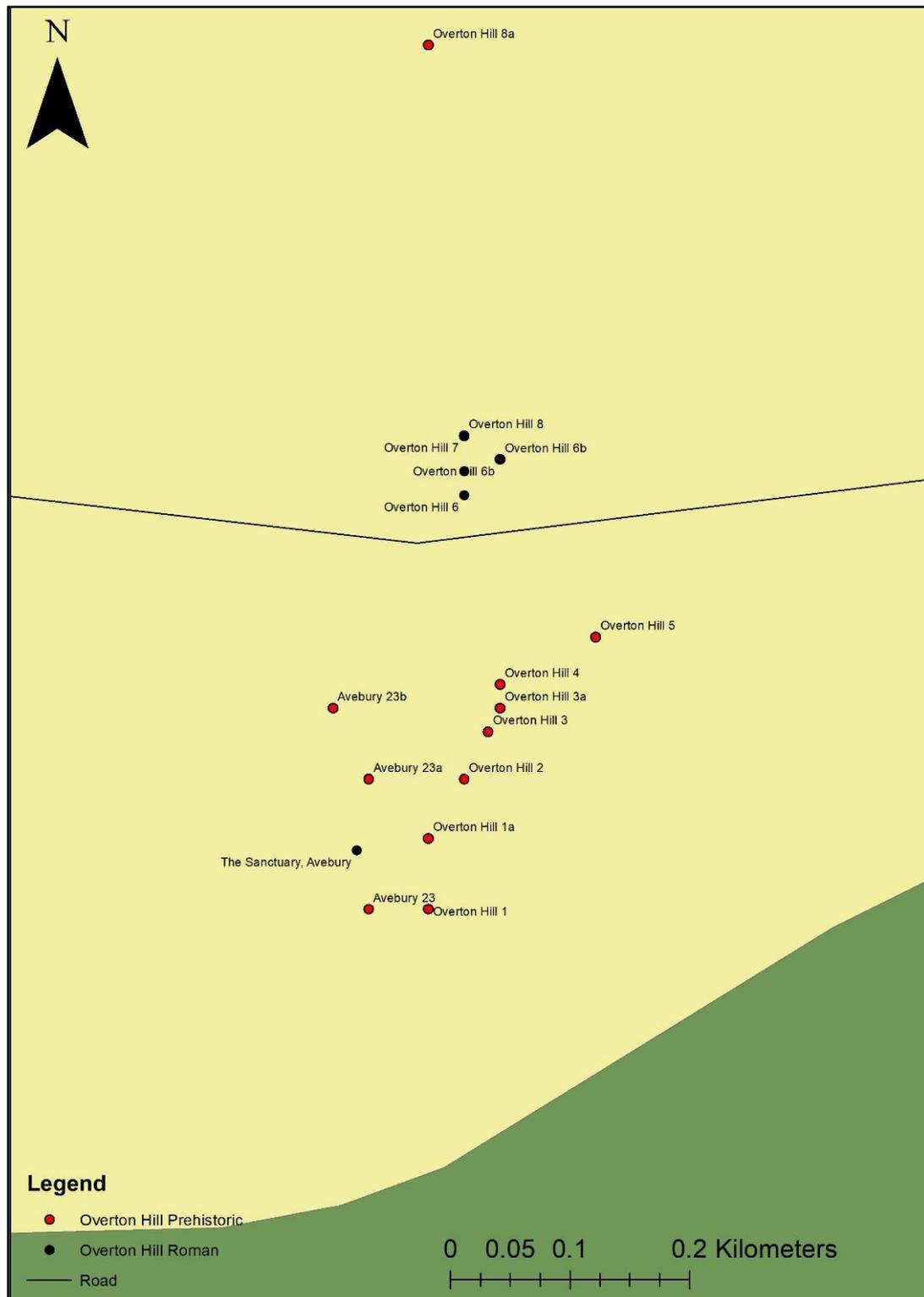
Figure 4.8. Location of Overton Hill Roman barrows.

First investigated by Colt Hoare (1975a: 89-91) and Thurnham (1860: 317-336) little information was recovered from the three barrows, though Thurnham did locate "traces of black pottery, with a thin coin the size of a half-crown, ashes and slight traces of burned bones" in one (1959-60: 330-331). They were subsequently re-excavated in

1962 (Smith and Simpson 1964). The three monuments demonstrate broad homogeneity in appearance (Figures 4.9-11). Each barrow contained an external unbroken circular ditch, characterised by vertical edges and flat bottoms. The ditch depths ranged between 30-60cm. Unusually, the ditches of G7 and G6a contained a series of postholes, with G7 demonstrating 54 regularly spaced postholes of irregular diameters, ranging from between 15-54cm. Each posthole reached the bottom of the ditch cuts, with the fills packed with chalk and flint nodules to keep the stanchions upright. Similarly, G6a contained 29 postholes, more irregular in their spacing, though the excavators postulated that some postholes were untraceable and the ditch would have exhibited a continuous and regular series of posts (Smith and Simpson 1964: 73). G6 did not contain any evidence for postholes though, given that the fill of the ditch suggests it was rapidly sealed, the excavators assert that it probably would have contained timber posts (Smith and Simpson 1964: 76). In any event, the profile of both the mound and ditch, as well as its spatial association, echoed G7 and G6a, and it seems a reasonable conclusion that there would have been timber posts. At G7, charcoal samples recovered from one posthole cavity revealed the species of tree utilised for the post-timbers was oak. On the eastern side of G7, the intersection of two cavities indicates at least one post was renewed.

Each barrow contained the secondary deposits of cremated human remains. From G7, 11 pieces of cremated bone were recovered, 10 of which were identified to be human, including two pieces of femur/tibia and two ribs, contained within a centrally placed chalk-cut pit. Five pieces emanated from the central feature of the mound, from which 11 copper-alloy fragments were also associated, including a jar, two fragments of a jar, a narrow tube or piece of beading, a broken fragment of a finger ring, a handle, and scraps of fused copper-alloy, altered by heat. Particularly notable was a small fragment of copper alloy containing traces of burned enamel, perhaps representing a brooch. The excavators proposed that the finds were the remnants of artefacts that were placed with the body(ies) on a pyre and then deposited with the calcined remains into the monument. Six pieces of calcined bone and metalwork were recovered from the mound material. It is not clear whether the material scattered in the mound was disturbed from the central feature, owing to prior antiquarian cuttings, or whether they were later insertions. G7 also reveals a shallow grave intersecting the outer edge of the ditch on the north side, containing an Early Medieval inhumation.

G6a yielded 40 small fragments of calcined bone from the mound material which was likely to be human, some of which could be identified as a femur/tibia, a metacarpal/metatarsal and small fragments of cranium. G6a also contained copper-alloy fragments from the mound material including a suspension attachment and a scrap of thin rivet. A centrally cut pit echoed the profile of G7. Cremated bone was recovered from both the mound and the soft fill of the ditch at G6 which were derived from long bones, while the atlas vertebra of an adult was recovered from the ditch fill. 14 potsherds were recovered from the mound material whilst nine sherds were recovered from the ditch fill, indicating that the ditch may have taken receipt of cremation deposits, serving a funerary role, perhaps explaining the lack of definitive postholes within the ditch. The pottery assemblage as a whole from the three monuments is represented by wares locally produced from the kilns of Savernake Forest dating from the early second century. Additionally, three sherds of *terra sigillata* too worn to be of diagnostic value for dating were recovered. On the basis of the pottery assemblage and cremation funerary rite, the excavators asserted that the barrows were constructed no later than 225 CE (Smith and Simpson 1964: 76-77).
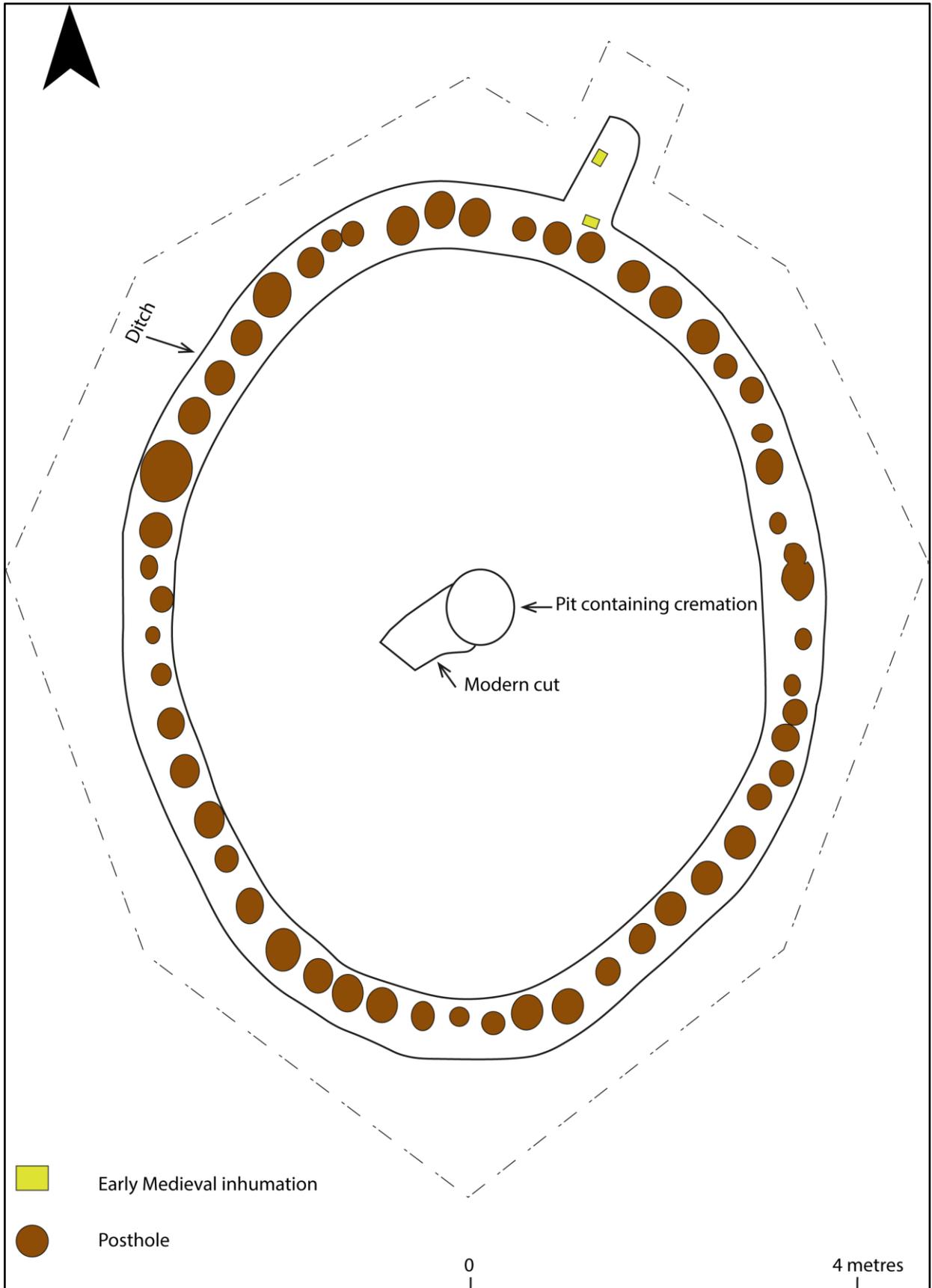
Figure 4.9. Plan of the West Overton G7 round barrow. Redrawn after Smith and Simpson 1964: 71.

Ditch

Pit containing cremation

Modern cut

Early Medieval inhumation

Posthole

0   4 metres
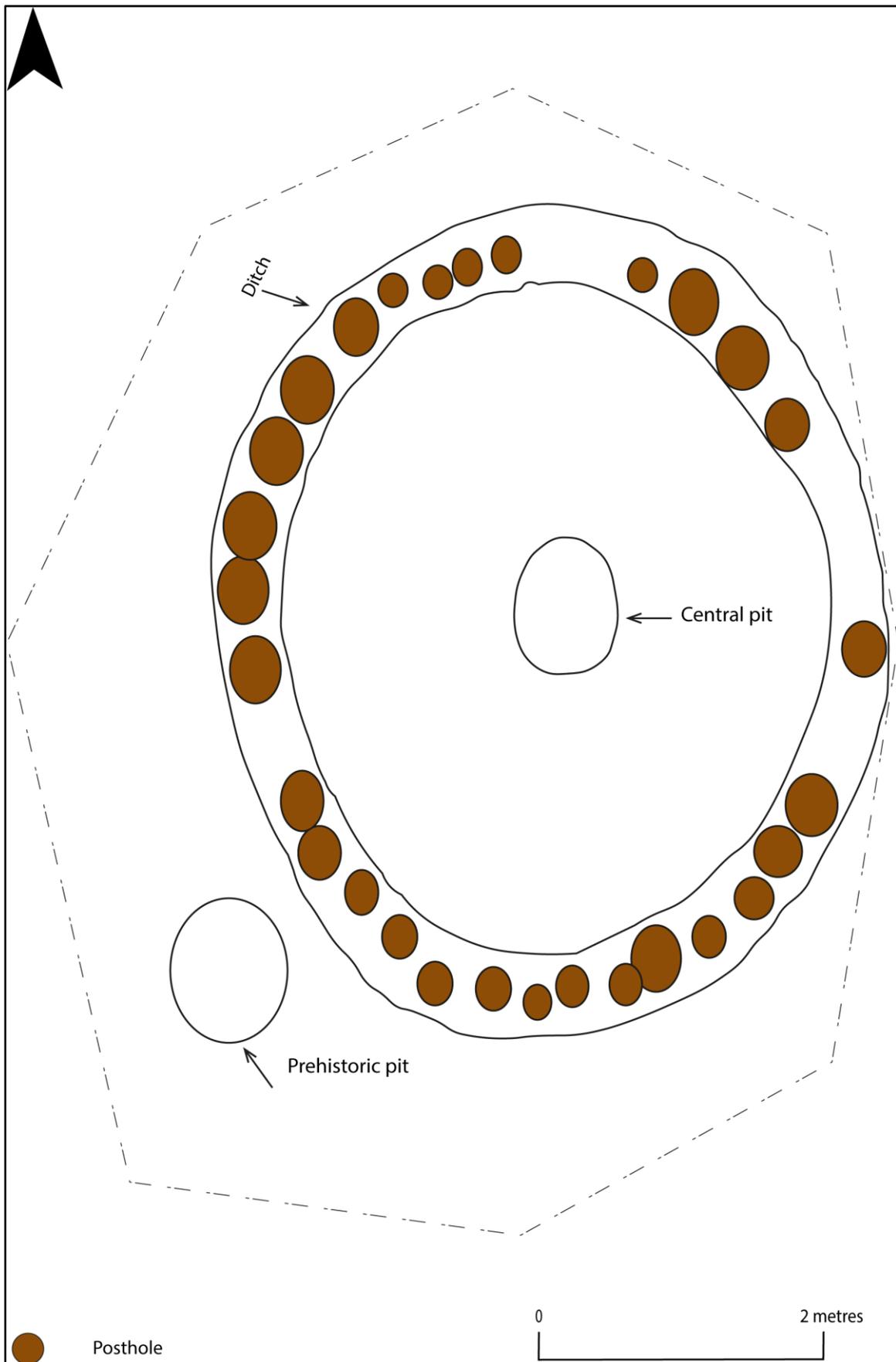
Figure 4.10. Plan of the West Overton G6a round barrow. After Smith & Simpson 1964: 72.
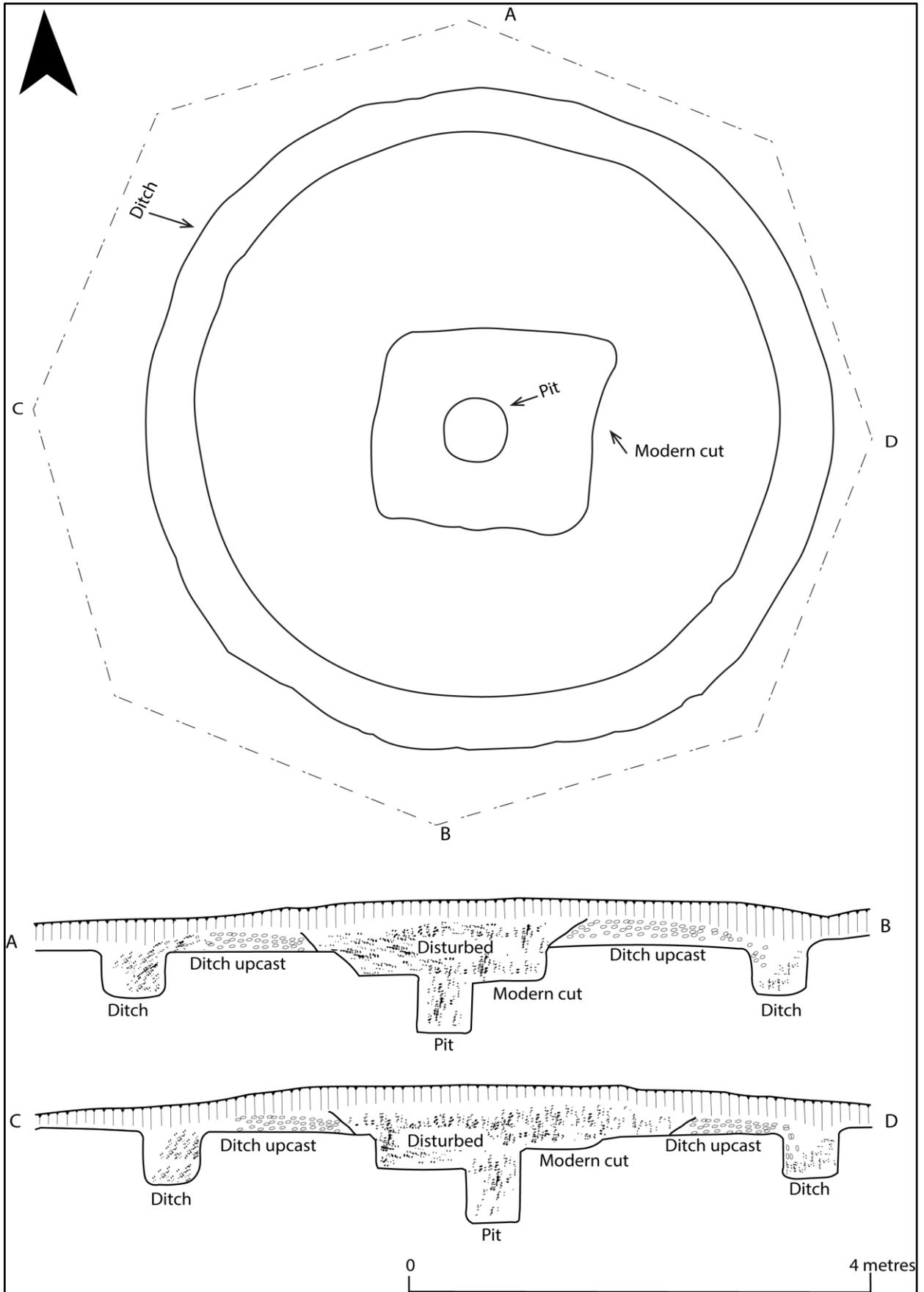
Figure 4.11. Plan and sections of West Overton G6 round barrow. After Smith & Simpson 1964: 75.

Scepticism of the excavators' cut-off emerges when consideration of more recent evidence indicating that cremation rites persisted into the later fourth century is taken into account (Section 3.4.5). The relative dating on the basis the ceramic assemblages, however, is more convincing and it is likely that the construction of the barrows relates to the growth of *Cunetio* from this time and the burgeoning of the Silbury Hill settlement in the latter part of the second century. Moreover, Fowler suggests that the nearby villa complex at Headlands could have been related to the burials, though the villa sequence is perhaps too late in this scenario (2000: 54-60), which is also the case regarding the rural settlements at Overton Down (Section 3.4.4). Nevertheless, both settlement and burial practices in general emphasise a dramatic intensification in the third and fourth centuries (Section 3.4.5) and so it is not inconceivable that the date of 225 CE would be a little more flexible.

The morphological similarity and spatial relationship between the monuments led the excavators to assert that "there can be no real doubt that all were Roman funerary monuments" (Smith and Simpson 1964: 76). In this regard, it is worth reflecting upon both the spatial locations of the monuments and their morphological character in more detail. As we have seen, the barrows clearly referenced an extant and visible prehistoric round barrow cemetery and their inspiration for their morphological form and location surely derived from the extant prehistoric barrows, emphasising a relational dialogue. Further, given that the was a dearth of a funerary profile from the AWHS, with the exception of burials on Waden Hill associated with the Silbury settlement (Figure 3.13), the Overton Hill barrows and the funerary deposits within them formed a distinctive funerary rite which must have been influenced by the extant prehistoric materiality of the surrounding areas. This demonstrates how the monuments affected people living within the areas.

It is further notable that a rimsherd of imitation *terra sigillata* in the form of Dragendorff F 24/25 of the late first century CE, four rimsherds of cooking pots dating to the second century and a shared of Savernake Ware, among other fabrics, were recovered from the mound material Overton Hill G6b, a prehistoric bowl barrow also situated among the prehistoric barrow cemetery, around which the three Roman barrows were closely aligned (Figure 4.1; Smith and Simpson 1966). This assemblage was consistent with the material recovered from the Roman period barrows, highlighting that contemporary

precedent for physical engagement with the prehistoric barrow cemetery was manifested.

Like Silbury Hill in relation to settlement and emergence of activities at the West Kennet long barrow, the trajectory of the road would have been a key causal factor in how the ancient barrow cemetery became influential in the construction of the Roman barrows. Indeed, given that roadside funerary structures were intended to be visible monuments requiring a response from those moving within their vicinity (Section 3.5.8), the intersection between more traditional Roman funerary practices involving roadside burials and the presence of extant barrows can be thought of to have been in collaborative dialogue, creating the space for these distinctive Roman barrows to emerge.

A further important point in this regard is that The Ridgeway (Section 3.4.1) was integrated within this relational network. The Overton Hill Roman barrows were situated on the flat top of Overton Hill aligned north-south and situated 30m from the Ridgeway, forming a right angle with it and the trajectory of the Roman road. This surely highlights that the Ridgeway was still an actively used aspect of the lived-in landscape and that the funerary monuments were designed to be encountered by travellers using both the official road and the Ridgeway. It is further significant that Overton Hill and the monuments upon it would have been visible from both those who stood upon the summit of Silbury Hill and anybody who journeyed to the entrance of the West Kennet long barrow, highlighting that the Silbury Hill settlement and the later sequence of deposition activity at the West Kennet long barrow had a visual relationship to the structures on Overton Hill, emphasising the relationality and connectivity between all of these sites and the activities that occurred at them.

Though the final appearance of the mounds, once the timbers of the postholes of G7 and G6a had rotted away, mimicked the localised prehistoric form, the presence of the postholes within the ditches of the barrows is worth reflecting upon further. Based upon the dimensions of the postholes, the excavators speculated that the timber posts would have stood up to 1.8m high, dwarfing the height of the mounds. Smith and Simpson further postulated that the barrows may have only been covered with their earthen composition once the timbers had rotted away (1964: 76). Whatever the case, it is clear that the surrounding timber flanks would have been conspicuous landscape elements and utilised in the performative ritual of the funerary rite.

It is notable that no prehistoric barrow within the landscape yields postholes within the encircling ditch, though the round barrow Hemp Knoll near Avebury demonstrates a ring ditch underneath the mound and post hole in a ditch set perpendicular to the mound (Robertson-Mackay 1980). The phenomenon is well noted in Europe, with a round barrow from the Netherlands demonstrating a triple post ring of post holes surrounding the mound (Glasbergen 1954). It was rarer in Britain, however, with Ashbee noting 22 'stake and circle barrows' (1957) while small examples from Cornwall yield evidence for stone menhirs in the ditches (Nowakowski 2007). In this regard, it is noteworthy that some Roman period barrow structures on the continent yield evidence for both timber and stonework placed within their earthen cores in order to reinforce the structures (Clapham 1993; Struck 2000). Dunning and Jessup note that there is no definitive evidence for exterior stone walling or 'rivetting' in Roman barrows from Britain, though they reference the barrow at Chesterton, Cambridgeshire which has a causewayed ditch and note that other examples have evidence for small banks within in the external ditches (1936: 38).

However, given the lack of a local frame of reference within a prehistoric or Roman barrow context, an explanation was likely located just a short distance away. Figure 4.8 shows the location of the barrows demonstrates a spatial alignment with The Sanctuary, situated immediately south of the trajectory of the road, 330m from G6, the southernmost barrow. As discussed in Section 3.3.1.3, The Sanctuary was a stone and timber circle, displaying vertical timber posts that would have stood up to 6m in height (Figure 4.12). By the Roman period, the timbers would have rotted away but the two concentric rings of upright stones remained in place until the 1720s, whereupon they were destroyed (Pollard and Reynolds 2002: 106). This shows that the standing megaliths of The Sanctuary would have had a visual impact in the Roman period that was likely mimicked by the construction of the timber posts within the ditches of the barrows. It is also relevant that Roman pottery was recovered from the upper layers in the fills of features from The Sanctuary (Appendix 1), highlighting that the monument itself was engaged with directly, further emphasising how its morphological form could have influenced the construction of the barrows. This interpretation accords with Harding's perspective that prehistoric barrows with stakes/posts either deliberately evoked stone/timber circles or were built upon them (2002: 286). Harding further notes that the presence of timber stakes prior to the

construction of a mound would have likely marked out a 'temenos' area, emphasising the long-drawn out ritual of the funerary rite (2002: 286), surely the case here.
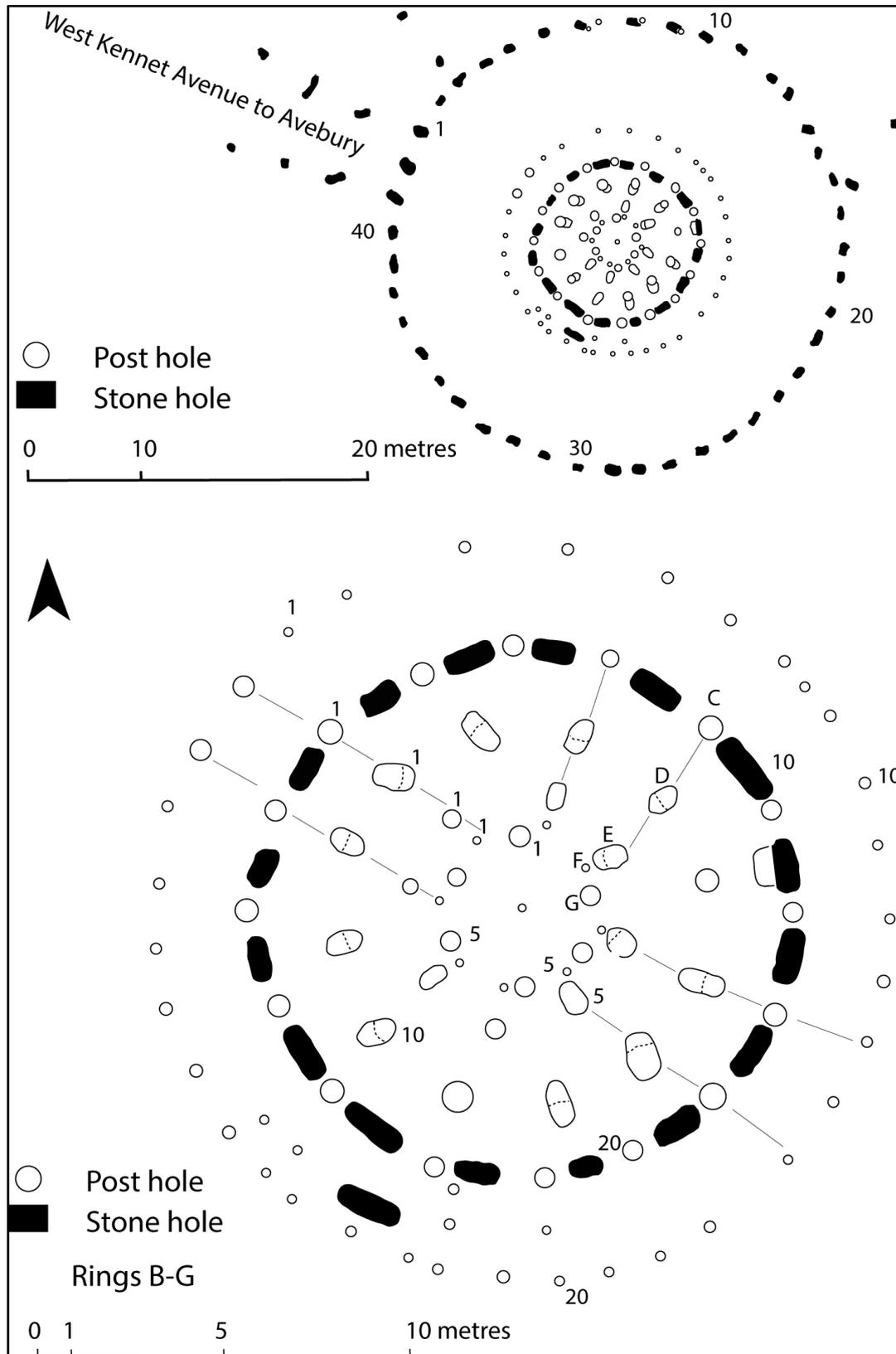
Figure 4.12. Plan of The Sanctuary. After Pollard and Reynolds 2002: 107.

Consequently, mimicry here was attested not only in relation to the funerary barrows but referenced the adjacent stone and timber circle. It emphasises a clear visual, spatial and material relationship between different morphological prehistoric monumental forms contained within a compact spatial zone and underscores the veracity of the theoretical approach expounded in Chapter Two that landscape elements must be positioned in relation to one another.

4.1.4 Avebury henge and Longstones Cove

Sections 3.3.2.3-4 showed that The Sanctuary was connected to the southern entrance of the Avebury henge via the megalithic West Kennet Avenue, which in turn was connected to Longstones Cove via the megalithic Beckhampton Avenue, running from the eastern entrance of the henge. Similarly, the Ridgeway meandered from the Sanctuary over to Overton Hill towards the henge, emphasising the connectedness of the monuments in prehistory. Based on Stukeley's drawing of the 8th July 1723 (Figure 4.13), the earthworks of the West Kennet Avenue leading from The Sanctuary remained visible and a few standing stones marking the Avenue remained in the landscape. Though it has been argued Silbury Hill constituted the epicentre of the Roman period AWHS, the henge does demonstrate a degree of engagement, contrasting with its role in the LPRIA. Given the visible and material connection between the features that were engaged with on Overton Hill, engagement with the henge is therefore not altogether too surprising.
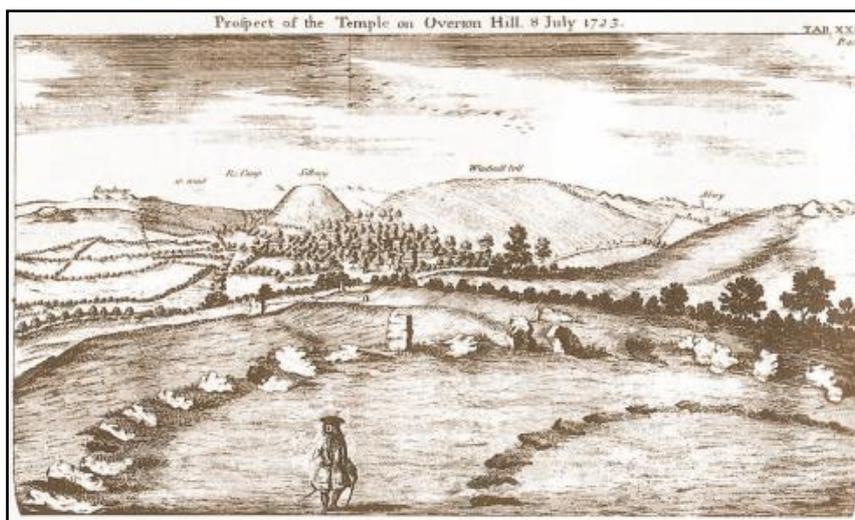
Figure 4.13. Drawing of the AWHS by William Stukeley, looking out from The Sanctuary along the earthwork of the West Kennet Avenue. Taken from Stukeley (2010 [1743]: 40.

Stukeley's records show that henge's external bank would have been visible during the Roman period, though the majority of its ditch had silted, having been intended to do so rapidly (Ashbee 2004). Additionally, it is clear that the majority of megaliths in the interior survived before their subsequent destruction with lamentable enthusiasm in the eighteenth century (Gillings and Pollard 2004: 141-153). Whilst there is no evidence for Roman settlement in the immediate vicinity of the henge (Gillings and Pollard 2004: 94) numerous artefacts have been discovered to be associated with the monument. Indeed, Stukeley noted that "several Roman coins have from time to time been found here and neighbouring fields" (2010 [1743]: 26) though they are now lost. Fieldwork carried out by Keiller between 1925-1939 yielded a small assemblage of 50 "or so" sherds from the avenues and interior of the henge and "about a dozen" coins from both these areas (Smith 1965b: 243). Excavations conducted by Harold St. George Gray between 1908-1922 involved 10 'cuttings' located across the henge ditches, focused, in the main, around the entrances (Figure 4.14). Gray recovered Roman material from Cuttings 1, 2, 8 and 9, deposited with the same layer of mixed silting. Roman artefacts were recovered from depths varying from 1.5-1.8m, within the middle portions of the mixed silting deposits. One sherd from a depth of 2.5m from Cutting II was dismissed as having tumbled down during the excavations (Gray 1935: 115).

Regrettably, the precise number of sherds was not recorded but reference is made in the accounts of each of the Cuttings. Gillings and Pollard suggest a figure of between 10-20 sherds (2004: 94) whilst Gray noted 22 (Figure 4.16) Gillings and Pollard extrapolate that, based on the amount of material recovered, "an appreciable quantity of material would have been deposited in the ditch as a whole" (2004: 94). The character of the pottery assemblage was in the main comprised of local coarseware. In addition to the potsherds, Gray uncovered a number of copper-alloy artefacts including two finger rings and a twisted wire bracelet from the eastern ditch terminal of the southern entrance. Most significantly was the presence of an inscribed Aucissa brooch recovered near the southern entrance on the southwestern side. Gillings and Pollard suggest that the clustering of copper-alloy artefacts associated with bodily adornment around the ditch entrances reflected a renewed form of ritual activity, where the henge had become 'rehabilitated' in the Roman period and that deposition could have been an act of covert resistance to a new social and spatial order: "a traditional

act carried out an old place" (2004: 95). Though the significance material deposited within the huge ditches is not in dispute the Aucissa brooch perhaps indicates when and by whom the deposition occurred.
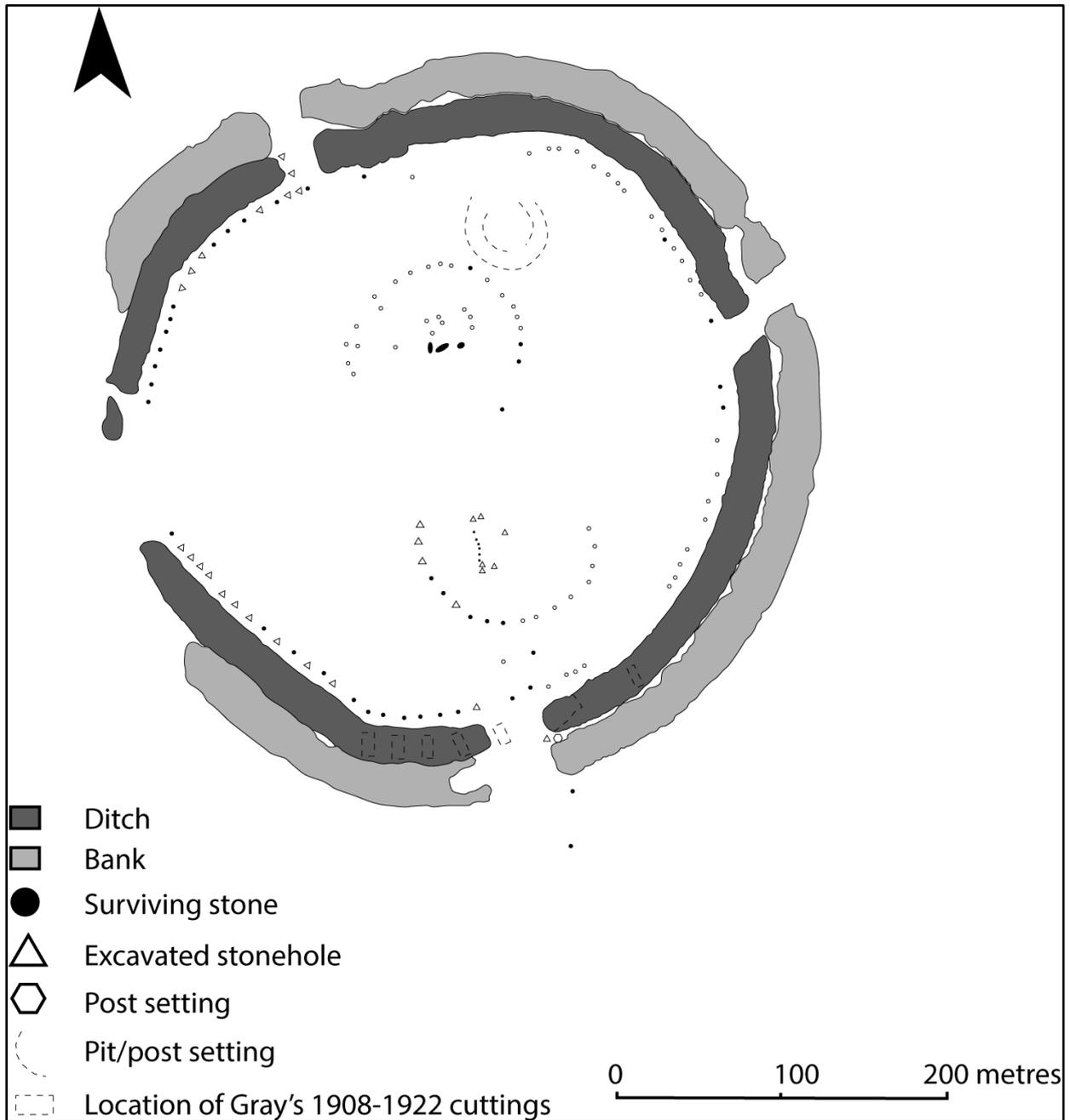
Figure 4.14. Plan of the Avebury henge. After Gillings, Pollard and Strutt 2019: 360.
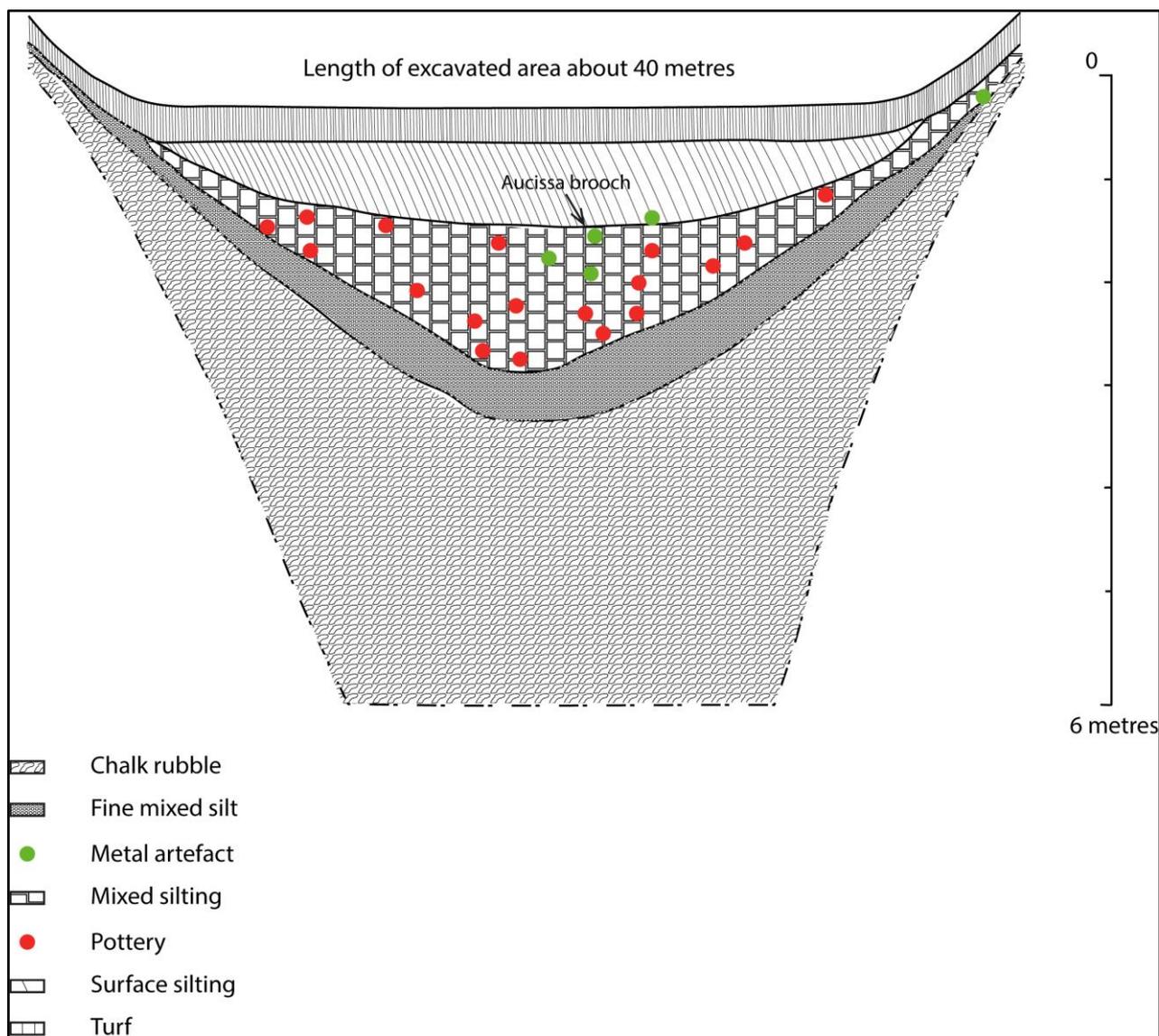
Figure 4.15. Composite section of Avebury ditch. After Gray 1925: Plate XLIV.

Aucissa brooches were initially a mass-produced continental import, distributed throughout the Empire in the first century CE. Though it is unclear if the inscription AVCISSA, and the variations of the name, pertains to the maker or a 'factory' owner (Mackreth 2011a: 132), they were brought to Britain with the military in 43 CE (Bayley and Butcher 2004: 190). In the west of the province, their distribution largely falls between Dorset and the River Severn, an area initially conquered and administered by military forces. Indeed, findspots were noted from the Dorset hillforts at Hod Hill and Maiden Castle, both of which were seized under Vespasian, with the former revealing evidence for a military camp (Stewart 2017: 90-101) and the latter a potential cemetery for those killed in the conflict (Mattingly 2006: 99). Other findspots were associated with urban areas such as Charterhouse in Somerset, Cirencester and the

roadside settlement of *Durocornovium* in North Wiltshire. This may reflect a period of military use, with whom the brooches are traditionally associated, or that the design was copied by local manufacturers and entered a wider civilian circulation (Bayley and Butcher 2004: 151). That Wiltshire demonstrates the highest proportion of Aucissa brooches recorded on the PAS, 18% of the total 22 (WILT-316C6A; WILT-79A701; SOM-0D000A; DEV-386F83), emphasises the extent of their circulation within the area. Cool and Baxter note that that they were recovered from eruption contexts in Pompeii and consequently suggest use-lives of up to 100 years (2016: 76). This suggests that they were either manufactured by the military or copied by local craftspeople and that they were deposited within the henge within the early Roman period.

We have seen that there was little in the way settlement in the AWHS during the LPRIA and the early centuries of Roman period and, given the hypothesised military dimension of Aucissa brooches, it may be that the deposition at the henge related to the period of military administration purportedly camped at *Cunetio* (Section 3.4.2). This would seem plausible logistically given that, during the construction of the road to Bath, the military road builders would have been aware of the earthworks of the West Kennet Avenue leading from The Sanctuary, leading directly to the henge. This position is further supported by the typology of the ceramic assemblage from Avebury, more typical of the earlier centuries of occupation than with the forms recorded from the Silbury Hill settlement. Together, the brooch and the ceramic assemblage suggest that the henge was the focus of early Roman engagement but, once the settlement at Silbury Hill was founded and grew in importance, the primary locus of the AWHS shifted to Silbury Hill. This is indicative of changing relations; as we have seen new relations emerged as a consequence of the foundation of the Silbury Hill settlement, which brought the West Kennet long barrow into a more prominent orbit to the lives of people, and was likely related to the Overton Hill barrows. These changing relations simultaneously served to marginalise the henge during the later Roman period.

The potential association with military deposition is given further credence by consideration of activities that occurred at Longstones Cove (Section 3.3.14). The Cove itself, comprised of four megaliths, L11 to the southwest, L15 to the northwest, L16 to the west and L14 to the east, formed a box structure. Three of the megaliths were destroyed in the eighteenth century which involved the excavation of a

destruction pit. Fieldwork between 1997-2003, excavating a third of the destruction pit, revealed that it had disturbed at least one earlier feature, one of which, F.52, was discerned to be a sub-rectangular pit measuring 50cm x 30cm x 15cm deep, abutting the setting of L16 (Figure 4.16; Gillings et al 2008: 231).
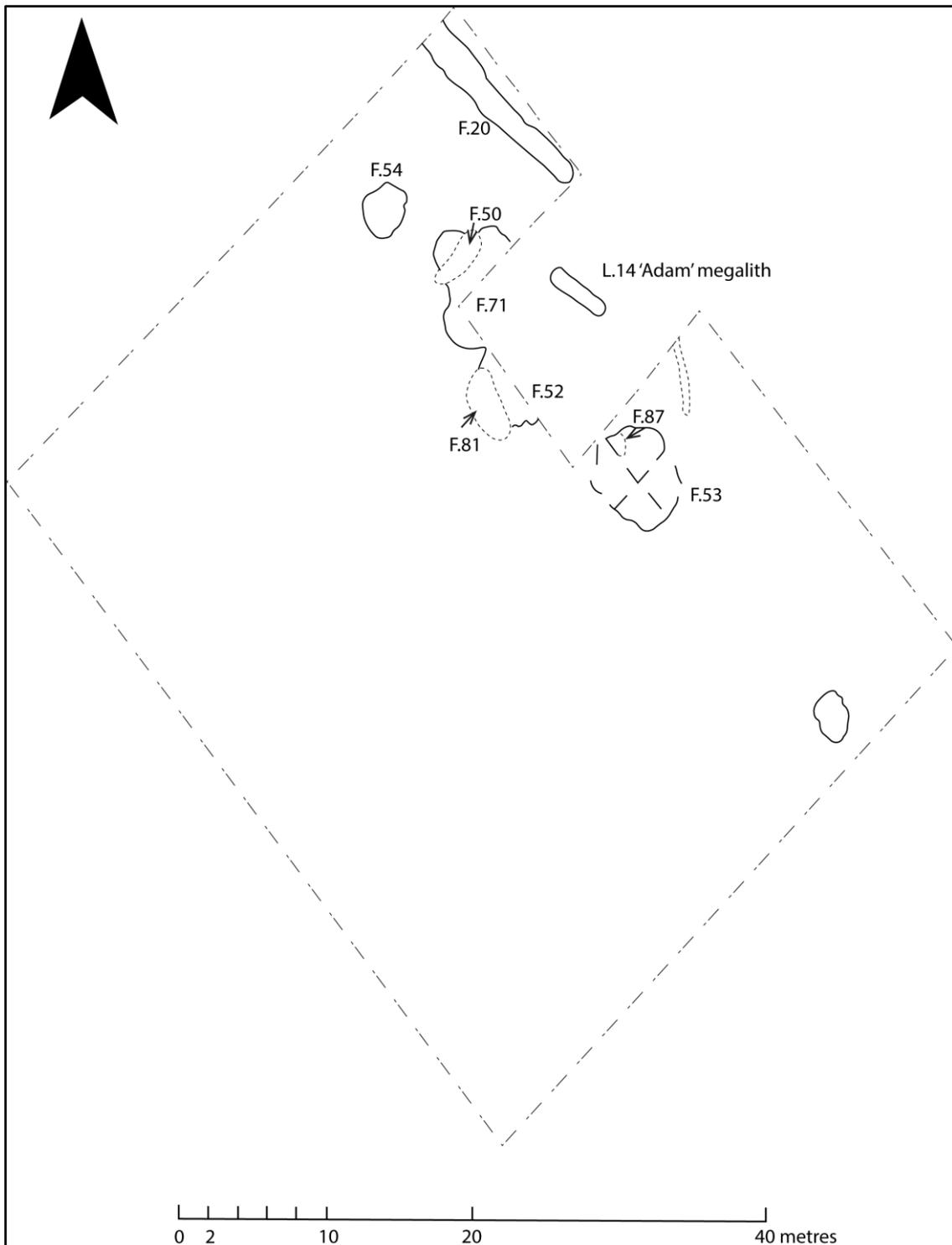
Figure 4.16. Features around Longstones Cove and the Beckhampton Avenue. The Roman pit was located at F.52, disturbed by the destruction pit of F.81. After Gillings et al: 73.

Iron artefacts, faunal remains and potsherds were recovered from the pit fills. The potsherds from F.52 were comprised of three sherds of central Gaulish *terra sigillata*, Black-burnished Ware 1 from Dorset and a sherd of oxidised fabric. 29 other potsherds, including Savernake Forest material of the first century CE, early ware from Oxfordshire of the mid-late first century CE and Wiltshire white slip ware of the second and third centuries, were recovered from features forming the earlier Longstones Enclosure and the Beckhampton Avenue (Cooper 2008: 234). The animal remains from the features comprised a substantial assemblage of 620 bones, 33% of which was identifiable. Zooarchaeaological analysis revealed an assemblage of cattle, sheep/goat, pig and horse with sheep/goat predominant (Coward 2008: 234-236). Radiocarbon dating undertaken on four bone samples of sheep/goat yielded a temporal range ranging from 80-260CE, 130-390CE, 430-650CE and 580-670CE suggesting a long sequence of depositional activity from the first century CE through to the Early Medieval period. 15 iron artefacts were recovered from F52 including a spearhead consistent with Manning Type IA (Manning 1985: 162-4), potentially a piece of military equipment (Macdonald and Parkes 2008: 232). Additional artefacts included a blade fragment, a nail, plate fragments and strip fragments. The find most indicative of a military association is a small plate fragment of an irregular shape consisting of a wire and loop congruent with part of a scale forming a type of military armour known as *lorica squamata* (Macdonald and Parkes 2008: 233). *Lorica squamata* was one of the four principal forms of metal armour used by soldiers during the first and second centuries, of which five basic sub-types were used (Sim and Kaminski 2012: 95-99), although this example was too corroded to discern any typological detail. By way of local comparison, a similar form of armour, *lorica segmentata*, was recovered from Aldbourne, 4.8km from Ermine Street near *Durocornovium* (Anderson and Wacher 1980: 116-117), indicating that pieces of armour were potentially either lost or deliberately deposited during military endeavours to construct the road network.

Though interpretation of the feature is difficult due to subsequent disturbance, the conjunction of the dates of the ceramic material, the nature of the iron equipment and the broad dates of the faunal remains suggest that an early Roman intervention, associated with the military administration was made, potentially associated with the material from the Avebury ditch, before continuing into the later period, suggesting its relations survived. It is notable that deposition with other standing megalithis is

attested is attested at The Cuckoo Stone, although this example occurred much later with no military association, suggesting different associations within different landscape zones (Section 4.3.2).

4.2 Peripheral monuments

A number of large monumental forms demonstrate engagement in the wider Avebury landscape. Monuments in this area exhibiting engagement include the causewayed enclosure of Knap Hill and the hillforts at Martinsell Hill, Oliver's Castle and Mother Antony's Well, Oldbury Castle and Barbury Castle. Four of the five hillforts in the region demonstrate some form of engagement, the only exception being the hillfort located upon the top of the causewayed enclosure at Rybury.

It is worth noting that engagement with Martinsell Hill, a partial contour fort situated 8.7km southeast of Silbury Hill on a promontory of the south-facing scarp of the Marlborough Downs, was manifested by sherds of *terra sigilatta*, Savernake Forest ware and fragments of ampulla from the interior of the hillfort (Annable 1974). 300m beyond the northwest corner of the ramparts, a midden deposit buried under a mound of black soil was excavated in 1909, interpreted to date to the Iron Age (Cunnington 1909). Reinterpretation by Swan (1975), however, suggested it contained kiln waste of the mid-first century CE, associated with production supplies related to the period of military administration, potentially hinting at the nature of the hillfort use.

Similarly, at Barbury Castle, a contour hillfort sited 9.2km northeast of Silbury Hill which has not been formally excavated, an assemblage of material was recovered in 1875, though no circumstances of the find are known. The material consists of an inscribed silver spoon bearing the name *VERECVNDA,* as well as a copper-alloy brooch, 26 knives, sickles, spears, spearheads, rings and awls, suggested to be date to either LPRIA or Roman period (MacGregor and Simpson 1963). Further, large quantities of pottery associated with a small mound containing mostly Savernake Ware immediately outside the northwest ramparts were recovered (Corney and Payne 2006: 99), likely echoing the midden feature at Martinsell Hill. The totality of these engagements supports the wider phenomenon of early Roman period deposition material associated with hillforts suggested in Section 3.5.10.

4.2.3 Knap Hill

Described in Section 3.3.1.6), Knap Hill causewayed enclosure yields a complex sequence of multi-period activity. Long after it fell out of use, four round barrows were associated with the monument, impinging upon the northern earthworks, with one situated immediately north of it and another sited just outside the eastern earthworks (Figure 4.17). The northernmost round barrow, Alton 11 (Appendix 1), was excavated by Cunnington 1908-1909, where investigations yielded scattered sherds of Roman pottery (Cunnington 1911). The sherds likely denote intrusive material derived from settlement of the Plateau enclosure, discussed below.
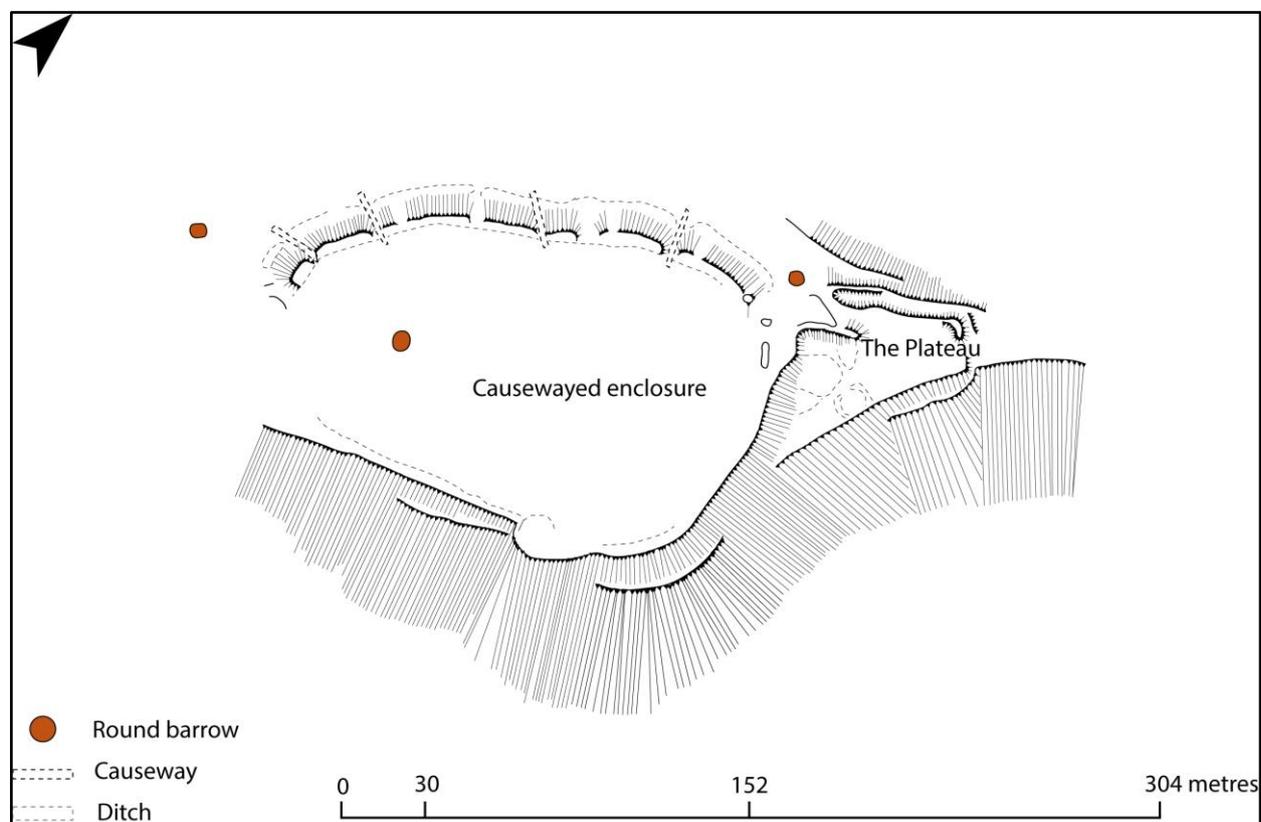
Figure 4.17. Plan of Knap Hill and the Plateau. After Connah 1965: 1.

Roman period engagement is associated with The Plateau, an enclosed earthwork abutting the northern edge of the causewayed enclosure. Interpreted to have its origins in the Iron Age, the material assemblage and structural evidence is indicative of an intensification of activity during the Roman period, continuing through to the Early Medieval period (Connah 1965; Cunnington 1911). The Plateau was an irregular trapezium shaped structure bounded by a ditch and slight bank, ranging from between

60cm-1.5m deep and 90cm wide at its greatest extent, with the interior of the enclosure covering an area of c.10,000m^2. The southern part of the enclosure cut into the ditch of the causewayed enclosure, and the excavators suggested the character of the monument was "defensive" (Cunnington 1909: 49).

The interior of The Plateau contained a long mound and a round mound annexed to the northern terminus of the long mound. The long mound post-dates the causewayed enclosure due cutting a part of the silted ditch, with the mound composition characterised by chalk rubble. Nine potsherds including Savernake ware and two small pieces *of terra sigillata* were recovered from a trench located across the intersection of the causewayed enclosure ditch and Plateau bank, suggesting focussed Roman period activity from the second century (Cunnington 1909: 62-64). The round mound was characterised by a fine chalk fill, clearly of a different phase to the long mound but, containing a central fire pit cut into the chalk bedrock filled with pottery and charcoal. The excavators drew an explicit connection between the feature and that of the midden near Martinsell Hill (Cunnington 1909). Though the long mound gives the appearance of a long barrow abutted by a subsequent round barrow, the lack of calcined bones from the feature underneath the round mound do not support this interpretation. Instead, the character of the features suggests association with everyday Roman period activities.

This interpretation is underscored by a feature within The Plateau earthworks to the southeast of the Roman mound. Here, there is evidence that part of the ground surface of the enclosure had been levelled, which probably created the chalk spoil for the construction of the long and short mounds. The lowering of the ground surface left a rectangular raised platform on one side. Within the centre of the raised platform was a "T-shaped-fireplace or hypocaust" measuring 1.2m x 1.5m, cutting 30cm in the chalk bedrock (Cunnington 1909: 53), exhibiting blackened sides indicative of burning. The feature contained charcoal deposits, and an array of broken artefacts including quernstone, iron nails, mortaria, *terra sigillata*, red slip ware, and local coursewares, including New Forest ware. Though the excavators remarked that the feature was the remant of some form of catastrophe by conflagration which may have led to the abandonment of the site (Cunnington 1909: 54), the feature was in fact a corn-drying oven with central chamber (Grinsell 1957:27).

Indeed, the description of the structure accords well with a T-shaped flue design of a corn-drying oven which contained areas for stoking, flues and a drying floor (Lodwick 2017a: 55-58). T-shaped corn drying ovens were spread abundantly across southern and central Britain (Lodwick 2017: 12) intensifying in use from the second century and proliferating in the third and fourth centuries (Van der Veen 1989). During the later Roman period, corn-drying ovens were regularly incorporated within rural settlements (Lodwick 2017: 60), which provides a probable third and fourth century date range for the construction and use of the feature. Such activity suggests that The Plateau was utilised for cereal production, highlighting that the causewayed enclosure of Knap Hill was integrated within the actions of everyday life, echoing the interpretation of Silbury Hill (4.1.1)

In addition to domestic activity, there is evidence for an infant burial within the rampart of The Plateau ditch, manifested by cranium fragments in association with 40 Roman potsherds and an iron brooch, which probably dates to the Iron Age. The presence of the infant burial within the earthworks of the contemporary enclosure is consistent with other infant burials incorporated with settlements (Section 3.6.1) but also echoes the discovery of a funerary deposit within the earthworks of the causewayed enclosure. Indeed, trenches placed across the ditch of the causewayed enclosure in 1961 located the remains of a grave, cut into a layer of chalk rainwash, containing an extended female skeleton (Connah 1965: 7). Nine iron nails were placed by the feet consistent with hobnails for cleats, the most common grave good associated with Roman funerary deposits in the county (Foster 2001). Additionally, potsherds were concentrated directly above the grave in all layers, emphasising that the cut feature would have been filled with material associated with the contemporary utilisation of The Plateau. The pottery recovered from immediately above the grave cut and other trenches comprised 59 sherds of local coarse pottery and four sherds of *terra sigillata.* The coarse sherds demonstrate dates ranging from the second century through to the end of the fourth century, congruent with the dates for The Plateau. It is likely, therefore, that the inhumed individual related to the occupation of The Plateau settlement.

The excavators stressed the burial was deposited in the earthworks of the causewayed enclosure due to the fact that it would have provided a softer fill than the stubborn chalk and clay-with-silt soils of Knap Hill itself and, therefore, would have

been easier to dig (Connah 1961: 7). Though this was undoubtedly a causal factor, the monument's earthworks were external to those of The Plateau's and thus could have been utilised for the deposition of adult remains in a manner consistent with Roman period burial customs outside the settlement. Additionally, the symbolic significance of the ditch must not be excluded; funerary deposits were recovered from the ramparts of the hillfort at Yarnbury Castle (Section 3.5.5) which included hobnails (Cunnington 1933). Further, we have already seen the significance of prehistoric ditches and earthworks at both Silbury Hill (3.6.1) and the Avebury henge (3.6.4) as receptacles of artefactual material, emphasising that the earthworks were themselves significant. As Chapter Two argued, and as we saw in relation to activities associated with Silbury Hill, quotidian and ritual interpretations need to be oppositional. Here the earthworks of Knap Hill could be considered to be a threshold between the living realm of the The Plateau settlement, which also happened to be easier to dig. In this scenario, the causewayed enclosure acted in multiple ways throughout the LPRIA and Roman period, emphasising its changing relations: its earthworks were demonstrably influential in the foundation of The Plateau and, when activities inside the Plateau intensified during the third and fourth centuries, the ditch become the receptacle for a funerary deposit.

4.3 The SWHS

While the route of the road the in the AWHS ran directly between a number of the large ceremonial monuments, the SWHS was characterised by a different axis of orientation owing to the trajectory of the road (Figure 4.18). Indeed, the road running south from *Cunetio* to *Sorviodunum*, traversing Salisbury Plain, was situated c.3.75km east of Durrington Walls, where the most extensive Roman settlement was located (Section 4.3.1). The result was that the activities in the SWHS exhibited slightly different sets of relations than the AWHS. Indeed, Section 3.5.8 and Figure 3.62 show a number of round barrows surrounding the trajectory of the road were utilised more widely than was the case in the AWHS. Nevertheless, a number of monuments in the vicinity of Durrington walls exhibit Roman period engagement: Durrington walls, The Cuckoo Stone, Amesbury 42, Stonehenge, Amesbury 49, Coneybury henge and Vespasian's Camp (Appendix 1). Some monuments were absent, however; the Greater and Lesser Curses yielded no Roman material, emphasising that the trajectory of the road

impacted on the volume of monuments with Roman engagement. Consequently, we should not underestimate the importance of the roads in creating the space for prehistoric monuments to *become* significant. This further demonstrates that it is only through the relations to patterns of contemporary inhabitation can assess the meanings that the monuments engendered.
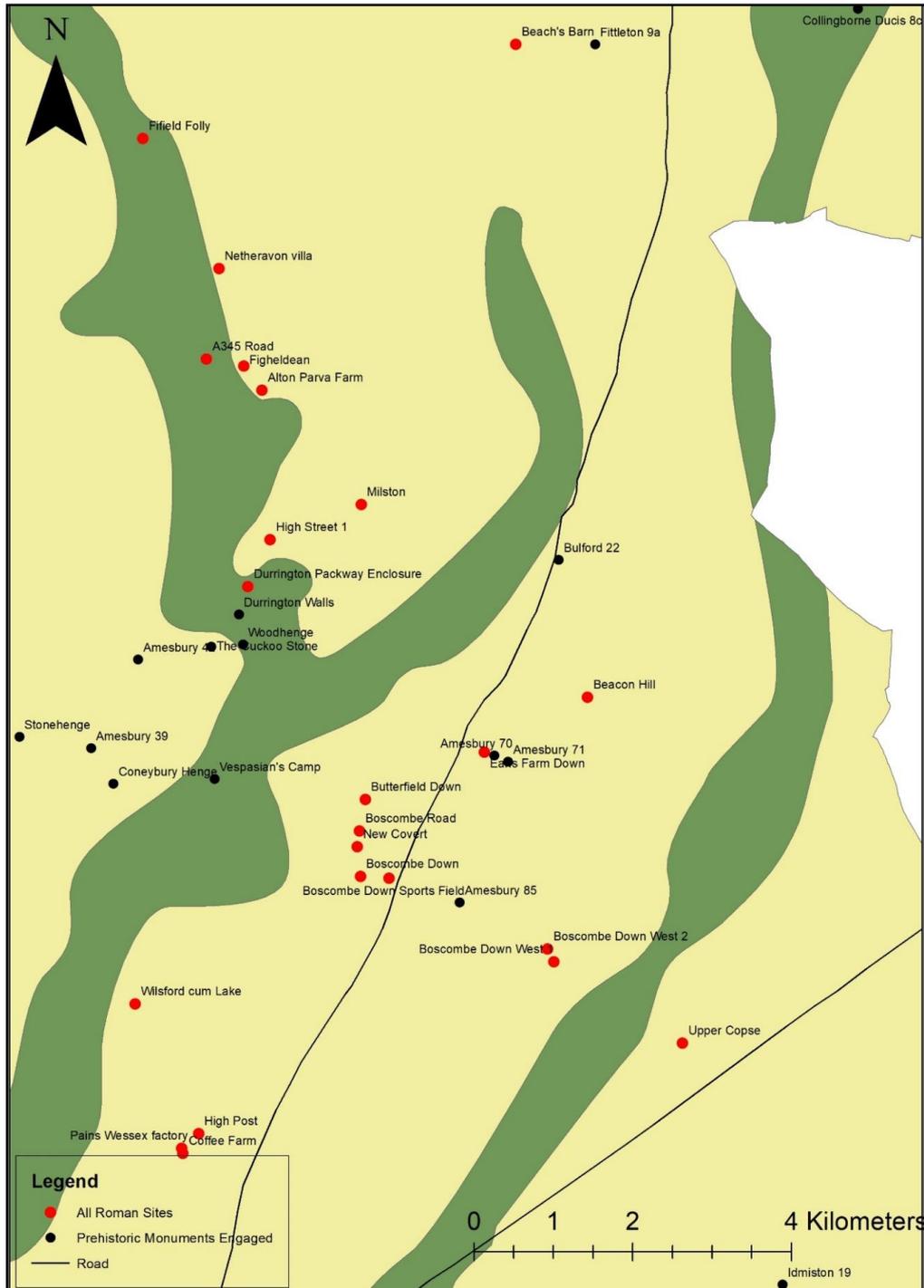
Figure 4.18. Distribution of Roman sites prehistoric monuments with Roman engagement in the SWHS.

4.3.1 Durrington Walls

Within the boundaries of the SWHS, Durrington Walls (Figure 4.19) was the only major Roman settlement. Like Silbury Hill, it is argued that engagement with ceremonial monuments of the SWHS emanated from their association with the settlement at Durrington Walls. This position is highlighted the significant activities attested at the monuments in the immediate vicinity of the Durrington Walls settlement: the Durrington Walls henge, Woodhenge and the Cuckoo Stone.
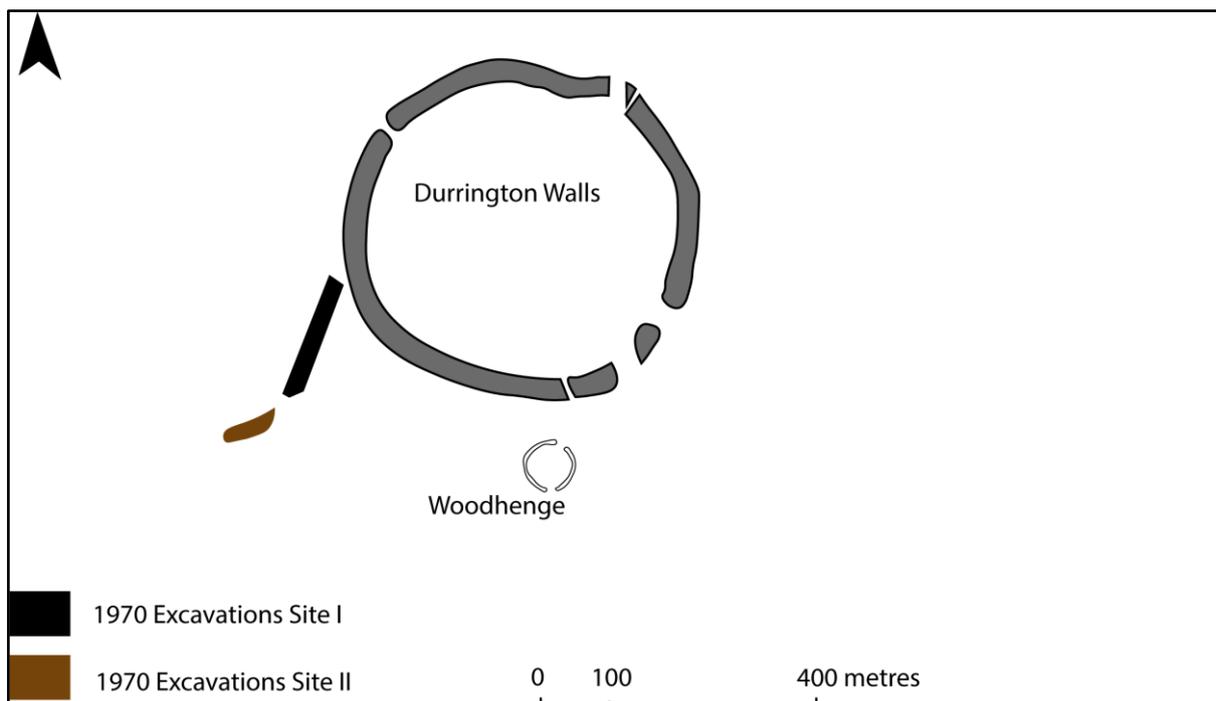
Figure 4.19. Durrington Walls and Woodhenge and location of 1970 trenches.

Section 3.3.2.1 indicated that the henge at Durrington Walls constituted the largest known henge in Britain. Between the area of the henge and the Cuckoo Stone, a substantial Roman period settlement grew up with occupation predominantly dating from the third and fourth centuries (Wainwright 1971). Knowledge of the potential for a site was first recognised at the turn of the twentieth century, when Farrer noted an abundance of pottery, pits and trenches located c.30m to the southwest of the henge earthworks. The pottery spread extended to the south for 137m, leading Farrer to conclude that there must have been a settlement (1918). Additionally, in her excavations at Woodhenge, Cunnington recognised that a considerable volume of Roman period pottery located between the area southwest of Durrington Walls and west of Woodhenge, while potsherds were recovered from the upper layers of the

Woodhenge ditch (Cunnington 1929: 186), likely associated with settlement in the area.

The Durrington Walls settlement was excavated by Wainwright in 1970 involving two trenches either side of the modern Fargo road, running between Durrington Walls and Woodhenge (Figure 3.63) Within both excavated areas, a substantial array of Roman features were located, indicative of a small rural settlement or 'village' (Parker Pearson 2012: 148), likely a nucleated settlement or small town. The first area of excavation revealed two enclosures containing a number of features including pits, postholes and gullies, though little in the way of dateable material was recovered (Wainwright et al 1971: 83). Within the northern enclosure, a T-shaped corn drying oven was recovered indicative of the sorts of activities that occurred within the settlement. The southern enclosure, rectilinear in shape and defined by a ditch measuring 1.10 x 1.30m wide, included evidence for two pits.

The second area yielded a wider concentration of postholes, gullies, pits and further evidence for ovens (Figure 4.20). Two infant burials were located within two shallow pits. The first contained the remains of an infant of c.20 months, inhumed with a south-north orientation. The second was determined to have died at around three months, orientated northwest highlighting that, like at Silbury Hill and The Plateau at Knap Hill, infants were buried within the settlement. The site contained a large assemblage of 2,830 potsherds and 24 sherds of *mortaria*. When assessing the material, Swan asserted that the majority of diagnostic and dateable material pertained to locally produced coarsewares from New Forest and Oxfordshire, where kilns would have been easily accessible by the navigable nearby River Avon (Swan 1971: 103). While some *terra sigillata* was recovered, including stamped vessels of FIRMANVS dating to the late second and early third centuries CE, they were assessed to be residual, and the large bulk of the assemblage was consistent with third and fourth century occupation. The pottery assemblage was congruent with the dates of the five coins recovered from both areas of excavation, comprising a *radiate of* Reece period 14, three *nummi* of Reece Periods 15-18 and three of Reece Period 19-21 (Curnow 1971: 116). The date range is consistent with wider coin loss patterns for Wiltshire (Section 3.5.4). It further highlights that activity at Durrington Walls conformed to third and fourth century intensification of the rural landscape.
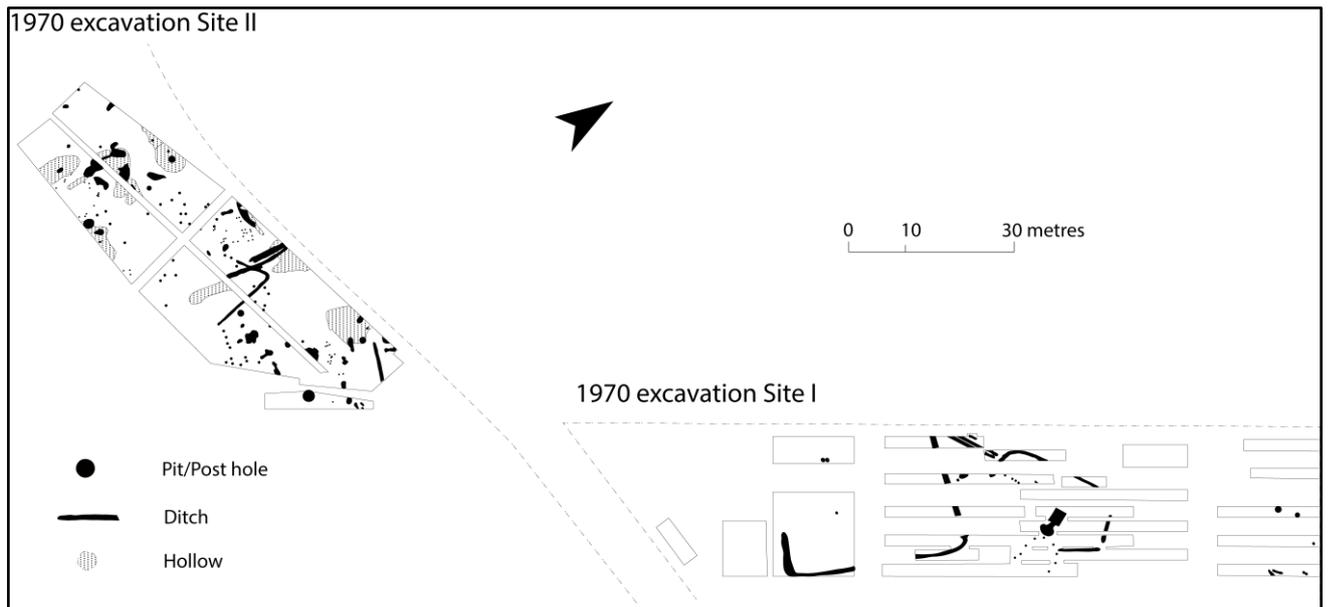
Figure 4.20. Roman features in the 1970 trenches. After Wainwright 1971.

In spite of the wealth of features recoorded, no domestic dwelling structures were located, though Wainwright confidently asserted that the main part of the settlement would have been located under the modern military structures comprising the Larkhill Officers Quarters (1971). There was little direct engagement with the visible earthworks and internal features of the henge, however. Indeed, Wainwright's earlier excavations revealed a dearth of material from the henge ditch, indicating that it was not engaged with directly as the Avebury henge had been. However, like at Silbury Hill, it was surely the case that the earthworks played a role in the location of the settlement. However, whilst material was not recovered from the henge itself, monuments which formed the landscape of Durrington Walls played a significant and more direct role, explored in the subsequent section. It is argued these activities associated with these features must be considered together.

4.3.2 The Cuckoo Stone

Section 3.3.2.2 demonstrated that the substantial block of sarsen known as the Cuckoo Stone was help upright by a timber stanchion during prehistory. The stone encountered today lies recumbent and it is likely that this would have been how the stone was encountered during the Roman period, its timber support having long since rotted away. The stone was situated c.100m directly south of Site I of the Roman

settlement and, in a similar form to the earthworks of the henge, must have been visible and impactful.

Its prominence is reflected by the 1993 discovery of two substantial coin hoards buried 50m to the north of the megalith. The first consisted of 3,962 copper-alloy *nummi* of Reece Periods 15-16 (IARCH-C277CA). The second comprised a wider date range beginning with *radiate* issues commencing from Reece Period 13, continuing to Reece Period 16 (IARCH-5E5D84). The scattered nature of the hoard meant that only 1,589 coins could definitively be associated with an accompanying ceramic vessel, though it likely that both hoards represent the same deposition event (Appendix 3). As discussed in Section 3.5.4, the date range of the hoard is typically earlier than the Reece Period 19-21 issues that dominate coin loss patterns from Wiltshire. However, the broad late third and early fourth century date is chronologically congruent with the settlement at Durrington Walls. It is therefore highly likely that the hoarding event(s) were related to activities associated with settlement, undertaken by the people living and working the land in the area. In this regard, it is tempting to consider the coin hoard as a votive offering although, in this instance, the hoards were not buried directly next to the Cuckoo Stone. Furthermore, the sheer volume of the hoard dwarfs the volume seen at the West Kennet long barrow, and all other prehistoric monuments; surely indicative that a different series of meanings underscored the motivations behind the hoarding event.

Brickstock recently suggested that low denomination issues of the third and fourth centuries may have been hoarded to pay annual tax covenants to the state at the value of one gold *solidus* per annum (2011). In this regard, the volume of the copper-alloy coins contained with the hoard may, therefore, have been a collection pot aggregating the combined 'spare change' of persons/people living at Durrington Walls. Others, meanwhile, argue that the utilisation of 'traditional places' may have resulted in opposition to Rome expressed more potently via the deposition of hoards (Bland et al 2020: 481). In either scenario, the Cuckoo Stone likely acted as a significant landmark orientating this activity. It shows that the material associated with The Cuckoo Stone cannot be understood in isolation but must be considered in relation to occupation of the Durrington Walls settlement.

Nevertheless, excavation work in 2007 could lend support to a votive interpretation. The evidence relating to these excavations is as yet unpublished, save for brief

reference in Parker-Pearson's volume on Stonehenge (2012: 150), and undergoing post-excavation analysis ahead of publication in 2024. A summary is, therefore, presented here with permission based on unpublished interim work kindly shared. As part of fieldwork designed to explore the dating and significance of The Cuckoo Stone, a trench measuring 25m x 20m was opened up around the stone. Here, a total of 11 pits distributed throughout the trench were excavated together with a structural feature with internal and external postholes, tentatively interpreted as a shrine. Finds recovered from the features yielded Roman dates on the basis of third to fourth century ceramics. In total, 1,090 Roman potsherds were recovered from the trench around the Cuckoo Stone comprised, in the main, of local coarsewares of the later period together with small quantities of Savernake Ware and *terra sigillata* being residual. The majority consisted of storage jars and cooking vessels, surely associated with domestic activities undertaken at the Durrington Walls settlement (Stansbie forthcoming). Indeed, their fills were homogenous and it is suggested that they were sealed rapidly after being dug, congruent with the pits recovered from the Durrington Walls settlement interpreted by Wainwright to be reflect of rubbish deposits, reflected further by the high proportion of faunal remains contained within them (1971: 87)

The potential shrine consisted of a sub-rectilinear feature measuring c.5.5m x 6m which was set over a Neolithic pit which it had truncated (Figure 4.21). The interior of the structure was deduced from a single foundation cut. No evidence for an artificial floor was encountered and the chalk bedrock was uneven and irregular, suggesting that it had not been levelled to have acted as a floor surface. The excavators, therefore, concluded that the foundation cut represented an open foundation with a floor surface having been suspended in some form (Parker Pearson forthcoming). The possible suspended floor may have been represented by the discovery of several postholes from within the internal structure, each packed with flint nodules. Further, the structure was flanked by a dozen postholes. The inference of the external postholes was that they represented a colonnaded structure. The excavators draw attention to the fact that the shrine was placed in close proximity to The Cuckoo Stone suggesting that the stone was imbued with sacred and mythological qualities.

Figure 4.21. Trench showing possible Roman shrine adjacent to The Cuckoo Stone. Reproduced with permission by Mike Parker Pearson.

In addition to the pits and buildings, 11 coins were recovered from the trench around The Cuckoo Stone. They consisted of two *radiates* Reece Period 13-16, five *nummi* of Reece Period 15-18 and three *nummi* of Reece Period 19-21. Seven were discovered to be contemporary copies and, as a result, were unlikely to have been deposited as religious offerings (Reece forthcoming). Moreover, the provenance of the coins did not reveal associations with features. Consequently, it is likely that they denote coin loss associated with the Durrington Walls settlement. In this regard, the date range of the coins harmonises with the coin assemblage from the Durrington Walls settlement.

It is, therefore, unclear whether the structure was a shrine and that a definitive religious interpretation can be inferred from the available evidence. However, a pit recovered directly north of the of the stone, measuring 90cm x 48xm and 16cm in depth, contained an infant inhumation. Here, the remains of the child were orientated east-west, with the head lying to the west. By the infant's feet, the skull of a dog had been pinned down by nails driven into the chalk (Parker Pearson forthcoming). The discovery of additional nails distributed throughout the fill may could suggest the burial was confined within a timber coffin which had subsequently decayed. This, however,

would be a rare phenomenon, with evidence from elsewhere in the province suggesting that infant burials were usually wrapped in cloth (Millett and Gowland 2015: 183).

It is notable that infant burials in rural contexts were a feature of the later Roman period, potentially highlighting an association between the death of a child and the productive potential of agricultural land as part of a fertility cycle (Mattingly 2006: 479). The location of the burial suggests The Cuckoo Stone marked the grave and, in this way, was tied to the ordinary agricultural activities associated with the Durrington Walls site. In conjunction with the coin hoard(s), it emphasises that The Cuckoo Stone was involved in a collaborative dialogue with multiple activities.

4.3.3 Woodhenge

Further evidence for funerary deposition comes from the ditches at Woodhenge, situated 400m east of the Cuckoo Stone. Section 3.3.2.2 highlighted that the earthworks at Woodhenge would have been visible though the six interior concentric ovals of timber beams would have long since rotted. Cunnington's excavations recovered unburned fragments of human skulls at depths of 1.4-5m above prehistoric layers within the southern and eastern sections of the henge ditch, each of which was associated with New Forest pottery, consistent with the assemblage from the Durrington Walls settlement (Cunnington 1929: 60).

Though uncommon, the deposition of fragmentary skull remains in features is not unheard of during the Roman period. Indeed, at Baldock in Hertfordshire, skull fragments were recovered from three pits and in, one case, accompanied by a complete ceramic vessel (Pearce 1999: 66). At Owlesbury, Hampshire, fragmentary skull remains were recovered from late Roman gullies and pits. Similarly, Cowdery's Down, also in Hampshire, yields evidence for fragmentary skull remains from settlement ditches (Pearce 1999: 96). Though this rite is generally more consistent with Iron Age deposition practices, stray body parts were common mortuary deposits from rural sites, often associated with boundary features, and it could be that the deposition of the remains in this manner was indicative of excarnation rites emphasising a long continuity of practice in rural communities (Mattingly 2006: 478-479). Whether excarnation was involved in relation to the deposition of the skulls from the Woodhenge deposits is unknowable based on the present evidence but the

location of the deposition meant that ditch, and by extension the monument as a whole, became a meaningful part of the wider Durrington Walls settlement, potentially functioning as a boundary.

As a whole, the three closely associated monuments at Durrington Walls, The Cuckoo Stone and Woodhenge performed meaningful and varied roles associated with settlement activity. Like Silbury Hill (Section 4.1.1), they formed the epicentre of Roman activity within the SWHS. Nevertheless, other monuments within the landscape reveal engagement, explored below in relation to Stonehenge.

4.3.4 Stonehenge

Stonehenge, in its final structural iteration, would have remained a prominent presence within the Roman period landscape (Section 3.3.2.4). Nevertheless, like Avebury, it was peripheral within the Roman SWHS compared to the more concentrated series of engagements associated with the prehistoric monuments around Durrington Walls. However, while Avebury yielded Roman material from its ditches, Stonehenge demonstrated material from the megalithic interior. The majority of the material was re-assessed as part of an initiative synthesising twentieth century excavations, though contextual information was lacking for a number of finds, many of which were distributed throughout the monument making interpretation difficult (Cleal 1995). Nevertheless, from his excavations between 1919-1920, Hawley's diary records a considerable volume of material clustered around Stone 7 of the Y and Z holes, the interior double sarsen ring encircling the double bluestone ring known as the Q and R holes (Figure 4.22; Gardiner 1995: 337).

Though no individual settlement is known from the immediate vicinity, the large assemblage of 1,857 potsherds recovered during excavations up to 1990 (the majority associated within the upper layers of the subsoil rather than from features), is indicative of potential activity in the vicinity, at least through cultivation if not settlement (Seager Smith 1995: 435). The ceramic assemblage consisted mostly of locally produced coarsewares, which comprised 91% of the total assemblage. The majority of vessels were jugs, bowls and flagons made from New Forest and northern Wiltshire material as well as Dorset Black Burnished ware typically of the third and fourth centuries. In addition, six sherds of *terra sigillata* were recovered, imported from northern Gaulish manufactures. Seven items of metalwork were recovered including

four brooches, a penannular brooch, a crossbow brooch, a pennanular amulet, two toilet instruments and hobnails (Montague 1995: 433-435) whilst a fragmented bone hairpin was also recovered (Gardiner 1995: 337). The character of the assemblage denotes an association with artefacts of bodily adornment, emphasising that Stonehenge may have become a significant place for the deposition of material of this nature, mirroring patterns noted in relation to Avebury (Section 4.1.4).

A total of 20 coins were recovered, yielding a chronology comprising the span of the Roman period (Davies 1995: 431-432). Indeed, the earliest issue was a *dupondius* of Claudius (Reece Period 2) and the latest a *nummus* of the House of Theodosius dating to Reece Period 21 (Appendix 3). Altogether, the assemblage demonstrates similar dates to wider coin loss patterns in Wiltshire, though here coins of the Reece Period 15-18 comprised 40% of the total assemblage, with coins of the Reece Period 19-21 just 20%. In conjunction with the ceramic typology, the coin assemblage suggests that Stonehenge was engaged with from the earliest decades of the Roman period, though intensification occurred in the mid-late fourth century, consistent with the dates of engagement elsewhere in the county, though notably earlier than Durrington Walls. It is unlikely, therefore, that Stonhenege attained initial significance as a result of settlement at nearby Durrington Walls given that the earliest coin evidence predates the foundation of that settlement. Rather, it seems that Stonehenge attained a significance in the earlier period of Roman period at a time when Salisbury Plain was relatively uninhabited and that it held deeply entrenched meanings over many centuries as people returned to it to deposit material, emphasising that its relations endured.

This was given further credence by 2008 excavations in the interior of the henge. Here, in the southeastern sector of the monument between the Trilithons and outer sarsen circle, evidence for two Roman period features was uncovered, interpreted to be a shaft and a grave/pit (Figure 4.22). The first, in the centre of the trench, cutting through the socket which held Sarsen Stone 10, was circular in plan, 1.1m deep, cutting through prehistoric strata. It was comprised of a homogenous fill, suggesting that it would have been sealed rapidly after being cut, potentially in the same event as its excavation. At the bottom, a fourth century Roman coin providing a *terminus post quem* was deposited with a flint nodule, which the excavators noted for its phallic appearance (Darvill and Wainwright 2008: 15). Given that human made phallic

artefacts were hypothesised to be imbued with apotropaic qualities in Roman contexts (Whitmore 2018), the naturally occurring flint nodule may have been recognised for this quality and deliberately deposited with the coin in this feature. Within the fill, an abundance of late Roman coarseware was recovered, accompanied by in excess of 400 fragments of faunal remains comprised of sheep/goat, pig, horse, dog, deer, red deer, hair and rabbit, as well as two species of bird, fowl and wader (Darvill and Wainwright 2008: 15). The faunal assemblage is consistent with wider remains from settlements, rather than in situ feasting, and therefore likely attests that it was midden material transported from a settlement. The date of the coin is consistent with the sequence at the Durrington Walls settlement and it is a possibility that the feature and its contents were the traces of a journey from the Durrington Walls settlement to Stonehenge to deposit material. At the top of the fill, a substantial block of bluestone was recovered, suggesting that a megalith of the Q and R holes had been deliberately broken off and formed a sealing deposit. This interpretation was given further credence by the recovery of small flakes from the block, dispersed within the top of the fill. This is a significant find; it not only suggests that the interior of the henge became a significant locus for deposition but that the extant standing stones were physically engaged with, altering the appearance of the monument.
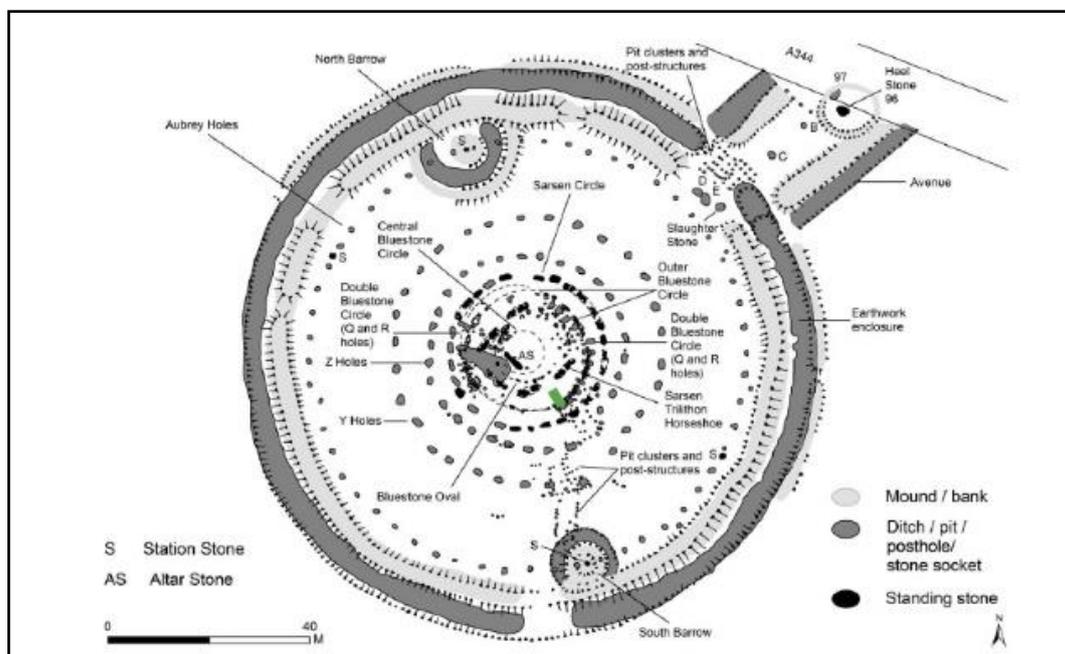
Figure 4.22. Plan of Stonehenge. The green area is a scale representation of the location and position of the 2008 excavation where the Roman features were recovered. Adapted from Darvill et al 2012: 1022.

The second feature, tentatively interpreted to be the end of a grave on the basis of its rectilinear plan, was only partially contained within the trench, and not fully excavated. No mortuary remains were recovered from the excavated segment but its composition demonstrated a consistency with the material from the shaft. Indeed, at the bottom of the feature lay another fourth century coin while the cut feature incorporated a piece of weathered bluestone, which defined the edge of the cut (Darvill and Wainwright 2008: 14). Though the precise nature of the feature is unclear, it may well have represented another pit rather than a grave.

Altogether, the two features discovered in 2008, in conjunction with the material evidenced from the twentieth century excavations, suggests that Stonehenge was a significant location for deposition activity throughout the Roman period. Activity intensified during the fourth century, which involved the cutting of features, highlighting how its relations were slightly altered by this time. Given the significant role that Durrington Walls, Woodhenge and the Cuckoo Stone played within the SWHS at this juncture, activities at Stonehenge and Durrington should be considered relational.

4.4 Peripheral zones

Away from the boundaries of the SWHS, Section 3.3.2 showed that the wider landscape of Salisbury Plain was replete with prehistoric monuments, whilst Section 3.4 indicated the area was abundant with nucleated and rural settlements. Further, Figure 3.16 shows that the concentration of monuments with Roman engagement and the extent of Roman settlement. It suggests that monumental engagement and the intensively occupied rural landscape with relationally connected. In this area, the subsequent section is focussed upon two sites: the hillfort at Old Sarum and the round barrows at Lamb Down.

4.4.1 Old Sarum

The precise location and function of *Sorviodunum*, associated with the hillfort at Old Sarum (Section 3.2.5.6), is a contentious issue and questions remain regarding its epicentre, spread and status. Concerning the latter, Corney suggests it was a roadside settlement (2001) whilst James contends that it was a more complex small town (2002). Antiquarian and early twentieth century interpretations suggested that the settlement grew up around the hillfort, based upon its location at the crossroads of four

roadways, though little in the way of Roman period material was initially known from the interior (Figure 4.23). Excavations undertaken by St. John Hope and Hawley revealed small amounts of artefacts including eight/nine coins of the late Roman period, potsherds, a bronze amulet, tiles, three pieces of painted wall plaster and the foundations of a building (Haverfield 1915: 26). In 1957, excavations carried out upon the outer bailey of the Norman castle which sits within the interior of the hillfort, identified a pottery assemblage of *terra sigillata* and coarsewares spanning the earliest centuries of the Roman period through to the early fourth century, with a notable absence of New Forest ware associated with the mid-late fourth century (Rahtz and Musty 1960). Furthermore, pot boilers, several dozen fragments of tile, brick, roof tiles and a copper-alloy brooch was recovered, indicative of substantial use of the interior of the hillfort.
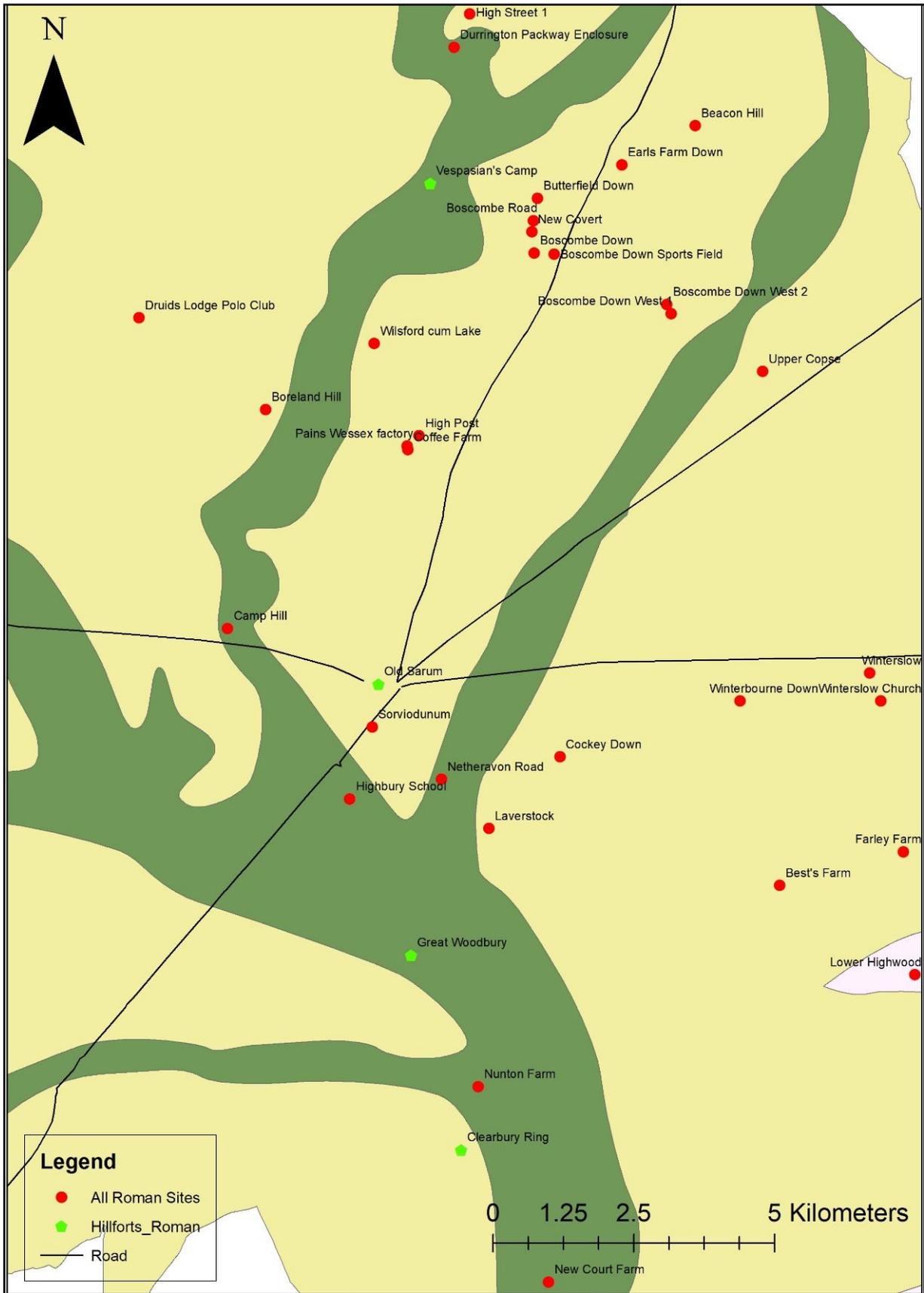
Figure 4.23. Location of Old Sarum, *Sorviodunum* and associated sites.

Haverfield suggested that *Sorviodunum's* central area may have been situated in the lowlying valley around the present day village of Stratford-sub-Castle (1915), a position later endorsed by Corney (2001), on the basis that it was a more accessible location for a substantial settlement than around the elevated hillfort, situated to the immediate south of the hillfort's earthworks and depicted on Figure 4.23. The significance of Bradford-sub-Castle was confirmed by excavations between 1962-1977, which demonstrated occupation beginning in the LPRIA continuing to the fourth century. As a whole, the area of Stratford-sub-Castle demonstrates evidence for a street grid and thoroughfare. The presence of a piece of *tesserae*, wall plaster, a hypocaust structure and roof tiles were spread over an area c.162,500m^2, indicating a substantial quasi-urban settlement.

A third potential location is at Bishopdown when a substantial midden deposit was excavated in 1953 (Stone and Algar 1955). Composed of a layer 30cm thick, finds from the deposit included baked clay and perforated roof tiles, 14 coins, two sherds of *terra sigillata* dating to the late first and early second centuries respectively, as well as large amounts of New Forest ware of the later period. Further excavations were undertaken in 1957, where 15 Iron Age/Roman pits were investigated, with the upper layers containing early Roman material (Musty 1959). Excavation in the early 1990s also yielded Iron Age and Roman storage pits, and the majority of this material was dated to the later period.

Reviewing the evidence in 2002, James and Algar suggested that the three areas together indicated the presence of a substantial small town which formed the single sprawling area of the large settlement of *Sorviodunum*. Occupation of Old Sarum covered an area of up to just under half a squared kilometre. It was noted in Section 3.4.2 that occupation of the hillfort has long suspected to have begun as a temporary military base (Section 3.4.2). The evidence from the hillfort interior and the surrounding areas forming the wider *Sorviodunum* area support the idea that an initial extra-mural settlement grew up to become an important trading and administrative centre for the southern portion of Wiltshire. The Iron Age ramparts of Old Sarum would have performed a ready-made defensive wall both as a strategic base for the military to administer the area and initiate the construction of the surrounding road network. After the departure of the military, it is clear that occupation within the site continued at an intensified pace across a large area. It is notable that no other hillfort in Britain was

utilised as a site for a major quasi-urban settlement, with use usually related to either votive deposition, shrines or small scale domestic activities (Section 3.5.10). Elsewhere in the province, villas are known to have grown up within hillfort earthworks (Trow, James and Moore 2009).

The appearance of a substantial settlement both from the interior and immediate surrounds suggests that hillfort earthworks played an active and important role in the development of the settlement. The absence of New Forest ware from the interior contrasted against finds from the Stratford-sub-Castle area and the midden deposit on Bishopdown, however, suggests that the significance of the hillfort interior had waned by the later period and that the large sprawling settlement began to retract. This is further supported by coin loss patterns. Section 3.5.4 showed that that the coin assemblage from *Sorviodunum* contradicts the patterns seen from excavated sites, the PAS and from prehistoric monuments from the county in general. Cumulative frequency analysis conducted by David and Algar demonstrated that that coin loss in the third and fourth centuries from the site(s) were consistent with patterns of coin loss from 'good' western towns but significantly divergent from bad western towns such as *Cirencester*, which had more in common with the coin profile from Silbury Hill in northern Wiltshire. This further underscored that *Sorviodunum* was a significant quasi-urban settlement until it exhibited patterns of urban decline associated with the late third to fourth century (Faulkner 2000: 121-126; Mattingly 2006: 235-339).

The decline of *Sorvidonum* coincides with the intensification of the rural landscape and nucleated settlements on Salisbury Plain. In this regard, it is significant that its decline was concurrent with the zenith of Durrington Walls which, as Section 4.3.1 showed, peaked in the mid to late fourth century and brought the monuments of the SWHS into the orbits of peoples' lives. This further demonstrates that engagement with monuments must be situated relationally with wider activity at the scale of landscape.

4.4.2 Lamb Down

A series of six barrows situated 16.3km northeast of Old Sarum and 4km north of the road from Old Sarum to Charterhouse on a spur of chalkland at the southern edge of Salisbury Plain (Figure 4.24). Five of the six barrows were excavated in 1958, two of which were revealed to demonstrate a Roman period funerary profile (Vatcher 1963). This suggests that extant barrows within Salisbury Plain and the wider Stonehenge

chalk landscape played an important role in local funerary traditions. Unlike the Overton Hill examples from the AWHS (Section 4.1.3), however, both mimcry and intrusive insertions into existing barrows were manifested, underscoring that that these practices were different iterations of similar phenomena.
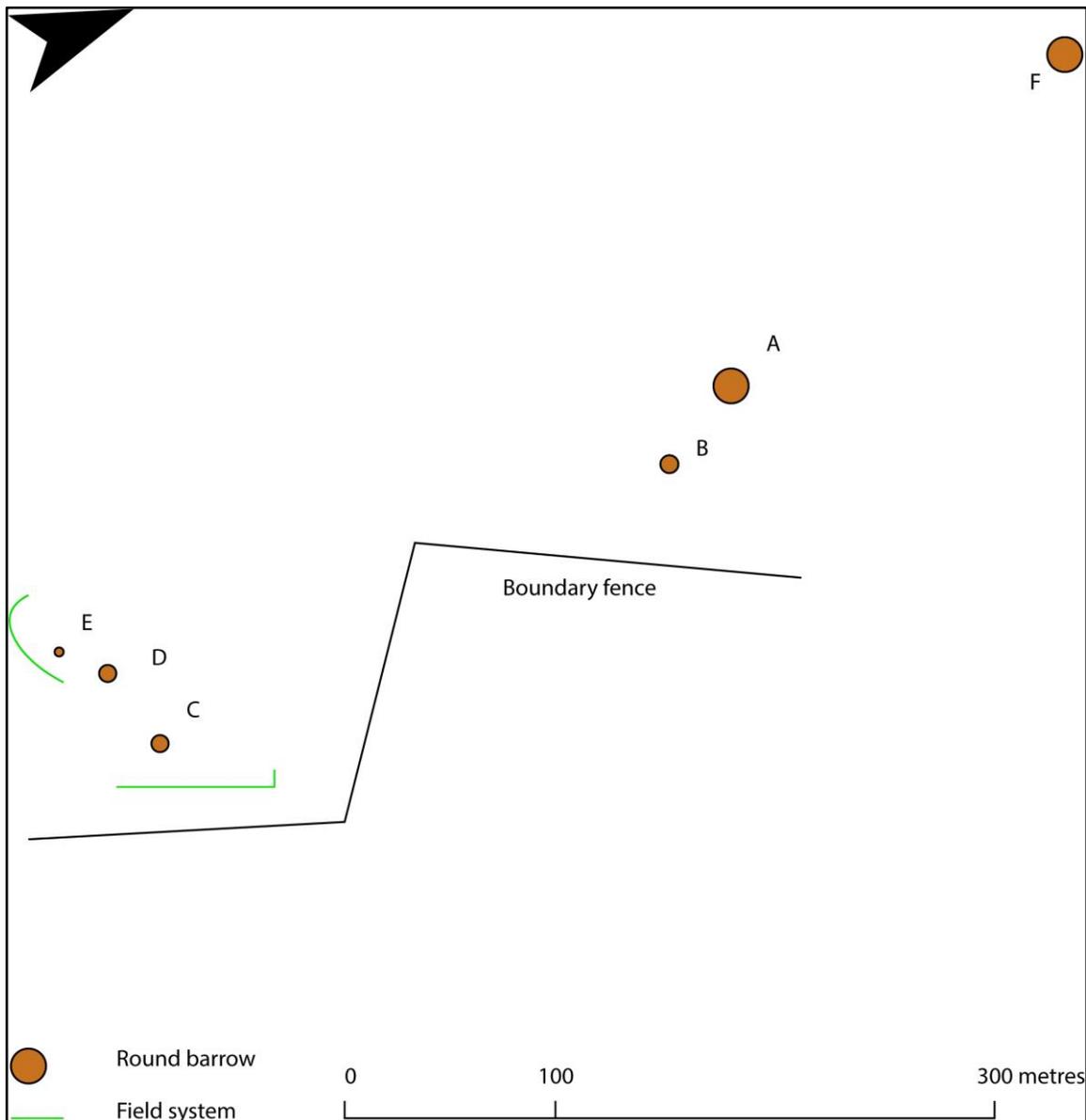
Figure 4.24. Location of the barrow cemetery at Lamb Down. After Vatcher 1961: 419.

The first example pertains to an intrusive inhumation inserted into the prehistoric Lamb Down A, a bowl barrow 7.3m in diameter with a maximum height of 1.1m, situated in close proximity to a smaller round barrow of prehistoric date (Figure 4.25). It was surrounded by a roughly flat-bottom ditch 1.5-1.8m wide and 91cm deep, abutted by a low bank. The mound material was composed of chalk and soil, likely cut from the ditch and bank. In the centre of the barrow below the ground surface lay a broadly oval

prehistoric inhumation cut which had been robbed and denuded by ploughing. The fill contained two sherds of *mortaria*, which were likely residual as a result of the robbing event. Immediately to the south of the prehistoric inhumation lay an intrusive extended inhumation wrapped in shrouding. In order to receive the burial, part of the mound had been dug to the level of the old ground surface, upon which the skeleton of a female was placed, together with a heavily corroded iron Type D penannular brooch placed by the left shoulder, which may have fastened the shrouded garment (Fowler 1963: 429). The top of the skull was situated immediately above modern plough soil and the legs had been cut off by robbing of the grave. A single post hole, 22cm deep, containing traces of decayed wood, was situated beside the right leg of the skeleton, likely utilised as part of the funerary ritual prior to the resealing of the mound. Two unaccompanied secondary cremations were recovered south of the skeleton, although the fragmentary nature of the remains precluded any identification and it is not clear whether the deposits were human or animal, nor whether they were prehistoric or Roman. The upper layer of ditch silting contained four human adult teeth as well as several third and fourth centuries sherds and chips of *terra sigillata*, with a further two sherds from the mound material likely of third century date (Annable 1963: 432). The excavators assigned the burial deposit to the second or third century based on the ceramics, though the pottery from the ditch might provide an extension to the fourth century. Type D penannular brooches, characterised by reflexed terminals, were common within the southwest, proliferating in the mid-late first century CE, though Booth notes dated finds from the region indicate continued popularity throughout the Roman period (2015: 157-159). Consequently, the brooch may have been either an heirloom artefact or a contemporaneous with the likely later funerary deposit.
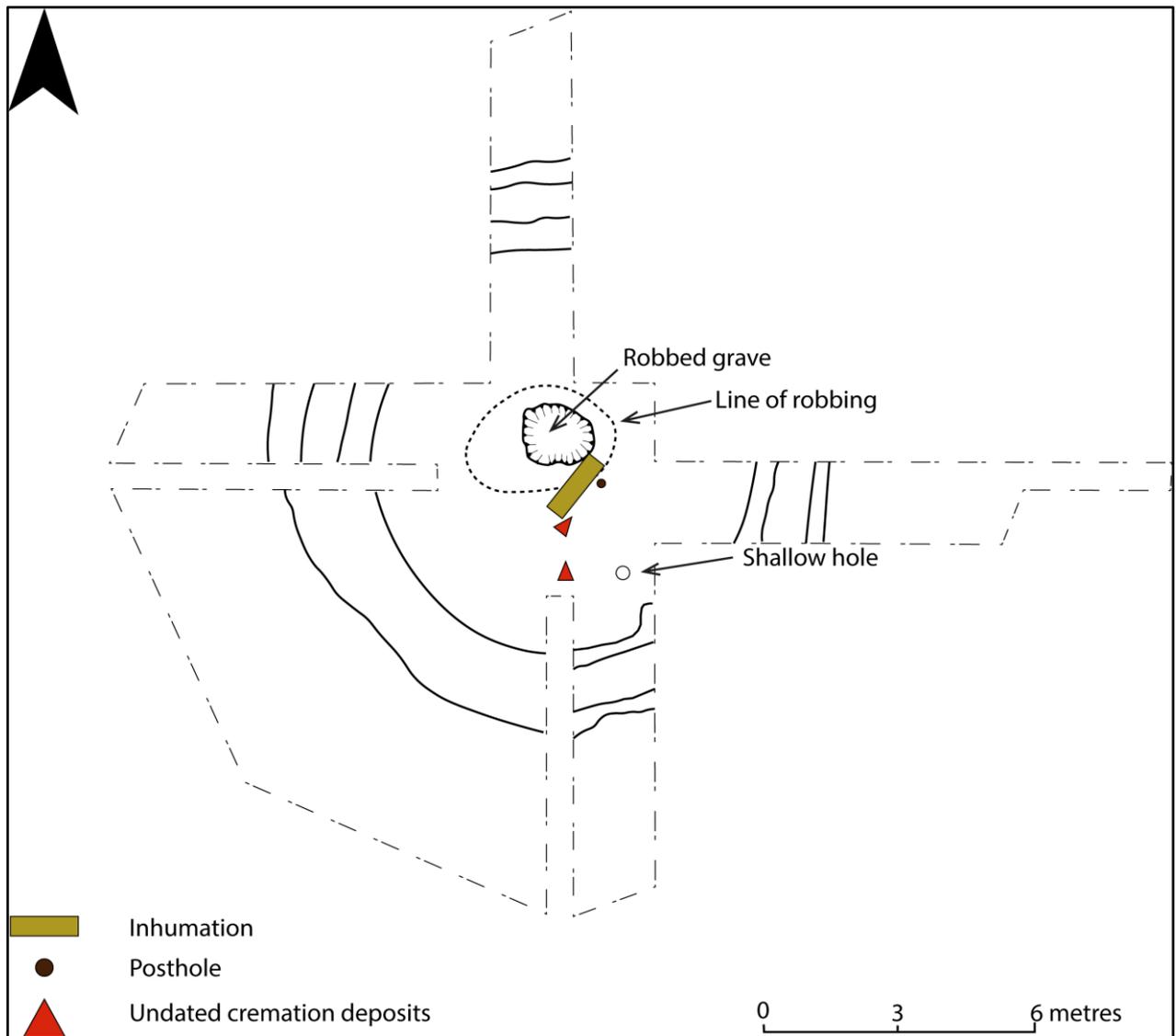
Figure 4.25. Plan of Lamb Down A. After Vatcher 1963: 421.

The second barrow, Lamb Down C, aligned with three prehistoric round barrows to create a distinct linear cemetery, displays evidence for an in situ cremation around which a round mound mimicking the prehistoric bowl barrow form was constructed. This barrow contained no encircling ditch, and was the largest monument of the barrows Vatcher investigated, measuring 13.7m in diameter and 50cm high. Immediately to the southeast of the barrow centre, a thin scorched red and black layer spread over an area c. 1.8 x 2.4m was present. With the exception of a Bronze Age sherd recovered from a disturbed fill, the finds were entirely of Roman date. From the original ground surface, the fragmented remains of a copper-alloy brooch/pendant was recovered (Webster 1963) whilst three iron studs, probably related to a harness for footwear, were also recovered (Vatcher 1963: 431). Distributed throughout the mound

material, the old ground surface and deposited below the original ground surface were a number of sherds of the third and fourth centuries (Annable 1961: 433). In addition, a copper-alloy *nummus* of Valentinian I dating to Reece Period 19 was deposited within the weathered chalk beneath the old ground surface (Appendix 3; de S. Shortt 1963: 431; Figure 4.26) providing a broad late date for the funerary deposit and mound construction, congruent with the pottery assemblage. It highlights that the impetus for the construction of Lamb Down C was likely related to the probable earlier intrusive deposit at Lamb Down A and that both mimicry and intrusive funerary insertions were inextricably related practices.

Figure 4.26. Copper-alloy *nummus* of Valentinian I dating recovered from the Roman mimicry round barrow at Lamb Down C. Museum no: SZWS 1963.23.3. Photo by author.

Roman period material was also recovered from Lamb Down F, a small ditched bowl barrow situated on the northern slope of the Down. Here flanged bowls, *mortaria* and colour-coated wares of the late third century were recovered from the upper layers and top-soil of the mound material and external ditch whilst a few sherds of abraded *terra sigillata* were also recovered from the ditch (Annable 1961: 433; Vatcher 1961: 425). This highlights that prior to the mid-late fourth century cremation deposit in Lamb Down C, an associated barrow in the vicinity was engaged with, demonstrating that the extant barrows would have created a template for the localised funerary pattern to emerge. In this regard, it should be further noted that two other round barrows within the Wyle valley demonstrate Roman period funerary profiles, both excavated in the nineteenth century. At the bowl barrow Codford St Peter 1b, an extended inhumation was supposedly intrusively deposited, associated with two pieces of "fine Roman

pottery that occurred at a considerable depth" (Colt-Hoare 1821: 77). Similarly, 13 extended inhumations were supposedly inserted into the bowl barrow at Boyton Field Farm (Cunnington 1804) although it cannot be certain that they were Roman period funerary deposits and they may possibly date to the post-Roman period (Figure 4.27).

The funerary utilisation of barrows within the wider Salisbury Plain area must be set within the context of the demonstrable intensification of the landscape during the third and fourth centuries. As we have seen, this was manifested, in particular, through the emergence of nucleated and small rural settlements, a consequence of the declining importance of *Sorviodunum*. Indeed, the enclosed nucleated settlement at Stockton Down, situated between the Lamb Down monuments and the road, was likely associated with the actions at the Lamb Down barrows. Though the settlement yields a long sequence of activity from the LPRIA through the end of the fourth century CE, coin loss patterns of Reece Period 15-18 (Nan Kivell 1929) demonstrate congruence with the wider county pattern and reflect the boom of agricultural settlement at this time. Further, nucleated settlements at Knook Down East and Knook Down West, Chapperton Down 1 and Chapperton Down 2 were situated within the vicinity and emphasise an intensified landscape, with the latter dating from the third century (Malim and Martin 2007). It is further notable that, within this broader area, engagement with monuments was widespread, with the hillforts of Yarnbury Castle, itself demonstrating a funerary deposit within the ditch, as well as Ebsbury Hill, Bilbury Rings, Knoock Castle, Scratchbury Camp, Battlesbury Camp and Cley Hill revealing evidence for degrees of Roman period engagement (Appendix 1). Further, antiquarian investigations at the round barrow Norton Bavant 11 recorded finewares from the interior of the mound (Colt-Hoare 1975a: 89-91). This highlights that engagement with the Lamb Down barrows was part of a wider nexus of localised engagement activity. Moreover, Section 3.4.5 suggested that the dearth of cemeteries and isolated burials within the southwestern Salisbury Plain area was related to the practice of the utilisation of round barrows for burial within this zone, where they performed significant funerary roles. It is these factors taken together that we can understand the emergence of the funerary deposits at the Lamb Down barrows.

Figure 4.27. Location of Lamb Down barrows in relation to wider settlement patterns and engaged with monument.

4.5 Discussion

This chapter has investigated Roman period engagement with prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire. It has shown that engagement was clustered within the chalk downlands, associated in particular with the AWHS and SWHS. The monuments that yielded high levels of Roman period engagement were situated in close proximity to areas of dense inhabitation, indicating that monumental engagement was related to wider patterns of landscape inhabitation. These data indicate that, where engagement with monuments did occur, it did so as part of a wider phenomenon incorporating diverse morphological forms. Conversely, in areas beyond the chalk, where monuments were present, there was a notable dearth of engagement, suggesting that prehistoric monuments were meaningful to communities in locations where they were (a) widespread, and (b) where engagement with multiple monumental forms was a routine form of every-day life.

This chapter has discussed the varying types of engagement manifested in relation to prehistoric monuments and asserted that overt religious associations, often considered the reason why prehistoric monuments would have been engaged with, was in fact merely one element of how they came to be meaningful within of the Roman period landscape. Indeed, the monuments were demonstrably engaged with in a multiciplicity of ways, where they became foci for settlement, features, funerary deposition, shrines and votive deposition. I have further demonstrated that the morphological forms of monuments resulted in distinct types of engagement. At round barrows, for instance, a funerary association was common. Long barrows represented a much smaller sample of the total amount of monuments with engagement but did so, in the main, through votive deposition. I have argued that the morphological appearance of these diverse structures resulted in these differing forms of engagement manifested by the types of engagement noted with chambered long barrows.

I have argued that the differing routes of the road system in the AWHS and the SWHS impacted upon how the monuments in each zone were engaged with. The road cutting directly through the AWHS, deliberately referencing Silbury Hill, created the space for the subsequent roadside settlement emerge. After depositional activity associated with the henge at Avebury occurred during the early Roman period, the emergence of the Silbury Hill settlement marginalised the henge within the Roman period landscape.

It was from the epicentre of the Silbury Hill settlement that further engagement occurred, manifested at the West Kennett long barrow and at the Overton Hill barrows and The Sanctuary. Similarly, within the SWHS and Salisbury Plain more widely, activity was concentrated in the main once settlement patterns began to intensify in the wider Salisbury Plain landscape in the later period.

Though engagement patterns were focussed upon the third and fourth centuries, there were distinct differences between northern and southern Wiltshire. This, it is argued, is related to wider changes in landscape occupation. Whilst Cirencester in southern Gloucestershire became particularly important during the third and fourth centuries, its impacts on northern Wiltshire resulted in a rich villa landscape and the growth of *Cunetio* within the later centuries. This affected the growth of the Silbury Hill settlement, which reached its zenith at this time, resulting in later period engagement with many of the monuments situated within the AWHS.

By contrast, the SWHS was largely devoid of earlier period activity owing to the importance of *Sorviodunum* at Old Sarum. As *Sorviodunum* declined in importance during the later Roman period, a consequence was the growth and intensification of rural and nucleated settlements within Salisbury Plain in the third and fourth centuries. This resulted in prehistoric monuments in these areas having the capacity, from where monuments in the vicinity became meaningful actors. Within the boundaries of the SWHS, this was expressed by the importance of the settlement at Durrington Walls during the later Roman period, which led to engagement activity manifested at Woodhenge, The Cuckoo Stone, and Stonehenge. Areas peripheral to the SWHS were also impacted by the decline of *Sorviodunum*, with intensification of the wider Salisbury Plain agricultural landscape which resulted in the monuments becoming encountered and therefore meaningful. This was expressed in relation to the funerary engagement with the barrows at Lamb Down and its association with settlements in the area as well as the dearth of cemeteries and isolated burials.

Consequently, engagement with prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire occurred as the result of social changes attested more broadly in the later Roman period, where monuments became more meaningful components of Roman landscape inhabitation. As a result, when we consider how prehistoric monuments were meaningful in the Roman period, they must be viewed as active collaborative, contemporary actors situated relationally with other landscape elements. A key question that emerges is

whether or not the patterns demonstrably observed in Wiltshire were reflected elsewhere in the province, addressed in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five: Study Zone 2: The PDNP

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Two demonstrated the rationale for considering Roman period engagement with prehistoric monuments in multiple regions. While Chapters Three and Four together investigated patterns in Wiltshire, Chapter Five is an investigation of the phenomenon the PDNP. As Chapter Two suggested (Section 2.6) both zones had different prehistoric and Roman period profiles, and there is a need to reflect upon the development of the PDNP landscape in both prehistory and the Roman periods before the evidence for engagement with monuments is presented. Whilst the structure of the Wiltshire chapter unfolded through specific monuments that became the subject of case-studies, this chapter is presented in a more traditionally linear chronological narrative for it is the case that long-term habitation trends influenced the emergence of natural places, monumental architecture, population levels and the peopling of the area in the Roman period.

First, it is necessary to discuss the geomorphology of the PDNP, which comprises some 1,440km^2 (Brightman and Waddington 2011: 2). An understanding of the diversities in topography and environment enables a methodological approach placing archaeological associations in their appropriate landscape settings. Subsequently, prehistoric monuments present within the PDNP are briefly characterised in Section 5.3 before a summary of our present understanding of Roman era settlement and society is provided (Section 5.4). These discussions are necessary in order to understand how monument engagement collaborated with how the landscape was inhabited, in accordance with the methodology established in Section 2.5. These accounts are by no means intended to be exhaustive, since regional resource assessments and syntheses exist (Barnatt and Collis 1996; Barnatt and Smith 2004; Bevan 2005; Brightman and Waddington 2011; Clay 2006; Hart 1981; Hodges and Smith 1991; Marsden 1977; McNabb 2006; Myers 2006; Patterson 2016; Taylor 2006; Willis 2006). They are intended, rather, to establish the context of the PDNP so that relevant associations can be made. Next, Roman engagement with prehistoric features is investigated through case-studies focussed on caves (Section 5.5.1) and barrows (Section 5.5.2), which form the entire dataset of the types of monuments with

engagement, before a lack of engagement with other monuments and concluding remarks are offered (Section 5.6).

5.2 Twin peaks: landscape, topography and environment of the PDNP

The PDNP is an area of natural beauty situated at the southern tip of the Pennines in northern England, characterised by steep valleys and dramatic vistas. Its geomorphology comprises two main distinct zones, commonly known as the 'White Peak' and 'Dark Peak' (Figure 5.1).
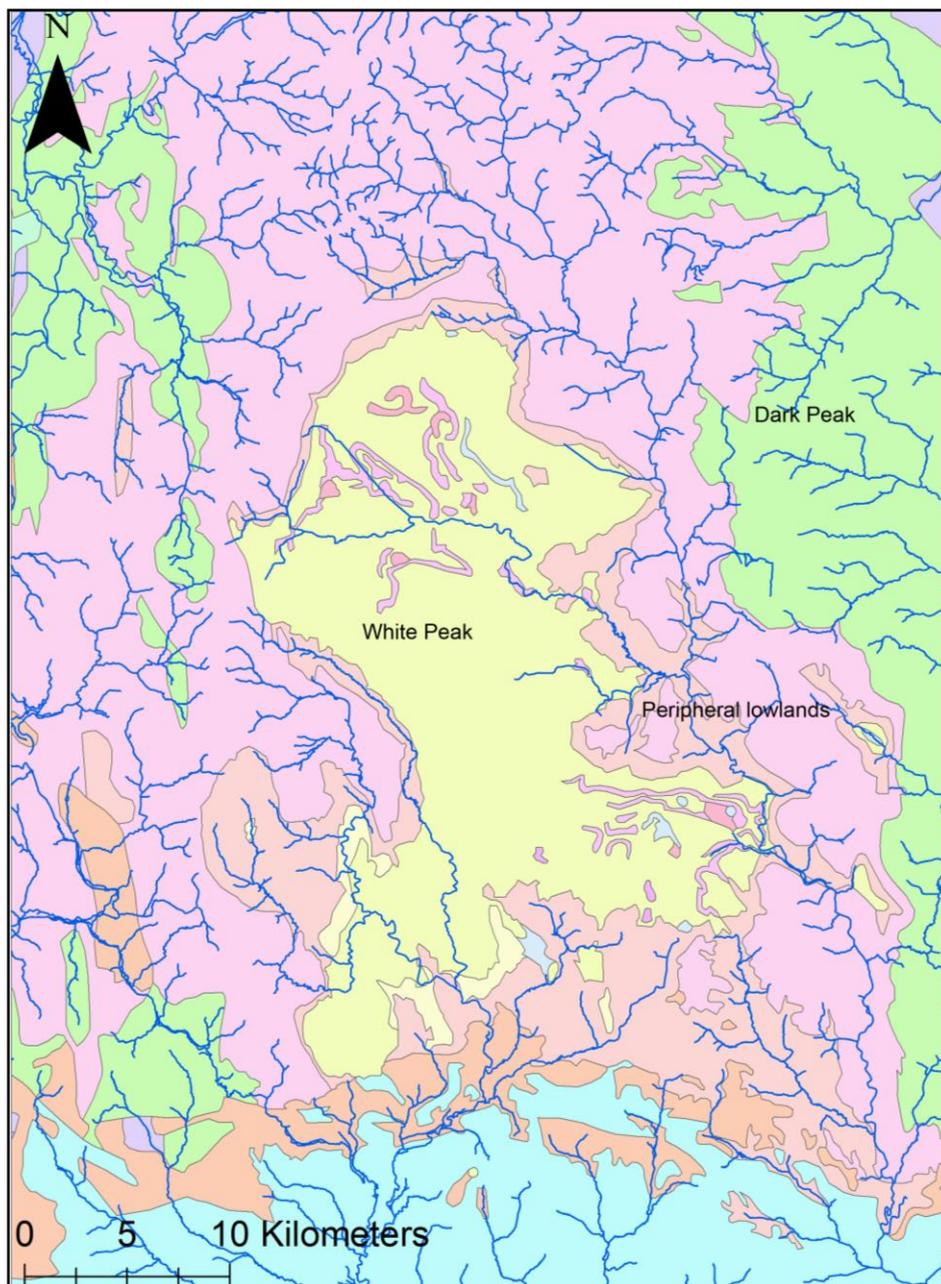
Figure 5.1. The geographical zones of the PDNP.

The White Peak encompasses the limestone plateau, comprising an area of 449.41km^2, forming 31.2% of the total land area of the PDNP. Its highest elevation is 450m above sea level, constituted of carboniferous limestone (Barnatt & Smith 2004: 4; Passmore 2011: 9). It is a gently undulating landscape interspersed with knolls and crags, dissected by steeply cut dales and gorges with rock outcrops, caves and rock shelters. Surrounding the White Peak is the Dark Peak, typified by higher gritstone moorlands. It is a sharply defined, vast plateau with gritstone ridges. At the interface between the geologies, the peripheral lowland is composed of a soft shale. The major rivers rise on the Dark Peak southwest of Buxton, slaloming east and into the lower Derwent and Trent, ultimately making their way east into the North Sea. Due to underlying alkaline geology, both environments were conducive to crop agriculture and grazing when climatic conditions became favourable for permanent human settlement (Passmore 2011: 9). However, their contrasting geologies have resulted in an archaeological bias towards the White Peak while the legacy of antiquarian investigation has resulted in a more intensively explored White Peak, particularly in relation to the barrows (Barnatt and Collis 1996: 19-20).

At the start of the Holocene, climate change resulted in the spread of mixed deciduous woodland of birch, pine, hazel and elm. By c.5,000 BCE, wetter climatic conditions resulted in the development of blanket peat contributing to the diminishment of scrub woodland (Barnatt and Smith 2004: 7-8). During the Iron Age, the climate cooled and became wetter; analysis of cores from deep bogs demonstrates a reduction in tree pollen, reflecting the clearance of lowland woodlands and environmental degradation (Long, Chambers and Barnatt 1998). After c.140 BCE, the climate entered a drier phase, providing favourable conditions for arable farming regimes towards the end of the first century through the Roman period (Phillips 1969: 79).

The PDNP is also famed for its mineral wealth. The lime in the White Peak has attracted human intervention for utilisation in agriculture and architecture while its mineral veins have resulted in a landscape rich for the mining of lead, copper and zinc ores (Barnatt & Smith 2004: 5). Indeed, lead mining a key part of the Roman period landscape (Jones and Mattingly 1990: 189). Consequently, the PDNP is not a homogenous nor static landscape. It is easy to characterise areas of upland Britain as dour, desolate and dismal and, similarly, that features of the remote past are quiescent and unacting, rendered irrelevancies by the simple passage of time. This chapter, in

conjunction with Chapter Six, demonstrates that, during the Roman period, this was unequivocally not the case.

5.3 The Prehistoric Peaks

5.3.1 The Palaeolithic and Mesolithic: cave usage

After the last glacial maximum, the earliest evidence for human habitation is often associated with caves (Bramwell 1977), and numerous cave systems yielding human presences are known from the limestone of the White Peak. Data synthesised through the sources outlined in Section 2.8 has yielded 50 cave systems from the PDNP exhibiting prehistoric activity, which are attested in the main through lithic technology and burials (Chamberlain 2014). Utilisation of caves was characteristic of both the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods, in addition to open air sites (Barnatt & Smith 2004: 11-12; Brightman & Waddington 2011: 18-19), though activities continued throughout later prehistory and the Roman period (Branigan and Dearne 1990). This emphasises that they were important 'monuments' throughout British prehistory and into the historical period (Section 2.7). Caves are considered here where such sites yield evidence for both prehistoric and Roman occupation (5.5.1).

5.3.2 The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age: sedentarism, agriculture and monumentality

Favourable climatic conditions contributed to the emergence of sedentarism associated with the transition to the Neolithic, which led to the emergence of monumental structures. On the Dark Peak, terrain became enclosed; recent field surveys at Gardom's Edge on the peripheral lowlands and eastern gritstone of the Dark Peak resulted in the discovery of c.200 sites, the majority dating to the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (Barnatt, Bevan and Edmonds 2017).

The PDNP demonstrates a concentrated Neolithic and Bronze Age monumental tradition where barrows and stone circles proliferated (Figures 5.2 and 5.39). Roman engagement with these forms is discussed in Sections 5.5.2 and 5.6. Within the PDNP, there are a maximum of 11 long barrows, though there are particular difficulties in the definitive categorisation of these monuments owing to both the reconciliation of antiquarian records with modern survey, local morphological idiosyncrasies and

research traditions in the area (Barnatt and Collis 1996: 21-30). Four are known as the 'great barrows': Minninglow 1, Tideslow, Stoney Low and Pea Low. 16 barrows were chambered structures, sub-divided morphologically into 'closed chambers' and 'passage graves'. There are between four to twelve closed chambered and between four and five passage graves types in the PDNP. The range in numbers is a reflection in the lack of certainty in locatable sites (Barnatt and Collis 1996: 225). Dating the monuments is challenging but the passage grave barrows and closed chambered barrows likely date to the Early Neolithic (Barnatt and Collis 1996: 25).

Alongside funerary monuments, there were two henges located in the White Peak at Arbor Low and Bull Ring. The former has been more extensively investigated, dating to c.2000 BCE, though no Roman period engagement is known from either site (Barnatt 1990), a theme picked up in Section 5.6. The Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age saw a proliferation of stone circles and unchambered round barrows together with dwellings, farmsteads and field systems, as the landscape was inhabited at an intensified pace (Hart 1981: 56-7). The majority of the largely undated unchambered round barrows likely originated at this time. Figure 5.2 shows the majority were situated on the White Peak. Discrepancies between the location of the barrows and the stone circles can be observed comparing Figures 5.2 and 5.49, with the former situated largely within the White Peak and the latter in the peripheral lowlands and the Dark Peak. This spatial separation is crucial in relation to Roman settlement (Section 5.4) and specifically addressed in Section 5.6.
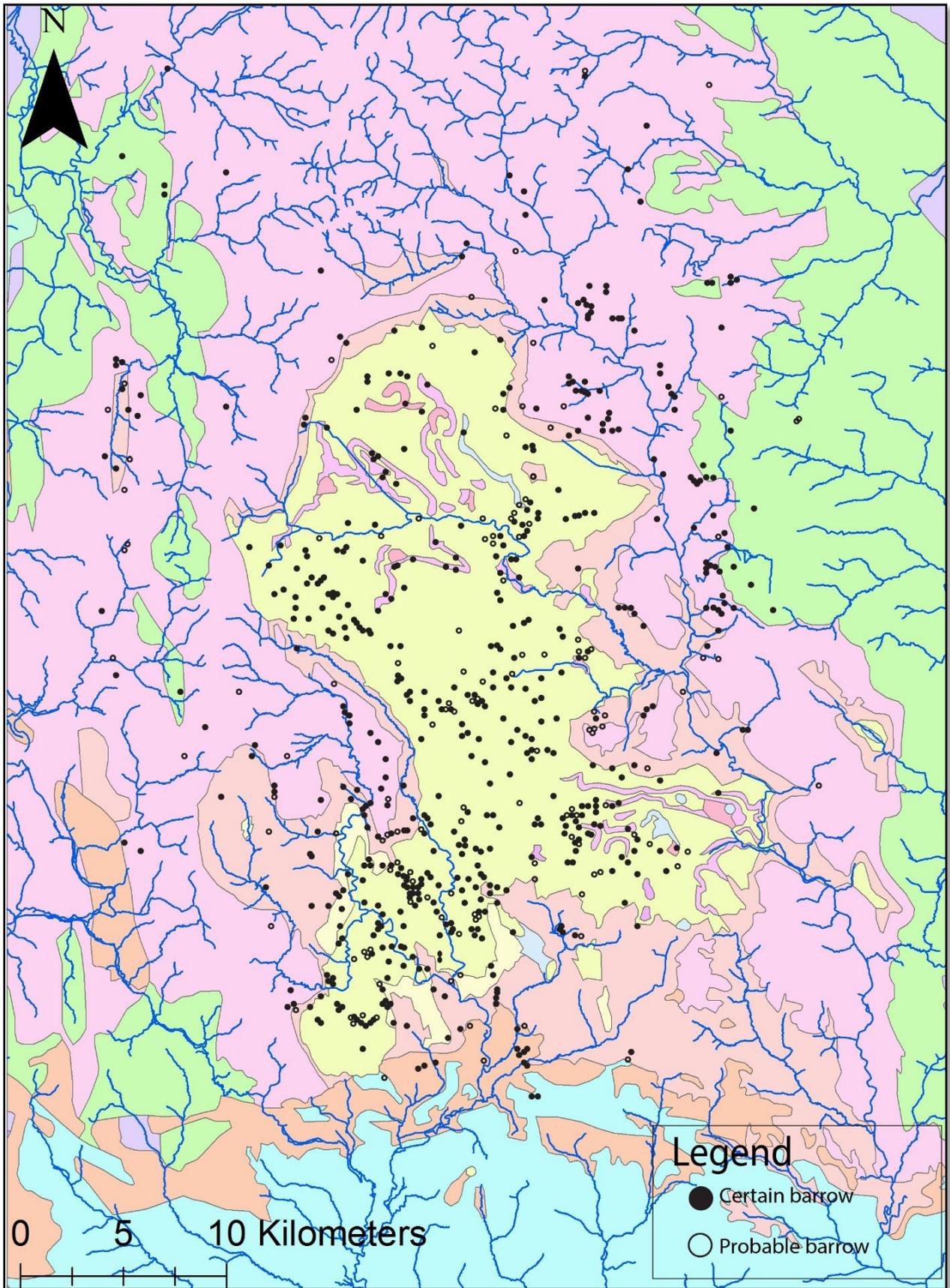
Figure 5.2. Location of later prehistoric barrows in the PDNP. Adapted from Barnatt and Collis 1996: 8.

5.3.3 The Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age: depopulation and hiatus?

A perspective has emerged over the past 30 years or so that population levels in the Later Bronze Age and Iron Age occupation in the PDNP decreased. A catalyst was probably the cooler and wetter climate (Section 5.2), driving communities to the relatively sheltered environments of the river valleys and peripheral lowlands, supported by environmental samples (Barnatt and Smith 2004: 41-46). While Barnatt and Smith emphasise population reduction as a consequence (2004: 35-41), Brightman and Waddington posit that many sites likely remain undiscovered, while many others were potentially erroneously categorised as excessively early, indicative of later prehistoric presence (2011: 25). This conclusion is complemented, however, by the paucity of Iron Age material in the PDNP, though it has been argued that Iron Age communities in the area may have been aceramic, rendering their archaeological visibility difficult (Bevan 2005: 38). Nonetheless, Later Bronze Age find spots are reduced, farmsteads appear abandoned, and little about the nature of Iron Age occupation is known. There are, however, 12 confirmed and probable hillforts occupying positions in the sheltered basins around the main river valleys, avoiding the White Peak (Figure 5.3). The hillforts have been largely neglected, reflecting that Bateman and his contemporaries were largely uninterested in settlement sites (Hodges 1991: 46) and only two have been excavated, creating particular problems in extrapolating their significance or lack thereof in the Roman period.

The dearth of Later Bronze Age and Iron Age activity is also illustrated in the ways earlier prehistoric features were interacted with. Jones showed Iron Age engagement on the White Peak was remarkably low compared to Roman and Early Medieval patterns (1997: 18), though a number of ferrous finds throughout the PDNP were noted to be diagnostically difficult to assign, and may therefore reflect an underestimated Iron Age presence (Willis 2006). It is unclear whether the lack of later prehistoric engagement with earlier monuments was a reflection of their avoidance and interpretation as taboo, echoing the LPRIA in association with the WHS in Wiltshire (3.3.8), or whether it was the result of the lack of any significant population on the White Peak at this time. On the basis of the environmental evidence referred to above and the location of the hillforts, it would seem likely that the latter was the case, and the focus of habited areas shifted away from the White Peak.
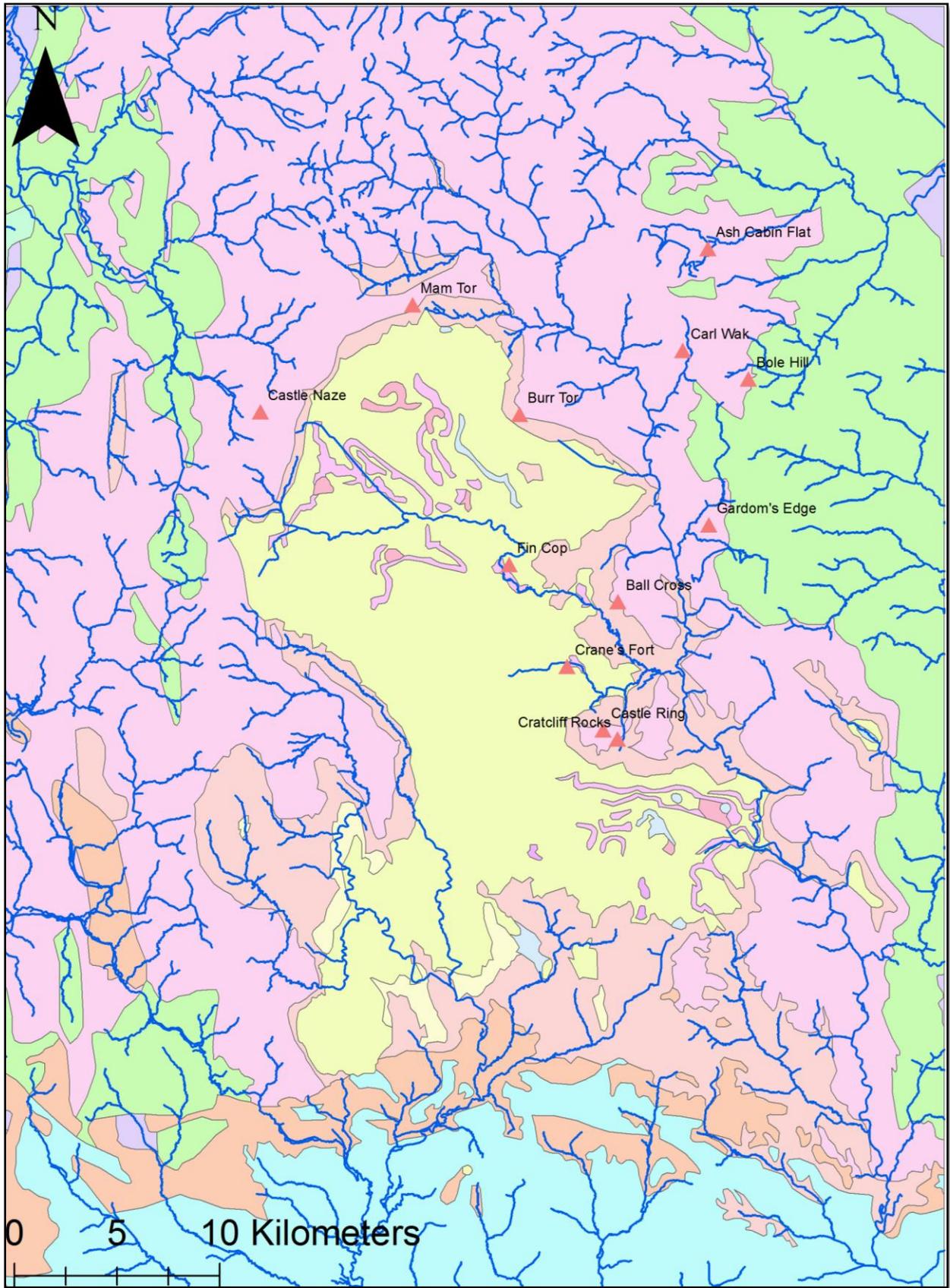
Figure 5.3. Location of Hillforts in the PDNP.

5.4 The Roman period PDNP and its environs

Compared with settlement patterns in the East Midlands, the PDNP can appear to be something of an archaeological blind spot (Taylor 2006). Indeed, based on the then scant knowledge of Roman settlements, Frere remarked in the 1960s that many inhabitants of the area must have simply lived in caves (1967: 311). Following Haverfield's influence (1905), study of the Roman period PDNP and its surrounds have been centred upon military installations and associated settlements; the three major forts at Derby (*Derventio)* on the outskirts of modern Derby; *Navio* at Brough, and Melandra situated in Glossop on the Cheshire border, while the potentially urban settlement at Buxton known as *Aquae Arnemetiae* has long provided fascination (Figure 5.4*).* I will summarise briefly to provide context as part of discussion outlining the development of the Roman period PDNP.

Melandra, the most northerly fort, was situated on a promontory above the River Etherow. It was initially constructed in timber in the Flavian period, with the *principia* later rebuilt in stone, garrisoned by *Cohort III Bracara Augustani* from Lusitania and later the 1st Cohort of the Frisiavones from *Germania Inferior*, who also maintained a presence at Manchester, to which the fort is connected by a road. It had a possible *mansio* and bathhouse and an associated extramural settlement before being abandoned in the second century. The extramural settlement was constructed in timber and occupied between c.80-140 CE, and a small cremation cemetery was annexed (Webster 1969; 1971).

Like Melandra, *Navio* was founded during the Flavian advance and constructed in timber. Situated uphill in the Hope Valley, it was associated with the 1st cohort of *Gallia Aquitania* and abandoned c.120 CE. It was reconstructed in timber on a new axial orientation from the mid-first century, when an extramural settlement grew around it. In the third century, the fort was rebuilt in stone, attesting to a continued military presence in the area (Dearne 1993). It was connected by the road system to *Melandra* in the north, to Rotherham in the northeast, to Chesterfield in the southeast, *Derventio* in the south and *Aquae Anemetiae* in the west.

Derventio was the largest of the settlements, initially investigated by Stukeley in the 1720s before later excavations established it underwent various iterations (Dun 2014; Webster 1961). First, the fort known as Strutts Park was founded c.50 CE before being

replaced c.80 CE with the fort known as Little Chester. Here, an extramural settlement grew up eventually becoming the civilian site, which was occupied through to the later fourth century and would have played a considerable role in the wider Roman period landscape. The civilian settlement was associated with an area of industrial production and exhibited a large cemetery, forming what Patterson described as a "sophisticated and prosperous community" (2016: 80).

Aquae Arnemetiae, often perhaps overenthusiastically thought of as the 'Bath of the north' (Patterson 2016: 273-284), was a small urban settlement associated with a bathing complex, centred around naturally warm springs. It was potentially named after a local pagan deity (Anderson 1985: 22-24) and listed in the *Ravenna Cosmography*. Structural evidence for the character and extent of the site is regrettably lacking though it has yielded a large cache of votive deposits running through to the end of the fourth century (Hart 1981: 94) and was possibly founded upon an Iron Age water shrine. Although much if its extent and role within the regional infrastructure of the PDNP is speculated upon, its position at the intersection of four roadways attests to its regional importance potentially as a small quasi-urban settlement (Figure 5.4).

Lutudarum, the supposed centre of lead industry in the region, has not been incontrovertibly located. Listed on the *Ravenna Cosmography* as sited next to *Derventio*, the location generally favoured is Carsington, lying in the southern portion of the White Peak (Lane 1986). Carsington was a villa with associated bath house as well as a timber structure perhaps devoted to industrial production, which could have operated as an industrial administrative hub (Dearne, Anderson and Branigan 1995; Dool and Hughes 1976; Ling and Courtney 1981; Ling et al 1990). Moreover, the site is well connected to all major settlements in the area, conducive to mobility, perhaps giving credence to this perspective. However, lead working on a similar scale has been recognised at a number of rural settlements (Makepeace 1998: 108-109) such as Rainster Rocks (Dool 1976). We are perhaps left with the conclusion, therefore, that *Lutudarum* was a composite of different sites representing a guild or *collegia* rather than a singular place (Taylor 2006: 152). An obsession with chasing *Lutudarum* has led to the origins of Roman inhabitation in the area being framed as a planned imperial enterprise based upon lead extraction:

"Historians favour treating the PDNP as an imperial estate in the first and second centuries AD, where the mining of lead was administered by a local government official….in the Peakland case, settlers were needed to colonise the ground, and to begin the process of mining and farming which in time might yield through taxation a good return to the state. The government administrator was probably based at *Lutudarum*, the place referred to on the lead pigs produced in the region."

<div align="right">(Hodges 1991: 83)</div>

This position has been countered by the Peak District Roman Survey, 1998-2000 (Bevan 2005). It shows that, of the 143 known Roman period rural settlements and field systems, only 32% were sited within 500m of mineral veins, and many demonstrate industrial production on merely a 'domestic' scale (Bevan 2005: 37-38). The survey concludes that claims of lead extraction for the area have been overstated, though the spread of ingots stamped LVT throughout the Empire attest to the importance of the activity (Anderson 1985: 10-15). The survey also demonstrated a marked concentration of Roman period settlements on the White Peak, particularly in the south, and peripheral lowlands, while the Dark Peak seems to have been largely baren (Figure 5.4). Indeed, the survey showed that 81.1% of all settlements were located upon the White Peak, emphasising that it constituted the major zone of Roman rural activity in the PDNP. Many of the settlements occupied positions on the shelves and scarp slopes in the wider valleys of the Lower Derwent, Hope Valley and Edale (Bevan 2005: 33). The sites demonstrate a picture of small communities practicing mixed farming dispersed among fields, which defined the boundaries of households and communities. There was a diversity in settlement morphology eschewing an upland/lowland divide with small nucleated, dispersed and enclosed settlements all attested, organised by small, regular communities working in a wider tradition (Bevan 2005: 52-54). The region contained a dearth of known villa sites when compared to the East Midlands more generally (Taylor 2006, fig 38), traditionally encouraging an interpretation of an impoverished area somewhat disconnected from wider Roman infrastructure.

Though little excavation work has been undertaken at the rural settlements, Roystone Grange represents the most extensively investigated site of this type. The complex comprises two clusters of buildings: five rectangular buildings on a hillside and another

isolated farmhouse situated 750m to the south. One building in the first cluster was the main aisled farmhouse measuring 20m x 12m. Whilst both complexes contained walls for paddocks and pens nearby, the buildings were encircled by double-thick limestone walls encircling a large area of c.300,000m^2, centred around a trackway (Figure 5.24). Hodges believed the farm complex may have in fact comprised an area up to 4km^2, forming part of a wider nucleated settlement. Further, based upon its hypothesised extent, Hodges estimated that it would have taken up to c.50 people to manage the complex at it is greatest extent. Whatever the case, the evidence revealed in the main from the settlement survey, emphasises that the majority of settlements would have been much smaller rural structures (Bevan 2005).

In contrast to farmsteads in lowlying areas of Derbyshire which demonstrate a degree of spatial continuity with LPRIA farmsteads, Roystone Grange, together with sites such as Staden (Makepeace 1995) and Rainster Rocks (Dool 1976) in the uplands show origins in the second century, unrelated to any pre-existing features. This supports a chronology of agricultural expansion during the second century through to the end of the Roman period (Makepeace 1998), and potentially gives veracity to Hodges' interpretation that the area was repopulated in the Roman period, supporting Barnatt's contention that the area was largely abandoned during the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age (Section 5.3.3). This sits in contrast to the evidence discussed in relation to the Wiltshire, where there was demonstrable continuity in settlement and habitation from the LPRIA and Roman period (Section 3.5). The upshot of this is that it may have led to profoundly different conceptions of the monuments in both areas during the Roman period. Whilst the notion that the monuments comprising the WHS in Wiltshire were avoided in the LPRIA seems clear from the available evidence, potentially persisting in social memory, the picture emerging from the PDNP suggests that many communities would have interpreted the monuments in novel ways. Consequently, the monuments would have been potentially unattached to any meaning they may have held in the latter phases of prehistory, owing to the differential developments of each landscape.
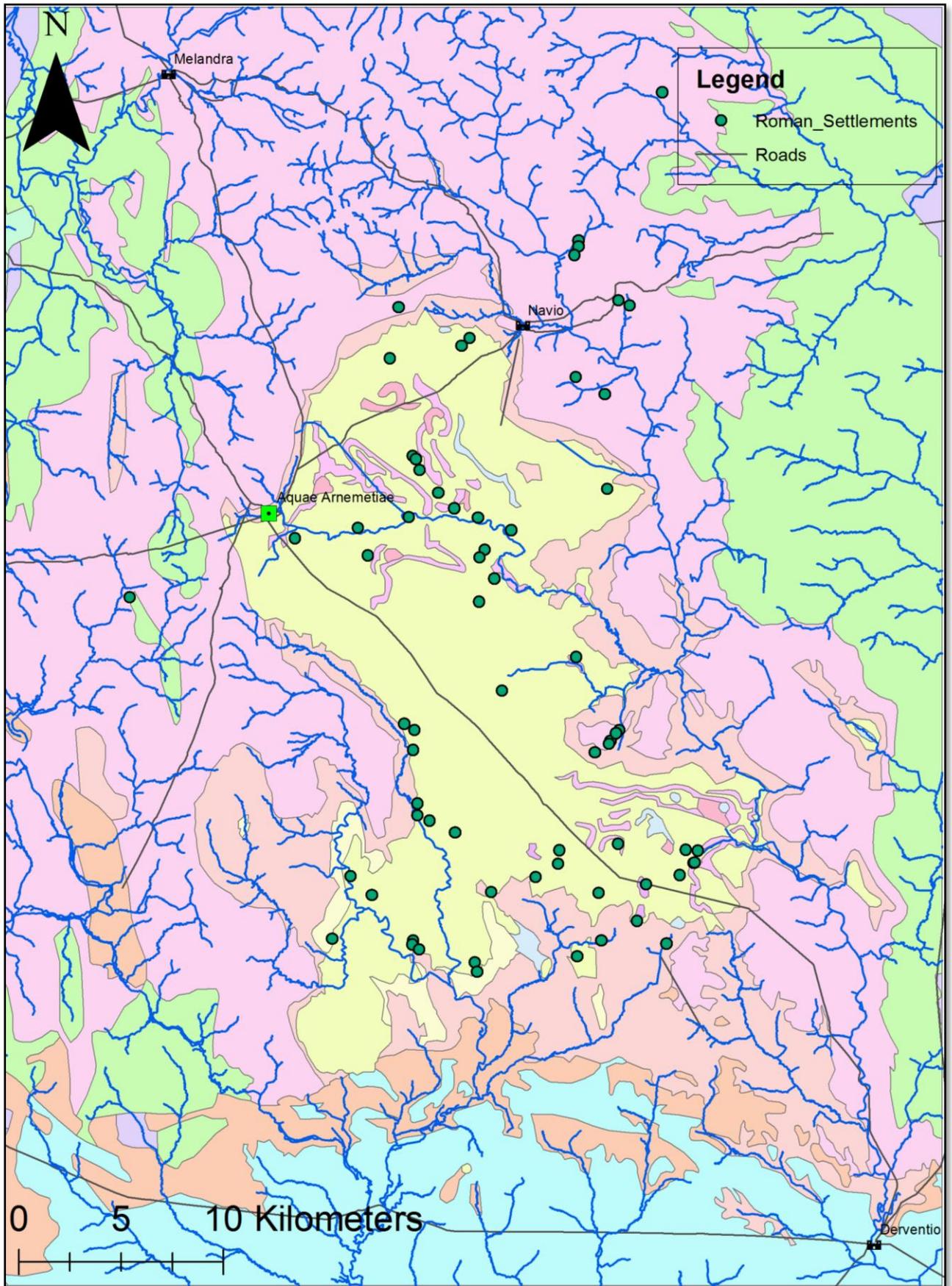
Figure 5.4. Distribution of Roman settlements in the PDNP.

Funerary evidence is sparse and little in the way of formal cemeteries are known. Our most extensive knowledge concerns *Derventio* where five stone mausolea are attested, flanking the road heading eastwards away from the settlement (Patterson 2016: 111-112). Additionally, a cemetery known as The Racecourse was situated north of the roadside mausolea containing the remains of over 100 individuals (Wheeler 1985). Similarly, two areas of burning with Roman artefactual evidence 650m south of the fort at *Melandra* were noted, while five burials were discovered slightly closer to the fort, perhaps indicative of a cemetery area (Webster 1971). Pearce attributes the lack of a funerary sequence to a predominantly military-centric research agenda and difficulties in dating (1999: 54). Philpott records 17 burials known from Derbyshire, though most of his information concerns evidence from prehistoric barrows in the PDNP (1991), discussed in Section 5.5.3.1 Roystone Grange reveals two inhumation burials discovered from the northeast corner of the settlement enclosure (Hodges 1991). There was one potential Roman cemetery not associated with a fort, located at Winster in the White Peak. Here, two contracted inhumations, discovered in 1856, were associated with two iron spearheads, small pottery vessels, a curved iron instrument and a beehive quern, dating to between c.100BCE-100CE (Beswick and Wright 1991).

Funerary landscapes associated with non-villa rural settlements are often poorly understood, but patterns indicate a range of burial types occurred, including small formal cemeteries through to small groups of burials, and isolated burials associated with settlements (Esmonde Cleary 2000; Smith 2018). In the absence for much of this sort of evidence, a consequent aim of this chapter is to assess the significance of funerary evidence from barrows (Section 5.5.3.1). It is notable in this regard that Esmonde-Cleary notes that funerary data from monuments in this terrain has largely been ignored (2000: 134), which Philpott asserts to the result of a lack of attention to non-military funerary patterns of upland areas (1991: 48).

The evidence pertaining to the PDNP as a whole demonstrates a far less intensively occupied landscape than Wiltshire, containing a significantly reduced diversity in the volume and types of settlement known. Indeed, as Figure 5.5 shows, 77 individual sites were identified, with the majority of settlement was characterised by small rural settlements and farmsteads. The following section assesses engagement with

monuments in relation to the Roman period settlement, in accordance with the theoretical methodology outlined in Chapter Two.
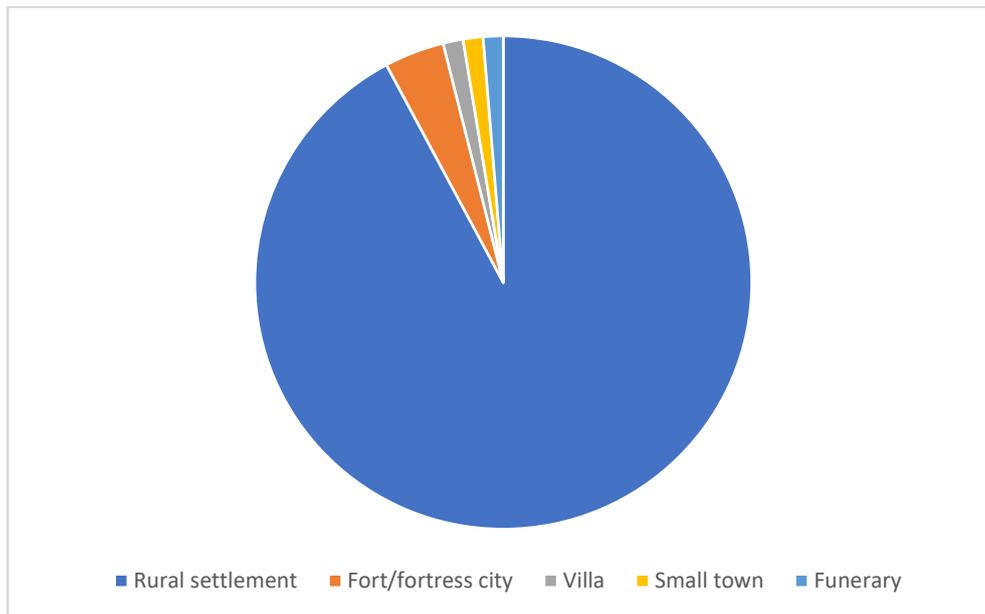
Figure 5.5. Roman site types in the PDNP. N=77).

5.5. Peak Practice: Roman engagement with prehistoric monuments in the PDNP

The PDNP yields engagement with fewer morphological forms than Wiltshire (Section 3.5), with evidence present at cave and barrow sites only. While absent engagement with other monumental forms is consequently discussed in section 5.6, the data presented in this chapter first considers caves (Section 5.5.2) before turning to barrows (Sections 5.5.3.1 and 5.5.4.1). Within these sections, the types of engagement and the materials that comprise their engagement are discussed. In total, 82 monuments from the PDNP exhibit Roman period engagement, and this divide is expressed in relation to 23 cave sites and 59 barrow structures. Given the relative paucity of Roman period settlement, this number is remarkably high when measured against the examples in Wiltshire, a theme picked up in Chapter Six.

5.5.1 Caves

The White Peak demonstrates a concentration of rock-shelters, fissures, open dolines, sinkholes or vertical entry caves, cave mouth and caves with natural entrances altered by humans. 23 such structures, here all termed caves, yield evidence for multi-temporal presence inclusive of prehistoric and Roman period material (Appendix 2).

This reflects Roman period presence at 40% of all caves also demonstrating prehistoric activity. This suggests caves constituted a major element of the Roman period landscape. Their distribution indicates that they were situated exclusively within the White Peak and the majority express a spatial connection to nearby settlements (Figure 5.6), with the notable exceptions of Dowel Cave and Fox Hole Cave, situated on the edge of the mid-northwestern White Peak. This likely reflects that the settlements and cave sites were related. Indeed, Makepeace argues that caves probably formed part of the "collective territory" of settlements (1998: 111). Such an interpretation is reinforced by GIS buffering analysis, which reveals that 100% of the 25 caves with Roman engagement were situated within 2km of settlements (Figure 6.23).
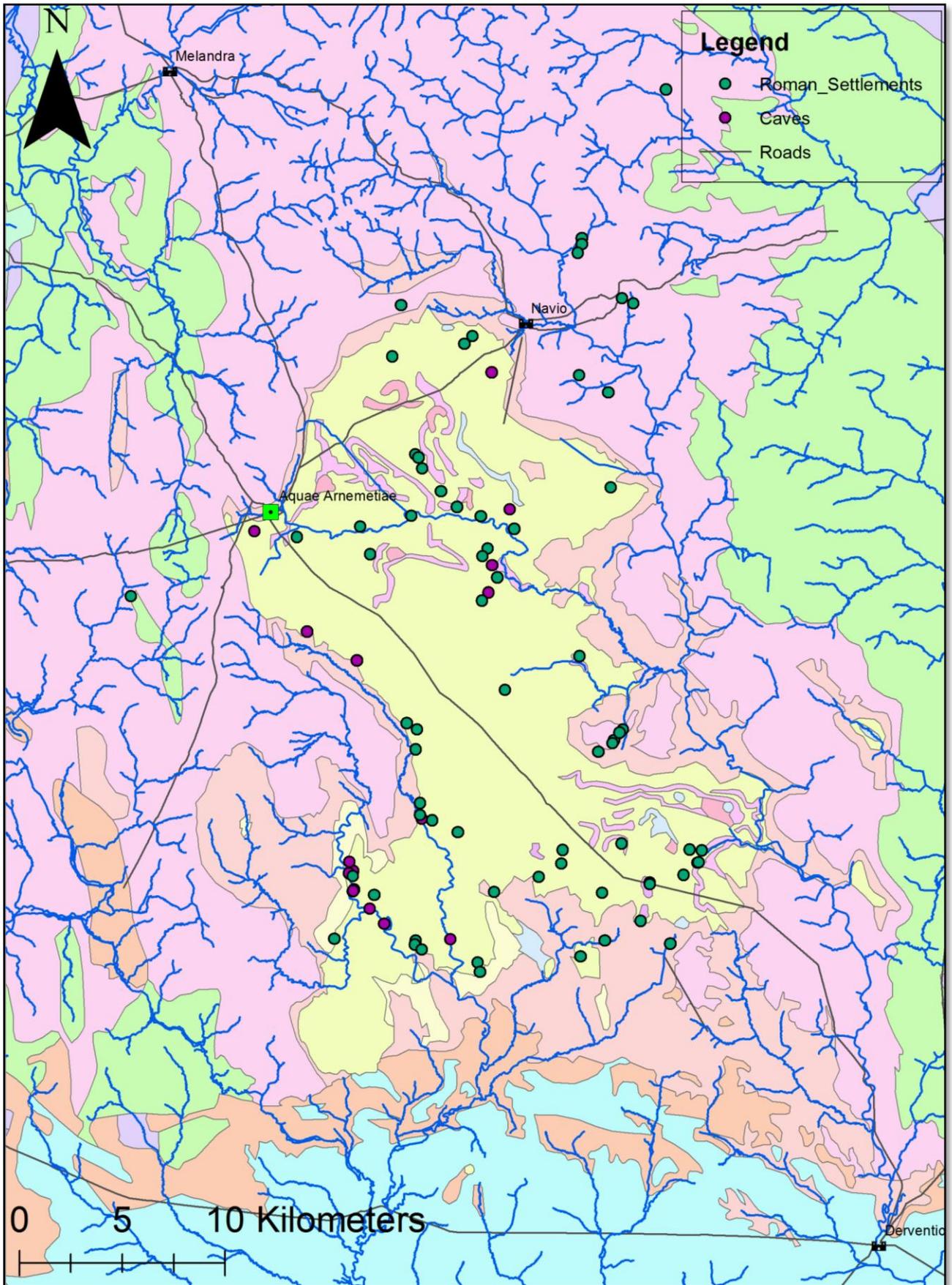
Figure 5.6. Location of cave sites and Roman settlements in the PDNP.

Recent synthesised analysis suggests caves in Roman Britain were characterised by votive assemblages of coins and metalwork (Smith 2018: 144-147; 169). This may well reflect the way that they were used in the PDNP, emerging as proxy shrines in the total absence of formal shrine structures, save for the hypothesised role of *Aquae Arnemetiae* (Section 5.4). However, funerary deposits are recorded at four caves: Poole's Cavern, Frank I'th Rocks, Harborough Cave and Sevenway's Cave (Appendix 13), indicating their functions were manifold.

Nevertheless, there may have been a significant relationship between *Aquae Arnemetiae* and Poole's Cavern, situated in present day Buxton on the site of *Aquae Arnemetiae.* Certainly, Poole's Cavern has been interpreted as both a locus for votive deposition/a shrine as well as a site for industrial production (Bramwell et al 1983; Smithson and Branigan 1989; 1991) and there is no cogent reason why both cannot be true. The material recovered from Poole's Cavern is extensive, containing evidence for four inhumations, faunal remains, a large ceramic assemblage comprised of both fineware and coarseware, eight coins dating to the periods between 41-161 CE, metalwork including 33 brooches, glass beads, stone artefacts, bone pins and fasteners together with a hearth feature, possibly utilised as part of industrial activities. The material is consistent with the assemblages unearthed from caves in the region as a whole on a larger scale (Figure 5.7). This supports the idea that their function was broadly uniform. The 33 brooches were comprised mostly of penannulars (Figure 5.8). Save for East Yorkshire, penannular brooches are noted to be particularly unusual away from military contexts in northern England (Booth 2014: 314-316). Consequently this may reflect the importance of both the settlement and the cave as foci for votive deposition among both the local civilian and military populations associated with the forts of the north PDNP, particularly *Navio.*
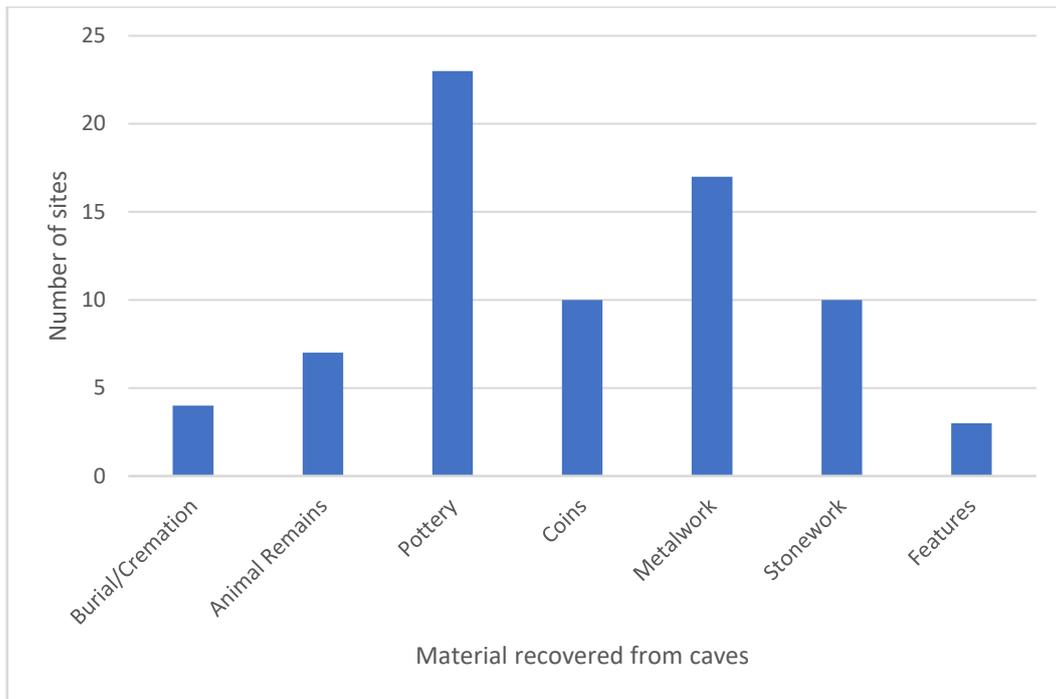
Figure 5.7. Types of material recovered from caves.
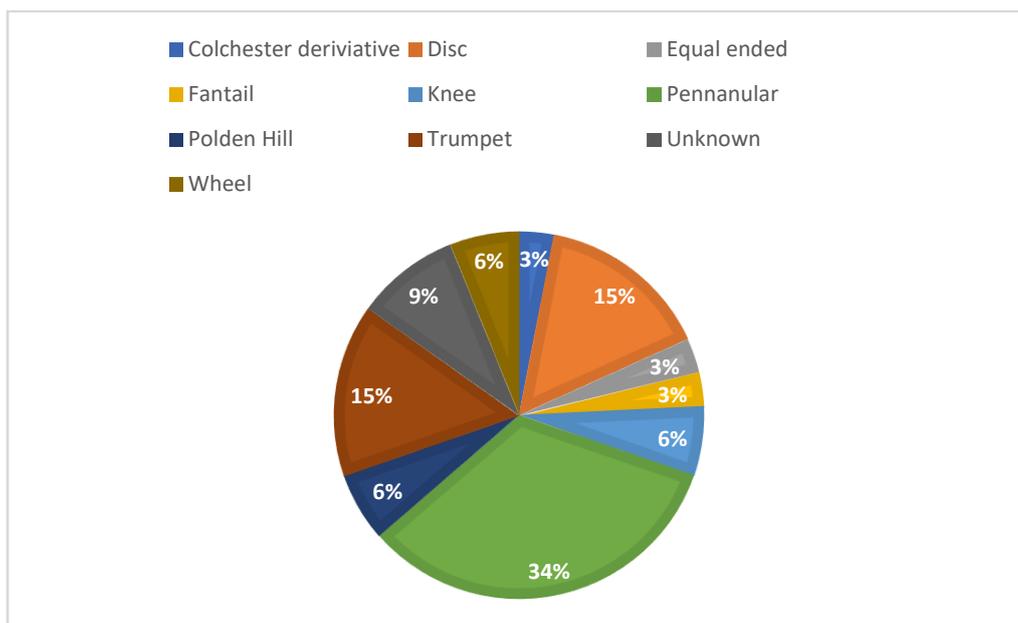
Figure 5.8. Brooches from Poole's Cavern by type. N=33.

The early coin evidence from Poole's Cavern is reflected in the chronological sequence for cave use in the PDNP. While caves exhibit a broad temporal spread, the pattern from the dates provided by Branigan and Dearne suggests that cave use had waned by the fourth century (1990: 41-42). This is in opposition to the chronological uses of barrows, which peaked in the later period (Section 5.5.2), emphasising that

there may have been different meanings in different temporal contexts in the uses of caves and barrows as the Roman period developed.

This is reinforced by analysis of coin assemblages. Issues of Reece Period 19-21 were the most prevalent, though this is derived entirely from Frank I'the Rocks, where 11 coins were recovered. If this site is taken out of the equation, activity was predominantly focussed on the first and second centuries. Related to the patterns of coin loss in the PDNP derived from settlement sites and finds reported to the PAS, the assemblages from caves are characteristically earlier than patterns expressed for the wider region, indicating that sustained cave use often pre-dated the establishment of formal rural settlements (Figure 5.9). This might indicate that cave use in the early Roman period was connected to a prehistoric tradition of their utilisation, a theme explored in relation to Iron Age and Roman engagement of Reyard's Kitchen Cave (Section 4.5.1.1). Similarly, the material recovered from Frank I'the Rocks was deposited at a time when the settlements appear to have entered a retraction and barrow use became less intensive (Section 5.5.4.2.4), potentially suggesting that cave use was most common prior to and after Roman settlements proliferated and reached their zeniths.
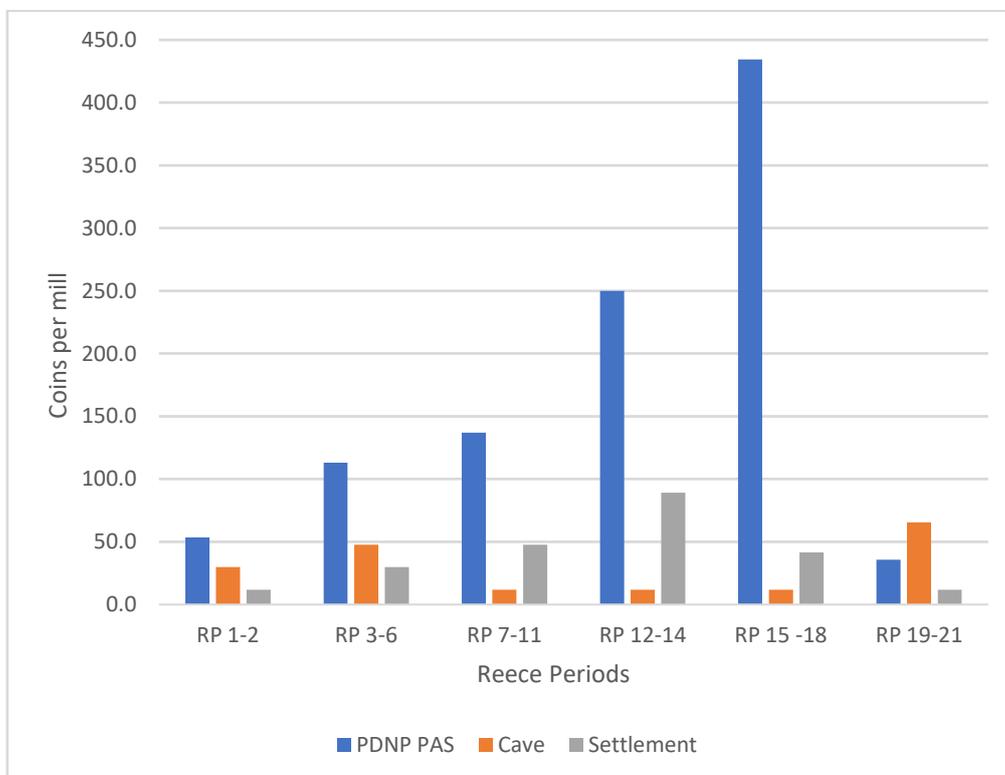
Figure 5.9. Coin assemblages from the PDNP from the PAS (N=168), caves (N=26) and rural settlements (N=38).

This may in fact denote an inversion of Makepeace's interpretation that caves formed the territories of settlements. Instead, it may suggest that cave use denoted an earlier practice around which settlements grew up once the military installations of the region were founded in the late first century CE and rural settlement emerged from the mid to late second century. Whatever the case, both scenarios emphasise that caves performed roles as both sites for votive deposition and exhibited a close association to the emergence of settlements. Both of these themes are explored in the cave case studies in the proceeding case-studies.

5.5.1.1 Reynard's Kitchen Cave, Dovedale

Situated in the south of the Dovedale Valley in the southwest of the White Peak, Reynard's Kitchen Cave forms one of a network of 16 caves (Figure 5.10), though is the only site in this cluster to reveal archaeological deposits (Holderness et al 2006: 34-35; Hyam 2014; Kelly 1960). It is situated to the southeast of the associated Reynard's Cave, with an archway situated in front of the entrance. Its front is 5m wide x 3m high, located on a prominent point of the valley wall with a commanding vantage point up and down the Dovedale gorge. The cave is 4m deep, tapering back to a point where the roof height stands at 2m.
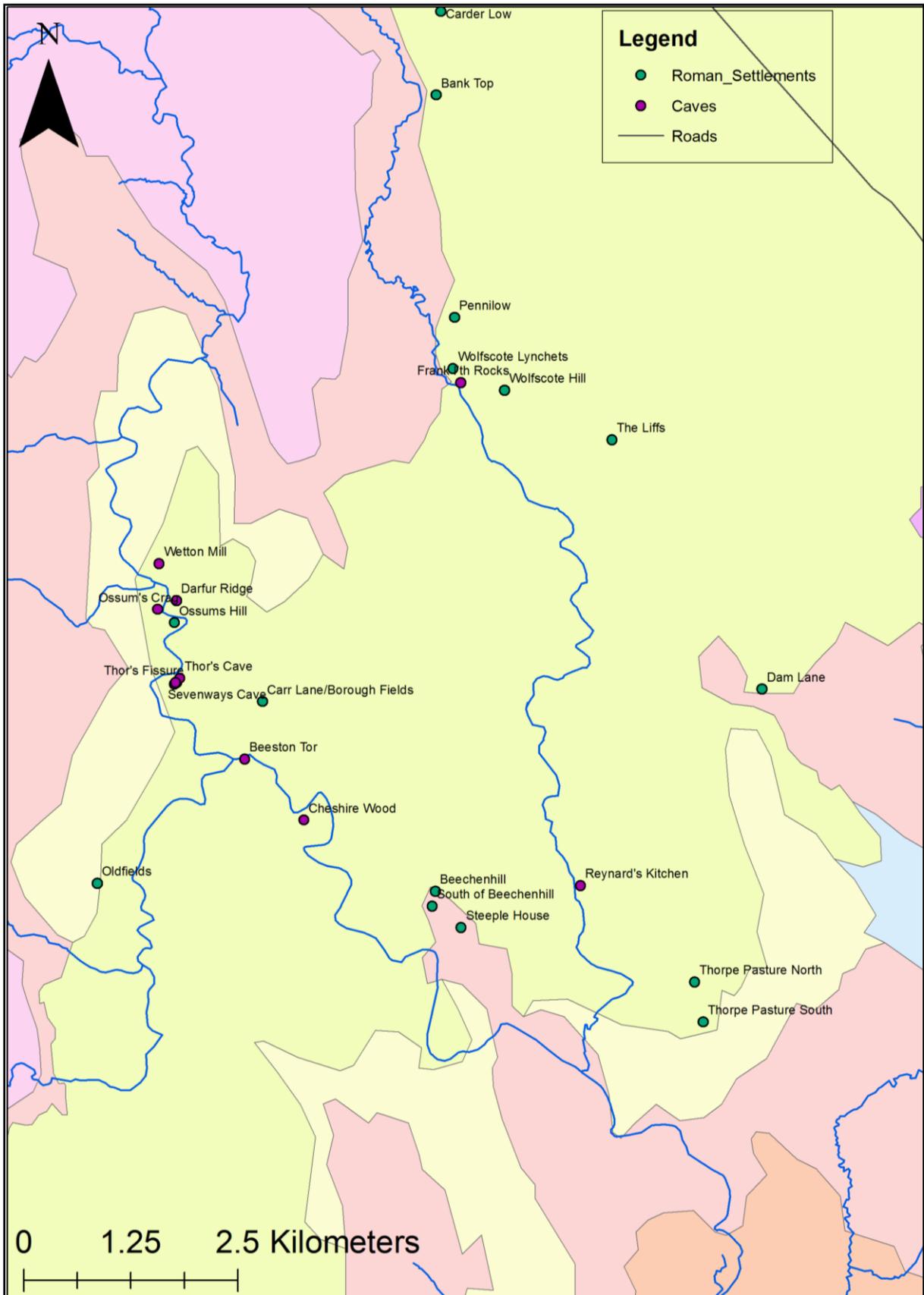
Figure 5.10. Location of Reynard's Kitchen Cave in relation to Roman cave sites and Roman settlements around the Dovedale Valley.

Excavations in 1959 deduced four layers to the cave fill:-

1. Earth with fragments of limestone containing fragments of late eighteenth and nineteenth century material;
2. Earth with limestone rocks containing bones, pottery and metal fragments dating to the Bronze Age and Roman periods;
3. Lightly coloured earth consisting of tightly packed limestone rocks, boulders and stalagmites;
4. Clay

The site was included in Wilson's 1926 account where it was noted that a hoard of coins - now lost with no details - was discovered (1926). Excavation in 2013 was prompted due to metal detecting activity which yielded a Roman Republican coin and two Iron Age coins, though exact findspots were not reported. The 2013 excavation identified 11 contexts, with archaeological material largely concentrated in context 1, corresponding to layer 2 of the 1959 excavations, and additional material located in context 11.

The material in these contexts consisted of a Late Upper Palaeolithic scraper, 11 sherds of Neolithic pottery, a Bronze Age arrowhead, 20 Iron Age coins, five Roman coins, two Roman brooches, a Roman copper-alloy earring and 84 sherds of both imported and locally produced Roman pottery, with the most predominant form locally produced Derbyshire Ware dating to the second and third centuries (Appendix 7; Figure 5.11). Further, a range of faunal remains including cow, sheep, pig, horse, dog, bear, swan/goose,192 badger, fox, rabbit, hare and rodents were recovered. Though stratigraphic mixing makes dating difficult, the presence of non-native species such as domestic cattle and pig that were present in the Neolithic, horse in the Bronze Age and rabbit in the Roman period, coupled with butchery marks on bones of domestic creatures consistent with Medieval and post-Medieval cleaving (Browning 2014: 50), provides an indication of the long duration of activities. Additionally, the presence of two human molars might be indicative of a possible disturbed human burial, but it is unclear to which time-bracket this pertains (Hyam 2014: 29).
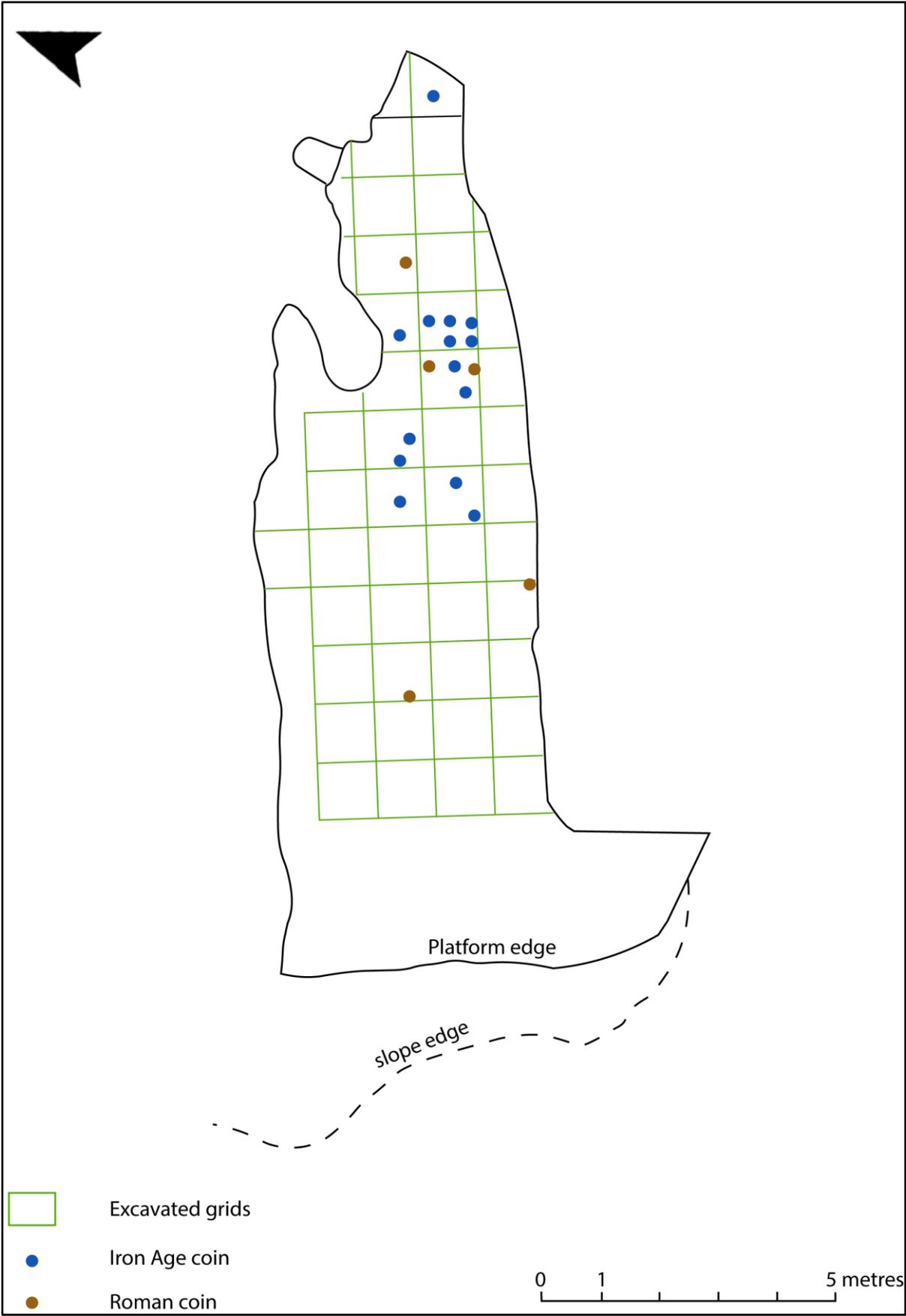
Figure 5.11. Coin distribution in Reynard's Kitchen Cave 2013 excavations. After Hyam 2014: 24.

That the material is agglomerated largely within the same context is the result of significant disturbance, likely the outcome of multiple agencies including deep roots, the deposition of calcite-rich material from the cave roof, badger setts and trample from centuries of human activity (Hyam 2013: 28). In earlier prehistory it was likely used for hunting expeditions. However, the Iron Age coinage and Aesica 4a brooch dated to c.50 CE (Mackreth 1982: 313) potentially indicates it became a locus for the deposition of votive materials echoing the assemblage from Poole's Cavern on a smaller scale (Section 5.5.1).

Based upon the concentrated grouping of the finds from a small area towards the centre of the cave (Figure 5.11), the four Republican *denarii*, 20 inscribed Iron Age staters, units and half units of the *Corieltauvi of* Reece Periods 1-2 likely formed one or more hoard(s) deposited around the mid-first century CE, subsequently scattered due to later disturbances (Hyam 2014: 28-30). The deposition of *Corieltauvi* coins and Republican coins together finds precedent in the Hallaton hoard from nearby Leicestershire (Score and Browning 2011) and it is argued that the Republican coins would have entered circulation in the 40-50s CE, concurrent with the dates of the Iron Age coins and Aesica brooch (Liens 2014). The concentration of earlier Roman material reflects the broad pattern noted in Section 5.5.1 that cave sites were engaged with in the early years of the Roman period, prior to the establishment of the forts and the onset of the hypothesised repopulation of agricultural lands of the White Peak. This attests to some form of LPRIA/early Roman presence within the White Peak related to a site exhibiting a range of material throughout prehistory.

Nevertheless, the cave also yields evidence indicating that it was returned to in the later Roman period. Indeed, two copper-alloy coins dating to Reece Periods 14 and 17, 84 sherds of pottery and an enamelled plate brooch (Appendix 7; Figure 5.12), were recovered dispersed throughout the length and bread of the cave. The pottery comprised in the main Derbyshire ware, greyware and a small quantity of colour-coated beakers and dishes, four percent of which can be attributed to the Lower Nene Valley kilns, while the colour-coated ware was unlikely to have been utilised in foodstuff transportation (Copper 2014: 25-26). The plate brooch, of Mackreth's British type 2c, has an example recovered from a probable late second century context in Norfolk (Mackreth 2011a: 156). It was noted to be a particularly rare find in a rural context, likely votively placed (Cooper 2014: 38). The presence of an earring, the

brooch and the later coinage could be feasibly be casual losses but more likely indicative of continued votive activity representing either individual or repeated events from the late second century through to the mid fourth century. Indeed, the excavators emphasise that the site could have become a place for gatherings in the form of short-term visits, celebrations or feasts, and that it maintained significance in local folk memory (Hyam 2014: 29).

Figure 5.12. Enamelled British plate brooch Mackreth 2011 type 2c discovered in the 2013 excavations. After Hyam 2014: 38.

The latter point is particularly salient, suggesting that the cave's purpose as loci for the deposition of material from the first century CE and again in the later Roman period persisted, even as the context of the PDNP was transformed by the appearance of forts and later rural settlement in the wider landscape. In this regard, as noted in Section 2.2, Bradley suggests that social memory can be transmitted intact around c.200 years (2002: 8) an interval which broadly corresponds with the dates of the earlier and later materials. The repeated placement of material over a long duration indicates that the later activity surely actively referenced the earlier series of actions. In this way, it is congruent with the theoretical approach advocated in Section 2.5, particularly with regard to Crellin's example from Killeaba, indicating that some relations which characterised the cave's use in the LPRIA/early Roman period

persisted but were also altered by the new social context of the PDNP in the later Roman period.

Consequently, we cannot understand later activities at Reynard's Kitchen Cave without recourse to the earlier first century deposition event(s). Moreover, it follows that the significance of the cave as a persistent place was tied not only to the internalisation of social memory in the human subject but the materiality and immateriality of the site itself – conducive as a secluded place for deposition and difficult to access. Indeed, Moyes argues that the darkness which characterised the interior of caves contributes to why they have so often been utilised in this manner (Moyes 2012) Together, we should understand that it is the intersection of these factors that imbibed meaning upon the cave and the actions therein, embedded within a network of active materials, subjects and enduring relations.

5.5.1.2 Harborough Rocks

Similar themes are expressed when we consider a cave, a long barrow and small rural settlement concentrated around the same geological feature, known as Harborough Rocks (Figure 5.13). Harborough Rocks is an outcrop of dolomtised limestone rising in a series of terraces to a height of 329m OD. Located above are two distinctive natural stones, a large block known as the 'arm chair', and 60m to the north the 'pulpit'. Between these natural blocks, a now destroyed chambered passage long barrow was once located (Figure 5.14). The barrow was excavated towards the end of the nineteenth century and found to be significantly disturbed (Ward 1890). Today, only its footprint can be identified, with a diameter of 20.5m (Barnatt and Collis 1996: 88). In addition, a small rural settlement dating to the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman periods was found situated to the immediate west of the cave on a flat, protruding promontory of the natural feature, forming the 'middle terrace' (Ward 1890). Later investigations confirmed it was a small settlement (Makepeace 1990; 2004).

Figure 5.14. Harborough Rocks. Photo by author.

The Pulpit

The Armchair

Middle Terrace

High Peak Trail route

Area of settlement

Long barrow

Cave

Modern field

Modern farm

0   100   300 metres

Figure 5.15. Plan of Harborough Rocks sites and findspots. After Makepeace 1990: 25.

223

Harborough Cave consists of a sub-rectangular chamber 6m x 9m x 2m, set in the face of the crag immediately below the terrace (Armstrong 1923; Storrs Fox 1909). Initial excavations in 1907 were concentrated in the eastern portion of the chamber (Figure 5.15), with two occupation layers were determined. The lower layer yielded worked flint and small fragments of pot. The upper layer, consisting of c.45cm of burned stones, earth and charcoal, contained a number of artefacts including iron weaponry; gold rings; an array of brooches, including one ornate coral brooch dating to the Iron Age; bone needles; awls, spindle whorls and a weaving comb. The bulk of this material relates to the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age while the presence of a hammer stone and perforated hyena tooth, probably utilised as a pendant, represent Palaeolithic presence (Smith 1909).
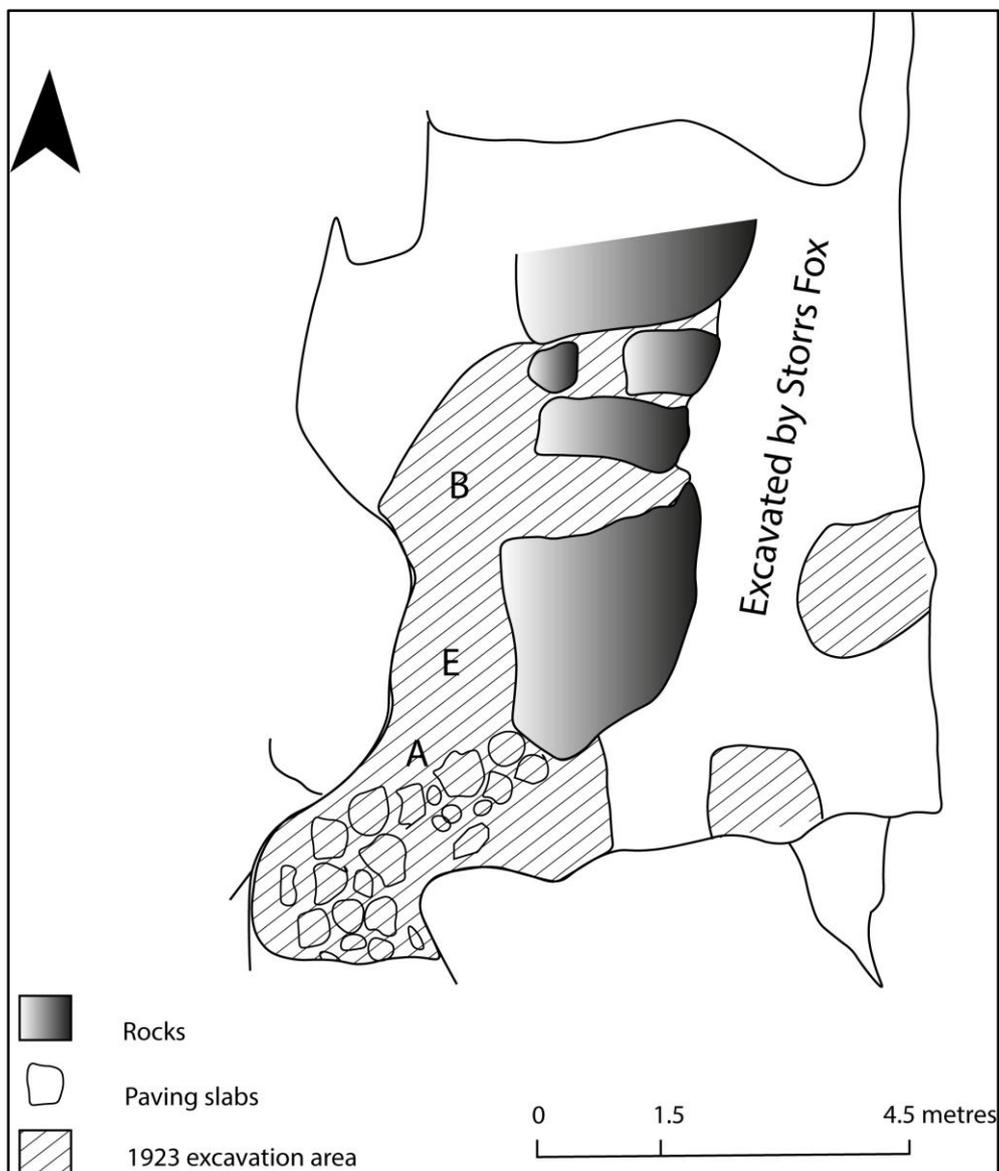
Figure 5.15. Plan of Harborough Rocks cave. After Armstrong 1923: 403.

Subsequent investigation in 1923 added to the sequence, identifying an area immediately inside the cave entrance filled with slabs of limestone that had fallen from the roof. An abundance of loose stone was transported into the cave and the remainder of the cave floor filled and raised to ensure a levelled surface, while the entrance was enlarged to 1.2m x 2.1m. Throughout the space where the paving slabs lay, the gaps were packed with red clay, fragmentary animal bones, bone tools and potsherds. Above the paving slabs was a layer of a black clay humus containing ashes, charcoal, and Iron Age and Roman pottery (Armstrong 1923). This suggests that, during the period when the surface of the cave was artificially levelled, it became a space for permanent visitation sometime in the Iron Age through the Roman period and the presence of hearths might indicate both domestic and industrial activity.

The Roman material from within the cave comprises four potsherds, three coins, two of which are unidentified, and one of Trajan dating to Reece Period 5 (Appendix 6), four brooches including a Polden Hill brooch, two trumpet brooches and a penannular. An *intaglio* of Minerva of Henig Type 236 dating to the second century, which would have been the setting for a finger ring, was also recovered. Branigan and Dearne categorise the cave as exhibiting domestic occupation, assigned to the first and second centuries (1992: 86-87) although we might note the brooch assemblage was typically higher than other cave sites which, coupled with the *intaglio,* potentially suggests the site operated as locus for votive deposition in a similar form to Poole's Cavern (Section 5.5.1) and Reynard's Kitchen Cave (Section 4.5.1.1). This is further reflected in the recovery of an Iron Age coral inlaid brooch of the La Tene IIBA type, dating to circa 300-200 BCE (Adams 2013: 113; Smith 1909: 103), leading Adams to suggest it was ritually deposited, and that the cave may have functioned as a sanctuary (2013: 197). It is not inconceivable that the coral brooch was curated but unlikely over a period of up to c.500 years. Instead, it suggests that its relations as a site of deposition persisted into the Roman period.

The relations constituting the cave site are demonstrably different to that of Reynard's Kitchen Cave, however, in that they are associated with the rural settlement located in the immediate vicinity. Indeed, the settlement was situated immediately east of the cave, where Ward noted an abundance of pottery, bones and flint (1890). Ward's investigations revealed that a layer of dark soil underneath the subsoil contained a large amount of material interpreted as refuse, indicative of an ancient dwelling. Some

50 vessels were identified together with broken, split, and burned faunal remains comprising pig and a cattle bone, a dog skull and an assemblage of oyster shells congruent with foodstuff consumption. Comparing the pottery assemblage to those contained within barrow sites, Ward deduced that the material was consistent with Iron Age and Roman periods, and he referred to the site as a Roman settlement (1890).

Further investigation undertaken between 1987-1989 yielded a ceramic assemblage comprised mainly of coarse pots with calcite inclusions of the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age transition, pushing the date of the settlement further back into prehistory (Makepeace 1990). Additionally, a faunal assemblage consisting of 100 fragments cattle, sheep/goat and pig remains was collected, vindicating Ward's interpretation (Makepeace 1990: 28). Crucially, a second short report indicated that a further 100 sherds had been collected post 1990 (Makepace 2004). The bulk of this material pertains to the Bronze to Iron Ages, while a further volume of Roman material was recovered, mostly consisting of locally produced Derbyshire greyware, consistent with a small rural settlement. In total, the material from the settlement indicates small-scale activities occurred with continued occupation from the Late Bronze Age into the Roman period. This suggests that the White Peak was not entirely abandoned during the later phases of prehistory and that some settlements exhibited continuity in occupation, whilst also suggesting activities at the cave and settlement were related.

Indeed, Figure 5.6 demonstrated that many cave sites exhibited spatial associations with rural settlements. In this case, the relationship is overt, and the material recovered from the cave site must be considered to relate to contemporaneous occupation of the rural settlement. Consequently, the role the cave performed was tied to the actions that occurred outside at the settlement. In this regard, the Iron Age coral brooch and the Roman Minerva gemstone are not common finds in the PDNP and could be assumed to bestow upon the cave site special religious association, taking on the characteristics of a proxy rural shrine for the local residents of the settlement in the Iron Age and Roman period, supported by the internal raising of the floor enabling more frequent visitation. The settlement demonstrates a chronological span at least as late as the second century, consistent with the finds from the cave, and we must therefore see the cave and settlement as relationally dependent upon one another.

Additionally, the chambered passage long barrow above the terrace needs to be set within the network of actions that occurred between the cave and the small rural

settlement. The long barrow was mutilated in the pre-modern period, leaving only the southeastern sector of intact. Here was a small chamber consisting of a three-sided paved box measuring 1m x 0.7m x 0.7m, containing six disarticulated inhumations. The passage led from the chamber towards the central part of the mound, stretching to a height of 0.2m. Within the passage, three or four disturbed inhumations were discovered together with four Neolithic leaf-shaped arrowheads. In a trench located at the destroyed central portion of the monument, skeletal remains of six or seven individuals were identified in addition to faunal remains, Neolithic potsherds and several worked flints (Barnatt and Collis 1996: 88; Manby 1958: 35: Marsden 1977: 5; Ward 1890)

Roman activity is evidenced by potsherds, noted for their similarity to the material unearthed from the rural settlement (Ward 1889: 30). The now lost potsherds were located within the backfill of the north and northwestern portion of barrow. Ward, however, assigned destruction to the 'Middle Ages' based upon the presence of fragments of glazed pottery within the assemblage. If Ward is correct, and the monument remained extant throughout later prehistory and the Roman period before being destroyed sometime in the Medieval period, whereupon the ceramic material was deposited. In this way, the Roman material is indicative of curated artefacts enduring into the Medieval period rather than deliberate Roman period engagement with the barrow.

The original function of the barrow would, therefore, appear to have gone out use after the Neolithic/Bronze Age and it was apparently dormant until its destruction. We should not equate this with inactivity, however. Indeed, Section 2.4 quoted Spencer's assertion of "intentional, purposeful non-interaction" (2016: 183). Such an interpretation may explain the role of the Harborough Rocks barrow in the Roman period. It is inconceivable the large structure went unnoticed by the Roman inhabitants of the small rural settlement and those who deposited material within the cave at the same time. Instead, it might have been the case that the barrow's presence drew people to those sites in the Later Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman period. In this scenario, the barrow is related to both the cave site and the settlement, and the actions that occurred at each of these sites must, therefore, be understood in reference to the barrow. In these circumstances, it is possible to assert that the barrow continued to

exert relational agency even though this was not materially expressed within the barrow itself.

5.5.2. Roman engagement with prehistoric barrows

59 barrows from the PDNP exhibit Roman engagement (Appendix 2). That this phenomenon is attested to this extent is significant, representing engagement at between 8.8-11.3% of all barrow structures within the PDNP, adjusted for sites deemed unlocatable, unidentified or duplicated from Barnatt's survey (Section 6.2). Given the extent of Roman period settlement, noted in Section 5.4 to consist of 77 Roman period sites, engagement at this level demonstrates that barrows constituted a significant element of everyday life in the Roman period. This section explores the patterns that emerge from these data and investigates their relationships to the contemporary inhabitation of the PDNP. In accordance with the methodological discussion in Section 2.8, examination first considers the distribution of barrows with Roman engagement in relation to all barrows within the PDNP. Subsequently, morphological distinctions that emerge from the dataset are considered. Key themes are then analysed, taking into account first instances of Roman period barrows mimicking prehistoric monumental forms (Section 5.5.2.1) before barrows exhibiting intrusive Roman period funerary insertions are investigated in Section 5.5.3.1. Finally, investigation of monuments yielding depositional activity is investigated in Section 5.5.4.1, with particular attention paid to the coinage which constitutes the largest material form of the assemblage.

Figure 5.16 plots the distribution of all Roman barrows from the area yielding engagement. The White Peak between *Navio and Derventio* was shown to be densely populated with barrows engaged with either side of the road known as The Street, running from *Aquae Arnemetiae* to *Derventio.* The areas of Dark Peak, by contrast, reveal only three barrows with evidence for direct engagement. This is despite the presence of later prehistoric barrows in the Dark Peak, concentrated particularly on the eastern gritstone moorland. The northwestern portion of the PDNP on the peripheral lowlands surrounding *Navio* is an exception to this pattern, where there was a concentration of Roman settlement, though this zone is comparatively low in barrow structures (Figure 5.2). Consequently, Roman barrow use was wholly consistent within

the patterns of Roman settlement, and therefore ought not to be dismissed as casual and random but inherently tied to patterns of Roman landscape inhabitation.
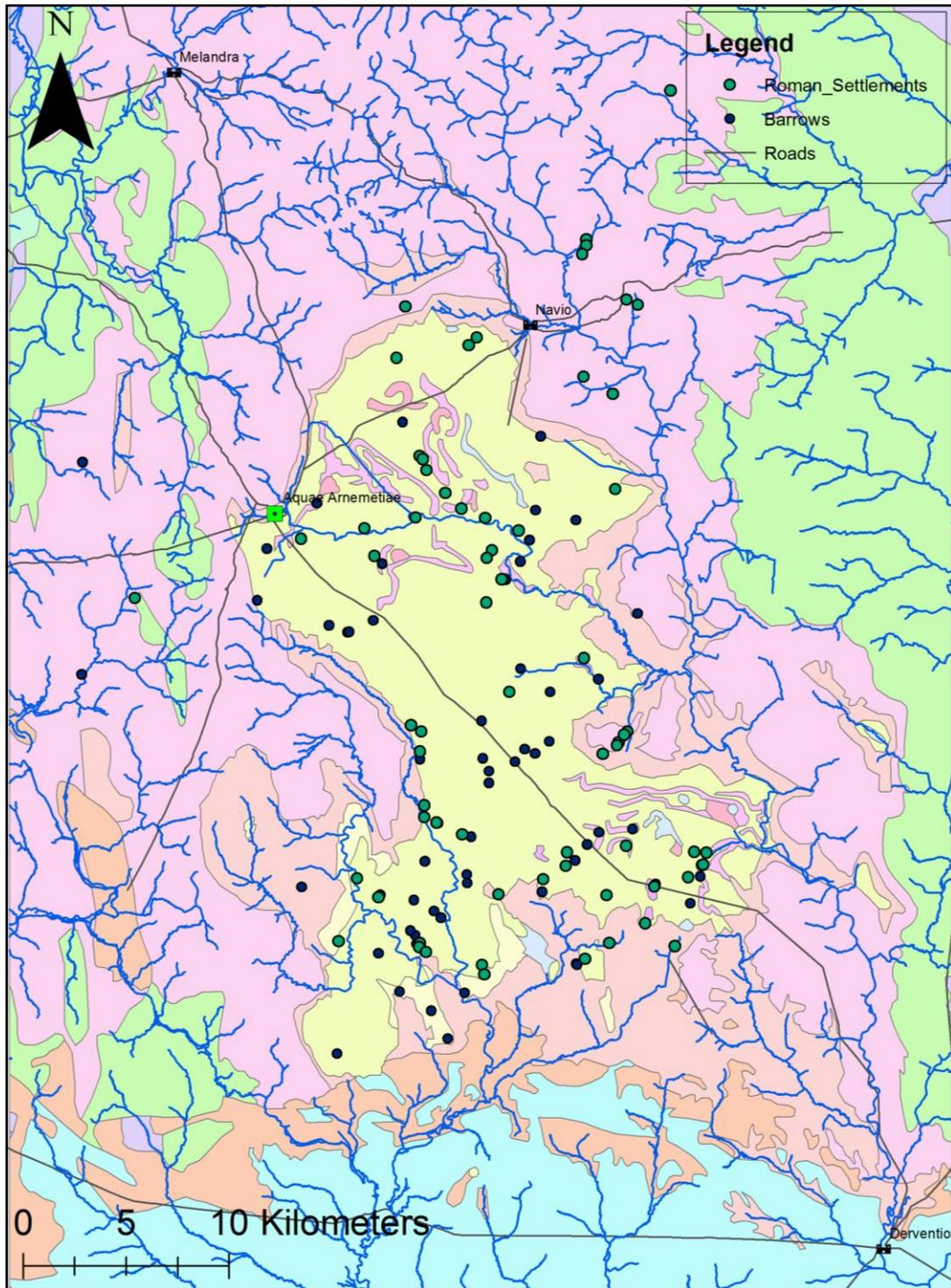
Figure 5.17. Location of Roman sites and barrows with Roman engagement in the PDNP.

Morphological analysis reveals that, of the barrow structures implicated in Roman activity, the vast majority were unchambered round barrows (Figure 5.17).

Engagement with the barrows would have demanded the physical alteration of the structures. Consequently, engagements at this scale must surely be considered highly significant. Whilst the pattern of engagement might suggest preferential selection for unchambered round barrows, this must be set against the fact that these types of monuments were the most common form of prehistoric monuments in the PDNP (Section 3.2). Rather, proximity to Roman settlements as a governing choice for monument selection would seem a more pertinent line of enquiry, and is explored below.
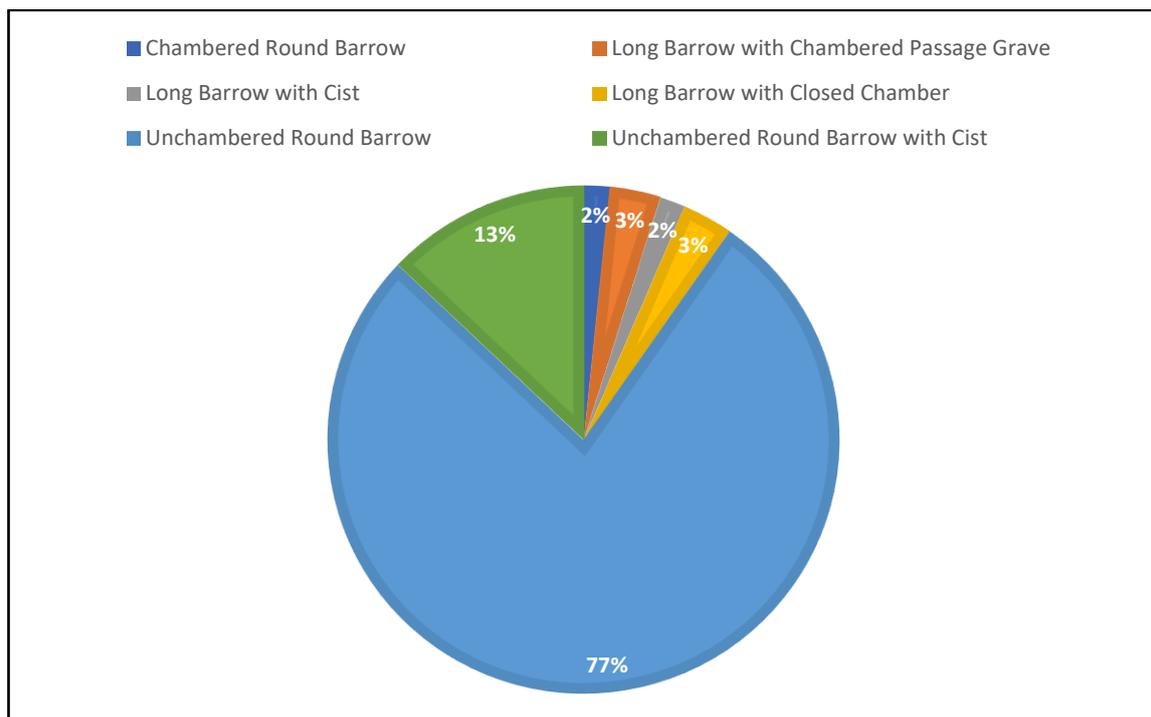
Figure 5.17. Prehistoric barrows with Roman engagement by morphology. N=59.

5.5.2.1 Mimicry

Jones suggested that four of the later prehistoric barrows in the PDNP were, in fact, primary Roman period constructions (1997). In this section, I present a brief summary of each of the sites, assess Jones' interpretation, before offering my own conclusions.

5.5.2.1.1 Minninglow 2

Minninglow 2 is recorded in Barnatt's survey as lost (Barnatt and Collis 1996: 10:56) but the HER records it as an unchambered round barrow. The site was situated 820m northeast of the Minninglow 1, one of the regions 'great barrows' (Figure 5.20). On

18th July 1849, Bateman and his team dug a shaft through the earthen centre. Bateman's account of the barrow's interior noted that that traces of a large in situ fire were evident, with the natural surface at the centre of the mound strewn with charred wood, calcined human bones and stones cracked and flaked by heat. "Amongst these relics of the long-quenched pile" Bateman notes, were three vessels of "earthenware pottery" and one "small brass coin of the Lower Empire', each demonstrating evidence for burning. One vessel of the three was identifiable, described as an "improvement on the usual globular shape of the Roman olla". Bateman further noted that that the mound "covered the place where the corpse was reduced to ashes along with the three vases and the coin" but, owing to the paucity of burned human bones recovered, considered that the remains were "deposited in some part of the mound not explored" (Bateman 1861: 55-56).

This material described by Bateman was re-analysed by Jones, who identified that the ceramics were Derbyshire Ware vessels (1997: 26) dating to the later end of the date range, between the second to fourth centuries (Jones and Webster 1969). The coin was dated by Jones to between Reece Period 15-18 but, can be more closely assigned to Reece period 17 (Appendix 6). It is heavily worn; wearing occurs not as a result of taphonomic processes but the result of the length of circulation (Moorhead pers.comm). This suggests that it was deposited quite some time after the earliest possible date that it could have been issued in 335 CE, probably within the mid-later fourth century. The relative dates of the pottery and the coin issue are therefore consistent and suggest that the burial deposit and mound dated to the later Roman period.

Jones' assertion that the barrow was Roman in date is based upon Bateman's account that the burned material was located on the original ground surface, inclusive of charcoal, wood and cremated bone representing a pyre and corpse, with the ceramics and coin representing grave goods. Stratigraphically, therefore, the material on the original ground surface would pre-date the construction of the barrow. In his re-evaluation of the material, Jones concluded that a number of the surviving sherds show evidence for carbonised patches, consistent with burning (1997: 26). Consequently, though the site is currently lost and its only investigation took place in the mid nineteenth century, it appears that an in situ cremation and burial deposit was

created no earlier than 335 CE with a round barrow mimicking the local prehistoric form constructed over it.

5.5.2.1.2 Ringham Low

This earthen round barrow demonstrates a profile similar to Minninglow 2. It is recorded in Barnatt's survey as measuring 14.5m in diameter (Barnatt and Collis 1996: 203). It was investigated on three separate occasions in the nineteenth century. In 1821, William Bateman – father of Thomas – dug into the centre of the mound, and the results of this investigation were recorded briefly by Thomas Bateman. Over the course of these investigations, the fragments of two urns were recovered; one sherd was noted as "fine black ware" whilst the other was recorded as being "very coarse and of grayish colour" (Bateman 1847: 50). The presence of charcoal was additionally noted. Thomas Bateman subsequently explored the site in 1843, digging down to the original ground surface. Here, evidence for burning was identified in the form of pieces of charred wood c.7.5cm in diameter. Further, Bateman found "at about the same place" additional fragments, matching the vessels found in earlier investigations, which he interpreted to be urns, together with "flint chippings"'. Near the surface, a flint tool was recovered (Bateman 1847: 50). Returning in 1850, Bateman recovered a further volume of Roman pottery, and established that the mound was a purely earthen construction, noting the site's characteristics evoked Minninglow 2 (Section 5.5.2.1.1).

This position is reinforced by Jones, who reflects that, although burned bones were absent from the old ground surface, its sequence is consistent with that of Minninglow 2. He further suggests that the presence of the flint tool towards the surface of the mound was a residual occurrence not indicative of the mound's prehistoric derivation, preferring a Roman period interpretation for the origin of the mound (1997: 27).

5.5.2.1.3 Friden Hollow

Friden Hollow conforms to the profile of a round barrow, demonstrating a diameter of 14m, placing it in a range comparable to the dimensions of Ringham Low and Minninglow 2. The site was first investigated by Bateman Senior and his colleague Samuel Mitchell in 1825. Mitchell notes that there was "a mass of burned ashes and charcoal" found within the mound. Thomas Bateman's fieldwork in 1844 noted the

remains of "a large fire" which had been lit on the original ground surface towards the centre of the barrow. Bateman refers to a finds assemblage containing fragments of "coarse pottery of fine texture" together with pieces of quartz (1847: 54). Though Bateman did not specify the provenance of the artefacts, Jones suggests that Bateman's descriptions are consistent with the example at Minninglow 2 and notes that Bateman additionally remarked upon the similarity of Friden Hollow to Ringham Low (Jones 1997: 28).

5.5.2.1.4 Harley Hill

Harley Hill was an unchambered round barrow of c.25m in diameter and 2.1m in height. It was initially excavated in 1862 by Jewitt and Lucas. Opening seven trenches (Figure 5.18), they discovered seven cremation deposits. Two cremations were surrounded by small stones potentially indicating that they had been packed to mark the location of the interments. Cremation B, in trench E, was discovered at a depth of c.16cm, consisting of a "heap of burnt bones and charcoal placed in a hollow scoped out of the earth surrounding by a few small stones" (Jewitt 1863: 161). Placed above the ashes was "a large glass bead of deep blue glass" (Jewitt 1863: 161) and, located nearby, a flint flake. No description of the bead was elaborated within the report but, from the accompanying illustration, it is a glass bead of dark blue glass. Glass beads are notoriously difficult to date without secure contextual information but the bead is congruent with DEV-122236 found in 2017 near Monkton, Devon, recorded on the PAS (Figure 5.19). Typologically, melon beads date to the first and second centuries from secure archaeological contexts from the urban site at Colchester (Crummy 1983: 31-32; Guido 1978: 100). Additionally, melon beads are recognised for their apotropaic qualities from contexts in the northwestern provinces (Eckardt and Williams 2018: 195-197) and a funerary connotation is recognised, for example, in a late second to early third century cremation deposit at Grange Road, Winchester, where eight melon beads formed part of the rich funerary assemblage accompanying a young woman (Biddle 1967).
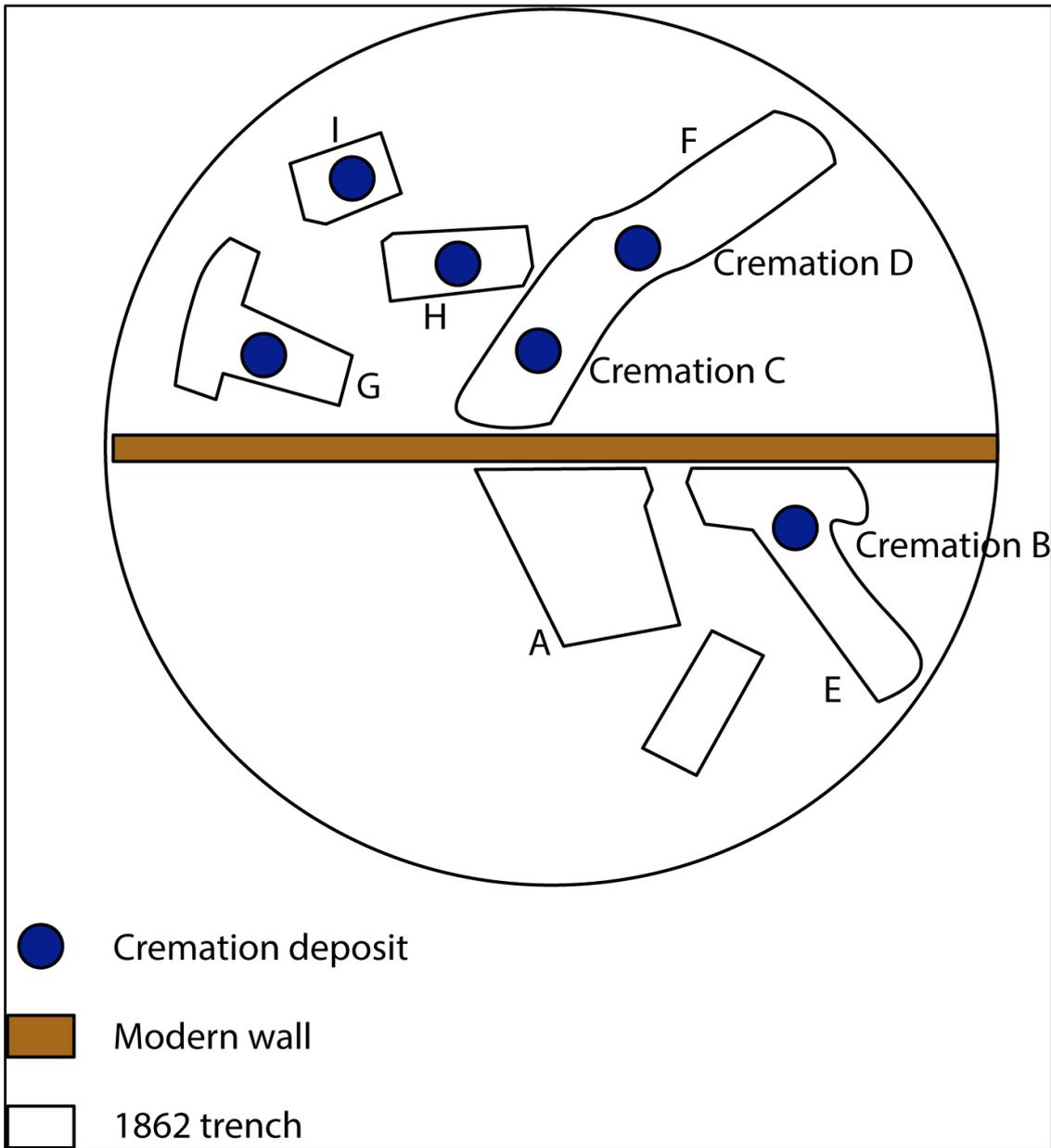
Figure 5.18. Unscaled plan of Harley Hill showing location of cuttings. After Jewitt 1863: 160.
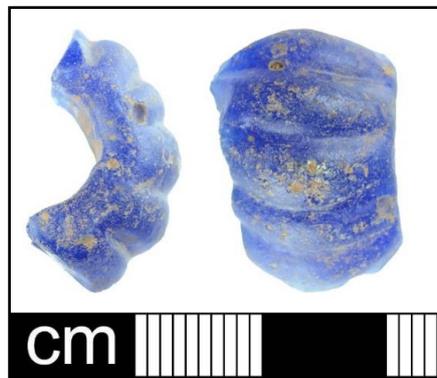
Figure 5.19. Blue glass bead similar to the one described and poorly photographed in Jewitt 1863: 161. PAS reference DEV-122236. Copyright Somerset County Council.

Like Cremation B, Cremation D was packed by small stones, and rested on the old ground surface. The remaining trenches located additional interments, and uncovered several layers of burned earth, with fragments of charcoal occurring throughout the mound matrix. Jewitt speculated that the bodies were cremated in the centre of the barrow, before the remains were moved to locations elsewhere within the monument. The only remaining fragments of bones pertained to the thin enamel coating of teeth, noted by Bateman to echo the cremation remains from Minninglow 2 (1861: 55). Jones suggests that the homogenous character of the successive cremations together with the consistency of the composition of the barrow itself can be taken as evidence that the barrow was Roman in origin. Further, Jones asserts that the presence of unworked flint flakes can be considered contemporary Roman inclusions, rather than reflective of prehistoric activity (1997: 28-29).

5.5.2.1.5 Discussion

Jones' interpretation that these mounds constitute primary Roman period funerary monuments rests upon the location of cremation pyres on the original ground surface in the centre of the monuments in the first three of the barrows discussed. He notes that Minninglow 2, Ringham Low and Friden Hollow are morphologically and contextually similar and may, therefore, represent a localised Roman barrow building tradition. Harley Hill, however, is an outlier within this group; morphologically it is much larger than the others and appears to contain multiple cremations. Without the assistance of absolute dating methods, the interpretation of Harley Hill as a Roman barrow rests upon the presence of a single glass melon bead associated with Cremation B. The homogeneity of the cremation deposits is taken as proxy evidence that they are all Roman in date. The presence of unworked flint within these monuments is considered indicative of curation or residuality rather than as deliberate depositions within the prehistoric period.

Jones makes a persuasive argument regarding Minninglow 2, Ringham Low and Friden Hollow. Philpott concurs, asserting that Minninglow 2 and Harley Hill show evidence for in situ Roman cremations and barrows as part of a localised tradition (1991: 48). The cremation and mound construction would have involved a highly meaningful series of actions: the burning of the corpse on the pyre, which involved many hours of activity in preparation, followed by the spectacle of conflagration,

collection and perhaps sorting before deposition (McKinley 2000) followed by the labour-intensive construction of a mound. It would have engaged numerous people in a highly ritualised ephemeral event followed by a permanent memorial. That the cremation pyre and cremated remains were found in situ is uncharacteristic of later prehistoric cremations deposited in tumuli, where the pyre was usually located elsewhere (Woodward 2000: 41-2). This is equally true of Roman cremations in *conventional* funerary contexts, however, where the pyre was typically located away from the grave pit (Philpott 1991: 48).

Though cremation is generally associated with the earlier Roman period, superseded by inhumation in the third and fourth centuries, particularly in the southeast of Britain (Smith 2018: 218-219), recent synthesis highlights a more complex regional picture, particularly in the northern zones of the province, where cremation remained predominant into the later period (Smith 2018: 211). It is suggested that it was only by the later period that any formal interment of the dead became a normative rite, expressed in both urban and rural contexts (Smith 2018: 209-210). The paucity of grave goods associated with the barrow cremations is equally consistent with the picture in urban and rural contexts in the later Roman period (Smith 2018: 264). This is reflected locally at The Racecourse associated with *Derventio* where, of the 39 first to fourth century cremations, only one contained a large assemblage of grave goods, congruent with a 'northern' tradition where grave goods were placed on the cremation pyre (Pearce 1999: 57). This is supported by the burned material culture in Minninglow 2.

Accepting that the first three of these barrows are plausible candidates for Roman period funerary monuments, they require being relationally explored within their landscape settings, a facet that Jones did not investigate. Spatially, Ringham Low and Friden Hollow are situated just 470m apart, indicating a close a relationship between them, probably constructed by the same communities. Significantly, they are also associated with a cluster of later prehistoric barrows exhibiting Roman material within the vicinity, at Brundcliffe, Rusden Low, Newhaven House, Kenslow Knoll and The Low, though the latter might be more characteristic of the Early Medieval period (Figure 5.20). Each of these monuments were unchambered earthen round barrows. Brundcliffe and Rusden Low have diameters of 11m, while Newhaven House and The Low have diameters of 11.5m and Kenslow Knoll is slightly larger, at 16m, yielding an

average diameter of 12.2m, broadly consistent with the 14 and 14.5m diameters of Ringham Low and Friden Hollow. This suggests a morphological similarity between extant prehistoric barrows engaged with and the Roman barrows.

The sites are situated within the southern portion of the limestone plateau with Rusden Low located 770m from Ringham Low and 1.94km from Minninglow 2. Further, they are clustered around The Street, connecting *Derventio* with *Aquae Arnemetiae*. Excavations in the 1950s on a portion of the road just north of Minninglow 1 showed that the highway was steeply cambered, paved and measured 3.3m across (Lomas 1958). The initial programme of construction would have aided the military during the initial phase of conquest and created links between settlements (Patterson 2016: 219-249). It would have transformed the landscape and how it was structured, potentially assisting in the 'reactivation' of the surrounding barrows during the Roman period, demonstrating how their uses were tied to Roman inhabitation of the landscape.
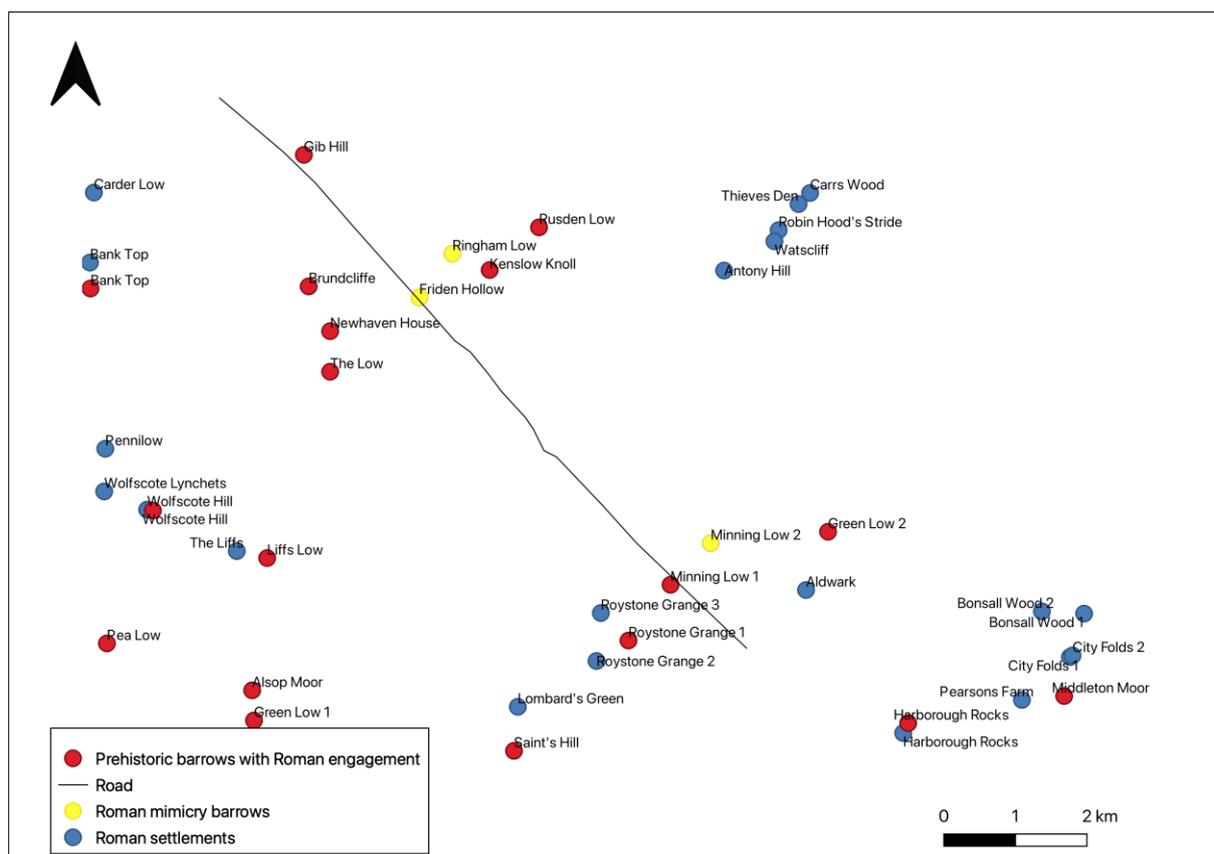
Figure 5.20. Location of Roman mimicry barrows, prehistoric barrows with Roman engagement and Roman settlements and The Street in the south of the White Peak.

The nearest rural settlements are located to the immediate east at Antony Hill, Carrs Wood, Robin Hood's Stride, Thieves Den and Watscliff. The nearest, Antony Hill, is

located 2.66km from Friden Hollow. Their characteristics are depicted on Table 5.1. They occupy positions on the peripheral lowlands of the White Peak. Each settlement was dispersed among fields. Three of the settlement show evidence for ovoid floorplans. This is significant because such designs are thought to represent the foundations of aisled buildings, which became common from the mid-second century onwards (Hingley 1989).

Table 5.1. Roman rural settlements located in the vicinity of the proposed Roman barrows.

Site	Investigation	Settlement Type	Building Floorplan Type
Antony Hill	Not Excavated	Dispersed among fields	Rectangular and ovoid
Carrs Wood	Excavated	Unknown	Unknown
Robin Hood's Stride	Excavated	Dispersed among fields	Rectangular and round
Thieves Den	Not Excavated	Dispersed among fields	Rectangular and ovoid
Watscliff	Excavated	Dispersed among fields	Ovoid

There are no known burials or cemeteries associated with these settlements. Given that the occupation of the rural settlements is associated with a time bracket of c.150 CE at the earliest, the Roman barrows at Friden Hollow, Rusden Low and Ringham Low might have constituted funerary monuments for the small communities occupying the nearby rural settlements, precipitated by the presence of and engagement with nearby later prehistoric barrows which likely provided a morphological template. Their dating is given credence by the presence of the *nummus* found at Minninglow 2 dating to 335 CE (Appendix 6).

Minninglow 2 is situated in the shadow of Minninglow 1 (Figure 5.21). Like Ringham Low and Friden Hollow, Minninglow 2, it is located close to The Street and situated near the Roystone Grange complex and the settlement at Aldwark. Section 5.4 demonstrated that Roystone Grange could have been managed by up to 50 people at any given time, yet only two inhumations are associated with the settlement. It is

conceivable that the people who lived and work the land at Roystone Grange located a barrow next to the large Neolithic long barrow Minninglow 1 following the template expressed 5km further north, or indeed the barrow containing a brooch set within the Roystone Grange complex (Section 5.5.3.1.3). Additionally, Minninglow 1 itself shows Roman period engagement contemporaneous with the potential Roman barrow of Minninglow 2 (Section 5.4.2.3). The siting of a Roman barrow in close association to Minninglow 1, therefore, suggests significant relationship between these monuments with activity at the latter contributing to the emergence of the former.

Morphologically, the proposed Roman barrows resembled local unchambered round barrows rather than conical barrows (Section 2.4). In lieu of more formal, recognised Roman cemeteries in the region, the construction of Roman barrows may, therefore, have constituted a distinct localised funerary tradition based explicitly upon prehistoric morphological forms. With recourse to the theoretical perspective outlined in Chapter Two, this can be interpreted as a relational dialogue between ancient features in the landscape, contemporary funerary rite, the location of contemporary settlement and the trajectory of the Roman road. Consequently, prehistoric round barrows in the White Peak were meaningful actors in the development of a distinctively local funerary tradition.

5.5.3.1 Roman funerary use of later prehistoric monuments

Funerary use is attested at a maximum of 21 barrows, representing 34% of all prehistoric barrows exhibiting direct Roman period engagement, inclusive of the potential Roman barrows above (Appendix 13). In the following sections, I discuss examples and consider their relationship to Roman settlements.

5.5.3.1.1 Harley Hill

Section 5.5.2.1.4 showed that Harley Hill may have been a Roman period barrow mimicking a later prehistoric barrow. However, it was discussed that this interpretation is problematic when its morphological form is considered against Minninglow 2, Ringham Low and Friden Hollow. Indeed, it is almost double the size of those monuments and over double the average diameter of Rusden Low, Newhaven house, Brundcliffe, Kenslow Knoll and The Low, argued to have provided the template for the

Roman mimicry barrows. Additionally, the lack of reliable Roman period material besides the glass melon bead must introduce an element of doubt that it was a Roman construction. Accepting this, we are left with the notion that either the glass melon bead was residual or that cremation B reflects a later Roman insertion into an already existing prehistoric barrow. This latter interpretation I think is more likely; glass beads are known to have funerary contexts within Roman practices in Britain, though primarily attested in urban zones (Pearce 1999: 163), and the location of the bead placed upon the remains of the cremation is therefore persuasive of deliberate placement.

In conjunction with its morphological inconsistency with the Roman period barrow constructions, therefore, I propose categorising this monument as a Roman period funerary insertion into an extant prehistoric round barrow. This interpretation is given further credence when we take into account the spatial relationship of Harley Hill to the Roman barrows. While Section 5.5.2.1.5 emphasised that close concentration of Friden Hollow, Ringham Low Minninglow 2, Harley Hill is situated some distance away, located in the northwestern portion of the White Peak, 11.23km northwest of Friden Hollow. It is, therefore, unlikely it was part of this distinct mimicry tradition.

5.5.3.1.2 Newhaven House and Brundcliffe

Roman cremations deposits were attested at both Newhaven House and Brundcliffe, which form part of the cluster of barrows associated with the Roman barrows of Friden Hollow and Ringham Low (Figure 5.21). At Brundcliffe, the evidence is difficult to determine with any certainty: the assemblage contains cremated human remains in a rock cut grave towards the centre of the mound; animal remains, prehistoric pottery; a potential horse cremation; a jug which could be later Roman or Early Medieval together with an iron knife. Bateman preferred an interpretation of later Roman (1847: 101-102), whilst Jones categorises it as an Early Medieval deposit (1997: 260). Similarly, at Newhaven House, a few fragments of burned bones were recovered together with an iron strap overlain with bronze and a box-lid that shows strong parallels with an example found in a Roman cemetery in Lincoln, and fused glass beads (Bateman 1861: 45-46), likely forming grave goods. Once more, the funerary utilisation of Brundcliffe and Newhaven House, and their close spatial relationships to

the Roman mimicry barrows emphasises that their engagement provided templates for the construction of Roman barrows.

5.5.3.1.3 Roystone Grange

Roystone Grange was excavated between 1975 and 1977. It was found to contain the remains of at least 10 individuals comprising seven inhumations and three cremations (Marsden 1982a). The mound measures 15m x 12m, with a height of 1.5m. The main phase of the barrow was dated to the Early Bronze Age, focussed upon an area c.2.13m^2 immediately east of the centre of the barrow including a crouched inhumation in a stone cist. The crouched inhumation was disturbed and cleared out during the course of later activity whereupon a cremation contained within a collared urn was deposited in the western portion of the cist. An area of 1.22m^2 south of the cist contained a succession of burials and three individual skull deposits. To the south of this area lay an extended skeleton placed upon limestone rock oriented north-south, situated 30cm below the surface of the barrow. Tooth-wear analysis suggests that the individual was a male over the age of 45, dated by the excavators to the Iron Age or Roman period. Additionally, a cremation located 30cm below the surface, slightly southwest of the centre of the mound, was assigned a Roman date (Figure 5.21). Roman material was attested in the western zone of the mound by a copper-alloy trumpet brooch (similar to Hattatt 2000: 328, fig 187, no.438b) and a copper-alloy disc-headed pin dated to c.200-300 CE (similar to Kenyon 1948: 262, figure 89) likely of Cool's Group 3 sub-group B type: curved units between cordons heads (1990: fig 3, no 12; Figure 5.22). Cool and Baxter's analysis of the trumpet family indicates a start date of between 70-120 CE with a use life estimation of up to 100 years (2016: 85-92), congruent with the dating of the disc-headed pin. Regarding the pin, Cool notes that the form had broad coverage through the Roman period with particular concentrations from third to fourth century contexts, though speculates that they had gone out of production by the fourth century owing to their often broken state (1990: 154). The finds provide broad dates for the intrusive burial deposits, probably occurring in the third century, though it is difficult to determine a definitive association between the proposed burial deposits and the artefactual material. Indeed, it could equally represent a later prehistoric barrow exhibiting both funerary deposits with grave goods, artefactual material deposited independently of the funerary or deposits, or it may be

that the burial deposits were erroneously recorded as Roman and the material represents artefactual deposition in isolation. In these circumstances, I am inclined to take Marsden's interpretation of the burial deposits as Roman at face value, and assert that they denote Roman funerary insertions into an extant barrow accompanied by grave goods.
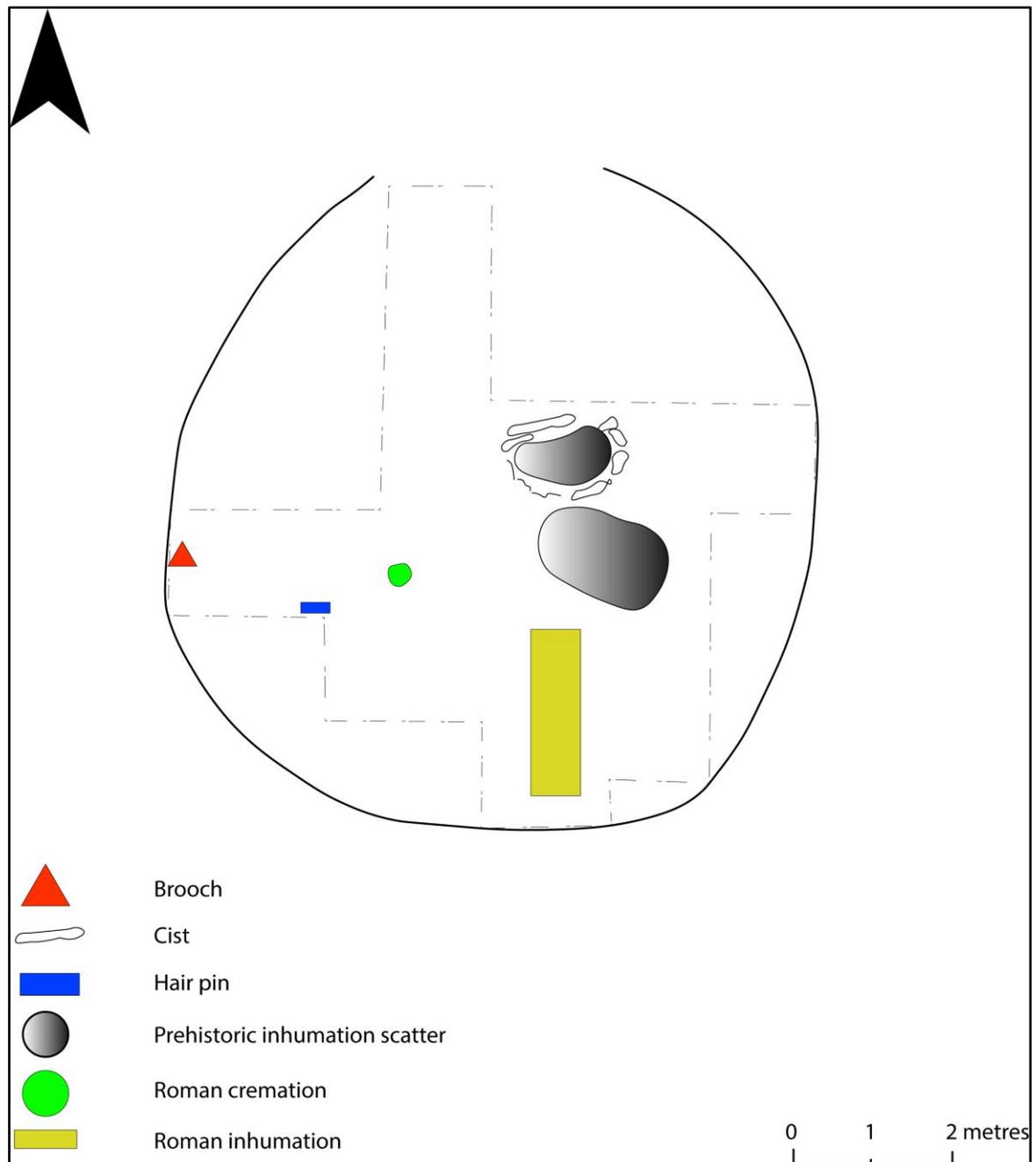
Figure 5.21. Plan of Roystone Grange round barrow. After Marsden 1982a: 24.
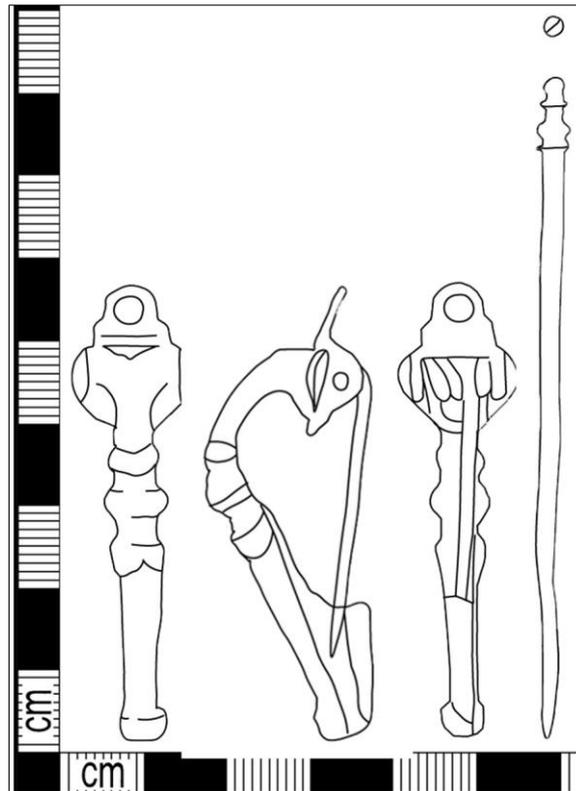
Figure 5.22. Trumpet brooch and disc-headed pin from Roystone Grange barrow. After Marsden 1982a: 26.

The barrow's spatial relationship to the Roystone Grange settlement complex should be explored. Indeed, excavation demonstrated that the barrow was located between the enclosed orthostat walls of the southern enclosure, characterised by arable land (Figure 5.23). Here, survey revealed three separate remains of field banks, two of which were determined by Hodges and Wildgoose to be Roman on the basis of small quantities of *terra sigillata* and Derbyshire greyware recovered from small trenches. Moreover, the field systems were argued to demonstrate a broad alignment with the barrow (1981: 50-51), emphasising that it played a significant role within the orientation of the rural settlement and may explain why it was utilised subsequently to receive funerary deposits and grave goods/artefactual material. It is also noteworthy that the trajectory of the northwestern walls respected the position of an additional barrow, though no direct engagement with it has as yet been attested. This example emphasises that the funerary deposit within the Roystone Grange barrow and the artefactual material were likely derived from the development of the settlement and that the meaning of the barrow was associated with burgeoning activity within this area, demonstrating the relationality between the sites.
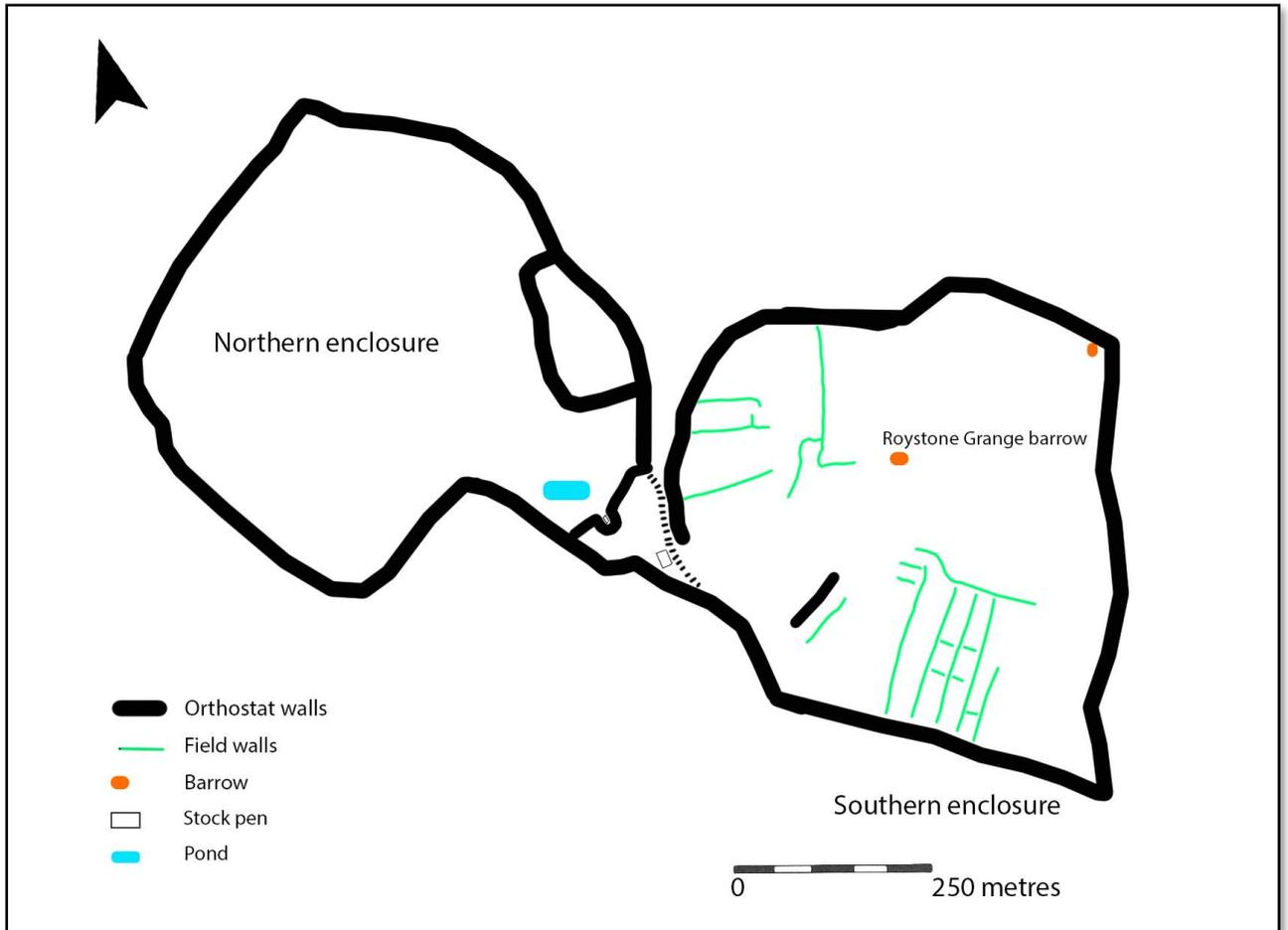
Figure 5.23. Plan of Roystone Grange settlement enclosures. After Hodges and Wildgoose 1981.

5.5.4.1.4 White Cliff

White Cliff, an unchambered round barrow including two stone cists measuring 18m x 16m x 1.5m contains a number of Bronze Age cremations. The crouched skeleton of another individual was located next to one of the cists, and was associated with a trumpet brooch, suggesting that it may have been the grave good of a Roman period interment (Bateman 1861: 77-79). The site is situated in the northern portion of the White Peak close to the River Wye, with the nearby Roman settlement of Hay Top located 0.72km northwest. Hay Top was a rectilinear terraced settlement yielding some evidence for lead production (Bevan 2005: 49). The settlement was also associated with Ravencliffe Cave (Makepaece 1998: 112), 96m to the north (Figure 5.24), which contained an assemblage of four fineware sherds, two coarseware sherds, a Polden Hill brooch and a pennanular brooch, two whetstones and six glass beads dating to between c.75-125 CE (Branigan and Dearne 1992), in the same

244

approximate date range as the trumpet brooch from the barrow. This suggests that that cave use, activity at the barrow and settlement occupation were contemporaneous and expresses their relational connection.
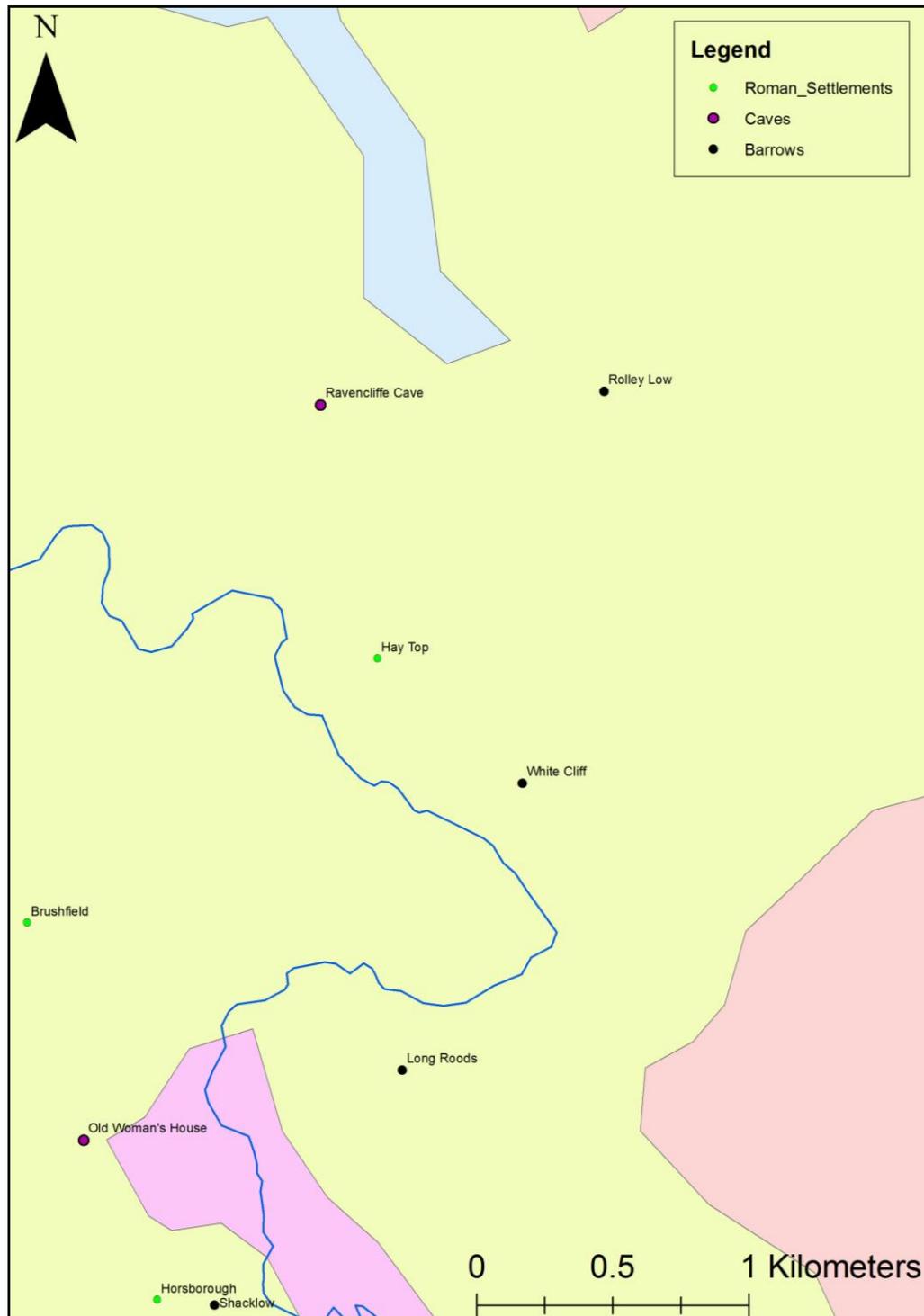
Figure 5.24. Location of White Cliff in relation to Hay Top and Ravencliffe's Cave.

5.5.3.1.5 Beechenhill

The barrow at Beechenhill, located north of Blore demonstrates proxy evidence for later funerary insertions. An iron awl and "parts of two Roman vessels" were recovered from a small pit/depression filled with stones and charcoal, which probably represented a cremation deposit (Bateman 1847: 81-82; 1861: 165-166). Though the evidence is much less secure than previous examples, Beechenhill is situated close to a cluster of sites including the settlements of Beechenhill (43m away), South of Beechenhill (58m away) and Steeple House (95m away), to the immediate south on the peripheral lowlands at the interface of the White Peak and Dark Peak (Figure 5.25). These sites remain unexcavated but were located during survey work. Their earthworks were revealed to be irregular settlements showing possible ovoid buildings (Bevan 2005). The ceramic profile from this area comprised second to third century material (Makepeace 1998: 116), likely providing dating evidence for the settlements. Additionally, the barrow at Castern, an unchambered round barrow measuring 19m x 16m, is situated 0.41km from Beechenhill barrow. In their recordings of Castern, Jones makes reference to the presence of "Roman pottery" (1997: 175) while Barnatt notes Roman finds (1996: 221). Bateman's notes provide no further elucidation than the presence of "earthenware" from his 1849 diggings (1861: 152-153) but the material here likely derived from the relationship between the settlements and use of the Beechenhill barrow, further attesting the association between prehistoric barrows utilised for Roman funerary deposits and contemporary settlement.
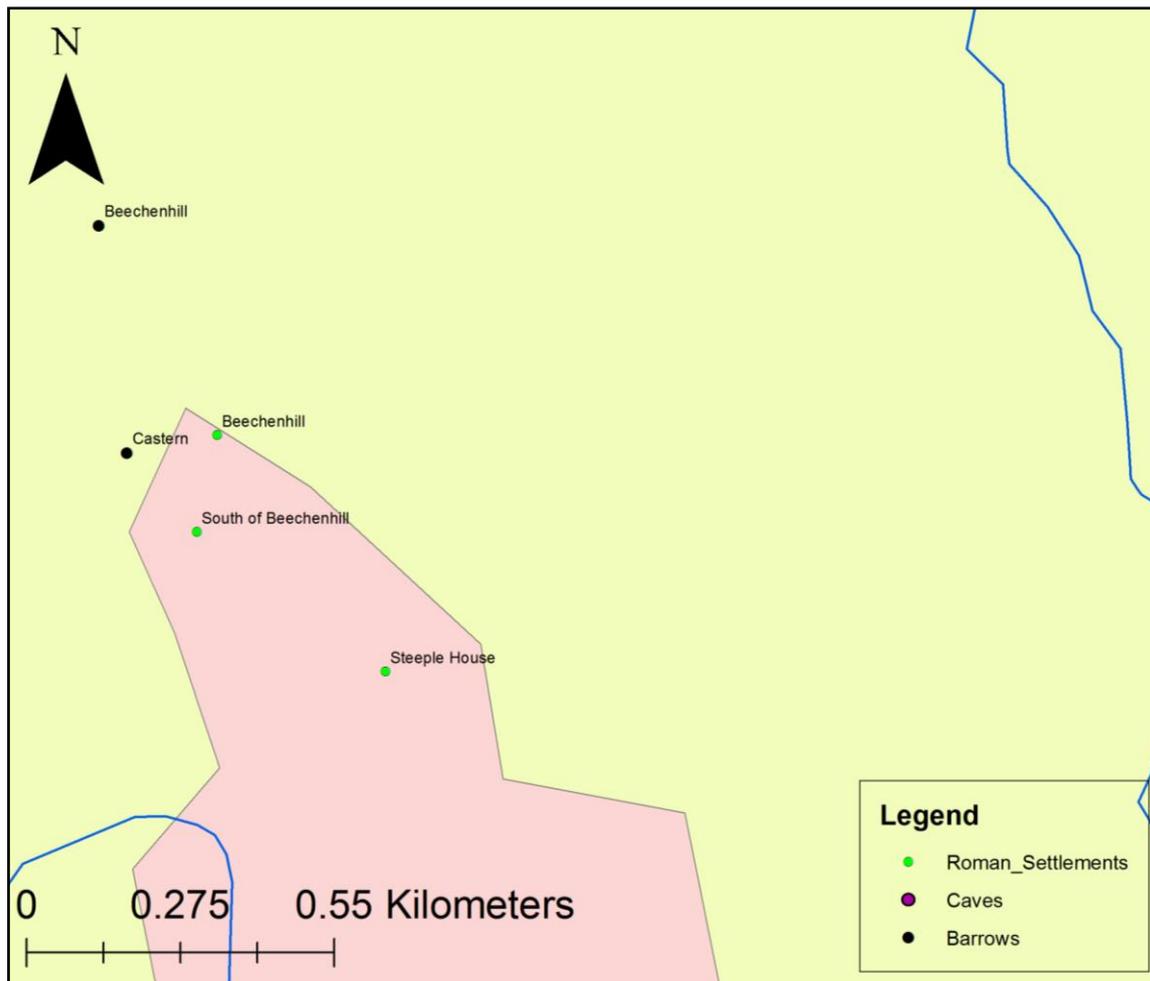
Figure 5.25. Location of Beechenhill in relation to Roman settlements.

5.5.3.1.6 Blore

At Blore, an unchambered round barrow with a diameter of 34m and a height of 2.5m, a sherd of *terra sigillata* was recovered next to a deposit of burned bones, located 30cm below the surface of the primary burial (Bateman 1861: 186). This suggests the cremation deposit and the potsherd constituted a Roman funerary deposit. The site is situated in the southwestern portion of the White Peak and formed part of cluster of prehistoric barrows showing Roman engagement, including Wardlow Pasture, Musden Low, Arbor Hill and Nettles (Figure 5.26). The nearest settlements are Steeple House to the north and Thorpe Pasture South, situated 4.38km and 3.97km away from the monuments respectively, potentially indicating that their engagement involved the journeying away from settlements to prominent landscape entities for burial.
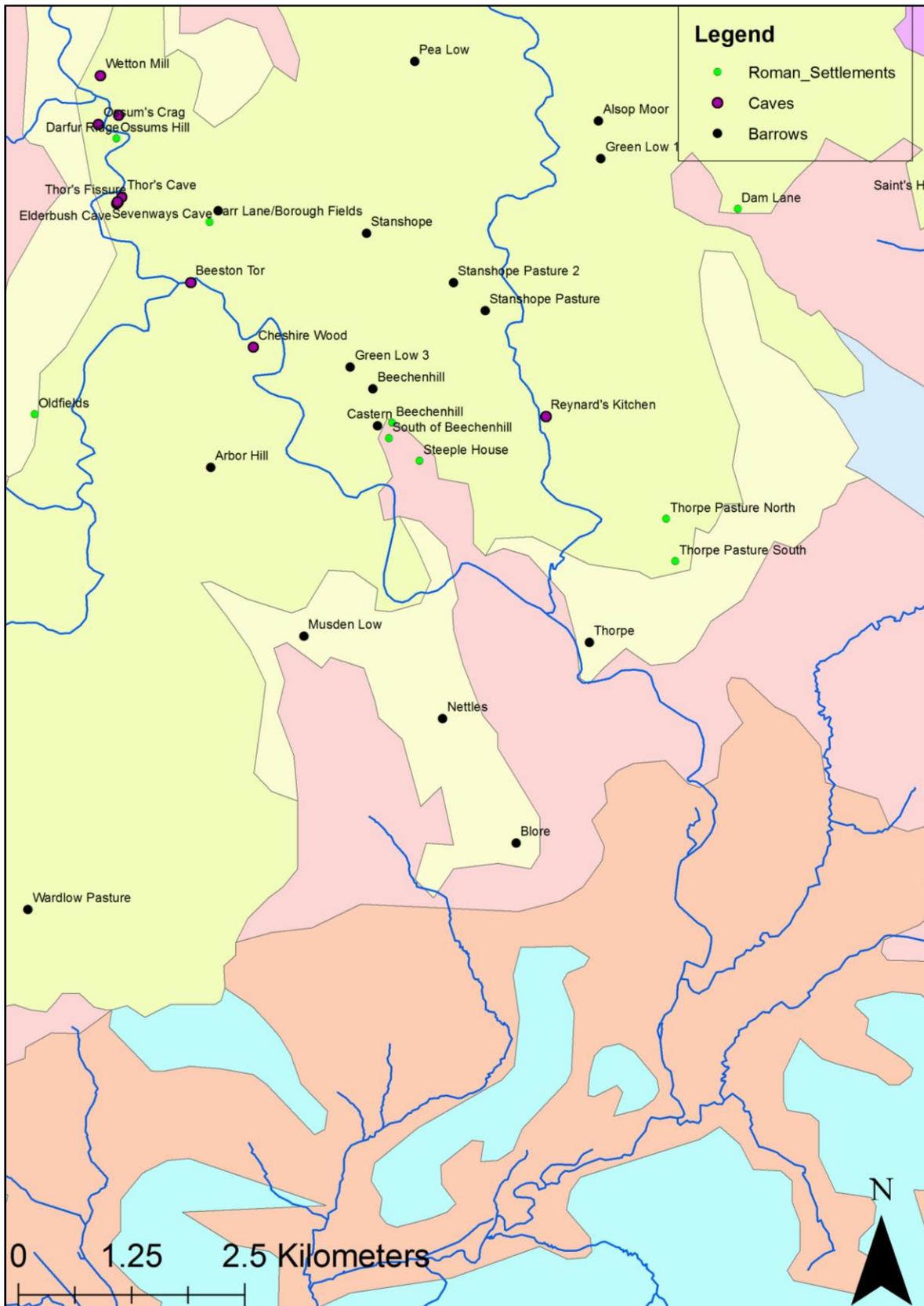
Figure 5.26. Location of Blore in relation to barrows and Roman settlements.

5.5.3.1.7 Discussion

The case-studies demonstrate intrusive burials into prehistoric barrows was equally as significant in characterising funerary engagement as mimicry. At Harley Hill, the probable Roman funerary deposit closely referenced the later prehistoric funerary deposits within the barrow, providing evidence for a different articulation of the influential role of prehistoric monuments situated with the lives and deaths of the local population. That Harley Hill is situated some distance away from the Roman mimicry tradition highlights that patterns of behaviour were highly localised.

Newhaven House and Brundcliffe form part of the cluster of barrows around which the Roman barrows of Ringham Low, Friden Hollow and Minninglow 2 are situated. Their engagement likely provided the template for the Roman barrow tradition to occur, based explicitly upon the opening up of Newhaven House and Brundcliffe to receive burial deposits. The barrow from Roystone Grange is spatially implicated within this network, located close to the Roman barrow of Minninglow 2 and the Roman settlement complex, where the attestation of a funerary deposit could have provided the impetus for the construction of Minninglow 2, as part of this localised tradition.

The funerary evidence from White Cliff suggests that the later prehistoric barrow, the cave and the Roman settlement were closely related sites. The dating evidence suggests that a tradition of Roman funerary insertions into later prehistoric barrows occurred earlier than the Roman mimicry tradition focussed on cremation. This tells us that the mimicry phenomenon cannot be considered to be entirely novel but, rather, embedded in a framework of sustained and repeated actions with monuments over multiple centuries, potentially lingering long in social memory and forming the basis of relational practices. Similarly, Beechenhill forms a funerary deposit which can be associated with the nearby settlements, and is equally embedded in a matrix of action in relation to the deposition of material at the nearby barrow of Castern.

The outlier to this pattern is the funerary deposit at Blore, which forms a cluster of barrows receiving Roman engagement which were rather isolated, beyond the extent of Roman settlement in the southwestern portion of the White Peak. That these groups of monuments are engaged with, however, demonstrates that excursions clearly took place. In the case of Blore, we can envisage a scenario where a significant procession

to the monument took place, culminating in its physical alteration to receive a burial deposit, in what must have been an elaborate ceremonial event.

Cumulatively, the phenomenon of funerary insertions into extant prehistoric barrows, though ultimately distinct from mimicry, can be thought of as closely connected to it, involving a different but no less meaningful articulation of funerary engagement. That the barrows clearly demanded a physical response for Roman funerary insertions ultimately led to the conditions enabling a tradition of mimicry to occur. Funerary engagement as a whole therefore, constituted closely associated relational practices.

The importance of the barrows for funerary purposes is underscored by their relationship to the Roman roads. GIS buffering analysis demonstrates that 70% the barrows with Roman engagement were within 5km of the road. Whilst this is fewer than the amount for Wiltshire – 91% - it highlights that many of the barrows were brought into the orbit of people's lives as a result of the construction of the road system. It raises the possibility that the barrows were supposed to be seen as commemorative funerary memorials as people traversed the landscape (Figure 5.27).
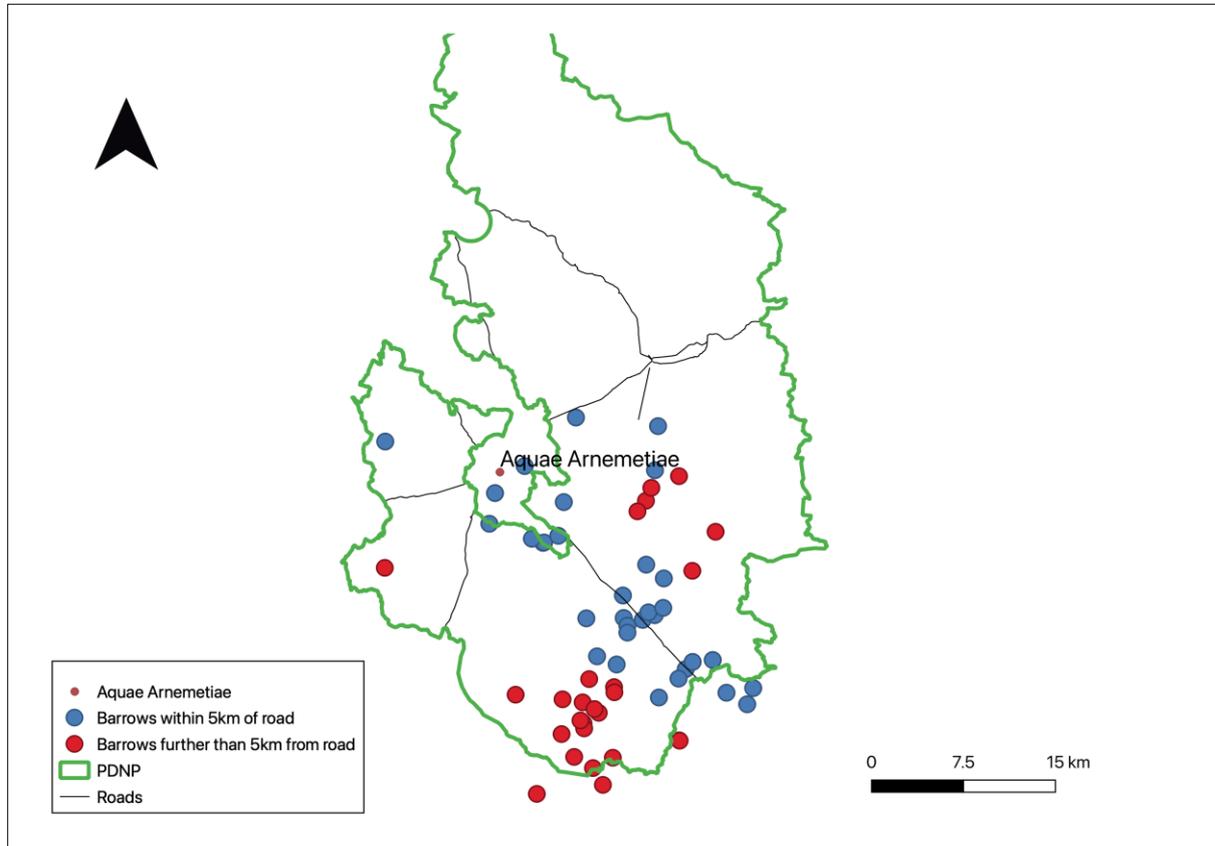
Figure 5.27. Barrows within 5km of roads.

5.5.4.1 Artefactual deposition engagement with later prehistoric monuments

Whilst Section 5.5.3.1 outlines the importance and fluidity of funerary connotations, barrows were also entangled with the daily lives of the people in the Roman period in other ways, involving the deposition of ceramics, coinage, metalwork and, in rare cases associated features are attested (Figure 5.28). Ceramics are the most abundant material, largely comprised of local coarsewares, in particular Derbyshire greyware dating to the second to fourth centuries. However, the deposition of coinage will form the focus of consideration in accordance with the methodology outlined in Section 2.8 and detailed in Appendixes 6-11. Re-analysis undertaken as part of this study has refined the dating. It should be stressed that Bateman seldom provided full information regarding the coins and most are now lost.
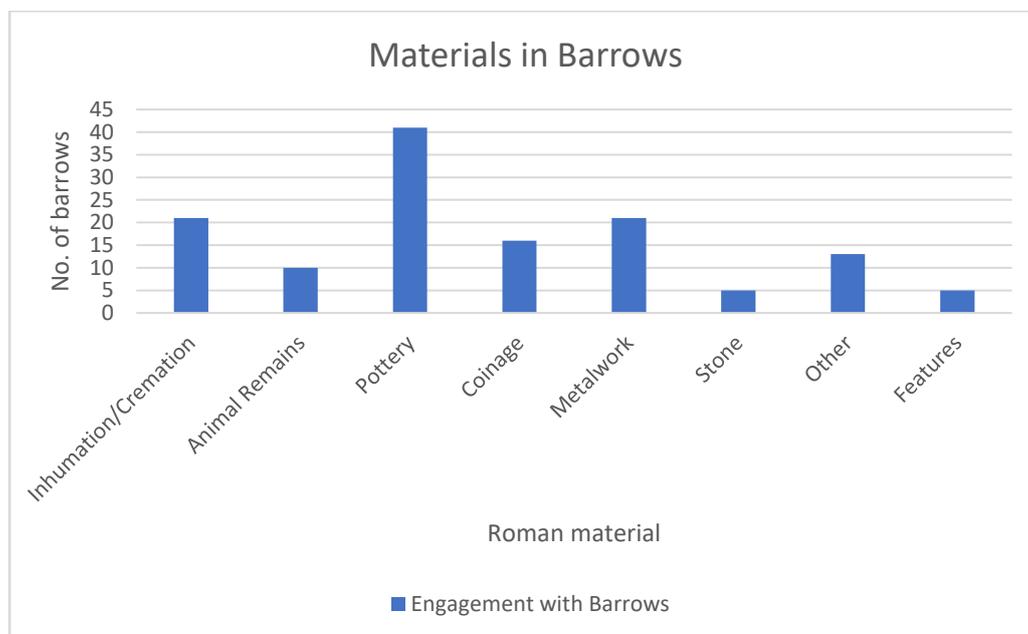
Figure 5.28. Types material from barrows with engagement in the PDNP.

5.5.4.2 Deposition of coinage in barrows

5.5.4.2.1 Wigber Low 1

Wigber Low 1 is one of the most famous multi-period barrows in the PDNP. The original mound measured 11m x 14.5m, containing inhumations and cremations. It demonstrates subsequent structural elaboration, whereupon limestone lumps were piled outside the revetment of the original structure, likely occurring in the Bronze Age.

The site is also famed for its utilisation in the Early Medieval period where seven inhumations were dug into the original mound and a cairn addition was made (Collis 1983).

Roman engagement took the form of the deposition of coinage in conjunction with fragmentary potsherds and a number of animal bones. Excavations between 1975-1978 revealed a stratigraphic sequence consisting of 21 layers, inclusive of cuts and fills marking prior antiquarian investigation. The coins and animal remains were concentrated in two layers underneath the top-soil. These layers are characterised by two periods of disturbance, in the Roman and modern periods respectively. The Roman disturbance was expressed by two "nebulous hollows", which were difficult to discern and no plans were provided in the archival material (Collis 1983: 16). They were, however, centred on two specific areas, depicted as dimensionally accurate on Figure 5.29. Hollow 1, shaded green, contained a copper-alloy *radiate* of Tetricus I of Reece Period 13. In Hollow 2, shaded red, were four Constantinian coins of Reece Period 18, a number of animal bones and lumps of shelly limestone, depicted as black-filled stones, which were distinct from the local stone comprising the barrow and must therefore have been brought as the result of human agency. The coins are identified in Appendix 6 and Table 5.2.

The hollows were located on separate wings of the barrow (Collis 1983). The assemblage of animal bones comprised cattle, horse, sheep/goat, pig, dog and deer, with a much higher portion of sheep/goat (42%) represented in the Roman layers than in the preceding prehistoric layers (29%), consistent with broader patterns of faunal remains across these periods. A minimum of eight vessels were distributed throughout both layers, with a particular concentration from the northeastern quadrant. The ceramic assemblage was highly fragmented with maximum dimensions of two to three cm^2, and predominantly made up of Derbyshire Ware dated to the second to fourth centuries, congruent with the coins.
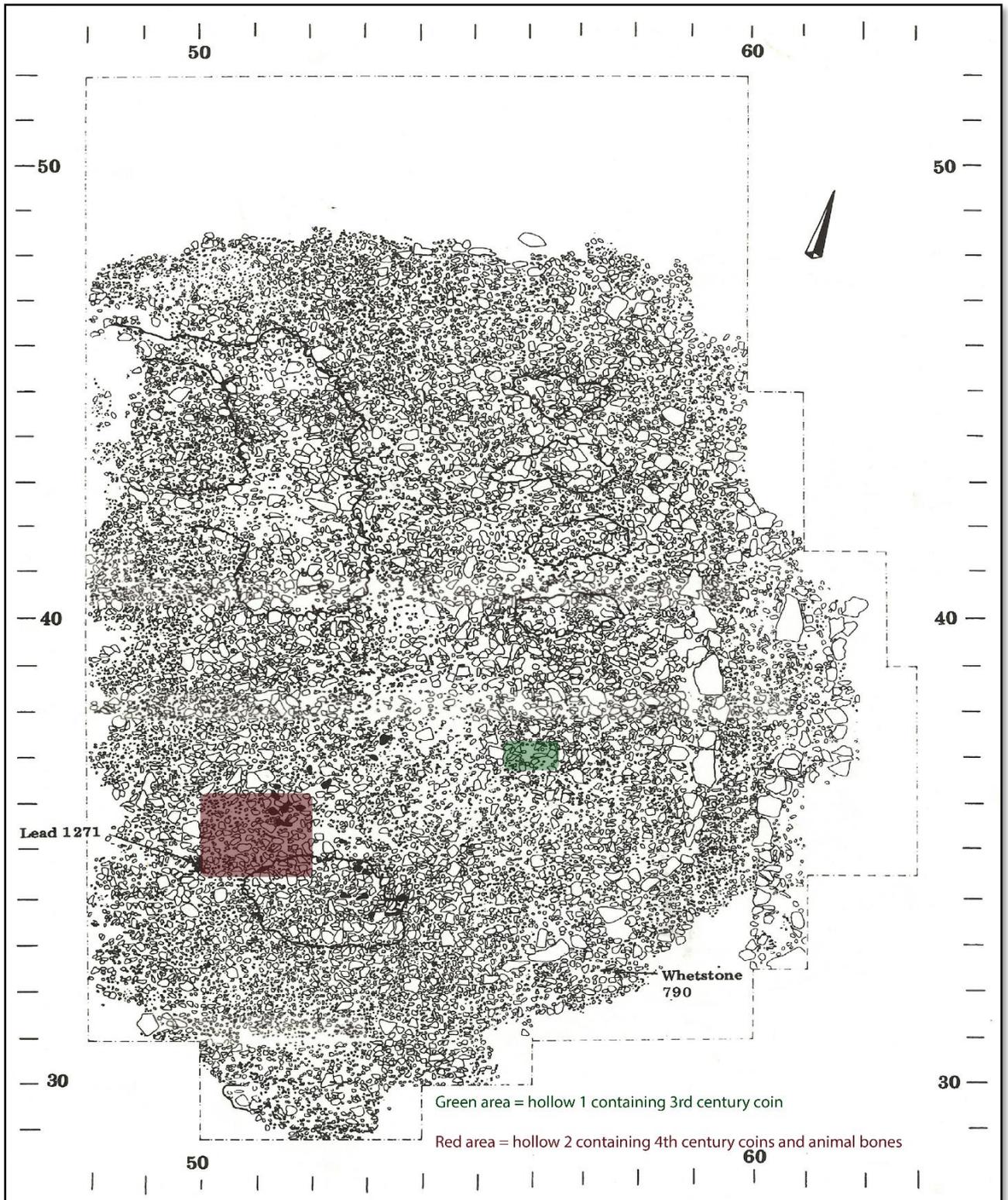
Figure 5.29. Plan of Wigber Low 1 showing two Roman period hollows to scale. The darkly inscribed areas are non-Roman burials and the black stones are shelly limestones. After Collis 1983: 20.

Table 5.2. Number of coins from Wigber Low 1 by Reece Period.

Reece Period	No of Coins
13	1
18	4
Total	**5**

Given that Collis suggests that the hollows were impossible to plan it is unlikely that they formed discrete, definable features such as small pits, but were likely shallow amorphous depressions derived from depletion of the mound that were subsequently utilised. The concentration of material within Hollow 2 suggests a deliberate deposition event. Hollow 1, located on the east side of the barrow, containing the *radiate* was perhaps a separate, earlier, deposition event, or the deposition of a curated coin at the same time. Whilst it may be argued the coin from Hollow 1 could have been residual, the assemblage in Hollow 2 suggests the deliberate opening up of the monument for deposition. We are left with the possibility, therefore, that Wigber Low 1 demonstrates two Roman engagements potentially separated by a period of up to c.74 years during the third and fourth centuries. This denotes that its relations emerged during the later period and endured in social memory whereupon it was returned to. The emergence of these relations can be situated in relation to the wider phenomenon of barrow engagement within the PDNP and the intensification of the rural landscape.

Indeed, Wigber Low 1 is situated to the south of the White Peak on a section of limestone interface with the peripheral lowlands (Figure 5.30). It is associated with Wigber Low 2, a small unchambered round barrow measuring 5.5m x 5m, situated 40m to the west. Wigber Low 2 was excavated by Collis between 1988-1992, though no report was published. Here, a Polden Hill brooch, similar to Hattatt 2000: 300, fig 159. No 25, was discovered together with a vessel from the top-soil on the south edge of the monument (Jones 1997). However, the site does not contain an HER record, nor was it included in Barnatt's survey. However, a short note suggests it contained an Early Medieval burial and it is postulated that it was constructed at this time (Youngs et al 1988: 235-237). If this was the case, the Polden Hill brooch could be residual or a curated Roman artefact deposited in the Early Medieval period. Conversely, it may indicate that the monument was in fact a prehistoric construction containing Roman

artefactual deposition, which was subsequently disturbed by later activity. Certainly, the engagement with Wigber Low 1 a short distance away, together with the presence of the settlement settlement at Haven Hill within the same section of limestone, situated 480m northeast of Wigber Low 1, lends support for an earlier date. Indeed, Haven Hill is an unexcavated site formed of ovoid earthworks morphologically dated from the mid-second century, providing the potential settlement nucleus for engagement with both Wigber Low 1 and Wigber Low 2 in the later Roman period .

Figure 5.30. Location of Wigber Low 1 in relation to Wigber Low 2 and Haven Hill.

5.5.4.2.2 Parwich

Parwich is situated in the south of the White Peak occupying the plateau of Parwich Hill. It is recorded in Barnatt and Collis' gazetteer (10:55) as destroyed due to the construction of a tree plantation in the late nineteenth century, which now overlays the area (Figure 5.31). Another barrow recorded in the survey (10:34) was potentially situated immediately outside of the southeastern area of the stone wall surrounding the plantation, measuring 12m x 11.5m, though a 2018 evaluation trench confirmed its status as natural limestone outcrop, potentially functioning as a platform for flint knapping (May 2019). Bateman noted that a hoard of 80 "third brass coins of the lower Empire" had been recovered during the course of earlier stone removal when writing up his investigation of the site from 9th August 1849 (1861:51). This hoard was logged against Barnatt's entry for site 10:34 rather than 10:55, however, though it is apparent from Bateman's description that it was provenanced from the mound within the plantation. The coins received no further elaboration than the above description, having been recovered prior to Bateman's visit, and are now lost precluding any further analysis. Bateman further noted two human teeth during his work, indicating a potential burial associated with the mound, though no date was offered.

In April 2018, 260 copper-alloy coins of the late third and fourth centuries were recovered from within the plantation due to metal detecting (Appendix 9; DENO-3184D1; Table 5.3). During the course of the hoard's recovery, the detectorists opened up a large hole, digging to the bedrock, which was not stratigraphically recorded.

Figure 5.31. Photo of Parwich barrow. The disturbed area to the left of the image is the are detected upon. Photo reproduced by kind permission from Alastair Willis.

The material, together with the unscheduled status of the site, resulted in a rescue evaluation and the placement of two trenches over the potential barrow (10:55) in November 2018. Trench 1 overlayed the area disturbed by the detectorists while Trench 2 was situated north of this area on the opposite slope of the mound. Trench 1 aimed to recover any further coins stratigraphically as well as locate an edge of the potential barrow. Trench 2, meanwhile, aimed to identify any barrow structure and its edge. In Trench 1, though no edge was located, 12 further copper-alloy *nummi* were recovered congruent with the chronology of the detectorists hoard (Appendix 6; Table 5.3; Willis and May 2019). Most were recovered from backfilled material although two coins were provenanced from a silty clay overlaying the limestone bedrock. Additionally, three fragments of local coarseware were recovered, including two fragments from a jar of soft Derbyshire greyware, dating from the second to third centuries, whilst a highly abraded sherd of *terra sigillata* was recovered from an undisturbed context (Beswick 2019a). Due to the nature of the material within the trench largely comprising detectorists' backfill, together with the significant disturbance of the site due to post-medieval quarrying and the imposition of the plantation, it is unclear whether the coins were deposited in a single event or whether they represent multiple visits to the location. Furthermore, it cannot be determined whether they were placed within a ceramic vessel or were scattered within the mound material.

Table 5.3. Number of coins from Parwich by Reece Period

Reece Period	Number of Coins
10	1
13	3
14	1
17	220
18	15
19	4
Indiscernible	28
Total	**272**

Trench 2 was positioned over an area of the mound that appeared undisturbed. Underneath the turf and top-soil, a layer of mid-brown silty clay contained regular sub-angular limestone pieces consistent with a mound structure. Within this layer, six fragments of prehistoric pottery were recovered including five fragments emanating from what has been interpreted as a bucket-like urn or necked jar dating to between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (Beswick 2019b: 11). Beswick further notes that these sherds could relate to a cremation, though no calcined human remains were recovered during the course of the excavations. Mixed within this layer was a sherd of local greyware. Lying underneath this layer was an area of probable limestone mound material (Figure 5.32). Given that the only the material recovered above this layer was prehistoric and Roman in date, the mound must have either been a natural outcrop or constructed in antiquity. The presence of flint tools and the prehistoric pottery supports a hypothesis of a prehistoric mound, probably containing a cremation deposit although the disturbed nature of the site makes this difficult to determine definitively and the site was not subsequently scheduled. Bateman's reference to two human teeth give further credence to this interpretation.
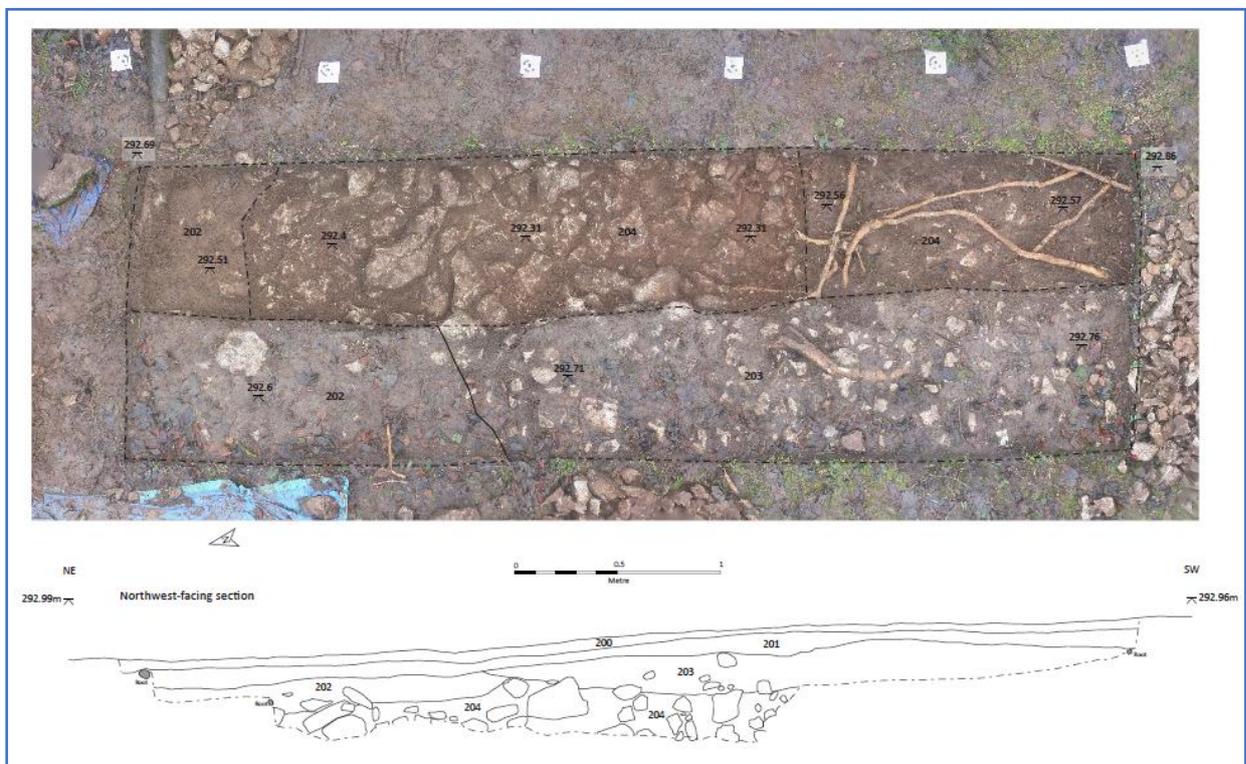
Figure 5.32. Plan and section of trench 2 demonstrating the limestone mound material. After Kay 2019, figure 9.

It is clear that the mound at Parwich, whether natural or human made during prehistory, was interpreted by the Roman period inhabitants in a manner similar to the other case-studies in this section, in that it become a locus for the meaningful deposition of coinage which involved journeying to the site's prominent location at the apex of a hill and opening up a mound. An explanation for this action emerges through consideration of its local context. The location of the mound commands views of the surrounds across to Minninglow 1, situated 2.7km to the northeast. Within this area, the Roman settlement of Lombard's Green was located 620m north of the Parwich barrow, on a gently sloping shelf lying below Parwich Hill, while the Roystone Grange settlement complexes were 1.27km northeast, themselves exhibiting barrow engagement (Section 5.5.3.1.4).

Lombard's Green was a nucleated site comprising multiple sections covering an area of 30,000m^2. The main domestic site formed a stone-rubble banked enclosure within which were situated three rectangular houses (Figure 5.33; Makepeace 1998: 123). Haverfield refers to finds including ceramics, a weapon and a coin assemblage dating to the first to second century but no further details are elucidated (1905: 206), though it is clearly tempting to see the spatial relationship between the site, Roystone Grange and the actions at Parwich as indelibly connected. In this way, occupation activity at the nearby settlements must have brought the Parwich barrow into the orbit of those living nearby. Its capacity to act, therefore, emerged because of its embeddedness within this network. That the elevated site was journeyed to for the receipt of coin deposits is echoed in relation to the intervisible Minninglow 1, the subject of the next section.

Figure 5.33. Plan of Lombard's Green. After Makepeace 1998: 115.

5.5.4.2.3 Minninglow 1

Minninglow 1 is the most famous of all the prehistoric barrows in the PDNP. Characterised as a long barrow with chambered passage graves, the monument measures 45m x 38m x 2.4 metres, making it the largest, most extensive and imposing of all the great barrows of the area. Lying within the southeastern uplands of the White Peak it forms part of a cluster of sites comprising an adjacent closed chamber or cist barrow, alongside the smaller Roman barrow of Minninglow 2. Today, a copse of beech trees covers the mound and forms a landmark for miles around, visible from Parwich, Harborough Rocks and Roystone Grange (Figure 5.21). It was first investigated by Bateman in 1843, who penetrated the centre and one edge, clearing out three of the four chambers (Figure 5.34). He discovered that each chamber had been disturbed in the Roman period, evidenced by the presence of ceramics and coins in both the fills of the chambers and dispersed in the mound material (Bateman 1847: 39; 1961: 54, 82). Further excavations were undertaken between 1973 and 1974 whereupon a further chamber was located (Marsden 1982b).

The chambers reveal the phasing of the monument. Chamber 1, 1.30m x 0.90m wide, is covered by a massive sloping capstone. The passage to the chamber is 1.5m x 0.50m x 1m, also covered by a large capstone. It was the first chamber built; a mound was constructed around it, which was subsequently elaborated. Chamber 2 is 1.6m x 1.2m x 1.7m, separated from the passage by a septal slab 0.50m high. The passage is 2.2m x 0.60m x 1.3m. Chamber 3 is wedge shaped, 2.4m x 1.8m x 2.30m deep. Chamber 4 is 1.4m x1.5m x c.0.90m. The passage is 2.6m long with an original height of 0.90m (Figure 5.35).
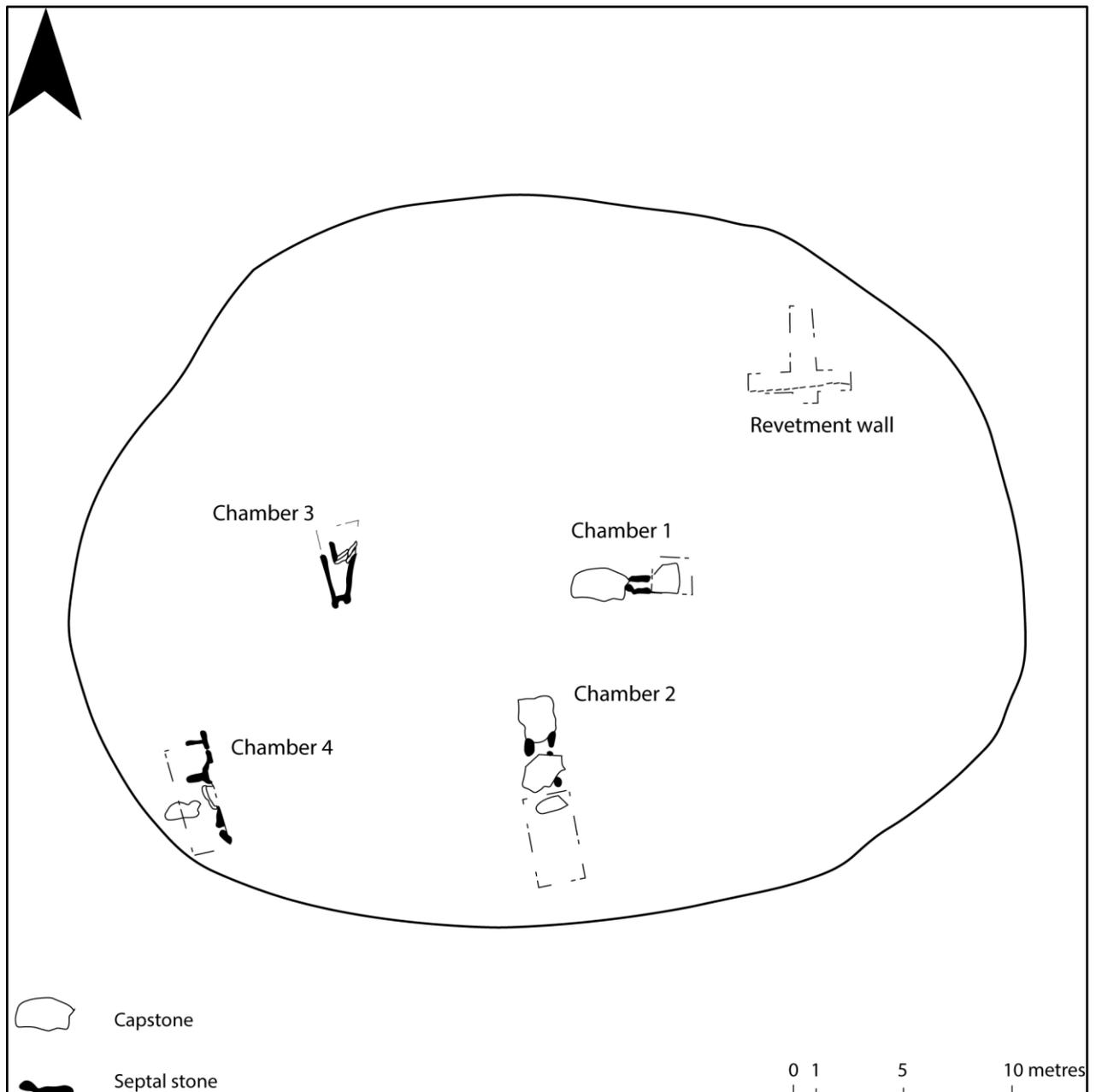
Figure 5.34. Plan of Minninglow 1. After Marsden 1982b: 8.

On his first visit to the site on 5th July 1843, Bateman located Chamber 4, discovering that much of its original contents or structure had been robbed but six coins were recovered from the fill (Appendix 10a; 1842: 40). Returning to the site on 18th July 1849, Bateman made a cut next to the chamber where, at a depth of 1.2m, he discovered 'many pieces of firmly baked Roman pottery that had been formed on the wheel' and two coins "near to the natural soil" (1861: 55). Chamber 4 was revisited by Marsden and he too located a few sherds of Roman pottery in its southeastern area (1982b: 15). Bateman again returned on 5th September 1851, this time locating

Chamber 2. He also discovered two coins at the western side of the mound just below the turf together with "numerous pieces of Roman pottery" (1861: 82).

Marsden's excavations also showed that Chamber 1 had been disturbed by Bateman and little in the way of material was recovered. However, three coins were recovered just above the capstone to the passage (1982b:17; Figure 5.35). Bateman's excavations of Chamber 2 were also evident though the debris in the passage yielded two sherds of Derbyshire ware. Chamber 3 was found to have been untouched by Bateman. Its fill comprised soil and stones, containing five coins and considerable quantities of Roman pottery including a chip of *terra sigillata* and a sherd of colour-coated ware on the original ground surface, demonstrating Roman cuts into the feature.
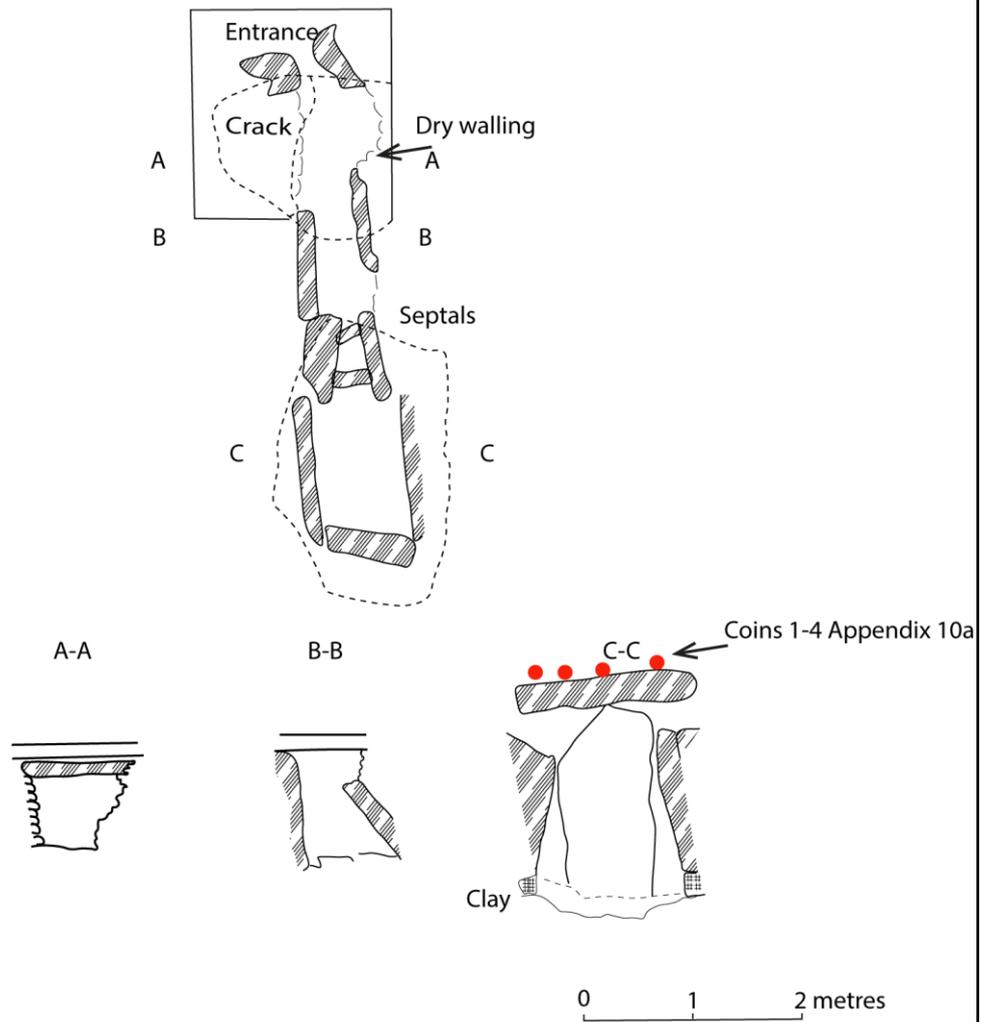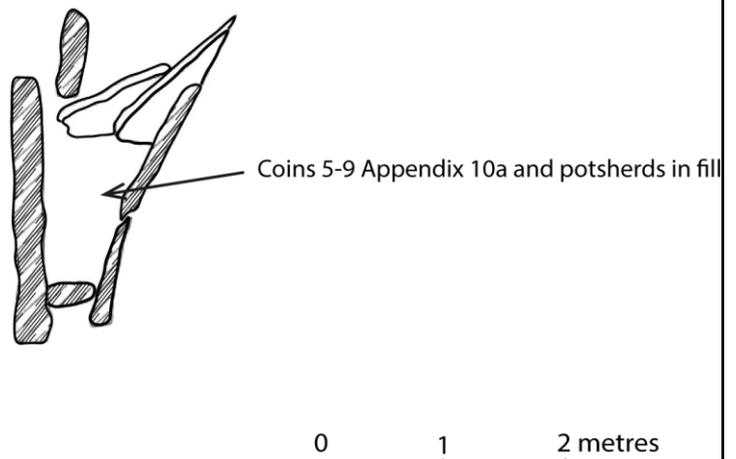
Figure 5.35. Plan and section of Chamber 1 from Minninglow 1. Chamber 1 North is on the left.
Chamber 3 North is on the top. After Marsden 1982b: 11.

The dispersal of the Roman material indicates widespread, deliberate engagement with the monument manifested and concentrated in the fills of the chambers, with coins spanning Reece Period 13-17 (Table 5.4). This suggests the chambers became significant loci for the receipt of deposits over an extended period in the late third and fourth centuries. Opening up the chambers would have been time consuming and labour-intensive enterprises, involving repeated engagements and attest to the significant meaning the monument played within the local landscape. Therefore, deposition within the chambers was a different mode of practice than observed within unchambered round barrows, highlighting the different articulations of meaning involved between these types of monuments.

Table 5.4. No of Coins from Minninglow 1 by Reece Period.

Reece Period	No of Coins
13	2
14	1
15	2
16	4
17	11
Indiscernible	1
Total	**22**

5.5.4.2.4 Discussion

The case-studies in Section 5.5.4.1 suggest that the deposition of coinage in some prehistoric barrow structures was unlikely to have been the result of accidental loss. Rather, the character of the depositions argues for deliberate insertions. Considered *en mass*, the coins from barrows in the study area overwhelmingly comprise coins Reece Period 15-18 with Period 17 being most represented, a pattern congruent with coin loss in rural zones throughout Britain (Figures 5.36-37). Indeed, this period represents 25% of all Roman coins recorded by the PAS (Walton 2012). This pattern is generally ascribed to economic causation due to inflation, whereupon a large volume of *nummi* would have been required to purchase any item of value rendering the coins rather *economically* valueless (Moorhead 2011a: 181). *Nummi* of this period

are rarer in coin hoards, however, where *radiate* issues of Reece Periods 13-14 are the most prevalent (Guest 2015: 103). Indeed, a hoard of 3,631 barbarous *radiates* of this time, together with seven second century coins, was discovered from the Roman farm at Ripley located in the Dark Peak on the road from Chesterfield to *Derventio* (Palfreyman and Ebbins 2012), supporting this picture. The coin assemblages from the barrows were comparatively lacking in third century denominations, with only 14 attested, whilst Reece Period 21 issues were not attested in these contexts, suggesting coinage deposition in the monuments was a particularly Constantinian period phenomenon. This is potentially explainable by the fact that the settlement within the PDNP appears to retract by the latter stages of the fourth century (Section 5.4), underscoring the closely related nature of the development of the development of the landscape and the phenomenon of depositing coins within barrows. Indeed, a comparison of the coin assemblages at the case-study sites demonstrates that activity at Wigber Low was probably slightly earlier than Minninglow 1 and Parwich. Slightly later coins are represented at Parwich whereas they are not at Minninglow 1 (Figure 5.38). The closely related but not identical temporal patterns between the coinage at these sites suggest that the practices were probably connected to one another, constituting a localised tradition within the late third and fourth centuries.
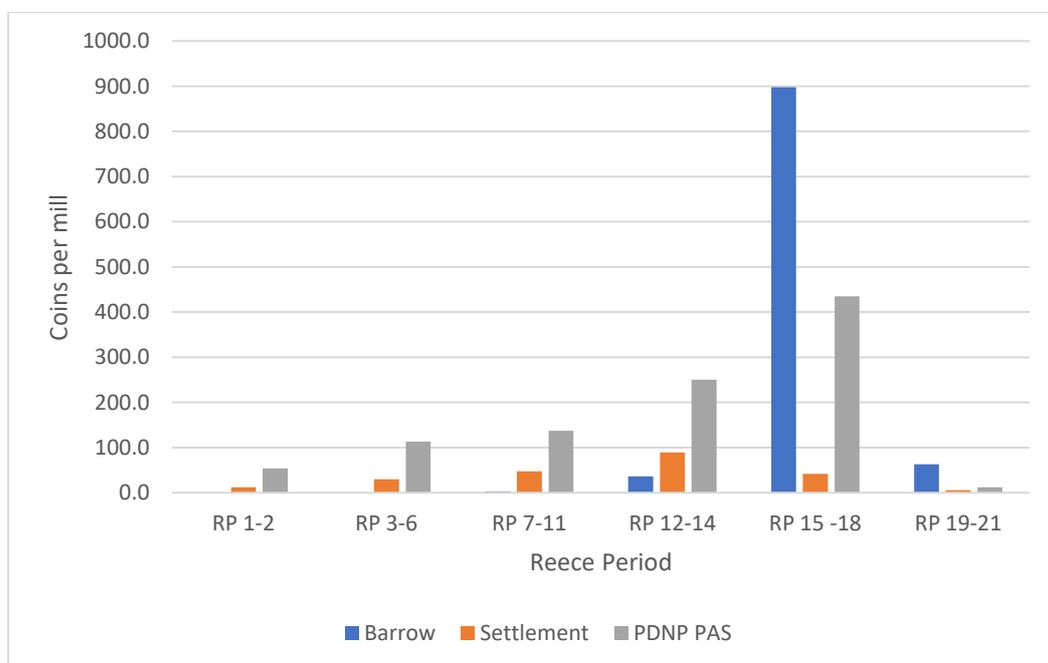
Figure 5.36. Coins from barrows (N=332), rural settlements (N=38) and the PDNP PAS (N=168).
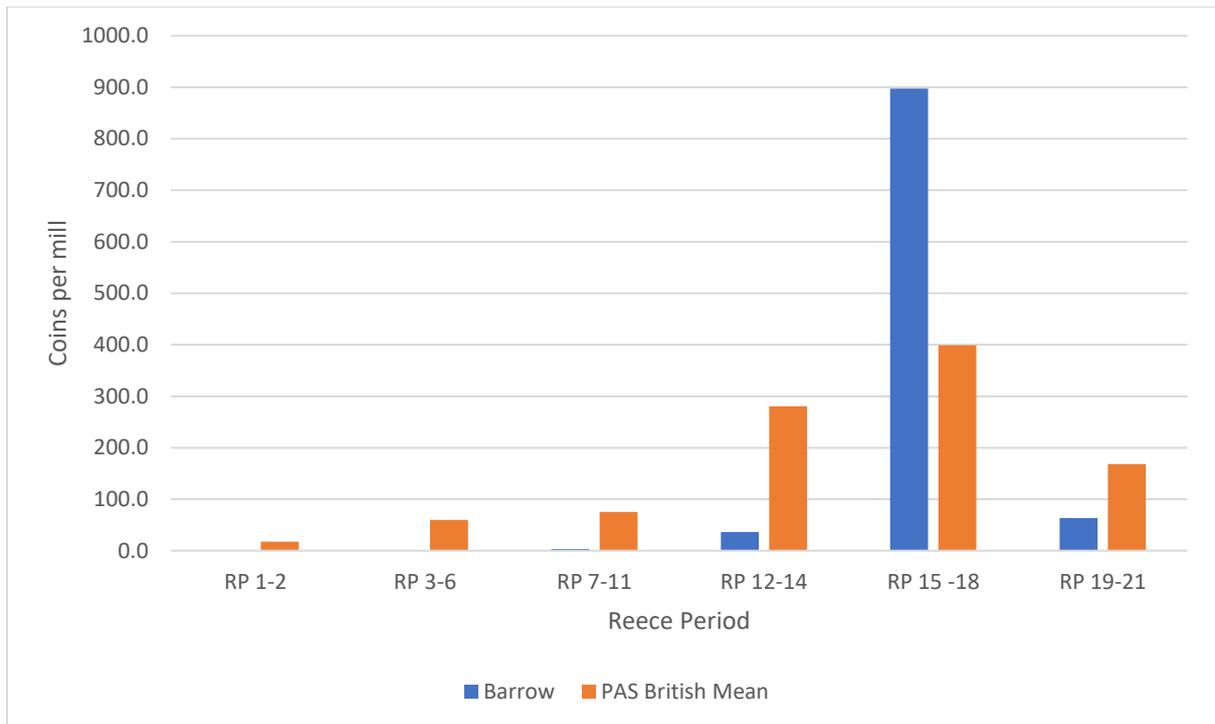
Figure 5.37. Coins from barrows (N=332) measured against the PAS British Mean (N=204,854).
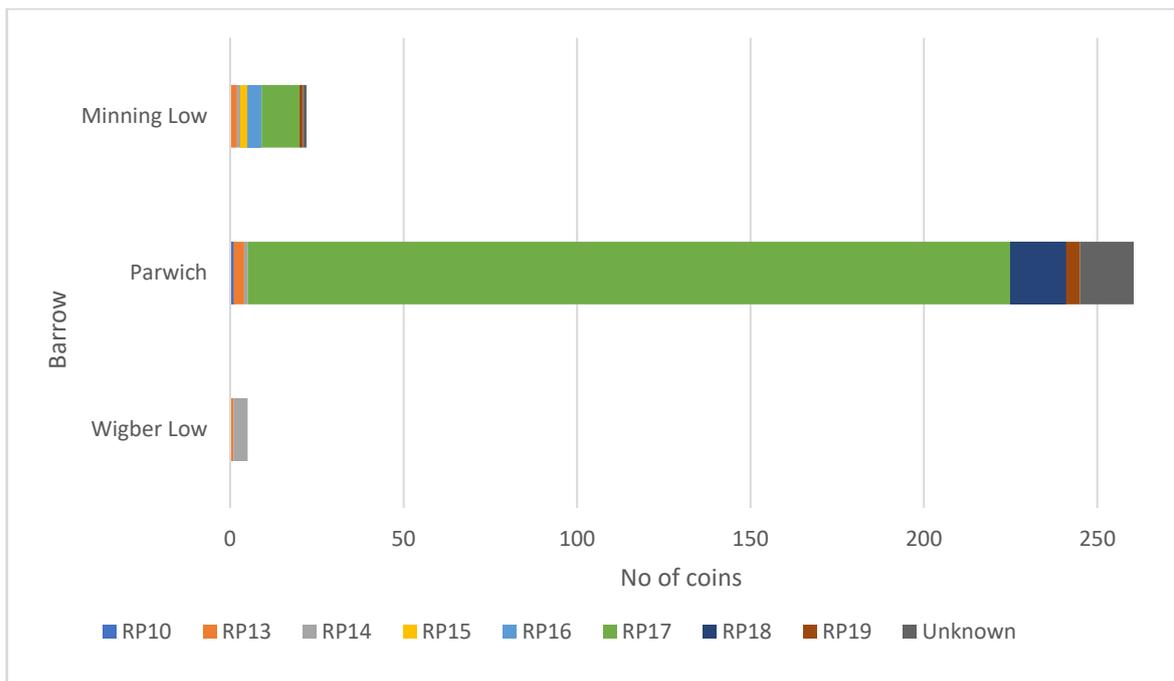
Figure 5.38. Comparison of coin assemblages at three barrows by raw numbers.

Considering hoarding or accumulations of coins, we are often constrained by somewhat conservative thinking. Coin hoards from the Roman period largely remain inextricable from narratives of economic value, stemming from modern research agendas derived from numismatics and its fixedness to the historical method (Guest 2017), reflected in Brickstock's interpretation of hoards discussed in Section 4.3.2. But

coin hoarding is often centred on an inherent paradox; they are at once assumed to be precautions against the dangers of currency depreciation/a response to historical crises, or the disposal of unwanted coins made of low value metals rendered worthless by inflation (Aitchison 1988: 274). In the case of the former, it is often assumed that the depositors intended to retrieve the artefacts because of their intrinsic value. This approach can be seen in the explanation by Robertson that prehistoric funerary monuments represented prominent mnemonic nodes where material was buried with a view to collection at a later date (1974).

An alternative approach, advocated by Aitchison (1988) and championed by Millett (1994), posits that the deposits were never intended to be returned to but instead reflect votive deposits material. This approach has been applied particularly well to coin deposition in the Iron Age (Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005) but remains on the fringes of discourse concerning the Roman period (Guest 2017). This interpretation gains more traction regarding the disposal of small numbers of low-value coins of copper-alloy; why, after all, would anyone go to the trouble of sojourning to a later prehistoric monument, open up the mound involving considerable labour output and deposit the material if it was worthless? Therefore, we perhaps should be less interested in the economic values of the artefacts but, instead, turn our attentions to the act of deposition and the receptacle in order to understand 'value'.

In this regard, should we therefore assume the monuments were imbued with religious significance, akin to shrines, where large amounts of coins were deposited as offerings, as at Bath in the southwest? Aitchison has suggested that Roman coin deposition in prehistoric funerary monuments was analogous to this mode of practice, where the monuments were invested with "mystical qualities with the supernatural…believed to indicate their religious significance, possibly as the burial place of ancestors and as an avenue to the otherworld" (1988: 276-277). This would seem more consistent with the actions of deposition we have seen, rather than an utilitarian interpretation of hoarding for safekeeping. Similarly, because coin deposition was largely a third and fourth century phenomenon concentrated on the Constantinian period, it is tempting to view the activities through the lens of the so-called 'pagan revival' associated with the fourth century particularly in rural settings (Mattingly 2006: 486-487).

Such interpretations are rarely satisfactory in isolation, however, as Section 2.4 emphasised. The meanings and purposes of barrow deposits were complex and multiple, as we have seen. Rather than placing emphasis on representation and symbolism, a more pertinent line of enquiry considers more closely the processes that prehistoric barrows found themselves bound up with in the Roman period. In this regard, the close spatial and chronological relationships between barrows and Roman settlements, set alongside the material evidence of engagement, demonstrates that the monuments became enmeshed within human activities within the landscape. Wigber Low 1, Parwich and Minninglow 1 are situated within the southern portion of the White Peak, within 7.09km of one another, associated with different Roman settlements in the vicinity. It is possible to envisage a scenario in which these monuments and their associated settlements reflected practices undertaken by communities that were connected to one another, forming a specific localised tradition, further supported by the closely dated deposition events. But even as these practices can be thought of as referencing one another, the variations in their modes of deposition highlight that they were different translations of the same phenomenon. Indeed, given that barrows were also demonstrably utilised for funerary purposes as well, an assumption that they were simply represented religious monuments is unsustainable. Rather, they performed different roles gaining their meaning through their associations with contemporary inhabitation of the landascape.

5.6 Wider discussion: caves and barrows; absent engagement

A comparison between the activities at the caves and the barrows reveals temporal differentials. The coin assemblages from the caves span the first to fourth centuries, largely concentrated on the second century, whilst barrow engagement was in the main confined to the late third and fourth centuries, reflected when the coin assemblages from each monumental form are juxtaposed (Figure 5.39). Section 5.4 showed that the majority of rural settlements from the region can be associated with repopulation from the mid-second century CE. This would suggest that caves maintained significance as persistent places in the earlier Roman period where their relations endured, while the tradition of barrow engagement occurred after settlements were established. However, it has also been shown that caves were often associated with settlements (Section 5.5.1) and, in some instances, cave use, barrow

engagement and settlement patterns show strong connections, attested at Harborough Rocks (Section 5.5.1.2) and White Cliff (Section 5.5.4.1.4), emphasising the closely related nature of these prehistoric monuments and their role within the contemporary Roman landscape.
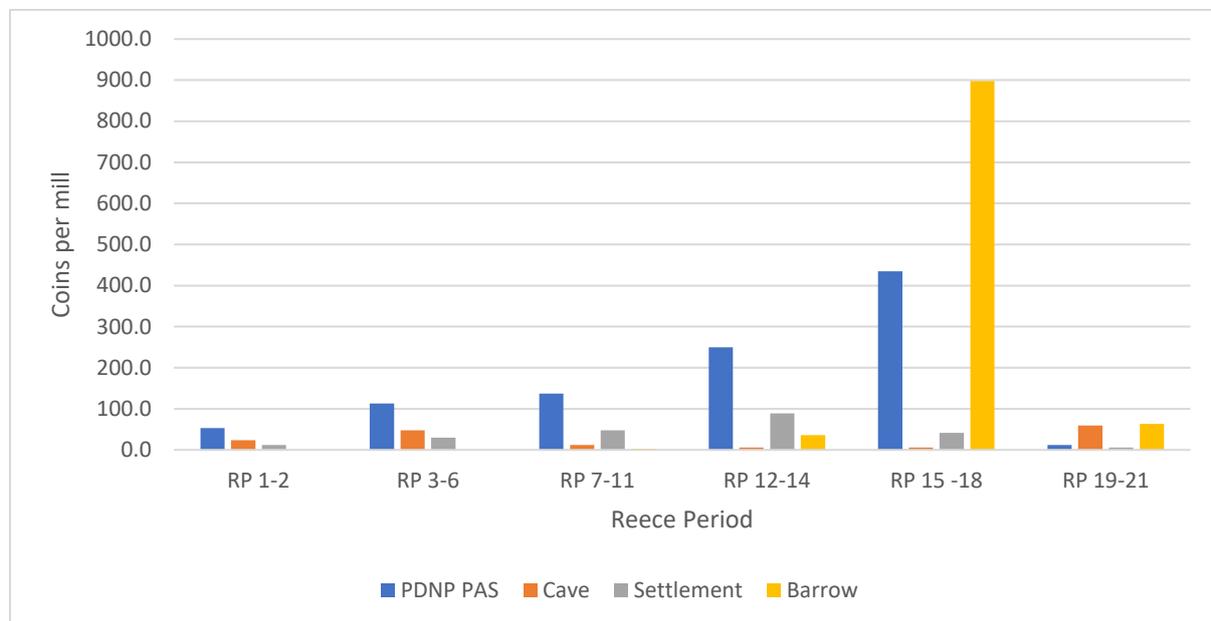
Figure 5.39. Coins from the PDNP PAS (N=168), caves (N=26), barrows (N=332) and PDNP rural settlements (N=38).

In addition to the coinage evidence, discrepancies between the treatment of the body in funerary contexts are attested, underscoring the distinction between the two monumental forms. Indeed, while 21 barrows exhibit funerary deposits, only four caves exhibit funerary evidence. Expressed proportionally, 7% of all caves in the PDNP yield Roman funerary deposits whilst the number of all barrows yielding Roman funerary deposits is between 3.2-4.1%. This is reflected in the total amount of burial deposits from each monument, where 27 deposits were recovered from 21 barrows, while 14 were unearthed from the four caves (Figure 5.40). When the deposits are considered by funerary rite, a stark difference emerges in that cremation was the predominant rite utilised in barrows whilst inhumation dominated in caves. As the coin evidence showed, cave sites were generally utilised earlier than barrow sites and the funerary evidence associated with these caves reflects their earlier utilisation. In this regard, it is not possible to assert that inhumation gradually replaced cremation in the PDNP in accordance province wide rural patterns (Smith 2018: 218, fig 6.10) but, rather, that early cave sites show a preference for inhumation whilst later barrow use was largely

characterised by cremation. In this regard, the materiality of the monuments themselves may have contributed to this pattern, emphasising their agentive roles in determining Roman funerary customs. Digging a grave cut into an extant mound for an inhumation would have been particularly laborious task compared to opening it up to receive secondary cremation deposits whilst the secluded and dark nature of caves regularly redepositing material through natural agencies would have created more easily excavatable surfaces conducive for receiving inhumations.
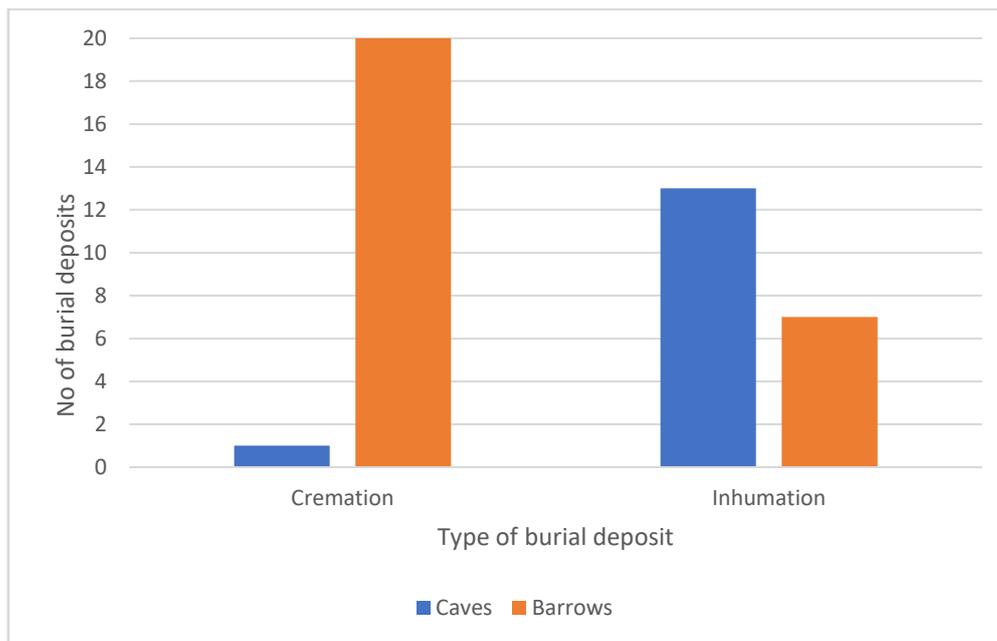
Figure 5.40. Number of burial deposits by funerary rite at caves and barrows.

Finally, it is also worth referencing monuments that were not engaged with. The henges at Arbor Low and Bull Ring do not record any Roman engagement, though the latter has received little in the way of excavation (Barnatt 1990). Arbor Low is located 300m to the west of the long barrow with cist at Gib Hill, which does yield Roman engagement in the form of a copper-alloy brooch and silver coins, now lost (Bateman 1861: 66-67). The Bull Ring is situated c.5km north of *Aquae Arnematiae* in an area not associated with Roman settlement. In the case of Arbor Low, it is possible to envisage a scenario of purposeful non-interaction given proximal use of Gib Hill and the presence of the settlement at Cales Farm, situated 1.64km northeast of the henge. The absence of material at the Bull Ring, however, is consistent with the extent of Roman settlement although its location at an intersection in the road system between roads running from *Aquae Arnematiae* and Melandra to the north and *Navio* to the east further indicates that its presence would have been a visual part of the landscape

(Figure 5.41). It does, however, raise the possibility that the two monuments were, in some way, prominent nodes which helped aid the trajectories of the roads when they were constructed in the early centuries by the military. This emphasises Spencer's point that monuments could be active without yielding material engagement (2016; Section 2.3).

The henges are situated on the limestone plateau. Section 5.3.2 emphasised that the PDNP was replete with stone circles, though it is notable none yield evidence for Roman engagement (Barnatt 1990). It is tempting, again, to assert that this may represent some form of purposeful non-interaction. However, when the location of the monuments are plotted, they are spatially isolated from Roman period settlements (Figure 5.41), situated in the main on the eastern gritstone of the Dark Peak. Curiously, however, a clutch of six stone circles do demonstrate a spatial association with the settlements at Anthony Hill, Carrs Wood, Robin Hood's Stride, Thieves Den and Whatscliff, argued to have been potentially related to the mimicry barrow cluster (Section 5.5.2.1). This raises the possibility that barrows were meaningful landscape entities in a way the stone circles were not. Further, a concentration of stone circles in and around settlements in the northeast of the study area is expressed, though they do not yield engagement. In this regard, it is notable, that barrows were also replete within this zone, and do not yield engagement. These data reinforce the perspective that monumental engagement was a phenomenon expressed in the main by communities on the White Peak, focussed upon caves and barrows exclusively.
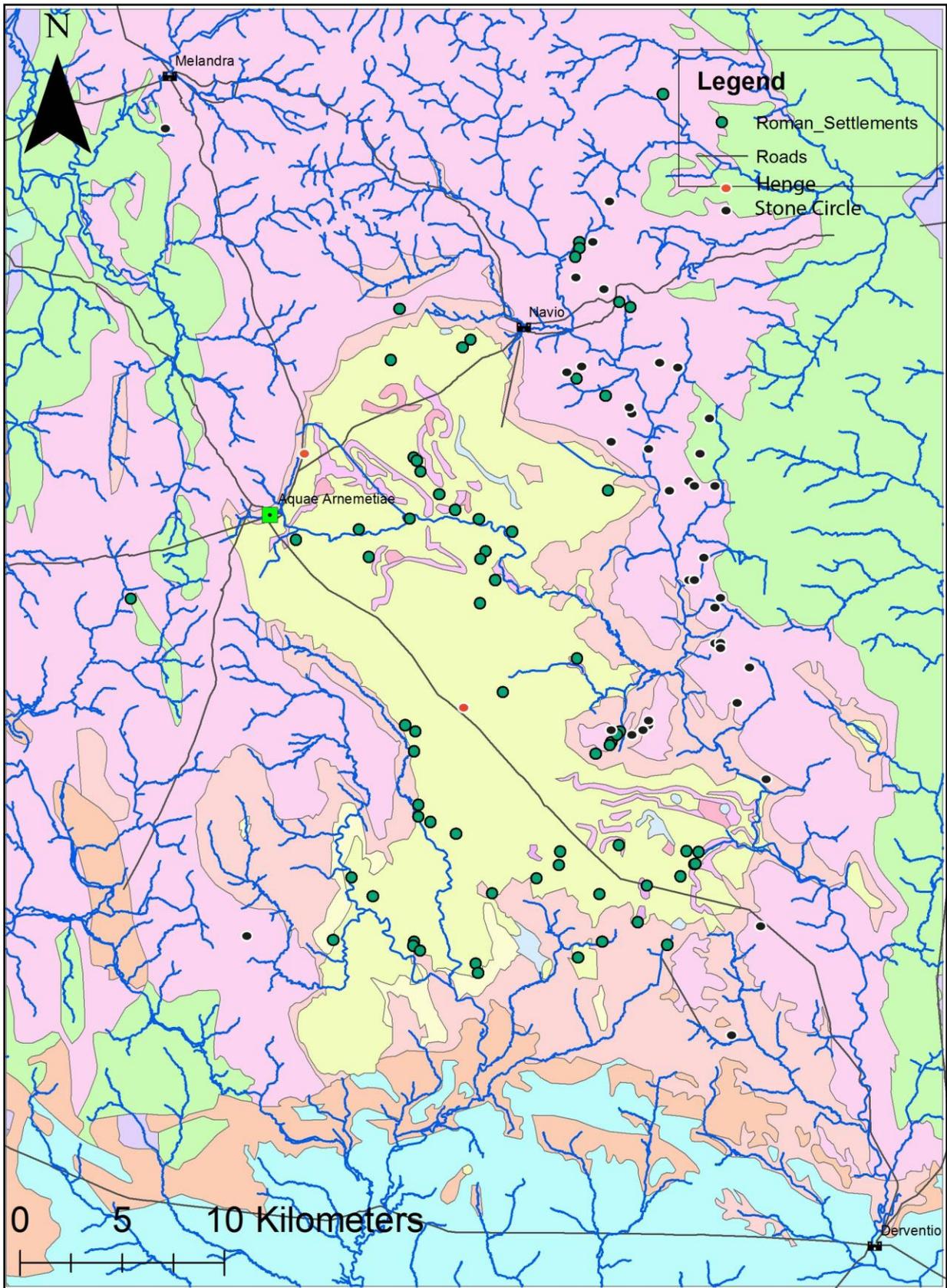
Figure 5.41. Location of henges and stone circles in relation to Roman settlements.

Similarly, none of the hillforts in the PDNP yield Roman engagement, though the discovery of coarse Roman pottery from the promontory hillfort at Markland Grips in eastern Derbyshire provides nearby precedent (Lock and Ralston 2017: EN2970). Whilst it has been shown that hillforts have been largely neglected by research agendas (Section 3.3), the absence of hillfort engagement is largely consistent with their locations away from the concentrated zones of Roman settlement in the White Peak. However, this is more curious in the northeast peripheral lowlands where there was concentration of settlement near clusters of hillforts (Figure 5.42). Settlements in this area do not demonstrate any engagement with barrows and so it is likely that that these communities were not engaged in any tradition of utilising monuments, in stark contrast to patterns in the south of the White Peak. However, the hillforts at Castle Ring and Cratcliffe Rocks are located in close proximity to the settlements which I have suggested were connected to the Roman funerary barrows of Minninglow 2, Ringham Low and Friden Hollow. Consequently, it would appear that the hillforts, in addition to stone circles, were generally of no interest to Roman populations in the PDNP, whilst the barrows and caves demonstrably were. It is through the utilisation of these different scales of analysis that different localised patterns emerge, supporting the approach to situate prehistoric monument engagement within broad landscape contexts.
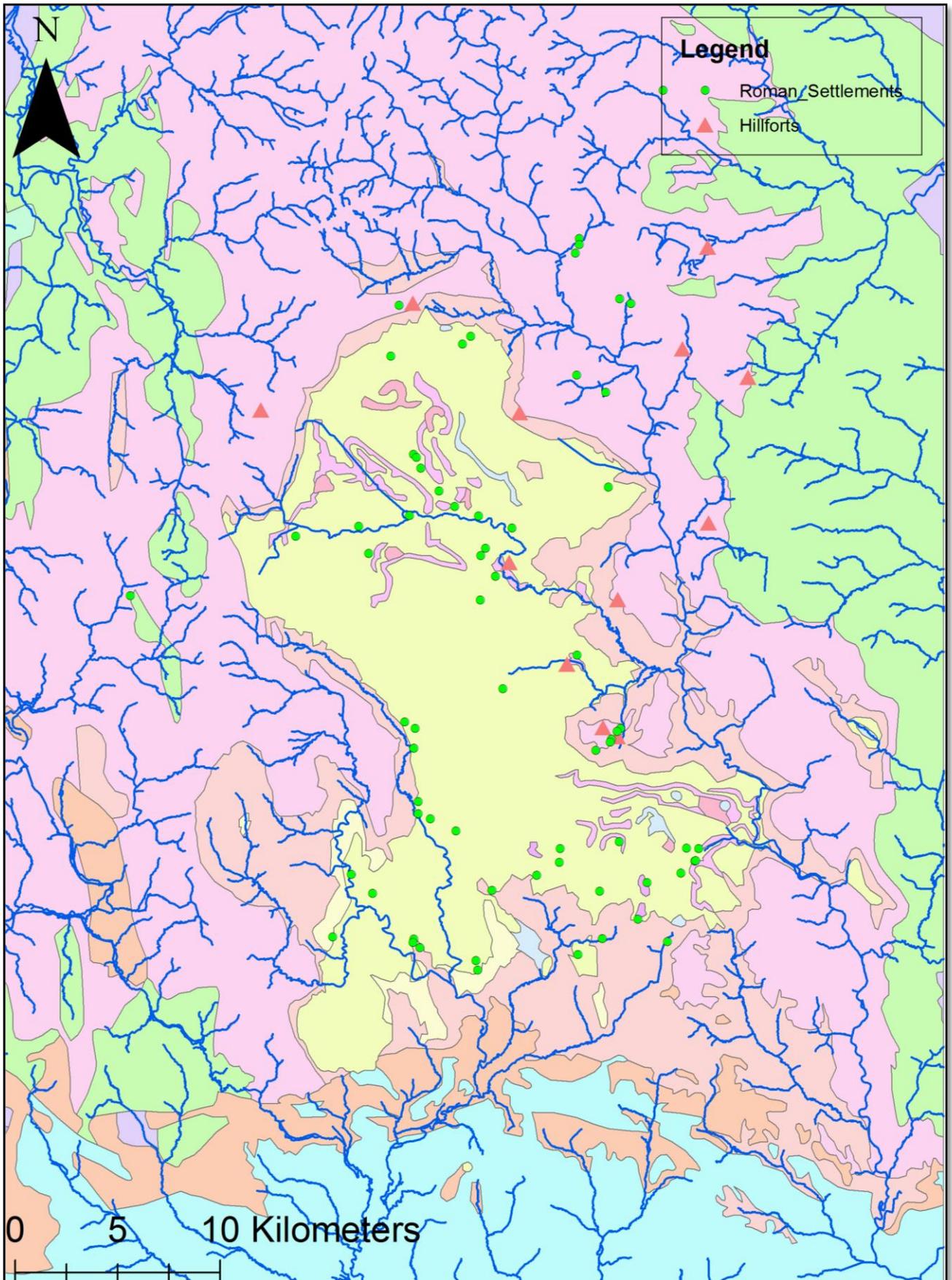
Figure 5.42. Location of hillforts in relation to Roman settlements.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have considered engagement with prehistoric monuments in the PDNP during the Roman period. I have characterised the geomorphology of the region reflected on tempos of human occupation during prehistory and characterised Roman settlement and social practices. Subsequently, I have considered Roman period engagement with cave sites exhibiting both prehistoric and Roman period assemblages. At Reynard's Kitchen Cave, the first century CE deposition event(s) persisted in social memory and were actively referenced during the later Roman period deposition (Section 5.5.1.1). The case-study of Harborough Rocks has shown that the cave, the associated rural settlement and the Neolithic long barrow were closely related (Section 5.5.1.2). I have suggested that the cave became the focus of religious attention in the LPRIA and in the Roman period. Additionally, I have argued that that the barrow, though devoid of direct engagement, expressed an agential capacity within this localised setting through purposeful non-interaction, and that it provided impetus for subsequent use of the cave and the settlement.

Patterns of direct engagement with later prehistoric monuments in both funerary and deposition contexts have been investigated. I have proposed that three closely-related but distinct practices can be discerned based upon *mimicry*, *funerary use* and *artefactual deposition*, and that scrutiny of these variations reveals different localised practices. Building upon the work of Jones (1997), I suggest that three closely located barrows at Ringham Low, Friden Hollow and Minninglow 2 constitute primary Roman constructions (Section 5.5.2.1), arguing that a localised barrow building tradition, distinct from the more typical conical Roman barrows of northern Europe, emerged around the trajectory of The Street. I have argued that the practice was relationally associated with engagement with nearby prehistoric barrows, two of which yield evidence for Roman funerary insertions (Section 5.5.3.1.2). It has been suggested that they provided a template which was mimicked (5.5.2.1.5). That section also suggested that the impetus for the emergence of this tradition was associated with occupation of nearby settlements. This theme has been explored in relation to other barrows in the White Peak yielding Roman funerary insertions, where close associations with barrows and settlements are evident (Section 5.5.3.1).

Section 5.5.4.1 demonstrates barrows were utilised beyond funerary contexts, highlighting how monuments were integrated within a multiplicity of behaviours. The case-studies in Section 5.5.4.1 show that these depositions were deliberate, focussed upon the late third and fourth centuries. I have suggested the meanings of the monuments as important loci for the deposition of materials emerged through contextual associations to nearby settlements, and formed a wider tradition in the southern White Peak.

Section 5.6 contextualises the above engagements in relation to henges, hillforts and stone circles, none of which yield any evidence for Roman period intervention. While the two henges were situated within the White Peak around the areas of Roman settlement and may, therefore, have been actively avoided, the hillforts and stone circles were largely peripheral to areas of Roman habitation. It is suggested, therefore, engagement with prehistoric monuments occurred in areas where settlement proliferated.

From the theoretical and methodological perspective outlined in Section 2.5, Chapter Five therefore argues that prehistoric monuments were not passive, irrelevant backdrops in the landscape but active participants, situated within shifting and malleable social contexts. Engagement with them emphasises that they were constituent parts of the inhabited Roman landscape. Consequently, insights into the nexus of human and non-human relations are gained by considering the differential ways they were engaged with, and the associations they had to other archaeological phenomena.

Chapter Six: Comparison

6.1 Introduction

The evidence presented in chapters Three, Four and Five shows that prehistoric monuments played active and significant roles in the development of Roman Wiltshire and the PDNP. In the course of evaluating the broad datasets, and specific case-studies within them, the reader will have become aware of similarities and differences between the types of monuments used and how they were engaged with. Chapter Six, therefore, compares the two datasets to contextualise those similarities and differences. In accordance with the theoretical approach established in Section 2.5, these data are presented to explore the contextual relationships between prehistoric monuments and contemporary Roman period inhabitation. This approach enables a perspective to explore the roles that prehistoric monuments played in how differing versions of Romanness emerged.

This chapter unfolds thematically. First, patterns of monument engagement in both regions are presented before detailed contextual discussion of comparable morphological forms is undertaken. Funerary engagement and artefactual deposition are considered in more detail subsequently, with particular attention payed to the numismatic data in accordance with the methodology discussed in Section 2.8. In each of these sections, interpretations are presented before the final section situates these data within their broader landscape contexts.

6.2 Monument engagement

Chapters Three, Four and Five showed that Wiltshire contained a higher volume and broader array prehistoric monumental morphologies compared to the PDNP. Based on morphological forms yielding Roman engagement, Table 6.1 demonstrates that there were a total of 2,840 prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire, whilst there were between 634-786 prehistoric monuments in the PDNP. Wiltshire, therefore, contained over 3.25 times the amount of prehistoric monuments in the PDNP. Consequently, it might be anticipated that Roman engagement would be consistent with these figures. Table 6.1 also compares the monumental forms engaged with in each study area in

raw numbers, whilst Table 6.2 depicts those numbers as a proportion of the total amount of prehistoric monuments.

Table 6.1. Total numbers of prehistoric monuments with Roman engagement by morphology.

Monument	Wiltshire Prehistoric Monuments	Wiltshire Roman Monuments	PDNP Prehistoric Monuments	PDNP Roman Monuments
Artificial mound	1	1	0	0
Causewayed enclosure	9	4	0	0
Cave	0	0	57	23
Cove	1	1	0	0
Henge	26	5	2	0
Hillfort	50	25	12	0
Long barrow	148	14	6-11	5
Round barrow	2,595	53	512-659	54
Standing stone	1	1	1	0
Stone/timber circle	9	2	44	0
Total	**2,840**	**106**	**634-786**	**82**

Table 6.2. Prehistoric monuments with Roman engagement as a proportion by morphology.

Monument	Wiltshire	PDNP
Artificial mound	100%	NA
Causewayed enclosure	44%	NA
Cave	NA	40%
Cove	100%	NA
Henge	19%	0%
Hillfort	50%	0%
Long barrow	9%	45-83%
Round barrow	2%	8-11%
Standing stone	100%	0%
Stone/timber circle	22%	0%
Total	**3.7%**	**7.4-10.8%**

These data as a whole indicate that Roman period engagement with monuments was more pronounced in the PDNP than it was in Wiltshire, despite the higher number and broader array of monuments both extant and engaged with in the latter. This suggests that prehistoric monuments played a more significant role in the PDNP than they did in Wiltshire. Each of the morphological forms depicted in Table 6.2 is discussed below and key themes are discussed within these sections before the full implications of these data are discussed in Section 6.11.

6.3 Henges

Five of the henges in Wiltshire demonstrate Roman engagement, a frequency rate of 19%. Figure 3.43 highlights that four of the five Wiltshire henges engaged with were situated upon the chalk. One henge was engaged within the AWHS: the Avebury henge itself. In the SWHS, three henges yield engagement: Durrington Walls, Woodhenge and Coneybury. Marden Henge, sited between each WHS, also yields a small amount of Roman pottery, though a definitive relationship at this site is difficult to extract (Section 3.5.9). There were clear variations between the sorts of

engagement that took place at the Wiltshire henges. Avebury, for instance, was the focus for the deposition of material within its ditches (Section 4.1.4). Though constituting significant engagement, it was suggested engagement with Avebury was minimal in comparison to the activities which took place around Silbury Hill, argued to be the epicentre of the Roman AWHS (Section 4.1.1). By contrast, a settlement grew up adjacent to the earthworks of Durrington Walls henge and this was argued to have been the centre of the SHWS, showing that these two major henges performed different roles in their micro-landscapes (Section 4.3.1). Whilst deposition within the Avebury henge was demonstrably earlier than most of the material recovered from the other AWHS monuments, which were shown to have emerged after c.200 CE and concentrated particularly within the third and fourth centuries, the settlement at Durrington Walls was dated to the later Roman period. It was argued to reflect the waning importance of the small town of *Sorviodunum* at the hillfort of Old Sarum within the context of Salisbury Plain and southern Wiltshire (Section 4.4.1). This emphasises that the meanings of monumental engagement were a facet of their local contexts, even within larger regional settings.

In the PDNP, by contrast, neither of the two henges exhibit engagement. Section 5.6 demonstrated that both henges were situated on the White Peak, the area of Roman period habitation. Indeed, Arbor Low is nestled within the centre of the limestone plateau, situated 300m to the west of the long barrow at Gib Hill, from which coins and a brooch were recovered (Appendix 2). Gib Hill lied adjacent to the Roman road and close to the settlement at Cales Farm. The Bull Ring is somewhat more peripheral, situated 5km north of *Aquae Arnematiae,* and not surrounded by any immediate Roman settlement, though close to the intersection of the roads leading to Melandra to the north and Navio to the east. Like Arbor Low and Gib Hilll, the Bull Ring has an adjacent possible long barrow, also named the Bull Ring (Barnatt and Collis 1996: 180), though it does not exhibit Roman engagement. Given the surviving earthworks and standing megaliths of each monument would have been prominent visual phenomena and part of the encountered Roman landscape, they cannot have gone unnoticed. This raises the possibility that the henges were purposefully avoided in the PDNP in a way that was demonstrably not the case for some henges in Wiltshire. Conversely, their close proximities to the trajectories of the roads might indicate they played roles as siting points (Section 5.6). Nevertheless, we should be cautious of

perhaps reading too much into the PDNP henge data and it could be argued that the sample of henges is simply too small to extrapolate robust conclusions. These differences between their use in each study area highlight that it is through understanding the wider contextual landscape and the relationships between archaeological phenomena within them, that henge engagement should be situated.

6.4 Hillforts

50% of the Wiltshire hillforts yield some form of engagement whilst no hillfort yields engagement the PDNP, suggesting that they performed profoundly different roles in each landscape. In Wiltshire, the hillforts are widely dispersed throughout the county, although 68% are situated on the chalkland (Figure 3.3). Engagement was noted to be concentrated on the chalk, with 80% of those yielding Roman activity situated within this terrain (Figure 3.44). This supports the hypothesis that hillfort engagement occurred in relation to the wider phenomenon of monument engagement, clustered within the chalk downlands of Wiltshire around each WHS. This is underpinned by the lack of hillfort engagement on the northern clay despite clear spatial associations between hillforts and Roman settlement in this area (Section 3.5.2).

While the lack of hillfort engagement in the PDNP could be partially explained by the lack of antiquarian interest and modern fieldwork, Section 5.6 showed that they were situated in the sheltered river valleys at the interface of the White Peak and Dark Peak. It was highlighted that, unlike the barrows, which were nestled with the areas of Roman settlement, the PDNP hillforts were more distant from Roman settlement. Consequently, their peripheral landscape position to the areas of Roman habitation likely explains the lack of Roman interest hitherto known.

Overall, the hillfort data suggests profound differences in the roles they played in each landscape. Demonstrably, hillforts played important roles within the chalk landscape of Wiltshire, where a myriad of different engagements were manifest, such as Old Sarum becoming the eventual foci of *Sorviodunum* (4.4.1); as locations for votive activity as at Edsbury Hill (3.5.10) or for the receipt of burials as at Yarnbury Castle (3.5.10). Beyond the chalk in Wiltshire, however, hillforts were largely ignored by the communities living in their vicinity and it was, therefore, their situatedness with Roman settlement *and* their relationships to the wider phenomenon of monumental engagement that resulted in their importance emerging. This emphasises that

monument engagement with a specific morphological form must be contextualised in a wider landscape context across a multitude of different monument types.

Nevertheless, the data pertaining to artefactual material draws an explicit chronological and typological link between hillforts in Wiltshire and caves in the PDNP, and this is explored in the section relating to artefactual deposition (Section 6.10).

6.5 Long barrows

Table 6.2 shows that long barrows were engaged with on a significantly larger scale in the PDNP than in Wiltshire. However, these numbers are somewhat misleading in isolation and should be elucidated further. In fact, long barrows in Wiltshire were characterised by both megalithic and earthen compositions (Section 3.5.7). The latter were distributed throughout the county whilst the former were situated exclusively in northern Wiltshire. 89% of all long barrows were earthen constructions. Of the 14 long barrows yielding Roman period engagement, however, 21% were megalithic, indicating that a high proportion of long barrow engagement was focussed upon the chambered form. This is underscored by the proportion of Roman engagement with all chambered long barrows: expressed at a rate of 18%, whereas engagement with earthen structures is a mere 6.8%. In Section 3.5., I suggested a reason for this discrepancy was that chambered long barrows in Wiltshire and their elaborate facades would have been more conspicuous landscape entities, prompting more visceral responses. This is demonstrated by the types of material recovered from some chambered long barrows. Indeed, it both Giant's Cave in the west of the county (Section 3.5.7) and the West Kennet long barrow in the AWHS (Section 4.1.2) were characterised by artefactual deposition within or at the megalithic features. The West Kennet long barrow did not yield any material from within its chambers or passages, perhaps due to the fact that its chambers were deliberately sealed with chalk, rubble, sarsen stones and earth in the Neolithic and thus would have been extremely arduous to excavate. The chambers, passage and megalithic facade Giant's Cave, however, were demonstrably excavated in the Roman period.

In the PDNP, meanwhile, it is more difficult to determine the precise morphological classification of the long barrows (Barnatt and Collis 1995: 21; 85-92), resulting in the ranges depicted in Table 6.2. A maximum of 22 barrows are certain, probable or likely to be megalithic constructions, though it is ambiguous whether some are long or round

barrows. Of the 11 maximum structures that could be classified as long barrows, 45% exhibited engagement. Of these, it is notable that 100% were megalithic: two were chambered passage graves (Minninglow 1 and Harborough Rocks); two contained closed chambers (Ringham Low and Tideslow), and Gib Hill contained a cist burial (Appendix 2). These data can also be considered in relation to all confirmed or probable megalithic barrows – inclusive of long and round barrows - where 27.3% of all certain or probable chambered barrows yielded Roman period engagement. Conversely, non-megalithic engagement is expressed at between 8.6-11.2%, accounting for discrepancies in classification and uncertainties between antiquarian records and modern survey.

These data parallel the phenomenon observed in Wiltshire where megalithic constructions were seemingly more meaningful to Roman communities than earthen long barrows, although this must be caveated with some of the uncertainties surrounding the PDNP morphological categorisation. Where engagement was expressed, there were similarities between engagement with Minninglow 1 in the PDNP and Giant's Cave in Wiltshire. Though Minninglow 1 does not contain a megalithic façade in the way that chambered long barrows of north Wiltshire did, like Giant's Cave third and fourth century material was recovered from its chambers (Section 5.5.4.2.3). Long barrows exhibiting engagement in both regions were concentrated upon the third and four centuries. Chapters Three, Four and Five have asserted that that the reason for this was related to the intensification of both rural landscapes, which brought monuments such as the long barrows into consciousness. This highlights that their importance in later Roman temporal context emerged through their relationships to the way the landscape was inhabited in the Roman period (Section 2.5-6).

6.6 Round barrows

In raw numbers, round barrows were engaged with at similar levels in each case study area (Table 6.1). When these numbers are considered proportionally, however, the divide is starker (Table 6.2), which is perhaps surprising given there were between 3.93-5.07 times the amount round barrows in Wiltshire than the PDNP, accounting again for uncertainties in morphological classification in the PDNP. This suggests that round barrows constituted a more meaningful component of life in the PDNP than they

did in Wiltshire, complementing the long barrow data discussed in Section 6.5. Whilst the volume in Wiltshire is proportionally smaller, the ways round barrows were used exhibits similarities in both regions. Indeed, round barrows in each zone demonstrate funerary engagement and artefactual deposition (Sections 3.5.8 and 4.5.2). Moreover, both case study areas exhibit evidence for round barrow mimicry, where prehistoric barrows provided a template for Roman period barrow construction, highlighting that similar meanings underscored their uses in each case-study area. Funerary engagement with barrows is discussed below in Section 6.6.2, discussed in the context of all prehistoric monuments in Section 6.8, before artefactual engagement is considered part of a more holistic discussion of that theme in Section 6.10.

6.6.1 Morphology

First, as section 2.7 indicated, the two datasets were categorised differently as a result of different research trajectories. Indeed, in Wiltshire, round barrows were divided into morphological forms including: bell barrows, bowl barrows, disc barrows, round barrows and twin bell barrows (Section 3.5.8). In the PDNP, they were divided into unchambered round barrows, unchambered round barrows with cists and chambered round barrows, though Barnatt notes that, superficially, many barrows appear to conform to the bowl barrow form (1996: 27). Nevertheless, it is possible to extrapolate broad patterns so that the data are more directly comparable. As Section 5.5.2 elucidated, 45 of the barrows engaged with in the PDNP were unchambered, eight were unchambered round barrows with stone cists, while one constituted a chambered round barrow (Appendix 2). In Wiltshire, 43 of the round barrows were bowl barrows, with three bell barrows attested, one bell/bowl barrow, two disc barrows, three round barrows and one twin bell barrow (Figure 3.38). It is difficult to determine precisely how many contained cists with certainty, but the vast majority of round barrows engaged with in Wiltshire were non-megalithic earthen constructions, a reflection of the proliferation of the unchambered form (Grinsell 1957). The preference for engagement with the unchambered form demonstrates the opposite phenomenon seen concerning engagement with the long barrows in both regions, and largely reflects the prevalence of the prehistoric forms present in each landscape.

The 45 unchambered round barrows of the PDNP and the 43 bowl barrows of Wiltshire yield certain similarities and differences in their uses. Where the data permitted

identification, barrows with external ditches were common in Wiltshire (Grinsell 1957). By contrast, round barrows with ditches in PDNP were rare, noted to be the exception rather than the rule (Barnatt 1996: 57-58). This morphological discrepancy is reflected in the ways that some round barrows showed Roman mimicry. As Section 4.1.3 showed, the Roman barrows constructed on Overton Hill in the AWHS, aligned with a prehistoric round barrow cemetery, contained shallow external ditches containing timber posts, argued to have taken its inspiration from the nearby stone and timber circle, The Sanctuary. Similarly, the Roman round barrow Lamb Down A showed evidence for an external ditch, though no postholes were contained therein, emphasising further discrepancies in practice between the AWHS and Salisbury Plain (Section 4.4.2). By contrast, the barrows demonstrating mimicry at Minninglow 2, Ringham Low, Friden Hollow and potentially Harley Hill in the PDNP (Section 5.5.2.1) yielded no evidence for external ditches, probably reflective of the paucity of the ditched prehistoric form in the PDNP. These examples highlight that localised morphological forms collaborated with contemporary Roman period actions to provide for discrepant outcomes.

With an eye on the relations that underscored these practices, it was further shown that mimicry barrows in both study zones were related to the emergence of Roman settlement. The mimicry tradition at Overton Down is argued to have been related to the nascent roadside settlement growing up around Silbury Hill from the middle of the second century CE (Section 4.4.1.3), whilst the mimicry barrows in the PDNP were argued to be related to a clutch of rural settlements in the immediate vicinity (Section 5.5.3.1.7). Furthermore, the trajectory of the Roman roads in both regions showed close associations with each of these barrows. At Overton Hill, they were situated perpendicular to both the official road running from *Cunetio* to Silbury Hill and the path of the prehistoric Ridgeway which remained in use, emphasising that people traversing the landscape would have been important viewers in the funerary rite and their material legacies. The PDNP Roman mimicry cluster were similarly situated next to the trajectory of The Street, designed to be seen. In each study area, it was thus the intersection between localised extant morphological forms, contemporary Roman settlement within the vicinity, and the trajectories of the Roman roads which provided the possibility for Roman mimicry traditions to emerge in their variant forms.

6.6.2 Funerary engagement

These variations are further reflected in the funerary deposits from mimicry barrows in both regions. The Overton Hill barrows, for instance, demonstrated secondary funerary deposits: that is that they each attest cremation burials where bodies were burned on a pyre located elsewhere before being deposited on the original ground surface, whereupon a round barrow structure was constructed around them. By contrast, the mimicry barrows from the PDNP demonstrated evidence for primary cremation deposits: that is that the cremation pyres were located in situ, and the barrow structures subsequently constructed around the charred remnants of the pyre and the calcined human remains. So whilst there was a broad similarity in the funerary rite of cremation in these examples, it is clear that were variations in where the funerary pyre was initially located.

These variations should be set within their specific local traditions. Indeed, it is notable that, when comparing the full dataset from each area regarding funerary traditions, both zones demonstrated evidence for both mimicry barrows and insertions into extant prehistoric barrows. Figure 6.1 demonstrates that the numbers are broadly similar in each zone, with intrusive insertions dominating in each case study area, though the divide is starker in the PDNP. Consequently, where funerary engagement with barrows was manifested, broadly similar patterns underlined their uses. However, as Section 6.2 emphasises, proportionally these data indicate a more widespread phenomenon in of barrows being utilised for funerary purposes in the PDNP, a theme which is explored more fully in Section 6.4.
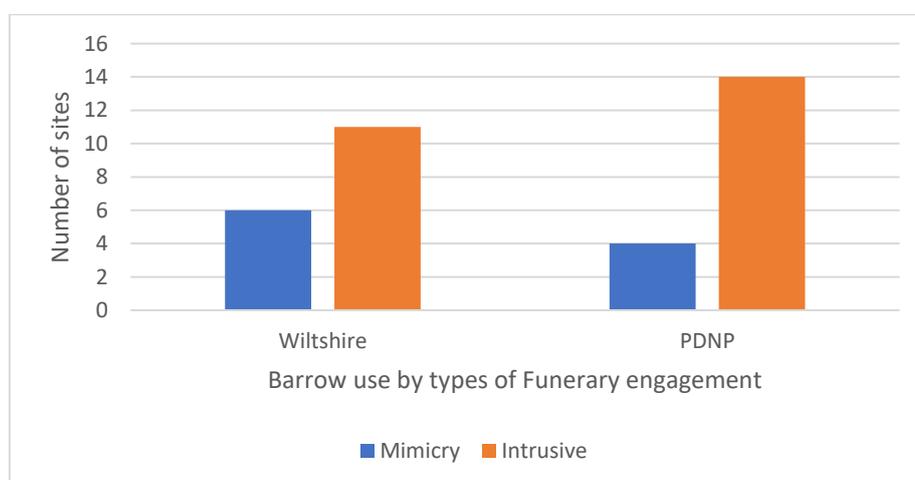
Figure 6.1. Funerary barrow use divided by type in each study area.

A further difference in the funerary data from barrows pertains to the treatment of the body. Inhumation dominated the barrow assemblage in Wiltshire, while cremation was more prevalent in the PDNP (Figure 6.2). The funerary profile as a whole in Wiltshire broadly reflects the picture in the south of the province where there was a gradual replacement of cremation by inhumation (Mattingly 2006: 478; Smith 2018: 218-219), though cremation did still persist in cemeteries, isolated burials and deposits in barrows. By contrast, cremation was the dominant funerary rite in association with barrows in the PDNP. It is tempting to interpret this pattern as indicative of a PDNP community untouched by wider Roman period norms, remaining relatively impoverished while falling under the auspices of an initial military administration, all of which resulted in the trend towards inhumation being eschewed. However, rather than being suggestive of a lack of integration within expected Roman norms, rural 'conservatism' (Foster 2001) or even tacit resistance, it is surely more likely that 'being Roman' for the communities of the PDNP was simply expressed differently and should not be conflated with value-laden judgements. In the PDNP, this was through the continued importance of cremation rites in upland areas (Pearce 1999). This theme is contextualised further in Section 6.8.
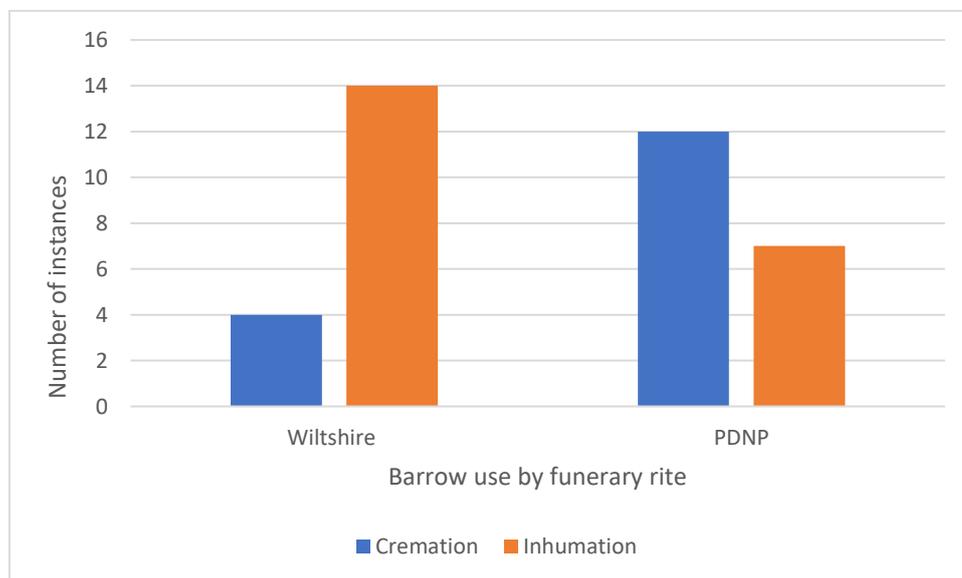
Figure 6.2. Funerary rite recorded from barrows in each study area.

6.7 Standing stones and stone/timber circles

Tables 6.1-2 emphasised that standing stones and stone/timber circles were engaged with in Wiltshire but not the PDNP. In Wiltshire, the case-studies demonstrated that

The Cuckoo Stone and Stonehenge played important roles for depositional activity within in relation to settlement within the SWHS (Sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.4). The simple explanation for this phenomenon echoes the conclusions drawn from the hillfort data in Section 6.4; the location of the stone circles and single standing stone in the PDNP were situated away from the areas of the White Peak on the peripheral lowlands and Dark Peak, otherwise they may well have been brought into the orbits of Roman period settlement. Like the hillforts, they were demonstrably too far away from the areas of Roman activity to become meaningful landscape entities in the way that barrows were. Nevertheless, a clutch of stone circles demonstrated spatial proximity to Roman settlement within the northeast of the study area. It was shown in Section 5.6, however, that these settlements yielded no activity with surrounding barrows either, highlighting that engagement was a phenomenon concentrated within the monuments situated on the White Peak. This emphasises, once more, that it is through understanding engagement in relation to its broader landscape patterns of settlement that we can locate the significance of the monuments, and their capacities to become meaningful, active entities.

6.8 All prehistoric monuments with funerary engagement

Section 6.6.2 discussed funerary engagement specifically in relation to barrows. This section complements that section by integrating those data with funerary data from all prehistoric monuments in both regions. This is also measured within the context of the funerary profiles for each study area as a whole. Section 3.4.5 emphasised that there were issues in compiling complete and accurate burial data in Wiltshire, particularly in relation to those sites which could not be plotted as their locations were unknown, while funerary data for the PDNP as a whole is particularly sparse. Nevertheless, certain comparative points can be made based upon available data.

In the PDNP, cemeteries were associated with two forts, a rural settlement, one cemetery/burial site, round barrows and caves. Figure 6.3 demonstrates that round barrows were the dominant site type for receiving burial deposits, which is expressed as a proportion of prehistoric monuments versus Roman sites in Figure 6.4. These data suggest that round barrows and caves performed significant roles as funerary sites in the Roman period in the PDNP, forming the majority of sites exhibiting funerary connotations. The reason for this can be related to the relative paucity of burial data

in the form of rural cemeteries, isolated burials and burials associated with settlements. It emphasises that burials from monuments need to be considered as a part of the wider funerary landscapes.
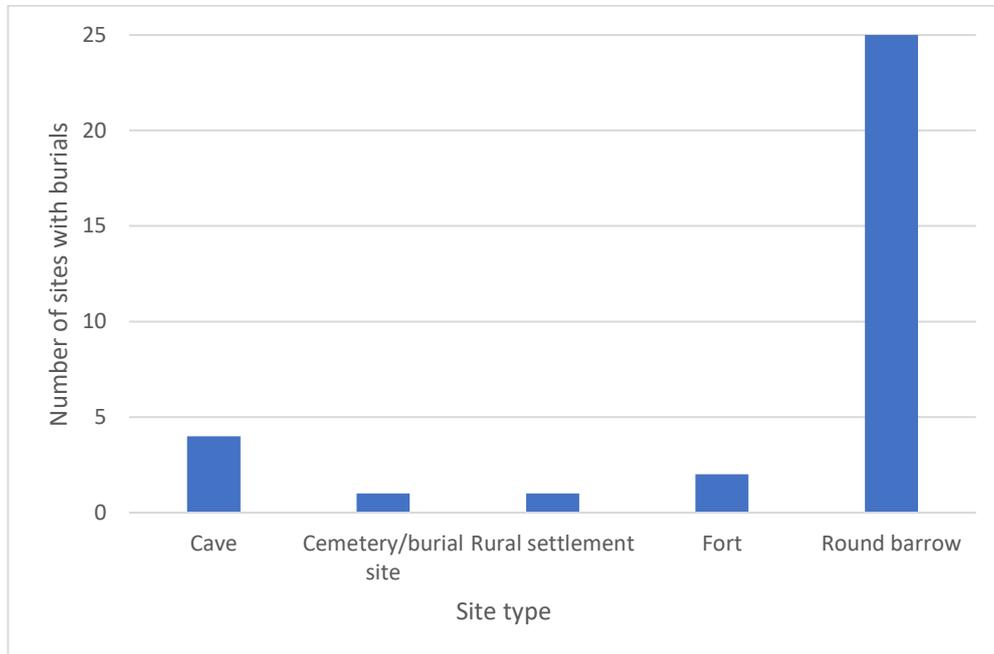
Figure 6.3. Sites exhibiting burial deposits in the PDNP.
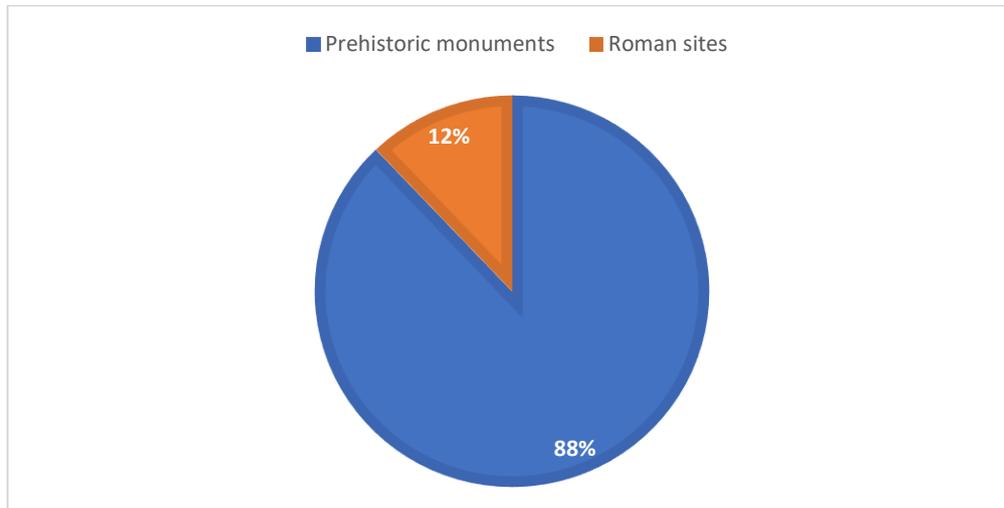
Figure 6.4. Percentage of prehistoric monuments and sites yielding burial data in the PDNP. N=33.

By contrast, funerary data is more varied in Wiltshire. Burial deposits were recovered from a broader array of site types including cemeteries/burial sites, nucleated settlements, rural settlements, shrines and villas. Prehistoric monuments exhibiting Roman period burials included an artificial mound, a causewayed enclosure, henges, a hillfort, long barrows and round barrows. Figure 6.5 shows that round barrows constituted a major site type exhibiting funerary deposits. Figure 6.6 meanwhile,

demonstrates the proportion of prehistoric monuments utilised for funerary purposes against traditional Roman sites. In contrast to the PDNP, cemeteries/isolated burials and deposits associated with settlements outnumber the volume of prehistoric monuments yielding burial data, emphasising that Wiltshire was a more intensively inhabited landscape with a broader array of activities which included more traditional forms of Roman settlement. Consequently, it is not surprising that funerary engagement with prehistoric monuments is represented as a smaller proportion. Together, however, these data highlight that prehistoric monuments in both areas constituted a significant element of burial traditions in each area.
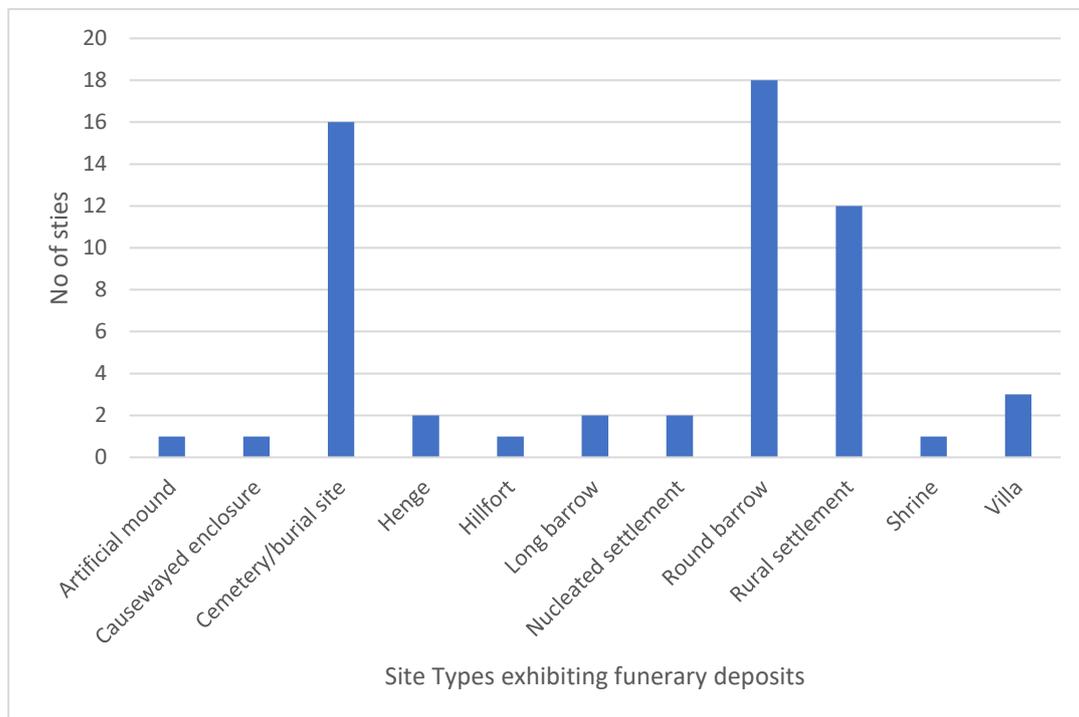
Figure 6.5. Site types demonstrating funerary deposits in Wiltshire.
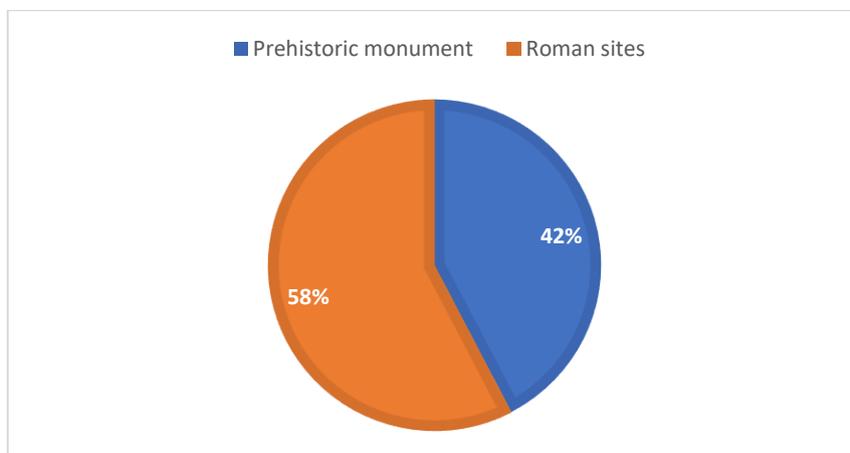
Figure 6.6. Percentage of prehistoric monuments and sites yielding burial data in Wiltshire. N=59.

Figure 6.6 highlights that funerary deposits were evident at multiple monumental forms in Wilshire. Consequently, whilst it is important to note that burials within round barrows is high when the metric is the number of individual sites, this should be measured against the full range of burials deposits known from all sites. After all, large cemeteries such as Boscombe Down on Salisbury Plain contained evidence for over 100 burial deposits, dwarfing the amount of deposits from prehistoric monuments (Section 3.4.5). Based on the sources discussed in Section 2.8, 407 burials are recorded from Wiltshire (Table 6.3), with 12% recovered from prehistoric monuments (Figure 6.7). This demonstrates that while prehistoric monuments played important, if underappreciated, roles in the funerary profile of Wiltshire, they did so complementing burials from more traditional Roman sites as much smaller proportion. It is worth noting further that cremation deposits were more commonly associated with prehistoric monuments than they were from traditional Roman sites (Figures 6.8 and 6.9). As the coin evidence for barrow use in barrows in Wiltshire testifies (Sections 3.5.4), barrow use was not a facet of the early Roman period and it does not follow, therefore, that the cremation deposits represent earlier Roman period burial traditions. Rather, it might be that it was simply an easier task to dig a small, shallow pit into an extant monument to deposit burned remains with or without a container than it was to excavate a more extensive grave for the receipt of an inhumation. This highlights that funerary activity associated with monuments should be considered in relation to a wider breadth of activities to extrapolate broad patterns. It further demonstrates that engagement with prehistoric monument should be considered as part of 'pre-modern rationalities' rather than distinct from them (Section 2.4).

Table 6.3 Burial deposits by funerary rite in Wiltshire from traditional Roman sites and prehistoric monuments.

Site Type	Cremation	Inhumation	Total
Roman sites	33	327	360
Prehistoric monuments	17	27	47
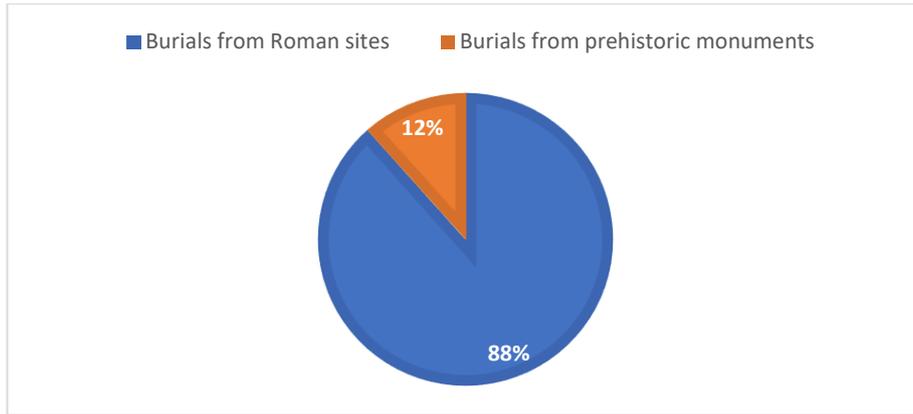
Figure 6.7. Number of burial deposits from Roman sites and prehistoric monuments

rite in Wiltshire. N=407.
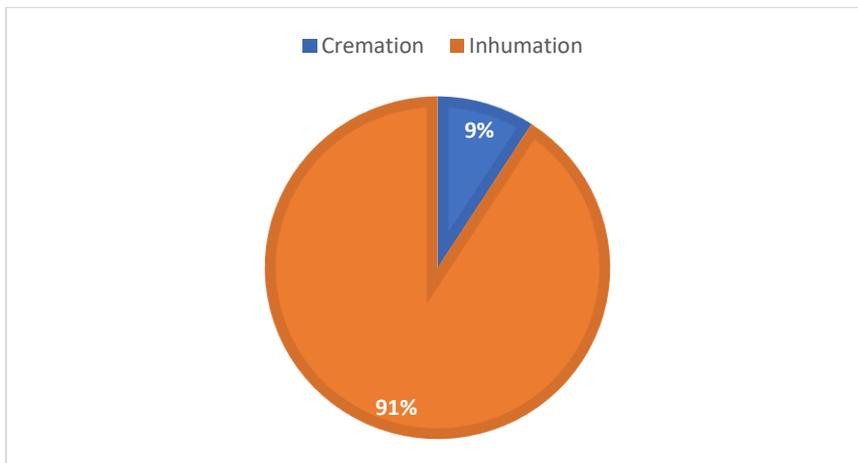
Figure 6.8. Total burial deposits by funerary rite from traditional Roman sites in Wiltshire. N=360.
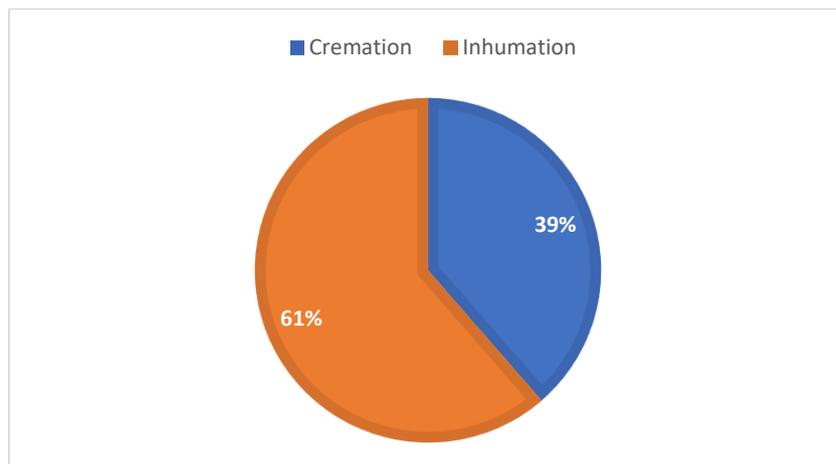
Figure 6.9. Total burial deposits by funerary rite from prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire. N=47.

In the PDNP, burial deposits from prehistoric monuments demonstrably formed a far higher proportion of burials compared with Wiltshire. This supports the broad picture of monumental engagement being a more profound phenomenon in PDNP (Table

6.4). A total of nine burial deposits are known from isolated burials, rural settlements and a cemetery, related to the extramural site associated with the fort at Melandra. *Derventio*, situated to the south of the PDNP but clearly an important site within the wider regional landscape (Section 5.4), contained five stone mausolea holding three cremation deposits whilst the associated Racecourse cemetery contained 61 inhumations and at least 40 cremations. Consequently, it is useful to situate the analysis of total burial deposits with and without *Derventio* (Table 6.4). Both these metrics demonstrate that prehistoric monuments constituted a higher percentage of burial deposits in the PDNP than they did in Wiltshire, and it is clear that within the boundaries of the PDNP, the primary mode of burial related to prehistoric monuments (Figures 6.10 and 6.11).

Table 6.4. Total burial deposits from traditional Roman sites and prehistoric monuments including and discounting *Derventio*.

Site Type	Cremation	Inhumation	Total
Including *Derventio*			
Roman site	48	65	113
Prehistoric monuments	21	20	41
Discounting *Derventio*			
Roman site	5	4	9
Prehistoric monuments	21	20	41
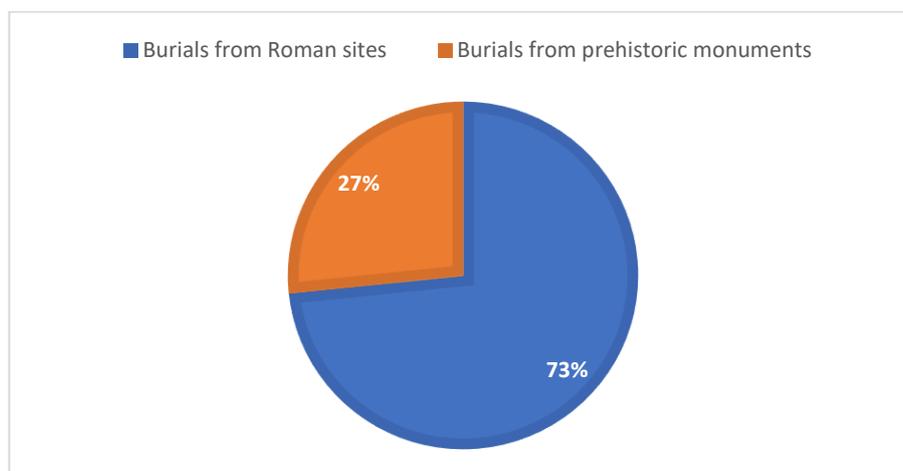
Figure 6.10. Number of burial deposits from Roman sites and prehistoric monuments in the PDNP including *Derventio*. N=154.
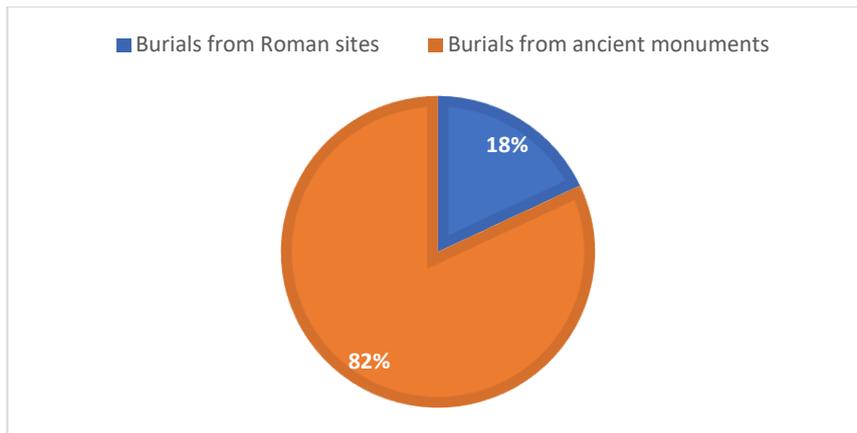
Figure 6.11. Number of burial deposits from Roman sites and prehistoric monuments in the PDNP discounting *Derventio.* N=50*.*

Consequently, where funerary use of prehistoric monuments occurred in Wiltshire, it did so in conjunction with the expansion of the rural landscape, and widespread increased visibility of cemeteries and isolated burial deposits. Set against this, burials from prehistoric monuments are a smaller proportion of the funerary profile. By contrast, there was a significant dearth of funerary data for the PDNP (Section 4.4). Because of this, Roman funerary engagement with prehistoric monuments constituted the primary mode of burial deposition within the PDNP. As a result, the higher proportional rate of engagement with barrows in the PDNP than Wiltshire is likely explained. This shows that the roles monuments performed derived meaning from their landscape contexts.

On the surface, this could suggest that the PDNP was relatively disconnected from more traditional forms of Roman period funerary practice while Wiltshire was more fully integrated within the wider province and Roman world. However, this interpretation based on funerary data alone could be somewhat misleading. Indeed, evidence for lead extraction and the production of ingots, whether or not it has been overstated (Section 5.4), highlights that the PDNP was profoundly integrated with the wider Roman Empire, while coinage evidence from settlements, the PAS and prehistoric monuments demonstrate its integration within the monetary economy (Section 5.5.4.1). Consequently, rather than being unreceptive to Roman norms, communities in the PDNP merely expressed different forms of what it meant to be 'Roman' in the treatment of the dead through the utilisation of prehistoric monuments, where extant prehistoric barrows in particular played a major role. The communities in Wiltshire, by contrast, melded more traditional Roman period burial customs with the

myriad prehistoric monuments scattered across the chalkland landscape. The reason for this is perhaps not best viewed through a lens of upland conservatism versus lowland integration but, rather, explained by a much denser volume and wider variety of Roman settlement in Wiltshire, a theme picked up in Section 6.11. In this way, the prehistoric monuments were more meaningful components of the PDNP landscape.

6.9 Material recovered from prehistoric monuments

In addition to funerary use, prehistoric monuments were utilised in both regions in a variety of ways, exhibiting a range of material. While the monumental forms demonstrate a degree of difference, a broadly similar array of material was recovered from the monuments in each study area (Figure 6.12). In general, the material yields unsurprisingly higher concentrations in Wiltshire, expressed in relation to pottery, coinage, metalwork and, significantly, features. This should be expected given the wider variety of monumental forms engaged with and the higher volume of monuments. With reference to the proportional data depicted in Tables 6.1-2, it highlights that the raw numbers reflect a far higher level of engagement in the PDNP.
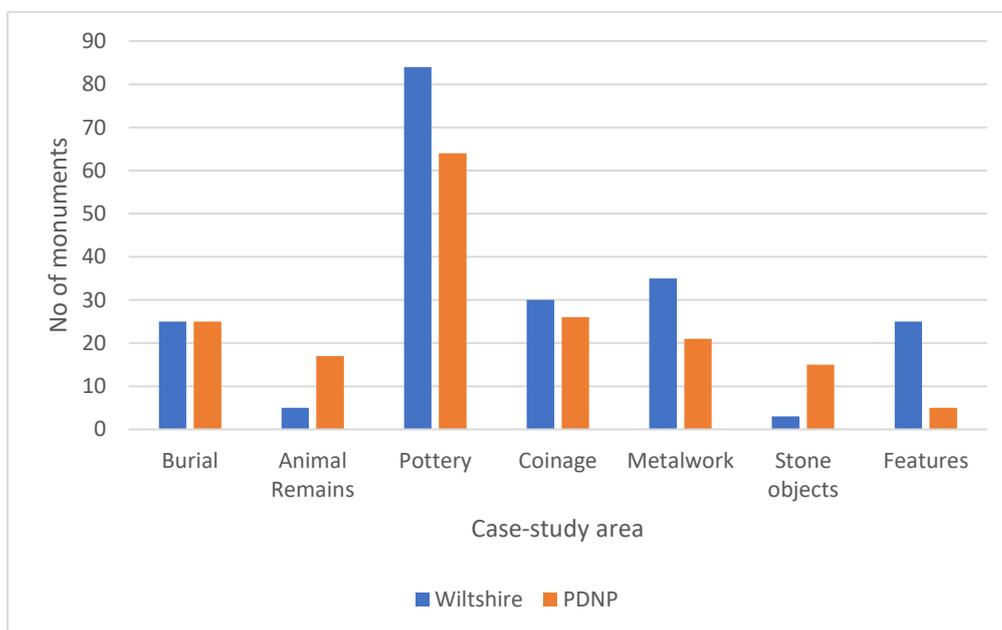
Figure 6.12. Material from prehistoric monuments in each study area.

The evidence from Wiltshire showed that many features such as shrines and middens were associated with larger settlements, emphasising that many monuments were incorporated into larger Roman settlements in this area (Section 3.5.5). By contrast, features were largely absent from monuments with engagement in the PDNP, a

reflection that settlement was far less pronounced. Again, these patterns are to be expected: Wiltshire was a more densely populated landscape with a much broader array of Roman period settlements (Section 3.4). As a whole, it reflects that monuments with engagement in the PDNP were not conducive containing features. Indeed, for the most part, they consisted of barrows situated some distance away from settlements and that features were not constructed within or on them, with the notable exception of the barrow integrated within the boundaries of the settlement at Roystone Grange (Section 5.5.3.1.3). In Wiltshire, features were predominantly associated with hillforts are integrated within larger settlements. A reason for this relates to location of the monuments. In Wiltshire, they were situated within the lowlands of the chalk (Section 3.3) whereas in the PDNP the monuments were located on elevated terrain in the White Peak (Section 5.3.2).

Therefore, whereas monuments in lowlying Wiltshire played central roles within settlement activities, manifested for instance in relation to activities around the quasi-urban settlement next to the henge at Durrington Walls, bringing Woodhenge and The Cuckoo Stone into orbit (Sections 4.3.1-3), in the PDNP engagement with the monuments involved the journeying to elevated terrain situated close to but not integrated with settlements, as was the case at Minninglow 1 (Section 5.5.4.2.3) and Parwich (Section 5.5.4.2.2). In this regard, monuments played different roles in each study area, a consequence of environmental factors influencing the location of settlements in relation to monuments. This demonstrates that the relations underpinning monument engagement in each study area were slightly different and explains why differences in practices were attested.

6.10 Artefactual deposition

In Wiltshire, artefactual deposition was the most prolific mode of engagement associated with monuments (Figure 3.19; Section 3.5.4), predominantly from barrows and hillforts. Whilst artefactual deposition was a similarly prominent mode of engagement in the PDNP, it was expressed at a reduced level. The following discussion is based on the different patterns observed with regard to the deposition of coinage at monuments in both areas.

Coins from all Reece Period groups were present from monuments in both Wiltshire and the PDNP (Figure 6.13). Additionally, Sections 3.5.4 and 5.5.4.1 highlighted that

the coin assemblages from each study area demonstrate a broad consistency with the localised coin loss patterns from excavated sites and local PAS data. Indeed, in the PDNP, coins of Reece Period 15-18 comprised the largest assemblage from both monuments and excavated sites, while issues of Reece Period 19-21 were the largest from Wiltshire. It is notable that coins recovered from monuments in the PDNP also yielded a Reece Period 19-21 profile, but no coins issued at this time were recovered from excavated contexts (Figure 5.38), perhaps indicative of late fourth century retraction in contrast to the boom at this time in Wiltshire.

On the basis of the coinage, monument engagement was predominantly a feature of the later fourth century, though expressed, in the main, slightly earlier in the PDNP than it was in Wiltshire. This slight temporal discrepancy was shown to be consistent with coin loss patterns from each area and should, therefore, be considered in relation to the wider settlement patterns in each landscape zone. It further highlights that the emergence of monument engagement was unequivocally a facet of the intensification of each rural landscape in the late third and fourth centuries.
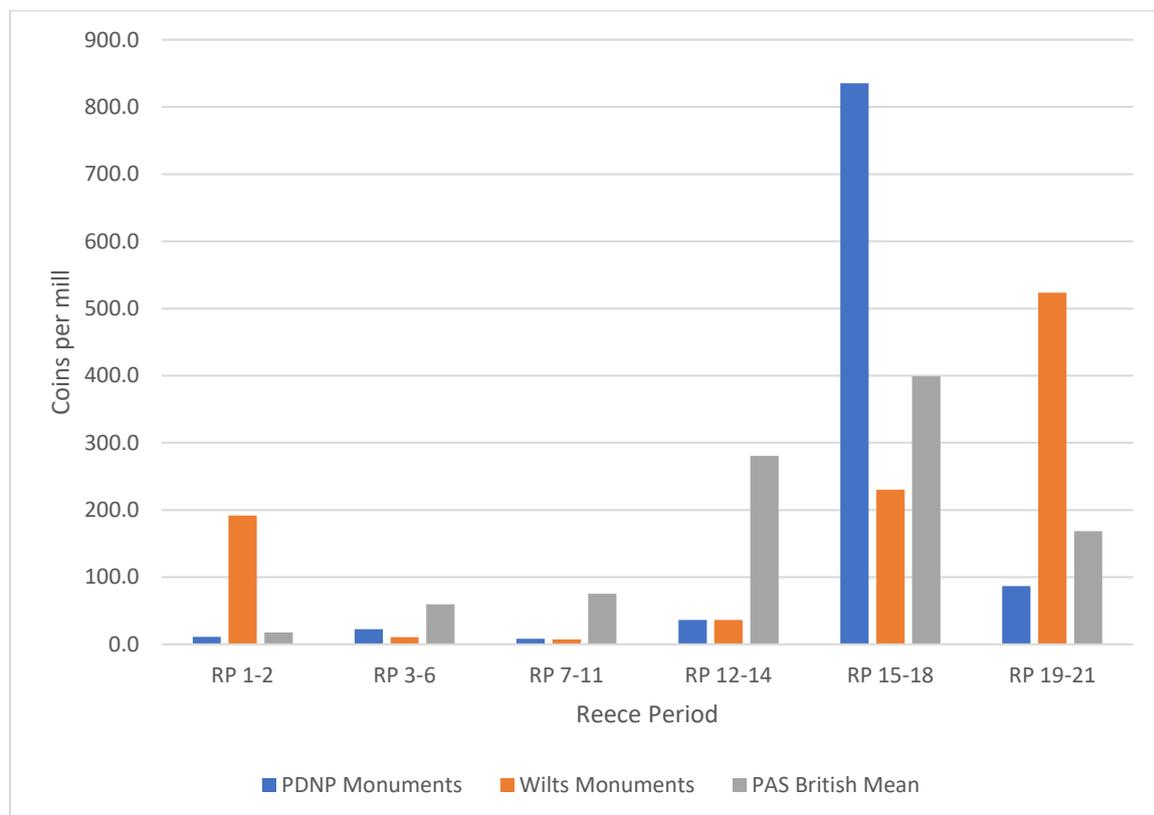
Figure 6.13. Coins from prehistoric monuments in the PDNP (N=358), monuments in Wiltshire minus the Cuckoo Stone (N=1,486) and the PAS British Mean (N=204,854).

The reason for this may be more benign than first appears. As sections 4.1.2 and 5.5.4.2.4 discussed, there has been a reliance on interpretations suggesting that third and fourth century issues recovered from monuments may have been a form of resistance to Christianity in the Empire (Giles and Hughes 2019). Though a religious connotation is clearly evident – Section 3.5.4 showed that monument engagement in Wiltshire could be related to the widespread phenomenon of rural shrines in the later period - this position is perhaps undone by the patterns seen in the PDNP where there was no tradition of urban shrines waning in favour of rural shrines. Consequently, rather than being related to a revival of paganism, monument engagement as a later third and fourth century phenomenon seems instead to be have been tied to intensification of the two different rural landscapes, which would have brought monuments into the orbit of peoples' consciousness in a way that was absent prior. In this model, it was contemporary Roman period landscape inhabitation which provided the mechanism for the monuments to become meaningful landscape entities.

Nevertheless, it is notable that coins were deposited at a number of hillforts in Wiltshire which, of course, was not the case in the PDNP, where coins and coin assemblages were confined to barrows and cave sites. While coins from barrows related to the third and fourth centuries, coins from hillforts demonstrated a broader temporal spread. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the PDNP in relation to caves (Figure 6.14). Caves in the PDNP and hillforts in Wiltshire, therefore, represent some of the earliest Roman period engagements with prehistoric monuments. Section 3.5.10 emphasised that votive deposition was a significant element in hillfort use. This accords well with the interpretation of a number of PDNP caves, such as Poole's Cavern (Section 5.5.1). Therefore, these monuments likely performed similar roles in similar temporal contexts. It also notable that barrow engagement did not replace engagement with both caves and hillforts, and that engagement with each of these forms peaked in Reece Period 19-21. This is consistent with coin loss patterns in Wiltshire, but an outlier in relation to patterns from the PDNP, associated with the cave at Frank i'th Rocks.
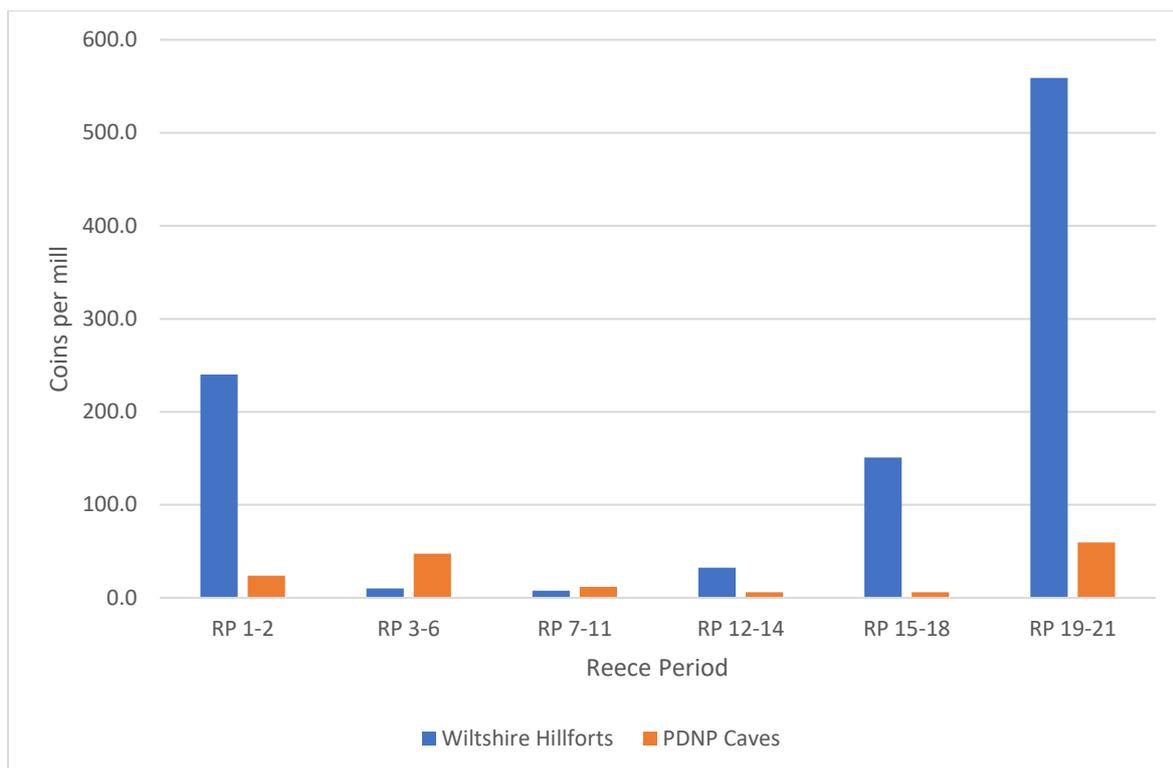
Figure 6.14. Coins from Wiltshire hillforts and PDNP caves.

In relation to barrows, the patterns from both areas are similar. Save for the As of Vespasian/Titus from the Dane's Tump in Wiltshire, coins from barrows were confined entirely to Reece Periods 12-21, with coins from Reece Period 15-18 dominating in both case-study areas (Figure 6.15). The differences in barrow morphologies resulted in slightly different forms of engagement. The chambered long barrow form in northern Wiltshire contained elaborate façade structures, and two long barrows which did receive coins, the West Kennet long barrow (Section 4.1.2) and Giant's Cave (Section 3.5.7). By contrast, the long barrow form from the PDNP did not demonstrate any entrance structure. Instead, in the PDNP at Minninglow 1, the coins were recovered from the chambers of the structure (Section 5.5.4.2.3). Consequently, though there were broad temporal similarities between the deposition of coinage at long barrows, local variations in morphological form necessitated different types of depositional engagement, emphasising that different relations underscored the forms these practices took.
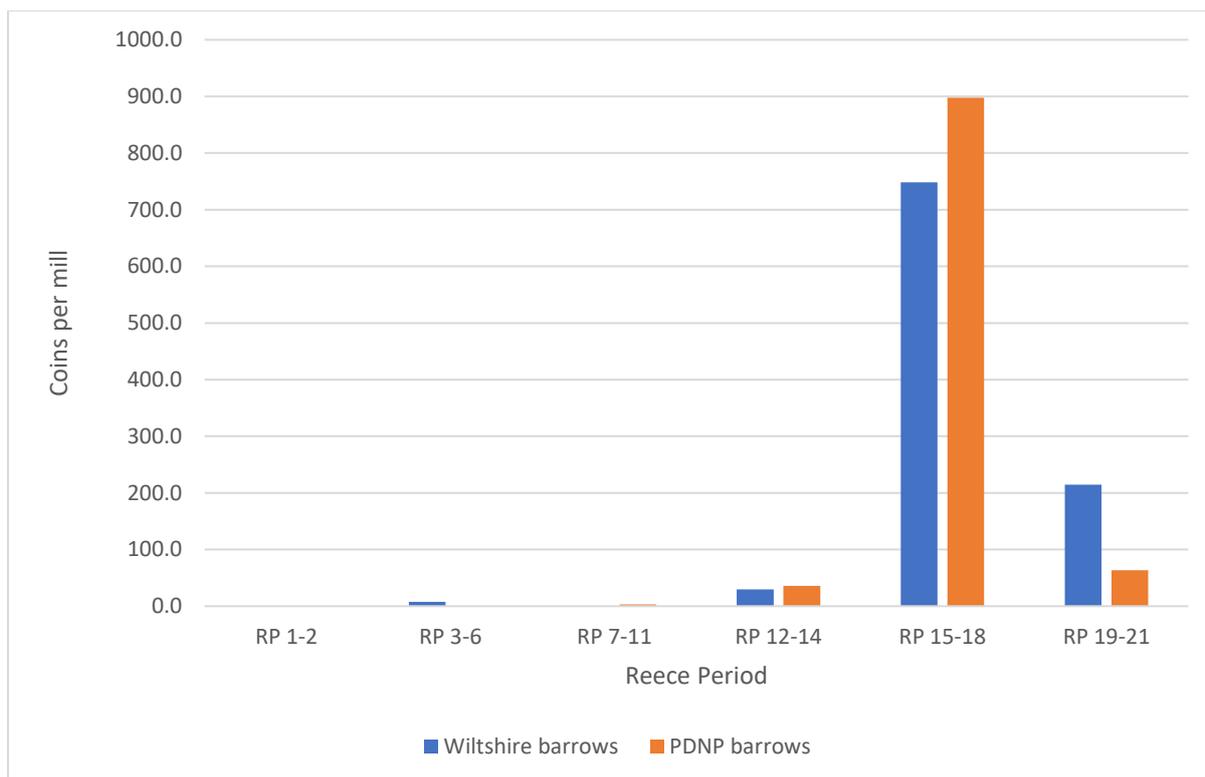
Figure 6.15. Coins from barrows in each of study area.

The coin evidence is reflected in other forms of depositional activity, particularly metalwork. In Wiltshire, early engagement was confined to some hillforts, and the Avebury henge and Longstones Cove in the AWHS (Section 4.1.4). The material recovered from the latter two monuments exhibited distinctively military connotations, in the form of an Aucissa brooch from the Avebury ditch, though this interpretation as a military artefact alone was shown to be somewhat tenuous. More persuasively, a fragment of *lorica squamata* from Longstones Cove denotes unequivocal military engagement. These engagements suggest that the perception of the monuments as taboo in the LPRIA may have persisted amongst local civilian inhabitants but was not echoed by the military communities. By contrast, in the PDNP, the monuments do not reveal any material that can be definitively asserted as 'military', despite the presence of forts until the early-mid second century. This might suggest that the monuments of the PDNP were largely ignored by military communities in a way that was not the case in Wiltshire. This is further reflected by the purported military installation preceding *Sorviodunum* at Old Sarum, whilst notably the forts of the PDNP eschewed utilising hillforts in this way. In this regard, there was an equifinality between the two regions: both Wiltshire and the PDNP revealed reduced levels of engagement in the early Roman period but the reasons for this were demonstrably different, related to the types

300

of communities that were living within the regions, the terrain and topography as well as the legacy of LPRIA perceptions.

6.11 The different Roman landscapes

The above discussions have demonstrated differences in the types monuments utilised, the material recovered from them, and discussed key themes including funerary engagement and artefactual deposition. In each case, the reasons for variations in both regions were argued to be consequences of local factors. With this in mind, this section elaborates further upon some of the differences that underscored how monuments would have been encountered and contextualises the implications of the datasets as a whole.

Table 6.2 emphasises that the proportion of all monuments with engagement in both regions is small, both sub 11%. However, Chapters Three, Four and Five have demonstrated that monument engagement was clustered within distinct geological zones in each of the study areas emphasising that, where engagement did occur, it proliferated in defined spatial zones (Sections 3.2 and 5.2). Within these areas, it has been shown that there were clear spatial relationships between monuments with engagement and Roman period settlements and infrastructure. Chapters Three, Four and Five demonstrated that engagement in Wiltshire was concentrated on the chalk downlands, particularly in association with the contemporary boundaries of the WHS (Figure 3.16). Meanwhile, engagement was much less apparent on the London clay and the Jurassic limestone. It was shown that long barrows and round barrows were, in the main, situated within the chalk downlands (Figures 3.2; 3.38), whilst hillforts were more widely dispersed between the geologies (Figure 3.3). However, hillfort engagement was largely concentrated within the chalk downlands (Figure 3.44) and, therefore, can be said to have occurred in relation to engagement with other monuments set within this geological area. This is underpinned by the lack of hillfort engagement on the London clay despite clear spatial associations to Roman settlement (Section 3.5.2). Indeed, the evidence suggests a widespread clustering of engagement with multiple morphological forms was practiced by communities on the chalk.

Similarly, Chapter Five demonstrated that the majority of monuments that were engaged with in the PDNP were situated upon the White Peak (Figure 5.17), where

the majority of Roman settlement was located (Figure 5.4). Activity in the PDNP can therefore be determined to have been largely a phenomenon related to settlement in this geological zone. Though some settlements situated on the gritstone fringes demonstrated a spatial association with prehistoric barrows and stone circles, in particular, to the northeast of the White Peak, no engagement with these monuments was found (Section 5.5). This evokes a similarity in relation to the lack of hillfort engagement in the northern part of Wiltshire, noted above. Similarly, hillforts in the PDNP demonstrated no engagement, also explained by their peripheral locations (Figure 5.3). Although there may be some archaeological bias on account of the limited investigation of hillforts, it further highlights the clear spatial relationship between monumental engagement and areas of settlement.

In order to fully understand this, it is useful to contextualise the prevalence rates of monument engagement in the case-study areas. Section 2.6 noted a discrepancy between the areas of the case-study zones: at 3,485km^2, Wiltshire is almost 2.5 times the size of the 1,440km^2 PDNP. Based on the figures of total monument engagement, Wiltshire demonstrates three monuments with engagement per 100km^2, while the PDNP demonstrates 5.97 per 100km^2. At almost double the rate, this suggests that monument engagement was a more significant element of life in the PDNP than in Wiltshire, complementing the data discussed in previous sections of this Chapter. In seeking an explanation, it cannot be said that more prehistoric monuments would have been encountered within the PDNP. Indeed, in Wiltshire, 81.5 monuments are attested per 100km^2 whilst, in the PDNP, 54.7 monuments are attested over the same distance. Consequently, prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire would have been encountered at 1.49 times the rate they were PDNP but were engaged with at almost half the rate. This supports the assertion that prehistoric monuments played a more significant role in constituting Romanness in the PDNP.

This is further reinforced when consideration of the distinct geologies is taken into account. 89.6% of the monuments with engagement in Wiltshire were located upon the chalk while 88.2% of monuments with engagement in the PDNP situated in the areas of the White Peak. The chalk downlands constituted a large portion of Wiltshire's total geology at 2,324.50km^2, over five times the area of the 449.41km^2 White Peak. In relation to these geological areas, monument engagement in Wiltshire is expressed at a prevalence rate of 4.6 monuments per 100km^2, while in the PDNP it is 18

monuments per 100km^2. Expressed at this scale, these data emphasise more fully the more significant role prehistoric monuments played in the PDNP than they did in Wiltshire.

This is further supported by data considering monument engagement as a proportion of all Roman settlement types in each study area. In Wiltshire, there were 265 recorded Roman sites (Appendix 14). The data generated by this thesis has revealed that 106 prehistoric monuments showed evidence for Roman engagement. Merging these data, 28.6% sites were constituted by prehistoric monument engagement (Figure 6.16), emphasising the significant roles they played.
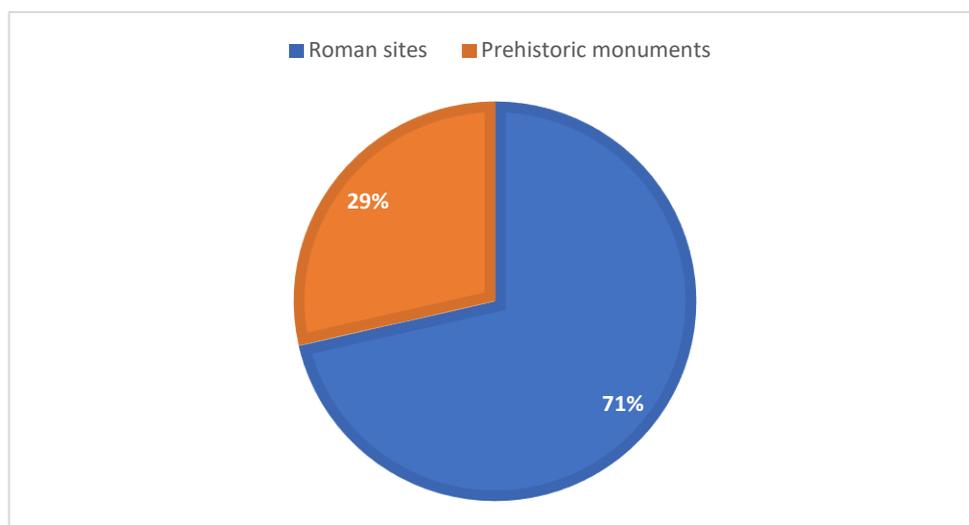
Figure 6.16. Prehistoric monuments as a proportion of all Roman sites from Wiltshire. N=371.

In the PDNP, there are two different versions of these data that can be considered. The first brings these data in line with those synthesised in respect of Wiltshire, where only recorded settlements and prehistoric monuments are utilised. In this scenario, there are a total of 77 certain and probable Roman sites recorded, whilst 82 monuments demonstrate a degree of Roman engagement. Here, prehistoric monuments constituted 51.5% of Roman sites (Figure 6.17). The second scenario incorporates evidence for confirmed, probable and possible Roman period field systems recorded by the Peak District Roman Rural Settlement Survey (Bevan 2005), data which has not been possible to replicate for Wiltshire. Here, the proportion of prehistoric monuments engaged as a percentage of all Roman sites is 35.9% (Figure 6.18).
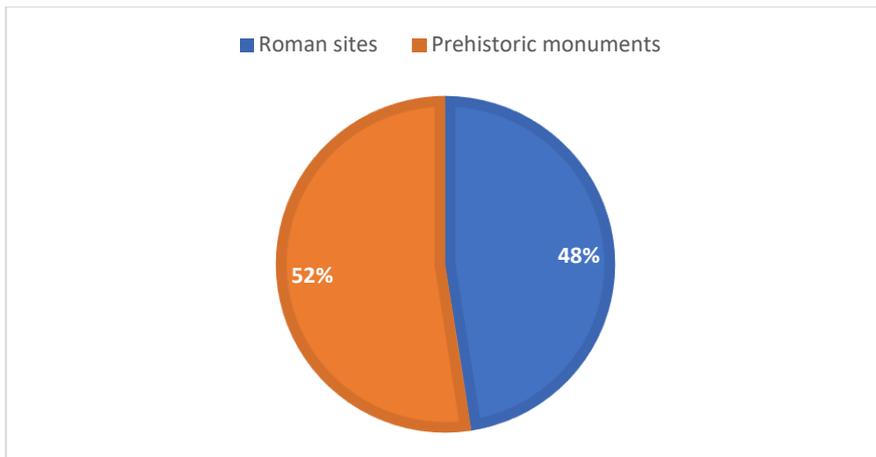
Figure 6.17. Prehistoric monuments as a proportion of all Roman sites from the PDNP Scenario 1.
N=159
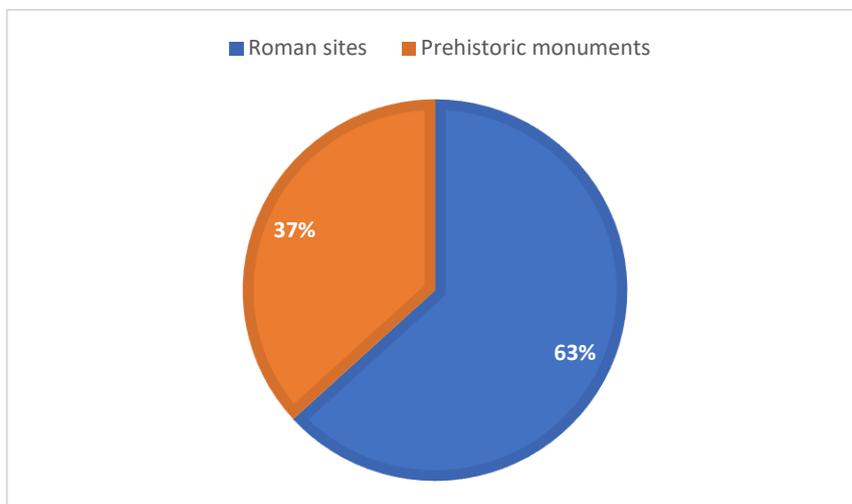
Figure 6.18. Prehistoric monuments as a proportion of all Roman sites from the PDNP Scenario 2.
N=228.

Irrespective of which scenario is utilised, prehistoric monuments demonstrably constituted a more significant proportion of the total Roman sites in the PDNP than they did in Wiltshire. In conjunction with the prevalence rates of engagement over 100km^2 in each study area, the incontrovertible conclusion is that prehistoric monuments played more significant roles in the PDNP than they did in Wiltshire. This accords with the data explored throughout this chapter.

In seeking to understand why this was the case, we must return to the different ways the regions were inhabited in the Roman period. As demonstrated, Wiltshire contained a far higher number and broader array of settlements than the PDNP, with recorded sites ranging from a possible amphitheatre, ceramic production sites, cemeteries and isolated burial sites, nucleated settlements, quarries, roadside settlements, rural

settlements, shrines, small towns and villas (Figure 3.14) It was a rural-civilian landscape, with no significant military presence beyond the construction of the road system. Where settlement did emerge, small towns and roadside settlements developed in the north and south of the county. Widespread settlement growth occurred during the third and fourth centuries with the rural landscape in particular demonstrating the construction or elaboration of palatial villas in the north of the county. Nucleated settlements were prevalent in Salisbury Plain, complemented by small rural settlements dispersed throughout the county. A much larger dataset of funerary evidence survives from Wiltshire, with inhumations and cremations attested from dedicated cemeteries, settlements and isolated burials. Coin loss patterns from excavated contexts and stray finds demonstrate peaks between Reece Periods 19-21, in contrast to the wider provincial mean, suggesting Wiltshire boomed well into the late Roman period.

By contrast, Chapter Four showed that the PDNP was primarily a rural-military landscape, with three forts set within the boundaries of the PDNP and one immediately outside it at *Derventio.* After the garrisons abandoned the fort at Melandra during the early-mid second century, civilian settlement in the form of small farmsteads grew, proliferating in the third and fourth centuries (Section 5.4). It was shown that industrial activity, in the form of lead mining, in particular, constituted a major aspect of life in the PDNP, complementing mixed agrarian regimes. Beyond cemeteries associated with the military structures and their extramural settlements, little funerary evidence survives beyond two inhumations dating to the LPRIA and early Roman period, and a burial associated with the large rural complex at Roystone Grange, dating to between 200-400 CE. Coin loss is expressed in much lower numbers than Wiltshire but material stratigraphically recovered from settlements shows a peak between Reece Periods 12-14, while stray finds peaked during the Reece Periods 15-18. Both show a decline by Reece Periods 19-21, indicating that retraction of landscape was underway by the final phases of the Roman period. Coins recovered from monuments were congruent with these patterns.

A reason for the comparatively limited development of the PDNP may have been a consequence the abandonment of the White Peak during the Iron Age due to unfavourable climatic conditions, as a people retreated into the relatively sheltered river valleys, reflected in the distribution of hillforts (Section 5.3). Consequently, once

the military administration of the PDNP was underway during the later first century CE, the White Peak probably required repopulation for agrarian and industrial exploitation at the behest of the state. This resulted in the creation of new and emerging markets serving the wider region, province and Empire. Therefore, in the PDNP, it is likely that the communities that encountered prehistoric monuments did so without any significant frame of reference as to earlier meanings which may have otherwise survived in social memory (Section 2.2). This contrasts with the evidence from Wiltshire, which was continuously inhabited in later prehistory through the Roman period. In Wiltshire, it was highlighted that monuments in the WHS were actively avoided in the LPRIA (Section 3.3.3). In the PDNP, rather than being ignored, the barrows on the White Peak were perhaps too distant from LPRIA settlement to play active roles within peoples' lives, an interpretation underscored by the location of the hillforts in relation to barrows and stone circles. This suggests that, by the Roman period, the ways in which the monuments were perceived varied in each area, owing to the specific local developments of each terrain. This position continued throughout the Roman period in both areas, as the intensification of each landscape led to monuments being brought into the consciousness of people living in and around them. By the time coins were deposited in the long barrows at West Kennett in Wiltshire (Section 4.1. 2) and Minninglow 1 in the PDNP (Section 5.5.4.2.3), the monuments were interpreted in novel ways, related to the contextual circumstances of the later Roman period.

These data emphasise that the way monuments were engaged with need to be situated contextually and any comparative interpretations set within these contexts. This is highlighted further when we consider hillforts and barrows in relation to settlements in Wiltshire and barrows in relation to settlements in the PDNP. In Wiltshire, 62% of the 67 barrows with Roman engagement are located within 2km of Roman settlement Figure 6.20. 37 barrows with Roman engagement are within 2km of Roman settlement in the PDNP: also 62% (Figure 6.21). Whilst the percentages are identical, the volume of settlement in Wiltshire compared to the PDNP elucidated in this section highlights that the monuments played more prominent roles in association with settlements in the PDNP. The picture is different in respect of hillforts in Wiltshire and caves in the PDNP. In Wiltshire, 52% of the hillforts are within 2km of settlement (Figure 6.22) whilst 100% of the 23 caves are within 2km of settlement (Figure 6.23).

It reinforces Makepeace's assertion that caves perhaps formed the collective territories of settlements (Section 5.5.1) whilst emphasises that hillforts were, in the main situated away from settlements and activities associated with them involved different associations, a theme picked up in Section 6.12.
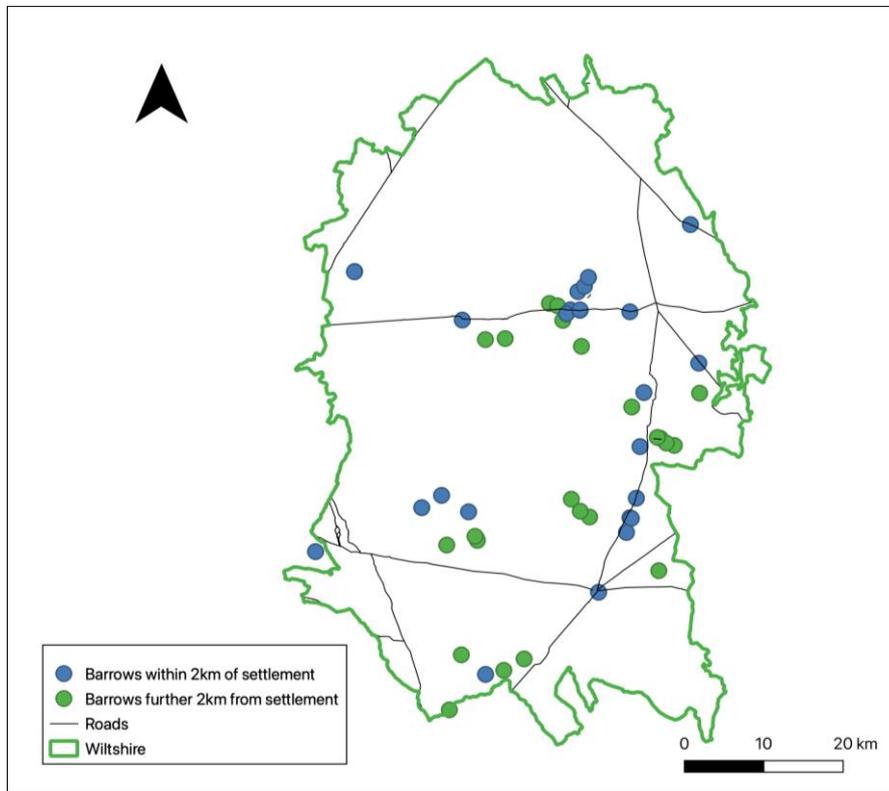
Figure 6.20. Barrows with Roman engagement within 2km of settlements in Wiltshire.
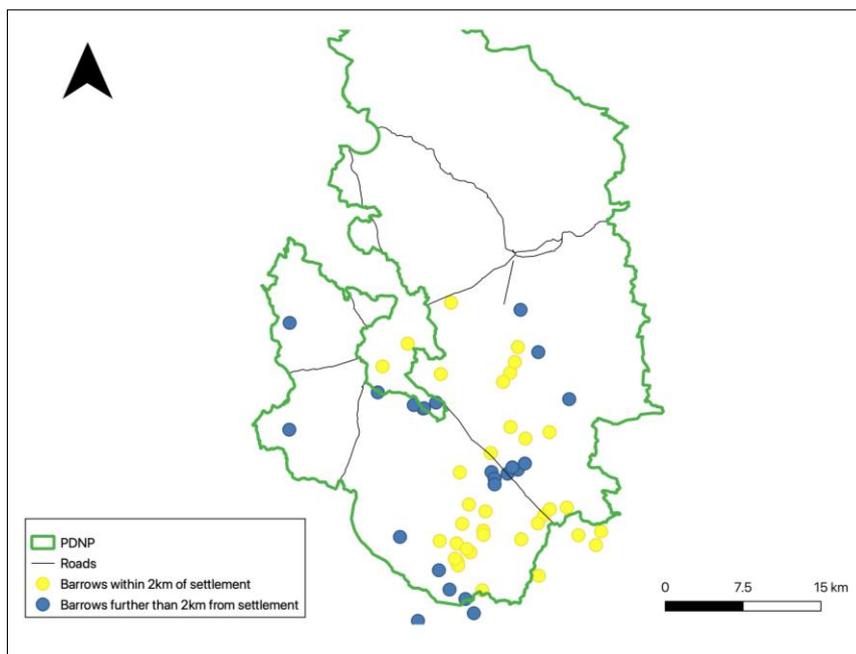
Figure 6.21. Barrows with Roman engagement within 2km of settlement in the PDNP.
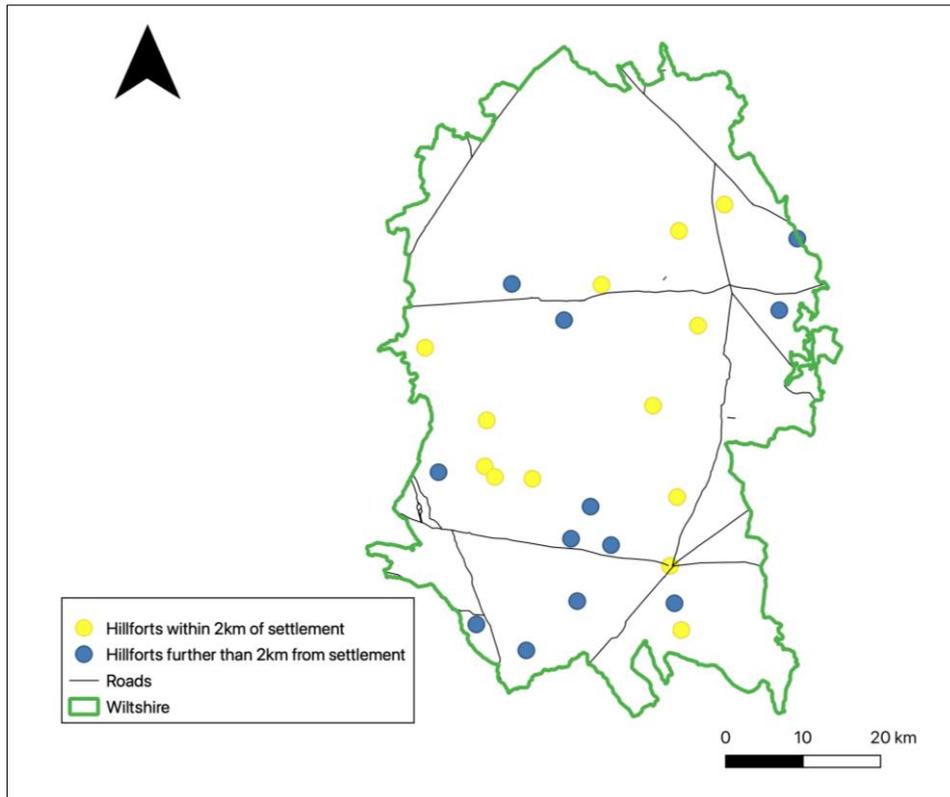
Figure 6.22. Hillforts with Roman engagement within 2km of settlement in Wiltshire.
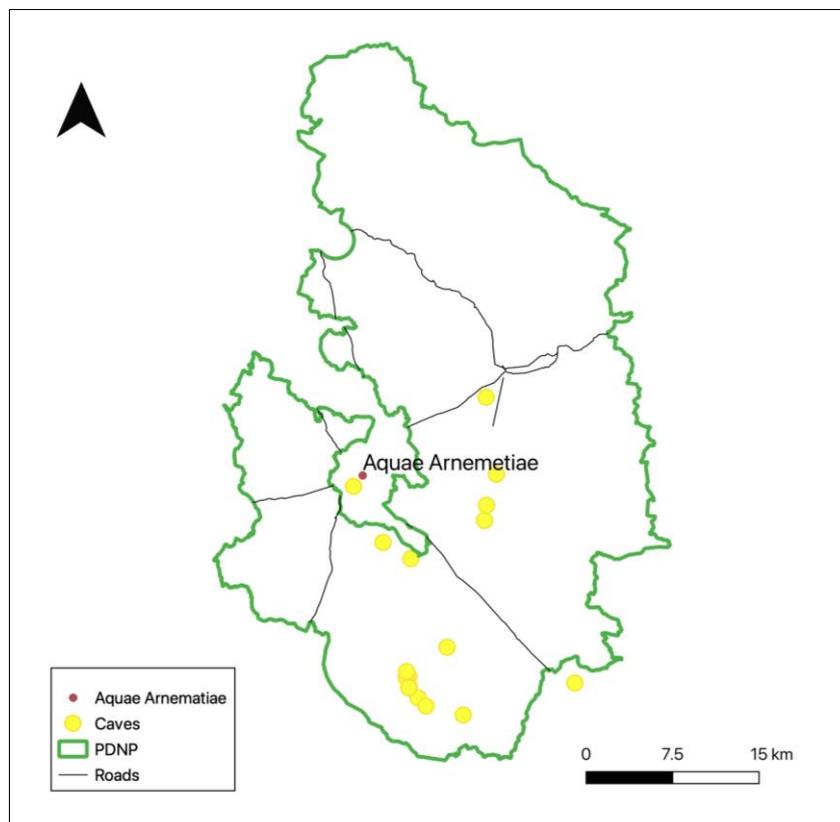
Figure 6.23. Caves with Roman engagement within 2km of settlement in the PDNP.

6.12 Qualitative assessment

The above sections in this chapter have shown some of the differences in the types of monuments utilised, variations in the forms of use and material recovered from them. Next, it is useful to synthesise and summarise the range of responses to the monuments from both study areas under the qualitative scheme outline in Section 2.9. As a reminder, once the data gleaned from the HER and the supplementary sources outlined in Section 2.8 were cleansed, they were run through a matrix assessing whether engagement could be classified either as casual/accidental or deliberate (Table 2.4). For example, those which were determined to be casual/accidental could be when only a small number of sherds, accompanied by no other types of small finds or features, were recovered from within, on or around a monument. This was the case at the earthen long barrow of Amesbury 42 in Wiltshire, where 44 sherds were recovered from tertiary fills of the mound material (Richards 1990: 96-109) or the earthen long barrow of Woodford G2, also in Wiltshire, which contained eight sherds of coarseware from the upper fill of the surrounding ditch (Harding and Gingell 1986). Meanwhile, in the PDNP, the criteria for being classified casual/accidental or deliberate required a lower threshold (Section 2.9) Consequently, instances such as two sherds of coarseware accompanied by no other material recovered from the chambered round barrow at Bee Low (Marsden 1977: 205), and an unknown number of ceramic fragments recovered from the interior Churn Hole Cave in the 1800s (Ward 1900), are both categorised as casual/accidental.

In these circumstances, it is likely that that the presence of small numbers of artefactual material in isolation merely denotes intrusive material from subsequent ploughing activities in fields surrounding monuments or as a residual material entering the monuments resulting from natural deposition processes. As a consequence, it is difficult to assert that these monuments exerted the same level of agencies as those which were deliberately modified to receive burial deposits or more substantial volumes of artefactual material, which denotes more meaningful, deliberate engagement. These factors must be borne in mind when interpreting the data and are explored below.

In Wiltshire, a total of 28% of monuments were determined to have casual/accidental engagement whilst 71% were assessed as deliberate. The breakdown by morphology

is depicted in Figure 6.24, which emphasises that deliberate engagement was more widespread than casual/accidental engagement at all monument types. It is notable that 42% of long barrows yield casual/accidental engagement whilst 32% of round barrows can also be assessed as casual/accidental. These high proportions reflect the lowlying position of long and round barrows within the Wiltshire terrain, noted in Section 3.3 to be situated around the trajectories of the rivers rather than in elevated positions, as was the case for the hillforts. In respect of the hillforts, a much smaller proportion are categorised as casual/accidental: 16%. These figures highlight that the barrows were situated close to the boundaries of Roman settlements (Figure 6.21) and therefore it is more likely that Roman material would end up residually within them. This is more difficult to explain in relation to hillforts where, in many cases, the levels of Roman material found within, on or around them are either direct or proxy evidence for direct settlement set within the interiors, as is the case at Ebsbury Hill which shows evidence for a small circular enclosure and linear ditch within the interior of the ramparts (Grinsell 1957: 6, 74, 262, 266). The presence of the settlement probably led to the appearance of different types of activities emerging, evidenced by two coin hoards dating to between 337-408 CE, together with a glass vessel and six silver rings, recovered from an earthen vessel in the ramparts (Robertson 2000: 396, no 1597). This assemblage can be likely be categorised as votive artefactual deposition, deliberately targeting the earthworks of the monument as a receptacle. It highlights that engagement with hillforts was more likely to be deliberate and potentially related to a broader array of associated activities taking place within the hillfort interiors.
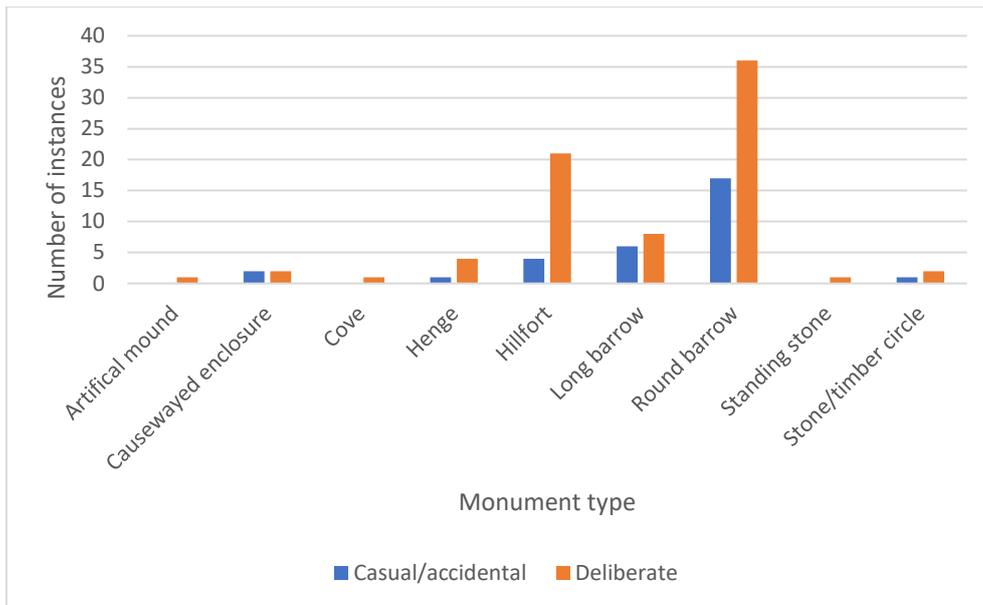
Figure 6.24. Engagement classification of Wiltshire monuments. N=105.

Similar patterns are observed in the PDNP data, depicted in Figure 6.25. Here, a total of 21% were determined to be casual/accidental and 79% deliberate, indicating a broad consistency between the two datasets. However, the figures are slightly higher in the PDNP than they are in Wiltshire, underscoring the conclusions offered hitherto in this chapter that deliberate engagement with prehistoric monuments was a more pronounced phenomenon in the PDNP. Indeed, this is reflected in the PDNP round barrow data, where 73% of unchambered round barrows are classified as having deliberate engagement, higher rates compared to both long and round barrows in Wiltshire.
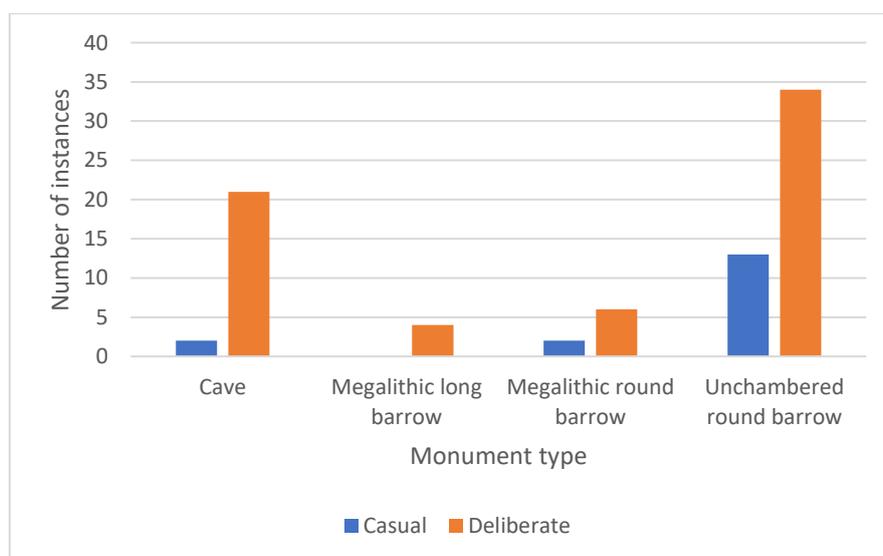
Figure 6.25. Engagement classification of PDNP monuments. N=82.

311

As Figure 2.2 showed, the range of deliberate responses were categorised as artefactual deposition; avoidance; destruction; funerary and incorporation. Sections 6.6 through 6.10 have discussed some of the variations between funerary use and artefactual deposition in relation to the different monuments in significant detail and I do not propose to repeat that information here. There is a need, however, to consider avoidance, destruction and incorporation at greater length. Based on the data from both study areas, each of these manifestations is low. Those in Wiltshire are depicted in Figure 6.26 and those from the PDNP in Figure 6.27.
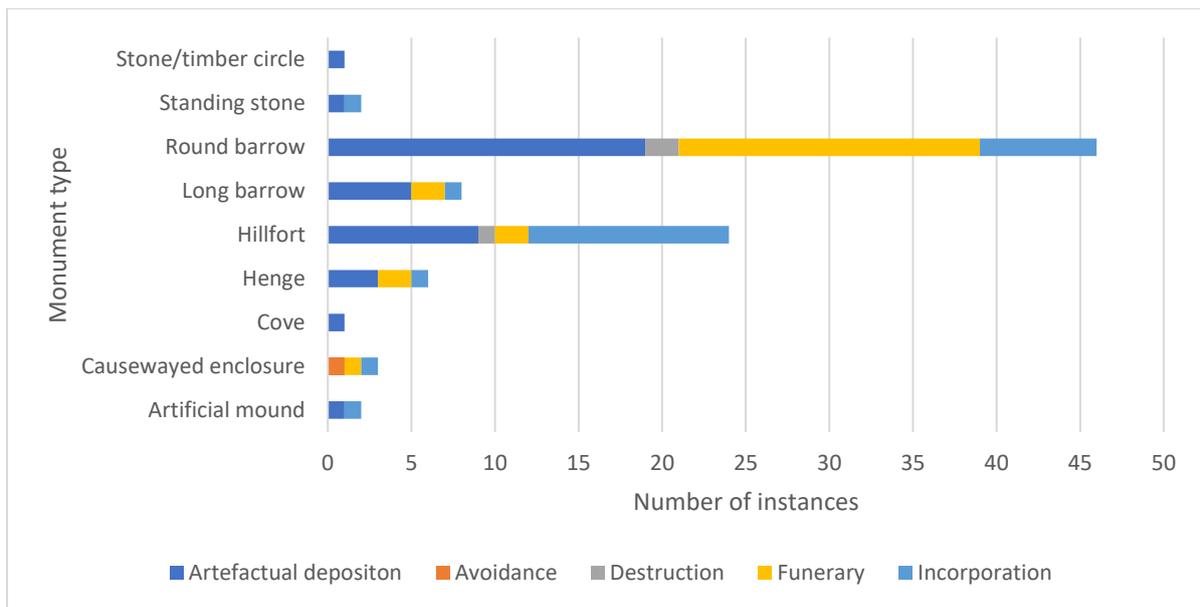
Figure 6.26. Types of deliberate engagement by monument type in Wiltshire. N=93.
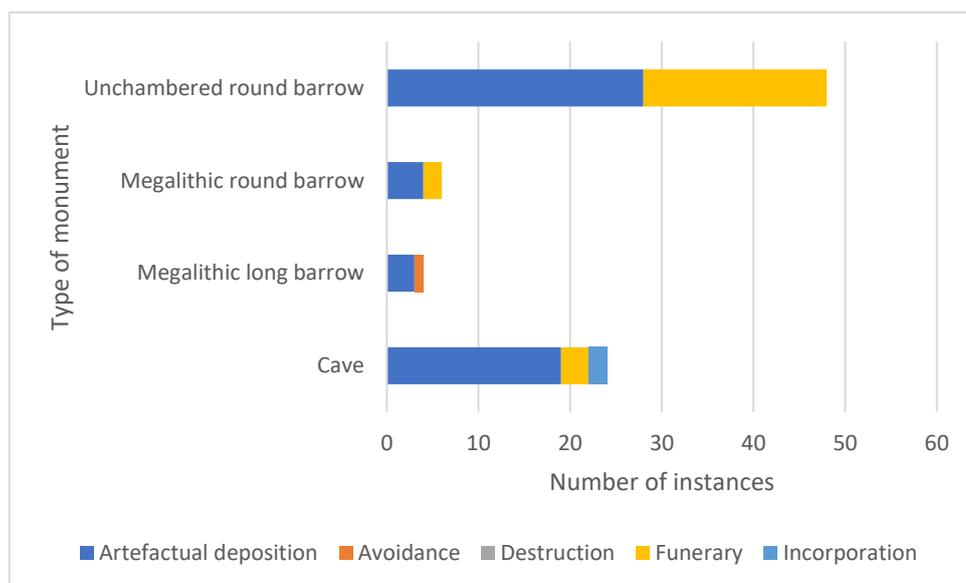
Figure 6.27. Types of deliberate engagement by monument type in the PDNP. N=82.

Destruction was manifested in respect of the two round barrows, Aldbourne 19a and Avebury 53a in Wiltshire, each of which was obliterated during the construction of the new road running through the AWHS (Section 3.5.2). Though categorised, therefore, as deliberate engagement in the sense that an event in the Roman period had material consequences at the site of the barrow, this is clearly qualitatively different to the opening up of a barrow to receive burial deposits and/or artefactual material. Further, it is more difficult to assert that that destruction of these monuments constitutes that they were meaningfully involved in the construction of how people in the Roman period made sense of their worlds in the way that other elements of deliberate engagement clearly were.

Nevertheless, there was deliberate modification of elements of the contour hillfort at Liddington Castle, which suggests different conceptions how we might think of deliberate destruction. Indeed, a sherd of *terra sigillata* and two undiagnostic coarseware sherds were recovered from deep layers of the ditch terminals by the hillfort's eastern entrance, hinting that parts of the monument's earthworks had been cleared or substantially modified in the Roman period (Bowden et al 2001: 10). Though Roman material from the interior of the hillfort was minimal to the extant that the original excavators labelled its use as 'agricultural' (Hirst and Rahtz 1996: 35), geophysical survey suggests the presence of a potential circular shrine, reinforced by the recovery of roof tiles from the interior (Hirst and Rahtz 1996: 53). In this case, the deliberate destruction/modification of parts of the earthwork must surely be thought of in relation to a wider range of activities that are potentially associated with religious activity.

Figure 6.27 highlights that no monuments from the PDNP demonstrate any evidence for destruction. This can likely be attributed to the smaller proportion of monuments encountered within the landscape in comparison to Wiltshire outlined in Section 6.11. It also reflects that the monuments were largely external to the appearance of Roman sites. This interpretation is underpinned by the data relating to incorporation, which here is taken as indicative that monuments became integrated within wider aspects of Roman settlements or features, such as the small town and roadside settlement at Old Sarum (Section 4.4.1) and Silbury Hill (Section 4.4.1) respectively. Similarly, the appearance of a shrine at the site of the round barrow cemetery at The Dane's Tump

highlights that some barrows were incorporated into religious life (Section 3.5.5), potentially attested too at The Cuckoo Stone (Section 4.3.2).

Like destruction, incorporation was a much rarer phenomenon in the PDNP than in Wiltshire, with 21 examples from the latter and only two from the former. In the PDNP, this included the round barrow at Roystone Grange, enveloped within the walls of the rural settlement complex attesting to incorporation within settlement boundaries. As Section 5.5.3.1.3 outlined, the interior of the barrow at Roystone Grange also demonstrated evidence for both funerary deposits and artefactual material, indicating that engagement with it was manifold, with deliberate engagement likely precipitated by its incorporation with the settlement boundaries. As with destruction, the paucity of deliberate incorporation reflects that areas of Roman settlement were in the main distinct to prehistoric monuments in the PDNP. This suggests that majority of monuments that were engaged with were journeyed to deliberately from settlements though, as Figures 6.21 and 5.27 show, most barrows with Roman engagement were less than 2km from settlements and less than 5km from the road network. It suggests that their prominent presences within the landscape were noted by those living and moving within the terrain, demanding responses, but were not predicated on their incorporation into settlement boundaries.

In the PDNP, avoidance was only meaningfully attributed to the barrow at Harborough Rocks which, following Spencer's notion of purposeful non-interaction, was argued to have played a role in association with other archaeological phenomena in its micro-landscape, including the potential proxy shrine at Harborough Cave and its associated small rural settlement known as Harborough Rocks (Section 5.5.1.2). In Wiltshire, meanwhile, avoidance was attributed to the causewayed enclosure at Crofton (Section 3.5.6) on the basis that the trajectory of the Roman road runs adjacent to the earthworks. Here, excavations demonstrated that the road did not deliberately impinge upon the earthworks or interior in a way that might be considered destructive, nor did it result in significant modification of the earthworks or construction of features in the interior. The same is true for Silbury Hill, which was demonstrably avoided by the road running immediately south of the monument. However, as Section 4.4.1 showed, a much broader array of actions occurred on both on the summit of the mound and in its immediate vicinity, suggesting that whilst there was initially avoidance, this relationship was changed by later deliberate engagement. Consequently, the notion of avoidance

in this case is markedly different to the avoidance argued for the Harborough Rocks long barrow and the Crofton causewayed enclosure.

While avoidance can only be directly attributed to monuments where other relationships were present, as in the cases above, it is worth reflecting upon those monuments which do not yield any evidence for direct or associated Roman period activity. This might stretch the definition of avoidance to include an absence of evidence. In Wiltshire, this was most prominently attested in relation to a clutch of hillforts located on the northwestern portion of the claybelt (Figure 3.17). While Section 3.5.1 argued that this could be related to the general paucity of monumental engagement away from the WHS and the chalklands more generally, we must factor in the reduced levels of archaeological investigation of monuments away from the chalk (Section 3.2). As Section 3.5.1 showed, the hinterlands of the hillforts on the claybelt were intensively occupied from the second century onwards. It might simply be the case, therefore, that further investigation of the hillforts would yield Roman material, suggesting that monumental engagement was a more deeply-embedded phenomenon across the county than can be asserted from the present data. Indeed, Section 3.5.10 showed that Bratton Castle, Budbury, Cley Hill and Nash Hill, situated away from the chalk (Appendix 1), yield evidence for Roman engagement. Cley Hill, in particular, demonstrated a meaningful relationship of artefactual deposition owing to the recovery of hoard of Republican and early Imperial *denarii* (Section 3.5.10). This demonstrates the clear scope for the hillforts of Wiltshire to have played more prominent roles than can presently be articulated and provokes an urgency to investigate prehistoric monuments and their relationships to Roman infrastructure that sit outside the boundaries of the WHS and beyond the chalk. This is reflected further by engagement with some other monuments away from the chalk, including the chambered long barrow at Giant's Cave, Luckington, where deliberate artefactual deposition was expressed within the chambers, passage and entrance (3.5.7).

The same is true of the hillfort dataset in relation to the PDNP. No single hillfort yields evidence for direct or related Roman engagement, and they were shown to be more peripheral to areas of Roman settlement than the barrows of the White Peak (Section 5.6). Nevertheless, we cannot ignore that the hillforts have simply received far less archaeological attention than the barrows, with only two of the twelve having been excavated (Section 5.3.3). The Peak District Roman settlement survey largely

identified patterns of Roman settlement confined to the White Peak (Bevan 2005) but more recent investigations of hitherto unrecognised prehistoric settlement on the Dark Peak around Gardom's Edge to the east of the White Peak highlight the potential for this position to change (Barnatt, Bevan and Edmonds 2017).

The above themes in this section highlight that there were some material differences between the types of classification under the broad umbrella of 'deliberate engagement'. This is further reflected in relation to the locations Roman material was recovered from the different types of monuments. From those that can be determined to demonstrate deliberate engagement in the terms outlined in Section 2.9, a scheme was devised to assess engagement that led to transformation of the monuments, based on the features of monuments that show activity (Table 2.8). The results depicted in Figures 6.28 and 6.29.
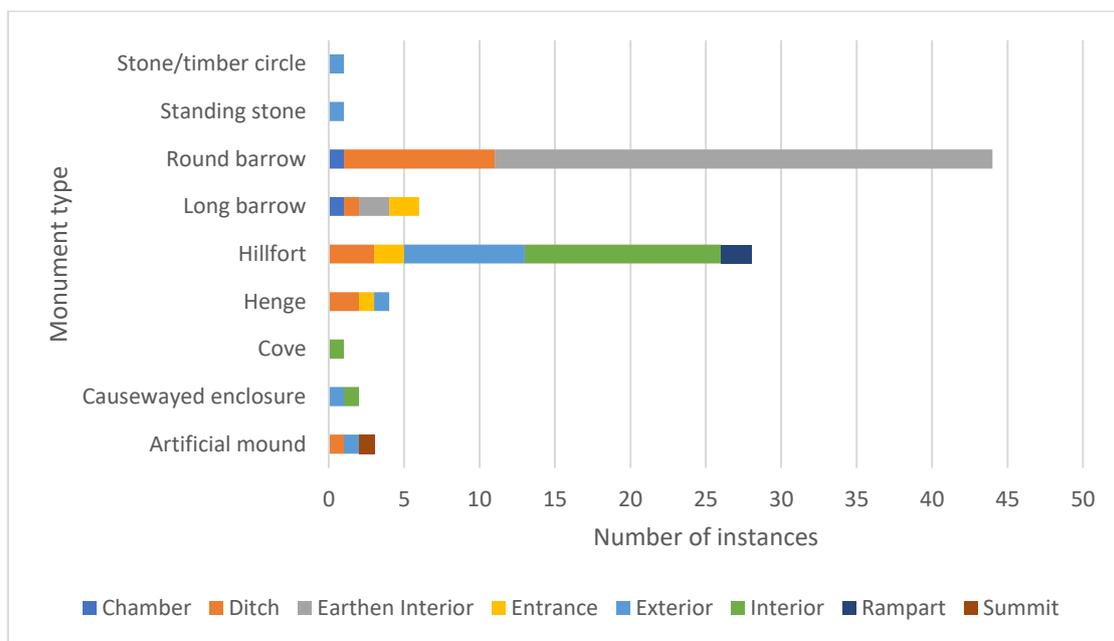
Figure 6.28. Location of engagement at monuments in Wiltshire. N=90.
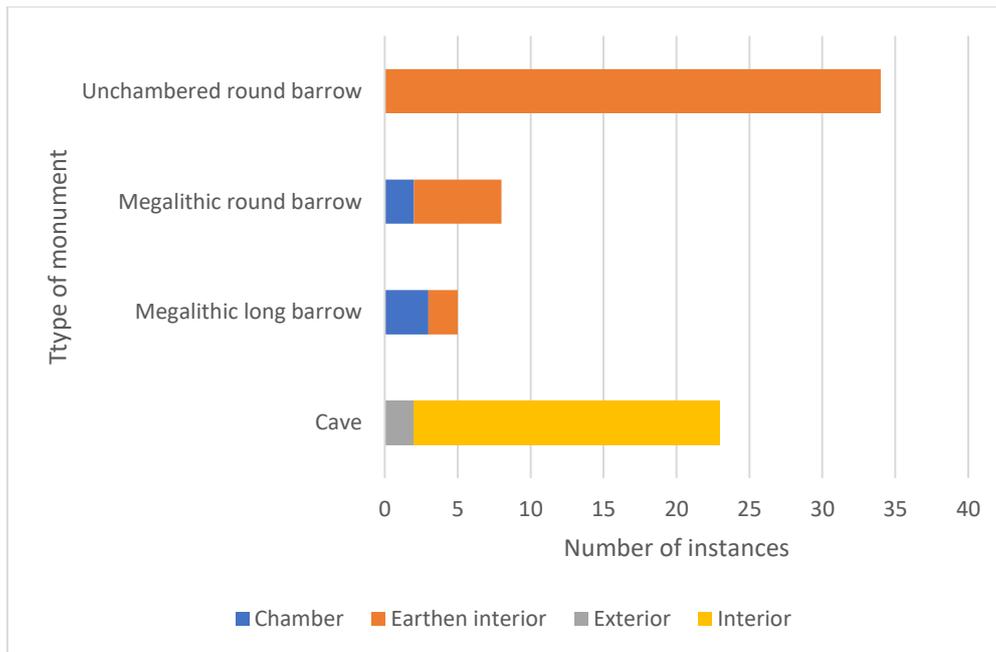
Figure 6.29. Location of engagement at monuments in the PDNP. N=65.

There are a few elements to note when comparing these data. The first pertains to evidence from round barrows. The Figures above highlight that 18% of the 53 round barrows in Wiltshire show deliberate engagement with ditches. Whilst this is smaller than material recovered from earthen interiors (60%), it is in notable contrast to the PDNP where no ditch engagement was noted. The simple fact for this is that no barrows in the PDNP exhibited external ditches. The impact of this is reflected in the construction of the Roman mimicry barrows in the PDNP, none of which show evidence for external ditches (Section 5.2.1). Where deliberate engagement with barrow ditches did occur in Wiltshire, it was largely categorised as artefactual deposition, though Kilmington 2 reveals evidence for an inhumation deposit together with coins and potsherds (Colt-Hoare 1975: 42). Further, Overton Hill 6 of the Overton Hill Roman round barrow mimicry group contained cremated bone fragments (Section 4.1.3). The other ditches from that group contained evidence for wooden posts, indicating that they were used to stand palisades during and after funerary ceremonies. This reflects a significant contrast between primary Roman barrows mimicking local forms in both areas. It emphasises that whilst there was evidence for mimicry in each zone, the execution was related to both extant prehistoric morphological idiosyncrasies and different Roman period burial practices in both areas.

Ditches were shown to be used at other monuments in Wiltshire, with the remains of an infant burial from Woodhenge (Section 4.3.3), the Aucissa brooch together with potsherds from the ditch at the Avebury henge (Section 4.1.4) and the midden located in the Silbury Hill ditch (Section 4.1.1). Three hillforts yield Roman material from their ditches: Bilbury Rings, Liddington Castle and Oliver's Castle (Appendix 1) though the small volume of material in each of these cases does not imply large scale deposition. However, significant levels of deposition are noted from the ramparts at some hillforts. Indeed, at the contour fort of Battlesbury Camp, 36 coins and the remains of a horse were recovered from an urn associated with the inner ramparts at the northwestern entrance in 1773 (Robertson 2000: pg 429, no 1882). While the now lost coins were said to include silver and copper-alloy issues of Antoninus Pius, Julia and Constantine I, potentially indicating a chronology of between 138 and 337 CE, excavations undertaken in 1957 found no evidence of Roman period features in the hillfort interior (Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0386). At the northwest entrance, there are three large ramparts and it is likely, therefore, that those earthworks played a significant role in providing a location for either the safe deposit of valuable coins or votive deposition by communities that did not occupy the interior.

Other hillforts do, however, demonstrate Roman period evidence from their interiors. At the large contour hillfort at Casterley Camp, *terra sigillata* stamped BVRDIF, PECARF and DECMIMA*,* 12 coins (Appendix 3; Figure 6.30), a Colchester derivative hinged pin brooch and a beehive quern hint at probable occupation set within the hillfort interior, potentially indicating at its incorporation into settlement. We have also seen that the exteriors of hillforts played a substantial role, seen at the shrine at Mother Anthony's Well associated with the hillfort at Oliver's Castle (Section 3.5.10). This suggests that prominent hillfort earthworks were either engaged with directly or potentially involved in the selection for activities in either their interiors or immediate exteriors.

Figure 6.30. *Dupondius* of Nero from Casterley Camp. From Devizes Museum DZWS 2005.8.2. Photo by author.

There is a similarity between the use of interiors and exteriors at the hillforts in Wiltshire and caves in the PDNP. Large volumes of material were deposited within cave interiors, probably votive in character as seen at Poole's Cavern (Section 5.5.1) and Reynard's Kitchen Cave (Section 5.5.1.1), whilst Roman material was recovered from both the interior and exteriors of Ash Tree Cave and Harborough Rocks (Appendix 2). In the case of Ash Tree Cave, 10 coarseware sherds comprising jars, bowls and flagons were unearthed from the interior, whilst a *dupondius* of Nero dating to Reece Period 3 was found opposite the cave entrance (Armstrong 1956: 59). Like the hillforts in Wiltshire, the type of material deposited at caves was characteristically earlier in date than the actions associated with barrow use in the later period (Section 6.10). However, there is a significant qualitative difference between hillforts and caves which requires further elucidation. Caves are dark, secluded 'natural monuments' (Barnatt and Edmonds 2002) which appear to have been used for either small-scale occupation, metalworking and votive deposition (Branigan and Dearne 1992). While the data discussed here suggests a significant relationship between the location of settlements and nearby caves (Section 5.5), it is likely that they were encountered by chance and it was immediately obvious how they could be utilised as either proxy shrines or places for burial. The hillforts, by contrast, were situated on elevated terrain and their extensive earthworks are difficult to interpret from the ground. Indeed, hillforts with engagement in Wiltshire ranged from between 13,000m^2 to 280,000m^2, with an average interior of 93,652m^2. They were large scale monuments, conducive for substantial occupation of their interiors in contrast to the caves. This is reflected in the broadly uniform nature of cave use in the PDNP and the broader array of activities associated with hillforts in Wiltshire, which includes a greater emphasis on incorporation into settlements as well as a higher proportion of exterior use. This suggests that hillfort earthworks were involved in activities such as deposition that took place directly within and outside them.

The difference in appearance between caves and hillforts, despite material and chronological similarities in their use, is reflected too in the use of earthen barrows and barrows with megalithic or chambered interiors. Figures 6.28 and 6.29 show that chambered long barrows in Wiltshire and megalithic barrows in the PDNP both show proportionally large-scale deliberate engagement with their megalithic interiors. Naturally, unchambered long and round barrows did not have any interiors with which

to engage with directly. When these forms are considered by use, it is clear that artefactual deposition formed the type of activity associated with megalithic interiors (Figures 6.31 and 6.32). This is reflected by the recovered of sherds in the earthen interior and cist of the round barrow at Bower Chalk 4 (Clay 1926b) whilst the chambers, passages and entrance were utilised at Giant's Cave, Luckington (3.57). Similarly, the megalithic entrance was the site of coins deposited at the West Kennet long barrow (4.1.2). This was true in the PDNP, where five barrows have artefactual deposition associated with megalithic interiors at Gib Hill, Green Low 2, Haddon Fields, Minninglow 1 and Tideslow. Three of these are long barrows while two are round barrows. At Green Low 2, two of the three coins were recovered pressed against the western chamber (Bateman 1847: 44) while we have seen the activity focussed on the chambers of Minninglow 1 (Section 5.5.4.2.3). By contrast, funerary engagement via the deposition of fresh burials was more readily associated with earthen barrows, articulated further in Figures 6.31 and 6.32. This raises the question that some of the earthen material covering megalithic structures may have denuded, exposing chambers, passages and cists, marking them out as prominent landscape nodes conducive for deposition, whilst the presence of earthen mounds were more likely to be used for burials than their megalithic counterparts.
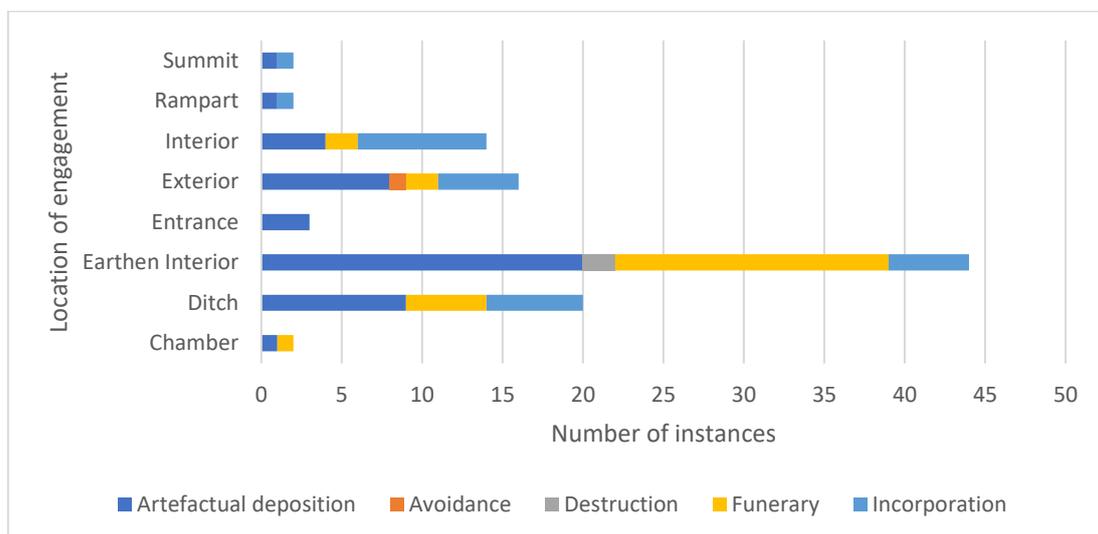
Figure 6.31. Type of engagement by location in Wiltshire. N=103.
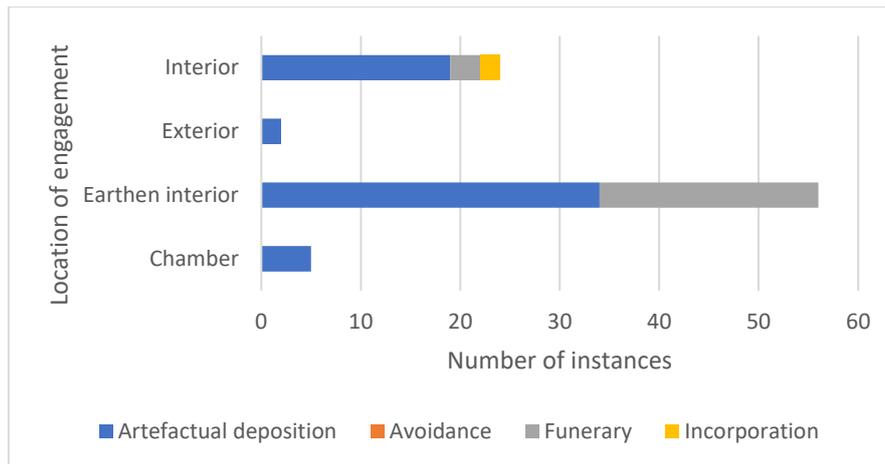
Figure 6.32. Type of engagement by location in the PDNP. N=87.

Artefactual deposition was, however, also a feature of earthen structures in the PDNP, with Barthomley (Johns, Thompson and Wagstaff 1980) and Parwich (Section 5.5.4.2.2) both containing large caches of artefactual material. In each of these cases, there is no definitive evidence that the mounds contained prehistoric burials and, by technicality, they might be thought of less as barrows but more natural mounds. In the case of Barthomley, 11km south of *Aquae Arnemetiae,* a hoard of 14 items third century jewellery including a complete gold necklace, fragments of two other gold necklaces, a crossbow brooch, two finger rings, a plaque, two earrings/pendants, four beads and fragments of a gold mask were discovered between 1870-1880 as a result of ploughing and rain agencies. Having come to light again in the 1970s, in the original publication of the hoard, Johns, Thompson and Wagstaff asserted that votive deposition was unlikely and, instead, the hoard was deposited in a prominent mound for safekeeping by an individual or small family unit. Coupled with the evidence from Parwich, where a hoard of over 250 copper-alloy issues of the third and fourth centuries were recovered from the mound, it seems likely that these natural earthen mounds were interpreted in the same way as earthen barrows which did contain artefactual deposition, such as Wigber Low 1 in the PDNP (Section 5.5.4.2.1) and Avebury 35a in Wiltshire, which contained 84 *nummi* of the House of Constantine (Reece Period 15-18). Consequently, while they are captured in the data as 'earthen barrows', it prompts recognition that natural mounds may have been interpreted in a similar fashion to prehistoric earthen barrows.

6.13 Conclusion

This comparative Chapter has brought forth a number of themes made possible by comparing the two datasets. It has shown that Roman engagement with prehistoric monuments was expressed at a wide variety of monumental forms. A much broader array of forms were engaged with in Wiltshire than they were in the PDNP. Where morphological data was comparable, I have considered evidence in relation to henges, hillforts, long barrows and standing stones/stone circles. In each case, profound differences were evident. Henges were in engaged with in Wiltshire, whereas they were not in the PDNP. Half of the hillforts in Wiltshire exhibit Roman material whereas none were engaged with in the PDNP. Barrows were shown to comprise the major part of the dataset in both zones. The chambered long barrows of north Wiltshire were shown to be an important morphological form while the same is true of the PDNP. Earthen long barrows were less important, argued to have been the result of the conspicuous nature of the megalithic forms. While round barrows in both areas were the predominant form of monument engaged with, proportional analysis showed that they played a far more important role in the PDNP. Despite this, engagement with them was similar, where prehistoric barrows were loci of funerary insertions, artefactual deposition, and providing templates for mimicry. In the PDNP they formed more prominent aspects of the funerary landscape, a position reinforced by the comparatively fewer burials from cave sites as well as more typical cemeteries.

In Wiltshire, funerary evidence from round barrows and other monuments was shown to complement more traditional forms of Roman funerary practice associated with cemeteries, isolated burials and settlement. Stone circles, meanwhile, were shown to be engaged with in Wiltshire and were avoided in the PDNP. The reason for this, an interpretation reflected in consideration of the data pertaining to henges and to hillforts, was that many of these monuments in the PDNP were peripheral to the limits of Roman period settlement. The data unequivocally show that proximity to Roman period settlement, and the intensification of each landscape in the third and fourth-centuries, accords with the emergence of monument engagement.

This chapter has placed these data within the context of their geological zones, where engagement was largely confined to the chalk downlands of Wiltshire and the White Peak of the PDNP. In this regard, it was shown that prehistoric monuments would have

been encountered at a larger rate over 100km^2 in Wiltshire, yet were engaged with far more frequently in the PDNP over the same distance. This conclusion reinforces the patterns which emerged from the data expressed as a proportion of all monument engagement, where monuments played a more prominent role within the PDNP than they did in Wiltshire. Lastly, it has been shown that deliberate engagement with prehistoric monuments in both regions was more pronounced than casual/accidental engagement. It has further shown that engagement with monuments in both regions can be broken down into specific features of monuments, with barrow ditches utilised in Wiltshire for intrusive funerary assertions, artefactual deposition and in mimicry whilst this was not the case in the PDNP. Further, it showed that hillforts engagement was focussed on interiors, ramparts and exteriors with a clearly different set of relations underscoring their use than can be seen in respect of barrows in Wiltshire and caves in the PDNP.

Consequently, based on the data presented in in the case-study chapters and compared in this Chapter, the conclusion derived supports a hypothesis that:-

1. That engagement with prehistoric monuments constituted significant elements of the Roman period landscape in each study area;
2. Their use exhibited both similarities and differences which were based on the different relationships to contemporary Roman practices in each zone;
3. Levels of engagement were more pronounced in the PDNP than they were in Wiltshire.

Ultimately, these data show that, if we are to fully explore the significance of prehistoric monuments in Roman contexts, they *must* be placed within their appropriate landscape settings. As Chapter Two emphasised, it is through their associations on the scale of landscape that we can understand how they became active material components of the Roman period, and this theme is picked up Chapter Seven.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

This research into Roman period engagement with prehistoric monuments has been undertaken to develop a better understanding of the roles they played in Roman Britain. To reiterate, the research questions detailed in Chapter One were:-

- What did prehistoric monuments *do* in Roman Britain?
- How did their roles relate to contemporary Roman practices?
- Were they engaged with in different ways in diverse landscape contexts?

Section 7.2 quantifies the data in relation to the preliminary data while Section 7.3 reflects on the theoretical approach, how it differs from previous approaches, and its conclusions. Section 7.4 specifically addresses the research questions and assesses the impacts of this study. Subsequently, I outline how this research can be utilised to explore further questions in Section 7.5 before summarising the conclusions in Section 7.6.

7.2 Quantification of data

Chapters One and Two demonstrated that monuments originating in prehistory have seldom been examined systematically in scholarly accounts of life in Roman Britain. To address this lacuna, this study has re-evaluated archival data and integrated newly generated fieldwork to provide a dataset that can be utilised as a future research resource. Section 2.6 outlined a preliminary dataset based on sources that had discussed the phenomenon of Roman engagement with prehistoric monuments throughout Britain. It was reasoned that these data would likely yield a significantly expanded dataset in the course of systematic data collection. The data presented in Chapters Three, Four and Five and detailed in the appendices reflects the veracity of this hypothesis. Indeed, Table 7.1 demonstrates significant percentage increases in sites known from the preliminary dataset to the sites generated by this study. These numbers highlight the extent to which Roman engagement with prehistoric monuments has been overlooked and the enormous potential for future research to advance this theme. This is reinforced by contextualised analysis in Chapter Six, with Section 6.11

demonstrating the extent to which these data formed the total amount of all Roman sites in each study area. In both cases, the figures are remarkably high, demonstrating the potential for our understanding of Roman Britain to be transformed by integrating these types of data, and attesting to their importance in the generation of new research agendas.

Table 7.1. Comparison of prehistoric monuments showing Roman period engagement prior to and resulting from this study.

Region	Preliminary dataset	This study	Percentage increase
Wiltshire	26	107	312%
PDNP	20	85	325%
Combined	46	192	317%

7.3 Theory

Whilst the above data are clearly important, I have argued that the perspectives traditionally employed to undertake analysis of *the past in the past* and Roman imperialism can be transformed by new ideas emerging in archaeological theory. Indeed, Chapter Two highlighted that, when monument engagement has been considered hitherto, it has often been interpreted as a curious idiosyncrasy which sat outside the realm of the everyday, through vague notions such as ancestor worship, or taken to be representative of intact prehistoric identities that permeated the Roman period (Sections 2.3-2.4). In the course of evaluating the study zones, I have approached the subject differently, employing a new materialist theoretical methodology, placing an emphasis on the relations between prehistoric monuments and other forms of Roman period activities on the scale of landscape in order to evaluate their emergence and significance. This approach has shaped the way these data have been collected and presented. Indeed, Chapters Three and Five were prefaced with sections evaluating the types of monuments that would have been encountered in the Roman period in each zone, and detailed accounts of the development of the Roman period landscapes were presented. The aim was to place engagement with monuments within the context of their geographical and social contexts. This exposition was crucial; in order to understand how prehistoric

monuments contributed to Roman inhabitations, each area must be understood over a long duration.

The case-studies presented in Chapters Four and Five have reflected this approach; they have been situated in relation to our understanding of the Roman period landscapes through their morphologies, distribution, and patterns of engagement. Without repeating those conclusions in any great detail, which are summarised at the end of each Chapter, a myriad of different activities were associated with a diverse range of prehistoric monuments in Wiltshire, while a smaller range were exhibited in the PDNP. Engagement in both regions was shown to be concentrated in specific geological terrains demonstrating clear relationships to Roman settlements and contemporary practices which contributed to their emergence taking diverse forms. Using these data, the contextual comparison in Chapter Six highlighted that prehistoric monument engagement was a proportionally more pronounced phenomenon in the PDNP than in Wiltshire, which was argued to have been a facet of the discrepant ways each landscape was inhabited. These discrepancies, it has been suggested, indicate that monument engagement constituted integral elements of how each of these communities reproduced different expressions of Romanness in each area. Consequently, engagement with prehistoric monuments must be placed in analysis of Roman imperialism and responses to it.

Indeed, as Chapters One and Two suggested, the idea that differences in relations in different areas would result in differences in outcomes accords well with perspectives emphasising discrepant experiences of Roman imperialism (Section 2.4-5). It differs, however, by centralising monuments as active participants in the process. It argues that the differing versions of Romanness that were produced in Wiltshire and the PDNP were co-constituted by the roles prehistoric monuments played in those landscapes. As Section 2.5 emphasised, the move towards a new understanding of materialism has the potential to transform perspectives of Roman imperialism, where the activities human beings performed are situated in relation to the potential for non-human entities to be meaningful contemporary actors.

Within this framework, the theoretical approach advocated herein posits that prehistoric monuments must be understood as active agents in how Romanness was reproduced (Section 2.5). In this way, the role of the human is decentralised from its

hierarchical privilege over the non-human and, consequently, the monuments have been analysed as active collaborators contributing to Roman inhabitation. As a result, this thesis has placed the monuments as active agents within a relational network: that is the meanings they came to engender emerged through the relations they were embedded within. It is through this network of relations where the agency of the monuments can be located.

7.4 Impacts

This approach has facilitated the answering of the research questions. The first aimed to understand what prehistoric monuments *did* in Roman contexts. It has been demonstrated that it was through their place within relational networks that monuments could be active participants in a myriad of different ways. For example, Chapter Four showed that coinage deposition at the façade of the West Kennet long barrow was consistent with coin loss patterns at the Silbury Hill settlement, which itself referenced the artificial mound of Silbury Hill (Sections 4.1.1-2). Further, the construction of Roman period round barrows at Overton Hill were connected to the emergence of the Silbury Hill settlement whilst simultaneously referencing a prehistoric round barrow cemetery and the adjacent stone and timber circle, The Sanctuary (Sections 4.1.3). These examples highlight that activities associated with a diverse range of different monuments must be situated in relation to one another, and it is through these relations they became active agents. In the PDNP, meanwhile, it was shown that prehistoric monuments constituted the primary sites of burial within the region, which was argued to have emerged because of the way the rural landscape developed, in the absence of a more typical Roman period funerary profile (Section 5.5.2). These case-studies highlight that it is through relationships on the scale of landscape that we can understand how the monuments acted, and how they can be thought of as collaborators in the emergence of discrepant contemporary practices.

This facilitates the answering the second research question. For example, the emergence of monument engagement in both study zones was shown to be largely a phenomenon of the third and fourth centuries, with barrow use in particular flourishing at this time. The reason for the late Roman peaks in monument engagement, in both areas, is argued to have been the result of the intensification of the rural landscapes, which brought the monuments into the orbit of people's lives in a way that was absent

prior. The coin loss patterns revealed by the data also enable the answering of the third question: were monuments engaged with differentially in different case-study zones. In Wiltshire, the coin evidence reached its zenith in Reece Periods 19-21 whereas in the PDNP it peaked in Reece Periods 15-18. In each zone, this was consistent with coin loss patterns in both excavated contexts and through stray finds recorded on the PAS. These differences emphasise the different relations the monuments were caught up in in different landscapes. Funerary data from prehistoric monuments gives further credence to this interpretation: practices associated with barrows demonstrate divides between cremation and inhumation rites in the study areas, consistent with practices in their wider regions (Section 6.8). Additionally, the differences in geologies also impacted on how monuments were engaged with. A major difference, for example, was the way that some monuments in Wiltshire were integrated within large Roman settlements, attested at Silbury Hill (Section 4.1.1) and Old Sarum (Section 4.4.1) whilst in the PDNP monuments were seldom integrated within settlement boundaries. Chapter Six highlighted that a significant contributing factor for this was the topographical zones in which they sat; the monuments of the WHS in Wiltshire were situated in lowlying areas, whilst the monuments in the PDNP were predominantly located on elevated terrain in the White Peak and journeyed to. Furthermore, in both landscapes, the trajectories of the Roman roads were shown to be major contributing factors in how and why prehistoric monuments were utilised, with barrows, in particular, concentrated around the roads. The use of prehistoric round barrows around the roads as receptacles for intrusive burials, or providing templates for Roman mimicry barrows containing funerary deposits, shows that they were embedded in contemporary practices, where the durable legacies of burials were designed to be viewed as people traversed the landscape. These examples highlight that understanding the roles prehistoric monuments performed must be related to contemporary Roman social practices at the scale of landscape.

In order to facilitate this perspective, I produced databases of prehistoric monuments exhibiting Roman period engagement (Appendices 1-2) and all known Roman period sites from the study areas (Appendices 14-15). The databases enabled analysis concerning burial deposits, animal remains, ceramic artefacts, metalwork, coinage, stonework and features to be undertaken. The databases could further produce analysis on the classification of burial rite (Appendices 12-13), typological information

pertaining to ceramics and metalwork and numismatic information regarding coinage recovered (Appendices 3-11), constructed from the sources outlined in Section 2.8. These databases were essential in exploring the relationships between monument engagement and Roman period landscape inhabitation in each of the study zones and attest to the consistent application of the theoretical methodology throughout. To further enable this approach, dynamic GIS models for both study areas were created. These models included the distribution of all monuments exhibiting Roman period engagement categorised by morphology, the distribution of all known Roman period sites, and mapped the relationships between the above features within their geological contexts so that relationships could be visualised and subsequently explored.

7.5 Directions for future research

These data demonstrate there is a need to integrate Roman engagement with prehistoric monuments in research agendas for both regions. For Wiltshire in particular, the WHS demonstrates a huge and rich research resource, with ongoing and recently completed research projects focussed upon how people in prehistory lived alongside monuments (Gillings and Pollard 2017; Parker Pearson et al forthcoming). As demonstrated by this thesis, there is an urgent need to ask the same questions of the monuments through dedicated and targeted fieldwork in relation to the Roman period, though projects focussed on the LPRIA as well would have huge potential in further our understanding of the monuments as "taboo" (Section 3.3.8). In particular, and demonstrated by this thesis, small-scale excavation of the settlement at Silbury Hill has transformed our understanding of the Roman period within the AWHS and I have argued that it became the epicentre for the Roman period landscape (Section 4.4.1). A priority should be the development of a fieldwork agenda for the civil parish of Avebury, expanding on the preliminary work done at the Silbury Hill settlement, and driven subsequently by sites and findspots based on HER and PAS data. Similarly, the Roman settlement at Durrington Walls within the SWHS would be conducive for a dedicated fieldwork agenda to further explore the extent of Roman occupation in association with the henge, as well as developing an understanding of the features located in the shadow of The Cuckoo Stone (Section 4.3.2). This, in turn,

will engender better contextual understanding of the utilisation of monuments within this zone.

A similar agenda should be applied to the PDNP. As has become clear in this research, an understanding of the Roman period within this geographical setting has been directed predominantly in relation to its industrial exploitation (Brightman and Waddington 2011: 52-53). This research has shown that other avenues concerning how the landscape was inhabited can be explored through the roles prehistoric monuments played. As Section 5.4 demonstrated, the farming complexes at Roystone Grange were the most comprehensively excavated rural settlements (Hodges 1991) and The Peak District Roman Settlement Survey has demonstrated the extent of Roman period sites particularly within the White Peak (Bevan 2005). However, many sites remain unexcavated. Future fieldwork should be targeted upon the excavation of Roman settlements within the PDNP and, crucially, should explore the relationships between settlements and monuments. This has the potential to further elucidate the chronological and contextual associations between settlements and monuments revealed in this work.

Furthermore, this thesis has advocated that Roman engagement with monuments must be considered in relation to long-term patterns of landscape inhabitation. The position advocated in this thesis, driven by the data, is that Roman settlement in the PDNP intensified from the mid second century, after LPRIA communities had largely abandoned the White Peak and occupied the sheltered river valleys. But old debates regarding continuity of habitation versus repopulation persist. Indeed, there is potential evidence for aceramic Iron Age occupation of the White Peak (Bevan 2005: 38) and noted continuity between late prehistory and the Roman period at some settlements, such as Harborough Rocks (Section 5.5.1.2). Excavation regarding the long-term development of the later prehistoric and Roman landscape will ultimately elucidate whether or not the lack of Iron Age engagement with monuments in the PDNP might indicate they held similarly taboo meanings evidenced in WHS in Wiltshire, and should be a priority for the Iron Age research agenda. Similarly, excavation projects focussed upon the rather neglected hillforts would elucidate whether there was any further Roman engagement, which would have the potential to transform the conclusions offered in this work.

There are a number of themes that can be developed in relation to the monumental forms analysed herein. In particular, research focussed on barrows and hillforts would have the potential to develop the perspectives that have emerged in this research. It was shown that the megalithic long barrows of northern Wiltshire held a particular importance for Roman engagement (Section 3.5.7). The Cotswolds-Severn long barrows similarly exhibit elaborate megalithic facades (Darvill 2004) and research integrating the northern Wiltshire and Cotswolds examples would have the potential to reflect whether there were similarities and differences between the ways the monuments were used in these areas. Additionally, round barrow use could be expanded with research focussed on particular themes. This work showed that round barrows were utilised predominantly to receive funerary deposits and artefactual material, in particular coinage. An analysis of both of these themes in more detail set within a regional or provincial context would enhance our understanding of the role prehistoric round barrows played in the Roman period.

A further priority going forward is the reassessment of archival material associated with prehistoric monuments in both zones. Indeed, Section 3.5.2 emphasised that a good understanding regional *terra sigillata* is known for the southwest. A re-assessment of the pottery assemblages associated with prehistoric monuments should be developed in relation to this, particularly in order to determine the Gallic kilns they originated from. Indeed, Timby demonstrated that the Cotswolds and Gloucestershire *terra sigillata* profiles yielded a high volume of material from the northern Gallic kilns (2018: 302-336) and the *terra sigillata* assemblages from prehistoric monuments would benefit from further typological reassessment to identify congruency with these patterns. Similarly, a re-appraisal of faunal remains from monuments should be undertaken to ascertain if they are congruent with the proportion of species represented in Roman contexts. Banfield has demonstrated the huge potential in the reanalysis of faunal remains from barrows for the Neolithic period (2018), and research questions on this nature could further elucidate the roles that animals played in the construction of society in the Roman world. Additionally, assemblages of small finds such as brooches recovered from monuments should be analysed to arrive at trends and developments which may help refine some of the chronological conclusions in this work.

Further, Page 2 of this thesis commented that a number of other criteria could be utilised in order to investigate the broader role of prehistoric artefacts in the Roman period. These include: the utilisation of prehistoric small finds in Roman contexts, long-term multi-period use of features such as shafts and larger linear features such as boundaries. In respect of the former, works such as Adkins and Adkins' paper investigating Neolithic axes in Roman contexts (1985) proved controversial on account of the insecurity of their archaeological contexts. Ferris, however, postulates that there is a now a credible province-wide dataset which can be utilised to assess the phenomenon (2012: 77). In this regard, any results generated from such a study should be situated in relation to the phenomenon of engagement with prehistoric monuments, and relationships between these phenomena explored. This should similarly be the case regarding the long-term utilisation of features considered sites of structured deposition (Crease 2015) and sites which yield utilisation of linear features and settlement boundaries (Chadwick 2013; Spencer 2016).

The research must be expanded beyond the study areas. Based on the findings of this research, this will surely reveal that the phenomenon was more widespread within Britain than has hitherto been appreciated in line with Table 7.1. In turn, this will facilitate a better understanding of the roles prehistoric monuments played in Roman period contexts throughout the province. As the preliminary dataset presented in Chapter Two revealed (Figure 2.2), similar volumes of engagement with monuments were expressed within the wider southwestern region encompassing the counties of Gloucestershire, Dorset and Somerset. Further exploration of these regions will enable a perspective that can assess variations in practice expressed by contiguous Roman communities in areas where extant prehistoric monuments proliferated.

In this regard, the archaeological evidence synthesised and presented in this thesis demonstrably lays the foundations for a contextualised study of Roman engagement with prehistoric monuments in the wider Roman Empire. Sections 2.2-3 highlighted recent work contemplating these themes, particularly within the context of the northwestern provinces. Therefore, perspectives which consider the phenomenon on this scale will enable an appreciation of how prehistoric features contributed to people's reproduction of Romanness on a larger scale. Revell's analysis of Roman religious architecture from three provinces in the Roman west (2009), for instance, demonstrates that variations in practice are manifested through similar material forms

over large European contexts. Diaz-Guardamino et al 2015 highlighted the validity of assessing 'prehistoric monuments' in Europe throughout the Iron Age, Roman and Medieval periods and a dedicated symposium on the phenomenon across the wider Roman realm would potentially spark the impetus for a vibrant multi-scalar research project. This offers the potential for further developing our understanding of the diverse ways prehistoric monuments contributed to different expressions of being Roman throughout the Empire.

As discussed in Section 7.3, an achievement of this study has been the creation of a dynamic GIS for each of the study regions, encompassing monuments with engagement and Roman period sites and settlements. An important next step is the practical utilisation of the GIS database to probe further, informed by sound theoretically driven questions. As cited in Chapter Two, the utilisation of viewshed analysis of the Bartlow Hills Roman barrows can elucidate important associations between landscape entities, manifested through their inter-visibility (Eckardt et al 2009). This in turn can foster greater understanding of past landscapes, and the roles that monuments performed particularly through non-material engagement (Spencer 2016). The perspective of this research, to reiterate, is that the roles the monuments played in the Roman period emerged through their situatedness with other Roman landscape phenomena and practices: their relations. Though often utilised as an uncritical tool, GIS analysis lends itself particularly well to the relational approach of the new materialisms. Indeed, as Gillings recently emphasised in his exploration of 'liminal' space through GIS utilisation in Exmoor in southwest England, a GIS is an assemblage of data layers that can become entangled with other layers, where some persist and others drop off (2017). This highlights that a new materialist informed GIS spatial analysis has the potential further highlight the associations between prehistoric features and Roman landscapes. The GIS models developed in this thesis should, therefore, drive subsequent research projects with questions designed specifically to address questions of spatial relationship and visualisation.

7.6 Summary

In conclusion, investigation of the roles prehistoric monuments played in Roman Britain demonstrates that their meanings emerged because of the relationships to contemporary landscape elements and practices they became embedded within. This

research has quantified the extent to which the phenomenon of prehistoric monument engagement was attested in each of the study areas and established that there was a diversity in meaning and use dependent upon specific local contexts and, crucially, landscape associations. As a result, it is evident that there are many opportunities to expand upon this research and take it different directions. Nevertheless, this study has clearly illustrated the varied and contextually specific uses of prehistoric monuments in two areas of Roman Britain. It has demonstrated the huge potential that including these data in our narratives can generate for specific regions, for Roman Britain as a whole, for wider patterns within the Empire, and upon our critical perspectives of Roman imperialism.

To reiterate the theoretical point at the outset, I argue that this can only ever be done if we accept that artefacts of the past do not belong to the periods they originated in but are understood to be continually emergent in time. We must, therefore, accept the subjects of this study were, in a fashion, Roman monuments, acting collaborative elements of Roman *inhabited* landscapes. It is time we recognised as them as such and adjusted our analyses to recognise their demonstrable impact in contributing to different experiences of the Roman world.

Appendix 1: Wiltshire monuments with Roman engagement.

Site	Monument	Morphology	Grid Ref	Dimensions	Burials	Animal remains	Pottery	Coinage	Metalwork	Stonework	Other	Features	Refs
Alcannings	Round Barrows	Round Barrows	SU 097 767 04	?			Y						Annable 1958: 16
Aldbourne 19a	Round Barrow	Disc Barrow	SU 258 507 921 0	12m d; 1.2m h								Y	Grinsell 1957: 216
Alton 11	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 121 206 374 0	?			Y						Connah 1965; Cunnington 1911; Grinsell 1957: 149
Alvediston 1a	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	ST 969 902 454 0	8m D; 0.1m h			Y						Clay 1926a; Grinsell 1957: 149
Amesbury 39	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 314 5	33m d; 1m h			Y	Y					Ashbee 1981; Field, Bowden and Soutar 2012: 32; Goddard 1913:

Site	Type	Sub-type	Grid Ref	Dimensions									Reference
			420 51										168; Grinsell 1957: 151
Amesbury 42	Long Barrow	Earthen Long Barrow	SU 374 0 431 80	80.8m l; 21.4m w; 1.2m h			Y						Richards 1990c: 106-109
Amesbury 44	Twin Round Barrow	Twin Bell Barrow	SU 119 75 427 85	11m d; 1.6m h	Y				Y		Y		Goddard 1913: 168; Grinsell 1957: 238
Amesbury 70	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 182 30 419 60	43 paces d; 1.4 m h			Y		Y				Christie et al 1968: 336-366; Goddard 1913: 170; Grinsell 1957: 151; Scott 1993: 197
Amesbury 71	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 184 00 418 80	30.48 d; 2.4m h			Y				Y	Y?	Christie et al 1968: 336-366; Grinsell 1957: 151; Goddard 1913: 170
Amesbury 85	Round Barrow	Bell Barrow	SU 177 90 400 90	18m d; 1.4m h			Y	Y	Y				Grinsell 1957: 38; Newell 1931; Scott 1993: 197
Avebury	Henge	Class III Henge	SU 102 6	350m x 380m			Y		Y		Y		Gray 1935

			6996											
Avebury 19	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 0809 6919	19m d; 0.3 m h			Y							Grinsell 1957: 153
Avebury 35a	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 116 870 70	25 paces d; 0.9m h			Y	Y	Y					Grinsell 1957 154; IARCH-300B6F; Robertson 2000, 279 no 1176
Avebury 44d	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 124 90 713 80	14m d; 0.4m h			Y							Grinsell 1957: 154
Avebury 53a	Round Barrow	Disc Barrow	SU 107 20 683 80	Destroyed			Y					Y		Grinsell 1957: 216; Powell, Allen and Barnes 1996: 13-26
Avebury 55	Round Barrow	?	SU 102 40 678 80	20 paces d; 0.3m h			Y							Grinsell 1957: 15; Smith 1965a
Barbury Castle	Hillfort	Contour Fort	SU 149 376 28	45,000m2			Y		Y					Corney and Payne 2006: 98-103; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0387;

Name	Type	Sub-type	Grid Ref	Dimensions										References
														MacGregor and Simpson 1963
Barrow Pleck 2	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	ST 954 80 175 50	12.2m d; 1.4m h			Y							Barrett et al 1981: 226-28; 233-34; Grinsell 1957: 156
Battlesbury Camp	Hillfort	Contour Fort	ST 898 545 65	97,000m2				Y						Grinsell 1957: 270; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0386; Robertson 2000, 429 no. 1882
Batt's Meadow	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 269 00 616 00	?			Y					Y		Grinsell 1957: 72-36; Scott 1993: 202
Beckhampton Road	Long Barrow	Earthen Long Barrow	SU 066 6 677 3	66m l			Y				Y			Ashbee, Smith and Evans 1979
Bilbury Rings	Hillfort	Partial Contour Fort	SU 010 362	70,000m2			Y		Y	Y		Y		Anon 1961: 32-33; Anon 1962: 243-244; Grinsell 1957: 129-130; 217; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0391

Site	Type	Subtype	Grid Ref	Dimensions									References
Bishops Cannings 40	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 025 10 647 30	11m d; 0.5 h			Y						Grinsell 1957: 157
Bower Chalke 4	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 000 40 220 50	12m d; 0.3m h			Y						Clay 1926b: 313-324; Grinsell 1957: 160
Bower Chalke 6	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 023 4 225 7	14m ditch to ditch d; 1m h			Y						Clay 1927; Grinsell 157: 160
Boyton Field Farm	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	ST 951 50 384 90	21m d; 3m h	Y								Cunnington, W 1804. Archaeologia 15: 340; 2) edited by R B Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall 1957 A history of Wiltshire: volume 1, part 1: Boyton/Sheringt on boundary 5
Bratton Castle	Long Barrow/Hi llfort	Earthen Long Barrow/Cont our Fort	ST 901 10	93,000m2				Y					Colt-Hoare 1975a: 55; Grinsell 1957: 263; Lock and

Name	Classification	Type	Grid Ref	Size	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	References
			516 30										Ralston 2017: EN0412
Broad Chalke	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 049 00 240 20	15m d; 0.4m h			Y						Grinsell 1957: 162
Bromham 1	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 000 20 646 00	10.1m d; 1.5 m h			Y						Gingell 1979; Grinsell 1957: 162
Bromham 2	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	ST 971 10 670 80	15.2m d; 0.9m h			Y	Y	Y				Grinsell 1957: 162
Budbury	Hillfort	Promontory Fort	ST 821 361 13	2,500m2			Y	Y					Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0424; Wainwright 1970
Bulford 22	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 190 39 444 45	28m d; 2.1m h	Y								Goddard 1913: 215; Hawley 1910
Casterley Camp	Hillfort	Contour Fort	SU 115 853 56	27,500m2			Y	Y	Y	Y			Cunnington and Cunnington 1913; Lock and

Name	Type		Grid ref	Area										References
														Ralston 2017: EN0389
Castle Rings	Hillfort	Partial Contour Fort	ST 887 625 09	5,200m2			Y							Grinsell 1957: 265; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0419
Chisbury Camp	Hillfort	Contour Fort	SU 278 965 97	5,700m2			Y	Y	Y					Grinsell 1957: 267; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0415; IARCH-A75703; IARCH-3FB713; Robertson 2000, 368 no. 1512
Chiselbury	Hillfort	Partial Contour Fort	SU 018 00 281 20	4,000m2			Y	Y						Grinsell 1957: 266; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0429
Clearbury Ring	Hillfort	Contour Fort	SU 152 424 36	2,000m2								Y		Grinsell 1957: 394; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0403
Cley Hill	Hillfort	Contour Fort	ST 838 844 89	6,900m2				Y	Y					Colt Hoare 1975a: 51; Grinsell 1957: 26; IARCH-BBC132; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0422

Codford St. Peter 1b	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	ST 979 00 427 10	0.5m h	Y		Y							Grinsell 1957: 167
Kingston Deverill G1	Long Barrow	Earthen Long Barrow	ST 849 00 379 40	70m l; 21.9m w; 3.7m h			Y					Y		Grinsell 1957: 139; Nan Kivell 1927; 1929
Collingbor ne Ducis 20	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 238 20 511 50	20 paces d; 0.2m h			Y	Y						Grinsell 1957: 168; Goddard 1913: 233; Lukis 1867
Collingbor ne Ducis 3a	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 220 40 520 70	15 paces d; 0.2m h	Y		Y							Colt Hoare 1975a: 185; Grinsell 1957: 167; Thomas and Thomas 1955
Collingbor ne Ducis 8c	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 228 10 514 50	21m d; 0.3m h	Y				Y					Goddard 1913: 231; Grinsell 1957: 167
Collingbor ne Kingston 12	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 216 90 521 70	55.3m d; 0.5m h			Y							Annable 1958: 8; Goddard 1913: 235; Grinsell 1957: 168

			Grid Ref	Dimensions									References
Coneybury Henge	Henge	Class I Henge	SU 13425 41600	54m w N-S; 41m w E-W			Y						Richards 1990b
Crofton	Causewayed Enclosure		SU 2633 6259	28,000m2			Y					Y	Lobb 1995
Durrington 3	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 10850 44320	0.4m h			Y	Y					Colt Hoare 1975a: 166; Goddard 1913: 243; Grinsell 1957: 170
Durrington Walls	Henge	Class II Henge	SU 1501 4375	490m n-w; 470m ne-sw	Y							Y	Curnow 1971; Farrer 1918; Parker Pearson 2012: 147-150; Swan 1971; Wainwright 1971
Ebsbury Hill	Hillfort	Hillslope Fort	SU 061 63538	700m x 400m, c.28,000 m2			Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Grinsell 1957: 36, 74, 262, 266; IARCH-3A3E62; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0427; Robertson 2000: 396, no 1597

Ende Burgh	Long Barrow	Unknown	SU 158 70 340 40	41m l; 20m w	Y								Grinsell 1957: 81; 180; Stone 1936
Everleigh 1	Round Barrow	Bell Barrow	SU 184 57 560 30	24.7m d; 2m h	Y		Y						Goddard 1913: 252; Grinsell 1597: 209
Fittleton 9a	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 195 00 510 00	Unknown	Y			Y					Goddard 1913: 38; Grinsell 1957: 176
Fussell's Lodge	Long Barrow	Earthen Long Barrow	SU 192 032 46	?			Y						Ashbee 1966
Giant's Cave	Long Barrow	Chambered Passage Grave	ST 820 00 829 60	43m l; 28.5m w; 2.2m h			Y	Y	Y				Corcoran 1970
Grafton 7a	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 270 10 577 90	41m d; 2.6m h			Y	Y	Y				Cunnington 1940; Grinsell 1957: 177
Great Woodbury	Hillfort	Contour Fort	SU 143	2,600m2			Y	Y					Bersu 1940; Grinsell 1957: 263; Lock and

Name	Type	Subtype	Grid Ref	Dimensions									References
			627 84										Ralston 2017: ENO402
Heytesbury 4b	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	ST 945 00 448 00	-			Y	Y					Goddard 1913: 263; Grinsell 1957: 76; 177; IARCH-19777D
Horslip	Long Barrow	Earthen Long Barrow	SU 086 00 705 20	58m l; 34m w; 0.6m h			Y						Ashbee, Smith and Evans 1979
Idmiston 19	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 218 62 352 34	17m d; 0.7m h	Y							Y	Anon 1934; Grinsell 1957: 178

The Victoria history of the counties of England Page(s)178; WAM 1934: 387) |
| Kilmington 2 | Round Barrow | Bowl Barrow | ST 786 20 376 50 | 12m d; 0.46m h | Y | | Y | Y | | | | | Colt Hoare 1975a: 42; Grinsell 1957: 179 |
| Knap Hill | Causewayed Enclosure | | SU 121 00 | 2,400m2 | Y | | Y | | | | | Y | Connah 1965; Cunnington 1911 |

Name	Type	Subtype	Grid Ref	Size										References
			636 50											
Knook Castle	Hillfort	Hillslope Fort	ST 960 044 02	1,750m2								Y		Frere, Hassall and Tolin 1992: 296-299; Grinsell 1957: 270; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0423
Lamb Down A	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	ST 988 70 394 00	7.3m d; 1.1m h	Y		Y		Y					Grinsell 1957: 166; Vatcher 1963
Lamb Down C	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	ST 990 10 390 80	18m d; 0.3m h	Y?	Y	Y	Y	Y					Grinsell 1957: 166; Vatcher 1963
Lamb Down F	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	ST 987 1 396 0	9.1m d; 0.03m h			Y							Colt-Hoare 1975a: 80-2; Grinsell 1957: 166; Vatcher 1963
Liddington Castle	Hillfort	Contour Fort	SU 208 10 797 10	3,000m2			Y		Y			Y?		Corney and Payne 2006: 111-118; Grinsell 1957: 267; Hurst and Rahtz 1996; Lock and

														Reference
														Ralston 2017: EN0388
Longstones Cove	Cove	Cove	SU 089 09 693 18	1. 3.3x 3.8m; 2. 2.3m x 3.5m - 30m apart		Y	Y		Y					Gillings and Pollard 2008: 225-237
Marden Henge	Henge	Class II Henge	SU 090 80 582 00	14,000m2					y					Wainwright, Evans and Longworth 1971
Marlborough 4	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 182 20 681 30	20 paces l; 1.3m h			Y							Grinsell 1957: 182
Martinsell Hill	Hillfort	Partial Contour Fort	SU 174 063 97	13,000m2			Y					Y		Corney and Payne 2006: 118-23; Cunnington 1909; Grinsell 1957: 180; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0410; Swan 1975
Membury Camp	Hillfort	Contour Fort	SU 302 14 752 85	13,750m2				Y						Grinsell 1957: 269; IARCH-C6F7B7

347

Name			Grid Ref	Size									References
Millbarrow	Long Barrow	Chambered Passage Grave	SU 09430 72210	65.5m l; 16.8m w			Y						Grinsell 1957: 146; Whittle 1994
Milton Lilbourne 3	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 19990 57870	15.m d; 1.2m h			Y						Ashbee 1986; Goddard 1913: 292; Grinsell 1957: 184
Nash Hill)	Hillfort	Promontory Fort	ST 933 569 39	?			Y						Annable 1958: 16; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0430.
Norton Bavant 11	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	ST 92000 43240	16m d; 1.6m h			Y		Y		Y		Colt Hoare 1975a: 71; Grinsell 1957: 185
Old Sarum	Hillfort	Contour Fort	SU 137 732 69	12,000m2				Y			Y		Haverfield 1915; James 2002; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0406; Rahtz and Musty 1960; Stone and Algar 1955
Oldbury Castle	Hillfort	Contour Fort	SU 04900 6920	8,000m2				Y	Y	Y	Y		Corney and Payne 2006: 123-127; Cunnington 1887; Grinsell

Name	Type	Sub-type	Grid Ref	Dimensions									References
													1957: 53, 263; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0396
Oliver's Castle	Hillfort	Level Terrain Fort	SU 001 064 68	1,300m2			Y			Y		Y	Cunnington 1907; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0398
Overton Hill 6	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 119 30 683 20	4.5m d; 0.3m h	Y		Y						Colt Hoare 1975a: 89-91; Smith and Simpson 1964; Smith and Simpson 1966
Overton Hill 6a	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 119 30 683 40	4.5m d; 0.3m h	Y	Y	Y			Y			Colt Hoare 1975a: 89-91; Smith and Simpson 1964; Smith and Simpson 1966
Overton Hill 6b	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 119 60 683 50	18 paces d; 0.9m h			Y						Colt Hoare 1975a: 89-91; Smith and Simpson 1964; Smith and Simpson 1966
Overton Hill 7	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 119 30 683 70	7m d; 0.6m h	Y		Y			Y			Colt Hoare 1975a: 89-91; Smith and Simpson 1964; Smith and Simpson 1966

349

Name	Type	Subtype	Grid Ref	Dimensions									References
Preshute 10a	Round Barrow	Bowl Barrow	SU 13000 72500	4.9m d circle of sarsens			Y						Grinsell 1957: 188
Robin Hood's Ball	Causewayed Enclosure		SU 10220 45940	3,500m2			Y						Thomas 1964
Scratchbury Camp	Hillfort	Contour Fort	ST 91167 44270	17,000m2			Y		Y				Colt Hoare 1975a: 219-220; Grinsell 1957: 35; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0411
Sherrington 1	Long Barrow	Earthen Long Barrow	ST 96870 39180	28m l; 18m 2; 3.4m h	Y				Y?	Y?			Cunnington 1804; Grinsell 1957: 143
Silbury Hill	Articifical Mound		SU 10012 68549	31m h; basal d 145m	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			Y	Atkinson 1967; 1970; Brooke and Cunnington 1897; Crosby et al 2013; Crosby and Hembrey 2011; 2013; Evans 1966; Leary, Field and Campbell 2013; Moorhead 2011b; 2013a;

Name	Type	Subtype	Grid Ref	Dimensions											References
															2013b; Pass 1887; Powell, Allen and Barnes 1996; Timby 2013; Wilkinson 1867
South of Beckhampton	Round Barrow	?	SU 091 00 689 00	Lost	Y?		Y			Y					Grinsell 1957: 35
South Street	Long Barrow	Earthen Long Barrow	SU 090 00 692 70	45m x 20m			Y			Y					Ashbee, Smith and Evans 1979
Stonehenge	Stone/Timber Circle	Stone Circle	SU 122 43 421 97	bank to bank 100m d		Y	Y	Y		Y			Y		Davies 1995; Gardiner 1995; Montague 1995; Seager Smith 1995; Darvill and Wainwright 2009
Stratford Sub Castle 1	Round Barrow	?	SU 142 80 324 90	15m w; 1m h	Y										Goddard 1913: 325
The Cuckoo Stone	Standing Stone	Sarsen Boulder	SU 146 60	2.1m x 1.5m x 0.6m				Y					Y		IARCH-C277CA; IARCH-5E5D84; Parker Pearson

			433 40										2012: 147-150; forthcoming; Reece forthcoming; Stansbie forthcoming
The Dane's Tump 1	Round Barrow with ditch	Bowl Barrow	ST 835 40 732 50	24 paces d; 2.7m h;			Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Grinsell 1957: 167; Shaw Mellor 1953
The Dane's Tump 2	Round Barrow with ditch	Bowl Barrow	ST 835 30 732 10	12 paces d; 0.9m h			Y		Y		Y	Y	Grinsell 1957: 167; Shaw Mellor 1953
The Dane's Tump 3	Round Barrow with ditch	Bowl Barrow	ST 835 20 732 20	8 paces d; 0.8m h			Y					Y	Grinsell 1957: 167; Shaw Mellor 1953
The Sanctuary	Stone/Timber Circles	Stone/Timber Circle	SU 118 4 680 2	40m d			Y						Lees 1999
Vespasian's Camp	Hillfort	Contour Fort	SU 147 00 416 60	16,000m2			Y						Anon 1998; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0407; Hunter Mann 1999

Name	Type	Sub-type	Grid Ref	Dimensions									Reference
West Kennet Long Barrow	Long Barrow	Chambered Passage Grave	SU 104 60 677 40	104m x 25m x 3.2m			Y	Y	Y?				IARCH-B7F5F3; Piggott 1962
Windmill Hill	Causewayed Enclosure		SU 086 00 714 00	8,450m2			Y					Y	Goddard 1923; Scott 1993: 192
Winkelbury Camp	Hillfort	Partial Contour Fort	ST 952 221 71	6,000m2			Y						Lock and Ralston 2007: EN0420
Winterbourne Monkton 2	Round Barrow		SU 086 30 713 50	22m d; 33m h			Y		Y	Y			Grinsell 1957: 154
Winterbourne Monkton 8	Long Barrow	Unknown	SU 116 723	30m l; 14m w; 1.2m h			Y						Grinsell 1957: 146
Woodford G2	Long Barrow	Earthen Long Barrow	SU 100 7 377 2	20.4m l; 132.7m w; 1.2m h			Y						Anon 164: 185; Harding and Gingell 1986
Woodhenge	Henge	21	SU 150 60	86.9m d	Y		Y						Cunnington 1929

Yarnbury Castle	Hillfort	Contour Fort	433 70												
			SU 035 22 404 21	11,000m2	Y		Y	Y	Y			Y	Cunnington 1933; Grinsell 1957: 430; Lock and Ralston 2017: EN0394

Appendix 2: PDNP monuments with Roman engagement.

Site	Monument Type	Morphology	Grid Ref	Dimensions	Burials	Animal remains	Pottery	Coinage	Metal work	Stone work	Other	Features	Refs
Alsop Moor	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK15100 55800	18m d; 0.5m h		Y	Y						Barnatt and Collis 9:25; Bateman 1861: 190
Arbor Hill	Round barrow	Unchambared round barrow with cist	SK10819 51944	26m x 24m			Y		Y				Barnatt and Collis 13:4; Bateman 1861: 112
Ash Tree	Cave		SK51485 76144				Y	Y					Branigan and Dearne 1992: 18
Bank Top	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK12861 45	10.5 x 8.5m; 0.3m h			Y						Barnatt and Collis 7:58; Bateman 1861: 34;67
Barthomley	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SJ96406 563	18m d; 1m h					Y				Barnatt and Collis 22:11; Watkin 1886: 303-305
Bee Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow with cist	SK19166 473	16m d; 1.5m h			Y						Barnatt and Collis 8:13; Bateman 1847: 35; 1861: 163-164
Beechenhill	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK12615 282	18m d; 0.6m h			Y	Y	Y				Barnatt and Collis 11: 21; Bateman 1847: 82; 1861: 165

355

Beeston Tor	Cave		SK10795 405			Y	Y		Y	Y	Y		Branigan and Dearne 1992: 3
Blore	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK14194 777	24m d; 2.5m h			Y						Barnatt and Collis 17:21; 17:13 or 13:20; Bateman 1861: 186
Brundcliffe	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK15896 148	12m x 11m	Y	Y	Y		Y				Barnatt and Collis 7:28; Bateman 1847: 101
Calton Pastures	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK23380 68562	17m x 15m			Y		Y	Y			Barnatt and Collis 31:1; Bateman 1861: 65
Castern	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK12665 241	19m x 16m			Y						Barnatt and Collis 11:56; Bateman 1847: 86
Cheshire Wood	Cave		SK11325 330				Y		Y	Y		Y	Branigan and Dearne 1992: 4; Emery 1962
Churn Hole	Cave		SK10567 187				Y						Branigan and Dearne 1992: 5; Ward 1900
Darfur Ridge Cave	Cave		SK09805 587				Y		Y				Branigan and Dearne 1992: 11
Dead Man's Cave	Cave		SD80056 704				Y						Branigan and Dearne 1992: 12
Dow Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK09310 67650	Destroyed					Y		Y		Barnatt and Collis 7:47; Bateman 1847: 96; 1861: 67

Dowe Lowe	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK09390 67680	Destroyed/Lost	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y		Barnatt and Collis 7:47; Bateman 1847: 96; 1861: 68
Dowel Cave	Cave		SK07566 759				Y				Y	Y	Bramwell 1959; Branigan and Dearne 1992: 13
Elderbush Cave	Cave		SK09785 488			Y	Y		Y	Y	Y		Bramwell 1964; Branigan and Dearne 1992: 14
Fairfield Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK07810 73960	18.3m d; 1.2m h	Y		Y		Y		Y		Barnatt and Collis 2:1; Ward 1899
Fissure Cave	Cave		SK16438 033				Y	Y	Y		Y		Branigan and Dearne 1992: 15; Pill 1963
Fox Hole Cave	Cave		SK09976 618				y		Y				Bramwell 1971; Branigan and Dearne 1992: 16
Frank l'th Rocks	Cave		SK13170 58401		Y?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Branigan and Dearne 1992: 17; Palmer and Lee 1926
Friden Hollow	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK17438 61325	16m x 14m; 0.5m high	Y	Y?	Y				Y		Barnatt and Collis 8:21; Bateman 1847: 54; Jones 1997: 26-30
Gib Hill	Long barrow	Long barrow with cist	SK15823 63329	24.8m d; 3m h				Y	Y				Barnatt and Collis 8:7; Bateman 1847: 31; 1861: 20; Ward 1908: 164
Glebe Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round	SK20407 313	d 15m; h 2.4m			Y						Barnatt and Collis 4:22; Radley 1966: 54-59

Name	Type	Description	Grid ref	Dimensions									References
		barrow with cist											
Great Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK10553 68230	1.7m d; 0.9m h			Y						Barnatt and Collis 7:14; Bateman 1861: 50
Green Low 1	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK15126 55377	12.2m d; 1.1m h			Y						Barnatt and Collis 9:8; Bateman 1847: 59; 1861: 286; Marsden 1963
Green Low 2	Round barrow	Chambered Round Barrow	SK23155 803	17.4m x 17.1m; h 0.6m			Y	Y					Barnatt and Collis 10:12; Bateman 1847: 44; Manby 1965
Green Low 3	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK12205 297	Destroyed/Lost					Y				Barnatt and Cllis 11:53; 11:58 or 11:59; Bateman 1861: 116
Grindlow	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK18690 77240	9m d; 0.5m h	Y		Y						Barnatt and Collis 3:D
Grindon Moor	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK07075 518	16m x 12m						Y			Barnatt and Collis 25:4; Bateman 18614: 147; 126
Grinlow	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow with cist	SK05397 174	15.2m d; h 1.2m	Y?		Y						Barnatt and Collis: 7:1; Ward 1895: 420-425
Haddon Fields	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK21484 65355	18.3m d; 1.2m h		Y		Y		Y	Y		Barnatt and Collis 6:7; Bateman 1847: 30

358

Name	Type	Subtype	Grid ref	Dimensions										References
Haddon Grove	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK17726 586	13m x 12; h 0.6m			Y							Barnatt and Collis 8:3; Marsden 1964
Harborough Cave	Cave		SK24225 522	9m x 7m x 4m	Y?		Y	Y	Y?			Y		Armstrong 1923; Branigan and Dearne 1992: 18; Storrs Fox 1909; Ward 1890
Harborough Rocks	Long barrow	Long barrow with chambered passage grave	SK24255 3	17m x 7m; 0.5m h			Y?		Y?				Y?	Barnatt and Collis 10:21; Bateman 1861: 57
Harley Hill	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK08406 799	32m x 28m; h: 2.1m (?)	Y?							Y		Barnatt and Collis 7:11; Bateman 1847: 98; Jewitt and Lucas 1863; Jones 1997: 24
Ivet Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK25954 3	22m x 20m; h 1m							Y			Barnatt and Collis 10:25; Bateman 1847: 26
Kenslow Knoll	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK18426 171	19.5m x 16m; 0.75m h	Y	Y	Y		Y					Barnatt and Collis 8:19; Bateman 1847: 28
Liffs Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow with cist	SK15357 6	18m x 14.5m; h: 1.5m			Y		Y					Barnatt and Collis 9:2; Bateman 1847: 41; 1861: 286
Long Roods	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK17700 71109	Destroyed				Y						Barnatt and Collis 4:23; Bateman 1847: 28

Site	Type	Subtype	Grid Ref	Dimensions									References
Middleton Moor	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK26455 572	19m x 16.5m 3m h			Y						Barnatt and Collis 10:24; Marsden 1977: 76
Minninglow 1	Long barrow	Long barrow with chambered passage grave	SK20955 728	45m x 38x h 2.4m			Y	Y				Y	Barnatt and Collis 10:5; Bateman 1847: 39; 1861: 82; Marsden 1982b
Minninglow 2	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK21415 736	c.12m diameter	Y		Y	Y			Y		Barnatt and Collis 10:56 or 10:7; Bateman 1861: 55
Mother Grundy's Parlour	Cave		SK53587 426			Y	Y	Y	Y				Armstrong 1925; Branigan and Dearne 1992: 10
Musden Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow with cist	SK11847 50068	16.5m x 14m; 2.3m h	Y?		Y?						Barnatt and Collis 13:10; Bateman 1861: 118; 151
Nettles	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK13380 49150	13m x 10m			Y?						Barnatt and Collis 13:18; Bateman 1861: 142
Newhaven House	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK16196 028	14.5m x 11.5m	Y?	Y?			Y?		Y		Barnatt and Collis 7:30; Bateman 1847: 50; Jones 1997: 26-30
Old Woman's House	Cave		SK16410 71190			Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Branigan and Dearne 1992: 20; RRSP 22079; Storrs Fox 1911

Name	Type	Description	Grid Ref	Dimensions									References
Ossum's Crag	Cave		SK09555				Y			Y			Bramwell 1954a; 1955; Branigan and Dearne 1992: 21
Parwich	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK1854	12m x 11.5m; h 0.4m				Y					Barnatt and Collis 10:34; 10:55; Bateman: 1861: 61; May 2019
Pea Low	Round barrow	Closed Chambered Round Barrow??	SK13075 646	40m d; 2.4m h			Y	Y					Barnatt and Collis 11:10; Bateman 1847: 76-78; Bateman 1861: 121-122
Poole's Cavern	Cave		SK05007 251		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Bramwell et al 1983; Branigan and Dearne 1992: 23; Smithson and Branigan 1989; 1991
Ravencliffe	Cave		SK17397 356				Y		Y	Y	Y		Branigan and Dearne 1992: 25; Storrs Fox 1928-9
Reynard's Kitchen	Cave		SK1452				Y	Y	Y		Y		Hyam 2014; Kelly 1960
Ringham Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK17900 61940	16m x 14.5x; 0.2m h	Y		Y						Barnatt and Collis 8:18; Bateman 1847: 50; Jones 1997: 26-30
Robin's Hood	Cave		SK53417 419			Y	Y		Y				Branigan and Dearne 1992: 9
Rolley Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow with cist	SK18447 362	26m x 23m; h: 2m	Y			Y					Barnatt and Collis 4:21; Bateman 1847: 55

													References
Roystone Grange	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK20365 650	15m x 12m x 1.5m h	Y	Y	Y		Y			Y	Barnatt and Collis 10:4 or 10:41; Marsden 1982a
Rusden Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK19110 62310	13m x 11m			Y	Y	Y		Y		Barnatt and Collis 8:17; Bateman 1861: 43; Jones 1997: 26-30
Seven ways	Cave		SK09825 490		Y?		Y		Y		Y		Bramwell 1954b; Branigan and Dearne 1992: 27
Shackl ow	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK17070 24	c4.9m d	Y?		Y		Y				Barnatt and Collis 6:14
Slip Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK10954 7	Destroyed/Lost	Y		Y?						Barnatt and Collis 11:43; Bateman 1847: 97
Stansh ope	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK12554 5	Destroyed/Lost	Y				Y		Y		Barnatt and Collis 11:50 or 11:13; Bateman 1861: 187
Stansh ope Pastur e	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK13855 369	16.5m x 14m; 2.3m h	Y								Barnatt and Collis 11:18; Bateman 1861: 142
Stansh ope Pastur e 2	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK13554 0	Destroyed/Lost			Y						Barnatt and Collis 11:55; Bateman 1847: 86
Taddin gton	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK14071 0	Destroyed/Lost	Y?						Y		Barnatt and Collis 5:17; Bateman 1847: 84

Name	Type	Sub-type	Grid ref	Dimensions								References
The Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK16196 028	14.5m x 11.5					Y		Y	Barnatt and Collis 7:30; Bateman 1861: 45
Thirkell Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK04936 922	12.8m d; 0.6m h				Y				Barnatt and Collis 7:3; Bateman 1861: 43; Ward 1895: 425
Thor's Cave	Cave		SK09865 496				Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Branigan and Dearne 1992: 29; Brown 1865
Thor's Fissure	Cave		SK09855 496				Y		Y	Y	Y	Branigan and Dearne 1992: 30; Wilson 1937
Thorpe	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK15000 50000	Destroyed/Lost			Y					Barnatt and Collis 9:38; Bateman 1847: 103
Tideslow	Long barrow	Long barrow with closed chamber	SK14991 77946	38m x 35.5m; h: 2m				Y				Barnatt and Collis 1:10; Radley and Plant 1971: 21
Wardlow Pature	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK08800 47030	11m x 10m			Y					Barnatt and Collis 13:49
Wetton Mill	Cave		SK09525 619				Y	Y				Branigan and Dearne 1992: 32; Kelly 1976
White Cliff/ Monsal Dale	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK18147 217	18m x 16m; 1.5m h	Y				Y			Barnatt and Collis 4:5 or 4:25; Bateman 1861: 77
Wigber Low 1	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK20425 143	14.5m x 11m		Y	Y	Y				Barnatt and Collis 15:2; Collis 1983

Wigber Low 2	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK20450 51400	5.5m x 5m			y		Y				Barnatt and Collis 15:3
Wolfscote Hill	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SK13713 58328	22.9m d; 1.7m h			Y						Barnatt and Collis 9:1; Bateman 1847: 47
Yearns Low	Round barrow	Unchambered round barrow	SJ96436 75972	19m x 18m	Y?	Y?		Y			Y		Barnatt and Collis 22:10; Jones 1997: 290

Site	Number of Units	Metal	Denomination	Ruler/Issuer	Inscription/Reverse Type	Mint Date	Mint	Reece Period
Amesbury 39	1	CU	Nummus	Arcadius	VICTORIAE AVG GG	388-402	?	21
Amesbury 85	1		-	-	-	-	-	-
Avebury	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Avebury 35a	84	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	Various	307-350	?	15-18
Battlesbury Camp	36	CU	Various	Various	Various	?	-	-
Bratton Castle	Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bromham 2	2	CU	-	-	-	-	-	-
Budbury	1	CU	Radiate	Gallienus	Uncertain	260-275	?	13
	1	CU	Radiate	Tetricus I	Uncertain	270-273	?	13
	1	CU	Radiate	Tetricus II	Uncertain	270-273	?	13

	1	CU	Radiate	Allectus	Uncertain	293-296	?	14
	1	CU	Nummus	Constantine II	GLORIA EXERCITVS	335-337	Lyon	17
	1	CU	Nummus	Constans	GLORIA EXERCITVS	330-338	?	17
	1	CU	Nummus	Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM	364-378	Arles	19
Casterley Camp	1	CU	Dupondius	Claudius I	Pallas standing throwing dart	41	Rome	2
	1	CU	Dupondius	Nero	Victory standing holding inscribed object	66-68	Rome	3
	1	CU	Dupondius	Vespasian	Eagle with head turned right	71	Rome	4
	1	CU	Dupondius	Vespasian	Eagle with head turned right	71	Rome	4
	1	CU	Sestertius	Faustina	-	141		8
	1	CU	Sestertius	Marcus Aurelius	Possibly Minerva seated right on globe holding sceptre and drawing out aegis	153-154		7
	1	CU	Radiate	Allectus	PAX AVG	293-296		14
	1	CU	Nummus	Helena	SECVRITAS REPVBLICAE Pax holding branch	324-330		16
	1	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	SOLI INVICTO COMITI, Sol standing left with globe	307-318	London	15
	1	AR	Siliqua	Julian		361-363	-	18

	1	CU	Nummus	Constantine II	CAESARVM NOSTORVM, altar with VOT X	318-354	Trier	16
	1	CU	Nummus	-	-	-	-	-
	1	CU	Nummus	-	-	-	-	-
Chisbury Camp	7			Various	-	14-37		1
	99	CU	Nummi	House of Theodosius	-	388-402		21
Chiselbury	1	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine		306-377	-	15-18
Cley Hill	18	AR	Denarius	Various	Various	154BCE-3CE	Rome	1
Collingbourne Ducis 20	1	CU	Radiate/Nummus	-	-	-	-	-
Durrington 3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ebsbury Hill	3	CU	Radiates	Claudius II	-	270-275	-	13
	3	CU	Radiates	Tetricus I	-	271-274	-	13
	1	CU	Nummus	Constantine I (deified)	-	337-341	-	17
	3	CU	Nummi	Constantine II (Caesar)	-	317-337		15-18
	4	CU	Nummi	Constantius II (Caesar)	-	324-337	-	15-18
	2	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS	330-340	-	17

2	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA depicting wolf and twins	330-340	-	17
6	CU	Nummi	Helena	-	324-341	-	15-18
3	CU	Nummi	Theodora	-	337-341	-	17
16	CU	Nummi	Constantius II (Augustus)	-	337-364	-	15-18
21	CU	Nummi	Constans (Augustus)	-	337-350	-	15-18
75	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	354-361	-	18
2	CU	Nummi	Constantius Gallus	-	351-354	-	18
1	CU	Nummi	Jovian	-	363-364	-	18
4	CU	Nummi	Eugenius		392-394	-	21
179	CU	Nummi	Arcadius	-	383-402	-	19-21
22	CU	Nummi	Honorius	-	395-402	-	21
165	CU	Nummi	House of Theodosius	-	378-402	-	19-21
27	CU	Nummi	Unknown	-	-	-	15-18

3	AR	Siliquae	Constantius II	-	324-361	-	15-18
21	AR	Siliquae	Julian II	-	355-363	-	18
1	AR	Siliquae	Jovian	-	363-364	-	18
7	AR	Siliquae	Valentinian I	-	364-375	-	19
1	AR	Miliarensis	Valens	-	364-378	-	19
63	AR	Siliquae	Valens	-	364-378	-	19
2	AR	Miliarense	Gratian	-	367-383	-	19-21
53	AR	Siliquae	Gratian	-	367-383	-	19-21
33	AR	Siliquae	Valentinian II	-	375-392	-	19-21
37	AR	Siliquae	Theodosius	-	379-395	-	19-21
60	AR	Siliquae	Magnus Maximus	-	383-388	-	20
7	AR	Siliquae	Flavius Victor	-	383-388	-	20
7	AR	Siliquae	Eugenius	-	392-394	-	21

	4	AR	Siliquae	Arcadius	-	383-408		19-21
Fittleton 9a	2	CU	Unknown	House of Constantine		306-364		15-18
Giant's Cave	1	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	353-354	Lyon	18
	1	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I/Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Victory standing holding wreath and palm	364-378	Trier	19
	1	CU	Nummus	Valentininian/Valens/Gratian	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting emperor standing dragging a captive	364-378	Lyon	19
	1	CU	Nummus - CC	-	-	-	-	-
	1	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	SECVRITAS REPVBLICAE depicting Victory standing holding wreath and palm	364-378	Lyon	19
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	VICOTIRA AVG GG depicting Victory standing holding wreath and palm	388-402	Lyon	21
Grafton 7a	1	CU	-	-	-	-	-	-
Great Woodbury	1	CU	Radiate	Tetricus I	PAX AVG depicting Pax standing with sceptre	271-274	?	13
	1	CU	Nummus	Constantine II	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting two soldiers and two standards	330-335	?	17
Heytesbury 4b	10	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine/House of Valentinian	coins of Constantine, Valentinian I and Arcadius	307-402		15-18
Kilmington 2	4	CU	Nummi	-	-	-	-	-

Lamb Down C	1	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	SECVRITAS REPVBLICAE depicting Victory standing holding wreath and palm	364-367	Arles	19
Membury Camp	38	AR	Denarius	Republican	-	150-100 BCE	-	1
	76	AR	Denarius	Republican	-	100-5BCE	-	1
	48	AR	Denarius	Republican	-	50-40BCE	-	1
	19	AR	Denarius	Republican	-	32-31BCE	-	1
	34	AR	Denarius	Augustus	-	31 BCE-14CE	-	1
	37	AR	Denarius	Tiberius	-	14-37	-	1
Old Sarum	See Appendix 4							
	1	CU		Domitian	FORTUNA AVGVSTI	81-96		4

Oldbury Castle	1	CU		Julia Domna	VENVS FELIX	200		10
	1	CU	Radiate	Tetricus I	-	270-273		13
	1	CU	Radiate	Carausius	P F AVG/PAX AVG	287-293		14
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	-	306-337	Trier	-
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA	330-335		17
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	BEATA TRANQVILITAS	318-324		16
	1	CU	Nummus	Constans	-	327-353		15-18
	1	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I?	VICTORIA REIPVBLICA	388-402		21
	1	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I?	VICTORIA REIPVBLICA	388-402		21
	1	CU	Nummus	Gratian	-	375-383	Arles	20
	1	CU	Nummus	Magnus Maximus	-	383-385		20
	1	CU	Nummus	Unknown	-	-	-	-
Silbury Hill	See Appendix 5							

Stonehenge	1	CU	Dupondius	Antonia	[TI CLAVDI]VS CAESAR AVG PM TRP IMP	41-50	Rome	1
	1	CU	As	Nero	illegible	62-68	Rome	1
	1	CU	As	Domitian	illegible	81-96	Rome	4
	1	CU	Sestertius	Marcus Aurelius	illegible, female figure standing right holding sceptre	161-180	Rome	8
	1	CU	Radiate	Claudius II	[G]E[NI]VS EXERCI[TVS]	268-270	Rome	13
	1	CU	Radiate	Tetricus I	illegible	270-273	?	14
	1	CU	Radiate	Tetricus II	SPEX [PVBLICA], Spes holding up hem of dress holding flower	270-273		14
	1	CU	Barbarous Radiatie	Tetricus I	LAETITI[IA] reverse type	270-273	?	14
	1	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	VRBS ROMA	330-335	Trier	17
	1	CU	Nummus	Constantine II (Caesar)	GLORIA EXERCITVS, 2 soldiers 2 standards	330-335	Arles	17
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	[GLORIA EXERC]ITVS, 2 soldiers 2 standards	330-335	?	17

	1	CU	Nummus	Constans	VOT XX MVLT XXX	343-348	?	17
	1	CU	Nummus	Magnetius	[VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE]	351-352	Amiens	18
	1	CU	Nummus	Magnetius	[SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES]	350-353	?	18
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	[FEL TEMP REPARATIO] fallen horseman	354-361	?	18
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	[FEL TEMP REPARATIO] fallen horseman	354-361	?	18
	1	CU	Nummus	Valens	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE depicting Victory with wreath	367-375	Siscia	19
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	[GLORIA ROMANORVM] depicting Emperor dragging a captive	364-378	?	19
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	[SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE[depicting Victory with wreath	364-378	?	19
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius	[SALVS REIPVBLICAE] depicting Victory holding a club dragging a captive	388-402	?	21
The Cuckoo Stone	876	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	319-324	London	16
	227	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	324-325	London	16
	517	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	318-324	Trier	16
	512	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	324-328	Trier	16

	79	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	319-324	Lyons	16
	10	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	324-325	Lyons	16
	59	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	319-323	Arles	16
	22	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	324-327	Arles	16
	19	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	318-321	Rome	16
	3	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	324-326	Rome	16
	40	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	318-325	Ticinum	16
	6	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	325-326	Ticinum	16
	23	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	320-322	Aquileia	16
	73	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	319-324	Siscia	16
	2	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	326-327	Siscia	16
	12	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	320-321	Thessalonica	16
	8	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	324-328	Thessalonica	16

3	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	324-326	Perinthus/Heraclea	16
1	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	-	317-320	Nicomedia	16
12	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	317-324	-	16
4	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	324	-	16
3	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	-	-	15-18
18	CU	Nummi	-	-	-	-	-
1	CU	Radiate	Victorinus	-	269-271	Gallic Mint 1	13
1	CU	Radiate	Tacitus	-	275-276	Lyons	14
1	CU	Radiate	Probus	-	276-282	Lyons	14
1	CU	Radiate	Probus	-	276-282	Ticinum	14
1	CU	Radiate	Allectus	-	293-296	London	14
1	CU	Radiate	Diocletian	-	296	Rome	15
2	CU	Radiate	Maximian I	-	296	Lyons	15
1	CU	Radiate	Diocletian	-	297-305	London	15
451	CU	Radiate	-	-	306-313	London	15

304	CU	Radiate	-	-	313-317	London	15
1	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	-	318	London	16
275	CU	Nummus	-	-	307-313	Trier	15
193	CU	Nummus	-	-	313-316	Trier	15
65	CU	Nummus	-	-	307-310	Lyons	15
55	CU	Nummus	-	-	313-315	Lyons	15
38	CU	Nummus	-	-	313-316	Lyons	15
2	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	-	317-318	Arelatum	16
13	CU	Nummus	-	-	309-313	Ostia	15
6	CU	Nummus	-	-	308-313	Rome	15
4	CU	Nummus	-	-	307-313	Ticinum	15
2	CU	Nummus	-	-	313-315	Ticinum	15
1	CU	Nummus	Maximinus II	-	311	Siscia	15
1	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	-	317-320	Nicomedia	16

	3	CU	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	CU	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Dane's Tump 1	1	CU	As	Vespasian/Titus	-	75-81	Rome	4
	1	CU	Sestertius	Decius	-	249-251	-	12
	1	CU	Radiate	Tetricus II	-	270-274	-	13
	1	CU	Radiate	-	-	-	-	13-14
	1	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	VRBS ROMA depicting wolf and twins	330-340	Trier	17
	1	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	CONSTANTINOPOLIS	330-340	Trier	17
	1	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	-	364-375	-	19
	1	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	-	364-375	-	19
	1	CU	Nummus	Valens	-	364-378	-	19
	6	CU	Nummi	Valentinian I/Valens	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE depicting Victory with wreath	364-378	-	19
	2	CU	Nummi	House of Valentinian	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE depicting Victory with wreath	364-378	-	19
	13	CU	Nummi	-	-	-	-	-
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius	-	378-402	-	19-21

	2	CU	Minimi	-	-	-	-	-
West Kennet Long Barrow	1	CU	Radiate	Claudius II	VIRTVS AVG	268-270	Rome	13
	1	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	GLORIA EXERCITVS	335-341	?	17
	1	CU	Nummus	Constans	GLORIA EXERCITVS	335-341		17
	1	CU	Nummus	Gratian	SECVRITAS REPVBLICAE Pax holding branch	375	Arles	20
	1	CU	Nummus	Valentinian II	VICTORIA AVGG Victory holding wreath	388-402	Lyon	21
	1	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	VICTOR[IA AVGGG] Victory holding wreath	364-378		19
Yarnbury Castle	1	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting two soldiers and two standards or VRBS ROMA/CONSTANTINOPOLIS	330-348	-	17

Appendix 4: Coins from Old Sarum.

Number of units	Metal	Denomination	Ruler	Reverse Type	Dates Issued	Mint	Reece Period	Context
2	CU	Sestertius/Dupondius/As	-	-	96-117	-	5	Old Sarum
1	CU	Sestertius/Dupondius/As	-	-	117-138	-	6	Old Sarum
1	CU	Sestertius/Dupondius/As	-	-	138-161	-	7	Old Sarum
2	CU	Sestertius/Dupondius/As	-	-	193-222	-	10	Old Sarum
1	CU	Sestertius/Dupondius/As	-	-	222-238	-	11	Old Sarum
3	CU	Radiates	-	-	260-275	-	13	Old Sarum
3	CU	Radiates	-	-	275-296	-	14	Old Sarum
1	CU	Radiate/Nummus	-	-	296-317	-	15	Old Sarum
2	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	317-330	-	16	Old Sarum
3	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	330-348	-	17	Old Sarum
2	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	348-364	-	18	Old Sarum
1	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius	-	378-388	-	20	Old Sarum
2	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius	-	388-402	-	21	Old Sarum
6	CU	Radiate/Nummus	-	-	-	-	-	Old Sarum

2	CU	-	-	-	27 BCE - 41 CE	-	1	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
1	CU	-	-	-	41-54	-	2	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
1	CU	-	-	-	54-68	-	3	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
4	CU	-	-	-	69-96	-	4	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
1	CU	-	-	-	96-117	-	5	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
2	CU	-	-	-	138-161	-	2	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
1	CU	-	-	-	180-193	-	9	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
1	CU	-	-	-	193-222	-	10	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
2	CU	Radiate	-	-	238-260	-	12	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
11	CU	Radiate	-	-	260-275	-	13	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
3	CU	Radiate/Nummus	-	-	275-296	-	14	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
4	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	317-330	-	16	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
3	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	330-348	-	17	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle

1	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	-	348-364	-	18	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
2	CU	Nummi	House of Valentinian	-	364-378	-	19	Old Sarum, Stratford-sub-Castle
1	CU	Radiate	-	-	260-275	-	13	Old Sarum, Bishopdown
1	CU	Radiate	-	-	275-296	-	14	Old Sarum, Bishopdown
3	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	317-330	-	16	Old Sarum, Bishopdown
2	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	330-348	-	17	Old Sarum, Bishopdown
2	CU	Nummi	House of Constantine	-	348-364	-	18	Old Sarum, Bishopdown
2	CU	Nummi	House of Valentinian	-	364-378	-	19	Old Sarum, Bishopdown
1	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius	-	378-388	-	20	Old Sarum, Bishopdown
3	CU	Nummi	House of Theodosius	-	388-402	-	21	Old Sarum, Bishopdown

Appendix 5: Coins from Silbury Hill.

No	Metal	Denomination	Ruler	Reverse Type	Dates Issued	Mint	Reece Period	Context
1	CU	Barbarous Radiate	Postumus?	Uncertain female standing left	275-285	-	14	2010 excavation 35002: context 95007
2	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	GLORIA EXERVCITVS depicting 2 soldiers and 2 standards	330-331	Arles	17	2010 excavation 3081: context 91001
3	CU	Nummus - CC	Constantine II	GLORIA EXERVCITVS depicting 2 soldiers and 2 standards	330-340	Trier	17	Philip
4	CU	Nummus - CC?	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS, depicting Victory on prow holding shield and spear	330-335	Arles	17	2010 excavation 3078: context 95004
5	CU	Nummus - CC	Constantine II	[FLORIA EXERCITVS] depicting 2 soldiers and 1 standard	337-340	Lyons	17	2010 excavation 35006: context 95015
6	CU	Nummus - CC	House of Constantine	[GLOR]IA EXERCITVS depicitng 2 soldiers and 1 standard	337-340	Lyons	17	2010 excavation 35005: context 95015
7	CU	Nummus	Valens	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-378	Arles/Lyons	19	2010 excavation 3080: context 91003
8	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	[SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE] depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-378	Arles	19	2010 excavation 31019: context 91037

9	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	[SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE] depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-378	-	19	2010 excavation 35001: context 95002
10	CU	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI depicting emperor standing holding standard and shield	367-375	Arles	19	2010 excavation 31008: context 91009
11	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian?	[SECVURITAS REIPVBLICAE] depicting Victory advancing lefting holding wreath and palm?	364-378	Arles	19	2010 excavation 3056: context 93001
12	CU	Nummus	Theodosius I	VICTORIA AVG GG depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	388-395	Lyons	21	2010 excavation 3082: context 91003
13	CU	Nummus	Theodosius I	[VICTORIA AVG GG depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	388-402	-	21	2010 excavation 31013: context 91003
14	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius	[VIC]TOR[IA AVG GG] depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	388-395	-	21	2010 excavation 3003: context 91001
15	CU	Nummus - CC	Theodosius I	[VICTORIA AV]G GG depicting Victory advancing lefting holding wreath and palm	388-395	-	21	2010 excavation 3545: contecxt 91038
16	CU	Barbarous Radiate	Victorinus	Unclear	275-285	-	14	Ditch investigation Find No 175, midden south bank
17	CU	Barbarous Radiate	Tetricus 1	CVCC Salus standing left at altar	275-285	-	14	Ditch investigation Find no 152, topsoil south bank
18	CU	Barbarous Radiate	Gallic Empire	?[INVICVS]. Sol?	275-283	-	14	Ditch investigation Find no 213, top-soil south bank

19	CU	Barbarous Radiate	Carausius	VICTRIA? Pax staning left	286-293	-	14	Ditch investigation Find no 283, midden S(2)
20	CU	Nummus - CC	House of Constantine	[CAESARVM NOSTRORVM] VOT/V	320	Siscia	16	Ditch investigation Find no 161, topsoil southbank
21	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting 2 soldiers and 2 standards	332-333	Trier	17	Ditch investigation Find no 141, topsoil south side
22	CU	Nummus	Constantine II	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting 2 soldiers and 2 standards	330-331	Lyons	17	Ditch investigation Find no 219, topsoil south bank
23	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting 2 soldiers and 2 standards	330-335	-	17	Ditch investiation Find No 145, topsoil south side
24	CU	Nummus	Constantius II?	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting 2 soldiers and 1 standard	337-340	Trier	17	Ditch investigation Find no 254, chalk midden
25	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting 2 soldiers and 1 standard	335-341	Lyons/Arles	17	Ditch investigation Find no 153b, topsoil
26	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow holding shield and spear	330	Trier	17	Ditch investigation Find no 167, midden southbank
27	CU	Nummus - CC	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow holding shield and spear	330-331	Arles	17	Ditch investigation Find no 131 unknown - ditch?
28	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow holding shield and spear	330-340	Rome?	17	Ditch investigation Find no 181 ditch, south bank
29	CU	Nummus - CC	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow holding shield and spear	330-340	-	17	Ditch investigation Find no 134, topsoil south bank
30	CU	Nummus - CC	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA depicting Wolf and Twins	330-340	Trier	17	Ditch investigation Find no 127 topsoil, south side

31	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	VRBS ROMA depicting Wolf and Twins	330-340	Trier	17	Ditch investigation Find no 151, topsoil southbank
32	CU	Nummus	Helena	PAX PVBLICA depicting Pax standing left holding branch and sceptre	337-341	-	17	Ditch investigation Find no 249, chalk midden S(2)
33	CU	Nummus	Theodora	PIETAS ROMANA depicting Pietas holding infant	337-341	-	17	Ditch investigation Find no 174, midden south bank
34	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	VICTORIAE DD AVG GQNN depicting 2 victories with 2 wreaths	347-348	Trier	17	Ditch investigation Find no 203, topsoil south bank
35	CU	Nummus	Constans	VICTORIAE DD AVG GQNN depicting 2 victories with 2 wreaths	347-348	Trier	17	Ditch investigation Find no 225, topsoil south bank
36	CU	Nummus	Constans	VICTORIAE DD AVG GQNN depicting 2 victories with 2 wreaths	347-348	Trier	17	Ditch investigation Find no 154, topsoil south bank
37	CU	Nummus - CC?	Constans	VICTORIAE DD AVG GQNN depicting 2 victories with 2 wreaths	347-348	Trier	17	Ditch investigation Find no 169, midden south bank
38	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	VICTORIAE DD AVG GQNN depicting 2 victories with 2 wreaths	347-348	Lyons	17	Ditch investigation Find no 179, ditch south bank
39	CU	Nummus	Constans?	VICTORIAE DD AVG GQNN depicting 2 victories with 2 wreaths	347-348	-	17	Ditch investigation Find no 289, midden S(2)
40	CU	Nummus - CC	Constans	VICTORIAE DD AVG GQNN depicting 2 victories with 2 wreaths	347-348	Trier	17	Ditch investigation Find no 281, midden S(2)
41	CU	Nummus - CC	House of Constantine	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting Emperor in galley holding Chi-Rho standard with Victory and phoenix	348-350	-	18	Ditch investigation Find no 198, topsoil south bank
42	CU	Nummus - CC	Magnetius	FELICITAS PVBLICE depicting Emperor standing holding Chi-Rho standard and Victory	350-351	Trier	18	Ditch investigation Find no 178, ditch south bank

43	CU	Nummus - CC	Magnetius	-	350-353	-	18	Ditch investigation Find no 155, topsoil south bank
44	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	354-355	Heraclea	18	Ditch investigation Find no 211, topsoil south bank
45	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	355-360	-	18	Ditch investigation Find no 129, topsoil
46	CU	Nummus -CC?	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	355-360	-	18	Ditch investiation Find no 159, topsoil south bank
47	CU	Nummus - CC	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	355-360	Trier?	18	Ditch investiation Find 157, topsoil south bank
48	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	355-360	Lyons	18	Ditch investigation Find 218, topsoil south bank
49	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	355-360	-	18	Ditch investigation Find no 199, topsoil south bank
50	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	355-360	-	18	Ditch investigation Find no 162, topsoil south bank
51	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	355-360	-	18	Ditch investigation Find no 200, topsoil south bank
52	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	355-360	-	18	Ditch investigation Find no 229, topsoil south bank
53	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	355-360	-	18	Ditch investigation Find 139, midden topsoil
54	AR	Siliqua - CC	Julian	VOT V MVLTIS in wreath	360-363	Arles	18	Ditch investigation Find 148, topsoil south bank
55	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-367	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 202 topsoil, south bank

56	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 149, topsoil south bank
57	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 184, ditch south bank
58	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I/Gratian	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 250, chalk midden S(2)
59	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 137, topsoil
60	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 255, chalk midden S(2)
61	CU	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-376	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 210, topsoil south bank
62	CU	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	375-378	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 212, topsoil south bank
63	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 253, chalk midden S(2)
64	CU	Nummus	Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 135, topsoil middle

65	CU	Nummus	Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 168, midden south bank
66	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 182, ditch south bank
67	CU	Nummus	Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 133, topsoil south bank
68	CU	Nummus - CC?	Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 172, midden south bank
69	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 279, Ditch S(2)
70	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 256, chalk midden S(2)
71	CU	Nummus	Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-367	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 224, topsoil southbank
72	CU	Nummus	Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 191, topsoil south bank
73	CU	Nummus	Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-378	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 247, chalk midden S(2)

74	CU	Nummus	Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-378	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 192, topsoil south bank
75	CU	Nummus	Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 138, topsoill
76	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 180, ditch south bank
77	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-367	Aquileia	19	Ditch investigation Find no 215, topsoil south bank
78	CU	Nummus	Valens	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-367	Aquileia	19	Ditch investigation Find no 197, topsoil south bank
79	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-375	Aquileia	19	Ditch investigation Find no 244, chalk midden S(2)
80	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-375	Siscia	19	Ditch investigation Find no 246, chalk midden S(2)
81	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	367-375	Siscia	19	Ditch investigation Find no 185, ditch south bank
82	CU	Nummus	Valentinian II	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	375-378	Siscia	19	Ditch investigation Find no 140, topsoil middle

83	CU	Nummus	Valens	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-375	Lyons	19	Ditch investigation Find no 287, ditch S(2)
84	CU	Nummus	Valens	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-367	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 220, topsoil south bank
85	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 248, chalk midden S(2)
86	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 243, chalk midden
87	CU	Nummius - CC?	Valentinian I	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 166, midden south bank
88	CU	Nummus -CC?	Valens	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 128, topsoil
89	CU	Nummus	Valens	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	367-378	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 183, ditch south bank
90	CU	Nummus	Gratian	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	375-378	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 214, topsoil south bank
91	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-375	Arles?	19	Ditch investigation Find no 278, ditch S(2)

92	CU	Nummus - CC?	Valentinian I	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-375	Arles?	19	Ditch investigation Find no 209, topsoil south bank
93	CU	Nummus - CC?	Valens	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-375	Arles?	19	Ditch investigation Find no 170, midden south bank
94	CU	Nummus - CC?	Valens?	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-375	Arles?	19	Ditch investigation Find no 130, ditch south side
95	CU	Nummus	Valens?	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-375	Arles?	19	Ditch investigation Find no 143, topsoil middle
96	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-375	Arles?	19	Ditch investigation Find no 188, ditch south bank
97	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	367-375	Aquileia	19	Ditch investigation Find no 177, ditch south bank
98	CU	Nummus	Valentinian I	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-375	Arles?	19	Ditch investigation Find no 201, topsoil south bank
99	CU	Nummus	Valens?	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-375	Lyons/Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 142, topsoil middle
100	CU	Nummus	Gratian	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	367-378	-	19	Ditch investigation Find no 223, topsoil south bank

101	CU	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI depicting Emperor standing with shield and a standard	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 171, midden south bank
102	CU	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI depicting Emperor standing with shield and a standard	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 193, topsoil south bank
103	CU	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI depicting Emperor standing with shield and a standard	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 245, chalk midden S(2)
104	CU	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI depicting Emperor standing with shield and a standard	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 176, midden south bank
105	CU	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI depicting Emperor standing with shield and a standard	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 276, ditch S(2)
106	CU	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI depicting Emperor standing with shield and a standard	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 288, ditch S(2)
107	CU	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI depicting Emperor standing with shield and a standard	367-375	Arles	19	Ditch investigation Find no 136, topsoil middle
108	CU	Nummus	Gratian	VOT XV MVLT XX in wreath	378-383	Lyons	20	Ditch investigation Find no 222, topsoil south bank
109	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius	VICTORIA AVG GG depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	388-395	?	21	Ditch investigation Find no 221, topsoil south bank
110	CU	Nummus	-	-	4th century	-	-	Ditch investigation Find no 150, topsoil south bank

111	CU	Radiate/Nummus	-	-	3-4th century	-	-	Ditch investigation Find no 235, midden south bank
112	CU	Sestertius	Trajan	SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI S C Emperor riding down captive	103-11	Rome	5	Well B, Group B 2005.20.1
113	CU	Radiate/Nummus	Victorinus	VIRTVS AVG, Virtus standing right	269-271	Gallic Mint 1	13	Well B, Group C 2005.21.4
114	CU	Barbarous Radiate	Tetricus I?	PAX AVG	275-285	-	14	Well B, Group A 2005.20.29
115	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP depicting 2 Victories above an altar	319	London	16	Well B, Group C 2005.21.3
116	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	SARMATIA DEVICTA depicting Victory treading on a captive	233-234	London	16	Well B Brook 1938 26 & 28
117	CU	Nummus	Fausta	SALVS REIPBVBLICAE depicting Salus holding 2 infants	325-326	Antioch	16	Well B Group C 2005.21.5
118	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting 2 soldiers and 2 standards	332-333	Trier	17	Well B, Group 2005.20.2
119	CU	Nummus - CC?	House of Constantine	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting 2 soldiers and 2 standards	330-340	-	17	Well B, Group A 2005.20.27
120	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting 2 soldiers and 1 standard	335-340	Trier	17	Well B, Group B 2005.20.3
121	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA depicting Wolf and Twins	330-340	-	17	Well B, Group B 2005 20.4
122	CU	Nummus - CC	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA depicting Wolf and Twins	330-340	-	17	Well B, Group B 2005 20.6
123	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow holding shield and spear	330-331	Trier	17	Well B Group B 2005 20.6

124	CU	Nummus -CC	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow holding shield and spear	330-340	-	17	Well B Group B 2005 20.7
125	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	VICTORIAE DD AVG GG Q NN depicting 2 Victories and 2 wreaths	347-348	-	17	Well B Group B 2005.20.7
126	CU	Nummus	Magnetius	VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE depicting 2 Victories holding a shield with VOT X MVLT X	351-353	Amiens	18	Well B Group C 2005.21.1
127	CU	Nummus	Magnetius	VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE depicting 2 Victories holding a shield with VOT X MVLT X	352-353	Trier?	18	Well B Group C 2005.21.2
128	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	353-355	Trier	18	Well B Group C 2005.21.6a
129	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	353-361	-	18	Well B Group C 2005.21.6b
130	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-378	Lyon	19	Well B Group B 2005.20.9
131	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-367	Aquileia	19	Well B Group B 2005.20.10
132	CU	Nummus	House of Valentinian	GLORIA ROMANORVM depicting Emperor advancing dragging a captive and holding a standard	364-378	-	19	Well B Group B 2005.20.11
133	CU	Nummus - CC?	House of Valentinian	SECVURITAS RIEPVBLICAE depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	364-375	Arles	19	Well B Group B 2005.20.12

134	CU	Nummus	Arcadius?	VICTORIA AVG GG depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	388-395	Arles	21	Probably Well A Group B 2005.20.1.3
135	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius	VICTORIA AVG GG depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	388-395	Arles	21	Probably Well B but possibly Theodosian coin from Well A Group B 2005.20.14
136	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius	VICTORIA AVG GG depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	388-395	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly Theodosian coin from Well A Group B 2005.20.15
137	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius	VICTORIA AVG GG depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	388-395	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly Theodosian coin from Well A Group B 2005.20.16
138	CU	Nummus - CC	House of Theodosius?	VICTORIA AVG GG depicting Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm	388-395	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group A 2005.20.30
139	CU	Nummus	Valentinian II	SALVS REIPVBLICAE depicting Victory walking holding club dragging a captive	388-392	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group C 2005.21.6c
140	CU	Nummus - CC?	Honorius	SALVS REIPVBLICAE depicting Victory walking holding club dragging a captive	388-402	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group A 2005.20.31
141	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius	SALVS REIPVBLICAE depicting Victory walking holding club dragging a captive	388-402	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group B 2005.20.17
142	CU	Nummus	Valentinian II?	VICTORIA AVG GG /SALVS REIPVBLICAE	388-392	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group A 2005.20.25

143	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius?	VICTORIA AVG GG /SALVS REIPVBLICAE	388-402	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group B 2005.20.18
144	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius?	VICTORIA AVG GG /SALVS REIPVBLICAE	388-402	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group A 2005.20.24 1/5
145	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius?	VICTORIA AVG GG /SALVS REIPVBLICAE	388-402	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group A 2005.20.24 4/5
146	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius?	VICTORIA AVG GG /SALVS REIPVBLICAE	388-402	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group A 2005.20.24 5/5
147	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius?	Illegible	388-402	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group A 2005.20.24 2/5
148	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius?	Illegible	388-402	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group A 2005.20.24 3/5
149	CU	Nummus	House of Theodosius?	Illegible	388-402	-	21	Probably Well B but possibly the Theodosian coin from Well A Group B 2005.20.19
150	CU	Nummus - CC	-	Illegible	330-402	-	-	Well B Group A 2005.20.26
151	CU	Nummus	-	Illegible	330-402	-	-	Well B Group B 2005.20.20
152	CU	Nummus - CC?	-	Illegible	330-402	-	-	Well B Group A 2005.20.28

153	CU	Radiate/Nummus	-	illegible	260-402	-	-	Well B Group B 2005.20.21
154	CU	Radiate/Nummus	-	Illegible	260-402	-	-	Well B Group B 2005.20.22
155	CU	Radiate/Nummus	-	Illegible	260-402	-	-	Well B Group A 2005.20.23
156	CU	-	-	-	-	-	-	Possibly from the 1882 excavation of Well B
157	CU	Sestertius	Lucilla	-	165-180	Rome	8	Silbury Hill' or possibly from the 1882 excavation of Well B (Brooke undated 26)
158	CU	Radiate	Carausius	-	286-293	-	14	Silbury Hill' or possibly from the 1882 excavation of Well B (Brooke undated 26)
159	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	-	306-337	-	-	Possibly from the 1882 excavation of Well B (Brooke undated 26)
160	CU	Nummus	Constantine II	-	317-340	-	-	Possibly from the 1882 excavation of Well B (Brooke undated 26)
161	AG	Aureus	Nero	-	66-67	Rome	3	Silbury Hill'

Appendix 6: Coins from PDNP Caves.

Site	Metal	Denomination	Ruler/Issuer	Inscription/Reverse Type	Mint Date	Reece Period
Harborough Cave	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	Trajan	-	98-117	5
	-	-	Trajan	-	98-117	5
Ash Tree Cave	Copper alloy	Sestertius/Dupondius/As	Nero	-	58-68	3
Mother Grundy's Parlour	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fissure Cave	-	-	Valens	-	-	19
	Copper alloy	Nummus	Valentinian	-	364-375	19
	Copper alloy	Nummus	Valentinian	-	364-375	19
	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-
Frank I'the Rocks	Copper alloy	Nummus	House of Valentinian	SECURITAS REPVBLICAE, depicting Victory walking with wreath	364-378	19
	Copper alloy	Nummus	House of Valentinian	SECURITAS REPVBLICAE, depicting Victory walking with wreath	364-378	19

	Copper alloy	Nummus	House of Valentinian	SECURITAS REPVBLICAE, depicting Victory walking with wreath	364-378	19
	Copper alloy	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI, depicting Emperor standing with shield	364-378, Arles	19
	Copper alloy	Nummus	Gratian	GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI, depicting Emperor standing with shield	364-378, Arles	19
	Copper alloy	Nummus	House of Valentinian	GLORIA ROMANORVM, depicting Emperor with standard dragging captive	364-378	19
	Copper alloy	Nummus	House of Valentinian	GLORIA ROMANORVM, depicting Emperor with standard dragging captive	364-378	19
	Copper alloy	Nummus	House of Valentinian	GLORIA ROMANORVM, depicting Emperor with standard dragging captive	364-378	19
	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-
Old' Woman's House	Copper alloy	Nummus	House of Constantine	-	306-337	15-17
	-	-	-	-	-	-
Poole's Cavern	Copper alloy	As	Claudius	SC, Minerva advancing right with spear and shield	41-45, Rome	2
	Silver	Denarius	Vitellius	LIBERTAS RESTITVTA depicting Liberty standing right holding pileus and rod	69, Rome	4

	Silver	Denarius	Domitian	IMP XIX COS XIII CENS P PP depicting Minerva fighting with spear	88-89, Rome	4
	Copper alloy	Sestertius	Trajan	SENATVS POPVLVSQUE ROMANVS depiting Fortuna seated left holding rudder and cornucopia	114-115	5
	Silver	Denarius	Hadrian	PARTHIC DVIVI TRAJAN AVG F PM TRP COS PP, depicting Concordia draped seated left on thrown holding patera	117	6
	Copper alloy	Dupondius	Hadrian	AEFYPTOS depicting personification of Egypt holding sistrum and basket of fruit	119-138	6
	Cooper alloy	As	Antoninus Pius	Illegible, depicting Felicitas/Genius Populi Romani/Pietas standing left	140-144	7
	Silver	Denarius	Antoninus Pius	COS IIII reverse type depcting Vesta sacrificing with patera over altar and holding palladium	154-155	7
Thor's Cave	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wetton Mill	Copper alloy	Radiate, contemporary copy	Gallienus	ABVUNDANTIA AVG depicting Abundantia standing right with cornucopia	275-285	14

Appendix 7: Reynard's Kitchen Cave coins.

Portable Antiquities Scheme Reference: DENO-EC42E5

Appendix 7a: Iron Age coins.

Number	Metal	Denomination	Type	Inscription	Dimensions
1	Silver	Unit	North Eastern	[A]VN [COST]	1.13g; 14.6mm d
2	Silver	Unit	North Eastern	[A]VN [COST]	1.22g; 15.3mm d
3	Silver	Unit	North Eastern	[AV]N [COST]	1.35g; 15.33m d
4	Silver	Unit	North Eastern	[AV]N [COST]	1.13g; 15.5mm d
5	Silver	Unit	North Eastern	AVN [COST]	1.11g; 15.4mm d
6	Silver	Unit	North Eastern	[V]EPO CORF	1.19g; 15.4mm d
7	Silver	Unit	North Eastern	VEP [CORF]	1.33g; 15mm d
8	Silver	Unit	North Eastern	VEP [CORF]	1.30g; 14.8mm d
9	Silver	Unit	North Eastern	VEP CO[RF]	1.39g; 15.2mm d
10	Silver	Unit	North Eastern	VEP C[ORF] – Retrograde VEP lettering	1.35g; 15.4mm d
11	Silver	Half Unit	North Eastern	VEP [CORF]	0.48g; 12.7mm d
12	Silver	Half Unit	North Eastern	VEP [CORF]	0.49g; 12.7mm d
13	Silver	Half Unit	North Eastern	VEP [CORF]	0.47g; 11.4mm

14	Silver	Half Unit	North Eastern	[ISSVP]RA[SV]	0.47g; 11.4mm d
15	Gold	Stater	North Eastern	VEP CORF	5.52g; 20.8mm d
16	Gold	Stater	North Eastern	[I]SVPR[A]SV	5.23g; 18.2mm d
17	Gold	Stater	North Eastern	IISVP[RASV]	5.50g; 18.55mm d
18	Gold/CU	Stater	North Eastern	IISV[PRASV]	4.58g; 20.7mm d
19	Gold/CU	Stater	North Eastern	IISV[PRASV]	4.68g; 19.3mm
20	Gold/CU – Broken	Stater	North Eastern	[ISSVP] RA [SV]	Not recorded

Appendix 7b: Roman coins.

Number	Metal	Period	Denomination	Ruler/Issuer	Inscription/Reverse Type	Mint	Dimensions
21	Silver Plated Imitation	Republican	Denarius	L Pomponius	VIIC PN CIOM	Narbo 118BCE	2.49g
23	Silver	Republican	Denarius	C Coelius Caldus	-	Rome 104 BCE	3.42g
24	Silver	Republican	Denarius	Mn Cordius Rufus		Rome 46 BCE	3.74g
25	CU	Late Imperial	Radiate	Tetricus I	HILARITAS AVGG	Gallic Mint I	2.43g
26	CU	Late Imperial	Nummus	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA – Wolf and Twins	Trier 330-335 CE	2.52g

Appendix 8: Coins from PDNP barrows.

Site	Metal	Denomination	Ruler/Issuer	Inscription/Reverse Type	Mint Date	Reece Period
Beechenhill	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	-	306-337	15-17
Gib Hill	-	-	-	-	-	-
Green Low 2	CU	Nummus	Constantine I/II	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting two soldiers between a monogram	330-341	17
	CU	Nummus	Constans	VICTORIAE DD AVG G Q NN depicting two Victories holding wreaths	347-348	17
	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting two soldiers and two standards	330-335	17
Long Roods	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	GLORIA EXERCITVS	335-337	17
Minninglow 2	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	GLORIA EXERCITVS depicting two soldiers and two standards	330-335	17
Pea Low	CU	Radiate	Tetricus	-	270-273	13
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	-	307-337	15-17
	CU	Nummus	Victorinus	-	270-273	13
	CU	Radiate	Claudius II	CONSECRATIO depicting an eagle with expanded wings	275-285	14
	CU	Nummus	Helena	-	308-337	16
	CU	Nummus	Helena	-	308-337	16
	CU	Nummus	Helena	-	308-337	16

	CU	Nummus	Theodora	-	337-241	16
	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	-	324-337	17
	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	-	330-337	17
	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	-	330-337	17
	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	-	330-337	17
	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	-	330-337	17
	CU	Nummus	Constantinus II?	-	324-337	16
	CU	Nummus	Constantinus II?	-	324-337	16
	CU	Nummus	Constantinus II?	-	324-337	16
	CU	Nummus	Constantinus II?	-	324-337	16
	CU	Nummus	Constantinus II?	-	324-337	16
	CU	Nummus	Constantinus II?	-	324-337	16
	CU	Nummus	Constantinus II?	-	324-337	16
	CU	Nummus	Constantinus II?	-	324-337	16
	CU	Nummus	Constantinus II?	-	324-337	16
	CU	Nummus	Constantinus II?	-	324-337	16
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA depicting wolf and twins	330-335	17
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA depicting wolf and twins	330-335	17
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA depicting wolf and twins	330-335	17

	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA depicting wolf and twins	330-335	17
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA depicting wolf and twins	330-335	17
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	VRBS ROMA depicting wolf and twins	330-335	17
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow	330-335	17
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow	330-336	17
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow	330-337	17
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow	330-338	17
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow	330-339	17
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	CONSTANTINOPOLIS depicting Victory on prow	330-340	17
	CU	Nummus	Illegible	-	-	-
	CU	Nummus	Illegible	-	-	-
	CU	Nummus	Illegible	-	-	-
	CU	Nummus	Illegible	-	-	-
	CU	Radiate	Tetricus	-	270-273	13
Rolley Low	CU	Nummus	Constantine I	-	-	15-17

Rusden Low	CU	Nummus	Constantius I	VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP depicting two Victories holding an inscribed wreath over an altar	318-324	16
Thirkell Low	CU	Nummus, contempory copy	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen horseman	354-361	18
Tideslow	CU	Nummus	Constantius I		293-306	14-15
Wigber Low 1	CU	Radiate	Tetricus I	PAX AVG depicting Pax holding a staff	270-273	13
	CU	Nummus	Constans	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting Phoenix on globe	348-350	18
	CU	Nummus	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing barbarian with straight sceptre	353	18
	CU	Nummus	House of Constantine	FEL TEMP REPARATIO	350-361	18
	CU	Nummus – contemporary copy	House of Constantine	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing fallen barbarian	354-361	18
	CU	Nummus – contemporary copy	Constantius II	FEL TEMP REPARATIO depicting soldier spearing barbarian	354-361	18
Yearn's Low	-	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix 9: Roman coins from Parwich round barrow.

This hoard was recovered in two parts. The first consisted of 261 coins was recovered by metal detectorists in April 2018 (DENO-3184D1) while the second was recovered during stratigraphic rescue excavation of the site in November 2018 (DENO-ECCE42). The first hoard is reproduced by a description congruent with PAS standards for larger coin assemblages and the second by a table with individual coin information recorded as part of post-excavation analysis (May 2019).

Early Imperial (1):

1 silver plated contemporary copy of a denarius of Septimius Severus (Reece Period 10).

Radiates (4):

2 radiates of Gallienus (Reece Period 13).

1 radiate of an uncertain Gallic emperor (Reece Period 13).

1 contemporary copy of a Roman radiate of Victorinus or Tetricus I (Reece Period 14).

Nummi:

Reece Period 17 (209)

17 Victory on prow [CONSTANTINOPOLIS]. AD 330-335.

13 Wolf and twins [VRBS ROMA]. AD 330-335.

11 GLORIA EXERCITVS two soldiers and two standards. AD 330-335.

55 GLORIA EXERCITVS two soldiers and one standard. AD 330-341.

3 VIRTVS AVGGNN Emperor standing right holding spear and shield. AD 337-341.

1 SECVRITAS REIP Securitas leaning against column. AD 337-341.

6 PAX PVBLICA Pax holding branch and sceptre. AD 337-341.

6 PIETAS ROMANA Pietas holding infant. AD 337-341.

3 quadriga. AD 337-341.

1 nummus of Helena or Theodora. AD 337-341.

93 VICTORIAE DD AVGGQNN two Victories holding wreaths. AD 343-348.

Reece Period 18 (15)

8 FEL TEMP REPARATIO phoenix on globe. AD 348-350.

2 FEL TEMP REPARATIO phoenix on mound. AD 348-350.

1 FEL TEMP REPARATIO soldier leading barbarian from hut. AD 348-350.

1 FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor on galley, Victory steering. AD 348-350.

1 FELICITAS REI PVBLICAE Emperor holding a standard and Victory. AD 350-353.

3 VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE two Victories holding an inscribed wreath. AD 350-353.

Reece Period 19 (4)

1 GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor holding standard and dragging captive. AD 364-378.

3 SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm. AD 364-378.

Indiscernible (27)

12 nummi, including one cut down coin. AD 330-402.

15 radiates or nummi, including one lead copy and several 'minims'. AD 260-402.

Cat. no.	Coin type	Ruler	Obv. Insc.	Obv. Desc.	Rev. Insc.	Rev. Desc.	Mint	Issue dates	Reece Period	Die axis	RIC	Diameter and weight
1	Nummus	Constans (AD333-350)	[CON]STAN - [S P F AVG]	Unclear, draped and cuirassed bust right	[VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN]	2 Victories standing facing each other,	Trier branch//TRP	AD347-348	17	6	VIII, p. 152,	17mm 1.37g

No.	Denomination	Ruler	Obverse legend	Obverse type	Reverse legend	Reverse type	Mint	Date			Reference	Size/Weight
						each holding a wreath					nos 205-6	
2	Nummus	House of Constantine (AD 307-361)	Illegible	Unclear bust right	[VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN]	2 Victories standing facing each other, each holding a wreath	Trier [ ]//[T]RP	AD343-348	17	6		17mm 1.22g
3	Nummus	House of Constantine (AD 307-361)	CONSTANTI[ ]S P F AVG	Laureate bust right	GLORI-[A EXER-C]IT[VS]	2 soldiers and 1 standard	Unclear	AD335-341	17	6		17mm 0.89g
4	Nummus	Constans (AD333-350)	CONS[TA]NS - P F AVG	Laurel and rosette diademed, draped and cuirassed bust right	[GL]OR[I-A EXE]R-CITVS	2 soldiers and 1 standard	Lyon Y//PLG	AD337-340	17	6	VIII, p. 178, no. 24	15mm 1.23g
5	Nummus	House of Constantine (AD 307-361)	VRB[S R]O[MA]	Helmeted bust of Roma left	-	Wolf and twins; two stars above	Arles ⊕//PCONST	AD334	17	6	VII, p. 275, no. 385	15mm 1.26g
6	Nummus	Constans (AD333-350)	[CONS]TAN-S P F AVG	Diademed bust right	[VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN]	2 Victories standing facing each other, each holding a wreath	Unclear	AD343-348	17	6		15mm 0.85g
7	Radiate or nummus	Uncertain (AD260-402)	Illegible	Possible unclear bust right	Illegible	Unclear	Unclear	AD260-402	?	?		8mm 0.16g

411

	contemporary copy										
8	Nummus	Constantius II (AD 323-361)	D N CON[STAN-TIVS P F AVG]	Pearl-diademed head right	VOT / XX / MVLT / XXX	Inscription in 4 lines within wreath	Unclear	AD347-348	17	12		13mm 1.10g
9	Nummus	House of Constantine (AD 307-361)	Illegible	Unclear bust right	[V]ICTORI]AE DD AVGGQ NN	2 Victories standing facing each other, each holding a wreath	Trier M//TR[ ]	AD347-348	17	6	VIII, p. 151, no. 180-2	14mm 0.95g
10	Nummus	House of Constantine (AD 307-361)	[C]ON[ ]S P F A[VG]	Unclear, draped and cuirassed bust right	[GLORIA EXERCITVS]	2 soldiers and 1 standard	Trier or Arles M//[ ]	AD340	17	7		15mm 1.16g
11a Spoil	Nummus	Constantius II (AD323-361)	CONSTANTI-[VS P F AVG]	Laureate bust right	[VICTOR]IAE D[D AVGGQ NN]	2 Victories standing facing each other, each holding a wreath	Unclear branch//[ ]	AD343-348	17	6		15mm 1.07g
11b Spoil	Nummus (fragment)	House of Constantine (AD 307-361)	Illegible	Unclear bust right	[VICTORIAE DD AVG]GQ NN	2 Victories standing facing each other, each holding a wreath	Unclear	AD343-348	17	6		14mm 0.36g

412

Appendix 10: Roman coins from Minninglow 1 long barrow.

Appendix 10a: Coins from Marsden's excavations 1947-1975.

Acce ssion No	Cont ext	Re ece Per iod	Diam eter (mm)	Di e A xi s	Comple teness	Wea r Anal ysis	Empe ror & Dates	Mint	Iss ue Da tes	Me tal	Denomi nation	Mintm ark	Obve rse Type	Obverse Legend	Rever se Type	Reverse Legend	Refer ence
1981. 473	Cha mber 1	17	7	12	Complet e	Sligh tly worn	Const antine II (317-340)	Lyon	33 7-34 0	CU	Nummu s	Chi-Rho//P LG	Cuira ssed bust right	CONST[…]	2 soldie rs, 1 stand ard	[GLORIA EXERCIT VS]	RIC VII, Lyon, 4-11
1981. 474	Cha mber 1	17	10	12	Complet e	Hard ly worn	Const antine II (317-340)	Lyon	33 0-33 1	CU	Nummu s	__//.PL G	Cuira ssed and laure at bust right	CONSTA NTINVS IVN NOB C	2 soldie rs, 2 stand ards	GLORIA EXER[CIT VS]	RIC VII, Lyon, 244
1981. 475	Cha mber 1	17	9	1	Complet e	Quit e worn	Const ans (333-350)	Trier	33 5-33 7	CU	Nummu s	__//.TR P	Cuira ssed and laure ate bust right	[FL] CONSTA NS [NOB CAES]	2 soldie rs, 1 stand ard	GLORIA [EXERC]T VS	RIC VII, Treve ri, 593

1981.476	Chamber 1	15	22	6	Complete	Hardly worn	Maximian (285-310)	Trier	303-305	CU	Nummus	SF//PTR	Cuirassed and laureate bust right	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	Genius wearing corn measure holding g cornucopia	GENIO POPVLI ROMANI	RIC VI, Trier, 602b
1981.477	Chamber 3	16	19	12	Complete	Quite worn	Constantine I (306-337)	Ticinium	322-325	CU	Nummus	Crescent//PT	Laureate head right	CONSTANTINVS AVG	Wreath with Vot XX	DM CONSTANTINI [MAX AVG]	RIC VII, Ticinium, 167
1981.478	Chamber 3	15	17	23	Complete	Quite worn	Constantine I (306-337)	Trier	310-313	CU	Nummus	-	Cuirassed and laureate bust right	IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG	Helmeted and cuirassed bust of Mars	MARTI CONSERVATORI	RIV VI, Trier, 881
1981.479	Chamber 3	17	10	12	Complete	Hardly worn	Constantine II (317-340)	Trier	330-331	CU	Nummus	__//TRP.	Cuirassed and laureate bust right	CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C	2 soldiers, 2 standards	GLORIA EXERCITVS	RIC VII, Trier, 527

1981.48	Chamber 3	17	10	12	Complete	Reverse very worn	Constantius	Uncertain	343-348	CU	Nummus		Laureate bust right	CONSTANTIVS PF AVG	2 Victories holding 2 wreaths	VICTORIAE DD AVG QNN	HK 152
1981.481	Chamber 3	13	5	7	Complete	Quite worn	Tetricus I (270-273)	Gallic Mint	270-273	CU	Barbarous Radiate		Radiate Crown right	[IMP TETRIC]VS [PF AVG]	Providentia holding sceptre and cornucopia	[…] AVG	

Appendix 10b: Coins from Bateman's diggings.

Emperor	Dates	Reece Period	Reverse Type	Description	Mint	Diameter	Reference	Location
Claudius II	260-270	13	-	-	-	-	-	Chamber 4
Constantine I	306-337	16	-	-	-	-	-	Chamber 4
Constantine I	306-337	16						Chamber 4
Constantine II	337-340	17						Chamber 4
Constantine II	337-340	17						Chamber 4
House of Valentinian	364-375	19	-	-	-	-	-	Chamber 4
Constantine I	306-337	16						Mound
Constantine I	330-335	17	GLORIA EXERCITVS	2 soldiers 2 standards				Near the natural soil
Constantius II	330-335	17	GLORIA EXERCITVS	2 soldiers 2 standards				Near the natural soil
Constantine II	330-335	17	GLORIA EXERCITVS	2 soldiers 2 standards				West side of mound
Constantine II	330-335	17	GLORIA EXERCITVS	2 soldiers 2 standards				West side of mound
Claudius II	268-270	13	-	-	-	-	-	Mound
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix 11: Coins from Haddon Fields barrow.

This site has been given an appendix separate from that documenting Roman coins in barrows by virtue of the fact that it constitutes an accumulation/hoard of at least 113 coins, the details surrounding which are nebulous. On 1st June 1824 Samuel Mitchell, with assistance by Dr Ewer Colie, opened the barrow, largely because some years prior it was noted that the monument had been disturbed by builders procuring stonework, where they encountered the bones of two human individuals showing evidence for cremation, the teeth of a dog, rats and other small mammals together with lead, glass and circa 70 Roman coins. The coins were deposited in Haddon Hall, presently the seat of the Duke of Rutland, which included a coin of Gallienus. The coins were documented by Bateman 1848:30 based on a memorandum supplied by Mitchell as part of his bequest of the finds to the British Museum. The memoranda was reproduced in Jones (1908).

Ruler	No of coins	Type	Dates	Reece Period	Reference
Gallienus	1	-	260-275	13	Ward 1908: 106-161
Unknown	c. 53	-	-	-	Ward 1908: 106-161; Bateman 1848: 30
Constantine I	9	-	306-337	15-17	Bateman 1848: 30
House of Constantine	2	VRBS ROMA	330-335	17	Bateman 1848: 30
House of Constantine	2	CONSTANTINOPOLIS	330-335	17	Bateman 1848: 30

Constantius II	9	-	337-361	17-18	Bateman 1848: 30
Constans	17	-	337-350	17-18	Bateman 1848: 30
Valentinian	5	-	364-375	19	Bateman 1848: 30
Valens	12	-	364-378	19	Bateman 1848: 30
Gratian	3	-	367-383	19-20	Bateman 1848: 30

Appendix 12: Burials from Wiltshire monuments and sites.

Site	Site Type	Number of Burials	Cremations	Inhumations	Ref
Amebsury 44	Round barrow	2	1	1	Appendix 1
Amesbury, Boscombe Down	Nucleated settlement	110	12	98	Appendix 14
Amesbury, Butterfield Down	Nucleated settlement	2	0	2	Appendix 14
Birchanger Farm	Funerary	2	0	2	Appendix 14
Biss Bottom	Rural settlement	1	0	1	Appendix 14
Bitham Park	Funerary	1	0	1	Appendix 14
Blackland, Calne	Rural settlement	6	0	6	Appendix 14
Blacklands, Staverton	Rural settlement	4	0	4	Appendix 14
Blounts Court	Funerary	4	0	4	Appendix 14
Boyton Field Farm	Round barrow	13	13	0	Appendix 1
Bratton	Funerary	1	0	1	Appendix 14
Brotton Hill Wood, Burton (M4 Site 5)	Rural settlement	1	0	1	Appendix 14
Budbury, Bradford-on-Avon	Villa	7	0	7	Appendix 14
Bulford 22	Round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 1
Casterley Camp	Hillfort	1	0	1	Appendix 1
Cleveland Farm	Villa	7	0	7	Appendix 14
Codford St Peter	Round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 1
Coleman's Mead	Rural settlement				Appendix 14

Durrington Walls	Henge	2	0	2	Appendix 1
Eastern Infrastructure, Salisbury Plain training area	Funerary	1	0	1	Appendix 14
Easterton	Funerary	1	0	1	Appendix 14
Ende Burgh	Long barrow				Appendix 1
Erlestoke Detention Centre	Rural settlement	8	0	8	Appendix 14
Everleigh 1	Round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 1
Eyewell Farm	Rural settlement	7	0	7	Appendix 14
Eysey Manor	Rural settlement	7	7	0	Appendix 14
Fittleton 9a	Round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 1
Honeystreet	Rural settlement				Appendix 14
Idmiston 19	Round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 1
Kilimington 2	Round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 1
Knap Hill	Causewayed enclosure	2	0	2	Appendix 1
Lamb Down C	Round barrow	1	1	0	Appendix 1
Land adjacent to Wayside Farm	Rural settlement	4	0	4	Appendix 14
Latton Lands	Rural settlement	9	4	5	Appendix 14
Lower Upham Farm	Funerary	1	0	1	Appendix 14
Maiden Bradley	Funerary	1	0	1	Appendix 14
Nettleton	Shrine	28	8	20	Appendix 14
Northwood Farm	Funerary	2	0	2	Appendix 14

Old Sarum	Hillfort	7	0	7	Appendix 1
Overton Hill G6	Round barrow	1	1	0	Appendix 1
Overton Hill G6a	Round barrow	1	1	0	Appendix 1
Overton Hill G7	Round barrow	1	1	0	Appendix 1
Parsonage Farm	Funerary	2	1	1	Appendix 14
Sand Hill Farm	Funerary	1	0	1	Appendix 14
Sherrington 1	Long barrow	8	0	8	Appendix 1
Silbury Hill	Artificial mound	1	0	1	Appendix 1
South of Beckhampton	Round barrow	2	0	2	Appendix 1
Southbroom School, Devizes	Rural settlement	4	0	4	Appendix 14
Teffont	Funerary	130	0	130	Appendix 14
Triangle Site, South Marston, Swindon	Funerary	2	0	2	Appendix 14
Truckle Hill	Villa	5	1	4	Appendix 14
Westrop House	Funerary	1	0	1	Appendix 14
Woodhenge	Henge	1		1	Appendix 1
Yarnbury Castle	Hillfort	14	0	14	Appendix 1

Appendix 13: Burials from PDNP monuments and sites.

Site	Site Type	Burials	Cremation	Inhumation	Ref
Aquae Arnemetiae	Small town				Appendix 15
Brundcliffe	Unchambered round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 2
Derventio	Fort	104	43	61	Appendix 15
Dowe Lowe	Unchambered round barrow	1	1	0	Appendix 2
Frank I'th Rocks	Cave	8	0	8	Appendix 2
Friden Hollow	Unchambered round barrow	1	1	0	Appendix 2
Grindlow	Unchambered round barrow	2	2	0	Appendix 2
Grinlow	Unchambered round barrow with cist	1	1	0	Appendix 2
Harborough Cave	Cave	1	1	0	Appendix 2
Harley Hill	Unchambered round barrow	7	7	0	Appendix 2
Kenslow Knoll	Unchambered round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 2
Melandra	Fort	5	5	0	Appendix 15
Minninglow 2	Unchambered round barrow	1	1	0	Appendix 2
Musden Low	Unchambered round barrow with cist	3	3	0	Appendix 2
Newhaven House	Unchambered round barrow	1	1	0	Appendix 2
Poole's Cavern	Cave	4	0	4	Appendix 2
Ringham Low	Unchambered round barrow	3	3	0	Appendix 2
Rolley Low	Unchambered round barrow with cist	1	0	1	Appendix 2

Roystone Grange	Unchambered round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 2
Roystone Grange 2	Rural settlement	2	0	2	Appendix 15
Sevenways Cave	Cave	1	0	1	Appendix 2
Slip Low	Unchambered round barrow				Appendix 2
Stanshope	Unchambered round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 2
Stanshope Pasture	Unchambered round barrow				Appendix 2
White Cliff/Monsal Dale	Unchambered round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 2
Winster	Funerary	2	0	2	Appendix 15
Yearns Low	Unchambered round barrow	1	0	1	Appendix 2

Appendix 14: Wiltshire Roman settlements.

Site	Site Type A	Site Type B	Grid Reference	Reference
A303 Stonehenge Area C1	Rural settlement		SU0650043900	RRSP 17034
A345 Road	Villa		SU1460047000	Draper 2006
A419 Blunsdon By-pass	Rural settlement		SU1512989618	RRSP 17006
Aldbourne Gorse	Villa		SU2620073500	Draper 2006
Alton Parva Farm	Rural settlement		SU1530046600	Draper 2006
Amesbury, Boscombe Down	Nucleated settlement	Funerary; quarry	SU1654040420	RRSP 17047
Amesbury, Butterfield Down	Nucleated settlement	Funerary; shrine	SU1660041400	RRSP 17048
Amesbury, Land adjacent to the Spar Supermarket, Boscombe Road	Nucleated settlement		SU1653041000	RRSP 17074
Amesbury, New Covert/Spine Road	Nucleated settlement	Quarry	SU1650040800	RRSP 17054
Ash Covert	Rural settlement		SU0330094900	Draper 2006
Atworth Roman villa	Villa		ST8556066400	RRSP 17030
Badbury, Chiseldon (M4 Site 21)	Villa		SU1940080600	RRSP 17107
Barford St Martin	Nucleated settlement		ST8880043800	Draper 2006
Barnes Coaches Depot, Aldbourne	Rural settlement		SU2635075600	RRSP 17011
Barton Down	Villa		SU1700070400	Draper 2006

Bassett House Down	Rural settlement		SU1150079900	Draper 2006
Baydon	Rural settlement		SU2804080120	RRSP 17050
Baydon (M4 Sites 35-6)	Roadside settlement	Industrial; road	SU2912077530	RRSP 17109
Beach's Barn	Rural settlement		SU1850051000	RRSP 17016
Beacon Hill	Rural settlement		SU1940042700	Draper 2006
Beaversbrook Road, Calne	Rural settlement		ST9999672855	RRSP 17018
Beech Copse Cottages	Rural settlement		SU1190079700	Draper 2006
Berwick Down	Rural settlement		ST9410019600	Draper 2006
Best's Farm	Nucleated settlement		SU2090029100	Draper 2006
Bethnal Green	Rural settlement		SU1650062400	Draper 2006
Birchanger Farm, Bratton	Funerary		ST8935051900	RRSP 17093
Biss Bottom, Westbury	Rural settlement	Funerary	ST8695248593	RRSP 17066
Bitham Park, Westbury	Funerary		ST8771751734	RRSP 17046
Blackland, Calne	Rural settlement	Funerary	SU0190068300	RRSP 17067
Blacklands, Staverton	Rural settlement	Funerary	ST8570060400	RRSP 17008
Blounts Court, Potterne	Funerary		ST9960058160	RRSP 17100
Boreland Hill, Upper Woodford	Rural settlement		SU1177537620	RRSP 17068
Boscombe Down West	Rural settlement		SU1890039500	Draper 2006
Bower Chalk	Rural settlement		SU0030021200	RRSP 17090
Bowood House	Villa		ST9760069900	Draper 2006

Box villa	Villa	Shrine	ST8232168536	RRSP 17002
Bratton	Funerary		ST9215551954	RRSP 17039
Brickley Lane, Devizes	Rural settlement		SU0195060900	RRSP 17044
Brinkworth	Ceramic production		SU0075085250	RRSP 17085
Bromham villa	Villa		ST9708166202	RRSP 17052
Brotton Hill Wood, Burton (M4 Site 5)	Rural settlement	Funerary	ST7969479141	RRSP 17098
Budbury, Bradford-on-Avon	Villa	Funerary	ST8202661242	RRSP 17101
Buffs Barn	Nucleated settlement		SU1790078900	Draper 2006
Burderop Down	Rural settlement		SU1638076990	RRSP 17120
Burltons	Rural settlement		ST9090024300	Draper 2006
Callas Hill	Villa	Shrine	ST9000043300	Draper 2006
Camp Hill	Rural settlement		SU1110033700	Draper 2006
Castle Copse	Villa		SU2830062900	Draper 2006
Castle Copse, Great Bedwyn	Villa	Farm	SU2835062950	RRSP 17015
Castle Hill, Calne	Rural settlement		ST9967570885	RRSP 17096
Chapel Farm, Blunsden (Lower Widhill Farm)	Rural settlement		SU1230091550	RRSP 17026
Chapperton Down	Nucleated settlement	village	ST9967048190	RRSP 17032
Chapperton Down	Nucleated settlement		ST9970047600	Draper 2006
Charnage Down	Rural settlement		ST8420054300	Draper 2006

Cheney Court	Villa		ST8160069400	Draper 2006
Cherhill villa	Villa		SU0385070310	RRSP 17091
Chisenbury Warren	Nucleated settlement		SU1780053700	RRSP 17038
Chittoe Heath	Villa		ST9670066800	Draper 2006
Church Pitts	Nucleated settlement		SU0730048200	Draper 2006
Clay Pit Clump	Rural settlement		ST9940042000	Draper 2006
Cleeve Rocks	Rural settlement		ST7720061100	Draper 2006
Cleveland Farm, Ashton Keynes	Villa	Funerary; shrine	SU0675094500	RRSP 17029
Cloverlands	Rural settlement		SU1300087900	Draper 2006
Cockey Down, Salisbury	Rural settlement		SU1700031400	RRSP 17062
Coffee Farm	Rural settlement		SU1430036900	Draper 2006
Coleman's Mead	Rural settlement	Funerary	SU1960069100	Draper 2006
Colerne	Villa		ST8110071800	RRSP 17103
Compton	Villa		SU1330652012	Draper 2006
Compton Down	Rural settlement		SU1100051700	Draper 2006
Coombe Cottage	Villa		SU1080056600	Draper 2006
Coombe Down South	Nucleated settlement		SU1925052000	RRSP 17040
Cotswold Community	Nucleated settlement		SU0330096200	Draper 2006
Court Farm, Latton	Quarry	Road	SU0960994996	RRSP 17056

Cricklade	Roadside settlement	Road	SU1000093900	RRSP 17111
Cricklade, Abingdon Court Farm	Roadside settlement		SU1035093690	RRSP 17013
Cuff's Corner	Villa		SU0810076300	Draper 2006
Cumberwell	Rural settlement		ST8278563033	RRSP 17073
Cunetio	Small town		SU2170069300	Draper 2006
Defence Estates, High Street, Durrington	Rural settlement		SU1540044700	RRSP 17070
Delta Industrial Estate, West Swindon	Rural settlement		SU1289084620	RRSP 17071
Denley Farm	Villa		ST8550066400	Draper 2006
Dogridge	Villa		SU0800087400	Draper 2006
Downton Villa	Villa		SU1814021060	RRSP 17133
Draycot Farm, Wilcot	Rural settlement		SU1460063200	RRSP 17099
Draycot Foliat	Villa		SU1910076800	Draper 2006
Druids Lodge Polo Club	Rural settlement		SU0952539260	RRSP 17139
Durocornovium, A419 Covington noise barrier, Wanborough	Roadside settlement		SU1928585355	RRSP 17017
Durocornovium, Wanborough	Roadside settlement	Road; military; mansio	SU1938085350	RRSP 17007
Durrington Packway Enclosure	Rural settlement		SU1512244105	RRSP 17086
Earls Farm Down	Rural settlement		SU4810042000	Draper 2006
East of Field Barn	Rural settlement		ST9158845295	RRSP 17004
Eastern Infrastructure, Salisbury Plain training area	Funerary		SU1570054000	RRSP 17072

Easterton	Funerary		SU0196054980	RRSP 17117
Easton Piercy	Rural settlement		ST8790076900	Draper 2006
Eastrop	Rural settlement		SU2070092200	Draper 2006
Erlestoke Detention Centre	Rural settlement	Funerary	ST9697053910	RRSP 17042
Euridge Manor Farm, Colerne	Villa		ST8331071660	RRSP 17060
Eyewell Farm, Chilmark	Rural settlement	Funerary	ST9701032160	RRSP 17045
Eysey Manor, Cricklade	Rural settlement	Funerary	SU1130094800	RRSP 17024
Farley Farm	Rural settlement		SU2310029700	Draper 2006
Fifield Down	Nucleated settlement		SU0050025700	Draper 2006
Fifield Folly	Nucleated settlement		SU1380049800	Draper 2006
Figheldean	Rural settlement		SU1507046910	RRSP 17061
Finches Farm, Baydon (M4 Site 33)	Rural settlement		SU2862078220	RRSP 17108
Fonthill House	Rural settlement		ST9470031900	Draper 2006
Forest Hill Farm	Villa		SU2080068700	Draper 2006
Foxbridge	Rural settlement		SU2040084100	Draper 2006
Fyfield House	Villa		SU1480068700	Draper 2006
Golf Course	Rural settlement		ST9570054000	Draper 2006
Great Bedwyn/Shalbourne	Shrine		SU2959262159	RRSP 17010
Groundwell Ridge, Swindon	Villa	Shrine	SU1408089350	RRSP 17125
Grove farm, Market Lavington	Villa		SU0135054150	RRSP 17049

Hampton Hill	Rural settlement		SU1920092300	Draper 2006
Hamshill Ditches	Shrine		SU0580033200	Draper 2006
Hannington Wick	Villa		SU1809095850	RRSP 17053
Hardenhuish	Rural settlement		SR3190075000	Draper 2006
Harrow Farm	Villa		SU2810068200	Draper 2006
Hazlebury House	Villa		ST8360068200	Draper 2006
Headlands	Villa		SU1280068500	Draper 2006
Heddington Wick	Rural settlement		ST9730067000	Draper 2006
Heywood	Rural settlement		ST8970076500	Draper 2006
High Bridge	Nucleated settlement		SU0999694370	Draper 2006
High Post, Salisbury	Rural settlement	Shrine	SU1450037150	RRSP 17069
High Street	Villa		SU0990093600	Draper 2006
High Street	Rural settlement		SU1580083700	Draper 2006
Highbury School, Salisbury	Rural settlement		SU1327030650	RRSP 17138
Honeystreet	Rural settlement	Funerary	SU1020061400	Draper 2006
Hook Street, Lydiard Tregoze, Swindon	Rural settlement		SU1050084050	RRSP 17059
Horse Down	Funerary		SU0209348329	RRSP 17005
Iford	Villa		ST8010059200	Draper 2006
Jubilee Copse	Rural settlement		SU1690091600	Draper 2006
Kingshill Recycling Centre, Cricklade	Rural settlement		SU1150092500	RRSP 17079

Knook Down East	Nucleated settlement		ST9680044500	Draper 2006
Knook Down West	Nucleated settlement		ST9610044600	Draper 2006
Knowlands	Rural settlement		SU2030093200	Draper 2006
Land adjacent to Wayside Farm, Nurseed Road, Devizes	Rural settlement	Funerary; shrine	SU0160060300	RRSP 17043
Land East of Chippenham	Rural settlement		ST9369073390	RRSP 17127
Land North of Chippenham	Rural settlement		ST9172075240	RRSP 17126
Latton Lands	Rural settlement	Funerary	SU0850096100	RRSP 17023
Latton Quarry, Latton	Quarry		SU0830095600	RRSP 17025
Laverstock, Salisbury	Funerary		SU1574030120	RRSP 17136
Littlecote Park	Villa	Farm; shrine	SU3001070550	RRSP 17035
Littleton Drew to Chippenham Gas Pipeline Area C	Rural settlement		ST8982076560	RRSP 17128
Littleton Drew to Chippenham Gas Pipeline Area E	Rural settlement		ST8790079980	RRSP 17129
Littleton Manor	Rural settlement		SU0050054000	Draper 2006
Lower Highwood	Villa		SU2330027500	Draper 2006
Lower Upham Farm, Ogbourne St George	Funerary		SU2078177650	RRSP 17076
Lucknam Lodge	Villa		ST8110071800	Draper 2006
Lurkeley Hill	Villa		SU1230066000	Draper 2006
Maddington Farm, Shrewton	Rural settlement	Quarry	SU0490044500	RRSP 17065
Maiden Bradley	Funerary		ST8030038700	RRSP 17102
Manningford Bruce	Villa		SU1410058100	RRSP 17092

Market Square	Rural settlement		SU1580083200	Draper 2006
Marsh Farm, Malmesbury	Villa	Farm	ST9428888219	RRSP 17041
Martinsell Hill	Nucleated settlement		SU1760064000	Draper 2006
Medbourne	Rural settlement		SU2030080700	Draper 2006
Milbourne Farm and Showell Nurseries, Chippenham	Rural settlement		ST9130071400	RRSP 17077
Mill Lane, Swindon	Rural settlement		SU1374082750	RRSP 17014
Milton Hill	Rural settlement		SU1910058300	Draper 2006
Minety	Ceramic production		ST9948092150	RRSP 17144
Monkton House	Rural settlement		ST8780062200	Draper 2006
Netheravon Road	Rural settlement		SU1490031000	Draper 2006
Netheravon villa	Villa		SU1476048150	RRSP 17114
Nettleton	Shrine	Temple; shrine; roadside settlement; industrial	ST8220076900	RRSP 17001
New Court Farm	Rural settlement		SU1680022000	Draper 2006
Newzealand Farm	Rural settlement		ST9690050300	Draper 2006
North Farm	Villa		SU2550078900	Draper 2006
Northwood Farm, Colerne	Funerary		ST8125073290	RRSP 17088
Norton Bavant Borrow Pit	Rural settlement		ST9050042800	RRSP 17084
Nunton Farm, Nunton	Quarry		SU1555025500	RRSP 17137
Nuthills Farm	Villa		ST9693068320	RRSP 17112

OD XIII	Rural settlement		SU1300069800	Draper 2006
Old Mill	Villa		SU0060090800	Draper 2006
Overton Down burial mounds	Funerary	Road	SU1193068320	RRSP 17130
Overton Down Site XII	Rural settlement		SU1308769876	RRSP 17106
Ox's Leaze Wood 1	Villa		ST8480052600	Draper 2006
Packhorse Farm	Rural settlement		SU0990089500	Draper 2006
Pains Wessex factory, High Post	Rural settlement		SU1428636966	RRSP 17078
Pans Lane	Rural settlement		SU0080060600	Draper 2006
Parsonage Farm, Winsley	Funerary		ST7993062010	RRSP 17131
Paven Hill	Rural settlement		SU0790087700	Draper 2006
Piper's Way, Swindon	Rural settlement	Quarry	SU1620082500	RRSP 17141
Pit Meads	Villa		ST8970079400	Draper 2006
Plough Inn	Villa		SU1930080200	Draper 2006
Pockeredge Farm and Peel Circus, Corsham	Rural settlement		ST8610069850	RRSP 17075
Pond Farm, Upper Wanborough, Swindon	Rural settlement		SU2103082830	RRSP 17094
Priory Green	Rural settlement		SU2050092300	Draper 2006
Purton	Rural settlement	Ceramic production	SU0806087400	RRSP 17110
Queens Park	Rural settlement		SU1500084000	Draper 2006
Rangebourne Mill	Rural settlement		ST9980059800	Draper 2006
Red Barn	Rural settlement		SU0640030800	Draper 2006
Ridge Green, Shaw, Swindon	Rural settlement		SU1176584950	RRSP 17019

Rixons Gate, Ashton Keynes	Rural settlement		SU0599995119	RRSP 17080
Rotherley	Rural settlement		ST9490019500	RRSP 17145
Rotherley Down	Rural settlement		ST9490019500	Draper 2006
Round Hill Downs	Rural settlement		SU2140075400	Draper 2006
Roves Farm, Swindon	Rural settlement	Quarry	SU2060088900	RRSP 17142
Rudge Farm	Villa		SU2760069900	Draper 2006
Rushall Down/Charlton Down & Upavon Down	Nucleated settlement	Shrine	SU1073351805	RRSP 17123
Russley Park	Villa		SU2730080100	Draper 2006
Sand Hill Farm, Longbridge Deverill	Funerary		ST8750040950	RRSP 17081
Sandy Lane	Rural settlement		ST9220052700	Draper 2006
Savernake Forest	Ceramic production	Quarry	SU2232064990	RRSP 17132
Short Street, Westbury	Ceramic production		ST8370048750	RRSP 17148
Showell Farm, Chippenham	Rural settlement		ST9070071200	RRSP 17036
Silver Street	Rural settlement		ST9510066500	Draper 2006
Slay Barrow	Rural settlement		SU0920051000	Draper 2006
Sorviodunum, Old Sarum Water Pipeline	Funerary	Roadside settlement	SU1418932591	RRSP 17055
South Marston Industrial Park	Rural settlement		SU1845088790	RRSP 17027
South Marston Solar Farm, Swindon	Rural settlement		SU1922088497	RRSP 17143
Southbroom School, Devizes	Rural settlement	Funerary	SU0122060840	RRSP 17009

St Laurence's School	Villa		ST8180061400	Draper 2006
Stanchester	Villa		SU1380061800	Draper 2006
Stanton Fitzwarren	Villa		SU1731090040	RRSP 17031
Stanton House	Villa		SU1730090000	Draper 2006
Stanton Park	Villa		ST8970079400	Draper 2006
Starveal Farm Villa	Villa		SU2595081530	RRSP 17097
Stock Lane	Nucleated settlement		SU2360074100	Draper 2006
Stock Lane	Villa		SU2360074100	Draper 2006
Stockton Down	Nucleated settlement		ST9700036200	RRSP 17116
Studleybrook Farm	Villa		ST9810070300	Draper 2006
Swindon Gateway, Coat, Swindon	Rural settlement		SU1822082388	RRSP 17095
Teffont	Funerary		ST9925030890	RRSP 17118
Teffont Evias	Rural settlement		ST9795731693	RRSP 17146
The Bushes	Rural settlement		ST9410031400	Draper 2006
The Ham	Roadside settlement		ST8640052300	Draper 2006
The Hermitage, Old Town, Swindon	Rural settlement	Quarry	SU1590083750	RRSP 17064
Tinhead Hill	Villa		ST9390052200	Draper 2006
Tockenham	Villa	Farm	SU0390079700	RRSP 17063
Toothill Farm	Rural settlement		SU1230083300	Draper 2006

Tottenham House	Villa		SU2470063800	Draper 2006
Triangle Site, South Marston, Swindon	Funerary		SU1769588855	RRSP 17140
Truckle Hill, North Wraxall	Villa	Funerary	ST8370076240	RRSP 17028
Tytherington Hill	Rural settlement		ST9090039100	Draper 2006
Upavon Down	Nucleated settlement		SU1420055000	Draper 2006
Upper Copse	Villa		SU2060038300	Draper 2006
Upper Holt Copse, Teffont	Shrine		ST9832031720	RRSP 17147
Upper Upham	Villa		SU2280077000	Draper 2006
Vanclette's Farm	Villa		ST8550086700	Draper 2006
Verlucio	Small town		ST9680067700	Draper 2006
Warleigh Wood	Nucleated settlement		ST8020063300	Draper 2006
Watchkeeper UAV, Upavon Airfield, Wiltshire	Rural settlement		SU1500054000	RRSP 17082
Weavers Bridge	Rural settlement	Road	SU1017694349	RRSP 17057
Wellhead, Westbury	Villa	Ceramic production; industrial production	ST8730050300	RRSP 17089
West Dean villa	Villa		SU2579027100	RRSP 17051
Westbury Eastern By-pass	Rural settlement		ST8655452833	RRSP 17083
Westlecote Farm, Swindon	Villa		SU1461083140	RRSP 17115
Westrop House, Highworth	Funerary		SU1988092370	RRSP 17135
Whitewalls, Easton Grey	Roadside settlement	road	ST8900087100	RRSP 17037

Winterbourne Down	Rural settlement		SV0000000000	Draper 2006
Winterslow	Amphitheatre		SU2250032900	Draper 2006
Winterslow Church	Rural settlement		SU2270032400	Draper 2006
Woodman's Coppice	Nucleated settlement		ST9540049500	Draper 2006
Woodsend	Nucleated settlement		SU2260075900	Draper 2006
Wroughton Copse	Rural settlement		SU1400071400	Draper 2006
Wyatt's Barn	Villa		ST9700066200	Draper 2006
Yatesbury	Rural settlement		SU0670071500	Draper 2006

Appendix 15: PDNP Settlements.

Site	Site Type A	Site Type B	Grid reference	Reference
Aldwark	Rural settlement		SK2284257211	Bevan 2005
Antony Hill	Rural settlement		SK2169761703	Bevan 2005
Aquae Arnemetiae	Small town	Shrine	SK0579173461	Anderson 1985; Patterson 2016
Bamford Moor North	Rural settlement		SK2071286153	Bevan 2005
Bank Top	Rural settlement		SK1283361815	Bevan 2005
Beechenhill	Rural settlement		SK1282252443	Bevan 2005
Bonsall Wood 1	Rural settlement		SK2672956879	Bevan 2005
Bonsall Wood 2	Rural settlement		SK2613956910	Bevan 2005
Bradbourne	Rural settlement		SK2201752449	Bevan 2005
Brough Field	Rural settlement		SK2519652307	Bevan 2005
Brushfield	Rural settlement		SK1632371655	Bevan 2005
Cales Farm	Rural settlement		SK1716964734	Bevan 2005
Carder Low	Rural settlement		SK1288862799	Bevan 2005
Carr Lane/Borough Fields	Rural settlement		SK1080454674	Bevan 2005
Carrs Wood	Rural settlement		SK2289962793	Bevan 2005
Carsington	villa		SK2500053400	RRSP 22021
Chee Tor	Rural settlement		SK1261573263	Bevan 2005
Cherryslack	Rural settlement		SK1315775583	Bevan 2005

City Folds 1	Rural settlement		SK2653156269	Bevan 2005
City Folds 2	Rural settlement		SK2656756291	Bevan 2005
Coombes Dale	Rural settlement		SK2230674654	Bevan 2005
Cow Low	Rural settlement		SK1014072731	Bevan 2005
Dam Lane	Rural settlement		SK1663854822	Bevan 2005
Deep Dale Head	Rural settlement		SK1605969104	Bevan 2005
Dennis Knoll	Rural settlement		SK2287083917	Bevan 2005
Derventio	Fort	Small town	SK3536037500	Dun 2014; Webster 1961
Dirtlow Rake	Rural settlement		SK1519881685	Bevan 2005
Eldon Hill	Rural settlement		SK1170381087	Bevan 2005
Eyam Moor	Rural settlement		SK2219479310	Bevan 2005
Harborough Rocks	Rural settlement		SK2420055200	Bevan 2005
Haven Hill	Rural settlement		SK2082951673	Bevan 2005
Hay Top	Rural settlement		SK1760972632	Bevan 2005
Highstones	Rural settlement		SK0642499012	Bevan 2005
Horsborough	Rural settlement		SK1680070260	Bevan 2005
Ladybower North	Rural settlement		SK2089386882	Bevan 2005
Ladybower South	Rural settlement		SK2090286582	Bevan 2005
Litton Slack	Rural settlement		SK1599073238	Bevan 2005
Lombard's Green	Rural settlement		SK1881355569	Bevan 2005
Mam Nick	Rural settlement		SK1210683594	Bevan 2005

Melandra	Fort	Extramural	SK0091095050	Webster 1969; 1971
Mellor	Rural settlement		SK9820088950	Bevan 2005
Millersdale Back Road	Rural settlement		SK1482773709	Bevan 2005
Monksdale Lane	Rural settlement		SK1404774462	Bevan 2005
Navio	Fort	Extramural	SK1820082700	Dearne 1993
Oldfield Hill	Rural settlement		SE0875210095	Bevan 2005
Oldfields	Rural settlement		SK0887552537	Bevan 2005
Ossums Hill	Rural settlement		SK0977855602	Bevan 2005
Over Haddon	Rural settlement		SK2079966397	Bevan 2005
Owslow Barn	Rural settlement		SK2376353417	Bevan 2005
Parks Barn	Rural settlement		SK1238063100	Bevan 2005
Pearsons Farm	Rural settlement		SK2586055666	Bevan 2005
Pennilow	Rural settlement		SK1304759197	Bevan 2005
Pindale	Rural settlement		SK1559782070	Bevan 2005
Rainster Rocks	Rural settlement		SK2188254788	Bevan 2005
Robin Hood's Stride	Rural settlement		SK2245962270	Bevan 2005
Royd Edge	Rural settlement		SE0909909658	Bevan 2005
Roystone Grange 2	Rural settlement		SK1991356213	Bevan 2005
Roystone Grange 3	Rural settlement		SK1997456887	Bevan 2005
Smallfield	Rural settlement		SK2498594163	Bevan 2005
Smelting Hill	Rural settlement		SK2076780157	Bevan 2005

South of Beechenhill	Rural settlement		SK1278652268	Bevan 2005
Staden Low	Rural settlement		SK0706072229	Bevan 2005
Steeple House	Rural settlement		SK1312352017	Bevan 2005
The Burrs	Rural settlement		SK1062371394	Bevan 2005
The Liffs	Rural settlement		SK1488557758	Bevan 2005
The Warren	Rural settlement		SK2341083678	Bevan 2005
Thieves Den	Rural settlement		SK2273762637	Bevan 2005
Thorpe Pasture North	Rural settlement		SK1585051374	Bevan 2005
Thorpe Pasture South	Rural settlement		SK1594950903	Bevan 2005
Waterlees Bare Plot	Rural settlement		SK1608071282	Bevan 2005
Watscliff	Rural settlement		SK2240062114	Bevan 2005
Wheston Enclosures Central	Rural settlement		SK1280876269	Bevan 2005
Wheston Enclosures South	Rural settlement		SK1295676124	Bevan 2005
Wildboarclough	Rural settlement		SJ9899569320	Bevan 2005
Winster	Funerary		SK2428060560	RRSP 22080
Wolfscote Hill	Rural settlement		SK1363258341	Bevan 2005
Wolfscote Lynchets	Rural settlement		SK1303258597	Bevan 2005

Bibliography

Adams, S. 2013. *The First Brooches in Britain: from Manufacture to Deposition in the Early and Middle Iron Age*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Leicester.

Adkins, L. and Adkins, R.A. 1985. 'Neolithic axes from Roman sites in Britain'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 4(1): 69-75.

Aitchison, N. 1988. 'Roman wealth, native ritual: coin hoards within and beyond Roman Britain'. *World Archaeology* 20(2): 270-284.

Alberti, B. 2016. 'Archaeologies of ontology'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 45: 164-179.

Alcock, S.E. 2002. *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments and Memories*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Aldhouse-Green, M. 2018. *Sacred Britannia: The Gods and Rituals of Roman Britain*. Thames and Hudson: London.

Allen, M. and Lodwick, L. 2017. *New Visions of the Countryside of Roman Britain, Volume 2: The Rural Economy of Roman Britain*. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London.

Allen, M., Blick, N., Brindle, T., Evans, T., Fuflord., M., Holbrook, N., Lodwick, L., Richards, J.D. and Smith, A. 2015. The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain: an online resource [ONLINE] <available at https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/romangl/index.cfm>

Anderson, A.S. and Wacher, J.S. 1980. 'Excavations at Wanborough, Wiltshire: an interim report'. *Britannia* 11: 115-126.

Anderson, J. 1985. *Roman Derbyshire: The Roman Colonisation of Derbyshire*. J.H. Hall and Sons: Derby.

Andrews, P. 2009. 'The discovery, excavation and preservation of a detached Roman bath-house at Truckle Hill, North Wraxall'. *WANHSM* 102: 129-49.

Annable, F.K. 1974. 'A bronze military apron mount from Cunetio'. *WANHSM* 49: 176-179.

Annable, K. 1958. 'Excavation and field-work in Wiltshire, 1957'. *WANHSM* 57: 2-17.

Annable, K. 1963. 'The Romano-British pottery'. In F. Vatcher (ed.) 'The excavation of the barrows on Lamb Down, Codford St. Mary'. *WANHSM* 58: 417-441, pp. 432-433.

Anon. 1934. 'Skeleton found in a barrow at Idmiston'. *WANHSM* 46(160): 387-388.

Anon. 1961. 'Excavation and fieldwork in Wiltshire, 1960'. *WANHSM* 58: 30-38

Anon. 1962. 'Excavation and fieldwork in Wiltshire, 1961'. *WANHSM* 58: 240-248.

Anon. 1964. 'Excavation and fieldwork in Wiltshire, 1963'. *WANHSM* 59: 185-190.

Anon. 1988. 'Excavation and fieldwork in Wiltshire 1987'. *WANHSM* 82: 181-192.

Anon. 1998. 'Excavation and fieldwork in Wiltshire 1996'. *WANHSM* 91: 152-156.

Armstrong, A. 1923. 'Exploration of Harborough Cave, Brassington'. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 53: 402-413.

Armstrong, A.L. 1925. 'Excavations at Mother Grundy's Parlour, Derbyshire, 1924'. *Journal of the Royal Archaeological Institute* 55: 146-178.

Ashbee, P. 1957. 'Stake and post circles in British round barrows'. *Archaeological Journal* 114(1): 1-9.

Ashbee, P. 1966. 'The Fussell's Lodge long barrow excavations 1957'. *Archaeologia* 100: 1-80.

Ashbee, P. 1981. 'Amesbury barrow 39: excavations 1960'. *WANHSM* 74/75: 1-34.

Ashbee, P. 1986. 'The excavation of Milton Lilborne barrows 1-5'. *WANHSM* 80: 23-96.

Ashbee, P. 2004. 'Early ditches: their forms and infills'. In R. Cleal and J. Pollard (eds.) *Monuments and Material Culture: Papers in Honour of an Avebury Archaeologist, Isobel Smith.* Hobnob Press: Salisbury, pp. 1-14.

Ashbee, P., Smith, I. and Evans, J.G. 1979. 'Excavation of three long barrows near Wiltshire, Avebury'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 45: 207-300.

Atkinson, R.J.C. 1967. 'Silbury Hill'. *Antiquity* 41: 259-262.

Atkinson, R.J.C. 1970. 'Silbury Hill, 1969-70'. *Antiquity* 44: 313-314.

Banfield, E. 2018. *Tales from The Ontological Tern: An Examination of the Role and Meaning of Faunal Remains in the Neolithic Long Barrows of Wiltshire.* Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Leicester.

Barad, K. 2013. 'Ma(r)king time: material entanglements and re-memberings: cutting-together-apart'. In P. Carlile, D. Nicolini, A. Langley and H. Tsoukas (eds.) *How Matter Matters: Objects, Artifacts and Materiality in Organization Studies*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, pp. 16.31.

Barnatt, J, and Smith, K. 2004. *The Peak District: Landscapes Through Time.* Windgather Press: Bollington.

Barnatt, J. 1990. *The Henges, Stone Circles and Ringcairns of the Peak District.* Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 1: Sheffield.

Barnatt, J. and Collis, J. 1996. *Barrows in the Peak District: Recent Research*. J.R. Collis Publications: Sheffield.

Barnatt, J. and Edmonds, M. 2002. 'Places apart? Caves and monuments in Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Age Britain'. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12(1): 113-129.

Barnatt, J., Bevan, B. and Edmonds, M. 2017. *An Upland Biography: Landscape and Prehistory on Gardom's Edge, Derbyshire*. Windgather Press: Oxford.

Barrett, J., Bradley, R., Green, M. and Lewis, B. 1981. 'The earlier prehistoric settlement of Cranborne Chase – the first results of current fieldwork'. *The Antiquaries Journal* 61(2): 203-237.

Barrett, J.C. 1999. 'The mythical landscapes of the British Iron Age'. In W. Ashmore and A. Bernard Knapp (eds.) *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford, pp. 253-265.

Bateman, T. 1847. *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire and the Sepulchral Usages of its Inhabitants from the Most Remote Ages to the Reformation*. John Russell Smith: London.

Bateman, T. 1861. *Ten Years' Diggings in Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills in the Counties of Derby, Stafford and York from 1848 to 1858 with Some Notices of Some Former Discoveries Hitherto Unpublished and Remarks on the Crania and Pottery from the Mounds*. John Russell Smith: London.

Bayley, J. and Butcher, S. 2004. *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*. Society of Antiquaries Report 68: London.

Bayliss, A. McAvoy, F and Whittle, A. 2007. 'The world recreated: redating Silbury Hill in its monumental landscape'. *Antiquity* 81: 26-53.

Bayliss, A., Whittle, A. and Wysocki, M. 2007. 'Talking about my generation: the date of the West Kennet Long Barrow'. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7(1): 85-101.

Bennett, J. 2005. 'The agency of assemblages and the north American blackout'. *Public Culture* 17(3): 445-465.

Bennett, J. 2010. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Duke University Press: London.

Berliner, D. 2005. 'The abuses of memory: reflections on the memory boom in anthropology. *Anthropological Quarterley* 78(1): 197-211.

Bersu, G. 1940. 'Excavations at Little Woodbury, Wiltshire'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 6: 30-111.

Beswick, P. & Wright, M. 1991. 'Iron Age burials from Winster'. In R. Hodges and K. Smith (eds.) *Recent Developments in the Archaeology of the Peak District*. JR Collis Publications: Sheffield, pp. 5-55.

Beswick, P. 2019a. 'Ceramics'. In R. May (ed.) *Parwich Barrows, Asbourne, Derbyshire: Archaeological Evaluation*. Unpublished grey literature report by ArcHeritage: Sheffield, pp. 32-35.

Beswick, P. 2019b. 'Ceramic'. In R. May (ed.) *Parwich Barrows, Asbourne, Derbyshire: Archaeological Evaluation*. Unpublished grey literature report by ArcHeritage: Sheffield, pp. 11-12.

Bevan, B. 2005. 'Peaks Romana: the Peak District Romano-British rural upland settlement survey, 1998-200'. *DAJ* 125: 26-58.

Biddle, M. 1967. 'Two Flavian burials from Winchester'. *Antiquaries Journal* 47: 224-250.

Bland, R., Chadwick, A., Ghey. E., Haselgrove, C., Mattingly, D., Rogers, A. and Taylor, J. 2020. *Iron Age and Roman Coin Hoards in Britain*. Oxbow: Oxford.

Bolt, B. 2013. 'Toward a 'New Materialism' through the arts'. In E. Barrett and B. Bolt (eds.) *Carnal Knowledge: Towards a New Materialism Through the Arts*. I.B. Tauris: London.

Boon, G.C. 1989. 'A Roman sculpture rehabilitated: the Pagan's Hill dog'. *Britannia* 20: 201-217.

Booth, A.L. 2015. *Reassessing the Long Chronology of the Pennanular Brooch in Britain: Exploring Changing Styles, Use and Meaning across a Millennium*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Leicester.

Borić, D. 2010. *Archaeology and Memory*. Oxbow: Oxford.

Boschung, D., Busch, A.W., and Versluys, M.J. 2015. *Reinventing the 'Invention of Tradition'? Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present*. Wilhelm Fink: Paderborn.

Bossy, J, 1985. *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Bowden, M., Soutar, S., Field, D. and Barber, M. 2015. *The Stonehenge Landscape: Analysing the Stonehenge World Heritage Site*. Historic England: Swindon.

Bradley, R. 1987. 'Time regained: the creation of continuity'. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 140: 1-17.

Bradley, R. 1998a. *The Passage of Arms: An Archaeological Analysis of Prehistoric Hoards and Votive Deposits*. Oxbow: Oxford.

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

Bradley, R. 2002. *The Past in Prehistoric Societies*. Routledge: London.

Bradley, R. 2015 'Piecing together a past'. In M. Díaz-Guardamino, L. García Sanjuan and D. Wheatley (eds.) *The Lives of Prehistoric Monuments in Iron Age, Roman and Medieval Europe*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, pp 325-342.

Bradley, R. and Nimura, C. 2016. *The Use and Reuse of Stone Circles: Fieldwork at Five Scottish Monuments and its Implications*. Oxbow: Oxford.

Bradley, R. and Williams, H. 1998. 'The past in the past: the reuse of ancient monuments. *World Archaeology* 30(1) 1-178.

Bramwell, D. 1954. 'Report on work at Ossum's Cave for 1954. *The Peakland Archaeological Society Bulletin* 11: 5-7.

Bramwell, D. 1954a. 'Second report on the excavation of Ossum's Cave'. *The Peakland Archaeological Society Bulletin* 12: 13-16.

Bramwell, D. 1954b. 'Report on excavations at Seven Ways Cave'. *Peakland Archaeological Society Newsletter* 10: 8-10.

Bramwell, D. 1959. 'The excavation of Dowel Cave, East Sterndale'. *DAJ* 79: 97-109

Bramwell, D. 1964. 'The excavations at Elder Bush Cave, Wetton, Staffs'. *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies* 4: 46-59.

Bramwell, D. 1971. 'Excavations at Fox Hole Cave, High Wheeldon, 1961-1970'. *DAJ* 91: 1-19.

Bramwell, D. 1977. 'Archaeology and palaeontology'. In T. Ford (ed.) *Limestones and Caves of the Peak District*. Geo Abstracts Ltd: Norwich.

Bramwell, D., Dalton, K., Drinkwater, J.F., Hassall, M., Lorimer, K.L. and Mackreth, D.F. 1983. 'Excavations at Poole's Cavern, Buxton: an interim report'. *DAJ* 103: 47-74.

Branigan, K. and Dearne, M.J. 1992. *Romano-British Cavemen: Cave use in Roman Britain*. Oxbow: Oxford.

Brickstock, R.J. 2011. 'Commerce'. In L. Allason-Jones (ed.) *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp. 20-45.

Brightman, J. and Waddington, C. 2011. *Archaeology and Aggregates in Derbyshire and the Peak District: A Resource Assessment and Management Framework*. Archaeological Research Services Ltd: Bakewell.

Brindle, T. 2017. 'Imported pottery in the Roman countryside: a consideration of samian and amphorae'. In A. Smith, T. Brindle and M. Fulford (eds.) *New Visions of the Countryside of Roman Britain, Volume 1: The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain*. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London, pp. 282-289.

Brindle, T., Payne, N. and Hinds, K. 2012. 'A new Romano-British rural site at Great Bedwyn/Shalbourne'. *WANHSM* 106: 81-88.

Brooke, J.W. 1910. 'The excavation of a Roman well near Silbury Hill, October, 1908'. *WANHSM* 36: 373-375.

Brooke, J.W. and Cunnington, B.H. 1897. 'Excavation of a Roman well near Silbury Hill, July and October 1896'. *WANHSM* 29: 166-171.

Brown, E. 1865. 'The exploration of Thor's Cave'. *Transactions of the Midlands Scientific Association* 1:1-16.

Browning, J. 2014. 'The Animal Bones from Reynard's Kitchen'. In A. Hyam (ed.) *An Archaeological Excavation at Reynard's Kitchen, Dovedale, Derbyshire*. ULAS Report 2014-085v2. University of Leicester Archaeological Services, pp. 46-52.

Bruck, J. 1999. 'Ritual and rationality: some problems of interpretation in European Archaeology'. *European Journal of Archaeology* 2(3): 313-344.

Burnham, B., and Watcher, J.S. 1990. *The Small Towns of Roman Britain*. Batsford: London.

Butler, J, 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge: London.

Caple, C. 2010. 'Ancestor artefacts – ancestor materials'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 29(3): 305-318.

Chadburn, A., and Linford, N. 2013. 'A possible Iron Age temple'. In J. Leary, D. Field and G. Campbell (eds.) *Silbury Hill: The Largest Prehistoric Mound in Europe*. English Heritage: Swindon, pp. 260-261.

Chadwick, A.M and Gibson, C.D. 2013. "Do you remember the first time?' A preamble through memory, myth and place'. In A.M. Chadwick and C.D. Gibson (eds.) *Memory, Myth and Long-term Landscape inhabitation*. Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 1-31.

Chadwick, A.M. 2017. 'The lives of prehistoric monuments in Iron Age, Roman, and Medieval Europe, edited by Marta Díaz-Guardamino, Leonardo García Sanjuan, and David Wheatley'. *Archaeological Journal* 174(2): 512-513.

Chamberlain, A. 2012. 'Caves and the funerary landscape of prehistoric Britain'. In H. Moyes (ed.) *Sacred Darkness: A Global Perspective on the Ritual use of Caves*. University Press of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, pp. 81-86.

Chamberlain, A. 2014. *Gazetteer of Caves, Fissures and Rock Shelters in Britain Containing Human Remains*. [ONLINE] Available at <http://caveburial.ubss.org.uk/> [Accessed August 2018].

Christie, P.M., Powers, R., Brothwell, D.R., Newell, R.F., Cornwall, I.W. and Kerney, M.P. 1968. 'A barrow-cemetery of the second millennium B.C. in Wiltshire, England'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 33: 336-366.

Clapham, A.W. 1922. 'Roman mausolea of the "cart-wheel" type'. *Archaeological Journal* 79: 93-100.

Clay, P. 2006. 'The Neolithic and Early to Middle Bronze Ages. In N. Cooper and P. Clay (eds.) *An Archaeological Resource Assessment and Research Agenda for the East Midlands.* University of Leicester: Leicester, pp. 69-98.

Clay, R.C.C. 1926a. 'The barrows on Middle Down, Aldvediston'. *WANHSM* 43: 432-439.

Clay, R.C.C. 1926b. 'The Woodminton group of barrows, Bowerchalke'. *WANHSM* 43: 313-326.

Clay, R.C.C. 1927. 'The barrows on Marleycombe Hill, Bowerchalk (1926)'. *WANHSM* 43: 548-556.

Cleal, R. 2005. "The small compass of a grave': Early Bronze Age burial in and around Avebury in the Marlborough Downs'. In. G. Brown, D. Field and D. McOmish (eds.) *The Avebury Landscape: Aspects of the Field Archaeology of the Marlborough Downs*. Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 115-132.

Cleal, R. and Pollard, J. 2016. 'Neolithic and Bronze Age'. In. M. Leivers and B. Powell (eds.) *Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites World Heritage Site: Avebury Resource Assessment, Vol 2*. Wessex Archaeology Monograph 38. Wessex Archaeology Ltd: Salisbury, pp. 80-98.

Cleal, R., Walker, K.E. and Montague, R. 1995. *Stonehenge in its Landscape: Twentieth-century Excavations*. English Heritage: Swindon.

Clifford, E.M. 1938. 'Roman altars in Gloucestershire'. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 60: 297-307.

Collis, J. 1983. *Wigber Low Derbyshire: a Bronze Age and Anglian Burial Site in the White Peak*. Department of Prehistory and Archaeology: Sheffield.

Colt-Hoare, R. 1975a. *The Ancient History of Wiltshire: Volume 1*: EP Publishing Ltd: Wakefield.

Colt-Hoare, R. 1975b. *The Ancient History of Wiltshire: Volume 2*: EP Publishing Ltd: Wakefield.

Connah, G. 1965. 'Excavations at Knap Hill, Alton Priors, 1961'. *WANHSM* 60: 1-23.

Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Conty, A.F. 2018. 'The politics of nature: new materialist responses to the Anthropocene'. *Theory, Culture and Society* 35(7-8): 73-96.

Cool, H.E.M. 1990. 'Roman metal hair pins from southern Britain'. *Archaeological Journal* 147: 148-182.

Cool, H.E.M. and Baxter, M.J. 2016. 'Brooches and Britannia'. *Britannia* 47: 71-98.

Cooper, A. 2016. 'Other types of meaning: relationships between round barrows and landscapes from 1500 BC-AC 1086'. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 26(4): 665-696.

Cooper, A. and Green, C. 2016. 'Embracing the complexities of 'big data' in archaeology: the case of the English Landscape and Identities Project'. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 23: 271-304.

Cooper, N. 2008. 'Romano-British pottery'. In M. Gillings, J. Pollard, D. Wheatley and R. Peterson (eds.) *Landscape of the Megaliths: Excavation and Fieldwork on the Avebury Monuments, 1997-2003*. Oxbow: Oxford, p. 234.

Cooper, N. 2014. 'Notable Finds from Reynard's Kitchen Cave, Dovedale, Derbyshire'. In A. Hyam (ed.) *An Archaeological Excavation at Reynard's Kitchen, Dovedale, Derbyshire*. ULAS Report 2014-085v2. University of Leicester Archaeological Services, pp. 38-40.

Cooper, N. and Clay, P. *An Archaeological Resource Assessment and Research Agenda for the East Midlands*. University of Leicester: Leicester.

Cooper, N., and Webster, J. 1996. *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives*. Leicester Archaeology Monograph 3. School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester: Leicester.

Corcoran, J.X.W.P. 1970. 'The Giant's Caves, Luckington'. *WANHSM* 65: 39-63.

Corney, M. 1997. 'New evidence for the Romano-British settlement at Silbury Hill'. *WANHSM* 90: 139-141.

Corney, M. 1997. 'The origins and development of the 'small town' of 'Cunetio', Mildenhall, Wiltshire'. *Brittania* 28: 337-350.

Corney, M. 2001. 'The Romano-British nucleated settlements of Wiltshire'. In P. Ellis (ed.) *Roman Wiltshire and After*. WAHNS: Devizes, pp. 5-38.

Corney, M. and Payne, A. 'The monuments and their setting'. In A. Payne, M. Corney and B. Cunliffe (eds.) *The Wessex Hillfort Project: Extensive Survey of Hillfort Interiors in Central Southern England*. English Heritage: London, pp. 39-150.

Cosh, S.R. and Neal, D.S. 2005. *Roman Mosaics of Britain. Vol. 2, South-West Britain*. Illuminata Publishers for the Society of Antiquaries of London: Barham.

Coward, F. 2008. 'Faunal remains'. In M. Gillings, J. Pollard, D. Wheatley and R. Peterson (eds.) *Landscape of the Megaliths: Excavation and Fieldwork on the Avebury Monuments, 1997-2003*. Oxbow: Oxford, p. 234-236.

Craig, O.E., Shillito, L-M., Albarella, U., Viner-Daniels, S., Chan, B., Cleal, R., Ixer, R., Jay, M., Marshall, P., Simmons, E., Wright, E. and Parker-Pearson, M., 2015. 'Feeding Stonehenge: cuisine and consumption at the Late Neolithic site of Durrington Walls'. *Antiquity* 89(347): 1096-1109.

Crease, S.M.E. 2015. *Re-thinking Ritual Traditions: Interpreting Structured Deposition in Watery Contexts in Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman Britain*. Unpublished Phd Thesis: University College London: London.

Crellin, R. 2017. 'Changing assemblages: vibrant matter in burial assemblage'. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 27(1): 111-125.

Crosby, V. and Hembrey, N. 2011. *Fields South of Silbury Hill, Wiltshire: Evaluation of the Romano-British Settlement Assessment Report*. English Heritage: Portsmouth.

Crosby, V. and Hembrey, N. 2013. 'An evaluation in the fields south of Silbury Hill in 2010: Romano-British settlement, later alluviation and Water Meadows'. *WANHSM* 106: 101-166.

Crosby, V., Field, D., Hembrey, N., Leary, J., Baker, P. and Campbell, G. 2013. 'In the shadow of the hill: Silbury Hill in the Roman and Medieval periods'. In Leary, D. Field and G. Campbell (eds.) *Silbury Hill: The Largest Prehistoric Mound in Europe*. English Heritage: Swindon, pp. 255-302.

Crummy, N. 1983. *Colchester Archaeological Report 2: The Roman Small Finds from Excavations in Colchester, 1971-1979*. Colchester Archaeological Trust Ltd: Colchester.

Cunliffe, B. 2012. *Britain Begins*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Cunliffe, B.W. and Davenport, P. 1985. *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, Vol 1 (1) The Site.* Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 7: Oxford.

Cunnington, B. 1887. 'Relics of ancient population on Oldbury Hill, Wilts'. *WANHSM* 23: 213-22.

Cunnington, B.H. and Cunnington, M. 1913. 'Casterley Camp excavations'. *WANHSM* 38*: 53-105.*

Cunnington, M. 1907. 'Oliver's Camp, Devizes'. *WANHSM* 35: 408-440.

Cunnington, M. 1909. 'Notes on a late Celtic rubbish heap near Oare'. *WANHSM* 36: 125-139.

Cunnington, M. 1911. 'Knap Hill Camp'. *WANHSM* 37: 42-65.

Cunnington, M. 1929. Woodhenge: *A Description of the Site as Revealed by Excavations Carried out there by Mr. and Mrs. B.H. Cunnington, 1926-8. Also of Four Circles and an Earthwork Enclosure South of Woodhenge*. George Simpson and Co: Devizes.

Cunnington, M. 1933. 'Yarnbury Castle, Wiltshire'. *WANHSM* 46: 198-217.

Cunnington, M. 1940. 'An urn from Wexcombe Down'. *WANHSM* 49: 164-165.

Cunnington, W. 1804. 'Further account of tumili opened in Wiltshire, in a letter from Mr. William Cunnington, F.A.S. to Aylmer Bourke Lambert, Esq. F.R.S., F.A.S. and F.L.S. Communicated by Mr Lambert. *Archaeologia* 15: 338-346.

Curnow, P.E. 1971. 'The coins'. In G. Wainwright (ed.) The excavation of prehistoric and Romano-British settlement near Durrington Walls, Wiltshire, 1970'. *WANHSM* 66: 76-128, pp. 116.

Dando, J. 2012. 'Mother Antony's Well. Iron Age studies in Wessex on the Marlborough Downs'. *Camertonia* 50: 35-39.

Dark, K.R. 1993. 'Roman-period activity at prehistoric ritual monuments in Britain and in the Armorican Peninsula'. In E.Scott (ed.) *TRAC: Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference First Conference Proceedings.* Worldwide Archaeology Series: Aldershot, pp. 133-146.

Darvill, T. 2004. *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds and Surrounding Areas*. Tempus: Stroud

Darvill, T. 2006. *Stonehenge: The Biography of a Landscape*. Tempus: Stroud.

Darvill, T. 2015. *A Research Framework for the Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated World Heritage Site: Research Activity in the Stonehenge Landscape 2005-2012*. Wessex Archaeology Ltd: Salisbury.

Darvill, T. and Wainwright, G. 2009. 'Stonehenge excavations 2008'. *The Antiquaries Journal* 89: 1-19.

Darvill, T., Marshall, P., Parker Pearson, M and Wainwright, G. 2012. 'Stonehenge remodelled'. *Antiquity* 86: 1021-1040.

Daubney, A.J. 2015. *Portable Antiquities, Palimpsests, and Persistent Places in Lincolnshire, with Particular Reference to three Middle Saxon Case Studies*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Leicester.

Davies, J.A. 1995. 'Coins'. In R. Cleal, K.E. Walker and R. Montague (eds.) *Stonehenge in its Landscape: Twentieth-century Excavations*. English Heritage: Swindon, pp. 431-432.

de C. Nan Kivell, R. 1926. 'Objects found during excavations of the Romano-British site at Stockton Earthworks'. *WANHSM* 43: 389-394.

de C. Nan Kivell, R. 1927. 'Objects found during excavations on the Romano-British site at Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton, Deverill, 1924'. *WANHSM* 43: 180-191.

de C. Nan Kivell, R. 1929. 'Objects found during excavations on the Romano-British site at Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton, Deverill, 1926'. *WANHSM* 44: 138-142.

De S. Shortt, H. 1963. 'The coin'. In F. Vatcher (ed.) 'The excavation of the barrows on Lamb Down, Codford St. Mary'. *WANHSM* 58: 417-441, pp. 431.

Dearne, M. 1993. *Navio: The Fort and Extramural settlement at Brough-on-Noe, Derbyshire*. BAR British Series 234. Archaeopress: Oxford.

Dearne, M., Anderson, S. and Branigan, K. 1995. 'Excavations at Brough Field, Carsington, 1980. *DAJ* 115: 37-75.

Díaz-Guardamino, M., García Sanjuan, L. and Wheatley, D. 2015. 'The lives of prehistoric monuments in Iron Age, Roman, and Medieval Europe: an introduction'. In M. Díaz-Guardamino, L. García Sanjuan and D. Wheatley (eds.) *The Lives of Prehistoric Monuments in Iron Age, Roman and Medieval Europe*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, pp 3.17.

Domanska, E. 2006. 'The return to things'. *Archaeologia Polona* 44: 171-185.

Dool, J. 1976. 'The Roman material from Rainster Rocks, Brassington'. *DAJ* 96: 17-22.

Dool, J. and Hughes, R. 1976. 'Two Roman pigs of lead from Derbyshire. *DAJ* 96: 15-16.

Draper, S.A. 2006. *Landscape, Settlement and Society in Roman and Early Medieval Wiltshire*. BAR British Series 419: Oxford.

Dunn, P. 2014. *Little Chester Roman Fort, Derby, Derbyshire: Archaeological Evaluation Report*. Oxford Archaeology North: Lancaster.

Dunning, G.C. and Jessup, R.F. 1936. 'Roman barrows'. *Antiquity* 10(37): 37-53.

Eaton, T. 2000. *Plundering the Past: Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain*. Tempus: Stroud.

Eckardt, H. 2000. 'Illuminating Roman Britain'. In G. Fincham, G. Harrison, R. Rogers Holland and L. Revell (eds.) *TRAC 99: Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 1999*. Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 8-21.

Eckardt, H. 2004. 'Remembering and forgetting in the Roman provinces'. In B. Croxford., H. Eckardt., J. Meade., and J. Weekes (eds.) TRAC 2003: *Proceedings of the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Leicester 2003*: Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 36-50.

Eckardt, H. 2014. *Objects and Identities: Roman Britain and the North-West Provinces.* Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Eckardt, H. 2017. 'Writing power: the material culture of literacy as representation and practice'. In A. Van Oyen and M. Pitts (eds.) *Matetialising Roman Histories*. Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 23-30.

Eckardt, H. and Williams, H. 2003. 'Objects without a past? The use of Roman objects in early Anglo-Saxon graves'. In H. Williams (ed.) *Archaeologies of Remembrance*. Springer: Boston, MA: pp. 141-170.

Eckardt, H. and Williams, S. 2018. 'The sound of magic? Bells in Roman Britain'. *Britannia* 49: 179-210.

Eckardt, H., Brewer, P., Hay, S. and Poppy, S. 2009. 'Roman barrows and their landscape context: a GIS case study at Bartlow, Cambridgeshire'. *Britannia* 60: 65-98.

Edmonds, M. 2012. 'Biographies and afterlives'. In A.M. Jones, J. Pollard., J. Allen, M.J. Gardiner (eds.) *Image, Memory and Monumentality*. Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 146-162

Ellis, P. 2001. *Roman Wiltshire and After: Papers in Honour of Ken Annable*. WAHNS: Devizes.

Emery, G.T. 1962. 'Excavations in Falcon Low and Cheshire Wood Caves in the Manifold valley'. *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies* 2: 33-36.

Erdman, K.M. and Chaume, B. 2019. 'Tracing 2000 years at the source of the Douix, Côte-d'Or, France: water, offerings, and recurrence'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 85: 307-330.

Esmonde-Cleary, S. 2000. 'Putting the dead in their place: burial location in Roman Britain'. In J. Pearce, M. Millett and M. Struck (eds.) *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World.* Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 127-142.

Evans, J. G. 1966. 'A Romano-British interment in the bank of the Winterbourne, near Avebury'. *WANHSM* 61: 97-98.

Evans, J.G. and Wainwright, G.J. 1979. 'The Woodhenge excavations;. In G.K. Wainwright (ed.). *Mount Pleasant, Dorset, Excavations 1970-1971*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries. Society of Antiquaries: London, pp. 71-74.

Fahlander, F. 2018. 'The relational life of trees: ontological aspects of 'tree-ness' in the Early Bronze Age of northern Europe'. *Open Archaeology* 4: 373-385.

Farrer, P. 1918. 'Durrington Walls, or Long Walls'. *WANHSM* 40: 95-103.

Faulkner, N. 2000. *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain*. Tempus: Stroud.

Fentress, J.J. and Wickham, C. 1992. *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Ferris, I. 2012. *Roman Britain Through its Objects*. Amberley Publishing: Stroud.

Field, D. 1998. 'Round barrows and the harmonious landscape: placing Early Bronze Age burial monuments in south-east England'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 17(3): 309-236.

Field, D. 2006. *Earthen Long Barrows: the Earliest Monuments in the British Isles*. Tempus: Stroud.

Field, D., Bowden, M. and Soutar, S. 2012. *Stonehenge World Heritage Site Landscape Project: The Avenue and Stonehenge Bottom Archaeological Survey Report*. Research Report Series 31-2012. English Heritage: Swindon.

Fitzpatrick, A. 2003. *New School Site, Boscombe Down, Wiltshire: Archaeological Excavation*. Wessex Archaeology Unpublished Report Series. [ONLINE] Available at <https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/browse/issue.xhtml?recordId=1119048 andrecordType=GreyLitSeries>.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 2016. 'Iron Age'. In. M. Leivers and B. Powell (eds.) *Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites World Heritage Site: Avebury Resource Assessment, Vol 2*. Wessex Archaeology Monograph 38. Wessex Archaeology Ltd: Salisbury, pp 101-104.

Flower, H.I. 2017. *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden: Religion at the Roman Street Corner.* Princeton University Press: Oxford.

Fontin, D. 2015. 'Reinventing tradition in the Roman west? Some reflections on the re-use of prehistoric burial mounds'. In D. Boschung., A.W. Busch and M.J. Versluys (eds.) *Reinventing the 'Invention of Tradition'? Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present*. Wilhelm Fink: Paderborn, pp. 189-214.

Foster, A. 2001. 'Romano-British burials in Wiltshire'. In P. Ellis (ed.) *Roman Wiltshire and After*. WAHNS: Devizes, pp. 165-177.

Fowler, C. 2013. *The Emergent Past: A Relational Realist Archaeology of Early Bronze Age Mortuary Practices*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Fowler, C. and Harris, O. 2015. 'Enduring relations: exploring a paradox of new materialism'. *Journal of Material Culture* 20(2): 127-148.

Fowler, E. 1963. 'The penannular brooch'. In F. Vatcher (ed.) 'The excavation of the barrows on Lamb Down, Codford St. Mary'. *WANHSM* 58: 417-441, pp. 427-429.

Fowler, P.J. 2000. *Landscape Plotted and Pieced: Landscape History and Local Archaeology in Fyfield and Overton, Wiltshire.* Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 64. Society of Antiquaries: London.

Frere, S. 1967. *Britannia*. Routledge: London.

Frere, S.S, Hassall, M.W.C. and Tomlin, R.S.O 1992. 'Roman Britain in 1991 I: sites explored'. *Britannia* 23: 255-323.

Fulford, M. 1975. *New Forest Roman Pottery: Manufacture and Distribution with a Corpus of Pottery Types*. British Archaeological Reports 17: Oxford.

Fulford, M. 2001. 'Links with the past: pervasive 'ritual' behaviour in Roman Britain'. *Britannia*: 32: 199-218.

Fulford, M., Powell, A.B., Entwistle, R. and Raymond, F. 2006. *Iron Age and Romano-British Settlements and Landscapes of Salisbury Plain*. Oxbow: Oxford.

Galinsky, K. 2015. 'Introduction'. In K. Galinsky and K.D.S. Lapatin (eds.). *Cultural Memories in the Roman Empire*. The J. Paul Getty Museum: Los Angeles, pp. 1-22.

Galinsky, K. and Lapatin, K.D.S. 2015. *Cultural Memories in the Roman Empire*. The J. Paul Getty Museum: Los Angeles.

Gardiner, J. 1995. 'The assimilation of the monument and post-Bronze Age use and abuse'. In R. Cleal, K.E. Walker and R. Montague (eds.) *Stonehenge in its Landscape: Twentieth-century Excavations*. English Heritage: Swindon, pp. 332-343.

Gardner, A. 2013. 'Thinking about Roman Imperialism: postcolonialism, globalisation and beyond?'. *Britannia* 44: 1-25.

Geddes, I. 2000. *Hidden Depths: Wiltshire's Geology and Landscapes*. Libris: Bradford on Avon.

Gerritsen, F. 2007. 'Familiar landscapes with unfamiliar pasts: Bronze Age barrows and Iron Age communities in the southern Netherlands'. In C. Haselgrove and R. Pope (eds.) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the Near Continent.* Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 338-353.

Ghisleni, L. 2018 'Contingent persistence: continuity, change and identity in the Romanization debate'. *Current Anthropology* 59(2): 138-166.

Ghosh, A. 2016. *The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable*. University of Chicago Press: London.

Giddens, A. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Structuration*. University of California Press: Berkeley.

Gillings, M. 2017. 'Mapping liminality: critical frameworks for the GIS-based modelling of visibility'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 84: 121-128.

Gillings, M. and Pollard, J. 2004. *Avebury.* Duckworth: London.

Gillings, M. and Pollard, J. 2008. 'Later prehistoric, Roman and early post-Roman activity in Longstones Field'. In M. Gillings, J. Pollard, D. Wheatley and R. Peterson (eds.) *Landscape of the Megaliths: Excavation and Fieldwork on the Avebury Monuments, 1997-2003.* Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 225-237.

Gillings, M. and Pollard, J. 2017*. Excavations on Avebury Down, Avebury, Wiltshire, July-August 2017: An Interim Report.* Living with Monuments Project LMP Report 2.

Gillings, M., Pollard, J and Pike, A. Forthcoming. *Living with Monuments: Excavations from the Pallisades Enclosure, Avebury.*

Gillings, M., Pollard, J. and Strutt, K. 2019. 'The origins of Avebury'. *Antiquity* 93(368): 359-377.

Gillings, M., Pollard, J., Wheatley, D. and Peterson, R. 2008*. Landscape of the Megaliths: Excavation and Fieldwork on the Avebury Monuments, 1997-2003*. Oxbow: Oxford.

Gingell, C. 1979. 'A secondary cremation from bowl barrow Bromham G2, and some earlier finds'. *WANHSM* 74: 35-9.

Glasbergen, W. 1954. 'Barrow excavations in the Eight Beatitudes. The Bronze Age cemetery between Toterfout and Halve Mijl, North Brabant, I: the excavations.' *Palaeohistoria* 2: 1-134.

Goddard, E.H. 1913. 'A list of prehistoric, Roman and Pagan Saxon antiquities in the county of Wilts arranged under parishes'. WANHSM 38: 153-378.

Goddard, E.H. 1923. 'Roman pavement near Avebury'. *WANHSM* 42: 359-361.

González-Ruibal, A. 2018. 'Beyond the Anthropocene: defining the age of destruction'. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 51: 10-21.

Goodard, E.H. 1913. 'A list of prehistoric, Roman and Pagan Saxon antiquities in the county of Wilts arranged under parishes'. *WANHSM* 38: 153-378.

Gosden, C. and Lock, G. 1998. 'Prehistoric histories'. *World Archaeology* 30(1): 2-12.

Gosden, C. and Marshall, Y. 1999. 'The cultural biography of objects'. *World Archaeology* 31(2): 303-320.

Gray, H. St G. 1935. 'The Avebury excavations'. *Archaeologia* 84: 99-162.

Griffiths, N. 2001. 'The Roman army in Wiltshire'. In P. Ellis (ed.) *Roman Wiltshire and After*. WAHNS: Devizes, pp. 39-72.

Grinsell, L. 1957. 'Archaeological gazetteer'. In R.B. Pugh and E. Critall (eds.) *A History of Wiltshire, Vol 1, Part 1*. Victoria County History. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Guest, P. 2017. 'The burial, loss and recovery of Roman coin hoards in Britain and beyond: past, present and future'. In J. Naylor and R. Bland (eds.) *Hoarding and the Deposition of Metalwork from the Bronze Age to the 20th Century: A British Perspective*. BAR British Series 615. Archaeopress: Oxford, pp. 101-116.

Guido, M. 1978. *The Glass Beads of the Prehistoric and Roman Periods in Britain and Ireland*. Thames & Hudson: London.

Harding, A. 2002. 'Bronze Age'. In S. Milisauskas (ed.) *European Prehistory: A Survey*. Kluwer Academic: London, pp. 271-330.

Harding, D. 2012. *Iron Age Hillforts in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Harding, P. and Gingell, C. 1986. 'The excavation of two long barrows by F. de M. and H.F.W.L. Vatcher'. *WANHSM* 800: 7-22.

Harding, P.A. and Lewis, C. 1997. 'Archaeological investigations at Tockenham, 1994. *WANHSM* 90: 26-41.

Harris, O. 2016. 'Becoming post-human: identity and the ontological turn'. In E. Pierce, A. Russell, A. Maldonado and L. Campbell (eds.) *Creating Material Worlds: Theorising Identity in Archaeology.* Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 17-37.

Harris, O. and Cipolla, C. 2017. *Archaeological Theory in the New Millennium: Introducing Current Perspectives*. Routledge: London.

Hart, C. 1981. *The North Derbyshire Archaeological Survey.* North Derbyshire Archaeological Trust: Chesterfield.

Haselgrove, C. & Digg-Wolf D. 2005. *Iron Age Coinage and Ritual Practices*. Philipp von Zabern: Mainz.

Hattatt, R. 2000*. A Visual Catalogue of Richard Hattatt's Ancient Brooches*. Oxbow: Oxford.

Haverfield, F. 1905. 'Roman remains'. In W. Page (ed.) *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Derbyshire, Vol 1*. Archibald Constable and Co Ltd: London, pp. 191-263.

Haverfield, F. 1915. 'Old Sarum and Sorbiodunum'. *WANHSM* 39: 22-29.

Henig, M. 2001. 'Art in Roman Wiltshire'. In P. Ellis (ed.) *Roman Wiltshire and After*. WAHNS: Devizes, pp. 107-126.

Heritage Standards. 2020. Chronology. [ONLINE]. Available at <http://www.heritage-standards.org.uk/chronology> [Accessed 16 April 2017].

Heritage Standards. 2020. Monument Types Thesaurus. [ONLINE]. Available at <http://www.heritage-standards.org.uk/White Peak-content/uploads/2020/02/Mon_alpha.pdf> [Accessed 12 February 2020].

Hicks, D. 2010. 'The material culture turn: event and affect'. In D. Hicks and M.C. Beaudry (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, pp. 25-98.

Hill, J.D. 1995. *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex: A Study on the Formation of a Specific Archaeological Record*. Tempus Repartum: Oxford.

Hingley, R. 1989. *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*. Seaby: London.

Hingley, R. 1996. 'Ancestors and identity in the later prehistory of Atlantic Scotland: the reuse and reinvention of Neolithic monuments and material culture.' *World Archaeology* 28(2): 231-243.

Hingley, R. 2005. *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire*. Routledge: London.

Hingley, R. 2009. 'Esoteric knowledge? Ancient bronze artefacts in Iron Age contexts'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 75: 143-165.

Historic England. 2019. *A Guide to the Historic Environment Records in England*. Historic England: Swindon.

Hobsbawm, E. 1972. 'The social function of the past'. *Past and Present* 55: 3-17.

Hobsbawm, E. 1983. 'Introduction'. In E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp. 1-14.

Hodder, I. 2012. *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things*. Wiley-Blackwell: Oxford.

Hodges, R. 1991. *Wall-to-Wall History: The Story of Roystone Grange*. Duckworth: London.

Hodges, R. and Smith, K. 1991. *Recent Developments in the Archaeology of the Peak District*. J.R. Collis Publications: Sheffield.

Hodges, R. and Wildgoose, M. 1981. 'Roman or native in the White Peak: the Roystone Grange project'. *DAJ* 101: 42-57.

Holbrook, N., Davenport, P., Evans, D., Holbrook, N., King, T., Leach, P and Webster, C. 2008. 'Roman'. In C. Webster (ed.) *South West Archaeological Research Framework: The Archaeology of South West England Resource Assessment and Research Agenda*. Somerset Heritage Service: Taunton, pp. 151-162.

Holderness, H., Davies, G., Chamberlain, A. and Donahue, R. 2006. *Protocol Report – A Conservation Audit of the Archaeological Cave Resources in the Peak District and Yorkshire Dales*. ARCUS Report 743.b. English Heritage.

Holtorf, C.J. 1997. 'Megaliths, monumentality and memory'. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 14(2): 45-65.

Hope, V. 2003. 'Remembering Rome: memory, funerary monuments and the Roman soldier'. In H. Williams (ed.) *Archaeologies of Remembrance*. Springer: Boston, MA: pp. 113-140.

Hostetter, E. and Noble Howe, T. 1997. *The Romano-British villa at Castle Copse, Great Bedwyn*. Indiana University Press: Indianapolis.

Hughes, P. 2013. *Interpretatio peregrina: a Postcolonial Approach to Religious Interaction in Roman Britain – the Case of the Dobunni.* Unpublished MA Thesis: University of Leicester.

Hunter Mann, K. 1999. 'Excavations at Vespasian's Camp Iron Age hillfort'. *WANHSM* 92: 39-52.

Hurst, S. and Rahtz, P. 1996. 'Liddington Castle and the Battle of Badon: excavation and research 1976'. *Archaeological Journal* 153: 1-59.

Huskinson, J. 2000. 'Looking for culture, identity and power'. In J. Huskinson (ed.) *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire.* Routledge: Oxford, pp. 3-27.

Hutton, R. 2011. 'Romano-British reuse of prehistoric ritual sites'. *Britannia* 42: 1-22.

Hutton, R. 2013. *Pagan Britain.* Yale University Press: London.

Hyam, A. 2014. *An Archaeological Excavation at Reynard's Kitchen, Dovedale, Derbyshire.* ULAS Report 2014-085v2. University of Leicester Archaeological Services.

Illsley, W. R. 2019. 'Problematising the Historic Environment Record: comments on persistent issues in England and Sweden'. *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 21(2): 113-134.

Ingold, T. 1993. 'The temporality of landscape'. *World Archaeology* 25: 152-174.

James, D. 2002. '*Sorviodunum* – a review of the archaeological evidence'. *WANHSM* 95: 1-27.

Jervis, B. 2014. 'Middens, memory and the effects of waste. Beyond symbolic meaning in archaeological deposits. An early medieval case study'. *Archaeological Dialogues* 21(2): 175-196.

Jewitt, L. 1863. 'Notice of the opening of some Celtic gravemounds in the High Peak'. *The Reliquary* 3: 159-169.

Johnson, M. 2010. *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction.* Blackwell: Oxford.

Johnson, P. and Walters, B. 1988. 'Exploratory excavations of Roman buildings at Cherhill and Manningford Bruce'. *WANHSM* 82: 77-91.

Jones, A.M, Díaz-Guardamino, M, and Crellin, R.J. 2016. 'From artefact biographies to 'multiple objects': a new analysis of the decorated plaques of the Irish Sea region'. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 49(2): 113-133.

Jones, B. and Mattingly, D. 1990. *An Atlas of Roman Britain.* Oxbow: Oxford.

Jones, G. & Webster, P. 1969. 'Derbyshire ware – a reappraisal'. *DAJ* 89: 18-24.

Jones, H. 1997. *The Region of Derbyshire and North Staffordshire from AD350 to AD700: An analysis of Romano-British and Anglian Barrow use in the White Peak.* Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Nottingham.

Joy, J. 2009. 'Reinvigorating object biography: reproducing the drama of object lives;. *World Archaeology* 41(4): 540-556.

Kamash, Z. 2016. 'Memories of the past in Roman Britain'. In M. Millett., L. Revell and A. Moore (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain.* Oxford University Press: Oxford, pp. 681-696.

Kamash, Z. 2017. 'Postcard to Palmyra: bringing the public into debates over post-conflict reconstruction in the Middle East'. *World Archaeology* 49(5): 608-622.

Kehoe, D. 2012. 'Contract labor' In W. Scheidel (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp. 89-113.

Kelly, J. 1960. 'Excavation at Reynard's Cave, Dovedale'. *DAJ* 80: 117-123.

Kelly, J.H. 1976. *The Excavation of Wetton Mill Rock Shelter, Manifold Valley, Staffordshire.* Stoke on Trent Museum Archaeological Society Report No 9: Stoke on Trent.

Kenyon, K. 1948. *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester.* Society of Antiquaries Research Report 15: London.

Kinnes, I. 1992. *Non-Megalithic Long Barrows and Allied Structures in the British Neolithic.* British Museum: London.

Klein, K.L. 2000. 'On the emergence of memory in historical discourse'. *Representations* 69: 127-150.

Knappett, C. and Malafouris, L. 2008. *Material Agency: Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach.* Springer: London.

Koptyoff, I. 1986. 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process'. In A. Appadurai (ed.) The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp. 64-91.

Lamdin-Whymark, H. 2008. *The Residue of Ritualised Action: Neolithic Deposition Practices in the Middle Thames Valley.* British Archaeological Reports British Series 446: Oxford.

Lane, H. 1986. *The Romans in Derbyshire. Lead Mining and the Search for Lutudarum.* Veritas: Bolsover.

Lash, R. 2018. 'Enchantments of stone: confronting other-than-human agency in Irish pilgrimage practices'. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 18(3): 284-305.

Latour, B. 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern.* Trans. by C. Porter. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.

Latour, B. 1999. *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*. Harvard University Press: Plymouth, MA.

Leahy, K. and Lewis, M. 2018. *Finds Identified: An Illustrated Guide to Metal Detecting and Archaeological Finds. Greenlight Publishing*: Coggeshall.

Leary, J. and Field, D. 2010. *The Story of Silbury Hill*. English Heritage: Swindon.

Leary, J., Field., D and Campbell, G. 2013. *Silbury Hill: the Largest Prehistoric Mound in Europe*. English Heritage: Swindon.

Lees, D. 1999. 'The 'Sanctuary', Avebury: an architectural re-assessment'. *WANHSM* 92: 1-6.

Leivers, M. and Powell, B. 2016. *Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites World Heritage Site: Avebury Resource Assessment*. Wessex Archaeology Monograph 38. Wessex Archaeology Ltd: Salisbury.

Leivers, M., Powell, A.B., Pomeroy-Kellinger, M. and Simmonds, S. 2016. 'Introduction'. In. M. Leivers and B. Powell (eds.). *Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites World Heritage Site: Avebury Resource Assessment, Vol 1*. Wessex Archaeology Monograph 38. Wessex Archaeology Ltd: Salisbury, pp 1-3.

Liens, I. 2014. 'Appendix 1: the coins'. In A, Hyam (ed.) *An Archaeological Excavation at Reynard's Kitchen, Dovedale, Derbyshire*. ULAS Report 2014-085v2. University of Leicester Archaeological Services, pp. 32-37.

Linford, N., Linford, P. and Payne, A. 2018. *Verlucio and Environs Project, Bowood Estate, Calne Without, Wiltshire: Report on Geophysical Surveys, February 2018*. Research Report Series no 41. Historic England [ONLINE] < https://research.historicengland.org.uk/Report.aspx?i=16093> Accessed 25th May 2019.

Linford, N., Linford, P., Martin, L. and Payne, A. 2009. *Silbury Hill, Wiltshire: Report on Geophysical Surveys, 2005-2008*. English Heritage: Swindon.

Ling, R. and Courtney, T. 'Excavations at Carsington, 1979-80'. *DAJ* 101: 58-87.

Ling, R., Hunt, C., Manning, W., Wild, F. and Wild, J. 1990. 'Excavations at Carsington, 1983-84. *DAJ* 110: 30-55.

Lobb, S. 1995. 'Excavation at Crofton causewayed enclosure'. *WANHSM* 88: 18-

Lock, G. and Rolston, I. 2017. *Atlas of Hillforts of Britain and Ireland*. [ONLINE] Available at < httpSs://hillforts.arch.ox.ac.uk>.

Lodwick, L. 2017. 'Arable farming, plant foods and resources' In M. Allen and L. Lodwick (eds.) *New Visions of the Countryside of Roman Britain, Volume 2: The Rural Economy of Roman Britain*. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London, pp.11-82.

Lomas, J. 1958. 'Problems of the Roman road between Buxton and Little Chester'. *DAJ* 78: 103-109.

Long, D., Chambers, F. and Barnatt, J. 1998. 'The Palaeoenvironment and the vegetation history of a later prehistoric field system at Stoke Flat om the gritstone uplands of the Peak District'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 25: 505-519.

Lukis, W.C. 1967. 'Notes on barrow-diggings in the parish of Collingbourne Ducis'. *WANHSM* 10: 85-103.

Macdonald, P. and Parkes, P. 2008. 'Metalwork'. In M. Gillings, J. Pollard, D. Wheatley and R. Peterson (eds.) *Landscape of the Megaliths: Excavation and Fieldwork on the Avebury Monuments, 1997-2003*. Oxbow: Oxford, p. 232-233.

MacGregor, M. and Simpson, D.D.A. 1963. 'A group of iron objects from Barbury Castle, Wilts'. *WANHSM* 58: 394-402.

Mackreth, D.F. 1982. 'Two brooches from Stonea, Cambs and Bicester, Oxon, and the origin of the Aesica brooch'. *Britannia* 13: 310-315.

Mackreth, D.F. 2011a. *Brooches in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain, Vol 1*. Oxbow: Oxford.

Mackreth, D.F. 2011b. *Brooches in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain, Vol 2*. Oxbow: Oxford.

Makepeace, G. 1990. 'An early Iron Age settlement at Harborough Rocks, Brassington'. *DAJ* 110: 24-29.

Makepeace, G. 1995. 'The Romano-British settlement at Staden, near Buxton: the 1987-88 and 1989-90 excavations and final report'. *DAJ* 115: 107-135.

Makepeace, G. 2004. 'Harborough Rocks – Early Iron Age settlement near Brassington, 2nd report' *DAJ* 124: 64-68.

Malim, C. and Martin, A. 2007. 'A Romano-British roadside settlement on Chapperton down, Salisbury Plain Training Area'. *WANHSM* 100: 104-130.

Manby, T.G. 1958. 'Chambered tombs of Derbyshire'. *DAJ* 78: 25-39.

Manby,T.G. 1965. 'The excavation of Green Low chambered tomb'. *DAJ* 85: 1-24.

Manning, W.H. 1985. *Catalogue of the Romano-British Iron Tools, Fittings and Weapons in the British Museum*. British Museum Press: London.

Margary, I.D. 1967. *Roman Roads in Britain*. Revised Edition. J. Baker: London.

Marsden, B, 1982a. 'The excavations of the Roystone Grange round cairn (Ballidon 12), Ballidon, Derbyshire'. *DAJ* 102: 23-32.

Marsden, B. 1963. 'The re-excavation of Green Low – a Bronze Age round barrow on Alsop Moor, Derbyshire'. *DAJ* 83: 82-89.

Marsden, B. 1964. 'The excavation of a Bronze Age barrow on Haddon Grove Farm, Lathkill Dale, Derbyshire'. *DAJ* 84: 102-112.

Marsden, B. 1977. *The Burial Mounds of Derbyshire*. Barry Marsden: Derby.

Marsden, B. 1982b. 'Excavations at Minninglow chambered cairn (Ballidon 1), Ballidon, Derbyshire. *DAJ* 102: 8-22.

Marsden, B. 1988. *The Barrow Knight: Thomas Bateman – Pioneer Archaeologist.* K.M. Publications: Bingley.

Mattingly, D.J. 1997. *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism. Power, Discourse and the Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire.* Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Volume 23. Portsmouth, RI.

Mattingly, D.J. 2006. *An Imperial Impression: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC-AD 409.* Penguin: London.

Mattingly, D.J. 2011. *Imperialism, Power and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire.* Princeton University Press: Princeton.

May, R. 2019. *Parwich Barrows, Asbourne, Derbyshire: Archaeological Evaluation.* Unpublished grey literature report by ArcHeritage: Sheffield.

Mayor, A. 2000. *The First Fossil Hunters: Palaeontology in Greek and Roman Times.* Princeton University Press: Oxford.

Mays, S. 1993. 'Infanticide in Roman Britain'. *Antiquity* 67: 883-888.

McKinley, J. 2000. 'Phoenix rising: aspects of cremation in Roman Britain'. In J. Pearce, M. Millett and M. Struck (eds.) *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World.* Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 38-44.

McNabb, J. 2006. 'The Palaeolithic'. In N. Cooper and P. Clay (eds.) *An Archaeological Resource Assessment and Research Agenda for the East Midlands.* University of Leicester: Leicester, pp. 11-50.

McOmish, D.S., Field, D.J. and Brown, G. 2002. *The Field Archaeology of the Salisbury Plain Training Area.* English Heritage: Swindon.

Meade, J. 2004. 'Prehistoric landscapes of the Ouse Valley and their use in the Late Iron Age and Romano-British period'. In B. Croxford, H. Eckardt, J. Meade and J. Weekes (eds.) *TRAC 2003: Proceedings of the Thirteenth Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Leicester 2003.* Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 78-89.

Middleton, D., and Edwards, D. 1990. *Collective Remembering.* SAGE: London.

Millett, M. 1994. 'Treasure: interpreting Roman hoards'. In S. Cottam, D. Dungworth, S. Scott & J. Taylor (eds.) *TRAC 94: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*. Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 99-106.

Millett, M. and Gowland, R. 2015. 'Infant and child burial rites in Roman Britain: a study from East Yorkshire'. *Britannia* 46: 171-189.

Mills, B.J. and Walker, W.H. 2008. *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices*. SAR Press: Santa Fe, NM.

Mol, E. 2017. 'Object ontology and cultural taxonomies: examining the agency of style, material and objects in classification through Egyptian material culture in Pompeii and Rome'. In A. Van Oyen and M. Pitts (eds.) *Materialising Roman Histories*. Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 169-189.

Montague, R. 1995. 'Metalwork'. In R. Cleal, K.E. Walker and R. Montague (eds.) *Stonehenge in its Landscape: Twentieth-century Excavations*. English Heritage: Swindon, pp. 432-434.

Moore, T. 2007. 'Life on the edge? Exchange, community and identity in the later Iron Age of the Severn-Cotswolds'. In C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 41-61.

Moorhead, S. 2001. 'Coins'. In P. Ellis (ed.) *Roman Wiltshire and After*. WAHNS: Devizes, pp. 85-105.

Moorhead, S. 2011a. *A History of Roman Coinage in Britain*. Greenlight Publishing: Witham, Essex.

Moorhead, S. 2011b. *Roman Coins from the Silbury Region: Archaeological Report*. English Heritage: Swindon.

Moorhead, S. 2013a. 'Coins'. In J. Leary, D. Field and G. Campbell (eds.). *Silbury Hill: The Largest Prehistoric Mound in Europe*. English Heritage: Swindon, pp. 265.

Moorhead, S. 2013b. 'The coins'. In V. Crosby and N. Hembrey (eds.) 'An evaluation in the fields south of Silbury Hill in 2010: Romano-British settlement, later alluviation and water meadows. *WANHSM* 106: 101-166, pp.122-126.

Moorhead, S. and Walton, P. 2014. 'Coinage at the end of Roman Britain'. In F.K. Haarer (ed.) *AD 410: The History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London, pp. 99-116.

Moyes, H. 2012. 'Introduction'. In H. Moyes (ed.) *Sacred Darkness: A Global Perspective on the Ritual use of Caves*. University Press of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, pp. 1-14.

Mullin, D. 2001. 'Remembering, forgetting and the invention of tradition: burial and natural places in the English Early Bronze Age'. *Antiquity* 75: 533-537.

Mullin, D. 2016. 'Middle and Late Bronze Age'. In M. Leivers and B. Powell (eds.) *Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites World Heritage Site: Avebury Resource Assessment, Vol 2*. Wessex Archaeology Monograph 38. Wessex Archaeology Ltd: Salisbury, pp 98-100.

Myers, A. 2006. 'The Mesolithic'. In N. Cooper and P. Clay (eds.) *An Archaeological Resource Assessment and Research Agenda for the East Midlands.* University of Leicester: Leicester, pp. 51-68.

Newall, R.S. 1931. 'Barrow 85 Amesbury [Goddard's list] Lat, 51° 9' 32.7'' Long. 1° 44' 44.8'''. *WANHSM* 45: 432-458.

Olivier, L. 2015. *The Dark Abyss of Time: Archaeology and Memory*. Trans. by A. Greenspan. Rowman and Littlefield: Lanham, Maryland.

Olsen. B. 2010. *In Defense of Things: Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects*. Altamira Press: Plymouth.

Olick, J.K. and Robbins, J. 1998. 'Social memory studies: from 'collective memory' to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices'. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 105-140.

Oswald, A., Dyer, C. and Barber, M. 2001. *The Creation of Monuments: Neolithic Causewayed Enclosures in the British Isles*. English Heritage: London.

Palfreyman, A. and Ebbins, S. 2012. 'Excavation at the Amber Valley Roman Hoard site, near Ripley, Derbyshire, 2010-11'. *DAJ* 132: 129-145.

Palmer, L.S. and Lee, L.S. 1926. 'Frank-i'-th'-Rocks Cave and other northern caves in relation to the ice ages'. *Proceedings of the University of Bristol Speleological Society* 2(3): 244-260.

Parker Pearson, M. 2012. *Stonehenge: Exploring the Greatest Stone Age Mystery*. Simon and Schuster: London.

Parker Pearson, M. 2013. 'Researching Stonehenge: theories past and present'. *Archaeology International* 16: 72-83.

Parker Pearson, M. and Ramilsonina. 1998. 'Stonehenge for the ancestors: the stones pass on the message'. *Antiquity* 72(276): 308-326.

Parker Pearson, M. Forthcoming. 'Excavations around The Cuckoo Stone'. In. M. Parker Pearson, J. Pollard, C. Richards, J. Thomas, C. Tilley and K. Welham (ed.) *After Stonehenge: Later Prehistoric and the Historical Period in the Stonehenge Landscape.* The Stonehenge Riverside Project Volume 4. Sidestone Press*.*

Parker Pearson, M., Cleal, R., Marshall, P., Needham, S., Pollard, J., Richards, C., Ruggles, C., Sheridan, A., Thomas, J., Tilley, C., Welham, K., Chamberlain, A., Chenery, C., Evans, J., Knűsel, C., Linford, N., Martin, L., Montgomery, J., Payne, A. and Richards, M. 2007. 'The age of Stonehenge'. *Antiquity* 81: 617-639.

Parker Pearson, M., Pollard, J., Richards, C., Thomas, J., Tilley, C. and Welham, K. 2008. 'The Stonehenge Riverside Project: exploring the Neolithic landscape of Stonehenge'. *Documenta Praehistorica* 35: 153-166.

Parker-Pearson, M., Pollard, J., Richards, C., Thomas, J., Tilley, and Welham, K. forthcoming. *After Stonehenge: Later Prehistory and the Historical Period in the Stonehenge Landscape*. The Stonehenge Riverside Project Volume 4. Sidestone Press.

Parker-Pearson, M., Pollard, J., Richards, C., Thomas, J., Tilley, and Welham, K. forthcoming. *Stonehenge for the Ancestors: Part 1: Landscape and Monuments*. The Stonehenge Riverside Project Volume 1. Sidestone Press.

Parsons, J. 2006. 'The rage to rake in dust and ashes: a socio-economic context for the excavation of prehistoric barrows in the Nineteenth Century'. *Archaeological Journal* 163(1): 233-263.

Pass, A. C. 1887. 'Recent explorations at Silbury Hill'. *WANHSM* 23: 245-254.

Passmore, D. 2011. 'Geology and Quaternry environments'. In J. Brightman and C. Waddington (eds.) *Archaeology and Aggregates in Derbyshire and the Peak District: A Resource Assessment and Management Framework*. Archaeological Research Services Ltd: Sheffield, pp. 9-13.

Patterson, M. 2016. *Roman Derbyshire*. Five Leaves Publications: Nottingham.

Payne, A., Corney, M. and Cunliffe, B. 2006. *The Wessex Hillfort Project: Extensive Survey of Hillfort Interiors in Central Southern England*. English Heritage: London.

Pearce, J. 2015. 'Status and burial'. In M. Millett., L. Revell and A. Moore (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain*. Oxford University Press: Oxford. [ONLINE EDITION] Available at < https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199697731.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199697731-e-021> [Accessed 4th June 2019].

Pearce, R.J.H. 1999. *Case Studies in a Contextual Archaeology of Burial Practice in Roman Britain.* Unpublished PhD Thesis: Durham University.

Peterson, R. 2013. 'Social memory and ritual performance'. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 13(2): 266-283.

Petts, D. 2002. 'The reuse of prehistoric standing stones in western Britain? A critical consideration of an aspect of Early Medieval monument reuse'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21(2): 195-209.

Phillips, B. and Walters, B. 1984. *Archaeological excavations in Littlecote Park, Wiltshire*. Littlecote Research Trust:

Phillips, S. 1969. *The Palynological Evidence for the Impact of Agriculture on the Vegetation of the Upland east of the Derbyshire Derwent*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Leeds.

Philpott, R. 1991. *Burial Practices in Roman Britain: A Survey of Grave Treatment and Furnishing AD 43-140*. BAR British Series. Tempus: Stroud.

Piggott, S. 1962. *The West Kennet Long Barrow: Excavations 1955-1966*. Ministry of Works Archaeological Report 4. HMSO: London.

Pill, A.L. 1963. 'Some recent discoveries in the Hartle Dale caves'. *Proceedings of the British Speleological Association* 1: 5-13.

Pitts, M. 2001. *Hengeworld*. Vintage: London.

Pitts, M.E.J. 2005. 'Globalizing the local in Roman Britain: an anthropological approach to social change'. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27: 493-506.

Poe, A. 2011. 'Review essay: things-beyond-objects' *Journal of French and Francophone Philosophy - Revue de la philosophie Française et de langue Française* 19(1): 153-164.

Pollard, J. 2001. 'The aesthetics of depositional practice'. *World Archaeology* 33(2): 315-333.

Pollard, J. and Healy, F. 2008. 'Neolithic and Early Bronze Age'. In C. Webster (ed.) *South West Archaeological Research Framework: The Archaeology of South West England Resource Assessment and Research Agenda*. Somerset Heritage Service: Taunton, pp. 75-102.

Pollard, J. and Reynolds, A. 2002. *Avebury: Biography of a Landscape*. Tempus: Stroud.

Powell, A.B., Allen, M.J. and Barnes, I. 1996. *Archaeology in the Avebury Area, Wiltshire*. Wessex Archaeology: Dorchester.

Preda, A. 1999. 'The turn to things: arguments for a sociological theory of things'. *The Sociological Quarterly* 40(2): 347-366.

Quinn, C.P. 2015. 'Returning and reuse: diachronic perspectives on multi-component cemeteries and mortuary politics at Middle Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Tara, Ireland. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 37: 1-18.

Radley, J. 1966. 'Glebe Low, Great Longstone'. *DAJ* 86: 54-69.

Radley, J. and Plant, M. 1971. 'Tideslow: a Neolithic round barrow at Tideswell'. *DAJ* 91: 20-30.

Rahtz, P.A. 1963. 'A Roman villa at Downton'. *WANHSM* 58: 303-341.

Rahtz, P.A. and Musty, J.W.G. 1960. 'Excavations at Old Sarum, 1967'. *WANHSM* 57: 353-70.

Rawlings, M. 2001. 'Archaeological investigations at the Roman villa, Netheravon, 1996'. *WANHSM* 94: 148-153.

Reece, R. 1995. 'Site-finds in Roman Britain'. *Britannia* 26: 179-206.

Reece, R. Forthcoming. 'Coinage from The Cuckoo Stone'. In M. Parker Pearson, J. Pollard, C. Richards, J. Thomas, C. Tilley and K. Welham (ed.) *After Stonehenge: Later Prehistoric and the Historical Period in the Stonehenge Landscape.* The Stonehenge Riverside Project Volume 4. Sidestone Press*.*

Revell, L. 2009. *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Reynolds, A. 2005. 'From pagus to parish: territory and settlement in the Avebury region from the late Roman period to the Domesday Survey'. In. G. Brown, D. Field and D. McOmish (eds.) *The Avebury Landscape: Aspects of the Field Archaeology of the Marlborough Downs.* Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 164-180.

Richards, J. 1990a. *The Stonehenge Environs Project.* English Heritage Archaeological Report 16. English Heritage: Swindon.

Richards, J. 1990b. 'W2: Coneybury henge'. In J. Richards (ed.) *The Stonehenge Environs Project.* English Heritage Archaeological Report 16. English Heritage: Swindon, pp. 123-157.

Richards, J. 1990c. 'W58: Amesbury 42 long barrow'. In In J. Richards (ed.) *The Stonehenge Environs Project.* English Heritage Archaeological Report 16. English Heritage: Swindon, pp. 96-109.

Robertson-Mackay, M.E. 1980. 'A 'head-and-hooves' burial beneath a round barrow with other Neolithic and Bronze Age sites on Hemp Knoll, near Avebury, Wiltshire'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 46: 123-176.

Robertson, A. 1974. 'Romano-British coin hoards: their numismatic, archaeological and historical significance. In J. Casey and R. Reece (eds.) *Coins and the Archaeologist.* BAR British Series: Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 12-36.

Robertson, A.S. 2000. *An Inventory of Romano-British Coin Hoards.* Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication 20. University Press: Cambridge.

Robinson, P. 2001. 'Religion in Roman Wiltshire'. In P. Ellis (ed.) *Roman Wiltshire and After.* WAHNS: Devizes, pp. 147-164.

Rowlands, M. 1993. The role of memory in the transmission of culture'. *World Archaeology* 25(2): 141-151.

Russell, M. 2002. *Monuments of the British Neolithic: the Roots of Architecture.* Tempus: Stroud.

Russell, M. 2017. 'Once upon a hill: uncoupling the Durotriges'. In D. Stewart and M. Russell (eds.) *Hillforts and the Durotriges: A Geophysical Survey of Iron Age Dorset*. Archaeopress: Oxford, pp. 155-170.

Saramago, J. 1994. *The Gospel According to Jesus Christ*. Trans by G. Pontiero. Vintage: London.

Score, V. & Browning, J. 2011. *Hoards, Hounds and Helmets: a Conquest-period Ritual Site at Hallaton, Leicestershire*. Leicester Archaeology Monographs 21. University of Leicester Archaeological Services: Leicester.

Scott, E. 1993. *A Gazetteer of Roman Villas in Britain*. Leicester Archaeology Monographs No 1: Leicester.

Scott, S. 2000. *Art and Society in Fourth-Century Britain: Villa Mosaics in Context*. Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph 53: Oxford.

Scott, S. and Webster, J. 2003. *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Seager Smith, R. 1995. 'Romano-British pottery'. In R. Cleal, K.E. Walker and R. Montague (eds.) *Stonehenge in its Landscape: Twentieth-century Excavations*. English Heritage: Swindon, pp. 435.

Semple, S. 1998. 'A fear of the past: the place of the prehistoric burial mound in the ideology of middle and later Anglo-Saxon England'. *World Archaeology* 30(1): 109-126.

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

Shaw Mellor, A. 1953 'The Roman site at Colerne Park'. *WANHSM* 55:333-340.

Silliman, S.W. 2009. 'Change and continuity, practice and memory: Native American persistence in Colonial New England. *American Antiquity* 74(2): 211-230.

Sim, D. and Kaminski, J. 2012. *Roman Imperial Armour: The Production of Early Imperial Military Armour.* Oxbow: Havertown.

Simmonds, S. 2016. 'The new research framework'. In. M. Leivers and B. Powell (eds.) *Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites World Heritage Site: Avebury Resource Assessment, Vol 1.* Wessex Archaeology Monograph 38. Wessex Archaeology Ltd: Salisbury, pp 4-10.

Smith, A. 2018. 'Death in the countryside: rural burial practices. In A. Smith (ed.) *New Visions of the Countryside of Roman Britain, Volume 2: Life and Death in the Countryside of Roman Britain*. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London, pp. 205-280.

Smith, A. 2018. *New Visions of the Countryside of Roman Britain, Volume 2: Life and Death in the Countryside of Roman Britain.* Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London.

Smith, A. 2018. Religion and the rural population'. In A. Smith (ed.) *New Visions of the Countryside of Roman Britain, Volume 2: Life and Death in the Countryside of Roman Britain.* Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London, pp. 120-204.

Smith, A. and Fulford, M. 2016. 'Conclusions: the rural settlement of Roman Britain'. In A. Smith, T. Brindle and M. Fuflord (eds.) *New Visions of the Countryside of Roman Britain, Volume 1: The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain.* Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London, pp. 385-420.

Smith, A., Brindle, T. and Fulford, M. 2016. *New Visions of the Countryside of Roman Britain, Volume 1: The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain.* Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London.

Smith, I. 1965a. 'Excavation of a bell barrow, Avebury G.55'. *WANHSM* 60: 24-46.

Smith, I. 1965b. *Windmill and Avebury: Excavations by Alexander Keiller, 1925-1939.* Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Smith, I.F and Simpson, D.D.A. 1964. 'Excavation of three Roman tombs and prehistoric pit on Overton Down'. *WANHSM* 59: 68-87.

Smith, I.F. and Simpson, D.D.A. 1966. 'Excavation of a round barrow on Overton Hill, north Wiltshire'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 32: 122-155.

Smith, P. and Kahlia, G. 1992. 'Identification of infanticide in archaeological sites: a case study from the late Roman Byzantine periods at Ashkelon, Israel'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 19: 667-675.

Smith, R. 1909. 'Harborough Cave, nr Brassington: II. Description of the finds' *DAJ* 31: 97-114.

Smithson, P. and Branigan, K. 1989. 'The Romano-British metalwork from Poole's Cavern, Buxton'. *DAJ* 109: 34-50.

Smithson, P. and Branigan, K. 1991. 'Poole's Cavern, Buxton: a Romano-British working environment'. *DAJ* 111 40-45.

Spencer, A. 2016. *The Past in the Past: Patterns of Interaction with Prehistoric Landscape Features in Late Iron and Roman Britain.* Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Southampton: Southampton.

Stansbie, D. Forthcoming. 'Roman pottery'. In M. Parker Pearson, J. Pollard, C. Richards, J. Thomas, C. Tilley and K. Welham (ed.) *After Stonehenge: Later Prehistoric and the Historical Period in the Stonehenge Landscape.* The Stonehenge Riverside Project Volume 4. Sidestone Press.

Stewart, D. 2017. 'The Survey'. In D. Stewart and M. Russell (eds.) *Hillforts and the Durotriges: A Geophysical Survey of Iron Age Dorse*t. Archaeopress: Oxford, pp. 25-144.

Stewart, D. and Russell, M. 2017. *Hillforts and the Durotriges: A Geophysical Survey of Iron Age Dorse*t. Archaeopress: Oxford.

Stone, J.F.S. 1936. 'An unrecorded group of barrows and other earthworks at Ford, Laverstock'. *WANHSM* 47: 406-411.

Stone, J.F.S. and Algar, D.J. 1955. 'Sorviodunum'. *WANHSM* 56: 102-26.

Storrs Fox, W. 1911. 'Derbyshire cave men of the Roman period'. *DAJ* 33: 115-126.

Storrs Fox, W. 1928-1929. 'Ravenscliffe Cave'. *DAJ* 3: 71-78.

Storrs Fox, W. 1909. Harborough Cave, near Brassington: I. Description of the excavation' *DAJ* 31: 89-114.

Struck, M. 2000. 'High status burials in Roman Britain (1st-3rd centuries AD) – potential of interpretation'. In J. Pearce, M. Millett and M. Struck (eds.) *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World*. Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 85-86.

Stukeley, W. 2010 [1743]. *Abury, a Temple of the British Druids, With Some Others, Described…Volume the Second*. Gale ECCO.

Suetonius. 2011. *Vespasian*. Trans by D.W. Hurley (The Caesars). Hackett Publishing: Indianapolis.

Swan, V. 1971. 'Romano-British'. In G. Wainwright (ed.) The excavation of prehistoric and Romano-British settlement near Durrington Walls, Wiltshire, 1970'. *WANHSM* 66: 76-128, pp. 100-116.

Swan, V. 1975. 'Oare reconsidered and the origins of Savernake Ware in Wiltshire'. *Britannia* 6: 36-61.

Swift, E. 2011. 'Personal adornment'. In L. Allason-Jones (ed.) *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp. 194-218.

Taylor, J. 2006. 'The Roman Period'. In N. Cooper and P. Clay (eds.) *An Archaeological Resource Assessment and Research Agenda for the East Midlands*. University of Leicester: Leicester, pp. 137-159.

Taylor, J. 2013. 'Encountering *Romanitas*: characterising the role of agricultural communities in Roman Britain'. *Britannia* 44: 171-190.

Thomas, N. 1964. 'The Neolithic causewayed camp at Robin Hood's Ball, Shrewton'. *WANHSM* 59: 1-27.

Thomas, N. and Thomas, C. 1955. 'Excavations at Snail Down, Everleigh: 1953, 1955: an interim report'. *WANHSM* 56: 127-148.

Thurnham, J. 1860. 'Examination of barrows on the downs of North Wiltshire'. *WANHSM* 6: 317-336.

Timby, J. 2001. 'A reappraisal of Savernake ware'. In P. Ellis (ed.) *Roman Wiltshire and After*. WAHNS: Devizes, pp. 73-85.

Timby, J. 2013. *The Romano-British and Late Saxon Pottery from Excavations at Silbury Hill (1969) and the Romano-British Roadside Settlement (2010)*. English Heritage: Portsmouth.

Timby, J. 2017. 'What's on the table? A review of Roman pottery in the western central belt'. In In A. Smith, T. Brindle and M. Fulford (eds.) *New Visions of the Countryside of Roman Britain, Volume 1: The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain.* Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London, pp. 305-336.

Tomkins, P. 2012. 'Landscapes of ritual, identity and memory: reconsidering Neolithic and Bronze Age cave use in Crete, Greece'. In H. Moyes (ed.) *Sacred Darkness: A Global Perspective on the Ritual use of Caves*. University Press of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, pp. 59-80.

Turner, R. 1999. *Excavations of an Iron Age Settlement and Roman Religious Complex at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex, 1978-83*. East Anglian Archaeology Report 88. Essex County Council: Chelmsford.

Van Beek, R. and De Mulder, G. 2014. 'Circles, cycles and ancestral connotations: the long-term history and perception of later prehistoric barrows and urnfields in Flanders (Belgium)'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 2014: 299-326.

Van der Tuin, I. and Dolphijn, R. 2010. 'The transversality of New Materialism'. *Women: A Cultural Review* 21(2): 153-171.

van der Veen, M. 1989. 'Charred grain assemblages from Roman-period corn driers in Britain'. *Archaeological Journal* 146(1): 302-319.

Van Dyke, R. 2018. 'From enchantment to agencement: archaeological engagements with pilgrimage'. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 18(3): 348-359.

Van Dyke, R.M. 2017. 'Durable stones, mutable pasts: bundled memory in the Alsation community of Castroville, Texas'. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 24: 10-27.

Van Dyke, R.M. and Alcock, S.E. 2003. *Archaeologies of Memory*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Van Haasteren, M. and Groot, M. 2013. 'The biography of wells: functional and ritual life history'. *Journal of Archaeology in the Low Countries* 5(1): 25-51.

Van Oyen, A. and Pitts, M.E.J. 2017. 'What did objects do in the Roman world? Beyond representation'. In A. Van Oyen and M. Pitts (eds.) *Materialising Roman Histories.* Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 3-19.

Vatcher, F. 1963. 'The excavation of the barrows on Lamb Down, Codford St. Mary'. *WANHSM* 58: 417-441.

Vejby, M. 2015. 'Enduring past: megalithic tombs of Brittany and the Roman occupation in western France'. In In M. Díaz-Guardamino, L. García Sanjuan and D. Wheatley (eds.) *The Lives of Prehistoric Monuments in Iron Age, Roman and Medieval Europe*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, pp 163-1820.

Wainwright, G. 1970. 'An Iron Age promontory fort at Budbury, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire'. *WANHSM* 65: 108-166.

Wainwright, G.J. 1971. 'The excavation of prehistoric and Romano-British settlement near Durrington Walls, Wiltshire, 1970'. *WANHSM* 66: 76-128.

Wainwright, G.J., Evans, J.G. and Longworth, I.H. 1971. 'The excavation of a Late Neolithic enclosure at Marden, Wiltshire'. *The Antiquaries Journal* 51(2): 177-239.

Walker, K.E. 1995. 'Previous work and methods'. In R. Cleal, K.E. Walker and R. Montague (eds.) *Stonehenge in its Landscape: Twentieth-century Excavations*. English Heritage: Swindon, pp. 9-19.

Walters, B. 2001. 'A perspective on the social order of Roman villas'. In P. Ellis (ed.) *Roman Wiltshire and After*. WAHNS: Devizes, pp. 127-146.

Walton, P. 2012. *Rethinking Roman Britain: Coinage and Archaeology*. Moneta: Wetteren.

Ward, J. 1890. 'On some diggings near Brassington, Derbyshire'. *DAJ* 12: 108-138.

Ward, J. 1895. 'Notes within the proceedings for May 9. 1895'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 15: 419-429.

Ward, J. 1899. 'Notes within the proceedings for Jan. 26. 1899'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 17: 310-316.

Ward, J. 1900. 'On Mr Micah Salt's diggings around Buxton'. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 6(3): 209-226.

Ward, J. 1908.' Notes on some Derbyshire antiquities from Samuel Mitchell's memoranda'. *DAJ* 30: 155-172.

Watkin, W.T. 1886. *Roman Cheshire or a Description of Roman Remains in the County of Chester*. W.T. Watkin: Liverpool.

Watts, C. 2013. 'Relational archaeologies: roots and routes'. In C. Watts (ed.) *Relational Archaeologies: Humans, Animals, Things*. Routledge: London, pp. 1.-20.

Webster, G. 1961. 'An excavation on the Roman site at Little Chester, Derby'. *DAJ* 81: 85-110.

Webster, G. 1963. 'Site C: bronze object'. In F. Vatcher (ed.) 'The excavation of the barrows on Lamb Down, Codford St. Mary'. *WANHSM* 58: 417-441, pp. 429.

Webster, J. 2001. 'Creolising the Roman provinces'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 105(2): 209-225.

Webster, P. 1969. 'Excavations at Melandra Castle, Derbyshire'. *DAJ* 89: 96-99.

Webster, P. 1971. 'Melandra Castle Roman fort: excavations at the civil settlement, 1966-1969'. *DAJ* 91: 58-119.

Wedlake, W.J. 1982. *The Excavation of the Shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, Wiltshire, 1956-1971*. Society of Antiquaries: London.

Wells, P.S. 2015. 'Indigenous forms, styles and practices in provincial Roman Europe: continuity, reinvention or refashioning?' In D. Boschung., A.W. Busch and M.J. Versluys (eds.) *Reinventing the 'Invention of Tradition'? Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present*. Wilhelm Fink: Paderborn, pp. 161-188.

Wheatley, D. 2015. 'Myth, memento and memory'. In M. Díaz-Guardamino, L. García Sanjuan and D. Wheatley (eds.) *The Lives of Prehistoric Monuments in Iron Age, Roman and Medieval Europe*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, pp. 99-118.

Wheeler, H. 1985. 'Roman Derby: The Racecourse cemetery'. *DAJ* 1985: 105.

Wheeler, M. 1943. *Maiden Castle*. Society of Antiquaries Report 12. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Whitley, J. 2002. 'Too many ancestors'. *Antiquity* 76(291) 119-126.

Whitmore, A. 2018. 'Phallic magic: a cross cultural approach to Roman phallic small finds'. In A. Parker and S. Mckie (eds.) *Material Approaches to Roman Magic: Occult Objects and Supernatural Substances.* Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 17-31.

Whittle, A. 1994. 'Excavations at Millbarrow Neolithic chambered tomb, Winterbourne Monkton, north Wiltshire'. *WANHSM* 87: 1-53.

Whittle, A. 1997. *Sacred Mound, Holy Rings: Silbury Hill and the West Kennet Palisade Enclosures: a later Neolithic Complex in North Wiltshire*. Oxbow: Oxford.

Whittle, A., Bayliss, A. and Healy, F. 2011. 'The North Wiltshire Downs'. In A. Whittle (ed.) *Gathering Time: Dating the Early Neolithic Enclosures of Southern Britain, Vol 1*. Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 60-110.

Wilkinson, K. and Straker, V. 2008. 'Neolithic and Early Bronze Age environmental background'. In In C. Webster (ed.) *South West Archaeological Research Framework: The Archaeology of South West England Resource Assessment and Research Agenda*. Somerset Heritage Service: Taunton, pp. 63-74.

Wilkinson, P. Rev. 1867. 'A report of diggings made in Silbury Hill and in the ground adjoining'. *WANHSM* 11: 113-118.

Williams, H. 1997. 'Ancient landscapes and the dead: the reuse of prehistoric and Roman monuments as Early Anglo-Saxon burial sites'. *Medieval Archaeology* 41(1): 1-32.

Williams, H. 1998a. 'Monuments and the past in early Anglo-Saxon England'. *World Archaeology* 30(1): 90-108.

Williams, H. 1998b. 'The ancient monument in Romano-British ritual practices'. In C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne and R. Witcher (eds.) *TRAC 97: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Nottingham 1997*. Oxbow: Oxford, pp. 71-86.

Williams, H. 2003. *Archaeologies of Remembrance*. Springer: Boston, MA.

Williams, H. 2015. '*Beowulf* and archaeology: megaliths imagined and encountered in Early Medieval Europe'. In M. Díaz-Guardamino, L. García Sanjuan and D. Wheatley (eds.) *The Lives of Prehistoric Monuments in Iron Age, Roman and Medieval Europe*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, pp 77-97.

Willis, A. and May, R. 2019. 'Coin assessment'. In R. May (ed.) *Parwich Barrows, Asbourne, Derbyshire: Archaeological Evaluation*. Unpublished grey literature report by ArcHeritage: Sheffield, pp. 29-31.

Willis, S. 2006. 'The Later Bronze Age and Iron Age'. In N. Cooper and P. Clay (eds.) *An Archaeological Resource Assessment and Research Agenda for the East Midlands.* University of Leicester: Leicester, pp. 89-136.

Wilson, D. 2016. 'Foreword'. In. M. Leivers and B. Powell (eds.) *Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites World Heritage Site: Avebury Resource Assessment, Vol 1*. Wessex Archaeology Monograph 38. Wessex Archaeology Ltd: Salisbury, pp. xi.

Wilson, G. 1926. *Some Caves and Crags of the Peakland. The Story of Adventures and Discoveries in the Peakland Underworld*. Wilfred Edmunds Ltd: Chesterfield.

Wilson, G.H. 1937. 'Cave work in the Manifold valley'. *Caves and Caving* 1(2): 61-69.

Witmore, C.L. 2014. 'Archaeology and the new materialisms'. *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology* 1:203-246.

Woodward, A. 1992. *English Heritage Book of Shrines and Sacrifice*. Batsford: London.

Woodward, A. 2000. *British Barrows: a Matter of Life and Death*. Tempus: Stroud.

Woolf, G. 1996. 'The uses of forgetfulness in Roman Gaul'. In H-J. Gehrke and A. Möller (eds.) *Vergangenheit und Lebenswelt: Soziale Kommunikation, Traditionsbildung und Historisches Bewußtsein* Gunter Narr Verlag: Tübingen, pp. 361-381.

Wright, E., Tecce, S. and Albarella, U. 2019. 'The use of animals at Roman roadside settlements in Britain: contextualising some new results from Ware, Hertfordshire'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*: 38(3): 343-376.

Youngs, S.M., Clark, J., Gaimster, D.R.M., Barry, T. and Margeson, S.M. 1987. 'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1987'. *Medieval Archaeology* 31: 225-314.