Alexander Smith
SCARAB Research Student
University of Wales College, Newport

Ph.D. Thesis
Volume 1

'The differential use of constructed sacred space in southern Britain, from the late Iron Age to the 4th century AD.'

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed....Alexandra Smith.....(candidate)

Date.....11/02/00.....

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, accept where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged, giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

Signed.....Alexandra Smith.....(candidate)

Date.....11/02/00.....

STATEMENT 2

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed.....Alexandra Smith.....(candidate)

Date.....11/02/00.....

Thesis summary: The differential use of constructed sacred space in southern Britain, from the late Iron Age to the 4th century AD.

The principal aim of the thesis has been to examine the development of constructed cult loci from the late Iron Age to the late Roman period in southern Britain, focusing on the differential use of internal space. Following an initial review of the interpretative parameters used in the archaeological identification of constructed cult sites, the evidence for such loci within an Iron Age context was critically re-examined. This has led to the conclusion that not only were such sites very rare and geographically dispersed, but they were confined in most cases to the ultimate pre-Roman and Roman transition periods. It is suggested that this development may have been at least partly induced by an internal increase in societal specialisation and political hierarchy, in addition to external influences from Roman Gaul.

Contextual analysis of constructed cult sites has led to the conclusion that, at least within the Roman period, they were integral parts of the political, commercial, social and ideological world of those that surrounded them. Furthermore, their virtual absence from certain areas implies that the concept of constructed sacred space as a whole did generally not find expression outside of those areas more influenced by Romanized ideology and social structure.

At the core of the thesis is an analysis of the use of space within a selected number of late Iron Age and Roman period constructed sacred sites. Whilst individual site variation was substantial, there was an occasional degree of regional coherence, in addition to a more ubiquitous homogeneity in some functional and spatial characteristics. Detailed spatial analysis has only been possible on a limited number of sites because of a previous lack of comprehensive excavation. The current study has shown that it is only by analysing in detail the whole of the site, that vital information concerning function and development may be gained.

Acknowledgements

Over the course of the research leading to the submission of this thesis, I have had reason to thank many people for their support and guidance. I would especially like to thank my supervisor, Professor Miranda Aldhouse Green, and my secondary supervisor, Dr Ann Woodward, for their informed appraisals of my work, ideas for future direction, and help in gaining access to specific site archives.

I have visited many museums over the three years of work, in order to study original excavation archives, and am very grateful for the assistance that I received from museum staff. In particular, I would like to thank Richard Bartlett and the late Betty Gobel from Harlow Museum, Peter Woodward from Dorchester County Museum, Jane Allwood from the North Somerset Museums Service, and Catherine Johns and Sarah Newcombe from the British Museum. I would also like to thank Richard Havis from Essex County Council and Sylvia Jones from the Lydney Park Estate for all their help in gaining access to unpublished materials and finds.

Finally, I would like to thank all of my family and friends for their constant support. In particular, I am grateful to Andrew Fenton for his help with understanding some aspects of G.I.S., and to my father, Alan Smith, for proof-reading the entire thesis.

Table of contents

Maps

(The first number refers to the chapter, so that, for example, 4.5 is the fifth map in chapter 4)

Figures

(Figures include all tables, charts and illustrations within the text)

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background study: Sacred Space

1. Definition and Interpretation

The concept of Sacred Space is among the most prominent and enduring aspects of religious expression. The notion of designating a particular place as sacred seems to be a fundamental element in all types of religion, though many different forms have been used in different periods and in different cultures. Jackson and Henrie gave a definition of Sacred Space as;

> *that portion of the earth's surface which is recognised by individuals or groups as worthy of devotion, loyalty or esteem. Space is sharply discriminated from the non-sacred or profane world around it. Sacred Space does not exist naturally, but is assigned sanctity as man defines, limits and characterises it through his own culture, experience and goals.*
>
> (Jackson and Henrie 1983 94)

Although this would be relevant to most sacred sites, it must be remembered that sacred and secular space need not always be noticeably separated, and perhaps a more broad definition would be a place subject to a range of regulations regarding people's behaviour to it, based upon a set of beliefs in a supernatural identity.

Sacred places are usually the setting for the performance of religious ritual, and their interpretation within the archaeological record often relies upon being able to recognise such activity. This can be quite problematic, as the word ritual itself has long been an interpretative battleground for archaeologists, anthropologists and the like. In his work, *Ritual and religion: The definitional problem* (1961), Jack Goody defined it as "*a category of standardised behaviour (custom) in which the relationship between the means and the end is not 'intrinsic', i.e. is either irrational or non-rational*" (1961 159). Ritual could therefore be involved in anything from judicial proceedings to Christian Baptism, and often distinctions can be hard to find between sacred and profane. An additional problem is that religious rituals are not always given expression in material culture and even if they are it is often impossible to recognise them (Renfrew and Bahn

1996 388). The reason, as already stated, is that in many cultures, religious material expression may not be clearly separated from daily secular activity, and objects that may seem purely utilitarian, could in fact have been used for religious purposes. This is illustrated by the Iban people of Borneo, where most ritual activities occur in domestic contexts, and the majority of these, such as feasting and cock fighting, would be indistinguishable from secular activities in the archaeological record (Beavitt 1989 173). Within a specific archaeological context, concerned with the ritual monument at Woodhenge, Pollard warned that;

> *Although it is reasonable to assume that finds of antler picks from the ditch represent tools utilised in the construction of the monument, it would be unwise to separate the practical function of these implements from the potential for their manipulation in symbolic expression through deposition.*
>
> (Pollard 1995 143)

J.D. Hill's recent work on pits in Iron Age settlements in Wessex has shown that in certain cases, careful contextual investigation may be able to identify ritual deposits amongst material that, out of context, would undoubtedly have been regarded as domestic rubbish (Hill 1995).

Another related problem in archaeological interpretation is that it has often been the case that any item that could not be explained functionally would become religious by default. Colin Renfrew, for example (1994 52), argued that 'play' and religious ritual would be hard to determine archaeologically, for neither show an outwardly practical function and toys may be confused with cult images. Without knowledge of the belief systems of a culture, the specific cult functions of objects may never be fully known, and many such as Trigger (1989 342) have argued that without textual evidence, such belief systems would be indeterminable. Whilst in many respects this would appear to be true, the arguments of those such as Hodder (1991 163), who stressed that "*systematic links can be identified between the material and the ideal*", must also be noted. In this way an attempt may be made to construct some ideational meaning by studying the material record, if it is analysed in sufficiently rigorous a way.

A framework of archaeological indicators for religious ritual has been drawn up by Renfrew and Bahn (1996 391) under the four headings:

i) Focusing of attention

ii) Boundary zone between this world and the next

iii) Presence of the deity

iv) Participation and offering

This framework, though quite wide in scope, is still drawn up under the guidelines of modern perceptions of religious ritual, which may not have been the same in many past societies. It also ignores the idea of the indivisibility between sacred and profane ritual. Its primary use would be for the recognition of those sacred sites that were quite separate from domestic structures within the landscape, and therefore more easily defined archaeologically. Even in this instance care must be taken, as separated areas showing indications of ritual use may have been for secular ceremony, as appears to be the case with certain of the structures known as Viereckshanzen (Webster 1992 35). Ultimately, the areas of religion and ritual are so diverse, that interpretation in the archaeological record must by necessity be somewhat broad, especially when dealing with cultures that have a lack of - or very little - literary evidence. This is reiterated by Orme:

> *It is apparent that there can be no consistent division of sacred from profane, natural from supernatural, normal from abnormal, which can be applied to all cultures. The field of ritual and religion is wide, and its boundaries must necessarily remain imprecise*
>
> (Orme, B. 1981 219)

2. Spatial form

The physical appearance of a sacred site can vary considerably, even within one culture. Specific natural features are often venerated, especially by many non-industrialised societies, whose rural lifestyles ensure a more direct interdependence on natural resources and conditions. Particular types of sacred feature are more prominent in certain cultures, presumably determined in some way by the specific environment, while in many cases, the whole landscape is regarded as sacred. Within the sacred landscape of the Wintu people in northern California, there are different locales with varying degrees of sanctity and with disparate spheres of influence (Theodoratus and Lapena 1994 24). In the large majority of cases such natural sacred places would be invisible in the archaeological

record. However, they are sometimes associated - or at least contemporary - with specialised constructed cult loci, which although displaying massive architectural variety, are usually easier to recognise. It is these sites that form the focus of study in this investigation, within the context of the late Iron Age and Roman periods in Britain.

Over the years, a number of architects and theologians have dealt with the subject of religious architecture, and a common theme expressed in these works has been the basic homogeneity of design and development (e.g. Turner 1979, Mann 1993, Barrie 1996). Jungian philosophical concepts of elemental conformity have been used to argue that within the limitless variety of constructed sacred sites, there were a number of underlying spatial conventions - specifically the path and the place according the architect Barrie (1996 40). Typically, a defined routeway (the path) leads from the outer entrance of the sacred site to the focal point (the place). The outer boundary delimiting the sacred area is a very important component, and is frequently among the first structural features to appear (Turner 1979 15). The entry point in this outer boundary represents the transitional zone, symbolizing the passage from one mode of existence to another, and is often clearly articulated and the focus for specific ritual activity. The path then typically leads from this point through a series of increasingly sacred spaces before eventually arriving at the prime religious focus of the site - usually a temple and/or cult object (Barrie 1996 148).

The personal experience of the individual entering the sacred site is largely controlled by the physical environment and dependent not only upon visual stimuli, but a synthesis of many senses, including sound and smell. Unfortunately, within archaeological contexts, it is difficult if not impossible to reconstruct this experience, although the superstructure of certain sites has survived well enough to understand some of the three-dimensional use of space. The general significance of geometry and proportion is expressed by A.T. Mann;

> *A primary characteristic of sacred architecture is the importance of the measurements, proportions and geometry of a site and building. It is a symbolic language which communicates information beyond cultural or stylistic habits.*
>
> (Mann 1993 16)

This is clearly illustrated by monumental Egyptian sanctuaries, especially temples such as that at Luxor, which is regarded as a masterpiece of symbolic sacred architecture (Mann

1993 108, fig. 1.1). Orientation was a vital factor in the construction of this temple, and its remarkable shifts in axis have been suggested as reflecting the changing angle of the pole star during the hundreds of years of its construction (*ibid.* 110).

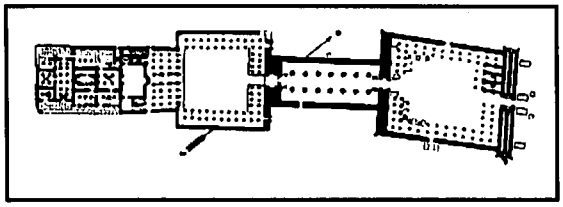


Fig. 1.1: Temple of Luxor (after Mann 1993 110)

Specific orientation is evident throughout most constructed cult sites. As B.L. Gordon has asserted, all cosmographies must have had some directional alignment (1971 212), and the prime direction may well have influenced the orientation of cult sites. Throughout many cultures, especially those of Indo-European origin, the east seems to have exerted a particular religious attraction, with many shrines having their entrances facing this way (*ibid.* 215). The reason for this is uncertain, but it was probably originally connected with solar symbolism.

There is clearly a massive difference between temples like Luxor and more simple sacred sites, such as those found occasionally in Polynesia, consisting of a demarcated enclosure with a platform at one end (Turner 1979 15). Yet both consist primarily of a focus and periphery with a pathway connecting the two, and rely to varying degrees on a specific sense of proportion and orientation. Likewise, a description of what may be termed portable sacred space, amongst the nomadic Sioux Indians, exhibits many similar characteristics (*ibid.* 20). The Holy man scraped a circle in the ground that became the outer boundary, established an altar in the centre, and then gave offerings in all of the cardinal directions (*ibid.*). Overall, it appears to be the case that in spite of the infinite variety in the physical form of constructed sacred space, there do appear to be underlying spatial elements that - if not quite universal - are very widespread cross-culturally.

1.2 Aims and objectives of the current study

The primary aim of the current research is to investigate constructed sacred space in southern Britain from the late Iron Age to the fourth century AD, with a view to:

i) Examining their internal spatial organisation.

ii) Elucidating the nature of past human activities at these sites.

iii) Determining as far as possible, the location of differential spheres of activity.

In addition, the general development of such sites will be examined within the specific geographical and chronological parameters, so that that their role within a wider socio-political context is better understood.

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

i) An examination of the interpretative parameters of cult sites, so that a reassessment of site function may be performed. This will lead in turn to a reappraisal of the origins and development of constructed cult loci.

ii) Investigation into the use of space in both an architectural and an atectonic setting. An understanding of how space is structured, together with how this structure may be detected within an archaeological context, will aid in the subsequent investigation of intra-site organisation. It will also enable the formulation of a methodology for spatial analysis in this study.

iii) The nature of functional zones within cult sites, such as ritual feasting, sacrifice and deposition will be examined, together with an assessment of how they may be recognised in the archaeological record. The nature of individual find types and their depositional patterns will be considered, within an Iron Age and Roman context. All of this information will be used to form hypotheses, which will then be tested against a selected range of cult sites, before a final wider comparative analysis is performed, utilising data from all of the sites in the appendix.

1.3 Literary Review: Previous studies on Iron Age and Roman sacred space in Britain.

1. Sacred Space in the Iron Age.

The prevalent consensus over much of this century with regard to the nature of sacred space in the 'Celtic' Iron Age has been derived largely from classical literature. Descriptions from writers such as Lucan (*Pharsalia 1.451*), Tacitus (*Annales 14.3*) and Pliny (*Natural History 16.95*) of sacred rituals occurring in forest groves have led to the supposition that such natural contexts were characteristic of sacred sites in the Iron Age period. In his highly influential work, *Temples in Roman Britain* (1966), Lewis presented 'Celtic' religion as being *essentially atectonic* (*ibid.* 4), stating that the Iron Age Britons neither desired images of their gods, nor houses to place them in. Thevenot's work on Gallic religion, *Divinités et Sanctuaires de la Gaule* (1968) reiterated the same idea (*ibid.* 222), although he did admit that our understanding of Gallic sacred sites was very superficial. He used literary and archaeological evidence (mostly from the Gallo-Roman period) in order to infer the expansive utilisation of natural sacred sites by the Gauls, such as mountain summits and forest groves (*ibid.* 223). More recent publications on 'Celtic' religion by authors such as Rankin (1987) and Graham Webster (1986), have also strongly advocated the natural aspects of cult loci, with the latter asserting that "*the sacred places favoured by the Celts were woodland groves*" (*ibid.* 107). All of these works generally followed a 'Romanist' approach, in that they were greatly reliant upon historical literature and linguistic evidence for their accounts, often at the expense of archaeological findings. Furthermore, the way in which these mediums were used has been the subject of much recent criticism (Fitzpatrick 1991, Webster 1992 312, 1995). Such animadversion stems from the chronological disparity that often exists between the written material - which is generally of a late date - and the earlier society it is used to describe. In other words, written material of Roman date is used to describe the society of Iron Age date, thus installing a '*timelessness*' (Fitzpatrick 1991 126; see section 1.5).

A major shift in emphasis began to appear from the 1970s onwards, as an increasing number of structures within the pre-Roman archaeological record began to be interpreted as shrines. This was reflected in works such as Cunliffe's *Iron Age communities in*

Britain (1991), which began to regard constructed shrines as integral parts of the Iron Age landscape. Prior to this, the only major exception from within Britain was the concentric post-hole structure at Heathrow, excavated by W.F. Grimes in 1946 (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993). This was interpreted as an 'Iron Age temple' by the excavator (*ibid.* 312; but see below and chapter 4.2), and was regarded by Lewis (1966 11) as being a "*unique oddity*" within Britain. Subsequent excavations began to alter these perceptions - in particular, those in the hillfort interiors of Danebury (1969 - 78: Cunliffe 1984) and South Cadbury (1968 - 7: Alcock 1972). Within the Danebury hillfort there were located four rectangular structures (ranging from early Iron Age, until the 1st century BC/1st century AD), which were interpreted as being part of a religious complex on the basis on their orientation, form, and central position (Cunliffe 1995a 86; see chapter 4). At South Cadbury, four structures (mid Iron Age until 1st century AD) have also been interpreted as shrines by various authors (Alcock 1972, Drury 1980, Wait 1985), although interpretations of some of them are more contentious than others (Downes 1997).

During the late 1970s, two sites were excavated within southern Britain that contained the most convincing evidence to date of Iron Age constructed shrines, although they date from the very end of this period (1st century BC - 1st century AD). The first of these, at Uley in Gloucestershire (excavated 1976-9), was particularly important because of the thorough and exhaustive excavation and publication by Woodward and Leach (1993), which enabled all aspects of the site, from the Iron Age to post-Roman period, to be examined in detail (see 4.1). Perhaps the best example of a constructed shrine from the late British Iron Age was excavated at Hayling Island, Hampshire, in 1977-80 (Downey, King and Soffe 1980; see 4.1). Unfortunately no final excavation report has been published, although interim articles (*ibid.*, King and Soffe 1991, 1998) do indicate the importance of the site, which is so far more or less unique in Britain, and comparable to sites in Gaul, such as Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux *et al.* 1985).

There has been a relative scarcity of Iron Age structures interpreted as shrines since these two excavations. From 1985 to 1989, the site of the Romano-Celtic temple at Harlow in Essex was re-excavated under the direction of Richard Bartlett (Bartlett 1988), and in addition to large quantities of late pre-Roman votive deposits, at least one circular structure was found and identified as a possible pre-Roman shrine (*ibid.*). Also in Essex

is the possible shrine at the Airport Catering Site at Stansted (Brooks 1988, Havis, forthcoming) - excavated between 1987 and 1989 - although there is little convincing evidence for a religious nature prior to the Roman transition period (see 4.2). One of the most recent published excavations with supposed evidence for 'shrine' buildings is at Westhampnett in West Sussex (Fitzpatrick 1997), the site of a late Iron Age cremation cemetery. Four rectangular enclosures situated to the east of the cemetery were interpreted as shrines, although there is little evidence to suggest this (see 4.2). A limited number of Iron Age shrine sites have been re-evaluated over the past ten years, and are no longer regarded as sacred in nature. A prime example is at Frilford, where two structures excavated by Bradford and Goodchild (1939) and Harding (1972) were originally interpreted as shrines, and indeed, up until the mid 1970s were regarded as one of only three such sites in Britain (Wilson 1973 24). In more recent times however, various scholars (Harding 1987, Hingley 1985) have completely dismissed one structure as sacred, and thrown considerable doubt on the other (see 4.2). A reappraisal of other British Iron Age 'cult sites' later in this volume (1.5 and 4.2) suggests further doubts in many cases, as to their religious interpretation.

There have been few specific studies concerned with Iron Age constructed sacred space in Britain, possibly because the evidence for many sites has been largely insubstantial, and also comparatively recent. The first to collate all the known evidence was Drury's *Non-classical religious buildings in Iron Age Britain* (1980). He identified 17 shrine sites within Britain, focusing his attention on building construction and design, rather than associated ritual behaviour. As such, his interpretative criteria were mostly based on morphology, with the result that many sites (e.g. Pilsdon Den and Little Waltham) were identified as religious on the basis of an incongruous shape, central position, and eastern orientation, having no associated artefacts. The next major study was Wait's *Ritual and religion in Iron Age Britain* (1985), which was much broader in scope, incorporating built shrines as part of the whole structure of Iron Age religion by using archaeological and literary evidence. With a few minor additions and retractions, he identified the same sites as Rodwell, although his interpretative criteria were expressed more clearly. In addition to morphological factors, Wait also stipulated that shrine sites must not be associated with artefacts which would suggest domestic use, but with "*artefacts, features*

and elements of design, which are clearly symbolic with supernatural referents" (Wait 1985 156). There are many problems with such identifying parameters, which will be fully discussed later on in this study (section 1.5 and chapter 4), but still the great majority of sites in this volume have continued to be regarded as religious in nature, however insubstantial the evidence. The study, however, is very useful in that it systematically presents all the available evidence for Iron Age 'shrines'. The last significant study on the subject is Ann Woodward's *Shrines and Sacrifice* (1992), in which Iron Age, Roman and post-Roman religious structures and rituals are examined, with a heavy emphasis on continuity of site and function. Much of the evidence for Iron Age shrines and ritual is drawn either from the site at Uley, on which the author excavated, or from the earlier work of Gerald Wait. The latter's corpus of shrine sites has largely been followed, and analysis into structure, location and associated ritual practices essentially revolves around these.

The majority of general studies dealing with Iron Age religion (e.g. Green, M.J. 1986, Webster 1995, Cunliffe 1997) refer primarily to Gaul, where the evidence for cult sites and ritual activity is usually much richer. Rectilinear enclosures known as Viereckschanzen have often been viewed as pre-Roman cult sites, mainly because of morphological and typological similarities with a site excavated by Schwarz at Holzhauzen (1959). There have, however, been recent doubts as to the religious nature of Holzhauzen (Venclova 1993, Webster 1992,1995, Brunaux 1988), and as many of the other sites have not been excavated and show distinct variation, it cannot be assumed that there was any great homogeneity of religious function.

During the last twenty years, the most important discoveries in the field of Iron Age sacred space have been made in parts of north-east France. In a series of excavations, a number of so called 'Belgic' sanctuaries were revealed, characterised by rich assemblages of votive remains. Perhaps the most significant and well documented of these sites is Gournay-sur-Aronde in Picardy, excavated by Brunaux in the 1980s (Brunaux *et al.* 1985; see 4.3). Unlike sacred sites of the British Iron Age, that at Gournay has convincing evidence of ritual activity from the early La Tène (4th century BC) onwards, and it was the first Iron Age site where successive phases of construction, as well as extensive detail concerning sacrificial ritual could be discerned. The growing corpus of

shrine sites from the region of Belgic Gaul has led to an increasing interest in Gallic religious practices, with the nature and development of such loci receiving much attention in recent studies (e.g. Brunaux 1988, 1996, Roymans 1990, Derks 1998). Unfortunately, it has also been used to help infer the widespread occurrence of constructed sacred space throughout many parts of the 'Celtic world' - including Britain - so that they are no longer being regarded as incongruous, but rather a regular feature of society (Brunaux 1988, Webster 1995).

2. Sacred Space in the Roman period

The first coherent study on temples in Roman Britain was Sir Mortimer Wheeler's influential but quite brief account, *The Harlow Temple and a note on its type* (1928). He recognised and classified a correspondent group of religious structures - characterised by their concentric nature - which he termed Romano-Celtic temples. Although many more religious edifices were subsequently excavated (e.g. Woodeaton: Goodchild and Kirk 1954, Springhead: Penn 1959), it was not until Lewis's *Temples in Roman Britain* (1966) that a more comprehensive review of the subject occurred. Lewis's work was primarily a descriptive account of varying types of temple architecture, although some general observations were made on the origin, chronology, dedication and distribution of cult sites. Unfortunately he tended to be rather too holistic in his approach, rarely accounting for local or individual variation, although it remains an important work in the study of Romano-British temples. In a review of this publication, Wilson (1967 239) expressed the need to examine temples within their immediate context - specifically, their relationship to other structures in the precinct - and yet the majority of subsequent studies have still barely touched upon this theme. Wilson himself (1975, 1980), as well as others such as Muckelroy (1976), Horne (1986), De la Bédoyère (1991) and O'Coyle (1995) have all concentrated their efforts primarily on the architectural details of the Romano-Celtic temple building. The general conclusion to arise from this was that it consisted of a lofty central cella surrounded on at least three sides by a lower lean-to ambulatory that, within Britain at least, was mostly enclosed (Muckelroy 1976 184). Although it was subject to much individual variation, this basic architectural form would seem to have been the standard Romano-Celtic type. Other forms of constructed cult site were also noted, such as classical temples and single-celled shrines, and the relationships between

them were occasionally discussed (e.g. Horne 1986). However, confusion has sometimes arisen over terminology, as Gerald Wait, for example, provided many of the cult loci within his appendix with the description *'Romano-Celtic temple without ambulatory'* (1985 408), which makes little sense.

Since Wheeler's first major account (1928), the origin of Romano-Celtic temples has also formed a major focus in many of the studies on cult structures in Romano-Britain. Lewis suggested that they developed and spread under Roman rule (1966 9), whereas many others such as Wilson (1975 4) and Horne (1986 23) have argued that they were essentially indigenous temple forms, which survived throughout the Roman period, using masonry construction techniques and a possible Romanized façade. This latter hypothesis contradicts most of the available evidence, especially when it is considered that not only were constructed shrines of any sort extremely rare in pre-Roman Britain, but they were confined to the latest period. Furthermore, the commonly cited example of a middle Iron Age 'prototype' Romano-Celtic temple at Heathrow (Wilson 1967 239, 1975 15, De la Bédoyère 1991 177) cannot be relied upon, as it had no concise chronology, no associated diagnostic artefacts and even the contemporaneity of the inner and outer structures is in doubt (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1995 336; see 4.2). There is no example as yet of a Romano-Celtic temple in Britain prior to at least 10-15 years after the conquest, and so it can hardly be viewed as a wholly indigenous temple form. Its introduction was probably influenced by increased contact with Roman Gaul, where Derks has recently argued quite convincingly that this form of religious construction was also essentially a post-conquest phenomenon (1998 183).

The architecture and origins of Romano-Celtic temples - however important - are only part of the overall picture of cult sites in Roman Britain, yet they have dominated much of the discussion. In 1980 the published conference proceedings, *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain* (ed. W. Rodwell), compiled much of the current state of temple research, with a wider discussion on other aspects such as finds assemblages in sanctuaries (Henig 1980, Reece 1980a). Nevertheless, in Rodwell's concluding deliberation on 'temple archaeology', he lamented over the poor state of excavation, recording, and especially publication of many sites. The majority of those listed in

Lewis's earlier work, and in many reports since then, had little more than a temple plan and occasional list of associated finds. It was clear, as he subsequently stated, that:

> *Matters which need investigation include: the patterns of human traffic in temenoi; the distributions of all artefacts and ritual deposits needs plotting; evidence should be sought for temporary as well as permanent structures, fairground activities, pens for sacrificial animals, specialist activity zones and drainage and sanitary facilities; and excavation should also be able to determine the site of a grove.*
>
> (Rodwell 1980 234)

The only way such information could be gathered was by larger scale, exhaustive excavations, which included the temenos and preferably surrounding areas as well. Such excavations became more common on religious sites from the mid-late 1970s onwards, with prime examples being at Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993) and Hayling Island (Downey, King and Soffe 1980). Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, the Hayling Island excavation has yet to be published in detail - after almost 20 years - and the same fate has also befallen other potentially important temple sites such as Coleshill in Warwickshire (Magilton 1980). This makes it increasingly difficult to analyse sites at the level required to address the matters listed above, especially in cases where the original excavation archive is also inaccessible. Nevertheless, certain temple loci excavated in the 1960s, such as Henley Wood (Watts and Leach 1996) and Harlow (France and Gobel 1985) have now had the benefits of full and extensive publications, and these together with some archive information has potentially enabled some aspects of intra-site spatial planning to be examined. Despite stratigraphical disturbances, the meticulous phasing and spatial referencing of structures and finds at Uley is particularly suited for such analysis, and some functional interpretation of precinct buildings from artefact distribution was made in the excavation report (Woodward and Leach 1993 331). In *Shrines and Sacrifice*, Woodward (1992 47) used information primarily from Uley in a brief but important discussion on the organisation of temple precincts in Britain, and this remains practically the only general synthesis on the subject. The volume also dealt with the more general context of Roman cult sites, which had previously been briefly examined in Wilson's *Temples in Britain: A topographical Survey* (1973) and Blagg's *Roman religious sites in the British landscape* (1986). These studies divided cult sites into urban and rural

examples and seemed to indicate a significant difference between the two. Romano-Celtic temples, while not being found within the forum complex, unlike the occasional occurrence of their classical counterparts, were nevertheless usually regarded as regular parts of many urban landscapes, thus linking them with a highly Romanized environment (Wilson 1973 26, Woodward 1992 18). With regard to rural temples, Wilson concluded that:

> *Most rural temples, however, were not sited in relation to Roman features such as town, villa and roads, but occupied traditional locations, either on the site of pre-Roman settlement, or else isolated in the countryside.*
>
> (Wilson 1973 30)

The same theme of rural isolation was reiterated in the later studies (Blagg 1986 17, Woodward 1992 19), although Woodward did note a correlation between villas and temples in the late Roman West Country (*ibid.* 19). Yet these rural temples, some of which were quite substantial, are surely just as likely to have been integrated into the surrounding contemporary settlement and communication patterns, as their urban counterparts, and were probably linked quite closely with the Romanized native elite. The association of rural temple sites with other symbols of Romanitas is explored in chapter 5.3. The finds within Romano-British sanctuaries have been the subject of a number of studies, most notably Miranda Green's *Corpus of Religious material from Civilian Roman Britain* (1976), which provided a useful synthesis of the type and context of votive objects found up to that date. Analyses of specific find-types and their significance to the temple cult were made by Reece (coins: 1980a) and Henig (art: 1980) in Rodwell's volume (1980). Woodward (1992) took this analysis a stage further by providing a comparative account of votive assemblages within a range of seven sites, attempting to link them to specific types of cult, and the case of Uley, noting the differential composition through time (*ibid.* 74). Recently, Jean Bagnall-Smith has provided a detailed summary of the votive assemblages within Romano-Celtic temples in Oxfordshire (1995) and Woodeaton in particular (1999). Many of these accounts have concentrated on undeniably votive finds such as statuettes and miniature objects, so that the more 'utilitarian' items such as quernstones - and whatever functions they may represent - have been largely ignored. Although this has occurred in some individual site

reports - notably Henley Wood (Watts and Leach 1996) and Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993) - it is clear that a wider systematic study may provide much further information on activities performed at these sites.

Finally, some attention must given to the work done on temples in Roman Gaul, where far larger numbers have been found, and where there are some obvious similarities with the situation in Britain. Albert Grenier's two volumes of *Manuel d'Archéologie Gallo-Romaine* (1960) collated structural information on a large number of Gallo-Roman (equivalent to Romano-Celtic) temples, but the next main comparative work was not until Horne and King's inventory of these structures throughout Gaul (1980). As with British works, most of the analyses concentrated on the architectural form of the temple, and aside from a few regional studies (e.g. around Trier and Tongeren: Cabuy 1991), this did not change until the significant works of Isabelle Fauduet (1993a, 1993b). A total of 653 Gallo-Roman temples were plotted and examined in *Atlas des Sanctuaires Romano-Celtique de Gaule* (1993a), while aspects of sanctuary origin, form and context, together with cult practices and organisation were discussed in *Les Temples de Tradition Celtique en Gaule Romaine* (1993b). Ton Derks' recent publication, *Gods, Temples and Ritual practices* (1998), has provided an in-depth account of religious practice from the late Iron Age to the early Roman period in north-east Gaul and the Rhineland, with much attention paid to the development and role of temples within such a context. His is also one of the few studies to have started to examine the symbolic order of space within Gallo-Roman sanctuaries, and as such it is of great significance to this study. Overall, it is largely as a result of Fauduet's and Derks' work that the state of Gallo-Roman temple studies - especially within the north-east of the province - is generally in advance of that in Britain, although it must be remembered that there were a much larger number of sites, often with far more substantial remains.

1.4 Geographical, chronological and socio-political parameters of the study.

The problem with much of the existing research on constructed cult loci within Iron Age and Roman Britain (see 1.3), is that the sites were often examined in isolation from their local and regional environment. However, the recent work conducted on religion in Gaul (Roymans 1991, Derks 1998) has clearly shown that in order for a greater understanding of the evolution of these cult sites, they must be set within their geographical and socio-political context. The following section is intended only to be a brief backdrop to the study, while more detailed contextual accounts may be found in chapters 4 to 6.

1. Geographical parameters:

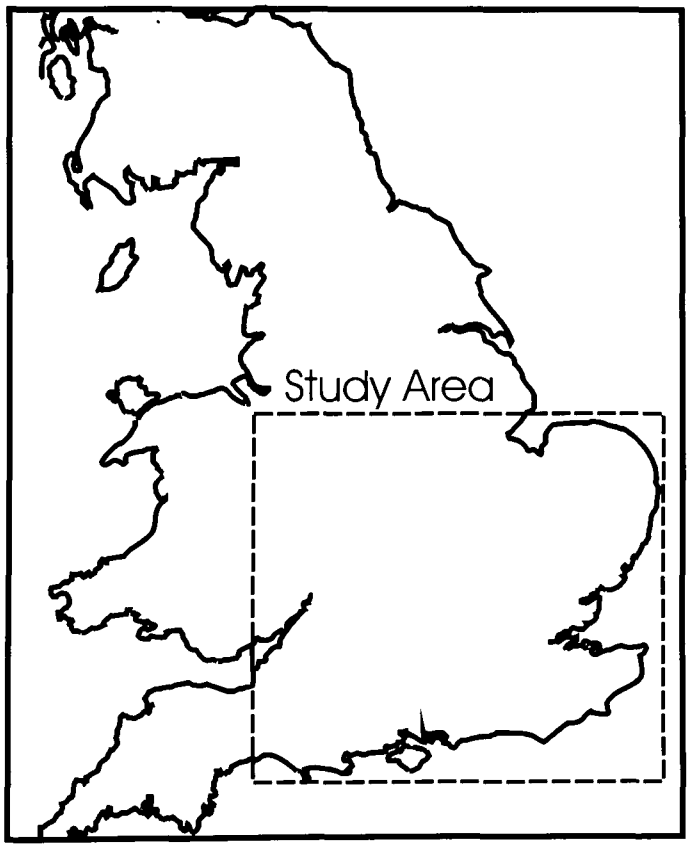


Fig. 1.2: Study area within Britain

The area of southern Britain to be examined in this study is indicated in figure 1.2. These central, southern and eastern districts have been the subject of much research, both in terms of Iron Age (e.g. Harding 1974, Cunliffe 1991, Haselgrove 1989b) and Roman studies (e.g. Millett 1990, Black 1986, Dark 1997). This has resulted in an increased understanding of their agricultural, settlement and socio-political patterns. Within these patterns, there were many apparent divergences between most parts of the study area and regions further north and west. Ken Dark has divided these into villa and native landscapes (1997), although such terms are perhaps slightly misleading, as it implies a rigid dichotomy between 'Roman' and 'native' lands. Nevertheless, it was the case that during the Roman period, virtually all of the villas and larger towns, which displayed a wide geographical affinity, were situated within the study area, with a particular concentration below the line from the river Severn to the Humber (see 5.3). However, these Romanized loci were interspersed with many smaller rural farmsteads, a large number of which had pre-Roman origins (Dark 1997 62). As far as agriculture is concerned, by the late Iron Age, the majority of all Britain was engaged in mixed farming, although the less favourable climate in the west ensured a much greater reliance upon stock rearing (Haselgrove 1989b 3). It does seem to have been the case that in general, a larger quantity of land was cultivated in the south and east, and this was enhanced by more intensive farming methods during the Roman period (Dark 1997 113). However, this is not to imply that there was a widespread homogeneity within this area, as there were a large variety of landscapes, exploited in many different ways.

2. Socio-political developments from the late Iron Age to the late Roman period within the study area

Within both Iron Age Gaul and Britain there was considerable differentiation in socio-political complexity, resulting in a wide variability in settlement pattern, economic activity, and aspects of religious expression (Haselgrove 1989b 2). It is in the late pre-Roman Iron Age that these disparities are most clearly visible, though this may be partly because of the proliferate quantity of research that this period attracts, compared to the earlier Iron Age (e.g. Haselgrove 1989b, Cunliffe 1988a, Roymans 1990). The late Iron Age in southern Britain was characterised by visible changes in agriculture, coinage,

settlement types and trade, reflecting an evolving socio-political environment. Not all of this was an inherent product of the period, but rather it was part of a wider term of development, stretching back to the 2nd and 3rd centuries BC (Haselgrove 1989b 2). By the second century BC, the political structure of much of southern Britain was characterised by small tribal units, from which larger, more fluid confederations were comprised, based upon a broadly shared cultural identity and ties of clientage. It was these larger units that seem to have eventually developed into the more substantial centralised tribal groupings of the later 1st century BC/early 1st century AD, and subsequently the civitas divisions of the Roman period (Millett 1990 66).

Caesar's account of Cassivelaunus is the first literary insight into the political structure of south-eastern Britain, and it is clear from this that his command over the respective tribes was of a transitory nature, being restricted to a period of high stress, much the same as in parts of pre-conquest Belgic Gaul (Roymans 1990 261). It is the increased use of coinage in the later first century BC that reveals more about the political developments in southern Britain. Towards the end of the century there were two main coin groups in central southern and eastern Britain. The eastern group consisted of coins of the Catuvellaunian king Tasciovanus and his successor Cunobelinus, whose expansion is indicated by the widespread occurrence of these coins over south-eastern Britain. The coins of the central southern Atrebatic group were also widespread, overlapping with the eastern series in parts of Kent and the Thames basin, though they did eventually start to decline at the latter's expense (Haselgrove 1989a 88). The tribal units on the periphery of these areas (Iceni, Corieltauvi, Dobunni and Durotriges) also produced their own sets of coinage, but they appeared not to be dynastic in nature, and are almost exclusively found within their own territory (Cunliffe 1988a 156). The vast increase in the quantity of coins circulating in the south east of Britain in the first century AD (especially by Cunobelinus and 'brother', Epaticcus), undoubtedly came about because of the growth of political centralisation and hierarchy in parts of this area. This also coincided with increased trade with Rome, which after the Gallic war, came up from north east Gaul to parts of south eastern Britain (mainly Hertfordshire/Essex region), as shown by the presence of Dressel 1B amphorae (Williams 1989 145). Trade with this part of Britain increased in the first century AD, and rich burials containing a variety of Roman luxury goods indicated the

prestige value that such items achieved within parts of society (e.g. Lexton Tumulus: Foster 1986).

One of the most visible aspects of change within parts of southern Britain in the late Iron Age is the settlement pattern. Although there is little evidence for a widespread settlement hierarchy during this period (Haselgrove 1989b 11), there were a number of large nucleated sites with indications of pronounced functional zoning (habitation, industrial, burial etc.) such as at Colchester, Silchester and St Albans (*ibid.*). Furthermore, many of these 'territorial oppida' were undoubtedly associated with the seats of particular rulers, although many smaller settlements such as Baldock may also have been linked closely with the native elite, as shown by the rich burials (Stead and Rigby 1986).

Much of southern and eastern Britain at the time of the Claudian invasion of AD 43 was dominated by a small number of elite rulers - notably Cunobelinus, whose political hegemony seems to have extended over much of the territory in the study area. The presence of significant numbers of lesser native elite, whose existence was dependent upon the maintenance of some form of social and political hierarchy, would undoubtedly have facilitated Romanization within parts of these regions (Millett 1990). The debate over Romanization has occupied much of the research into Romano-British society over recent decades (e.g. Frere 1987, Millett 1990, Woolf 1992, Grahame 1998). Those such as Frere (1987) and Forcey (1997) have argued that Rome pursued an active policy of Romanization, whilst others - most notably Millett (1990) - have advocated a more *laissez faire* approach, whereby the native elite adopted the symbols of Romanitas by their own accord, and thus essentially maintained the existing social order. Grahame has recently criticised both of these views, suggesting that there was no continuity of social order, and that Rome did not rule through an established set of tribal élites, but through personal bonds with individuals (1998 6). The great changes evident within the post conquest material record do suggest that there was considerable disruption to the socio-political system, but it is equally likely that the beneficiaries of this change were among the most prominent members of the pre-conquest tribal groups, who would no doubt have become members of the civitas councils (curia). Thus there would appear to have been

some level of continuity, as any 'personal bonds' established by the agents of Rome (Grahame 1998 6-7) would have been with certain members of the existing native elite, who would therefore have maintained and enhanced their position by actively participating in the Roman social order. Furthermore, a degree of continuity is suggested by the location of many civitas capitals, such as Silchester and Verulamium, at or near to significant pre-conquest settlements. These new urban centres were among the most visually dominant aspects of Romanization within the post-conquest landscape. Large public buildings such as basilicas, whilst not as common as in most Gallo-Roman cities, were still to become regular parts of the urban environment, although from the meagre evidence of inscriptions, most of them seem to have been funded by collective donations rather than by individuals (Millett 1990 82). Millett suggested that this may have been because of competition between the different civitas, and therefore representative of civic pride, as opposed to individuals competing against each within one civitas (*ibid.*). Whilst this may have been the case in urban or semi-urban contexts, it was not necessarily the case in rural areas, where public buildings such as temples, along with private villas, could be seen partly as status symbols of individual families. The development of the tribal areas (*civitates*) into administrative units governed along Roman lines varied according to the local situation, though this seems to have occurred throughout most of the study area by the latter part of the 1st century AD. The construction of quite extensive villas, such as those along the Sussex coast (Rudling 1998), probably represented some of the upper tiers of the indigenous elite, while their general increase in numbers and decrease in size throughout the 2nd and 3rd century seems to imply that Romanization had spread down through the social hierarchy (Millett 1990 117). The fact that many of these villas, such as Barton Court Farm (Miles 1984), were transformed from sites originating in the pre-Roman period suggests that it was a conscious decision by the existing native landowners to use symbols of *Romanitas*.

The 3rd century in Britain was largely devoid of the large scale troubles from Barbarian interference as witnessed on much of the continent, although there are many difficulties in archaeological dating and a lack of literary sources during this period (De la Bédoyère 1992 67). It seems likely from the available evidence that the province - which had been divided into two by Severus in AD197 - was quite stable and prosperous, possibly

excepting its involvement in the short-lived Gallic Empire between AD259 and 273. The reorganisation of the province by Diocletian at the end of the 3rd century heralded the start of significant changes within settlement, agricultural and economic spheres (Millett 1990 132). From the latter part of the 2nd century, widely spaced masonry town houses had been constructed in the larger civitas capitols at the expense of more tightly packed commercial and industrial structures. In the 4th century, this increased to an extent that some have been termed 'garden cities' (e.g. London: De la Bédoyère 1992 122), with a limited number of large urban residences surrounded by much open land, possibly used for agricultural purposes in some areas (Millett 1990 135). The role of these large towns in the 4th century has been the subject of much debate, with some arguing that they remained as centres of population, with continued economic, social and administrative activity (e.g. Esmonde-Cleary 1989, De La Bédoyère 1992), while others maintaining that they underwent a fundamental change of character, dominated by small numbers of large town houses, with little room for a commercial or industrial capacity (e.g. Reece 1980b, Millett 1990). It does seem unwise to generalise too much, for as De la Bédoyère admitted (1992 78), there was much variation apparent in the development of different towns, and few have been comprehensively excavated over a wide area. Whatever the situation, it does appear that certainly by the 4th century - and possibly much earlier in the 3rd century (Blagg 1981 174) - there were no new public buildings being erected in the large urban centres. It has been suggested that this was because of a lack of public munificence, with the curial classes focusing instead on private expressions of status and wealth (*ibid.*, Esmonde-Cleary 1992 72, Millett 1990 197). This period coincided with an increase in rural villa building, some of which were palatial residences representing a considerable investment (Millett 1990 187). These sites would seem to be conscious displays of individual wealth, and suggests that whilst the large towns may have continued to act as collective administrative centres, the primary places of elite habitation - and therefore the real seats of power - were often in rural areas. This would explain the major agricultural innovations encountered during this period, which again would be the result of considerable investment by the elite in their surroundings. This system continued until the last quarter of the 4th century, when there is considerable evidence for a marked recession in towns, villas and industry such as pottery production, in many parts

of southern Britain (Esmonde-Cleary 1989 131, Millett 1990 223). Whilst some large towns such as Dorchester (Sharples 1991 128) seem to have continued to prosper to at least the end of the 4th century, many others such as Verulamium and Colchester show signs of distinct decline (Esmonde-Cleary 1989 132). Many villas likewise show signs either of partial abandonment (e.g. Barnsley Park: Webster and Smith 1982) or a decline in upkeep (Branigan 1976 100-1). Overall, it appears that by the end of the 4th century, nearly all of the most visibly Romanized parts of the landscape were in serious decline. The reasons for this have been discussed at length elsewhere (e.g. Reece 1980b, Esmonde-Cleary 1989, Millett 1990), although it does seem likely that it was at least partially related to the beginnings of a breakdown in the Roman economic system. This system could probably now no longer sustain the high levels of investment needed for the continuance of these symbols of Roman material expression, although this does in no way mean that there was an abrupt cessation of activity within such places.

This then is the general chronological and socio-political background against which the origins and development of constructed cult loci in southern Britain must be set. Within chapters 4 to 6, the role of such sites within this environment will be more fully explored.

1.5 Evidence for sacred space in the late Iron Age and Roman period within southern Britain

Evidence for sacred space in the late Iron Age and the Roman period relies primarily on archaeological fieldwork and interpretation. Additionally, many studies on Iron Age religion have utilised the literary commentaries of the classical world, although much debate has taken place concerning the comparative usefulness of the two groups of information, and also the way in which they are used. Jane Webster (1992) in particular has advocated a more 'rigorous' approach to archaeological data and warned against the over-privileging of text. An important point made by herself (*ibid.*) and Fitzpatrick (1991) is that with whatever the period being studied, priority must be given to contemporaneous evidence. The present author would argue further that priority must also be given to geographically specific evidence, so that information relating to one area is not applied across a wide, socially and culturally diverse spectrum.

1. Classical Literary evidence

There are no direct references by classical writers to sacred space in pre-conquest Britain. Despite Caesar's attestations that the Druidic system was invented there (*Gallic War* VI, 13), the first record of a cult locus came from Tacitus's description of the sacred groves of Anglesey in the post-conquest period (*Annales* 14.3). This is augmented by Dio Cassius's account, written in the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD, concerning savage rites performed in the grove of Andraste at the time of the Boudiccan revolt:

> *...Then they impaled them on sharp stakes which ran the length of their bodies. All this they did to the accompaniment of sacrifices, feasting and orgies in their various sacred places, but especially in the grove of Andraste. This is the name they give to victory, and they regard her with particular reverence.*
>
> (*Epitome* of Dio Cassius LXII, 7)

Yet despite this lack of specific evidence, many studies have utilised the classical sources as primary support for the existence and physical form of sacred space in the British Iron Age (e.g. Wait 1985, Rankin 1985, Webster 1986). Set below is a table of the majority of classical references to late Iron Age sacred space, set in chronological order (fig.1.3);

Author	Reference	Date	Subject
Polybius	Histories 2.32,55	c. 200-118 BC	Celts removed their standards from temple of Minerva
Posidonius (Strabo)	4.1,3	c. early 1st C. BC	enclosure/shrine or locus dedicated to a hero
Posidonius (Strabo)	4.1,6		Roofed temple, mouth of river Loire
Posidonius (Strabo)	4.1,13		near temple in Tolosa - sacred enclosures and pools
Posidonius (Athenaeus)	4.1,52	c. early 1st C. BC	enclosure, with feasting within
Caesar	Gallic Wars 6.13	mid 1st C. BC	*locus consecratus* (Druidic meeting place in Carnutes)
Caesar	B.G. 6.17		*locus consecratus* (many sacred places in which were placed votives)
Diodorus Siculus	5.27	late 1st C. BC	*hiera kai temenea* (shrines and enclosures?)
Strabo	4.1.13	late 1st C. BC - early 1st C. AD	*hieron* (Gallic/Iberian border)
Strabo	12.5,2		Drunemeton (Galatia) and temenos
Pomponius Mela	3.2,18	c. 43 AD	Druids meet in caves or secluded groves
Pomponius Mela	3.5,18		priestesses on an island
Lucan	Pharsalia 1.451	39-65 AD	Dark groves in woods
Lucan	P. 3.399		Sacred grove near *Massilia*
Pliny (elder)	16.95	1st C. AD	mistletoe ritual in grove
Plutarch	life of Caesar 26.4	46-125 AD	Caesar's dagger hung up in the *hieron* of the Arverni
Suetonius Tranquillius	Life of Caesar 54	75-140 AD	sacred places plundered by Caesar
Tacitus	Annals 14.3	c. 56-123 AD	sacred groves on Anglesey
Dio Cassius	History of Rome 62.7-9	c. 164-235 AD	grove of British deity Andraste
Dio Cassius	H.R. 77.15, 5-6		visit of Caracalla to sanctuary of Apollo Belenus

Fig. 1.3: Classical references to sacred space

The majority of the references above relate either to parts of Gaul or else are geographically non-specific. Many writers, including Strabo, Diodorus and Athenaeus, relied extensively on the earlier work of the Greek stoic philosopher Posidonius, who seems to have travelled widely within parts of southern and central Gaul, at around the end of the 2nd century BC (Dobesch 1991 39). The use of the Greek terms, *temenos* and *hieron,* in these accounts, denote firstly a sacred enclosed area surrounding a god's altar and secondly a central sanctuary structure within an enclosure (Webster 1995 446). It may therefore have been the case that constructed sacred space in a form recognisable to the Greco-Roman consciousness did exist in parts of Gaul, but as they were rarely accompanied by any descriptive elements, they may have just used general synonyms for

such sites. In any case, it is highly debatable whether these works can have any consequence with regards to sacred space in the British pre-Roman Iron Age. The two previously mentioned references to sacred sites in Britain belong to a wider post-conquest literary phenomenon, where dramatic scenes of druidic rituals performed in woodland groves are often presented. Despite the well-documented problems of deliberate selectivity and propaganda in classical texts (Tierney 1960, Nash 1976, Webster 1992), this image has greatly influenced the perception of sacred space within the 'Celtic World'. It was thus not only given a homogeneic geographical perspective (i.e. applied to all areas), but was also retrospectively applied to the earlier periods, effectively creating what Fitzpatrick (1991 126) termed a *'timelessness'*.

In summary, the classical evidence for sacred space in the British Iron Age is extremely meagre, highly subjective and relates to two exceptional episodes in the Roman transition period. It therefore cannot be used to infer the expansive utilisation of any type of cult locus within this geographical and chronological context. Classical references to cult sites in Roman Britain are absent, possibly because ritual practices were performed largely along Roman lines, and so it is to archaeology that we must turn.

2. Archaeological evidence

i) Interpretation of Iron Age religious sites

Archaeological evidence for religious structures in late Iron Age Britain is largely dependent on informed interpretation of often meagre remains. Recent advances in excavation and recording techniques have greatly increased the volume and accuracy of information on sites, but subjective interpretation of function can still vary to a large degree. In the last two major studies on Iron Age constructed shrines (Wait 1985, Woodward 1992), there were seventeen structures identified within Britain which were deemed to be of a religious nature, though there have been a few subsequent additions and retractions. The interpretative criteria that have been used to denote a shrine include:

i) Non-association with artefacts which would suggest domestic use, such as *"cooking fire, animal bone refuse, odd bits of broken pots etc."* (Wait 1985 156)

ii) Association with "*artefacts, features and elements of design, which are clearly symbolic with supernatural referents*" (*ibid.*)

iii) Prominent position, separated from domestic buildings

iv) Specific morphology and orientation.

v) Association with later Roman period religious structures.

The majority of these criteria have substantial defects, and as many of the sites conform to only one or two of them, their interpretation as shrines is often highly suspect. The first two principles, in particular, are highly subjective, as they presuppose that the symbolism of objects found in Iron Age contexts would be readily decipherable. For instance, Wait's examples of supposedly domestic artefacts/ecofacts (cooking fires, bones, pottery), could in actuality have great religious significance, possibly representing ritual feasting, and indeed many of these items have been found on sites identified as sacred (e.g. Uley: Woodward and Leach 1993; Hayling Island: Downey, King and Soffe 1980). As previously noted (1.1), those artefacts that do not appear to have any functional purpose are often regarded as ritual in nature, whereas the possible symbolic content of utilitarian items is usually ignored. As J.D. Hill has asserted, in theory, any kind of artefact or ecofact may have derived from ritual performance, and it is the nature and patterning of their deposition that must, where possible, be taken into account (Hill 1995 98). In this way, there is a better chance of discovering the nature of their deposition and so the nature of the site as a whole.

There are many amongst the corpus of shrine sites that have negligible artefactual or ecofactual evidence, and have been placed there because of locational and morphological comparisons. This is illustrated by Drury's interpretation of the structure at Little Waltham in Essex, where he stated that; "*it might be seen, on account of its position and plan, as being potentially religious in nature.*" (Drury 1980 52; see 4.2). The building referred to is represented by irregularly spaced post-holes forming a trapezoidal plan, approximately eight by four metres in size and was situated in a cleared area of the middle of a mid-late Iron Age settlement. There were no finds associated with the structure, and it was interpreted as a shrine by comparison with others such as Heathrow (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993), and Danebury (Cunliffe 1984), which also consisted of

trapezoidal buildings set in prominent parts of Iron Age settlements. In actuality, the size, shape and construction methods of most of these structures differ quite substantially, and even had that not been the case, then the corpus is so small as to make interpretations based upon purely inter-site structural comparisons almost meaningless. This is especially true when it is noted how localised society was in the late Iron Age (see 1.4), so that there would perhaps not be expected to be a great deal of homogeneity in the type and form of religious loci. Drury attempted to explain the variety in form of 'religious structures' by placing them in an evolutionary sequence, ranging from simple square or rectangular structures such as Little Waltham, to more complex ambulatory buildings such as at Heathrow (Drury 1980 49). As Heathrow came at the end of the sequence, and supposedly came from the 3rd century BC (although the dating is quite uncertain: Grimes and Close-Brooks, 1993 336), the sequence was assumed to have finished at this point, after which a variety of sites was used. Such a series is flawed in many respects, principally because just twelve structures were used from a wide area of Britain, and the differences are surely more likely to have been due to regional variations than universal evolutionary processes. Additionally, such a transition from 'simple to complex' structures may in fact be a false reality, as there is no reason why the more elementary structures may not have succeeded those of a more composite nature. For example, two structures that have the most convincing evidence of a religious nature, South Cadbury and Uley, derive from the very end of the Iron Age, yet are among the simplest of the 'shrine' constructions. The dangers of using purely morphological criteria for functional identification is highlighted by the case of Pilsden Den - a rectangular structure in the centre of an Iron Age hill fort. This was interpreted as a shrine on the basis of form and position (Drury 1980 50-52), though was later believed to actually have been a post-medieval rabbit warren (Wait 1985).

Recognition of possible Iron Age cult sites is often determined by their association with subsequent Roman period shrines or temples. Of the seventeen sites interpreted as shrines, twelve are either overlain by or adjacent to Roman religious structures. The major problem with this interpretative procedure is that it is often unwarrantable to use post-conquest material to imply pre-conquest reality. In other words, just because there is Iron Age activity underneath a Roman period temple, it need not imply that it was an Iron

Age ritual site. This "*retrospective interpretation*" (Webster 1992 314) is clearly seen at Frilford in Oxfordshire where a circular stake-walled structure of Iron Age date (2^{nd} - 1^{st} C. BC) underlay a 2^{nd} century AD Romano-Celtic temple (Harding 1987; see 1.3 and 4.2). The earlier structure was originally interpreted as a shrine, though was later argued to be some sort of domestic or agricultural building because of the large temporal gap with the temple and the lack of associated votive material (*ibid.* 9). The vital factor of continuity is that which is most important when assessing Iron Age sites. Those which have a substantial occupational time gap between the two eras are less likely to have any functional continuity, though as always, the whole context has to be examined, including structural features and the nature of the finds.

Towards an interpretative framework for the identification of Iron Age shrine sites

There are many factors which may suggest the religious nature of an Iron Age site, though treated in isolation they provide invariably weak, inconclusive evidence. These factors may be broken down into:

i) Artefactual/Ecofactual evidence

ii) Direct retrospective associations

iii) Structural/locational evidence

Artefactual/ecofactual evidence for religious loci lies not so much in the type of find material, but in the nature and patterning of their deposition. For example, individual weapons may not have been regarded as specifically sacred items in themselves, yet their structured deposition in a deliberately damaged state in enclosure ditches or watery contexts is a strong indication of some sort of ritual activity. In this way, any item may be seen to have some sort of religious significance, if it is found in certain contexts (see above). Once such a significance is concluded, then the find types may be examined in more detail. For instance, there may be a preponderance of certain artefactual types (e.g. martial items, jewellery etc.) or selectivity of animal species, which may give greater insight into the nature of the cult involved.

Using retrospective associations with Roman period sacred structures as a basis for the religious interpretation of Iron Age sites, has only some element of validity when there is

direct continuity, and some additional form of artefactual and/or structural evidence. However, in order to have direct continuity, the Iron Age structures would have to have been in use at the very end of the pre-Roman Iron Age, and possibly (e.g. Uley and probably Hayling Island) into the Roman period, so such retrospective forms of evidence would not be of great use for those structures from earlier in the Iron Age.

The final factor is among the most inadequate type of evidence used in the identification of Iron Age shrines, especially if used in isolation. As discussed above, it is extremely hazardous to infer the sacred nature of an Iron Age structure from just morphological and locational evidence, yet this does not mean that it should be totally disregarded. For instance, if there were any structures in a settlement that seemed to be incongruous or spatially distinct from others, and these were associated with certain depositional patterns that may be construed as being of a ritual nature and/or with subsequent sacred structures, then a religious function may be postulated with greater vigour. Structural and locational evidence by themselves cannot be used as an indication of religious function in the pre-Roman Iron Age, but used together with the other forms of evidence, may help the interpretative procedure.

When it comes to applying the above interpretative criteria on proposed shrine sites, it is clear that the greater the amount of integrated positive evidence, the stronger the case is for a religious nature. All the evidence from the site must be examined as a whole, then a 'best fit' hypothesis drawn up. This is attempted in the analysis of Iron Age -Roman transition 'shrine' sites in chapter 4.

ii) Roman period sacred places

Whilst the recognition of Iron Age sacred sites has suffered from pre-conceived ideas and a lack of tangible archaeological evidence, the same cannot be said for Roman period temples and shrines within southern Britain. More defined forms led to a level of architectural homogeneity, especially in regard to the concentric plan of the Romano-Celtic temple. This, and the fact that the majority of sacred buildings were now constructed in stone (or at least stone foundations), has led to many such sites being found all across the north-west provinces - including southern Britain - partly identified on a morphological basis. The range in scale of religious sites throughout Britain was

quite substantial, from small shrines such as Brigstock (mid 3rd - late 4th C. AD: Greenfield 1963) to the limited number of larger classical religious sanctuaries such as Bath (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985). The relative importance of each site in regards to its local population may not be reflected by its grandeur however, which may actually be more indicative of the level of Romanization. The identification of all sites is not only dependent on structural form - which remains functionally obscure in sites like Brigstock - but also upon the associated finds. Large quantities of artefacts and ecofacts have often been found at these sites, serving not only to confirm their religious character, but also providing indications as to the nature of the cult. Although certainly not common finds on cult sites, iconographic images of deities, such as the head of the Mercury statue from Uley (Woodward 1992 61) and the Apollo plaque from Nettleton (Wedlake 1982 156), can provide explicit evidence for the practising cult. However, there often seem to have been multiple deities worshipped at a single temple site, (e.g. copper alloy figurines of Minerva and Mercury from Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset: Leech 1986), and it is usually uncertain as to which, if any, was the presiding deity. Additionally, we cannot usually be certain that a British version of a Roman deity would be the same as in classical areas.

Epigraphic data from Romano-British temples sites also occasionally records the names of the divinities venerated, in addition to providing details of the worshippers and rituals through media such as curse tablets (see 3.2 and 5.3). In addition to iconography and epigraphy, there were numerous other finds categories that may provide evidence for the nature of the cult, including the existence of religious specialists (e.g. head-dresses at Wanborough: Bird and O'Connell 1994 100). Additionally, the sheer volume of material found at some sites (e.g. Uley), both structural and artefactual/ecofactual, may enable a more detailed understanding of site history and function to be built up. Despite the complications of poor stratigraphy, the specific use of space within the site - including the location of activity areas - can now start to be analysed.

Chapter 2

Towards a Methodology: The Differentiation of Space

One of the principle aims of this study is to examine the intra-site use of space within constructed sacred sites from the late Iron Age to the Late Roman period. It is therefore seen as appropriate to undertake a brief examination into some of the underlying conventions governing the structuring of space, and to study the general principles and problems of intra-site spatial analysis in the archaeological record. From this, it is hoped to develop a methodology by which some of the sites within the appendix may be analysed.

2.1 The Use of Space

All human societies have implemented some degree of spatial structuralisation, primarily so that order may be created out of chaos. Studies by a number of behavioural scientists (e.g. Sanders 1990, Watson 1970) have indicated that the structuring of space is a vital factor for the psychological well-being of humans. The defining of space, by whatever means, is a way of transforming and containing the surrounding environment, based upon specific cultural ideologies. Therefore, the spatial order created will reflect and reinforce the relationships between people from that culture (Reid, 1989 1). The artificially constructed environment, as expressed in architecture, has been regarded by many (Hingley 1990 125, Rapoport 1969 50, Foster 1989 40), as not merely a response to environmental needs, but a microcosm of society and therefore a tool in understanding social structure. Sanders stated that;

> *The individual behavioural decisions, which reflect more general cultural values, are embodied in the formation and use of the built environment. Architecture would, therefore, seem to be one of the most valuable artefacts at the disposal of cultural historians, whether the context is ancient or contemporary societies.*
>
> (Sanders 1990 43)

The extent of this architectural value, however, is dependent upon knowledge of a society's values and beliefs, without which inferences are very difficult to make. Within anthropological study, where the beliefs of the people are more likely to be known, it is possible to gain insight into the way in which architecture reflects social or cosmological principles. For example, the Long houses of the Barasana of Amazonia have a male entrance to the east, facing the 'water door' of the milk river (Amazon), and a female entrance to the rear. The house forms a microcosm of their world, with the roof representing the sky, the posts mountains, and beneath the soil the underworld (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994 13). Such architectural manifestations of the cosmological realm would be virtually impossible to recognise in a prehistoric society, with no contemporary records.

The example above illustrates one of the reasons why space, and especially sacred space is differentiated, in that it may incorporate culturally specific religious and symbolic concepts. The way in which space is used to communicate or reinforce information is known as Proxemics (Reid 1989 2), and all such structurally created spaces are a result of inherent proxemics, in that they are culturally distinctive. However, there are a number of underlying conventions within the structuring of space that have a more universal aspect.

i) Boundaries

The concept of the boundary lies at the heart of spatial structuring. As Donald Sanders points out;

> *Human beings are territorial animals. We define spaces, mark them for specific uses, create visible and invisible boundaries, establish cultural conventions of behaviour towards those boundaries, and will defend the territory against unwanted intrusions.*
>
> (Sanders 1990 49)

Territorial boundaries may be of many different forms and used for many different purposes. Rapoport (1990 298) noted how certain simple environments might be highly divided in a conceptual way, but have little or no physical presence. These divisions would rely upon inherent recognisable cues, influencing the mode of behaviour that may not be apparent to those from outside the culture. The problem for the archaeologist is in attempting to locate these conceptual boundaries and the activities they contain within an

archaeological site, which may only be tried by analysing artefact distributions. The same cues can also be applied to physical boundaries, in that they may mark the separation of different functional spheres, which could have disparate modes of behaviour. For example the Swahili houses, as described by Donley-Reid (1990 120) were internally divided into areas that were assigned to various categories of individuals of differing social ranks. The lowest level of the house was used only by female domestic slaves and as a storage area, whilst the upper level was used by the free born. The boundary between the two levels thus has inherent cultural cues affecting people's behavioural responses, as well as reinforcing an understanding of their specific social order. Although boundaries may have many specific purposes, such as defence, administration and shelter, the underlying function is that of classifying places and controlling access (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994 24). In the latter case, points of transition (entrance/exits) are of particular importance, as they specifically regulate movement from one area from another. In the case of sacred space, this may be the transition point between sacred and profane, which is often heavily emphasised (see section 1.1). Such thresholds are liminal zones where people pass from one order to another, and may be regarded as dangerous or polluted in some way (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994 25). Consequently they are often connected with purification rituals, seen not only with sacred places, but also domestic dwellings, such as at Traditional Jewish houses where small prayer cases are secured to the doorstep (*ibid.*: 25).

ii) Diametric Structuring

Most cultures instigate some form of diametric structuring in their ordering of space. Examples of this could involve front/back, left/right, male/female, sacred/profane, public/private or any other binary oppositions. There are many ethnological case studies which clearly illustrate particular diametric structuring, including that given by Hughes (1995 94) describing spatial organisation among various Sotho-Tswana and Nguni speaking people of South Africa. They had specific concepts of how social space was organised, which was reflected in the way settlements and houses were structured. Houses often had a strict distinction between right-male, and left-female, with another dichotomy of front-public-profane and back-private-sacred. Structural orientation based upon the four cardinal axes is also a largely extensive phenomenon, presumably because

as Gordon (1971 211) stated; *"The practice of dividing the circle of the horizon into four cardinal directions is almost universal, appearing among well separated peoples of diverse origins"*. Different diametric oppositions such as directions and gender are frequently found in conjunction, as for example in the South African houses described above (Hughes 1995).

iii) Concentric structuring

In addition to diametric structuring, most spatial forms incorporate some element of concentric structuring, in that they have a focus and periphery. This can be seen both within large settlements, such as the forum within Roman towns, and within individual buildings. The use of space within Iron Age roundhouses has been the subject of much recent work (Hingley 1990, Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994, Hughes 1995), with Hingley (1990 131) suggesting a conceptual division between a 'public' central space containing the hearth and a 'private' peripheral zone reserved for sleeping and storage. The central focus of a structure does certainly not have to be public space, as illustrated by many sacred sites. The majority of such sites have one particular area of greater sanctity acting as a focus, often kept apart from public areas, with access restricted to religious specialists. This is illustrated by classical temples where, although the cult image was often able to be viewed from outside, access across the temple threshold itself was usually restricted to priests, augurs and other selected people (Taylor 1967 13).

Ultimately, it is the inter-linked utilisation of boundaries, diametric structuring and concentric structuring that form some of the most elementary underlying conventions involved in the differentiation of space, though the specifics can vary both culturally and temporally.

Reasons for the differentiation of space

Spatial differentiation is present in all societies to some degree, whether it is gender-specific, age-specific or functionally specific in nature (Kent 1990b 129). Inter-cultural variation is exhibited by the degree of segmentation and the specific rationale that guides it.

i) Cosmological microcosms

The synthetic division of space eventuates out of a number of primary factors, arising essentially from the human need for order. Cosmologies, which help to shape this order, may have a profound influence on the use of space, as shown in the Barasna house example given above (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994 11). This is especially pronounced in sacred sites, which in many cultures are viewed as earthly microcosms of the divine realm (e.g. Hindu temples). Some scholars such as Raglan (1964) and Highlands (1990) argue that religious ideologies lie behind the origin of domestic dwellings, although Rapoport (1969 40) disputes this, stating that there is a considerable difference between buildings incorporating cosmological aspects and buildings constructed specifically for a religious purpose. The problem lies in contemporary western perceptions whereby sacred space is sharply discriminated from profane space, which is not always the case. For example, within the Swahili house mentioned earlier (Donley-Reid 1990 121), there was a central room known as the *ndani* which was not only the primary secular place of the women, but was also their ritual centre as well. Thus there was no pronounced separation of sacred and profane space, and such un-differentiation is not uncommon in societies where religious and secular lives are closely connected.

ii) Social hierarchy

Cosmologies can be seen to have an effect upon the spatial order of many structures, though another important, and related, factor is that of the reinforcement of the social hierarchy. This stems from the principle, related by Fairclough (1992 348) among others, that "*the fundamental structures of a society condition the ways in which groups negotiate rights over space within a building*". In other words, the underlying principles of a culture are a vitally influential factor in their use of space. Spatial differentiation is often used to establish and maintain divisions and hierarchies within a society, whether it be gender, age or perceived social standing. People of the greatest influence may transform the spatial order into mnemonic devices that cue their superior position and thus reassert the pattern of power relations (Donley-Reid 1990 115). There is a problem however, in determining how far social structures may be recognised visually in the

spatial order. Hillier and Hanson (1984) advocate that spatial organisation does directly reflect social structure. They argue that there are two basic paradigms of spatial organisation (1984 141):

1) correspondence systems, in which close-knit 'tribal' societies required tightly integrated spatial organisation;

2) non-correspondence systems, where societies have a far greater division of labour (more specialists), and require more segregated space.

These views have received many critics (Leach 1978, Hodder 1991), who argue that because of a greater disparity between space syntax (the arrangement of the spatial order) and sociology, it is much harder to make social inferences from spatial form. While the present author would agree with this to some extent, there has been a number of useful case studies (Foster 1989, Fairclough 1992) that have utilised some aspects of Hillier and Hanson's theory, and shown that spatial order does carry some social information (see 2.4).

iii) Activity areas

Another primary reason for the differentiation of space lies in the need for defining activity areas. Functional zones are often discrete from one another, although the boundary between the two may only be conceptual in nature. This need to partition space stems from the basic human desire to create order out of the natural space around them, although as the relationship between humans and the spatial order is dynamic, the specific use of space may vary considerably over time. Analysing particular activity areas in the archaeological record can be very problematic, as the same space may be consequentially used by a variety of people for a variety of purposes. Such areas would therefore appear to the archaeologist to be multi-functional, especially if there was only a brief period of cessation between the activities (Kent 1990a 4). This problem, as Susan Kent (*ibid.*) pointed out, is more pronounced when concerned with public space, where many different groups may utilise the same space for a certain period of time. Kent therefore used domestic space as a unit for analysis, where functional areas are likely to be more static. The present author would argue that sacred space is even more likely to

have fixed functional zones, as many religions are inherently conservative in nature, and sacred sites are invariably connected with a number of specific rituals, performed in specific areas. There are many types of functional zones within sacred loci, although even within one religious culture they need not always be specifically prescribed, so as to be homogeneously located across all sites.

Defining and recognising 'activity areas'

Rapoport (1990 11) argued that activities were direct expressions of lifestyle and therefore culture, and divided them into four categories:

1) the activity itself;
2) how the activity is carried out;
3) how the activity is associated with other activities and combined into activity systems;
4) the meaning of this activity.

This emphasises how essentially the same activity may manifest itself in totally different ways, according to its specific context. From category one to four, there is a greater degree of cultural variance, terminating in the meaning of the activity which can vary a great deal even within a single culture. This would then help to explain the great variety of physical forms used to house the same sort of activity (*ibid.* 12). The relationship between activities and the built environment has been the subject of much debate (e.g. Rapoport 1969, 1990, Donley-Reid 1990, Ciolek-Torrello 1984). Principally, the discussion has centred around whether it is possible to tell function from form, i.e. do the architectural features of a structure give an indication of the activities set within it. The interpretation of structures on purely morphological grounds is fraught with difficulties, as clearly illustrated by the situation with possible Iron Age shrines in Britain (see 1.5 and 4). It seems only possible to use such an analytical tool when there is some knowledge of the cultural context, together with a recognised homogeneity within a functionally-specific architectural type. This is illustrated by the form of the Romano-Celtic temple, although even here there has been some debate over functional interpretation (e.g. Forcey 1998).

When attempting to understand the function of a particular room, or any partition of space, it is usually not the fixed physical form that is the best indication, but the associated artefacts (Ciolek-Torrello 1984 132). Rapoport (1990 13) conceptualised the environment into fixed feature elements (walls, floors etc.), semi-fixed furnishings (e.g. artefactual furnishings) and non-fixed furnishings (people and their activities). It is the 'semi-fixed furnishings' that provide most information for the 'non-fixed furnishings', i.e. they provide cues for those people entering, instructing them of the area's function, and appropriate behaviour expected (*ibid.* 12). The same spatial area, whether architectural or conceptual, may be the setting for a variety of activities, depending upon the imposition of different semi-fixed cues. These cues change with the activities, and it is this close relationship that is so important to the archaeologist in locating and defining past activity areas. Despite the inherent problems with such artefactual evidence (examined in 2.4), its study is very important to our understanding of the past use of space. Sanders (1990 43) argued that the examination of architecture rather than portable artefacts was a more useful exercise for archaeologists when attempting to study past activities, as it was most likely to retain the context of its original use and was less affected by site formation processes (*ibid.*). Whilst this may be true, Sanders neglects the fact that it is often impossible to understand 'the context of its original use', through an examination of the architecture alone. The majority of structural features would not be shaped by specific activities (Rapoport 1990 11), especially within less socially complex societies, with less spatial divisions. Even when there are specific architectural forms for certain activities, they may still be indecipherable if the cultural context is not known.

2.2 Methods of intra-site spatial analysis

Inferential examinations into space syntax (see p.36) and semantics (relationship between the spatial order and its meaning) rely upon the ability to identify different functional areas within the site. As previously noted (see 2.1), there are often problems in being able to recognise and define such 'activity areas', and so a range of intra-site spatial analytical techniques has arisen to help in this task. Intra-site spatial studies in archaeology have had increasing vogue over recent years, especially as better excavation and recording techniques have greatly expanded the volume of information from sites. The diversity of

techniques is quite substantial (Boast and Yiannouli 1986 136), though essentially it comes down to an analysis of either architectural space or artefactual/ecofactual distribution within the excavated site.

i) Models of architectural space syntax analysis

The ways in which patterns of architectural space are related to social relations have been formulised in a number of models over recent decades. Hillier and Hanson (1984) in particular, have sought to utilise syntactic codes in order to have a better understanding of social structure. They produced a syntactic model known as Gamma-analysis, with the basic proposition that buildings transmit social information through their interior structures (*ibid.* 154). The model examines the use of boundaries and entrances within a structure, locating patterns of permeability between the various segregated spaces. This is ultimately an attempt to analyse the relationships both between the inhabitants themselves, and in particular between inhabitants and outsiders (termed carriers: *ibid.* 147). Hillier and Hanson's model is concerned only with syntactic aspects, and thus ignores the ideological elements of space semantics. The possibilities of conceptual boundaries are ignored, as are the differing social values that may be attached to certain entrances. The problems of formal space syntax analysis have been highlighted by others (e.g. Leach 1978, Hodder 1991 39-41, Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994 30), although it does seem that if combined with contextual and semantic elements, it can be very useful in the interpretation of certain structures. Archaeological applications of this method have met with some success, notably with Sally Foster's analysis of spatial patterns in Iron Age Brochs from the Scottish Atlantic (1989). She used an adapted version of access-analysis to elucidate aspects of the social structure from the settlement form. Of course such speculation is impossible to verify in prehistoric contexts, and it is only when there is a degree of pre-existing knowledge of society, that firmer conclusions may be drawn. A good utilisation of space syntax analysis in an historical context was Graham Fairclough's examination of medieval buildings, where he applied techniques of both access-analysis and Faulkner's planning diagrams in an attempt to examine social function (1992). He noted a major problem with such syntactic models in that they rely on predetermined knowledge of room function (*ibid.* 355). Differential access between internal spaces may only lead to some sort of social inference, if the basic functions of

the spaces are known. When this is the case, the two elements (function and access) may be combined to produce very useful insights into social structure.

The formal analysis of space syntax needs to take into account ideological principles. Certain points of access may have different symbolic properties attached to them, with a prime example, given by Fairclough (*ibid.* 355), being different points of access to the monarch's bedchamber in 17th century palaces. There were numerous entrances to this central chamber, used by people of different social ranking (i.e. servants, guests and the monarch himself), so that the entrances assumed a variety of social values. There may be many other symbolic properties attached to points of access within a building that are not taken into account by formal analysis of space syntax, and as Parker-Pearson and Richards reiterated;

> *By ignoring symbolic meanings we overlook the possibility that design structures have different meanings in different cultural contexts. The approach may also ignore differing cultural strategies of privacy regulation.*
>
> (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994 30)

The majority of such models also neglect to take into account the direction of access (Fairclough 1992 353), which is vitally important when considering internal spatial relationships.

Ultimately the present author believes that the formal study of space syntax is only of great value when certain conditions are apparent:

1) the complete groundplan and preferably all or part of the super-structure is present;
2) the probable functions of the component rooms are known;
3) there is some prior knowledge of the culture involved, so that contextual and ideological factors may be taken into consideration.

When these conditions are realised, then space syntax models may be used to help explain internal spatial and functional relationships within buildings or complexes, and hence increase our knowledge of the social structure. Unfortunately, within the context of this study the first two conditions are rarely achieved, and so it is by studying the patterns of artefact distribution that we may best hope to analyse the intra-site spatial order.

ii) Artefact distribution analysis: Principles and problems

The distribution of artefacts and ecofacts within an archaeological site is likely to have been at least partly connected to the patterned behaviour of past people, and so it is potentially informative in recognising intra-site organisation (Berry, Meilke and Kvamme 1984 54). However, in order to understand the meaning of these distributions, there is a need to understand the behaviour responsible for generating them, including both human activities and post-depositional processes (Schofield 1991 3). The clustering of artefacts on a site may be the result of many different processes, which can be classified into primary, secondary and tertiary (Brunaux 1988 20-1). Primary deposits are those that were left *in situ* where they were used, and so would give the best indication of specific activity areas, although in order to get a clear concentration of such deposits, the activity would have to practised over a long period of time, within a single limited area. Assuming that the refuse (by which is meant those items associated with an activity) from the activity was not cleared away, then Kroll and Isaac (1984 16) suggested that there would be a central cluster, with a periphery of diminishing densities (cluster pattern). If on the other hand, the larger items were cleared away (e.g. a central space being kept clear for ritual reasons), then they suggested that the densest accumulation of material would be on the periphery of the activity area (O'Connell size differentiation pattern). A more random pattern would emerge if the refuse-forming activity was not specifically located for long periods of time (unclustered scatter pattern). Kroll and Isaac were dealing in particular with configurations of artefacts and bones at early Pleistocene sites in east Africa, although it is likely that the basic cluster/uncluster patterns may be applied over a wider variety of contexts. Problems occur when a variety of refuse-forming activities occur in the same general area, as may happen for example within public spaces, or areas used for a long period of time. In these circumstances the material may be continually assimilated so that it would be difficult to extrapolate much information regarding specific activity areas. It is within specialised (e.g. sacred) or short-term sites, where there is less probability of movement, that more deposits would likely have been left in situ, and hence it is in these that there is more chance of detecting activity areas (Hivernal and Hodder 1984 97). Aside from examining the extent of spatial clustering of materials within a site, the compositional patterning is also important (Ferring 1984 116),

as certain types of artefact may have similar intra-site distributions, and so may provide greater indications of particular activities. When the two are combined (i.e. clusters of particular types of material), then we have the best chance of being able to locate specific activity areas, such as food preparation or metalworking.

When attempting to locate and interpret activity areas within archaeological sites, it is first necessary to understand the diagnostic qualities of the material remains. Each activity, such as food preparation or sleeping, has a different 'tool kit' (Rapoport's 'Semi-fixed furnishings': 1990 13), although often it is either of a perishable nature, or simply not sufficiently well defined to be recognisable. With the example of food preparation, such a tool kit may include specific utensils, food remains, containers and a cooking facility (e.g. hearth, oven, etc). It is often only when such items are found in their respective associations that an activity may be identified, and so if certain types were not present then such recognition would either be very abstruse or just not possible. Additionally, any meaning beyond the purely functional would generally not be apparent from such material groupings, although some symbolic denotation may be gained if they were examined in a fully contextual manner.

One of the major problems in intra-site distribution analysis is that frequently materials would not have been deposited in the place of their use, but deliberately removed, often to specific disposal areas. This is known as secondary disposal (Kroll and Isaac 1984 14, Brunaux 1988 21), and could result in material being displaced considerable distances from the original activity area. It is especially likely that larger objects would have been removed in this way, particularly within sites that were used for a long period of time, as otherwise too much debris would build up within the activity area. Because of this, it is very important to analyse the location of small finds within an archaeological site, as this may give more indication regarding the functional characteristics of certain areas. General exceptions to this would be those items which were deposited for a specific purpose (e.g. ritual deposits or hoards), together with refuse disposal areas themselves, which often provide very useful information on general site function.

Both primary and secondary disposal of objects occur during the actual use of the site at any particular time. The way in which material is dispersed in subsequent periods is

known as post-depositional movement (Hietala 1984 2), and it is this that can often destroy any chance the archaeologist has of trying to determine the location of differential spheres of activity. There are many different post-depositional processes, stemming from either environmental or human/animal origins, all of which may disperse objects both vertically and horizontally from the old ground surface to varying degrees, and thus seriously disturb the stratigraphy of a site (Kroll and Isaac 1984 13). Environmental processes may include erosion/weathering action, especially water flow, which can often affect a site before it is covered over (Hivernal and Hodder 1984 98), as well as activity from vegetation, which may disturb the stratigraphy through root action. Perhaps the most significant post-depositional disturbances however, are usually caused by animal and especially human action. After a site has finished in use, it may be subjected to much trampling and scavenging, with the result that material may be intermixed and spread over a wide area. Stonework from substantial structures was often reused in subsequent buildings, so that the only remaining traces of walls may be in the form of 'robber trenches'. When sites have been covered with sediment layers, it is usually human building and farming activity that causes the greatest stratigraphic disturbances. This is especially pronounced on sites where there are many different phases of activity, such as the town of Bourges (Avaricum) in mid-France, where there has been more or less continuous occupation from the Iron Age until the present day (Ian Ralston pers. com.). Another example of post-depositional human disturbance that has affected a number of archaeological sites is that associated with treasure-hunting. A prime example is the Roman temple site at Wanborough in Surrey (O'Connell and Bird 1994), much of which was dug up by people attempting to find artefacts (especially the mass of coins that was found at the site), thereby ruining the stratigraphic record. The clearest stratigraphic sequences are usually those from sites which have one or two distinct phases, no modern constructions, and have not suffered from deep plough damage or other human intrusions, with an example being the cemetery site at Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 1997).

There are many factors within an archaeological site, such as the type of soil substrate, that may have an affect not only on the post-depositional movement of items, but also upon their survival rate (e.g. the acid soil destruction of faunal remains). There may

therefore be a disproportionate preservation of certain material remains within a site that would not be a reflection of the original activities (Ciolek-Torrello 1984 133). At best this could lead to incomprehensible patterns being encountered, but it could also induce false interpretational conclusions. This problem can be countered to some degree, not only by comparing artefact distributions within different sites, but also by comparing the distribution of similar material objects on an intra-site level. Hodder and Orton (1976 237) exemplified this in a study of the distribution of Neolithic axe types. They compared it with that of similar objects in the same area, and the distribution patterns were found to be different, thereby indicating that they were more likely to have been the result of past activities, rather than merely post-depositional survival.

iii) Specific techniques of intra-site spatial analysis

Intra-site spatial analysis has, in some form or another, been applied sporadically to archaeological sites for much of this century. The variety of statistical techniques used has been in part due to the differing specifics of site context (e.g. some sites may have a greater number of finds or better stratigraphy), and partly because of an increasing use in recent years of computers in spatial analysis. The increasing volume and accuracy of information recovered from archaeological sites, both in structural and artefactual spheres, has led in many cases to a substantial increase in our knowledge of their spatial planning.

The studies of the Bronze Age settlement at Thorney Down (Ellison 1987) and early Iron Age Hillfort at Winklebury Camp (Fisher 1985) are good examples of artefact distribution analysis, with both attempting to distinguish patterns within the material record that may lead to functional interpretations of certain areas. The Hillfort at Winklebury had been the subject of an extensive modern excavation in 1976, presenting Fisher with a large dataset to analyse, and was compared to other broadly contemporary settlements in Britain where spatial patterns had been recognised. At an initial stage, ten hypotheses derived from these patterns, as well as from general Iron Age and ethnographic studies, were formulated in order to test against the Winklebury results. The hypotheses ranged from general assertions that human activities within hillforts were spatially segregated, to specific preconceptions such as the distribution of pottery types as

indicative of the functional variation of structures (Fisher 1985 169). The present author takes Fisher's line that it is necessary to have some preconceptions of the functional aspects of certain artefactual and structural patterns, and also of what patterns might be expected at specific site types. However there is always a danger of trying too hard to force the data into these moulds, and it must always be remembered that our behavioural preconceptions are hermeneutic (i.e. based upon our own cultural experiences) and may not reflect past reality. The specific methodology devised for the analysis was guided by the fact that it was limited to subsoil features only, because of extensive plough damage in the upper stratigraphy. This is a problem that affects many sites, with the result that only those finds within features such as post-holes, pits and ditches are able to be recorded spatially. In these circumstances, the past ground surface, and the position of finds upon it, remain unknown, and thus much valuable information for spatial analysis is lost. Nevertheless, Fisher managed to locate definite patterns in the artefact distribution from the subsoil features of Winklebury, and test his hypotheses against them. He examined the pottery distribution data in detail, using as measures the mean shard weight, and density, while just noting the presence or absence of other data types (bones, flints, querns etc.). The frequency distributions were prepared, then plotted with the aid of computer packages (SYMAP, SPSS, and CLUSTAN), to determine whether there was any patterning within individual find types and related find types ('principle components analysis', Fisher 1985 173), as well as evidence for the general clustering of finds. The results of this analysis were then used to make conclusions about the use of space within the hillfort (*ibid.* 179), as well as more general points concerned with the field of spatial studies in archaeology. It was noted that artefact assemblages differ between pits and post-holes because of differential patterns of deposition - pits being used for deliberate deposition while post-holes just serving as traps for topsoil material. The important point to make here is that the context of finds must where possible be taken into account when undertaking spatial analysis.

The Bronze Age settlement at Thorny Down, Wiltshire, was excavated between 1936 and 1939, and the comprehensive original site records were used by Ann Ellison (1987), for an analysis of the artefact distribution in order to attempt a functional interpretation of the various structural types. The site was undisturbed by ploughing prior to excavation, so

that here, unlike Winklebury, the topsoil finds could also be recorded, and they would be expected to be of a primary or secondary nature (i.e. relating to original activities or actions). When finds were recorded and plotted on distribution maps, strong patterns were found around various structures and outdoor 'activity areas' (*ibid.* 389), and it was noted that different types of structure had different types of patterning. Based on the type of patterning, and also in some cases morphological comparisons, probable functions (living quarters, food storage etc.) were attributed to them, as well as to certain surrounding areas. Whilst some of the resultant functional propositions may be slightly unconvincing (e.g. that all 4-post structures were storage facilities, based on a lack of, or unpatterned, finds and morphological comparisons), the work by Ellison is important in that it emphasises how sites excavated earlier this century may still have rigorous intra-site spatial analysis applied to them, providing the original records contain provenanced data.

In general, intra-site spatial analysis is only performed on sites, such as Winklebury and Thorney Down, that have a wealth of artefactual and ecofactual material. However, as shown by Harold Mytum (1989), it is possible to attempt such analysis on sites with relatively few finds. The site chosen by Mytum was Walesland Rath in south-west Wales, excavated in 1967-8, and producing a complex sequence of structures, yet relatively few finds, most of these coming from the topsoil (*ibid.* 65). Because of the paucity of finds, statistical analysis was not possible, and instead, a simple block density distribution map was created, based upon the segmented areas of the original excavation. All finds and structures had been published in relation to these irregular areas, and the density maps drawn up of the various find types did show some evidence of distinct patterning in relation to the structures, both in the Iron Age and Roman periods (Mytum 1989 69). Intra-site spatial studies at sites such as this are obviously more limited than at those with large amounts of data, and the margin for error is much greater, with a possibility of the patterning of finds being substantially altered with relatively few additions. However, Mytum has shown that it is feasible to attempt such studies, providing that the structural and artefactual/ecofactual evidence are examined in close co-operation.

A final example of intra-site spatial analysis, concerned with a defined ritual setting, is Joshua Pollard's study of structured deposition at Woodhenge (Pollard 1995). Although the site was excavated in the 1920s, the information was sufficient for him to plot the general distribution of artefacts and ecofacts, and thus note the spatial complexity, both in terms of structural organisation and depositional patterning. The finds were all from sub-surface features - the main circular ditch and interior post holes - but were thought likely to be representative of the original structure of deposition (*ibid.* 147). This structure was made clearer by the apparent limited chronology of the site's primary use, and the fact that it was not subsequently disturbed in too rigorous a way (*ibid.* 142). The depositional structure was clearly quite complex, with evidence for pronounced concentric (i.e. focus and periphery) and diametric (east and west) patterns, linked closely to the architectural form of the monument. Additionally, the transitional points between the zones - especially the main entrance - were heavily emphasised (*ibid.* 143). Pollard suggested this patterning was directly associated with patterns of formal human movement within the site, although more specific ideational meanings may be very difficult to discern (*ibid.* 152). This study is important in the context of the current thesis, in that it utilises archaeological data from a considerably old excavation, in order to construct and assess the complex spatial order of a ritual site. As Pollard himself stated;

> *The evidence of depositional activity is particularly important in assisting in an understanding of the spatial organisation of ritual and ceremonial practices associated with the monument.*
>
> (Pollard 1995 137)

iv) Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and intra-site spatial analysis

The four case studies described above have shown the potential for intra-site spatial studies on a variety of different sites, using techniques appropriate for the particular situation. An increasing number of such studies in recent years have utilised computers for statistical and cartographical purposes, including in some cases the use of GIS.

The majority of GIS based studies in the past have related to large-scale landscape studies, on an inter-site level, though its benefit for intra-site study has recently started to be noted (e.g. Biswell *et al.*1995, Csaki, Jerem and Redö 1995, Meffet 1995). The

potential of GIS software at this level is substantial, though it is somewhat limited at the present time by the quality of spatial data available from excavations. This is seen, for example, in the use of GIS as part of the excavation and post-excavation programme carried out by the Birmingham field archaeology unit at the Roman site at Shepton Mallet (Biswell *et al.* 1995). The Raster-based GIS package, IDRISI, was used in order to segregate concentrations of finds that may indicate activity areas or the locations of insubstantial /destroyed buildings (*ibid.* 273). By using overlays, the distribution of finds and structures over seven time periods (late 1st century AD - post-Roman) were visualised, so that the development of the site could be examined. The distributions of any combination of find types could also be easily examined, so for example there was noted a contrast between areas of domestic and industrial activity (*ibid.* 281-3). The GIS package can also be used to examine negative data, so that areas devoid of finds or structures can be compared with those that have them. Unfortunately however it is often the case, as pointed out by Biswell *et. al.* (1995 283), that large scale excavations only take place in areas where there is known, or believed to be, structural or artefactual/ecofactual remains. Until this situation changes, then using GIS software to plot negative distribution patterns is not really viable.

2.3 Methodology for spatial analysis within the current study

Of the sites listed in the Appendices, only a small number have sufficient spatially orientated information to be able to attempt some intra-site spatial analysis. Where possible, these have data derived from the original site archives, and are termed the primary sites (see 4.1 and 5.1). A feasibility study conducted on the GIS package IDRISI concluded that in nearly all cases, the level of site and artefact detail was insufficient to justify its use, and therefore all artefact distribution patterns are made on the CorelDraw 5 program. This still enables the layering characteristic of GIS to be applied, with different structures and finds able to be plotted on different levels, according to type and occasionally chronology. In cases where the quality of archive recording is insufficient to allow precise find spots to be located, layered density maps will be constructed according to the same categories. Within each individual site analysis, some account will be taken of the taphonomic (site formation) processes at work, so as to better understand the

nature of the distribution patterns. In accordance with Fisher's study, and with the general principles of spatial analysis derived from GIS studies, the information from the primary sites - specifically the distribution maps - is to be tested against a number of set hypotheses. They are to be dealt with in the next chapter. The general principles from the hypotheses will also be applied - where possible - to the secondary sites, where less spatial information is available. In the final analysis, this broad application across a wide variety of cult loci should facilitate comparison, and therefore provide some picture of the development of intra-site patterning from the late Iron Age to the late Roman period.

Chapter 3

The use of space within sacred sites

3.1 The need for hypotheses

Any attempt to evaluate the differential use of space within an archaeological site by structural and artefactual/ecofactual distribution analysis, must have some predetermined concept of what sort of activities may be expected, as well as an understanding of how they may be recognised in the archaeological record. In Fisher's study of functional zones within Winklebury Hillfort (see 2.2), he quite rightly stated the need for such pre-analytical formulations:

> *Powerful statistical techniques make it possible to extract patterns from data, but the types of pattern depend on what patterns are expected. Therefore an explicit statement of expectations, in the form of hypotheses, is important before the identification and interpretation of patterning is discussed.*
>
> (Fisher 1985 169)

Such hypotheses are needed as guidelines for the manipulation of spatial data, and in their absence it is often quite difficult to extract any meaningful patterns. For example, if a range of artefact and ecofact types were plotted in relation to a group of structures and then visually analysed, then only very generalised patterns would usually emerge, such as the general presence or absence of material from an area. Whereas if the data were focused through the testing of predetermined informed hypotheses, then more information may be extracted. In many cases, the hypotheses will not be substantiated by the data, but this lack of conformity in itself may still provide much useful information on the site. They are designed to act as a framework in order to test the data from a wide variety of sites, and are not an attempt to force the material into a preconceived functional mould. It is by testing an initial sequence of set hypotheses on a whole range of sites, that there can be developed a systematic approach to the intra-site study of late Iron Age and Roman cult loci, which will in turn, greatly facilitate inter-site comparative processes. Finally, although this analytical framework is derived from studies concerned purely with intra-site finds distribution, the general principals can be applied to a wide range of site

characteristics. Therefore, the following hypotheses are concerned with spatial, functional and cosmological aspects of the cult site. In each case, both the specific evidence for the hypothesis and its archaeological interpretation are accounted for. They been drawn up using information principally from reports on sacred places within Britain and Gaul, along with some broader analyses on sacred sites, so that any widespread, cross-cultural features may be noted. Information derived from Greco-Roman sanctuaries has also been utilised to a large degree, as, in the Romano-British period at least, there may have been many functional similarities.

3.2 Specific hypotheses to be tested

1. ***"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."***

Despite a great variation in the size and composition of late Iron Age and Roman sacred sites in Gaul and Britain, many of them do seem to have had some distinct core features, thereby implying the existence of underlying conventions governing the spatial order (see 1.1). This is more difficult to recognise amongst many 'shrines' of the Iron Age because of the more ephemeral nature of their remains, although it can clearly be seen in certain sites - most notably those termed 'Belgic' sanctuaries. From these, Brunaux has defined a number of elements " *that constitute essential features of the typical sanctuary*" (1988 24; see 4.3), and they can generally be applied to both Iron Age and Roman cult sites. The enclosure was the primary indispensable feature, often becoming a focus for ritual activity, as illustrated by the concentration of bones and weapons in the ditches at Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Cadoux 1984) and Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux *et al.* 1985). With many classical and Romano-Celtic sanctuaries, the surrounding enclosures were often substantial, well-defined masonry structures, as at Sheepen near Colchester (Hull 1958). The pronounced nature of this division between profane and sacred space is, as previously noted (1.1), a recurring feature of cult sites throughout many cultures and religions, across a wide time-scale (Turner 1979 15). Another of Brunaux's 'essential features' was the entrance into the sacred site, although he admitted that, within an Iron

Age context, the only one with any degree of monumentality to be excavated so far is at Gournay (1988 27; see 4.3). However, the existence of a monumental entrance has been widely attested archaeologically in all parts of the Roman world, from the sanctuary of Artemis at Jerash in Asia Minor (Lyttelton 1987 42), to that of Sulis Minerva at Bath in southern Britain (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985).

As mentioned in section 1.1, one of the most important and enduring features of constructed sacred space was the provision of a primary ritual focus (Barrie 1996 148). This is clearly illustrated in most classical, Romano-Celtic and Gallic cult sites, although the physical form can vary substantially. The shrine or temple building - where it existed - could either have been the focus in itself, or more likely the boundary into an inner sacred area containing the prime focus. This may have been in the form of a pit, such as those found in the central shrines at Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux *et al.* 1985) and Vendeuil-Caply (Piton and Dilly 1985), or - especially in the case of Roman period sites - most likely an anthropomorphic image. Within classical sacred space, the main cult statue of a divinity was usually situated in the cella to the rear of the temple, and visible only when the front entrance was opened. It is probable that the majority of Romano-Celtic temples also possessed a primary cult statue at some focal point in the interior. This is suggested by a locally-engraved intaglio from Vindolanda depicting a cult image of a deity situated within a temple, as well as a quarry carving from near Chester, of Minerva positioned within a gabled shrine (Henig 1980 93-5). Actual discoveries of the cult statues from sacred sites are quite rare, undoubtedly because they were either deliberately destroyed or robbed in antiquity, when the temple was no longer in use (Woodward 1992 58). One of the most impressive examples from Britain is part of a classical larger-than-life statue of Mercury at Uley, the head of which was found concealed within later Christian buildings (Henig 1993 88-93; see 5.1). The majority of cult images are either unprovenanced, or else - like the Uley head - are found in areas that were that clearly removed from their original position. However, an indication of their positioning within the temple could be postulated by the discovery of a plinth or mortar base, upon which the statue may have stood. Such a hypothesis has been put forward for the area of hard-packed mortar in the middle part of the southern ambulatory at Uley (Woodward & Leach 1993 35). Finally, it must be noted that there may have been more than one ritual

focus within a sanctuary, which could greatly affect the spatial order. Those sanctuaries containing sacred springs or pools for example, would have not only have been focused around the cult image of the deity, but also these additional features, which may have been highly monumentalised as at Bath (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985 37).

In addition to the focal point (the place), a fundamental feature of most constructed sacred sites is the defined route leading to it (the path: Barrie 1996; see 1.1). Providing that the area of excavation is extensive enough, such pathways may be indicated by linear zones of metalling, or patterns of artefact distribution. Examinations into the general layout of the site may also provide some clue as to the patterns of human movement, although this is usually circumstantial at best. For example, classical Roman sanctuaries typically exhibited a clear axial symmetry running from the outer entrance, through the main cult altar and on to the temple and cult image therein. This was most often set on a podium at the rear of the precinct and designed to be approached only from the front (Stambaugh 1978 569). It would therefore be likely that the main pathway within the site would follow this axial line, even if there were little direct archaeological indication for this. There is ample evidence from a number of cult sites - both Iron Age and Roman - that they were laid out according to certain spatial principals, no doubt determined by specific cult regulations. Brunaux has convincingly argued this for Gournay (Brunaux 1996 69), while it is also shown quite vividly within the vast sanctuary at Ribemont-sur-Ancre, where the temple, theatre and bath house were all aligned exactly in one central line facing east, continuing for almost 800 metres (Cadoux 1991 334; see map 5.29). Wherever excavations have been comprehensive enough, the existence and extent of specific sanctuary planning should be able to be determined at cult sites within Iron Age and Roman Britain.

2. ***'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'***

Evidence for the practice of votive offering within the British late Iron Age and Roman period is derived from a variety of sources. A number of classical authors - most notably Caesar, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus – provide attestation to it, mostly within the context

of pre-Roman Gaul. More significant for this study is the fact that many of these references imply the display and deposition of artefacts within sacred loci, some of which seem likely to have been constructed shrines (see 1.5). Webster (1992 142) noted that there was a distinct division between those dedications of war booty and those of precious metals, with the latter being specifically associated with constructed shrines (at least as far as *interpretatio* suggests). Strabo (4.1,13), for example, wrote of great treasures stored at the temple at Tolosa which were held to be inviolable, until plundered by the Roman consul Caepio, whereas Livy (5.39,1) mentioned booty piled up on the battlefield. However, Caesar's statement that war booty was piled up in sacred spots (*Loci consecrati*: 6.17), although somewhat vague, need not imply an atectonic setting, and it may be that the distinction was not between locational types, but rather between material types (i.e. different types of artefacts were differentially deposited). As Webster remarked (1992 152), the archaeological evidence gives a complex impression, although in Belgic Gaul in particular, there does seem to be a distinction between those sacred sites containing predominantly martial items and those with more ornamentation. Detailed artefact distribution analysis has shown that there was also occasional intra-site differentiation in the deposition of artefact types (e.g. At Gournay-sur-Aronde: Brunaux *et al* 1985; see 4.3). The reasons for the general selectivity of deposits may be because of temporal disparities in deposition (i.e. certain object types were deposited in specific periods), or it may be an indication of different types of cult (see hypothesis 3).

Specific literary evidence for votive deposition in Roman Britain and Gaul is slight, but the wealth of epigraphic and iconographic evidence, especially from the latter province, suggests that it was quite extensive, and probably akin to such practices elsewhere in the Roman world. The most common form of personal and public offering seems to have been as a result of a vow, performed to a strict formula. Ton Derks (1995) has recently studied the ritual of the vow in Gallo-Roman religion, by comparing the evidence with the well-documented description in the *acta* of the *fratres Arvales* (priestly college of Rome). The *votum* was a temporary contract made with a deity, and initially comprised a ritual known as *nuncupatio* which was essentially a promise to pay a gift in return for a divine service. Upon completion of this service, a second ritual took place, termed the *solutio*, whereby the vow is paid by the votary, and the Arvales inscriptions give detailed

accounts of the ceremony. Incense and wine were offered in a *foculus* (movable metal hearth), before the sacrificial animal was symbolically cleansed with a sprinkling of water, then killed with a sacrificial axe (see hypothesis 4). Only after this, would a more permanent offering perhaps be given, possibly alongside an inscription declaring the fulfilment of the vow. The occurrence of numerous *solutio* inscriptions within many temples of northern Gaul and the Rhineland suggests that the ritual was performed in much the same way in these regions (ibid. 115). Some of these took the form of inscriptions, either on metal sheets or even on the temple walls (e.g. the Gallo-Roman sanctuary at Châteauneuf (Savoie): Mermet 1993 104-34). Others consisted of inscriptions on the dedicatory item itself - usually in the form of an altar - many of which have been found, especially in the military areas of the Rhineland and northern Britain (Zoll 1995). Derks (1995 118) noted that in his study area (northern Gaul and the Rhineland) as well as in most other parts of the Roman empire, the preceding *nuncupationes* have left very few remains. He used classical literary evidence to argue that these would have been more of a personal nature, written down on wooden wax tablets in wooden boxes The seals from these boxes have been found at a number of sanctuary sites in northern Gaul, such as that at Empell, where there are more than twenty examples (*ibid.* 121). Although it is certainly possible that these boxes were used to seal *nuncupationes*, they equally have been used to contain other religious texts, such as prayers, and so cannot be used as proof of this part of the ritual vow (but see hypothesis 3). There are a number of reliefs from northern Britain and the Rhineland that provide detailed depictions of these religious ceremonies, with a particularly striking example being the votive altar set up originally in the sanctuary of the Aufanaie in Bonn by the Cologne *decurio*, *C. Candidinius Verus* (Ésperandieu 7762 1938 80-2). Such depictions provide an invaluable insight into ritual practices in these areas, though it was undoubtedly only the more Romanized sections of society (e.g. military and the educated elite) who would have left such votive dedications. The fact that it is in the military areas that such altars tend to predominate (Millett 1995 95) may be an indication that the more established classical Roman practices were more common here, rather than in less militaristic areas such as southern Britain. However, such an assumption may ultimately be too simplistic, as for example, it does not account for the lack of suitable stone for

inscribing in much of southern and eastern Britain, which in turn led to an intensive re-use of those blocks that were available (Raybould, 1997). Inscriptions on other mediums such as pottery and bronze plaques, together with the bronze letters found at certain cult sites, may be an indication that Romanized rituals were just as likely in these areas. The majority of temple patrons in most regions would probably have fulfilled their vows with animal sacrifices or organic offerings, perhaps together with smaller benefactions like coins or jewellery, which have been found in great quantities on many sites (Webster 1986 123). Derks (1995 122) has suggested that this differential scale of votives may not only be a reflection of the social hierarchy, but may actually have reinforced it by increasing the social standing of those individuals giving the most elaborate offerings, which could include the temple itself. The public display of votives in and around the temple is well known in Greco-Roman sanctuaries (e.g. Pliny *NH* XXIV.73,77,80; Tacitus *Annales* II.32) and it seems likely that similar practices occurred in the Romano-Celtic temples of the north-west provinces. If this were the case, then Derk's hypothesis would seem to be totally feasible.

Archaeological recognition of the rite of votive offering is dependent upon contextual analysis of the finds (see 1.1 and 1.5). Where the general context or nature of the finds is undeniably religious, for example with the presence of an established religious structure or dedicatory inscription, then such identification may be facilitated, but in other cases there is a reliance upon detailed examinations into the structure of the deposition (Bradley 1987 360). As J.D. Hill asserted (1995 95-6), structured deposition, by which is meant deposits patterned by association, disassociation or spatial distribution, does not necessarily equate to ritual deposition, as all human activities are structured in some way. There are no effective universal ways in which to assess whether such structured deposits were ritual or not, but instead it is necessary to try to analyse their individual formative processes and degree of irregularity within a local, culturally specific context. For example, the careful deposition of selected cattle bones and items of military equipment within specific areas of the ditch at Gournay-sur-Aronde is quite divergent to anything else in the surrounding settlement (Brunaux & Rapin 1988 55-8; see 4.3).

The evidence above suggests that specific zones for the display and deposition of votive items may well have been a feature at British cult sites, both in the Iron Age and Roman

period. However, distinctions between the two can often be quite obscured in the archaeological record, especially if the stratigraphy is disturbed in any way. By their very nature, those items intended for display and not subsequently deposited, would be much more open to dispersal and indeed removal from the site, while those that became part of structured deposits may be far easier to detect archaeologically. Excepting those few sites with a high quality of excavation and stratigraphy, it is usually only at best possible to determine the location of general 'offering zones'. Finally, some mention must be made of the evidence for votive storage (i.e. those items not displayed or ritually deposited). Classical sanctuaries are known to have sometimes possessed ancillary structures that were used for this purpose, and in the case of some of the larger sites (e.g. Delphi), substantial treasuries were built to house some of the donated riches. The annexes often attached to Romano-Celtic temples have sometimes been interpreted as store rooms for votive objects (Wilson 1975 14), though there is little evidence to corroborate this, presumably as the contents would have been removed or robbed in antiquity.

3. *'The nature of the votive artefact assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site'*

The range of artefacts found at cult sites throughout the British and Gallic Iron Age and the Roman world is extensive. Within Greek and Roman contexts, the choice of item was often partly dictated by the specific cult, so that for example models of the previously afflicted body parts were regularly given at sanctuaries of the healing deity Asklepios (Jackson 1988 145). Similar votive objects were found at the Gallo-Roman spring sanctuary at Fontes Sequana (Green, M.J. 1999), while the temple of Mercury at Uley in Gloucestershire contained many caducei - an item connected to the deity - together with cast rings interpreted as temple money, relating to the god's commercial function (Woodward 1992 69). There have been numerous attempts to relate the nature of the votive assemblage to the cult practised at the sacred site (e.g. Leech 1986 272, Woodward 1992 66-80, Bagnall-Smith 1995). Unfortunately, it is not always easy to differentiate between items that were part of the votive assemblage (i.e. offered specifically for the gods) and other objects found at the site (see 1.1 and hypothesis 2). Ruth Whitehouse (1996 22) has offered some criteria for the interpretation of ritual objects:

1) Non-functional or unusual versions of artefacts

2) The occurrence of many objects of the same type

3) Contextual associations.

The last is clearly the most useful directive, as discussed in hypothesis 2, and from this can be produced a framework to indicate the range of votives that may be expected in certain sacred sites. From archaeological and to a lesser extent classical literary evidence, there are some object types that do seem to be more prevalent across a wide range of Iron Age and Roman cult sites, and these will now be examined in more detail.

i) Martial items

Within both archaeological and classical literary contexts, martial items seem to be among the most commonly attested type of Iron Age votive deposit. In many of the cult places of northern Gaul where votive items have been found, items such as swords, spear heads and umbos (shield bosses) account for a high percentage of the overall finds. This may not only reflect the martial nature of the supernatural entities worshipped at these sites, but also the more general martial ideology that seems to have existed throughout elite pre-Roman society in much of Gaul and Britain (Roymans 1990 76, Derks 1998 50). Sites like Gournay-sur-Aronde (Lejars 1994) and Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Cadoux 1984) in Gaul and Hayling Island (Downey, King & Soffe 1980) in southern Britain are particularly dominated by these types. In many cases, the items were deliberately damaged in some way, and this phenomenon seems to have occurred regularly, amongst different types of objects, in varying parts of Britain and Gaul during the Iron Age and Roman periods. It has been interpreted as a way of ritually 'killing' the objects in order to differentiate from secular items, and thus making them appropriate as sacrifices for the deities (Green 1995 470-1). The deposition of votive offerings of a military character continued into the Roman era, albeit usually on a reduced scale, and with different physical expressions. The *pax Romana* forbade the possession of weapons by civilians, and so in general only miniature representations were used (Woodward 1992 67). The Gallo-Roman sanctuary at Mouzon- "Flavier" in the Ardennes (Tisserand 1981) provides a clear illustration of the transition between the two types of military offering. The oldest phase belonged to the end of the La Tène period, and contained a number of full-sized

weapon deposits, whilst the substantial Gallo-Roman sanctuary contained over 500 *ex-votos* in the form of miniature iron swords, spears and shields - mostly deposited in the first century AD, and continuing the martial nature of the existing cult. Spears and axes are the most common form of miniature weapons to be found on Roman period temple sites, though none may have had strictly military associations. Spears may equally have been associated with hunting, while Graham Webster has suggested that axes were symbolic of ritual sacrifice (1986 126).

ii) Ornamentation

Personal items of ornamentation, sometimes in substantial quantities, have been recovered from many late Iron Age and Roman sacred sites. Fibulae were generally among the most common site finds, especially within late Iron Age - Roman transition contexts (the 'fibula-event horizon': Jundi and Hill 1998). They have been found in virtually every late La Tène cult place in north-east Gaul, though with few exceptions, they do not appear in great quantities until just after the conquest (Roymans 1990 77). Beneath the Gallo-Roman temple at Vendeuil-Caply (Oise), a series of ritual pits contained over 80 fibulae, mostly of La Tène II and III date (Piton & Dilly 1985), although their association with a small number of Roman fibulae is an indication of a late (possibly post-conquest?) date of deposition. Other types of jewellery are also occasionally encountered at Iron Age shrines, albeit in smaller numbers, as evidenced by the bracelets and rings at Mirebeau in the Côte d'Or (Brunaux 1988 21). Within British cult loci, there appears to have been a diversification of jewellery types from the Iron Age-Roman transition to late Roman period (Woodward 1992 69). The vast preponderance of these items were quite simple bronze or copper alloy objects, and it has therefore been suggested (Henig 1989 224, Wheeler 1932 82) that they were used as offerings by the majority of the visitors to the cult site. If this was the case, then it is possible that many of the more ornate items of jewellery - perhaps given by more wealthy patrons - could have been retrieved in antiquity. The reasoning behind the offering of such items is generally uncertain, although Graham Webster has argued that they contained 'contact magic', related to the individual persona (1986a 60). He continued to suggest that different items of jewellery may have had varying significance, so that rings symbolised eternity, and brooches represented bonding (ibid.). Thus, the deliberate

breakage that sometimes seems to occur with these objects (e.g. Ring fragments at Uley: Henig 1993 171-4), may be symbolic of a destroyed union. While this may well have been the case it is perhaps pertinent to be cautious, as for example, in some Greek sanctuaries where the worshipper's dress was prescribed, any personal ornamentation brought into the shrine had to be dedicated to the deity, regardless of type (e.g. temple of Despoina, Lycosura: Rouse 1902 313). Finally, it is often the case that an emphasis on personal ornamentation at a sacred site results in the cult being assigned a strong feminine aspect (e.g. Magilton 1980). However, the differentiation of votive items according to gender is highly problematic, as it is in danger of applying current ethno-centric preconceptions onto a past reality, and thereby creating a false timelessness.

iii) Coins

Of all the artefact types found at Roman period sacred places within Britain and Gaul, coins are the most numerous. This unusually prolific occurrence, together with an analysis of their contextual associations, has led to the conclusion that the majority of them may have arrived there as a result of ritual activity. The offering and subsequent deposition of coins seems to have been essentially a Greco-Roman practice, with certain classical temples attracting a very large number (Rouse 1902 226). The practice also seems to have occurred on some Gallic and British cult sites, such as Eu-Bois-l'Abbé (Duval 1991 490) and Harlow (Haselgrove 1989a), although some have viewed this merely as evidence of pre-Roman Romanization, rather than native religious practice (Haselgrove 1989a 86). These two sites are unusual in both producing gold coins of good condition, which were found underneath the cellas of later Romano-Celtic temples. Such gold coins were only produced in periods before the Roman invasion (from 3rd - mid 1st century BC in northern Gaul: Roymans 1990 131) and it is likely that they represented high-status objects in their own right, deemed suitable for use as religious offerings. These gold coins need therefore not be gauged as a measure of Romanization. The deposition of later, less valuable coinage is much more extensive, and as the majority of these do seem to have been deposited in the Iron Age - Roman transition period, they may indeed relate to an increased Roman influence. Gold and silver-plated coins from Haying Island, together with the simple rings found at many temple loci (e.g. Uley: Bayley 1993 135) have been suggested as a kind of 'temple money' (Henig 1984 22;

Bradley 1987 358, Woodward 1992 69). They may have been regarded as token coins deemed appropriate for the spirit world, providing a deliberate distinction between utilitarian profanity and non-functional sanctity. The preponderance of small copied coins (e.g. Barbarous Radiates and 'Fallen Horsemen' copies) that have been found in certain late Roman temple sites such as Lydney Park have also been interpreted by Webster as possessing greater religious significance (Webster 1986a 123). He argued that the smallest coins were unlikely to have had any commercial value, and could therefore be regarded as special 'temple money'. However, it seems that such an arbitrary division between commercial and religious coinage based only upon minimal size differences is unsustainable. As George Boon (1965 235) asserted, there seems to have been a general decrease in the size of the late 3rd and 4th century copied coins, and all sizes have been found in secular contexts (e.g. Great Staunton villa: *ibid.*). The high proportion of small copies found at certain temples may have been because they were essentially worthless after the removal of official authority, and so unlike higher value gold or silver coins, they were not removed from the sanctuary site. Richard Reece (1980a 123-4, 1993 86) has suggested that the great increase in 4th century small copied coins at Uley may have been because many were deposited as one or more hoards which were later dispersed, with one such hoard being the same value as a single precious metal coin. There are examples of standard coins which were deliberately mutilated (e.g. *Argentomagus* in Gaul: Fauduet 1986 27; Hayling Island: King and Soffe 1998 42), that seem more likely to have acted as specialised 'temple money'.

Contextual analysis is needed in order properly to assess the nature of coin use at temple sites, and although some may have been casual losses, perhaps associated with commercial activity (see hypothesis 6), it is probable that most would have been used as ritual offerings. An interesting interpretation of an inscription on a mosaic from the Lydney temple suggests that a large proportion of these coin offerings would have been used by the temple authorities to help maintain and embellish the sanctuary.

> *D(eo) M(arti) N(odenti) T(itus) Flavius Senilis, pr(aepositus) rel(igionis) ex stipibus possuit | o[pitu]lante Victorino .interp(r)[e]tiante*, 'For the god Mars Nodens Titus Flavius Senilis, superintendent of the cult, from the offerings had this laid; Victorinus, the interpreter (of dreams), gave his assistance'.
>
> (Wright 1985 249)

Lastly, on the subject of coin offerings it is interesting to note that many Romano-Celtic temples, especially on the continent (31% of those sites with offerings: Haselgrove 1989a 84), have deposits of Iron Age coins. This may be because of the desire to be rid of native coinage that was no longer of any use, but another possible explanation, especially in the periods removed from the conquest, is that it was a deliberate decision to offer archaic offerings, analogous with the prehistoric axes found at a number of temple sites (e.g. Farley Heath: Goodchild 1938 23).

iv) Specific Roman period votive offerings

There was a great increase in the range of votive offerings in Britain and Gaul after their incorporation into the Roman Empire. An increase in anthropomorphic imagery together with the introduction of items such as votive altars and inscribed objects, all testify in some degree to the Romanized nature of cult expression within parts of these provinces. It is likely that most of the divine anthropomorphic images would have been votive offerings, possibly used as payment for the fulfilment of a vow (see hypothesis 2), though as Martin Henig asserted (1980 106), they would have been quite expensive, and therefore be in the province of the more affluent members of society. In many parts of the Roman world, the setting up of inscribed votive altars was one of the more common ways of leaving permanent records of the fulfilment of a vow, though it would still have been quite a costly undertaking. Over 700 have been found at the sanctuaries of Coljinsplaat, Morken-Harff and Pesch in lower Germany (Derks 1995 115). That the majority of these would not have been used as regular functional altars is indicated by the fact that most are of a diminutive size, with no traces of burning (ibid.), and therefore it is likely that they were merely meant to symbolise the act of sacrifice, possibly the same as the model axes. Alternatively, they could have been the foci of personal worship. The simplest form of dedicatory inscription would have been inscribed metal sheets, although remarkably few of such items have been found. There are examples from the temple at Lydney (e.g. RIB 307), and three from the temple of Mars Loucetius at Klein Winternheim (Derks 1995 115). It is possible that some of the sheet metal fragments found at other temple sites may have originally served the same purpose. Bronze letters found at a number of sanctuaries (e.g. Woodeaton: Goodchild & Kirk 1954) have been plausibly suggested by Hassall (1980 85) as being purchased individually on the site and attached to a wooden plaque for

a quick and relatively cheap dedicatory inscription. Finally, a particular class of object found at some Romano-British - notably Bath and Uley - but surprisingly few Gallo-Roman sites (Fauduet 1986 27), is the curse tablet (*defixione*). The majority are invocations made to the deity in order to exact revenge upon an enemy (usually for stealing an item), and often use set, quasi-legal formulae (Woodward 1992 71). Certain curses offered payment to the deity in return for aid, (e.g. British curse (RIB 306A) which promised some half the value of the stolen goods if they were recovered), and as such, are convincing evidence of the declaration (*nuncupatio*) part of the vow (Hassall 1980 87; see hypothesis 2).

v) Other offerings

When examined out of context, there is nothing to preclude any type of artefact as being interpreted as a votive offering (see1.1). Pottery, mostly fragmented, has been found on a great many late Iron Age and Roman sacred sites, and although they may not have been votives in their own right, they may either have contained perishable offerings (such as the charred grain found in some ritual pits at Vendueil-Caply: Piton & Dilly 1985), or else been associated with the ritual preparation and consumption of food (see hypothesis 4). One of the most striking pottery assemblages was found in the Iron Age shrine, underneath the Roman sanctuary at Mirabeau (Brunaux 1988 22-3). The original floor surface, which was still preserved, contained thousands of often quite large pottery shards lying in situ, and numerous pits around the sites contained complete vessels. The variety of ceramic forms greatly increases on Roman sacred sites, and they are often very similar in nature to those assemblages from domestic contexts. In fact, in many cases, even where the contextual associations of the pottery is known, such as at the Roman temple site at Uley (Woodward & Leech 1993 243), it is not possible to infer that the majority of it played any direct role in ritual or votive activity. This is only really viable when:

i) There is a specific type of specialised pottery form, such as the miniature clay pots from Verulamium, Coleshill and Uley (Woodward 1992 69).

ii) There is evidence of dedicatory inscriptions on the ceramic, such as the white pottery flagon in the pit at Argentomagus, which contained a Gallic dedication to the native goddess (Fauduet 1986 26).

iii) There is evidence of deliberate positioning and/or association that is incongruous within a local context, such as almost complete pots from a pit (F251) in the pre-2nd century AD shrine at Uley.

The same measures may also be used to ascertain the ritual nature of other items within an archaeological site. Agricultural and industrial tools have been occasionally found at cult places, though their strictly functional nature has in the past led some excavators to dismiss the idea that they may be votive offerings (e.g. Bedwin 1981 46). Such equipment from an Iron Age context includes metal plough shares from near the Ossuary at Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Cadoux 1984 70) and a whole range of carpentry, fishing, leather working and iron working objects from the site of La Tène in Switzerland, which seem to have been votive offerings (De Navarro 1972 17). A variety of tools are sometimes found at Roman sacred sites, where contextual analysis has indicated that at least some of them are likely to have been votive offerings. Additionally there are some examples of model tools that are undoubtedly religious in nature (Webster 1986a 128).

4. ***'The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)'***

References to the ritual use of animals in classical literature are quite scarce, probably because of the familiarity of such practices in the Greco-Roman world. One of the better known passages is that of Pliny the elder who described a Gallic religious ceremony wherein two white bulls were sacrificed (*Natural History* XVI, 250-1). Pliny was writing from the 1st century AD, and may therefore be referring to an event of the post-conquest era, although there are earlier indications of such practices. Diodous (5.31.2-5), for example, wrote of the slaughter of sacred animals as if it were quite a common occurrence among the Gauls, and Caesar (6.17) mentioned the sacrifice of captured animals in a warfare situation. One particularly interesting passage of Tacitus (*Annales* 13.57) described the selective dismemberment of animals, which is reminiscent of certain archaeological discoveries (e.g. Gournay: Brunaux *et al* 1985 137). Literary evidence for ritual feasting in late Iron Age Gaul and Britain is even more slight. An account by

Posidonius of elite Gallic feasting reveals it as a highly structured event, although there was no great distinction between religion and secularity, possibly because such a division did not exist. A particularly revealing passage stated that; "*The slave serves the cup to the right, (not) to the left. That is the method of service. In the same way they worship the gods, turning towards the right*" (Athenaeus IV, 152D). This is clearly an indication of specific structured behaviour relating to the consumption of food based upon religious practices, and may therefore be regarded as evidence for the occurrence of ritual feasting in at least parts of Iron Age Gaul.

Animal sacrifice was an integral part of classical religion, and therefore it is highly probable that it also formed a major component of Romano-Celtic religion. Iconographic representations and inscriptions on altars found in the north-west provinces are one indication that, at least in certain areas, this was indeed the case, as one from Bridgeness in northern Britain exemplifies (RIB 2139, Hassall 1980 79). Three animals (pig, sheep & goat) are positioned in front of an altar where a priestly servant is pouring libations from a sacred vessel. Another servant nearby is playing a double pipe, so as to drown out the noise of the animals, as was often the custom in such Roman rituals (Kamm 1995 84). This altar is connected to the Legion II Augusta and is unique in Britain, though many similar depictions have been found in parts of eastern Gaul and Germany, especially on the lower Rhineland (Derks 1995 117). These areas were predominantly military in character, and it is therefore not surprising that they would conform to a highly Romanized style of worship. However, as discussed above (hypothesis 2), there is no reason why Roman forms of religious ritual should not have been performed within the civilian zones, where other forms of Roman material expression were often commonplace. As with animal sacrifice, ritual feasting was a well-known phenomenon in Greco-Roman religion (Zaidman & Pantel 1992 57, Ogilvie 1974 47-51), and it seems also to have occurred at Gallo-Roman and Romano-British sacred sites. Votive altars often possess the most explicit evidence, with some side panels from eastern Gaul and the Rhineland containing depictions of various jars, plates, fruit baskets and animal parts, sometimes arranged on tables (Derks 1995 116). The side panel of the altar set up by *C. Candidinius Verus*, noted earlier (Espérandieu 7762 1938; hypothesis 2), depicts a human figure preparing food in a large cauldron, probably for a communal sacrificial meal.

It is often difficult to identify the ritual use of animals in the archaeological record. The shrine at Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux *et al.* 1985) provides the most convincing indication of animal sacrifice in an Iron Age context, and it has been possible here to identify stages in the ritual procedure involving cattle (see 4.3). In many other cases, either the excavations were not comprehensive enough, or the animal bone assemblage was too disturbed. Wherever it is possible, a detailed contextual analysis incorporating species selectivity, bone condition and depositional structure, is needed in order to try to ascertain the function of the faunal assemblage. The 'special animal deposits' (Wait 1985 122) from disused storage pits in Iron Age settlements such as Danebury and Winnel Down are usually interpreted as resulting from ritual behaviour (Cunliffe 1983 157, Hill 1995) because of a number of selective practices. Wait (1985 151) lists the practices as follows:

1) They were not exploited for meat, skin etc., in the normal manner

2) Evidence of species selectivity

3) Evidence of bone type selectivity

4) Deliberate, careful positioning of many bones

5) Evidence of spatial selectivity (i.e. only found in pits, not enclosure ditches)

Most of these factors by themselves do not provide enough substantiation to able to propose a ritual nature, but when taken together, they do surely indicate the 'special' nature of the deposit. The condition of the bones can provide indications as to their terminal function. For example, those deliberately deposited as whole skeletons - or at least partially articulated - are perhaps more readily identifiable as ritual in nature than isolated bones or fragments (Wait 1985 122), although the latter main have resulted from ritual feasting. Therein lies a major interpretational problem, as it does not have to be the case that an animal sacrifice would result in the special disposal of the remains (Wait 1985 151) The remains of ritually sacrificed animals that were used in sacred feasts may be very difficult to distinguish in the archaeological record, and almost impossible if these leftover fragments were subsequently deposited in a manner similar to other domestic food consumption. The religious ceremonies of the Iban in Borneo clearly

demonstrate this, as although the ritual sacrifice and consumption of animals were their main ways of contacting the spirits, the remains were either consumed by birds, or fed to other animals, and so would leave no distinct archaeologically detectable traces (Beavitt 1989 180). In most cases, the site context has to become one of the few indicative factors. For example the fragmented and butchered lamb bones from Harlow (Legge & Dorrington 1985) were regarded as the remains of sacrificial animals, probably used in ritual feasting, mainly because of the unequivocally sacred nature of the site.

Brunaux (1988 119-24) imposed a division between sacrifices made to beneficent deities, involving ritual feasting, and chthonic sacrifice, where animals were meant for the deities alone. As already stated, the former are usually more difficult to discern in the archaeological record, though an analysis of the bone assemblage at Gournay-sur-Aronde has provided quite a clear distinction between the two types. Chthonic sacrifice is indicated by the presence in the enclosure ditch of unbutchered, deliberately structured deposits of cattle and horse bones, while the ritual consumption of other species is shown by the butchered bones of very young lambs, pigs and the occasional dog, which were scattered throughout the sacred area (ibid. 120). The two sets of bones have thus been treated in very different ways, although the latter, if found on domestic sites would almost certainly not be associated with religious activity.

Finally, it is not only the bones that may provide evidence for the ritual use of animals, but also other associated material objects or features. The appearance of functional altars (e.g. at Bath: Cunliffe and Davenport 1985 117) could be indicative of animal sacrifice, and in the rare cases where the main cult altar has been found in position within Roman sanctuaries, it provides the clearest evidence for the actual location of the ritual sacrifice, as opposed to the final depositional stage. The appearance in cult loci of utensils and features connected with food preparation and consumption may provide indications of ritual feasting, especially if associated with the butchered bones. Ceramic vessels may have been used for containing perishable offerings or libations, but they may equally have been utilised in the preparation and consumption of ritual feasts. The multitude of broken ceramic material from Mirebeau (Brunaux 1988 22), including plates, jars and bowls, taken together with the mass of fragmented animal remains, must surely be indicative of ritual feasting taking place in the heart of the sanctuary. Specialist utensils,

such as paterae, spoons, and pewter vessels have been found at an increasing number of Roman period sacred sites (e.g. Bath, Woodeaton), and it is possible that these could also represent items used in ritual feasting. If the actual preparation of the ritual feast was carried out on site, it may be expected that some form of hearth or oven may be present and indeed a variety of such features have been found at many sites (e.g. hearths from Brigstock shrines: Greenfield 1963) although they may have been purely for sacrificial and purification purposes.

5. ***'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function'***

Attempts to dissociate funerary and religious practices may well create a false dichotomy, as the two are often closely integrated. Classical literature is quite unspecified about Iron Age 'Celtic' burial practices, although many authors, including both Diodorus (5.28) and Caesar (5.14) commented on their belief in the immortality of souls. There are no explicit references to the association of burials and religious sites, although Jane Webster (1992 149) has interpreted Strabo's use of the Greek word αηκσ (4.1,3) as indicating a shrine dedicated to a hero. The focusing of religious sites around the bones or relics of exceptional individuals (warriors, leaders, revered ancestors etc) is a well-practised phenomenon in many cultures (Alexander 1979 219), and some have suggested that it may also have been a feature of Gallic and British society (Ross 1967 39, Brunaux 1988 87). Brunaux's attestation is based partly upon Diodorus's (XIV,115) description of the Gallic reverence for the preserved heads of their greatest enemies, and the fact that these relics were said to have been passed on from father to son. He argued that: "*In this case why should we not believe the practice and belief that justified it did not also extend to the bones of their most prestigious forebears?*" (Brunaux 1988 87). Such theories are in keeping with the eschatological beliefs mentioned above, and do find some possible support from archaeological evidence. The human bones found in the ditch at Gournay have been carefully examined and revealed many small fine knife marks. These were interpreted by Poplin (Brunaux *et al.* 1985) as the possible remains of funerary dismemberment, which Brunaux (1988 87) suggested may have been connected with the cult of ancestors. Such conjecture may be stretching the limited evidence a bit too far, as

it is almost impossible in these cases to differentiate between irregular funerary practice and rituals associated with human sacrifice. A clear example is found at Ribemont-sur-Ancre, where the two ossuaries have been used as explicit evidence for the performance of human sacrifice, as attested by Greco-Roman writers (King 1990 137). However, the dismemberment of bodies for the passage of death is not unknown anthropologically, and Cadoux (1984 76) has suggested that the classical sources may have consciously presented as grim sacrifice, that which was in actuality mere specialised funerary rites. The Ribemont structures may thus be also interpreted as specialised necropoli, with the skulls being taken elsewhere, possibly for preservation. However, it is worth noting here M.J. Green's recent article reiterating the fact that human sacrifice should not automatically be ruled out, as it is no way incongruous within the context of late Iron Age society (1998a 169).

The association of Iron Age 'shrines' with funerary activity has had increasing vogue over recent years (e.g. Black 1986, Fitzpatrick 1997, Forcey 1998). Black (1986 203) actually suggested that the rectangular building from Heathrow may in fact have been a funerary structure rather than a shrine, with the outer posts being fence holes, as opposed to support for an ambulatory. In the case of Westhampnett in Sussex (Fitzpatrick 1997), four small enclosures on the edge of a late Iron Age cemetery have all been interpreted as shrines by the excavator, even though they are perhaps more likely to have been funerary structures (see 4.2).

Classical Greco-Roman religion did not usually accommodate the interaction between funerary and sacred space, with the exception of the *pomerium* (sacred boundary that reinforced the walls of a settlement: Stambaugh 1988 9), which could surround both cemeteries and temples. Nevertheless, the concept that Romano-Celtic temples were inherently associated with funerary practice is one that has been recently advocated by Colin Forcey (1998). He argued that not only were there widespread indications of funerary activity within and around temple sites, but also that most of the personal items found at these loci were more likely to be grave goods rather than votive offerings (ibid. 88-9). The primary site used by Forcey to justify his claims was that at Folly Lane in Hertfordshire, where a Romano-Celtic temple was erected shortly after the burial of a high status individual, and undoubtedly connected to it in some way (Niblett 1999).

There were a number of other temples, such as Hayling Island, that he also linked with funerary activity, although the evidence provided is not always that convincing (Forcey 1998 87: see 4.1 and 5.2). Finally, Forcey's (ibid. 89) distinction between grave goods (personal items, pottery vessels & chariot equipment) and votive offerings (figurines, miniature weapons, metal letters), is highly subjective and seems difficult to substantiate. Indeed, within classical Greek and Roman contexts, the variety of items found with graves and temples was quite considerable, and there is certainly no indication that personal items were any less associated with temple deposits than with burials (Rouse 1902 226, Stambaugh 1988 218, Zaidman & Pantel 1992 59).

6. ***'Distinct Industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would be indicated by concentrations of craft-working debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer.'***

Within a pre-Roman context, evidence for industrial and especially commercial zones associated with cult sites is negligible. However, it is possible that certain types of craft-working activity - notably metalworking - were possessed of a certain religious significance, in that they were involved in specialist transformation processes. Ironworking in particular involved a great deal of effort, and large quantities of ironwork have been found at Iron Age cult sites all over Europe (Manning 1995 313). Therefore, the location of, for example, the probable cult structure at South Cadbury in an area long associated with metalworking, may be of some significance (see 4.1). At many Greek and Roman sanctuaries, the existence of industrial and commercial areas is a well-known phenomenon, consisting primarily of workshops and stalls for the manufacture and selling of votive offerings (Zaidman & Pantel 1992 61). The commercial opportunities at these sites were usually well exploited, and often included the provision of accommodation buildings for privileged pilgrims (Tomlinson 1976 44). Within Rome itself, the majority of banking business involved the temple of Saturn in the Forum, in which was housed the main state treasury, and this led to much of the surrounding area being devoted to financial matters (Stambaugh 1978 586). Additionally there were temples such as that of Castor, Mars and Ops where individuals could deposit valuables for safekeeping (*Juvenal* XIV.261-263). Certain temples had specific kinds of markets

associated with them, such as booksellers near the temple of peace (*Ovid, Fasti* VI 791-2), and state-supplied wines in the porticoes of the temple of Sol (*Aurelianus* 48, 4). It is known that many of the *sacre areas* in Rome served as general social areas, where people could meet, promenade, recite poetry, shop and lounge (Stambaugh 1978 585). In Roman Gaul and Britain, specific evidence for such activities is more limited, although it is unlikely - especially within the larger public sanctuaries - that they did not exist, for as Grahame Webster (1986a 110) stated, such places could easily be made profitable for Romanized businessmen. These major cult sites would undoubtedly have employed, either directly or indirectly, a variety of different people, including those involved in commercial and industrial activity. Hassell (1980 87) suggested that at those sites where great number of *defixiones* have been found (e.g. Uley & Bath) professional scribes would have been employed. Subsequent analyses of the tablets (Tomlin 1993) have shown that they were written by many different hands, although this need not preclude the existence of scribes, who may have attended the needs of the pilgrims at the site on an intermittent basis. A small number of votive items found from Roman sacred sites have borne the names of those who made them, although this is still no indication that they were actually made on site. An example is the inscription by a coppersmith (*aerarius*) named *Celatus* on the Foss Dyke Mars, which states that he made the item for a cost of one hundred sesterces for a client (RIB 274: Hassall 1980 87).

The archaeological detection of commercial and industrial zones within sacred sites is certainly possible on occasion, although usually open to much re-interpretation. Industrial areas are generally the easier to locate and interpret, with an example being at Ribemont-sur-Ancre, where ditches, structures, wells/shafts, cellars, hearths and associated material suggested a small, but intensive craft working area (Cadoux 1984 55). At Uley, metalworking was implied by a small amount of slag and other associated debris, along with less direct evidence such as pieces of baked or overheated clay (Bayley 1993 215; see 5.1). Copper-alloy working was suggested in building IX, indicated by concentrations of small solidified blobs and copper alloy rings, some of which still had their casting flanges attached (Woodward & Leach 1993 331). Temporary commercial zones for the selling of votives have been potentially identified at some sanctuaries such as Woodeaton, where there were concentrations of surface finds between the entrance and

the area outside the gateway (Goodchild and Kirk 1954 37). Similarly, Deyts has suggested that at Fontes Sequanae, craftsmen may have set up stalls during major festivals (Deyts 1994 5-16). It is the transient nature of this activity that adds to the difficulties of interpretation in the archaeological record. Within the published excavation report from Uley, a commercial function was suggested for building IV based upon a localised concentration of objects made from antler, bone and shale on the primary occupation layer (Woodward & Leach 1993 331). Other material such as coins or votive objects, from a demonstrable occupation level, may also suggest commercial activity, although they could equally have been the remains of items left for display.

Finally, connected with the overall public use of the sacred site, and which may or may not have been associated with commercial matters, were theatres and bathhouses. The provision of a theatre is well-known in many Greek and Roman cult sites, with performances of religious drama often being important parts of ritual (Boëthius & Ward-Perkins 1970 138). Such structures are also attested archaeologically at a large number of Gallo-Roman sacred loci (Ribemont, Sanxay, Grand, Champlieu, Drevant etc.), while the occasional presence of a theatrical mask at other cult places (e.g. Holbrooks: Conlon 1973 37) is an indication that religious theatre may have been performed anywhere. Bathhouses were commonly found at Greco-Roman healing sanctuaries, for reasons of hygiene, therapy and general spiritual cleansing (Jackson 1988 149). Within Roman Britain and Gaul, sacred spring sanctuaries such as Bath and Fontes Sequanae contained highly embellished bathhouses, which formed major parts of the structural complex. It was the presence of a bathhouse, theatre and temple in a rural context that led Camille Jullian (Cadoux 1978 332) to classify a specific class of sacred site called 'sanctuaires à pèlerinage' ('pilgrimage sanctuaries') which were quite prevalent in parts of Gaul.

These hypotheses are to be tested directly against the data from the primary sites in both the late Iron Age - Roman transition and Romano-British periods. It is highly unlikely that any site would exhibit all or even most of the characteristics mentioned above, even if the excavation recorded the level of detail required. However, the hypotheses do enable the systematic detailed analysis of a substantial group of sites extending over a

considerable chronological range, and therefore provide the means for a more accurate measure of temporal change in the nature of the site, including the differential use of space.

Chapter 4

Analysis of late Iron Age -Roman transition sacred space

The aim of this chapter is to analyse those sites in southern Britain that have come to be regarded as constructed cult loci, for the primary purpose of examining their form, chronology, context and use of space. The corpus of sites (fig. 4.1) is based upon those that have previously been accorded a religious function either by the excavators, or in subsequent studies, and they are here subjected to a re-interpretation. To aid in the analysis, they have been divided into primary, secondary and tertiary sub groups, based upon a combination of the quality of recording (both during and post excavation), the quantity of associated diagnostic finds, and the nature of the stratification (see appendix 1.1). It is thus not indicative of the degree of religious interpretation. Information for all of the sites has been gathered principally from the published reports, although where it was possible and deemed appropriate, the primary site data has been supplemented by consultation with the original archive material. The extent and nature of the data collection is indicated in the individual site reports.

Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Harlow	Danebury	Gosbecks
Hayling Island	Elms Farm	Little Waltham
South Cadbury 1	Frilford	Muntham Court
Thetford	Heathrow	South Cadbury 2
Uley	Lancing Down	Thistleton
	Maiden Castle	Woodeaton
	Stansted	Worth
	Westhampnett	

Fig. 4.1: Division of late Iron Age -Roman transition sites

The first section (4.1) is concerned with the five primary sites. Distribution maps of finds have been plotted using CorelDraw 5, although because of a lack of detailed recording, it is often only possible to assign artefacts to general areas, rather than specific find spots.

After an initial evaluation of the site description, chronology, context and interpretation, the greater part of the analysis is then based upon the hypotheses devised in chapter 3. As the information available for the eight secondary sites is more limited, a more laconic analysis of their interpretation, structure and assemblages is attempted in section 4.2, along with a synopsis of the tertiary sites. More information on these, including their religious interpretation, is located in the appendix section 1.2. Within the final section (4.3), there follows a wider comparative analysis of those sites regarded by the present author as probable shrines, examining any divergent and/or homogeneous patterns that occur. The analysis is then broadened further by a comparative study with a selection of late Iron Age - transition shrines in north-eastern Gaul.

4.1 Primary site analysis

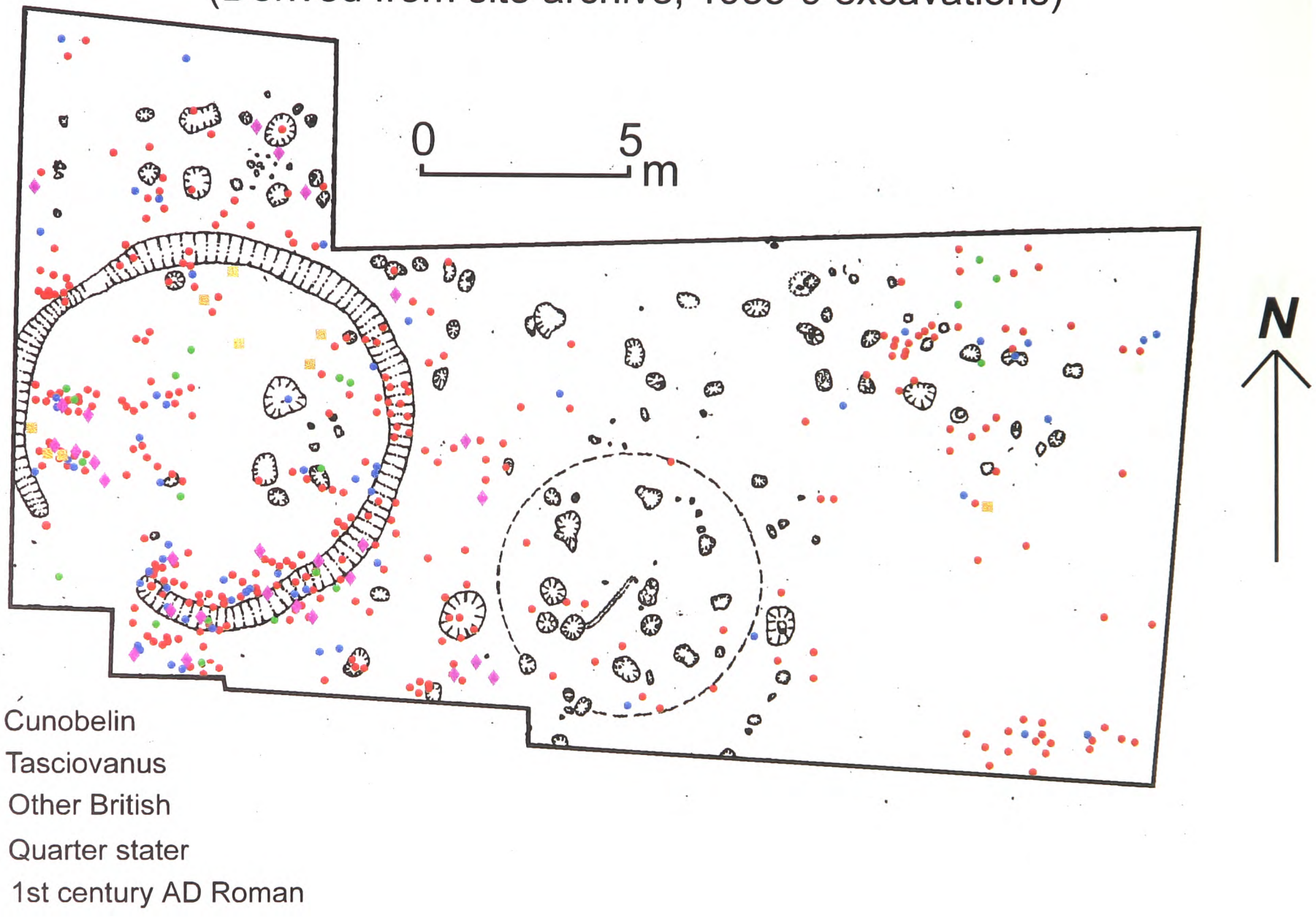
1. Harlow, Essex

1. Site description

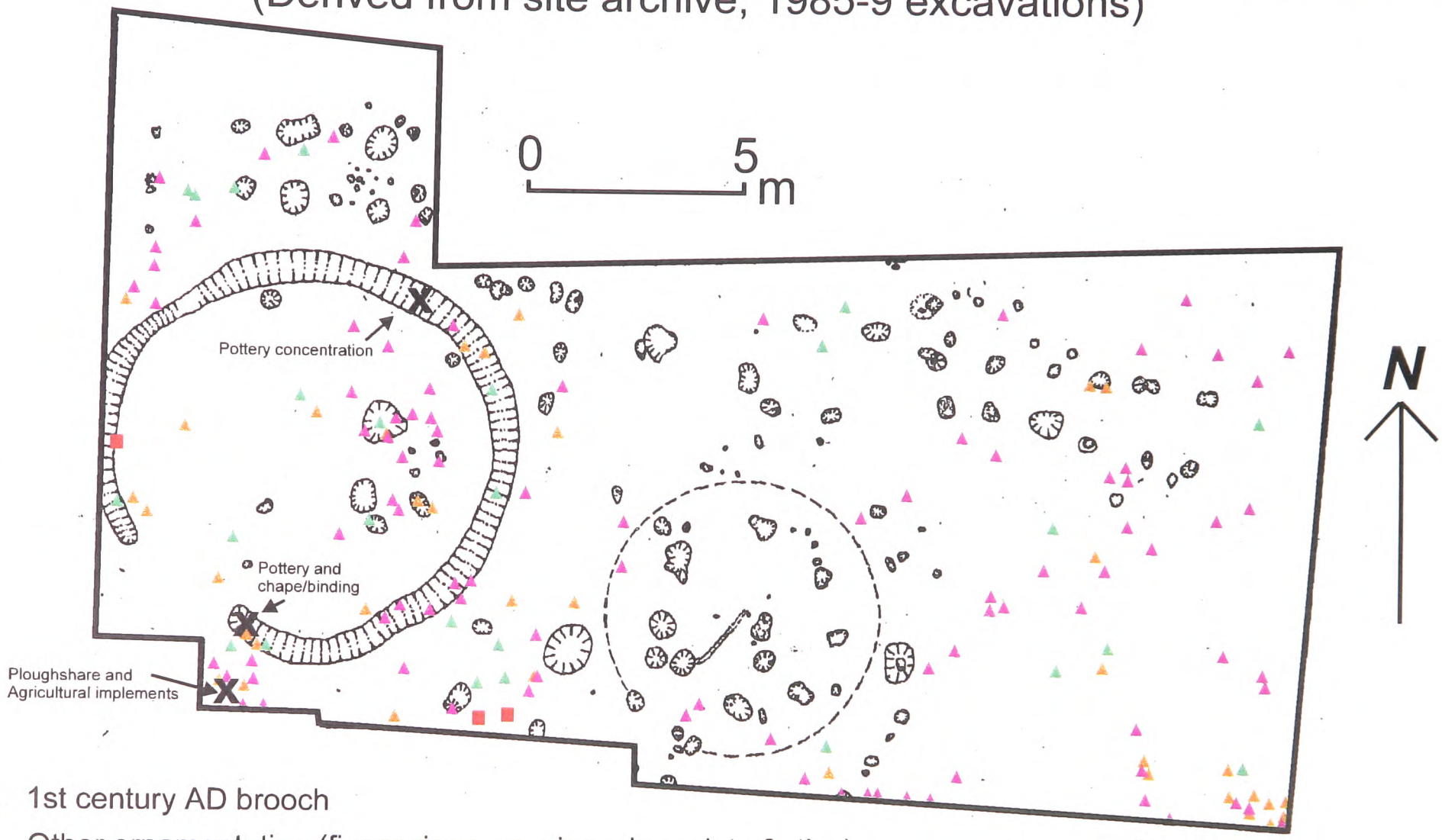
The site at Stanegrove hill in Harlow is most notable for the Romano-Celtic temple situated upon its summit, first excavated in 1927 and subsequently used by Wheeler to provide one of the first comparative accounts of this type of religious structure (Wheeler 1928). From 1962 to 1970, it was subject to a further series of excavations by the West Essex Archaeological Group (France and Gobel 1985), during which time a great many finds were located, including over two hundred late pre-Roman Iron Age coins and eighty pre-Flavian brooches (*ibid.* 70). The majority of these finds were situated in a so-called 'brown loam' organic layer, which was regarded as the pre-temple occupation surface. It was the substantial amount of pre-temple material that led to the belief that there was a preceding late Iron Age cult focus on the hill (*ibid.* 137), and another extensive excavation programme was carried out between 1985 and 1989 under the direction of Richard Bartlett (Bartlett 1988). Many hundred additional 1st century AD coins and brooches were recovered, along with the more significant discovery of a circular ditched feature, resembling Iron Age round houses such as those at Little Waltham in Essex (*ibid.* 165). It was positioned partially under the western wing of the temple side building, with an entrance gap facing south, although most of the internal area was disturbed by a large, late Roman pit. There were a number of post and stake holes located to its north and east, of which one group (shown on maps 4.1 and 4.2 by a perforated line) may have formed an additional smaller circular feature with the same alignment (Bartlett, pers com.).

The publication of the 1960s excavation (France and Gobel 1985) contained enough spatially-orientated information to note general distribution patterns of artefacts (i.e. to the same trench and level), but - partly because of the excavation methods used - specific find spots and associations are unknown. The latest excavation, however, plotted all finds on a three-dimensional basis, so that it was theoretically possible to construct detailed distribution maps, and thus note any patterning and/or associations that may be evident. Accordingly, a number of visits were made to Harlow Museum, where with the kind permission and help of Mr Richard Bartlett, the original archive was consulted, and the

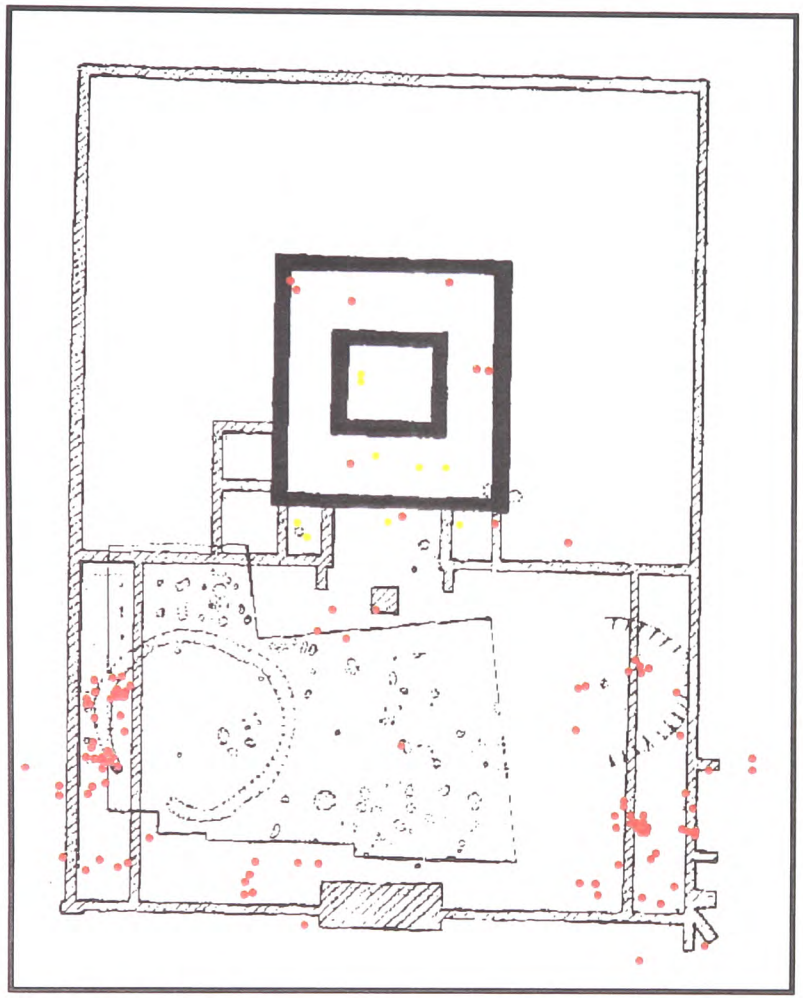
Map 4.1: Harlow: Pre-Flavian features and coin distribution
(Derived from site archive, 1985-9 excavations)



Map 4.2: Pre-Flavian Harlow: Distribution of other selected find categories
(Derived from site archive, 1985-9 excavations)



Map 4.3: Harlow: Distribution of artefacts from 1960s excavation

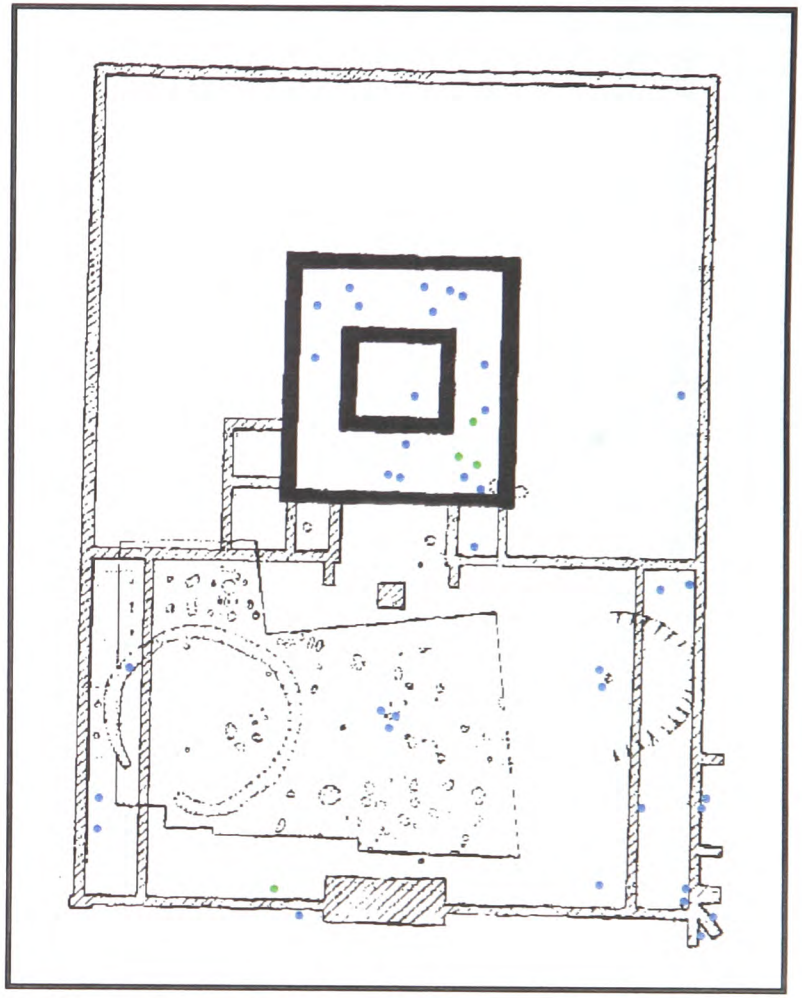


4.3a Coins

- Cunobelin/Tasciovanus coin
- Gold coin

0 10 m

N



4.3b Other items

- Ornamentation
- Martial item

site data analysed. From both the earlier publication and the 1980s archive, four distribution maps have been created, containing information on coins, martial items and personal ornamentation - the most numerous of the pre-Flavian diagnostic finds (Maps 4.1 to 4.3b). It is probable that most these artefacts were recovered from or near to the position where they were originally deposited, even when their vertical and horizontal stratigraphy had been disturbed (Bartlett pers com.). The finds marked on the distribution plans therefore include not only those from a definite pre-Flavian context, but also those from any disturbed levels above that exhibited a 1st century BC/AD date on typological grounds. The maps may thus contain some items that were deposited after the building of the masonry temple, but on the whole should be reasonably representative of the pattern of deposition during pre-Flavian times - mostly it seems around the mid 1st century AD.

2. Chronology and context

The chronology of the pre-Flavian features was based upon the presence of large quantities of late Iron Age brooches and coins, which were taken to be indicative of pre-Roman activity stretching back into the 1st century BC (France and Gobel 1985 137). However, this chronology was later called into question by Colin Haselgrove, on the grounds that the vast majority of coins were of very late Iron Age date (c.AD 25-40), and most of the brooches would equally be at home in the early Roman period (Haselgrove 1989a 73). The only coins that could definitely be assigned to the mid - late 1st century BC are the gold quarter staters, the majority of which were found sealed under the temple cella (see map 4.3a). These seem to have formed a distinct group, and as has been suggested (Fitzpatrick 1985 57), may be functionally unconnected with the later deposition of bronze coins. The majority of coins were issues of Cunobelin and in an excellent state of preservation, implying that they had little or no circulation before deposition. If this supposition is correct, then it may indicate that depositional activity was pre-conquest in date, although it is possible that the coins may have been stored for a certain time. The brooches have yet to be analysed on the same level, but they are predominantly early to mid 1st century in date. Ultimately, the evidence points to a quite intense period of deposition around the middle of the 1st century AD, though whether this was slightly pre- or post-conquest is unapparent and also somewhat irrelevant. What is more important to this study is the chronological relationship between the depositional

activity and the circular structure, the dating of which is uncertain, as mixed within its fill was pottery of Bronze Age, middle Iron Age, Belgic, and early Roman date (Bartlett 1988 112; Brown forthcoming.). The Bronze Age shards were highly fragmented and obviously residual. Brown (forthcoming) has suggested that the middle Iron Age pottery, which was positioned in two main discrete groups, is likely to be nearer 100 BC in date, with a possible later date of deposition (see hypothesis 2). This therefore would indicate a 1st century BC date of construction, probably lasting until the start of the 1st century AD, when the gully started to silt up (Haselgrove 1989a 78).

Harlow temple was situated on the top of a low oval hill, which was surrounded by a wide ditch. It was above the River Stort, which at one time meandered around part of the hill, before that part eventually broke off to become an oxbow lake (France and Gobel 1985 13). The nearest contemporary 'settlement' to the temple was located about five hundred metres to the north-east, at a site called Holbrooks (Conlon 1973). The area, of about 14 acres, was subject to brief rescue excavations in 1972-3, although very little detail could be recorded and so there is some doubt as to its function. As with the temple site, many coins and brooches were recovered, in addition to other types of decidedly votive finds such as gilt bronze letters, miniature axes and bronze leaves (*ibid.* 36-7). The brooch and coin finds indicate that there was substantial depositional activity in the 1st century AD, although the major divergence with the temple assemblage lay in the fact that many of the coins were much earlier issues, with 50 % of them being struck before c.AD 10 (Haselgrove 1989a 81). The majority of these finds came from an area of Roman masonry buildings, and the excavator suggested that it may have been a manufacturing centre, producing votive objects for use at the temple, along with more secular implements (Conlon 1973 36-7). However, there have been other suggestions (Fitzpatrick 1985 52, Haselgrove 1987 397, 1989a 81), that the site was actually an additional religious complex, the Roman features of which will be discussed more fully in 5.1. The artefactual and limited structural evidence indicates that the site was occupied during the late pre-Roman Iron Age, and so it is possible that there existed some kind of religious complex spread over a wide area, prior to the more substantial Flavian structures of the later 1st century AD.

3. Site Interpretation

The interpretation of both the Stanegrove and Holbrooks sites as late Iron Age - Roman transition religious centres is based primarily upon the substantial deposition of coins and brooches. This is further augmented on the former location by the definite presence of the Flavian temple, with which there is apparent direct continuity of activity (France and Gobel 1985 21-2). The circular feature clearly exerted an influence over the deposition of artefacts in the early 1st century AD (see hypothesis 2 and maps 4.1-2), although as previously mentioned, it is uncertain as to whether it was actually a standing structure at this time, and therefore if it can actually be regarded as a shrine. Indeed, it is quite possible that it was actually an open enclosure rather than a building. Whatever the case, the clear spatial association between the 1st century AD deposits and the gully, imply that it was a significant feature at this later time. Whether it was the post-abandonment re-use of a functionally divergent earlier building, as has been suggested (Haselgrove 1989a 78) is uncertain, especially as particular items deposited within the primary ditch fill such as the late Iron Age bronze scabbard chape (Bartlett 1988 166: Map 4.2), suggest that a religious function may have been apparent at an earlier period. It is possible that the structure was built as some kind of shrine around the middle of the 1st century BC, and continued to act as a religious focus until after the mid 1st century AD.

4. Hypotheses

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

Within the pre-Flavian structural remains uncovered during the course of the excavations, there is little in the way of overall spatial planning to be found. The circular gully, even if it had no superstructure, acted as a depositional focus, and may have contained an inner cult focus in the form of a pit, post or other feature. However, all traces would have been destroyed by the late Roman pit, which may have been deliberately dug in this zone for the selective retrieval of artefacts. The large entrance, just over three metres in width, lay towards the south, and it is probably significant that the possible eastern circular structure lay on the exact same alignment. This is perhaps the only indication of a prescribed

structural plan within the pre-Flavian site, and a much larger area would need to be excavated for the possibility of further planned structures to be discovered. Within the current excavated area, there is no direct evidence of a pre-Flavian enclosure, although many post holes associated with late Iron Age – Roman transition material were found, both to the east and north east of the circular feature (see maps 4.1-2). It is possible that the ditch surrounding the hill (Wheeler 1928 302) may have formed a temenos boundary, but as it has not been excavated, the dating is uncertain. Finally, there is little in the way of structural or artefactual evidence to indicate the presence of processional pathways within the pre-Flavian site. In two places, to the north and east of the gully, there are parallel lines of postholes about 2 metres apart, that could conceivably have lined such a route, but such evidence is somewhat insubstantial.

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

The earliest indication of a possible offering zone is centred around the circular structure, where two deposits of sand-tempered middle Iron Age pottery were found in the primary gully fill, one at the back, and the other on the east side of the entrance (Brown, forthcoming excavation report; see map 4.2). The latter group was found in association with what was interpreted as a bronze scabbard binding and chape (Bartlett 1988 166), although Ian Stead suggested that it was actually a shield binding (Harlow site archive). Whatever the case, it was identified as mid 1st century BC to mid 1st century AD in date, implying that the associated pottery was probably deposited after a long period of use (see chronology above). Assuming that these deposits were made towards the later 1st century BC, then they may be contemporary with the earliest coin deposition on the site - that of the 14 gold staters and quarter staters. Reports based upon the 1960s excavation suggested that these formed a discrete group in the area of the Roman cella and ambulatory, representing either a scattered hoard, or an area reserved for specific types of offering (Fitzpatrick 1985 57: see map 4.3a). The fact that two of them were cupped together led Haselgrove (1989a 76) to suggest that the coins would have originally been buried in separate heaps and piles, as in the Gallic temple at Bois L'Abbe (Delestree 1984). During the latest excavations a further nine quarter staters were recovered - eight of them from within the circular gully (see map 4.1). Assuming that the gold coin

deposits occurred at around the same time, as seems likely, it points to two distinct areas of deposition, with others possibly lying in unexcavated parts of the site. The main phase of deposition, probably around the mid 1st century AD, was focused around the circular gully, with a particular emphasis of coins around the eastern ditch terminal (map 4.1). The reason for the apparent lack of density by the corresponding terminal is probably because this area was part of the 1960s trench, and there is a clear coin concentration here in the earlier distribution map (map 4.3a). There was thus a demonstrable emphasis on deposition around the entrance to the circular feature, probably representing prescribed ritual behaviour. The earlier map also reveals that there were concentrations of objects under the temple and eastern side buildings. The area just to the east of the gully, under the central courtyard, appears to have a significantly lower artefact concentration, and this may therefore represent an area of functional divergence, although what this may have been is uncertain. It is possible that there may have been a periodic removal of votive objects from certain areas, which may have significantly affected the overall distribution pattern. However, the marked degree of spatial clustering evident in the coin deposits implies that there were specific offering zones within the site. As to the spatial segregation of votive types, it appears that there may have been some divergence in concentration, but no absolute differentiation. The distribution of brooches (maps 4.2 and 4.3b) reveals a less clustered pattern to that of the coins, although the circular gully certainly exerted some influence. Unlike the coins, the highest density occurred not within the eastern ditch terminal, but in the eastern (right-sided) interior of the structure. It is perhaps significant that no brooches from pre-Flavian or disturbed contexts were found in the western (left) half, and this may reflect specific depositional criteria. Another possible focus for brooches lay to the south of the eastern ditch terminal, associated with a large group of coins and some agricultural implements, including a fragmented iron ploughshare (map 4.2). The military items on the map show little evidence of spatial structuring, although the numbers are too small to be certain. The only grouping of definite military items - consisting of 1st century AD fittings and one of the miniature swords - occurred in the far south eastern corner, and could have formed a single deposit, along with a few brooches and coins (map 4.2). From the earlier excavations, there was noted a concentration of pottery (not shown on the map), both

local ware and samian, in the vicinity of the temple, and as this apparently coincides with the distribution of animal bones (Legge and Dorrington 1985 122), it could have significant implications for the function of the area (see hypothesis 4). Overall, although the diversity in concentration may in part be because of taphonomic processes, it may also reflect specific spatial rules applied to the placing of votive offerings.

Finally, the disruption to much of the stratigraphy means that direct artefact associations are usually impossible to establish, and so it is uncertain if objects were deposited en masse, in small groups, or individually. In certain instances, such as the brooch group mentioned above, the close grouping of items within the same context makes it likely that they were deposited together, and occasionally, more direct associations arise, such as with a miniature sword and lamb's jaw bone, which could be a deliberate symbolism of sacrifice (Green, forthcoming excavation report). In most cases, the disturbance in horizontal and vertical stratigraphy, even when slight, can still render the exact original depositional form unrecoverable.

3. *'The nature of the votive assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site'*

The vast majority of the finds from the pre-Flavian site consisted of regional Iron Age coins, in particular the issues of Cunobelin and to a lesser extent, his predecessor Tasciovanus. The preponderance of the former's coinage is exceptional among the local settlement assemblages (Haselgrove 1989a 81), and could well reflect a deliberate choice of specific coins for deposition. Brooches were also common finds at the site, the majority being of Colchester or derivative types, and virtually all suggest a deposition date of around the mid 1st century AD - part of the so called 'fibula event horizon' (Jundi and Hill 1998 125). The great increase of brooches in the 1st century AD has been taken as representing a change in the way such items were used in the social strategies of the time (*ibid.*), and therefore the conscious ritual deposition of them in such numbers may be an indication of their importance within the social hierarchy. Much the same may be true of the martial items deposited within the site, as during the late Iron Age and Roman transition period, martial aspects were still undoubtedly a consequential feature of British society. However, the number of such items is comparatively small, possibly reflecting

the post-conquest prohibition of weapons within non-military groups. Four miniature iron swords were recovered during the last excavations, located in the courtyard to the east of the circular structure, of which three resemble the Mainz type of Roman Gladius, dated to the early 1st century AD (Green, M.J. forthcoming excavation report). The majority of them derive from disturbed levels, rather than a definite pre-Flavian context, and so although it is probable that they were deposited during this period, a later date cannot be ruled out. The possible presence of a Roman conquest period military site in the immediate area (Fitzpatrick 1985 57) may explain the offering of miniature Roman weapons, although they could equally have been deposited by members of the local elite. Two of them appear to have been deliberately broken in antiquity, reflecting a phenomenon found on many other Iron Age and Roman cult loci (see chapter 3, hypothesis 3). Two other examples of miniature objects from the site were a mattock and a sickle, both made of iron and from disturbed levels (SF 132 and 1553, site archive). Many normal examples of such agricultural implements were recovered from pre-Flavian contexts, including a number of ploughshares, and all could possibly be regarded as ritual fertility offerings. The large quantity of young lamb bones (see hypothesis 4), could also have had similar fertility or prosperity aspects. Overall, the votive assemblage is reflective of a local or regional late Iron Age – Roman transition elite society, and it may be seen as an important regional sacred locus.

4. *'The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)'*

The majority of animal bones recovered from Harlow were quite fragmented, although in a good state of preservation (Legge and Dorrington 1985 122). The total number of identifiable specimens from the previous two excavations was 9723, with 2422 (25%) coming from pre-Flavian levels. In all periods, three main domestic species were present - sheep, pig and cattle. Sheep bones represented by far the largest group, accounting for 86% of the total pre-Flavian assemblage, with similar proportions for the temple contexts and unstratified material, implying at least some degree of cult continuity (*ibid.* 123). Further intra-species selectivity, revealed by an analysis of the sheep dental assemblage,

is evidenced by the very high percentage (c.85%) of immature specimens present, with an average age of between six to nine months. As most of the lambs were killed at the same age, it was suggested that there was a seasonality of slaughter, which probably took place over a brief period at some time in the Autumn (Forthcoming excavation report). The presence of a smaller group of 18-20 month old sheep may indicate slaughter at the same time of year, but with animals that were a year older, and therefore perhaps a more valuable sacrifice (Legge and Dorrington 1985 132). Bone selectivity is also indicated, as there was a clear preponderance of right hand elements, suggesting that the carcasses were divided in two and treated differentially. Most of the pig bones were from adult males, and they too show a preference for right hand elements, although it was not possible in this instance to tell if there was also a seasonal slaughter. Such a patterning of animal slaughter and dismemberment has been found at a number of cult sites in northern Gaul (Meniel 1989 93-5; see 4.4). The majority of the bones from Harlow derived from general levelling and make-up levels and show no signs of having been deliberately deposited. The few examples that were more complete came primarily from the fill of the ring gully - this presumably being because it was a more sheltered environment - although the sheep mandible associated with the miniature sword does indicate that structured deposits did exist. Evidence of spatial selectivity is slight, although the 1985 report (*ibid.* 122) did state that "*Almost all the bones came from the vicinity of the Cella and the ancillary buildings to the south-east*". This apparent concentration is likely to be in part because these were the main areas that were excavated, as the latest excavations - in the area of the temple courtyard - contained many thousands of animal bone fragments. Nevertheless, because a far higher proportion (73%) of the total bones from pre-Flavian levels were found during the earlier excavation, there may indeed have been a concentration of sacrificial or butchery activity under the area of the later temple, which may have subsequently moved to the courtyard.

It seems likely that most of the animals sacrificed at the site were subsequently used in ritual feasting, as according to the published bone report (Legge and Dorrington 1985 127), "*..certain characteristic features, such as the presence of many mandibles and the manner in which they are broken, suggests that the animals were butchered at the site*". The limited period of slaughter mentioned above suggests that such feasting may have

principally occurred during specific festivals. It may be significant that majority of animals were sacrificed before the optimum age for meat consumption, thereby differentiating them from normal domestic bone refuse. The fact that most of the sheep and pig bones were from the right hand part of the animals is an indication that only parts of the animal were used in feasting, with the others removed either off the site, or to a part that has not yet been excavated. These left hand elements could have been reserved for the deities (Forthcoming bone report). The preponderance of pre-Flavian bone fragments under the masonry temple, suggests that the butchery took place there, and as there was also a corresponding density of ceramics, it is possible that the actual feasting may have taken place there as well. The lack of any hearth or many burnt specimens must surely indicate that at least part of the food preparation took place in another location.

5. *'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function'*

A number of Bronze Age cremations point to an earlier funerary function at the site, but there is little to suggest that a similar role obtained during the late Iron Age - Roman transition period. A pit under the temple ambulatory wall contained at its base a human parietal bone together with a bronze ring and animal ribs, but this was sealed by the 'brown loam' layer, and so is likely to be earlier. The only human remains found from the later period were two adult teeth from the early 1st century fill of the gully. However, the presence of teeth does certainly not imply a funerary function at the site.

6. *'Distinct Industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

There were a few items associated with craftworking within the pre-Flavian levels, such as chisels, drill bits and a planishing hammer, but these are perhaps more likely to represent offerings than indications that actual industrial activities were performed on the site. The majority of structural materials (nails, bindings etc.) were in the area of the gully, and most probably derived from its superstructure, or accompanying furniture.

5. Summary

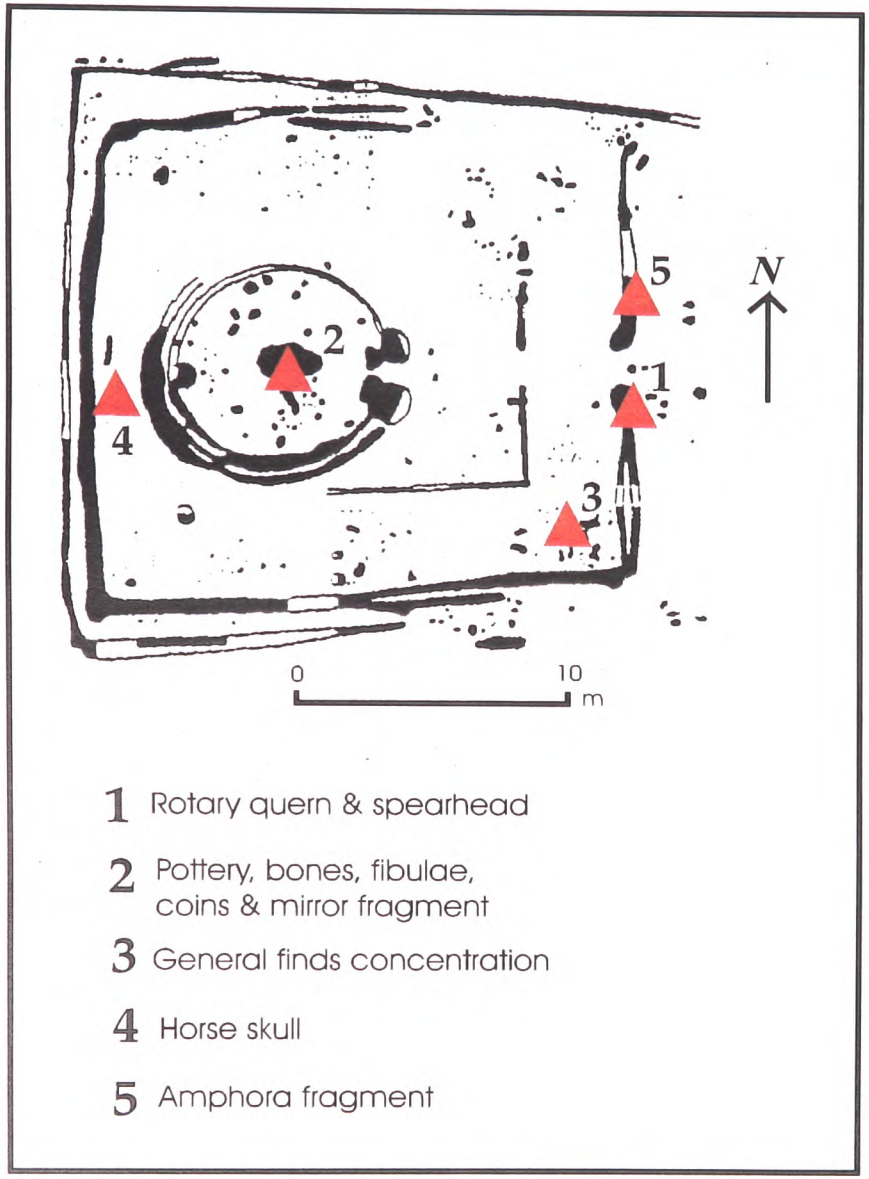
The pre-Flavian levels at Harlow are dominated by large quantities of artefacts, presumably arising from the practice of votive deposition. The vast majority of these finds consisted of coins and brooches that were likely to have been deposited around the middle of the 1st century AD, and many exhibited quite a pronounced degree of spatial clustering, thereby demonstrating the probability of offering zones. No complete segregation of artefacts was observed, although there were differential densities in their depositional pattern, possibly governed by specific rules for the placing of votives. The greatest clustering, certainly with regard to coin deposition, was centred around a circular gully, lying underneath the western side building of the Roman temple. The structure is quite enigmatic, but it may have held some kind of religious significance from the time of its construction (c.mid 1st century BC), to the main period of deposition a century later, even though the silting of the gully implies it may not have been structurally complete during the later period. Other structural evidence is limited, although there may possibly have been another circular building lying to the east along the same alignment - the only indication of coherent structural planning within the site. The ritual use of animals is strongly attested, primarily manifested in the sacrifice and probable consumption of juvenile sheep. Overall the Roman transition period site at Harlow seems to have been one of quite intense religious activity, and was probably closely connected with the nearby site at Holbrooks, with which it may have formed part of a wider religious complex.

2. Hayling Island, Hampshire

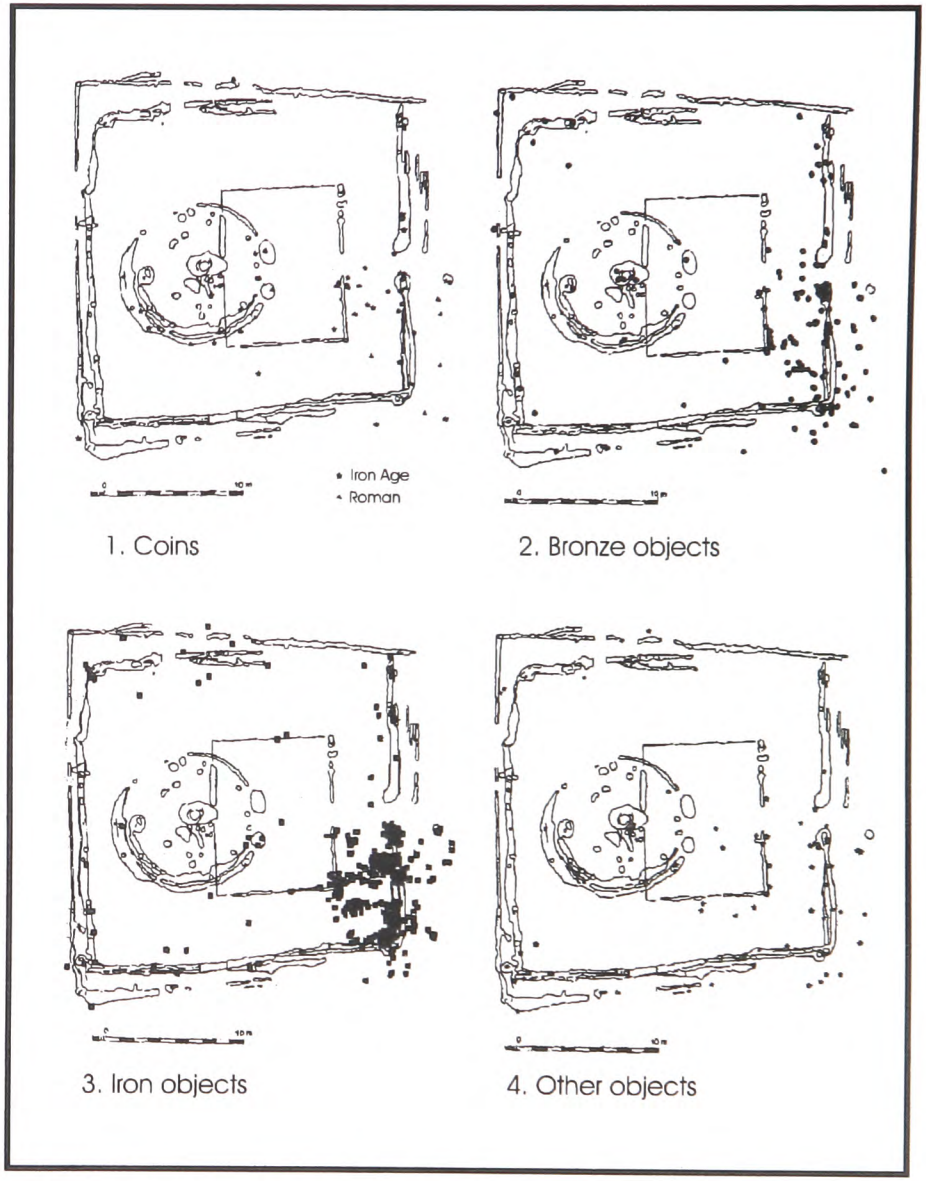
1. Site description

The structure at Hayling Island is one of the most convincing buildings within late Iron Age Britain to have been assigned a religious function. The extensive excavations, between 1976 and 1981, revealed a circular timber-framed building and surrounding rectangular enclosure, lying directly underneath a much larger, but morphologically similar, Roman temple. The central structure resembled contemporary domestic roundhouses, having an inner post-and-wattle wall, and at least one outer drainage gully.

Map 4.4: Hayling Island Iron Age structure and finds distribution



4.4a: Spatially referenced finds from earlier interim reports
(Downey et al.1979, 1980, King and Soffe 1991, 1994a-b)



4.4b:Spatially referenced finds from the iron Age temple
(after King and Soffe 1998 43)

The main anomaly was a large pit situated in the centre, which the excavators believed was more likely to have been for the imposition of some ritual feature such as a stone or post, than for any structural purposes (Downey *et al.* 1979 3; see maps 4.4). The outer enclosure was composed of shallow ditches and intermittent postholes, which were interpreted as possibly representing two phases of a well-defined temenos (King and Soffe 1998 37). The entrance faced eastwards towards the inner pit, with the path between them leading through a gap in an internal trapezoidal fence, which seems to have been positioned in order to sub-divide part of the courtyard. A recent reappraisal by the excavators has suggested that this fence actually represented part of an inner enclosure, which formed the first main internal feature at the site, prior to the building of the circular structure (King and Soffe 1998 36; see chronology and map 4.4b). Whilst this is possible, it is unlikely for two reasons. Firstly, it would have physically excluded the central pit, which seems to have been the prime cult focus, and secondly, the distribution of artefacts from all pre-masonry temple phases (see maps 4.4b) appears to respect the boundary of the front fence line, thereby suggesting that it was a constant feature during this time. Finally, a recent geophysical survey has revealed an oval 'henge' type structure to the south of the shrine, together with a further enclosure around most of the site, although this is all undated so may not be contemporary (McConnell & Turner 1999; see hypothesis 1 and 3).

One of the more significant aspects of Hayling Island is the quantity and typology of the finds. However, the lack of any final published report and the inaccessibility of the site archive, has meant that the specific contexts and location of the vast majority of these finds are unknown. It is only recently that an interim report has produced more detailed information on the structure of deposition within the Iron Age site (map 4.4b), and this now forms the major source for the subsequent analysis (King and Soffe 1998).

2. Chronology and context

The chronology of the Hayling Island site is based primarily upon information from coin deposition, although establishing exact dates can be very difficult, especially with the un-inscribed series (Briggs *et al.* 1992 34). Problems also arise because of the high number of unstratified issues, and as it is usually uncertain as to how long the coins would have

been in circulation before being deposited, the time-scale for the site does have a reasonable margin of error. Around 54 stratified coins were derived from the pre-masonry temple phase of the site, with dates ranging from around the middle of the 1st century BC (c. 70 - 40 BC), until the middle of the 1st century AD. Of these, around 90 per cent of British and 70 per cent of Gallic coins came from the mid-late 1st century BC, with another distinct group coming from around the mid 1st century AD (*ibid.* 38-40). This apparent division has been used to suggest the distinct structural phasing noted above. Thus, the 'enclosure' of phase 2a is attributed to the mid 1st century BC, whilst the replacement circular building of 2b is dated to the early to mid 1st century AD (King and Soffe 1998 36-9). As previously stated, such a structural sequence may not have existed, although there could well have been some chronological differentiation in the type and intensity of votive deposition. The coin evidence indicates that the wooden temple was replaced during the Flavian period - a time when Cogidubnus's client kingdom was being incorporated into the Roman province.

The site is situated on a slight rise in the middle of the northern part of the island, and had little trace of associated domestic occupation during the Iron Age period, although there were a number of undated features surrounding the outer enclosure, revealed by geophysical survey (McConnell & Turner 1999). The only possible known settlement on the island that may have been contemporary was the ringwork at Tournerbury, but this has not been securely dated (Bradley and Fulford 1976). Evidence for other Iron Age activities include seasonal salt-working debris around the coastal inlets, although the excavators suggested that the salt workers themselves probably came from inland settlements (Downey *et al.* 1979 17). It is still unlikely that the temple was completely isolated, as surveys have not been extensive enough to note the presence or absence of all unnucleated settlement in the area. It has been suggested (*ibid.*) that because of the topological similarities with the Catuvellaunian oppidum of Camulodunum, the area around Hayling Island may have contained the southern oppidum of the Atrebates, although there is little evidence to support this.

3. Site interpretation

The religious nature of the site is attested by the nature and structure of the finds assemblage, which is highly indicative of votive activity, and also by its more or less direct continuity with the Roman temple, with which it shared both a similar orientation and structural form, albeit on a larger scale. The presence of human bones together with a re-interpretation of the finds, has led Colin Forcey (1998 89) to suggest that Hayling Island was primarily an elite burial site. But the quantity of bone found was very small and quite dispersed, so although a funerary element may have been present, it is unlikely to have been the site's main *raison d'etre* (see hypothesis 5). The historical context of the shrine was noted by the excavators (Downey *et al.* 1979 5), who closely linked it with the local Belgic Atrebates, and in particular with Commius, whom it was suggested may have played a part in its construction. The large proportions of Gallic coins, together with similarities with certain Belgic religious sites such as Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux *et al.* 1985), seems to complement this association, and it is possible that Hayling Island formed a regional cult focus for the local Belgic people.

3. Hypotheses

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

The spatial organisation of the site emphasises a number of almost concentric zones, focusing upon the central feature within the shrine. Assuming that the outer enclosure shown on the geophysical survey was contemporary, then it would have formed the first of four successive boundaries leading to the central focus, all with points of transition aligned to the east. The central pit may either have been an open feature intended for the deposition of votive objects, as at Gournay (Brunaux *et al.* 1985 99-100; see hypothesis 2), or else designed to hold a ritual post or stone (Downey *et al.* 1980 290). The excavated remains of the main enclosure (i.e. not that shown only by geophysical survey) do not appear monumental in design, being without the substantial ditches associated with many of the Belgic sanctuaries such as Gournay-sur-Aronde and Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Cadoux 1984). Nevertheless, it still provided a clear demarcation, with very few

traces of activity being found beyond its limits (King and Soffe 1991 112; see hypothesis 2). The entrance seems to have had greater visual emphasis, as a substantial rectangular hole was located on its southern side. This has been interpreted as either a large post setting for a barrier of some sort, or else a stone hole for one of the large sarsons that were found in the region (*ibid.*, King and Soffe 1998 39). The entrance to the shrine itself was also probably emphasised by a porch structure, although little trace remained because of disturbances from the masonry temple foundations (*ibid.*). Lastly, there were a pair of small postholes just inside the shrine entrance containing carbonised oak fragments, interpreted as possible posts for ritual objects (Downey *et al.* 1979 4) and thus further emphasising the importance attached to entranceways. The only notable processional route within the sanctuary must have been that which followed in a straight east-west line through the outer boundaries to the shrine and internal pit, and which, in the Roman temple, was physically marked by a gravel pathway. A group of coins was found sealed under the later pathway, but this is the only reference to any specifically associated votive activity (Briggs *et al.* 1992 35).

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

The artefact distribution maps and comments within the 1998 report (King & Soffe 1998 42-4), together with more general accounts from previous interim articles, do indicate the presence of spatially defined areas for the offering of votive objects. The majority of such finds were located within the courtyard and boundary, specifically on the eastern side between the dividing fence and outer enclosure (King and Soffe 1991 111; see maps 4.4a-b). The fact that this internal partition constantly segregated different functional zones in the pre-masonry period is suggested by the fact that the area nearer the shrine contained fewer artefacts in both phases, and the ground was far less disturbed (King and Soffe 1994a 115). The south east corner of the outer zone in particular seems to have been connected with more intense ritual activity, as indicated by an vastly increased concentration of finds, associated with amorphous groups of stake holes and burnt patches (King and Soffe 1998 42). Whilst there is no evidence for complete segregation of object types, there does appear to have been some differential treatment in their deposition. For example, most of the coins appear in a zone running from the southern

entrance pit, along just to the south of the main pathway to the dividing fence, whereas the greatest concentration of ironwork deposits - including spearheads and knives - were located further to the south (*ibid.*; see maps 4.4b, 1 and 3). More noticeably, most of the coins associated with the circular shrine were positioned along the outer gully, whereas the items of personal ornamentation - as well as mirror fragments - were concentrated within the central pit (*ibid.*). What is unclear is whether all of the finds recovered were actually from sub-surface deposits, or from occupation display levels. Certain coin 'groups' appear to have definitely been buried deposits (Briggs *et al.* 1992 35), and it is likely that most other items, after a period of display, would have had a similar treatment. Only in rare cases, such as with six of the Gallic coins, can items be said with certainty to have been deposited in associated groups rather than individually, and because of the disturbed upper levels, this will often be impossible to substantiate. Indications from the burnt patches and stakeholes imply that a series of complex rituals may have taken place within the shrine site, much the same as at Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux *et al.* 1985). A possible sequence may have involved the initial display of votive items, perhaps within/upon the shrine or in the north eastern corner where there were concentrations of stake holes (Downey *et al* 1980 290), before subsequent deposition, usually within the south-eastern section of the temenos. There would thus have been a clear left - right dichotomy in ritual practice (King and Soffe 1998 45), with the left-sided bias in deposition possibly associated with the location of the enigmatic monument shown by the geophysical survey just to the south.

3. *'The nature of the votive assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site.'*

The votive assemblage at Hayling Island is dominated by items of a martial character, such as spearheads, scabbard/shield bindings, sword chapes and some fragmentary iron chain that has been interpreted as possible warrior equipment (Downey *et al.* 1980 293). In addition, there were many objects of horse and chariot equipment, leading to the general conclusion that the particular cult at Hayling Island was focused primarily around the concept of the late Iron Age warrior (*ibid.*). This is perhaps indicative of the central role that warrior and warfare ideology had in local society, although it has also been linked specifically to an ancestral cult of the Gallic leader Commius, associated with a

Mars-type indigenous deity (King and Soffe 1998 44; see hypothesis 5). Objects of ornamentation were also quite regular finds, consisting for the most part of brooches, bracelets and rings, though fragments of four speculum mirrors were also recovered from the central pit. Any attempts to associate these items with a specifically feminine cult aspect (Downey *et al.* 1979 6) must be treated with great caution, as there is virtually no convincing differentiation that can be made between 'male' and 'female' items in this period. Coins were the final group of metallic votives to be well represented, consisting mainly of early British and Gallic issues (Briggs *et al.* 1992 36). There were high numbers of silver- and gold-plated issues among the coins, which may have been either because these were regarded as more appropriate offerings, or the more precious metal coins were deliberately removed and therefore did not remain in the archaeological record (*ibid.* 44-6). Some of the coins appear to have been deliberately mutilated (Briggs *et al* 1992 2), a condition found on a number of different objects at the site, and reminiscent of certain items at Gournay. The process attested at this site whereby items were displayed, then deliberately mutilated before being deposited may therefore also have occurred at Hayling Island. Finally, an important class of finds from within Hayling Island are the Neolithic/Bronze Age flint scrapers, Neolithic and Mesolithic axes, and Middle Bronze Age spearheads (King and Soffe 1998 41). These seem to have been deliberate archaic offerings brought to the site, possibly associated with ancestral reverence (see hypothesis 5).

4. *'The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)'*

Around 20,000 animal bones were recovered from the site, deriving from both temple phases, and although they have yet to be examined or at least published in detail, it is clear that there were conspicuous differences between the nature of this assemblage, and those of other contemporary domestic bone groups (Downey *et al.* 1979 7). There was an almost complete absence of cattle bones, and a preponderance of those from sheep and pig, with additional smaller quantities of horse, red deer, domestic fowl and mouse (*ibid.* 8). There is therefore quite definite evidence for species selectivity, implying that certain

animals were preferred in ritual activities on the site. The 1998 report also provided indications of bone selectivity, with a preponderance of upper limb bones, and a lack of sheep horn-cores and mandibles (King and Soffe 1998 42). The only specific remains to be spatially referenced were fragments of horse skulls positioned behind the cella, which may be significant, given the emphasis on martial items at the site, including chariot fittings (King and Soffe 1994b 38). Indications of ritual feasting are slight, although the limb selectivity mentioned above did leave the best meat-producing joints at the site (King and Soffe 1998 42). The ceramic assemblage consisted for the main part of 'food' container vessels (King and Soffe 1994a 115), which may imply the presence of ritual feasting, but they could equally have contained votive foodstuffs or libations for offering to the deity.

5. '*The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function.*'

A very small number of human bones from at least two individuals were found during the excavations, which were suggested as possibly inferring the practice of human sacrifice (King and Soffe 1994b 38). Whilst, as Miranda Green has argued (1998a 169), the practice of human sacrifice must not be automatically discounted, they may instead have represented a funerary function on the site. However, Colin Forcey's suggestion (1998 88-9) that Hayling Island may have been an elite funerary site has a number of flaws, as expressed in chapter 3. Specifically, it seems certainly not to have been the case that the artefacts were all buried "*in a single act of deposition*" (*ibid.*), and the idea that the whole site was devoted primarily to mortuary practice is not advocated by the presence of a tiny amount of quite unstructured human bone. Whilst it is possible that there was a limited funerary element at the site, it is equally possible that specific human remains may have been brought to the site as specialised votive offerings in themselves (King and Soffe 1998 41), maybe as symbols of an ancestral presence. The possible earlier monument just to the south revealed by geophysical survey, together with the archaic items mentioned in hypothesis 3, are additional indications that the cult site may have been deeply associated with local mythology and ancestry. Its structural elaboration during the late Iron Age period may have been a conscious effort by the local elite to strengthen their own position and identity.

6. *'Distinct Industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

There are no indications, either structural or artefactual, that any kind of industrial activity was carried out at the Hayling Island site. The nearest evidence of such activity was the shoreline hearths associated with salt production, also situated in the northern part of the island.

5. Site summary

The Hayling Island site remains one of the most convincing examples of a constructed cult locus within late Iron Age southern Britain, on the basis that:

i) The type, condition and location of the finds assemblage combine to strongly suggest votive activity.

ii) There is a direct structural and positional continuity with the Roman masonry temple above.

iii) It is similar, both in its structure and typology of finds, to a number of Belgic sanctuaries such as Gournay-sur-Aronde.

It was a very structured site, with a number of physically segregated functional zones, and a high degree of significance evidently attached to the boundary and entranceways. The martial character of much of the finds assemblage is similar to that from a range of cult sites in northern Gaul, which Derks regarded as being a strong indication of the social importance attached to warriorship within Gallic society (1998 48). It may be significant that the Hayling Island shrine was built in an area of probable Belgic settlement around the middle of the 1st century BC, at a time when the practice of martial deposition was ending in most parts of Gaul (*ibid.* 46), presumably because the warrior aspect of society was beginning to become eroded by Roman rule. The particularities of the shrine layout and martial character of the finds may have been conscious efforts by certain members of the elite within the local region to reassert their social identity.

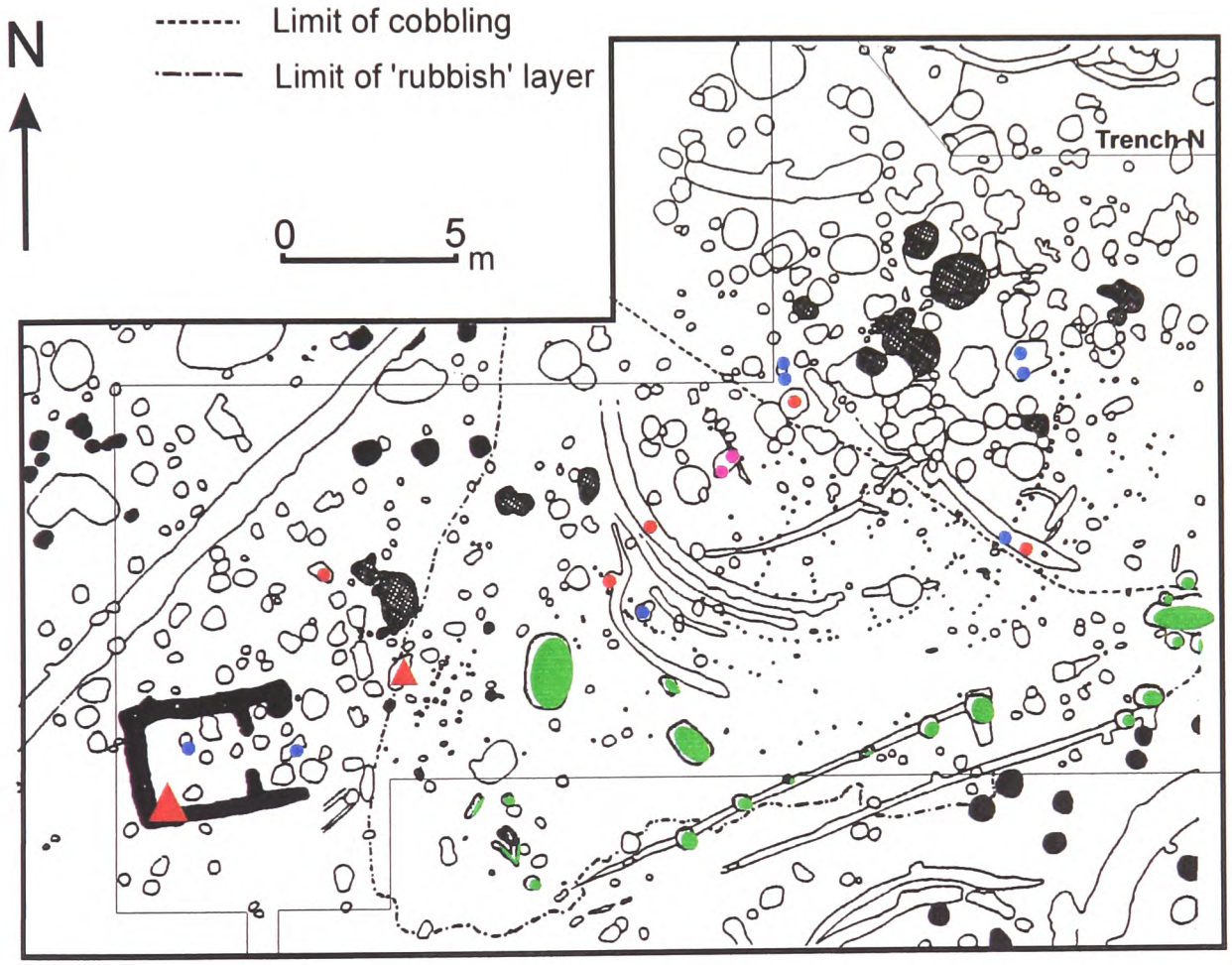
3. South Cadbury 1(N5), Somerset

1. Site description

The central plateau of Cadbury Castle hillfort, excavated in the late 1960s and early 1970s, was one of great complexity, containing numerous pits, gullies, hearths and post-holes (Alcock 1972). There seems to have been more or less continuous occupation within the hillfort from the late Bronze/early Iron Age until the Roman period, with three main phases being accorded (Barrett *et al.* forthcoming). Early Cadbury ranges from the 8th to the 5th century BC, Middle Cadbury from the 4th to 1st century BC, while Late Cadbury is assigned the period from the 1st to 4th century AD (*ibid.* 236). The rectangular structure N 5, attributed to the latter period (see chronology section), is situated in the south western corner of area N, and consisted of a continuous bedding trench, 3.4 by 4.6 metres, with a number of irregularly placed post-holes along its length. It was sub-divided into an open east-facing porch and a rear cell (*ibid.* 501). The area in front contained many structural features (pits, post-holes etc.), in addition to numerous animal burials and small finds. A series of layers had built up in this area since Early Cadbury, with the most extensive being the so called 'rubbish' layer that occurred at the end of the sequence (see map 4.5). It is difficult to determine what features may have been contemporary with structure N5, as this was not covered by any of the layers. However, certain features were identified as late in the succession - principally two parallel palisades to the south east of area N, and a series of concentric gullies, about three metres to the north of them (*ibid.* 254). The palisades, which were cut by a number of animal burials, were along the line of the old east-west trackway, and were thought to represent two different phases of a barrier between the activities to the north and the approach up the hill from the south (*ibid.*).

A great many artefacts and ecofacts were found during the course of the excavations, and the records of these are kept with the remainder of the site archive at the Somerset County Record Office in Taunton. This archive was consulted over a period of time, in order that finds distribution maps could be constructed (see maps 4.5-7). Unfortunately, the recording methods used were not always sufficient to enable specific find spots to be plotted, and instead, many finds were assigned to layers within the larger excavation

Map 4.5: South Cadbury Central plateau:
Distribution of features and specific find deposits



Hearths/furnaces

Buildings

Animal burials

Ornamentation

Martial

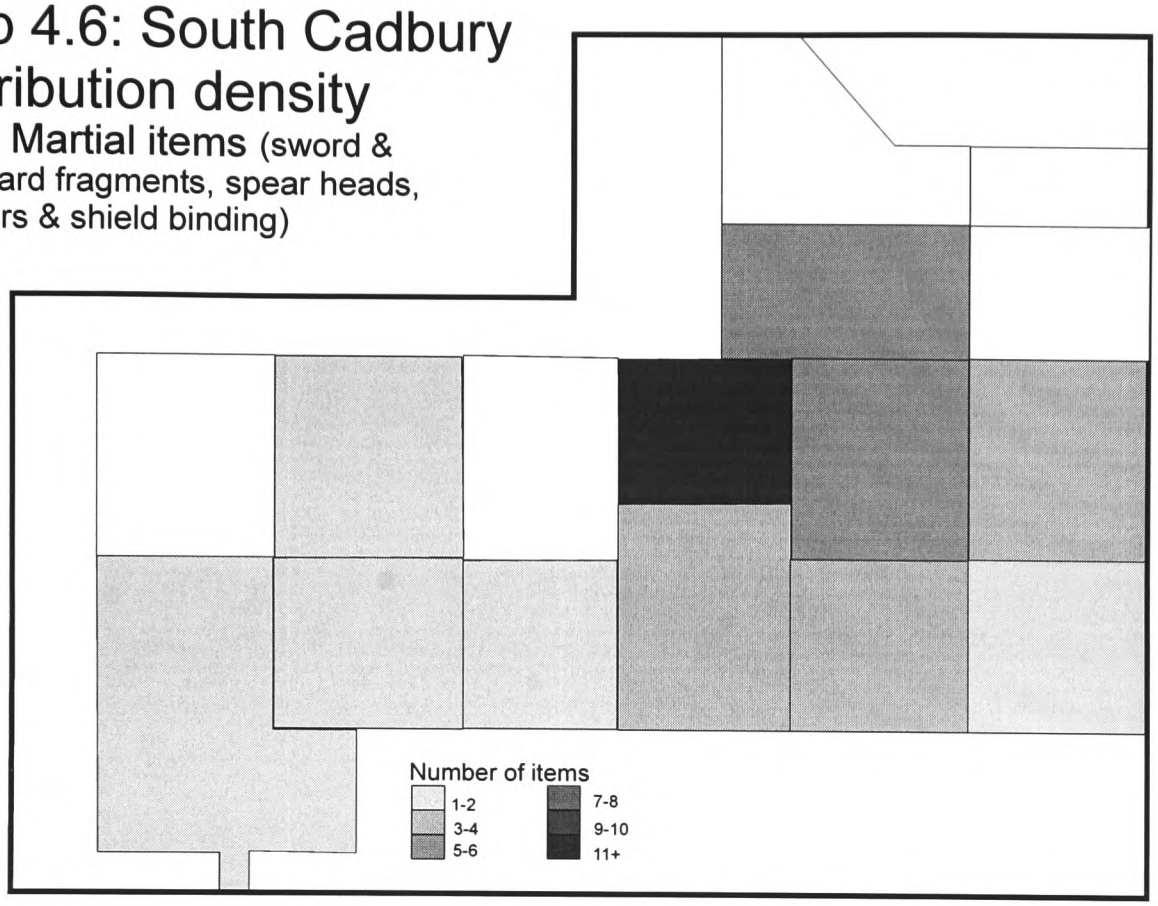
Miscellaneous metal

Bedding trench:
Iron blade, flint axe, arrow head, iron spike, brooch part, half ring, bronze pin, nail, quern fragments, shale vessel (frag.) + bones, bronze fragments & much pottery.

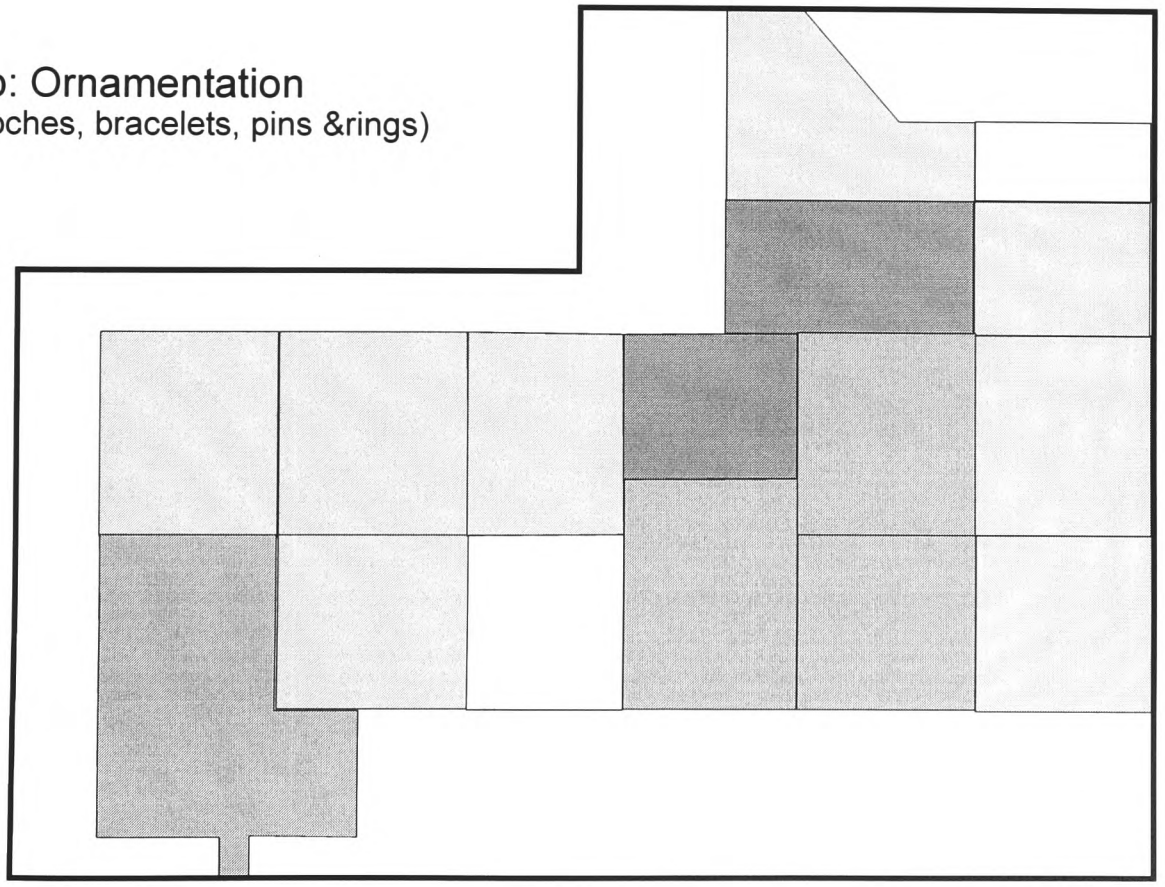
Pit/depression:
Tubular ring, ring headed pin, perforated clay fragment + other bronze fragments

Map 4.6: South Cadbury distribution density

4.6a: Martial items (sword & scabbard fragments, spear heads, daggers & shield binding)



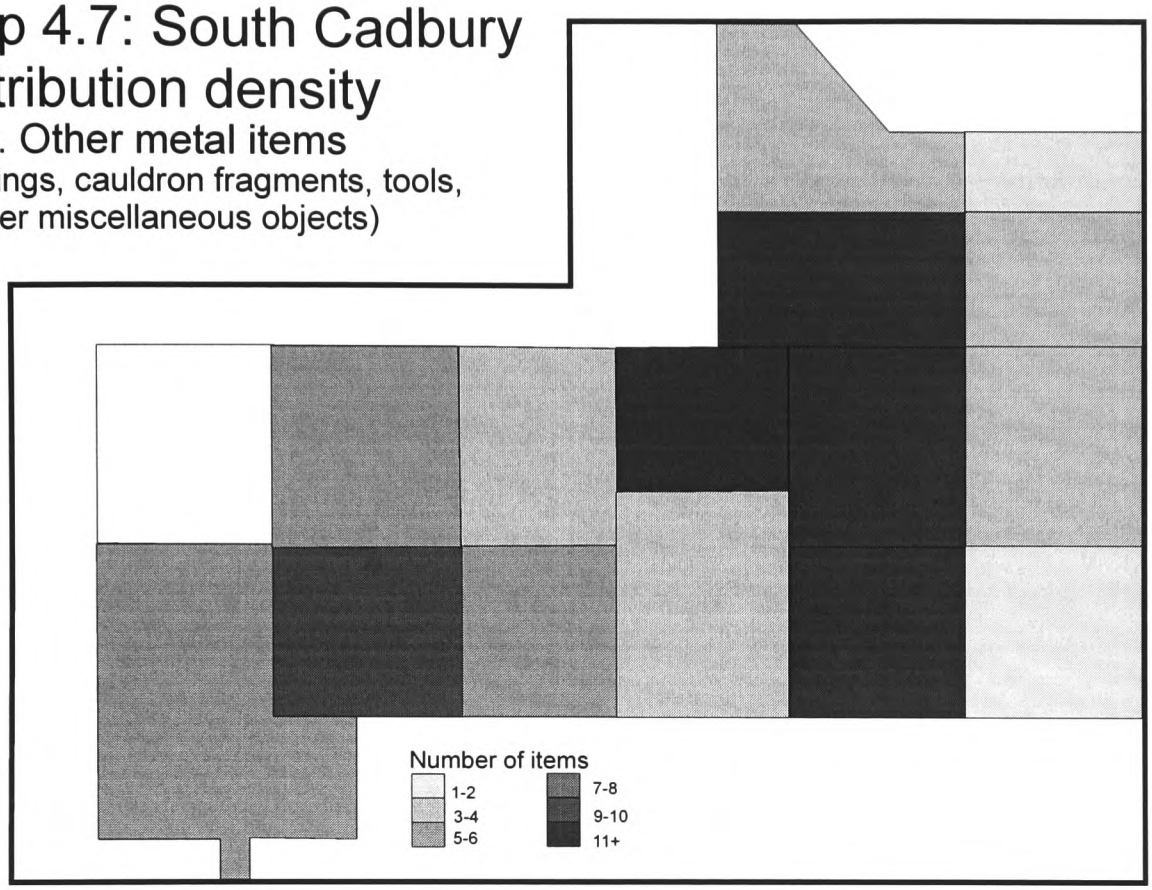
4.6b: Ornamentation (brooches, bracelets, pins &rings)



Map 4.7: South Cadbury distribution density

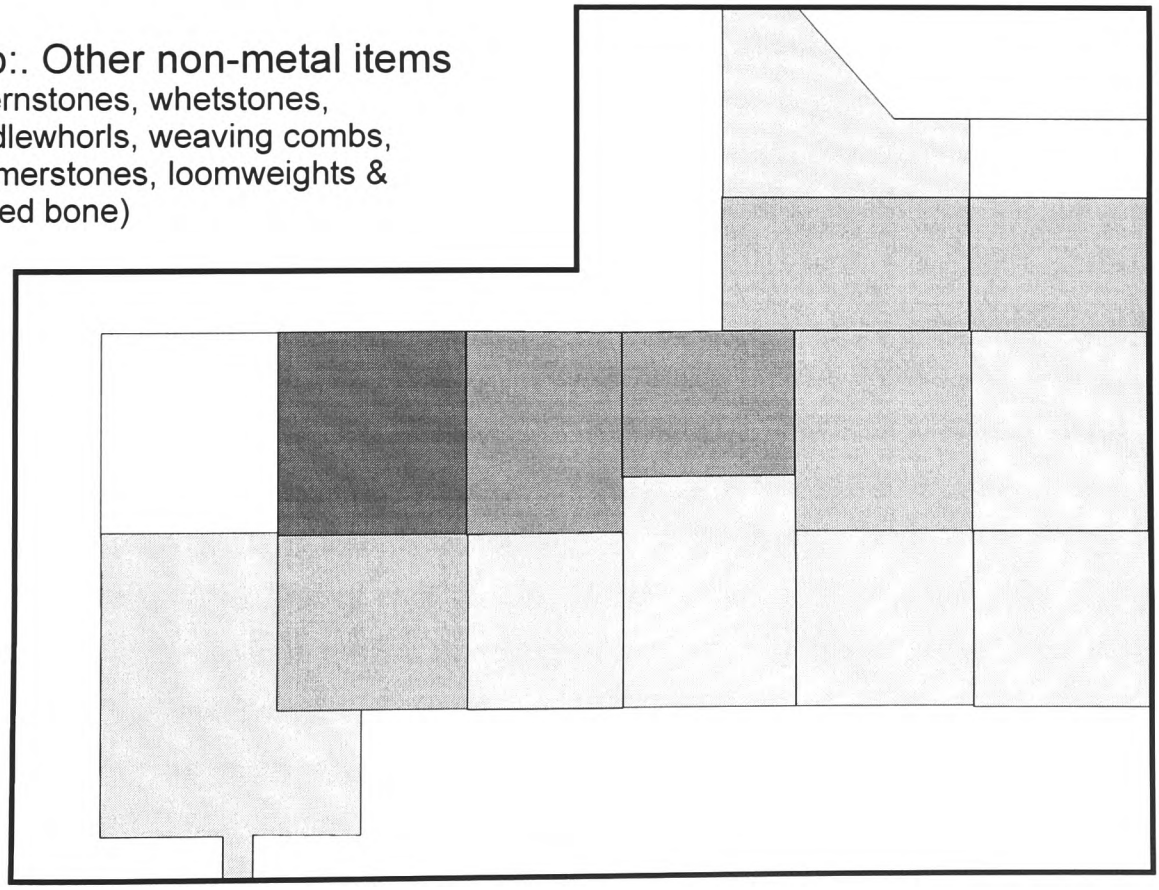
4.7a. Other metal items

(bindings, cauldron fragments, tools, & other miscellaneous objects)



4.7b:. Other non-metal items

(Quernstones, whetstones, spindlewhorls, weaving combs, hammerstones, loomweights & worked bone)



grids. Therefore, the main artefact/ecofact distribution maps (maps 4.6-7) show the densities according to the grids of site N. The majority of finds in the distribution maps were derived from the rubbish layer, although also included were those few finds from demonstrable later Middle and early Late Cadbury levels.

2. Chronology and context

The complex nature of the stratigraphy has resulted in some difficulty in establishing an absolute chronology for all features within site N of the South Cadbury site, although a relative chronology may be built up from the eastern plateau layers. Unfortunately the uppermost 'rubbish' layer, where the majority of artefacts and ecofacts were found, was heavily disturbed by plough erosion, and it is difficult to establish the nature of activity that led to its formation. The upper cobbling, which underlay the 'rubbish' layer was assigned by ceramic evidence to the later part of middle Cadbury (c.late $2^{nd}/1^{st}$ century BC) and contained a number of finds and features associated with metalworking (Barrett *et al.* forthcoming. 251). The subsequent layer, which was between 0.02 and 0.2 metres thick, covered most of the furnaces, and only in three instances were these features possibly contemporary with the accumulation of the deposit (*ibid.* 252). It therefore seems perhaps unlikely that most of the metalwork in this layer derived from metalworking activities as Downes suggested (1997 149), especially as the highest concentration of artefacts does not correspond to the position of the three late furnaces (see maps 4.5-8). It seems that much of the material was as a result of specific deposition (see hypothesis 2), and taken together with the animal burials, it does suggest that ritual activity took place in this part of the plateau during the later Middle and early Late Cadbury phases. The relative chronology of structure N5 is difficult to establish, as it is unassociated with any of the stratigraphy encountered to the east. It has been assigned a date of between AD 43 and AD 60, on the basis the late Durotrigian pottery found within the bedding trench (Barrett *et al.* fc. 256). However, these were large unabraded sherds, located in the upper fill towards the rear of the structure, and thus are perhaps more likely to represent final deposits associated with the dismantlement of the structure, rather than its period of primary use. The majority of other finds from the trench, which included bronze binding, quernstones and almost a hundred fragmented animal bones, are consistent with finds found elsewhere in site N. Therefore it is possible that the structure

could have been built around the Mid - Late Cadbury transition period, and continued until some time after the invasion period, when it was finally dismantled.

South Cadbury lay on the fringes of the Durotrigian and Dobunnic territories, which even during the later Iron Age, were likely to have been composed of localised sub-units (Cunliffe 1991 96). There is evidence that most hillforts in this area (e.g. Maiden Castle: Wheeler 1943 and Hod Hill: Richmond 1968) were still in active use by the invasion period, unlike those further east, although it is uncertain as to whether they were continually occupied on an intensive scale. Only parts of the South Cadbury interior have been excavated - mainly the central plateau and southwest entrance - but it is clear that there was a degree of occupational discontinuity after the end of Middle Cadbury (Barrett *et al.* fc. 253). No roundhouses have been found in the late period, although storage pits with 1st century AD ceramics do point to domestic activity at this time, and it may be that houses were positioned in unexcavated areas. Structure N5 was positioned towards the east of the central plateau, which formed the most prominent part of the hillfort, and one where it is suggested that many trackways would have converged (*ibid.*). From an examination of the material and artefactual evidence, most of the eastern plateau seems to have been accorded a specialised non-domestic function. The lack of convincing storage pits and roundhouses is in marked contrast to other areas, and instead there are layers of cobbling and a concentration of hearths, furnaces and metalworking debris, which would suggest an industrial activity.

3. Interpretation

Structure N5 was interpreted as a shrine by Alcock (1972 81-4), and has been included in the majority of recent major studies on Iron Age religion (Drury 1980 47-8, Wait 1985 166-69, Woodward 1992 31). The primary reasoning behind such an explication would seem to be its position within the central part of the hillfort, structural and positional similarities with building such as Danebury (Cunliffe 1984 84-6) and Heathrow (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993), and its association with the animal burials. In a recent re-interpretation of the structure, Downes (1997) heavily criticised such interpretative parameters, but still accorded it a religious function based upon intra-site structural comparisons with earlier rectangular storage buildings from other areas of the hillfort.

She thus suggested (*ibid.* 151) that the shrine was a representative of idealised earlier life within the hillfort, incorporating inherent cosmological beliefs associated with transformation within its architectural order. Furthermore, she argued (*ibid.* 151) that as the central plateau was the origin of the settlement, "*it could have been a central part of the cosmogony. Viewed thus, the location of the shrine is such that the central plateau could have formed the temenos, or sacred area, around it.*". Whilst the present author would agree that it is much more satisfactory to use intra, rather than inter-site, interpretative parameters, the evidence employed above relies upon a perceived cosmological ideal that can never hope to be substantiated by reference to the archaeological record alone.

The interpretation of N5 as a shrine lies ultimately in its more direct relationship with surrounding features and finds. As discussed above, it is certainly possible that the final formation of the 'rubbish' layer to the east, and the construction of N5 were broadly contemporary, thereby establishing a closer association with some of the animal and metalwork deposits. The axis of the structure, running approximately between the main concentrations of animal burials and metalwork, also implies a correlation that suggests some degree of contemporaneity. N5 seems to have been one of the very few structures standing on the plateau at the time, and is likely to have served in some specialist non-domestic capacity. Its perceived relationship with the deposition of artefacts and ecofacts to the east would suggest a probable religious function of some sort, and thus it is interpreted as a shrine.

4. Hypotheses

1. "*There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary.*"

From the nature of the depositional patterning (see hypothesis 2), it is clear that the site was laid out according to a set of prescribed rules, although it is difficult to discern much planning within the structural features. The three main features were the curvilinear gullies, the palisades, and N5 itself, the first two of which appear to be fragmentary. It is uncertain which, if any, would have been directly contemporary. The gullies, which had

been continually re-cut from as far back as Early Cadbury (Barrett fc. 254), may have formed part of an internal enclosure (c.10-12 m diameter), although it is equally possible that they were eve drips or foundation features for a succession of enclosed circular buildings, as they were fairly similar in size to other roundhouses in Cadbury. The entrance to the structure would seem to lie to the south, as indicated by the gully terminals, and is possibly connected with the concentration of metal artefacts in front (see hypothesis 2). Evidence for some kind of cult focus within the site is very difficult to establish. The structure N5 faces an easterly direction, with an axis running approximately between the animal burials and metalwork, and it may be that this structure either was, or contained, a cult focus of some kind. However, as the earliest depositions undoubtedly occurred before N5 was built, it appears that its positioning was influenced by their depositional structure rather than the other way around.

The two southern palisades are the only evidence for some form of outer enclosure or barrier (Barrett fc. 254), and the line of animal burials along the northerly one serves to emphasise the significance of this liminal zone. They cut through the 'rubbish' layer and would therefore appear to be late in the sequence, but as they themselves are both cut by animal burials, it is probable that they had a short life span, and are unlikely to have been directly contemporary with N5. They were built along an ill-defined east-west road running along the southern part of the plateau, which had existed from Early Cadbury (*ibid.* 239), and presumably linked up with the north-south road leading to the hillfort entrance. By the end of Mid Cadbury, the later road seems no longer to have been in use (*ibid.* 253), and the status of the east-west road is unclear, leading to a lack of evidence for any route-way - ritual or otherwise - that may be contemporary with N5. Barrett (*ibid.* 256) suggested that a path may have existed, leading east along the axis of N5 towards the old north-south trackway, but admits that that there is no evidence to support this.

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

As the majority of artefacts and ecofacts were from the disturbed upper layer, it is unlikely that they represent the original structure of deposition, and because they were usually only positioned by grid layer contexts, most specific associations are unknown.

However, the metalwork from this layer was recorded as occasionally being found in 'small groups' (Archive no. 135, N/2), thereby implying that there were coherent deposits. Such deposits probably included the two artefact/ecofact concentrations in the western part of the site (see map 4.5). The largest group was found within the bedding trenches of structure N5, and consisted of a number of weapons, personal adornment, metal fragments, pottery and animal bones, while the other was within a small pit or depression (N147) in front of the shrine. Both may have been specific depositional foci.

The most obvious spatial differentiation in the depositional pattern is between the animal burials and the main concentration of metal objects. Although animal bones have been found throughout the site - and are especially prolific in the 'rubbish ' layer - it is only in the southern part that there is evidence of definite structured burial. The burials lie in a broad band along the same east-west axis as N5, with a strict southern definition marked by the presence of the palisades, which they inter-cut. The general distribution of metalwork in the later Middle (i.e. 'rubbish' layer and pits inter-cutting it) and Late Cadbury phases, does not exhibit the same degree of spatial segregation, although all types are more concentrated in an area to the north-east. The various finds may have derived from different activities performed over a substantial period of time, and this could account for the more diffuse distribution, although there is more coherence within certain artefact types. Around one third of the 43 martial items from site N occur within one grid lying just within the curving gully to the north of the animal burials - virtually all from the 'rubbish' layer and few associated pits. Cauldron fragments also seem to have formed a coherent group, being concentrated almost exclusively in the three grids within the circular gully. There appears to have been an adjoining metalwork concentration of similar density leading south from the gully (see map 4.7a and hypothesis 6), although many of these objects were highly fragmented and functionally obscure. That this apparent metalwork grouping is not the result of taphonomic processes is indicated by the distribution of non-metal items (map 4.7b), where a divergent pattern occurs, with a more dispersed deposition.

3. *'The nature of the votive assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site'*

The recognisable artefact assemblage from the 'rubbish' layer is dominated by items of a martial nature, such as sword and scabbard fragments, chapes, spear heads and shield bindings. The majority of these items were of La Tène I and II date (Saunders and Foster fc 352), and highly fragmentary, and it is certainly possible that some may have been metalworking residue, as Downes suggested (1997 149). However, the ritual deposition of martial items must not be ruled out, as if all the metal finds from the area were used purely as scrap metal, then perhaps it would not be expected that martial items, which could be seen as elite objects, would form such a dominant group. One group of metalwork found in a shallow pit in the rubbish layer, contained a knife, a scabbard part and a dagger, which could be viewed as a singular votive deposit, although most were scattered throughout the layer. Their fragmentary state could be partly because of the extensive plough damage, although it is likely that many of them were in this state when deposited. There is evidence of deliberate breakage on a number of items (Barrett *et al.* fc. 459), and it is possible that they were exposed, deliberately destroyed, then partially deposited, as at Gournay-sur-Aronde (see chapter 4.3). There was also a small group of jewellery/personal adornment items - brooches, bracelets, rings and pins - found in the rubbish layer, although again it is uncertain how many would have been deliberate deposits. Of the other metal finds, the most interesting are a significant number of cauldron fragments, which could be argued to have a ritual significance (Green, M.J. 1998b). The Salisbury hoard contained around 46 miniature cauldrons, which may well attest to this (Stead 1998 108). There were around ten recognisable pieces from the later Mid Cadbury level, representing one type (Letchworth/Battersea; Saunders fc 336) of vessel, although several examples are represented. As with the weapons, there is evidence of deliberate breakage (Barrett *et al.* fc 459), and it is possible that some of the miscellaneous bronze and iron sheeting may also been connected with the vessels. They also occur in significant quantities in earlier Mid Cadbury levels, closely associated with a pit/hearth complex, and may therefore have been used in metal recycling. Whether those in the upper levels were used for the same purpose, were residual, or were deliberate ritual deposits is uncertain. It is worth noting that there are a number of apparently ritual deposits of cauldrons associated with quantities of metal objects and scrap (e.g. Blackburn Mill group: Manning 1972 233), and Miranda Green (1998b 71)

has suggested that this may be representative of specialised offerings by craftsmen or smiths. It could be that the South Cadbury deposits played a similar role.

4. '*The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)*'

About 85,000 animal bones were recovered from the excavations at South Cadbury, with only a small part subjected to analysis, although this does include many of those from the central plateau (Hamilton Dyer and Maltby fc. 418). Within Alcock's original report, he mentioned a narrow zone of animal burials leading from N5 (1972 81), and it is these that form the strongest evidence for the ritual use of animals in the later Middle and early Late Cadbury levels. All of these 'special' animal deposits were of neo-natal calves, with the exception of two virtually complete adult cattle burials positioned in sub-rectangular pits, six and ten metres east of the entrance of N5 (*ibid.* 424; map 4.5). The remains of at least 34 calves were represented (*ibid.* 446), but they were not as complete as the cattle, and some were quite disturbed by plough damage. Their restriction to a specific area of the site indicates clear spatial selectivity, although the recording was generally not detailed enough to know their exact positioning within the pits or depressions. The chronology of the burials is uncertain, although radiocarbon dates from two of them gave a date at the latest of the mid 1st century BC. However, from their stratigraphic positioning, it seems that some were from the final stages of the 'rubbish' layer, while others clearly post-dated it. Therefore, it is likely that they were deposited over a reasonable period of time, which could have coincided in its later stages with the construction of N5. None of the structured bones show any signs of butchery or canid gnawing, indicating that they were buried soon after death (Hamilton Dyer and Maltby fc. 426). In contrast to these burials were the fragmented remains of other domestic animals recovered from the eastern plateau, mainly from the 'rubbish' layer, although also from the trench of N5. Many of the bones were found near to the burials, although this was because of the disturbed stratigraphy in the upper levels, as they were clearly of a very different character. The bones showed no evidence of articulation, and many had signs of gnawing indicating that they were exposed for a period of time (*ibid.* 446). This assemblage was dominated by

sheep/goat and to a lesser extent, pig bones, and had been concentrated towards the east of the site - especially in the area of highest metalwork concentration (Barrett fc. 255). It would seem that the bones are a product of food preparation and consumption (Hamilton Dyer and Maltby fc. 446), which either occurred on the site with the remains left in situ, or in another area with the remains disposed of here. The occurrence of the bones within the upper layer would suggest that the consumption occurred at some point in the late Mid or early Late Cadbury period, and therefore may represent ritual feasting at the site.

Finally, it is worth noting that a series of earlier Middle Cadbury pits contained animal deposits of a possible ritual nature, similar to those at Danebury (*ibid.* 446). It may have been that this was the usual form of religious propitiation in the hillfort, with the zone of calf burials and the timber shrine representing a much later change in ritual expression.

5. '*The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function.*'

The only human bone recovered from the area near N5 was a fragment of cranium from a small pit (N069), which is likely to be of Mid Cadbury date, and is not evidence of a specialised funerary function.

6. *'Distinct Industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

There is a substantial amount of evidence for metalworking (iron and copper alloy) in the eastern plateau, consisting of numerous hearths and furnaces, together with many fragments of copper alloy scrap, iron slag and casting waste. Nevertheless, it appears that by the end of mid Cadbury, only two probable furnaces (N079 and N099) and one more complex oven (N451) were likely to be operating, and these produced no metallurgical residues (Barrett *et al.* fc. 457). Therefore it appears that if metalworking was occurring during the later formation of the 'rubbish' deposit, then it was on a much-reduced scale than previously. The concept and practice of metalworking may have held a great ritual significance to the local inhabitants, being associated with transformation. Therefore the location of the animal burials and probable shrine in this area may reflect continuing

respect for an activity that had been practised there since the origins of the settlement, even if it was no longer present.

5. Site summary

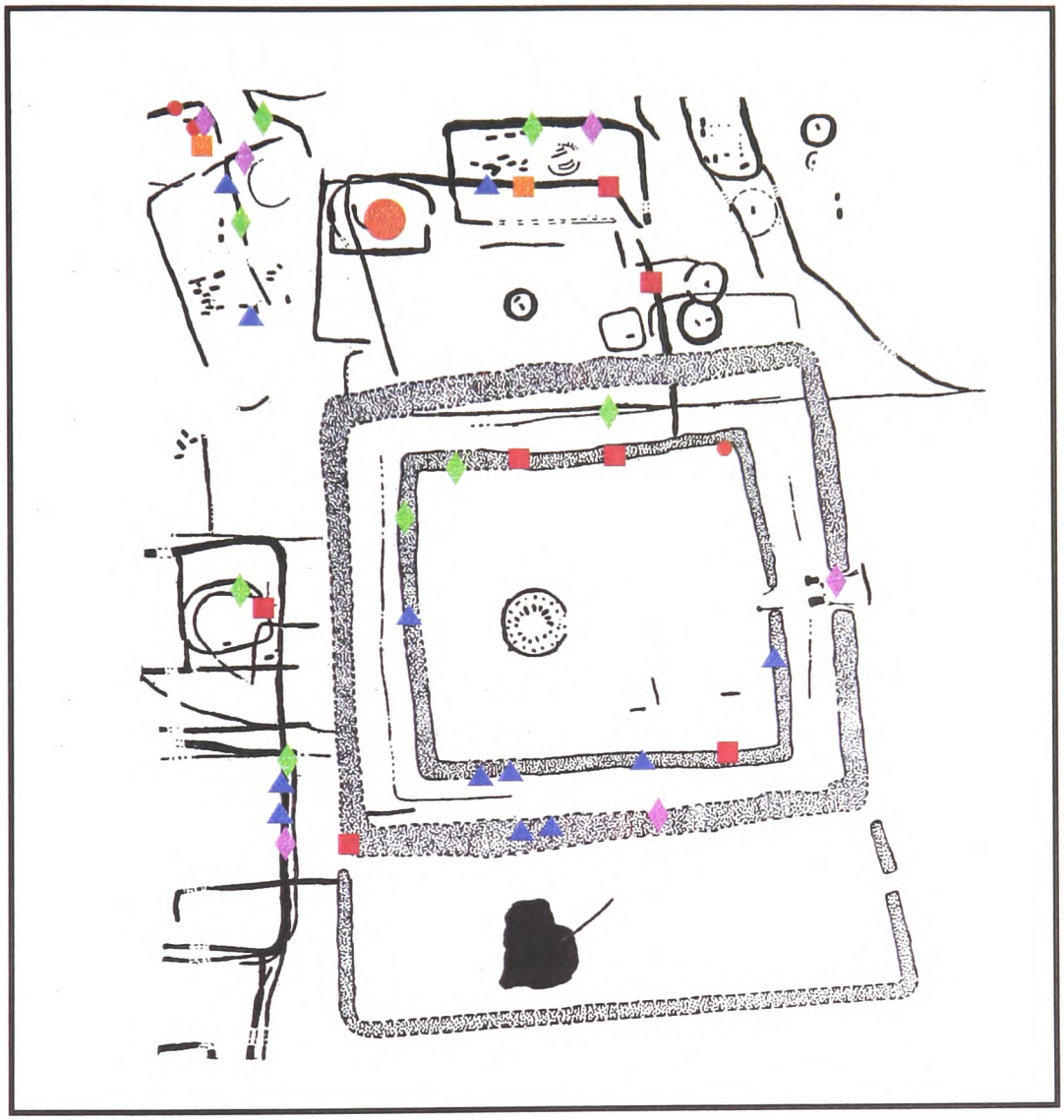
The excavations on the eastern plateau at South Cadbury uncovered a complex series of layers and features, representative of a specialised non-domestic zone. These features and associated debris, suggest that metalworking was performed within a restricted part of the plateau throughout Early and Middle Cadbury, although possibly on an intermittent basis. The end of Middle Cadbury saw a significant change, at least within the excavated parts of the hillfort, as metalworking declined and domestic roundhouses became absent. It was at this time, that a so called 'rubbish' layer formed over much of the eastern plateau, containing large quantities of metalwork - often of a martial nature - and animal bones. In addition to these scattered unarticulated bones were the remains of at least 34 calves, located in a band in the southern part of the site, below the main concentration of metallic artefacts. They were deliberately deposited in pits either in or cutting the 'rubbish' layer, and are regarded as ritual in nature. To the west of these burials was rectangular structure N5, the construction of which could have been broadly contemporary with some of the later animal and possibly metalwork deposits. The function of this building was clearly non-domestic, and its probable association with the deposits is suggestive of a religious interpretation. It is likely to have been dismantled at some point in the early AD 60s, possibly connected with the Roman advance through the area.

5. Thetford, Norfolk

1. Site description

Excavations at Fison Way, Thetford, revealed an elaborate multi-phased complex, consisting of ditches, palisades, circular structures and many additional features. The earliest of the main structural sequences (phase II; map 4.8) contained a circular timber post building, set slightly eccentrically within a double ditched enclosure, of which all had entrances facing towards the east. To the west, north and south lay a series of ditches and smaller enclosures, some of which contained a number of subsurface features that

Map 4.8: Thetford phase II: Distribution of stratified artefacts

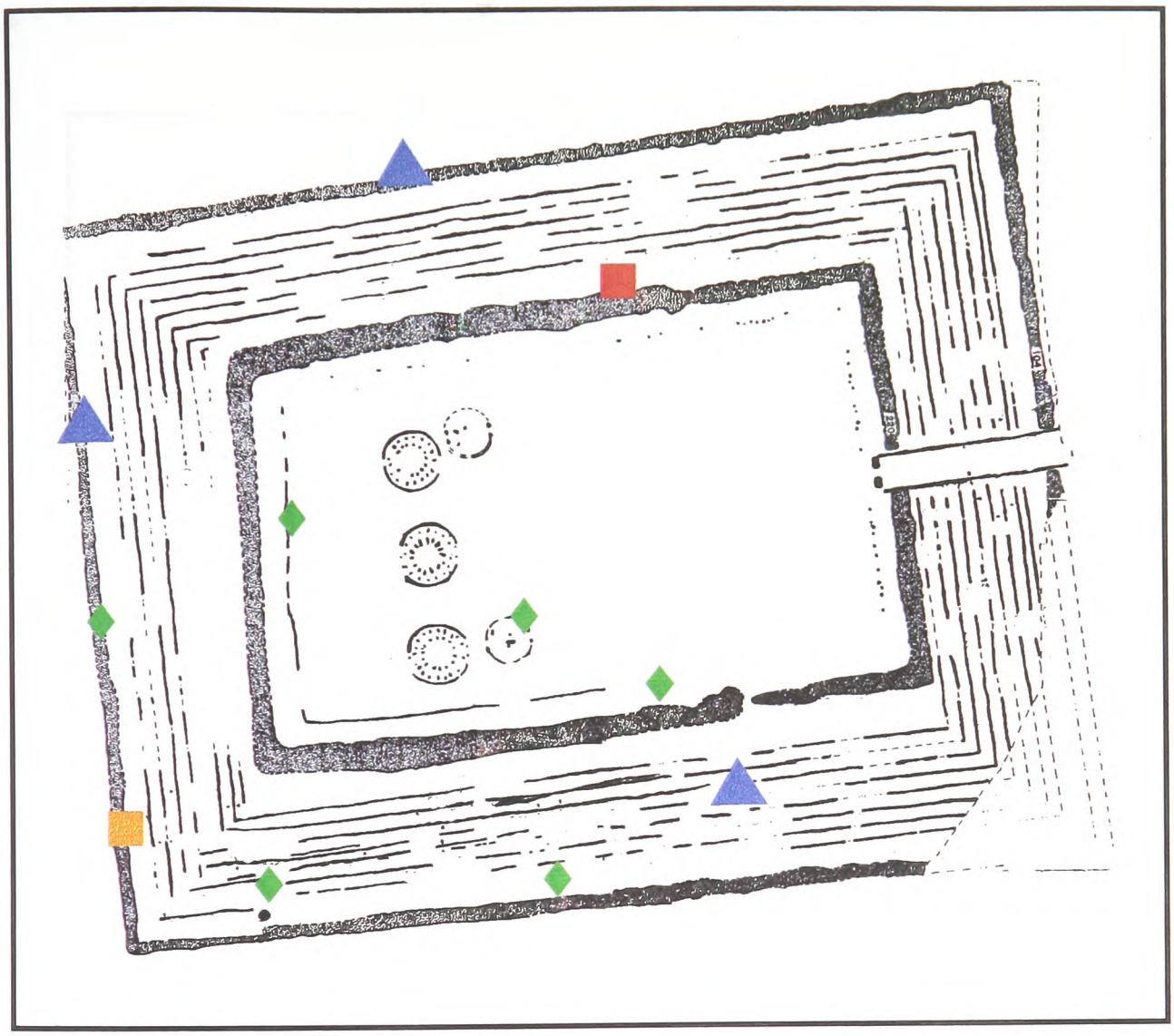


- Iron Age/Early Roman coin
- Brooches
- Military (including knives)
- Toiletries & Ornamention
- Other metal objects
- Spindlewhorl/loomweight
- Area of metal working debris

N

0 25 50 m

Map 4.9: Thetford phase III: Distribution of stratified artefacts



Brooches

Ornamentation

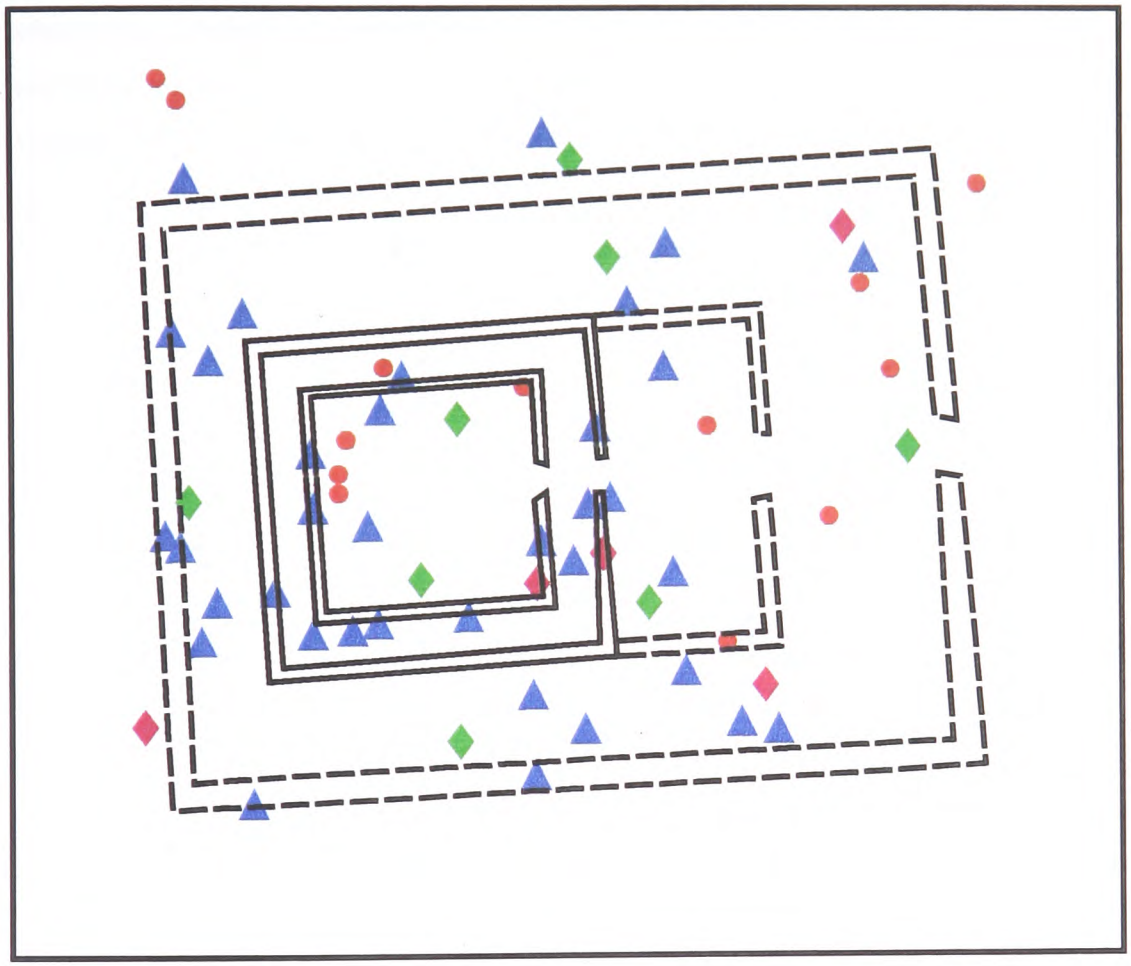
Other metal objects

Quernstone

N

0 50 m

Map 4.10: Thetford phase II & III: Distribution of metal finds, mostly from metal-detecting (after Gregory 1992 4)



Iron Age/1st C AD Roman coin

Iron Age/Roman brooch

Roman military metalwork

Other 1st century AD Metal object

Phase II

Phase III

N

0 25 50 m

were interpreted as possible graves (Gregory 1991 53; see hypothesis 5). After a brief period of time, the site was substantially modified (phase III; map 4.9), with the inner and part of the outer enclosure being back-filled, and then extended eastwards by some forty metres. A new concentric outer enclosure was added with a 30 - 35 metre gap inbetween, which was occupied by a series of 9 slots, possibly used for timber palisades. The new enclosure was three times as large as its predecessor, and thus the majority of the earlier satellite features (ditches, graves etc.) were dismantled, although excavations were not extensive enough to note whether additional structures were built on the new perimeters. Within the enclosure's western interior, the original circular structure was modified and flanked by two new buildings of a similar nature, although slightly less substantial. All had openings facing both east and west, and the two newer buildings also had additional circular structures positioned in front of them, which were most likely open timber-framed enclosures, again with openings to the east and west.

The site data was collated from the two comprehensive published reports (Gregory 1991 vol. 1 and 2), which contained enough spatially-orientated information to enable three distributions maps to be drawn up (maps 4.8 – 4.10). The first two are of stratified artefacts from the two different phases, although as very few finds could be so specifically assigned, it makes it very difficult to detect any significant changes in the depositional pattern. The third map contains all items of metalwork, mostly from surface finds, plotted over a base plan combining the main structural elements from both phases. This last map was derived from one contained in the site report (1992 4).

2. Chronology and context

The chronology of the Thetford site has been divided into a number of phases, of which the earliest (phase 1) consisted of a variety of features ranging in date from the 4th century BC to the early 1st century AD. Phases II and III are more chronologically defined and rely primarily upon evidence from stratified datable pottery, although other unstratified material was also used to help ascertain the period of occupation (Gregory 1991 189). Taken concurrently, these indicators suggest that the main enclosure of phase II was constructed in the AD 40s or 50s, and the phase III site was dismantled in the AD 60s or 70s. Because of the very limited time scale involved and the lack of sufficient

quantities of diagnostic stratified material, any distinction between these phases is non-evident. Gregory (1991 189) pointed out that such a short occupation term would indicate a very intense period of activity, at a time when the Icenian client kingdom was being established. The abrupt and deliberate dismantling of the site he suggested as being connected with the aftermath of the Boudiccan revolt in the early AD 60s, and although great care must be taken when attempting such historical conjunctions, the indicated chronology does fit in well with this hypothesis.

The enclosure complex was situated on the south end of a chalk ridge that probably formed a communication route, overlooking a river crossing. It had an extensive visual aspect on all sides, especially to the south and west, and as the territory was essentially heath land during late Iron Age and Roman times, the structures on the hill would have been visible for many miles (Gregory 1991 190). There is a distinct absence in the immediate vicinity of any agricultural production or domestic occupation (*ibid.* 191), and thus it would appear to be relatively isolated.

3. Site Interpretation

The phase II and III complex at Fison Way is clearly structured around the large elaborate enclosure, and yet its interpretation has not always been explicit. That it was an important, 'high status' site is indicated by its great scale and unusual structural form, and comparisons with the enclosure at Gosbecks in Essex led to its initial interpretation as a religious site (Gregory 1991 1). However, discoveries made during the excavation of evidence for the 'high status' activities of minting and manufacture of ornamental metalwork, led to the supposition that the place was a tribal centre of the Icenian client kingdom, and was thus termed 'Boudicca's palace' (*ibid.* 197). In his final report, Tony Gregory dismissed the 'Boudicca's palace' theory on the grounds that "*there was an absence of domestic activity and the scarcity of imported luxury goods*" (*ibid.* 199), and returned once more to a religious interpretation. This was based primarily upon:

i) The structural resemblance of the central building to a Romano-Celtic temple.

ii) The presence of a large number of brooches and a copper-alloy oak leaf.

iii) Structural parallels with the Iron Age phase at Hayling Island, where a circular structure stood within a rectangular enclosure.

iv) Comparisons with the site at Ivy Chimneys, where a Romano-Celtic temple overlaid an Iron Age circular building, and was associated with an industrial function (pottery making). Additional comparisons were made with the circular building at Maiden castle, and the multiple enclosures at Great Chesterford and Gosbecks.

v) An interpretation of the lines of posts within the Thetford phase III enclosure as being representative of an artificial oak grove.

Whilst some of the structural comparisons made above may be considered arbitrary at best, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the site was used for religious ceremony within the Roman transition period. Analysis of the floral and faunal remains has indicated the site was certainly not a prime producer of cereals (Murphy 1991 180) or animal products and this, combined with the minimal amount of pottery discovered, suggests a definite absence of domestic occupation (Gregory 1991 191). But its ceremonial use is most strongly attested by its associated artefacts and structural form. The enclosure and entranceways were both highly embellished, yet not functional in a defensive capacity, and the high degree of specific structuralisation is highly reminiscent of a large number of late Iron Age and Roman sacred sites across much of southern Britain and Gaul.

4. Hypotheses

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

Much of the phase II and III site at Fison Way seem to have been constructed according to a quite a specific set of structural and spatial principles. Within the earlier enclosure, the circular building was the only substantial structure present, and with its doorway aligned exactly on the eastern enclosure entranceway, it seems to have formed the main focus for the site. The large size of the building's internal postholes led to the suggestion that its central part would have had a greater elevation, with the lower surrounding

structure acting as a lean-to ambulatory (Gregory 1991 194). This architectural arrangement is highly reminiscent of Romano-Celtic temples, which by this time were starting to become regular features in parts of Gaul. As with many Romano-Celtic temples, this building was set slightly eccentrically in the enclosure, and there is a possibility that there was actually a perishable cult focus, centrally placed, on the same easterly alignment. The satellite features to the north, south and west show less indications of coherent spatial planning, although some of them cannot be securely dated, and so may not be contemporary. The extensive modifications of the phase III site resulted in a large single enclosure complex, exhibiting a high degree of structural planning. The original circular building and the new flanking structures had openings not only to the east, facing the enclosure entrance, but also to the west, thereby altering quite substantially their pattern of internal human dynamics (see map 4.9). They may in effect have acted as 'passageways' from the large open 'public' space in front, to the smaller 'private' space behind. It may be of some relevance that there was an increased concentration of metalwork objects in the rear area, but as these are mostly unstratified, it is uncertain whether they relate to the phase III site (see hypothesis 2). Further specific spatial planning is evident in the two additional circular structures, positioned in front of the flanking buildings. These were both interpreted as open enclosures, and as with the other buildings had openings on the east and west sides (*ibid.* 107). All of these structures were set eccentrically, towards the rear of the enclosure, creating a large open space in front, which may have been the equivalent of the *area sacra* of Roman temple sites, that functioned as an open viewing space for public rituals (Stambaugh 1988 214). This was in contrast to the intensive series of gullies and posts that made up the surrounding enclosure, which would have been among the most visually dominant parts of the site. The modification of the enclosure in phase III further increased its monumentality, with the occasional faint traces of vertical timbers being suggested by Graham Webster as possibly representing an 'artificial oak grove' surrounding the main clearing (Gregory 1991 196). Although this is an attractive proposition, and possibly paralleled at the Roman period cult site on Lowbury Hill in Oxfordshire (Fulford and Rippon 1994 197), the insubstantial nature of the gullies means that it cannot be substantiated. The entrance to the enclosure appears to have been, like the rest of the feature, designed for visual

affect rather than defensive purposes (*ibid.* 194). This is particularly evident during phase 3, when it was reconstructed as a 38-metre post-lined corridor leading to a massive 4-posted open gateway. This was undoubtedly part of a processional pathway and it is certainly possible that part of the supposed phase II entrance structure may actually have been a free-standing structure located further along this ceremonial route during the later period (Gregory 1991 46). Other processional pathways may have revolved around the peripheral circular structures, as their aligned double entrances do indicate a through movement. Any further concept of movement through the interior based upon these features is confused by their divergent axes, which is more pronounced with the northern two structures. The two circular 'enclosures' share a common alignment with the central building, whereas the other two have axes that converge near the outer entrance.

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

The total amount of stratified artefacts on the site is very small, especially in the phase III period, and therefore it is very difficult to determine whether there were any specific areas dedicated to the display and deposition of votive offerings. From the stratified distribution map of phase II (map 4.10), there does seem to be a slightly higher concentration of artefacts around the inner enclosure ditch, although they are also associated with many of the features further to the north and west. When the distribution of surface finds is also taken into account (map 4.10), it does provide some noticeable trends, and as Gregory (1991 129) asserted, these are more likely to be a fair reflection of the original patterns, as they are not influenced so much by the selective nature of the excavation. Virtually all of the finds were located within the limits of the phase III enclosure, and of these, there is a slight concentration around the inner enclosure entrance and the area to the north-west of the phase II circular building. Because of their mostly unstratified nature, it is not possible to associate them closely with any structural features, although it does appear that the complex as a whole did provide a focus for deposition, with some intra-site spatial selectivity. Lastly, there is some slight differentiation within the artefact distribution patterns, with the coins - or the Roman types at least - being concentrated in the eastern part of the enclosure, and the brooches in a broad diagonal band from north-west to south-east (see map 4.10).

3. *'The nature of the votive assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site.'*

The two main types of metallic artefacts in distribution map 4.10 are coins - both Iron Age and 1st century AD Roman - and brooches, both of which may be regarded as votive items within this context. A limited number of military items are also present, and thus the range of items would seem to conform well to those found in many other late Iron Age - Roman transition cult sites (see 4.3). The most convincing votive object would seem to be the copper alloy oak leaf, associated with considerable quantities of often high status pottery in the semi-circular enclosure in the west of the site (Gregory 1991 78), which may have been part of a single depositional episode. Similar leaves have been found in other votive contexts, such as in Manching (3rd century BC: Maier 1991 531) and the Romano-Celtic temple at Woodeaton (Kirk 1949 44). By itself, the votive leaf cannot be regarded as reflective of the indigenous cult, although if the artificial grove interpretation is correct (see hypothesis 2), then it may further suggest an aspect of nature veneration. Another indirect indication is possibly provided by the 4th century Roman hoard found nearby, which had several spoons inscribed "Dei Fauni"- to the God Faunus - the Roman nature divinity (Gregory 1981 294).

4. *'The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)'*

Because of the high acidic content of the soil, bone survival was very low, and therefore it is almost impossible to detect if there had been any ritual use of animals on the site. The only domestic animals to be identified were sheep, and although they were only represented by lower limb and foot bones, the very small quantities involved means that the policy of deliberate bone selectivity cannot be proven. The phosphate and magnetic susceptibility surveys did indicate the presence of faunal remains in parts of the phase II outer features, but in neither phase was there any evidence from within the main enclosure (Gurney 1991 186).

5. *'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a special funerary function.'*

Whilst there was no human bone found on the site, perhaps because of the soil acidity, there were groups of rectangular subsurface features that, because of their size and structure, were interpreted as graves (Gregory 1991 53). The majority of these were in three discrete clusters within enclosures in the northern part of the site, although they were found in other areas, often in ring ditches. The complete absence of any remains, together with a lack of associated grave goods, means that this interpretation is very tentative. However, the consistently high phosphate levels from within these features do offer more support, and so it would seem quite possible that specialised funerary areas were present, at least in phase II of the site. During phase III, the 'graves' were covered by the expanded enclosure, and there was no evidence of any similar structures being created.

6. *'Distinct Industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

There are three distinct concentrations of metalworking debris at Fison Way, two of which came from the late Iron Age phase I period, and one which has been attributed to phase II (Gregory 1991 196; map 4.10). This last group was found within an enclosure in the north of the site, and consisted of crucible fragments, investment, pellet and ingot moulds, and small quantities of iron slag. The pellet moulds were used to melt silver for coin blanks, while the other material was associated with the production of decorated copper alloy objects, and thus it seems that for a time there was a spatially segregated area devoted to the minting of coins and manufacture of ornamental metalwork. It may be a highly consequential fact that these 'high status' industrial activities were associated with an apparent religious site, and Gregory (*ibid.* 199) has suggested that the very activities themselves may have had held some religious or ceremonial significance. Another far more enigmatic feature that may also have had some kind of industrial function was situated in the southern phase II enclosure, which, because of structural

similarity and proximity, would seem to be closely associated with the main enclosure. It was a large sub-rectangular hollow, with at least two pits at its base, and filled at its lower levels with a soot-rich soil and large quantities of pot-boilers. Gregory (1991 196) favoured a steam bath interpretation, although it could also have been connected with wood or leather working.

5. Site summary

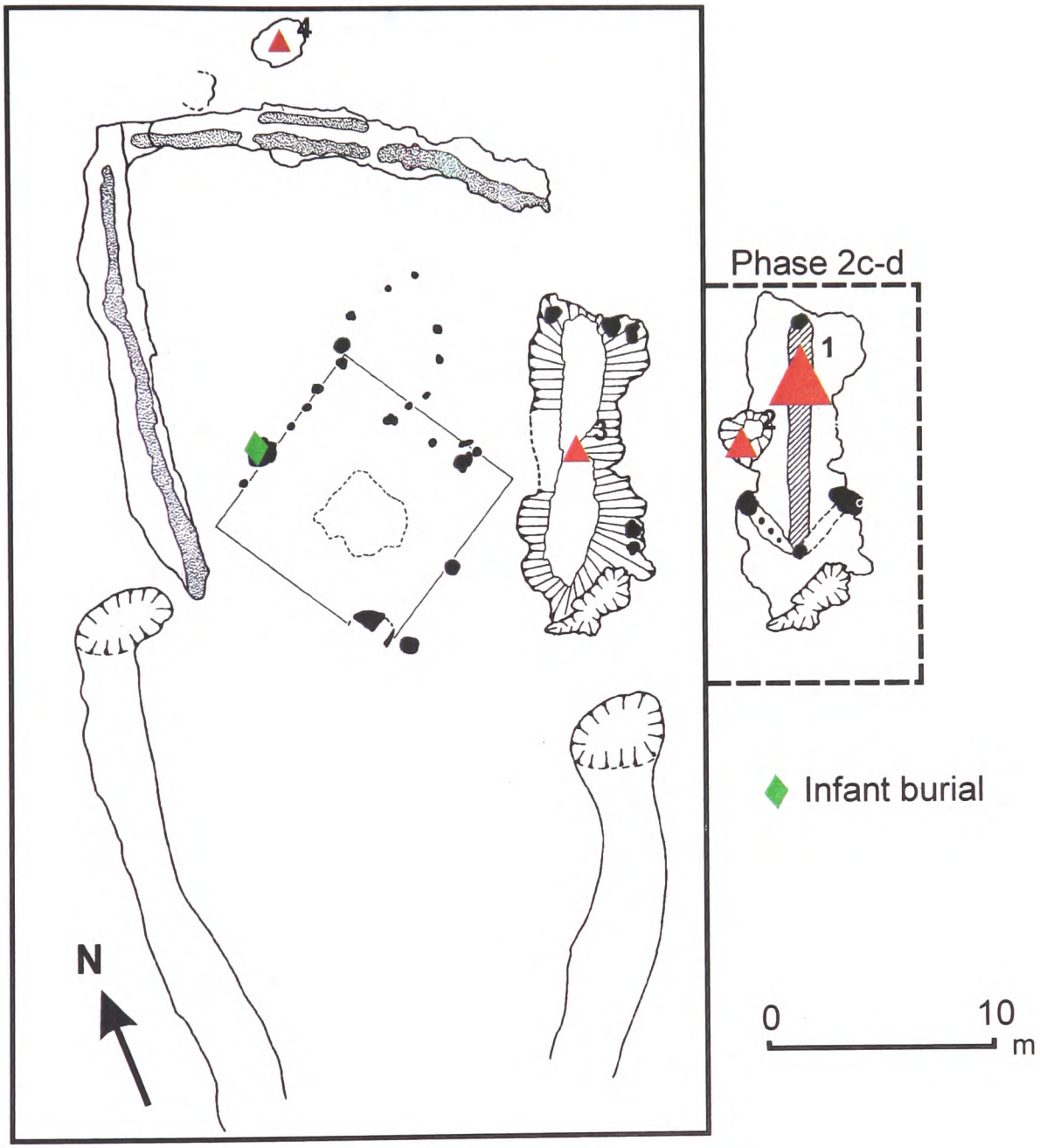
The enclosure complex at Fison Way was quite clearly a major structural undertaking, but with a very brief period of use of perhaps no more than 20 to 30 years. It seems to have been constructed under quite a specific set of structural and spatial principles, with a high degree of architectural segmentation enclosing, in the phase II period at least, a variety of functional zones. Subsidiary to the main ceremonial enclosure, which dominated the site, were enclosed areas of specialised metalworking, probable graves, and a possible steam bath, which may have been utilised for ritual use. All of these ancillary zones gave way in phase III to a massive elaborate enclosure, with internal buildings that exhibited a high degree of spatial planning. In both phases, the layout is reminiscent of a number of late Iron Age (e.g. Hayling Island; Downey *et al.* 1979), Romano-Celtic (e.g. Verulamium 1; Wheeler 1936 131) and indeed fully classical (e.g. temple of Claudius, Colchester: Drury 1984) temple sites, although at 32,000 square metres, it was a far larger complex than most. Its brief period of occupation lies in the Roman transition period - a time of great social stress and dynamism - and could be part of an escalating number of sites in southern Britain that show evidence of increased religious activity during this time.

6. Uley (1 and 2), Gloucestershire

1. Site Description

The site at West Hill, Uley, in Gloucestershire was subject to an extensive series of excavations between 1977 and 1979, which uncovered features ranging chronologically from the Neolithic to early Medieval periods (Woodward and Leach 1993). The most substantial structural elements belonged to a Roman temple site (c. 2^{nd} - $4^{th}/5^{th}$ century

Map 4.11: Uley phase 2a-d: Distribution of features and selected finds



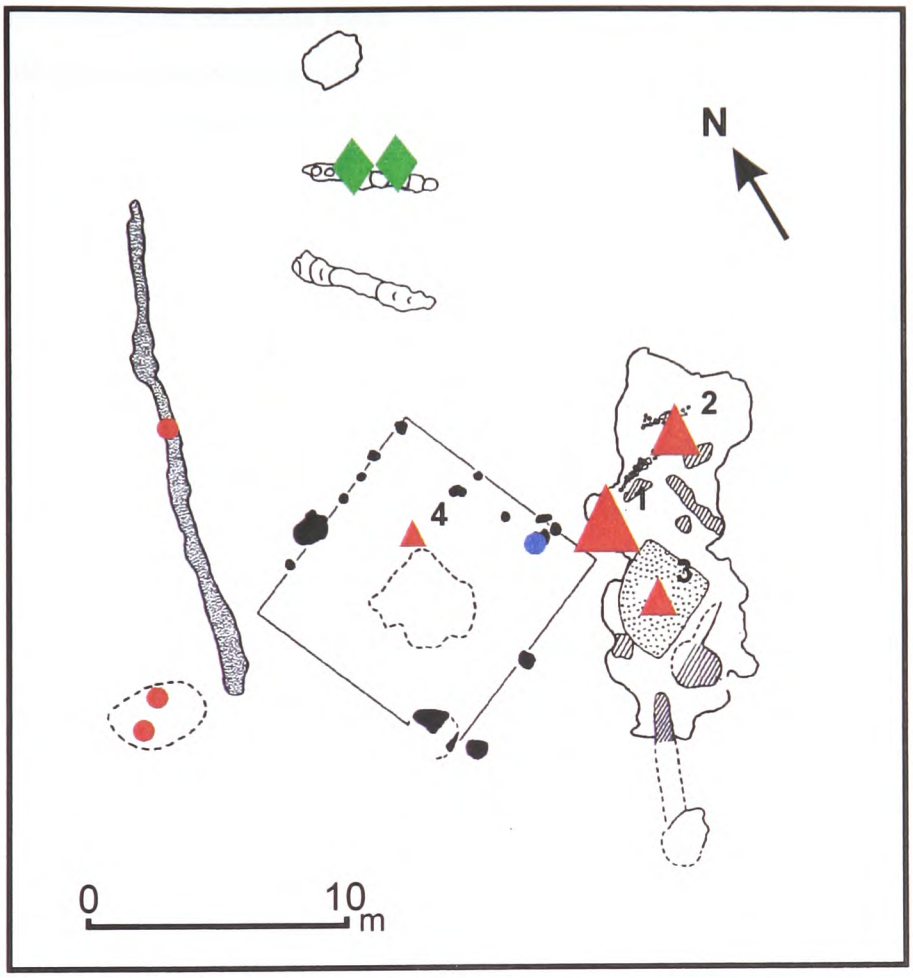
1 F264 ditch: Spear/bolt heads (x11), bone tools (x4), ornamentation (x3), human bone, Iron Age coins (x2), Cu al sheet + many animal bones.

2 F251 pit: Spear/bolt heads (X4), Brooch + many animal bones

3 F264 (a-b): Spear head (x2), Cu al strip, shale bracelet, bone tools (x2) + many bones.

4 F836 pit: Brooches (x2), toilet article + iron fragments.

Map 4.12: Uley phase 3: Distribution of features and selected finds



1 F251 pit: Spear/bolt heads (x10), spindle whorl (x2), bone tool, clay counter, quern fragment, whetstone + many bones.

2 F264 ditch: Spear/bolt heads (x4), Quern frags (x2), Spindle whorl, 1st century AD coin, + many bones.

3 F255 Clay feature: 1st century AD coin (x4), Brooch (x4)

4 Structure XVI: brooch, bronze disc + glass bead

Individual brooch

Individual spear/bolt head

Infant burial

AD; see 5.1), but beneath some of these were various earlier features, interpreted as the remains of a late Iron Age cult site (*ibid.* 307). This consisted principally of a large (c. 50 x 15m) sub-rectangular enclosure ditch, which in its southern section had re-utilised two Neolithic ditches. These were re-cut with timber palisades added, and then extended to the north by the construction of further ditches (see map 4.11). The north-westerly extension (F593) and northern ditch (F816) contained single and double palisades respectively, while the ditch on the north eastern side (F264) was of a different character, with many internal features, and thus probably performed a divergent function. The remains of an outer bank was also discovered, which seem to have at least surrounded the northern ditches (*ibid.* 307). The entrance was most likely situated in the eastern corner. A series of post holes located towards the centre appear to have been part of a quadrangular structure (XVI,c.8.2m sq.), although much of the area was disturbed by the later masonry temple (*ibid.* 30). Positioned within this structure, which could well have been uncovered, was an irregular pit (c.3m across), but it is uncertain whether this was contemporary (*ibid.* 34). At some later point (phase III; map 4.12), the southern and northern enclosure ditches appear to have been dismantled, with a possible second structure (XVII) positioned over the later feature. This was represented by two gullies, containing ill-defined postholes, but the nature of the structure is unclear, and as they were on different alignments, it is possible that they did not actually belong to the same feature. The western palisade was the only such structure left standing, and the eastern ditch was completely remodelled, involving the imposition of gullies, pits, post holes and stone settings in the northern part, which the excavators interpreted as another structure of some kind (XVIII, *ibid.* 23). A clay feature lying to the south of this (F255), under the masonry building VIII, may represent the lining and silting of a feature, suggested as perhaps a water filled pool (*ibid.*). The site was finally levelled, before a series of substantial masonry buildings were erected.

The results of the excavation were presented in an extensive publication, which was the primary source of data for this analysis (Woodward and Leach 1993). A reasonable quantity of artefacts and large amounts of animal bones were recovered from pre - temple phases 2 and 3, and the distribution maps (Maps 4.11 and 4.12) show the principal artefact distribution within the site, divided by phase. Aside from damage caused by the

subsequent masonry buildings, the stratigraphy in these lower levels was generally good, and so the position of artefacts and infant burials is likely to be representative of the original place of deposition.

2. Chronology and context

The chronology of the pre-masonry features at Uley has been divided into a number of phases (Woodward and Leach 1993 10). The dating of phase 1, based upon pottery evidence (Leach 1993 238), is chronologically vague, ranging from a Neolithic/early Bronze Age date for the southern ditches, to more general pre-Belgic 1st century BC activity. The subsequent phases relating to the proposed late Iron Age religious site range from 2a in the early-mid 1st century AD, to 3c in the late 1st or early 2nd century AD (*ibid.*). The dating of these is derived from coin evidence, and although the ceramic report provided a slightly divergent chronology (Leach 1993), it has subsequently been discovered to be erroneous (Woodward pers. com.). The main enclosure and internal structure XVI are likely to have been built towards the middle of the 1st century AD, with the main period of deposition beginning some time afterwards. At some point in the early - mid 2nd century AD, the site appears to have been levelled, and after, at the most, a very brief period of abandonment, the first masonry religious structures were built (Woodward and Leach 1993 10-11).

West Hill was situated on the edge of the Cotswold escarpment, overlooking the river Severn, and just over 100 metres south of a Neolithic long barrow (Woodward and Leach 1993 4). It was in Dobunnic territory, the society which by the late Iron Age seems to have become increasingly hierarchical, with the local elite ruling from certain hillforts or enclosed settlements, such as Bagendon (Clifford 1961). About 300 metres to the south-west of West Hill was Uley Bury hill fort, where the finding of Dobunnic coins indicates that occupation continued into the late Iron Age (Woodward and Leach 1993 4) This may therefore have been a local Dobunnic elite residence connected with the West Hill site, although the lack of detailed excavation makes this uncertain. A few miles to the north of Uley lay the small open settlement of Frocester Court, first built probably in the 2nd century BC (Price 1983 141). In the later Iron Age (1st century BC/AD), extensive development took place, with a number of enclosures and a probable rectangular

structure being built (*ibid.*). The finds from the later part of this phase included one Claudian and two Dobunnic coins, and a large quantity of imported terra nigra, suggesting that the area had extensive continental contacts in the immediate pre-conquest and transition period. Within three to four years of the invasion, Uley would have been within the frontier of the Roman advance, with a large military presence, both in Gloucester (*Glevum*), c.10 miles to the north, and Cirencester (*Corinium*), c.10 miles to the east (Mcwhirr 1981 5). Additionally, the discovery of Claudian material and a baldrick loop at Kingscote, about two miles south of Uley, suggest another possible military site (Branigan and Fowler 1976 25). By the late AD 70s or 80s, Gloucester and Cirencester became civil settlements, with the latter developing into the civitas capital (McWhirr 1981 21). The extent of the *territorium* (land allocated to veterans) of the *Colonia* at Gloucester has not been established, but there were suggestions that it may have been an area of the Severn valley situated to the south, which would take it near to Uley (Branigan and Fowler 1976 76). Even if this were not the case, it is clear that by the end of the 1st century AD, Uley was situated near to two important Roman settlements that would have exercised undoubted influence on the surrounding countryside.

3. Interpretation

Both of the Uley structures have been incorporated into the corpus of Iron Age shrines ever since they were first excavated (Ellison 1980, Wait 1985, Woodward 1992). Such interpretation is based upon the presence within the site of votive deposition (artefact and ecofact), direct association with the Roman religious site, and structural comparisons with certain features from sites such as Danebury, and Aulnay-aux-Planches in France (Woodward and Leach 1993 307-8). This last piece of evidence is meaningless, as the sites used in comparison are chronologically, geographically, and quite probably culturally far removed from the features at Uley. The other indications do provide more positive evidence for a religious nature, at least for the site as a whole, although it is uncertain if both of the proposed structures actually functioned as shrines. That of XVII is particularly ambiguous, and as the two trenches had divergent alignments, they may not even have been structurally connected. Another problem is whether the site can actually be regarded as being a late Iron Age cult locus, since the chronological indications point to construction around or just before the middle of the 1st century AD. It

is possible that a constructed religious site was built during the ultimate pre-Roman Iron Age, in a place that held special significance, and within the context of a society that was exhibiting increased hierarchy, centralisation, and contact with the continent. Over the following fifty years or so, the site continued to act as a local religious focus, until, possibly under the influence of the two major Roman settlements in the area, a large masonry temple was built at some point in the 2nd century AD.

4. Hypotheses

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

The focal feature within the pre-masonry site would appear to be the timber structure XVI, and possibly the irregular pit lying within it. It is uncertain if this pit was contemporary with the structure, as there were no primary deposits, and it is possible that it actually related to a feature within the cella of the masonry temple (Woodward and Leach 1993 34). As its shape and fill had been so disturbed by later features, it is difficult to explain functionally, but if it was of an earlier date, then the excavators suggested that it could have held a cult focus in the form of a standing stone or tree (*ibid.* 35). The nature of the XVI superstructure is uncertain, although it may have acted as an inner enclosure, orientated towards the eastern outer enclosure entranceway. A series of postholes laid out in an oval shape to the east may have acted as some kind of entrance structure or passageway between the two, but as there was no demonstrable relationship with XVI, it is uncertain if they were even contemporary. The phase 2 enclosure at Uley was delimited by a number of ditches, palisades, and possibly a bank in some parts, and may therefore be regarded as quite a substantial structure. The entrance is likely to have been represented by a c.5 metre gap in the eastern corner, but there is no architectural embellishment to be seen. The chronology of the enclosure seems to have been very limited, as by phase 2d, the re-utilised southern ditches appear to have gone out of use, and the palisade in F264 was dismantled (Woodward and Leach 1993 10). Phase 3a(i) saw the northern ditch and palisade dismantled, with the remainder going in phase 3b. Thus, the complete full enclosure may only have lasted for perhaps 20-30 years at most,

although it could perhaps have been supplanted by a boundary of a more perishable nature.

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

Throughout the many structural modifications of phases 2 and 3, there are certain areas that consistently contained a higher proportion of probable votive finds, and can therefore be construed as 'offering zones'. The primary area was within the complex ditch feature F264 and the adjoining pit F251 (see maps 4.11-2). The first deposits, which consisted of two iron projectile heads, a riveted copper alloy strip and an antler tool were from phase 2b, with slightly later deposits of pottery and animal bones occurring in the north of the ditch (Woodward and Leach 1993 20). Further animal bones and a fragment of shale bracelet were found to the south (*ibid.*). Pit F251 was built during 2c, and became a definite depositional focus, while the northern part of F264 continued to attract many deposits of artefacts and ecofacts, including two Dobunnic coins and a human left femur and an adult molar (Bell and Rogers 1993 257). After what may have been a brief period of non-activity represented by a layer of weathering detritus (Woodward and Leach 1993 23), similar depositional patterns resumed in phase 3a (i). The subsequent re-modelling in 3a(ii) led to the filling of F251, although further deposits, which included amphorae, were found within two pits in the northern part of F264 (*ibid.*). Between these, ran a layer of concentrated charcoal and ash, which may have been related to ritual activity. The clay feature to the south (F255) contained four late 1st century AD brooches (Butcher 1993 149-50), together with four 1st century AD Roman coins. If the excavator's suggestion of this feature being some kind of pool is correct (Woodward and Leach 1993 23), then it may have been an important depositional focus. Another probable focus of ritual deposition is the pit F836, c.2.5 metres north of the enclosure, which contained two mid 1st century AD brooches, iron fragments, many goat bones and the remains of two cattle skulls. These features would seem to form the main 'offering zones' within the site, although quantities of animal bone, pottery and the occasional artefact were found in other areas. There is no evidence for the segregation of object types, although the deposition of artefacts was more spatially confined (i.e. in F251 and F264) than that of ecofacts.

3. *'The nature of the votive assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site.*

In total fourteen brooches and thirty-two iron projectile heads (spear and bolt) were found from phase 2 and 3 contexts, forming the largest artefactual groups. The brooches exhibit no typological homogeneity, comprising a more or less typical range of mid - late 1st century AD forms, including Nauheim-derivatives, Hod Hill, Colchester, and various 'south-western' types (Butcher 1993 151). This diversity may possibly reflect their status as personal possessions. The projectile heads were amongst the earliest of the artefact deposits at Uley, although by far the greatest concentration derived from phases 2d and 3a (Henig 1993 133). There seems to have been a shift in depositional preference, as whilst the earliest deposits (2b) were spear heads, those in the later stages (3a) consisted almost entirely of bolt heads, of which most were found in pit F251 (*ibid.*). It is interesting to note that unlike other sites where martial items occur, such as Hayling Island (Downey *et al.* 1979) and Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943), no other items such as scabbard fragments or shield umbos occur. It may therefore have been the case that the occurrence of projectile heads was more indicative of a hunting rather than a martial aspect. This deliberate selection is continued throughout the later stages of the Roman temple complex, where almost all of the 'martial' finds consisted of miniature spears, often deliberately bent (*ibid.* 131), and it is therefore tempting to conclude that there was a marked degree of cult continuity. Continuity can also be seen with the preponderance of sheep/goat bones within the faunal assemblage, discussed in hypothesis 4. The total range of artefacts and ecofacts is somewhat divergent from local settlements such as Frocester (Price 1983), and it therefore implies that there were certain parameters regarding the type of deposits considered appropriate to the cult practised at the site. Towards the end of the pre-masonry phase, there was an increase in more Romanized offerings, including 1st century coins and much early Roman pottery, such as Amphorae. This could be because of an increase in Roman influence at the site.

4. *'The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)'*

A total of 6,935 bone fragments, representing a minimum number of 495 animals were found in phase 2 and 3 contexts - a number far in excess of most contemporary rural domestic sites within a similar timespan (Levitan 1993 260). By far the largest species groups were sheep and especially goat, which together accounted for about three-quarters of all animal types. This was very different from surrounding domestic assemblages, and surely related to the ritual use of the site. These bones, which tended to be of younger animals (*ibid.* 273), together with those of domestic fowl, were grouped together as a votive assemblage, as opposed to those of cattle and pig which were regarded as a non-votive assemblage (*ibid.* 259; see below). The generalisation apparent in such grouping was noted (*ibid.* 266), but it was thought necessary in order to help in the analysis. The proportions of each group within the principal features were observed throughout the phase subdivisions, and those with a higher percentage (70-100%) of the votive assemblage were regarded as foci of ritual activity (*ibid.*). The eastern enclosure ditches and features not only contained the most animal bones in total but also had consistently higher proportions of the votive assemblage, thereby implying a marked degree of spatial selectivity. Ditch F264, however, seems only to have had higher proportions in its early and late stages, and so it was suggested that between these times it was, " *used for mixed votive and non-votive dumps*" (*ibid.* 269). The imposition of such a conclusion, based upon an average drop of around 10 % in votive assemblage levels (i.e. from c.78% to c.68%) is hard to justify. It would perhaps be more likely that there was a slight increase in the votive deposition of other animal species, as opposed to domestic refuse being inexplicably dumped in a votive context for a brief period of time. The ritual use of other animals is attested by pit F836, which in addition to a high proportion of goat bones, contained two carefully placed cattle skulls (*ibid.*). Additionally, in one small pit (F860, *ibid.* 274), there were found 10 bones and 78 teeth of a variety of species, implying that in this instance at least, it was the bone rather than species type that was important.

There were however, noticeable pathological differences between the sheep/goat bones and those of other species, probably relating to the activity of ritual feasting. Butchery was only apparent on less than 2% of the ovicaprid bones, and as many of these were horn cores, it implies that little food consumption of these species took place (Levitan 1993 299). However, butchery was in evidence on a few meat-bearing joints, and as

Levitan (*ibid.*) asserts, "*Cooking of the carcass whole would result in very little butchery, and roasting of young animals whole was not uncommon.*". Therefore, it is certainly possible that many ovicaprids were consumed, although the much higher proportion of butchered bones within certain other species, would suggest that it was perhaps not as common with these animal types. Pig bones have a consistently higher proportion of butchery marks, and as most of these were juveniles and infants (*ibid.* 261), and therefore similar in size to the ovicaprids, it would suggest that they were preferred as consumable meat. The most striking assemblage is within phase 2 levels of ditch F264, where 65 % of cattle bones show signs of butchery (*ibid.* 261), which is far higher than the site average, and almost certainly related to food consumption. The degree of fragmentation is also a factor in determining how the animals were used, as any animal deliberately deposited without first being consumed would perhaps be expected to be in a less fragmentary state. Of the three major domestic species, cattle would appear to be the most fragmented (Levitan 1993 261), with a less discernible difference between sheep/goat and pig, although the latter were found in much smaller quantities (Levitan 1993; MF table 3). Finds of articulated animal bone were very rare, indicating that individuals were dismembered before deposition - a fact confirmed by the zones of butchery along the joints on sheep/goat bones (*ibid.* 299). An articulated rear limb of a cow from pit F251 was one of the few examples, and informative in that it again shows that animals other than ovicaprids were ritually deposited. Overall, there is a broad functional distinction between the animal bones from the site. The majority of ovicaprids, which seem to have been the most religiously significant species, were likely to have been preferred for sacrifice and immediate deposition, while those of cattle and pig were mostly used in feasting, before many of the remains were also deposited. Additionally, as all types of bones were found in considerable numbers within contexts earlier than the first artefactual deposits (e.g. ditch F382, *ibid.* 269), it suggests that the ritual use of animals commenced at an earlier date.

5. '*The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function.*'

The remains of three articulated infants and a small number of isolated human bones were found within phase 2 and 3 contexts at Uley (Bell and Rogers 1993 257). The

earliest of the infant burials was situated within a sub-circular pit, lying underneath the north-western side of structure XVI. It clearly pre-dated this structure, yet was associated with an almost complete carinated Dobunnic bowl, belonging at the earliest to the early-mid 1st century AD (Leach 1993 224). Therefore, it was probably deposited immediately prior to the erecting of the structure, and has thus been interpreted as a possible foundation deposit (Woodward and Leach 1993 30). The other two burials were situated within post-pits in the northern trench of structure XVII (*ibid.*), probably during the latter part of the 1st century AD, and may have been deposited for the same reason as the first infant. Another small group of infant bones was recovered from the upper fill of the western ditch F584, and is probably of early 2nd century date (phase 3c). All of the three main skeletons were quite fragmented, and in with one of the later burials, only 25% of the skeletal elements were present (Bell and Rogers 1993 257). Whether they were all deliberately sacrificed before deposition is impossible to discern, and all that can possibly be said is that they were deliberate burials, undoubtedly connected in some way with the ritual use of the site. Other isolated bones consisted of the shaft of a left femur and an adult molar from the palisade packing of ditch F264 (phase 2c), and another molar from a later phase (3a) in the same feature (*ibid.*). These may have been part of the same depositional episodes as the animal bones.

6. *'Distinct Industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

Although quite a few tools were recovered among the deposits, there is no indication that any actual craftworking activity took place within the excavated area during phase 2 and 3.

5. Site summary

Much of the pre-masonry phase 2 and 3 site at Uley was structurally dynamic and also somewhat ambiguous. The extensive initial enclosure in its entirety seems only to have lasted quite briefly, with the eastern section (F264) being constantly re-modelled throughout its existence. Structure XVI seems to have been a focal feature, and may have

acted as an inner enclosure surrounding the main cult focus, while the other structure, XVII, is structurally and functionally unclear. Nevertheless, the nature of the artefact and ecofact deposition does support the fact that it was a highly structured site, governed by specific spatial rules. Chronologically, it was probably constructed in the ultimate pre-Roman Iron Age, and may have been connected with a local elite residence at Uley Bury hillfort. Local finds indicate that continental trade links were apparent in the area prior to the Roman conquest, and it may have been a combination of external Gallo-Roman influences and an internal increase in hierarchy and specialisation within society, that led to its initial construction. By the end of the 1st century AD, the site is likely to been affected by an increasingly Romanized influence, and there was very little, if any, period of abandonment between the levelling of this site, and the construction of the first masonry temple and ancillary buildings. That there may have been some degree of cult continuity is suggested by this direct succession, together with the continuation of certain patterns of animal and artefact deposition.

4.2 Secondary site analysis

There are ten structures on eight sites which have previously been interpreted as Iron Age shrines within Britain, that are here regarded as secondary sites on the basis of poor stratigraphy, limited recording and/or the small amount of finds recovered (fig. 4.2). They are still accorded individual analysis, dealing with interpretation, structure, finds and spatial organisation, although finds distribution maps are generally not possible, either because of a lack of finds or a lack of spatially orientated information. Site plans are located in appendix 1.2.

Secondary Sites	
Danebury (1 and 2)	Lancing Down
Elms Farm	Maiden Castle
Frilford (1 and 2)	Stansted
Heathrow	Westhampnett

Fig. 4.2: Secondary sites

i) Danebury, Hampshire

There were four rectangular structures grouped within Danebury hillfort that were regarded as religious in nature, although only two probably dated to the later Iron Age (Cunliffe 1984 84-6). The earliest of these (Danebury 1/RS1) consisted merely of bedding trenches and a limited number of postholes, possibly with a dividing wall, and may have been an open enclosure. The other (Danebury 2/RS2), probably dating to the 2nd or 1st century BC, was also defined by bedding trenches, although it was a more regular foundation, with an entrance gap facing south east (*ibid.* 85-6). Apart from a small quantity of pottery, both structures were devoid of diagnostic artefacts, and their interpretation was based primarily upon structural comparisons and prominent positioning, which, as has already been argued, is not readily sustainable (see section 1.5). In addition to contemporary Iron Age structural comparisons, Cunliffe (1995a 86)

also argued that, "*the structural similarities of these buildings to the later development of Romano-Celtic temples is suggestive of similar functions*". The idea that these buildings were the forerunners of Romano-Celtic temples based upon such analogies is highly unconvincing, as indeed there are a great many buildings, including domestic roundhouses, that with the addition of a surrounding portico, may superficially be identified with a Romano-Celtic plan. The position of the Danebury buildings together on a false summit of the hill, together with their homogeneic shape, does indicate that they may have been a functionally coherent, if not contemporary, group. However, as to what this function may have been, there is no convincing evidence, and to imply a religious nature for the want of any more positive indications is an unsatisfactory situation. Furthermore, as the inclusion of the Danebury structures into the corpus of Iron Age shrines has now for so long been accepted, it has led to other sites (e.g. Westhampnett, Fitzpatrick 1997 229; see below) being assigned a similar function by view of structural similarities, to the detriment of more contextual analysis.

ii) Elms Farm, Essex

Excavations during 1993-5 at Elms Farm, Heybridge, revealed a small but significant nucleated settlement, ranging from the late Iron Age - Roman transition to the post-Roman period (Atkinson and Preston 1998). Near to the centre, on slightly raised ground, lay the structural remains of what was interpreted as a multi-phased temple site, the origins of which seemed to be concurrent with that of the initial planned settlement (*ibid.* 92). This first phase, which cannot be dated closer than the mid 1st century BC to early-mid 1st century AD, consisted of a rectangular structure surrounding a central non-structural pit, and an adjacent circular structure that may have been associated with a miniature pot (*ibid.*). A nearby pit contained a range of imported continental tableware and amphorae, thereby suggesting an isolated act of ritual feasting (*ibid.* 94), perhaps associated with the construction of the 'cult' site. Its religious interpretation is augmented by its subsequent replacement in the later Roman transition period by more extensive complex with a clearly defined boundary and entrance. Whilst this also had few diagnostic finds, the unusual structural layout - which was quite similar in some ways to Hayling Island - together with a Venus figurine and brooches from a later phase, does suggest a probable religious function. The inception of a cult site on this probable tribal

boundary zone may have been a product of both an indigenous increase in specialisation - as shown by the well organised and functionally diverse nature of the settlement (*ibid.* 103) - and external influence from the Roman Gaul in the late pre-Roman Iron Age. However, the site probably remained of just local importance, and therefore attracted few rich archaeologically traceable offerings, unlike sites such as Harlow.

iii) Frilford, Oxfordshire

The two circular structures at Frilford, first excavated in 1937-8, were of quite different construction and had differing chronologies, yet both were regarded initially as Iron Age shrines (Bradford and Goodchild 1939 1). Indeed, because they were positioned beneath Roman religious structures, they had come to be considered as, "*The most convincing evidence for continuity from the Iron Age into the Roman period in the traditional sanctity of a site...*" (Harding 1974 103). Frilford 1, underneath the Romano-Celtic temple, was extensively re-investigated in 1964 (Harding 1987), and consisted of a circular series of stake-holes with approximate dating from the late 2nd to the later pre-Belgic 1st century BC (*ibid.*13). Internally, there were two pits, one containing a crouched adolescent burial, and the other a sword chape, with an additional infant burial situated in the upper subsurface levels. Although these possible ritual finds had been assigned an Iron Age date, none could be associated directly with the circular structure. This fact, combined with the realisation that there was an interval of about two hundred years between the end of the structure and the construction of the Romano-Celtic temple, led Harding quite rightly to dismiss its religious interpretation (*ibid.* 13).

The second 'shrine', situated c.30 metres to the south, was a penannular ditched enclosure with a 1.7 metre wide causeway to the north-west, and a series of internal post holes, all positioned beneath a circular Roman masonry rotunda. An iron ploughshare was found at the bottom of the central post-hole, which could be viewed as a foundation deposit, possibly connected with fertility (Bagnall-Smith 1995 200). However, even supposing that it had served such a function, it is still no real indication that the structure had a specialised religious purpose, as it may have just been regarded as a spiritual benefaction for the well-being of subsequent domestic or agricultural activities. Pottery evidence suggests a period of use from the 5th-4th century BC until the latest pre-Belgic

period, and at some point, the ditch, post-holes and a square pit in the centre, were filled in with clay. Harding (1987 13) argued that because of the lack of Roman material and preponderance of black burnished wares in the upper clay fill of the ditch, this must have been done in the later pre-Belgic Iron Age. This would mean that no trace of the earthwork would have survived into the Roman period, and therefore, no structural continuity demonstrated. However, Roman material was recovered from the square pit, including a votive model sword and shield, and as this was the same clay as that which filled the post-holes and ditch (Drury 1980 65), it does imply that it was all done in the Roman period, probably just prior to the building of the rotunda. Even if there can be demonstrated any degree of structural continuity, it need not imply functional continuity, as there still seems to have been a substantial 'occupation' gap between the two, and it may have just been one of many examples of a Roman religious structure focusing on an older monument (see 5.3). In summary, both of the Frilford structures can be shown to have very little evidence for a religious interpretation, and as they were situated in an area of extensive Iron Age settlement, they are just as likely to have served a domestic or agricultural function.

iv) Heathrow, Surrey

The concentric rectangular building situated within a cleared area of the enclosed settlement at Caesar's Camp, Heathrow, was one of the first structures from Iron Age Britain to have been assigned a religious function (Lewis 1966 11; Grimes and Close-Brooks 1995 312). The inner building was of trench construction, with post-holes at the corners and entranceway, while the outer structure was made up of a series of closely set post-holes (*ibid).* However, there was no definite evidence of contemporaneity between the two features and they could have been built in separate successive stages (Grimes & Close-Brooks 336). The dating evidence overall is slight, as no floor levels were found and the pottery assemblage is meagre and often residual. On the evidence available, which also includes a late Iron Age gold coin said to have come from the site, a date of no closer than mid to late Iron Age can be assigned (*ibid.*). The interpretation of the structure is complicated by this lack of secure dating, as its relationship to the middle Iron Age roundhouses is uncertain. If the two rectangular structures were contemporary, then the plan is highly reminiscent of a Romano-Celtic temple, and in the absence of any

diagnostic artefacts, a religious function was postulated primarily on this comparison (*ibid.* 338). Other interpretative factors included its distinctive form among the roundhouses, its position in a cleared space, and the negative evidence of no alternative explanation (*ibid.*). The overall evidence, based as it is around such dubious structural comparisons, is insufficient to give much credulity to a religious interpretation for the building. The only other functional hypothesis was provided by Black (1986 203), who suggested that it may in fact have been a funerary structure rather than a shrine, with the outer posts being fence holes, as opposed to support for an ambulatory. As with the 'shrine' interpretation, there is no inherent evidence to support this, but it does emphasise that a religious assumption based upon a lack of any alternative explanation is not sustainable.

v) Lancing Down, West Sussex

Rescue excavations on a ridge overlooking the English channel at Lancing Down in West Sussex - the site of a known Romano-Celtic temple - revealed a concentric 3.5 metre square structure of late Iron Age - Roman transition date, lying just five metres to the east of the temple (Bedwin 1981 37). This was believed to have been a late Iron Age shrine, and thus a pre-cursor to the Roman temple, with which it shared the 'square within a square' layout, in addition to a faint outer circular gully (*ibid.* 42). It was set within the south-east corner of a large oval temenos, although because of a lack of datable material from the initial phase of the boundary, there was no direct association between the two (*ibid.* 46). A limited quantity of finds was associated with the structure, although there were none that would provide any convincing indications of its function. A small amount of 1st century AD pottery - possibly pre-conquest (Rudling 1981 50) - supplies some dating evidence, whilst other finds consisted of two iron rings and a small quantity of animal bone. A group of six quernstones were located less than three metres to the east, in the temenos gully, but it is uncertain if these are contemporary. An uninterrupted pottery sequence from the early 1st to 2nd century AD (*ibid.* 49) suggests that there was a direct continuity between the small wooden structure and the masonry temple, and so strengthens the former's case for a religious interpretation. However, another interpretation would be that it acted as some kind of funerary structure, as the later temple has been shown to have associations with a number of inhumation burials (Bedwin 1980

48). A possible burial pit containing burnt bones and flint was found under part of the temple, seemingly contemporary with its construction. This may have contained the remains of Iron Age burials that were disturbed in the clearing of the site (Black 1986 204), and if so, then the wooden structure may have acted as a funerary monument.

vi) Maiden Castle, Dorset

The ultimate pre-conquest period at Maiden castle seems to have been characterised by striking changes in the internal layout of the hill fort (Sharples 1991 116). This corresponded to Wheeler's 'Belgic Iron Age C' (c. A.D. 25-44, 1943 57), where the western half seems to have been largely abandoned, and settlement concentrated to the east, especially around the entrance. The occurrence in this entrance area, of specified areas devoted to ironworking and quite formal inhumation burial, is indicative of the increased degree of functional specialisation found in many parts of southern Britain at this time (Haselgrove 1989b 11, Sharples 1991 123). It was to this period that Wheeler assigned a circular building, situated on the centre of the eastern hill top, its entrance aligned exactly on the main trackway leading down to the eastern entrance. It consisted of dry stone outer walls, with an internal ring of post-holes that probably functioned as roof supports. There were apparently no associated contemporary structures (Wheeler 1943 127), although Wheeler's excavations were not extensive enough to be certain of this. There were however many finds located in the same area that were of a similar date, and it is these that may help in the interpretation of the structure. Seven brooches, two finger rings, one bronze needle and a small number of late Iron Age coins were among the metal finds found in the immediate vicinity at contemporary levels. Further finds of a similar nature were found in the trench just to the north (site B), including a La Tène III brooch in a pit associated with Belgic pottery and oyster shells. Additionally, two late Iron Age – Roman transition infant burials were found placed along similar alignments within pits near to the structure (Wheeler 1943 349), which could be taken as further evidence for ritual activity of some kind. Possibly more significant was the nearby presence of an associated group of horse gear, chariot fittings, many iron and bronze fragments and the incomplete leg bones of a pony (*ibid.* 274). Finally, there were also four late La Tène sword fragments and two spear heads in the same area, and taken concurrently, the assemblage strongly resembles that found at the shrine at Hayling

Island, in having a strong martial aspect. Wheeler did not comment on the possible religious significance of the structure, and nor did Sharples in his recent account of the hillfort (1991 116), aside from mentioning that it may have had some 'special significance'. Yet both Drury (1980 48-50) and Wait (1985 166-7) included it in their corpus of Iron Age shrines, and the available evidence does support this conclusion. During the late Roman period, a slightly smaller oval structure was built on exactly the same alignment, and from the finds evidence it appears likely to have been some kind of religious monument, probably associated with the nearby Romano-Celtic temple (see 5.2). Whilst there may have been up to a three hundred year gap between the two buildings, the parallel alignments, together with the presence of a limited quantity of 2nd and 3rd century coins and pottery, suggests that some tradition of sanctity may have been preserved. In summary, the cumulative evidence does indicate that the late Iron Age circular building did function as a shrine, at a time when functional specialisation was increasing in many areas of southern British society. It seems to have been abandoned along with the remainder of the settlement in the later part of the 1st century AD (Sharples 1991 125), and can thus join a growing number of short-lived transition period sacred sites associated with depositional activity.

vii) Stansted, Essex

During excavations in the 1980s of a late Iron Age enclosed settlement at the Airport catering site (A.C.S.), Stansted, a rectangular timber-built structure was located in the central area, and interpreted in subsequent reports as a shrine (Brooks 1988, Havis forthcoming). Although the excavations have yet to be fully published, material from the forthcoming report, kindly sent by Richard Havis of Essex County Council, suggests that this interpretation is quite feasible, especially for the Roman transition period. The earliest phase of the settlement can be dated to the early 1st century BC, with the central structure possibly built somewhat later (c.50 BC). The lack of any Gallo-Belgic ware on the site is indicative of its abandonment around 25 BC, with the enclosure ditch then starting to gradually silt up. Renewed activity occurred briefly during the Roman transition period c.AD 40-60, although this was confined to the enclosure ditches, pits, central structure - possibly an open enclosure at this time - and an internal linear ditched feature. It is this period that saw the deposition of a number of artefacts, suggesting ritual

activity. A substantial cylindrical pit five metres east of the central building's north east corner contained two brooches, a pin, a possible sandstone figurine and a large quantity of early Roman pottery. Another similar sized pit on the western side contained an even greater amount of pottery in addition to an onyx intaglio. The linear feature was also associated with the deposition of multiple brooches and pottery, possibly representing votive offerings along a processional route leading from the entrance of the temenos to the shrine in the centre.

The overall artefact assemblage was heavily dominated by items of personal adornment, especially brooches, which were present in much greater quantities than other sites in the Stansted area (Major, forthcoming). The five fragmentary 1st century AD brooches from the linear feature have, because of their condition, been regarded as 'rubbish' (*ibid.*). This however, need not be the case, as there are many examples from sacred sites of brooches being deposited in a fragmentary state (e.g. Uley: Butcher 1993 149), possibly deliberately broken (see 3.3, hypothesis 3). Another important ornamental artefact was the onyx ringstone, which depicted an episode from the Trojan war, and according to Henig (forthcoming), is likely to have been brought into Britain on the finger of a Roman soldier. The large quantity of animal bone (2258 fragments) associated with the central structure is made quite difficult to interpret because of its highly fragmented nature, most of which occurred as a result of post-depositional factors (Hinton, forthcoming). Taken as a complete assemblage, there is no evidence of any species selectivity, although, there was a higher percentage of cattle skull fragments recovered than is typical, and as such, the bone report suggested that *"the shrine was being specifically selected for the deposition of cattle skulls"* (*ibid.*). This is further supported by the much higher frequency of loose cattle teeth found within the same area. Slight evidence for spatial selectivity of the animal bone assemblage is provided by the greater concentration in the foundation trenches/gullies of the central structure, yet they were certainly not exclusively segregated as further bones were found in many other parts of the site. None of the bones recovered were articulated, but the fact that large ranges of bone types were recovered has led the excavation report to suggest that whole carcasses were being deposited. This does still not, however, provide any indication as to whether the animals were butchered and eaten before being deposited.

The overall evidence suggests that ritual activity did occur at the Stansted site during the Roman transition period, and it was closely connected with the central structure. It was clearly the re-utilisation of a functionally obscure earlier structure, with which there was no direct continuity, and therefore cannot convincingly be used to imply the existence of a constructed cult site within the context of the late Iron Age settlement.

viii) **Westhampnett, West Sussex**

During excavations in 1992, a large late Iron Age cremation cemetery (c.80 - 40 BC) was found at Westhampnett, with evidence of complex spatial planning (Fitzpatrick 1997 238-9). The entire area, which was classified as a *'late Iron Age religious site'* (*ibid.* 1997 13), consisted of 161 graves, 46 cremation structures and 4 small ditched enclosures set on higher ground, which were interpreted as shrines. Many of the features on the site were badly truncated by agricultural activity, leading to difficulties when attempting to determine their original structural form. As far as the 'shrines' are concerned, the presence in three of them of a small amount of fired clay, possibly from daub, provides the only indication of any superstructure, and even this is somewhat inconclusive, so it may have been the case that they were open enclosures. Because of a lack of associated diagnostic finds, they were interpreted as shrines on the basis of close parallels between two of them and *"a number of mid-late Iron Age structures whose small size, square or rectangular shape, and east-south-easterly orientation help to distinguish them as shrines"* (Fitzpatrick 1997 229). Particularly close comparisons were made between Westhampnett 1 (20562) and the structures at Heathrow and Danebury 2, although there was an admission that the orientations were different. However, as discussed previously (1.5), such functional analogies based upon morphological similarities with a very limited number of sites are very difficult to substantiate. Additionally, the criteria employed to identify the analogous structures as cult loci are highly problematical (*cf.* this section), and an interpretation of the Westhampnett structures as shrines would therefore, on this evidence, seem to be invalid. An examination of them within their immediate context would undoubtedly be a better way of attempting any functional analysis, and on this basis, they are more likely to have served as funerary structures, connected with the display and possibly cremation of the dead. Indeed, two of the enclosures have the remains of pyre-related features in the central part of their interior, and were therefore

quite possibly used as cremation structures. Of course there may have been little differentiation between funerary and sacred structures, although whether or not the enclosures at Westhampnett can actually be regarded as religious shrines in the sense of Hayling Island (which is geographically and chronologically comparable) is highly doubtful. Nevertheless, it does seem that the site as a whole was the focus for a number of specific rituals and had a high degree of spatial structuring, possibly arranged according to cosmological principles (Fitzpatrick 1997 238). Differential zones were quite clearly demarcated, even though - as with the enclosures - they were often functionally obscure.

Tertiary sites

Tertiary Sites	
Gosbecks	Thistleton
Little Waltham	Woodeaton
Muntham Court	Worth
South Cadbury 2	

Fig. 4.3: Tertiary Sites

The small amount of structural and material evidence relating to possible religious activity at the tertiary sites is in section 1.2 of the appendix, and will only be briefly summarised here. With the exception of Little Waltham and South Cadbury 2, the Iron Age 'shrines' in figure 4.3 were all succeeded by Roman religious edifices, with their interpretation often resting upon this apparent association. Yet not only was there usually a distinct lack of evidence for direct continuity, but the associated finds were rarely suggestive of a religious interpretation. The model shields from underneath the Roman temple at Worth are an obvious exception (Klein 1928 81), but there is no reason why they could not have been deposited in the early Roman period (see appendix 1.2). Of the remaining two sites, Little Waltham was identified as a shrine because of vague structural and positional similarities with Danebury and Heathrow (Drury 1978 25-6), whilst South

Cadbury 2 was associated with storage pits containing special animal burials of horse and cattle skulls (Alcock 1972, Wait 1985 390), and a two-headed bronze duck pendant. The interpretative parameters for the first site have already been dismissed as unsatisfactory (see 1.5), whilst the latter structure has no readily identifiable association with the pit fills, and is just one of many similar structures found throughout the hillfort (see Downes 1997 148).

Secondary and Tertiary site summary

Of all of the secondary and tertiary structures, very few have any positive evidence to denote a religious function, especially within a demonstrable pre-Roman Iron Age context. The majority have no associated artefacts aside from limited quantities of pottery, which at best can be used only for dating purposes, and were therefore given a religious interpretation on structure and positioning alone. Many of them employed inter-site structural comparisons to affirm their sacred function, thereby generating certain criteria that have been subsequently used to identify other structures as shrines. This carries an implication that religious sites in Iron Age Britain were chronologically and geographically homogeneic, which is clearly fallacious. There is also the danger that it may supplant a more contextual interpretative analysis, which should always be the primary basis for attributing any function.

4.3 Comparative analysis of late Iron Age - Roman transition constructed sacred space

1. Comparisons within British sites

The individual site analyses conducted in the previous two sections will now be utilised in order to provide a more comparative approach. The basic format of the primary site analysis will be used to aid in this comparison, so that after an initial account of chronology and context, the six hypotheses will then be tested. Of the nineteen sites examined, only eight (see fig. 4.4) provide some convincing evidence of ritual structures, and these form the basis of the analysis below.

Pre-Roman - Transition Cult sites	
Elms Farm	Harlow
Hayling Island	Maiden Castle
South Cadbury 1	Stansted
Thetford	Uley

Fig. 4.4: Probable constructed cult loci

Chronology and context

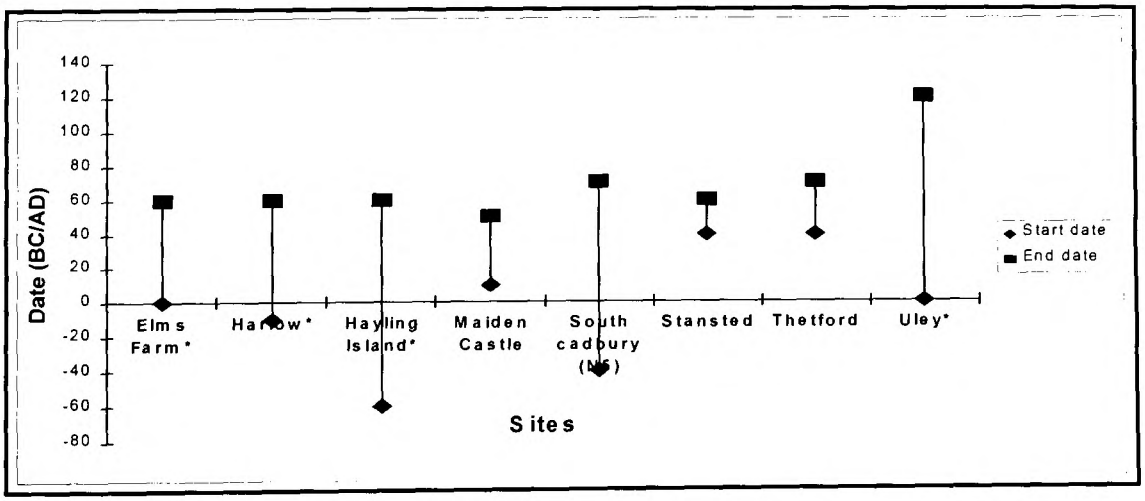


*Fig. 4.5: Chronology of Constructed Cult sites in Britain, Late Iron Age – Roman transition. (N.B. * all had more or less direct continuity with later Roman period cult sites)*

The construction of a detailed chronological sequence for the corpus of Iron Age British structures interpreted as shrines has been hampered by either poor excavation and recording methods or a lack of associated diagnostic material. Only a few sites possess more refined chronologies, with the remainder being ascribed a vague date via indirect associations or sequential positioning. Nevertheless, an approximate sequence can still be constructed for most of those sites that have more positive evidence of a religious nature, ranging from about the mid 1st century BC until the mid - late 1st century AD (fig. 4.5). The earliest site of a convincingly religious nature, that of Hayling Island in Hampshire (Downey *et al.* 1979), lies in the mid 1st century BC, implying that the imposition of specialised constructed cult sites within central southern Britain was quite a rare and late phenomenon. Nearly all of the other sites had their main period of votive activity during the Roman transition period, from about AD 40 to 70, even if the structures may have been built somewhat earlier (late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD). In many cases this period of ritual activity may only have lasted for around two decades or less, after which the site was either apparently abandoned (e.g. Thetford, Stansted, Maiden Castle), or else replaced by more substantial masonry religious structures (e.g. Harlow).

The eight probable constructed loci are dispersed throughout southern Britain, with little apparent grouping. With the exception of Stansted, they were all situated on locally elevated ground, so that in many cases they would have been visible from considerable distances. Even in the case of Stansted, its position in a large clear area in the centre of the settlement implies prominent local visibility. Such positioning was undoubtedly of deliberate design, perhaps employed by certain members of the elite in order to help reinforce personal, local or even regional identity. There are no other obvious signs of contextual rapport between the sites, which is probably a reflection of their regional disparity. South Cadbury, Maiden Castle and possibly Uley were associated with hillfort settlement, although by the time of their construction, the character of these hillforts had changed considerably, and it is uncertain whether there would have been much contemporary domestic habitation within them. At Stansted also, the settlement does not appear to have been in use during the transition period, when there is the only positive evidence of a religious function. It is only at Elms Farm that the probable shrine seems to have been an integral part of a contemporary settlement. The remaining three sites seem

to have been in more isolated rural situations, yet all dominated the local landscape. Harlow may have been part of a wider religious complex, incorporating the site at Holbrooks, though excavation has generally not been extensive enough to find if such associations existed on other sites.

Hypotheses

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

The chart below (fig. 4.6) shows the component features associated with the probable late Iron Age and Roman transition constructed cult loci in southern Britain.

Site name	Enclosure	Monumental entrance	Pits	Shrine structure(s)	Succeeded by Romano-Celtic temple
Elms Farm	x	-	x	x	x*
Harlow	- (?)	-	x	x	x
Hayling Island	x	x	x	x	x*
Maiden Castle	- (?)	-	x	x	x
South Cadbury 1	- (?)	-	x	x	-
Stansted	x	- (?)	x	x	-
Thetford	x	x	x	x	-(?)
Uley	x	-	x	x	x

Fig. 4.6: Component features of British cult loci (* The temple was not of Romano-Celtic design)

It appears upon initial examination that there was a substantial degree of homogeneity within the cult sites, as all possessed at least one focal shrine structure, one or more pits, and some kind of ritual enclosure, although only in four cases was this more definitely connected with the central shrine. Additionally, they all seem to have been built according to prescribed spatial principles. Sites such as Elms Farm, Thetford and Hayling Island exhibit this most clearly, with all three having a number of spatially segregated and structurally defined zones. In most cases, the central shrine structure acted as a clear focal point within the site, surrounded by a presumed sacred area, and then a boundary of some kind, marking the transition into the sacred locus. Many of these sites were clearly

designed to be approached only from the front, where there may have been a greater visual impact, possibly along some kind of processional routeway, although the physical evidence for this is very slight. Orientation was undoubtedly a significant factor in the spatial layout, and at least five out of the eight shrines faced in an easterly direction, which was probably ritually prescribed. Nevertheless, for all this apparent homogeneity, there were many substantial variations. The size and shape of the shrines varied greatly, from the c.11 metre diameter circular building at Hayling Island, to the 3.4 x 4.6 rectangular structure at South Cadbury. Such morphological heterogeneity is also reflected in many other features such as the boundaries and pits, indicating that the actual physical expression could vary greatly according to its local setting. Thus, any attempt to use purely morphological comparison as a basis for the religious interpretation of a structure is bound to fail.

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

Within most of the sites, there were certain areas that contained a higher concentration of votive artefacts and ecofacts, and which can be therefore be defined as offering zones. The majority of these were situated in front of the shrine structure, presumably placed as offerings before the sacred focus of the site. In some instances, such as at Harlow, Uley and South Cadbury, it is occasionally possible to perceive the evolutionary nature of the deposition, so that for example at South Cadbury, the majority of the metalwork deposits seem to have been made earlier than most of the animal burials. At South Cadbury and Harlow there was also a pronounced differentiation in the concentrations of certain artefact and ecofact types, pointing to specific sets of spatial principles governing the deposition of votive items. In particular, there appears to be a definite left-right distinction within the distribution patterns of those sites where enough spatially-orientated data is available. So, for example the main concentration of finds at Hayling Island and Uley would lie on the left hand side for those entering the site, while at Harlow and South Cadbury, there was also some noticeable left-right differentiation within the finds assemblage. The conventions behind these principles are of course unknown, but the general variation within the sites suggests that they may have been in part because of localised cult practice.

3. *'The nature of the votive assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site.'*

The general range of possible votive finds from the cult loci is shown in figure 4.7.

Site	Martial items	Ornamentation	Tools	Coins	Animal bones	Human bones
Elms Farm	-	x	-(?)	-	-(?)	-
Harlow	x	X	x	X	X	x
Hayling Island	X	x	x	X	X	x
Maiden Castle	x	X	x	x	x	x
South Cadbury 1	X	x	x	x	X	x
Stansted	-	X	-	-	X	-
Thetford	x	X	x	x	x	-
Uley	X	x	x	x	X	x

Fig. 4.7 Range of finds from cult loci ('X' denotes items found in significant quantities)

The first significant observation is that virtually all of the sites with the exception of Elms Farm have a similar range of votive find types, even if the concentrations do vary between them. As far as artefacts are concerned, martial items such as projectile heads and scabbard binding, together with ornamentation - notably brooches - tend to dominate many votive assemblages. At Harlow and Hayling Island, coins formed a large part of the artefact group, although in sites such as South Cadbury and Uley, they are very few in number. It is likely that the predominance in the southern and eastern sites is representative of the much greater coin circulation in these areas, although this doesn't explain the absence of coins from Stansted. The full range of artefacts is representative of a society in which a martial ideology played a significant role. Whether or not warfare itself was endemic is uncertain, but the symbolic aspect of the warrior was clearly important, and seems to have been one of the aspects being venerated at many of these shrines. The high numbers of brooches found at many cult loci is in accordance with the general increase of such objects in the 1st century AD, which has been termed the 'fibula event horizon' (Jundi and Hill 1998). The ritual deposition of such items, it has been suggested (*ibid.*129), may be indicative of the increased emphasis placed upon individuals at this time. Additionally, there are apparently slight indications that certain

fibulae types may have been associated with specific geographical regions (*ibid.*), although there was not a noticeable concentration of specific types within the cult loci. As with the martial items and ornamentation, the deposition of tools such as ploughshares, may also have represented individual acts of propitiation, though they were far fewer in number. Finally, if the apparent lack of archaeologically traceable votives at Elms farm reflects original practice, it may be indicative of a more confined local importance and perhaps the differing (lower?) status of those using the site.

4. *'The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)'*

With the exception of Thetford and Elms Farm, the ritual use of animals is well attested at all sites, with many having very large quantities of faunal remains. At least four (Harlow, Hayling Island, South Cadbury and Uley) provided definite evidence of species selectivity, while elements of structured positioning, bone selectivity and spatial selectivity were also often encountered. The large number of ecofacts compared with artefacts, suggests that ritual activity involving animals was generally the more common activity on most sites, and in certain cases, such as Uley, it appears to have started at an earlier date. Whether this involved the sacrifice and subsequent deposition, or the butchery and ritual consumption, is not often possible to tell, but there were some instances where groups of bones appear to have been treated differentially. Most of the lamb bones from Harlow appear to have been the product of feasting, while at Uley and South Cadbury, it seems likely that certain animals were consumed and others were just ritually deposited. There was a certain amount of spatial differentiation between the bone types, but this related to their deposition, not to the activities they resulted from (i.e. sacrifice and feasting).

5. *'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a special funerary function.'*

Human bones were found at five of the sites, although only at Maiden castle and Uley did this take the form of structured burial, and these were infant burials, possibly

associated in the latter case with foundation deposits. It therefore seems that funerary practice was not conducted at the sites, and the bones present may have been deposited as votive objects in their own right, perhaps connected to some kind of ancestral worship.

6. *'Distinct Industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would be indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

There are only limited indications of craftworking activities connected with the cult loci. At Thetford and South Cadbury, there is evidence for metalworking, although only with the former is it definitely contemporary, and therefore directly connected with the cult site. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that such specialised transformative activities may have had pronounced religious associations. This could also have been the case with the coin minting at Thetford, which was additionally an undoubted reflection of the site's elite status.

2. Comparative analysis of shrines from north-eastern Gaul

The religious landscape of northern Gaul has received far more attention in recent years than southern Britain (e.g. Wightman 1986, Brunaux 1988, 1996, Roymans 1990, Derks 1998), and therefore any evaluation of British shrines must take into account the increasing body of evidence from across the channel. The primary reason for the growth of such studies is the increasing corpus of often quite spectacular shrine sites discovered throughout much of north-east Gaul during the past thirty years. At a number of them - namely Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux *et al.* 1985) and Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Cadoux 1984) - the preservation of material was outstanding, and exhaustive excavations led to hitherto unparalleled knowledge of Gallic cult practice. A general analysis of these late La Tène and Roman transition cult loci - with particular emphasis on Gournay - will now be conducted, including an examination into their structure, votive assemblages, position and hierarchy.

i) Constituent features

Despite the chronological divergences in the origins of many Gallic cult sites, there is an increasing degree of homogeneity found in regard to their principal features and development. Brunaux (1996 66), largely drawing on information derived from Gournay-sur-Aronde, identified the main characteristics as an enclosure ditch, one or more palisades, pits, a monumental entranceway, a central shrine structure and large quantities of sacrificial remains and warrior offerings. In addition, there was the presence - in practically all cases - of a Gallo-Roman sanctuary above the earlier Gallic structure (*ibid.*).

Cult Site	Pronounced enclosure	Monumental entrance	Pits	Central shrine	Votives	Gallo-Roman sanctuary
Bennecourt	x	-	x	x	x	x
Bois l'Abbe	-	-	-	-	x	x
Bouvellemont	-	-	-	x	x	x
Bracquemont	-	-	-	-	x	x
Chateau-Porcien	-	-	x	x	x	x
Chilly	x	-	x	-	x	x
Digeon	x	x?	-	x?	x	x
Empel	x	-	x	-	x	x
Epiais-Rhus	x	-	-	-	x	x
Estrées-St-Denis*	x	-	x	x(x4)	x	x
Genainville	-	-	-	x	x	x
Gournay-sur-Aronde*	x	x	x	x	x	x
Matagne-La-petite	-	-	-	x?	x	x
Meaux*	x	-	-	-	x	x
Moeuvres*	x	-	-	-	x	-
Möhn	-	-	-	-	x	x
Mouzon- "Flavier"	-	-	-	x	x	x
Nanteuil-sur-Aisne	x	-	-	-	x	x
Orrouy-"Champlieu"	-	-	x	x?	x	x
Pommern	-	-	-	x	x	x
Ribemont-sur-Ancre*	x	-	x	x?	x	x
Saint-Maur*	x	-	x	-	x	x
Vendeuil-Caply*	x?	-	x	x	x	x

Fig. 4.8 Component features of northern Gallic cult loci (* denotes cult site with mid La Tène origin)

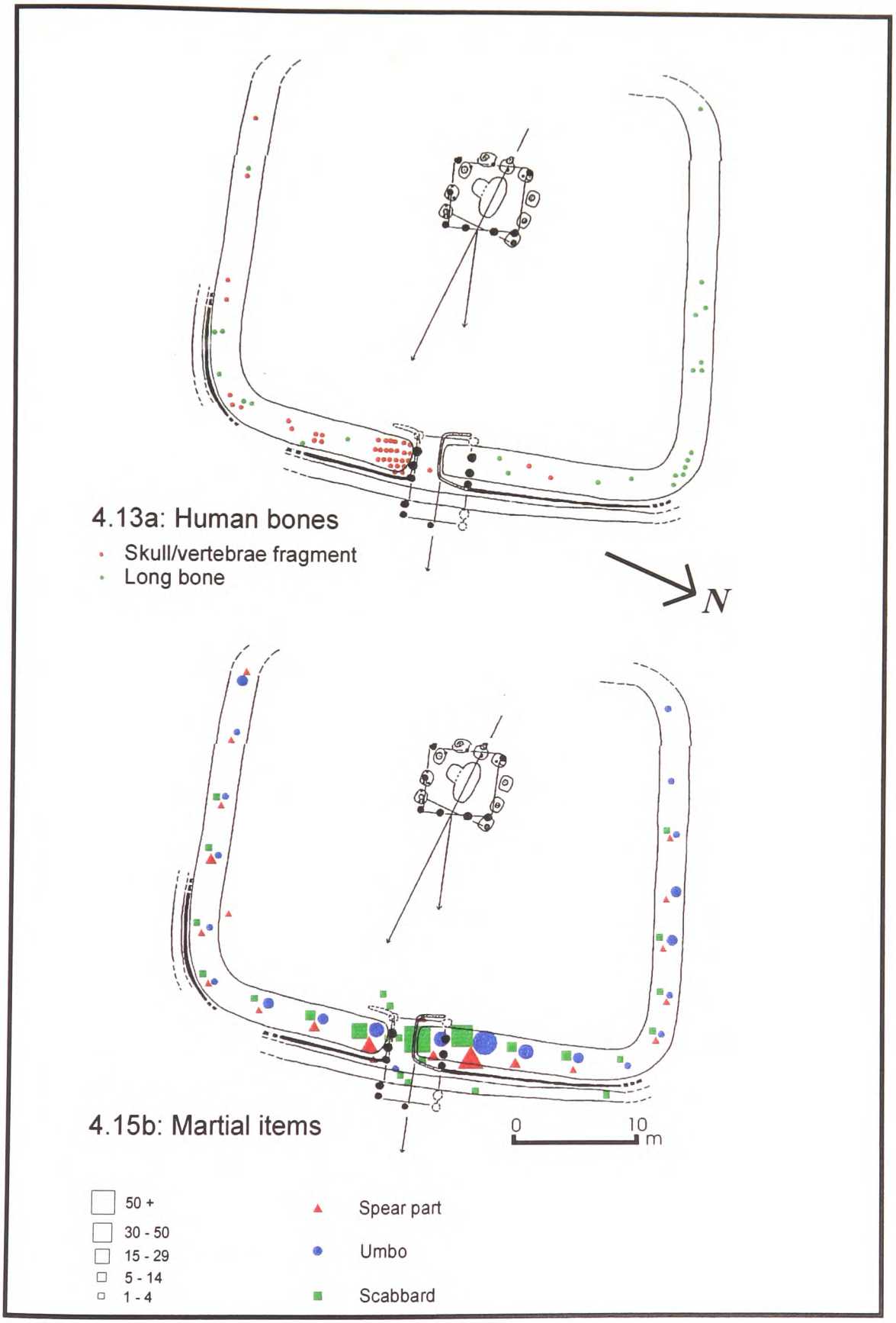
Figure 4.8 presents the majority of northern Gallic cult sites, noting the presence or absence of the constituent elements mentioned above. Immediately it is noticeable that all are characterised by votive assemblages, which in many cases, such as at Gournay-sur-Aronde, Vendeuil-Caply (Piton and Dilly 1985) and Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Cadoux 1984), can be quite considerable. Additionally, virtually all of them are superseded by Gallo-

Roman temples, and in a few cases (Bracquemont: Roymans 1990 63; Möhn: Grenier 1960 4, 876) it is only this and the presence of a limited number of late La Tène votives that is suggestive of a pre-Roman cult site. In these circumstances, care must be taken, as it is possible that their origins may only have stemmed from the early Gallo-Roman period, with objects from the pre-conquest era being deposited at this time. It is only by contextual examinations of the material evidence that it may be possible to infer earlier cult activity with greater vigour, but as the two sites mentioned above were poorly excavated in the nineteenth century, this has not been possible.

Over 50% of the above cult sites contained evidence for some form of enclosure, with about the same proportion having a cult building, although in the latter case the evidence is often quite ambiguous. However, when chronological factors are included, all of those seven sites with the earliest origins (c.3rd century BC) are found to have had an enclosure ditch, suggesting that this was the earliest and most important of the structures within the cult locus - a fact which is supported by the preponderance of votive deposition occurring within them. Virtually all of the shrine structures indicated in figure 4.8 were probably built at the latter stages of the sites' development, although the dating is often insecure. Ritual pits, common to roughly half of the sites, are sometimes (e.g. at Champlieu, *Gallia* 39, 1981 227) the earliest and only structural features to be noted, and seem to have been used either as the final deposition loci (e.g. Bennecourt, *Gallia* 44 1986 287-81) or for more intermediary stages such as at Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux *et al.* 1985 88; see below).

Finally, in regards to the features of Gallic shrines, Brunaux (1996 76) also stated that "*Le troisième élément essentiel du sanctuaire est le porche d'entrée.*" However, aside from Gournay-sur-Aronde itself (see below), there is little evidence for a monumental entrance in any site, and even though the majority have not had the benefit of Gournay's extensive excavations, this is perhaps surprising. The late La Tène entranceway at Digeon in the Somme seems to have had some degree of architectural embellishment, and also had three linear pits situated just within the interior along the line from the outer entranceway to the inner shrine (Delplace *et al.* 1986 83). In other instances such as at Estrées-Saint-Denis (Woimat 1985) there are post-holes that may have formed an entrance structure, but the stratigraphy is often quite disturbed and chronology uncertain.

Map 4.13: Gournay-sur-Aronde: Selected finds distribution (derived from Brunaux *et al.* 1985 & Brunaux & Rapin 1988)



Of course, the importance attached to the entrance as the junction between sacred and profane worlds, need not have been architecturally enhanced. It may have been marked by a concentration of votive activity, and therefore the artefact distribution patterns would need to be analysed in conjunction with any structural features. In this instance, Gournay again exhibits a marked emphasis on the entranceway, with a distinct concentration of artefacts and ecofacts around that area (see map 4.13).

Only a few Gallic cult sites have been excavated well enough to obtain some impression of their structural development, but these do exhibit certain broad similarities. The sequence at three of these sites will now be examined in more detail.

At Gournay, the earliest probable cult place consisted of a square pit containing pottery, situated in the centre of an artificial mound and seemingly surrounded by a ditch (Brunaux et. al. 1985 53, Brunaux 1996 69). It has been dated by the pottery to the 4th century BC, and may have been the primary reason for the construction of the larger sanctuary, about ten metres to the east, probably in the early 3rd century BC (*ibid.*). This was originally represented by a simple quadrangular ditch and bank enclosure (c.1500m sq.) with an opening on the east side (Brunaux *et al.* 1985 94). This enclosure, which was later structurally embellished, remained the prime focus for ritual deposition throughout most of its existence, with the eastern side containing particularly large concentrations of finds (map 4.15). The site went through a series of modifications involving a sequence of internal pits - including the central one used in animal ritual (see below) - and postholes, all seemingly arranged according to exact specifications. For example, the central pit group followed the alignment of three large post-holes facing due east, which was in turn crossed by a perpendicular line of four post-holes leading due north (Brunaux *et al.* 1985 91). Thus the cardinal axes can be seen to have had a major influence on site structure, which is sure to have been because of inherent cosmological principles in the religious beliefs of the indigenous population. The first convincing shrine building is approximately dated to the 2nd century BC (Derks 1998 171), it being a substantial rectangular wooden structure on an alignment facing the entranceway, which was monumentalised at this time. It was eventually burnt and the surrounding area levelled towards the end of that century (*ibid.* 173). After a possibly quite considerable period of disuse (up to c.90 years), the penultimate structural phase occurred during the later 1st

century BC Roman transition period. It consisted of a rectangular central shrine with stone foundations, and possibly a surrounding timber portico, although this is uncertain (Brunaux *et al.* 112, Derks 1998 182). It seems that objects were suspended from this shrine and left to degrade, as suggested by the occurrence of small fragments of scabbards, shield rivets, and attachment nails that would have fallen down as the organic material (leather) perished (Brunaux and Rapin 1988 157). The occurrence of a small amount of earlier material may indicate that the previous shrine was similarly furnished (Brunaux *et al.* 1985 99-100). During the Tiberio-Claudian period, the shrine was again abandoned, and Derks has suggested that a subsequent Gallo-Roman temple - which was built on the exact same location - was built soon after, as opposed to the 4th century date proposed by Brunaux (1985 115-6), which would bring it more into line with other Gallo-Roman shrines in the area.

The two cult sites most similar to Gournay-sur-Aronde were Saint-Maur (Brunaux and Lambot 1991) and Vendeuil-Caply (Piton and Dilly 1985), located in approximately the same area. The Large Gallo-Roman cult site at Saint-Maur seems to have originated in the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC, consisting initially of a quadrangular enclosure, about 30 metres square, which contained many badly preserved weapons and bones in its lower fill and numerous coins and Augustan objects from the upper levels (Brunaux and Lambot 1991 178). Internally, there were a variety of structures, although the chronological development is hard to distinguish. At about two metres in from the ditch there was a concentric palisade with an entrance to the east. Along this better preserved eastern side were many weapon fragments, which were suggested as originally being suspended from the wall and buried when the wood decayed (*ibid.*). Further towards the centre lay a smaller palisade of a similar type, surrounding what seems to have been a central shrine. The space in-between was suggested as either representing a 'zone sacrée', or being used in the ritual of circumnamulation (*ibid.*). The 'shrine' itself seems to have consisted originally of three groups of three pits arranged around another larger central one, in the exact same way as Gournay-sur-Aronde. Unfortunately they were very badly preserved, although it has been possible to note that most of them were re-used as post holes for a square shrine - presumably later on in the history of the site, and possibly even in the Augustan period (*ibid.*). At Vendeuil-Caply, the earliest structural features to be

excavated were a series of ritual pits in a similar grouping to Gournay-sur-Aronde and Saint-Maur (Piton and Dilly 1985). However, there are traces of an outer enclosure on aerial photographs and this may be related to an earlier trampled layer with burned bones - possibly the first cult site (Roymans 1990 71). At some later stage - probably in the transition period of the later 1st century BC (Derks 1998 176) - a square wooden structure was built around the pits, which still seem to have remained in use, before a masonry Gallo-Roman temple was constructed in the later 1st century AD. Another site with structural similarity was Montmartin, situated just 3km from Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux 1996 93). It consisted of a large (3 ha) enclosure with buildings and materials suggestive of an extensive elite residence, and a smaller enclosure (less than 1 ha) delimited by a substantial ditch and palisade. A group of pits, similar to those at Gournay were the only internal features within this lesser area, and together with the large amount of broken weapons and human remains in the upper fill of the ditch, leave no doubt that it was an area reserved for cult activity (*ibid.*).

Finally, an examination of the structural features of Gallic sanctuaries must also take into account the patterns of movement within such sites. Unfortunately, because of poor excavation techniques, or more commonly, poor preservation, this is mostly unrecoverable, although there are some indications at Ribemont-sur-Ancre. Here there were pathways, identified by spreads of small pebbles, connecting different cult features and creating a hierarchy of space (Brunaux 1996 84).

ii) Votive offering at Gallic cult sites

The range of different artefacts and ecofacts found at Gallic cult sites has already been touched upon in chapter 3, and so here it will only be summarised, in relation to figure 4.9. Gallic coins are found on all sites except Moeuvres, which because of its earlier date (La Tène II) would perhaps not be expected to contain such items (Déchalette 1914 1040). Weapons and fibulae were also very common finds, and together with the coins, they would seem to represent the material culture analogous with a late Iron Age elite society in which martial ideology formed an integral constituent (Derks 1998 50). At Gournay, items of a martial nature account for over 70 % of the 2063 metal finds (Brunaux *et al.* 1985 71). As these form one of the most extensive collections of such

items in Europe, they have been subjected to systematic study that has enabled a better understanding of how and from where they were brought into the sanctuary (Brunaux and Rapin 1988, Lejars 1994). Analysis of certain items suggested that they were previously used in fighting before been taken to the site, and their wide geographical origins over central Europe indicated that they were more likely to have been taken from enemies (Brunaux and Rapin 1988 241).

Animal bones are represented at over half of the sites listed, although because of high soil acidity (e.g. at Saint-Maur) and heavy disturbances from later Roman buildings (e.g. Vendeuil-Caply), it was often not possible to determine species or spatial patterning. Nevertheless, there are a number of sites where a more detailed analysis was possible, and according to Meniel (1991 257), the remains derived from two main practices. Firstly were those waste bones which resulted from ritual feasting, and secondly were those which represented the structured ritual deposition of particular animals. The former resemble domestic waste in many ways, but do show evidence of both species and bone type selectivity. Pigs and sheep were the most common to be consumed within Gallic cult loci, although the proportions may change from site to site, and at Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Bennecourt there were high numbers of pig skulls, with those at the former being systematically dismantled (*ibid.* 264). The ditch fill at Bennecourt contained over 20,000 bone fragments of late La Tène date which derived from animals that had been consumed, whilst at Estrées-Saint-Denis there were around 5,000 fragments, mostly of a similar nature (*ibid.* 258). At Gournay, the remains of at least 93 sheep and 33 pigs were recovered from the ditch, with many of the bones showing evidence of cut marks consistent with butchery practice, and therefore suggesting ritual feasting (Brunaux *et al.* 1985 134).

Many animals, including a number of horse bones from Estrées-Saint-Denis, had not been used for food and therefore resulted from a divergent ritual practice - that purely of sacrifice and deposition. The ossuaries at Ribemont-sur-Ancre contained around 2600 adult horse bones, usually the long radius and tibia types, most of which show no signs of butchery (Cadoux 1984). The sequence that led to their deposition may have been similar to that known from Gournay, where cattle were shown to have been sacrificed, then left in the main central pit to decompose, before being removed to different places, including

the enclosure ditch (Brunaux *et al* 1985 88). As with many of the artefacts, the animal bones within the enclosure were part of a series of specifically structured deposits (*ibid.* 131). Unlike those animals associated with feasting, there was a high incidence of older cattle and horses in these structured deposits, implying that there were specific rules regarding what animals should be used for what purposes (Meniel 1991 266).

Cult Site	Animal bones	Human bones	Weapons	Gallic coins	Fibulae	Metal wheels
Bennecourt	x	-	-	x	x	-
Bois l'Abbe (Eu)	x	-	x	x	x	-
Bouvellemont	x	-	x	x	x	x
Bracquemont	-	-	x	x	-	-
Chateau-Porcien	-	-	-	x	-	-
Chilly	x	-	x	x	x	-
Digeon	x	x	x	x	x	-
Empel	-	-	x	x	x	-
Epiais-Rhus	x	x	x	x	x	-
Estrées-St-Denis	x	x	x	x	x	-
Genainville	-	-	-	x	-	-
Gournay-sur-Aronde	x	x	x	x	x	x
Matagne-La-petite	-	-	-	x	-	-
Meaux	-	-	x	x	-	-
Moeuvres	x	x	-	-	x	-
Möhn	-	-	x	x	-	x
Mouzon- "Flavier"	x	-	x	x	x	-
Nanteuil-sur-Aisne	-	-	-	x	-	-
Orrouy-"Champlieu"	-	-	x	x	-	-
Pommern	-	-	-	x	-	-
Ribemont-sur-Ancre	x	x	x	x	x	-
Saint-Maur	x	-	x	x	x	-
Vendeuil-Caply	x	-	-	x	x	-

Fig. 4.9: Votive Remains at Gallic cult sites (After Roymans 1990, 82 fig.4.4; 'x' denotes presence of votive type)

Human remains were also found at six of the above cult sites, and may either represent funerary or sacrificial activity (see chapter 3). At Gournay, the condition and depositional pattern of these human remains has been analysed in detail, and is worth summarising here (see map 4.13). Skull fragments, teeth and vertebrae formed one spatially distinct group and were found almost exclusively in the ditch south of the entrance, especially in the terminal area, where according to Brunaux and Rapin (1988 148) skulls may have been prepared and displayed. The other group was represented by long bones, and formed vague concentrations at the north-east and south east corners, and in the middle of the northern side. The positioning of such bones at the corners of the enclosure is, as the excavators pointed out (*ibid.*), reminiscent of the ossuaries in the corners at Ribemont-sur-Ancre. However, the suggestion that these may also represent the dismantled remains of ossuaries is unlikely because of the comparative lack of bone numbers (i.e. c.25 instead of 2000). It is impossible to say for sure whether these remains were derived from funerary activity or deliberate sacrifice, although the different gender and age groups argues against the sacrifice of enemy prisoners. Longitudinal knife marks are seen on some of the bones, where heads and limbs seem to have been detached after death (Brunaux *et al.* 1985 149), and this has been argued as more representative of funerary practice (*ibid.* 163). However, the idea of sacrifice should certainly not be ruled out, and the bones are perhaps best regarded as structured human deposits that have arrived there via some kind of ritual process.

iii) Positioning of cult loci

The inter-site distribution of pre-Roman and transition period cult loci exhibits a marked concentration in the southern part of Belgic Gaul, and there may have been a degree of inter-visibility between some of them. There was also a distinct homogeneity in regard to their topographical position, as most were found on dominant points within plateaux (Brunaux 1996 67). The general area of southern Belgic Gaul (Picardy) is mostly quite low-lying, and therefore, any sites that were more elevated would have quite a substantial visibility - over 10km in some places (*ibid.*). As some of the cult places were only about six or seven kilometres apart, this would then indicate a possible inter-visibility which may have played an important role in their positioning. For example, Gournay-sur-Aronde lay within 3-km of Montmartin, which in turn lay about 4 km from Estrées-Saint-

Denis, that was just over 10km from Champlieu (Gallia 39 1981 277). Other factors linking their location include the fact that in many cases they dominated an area of water such as a river (Ribemont-sur-Ancre), a confluence (Bennecourt) or a pool/marsh (Gournay-sur-Aronde), and they are also often found near to important routeways within the *pagus*. The presence of older monuments was evidently an additional factor in some cases, as the aerial photographs of fifteen sites show the presence of one or more Bronze Age circular tumuli, including Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Brunaux 1996 67). There were clearly many requirements influencing the positioning of shrines in the landscape, and Brunaux (*ibid.* 67-8) suggested that they were used to help define and mark out the territories of different groups, much in the same way as many classical Greek sanctuaries (e.g. temple of Hera at Argos: Osborne 1987 169). The need of such territorial definition was undoubtedly conditioned by the growing hierarchization of the society within southern Belgic Gaul, which also resulted in the increased circulation of coins and imported goods, and greater specialisation in agricultural and craft production (Derks 1998 183). The paucity of such loci within the north of the territory reflects a less institutionalised society consisting of a variety of much smaller sub-groups.

iv) Hierarchy of Gallic cult sites

Religious organisation within much of northern Gaul undoubtedly followed the socio-political organisation, in being localised and hierarchical (Roymans 1990 49), and it therefore seems likely that the cult sites would also have held such variances. The three main socio-political levels in both La Tène and Gallo-Roman society were the *civitas*, *pagi* and the local groups, all of which may have possessed their own specific cult loci (Brunaux 1996 68). The *pagus* especially seems to have had a high degree of autonomy in the religious sphere, as shown by many votive inscriptions of the Gallo-Roman period that were dedicated to the *genius* of the *Pagi* (Roymans 1990 50). It is probable that in the pre-Roman period, it was the *pagus* rather than the *civitates* that formed the main socio-political and religious unit, with the later comprising more of a loose confederation of such groups, especially in the north of Belgic Gaul. Of the thirty or so probable shrine sites in northern Gaul, the majority are likely to have functioned as cult foci of the *pagus* (Roymans 1990 73, Brunaux 1996 68), with a few possibly on a *civitas* level. The evidence for this includes:

1) The large quantities of weapons and other elite status objects deposited at many cult sites.

2) The fact that several sites (e.g. Gournay-sur-Aronde and Bracquemont, Roymans 1990 63) were situated within large Oppida.

3) Many of the sites (e.g. Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Vendeuil-Caply and Saint-Maur) developed into large Gallo-Roman religious complexes.

4) Epigraphic evidence that certain cult places (e.g. at Eu, Delestree 1984) were pagus or tribal sanctuaries in the Roman period (Roymans 1990 73).

As to the cult loci of the local sub-*pagus* groups, very little is known, presumably because there were little or no structural features, a scarcity of non-perishable votive objects, and perhaps more importantly, they were not subsequently developed into masonry religious complexes during the Roman period (Derks 1998 169, Brunaux 1996 66).

3. Comparisons with British cult loci

Comparative analysis between the cult sites of southern Britain and north-east Gaul is hampered by a large numerical discrepancy. Roymans (1990 62-8) listed thirty three late Iron Age cult sites within a geographically restricted region of northern Gaul, whereas in southern Britain, the present author has identified only eight convincing sites, spread over a wide area. As would perhaps be expected from such a situation, there is far less homogeneity among the British shrines, although there are occasional broad similarities that may be traced among many sites on both sides of the Channel. Topographical positioning is one such homogeneous factor, as the majority of British and Gallic sites were situated in prominent positions, usually on elevated ground, so as to be visible from large distances. Furthermore, many were sited away from contemporary domestic settlement. The shrines at Gournay-sur-Aronde, Maiden Castle and South Cadbury were situated within prominent parts of large enclosed settlement spaces, yet it seems that throughout most of their timespan, contemporary domestic occupation was either absent, or on a much-reduced scale. There is a broad similarity in the way that many cult sites were structured, although the lack of extensive excavation, together with stratigraphic

disturbances has meant that often the complete layout of the site remained unknown. Nevertheless, those sites that did exhibit a more comprehensive structural pattern (e.g. Hayling Island, Thetford, Gournay, St Maur etc.), generally consisted of a central focus and an enclosure boundary of some sort, with an area in between. The focus may have been a cult object or pit, surrounded by a shrine structure of some kind, or it may have been the shrine itself. A comparison of the votive assemblages reveals a similar range of items, in that martial equipment, ornamentation, coins and animal bones were key elements within many British and Gallic ritual sites. Certain find types were more dominant at different loci, so that for example at Harlow and Eu, native coins predominated, while at Thetford and Vendeuil-Caply, fibulae were among the most common artefacts to be found. Evidence for the ritual use of animals, via sacrifice and feasting, was found at most British and around half of the Gallic sites, implying that this was a common method of religious practice. As with the artefacts, it was often the case that certain animal types were preferred over others, thereby implying deliberate selectivity. The preference for certain types of artefact and ecofact was undoubtedly in accordance with the cult practised at the site, and may thus reflect the values of the local or regional communities. Because of the regional variety, it is generally not possible, or indeed useful, to attempt more direct parallels between Gallic and British cult sites. However, one exception is Hayling Island, which has many structural and artefactual similarities to certain Belgic sites, and may have been constructed under considerable influence from northern Gaul, possibly even by elite immigrants. The overall influence of Gallic cult sites upon those in Britain is more difficult to tell. However, it is certainly possible that the adoption in a few parts of Britain of a specialised segregated area reserved for cult activity may have had some influence from Gaul. More specifically, this influence would have derived from the Gallo-Roman period, when contacts with southern Britain seem to have increased and been diffused over a wider area (Cunliffe 1988a 140-4).

Chapter 5

Analysis of Romano-British sacred space (1^{st} - 4^{th} century AD)

The aim of this chapter is to examine the development of constructed cult sites throughout the Roman period within the prescribed study area. Particular attention is focused on aspects of functional and spatial analysis, and consequently priority has been given to those sites where sufficient spatially orientated data is available. This may well lead to some unavoidable degree of bias, and ensures a greater emphasis on Romano-Celtic type temples, which were the most numerous and data-rich of the religious structures. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to include a sufficiently wide variety of cult sites in the overall analysis.

The chapter is divided into three main sub - sections (5.1 - 3). In the first (5.1), seven primary sites have been selected for detailed spatial analysis (fig. 5.1), testing data against the hypotheses, as in the previous chapter. In most cases, the original archive material has been consulted and, where possible, phased distribution and site development plans have been constructed. In 5.2, fourteen secondary sites have been subjected to a more perfunctory examination of their chronology, context, use of space and finds assemblage. Their selection is based upon a reasonable standard of data and/or a large quantity of diagnostic finds, and their numbers have been limited by the size constraint of this study (see appendix 1.1). In general, only the published reports were used, although occasionally supplemented by archive data. This is noted in the text. In a few instances, limited artefact distribution maps have been drawn to aid in the analysis. Finally in 5.3, a comparative analysis is performed, incorporating all of the ninety or so temples within seventy-five sites from the database in the appendix (appendix 1.3). This is augmented by a further brief comparison with cult sites from northern Gaul.

Section 5.1

Primary site analysis

Site Name	Site Type
Brigstock	Small rural religious site/complex
Harlow	Part of a rural religious complex (?)
Henley Wood	Rural temple, adjacent to hillfort
Nettleton Scrubb	Within a valley settlement/large religious complex
Springhead	Within an urban settlement/large religious complex
Uley	Rural religious complex/settlement
Verulamium 2	Urban temple

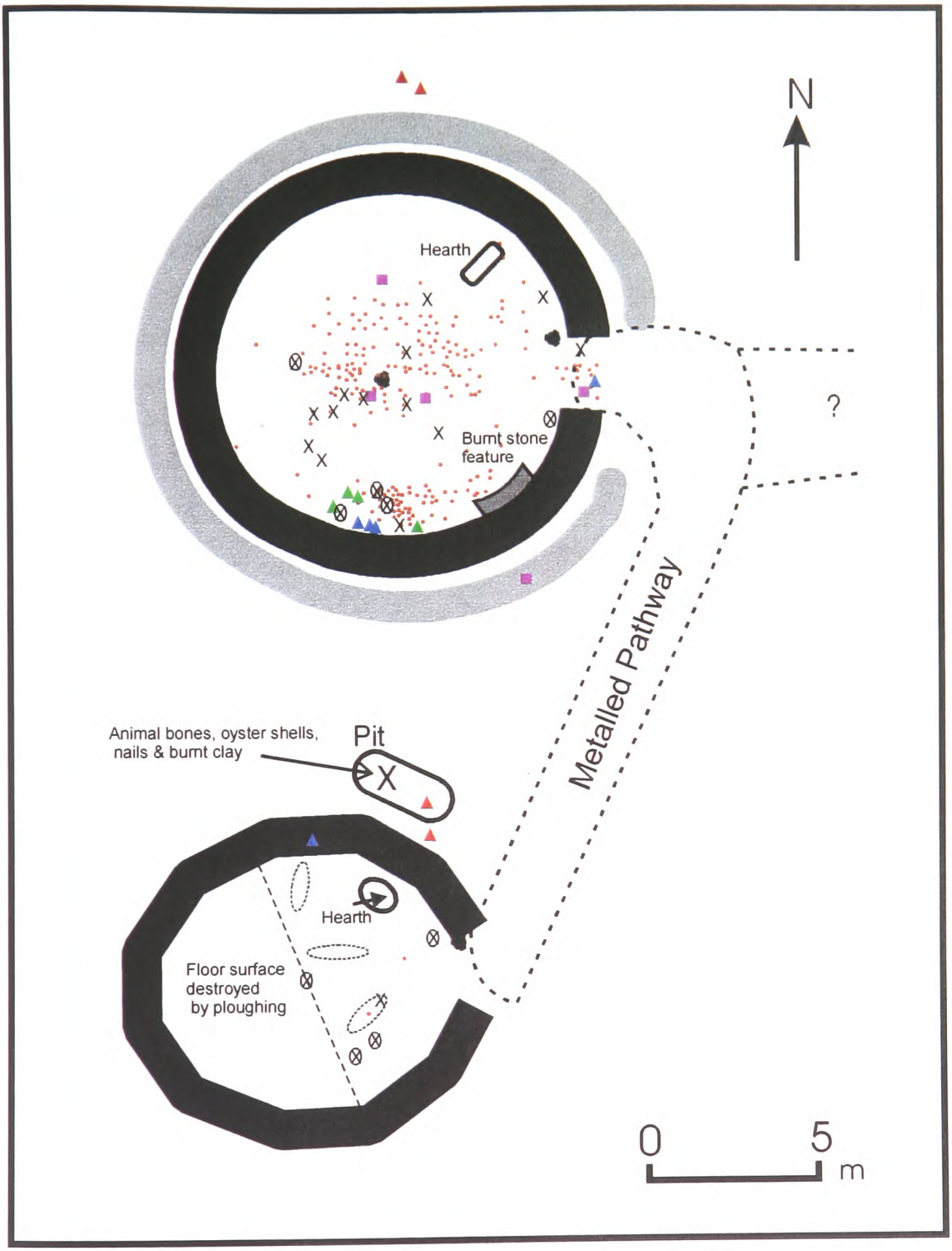
Fig. 5.1: Primary sites

Brigstock, Northamptonshire

1. Site Description

The circular and polygonal structures at Brigstock were excavated by Ernest Greenfield in 1961 and published in the *Antiquaries Journal* (Greenfield 1963). They were of relatively simple construction, both orientated to the east and connected by means of a metalled pathway, which may have continued eastwards at one point (see map 5.1). Yet although they were quite modest buildings, they were associated with a large number of finds, some of a specifically religious nature, and therefore their interpretation as shrines is not in doubt. The scale of excavation was much smaller than that of most other primary sites, it being limited just to the shrines themselves and the inter-connecting area. Additionally, much of the polygonal structure's western interior was disturbed by plough damage. Nevertheless, the published account contained sufficient information to be able to accurately provenance most of the finds from the site, and therefore provide an insight into the use of space within smaller religious structures in this part of Roman Britain.

Map 5.1: Brigstock finds distribution



- Coin
- Votive object
- Martial item
- Personal ornamentation
- Animal bones in pit
- Animal bones on surface
- Pole-tip
- Oven

2. Chronology and context

The chronology of the Brigstock shrines was given by the excavator as from mid 3rd to late 4th century AD, on the basis of the general coin assemblage (Greenfield 1963 239). As the floor was of compacted earth and therefore not a sealed surface, more direct dating was limited, although 2nd century coins and pottery sherds from what seem to be pre-shrine levels do suggest this as being a *terminus post quem*. The lack of many early 3rd century coins is in accordance with a national paucity of such issues, and therefore it is certainly possible that the shrines were built at this time. The destruction of the building is likely to have taken place at the end of the 4th century, although the presence of two Valentinian coins within the floor level under the rubble suggests that at least part of the superstructure was surviving at this point, with deposits still being made. The large numbers of coins on top of the rubble (see fig. 5.2) could partly be attributed to disturbances, although may indicate continued use of the shrine after its collapse.

	Within the Floor	Base of Rubble	Within Rubble	On top of rubble	Total
1st – 2nd Century	5	5	0	2	12
3rd Century	10	21	8	27	66
c.AD 300-360	8	8	20	26	62
c. AD 361 +	2	10	11	10	33
General 4th Century	5	12	8	19	44
Total	30	56	47	84	217

Fig. 5.2: Brigstock: Coins from the general levels in the circular shrine

The Brigstock shrines were situated on gently sloping ground, c. 2 km north of the Roman road linking Leicester and Godmanchester. It was an area of widespread occupation, both before and throughout the Roman period, although only limited local excavations have taken place (Greenfield 1963 229). The nearest excavated villa was at Great Weldon, c. 4km to the north-west, which spanned all of the Roman period, albeit with many modifications (Smith *et al.* 1990 23). It was completely re-built in the early 3rd century AD and contained a circular structure similar to that at Brigstock adjacent to the main house (*ibid.* 27). Further afield was a small, undefended settlement at Ashton, c. 10

km to the east, which underwent major structural and boundary changes towards the end of the 2nd century AD (Burnham and Wacher 1990 279). Finally, the nearest major settlement was at Water Newton, c. 15 km to the north-east, within which was a religious precinct containing a probable Romano-Celtic temple and a circular structure (*ibid.* 90). In its northern suburbs were three further circular buildings that were interpreted as shrines (*ibid.*), although the lack of positive evidence makes such a hypothesis unsustainable.

3. Hypotheses

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

As only limited parts of the site were excavated, it is uncertain as to whether the Brigstock shrines were locally isolated, or part of a larger religious complex, although test trenches to the north failed to reveal any further features (Greenfield 1963 229). The connecting metalled road shows that the two buildings were closely integrated, and it may have acted as a ceremonial pathway, possibly continuing to the east towards other structures. The larger circular building would seem to dominate and therefore act as the prime focus within the site, and in the centre of this a large post-hole may have held an inner focus, or may have alternatively been for structural support. Each of the structures contained a hearth, thought to have been contemporary, both positioned in about the same place – to the right hand side near the wall as you would enter the building. This could imply specific guidelines regarding the position of a feature used in cult ritual. Deliberately positioned on the opposite left-hand side within the circular shrine was a group of re-used stone blocks, some of which were burnt. Although this was suggested as a bench or doorstep for a secondary entrance (*ibid.* 230), it could have been another ritual focus within the shrine, associated with the many finds located nearby. The internal layout of the polygonal building is less certain as much of it was destroyed by ploughing. It is unknown if any or all of the three ovens were contemporary with the use of the building (*ibid.* 237; see hypothesis 4).

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

The vast majority of finds from the 1961 excavation came from within the circular building, suggesting that this was the focus of ritual deposition in the site. Within this structure there were further concentrations that allow for specific 'offering zones' to be detected, some of which may be chronologically differentiated according to their stratigraphy. For the example, the coins can be divided into two broad groups:

a) Those concentrated in the south (left-hand side) of the shrine, mostly from layers within or on top of the floor surface.

b) Those concentrated in the centre of the shrine, most from within or on top of the rubble layer, lying over the original floor.

This suggests that during the main period of the shrine's use, the southern section acted as a depositional focus, then this shifted to the central part when the shrine was in decay, but worship still continued. The smaller group within the entranceway would also seem to indicate an offering zone, although the stratigraphical position is unfortunately not recorded. As to the other find groups, there is still a noticeable concentration in the southern sector, although no consistency at any specific stratigraphic level. None of the specifically 'votive items' (see hypothesis 3) were located in this region however, instead being located towards the central area and in the entranceway, all on floor surface levels. Whether this implies any differentiation in the deposition of artefact types is uncertain, as the number of votive objects is too small to make such a conclusion. The lack of artefacts in the southern building is striking and this cannot have been because of greater plough damage, as more objects would surely have been contained in the upper plough soil. It is perhaps more likely to represent the functional disparity of the polygonal structure.

3. *'The nature of the votive artefact assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site'*

The artefact assemblage was dominated by coins, and the fact that their relative proportions conform to regional domestic sites need not preclude them, as the published

report suggests (Carson 1963 240), as being of votive character. Indeed, their concentration within a religious context suggests that many were used as votive offerings by individuals coming to the site. A small number of jewellery items were recovered, including an intaglio from the wall trench of the polygonal structure and a few finger-rings from the interior of the circular shrine, all of which would also appear to have represented personal offerings. Four projectile heads and a trident purport to a possible martial character to the cult, a suggestion further emphasised by the nature of some of the specially-made votive objects found at the site. Two bronze horse and rider statuettes were of a military character (i.e. riders in military dress) and were part of a regional iconographic tradition (Taylor 1963 265). A third bronze horse may originally have held another rider. Further votive objects included a miniature bust, axe-head and table, all of which may have been produced especially for religious purposes, though not necessarily just for this cult. Lastly, a number of items described as 'pole-tips' were found concentrated in the southern part of the circular structure, containing holes in their bases to which rings were originally attached. These enigmatic items were suggested as akin to rattles and therefore used as a sound accompaniment in cult ritual (*ibid.* 268).

4. *'The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)'*

Both the circular and polygonal buildings were associated with a number of structured animal deposits. Species selectivity was unapparent, with ox and sheep/goat occurring in similar proportions, followed by pig and domestic fowl. These bones occurred at two distinct levels – those from the floor surface, and those that were buried in the floor – although even in the former case, there is evidence to suggest that they were deliberately positioned and not just discarded waste. The floor level bones were only found in the circular shrine and consisted for the most part of the lower hind limbs of cattle (Biek and Crips 1963 261), thereby implying a degree of bone and species selectivity. Most of these bone groups were lying along an east-west axis, and in certain cases, it was possible to infer that attaching skin and flesh had originally connected them. The bones placed in pits were less homogeneous and in many cases, several species were represented in a single

deposit. Yet in certain instances deliberate structured positioning was evident, with coins placed underneath or bronze objects being placed on them, as indicated by green staining (*ibid.*). In one case, it would appear that a single coin was placed in the mouth of the sheep's head at the time of burial (Greenfield 1963 234). In other deposits, the apparently more casual positioning of a variety of animal bones was suggested as probably representing food remains from ritual meals (Biek and Crips 1963 261). If any of the three ovens found near the centre of the polygonal structure were contemporary, then it may provide some clue as to one of this building's functions – that of food preparation. Another indication of this is from the stone slab-lined oval pit just outside, which contained sheep bones, oyster shells, burnt clay, charcoal deposits, and 3rd century pottery, including a flanged pie-dish (Greenfield 1963 235). This may have been material derived from the octagonal structure.

5. *'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function'*

There were no indications in the published report that human bones were found at the site.

6. *'Distinct industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would be indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

The area of excavation was too small to be able to detect the presence or absence of associated industrial or commercial areas, and just because the two buildings were relatively modest, it need not imply that such areas would not exist.

4. Site summary

The structures at Brigstock would seem to have represented a rural religious site serving the local area, including the nearby villa, with which it may perhaps have been more closely associated. It could have been part of a wider complex of other buildings, similar to that excavated at Collyweston c.15 km to the north (Knocker 1966; see appendix 1.3),

although the latter's religious status is more ambiguous. The two buildings excavated were of a different character, with the site being clearly dominated by the larger circular building, which can confidently be interpreted as a shrine. The function of the polygonal structure is less certain and though it may well have been a subsidiary shrine, it could also have been used in food preparation for ritual feasting. The overall assemblage would seem to have been representative of a small local cult of a partly martial character, or at least a cult frequented by patrons with martial associations. There is evidence to suggest that even after the buildings became dilapidated in the later fourth century, some form of religious propitiation continued, albeit possibly only for a brief period.

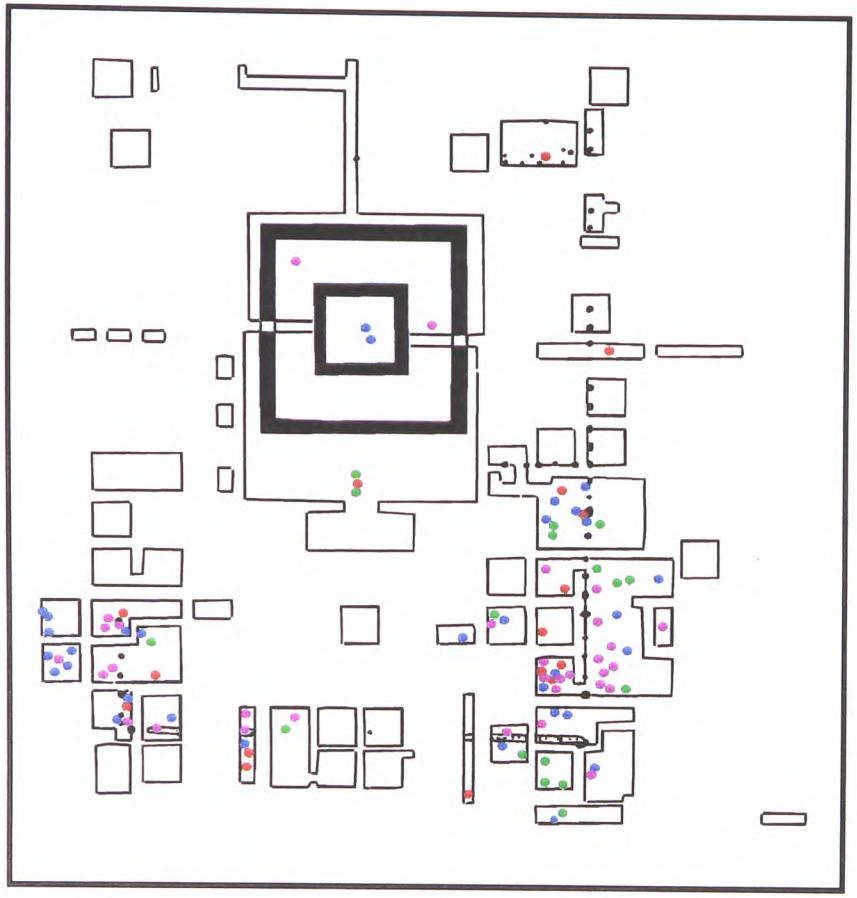
Harlow, Essex.

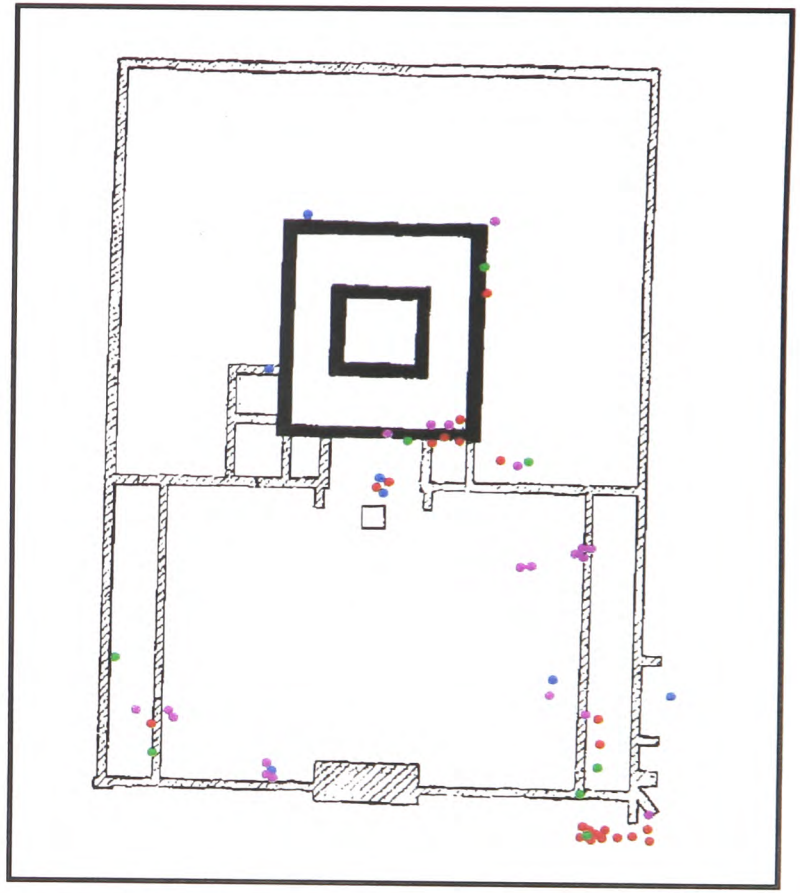
1. Site description

The existence of a Roman structure on Stanegrove Hill in Harlow has been known since at least the 18th century, although it was not until the excavation by Miller Christy in 1927 that it was perceived as a temple of Romano-Celtic type (France and Gobel 1985 15). The single day that Mortimer Wheeler spent at the site, led him to produce the first English synthesis on such buildings, with Harlow effectively becoming the type-site with which others were compared (Wheeler 1928). Hill and Cottrill carried out further brief work in 1935-7 (Richmond 1963 139), but the most extensive excavations were conducted by the West Essex Archaeological Group (WEAG) during the years 1962 to 1971 (France and Gobel 1985). The most recent excavations of Richard Bartlett (1985 to 1989: Bartlett 1988) were primarily concerned with pre-temple activity (see 4.1), although many items from Roman levels were recovered.

The masonry temple was constructed about seven metres north of the earlier circular feature (see 4.1), and consisted originally of a square cella surrounded by an ambulatory of similar construction (phase 1a). Internally, there was little of note beyond part of the original floor substructure, with the surface being raised at least 0.3 metres above ground level (France and Gobel 1985 31). Externally, the only contemporary feature was a well-laid cobbled surface, covering an area at least 27 x 15 metres, to the east of the temple (*ibid.* 32). A small gully to the northeast may have been part of some internal division

Map 5.2: Roman Harlow: Specific finds distribution (from 1962-71 excavations)





N

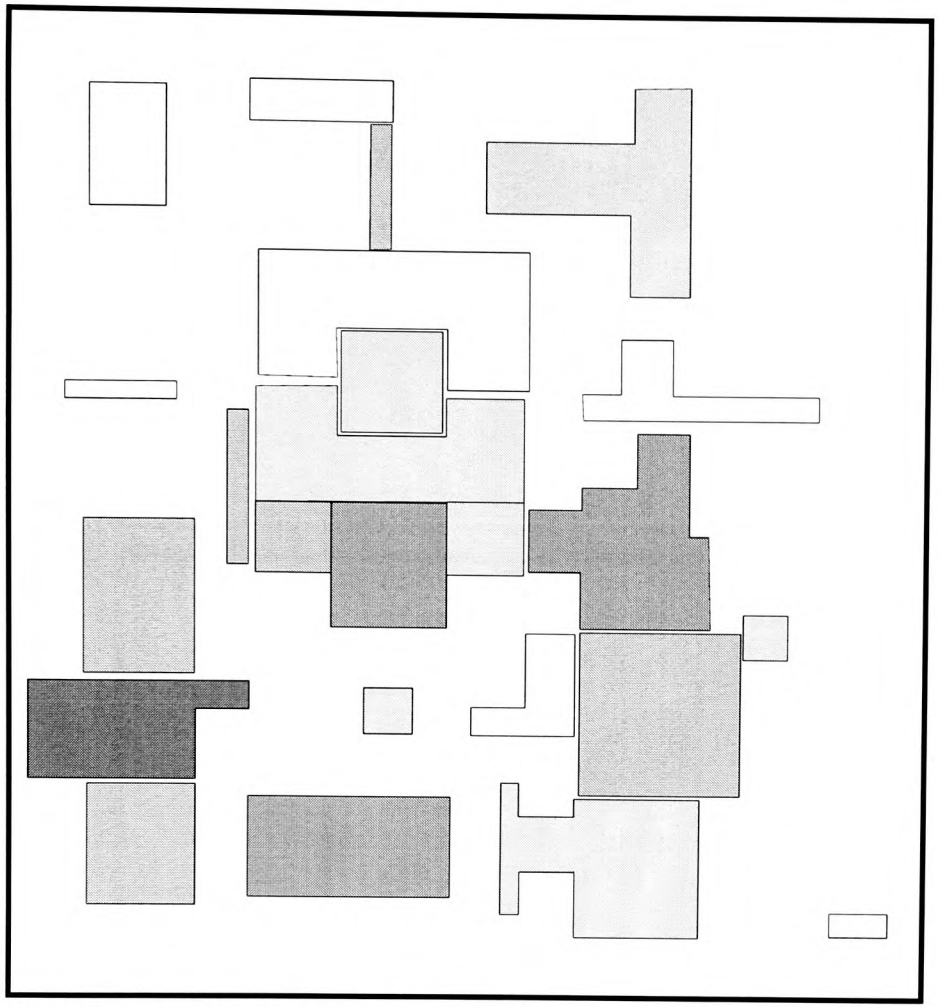
5.2a: Phase 1 a + b

5.2b: Phase 2 (including destruction layer)

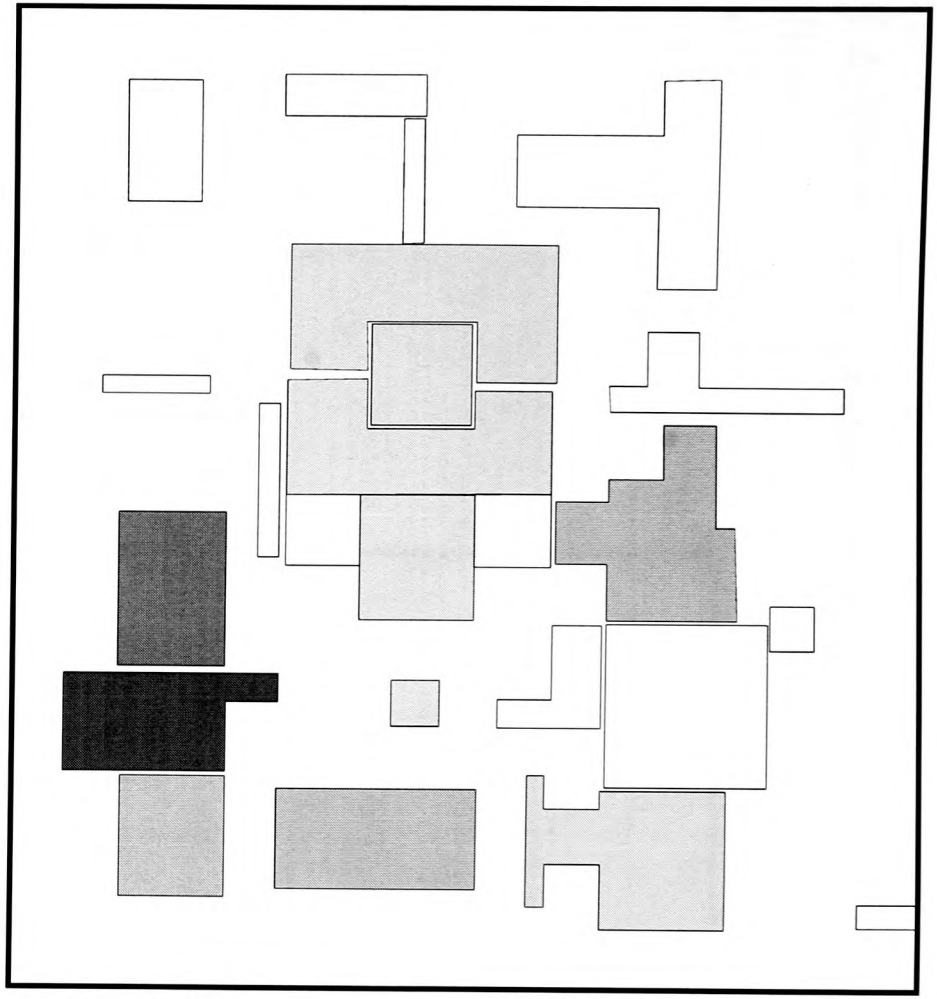
- Roman coin
- British coin
- Brooch
- Other personal item
- Post hole

0 10 m

Map 5.3: Roman Harlow distribution density: Coins from topsoil



5.3a: Roman coins

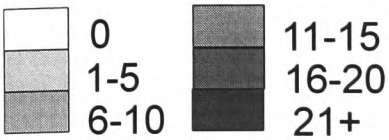


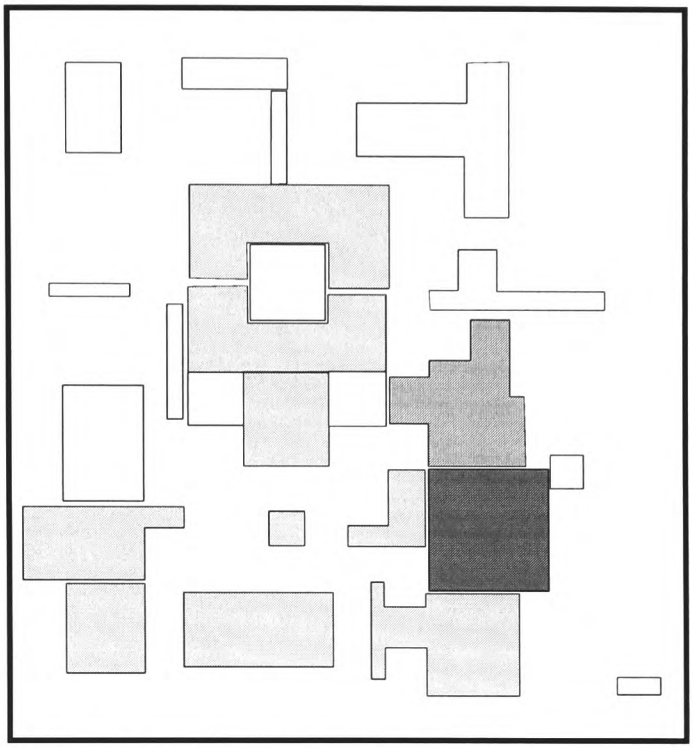
5.3b: British coins

0
1-5
6-10
11-15
16-20
21+

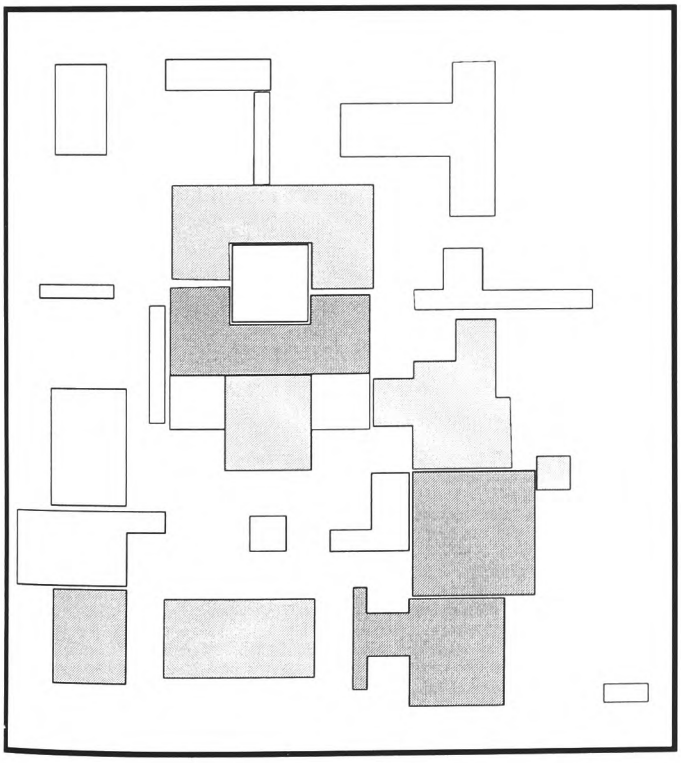
Map 5.4: Roman Harlow distribution density: Miscellaneous metal objects

(Bronze & iron strips, plates, tools, knives, vessel fragments, structural items, etc.)

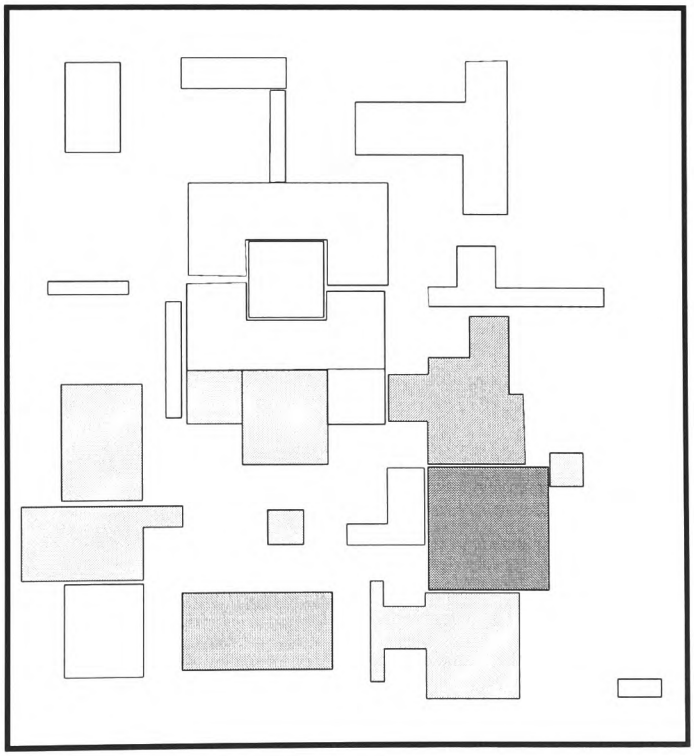




5.4a: Phase 1 (a & b)



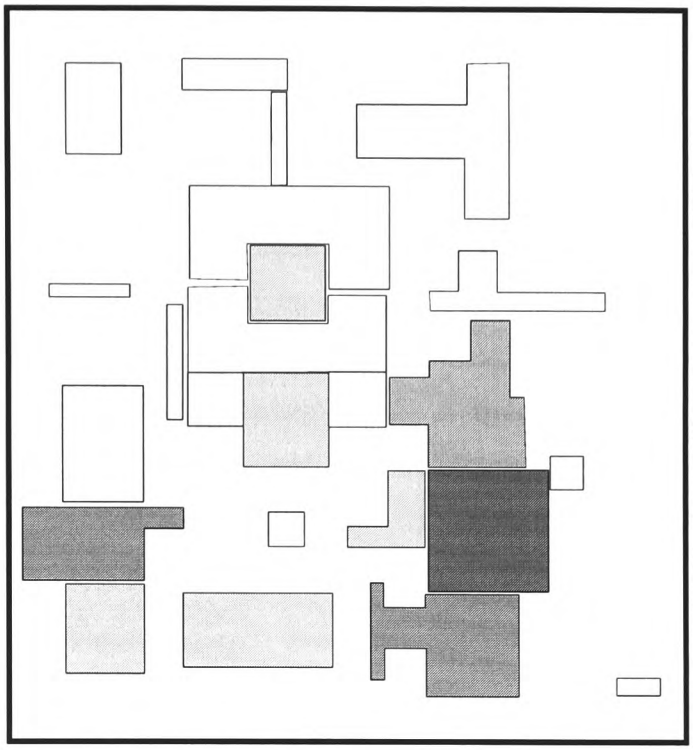
5.4b: Phase 2



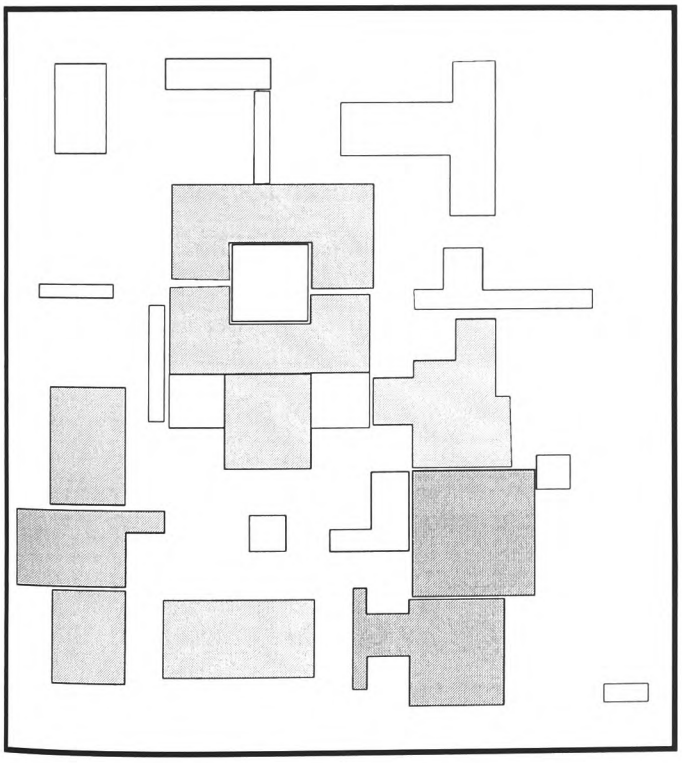
5.4c: Topsoil

Map 5.5: Roman Harlow distribution density: Personal items

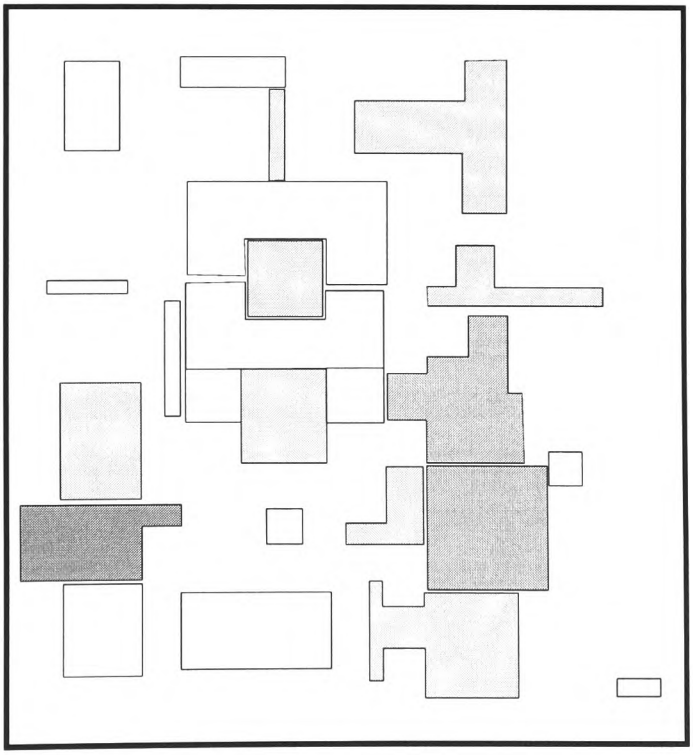
(Brooches, pins, bracelets, fastenings etc.)



5.5a: Phase 1 (a + b)



5.5b: Phase 2



5.5c: Topsoil

within the courtyard, but is unlikely to represent the temenos boundary, as the cobbles continued on both sides. The next sub-phase (1b) saw the imposition of a substantial wooden palisade surrounding the temple, represented by a number of large postholes, and a timber slot gully running along the southeast side. A line of five perpendicular posts near to the eastern corner of the temple seem to have subdivided the temenos, although they may not have been contemporary (*ibid.* 35). The major phase of reconstruction (phase 2) resulted in two small annexe structures being placed on either side of the entrance, creating a porch which contained foundations for either a ramp or stairs leading from the courtyard to the temple. Situated in front of the entrance was a square foundation, which is likely to have been the main cult altar. Two additional rooms were built around the southern part of the temple, and the temenos was reconstructed in masonry, with two long rooms flanking the eastern and western sides of the courtyard.

This analysis is based primarily upon evidence from the 1962-1971 excavations, utilising the published report (France and Gobel 1985) and information derived from the original excavation notebooks, housed at Harlow Museum. These were consulted on a number of occasions, with the kind help of Richard Bartlett and Betty Gobel, one of directors of the 1960s dig. It was excavated in a series of trenches, which mostly followed the outline of the temple and surrounding masonry structures, and thus a complete picture of the site was not obtained. A large number of objects were found at the site, although because of the disturbed nature of much of the upper stratigraphy, many of them were located in the disturbed topsoil. Maps 5.2a and 5.2b show the specific distribution within the excavated trenches of certain find types, as they relate to the two main phases. There were, however, a number of finds that could not be plotted, except to the trench number, and therefore the remaining maps (5.3 - 5.5) reveal the more general distribution density of finds across the site. Although it is unlikely that the finds from the disturbed topsoil would have remained horizontally static since deposition, their position is unlikely to have altered greatly, so they have been included in the density maps. The Roman level finds from the 1985-9 excavation, in the area of the temple courtyard and side buildings, have also been taken into account, but most items – especially those above pre-Flavian levels – have yet to be accurately phased.

2. Chronology and context

The chronology of the masonry temple is primarily based upon coin evidence, occasionally supplemented by data from pottery. Unfortunately, parts of the site were stratigraphically disturbed, either through the numerous rebuilding stages or by later stone robbing, and therefore many coins were located in the upper levels. However, the occasional well-stratified coin, such as the As of Vespasian found sealed in the cobbles of the courtyard (Gobel 1985 68), indicated that the temple was probably constructed in the late 1st century AD. Coins ranging from Claudius to Vespasian were also found sealed beneath the cobbles, and therefore there seems to have been little or no gap between the preceding depositional phase (see 4.1) and the temple's construction. The overall concentration of 1st century AD coins suggests that activity was fairly intense during this early period, although the lack of many 2nd century issues is in accordance with many Romano-British sites, and need not intimate a decline in use. Indeed, one of the postholes of the phase 1b enclosure, which cut through a layer of occupation deposit on the cobbles, contained a coin of Nerva, thereby suggesting an early 2nd century date for construction. A thicker occupation layer preceded the main structural development of phase 2, and as this also covered the postholes, it implies that there was a gap between the palisade's removal and its replacement with masonry walls. There may therefore have been a brief decline in the use of the temple, although the date of this period is uncertain. A sealed coin of Crispina in a pit under one of the temple annexes indicates a *terminus post quem* for phase 2 of AD 178, although it could have been well into the 3rd century AD. Activity during the 4th century is indicated primarily by the numerous coins, which range as far as Valentinian II (AD 389-92), in addition to the reasonable quantity of 4th century pottery. However, during the later part of this century, it appears as though the temple was in a state of decay, as coin levels decreased significantly and issues of the house of Constantine were found directly underneath the destruction plaster and rubble (France and Gobel 1985 48). There was undoubtedly some activity at the site during the later 4th and 5th centuries, but the nature of this is uncertain.

The temple was situated in a prominent position on the hill top above the river Stort, just 0.5 km from the low lying 'settlement' at Holbrooks, from which it would have been highly visible. The difficulties of interpretation of the Holbrooks site have already been

mentioned (4.1), but it was clear that there was at least one large masonry building in the area excavated, and as Drury and Rodwell surmised;

> *Very few structures in the small towns and in the countryside of Roman Essex were provided with walls and foundations of mortared masonry. This type of construction was essentially limited to religious and administrative buildings, and to the principal residences on the larger agricultural estates.*
>
> (Drury and Rodwell 1980 70);

The quantity and typology of finds would suggest, as Fitzpatrick (1985 52) and Haselgrove (1987 397) have asserted, that a religious function is more likely, and it may therefore have been part of a wider religious complex, the majority of which lies un-excavated. The datable material is complementary to the Harlow site, ranging from 1st century BC to 4th century AD. A group of late 2nd/3rd century building material in a pit near to the large building may relate to a period of reconstruction, which would correlate with the temple phase 2.

Other features in the vicinity of the temple include a well and mosaic lying towards Holbrooks, which may have been part of the complex, an area of metalworking c.0.5 km to the southeast, and at least two villas (Harlow Mus. Archive). A major north-south Roman road is known to have passed through the area (Drury and Rodwell 1980 61).

3. Hypotheses:

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

For over 250 years, the only known constant structure within the site remained the temple, which would seem to be the most important focal component. Its corners were aligned on the cardinal points, with the entrance lying to the southeast. Whether there had existed some kind of formal boundary around it before the wooden palisade is uncertain, but the area of well-worn cobbling attests to an outer sacred precinct of some kind. Even though there was some temporal discontinuity between them, the two enclosures were similar both in size and layout, thereby suggesting a prescribed set of spatial rules was applied to them. They both divided the area into two spatially, and perhaps functionally,

distinct precincts - one in front of the temple and the other surrounding the sides and rear. There was therefore a front-rear dichotomy, surrounding a focal temple. The layout of the sanctuary is most lucid during phase 2 (see map 5.2b), when a high degree of structural planning is evident. The main linear axis of the site passes from the enclosure entranceway, through the courtyard and altar base, to the temple cella on the other side. There would have been a clear visual symmetry, with the courtyard extending around 17 metres either side of the axis line. Although the two southern temple annex rooms would appear to break this symmetry, it is doubtful whether they would have been visible from the courtyard, which suggests they are likely to have been functional, and not meant purely for architectural embellishment. The appearance of tessellated pavements in one of the front annexes and in the eastern side room would also suggest some kind of functionality, but there are no convincing indications as to its nature.

The early appearance of a substantial enclosure palisade, and its later replacement with well-constructed masonry walls, attests to the importance attached to the temenos boundary. The gateway was situated in the middle of the southeastern wall, but had been substantially robbed, down to the lowest foundation courses (France and Gobel 1985 47). Nevertheless, the pit left by its removal was quite substantial, measuring nearly eight metres in length, and therefore it can be presumed that it was of monumental proportions. The wide ditch surrounding the base of the hill may have functioned as an outer sacred enclosure, but as it has not been dated, this is uncertain (Wheeler 1928 305). The only definite roadway excavated at Harlow lay just outside the temenos gateway, and was around the same width as the gate's foundations (France and Gobel 1985 47). Other pathways within the sanctuary are very difficult to establish because of the intermittently poor stratification, although the well-worn cobbled surface of the phase 1 courtyard does indicate a pattern of movement in this area (see hypothesis 2).

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

The uneven stratigraphy and limited selective area of excavation present great difficulties when attempting to analyse the spatial distribution of finds within the sanctuary at Harlow, but a number of patterns do emerge. The first major observation is that virtually

all of the finds, in all periods, were found in areas to the front of the temple. Even though the areas excavated to the sides and rear were comparatively small, this is still significant, and implies a functional divergence between the two zones. The temple, and especially the cella, contained very few finds, possibly because as it was slightly raised, the floor levels were non-existent and therefore no finds would remain *in situ* (France and Gobel 1985 32). Within the phase 1 temple forecourt, there were clear concentrations of finds on either side, as shown on maps 5.2a, 5.3a and 5.4a. This was a similar pattern to that of the preceding pre-Flavian deposits, and could therefore suggest some continuity of cult practice. The presence of these two separate 'offering zones' within the sanctuary, was further corroborated by the general distribution of items from Roman levels in the in 1985-9 trenches, which spanned the temple courtyard. In this case, the highest 'votive' finds concentrations were also to either side, leaving a less cluttered area along what would have been the main path to the temple entrance. There were fewer items found in definite phase 2 contexts, which may have been at least partly because of the more disturbed upper stratigraphy. However, there may also have been either a decline in the ritual offering of artefacts in the temple area, or else a removal of them in antiquity. The only significant concentration lay in the group of coins, primarily of the early 4th century AD, lying just outside a section of the southern temenos wall (map 5.2b), which may have been placed as a single deposit, later in the history of the site (but see hypothesis 6). It is quite probable that in both periods, those items found on occupation levels were actually the remains of artefacts that had been on display within the precinct, as opposed to specific deliberate deposits.

Around half of the items from the site came from the upper disturbed levels, which contained objects from the 1st to 4th century AD, and they generally concur with the other phases in being concentrated to the front of the temple (maps 5.3a-b, 5.4c and 5.5c). A late Roman pit had been dug in the western part of the courtyard, within the area containing the pre-Flavian circular structure, and this may reflect the high concentration of British coins in the disturbed topsoil in this area (map 5.3b). There is no convincing evidence for any segregation of different votive types. The only items to exhibit a slightly divergent distribution pattern are the miscellaneous metal objects, the majority of which

are unlikely to be votive in nature (maps 5.5a-c). In all phases, these tended to have a more definite concentration within the eastern, rather than the western range.

3. *'The nature of the votive artefact assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site'*

The number of items found in stratified phase 1 and 2 contexts during the 1962-71 excavations was far less than that of the preceding pre-Flavian period, totalling just under 250 artefacts (fig. 5.3). However, as with the previous assemblage, coins and personal items – especially brooches – were predominant, accounting for over 80% of objects. This also correlated with the finds from the other excavations at the site.

Find Type	Phase 1	Phase 2	Disturbed topsoil	Find type totals
Coins, British.	33	19	91	143
Coins, Roman.	15	22	79	116
Brooches	41	11	16	68
Other Personal items	29	8	17	54
Tools/implements	3	5	0	8
Military items	3	0	0	3
Structural	4	4	1	9
Vessel part	0	1	3	4
Miscellaneous Iron/bronze objects	16	13	22	51
Votive/temple items	5	0	3	8
Total number of objects by phase	150	85	232	464

Fig. 5.3: Harlow: Phased finds from 1962-71 excavations

British coins, which had been the prominent depositional type during the pre-Flavian period, continued to form a significant part of the assemblage after the construction of the temple, forming about 22% of artefacts. Haselgrove (1989a 76) argued that, "*The majority of* [British] *coins in post-first century AD contexts were presumably therefore disturbed and redeposited from earlier pre-temple deposits in the same area.*" However, this need not necessarily be the case, as it was perfectly feasible that such coins could have continued to be deposited, at least during phase 1, and could represent archaic offerings by local people. Although the quantity of objects from phase 2 contexts was

much reduced, there was, as would be expected, a higher percentage of Roman coins, accounting for 25 % of total artefacts. The British issues remained quite constant (22%), although it is likely that in these more disturbed contexts, many would have been residual. The occurrence of brooches and other personal items (finger rings, armlets, toiletries etc.) fell sharply between phase 1 and 2, and as there were also comparatively few in the disturbed topsoil, it does imply that, as votive offerings, these artefact types became less significant as time went on. Aside from the miscellaneous metal items, for which no function was apparent, the other artefacts form a comparatively minor group, but there are still some objects that may throw more light onto the nature of the cult practised at the site. There was a distinct martial character to a number of finds, including an extremely worn limestone relief of what has been postulated as a warrior-god (Green, M.J., forthcoming). Other items include the four model swords mentioned in the previous chapter, which despite resembling early 1st century AD Roman models (*ibid.*), could well have been deposited during phase 1. Indeed, one such model, which was encased in a bronze sheath (SF 2165), seems definitely to have been deposited in early-mid 2nd century AD levels, beneath the later masonry eastern range. A small number of other items were also recovered, including projectile heads and military fittings, but most of these were quite early in date, with none being securely ascribed to phase 2. Possibly the most important find from the 1985-9 excavation was the limestone helmeted head found in the courtyard, which was interpreted as being that of Minerva, and presumably the main cult statue (Bartlett 1988 166). There were two iron projectiles set into the helmet, probably for an ornamental crest (*ibid.*), a part of which may have been the gilded bronze object found nearby during the 1960s excavations. Other significant votive finds include a miniature pewter chalice and a curious model, which may represent a breast (Green, M.J. forthcoming), in which case it could indicate some fertility aspect to the cult. A votive gold leaf (phase 1) and bronze feather/leaf (unstratified) were also found, and belong to a class of votives found at a number of religious sites, such as the Romano-Celtic temple at Woodeaton (Goodchild and Kirk 1954). Finally, it is worth taking note of the artefacts found at the Holbrooks site, which included many coins, brooches, pins, bracelets, rings and toilet articles, as well as more specifically votive items such as bronze letters, leaves, model axes, the remains of possible head-dresses, and a pottery

face mask (Conlon 1973 37). This assemblage was of a similar chronology to that of the temple site, and it is therefore quite likely that they were both part of one larger religious complex.

4. *'The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)'*

Of all of the bones found in the past two excavations at Harlow, 9723 were identifiable to species level. An analysis of those bones from within the pre-Flavian contexts has already been discussed in 4.1 and there seems to have been very little difference in their ritual use during phases 1 and 2 of the temple. Young sheep remained by far the most numerous species recovered, followed by adult male pigs and then cattle. Both the sheep and pigs continued to exhibit bone selectivity, in that there was a general lack of left-hand elements. There thus appears to be definite evidence for cult continuity, and as Legge and Dorrington stated (1985 123), "*The alternative, that uniformity is the product of mixing of the bones of all layers, would require disturbance on a scale for which there is no evidence.*" The main differences between the phases lay in the total number of animal bones and their distribution within the site. During the 1962-71 excavations, which were based primarily around the temple and side buildings, just over one third of all bones were recovered, and of these, well over half were from definite pre-Flavian levels. The larger number of bones from the 1985-9 excavations, positioned across the courtyard, contained much higher percentages of bones from the temple phases, and only about 6.6% from pre-Flavian levels. The increase in the number of bones from the temple phases does not imply that sacrifice became a more frequent occurrence at the site, as these were spread over a much longer period of time. Indeed the evidence points to more concentrated sacrificial activity during the much shorter pre-Flavian period. However, what is significant is that the majority of temple phase bones came from the courtyard area, as opposed to the temple and side buildings, which implies that sacrifice, and probably feasting took place there. It is possible that the animals to be slaughtered were previously kept in the rear precinct, which seems to have been clear of most finds. As with the bones from pre-temple contexts (see 4.1), there is some evidence for specific

periods of slaughter, possibly linked to specific festivals (Legge & Dorrington 1985 132). The bone report (forthcoming) stated that the animal remains came mainly from occupation scatter and make-up levels between the courtyard floors and the side building area. Therefore, they do not seem to have been careful deposits, but rather the remnants of specific animal parts that had been used in temple ritual, then subsequently discarded. The only possible exception to this was the lamb's jaw found in association with a model sword. Finally, there was a late 2nd/3rd century pit at Holbrooks that contained many butchered bones and oyster shells, together with many votive items (Conlon 1973 36), and it therefore seems likely that ritual feasting also took place at this site.

5. *'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialized funerary function'*

There was no record of any structured human bone within the temple phases at Harlow. A single human parietal (skull) bone from a male sub-adult was found within a pit cut by the southeast ambulatory, and this was accorded a phase 1 date in the bone report (Legge and Dorrington 1985 124). However, this dating is highly improbable, as not only was the pit demonstrably earlier than the temple, but it was also sealed by the preceding brown loam layer (France and Gobel 1985 23), and could therefore have been pre-1st century AD.

6. *'Distinct industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would be indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

There were some craftworking tools found in phase 1 and 2 contexts, including spindlewhorls, hooks and chisels, but their functional range was too limited and numbers too small to suggest any industrial areas within the temple site itself. It is possible that they may have represented votive offerings made by craftsmen, and to this category of 'trade-related offerings' could be included an iron fish spear found in phase 1 levels (France and Gobel 1985 98). An area of Roman-era metalworking was located about 0.5 km to the southeast of the temple (Harlow temple archives), although no connections are apparent. More certain areas of metalworking lie within the site at Holbrooks (Conlon

1973 38). The presence of hearths and large quantities of iron slag indicate that ironworking was an important function, while hundreds of fragments of bronze sheeting, together with bronze droplets and slag suggests that bronzeworking was also performed here. Conlon (1973 38) originally interpreted the site as a manufacturing centre, producing votives for the temple, but it was later argued instead to have been another ritual locus (Fitzpatrick 1985 52, Haselgrove 1987 397). However, the extensive size of the site means that it could well have functioned in both spheres, with both workshops and religious buildings, all associated with the nearby Romano-Celtic temple. There is little convincing evidence of any commercial area, although presumably if this was a large religious complex with manufacturing ability, then they undoubtedly existed. The only possible evidence for such an area lay with the concentration of mainly 4th century coins outside the phase 2 temenos (map 5.2b), which could have been the result of temporary commercial stalls set up near to the main entrance.

4. Site summary

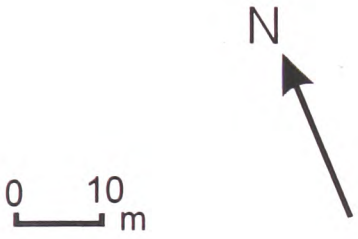
The Romano-Celtic temple at Harlow was probably part of a larger religious complex, which stretched from the 1st to 4th century AD. It seems likely that there was some degree of continuity from the ritual activity of the Roman transition period through into the temple era, reflected in the nature of both the artefact and ecofact assemblage. Three main building phases existed over the course of the site's history, and a high degree of structural planning appears to have been in evidence throughout. This was at its most visible during the final phase, where the sanctuary, which was enclosed by a substantial masonry temenos, was laid out on a clear linear axis. A large number of finds were recorded from the temple levels, almost all of which came from areas in front of the temple. Concentrations appeared on either side of the courtyard, possibly indicating two 'offering zones', flanking the main path up to the temple. During the final phase of the site there appears to have been a change in both the quantity and composition of stratified artefacts, although many of the items from the topsoil may have derived from this period, so it is difficult to be certain. The ritual use of animals is well attested, with a preference for lambs, killed at specific times of the year. The complex appears to have continued well into the 4th century AD, but by the 350s, there is evidence to suggest that decay had set in.

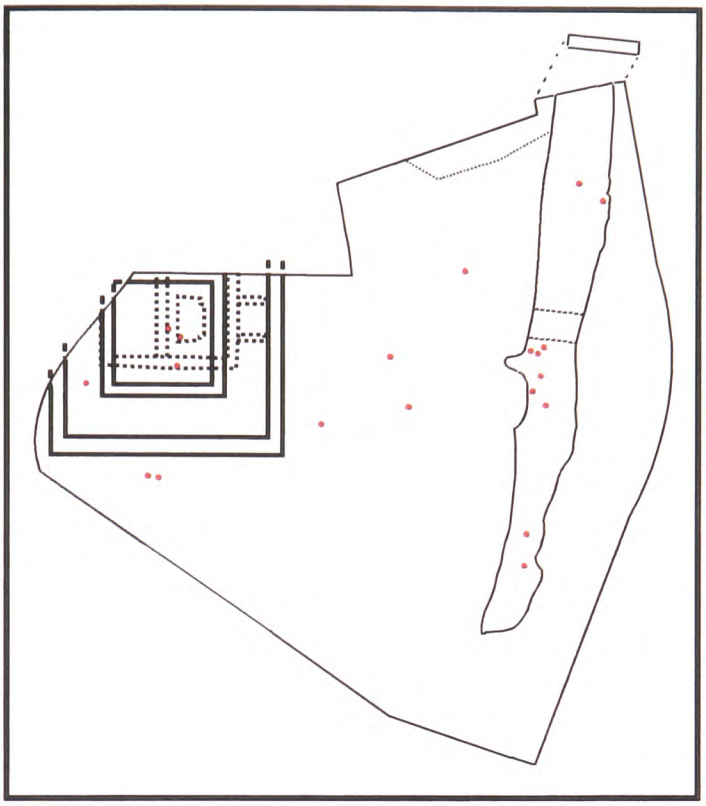
Henley Wood, North Somerset

1. Site description

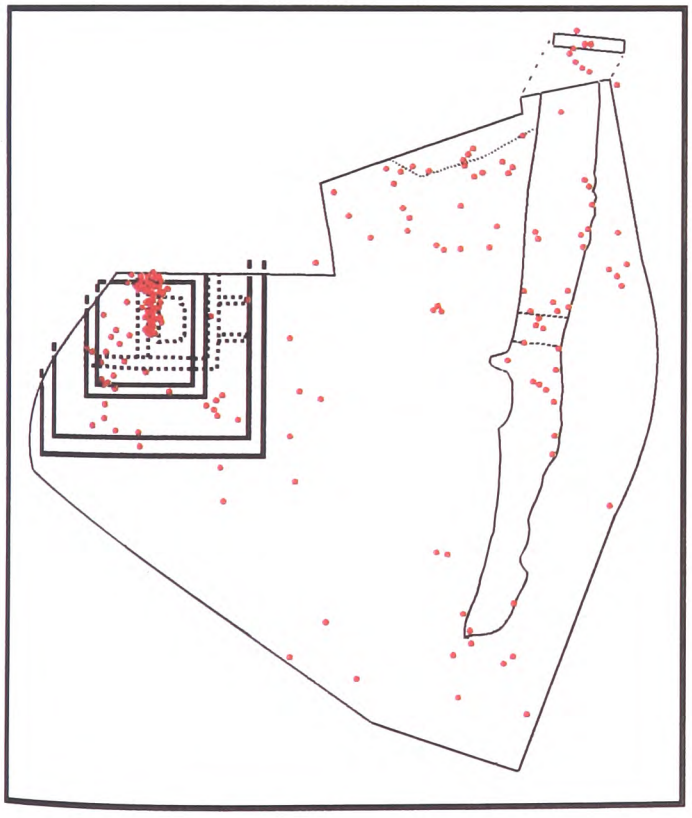
Excavations at Henley Wood were carried out under the direction of Ernest Greenfield between 1962 and 1969, although it was not until much later that the results became published (Watts and Leach 1996). A total of 943 square metres was excavated, uncovering a series of features belonging to a long-lived religious site, stretching from the late Iron Age/early Roman period to early Medieval times (*ibid.* 138-141). The most lucid architectural evidence to suggest such a function was a masonry structure resembling a Romano-Celtic temple, occupying a focal position within the site. Underneath this construction lay the remnants of two further stratigraphically distinct buildings, which were regarded as earlier religious structures, primarily on the basis of their position and alignment (*ibid.* 16, 18). The first of these (?temple 1) consisted merely of a single length of masonry foundation, while above this lay a more substantial two-roomed rectangular plastered building, with a porched entrance facing south east (temple 2). It was over this building that the masonry foundations of a square Romano-Celtic temple were laid (temple 3i), and just outside the southeastern entrance to the ambulatory lay an area of heavy metalling and two substantial foundations, possibly for porch columns (*ibid.* 22). Two inner foundations, positioned on either side of the entrance axis, could either have been free standing ritual structures (altars, statue bases etc.), or else used in the creation of a vestibule within the ambulatory. The levels in different parts of the ambulatory exhibited substantial variation - up to c.0.35 metres - and as that to the east was slightly lower than the metalled surface outside, there may have been a step down into the temple (Watts and Leach 1996 22). The floor of the phase 3i cella was more confusing, and may either have been built directly upon the earlier foundations, or else have consisted of a suspended wooden floor (see chronology section). In either case, it was higher than the surrounding ambulatory by at least 0.25 metres (*ibid.* 23-4). There was at least one phase of reconstruction (3ii), resulting in the aggrandisement of the entrance, the raising of the ambulatory floor, and the construction of 'benches' on either side of the cella entrance. Aside from the temple, there were a number of other important features at the site. An irregularly cut ditch was positioned c.15 metres to the east, running across the spur, with its northeast end being cut by later quarrying. It presumably

Map 5.6: Henley Wood
Phased coin distribution





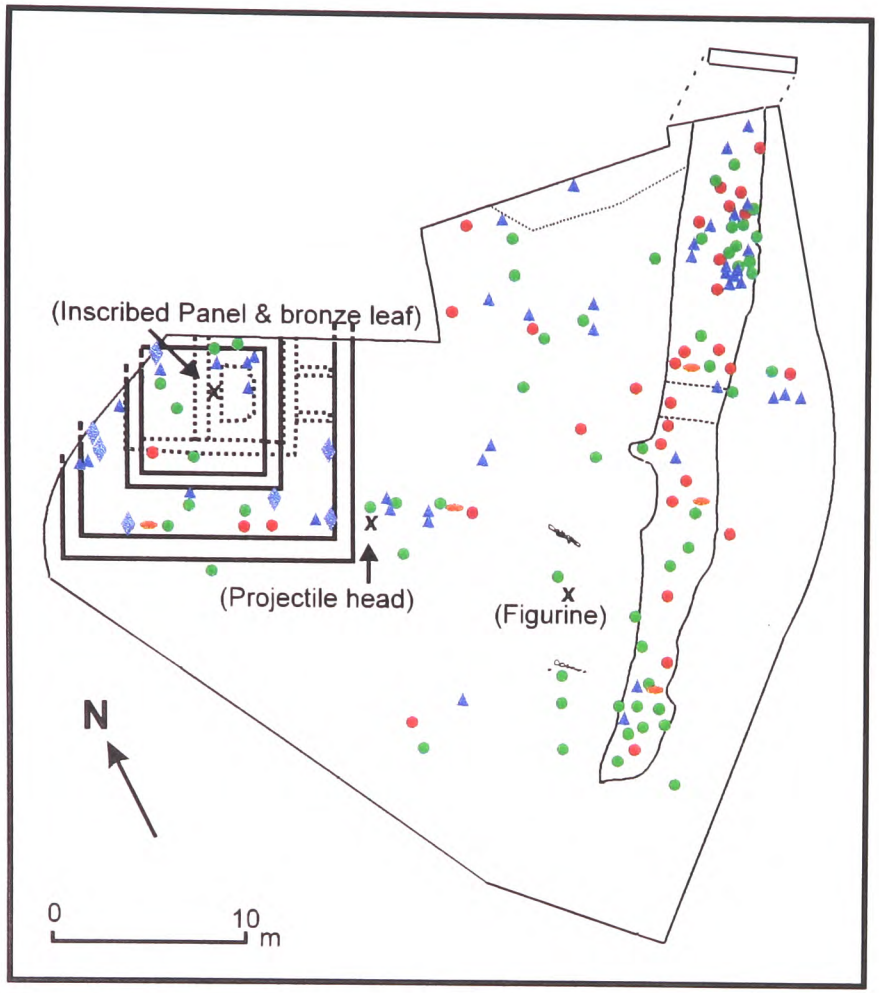
5.6a: 1st - 2nd Century Coins



5.6b: 3rd century Coins

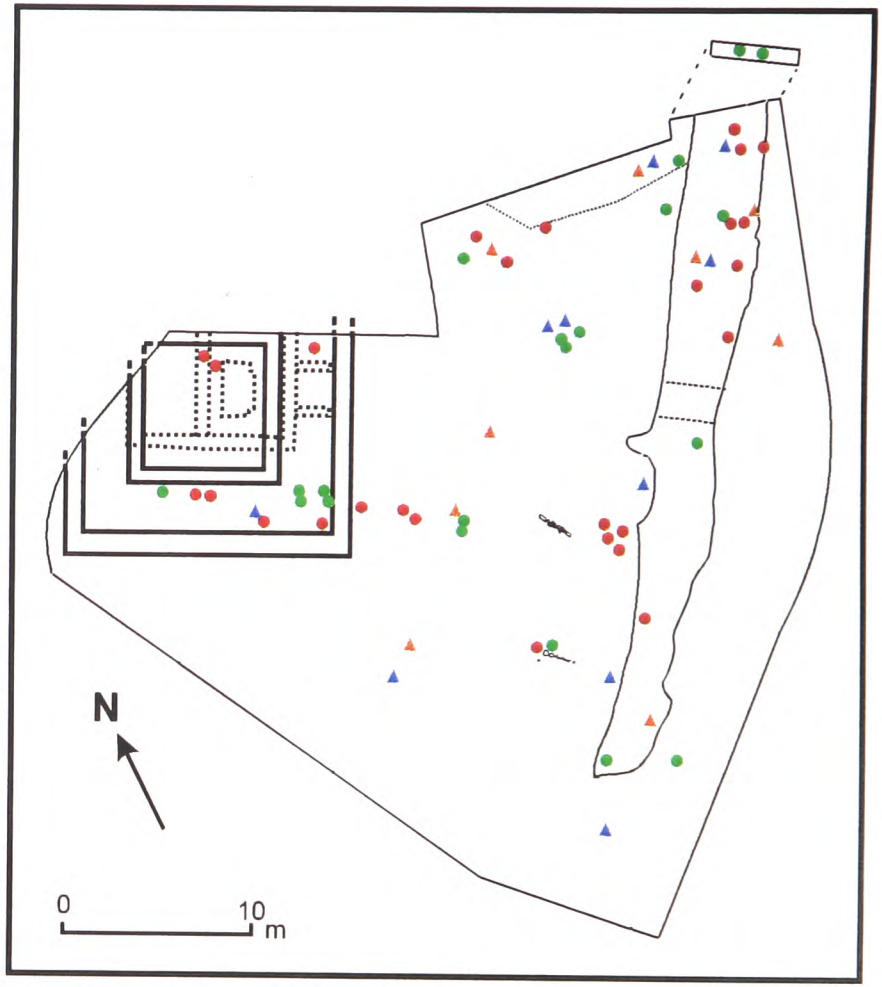
5.6c: 4th century coins

Map 5.7: Henley Wood finds distribution



5.7a: Personal & Votive items

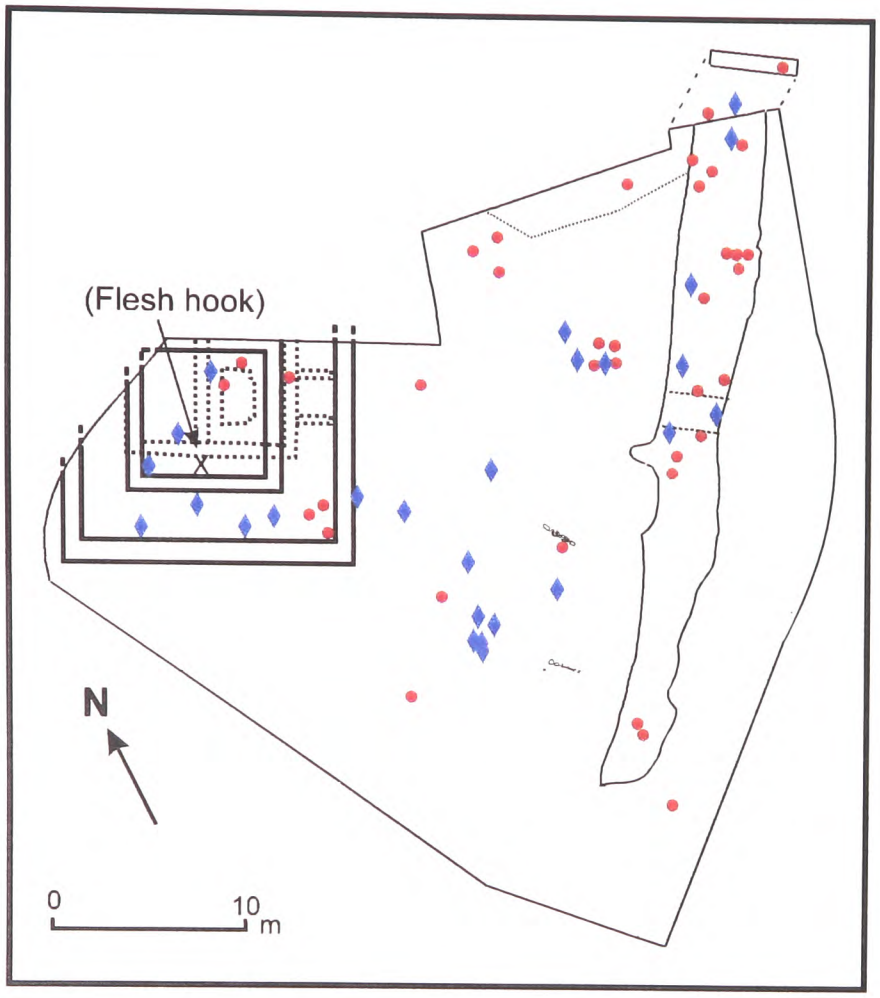
- Brooch
- Other ornament (Rings, bracelets & pins)
- Toilet Article
- Gaming counter
- Animal burial



5.7b: Tools & 'weapons'

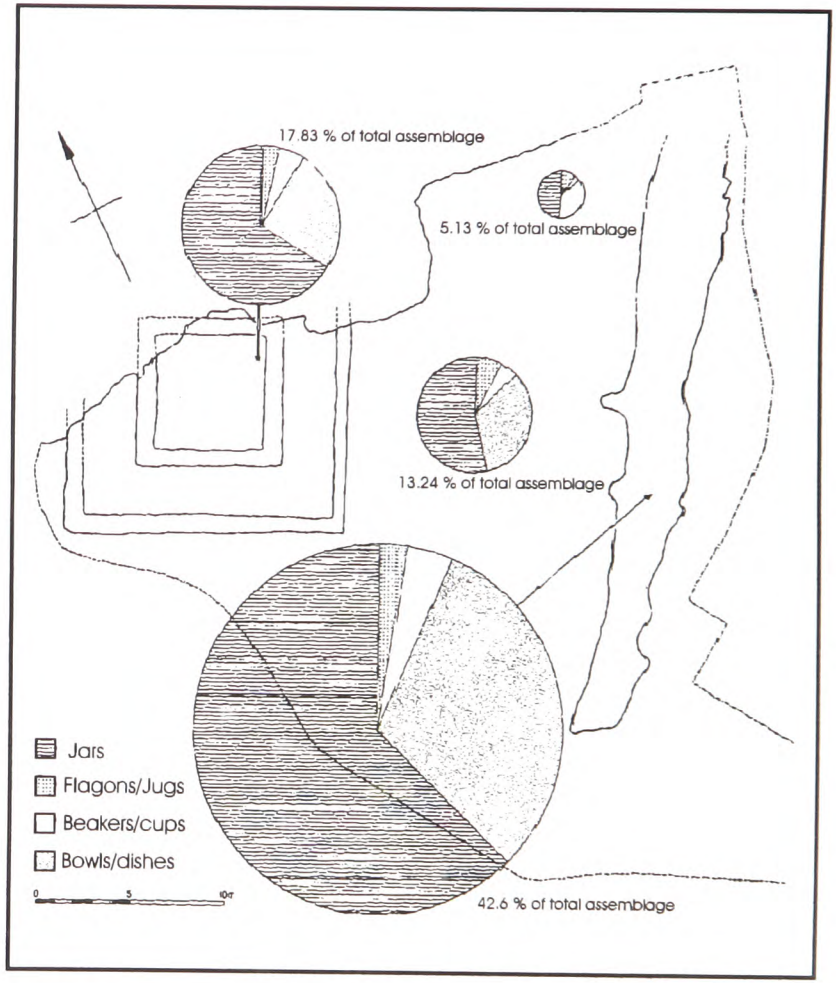
- Tools 1 (Whetstones, millstone & spindlewhorls)
- Tools 2 (Rods, spikes, awls, keys & misc.)
- Knives/blades
- Styli

Map 5.8: Henley Wood finds distribution



5.8a: Miscellaneous items

- Fittings & Furnishings (plates, latches, loops etc.)
- Utensils/household (Stone 'lids' & vessel glass)



5.8b: Roman pottery finds in selected areas (After Watts & Leach 1996: fig. 107, p.125)

acted as the main boundary section on the site, and at some later point, a wide causeway was built across it. Prior to this, the main entrance may have been just to the north, as suggested by an abutment, or further south at the end of the ditch (Watts and Leach 1996 40). A possible octagonal structure was situated near to the northern ditch section, and although very little can be said about this building, the presence of painted plaster implies that it was a roofed structure of at least basic architectural merit (*ibid.* 36). Other features worth mentioning are two short lengths of dry-stone walling that were possibly representative of minor structures of some kind. They were situated in the southern half of the temple precinct, which had at least two phases of metalling.

During the course of the excavations, many finds were recovered and spatially recorded. The distribution maps (maps 5.6 – 5.8) have been constructed using information from the published report and the microfiche, together with some reference to the site archive held by the North Somerset Museum Service, Weston-Super-Mare. All of the earlier material was residual in later contexts, and therefore, only the coins have been chronologically plotted (maps 5.6a-c). Although these reflect the date of the coin rather than the date of deposition, it is likely that they would provide indications of chronological change in the depositional pattern. The remaining maps show the distribution of multi-period finds (maps 5.7-8), although in those cases where items could be dated, reference is given in the text. The patterns of artefact distribution are complicated by the uneven stratigraphy that existed at the site. Within the central courtyard, for example, the stratigraphy was quite shallow, with most items being found in a few patchy layers, very close to the bedrock. Taken as a single group, the highest object densities were generally within those areas with the deepest stratigraphy – the ditch and temple sectors – and therefore post-depositional survival may have played a part. However, it must be noted that there was no correlation between the number of graves in an area – which would have had deeper stratigraphy – and the percentage of coins found within the graves (Henley Wood MF 1018). Therefore, it suggests that although the possibility of post-depositional movement must be taken into account, the depth of layers was probably not the decisive influence on the distribution patterns.

2. Chronology and context

The specific chronology of the site is complicated by a lack of secure stratigraphy for the earlier periods. The earliest datable horizon is that of the destruction layer for temple 2, which by coin evidence appears to be late 3rd century AD, and the origins of this temple and its predecessor are therefore unknown. A 1st century AD - possibly pre-Roman – origin has been suggested for the first structure, on the basis of a single Dobunnic coin, a small amount of Iron Age pottery and an '?early 1st century' bronze figurine, all found elsewhere on the site (Watts and Leach: 1996 MF 30). However, the evidence is highly inconclusive. The lack of an intervening layer of weathering suggests that temples 2 and 3 were directly consecutive, although coins of AD 367-75 were found in the cella make up layers of temple 3, leaving a gap of c. 50 years (Henley Wood MF table 7). However, this apparent hiatus would be accounted for if a suspended wooden floor had existed in the cella during phase 3i, as was suggested in the publication (Watts and Leach 1996 25). The make-up layer would then be representative of phase 3ii renovations, occurring later in the fourth century. As to the chronology of other features in the site, there is a similar degree of ambiguity. The ditch contained items from the 1st to 4th century, but in no stratified sequence, whilst the 'octagonal structure' appears on coin evidence to come from the first half of the fourth century AD, possibly contemporary with temple 3i. Overall, the evidence of coin loss suggests that the site flourished between the late 3rd and mid 4th century AD, after which activity may have lessened (Reece and Watts 1996 95). However, the presence of sub-Roman graves indicates that reverence of some kind was maintained throughout the following centuries.

The temple site was positioned in a prominent location, about one kilometre north of the river Yeo, overlooking the North Somerset levels and Bristol Channel. The hillfort of Cadbury Congresbury, around 140 metres to the south, contained a range of Roman material, indicating that there may have been some activity contemporary with the final phase of the temple in the later 4th century AD (Rahtz *et al.* 1992). However, the excavators have recently argued that the Roman material within the hillfort is likely to have been used in a mid to late 5th century context, and may have even been derived from the ruined temple building (*ibid.* 215). A further point to make is that there was a possible post-Roman shrine in the hillfort, centred on human skulls dating from the Iron Age, and

if this was the case, then there may well have been a continued religious focus at the site throughput the Roman period, perhaps associated with ancestral memory (*ibid.* 228).

The temple complex at Pagans Hill was situated c.12 km away, and there may have been some inter-visibility both between these and with Brean Down to the southwest (see 5.3). There were no definite traces of a road leading to the temple, but from the high concentration of Roman sites in the area, one is very likely to have existed. There were at least eleven villas within a five mile radius (Branigan and Fowler 1976 135), with the nearest certain example being that at Wemberham, about 3.5 km to the west (Scarth 1885 6). This quite extensive villa complex, lying by the banks of the Yeo, was dated by coin evidence to the late 3rd and 4th century AD (*ibid.*), possibly contemporary with structure 3i. This accords well with other west country villas, most of which were not constructed until the late 3rd century AD (Bird 1986 60). A further villa may have been at Woodlands, about 1.5 km to the south west of the temple, and kilns have been discovered a further kilometre south of this.

2. Hypotheses

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

Prior to the latter part of the 3rd century AD, it is difficult to be certain as to the structural layout of the site, and therefore to assess the degree of planning involved. The ?temple phase 1 is particularly enigmatic, although more definite features emerge in phase 2. The rectangular temple, situated towards the rear of the spur, faced across a sacred precinct, and would have formed the undeniable focus of the site. A large internal free-standing foundation, postulated either as an altar or a cult statue base, was placed along the central axis, with an exact 2:1 ratio in the distance of this feature to the front and rear walls respectively (Watts and Leach 1996 18). The phase 3 temple maintained the same alignment and possibly also the position of the internal focus, as there was a layer of pitched rubble in the cella above the phase 2 feature (Henley Wood MF: 72). The difference in height between the cella and ambulatory may also have served to emphasise the former's focal nature. The periphery of the site was marked on the eastern side by the

boundary ditch and on the others by something less architecturally visible – perhaps just the natural sharp slope of the escarpment. The temples were clearly designed to be approached from the east, and thus the ditch would have formed a very clear demarcation between two zones. Both temple entrances were embellished by porches of some kind and were facing towards one area of the eastern ditch, which during the mid fourth century became a substantial causeway, "*wider than would have been needed for wheeled vehicles*" (Watts and Leach 1996 41). There was thus a clear emphasis on the lines and points of access into the religious site. The most obvious processional pathway would have been along this axis, and this may possibly be emphasised by the distribution of 4th century coins (map 5.6c), which, in the courtyard area, are generally more concentrated to either side of this line. Finally, it must be noted that the possible octagonal structure may have formed an additional short-lived focus within the site, especially if it were a subsidiary shrine or mausoleum. However, it would still appear to have been secondary to the main temple.

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

The implications of uneven stratigraphy for artefact distribution has already been noted in section I, but there are distinct patterns that emerge which do not seem to be the result of post-depositional movement. The coins (maps 5.6a-c), most of which in this context are likely to have been votive deposits, exhibit clear concentrations within the temple(s), with those of 3rd century date being grouped quite tightly against the partition wall of the phase 2 structure. The majority of these coins were situated within the phase 2 destruction levels or phase 3 make up, and it is quite possible that they were originally deposited or displayed (probably in containers) against the rear wall of the front cell. There were also higher concentrations of third century coins in the northern courtyard and the middle part of the enclosure ditch, which may have been near to an earlier suspended entrance crossing. The scarcity of coins in the remainder of the courtyard is in contrast to fourth century issues, which were found in far greater numbers, except in a vague band along the temple – ditch entrance axis, as mentioned earlier. There was a slight concentration of coins to the south of the enclosure causeway - possibly offerings made on the left-hand side as people entered the complex. The majority of personal

ornaments were found within the ditch (map 5.7a). Around three-quarters of the brooches were recovered here, and as this was also where most 1st-2nd century coins were found, it either points to an early depositional focus, or else that the earlier material had been dumped there from another location – perhaps the phase 1 structure? The other ornamentation, most of which was later in date, formed two distinct clusters within the ditch, in the northern and southern ends, and may be representative of specific depositional zones for items that had previously been on display. Unlike the coins, comparatively small numbers of personal artefacts were found within the temple area, although one of the few specifically votive items, a bronze leaf, was recovered from the pitched footing in the phase 3ii cella (map 5.7a). The courtyard also produced small numbers, considering its size, and no specific clustering was evident. These are therefore unlikely to have been the result of deliberate deposition, and may have been casual losses, or possibly the remnants of items that had been on display. The low density of 'votive' items near the octagonal structure need not imply a non-ritual function, as most items were scarce here. It is possible that the concentration of items in the northern ditch, including the three octagonal rings, may have come originally from this structure. Watts and Leach (1996 MF: 512) suggested that a broad similarity in assemblage composition and concentration between the temple and ditch may have been the result of the transferral of items. Thus, objects that were on display in the temple, were subsequently deposited within the ditch. This would only appear to have been the case from the AD 330s onwards, as coins of this period were found in the lowest layers, and it may have been kept relatively clean prior to this (Watts and Leach 1996 144). Overall, the temple and ditch do seem to have acted as 'offering zones' for the display and deposition of votive items, and it does seem that in some cases, different artefact types were treated in different ways.

3. *'The nature of the votive artefact assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site'*

There were only a small number of items found on the site that may have been specifically votive in nature, including the bronze leaf and a bronze female figurine. The latter object was found in association with 4th century material, but was ascribed a possible 1st century AD date (Henig 1996 131). The fact that it was well worn is

indicative of long usage and/or constant handling, especially around the head area (*ibid.*). It was used to help infer the feminine nature of the cult, along with the large proportion of brooches and other personal adornment (Watts and Leach 1996 142). However, the latter items should certainly not be viewed as specifically female in character, and their appearance suggests only that individual offerings of personal artefacts were made at the temple. Nevertheless, it is clear that items of jewellery were regular offerings, and finger rings seem to have replaced brooches in the 3rd-4th century (*ibid.* 142). The three octagonal finger rings, of which one was inscribed, may be somehow connected to the octagonal structure near where they were found. The offering of coins, though perhaps not so personal in nature, is also probably reflective of individual supplication. The lack of many later 4th century issues, compared with nearby temple sites (e.g. Pagans Hill: Rahtz and Watts 1989) may either be an indication of a decline in such offerings, or else a decline in use of the whole site. Given the fact that the temple was refurbished during this period, the former may have been the case. Of the more unusual classes of artefacts found at the site, are a large number of gaming counters, seemingly from a number of different sets. The main concentration of these lay in the northern enclosure ditch along with the personal items, and they may thus have been some kind of token offering, perhaps associated with personal fortune.

4. *'The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)'*

Only just over two hundred animal bones were recorded from the site, and as soil conditions were advantageous to survival (Watts and Leach 1996 134), it may either reflect an incomprehensive sampling strategy or a lack of widespread ritual involving animals. Alternatively, many of the animal remains may have been removed from site. Around two-thirds of all animal bones recorded were from ovicaprids, with cattle and pig accounting for most of the remainder. This by itself was not so unusual as to indicate ritual activity, but there were at least six structured deposits within the temples that provided much stronger positive evidence (map 5.7a). All but one of these contained selected remains of at least two animals, and as they were stratified in both phase 2 and 3

contexts, it seems that the sacrifice, partial dismemberment and deposition of animals occurred through most of the site's history. The other animal bones all occurred within the temenos ditch, but were too mixed up to show any evidence of structured positioning. Many may have been the remains of ritual feasting within the temenos, and this is especially likely of the few fish bones and oyster shells found there. The ritual preparation and consumption of food may also be indicated by the pottery contained within the site, the general distribution of which is shown on map 5.8b. The assemblage was dominated by local Congresbury coarseware, with cooking and storage vessels being the most common forms (Watts and Leach 1996 122). However, the amount of tableware was still in excess of surrounding domestic sites, suggesting that feasting was an important activity. By far the largest group of pottery was found within the enclosure ditch, followed by the temple and courtyard area (map 5.8b). The composition of vessel forms within the temple area and ditch were quite similar, leading the published report to suggest that there had been movement from the former to the latter (*ibid.* 123). Jar forms, many of which may have been used for containing libations or offerings, heavily dominated these assemblages, and although they also formed significant parts of the courtyard group, tableware was more noticeable here. The small amount of vessel glass was also concentrated within in the precinct area, and it may therefore suggest that the actual feasting took place in this area (*ibid.*). Further artefacts that may elucidate the ritual use of animal within the site are a group of nine knives, located in the courtyard and ditch, and an iron flesh hook found in the phase 3 cella. It is possible that the former may have been used in the sacrifice of animals, whilst the flesh hook could have been used for displaying the resultant animal carcasses, within or around the temple.

5. *'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function'*

A small rural cemetery of between 75 and 90 individuals was incorporated into the Henley Wood site, with the majority of burials situated within the filled-in enclosure ditch (Watts and Leach 1996 146). Radiocarbon dating suggested a fifth or sixth century period for deposition, with most of the graves in the temple area being dug after the ambulatory wall had been robbed. However, the earliest cemetery grave was inserted when at least part of the temple was still standing (*ibid.* 145), so it is perfectly possible

that a funerary element was present during its final phase (early 5th century AD?). Another structured human deposit consisted of an infant burial placed in a hole, associated either with temple 2 or the earlier structure, and possibly a foundation deposit (*ibid.* 17).

6. *'Distinct industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would be indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

There were a number of industrial and agricultural items recovered at Henley Wood, although their function within such a context is not clear, and some of the smaller items may have been casual losses (map 5.7b). As a rather disparate group, they do not generally conform to the spatial distribution pattern of the personal items, although it is possible that some of them could have been votive offerings. Whetstones may have sharpened implements for sacrificial or culinary purposes, while the seven spindlewhorls could reflect limited craftworking activity. Ten styli, found mostly within the precinct, would probably have been used to inscribe votive sheets or tablets, and there may have been professional scribes set up in this area (Watts and Leach 1996 91). Finally, there were a small number of lead weights found within the temple, and there is a possibility that they could have been used in commercial transactions, although this is quite speculative.

4. Site summary

Henley Wood was a long-lived rural religious site, focused around a multi-phased masonry temple. Its earlier history was obscured by a lack of dated stratigraphy, but in the later third century, it changed from a two-celled structure to a Romano-Celtic temple. This may well have been connected with the sudden rise in villa building that had been taking place in the West Country at this time. It was a well-structured site, designed to be approached from the east, with an apparent emphasis on boundaries, lines and points of access. There was evidence for specific 'offering zones', both within the temple and the enclosure ditch, and there seems to have been some differential treatment of votive object types. Personal offerings – notably coins and adornment – were most common, and these

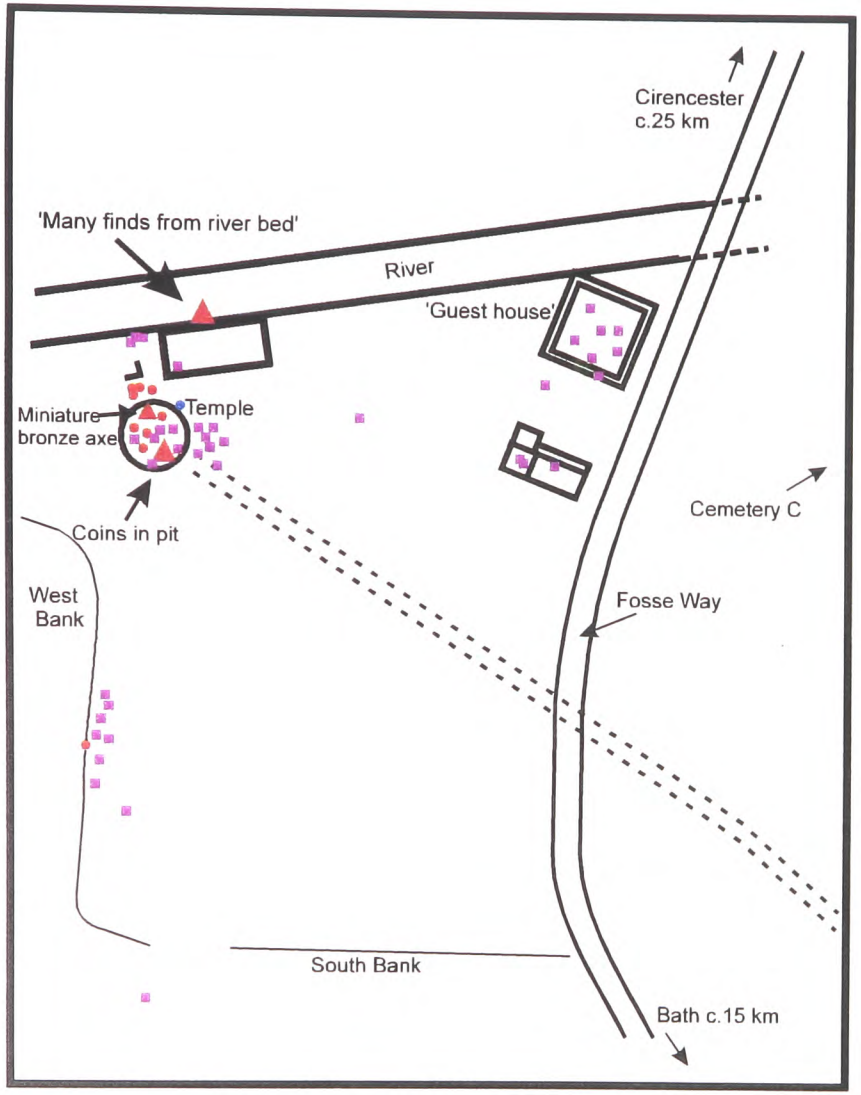
may possibly be contrasted with the public rituals associated animal sacrifice and feasting. The temple precinct, which was the main thoroughfare through the site, was likely to have been a multifunctional environment, catering for activities such as the selling and displaying of votive offerings, ritual feasting, and possibly limited craft activities. Many votive items were probably displayed within the temple, before being deposited within the ditch at a later phase in the site's history. Overall, the large numbers of finds and extensive archive and publication make it an important site in this study.

Nettleton Scrubb Roman religious complex

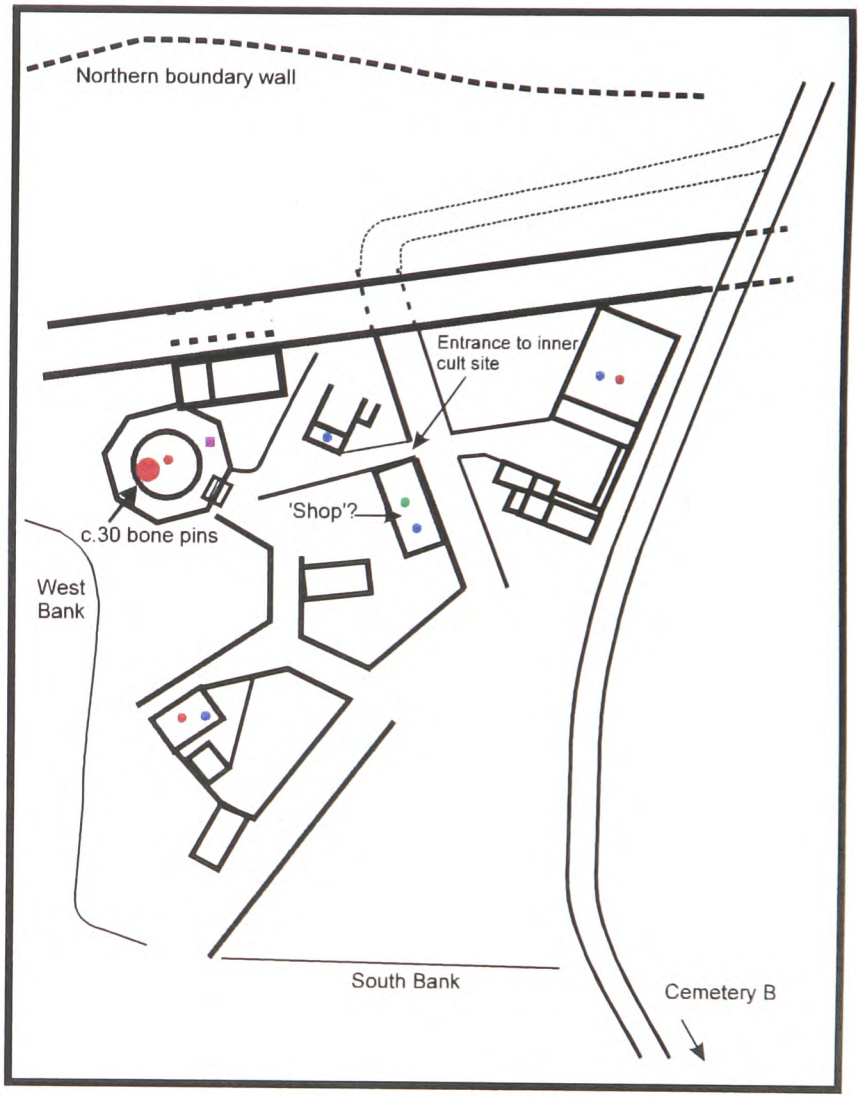
1. Site description

Excavations at Nettleton Scrubb in Wiltshire were undertaken by W.C. Priestly in 1938 and the post-war years, and more comprehensively by W.J. Wedlake from 1956 to 1970 (Wedlake 1982). They uncovered a multi-phased settlement/religious complex lying in the river valley, centred on the Fosse Way Roman road, leading from Corinium to Bath. It was preceded on its southern side by an enclosure containing large quantities of fine pottery and brooches, the purpose of which was uncertain as it was only partially excavated. It does not appear to have been military (*ibid.* 7), and given the preponderance of the previously specified artefacts, an earlier religious focus is not out of the question. The subsequent building phase began with the construction of a well-built circular shrine on top of a raised knoll by the river, reached from the Fosse Way by a metalled trackway (see map 5.9a). A substantial rectangular hall was built next to it, interpreted as a possible meeting place for cult *collegia* (*ibid.* 16), although the actual function is uncertain. Its close proximity to the temple implies a religious purpose, and the artefacts found in the riverbed beneath its northern piered wall suggest a ritual function connected with the river, over which it later spanned. Two further buildings were set up to the east, one of which was convincingly interpreted as a guesthouse, while the other was probably functionally, as it was later structurally, connected. Although these ancillary buildings were identified as being slightly later than the temple (*ibid.* 17), there is no reason why this should be so (see chronology section), and they all may have been erected as one

Map 5.9: Nettleton Scrubb phases 1 and 2



5.9a: Phase 1: c.mid 2nd - early 3rd century AD



5.9b: Phase 2: c. early-mid 3rd century AD

Specific find group or votive object

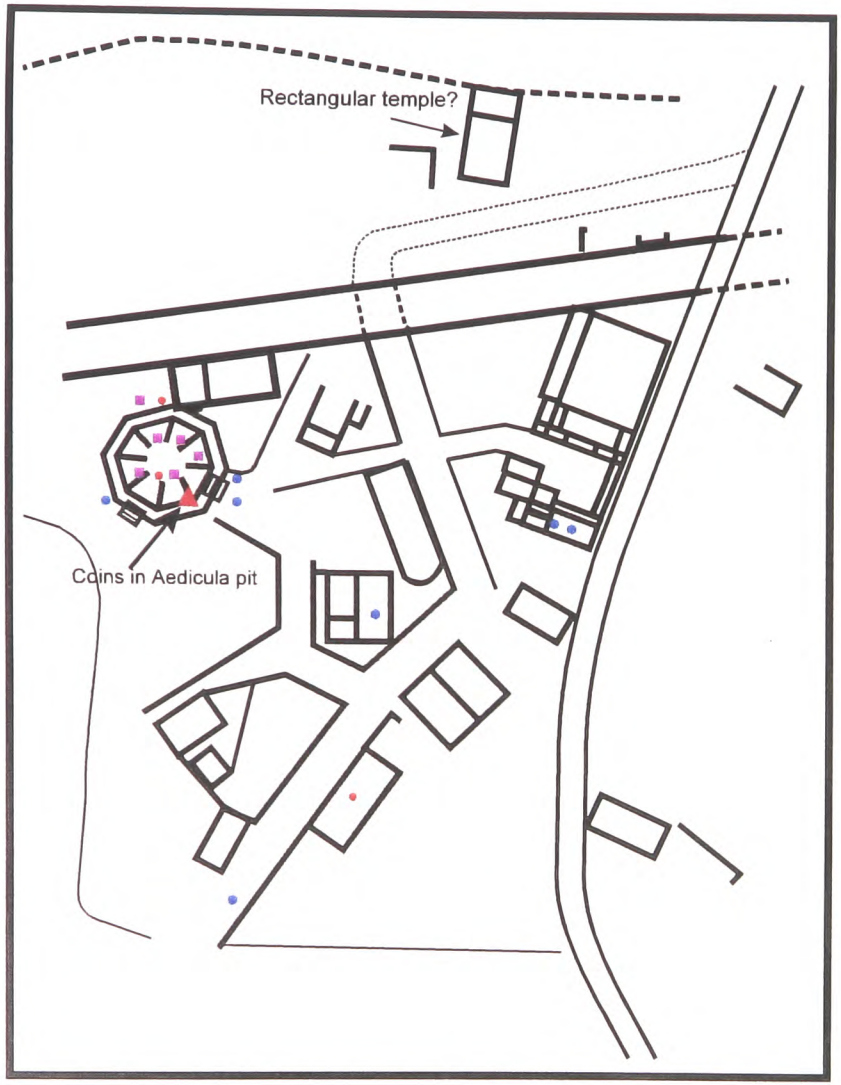
tools/fittings/utensils

Other possible votive/ritual item

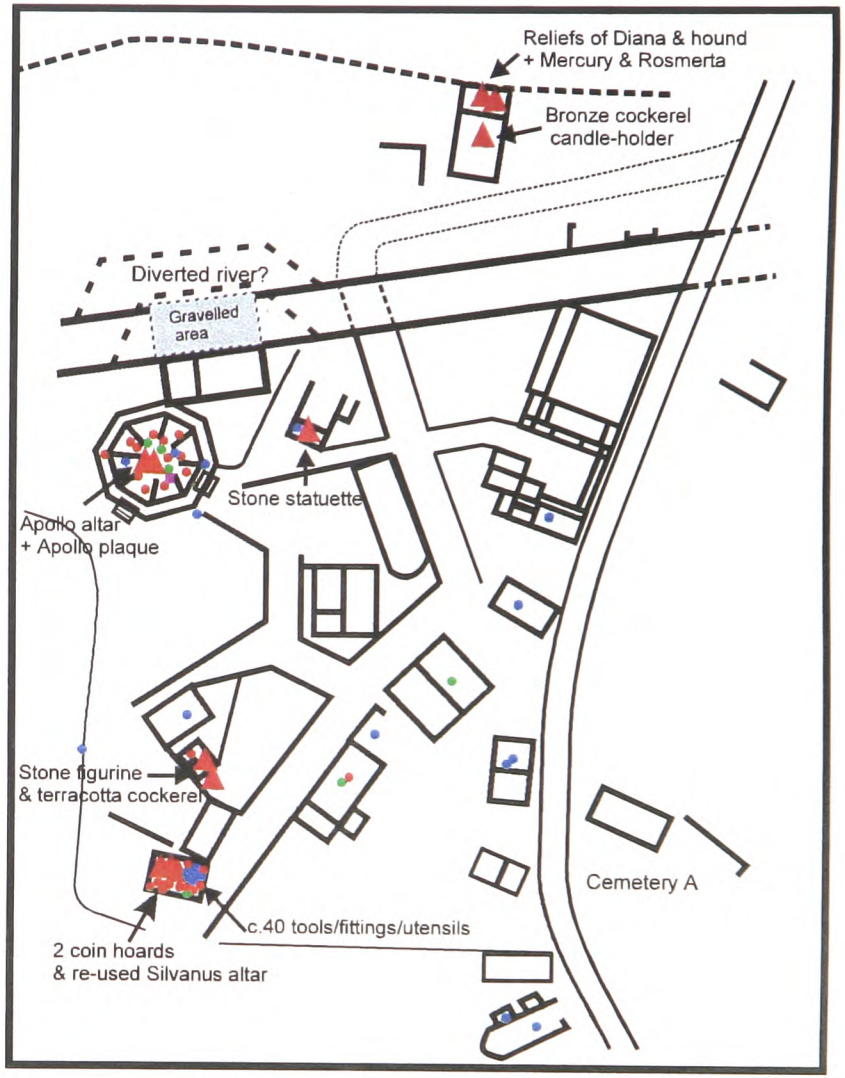
Samian Ware

Personal ornamentation

Map 5.10: Nettleton Scrubb phases 3 and 4



5.10a: Phase 3: c.mid 3rd - early 4th century AD



5.10b: Phase 4: Early/mid - late 4th century AD

Specific find group or votive object

tools/fittings/utensils

Other possible votive/ritual item

Samian Ware

Personal ornamentation

functionally-related complex. The second main structural phase saw the most intense building activity, including a substantial octagonal podium around the shrine and a system of paved roads through the site (see map 5.9b). The river was also canalised at this time, possibly with the inclusion of a series of small waterfalls (*ibid.* 3). The quality of construction was high (*ibid.* 19), thereby suggesting that the flourishing cult was attracting many visitors, including those of higher status. The burning of the circular temple occurred soon after, and it was replaced by an elaborate octagonal temple, constructed with considerable effort on behalf of the builders (*ibid.* 36. Map 5.10a). Further buildings were constructed to the south, and it may have been to this phase that the rectangular 'temple' structure excavated by Priestly on the north side of the river belonged. By this time, it was clearly a substantial religious complex and as such the provision of a theatre or at least a bathhouse may have been expected. The former was suggested by Wedlake (1982 104) as being located near the West Bank, while the latter may have been located near to the spring in the un-excavated area, north of the river. The final main structural phase (map 5.10b) saw a further expansion to the south, with many of the latest buildings exhibiting a lower quality of construction. This was undoubtedly associated with the fact that many buildings showed some functional diversity in this later period, possibly reflecting the changing nature of the whole site. The temple at this late stage showed extensive signs of disrepair and partial collapse (*ibid.* 66), indicating that the influence of the religious cult had greatly waned.

Whilst the area covered by Wedlake's excavations was confined only to the south side of the river, it was nevertheless very extensive, and therefore only the zone around the temple and its associated rectangular buildings was comprehensively examined (Wedlake 1982 4). The remaining sectors were excavated in a series of grid cuttings designed to recover the outlines of the buildings, and as a result there was often some ambiguity as to their chronology and functions. The functional interpretations of the various structures employed by Wedlake were often based solely upon ill-founded structural comparison, and in most cases there were no associated diagnostic artefacts relating to the original use of the building. This therefore makes it more problematic to determine whether it was a small rural settlement with a dominant religious focus, or else an extensive religious complex with a range of ancillary buildings. The results of Wedlake's work was fully

published (Wedlake 1982), and it was utilised along with the original archive housed at Bristol Museum, in order to construct the phased structural and distribution maps (5.9 – 5.10). Unfortunately, the archive was in a poor state - especially in terms of the quality of the maps and diagrams – and was occasionally in divergence with information in the published report. Accordingly, the structural sequence may contain a small number of errors. Many artefacts were recovered from the site, although their degree of provenance varied quite substantially, seemingly on a non-systematic basis, and therefore the phased distribution maps show only a limited number of items. Additionally, it is probable that certain items were re-used in different contexts, which provides further difficulties in functional interpretation. Nevertheless, with some structures a tentative function could be inferred, and it is possible to trace the overall development of this important site.

2. Chronology and context

Roman period activity at Nettleton spanned the first to fourth centuries AD, though there were numerous structural sub-phases within this time. Unfortunately many chronological ambiguities arose, either because of the lack of diagnostic datable artefacts or the fact that many structures were only partially excavated, and therefore several buildings were dated by structural comparison, i.e. similar building techniques or materials.

Coin date	Area A*	B	C	D	E	B18	West Bank	Other	Total
1st C. AD	9	3	0	0	4	0	0	1	17
c. AD 100-150	10	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	15
c.AD 150-200	11	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
200-250	10	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	13
250-300	91	49	34	38	18	20	5	1	256
300-350	92	64	108	118	100	190	15	20	707
350-375	43	54	48	95	42	213	9	7	471
375+	31	9	23	56	40	121	11	11	302
4th C AD	5	11	4	12	2		1	18	53
Total	302	201	218	320	206	1247	41	60	1851

Fig. 5.4: Coins from the Nettleton Scrubb site, according to excavated area.

(* For details of approximate area, see figure 5.5 below)

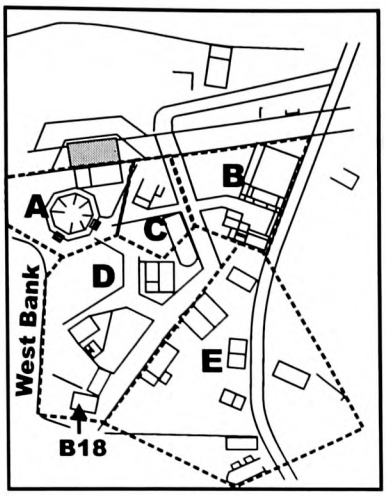


Fig. 5.5: Approximate areas of coin deposition, as derived from the site archive

The overall coin assemblage, as derived from the archive, is given in figure 5.4, and may provide some general evidence for the chronology of site occupation. The earliest feature – the southern enclosure – was dated fairly accurately to the mid-late 1st century AD (Wedlake 1982 6), whilst the first circular shrine was assigned by coin evidence to the mid-late 2nd century AD (*ibid.*11). The associated rectangular building had no early dating material, but was demonstrably earlier than the octagonal podium, while one of the buildings to the east was dated after c. A.D. 140 by a coin of Faustina. The other was assigned a similar period by view of the same mortar type being used, and it is possible that all could have been built as one phase (map 5.9a). The extensive additions of Phase 2 were confined by Wedlake (1982 19) to c.A.D. 230-250 – a date which was based almost entirely upon information from the temple modifications. It is possible therefore, that not all of the buildings were erected in such a short period of time, and the general coin assemblage (fig. 5.4) does argue for a slightly later period of construction. The start of phase 3 was associated with the building of the octagonal temple, dated to the mid 3rd century A.D., and if the coins from building 18 were disregarded, then the period from this point until around the mid 4th century corresponded with the greatest period of coin loss. The dating of phase 4 is most ambiguous, but there appears to have been a slight shift in emphasis, with the southern part of the site having higher proportions of mid –late 4th century coins, at the expense of the more northern zones – especially the temple area. This may indicate a decline in patronage of the shrine towards the middle and end of this

century, which is corroborated by the structural evidence (see above). The *'improvised shrine of the pagan revival'* mentioned by Wedlake (1982 79) was dated by coin evidence to AD 360-370, and may merely have represented the final phase of the public cult within the site.

The site at Nettleton was positioned at the junction of two small but steep valleys, resulting in a limited area of land being suitable for building. The Broadmead Brook flowed through the north of the site, and the temple was positioned on top of a natural knoll just to the south of it, thereby dominating the surrounding structures in the valley. The earliest Roman feature was undoubtedly the Fosse Way road, running from Cirencester c.25 km to the north east, to the great ritual complex at Bath, c.15km to the south west. Although this road lost most of its administrative importance at an early stage (Bird 1986 54), it is still likely that a considerable body of traffic would have passed between these two important settlements, and the religious attraction of Bath may have played a key role in the development of the Nettleton cult site. As with most of the Avon area, the surrounding countryside was rich with agriculture and minerals, although for most of the earlier period much of the rural settlement was of a low-key character (*ibid.* 57). The construction of more substantial villas, such as that at Marshfield, c.3km to the south (although this has been suggested as a religious site: Blockley 1985 36) or North Wraxall c.1km to the south east (Wedlake 1982 5), did not occur until the 3rd century, and may have been in some way associated with the substantial building works at Nettleton, which was roughly contemporary. By the early 4th century AD the area was at its most prosperous, this being reflected at the Nettleton site. However, by the mid 4th century, increased raiding from Ireland had induced much insecurity, and by AD 360-70, many villas had been abandoned or were in decline, including that at North Wraxall (Esmonde-Cleary 1989 134). This would have resulted in a decrease in road traffic that may account for the degeneration of the cult at Nettleton, although the presence of a number of fires and later spreads of human bones within the temple debris, led Wedlake to surmise a more violent and direct end to the religious site (1982 85).

3. Hypotheses

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

Throughout all of the phases the temple remained the primary structural and undoubtedly religious focus of the site. Even though its initial circular structure was not that substantial, its position on the natural knoll enabled it to dominate the surrounding buildings, including the larger rectangular hall beneath it, which was cut into the foot of the slope (Wedlake 1982 16; map 5.9a). The shrine's dominance was greatly emphasised by the provision of the substantial octagonal podium, and it achieved a monumental scale with its octagonal reconstruction in phase 3. The exact positioning of the original circular temple was evidently very important to the architects of the later reconstruction, who went to considerable efforts to preserve the foundations. This suggests the occurrence of specific spatial guidelines governed by ritual factors, rather than Wedlake's suggestion that it was just a "*a lingering sentimental regard for the former circular shrine*" (Wedlake 1982 38). The radial divisions of the phase 3 temple cella focused onto the central space, within which the main cult altar was found, and which presumably formed the ultimate focus within the site (fig. 5.6). They were not entirely symmetrical, as those to the south were arranged so as to enclose a small area - the eastern entrance of which contained a small shrine forming a subsidiary ritual focus. The purpose of these side rooms was uncertain, although four of them were later blocked off, and it may have been that they were for the provision of votive offerings or were additional shrines.

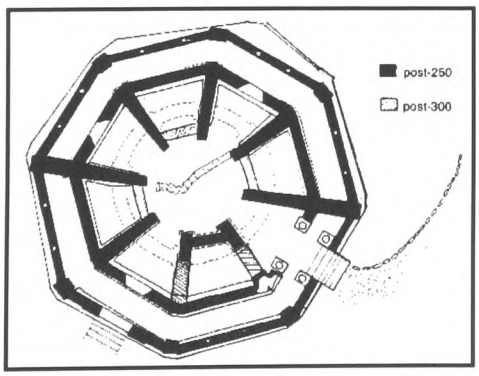


Fig. 5.6: Nettleton Phase 3 octagonal temple (after Wedlake 1982)

Aside from the main cult temple, it is likely that there were other religious foci within the complex, one of which may have been the rectangular structure north of the river. Wedlake dismissed its interpretation as a temple because of a disparity between the rear wall, which formed part of the northern boundary, and the remaining walls that were less well built (Wedlake 1982 55). However the rear wall niche, which contained the deity relief, was clearly meant to be incorporated into the later structure, and it is perfectly feasible that this building represented a subsidiary temple outside of the main complex. Another obvious focus within the site was the river itself, which was canalised in phase 2, and possibly became the recipient of ritual deposition (see hypothesis 2). It formed the northern boundary of the inner precinct, which was continued to the east and south by a substantial masonry wall, and presumably surrounded those structures that were most intimately associated with the temple cult (Wedlake 1982 19). From the substantial foundations on either side of the three-metre wide precinct gateway, it would seem to have been of monumental character, and controlled the direct access to the temple (*ibid.* 27). The system of paved roadways throughout the site provided information on intra-site human traffic. Particularly telling was the heavily worn area in the crossroads immediately outside the precinct entrance (see map 5.9b), which as Wedlake suggested, was "*no doubt a point of assembly for visitors before entering the shrine*" (1982 27). Lightly foundationed walls flanked a well-built roadway running north from the Fosse Way to the precinct entrance, and this may have formed a processional route into the heart of the religious site. Within the precinct, a well-made metalled roadway led up to the eastern entrance, from which a kerb turned sharply north along another roadway heading towards the river. None of the metalling in this area was described as worn, so it may have been that the regulation of human traffic ensured a limited number of visitors into this inner area.

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

There were numerous problems in attempting to determine the presence of 'offering zones' within the site at Nettleton, not the least of which was the fact that only a comparatively small number of finds could be provenanced with reasonable accuracy within the phased site plans. Additionally, those finds from outside a secure religious

context (i.e. those outside the temple and inner precinct) may have been deposited for non-ritual reasons, in some cases representing the secondary deposition of items that had previously been used as votive gifts. This may have been the reason for the much larger quantity of items from mid to later fourth century levels, including many of the coins as well as the Silvanus altar, stone figurine and terracotta cockerel from the buildings to the south (see map 5.10b). The mid-late fourth century unmortared building by the southern boundary of the site contained particularly large numbers of finds, including around two-thirds of the total site coin assemblage and many personal items, tools and fittings (Wedlake 1982 87). The building appears to have been used for metalworking, and it is possible that some of the items found there were intended to be melted down and re-cast (see hypothesis 6). Many of the coins were found in a black earth layer above the ruined walls, suggesting that the building was short lived, and two chronologically distinct deposits were found. It seems unlikely, considering the late date and the context, that the finds represented ritual offerings. The main temple contained a high proportion of finds throughout all of its phases, thereby suggesting that it remained a focus for ritual deposition during its entire existence as an active cult building. The general distribution of coins (figs. 5.4 and 5.5) also suggests that at least from the mid third to early fourth century, the temple area may acted as depositional focus. A pit dug into the floor, just inside the entrance of the first shrine, contained a number of coins and fire-ash (Wedlake 1982 8), suggesting the presence of specific offering zones within the cult building. It may not have been mere coincidence that a later funnel-shaped pit, lying beneath the small aediculae in the phase 3 temple, was positioned near the same spot, and also contained a number of coins and burnt material (*ibid.* 45). Outside of the temple, it is more difficult to determine the presence of 'offering zones', although the area below the river wall of the rectangular building near the temple apparently, "*produced a surprising number of small finds*" (Wedlake 1982 20). This side of the building was thought to have contained open arcades during phase 1, and these 'small finds' – which included possible shield bindings, decorative metalwork and much burnt material - may have been deliberate ritual deposits in the water (see map 5.9a).

3. *'The nature of the votive artefact assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site'*

Nettleton is unusual amongst temples in Britain, in having a number of iconographic images and inscriptions revealing the names of some of the deities worshipped at the site, with perhaps the most important being part of a well-made altar dedicated to Apollo Cunomaglos found in the temple cella. The name Cunomaglos is believed to mean 'hound-prince' and may have been a local deity associated with hunting and healing, conflated with Apollo (Wedlake 1982 156). Other dedications to Apollo were an inscribed bronze relief plaque, which was also found in the cella, and an intaglio image found in a fourth century context within a building to the south. This may suggest that Apollo was the principal deity worshipped at the site, though there were further reliefs, including those of Diana and hound and Mercury and Rosmerta in the northern rectangular building, as well as an altar to Silvanus found re-used in the building to the south. Other unidentified figurines were found elsewhere (see map 5.10b), and taken together, it points to a pantheon of gods being worshipped at the Nettleton religious complex. Aside from such artefacts, there were very few intrinsically votive objects and two of these were images of cockerels, probably associated with Mercury. The only other item was a miniature bronze axe found in the phase 1 shrine context, which together with the possible shield(s) deposited in the river (see hypothesis 2), may be reflective of an early martial or hunting aspect to the cult.

	1st – 2nd century AD	3rd century	4th century	Late 4th century	Not phased	Total
Brooches	59	10	10	8	26	112
Beads	0	6	0	11	3	20
Pins	5	43	10	0	80	138
Rings and bracelets	1	6	45	7	20	79
Personal dress	3	0	0	5	1	9
Toiletries	2	11	10	0	7	30
Tools/fittings/utensils	21	34	72	42	32	201
Querns/spindle-whorls	2	1	33	0	0	36
Total	114	184	184	169	169	625

Fig. 5.7: Thematically selected small finds from Nettleton, by phase of deposition

Coins dominated the artefact assemblage at Nettleton, although many of these would undoubtedly not have been used as votive offerings, especially those of the mid to later 4th century (see fig.5.5). Most of the remaining small finds, with the exception of unidentifiable objects and specific votive items are given in figure 5.7, listed in thematic categories, according the phase of their deposition. Large numbers of brooches were found, with most of these deriving from small sections of the 1st century enclosure ditch. A few were found in early levels near to or in the temple, and therefore may have been votive gifts, while others were found in 3rd and 4th century deposits and were either antiquated offerings or else residual in nature. Other types of ornamentation were regular finds in third and fourth century levels, with pins being particularly prevalent. Although most of these were not phased, there were a large number found in the burnt material associated with the destruction of the 2nd/3rd century circular shrine and they would therefore seem to be votive items, possibly associated with a healing cult.

4. '*The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)*'

As was typical with excavations of the time, only very limited records were taken of animal bones found at the site, and the analysis in the publication was accordingly brief (Hall 1982 178-9). The bones recorded showed no signs of any species selectivity different from that of a normal domestic settlement, with sheep being most common, followed by cattle and pig. There were higher proportions of forelimb bones than may have been expected and this could suggest deliberate bone selectivity, although the sample size was too small to be certain. Unfortunately nothing is recorded of their context, but a large number of small burnt fragments points to food consumption at the site. The only possible spatial indications of such consumption lay in the distribution of samian ware, which may have been used in feasting, and aside from that found in the first century enclosure ditch, most of this lay in the vicinity of the phase 1 shrine and eastern 'guesthouse' (see map 5.9a). Finds were rare from the latter building and its interpretation as a hostelry is certainly not harmed by the occurrence of samian, which provided one of the few non-structural indications of function.

5. *'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function'*

Three spatially and temporally separate cemeteries existed at the Nettleton site, although all were situated on the fringes of the complex in accordance with traditional Roman practices. The earliest cemetery (C; see map 5.9a) in the north-eastern part of the site was dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD – therefore earlier than the phase 1 temple. Cemetery B was located much further to the south along the Fosse-Way road, and was argued by Wedlake to have been the "*primary cemetery associated with the settlement*" (1982 93; see map 5.9b), despite the fact that only three graves were excavated and none of them closely dated. The final cemetery (A; see map 5.10b), which was of mid-late 4th century date, was the most extensive, being positioned around the Fosse Way in the southern part of the site. Fifteen inhumation graves were excavated and two small buildings were suggested as tombs (*ibid.* 92), although there was little positive evidence for this. The graves were thought to be associated with a well-constructed two-roomed building on their southern boundary, which contained a platform with circular depressions containing black burnt material, suggested as places for food offerings to the dead (Wedlake 1982 77). The building was therefore interpreted as a chapel, and the connection with the graves was strengthened by the presence of a well-metalled path leading from the doorway to the cemetery. However, the problem is that the building was constructed much earlier – possibly early-mid 3rd century AD – and so if it was utilised as cemetery shrine or chapel, then this would have been a secondary function. Additionally, the stratigraphy of the pathway was not clear enough to associate it directly with the graves. The original function of the building is perhaps more likely to the connected with its position next the Fosse Way, such as a shop or tavern, but when the road traffic lessened in the mid-late 4th century AD, it may have been converted for use with the newly-built cemetery.

Overall, the presence of cemeteries argues for the residence of many people at the site, which would thus point to it being a domestic settlement. However, the only graves with secure dating were those of 1st and 2nd century, and mid to late 4th century, both of which lay outside what would seem to be the main period of religious use. Therefore, the idea of

it being primarily a religious complex, with associated ancillary buildings is still quite probable.

6. *'Distinct industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would be indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

The nature of the site appears to have changed during the mid-late 4th century AD, as the temple cult went into decline, and certain buildings were re-utilised for metalworking. Buildings to the south were adapted for pewter-casting and iron smelting, while the building to the south of the 'guest-house' was used for bronze smelting (Wedlake 1982 67-75). These activities seem to have reached their zenith in the late 4th century, and although they may have been contemporary with the latter stages of the religious cult, it is doubtful whether there was any close connection between them, especially as one of the furnaces re-used an altar of Silvanus in its structure. As for commercial outlets, it is likely that some provision would have been made, but there was no conclusive proof from the excavations. Wedlake argued that the long building within the inner precinct was used as a shop, based upon its central position in the complex, and its elongated plan (1982 31). However, such interpretative parameters are highly flawed, and there is no artefactual or convincing structural evidence to corroborate such a hypothesis. Further suggestions of shops backing onto the river west of the hostel were equally unsupported by any real evidence (Wedlake 1982 19). The 'cemetery chapel' (*ibid.* 75) is one of the few with slightly more positive evidence, as the circular depressions on the bench call to mind the roadside taverns found intact at Ostia and Pompeii.

4. Site Summary

The complex site at Nettleton Scrubb saw activity from the 1st into the 5th centuries AD, and contained a range of different buildings, most of which were difficult to interpret because of a lack of diagnostic stratified finds. From the 2nd until mid 4th century, the site was dominated by the focal temple building, and it is likely that most of the surrounding structures were built to serve the religious cult in some capacity. This cult was at its most prosperous from the early 3rd to early/mid 4th century, with an extensive guesthouse and

large range of ancillary buildings, probably including additional shrines or temples. It became highly structured, with a regulated system of entry into the inner sacred precinct, where most of the ritual activity is likely to have taken place. The temple seems to have acted as an offering zone for votive gifts throughout its existence, and there is limited evidence to suggest that at least at an early stage, the river was also a depositional focus. The range of iconography and epigraphy found at the site suggests that Apollo may have been the main god worshipped, with particular emphasis on hunting and healing aspects, although certainly a pantheon of deities were venerated over the site's history. By the later 4th century, the cult was clearly in serious decline and the site's new *raison d'être* appears to have been industrial, with evidence for pewter-casting, iron smelting and bronze smelting. A cemetery of this date would have been for the inhabitants, and the lack of a convincingly dated burial ground for the earlier phases suggests a small resident population during the religious use of the site.

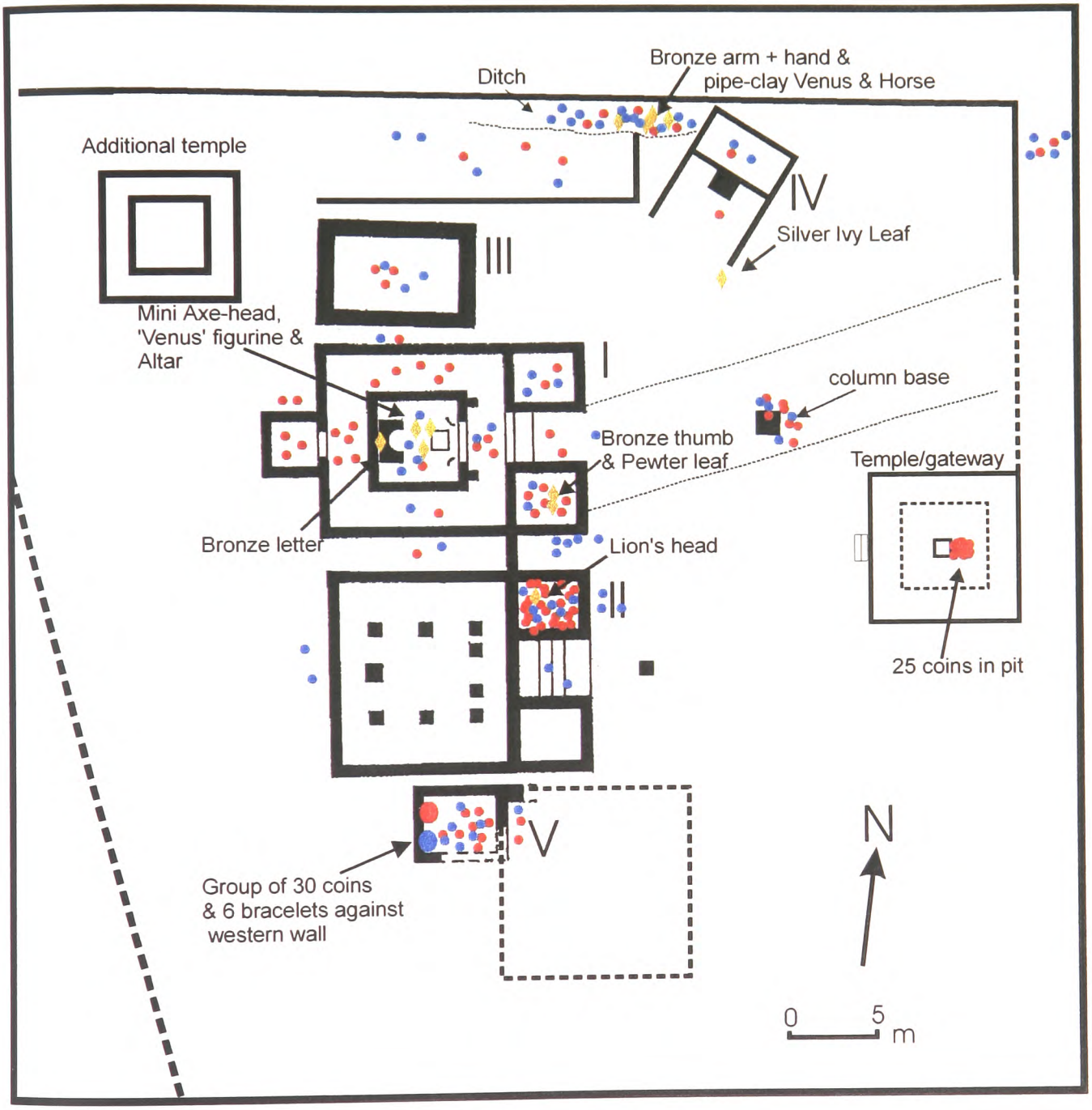
Springhead Roman temple complex

1. Site Description

The religious complex at Springhead in Kent was excavated in stages during the 1950s and 1960s by W.S. Penn. It consisted of two major connected temples (I and II) and at least six further structures, all surrounded by a temenos boundary, but not all built as one phase (see map 5.11). The two main temples were Romano-Celtic type structures of a similar size, and beneath the earliest of these was a small pebbled area containing large quantities of pottery in addition to brooches and coins (Penn 1959 4). It is possible that this related to an earlier period of ritual activity during the Roman transition period, along with the complex system of pre-masonry ditches and pits found at the site, and said to be of a 'votive character' (Harker 1980 288). The first main temple was of typical Romano-Celtic plan with the exception of a centrally placed rear annexe, although it underwent a number of structural phases within its lifespan. During the penultimate of these alterations, two annexes were positioned on either side of the entrance, and at the same time a connecting wall was built to a newly constructed temple just to the south (see

Map 5.11: Springhead finds distribution:

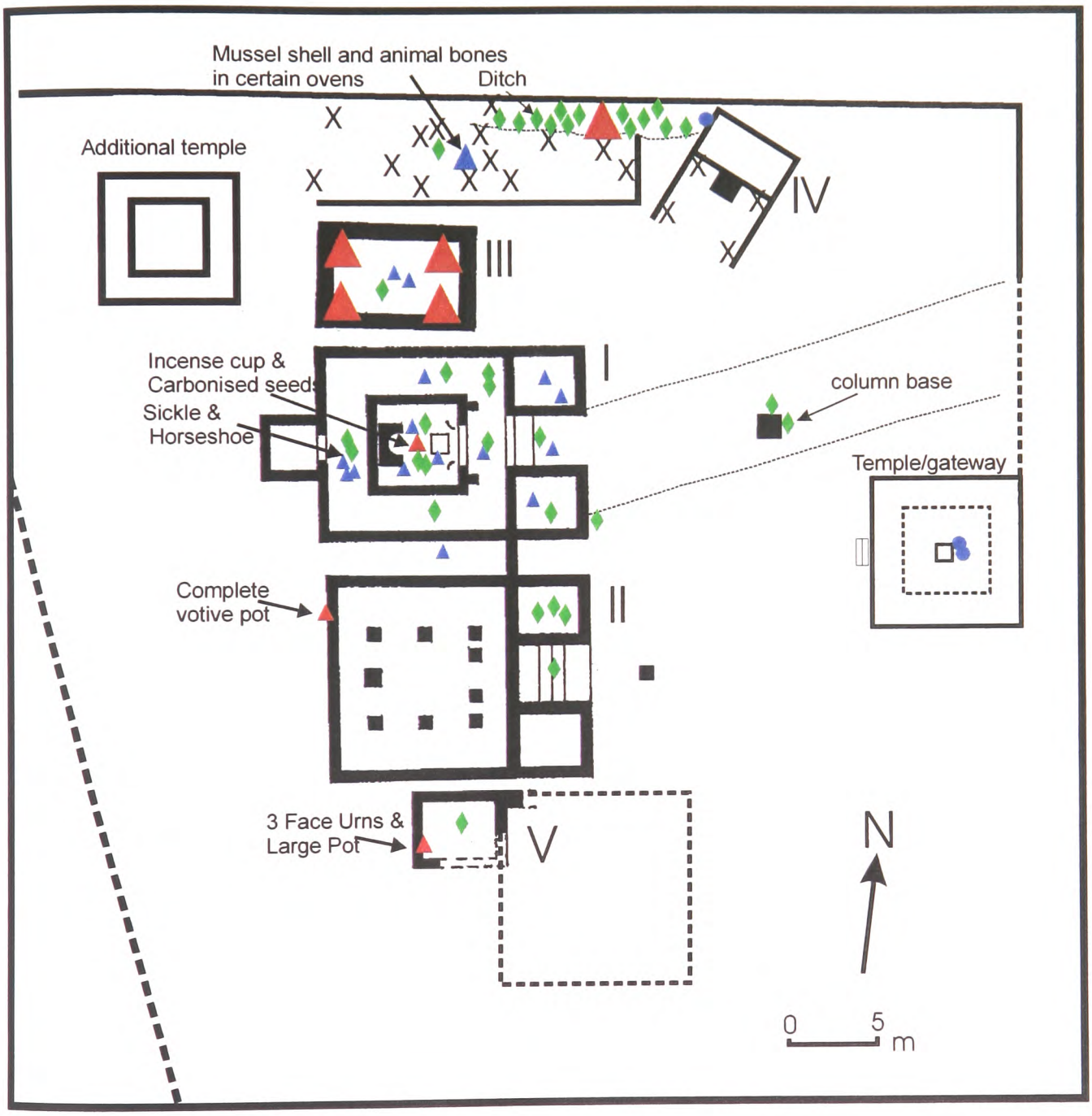
Coins, votives & personal items



- Coin
- Personal item (fibula, finger ring, brooch, toiletry etc.)
- Votive item

Map 5.12: Springhead finds distribution:

Pottery, faunal remains & miscellaneous items



Large pottery assemblage noted in text

Significant pottery find(s)

Animal burial

Animal bone/shell

X Infant burial

Miscellaneous item (Structural items, agricultural/industrial items, furnishings etc.)

maps). This also possessed two frontal annexes, but unlike the other structure it had an open cella, supported by a colonnade. Penn argued that in both cases the front extensions were more likely to have been low tile-covered cheek walls - as found in many classical temples - rather than actual rooms, and because of the lack of floor, internal plaster or any doorways, this seems quite feasible. Four other structures within the precinct were interpreted as temples, although the rectangular structure to the north of temple 1 (III) is likely to have been a small water-filled feature - perhaps a Nymphaeum (Penn 1960 117). The building further to the north-east (IV) was probably a shrine containing an altar and an oven, while the remaining building (V) to the south of temple 2, although only partially excavated, was also likely to have been a cult structure of some kind judging from the quantity of artefacts contained within. An additional Romano-Celtic type temple was later discovered to the rear of the rectangular structure III, and said to be of early date (Harker 1980 286). Further features within the complex included a possible elaborate entrance structure – although this could actually have been another temple – and a long rectangular building containing ovens and infant burials. The nature of the enclosure is somewhat confusing, as it had only been excavated in a few places. It was surrounded on at least three sides by metalled roads, and a trench across the north-east corner revealed a well-built masonry wall (Penn 1958 81). However, there only seems to have been such a wall on the eastern side, with the others being defined by ditches and a possible line of standing posts (Harker 1980 288).

The excavation of the temple complex was undertaken over many seasons, and published intermittently in *Archaeologia Cantiana*. Although the structural details were quite comprehensive, there was no great cohesion within the reports, resulting at times in a slightly confused picture of the site as a whole, as exemplified by the situation with the temenos wall. In addition, the excavations were based around the structures within the temenos, and thus many parts on the interior were not excavated. Therefore, the artefact distribution maps, which utilised data from the various published reports, do not reveal the full pattern of dispersal across the site, but only those areas in or near to structural features (maps 5.11 and 5.12). Nevertheless, they would still seem to provide important details as to the use of the site over its long history.

2. Chronology and context

The site at Springhead was occupied from the 1st to the 4th centuries AD, possibly starting as a ritual centre in the Roman transition period (mid 1st century AD). The overall coin evidence suggests fairly continuous activity over this period, although when those from deliberate grouped deposits are discounted, then a higher than expected percentage of 2nd century issues points to more intense activity at this time. The complex can then be broadly divided into the following chronological phases, based upon stratified coin and pottery evidence:

A) Late 1st/early 2nd – mid 2nd century AD: The first masonry temple (1) was constructed, surrounded by a cobbled temenos, and delimited at least on its northern side by the Watling street ditch. A column/pedestal was built in front soon after. The first ovens were built. The additional temple behind structure III may have been built.

B) Mid – late 2nd century AD: Reconstruction of temple 1. The 'ritual pool' (III) and northern shrine (IV) were built, with a courtyard connecting them to temple 1. The rectangular structure and additional ovens were built. Infant burials made c.AD140-150.

C) Late 2nd/early 3rd - late 3rd century AD: Major structural changes to temple 1. Temple 2 was built and connected to temple 1. The 'ritual pool' probably went out of use, as did the rectangular structure and ovens.

D) Late 3rd/early 4th – mid 4th century AD: Major reconstruction of temple 1. The southern shrine was constructed (V). Possible dismantlement of the column/pedestal.

E) Mid 4th century +: Apparent abandonment of the temple as a religious site and gradual decay of all the buildings. The rear of temple 1 may have been briefly reused for metalworking. A group of late coins above the plaster of the southern shrine may indicate some continued reverence (Penn 1962 119).

The temple complex dominated the southern part of a small urban settlement centred on Watling Street. Only limited numbers of buildings have been excavated, but there were some that may have a bearing on the nature of the whole site. An apparent masonry 'shop' was partially excavated near to the north-east corner of the precinct, underneath

which was found a Venus figurine. Two other masonry buildings were uncovered nearby, one of which contained a mausoleum with child burials that may connect it with the cult complex, whereas outside the other was found a 'hoard' of c.450 silver and 3 gold coins. Further away were found parts of a large, possibly concentric, building – probably associated with a nearby bath house - and another large structure, both of which were well built, with tessellated floors. Associated with the latter was a pit containing a bone statuette of a *Genius Cucullatus*, and it is possible that either one or both of these buildings had cult connections. A more definite temple, of Romano-Celtic form, was found half a mile to the south (Penn 1965 112). The other recognisable features included a Springhead to the north surrounded by Roman metalling and the partial remains of a substantial outer ditch that may have surrounded the entire settlement (see plan, appendix 1.3). A possible conclusion that may be drawn from all this is that the 'settlement' was essentially a large religious complex, incorporating a large range of subsidiary buildings. However, further comprehensive excavation would be required in order to prove such a hypothesis.

3. Hypotheses:

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

Spatial analysis of the complex at Springhead is partly hampered by certain inconsistencies on some of the maps, although the general layout should be fairly accurate. Additionally, as it was impossible to excavate the southern part of the site, a complete picture could not be formed. The original temple (I) was set within a probable enclosure and formed the prime focus of the site until the other main temple (II) was built to the south. Their similarity in size and frontal aspect, together with the fact that they were structurally connected, suggests that they were intended to be dual foci of equal importance, both dominating the other structures within the complex. This dominance was further emphasised by the fact that they were both raised well above the level of the courtyard. Placed centrally against the back wall of the cella in the first temple was found

an apsidal suggestus (ledge) upon which presumably stood the cult statue, while just in front of this was a complete limestone altar (Penn 1959 24). These would undoubtedly have been the prime religious foci at the site, together with a similar cult statue base within temple 2. Additional focal points could have been the altar in front of the second temple and the probable free-standing column aligned with the first temple. All structures were set upon the same east-west alignment, with the exception of the small northern shrine, which was clearly focused upon the first temple. That there was a high degree of planning at the site is emphasised by the position of the large square 'entrance' building, which had stairs leading into the courtyard, aligning exactly with the connecting junction between the two temples (Penn 1968 105). If this was indeed the entrance structure, then it was very elaborate and showed the importance attached to the transition point into the sacred precinct. The centrally placed altar or statue base would have further emphasised this, and would also have been a distinct focus in its own right. Another indication of the importance of such transitional loci was the drainage channel in the porch mosaic of temple 1, which was probably designed for the draining of libations made when entering the temple (Penn 1959 15). As for the enclosure, it seems to have been firmly demarcated, even if the nature of its physical form was sometimes uncertain.

The presence of paved pathways and worn cobbled surfaces provide some indications of the patterns of human movement within the precinct. A cobbled path was discovered around the inner part of the north-eastern temenos wall, though whether this traversed the whole perimeter is uncertain. Leading from this, a wide pathway was followed for around fifteen metres, leading past the column base and, according to Penn (1958 76), presumably continuing on to the first temple. It would not however, have aligned exactly upon the temple entrance, and so its course must remain uncertain. A well-made metalled courtyard, connecting temple 1 with the 'ritual pool' and northern shrine, indicates an additional area of human traffic in this area of the site (Penn 1961 115).

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

Even taking into account the limitations imposed by the differential excavation of the site, certain depositional zones can be identified, with perhaps the two most striking examples being within structures III and V. Within all four corners of structure III – the ritual pool – there were found large quantities of pottery, including complete samian vessels (Penn 1961 116; map 5.12). The scarcity of other finds – only a few coins together with some oyster shells and animal bones – implies that this was not a rubbish dump but rather the ritual deposition of selected items, possibly connected with ritual feasting. The date range of the pottery is limited to around mid-late 2nd century AD, and thus there appears to have been quite a concentrated period of depositional activity during this time. Within structure V, small groups of coins were found spaced along a short section of the western wall (map 5.11). Further along were found a number of bronze bracelets, and the fact that they were spatially distinct implies that there was a certain degree of segregation between votive types. Taken as a whole, the objects would seem to represent offerings that had either been attached to the wall – perhaps in containers – or else placed at its foot. Face pots were found near to the south west corner, along with a larger pot that may have been used to contain offerings (Penn 1962 119). The coins, which were found under the rubble layer, were all dated to the last part of the 3rd century and early 4th century AD. A further group of eight late 4th century coins were found above the rubble, suggesting that reverence continued after the building had started to decay (*ibid.*). The first temple contained a variety of finds of all dates, many of which are likely to have been votive deposits. It contained the highest number of specifically votive items, most of which were found *in situ* on the cella floor, implying that such objects were displayed here (see maps 5.11-12). There were distinct concentrations of finds within the southern annexe of temple I and especially the northern annexe of temple II, with the latter all of a similar date (c.early 4th century AD) and seemingly deposited as one 'hoard' (Penn 1962 116). They were found in a crevice underneath the roofing tiles, and may have been deposited there at the end of the temple's life, when the roof of the side wings had partially collapsed (*ibid.*). The absence of finds from the rest of the temple is because of extensive plough damage to its high floor. A large number of artefacts were found within a section of the temple ditch bordering Watling Street, probably accumulated from other parts of the complex in the 3rd and 4th century (Penn 1964 173). The ditch further to

the west remained unexcavated, so it is uncertain whether the whole feature received a similar treatment. The only other known area of deliberate deposition was a pit in front of the square base in the 'entrance' structure, where twenty-five coins and two animal burials were placed.

Overall, there appears to have been a number of 'offering zones' within the complex, and it is possible to categorise these into two groups. Firstly were those areas intended for the visual display of objects, such as the western wall of the southern building and the main temple cella. Secondly, were the areas where these artefacts were subsequently deposited, which are likely to have been the ditch and possibly the projecting wings. Those items found within the ritual pool and 'entrance' pit may represent distinct episodes of depositional activity at specific periods in the life of the religious complex.

3 'The nature of the votive artefact assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site'

Although the artefact assemblage was not large, it was dominated by coins and personal items, which accounted for around 82% of the total. Coins were particularly prevalent and the fact that at least some of them derived from votive activity as opposed to being casual losses is shown by their structured deposition in the 'entrance' pit and southern building. Of the personal items, the appearance of brooches in 1st and 2nd century levels in temple I gave way to rings and especially bracelets in later periods. In addition to such items, which were undoubtedly given by the majority of individual supplicants, there were a number of more specifically votive items, which may tell us more about the nature of the cult. Perhaps the most enlightening were the discoveries of a bronze thumb in temple I, and a small bronze arm and hand in the temple ditch. These were complete pieces and probably represented offerings of afflicted parts given in the hope of healing by the supplicant (Penn 1964 173). Other important votives finds were parts of at least four pipe-clay 'Venus' figurines, two of which were found outside the temple precinct (*ibid.* 172). One of these was found on the floor of the main temple cella, implying that it had originally been displayed there. The remaining votive items included two ivy leaves, of silver and pewter, a bronze lion head that may have originally been attached to a sceptre, and a bronze letter 'A'. The last item was found between the suggestus and rear

cella wall, and may have originally been attached along with others on the cella wall. Finally, there was a cluster of carbonised seeds found on the cella floor, of a species used as a vegetable crop and associated with bread production (*Atriplex patula*). They were probably contained in the small incense cup that was found nearby (Penn 1959 23), and burnt as part of a temple ritual, possibly associated with crop prosperity.

4. '*The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)*'

Only limited references to animal remains were made in the published accounts of the Springhead religious complex, although there were at least three examples of deliberate deposition (map 5.12). Two animal burials were associated with the coin deposits in the 'entrance' pit (Penn 1965 112) and a foundation deposit of a seabird (common gull) was found under the northern shrine. This was missing its skull, and associated with a number of seeds identified as wild Thyme (Penn 1964 177). Additionally, several of the temenos postholes were associated horse and ox skulls, thereby providing explicit evidence for bone selectivity (Harker 1980 288). Nearly all the unstructured animal remains were found in or near to the main temple and consisted mostly of individual ox bones (King 1959 53). A red deer antler fragment was found on the cella floor, which may have held special ritual significance. The only other animal remains recorded were a few bones from the ritual pool and a small quantity from some of the ovens in the rectangular building. Mussel shells were also found in a few of these ovens, as well as in the hearth from the northern shrine, and the hearth under the suggestus in the main temple cella. Together with the oyster shells found in the ritual pool, this would suggest that shellfish were significant in cult ritual, and probably used in ritual feasting. In total the assemblage was very modest and does not point to the widespread use of animals within the site, although further clues would undoubtedly come from a more extensive excavation of the whole complex. Perhaps a better indication of ritual feasting came from the pottery and the many ovens found at the site. The large dumps of pottery in the 'pool' and temple ditch included mortaria and fine tableware that presumably would have been used in food preparation and consumption. The eight ovens found to the north functioned

over a limited period, and were suggested as being utilised for bread making and possibly for normal cooking. They could therefore have been used in the preparation of ritual feasts, although there are problems with this, discussed in the following hypothesis.

5. *'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function'*

Eighteen infant burials were found within the religious precinct (map 5.12) and a further two came from a mausoleum just to the north. Fourteen of these were from the rectangular building containing the ovens, all carefully placed and covered over by an artificial clay bank (Penn 1964 176). They were all made at approximately the same time, which led the excavator to suggest that they were killed by some kind of disaster, such as plague (*ibid.* 177). However, it does seem strange that any deceased individuals, let alone those inflicted with disease, would have been buried within an area used for food preparation, especially as further ovens were later built into the clay bank. The four other infant burials were situated not far away, at each corner of the front cell in the northern shrine, and they were dated to around the same period. The burials on the east side occurred ten to twenty years later than those on the west, and their ritual nature was attested by the decapitation of one burial on each side. Penn suggested that they were foundation sacrifices, "*made in order to placate the gods against some natural disaster*" (1964 177), although as at least two of them were buried some time after the building's construction, they were unlikely to be foundation deposits. It is difficult to understand the motivation behind all of these burials, but they could, as Penn suggested (*ibid.*), have resulted from a combination of natural disaster and preventative ritual in the form of infant sacrifice. That they did all occur within a limited time period suggests that they were the result of a specific set of circumstances, and not a regular part of temple ritual.

6. *'Distinct industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would be indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

There were no convincing indications of any industrial activity within the precinct itself prior to the later 4th century AD, although it is possible that the northern ovens may have

been used for iron ore drying or roasting (Cornwall 1964 179). After this time, it seems that the rear ambulatory of the main temple was temporarily re-used for metalworking, probably a blacksmith's shop on the evidence of a horse shoe (Penn 1959 52). Outside the complex there were indications of contemporary metalworking, notably the extensive evidence for bronze-working on a section of clay floor about thirty metres to the north (Penn 1965 115). It is uncertain whether specific votive items were manufactured for the cult, but judging by the diversity of object forms found in the precinct, it seems unlikely that this was the case. A possible exception to this was the pipe-clay Venus and horse figurines, but according to Jenkins (1959 56), these are likely to have been made in the Rhineland area. Nevertheless, there may well have been commercial outlets associated with the cult complex, selling pipe-clay objects, or indeed any other item that could be used for votive purposes. A few styli found on the site may indicate the presence of professional scribes to compose the fulfilment or declaration of vows, and the many examples of pottery graffiti could reflect a poorer version of this (Penn 1964 173).

4. Site Summary

Excavations at Springhead in Kent revealed a substantial temple complex, dominating an apparent 'small Roman settlement' (Penn 1965 107), that may in fact have been the remains of an even larger semi-religious site, built up around the temple foci. Its importance as a religious centre was demonstrated from the 1st to mid 4th centuries AD, after which it seems to have fallen into decay. It was a highly structured site, focused around one and then two substantial Romano-Celtic temples, and incorporating many additional sub-foci, such as altars, columns and smaller temples/shrines. The patterns of artefact deposition suggested the occurrence of specific offering zones associated with the display and deposition of votive items, a group dominated by coins and personal objects. The feminine nature of the presiding deity was indicated by the recovery of four or possibly five Venus figurines, while the small number of votive limbs indicated a healing aspect to the cult. The ritual use of animals was attested, albeit on an apparently small scale, and the presence of eighteen chronologically similar human infant burials was suggestive of a period of stress in the lives of the local people. Overall, the temple complex at Springhead was very important, as it was one of the few known large ritual sites in Roman Britain, perhaps comparable to those in northern Gaul (see 5.3).

Uley, Gloucestershire

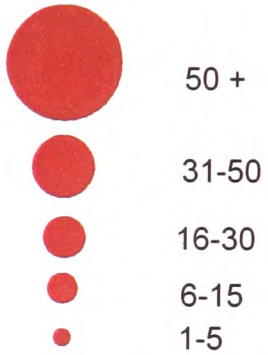
1. Site description

The site at West Hill, Uley, has already been mentioned with regard to its late Iron Age – Roman transition phase (4.1). It was interpreted as a constructed religious site surrounded by palisades and ditches, focused upon a central square post-holed structure and possibly an inner feature represented by a central pit. This was replaced, with apparently no intervening period of abandonment, by a substantial masonry temple and surrounding ancillary buildings, sharing a remarkably similar orientation to their structural predecessors (see hypothesis 1). The temple itself has been described as *'a sub-type of Romano-Celtic temple'* (Woodward and Leach 1993 310), by which was meant that the ambulatory only surrounded three sides, with direct access to the cella from the front (map 5.13-5.14). In the second of three main structural phases, a large entrance portico was added, possibly making it more classical in appearance, at least along its frontal axis (map 5.15). The final phase came in response to the collapse of its south-eastern ambulatory and cella, and resulted in an unusual L-shaped structure, utilising the remaining parts of the building (map 5.16). Four major buildings surrounded the temple, all subject to substantial alterations in the course of the site history. A large masonry building, interpreted as a guesthouse, lay to the north (structure X), while to the south-west and south-east were two further multi-roomed buildings (I and IV), the former seeming to expand in reverse of the latter over the course of successive phases. The eventual demolition of building X led to the last major masonry structure (IX) being built in the northern part of the excavated area, and this was then succeeded by a timber building on the same alignment (XIV). The excavation, whilst being quite extensive and very meticulous, did not fully cover all the buildings, this being especially so with structure X, and also to a lesser extent with structure IV. However, aerial photographs and the clearance of small quantities of plough soil (*ibid.* 39, 49) enabled the approximate extent of these buildings to be known, while results of archaeomagnetic survey suggested much more widespread activity further to the north, east and south (*ibid.* 6). Finds from fieldwalking, including pottery and occasional masonry deposits, corroborated the Roman nature of much of this activity (*ibid.* 217), and further excavation would no doubt

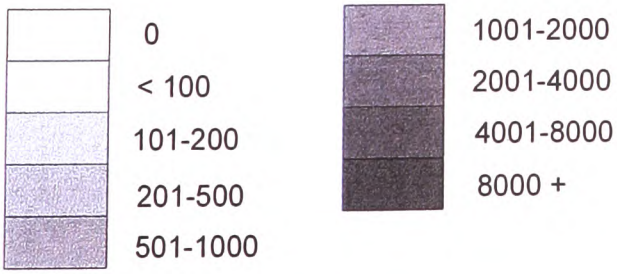
General Key to Uley Maps:

- 1st-2nd Century Coin
- 3rd Century Coin
- Coin: c.AD 300-360
- Coin: c.AD 361+
- Votive item 1: Bronze Ring/plaque
- Votive item 2: Miniature pot
- Votive item 3: Lead curse tablet
- Votive item 4: Figurine/caducei
- Personal 1: Brooch
- Personal 2: Pin
- Personal 3: Finger/armlet
- Personal 4: Misc. item (spoon, toilet articles, Counter)
- Projectile head
- Knife/tool

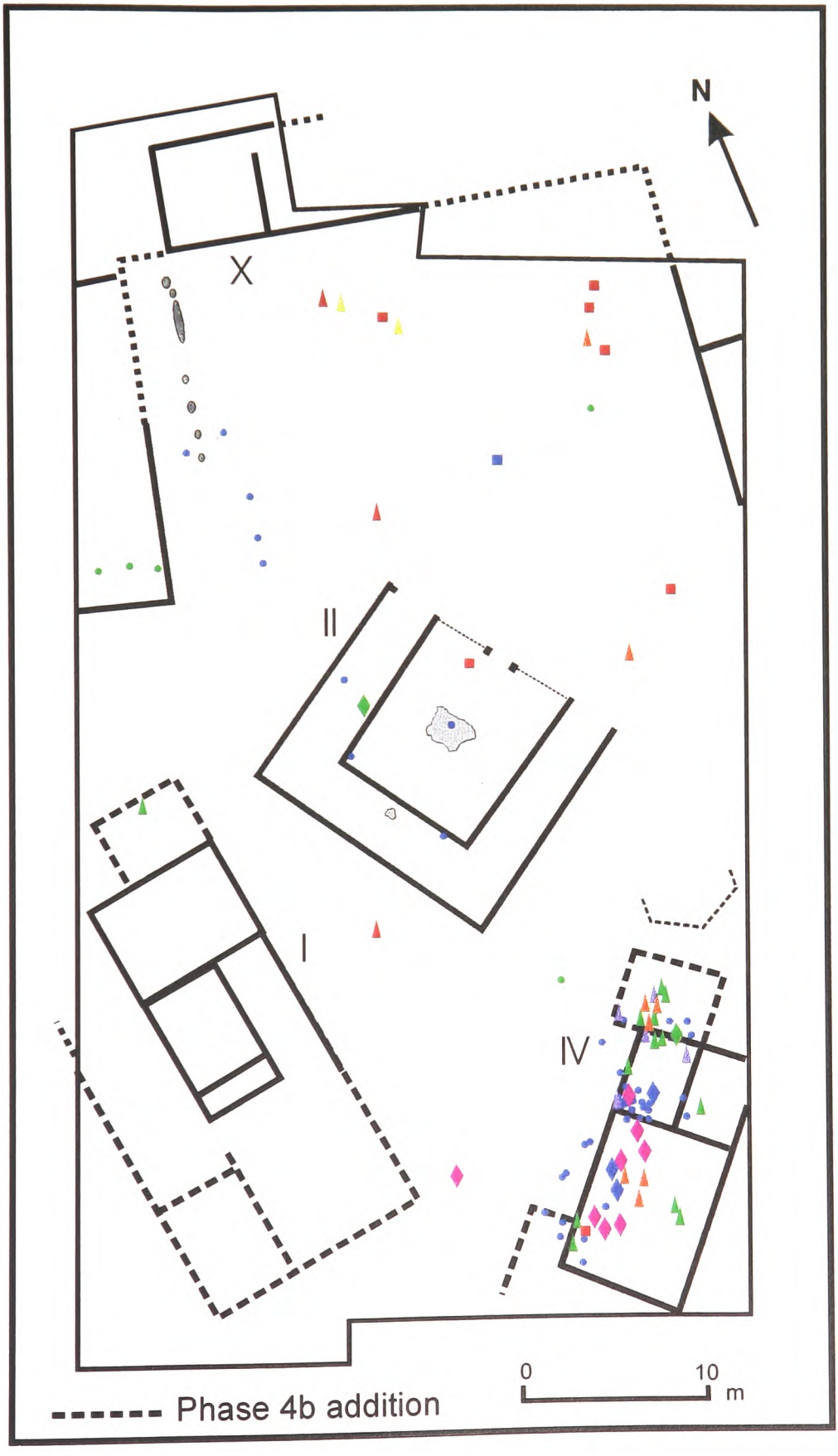
Map 5.16 Coin concentrations



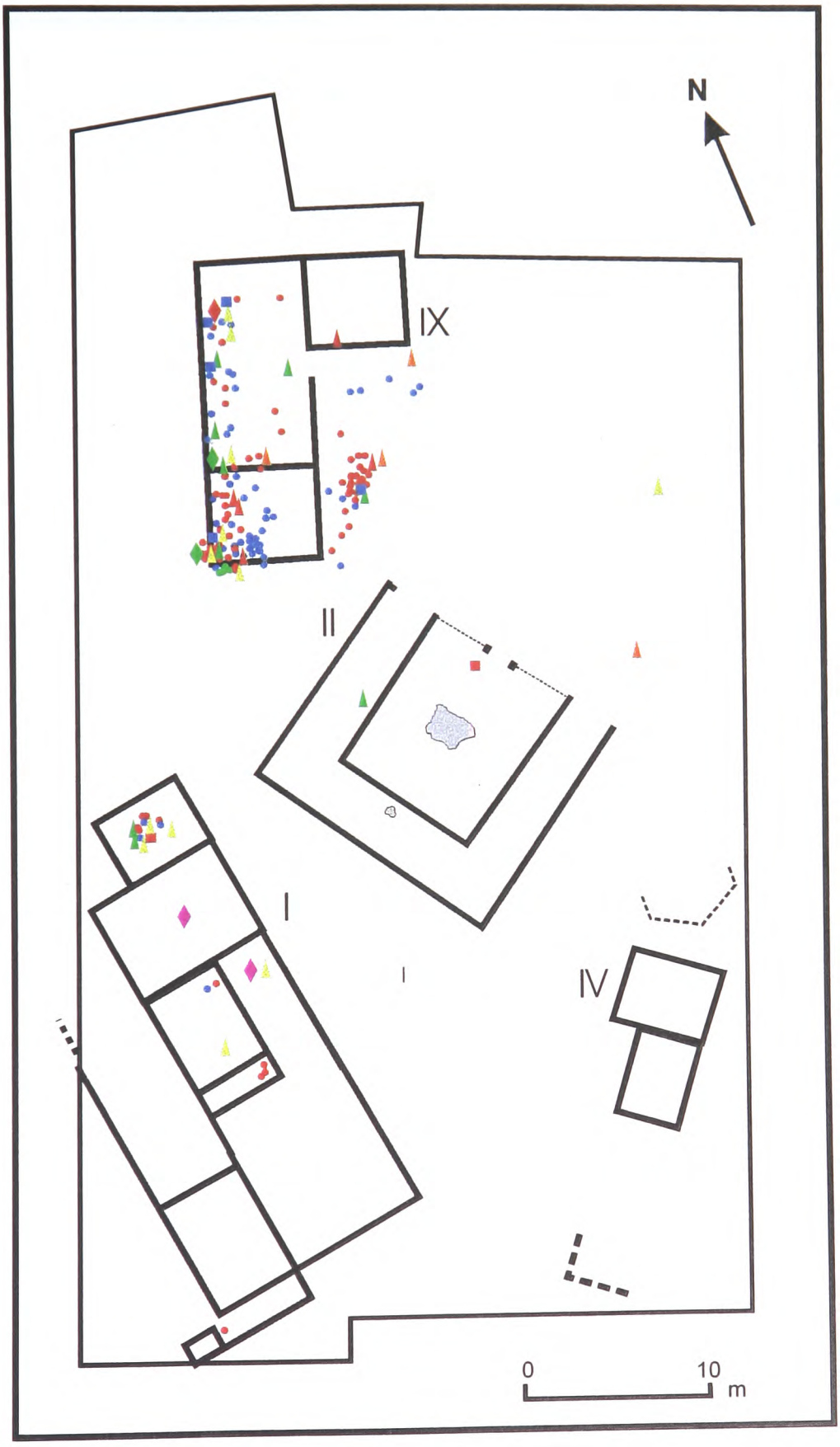
Map 5.17 animal bone density (bones per cubic metre)



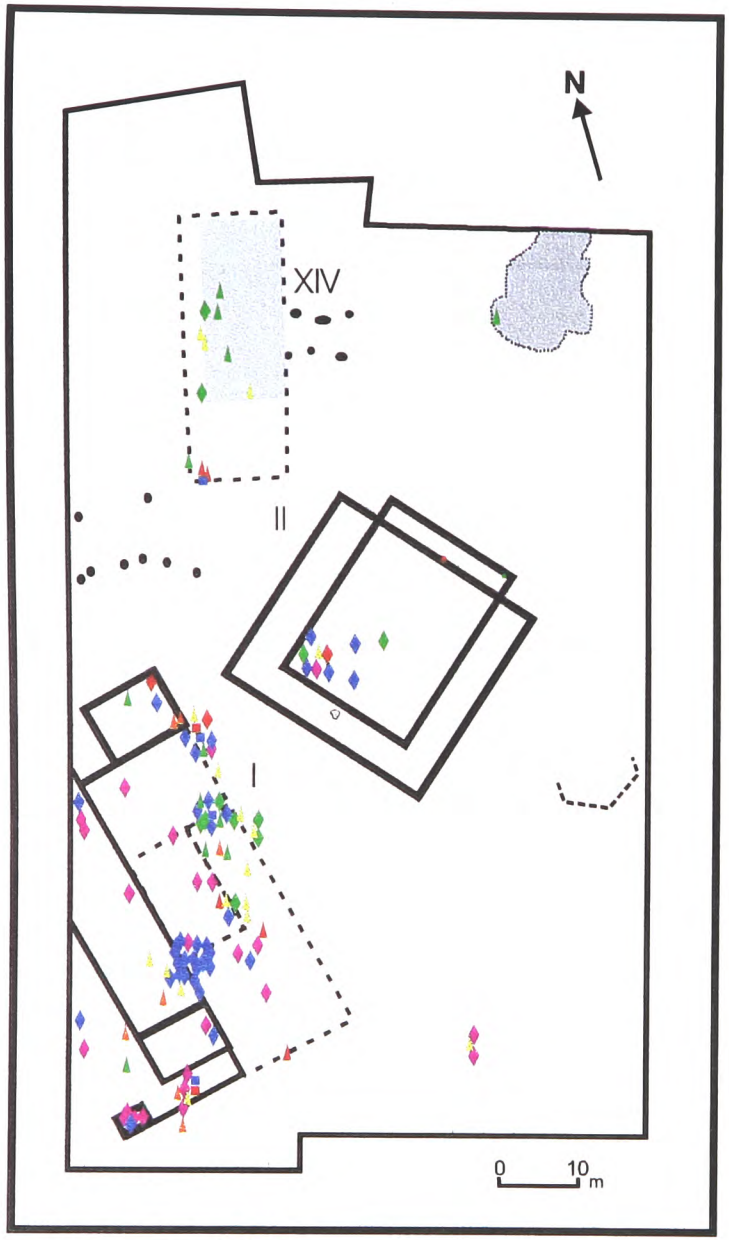
Map 5.13: Uley Phase 4a + b



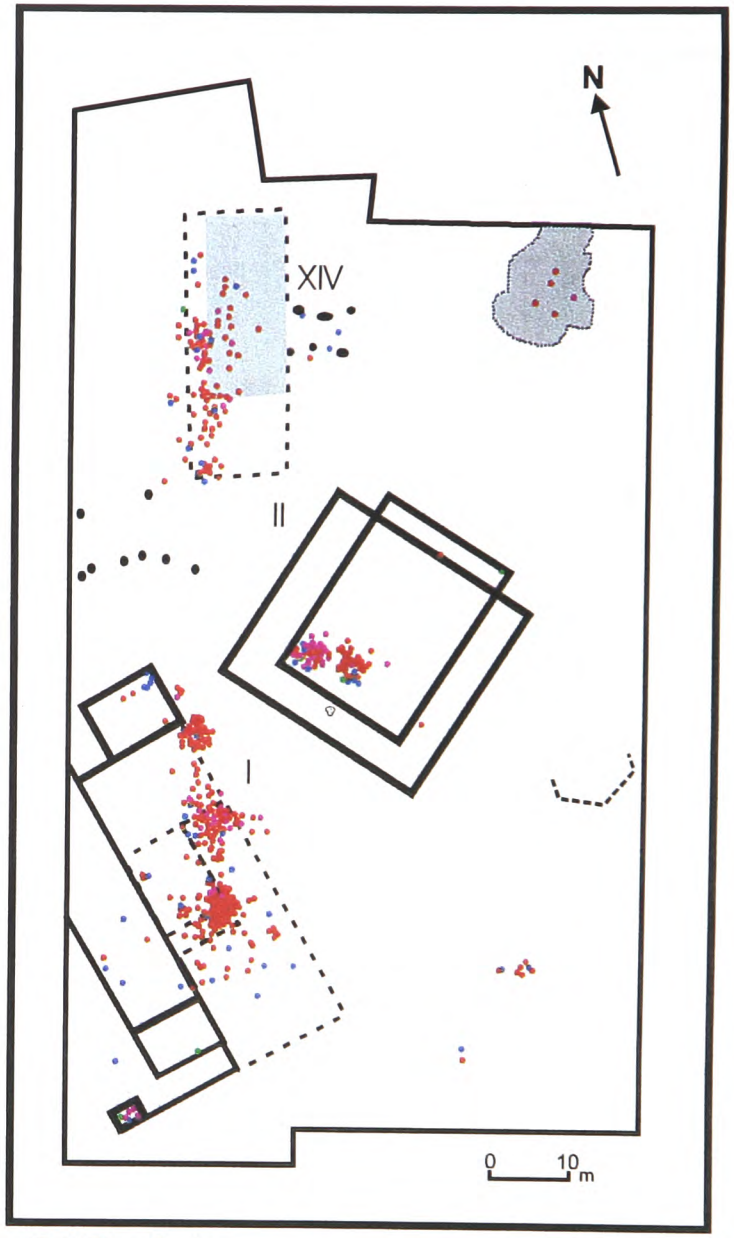
Map 5.14: Uley phase 5a - 5c



Map 5.15: Uley Phase 5d - e

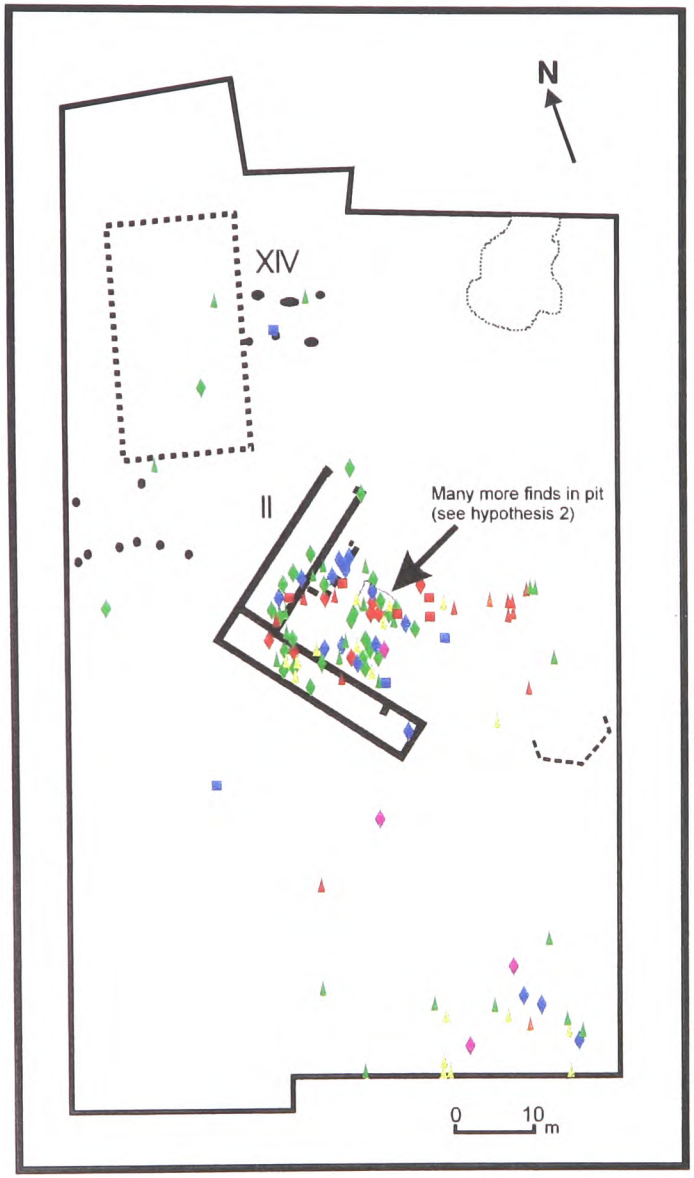


5.15a: Small finds

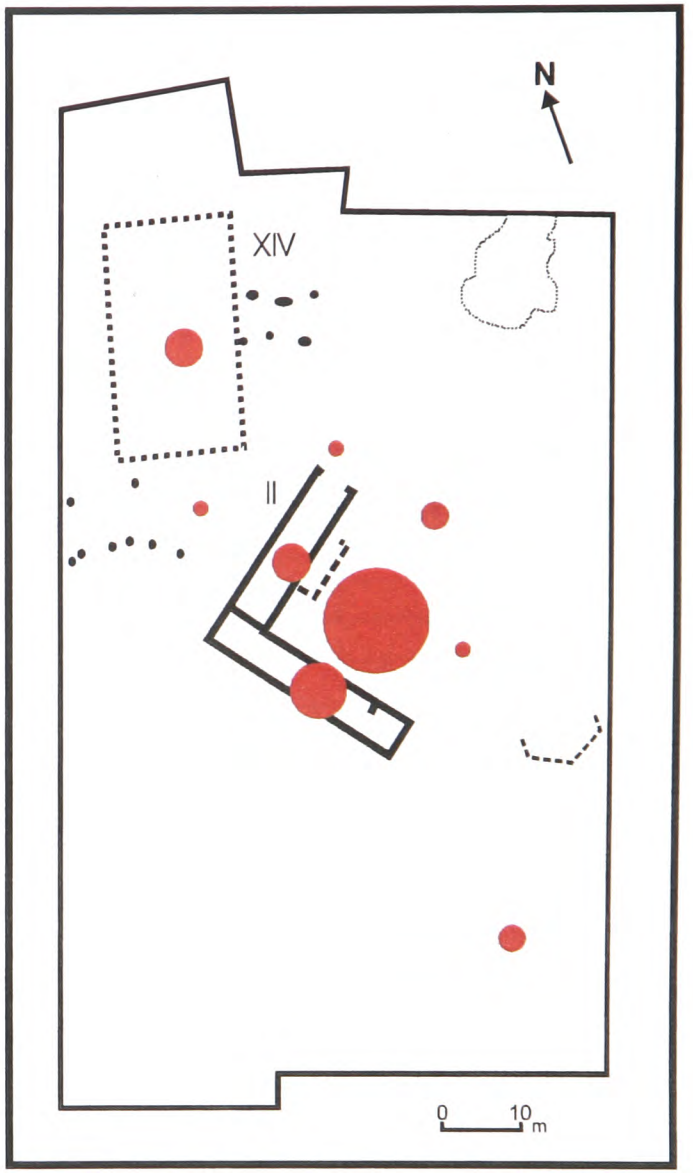


5.15b: Coins

Map 5.16: Uley Phase 6

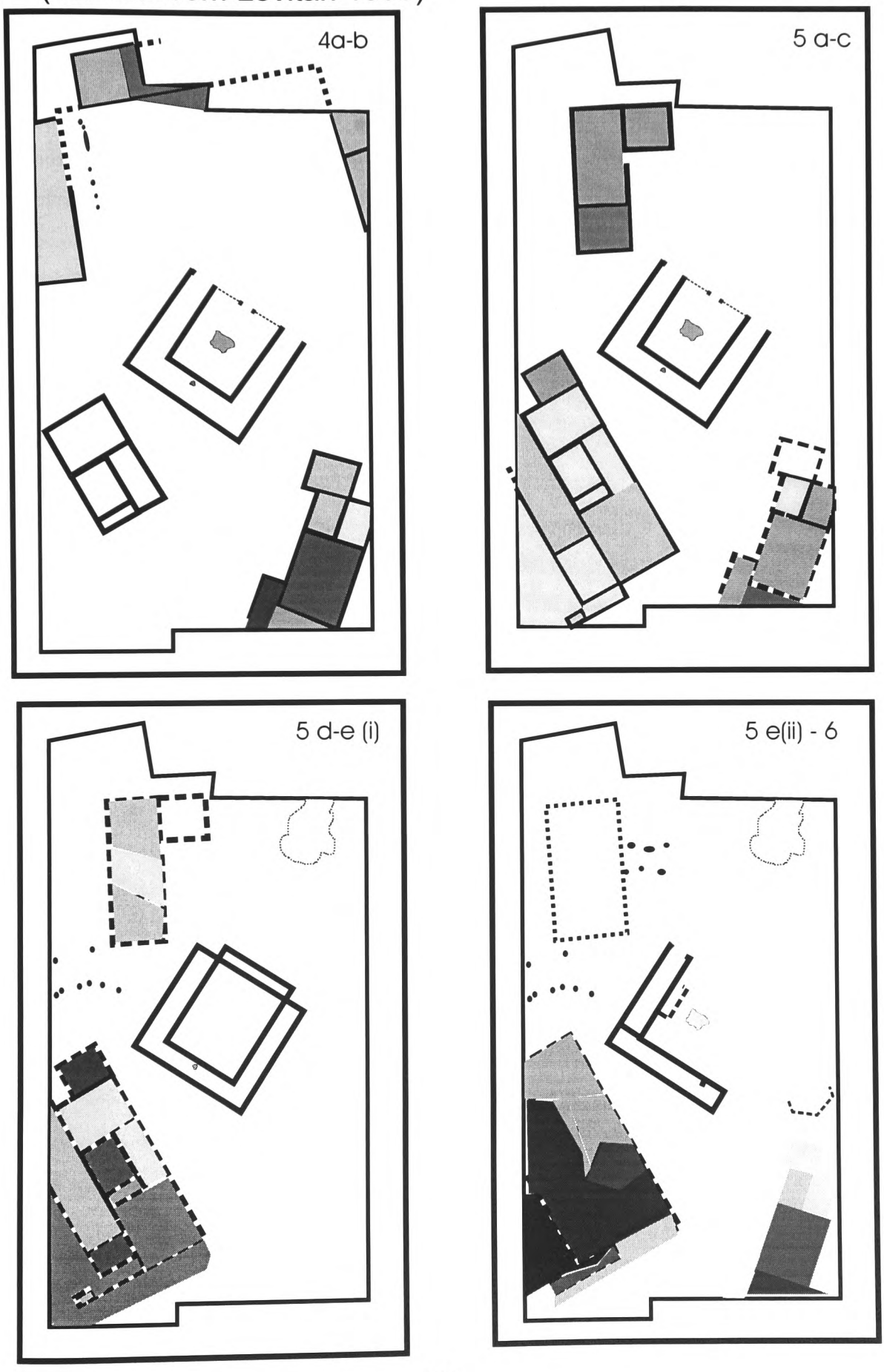


5.16a: Small finds



5.16b: Coins

Map 5.17: Uley phased animal bone distribution
(derived from Levitan 1993)



reveal a much larger complex, possibly including buildings such as a bath house or a small theatre, connected with the cult.

Finds from the excavation were numerous, and they had all been spatially referenced during the excavation, and subsequently phased. The comprehensive archive, housed at the British Museum, was consulted with the initial guidance of Dr Ann Woodward and Sarah Newcombe, in order to construct detailed phased artefact distribution maps (maps 5.13 – 5.16). Over a series of visits, the spatial co-ordinates of selected categories of finds were noted, then plotted according to phase upon a grid overlaying the site plan, using CorelDraw 5. The structural and artefactual layers were thus built up to provide a broad sequence of site history. Immediate problems were apparent in that the demolition and reconstruction of many buildings resulted in their early stratigraphy being very disturbed, or almost non-existent. This is especially true of the temple itself, which spanned the entire period of the Roman site, but which unfortunately had an almost total lack of stratigraphy for its early phases (Woodward and Leach 1993 33). In addition to this, plough damage had more of an affect on those buildings such as IV, which lay further away from the western field boundary. The overall result is that finds from definite pre-fourth century contexts (phase 4, see chronology) are comparatively scarce, although enough remain in certain buildings to be able to attempt some degree of functional analysis. The location and volume of finds from the later period are complicated by differing contexts of deposition, so that, for example, the final burning of building IX resulted in large numbers of finds staying approximately *in situ*, while more of those from building I appear to have been removed prior to demolition (Levitan 1993 288). Further problems arise from the 'deposits of votive material' (Woodward and Leach 1993 47) spread over the demolished remains of structures I and IV, which have to be taken into account when attempting functional analysis. Despite these problems, it is still possible to attempt to relate many finds to specific buildings, according to phase, and therefore account for the probable development of the site throughout its different phases.

2. Chronology and context

There seems to have been an uninterrupted chronological sequence in terms of the religious structures at Uley, running from phase 2 – 3 in the 1st century AD to the end of

phase 6 at some time in the early 5th century AD (Woodward and Leach 1993 10 –11). The phasing of the site is based upon structural modifications to the temple and ancillary buildings, with coin and pottery evidence being used to assign the absolute dating. This is less secure for phase 4 because of the lack of stratigraphy mentioned previously, although it can tentatively be assigned to the period from the 2nd to early 4th century AD, and hence it is the longest single phase, although there are sub-divisions into 4a and 4b (map 5.13). The ancillary buildings underwent demolition, construction and/or substantial modifications throughout phase 5 (c. AD310 – 380), while the second structural phase of the temple was assigned to subdivision 5 d (c. AD353 – 360), although it may have been earlier, as this dating relied upon one insecurely stratified coin (Woodward and Leach 1993 39). The spread of votive deposits over the demolished remains of structure I in 5e(ii) probably occurred at the same time as the partial collapse of the temple, lending credence to the excavators' suggestion that the material derived from here (*ibid.* 47). The final structural phase 6 (c. AD 380 – 420) related to the construction, use and demolition of the L – shaped temple and, aside possibly from structure XIV (*ibid.* 60), it is unlikely that any other buildings stood at this time in the excavated area. There were a great many artefacts and ecofacts within later contexts that were undoubtedly residual from phases 4 to 6. These have not been plotted, as their positions in most cases are unlikely to relate directly to the use of the temple, especially as much further activity took place at the site.

The location of the site at West Hill has already been described (4.1) in its late Iron Age – Roman transition context. By the time of the masonry temple's construction in the 2nd century AD, the surrounding area would have been quite densely populated, with an increasing number of prosperous settlements such as Kingscote, c.4 km to the south east (McWhirr 1983 73). There were also numerous extensive villas such as at Frocester Court, c.3 km to the north (Gracie and Price 1979), and the palatial residence at Woodchester, c.5 km to the north-east, which although it reached its zenith in the early 4th century, seems to have originated in the 2nd (McWhirr 1983 94). In addition, there would have been many simple farmsteads, as strikingly demonstrated by the archaeological survey conducted along a 50-metre wide line of the M5 motorway, which identified what appeared to be small farmsteads about every 4 km (Branigan and Fowler 1976 177). It is assumed that these would all have been dominated to some degree by the

large towns at *Corinium* and *Glevum*, located c.15 km to the east and north of Uley respectively. The temple site lay approximately 6 km from the main *Glevum* – Bath road. The continuing prosperity of the region no doubt contributed to that of the Uley cult complex, especially around the start of the 4th century, which saw a dramatic increase in the construction or embellishment of often quite large villa complexes, such as Woodchester (McWhirr 1981 104). It was probably this period that saw the extensive alterations occurring at Uley, including the classicising of the temple frontage. Despite evidence for extensive damage at some west country villa sites attributed to Irish raids in the later part of the 4th century, a new bath suite built at Frocester court after AD 360 suggests at least localised continued prosperity in the area around Uley (Gracie 1970 17). However, although occupation seems to have continued at many villa sites into the early 5th century, the standard of building decreased dramatically (including Frocester), thus corresponding with the phase 6 Uley temple. Finally, it may be significant that during the 4th century, the site at Uley would have been intervisible with the substantial religious complex at Lydney, and possibly also with that at Dean Hall.

3. Hypotheses

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

The temple was the obvious structural focus of the excavated site, and also the building with the greatest longevity. Its alignment was exactly the same as the previous post-holed structure, thus implying that there were important spatial principles that had to be adhered to, a notion possibly reinforced by the central pit within the cella. If this was the position of some earlier cult focus, then its re-use, probably for a rectangular central container or pool (Woodward and Leach 1993 34), marks some continuity in the ritual use of space. The position of the actual cult statue, and therefore the inner cult focus of the site, was thought to have been marked by a small area of mortar in the centre of the rear ambulatory (*ibid.*). There would thus have been an axial line of symmetry leading from the temple entrance, through the central container to the cult statue at the far end. The

presence of human traffic within parts of the ambulatory is suggested by worn traces of an original cobbled surface, and it was thought to have possibly had external entrances either side of the main cella entrance (*ibid.*). The location of the phase 4 ancillary buildings also suggests some continuity in site layout, as they were positioned along the same alignments as the earlier ditches and palisades. This caused some structural difficulties with the southern buildings I and IV, as they needed far deeper foundations over the earlier ditches (*ibid.* 42), and it therefore suggests that there were specific regulations restricting them to these alignments. It is possible that they acted as the boundary to an inner religious complex focused on the temple, and would therefore have been intimately connected with the cult. The carefully-laid cobbled courtyard surrounding the temple would have been the inner precinct, where no doubt much of the ritual activity took place, probably in front of the temple, as behind it there was only a three metre gap to building I. There was no evidence from geophysical survey of an outer enclosure, but more extensive excavation would be needed to make certain. The only evidence for routeways within the site are the deep cart ruts in the narrow space between the temple and building IX, although as one of these cuts the corner of the latter building, it must belong to the later 4th century at the earliest (*ibid.* 62).

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

Whilst there are many difficulties in interpreting the distribution of finds, primarily because of differential stratigraphy, certain concentrations of items that may have been votive in nature can be identified. Within phase 4 contexts (map 5.13) there is a distinct clustering of finds around building IV, and although most of these are from its destruction levels, they should still relate to the use of the structure (Woodward and Leach 1993 50). Small votive pots seem to be particularly prevalent, whilst the remainder is almost entirely made up of a number of inscribed lead tablets together with personal items such as finger rings, pins and many shale/jet objects. That this concentration of apparently votive items is simply not because of taphonomic processes within the site is suggested by the phase 4 animal bone distribution (map 5.17), which shows a far less pronounced concentration. As to the function of building IV, it is still uncertain, except to

say that it undoubtedly formed an integral part of the religious complex, and may have been multifunctional, utilised for such activities as ritual feasting (see hypothesis 4) or a commercial outlet for votive items (see hypothesis 6). The scatter of items in the courtyard to the front of the temple suggests that public activities – ritual or commercial – took place in this zone of apparent open space. During phase 5a – c, the majority of finds came from structure IX, and most of these from the demolition level, apparently left *in situ* after a destructive fire (Leach 1993 245; map 5.14). The finds were of a slightly different character (e.g. no votive pots or curse tablets), although personal items were still well represented, and their concentration may have been as a result of their context of deposition, rather than an indication of intense votive offering. Nevertheless, it is clear from such items as the caducei and bronze rings that the building was strongly connected to the cult. Occupation deposits in structure I were quite rare, but did include a number of votive pots and a spear head, while finds from the demolition rubble included many pots, inscribed tablets, coins and personal items (maps 5.15a-b). These must surely relate to the use of the building, thus implying that the structure was directly associated with cult practice. Whilst many 'votive' small finds were found in these layers, there were comparatively few in the contemporary structure XIV, with these consisting almost entirely of a few copper alloy rings. However, coins figure predominantly in both assemblages – a fact that serves to highlight the other differences. The distribution of finds over I is complicated by a 'spread of votive items' concentrated along the robber wall depressions, including a figurine, lead tablets, votive leaves and miniature pots (Woodward and Leach 1993 47; maps 5.15a-b). The range of items is quite similar to those from the earlier demolition levels, and it is possible that some of them were residual from the structure I assemblage. However, it is also quite likely that the excavators were correct in surmising that most of it came from the clearance of the temple, at the time when it was being substantially modified into the phase 6 L-shaped structure. Yet even though this material seems to have been a secondary deposit, it may still have been placed there as a deliberate ritual act, along the boundary line of the inner cult complex. This suggestion is perhaps furthered by the general structure of deposition, with curse tablets and votive rings exhibiting differential zones of clustering, whilst the miniature pots were more dispersed (map 15a). The later deposit of votive objects over structure IV

(maps 5.16a-b) would seem to suggest similar ritual activity, as it marks the position of what may have been the corresponding inner boundary line (see hypothesis 1). As for the temple itself, it is only during phase 6 that votive deposits occur in any number, although this is because of the lack of stratigraphy for earlier periods, and it is quite clear from this and from the latter parts of phase 5, that the temple was a focus for votive deposition. There is a concentration of objects from phase 5d-e towards the rear of the cella (maps 5.15a-b), which probably reflects the original context of deposition (Woodward pers com.). The many items found within the central pit were very disturbed and presumably relate to the period when the possible container was removed and the pit back-filled (maps 5.16a-b). Nevertheless, many of these finds could have originally come from the container or pool, which may have been a central depositional focus within the cella.

3. *'The nature of the votive artefact assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site'*

	Phase 4	5a-c	5d-e	6	Total
Coins phase	45	125	495	407	1072
Lead tablets	5	2	60	15	82
Miniature pots	9	3	42	3	57
Glass beads	4	4	10	21	39
Bracelets	10	2	4	16	32
Finger rings	4	3	5	18	30
Votive Rings	1	4	5	17	27
Brooches	5	3	4	7	19
Pins	5	3	6	1	15
Spoons	1	2	4	8	15
Plaques and leaves	0	0	4	8	12
Figurines/Caducei	0	1	3	8	12
Counters/game pieces	2	3	3	1	9
Necklace/Earrings	1	2	1	4	8
Toiletries	2	1	1	3	7
Miniature spearheads	0	1	2	4	7
Weapons	0	1	2	4	7
Knives	1	2	2	1	6
Metal vessels	0	1	2	1	4
Styli	0	1	0	3	4
Sculpture/altars/Inscrip.	2	0	0	2	4
Total	111	179	677	576	1543

Fig. 5.8: Selected possible votive small finds from Uley phase 4 to 6, according to context of deposition (in order of quantity)

The small finds assemblage from phase 4 to 6 contexts at Uley is dominated by coinage (see fig. 5.8), and large numbers of coins from this period (c.2nd – early 5th century AD)

were also found residual in later contexts. They undoubtedly reflect both general coin loss from the site economy and also the long-standing tradition of personal votive offering made by supplicants at the temple. The large concentration of coins mixed with the 'votive debris' over structure 1 (maps 5.15a-b) is likely to have derived from the latter activity. A comparison of the composite elements of the 'votive assemblage' from phase 4 to 6 is made difficult because of the differential stratigraphy, though certain trends do emerge, most of which were highlighted in the excavation report (Woodward and Leach 1993 328). Personal items, especially ornamentation, are comparatively common throughout the phases, and as with the coins, probably derive from both casual loss and votive deposition. As to the specifically made votive items, it seems that miniature pots and lead tablets were most prevalent up until phase 6, when they were superseded by simpler items such as copper alloy rings and metal plaques, though these items were also occasionally found in earlier contexts (*ibid.*). This simplification may have reflected the reduced nature of the site at this time. Many of the more elaborate items such as the sculpture, altars, figurines and caducei were found in later contexts, though their special nature suggests that they were reused for long periods, and many probably derived originally from phase 4. It is these items, together with the inscribed lead tablets, that provide some of the best information on the deity(ies) worshipped at the site, which seems primarily to have been Mercury. The larger than life-size head of the main cult statue was found incorporated into a later building, but dated on stylistic grounds to the 2nd century AD, and therefore probably set up within the original temple (Henig 1993 89). It was very well crafted and highly Romanized, with Henig (*ibid.* 92) suggesting that it may have been made by a sculptor from nearby Cirencester. Fragments of a ram and cockerel sculpture were also found and presumed to have come from the main cult statue. Further representations of Mercury on altars and figurines provide implicit evidence that he was the main deity at the site, although there were figurines of deities such as Bacchus, Sol and Jupiter, all of which points to the Romanized nature of the cult. Finally, the inscribed tablets, most of which were addressed to Mercury, provide an invaluable account of the patrons at the site, and most were dated from the late 2nd to early 4th century AD (Tomlin 1993 116). As with those from Bath, most were related to the theft of possessions, but unlike the former, the possessions mostly reflected a prosperous rural

rather than urban community (*ibid.*). One tablet alludes to a sum of 100,000 *denarii* 'given' to Mercury, which even in the early 4th century would still have been a considerable sum of money, and therefore points to the wealth of the patrons visiting the cult site.

4. '*The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)*'

Over fifty thousand animal bone fragments were recovered from phase 4 - 6 contexts, with almost 90 % of them being ovicaprid, thus continuing and accentuating the trend from phase 2-3 (Levitan 1993 260; see 4.1). The sheep, goat and domestic fowl bones were grouped together by Levitan (*ibid.* 259) into a votive assemblage, as opposed to those of cattle and pig which he regarded as non-votive. As mentioned in the previous Uley report (4.1), such an arbitrary division is generally over-simplistic, although the overwhelming preponderance of goats is quite anomalous to surrounding domestic contexts, and their association with the deity Mercury makes it more likely that these were the most preferred animals for ritual use. There is a problem with the identification of sheep versus goat bones, but it was still possible in many cases to separate the two, and therefore to note the location of any specific concentrations (Levitan 1993 279, 288). On the whole, the phased distribution of animal bone (map 5.17) shows a fairly even density in most stages (phase 4-5), with ovicaprids being the most common type everywhere, although the goat:sheep ratio was far higher in the two southern building ranges (IV and I). The southern bone assemblages also exhibited a lower percentage of butchery marks overall, but a higher percentage on horncores, implying that they had been deliberately removed. The densest concentrations of bones were within the votive deposits over buildings I and IV, which were presumed to have derived from different phases of the temple. These exhibit an extremely high proportion of ovicaprids (over 90 %), with goats forming most of the identifiable fragments (Levitan 1993 294). It may therefore be inferred that the ritual use of animals also occurred in the temple area, at least throughout phases 5 and 6. The rarity of butchery marks on bones other than horncores makes it uncertain if many of those in the southern buildings were used in ritual feasting.

However, it is certainly possible that such activities did occur, either of selected ovicaprids or other species such as the unusual Red Sea Bream found in phase 5 of building I. It is possible that many animals were merely sacrificed and deposited, although there were no articulated bone deposits from these phases. The higher incidence of butchery marks and greater variety of species in the bone assemblages of buildings X and IX/XIV suggests that these were more likely to have been consumed, although they could still have been sacrificed before hand. Analysis of ovicaprid age structure reveals that there was a fairly consistent kill-off peak, around August – September time (*ibid.* 279). This was applicable to the assemblages of both the southern and northern buildings, and suggests a major annual festival when sacrifice occurred and ritual feasting took place. Finally, it must be noted that there was a large range of fineware pottery present at Uley, with a greater emphasis on tableware, possibly linked to ritual feasting (Leach 1993 245). There was a greater concentration of pottery in occupation deposits from buildings IX and XIV, and although this was linked to better survival conditions, it may also be indicative of more widespread food preparation and consumption.

5. *'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function'*

Amongst the thousands of animal bones, there was a very small quantity of human remains, including a fully articulated late Roman coffined burial of a male aged 25-35 years, found partly intruding onto the modern pipe trench in the west of the site (Bell and Rogers 1993 257). Unfortunately, no evidence is provided for the phase or exact context of the burial, but its presence near to the western inner precinct boundary may be significant. Other disarticulated human bone included a damaged adult radius and metatarsal from phase 4a occupation deposits in the southern part of building IV and an infant bone fragment from the floor foundation of building IX (*ibid.*). It is difficult to see these as indicative of funerary activity, though their presence is not easy to explain. The latter bone may well be residual from earlier contexts.

6. *'Distinct industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would be indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives*

from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'

Within the published excavation report, evidence was presented for both industrial and commercial zones within the excavated site (Woodward and Leach 1993 331). Building IX to the north was interpreted as a manufacturing focus, based upon a succession of hearths and ovens, numerous crudely-made copper alloy rings, leaves and waste drips (*ibid.*). However, only two such rings and three pieces of drip were found from occupation and destruction levels, so any metalworking would surely have been at a very reduced scale. The timber-framed successor, XIV, also contained a large hearth in addition to two further votive rings, two blobs of copper alloy and three pieces of fuel ash slag (*ibid.* 60). This, together with the fragments of copper alloy sheet, does suggest that limited metalworking occurred, but again at a very small scale. The presence of unfinished examples of the rings also led the excavators to suggest manufacturing was done on site, but as these were generally in phase 6 temple contexts, it does not necessarily point to their manufacture in building IX or XIV. A commercial function was postulated for building IV, based on the quantity of jet, shale and bone objects from occupation and demolition contexts (*ibid.* 331). These were mainly concentrated in the small northern room, which also contained two contemporary hearths, and is perhaps unlikely to have been a shop. Further parts of the building may have been utilised for commercial activity, but no convincing evidence is forthcoming. Overall, the presence of specifically made votive items such as the rings, pots and even the lead tablets, implies that commercial outlets did exist at the site, and these may have taken the form of temporary stalls, mostly set up for specific occasions.

4. Site Summary

The structures at West Hill Uley were part of an extensive, long-lived and prosperous rural religious complex, fully integrated into the local and probably regional settlement pattern. They marked the continuation of an earlier late Iron Age – Roman transition cult site, which seems to have profoundly influenced the spatial organisation of the later site. The large numbers of recorded finds included many of an implicitly religious nature, leading to the identification of Mercury as the principal deity worshipped. Although there

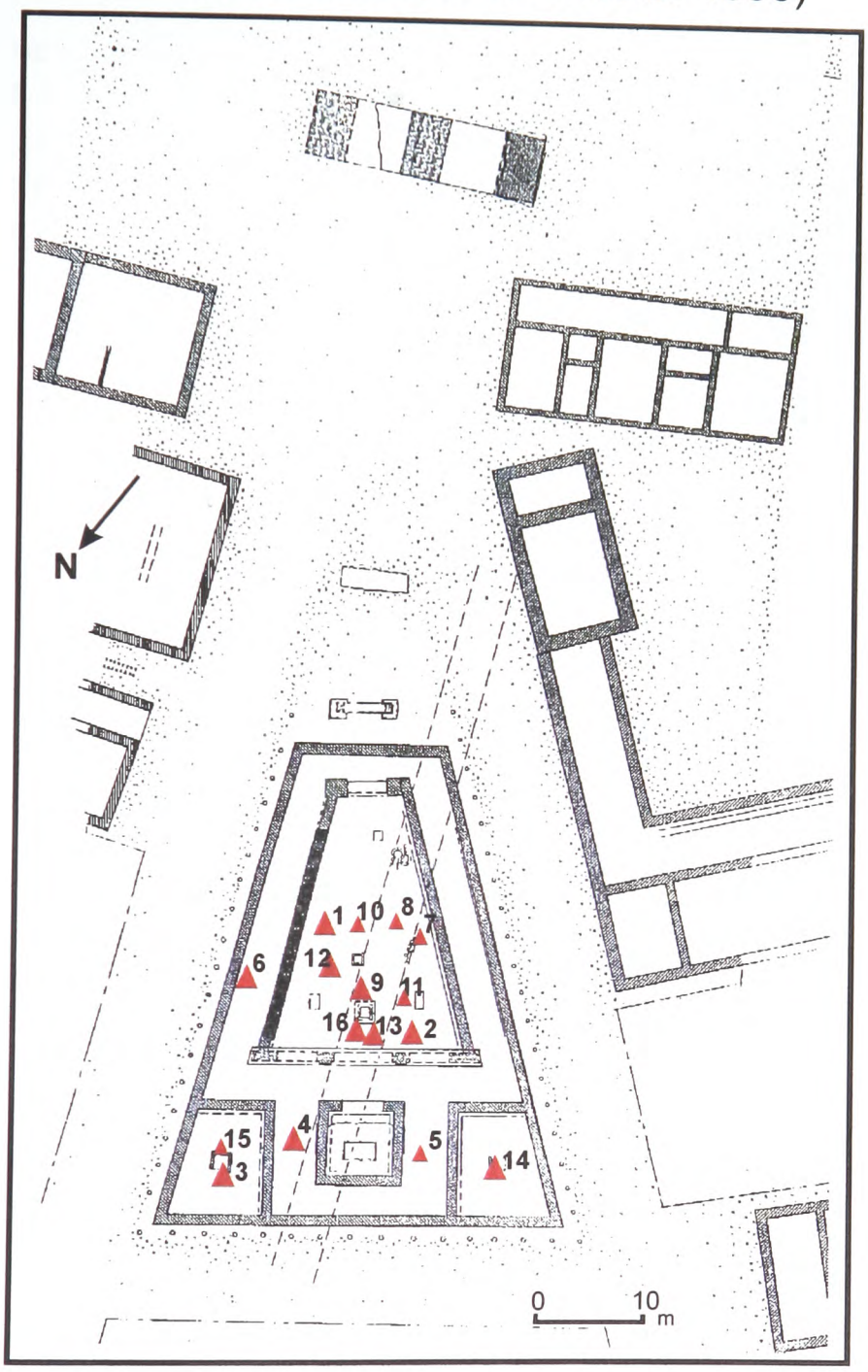
were many difficulties revolving around differential stratigraphy, the construction of distribution maps has shown that there were specific concentrations of votive material within certain buildings, thus helping functional analysis. The two southern buildings in particular would seem to be very closely associated with cult ritual, as both possessed significant numbers of objects and animal bones presumed to be votive in nature within their occupation and demolition deposits. The chronological floruit of activity differed between the two, and it is likely that they both functioned in a similar capacity, but at different stages in the site's development. The exact nature of this capacity is more difficult to ascribe and it is likely that they were multi-functional, possibly including elements of high status ritual feasting. The northern buildings were clearly of a different character, though still fully integrated into the cult, and may have been used for various activities such as pilgrim accommodation, limited metal-working and food preparation. A clear front:rear dichotomy therefore existed at the site, on either side of the central focal temple. This temple, which may have been quite classical in its frontal appearance by the 4th century AD, contained extensive deposits of votive material in its latest phase, with further deposits over the southern buildings likely to have come from its earlier stages. Ultimately, the site excavated was done so very meticulously but it may only be representative of an inner cult complex. Further excavations are required in order to understand the size and nature of the outer zones at the site.

Verulamium 2 (Triangular temple)

1. Site Description

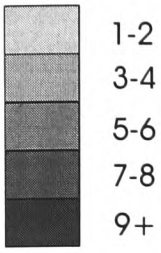
This temple was one of two such structures in the Roman city of Verulamium excavated by the Wheelers in the early 1930s, but was very unusual in being of a truncated triangular plan (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936 113-120). A linear negative feature lay underneath the temple, which was identified as the early Watling street ditch (*ibid.* 114). This had rapidly silted up, and an inhumation burial inserted in its upper layers, accompanied by a pre-Flavian beaker. This unusual occurrence may be reflective of an earlier ritual focus at the site during the Roman transition period, and there are a number of other indicators to support this. A burnt clay floor and carbonised post were found

Map 5.18: Verulamium 2 structured deposits
(after Wheeler & Wheeler 1936)



1. Oak Charcoal, 5 beakers + burnt bird bones
2. Oak charcoal, 3 beakers, unguent jar + burnt bones (bird, pig & stoat)
3. Oak charcoal, lamp + 2 staples
4. Oak charcoal, nail + burnt bones (bird & pig)
5, 7, 8, 10, 11 & 15.. Oak charcoal
6. Jar, incense cup + lamp
9. Oak charcoal + many animal bones (ovicaprid, ox & bird)
12. Oak charcoal, 5 beakers, 7 plates, 4 dishes, urn, 2 rings, 2 coins & charred Italian pine seeds & scales
13. Oak charcoal + 7 beakers
14. Oak charcoal, coin & pine seeds
16. Ox skull + Samian cup

Map 5.19: Verulamium 2 artefact density



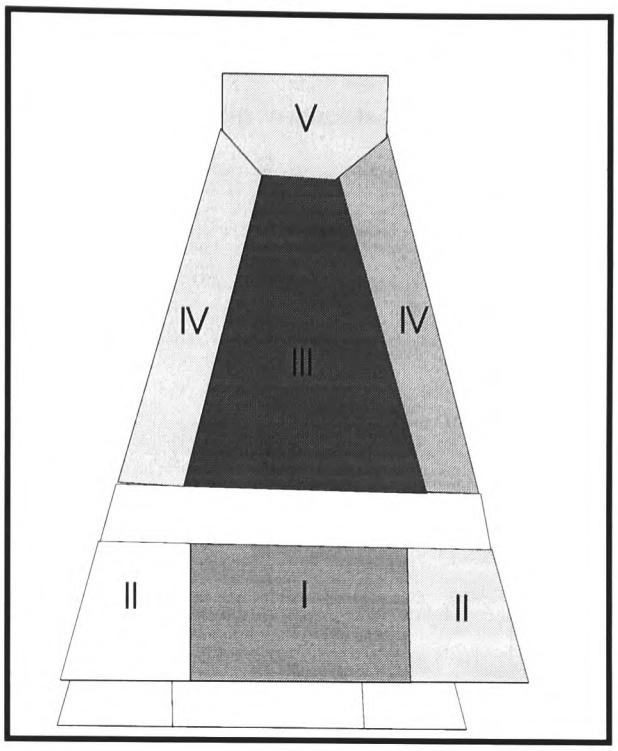
I Temple cella

II Flanking rooms

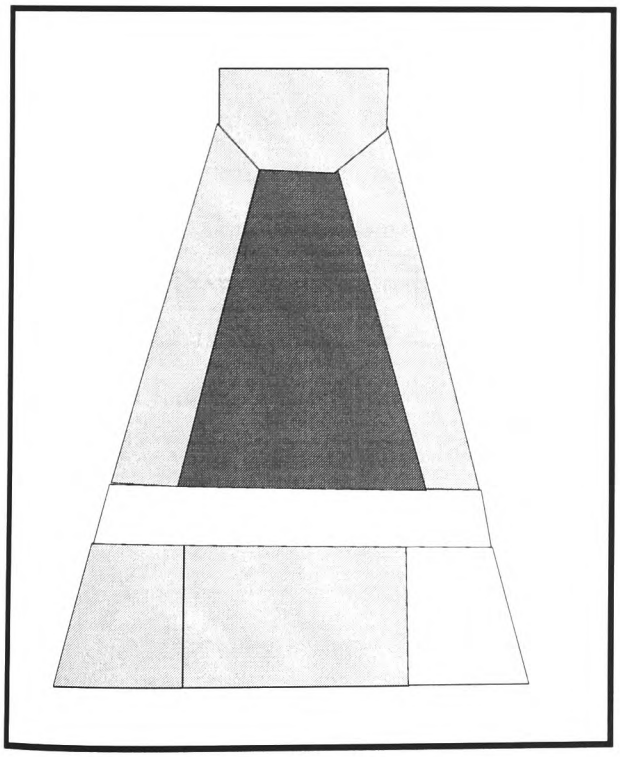
III Courtyard

IV Courtyard portico

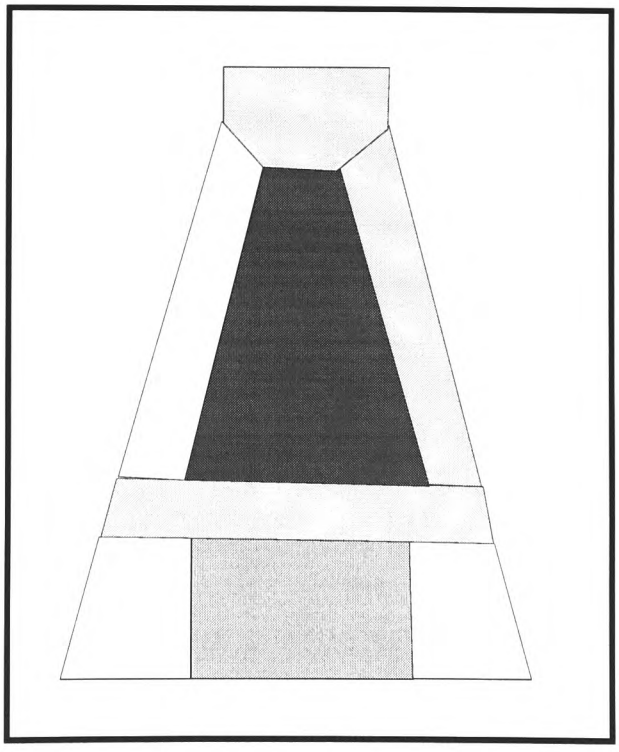
V Entrance area



5.19a: Coins



5.19b: Personal ornamentation



5.19c: Pottery

under the later temple entrance (Niblett 1987 55), and there were unusually high numbers of brooches (c.9) and coins (c.12) recovered from pre-temple contexts, especially considering the very limited areas excavated to this level. The first masonry temple (phase 1) consisted of an internal open courtyard surrounded by a colonnade, with the cella situated at the northern end (see map 5.18). Flanking this were two other rooms containing small brick-lined pits, which may have been water tanks designed for ritual purification purposes. Surrounding the temple exterior on all sides except the southern entrance, were regularly spaced wooden posts. Within a short period of time the temple was completely reconstructed (phase 2), although it seems to have been kept more or less to the exact same plan, with the exception of a new wooden porch (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936 116). Features within the courtyard consisted of the main cult altar, which moved position during phase 2, and an oven, aligned on the altar. A final structural phase occurred much later (phase 3), when the courtyard and surrounding corridors were all raised 23 cm and two small pedestals were positioned either side of the altar. External structural features included a large rectangular chalk foundation about nine metres from the entrance, probably another altar (*ibid.* 114), and a substantial double archway about 25 metres beyond this.

In contrast to the other Verulamium temple, large numbers of finds were recovered. The site archive, housed in St. Albans Museum, was consulted on two occasions, and contextual information relating to the finds was used to construct the density maps (maps 5.19a-c). The fifteen specifically recorded structured deposits plotted in map 1 were derived from the published report (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936 114). Where possible, the approximate depositional dates of the finds are mentioned in the text, although it must be noted that most of the later stratigraphy was destroyed by ploughing and tile robbing (*ibid.*117).

2. Chronology and context

Of the three main structural phases identified above, only the last may not be accorded a reasonably secure date. The coinage and pottery of the pre-temple phase indicated a period of activity at around AD 50 – 80 (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936 115), with the inhumation burial coming at the start of this time. The latest coin from the primary

temple make-up levels was an unworn issue of Trajan, suggesting an early 2nd century construction, while the subsequent reconstruction can be assigned to the latter half of that century (Niblett 1987 56). A late 3rd century date was given to the final phase on the basis of one stratified coin of AD 270-3 (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936 117). Although this must be regarded with caution, the high proportion of unstratified late 3rd century radiates does corroborate such a dating. There was a substantial number of 4th century coins from the topsoil above the temple, especially compared to surrounding buildings (*ibid.*), and it thereby implied some kind of activity at least to the last few decades and possibly beyond. The external chalk 'altar' foundation was undated but the triumphal arch seems to have spanned from the later second to late 3rd/early 4th century AD.

The temple was constructed at the junction of two major roads, one of them Watling Street, which then continued on to the southern gateway, originally about thirty metres away. The period belonging to the inhumation and subsequent artefact deposition corresponded to that of pronounced activity at the Folly Lane site, visibly situated to the north of the city, where an elite burial was followed by the construction of a Romano-Celtic temple (Niblett 1999). There is uncertainty as to the nature of the surrounding area in the first period of construction, but there was probably a masonry building to the southwest, of unknown function (Niblett 1987 52). In c.A.D. 155 a fire spread over much of the area and the rebuilding of the temple may have been but one of many reconstructions occurring after this episode (*ibid.* 57). The final reconstruction may also have been connected with the widespread refurbishment in the city at the end of the 3rd century.

3. Hypotheses

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

The unique plan of the triangular temple belies the fact that it was in many ways very similar to other temples within Britain. The focus of the site was clearly the central cella and cult statue within, represented by a centrally placed podium, and surrounding this was a continuous ambulatory. It faced onto an open temple precinct that was also

surrounded by an ambulatory. A clear symmetry existed on either side of a central axis running from the cult statue, through the courtyard and entrance structure to the large external altar beyond. The triumphal arch further to the south was centred on this axis line, marking what was probably the first of at least four successive points of entry into the shrine, and the most obvious route of a processional pathway. The importance attached to the actual entrance into the precinct was shown by its slight monumentalisation in the second phase. The outer boundary of the temple was well defined by masonry walls in addition to regularly spaced timber posts. Further evidence for specific spatial planning lay in the features in the courtyard, and in particular the ovens and altar bases. The original position for the altar base was intended to be near to the main entrance, but it was then moved towards the rear of the courtyard (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936 116). This change was correspondent with the direction of the oven flue, which was changed to be in alignment with it, and it therefore seems that these two features shared an intimate spatial relationship. The further movement of the altar in phase 3 placed it exactly on the central axis, although it still kept its association with the oven. As the temple lay at the junction of two major roads leading south towards London, it would have meant a great deal of human traffic moving towards and around it, though in the vast majority of cases, such movement would undoubtedly not have been purely processional in nature.

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

The pattern of structured deposits (map 5.18) quite clearly indicates that the rear half of the temple courtyard was the preferred zone for ritual deposition, with around two-thirds of all such features occurring there. That they were deliberate deposits rather than casual losses is firmly indicated by their positioning within specific pits, rather than on surface levels, and thus they differed substantially from the finds included in the density maps (maps 5.19a-c). However, in all three thematic categories included in these latter maps, it was the courtyard that contained the highest densities, and they were therefore in accordance with the pattern of structured deposits. Although this may partly be because it was the largest individual area, it is quite conceivable that it was at least partially reflective of its function, possibly as a zone for the display of votives. There was some

spatial differentiation between the two depositional types in that more surface objects were found in the cella area, with a number of coins mentioned as being found in front of the statue base (Site notebook 21, p. 54, 62), possibly the remnants of displayed offerings. The two side rooms contained very few finds, and only one structured deposit contemporary with the temple's use. The other two lay directly underneath the tanks, and may have been the result of foundation rituals. Virtually all of the remaining deposits were either dug into the 2nd century floor or else contained late 2nd/early 3rd century pottery, and would therefore have been contemporary with phase 2 of the temple. The only definite phase 3 deposit was an ox skull positioned behind the courtyard altar, and it therefore suggests a shift in ritual practice, although it must be remembered that much of the 4th century stratigraphy had been disturbed. There appears to have been little spatial segregation of votive types, although there is clear evidence that they were treated differentially. The structured deposits contained a limited range of finds, most of which were either organic or ceramic in nature, while the surface finds contained a much greater variety of artefacts, including many coins and metallic objects. The possible cult significance of this is considered in the next hypothesis.

3. *'The nature of the votive artefact assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site'*

Taken as a single assemblage, three main thematic groups of artefacts were recovered from the site – personal ornamentation, coins and ceramic vessels. The type of ornamentation varied over time, although it remained an important votive category. Of the ten brooches recorded, nine were from pre-temple levels, whereas beads, pins, rings and armlets were found throughout later contexts. Coins were found spanning all of the temple phases, from late 1st to 4th centuries AD. The pottery, aside from providing dating evidence, gave some indication as to the nature of cult activities at the site. There were a number of distinctive poppy-head beakers, all recovered from structured deposits, and therefore probably votive objects in their own right, and/or containers for ritual libations. Three ceramic lamps were found, two of which were deliberately deposited in a complete state and consequently also likely to have held a specific votive significance. Lastly a number of incense cups were found, mostly in the make up of the second flooring, which would undoubtedly have been used in temple ritual. One of them was found in

association with a funnel-shaped pottery chimney, 59 cm high (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936 119). The differentiation noted above between the structured and non-structured deposits indicates a difference in the nature of their formative processes. The structured deposits, which consisted for the most part of oak charcoal, ceramic items and animal bones, may have been derived from public rituals involving sacrifice and feasting (see hypothesis 4). Whereas the remaining 'votive' artefacts may have been the remnants of personal offerings made at the temple, which were not then subsequently deposited. There were few indications of actual cult identity at the site, although it was noted in the report that the presence of imported Italian pine kernels could suggest a link with Bacchus (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936 119). However, such specific associations based on this evidence must be treated with caution, especially when the seeds occurred in just two deposits, separated by about 70-80 years.

4. *'The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)'*

There were only very limited references in the published report and site notebook regarding the faunal assemblage from the triangular temple, and these were reserved for those bones within the structured deposits (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936 118-119). A total of five such deposits contained animal bones, four of which were within the temple courtyard. The largest of these was a rectangular pit, about 1.8 by 1.2 metres, in which were a large but unspecified number of ovicaprid, ox and bird bones. Three others contained pig and bird bones, while the last held a complete ox skull. There does not appear therefore to have been any great species selectivity, with even the bird bones incorporating a variety of species, although the appearance of a single pig's jaw in deposit 4 suggests some bone selectivity. Most of the bones in all deposits were calcined, and as they were also all associated with oak charcoal, it suggests that they were ritually burnt before deposition. All of this implies that the sacrifice of animals took place at the site. The presence of charcoal only deposits may represent the ritual burning - and therefore sacrifice - of more perishable organic substances such as animal organs or plant material. The occurrence of such sacrifice over time seems to have been quite infrequent.

Between ten and twelve of the structured deposits were in phase 2 contexts which would mean they would have occurred every eight to ten years, assuming that it was a regular activity. The latest in the sequence was the ox head, positioned in a pit behind the altar, and possibly associated with ritual concerned with the refurbishments of phase 3. It is likely that at certain times, the ritual feasting of certain animals also took place, although unfortunately the reports do not state whether any bones showed signs of butchery. However, the presence of fine ceramic tableware in both the structured and unstructured deposits does provide more positive evidence that such activities occurred. Seven plates and four dishes were found in one deposit, while at least fifteen samian cups were found spread over the temple layers. The presence of seven mortaria suggests that food preparation may also have taken place at the site.

5. *'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function'*

There were no human bones recorded from temple contexts at the Verulamium temple, although the imposition of an inhumation burial in the ditch underneath may have been connected with an earlier ritual use of the site, in the Roman transition period.

6 *'Distinct industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would be indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

There were no indications of an industrial function contemporary with the use of the temple, and the small amount of manufacturing material in pre-temple contexts is likely to have come from the metalworking areas to the south and north. A commercial function had been postulated for one of the buildings to the south-east (Niblett 1987 52), but even if this was the case, there is no way to connect it directly with the temple.

4. Site Summary

The triangular sanctuary at Verulamium appears to have been an important and long-lasting urban public cult site, possibly situated at a place of previous ritual significance. The temple was essentially of Romano-Celtic design and the layout of the site as a whole

exhibited a marked degree of symmetry and frontality, similar to most classical Roman temples. There were clearly selected zones for the deposition and display of votive material, with a broad typological differentiation noted between those structured finds from within pits and those from contemporary floor surfaces. The ritual use of animals was well attested at the sanctuary, including the probability of ritual feasting. The site remains one of the few urban temples in the south of Roman Britain to have received much archaeological attention, and yet compared to some of the more recently excavated rural complexes, the quantity and quality of data is still quite poor.

Section 5.2

Secondary site analysis

The following fourteen sites (fig. 5.9) will be subjected to individual analysis, focusing upon their chronology, context, use of space and find assemblages.

Secondary sites	
Bath	Bourton Grounds
Brean Down	Coleshill
Farley Heath	Frilford
Great Chesterford	Hayling Island
Lamyatt Beacon	Maiden Castle
Lydney Park	Pagans Hill
Silchester	Woodeaton

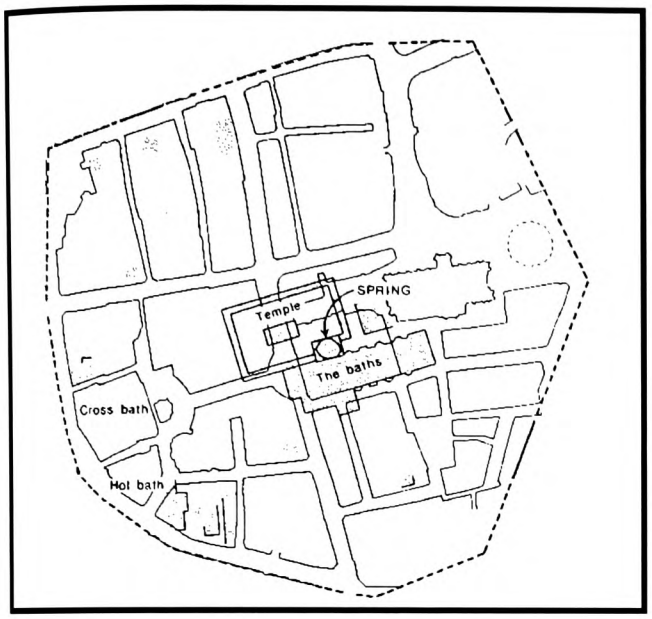
Fig. 5.9: Secondary Roman temple sites

Bath (*Aqua Sulis*), North Somerset (Map 5.20a)

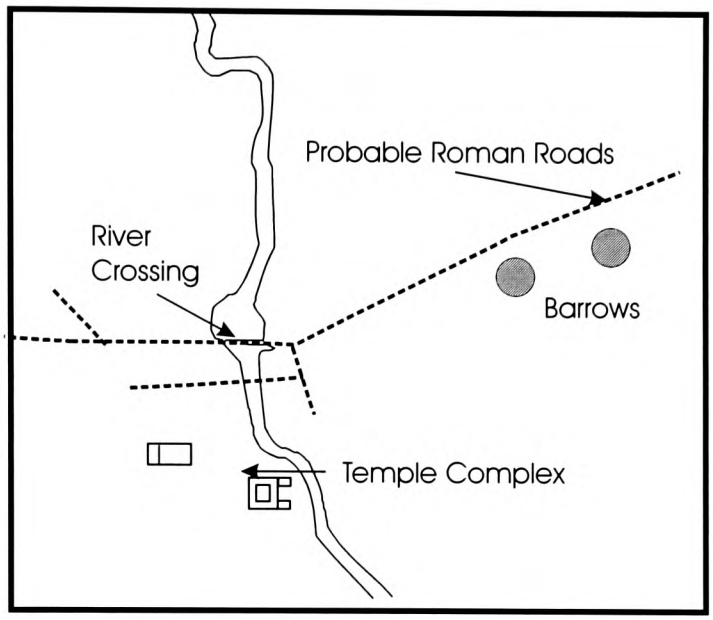
1. Chronology and context

The massive temple complex at Bath (*Aqua Sulis*) has been the subject of numerous excavations and studies (e.g. Cunliffe 1971, 1988b, 1995b, Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, Blagg 1990), although its absolute chronology and the nature of the surrounding structural environment remain quite ambiguous. Only parts of the precinct were fully excavated, and although a quite detailed structural sequence could be postulated with some conviction (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985 24-75), there was little in the way of useful stratified material to assign a precise date to the various stages. The construction of the temple and baths complex was assigned to AD 65-75, based primarily upon stylistic evidence from the decorated pediment, but further advanced by the preponderance of early Roman coins from the sacred spring (*ibid.* 65). The next stage of major alterations – including the enclosure of the spring and addition of an ambulatory to the temple – was

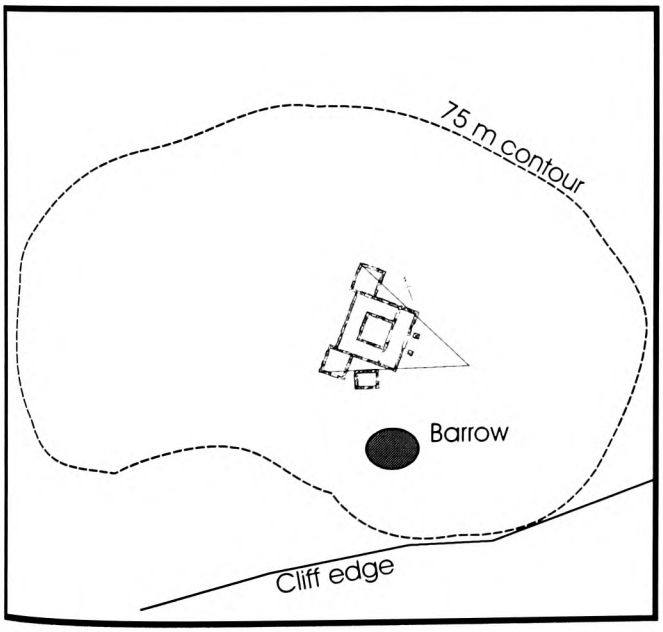
Map 5.20: Secondary site plans



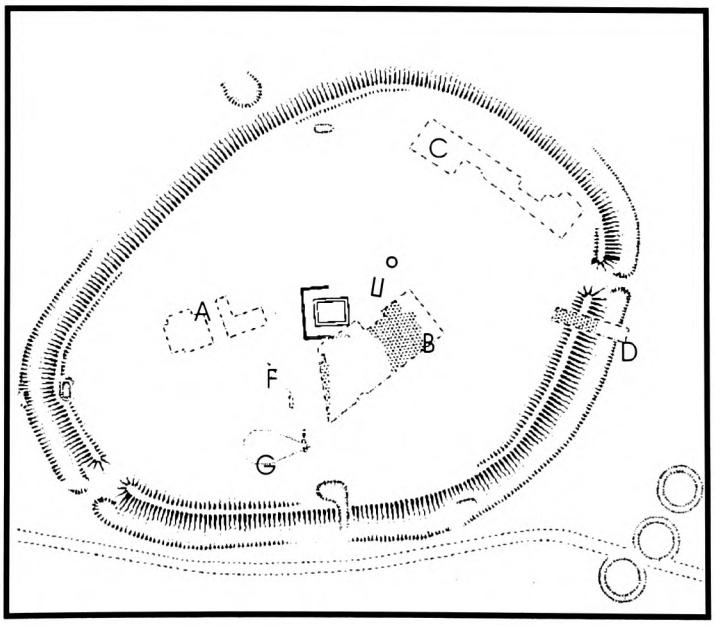
5.20a: Bath (after Cunliffe 1988 13)



5.20b: Bourton Grounds



5.20c: Brean Down



5.20d: Chanctonbury (after Bedwin 1980 175)

dated very approximately to the later 2nd or early 3rd century (*ibid.*). All of the subsequent modifications, up until the apparent beginnings of temple decline, were dated to before AD 350 by a single coin of Constans found in a repaired patch of the precinct paving, just beneath the first soil layer (Walker 1985 136). The accumulation of these soil and 'rubbish' layers in the precinct, all sealed beneath new levels of cobbling, were probably as a result of both flooding and poor maintenance, and provide a more detailed indication of the later history at the site. They started to occur after mid 4th century AD, but it would seem that the complex still maintained its status as an important pagan religious site at least until the later part of the 4th century. The striking lack of post AD 378 coins (0.4% of total) from the spring could be used to infer its dramatic decline, although much of the later material is likely to have been washed out into the culvert during sluicings (Cunliffe 1988b 361), possibly leading to a chronological bias. By the second resurfacing of the precinct, probably at some point in the late 4th or early 5th century, the temple structure was badly decaying and altar was demonstrably no longer in use (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985 68). However, occupation seems to have continued until the late 5th or early 6th centuries, and at some point, a small room was converted from part of the portico next to the reservoir, which could conceivably have been a post-Roman shrine (*ibid.* 184-5; Woodward 1992 113).

The temple and baths complex completely dominated the surrounding area, both in terms of scale and architectural pretension. There has been much debate over whether to regard the whole site as a properly functioning civic town with a major religious focus, or else a large religious complex with a variety of subsidiary civic and commercial functions (Dark 1993, Cunliffe 1971 80). The lack of evidence for other major buildings is partly dictated by the dearth of opportunity for large-scale excavation, although there were two further springs to the south west that seem to have been monumentalised and associated with altars to Sulis Minerva (Cunliffe1988b 359). It would therefore seem that the latter hypothesis was more likely, at least in the 1st to 3rd centuries. It was during the latter part of this period that the area was enclosed by a masonry 'city wall' (Cunliffe 1971 77), although it was pointed out that it was less than a quarter the size of other major administrative towns such as Silchester (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985 10). It is perhaps more likely to have formalised an existing outer religious temenos and the 10 ha site may

thus be comparable to the large rural religious complexes in northern Gaul, such as Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Cadoux 1984; see 5.3). Extra-mural settlement grew up to the north at the river crossing point, while many cemeteries were found, usually along the roadways. This all points to a thriving population in the vicinity of a religious site that soon became renowned throughout much of the Roman Empire. The countryside surrounding Bath was well populated and rich in agriculture and minerals (Bird 1986 55). Villas became quite abundant, especially at the end of the 3rd century, when there were at least five within a 3-km radius, and around twenty within 10 km (*ibid.* 52). Whilst most of these would probably have been directly involved in agricultural activity and sent surpluses to markets at *Aqua Sulis*, others may have been used as luxurious country residences by administrators from Bath (*ibid.* 60). The marked decline in many of the villas towards the end of the 4th century coincided with the decline in fortunes of the temple complex, presumably in part because of the lack of finance for its upkeep. It appears that many more residential units moved into the walled area in the 4th century (Cunliffe 1971 80), and the more 'urban' environment could have fostered an increase in Christianity, and therefore helped in the decline of the pagan temple towards the end of that century. Overall, it is most probable that *Aqua Sulis* did function as a regional commercial and civic centre, but that this was subordinate to its religious capacity. However, during the mid to late 4th century, its religious importance began to decline, and more domestic settlement re-located to within the walled complex.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The architectural arrangements of the temple and bath complex have been discussed at length elsewhere (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, Blagg 1990), and so only a few main points will be discussed here. The complex stood in the centre of the outer walled enclosure, and covered a considerable proportion of the internal space. If, as has been suggested (Cunliffe 1971 80), much of the surrounding area in the first three centuries was left as open spaces, or perhaps gardens, then the visual effect of so monumental a complex would have been very striking indeed. The three main focal elements would seem to have been the sacred spring, the altar and the temple itself, all carefully integrated into an architectural whole. The main axis passed from the monumental entrance, through the altar and up towards the tetrastyle Corinthian temple, set upon a

high podium. The pronounced degree of symmetry and frontality in this arrangement is typical of Etruscan-influenced Roman sanctuary planning, as seen at sites such as the temple of Mars Ultor in Rome (Fletcher 1975 276-7). The enclosed sacred spring was situated to the south east of the temple, joined onto the northern edge of the bathhouse and aligned directly south of the altar. This line of axis was made visually exclusive upon the completion of a full enclosure over the spring, with just a single entrance on the precinct side. The altar, where presumably the main cult rituals would have taken place, was therefore the only point at which there was direct visual access to the cult image in the cella, the precinct entrance and the sacred spring. This basic spatial premise was kept constant throughout the many modifications that occurred in the active religious use of the site. A final point to make on the architectural organisation concerns the raised ambulatory built around the temple in phase 2, which Cunliffe (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985 180) suggested as "*turning it from a purely classical building into close approximation of Romano-Celtic form*". However, it may have only acted as a wide external platform to enhance the monumentality of the temple, which would be consistent with the new provision of the flanking shrines that resemble the cheek walls found on many classical Roman temples (Blagg 1990 429).

The majority of all small finds relating to the use of the temple came from the sacred spring, and this is likely to have been a very small percentage of the total assemblage deposited there (Cunliffe1988b 360). The general distribution of finds within the spring reveals that most were deposited from the southern bathhouse side, while those to the north were relatively scarce (*ibid.* 359). There may therefore have been a dichotomy between the temple precinct to the north, which was reserved for public ritual and had a very restricted access to the spring, and the southern bathhouse, where private worship was conducted and access to the spring was more open. This differentiation probably only occurred after the enclosure of the spring. The finds included a large number of coins – although probably only a fraction of those originally thrown in – and a number of personal items and tools, all of which would seem to have been individual offerings. Even when an approximation of the missing finds are taken into account (e.g. multiplied ten times, *ibid.*361), then it still points to a steady but relatively modest number of items deposited over a c.300-year period. The finds also included around 130 lead curse tablets,

similar to those at Uley, but usually dealing with the petty theft of more personal items, such as those that could have been stolen in local contexts like the bathhouse itself. Whether or not scribes were employed, this does suggest that provision was made for their manufacture and purchase within or near to the actual bathhouse complex. Small finds from outside the spring were rare, and it seems that the precinct was kept deliberately clear until the soil and debris build up in the later period. This contained a number of animal bones, although whether these represent the remains of ritual feasting, or the advent of a more secular use of the site is uncertain (Grant 1985 169). The nature of the cult practised at the site is indicated by inscriptions and iconography, all of which point to the main deity being a conflation of the Roman Minerva and native Sulis. Such spring sanctuaries are usually associated with healing, and although there is an absence of specific evidence for this, the provision of an integral bathhouse would suggest that such a correlation did exist. Ultimately, the cult appears to have been highly classical in nature, this being emphasised by depictions of eight classical deities including Bacchus, Hercules and Jupiter on the cult altar – one of the main focal elements of the complex. The famous male 'gorgon ' head from the pediment, traditionally regarded as a conflation of classical and native mythology (e.g. Salway 1993 486), has recently been reinterpreted by Hind (1996 360) as the purely classical giant, Typhoeous, who personified geothermal activity. Even if this were not the case, then the overall combination of architecture, iconography, epigraphy and other finds, implies a cult steeped in classical traditions, as would perhaps befit an important pilgrimage site of the Western Roman Empire. However, the native aspect of the cult must not be overlooked, as there were representations of the goddess Nematona and three hooded figures found within the great bath, and other iconographic images included a horned deity and a triad of mother-goddesses (Cunliffe 1995b 60). Additionally, many of the dedications were made only to Sulis, implying that the native deity was of paramount importance, even if the rituals themselves were performed largely along Roman lines.

Bourton Grounds, Buckinghamshire (map 5.20b)

1. Chronology and context

The Romano-Celtic temple at Bourton Grounds was probably part of a small rural religious complex, although only one ancillary building was excavated. The chronology given for the site was based upon the temple coin assemblage, which mostly dated from mid 3rd to late 4th/early 5th century AD (Green, C.W. 1966 361). However, only three stratified coins were from sealed flooring contexts, the latest of which was a *sestertius* of Marcus Aurelius, giving a *terminus post quem* of AD 180. It is possible therefore that the temple was built earlier in the 3rd century or perhaps even the late 2nd century, as pottery of this period was found (*ibid.* 365). Nevertheless, it certainly seems that the cult flourished in the later 3rd and 4th centuries, and possibly continued into the early 5th, while at some later point the site was systematically robbed. The rectangular ancillary building was only loosely dated to the 4th century and may therefore have been a later addition, while coins from the roads to the north indicate increased activity in the late 3rd and 4th centuries (Johnson 1975 25).

The temple was built on an artificial platform placed on a prominent natural knoll adjacent to the river Ouse, c.100 metres south of a Roman fording place (Green, C.W. 1966 356). The importance of the place is emphasised by its position near to the junction of around five probable Roman roads, at least some of which would have led to the three Roman towns – Towcester, *Magiovinium* and Alchester – situated c.15 km to the north, east and south respectively. A branch road appears to have led directly to the temple complex (Johnson 1975 24; see map 5.20b), and others may have gone to the nearby villas at Foxcote (c.2km) or Tingewick (c.5 km), neither of which have been fully investigated. The special nature of the site is further accentuated by the presence of two substantial late 2nd/early 3rd century Roman tumuli, c.200 metres to the north-east, which from the evidence of rich grave furnishings, would point to an important elite presence in the area (Liversidge 1954 29-32). If the earlier dating for the temple is correct, then they may have been broadly contemporary, and perhaps associated in some way. Aside from the temple and ancillary building, there is evidence of other structures and material of Roman date within the area (Green, C.W. 1966, Johnson 1975), and it is possible that a

more widespread survey and excavation would reveal a larger religious complex, and maybe an associated domestic site.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The elevated position of the temple by the riverbank ensured that it was the focal point, visually dominating the surrounding area. Its east-facing orientation was directed towards the river, with which it undoubtedly had some cult association. The entrance to the temple appears to have been elaborated, with the provision of a wide podium with side wings, and a porch structure possibly approached by steps leading up from the river (Green, C.W. 1966 358). A human skull and other bones were embedded in the ambulatory floor, positioned just inside the entrance along the central axis into the cella. Within this central room were two large postholes near to the west wall, thought to have been part of the base for a cult statue, and therefore the inner focus of the religious site (*ibid.* 359). Over 90 % of the 315 coins found at the site came from within the southern part of the cella, arranged around the 'cult statue base', and interpreted as the remains of offerings given to the deity through openings in the cella wall (*ibid.*). They were assumed to have fallen through gaps in a raised wooden floor, although as many of them were burnt, it is possible that they fell to their current position when a conflagration occurred at some later stage in the site's history. In either case, they seem to represent the *in situ* deposition of votive offerings within the focal point of the religious site. The large rectangular ancillary building was only partially excavated and poorly recorded, but the presence underneath the threshold of a horse skull ringed with oyster shells and topped with a smooth stone, point to its religious significance (*ibid.* 361). Its exact function is uncertain, but it seems to have two distinct zones, with virtually all of the pottery and the limited number of small finds occurring in the southern section. It appears to have been but one of a number of other ancillary buildings, all facing the rear of the temple across a courtyard, and at least some of them presumably catering for the needs of the visitors to the site. There is limited evidence for an outer enclosure, but more extensive excavation is needed (see appendix 1.3). Finally, it must be noted that aside from the coins, there were very few small finds, and none that could provide more illumination on the nature of the cult at the site.

Brean Down, Somerset (map 5.20c)

1. Chronology and context

The Romano-Celtic temple at Brean Down was situated at the eastern end of a headland, projecting out into the Bristol Channel. The excavator, Apsimon, used evidence from coinage to suggest a date of c.A.D. 330-40 to 367-8 for the religious use of the building, after which it was apparently used for 'squatter' occupation, before being demolished by the end of the 4th century (Apsimon 1965 195). This would mean that it was only 'functional' as a temple for around twenty to thirty years, which may seem strange considering the substantial nature of its construction. It is possible that the three stratified coins in the ambulatory floor makeup were derived from repairs, possibly made at the same time as the porch and side annexes, which were clearly later additions. This could then push back the origins of the temple to the late third or early fourth century, based upon a coin of Victorinus (c AD 270) sealed underneath the portico. The later chronology is confusing, but it appears that the temple was in a state of disrepair c. AD370-80, with part of it possibly being re-used for the free-standing southern building. It is unsure whether this represented a final religious phase at the site, as it has been interpreted as both a Christian (Leech 1986 274) and pagan shrine (Woodward 1992 115). However, the presence of later occupation debris in the southern structure and ironworking debris in the north-western ambulatory points to eventual domestic activity. The final deliberate dismantlement of the temple was likely to have been well into the 5th century, as a worn coin of Theodosius (388-95) was found sealed under the destruction debris.

The temple's high elevation ensured that it was visible for many miles in all directions except directly westward (Apsimon 1965 198). Although a metalled trackway is known to have led away from the building, there are no indications of any Roman roads in the vicinity, and it is also seven miles from the nearest possible villa, suggesting that it was quite locally isolated. It was positioned just to the north of a large, prominent Bronze Age round barrow, with two further examples being located along the spur to the west, and it may have been these landmarks that influenced the siting of the religious structure.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

Judging from all of the excavations on the spur at Brean Down (Bell 1990), it is clear that the Roman period building stood in relative isolation, with no additional ancillary structures. The circular barrow to the south may have provided an additional religious focus, although the limited excavations have failed to provide any close associations between this feature and the Roman cult building. The secondary provision of two symmetrically placed annexes and front porch extension served to radically alter the layout of the temple. By following the lines from the rear points of the annexes, through the front corners of the temple, a triangular pattern emerges, centred on the main axis line through the building, and this could possibly be indicative of specific structural planning, similar to that at Pagans Hill (see below). The strangely aligned southern building was positioned exactly along this triangular axis, and so it may have actually been originally connected with the functioning cult, albeit at a very late stage (see map 5.20c). The apex of the triangle, lying directly in front of the temple, remained unexcavated, but it could have marked the position of an altar of some description. The range of finds at the site was limited and most were undoubtedly reflective of the final phase of activity, not the period of main religious use. However, there were certain items and deposits that may have originally been used in ritual activity, including many of the coins, which formed by far the largest find group at the site. Within the cella, two groups of mid 4th century coins found in robber pits may have represented the remains of original votive deposits (Apsimon 1965 223), while a concentration of unworn Valentinian coins (AD364-75) on the cella floor may have been associated with the final religious use of the site. The southern building contained many worn Valentinian and Theodosian issues, which may relate to the later, secular use of the temple site. The few other finds of a possible votive nature included a bronze pin found in the vestibule, a few jewellery fragments and a thin bronze leaf. A number of antler picks were found, mostly from late levels, but these could have originally been connected with the cult. The large quantities of marine shells, most of which were found outside the entrance to the southern building, would seem to represent domestic food refuse in the late/post-temple period.

Chanctonbury Ring, Sussex (map 5.20d)

1. Chronology and context

Charles Goring first excavated the masonry temple and associated structures in Chanctonbury hillfort in 1909, although the results were poorly published (Mitchell 1910). Further excavations within the hillfort interior occurred in 1977 (Bedwin 1980), though the precise chronology of the Roman structures remained uncertain because of the paucity of stratified dateable material. The general spread of coins and pottery indicates a date range of mid 1st to mid 4th century (*ibid.* 188). However, the preponderance of 1st and 2nd century pottery together with the very small percentage of 4th century coins suggests that the primary use of the site was in the 1st – 2nd centuries, whereupon it went into decline, terminating in stone robbing episodes during the 4th century.

The temple was situated within a hillfort that formed "*one of the most commanding heights in the county of Sussex*" (Mitchell 1910 131). It lay in the northern part of the South Downs, where Roman occupation was quite concentrated, and held extensive views over much of the southern coastline and the northern Weald. The nearest known settlement was the prosperous farmstead at Park Brow, which had originated in the pre-Roman period, but showed early evidence of Romanization (Rudling 1998 47). Most of the villas in this region were situated along the coastal plain to the south, though still clearly visible from Chanctonbury, while another probable villa was recorded just a few kilometres to the west (*ibid.* 43). The majority of the villas were built in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, and Rudling (*ibid.* 44) has suggested that this may have been partly prompted by *"a competitive desire by prominent men to display their status in a new Romanized way"* (*ibid.* 44). Temples such as Chanctonbury may have been constructed for similar reasons. By the mid 3rd century many villas – especially those by the coast – were in serious decline, along with most of the large iron working sites in the east of the region (Cleere and Crossley 1985 84). This has been ascribed to increasing inflation, increased piratical raids and the imposition of a large military presence (Rudling 1998 51). Significantly, the smaller farmsteads do not appear to have been so affected (*ibid.*). The chronology of these villas corresponds with that prescribed for the Chanctonbury temple, thereby suggesting an association between them. Finally, Chanctonbury must be

related to other temples in the area, two of which – Muntham Court (Burstow and Hollyman 1957) and Lancing Down (Bedwin 1981) – were within 10 km and clearly inter-visible. The circular masonry temple within the earlier Iron Age settlement at Muntham Court lay just 4 km away, and from pottery evidence appears to have functioned from the late 1st to the 3rd century AD, with a probable continuation into the early 4th (Burstow and Hollyman 1957; see appendix 1.3). Further to the south lay the Romano-Celtic temple and enclosure at Lancing Down, with limited dated evidence for the 1st, 2nd and possibly early 3rd century AD. Thus it appears that other local temples followed a broadly similar chronology to Chanctonbury, with the longevity of Muntham Court reflecting the popular nature of the healing cult practised at the site.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The temple was positioned at the highest focal point within the enclosure ramparts. It consisted of a substantial masonry cella, surrounded on three sides by an ambulatory. It must be assumed that there was direct access to the cella from the eastern side, unless a wooden frontal portico remained undetected. The temple was orientated towards the main enclosure entrance, the sides of which were built up, possibly to add some element of monumentality. The ramparts as a whole undoubtedly acted as the temenos boundary, and seem to have been at least partially reconstructed during the Roman period (Bedwin 1980 189). Built further along the ridge on the outside of the hillfort, both to the west and south-east, were Roman period cross dykes (*ibid.* 180), which may have formed the boundary to an outer religious precinct. The spatial organisation of the inner precinct is only known only partially, as most of it remains unexcavated. Just to the north-east of the temple was a small flint walled rectangular structure with much wood ash inside and a doorway to the north. A c.7 metre long worn path led from this doorway to a large pit containing mostly 1st and 2nd century pottery and many animal bones including skull fragments of cattle and pig, and deer horns (Mitchell 1910 136). There can be little doubt that these animals were used in ritual practices associated with the cult, and the rectangular structure could well have used to prepare food for ritual feasting. Further animal bones – mostly sheep mandibles and cattle skull fragments – were recovered from the small section of excavated enclosure ditch (Bedwin 1980 189; section D on map 5.20d). Another piece of evidence for ritual consumption lay in the thick deposit of oyster

shells lying underneath masonry rubble to the west of the temple and therefore presumably relating to its use (*ibid.* 188; section A). Other structural features at the site included a small group of pits and depressions near to the temple south-east corner, where the majority of finds were recovered (section B), including a complete miniature pot of the type found in the early Roman temple at Verulamium. Most other finds consisted of structural material, pottery shards and a very small (23 from both excavations) number of coins. This lack of coinage is paralleled in other temples in the region such as Muntham Court, Pulborough and Lancing Down, and is in stark contrast to temples in other areas of southern Britain. Finally, mentioned must be made of the 'kite-shaped' structure to the south of the temple noted by Mitchell in the original report (Mitchell 1910 137; section G). Investigation by the UCL field archaeology unit in 1990 revealed the structure as a polygonal shrine with a rectangular entrance chamber (UCL FAU news 1991-2). Inside the main structure were large quantities of pig teeth and bones, which suggested that this animal played a significant role in the cult practised at the site. A bronze statuette of a boar that was subsequently found at a previously unrecorded Romano-British farmstead less than 1 km away may further this association (UCL FAU news 1992-3).

Coleshill, Warwickshire (map 5.21a)

1. Chronology and context

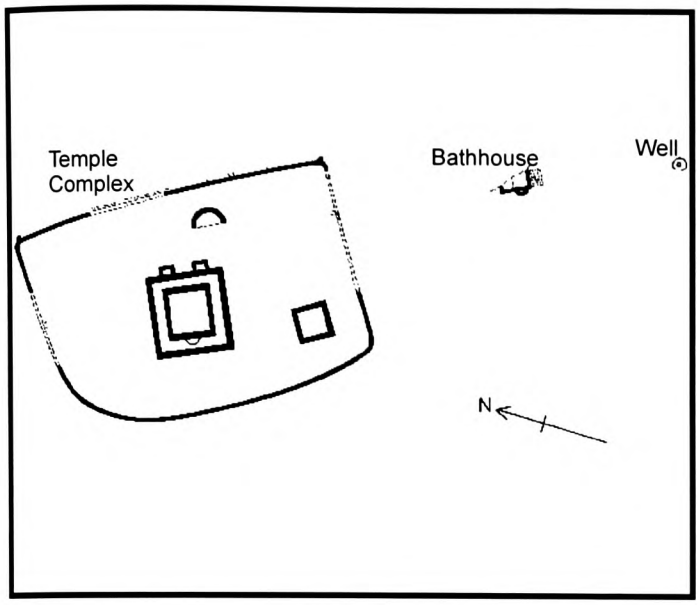
The multi-phased temple complex at Coleshill was built on the site of earlier circular domestic structures, dated approximately to the 1st and early 2nd century AD (Magilton 1980 31). The initial wooden temple was built at some point in the 2nd century, while the first stone temple was ascribed to the late 2nd or early 3rd century (*ibid.* 35). An interim report stated that most of the pottery at the site was of 2nd century date or earlier, although activity clearly continued into the 4th century, as it is to this later period that were assigned most of the ancillary structures and the masonry temenos wall. The coin series continued until c. AD370, and the lack of later issues, together with small amount of late 4th century pottery within the temple demolition layers led the excavators to suggest a

terminal date around this time (*ibid.*). However the limited coin assemblage and longevity of pottery usage mean that activity of some kind may well have continued into the early 5th century AD. The temple site lay in a prominent position on an east-facing slope, overlooking the river Cole floodplain, which may have marked the Civitas boundary between the Corieltauvi and the Cornovii (Magilton 1980 27). It was located c.10 miles from both the Roman town of Mancetter to the north-east and the fort at Metchley to the south-west, and the excavator thought it possible that a linking road between these two may have passed just to the north of the temple site (*ibid.* 28). Other local Roman features known from the area included Watling street, c.6 miles to the north, and a mid 4th century coin hoard, around half a mile to the south.

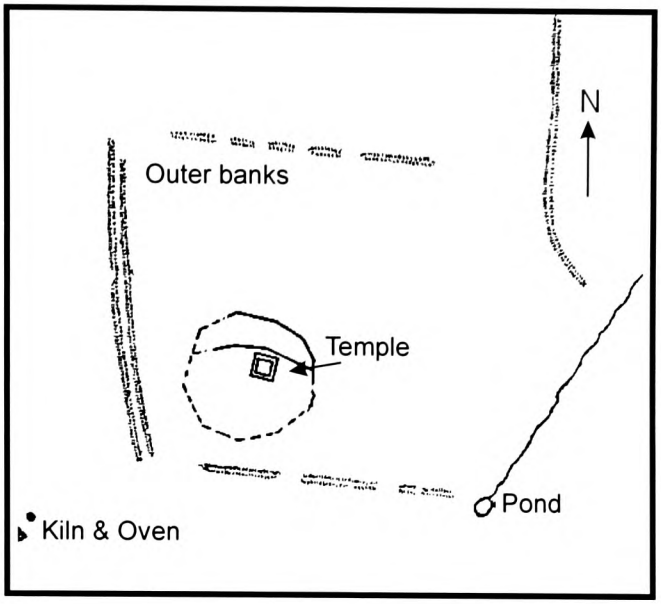
2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The 2nd century wooden temple, built in Romano-Celtic style, was delimited at least on its south-western side by a ditch, and surrounded by an extensive area of cobbling, suggesting provision for many visitors. It was no doubt used for the performance of ritual activities, as indicated by areas of burnt pebbles and charcoal, and the excavator also raised the possibility of seasonal markets occurring, although there was no evidence given for this (Magilton 1980 33). The replacement stone temple, which contained an apse in its far wall for the probable provision of a cult statue, was claimed as chronologically divergent from its ambulatory (*ibid.* 35). No evidence was given for this, and it is highly likely that they were built as one unit, especially as they replaced the concentric wood structure. The addition of small rectangular extensions either side of the entrance may merely have served to aggrandise this area, as they probably were too small (c.1.5 x 2 m) to have been functioning rooms. The provision of a mortar basin along the southern side of the temple may have been for ritual washing. A substantial masonry enclosure emphasised the importance of the boundary at the site. Within this inner precinct, the temple was the obvious focus, although the apsidal structure, lying near to the main pathway leading from the temenos entrance to the temple, was possibly a subsidiary focal shrine. The later fourth century square building was set at a slightly divergent angle to that of the temple and held greater functional ambiguity, although it appears to have been quite substantial in construction. Lying fifty and eighty metres respectively to the south of the temple, was a small late Roman bath house and well, both

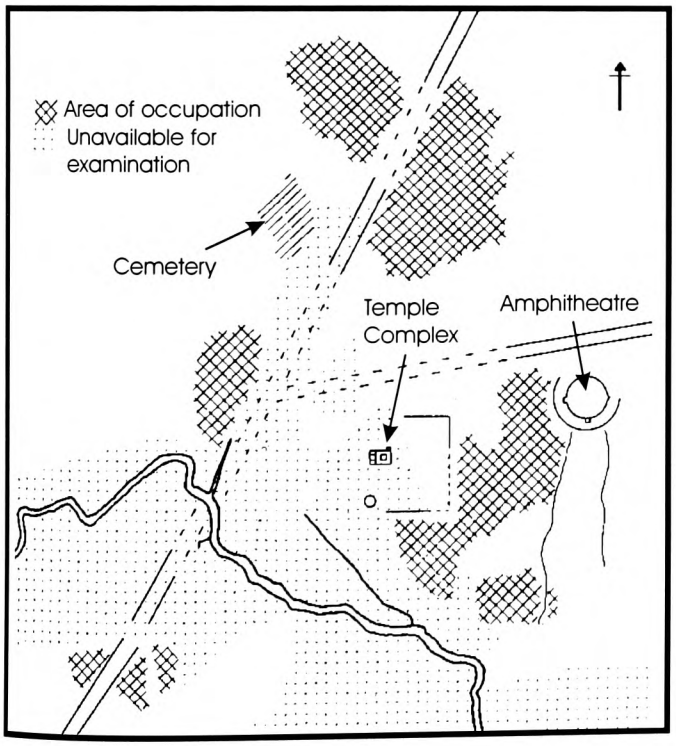
Map 5.21: Secondary Site Plans



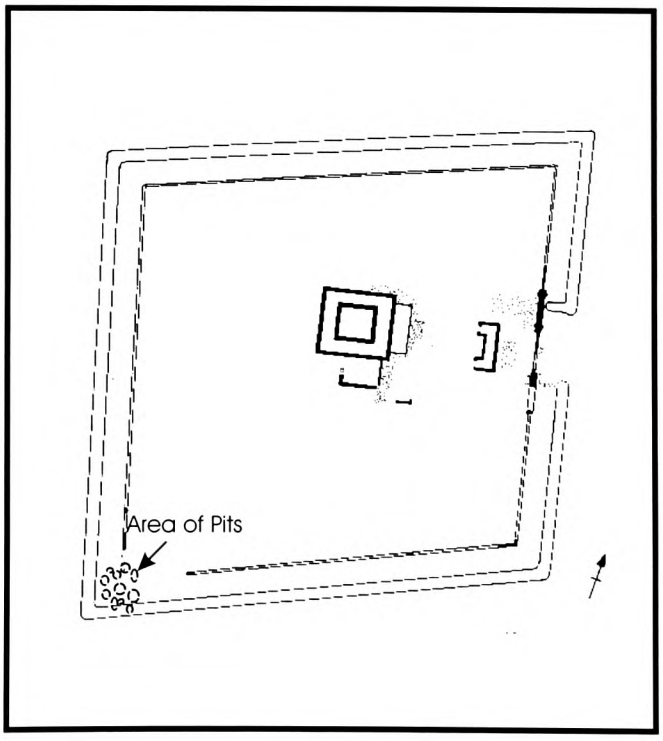
5.21a: Coleshill (after Magilton 1979 370)



5.21b: Farley Heath (after Lowther & Goodchild 1943 35)



5.21c: Frilford (after Hingley 1982 307)



5.21d: Great Chesterford (after Miller 1995 18)

incompletely excavated, but probably associated with the temple complex, as no contemporary domestic settlement was found nearby. This is made more likely, as the spread of cobbles from the temple area spread down almost as far as the bath house area, implying a functional association as part of a wider complex. The finds from the temple precinct were only very briefly mentioned in the interim report. Large quantities of brooches, toilet implements and miniature pottery vessels, led Magilton to suggest a cult associated with women (Magilton 1980 35), although as expressed in chapter 3, this is not readily sustainable. It seems that much profitable further work could be carried out on the site records, although unfortunately, access to the original excavation archive was not forthcoming.

Farley Heath Roman temple, Surrey (map 5.21b)

1. Chronology and context

The site at Farley Heath in Surrey was subjected to regular ploughing, iron stone quarrying and antiquarian treasure seeking from the 17th to 19th century, until Martin Tupper's first attempt at excavation in 1848 (Goodchild 1938). He recovered the plan of a masonry building together with many artefacts, although it was not until the early 20th century that it was properly interpreted as a Romano-Celtic temple and temenos (*ibid.* 21). Further excavations in 1926 (Winbolt 1927) and 1939 (Lowther and Goodchild 1943) attempted to clarify the layout of the site, although the exact chronology remains uncertain because of a lack of securely stratified datable materials. The many coins from the site ranged from uninscribed British issues to those of Arcadius and Honorius, implying that it was very long lived, although the chronological breakdown is uncertain. British and Belgic coins were said to have been found '*in considerable quantities*' (Goodchild 1938 23), and include a hoard of 40 gold issues found '*near the temple site*' (*ibid.*). This could imply a similar pre-temple deposit as found at the nearby temple at Wanborough (O'Connell and Bird 1994; see appendix 1.3). Pottery from all periods (1st – 4th century) was also recovered, and the abundance of Flavian pieces does suggest construction by the late 1st century AD (Goodchild 1938 21). However, parallels could

again be drawn with the Wanborough site, in which 1st and 2nd century materials definitely preceded the temple, apparently in an atectonic environment. Overall, it would appear that there was activity on the site from the 1st to late 4th/early 5th centuries AD, although whether this also represented the date of the temple, or even the cult, is uncertain.

The Farley Heath temple was situated on relatively high sandy ground, but detailed topographical information is lacking. It was reached by a well known Roman road branching off from the London to Chichester route and apparently terminating at the site, although there have been suggestions that it would have continued on to the main London to Silchester road (Goodchild 1938 17, Bird 1987 166). Limited excavations have been carried out in the immediate area, uncovering a number of pottery kilns and an oven, dating to the 3rd and 4th centuries AD (Lowther and Goodchild 1943 38). It is clear that geophysical surveys, together with more fieldwalking and modern excavations, are needed to determine the exact size and nature of the area surrounding the temple site. The nearest villa was at Ewhurst, c.4.5 km south along the roadway, but little is known about the site, while another probable villa at Abinger (c.5 km east) has been dated to c.A.D 100-170, then c.A.D 260-350 with an intervening period of abandonment (Bird 1987 172). The O.S. Roman Britain map shows many Roman find spots in the area around Farley Heath, and there is no doubt that the temple was fully integrated into quite a well populated area.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The precise spatial organisation of the site cannot be determined, as much of the area to the south of the temple was subjected to deep trenching, both by treasure hunters and by Tupper's 'excavation'. The temple appeared to be of typical Romano-Celtic form, and was surrounded by an irregularly shaped masonry temenos wall. There may well have been an inner wall just to the north of the temple, dividing the temenos into two separate precincts, although they may not have been contemporary and could merely represent the expansion or contraction of the sacred area. The temple's location left a large `open' space to the south of it, and it was in this area, especially within the `black mould' near to the temenos walls, that the majority of the coins and other artefacts were apparently found

(Goodchild 1938 13). It is uncertain whether these objects were actually in shallow burials, or lay on the occupation surface, and so the specific context of deposition remains unclear. Winbolt found a large circular pit in this area, containing 50 coins ranging from British Iron Age to Honorius, together with much pottery, iron and bronze work (Winbolt 1927 188). There were few indications as to the structure of this deposit and so its formative process is uncertain, although it may in part have been the deliberate re-deposition of items that had previously been on display, perhaps within the temple.

Tupper's 'excavations' uncovered thousands of finds from the site, but most have not been fully published. The spread of over a thousand coins represents the most numerous find category, although many brooches, bracelets and other metal objects were said to have been found (Goodchild 1938 12). There were some items of a specifically religious nature, most notably the engraved spiral bronze sceptre binding. This depicted a range of iconographic images in an abstract form, some of which are thought to represent the smith god, Sucellos/Vulcan, and the wheel god, Taranis (Goodchild 1947; Black 1985). However, although these may well reflect aspects of the cult, the evidence seems insufficient to establish these as the main deities worshipped at the site. Other finds included three enamel inlaid bronze stools and a range of prehistoric artefacts such a Neolithic polished axe, a small bronze age `hoard' and a number of fossils (Goodchild 1938 23). Although these cannot be proven to have been deposited contemporarily with the remaining deposits, it is possible that they were deliberate archaic offerings.

Frilford, Oxfordshire (map 5.21c)

1. Chronology and context

Excavations at Frilford in 1937-8 revealed a Romano-Celtic temple and circular masonry building (Bradford and Goodchild 1939 32-6). The chronology of the temple is based upon stratified coin and pottery evidence, mainly from the temple path. This was re-examined by Harding who convincingly argued that the two main layers of the path corresponded to the two main structural phases of the temple, with construction in the mid-late 2nd century and the addition of the annexes in the early 4th century AD (Harding

1987 14). The end of the temple's use was less secure, but the latest coins suggest a late 4th or possibly early 5th century date, making it a very long-lived structure. The dating of the circular structure was uncertain, though its construction was thought to be contemporary with the temple, while its destruction by fire signified a shorter chronology (*ibid.* 15). Further fieldwork and limited excavation between 1978 and 1984 expanded our knowledge of the site, so that it now appears to have been a large religious complex, with occupation deposits in five distinct areas spread over 74 acres (Burnham and Wacher 1990 178; map 5.21c). The chronology of these areas ranged approximately from the late 1st/2nd to 4th century, with a large expansion to the west in the later period. In only a few instances were specific functional buildings or areas able to be detected and these included a large amphitheatre, c.100 metres to the east of the temenos, and a late Roman/Anglo-Saxon cemetery to the north (Hingley 1985). It is therefore uncertain as to how far the remaining occupation areas were directly associated with the temple, although its substantial nature and prominent position means that it could quite possibly have been the *raison d'être* for the site's expansion, if not its initial construction. The temple precinct was near to the junction of two Roman roads, which then continued towards the river Ock that lay c.150 metres to the south, and was in the area of the tribal/civitas boundary between the Dobunni and Atrebates.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The original square temple at Frilford was of Romano-Celtic form, with substantial plastered walls and tessellated floors. The floor level appears to have been raised and any internal features were removed by stone robbing and plough damage. The temple itself formed the undoubted focus of the temenos precinct, although it appears not to have been located on the central east-west axis. It remained unaltered for c.150 years until the addition of the two annexes, which may not have been constructed contemporaneously. The large western annexe, divided into three chambers, may have significantly affected the pattern of human dynamics within the temple, though without knowing its function or nodes of access, it is difficult to be certain. The lack of many finds from the temple precludes any hope of being able to identify the functions of these annexes, and the only feature to produce significantly more artefacts was the temple pathway. This led up to the east-facing entrance and was obviously of some importance, with over half of all coins

from the site coming from its upper surface, possibly deliberately deposited there in a ritual act (Bradford and Goodchild 1939 32). Aside from a few items of ornamentation, there were no other items from the temple that could reflect the active cult use of the building. The only specifically votive items came from a pit within the circular building, which formed a sub-focus near to the southern temenos boundary. These consisted of a miniature bronze sword and shield, and seem to have been deliberately sealed in the pit during the construction of the building, probably as a foundation deposit (Bagnall-Smith 1995 198). The only other feature of note within this structure was a hearth set against the north-western wall section, which could well have been used in cult ritual (Bradford and Goodchild 1939 37). Finally, some mention must be made of the use of space in other areas of the Frilford site, although as has been mentioned, very few functional details are known. The amphitheatre is thought to have related directly to the temple complex and therefore used in cult ritual, though it does not appear to have been positioned along the same axis. Of the remaining areas, Hingley noted that there was a distinction between those areas to the south and west of the temple, which contained much domestic refuse, and those to the east and north, which contained stone built structures, but few finds (Hingley 1985 207). It therefore seems likely that at Frilford the focal temple complex was surrounded by certain areas set aside for domestic habitation, ritual theatre and other buildings designed for public use such as a bath house and meeting hall. It is only by further detailed excavation that more information may be gained about the use of space in this obviously important religious site.

Great Chesterford (map 5.21d)

1. Chronology and context

A substantial, well-appointed Romano-Celtic temple set within an extensive temenos was first excavated at Great Chesterford in the mid 19th century, then again in the late 1970s (Collins 1978). A wider area was uncovered between 1983 and 1988, and it was this last series of excavations that led to a greater understanding of the chronology and use of space at the site (Miller 1995 15). Data for the site was gathered from the published

articles, and from additional material held in the Essex County Council Record office. The general coin and pottery range extended from the mid-late 1st to late 4th centuries AD. The construction of the temple and palisade enclosure in the late 1st century was contemporary with that of the town although none of the latter's masonry buildings were proven to have been this early (Burnham and Wacher 1990 140). Activity was considerable from this point until around the mid 2nd century AD, when there appears to have been a significant decline lasting until refurbishment c. AD 270 (Miller 1995 32). Further concentrated activity occurred in the later 3rd and 4th centuries, including a major reconstruction of the temple building (Collins 1978 10). Activity seems to have extended until at least the later 4th century, and possibly beyond, with the chronology being thus quite similar to that of the town (Burnham and Wacher 1990 142).

The temple site lay just over 1 km in an easterly direction from the Roman town of Great Chesterford. It was visibly situated on the lower slope of a hill, running towards the town to the west and the river to the south, and near to the Trinovantian-Catuvellauni border. It was thought to be approached by a road that branched off from the main Great Chesterford to Chelmsford route, and which appeared on the map to continue north after the temple site to an unknown location (Collins 1978 6). There were a number of villas near to the religious site, though none closer than the town itself, with which it was likely have been closely associated. A final contextual point worth mentioning is that it was only around 5 km west of the Bartlow Hills burial mounds, and given that the two sites seem to have been of elite status, it is not impossible that there may have been some association.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The temple was of Romano-Celtic style with a distinct emphasis on its eastern facing entrance, which comprised a plastered porch in the first phase, followed by a larger open podium (Collins 1978 11). Phase 2 mosaics within the front ambulatory and cella further emphasised the importance of the entrance, each marking a transitional stage along a linear axis leading into the inner focal chamber. The presence of platforms along the inner eastern ambulatory walls increased this frontal emphasis, with the excavator suggesting that they might have been used for displaying offerings (*ibid.* 12). The temple

was situated within an unusual rhomboidal enclosure, which in turn was surrounded by a ditch that continued in use throughout the temple's existence and served to highlight the importance of the boundary. The temple shared its alignment with the eastern temenos wall, which contained one entrance during the first phase and two during the second. The first was aligned directly with the temple entrance, while the latter two were arranged on either side of the internal ancillary building, with only the northern portal being architecturally embellished (Miller 1995 19). This may have been the main ceremonial entrance, possibly only used in festivals, though the uncertain condition of the road metalling means it is uncertain which of the two openings carried the greater volume of traffic. The unusually shaped internal ancillary building was well built, with painted plaster inside and out (Miller 1995 16). The two projecting wings were not quite aligned with the temple, although Miller admits that this could have been a plotting error (*ibid.* 15), and whatever its function may have been, it seems to have been closely integrated with the main religious structure. A further building to the south of the temple was even less well understood, and until excavation of the entire courtyard has occurred, the full structural layout of the site will remain uncertain. An additional enigmatic structure, probably 4th century, was found c.60m south-west of the temenos.

Many finds were recovered from the site, with concentrations in a few distinct areas - notably a pit grouping in the south-west corner of the enclosure and the temple pathway. The former consisted of 19 pits, many of them quite large and most containing a large quantity of bones, oyster shells and pottery, but relatively few small finds (*ibid.* 24-7). All except one were dated to the late 1st- 2nd century AD, with many being re-cut and used in the 4th century. These were quite different to the temple pathway leading from the northern enclosure portal to the temple entrance, which contained many small finds of late 3rd – 4th century date, including a number of specifically votive items such as the silver mask plaque and bronze feathers. Many of these were deliberately folded and positioned just beneath the pathway, so they were clearly not casual losses, but resulted from structured ritual deposition (Collins 1978 7). An area south of the temple also contained many artefacts and ecofacts, leading to the suggestion that it may have been a grassed section used for ritual and not kept clear (*ibid.* 8). Finally, there were a number of finds in the outer ditch near the to the northern portal, including marine shells, animal

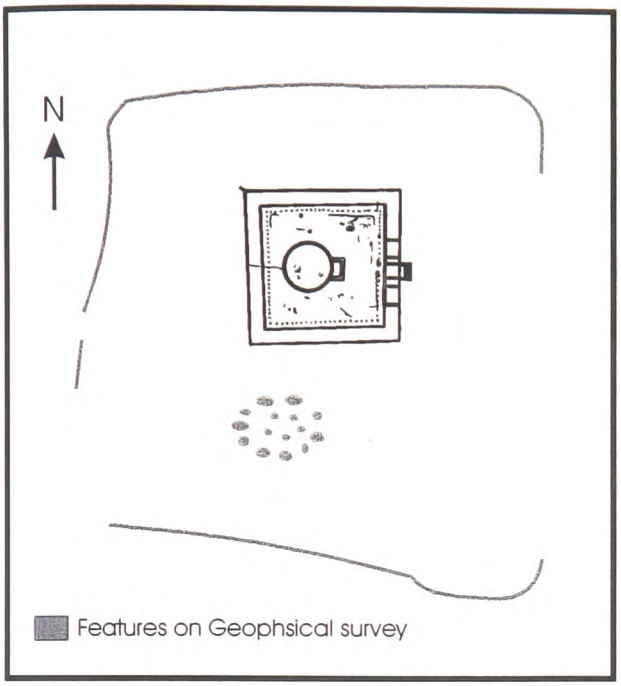
bones and small finds, in addition to a layer of charcoal, possibly from the palisade. As with the pits, the main fill derived from the earlier period, while the top fill contained items of late 3rd – 4th century date. The overall assemblage from the site was dominated by items of a personal nature, particularly brooches, pins and armlets, though there were also specifically votive items such as bronze feathers, leaves and a miniature arrowhead. The silver face-mask was not of purely classical design, and may represent at least a local aspect to the deity that presided at the temple (Liversidge 1978 13). Finally, the ritual use of animals was well attested at the site, with an apparent preference for male lambs. They were supposedly butchered in spring and autumn, pointing to two distinct festivals, similar to the temple at Harlow (Miller 1995 32), and the presence of meat hooks at the site suggests that this actually took place at the site.

Hayling Island, Hampshire (map 5.22a)

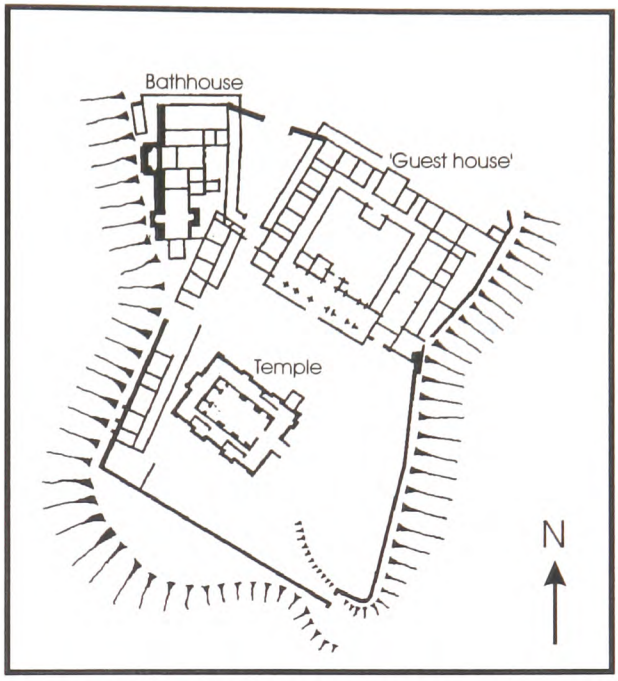
1. Chronology and context

The Roman masonry temple at Hayling Island succeeded the previous timber structure, described in 4.1. Specific dating evidence relating to the construction of the Roman temple is lacking in the interim reports, but it seems that the timber shrine continued to be in use until AD 50 to 60, and there was little or no intervening period (Downey, King and Soffe 1979 9). The coin series and pottery evidence apparently indicated a period of use from the Neronian or Flavian era to end of the 2nd century AD, with collapse at some point after this (*ibid.* 15). A few coins of the late 3rd and early 4th century may represent a renewed interest at the site, or could merely be casual losses - a distinct possibility given the preponderance of coins in circulation during this period. The position of the substantially built temple on relatively higher ground in the northern part of this quite flat island would have ensured maximum visibility, both within the island and across the short stretch of water to the mainland, where a major coastal road led from Chichester towards Winchester. Many Roman finds have been made in the area surrounding the temple, and a recent geophysical survey has detected many enclosures and other features,

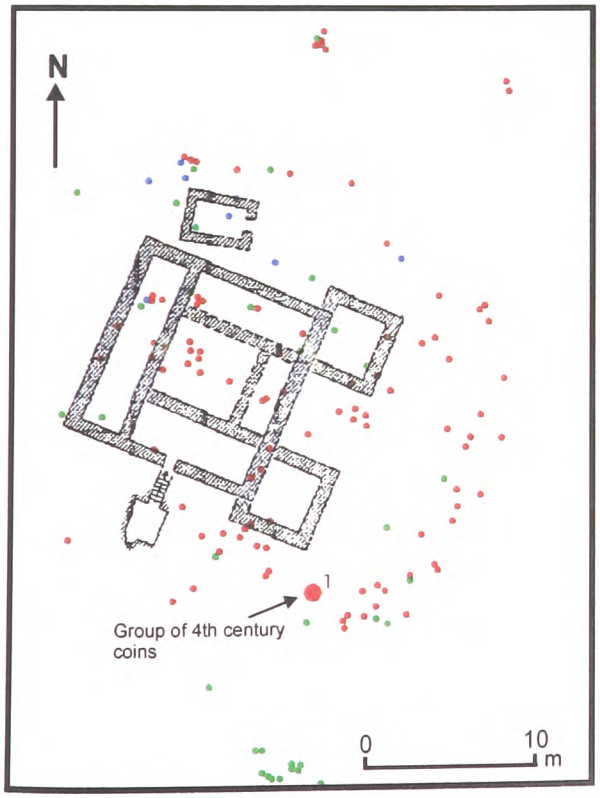
Map 5.22: Secondary Site Plans



5.22a: Hayling Island (after King & Soffe 1991 111, with additions)

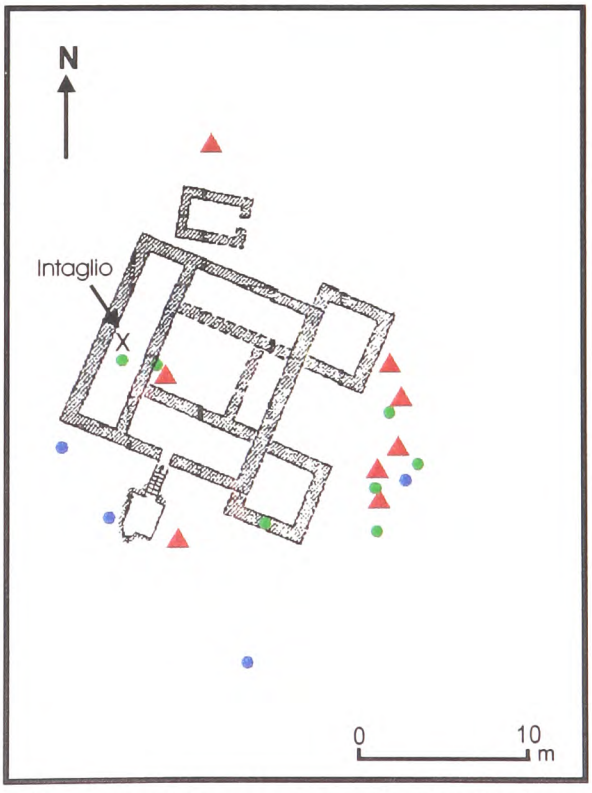


5.22b:Lydney Park (after Lewis 1966 200)



5.22c: Lamyatt Beacon coin distribution

- 1st-2nd century
- 3rd century
- 4th century



5.22d: Lamyatt Beacon personal and votive items

- Miniature votive implement
- Statuary/figurines
- Miscellaneous item

suggested as property boundaries, field systems and refuse pits (McConnell and Turner 1999 4). At least three villas are known from the coastal area to the north, c.3-km distant, and the great palace at Fishbourne is just 8 km to the north-east (Cunliffe 1998). The Hayling temple has been consistently linked by the excavators to the Fishbourne palace, as well as to the baths within Chichester, all of which were constructed in a similar way at around the same period (Downey, King and Soffe 1980 299). It was quite reasonably suggested that Hayling was part of a regional programme of monumental architectural constructions, carried out in the period of the client kingdom by Gallic craftsmen based at Chichester (*ibid.*). These buildings were thus used by the native elite - presumably including Cogidubnus – to help maintain and enhance their status by adopting Romanized symbols, although in the case of the temple, it seemed also to continue previous local traditions.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The large circular temple dominated the internal space of the temenos. It was paved internally and there were a number of burnt patches that may have been the remnants of ritual fires, although they could be connected with its demolition. Three burnt holes in a triangular pattern towards the rear of the cella were argued to have represented the placement of a brazier, possibly placed just in front of the cult statue (Downey, King and Soffe 1980 297). The building was not of Romano-Celtic design, as an ambulatory was not present, although the surrounding galleried temenos may have provided a similar type of spatial arrangement. The temple was positioned towards the rear of the courtyard, enabling a wider space in front for the performance of rituals. A gravelled linear pathway leading from the outer entrance structure to the eastern temple porch was aligned upon a central symmetrical axis passing through the site. The main temenos entrance was quite monumental in character, with a projecting porch leading into a vestibule of some sorts. However, an exterior metalled path led not to this portal, but to the southern flanking room, causing the excavators to suggest the latter as the main sanctuary entrance, thereby severely limiting visibility of the temple from the outside (*ibid.*). It is possible that entrances were situated in both flanking rooms, so that the divergent paths came together within the central room, before continuing onwards as a single processional route to the temple. Two further symmetrically placed rooms were situated in the eastern temenos

ambulatory, the functions of which are unclear. The southern room was the most richly decorated in the complex, and could have been used in ritual dining, although unfortunately the data was not available for detailed artefact distribution analysis. Finally, a recent geophysical survey has shown evidence of an outer rectangular temenos surrounding the temple, probably open on its east side (McConnell and Turner 1999; see 4.1 and map 5.21a). Additionally, linear features – possibly pathways – ran from the temple to the south-west and north-east, the latter exiting through a gap in the outer boundary. The only other feature within this boundary was a concentric series of large post pits in an oval shape just to the south of the temple (*ibid.*4). This may well have been the remains of an earlier pre-historic ritual monument, possibly influencing the site of the original Iron Age temple, although excavation is needed (see 4.1).

Most of the finds from the excavated temple area seem to have come from the courtyard, especially on either side of the pathway (Downey *et al.* 1980 298), suggesting that pilgrims made their offerings along the route-way leading to the temple. Burnt areas in different parts of the courtyard – especially the north-east corner – could reflect zones of more intense ritual activity. The finds themselves for the most part consisted of animal bones and pottery (*ibid.*). There appears to be little differentiation between the nature of the animal bone assemblages in the Iron Age and Roman periods, implying a continuity of cult. Dumps of marine shell were noted within the Roman temenos and ambulatory, which must have derived from ritual feasting, with preparation apparently taking place away from the site (Downey, King and Soffe 1979 15). A further point of interest lies in the fact that the deposits seem to have been differentiated into different species (e.g. cockle, oyster etc.), thereby implying that they were not just the remains of refuse (*ibid.*). The pottery was mostly locally-produced grey jars, with few examples of fineware or food preparation vessels. Of the votive objects, coins and brooches were the most common, the latter including a horse and rider type, as found at a number of Romano-British temples. The site also produced a hippocampus brooch, which was far more common in Gallo-Roman temples than in Britain (Downey, King and Soffe 1980 298). The military character, which was so strong in the previous assemblage, is far less obvious in the Roman period, although there was a military buckle and an inscription supposedly from Hayling recording a dedication by a member of the 9th Legion (King

and Soffe 1991 40). No specific indications of cult have been found, although the excavators have suggested that it was to a Romano-Celtic Mars, based upon structural and assemblage analogies with the temple of Allonnes in western Gaul (King and Soffe 1991 113). However, whilst there does appear to have been links with Gaul, such a hypothesis is unwarranted, as the shape of a temple seems to have little bearing on the type of cult, and the finds assemblage is too limited to infer such a correlation. Overall, the masonry temple at Hayling Island was a highly visible and quite popular cult site, possibly linked to the local elite who used it to maintain and enhance prestige and power. Its upkeep undoubtedly relied on patronage from certain members of this native elite, and this seems to have dissipated by the start of the 3rd century, when the site was apparently abandoned.

Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset (map 5.21c-d)

1. Chronology and context

The temple upon Lamyatt Beacon was excavated between 1958-60, and again in 1973 (Leech 1986). Its construction has been dated to the late 3rd century by a stratified coin of Carausius (292-3), together with a large number of late 3rd and early 4th century issues (*ibid.* 307). The only other structure at the site was a free standing rectangular building near to the temple, which had a similar *terminus post quem*, but which overlay a votive pit and was thought to be much later, possibly associated with the post-Roman cemetery (*ibid.* 274). However, the building was of well-constructed mortared masonry and could well have been broadly contemporary with the main temple. A fairly constant supply of coins reached the site from the late 3rd century onwards, reaching a peak around AD 348 – 78, but continuing in substantial numbers until the coin series dissipates at the end of the century. This reflects a site that was well visited throughout the 4th century and probably into the 5th.

The narrow ridge upon which the buildings stood was a highly visible landmark, with apparently even the temple at Brean Down, 45 km away, being inter-visible on a clear day (Leech 1986 271). It was just c.7 km east of the Fosse Way, with a branch road

leading directly to the site, providing an indication of its importance. The civitas capital at Ilchester was just 20 km to the southwest, and the temple's chronology corresponded to a period of maximum population and prosperity within the town and its hinterlands (Leech and Leach 1982 78). Lamyatt Beacon is often referred to as being an isolated hilltop temple, thereby implying its separation from the settlement and communication patterns of the surrounding area (e.g. Costen 1992 44). Yet this does not seem to be the case, as even less than 1 km away there is evidence for what is described as 'a Romano-British settlement of uncertain nature' (Leech 1982 210), while another villa and small settlement are known at 4 and 5 km to the south west (*ibid.*). More detailed investigation of the immediate lower lying areas may reveal further evidence for associated settlement or structures. In any case, the temple would have been a highly prominent feature within a prosperous, well-populated rural area. Furthermore, its prime visibility from the important and heavily trafficked Fosse Way may have contributed to the cult's success.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The temple was of Romano-Celtic type, with the addition of symmetrically placed annexes on either side of the entrance and a sunken room leading off from the southern ambulatory. The linear entrance axis contained three distinct thresholds leading to the inner focal cella, beginning with steps rising from the porch area (Leech 1986 264). The surrounding ambulatory was compartmentalized into four sections, although without details of the nodes of access between them, it is difficult to assess their relationship in terms of patterns of movement within the temple. It does seem that the northern and southern rooms, which contained votive pits, were functionally coherent and divergent from the western room, which contained a centrally-placed hearth. The smaller eastern room is likely to have been an entrance vestibule connecting the porch with the cella. The most unusual feature is the sunken room, but unfortunately the earlier excavation removed the entire fill without documenting the finds, and so it remains functionally obscure (Leech 1986 266). A fire-blackened niche in the far wall may have been used for ritual purposes, in which case the room could have been a partially subterranean shrine. If contemporary, the free standing rectangular building could well have been a subsidiary shrine of the kind found at Springhead, with the platform at the far end being used for the cult images and possibly offerings. The distribution of finds throughout the site is

incompletely known and provides little information on the functional nature of the constituent structural parts. The majority of provenanced small finds came from the area in front of the temple, associated with structural material derived from the buildings demolition (see map 5.21c-d). The many coins were concentrated in and around the temple area, and at least some are likely to have come from specific votive deposits, including a worn sesterius of Faustina II in a small votive pot in the western ambulatory room (Leech 1986 310). A series of pits to the north of the temple contained at least nine antler burials, and as this was the only flat open area on the ridge, it is likely that it was used for the main cult rituals. The presence of a range of classical religious iconography suggests a highly Romanized cult, which given the temple's chronology and geography, is perhaps not surprising. At least three statuettes of Mars suggest that he was the main deity worshipped at the site, although images of Jupiter, Mercury, Minerva, Hercules and a *genius* indicate that visitors to the shrine propitiated a range of classical divinities. The votive objects ranged from coins and personal adornment, including five horse and rider brooches possibly deliberately chosen for the cult, to many miniature items such as sickles, axes, spears and a shield. The military nature of many of these items correlates with the war-like aspect of Mars, while the reasonable number of pins could relate to a healing aspect. Overall, the site at Lamyatt Beacon seems to have been a prosperous religious centre, albeit on a modest scale, incorporating quite a Romanized cult. Its exact relationship to the surrounding settlement pattern remains uncertain, though such a site accords well with the prosperous, well-populated, Romanized environment around Ilchester and along the Fosse Way.

Lydney Park, Gloucestershire (map 5.21b)

1. Chronology and context

Since its excavation by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1928-9, the temple complex at Lydney Park in the Forest of Dean has often been taken as the classic example of the Pagan revival in late Roman Britain (Lewis 1966 88, Walters 1992 100). Its construction was dated by Wheeler to after AD 364-7, based upon supposed stratified coins underneath the

primary make-up floors in both the temple and the guesthouse (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932 31). Subsequent keyhole excavations were undertaken by Casey in 1980 and 1981, and in the recently published excavation report (Casey and Hoffmann 1999), it was argued for an earlier date for the complex – back as far as the late 3rd century AD. This was based primarily on the discovery of a number of earlier worn floor levels in both the bathhouse and long building, together with a reassessment of the general coin range (*ibid.* 101). Additionally, the accuracy of the supposed 'sealed temple contexts' used by Wheeler was called in to doubt (*ibid.* 112), and taken together, it does seem quite feasible to push back the original date of construction to at least the start of the 4th century AD, despite protestations in a recent report by Smith (Smith 1994). The complex then appears to have thrived for at least 60 years or so, before part of the superstructure collapsed and much of the temple was rebuilt, probably around AD 370, if Wheeler's coin evidence is correct (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932 31). The elaborate nature of this reconstruction is not out of place within the regional context described below, and it certainly need not be case that pagan cults were declining at the expense of Christianity during this time, as suggested by Casey and Hoffmann (1999 115). Indeed, the coin evidence – specifically those issues of Honorius and Arcadius – does suggest that the cult continued into the early 5th century AD. However, only around 1 % of coins found at the site were post AD 380, compared to 5.5 % at Maiden Castle and over 10 % at Uley, and so it does infer that the site may have been operating on a reduced capacity by the very end of the century, probably because the financial means for the upkeep of the site were no longer forthcoming.

The Lydney religious complex was situated on the spur of a promontory hillfort overlooking the river Severn, and the southern Cotswolds to the east. The main approach road seems to have been leading down towards Park Farm villa and probably the local harbour quayside (Walters 1992 84). Throughout much of the late 3rd and 4th century, the surrounding region seems to have been quite prosperous, with many villas either being constructed or else undergoing substantial additions and alterations (*ibid.* 86). It is quite feasible that the finance for such a major undertaking as the religious complex could have come from the villa occupants during this period, and a substantial reconstruction in the AD 360-70s would have not been incongruent with the general level of prosperity at this

time. There would have undoubtedly been much traffic along the main Gloucester to Caerwent road – along which Lydney and most of the known villa sites were located. It has been suggested (Walters 1992 101, Smith 1994 32) that this major religious site would have attracted pilgrims from quite far afield, and therefore have had a significant positive effect on the local economy. However this late regional prosperity seems to have declined by the end of the century, as most of the villas were either abandoned (e.g. Boughspring: Walters 1992) or operating on a much reduced scale (e.g. Chesters, Woolaston: *ibid.* 86). Thus, the proposed chronology of the temple complex accords well with that of the surrounding region, although it may have operated for slightly longer. Finally, the site must also be looked at in relation to other cult loci in the region. About 10 km further up river lay another masonry temple at Dean Hall dated from the 2nd to late 4th/5th century AD, which also lay on a prominent position overlooking the river and the Cotswolds beyond (Frere 1985 300, 1986 410). Both of these temples may have been inter-visible with the Uley temple site (see 5.3). Another possible temple site near to Lydney was that at High Nash, Coleford c.8 km to the northwest, apparently built in the mid 3rd century, demolished a century later, then re-built as a simple shrine in the mid – late 4th century (Walters 1992 96). It appears that this shrine continued into the late 4th – early 5th century AD, thereby suggesting that temple sites in the Forest of Dean region were in use longer than the villas, although probably operating in reduced circumstances.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The layout of the temple complex has in part been dictated by its position on the narrow promontory spur, which acted as the temenos boundary. This may partly explain the divergent alignments apparent in the constituent buildings. The main external entrance to the site appears to have been the metalled rock-cut gully in the south-eastern corner, which led up into the precinct from the more gently sloping escarpment. The temple seems to have been positioned so as to give the maximum possible courtyard space in front, as this was presumably the area where most of the public ritual would have taken place. The building was raised upon a low podium and approached by a flight of steps, which would have emphasised its focal nature. Its original open internal layout and elongated form led to suggestions that it was more basilical in nature (De la Bédoyère 1991 185), although the primary elements of an ambulatory surrounding a focal cella still

existed, and it is likely to have been just one of the many variants of a Romano-Celtic temple form. After an uncertain period of time (see chronology), the northern cella pier collapsed into the sinkhole, and the subsequent reconstruction drastically altered the internal layout. The cella wall was now continuous, and screen walls were erected around three of the mysterious side projections. Doorways controlled entry into the ambulatory, and it seems that, at least visually, access was focused through into the cella, with its inscribed mosaic floor and three cells at the far end. These remained constant throughout the two phases, and it is likely that the main cult statue occupied the largest central cell. In the earlier 19th century excavations, over 530 coins were found concentrated in the area around these compartments, and thus they were probably a focus for votive deposition and display. A specific zone of deposition was the funnel built into the rear cella floor by the inscription, which contained 21 coins and a bronze dog. It was suggested that this would have been used for libations, as liquid could drain into the earth (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932 28). The screened side cells were interpreted as 'special' places for sacred sleep (*ibid.* 38), but there is no evidence for this, and the very narrow gaps between the screen wall and the cella on the southern side suggests that internal human traffic may have been very limited in this area. It is possible that these were subsidiary shrines designed to be viewed externally through openings in the wall.

Immediately behind the temple lay the long multi-roomed building, although unfortunately, few items could be definitely assigned to it. Wheeler interpreted it as an 'abaton', or a place of sacred sleeping, based upon analogies with the healing sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidaurus (*ibid.* 51). However, better parallels are surely provided by the porticoes often found surrounding Greek and Roman temples. These were used for a variety of functions, including shops, notice boards and displays of offerings not found in the temple (Stambaugh 1978 571-3). To the north of the temple lay a large courtyard structure interpreted quite reasonably as a guesthouse, and together with the long building, it formed part of the inner precinct boundary. A gateway between the two led out into a second small precinct, where access was gained to the substantial and well-appointed bathhouse. The scale of these suggests that they may have been for public use and they were undoubtedly intimately connected to the cult. A large outer gateway led into what was probably a third outer precinct in the northern part of the promontory fort,

in which was located a water tank with a conduit leading to the bathhouse. The ramparts of this 'outer precinct' were heavily reinforced, and the dating evidence (coins and structural material) corresponded with that of the construction and use of the temple. Wheeler regarded such a reconstructed earthen rampart as being too crude to be contemporary with the temple, pointing to the 'un-Roman ' character of the hillfort (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932 64). Yet, late Roman temples within or near to hillfort boundaries are certainly not uncommon, and the Lydney rampart may have been deliberately re-built at this time for its archaic value.

Over the course of the 19th century and the Wheeler excavations, many thousands of finds came from the Lydney temple site. Unfortunately very few of them were provenanced in the published report and as the main paper archive was not available, no distribution maps could be drawn. Coins dominated the assemblage, with the majority of them probably relating to the use of the cult site. 'Hoards' were found, both under the ambulatory pavement and under the cement re-flooring within the bathhouse, and the former at least was likely to have been of a ritual nature. Hundreds of jewellery items were also found, with a particular emphasis on bracelets and pins. The occurrence of large numbers of pins is a feature of a number of Greco-Roman healing sanctuaries, associated with childbirth (Rouse 1902 252), and the finding of a pin originally connected to a bone female figurine strengthens such an association here (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932 41). The healing aspect is further increased by the finding of a bronze model votive arm, the fingers of which show signs of a disease known as Koilonychiae or spoon shaped nails (Hart 1970 76). As this is a symptom of pronounced iron deficiency, it was obviously dedicated at Lydney temple – a place of iron-rich water – in the hopes of a divine cure. The numerous bronze and stone dog figurines provide another indication of the healing function of the cult, as these animals have a great affiliation with such sites in the Greco-Roman world, presumably related to the anaesthetic quality of their saliva. Finally, the occurrence of an oculist's stamp suggests the provision of a professional physician at or near the temple site. There were a number of inscribed plaques found in the earlier excavations, including a single curse tablet of the type found in quantity at Bath and Uley. The two other plaques deal with the payment of a vow, in accordance with traditional Roman religious practice. Nodens and Mars Nodens are the deities

referred to on the plaques, the latter representing a conflation between the Roman and native god, and presumably this was the main deity worshiped at the site. This is corroborated by an inscription on the cella floor mosaic, translated as (Wright 1985 249); *'For the god'* (singular) *'Mars Nodens Titus Flavius Senilis, superintendent of the cult, from the offerings had this laid; Victorinus, the interpreter (of dreams), gave his assistance'*. This is also useful in that it provides an indication of how the temple was financed. Finally, a brief reference must be given to the cella mosaic images, which consist of sea monsters and fish – possibly related to the temple's position overlooking the wide river Severn, and thus an aspect of the local deity.

In summary, it appears that the Lydney complex was a large, successful cult site with an emphasis on healing, although it probably only operated on such a scale for a comparatively brief period of time, at the most from the late 3rd to late 4th century AD. It was undoubtedly connected with the prosperity of the region, possibly even helping to accentuate it, but ultimately its decline was linked to that of the Romanized elite, without whom the temple cult could no longer be sustained.

Maiden Castle, Dorset (map 5.23a-b)

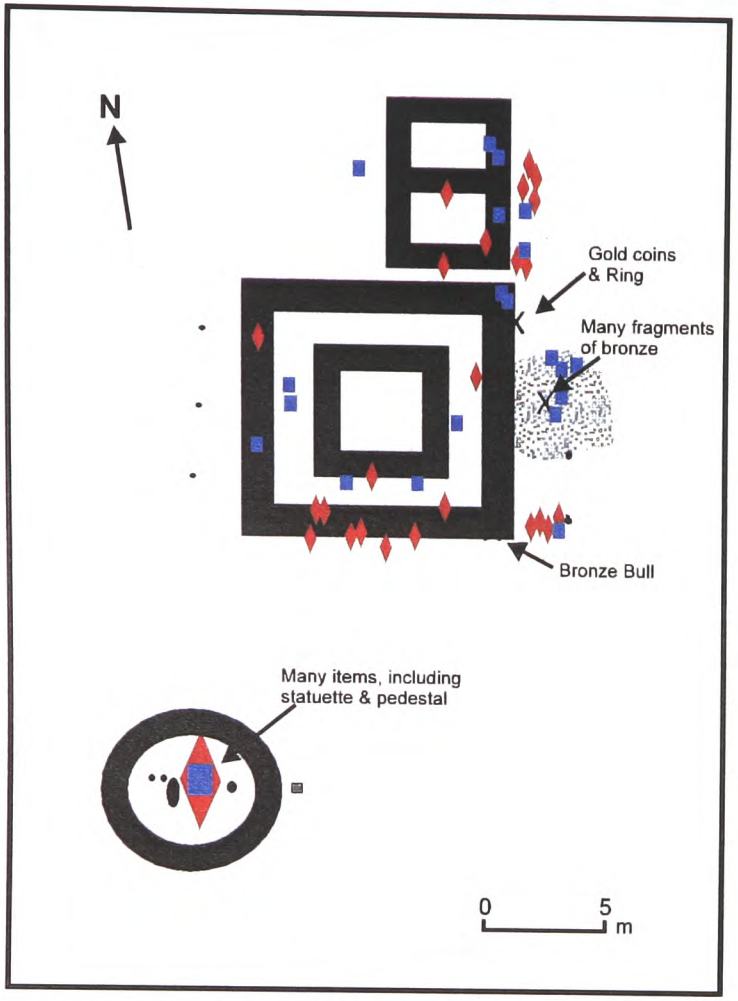
1. Chronology and context

Sir Mortimer Wheeler's excavations within the hillfort at Maiden Castle in the 1930s uncovered a late Roman religious site, consisting primarily of a well constructed masonry Romano-Celtic temple, a similarly well built rectangular building and an unmortared oval structure (Wheeler 1943; see map 5.23a). The primary phase of the temple was assigned to c. AD 364 by well-stratified coins beneath the first ambulatory floor, while a second refurbishment phase came c. AD 380 (Wheeler 1943 75). The general coin range from the temple confirms this, with the majority being post AD 364 (see fig. 5.10). The rectangular structure is thought to be contemporary, despite the lack of coins for independent dating. The deposit of four gold coins of Honorius and Arcadius points to the cult's continuance into at least the early 5th century. A lack of suitable stratified coins from the oval structure means that its chronology is determined by the general coin

spread. The sequence began with a small number of 1st and 2nd century AD issues, which may indicate a continued reverence for the site of the late Iron Age – Roman transition oval structure, within which the Roman building was placed (see 4.2). It is possible that some small remnants of the earlier dry stone walling remained, but the comparative prevalence of Constantinian coins in the main occupation layer, suggests a mid 4th century AD date of construction for the new edifice (see fig. 5.10). As these were in much higher proportions than the temple, where most coins were post AD361, it suggests a slightly earlier building date, although it was probably still in use until the end of that century, and possibly into the next. A hoard of coins underneath the main metalled path to the eastern hillfort entrance ranged in date from late 3rd to mid 4th century AD (*ibid.* 73) and it was therefore likely to have been contemporary with the oval structure. Furthermore, coin evidence also indicated a similar date for the construction of the eastern temenos entrance, suggesting that these three features were probably part of an initial religious complex, with the Romano-Celtic temple being added subsequently.

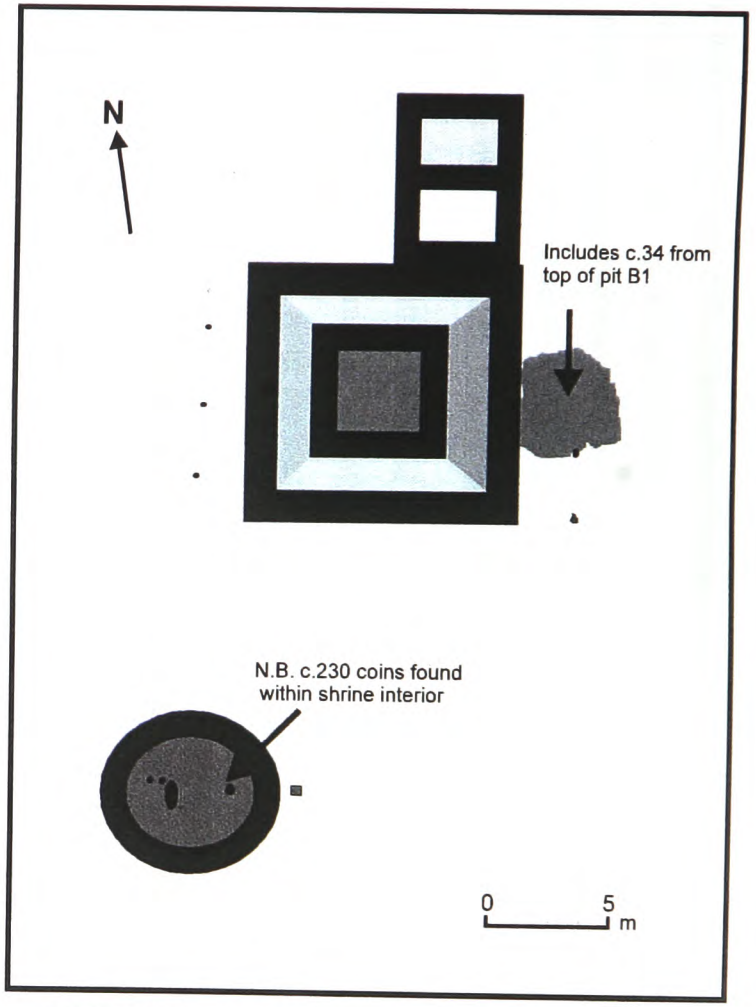
The religious complex lay less than two kilometres from the town of *Durnovaria* (Dorchester), which by the 4th century was in a state of great prosperity (Sharples 1991 128). This correlated with the significant expansion of surrounding rural/suburban settlements, at places such as Maiden Castle Road and Fordington Bottom (Smith *et al.* 1997 303). A far greater diversification of manufacturing activities occurred and cereal production became more intense, presumably in order to serve the growing needs of the town (*ibid.*). Unlike areas further north there was a significant lack of villas, with the possible exception of the enigmatic structure at Olga road (*ibid.* 304), and it is clear that at this time the regional wealth was concentrated within the town. Therefore, it seem reasonable to assume that the temple complex within the Maiden Castle hillfort, which would have been quite an expensive undertaking, was closely connected with elite members from the town. This is at odds with Sharples's (1991 130) assertion that "*Christianity may well have become the religion of the middle class elite that controlled the towns; worship of the old pagan gods was doubtless excluded from the towns*". It would perhaps seem more likely that at this point there was a complex amalgam of religious beliefs within the urban landscape incorporating both Christianity and paganism. Indeed, there was possibly a pagan temple connected to the bathhouse within

Map 5.23: Maiden Castle artefact distribution



5.23a: Selected small find types

- Item of personal ornamentation
- Miscellaneous tool



5.23b: Coin density

- 1-5
- 6-10
- 11-20
- 21-30
- 31-50
- 51-100
- 101 +

the town, which was still an important feature in the late 4th century (Woodward *et al.* 1993 367). The temple complex at Maiden Castle, far from being an isolated rural bastion of pagan worship, would have been fully integrated into the surrounding environment, the prosperity of which depended greatly on that of the urban centre at Durnovaria.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The three late Roman buildings formed a distinct group on a prominent part of the eastern hillfort, and in the absence of any other major structures, would surely have visually dominated the approach from the eastern entrance. The temple and ancillary building were clearly built as one architectural unit and had little apparent homogeneity with the circular building, which had a carefully laid hearth positioned just in front of the entrance, restricting internal access. It is possible that the whole edifice was in actual fact a monument, perhaps relating to an idealised past, rather than a functioning shrine. Both structures did face east towards to the entrance complex, and a square base just inside the gateway may have been the initial religious focus for those entering the site. The pattern of human movement within the site is indicated by the metalled pathways. The main road, leading from outside the eastern gate, appeared to partially follow the line of an old Iron Age street and passed near to the circular structure, before possibly continuing further west (Wheeler 1943 74). A further wide stretch of metalled roadway was traced for a short distance from the entrance to the Romano-Celtic temple, and undoubtedly connected to the main track. There was a marked difference in the condition of the track outside the entrance, where it was very well preserved, and just inside, where it had sunken and been patched up (*ibid.* 121). This suggested that the entrance was normally kept closed, so that the water did not drain away from the inner gate (*ibid.*). Additionally, there were narrow (c.1m) wheel ruts on the inner section, implying vehicular movement within the complex. Finally, it must be remarked that the hillfort ramparts themselves would most likely have formed the temenos boundary, and thus the 'precinct' may have been extremely large, covering around sixteen acres.

A large quantity of late Roman finds came from the area of the temple and oval structure. The original Wheeler archive was consulted at Dorset County Museum, and from the notebooks and small finds cards, the general location of many of these artefacts were able

to be recorded. Unfortunately, because of the recording system used at the time, it was not generally possible to accurately plot many of them, and so the coins, which were the most numerous finds category, are presented in a density map. The largest single concentration of finds lay within the circular structure, mostly from the late Roman occupation level (see fig. 5.10).

	Temple	Northern structure	Other: site B	Circular structure	Other: site L
Coins, 1st-2nd Century	0	0	5	7	4
Coins, 3rd Century	11	0	19	32	10
Coins c.AD300-360	32	2	30	139	79
Coins c.AD 361 +	47	0	27	30	14
Pins/brooches	1	0	6	14	4
Other jewellery	2	0	5	15	11
Personal fittings/items	2	4	4	9	3
Tools	8	5	6	18	13
Structural fittings	2	1	4	8	2
Martial	0	0	0	1	4
Votive	2	0	0	2	0

Fig. 5.10: Maiden Castle. Artefacts from 4th century AD levels, according to functional category and location

Assuming that they were not dumped there from the temple, which seems unlikely given the divergent coin ranges, they probably relate to the use of the building, as a focus for ritual deposition. As to the temple structure, the finds seem to be more dispersed, although there are larger concentrations of coins within the cella, eastern ambulatory and entrance path, which might relate to their original pattern of deposition, and imply a definite frontal emphasis. The northern structure contained only two coins, and many of the other artefacts were actually from the make-up levels, and not likely to have been specific votive deposits. Nevertheless, there was a significant left-hand bias in the distribution of personal ornamentation within the temple, which may reflect ritual practice.

There were a number of artefacts of a specifically religious nature that may shed more light on the specific nature of the cult – notably the two figurines and the bronze plaque. The lower part of a marble statuette found in the shrine was originally interpreted by Wheeler (1943 290) as being Diana and a hound. However, Martin Henig (1983) has suggested that it was more likely to have been that of Bacchus and a panther, an important saviour god that was more common in the late Empire. The fact that it was probably imported points to the wealth of the dedicator, but as Henig asserted (*ibid.* 162),

it is undoubtedly not reflective of the main deity worshiped at the site. Similarly, the bronze triple-horned bull with harpy riders found just outside the temple would seem to represent an expensive single dedicatory deposit from a wealthy patron, rather than an item specifically associated with the main cult deity. A bronze plaque depicting a relief of Minerva was the only deity whose identification is not in dispute, and is probably the best indication of cult dedication at the site. Finally, located approximately 150 metres west of the temple, were four adult female human inhumation burials and the fragmentary bones of a child (Wheeler 1943 356). It is highly possible that these were connected to the temple (*ibid.* 78), although the dating is only provided by a shard of 4th century New Forest ware, so exact contemporaneity is uncertain, and they may belong to a post-Roman phase. However, the roadway that passed near to the shrine seems to have continued on towards the burials, suggesting that they were part of the late Roman religious site. Overall, the Maiden Castle complex would appear to have been an important local religious site, linked to the nearby civitas capital at Dorchester. It is likely that the elite from that town had much to do with its construction, an idea furthered by the nature of the finds, which indicated quite Romanized and wealthy patrons. The setting within the hillfort and the utilisation of the unmortared oval structure would suggest that an archaic element existed, possibly linked to an idealised vision of past and the wish to sustain a current identity (see 5.3).

Pagans Hill, Somerset (map 5.24a-b)

1. Chronology and context

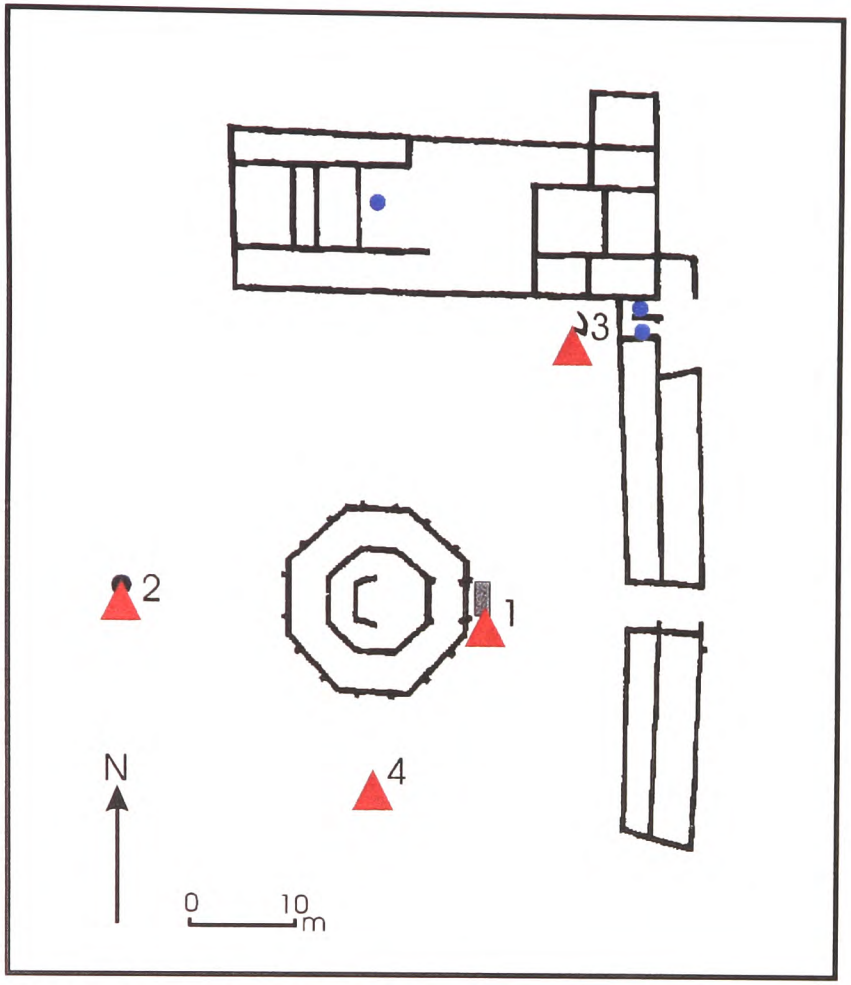
The Roman cult complex at Pagans Hill was excavated by Philip Rahtz between 1949 and 1953, and again in 1986 (Rahtz and Watts 1989 330). A large octagonal Romano-Celtic style temple of some architectural merit was found, surrounded on its northern and eastern sides by a range of ancillary buildings. The chronology of the complex is understood from both the general date range of the artefact assemblage, and a few specifically stratified coins. The coins from the temple range from the late 3rd to late 4th century AD, and a very worn coin of Flavius Victor (AD 383-8) found underneath the

rubble suggests that activity continued well into the 5th century (Rahtz 1951 118). A sealed coin of Posthumus, gave a *terminus post quem* of c. AD 262, and it is likely that all the structures were built at approximately the same time. Around the mid 4th century, a temporary hiatus was suggested, when the well and northern buildings went out of use and the temple suffered damage (Rahtz and Watts 1989 333). However, this may not have been the case, as the coin spread in the temple showed no signs of any hiatus and the three late 3rd century coins in the northern building are too few in number to make such conclusions. Additionally, the preponderance of late 3rd century coins amongst the debris in the well behind the temple may only be indicative of a single episode of ritual deposition. It was certainly not filled in, and therefore is unlikely to have gone out of use. Whatever the situation, a sealed coin of Gratian (AD367-83) underneath the central feature in the cella indicates that structural renovations did occur in the last quarter of the 4th century. Overall, it is likely that the cult flourished from the late 3rd, throughout the 4th and into the 5th century AD, with little or no recognisable interruptions. The religious complex was situated at the east end of a spur overlooking the Chew valley, a region with extensive settlement and agricultural activity in the Roman period (Rahtz and Watts 1989 335). The nearest villa to the site was at Chew Park, c.3.2 km to the south-east, and probably inter-visible. This was built at the end of the third century AD (Bird 1986 60) - around the same time as the religious complex, and quite possibly connected in some way. Nearby, an earlier, apparently native-style, farm at Row of Ashes was radically altered at around the same time (*ibid.* 59). Pagans Hill was situated near a busy route way between Bath, Camerton, Ilchester and *Abonae,* and the presence of a road leading up to the site has been postulated (Tratman 1962). The Pagans Hill religious site therefore appears to have been integrated into a well-populated and agriculturally prosperous region.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The religious site at Pagans Hill seems to have been constructed according to a specific set of spatial principles, focused around the dominant focal temple. The surrounding temenos was almost certainly delimited by the building ranges on its northern and eastern sides, though its extent to the west and south remains unknown (map 5.24a). The temenos entrance, situated in middle of the eastern range, was aligned directly with that of the

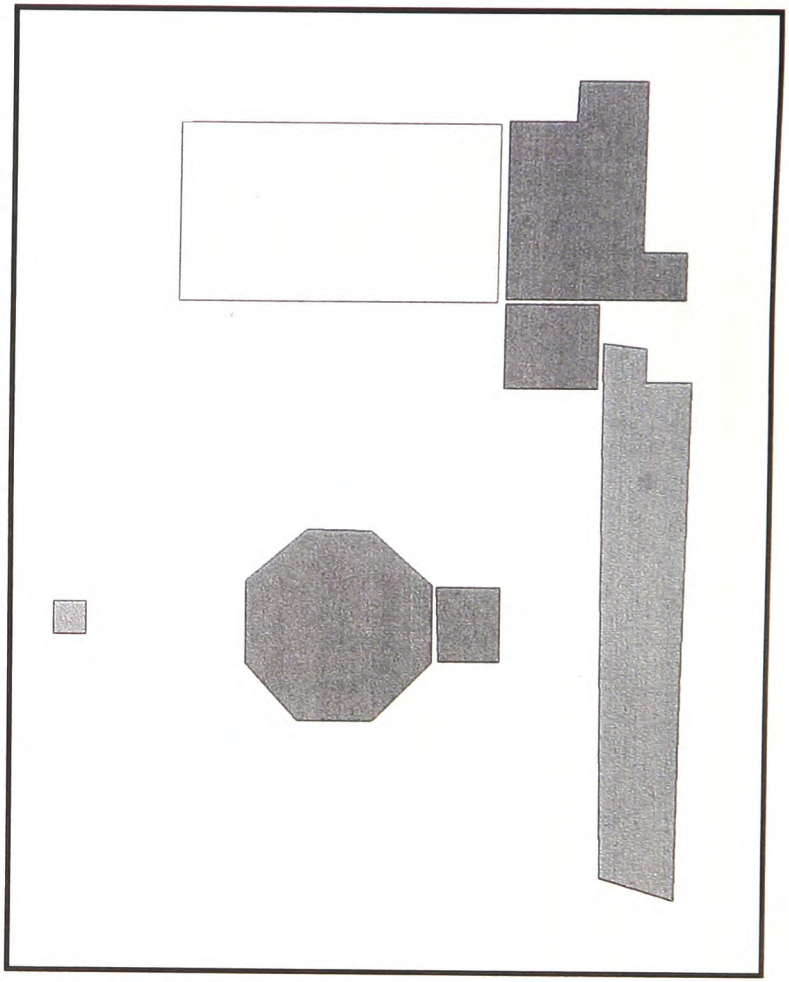
Map 5.24: Pagans Hill finds distribution



5.24a: Selected finds distribution

1. 'Group' of 25 coins, lead token & 4 pottery counters
2. Well: Stone dog, 18 coins, bucket handles, reaping hook, spindlewhorl, brooch & much pottery.
3. 43 coins, candlestick, nails, perforated bronze sheet, finger-ring, glass & much pottery.
4. Animal bone group

● Miscellaneous artefact



5.24b: Coin density

1-10
11-20
21-30
31-40
41+

temple, with the well located an analogous distance behind this, along the same alignment. Rodwell noted that by projecting the lines westward from the angled ends of the eastern side building, an isosceles triangle was created, with its apex aligned on the central axis running through the temple and well (1980 224). Furthermore, the distance from the apex to the well was exactly the same as the base of the triangle, and all of this points to a site that was laid out according to set guidelines.

As the full extent of the temenos remains unknown, it is impossible to be certain how much attention was given to the boundary of the site, although the double entrance to the east was quite substantial, probably furnished with columns and therefore clearly of some significance. From this point, there may have been direct visual access across the precinct, into the cella, and therefore no doubt to the cult statue. The temple well was unquestionably an additional focal point, as may have been the curious apsidal foundation in the north-eastern corner of the precinct - possibly an altar or a shrine (Rahtz and Harris 1958 30). The buildings that formed the northern limit of the temenos can be divided into two parts – the northwest and the northeast – though an internal courtyard probably connected them. The presence of much debris in the north-eastern section, including wall plaster and pottery, led the excavator to suggest a domestic function such as a guest house (Rahtz and Harris 1958 28), and the fact that there were at least 13 rooms would seem to support this. The level of the north-eastern rooms was significantly lower than elsewhere, leading to the suggestion that they were actually the remains of cellars (*ibid.*). However, the difference in levels (c.0.8 m below the turf) seems to have been too small for this, and it is perhaps more likely that they were partly-sunken rooms with a second storey above, the total height of which may have been kept deliberately below that of the temple. There is some evidence for the pattern of human movement within the site, but without full excavation of the courtyard area, more detailed routeways cannot be discerned. An area of heavy metalling was found within the outer gateway, and extended along the main site axis to the entrance ramp of the temple (Rahtz and Harris 1958 23). This cobbled ramp was described as 'much worn' (Rahtz 1951 116), thereby implying the presence of substantial human traffic, although it need not necessarily mean that many people passed into the actual temple. Access into the north side of the eastern range seems to have been from the outer gateway, while a doorway into the north-eastern

building was indicated by a number of door-studs in the area by its south east corner (Rahtz and Harris 1958 26). Finally, there was an area of very worn metalling in one of the few undisturbed parts of the site, by the ancillary shrine/altar structure in the north-east corner. Such intense human activity may have been as a result of this structure, or else the fact that there were northern and possibly eastern entrances to the side buildings in this area.

With the exception of coins, there was a scarcity of artefacts within the Pagans Hill complex, and this was further compounded by the lack of substantial excavation within the courtyard, and severe disturbance by stone robbers. Nevertheless, basic distribution maps have been constructed using data from the published reports, indicating that the temple – especially the entrance and nearby pathway – was the main focus for coin deposition (see maps 5.24a-b). A further concentration was found in the area of the possible shrine/altar, associated with many other items including a large amount of pottery, and it may have been that these two areas were specific foci for the display of votive objects. The temple well contained a number of artefacts and ecofacts, but it is likely that it was kept clear for most of its period of use, with possibly one or two episodes of deposition (Rahtz and Harris 1958 22). The area around the well was virtually free from artefacts, implying that it was also deliberately kept clean. Despite the paucity of artefacts, there were a number of specifically religious items that may shed some light on the cult practised at the site. Of these, the most outstanding was the life-size stone torso of a dog found in the upper part of the well, now dated to the later Roman period (Boon 1989 339). Its size and quality suggest that it was part of the main cult statue, and Boon argued that it represented a healing aspect to the cult, similar to that at Lydney where many dog figurines were found (*ibid.*). A closer and perhaps more conceivable parallel was with the religious complex at Nettleton Scrubb, c. 30 km to the north east, where a similar octagonal temple was apparently devoted to Apollo Cunomaglus - 'hound lord' (Wedlake 1982). Such an association may be further corroborated by the 'Phrygian-capped' stone figure found near the site, which could have represented Apollo in his hunting guise (Boon 1989 216). Finally, there were three lead curse tablets reputedly found near the site, of which one could be mostly translated by Roger Tomlin (1984 336). The inscription refers to 3000 denarii going missing, of which

half was promised to the deity if it was returned. Tomlin (*ibid.*) pointed out that this was a large sum of money, and it therefore points to the prosperity of the patron visiting the temple, although the inflation of the late 3rd century would have decreased its inherent value. A small sample of animal bone was recorded from the 1986 dig, all dated to the late Roman period (Gilchrist 1989 358). Cattle accounted for 80% of the bones and many of these, together with the remaining sheep and pig remains, showed signs of butchery and occasionally burning. As anatomically most of them were from meat-yielding joints (*ibid.*359), it is clear that that they were the result of food consumption, and can therefore be taken as evidence for ritual feasting. The presence of large quantities of pottery in the north-eastern courtyard and building may also hold significance. The assemblages here seem to differ from the well, in that they contained much higher proportions of tableware and cooking utensils, including mortaria and the only piece of samian from the site (Rahtz and Harris 1958 21, 38-9). It may therefore be tentatively suggested that food preparation and/or consumption could have occurred in this area. Overall, the highly organised spatial structuring and reasonable architectural pretensions of the rural religious complex at Pagans Hill would suggest that it was an important local and possibly regional religious centre, closely associated with the nearby settlements.

Silchester (*Calleva*), Hampshire (map 5.25a-b)

1. Chronology and context

Four Romano-Celtic temples and a number of other simple temples and household shrines have been excavated within the walls at Silchester, although there was no evidence for any religious edifice of a purely classical nature (Boon 1974 152). The chronologies of the Romano-Celtic structures seem to span most of the life of the town, three of them being laid out on the so-called 'baths alignment', indicating a probable pre-Flavian origin (*ibid.*47). The remaining polygonal temple has been roughly dated to the mid 2nd century, but it could be much later (*ibid.* 157). The destruction of the temples is chronologically far less certain. A coin of Valens was found in the demolition rubble near to temples 1 and 2 (Hope 1891 15) and a late 3rd century issue was found unstratified near to temple 3 (Boon 1974 157). These provide only vague clues as to the terminal dating of

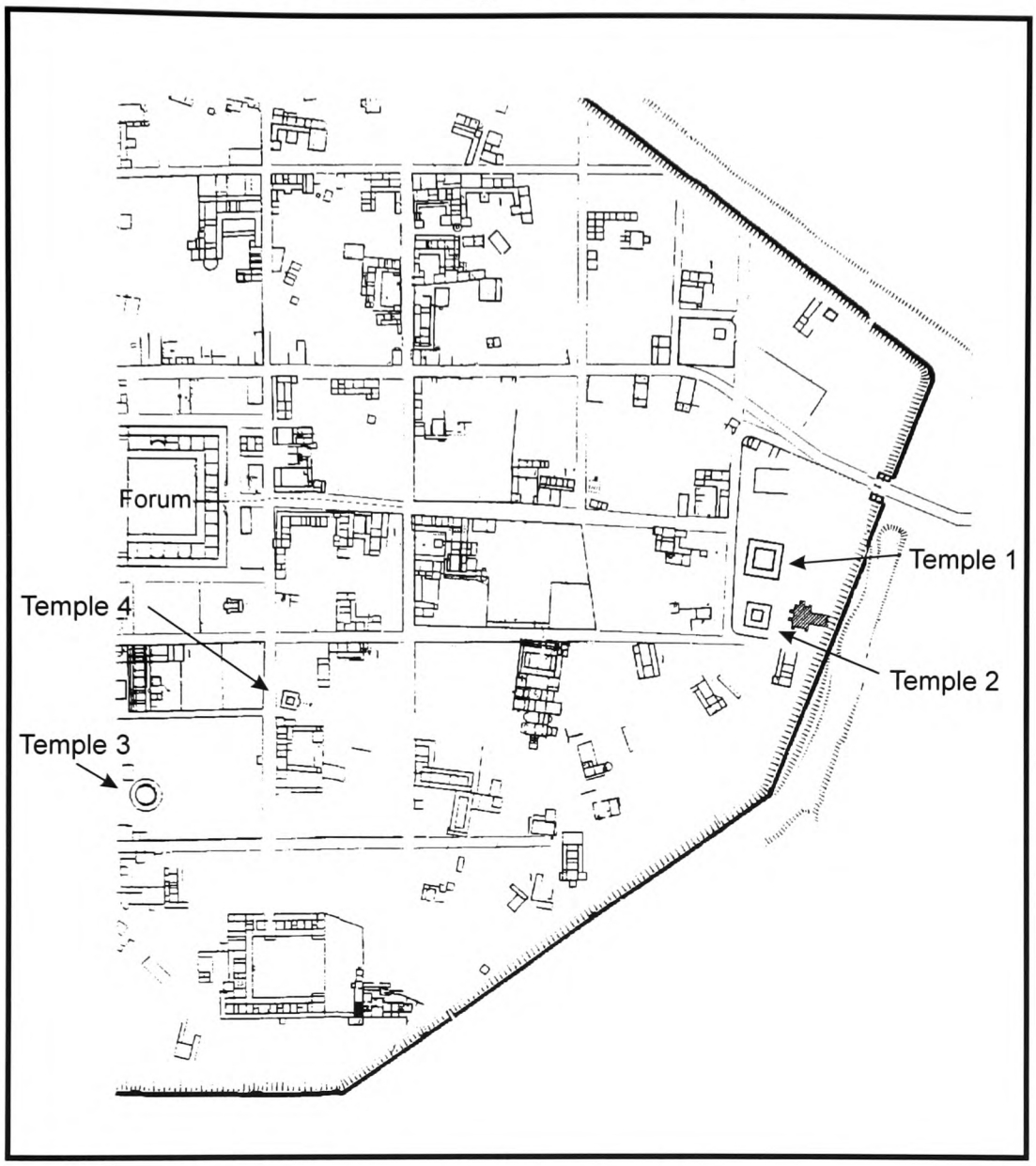
the religious structures, which could still range from the late 3rd to late 4th century AD, perhaps associated with the growth of Christianity in the town.

Silchester is very different from Colchester in that all of the Romano-Celtic temples were situated within the town walls, with the only recorded extra-mural religious structure being a possible spring head shrine near to the amphitheatre (Boon 1974 159). They were obviously integral features within the urban landscape from the onset of the town's development, although none were situated in the immediate vicinity of the Forum. Indeed, the largest and probably grandest of the temples was situated near to the eastern gate, the reason for which is uncertain, although it could possibly have been the site of an earlier religious focus within the native oppidum. The large scale of the buildings, and in certain cases the size of the religious precincts suggests that such sacred zones were very important features within the town.

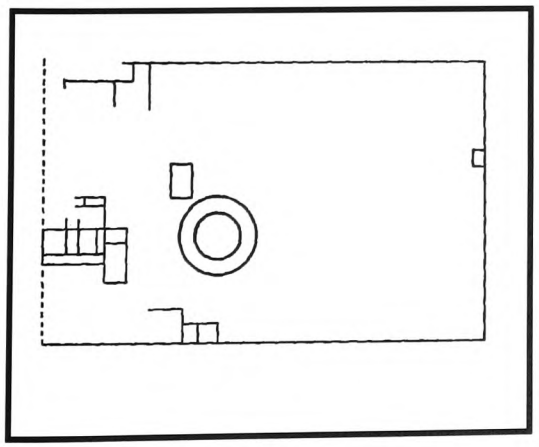
2. The use of space and finds assemblage

Unfortunately, as the primary excavations of all the temples took place in the late 19th and early 20th century, the level of detail is insufficient for a thorough analysis of the use of space within and around these structures. Temple 1 is the largest of its type found in Britain, and the fact that it was raised on a two metre high podium suggests that it was intended to visually dominate much of the eastern part of the town. Its great wealth was expounded by the fragments of purbeck marble and Egyptian porphyry that probably came from part of its superstructure (Boon 1974 156). It certainly overshadowed its smaller counterpart to the south, although this too was on a substantial scale. Both were set within a large irregular temenos, along with a number of other buildings, including a possible third temple underneath the parish church, which lies along the exact same alignment as the other two buildings. The polygonal temple was also a very large example, and its position within a vast, sparsely-filled enclosure would have served to emphasise its grandeur. The probable entrance from the southern street would have led straight into the courtyard, which seems to have been deliberately kept clear, perhaps to enhance what was presumably the front of the temple. Hidden behind was a large functionally-obscure rectangular structure, highly reminiscent of the structural arrangements at Nettleton, while further to the west lay a hypocaust building probably

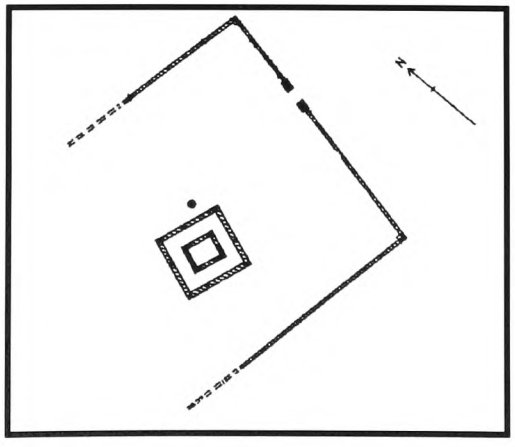
Map 5.25: Secondary Site Plans



5.25a: Silchester temples (after Boon 1974)



5.25b: Silchester temple 3
(after Lewis 1966 204)



5.25c: Woodeaton
(after Goodchild & Kirk 1954 16)

used as attendants' lodging. The remaining Romano-Celtic temple was of a more modest size, and a barrier of perishable material probably delimited the open space surrounding it. A definite linear axis was in evidence, passing from the bench at the rear of the cella, upon which presumably stood the cult statue(s), through the elaborated entrance structure and the altar positioned seven metres in front and on to the open area beyond. This is the only temple in Silchester where iconographic and epigraphic evidence provides some means of cult identification. The deities of Peace, Victory and Mars are recorded on two inscriptions, while the third is dedicated to the 'Godhead of the Emperor' by a resident association of foreigners (Boon 1973 113), which provides a valuable insight into the nature of the visitors to the temple. The pieces of statue are thought possibly to relate to the three deities mentioned, and together it points to the apparent Romanized nature of the cult practised at the temple. Few votive finds came from the other temples, aside from several bronze and bone pins, two bronze axes, two terracotta lamps and a polished Neolithic axe, presumably deposited for its archaic value. These are typical of the ex-votos found at many Romano-Celtic temple sites, both in urban and rural contexts, although the numbers are perhaps significantly small. Finally, mention must be made of the giant head of Sarapis found at an unknown location within the town. It was a deity derived from Ptolemaic Egypt, and provides striking evidence for the cosmopolitan nature of religious worship within the urban settlement, probably reflecting the diversity apparent in the population.

Woodeaton, Oxfordshire (map 5.25c)

1. Chronology and context

Middle Hill, Woodeaton, has attracted interest from antiquarians and archaeologists for over two centuries, primarily because of the wealth of artefacts found there, ranging in date from the Bronze Age to the late Roman period. The Roman temple was excavated in 1952, and found to have had two distinct structural phases, approximately dated by pottery and coin evidence (Goodchild and Kirk 1954). The first temple belongs to the latter 1st century AD (*ibid.* 22; Milne 1931 103), although the presence of a few late Iron

Age fibulae and British coins may imply previous activity on the site in the immediate pre-Roman and transition period. The construction of the second temple is likely to have been contemporary with the masonry temenos wall, in the later 2nd century AD (Goodchild and Kirk 1954 19). It seems to have lasted for a substantial period of time – until the late 4th or early 5th centuries – judging from the coins of Arcadius and Honorius (*ibid.* 24; Milne 1931 108).

The temple was positioned on a prominent hill within the local region, with extensive views to the south, north and east. Less than 4 km to the east lay the main road between the administrative towns of Alchester, 8-km to the north, and Dorchester, c.20-km to the south. Both of these may have started out as post-conquest military forts, with the connecting road being quickly established, but by the 2nd century they were extensive walled towns (Young 1986 59). Less than 1.5 km north of the temple lay Islip Roman villa set within an extensive boundary, known primarily from aerial photography (Miles 1982 74). Its chronology is uncertain, although many of the villas in the region developed in the later 1st or earlier 2nd centuries, AD, often on the sites of former native farmsteads (Young 1986 61). If such were the case, then the construction of the first temple would have been broadly contemporary, and it may have been erected by the Romanized native villa owners partly in order to enhance their prestige and position. The longevity of the temple is surely related to the general prosperity of the upper Thames Valley region, which by the 4th century saw a number of extensive villas, such as that at North Leigh, as well as a thriving pottery industry, seemingly centred on the area just south of Woodeaton (Young 1986 180). Good communications, both by road and river, ensured that visitors continued to venerate the religious site until at least the end of the 4th century, and probably later.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

The plan of the sanctuary is incompletely known, as large parts of the temenos remain unexcavated and much of the surrounding outer area has not been subjected to systematic investigation. Indeed, the most comprehensive excavation of the Roman structures sought mainly to identify the size and shape of the temple and temenos wall (Goodchild and Kirk 1954 16). There appears to have been little harmony between the two structural

features, as not only was the temple eccentrically placed, but it was also on a divergent alignment to that of the temenos and its entrance. The first temple was likely to have been a relatively modest half-timber framed structure, seemingly without an ambulatory (*ibid.* 22-5). At its centre lay a series of three superimposed hearths that must have functioned as highly visible cult foci, probably restricting access into the interior. Its successor was of a more definite Romano-Celtic form, with unusually wide ambulatory foundations, possibly for the provision of niches in the walls for statuettes (Wilson 1980 14). The floor levels of the temple were raised over half a metre and thus do not survive, but the existence of a paved path surrounding the ambulatory is highly likely (Goodchild and Kirk 1954 25). The only other feature of structural note is the temenos gateway, which appears to have been monumentalised (Goodchild and Kirk 1954 19). The majority of the provenanced finds came from the area to the north of the temple through to the gateway and outside the entrance, suggesting that activities at the site were not just limited to the temenos area. The alignment of the temenos entrance with the gravelled zone north of the temple suggests that it may have held a cult focus of some kind - a hypothesis furthered by the finding of many animal bones, burnt patches and votive objects in this area (*ibid.* 28). Many such finds have come from Woodeaton, and they have been studied extensively in recent years by Jean Bagnall-Smith (1995, 1999). Iconographic representations of Mars, Venus, Minerva and Cupid have been found, as well as images of eagles and a native-style goddess (Bagnall-Smith 1995 180-2). Other indications suggest that that Mars was the primary deity at the site, including a range of bronze letters -often M and A - and a number of miniature weapons (spears, axes, a sword and possible shield), reflecting his military attributes (Bagnall-Smith 1999 150-2). Other full-size military equipment, including scabbard chapes, two rare prick spurs and a lump of possible chainmail, indicates that soldiers may have frequented the temple, while two model anchors may have been votive gifts from sailors (*ibid.* 154). A healing aspect may also be present, if the broken-off statuette hand and foot were actually intended as individual offerings. Many items of jewellery were found, including two horse-and-rider brooches, similar to those at Lamyatt Beacon, where Mars was also thought to be the principal deity (Kirk 1949 7). Such objects, together with many of the coins, are likely to have been among the more common offerings made by individuals, and it is possible that

some were made at the site. There is ample evidence for bronze working, which is perhaps significant given the long-standing tradition of this activity in the area, leading back to the Bronze Age (Harding 1987). The existence of a substantial commercial set-up has often been postulated for Woodeaton (e.g. Goodchild and Kirk 1954 37, Blagg 1986 21), primarily because of the large scatter of coins and other small finds. Although difficult to substantiate, it is perfectly feasible that there was a regular market connected with the religious activities at the site, and from the scatter of surface finds shown in the report, this was most likely to have existed in the area to the front of the temple complex (Goodchild andKirk 1954 36). Overall, it is clear that Woodeaton was a long-lived and prosperous rural religious site, possibly connected with the nearby villa at Islip, and integrated into a populous Romanized area. The finds suggest a cult of Mars, frequented by a wide spectrum of local society, including the native elite, soldiers and craftsmen.

Section 5.3

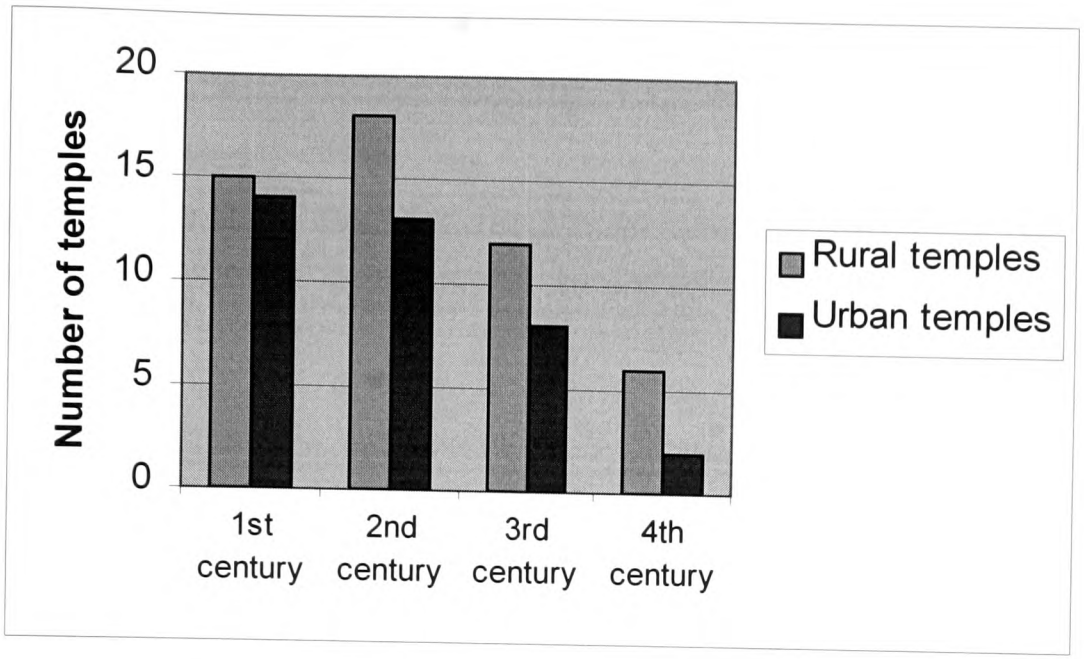
Comparative analysis of Romano-British temple sites

The database of sites in appendix 1.3 contains information on around ninety temples/shrines within seventy-five sites across the southern half of Britain. The seven primary and fourteen secondary sites will now form the core of a comparative analysis, although all of the sites will be taken into account depending on the information available. There are other sites where the finds and location have suggested the presence of a Roman temple, such as at South Cadbury (Alcock 1972 84), Cold Kitchen Hill (Lewis 1966 125) and Lowbury hill (Fulford and Rippon 1994), and some of these will also be taken into account where appropriate. In this way, it is hoped to be able to have a better understanding of the nature, role and development of Roman temples within southern Britain from the 1st to 4th century AD. The following analysis will be performed along the lines of that used for the primary sites. Thus, after an initial examination of the general chronology and context of cult loci, the hypotheses devised in chapter 3 will be tested against information from all of the sites. Finally, a brief comparison will be made with cult loci from northern Gaul.

1. Chronology and context

The majority of previous studies concerning Roman temples have tended not to examine them within their specific contexts, with the exception of a broad division between urban and rural sites (e.g. Lewis 1966; Wilson 1973). General chronological trends were noted by Lewis (1966 139) and Horne (1981), but rarely were these examined in relation to the surrounding local and regional environment. Horne's account provided chronological charts for the use of Romano-Celtic temples in Britain, based upon data from 39 temples listed in Lewis's earlier work (*ibid.* 21). Within the current study, revised chronological data from 86 temples/shrines are summarized in figure 5.11, with specific site details given in the appendix database 1.3. The construction of urban cult sites reached its zenith in the later 1st and early 2nd century AD, while that of rural sites was slightly later in the 2nd century. During the 4th century there was a comparatively greater decline in the

A: Date of temple Construction



B: Date of temple use

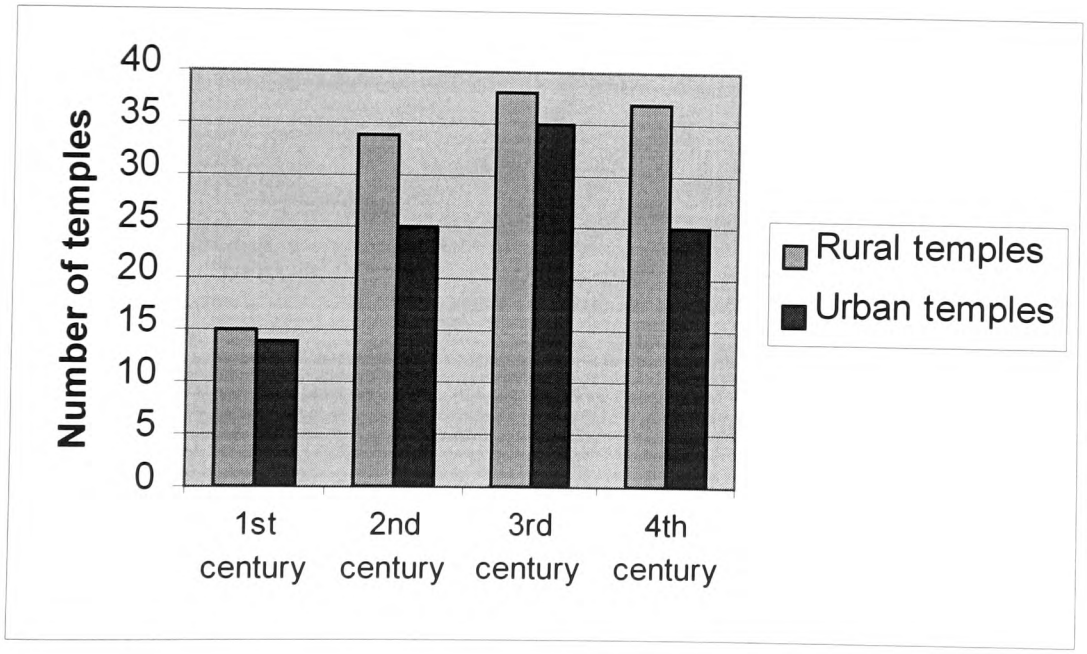


Fig. 5.11: Summary of temple chronology

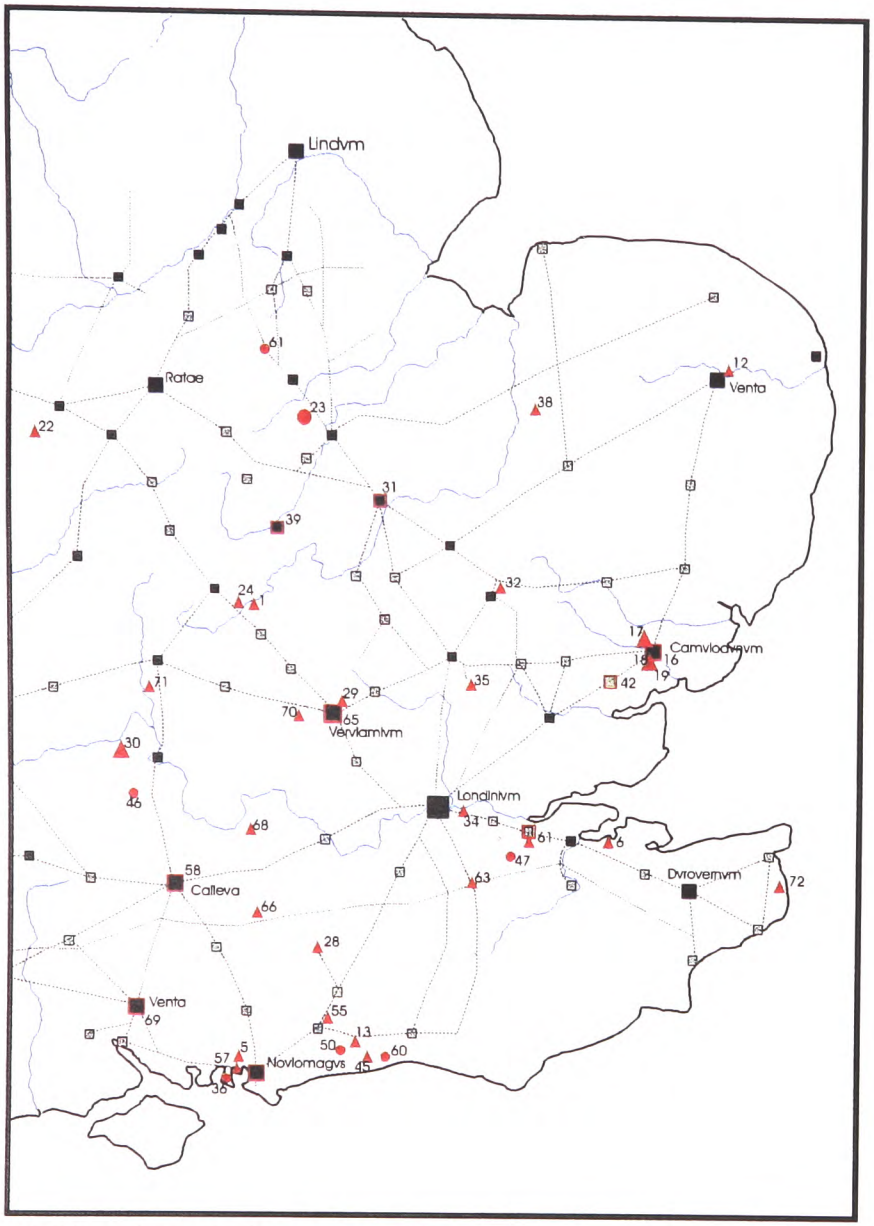
building of urban cult loci, with only one recorded example of a substantial temple, and this from the early part of the century (Chelmsford: Wickenden 1992). The use of temples on the other hand reached its peak from the late 3rd to mid 4th century for those in a rural context, and the 3rd century for urban examples. These patterns must now be set within their geographical context.

Temples were among the first substantial buildings to be constructed in post-conquest southern Britain, although it was generally not until the Flavian period that they were built in any numbers. Many examples, such as that outside the town of Great Chesterford (Miller 1995) were the first large masonry structures in the local area, and as such would have been highly prominent landmarks - a measure of their perceived importance. There was a definite regional bias in these early temples, in that 70% of those with 1st century origins came from the south and east of the study area and almost 30 % from a short section of the Hampshire and west Sussex coastal zone (see map 5.26a). By the 3rd century many of these southern sites appear to have either gone out of use or operated in reduced circumstances, while most of those further north and to the east continued to thrive, with many additional temples being built (map 5.26b). Two-thirds of the temples in the appendix show evidence of religious use in the 4th century and over half of these continued until at least the latter part of the century. The majority of these late temples were in the western part of the country, specifically in Gloucestershire, Avon and Somerset (see map 5.27b), and many, such as Pagans Hill and Lydney Park, were built during the late 3rd and 4th centuries. Thus there appears to be a very broad pattern in regards to the chronology and geography of temple sites, but to understand the possible reasons behind it, a more detailed examination of contextual considerations needs to be made.

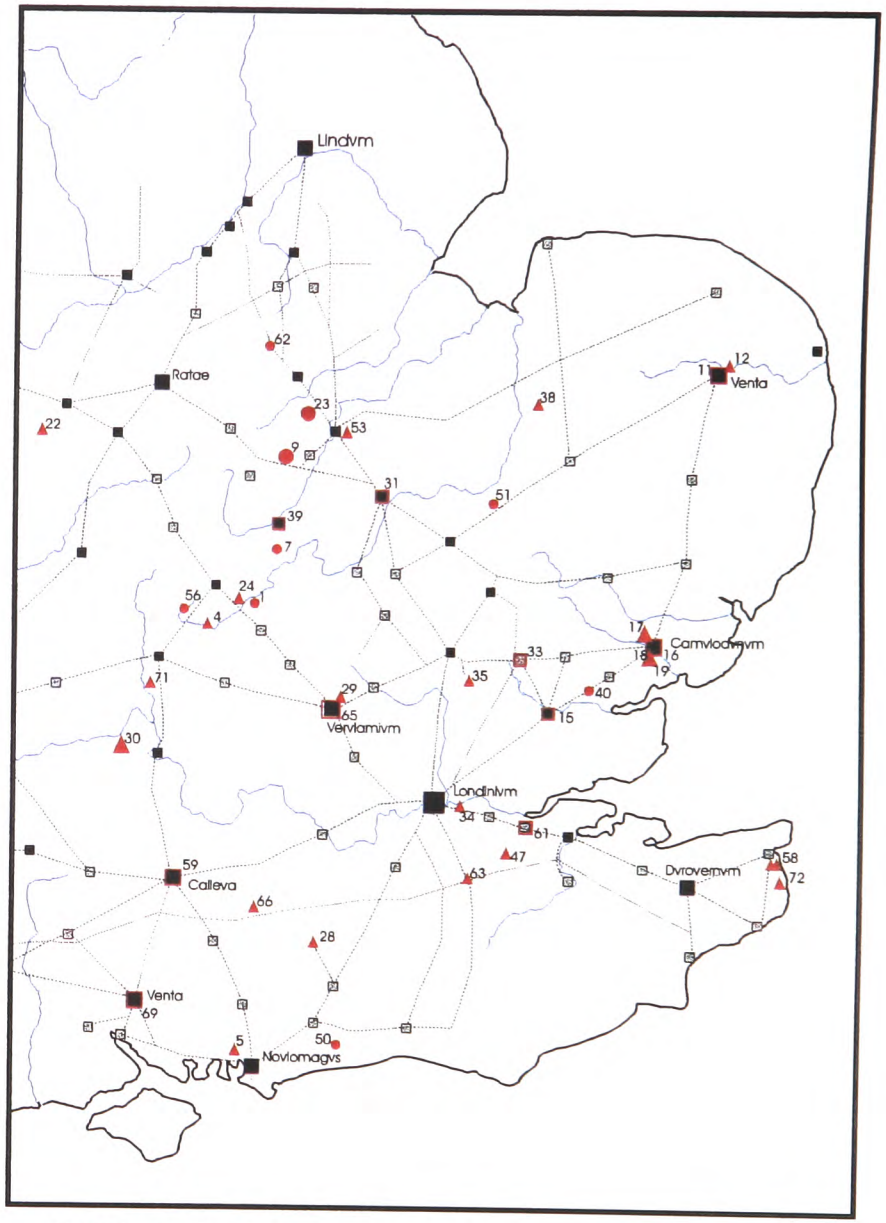
Temples and villas/rural settlements

It has been previously noted that the overall distribution of temples in Britain corresponds quite closely to that of villas (Woodward 1992 20). Analysis of the local context surrounding rural temple sites has in many cases revealed a closer relationship. Over half of all the temples in the appendix have at least one villa within 4 km, while at many other sites (e.g. Worth: Klein 1928, Greenwich: Shelden and Yule 1979, Wanborough:

Map 5.26: Temples in Southern Britain: East.

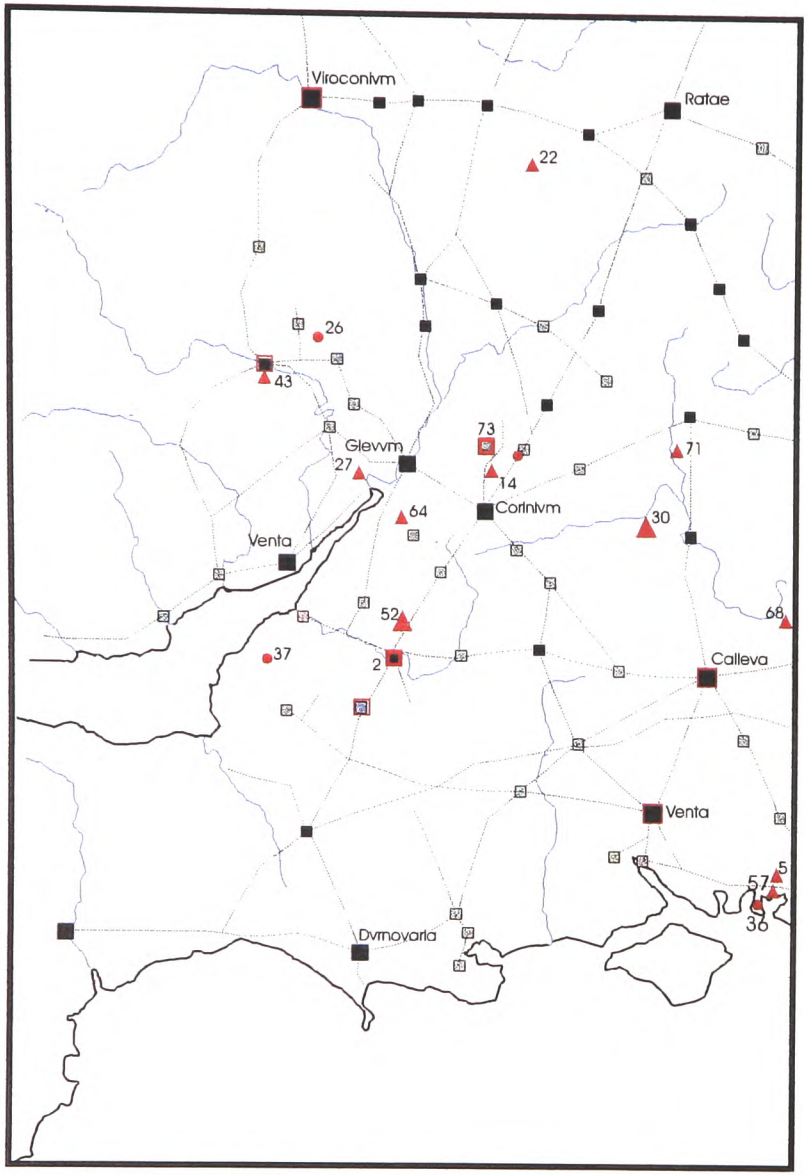


5.26a: 1st - 2nd Century AD

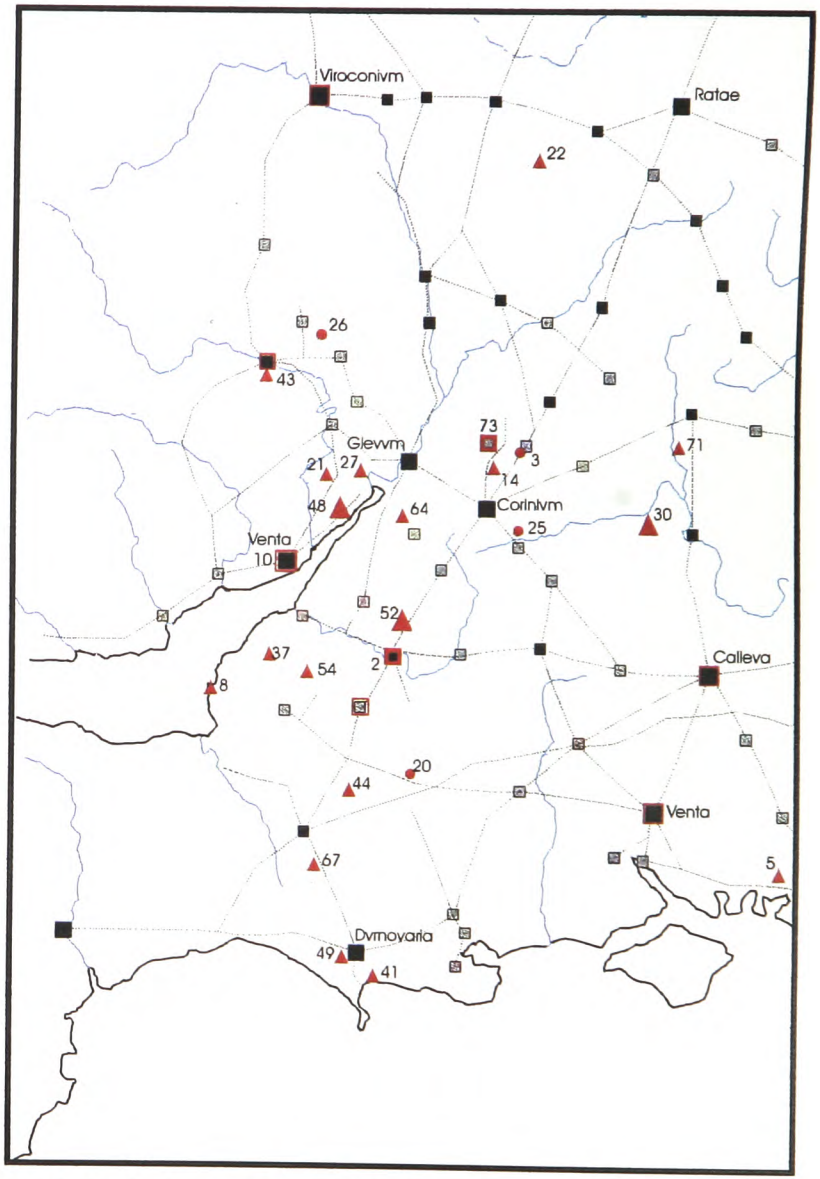


5.26b: 3rd - 4th Century AD

Map 5.27: Temples in Southern Britain: West



5.27a: 1st - 2nd Century AD



5.27b: 3rd - 4th Century AD

Temple Sites on Map:

1. Bancroft
2. Bath
3. Bourton Bridge
4. Bourton Grounds
5. Bow Hill
6. Boxted
7. Bozeat
8. Brean Down
9. Brigstock
10. Caerwent
11. Caistor-by-Norwich 1&2
12. Caistor-by-Norwich 3
13. Chanctonbury
14. Chedworth
15. Chelmsford (Caesaromagus)
16. Colchester
17. Colchester (Sheepen)
18. Colchester (Grammar Sch.)
19. Colchester (Gosbecks)
20. Cold kitchen hill
21. Coleford
22. Coleshill
23. Collyweston
24. Cosgrove
25. Clayton Pike
26. Croft Ambrey
27. Dean Hall
28. Farley Heath
29. Folly Lane, St Albans
30. Frilford
31. Godmanchester
32. Great Chesterford
33. Great Dunmow
34. Greenwich Park
35. Harlow
36. Hayling Island
37. Henley Wood
38. Hockwold
39. Irchester
40. Ivy Chimneys
41. Jordon Hill
42. Kelvedon
43. Kenchester
44. Lamyatt Beacon
45. Lancing Down
46. Lowbury Hill
47. Lullingstone
48. Lydney Park
49. Maiden Castle
50. Muntham Court
51. Mutlow Hill
52. Nettleton Scrubb
53. Orton Longueville
54. Pagans Hill
55. Pulborough
56. Rainsborough
57. Ratham Mill
58. Richborough
59. Silchester
60. Slonk Hill
61. Springhead
62. Thistleton
63. Titsey
64. Uley
65. Verulamium
66. Wanborough
67. West Coker
68. Weycock Hill
69. Winchester
70. Wood Lane End
71. Woodeaton
72. Worth
73. Wycomb

Map Key

- ▲ Romano-Celtic Temple
- ● Other cult site in appendix
- ■ Temple in town
- ■ Civitas Capital
- ■ Large/walled town
- ▪ Small town/settlement
- ---------- Road

O'Connell and Bird 1994), the surrounding areas have not been surveyed or excavated to modern standards and so the presence or absence of a villa cannot be determined. Yet there is more than just close proximity to infer a relationship, as in numerous instances the chronologies of the villa and temple sites are quite consistent. This is seen in the group of south coast (Sussex/Hampshire) temples, such as Chanctonbury (Bedwin 1980) and Lancing (Bedwin 1981), which were all seemingly built in the latter part of the 1st century AD, along with a number of often quite substantial villas, such as at Fishbourne and Angmering (Rudling 1998 44). Rudling (*ibid.*) has argued that, "*the motivation for early villa building in Sussex had been a competitive desire by prominent men to display their status in a new Romanized way.*" The present author would argue that the temples, which would have been highly visible regional landmarks, might have been built for similar reasons. They were likely to have been local public religious sites, but funded at least initially by the native elite villa owners as symbols of prestige and power – a Romanized form of prestigious material expression. There was a marked decline in these large coastal villas during the 3rd century AD, and this again was correlated by many of the temple sites, such as Chanctonbury, Hayling Island (Downey *et al.*1980) and Ratham Mill (King and Soffe 1983). These temples probably relied on the local elite for patronage, and the decline in the coastal villas may have directly influenced their own decline. A similar situation could account for the increase in temple building and refurbishment during the late 3rd and 4th century in western parts of Britain. This corresponded with that of the villas, and again, more specific chronological relationships can be found, for example between Uley and the villa at Frocester Court, as well as Wemberham villa and Henley Wood (see 5.1). Further correlations are apparent with the decline and/or abandonment witnessed at both types of site at the very end of the 4th century. However, there is no reason to suppose that these cults simply vanished after the end of official Roman governance, as the evidence from many temples (e.g. Uley: Woodward and Leach 1993 10 –11, Maiden Castle: Wheeler 1943 75, etc.) suggests activity often continued into the 5th century, albeit in reduced circumstances. Some sites may have continued to be venerated for generations, but the wealth required for the upkeep of the often quite substantial masonry buildings would not have been forthcoming. This is seen clearly in the phase 6 converted temple ruin at Uley

(Woodward and Leach 1993 60), and in the late temple modifications at Nettleton (Wedlake 1982 79). Finally, it is argued in hypothesis 3 that at numerous sites, many aspects of the cult operated along Roman lines, and therefore when this form of religious expression could no longer be maintained, then the cult – at least in that form – would have rapidly declined.

Overall, it seems that there was a close relationship between villas and certain rural temples, as both may be viewed as a Romanized form of material expression used by ceratin members of the Romano-British elite as a way of enhancing their prestige and power within the local and possibly regional community. This is not to imply that Roman ideologies were embraced wholesale by the native elite, but just partly adopted in order to help maintain their status within certain parts of southern Britain.

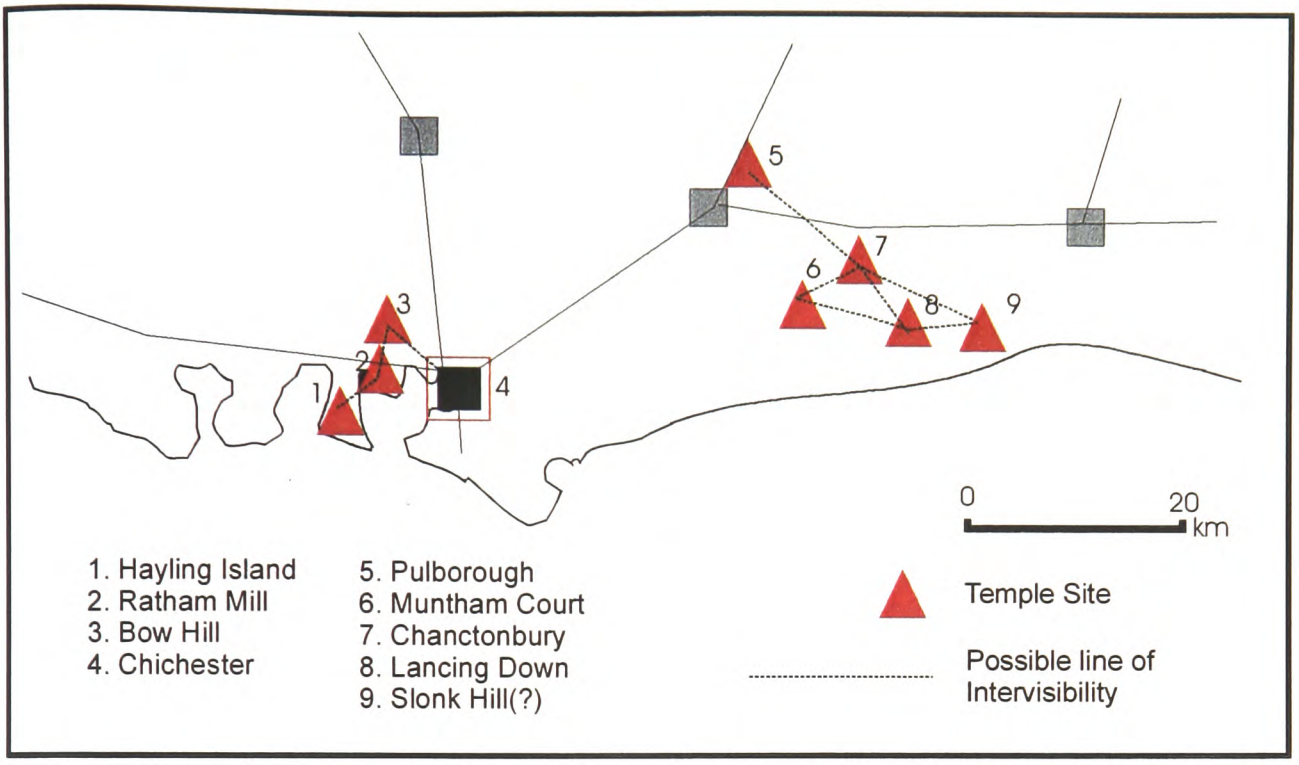
Villas have tended to dominate rural Romano-British archaeology over much of the last two centuries, and as such we have a comparatively reasonable knowledge of their general density and chronology (e.g. Black 1987, Scott 1993). The relationship of temples to lower status farmsteads and small rural settlements is much more difficult to determine, although there are a number of sites that do exhibit an apparent association. Chanctonbury is the most obvious, where a bronze boar was found on a previously unknown farmstead less than 1 km from the temple, providing a link to the cult there (UCL FAU news 1992-3). A small number of simpler shrines have been found on 'lower status' settlements such as at Claydon Pike (Miles and Palmer 1983) and Elms farm (Atkinson and Preston 1998), where the finds indicate a lack of Romanized cult ritual. It is likely that these were used by the non-elite indigenous inhabitants for local religious ritual, while larger more Romanized cult sites may have been visited on certain occasions such as festivals. However, their relationship to it may have been quite different from that of the more affluent villa owners.

Accessibility and visibility

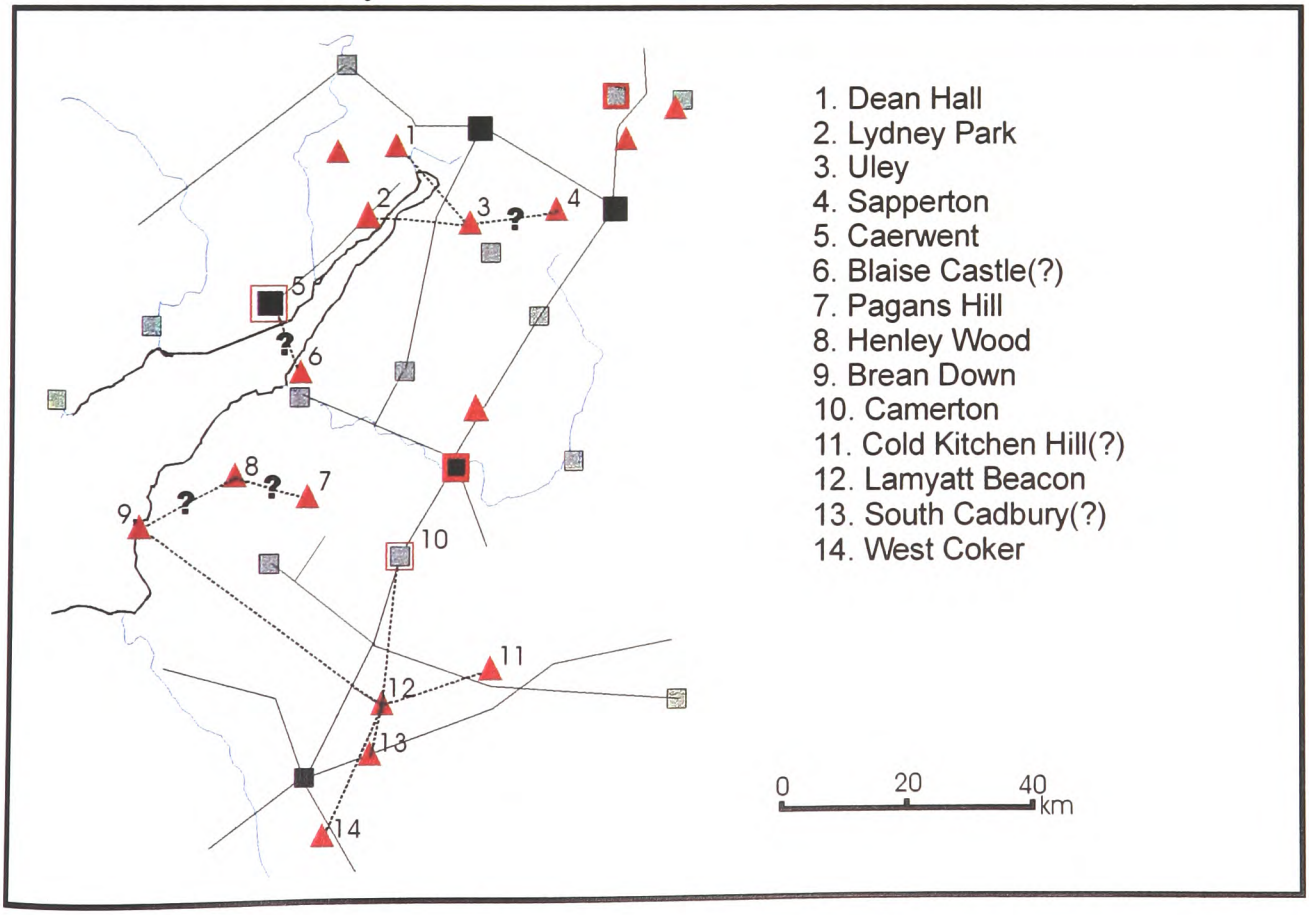
It is clear that most rural temple sites, regardless of scale, were fully integrated into the surrounding settlement and communication patterns, and were not the totally isolated structures referred to in a number of studies (e.g. Woodward 1992 19). Around 50 % of

Map 5.28: Inter-visibility of Temple sites

5.28a: South Coast



5.28b: West Country



the temple sites were within 2-3 km of a major Roman road, and sometimes demonstrably linked to it, while many others, such as Uley and Sapperton (Wait 1985 416), were in well-populated areas and likely to have been connected by road. Accessibility was thus clearly an important consideration, and at sites like Nettleton Scrubb (Wedlake 1982) and Titsey (Graham 1936), the fact that they were adjacent to large well-travelled roadways could have been a prime reason for their construction and maintenance. In particular, the great expansion of the former site may have been strongly connected with the large volume of religiously orientated traffic headed along the Fosse Way to the cult complex at Bath, c.15 km to the south. Where navigable, rivers were also prime communication routes, and were found near to around a third of all temple sites in the appendix. In many cases, such as at Nettleton and Bourton Grounds (Green, C.W. 1966), natural waterways seemed to form an integral part of the cult site, and were clearly a religiously significant landscape feature. An even greater factor than accessibility was visibility for rural temple sites, as around 80 % of them were located on prominent elevated ground and clearly meant to be noticeable landmarks within the local region. At sites such as Chanctonbury and Lamyatt Beacon, the visibility stretched to 30 or 40 kilometres, and this visual dominance accords well with the idea of them reflecting the status of the competitive native elite. Such prominent religious sites probably acted as points of reference, both geographically and spiritually, and thus would have contributed to the organisation of the local and regional landscape. It was the continuance of a practice exhibited by the small number of late Iron Age cult sites in Britain, as well as many religious loci in Gaul and other parts of the Roman world. Indeed, the concept of an elevated, prominent location for a cult site is found throughout many different cultures (Park 1994 247), probably reflecting its distinction from the profane world and proximity to the celestial entities. One possibly important consequence of this locational characteristic is the inter-visibility between temple sites. At least 22 cult loci are likely to have been inter-visible with at least one other such site, with two main zones being located, along the south coast and in the West Country (see maps 5.27a-b). This was determined either by personal visitation to the site, mention in the published report or the study of detailed topographical maps. Whether this was a deliberate action, or just as a

consequence of temples being situated on higher ground is unknown, but if the former is correct then it could imply some degree of regional cult conformity.

Boundaries, hillforts and monuments

It has been remarked upon in previous studies that a significant number of rural temples lay on or near to tribal/civitas boundaries (Wait 1985 176, Woodward 1992 20). In total there are around twelve such sites, although in some cases, such as Brean Down (Apsimon 1965), the position of the boundary and thus its relationship to the temple is more uncertain. As will be seen when dealing with the internal organisation of cult sites (see hypothesis 1), the concept of the boundary as a place of sacred liminality seems to have been very important, and this may have influenced the location of these sites. Frilford (Bradford and Goodchild 1939) lay near to the boundary of three Civitas units – the Atrebates, Dobunni and Catuvellauni – and thus may have held a special significance, possibly accounting for its growth into a substantial religious complex. A strong association between hillforts and temples has also been advanced on a number of occasions (e.g. Woodward 1992 22), and yet there are just four definite examples from within such earthworks (Chanctonbury, Maiden Castle, Croft Ambrey: Stanford 1974 and Lydney Park: Wheeler and Wheeler 1932), and a further two located just outside (Uley, Henley Wood: Watts and Leach, 1996). Temples have also been postulated at the hillforts of South Cadbury, Blaise Castle and Cannington, but the evidence is slight (Rahtz and Watts 1979 186). Aside from Chanctonbury, all of the examples come from the West Country, and so while a widespread association between the two loci seems unlikely, it may have been part of a regional manifestation of religious beliefs. There are more ubiquitous associations between temples and a variety of other older monuments and features, as recently demonstrated by Williams (1998 72), and the link with hillforts could be seen as just one facet of this phenomenon. In total there are around twenty sites with some evidence for an earlier monument that may well have influenced its location, including Neolithic or Bronze Age barrows near to the temples at Maiden Castle, Brean Down, Uley and Mutlow Hill (Wait 1985 414). Even more recent features may have had an influence on the location of temples, such as the 2nd century AD barrows near Bourton Grounds (Green, C.W. 1966), the burial at Folly Lane (Niblett 1999) and 'Cunobelin's

residence' at Gosbecks (Hawkes and Crummy1995 102). All of these loci may have possessed a sense of place, providing a link to the past that would have exerted a powerful attraction for sacred sites.

Urban temples

Temples in urban contexts have generally not received the same high level of excavation and publication as many of their rural counterparts, with the result that information is limited and many of the chronologies are quite insecure. In total there are around thirty known constructed cult sites from urban or semi-urban (within 1-2 km) contexts in southern Britain, although further examples are indicated in aerial photographs, such as at Kenchester (Rodwell and Rowley 1975 10). A significantly higher proportion of urban temples was constructed in the latter part of the 1st century AD, with many of them among the earliest masonry structures laid out in towns. Classical style forum temples - such as at Colchester and possibly Verulamium - were very rare, and none appear to have been built later than the third quarter of the 1st century AD. This is not to say that the Romano-Celtic urban temples were structurally insignificant, as one of the examples from eastern Silchester was the largest in Britain and stood on a high podium, clearly designed to dominate the local area, similar to rural temple sites (Boon 1974 155). It is quite possible that in certain cases their specific location was also connected to an earlier monument or feature, as possibly seen by the finds, features and inhumation burial underneath the triangular temple at Verulamium. There were a number of 'extra-urban' temple sites, often of a quite substantial nature, that were probably intimately connected with religious life in the town. At Colchester, the large cult complex at Sheepen was less than half a kilometre away, while Gosbecks lay 4 km distant, connected by a road along which may have been ritual processions (Crummy 1980). Similar ritual processions could have led from the towns of Verulamium (Niblett 1999), Great Chesterford (Miller 1995) and Caistor-by Norwich (Gurney 1986) to temples set within extensive enclosures between 1-2 km outside the walls, and connected by road. All of these temples were set on elevated ground so that they would have been significant landmarks when viewed from the town, and the same was probably true for the temple at Maiden Castle, which rose up less than 2 km from the town of Dorchester (Wheeler 1943). The majority of such

sites had large precincts able to accommodate substantial numbers of people, and may therefore have functioned as public sanctuaries on a regional or *civitas* level. The overall construction and use of urban temples underwent a greater decline in the later Roman period, although this was less apparent in eastern Britain. Less than 40 % of temples operating in the 4th century were in or very near to urban contexts, but this rises to around 60 % in the south and east of the country. Aside from the new temple at Chelmsford (Wickenden 1992) and the replacement at Godmanchester (H.J.M.Green 1986), many others such as at Sheepen and Great Chesterford underwent substantial modifications during the 4th century. The rise of Christianity may have had more of an adverse effect upon urban rather than rural temples, but ultimately the evidence suggests that it was the demise of the actual town itself that caused their decline and abandonment.

2. Hypotheses

1. *"There will be a high degree of structural planning within the site, with evidence for: 1) A focus and periphery 2) An emphasis upon the enclosure and entranceway, and 3) specific processional pathways within and around the sanctuary."*

Whilst the majority of temple sites in southern Britain have produced some evidence for ancillary structures and features, the overall spatial organisation often remains quite ambiguous, primarily because of a lack of large scale excavation. This is further complicated by poor stratigraphy that in many cases has obscured the internal layout of buildings. Nevertheless, there is enough information available to be able to ascertain the type and degree of structural planning that is evident, and to note any homogeneous patterns that occur. In a study on ritual and meaning in religious architecture, the architect T. Barrie observed a number of underlying components that were common to a majority of constructed religious sites, and these are discernible at many Romano-British sanctuaries (Barrie 1996). Firstly, nearly all sites where excavation has been extensive enough revealed a number of differentiated zones leading to the focal most sacred point. The significance of the outer boundary, and specifically the outer entry point is emphasised, as it is here that the decision is made to leave the profane world and enter the sacred ground within. An archaeologically traceable enclosure marking the boundary of the complex has been found at fifty (c.65%) of the cult sites in the appendix (see fig.

5.12), while at many others (e.g. Silchester 4: Boon 1974 153-5), the temple's position in a cleared space implied the provision of a more insubstantial barrier. In thirteen instances, there is evidence to suggest a further division of space, into either a front and rear precinct (e.g. Harlow and Bath), or an inner and outer enclosure (e.g. Hayling Island and Chanctonbury). The entry point was obviously also of great importance, as in total, sixteen of the twenty five known enclosure entrances were monumentalised to some degree. These temenos entrances served to regulate the traffic into the cult site, as clearly shown at Nettleton and Maiden Castle (see 5.1 and 5.2).

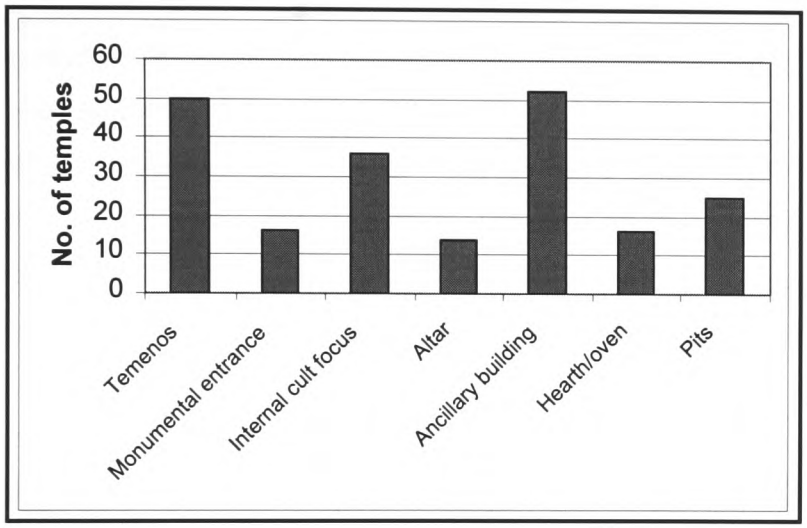


Fig. 5.12: Component structural features of cult sites in southern Britain

Following on from the entry point was a path sequence leading towards the next main entry threshold, into the sacred place itself. This sequence is a an important component at many sacred sites, as Barrie emphasises:

> *Following the entry, there is typically a sequence of defined spaces, places, or events along a path that grows increasingly more sacred; there are points along the path to pause, change direction, or turn back. Commonly, the path sequence symbolically, spatially, and temporally expresses the mythology and religion for which it was built. The "symbolic story" serves to underline the difficulty and heighten the anticipation of the attainment of the sacred place to be afforded at the journey's end. Often, as we have observed, there is a manipulation of scale, distance, and time along the path, which creates the impression that the journey is longer and thereby more eventful than it actually is.*
>
> (Barrie 1996 252)

Unfortunately, it is this area that has received so little attention in the excavations of Romano-British temple sites. Additionally, such pathways within the sanctuary are very difficult to determine as they rely on the presence of recognisable worn surfaces and metalled linear features. However, many temples did have such metalled pathways leading from their entrances and at a number of sites they formed a focus for votive offerings, implying that it was a significant feature (see hypothesis 2). Unfortunately in many other cases they were only traced for short distances. A worn pathway was found at Pagans Hill leading directly from the enclosure entrance to the temple entrance ramp (Rahtz and Harris 1958 116), and similar paths have been found at Hayling Island and Great Chesterford. At a number of sites, including Woodeaton and Frilford, there appear to have been pathways surrounding the outside of the ambulatory, suggesting rituals of circumambulation. The paths invariably led to the main focus at the site – the temple. The focal nature of the temple was usually emphasised by its visually dominant position within the complex, often surrounded by a large area of open space as at Sheepen near Colchester or the polygonal temple at Silchester (Boon 1974 157). Even when other large buildings did encroach, such as at Nettleton, then the temple was usually set on a raised platform to enable it to dominate. In total around twenty-one temples seem to have been set on artificially raised podia, whilst many others, such as at Chanctonbury, were positioned at the highest point in the area. This was generally the case whether the temple was of simple circular/polygonal design, a Romano-Celtic derivative, or fully classical as at Bath.

By far the majority of temples listed in the appendix database were variations of a Romano-Celtic type, as this seems to have been the most common form of public religious building in most of southern Roman Britain. In some places, such as at Henley Wood and Nettleton, these structures replaced earlier rectangular and circular structures. In both these cases the change seems to have coincided with the period when many villas and other Romano-Celtic temples were being built in the region, and thus is possibly part of a regional trend in public religious architecture during the late Roman period. The nature of the superstructure has received much attention by scholars over the past century (e.g. Wheeler 1932, Lewis 1966, Wilson 1975, Muckelroy 1976, Horne 1986). The consensus is that it consisted of a tower-like cella surrounded on at least three sides by an

ambulatory, although whether this was an open portico or an enclosed corridor is often unknown (Wilson 1980 14). There was still a great deal of variation, even within the ground plan, although many had a distinct frontal emphasis, thereby echoing classical religious architecture. In total, around thirty temples possessed some evidence for a porch, stairs or other monumentalising entrance structure, while at many others, the stratigraphy was too disturbed to tell either way. It seem likely that some of these, such as the second phase structure at Uley, could belong to Horne's class of classicized Romano-Celtic temple, in that they had an ambulatory and a projecting pronaos (Horne 1986 15). Many other late Roman temples in the west (e.g. Henley Wood, Brean Down, Pagans Hill, Lamyatt Beacon and Lydney Park) possessed frontal annexes, porches or steps, suggesting a possible regional trend. Entry into the temple was, like that of the enclosure, a clearly defined threshold. Evidence for entry rituals occur at a number of sites, including a drainage channel for possible libations at Springhead (Penn 1959 15), postulated water tanks at Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993 311) and two altars flanking the entrance in the large temple at Sheepen near Colchester (Hull 1958 228). A final and quite fundamental aspect of the entrances – to both the temple and enclosure – is their orientation. In over 90% of temples where the location of the entrance is known, it faces in an easterly direction, which must surely be because of ritually-prescribed spatial rules. The temples at Caerwent and Springhead 3 are among the few to diverge from this pattern, with the former being constrained by the existing street grid and the latter being aligned towards the focal temple.

The two internal concentric zones of the Romano-Celtic temple marked what were undoubtedly the most sacred areas of the cult complex. The ambulatory was differentiated from the cella in a number of ways, most obviously by the physical walled barrier – or piers in the case of Springhead 1 and Lydney – but also by a differing height level (e.g. Henley Wood) or a difference in floor colour/make up (e.g. Maiden Castle). The worn ambulatory corridor at Uley and a number of benches placed in other temples (e.g. at Great Chesterford, Lydney and Henley Wood) suggests that human movement did occur within these areas. However, their comparatively small size implies that access may have been restricted, perhaps to specialised religious personnel, initiates, and certain members of the elite. Structural restrictions for the control of access into and within the

ambulatory have been found in twelve temples, nine of which were 4th century examples from western Britain, thereby suggesting a possible homogeneity in cult ritual within this region. The cella was undoubtedly the most sacred place on the site, as it would have contained the cult statue or other focal object. Thirty-seven temples had some evidence for an internal cult focus within the cella, ranging from altars, posts, pools and hearths to possible statue bases or apses. The last two were nearly all located at the rear of the cella, or even within the open ambulatory beyond in the case of Uley. Access was probably quite restricted and may have been limited to a visual basis, at least to non-cult officials. At a large number of temple sites there is evidence for additional ritual foci in other parts of the complex. Within classical sacred sites, the main cult altar would have formed the prime focus, located in the courtyard, in front of the temple. Altars of any kind were comparatively rare finds in southern Romano-British cult loci, although they have been found in front of the temple at seven sites, including Harlow, Bath, Springhead, Verulamium and Silchester. A similar number have been found within the temple building itself, probably used in personal or small group rituals. The lack of further altars is probably due to their removal and/or destruction and a lack of extensive excavation at many sites. Additionally, the foundations of such structures – if they existed at all – are unlikely to have left much trace if the stratigraphy was disturbed in any way. Subsidiary shrines within the sacred precinct are also well known in classical Greek and Roman sacred sites (Stambaugh 1978 573), and a number of such structures seem to have been found at British cult loci. Thirty two temple sites contained evidence for what may have been additional shrines or temples within the complex, including a number of apsidal structures such as those at Coleshill (Magilton 1980 35), Silchester (Boon 1974 156) and Pagans Hill (Rahtz and Harris 1958 30). The specific nature of these structures is often quite ambiguous, although there are other features found within the courtyard with a more secure function. Five sites contained wells that may have been used in purification rituals. The stone basins from Frilford and Coleshill are likely to have been used for this function, while the bathhouses at sites such as Lydney and Bath could be viewed as its ultimate architectural expression. 'Votive' pits, often found in groups (e.g. Great Chesterford: Miller 1995), were uncovered at over twenty temple sites, and may represent foci of ritual activity (see hypothesis 2). All of these additional religious foci were

located in the sacred area surrounding the main temple(s), and it is in this place that the majority of public ritual would have been performed. Many contained well-laid metalled surfaces that often showed signs of wear and re-surfacing (e.g. Harlow, Henley Wood, Uley, Coleshill), thus providing evidence for extensive human traffic in this area. At some temples such as Hayling Island and Coleshill, areas of burning were found in certain parts of the courtyard, possibly relating to zones of ritual activity. In addition to these burnt areas, there were at least seventeen sites with evidence for hearths, either located in the open temenos such as at Verulamium and Maiden Castle, or within the temple or ancillary buildings, as at Brigstock and Springhead. The frequency of these features throughout a wide range of British temple sites suggests that they played an important part in cult activity, some possibly used in ritual feasting (see hypothesis 4).

It is clear from the evidence compiled above that whilst the structure and organisation of Romano-British cult sites exhibited a strong degree of individuality, there are indications of occasional regional coherence, in addition to more fundamental religiously-orientated spatial characteristics. A clearly defined axial sequence of entry points and pathways can be found to some degree at most sites, sometimes – as was the case at Harlow, Hayling Island and Verulamium – with a precise line of symmetry, similar to that in most classical sanctuaries. Also similar to traditional Roman sanctuaries, was the frontal emphasis exhibited by a substantial number of British cult sites. However, there were many others, such as at Frilford and Woodeaton, where the temple was positioned eccentrically within the temenos, and as these two also contained external pathways surrounding the ambulatory, it is clear that they were meant to be viewed from all sides. The individuality of many sanctuaries is probably in part because of specific spatial rules of the local cult. This was possibly the case at both Uley and Nettleton, where buildings were built along the exact same orientation as previous features, even though this caused considerable structural difficulties.

There appears to have been little noticeable chronological trend in regards to temple structure, aside from the two incidences of a change to a Romano-Celtic form and the greater restrictions to accessibility noted in many late Roman temples in the west. Furthermore, there are too few sites that have a comprehensive widespread plan to enable identification of significant changes in sanctuary planning. The differences between

many of the sites would probably relate in part to geographical diversity, as well as to the differential needs of the specific cult. Nevertheless, there are a substantial number of more or less homogeneous factors, not the least of which is the basic form of the Romano-Celtic temple itself, that suggests an underlying congruity and perhaps deliberate exclusivity existed in the structure of most public cult sites in southern Britain.

2. *'There will be specific 'offering zones' within the sanctuary (i.e. areas for the display and deposition of votive items), in addition to segregation of different votive types.'*

Analysis of artefact distribution patterns within Romano-British sacred sites is made problematic on many accounts, not the least of which is the uneven stratigraphy and selective area of excavation. Additionally, precise contextual information relating to the finds was lacking in the majority of cases. Only in a few of the primary sites were chronological variations in finds distribution able to be made, and even here there is a problem in that earlier material may have been deposited in later contexts. This is especially true with cult objects that may have had a long functional life span, such as the figurines from Uley and Henley Wood. The precise context of deposition is often difficult to determine, but a broad distinction may be made between items intended to be deliberate deposits, such as those in the pits from Great Chesterford, and those resting on or near to the occupation surface, which may have either been casual losses, or the remains of items intended for display. In the latter case, they would probably represent only a small percentage of the original quantity of finds, and there is a much greater chance of them being dispersed both horizontally and vertically within the archaeological record. Despite these difficulties, all of the primary and most of the secondary sites have sufficient spatially orientated information to discern at least the general patterns of artefact and ecofact distribution, and these form the basis of the following analysis.

At about 60 % of the 21 primary and secondary sites, the temple itself formed the main focus for the display and/or deposition of votive artefacts. At a further 30 %, there was either a lack of information (e.g. at Silchester) or an absence of temple floor levels, usually because of the building's elevated position (e.g. Frilford). Within those temples where finds did occur, the majority of them were usually located in the cella. At Springhead 1, there is a rare example of a number of votive finds still lying *in situ* on the

preserved cella floor, indicating that it was a definite focus for the display of votive items. Votive deposits at Hockwold were also apparently concentrated on the cella floor (Wait 1985 410), while at a number of other sites there is evidence for specific 'offering zones' within this area, possibly linked to the position of cult foci. Coins were particularly prevalent deposits within the cella (e.g. Verulamium, Lydney, Henley Wood, Bourton Grounds etc.), where they were presumably displayed before the cult image. Whether this quantitative bias was because of differential retrieval is uncertain, but it could be related to the greater security within the temple. There is also evidence of deliberate deposition within the temple. A deep shaft in the south-eastern corner of the cella at Jordon Hill contained many ritual deposits (Drew 1931 267), and a pit in the Lydney ambulatory contained a large quantity of late Roman coinage. Also at Lydney was a funnel within the cella floor, which was undoubtedly used for draining libations, but it did contain a number of objects. A similar feature was found at Nettleton incorporated into the wall near to the entrance, again with a small quantity of votive objects within, and possibly used as part of an entry ritual. The emphasis on entry thresholds, so well noted in structural terms, is also found in the distribution of artefacts at many sites. At seven sites, including Brigstock, Maiden Castle and Pagans Hill, there were concentrations of probable votive objects around the area of the temple entrance, while at Bourton Grounds, a human skull and other bones were buried in the floor in the entranceway, thereby further emphasising the significance of this liminal zone. The distinct frontal emphasis of Romano-British cult sites previously commented upon is also reflected in the general pattern of finds distribution, with over 50 % of the primary and secondary sites having a notable concentration of objects in the area to the front of the temple. This also emphasises the fact that most of the ritual activity at the site would have taken place in this area. This is particularly true of the pathways leading towards the temple, which – whenever they were located – were often the focus of ritual deposition, as clearly seen at Maiden Castle, Frilford and Great Chesterford. At Harlow, Hayling Island and Henley Wood, the central pathway was seemingly kept deliberately clear of most votive objects, which would have still served to emphasise this feature within the site. Objects may have been displayed and rituals performed along this route at certain times. A wide variety of objects was often found within the general area of the temenos,

probably reflecting its multifunctional role, although at some sites it seems that much of the courtyard was kept relatively clear of votive objects throughout most of its primary existence (e.g. Bath, Uley and the area around the temple well at Pagans Hill). Such cleanliness may well have been ritually prescribed, and it could also have facilitated the accommodation of larger numbers of people in the precinct during public religious ceremonies. The significance of the outer temenos boundary and its entrance is attested by artefact distribution patterns at thirteen sites, including Henley Wood, Great Chesterford and Springhead, where large quantities of finds were deposited in the enclosure ditch. At Uley, the range of buildings surrounding the temple contained many finds, and as these probably represented the boundary to the inner cult complex, it may possibly be viewed in a similar way to the ditch deposits. This would seem especially likely with the spreads of votive material over the rubble of the two southern buildings during later phases. In this instance, the material deposited is likely to have derived from the temple, and such seems to have been the case at a number of other sites, including Henley Wood and Springhead. Thus, the votive material, after being displayed in the temple, was eventually taken down and deposited along the outer boundary.

As to the spatial segregation of different types of votive objects, there is little positive evidence. There are some indications of the differential treatment of objects, as seen for example at Great Chesterford, where there were many pits within a corner of the temenos containing bones, oyster shells and pottery – quite distinct from the later deposits of small finds near to the temple and pathway. A similar distinction existed at Lamyatt Beacon between the antler pit deposits to the north and the general spread of artefacts located mainly in front of the temple. At Verulamium 1 there is also a marked difference between the structured pit deposits and the surface finds. This implies – at least in these instances – the differential treatment of certain find types, possibly related to different types of ritual, i.e. public versus personal.

Overall, within the limited number of Romano-British cult loci available for artefact distribution analysis, a similar pattern emerges to that of the structural layout. The temple and specifically the cella, as the prime focus of the site, was often the place with the highest votive artefact concentration, while in many instances the pathway and enclosure were also associated with a significant number of objects. The frontal emphasis apparent

on many temple sites was generally supported by the overall artefact and ecofact distribution, although as before, a large amount of individual variation was evident. There are still comparatively small numbers of sites that have been excavated meticulously and extensively enough to enable comprehensive artefact distribution patterns to be made. Specifically, more attention needs to be focused on the temenos precinct, as this is where the majority of public rituals would have taken place, and it is clear from the above analysis that it is an important element in understanding the overall use of space within the site.

3. *'The nature of the votive artefact assemblage will be reflective of the particular cult practised at the site'*

A general account of the nature of votive offerings in Gallo-Roman and Romano-British cult loci has already been conducted in chapter 3, and so the purpose here is just to examine any specific patterns that occur across the seventy-five temple sites in southern Britain. The first point to note is that at many sites, the exact composition of the votive artefact assemblage is unknown, usually because of a lack of detailed publication. Additionally, many of the older excavation reports contained information only on those finds that the author deemed to be of a votive character (sculpture, inscriptions etc.), as opposed to more 'utilitarian' items. At around twenty sites there were very few or no recorded finds, and although in a number of cases this is probably because of poor quality publication (e.g. Dean Hall: Jones and Mattingly 1990 292) or extensive robbing in antiquity, it may also be a genuine reflection of differentiation in site use. Perhaps significantly, most of the sites that had stronger associations with villas – such as Lullingstone (Meates 1979) and Cosgrove (Quinnell 1991) – seem to have had genuinely few finds, possibly as they were used more for private family worship. Many smaller structures within villa complexes that were interpreted as household shrines (e.g. at Rapsley: Hanworth 1969) also had little or no associated votive small finds, probably for similar reasons. Nevertheless, the large majority of sacred sites did contain a range of objects that were seemingly used as votive gifts, even if the numbers – at least within the published report – were often quite limited. The data in figure 5.13 provides a broad indication of the main categories of votive objects found in southern British cult sites.

Coins were by far the most common and numerous find type throughout most temple sites, although there are some noteworthy exceptions.

Votive Item	Occurrence (no. of sites out of 75)
Coins	60 (**29**)
Personal ornamentation and toiletries	46 (**20**)
Martial items	25 (**4**)
Items associated with healing	8 (**1**)
Miniature items	20 (**3**)
Votive/miniature pots	14 (**3**)
Votive plaques/leaves	13 (**3**)
Iconography	44 (**12**)
Inscriptions (including curse tablets)	23 (**5**)

Fig. 5.13: Occurrence of selective votive objects in Southern Romano-British cult site (Bold figures in brackets denote sites where items found in significant comparative quantity)

The five inter-visible early Roman cult sites in West Sussex contained very few coins in their assemblages, indicating that at least within this specific region, such items were not considered as suitable offerings. Items of jewellery were common finds at a large number of sites, often forming a significant proportion of the votive assemblage. In many cases the choice of object seems to have been largely dictated by a change in fashion rather than any specifications of the cult, as there was a general shift from brooches in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD to finger rings, armlets and necklaces in the later period. This is at odds with Webster's assertion that different items of jewellery had specific votive functions, as noted in chapter 3 (Webster 1986 60). It is perhaps more likely that these objects held some measure of personal significance to the supplicant at the shrine, and may have been offered to the deity for this reason. There are however, some indications of selectivity in the choice of personal artefact that may have been partly dictated by the nature of the cult. Woodward has suggested that the presence of many copper alloy rings at Uley may be related to the commercial aspect of the Mercury cult, with the objects being regarded as 'ring money' (Woodward 1992 74). Additionally, the presence of horse and rider brooches at sites such as Lamyatt Beacon, Woodeaton and Cold Kitchen Hill (Nankivell 1924) may correlate with the martial aspect inherent in other votive objects

found at these sites. Pins were found in comparatively large quantities at certain sites such as Lydney, Nettleton Scrubb and Great Chesterford, and probably relate to the healing functions of these cults. The occurrence of toilet articles in any significant quantity tends to correlate with that of other personal objects, seen for example at Coleshill, Great Chesterford and Woodeaton. The nature of such assemblages suggests that there were aspects to these cults that made them quite significant to women, although as previously stated (chapter 3), it is very difficult to make such gender distinctions. Overall, it is likely that all such personal objects were individual offerings, as opposed to the coins, where – especially in the case of small lower denominations –they would undoubtedly have been deposited in larger numbers. Both, however, probably entered the archaeological record as the result of personal worship by individual supplicants at the site.

Far less common as offerings, but still occurring at a significant number of sites, were items of a martial nature. These occasionally took the form of actual weapons, such as the spearheads from Cold Kitchen Hill and Bancroft, but more often they were miniature replicas, like the model spears and swords at Lamyatt Beacon and Harlow. As Webster has asserted, these may have symbolised the desire for personal protection or persecution on behalf of the supplicant, as opposed to having any actual military or hunting association (Webster 1986 61). They usually occurred singularly or in very small numbers, but there are at least three or four sites that have a greater proliferation, thereby suggesting that a protective or martial/hunting aspect is more prevalent in these cults. Lamyatt Beacon, Woodeaton and Harlow are three such sites, and as the first two are thought to be primarily dedicated to Mars, and the latter to Minerva, this association is substantiated. Positive evidence for a cult devoted to healing is rare and relies upon such items as votive limbs, which – at least in the Mediterranean world – were quite uncommon by the 1st and 2nd century AD. Nevertheless, such objects were found on at least five sites, including Springhead, Lydney and Muntham Court (Burstow and Hollyman 1957 222). The healing association is strengthened at the latter two sites by the occurrence of many dog images or bones. As mentioned above, pins were also associated with healing in the Greco-Roman world, and their occurrence in large numbers at the definite healing sanctuary at Lydney implies a similar link in Roman Britain. There was a

wide range of other types of offering found at southern British cult loci, no doubt given for different reasons relating to the cult and personal wishes of the individual. For example, miniature agricultural tools at Harlow may have been offered for general prosperity in a rural environment. At at least four sites, there is evidence for the offering of archaic items - such as the fossils and Neolithic axe from Farley Heath. It is quite probable that such items may well have gone unrecorded in other temple reports, presumed to be residual. Some of the large amounts of pottery found at many sites could have contained foodstuff or liquids, which may have been a common form of offering.

It is likely that the majority of archaeologically traceable votive finds at temple loci would have come from the middle and upper levels of society, especially the figurines and votive plaques. Some form of iconographic image has been found at the majority of temple sites, and often provides the best indication of the nature of the cult. In over twenty-five cases the image has been identified as a definite classical deity, while at others it is usually an unspecified figural representation, such as the horse and rider figurines from Brigstock, which seem to be part of a regional iconographic tradition (Taylor 1963 265). The majority (72%) of temple sites containing classical religious imagery were either in urban contexts or situated in the West Country, and the highly accomplished nature of some of the pieces - including the Mercury head from Uley and the figurine of Apollo from Gosbecks - suggests that these cults were quite Romanized. This is furthered by the evidence from inscriptions, which not only provides the names of classical divinities, but in some cases attests to the Romanized nature of the rituals - specifically that of the vow. Votive plaques proclaiming the fulfilment of a vow have been found at five sites, while at many others there are more general inscriptions recording dedications to various deities. As with the images of classical deities, these were more common finds at urban and West Country temple sites, indicating that within these cults at least, traditional Roman religious rituals were probably practised. Ultimately, the diversity shown in the temple finds assemblages across southern Britain suggests that most cults were quite localised, although drawing upon wider traditions of religious expression. Thus, while coins and personal items were deemed to be appropriate - and affordable - offerings at most public cult sites, there was still a great deal of variation in type and quantity. This is not only an indication of the individuality of cult,

but also of the individuality of supplicants using the religious site. Thus, the Romanized votive finds may have been deliberately offered as some kind of status symbol by certain members of society. A final point worth mentioning is the frequency of deposition, as indicated by the total number of votive finds at the cult site. Even accounting for differential excavation and looting, there was still a comparatively modest number of items found, especially considering the longevity of some of these sites. The lack of many specific votive objects may have been, as Derks has recently pointed out (1998 221), because the fulfilment of a vow was usually only proclaimed by an animal sacrifice, not a permanent offering. It may therefore have been the case that such finds were only deposited at certain times of the year - namely the main festivals attached to the cult.

4. *'The ritual use of animals will be indicated by bones showing evidence of species selectivity, bone selectivity, structured positioning and spatial selectivity. There will be a pronounced differentiation between articulated unbutchered animal bone deposits (purely sacrifice), and butchered waste bone (ritual feasting)'*

Animal bones were recorded at forty temple sites, although there was often only very limited information on the species, bone type and structure of deposition, especially within sites excavated prior to the 1970s. In these cases, the bones - if they were recorded at all - were generally regarded as an insignificant part of the overall assemblage, especially if they did not form specific structured deposits. More comprehensive recent excavations - specifically at Uley - have demonstrated the significance of animal bones, as these provide evidence for what were undoubtedly among the most important rituals within the sacred site - that of sacrifice and feasting. Some elements of the four ritual indicators listed in the hypothesis have been found at most sites containing animal bones. Evidence for species selectivity exists at sixteen sites, while in many others, the number of animals recorded is too limited to make such assumptions. This is not only a good indication of the ritual use of animals, but it may also provide important details on the nature of the cult. For example, the overwhelming preponderance of goat bones at Uley assists in the identification of Mercury as the prime deity, while the dog skulls and bones from Muntham Court serve to confirm the healing and probably chthonic aspect of that cult. In most cases however, the specific reasons behind the selectivity remains unknown, except that these animals were thought to be the most appropriate as sacrifices for the

deity. Differential treatment of bone types was noted on fifteen sites, presumably related to specific ritual activities and cult regulations. Skulls formed a prominent part of the bone assemblage at seven temple loci (e.g. Bourton Grounds, Chanctonbury and Muntham Court), while there were eight instances where distinct groups of horncores, antlers and/or teeth were noted. The special significance attached to the head is attested throughout the Celto-Roman world (Green, M.J. 1986 211), and these sites serve to further emphasise this phenomenon. At around 50 % of the sites with animal bones, there was evidence for some kind of deliberate structured positioning, the majority within pit deposits. In seven cases, these pits were located within the temple building (see hypothesis 1) and in most instances are likely to represent singular deposits, perhaps associated with foundation or reconstruction rituals. Animal deposits within external courtyard pits may well also have been one-off episodes associated with particular events - such as the ox skull deposit behind the altar at Verulamium (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936 119). Alternatively, the pits may have been reused for a number of different animal deposits over a period of time as seems to have been the case at Great Chesterford. In either case, it would appear from the overall numbers that the practise of depositing animal remains within pits was not a common occurrence throughout the life span of the cult site, but restricted to a limited number of occasions, possibly associated with major religious festivals. There are other instances where animal remains exhibited signs of structured positioning, usually within and around the temenos boundary. At Chanctonbury there were zones of different species types within the boundary ditch, while at Hayling island there were segregated concentrations of shellfish types located around the temenos and in the outer portico. Shellfish, and oysters in particular, were common finds at many cult sites, and in six cases were found in distinct concentrations at points around the outer boundary.

In addition to the structured deposits, there were often quantities of animal bone spread over the site, although these were often largely ignored in the older excavation reports. These are likely to represent the general remains of ritual sacrifice and feasting at the sacred site, and probably form a very small percentage of the original bone assemblage. Where detailed analysis has been possible at places such as Uley, it is feasible to attempt to differentiate between animals that may have been used for feasting and those used just

for sacrifice, although in most cases this is unsustainable and it is likely that the majority of animals were used in both activities. Evidence for the practice of ritual feasting is indicated not only by butchery marks on bones (e.g. at Harlow, Uley and the grammar school sites at Colchester: Hull 1958 236), but also by the presence of food preparation vessels (e.g. mortaria), tableware and meat hooks, found at a large number of temple sites (see appendix). The presence of oysters, often in considerable quantities, at around seventeen sites must also surely be related to ritual feasting, and is suggestive of a special significance for this food-type. The exact location of the sacrificial and feasting activities within the site is usually impossible to determine, although there were concentrations of butchered animal bone and certain pottery types within the temple forecourts at Harlow and Henley Wood. Occasionally, as at Brigstock, Uley, Chanctonbury, Cosgrove and Bourton Grounds, there is sufficient evidence to suggest ancillary buildings may well have been connected with food preparation and consumption. However, it is likely that most of this was carried out within the courtyard, especially at major public festivals when temporary structures may have been erected (see hypothesis 6). The idea that these types of ritual activity were mostly confined to certain cult festivals is furthered by the work carried out on bones from Harlow, Uley and Great Chesterford, all of which point to a limited period of slaughter, in the Spring and Autumn.

Overall, the evidence from Romano-British cult sites in southern Britain suggests that the ritual use of animals - both in sacrifice and feasting - was an important component of religious ritual. The rituals were seemingly governed by a series of cult-specific regulations regarding the type and anatomy of the animal, the place of sacrifice and deposition, and the actual period of slaughter.

5. *'The presence of structured human bone in parts of the sanctuary will be indicative of a specialised funerary function'*

Despite the recent assertions by Colin Forcey (1998; see chapter 3), less than 15% of all of the temple sites in the appendix have any associations with human bone - cremated or otherwise - and at many of these there is insufficient evidence to support the idea of funerary practice. At the prime loci used by Forcey for his arguments - that at Folly Lane - it is indeed clear that the Romano-Celtic temple was focused around the slightly earlier

elite cremation burial (Niblett 1999). However, as stated in the excavation report, the temple is more likely to have been a heroium rather than a mausoleum, in that it was erected for the veneration of the grave and its occupant as opposed to being directly involved in funerary activity (*ibid.* 70). The burial is presumed to have been an important member of the local elite who had managed to maintain power and prestige into the Roman period. The construction of a public temple in memory of such an important person is quite in keeping with Greco-Roman practice, and may have served to emphasise the status and wealth of the family in subsequent generations. The complex at Gosbecks, which has so many similarities to Folly Lane (location, ceremonial route and association with possible bathhouse and theatre), may have had similar associations, although there is a lack of specific burial evidence. At Bourton Grounds and Lancing Down human burials (inhumation and cremation) were found within the temple ambulatory. It was demonstrated at the former site that the body was already skeletonised by the time of its insertion (Green, C.W. 1966 358), while at the latter the cremations were thought to have been re-deposited from an earlier burial (Black 1986 204). It may therefore have been the case that - as at Folly Lane - these temples were at least partly dedicated by certain members of the local elite to an ancestral memory. Around nine temples had associations with contemporary human burial, although they were usually singular examples and therefore not an indication of regular funerary practice. The few instances of adult human burial, such as the two Hockwold cremations associated with antlers, may have been important religious attendants - a practice not completely unknown in the classical world (e.g. Vestal Virgins in Rome). The infant burial from Henley Wood appears to have been a foundation deposit, while the many chronologically-grouped infant burials at Springhead were a unique phenomenon - most likely a response within a specific context to a specific set of circumstances. At Bancroft, Lullingstone (Meates 1979) and Wood End Lane (Neal 1984), there were structures with a Romano-Celtic ground plan that seem to have been specifically built as mausolea for the Roman elite. These probably belonged to a class of funerary site found primarily in south-eastern Britain, including Welwyn (Rook *et. al.* 1984) and Harpenden (Lowther 1937a), which are often described as temple-mausolea. They were all found near to villa sites and were likely to have been used for private family rituals, as opposed to larger scale public religious activity. It

should not be surprising that there were structural and spatial similarities with public temple sites, as the elite mausolea in other parts of the Roman world often contained many elements from classical religious loci, seen for example at the tomb of the *Cornelii Scipiones* near Rome (Stambaugh 1988 195). The human bone found on the remaining temple sites was mostly fragmented and isolated, such as the left parietal bone from Harlow and the jaw bone from Chedworth. These could have entered the site by a number of means, and even if contemporary, are no indications of funerary practice. It seems therefore, that funerary practice was not a widespread phenomenon at public religious sites in southern Britain during the Roman period, although there were a small number of loci that were influenced by the burial of previously deceased people, who were no doubt important members of the local elite. The construction of temples associated with these elite personages would no doubt help to enhance the status of their families within the surrounding community.

6. *'Distinct industrial and commercial areas will be associated with the site. The former would be indicated by concentrations of craftworking debris and structural elements (hearths etc.), the latter indicated by concentrations of votives from a demonstrable contemporary occupation layer, possibly associated with a specific building.'*

There are many difficulties in attempting to detect industrial and commercial areas within Romano-British temple sites, mostly dealt with in chapter 3. It may be expected that if such zones existed, then they would have been located outside of the immediate temple area, and therefore most of the excavations would not have been extensive enough to note their presence or absence. Nevertheless, there have been a number of artefacts and structural features found on certain sites that provide more positive evidence for such activities. Industrial and agricultural tools were recorded at almost a third of all sites in the appendix, while at many others it is likely that they went unpublished, as they were not deemed to be of a votive character. It is difficult to determine whether items such as loomweights and spindlewhorls - which were common finds at many cult loci - were actually representative of craftworking activities, or were deliberately deposited as votive offerings. The presence of a miniature iron sickle and mattock at Harlow demonstrate that such implements could be regarded as symbolically significant, and it is possible that many of the full-sized tools at that site, such as the hammers, drill bits and reaping hooks,

were also votive offerings. More specific evidence for craftworking activities at sacred sites is found with the occasional debris from production, such as the waste bone from the manufacture of caskets at Godmanchester (H.J.M. Green 1986 53). Metalworking debris has been recorded at ten temple loci, although at half of these they are unlikely to have been contemporary with the main floruit of the temple. At the Holbrooks site near to Harlow temple, a large bronze and iron-working zone was apparent, while at Springhead and Chanctonbury peripheral metalworking areas were also noted. At Uley, the evidence suggested a very limited metalworking zone in a building to the north of the temple, but there were indications of a larger zone in the outer unexcavated area (Bayley 1993 215). It therefore seems from the limited evidence that when such activities existed at sacred sites, they were more likely to be located in peripheral areas. Commercial activity, although hard to ascertain archaeologically, most likely took place at the majority of public religious sites, especially in periods of festival. Periodic fairs have been suggested at certain religious complexes located on civitas boundaries, such as Frilford, although evidence is usually slight (Blagg 1986 21). Temporary stalls may have been erected at these times for the selling of votive items and foodstuffs, the possible archaeological remnants of which were found in the temple courtyards at Uley and Henley Wood. The spread of coins and votive material surrounding the entrances at Woodeaton, and to a lesser extent at Harlow, may also have derived from temporary commercial stalls. As for permanent commercial structures, there is equally scant evidence, though there are unsubstantiated suggestions of such buildings at Nettleton (Wedlake 1982 31) and Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993 331). In addition to the selling of votives, it is possible that professional scribes attended the larger sanctuaries, possibly attested by the numerous finds of styli at such sites as Harlow, Henley Wood and Great Chesterford. The curse tablets, found in substantial numbers at Bath and Uley, would probably have utilised temple scribes in their creation. Finally, the presence of hostelries for pilgrims at some sanctuaries, such as at Nettleton, Uley, Lydney and Pagans Hill, would have offered good financial opportunities so long as the cult remained popular. Large public temple sites such as Bath, Lydney and Nettleton would undoubtedly have attracted many visitors, contributing greatly to the prosperity of the local region.

Comparison with cult loci from northern Gaul

Cult loci within Roman Gaul have been the focus of increasing interest in recent years (e.g. Fauduet 1993a, 1993b, Derks 1998). The number of known sites within the province as a whole far exceeds that of Britain, with Fauduet compiling a list of around 650 temples of Gallo-Roman (Romano-Celtic) type, which were by far the most common form of religious edifice (Fauduet 1993a 102). Over 200 of these were located in the north-east (Belgic Gaul), and have been part of a recent major study by Ton Derks on Gallo-Roman religious practices (Derks 1998). He noted a similar problem to that which has existed in many British studies, in that:

> *The investigation of monumental sanctuaries has been mainly directed towards the study of the plan, architecture and reconstruction of the main building, the temple. The position of the temple in its temenos and of the sanctuary in the landscape have so far scarcely been studied. Nor has optimal use always been made of the possibilities for a long-term perspective. Many researchers have restricted themselves to the heyday of the Roman period, and in doing so, have produced a static picture of the sanctuaries.*
>
> (Derks 1998 131)

Derks attempted to start to rectify this situation within the context of north-eastern Gaul, and his analysis will form the main comparative basis for the subsequent brief section.

1. Chronology and context

Although there was a long tradition of built sanctuaries within parts of northern Gaul (see 4.3), the earliest Gallo-Roman style temples were not constructed until the Claudio-Neronian period in the south and the Flavian period further north (Derks 1998 183). Prior to this, sites such as Mouzon-Flavier (Tisserand 1981) and Villeneuve-au-Châtelot (*Gallia* 37 1979 417-9) experienced quite intensive votive deposition. Rey-Vodoz noted similar occurrences on many other transition period sacred sites, contrasting it to later periods (mainly after 1st century AD), where votive offerings were generally less frequent and of a different character (Rey-Vodoz 1991 218). In both this phenomenon and the construction of Romano-Celtic temples, there are many similarities with parts of southern Britain. Such religious buildings were among the first large masonry structures to be built in both provinces, at a time when urban centres were starting to develop along Roman lines. There was very little chronological disparity, despite the fact that northern Gaul had

been conquered almost a century previously. This suggests that this type of temple structure only came into existence when the machinery and ideology of the Roman state began to effectively infiltrate into the province, and certain members of the Romanized elite could thus benefit in status by constructing symbols of *Romanitas*.

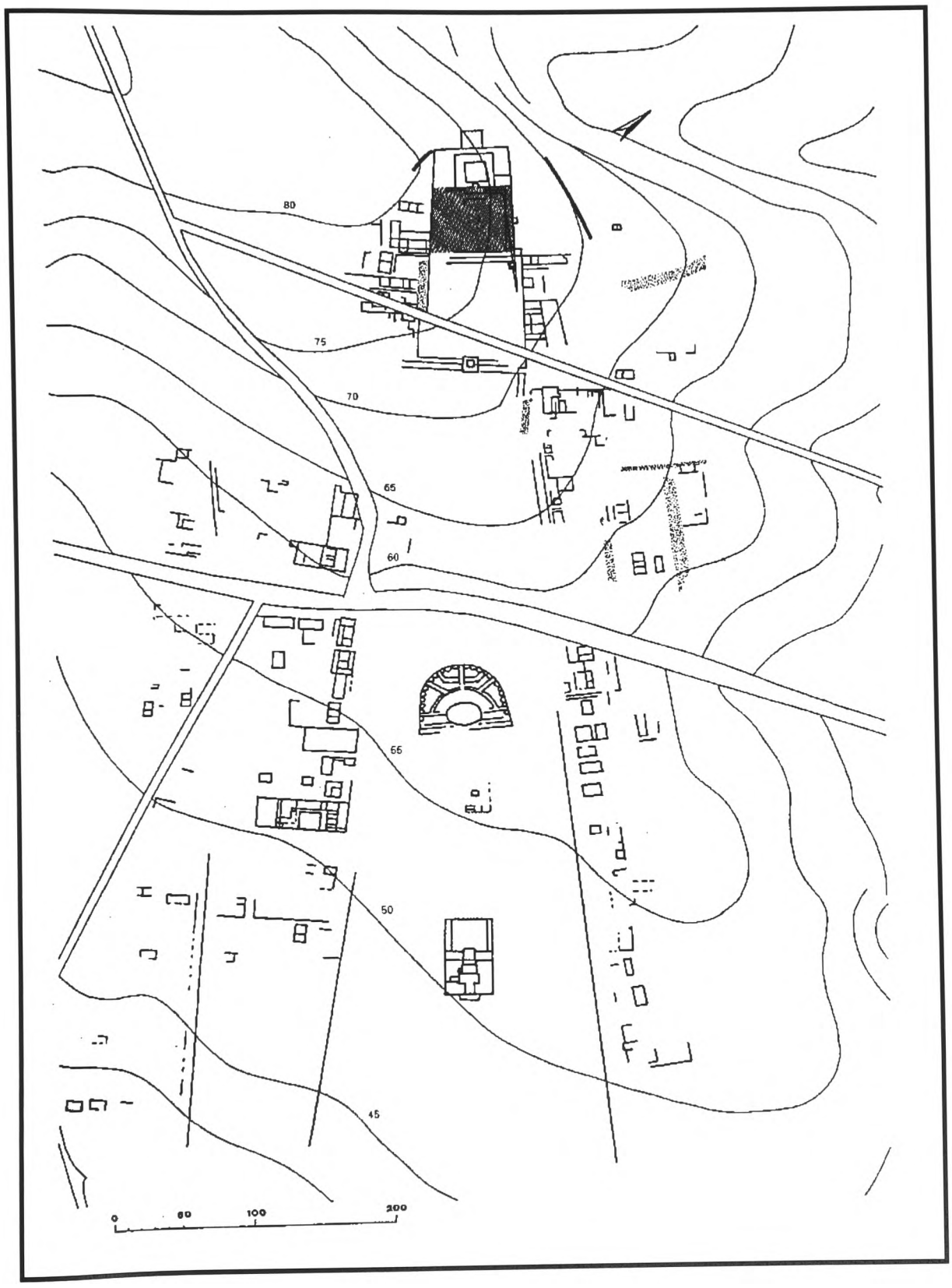
A distinct geographical dichotomy existed between the southern and northern parts of north-eastern Gaul, as previously discussed in 4.3. The fertile loess soils of the southern region attracted many extensive villas associated with arable farming, a higher level of urbanisation and a much higher number of Gallo-Roman temples (Derks 1998 158). The same situation regarding temple construction may be seen in parts of southern Britain, no doubt partly because of the greater availability of financial resources amongst the native elite in these zones. Moreover, in less arable areas of southern Britain such as the south-west and the Weald, which exhibited a lack of urban settlement and villas, the desire for substantial masonry temples was probably not apparent. This would reflect the situation in parts of north-east Gaul such as the Vosges and the Ardennes (Derks 1998 161). More similarities are apparent in the topographical setting of temples in the two provinces. Four-fifths of all Gallo-Roman temples in Gaul were positioned in prominent locations within the landscape, such as hilltops and escarpments (Fauduet 1993a 102). Furthermore, rivers were often quite closely connected with cult sites, especially around their sources (e.g. *Fontes Sequanae*: Deyts 1983) and zones of confluence (e.g. Empel: Derks 1998 139). These locational characteristics were often displayed at southern British examples (see above), suggesting that that there were fixed points in the landscape deemed more suitable for a cult site. Unlike Gaul however, in Britain there are very few convincing examples of cult continuity from earlier late Iron Age ritual sites, primarily because of the comparative lack of such specialist loci within the archaeological record (see chapter 4). Cult sites within urban contexts also exhibited a degree of divergence, as classical temples were generally found to be regular and dominant parts of the forum in Gallo-Roman cities (especially civitas capitols), unlike those in Britain (Blagg 1986 17; Derks 1998 168). Derks further noted that Gallo-Roman temples appeared to be found only in rural locations (*ibid.*), although examples in the city at Tongeren (Cabuy 1991) and the Altbachtal at Trier would seem to dispute this (Wightman 1986 564). The near exclusivity of classical temples to urban civitas capitals probably reflects official Roman

state intervention, whereas the greater geographical diversity of Gallo-Roman temples may be partly because of their reliance upon the local elite, who had both a rural and urban presence.

2. The use of space and finds assemblage

There existed a great structural variety in the cult loci of northern Gaul, from classical temples to small simple shrines, but as in southern Britain, the majority of them - especially within the more Romanized civilian areas - were of Gallo-Roman type (Derks 1998 158). Yet even within this group, there was much variation apparent in the temple form and the scale of the site. Very few have received any form of systematic spatial analysis, with the exception of a few large sites such as Ribemont-sur-Ancre, which has been the subject of regular excavation since 1966 (Cadoux 1991, Derks 1998 211; map 5.29). The temple - which was extensively aggrandised in the 2nd century AD - formed the obvious prime focus of the site, with a series of features and boundaries arranged upon an axial line leading from the cella entrance along a distance of more than 800 metres (Cadoux 1991 156). A progression of courtyards, decreasing in size, led up to the temple, culminating in a raised cella, which represented the highest and most sacred point on the site. An outer cult enclosure has not yet been found at Ribemont, yet it is clear that - as in Britain - such features were integral parts of most cult sites, with entrances in particular receiving special attention (Derks 1998 200). The two most noticeable structures along the axial route at Ribemont were a modest bathhouse - suggested by Derks as being reserved for cult officials (Derks 1998 194) - and a theatre. Such features were found on a large number of cult sites in Gaul, such as at Drevant (Aubin and Lemonnser 1996) and Champlieu (*Gallia* 39, 277), which is in marked contrast to British loci, where they were comparatively rare. Derks suggested that the presence of a theatre in particular was indicative of a public cult site of regional importance, and as with Gallo-Roman temples, they were generally only found in the more Romanized southern parts of Belgic Gaul (Derks 1998 192). The occasional inscriptions of family names on the stone seats (e.g. at Champlieu) probably related to those who had provided benefaction to the cult and it suggests that these theatres and the cult sites in general could have helped to reinforce the social hierarchy (Derks 1998 193). The lack of many cult theatres in Britain need not preclude a similar observation, as most excavations have not been extensive

Map 5.29: Plan of Ribemont-sur-Ancre
(after Cadoux 1991 157)



enough, and any temporary theatres would leave little trace. Further features that could sometimes be found on regional public sanctuaries such as Ribemont were guesthouses, commercial zones and craft-working areas (Cadoux 1991 156).

Within southern Britain only a small number of sanctuaries, such as Bath and possibly Springhead, could equal the grand scale and ostentation of the great rural religious sites in northern Gaul. This need not imply that there were fewer important cult sites within this province, but rather that it was less appropriate for such a large degree of outward ostentation. Derks suggested that such Gallo-Roman rural sanctuaries may have housed the public cult of the *pagus*, with most smaller scale temple complexes being of local and private character, associated with small communities or professional organisations (*ibid.* 190). In a similar fashion, Rodwell attempted to place British cult sites into a hierarchy (1980 232), although it must be noted that whilst there almost certainly was some degree of differential scaling, it is very difficult if not impossible in most cases to assign sites to specific categories. Furthermore, although many of the smaller temples may have served limited areas, there is no need to assume that they were all private cults. The majority of temples in both southern Britain and northern Gaul are likely to have been largely funded by members of the local elite, but it does not preclude them being of a public character. It is often in the finds assemblages that the nature of the site becomes clearer, although as in Britain, there is much variety in the quantity of objects and the quality of recording. In general, many of the small finds at Gallo-Roman sanctuaries were similar to those in Britain in that personal items and coins tended to predominate. There was some differentiation noted, especially within the frontier zone along the Rhine, where there were a much higher number of religious inscriptions and votive altars (Derks 1998 82, 221). This area has perhaps more in common with the northern British frontier zone around Hadrian's Wall, where around half of all votive inscriptions from the country were located, and therefore the difference in votive assemblages is probably connected with a Roman military presence (Zoll 1995 129). Finally, Derks has argued from the basis of small finds and inscriptions that the traditional Roman ritual of the vow was practised at the northern Gallo-Roman cult sites (1995, 1998 220). He cites the occasional presence of seal box lids from wooden wax tablets found at sanctuaries as evidence for the personal pledging of the vow (*nuncupationes*), while there are many inscriptions relating

to its payment (*solutio*; *ibid.* 226). A similar situation may well have existed in parts of southern Britain (Hassall 1980; see chapter 3), as not only have *solutio* inscriptions been found, but there were seal box lids at a small number of sites, such as the silvered example from Harlow (Harlow temple archive, S.F. 925).

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 The differential use of constructed sacred space in southern Britain, from the late Iron Age to the 4th century AD.

The preceding two chapters have examined the use of space within constructed cult loci during the late Iron Age – Roman transition and the Roman period in southern Britain. In both of them, a small number of primary sites were subjected to detailed analysis utilising information gathered primarily from archive data. The results were then combined with those from the secondary and tertiary sites, in order to provide a wider account of their forms, functions and development within the prescribed chronologies. It is now the intention to provide an overall synopsis of this development from the late Iron Age to the late Roman period, within the specific geographical and socio-political context outlined in 1.4.

Although the late Iron Age in southern Britain was considerably diverse, both in terms of land use, and socio-political complexity, it was characterised by a distinct dynamism, with an increase in political centralisation and hierarchy, especially within central southern and eastern areas. The period also saw an increase in large nucleated sites with evidence for specialised functional zones such as habitation, burial and craftworking. As religion was a fully integrated part of the socio-political system, it is likely to have been subject to the same evolutionary trends. Throughout much of the pre-Roman Iron Age, most religious activity would probably either have been fully integrated into domestic settings, as exemplified by the structured pit deposits at Danebury, or else set among natural loci such as rivers and bogs (Fitzpatrick 1984). However, during the ultimate pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman transition period - especially in eastern and southern districts – there is evidence to suggest the utilisation of spatially distinct constructed sacred sites, albeit on a very small scale. Although there appears to have been much structural diversity within these cult sites, there were a number of more common underlying factors:

1. They occupied a prominent position within their immediate locale, and in almost all instances, were situated upon an elevated part of the landscape.
2. They were rarely directly associated with contemporary domestic habitation.
3. The majority had basic schematic similarities, in that they contained a focus in the form of a shrine, and a surrounding enclosure, with an area of space between the two.
4. There was some degree of homogeneity within the range of votive artefacts, with martial items and ornamentation often forming significant parts of the assemblage.
5. The ritual use of animals was well attested at nearly all sites, implying that this was a regular method of religious propriation.

The reason for their development may lie ultimately in the functions of such sites, and the perceived need for them among certain members of the native elite. The increase in political hierarchy led to the growth of conspicuous display amongst some of these elite, and the imposition of constructed cult sites in prominent locations may have been one facet of this phenomenon. In this way, they could have helped to reinforce this social hierarchy. The very concept may well have derived in part from Roman Gaul, where cult sites where not uncommon features, especially in those areas with a higher degree of socio-political complexity (Roymans 1990 262). In most British cases, there is some evidence for imported Roman goods either at or near to the cult site, thereby supporting the suggestion that their development may have been associated in some way with ideologies derived from Roman Gaul.

The social and political upheaval that must have immediately followed the Roman conquest undoubtedly placed a greater pressure on most of the native elite to maintain their status. Therefore, the significant increase in specialised cult sites during the transition period – including those of both a structural and purely depositional nature – may have been at least partly induced by this pressure. As the ideologies and machinery of the Roman State were imposed upon the province, then a more widely recognisable form of sacred site – the Romano-Celtic temple – could be used as part of the package of symbolic referents by which the status of certain members of the native elite could continue to be maintained. As before, the primary external influence is likely to have

come from Roman Gaul, so that Romano-British natives could seen as expressing themselves in Roman form, but without necessarily imitating Greco-Roman designs. Romano-Celtic temples were probably regarded as appropriate symbols of *Romanitas*, constructed by private or collective means. They were not therefore isolated structures, but fully integrated into the political, commercial, social and ideological world of those that surrounded them. A close geographical relationship with villas has been demonstrated, augmented on many occasions by a similarly intimate chronological correlation. It must also be noted that it was not just Romano-Celtic temples that were concentrated in this 'villa landscape', as sites ranging from simple shrines to classical religious edifices were nearly all located within broadly similar regions of southern Britain. Indeed, their virtual absence from most other areas implies that the concept of constructed sacred space as a whole did generally not find expression outside of those areas more influenced by Roman ideology and social structure.

Aside from being symbols of prestige, it is uncertain as to whether Romano-Celtic temples had any direct association with political power, although their general chronological and geographical patterning suggests that this might have been so. Many of the larger early temples, in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, were situated at or near to the main seats of power – either within urban/semi-urban contexts or near to substantial villa complexes, such as those along the south coast. The apparent decentralising shift in power – at least in central and western parts – from urban to rural areas in the later 3rd and 4th centuries AD corresponded with a comparative increase in either the construction or embellishment of rural sanctuaries in similar regions. This is unlikely to have been, as Horne asserted;

> *...the evidence from British temples perhaps shows the native Celtic religion, which has a tradition of being close to nature, with its sacred groves and pools, asserting itself and causing temples to be built in places of traditional sanctity rather than in the towns of the Romans.*
>
> (Horne 1981 25)

Instead, it is more likely to have been because of the apparent affinity between temples and politics. The close relationship between the Roman State and religion is well known, with temples often acting as official meeting places and civic offices (Stambaugh 1978

580). It is quite possible that a number of Romano-Celtic sanctuaries incorporated similar functions. Whatever the exact association, it is clear that temples continued to perform an important role in the balance of political power from the Roman transition - and possibly before – to the late or even post Roman period. This was limited to those areas of southern Britain that exhibited greater socio-political hierarchy in the pre-Roman Iron Age, and the fullest expression of Roman material culture in the post-conquest period.

As Millett has recently made clear (1995 93), 'Romano-Celtic' religion is unlikely to have existed as a single phenomenon, but instead there was an amalgam of local and regional cults, many with quite divergent forms of religious expression. The construction of temples was a part of this expression, which would thus account for the variety in their form and furnishings. The limited number of large-scale excavations at temple sites has enabled their internal structural organisation to be better understood, but while there was undoubtedly a large degree of individual and regional variation, there were also some coherent underlying spatial concepts. The artefact distribution patterns examined at a number of sites have provided an additional and valuable means of studying the general use of space within the sanctuary. From these studies have come the following broad observations:

1) Most sacred sites revealed a number of differentiated zones leading from the outer boundary to the temple cella, which usually formed the focal and most sacred point in the complex. In addition, there was often some pronounced degree of diametric structuring, with noticeable divisions between front-back and left-right. This was frequently emphasised by significant concentrations of votive small finds, many of which are likely to have been displayed around the cult image, before occasionally being removed and deposited elsewhere, such as along the outer boundary.

2) There was typically a clearly defined sequence of entry points and pathways, often distinguished in some way by the patterns of artefact distribution.

3) A frontal emphasis was exhibited by a substantial number of British cult sites, both in terms of structural features and finds concentration.

The Roman ritual of the vow was a probably common practice at most public cult sites in both southern Britain and northern Gaul. Coins and personal items tended to

predominate, and were probably a popular way of paying the vow by the majority of individuals. Nevertheless, there was a great deal of variety within the votive assemblages, probably representing individual expression, local and regional conformity and the specific needs of the cult at the site. Evidence from epigraphy and iconography suggests that at least from an outward material perspective, Roman deities were seen to have been worshipped at many cult sites, although in most cases there was undoubtedly a more complex amalgam of Roman and native beliefs. A Romanized cult expression was most prevalent at temples within an urban or semi-urban context, together certain rural parts of the West Country. Of the activities within the sanctuaries, perhaps the most ritually significant is likely to have been animal sacrifice and feasting, for which evidence is quite widespread. The large scale of some religious complexes ensures that a variety of other functions also existed, including an industrial and commercial aspect. Finally, although there were certain sites that seem to have been associated with heroic and/or ancestral memory, it is unlikely on the available evidence that there existed an actual funerary capacity within the temple loci, as has been recently advocated.

The overall development of constructed cult loci - and Romano-Celtic temples in particular - may have been highly localised, but was ultimately dependent upon the Romanized structure of the contemporary society. Most of the sites would have required regular maintenance throughout their primary existence, which – especially in regard to those exhibiting high degrees of Romanized material expression (mosaics, columns etc.) – may have taken considerable effort. The social and economic situation at the end of the 4th and start of the 5th century, suggests that this maintenance may no longer have been possible, and so many temples, along with other symbols of *Romanitas* such as villas, may have declined. They were built with the first waves of urbanism and villa construction, and rapidly declined or were transformed after that system collapsed. This is not to say that faith of the worshippers at these sanctuaries was only superficial, as the cults themselves may well have continued for some length of time. However, the buildings and most of the other material expressions of the cult were not sustainable after the breakdown of centralised government in the province.

6.2 Future Research

The quantitative nature of this thesis has resulted from the need to examine and compare a large geographically and chronologically diverse group of constructed cult sites within southern Britain. Although site context has been emphasised, the limits imposed by the nature of the research have meant that more comprehensive accounts of contemporary inter-site relationships within the same region have not always been possible. There is thus scope for future regional studies, whereby cult sites are fully incorporated into the surrounding settlement and communication patterns, rather than treated as a separate class of isolated monuments. More specific chronological parameters may also be set, for this study has shown that cult sites were clearly dynamic loci. The post-Roman use of temples in the west has previously been studied (Rahtz and Watts 1979), but little account has been made of those further to the south and east, where there is some evidence in many cases to suggest a similar longevity of site use.

The artefact distribution and density maps within this thesis have shown that it is sometimes possible to analyse the use of space within these sites, even when the actual excavations took place earlier this century. Modern excavations at places such as Uley and Harlow have produced massive amounts of information, with all finds recorded three-dimensionally so that phased distribution maps can produce fairly accurate pictures of the site history. Utilising the extensive archives of such sites, a great deal of further work can be carried out, such as determining the exact relationships between different find types and conducting more detailed examinations into the movement of finds within the site. Even within older archives such as that for Nettleton, the wealth of information should enable further systematic study of site use and development. Finally, as the use of computers for the recording and display of archaeological data has become quite a regular occurrence, future excavations of temple sites should be able to use G.I.S. to produce extremely accurate phased structural and distribution plans, enabling the site history to be better understood. Intra-site topography has rarely been considered in regard to cult loci of the late Iron Age and Roman period, yet how the individual approached and perceived such sites must surely have been of great importance. Detailed

topographical measurements would enable virtual reality imaging, and thus possibly a further insight into the use of space within these cult loci.

Bibliography

Alcock, L.1972. *By South Cadbury is that Camelot..... The Excavation of Cadbury Castle 1966-1970.* Thames & Hudson, London.

Alexander, J.A. 1979.The archaeological recognition of religion: The examples of Islam in Africa and 'urnfields' in Europe. In B.C. Burnham & J.Kingsbury (ed.s) *Space, hierarchy and society* BAR Int. series 59 Oxford, pp.215-228.

Allen, D.F. 1973. Temples or shrines on Gaulish coins *Antiquaries journal* LIII, pp.71-4.

Anon. 1979. Villeneuve-au-Châtelot. *Gallia* 37, pp.417-9.

Anon. 1981. Champlieu. *Gallia* 39, p.277.

Anon. 1986. Bennecourt *Gallia* 44, pp.278-81.

Anon. 1991-2. Cult of the Pig? *University College London Archaeological Field Unit News*, 2.

Anon. 1992-3.. Cult of the Pig? Part 2. *University College London Archaeological Field Unit News*, 3.

Apsimon, A.M. 1965. The Roman temple on Brean Down, Somerset. *Proceedings of the University of Bristol Speleaological Society* 10, No.3, pp.195-258

Ashby, T., Hudd, A & King, F. 1910. Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the site of the Romano-British city of *Venta Silurum,* in the year 1908. *Archaeologia* 86, pp.1-20.

Atkinson, D. 1930. Caistor excavations 1929. *Norfolk Archaeology* XXIV, pp.93-139.

Atkinson, M. & Preston, S.J. 1998. The late Iron Age and Roman settlement at Elms Farm, Heybridge, Essex, Excavations 1993-5: An interim Report. *Britannia* XXIX, pp.85-109.

Aubin, S. & Lemonnser, J-C. 1996. *Souvenir du site Gallo-Romain de Drevant.* L'association des Amis du Musée Saint-Vic.

Baddeley, C. 1930. The Romano-British temple, Chedworth. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeology society* 52, pp.255-264.

Bagnall-Smith, J. 1995. Interim report on the Votive Material from the Romano-Celtic Temple Sites in Oxfordshire, *Oxonensia* vol. LX, pp.172-204.

Bagnall-Smith, J. 1999. More Votive Finds from Woodeaton, Oxfordshire. *Oxoniensia* LXIII, pp.147-185.

Barrett, J., Freeman, P.W.M. & Woodward, A. (forthcoming) *Cadbury Castle, Somerset: Prehistoric and Romano-British Archaeology.*

Barrie, T. 1996. *'Spiritual Path, Sacred Place'. Myth, Ritual and Meaning in Architecture.* Shambhala, London & Boston.

Bartlett, R. 1988. The Harlow Celtic temple. *Current Archaeology* 112, pp.163-166

Bayley, J. 1993. The metalworking Evidence. In Woodward & Leach, *The Uley shrines: Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley. Gloucestershire*, English Heritage, p.215.

Beavitt, P. 1989. The ethnoarchaeology of sacrifice: Some comments on the visible and invisible with respect to human contact with the spirit world in Borneo in *Athropozoologica: L'animal dans les pratiques reliieuses: Les manifestations materielles.* Numero special, L'Archéologie et du Centre National de la Rechesrche Scientifique, Paris, pp.173-180.

Bedwin. O. 1980. Excavations at Chanctonbury Ring, Wiston, West Sussex 1977. *Britannia* 11, pp.173-223.

Bedwin, O. 1981. Excavations at Lancing Down, West Sussex 1980. *Sussex Archaeological collection* 119, pp.37-64

Bell, M. 1990. *Brean Down excavations 1983-1987.* English Heritage Archaeological Report 15, London.

Bell, L. & Rogers, J. 1993. Human remains. In Woodward & Leach, *The Uley shrines: Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley. Gloucestershire*, English Heritage, pp.256-7.

Berry, K.J., Mielke, P.W & Kvamme, K.L. 1984. Efficient permutation procedures for analysis of artefact distributions in H. Hietala (ed.) *Intrasite spatial analysis in archaeology.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.54-74.

Biddle, M. 1975. Excavations at Winchester, 1971. Tenth and final interim report: part II. *Antiquaries Journal* LV, pp.295-337.

Biek, L. & Crips, S. 1963 Deposits of Animal bones. In E. Greenfield, *The Romano-British shrines at Brigstock, Northants. Antiquaries Journal* XLIII pp.260-261

Bird, S. 1986. Roman Avon. In M. Aston & R. Iles (eds.) *The Archaeology of Avon.* Avon County Council, Bristol.

Bird, D.G. 1987. The Romano-British period in Surrey. In J. Bird and D.G. Bird (eds.) The archaeology of Surrey to 1540, Surrey Archaeological Society,, Guildford, pp. 139-196.

Biswell, S., Cropper, L., Evans, J, Gaffney, V. & Leach, P. 1995. GIS and excavation: a cautionary tale from Shepton Mallet, Somerset, England in G.Lock & Z.Stancic (eds.) *Archaeology and geographic information systems : a European perspective.* Taylor & Francis, London, pp.269-271.

Black, E.W. 1985. A note on the Farley Heath Sceptre-binding. *Surrey Archaeological Collections 76,* pp.140-142.

Black, E.W. 1986. Romano-British Burial Customs and religious Beliefs in South East England. *The Archaeological Journal* 14, pp.201-239

Black, E.W. 1987. *The Roman villas of South-East England.* BAR 171, Oxford.

Blagg, T.F.C. 1981. Architectural patronage in the western provinces of the Roman Empire in the third century AD. In A.King & M.Henig (eds.) The Roman west in the third century. BAR. Int. series 109 (I), Oxford, pp.167-214.

Blagg, T.F.C. 1986. Roman Religious sites in the British landscape. *Landscape History* vol. 8, pp.15-25.

Blagg, T.F.C. 1990. The temple at Bath (Aquae Sulis) in the context of classical temples in the west European provinces. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3, pp.419-430

Blockley, K. 1985. *Marshfield: Ironmongers piece excavations 1982-3.* B.A.R. 141, Oxford.

Boast, R. & Yiannouli, E. 1986. Creating Space. In *Archaeological Review from Cambridge vol.5 no.2,* pp.136-140.

Boëthius, A. & Ward-Perkins, J.B. 1970. *Etruscan and Roman Architecture.* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

Boon, G.C. 1965. The Roman coins. In A.M.Apsimon *The Roman temple on Brean Down, Somerset* University of Bristol Spelaeological society 3 vol.10, pp.232-249.

Boon, G.C. 1974. *Silchester: The Roman town of Calleva.* David & Charles, Vermont.

Boon, G.C. 1989. A Roman sculpture Rehabilitated: The Pagans Hill dog. *Britannia* 20, pp.203-217.

Bradford, J.P.S. & Goodchild, R.G. 1939. Excavations at Frilford, Berks. 1937-8. *Oxoniensia* 4, pp.1-70.

Bradley, R. 1987. Stages in the chronologica; developments of hoards and votive deposits *Proceedings of the prehistoric society* 53, pp.351-362.

Bradley, R. & Fulford, M. 1976. Excavations at Tournerbury, Hayling Island 1959 and 1971. *Proceedings of the Hampshire field club archaeology society 32*, pp.63-70.

Branigan, K. 1976. *The Roman villa in south-west England.* Moonraker, Bradford-on-Avon.

Branigan, K. & Fowler, P.J. 1976. *The Roman West Country.* David & Charles, London.

Briggs, D, Haselgrove, C. & King, C. 1992. Iron Age and Roman coins from Hayling Island temple. *British numismatics journal* 62, pp.1-62.

Brooks, H. 1989. The Stansted temple. *Current Archaeology* 117, pp.322-5.

Brown, N. *Prehistoric pottery from Harlow Temple* (Unpublished) Harlow Museum.

Brunaux, J-L. 1988. *The Celtic Gauls: Gods, Rites and Sanctuaries.* Seaby, London.

Brunaux, J.L. 1989. Les Encientes Carrées sont elles des lieux de culte? In O. Buchenshutz (ed.) *Les viereckshanzen et les Encientes quadrilaterales en Europe Celtique.* Errance, Paris, pp.11-14

Brunaux, J.L. (ed.). 1991. *Les sanctuaires celtiques et leurs rapport avec the monde Méditerranéen.* Dossiers de Protohistoire Errance, Paris.

Brunaux, J.L. 1996. *Les religions gauloises: Rituels celtiques de la Gaule indépendant* éditions errance Paris.

Brunaux, J.L, Meniel, P. & Poplin, F. 1985. *Gournay I: les fouilles sur le sanctuaire et l'oppidum* (1975-1984), supp. to R.A.P., Paris.

Brunaux, J.L. & Rapin, A. 1988. *Gournay II: Boucliers, Lances, Dépôts et Trophées.* R.A.P. éditions errance, Paris.

Brunaux, J.L. & Lambot, B. 1991. Le sanctuaire Celtique et Gallo-Romain de Saint-Maur. In J.L.Brunaux (ed.) *Les sanctuaires celtiques et leurs rapport avec the monde Méditerranéen.* Dossiers de Protohistoire Errance Paris, pp. 178-180.

Burnham, B. & Wacher, J. 1990 *The Small Towns of Roman Britain* Batsford. London.

Burstow, G.P. & Hollyman, G.A. 1955. Muntham Court. *Archaeological Newsletter* 5 (10), pp.204-5.

Burstow, G.P. & Hollyman, G.A. 1956. Muntham Court. *Sussex Notes and Queries.* 14 (10), pp.196-8.

Burstow, G.P. & Hollyman, G.A. 1957. Muntham Court. *Sussex Notes and Queries.* 14 (12), pp.232-233.

Bushe-Fox, J.P. 1932. *Richborough III.* Society of Antiquaries, London.

Butcher, S. 1993. Brooches of copper alloy. In Woodward & Leach, *The Uley shrines: Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley. Gloucestershire,* English Heritage, pp.149-158.

Cabuy, Y. 1991. *Les temples gallo-romains de cités de Tongres et des Trévires.* Publications Amphora 12, Bruxelles.

Cadoux, J-L. 1978. Une sanctuaire gallo-romaine isolé: Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme) *Latomus* 37, pp.325-60.

Cadoux, J-L. 1984. L'ossuaire gaulois de Ribemont-sur-Ancre. Premières observations, premières questions. *Gallia* 42, pp.53-78.

Cadoux, J-L. 1991. Organisation spatiales et chronologie du sanctuaire de Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme). In J.L. Brunaux (ed.). *Les sanctuaires celtiques et leurs rapport avec the monde Méditerranéen.* Dossiers de Protohistoire Errance, Paris, 156-163.

Carmichael, D., Hubert, J., Reeves, B., & Schanche, A.(Eds.). 1994. *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places.* Routledge, London.

Carson, R.A.G. 1963. The coins. In E. Greenfield, *The Romano-British shrines at Brigstock, Northants. Antiquaries Journal* XLIII pp.240-242

Casey, P.J. & Hoffmann, B. 1999. Excavations at the Roman temple at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire in 1980 and 1981. *Antiquaries Journal* 79, pp.81-144.

Ciolek-Torrello, R. 1984. An alternative model of room function from grasshopper Pueblo, Arizona. In H. Hietala (ed.) *Intrasite spatial analysis in archaeology.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.127-153

Cleere, H. & Crossley, D. 1985. *The Iron industry of the Weald.* Leicester University Press, Leicester.

Clifford, E. M. 1961. Bagendon: a Belgic oppidum : A record of the excavations of 1954 – 56. Heffer, Cambridge.

Collins, A.E.. 1978. *Great Chesterford temple: Interim Report.* Archaeology in Great Chesterford, Bulletin No.2.

Conlon, R.B. 1973. Holbrooks: An Iron Age and Romano-British settlement. *Essex journal* 8(2), pp.30-50.

Cornwall, I.W. 1964. Soil sample from oven no. 4. In W.S. Penn, *Springhead: The Temple Ditch Site.* Archaeolgia Cantiana, *LXXIX*

Costen, M. 1992. *The origins of Somerset.* Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Cotton, M.A. 1957. Weycock Hill, 1953. *Berkshire Archaeological journal* 105, pp.48-68.

Crummy, P. 1980. The temples of Roman Colchester. In W. Rodwell,(ed.)*Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain.* BAR 77 (i), Oxford, pp.243-284.

Crummy, P. 1984. *Excavations at Lions Walk, Balkerne Lane and Middlesborough, Colchester.* Colchester Archaeological Report 3, Colchester.

Crummy, P. 1993. The development of Roman Colchester. In S. Greep (ed.) *Roman towns: The Wheeler inheritance.* CBA Rep. 93, pp.34-45.

Csaki. Gy, Jerem, E. & Redo, F. 1995. Data recording and GIS applications in landscape and intra-site analysis: case studies in progress at the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in G.Lock & Z.Stancic (eds) *Archaeology and geographic information systems, systems : a European perspective.* Taylor & Francis, London pp.85-99.

Cunliffe, B.W. 1971. *Roman Bath discovered.* Routledge, London.

Cunliffe, B.W. 1983. *Danebury: Anatomy of an Iron Age hillfort.* Batsford, London.

Cunliffe, B.W. 1984. *Danebury: An Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire. Vol. I: The excavations 1969-1978: the site. Vol. 2: the finds.* CBA report 52, London.

Cunliffe, B.W. 1988a. *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians: Spheres of interaction.* Batsford, London.

Cunliffe, B.W. (ed.).1988b. *The temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath. Vol. 2 (2) The finds from the sacred spring.* Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 16, Oxford.

Cunliffe, B.W. 1991. *Iron Age communities in Britain (3rd ed.).* Routledge, London.

Cunliffe, B. 1995a. *Danebury: An Iron Age hillfort in Hampshire. Vol.6: A hillfort community in perspective* CBA report 102 York.

Cunliffe, B.W. 1995b. *Roman Bath.* Batsford, London.

Cunliffe, B.W. 1997. *The ancient Celts.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Cunliffe, B.W. 1998. *Fishbourne Roman palace.* Tempus, Stroud.

Cunliffe, B.W. & Davenport, P.1985. *The temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath. Vol. 1 (1) The Site.* Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 7, Oxford.

Dark, K. 1993. Town or *Temenos*? A Reinterpretation of the walled area of Aquae Sulis. *Britannia* XXIV, pp.254-255

Dark, K. 1997. *The landscape of Roman Britain.* Sutton, Stroud.

Déchalette, J. 1914. *Manuel d'archéologie et gallo-romaine II*, 3. Paris.

De la Bédoyère, G. 1991. *The buildings of Romano-Britain.* Batsford, London.

De Navarro, J. 1972. *The finds from the site of La Tène.* OUP for the British Academy, London.

Delestree, L.P. 1984. Les monnais gauloises de Bois l'Abbe (EU, Seine-Maritime) *Etudes de Numismatique Celtique 3*, Paris.

Delplace, C. *et al.* 1986. *Le sanctuaire de Digeon, comune de Morvilles-saint-Saturnin (Somme)* RAP 3-4, pp.83-117.

Derks, T. 1995. The Ritual of the vow in Gallo-Roman Religion in J. Metzler *et al.* (eds.) *Integration in the early Roman west. The role of culture and ideology.* Dossier d'archéologie du Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art 4) Luxembourg, pp.111-127.

Derks, T. 1998. *Gods, temples and ritual practices: the transformation of religious ideas and values in Roman Gaul* Amsterdam University press, Amsterdam.

Deyts. S. 1983. *Les bois sculptés des sources de la Seine.* Gallia supplement 42, Paris.

Deyts, S. 1994. *Un peuple des pélerins. Offrandes de pierre et de bronze des sources de la Seine*, RAE, suppl. 13, Dijon.

Dobesch, G. 1991. Ancient literary sources. In O.H. Frey *et al.* (eds.) *The Celts*, Thames and Hudson, London, pp.35-41.

Donley-Reid, L. 1990. A structuring structure: The Swahili house. In S. Kent (ed.) *Domestic architecture and the use of space.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.114-126.

Downes, J. 1997. The shrine at Cadbury Castle: belief enshrined? In A.Gwilt & C. Haselgrove: *Reconstructing Iron Age societies* Oxbow monograph, Oxford. pp.145-152.

Downey, R., King, A. & Soffe, G. 1979. *The Hayling Island Temple: Third Interim report on the excavation of the Iron Age and Roman temple, 1976 - 78.*

Downey, R., King, A. & Soffe, G. 1980 The Hayling Island Temple and religious connections across the channel in W. Rodwell.(ed.)*Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain.* BAR 77(i) 1980, pp.289-302.

Drew, C.D. 1931. The Excavations at Jordan Hill, 1931. *Dorset Natural History and Archaeology Society* LIII, pp.265-276

Drew, C.D. 1932. The Excavations at Jordan Hill and Preston, 1932. *Dorset Natural History and Archaeology Society LIV,* pp.15-21.

Drury, P.J. 1978. *Excavations at little Waltham 1970-71.* CBA Rep. 26, Chelmsford.

Drury, P.J. 1980. Non-Classical religious buildings in Iron Age and Roman Britain. In W. Rodwell (ed.) *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain.* BAR 77(i), Oxford, pp.45-78.

Drury, P.J. 1984. The temple of Claudius at Colchester Reconsidered. *Britannia* XV, pp.7-62.

Drury, P.J. & Rodwell, W. 1980. Settlement in the later Iron Age and Roman periods. In D.G. Buckely (ed.) *Archaeology in Essex to AD1500.* CBA Rep. 34, London, pp.59-75

Duval, A. 1991. Celtic society in the first century BC. In O.H.Frey *et al.* (eds.) *The Celts.* Thames and Hudson, London, pp.485-90

Ellison, A. 1980. Natives, Romans and Christians on West Hill, Uley, an interim report on the excavation of a ritual complex of the 1st millenium AD. In W. Rodwell (ed.) *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain* BAR 77(i), pp.305-28.

Ellison, A. 1987. The Bronze Age settlement at Thorney Down: pots, post-holes and patterning. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric society 53*, pp.385-392.

Esmond-Cleary, A. S. 1989. *The Ending of Roman Britain.* Batsford, London.

Ésperandieu, É. 1938. *Recueil Général des Bas-Reliefs, Statues,et Bustes de la Gaule Romaine* XI Paris.

Fairclough, G. 1992. Meaningful constructions - spatial and functional analysis of medieval buildings. *Antiquity* 66, pp.348-66.

Fauduet, I. 1986. Cult and ritual at *Argentomagus*, Indre, France. In M.Henig & A.King (eds.) *Pagan gods and shrines of the Roman empire.* Oxford University committee for archaeology monograph no.8. pp.25-28.

Fauduet, I. 1993a. *Atlas des sanctuaires Romano-Celtiques de Gaule. Les Fanums.* Errance, Paris.

Fauduet, I. 1993b *Les Temples de Tradition Celtique en Gaule Romaine.* Editions Errance, Paris.

Ferring, C.R. 1984. Intrasite spatial patterning: its role in settlement-subsistence analysis. In H. Hietala (ed.) *Intrasite spatial analysis in archaeology.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.116-126

Fisher, A.R. 1985. Winklebury Hillfort: A study of Artefact Distributions from subsoil features *Proceedings of the Prehistoric society 51,* pp.167-180.

Fishwick, D. 1972. Templum Divo Claudio Constitutum. *Britannia* 3, pp.164-181.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1984. The deposition of La Tène Iron Age metalwork in watery contexts in southern England. In B.Cunliffe & D.Miles (eds.) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain.* Oxford monograph 2 pp.178-188.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1985. The Celtic coins. In N.E. France & B.M. Gobel, *The Romano-British temple at Harlow.* West Essex Archaeological group. Alan Sutton, Gloucester, pp.49-66

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1991.'Celtic (Iron Age) Religion' - Traditional and Timeless? *Scottish archaeological Review* Vol.8, pp.123-125.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1997. *Archaeological excavations on the route of the A27 Westhampnett Bypass, West Sussex, Vol.2 the cemeteries.* Wessex Archaeological Report No.12, Salisbury.

Forcey, C. 1998. Whatever happened to the heroes? Ancestral cults and the enigma of Romano-Celtic temples *TRAC 97 conference proceedings,* Oxbow Books, Oxford, pp.87-98.

Foster, J. 1986. *The Lexton Tumulus: A re-appraisal of an Iron Age burial from Colchester*, Essex. BAR Brit. Series 156, Oxford.

Foster, S. 1989. Analysis of spatial patterns in buildings (access analysis) as an insight into social structure: examples from the Scottish Atlantis Iron Age. *Antiquity* 63, pp.40-50.

Fletcher, B. 1975. *A history of Architecture* (18th Ed. Revised by J.C. Palmer), Athlone Press, London.

France, N.E & Gobel, B.M. 1985. *The Romano-British temple at Harlow.* West Essex Archaeological group. Alan Sutton, Gloucester.

Frere, S.S. 1940. A survey of Archaeology near Lancing. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 81, pp.141-172.

Frere, S.S. 1985 Roman Britain in 1984. *Britannia* XVI, pp.299-300.

Frere, S.S. 1986 Roman Britain in 1985. *Britannia* XVII, pp.410.

Frere, S.S. 1987. *Britannia: A history of Roman Britain* (3rd ed.), Pimlico Press, London.

Frere, S.S. 1988 Roman Britain in 1987. Britannia XIX, pp.467.

Fulford, M.G. & Rippon, S.J. 1994. Lowbury Hill, Oxon: a Re-Assessment of the Probable Romano-Celtic temples and the Anglo-Saxon Barrow. *Archaeological journal* 151, pp.158-211.

Gilchrist, R. 1989. Animal Bone. In P.Rahtz, & L.Watts, *Pagans Hill Revisited.* Archaeological Journal 146, 358-360.

Gobel, B. 1985. The Coins. In N.E. France & B.M. Gobel, *The Romano-British temple at Harlow.* West Essex Archaeological group. Alan Sutton, Gloucester, pp.67-70.

Goody, J. 1961. Ritual and religion: The definitional problem. *British Journal of Sociology* no.12. pp.142-163.

Goodchild, R.G. 1938. Martin Tupper and Farley Heath. *Surrey Archaeological Collections* XLVI, pp.10-25.

Goodchild, R.G. 1947. The Farley Heath sceptre. *Antiquaries Journal* XXVII, pp.83-85.

Goodchild, R. & Kirk, J.R. 1954. The Romano-Celtic Temple at Woodeaton. *Oxoniensia* XIX, 15-37

Gordon, B.L. 1971. Sacred directions, orientations, and the top of the map. *History of Religions* 10. pp.211-227

Gracie, H.S. 1970. Frocester Court Roman Villa, Gloucestershire: First report 1961-7. Building A. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological society* 89, pp.15-86.

Gracie, H,S. & Price, E.G. 1979. Frocester Court Roman Villa; second report, 1968-77: the courtyard. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological society* 97, pp.9-64.

Graham, J. 1936. A Romano-Celtic temple at Titsey, and the Roman Road. *Surrey Archaeological Collections, 44,* pp.84-101.

Grahame, M. 1998. Redefining Romanization: material culture and the question of social continuity in Roman Britain. *TRAC 97 conference proceedings,* Oxford, pp.1-10.

Grant, A. 1985. The animal bones. In B. Cunliffe & P. Davenport, *The temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath. Vol. 1 (1) The Site.* University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 7, London, pp.164-173.

Green, C.W. 1966. A Romano-Celtic temple at Bourton Grounds, Buckingham. *Record of Buckinghamshire* XVII Part 5, pp.356-366.

Green, H.J.M. 1986. The Cults of Roman Godmanchester. In M.Henig & A.King (eds.) *Pagan Gods and shrines of the Roman Empire.* Oxford Univ. Comm. Arch. Monograph 8, pp.29-55.

Green, M.J. 1976. *The Religions of civilian Roman Britain* BAR 24, Oxford.

Green, M.J. 1986. *The gods of the Celts.* Alan Sutton, Gloucester.

Green, M.J. 1995. The gods and the supernatural. In Green, M.J. (ed.) *The Celtic world.* Routledge, London, pp. 465-89.

Green, M.J. (ed.). 1995. *The Celtic World.* Routledge, London.

Green, M.J. 1998a. Humans as ritual victims in the later prehistory of Western Europe. *Oxford journal of Archaeology 17* (2), pp.169-189.

Green, M.J. 1998b. Vessels of death: Sacred Cauldrons in Archaeology and Myth. *The Antiquaries Journal* 98, pp.63-84.

Green, M.J. 1999. *Pilgrims in stone: stone images from the Gallo-Roman sanctuary of Fontes Sequanae.* B.A.R. Int. series 754, Archaeopress, Oxford.

Green, M.J. (unpublished). *Report on the votive finds from the Harlow Roman temple.* Harlow Museum

Greenfield, E. 1963 'The Romano-British shrines at Brigstock, Northants.' *Antiquaries Journal* Vol.XLIII 228-268

Gregory, T. 1991 *Excavations in Thetford, 1980-1982, Fison Way.* vol. 1 + 2. East Anglian Archaeology Report 53, Norfolk Field Archaeology Division, Dereham.

Gregory T. 1981.Thetford. *Current Archaeology* 81, pp.294-97.

Grenier, A. 1960. *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine 4.* Picard, Paris.

Grew, F.O. 1980. Roman Britain in 1979. *Britannia* 11, pp.369-70.

Grimes, W.F. & Close-Brooks, J. 1993. The excavations of Caesar's camp, Heathrow, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1944. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric society* 59, pp.303-360.

Gurney, D.1986. A Romano-Celtic temple site at Caistor St. Edmund. In T.Gregory & D.Gurney (eds.) *Excavations at Thornham, Washam, Wighton and Caistor St. Edmund, Norfolk.* East Anglian Archaeology Report 30, Dereham, pp.37-55.

Gurney, D. 1991. Phosphate and electromagnetic susceptibility surveys. In T Gregory, *Excavations in Thetford, 1980-1982, Fison Way.* vol. 1 + 2. East Anglian Archaeology Report 53, Norfolk Field Archaeology Division, Dereham, pp.181-7.

Hall, H.1982. Report on human and animal bones. In W.J.Wedlake, *The excavation of the shrine at Nettleton, Wiltshire, 1956-1971.* Society of Antiquaries Rep. XL. London, pp.178-9.

Hall, D.N. & Nickerson, N. 1970. Circular Roman building at Bozeat, Northamptonshire, 1964. *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal* 5, pp.57-65.

Hamilton-Dyer, S. & Maltby, M. (forthcoming). The animal bones from a sample of Iron Age contexts. In Barrett *et al. Cadbury Castle, Somerset: Prehistoric and Romano-British Archaeology.*

Hanworth, R. 1968. *The Roman villa at Rapsley, Ewhurst.* Surrey Archaeological Collections 65, pp.1-70.

Harding, D.W. 1972. *The Iron Age in the upper Thames basin.* Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Harding, D.W. 1974. *Iron Age in lowland Britain.* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Harding, D.W. 1987. *Excavations in Oxfordshire, 1964-66.* University of Edinburgh occasional paper no. 15.

Harker, S. 1980. Springhead – A brief re-appraisal. In W.Rodwell (ed.) Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain. BAR 77 (i), Oxford. pp. 285 – 287.

Hart, G.D. 1970. A hermatological artefact from 4th century Britain. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* Vol.LXIII, pt. II, pp.76-79.

Hartridge, R. 1978. Excavations at the prehistoric and Romano-British site at Slonk Hill, Shoreham, Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 116, pp.69-141.

Haselgrove, C. 1987. *Iron Age coinage in south east England; the archaeological context.* BAR 174 Oxford

Haselgrove, C. 1989a. Iron Age coin deposition at Harlow temple, Essex. *Oxford journal of Archaeology* 8(1), 73-88

Haselgrove, C. 1989b. The later Iron Age in southern Britain and beyond. In M.Todd (ed.) *Research on Roman Britain 1960 – 89.* Britannia monograph 11, Society for the promotion of Roman studies, London, pp.1-18.

Hassall, W.C. 1980. Altars, curses and other epigraphic evidence. In W.Rodwell.(ed.) *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain* BAR 77(i + ii), pp.79-90.

Havis, R. (forthcoming). *ACS discussion.* Essex County Council.

Hawkes, C.F.C. & Crummy, P. 1995 *Camulodunum 2.* Colchester Archaeological report 11, Colchester.

Henig, M. 1980. Art and cult in the temples of Roman Britain. In W.Rodwell.(ed.) *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain* BAR 77(i + ii), pp.91-114.

Henig, M. 1983. The Maiden Castle 'Diana': A case of mistaken identity? *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History & Archaeology Society* 105, pp.160-162.

Henig, M. 1984. *Religion in Roman Britain.* Batsford, London.

Henig, M. 1989. Religion in Roman Britain. In In M.Todd (ed.) *Research on Roman Britain 1960 – 89.* Britannia monograph 11, Society for the promotion of Roman studies, London, pp.219-234.

Henig, M. 1993. Miniture spears and full-size weapons in Woodward & Leach, *The Uley shrines: Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley. Gloucestershire,* English Heritage, pp. 131-135

Henig, M. 1993. Votive objects: images and inscriptions. In Woodward & Leach, *The Uley shrines: Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire*, English Heritage, pp.89-112

Henig, M. 1996 The bronze figurine. In L. Watts & P. Leach, *Henley Wood, Temples and cemetery Excavations 1962-69*. CBA Rep. 99, York. pp. 131-3.

Henig, M. (forthcoming). *An intaglio from the Airport Catering Site.*

Hietala, H (ed.) 1984. *Intrasite spatial analysis in archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hietala, H. 1984. Intrasite spatial analysis:a brief overview. In H. Hietala (ed.) *Intrasite spatial analysis in archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.1-3.

Highlands, D. 1990. What's indigenous? An essay on building. In M. Turan (ed.) *Vernacular architecture: Paradigms of environmental response*. Avebury, Aldershot.

Hill, J.D. 1995. *Ritual and rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex*. BAR. series 242 Oxford.

Hillier, B. & Hanson, J. 1984. *The social logic of space*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hind, J. 1996. Whose head on the Bath Temple-Pediment? *Britannia* XXVII, pp.358-360.

Hingley, R. 1982. Recent Discoveries of the Roman period at the Noah's Ark Inn, Frilford, South Oxfordshire *Britannia* 13, pp.305-309.

Hingley, R. 1985. Location, Function and Status: A Roman-British 'Religious Complex' at the Noah's Ark Inn, Frilford (Oxfordshire). *Oxford Journal of Archaeology 4*, pp.201-211.

Hingley, R. 1990. Public and private space: Domestic organisation and gender relations among Iron Age and Romano-British households. In R. Samson (ed.) *The social archaeology of houses*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, pp.125-148.

Hinton, R. (forthcoming) *Bone report at Stansted ACS.*

Hivernel, F & Hodder, I. 1984. Analysis of artifact distribution at Ngenyn (Kenya): depositional and post depositional effects. In H. Hietala (ed.) *Intrasite spatial analysis in archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge pp.97-115.

Hodder, I. & Orton, C. 1976. *Spatial analysis in archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hodder, I. 1991. *Reading the past (2nd ed.)*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hollyman, G.A. 1961. Muntham Court, Findon, Sussex. In S.S.Frere (ed.) *Problems of the Iron Age in southern Britain*, p.20

Holm, J. & Bowker, J. (eds.) 1994. *Sacred Place* (Themes in Religious studies). Pinter, London.

Horne, P. 1981. Romano-Celtic temples in the third century. In A.King and M.Henig (eds.) *The Roman West in the third century*. BAR Int. Series 1091, pp.21-26.

Horne, P. 1986. Roman or Celtic temples? A case study. In M. Henig & A. King (eds.) *Pagan Gods and shrines of the Roman Empire*. Oxford Univ. Comm. Arch. Monograph 8, pp.15-24.

Horne, P. & King, A. 1980. Romano-Celtic temples in continental Europe: A gazeteer of those with known plans. In W. Rodwell (ed.). *Temples, churches and religion in Roman Britain*. BAR 77(ii), Oxford, pp.369-555.

Hughes, G. 1995. *Excavation of a late prehistoric and Romano-British settlement at Thornhill Farm, Chepstow, Gwent*. BAR 244, Oxford.

Hull, R. 1958. *Roman Colchester*. Society of Antiquaries, Oxford.

Jackson, R. 1988. *Doctors and diseases in the Roman Empire*. British Museum Press, London.

Jackson, R.H. & Henrie, R. 1983. Perception of sacred space. In *Journal of cultural geography* 3 pp.94-107.

Jenkins, F. 1959. Some Possible indications of Cult. In W.S. Penn, *The Romano-British settlement at Springhead; Excavation of Temple 1, Site C 1.* Archaeolgia Cantiana LXXIII, pp.55-59

Johnson, A.E. 1975. Excavations at Bourton Grounds, Thornborough. *Records of Buckinghamshire* XX Part 1, pp.3-56.

Jones, B. & Mattingly, D. 1990. An Atlas of Roman Britain, Blackwells, Oxford.

Jundi, S. & Hill, J.D. 1998. Brooches and Identities in First Century AD Britain: More than meets the eye? *TRAC 97 conference proceedings,* Oxford, pp. 125-137.

Kamm, A. 1995. *The Romans: An introduction.* Routledge, London.

Kent, S. (ed.). 1990. *Domestic architecture and the use of space.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Kent, S. 1990a. Activity areas and architecture: An interdisciplinary view of the relationship between use of space and domestic built environments. In S.Kent (ed.) *Domestic architecture and the use of space.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.1-8.

Kent, S. 1990b. A cross cultural study of segmentation, architecture and the use of space. In S. Kent (ed.) *Domestic architecture and the use of space.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 127-152.

King, J. 1959. The Bones. In W.S. Penn, *The Romano-British settlement at Springhead; Excavation of Temple 1, Site C 1.* Archaeolgia Cantiana LXXIII, p.53.

King, A. 1990. *Roman Gaul and Germany.* British Museum, London.

King, A. & Soffe, G. 1983. A Romano-Celtic temple at Ratham Mill, Funtinton, West Sussex. *Britannia* 14, pp.264-266.

King, A. & Soffe, G. 1991. Haying Island. In R.F.L. Jones (ed.) *Roman Britain: Recent trends.* Sheffield, pp.111-3.

King, A. & Soffe, G. 1994a. The Iron Age and Roman temple at Hayling Island, Hampshire. In A. Fitzpatrick & P.Morris (eds.) *The Iron Age in Wessex: Recent work.* Salisbury. Trust for Wessex Archaeology, pp.114-6.

King, A. & Soffe, G. 1994b. Recherches recentes sur les temples Romano-Celtiques de grand-Bretagne.L'example de Hayling island. In C. Goudineau, I.Fauduet & G. Conlon (eds.) *Le sanctuaires de tradition indigèneen Gaule Romaine* (Actes du Coloque d'Argentomagus 1992) Editions Errance, Paris, pp. 33-48.

King, A. and Soffe, G., 1998. Internal organisation and deposition at the Iron Age temple on Hayling Island. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field club Archaeological society* 53, pp.35-47.

Kirk, J.R. 1949. Bronzes from Woodeaton, Oxon. *Oxonensia* IV, pp.1-45.

Klein, W.G. 1928. The Roman temple at Worth, Kent. *Antiquaries journal* 8, pp.76-86.

Knocker, G.M. 1965. Excavations in Collyweston Great Wood, Northamptonshire. *Archaeological Journal* CXXII, pp.52-72

Kroll, E.M &.Isaac, G.L. 1984. Configurations of artefact and bones at early pleistocene sites in east Africa. In H. Hietala (ed.) *Intrasite spatial analysis in archaeology.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.4-31.

Lawrence, G.F. 1864. Romano-British remains at Wycomb, Glos. *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries* 2, pp.302-6, pp.422-6.

Leach, P. 1978. Does space syntax really "constitute the social"? In D. Green, C.Haselgrove & M.Spriggs (eds.) *Social organisation and settlement: Contributions from anthropology, archaeology and geography* Oxford BAR Int series (suppl.) 47(ii), pp.385-402.

Leach, P. 1993. The pottery. In Woodward & Leach, *The Uley shrines: Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley. Gloucestershire,* English Heritage 1993, 219-249.

Leech, R. 1982. The Roman interlude in the south-west. The dynamics of social change in Roman south Somerset and north Dorset. In D.Miles & R.T. Rowley (eds.), *Rural settlement in Roman Britain.* BAR 122(I), Oxford.

Leech, R. 1986. The Excavation of a Romano-Celtic temple and a later cemetery on Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset. *Britannia* 17, pp.259-328.

Leech, R & Leach, P. 1982. Roman Town and Countryside 43-450 AD. In M.Aston & I.Burrow (eds.) *The Archaeology of Somerset: a review to 1500 AD.* Somerset County Council, Taunton.

Legge, A.J & Dorrington, E. 1985. The animal bones. In N.E. France & B.M. Gobel, *The Romano-British temple at Harlow.* West Essex Archaeological group. Alan Sutton, Gloucester pp.122-134

Lejars, T. 1994. *Gournay III: Les Fourreaux D'Epee* Revue Archeologique de Picardie, Paris.

Lewis, M.J.T. 1966. *Temples in Roman Britain*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Levitan, B. 1993. Vertebrae remains. In A. Woodward & P. Leach, *The Uley shrines: Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley. Gloucestershire*, English Heritage, pp.257-302.

Liversidge, J. 1954. The Thornborough Barrow. *Records of Buckinghamshire* XVI, pp.29-32.

Liversidge, J. 1978. The Silver Mask. In A.E. Collins, *Great Chesterford temple: Interim Report.* Archaeology in Great Chesterford, Bulletin No.2, p.13.

Lowther, A.W.G. 1937a. Report on the excavation of the Roman structure at Rothamstead experimental station, Harpenden. *Transactions of the St. Albans and Herts architectural and archaeological society* 5, pp.108-14.

Lowther, A.W.G. 1937b Verulamium. *Antiquaries Journal* XVII, pp.28-55.

Lowther, W.G. & Goodchild, R.G. 1943. Excavations at Farley Heath, Albury, During 1939. *Surrey Archaeological Collections 48, Surrey Archaeological Collections 48,* pp.31-40.

Lyttelton, M. 1987. The design and planning of Temples and Sanctuaries in Asia Minor in the Roman period. In S.Macready & F.Thompson (eds.) *Roman architecture in the Greek world.* Society of Antiquaries, London, pp.38-49.

Magilton, J.R. 1980. The Coleshill Romano-Celtic temple: Some reflections and New Discoveries. *West Midlands Annual Archaeology Newsletter*, Vol. 23, pp.27-40.

Maier, F. 1991. Le petite Arbre cultuel de Manching. In J-L.Brunaux (ed.), *Les sanctuaires celtiques et leurs rapport avec the monde Méditerranéen.* Dossiers de Protohistoire Errance, Paris, pp.241-9.

Major, H. (forthcoming). *Section from Stansted brooch report.* Essex County Council.

Mann, A.T. 1993. *Sacred Architecture.* Element Books, Shaftsbury.

Manning, W.H. 1972. Ironwork hoards in Iron Age and Roman Britain. *Britannia* 3, pp.224-50.

Manning, W.H. 1995. Ironworking in the Celtic world. In M.J.Green (ed.). *The Celtic World.* Routledge, London, pp. 310-320.

McConnell, R. & Turner, A. 1999. *Geophysical Survey Report: Northney Farm, Northney, Hayling Island, Hampshire.* King Alfred's College, Winchester.

McWhirr, A. 1981. *Roman Gloucestershire.* Sutton, Gloucester.

Meates, G.W. 1979. *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone, Kent. Vol.1 The Site.* Kent Archaeology Society Monograph no.1, London.

Meates, G.W. 1987. *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone, Kent, vol.2* Kent Archaeological Society, Maidstone.

Meffet, M. 1995. Spatial relations in Roman Iron Age settlements in the Assender Polders, The Netherlands. In G.Lock & Z.Stancic (eds) *Archaeology and geographic information systems systems : a European perspective.* Taylor & Francis, London London, pp.277-299.

Meniel, P. 1989. Les animaux dans practiques religieuses de Gaulois. In *Athropozoologica: L'animal dans les pratiques reliieuses: Les manifestations materielles.* Numero special, L'Archéologie et du Centre National de la Rechesrche Scientifique, Paris, p.97

Meniel, P. 1991. Les animaux dans les sanctuaires Gaulois du nord de la France. In. J-L. Brunaux (ed.). *Les sanctuaires celtiques et leurs rapport avec the monde Méditerranéen.* Dossiers de Protohistoire Errance, Paris, pp.257-275.

Mepham, L.N. 1997. Pottery. In A. Fitzpatrick, *Archaeological excavations on the route of the A27 Westhampnett Bypass, West Sussex, vil.2 The cemeteries* West Essex Archaeological report no.12 Salisbury, pp.114-138.

Mermet, C. 1993. Le sanctuaire gallo-romain de Châteauneuf (Savoie) *Gallia* 50, pp.104-34.

Miles, D. 1982. Confusion in the countryside: Some comments from the Upper Thames Valley. In D.Miles (ed.) *The Romano-British countryside: Studies in Rural settlement and economy.* BAR 103, pp.53-80.

Miles, D. (ed.) 1984. *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon, Oxon.* Oxford Archaeological Unit rep. 3, CBA Rep. 50.

Miles, D. & Palmer, S. 1983. Claydon Pike. *Current Archaeology* 86, pp.88-92.

Millett, M. 1990. *The Romanization of Britain.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Millett, M. 1995. Re-thinking religion in Romanisation. In J. Metzler *et al.* (eds.) *Integration in the early Roman west. The role of culture and ideology* Luxembourg, pp.93-100.

Miller, T. 1995. The Romano-British temple precinct at Great Chesterford, Essex. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, LXXXIV, pp.15-57.

Milne, J.G. 1931. Woodeaton coins. *Journal of Roman Studies*, pp.101-109.

Mitchell, G.S. 1910. Excavations at Chanctonbury Ring, 1909. *Sussex Archaeology Collections* LIII, pp.131-137.

Muckelroy, K.W. 1976. Enclosed Ambulatories in Romano-Celtic temples in Britain. *Britannia* 7, pp.173-191.

Murphy, P. 1991. Plant remains and the environment. In In T Gregory, *Excavations in Thetford, 1980-1982, Fison Way.* vol. 1 + 2. East Anglian Archaeology Report 53, Norfolk Field Archaeology Division, Dereham, pp. 175-180.

Mytum, H. 1989. The recognition and patterning of intra-site patterning on site with small numbers of finds: The example of Walesland Rath. In *Scottish Archaeological Review vol.6*, pp.65-74.

Nash, D. 1976. Reconsidering the Celtic ethnography of Posidonius. *Britannia*, pp.111-126.

Neal, D.S. 1984. A sanctuary at Wood End Lane, Hemel Hempstead. *Britannia* 15, pp.193-215.

Niblett, R. 1987. Evidence for the Antonine fire at Verulamium from the Wheeler's excavations. *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 9, 29-78.

Niblett, R. 1999. *The excavation of a ceremonial site at Folly Lane, Verulamium.* Britannia monograph 14. Society for the Promotion of Roman studies, London.

O'Connell, M.G. & Bird, J. 1994. The Roman temple at Wanborough, excavation 1985-1986. *Surrey Archaeological Collection 82,* pp.1-168.

O'Coyle, J. 1993. *Romano-Celtic temples in Britain: Their composition, development, religious associations and possible genesis* MA Thesis, Dublin .

Ogilvie, R.M. 1974. *The Romans and their Gods.* Chatto & Windus,, London.

Orme, B. 1981. *Anthropology for Archaeologists.* Duckworth, London.

Osborne, R. 1987. *Classical landscape with figures: The ancient Greek city and its countryside.* George Philip, London.

Park, C.C. 1994. *Sacred worlds: An introduction to geography and religion.* Routledge, London.

Parker-Pearson, M. & Richards, C. (eds.). 1994. *Architecture and order: Approaches to social space.* Routledge, London 1994.

Penn, W.S. 1958. The Romano-British settlement at Springhead; Excavation of the Watling Street, Shop and Pedestal, site B. *Archaeolgia Cantiana, LXXII,* pp.77-110.

Penn, W.S. 1959. The Romano-British settlement at Springhead; Excavation of Temple 1, Site C 1. *Archaeolgia Cantiana* LXXIII, pp.1-61.

Penn, W.S. 1961. Springhead: Temples III and IV. *Archaeolgia Cantiana, LXXIV,* pp.113-140.

Penn, W.S. 1962. Springhead: Temples II and V. *Archaeolgia Cantiana, LXXVII,* pp.110-132.

Penn, W.S. 1964. Springhead: The Temple Ditch Site. *Archaeolgia Cantiana, LXXIX,* pp.170-189.

Penn, W.S. 1965. Springhead - Map of discoveries. *Archaeolgia Cantiana LXXX,* pp.107-117.

Penn, W.S. 1968. Springhead: Temple VI/Gateway. *Archaeolgia Cantiana LXXXIII,* pp.105-123.

Piton, D. & Dilly, G. 1985. Le fanum des Chatelets de Vendeuil-Caply (Oise) *Revue Archeologique de Picardie 1-2,* pp.25-47.

Pollard, J. 1995. Inscribing space: Formal deposition at the later Neolithic monument of Woodhenge, Wiltshire. *Proceedings of the prehistoric society,* 61, pp.137-156.

Price, E.G. 1983. Frocester. *Current Archaeology* 8, pp.139-45.

Quinnell, H. 1991. The temple and villa at Cosgrove, Northamptonshire. *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 23, pp.4-65.

Raglan, F.R. 1964. *The temple and the house.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Rahtz, P. 1951. The Roman temple at Pagans Hill, Chew Stoke, N. Somerset. *Somersetshire Archaeology and natural History Society,* pp.112-142

Rahtz, P. & Harris, L.G. The temple Well and other buildings at Pagans Hill, Chew Stoke, North Somerset. *Somersetshire Archaeology and natural History Society* 101/2, pp.15-51.

Rahtz, P. & Watts, L. 1979. The End of Roman Temples in the West. In Casey (ed.) *The End of Roman Britain,* BAR 71, pp.183-201.

Rahtz, P. & Watts, L. 1989. Pagans Hill Revisited. *Archaeological Journal* 146, pp.330-371.

Rahtz, P. *et al.* 1992. *Cadbury Congresbury 1968-73. A late/post Roman hilltop settlement in Somerset.* BAR Brit. Series 223, Oxford.

Rankin, H. 1987. *Celts and the classical world.* Routledge, London.

Rapoport, A. 1990. Systems of activities and systems of settings in S.Kent (ed.) *Domestic architecture and the use of space.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.9-20.

Rapoport, A. 1969. *House form and culture.* Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.

Raybould, M.E. 1997. *A study of inscribed material from Roman Britain: An inquiry into some aspects of literacy in Romano-British society.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, UWCN.

Reece, R. 1980a. Religion, coins and temples. In W.Rodwell.(ed.) *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain* BAR 77(i + ii), pp.115-128.

Reece, R. 1980b. Town and country; the end of Roman Britain. *World Archaeology* XIIi. pp.77-92.

Reid, M.L. 1989. A room with a view: an examination of round-houses, with particular reference to northern Britain *Oxford journal of archaeology* 8 (1), pp.1-40.

Renfrew, C. 1977. An excavation near Bourton Bridge, Bourton-on-the-water. Glos. *Glevensis* 11, p.42.

Renfrew, C. 1978. An excavation near Bourton Bridge, Bourton-on-the-water. Glos. *Glevensis* 12, p.28.

Renfrew, C. 1994. The archaeology of Religion. In C.Renfrew & E.Zubrow (eds.) *The Ancient Mind. Elements of Cognitive archaeology.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 47-54.

Renfrew, C. & Bahn, P. 1996. *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice.* 2nd edition. Thames and Hudson, London.

Renfrew, C. & Zubrow, E.B.W. (eds.) 1994. *The Ancient Mind. Elements of Cognitive archaeology.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Rey-Vodoz, V. 1991. Les Offrandes dans la sanctuaires Gallo-Romains. In J.L. Brunaux, J.L. (ed.). *Les sanctuaires celtiques et leurs rapport avec the monde Méditerranéen.* Dossiers de Protohistoire Errance, Paris, pp.215-220.

Richmond, I. 1963. Roman Essex. In *A history of the county of Essex, vol.3*, Victoria County History series, O.U.P., London.

Richmond, I. 1968. *Hod Hill. Vol.2, Excavations carried out between 1951 and 1958 for the Trustees of the British Museum and others.* British Museum, London.

Rodwell, W.(ed.) 1980. *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain.* BAR 77 (i + ii), Oxford.

Rodwell, W. 1980. Temple archaeology: Problems of the present and portents for the future. In W. Rodwell.(ed.) *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain* BAR 77(i + ii), pp.211-242.

Rodwell, W. & Rowley, T. 1975. *The small towns of Romano-Britain.* BAR 15, Oxford.

Rook, A.G., Walker, S. & Denston, C.B. 1984. A Roman Mausoleum and associated marble sarcohagus and burials from Welwyn, Hertfordshire. *Britannia* 15, pp.143-62.

Ross, A. 1967. *Pagan Celtic Britain.* Routledge, London.

Rouse, W.H.D. 1902. *Greek votive offerings.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Roymans, N. 1990. *Tribal societies in Northern Gaul: An anthropological perspective.* Amsterdam University press, Amsterdam.

Rudling, D.R.1981. The pottery. In O.Bedwin, *Excavations at Lancing Down, West Sussex 1980.* Sussex Archaeological collection 119, pp.49-53.

Rudling, D. 1998. The development of Roman villas in Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 136, pp.41-65.

Salway, P. 1993. *The Oxford illustrated history of Roman Britain.* O.U.P., Oxford.

Sanders, D. 1990. Behaviorable conventions and archaeology: methods for the analysis of ancient architecture in S.Kent (ed.) *Domestic architecture and the use of space.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.43 – 72.

Saunders, C. & Foster, J. (forthcoming). Iron Age Copper Alloy Weaponry. In Barrett *et al. CadburyCastle, Somerset: Prehistoric and Romano-British Archaeology.*

Scarth, H.M. 1885. The Roman Villa at Wemberham. Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society XXXI

Schofield, A. J. 1991. Interpreting artefact scatters: an introduction in A. J. Schofield (ed.). *Interpreting artefact scatters: contributions to ploughzone archaeology.* Oxbow Books, Oxford, pp.3-8.

Scott, E. 1993. *A Gazetteer of Roman Villas in Britain.* Leicester Archaeological Monographs 1, Leicester.

Sharples, N. 1991. *Maiden Castle.* Batsford, London.

Sheldon, H. & Yule, B. 1979. Greenwich Park. *London Archaeologist* 3 (12), pp.311-317.

Schwarz, K. 1959. *Atlas der Spatkeltischen Viereckschanzen Bayerns.* C. H. Beck, München.

Smith, R.J.C *et al.* 1997. *Excavations along the route of the Dorchester By-Pass, Dorset, 1986-8.* Trust for Wessex Archaeology, Salisbury.

Smith, S. 1994. A reassessment of the dating evidence for the Lydney temple site. *Dean Archaeology* 7, pp.28-33.

Smith, D.J., Hird, L. & Dix, B. 1990. The Roman villa at Great Weldon, Northamptonshire *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 22 pp.22-68

Stambaugh, J. E. 1978. The functions of Roman temples. *Aufstieg und Niedergang DerRomischen Welt II 16.1*, pp.554-604.

Stambaugh, J.E. 1988. *The Ancient Roman City.* Johns Hopkins, London.

Stanford, S.C. 1974. *Croft Ambrey: excavations carried out for the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club [Herefordshire] 1960-1966.* Archaeological Committee of the Malvern Hills Conservators, Malvern.

Stead, I. 1998. *The Salisbury hoard.* Tempus, Stoud.

Stead, I.M. & Rigby, V. 1986. *Baldock: The excavation of a Roman and pre-Roman settlement 1968-72.* Society for the promotion of Roman studies, London.

Taylor, G. 1967. *The Roman temples of Lebanon.* Dar el-Machreq, Beirut.

Taylor, M.V. 1963. Statuettes of horsemen and horses and other votive objects from Brigstock, Northants. *Antiquaries Journal* XLIII pp.263-268

Theoratus, D.J. and Lapena, F. 1994. Wintu sacred geography of northern California. In Carmichael *et al.* (eds.) *Sacred sites, Scared places.* Routledge, London.

Thevenot, É. 1968. *Divinités et Santuaries de la Gaule.* Fayard, Paris.

Tierney, J.J. 1960. The Celtic ethnography of Posidonius. In *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 60, pp.189-275.

Tisserand, G. 1981. Le sanctuaire de Flavier (Ardennes) à l'époque de La Tène. *L'age du fer en France septentrionale*, Reims (MSAC 2), pp.377-384.

Tomlin, R.S.O 1984. Roman Britain in 1983. *Britannia* 15, p.336.

Tomlin, R.S.O. 1993. The inscribed lead tablets: an interim report. In Woodward & Leach, *The Uley shrines: Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley. Gloucestershire*, English Heritage 1993, pp.113-130.

Tomlinson, R.A. 1976. *Greek sanctuaries*, Elek, London.

Tratman, E.K. 1962. Some ideas on the Roman roads in Bristol and north Somerset. *Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological society* 9.3. pp. 159-76.

Trigger, B.G. 1989. *A history of archaeological thought.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Turner, H.W. 1979. *From temple to meeting house: The phenomenology and Theology of places of worship.* Mouton,, The Hague.

Turner, R. 1982. *Ivy Chimneys, Witham. An interim report.* Essex County Council occasional paper 2, Chelmsford.

Turner, R. (forthcoming). Excavations of an Iron Age settlement and Roman religious complex at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex 1978-83. East Anglian Archaeology.

Venclova, N. 1993. Celtic Shrines in Europe: A sceptical approach. In *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12 pp.55-65.

Wait, G.A. 1985. *Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain.* BAR Series 149 (i+ii), Oxford.

Walker, D. 1988. The roman Coins. In B. Cunliffe & P. Davenport, *The temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath. Vol. 2 (2) The Finds from the sacred Spring* Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 16, London, 281-358.

Walters, B. 1992. *The Archaeology and History of Ancient Dean and the Wye Valley.* Thornhill, Cheltenham.

Watson, O.M. 1970. *Proxemic behaviour. A cross-cultural study.* Mouton, The Hague.

Watts, L. & Leach, P. 1996. *Henley Wood, Temples and cemetery Excavations 1962-69.* CBA Rep. 99, York.

Webster, G. & Smith, L. 1982. The excavation of a Romano-British rural establishment at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, 1961-79. Part II. C.AD360-400+. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological society* 100. pp.65-189.

Webster, G. 1983. The function of Chedworth Roman villa. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological society 101.* pp.5-15.

Webster, G. 1986a. What the Britons required from the gods as seen through the pairing of Roman and Celtic deities and the character of Roman offerings. In M. Henig & A. King (eds.) *Pagan Gods and shrines of the Roman Empire.* Oxford Univ. Comm. Arch. Monograph 8, pp.57-64.

Webster, G. 1986b. *The British Celts and their gods under Rome.* Batsford, London.

Webster, J. 1992. *The identification of ritual in the later Iron Age, with specific reference to selected themes in proto-historic Gaul and Britain.* Unpublished PhD Thesis, Edinburgh.

Webster, J. 1995. Sanctuaries and Sacred places. In M.Green (ed.) *The Celtic World.* Routledge, London, pp.445-464.

Wedlake, W.J. 1958. *Excavations at Camerton.* Camerton Excavation club.

Wedlake, W.J. 1982. *The excavation of the shrine at Nettleton, Wiltshire, 1956-1971.* Society of Antiquaries Rep. XL. London.

Wheeler, R.E.M. 1928. A Romano-Celtic temple near Harlow and a note on the type. *The Antiquaries journal* VIII, pp.300-326

Wheeler, R.E.M & Wheeler, T.V. 1932. *Report on the excavation of the prehistoric, Roman and post-Roman site at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire.* Society of Antiquaries Rep. IX, Oxford.

Wheeler, R.E.M & Wheeler, T.V. 1936. *Verulamium: A Belgic and two Roman cities.* Society of Antiquaries, Oxford.

Wheeler, R.E.M. 1943. *Maiden Castle, Dorset.* Society of Antiquaries Rep. XII, London.

Whitehouse, R.D. 1996. Ritual objects: Archaeological joke or neglected evidence? In J.B.Wilkins (ed.) *Approaches to the study of ritual: Italy and the Ancient Mediterranean.* Accordia Research Centre, London, pp.9-30.

Wickenden, N.P. 1988. *Excavations at Great Dunmow, Essex: a small town in the Trinovantian civitas.* East Anglian Archaeology reports 41, Chelmsford.

Wickenden, N.P. 1992. *The temple and other sites in the north-eastern sector of Caesaromagus.* Chelmsford: CBA Rep.75.

Wightman, E.M. 1986. Pagan cults in the province of Belgica *A.N.D.R.W.* II 18.1, 542-589.

Williams, J. 1969. Report 1: Upchurch Archaeological Group: Boxted. *Kent Archaeological Review* 18, p.9.

Williams, D.F. 1989. The impact of Roman amphora trade on pre-Roman Britain. In T.C.Champion (ed.) *Centre and periphery comparative studies in archaeology,* London, pp.142-150.

Williams, H.M.R. 1998. The Ancient Monument in Romano-British Ritual Practices. *TRAC 97 conference proceedings,* Oxbow Books, Oxford, pp.71-86.

Williams, R.J. & Zeepvat, R.J. 1994. *Bancroft: A late Bronze Age/Iron Age settlement, Roman Villa and Temple Mausoleum. Vol.1: Excavations & Building materials.* Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph Series No.7.

Wilson, D.R. 1961. Roman Britain in 1960. *Journal of Roman Studies 51,* p.175, p.184-5.

Wilson, D.R. 1962. Roman Britain in 1961. *Journal of Roman Studies 52,* pp.170-1.

Wilson, D.R. 1963. Roman Britain in 1962. *Journal of Roman Studies 53,* p.138.

Wilson, D.R. 1965. Roman Britain in 1964. *Journal of Roman Studies* 55, p.207.

Wilson, D.R. 1966. Roman Britain in 1965. *Journal of Roman Studies 56,* p.209.

Wilson, D.R. 1967. Review of M.J.T.Lewis, Temple in Roman Britain. *Journal of Roman Studies* 57, pp.238-242.

Wilson, D.R. 1972. Roman Britain in 1971. *Britannia* 3, pp.333-4.

Wilson, D.R. 1973. Temples in Britain: A topographical survey (1) *Caesarodunum* no.8, pp.24-44.

Wilson, D.R. 1975. Romano-Celtic Temple architecture. *Journal of the Roman Archaeological Association* no.38 (3rd series), pp.3-27

Wilson, 1980. Romano-Celtic temple architecture: How much do we really know? In W.Rodwell (ed.) *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain* BAR 77(I), pp.5-30.

Winbolt, S.E. 1927. Excavations at Farley Heath, Albury, 1926. *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 37, pt. 2, pp.180-199.

Woimat, G.P. 1985. Le sanctuaire antique d'Estrées-saint-Denis (Oise) *Revue Archeologique de Picardie 3-4,* pp.139-142.

Woodward, A. 1992. *Shrines and Sacrifice.* Batsford, London.

Woodward, P.J., Davies, S.M. & Graham, A. 1993. *Excavations at the old Methodist chapel, and Greyhound Yard, Dorchester, 1981-1984.* Dorset Natural History and Archaeology society monograph 12, Dorchester.

Woodward, A. & Leach, P. 1993. *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire: 1977-9.* English Heritage Archaeological Report 17, London.

Woolf, G. 1992. The unity and diversity of Romanisation. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3, pp.349-52.

Wright, R.P. 1985. A revised Restoration of the Inscription on the Mosaic Pavement found in the temple at Lydney Park. *Britannia 16,* pp.248-249.

Young, C. 1986. The Upper Thames Valley in the Roman period, In *G.Briggs* et al. *The Archaeology of the Oxford region. Oxford*

Zaidman, L.B. & Pantel, P.S. 1992. *Religion in the Ancient Greek city* (trans. P. Cartledge). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Zoll, A. 1995. A view through inscriptions: The epigraphic evidence for religion at Hadrian's wall. In J. Metzler *et al.* (eds.) *Integration in the earlyRoman west. The role of culture and ideology* Luxembourg, pp. 129-150.