ASPECTS OF THE ROMAN VILLA

AS A

FORM OF BRITISH SETTLEMENT

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County Codes Used in Appendix 1

AV	Avon	HT	Herts.
BD	Beds.	HU	Humbs.
BK	Berks.	IW	Isle of Wight
BU	Bucks.	KE	Kent
CA	Cambs.	LA	Lancs.
CH	Cheshire	LE	Leics.
CL	Clwyd	LI	Lincs.
CO	Cornwall	NF	Norfolk
CU	Cumbria	NH	Northants.
DB	Derbys.	NK	North Yorks.
DE	Devon	NT	Notts.
DO	Dorset	OX	Oxfordshire
DU	Durham	PO	Powys
DY	Dyfed	SH	Shropshire
EA	East Sussex	SO	Somerset
ES	Essex	SR	South Yorks.
GL	Glamorgan	ST	Staffs.
GS	Glos.	SU	Suffolk
GT	Gtr. London	SY	Surrey
GU	Gtr. Manchester	WA	Warwicks.
GW	Gwent	WM	West Midlands
GY	Gwynnedd	WS	West Sussex
HA	Hampshire	WY	West Yorks.
HE	Hereford and Worcester	WZ	Wilts.

Abbreviations

A.S.S.R.(P). - *Associated Architectural and Archaeological Societies Reports (and Papers)*

A. Ex. - *Archaeological Excavations in... (London HMSO)*

A.N.Lincs. - *Archaeological Notes* in *L.A.A.S.R.P.* (succeeded in 1966 by *L.H.A.*)

Anth. - *Anthropology*

Antiq. J. - *Antiquaries Journal*

Arch. Ael. - *Archaeologia Aeliana*

Arch. Camb. - *Archaeologia Cambrensis*

Arch. Cant. - *Archaeologia Cantiana*

Arch. in Wales - *Archaeology in Wales*

Arch. J. - *Archaeological Journal*

Arch. Newsletter - *Archaeological Newsletter*

Arch. Rev. - CBA Groups 12 and 13 *Archaeological Review*

B.A.A. - *British Archaeological Association*

B.A.A.R.G. - *Bristol and Avon Archaeological Research Group*

B.A.J. - *Berkshire Archaeological Journal*

Banwell Soc. Arch. Newsl. - *Banwell Society Archaeological Newsletter*

B.A.R. - *British Archaeological Reports*

B.A.R.G. - *Bristol Archaeological Research Group*

B.B.A.A. - *Bulletin of the Berkshire Archaeological Association*

B.B.C.S. - *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*

B.B.O.A.J. - *Berks., Bucks. and Oxon. Archaeological Journal*

Beds. Arch. J. - *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal*

Beds. Mag. - *Bedfordshire Magazine*

B.I.A.L. - Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, London

B.N.F.A.S. Bulletin of the Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies

Carm. Ant. - Carmarthenshire Antiquarian

CBA - Council for British Archaeology

C.R.A.A.G.S. - Council for Research in Archaeology in Avon, Gloucestershire and Somerset

C.V.A.H.S. - Chess Valley Archaeological and Historical Society

D.A.J. - Derbyshire Archaeological Journal

DMV - Deserted Mediaeval Village

E.A.A. - East Anglian Archaeology

E.M.A.B. - East Midlands Archaeological Bulletin

E.R.A.S.T. - East Riding Antiquarian Society Transactions

Essex Archaeol. Hist. - Essex Archaeological History

G.D.A.R.G. - Gloucester and District Archaeological Research Group

G.D.A.R. Grp. Rev. - Gloucester and District Archaeological Research Group Review

HBMC - Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission

HBMC *Arch. Rep.* - HBMC *Archaeological Report*

Herts. Archaeol. - Hertfordshire Archaeology

Herts. Arch. Rev. - Hertfordshire Archaeological Review

HMSO - Her Majesty's Stationery Office

H.T.N.R.Y. - History and Topography of the North Riding of Yorkshire

J.B.A.A. - Journal of the British Archaeological Association

J.N.N.H.S. - Journal of the Northamptonshire Natural History Society (Field Club)

J.R.A.F.C.C. - Journal of the Royal Air Force Collection, Cranwell

L.A.A.S.R.P. - Lincolnshire Architectural Society Reports and Papers

L.D.A.S.B. - Loughborough and District Archaeological Society Bulletin

L.H.A. - Lincolnshire History and Archaeology
Lincs. Mag. - Lincolnshire Magazine

Med. Arch. - Mediaeval Archaeology

MOW - Ministry of Workers

NMR - National Monuments Record (RCHME)

Northants. Arch. - Northamptonshire Archaeology

O.A.H.S.N.S. - Oxford Archaeology and History Society News Sheet

O.N.B. - Ordnance Note Book Ordnance Survey

P.A.I. - Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute

P.B.N.H.A.F.C. - Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club

P.C.A.S. - Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society

P.I.W.N.H.A.S. - Proceedings of the Isle of Wight Natural History and Archaeological Society

P.L.D.L.H.S. - Proceedings of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society

P.L.P.L.S. - Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society

P.P.S. - Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society

P.P.S.E.A. - Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia

Proc. B.B.S.A.N.H.S. - Proceedings of the Bath Branch of the Somerset
Archaeology and Natural History Society

Proc. Brit. Archaeol. Ass. at Winchester - Proceedings of the British Archaeological Association at Winchester

Proc. Cambs. Arch. Soc. - *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Archaeological Society*

Proc. Devon Arch. Soc. - *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society*

Proc. Dorset Antiq. Fld. Club - *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*

Proc. Dorset Natur. Hist Archaeol. Soc. - *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*

Proc. Hants. F.C. - *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*

Proc. S.A.N.H.S. - *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*

P.S.A. - *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

P.S.A.S. - *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*

P.S.D.A.N.H.S. - *Proceedings of the Scarborough and District Archaeology and Natural History Society*

P.T.R.S.L. - *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*

P.U.B.S.S. - *Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society*

RCHM(E) - Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (England)

R.M.H.R. - *Rutland Magazine and Historic Review*

R.R.S.A. - *Research Reports of the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

S.A.C. - *Surrey Archaeological Collections*

S.A.S.B. - *Surrey Archaeological Society Bulletin*

S.C.M. - *Sussex Collectors' Magazine*

SMR - Sites and Monuments Record

S.N.L. - *Shropshire Newsletter* (of the Shropshire Archaeological Society)

Staffs. Records Soc. (*Hist. Colls. Staffs.*) - Staffordshire Records Society *History Collections of Staffordshire*

Sx.A.S. - Sussex Archaeological Collections

Sx.A.S.N. - Sussex Archaeological Society News

T.A.M.S. - Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society

T.B.G.A.S. - Transactions of the Bristol and Glos. Archaeological Society

T.B.W.A.S. - Transactions of the Birmingham and Wolverhampton Archaeological Society

T.C.A.S.F.C. - Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society Field Club

T.C.S.V.F.C. - Transactions of the Cradoc and Severn Valley Field Club

T.D.D.A.S. - Transactions of the Dartford and District Antiquarian Society

T.E.A.S. - Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society

T.E.H.A.S. - Transactions of the East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society

T.H.N.H.S. - Transactions of the Hertfordshire Natural History Society

T.H.S.C. - Transactions of the History Society of Carmarthen

T.H.S.F.N.C. - Transactions of the Hull Scientific and Field Naturalists' Club

T.Lancs.Ches.A.S. - Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Archaeological Soceity

T.L.C.H.S. - Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire History Society

T.Leics.A.S. - Transactions of the Leicester Archaeological Society

T.L.M.A.S. - Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society

T.N.D.F.C. - Transactions of the Newbury and District Field Club

T.P.B.A.S. - Transactions and Proceedings of the Birmingham Archaeological Society

Trans. Cardiff Naturalists' Society - Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society

Trans. Devon Assoc. - Transactions of the Devon Association

T.R.H.S. - Transactions of the Romney Historical Society

T.S.A.H.A.A.S. - Transactions of the St. Albans, Hertfordshire, Architectural and Archaeological Society

T.S.A.S. - Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society

T.T.S. - Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire

T.V.A.R.C. - Trent Valley Archaeological Research Committee

T.V.A.S. - Test Valley Archaeological Society

T.W.A.S. - Transactions of the Worcester Archaeological Society

T.W.N.F.C. - Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club

VCH - The Victoria History of the Counties of England

V.E.H.S.R.R. - Vale of Evesham Historical Society Research Report

W.A.M. - Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine

W.D.A.S.N. - Wolverton and District Archaeology Society Newsletter

W.M.A.N.S. - West Midlands Archaeological News Sheet

W.S.W.H.A.S.B. - Watford and South-West Hertfordshire Archaeological Society Bulletins

W.S.W.H.A.N.S. - Watford and South-West Hertfordshire Archaeological News Sheet

Y.A.J. - Yorkshire Archaeologicl Journal

Y.A.R. - Yorkshire Archaeological Register

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the British provincial influences on the character and development of the Romano-British villa. The Introduction makes a case for the independence of Britain from any 'Euro-Celtic culture' and introduces the style and scope of the thesis. Chapter One examines late Iron Age society and settlement, analysing Caesar as a source and introducing models which are later used in conjunction with the Romano-British data. Chapter Two discusses ritual Iron Age burials and the possibility of infanticide. Chapter Three analyses the functions, origins and social position of aisled farmhouses, an important type of Romano-British villa 'outbuilding'. J.T. Smith's 'Unit Theory' is modified. In Chapter Four the development of the winged-corridor house is assessed from the perspective of 'Transformational Grammar'. An analysis of the configurations of social space suggests that the adoption of winged-corridor facades indicates fundamental changes in social relations; it was a social response to underlying economic changes. A new world of market forces, inflation, taxation and socially disembedded transactions led to a change in the world view of villa occupants. Chapter Five collects the substantial evidence for ritual animal burials and well deposits on villas. This behaviour was indigenous, yet peaked on

villas in the fourth century, and possible reasons for this are suggested. Chapter Six assesses the likelihood of infanticide on villas, noting that lingering Victorian attitudes should not warp our analyses. Dedicatory infant burials are discussed. These chapters are brought together in the Conclusions. Appendix One is a catalogue of known, suspected and possible villas. Appendix Two lists enclosed villas. Appendix Three lists villas built on or close to churches. Appendix Four lists decorative marble from villas.

INTRODUCTION

> What MUST be done is to be rid of the nineteenth-century assumption that the villas were owned and inhabited by Romans, living an entirely Roman way of life; but equally, the temptation must be resisted to see the villa owners as crude barbarians, adopting Roman amenities as status symbols only. In this, as in so many fields of study, the villas must be interpreted, not in isolation, but as part of the cultural pattern as a whole.
>
> (Percival 1987:544)

THE CULTURAL PATTERN

Villas were part of the Roman world. Romano-British villas are also part of British history - a unique history - and their forms, development, economic status and social meanings were shaped extensively by the social relations established during the British Iron Age (and earlier). This thesis seeks to demonstrate the strength of the provincial contribution to the character and development of the Romano-British villa. Iron Age Celtic Britain was of course part of a broad cultural arena, the Celtic world. But just as the 'Roman world' contained a remarkable diversity of cultural behaviour, so did the 'Celtic world'. Indeed, it might be argued that the 'Celtic world' is not a substantively meaningful concept at all, but rather one which has suited historians and archaeologists. The 'underlying unity' which Cunliffe (1979b :7) claims is recognisable often seems artificially imposed by him, and his further claim that 'today their [the Celts] cry for the recognition for

their separate identity is becoming louder' (ibid.) may well be regarded as nothing more than a device of political propaganda. In fact the Celtic culture of Britain was always set apart in many ways from that of Gaul. Differences in, for example, personal adornment, dialects, settlement forms and aspects of ritual all contributed to island Britain's individuality. It is significant that Julius Caesar, while not to be relied upon as a substantive ethnographer (pp.18-30), made certain remarks which if taken at face value - as empirical observations - suggest insular customs. The continuing use of chariots, the use of woad, and the male custom of shaving all the body hair except that of the upper lip was remarked upon by Caesar as being peculiar to Britain (*de Bello Gallico*, V, 14, 3). Ross notes the "vernacular customs of the British Isles" (1967:1,2) with regard to Celtic religion and ritual (although of course she also observes the similarities of certain cults with those known on the continent):

> ... the differences inherent in the insular and continental Celts must always be borne in mind...
>
> (*ibid*:2)

The question of Celtic languages is also interesting. Indeed, the facts that there were languages and not a language (Jackson 1955:77-88) argues away from a commonly perceived ethnicity among Celts, and therefore away from any meaningful idea of a 'Euro-Celtic culture'. It is

clear that before the end of the Roman period in Britain, regional and dialectal features existed within British speech (Jackson 1953:3-5,24 and *passim*), and it is possible that they existed before the Roman period; and there were of course also regional differences in material culture. Differences in house forms also contributed to island Britain's individuality. The roundhouse predominated in late Iron Age Britain, as opposed to the rectangular house which predominated on the continent; and, given that configurations of space are loaded with social meaning (pp.102-07), this point is significant.

The Romano-British villa had a character distinctly its own, with many features for which it is difficult to find convincing parallels on the continent, such as aisled houses (e.g. pp.50-54, 157-65). Because there are important facets of villa settlements in Britain which appear to have been insular provincial developments, we should be wary not to over-emphasise the 'Roman' part of the term 'Romano-British'. We must take into account the contribution that the province of Britain itself made to the character and development of the Romano-British villa. This province was shaped by its British Celtic heritage. This heritage did share many features with the continent, but the point to be made here is that Britain itself had a long history of, for example, types of ritual behaviour such as animal burials (pp.72-99), and

that when we find an animal burial on a Romano-British villa we do not necessarily need to argue for imported concepts from the continent, nor argue each individual burial away with trite functional reasoning, nor even on occasions as has happened make unsatisfactory parallels with Roman religious practices. It can be demonstrated that such burials are likely to be symbolic, and the result of ritual behaviour which could be accurately described as indigenous - though not necessarily exclusive - to this province. For instance, in Chapter Five I will discuss the possibility that the well at Brislington (AV15), and one of the wells at Barton Court Farm (OX42) were ritual wells, and I will suggest that they are a direct development of native Celtic 'ritual shafts'; but they are also a feature of Celtic Europe as far apart as France and Czechoslovakia. This development of the ritual shaft on villa settlements has not been recognised on the continent, although it may well be in the future when the appropriate research has been done. Even if it were recognised, there is a salient point to be made about the British examples, which is that they are late features, usually of the fourth century. The Romano-British villa does of course have a distinct history compared to continental villas. As Percival observes (1976:48; 1987:538), in France and Spain it is the Antonine and Severan periods which provide us with the most splendid examples of villas, but in Britain it

was the fourth century. The pattern of development of villas in Britain is unique to the province, for a number of complex historical, economic and social reasons. The historical factors have a great deal of literature written about them, but it is only recently that the economic and social factors have been addressed adequately. The fact that Percival in 1987 still felt it necessary to emphasise that the owners and inhabitants of villas were of native stock demonstrates this. It is only by understanding something of the nature of indigenous society in Britain, as well as the economic factors which operated during the Roman period in Britain, that we can begin to grasp what was happening on villa settlements in Britain throughout their existence. In the past it has been the "Roman" aspects of Romano-British villas which have tended to be emphasised, and it has of course been essential that such imported material culture and concepts such as mosaics, wall-paintings, baths etc. should have been thoroughly studied. However, the time is now ripe for us to begin to emphasise in its turn the indigenous contribution to the nature of the Romano-British villa

WHAT IS A VILLA?

What is a villa? The Digest of Justinian codified the term thus:

> By the name of *fundus* all the buildings and all the land is covered; but buildings and towns are called *aedes*, and rural ones are called

> *villae*. The place in a city without buildings is called an *area*, and in the countryside is called *ager*. The same *ager* with a building is called a *fundus*.
>
> (L.16.211; translated Graham Appleton)

The classic definition of modern times is Collingwood's:

> 'Villa' in Latin means farm. It is an economic term; it refers to the fact that the place so designated is an agricultural establishment. Any house of the Roman period may be called a villa, provided that it was the dwelling of people, somewhat Romanised in manners, who farmed a plot of land; as opposed to a town house on the one hand and a cottage on the other.
>
> (1930:113)

Unfortunately Collingwood's definition is problematical. He has not properly distinguished a 'villa' from a 'cottage'; by his own definition a cottage could in fact *be* a villa. Indeed Varro has one of his characters admit that the term villa could just as much signify a humble farmhouse as a luxurious country seat (Res Rusticae, III, ii, 10; Smith, D.J. 1978:117). Also, Collingwood is not being strictly accurate when he says that a villa is a farm. The Digest of Justinian states that the fundus is the farm (assuming that by 'farm' we mean farm buildings together with farm land). A villa is specifically the building or buildings found in a rural situation in the Roman world. We can go further than this, however. It is clear from the way that the Romans built farmhouses, and encouraged their provincials to build farmhouses, that the term 'villa' was intended to apply to those buildings which were constructed in the

Roman fashion: they should be rectangular and either stone-footed or built entirely of stone. There are of course exceptions to every rule - a corridor house was built entirely in timber in the third century at Wherwell in Hants. (HA:101), and is surely deserving of the title 'villa', not least because it was an obvious attempt at recognised villa architecture. Ideally, what was cognisable to the Romano-British population as a villa should be cognisable to us as a villa. Just as now though the meaning of the word 'villa' was debated (at least by Varro). A villa must have been an imposing establishment on the British landscape, setting up both physical and social barriers (see Chapter Four). This sort of building will have been copied at all levels, which is why we get such a blurring of the picture; we are presented with a continuum rather than a stratified set of discrete types of houses. The problem which faces the modern day archaeologist is summed up by Greene:

> Most British archaeologists would agree about the definition of perhaps 80 per cent of supposed villa sites in Britain, and will entertain no doubts about those endowed with fine mosaic floors and bath-houses. The problem arises over borderline cases - when does a farm become a villa?
>
> (1986:89)

The problem is a perennial one, and as long as the term 'villa' remains firmly entrenched in our archaeological vocabulary, one can only exhort excavators and other scholars to use common sense in applying the

term. In this thesis the term will be used to describe a building or group of related buildings in the countryside which incorporates rectilinear planning and is built at least of masonry.

NUMBER OF VILLAS IN BRITAIN

In 1956 the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain listed 604 Villas, Probable Villas and Other Substantial Buildings. In 1987 Percival wrote that "the figure must by now be well in excess of 700" (p.529). The figure is in fact much higher than this. A major contribution of this thesis to the future of villa studies is Volume II (Appendix 1), which is a Catalogue of Known, Suspected and Possible Villa Sites in Britain. The criteria for inclusion are made explicit. Over 2,000 entries are listed, complete with grid references, a short piece of descriptive text and bibliographic references. Each entry has its own unique number, which is used as a cross-reference to the catalogue each time a villa is mentioned for the first time in a chapter. Thus, Tockington in Avon is written "Tockington (AV2)". County codes are given on p.ix. The compilation and layout of the catalogue is further explained in Appendix 1, and some implications of this work discussed in the Conclusions chapter. The existence of such a large catalogue has allowed me to cite a great many examples in the text and, I believe, will prove to be of lasting benefit to Romanists. For too long now Romanists have

only been able to speculate about the number of villas in Britain; now a quantification exercise has come to fruition.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The very mention of the word 'villa', even amongst hard and fast students of Roman Britain, is frequently met with a bored indifference and an attitude which seems to say "if you've seen one villa you've seen them all"; and students of villas can be caricatured as zealous antiquaries who, whilst cheerfully admitting that they do not know what a villa actually *is*, will nevertheless manage to find a few to excavate. I find it sad that such a rich and fascinating source of evidence for the social and economic behaviour of the Romano-British population has become such a maligned and neglected database. Some scholars have sought to tackle villas from new perspectives (e.g. Hodder and Millett 1980), but they have displayed a disturbing lack of familiarity with the data - a trait which they would undoubtedly find abhorrent in prehistorians - coupled with some of the virulent verbal excesses of modern academic archaeology. Some excellent analyses of Romano-British villas have been produced, most notably in volumes edited by Rivet (1969a) and Todd (1978a), but much more new work is needed.

MODELS

It is hoped that this thesis will redress the balance somewhat by presenting some fresh ideas about Romano-British villas, but intelligibly; while a number of recent analytical concepts are employed (and a number are introduced in the Iron Age chapters to facilitate understanding of how these concepts operate in different archaeological environments - see pp.41-63), every effort is made to explain their purposes quite fully in accessible language. Various models have proved useful when examining specific areas of study, and these form a framework within which questions can be asked, problems defined and explanations attempted.

The Roman period of Britain lasted nearly four hundred years, 'as long as from the time of Queen Elizabeth I to the present day' (Johnston 1983:9). This is a vast length of time relative to the average life span of a human, particularly in Roman times. A small child at the time of the Claudian invasion would, if he survived to the end of the first century, have been a grandparent or great-grandparent, and would have seen quite a few generations reacting to, and interacting with, the Roman presence. The Roman occupation brought about obvious changes in the material culture of the province; what are not so obvious, however, are the relative degrees of continuity and change in the economy and social structure of the Britons. Archaeologists, and

especially Romanists, have become adept at describing artefacts and dating sites. If, however, we are to enhance descriptive and chronological considerations with a fuller understanding of the structure of societies, culture change and human behaviour, we must view material culture additionally as a tool with which to measure important economic and social changes. This material culture includes villas. Such measurements are not simple, and assessments of past cultural change cannot and must not be directly extrapolated from the experiences of our own society. Ethnographic models, however, if correctly used, can be of great value. The use of recently developed models concerned with the social use of space are particularly important in Chapter Four (pp.159-65; 179-82); and ethnographic parallels are discussed in Chapter One (pp.23-30) to demonstrate that there was nothing unusual about family structure in Britain - we are dealing with 'normal' extended families.

SCOPE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is not intended to be a comprehensive survey of all aspects of Romano-British villas, but rather it is an attempt to elucidate some of the more important questions concerning development, change and continuity. In some cases no concrete conclusions may yet be reached, but it is hoped that a more thorough treatment of a number of interesting topics will prove useful and encourage further discussion on these issues.

This is not to say that I do not have some very firm views on certain aspects of Romano-British villas, which will be discussed in the Conclusions chapter.

There is much literature about the continental influences on the building techniques and the social behaviour of the occupants of Romano-British villas. This thesis is an explanation of the provincial aspects of these villas; it examines the economic and social forces which shaped Romano-British society and the houses that they built for themselves and lived in.

CHAPTER ONE

SOCIAL RELATIONS IN LATE IRON AGE BRITAIN

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In an ideal world the evaluation of the Romano-British achievement would include a replete and relevant understanding of pre-Roman Iron Age Britain. In the real world, however, many influential Romanists do not aspire to comprehensive familiarity with contemporary Iron Age studies. They eschew the data and shun the theory. In his address at All Souls College, Oxford, in 1987, Frere somewhat disappointingly played the part of an intransigent reactionary:

> But above all, we need to teach the new generations of archaeologists the virtues of clear selective reporting, and to show them that Roman Britain was an outpost of the classical world, where wild anthropological or sociological theories and their accompanying jargon, introduced from the shadowy and de-personalised world of prehistory, have little place....

Such advice is at best bemusing to the archaeologists who see the analytical study of villas as one of the real challenges left to students of Roman Britain. A great many villas have been excavated in this country, but one often feels that we have progressed little beyond description of walls, mosaics, seeds and bones. Further, Rivet stresses that:

> ...the period of Roman Britain is not, in the epistemological sense, a fully historical period, for no local literature concerning it has survived.

(1969b:173)

Frere's advice therefore makes little sense to those trying to shed new light on the development of Romano-British villas. Paricularly, unfamiliarity with late Iron Age data and theory makes some Romanists not only unwilling but also unable to analyse the social meanings of the adoption of Romanised material culture such as villas. The pre-Roman Iron Age, by definition, ends with the invasion and immediate occupation of Britain by the Roman army in A.D. 43. Roman provincial administration was established soon afterwards. This, however, did not necessarily lead to the instant demise of Iron Age, or 'Celtic', material culture, social practices, social structure, settlement patterns, settlement morphologies and exchange networks. Such facets of human interaction were deeply ingrained in Iron Age culture and could not be swiftly or easily reordered. It is essential that the human processes which operated in late Iron Age Britain are understood, for they formed not just a 'background' (e.g. Bowen 1969:1) to Roman Britain, but actually constituted the native social relations of at least the early period of Roman occupation. As there is a strong body of evidence to suggest that the bulk of the owners and occupiers of British villas were of native stock (e.g. Roberts 1977:44), this latter point is clearly crucial.

The study of late Iron Age Britain as a specialisation is as contentious - even acrimonious - as any field of study in contemporary archaeology. While it is therefore difficult for Romanists to develop a comprehensive familiarity with Iron Age studies, it is nevertheless essential that they at least abstain from the tendency to turn automatically, exclusively and uncritically to Cunliffe (particularly 1974 and 1979a) and Harding (1974) when some Iron Age 'background' is needed. For example, not all Iron Age specialists accept the real, substantive existence of ethnic groups indicated by the tribal names given by Caesar and later, Tacitus. Romanists have however, rather undiscerningly used these 'tribes' in analyses of the distribution of villas and recognition of villa types (e.g. Branigan 1976:21-24; Rivet 1969b:210-14).

1.2 JULIUS CAESAR AS A SOURCE FOR LATE IRON AGE SOCIETY

An assessment of the character of Iron Age society in southern Britain before the Roman conquest, for the specific purpose of villa studies, has been attempted by Todd (1978b:197-208). While Todd rightly determines that

> Roman Britain was, first and foremost, a part of the Celtic world
>
> (*ibid*:197)

There are some grounds for contending his decision that

> Following the sound historical principle that the best of all possible sources is that which is closest in space and time to what is being described, our best evidence for the nature and

> ordering of pre-Roman Celtic society is the account of Julius Caesar.
>
> (*ibid*:197-8)

1.2.1 Caesar as Ethnographer - General

Todd prefers to subordinate archaeological data and theory to the account of Caesar. This stance, however, has its problems. It would of course be trite to discuss in detail the art of source criticism here, but it is useful to consider the account of Caesar and the many problems attached to its use as a source for the character of late Iron Age society in Britain. Why did Caesar write *de Bello Gallico*? He was not an anthropologist. He was not aiming to provide a comprehensive, formal analysis of Celtic society. Rather, he was reporting back to the literate world what manner of people he believed he had encountered in Gaul. We cannot be sure whether he was more interested in the apparent differences or the apparent similarities between the Gauls and the Romans. We do not know if he had really experienced the nature of Gaulish society himself at length, of if he really understood it at all (Todd 1978b:198).

> Probably it was a complex business...and he might not have been entirely clear on the matter.
>
> (*ibid*)

Even if Caesar had been attempting some sort of anthropological treatise, he would still need to adopt one of the crucial principles of ethnographic

observation, which is the need to distinguish beteen emic and etic approaches. The latter is of little value as a method of anthropological analysis. Emics is a system whereby the group of people under study are assessed from their own viewpoint, substantively, and their social organisation is seen as but part of a complex structural model of social strategy (e.g. Hodder 1982d:158; Barley 1986:168). The group under study is not directly compared to the observer's own society. Etics, by contrast, is a system whereby the observer's 'superior' values (usually western twentieth century values) govern his analysis and judgement concerning the population under study. Caesar in his account of Gaulish society, was taking an etic stance by assessing it in the light of his own Roman society. Thus the Gauls are categorised according to the class structure of Rome and are given - probably inappropriately - convenient Latin labels such as 'equites', 'nobiles' and 'plebs'. Were any of the putative Gaulish 'classes' described by Caesar really comparable with their Roman counterparts? This must be considered to be highly unlikely. Gaulish society must be assessed on its own terms, and should not be measured against Caesar's own 'civilised' Roman society.

Caesar's account of his campaigns in Britain of 55 and 54 B.C. have been discussed at length elsewhere (e.g. Cunliffe 1974:64-66). As a result of his account the names of British tribes have become firmly entrenched in

our archaeological vocabulary. However, how many of these names are substantively reliable, and how many may have been convenient collective labels? Just as Caesar is not, I feel, an infallible source of evidence for Iron Age social relations in Britain, neither can he be regarded as wholly reliable where his ethnographic divisions are concerned. Archaeological studies have clearly demonstrated that Caesar was wrong to divide the Celts and the Germans by the Rhine, for at the time of which he was writing there was some uniformity of material culture on either side of the Rhine. Again Caesar appears to have tried to rationalise this. Given Rome's insistence on seeing the River Rhine as a (convenient) ethnographic dividing line, he attempted to explain away the similarity of material culture by giving the German Celts (west of the Rhine) trans-Rhenine roots (*de Bello Gallico*, II, 3). The Celts of this area do not, however, actually need to be attributed a migratory orgin as the archaeology of the area reveals that they have a very long development of their own in the western strip of West Germany, eastern France and the Benelux countries (Wells 1972:22-30).

It is important to recognise that Caesar as a social commentator was not infallible. Contrary to Professor Todd's assertion, we cannot regard the social organisation of the south of England at the time of the Claudian invasion as being significantly similar to that

of Gaul, particularly the Gaulish society so subjectively described by Caesar. The social strucutre of Celtic Britain must be assessed on its own terms, substantively, and our analysis of it must not be predetermined. It has been suggested that the tribal names and lands talked about by Roman commentators such as Caesar (and, using the same source, Tacitus) were in actual fact just bureaucratic 'gloss', and these names and divisions may have meant little to the indigenous people of the provinces themselves. For example, in northern African the inscriptions from burials and commemorative contexts give the person's name and tribe, but then, more interestingly, also list the person's *gens*, seemingly a crucial piece of information to the population because of its very inclusion. The native north Africans, therefore, appear to have measured their social identity by means of their lineages, and not by their tribes, understandably as the tribal areas and populations were so large. In all the provinces one finds that the further one looks beyond the core area of Romanisation, the larger the tribal areas seem to become, again supporting the idea that these tribal names and land divisions were in fact arbitrary Roman bureaucratic 'gloss' (Nick Hodgson, pers.comm.).

An interesting situation described by Caesar involves the Cantiaci tribe of Kent. Caesar talks not of the tribe having one king (rex) as with the Trinovantes

(*de Bello Gallico*, V, 20), but of Cantium being a country by the sea, over whose four districts Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segovax ruled as kings. Do we have here an echo of real dominant lineages as opposed to the artificial tribal names used by Rome (e.g. 'Regni')? Similarly, it is interesting that Caesar speaks of the Cenimagni, the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, the Bibroci, and the Cassi (*de Bello Gallico*, V, 21), groups of people who never appear in any records again. Nor do we know their geographical locations. It is possible that these too are names of dominant lineages whose names became eclipsed by the artificial tribal names used in Roman literature and provincial administration. Cunliffe, incidentally, is incorrect to refer to these names as being those of 'tribes' as Caesar himself does not use the term of them; in fact he does not use any terms to describe these groups of people (Cunliffe 1974:64). We must certainly beware of using such 'historically documented tribes' in analyses of the distribution of villas and the recognition of types in Britain, which, as mentioned above (p.17), both Branigan and Rivet have done. Hodder's observation that the fourth century mosaic schools recognised by David Smith (1969:95-119) had their roots in *tribal* groupings is likely to be equally misguided (Hodder 1979:194).

The historical record written by Caesar concerning the Belgic invasion provides no dates and no facts which

can be demonstrated to be either reliable or relevant to any detailed analysis of culture change. Romanists have largely neglected the available archaeological data and theory concerning late Iron Age Britain to the detriment of Roman studies.

1.2.2 Caesar as Ethnographer - Family Structure

It is likely that the prevailing form of family in Iron Age Britain was the extended family, where the family unit comprises three or even four generations living together in the same building, or associated buildings. Anthropologists have long noted the prevalence of extended families among agriculturalists (e.g. Ember and Ember 1977:296). There is, however, a remark made by Caesar about British marriage customs which requires some comment. His curious observation is that:

> Groups of ten or twelve men have wives together in common, and particularly brothers along with brothers, and fathers with sons; but the children born of the unions are reckoned to belong to the particular house to which the maiden was first conducted.
>
> (*de Bello Gallico*, V, 14)

Caesar here appears to be describing what anthropologists term 'female polygamy' or 'polyandry', and, in this instance, it further appears to be fraternal polyandry. What would an anthropologist make of this? If Caesar's remark were true, it would have major implications for the study of the social relations of the Iron Age, and

therefore of Iron Age houses, house groupings and settlement morphologies and, of course, for the study of later Romano-British house forms such as villas.

Polyandry is the coexistent union of one woman with two or more men, and fraternal polyandry the coexistent union of one woman with two or more brothers. Anthropologically documented instances of any form of polyandry are actually so rare that it may be regarded as an ethnological curiosity. Murdock's world ethnographic sample includes only four societies, representing less than one per cent of the total, where polyandry is practised (1949:25).

Some Tibetans and the Toda of India practice fraternal polyandry. Marriage arrangements are such that the wife of one brother is accepted as the wife of all the brothers in one generation of a family, even of a brother who is born after the wedding itself. For the Toda, paternity of a child does not necessarily reside with the biological father but with a social father. The status of the social father is established legally with a ceremony in the seventh month of pregnancy, in which the brother who is to become the social father presents the wife with a toy bow and arrow. This ritual establishes social paternity and confers legitimate descent on the child (Ember and Ember 1977:294). Generally, the family live *together in the same* house. In Tibet, each husband has his own room if the household is sufficiently

wealthy. One possible explanation for the existence of polyandry is the practice of female infanticide, which limits the number of adult women in a society.

The Toda and Tibetans practice female infanticide, and polyandry may therefore be a response to an imbalanced sex ratio in favour of men, though why female infanticide is practised in the first place is not clear. Another explanation, though specific to Tibet, suggests that polyandry is a response to political and economic conditions among a certain class of serfs. These serfs were allocated a fixed amount of agricultural land by their lords, and the land could be passed on to their sons. It has been suggested that these serfs practised polyandry as a way of preventing partition of a family's corporate lands. Rather than divide a small parcel of land between them, brothers married one woman and kept the land and the household undivided. Those Tibetan groups with more land - the lords - or those with non-inheritable land or no land do not practise polyandry (*ibid*:294-5). It must be stressed that polyandry is never practised throughout the community: there cannot exist a community in which every woman would have several husbands, since this would entail and enormous surplus of males over females which even female infanticide could not consistently maintain.

Ethnographers in the 1930's showed an unfortunate tendency to apply the term 'polyandry' to sporadic

instances of the association of several men with one woman in contravention of cultural norms, or to cases where a woman enjoys sexual privileges with the brothers of her husband although she does not cooperate economically with them. The extension of the sexual rights of either partner in a marital union to the siblings-in-law of opposite sex is by no means a rare phenomenon. It was found by Murdock (1949:25) in all three of the tribes among which he engaged in fieldwork, namely, the Haida, Tenino and Trukese, and also in another 41 societies in his sample of 250, which was considerably more than half of those for which pertinent information is available. Such sexual privileges, however, by no means constitute *marriage*. The term 'polyandry' must be reserved exclusively for a form of marriage which is socially sanctioned and culturally patterned and which involves economic cooperation and residential cohabitation as well as sexual rights (*ibid*:25-6).

Could Caesar have been making the same mistake as the ethnographers of the thirties? He may well have misinterpreted the extension of sexual entitlements to siblings-in-law as a form of marriage (or had such a misinterpretation reported to him), or he could have been reporting a situation which existed only in one stratum of society which owned little land and possessions. Iron Age society is, however, unlikely to have operated with

'lords' and 'serfs' as Mediaeval and Tibetan society did; Iron Age society was a non-monetary, 'traditional' one, and different social and economic mechanisms applied (e.g. Hodder 1979). What Caesar says about the children of these non-monogamous contacts indicates that the former proposition is possibly correct:

> ...the children of the unions are reckoned to belong to the particular house to which the maiden was first conducted.
>
> (*de Bello Gallico*, V, 14)

That is, the woman is permitted to have sexual relations outside of marriage but her actual husband is always regarded as the social father of all her children. These additional sexual relations take place outside of the woman's household, and thus Caesar is not giving us a description of true polyandry, but a description of socially acceptable extra-marital sexual relations which tend to occur between a woman and her husband's brothers. There are a number of reasons why such a situation can develop in traditional societies. A substantial number of societies openly accept extra-marital relationships. among the Toda there is no censure of such behaviour (which we call adultery); indeed,

> immorality attaches to the man who begrudges his wife to another.
>
> (Ford and Beach 1951:117)

The chukchee of Siberia, who often travel long distances, allow a man to engage in sexual intercourse with his

host's wife, with the understanding that he will offer the same hospitality when the host visits him (*ibid*:113). In some societies, however, only one brother out of a family can afford to get married, possibly because only the eldest brother inherits the family's land in order to avoid the partitioning of the land between many sons. The younger sons are often not expected to marry. This happens, for example, in Polynesia, where female infanticide is practised (Williamson 1978:68). In parts of the Arab world the youngest son is traditionally given the lowly job of goatherd and while he is not forbidden to marry, it is difficult for him to do so for financial reasons. This traditional differentiation between brothers interestingly appears in the biblical folklore of Genesis (4:2) where Adam's son Cain, the elder, and Abel, the younger, are a tiller of the ground and a keeper of sheep respectively.

Many societies encourage 'levirate marriage'. This is the custom whereby a man is obliged to marry his brother's widow. Again the Bible provides a famous instance, this time when the Sadducees insidiously questioned Jesus:

> Teacher, Moses wrote for us that if a man's brother dies and leaves a wife, but leaves no child, the man must take the wife, and raise up children for his brother. There were seven brothers; the first took a wife, and when he died left no children; and the second took her and died, leaving no children; and the third likewise; and the seven left no children. Last

> of all the woman also died. In the resurrection whose wife will she be?
>
> (Mark 13: 19-23)

In other societies, the next oldest brother becomes the successor husband to a woman, even if she has had children. He cares for the widow and children and assumes the sexual privileges of the husband (Ember and Ember 1977:291).

It is therefore clear that Caesar may have been describing a situation whereby women had one husband and were, technically, monogamous, but favoured, or were encouraged to favour, extra-marital sexual relations with their husbands' brothers. This may have been because, in at least some sections of society, younger brothers were unable to support a marriage of their own, but were allowed to have sexual relations with their eldest brother's wife.

Other passages in the historical record are illuminating, particularly Dio's (admittedly much later) comments on the sexual freedom of British women:

> ...a very witty remark is reported to have been made by the wife of Argentocoxus, a Caledonian, to Julia Augusta. When the empress was jesting with her, after the treaty, about the free intercourse of her sex with men in Britain, she replied: "We fulfil the demands of nature in a much better way than do you Roman women; for we consort openly with the best men, whereas you let yourselves be debauched in secret by the vilest." Such was the retort of the British woman.
>
> (Dio, *Epitome of Book* LXXCII, 16, 5)

Elsewhere the historical record also seems to confirm that whereas British women may have had certain sexual freedoms, they were only *married* to one man at a time. The documented laws of Irish and Welsh society of the first millennium A.D. reveal that marriage normally comprised one man and one woman (Cunliffe 1979b:48). Famous Celtic women such as Boudicca and Cartimandua had just one husband at any one time; indeed, Cartimandua divorced and deposed Venutius in favour of his armour-bearer Vellocatus (Tacitus, *Hist.* iii, 45; Salway 1982:133). These three infamous Brigantian characters understood only too well the social importance attached by their society to an exclusive *marriage* liaison.

1.2.3 The 'Belgic Invasion' of Britain

Another major problem concerning Todd's acceptance of Caesar's account as the most important evidence for the character of late Iron Age society in Britain is that the Gaulish society of which Caesar wrote was exactly that - *Gaulish* - and *not* that of southern Britain. There is, of course extensive literature on the subject of the supposed invasion of parts of south-eastern England by Gaulish Belgae circa 150-100 B.C., interestingly enough 'documented' by Caesar, with the attendant belief that the societies of both areas were presumably, therefore, extremely similar.

However, the 'Belgic invasion' of England is a dictum which is currently being overthrown by iron Age

specialists. Invasion hypotheses in general, as explanations for cultural change, are no longer *de rigeur*, and for good reasons. Prehistorians have developed new ways of looking at archaeological material, and are now recognising cultural change as being often the result of change *within* a cultural system, rather than as a result of alleged invasions, incursions or migrations. The archaeological evidence for Caesar's 'Belgic invasion' was traditionally considered to be overwhelming. Caesar gave the information that the maritime areas of Britain were raided and then settled by invaders from the Belgic areas of Gaul, who for the most part retained their tribal names. No dates, however, are given (*de Bello Gallico*, v12). This settlement has been linked with the two earliest groups of Gallo-Belgic coins found in England (Cunliffe 1974:59): Gallo-Belgic A, or Bellovacian coinage, which originated in the area of the Somme and intruded into Kent and Essex, and Gallo-Belgic B, defaced Bellovacian dies, from the Somme and lower Seine regions, which concentrates in England and the Thames area. Both types were current in Gaul between circa 150-100 B.C. and their British usage is likely to fall within this range. Cunliffe asked in 1974:

> If the people represented by the coin distribution are Caesar's raiders and settlers, it is reasonable to ask what, if anything, such an incursion brought with it beside the coins. A money economy, clearly, and no doubt some degree of reformed political organisation, but if the movement was essentially an influx of

> warrior aristocrats, it would be pointless to look for substantial changes in the indigenous folk culture.

Cunliffe clearly overstepped the mark in deducing a money economy from the presence of these coins. Coinage does not necessarily mean currency. Coins when introduced to a non-monetary society, may be treated purely as prestige goods. We now have to consider not only whether Caesar's hearsay is at all reliable, but whether the presence of Gallo-Belgic coinage in the south-east of England indicates a change in the society of that area in the sense of

> the spread of the political and economic system of the Belgic communities to most of the south and east

as Cunliffe asserted (*ibid*). Thus we return to the question of whether Caesar was a reliable witness and can be used with impunity as a source to aid discussion of the nature of late Iron Age society in Britain. It is interesting to recall his motives. Greek and Roman writers, uninhibited by ideals of providing a detached commentary, based their literature concerning barbarians less on how their subjects actually behaved than on how it was felt they ought to behave (Laing 1979:30). A desire on the part of the classical authors to idealise the barbarians they encountered as 'noble savages' confuses the reports which seek to provide information about Celtic society. This tendency can be seen particularly in the speeches which barbarian chiefs are

purported to have made; they contain noble sentiments intelligible to classical readers but possibly meaningless to the audience the chiefs were supposedly addressing. The speech attributed to the Gaulish leader Vercingetorix is:

> a figment of Caesar's imagination, a literary device to make the enemy seem more worthy of being conquered, and the conquest therefore more praiseworthy. Who wants to be known as the conqueror of a disordered rabble of yahoos in the backwoods?
>
> (*ibid*)

By the same token it would be in Caesar's interests to 'discover' classes of nobiles, equites *etcetera* among the Gauls and to exaggerate greatly the sphere of influence of the European Celts he conquered, extending their seat of power into island Britain. It is of course possible that the continental Belgic 'aristocracy' despatched an elite leadership across the channel, but the change of elite leadership does not usually change the basic fabric of society; for example, after the conquest of Britain by William the French court had little impact on the social relations and culture of ordinary people. Similarly the arrival of an elite aristocracy and with them a number of status objects in the form of coins will not have resulted in sweeping political and economic changes in British Iron Age society. Iron Age society had actually been undergoing great changes in the centuries preceding 150 B.C. The development of hill forts and other

material culture all indicate great change. These changes came from within the system; no-one feels the need to attribute these developments to aliens. As far as continental exchange networks are concerned, it appears that, measured in sheer bulk of surviving artefacts, trade with the continent began to decrease in volume after the sixth or fifth century B.C.

The years *circa* 150-100 B.C. are seen as a critical time for southern Britain by many scholars, with the putative arrival of Belgic warriors and the re-defending of major hill forts at this time as a response. Hill forts such as Danebury and Maiden Castle were certainly re-defended in the first century B.C., but the assertion that this was as a response to the arrival of Belgic warriors is moot. Hill fort development could occur independently of intrusive peoples, and Samson demonstrates (below pp.52) that the construction of major defensive works can take place in times of relative peace.

In addition, the dating evidence for the re-defending of these hill forts is not satisfactory, and does not match up to the dates offered by scholars such as Cunliffe for the arrival of the first Belgae, *circa* 150-100 B.C. (e.g. Cunliffe 1974:59-60). The evidence for the date of the massive re-defending at Danebury comprises one coin, a gold-plated Gallo-Belgic C coin from the top of the primary silt of the outer hornwork

ditch (*ibid*:63; 1983:180). The coin was in very good condition. It is impossible for excavators to date precisely construction levels using coins found in later - even an immediately later - level, for it is not possible to estimate precisely how long the coin was in use between the date of its minting and the date of its deposition. In addition, if the coin lies upon a layer of silt, as did the Danebury coin, one is forced to make a somewhat arbitrary, perhaps even biased decision as to how long it took for the silt to form. Absolute dating is not possible in such situations. Only a range of possible dates can be offered. Cunliffe would like to see a date of *circa* 100 B.C. for the changes to both Danebury and Maiden Castle, which rather opportunistically corroborates his belief, in which he is of course not alone, that

> The influx of bands of warlike people, particularly in the thirty years on either side of 100 B.C., must have added to the ferment even if the incomings were at first numerically small.
>
> (*ibid*:63)

Other sites with similar complex outworks such as Badbury and Hambledon Hill are, to all intents and purposes, unexcavated and undated. This is why Cunliffe concentrates on Danebury and Maiden Castle. It could be ventured that Cunliffe's dating of the major 'defensive' changes to these latter two sites to *circa* 100 B.C. is opportunistic in the light of his insistence (in 1974)

that Caesar's raiders and settlers arrived *circa* 150-100 B.C., as represented by the earliest coinage in Britain, and further that this same period saw

> new Belgic dynasties....establishing themselves in the south-east.

He ensnares himself in a circular argument by contending that his dating of the defensive changes to Danebury and Maiden Castle to *circa* 100 B.C. is evidence for the existence of Belgic warrior dynasties, while he has in fact arbitrarily dated those crucial site developments in the light of his already held belief in the Belgic invasion. It is possible to offer alternative dates, or rather very wide ranges of dates, for the site developments at Danebury and Maiden Castle. A Gallo-Belgic C coin found in fresh condition was dropped on the primary silt of the outer hornwork ditch at Danebury. These coins are not closely datable. The seminal study of intrusive Gallo-Belgic coinage was presented by Allen (1958:97-308), and has been closely followed by Cunliffe (1974:59-62). The earliest coins, types A and B, were current in Gaul between *circa* 150-100 B.C. and therefore their British usage is likely to fall within this range. The next wave of coinage is type C, which originated a little after 100 B.C. and remained in use for thirty to forty years (*ibid*:60). It is difficult to understand how Cunliffe can use a coin whose date of origin on the continent was *after* 100 B.C. and whose life-span took it

to *circa* 50 B.C. as evidence for a date of *circa* 100 B.C. Also we know that the coin lay over silt. We do not know how long it took for this silt to build up, though experiments suggest that this process can occur very rapidly, certainly within a few years. We thus cannot give an absolute date to the constructional changes at Danebury, but must rather consider a *range* of dates, from *circa* 100 to 50 B.C. While Cunliffe's preferred date fits into this range, he should not speak of his preference as evidence for violent Belgic incursions *circa* 100 B.C. (As Cunliffe equates coins with incursions, it would be interesting to know why he is not concerned with evidence of attack and defence nearer the coins' arrival date, *circa* 150 B.C.; of course, there is none.) Equally Cunliffe is unrigorously generous on behalf of his own beliefs with the evidence of saucepan pottery, and with the radiocarbon dating from Danebury. Haselgrove is particularly critical (1986:364-65).

Such debate amongst Iron Age specialists aptly demonstrates that Romanists must be extremely careful when adopting 'known facts' about the pre-Roman Iron Age. The issues are not clear-cut, but are currently the subject of intense argument. Pottery sequences are not particularly well understood, for example. In the south-west, saucepan pottery gave rise to Glastonbury ware which, although traditionally used to date a site or level to the Iron Age, has recently been found turning up

in Roman levels (Dave Edwards, pers. comm.). How long any late Iron Age types of pottery were deemed to have persisted has in the past depended very largely upon the dating which was assigned to the introduction of Belgic types. This problem was considered with regard to the Upper Thames basin by Harding (1972:117-25). Harding raised the vital question:

> In discussing the material remains of the Belgic period, we are faced with the problem of determining to what extent they represent a significant infiltration of people from the areas of primary Belgic settlement, or whether Belgic fashions were disseminated into adjacent regions through commercial channels only.

He continues:

> For the Upper Thames basin in the first century B.C., it would probably be more accurate, if somewhat inelegant, to speak of a 'para-Belgic' phase, or more specifically of 'Belgicized' pottery, without prejudice to the identity of the people living in the region. A number of artefacts, for which a first-century date may be proposed, certainly reflect insular traditions rather than traits diagnostic of Belgae themselves!.
>
> (1972:117)

Harding has shown that where a region has been studied in depth, it can be demonstrated that native traditions continue well into the first century B.C. and that 'Belgic' artefacts are often native imitations of Gallo-Belgic objects and styles, indicating cultural contact and influence, certainly, but hardly offering evidence of widespread raiding and settling circa 150-100 B.C., or at any time. A case can also be made that the great changes

to the defences of hill forts in the south of England could have been instigated in the years 70-50 B.C., rather than circa 100 B.C. The archaeological record and Caesar's reference to Belgic raiding and settling can no longer be held to confirm each other. There are too many major discrepancies. Caesar's story does not provide an adequate framework for archaeologists; it is more of a hindrance than a help. Even Cunliffe somewhat modified his position by the early eighties:

> We have demonstrated widespread and socio-political change beginning about 100 B.C. and have suggested three possible causes for it: increasing instability and stress in the social system; the dislocating effects caused by a sudden upsurge of trade with the Roman world; and the possibility of a folk-movement from Belgic Gaul. The three are mutually exclusive.
>
> (1984c:38)

Caesar's account of Belgic raiding and settling of maritime southern England may best be explained as his own attempt to rationalise the cultural similarities between parts of southern England and parts of Gaul. The story may have been second hand and may have appealed to him, given the obvious 'Belgic' material culture being used in southern England in the late pre-Roman Iron Age. There had been trading contacts between Britain and the Roman world for over a hundred years before Caesar's compaigns and Caesar, interviewing traders to gain intelligence concerning Britain, would have been impressed by the names by which the traders called parts

of Britain. The goods with which the traders helped to flood Britain between *circa* 150-50 B.C. may have led to a superficial similarity of material culture between Belgium and parts of the south-east of England, and this may well have led to the people of south-east England being called Belgae by later traders and Caesar as a convenient collective name. Caesar then wrote what he thought was a rational explanation of the origins of the British Belgae.

In fact a 'Belgic invasion' model based on Caesar's account is actually incompatible with the historical record itself, if the case of the Catuvellauni is considered. Collis has questioned the soundness of the reasoning behind harding's proposal (1974: *passim*) that a late Iron Age Belgic invasion of southern Britain did actually occur:

> Harding however uses pottery and metal types to define invasion horizons, such as the Marnian invasion of the Early La Tene with its angular pots, brooches and daggers, or the Late La Tene 'Belgic' invasion bringing wheel-turned pedestal pots and cremation cemeteries of the Aylesford-Swarling Culture. Yet here one encounters illogicality. On historical evidence he tries to argue that the Catuvellauni are indigenous and not part of the Belgic incursion, despite the fact that their material culture is typically Aylesford-Swarling. If one starts to make exceptions when one has some other evidence with which to check, it destroys the credibility of the approach when one is dealing with totally non-documented situations... I would suggest that the invasion model is of doubtful value at present.
>
> (Collis 1977a:1)

This tribe shows all the archaeological traits of a 'Belgic' tribe, yet can be regarded as being indigenous *on historical grounds*: rather a contradiction.

1.3 ARCHAEOLOGY AS A SOURCE FOR LATE IRON AGE SOCIETY

Clearly other models which attempt to explain the proliferation of continental artefacts, and the native imitations of them, are needed.

All interpretation of information, including historical and archaeological data, depends upon the use of models. The interpreter's ideas about what happened and how it happened and why it happened result from his or her view of how and why events take place. Models are the patterns we impose on the real world, consciously or unconsciously, in order to make sense of various phenomena (Wells 1980:4). In other words, all archaeologists use models, whether writing in a 'common sense' way or whether deliberately constructing a model: we all handle our ideas within a 'system' we set up in our heads.

A 'general systems model' can be used to represent a culture as a whole. Culture can be viewed as a system comprising a theoretically infinite number of subsystems interrelated in such a way that any change in one subsystem necessitates systematic readjustment of all other subsystems so that the equilibrium of the system is maintained (*ibid*). The utility of the systems model for

the study of prehistoric culture has been argued by many archaeologists (e.g. Flannery 1968; 1972; Renfrew 1972).

Different models may be employed for consideration of the circulation of goods between continental Europe and Britain, and to define the social structure of both areas, and for the study of the contact situations. In developing models with which to work in this context it is necessary to examine a wide range of cultural, anthropological, sociological and historical literature to study mechanisms of contact which might give us some insight into the case of late Iron Age Britain. In no instance do identical processes operate in two different contact situations, since all of the factors involved can never be precisely the same in any two cases. However patterns do recur in contact situations sharing certain features, and useful models can often be formulated on the basis of ethnographic or historical data which can productively be applied to prehistoric contexts (Wells 1980:5).

1.3.1 The Idea of an 'Embedded' Economy

Since a crucial feature of the late Iron Age under discussion in this chapter is the abundance of prestige and other 'Belgic' objects in southern Britain, it is appropriate here to introduce several principles concerning the circulation of materials in traditional societies. Much work in the fields of prehistory and early history has been done with the misguided assumption

that economic systems in the past operated according to the same mechanisms as modern industrial economies. Polanyi, however, argued that since the Industrial Revolution, the economic systems of western nations have become divorced from other aspects of society, such as social organisation (1944:Chapter 4). Before that change, he asserted, production and circulation of goods were integrated in such a way that 'economic behaviour' could not be separated from 'social behaviour'. An 'embedded economy' exists, where social relations are embedded in the economy: the discharge of social obligations takes place through the giving and receiving of goods (e.g. Hodder 1979:189-96). Studies of non-western economies have demonstrated that they cannot be understood when separated from the rest of the social system. There is a great deal of literature concerned with showing the close connection between the circulation of goods and social behaviour (e.g. Malinowski 1922:156-94; Polanyi 1959; Sahlins 1965; Wells 1980:4-7). Wells observes that:

> The patterns of circulation are determined by the social structure of a society, and the acts of giving, receiving, and exchanging all have social as well as economic functions. Circulation of materials serves to maintain and to reaffirm social relationships, both within and between communities. (Some investigators argue that in traditional societies the passing of goods between individuals is often of secondary importance, while the social interaction behind that movement is more significant in the life of the society).

(1980:7)

Thus as Gregson has astutely pointed out, one must be aware that, if donation creates obligation, by mapping the distribution of prestige goods we may be identifying the 'loci of obligation' rather than (though perhaps more possibly as well as) the 'seats of power' (Gregson 1982:153).

In every traditional culture system, the leader of the society (headman, chief, king etc.) plays a special role in the circulation of materials. As leader in social and political interactions, he or she is usually also coordinator of the community's economic activities. In most cases chiefs act as economic central forces, collecting, storing and redistributing the goods and services of their societies. They also coordinate public activities involving group labour and the production of goods. In his role as leader of the community and coordinator of its economic activities, the chief usually acts as its principal representative in interactions with foreigners. When relations are established with outside groups for purposes of trade, the chief generally controls the circumstances of the interactions. Often the rest of the community, other than the chief's aides, have little to do with the interactions with foreigners, and gain little or nothing as a result of the exchanges unless the chief redistributes some of the imported materials.

> A flourishing intersocietal trade can exist between elite members of societies without the general populace taking any significant part in the interactions or their results.
>
> (Wells 1980:7-8)

Wells further observes that in any social context, different goods circulate through different mechanisms depending upon the nature of the goods, the social sub-groups involved in giving and receiving them and the distances over which they are carried (*ibid*:8; e.g. Renfrew 1972:460-65). It would therefore appear that Cunliffe's simple correlation between the arrival of Belgic prestige goods in Britain and a 'degree of reformed political organisation' (1974:60) is perhaps somewhat superficial. It has been noted elsewhere that certain important cultural features persist after the 'Belgic invasion' is supposed to have happened, and which thus present a considerable barrier to belief in the existence of Belgic incursions on any scale. The normal house type in Britain remained circular, whatever the local variations, in a tradition which can be traced back for centuries (Jarrett 1980:11). Moreover, Caesar was struck by the fact that *even in the maritime areas of Britain*, chariot warfare was still being practised, although it had long been abandoned on the continent (*ibid*). Caesar also notes that 'all the Britons, indeed, dye themselves with woad' (*de Bello Gallico*, V, 14), an unusual habit, not known at all on the continent, and one which might indicate a certain cultural unity throughout

mainland Britain (especially if the 'Picts' of the north gained their name from the Romans because of a reputation for painting or tatooing their skin).

A variety of different mechanisms of circulation of artefacts have been defined. Some are concerned with 'voluntary' circulation, such as barter (the exchange of goods held to be of equal value at the time of the exchange), gift-giving, administered trade and market trade. Other mechanisms include the payment of tribute, taxes, ransom and tolls. Goods may also circulate through violent means such as plunder in war or during raids (Wells 1980:8). Equally a variety of different mechanisms of circulation have been identified, such as stimulus diffusion, where ideas are spread not through the movement of people but as a result of cultural contact. Such contact situations may include trade, alliances or even hostilities.

1.3.2 Prestige Goods Models

Haselgrove has presented an alternative and exciting model to explain late Iron Age change (1982:79-88). He begins his analysis with the observation that, from an archaeological point of view, the late pre-Roman Iron Age witnessed a series of changes in south-east England which are 'almost unparalleled' in British prehistory in their rate and complexity. Among the developments which can be cited are the adoption of coinage, and accompanied cremation rite, technological innovation in metal-working

and pottery production, and increase in long-distance trade, and the growth of nucleated settlements with an obvious productive and distributive function. Haselgrove also lists developments which might be claimed at 'a more inferential level': conditional literacy, the development of a limited market economy, and markedly increased social stratification and political expansion (*ibid*:79-80). The main question which Haselgrove addresses is that of the role played by trade relations with the Roman Empire in this latter process:

> The sheer diversity of overseas trade from the first century B.C. is amply attested by archaeological and textual evidence...although the real significance of these categories is less easy to assess, only improved pottery featuring in deposits in any quantity. Given that the characteristics of existing structures must have shaped the course of these developments, it should be noted that neither cross-channel contact nor long-distance trade represent entirely new phenomena; the former is a feature, albeit fitful, of the whole millenium...with particularly close links existing between south-east England and north-east France from early in the first century B.C., while a variety of traits point to the existence of cross-cutting interaction spheres...based on well-developed internal exchange networks. What is novel is the articulation of this region for the first time with an organised, commercial economy.
>
> (*ibid*:80)

Haselgrove considers the social context of change, by specifically asking what kind of system of social reproduction has properties which might give rise to marked hierarchisation, when it becomes linked to a more developed economy through the medium of external trade.

When considering the case of late Iron Age southern Britain, one possible answer suggested by Haselgrove is that developments represent another example of the phenomenon of the 'prestige good system' within the periphery of an expanding state society. This is a generalised phenomenon which has been documented ethno-historically, in west Africa, for example, and it has also been claimed for other areas of temperate Europe during the first millenium B.C. by Frankenstein and Rowland (1978:73-112) (where there are no convenient 'historically documented invasions'). Haselgrove discusses the growth in popularity of the 'prestige goods system' model among anthropologists and archaeologists, observing rightly that its strengths lie in its acknowledgement that a link exists between the material transfer of objects and social hierarchy. Interestingly, this is also a model to which Gregson was attracted in his study of 'The Villa As Private Property' in Roman Britain, particularly in his consideration of the pre-Roman economy and social structure in Britain. He observed that

> The model has obvious attractions. In focussing on the social conditions for exchange and trade, it provides a coherent alternative to simplistic considerations of ethnic origins and invasions which have hitherto tended to dominate the study of the Iron Age in Britain.

He adds:

> Further, it potentially supplies a dynamic for change in the constant process of inter-group

> stress and also and explanation of social reproduction and control in the establishment and recreation of subordinate and superordinate power relationships.
>
> (Gregson 1982:152)

The prestige goods model is applicable to lineage societies, where no privileged group has control over land or the means of production. The leaders of the communities exercise control over others by supplying, or being able to supply, the prestige items needed by the latter to legitimate their place in their society. There are critical occasions on which prestige goods may be required in order to advance a person to a more senior status, such as marriage (where a bride price or dowry may be required), initiation, or religious occasions. Thus we must be careful not to talk so much of 'trade', which implies that someone was spending their time moving goods for profit, but concepts such as 'reciprocating' and 'redistribution'. The concept of trading for material gain is not one found in all societies. Indeed as Collis reminds us (1977a:2), in such exchanges as the 'pot-lach' of the Kwakiutl, the intention is to make a loss by out-doing one's rival in generosity, and thereby gaining in social prestige. Thus it can be seen that the desire to fulfil one's social dues must have been a powerful force in the past, and in late Iron Age Britain such a force had great use for the prestige goods which it suddenly found itself able to procure by virtue of its contact with the Roman world. The prestige goods system

was brought about and maintained by the access of British society, via community leaders, to the material culture of the Roman Empire. Prestige goods are frequently imported, distance from source giving an item 'value'.

1.3.3 Social Space Theory

A common theme in much current archaeological research is that patterns of space in settlements and in buildings are both produced by, and in turn produce and reproduce, social relations (Foster 1989:40). This theme will be explored in detail in Chapter Four; it is also an important model to introduce into an analysis of the social relations of late pre-Roman southern Britain. It is interesting to look at the case of hill forts, for example.

Cunliffe prefers a simple explanation for the appearance of hill forts: they are defensive sites in a war-like society (1974:305). Harding, on the other hand, gives some small attention to the suggestions that

> hill-forts may have served as ceremonial, commercial, and defensive centres for a wider area of open settlements situated on the slopes and in the valleys below

and that

> such a system would explain the paucity of evidence for permanent occupation within some hill-forts.
>
> (Harding 1972:17)

The strong suspicion is that hill forts and many other enclosed settlements were not used by all of the people

all of the time, but were used by some or all of the people some of the time; and it may be that in the past the defensive aspects of hill forts have been over-emphasised by archaeologists engrossed with operational environments rather than cognized environments. Several writers have recently commented upon the non-functional aspects of hill fort 'defences', particularly Maiden Castle where some of the outer ramparts and ditches appear defensively superfluous but are visually stunning even from great distances.

Bowden and McOmish (1985:43) presented a paper in which they explored in depth the idea that hill fort ramparts may have two distinct roles other than defence. Firstly, they may enhance the prestige of the site and its occupants. This is especially true of multivallate sites and sites with elaborate entrances which reinforce isolation in the way suggested by Hingley in 1985. Secondly they may have a ritual, or apparently non-rational, aspect which is hard to isolate but which may manifest itself in such features as animal burials and burnt gateways. The evidence for hill forts withstanding attack is actually meagre, and may all relate to re-use in a Roman context, *circa* 55 B.C. The literary evidence never suggests hill forts as the foci of active combat in inter-tribal warfare. Bowden and McOmish also suggest that these two non-defensive roles may also apply to the smaller late Bronze Age and Iron Age enclosures of

southern England. The ditches of many enclosures display elements of possibly ritual deposition while the elaborate funnel and antennae entrances of other enclosures reflect prestige and isolation.

The concept of monumental sites being status symbols as well as, or rather than, military strongholds may well be better understood if they are discussed in different contexts, such as that of the Mediaeval castle. Mediaeval fortifications and castles used to be explained by historians, archaeologists and 'castleologists' as responses aimed at ensuring personal safety in times of growing violence. The symbolic aspects of castles were often neglected. Recent research, however, including that by Samson (1985:42), has sought to discredit a simple correllation of castles with military requirements or periods of general violence by reviewing a wide range of historic situations in which fortified architecture suddenly becomes prominent, or conversely, was totally absent. Crucially, each phenomenon can be found to occur during times of both relative peace and near endemic warfare. Examples extend from late Roman towns to the early mediaeval phenomenon of *incastellamento* in Italy, to Scottish baronial architecture in the post-Reformation period. Samson has also traced the development of late Roman villa architecture and town walls through the Merovingian and Carolingian periods to offer a new and unorthodox explanation for the development of motte and

donjon castles, based on changing attitudes towards social divisions rather than the traditional explanation of a response to Viking threats.

Thus we might begin to consider whether the Iron Age hill fort functioned solely militarily, and whether the existence of hill forts do indeed indicate the 'growth of a warrior society' (Cunliffe 1974:62). Hill forts co-existed with 'open' settlements. There is perhaps a tendency to think that hill forts were the commonest type of Iron Age site because they dominated the landscape and they dominate the archaeological literature on the Iron Age. The instant appeal of a 'Celtic warrior society' living predominantly in hill forts and other defensive settlements has to a large extent resulted in a simplistic reading of the evidence. For example, palisaded enclosures containing settlements of various sizes are a common feature of eastern Scotland (*ibid*:206-9). However, whereas Cunliffe notes that such sites have a 'sporadic' occurence over the rest of Britain, including southern England, he nevertheless finds this enough to assert that

> enclosures of this kind were a *normal element* in the mid-first millenium settlement pattern
>
> (my emphasis) (*ibid*:155)

The fact that palisaded sites are known to underlie hill forts such as Blewburton Hill in Berkshire might in fact indicate that, in some cases at least, palisaded sites

were in the same unusual class of monumental site as others known to underlie hill forts, such as causewayed camps, and as hill forts themselves.

Hill forts were undoubtedly centres of power, but this appears to have been social, coercive power based on status and prestige rather than power derived from the results of actual violence. The construction and existence of great monumental 'defensive' sites could have actually tempered aggression rather than whipping it up. Iron Age Britain should not be seen as a permanent battle ground, but as an island with a long-evolved equilibrium which, whilst ultimately upset by contact with the expanding Roman Empire and its new money economy, was successful up until the late Iron Age by providing the Celts with an effective insular 'military' policy; the existence of a highly developed 'warlike' material culture may act to prevent war, not to encourage it, by both its deterrent effect and by acting as a channel through which aggressive energy can be released without endangering the 'fitness' of the population. It may be that the method preferred to settle disputes involved representatives or champions fighting each other in elaborate displays of single combat (e.g. Laing 1979: 37-8). This would make more sense with regard to the evolutionary fitness and cultural sophistication of the Celts of Britain than if different groups periodically slaughtered each other.

1.3.4 The Concept of 'Active' Material Culture

As Hodder recently observed, material culture tends to reflect the idealised world as opposed to the real. Material culture is not a passive component of social action:

> Material items often express an ideal world, rather than passively mirroring reality. While we may emphasise the functional nature of many of our own material symbols, they often represent our aspirations.
>
> (1982d:214)

Thus the material culture of the Iron Age which developed throughout the first millennium B.C. and which included hill forts, shields, daggers, other armoury, artistic depictions of war probably coupled with a developing oral tradition of epic poetry relating to the exploits of heroes such as Cuchullain, does not necessitate a belief that all this passively mirrors the *reality* of Iron Age life. We are not beholden to accept unquestioningly the popular interpretation of these most glamorous artefactual survivors of Iron Age culture, here encapsulated by Laing:

> Thus does the Celtic warrior in his battle fury stand out larger than life, a swaggering braggart, his hand twitching on his sword, alert for insult, intended or accidental, through the swimming haze of alcohol that befuddled his mind.
>
> (1979:39)

One wonders how Maiden Castle was built. Laing's interpretation enters the realms of sensational fiction,

having been created not out of a considered analysis of the context of Iron Age culture as a whole but in the limited context of items of weaponry to which have been ascribed purely functional values without regard for the symbolic; his 'framework' is a couple of heroic tales, notably Tain Bo Cuailnge, the Irish epic.

The idea of space as a symbolic medium which can be manipulated in its own right has recently been proposed at some length and with vigour by both architects and archaeologists (e.g. Hillier 1985; Glassie 1975 and 1985; Hodder 1982b and 1982d; Samson forthcoming). When we build a structure with walls, we create a social space within these walls. This space can be manipulated as can any artefact. It is thus crucial that we appreciate the ways in which artefacts, which constitute the material culture, can be manipulated during human behaviour.

Throughout his work Hodder emphasises the importance of the 'non-discursive' in material culture (e.g. 1982d:214). For example, the styles of adornment can be loaded with meanings beyond a simple aesthetically pleasing visual impact, and these meanings can be contradictory; his examples range from the mundane (Victorian chamber pot decoration, *ibid*:189) to the sensational (the role of the safety pin in punk rock; *ibid*:203-9). The point which is continually driven home is that material culture or 'material symbols' do not just simply make functional objects pretty and passively

reflect the social sphere, but actively *affect* it and reinforce required social positions:

> In the first place, material symbols are value-laden. They do not simply indicate status and role. They are not so much saying 'this person is of a certain category' as in much verbal signalling, but they *are* also forming the quality of that person and category. The symbols are 'saying' things about underlying beliefs and value which are constituted by the symbols through analogies of form and through association of use. Material symbols are models of, and models for, behaviour. Because of the value-laden, qualitative characteristic of material symbols, they are not chosen arbitrarily.
>
> (*ibid*:213)

Hodder emphasises the existence of 'non-discursive', or visual statements. We use material symbols to send unspoken messages to each other; therefore the meanings of these messages are difficult to express in words, because they *are* visual messages. Hodder notes that spoken messages tend to avoid ambiguity in many circumstances.

> While certain material symbols, in certain contexts, are also unambiguous, material items and the organisation of the constructed world often mean very different things to different people. They can often be reinterpreted at will and their implications reassessed. This great ambiguity of the visual image...was used as a central part of much twentieth century fine art.
>
> (*ibid*:213)

Another important point that he makes is that:

> ...material items often express an ideal world, rather than passively mirroring reality. While we may emphasise the functional nature of many of our own material symbols, they often

> represent our aspirations... The decoration and moulding of birds, flowers and fountains on the chamber pots made what was distasteful to the Victorians acceptable.
>
> (*ibid*:214)

Certain burial rituals have an 'ideal' nature, and in death people often become what they have not been in life (e.g. *ibid*:144-46). Thus, although much of the significance of artefacts derives from their practical and social use, ideas and values are always associated with them, sometimes to the extent of the artefact being given an acceptable disguise. Other artefacts can be used out of context for emotive effect; the toilet seat was undoubtedly regarded in purely functional terms until the punks of *circa* 1978 took to wearing them around their necks. As Hodder noted, the punks also took other familiar items of material culture and used them to confuse other groups (*ibid*:204). When punks briefly adopted the swastika as a symbol of their genre they indeed shocked and disturbed people, but the swastika's new context was one of anarchy, not fascism. Punks in fact constituted one of the most conspicuous elements in the Anti-Nazi League marches of the time.

Settlement space and settlement boundaries are also components of material culture and can have other than functional values. Settlements and the houses they contain are the living space of people, and how that space is constructed tells us much about how those people lived. Thus 'the social construction of space' is a

crucial concept in any settlement study (e.g. Hillier 1985; Glassie 1985). Studies of both Iron Age settlements and Roman villas in Britain tend to consist of broad descriptive statements. The insistence that architectural change, particularly in the case of villas, simply reflects 'social amibition', migrations or population increase is strong in the literature (e.g. Frere 1982:139; O'Neill 1945:25; Branigan 1976:47; Harding 1972:22-35). Equally strong in the literature is the notion that settlement enclosures should be seen primarily in terms of defence. Physical barriers and boundaries define authority, manifest and bolster power, and create, reinforce or alter social relations by the physical actions they continually affect and constrain by their obtrusive presence (Samson forthcoming). It is therefore interesting that Iron Age sites were normally enclosed. The settlement types which dominated the landscape of the Lowland zone were palisaded enclosures, hill forts, 'Banjo' enclosures, earthwork enclosed settlements, simple ditched enclosures and complex ditched enclosures. These types of settlement have been described at length elsewhere (e.g. Cunliffe 1974:153-61; Harding 1974:*passim*), and there is no need for detailed description here. The important point is that these settlements were all enclosed in some form, whether by palisades, banks and ditches, or a combination of these. The social space of these human settlements was *enclosed*,

and it was distinctly separate from, and conspicuous in, its environment. Defence and cattle corralling may have been important but these functional considerations are not mutually exclusive of social strategies such as the visual statement; rather, they are components of a complex living context (Hodder 1982d:212-16).

The 'impenetrability' of Iron Age settlements is a visual statement. The enclosures need have had little to do with pastoral functionalism and defensive tactics; indeed one wonders just how useful some enclosures would have been at either. Why, for example, would people wish to herd animals directly into their living space? Could a simple bank and ditch enclosure really keep out attackers? On the other side of the coin, it has been argued that hill forts such as Maiden Castle were in fact over endowed with multi-vallate defences, and that therefore, such a surfeit of defences could not have been built entirely for the practical purpose of defence (see also above, p.51).

Tangible barriers also exist as social barriers. It must be stressed that the 'open settlements' of Iron Age Britain (e.g. Cunliffe 1981a:29), while being distinctly different from hill forts, were actually enclosed in some fashion, and that the very term 'open settlement' is therefore something of a misnomer. The term is used loosely as meaning 'something other than a hill fort', and, probably because these 'open settlements' tend to

look fairly flat today, little attention is focussed on what these sites would have looked like in the Iron Age. Would a passing traveller have regarded a typical 'open settlement' of the Thames Valley, with its boundaries defined by perimeter works (Harding 1974:21) as especially 'open'? To the north of England as well one finds upon close inspection that all the settlements are enclosed to some extent. Whitwell (1982:17-24) recognises three types of 'Coritanian settlement': hill forts, smaller ditched enclosures, and open sites. These 'open sites', however, have some interesting features. The settlement at Dragonby near Scunthorpe consists of a number of roughly rectangular ditched enclosures of several phases in two of which there are circular huts. At this site there seems to have been no break between the Iron Age and the ensuing Roman period of occupation (*ibid*:23). Sleaford, also regarded as an 'open site', was marked by linear ditches, and one suspects that the layout of the Iron Age settlement may have consisted of approximately rectangular ditched areas at Dragonby. This site was succeeded by a large Roman settlement (*ibid*:24). The other 'open site' which Whitwell discusses is the Ancaster quarry site. This has not yet yielded any demarcation earthworks or ditches, but it is obvious from the spread of pits which extend away from the two huts that there is much more of this site to be examined.

Boundaries impart knowledge. Walls, fences, banks and ditches define private property, and consciously overcoming an obstacle to get inside a settlement imputes guilt.

> If a "symbolic" enclosure were only a notional enclosure, a row of daisies or brightly coloured stones would have served as well as any bank and ditch. However, to be a functionally effective "symbolic" barrier, an enclosure must be so designed to make entrance a hinderance too. To struggle up a bank, jump over a ditch, climb over a wall, crawl under a fence or crash through a hedge all involve the individual in unambiguous actions which remove the possibility of unintentional entry.
>
> (Samson forthcoming)

Boundaries cut up the visual continuum of the landscape into meaningful pieces, and they are at their most effective when they are not simply visually impressive but also constrain the movement of the human body. Of course, most individuals are quite capable of overcoming man-made obstacles. It is social propriety and not the obstacles themselves which give barriers the power to work. Without the authority or power to make them function, walls, fences, banks and ditches cannot act as barriers, far less as serious defences; they are neutral without social relations necessary to make them work. Settlement boundaries also assist in the supervision and control over those who live within the settlement. An enclosure boundary could be seen as the physical pre-requisite for recognising the intention of flight by slaves, for those found outside the enclosure

at inappropriate times lost all ability to argue innocence. Enclosures could also have acted as a method of supervising and controlling the movements of women. Enclosures embody the symbolism of possession, authority and power, reinforcing the authority held by those who control or own the settlements. Given that it has been demonstrated that the 'invasion' of the 'Belgic' Iron Age was unlikely to have actually happened, the concept of non-defensive (and non-corralling) uses of settlement enclosures is surely relevant.

1.3.5 Settlement Morphologies

In a seminal but underpraised paper on the Iron Age settlement at Glastonbury, David Clarke presented a model of Iron Age village society based upon an analysis of the positioning of the roundhouses and the types of artefacts they contained (1972b:801-69; fig.1). The wide variety of artefacts which were found demonstrate that a full range of both male and female activities went on inside these houses. The major component of Clarke's model is his isolation of 'major house pairs' (814-16). He recognised fourteen major house structures, 'arranged for the most part in seven pairs'. These large circular houses are distinguished by the relatively substantial nature of their construction and by their lengthy occupation and successive renewal. Three distinctive features are the doorways of stone slabs, their porches of diverging rows of posts, which on occasion become an

external fenced yard, and their use of split timber plank floorboards above the clay floors. These major houses are clearly arranged as one pair in each 'unit', set close together in one half of the unit area, facing a common yard. The other half of the unit area contained a number of structures including a minor house with ancillary hut, and other features which have been tentatively identified as a baking hut, storehouses and a working floor.

These units have been interpreted as family areas, and the basic division between the area containing the major pair of houses and the other half of the unit area is postulated by Clarke to be a division between a major familial, multi-purpose activity area on the one hand and a minor, largely female domestic area (*ibid*:815). In this village environment it appeared to Clarke that he could locate female social space away from the major house pairs, in and around the minor house structures. A single minor house exists within each unit, set in the opposite half of the unit area to the major house pair. The distance between the minor house and the major house pair is roughly twice the distance between the two major houses themselves. These minor houses are linked by a short path to, or face directly on to, and ancílliary sub-rectangular hut. Activities here are less extensive then in an around the major house pairs, and all the (presumably) male activities are missing: ther are no

furnaces, slag and crucibles, weapons or iron workshop tools. There is however, evidence of female activities, especially combing, spinning, quern milling and fur and leather working. There is also an overwhelming proportion of female trinkets and cosmetic artefacts in these minor houses, as well as human bones buried in the floor which are in some cases certainly female and in many cases of young children. These minor houses also differ from the major houses in the plan. The minor houses, though substantially built with many of the features of the major houses but on a smaller scale, lacked the distinctive funnel porches of the major houses. Instead, these structures approach oval or pear-shaped outlines (*ibid*:817).

It is clear from Clarke's analysis of Glastonbury that we should expect the basic family unit of settlement in the Iron Age to comprise a pair or trio of roundhouses. Aspects of Clarke's analysis have received some criticism. Coles and Coles, for example, do not like his interpretation of some structures as 'baking huts', but they nevertheless accept Clarke's major house pairs associated frequently with a minor house (1986:164-71). This family unit of two to three houses can be recognised in smaller, often single family, settlements.

The 'classic' Iron Age site, discussed elsewhere (e.g. Bersu 1940;30-111), is Little Woodbury. It comprises an irregular rounded enclosure, at first

palisaded and then ditched, covering approximately four acres. It had a gap entrance at the eastern end and what have been termed 'antenna ditches' which at one time splayed outwards from points near to the entrance. As Bowen points out, this site is

> ...far from being the cosy little farmyard which photographs of a reconstruction sometimes suggest.
>
> (1969:7)

In fact, the perimeter of Little Woodbury was a quarter of a mile in length and within it, Bowen suggests, was ample space for thirty small modern houses and their gardens or for one very large Roman villa (*ibid*). The Little Woodbury report, however, provides difficulties regarding analysis of the interior of the site, for there is no overall plan of the whole site. Bowen discusses just the large roundhouse (*ibid*:8 and fig. 1.2), though he does mention traces of a second. This 'duality' is apparent in the plan produced by Cunliffe (1974:fig. 11.2). The houses were approximately 15m and 10m in diameter (fig. 2). One cannot, of course, assume contemporaneity, yet neither can one assume that the larger house is a later replacement for a house which has become 'too small'. The possibility of duality at sites such as Little Woodbury should not be lightly dismissed, particularly as many Iron Age settlements in both Lowland and Highland zones provide evidence of pairs or trios of houses. Jobey (1966:4) has noted that the round, stone-

built 'huts' of the frontier area are often grouped in pairs of one large and one small hut, fronting on to a yard which may be scooped. Internal arrangements were sometimes visible, consisting of a slightly raised threshold, an edged hearth, and the arc of a simple wooden screen. Sometimes, pivot stones were present in doorways. Chysauster, a settlement near Penzance in Cornwall, consists of four pairs of houses and a ninth house 'on its own'; it was occupied from the first century B.C. until *circa* A.D. 300 (Laing 1979:84). Numerous other examples of house pairs (and sometimes house trios) exist throughout Britain, such as at Draughton and Staple Howe (figs. 3 and 4).

The rectangular house was already a feature of proto-urban and rural life in Iron Age Britain before the arrival of the Romans. At Gorhambury (HT34) the villa was preceeded by a rectangular 'Belgic' aisled building, according to Neal, although the more familiar roundhouses were also evident (Neal 1978:37). The impetus for the building of rectangular structures in Britain may possibly be found by examining the larger settlements of the late Iron Age in which rectangular buildings appear in large numbers. These settlements are hill forts and oppida. In hill forts such as Crickley Hill in Gloucestershire and oppida such as that at Canterbury rectangular houses - often paired - have been excavated (e.g. Harding 1974:fig. 13; Cunliffe 1974:84). The

majority of such settlements in the south of England, however, even those in the 'Belgic' zone, maintained the roundhouse building tradition.

If the adoption of rectangular houses was not a response to the 'Belgic invasion', which it was not, then to what was it a response? Most likely it was a response to the types of settlement which were developing. The building material of timber could, in theory, have been used with equal ease to create dwellings of circular or rectangular plan, but it is obvious that houses of rectangular plan fit better into the overall street pattern of a large settlement than do circular ones, especially if space is at a premium. Other important limitations of the circular building lie in the restricted span of unsupported roof that this kind of construction will allow. The diameter of a roundhouse is limited by the weight of the roof; both the conical thatched roof and the simplest domed roof will exert considerable lateral thrust which is difficult to eliminate. Furthermore, attempts to create larger buildings by the simple expedient of conjoining one or more circular structures present a roofing problem in that between any two conical or domed roofs there must inevitably be a valley, a potential source of weakness which, even in a modern building, tends to admit moisture (Hodges 1972:529). It is tempting, therefore, to see the rectangular house as a response to proto-urban

developments, but only at a minority of the large settlements. There was not a widespread change from circular to rectangular houses in late Iron Age Britain. Other rectangular structures are represented in this period, though, and many are assumed to have been shrines, such as the 'four rather unusual rectangular buildings' excavated at Danebury (Cunliffe 1983:113). The houses at Danebury hill fort were, however, circular, and often seemingly in pairs (*ibid*:102-103), which demonstrates the importance of this multi-roundhouse unit throughout the Iron Age (fig. 5).

1.4 SUMMARY: THE RELEVANCE OF 'THE BACKGROUND'

We can therefore, see that the existence of the insular traditions of the British Celts meant that the Romans occupied a unique province. The effects of the Roman occupation here in Britain would have been different from the effects of the Roman occupation of, say, Gaul or Spain. Romano-British villas, just one category of evidence which can be cited, had a character which was particular to Britain.

Chapters Three to Six will demonstrate the strength of the provincial contribution to the character and development of the Romano-British villa.

CHAPTER TWO

RITUAL BURIALS IN IRON AGE BRITAIN

2.1 WHAT IS 'RITUAL'?

It is something of an old joke on archaeological excavations that objects and features which are not understood are called 'ritual'. The term 'ritual' is used frequently in this chapter and elsewhere and thus needs some explanation. In his discussion of ritual Hodder observed:

> While the word is used in a way similar to religion, there are differences. Unlike both religion and magic, ritual refers to performance and the associated rules rather than to abstract concepts and beliefs. How then does ritual differ from custom which also includes prescribed rules of action and performance? While in our own society we may loosely call the shaking of a hand in greeting a ritual, such an action might more appropriately be classed as custom. The difference again lies in the emphasis on performance. Ritual is usually odd and alerting; it attracts attention because it is special and not mundane.
>
> (1982d:159)

Archaeologists loosely label a wide range of activities 'ritual'. An excavator might find a carefully dug pit filled with soil and some charred fragments of twigs and call it ritual, and the same name can be given to the bird carvings in stone on Easter Island and the neolithic causewayed camps of England. The term can equally be applied to burial procedures.

> Thus archaeologists use the term ritual for the two closely connected reasons that what is observed is non-functional and is not

> understood. In our own society the dominant ideology is that all behaviour should be directly accountable to some end.
>
> (*ibid*:164)

Ritual has emotive and stimulating effects and is an important part of the structure of society. it does not deal with abstract theological concepts, but with real objects and people.

In Britain a 'very complex world of ritual and belief' pervade Iron Age society (Cunliffe 1983:155):

> The gods are everywhere. It is probably no exaggeration to say that every act in a man's life was circumscribed by some kind of ritual or taboo.
>
> (*ibid*)

2.2 CONTEXTS FOR RITUAL EVIDENCE IN IRON AGE BRITAIN

The evidence from Iron Age Britain reveals that major manual undertakings such as the building of ramparts, enclosures and the construction of pits were accompanied by a complex of rituals involving sacrifices and foundation burials. The evidence for this ritual behaviour comes in the form of special deposits on pit bottoms or low down in pit fills, or deposits underneath ramparts, enclosure boundaries, field boundaries and house floors. Such deposits include human burials, animal burials, layers of burnt grain and iron implements. Such deposits, particularly metalwork, which has survived best, are known from watery contexts in southern England (Fitzpatrick 1984:178-90). While each individual case of deposition could be explained in non-

ritual terms, the sheer number of these depositions and the recurring patterns which can be observed strongly suggest that this is archaeological evidence for a complex pattern of behaviour.

2.3 RITUAL EVIDENCE FROM HILLFORTS

2.3.1 Animal Burials at Danebury, Hants.

At Danebury hill fort in Hampshire the special animal deposits provided an extensive body of information. Sheep, cattle, pigs, horses and dogs were represented with a single example of a cat and one skull and one skeleton of a goat. The burials could be divided into three broad categories: articulated skeletons, complete or nearly complete skulls and mandibles, and articulated limbs. Only 5% of the burials represented complete animal burials. In pit 321 a horse was buried with a dog. The horse's head had been removed and placed behind the body next to the dog, and its back legs were slightly displaced. The movement of the head and legs are very likely to have formed part of the ritual, a view supported by the fact that horse heads and legs were found buried separately elsewhere on the site (Cunliffe 1983:157-8).

Special animal burials occurred throughout the history of Danebury, and different animals appear to have been of importance at different times. Cattle burials were most frequent in the early period. A very large number of pigs were buried in the middle period. Dogs

and horses were buried throughout, but in numbers quite out of proportion to their relative commonness, suggesting that a special ritual significance was attached to these beasts. Another aspect of this behaviour is apparent in multiple burials, such as the horse and the dog buried together in pit 321. Two sheep and a cat are buried in pit 365, and a pig and two calves in pit 809. Associations of this kind are unlikely to be the result of chance (*ibid*:158). Ravens were also specially selected for burial (*ibid*).

2.3.2 Human Remains at Danebury

Another kind of deposit found at Danebury which indicates ritual behaviour is unusual treatment of human remains. The first important fact about the human remains found at Danebury is that they do not represent a normal structure. There is a preponderance of adult males and the number of fertile females and newly-born infants is less than would be expected. The bodies buried at Danebury were selected from among those who died, and they were mostly adult males (*ibid*:161).

There is probable ritual rampart burial at Danebury, which occurred at the time when the rampart was reconstructed. In the bottom of the freshly dug quarry hollow, a large shallow pit was dug and three bodies were laid out in it before it was carefully refilled with chalk rubble. The unusual nature of the deposit and its

position in relation to the rampart sequence strongly suggests some kind of propitiatory rite (*ibid*:155-6).

Apart from complete human inhumations, there was another type of burial ritual involving the deposition of part of a human body and since, with one exception, no sign of deliberate dismemberment was noted, Cunliffe supposed, quite reasonably, that what was being buried were the distintegrated remains of rotted corpses. These partial bodies can be divided into several categories of deposition: individual incomplete skeletons, groups of incomplete skeletons, skulls and frontal bones, pelvic girdles and individual bones and bone fragments. A typical incomplete individual was a female aged between 20 and 30 years old whose remains, in pit 266, lay on top of a layer of ash and charcoal. Her spinal column and sacrum had been removed from the pelvis and laid around her feet and lower legs, but her right fibula, right scapula, left clavicle, both arms and head were missing (*ibid*:161-2). Isolated human skulls or fragments of skulls were found in eight pits. Six were adult males, one was female, and one a child. Cunliffe speculates that this evidence may relate to the Celtic head-hunting ritual (*ibid*:162)

Thus at this hill fort one can begin to construct a picture of various ritual behaviours in the Iron Age.

2.3.2 Other Hillforts

This picture can be enlarged by reference to other sites, and it is significant that evidence can be found in hill forts throughout the south of England. At Maiden Castle in Dorset, Wheeler found that at the point at which the new rampart of the extension at site H impinged upon the old rampart there was a pit four feet deep with a skeleton at the bottom. Large limestones had been deliberately placed over the body. Wheeler was reminded of Hiel the Bethel (Wheeler 1937:273):

> In his days Hiel of Bethel built Jericho; he laid its foundation at the cost of Abiram his firstborn, and set up its gates at the cost of his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spoke by Joshua the son of Nun.
>
> (1st Kings, 16, 34)

Other rampart burials at Maiden Castle include that of an infant of approximately three months old, positioned in the Iron Age A rampart between the portals of the inner rampart. The skeleton of another infant, also about three months old, was buried between two limestone slabs under the tail of the enlarged eastern hornworks. Maiden Castle also produced burials from the bottom of storage pits, from ditch fillings and from earth graves. Many of the individuals involved had been deliberately killed (Whimster 1981:250).

At Salmonsbury hill fort in Gloucestershire a large number of pits were associated with the roundhouses. Pit

A was close to the south side of 'hut 1' and the bottom of this pit contained ashes of a fire and the remains of two infants. Pit E contained the skull of an adult female and there were ribs and vertebrae in pits D and H (Dunning 1976:82). There were many more pit burials throughout the site, some containing complete inhumations. An interesting group of seven pit burials was found occupying a space near the inner rampart. Pit B cut into the larged curved ditch and contained the body of a young woman; a stone had been carefully placed at each end of the body. A small stone hearth was in the upper filling of the pit D (*ibid*:83-4). A ditch ran out of the site from a roundhouse, and this ditch contained the skull of a young woman, 'numerous animal bones', and the skull of a goat and the lower jaw of a pike (*ibid*:87). A burial had been made on the outer slope of the rampart (*ibid*:93). Also the excavator reported 'parts of skeletons and separate bones, both of infants and of adults of both sexes, were found in the filled-in ditches of the huts and in the adjacent pits' (*ibid*:116). The most fascinating human remains found, however, were those of a young woman aged between 20 and 25, whose bones appear to have been split in the manner of animal bones which have been split for marrow extraction. The implication is that she was a victim of anthropophagy, or cannibalism (*ibid*:116-7).

At the hill fort at Blewburton Hill, Berkshire, Cotton found what she described as 'corpses of animals strewn about the street' (1962:34). Harding, however, after re-excavation and reappraisal, notes that the distribution of horse skeletons in pairs in the entrance, and in particular the situation of another buried in its own pit behind the cross ditch seems too orderly and deliberate for Cotton's interpretation to hold true. 'Quite clearly,' continues Harding, 'we are here dealing with a deliberate ritual of horse burial' (1976b:143).

At Crickley Hill hill fort, in the limestone silting and small stones which was identified as the primary packing of the four gateposts of the rear gate of the rampart, were found skulls of animals. In gateposts F6b and F25 were articulated skulls of goats and in F10 and F27 were the lower jaws of boars. No such skulls were found in any other post holes. These were purposeful deposits, and possibly 'the conferring on the gates of the vitality of the animals was here intended' (Dixon 1976:170).

2.3.4 Shrines and Temples on Hillforts

Further evidence for ritual behaviour in hill forts is known in the form of shrines and temples, which were mostly rectangular, although some circular structures are known (Drury 1980:64-66). An Iron Age rectangular temple, similar to the famous one at Heathrow, was found inside the Iron Age hill fort of South Cadbury. It was

approached through a complex of ritual pits containing animal burials. There were more than 20 burials of young pigs, lambs and especially calves in a well-defined band with its axis aligned with the porch of the building (Alcock 1971b:5; Laing 1979:119). The animals were presumably sacrificial (Drury 1980:47). This temple, structure 27, was not the only religious building found at South Cadbury. Structure 9, adjacent to structure 27, has a similar plan, and a fully grown cow had been buried just outside (Alcock 1970:pl.VIb; Drury 1980:47). Towards the western end of the central ridge at South Cadbury lay another structure, defined by six posts, around which were clustered pits containing deliberately buried horse and cattle skulls (Alcock 1969:36-7, fig. 3; 1972:152-3; Drury 1980:47).

The Iron Age structure known as L1 at Maiden Castle is possibly a shrine or temple; an infant burial, to the north may be broadly contemporary (Drury 1980:50).

In the north of England also, circular ritual structures have been found to be associated with animal, infant and other human burials. At Garton Slack, for example, over thirty infant burials and a cemetery were examined, and pits were found to contain one sheep burial, an inverted human skull, a pig's skull and bone artefacts. The pits defined a circular structure, possibly a roofed ritual house (Challis and Harding 1965:169). Elsewhere on Garton Slack complex excavations

recovered an ox burial, cut across by Romano-British ditch, and also a sheep burial. The occurrence of ritual ox and sheep burials in the network of religious structures at Garton Slack indicates a practice not uncommon in the British Iron Age (*ibid*:169-70).

2.4 RITUAL EVIDENCE FROM NON-HILLFORT SITES

Returning to the south of England where the evidence is more plentiful, one sees a picture of ritual behaviour from a number of non-hill fort sites. The settlement of Pimperne in Dorset produced the burials of a horse and an ox adjacent to the southern gateway of this Iron Age camp (Harding 1972:70). As well as animals, a number of skeletons of humans have been recorded from Iron Age structures. The young adolescent female and the infant burial in separate graves on the northern and southern sides of the interior of a stake-built enclosure at Frilford, Oxfordshire, have, for example, been regarded as foundation deposits within an Iron Age shrine (Harding 1972:61-9; Whimster 1981:180). Infant burials also feature at the Iron Age temple of Uley in Gloucestershire (Ellison 1980:309). The infant remains at Uley were found in a pit inside the temple (Drury 1980:54).

Slightly more difficult to interpret on account of the poor quality of surviving records is the reported discovery of two crouched skeletons beneath a large foundation slab of a dry stone wall, excavated within the area of the Harlyn Bay cemetery in Cornwall (Bullen

1912:54-8; Whimster 1981:180). Both bodies had been flattened, but the teeth comprised adult and milk teeth, confirming the burial of an adult and a child, the latter having a bronze ring and an iron bracelet. These appear to be a deliberate foundation burial. Whimster discusses the function of this wall, an important point in light of the interpretation of these burials as foundation deposits (*ibid*). It is thus perhaps significant that further skeletons are said to have been found within the fabric of one or more low, dry stone walls used to define 'family' burial places at Jordan Hill in Dorset (Warne 1872:225-35; Whimster 1981:180-81). No plan of these structures survives, but the description indicates that at least one was crescent-shaped and thus may have been the arc of a roofed structure possibly a formal shrine or mortuary building (*ibid*:181). Perhaps in the same category are the skeletons of two infants found underneath a massive stone 'altar' at Seacliffe Cave on the East Lothian coast (*ibid*).

There were over seventy burials found during the incomplete excavation of the Iron Age and Romano-British rural settlement at Owlesbury in Hampshire (Collis 1977d:26-34). One of the most interesting features of this site was the presence of an infant cemetery of the first century B.C. (*ibid*:26). Most of the infants died in the neo-natal period. Other burials of both infants and adults were not in the cemetery areas proper, but

underlay ditches associated with the settlement. An infant cremation was found near the entrance to the original banjo enclosure, in the enclosure ditch; this burial was accompanied by two broken pots, a burnt glass bead and a bangle, and was of either the first or second century B.C. (*ibid*:27, fig. 1). A number of complete animal skeletons were found, especially of dogs, and also an unusual sheep burial (*ibid*:26).

The Iron Age settlement of Gussage All Saints in Dorset produced skeletal evidence for fifteen adults and thirty-eight infants, (Keepax 1979:161). The infant remains, some disarticulated, came predominantly from the bottom of pits and from the enclosure ditch. One female skeleton lay over two lightly crouched new-born infant skeletons near the top of a pit, a group reminiscent of the adult and child found buried together at Harlyn Bay. In another pit at Gussage All Saints •an adult male skeleton was buried along with 'numerous animal bones and the articulated remains of a dog and horse' (Wainwright 1979:33-4). It will be remembered that a dog and a horse were found buried together at Danebury, and that dogs and horses were buried on the hill fort throughout its history in numbers out of proportion with their commoness. Many of the pits at Gussage All Saints seem to have been special burial pits, dug solely for the purpose of containing a skeleton (*ibid*:32-4, 191).

A further example of noteworthy infant burials are those from beneath the house floors at the Glastonbury lake village (Gray 1930:94; Clarke 1972b:817).

2.5 THE QUESTION OF TOTEMISM

Special deposits comprising parts of or whole skeletons of animals, adult humans and infant humans were important features of Iron Age ritual in Britain. They are found on a variety of types of site, although animal deposits are most commonly found on hill forts and in association with temples, these temples sometimes being on hill forts as at South Cadbury. The nature of these deposits, and the obvious importance attached to specific animals at specific sites, raises the question of whether totemism was a feature of Iron Age society, particularly on hill forts. This question has been previously but breifly raised by Dyer:

> Two postholes inside the entrance at Rainsborough (Northamptonshire) and two more at St. Catherine's Hill (Hampshire) have been interpreted as footings for triumphal arches or totem poles connected with some tribal ritual. At Maiden Bower (Bedfordshire) a pit in the centre of the entrance passage contained the mixed-up and partially burnt bones of about fifty people as well as animals and birds. Above this was a small chalk cist containing three human bones: a sort of token human burial over the others below.
>
> (1981:5)

A totem is an object in the natural world, an animal or plant for example, that serves as an emblem, symbol or mark of a clan group or individual. Totemism is used to

define a cluster of traits in the social organisation of groups or individuals that have ideological relationships with the totems (Langton 1986:5). A clan (also called a sib) is a set of kin whose members believe themselves to be descended from a common ancestor though they need not be able to specify the links back to that ancestor. In fact, the common ancestor may not even be known. Clans are often designated by an animal name which may have some special significance for the group and at the very least provides a means of group identification. Many north-west Pacific coast/North American Pacific coast indian societies constructed totem poles representing animals associated with their kin groups. The Tlingit Indians' totems included Beaver and Eagle (Ember and Ember 1977:309).

The use of a totem to refer to one's clan or sib is common in societies with unilateral descent groups. The word 'totem' itself comes from the Ojibwa American Indian word 'ototeman' which means 'a relative of mine'. In some societies people have to observe taboos relating to their clan totem. For example, clan members may be forbidden to kill or eat their totem. The reasons for choosing animals and, very infrequently, plants to represent clans are problematic. Claude Levi-Strauss suggests that particular qualities of animals may strike the human imagination, perhaps even the unconscious. These qualities are somehow representative of features

important to the survival and even the behaviour of clan ancestors - qualities such as vitality, aggressiveness, slyness, restlessness, or eternal unpredictability (1962). He cites the symbolic use of totems by the tribes of central Australia as an example of the way religion symbolises society. The totem is the focus of the religious rituals of the clan, and thus becomes symbolic of both the clan and the clan's spirits. It is the clan - or the society as a whole - upon which the individual is dependent for survival, with which the individual identifies, and which exercises power over the actions and even the thoughts of the individual, a situation which must be affirmed in communal ritual. the evidence from British Iron Age hill forts is not unambiguous, but it does indicate that individuals or groups of individuals were conferring a certain value on some animals by deliberately selecting them from the animal population and according them special deposition rites.

Cunliffe's recent study of the animal burials at Danebury is most illuminating. Many of the articulated skeletons represent complete carcasses and the absence of butchery marks on the bones suggests that the beasts were not even skinned before burial (1983:157). 'Special' animal burials occurred throughout the long history of Danebury and, as noted before, cattle burials peaked in the early period; dogs and horses were buried throughout.

Birds also feature in the special burials, and as the vast majority were ravens, and the number of these burials in no way reflects the natural bird population of southern Britain, it may be assumed that the ravens were being specially selected for burial. Cunliffe further adds that only twelve per cent of the pits excavated produced bird bones, but more than a third of these were found in pits which also contained special animal burials: 'Statistical tests show that these associations are unlikely to have happened by chance' (*ibid*). Interestingly, the 'raven-god is a recurring theme in magico-religious literature of Gaul and Ireland', 'the dog is often found associated with Celtic deities in mythology and iconography' and the 'Celtic goddess Epona ('divine horse') is usually depicted seated on a horse (often, incidentally with a dog by her side)' (*ibid*:159).

Observations of the depositional treatment of animals at Danebury and other hill forts do strongly indicate that complex ritual behaviour was influencing the selection and treatment of animals. It has already been noted above that at Crickley Hill, for example, the four gateposts of the rampart's rear gate contained two goat skulls and two lower jaws of boars.

Harrow Hill, the smallest hill fort in Sussex at 0.4 hectares, contained 'a very large number of cattle skulls but little else' (Bedwin 1984:48). The usual interpretation of this site is that it was an enclosure

for slaughter, but if this is so, then the absence of long bones and other pieces of skeletal material is perplexing. It is perhaps possible that the large number of skulls found their way onto this site as a result of ritual behaviour. South Cadbury, it will be remembered, yielded many deliberately buried cattle and horse skulls.

It is, however, a large conceptual leap from simply observing a special and ritual treatment of animal remains to postulating the existence of totemism in the British Iron Age. As Ucko and Rosenfeld have observed,

> An intimate relationship (between man and animals) is not exclusive to totemism,

and, when discussing French palaeolithic cave art, state that

> We can neither prove nor disprove the possibility of totemism in prehistory.
>
> (1967:194, 41-2)

Whilst their pessimism is clear, nevertheless the evidence from the British Iron Age is more tangible than that of cave art. Not all the animals at Danebury need have been sacrificed. As was previously noted, some appear to have been buried without having even been skinned, there being no butchery marks present. These instances could represent animals which have died naturally, and which were significant, being given special treatment after death. Those animals which had been dismembered may not necessarily have been deliberately killed. However, ancient writers on Celtic

rituals emphasise the sacrificial aspect of druid lore. Strabo wrote about how both human and animal victims were dispatched by being burnt alive in huge wickerwork cages, for example (Laing 1979:113). While it is unusual for a clan to slaughter its own totems, they may well seek socio-ritual power by slaughtering those of a rival clan, and they may ameliorate the ritual value of their own social space by burying naturally deceased - or even slaughtered - examples of their own totems, or the opposition's totems, underneath the ramparts, under gateways, at the bottom of pits or at the bottom of ditches.

Hope-Taylor's elegant account of the ritual structures of Yeavering, in particular the upstanding timber posts, strongly suggests that totemism existed here; further, that it was a 'native' ritual which survived into post-Roman times (1977:259-260). There was a constant association of animal bones (sheep or goat) with the posts, which Hope-Taylor describes as 'perennially upstanding posts [which] were either intrinsically symbolic or carried emblems'. He agrees with Powell (1958:132-42) that the general background to use of free-standing pillars, figures and monoliths must be held to be Celtic. Hope-Taylor states of the excavations in general:

> The evidence, now reasonably whole, strongly hints at an immensely long local continuity in some aspects of custom and observance; but what

> emerges most particularly and unexpectedly is the suggestion that 'British' traditions played so significant a part in the development of an 'Anglo-Saxon' royal township.
>
> (1977:xvii)

The importance of this section on totemism, and the evidence of its continuity at Yeavering, is that it demonstrates the strength of the ritual surrounding the symbolism and deposition of animals in Britain. In Chapter Five it will be argued that the animal ritual was strong enough to survive into Roman Britain, and that discoveries of animal remains on villa sites cannot be explained away each and every time as rubbish deposits or accidental losses. Frequently it is the local Celtic tradition which provides the context for such animal burials.

2.6 THE QUESTION OF INFANTICIDE

A question relevant to a study of the later Roman period (see pp.246-86) is whether infanticide was practised in the British Iron Age, either as a sacrificial rite or as a method of birth control. Once again a couple of references to child sacrifice in classical and Irish literature have set scholars' minds racing (Challis and Harding 1975:169). These references may well refer to exceptional circumstances and do not indicate the widespread practice of infanticide. A great deal of literature concerned with Iron Age burial practices raises the question of infanticide (e.g. Gray 1930:94; Challis and Harding 1975:169, 171). The nature

and quantity of many of the infant burials discussed above are certainly intriguing, but they must be placed in context. The infant mortality rate in the ancient world was likely to have been relatively high, and in fact one recent study by Roger Leech of a Romano-British cemetery at Bradley Hill, Somerset, reveals that the death rate for infants under four years old was 67 per cent (Leech 1981:195-96). In addition to this, females who survived four years of life were still unlikely to live past the age of thirty-five (*ibid*). In simple terms, this means that for a woman to produce the two live children needed to perpetuate society, she mustproduce six children before the age of around thirty-five, four of whom would probably die. To produce the three children needed for population growth would require nine pregnancies etc. This strongly suggests that live infants would be a valuable commodity in the Iron Age, and even if the Bradley Hill figures are not strictly relevant to the Iron Age, they still indicate the value which would have been placed on infant life in the ancient world. Of course, valuable live commodities are sometimes sacrificed, but the occasional infant sacrifice and deposition does not indicate an everyday, casual practice; it indicates rather the opposite, when special measures had to be taken on special occasions.

In the British Iron Age infants were not a commodity of which there was likely to have been a great unwanted

surplus. The nature of many infant burials, being votive or ceremonial, may in fact be due to considerable value being attached to naturally deceased infants. No example of infant remains bearing marks of violence has been produced by excavators.

2.6.1 Ethnographically Documented Infanticide

However, ethnographically documented cases of infanticide reveal that the most common method appears to have been suffocation; for example, by immediate burial, pushing the face to the ground, or drowning. Abandonment and exposure are also widely used methods. The psychological burden of infanticide may be eased by the belief in the eventual rebirth of a killed infant. The aborigines of Groote Eylandt, Australia, for example, believe that the spirit of a dead infant goes to the store of spirit children to await rebirth, and thus the infant continues to live, although in a different form. The killing is also made easier by cultural belief that a child is not fully human until accepted as a member of the social group, which may take place when the child is named, or when it walks, or when it can talk, etc. (Williamson 1978:64). Killing of a newborn is also often explained as a caring act, done to save the life of an older child who is still too young to be weaned (*ibid*:63). Infanticide is seldom an expression of cruel or violent feeling. Rather the practice is carried out

for economic and demographic reasons. The Japanese call it 'thinning rice seedlings' (*ibid*:64).

In traditional societies infanticide is a safer method than attempted abortion for the woman, where crude and mechanical methods of termination are the only ones available. The woman is likely to be a more valuable member of society than an infant, and infanticide has the additional 'advantage' of allowing the family or society to select infants of one sex rather than another. Societies such as the Eskimos, Yanomamo, Fiji Islanders, and Imperial China, that strongly favour children of one sex, almost always male, prefer infanticide to abortion, as do some tribes of western India, the high castes of which allow extremely few female infants to survive (Divale and Harris 1976:530-31; Pakrasi 1970:33). One of the observable effects of such infanticide is sex ratios clearly favouring males (Williamson 1978:62).

In most societies children are generally desired, and childless marriages and 'barren women' are often objects of pity or scorn. Yet abortion and infanticide are virtually universal. A society with a strong pro-fertility ideology may at the same time condone or even sanction infanticide. 'Unrestrained fertility is clearly not perceived as beneficial by either societies or individuals' (*ibid*:63). It has been suggested that the main mechanism in stabilising human population during the Pleistocene was infanticide, probably preferential female

infanticide (Lee and DeVore 1968:11). A people disposing of female infants may give ideological explanations for the practice, often expressing high regard for males and low regard for females. However, whatever reasons are given, the actual effect of female infanticide is that it checks population growth, since removing female infants, potential child bearers, is more effective than male deaths in limiting births. This of course applies to all societies which practice infanticide, and not just to hunters and gatherers (Williamson 1978:67). Female infanticide is common in societies where a high death rate among men would otherwise create an imbalance in adult sex ratios. The high adult male death rate may be a result of extensive warfare, as among the hunter-horticultural Yanamamo, or be due to other dangers to men, such as hunting accidents among the Eskimos (*ibid*).

The main reasons for widespread infanticide appear to have been poverty and periodic famines. Societies accepted the custom because most families simply could not feed and care for a large number of children, so they selected those children which they decided they could care for (ibid:69).

A different type of infanticide is the ritual sacrifice of infants. This category of infanticidal practice is, however, unlikely to have had appreciable demographic or economic effects on population because it

was not practised on a very large scale. Williamson observes:

> It was common among pre-Christian Europeans and Meditteranean peoples before Greek and Roman times, as far back as the time of the ancient Hebrews, Egyptians, and the Babylonians. Infants and children were sacrificed to propitiate gods; they were sealed in walls and buried in foundations for buildings and bridges. This kind of ritual sacrifice of infants was found among some non-European peoples too, such as the coastal Indians of south eastern North America, the Chibcha of South America, and the Maya and Aztec of Mexico. It occurred primarily in chiefdoms and states, seldom in small scale societies, and rarely on such a scale as among pre-Christian Mediterranean peoples, or the Aztec. Whether infant sacrifice had any significant effect upon the populations of the societies practising it is difficult to determine accurately without knowing their demographic structure. However, an estimate of the number of sacrificed infants and small children in pre-colonial Mexico, for example, about two thousand annually, is not considered a meaningful increase in mortality in the total population of contemporary Mexico. It is unlikely that ritual infant sacrifices affected infant mortality to a significant extent for another reason; many of those who were sacrificed might well have been killed in infancy anyway.
>
> (1978:72)

Thus a link between the two types of infanticide can be seen: those infants sacrificed as foundation burials were likely to have been killed anyway. We see that sacrificial infanticide exists alongside the more widespread population control infanticide. Williamson's study notes that infanticide was a widespread practice throughout most of human history, and that the fact it was used in so many different cultures attests to its

past acceptance as an effective method of population control. The reasons for infanticide have been overwhelmingly economic and demographic, and that where sacrificial infanticide occurs it seems to develop out of the more 'ordinary' form. The great majority of infanticides have been performed to keep the size of families and, indirectly, to keep societies adjusted to their environmental and economic conditions: 'it was the only practical and reliable method for limiting the number of children' (*ibid*:73).

One other type of infanticide mentioned by Williamson which should be repeated here is the infanticide which occurs as a result of the death of the mother; the child is buried, dead or alive, with the mother (ibid:65).

2.6.2 Implications for the Iron Age

This may explain some of the old burials from the British Iron Age where an adult female and one or more infants are buried together:

> The interment of adult women with new born infants or young children is, in particular, a practice that recurs with some frequency.
>
> (Whimster 1981:182)

Another factor which points to the practice of sacrificial infanticide is the use of infants for foundation deposits, as at the Maiden Castle ramparts and at the bottom of a pit inside the temple at Uley. It is of course possible to argue that these infants could have

died of natural causes, and that the pit was dug as a response to a natural death (as opposed to a death being deliberately induced as a response to a need for a propitiatory pit), and that two infants died fortuitously as the Maiden Castle rampart construction was at a stage when propitiatory offerings were appropriate. In each individual case it is possible to argue against infanticide, but taking the evidence as a whole, and the fact that so many societies have been documented ethnographically as practising widespread infanticide and the more 'developed' sacrificial infanticide, the case for its use in the British Iron Age grows strong. It should be emphasised that infanticide does not result in, neither is it caused by, a low value being placed on infants' lives. For economic reasons the lives of some children are given up in order that other, older children might flourish (Williamson 1978:63). Such infanticides which take place in ceremonial circumstances, where the infanticide is diverted from the privacy of the household into the hands of those who control ritual, also indicate that a certain value is being placed upon the infant, for it is used as a dedication in important social space such as a hill fort rampart or a temple. Perhaps the spirits of these dead infants were expected to wait to be reborn into a greater human existence to the benefit of all concerned, or the spirit of the dead child might be

expected to help the society, or the sacrifice might simply have been a gift to the gods.

2.6.3 Predictions about a Society which Practises Infanticide

There are predictions which can be made of a society's social structure which would reveal, in all probability, the use of infanticide. One can be documented archaeologically, but not of course without some reservations. This prediction is that the society will have an imbalanced sex ratio, and, with female infanticide being the most common form of infanticide, that males will predominate. It is therefore perhaps significant that excavated cemeteries of the Iron Age and Roman periods in Britain very frequently show a preponderance of males, such as at Owlesbury (Collis 1977d:27-29). There are two obvious hypotheses. Either the women were buried elsewhere, or there was a preponderance of men on the site. This site has already been mentioned above as its other important anomaly was the high incidence of infant burials on one part of the site dated to the late Iron Age. They probably belong mainly to the second half of the first century B.C., the infant mortality rate of this period seemingly being 60 per cent, a rate much higher than even the current appallingly high infant mortality rates in the poorest parts of Africa (approximately 30 per cent). The burial data from Iron Age Barton Court Farm indicates an

extremely high infant mortality rate (Miles 1986:30), a rate which seems similarly too high to preclude infanticide from our thoughts. The fact that Owlesbury was not a solely male cemetery, but a mixed cemetery of men, infants and some females, tends to argue against a special female cemetery existing elsewhere. It is highly possible that many of the females of the settlement of Owlesbury are represented by infant burials. Unfortunately it is not possible to establish the sex of infants to determine the veracity of a further prediction - that there would be more female infant burials than male. The infants of Owlesbury were examined in detail, however, and the results were extremely interesting:

> Of the fourteen for which an age has been established all except three were newborn. In considering the total collection of infants from the site, Calvin Wells writes "Infant deaths are commonly due to such infections as dysentery and enteritis, as a result of drinking contaminated cow's milk when maternal lactation fails. But deaths from these diseases occur very commonly, at least throughout the first five or six years of childhood, whereas the fact that of the 25 deaths under the age of 2 years, seventeen appeared to be newborn must make one wonder if the likeliest explanation is infanticide".
>
> (Collis 1977d:29)

Another prediction which can be made of a society which practises female infanticide is that there will be a shortage of marriageable women. This can be seen in the case of the Tikopia people of Polynesia who practise infanticide in favour of males. As mentioned in Chapter

One, the cultivated land of these Polynesians is traditionally divided among families. In order to prevent the detrimental division of these small family plots, from which the extended family derived their vegetable products, into even smaller holdings, the eldest son alone inherited the land. A younger brother was often not expected to marry, nor to have any children (Williamson 1978:68).

Another effect of female infanticide appears to be, in rare instances, the practice of polyandry, the marriage of several men to one woman. The conclusion reached in the previous chapter was that Caesar was likely to have confused reports of a woman's sexual access to many men (her husband's brothers in particular - presumably to the gratification of sociobiologists) with true economic and social marriage. If Caesar was reporting a real practice at all, it may not necessarily have been widespread. Iron Age society was stratified and different rules of behaviour may have applied in different strata. However, any such 'liberal' practices could strengthen the case for the use of female infanticide in the British Iron Age.

Thus the archeological evidence and the ethnographic record suggest that infanticide may indeed have been practised in the Iron Age, though of course, the archaeological evidence and the ethnographic examples have been specially selected in order to make a case.

2.7 SUMMARY

Discussion of the burial data relating to animals, infants, children and adults has introduced many intricacies of social structure in the British Iron Age. It is clear that here one is not dealing with a casual disposal of the dead, but with complex, deliberate, ritual behaviour. It will be important to recall this knowledge during discussions of the related data of the Roman period, the point being that it is now clear what kinds of evidence point to complex British Celtic ritual behaviour, even if it is not always entirely clear what such behaviour actually means. It has been necessary to establish at some length the details of 'special' Iron Age burial practices in order to clarify the context for special Romano-British burials, in particular those from villas.

CHAPTER THREE

AISLED FARMHOUSES ON ROMANO-BRITISH VILLAS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

3.1.1 Definitions

The aisled farmhouses of Roman Britain have only ever been briefly discussed (Smith, J.T. 1964a; Hadman 1978:187-95; Morris 1979:55-65). The aisled farmhouse is probably a purely British development (e.g. Todd 1981:88). It is found in rural contexts and is frequently part of a villa complex. 'Aisled farmhouse' is an interpretative term, used here to describe an aisled building which was part agricultural and part residential. These buildings are to be distinguished from simple non-residential aisled buildings; these latter will be referred to as 'aisled work-buildings', an apt term for both rural *and* urban examples including, for instance, the tile-making establishment at Crookhorn Lane, Hampshire (Johnston 1978:72).

The construction and appearance of the winged-corridor villa houses of Roman Britain have been discussed at length (e.g. Richmond 1969; Percival 1976:91-105; Smith, D.J. 1978:117-48; Neal 1982:153-72). There is little evidence that these winged corridor houses acted as anything other than residential components of a villa complex. Agricultural and industrial activities occurred, as with any working farm, in separate outbuildings. The massive granary at Rudston

(HU11) and the aisled farmhouses of sites such as Winterton, Mansfield Woodhouse (NT20) (fig. 6) and Norton Disney (LI123) (fig. 6), all performed important agricultural functions. The late insertion of 'ovens' and 'kilns' into former living areas (e.g. Webster 1969:232-33) is a curiosity which will be discussed in the next chapter. Other 'agricultural facilities' within winged-corridor houses usually turn out to be late or to be associated with ordinary farm kitchen activities. The 'corn room' identified by Branigan (1977a:74-5, fig. 33) at Frocester Court (GS47) (figs. 7 and 8) contained a quern and a 'corn drier'; the latter feature may well have functioned as a local malting facility, as may most or all of the 'corn driers' known from the archaeological record (Jones 1982:104; Clarke 1982:204). Thus it is to the outbuildings and surrounding fields that we must turn if we are to understand the agricultural base of villas as farms.

3.1.2 Typologies

It may seem unusual for a chapter about aisled farmhouses to precede a chapter about winged-corridor villa houses, but there are good reasons for this. Unless the functions and social role of aisled farmhouses on villa sites are understood, one cannot adequately assess the merits of such fundamental studies as Richmond's typology of British villas (1969:52-70), and J.T. Smith's 'unit system' theory (1978:149-85). In the

former analysis the aisled house is regarded as a separate type of villa from both winged-corridor and courtyard villas, which are themselves regarded as separate types. Given, however, that courtyard villas such as Woodchester (GS101) (fig. 9) and Bignor (WS11) (fig. 10) actually comprise a combination of structural entities which include corridor houses and aisled farmhouses, Richmond's typology is problematic. Aisled farmhouses are *components* of the Woodchester villa, not separate *types* from it. Many other large villas, which, while not traditionally regarded as courtyard villas are enclosed by boundary walls or ditches, also incorporate both corridor houses and aisled farmhouses; such sites include Darenth (KE18) (fig. 11), Wellow (AV71) (fig. 12), Combley (IW6) (fig. 13), Hambleden (BU33) (fig. 14), Cromhall (AV36) (fig. 15), Sparsholt (HA93) (fig. 16) and Winterton (HU16) (fig. 17). In Smith's analysis, there is no discussion of the differences between aisled farmhouses and winged-corridor houses regarding plan, date, function and social status. Smith's theory will be discussed further below and in the following chapter.

3.2 ORIGINS

The origins of the aisled farmhouse in Roman Britain have been investigated on several occasions, but to little avail. Collingwood (1930:129) sought a number of parallels from the continent, including the Gallo-Belgic hall-type farmhouse of Mayen, and Richmond attempted to

demonstrate 'Irish analogies for the Romano-British barn-dwelling' (1932). J.T. Smith, however, effectively demolished these arguments; only one continental example, at Konigshofen (fig. 18), eluded his scepticism (1964a:17-25); but, as Hadman observed, 'Hungary is a long way from Britain' (1978:187). After a thorough study of villa plans on the continent, which failed to produce any parallels, J.T. Smith compared what has been interpreted as an early simple timber aisled building at Denton with a very similar house at Fochteloo, Holland, which was dated to the second half of the first century and the second century A.D. J.T. Smith was impressed by the known antecedents of this house, going back to circa 400 B.C., noting that 'these forerunners are so far unknown in England', and he argued that the 'aisled byre-house' was brought over to England 'fully developed' (1964a:24). He believed that the aisled house came as a timber building already divided into upper and lower ends, and that such timber buildings were later converted into stone.

It is time to reassess this position. It might first be pointed out that whereas J.T. Smith argues for the introduction of a 'fully developed' 'aisled byre-house' to Britain, his comparative examples, Fochteloo and early Denton, appear on his own plans to be nothing more than simple aisled buildings with no internal divisions (*ibid*) (fig. 19). This discrepancy is

something of a problem. Stead has also highlighted evidence which 'considerably reduces the force of the theory seeking an origin in Dutch timber buildings', some of which has already been mentioned above.

> In the study of Romano-British Aisled Houses there is so little firm ground that every new shred of evidence is liable to alter the balance. This is certainly true of the Winterton excavations, for the two buildings there do not match up to Smith's argument that Aisled Houses were originally made in timber, and only converted to stone as a secondary development. Both Winterton examples were definitely built in stone from the start - no timber building has yet been found at Winterton and there were certainly stone circular buildings more than half a century before the aisled houses were built. At least one other Aisled House, at West Blatchington, Sussex, was built in stone from the start.
>
> (Stead 1976:92)

Stead, however, does not believe that local ancestry is likely, but prefers to opt for Richmond's suggestion that the type is borrowed from the Italian *villa rustica*, a curious stance as he admits himself that 'not a single Italian *villa rustica* has been excavated' (*ibid*:93-4; Richmond 1955:112-13). There is in fact an insular tradition of rectangular house building in Britain. Crickley Hill hill fort for example, circa 600 B.C., contained a number of long houses which seem to have been aisled (figs 20-21). Later, though, these long houses were replaced by roundhouses, but later rectangular houses are known elsewhere. At most of the British oppida there is some evidence for rectangular buildings,

and there is also evidence for a certain amount of planning in the layout of these sites with consistent alignment of plots and buildings (Darvill 1987:169). It is, however, to two Belgic farmsteads beneath villas in Hertfordshire that we must turn for the most interesting evidence. A rectilinear 'hut' is known from Park Street (HT36) (fig. 22), and at Gorhambury (HT34) (fig. 23) an actual aisled building has been dated by Neal to the 'Belgic' (i.e. late Iron Age) period (Neal 1983:115-21). Such evidence strangely suggests that the forerunners of aisled farmhouses *are* known in Britain, and that more remain to be found. A number of late Iron Age rectangular buildings have recently been tentatively identified near Colchester (Keys 1987:6). It must also be stressed that buildings of the same date and construction have also been identified in Picardy and the Rhineland (*ibid*), but the fact nevertheless remains that the aisled farmhouse could have had its roots in the late British Iron Age, which is why it was able to develop as it did into a house type which was 'largely a Romano-British phenomenon' (Hadman 1978:187). Their connection with the also purely British 'corn driers' is therefore doubly interesting (see Conclusions chapter).

One final piece of evidence which suggests that the aisled building developed as an insular vernacular type is the existence of 'native' huts and 'cottages' at Studland, Dorset, which are of cob and wattle and daub

construction, and some of which are aisled (Field 1966:1-66) (fig. 24). Cottage 'G', the earliest rectangular building on the site which may have been aisled, produced coarse pottery from its first phase which was almost all material typical of the survival of native Iron Age 'C' forms into the Roman period. It was associated with Flavian samian and a Trajanic or Hadrianic sherd. The first phase of this building, then, can be dated from the second half of the first century A.D. to the early second (*ibid*:22). Cottage 'A' which was certainly aisled, dates from the second half of the second century through the third and into the fourth (*ibid*:14). Cottage 'B' is securely dated to the fourth century (*ibid*:19). The development of this small native settlement from Iron Age 'huts' to an early small Roman rectangular 'cottage', and then to small aisled 'cottages' of the second to fourth centuries, and from local building materials, reveals a clear pattern of local development.

There is of course an 'Aisled Hall' at the Fishbourne Palace in Sussex (WS19) of first century date (Cunliffe 1971:106-16). It might be argued that this structure formed the 'blue print' for aisled buildings in Roman Britain. However, this was a classic Roman basilica, and of such an early date that it was clearly a direct import from the Roman world across the Channel. The large gap in time alone between the appearance of the Fishbourne basilica and the appearance of the aisled

farmhouses on villa sites in the third and fourth centuries argues away from the latter being influenced by the former. The 'Belgic' aisled building at Gorhambury and the Studland aisled cottages are at present our best bet in finding fore-runners to the larger aisled farmhouses, and clearly the Fishbourne basilica was not a blue print for these.

It would therefore appear that there are sound reasons to view the aisled farmhouse of Roman Britain not as an import, but as a provincial development, and not only of economic but also of social importance.

3.3 CONSTRUCTION

3.3.1 Architectural Principles

Why were aisled buildings aisled at all? This is a fundamental question, and unless the buildings' construction is understood, the answer to that seemingly simple question can often be given wrongly. The function of the aisle posts is often misunderstood, and many people assume that they were put there to support a very wide ceiling. This, however, is to simultaneously assume that such a building's roof span was of the same width as the whole building; that is, of the construction shown in fig. 25. However, if we in fact look at existing Mediaeval examples of aisled buildings we can observe that the roof span was the same width as the nave width, and it is the extension downwards of the roof in the form of 'lean-tos' to join a small wall which creates the

aisles, and results in a significant extension of the floor area (Harris 1978:10). Basically, the nave area of the aisled building is the standard form of construction of any timber-framed building, but the long walls of the latter became two long lines of posts (plate I). As roof trusses can only be so long - as long as the trees from which they come - this is the only method available of extending the floor area of a building greatly without resorting to arches and domes. Aisled buildings are traditionally timber constructions, needing neither sophisticated architectural techniques nor associated materials such as concrete. Sophisticated carpentry techniques, however, would be required, and these were certainly possessed by the carpenters of Roman Britain, and indeed, those of long before:

> All the tools used in the reconstruction of both houses (at Butser) were available to Iron Age man, although we used modern versions of them. A full scale carpenter's tool kit existed in the mid-Bronze Age as far as we can tell at the present. Certainly all the joinery used in the Balksbury House can be shown from not just the Iron Age, but also the Neolithic period.
>
> (Reynolds 1979:41)

Reconstructed Iron Age houses, such as those at Butser in Hampshire and at Castell Henllys, Dyfed, give some idea of the skills possessed by Iron Age house builders (Plates II-VIII). An understanding of the principles of lateral thrust, trussing and jointing is revealed.

It is fortunate that the aisle posts of Romano-British aisled buildings did not normally rest upon sleeper beams, leaving a good body of archaeological evidence to reveal the guiding architectural principles of these buildings. The aisle posts supported the nave ceiling. The support given to the roof trusses is known as strutted bracing (fig. 26). These braces are often ornately carved in the Dutch and English Mediaeval examples, but owing to the ephemeral nature of timber we unfortunately do not know how artistically Romano-British carpenters treated braces and beams if at all. The addition of braces means that the nave cross-section is becoming closer in design to a hyperbolic curve, a particularly stable stress-absorbing construction (hence the success of the arch in architecture). With these supportive braces and other stabilising techniques available (which they obviously were in huge buildings such as Stroud) it was undoubtedly tree lengths which determined the maximum width of buildings, and not other structural factors. The nave, then supported by strutted bracing, could extend as wide as available trees were long; this was often extremely wide. The nave width at Holbury (HA33) was 9.1 metres and at Rivenhall (ES36) was over 10 metres. It is interesting in this respect that at Bridge End, Birkenhead, a suspected Roman bridge was found beneath the railway line that consisted of oak beams about 11 metres long resting on stone piers and

crossing a 33 metre wide creek (info. Liverpool Museum). It seems that this was approaching the maximum length of solid and straight timbers which could be obtained from available trees, and thus for Romano-British carpenters roughly 11 metres was the maximum length of timber available. This accords well with the situation attested in Mediaeval England, when beams of 3-6 metres were usual and lengths of up to and sometimes over 9 metres were not uncommon (Harris 1978:17). The majority of nave widths of Romano-British aisled buildings are between 5 metres and 8 metres.

Tie-beams across the nave width would create a ceiling, and thus a loft where there was no clerestory. That lofts were constructed and used for storage of the produce of the farm is suggested by analogy with thirteenth and fourteenth century English aisled buildings and those of seventeenth and eighteenth century Holland (D.J. Smith pers. comm.). These Dutch aisled farmhouses have a high, wide gable entrance for carts stacked high with hay to enter by, and vast thatched roofs under which hay was stored.

3.3.2 Roof Construction

Morris makes an interesting statement about clerestories which has other implications:

> The increasing suspicion that there was no clerestory in aisled farmhouses leads to the opinion that the need for living rooms where they could be lit was an important reason for

> the continuance of an open hall in the area most difficult to partition.
>
> (1979:64)

This statement implies that the open hall area is not actually important functionally in its own right, being an open space not by design but rather by accident, and that the construction of this open space was not deliberate but rather was determined by lighting difficulties; this is to neglect the essential character of these buildings. Why have an aisled building at all, a building primarily designed to extend floor space, if much of this space must be 'left-over' as dark and unpartitionable? The open hall must surely have formed an important function both spatially and economically if the aisled building construction method was adopted, otherwise a simple range of rooms such as those first erected at Boxmoor (HT25) (fig. 27) and Park Street (HT36) (fig. 28) would have sufficed. Aisled buildings are different from such simple ranges of rooms and winged-corridor houses for a reason; the fact that aisled farmhouses and winged-corridor villas appear together in a uniquely British fashion on the same villa sites makes this evident. It should also be noted that no direct evidence has been presented for 'the increasing suspicion that there was no clerestory in aisled farmhouses'. Structural reconstruction is of course a difficult business, and at best must remain speculative, and the most difficult and contentious aspect of all

reconstructions is the roof (Smith 1982:10). Smith notes that the reconstruction of

> aisled houses...is apt to be thought of in excessively simple terms, comparing them to mediaeval aisled barns without regard to the fundamental structural differences between the two types which the archaeological evidence reveals.
>
> (*ibid*:9)

3.3.3 Buttressing

Several aisled farmhouses were buttressed. Buttresses on the eastern wall of the eastern aisled farmhouse at Woodchester (fig. 9) supported the buildings on sloping ground. Buttresses on other buildings may have been there to assist in the absorption of stress resulting from heavy upper storeys or roofs, or both, as also did thick gable walls (see below, 3.3.4). Buildings with buttresses include the aisled farmhouse at East Grimstead, the aisled work-building at Rapsley (SY12) and possibly the aisled work-building at Ickleton (CA38) (fig. 29). Many other aisled farmhouses, however, had neither thickened gable ends nor buttresses, and the stresses were carried mostly by the aisle posts and the braces. This is an example of how aisle posts, originally erected to provide a wide building, performed useful secondary functions. In the Roman period they frequently carried tiled roofs, though at some sites, the absence of tiles indicates that thatched roofs (also

heavy) must have been used, as at Sparsholt and Stubbins Wood (DNB6).

3.3.4 Thick Gable Walls

Mansfield Woodhouse was one of the first villas in Europe to be excavated and published. One of the most remarkable features of the site was the aisled farmhouse which was bigger in area than the winged-corridor house; the same is true of Norton Disney (fig. 6). The aisled farmhouse at Mansfield Woodhouse had one unusually thick wall which must originally have been the north gable wall. Denton (LI153) (fig. 30) was also like this. At Denton the footings of the west gable wall were 0.9 metres wide compared with the uniform width of 0.6 metres elsewhere in the building. Smith sees the purpose of this 'massive gable wall' as being to counter movement in a structure that must have tended, because of longitudinal weakness, to rack from end to end. The weakness may have been only in the roof or possibly in the posts below as well (*ibid*). The posts, however, were likely to have been fairly stable, given that a system of bracing was probably used, given the level of carpentry skills indicated for the Iron Age and the Roman period; their buildings did stand for long periods of time. Any longitudinal weakness at Denton and Mansfield Woodhouse may well have been in the roof alone, perhaps as the result of the weight of stored produce in a loft, particularly at one end.

That aisled farmhouses were multi-storey buildings is suggested by the discovery of the remains of an aisled building at Meonstoke (HA59). The excavation director Tony King has been able to deduce the height of the building because one gable wall, consisting of more than 100 tons of masonry, collapsed outwards, and much of it was preserved under the ground. The building had three aisles, was at least 90 feet long, and was approximately 45 feet high. The building was constructed in the third century and a new gable wall was added in the fourth century. It is this later addition - complete with windows - which collapsed, probably circa A.D. 370 (Keys 1987). Thus the thick gable walls at Denton, Mansfield Woodhouse, Barnack (CA8) (Whitwell 1982:112) and Stroud (HA77) (fig. 31), and the possible gable buttresses at East Grimstead (WZ89) (fig. 30) may well have served to correct structural problems, or to pre-empt anticipated structural problems, such as an overburdened second storey or a heavy roof, or both. The lighting arrangements of aisled farmhouses' upper storeys were likely to have comprised large openings in the gable ends through which agricultural produce could be loaded for storage from high carts. If these buildings did have lofts or even second storeys, then Morris is right to suspect that they did not have clerestories.

3.3.5 Lighting Arrangements

However, regarding the lighting arrangements of the ground floor, I am unhappy with Morris' assertion that the continuance of an open hall in the farmhouses was only tolerated because living rooms could not be built there as they could not be lit, there being no clerestory. Not only does this misunderstand the need for an open nave, but it assumes that without a clerestory no inner rooms could be lit. However, artificial lighting such as oil lamps could have been used, as it undoubtedly was each evening after dark. Also pairs of windows, one window in the aisle wall and another possibly larger window opposite it in the nave wall, could have provided light for a central area; this may have been how the central room no.4 was lit at Stroud. The long sides of the aisled farmhouses at Winterton all face south-east (i.e. into the rising sun) as they also did at other sites including Mansfield Woodhouse, Norton Disney and Sparsholt. This seems to indicate the presence of windows in the south-east long walls.

The rooms in the aisled farmhouses were positioned around the edges of the building not only to receive light but also in order to leave a hall. The hall was not a left-over piece of dark space but an intentional large open working area of the farmer who lived in the aisled farmhouse; it is hard to envisage Stroud or

Winterton D operating in any other way. The whole point of an *aisled* building is to provide the added space of aisles for rooms, cattle stalls and other facilities as well as the important large open area.

3.3.6 Development - Aisled Barn to Aisled Farmhouse?

Morris' statement also implies that aisled farmhouses began their existence as simple aisled work-buildings without a domestic function, and were at a later date partitioned to create a farmhouse. The available evidence, however, cannot confirm this belief; on the contrary, in all probability these buildings were built as aisled farmhouses from the beginning. The disparity in size between aisled farmhouses and aisled work-buildings indicates that they belong to different categories of buildings (see figs. 32 and 33).

More important is the business of phases. One of the main tasks the excavator of a building sets himself is the recognition of phases. He looks for features which obviously had to have been constructed later than others; i.e. one feature overlies and cuts through another. The archaeologist might thus recognise a 'phase 1' and a 'phase 2', but this, however, and quite crucially, gives no indication in itself of the passage of time. 'Phase 2' may in fact be only days or hours later than 'phase 1', and, in that sense, cannot be regarded as a separate phase at all. Obviously the main framework of an aisled farmhouse has to be erected first,

before such things as partitions, additional rooms, baths, mosaics, hypocausts and 'corn driers' can be added, and of course although these features are structurally later or secondary, they need not be strictly of a later phase. Unless there is good sealed evidence defining two phases by separating them by a number of years, I would suggest that 'phases' of aisled farmhouses, where such dating evidence is either lacking or needs reassessment in the light of new pottery knowledge, be treated with care. The excavations at Landwade (SU7) (fig. 34) are a particular problem, accentuated by the paucity of information available about the site. The published figure (Greenfield 1960:228) shows the early second-century 'barn-dwelling' and the later 'barn-house'. Presumably the excavator had reasons for calling the earlier building a *dwelling* as opposed to simply calling it a barn, but these reasons are not shown visually on the plan, which, not surprisingly, has led many to assume that the earlier building was non-residential, whereas in fact this may not be the case. For instance, Greenfield indicates that there was a bath-suite before phase 2 (*ibid*). Another problem of Landwade which typifies so many other excavations of these buildings is that the criteria for dating is not specifically stated in print.

There is evidence from other sites to indicate that the buildings were probably intended as farmhouses from

the beginning, and that although rebuilding and enlargement may have occurred, the building was always domestic, there being no dramatic change of function with such renovations. At Winterton D for example, there was certainly living accommodation from the start of this building's life: there was an old bath-suite and a new one, which seems a good indication that Stead's 2 phases are legitimate and that each phase had a bath-suite and thus a high standard of living accommodation (1976:48). At least nine rooms in this building had painted walls, mostly of phase 2 but also including some phase 1 material. In Room 3, for example, most of the plaster came from a deposit sealed between two floors, the uppermost being the Orpheus mosaic, and so this material is probably from the phase 1 house. The surviving plaster indicates that the earliest phase 1 house was decorated in a fairly sophisticated manner. Much of the plaster came from red panels outlined by a fine white line and then bordered by green 1.25cm wide, edged with white. Next to this came a black stripe at least 10cm broad on which was painted a fine yellow line 3.5cm away from the green and white. Fragments were also found of fine black lines meeting at right-angles on a yellow ground, so possibly this room had red and yellow panels divided by black stripes, or the black may also belong to a panel. Multi-coloured stripes in red, yellow, green and purple also occur, with faint traces of a leaf design

in pink. Part of a white roundel with segments of black and blue painted on a yellow background may have decorated one of the panels (Liversidge 1976:273-4). Changing fashion and tastes are revealed in the phase 2 buildings, and may indeed have precipitated the remodelling. From above the mosaic floor came scraps of imitation marbling with purple stippling on a pale grey background. This is matched in Room 5, which appears to have been the most decorative room in the whole building, where imitation marbling was also found (*ibid*:274-5).

Another of the many aisled farmhouses at Winterton, building A/B, was decorated with painted wall-plaster in its earliest phase. Most of the rooms of this house seem to have been decorated, including the open hall comprising the lower end of the house (*ibid*:272-3). This building, in its earliest phase, was partitioned (Stead 1976:24 and fig. 14), and while Stead believes it was not originally aisled, he was interpreting very scanty evidence which should have been regarded with an open mind in the light of other evidence presented here.

Oswald believed that the Norton Disney aisled farmhouse was built as a residential building from the first. The aisled farmhouse contained a pair of early ovens which continued in use until circa A.D. 200, and 'this fact has a bearing on the stone bases in this area'. The excavators of some aisled farmhouses have assumed that an aisled work-building with a double row of

stone bases has at some later date been altered so that a series of rooms surround the central hall, and the bases have been removed or incorporated in the walls of these rooms. Oswald initially thought it likely that the three bases at Norton Disney were all that was left of an aisled work-building in stone, but this did not prove to be the case. First, the ovens could not have operated had additional stone pillar bases been in position, since there would have been no room for stoking the furnace. Secondly, all three bases were sunk in a foundation pit of at least a foot deep. Had there been any more such bases, their foundation pits would have been visible during excavation, but no such pits were found (1937:145-6).

At West Blatchington (EA21) the story is much the same. The north end of this aisled farmhouse was divided into rooms by walls along the aisle line with no evidence of earlier posts beneath (Norris and Burstow 1951:1-66; Morris 1979:142).

It should be added that even where post-holes are found below aisle walls, they may only represent a temporary structural support during the initial planning and construction of the building. When Frere writes:

> With the passage of time and improvement of living standards, the 'upper' end of many aisled houses was partitioned off into rooms.
>
> (1978:309)

he is suggesting that the inhabitants of these buildings originally lived in them without any concept of privacy, and only gave themselves rooms after they had 'improved their living standards'. They must have been quick learners for on some aisled farmhouse sites there were many wealthy amenities. At Sparsholt the aisled farmhouse has a bath-suite, whereas the corridor house has no bathing facilities; and, significantly in light of the previous discussion, the first phase of the Sparsholt aisled farmhouse, which was on a different alignment to the later one, also featured a bath-suite (Johnston 1978:78, fig. 25). The evidence is clear that we must seriously consider these buildings to have been intended as comfortable, residential farmhouses from the start.

3.4 FARM AND FARMHOUSE

A house which combines both residential and agricultural functions confers certain advantages on the residents. Importantly, in the winters of later Roman Britain especially, such houses would have been warm. Hay and straw, and perhaps grain, stored in the loft and possibly in the aisles (see below) would insulate the building, animals and humans generate body heat, and the presence of bath-suites in many aisled farmhouses means that the whole building must have been a relatively warm place for people to live and work.

The aisled farmhouse is important because it is an outbuilding to which we can attribute function with a

degree of certainty. The paucity of our knowledge about villa buildings is frustrating and ironic when one considers that the relatively recent and widely accessible aerial photography of Roger Agache in Gaul has picked out hundreds of often complete villa estates. He has made an unprecedented contribution to villa studies by demonstrating empirically and quite unequivocably that 'villa' means much more than a large stone-built residence of obvious Roman architectural influence (Agache 1970; 1972; 1975). A villa is a complex of farm buildings, where the main building forms just a part of the gathering of outbuildings which would have been centres for agricultural activities and accommodation for the workers. There must have been middens (plate IX), granaries, hay and straw stores, dairies, stables, pig styes, cattle shelters, dove-cotes, beehives and many other structures which will soon be totally beyond the experience of modern factory farmers (Morris 1979:5). The term 'villa' therefore, is such an encompassing one that in using it during discussion of outbuildings, it clearly needs some qualification, and this can be done if 'villa' is used in an adjectival sense, forcing us to use more descriptive and meaningful terms such as 'main villa house' and 'villa complex'.

The fact that the term 'aisled *farmhouse*' has not been used in any published source (the terms used are 'aisled house' or 'aisled building') reveals that the

full agricultural - and social - function of these structures has not been fully appreciated. It is the intention of this chapter to demonstrate that cattle stalling, threshing, malting, hay, grain and straw storage were functions of these farmhouses (3.4). It also argues that the occupants were neither servants nor hired bailiffs, but the family of the elder son of the family (3.5), running the farm from these fully working and fully 'Romanised' farmhouses. Such debate is lacking in the published sources.

3.4.1 Villa Flora and Fauna

Very few agricultural structures such as hay stores have ever been located with certainty during the excavation of a villa complex. We know, of course, from bones found on Romano-British sites, including villa complexes, that cattle, pigs, sheep and horses were kept (e.g. Maltby 1981:155-203). An interesting point here is that a comparative survey of bone assemblages from Roman sites in Britain shows certain trends in the keeping of some animal species (King 1978:207-32). There would appear to be a distinct trend away from sheep rearing through the Roman period; 'Romanised' sites show this tendency away from sheep more markedly than 'native' sites. King considers the possibility that pressure from central government may account for the increase in pig-keeping, since laws were attuned to Mediterranean region where the pig was a common animal. Woodland animals were

also easier to conceal from the tax inspectors. There is also an apparent rise in the number of cattle kept. On a villa site it is to be expected that there were byres with stalls for the cattle and stables for horses, at least during the winter. Cows giving birth and young calves are nearly always housed for protection and convenience, as are draft animals in the ploughing season when they work from first light until dusk and require a diet high in nutrients and calories to keep them in condition.

This raises the issue of the storage of grain and hay for fodder for the animals and straw storage for bedding, thatching and for trampling into manure, the latter activity being performed by animals which have been put to roam in the manure yard. Large animals eat particularly large amounts of fodder, especially when they are stalled or stabled and do not have access to grazing land. Today a cow will be fed up to about one half of a modern (tightly packed by machine) bale of hay, daily, plus a few scoops of 'nuts' which are nutrient packed cereal pellets. It can thus be seen that a year's supply of fodder for a team of half a dozen *working* oxen, even the smaller strain of the Iron Age and Roman periods in Britain (*Bos Longifrons*), could easily exceed one thousand modern bales of hay. It is probable that Romano-British farmers kept a year's supply of cereal produce in hand. Such storage of produce in case of

'hard times' is a practice which probably originated in prehistoric times. All sedentary agricultural communities, to some extent, practise a 'risk-buffering strategy'; that is, a subsistence strategy can only be successful if surplus is consistently produced to guard against a 'bad year', a potential annual occurrence. This strategy is significant in as much as it prevents the community from starving to death at regular intervals (Halstead 1981:192-96). On a large agricultural settlement such as a British villa site, a large amount of storage space had to be utilised for all the animal requirements. It is possible, too, that farms were required to send produce to the army, via requisition and later the *annona militaris* taxation in kind (e.g. Wacher 1978:99). Taxes of this sort, paid in grain, cattle and other produce, would have required large areas for their accumulation and collection. The *annona* was instigated in Britain perhaps in the second century A.D. (e.g. Rivet 1969b:201), perhaps earlier. It is interesting to note how the bone assemblage compositions and trends of the early military sites fall into line with the native sites, demonstrating their reliance on availability of local food (King 1978:211). Importantly, this dependence upon local food supplies is shown not just from large villa sites but also from the more 'native', simple production units at the lower end of the spectrum (*ibid*; Maltby 1981).

3.4.2 Wheat Yield Estimates

It was, however, wheat which was particularly required by the military for their army granaries, especially those which supplied the northern frontiers. Breeze estimates that about 60,000 tons of corn were consumed annually on Hadrian's Wall by the military (1982:115). This amount of corn may have been in part supplied via imports; the presence of alien fauna in granaries at South Shields and in London indicates continental origins for some grain at least. However, British farmers will have been able to supply a vast amount of corn themselves, and the imports may have been only occasional. The alien fauna, a dormouse and a beetle, are after all, conspicuous by their rarity. The experimental archaeology of Reynolds at Butser Iron Age farm suggests that many scholars may in the past have grossly underestimated the yields which could be achieved by Iron Age and thus Romano-British farmers. A recent study (Scott 1983:221-22) has demonstrated that when all available estimates are converted into comparable units of measurement - in this study cwt per acre - some very interesting figures begin to emerge. A popular figure is six cwt per acre, used by Barker and Webley (1977:200) and Breeze (1982:115). Manning considers both 5.6 and 8.5 cwt. per acre (1975:112). Boon prefers 2.8 cwt (1974:247) while Applebaum suggests 8.5 to 11.6 cwt per acre (1975:122). Reynolds, however, has achieved Einkorn

yields of between one and three tonnes per acre, depending on how much manure was added. The study also took account of differing estimates of army size and grain consumption per day, per man, and arrived at the almost comical conclusion that the amount of land required to supply the grain requirements of the army in Roman Britain could be estimated at anywhere between around 4,000 acres and 200,000 acres, depending upon the figures one chose to use.

The point of Reynolds' results is that the agricultural technology known from the Iron Age and Roman Britain is not limiting and, given decent soil conditions, high yields are certainly possible. Reynolds' problem in the future will surely be the maintenance of such high yields, a problem undoubtedly shared by Romano-British farmers. Essential to the farming strategies of these farmers were farm buildings.

3.4.3 Hierarchy

From the time of the first documentation of farm estates and holdings which remain available to us (the earliest being seventh century charters) it was clearly the case, as it still is, that there are many different types and sizes of farms (Roberts 1979:159-95). This variety in Roman Britain can be referred to as a 'continuum', though it may be possible to categorise these sites into a hierarchy. A hierarchy is the organisation of any group of items into a series of

classes ranked from low to high, each successively higher class having fewer members (Champion 1980:60). In a settlement hierarchy, the individual sites might be organised on the basis of population size, number of functions and/or intrasite social relations. In this thesis no detailed and formal hierarchy analysis will be undertaken; it is enough to be aware that a hierarchy of farms existed in the Roman period. This is apparent when one compares Woodchester villa with the small agricultural settlement of Studland in Dorset (fig. 24). An interesting point which arises out of the comparison of these two farms is that the ubiquitous agricultural structure, the aisled farmhouse, is a component of both settlements. It is thus demonstrable that aisled farmhouses appear at all levels of the hierarchy, from low status sites to big, opulent villa complexes.

3.4.4 Cattle Stalling

Cattle may be kept in fields, paddocks, loose-pens or other types of byre situated in a villa complex. Is it possible to locate the stalling of cattle within aisled farmhouses? The concept of animals and humans living under the same roof was common within the Roman world, and was acceptable to even affluent Roman citizens. One of the Roman writers on farms and farming, Vitruvius, describes in 'Ten Books on Architecture' (Bk. VI) his architectural idea of a farmhouse. It is rectangular with a central courtyard in the Mediterranean

fashion, and obviously has potential for stylish embellishments, but within the same building Vitruvius sites domestic quarters for the *vilicus*, quarters for the slaves, baths, a byre for oxen and barns.

Ethnographic parallels suggest that cattle stalls may have existed in the aisles of aisled farmhouses. Such comparative evidence for stalling cattle comes from many regions and periods such as the site of Feddersen Wierde in Denmark, which dates to the first four centuries A.D. (Haarnagel 1979). Here chemical prospecting has produced significant results. One such test produced reliable and important information at both Feddersen Wierde and nearby Vallhagar (Parker 1965:1-10). This was a method known as phosphate analysis. Phosphates in the soil provide a reliable indicator of animal or human occupation, especially the presence of animal bones or where dung has been deposited over a long period of time (Goodyear 1971:209). This method, if used systematically, should provide information about levels of phosphate within aisled farmhouses. If cattle *were* stalled in the aisles, high concentrations of phosphate should be anticipated at intervals along the aisles, corresponding to individual cattle stalls, as was found in the Feddersen Wierde longhouses. Other comparative evidence comes from eighteenth century Holland and Mediaeval Britain. The British Mediaeval longhouses which have been excavated were built in stone from the

late twelfth century, Mawgan Porth being an isolated tenth century example. Under many long-houses are remains of timber and clay buildings of an earlier period. In many excavated examples there is evidence for the identification of the lower room as a byre, in which oxen were kept in aisle stalls (Morris 1979:74). Drains were common but not present every time; this would seem to demonstrate that the presence or absence of a drain does not necessarily indicate the presence or absence of cattle stalling, so in the aisled farmhouses of Roman Britain without drains (by far the majority), the lack of drainage features does not preclude the keeping of animals there. After all, the 'mucking-out' of stables and stalls is still common today; drains are not necessary as the dung and bedding straw is shovelled up daily and added to the farm's midden, where it is mixed with household debris, such as broken pottery and tiles before being taken out to the fields or to outlying middens. In addition, drains may not have been detected by excavators or identified as such. One wonders about the function of the 'trench' in building A at Winterton (Stead 1976:24, fig. 14).

It is not known how many beasts we should expect to have been stalled, if indeed they were, in an aisled farmhouse. Perhaps only the plough oxen were given such privileged housing, although in some buildings a great deal of potential stalling space is revealed. At Stroud,

twelve potential aisle stalls between roughly three and four metres in width and four metres in depth could have housed up to twenty-four oxen easily (oxen can be comfortably kept as pairs in stalls, whereas horses are best kept singly). West Blatchington (EA21) (fig. 35) produced ten stalls of similar size, Clanville (HA 73) (fig. 36), six and Norton Disney only three.

There is other inferential evidence to support this idea. From the villa site at Winterton have come 2342 cattle bones, of which 748 are from the earlier deposits of the second century, contemporary with the first aisled buildings. Only four per cent of the bones are of immature cattle under three years of age. As at the nearby 'native' site of Old Winteringham there is no evidence for the killing of very young animals under one year of age, but a few were killed between one and two and two and three years of age. There is some evidence for diseased cattle (arthritis). Some of the mandibles have heavily worn permanent molars which may indicate the presence of animals not kept primarily for meat, such as draught or dairy cattle. Thus, whatever the problems of pre-depositional and depositional processes concerning these bone assemblages, it appears that we are dealing with some older draught animals (Higgs and Greenwood 1976:302; Maltby 1981:182). More direct evidence from Winterton allows us to infer that these draught animals were stalled in the aisled farmhouses. Winterton P and

Studland A, have drains, and in Winterton M there are foundation trenches of possible stalls and mangers in the north aisle (Field 1966:14; Morris 1979:143). This is slight evidence, and if we turn to the related aisled work-buildings we are not tremendously enlightened. At Seaton, Devon, there is a drain of a possible byre, and drains also feature at Gatcombe 3 in Somerset, Huntsham in Hereford and Worcester and Orton Hall 1 in Cambridgeshire. Newhaven in East Sussex has a gully in its nave (*ibid*:139, 135, 138, 137).

Although the evidence presented here is too tenuous to produce any firm conclusions at present, it must be a distinct possibility that cattle were stalled in the aisles of aisled farmhouses.

3.4.5 Threshing

An interesting discovery was made at Butser from actually growing popular crops of the Iron Age and Roman periods, Spelt, Emmer and Einkorn. This was the inefficiency of the so-called sickles of the Iron Age period. 'In classical literature we read that the Celts only reaped the ear of the cereal' (Reynolds 1979:64). The problem is that, unlike modern varieties which have been selectively bred to a standard height, Spelt and Emmer are natural plants, fruiting at a number of levels often up to 75cms apart on the same plant (plate X). It is extremely difficult to grasp a handful of these ears and deliver a swift, neat cut with a sickle time after

time. In several tests with his workers, Reynolds found that the sickles were tried and quickly discarded in favour of fingers. The head of the cereal breaks off easily enough at the rachis and the speed differential is remarkable. This practice was later observed by Reynolds in Spain where a family reaped a field, first picking off all the heads and putting them into baskets, and afterwards cutting the straw and tying it into bundles or yealms. This process does not disagree with the classical reference. Reynolds would prefer to see the Iron Age sickles interpreted as hooks for splitting hazel rods (*ibid*:64-5), although the sickles may have served ritually rather than functionally, given their inefficiency in actual reaping, and been objects of symbolic and prestige value in their Iron Age context. They also resemble thatching hooks (plate XI). Whatever the details of Iron Age practice, reaping the ears only must have been a cumbersome process with heavy baskets of grain needing to be carried. It would have meant, though, that the straw was easy to deal with, for it could be cut and immediately and conveniently stacked in the field. Hay could also be managed in this way; haystacks on wooden platforms built around a central pole were once a common sight in many parts of England. When protected with a thatch cover hay can be stored for a long time in this way (*ibid*:81).

Once the large timber and masonry farm buildings of the Roman period were adopted, however, many processes could have been moved indoors. This move indoors would appear to be more a question of reorganisation of harvesting and storage than a response to any climatic deterioration, as there is clear evidence that there was no such climatic deterioration in the Roman period in Britain, but rather there were clement conditions at this time (Lamb 1981:56-7; Greene 1986:86), up until circa A.D. 500. This reorganisation of the farm may relate to changes in the economy, most aisled farmhouses appearing in the late second to early fourth centuries. At Winterton, for example, where aisled farmhouses (belonging to the late second and third centuries) perhaps replaced an Iron Age roundhouse (fig. 17), the complete harvest could now be taken inside to be threshed. Perhaps the establishment of these aisled farmhouses also represents the amalgamation and nucleation of various off-site agricultural activities, bringing them all into the main settlement.

Increased use of the scythe and balanced sickle in Roman Britain (for instance the scythe from Newstead fort) would make cutting at ground level easier (Morris 1979:9; Jones 1981:116).

Where did the threshing take place? Indoor threshing obviously has its advantages, the main one being that once all the harvest is safely gathered under

one roof, the ears of grain are immune from the rain which can descend rapidly in Britain, now and in the Roman period; though it was a relatively warm period, set against the pattern of the preceding two millenia, the overall weather pattern was no better than today's (Lamb 1981:56). Corn was threshed with flails, and, in Mediaeval times, the threshing was commonly carried out in large barns, often aisled, with two large doors facing each other either in the gable ends or in the middle of the long sides. The part of the floor between the two large doors served as the threshing floor, and the through-draught helped to carry away the dust (Harvey 1953:10). This suggests that threshing may have occurred in the large open part of the nave in aisled farmhouses. Is there any evidence for this? The round floor in Winterton B could have been a threshing floor (fig. 37) and other evidence from the Winterton aisled farmhouses suggests that they were involved in cereal processing and storage on a large scale. To the west of the large hearth in Building D there was a small collection of carbonized grain from a fourth century context, and may indicate the presence of bread ovens, corn-driers or malting areas as (demolished) stone-built channels and furnaces were also found here. In addition, the choice of 'Ceres' for one of the mosaics there is perhaps significant. In Building B three major features might be interpreted as being connected with cereals: a possible

granary, corn-drying floor and threshing floor. Thus it seems likely that cereal production played some part in the Winterton economy, and that the aisled farmhouses played a pivotal role in this (Stead 1976:90-1).

Threshing floors did not need to be round. Any flagged, clay, cobbled or opus signinum floor would have been suitable, as would have been a floor covered with horizontally laid wooden planks, which would not survive in the archaeological record. These floors can be interpreted as threshing floors with greater confidence if they are situated between opposing doors. Doorways are often difficult to detect, and in many reports of both aisled farmhouses and villa houses no doorways at all have been detected, because the foundations only have survived and thresholds and doorways have been removed along with the upper levels. However, at some sites there is some interesting evidence available. At Darenth, for example, the hall floor of chalk and loam is situated between a pair of doorways central to the long sides (Morris 1979:131-2). At Shakenoak (OX39) in phase 2, a door in the centre of one of the aisled farmhouse's long sides is marked by an area of stone paving (*ibid*:139) and at Denton in phase 2, there is a wide doorway in the east gable.

3.4.6 Corn Drying and Malting

Many aisled farmhouses contained features which have become commonly known as 'corn driers', and they include

Brading (IW2) (fig. 36), Darenth, Hambleden, Llantwit Major (GL5), Winterton buildings B, D and M and Rockbourne (HA79).

> The corn drying oven is probably the most easily identifiable agricultural structure found in Roman Britain.

writes Morris (1979:5). It appears to have fulfilled a sufficiently important function to have adopted at some sites where other signs of Romanised structures are barely apparent, and at an early date, as at Woodcuts, Dorset and Cae Summerhouse, Glamorgan (*ibid*). The Iron Age cob ovens suggested by Bersu (1940:62-3) from burst clay fragments found in rubbish pits at Little Woodbury and the 'agricultural hearths' on the sites of the Upper Thames Basin may, suggests Morris, have fulfilled the same function as the 'corn driers' of the Roman period. However, two reasons preclude against this. First, experiments have shown that grain does not need parching for successful pit storage (Reynolds 1974). More fundamental, though, has been the dawning realisation of recent years that corn driers did not in fact dry ears of corn for later storage. When a reconstruction of an excavated 'corn drier' was tested, it proved to be near useless at drying corn, but it did turn out to be most effective for sprouting grain for malting, an important part of the brewing process (Reynolds and Langley 1979).

'Corn driers' have been, and continue to be, identified at villa sites in Britain, and commonly inside

their aisled farmhouses. The 'driers' themselves contain no direct dating evidence, but are known in or adjacent to aisled farmhouses which have been dated to the third and fourth centuries. However, many of these aisled farmhouses had earlier phases dating from the second century which have yielded largely demolished building evidence (e.g. Winterton A, Stead 1976:24), and so the late dating of 'corn driers' in aisled farmhouses is inferential; earlier demolished 'corn driers' may not have been recognised in early excavations. The majority of 'corn driers' known from Roman Britain come from less opulent rural contexts - mostly 'native settlements' - and from the first and second centuries. I am sceptical of Morris' suggestion that

> There does seem to have been a spread of corn driers in the fourth century related to rural prosperity and capital investment.
>
> (1979:22)

Even leaving aside for a moment the fact that these 'driers' were probably malting floors, this statement can still be questioned on other grounds. The earliest phases of aisled farmhouses as noted above, may have included 'drying' structures which have not been detected, or the detected 'driers' may have been assigned dates that are too late because it was assumed too quickly that they must be contemporary with other internal structures which have fourth century coins associated with them (e.g. Stead 1976:90-91). There is

certainly an odd disparity between the dates assigned to the 'corn driers' of rich rural sites and those of poorer 'native settlements' which would appear inexplicable if 'corn driers' were the innovative, useful, functional development that they are assumed to be. Why should the rich sites lag behind their poorer cousins if these structures represented improved processing and organisation? Even if we accept that the structures were malting floors the question is difficult to address, but it is not irresoluble. Jones observes that if the malting hypothesis is correct, it lessens the direct relevance of these structures to total cereal productivity. However the existence of malting facilities may have important implications related to changing economic patterns (Jones 1981:115).

Recent studies in Africa have shown that the effects of imperial expansion on indigenous agriculture are varied (Jones 1982:100). One cannot simply accept arguments put forward such as Applebaum's that the effects of the Roman presence were the immediate acceptance of continental agricultural tools and techniques - and these effects seen in terms of the economics of supply and demand drawn from modern capitalist societies (Applebaum 1972). The growth of a disembedded monetary economy in various developing countries in Africa is known to have presented settled arable farmers with a seasonal cash flow problem. Their

saleable product is produced only once a year, and at the same time as everyone else, encouraging its market value to drop. In Tanganyika, where this development has been studied closely, one of the responses of the arable farming Kaguru to this problem is the retention of a portion of their harvests for the brewing of beer all year round, which they can easily sell to the markets (Jones 1981:115, 118). Crop-production is very vulnerable to disembedded market forces. Unlike animals that are easily moved on the hoof and can be bought and sold all year round, the seasonal crop will always be in danger of falling market prices without the protection of a socially embedded economy (Jones 1982:101).

Perhaps the appearance of these ovens as malting floors represents a response of British farmers to a similar seasonal cash flow problem, brought on by the expanding monetary economy (Jones 1981:118). It is interesting that this seems to have been a rather late development at a number of villa sites. 'Driers' were often inserted into mosaics and other residential areas, as at Brading (IW2) and Atworth (WZ16) (Percival 1976:48, 169). The occupation of villa sites at a different economic level is familiar to us from the late third and early fourth century in Gaul, and the pattern is discernible in Britain in the fourth century. Where 'corn driers' are seen to invade former residential areas, it has been surmised that this occurs because it

was more convenient to move these agricultural practices into rooms for which there was no longer any use than to rebuild the less solid outbuildings in which such things had earlier been housed. Certainly there is some contraction of space at this period. Parts of villa houses that fall down or become, for some reason, unneeded, were sealed off by blocking up doorways or corridors (Percival 1976:169).

That 'driers' appear with some frequency in aisled farmhouses must thus be of economic significance, perhaps linked to this type of building's appearance in the latter half of the Roman period as a response to the developing monetary economy. Such responses to economic change will be discussed further in the following chapter.

3.4.7 Straw and Hay Storage

The discovery of scythes or fragments of scythes on Romano-British sites is a fairly common occurrence, and a variety of scythes survive from this period (Rees 1981:27). The balanced scythe and the long balanced sickle seem to have been relatively late innovations in Roman Britain, appearing entirely in late third and fourth century contexts (Jones 1981:116, fig. 6.4). This development may have led to the cutting of corn at ground level in large batches while the ears of grain were still attached. To protect the ears of grain from potential inclement weather which could spoil it, it would be

necessary to gather the harvest as quickly as possible and move it under cover for threshing and winnowing (the removal of chaff from the grain). Thus the introduction of the scythe may in itself have necessitated the need for indoor threshing floors, or at least have been one of the contributory factors, being one of the symptoms of a shifting emphasis in agriculture, rather than its cause.

Presumably after threshing, if the crops were indeed now cut at ground level, there would be straw stalks of full length to be gathered together and stored for later use. Percival says that it is hard to see why reaping was done at ground level 'except to provide litter for animals' (1976:114). However, many outbuildings on a villa site, including some aisled farmhouses, were probably thatched, there being no evidence for the use of tiles. Thus straw for thatching would be necessary; the first reconstructed roundhouse at Castell Henllys, Dyfed, needed three tonnes of thatch to cover its roof and thus the roof of an aisled farmhouse such as Sparsholt, which had a floor area of about 508 square metres, would have required an even greater amount. Straw stored in the loft of an aisled farmhouse would also help to insulate it. It would also be convenient to store straw in the aisled farmhouse if the harvest was threshed in the building, and it would be convenient too if animals were stalled in the building as the straw they would need for litter would be within easy reach; and animals that are

stalled or stabled do require a large amount of litter per day. Animals may also have been encouraged to trample straw into dung middens in order to create a supply of easily manageable manure to be taken out onto the fields.

Alternatively, the introduction of the balanced scythe and long balanced sickle may represent a shift to a greater commitment to hay production. Horses, cattle and even sheep in winter months, devour enormous amounts of hay. In a monetary economy it can be grown as a cash crop if the supply mechanisms are adequate.

Even if animals were not stored in the aisled farmhouse, storage of hay may still have taken place there. Hay was an important agricultural crop which would be required on a working farm in large amounts, and the aisled farmhouse contained a great deal of potential storage space, particularly in lofts and upper storeys.

3.4.8 Grain Storage

The pit is an important piece of archaeological evidence on Iron Age sites. This is especially true on chalklands, sands and gravels, and to a lesser extent on limestone areas. Pits are frequently up to three metres deep (Reynolds 1979:71). That the pit was used for grain storage has been suggested not only by classical references and excavation but by Reynolds' experiment at Butser (Reynolds 1974; 1979:71-82). In the Roman period, such pits disappear. They may have gone out of fashion,

or they may have been outlawed as devices for concealing produce. Grain was obviously being stored elsewhere, and if it was being supplied by farms to troops and towns then easy and organised access to large quantities would be desirable; and even if farms were being simply self-sufficient, they too would require organised storage facilities. 'Four posters', known from the Iron Age in areas where pits are unsuitable because of local hydrological conditions, may have been more widely adopted and have so far gone unrecognised on villa sites. We do know though that the Roman period saw stone built granaries coming into their own in Britain. Examples of large granaries are known from forts such as South Shields, towns, and villas such as Rudston (Greene 1986:30-1; Stead 1980:157-9).

Is it possible that grain was actually stored within the aisled farmhouse? It would certainly be convenient to store barley and any grain to be used in malting in buildings where the malting process was to take place. Winterton Building B, phase 2, appears to have a threshing floor, a 'corn drier' for malting, and also a granary in the north aisle (Stead 1976:29). Granaries are also known from the ground floors of Shakenoak and Woodchester. It is possible that in buildings containing malting facilities the barley was also stored in the aisled farmhouse. The proximity of other grain would facilitate the feeding of any animals kept in the

farmhouse and the process of milling. Querns are known from a number of aisled farmhouses, including Gatcombe (AV85) and Tockington (AV2).

3.5 OVERALL FUNCTION AND SOCIAL POSITION OF OCCUPANTS

3.5.1 Spatial Planning of Romano-British Villa Sites

Aisled farmhouses are found mostly on villa sites, and are usually sited at right-angles to the main villa corridor house. This can be observed at sites such as Norton Disney, Mansfield Woodhouse (fig. 6), Littlecote Park (WZ141) (fig. 38), Darenth (fig. 11), Wellow (fig. 12), Hambleden (fig. 14), Cromhall (fig. 15), Sparsholt (fig. 16), Winterton (fig. 17) and possibly Combley (fig. 13); the same planning seems to have been in operation at the courtyard villa of Woodchester (fig. 9) and Bignor (fig. 10). This positioning of an aisled farmhouse at right-angles (or near right-angles) to the corridor or courtyard house is typical of and unique to Britain.

3.5.2 Field Scatters Indicative of the Presence of an Aisled Farmhouse

In addition to certain examples of aisled farmhouses are literally hundreds of examples of suspected and possible aisled buildings from both villa sites and suspected villa sites. These are sites where field survey has revealed the presence of a Roman settlement comprising at least two Romanised masonry buildings. Sometimes the corridor house has been located and excavated but a second building at right-angles to it is

known only through a surface scatter or a resistivity survey (or both): its exact nature has yet to be determined through excavation. For example at Gaydon (WA9), two ranges of buildings have been identified from quantities of building stone, tiles and assorted finds. At Cold Newton (LE17), a Roman rectangular boundary is known to enclose at least two Romanised masonry buildings. At Cranworth (NF39), two extensive scatters of brick, tiles, sherds and window glass lie to the north-east and south-west of a gravelled yard 250 x 200 metres. The small compact Roman villa house at Burham (KE15) does not stand alone; the wall of another Roman building on the site has been traced for around 10 metres, and other walls are known. At East Farleigh (KE24), extensive Roman buildings are known to form a quadrangular shape, and at Low Ham (S030) a further range of buildings lie to the east of the L-shaped house. While the majority of the field scatters involved may turn out not to be aisled farmhouses, they are presumably outbuildings of some description and this in itself is interesting.

3.5.3 Aisled Farmhouses as 'Home Farm'?

Aisled farmhouses do sometimes, and significantly, stand alone; they can originate, or even comprise the bulk of a villa complex, which reveals that they can exist independently of a corridor house if necessary. This can be demonstrated by two sites, both in Hampshire.

At Sparsholt the farmhouse pre-dates the corridor house and, as the aisled farmhouse was at one point the only building on the whole site, it is clear that it functioned originally as an independent farm building (Johnston 1978:75). A corridor house was never erected at Stroud (HA77) (fig. 39). The main house was an aisled farmhouse with a winged facade which was connected by a courtyard wall to a flanking octagonal building, possible barn and large bath house; the overall site plan mimics the site plan of 'ordinary' corridor complexes such as Sparsholt.

Aisled farmhouses on villa sites might reasonably be viewed as 'Home Farms'. The concept of a Home Farm is crucial in any discussion of estate farming, and it is interesting to turn to Walmsley's land agents' manual to see what was expected of the Home Farm on an estate earlier this century:

> A number of cows were so managed as to give the big house a constant supply of milk and butter, and to topdress the large area mown for hay each year for the supply of the stables, keeper's ponies etc.
>
> (Walmsley 1978:545)

In Roman times cheese may have been provided too for the military or for sale. The bailiff of the Home Farm also supplied the housekeeper at the owner's residence with eggs and poultry, and supplied the stables with oats, beans, hay and straw, and the gardener with manure. Besides this he usually did some haulage for the big

house and the estate, especially of timber. The idea that an aisled farmhouse functioned as a 'Home Farm' - i.e the business end of the villa estate - is supported by the presence of aisled farmhouses on or very close to many wealthy villa houses: Woodchester, Bignor, Darenth, for example. Fishbourne Roman palace (WS19) appears too to have had its own 'Home Farm', for close by, near the harbour, an aisled farmhouse has been discovered (WS20). Excavations in 1982/3 revealed two successive buildings contemporary with the palace. Little remained of the first century building but the later second century building was of aisled construction, and the discovery of flue tiles indicate a hypocaust here to heat a domestic room. These flue tiles are of a type not found at the palace and show that construction was being carried out here after the destruction of the palace (James Kenny, pers. comm).

Given that at Fishbourne and, to a lesser extent, Bignor, the aisled farmhouse lay some distance from the main residential core, one might reasonably expect undetected aisled farmhouses to exist at sites where only partial excavation concentrating on the main residential block(s) has occurred. Many of the buildings at North Leigh (OX38) lie awaiting excavation or geophysical survey (Richmond 1969:61, fig. 2.4) (fig. 40), and the same comments apply to Keynsham (AV46) (fig. 41). It is clear from the plan, reconstruction and photographs of

Chedworth (GS21) (figs. 42-3; plates XII-XVI) that an entire range of this courtyard villa has disappeared without trace; the ground falls away sharply from the jagged wall edge at the south-east of the villa (see plates) so that not even robber trenches are detectable now. This missing range may have incorporated the villa's 'Home Farm' - an aisled farmhouse - or one may be represented by any of the many scatters of Roman building material in the vicinity. A good candidate is the site of a Roman building (GS18) which occupies a small knoll, perhaps partly artificial, about 210m east of the courtyard villa; building debris can be seen on the knoll after ploughing.

3.5.4 The Occupants' Position in Society

Can we assign to a bailiff, or rather a *vilicus* (farm manager), the occupancy of the aisled farmhouse? There is no direct evidence for the status of the occupants of aisled farmhouses and their relationship to the occupants of the adjacent winged-corridor houses. Morris briefly considers the idea that where aisled farmhouses exist alongside the main house we are seeing an example of the 'unit system' in which two families share the same farm (1979:61). J.T. Smith first suggested this 'unit system' theory with regard to British villas (1978:149-78), but he got into something of a predicament when it came to interpretation of that most special class of building, the aisled farmhouse.

When it came to recognising examples of villa sites with more than one house, where the unit system may have been in operation, he did not discriminate between winged-corridor houses and aisled farmhouses. This is clearly a fundamental mistake, as the aisled farmhouse is different in construction, function, possibly status and often date to the adjacent corridor house. J.T. Smith has not attempted to explain the apparent disparity in status one sees when examining these two types of building, which are so often found together on British villa sites. Although the aisled farmhouses (as opposed to simple aisled work-buildings) contained many Romanised amenities, they were not ordinary villa houses, and they seem to appear relatively late in the Roman period - usually in the third and fourth centuries. They were used for a mixture of comfortable living and agricultural functions. Who lived in them? They frequently have five to ten rooms, which by analogy with the corridor houses must have been suitable to house a family. On some sites such as Sparsholt the aisled farmhouse was the only building on the site with baths, a situation which surely requires some explanation. There are four models which can be invoked. The first model is that the aisled farmhouse housed estate workers, either labourers or slaves, but in light of the material comforts clearly enjoyed by the occupants of the farmhouse, this model is quite unsatisfactory. The same objections apply to the

second model, in which the existence of a tied family is postulated, and even to the third model which involves the existence of a *vilicus*. The fourth model was first hinted at by Frere and is the most satisfactory:

> At...Winterton, Lincolnshire, elaborate and doubtless expensive mosaics were inserted in an aisled building subsidiary to the main villa, which suggests the provision of a separate establishment for a younger generation of the family, rather than accommodation for labourers.
>
> (1978:309)

Unfortunately, Frere does not elaborate further on this idea. It is, however, possible to expand upon his comment. Model four is that a farm manager of sorts *did* occupy the aisled farmhouse, but that he was a relation, probably the eldest son, of the villa owner and ran the agricultural business of the farm from the aisled farmhouse where he lived with his family. The ethnographic parallels mentioned in Chapter One support this idea. In many traditional societies it is customary for the pattern of inheritance to involve the passing of land from father to eldest son; this of course avoids the partitioning of land between many sons. What tends to happen is that a man of any means would have his eldest son take care of the family farm on the understanding that he will eventually inherit it. Other sons received poorer inheritances, if any. Women must necessarily enter into the economic institution of marriage. Does this model explain the Roman data? The eldest son's

abode could be expected to contain material comforts at least on a par with those of the main house. He would also expect to marry and raise a family, hence the provision of many rooms. This model also makes more sense of the fact that on some sites the aisled farmhouse was the only house with baths, and that on other sites, such as Norton Disney, baths existed which were obviously for the shared use of both the occupants of the winged-corridor house and the occupants of the aisled farmhouse.

3.6 AISLED BUILDINGS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMANO-BRITISH ECONOMY

What of the relatively late date of most of these aisled farmhouses? The appearance of these buildings represents a reorganisation of the farm - a nucleation of farming activities and an ordered grouping of the extended family, often within walled or ditched enclosures. It is no coincidence that these buildings appear at a time when some families seem to be amalgamating their estates; at Bignor this happened by the late third century. The appearance of the first market economy in Britain must have had profound social effects. Changes in social power structure and changes in the constraints on various socio-economic behaviours produced archaeologically detectable results. For instance, in the second century in Northamptonshire imported finewares were finding their way onto even very 'poor' roundhouse sites, indicating a new class of

consumers had developed, dislocating the old patterns of social obligation and social relations. Coinage had become currency (Griffiths 1986). We can detect, throughout the Roman period, a visible response by farming villas to the market economy and its attendant problems such as inflation, and changing fashions, markets and levels of taxation. The aisled farmhouse was introduced to villas sporadically in the second century (Landwade and Fishbourne Harbour are known examples) but more commonly from the third century onwards. These extremely large buildings were designed to bring various agricultural functions indoors and close to the villa house.

Aisled farmhouses can therefore be seen to represent increased nucleation, increased control over harvesting and supply, and greater control over inheritance. It is thus of interest that at the seemingly 'dual villa' of Woodchester, where two villa houses are joined into one architectural whole, there are also two aisled farmhouses, and these farmhouses are situated *inside* the centre courtyard which had a monumental gate with columns and a statue of Cupid and Psyche. Furthermore, inside one of the aisled farmhouses was found the leg of a white marble statue - as well as a granary and a 'corn drier' (Clarke 1982:203)

The following chapter discusses the impact of the market economy on social relations and the social construction of space on villa sites in more detail.

CHAPTER FOUR

FORM, FUNCTION AND A SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF THE WINGED-CORRIDOR HOUSE

4.1 HISTORIOGRAPHY

The study of Romano-British villas has traditionally emphasised the architecture, decoration and typology of the buildings (e.g. Richmond 1969:49-70; Liversidge 1969:127-72; Smith, D.J. 1969:71-126; 1978:117-47), often embodying an art-historical approach (Drury 1982b:305). A common analogy used to 'explain' the social status and function of courtyard and winged-corridor villas is the English country house (Richmond 1969:53, Drury 1982b:302-5). Some recent work has concerned individual villa economies (e.g. Branigan 1977b:196-200; Green 1978:103-16; Gaffney and Tingle 1984; 1985) and with society (Todd 1978b:197-208). It is interesting that the two main works on Romano-British villas (Rivet 1969a; Todd 1978) are collections of papers which inevitably tend to place aspects of villas into compartments. Thus discrete essays deal with villa economies, architectural design, outbuildings and society. A notable exception has been presented by J.T. Smith (1978:49-86) who sought the underlying Celtic social structure revealed by Romano-British villa plans. His analysis was bold and innovative, but unfortunately not without a number of problems. It was noted in the previous chapter that

Smith fails to distinguish between corridor houses and the aisled farmhouses. There are some sites, however, where existence of two contemporary corridor houses, as at Beadlam (NK1) (fig. 44) for example, could be explained by Smith's 'unit system' theory of land holding (a form of co-proprietorship). The Beadlam houses are separate but are carefully sited in close relationship. Smith's idea

> seems a reasonable hypothesis where the houses seem to be of similar size and status, thus precluding their identification as a country house proper and a steward's house... But his view that villas showing symmetrical planning, or ranges of rooms clearly divisible into sets, are also manifestations of the unit system seems to be much more open to question.
>
> (Drury 1982b:298)

All the villas discussed by Drury, with the exception of Barton Court Farm (OX142) are included in Smith's list of potential unit system houses. Drury's analysis, however, emphasises the importance not of a single central room or 'shrine' (Smith 1978:154-60), but the importance of a 'centre' comprising a *group of rooms*, frequently the standard group shown in fig. 45.

> Each of the houses, which vary greatly in scale, is designed around that central group. Its occurrence in *mansio*-like buildings, and virtually alone at Brixworth [fig. 46] implies that it can be a residential unit, and thus suggests in turn that the other rooms in the larger houses may be dependent upon it. In other words, the implication may merely be that the private parts [sic] of such houses were divided into distinct apartments.
>
> (Drury 1982b:298-99)

He goes on to postulate that additional groups of rooms are added to villas (as at Chedworth (GS21) for example) not for reasons of divided ownership, but for the use of guests (*ibid*:302,304).

While Drury's paper is important because he isolates a standard group of rooms which appears on many villa sites (fig. 45), it is nevertheless ultimately disappointing in that he fails to address the question of the social meaning of villa plans. He discusses the Renaissance architecture of post-mediaeval England, and notes simply that

> the symmetrical planning of the interiors of houses...may contradict functional requirements
>
> (*ibid*:302)

but is careful to point out that the introduction of the architecture of English country houses

> is clearly not closely analogous to the introduction of villas in Britain.
>
> (*ibid*:304)

4.2 SOCIAL SPACE THEORY

4.2.1 Introduction

Drury does not attempt to explain in any depth the social meanings of villa plans as the buildings developed throughout the Roman period in Britain. Architectural historians and more recently archaeologists have begun to explore the social, and thus economic, factors underlying the planning of settlements and houses from a number of cultural contexts. Houses are more than functional

shelters. They are material culture, and, as discussed earlier (pp.) they therefore do more than serve a utilitarian purpose. They also do more than simply reflect the tastes, wealth and status of the occupants. They are advertisements of aspired social status, and the planning of the house - the configurations of social space - reflects and reinforces the social customs of the time. Analytical techniques of varying complexity exist which allow us to study the configurations of space which architectural forms produce, and to break away from simple descriptive accounts of architectural change toward a more meaningful analysis of the trends in the construction of social space.

4.2.2 Space Syntax

It is unfortunate that the most complex and potentially powerful analytical technique, 'space syntax', cannot be applied to British villas. This technique analyses the patterns of space in buildings and settlements; it was developed at the Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning (Hillier and Hanson 1984; Hillier 1985:28). A crucial aspect of the technique is the recognition of all doorways in order to measure the 'accessibility' and 'permeability' of buildings. On many villa plans no doorways are shown at all, and on others it is clear that only a small proportion of doorways has been detected. Other plans are known from aerial photographs and it is impossible to discriminate such

details at this level of resolution. In absence of crucial features such as doorways, the Hillier-Hanson Technique of 'space syntax' is near useless.

4.2.3 Glassie's 'Transformational Grammar'

Another stimulating technique is available, however, which provides a valuable insight into the social meaning of house plans and subsequent changes to them. It is based on the research of Henry Glassie who analysed Middle Virginian folk housing and postulated that the causes of the changes in house form he observed were related to social and political change (Glassie 1975; 1985:29). Glassie views houses as 'emblems of locale', asserting quite reasonably that if you look at a house you know something about the personality of the place. He analysed the house plans and produced a 'transformational grammar'. He divided the 335 houses in his database into two groups. In the first group, the most integrated room, or the 'integrative mechanism', was the big living room, or 'functioning room'. In this old-style house, if you took one step in from the outside, you would be in the house, because the front door opened directly into the living room. These old-style houses were not quite symmetrical, and the front door was offset, so that the observer would know automatically whereabouts the living room was in relation to the rest of the house; the observer would know where the occupants of the house would be sitting. The second group of

houses contained a vestibule, and this vestibule was the most integrated room or the 'integrated mechanism': it is now the room with the most doorways leading into it. The houses in this second group are known as 'eye houses'. The change from old-style to eye houses occurred c.1760. It represents a change in a way of perceiving the world and organising world views. This change in house planning meant that after one step in from the outside, you would be not in the living room, but in a corridor-like vestibule. The Virginians moved from 'open' to 'closed' houses. The new eye houses also possessed a symmetrical facade, with the front door taking a central position, so that the observer looking at the facade could not know which room was which. This design has the effect of setting the living room back a step from the outside world. The design symbolises order.

Glassie is deeply interested in the apparent correlation between the revolution in vernacular architecture of c.1760 and the American Revolution:

> The most ordered homogeneous landscape ever known just preceded the war against Mother Britain.
>
> (Glassie TAG 1985 paper, unpublished)

He believes that these fundamental changes in house planning came about as a response to a period of increasing social tension in the years leading up to the war of 1776. Glassie pursued this idea at the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) conference in 1985,

where he discussed the Virginian houses and enhanced his ideas by reference to other field studies. In Ireland, for example, the change from 'open' cottage (with offset door and one step into the living room) to the 'closed' symmetrical 'town-house' style of dwelling occurred c.1900, in a time of social and political tension which led ultimately to events such as the Easter Rising of 1916. Glassie plans soon to publish supporting field work from Turkey. He has demonstrated at any rate that these architectural changes do not just represent the spread of style; the people of the countryside had the opportunity to copy 'posh' symmetrical houses long before, but had rejected this option. The introduction of closed and cold symmetrical facades with doorways leading into vestibules or corridors began at times of tension in Virginia, Ireland and Turkey. Glassie is not producing simple, naive, 'cause and effect' explanations, but rather he seeks an explanatory structure that is shaped with a degree of sophistication appropriate to this important body of evidence. That underlying social, political and economic tensions can manifest themselves in house planning is a concept of great interest and significance to archaeologists dealing with all periods, particularly the Roman period where we now have good evidence for the economy, some for society, and a great number of excavated house plans.

It is possible to test Glassie's ideas by analysing house plans from various cultural contexts. The village of Cregneish on the Isle of Man inspired me to take Glassie's ideas very seriously. The village is small and isolated, and is located at the far south of the island. It is noted for containing both traditional thatched cottages and later (early twentieth century) houses with symmetrical facades. The thatched cottages are maintained for the public, and remain exactly as they were in the last century. Plate XVI shows one such cottage at Cregneish, built of stone and whitewashed, with a straw thatched roof. There is asymmetry here, for the door is offset, not central, and the door leads directly into the living room; only one step is needed to enter from the outside to the living room. The living room acts as the integrated mechanism, and the only other room in the house is the inner room, the bedroom. The front door opens directly out onto the roadside. Plate XVII shows the same features in a cottage just a few metres away. Again the door is offset to allow direct entry, using only one step, into the living room, which this time is on the right hand side of the house (facing front). The door here too opens directly out onto the road, the small walled garden being situated at the rear of the house. These are simple, open cottages, where none of the architecture is deceptive. The cottages contrast greatly with the later houses. Plate XVIII

shows one of the new houses of c.1910, with two storeys, a front door which opens into a hallway, greater symmetry of facade, and a walled front garden which separates the front door from the roadway. Plate XIX, however, reveals that the doors of these houses are still offset from the centre of the house, giving a good idea to the observer of where the living room is. 'Closed' architecture has nevertheless arrived, for hallways have been introduced. It now takes two architectural 'steps' (and obviously many more real ones) to get from the outside into the living room. The hallway has become the integrated mechanism. Plate XX shows the culmination of this change at Cregneish: a perfectly symmetrical house with a perfectly central door, leading into a porch and thence a hallway. The hallway is again the most integrated space. It takes three architectural steps to get from the outside to the living room. The garden here is walled and at the front of the house. It is an extremely closed house, not even facing the road any more but showing a blank high stone wall to it.

Glassie's ideas would thus seem to enable us to write a coherent account of the architectural change at Cregneish. Yet what of his explanatory structure? Can we see these changes at Cregneish, and elsewhere on the Isle of Man c.1890-1920, as the result of social, economic and political tensions? It is true that the late nineteenth century saw especial change on the

Island, Home Rule having been obtained in 1866. The wrangling which subsequently ensued between the Manx and their English overlords lasted many decades. The Manx government sought to develop the Island through increased trade and commerce; the English demanded tens of thousands of pounds each year for the military 'protection' of the Island. There was political and economic strain, and, with such fundamental changes to the economy occurring as Manx trade expanded, social strain as well. In 1891 the first prison was completed, and the first Bankruptcy Acts were passed in 1872 and 1892. The Manx trade expansion and the development of harbours increased the Island's debt from £46,000 in 1870 to £219,000 in 1894; it was down slightly to £186,000 in 1900. The years c.1900 saw an enormous increase in rates in the towns (Moore 1977:685-716). After the Great War, in which Manxmen fought alongside British troops, the Island was able to settle down considerably; the post-war peace and the British sense of identity made military 'protection' of the Island pointless, and the Isle of Man was able to exert its Home Rule more strongly.

Architectural forms make statements about the nature of society, and changes in house planning are a response to changes within that society. When a society undergoes economic growth and development, often as a result of political changes, it is inevitable that social stress ensues. While one may not feel as confident as Glassie

in pinpointing features of explanatory structure, one must concede that his analysis does have appeal. He has demonstrated how a basic architectural building block, the simple rectangle, can be used as a component in a kind of 'grammar', just as words are the building blocks of sentences. Different configurations of these components produce different statements. Different patterns of rectangular rooms and vestibules or corridors produce buildings with different social meanings, and these varying configurations can be 'read' by an examination of the historically specific context of the houses.

4.3 WINGED-CORRIDOR HOUSES AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SPACE

Houses are the living space of people, and how that space is constructed tells us much about how these people live and perceive the world. This is as true of Roman Britain as it is of eighteenth century Virginia. Although 'the social construction of space' is a crucial concept in *any settlement*, studies of both Iron Age settlements and Roman villas tend to consist of broad descriptive statements. In his study of winged-corridor villas in Britain, David Smith noted simply that the winged-corridor frontage was 'regarded as a requirement' even of simple farmhouses of the German provinces, and that

> Romano-British farmers appear to have been slow to adopt this feature in its entirety.
>
> (1978:120)

He does not consider this statement any further. This is unfortunate because it is interesting to debate why architectural change occurs in the form it does and when it does. What underlying factors affected the change from simple oblong villa to winged-corridor villa, a process seen so often in Britain? The insistence that this architectural change simply reflects social ambitions or migrations with, in some cases, accompanying population increase, is strong in the literature (e.g. Frere 1982:139; Branigan 1976:51; O'Neil 1971:26). The notion that aspects of material culture become 'Romanised' is not really an adequate discussion of social and economic change, particularly in light of analyses of house planning such as Glassie's. We can do more than merely describe changes in house plans; we can consider the configurations of space involved and, by also examining the historically specific context of the houses, assess how the space is used as a means of expressing social relations. Spatial patterns not only represent but also constitute aspects of culture and social organisation (Glassie 1985:28-9; Hillier 1985:28). When we erect the walls of a building, we do more than create walls. We also construct the space inbetween, and immediately without, these walls, and we create facades which present symmetrical or asymmetrical aspects to the

world. Some house plans require only one 'step' in from the outside world to the main living room; others may require a number of steps. Space is not an accidental by-product of architecture - it is the intention. We use and manipulate this space in a way which reveals much about and contributes towards the structure of society.

4.3.1 Early Villa Houses

It is no suprise that many villas are known to occupy the sites of Iron Age settlements. Some, such as Brixworth (NH17) (fig. 46) actually lie over roundhouses (Branigan 1982:88), while others were built on or near Iron Age ditches or have produced Iron Age artefacts or features. A large selection of such sites can be found in Appendix 1. Their numbers are:

AV 65

BD 26?

BK 18?

BU 2?, 3, 5, 15, 18, 31, 33?, 69

CA 10, 29, 42, 45

DE 17

DO 6?, 20

EA 9?, 11

ES 18, 19, 22, 29, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 46, 48?

GL 5, 7, 11

GS 64, 71, 72

GT 1, 7, 13

GW 1

HA 25, 50, 60, 72

HE 2, 12, 17

HT 34, 41

HU 2, 3, 11, 15, 16

IW 9, 27, 28

LE 3, 65

LI 63?, 83, 104

NH 4, 5, 17, 19, 25, 31, 34, 55, 68, 79, 95, 98, 99, 102, 104, 107, 113, 118

NK 10?, 37

NT 9

OX 33, 39, 49, 58

SH 1

SO 1, 14, 25, 28?, 49, 58, 68

SU 1, 2, 9, 13, 17, 19, 21

WM 2?

WS 1, 2, 11, 49, 54, 64, 72, 73

The following examples (and possible example) of villas are actually situated inside what were once Iron Age hillforts:

EA 11

GS 71, 72

SO 25

SU 2

WM 2?

The indigenous timber building tradition remained in use for some considerable time at many villa sites. A great

many villas are known to have been built initially completely in timber and wattle, and some, e.g. Alrewas (ST1), appear to have remained in timber into the second and perhaps third centuries. Wherwell (HA101) is a corridor villa built of timber in the late third to fourth century. It was constructed entirely of wood, or wattle and daub, as the impressions of the baulks of timber used as foundations remained clearly visible in the soil. Mosaics were inserted. Other villa buildings made the transition from timber to stone-footed construction. Their numbers in Appendix 1 are:

AV 31, 50, 63?, 67, 75

BU 18, 73?

CA 45?

CL 2

DE 17

DO 28?

GL 2?, 4?, 5?, 7?, 11

GS 60

GT 7

GW 1?

HA 54?

HT 24, 25, 29, 34

HU 11?, 15?

LA 1

LI 123

NH 4, 6?, 9?, 12?, 87, 99

NK 5, 10?, 32

NT 18?, 36?

OX 38?

SU 7?

WA 2, 11?, 17?, 19?

WS 1?, 11, 15?, 19, 20, 84

WZ 94?

This chapter aims to highlight a general trend among many native British villas - the development from simple stone-footed rectangles to winged-corridor buildings - and because of this little attention will be paid to the very early, large and luxurious establishments of Fishbourne (WS19) and Eccles (KE5) for they were probably official residences (Percival 1976:94). Eccles has produced fragments of a figures and partly coloured mosaic of c.A.D. 65, even earlier than the pavements of Fishbourne, and discoveries of foundations, bricks and tiles in the vicinity of the known site suggest that this villa is even bigger than the plans suggest (Wilson 1973:322; 1974:459; Kent SMR entry).

The sites around Verulamium, which have featured so prominently in British villa studies, are some of the earliest native villas to appear on the British landscape. The first stone-footed simple rectangular blocks of rooms appear c.A.D. 75, though that at Lockleys (HT41) (fig. 47) may have appeared as early as A.D. 60 (Ward-Perkins 1938:339-76; Walthew 1975:197, n.73).

Later a simple lean-to porch was added, and c.A.D. 150 a stone-footed corridor and additional rooms including wings were erected. Park Street (HT36) (fig. 48) developed much the same way as Lockleys (D.J. Smith 1978:120). Other villas which began as simple blocks of rooms include Faversham (KE33) (figs. 48-9), Frocester Court (GS47) (figs. 7-8), Hambledon (BU33) (fig. 14), Brixworth, Boxmoor (HT25) (fig. 27), Cox Green (BK30) and Hutsham (HE11) (fig. 50). One simple rectangular plan in particular can be identified in many villas in Britain. Fig. 51 is a schematic representation of this plan, which is a basic building block of many villas: it is found at Ditchley (OX19) (fig. 52), Barton Court Farm (OX42) (fig. 53), Little Milton (OX65) (fig. 54), Frocester Court, Farningham (KE29) (fig. 55) and in the north wing of Chignall St. James (ES11). Slight variations on this theme are found at Lockleys (fig. 47), Northchurch (HT29), Rockbourne (HA79) (fig. 56), Llantwit Major (GL5) (fig. 57), in the north and west wings of Chedworth (GS21) (fig. 42) and in the west wing of North Leigh (OX38) (fig. 40), amongst others.

4.3.2 Significant Permutations of Rooms

The scale of dimensions and proportions are much the same: c.20-30m long and c.7-10m wide, giving proportions of 3:1-4:1. The area of floor space of these blocks of rooms is in the approximate range of 140m-300m square. This accords well with the amount of roofed space

available in Iron Age settlements per family unit: c.200m square at Glastonbury, and c.230m square at Little Woodbury. There have been suggestions that villas may have been two-storeyed, which would add to the floor area of the roofed space. The evidence was reviewed recently by Neal (1982:153-70) who concluded that although some parts of some buildings may have risen to a height above that of the adjacent rooms (granary towers, for example), the evidence suggests that in general there is no evidence for more than a single storey. Branigan was on the right lines in describing villas as bungalows (1982:95).

It is also possible that the pairs and trios of houses which comprised the late Iron Age family unit became translated in this simple stone-footed architecture into the three (or so) main rooms evident in blocks such as that in fig. 51. The smaller rooms may represent the 'dividing space' which used to exist between the separate roundhouses. The 'passages' cannot actually be through-passages at all, because in many larger buildings these thin rooms are flanked by porticos and other features which are clearly themselves passages (Drury 1982b:295). These rooms probably acted as 'barriers' between larger pieces of social space. It is unfortunate that the lack of recognised doorways hampers further discussion.

The block plan which appears as fig. 51 is also a central feature of villas in northern Gallia Belgica, such as the large 'estate villa' of Anthée in Belgium (fig. 58). A slight variation appears as the central rectangular range of rooms at Odrang in Germany (fig. 59) and Guiry, Seine-et-Oise in France (fig. 60), and at a whole host of villas discovered by Roger Agache during recent aerial surveys of northern France, including a large number of large courtyard villas like Anthée - Malpart, Grivesnes and Warfusée, for example (Agache 1975). The fact that these blocks are seen in northern Gallia Belgica, and at an early date, suggests that although these blocks replaced roundhouse architecture in Britain, they were not a uniquely British response to the introduction of masonry rectangular plans. Rather, we should consider the possibility that these simple plans were suggested to or imposed upon the 'upwardly mobile' British; that is, architectural ideas of assistance were provided by the new Roman provincial administration. It is especially significant that Drury has isolated blocks of rooms similar to fig. 51 in a number of *mansiones* in towns such as Silchester. He observes that:

> The repetition of suites of rooms of similar plan, coupled with the generous provision of baths, suggests that their function was to accommodate separate groups of people.

The so-called *mansio* at Silchester in Insula VIII (fig. 61) was probably planned c.A.D. 90-120. There is no

proof that this building was the *mansio*, or official inn, for users of the *cursus publicus*, although there are a number of features which suggest that this was no ordinary house. It was a large building, covering as much ground as the forum, and larger than any other house at Silchester. The bath house was of considerable size, which adjoined an open courtyard running the whole length of the eastern side, and which was in turn separated from the main building by a substantial wall. Although there is nothing against the building being the residence of a wealthy citizen, its size alone and probable early date would seem to indicate a public use and therefore official involvement in the planning (Wacher 1976:262-4). It may well be that the earliest simple oblong villas were adapted copies of the 'apartments' seen in early towns. Sets of rooms reminiscent of those which comprise the earliest simple villas such as Brixworth and Lockleys can be recognised at Verulamium as early as c.A.D. 49 in the timber 'Claudian shops' of Insula XIV (fig. 62) (*ibid*:204, 213; 4).

4.3.3 The Ideology of Villa Building

It is possible that the construction of these buildings was overseen by military architects who had access to military supply-bases for materials (Frere 1971). These sets of rooms could well have provided a 'blueprint' for the first Britons who built or commissioned villas. In light of the discussion of the

origins of aisled farmhouses (above 3.2), we must consider the possibility that, left to their own devices, the British would have tended more toward developing the aisled farmhouse as their response to the stimulus of new architectural forms and materials. The British had, after all, already developed a simple form of aisled building by the late Iron Age. It was the direct involvement of the Roman administration in the lives of the British which speeded up and altered the course of cultural development. By far the most famous historical evidence of such Roman 'encouragement' (some might say coercion) is the testimony of Tacitus concerning the actions of Agricola while he was governor of Britain:

> He encouraged individuals and assisted communities to build temples, fora and private houses. He praised the energetic and scolded the slack. Competition for honour took the place of compulsion. And he had the sons of the leading men educated in the liberal arts. He expressed a preference for the natural talents of the British over the trained abilities of the Gauls, so that those who used to reject the Roman tongue now coveted its eloquence. Thence our manner of dress became fashionable and the toga was often to be seen.
>
> (Tacitus, *Agricola*, 21)

Here Tacitus stressed and idealised the conscious involvement of the Britons in Roman provincial life by Agricola. It is presented as a deliberate set of actions by the Roman governor. It is worth noting that the passage pointedly states that compulsion was unnecessary, from which one may reasonably infer that compulsion was,

nevertheless, a possibility (Hanson 1988:58-59). The indigenous population were probably not enthralled with the new financial commitments. What real honour could there be for prominent Britons in spending money which was not really theirs on public buildings which they did not own, and all with the 'encouragement' of an occupying force? The actions of Agricola would have been a devastating contribution to the erosion of the traditional power bases, and one must assume that former paramount families did not necessarily appreciate Agricola's efforts to civilize the province.

4.3.4 The Development of Winged-Corridor Facades

By the early second century it was usual for villa houses to have a corridor facade, often with wings, added to them, and for new villas to be built complete with such a facade. Building 8 at Shakenoak (OX39), constructed at the end of the first century, is at present the earliest instance known in Britain of a villa built complete with winged-corridor frontage (Brodribb *et al.* 1971:14-28). Wings were adopted in the contemporary or slightly later house at nearby Ditchley; a surrounding corridor was added in a later phase (fig. 52). Also c.A.D. 100, wings were adopted at Boxmoor and corridors at Cobham (KE93). Corridors were adopted at Faversham c.100-150; wings were added c.150-200. It was only in the mid-second century that a winged-corridor frontage was added to the house constructed as long before as c.65

at Lockleys, and only then or later in the second century that houses were erected complete with winged-corridors at High Wycombe (BU45), Gadebridge and Gayton Thorpe (NF62). According to David Smith, Lockleys, High Wycombe and Gadebridge 'seem to represent the typical sequences and chronology' (1978:120).

4.3.5 Effects of the Addition of Facades

The winged-corridor frontage influenced access to the living rooms, and the entrance, wherever it had been before, was now placed centrally in the corridor - as at, for example, the west and east ranges of the inner courtyard at Woodchester (GS101) (fig. 9), the west range of Chedworth (GS21) (fig. 42), the west building at Beadlam (fig. 44), Lockleys (fig. 47), Huntsham (HE11) (fig. 50), Clear Cupboard (GS46) (fig. 63), Brislington (AV15) (fig. 64), Lullingstone (KE27) (fig. 65), Ely (GL2) (fig. 66), Witcombe (GS50) (fig. 67) and Bancroft (BU79) (fig. 68). Whereas previously one of the rooms in the oblong block of rooms would have been the most integrated room, it is probable that the corridor became the integrated mechanism. Certainly the adoption of a corridor resulted in an extra architectural step being needed to enter from the outside to even the most accessible of the inside rooms. This feature, together with the axial entrances which produced symmetrical or near-symmetrical facades, became a convention in British villa architecture from the second century onwards. A

tendency towards a more 'closed' architecture can thus be detected. The symmetrical facades acted as an architectural deception, just as they did in Virginia. The wings act to guide the visitor unambiguously toward the central main entrance, and the corridor maintains control over access to the living rooms. The corridor acts as both a spatial barrier between the outside world and the living rooms, and as a reception area. The tendency culminates in the fourth century in villas such as Witcombe (fig. 67), where a portico entrance leads into a corridor, from where a right-angle turn and a twenty metre walk must be taken in order to reach the ranges of living rooms. While the living rooms such as the kitchen probably had back doors for family use, the formal mode of entry would be used by visitors. Indeed, the differing 'trajectories' of entry would make a social distinction between formal visitors and informal visitors. This is, of course, true today; friends and family may come through our back door and directly into our kitchens, but strangers and formal visitors are required to enter through the front door and hallway. Thus the formalisation of villa house plans from the second century onwards represents much more than just increasing social ambition, and the changes cannot properly be explained by invocation of the word 'Romanisation'.

4.3.6 A Social and Economic Explanation for the Architectural Change

Why did the British wait generations to adopt this feature, and can we suggest what the adoption of these new configurations of space meant socially? From the second century onwards it became the norm for villas to have added to them, or for new villas to be built complete with, a winged-corridor frontage. Keynsham, a new fourth century villa, took the trend to its limit; it was a courtyard villa with long corridors on each side (fig. 41).

There is no recognisable geographical trajectory for this development yet. The earliest known winged-corridor facade is from Shakenoak in Oxfordshire, and others followed soon after in Northamptonshire, elsewhere in Oxfordshire, Kent, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire. These known examples undoubtedly reflect the overall pattern of villa exploration in the past rather than an historical reality.

Because social relations are inextricably bound up with economic transactions (and no economy is ever fully disembedded), one should expect a changing economy to have an effect on social relations, and this in turn to affect the use of social space. The study of 'the Roman economy' is a contentious area, but a number of general trends in the development of the Romano-British economy can be isolated. A coin-based market economy did not

arrive in Britain in A.D. 43 with the Romans. It only gradually replaced the socially embedded economy which saw economic transactions embedded primarily in social relations. By the early second century, however, an economic system based upon coinage and consumer demand had begun operating in Britain. In a recent study of the evidence of pottery from Roman Northamptonshire, Griffiths demonstrated that Samian was penetrating even lowly rural sites in some quantity by this time, and that the most likely mechanism to explain this is a market economy (1986:5).

The social effects of the establishment of monetised interactions on a large scale and throughout the whole community were myriad. The monetised economy offered not just prospects of wealth, which had to be protected, but also prospects of taxation, inflation and relative poverty, which were best kept at bay; and this seems to be reflected in the developing architecture of the winged-corridor villa. The winged-corridor facade was often added at the same time as the villa was given more rooms, sometimes including an elaborate reception room, such as Room 1 at Woodchester (fig. 9) (Clarke 1982:218-19), which contained the Great Pavement (*ibid*:206). Large axial rooms and the reception areas comprising corridors and possibly wing rooms were frequently decorated with mosaics in the early fourth century. The 'reception areas' of Great Staughton (CA33) (fig. 69)

were very fancy relative to the living area behind them. The only mosaics present in the house were found in the corridor and wing rooms, and the axial entrance was graced with stone columns (Greenfield 1959:118). The corridors at Ely were tessellated (fig. 66). The large wing room, Room 8, at Lockleys was tessellated (fig. 47). The corridor between the wings at Frocester Court, and only the corridor, contained mosaics (fig. 7). The corridors at Bucknowle Farm (D09) (figs. 70-71) were tessellated and one part comprised a figured mosaic.

The implication is that the owners of the villas wished to keep their formal reception space impressive and perhaps fashionable. The formal reception space was vitally important to the functioning of society. As the intensification of the monetised economy eroded traditional social relations, so the British sought order through their use of social space. The new and closed use of social space reflects a profound change in the social and economic life of the owners of the villas, and the fact that the winged-corridor frontage appears from the early second century onwards seems to indicate that their appearance is fundamentally linked with the emergence of a market economy. The number of sites in the Catalogue (Appendix 1) indicates the vast scale of material wealth present in the countryside of the province in the fourth century, and this alone would

argue away from Finley's minimalist view of the Roman economy (Finley 1973; cf. Greene 1986:170-71).

At a basic level it can be argued that the introduction of corridor facades and other reception space is a response to the emergence of a recorded economy and reordered social relations. Visitors, often complete strangers, could be expected to arrive on business connected with commerce, administration, taxation and the like. The new architecture guided them to the central doorway and into a formal and often highly decorated corridor. Their access was controlled, but subtly. The configurations of space served not just to reflect social custom but reinforced the new social relations which arose out of the necessity for new types of economic transaction. The coin-based monetised economy of the Roman world, and the material culture of the Roman world in the form of 'closed' villas, combined to constitute a new social order - and *this* was 'Romanisation'.

4.4 THE DECLINE OF VILLAS

The decline of the villa system in Britain had more to do with a breakdown in the monetised economy of Roman Britain than with Saxons and other barbarians. Villas which were partially or wholly burnt down - and this happened frequently (see p.239) - were not rebuilt, bath houses went out of use, and hearths and 'corn driers' were inserted in rooms of the winged-corridor houses on a

number of sites. Webster's summation of this situation as

> The absence of restraint in...more barbarous days'
>
> (1969:235)

is an interesting explanation, but hardly a satisfactory and comprehensive one. It is possible that villas were not maintained because of a breakdown in the supply and marketing of timber and other building materials such as roof tiles. The importance of timber as a source of building material and fuel in Roman Britain has been underestimated. Jones (1986:132-3) has recently stressed the vast quantities of timber required to fire baths and hypocausts at regular intervals. The necessity for skilled woodland management by coppicing and fencing to ensure supplies of small and large timbers has been emphasised by Rackham (1976) and Greene (1986:87).

> Timber was a regular trade item involving major transport organisation and appears in a number of species and sizes on Diocletian's price *Edict* of A.D. 301.
>
> (*ibid*:88)

Problems in later Roman Britain with the marketing of timber may explain why some bath houses went out of use, as at Seaton (DE13) (Neil Holbrook, pers. comm.), Box (WZ28) (Branigan 1976:97), Llantwit Major (GL5) and Lullingstone (KE27) (Webster 1969:231-2; Meates 1955:159). At Seaton, Llantwit Major and Lullingstone, the baths were actually levelled, possibly because their

building materials were re-used elsewhere. The hypocausts of many villas, too, appear to have ceased to function, even though the villas continued to be occupied: for example, North Wraxall and Barnsley Park (GS8). At Barnsley Park, where the coins run to Arcadius and Honorius and there is a long stratified sequence of structures post-370, there is evidence that this late occupation is of a different standard than previously. A coin of Valentinian I (c.A.D. 364-375) was associated with various changes which included the disuse of the only hypocaust-heated room, the blocking of the flue of the bath house, and the re-use of moulded pilasters for paving in a yard (Branigan 1976:100, 103). (Note: the evidence for the 'Picts' War' of 367 is discussed on pp.229-39).

For centuries Roman Britain had been actively involved in a world with a coin-based economy of considerable intensity and scale. The decline of British economic fortunes in the late fourth century, exaggerated by external military threats and the closure of the western mints, must have had profound effects on society and social relations. It is therefore interesting that during the breakdown of the British economy and the villa system, wing rooms and corridors often seemed to have changed their function by having 'hearths' and 'corn driers' inserted into them. Wing room (Room 5) at Frocester Court was supplied with a 'corn drier' (fig.

7), and part of the front corridor may have been partitioned off and a hearth built on its floor (and in the last recognised phase of occupation wattle and daub repairs were made) (*ibid*:102-3). A hearth was carefully laid over the mosaic in one of the corridors at Keynsham (AV46) (Webster 1969:233). This process of 'debasement' is documented further elsewhere (*ibid*:229-38; Branigan 1976:93-108). As Webster observes, very often excavators have identified hearths built on tessellated pavements as occupation by 'squatters' or 'vagrants' (1969:232). However, these hearths are so often carefully built that it would seem more likely that they were built by the regular inhabitants. The transformation of rooms in the corridor houses into agricultural and brewing facilities may in fact represent a further nucleation of the villa site, often at the expense of former reception areas (wing rooms and corridors). Thus a decline in the availability of cash and building materials and the increasing rarity of commercial transactions may have led to the reception areas becoming both run-down and redundant. Eventually all the villa buildings went out of use. Barbarian activities had only an *indirect* bearing on the decline of villas in Britain, and once again it is a detailed study of the changing economic situation in later Roman Britain and the continent that will ultimately help to solve the vexed question of the fate of the villas in Britain.

4.5 VILLA ENCLOSURES

4.5.1 Theory and Data

It was observed in chapter one (pp.59-63) that late Iron Age settlements, even lowland farmsteads, were normally enclosed or demarcated by ditches and banks to a greater or lesser extent. What of villas? The subject of villa enclosures is not one which has ever been seriously tackled, and not surprisingly, for the issue is complex. Oswald described the villas of Norton Disney (LI123) (fig. 72), Ely (GL2) (fig. 66), Langton (NK18), Castle Dykes (NK26), Cwmbrwyn (DY8) and Bartlow (CA11) as 'fortified' (1937:138). This immediately raises two interesting points. First, enclosures do not necessarily have to represent fortifications; they can be used to control access by affecting patterns of movement and encounter, they define private property and they also exist as social barriers. Enclosures embody the symbolism of possession, authority and power, reinforcing the authority held by those who control or own the settlements. Secondly, it is often not appreciated that villas such as Norton Disney have such impressive enclosures, because the standard published plans frequently only depict the surviving masonry foundations. Compare, for example, figs. 7 and 75 of Frocester Court, figs. 52 and 74 of Ditchley (see also plate XXI) and figs. 15 and 72 of Norton Disney.

Many of the enclosure ditches associated with villas clearly predate the masonry buildings. At Whitton (fig. 73) a very large ditch was found surrounding the villa buildings but the foundations were built over the tail of the internal upcast bank (Jarrett 1969:200). Scott believed that this villa may have some considerable bearing on the general question of the fortification of villas, his main point being that because the enclosure pre-dates the villa it can be removed from a fortified context (1973:189). Elsewhere villa buildings are known to overlie ditches which seem to have been Iron Age enclosure ditches, as at Ely (fig. 66), Tarrant Hinton (D029) (fig. 76) and Gorhambury (fig. 23). It might thus be suggested that these enclosures had become redundant, perhaps as a result of official disapproval; the Roman administration may well have viewed these enclosures as 'defensive' and therefore inappropriate in their new regime.

Many late enclosure ditches and walls are, however, known. From the late third century onwards many villas became enclosed, often by an enclosure wall but sometimes by other means. Large ditches were constructed at Norton Disney. At Barton Court Farm, the villa house was enclosed by a palisade and ditch which cut through a 'corn drier' of the early fourth century (Oxfordshire SMR entry). Elsewhere regular enclosures were associated with the villa buildings uninterruptedly throughout its

history, as at Chilgrove 2 (WS84) (fig. 77). It is extremely difficult to recognise any general trends in the use of villa enclosures. It is though known that the 'courtyard villas' of the early fourth century (e.g. Richmond 1969:59-64) and many other villas had enclosure walls. The appearance also of aisled farmhouses suggests that farming activities and people were being drawn into a central demarcated area. This may have less to do with defence than with reorganisation of the estate for economic reasons, for a number of villa buildings are attached to the *outside* of the enclosure walls, as at Clanville (HA73) (fig. 78), Combley (IW6) (fig. 13), Sparsholt (HA93) (fig. 16) and Stroud (HA77) (fig. 39). These enclosures, like the corridor facades discussed above, may also have served as a formal access route. Further studies of the Romano-British economy of the third and fourth centuries will be most instructive in this field.

Appendix 2 lists British villas (and possible villas) with enclosures (and possible enclosures). The two hundred or so examples will undoubtedly be added to in the future, as more sites are subject to geophysical survey and aerial photography as well as excavation.

Some British villas exhibit the double courtyard feature known on the continent. At Anthee (fig. 58), for example, one can clearly distinguish the *pars urbana* from the *pars agraria*, and this also seems the case at North

Wraxall (WZ129) (fig. 79), Barton Court Farm (fig. 53), Chedworth (fig. 42), Bignor (WS11) (fig. 10), Woodchester (fig. 9) and possibly at Frocester Court (fig. 75). The British sites do not, however, exhibit the same orderly planning of the estate villas of northern Gallia Belgica. British villas seem to have evolved in a gradual and piece-meal fashion.

The estate walls of British courtyard villas may have replaced enclosure ditches. Recent small-scale excavation at Woodchester, for example, detected a V-shaped ditch wich seemed to run parallel to and c.5m from the eastern aisled building of the centre courtyard. The ditch lay close to the enclosure wall, but because only a small part of the ditch was excavated, its relationship to the wall and the buildings could not be established (Clarke 1982:205).

Although the idea for the general form and style of enclosure walls may have spread from the continent, it should be remembered that British farmers had a long tradition of site enclosure and that such enclosures have social and economic as well as functional meaning. Physical barriers set up and reinforce social barriers, and reveal much about how people perceive the world. In an established monetised economy prosperity and poverty exist side by side, and in the Roman period this may have led to increasing social tension and further formalisation of British villa plans.

4.5.2 Bandits and Bacaudae?

It has been argued that one of the roles of an enclosure is to embody private property in an explicit fashion. It has also been argued that villas become more enclosed with time, and that this development reaches a peak in the fourth century.

This is not to deny, however, that there were no tangible physical threats abroad in the countryside to threaten the sense of security of the villa occupants. There were a great number of bandits (*latrones*) in the Roman Empire (Shaw 1984). (Bandits are perhaps to be regarded as another product of a money economy; bandits do not flourish in closely-knit and ordered pre-money tribal areas.) The tendency for villas to become more enclosed through time could indicate a desire for the villas to appear well-protected. Boundaries also impart knowledge (above, p.62). A visible boundary says, 'this is where private property begins and there will be consequences for you if you cross this line without permission'. In the fourth century, the 'official' trajectories into villas were highly visible (often a gate through an enclosure wall) and elaborate (e.g. through a courtyard or courtyards).

In the Roman world, of course, the consequences of trespass were severe, and bandits were executed ignominiously. The forbidding enclosures of villas would act to reinforce the knowledge that the - harsh - Roman

law was being transgressed. To scale an enclosure wall, or to cross a ditch and bank system, requires conscious and severe physical effort. It is a clear trespass. The law is being broken - and the law too is severe.

The problem of roaming bands of reprobates in the countryside grew worse by the early fifth century on the continent. The Bacaudae movements and revolts are attested historically, and it has been suggested that they may have been a force in Britain (Thompson 1977:303-18, esp. 316) in the years 409-10. The villas of course were becoming enclosed long before this date - many over a century before - so the question of Bacaudae in Britain need not enter the equation.

4.5.3 End Remarks

It has been shown that even with just a couple of dozen villa plans, a pattern of development can be seen to emerge. This, when analysed in terms of 'transformational grammar', allows us a powerful insight into changes in Romano-British social relations, economic structure, and perceptions of the outside world.

CHAPTER FIVE

RITUAL ANIMAL BURIALS AND WELL DEPOSITS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

That Celtic religion and its concomitant burial rituals continued into the Roman period in Britain has long been recognised (e.g. Macdonald 1977:35-8; Laing 1979:118). There even appears to have been an upsurgence of the Celtic tradition in fourth century Britain judging by the number of new Romano-Celtic temples which appear in the south of England at this time (Painter 1971:157). Much work on the survival of Celtic religion into the Roman period has concentrated on the evidence of inscriptions and iconography which reveals how specific Roman and Celtic gods were identified with each other (e.g. Macdonald 1977:36; Salway 1982:669). Another piece of evidence frequently stressed is that perennial favourite, Coventina's Well near Hadrian's Wall, which in the Roman period received votive gifts of stone heads and at least one human head; this practice clearly had its roots in Celtic ritual (Salway 1982:35; Ross 1968: *passim*).

Much less attention has been paid to the ritual human and animal burials, particularly pit deposits, of Roman Britain which are quite clearly part of the Celtic ritual tradition. Laing simply notes in passing that

> Over a hundred ritual pits and wells, mostly Romano-British but some Iron Age, have been excavated in Britain.
>
> (1979:118)

He adds that these pits and wells often contain the bones of dogs and ravens and 'skulls', but gives no further details. One must return to Ross's original account for the only serious attempt to review this subject (Ross 1968). J.P. Alcock's review of 1966 concentrated on the probable existence of Celtic water cults in Roman Britain, and in 1980 she made just one brief reference to the survival of Celtic customs in an article on burial practice in Roman Britain:

> Favourite objects would be broken or burned so that their life spirit might accompany the dead to the Otherworld. This was also a Celtic practice and such actions show the difficulty of trying to separate Celtic and Roman beliefs.
>
> (1980:65)

There is, incidentally, a tendency to confuse the issue further by using the blanket term 'pagan' to describe any ritual that has not stemmed from obvious Christian practice.

There is, however, plentiful evidence to indicate the large extent to which the distinctive ritual behaviour of the British Celts of the Iron Age outlined in Chapter Two was carried on into the Roman period. This evidence lies obscured in a myriad of excavation reports, and it is the intention of this chapter to present the evidence and demonstrate that Celtic ritual

burials of animals in pits and deposits in wells are a distinctive feature of a number of types of Romano-British sites including villas.

5.2 THE EVIDENCE FROM ROMANO-CELTIC TEMPLES

The temple complex and settlement at Springhead, Kent is best known for its Roman levels, although a complex system of early ditches and pits of votive character has been found to underlie the Roman phases, clearly pre-dating them and strongly suggesting that here was an important religious sanctuary of the Iron Age (Harker 1980:288). Springhead produced dedicatory or votive infant burials which may be termed 'special' infant burials (as opposed to 'ordinary' infant burials in cemeteries), from its Roman levels. (The following chapter discusses infant burials in detail.) Springhead also produced animal burials from the Roman period. The temple temenos was bounded on at least three sides by metalled roads but there is no evidence of a wall apart from traces noted on the eastern boundary. An almost continuous line of large postholes approximately 2.4 metres apart 'hardly suggests a fence enclosure and free standing posts seem more likely' (*ibid*:287-8). Several of these holes were associated with horse and ox skulls, and others with some of the infant burials. No dating evidence for the deposition of the horse and ox skulls was forthcoming, but other infant burials on the site are known to date to the second century A.D. (Penn 1960:121-

7; Whimster 1981:180). These upright posts with horse and ox skulls at the bottom are reminiscent of the evidence from Iron Age hill forts which prompted discussion of totemism (pp.82-88).

The contents of a pit inside Temple 9 at Colchester are significant. The pit, around 2 metres deep, contained almost 200 coins, a silver bracelet and ring, a complete second to third century pot, a 'great quantity' of birds' bones, a complete knife, painted wall plaster and fragments of two iron vessels. At the bottom of the pit, below everything else, was most of a human skull and a complete human femur (Crummy 1980:265). Such contents argue against casual deposition - there were almost 200 coins - and suggest votive offerings.

The first Roman temple at Uley was constructed in the early first century A.D. There were sets of post-pits and a focal circular pit. The latter contained primary votive offerings of iron projectile heads, eight partly complete Dobunnic fine ware vessels, unusual bone tools and the articulated rear limb of a cow. Within a ditch nearby a human femur had been deposited (Ellison 1980:307-8). In later periods the votive deposits of animals were often translated into the offering of animal sculptures (*ibid*:312), a process seen elsewhere in Britain: for instance at Coventina's Well the deposition of stone heads seems to have replaced the deposition of real heads. Uley also yielded evidence for the

sacrifice, presumably on altars, of hundreds of animals; this is a Roman practice and the remains are represented by widespread and clearly identifiable butchery scatters which do not concern this particular analysis of special burials and deposits.

5.3 CELTIC BELIEFS ON VILLAS?

It has been accepted that Celtic 'pagan' religion and its votive practices continued into the Roman period, and that in fact Roman and Celtic beliefs were not mutually exclusive (Henig 1980:91; Alcock 1980:50, 65). The expected cultural limits of such Celtic survival, however, have been made explicit:

> Celtic beliefs are likely to have prevailed in country districts (*though not in villas*).
>
> (my emphasis) (Macdonald 1977:35)

Given that since Haverfield it has been forcefully and persuasively argued that the occupants and owners of nearly all British villas were native Britons (Rivet 1969b:176), and that the Roman administration was tolerant of non-seditious indigenous beliefs (Alcock 1980:65; Macdonald 1977:35), one might reasonably ask whether Macdonald is correct in his belief that Celtic practices will not be evident in the archaeology of British villas. Indeed the archaeological evidence itself would certainly seem to refute Macdonald's hypothesis. Both in quantity and quality, the facts

available could indicate that Celtic rites survived which are archaeologically detectable on villas.

Although Roman and Celtic ritual practices were not mutually exclusive, particularly after the Roman occupation of Britain, it is nevertheless possible - and important - to recognise the different elements hailing from these two backgrounds. The mistake can be and has been made of attributing archaeological evidence from Romano-British villas to Roman ritual influence only, when it is quite clear that Celtic elements are present. This is perhaps because villas are regarded as being entirely 'too civilised' to have permitted the retention of Celtic ritual practices:

> Villa in Latin, means farm, but a farm which is integrated into the social and economic organisation of the Roman world.
>
> (Rivet 1969b:177)

The author also talks of villas as 'large and luxurious establishments', owned by 'noble families' (*ibid*:202, 205). Branigan believes,

> The overall picture which emerges of the villa owners and their families in the south-west is one of a generally high level of Romanisation, in some cases reaching levels perhaps unparalleled, and certainly not exceeded, elsewhere in the province.
>
> (1977a:69)

5.4 RITUAL ANIMAL BURIALS ON VILLAS

5.4.1 The difficulty of Separating Roman and Native Traditions

It is in light of this orthodoxy that David Smith interpreted a pit at Great Weldon (NH110) as being of a 'Roman' tradition. The small circular pit was shallow, and was found under the floor of Room 3 of the house. A few small fragments of charcoal and calcined bone came from the bottom, and it was filled with clay. This evidence may indicate a foundation ritual preceding the construction of the building, and David Smith has observed that if this is so, it 'perhaps betokens builders who were more Roman than native British in their religious traditions' (Smith: forthcoming). Pits, however, are a known Celtic phenomenon (e.g. Ross 1968:255-86). The burning of animals, though, is unusual in Celtic contexts archaeologically in Britain, although for what it is worth, Strabo (with relish) wrote how druids killed their human and animal victims by burning them in hugh wickerwork cages (Laing 1979:113). Burnt offerings of animals is, on the other hand, a common feature of Roman sacrificial ritual (Lyttelton and Forman 1984:38-40). The actual Roman ritual, however, would tend *not* to leave the sort of archaeological deposits found at Great Weldon, Winterton and Rudston, where parts of burnt animal bones were found deliberately buried. The Roman sacrificial ritual decreed that an animal must

be killed instantly by a blow to the head; its throat was immediately cut. The animal was then dismembered and its internal organs inspected for possible defects. If all was well, the inner organs of the animal - heart, liver, kidneys etc. - were burnt on an altar and the other parts of the animal eaten by the participants in a sacrificial meal (*ibid*). On such sites the bones appear in rubbish scatters or dumps which are clearly recognisable. At the Romano-Celtic temple at Hayling Island, not only were animal bones scattered over the whole site, but also two areas of carbonised material were found within the courtyard, which appear to be secondary dumps and surely represent the disposal of sacrificial items after use (Downey et al. 1980:298). At the Romano-Celtic temple at Uley there is a clear distinction between the pits containing the articulated limbs of animals along with other artefacts such as pottery and 'iron projectile heads' and the general scatter of bones throughout the site (Ellison 1980:308, 305).

The burnt animal bones from pits at the Great Weldon and Winterton villas thus do not fall into the normal pattern of debris we would expect as by products of the Roman sacrificial rite. The Celtic influences are clear, and it is perhaps significant that two of the villas to have produced this type of evidence (i.e. burnt animal bones in pits) are Winterton and Rudston (see below), inside the 'Highland Zone', where, according to the

arguments of Rivet (among others) we should not expect to find highly Romanised practices:

> ...the degree of Romanisation of the courtyards was generally uniform throughout the civilised part of the province, but petered out rapidly at its fringes.
>
> (Rivet 1969b:210)

5.4.2 Rudston

The animal remains from the villa at Rudston (HU11) fall into a number of categories. The first category was the scatter of butchery bones found on any British villa site. This general spread of refuse is, however, quite distinctive from the dedicatory or ritual deposits under discussion, even though the same animals - cattle, sheep, pig and horse for example - may be represented. At Rudston the excavator classified discrete groups of bones as 'burials' because they were found as deliberate deposits, often in pits or trenches. Inside building 7, pit 8 contained a cremation group comprising recognisable limb bone fragments of sheep mixed up with charcoal; the room containing pit 8 also contained two infant burials under the floor and an odd pile of tesserae up against the west wall (Stead 1980:18, 155). Two groups of cremated bones were found in the Roman trench 17. One group comprised only fragmentary bones of sheep, and the second group comprised cattle and sheep bones (*ibid*:20, 155). All the animal burials from Rudston may date from the first to second centuries before the villa buildings

were built in the third century. The fact that the animal bones in two pits had been cremated may indicate that a practice of Roman ritual was influential here, although of course the cremation rite was also a feature of the Celtic world (above; and see also Salway 1982:670). The other burials at Rudston are more typically reminiscent of the Iron Age. Pit 14 contained an unspecified animal burial. Pit A4 beneath a circular gulley, contained a deposit comprising bones from two sheep; the two animals were not complete even allowing for some decay and break up of the bones. Most are broken and the skulls particularly so. It is of interest that whereas the sheep in trench 17 were not more than 30-36 months old, the sheep in pit A4 were mature adults aged more than 36-42 months. It is clear that no particular age group of sheep appears to have been favoured for ritual deposit. In pit A5 was a complete perinatal calf with only the pelvis of another (*ibid*). The burial in pit A6 is also of a calf. Most parts of the body are represented, a situation which contrasts with that of the sheep burials. The calf, however, lacks the metapodials and other foot bones. The burials in pits A9 and A11 are extremely similar, being of nearly-whole calves. None of the calf burials show any sign of burning; each is of a single animal almost certainly buried whole or largely so, and there are no other parts of other species buried with them except a single

perinatal sheep radius associated with A11. There are no burials of other animals such as pig, dog and horse which are known to have been present on the site at this time. In a nearby pit (feature 'RA.OF') there seemed to be part of a sheep burial as it comprised parts of a single animal plus some scraps of cattle bone. The sheep's pelvis and front feet, for example, were missing. In pit 47 was a sheep, with some of the lower foot bones quite well burnt, whilst other bones were unburnt. In pit A10 were scraps of sheep bones all heavily burnt with a few unburnt bones of a dog and a calf mandible (*ibid*:156). In this area of the site, and perhaps also associated with this early period of occupation, were three infant burials found in the gullies of the circular huts here, and another infant burial was in the vicinity (*ibid*:21). Although no animal burials are known from the period of the actual villa, infant burials associated with the building are (see below, pp.265-67)

The other category of animal bone deposit from the Rudston villa is that of the faunal material recovered from its well. This is discussed in detail below (pp.).

5.4.3 West Country Villas

> At the Kings Weston villa was discovered the 'carefully-buried skeleton of a lamb, which was found just below floor-level on the left (or west side) of the main entrance. It is believed that this was a foundation deposit of sacrificial nature'.
>
> (Boon 1967:14)

The foundation of the building and thus the foundation deposit, has been dated to circa A.D. 270-300. The use of a complete animal burial at gateways and entrances to a settlement in the Late Iron Age may be the root of this practice at Kings Weston (AV20).

At Barnsley Park (GS8) a pit containing the skeletons of three sheep of different ages was found in the earlier levels of the Roman site (Goodburn 1978b:455; Webster et al. 1985:90). The pit came from the 'barn area' (*ibid*:89). There can also be 'no doubt that some sort of ritual was concerned with another group from phase 3'. This comprised the heads and feet of two animals, a mature ewe and a yearling animal of undetermined sex. The heads had been placed upside down, and the feet laid parallel to each other. There was 'possibly' another head and foot assemblage in phase 9, from an area where there was an infant burial (*ibid*:93).

Sheep and pig bones were found in shallow pits in the corners of rooms at Star villa (SO52). One of these pits contained a mixture of fragments of sheep and human skull bones, and another in Room One contained the remains of an infant's skeleton mixed up with sheep bones. A pit contained the bones from one lamb less than six months old. The other two pits of sheep bones contained remains in each case from three individuals. Some pig bones were found in a pit in Room Three B mixed

with those of sheep; the pig remains were from two young animals (Barton 1964:90, 87-8).

The settlement of Catsgore (SO54) in the south-west of England has produced a foundation burial. Here 'one sheep aged 27 months at death was in a foundation burial within building 3.10' (Everton 1982:142).

Evidence for ritual animal burials comes also from the large 'courtyard villa' of Chedworth (GS21). Against the east wall of a room interpreted as a kitchen was a pit containing the bones of ox, pig, sheep, duck and small birds, and broken pottery (Goodburn 1972:23). The excavator may be correct in interpreting this pit as 'containing kitchen debris' but it is surely odd that a rubbish pit, and just the one, was dug inside a kitchen, when the place for rubbish would have been the midden. Some ceremony may in fact have taken place giving votive meaning to the fauna important in the economy of the villa. A Romano-Celtic temple may be associated with the villa. It lies about half a mile south-east of the villa, in Chedworth Wood. It was most probably this site which produced the stone relief of the hunter with the dog and stag known to come from the Chedworth area, and the temple was perhaps dedicated to Silvanus, the god of hunting. This suggestion is fuelled by the discovery in the ambulatory of a pit containing human remains and also bones of a red deer (*ibid*:34). This echoes the deposit from the Denton bath house.

5.4.4 Other Villas

At Denton (LI53) a piece of red deer bone antler came from a wall trench of the bath house.

Underneath a rectangular masonry structure (possibly a shrine) to the south of the house at Mansfield Woodhouse (NT20) were found a series of pits and postholes. Some kind of timber structure seems to have pre-dated this. Its entrance was apparent on the east side, where the burnt remains of sheep, associated with 'rustic ware' of circa A.D. 80, were found buried in a pit below a floor level. Similar small pits, of the same period, with burnt pig and sheep were found close by, and at the north end of the house the unburnt bones of a cat or polecat had been placed in an oblong wooden box whose shape was revealed by nail plan, and buried. This latter was an early deposit (Oswald 1949:2).

A cat burial was also found at Latimer (BU18). The date for the deposit of this animal is estimated at circa A.D. 300, and it was found in the floor make-up of corridor 25. The skeletal remains were reasonably complete although the rear legs were almost entirely missing and the skull had been much damaged. It was between about seven and twelve months old at the time of its death, and its identification as a domestic cat is not entirely certain. From Latimer's 'Post-Villa Phase 2', dated to circa 395-460 came three complete - or virtually complete - animal burials found near the

courtyard wall. Pit 1 contained the well-preserved remains of a calf, only the skull and rib cage of which had suffered any serious disturbance (plate XXII). Pit 3 held the complete remains of an adult sheep which had seemingly been trussed up for burial (plate XXIII). Feature B4 was found to contain the badly disturbed remains of a young pig (plate XXIV) (Hamilton 1971:163, 166; Branigan 1971:93-4, 174).

At Keston (GT6) a circular pit was found to hold, as primary fill, a sheep, a small dog of unusual species, fragments of glass vessels and pottery of circa A.D. 80-100. This site revealed Iron Age, Roman and Saxon occupation. The Romano-British villa possessed a mausoleum surrounded by many burials (Goodburn 1978b:471-2; Grew 1981:366-68).

Under the east wall of one of the buildings at Longstock (HA58) was found the complete skull of an ox and a hole filled with pot boilers (Taylor and Collingwood 1922:272).

At Harpole (NH57) a metalled surface was discovered to contain two cleft ox heads, each accompanied by a pair of ox hooves, a deposit which must surely have resulted from deliberate burial. This deposit was dated to the second century (Wilson 1967:186).

Fascinating evidence of the late Roman period was uncovered at the Barton Court Villa (OX42) which is comparable with that from Star (SO52). Three burials of

new born babies were accompanied by animal skulls: in two cases dog, and in the third case a sheep.

5.4.5 Lullingstone

The Lullingstone villa (KE27) is well known for its rectangular 'temple-mausoleum' and its circular shrine. Both rectangular and circular religious structures are well attested in the British Iron Age (Drury 1980:45-62, 64-66) as well as in the Roman period (*ibid*:45, 68-70; Rodwell 1980b:7), demonstrating a continuity of both Celtic practices and architecture into Roman times in Britain. The site is also known as a villa with a 'house-church'. Christianity came to Lullingstone in the fourth century, when the private chapel was built over the 'deep-room', this latter being a contemporary 'pagan' ritual room, containing votive pots in the floor in the Celtic manner. 'We have here an example of pagan and Christian worship running parallel' (Meates 1979:18; Green 1983:67). The site is further of interest because of its animal skull burials. A horse skull was deposited at the west end of a carbonised deposit lying immediately on the exterior of the north clay interior wall. The skull was devoid of its lower jaw and no teeth remained in its upper jaw. Its position among the carbonised sticks suggested to the excavator that the parts formed a ritual assemblage. The skull showed no signs of burning; it was put among the sticks after they had lost their heat. Indeed, the earth and *opus signinum* of the floor

show no signs of scorching, so the wood was probably deposited when cool, together with the skull. A number of snail shells were found in the skull's cavities, and they might suggest that flesh was still adhering to the skull when it was buried. The skull may have been a votive deposit connected with the foundation of the building outside which it was found (Meates 1979:65-6). In Room 10 of the villa house two ox skulls were found, 'deposited with third-century rubbish', one against the north wall of the room, the other beside its arch (*ibid*:51). Meates believes that they 'probably had no ritual purpose' but he does not expand on his pronouncement, neither does he give details of the 'third century rubbish' associated with the skulls. If it were broken pottery, for example, this could be accepted as accompanying a votive deposit. Room 10 was eventually turned into an ante-chamber to the private chapel (*ibid*:50), and may thus have had previous ritual significance.

Two complete animal skeletons were also found at Lullingstone. The major part of the skeleton of a dog was buried under the floor of the granary circa A.D. 364-375, possibly during renovations. A small quantity of carbonised grain was recovered from this level, covered by a large fragment of tile (*ibid*:117), perhaps deliberately to protect, or as part of, the deposit. The skeleton of a cat was found among a group of mortaria

lying in a north-south line immediately west of the well in the 'deep room' (*ibid*:39). Two infant dedicatory burials were also found at Lullingstone (see next chapter).

5.4.6 Winterton and Winteringham

There is plentiful evidence for animal burials at Winterton (HU16). Winterton's Building A, dated to *circa* 150-200 A.D. was found to contain a pit around 30cms deep against the inside edge of the foundations from the north wall. The pit contained part of the skeleton of a pig, comprising a skull, mandible, scapula and foreleg, all bones articulated. This seems to be clearly a foundation burial. Building A was demolished to make way for Building B, and aisled farmhouse, in the third century (Stead 1976:26). Within this later Building B four pits were excavated, one close to the north wall and the others on the same lines as the aisle posts, one containing only the burnt bones of a whole sheep (*ibid*:27, 35). It is impossible to assign certain features to either the Building A or Building B phases, and this applies to the animal burials just described (*ibid*:36). Building D also contained a pit, containing the unburnt skeleton of a sheep, against the outside of the west wall of Room 21 (feature A.1). It 'might have been buried when the room was rebuilt'. Seven infants were also found in this building, four of them at the lower end where they had been buried against walls

(*ibid*:48). (These burials are discussed further in the next chapter.) Building D was also an aisled farmhouse. Building G, a winged-corridor structure of the third to fourth centuries, also contained its own foundation burial: against the east wall of Room 8 (feature A.7), at the south end, was a shallow pit containing the calcined bones of a sheep (*ibid*:61). The most unusual animal burial of all from the villa came from Room 3 of the aisled farmhouse Building B:

> Below (the) floor, and presumably buried immediately before its construction, was a complete colour coated ware beaker ... and the skeleton of a partridge - possibly a ritual foundation burial.
>
> (*ibid*:29)

The nearby settlement of Old Winteringham also produced an animal burial. In Building II, whose construction is dated to the period after the late third century, a dog was buried 'in the rubble adjoining the east wall subsequent to the destruction of the building'; also three infant burials were found below the floor of this building close to the north-west corner (*ibid*:11, 295).

5.4.7 Animal Burials Associated with Infant Burials

It has been recounted above that on some villa sites infant skeletons were accompanied by animal remains. At Barton Court Farm, for example, three burials of new born babies were accompanied by animal skulls. At other sites, such as Winterton and Rudston, animal burials and

intra-mural infant burials are often found in the same area or within the same room - that is, within the same area of social space. At Barton Court Farm in the south of England, the ritual connection is manifest. The continuation of a pre-Roman Celtic farm and accompanying ritual beliefs into the Roman period is also evident: the early first century A.D. pre-Roman occupation material included three pits in the vicinity of Structure 1. Two of these pits, 311 and 338, had been burnt inside and contained a layer of carbonised plant material including cereals. The pottery suggested that they had both been filled during the early to mid-first century A.D. The other nearby pit, 379, had the mandibles of dog, cattle and sheep laid on its base (Miles 1986:4).

5.5 WELL DEPOSITS

5.5.1 Barton Court Farm

There were two wells and a number of 'waterholes' at Barton Court Farm (*ibid*:11). One deep well contained a fine array of ironwork and a large number of leather shoes (Miles 1986:46-7). This well, feature 832, was in use in the fourth century and probably into the fifth, and the ragstone blocks of which it was made were bedded into layers of moss. The bottom layers of the well contained, in addition to the leather shoes, 'large quantities of biological material', an iron-bound wooden bucket and iron hook, several almost complete pots, and much well preserved ironwork, such as latch-lifters and a

spear head (*ibid*:14-15). It is noticeable that without the ironwork from the well, the sample of ironwork from the whole site would be 'much less impressive' ... 'by far the best collection (of ironwork) was found where it had been dropped into a deep well' (*ibid*:47, 46-7). It is quite clear that for such a great proportion of the ironwork from the site to have accumulated in this one well, we cannot assume accidental loss. If *this* deposit at least was deliberate, so may other villa well deposits, particularly those whose contents recur: part or whole animal corpses, human skulls, buckets, whole or nearly whole pottery vessels and moss, for example. (While it might of course be reasonably argued that *buckets* are obvious accidental losses in wells, nevertheless their recurring presence may indicate that the votive deposition of a bucket in a newly-constructed well was felt to be a ritual necessity.) The upper levels of this well at Barton Court Farm contained 'a deliberate dump of stone, animal bones, and well preserved vegetable matter' (*ibid*:15). One wonders if building stone is another deliberate deposit in wells, as opposed to it simply collapsing in.

The second well on this site, feature 950, was nearer the villa house and was housed inside a small rectangular masonry well-house. Only a small amount of 'waterlogged material' was found in this well (*ibid*:32), and the fact that this well was different in both style

and its contents may indicate that the wells, though contemporary, had different uses. 950 appears to have been utilitarian, whereas 832 appears to have had a votive character. No bucket was found at the bottom of 950, which is surprising if buckets were often deposited accidentally as this well must have been the most used for obtaining water. Well 832, the 'votive well', was situated only roughly 5 metres away from the enigmatic Building 2. The building was probably two-roomed, about 13.5 metres long and 7.5 metres wide. A block of mortar in the middle of the building, with a ledge running along it, may indicate the line of an internal partition wall. The room to the west originally had a mortar floor while the one to the east had only a few limestone slabs. The east room contained a small oven or hearth. This building produced large quantities of finds, including objects of jet, shale and glass, personal ornaments such as bracelets, a bronze lion's head, a spear head, and a quernstone fragment. Most notably, 81 coins were scattered in the central part of the building. These were late fourth century issues, mostly in a worn condition. The excavator interprets this building as a cottage, and feels that the coins were part of a hoard 'dispersed when the cottage fell down' (*ibid*:14). There are obvious problems with this interpretation, not least the practical consideration of how a decaying cottage was so completely able to disperse a coin hoard; most Romano-

British masonry suffered robbing as opposed to total sudden collapse. It is not altogether impossible that Building 2 served as more than a simple cottage. Under the floor of this building was found an infant burial, a notable feature in the light of the fact that this settlement actually had an infant cemetery, where 41 child and infant graves were concentrated (*ibid*:34). That some infant burials were diverted from this cemetery to specific locations is perhaps significant (see below, pp.259-69).

5.5.2.1 Rudston: The Well

At Rudston, the enormous well was painstakingly excavated for 38 weeks in 1966, and it is necessary to discuss its contents in some detail as they may shed light on the meaning of the contents of other villa wells. For three pages the Rudston excavation report reads like a litany of horrendous aquatic technical problems and hopeful mechanical solutions involving alloy scaffolding, submersible electric pumps, Flyght pumps, impellors, bore-holes, pipe-lines and high pressure water (Pacitto 1980:26-29). Suffice to say the excavator was impelled to comment, 'Working conditions were appalling' (plate XXV). The point is that the excavators were determined to, and did, excavate well-stratified and dated deposits. Of immediate interest is the fact that the animal bones from the well were divided into four stratigraphical groups. The bones in the lowest groups

were largely fragmentary and distributed through the soil; those of group 3 were distinctly different from those in 1 and 2, and:

> In group 4, however, the bones were not generally disseminated but many were clustered, indicating that they were from animals which had fallen into the shaft and were unable to escape, *or that they had been deliberately placed there.*
>
> (My emphasis) (Stead 1980:149)

The well was 99 feet deep, but the filling from the bottom 6 feet only represents the phase when the well was properly maintained and cleaned. Finds include the remains of buckets and chains, pottery and a couple of coins. The coins, of Victorinus (A.D. 268-70) and Carausius (A.D. 287-93), both found at a depth of 95 feet, correlate with the very large group of pottery found between 99 feet and 93 feet which is dated to the end of the third century and early in the fourth century. Above this there was a marked change in the filling, for the next 10 feet had few artefacts and comprised a peat-like material which examination showed to be moss. It would seem then, that circa A.D. 330, the well ceased to function as a source of water and, for a period after, it was a depository for moss. No satisfactory explanation for this secondary use of the well was offered by the excavators, for their tentative conclusion that the moss represents discarded 'sponges' from the bath contradicts the fact that the well was the only source of water

locally available for the bath house; thus if the well was out of commission, the bath house must also have been (*ibid*:29, 30; Buckland 1980:164). The use of moss pads for toilet paper is well known, and Buckland notes in his specialist report that an archaeological example is provided by a tenth century pit in Dublin, where mosses were interstratified with human faeces. However, the uncompressed quantity of moss in the Rudston villa well argues against this interpretation. He concludes that this is an 'enigmatic moss deposit' (*ibid*).

Above the moss was a second huge deposit of pottery associated with three coins of A.D. 364-78 (Stead 1980:30). This collection comprised vessels not represented elsewhere on the site (*ibid*:36). The animals from this level (group 3) include the corpses of nine neonatal sheep, numerous fragments of cattle skulls and most parts of the bodies of pigs and mature sheep. Red deer is represented by parts of at least two young animals. In addition there are fragments of antlers which include one cast antler and portions of the cranium with antlers attached of three animals. In one of these the main antler beams have been cut off (*ibid*:36, 149-50). Stonework was also recovered from group 3, and among the deepest stones was a block carved with the figure of a deity, or *genius*, as well as pieces of three stone troughs. Some collapsed stone lining was also found (*ibid*:29).

Group 4 contained building debris, including tesserae and wall plaster, and also the greater parts of the skeletons of two red deer, a badger and a single cast antler of a roe deer. Also there were fragments of bones of sheep, cattle, horse and pig (*ibid*:150). This type of deposit - building debris and some nearly whole animals - is similar to the deposits from Brislington (AV15) (fig. 64) and North Wraxhall (WZ129) which have been considered to be evidence of the effects on villas of the 'Picts War' of A.D. 367 (but see pp.229-39). Furthermore, Rudston, being in the north of England, is nearer to those areas where there actually *may* be archaeologically documented damage. However, it is clear from the evidence that this building material could not have collapsed into the well until the early fifth century, and that the crouched human skeleton found above was a formal burial of not earlier than the fifth century (Stead 1980:29, 30). Thus none of the well material from this villa need be explained by invoking violent raiders, but rather by a mixture of accidental loss, deliberate deposits (some of a votive nature) and *possibly* fifth century building collapse (the baths were situated very close by).

The deposits of moss from the wells at the Denton and Rockbourne villas may well go some way to making sense of the large moss deposit in the Rudston well. Moss may simply have been a 'fashionable' votive deposit

in the fourth century, and the rather ignominious and unsatisfactory interpretation of the Rudston well moss as bathroom litter need not stand alone.

5.5.2.2 Rudston: The Mosaics

The Rudston villa is also well known for producing the only examples of mosaics from villas where Celtic art is clearly influential. The mosaics were found in Houses 1 and 8. House 1 included the bath house so close to the well. The most well known of these 'Celtic mosaics' is the Venus Mosaic and this, along with the Geometric and Aquatic Mosaics, may have been home-made (Smith, D.J. 1980:137) (plates XXVI and XXVII).

> It is interesting to recall, therefore, that one of the outbuildings at Rudston appears to have been a workshop where tesserae were made either for use on the site or for sale to mosaicists, if not for both purposes.
>
> (*ibid*)

The central female figure of the Venus Mosaic has been associated with the goddess Venus because two attributes normally associated with her appear to be present: a probable mirror and a golden apple. However, little else in the mosaic is recognisably Roman. The central 'Venus' is naked and has a mass of long wild hair falling or blowing on either side of her head. The abdomen and buttocks are swollen or enlarged, and the legs taper to tiny feet. There is a pronounced navel and the fingers are claw-like. It is interesting that this home-made design should depict such an obvious Celtic style, as

opposed to carrying Roman patterns. As David Smith comments:

> The standards of draughtsmanship and execution of this arresting mosaic, and the delight in colour, suggest the work of a native British craftsman untrained in the mosaicist's art and lacking technical aids or the ability to use them. Yet the mosaic is entirely and in every detail a product, however debased, of Roman culture and conventions.
>
> (1980:136)

The dichotomous mosaics of Rudston date from some time either about or later than A.D. 350 (*ibid*:137).

5.5.3 Denton and Rockbourne

The villa at Denton (LI53) also had a well which contained building debris, and nearer the bottom of the well, cattle bones, pieces of buckets, moss and items of leather including shoes, (Greenfield 1971:47-8, 53). Pottery was of circa 350-400.

There were two wells at Rockbourne (HA79). The 'main well' situated by the bath suite, had deposits of pottery, coins of the second to third centuries, moss, parts of a leather sandal including its hobnails, various fruit stones and hazel nuts. The second well contained fourth century 'infil of the usual debris' and we are told that the 'quantity of animal bones was unusual' (Morley Hewitt 1971:18, 15-16).

5.5.4 'Ritual Shafts' of the Britons

Ross in 1968 reviewed the evidence for ritual shafts, wells and pits of 'the Belgic Britons', listing

those artefacts which repeatedly appear in those features. It is worth repeating this list here, in alphabetical order:

Animal bones and teeth

Ashes

Associated structures

Bars of iron and lead

Bird skulls and bones

Bronze objects

Buckets, whole or in parts

Burnt stone and flints

Clay or chalk lining or packing

Coins

Cult objects

Deer antlers and bones

Dog skulls and bones

Goat skulls and bones

Hare skulls and bones

Horse skulls and bones

Human skulls and bones

Iron knives

Iron nails

Iron objects (bent)

Iron objects (various)

Metal weapons, helmets etc.

Organic matter

Ornamental objects (various)

Ox skulls and bones

Oyster shells

Pig skulls and bones

Pins of bronze and bone

Potsherds

Pottery vessels, whole or almost whole

Quern stones

Sandals and other pieces of leather

Smooth stones

Trees, whole or large parts

Twigs, leaves, acorns, nuts, stones and seeds

Ross's sample of pits, shafts and wells come from a wide variety of sites, such as Roman forts (mainly from Newstead), settlements, hill forts and temples, but only one villa, that at Brislington (AV15).

5.5.5 When History and Archaeology Meet

As far as many Romanists are concerned, the interpretation of such well deposits from villas, particularly those which seem to have occurred in the second half of the fourth century, depends upon the historical account of Ammianus Marcellinus. The causes of the well deposits at, for example, Brislington and North Wraxall (WZ129) has traditionally depended entirely upon a belief that the historically documented 'Picts War' of A.D. 367 resulted in a real destruction of many villas in Roman Britain (e.g. Branigan 1972; 1977a:95). This is very much after the fashion of Rivet who

expounded the doctrine that in studying Romano-British villas 'we can begin with the history...and see at what points the archaeology comes out to meet us' (1969b:175), although he does add the disclaimer: 'nothing is more hostile to sound archaeological practice than to set out with the aim of proving a preconceived idea' (*ibid*). In a recent criticism of Roman archaeologists' over-dependence upon biased and disparate historical sources for their frameworks, it was argued that the archaeology of Roman Britain was tremendously under-used. It was stressed that when discussing particular named *people* and *events*:

> History and archaeology cannot confirm each other because we do not know how the two relate, or how we should detect such a relationship. We simply do not know what the archaeological record should look like as the result of an historical event.
>
> (Scott and Gaffney 1987:84)

It is noted that there is a lack of archaeological evidence for the 'Picts War' of A.D. 367 described by the reliable historian Ammianus Marcellinus, and further argued that if the archaeological and historical records are contradictory then usually one of the records is rejected, or an elaborate theory is concocted to 'explain' the discrepancy. It is probable that we understand too little about cause and effect and the biases of the written record to be able to know how the archaeological and historical records should 'meet' in

time and space (*ibid*:85). On the occasions where such a fusion does appear to work it tends to be at a rather low level or resolution, involving 'interesting characters' (Cunliffe 1984:176) - we all know that Cogidumnus was meant to live in the Fishbourne palace - rather than explaining human behaviour and cultural change. Reece has observed:

> It seems that the cautionary lessons for excavations in an historic period will never be learned because what drives so many people into that area of enquiry is the historical framework.
>
> (1984:115)

Reece has long argued for a 'manifesto for archaeological independence' where the material and written sources develop independently. The present muddled interdependence is detrimental to both (*ibid*:113). Of course Reece has been particularly concerned with the painfully inadequate fit between the coin loss patterns and the historical framework of Britain. The only real context for one set of archaeological data is another set of similar material, (Reece 1980b:118; Scott and Gaffney 1987:86). 'We must strive for independence from the historical framework and become more concerned with the material culture itself' (*ibid*).

5.5.6 Brislington

It is thus possible to reinterpret the well deposits from the villas of Denton, Brislington and North Wraxall not as the results of clearing-up operations after the

'Picts War' of A.D. 367, but as part of a widespread and long-lasting archaeologically attested practice of Celtic-style votive deposition in wells, shafts and pits in Roman Britain. It is of interest to examine the case of Brislington in particular, given that Branigan has presented it as a victim of A.D. 367 on a number of occasions (1972; 1977a:95ff.). Branigan claims that Brislington was such a victim because two of the rooms of the villa house revealed traces of fire, and the well produced building debris and other material, as well as human and animal remains. He further claims (1972:82) that Webster is in agreement with this observation. Both points are moot. Webster's comments, taken in context, show that he has serious doubts about the reputed destructive nature of the 'Picts War':

> A careful survey of the published reports of recent years, when excavators have been observing their work with diligence, fails to provide a single example of total destruction of a villa which can be placed with certainty to the year 367.
>
> (1969:226-7)

Webster mentions the human remains found in the well at Brislington simply as a *possible* example of violent destruction, and he does not attempt to date it. There are indeed some problems in dating the Brislington well deposits. Branigan states categorically that the deposits were 'tipped into the well some time after A.D. 337', presumably because a coin of Constantine II was

found lodged in the side of the well; his assumption must be that the coin was thrown into the well - and got stuck - at the same time as the earliest deposits of the material were thrown in. The coin of Constantine II (A.D. 337-340) is, however, lodged well above the layer of deposits, and could therefore have been thrown into the well *after* the deposits, dating the deposits to *before* A.D. 337. There are no coins from the whole villa site beyond A.D. 361 at the latest, although the pottery may well go down to the end of the fourth century (see below). Interestingly, Webster actually disagrees with Branigan about the dating, and thus the interpretation of the well deposits from the villa at North Wraxall. Whereas Branigan believes:

> the skeletons and building debris in the well demand the same reasoned interpretation as those at Brislington.
>
> (1976:97)

Webster holds that:

> human remains were found in the well, together with architectural fragments, but there are also coins of Gratian and a late fourth century belt-buckle to show that this incident was probably later than 367.
>
> (1969:226)

Branigan places too much reliance on the dating evidence of coins; or rather, the negative evidence of the absence of coins post 361. As an example of the futility of this approach was demonstrated by Webster, using Park Street villa (HT36), this is surprising. Webster noted that

here 'destruction' was limited to the cellar, which contained the charred remains of wheat and barley, and the coins cease with issues of 361. Of a total of 69 coins found, there is not a single one of later date and the reasonable assumption might be drawn that life in the villa ceased at this time. On the other hand, when the small group of coarse pottery found in the cellar floor is studied, it is seen to contain close parallels with the Verulamium theatre types dated by coins to post-379 and also to examples from the Great Casterton destruction deposit to post-375 (1969:227). The Park Street villa was excavated with considerable care and its chronological problems given much thought; this is more than can be said for Brislington, (see Barker 1901:*passim*). Branigan is surely a candidate worthy of receiving Rivet's admonishment that nothing is more hostile to sound archaeological practice than to set out with the aim of proving a preconceived idea (1969b:175). One looks in vain for crucial details. As at Park Street, the coin in isolation cannot be considered as dating evidence for the life-span of a villa; the other datable material, particularly the pottery, must be considered. This echoes the advice of Reece (1984) that the proper context of one set of archaeological material is another set of archaeological material, and not an historical 'fact'.

What then of the contents of the Brislington well? In the lowest level, number eight, were a pin, a comb, a spoon, a brooch and small sherds and bones, perhaps representing accidental losses but more likely, in the light of parallels, to represent votive offerings. Brooches in particular were common grave goods in pre-Roman and Roman Europe (Collis 1977c:5; Todd 1977:41) and are frequently found in great numbers at temple sites - at Uley it is known that at least one brooch was being offered to the gods as a reward (Henig 1980:108). Broken sherds were notable Celtic grave goods (Alcock 1980:65). In fact, any favourite object might be broken and deposited with the dead. Objects being offered votively to a well may therefore be deliberately broken before being thrown down, or become broken during the process. The bones found in level number eight may similarly be of a votive nature: they are commonly found deposited in pits and wells in the Roman period (Laing 1979:118).

Above this, level seven contained the remains of wooden buckets, small sherds and bones. The remains of buckets in a well are almost banal and certainly unsurprising, but it should be remembered that to the Celts buckets also served a ritual purpose. A form of burial called the bucket burial has even been recognised (Collis 1977c:6; Laing 1979:29). Buckets may have been finding their way into the wells of Brislington and

Denton by other than accidental means (Ross 1968:284, 281).

Level six of the Brislington well contained building material.

Level five was particularly interesting, containing human skulls and bones, a complete set of damaged pewter vessels, broken pottery in the form of large sherds, and tesserae. The presence of the set of pewter vessels is especially significant because such sets are beginning to be recognised as features of votive deposition in watery contexts. A set of pewter tableware found recently during excavations at Stanwick; the context has not yet been made explicit by the excavator, David Neal, but there are suggestions that it was some sort of tank or shallow well. Early in 1988 a comparable set of pewter tableware was found at Shepperton, Surrey, in what would have been a river bed in the Roman period (Poulton and Scott, in prep.).

In level four were the remains of at least twelve cattle, and above this in level three was a great deal of building material. Level two and level one were earthy and rubbly respectively. Levels six to three are the contentious levels, and will be dealt with shortly in some detail.

The villa of Brislington itself was perhaps founded in the mid-third century, the coin series beginning with an AE 3 of Victorianus (A.D. 265-7). The pottery was

mainly grey ware and black burnished ware, of circa 270-380 (Branigan 1972:81) although BB wares are known from southern contexts such as Verulamium and Exeter to run up to circa A.D. 410. One may also reasonably argue that the existence of the villa be extended back in time to the late second century, as D.J. Smith has suggested that the mosaic there should not be later than the early third century (1975:296-7). Branigan suggests that it is possible that in this particular case the mosaicists were using old pattern books, but this is opportunistic pleading to support his idea of a rash of late - i.e. late third century - villa foundations in the West Country (1977a:41-2).

5.5.7 A Picts' War? The Account of Ammianus Marcellinus

Branigan equally argues for a rash of villa destruction along the Bristol Channel and up the Avon in 367 (1976:136-141; 1977a94-96; 1972:82-84). Even though Branigan himself admits that

> We must at once concede therefore that there can be no *certain* examples of villas destroyed in A.D. 367'
>
> (1977a:94)

he elsewhere throws caution to the wind and confidently announces that

> scraps of evidence pieced together are strongly suggestive, to my mind, of a raid along the Avon, presumably by Irish pirates.
>
> (1972:82)

and

> the raid of 367 was probably directly experienced in the lower valley of the Avon, and possibly so farther inland along the course of the river.
>
> (1977a:96)

Doubts have already been raised about the supposed effects on villas of the 'Picts War' of 367. Many scholars remain cautious in identifying victims of the War, e.g. Frere (1967:353-7), Salway (1981:380) and Webster (1969;224-7). This is because when we try to match up what Ammianus Marcellinus 'documents' with what we find on the ground, difficulties are soon encountered. Ammianus recounts that when Theodosius arrived in Britain he found armed gangs of barbarians and Roman army deserters wandering the countryside and looting at will, even in the vicinity of London. 'His unexpected arrival in London was met with scenes of great rejoicing from its inhabitants, who had been in despair' (Salway 1981:381). Yet the villas of Greater London and the Home Counties do not provide us with evidence of destruction circa 367. In fact Philip Corder who excavated at both Park Street (HT36) and Great Casterton (LE31) villas went so far as to say that the 'Picts War' was a myth (John Gillam, pers. comm.). The problem seems to be that because scholars have thought there *ought* to be evidence on the ground of the 'Picts War', they have tended to interpret what they found in this way. It has already been observed that a given historical event may not manifest

itself archaeologically in a way we might expect, or even at all. Another explanation for the lack of destruction evidence for the year 367 is that the 'Picts War' was something of a myth that Ammianus may have exaggerated or fabricated the story. Ammianus is the sole and thus vital source for this period, and being a contemporary commentator his accounts carry much weight. Todd, however, has reservations about the impeccability of Ammianus' credentials:

> When we come to assess Theodosius' success in Britain, we are bound to take into account one important fact relating to our source for the period. Ammianus wrote his history in the reign of the son of this man and it is no coincidence that of all the public men of the period the elder Theodosius is the only one to enjoy the historian's unstinted praise, even to the extent of being classed with Pompey, Camillus and Corbulo. Although Theodosius certainly was an able general, one may doubt whether he can take his place in such company; there is some evidence from his conduct of earlier campaigns in Africa that his strategic sense was less than sound and that his discipline was exceptionally fierce. Unfortunately, Ammianus gives only a brief account of the British campaigns of 367-8 which is dominated by the figure of the general, with the conduct of affairs related in the sketchiest way.
>
> (1981:232)

It is a reasonable inference that Ammianus probably exaggerated the disorder confronting the general Theodosius in order to enhance the supposed military prowess of the man. The widespread severe damage reported by the historian may also have been exaggerated,

so that Theodosius would be seen as a hero of restoration:

> Theodosius thus appears in the pages of Ammianus as both soldier and saviour, the man who built as well as the man who conquered.
>
> (*ibid*:233)

5.5.8 A Picts' War? The Archaeological Evidence

It is necessary to enter into a substantial discussion of the archaeological evidence for the Picts' War here. The irrelevance of this 'War' to villa studies must be made explicit, particularly in light of Branigan's persistent yet influential publications to the contrary.

The two pieces of evidence frequently cited as examples of Picts' War victims are a group of West Country villas (e.g. Salway 1981:379; Todd 1981:233; Branigan 1976:136-9). John Gillam always advised caution with regard to the forts. The rebuilding at Birdoswald at about this time is modification, not damage repair. There was no destruction evidence at Birdoswald. Only two forts display evidence of probable *destruction* at about this time, and these are not Hadrian's Wall forts, but the forts at Bewcastle and Ravenglass. How can such small scale destruction be tied in with Ammianus' claim of a serious attack from the north of the province and the assaults on two senior officers of the province? Perhaps the attack did happen but in a more muted form than Ammianus claims, one possibility being that

Hadrian's Wall was outflanked by sea attacks. The trouble may thus have been concentrated in the north-west of England.

The other piece of evidence, the villas of the West Country, returns us to the case of Brislington and its neighbours. The evidence of destruction from the actual main house at Brislington is that the mosaics in Rooms 1 and 2 both showed traces of having been subjected to fire. There are obviously many explanations for this damage but Branigan favours the Picts' War interpretation in the light of the combined evidence from King's Weston (AV20), Keynsham (AV46) and Brislington (1972:82). Clearly, if the case for King's Weston and Keynsham being victims of the Picts' War can be lessened, the context into which Brislington is fitted by Branigan is severely discredited. The point made by Frere and reiterated by Salway is relevant here:

> ...a word of warning must be sounded. Professor Frere rightly put us on our guard against automatically assigning to the war of 367 any signs of destruction or rebuilding we may find on later fourth-century sites in Britain. This needed saying when Professor Frere first said it in 1967 and still needs repeating now.
>
> (Salway 1981:380)

The King's Weston villa had the west wing of the house burnt down, and *possibly* its portico partly destroyed, 'some time after A.D. 335' (Branigan 1977a:94-5). This gives a *terminus post quem*, and one quite different

chronologically from A.D. 367. A *terminus ante quem* of sorts is represented by two coins of Valentinian (A.D. 364-375) which were found in 'reoccupation deposits' in the east wing. The coins could of course have been deposited many years after 375, and thus the damage to the west wing could have occurred at any time between *circa* 335 and *circa* 385.

At Keynsham the great room (J) was fired and the wall collapsed over debris. Among the wall collapse was the skeleton of an adult. Other rooms in the villa, and particularly the corridor (R) outside room J, have thick deposits of black soil in them which Branigan believes 'might be destruction material' (1977a:95). The presence of black soil as simply a build-up of top soil has been noted, however, from many late Roman sites (e.g. Reece 1980a:83). Even if this black soil does represent fire destruction, which is doubtful, the date of the destruction of the great room (J) is uncertain. The latest coins from the site are three of Valentinian I (A.D. 364-375), but it cannot be established whether these coins reached the site before or after the fire. The pottery from this site was almost entirely discarded, and thus cannot be used to date the length of the occupation of the site. This is unfortunate, as one often finds that whereas the coin series of a villa stops, the pottery indicates that occupation continued to the end of the fourth century, as at the villa at

Llantwit Major (GL5) where the latest coins are of A.D. 341-6 (Nash-Williams 1953:89-163). Webster applies a traditional, but surely bizarre, interpretation to this site:

> The coin using people, that is those who lived in the house, departed some time after circa A.D. 350, but the farm continued in use, with the servants and workers occupying the basilican house as they had previously done.
>
> (1969:243)

The latest coins of the Bignor villa (WS11) are of A.D. 335-41; the pottery goes on for longer (Frere 1982:175-6, 185-92). The reason for this is surely that fewer villas were receiving supplies of coins in the second half of the fourth century for economic reasons, and has nothing to do with the departure of a 'coin-using class'; the implication that the occupants of the 'basilican house' at Llantwit Major were unable to use coins is clearly unsatisfactory.

It is thus possible to lessen the case for King's Weston and Keynsham being victims of a Picts' War of A.D. 367, which dismantles the context into which Branigan wishes to fit the Brislington villa. If we look at the evidence from Brislington on its own merits, an interesting picture emerges. What is immediately striking about the cattle bone deposits from the well is that these bones do not represent complete skeletons. About a dozen cattle are represented by skulls and long bones, which suggests that these bones had been specially

selected for deposition in the well. Branigan believes that the bones represent the remains of 'livestock slaughtered by the raiders' (1972:84) but it is difficult to see why raiders, or reoccupying villa inhabitants, would select certain of the remains and then proceed to dispose of them by tipping them into the nearby well. That middens existed is well-attested by the evidence from manuring practices (e.g. Gaffney and Tingle 1985:71) and this would surely be the practical, functional place for biodegradable items. That these deposits went down the well suggests that non-rational behaviour was occurring. In addition, the selection of skulls and long bones is strongly reminiscent of Iron Age ritual practice.

The human bone deposits from the well also do not represent complete skeletons. There are not enough bones for skulls. One of these skulls in itself was incomplete. Also of interest is that on the ground near the well the excavators found a lower human jaw bone (Barker 1901:32). Given that the excavation took place in 1899, it is likely that standards would not have been especially high; the 'state of the art' was that people looked for what they expected to find. The piece of human jaw bone may have been a deliberate deposit rather than a casual loss. The skeletal remains from the well must represent the remains of bodies from which the flesh had rotted away, either because the bodies had been

exposed until the flesh rotted, or because the remains had been exhumed from graves in the vicinity. This behaviour is well known from the Iron Age, though it is perhaps going too far to suggest that it was present here.

The material which occurs in the same level with the skeletal remains is interesting in that it includes the fine set of pewter tableware. There is thus an established ritual motive for the deposition of the parts of skeletons, the animal bones, and most of the artefacts found inside the well. It is possible that the other artefacts from the deposits, namely tesserae and building stone, were deposited as part of the same ritual structure which led to the deposition of parts of skeletons and parts of - or broken - vessels. The tesserae are part of a mosaic and the debris part of a building. While this idea may seem far-fetched it should be remembered that the contents of many Romano-British ritual pits include building debris. A pit inside temple 9 at Colchester, mentioned earlier, included painted wall plaster among its contents, and at Lullingstone the major part of the skeleton of a dog was buried under the floor of the granary, accompanied by a small quantity of carbonised grain and a large fragment of tile. We might also remind ourselves of the pit at Dorchester which contained amongst other things thirty entire jawbones of Bos Longifrons and twelve large burnt stones, and the

well (feature 832) at Barton Court Farm which contained a great deal of ironwork and 'a deliberate dump of stone, animal bones, and well preserved vegetable matter' (Miles 1986:15). At Engleton (ST2) the excavators found a very large and unusual pit slightly to the south of the main entrance to the villa house. At the bottom of the pit was the drum of a debased pillar (Ashcroft 1938:271). Many pits were discovered at Cobham Park (KE93). Pit 1 in the corridor of the main house, had chalk chumps and tegulae at the bottom. Elsewhere in the house were pit 2, with chalk at the bottom, pit 3, with animal bones and 'rubbish', pit 4, which was 'clean', and pit 5 which contained chalk. The well here contained artefacts found in so many other wells: 'animal bones', complete pots, sherds, building debris and clay (Tester 1961:91-93). During excavation of the period 1 villa at Faversham (KE33), pits containing pieces of building debris were found, as was a complete pot, set into the floor of a room (Philp 1968:67).

The main argument against the ritual interpretation of the well deposits at Brislington is that such Celtic rites could not have survived so far into the Roman period, and on a villa. However, it is at least equally difficult to account for reoccupying villa inhabitants throwing parts of rotted corpses down a well about 4 metres from the bath suite; these are strange actions indeed if one is trying to give them practical motives.

A ritual motive would make such behaviour more explicable. Archaeological evidence, even of the Roman period cannot always be explained by functionalism alone. Whichever interpretation one adopts, however, it is difficult to understand why the villa inhabitants would choose deliberately to contaminate their water supply by hurling bones and debris down their well. The answer may be that Brislington, like Barton Court Farm, actually had two wells, one of which is yet to be located and which was used for utilitarian processes. An alternative water source must surely have existed in the second half of the fourth century. It must be stressed that the Brislington well may have started life as a utilitarian well, perhaps only receiving votive deposits in the fourth century. This change of function may have come about because the well had become dry or the water had 'soured' for other reasons.

5.5.9 Fire Hazards on Villas

It is also difficult to believe that an attack on the Brislington villa actually happened. That two of the rooms showed evidence of fire damage at some time in the fourth century is not unusual given that many villas burnt down, some more than once. Presumably hypocausts were quite a fire hazard. The villa house at Norton Disney (LI123) burnt down five times from circa A.D. 70, and its aisled farmhouse was destroyed by fire twice (Oswald 1937:138-78). At Great Weldon (NH110) the barn

was twice burnt down in the fourth century, and the main house burnt down circa 200 (David Smith pers. comm.). Other sites which show evidence of burning at some time during their history include that at Brighton (EA4) which suffered a fire in the late third century and Cherry Hinton (CA17) burnt probably in the second century (Morris 1979:130). Villas do then display a certain propensity for burning down (and at times other than *circa* 367!). This is hardly surprising if villas were half-timbered and regularly fired stoke-holes for heated rooms and baths. The fire risk is real and we need not produce invaders to account for a villas fire damage.

5.6 THE LULLINSTONE 'TANNAGE' PIT

Another feature from a well known villa which merits reconsideration is the 'tannage pit' from Lullingstone. This pit was carefully dug into the natural chalk to a depth of 1.37 metres, and was about 1.52 metres square, with vertical sides. The bottom was flat and curved slightly up to the bases of the sides (Meates 1979:106). The square sides of this pit are reminiscent of the ritual well in the *nymphaeum*, devoted to a water cult. This 'tanning pit' has some unusual features:

> Before final preparation of the pit for tannage, a small amount of rubbish and silt collected in it.
>
> (*ibid*)

The occupants of the villa were indeed careless enough to have dropped into this proto-tanning pit such

items as the complete skull of a lamb and broken pottery including the neck and handle of a globular *amphora* of second century date. Castor and Rhenish sherds were also present, with Antonine pie-dish rims, the rim and side of a coarse folded beaker and some typical late second century cooking-pot rims. Oddly, 'this deposit was not cleared out when the pit was prepared for tannage' (106-7). During excavation the pit yielded a lining of a 'moss-green' substance, interpreted by the excavator as the deflocculated clay lining added to the pit to make it watertight. He also found a large sheet of leather spread over the bottom, stretching across most of the northern portion, and a large number of leather sandals were pressed into the clay, most of them firmly placed round the sides, the uppermost still retaining their vertical position. Traces of wickerwork were also observed. The excavator interpreted the abundant leather on the bottom and sides of the pit as having been aids 'to promote the tanning process', but does not explain why the leather chosen should comprise thirty-four shoes and a large leather apron. The pit also contained large quantities of seeds, pips, fruit stones and stalks, representing species including the sloe, the bird-cherry and the cherry-plum. Again Meates sees these deposits as helping to promote the tanning process by producing a 'vegetable liquor' of 'acidic juices' which tanned the leather, although tree bark is the usual traditional

tanning agent. His interpretation, however, seems quite indifferent to his own stated observation that:

> During the course of its use, this upper part of the pit became contaminated by a few animal bones, including the complete skeleton of a sucking-pig, a typical late second-century cooking-pot with a graffito SAS upon it, a fine Rhenish-ware vessel, with fragments of Castor Hunt-cup, and other sherds of late second-century cooking pots. It will be seen that little difference exists between the pottery in this higher level above the sandals and clay, and that sealed beneath them in the bottom of the pit. It seems clear that both deposits are contemporary in date which suggests that little time elapsed between the original digging of the pit and its use for tannage.
>
> (*ibid*:107)

The pig is presumed to have fallen in by accident. How the skull of a lamb managed to fall into the pit is not discussed, neither is it explained why the 'tannage pit' was seemingly used as a dustbin on odd occasions. The pit is a most peculiar entity, and could quite easily be explained as a votive pit for at least the earliest part of its existence. The presence of so many leather shoes, complete with iron studs, toe-caps and heel tips reminds us of the leather sandals found in the well at Barton Court Farm, and at Denton and Rockbourne villas. These deposits may relate in some way to the Romano-Celtic practice of hob-nail boot burials at sites such as Bradley Hill (SO55), Catsgore (SO54) and Avebury (WZ17) (e.g. Salway 1982: 704-5), a burial rite which was a feature in the south, west and in the Midlands in the fourth century.

The pit at Lullingstone was eventually filled up with clay and flint (Meates 1979:107).

The 'tannery' does not seem to have continued in use for long, and some short time after A.D. 200, the complex of 'tannage pit', soaking pit and oven was made up to a higher level with raw clay and chalk blocks to provide some further construction, though the purpose of this work is obscure (*ibid*:108).

Another sub-rectangular pit was associated with the tannery area. The sides originally were vertical. The pit was situated 1.06 metres outside a doorway in the wall of the back corridor of the house at its northern end, and had originally been cut down to a depth of 1.37 metres. In the early fourth century the end of the corridor by the pit seems to change its character, perhaps becoming a kitchen, and the pit was altered. The sides and the bottom were now lined with clay and it was altered to a circular shape. The clay lining thickened as it approached the bottom and overlay the bottom to a thickness of 0.3 metres. In the clay on the side nearest the house was 'a coin of the house of Constantine' (down to A.D. 361). The most significant finds came from the clay on the south and south-west sides of the pit. These were the fragmented skeletons of two ducks lying nearest and parallel with the original wall of the pit, and over them, still packed in the clay, two geese. Both geese lay with their wings extended, the lower one facing

south, the upper one facing north. These birds were deposited in an extended position, as if in flight, when the clay lining was inserted. The uppermost of the two geese was in a state of such excellent preservation that the fibrous rings of its gullet still survived, and Meates was able to claim the find as the most complete example of a goose that has survived in Britain from the fourth century. The dating of the deposit of these birds is taken from the coin of the House of Constantine, and also from associated pottery sherds. Meates fancied this deposit as clear evidence of a pagan ritual cult which demanded the burial of these birds with their wings extended within the new lining of an older pit. The birds were clearly deposited whole. 'It will be remembered that in Roman times the goose possessed a certain aura of pagan religiosity' (*ibid*:109). The pit was allowed to silt up rapidly, and the higher level contained building debris. The pit also yielded, from the bottom, two large fragments of large querns (*ibid*:110).

5.7 SUMMARY

It is clear that more material from villas should be included in Ross' sample, and that excavators should be careful not to classify special animal burials as 'rubbish pits'. There is a great deal of material from villas which waits to be interpreted as the by-product of the non-random human behaviour that it surely is.

Neither is this behaviour culturally intrusive. It belongs to the Celtic tradition, and Macdonald's premise that Celtic beliefs did not prevail in the villas of Britain is no longer tenable.

CHAPTER SIX

INFANT BURIALS ON ROMANO-BRITISH VILLAS

6.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The evidence afforded by infant burials reveals the continuation of Iron Age burial practices into the Roman period. Many of the 'special' infant burials (those not in cemeteries) are from villas, where there seems to have been an apparent growth in the popularity of such interments in the fourth century. The evidence from sites of the Roman period, including villas, it points to the possibility of infanticide and to the use of infants' corpses in ritual contexts.

6.2 ARCHAEOLOGISTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EVIDENCE OF INFANT BURIALS

6.2.1 The Kingsdown Camp Settlement

An early and brief review of groups of infant burials in Roman Britain was presented by Gray (1930:93-5). During the excavations of Kingsdown Camp, an enclosed 'industrial' settlement of the Iron Age and Roman periods, the excavators were struck by the discovery of several very young infants buried in the feature known as the 'Inner Ditch'. Ten infant burials in all were found, five in a group on the east side of the 'camp', one at the northern end, and the remaining four, with a possible infant cremation, were spread quite evenly along the southern boundary of the site. Three of

the infant skeletons were scientifically examined; two were neonatal and the other was estimated to be four months old. The exact provenances of these infants are revealing. Infant M1, from the northern tip of the site, was found, as they all were, in the Inner Ditch; the bones lay on a ledge of solid rock and under a projecting stone of the Roman period wall. The body was in a crouched position on its right side, face and knees almost touching the wall. Infants M9 to M13 comprised a group of five burials on the eastern side of the site. They were closely spaced, the two burials furthest away from each other being only about 4 metres apart. The infant burials at the south side of the site contained one (M8) which lay in the silting of the Inner Ditch and close to the inner face of the Roman wall, which was built over the silting in this area. The body was lying beneath a slab of stone. A Roman date is thus indicated for these burials. Burial M5, also at the south end, was very similar. The skeleton was found close to the inner face of the stone wall, lying under a flat stone. Gray instigated the usual compassionate action of the day and commented on it in the excavation report:

> With three exceptions all the infants' skeletons were reburied by us.
>
> (*ibid*:94)

This raises the stimulating question of excavators' attitudes toward this category of evidence, and how such attitudes shape their interpretations.

6.2.2 Hambleden Villa

A striking example of an interpretation of infant burials being biased and subjective as a result of vestigial Victorian patriarchal social attitudes is presented in the excavation report of the villa at Hambleden (BU33), published in 1921:

> A remarkable feature of this excavation was that the ground, roughly speaking throughout the northern half, was littered with babies. They number 97 and most of them are newly born, but an occasional one is rather older. A few of them were laid at length, but the majority were evidently carried and buried wrapped in a cloth or garment, huddled in a little bundle, so that the head was almost central, and the knees above it; usually, therefore, the whole of the scanty remains came away in one spit. As nothing marked the position of these tiny graves, a second little corpse was sometimes deposited on one already in occupation of a spot, *apparently showing that these interments took place secretly, after dark.*
>
> (my emphasis) (Cocks 1921:150)

In 1983 Johnston concurred with this view, describing the burials as being

> the surreptitious evidence of unofficial births on the villa
>
> (Johnston 1983:11)

(N.B. *Chambers Everyday Dictionary* gives the definition of 'surreptitious' as: 'done by stealth or fraud; that which is secretly enjoyed'.)

6.2.3 Patriarchal Victorian and Edwardian Attitudes Toward Infant Death

Clearly the implication of the comments of both Cocks and Johnston is that these babies were the illegitimate results of concealed pregnancies, presumably of servants or slaves, and that the social proprieties of the villa were such that secret infanticides were the preferred course of action taken by these women. Cocks grew up in the nineteenth century, when both illegitimacy and infanticide were regarded as (associated) enormous social problems. The century saw a great economic and sexual exploitation of women and a very high rate of infanticide. The motives that could impel a woman to dispose of an unwanted infant, and indeed the reasons why an infant is regarded as 'unwanted' in the first place, should be appreciated against the setting of women's economic and social position in society. In the Victorian era, women were economically and sexually vulnerable for a number of reasons. Women's economic vulnerability was compounded by their extraordinarily poor prospects of marriage. Women were in surplus by some 5 per cent, and men had developed a preference for late marriage or permanent bachelorhood. In consequence, some 30 per cent of Victorian women would remain unmarried (Rose 1986:17). Unfortunately for these women, the prevailing assumption about women's earnings was that they were only supplemental to the male breadwinners'

earnings and should be justifiably depressed; this presumption held true even if the woman was single or widowed and unsupported. A woman with dependent children was in a desperate situation if she had no one to support her but herself. It was felt that a woman's place was in the home and that in the world of work women must not be allowed to compete with men. Working women were predominantly single or widowed (*ibid*:15). Over a quarter of all employed women were in domestic service alone, and other women's employment included agricultural and factory work. Victorian society expected conduct of high moral standards from its women. Servants were particularly vulnerable if they became pregnant, as it would mean instant dismissal without references, and for this reason they figure so prominently in the story of Victorian infanticide. It was inevitable that servants should appear frequently as unmarried mothers, as they formed the largest female occupational group. However, although the 1911 Census showed that servants were responsible for 46 per cent of all illegitimate births, an analysis of all working women showed that servants' rate of illegitimacy was by no means the highest. The highest rates of illegitimacy were among charwomen and agricultural workers (*ibid*:19). . However, rural districts had much less of an infanticide problem than did urban districts and this was partly because no great shame was

attached to premarital pregancy in many rural districts (*ibid*:7, 19).

One especially infamous case of rural 'immorality' does demonstrate, however, that infanticide could also be rife in the countryside in Victorian times. Along the east side of Britain, from the Humber down to East Anglia, the ganging system of farming - whereby a contractor would hire gangs of labourers to farmers for seasonal tasks - was commonly used. The infant mortality rate amongst gang workers was nearly twice the typical rural death rate, and infanticide was known to be a factor. Promiscuity among these impoverished gang workers was common, and there was an exceptionally high illegitimacy rate. The root source of rural promiscuity was cottage overcrowding; where family privacy was unknown, physical and sexual restraints were broken down when women were still young. Dr. Julian Hunter investigated for the Privy Council in 1864, and reported that the female workers showed little concern for the deaths of their infants, especially the illegitimate ones. Local doctors told him of many cases of infanticide (*ibid*:10).

In Victorian Britain, infanticide was in effect an accepted practice; even though it was technically a criminal act, the chances of a mother going on trial for the murder of her child were very remote (*ibid*:77). It became accepted practice amongst the poor out of economic

necessity, and amongst domestic servants out of social necessity. Servants were usually single and therefore they would be bearing illegitimate babies, and illegitimacy was anathema to Victorian polite society. Many female servants were sexually exploited by their employers, and,

> Since such exploitation was accepted practice, infanticide was most often the only practical alternative for these women. In the contemporary view of society infanticide was preferable to holding the higher class male partners responsible.
>
> (Williamson 1978:69)

The Victorians and later the Edwardians tended to see the problem of infanticide rightly in terms of illegitimacy, but wrongly in terms of 'lapsed' working-class girls of low moral character. Poverty was not considered to be a prime cause, except by a few enlightened reformers. Indeed when Thomas Coram established a Foundling Hospital where desperate unmarried mothers could deposit their babies he faced a barrage of vituperative prejudice from people who thought that the very existence of such places would actually encourage sexual irresponsibility and increase the problems of unwanted births (Rose 1986:2). It was almost universally believed - conveniently - by the middle classes that unwanted births were a result of the stupidity and immorality of young, working-class women. The fact that many young women of the higher classes also 'lapsed' was obscured by the fact that they

registered at 'Laying-In' and Foundling Hospitals as 'servants' to hide their backgrounds (*ibid*:19-21). Therefore the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries produced a situation whereby the population was encouraged to believe that 'lapsed' women and infanticide were exclusively problems of the servant and labouring classes.

Excavators like Cocks (and later, Johnston) were, not unusually, influenced by their social past and, to some extent, their present: for example, the appalling 'baby-farms' for the unwanted infants of 'lapsed' women were not outlawed until 1939 (*ibid*:186). Cocks will have grown up in a social environment which was rife with social hypocrisy. The prevailing Christian ethic of the sanctity of life was subsumed by the ethic of the sanctity of marriage. A great social stigma attached to illegitimacy as a result of uniquely Victorian religious and social (and some would say political) attitudes, but it is unlikely that the same aversion to unplanned pregnancies would have existed on Romano-British villas. *The prevalence of illegitimacy in Victorian Britain was causally linked with particular social factors of the period, such as acute urban working-class poverty. It is difficult to argue for the extension of 'cottage overcrowding' onto villas, given the large numbers of buildings known from many 'ordinary' sites such as Tarrant Hinton (DO29) (fig. 76), Sparsholt (HA93) (fig.

16) and Winterton (HU16) (fig. 17). We know so little about British society in the Roman period that we do not even know if the concept of illegitimacy meant anything. However, it is not difficult to see how Cocks' immediate social past and social background coloured his interpretation of the Hambleden baby cemetery. The society he had grown up in regarded infanticide as a criminal act, practised by girls of the domestic and labouring classes acting stealthily, usually because they were unmarried. Cocks envisages the interments of the 97 Hambleden babies taking place 'secretly, after dark', implying that the women were disposing of unwanted babies in a manner necessitated by the illegality or social unacceptability of both the births and the infanticides. It must not be assumed that either 'illegitimacy' or infanticide brought ignominy to women in British society in the Roman period. One cannot simply transpose the attitudes of post-Industrial Revolution Victorian England back to Roman Britain. Neither can one transpose the motives of women. Although women *may* have practised infanticide on villas, it was likely to have been for entirely different reasons. Frere has argued that

> the discovery of the skeletons of ninety seven new-born babies in the yard of the villa at Hambleden, Buckinghamshire, suggests the exposure of the unwanted female offspring of a slave-run establishment.
>
> (1978:303-4)

It has been pointed out, however, that if one breeds slaves as commodities one does not 'kill them off' (Jeremy Johns, pers. comm.). More importantly though, if Hambleden was a 'slave-run establishment' one would not expect the apparently high infant mortality rate to be duplicated on 'native settlement' sites such as Old Wintertingham in Humberside and Baldock in Hertfordshire. Unfortunately for Frere's argument against its expectations, this is what one does find. Fig. 80 and the discussion below demonstrate this.

6.3 SOME FURTHER CONTEXTS OF INFANT BURIALS IN ROMAN BRITAIN

6.3.1 Settlements

It may be more productive to fit the Hambleden evidence into an archaeological context comprising other examples of baby burials in Roman Britain and various ethnographic parallels of relevant interest. In the pre-Roman Iron Age (Chapter Two) it appears that infanticide was frequently practised and that the corpses of these infants were placed in votive contexts. It would seem to have been socially acceptable. The evidence for high numbers of infant interments compared with adult interments on Romano-British sites is also plentiful. Pitt-Rivers gives a table showing the number of and locality of bones of infants found in the Romano-British settlement at Rotherley. There were twenty-nine items. He adds,

> It would not be safe to say that this points to infanticide, but the fact of their being new-born is worthy of notice.

Pitt-Rivers' astute observation that infanticide may have been practised in Roman Britain is an early one and it is gratifying to note that this eminent archaeologist makes no value judgements regarding the social circumstances of these new-born infants. (1892:59,199, 208; Gray 1930:94).

During the excavation of the Romano-British settlement at Woodcuts, 22 skeletons of children were found buried in pits and elsewhere. The majority of them were of new-born children, but three found in a pit were foetuses. Only two of the infants were in the region of a year old (Gray 1930:95). The fact that so many of these new-born infants were found in pits suggests that these babies at least were deliberately placed in their provenances and that the burials were neither hurried nor taking place 'secretly', 'after dark'.

6.3.2 Winchester Town

An interesting find of an interment of an infant from below the rampart at the Roman town of Winchester (Grew 1981:363) also suggests that males may have been involved in the deposition of infant bodies. Although it is difficult to assign 'maleness' or 'femaleness' to certain earthworks, it could certainly be argued that the fact that some infant remains were deposited beneath ramparts, at the bottom of ditches, at the bottom of pits and built into the wall foundations in both the Iron Age

and Roman periods of Britain indicates that women were not necessarily sole and secret participants in such behaviour. It is possible that men, whether by consent or direct action, are likely to have had a part in such practices. The infant at Winchester was sealed below an early third century rampart, and may have been a foundation deposit, although the context is not fully clear.

6.3.3 Forts

The contexts of other infant burials are, however, better understood. At the Roman fort of Malton up to 31 skeletons of new-born infants were found, sometimes buried in lime, but more often merely laid in the floor. The infants were found in the floors of the soldiers' living quarters and also in the floors of one of the guard-rooms.

> Add to this the two infant burials recorded in the eastern interval tower of the south rampart at Chesters, and I suggest that we are not dealing with lax discipline, but the normal Roman custom of disposing of unwanted infants, in this case born to families of *limitanei* living inside the chalets of the fourth century forts of the north
>
> (Daniels 1980:189)

These infant burials are often taken as evidence for the existence of married quarters within the late forts of northern England, but this does not presuppose that women had total control over the disposal of unwanted infants. It is extremely likely that the partners of these women

would be *au fait* with the women's actions. There is no need to imply unmarried 'lapsed' serving girls or female slaves stuffing illicit babies under the floorboards in a furtive fashion. It is also important to be aware that women who buried their new-born infants, whether still-born, sickly or unwanted for other reasons, did not bury them in the floors of the fort because they couldn't be bothered walking any further; they interred these babies in the floors for special reasons based on old practices rather than casual attitudes. In the future it will be interesting to see if comparable evidence is discovered in the vici.

6.3.4 Temples

That infant burials *were* attributed dedicatory value in the Roman period is clear from the evidence of Romano-Celtic temples. The crouched skeletons of four infants carefully laid in *each* of the interval corners of Temple IV at Springhead in Kent demonstrate the survival of this votive principal into the second century A.D. (Penn 1960:121-7; Whimster 1981:180). A temple of Roman date overlay an Iron Age one at Maiden Castle in Dorset, and this Romano-Celtic temple had an infant burial just outside the door (Laing 1979:119-21). At Frilford in Berkshire a Romano-Celtic temple again overlay an Iron Age shrine; nearby a second Romano-Celtic temple overlay a circular enclosure delimited by timber posts, in which were two child burials of uncertain date (*ibid*:122).

6.4 INFANT BURIALS ON VILLAS

6.4.1 Dedications?

That the infant votive principle was also practised on villas, and up until the fourth century A.D., is evident by the discoveries at a number of villas. At Bledlow-cum-Saunderton (BU5), a villa close by a church, three new-born infants were buried very close to the house walls when the house was built in the late first century. Nearby at Chenies (BU17), an infant burial found amidst a hypocaust, sherds and roof tiles may be of a similar nature. Room 5 of the main house at Sparsholt villa (HA93) (fig. 81) is particularly interesting. This room was chalk floored and contained many carbonised grain remains; one corner concealed a pit, covered with slabs and containing the body of an infant. The excavator notes: 'a dedication?' (Johnston 1972:7). A further infant burial on this site may be another dedicatory deposit. It was found beneath the south wall of the 'Hall', a building later than the main house, but also of the fourth century (fig. 13). Because the burial appeared to be partly disturbed, the excavator believed that

> One may assume that the burial was originally in open ground, well away from the villa.

However, an open ground burial could have been disturbed by the wall which was built over it, and given that there is an almost certain dedicatory deposit known from the

main house, this latter possibility cannot be excluded. As with the Iron Age evidence, however, although each instance can be explained away in non-ritual terms, the number of these deposits and the recurring patterns of animals and infant deposits suggest dedicatory burials.

At Gadebridge (HT24), against the eastern wall of the kitchen (Building C) were the remains of an infant burial. Unfortunately the bones were in too poor a state of preservation for analysis (Neal 1974:38). However, it was apparent that the infant was new-born (*ibid*:93).

6.4.2 The Question of Female Infanticide

The human remains from Winterton consisted of six adult skeletons and possibly twenty-six infants. The infant remains were of varying quantities of complete bones or fragments. It is worthy of note that the human remains from the nearby settlement of Old Winteringham consisted of four adults, and possibly twenty-two infants, the infants again being of varying quantities of complete bones or fragments (Denston 1976:290). That a villa and a native settlement of contemporary date and similar natural environment should produce such comparable human skeletal material argues away from villas being 'special', with a different type of workforce from 'native settlements'.

At Baldock, Hertfordshire there have been recent, extensive excavations. Here the adult burials numbered 17, the infant burials 43 (Stead and Rigby 1986:390-393).

It was only possible to sex nine of the adults, and it may be significant that only three were probably female whereas six were probably male (*ibid*:391). Nearly all the infant remains could be grouped into a class which might be generally described as 'one of perinatal mortality' (*ibid*:394). At Catsgore (SO54) (fig. 82) the burial data comprised three adults, two teenage girls, one child of six to twelve years and over 20 infants (Everton 1982a:147). Although it must be remembered that when studying bones from archaeological sites *one can never be certain that the assemblage found is a true sample of the target population*, the fact that large numbers of new-born infants are known from a variety of settlement sites in Roman Britain is possibly significant. At Bradley Hill (SO55) (fig. 83) burials were associated with the buildings. Ten were adult males, ten adult females, one a female child and 34 were infants (Leech 1981:195). Sixty-seven per cent of those born died before the age of four. At least fourteen died in the neo-natal period. Thus a child born in this community initially had the bleak prospect of less than a one-in-three chance of survival (*ibid*:195-6). For most of these infants the cause of death was uncertain, but it is notable that more female than male infants were represented (*ibid*:197, 231). This would support the idea that infanticide was practised to some extent. It was noted above that if female infanticide was indeed

practised in a society then an imbalanced sex ratio in favour of males would develop. Although this does not appear at Bradley Hill, in other published groups of Romano-British burials males predominate over females (*ibid*:197, 226).

> This is true of both urban cemeteries such as Trentholme Drive, York and Cirencester and rural groups such as Cranbourne Chase, Frilford and Maiden Castle. Although at York the disparity between the sexes can be partly explained by a high number of serving or retired soldiers, elsewhere it is perplexing.
>
> (*ibid*:197)

At Rudston (RU11), for example, the excavators uncovered the skeletons of six adults, one juvenile and nineteen infants (Stead 1980:146). These burials obviously do not represent the total dead of a site occupied for at least three hundred years, from circa A.D. 50 to A.D. 360, but if they constitute anywhere near a representative sample then they present an interesting demographic picture. Of course it could be argued that as Roman law forbade the burial of within city limits except in the case of infants under forty days old (Rivet 1964:90), the burial data may become distorted. However, as Rivet also rightly observes, 'the law was not always strictly observed in outlying provinces', and the fact that at *least some* juvenile and adult burials *are* found within the environs of villas does show that in some cases the law (even if it did apply to villas and other rural settlements in the same way it applied to towns and

cities), was ignored. When the adult skeletons from Rudston were examined, four were found to be male and two probably female. The females had died between the ages of 17 and 25; the males died at considerably advanced ages (35-45, 30-35, 30-40, 25-30), which conforms with the Bradley Hill data (Stead 1980:146; Leech 1981;197). The infant skeletons from Rudston, as elsewhere, could not be sexed.

6.4.3 'Special' Infant Burials

The evidence from Barton Court Farm (OX42) demonstrates that six of the 47 known infant burials were specifically and deliberately diverted from being buried in the infant cemetery where most of the infants were placed; one was placed under the floor of Room 2 of the villa house, another in Building 2, and four were in ditches (Miles 1986:34). No burials at all of older members of the community were found, so these presumably lie elsewhere (*ibid*:35). The infant cemetery was immediately to the east of the 'corn-drier', in the extreme south-east corner of the 'paddock system'. A great number of infant burials were concentrated here, although as previously mentioned a few infant burials were buried elsewhere in the Roman period. This is also true of the Iron Age (*ibid*:15). Three infant burials from the cemetery were accompanied by animal skulls. Two of the skulls were of dogs, and the other was of a sheep. These three infants were probably aged between a few

months and nine months old, unlike the others which were new-born, and this may explain why the slightly older babies were buried in this way (*ibid*:16). Such animal-infant burials are not uniquely known from Barton Court Farm. They were also found at Star (SO52) (pp.).

The fact that infant cemeteries were known to, and used by, the inhabitants of Romano-British villas (e.g. Hambleden, Bradley Hill and Barton Court Farm), shows that babies were not buried under the floors of houses and in other 'unusual' locations because mothers simply couldn't think of anywhere else to put them. Intramural infant burials, as well as infant burials in ditches and pits etc., were deliberate and meaningful. They were also frequent on villa sites.

Winterton and the nearby settlement of Old Winteringham produced 'special' infant burials. The aisled farmhouse Building B from Winterton contained two internal infant burials, dating from its phase 2 (*circa* late third century to early fourth). One was found in the south-west corner of Room 8, the other in the north-east corner of Room 9. Rooms 8 and 9 are slightly unusual in that they are at the far end of the open area of this aisled building, away from the other rooms. The functions of Rooms 8 and 9 are unknown. They were identical in plan. Room 8 contained a simple hearth made of broken tiles (Stead 1976:31, 32, 36). It was noted in Chapter Five that this building also produced animal

burials. Seven infant burials were located in the aisled farmhouse Building D, which also yielded animal burials. Six of these infants came from the lower residential end where they had been buried against walls. The sixth was buried in the nave, immediately at the edge of feature H. This feature was a 'stone-lined channel-furnace', much damaged in Roman times (*ibid*:fig. facing page 40, 48). This building had a long life, from circa A.D. 165-350+ (*ibid*:49). A further infant burial was discovered in Building E, the bath house, below the pink concrete floor. It was close to the north wall of Room 3. This building may have been built circa A.D. 180, and lasted until circa 350. Two infant burials were found in the north-east corner of the surviving room of Building K, a short-lived Antonine structure (*ibid*:73-5). A very large stone from a ledge adjacent to the foundations had been deliberately removed during one of the burials, and had not been replaced.

At Rudston (HU11) 19 infant burials were examined, and all but one were neo-natal at death (Stead 1980:147-8). Three burials of infants were found in the gullies of the circular huts in the area called the East Site; another infant burial was in the vicinity. This area of occupation is believed to be of early, pre-villa house date (*ibid*:21, 22). Other features from the East Site included pits containing animal bones which were clearly not just rubbish pits, and 'might have been foundation-

or ritual-burials' (*ibid*:23). The other infant burials were contemporary with the existence of the Roman villa on the site. Three were located under Building 2; numbers B1 and B2 were placed immediately next to the east wall, and B3 was close to the north wall of the smallest room. This building was rebuilt as Building 1 - the bath house - and burials B1 and B2 therefore underlay the Venus Mosaic in Room 2 (*ibid*:4, 5, 147). Building 3 has been interpreted as a mosaicist's workshop. It was a rectangular 'barn-like' building which had at least 15 ovens on the floor, and piles of sorted tesserae against the west wall. Buried inside the building amidst these ovens were two infants, while three more were found outside, on the line of the earlier large ditch. Two adults had also been interred in this ditch (*ibid*:11, 147). The infants inside the building were not on the line of this ditch. In the area of Building 4 two infant burials were found in another large ditch, as was the crouched skeleton of a young woman (*ibid*:14, 146). Infant burial B12 was found outside Building 6, close to a ditch and to the flexed skeleton of a young adult male (*ibid*:16, 146). The remaining infants came from within Building 7, which also contained the cremated remains of a sheep in a pit. The only other features discovered in this room were an oven and the pile of tesserae (*ibid*:18, 19, 147, 155). Under this building some very slight curved gullies were located (*ibid*:19). The infant

burials, B13 and B14, seem to relate more to these than the later masonry building, and they do not lie close to the walls of the latter, but close to the gullies.

Catsgore also yielded many intra-mural infant burials. Building 3.2 contained four such burials, three of them next to the south wall. A further infant was buried in an annexe of the building, to the west, next to a hearth. Immediately to the west of this was another infant burial, just outside the building (Leech 1982:53, 54). One of the infant burials, feature F241 from near the middle of Room 1 of this building, was placed in a stone-lined pit, denoting that a careful burial rite for this baby had been followed. Similarly, infant burial F231 from the annexe room was in a stone-lined cist, and F210 outside the building (*possibly* under the eaves) was in a rectangular grave which was lined and packed with Lias slabs (*ibid*:55, 147). All the infants associated with this building were perinatal (*ibid*). Also inside the building was a stone-lined pit which contained parts of an articulated animal skeleton (*ibid*:55).

An infant also appears to have been buried under the eaves of Building 2.7/3.3. The burial, F564, was in a stone slab-lined cist (*ibid*:57). A similar burial was found otuside Building 3.4 (*ibid*:61). Two more infant inhumations, also in Lias slab-lined cists were uncovered close to Building 3.5. A child of about 13 years was also buried close to, and aligned with, the north wall of

this building. Building 3.5 is also notable, in that it contained a large 'corn-drier' with a horse skull near to it (*ibid*:64-66, 147). Just outside of the apsidal Building 3.13, another infant burial in a Lias slab-lined cist was found. A roofing slate had been reused to cover the grave. This burial was extended with hands over the pelvis. There were no coffin nails. The function of the building is unknown, but it contained a hearth and an annexe room contained a 'corn-drier' (*ibid*:68-9). Building 3.15 contained two infant burials, one foetal. Neither grave outlines were recognised (*ibid*:72, 147).

At Bradley Hill a homestead and cemetery developed in the fourth century. The adult cemetery lay very close to the masonry buildings, and the infants and children tended to be buried actually within one of these buildings. At least twenty young children and infants, many neo-natal, were buried under the floor of one of the buildings, and one burial was built into one of the walls. The excavator believes that these interments took place while the building was still in use, for a layer of occupation material lay over these graves (Leech 1981:181-92). The inhabitants of this site were probably inbred to a large extent (*ibid*:199). They practised the local rite of hob-nailed boot burial, as did the inhabitants of Catsgore (Leech 1981:199-201; 1982:64).

Of Catsgore, Leech notes that

> The absence of infant burials from the floors of most Period 1 and 2 buildings is possibly significant, for it may indicate that a different rite was followed before the fourth century.
>
> (1982:33)

6.5 THE PROLIFERATION OF INTRA-SITE INFANT BURIALS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

Intra settlement infant burials seem to appear on some sites for the first time in the fourth century, as at the forts of Malton and Chesters, the temple at Maiden Castle, and the villas at Sparsholt, Bradley Hill, Catsgore and Barton Court Farm. It has already been suggested that the reason for this is that before this time no family life was permitted in the forts, and that infant burials may well be discovered in the future in the vici. The Maiden Castle temple did not actually exist until the fourth century.

The case of the villas and other rural settlements is more perplexing. The northern villas at Winterton and Rudston have intra-mural infant burials dating from the early first century through to the fourth, but southern villas seem to produce this category of evidence only from their fourth century deposits. Elsewhere in the south, however, earlier infant burials are known from other types of site, such as the dedicatory burials from the Springhead temple. It may well be that this Celtic rite was kept extant on religious sites and on northern

villas, and reappeared in southern villas relatively late. It is difficult to say why this should be so.

The general upsurge of Romano-Celtic temples in the fourth century in Britain, often incorporating the re-use of hill forts, has long been recognised (Burrow 1979:212-29), especially in the south-west of England. One of these late hill fort temples, at Maiden Castle, even produced a dedicatory infant burial. It is possible that the fourth century saw a general revival of Celtic religion amongst the rural society of both north and south. It is also possible that what appears to be a revival is in fact a shift in behaviour which makes it more archaeologically visible; for example, what was previously an off-site activity may become an on-site activity. But why? The appearance of large, multi-purpose aisled farmhouses suggests a nucleation of villa farming activities and living arrangements in the third and fourth centuries, as does the use of enclosure walls and ditches. Activities which may traditionally have been carried out in the fields, such as threshing and storage of hay (on ricks) may have been moved into the heart of the villa settlement; and accompanying ritual activity may thus also have moved.

6.5.1 Celtic Ritual and Christianity

Somewhat paradoxically, this 'Celtic revival' occurred during and after the arrival of Christianity. It is perhaps possible that a symbiotic relationship

existed between Celtic ritual and Christianity in the latter's early days in Britain. Many traditional societies who have received Christian missionaries have been studied by anthropologists, and it is quite usual for them to equate the chief figures of the Christian story (Jesus, Mary, Joseph, etc.) with figures from their own local-religious traditions. The door of a Catholic church in Yoruba territory, Nigeria, is exquisitely carved with figures from Yoruba mythology which have been used to depict biblical scenes (Ember and Ember 1977:439). Such religious equation was commonplace throughout the history of Christianity. Christianity itself received the date of one of its greatest festivals, Christmas, from the Roman Saturnalia, which itself was at the same time of the year (and for the same reasons) as the Celtic winter solstice. An important piece of archaeological evidence for the possible intermingling of Celtic religion and Christianity comes from the Lullingstone (KE27) villa. From its earliest phases this villa possessed Celtic religious structures including a circular shrine, a Romano-Celtic temple-mausoleum and a 'deep room'. In addition the villa produced evidence for special animal deposits and ritual pits. The influence of Celtic religion on the practices of the inhabitants of Lullingstone is clear. In the fourth century Christianity came to Lullingstone. That it did so is evidenced by the wall paintings of a

Christian oratory or private chapel. The chapel was constructed immediately on top of the 'deep room'. This latter room was in use in the fourth century as a Celtic ritual room, the floor contained votive pots. Christian and Celtic religion were thus practised simultaneously on this site (Meates 1979:18). The excavator's interpretation of this situation was that the owner of the villa was a practising Christian, but his servants persisted in practising Celtic religion in the 'deep room'.

There are obvious problems with this theory. The fact that these two important pieces of socio-religious space were actually related in the same spatial dimension must be significant. A major connection between the two rooms is suggested. If provision was needed for a few servants, the other Celtic religious structures on the site would surely have sufficed. Why also should provision have been made for such revisionist servants in the main house? And beneath the new Christian chapel? There must surely have been an ideological connection between the Christian oratory and the Celtic 'deep room', even if the connection was not explicitly understood by the villa occupants at the time.

We do not know what form of Christianity was accepted by the Lullingstone inhabitants, nor whether they had access to such theological, interpretative works, such as the gospel of John and the letters of

Paul. The same applies to all Roman Britain's early Christians. We do know that the Lullingstone Christian wall paintings depict what appears to be a family group, reflecting that Christianity was open to all, unlike the mystery religions imported from the Roman world. In this respect Celtic and Christian religion were similar; they provided a religious structure which applied to the whole of society, not just to specialised sections of it. Roman pantheistic religion itself was not what we would call 'deeply religious'. Of course the Romans had a traditional religion, with a plethora of gods, rites and ceremonies, but some of the more articulate members of society regarded these with scepticism. Cicero's philosophical writings, including his dialogue *On the Nature of Gods*, sets out a number of arguments against the existence of gods (Lyttelton and Forman 1984:21). The Romans seem to have been much less preoccupied with the question of personal survival after death than have members of other religions (notably the Celtic and Christian religions). The precise nature and extent of a belief in a life after death in Roman religion is hard to assess. Certainly many educated Romans, like Pliny the Younger, did not believe in an afterlife.

> ...their aspirations and longings for immortality were limited to a hope for fame lasting beyond their deaths - a fame which Pliny hoped to gain as much from his writing as from his acts. Horace gives expression to a similar view in these famous lines about his

> poems - 'I have completed an imperishable memorial...I shall not wholly die'.
>
> (*Odes* III, 30, 1ff.)
>
> (*ibid*:104)

Some believed in ghosts which haunted the areas around their tombs. Cicero remarks that only old women believed the fable of the crossing of the River Styx by the dead. The growth of the mystery religions did not change this picture substantially; on the whole these religions appear to have been more concerned with benefits bestowed in this life than in the next (*ibid*).

Celtic religion, on the other hand, if we can believe Caesar, taught a strong belief in life after death. Of the Druids, he noted:

> A lesson they take particular pains to inculcate is that the soul does not perish, but after death passes from body to another; they think that this is the best incentive to bravery, because it teaches men to disregard the terrors of death.
>
> (Caesar, *The Conquest of Gaul*, given in Laing 1979:111)

The immediate appeal of Christianity to voluntary converts was undoubtedly the unequivocal promise of everlasting life, as exemplifed by the Resurrection. This belief, and the attendant Christian ritual such as the communion - the symbolic eating of flesh and drinking of blood - may have found a ready and willing audience in those of British Celtic origins, particularly if in the fourth century Celtic religion underwent a revival.

Indeed, the arrival of Christianity may have contributed to this revival. The nature of this revival was not insipid but rather appears to have been 'hard core'. Salway observes that

> There is good reason, in fact, to suspect a continuation (or re-importation) of the cult of the ritual shaft in Roman Britain...at Cambridge a site that had previously been occupied by a shrine, possibly going back to the Iron Age, produced nine shafts. In each shaft was the burial of a dog and one or more babies. These shafts date from the late third century or early fourth. The children were buried with shoes.
>
> (1982:691-2).

Salway continues that the shafts were meant to help the children on their way to the next world 'rather than the reverse purpose of their burial making the shafts sacred' (*ibid*:692). This view does tend to embrace the dominant ideology of our society that all behaviour should be directly accountable to some end, being concerned with functional values and 'means-end relationships' (Hodder 1982d:164). The deposition of the babies in the shafts need not function solely as a means of aiding the children pass 'into the next world'; they may *also* sanctify the shafts. Ritual does not result in 'either-or' situations. Whatever the overt reasons for the deposition of these babies, such deposition will nevertheless help to constitute the quality of the ritual meaning of shafts, in a non-discursive way perhaps, but still to an important degree.

One widely recognised characteristic of ritual is the emphasis on formal and repetitive behaviour. Rules may be clearly prescribed and handed down, associated with special events, and within each formal act there is often considerable repetition of messages and actions (*ibid*:167). It is this set of actions, this code, which gives meaning to the elite purveyors of ritual and to the very places where it occurs. The deposition of babies may be ostensibly for the babies' benefit, but ultimately many aspects of ritual are not so straightforward, and by 'assisting' objects and infants the elite purveyors of, and participants in, ritual actually 'assist' places and ultimately themselves. It is difficult to see how, whatever the ostensible reason for the deposition of infants in the Cambridge shafts, the shafts could not have accumulated more ritual value from the infant deposits.

> Much ritual may be intended to be ambiguous, to be interpreted differently by different people, to mean all things to all people.
>
> (*ibid*:171)

Christianity is a religion with a complex history and structure and the version of it which the individual or groups of individuals are presented is usually highly selective or condensed. The particular brand of Christianity which arrived in Britain and which was accepted by the elite few may have been of completely different character from that which became entrenched in

a later period. It may have been little more than another eastern cult, though of course open to all. It may possibly be significant that many of the fourth century mosaics from the north of England and the West Country depict Orpheus, a figure from Roman mythology but one who tamed the beasts and birds, thus bringing in important elements from both the Celtic and Christian traditions.

6.5.2 An Increase in Infanticide?

It is possible to argue that the increase in intra-settlement infant burials in the fourth century is tied in with an increase in infanticide, this in turn being a result of a rapid growth in population. There is indeed evidence that the population of later Roman Britain grew extremely quickly, peaking perhaps at four million (e.g. Jones 1979:237-9, 245). One might thus argue that one sees a greater amount of neo-natal infant burials on settlements, both in the cemeteries and in the case of 'special' burials, because there was a greater need for such a method of population control in the fourth century. It is difficult, though, to argue for one prime cause of the apparent proliferation of fourth century infant burials on villas and other sites. Because infanticides (or stillbirths) could be occurring on villas on the same scale in earlier centuries, but only now were being buried in the settlements, it is not entirely safe to argue for an increase in the rate of

infanticide in the fourth century. Rather, it is only safe to argue for an increase in the number of infants buried in or around villa buildings, and to say that this increase could be linked with Celtic religous practices.

6.5.3 Infant Burials Associated with Animal Remains

Infant burials on villas and in settlements do appear to be linked to the special animal burials which occur on villas throughout the Roman period and which have clear Iron Age antecedents. Striking examples of the connection between the practices of infant and animal burials are the animal-infant burials at Barton Court Farm and Star. At Rudston, animal and infant burials were found from the same general area; these probably date to the first or second centuries A.D., but could be later. Building D from Winterton contained seven infants, four of which had been buried against a wall of the building; this building, an aisled farmhouse, also contained a sheep burial in a pit close to a wall. The settlement of Old Winteringham yielded a dog burial and three infant burials from Building II, probably dating to the fourth century. At Catsgore, Building 3.2 produced four infant burials and a stone-lined pit containing parts of an articulated animal skeleton. It thus seems reasonable to postulate that infant burials and animal burials did not occupy the same social space accidentally. It might be concluded that the Celtic votive principle operating at religious sites such as

Springhead in Kent, where complex animal and infant deposits occurred throughout the Roman period, were never entirely eradicated by the veneer of Romanisation of British villas.

6.5.4 Infant Burials Associated with Hearths and 'Corn Driers'

Infant burials also frequently appear close to or in association with features which have been identified as 'hearths' and 'corn-driers', and these associations would appear to be too frequent to be coincidental. For example, one of the infants found in Building D at Winterton was buried at the edge of a 'stone-lined channel furnace', and the 97 baby burials at Hambleden came from an area where many 'corn-driers' were located (fig. 14).

This raises the question of whether we are seeing here votive deposits for Vesta, the goddess of the hearth, a personified family spirit or *lares*. Unfortunately, two things argue against this neat explanation. First, the normal place for gods and goddesses of the home was in the *lararium* or shrine within the house, where offerings were made. There they could also be joined by images of other more personified deities associated with family life and fortune such as Vesta herself, Venus, Juno Lupicina the goddess of childbirth, and any gods especially venerated by the particular family. The platform for such a household

shrine was found at Silchester. No such shrines, however, or platforms for such, have been recognised from the villas discussed in this chapter. However, an extreme official move was made against paganism in the fourth century by the Christian emperor Theodosius, namely the prohibition of the customary respects paid in the home to the household gods and the celebration of their festivals.

> The imperial government was no longer simply requiring public observance of the new state religion, but struck at what a *pater familias* might do in his own house.
>
> (Salway 1982:708)

It might therefore be argued that the increase in the number of votive infant burials in the vicinity of hearths and 'corn-driers' in the fourth century may have been a response to the prohibition of Theodosius. Baby and animal deposits were more secret than offerings made at shrines. If this were the case, however, it is hard to explain such deposits which were clearly made before the time of Theodosius, and indeed, before the fourth century. The second reason why it is unlikely that these were deposits for Vesta is that many of the features which have been interpreted as 'corn-driers', 'furnaces' or 'hearths' are now thought to have been malting floors involved in the brewing of beer (chapter three). Further, many of these features, such as at Hambleden, are outdoors, whereas Vesta and *lares* were, by Classical

times, usually indoor *penates* or spirits (*ibid*:707). The deposition of infants in areas containing malting floors may have been encouraged by the rituals and the 'requirements' of the local deities associated with the brewing process. If beer did become an important 'cash crop' for villa owners in the third and fourth centuries, the successful processing of the barley will have been vital to the economic survival of the villa as an agricultural unit. The rituals which are consequently attached to crop processing by agricultural societies are an important feature of the overall 'cultural map' (Barley 1986:130). The staple crop of the Dowayo of Cameroon is millet. From it they make beer and flour which together form their staple diet (*ibid*:58-9). The rituals attached to growing, harvesting, threshing and fermentation are complex and are strongly associated with, unsurprisingly, fertility. A pregnant woman should not go inside a threshing floor until the child is fully formed and ready to be born, for if a pregnant woman appeared on the threshing floor, she would give birth too soon (*ibid*:131). In Dowayoland human sexuality and millet fertility affect each other beneficially. Structurally the stages of the crop and female fertility are paired, and this is of course true of societies other than the Dowayo. Could a similar process have been in operation in Britain during the Roman period, a process which might help us to explain the proliferation of baby

deposits in and close to areas containing malting floors? If the babies had been stillborn, or had been sickly and had died soon after birth, or indeed had been killed by their mothers *because* they were sickly, it could be argued that they were buried close to the important and productive malting floors as a request for better fertility in their human lives. However, with so little information about traditional beliefs and superstitions on villa sites available to us, it might equally be argued that the infants buried were 'surplus to requirements' and the victims of infanticide, and that because they themselves represented a somewhat overpowerful fecundity they were deposited where they were in order to imbue the malting floors with fruitful productivity. After all, for malting to be a success the barley heads must begin to sprout and during the fermentation process the brewer must use his or her skill to ensure that the liquid does not spoil. Brewing under such conditions must have been a skilled job and the ever present danger of brewing accidents will have undoubtedly resulted in ritual beliefs and actions. If either of these hypotheses are true, one would also expect to find baby burials in areas where other stages of grain processing were carried out; for example, near granaries or threshing floors. Unfortunately, few of these have been recognised with certainty on villa sites. Building B2 at Winterton contained not only two infant burials and

a 'corn-drier' but also a circular stone structure which might have been a threshing floor, a *possible* 'pillared' grain drying room, and a small granary (Morris 1979:142).

Even if the interpretation of 'corn-driers' as malting floors is incorrect, which is unlikely, they were still clearly used for some sort of grain processing and the putative connection between these features, fertility and infant burial, still holds good. Such a practice would appear to be uniquely British, for 'corn-driers' are known only from Britain. That they are a purely British phenomenon may be because, whereas wine was the main alcoholic beverage of the continent, beer was still popular in Britain in the fourth century. Indeed the rise of the number of malting floors in Britain in the third and fourth centuries may indicate that imports of wine from the continent were becoming prohibitatively expensive (this may also explain the possible attempts to establish British vineyards as at North Thoresby, Lincolnshire, in the third century, (Webster et al 1967:58)). Perhaps beer originally brewed for home consumption was then brewed in quantity for a wider market as its 'cash crop' potential was realised. Further detailed work on villa sites may reveal whether brewing replaced production of another crop or supplemented the existing agricultural economy. That 'corn-driers' were often inserted into former areas of corridor houses indicates that the commitment of villas

to brewing in the third and fourth centuries reflect a shift in the economy; the production of cash crops by farmers is often an attempt to protect themselves against the ravages of a disembedded market economy. Inflation, for example, must have caused innumerable hardships.

The same processes can be detected in some buildings in the towns. Excavations in Dorchester (*Durnovaria*), for example, at Colliton Park, have revealed a number of fourth century buildings which featured not only numerous 'ovens' and 'hearths', but also infant burials. In Building 1, Room 5, two infant burials lay below and beside the south wall; this room contained two 'ovens' and one 'hearth'. The three other infant burials known from this building were found buried next to wall foundations (Wacher 1976:321-23, fig. 72).

6.6 SUMMARY

It should again be stressed that infants used in dedicatory or votive ritual are not necessarily 'sacrificial offerings'. The infants may have been stillborn. If they were victims of infanticide, they may have been sickly, otherwise they may have been born to women who simply could not afford to support them for physical or economic reasons. The ethnographic record has suggested that infants 'marked down' for infanticide were often buried alive in order to kill them so that the act of deposition itself may have been used to lead to the termination of these infants. The emotive term

'sacrifice' should not be used of such depositions. The scenes so beloved of the Hollywood epics - wailing children plucked mercilessly from their screaming mothers' arms by half-crazed priests - are not applicable here (nor anywhere probably): infants used by certain societies for sacrifical purposes are 'unwanted' infants. The infants in Roman Britain were possibly smothered or drowned before deposition. For ritual reasons the corpses of these babies were frequently placed in or by the foundations of walls, at the bottom of ditches, under earthworks, in pits, in ritual shafts and under floors, instead of in cemeteries. Although many of these babies may have been stillborn or died natural deaths, the burial evidence from many types of settlement site suggest that female infanticide was practised to some extent.

The practice of infanticide might be considered to be barbaric, even casual, a waste of human life by elements of our modern society. It is not the place, however, to make value judgements, particularly of ritual. The practices outlined above do not suggest a society which was furtive or casual about its treatment of infants and its infant burials, but rather one in which, probably as a direct result of its Celtic heritage, certain behaviours were initiated as the result of the birth of unwanted children which were far from casual, surreptitious or random. It is extremely

difficult to account for the rise in the number of 'special' infant burials on villas in the fourth century but the ideas suggested above will hopefully prove to be a contribution to further debate. The fact that Valentinian I (A.D. 364-375) felt it necessary to declare infanticide illegal during his reign over the Western Empire is a powerful piece of circumstantial evidence that it was indeed practised in the Roman world at this time and that it cannot be ruled out of any analysis of the infant burial data from British villas.

CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The Romano-British villa had a character distinctly its own, differing from the villas of the continent in many ways. These differences, which on the surface appear to be attributable to taste and fashion, *were* actually due to deep-rooted differences in the social, economic and religious life of the villa occupants.

What was the *nature* of the Roman villa in Britain? What was the nature of the social relations of the people who lived in them? Do the villas passively reflect the existence of such modern concepts as aspirations to higher social status by following fashions; do the villas passively reflect a desire to embrace *completely* the manners, *mores*, tastes and customs of the Roman world? Does the addition of winged-corridor facades, for example, from about the second century onwards, simply indicate the arrival of a more sophisticated architectural style? Or can we look deeper than this and suggest that we are seeing changes which have profound implications for the study of the development of Romano-British society and its economy (pp.179-82; 298-300)? It has been the intention of this thesis to demonstrate that we can indeed see deep meaning in villa architecture, and further that ritual behaviour took place on these sites which had its roots in Celtic tradition (pp.71 ff.; 192 ff; 301-06). We must, therefore, eschew the simplistic

notion that villas were merely the homes of people somewhat Romanised in manners. They were the homes of Britons being drawn increasingly into an unprecedentedly complex world of market forces, new religions, political upheavals and a standing army; their world was, to all intents and purposes, almost continually increasing in size. It ought to be clear to us that villas are a class of material culture which also reinforced and actively affected world views - world views that at times rested uncomfortably upon society and contained contradictions which 'spoke' through the use of material culture and social space (and see below, pp.299-300).

THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING THE LATE IRON AGE

Chapters One and Two presented a detailed study of late Iron Age Britain, and the conclusions which can be extracted from this have serious implications for the study of Romano-British villas. Chapter One stressed the structure of society and the family for a very good reason. In order to fully understand the character and development of villas - to know how they operated - we need to know about the people who lived in them. This process *must* begin with a detailed analysis of late Iron Age indigenous British society, for it was they and their descendants who lived in the villas. We must therefore ask what it is possible for us to know about these people.

The Historical Sources

The historical sources available to us pose problems. Our best source for late Iron Age Britain is *de Bello Gallico* by Julius Caesar, but upon close inspection it can be seen that this document is fraught with problems (pp.18-23). In simple terms, it can be said that Caesar was no ethnographer. This of course is hardly a criticism, as he did not set out to provide a treatise of impeccable and rigorous academic content. What he has provided us with is undoubtedly a fascinating document, not least because it was the work of someone who had actually visited Britain in its late Iron Age, but nevertheless I remain sceptical about its value as source for late Iron Age society in Britain. Caesar was too biased, too predisposed to an etic stance, too briefly in Britain and otherwise too reliant on the unsubstantiated tales of sea travellers to be depended upon unquestioningly.

The Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological sources also pose problems, but of a different nature. Whereas historical sources are finite - discoveries of new documents are of course possible but are rare - archaeological evidence is continually being unearthed, and archaeological theory is constantly pushing us forward. Theory, especially where generated by ethnographic research, provides important

working models which can be tested against the evidence and modified.

The theoretical concepts introduced in Chapter One are later employed to evaluate aspects of Romano-British villas. It is instructive and valuable to see these models operating in two different situations, the Iron Age and then in Roman Britain. The use of theory is still relatively new in Roman studies, and is best gently introduced, with a variety of examples.

The Family

Thus, we can make some fairly basic yet crucial statements about the family in late Iron Age Britain. The implications are that, contrary to Caesar's assertion, we are dealing with 'normal' extended families, where the family unit comprised three or even four generations living together in an associated group of buildings (pp.23-30; and p.291). It is most unlikely that Caesar really witnessed the ethnographic curiosity of fraternal polyandry. Probably the truth is that women were permitted to engage in sexual relations outside of marriage. Marriage is first and foremost an economic institution.

Settlements and Buildings

This is an important discussion because patterns of space in settlements and in buildings are both produced by, and in turn produce and reproduce, social relations (pp.50; 164 ff.), and the nature of those social

relations (including family size and structure) needs to be known. If Caesar's remarks were true, they would have major implications for the study of the social relations of the Iron Age, and therefore of Iron Age houses, house groupings and settlement morphologies, and consequently of course implications for the study of later house forms lived in by Britons such as villas.

The archaeological evidence suggests that these extended families normally inhabited pairs or trios of roundhouses (pp.63-67), and that these homesteads were normally enclosed or delineated by ditches, other earthworks, palisades or fences. This fact indicates that the term 'open settlement' is misleading. Some of these sites may have been enclosed for defensive reasons. However, an increasing amount of recent archaeological research is convincingly suggesting that such use of enclosure boundaries was for non-functional reasons. The 'impenetrability' of Iron Age settlements is a visual statement. The idea of material culture and space as symbolic media which can be manipulated in their own right has recently been proposed at some length and with understandable enthusiasm by both architects and archaeologists (pp.55 ff; 157-67).

The Roman Occupation of Late Iron Age Britain

The British Celts had many insular traditions (see Intro. and 1.4). When the Romans occupied Britain, they occupied a unique country, and not simply a branch office

of Homogenous 'Euro Celtic Culture' PLC. The effects of the Roman occupation here in Britain would have been different from the effects of the Roman occupation of Gaul or Spain or Palestine. The effects of occupation by a foreign power are primarily social and economic, and although the changes imposed by the power in each province tend to follow the same ordered pattern, they are never identical. Even small differences in the Romans' policy of occupation and in the social and economic set-ups which already existed in the provinces-to-be will have resulted in the Romanised provinces all being markedly different from each other. This is sometimes known as the 'Butterfly Effect' (Gleick 1987:9-32). The whole new science of chaos has developed out of Edward Lorenz's realisation that miniscule changes in initial starting conditions can have discernible effects on the subsequent development of systems. It is now clear that all systems, including ecosystems and human systems, have a much more sensitive dependence on initial conditions than previously supposed. This of course has profound implications for those who seek to carry out worthwhile computer simulations, for the science of chaos signals a new kind of order. For now, however, it suffices to say that the Romanising of each individual province too was sensitively dependent upon the conditions already existing there, and that even tiny differences between, say, Britain and Gaul will have

escalated through time. Differences in the Romans' policy and a near infinite complexity of historical factors will have added to the 'Butterfly Effect'.

Votive Burials and the Question of Infanticide

Chapter Two also dealt with archaeological evidence from the Iron Age, and established that classes of burials existed in which animals and infants were accorded votive treatment. Religio-social meaning was attached to such burials, and while hillforts may provide the most spectacular deposits, such evidence is also plentiful on 'ordinary' settlement sites. This evidence provides a convincing native background for many of the interesting deposits and features found in Romano-British villas (below, pp.302-6), where again animal burials appear, and infants are diverted from infant cemeteries for 'special' burial. Although it is virtually impossible to demonstrate the existence of infanticide in either the Iron Age or in the Roman period, there is at least the possibility that preferential female infanticide occurred (pp.88-98; 246-86). Attitudes toward infanticide in traditional societies are also discussed, as many ethnographically documented concepts and subsequent ritual actions may help to shed some light on the curious proliferation of infant burials around hearths, ovens and malting floors on villa sites (pp.279-84). It should be noted for now that even a society with a strong pro-fertility ideal may at the same time condone

or even sanction infanticide (p.91), and that the psychological burden of infanticide may be eased by the belief in the eventual rebirth of a killed infant (p.90).

AISLED FARMHOUSES

Aisled buildings, particularly houses, were a British provincial development. The suggested parallels on the continent are so few as to be an unconvincing argument against the importation of these buildings into Britain (pp.102-7). The 'continental examples' may well appear to embrace some of the principles of basilican architecture, but this need not surprise or excite us. What the continental examples cannot be shown to do is carry out the same functions and fill the same social role as the British buildings clearly do. In addition, the way in which aisled farmhouses fit into villa plans - at right-angles to the winged-corridor house - is a classic British provincial design.

J.T. Smith's 'Unit Theory'

This thesis suggests that the aisled farmhouse fulfilled the functions and social role of 'Home Farm' to the winged-corridor villa establishment, and that it was run by the elder adult son of the owner of the farm. It is vital to distinguish functionally and socially between the aisled farmhouse ahd the winged-corridor house, not least because such a distinction seriously modifies a large amount of the data presented by J.T. Smith in support of his potentially crucial 'Unit theory'.

Smith's search for underlying structure in villa plans is stimulating and valuable, and a model which since its publication in 1978 has needed testing and modifying. It is my contention that because the overall functions of the aisled farmhouse were so different from those of the winged-corridor house, and further that the social configurations of space were also different (pp.121-52), Smith cannot be right in arguing for dual ownership of villas by two more or less equal families on sites where the two main buildings are an aisled and a corridor house. He may be right in cases where two corridor houses are present, but in cases concerning an aisled farmhouse his theory is in troubled waters. Smith does not explain the discrepancies of function, social use of space, date and development. The aisled farmhouse is a relatively late development in Roman Britain. Neither does Smith account for the late manifestation of this Celtic tendency to live in dual 'Units'.

Typologies

In some analyses aisled farmhouses are regarded as a completely separate type of villa from both winged-corridor and courtyard villas, these latter two being themselves regarded as separate types. Given, however, that courtyard villas' such as Bignor and Woodchester comprise a combination of structural entities which *include* corridor and aisled houses, Richmond's typology and Smith's arguments are problematic (pp.101-2). Aisled

farmhouses are *components* of the Woodchester villa, not separate types from it. Many other large establishments, while not traditionally regarded as courtyard villas, are enclosed by boundary walls and ditches and incorporate both corridor and aisled houses, such as Darenth and Sparsholt (pp.*ibid*; 186-89).

'Corn Driers'

Among the most interesting features commonly found in aisled farmhouses are 'corn driers', now identified as malting floors (pp.137-40). 'Corn driers' appear to have fulfilled a sufficiently important function in Roman Britain to have been adopted at sites where other signs of Romanised structures are barely apparent, and at an early date. The existence of malting facilities on villa sites later in the Roman period, and especially in aisled farmhouses, has important implications for changing economic patterns (as does the very appearance of the aisled farmhouses themselves from the late second century onwards). The escalation of disembedded economies in various developing countries have provided ethnographic models which suggest that the data from Roman Britain may be explained as a response to cash flow problems. Crop production is very vulnerable to disembedded market forces. It is usual today for wealthy developed countries to offer farmers state subsidies, but it must be remembered that in other farming contexts the seasonal crop will always be in danger of falling market prices

without the protection of a socially embedded economy. It is possible that the appearance of these ovens as malting floors represents a response by British farmers to seasonal cash flow problems brought on by developments in the money economy. They produced beer for storage and convenient sale.

The Importance of Aisled Farmhouses for the Study of Roman Britain

The introduction of large and seemingly all-purpose aisled farmhouses close (and usually at right-angles) to the corridor house from the late second century onwards appears to represent a nucleation or drawing together of a variety of agricultural activities (and perhaps changes in the emphasis of these activities). This indicates a desire for increased control over the processing of agricultural activities (and perhaps changes in the emphasis of these activities). This indicates a desire for increased control over the processing of agricultural produce. The aisled farmhouse appears to have been the Home Farm of the villa. If the occupants of the aisled farmhouses were the household of the elder son of the extended family which owned the farm, then we may also be seeing an attempt to exert greater control over inheritance. This, and the fact that a considerable number of 'corn driers' were built in and around aisled farmhouses, indicates that these buildings played an important part in the response to the particular economic

conditions which developed from the late second century onwards.

WINGED-CORRIDOR HOUSES AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SPACE

The Effects and Meaning of Winged-Corridor Facades

The appearance of winged-corridor facades, and variants of them, is also linked to fundamental changes in the economy of Roman Britain, though we must look to a deeper structure to see this. Changes in an economy, particularly one which is only just emerging from social embeddedness, are linked to changing social relations and ways of perceiving the world. The date of the establishment of a true coin-based market economy in Britain is still the subject of strong debate amongst archaeologists. There is a view held by a number of innovative Romanists, including Reece (e.g. 1988:109), which is that a market economy was not established immediately after the occupation of Britain, but much later - the second or even the third century. The evidence of villas is interesting in this respect, for an analysis of the changing social configurations of space seems to confirm that there were indeed significant economic changes from the second century onwards. The establishment of a true coin-based economy led to a vast increase in the number of transactions which took place outside of the social sphere. In the villas a distinction was made from the early second century

onwards between private living space and reception or guest space. The general trend was for the erection of symmetrical facades which were deceptive in that they obscured the rooms and thresholds behind them. The winged-corridor facades also acted as a buffer zone between the private family rooms and the outside world. The new architecture was of course visually impressive, and was a conspicuous display of wealth, but it also had these 'deeper' effects. The formal facades also had the effect of controlling access to the housee by unambiguously guiding the visitor's trajectory of entry toward the main central entrance. The private living apartment was now set back an extra 'step' from the outside (pp.177-78).

The Cognised Environment of a New Market World

This new architecture expresses a fascinating duality of purpose - on the one hand a sophisticated attempt at entry into the new Romanised world of markets and civilisation, and on the other hand an attempt to distance the household from a potentially hostile cognised environment. This recalls some basic Marxist ideology which asserts that man's social existence determines his consciousness, and that one can explain this consciousness by the contradictions in material life. Marx went on to explicitly express the notion that men may think they are saying and doing one thing when in fact they are doing another (Marx 1962: preface). In

Roman Britain the hostility that was perceived - albeit subliminally - led to a change in the world view of the villa inhabitants. This hostile environment was not just the perceived physical threat of Saxons and other barbarians. A more insidious abstract threat existed - vulnerability to market forces, inflation, taxation, and the need to accept strangers over the threshold. These latter concepts were outside of the villa owner's intimate social network and were therefore not controlled by him. The architecture both reached out to embrace the Roman world and at the same time drew its occupants back and protected them from it. This effect was heightened by the use of enclosures (pp.186), culminating in the large and impressive courtyard villas of the fourth century. As noted above (pp.189), villas are a class of artefacts which, like all others, reinforce and actively affect world views. Sometimes, as in the case of villas, these world views contain contradictions which are rationalised through the manipulation of the material culture and changing configurations of social space.

The Decline of Villas

This model has interesting implications for the study of the decline of villas, which in Britain had more to do with the breakdown of the market economy than with barbarian attacks. During this 'running down' period of the economy, it is noticeable that it is wing rooms and corridors which frequently have their functions changed

by the insertion of hearths and 'corn driers'. This transformation of rooms in the corridor houses into agricultural and brewing facilities may represent a further nucleation of the villa site, at the expense of former reception areas. Thus a decline in the availability of cash and purchasable materials such as timber, charcoal and tiles and the increasing rarity of formal commercial transactions may have led to the running down and finally redundancy of reception rooms, bath houses, and ultimately all the villa buildings (pp.182-85).

RITUAL DEPOSITS

As in the Iron Age, religio-social meaning was attached to certain animal and infant burials and to well deposits. Britain had a very long history of types of ritual behaviour such as votive animal and infant burials and ritual wells or 'shafts', and this is an important point for it means that when we find comparable evidence on villas - such as an apparent foundation burial or an interesting assemblage dumped down a well - we do not necessarily have to look to the Roman continent for parallels, nor seek 'one-off' functional explanations for the evidence, for we are seeing the British provincial development of an indigenous ritual practice. On the whole, the evidence is such that it overwhelmingly suggests the existence of Celtic practices on villas and moreover their escalation in the fourth century.

Importantly, the well deposits at villas such as Brislington should not be 'explained' by reference to Ammianus Mercellinus' 'Barbarian Conspiracy' of 367 (pp.233 ff.).

Foundation Burials and Significant Recurring Assemblages

There are many animal burials found on villas which are clearly accorded votive treatment. The foundation burial of a lamb at Kings Weston just below floor level on the west side of the main entrance (p.202) is a case in point. Pairs of heads and feet also appear as deliberate burials at Harpole (p.206) and Barnsley Park (p.203). At Barnsley Park the burials came from the barn area. This barn was a large outbuilding laid at right-angles to the corridor house, and while not actually an aisled construction it seems to have fulfilled at least some of the functions of an aisled farmhouse, and the lay-out of the buildings certainly follows the classic British plan. In light of some of the comments below, this correlation between ritual burials and barns may be significant.

The use of animal heads in general as votive deposits was clearly important on villas, including Star (p.203), Longstock (p.206), Barton Court Farm (p.206), Lullingstone (p.207) and Brislington (p.228). These animal heads often form part of interesting assemblages. At Star remains of a sheep's skull were found in a pit with the remains of that of a human. At Longstock the

skull of an ox was buried under a wall next to a hole filled with potboilers. Barton Court Farm produced three burials of new-born babies accompanied by animal skulls.

Associated Animal and Infant Burials, Aisled Farmhouses and 'Corn Driers'

The evidence from Barton Court Farm is paralleled at Star. In a pit in the corner of a room were found the remains of an infant's skeleton mixed up with sheep bones. On other villas infant burials were not accompanied by animal remains but were, however, spatially associated with animal burials. For example, many animal and infant burials came from the aisled buildings of Winterton (pp.265; 278). A very interesting feature is the infant which was buried in the nave of Building D immediately at the edge of a 'stone-lined channel-furnace' (pp.279). At Catsgore an infant was buried next to a hearth in Building 3.2, and a horse skull was buried near to a large 'corn drier' in Building 3.5 (p.267). The 97 baby burials at Hambleden came from an area where a great many 'corn driers' were also found, these driers being situated in a yard outside the northern aisled farmhouse (p.279).

It has been asserted that 'corn driers' were malting installations for the production of saleable beer, and were often built in and around aisled farmhouses. Both buildings and 'corn driers' were responses to changing economic conditions. It is against this general

background that animal and infant burials should be assessed, especially as the burials too are predominantly late. What is happening on these sites? In many traditional agricultural societies, human and cereal fertility are structurally connected. Also, in many societies the ideas of human fertility and infant death - including infanticide - are not mutually exclusive. This is partly because babies who are 'surplus to requirements' and subsequently disposed of actually represent fecundity, and partly because myths arise to ease the psychological burden of infanticide which tend to stress that the infant's spirit still exists, and is awaiting rebirth (p.90). Myths are invariably accompanied by rituals. Rituals are part of a society's overall 'cultural map'. Thus the rituals which attached to crop processing in traditional societies are also an integral part of the cultural map. The rituals attached to the planting, growing, harvesting, threshing and fermentation of crops are unsurprisingly associated with fertility. It could be argued that the infants - and the animals - buried in agricultural facilities on Romano-British villas, particularly those near hearths and 'malting floors', were placed there to imbue these places with fruitful productivity. The 'feedback' in turn would lend strength to the spirits of these infants. Or, if the infants had had natural deaths, they may have been buried close to productive agricultural facilities as a

request to the gods for 'better luck next time', but as there is evidence that (female) infanticide did take place in Roman Britain (pp.96; 261-62), the former possibility is more interesting.

It should be remembered that 'corn driers' are only known from Britain. This may be because whereas wine was the main alcoholic drink on the continent, beer was still popular in the fourth century. The rise in the number of malting floors could indicate that wine was becoming too expensive to obtain, or that the cash to buy it was becoming hard to get hold of. The brewing of beer was itself probably an attempt to raise cash and to protect the farmers against some of the worst ravages of a disembedded market economy. It should not surpise us that such a crucial environment was accompanied by complex rituals.

A 'Revitalisation Movement'?

The fact that these deposits are late, and frequently from aisled farmhouses or barns, and apparently associated with hearths and 'corn driers' is very significant. It is suggestive of a response known to anthropologists as a 'Revitalisation Movement', a situation often documented ethnographically. A people who have been subjugated by an occupying force start to bring back old myths, sometimes after hundreds of years, but incorporating new material culture. This model may help to account for the enigmatic late well deposits

found at villas such as Rudston, Brislington and Barton Court Farm (pp.211-18; 223-29). The society adopts icons and symbols of new culture, mixed in heavily with their own beliefs. There is religious enthusiasm, with a strong messianic element. This model would provide an interesting context for such features of late Roman Britain as the Rudston mosaics (pp.218-19), the many Orpheus mosaics, Romano-British Christianity (pp.270-77) and the apparent proliferation of Romano-Celtic temples and Celtic-type ritual deposits. Revitalisation movements can happen very quickly, and in a limited area, and fourth century Britain is certainly a candidate. Further research which tests this model would be a welcome addition to Romano-British studies.

THE FUTURE OF VILLA STUDIES

The Importance of Field Survey

The Romano-British villa has been frequently studied, little understood, and the subject of some of the most mundane and naive archaeological prose ever written. Some writers still seem to have difficulty in defining the world 'villa'. Is a villa really only a villa when it has been excavated and a range of rooms revealed? If so, what kind of distribution maps can we hope to have? The excavation of villas in this country has a limited future (Vol.2, p.2). As stressed in the introduction to the Catalogue of Known, Suspected and Possible Roman Villas in Britain, the importance of

fieldwalking is still underestimated. There is a wide range of artefacts which when present on the surface may indicate the presence of a villa, such as tiles, tesserae, stone and bricks. Further, recent experiments have shown that even a light field scatter indicates a much greater amount of material beneath the surface - up to 98% or more (Vol.2, p.1). Field survey is the only way that we can effectively respond to the widespread threat to our archaeological heritage by agriculture and development; it is also - fortunately - a singularly successful method of archaeological field research.

Directions for Academic Research

The study of villas is not currently popular with research students. It has been one of the intentions of this thesis to demonstrate that villas are a fascinating database which warrant greater interest by archaeologists, particularly the 'new breed' of Romanists who are seeking more than descriptive accounts of Roman Britain. I have shown that villas are an eminently suitable vehicle for the use of new and exciting models such as Glassie's 'Transformational Grammar', and that the resulting conclusions have profound implications for the study of the ancient economy. I have stressed the indigenous contribution to the nature of the province of Britannia and its villas, and have looked at villas as a house type whose development over hundreds of years tells us much about the patterns of human behaviour operating

in the environment of Roman Britain. I have been able to make observations about the decline of villas in Britain. Villas are a major source of evidence for further research into the 'Romanisation' of the provinces of the Empire.

Finally, we must beware of the 'country house' analoogy and the androcentricism to which it is prone. In traditional farming societies it is usual for women and children to work long and hard hours. This was true of the families who inhabited Elizabethan manor houses, as it is true of traditional agricultural peoples today. Women do 90% of the world's work, yet because they only own 10% of the world's wealth - and consequently have a low profile - their contribution to labour forces both now and in the past is underestimated. We do not yet understand the relationship of villas to towns, and must not assume the widespread existence of 'gentlemen farmers' with slaves, servants, town houses and wives and daughters dedicated to the pursuit of leisure. A Romano-British villa was a working farm, not the setting for a Jane Austen novel.

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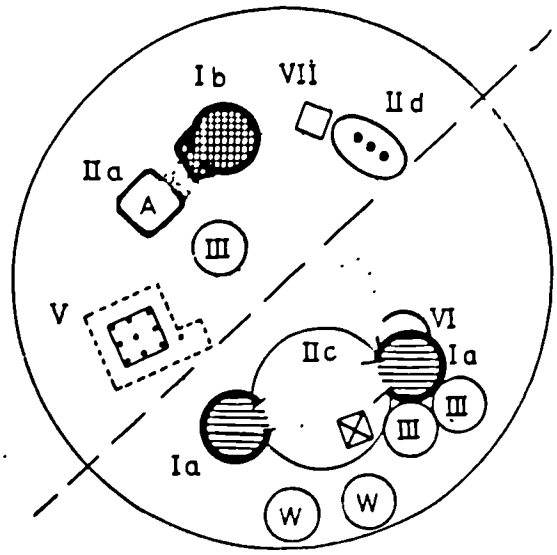
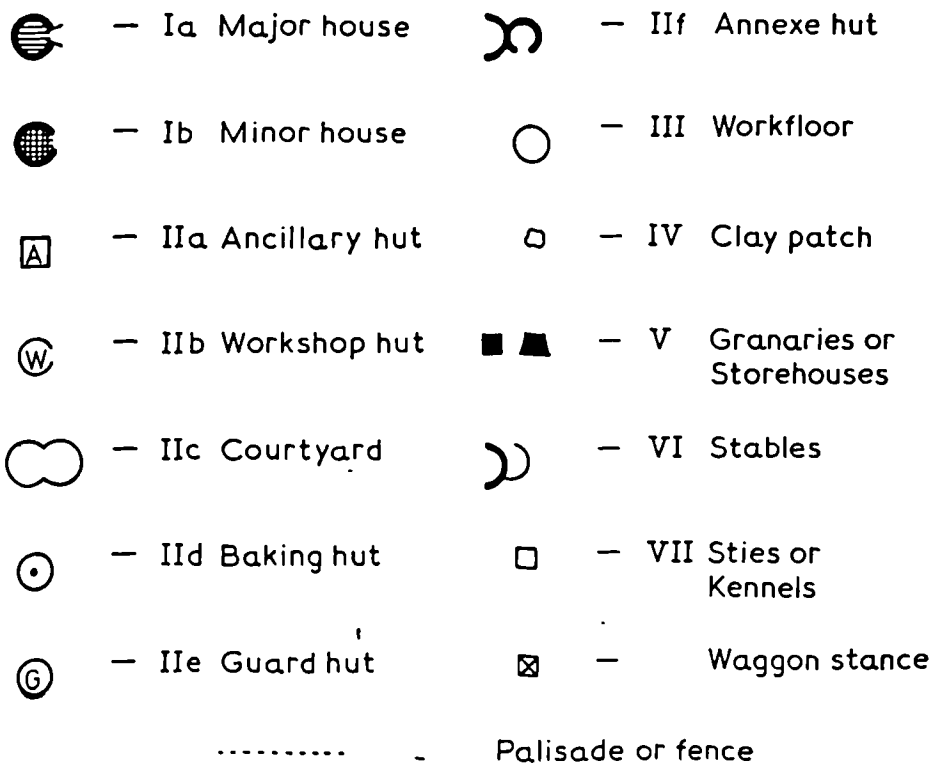


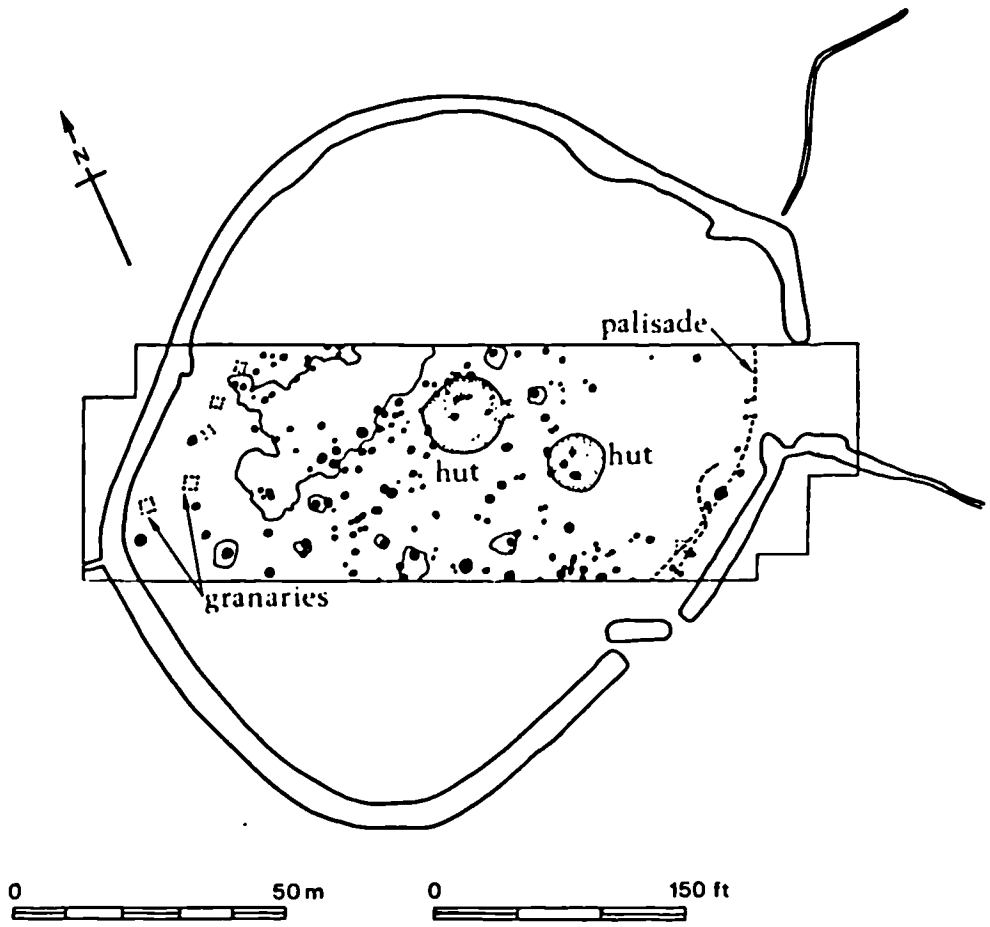
FIG. 21.1. The modular unit – the social and architectural building block of which the settlement is a multiple. The analyses of vertical and horizontal spatial relationships, structural attributes and artefact distributions convergently define a distinct range of structures (I–VII) repeatedly reproduced on the site. Each replication of the unit appears to be a particular transformation of an otherwise standardized set of relationships between each structural category and every other category. The basic division between the pair of major houses (Ia) and their satellites, and the minor house (Ib) and its ancillaries may be tentatively identified with a division between a major familial, multi-role and activity area on one hand and a minor, largely female and domestic area (see Fig. 21.6).

Below: the iconic symbols used to identify the structures in the schematic site models, Figs. 21.2–21.5.



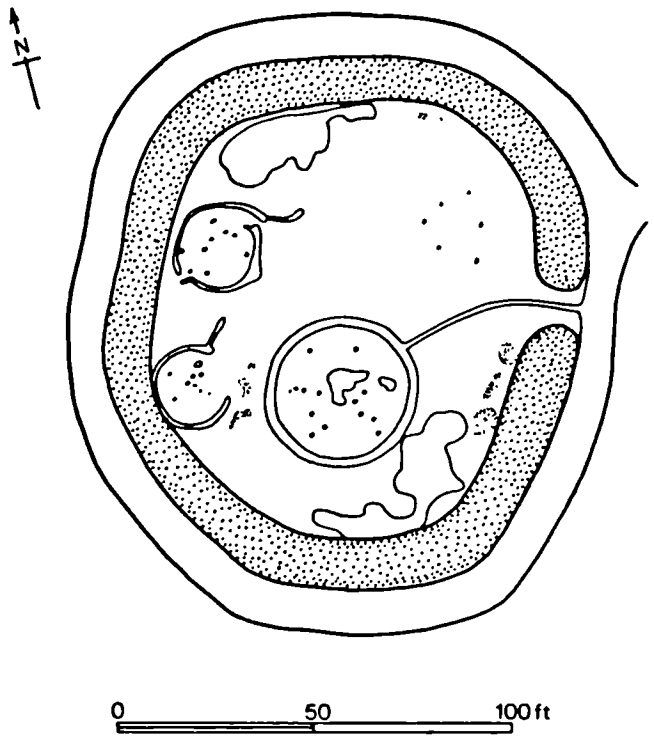
THE GLASTONBURY FAMILY UNIT. (Source: Clarke, D.L., 1972b, fig. 21.1, p. 815).

Fig. 1



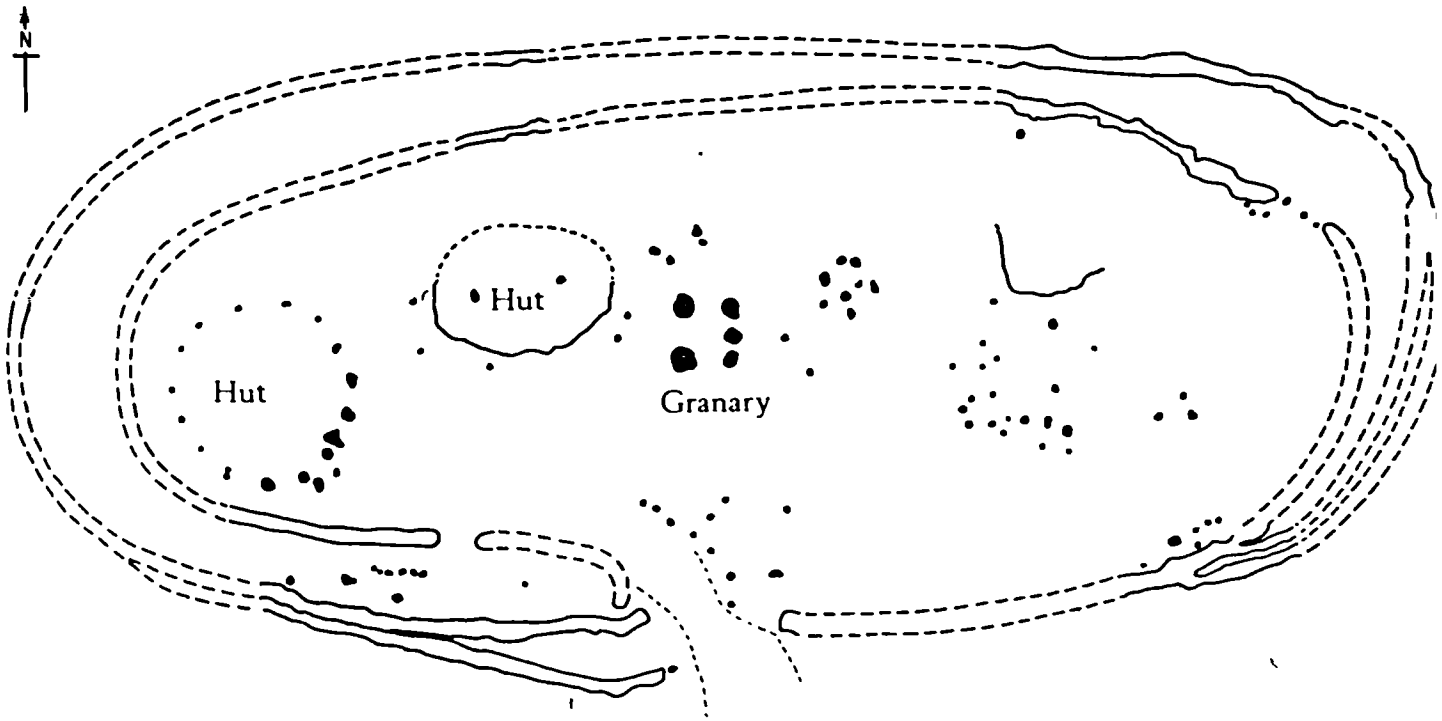
LITTLE WOODBURY. (Source: Cunliffe, B.W., 1974, fig. 11.2)

Fig. 2



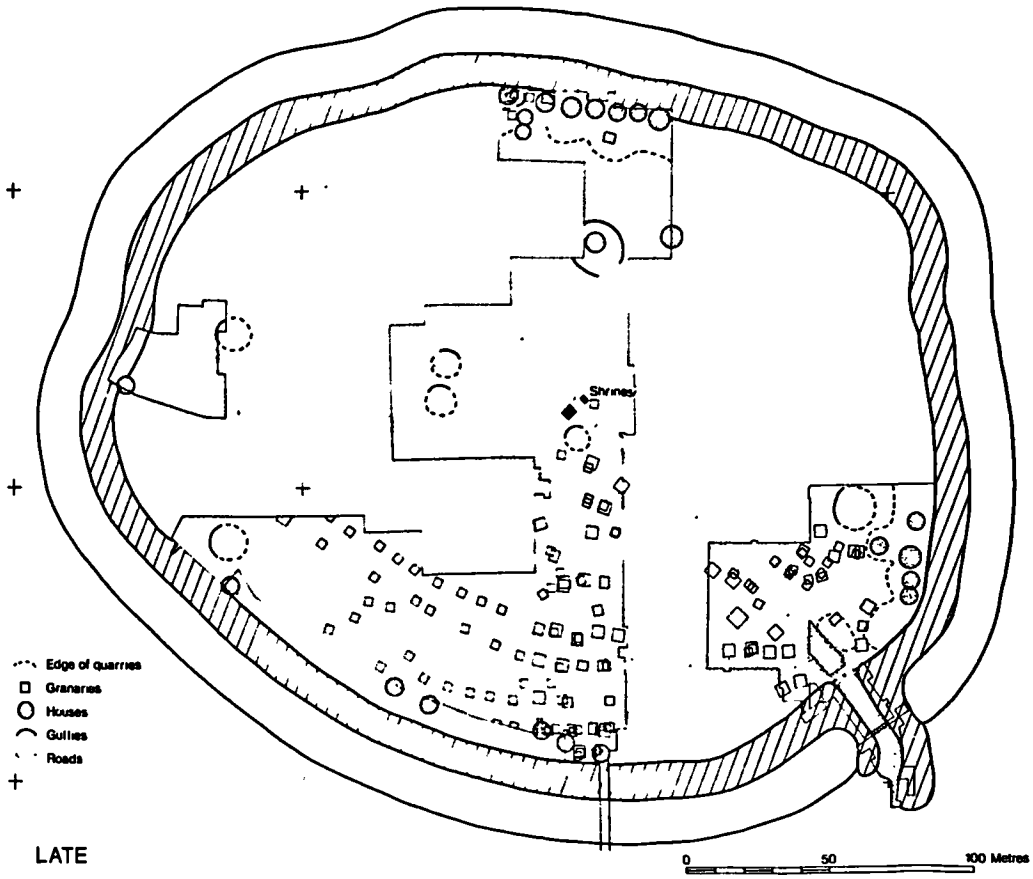
DRAUGHTON. (Source: Cunliffe, B.W., 1974, fig. 11.3).

Fig. 3



STAPLE HOWE. (Source: Cunliffe, B.W., 1974, fig. 12.20).

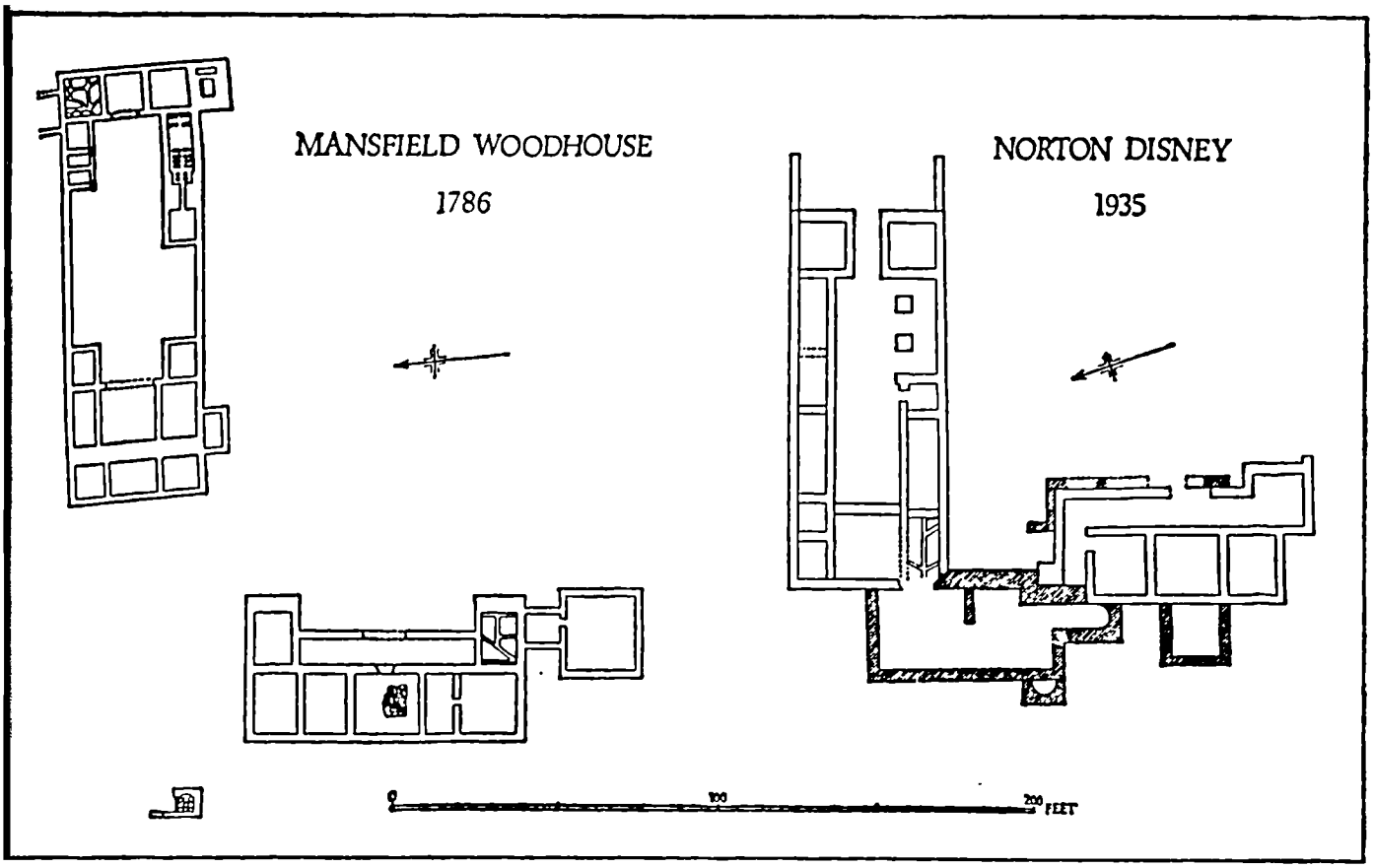
Fig. 4



31 *Simplified plan of the Danebury settlement in the late period*

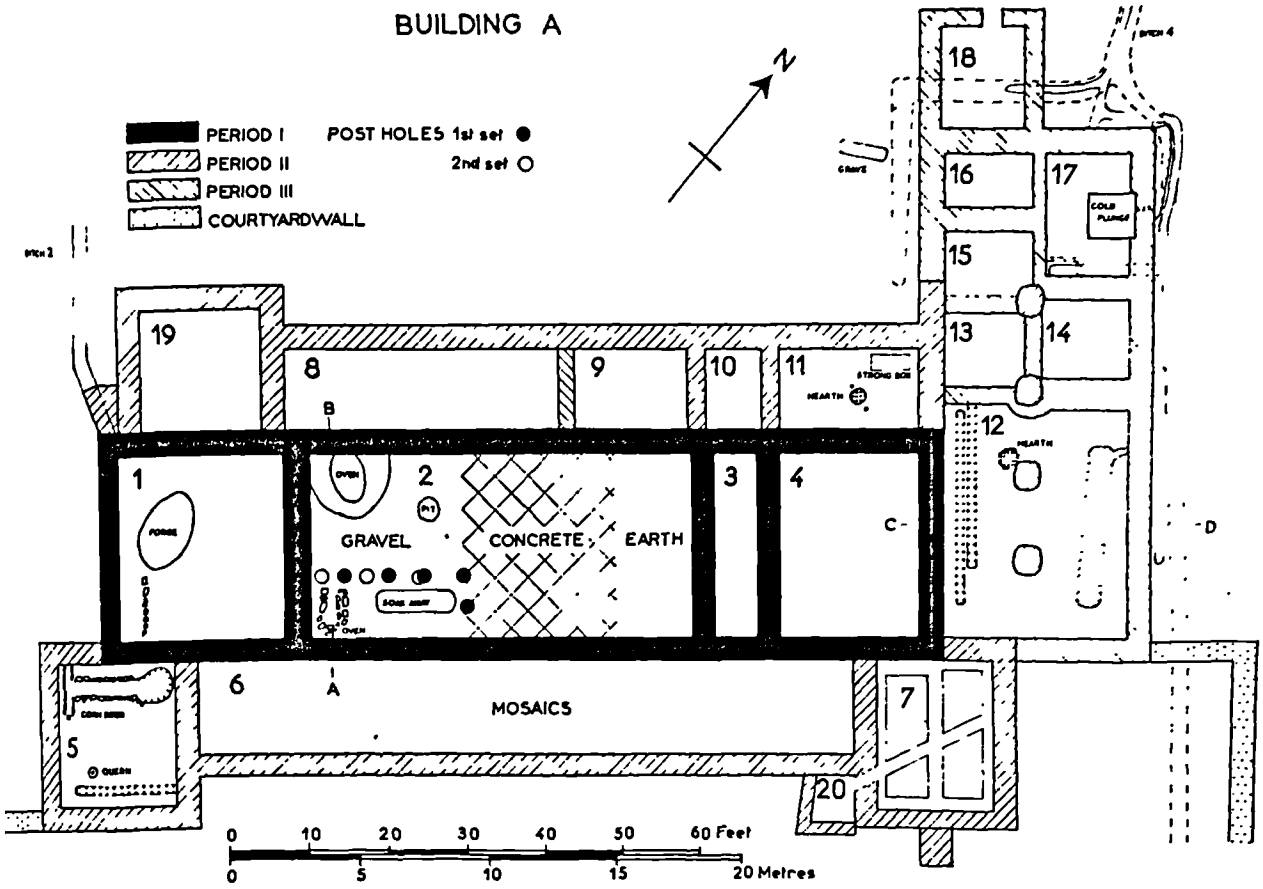
DANEBURY. (Source: Cunliffe, B.W., 1983, fig. 31)

Fig. 5



MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE and NORTON DISNEY. (Source: Arch. J., 46, 1966, fig. 6).

Fig. 6



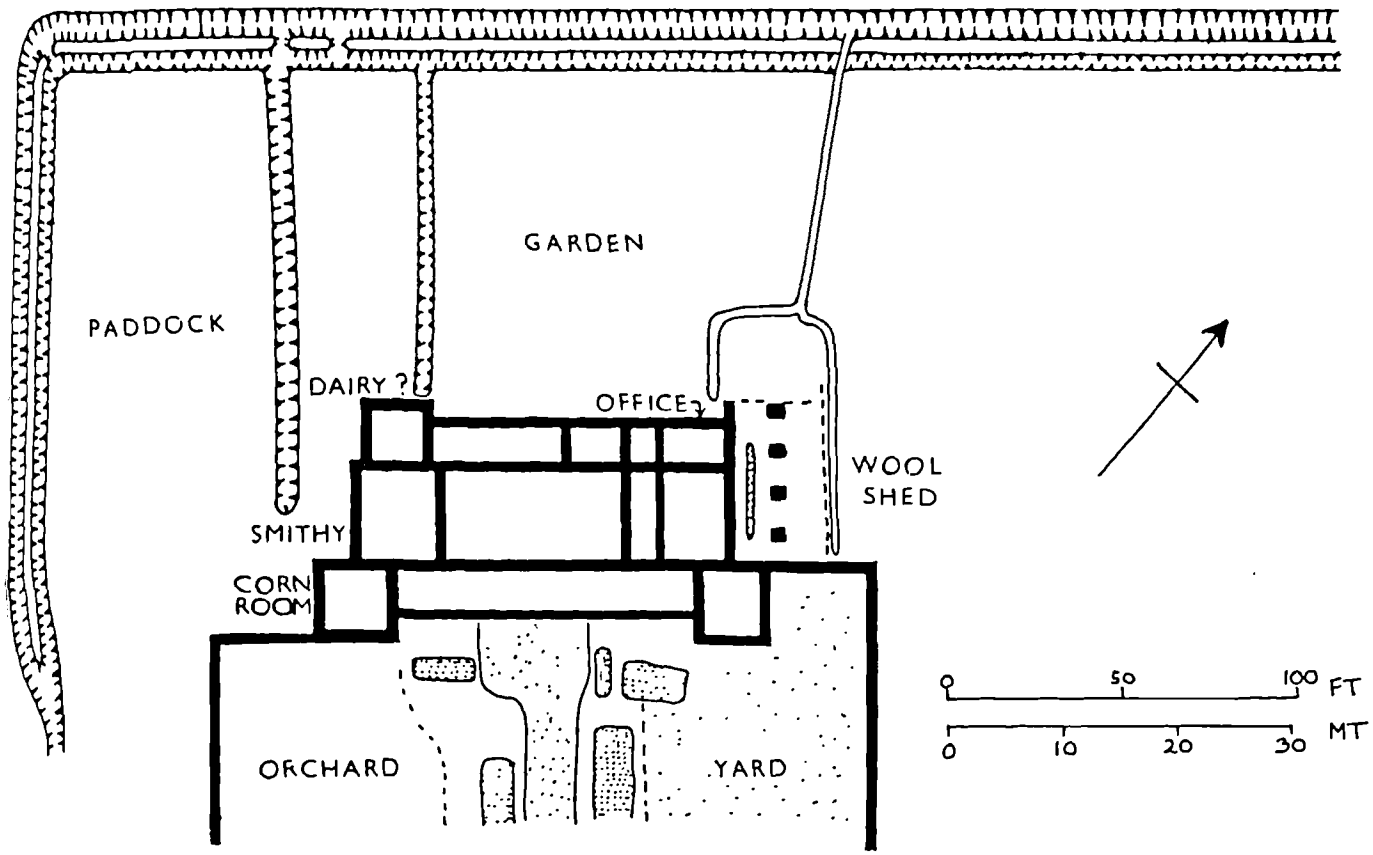
facing p. 17

Fig. 2. Dwelling house.

FROCESTER COURT. (Source: T.B.G.A.S., 89, 1970, fig. 2).

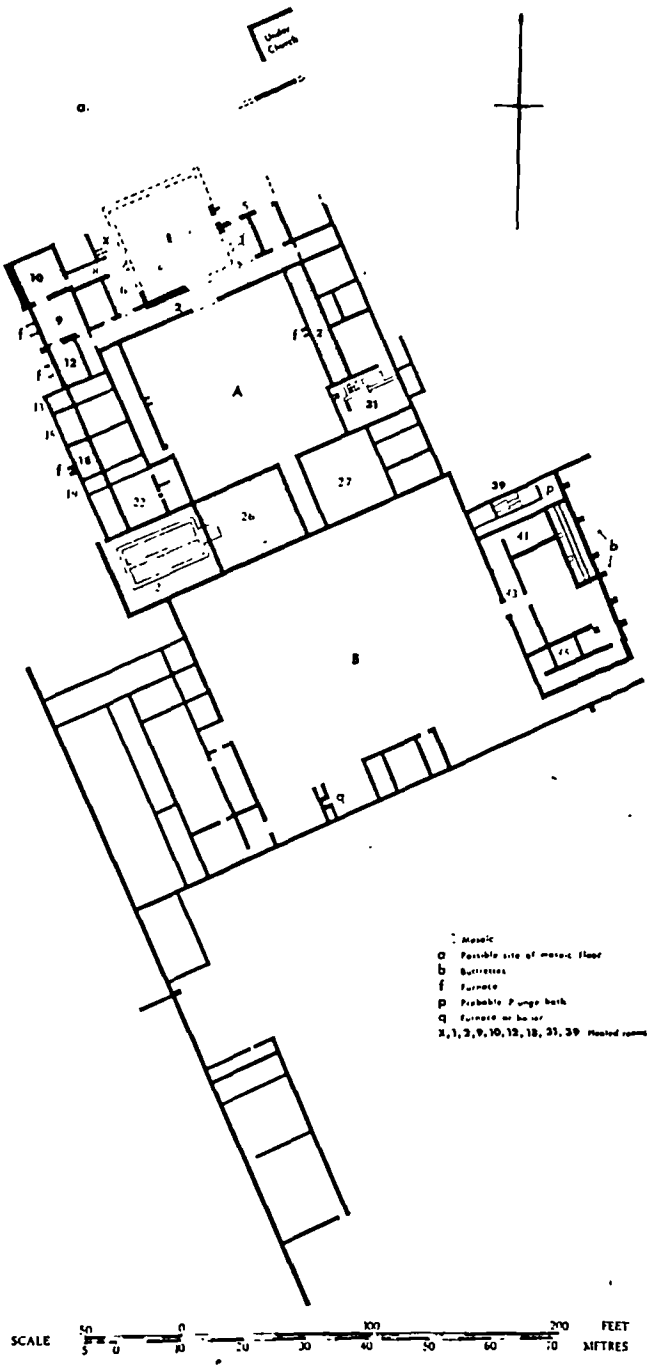
Fig. 7

33 Frocester Court villa, as a farm



FROCESTER COURT. (Source: Branigan, K., 1976, fig. 33).

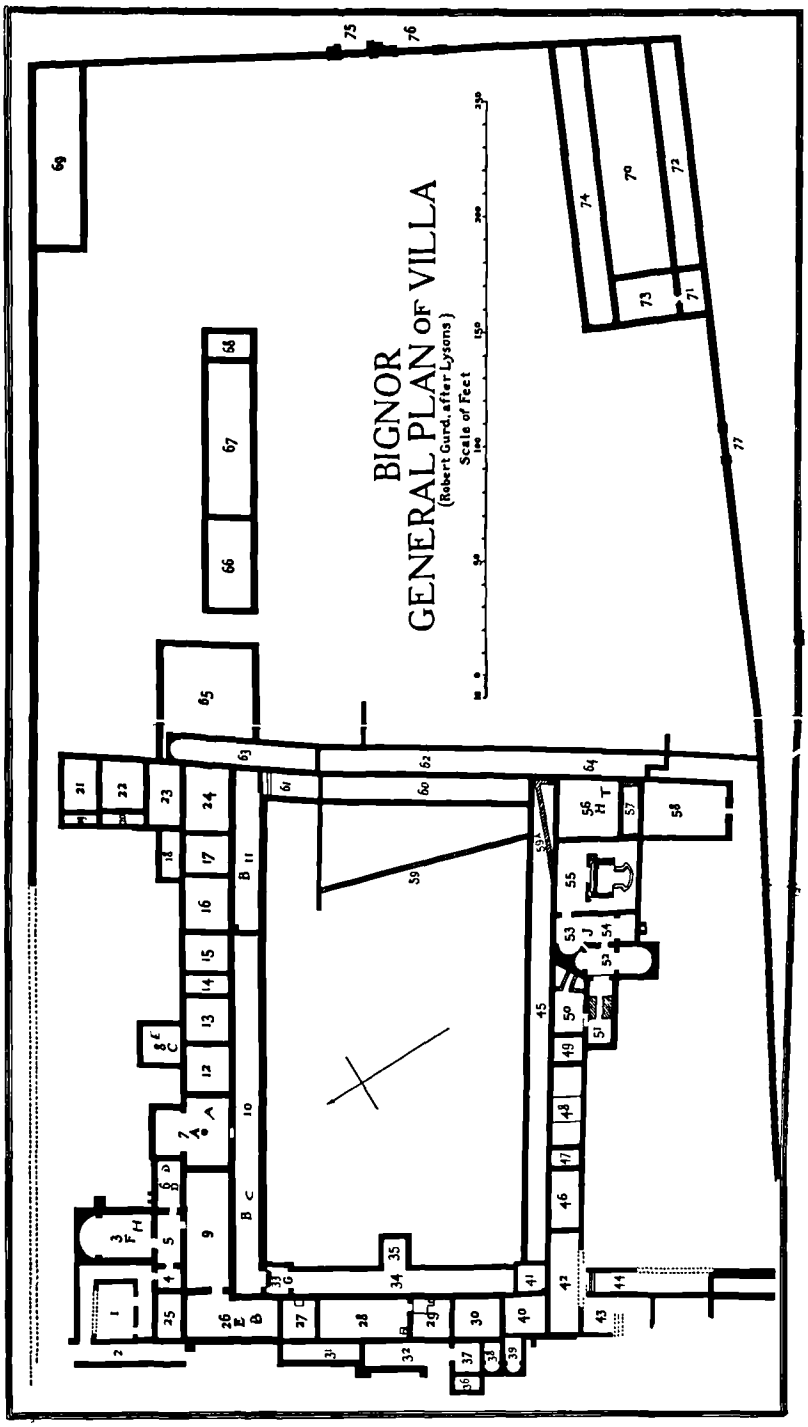
Fig. 8



WOODCHESTER. (1) Roman Villa (after Lysons).

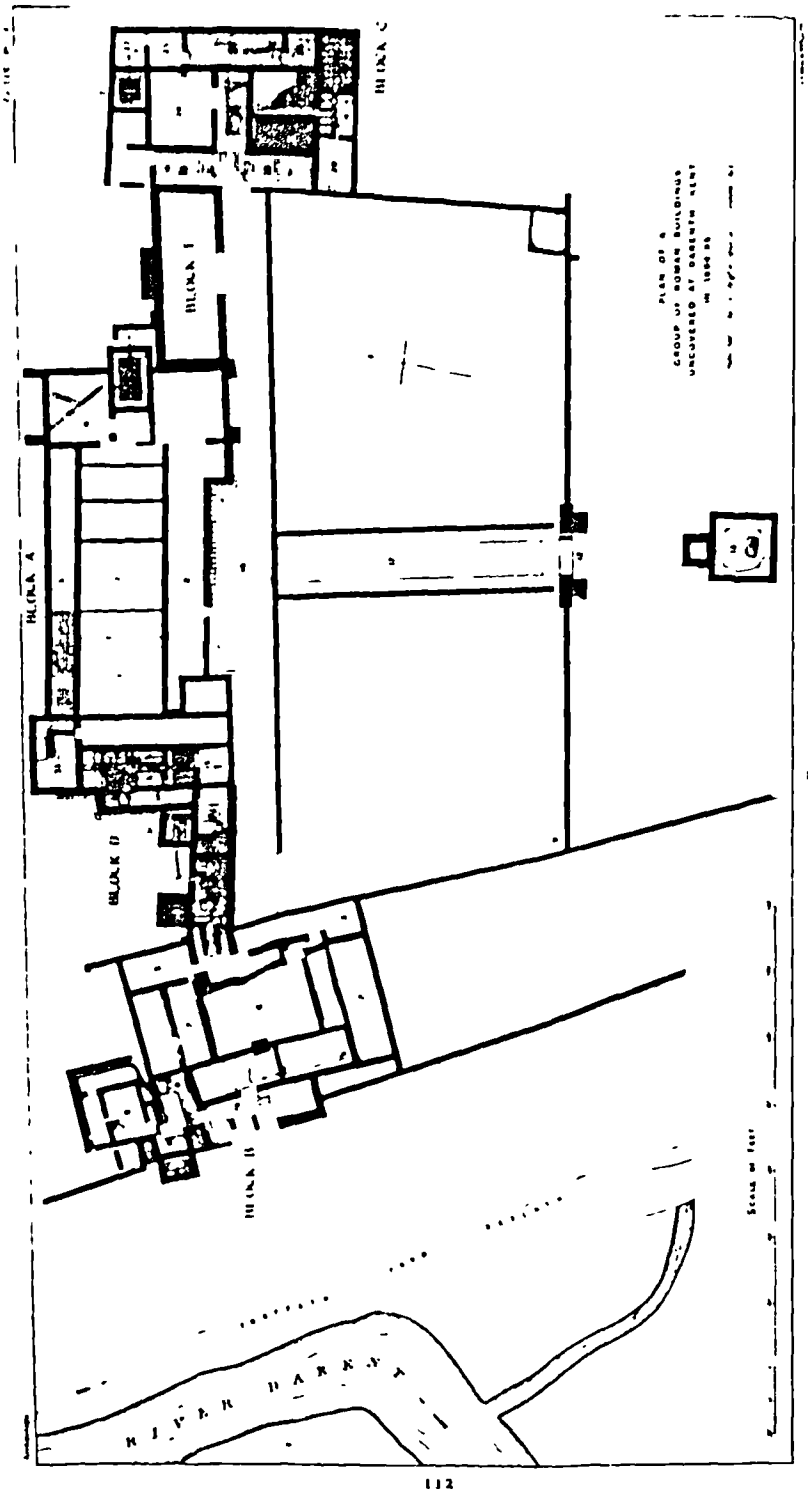
WOODCHESTER. (Source: RCHM, 1976, Iron Age and Romano-British Monuments in the Glos. Cotswolds, 133).

Fig. 9



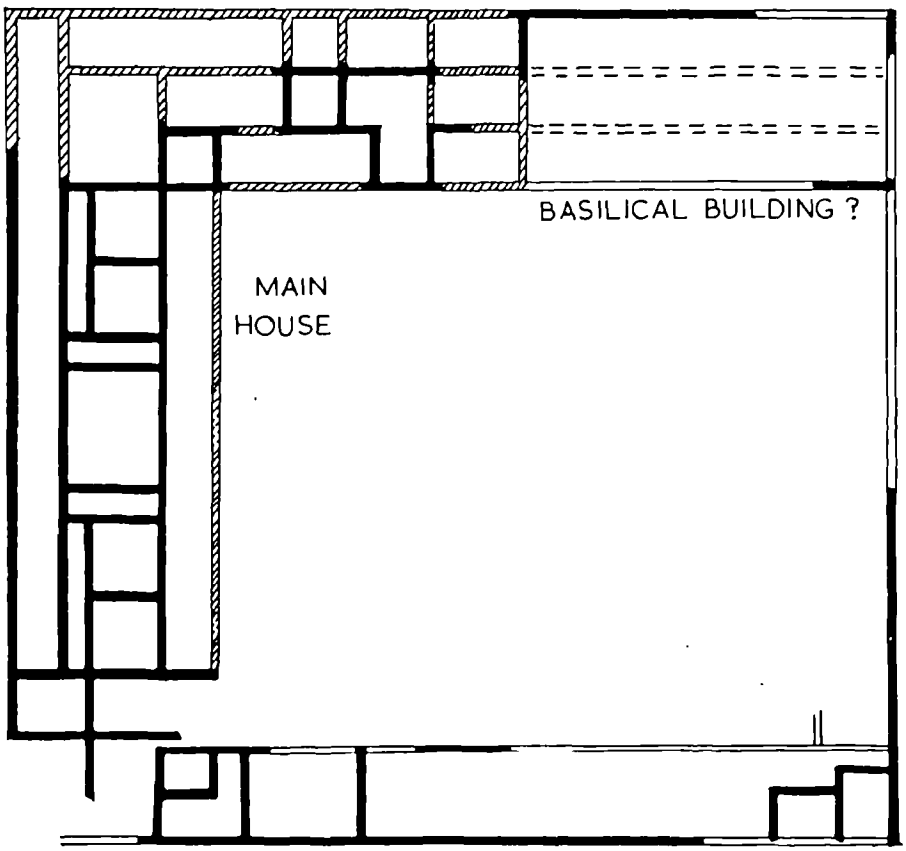
BIGNOR. (Source: Gurd, R., 1930, Bignor Guidebook).

Fig. 10



DARENTH. (Source: Archaeologia, 59, 1 , pl. LVIII).

Fig. 11



B.

WELLOW. (Source: Branigan, K., 1976, fig. 16 (B)).

Fig. 12

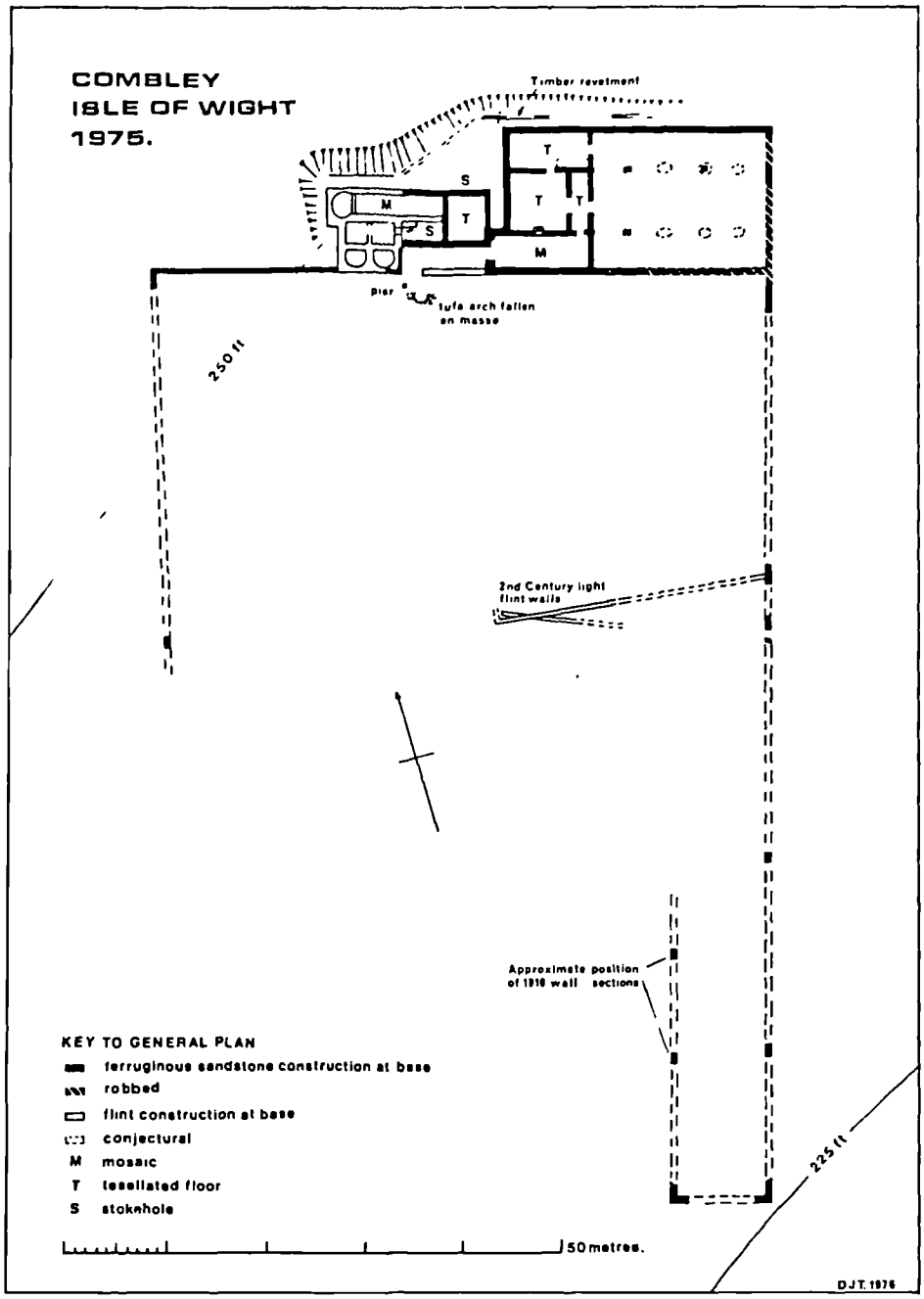
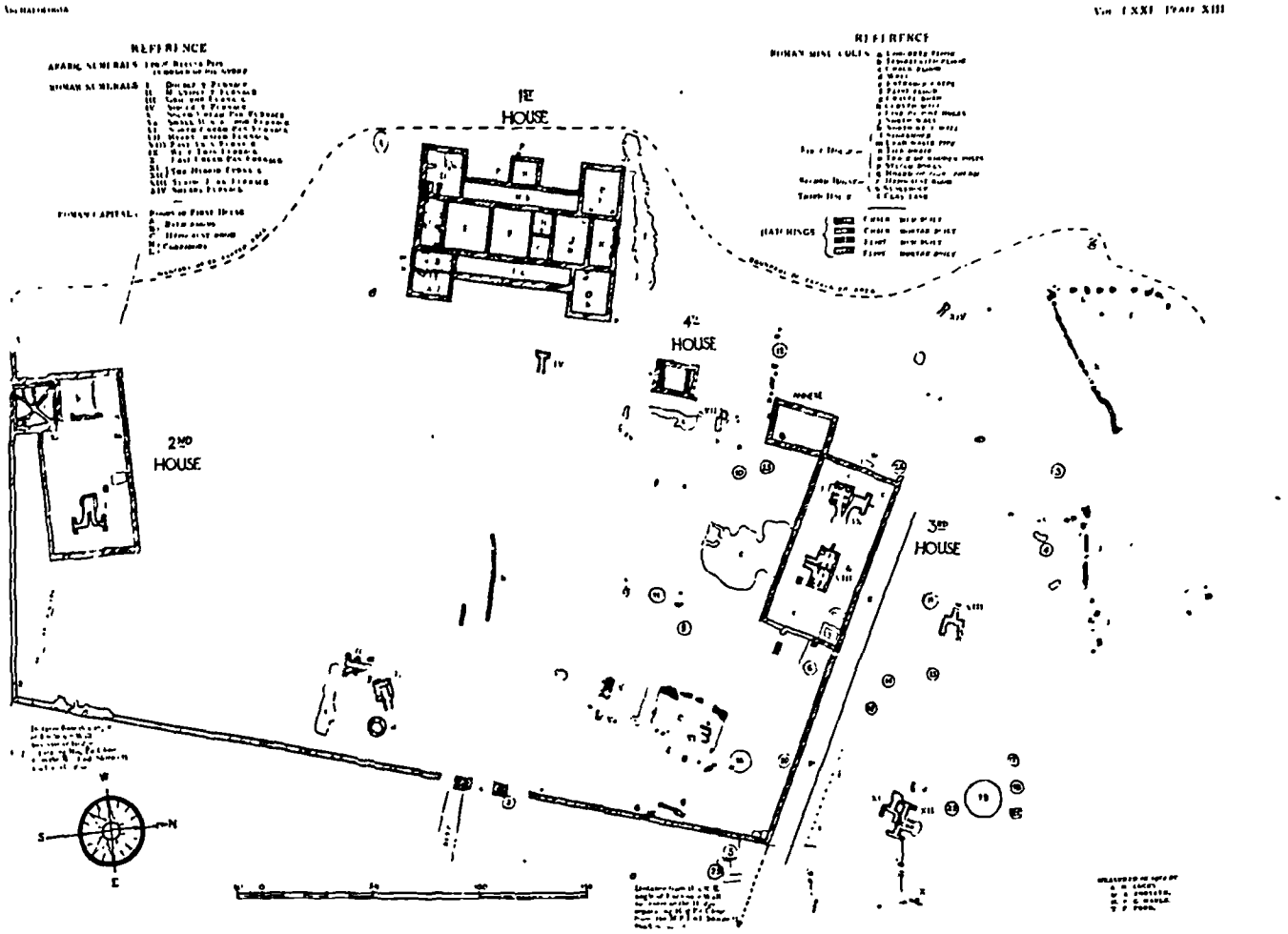


FIG. 23

Combley, Arreton, Isle of Wight: Plan of the Roman villa.
(Dfawn by D. J. Tomalin)

COMBLEY. (Source: Britannia, 7, 1976, fig. 23).

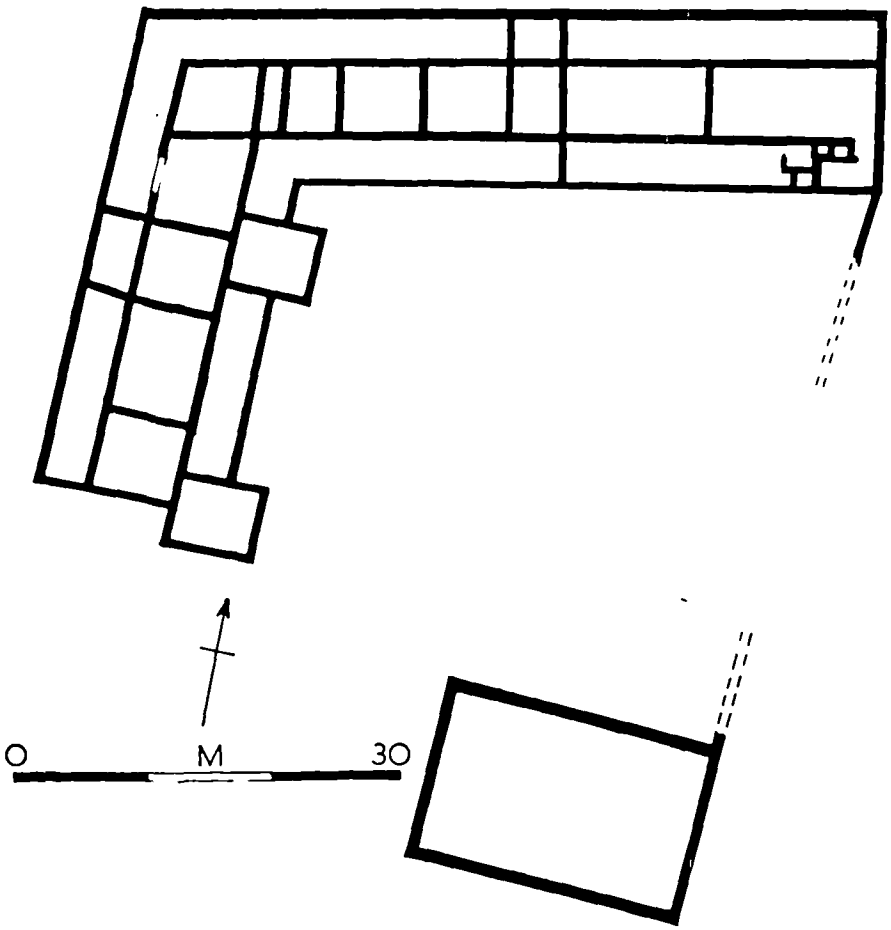
Fig. 13



PLAN OF THE ROMANO-BRITISH HOMESTEAD AT HAMBLEDON, BUCKS

HAMBLEDEN. (Source: Archaeologia, 71, 1921, pl. XIII).

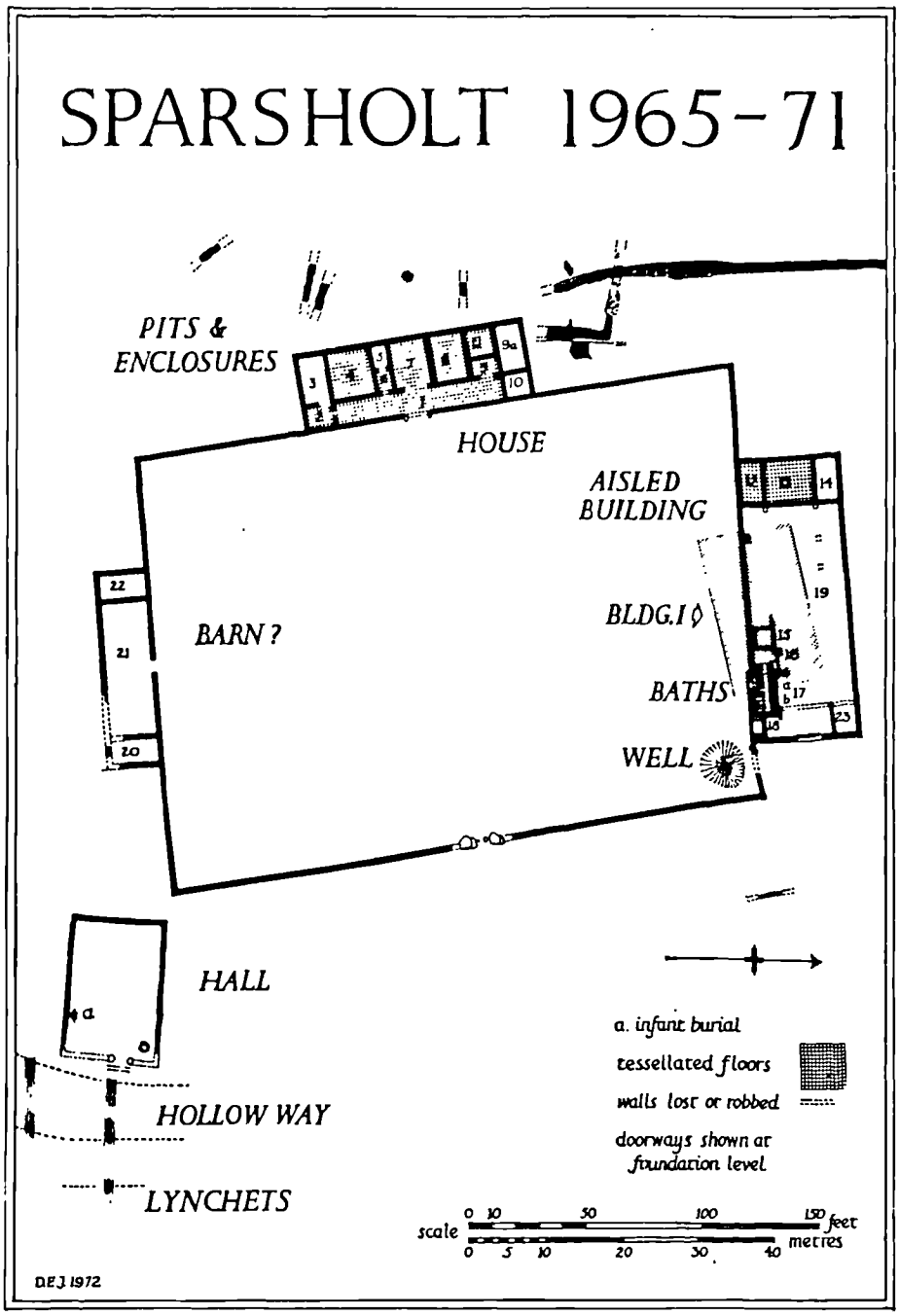
Fig. 14



12 Cromhall villa

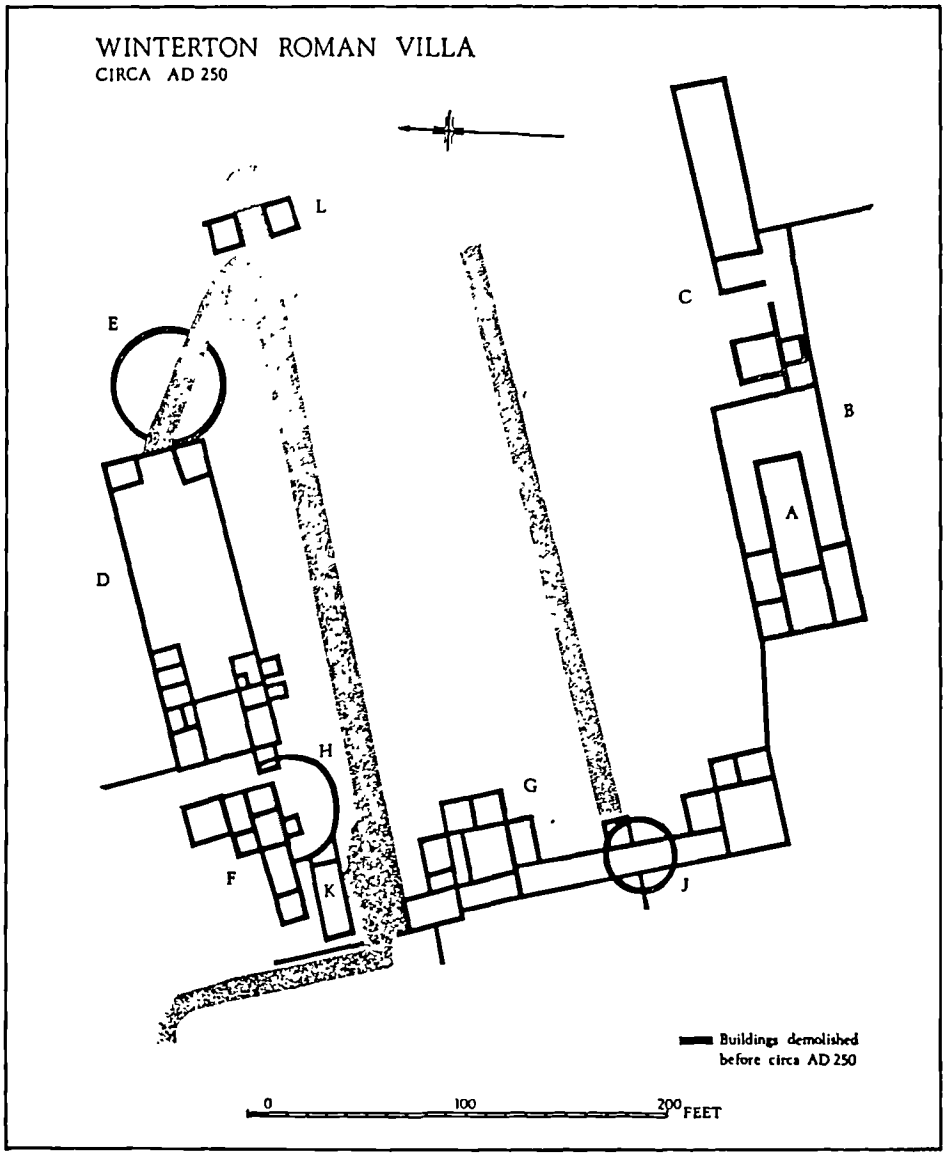
CROMHALL. (Source: Branigan, K., 1976, fig. 12).

Fig. 15



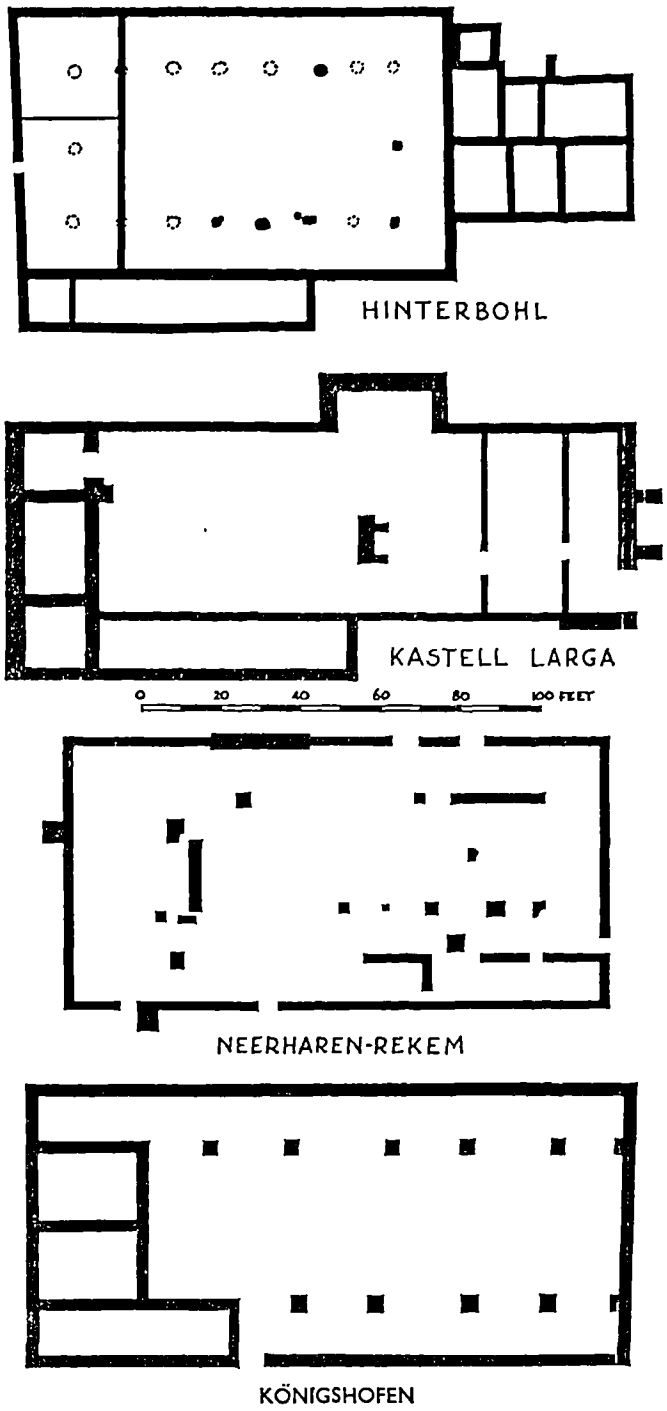
SPARSHOLT. (Source: Johnston, D. E., 1972, The Sparsholt Roman Villa, Revised Edition, fig. 1).

Fig. 16



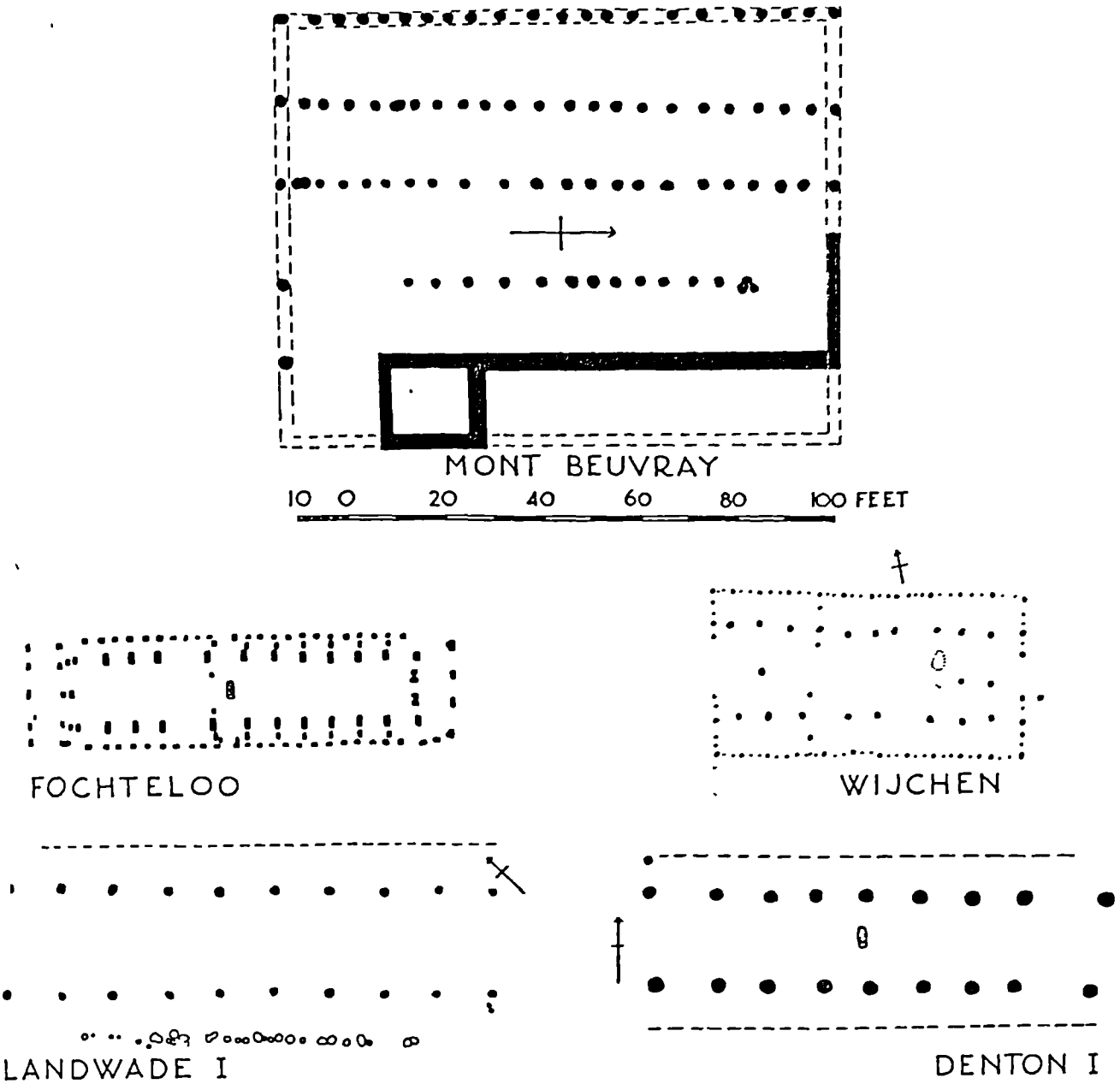
WINTERTON. (Source: Stead, I. M., 1976, fig. 42).

Fig. 17



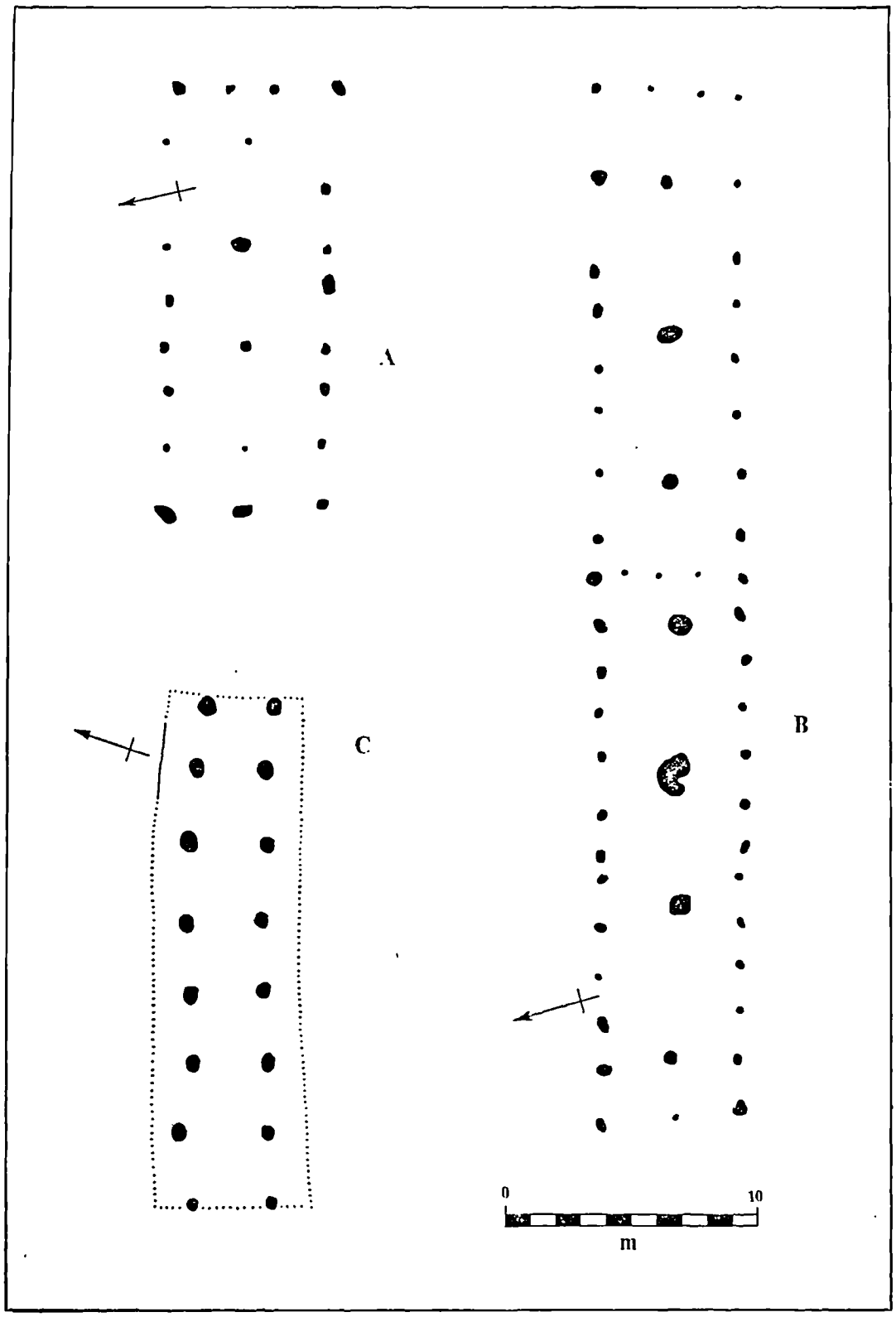
THE ENIGMATIC KÖNIGSHOFEN. (Source: Smith, J.T., 1964, fig. 6).

Fig. 18



FOCHTELOO AND DENTON I. (Source: Smith, J.T., 1964, fig. 9).

Fig. 19

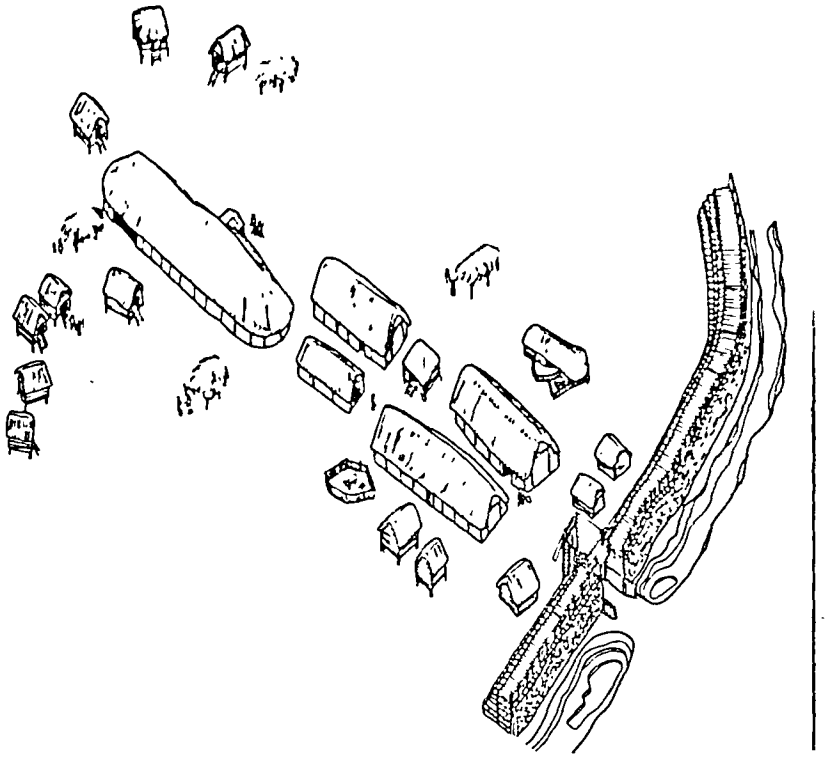


13. *Rectangular houses. A and B, Manching, Bavaria. C, Crickley Hill, Gloucestershire*

CRICKLEY HILL. (Source: Harding, D.W., 1974, fig. 13).

Fig. 20

a.



CRICKLEY HILL: A RECONSTRUCTION. (Source: Darvill, T., 1987, fig. 79).

Fig. 21

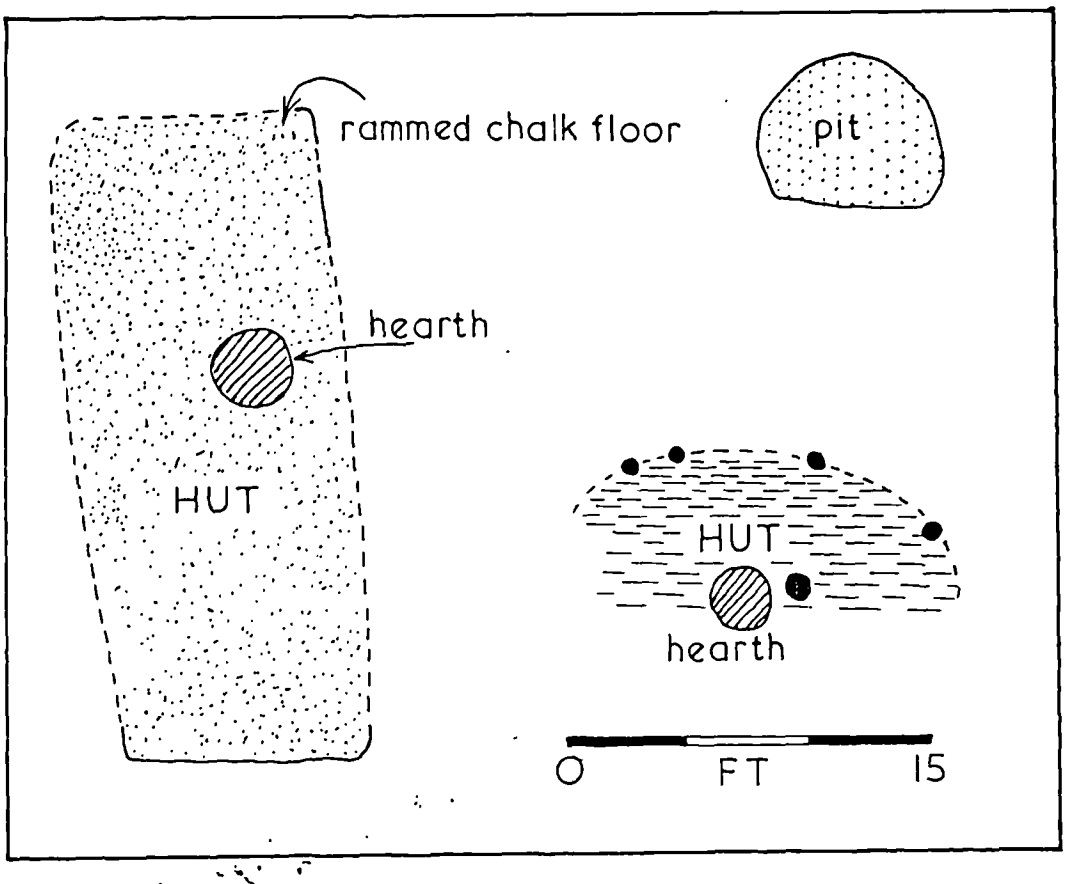
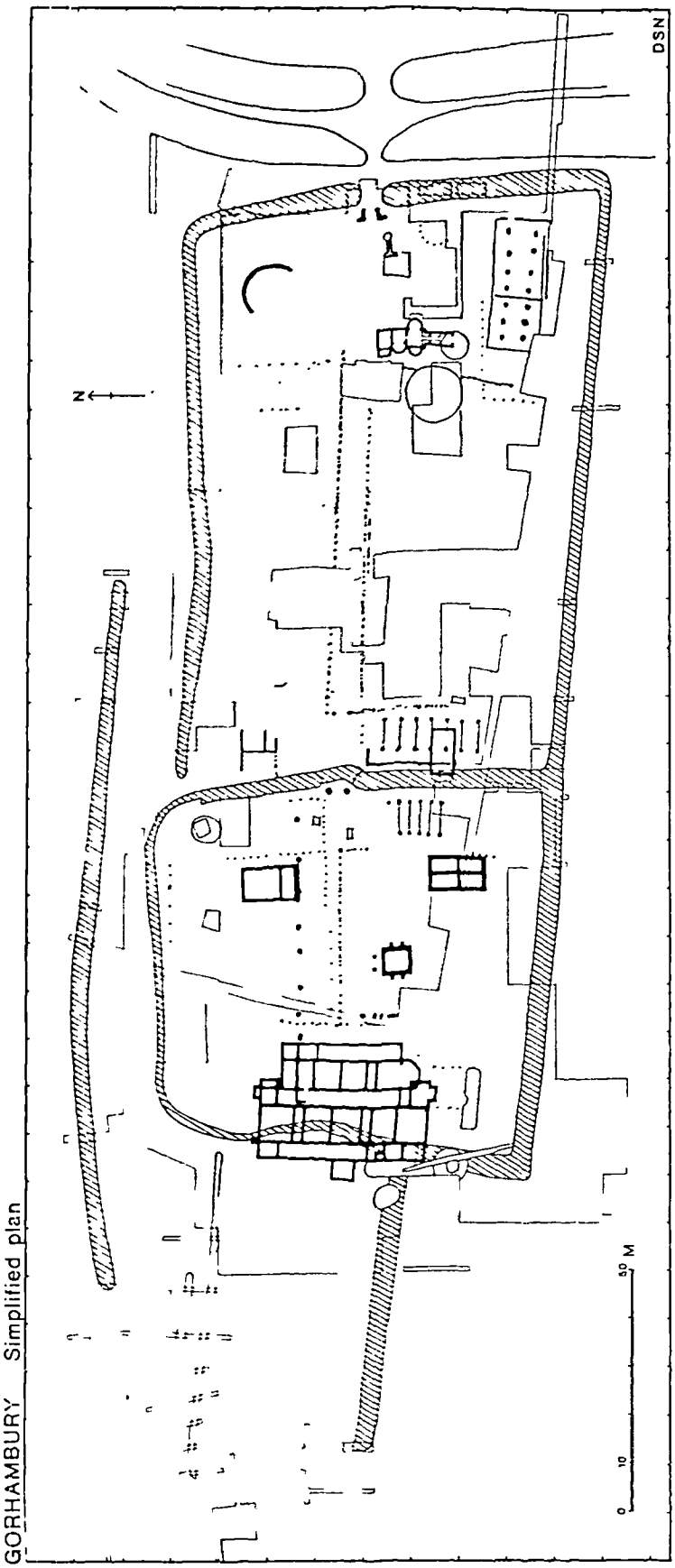


Fig 3. The Belgic farmstead at Park Street, Herts, c.AD.20–43. From the pit at the top right was recovered the slave chain seen in fig 5.

THE PARK STREET 'HUT'. (Source: Branigan, K., 1973, fig. 3).

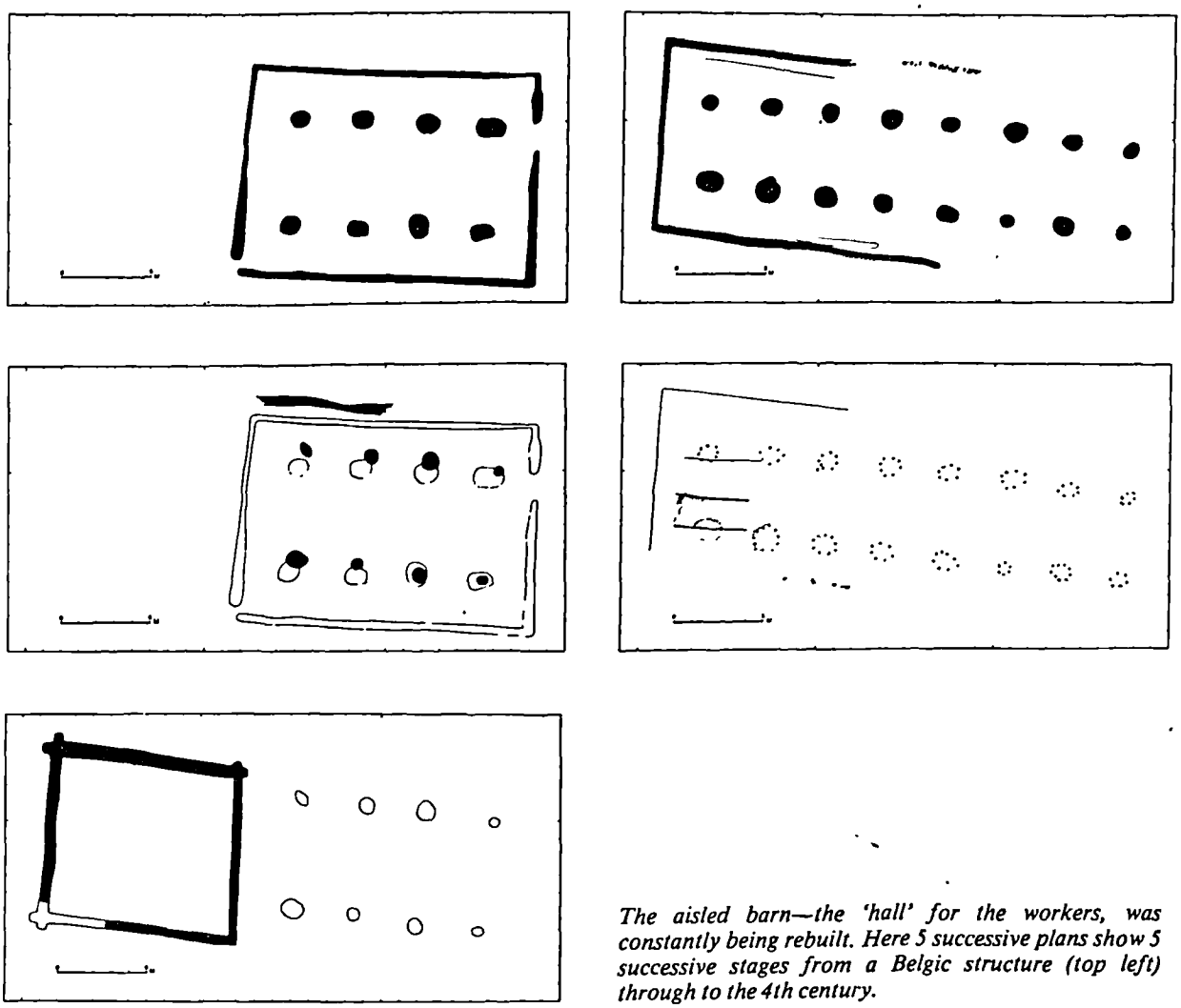


Total plan of Roman villa and its buildings, with the villa to the left, and the Belgic Dykes bounding it to the right. The ditches divide it into an inner and outer yard: in the bottom right corner of the outer yard is the workers hall, with adjacent to it the workers bath-house. In the inner yard there is the villa bath-house bottom right, the bailiff's house, top right, and the tower granary (centre).

GORHAMBURY: 'BELGIC' AISLED BUILDING (BOTTOM RIGHT).
(Source: Current Archaeology, 87, 1983, p.116).

Fig. 23 a

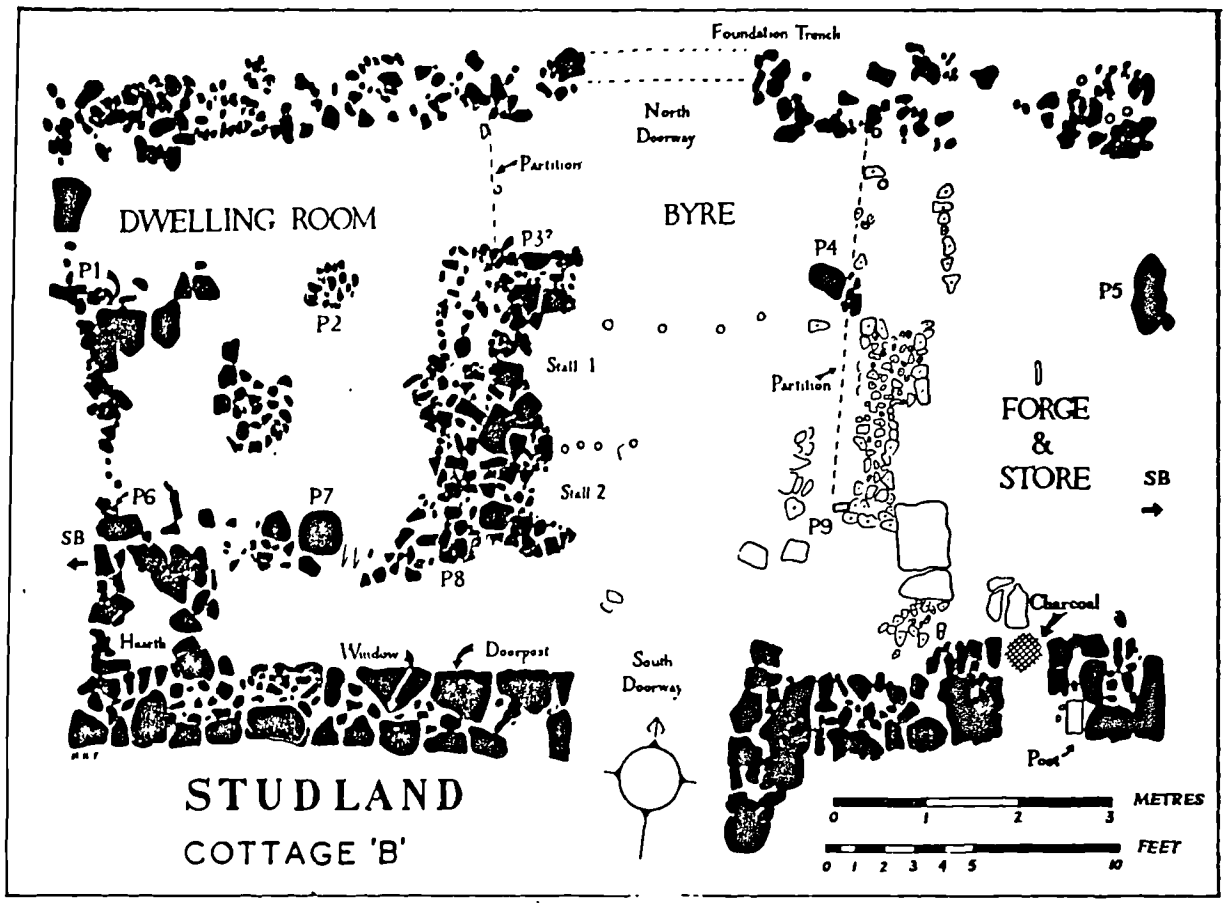
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The aisled barn—the 'hall' for the workers, was constantly being rebuilt. Here 5 successive plans show 5 successive stages from a Belgic structure (top left) through to the 4th century.

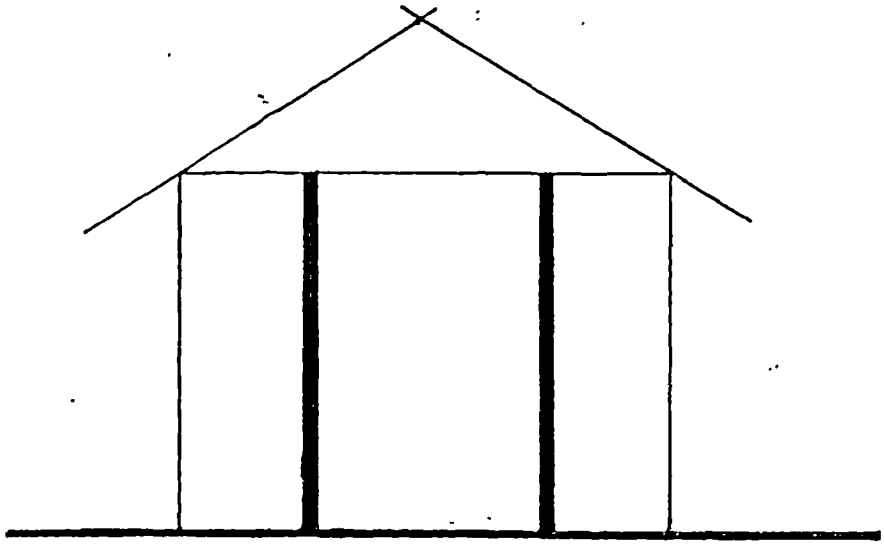
GORHAMBURY: 'BELGIC' AISLED BUILDING. (Source: Current Archaeology, 87, 1983, p. 120).

Fig. 23 b



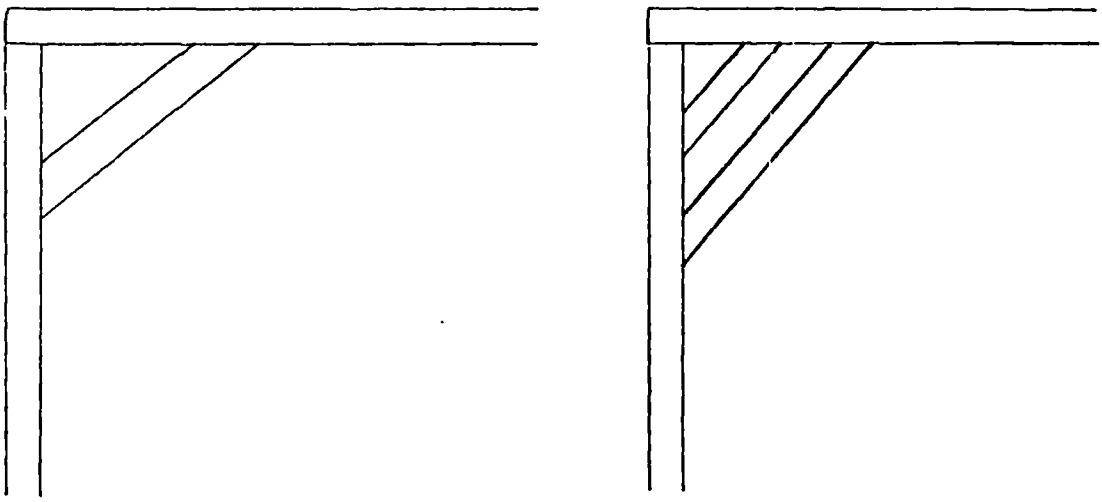
STUDLAND. (Source: Field, N.H., 1966, fig. 6).

Fig. 24



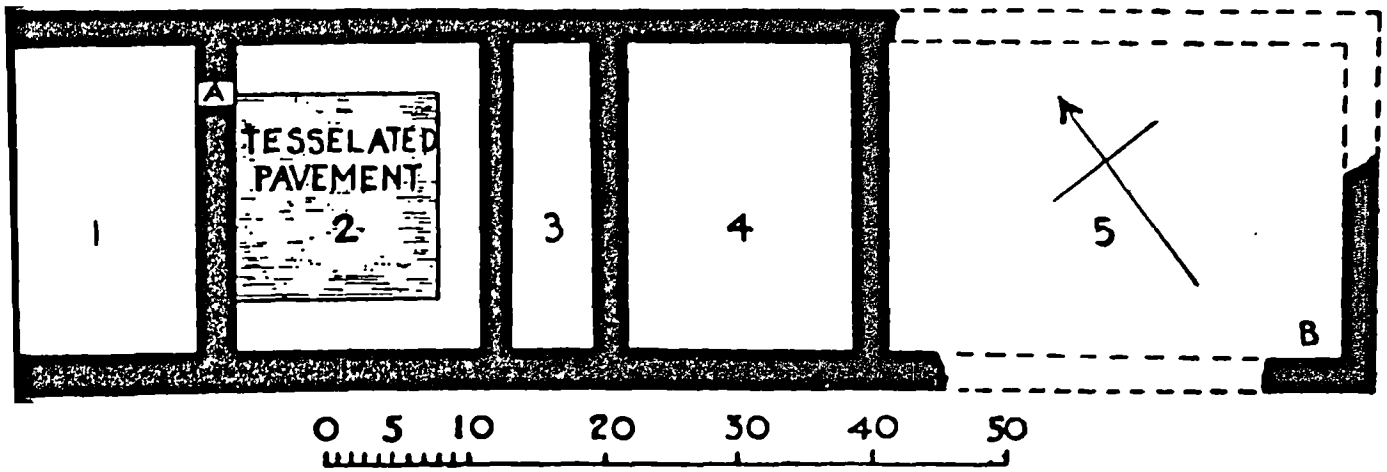
NOT AN AISLED BUILDING CROSS-SECTION.

Fig. 25



STRUTTED BRACING.

Fig. 26



PLAN OF BOXMOOR VILLA, HEMEL HEMPSTEAD

BOXMOOR. (Source: VCH Herts., 1914, p.154).

Fig. 27

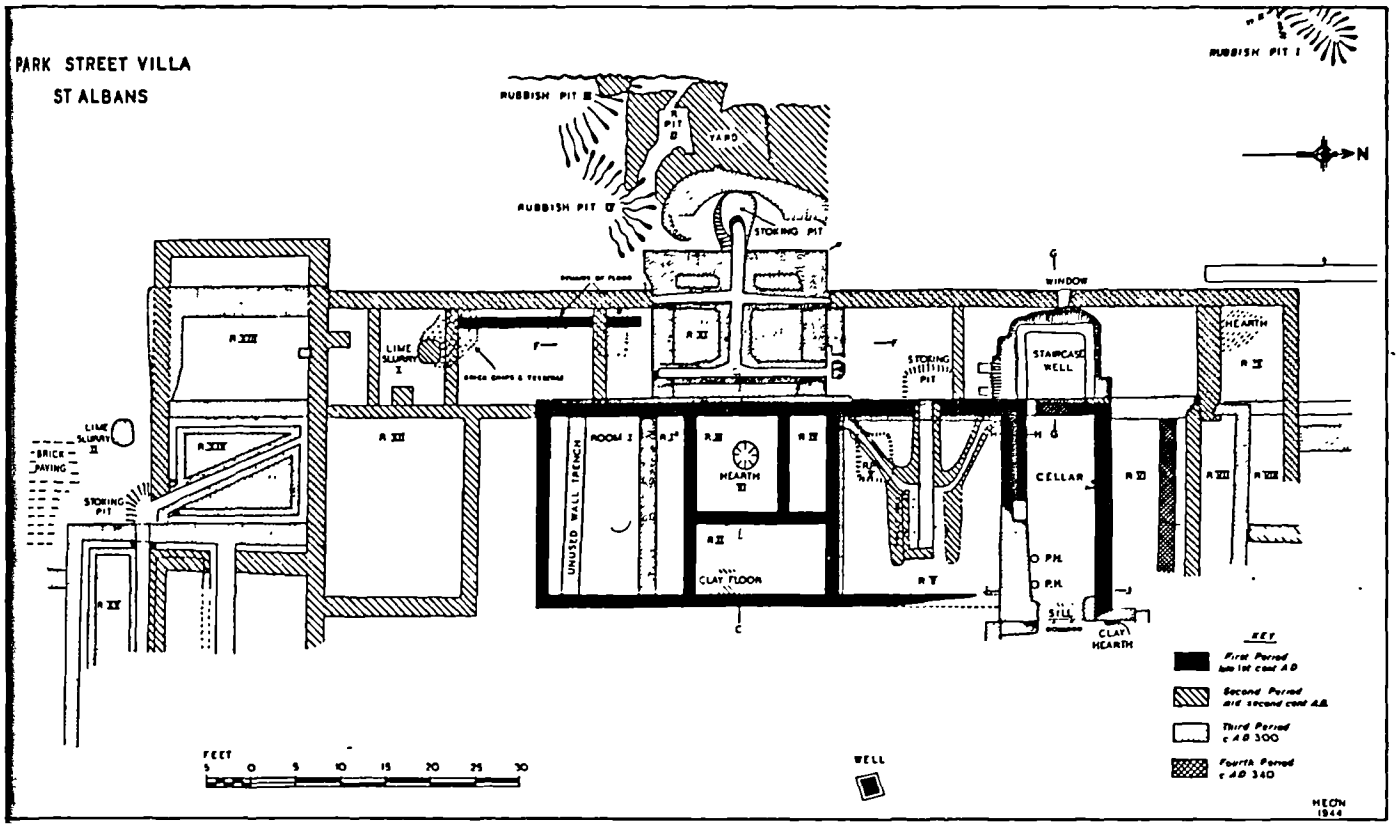


FIG. 3. PLAN OF THE PARK STREET VILLA, SHOWING THE FOUR PERIODS OF ROMAN OCCUPATION

PARK STREET. (Source: Arch. J., 102, 1945, fig. 3).

Fig. 28

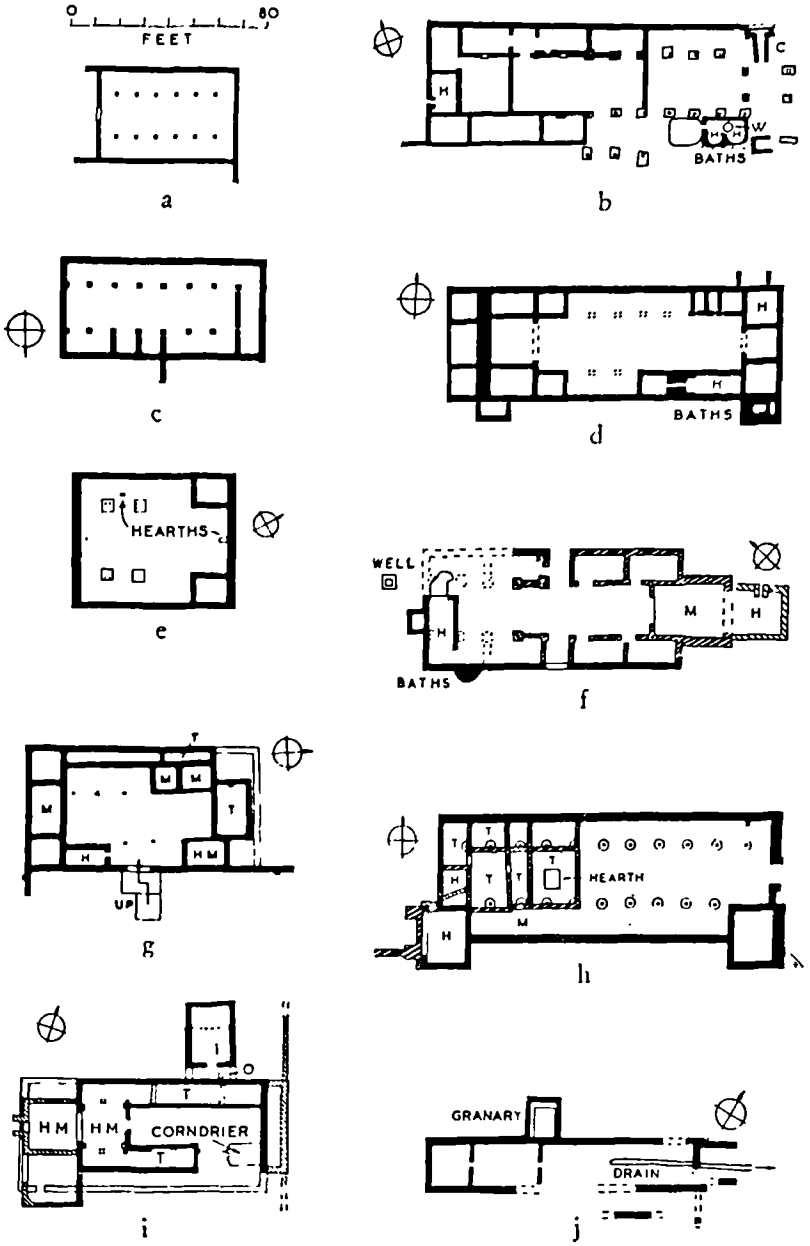


Fig. 51. Plans of aisled houses and a 'farm-house'. Scale 1:960 (1 in. = 80 ft.). C=corn-drier, O=oven, W=well; other abbreviations, and conventions used in drawing, as for fig. 46. *a*. Spoonley Wood, Gloucestershire; *b*. Brading, Isle of Wight; *c*. Ickleton, Cambridgeshire; *d*. Mansfield Woodhouse, Nottinghamshire; *e*. Holbury, Hampshire; *f*. Landwade, Suffolk; *g*. Clanville, Hampshire; *h*. Stroud, Hampshire; *i*. Great Casterton, Rutland; *j*. Iwerne, Dorset.

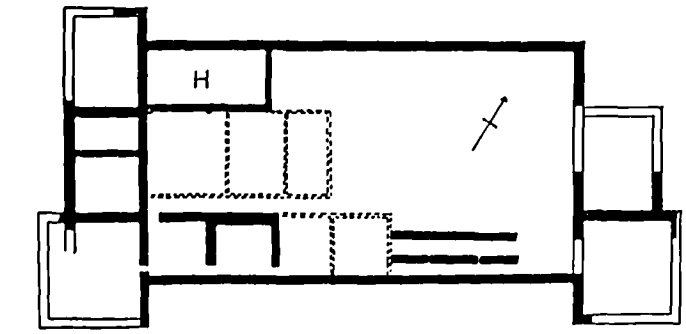
AISLED WORK-BUILDINGS AND FARMHOUSES AT SPOONLEY WOOD, BRADING, ICKLETON, MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE, HOLBURY, LANDWADE, CLANVILLE, STROUD, GT. CASTERTON AND IWERNE.(Source: Collingwood, R.G. and Richmond, I., 1969, fig. 51).

Fig. 29

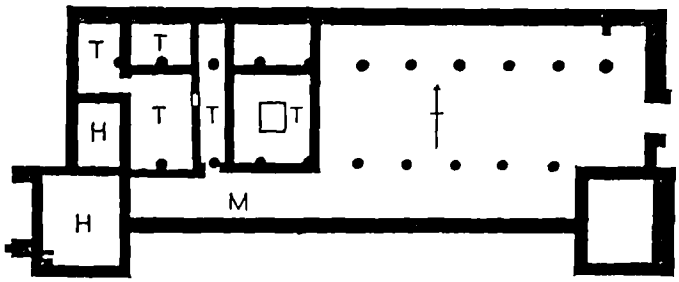


AISLED FARMHOUSES AT DARENTH, EAST GRIMSTEAD, DENTON AND LANDWADE. (Source: Smith, J.T., 1964, p.8).

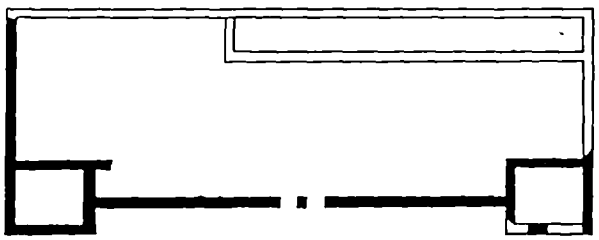
Fig. 30



NORTH WARNBOROUGH

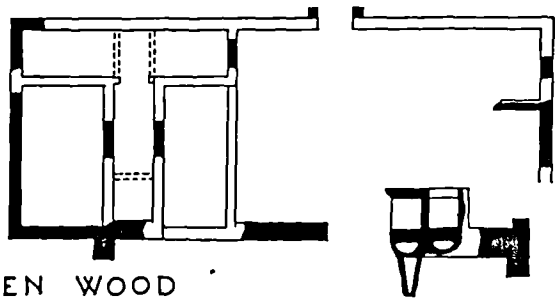


STROUD



REDENHAM

0 20 40 60 80 100 FEET



LIPPEN WOOD

AISLED FARMHOUSES AT NORTH WARNBOROUGH, STROUD, REDENHAM AND LIPPEN WOOD. (Source: Smith, J.T., 1964, P. 6).

Fig. 31

L = length

W = width

Prop. = L:W proportion

N = Nave width

A = aisle width

Area = area of whole building

All measurements in metres.

	L	W	PROP.	N	A	AREA
DARENTH	48.8 x	17.64	(5;1)	7.93	3.66	861
?RIVENHALL	48+ x	16+	(3:1)	10	3	768+
WINTERTON 'D'	48.19x	17.03	c(3:1)	7.3	3.96	821
WEST DEAN 'A'	47.53x	16.42	(3:1)	7.32	3.66	780
N. WARNBOROUGH	45 x	16.72	c(3:1)	7.32	3.66	752
STROUD	43.6 x	15.2	(3:1)	7.32	3.05) 3.66)	663
EAST GRIMSTEAD'3'	43.31x	13.72	(3:1)		3.05) 3.2)	596
MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE	43.31x	12.12	(7:2)		2.44	525
LIPPEN WOOD	40 x	15	(8:3)	7.01	3.35	600
WINTERTON'P'	38.4 x	11.6	c(7:2)			445
SPARSHOLT'2'	37 x	13.72	c(3:1)	6	4	508
BRADING	36 x	17.64	(2:1)	6.4	3.05	635
WINTERTON'B'	36 x	17.03	(2:1)	6.1	4.59	613
WEST BLATCHINGTON	35 x	14.92	(7:3)	6.71	3.05	522
ACTON SCOTT	34.16x	12.81	(5:2)	5.79	2.44	438
WEST DEAN'B'	33.55x	10.62	(3:1)		3.05	356
WINTERTON'M'	33.5 x	12.5	(3:1)			419
TOCKINGTON	33 x	14	(7:3)	6.71	3.05	462
SHAKENOAK'3'	32.02x	14.94	(2:1)	6	2.44) 3.5)	478
BIGNOR	31.11x	15.2	(2:1)			473
LANDWADE	31 x	10				310

AISLED FARMHOUSES: TABLE OF DIMENSIONS AND PROPORTIONS. (Source: Scott, E., 1982, pp 51-2).

Fig. 32

cont. over/

	L		W	PROP.	N	A	AREA
CHILGROVE	29.68	x	15.2	(2:1)			451
LLANTWIT MAJOR	29.53	x	14.64	(2:1)	5.79	2.89	432
CLANVILLE	29.23	x	15.81	(2:1)	6.1	3.05	462
DENTON	29.2	x	11.55	(5:2)			337
BARHOLM	29	x	8	(7:2)	8		232
COMBLEY	28	x	15	(2:1)	6	4.5	420
BEDMORE BARN	27.4	x	11.23	(5:2)	4.57	1.83) 2.13)	308
HAMBLEDEN'2'	26.86	x	13.74	(2:1)			369
CIRENCESTER	26	x	13	(2:1)	5	2.3	338
GREAT CASTERTON	27.4	x				4.27	
THRUXTON	25.92	x	15.2	(5:3)	6.4	4.4	394
STUBBINSWOOD	24.7	x	9.1) 12.2)	c(2:1)		3.05	c259
ATWORTH	22.5	x	13.5	(5:3)		1.9	304
ORTON HALL FARM	22	x	11	(2:1)	5		242
PARK STREET	20.13	x	13.72	(3:2)	6.1	3.05	276
CARISBROOKE	19.8	x	14	(4:3)	6.7	3	277
HOLBURY	17.94	x	14.94	(6:5)	9.1	2.44	268
SCARCLIFFE PARK	15	x	7	(2:1)			c105
STUDLAND'H'	16	x	5	(3:1)			80
STUDLAND'A'	11	x	7	(3:2)			77
STUDLAND'B'	11	x	7	(3:2)			77
WAKERLEY'A'	19.8	x	11.5+	c(2:1)	6.8	2.35	228+
ROCKBOURNE	17.64+	x	14.33		7.32	3.66	

Fig. 32 (cont.)

	L		W	PROP.	N	A	AREA
NETHERWILD	38.12	x	10.93	(4:1)	4.73	1.93	417
BARNACK A1 became BARNACK A2	39.5 34.46	x x	8.84 8.34	(4:1) c(4:1)	5.79 c5.79	1.52 1.52	349 287
NORTH WRAXHALL	c35	x	12	(3:1))		3	c420
GREAT OAKLEY	34.16	x	12.4	(3:1)			424
WINGHAM	30.5	x	15.81	(2:1)	c7	3.05	482
ORTON LYNCH FARM	26	x	11.6	(2:1)	5.6	2.4	302
ORTON HALL FARM B1	25.62	x	13.11	(2:1)	7.32	2.13	336
ICKLETON	23.74	x	10.93	(2:1)	4.51	2.28	259
RAPSLEY	22.67	x	10.73	(2:1)	6.1	1.52	243
ORTON HALL FARM B2	22	x	10.5	(2:1)	5		231
PURBROOK	22	x	12	(2:1)	6	2	264
CASTLEFIELD	20.28	x	12.25	(5:3)	6.76	2.89	248
HUNTSHAM	20.13	x	13.42	(5:3)	5.15	2.44) 2.74)	270
HALSTOCK	19.3	x	10	(2:1)	5	2.5	193
CEFNGRAEANOG	19.82	x	7.52	(5:2)	4.57	1.52	149
TARRANT HINTON	18.6	x	10.93	c(2:1)	4.57	2.5	203
NORFOLK STREET	17.5	x	12.5	(3:2)			219
DINORBEN	16.72	x	7.62	(2:1)			127
WELTON WOLD	15	x	7.5	(2:1)			113
GATCOMBE 3	14.03	x	7.93	(2:1)	2.74	1.22	111
SPOONLEY WOOD	16.42	x	10.47	(3:2)	5.23	2.68	172
ANCASTER	15	x	8.4	(2:1)	3	1.52	126
CHERRY HINTON	10.62	x	7.62	(3:2)	3.66	1.83	81

AISLED WORK-BUILDINGS: TABLE OF DIMENSIONS AND PROPORTIONS. (Source: Scott, E., 1982, p. 53).

Fig. 33

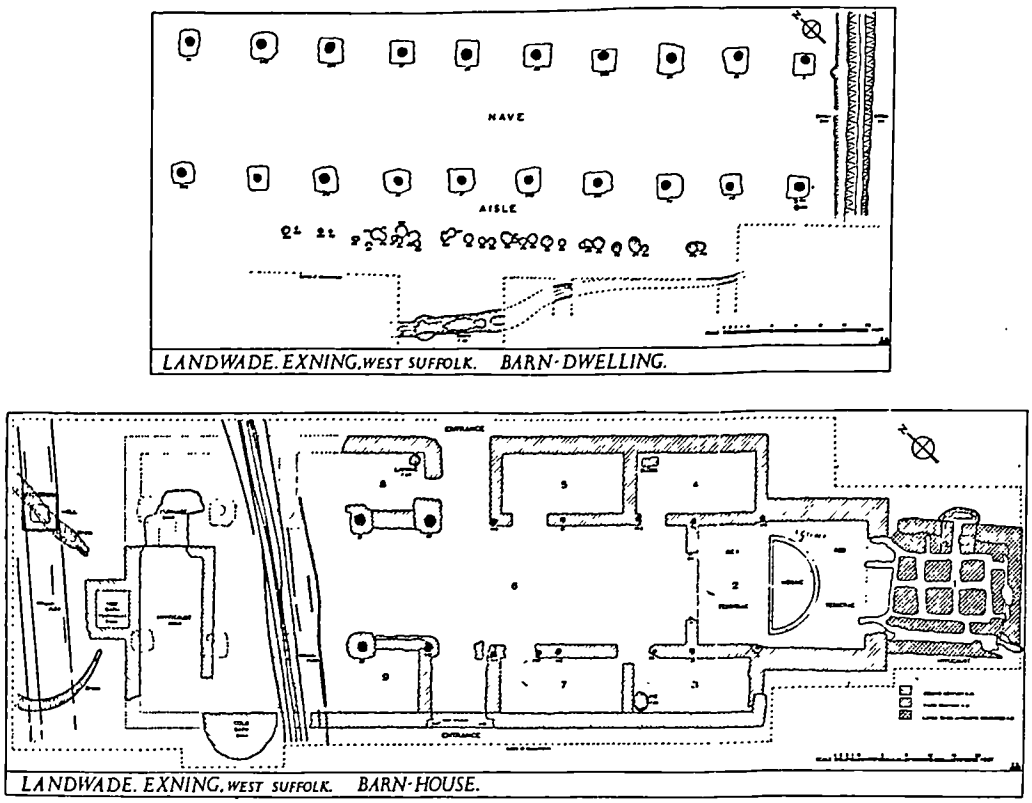
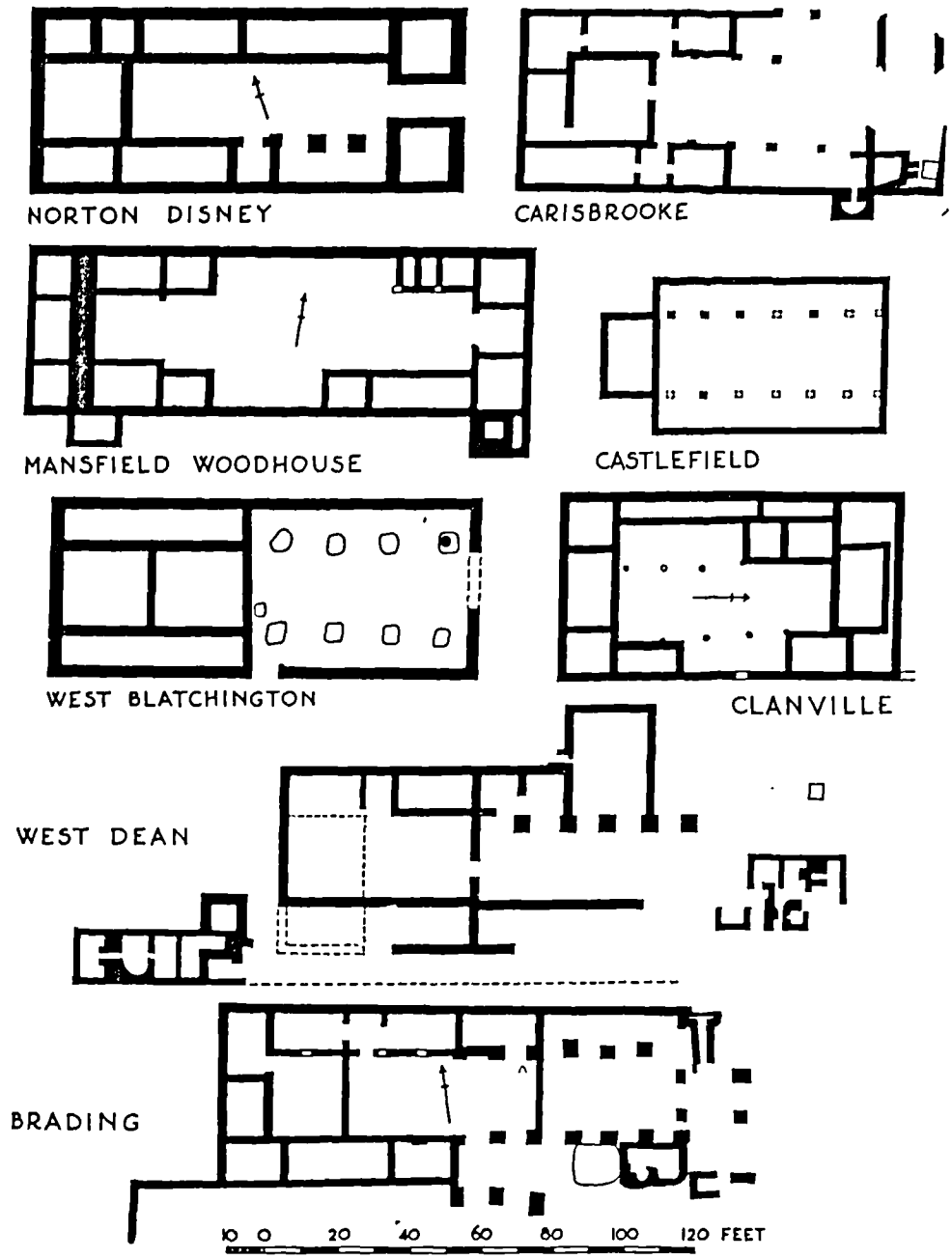


FIG. 29. PLANS OF EARLY SECOND-CENTURY BARN DWELLING AND THE LATER BARN-HOUSE
Drawn by E. Greenfield for the Ministry of Works

LANDWADE, EXNING. (Source: Journal of Roman Studies, 50, 1960, fig. 29).

Fig. 34



AISLED FARMHOUSES AND AN AISLED WORK-BUILDING AT NORTON DISNEY, CARISBROOKE, MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE, CASTLEFIELD, W. BLATCHINGTON, CLANVILLE, W. DEAN AND BRADING. (Source: Smith, J.T., 1964, p.2).

Fig. 35

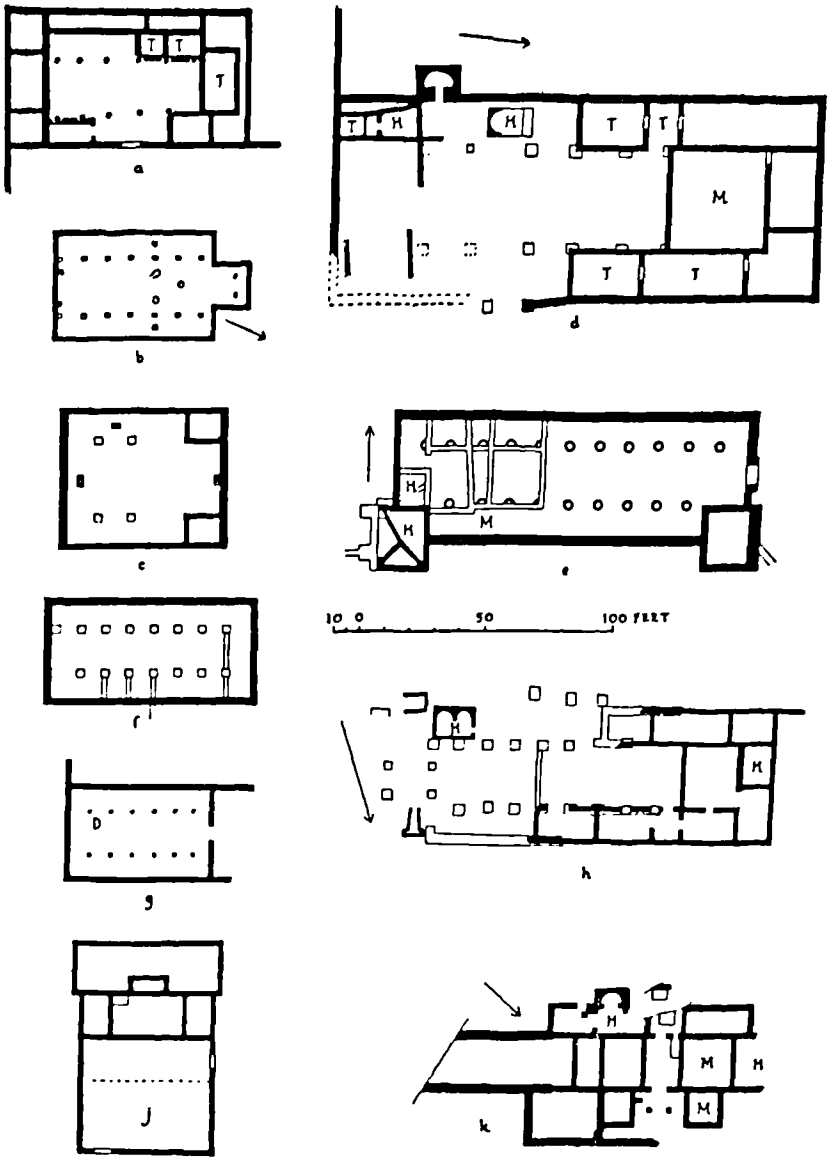
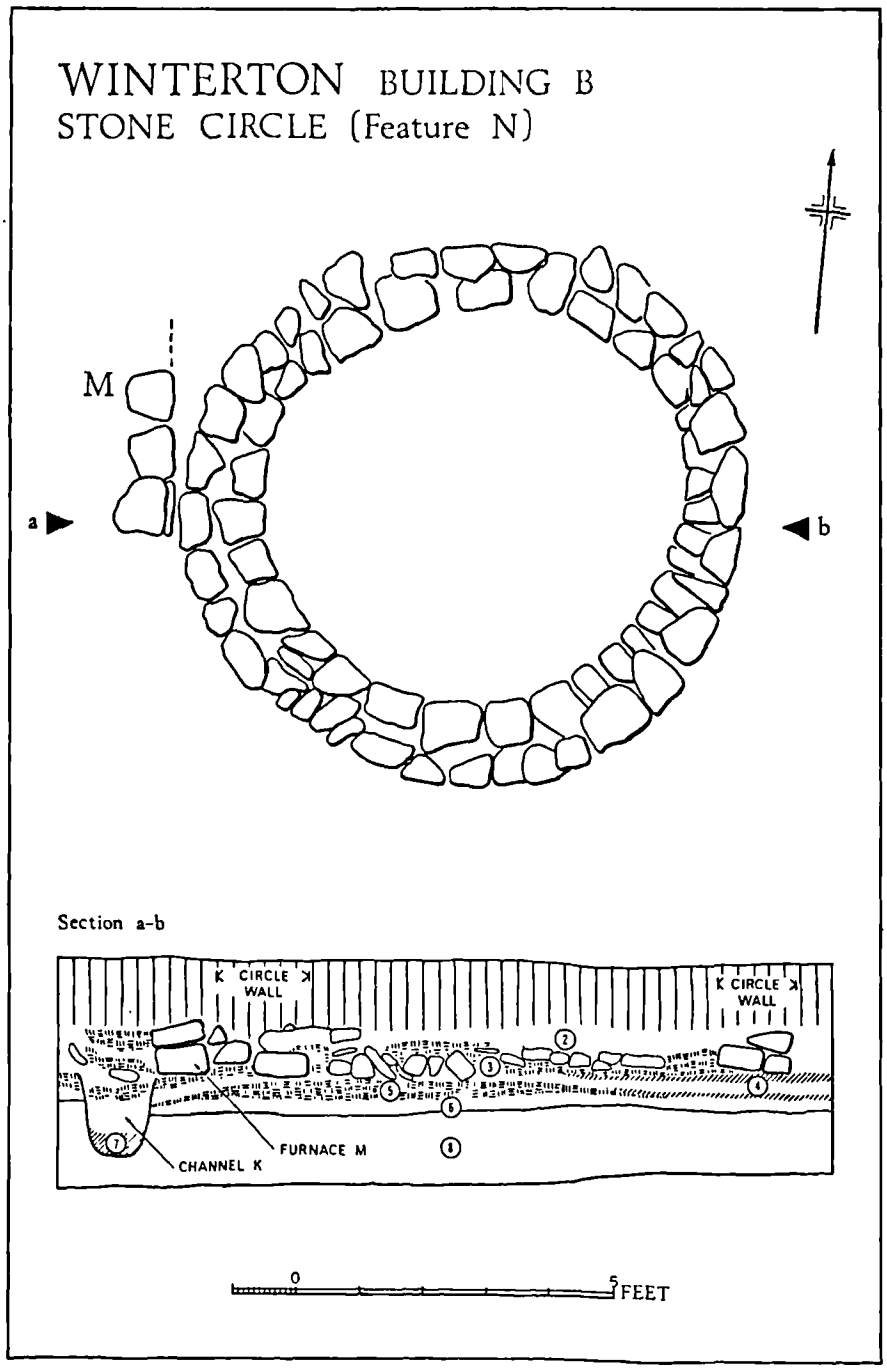


FIG. 34.—BASILICAN VILLAS, ETC. 80 feet to 1 inch = 1 : 960.

(*a*) Clanville, Hants (basilican villa).
(*b*) Castlefield, Hants (basilican villa).
(*c*) Holbury, Hants (basilican villa).
(*d*) Carisbrooke, I.O.W. (basilican villa).
(*e*) Stroud, Hants (basilican villa with wings).
(*f*) Ickleton, Cambs. (basilican outbuilding of a corridor villa).
(*g*) Spoonley Wood, Glos. (basilican outbuilding).
(*h*) Brading, I.O.W. (basilican outbuilding adapted as a dwelling-house).
(*j*) Finkley, Hants (villa of unclassified type, perhaps a wingless corridor villa).
(*k*) Yatton, Som. (villa of unclassified type, with entrance of classical pattern).

H = Hypocaust. M = Mosaic floor. T = Tessellated floor.

AISLED FARMHOUSES AND AISLED WORK-BUILDINGS AT CLANVILLE, CASTLEFIELD, HOLBURY, CARISBROOKE, STROUD, ICKLETON, SPOONLEY WOOD AND BRADING; AND HOUSES AT FINKLEY AND YATTON. (Source: Collingwood, R.G., 1930, fig. 34).



A POSSIBLE THRESHING FLOOR AT WINTERTON. (Source: Stead, I.M., 1976, fig. 19).

Fig. 37

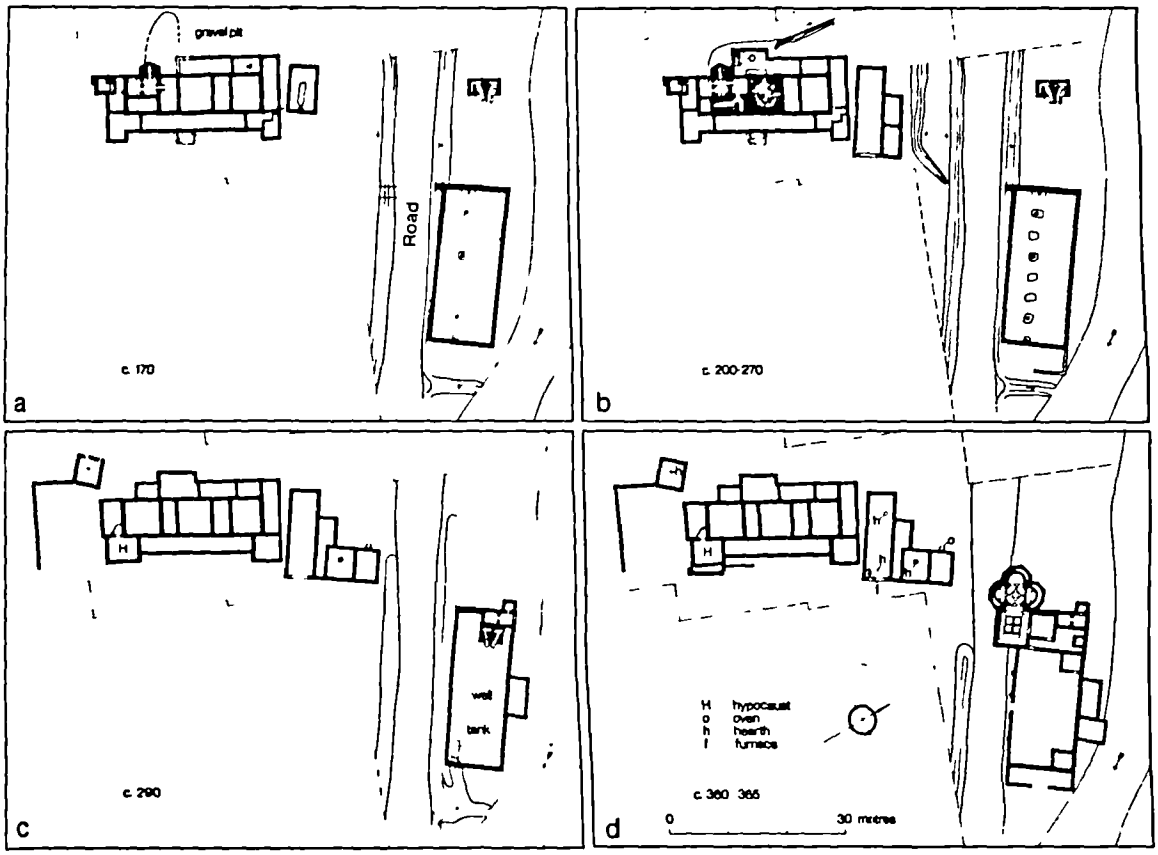
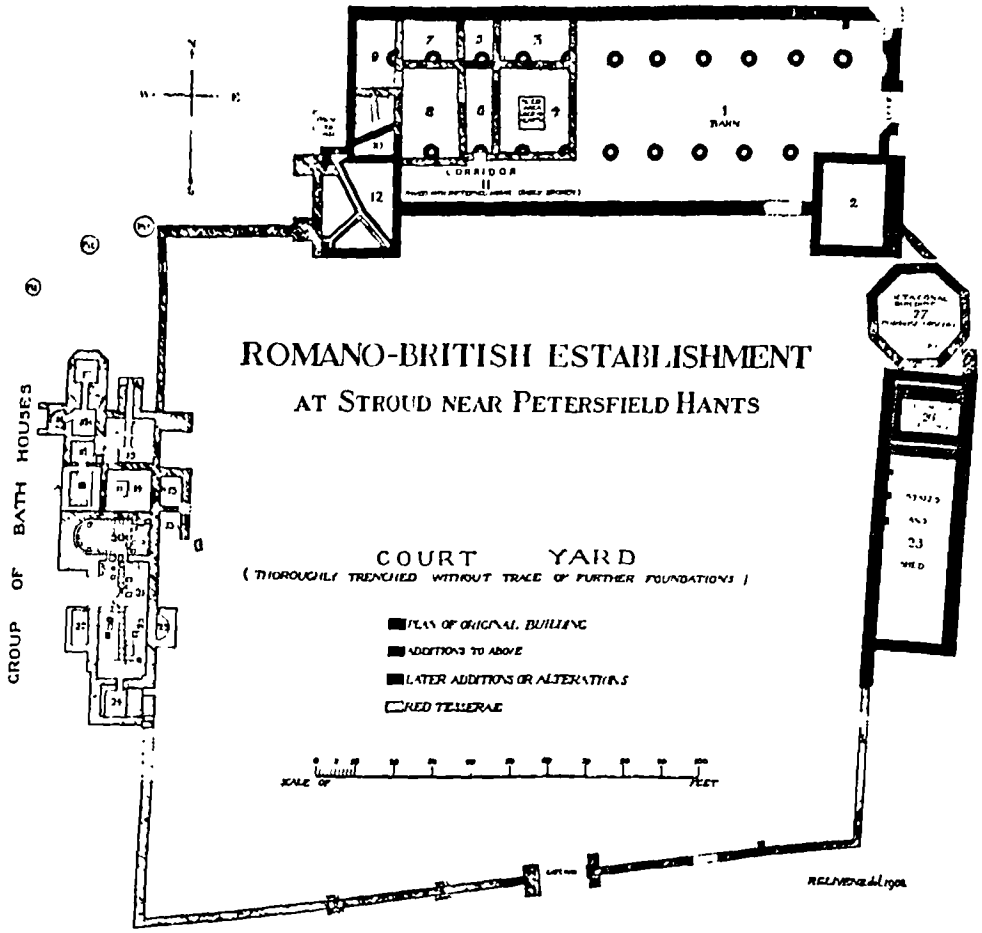


FIG. 26. Littlecote Park: plan showing the development of the villa. Scale 1:1300
(*Drawn by L. Thompson*)

LITTLECOTE. (Source: Britannia, 15, 1984, fig. 26).

Fig.38



STROUD, PETERSFIELD. (Source: Arch. J., 66, 1909, p.33, pl. 1(f)).

Fig. 39

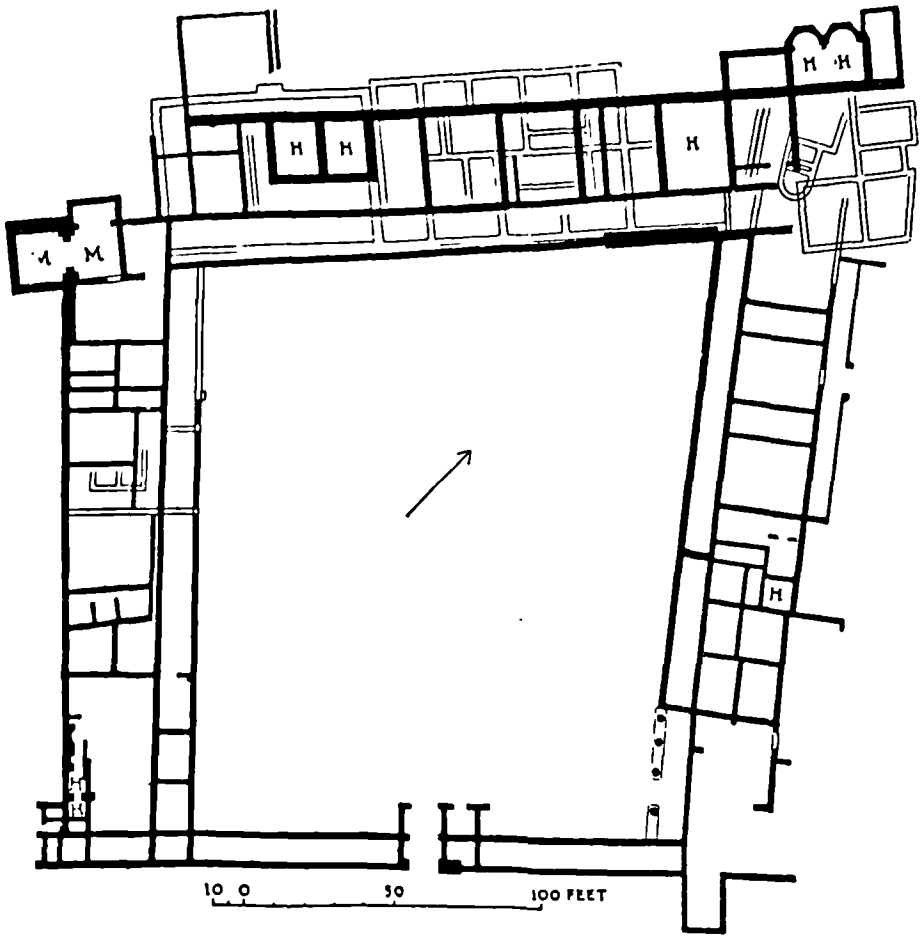


FIG. 32.—NORTH LEIGH, OXON.

NORTH LEIGH. (Source: Collingwood, R.G., 1930, fig. 32).

Fig. 40

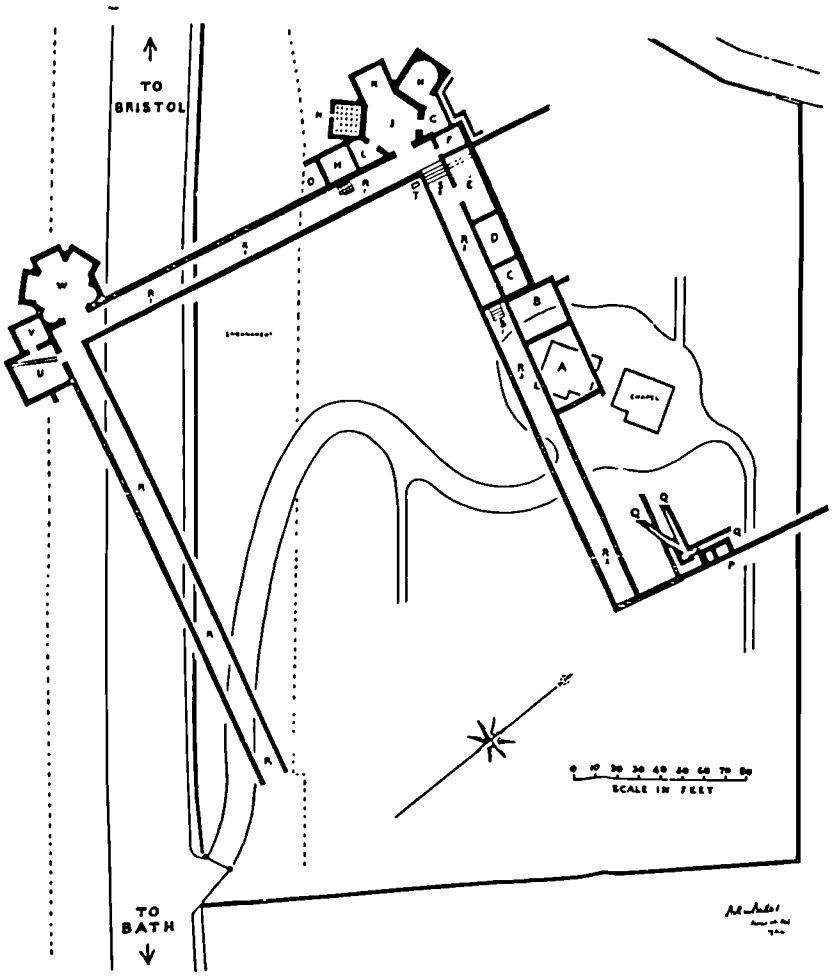


Fig. 1. Ground-plan of Roman House in Keynsham Cemetery.

KEYNSHAM. (Source: Archaeologia, 75, 1926, p.111, fig.1).

Fig. 41

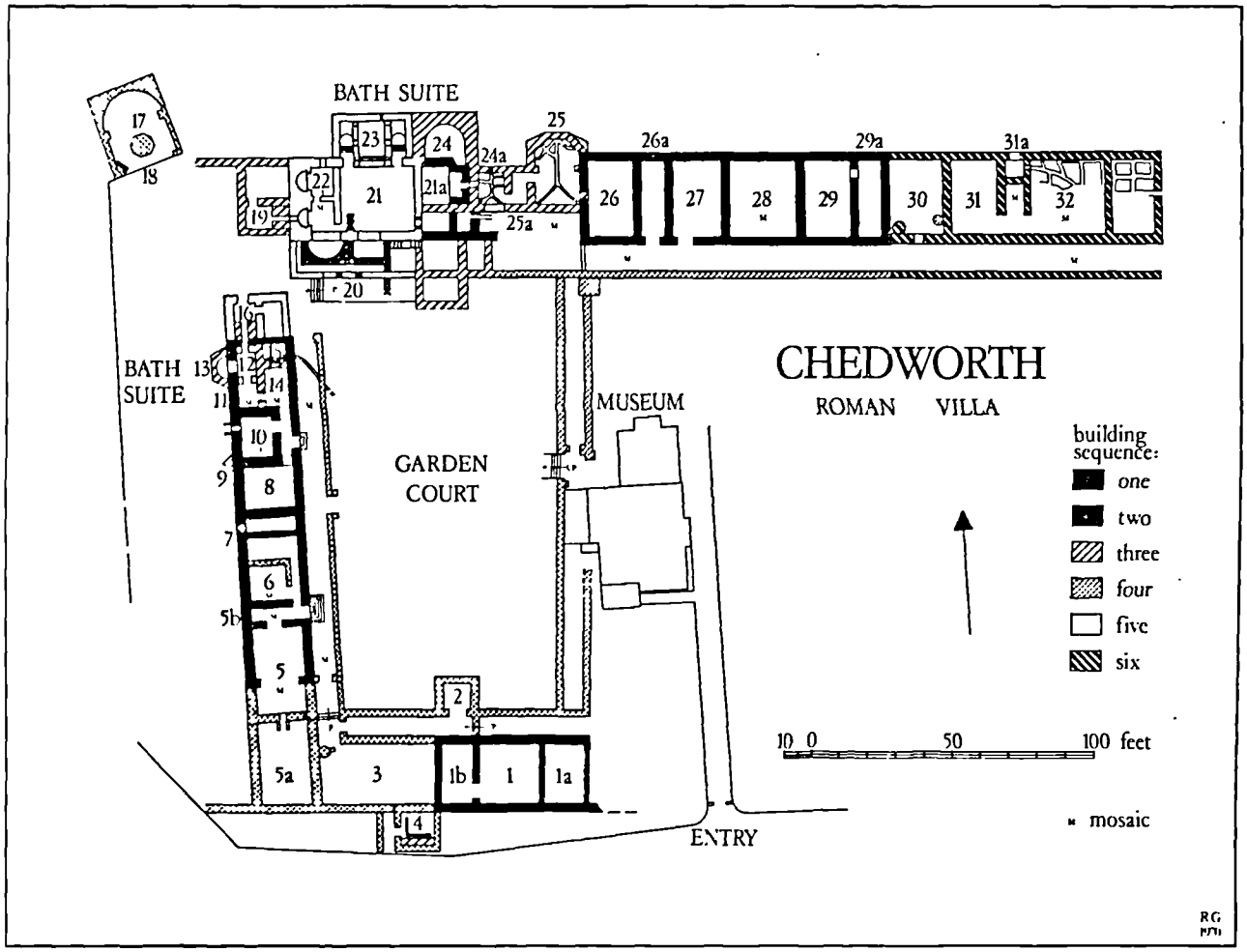
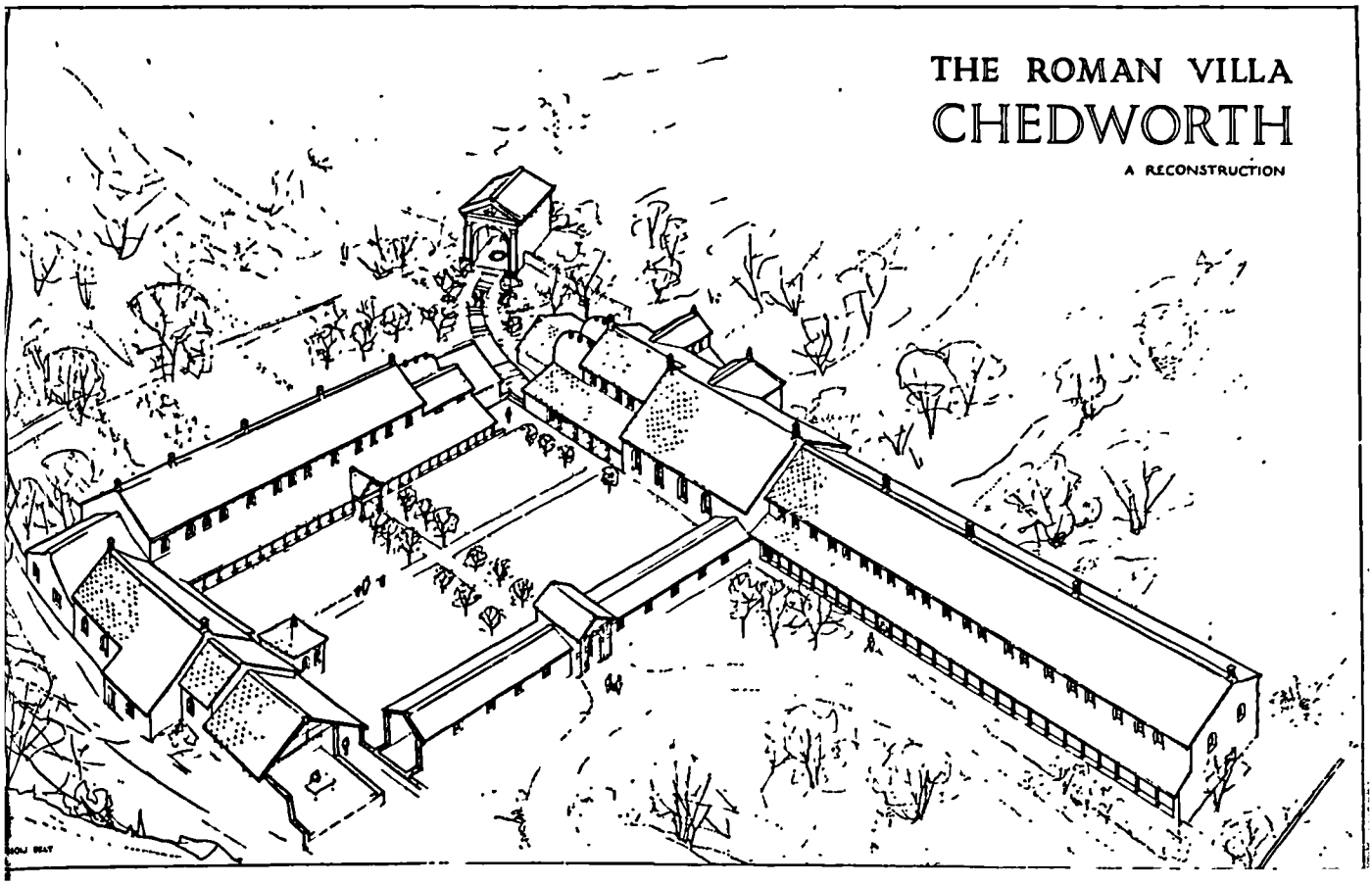


Figure 3

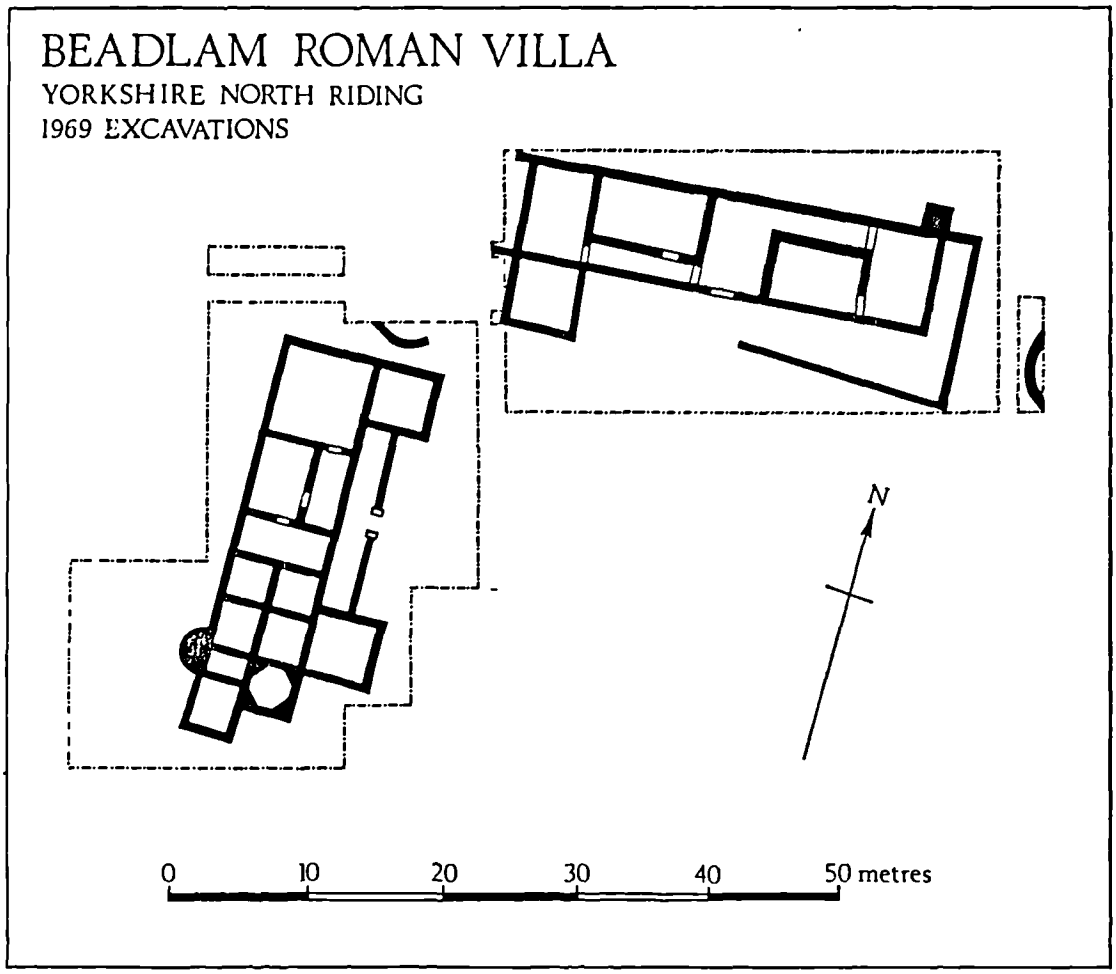
CHEDWORTH. (Source: Goodburn, R., 1972, fig. 3).

Fig. 42



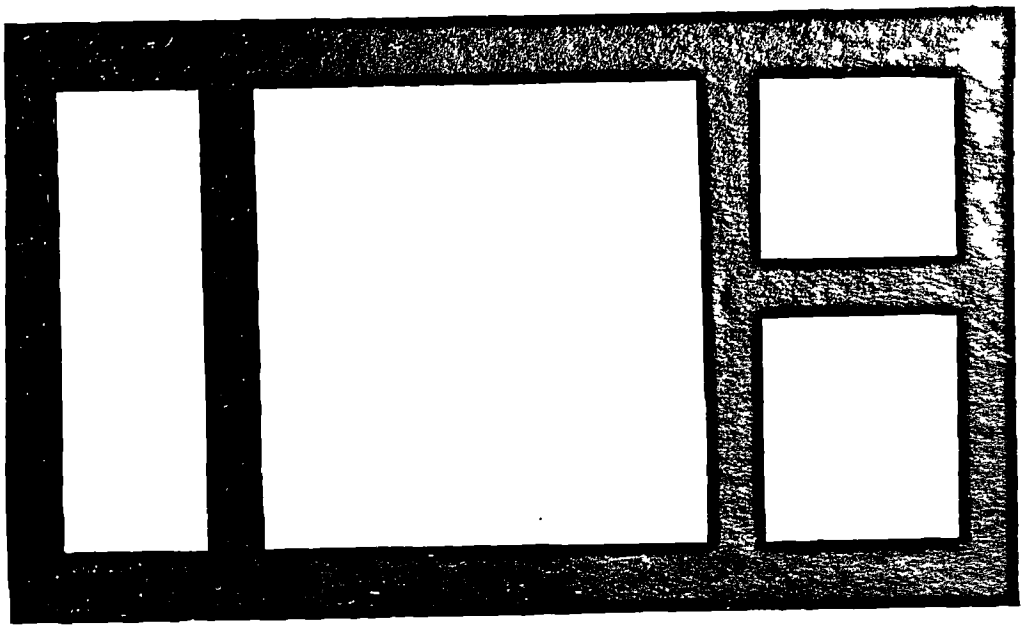
RECONSTRUCTION OF CHEDWORTH. (Source: Drawing by S. Gibson; Print in Possession of D.J. Smith).

Fig. 43



BEADLAM. (Source: Britannia, 1, 1970, fig. 5).

Fig. 44



DRURY'S 'STANDARD UNIT' OF ROOMS. (Source: Drury, P.J., 1982b, fig 14.5 & p. 298).

Fig. 45

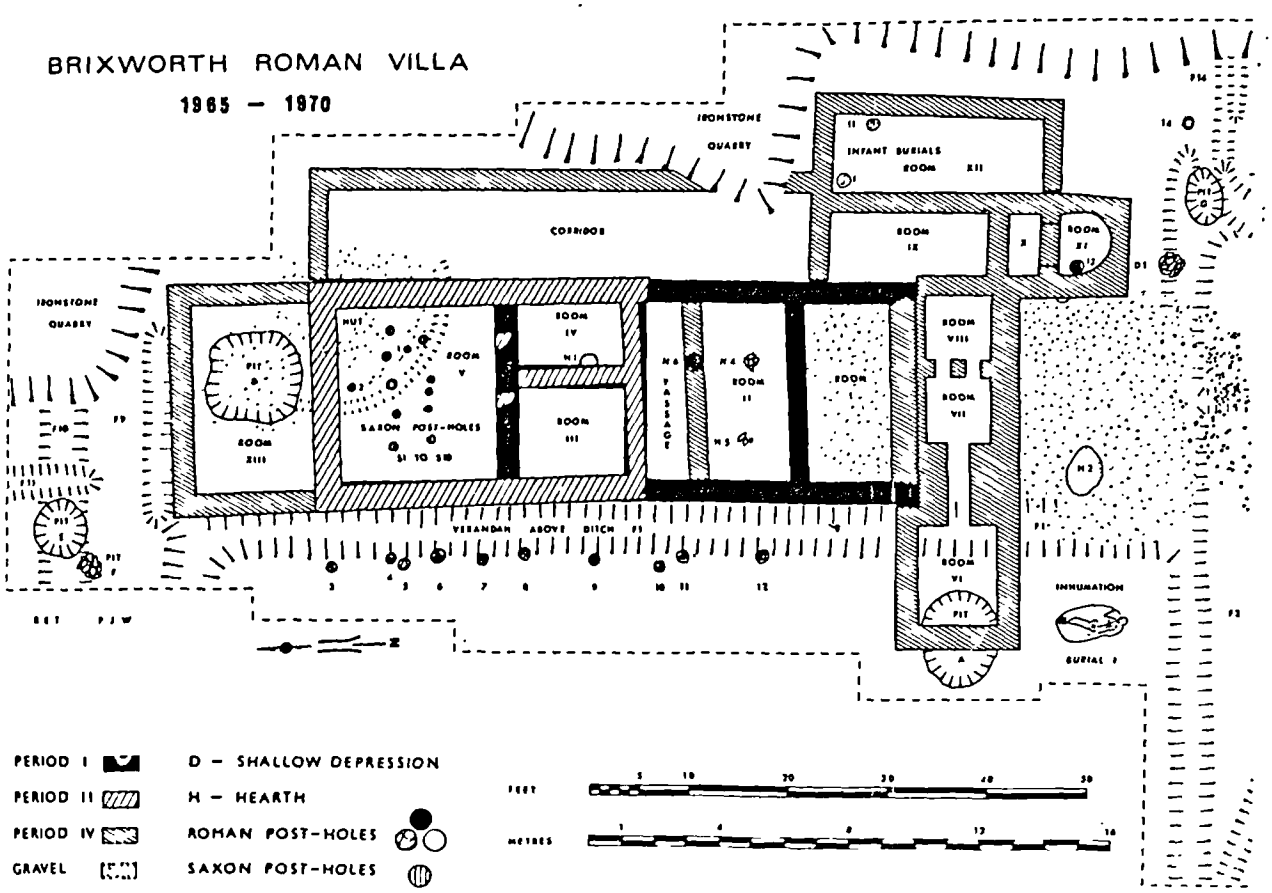
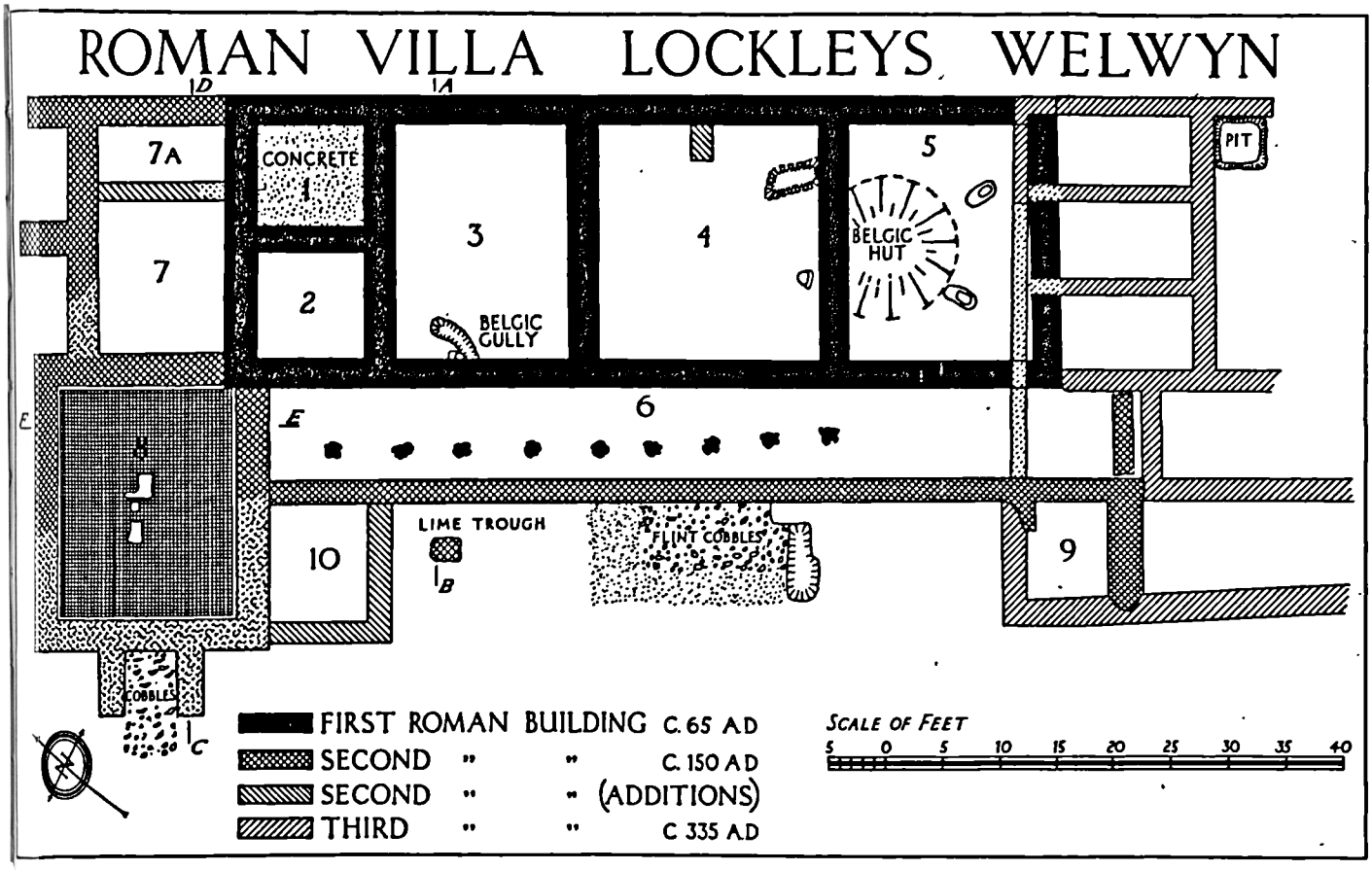


FIG. 7

Brixworth, Northants.: plan of north end of excavations, showing the dwelling-house. Scale 1 : 200.
(*Drawn by R. E. Turland*)

BRIXWORTH. (Source: Britannia, 3, 1972, fig.7).

Fig. 46



LOCKLEYS. (Source: Antiq. J., 18, 1938, pl. LXX).

Fig. 47

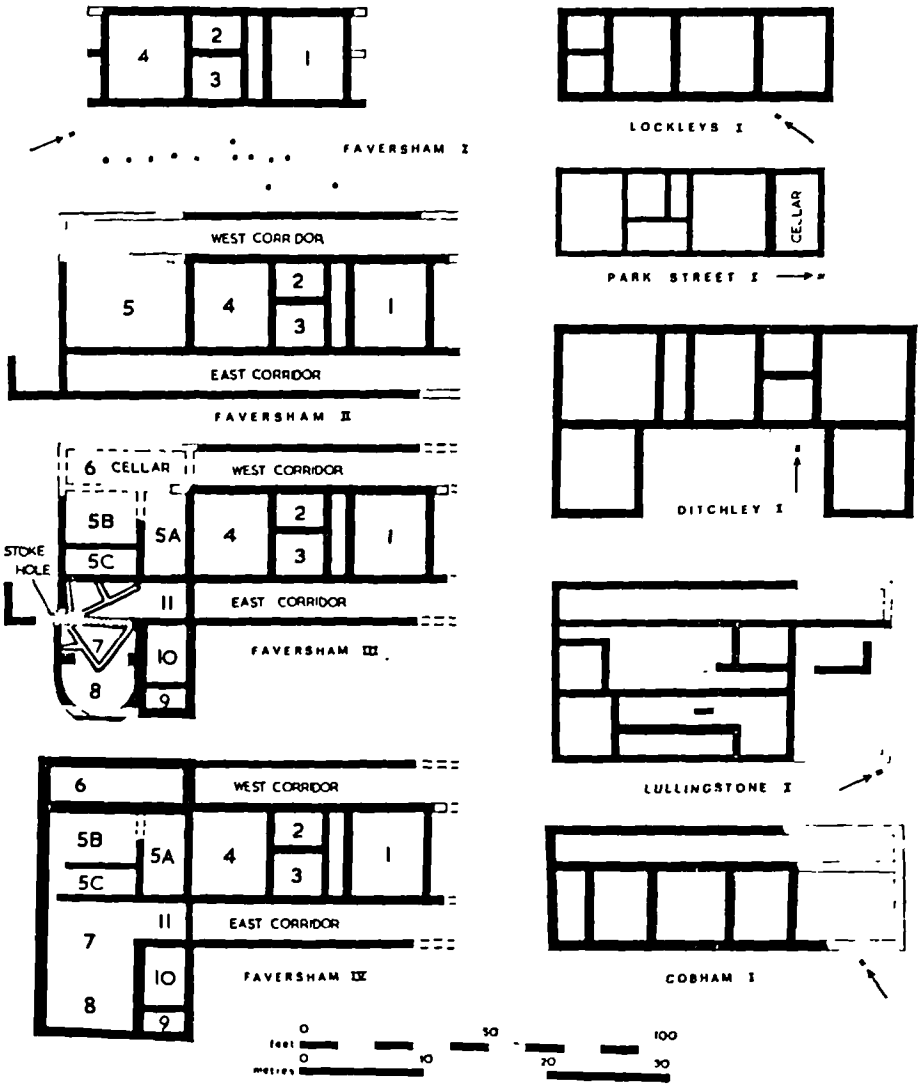
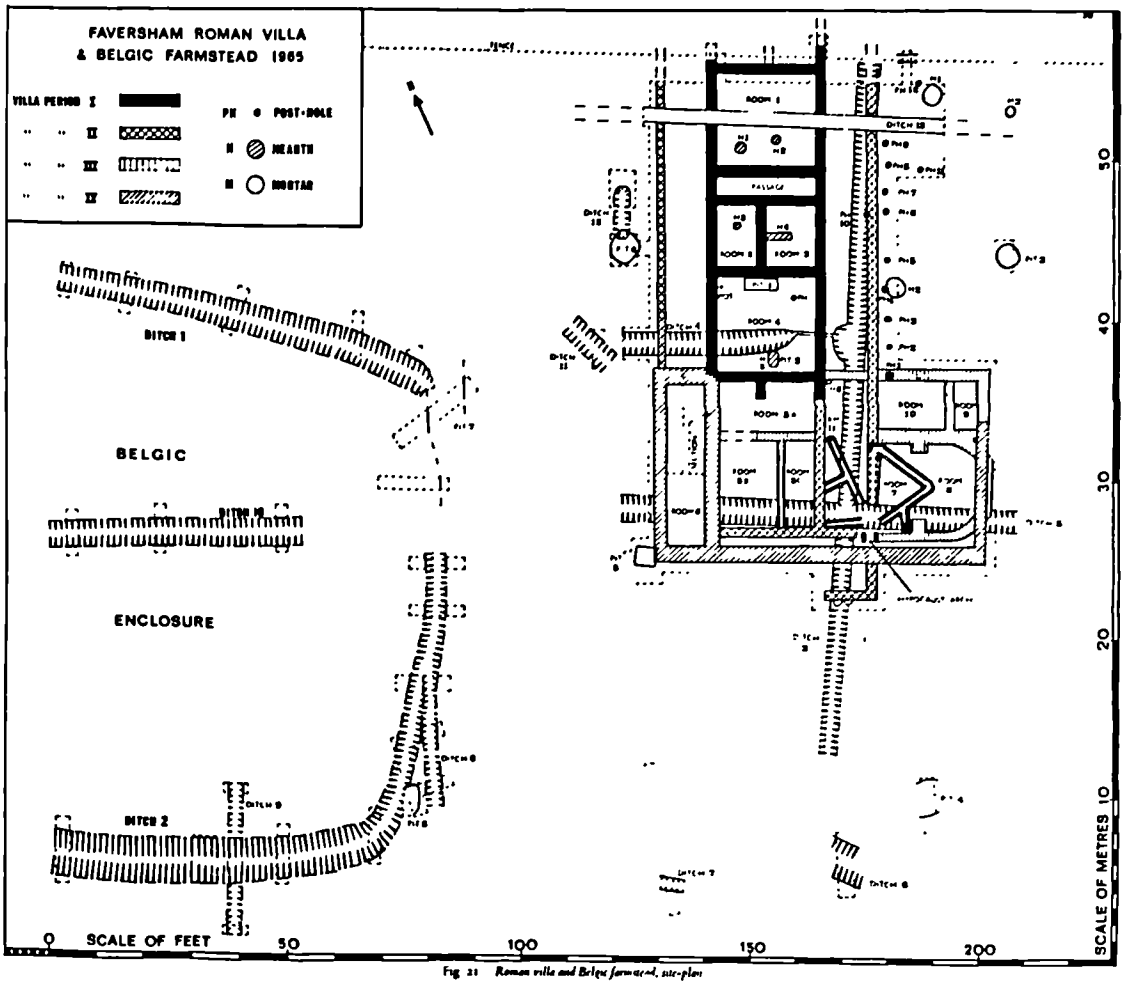


Fig. 22. *Comparative villa plans.*

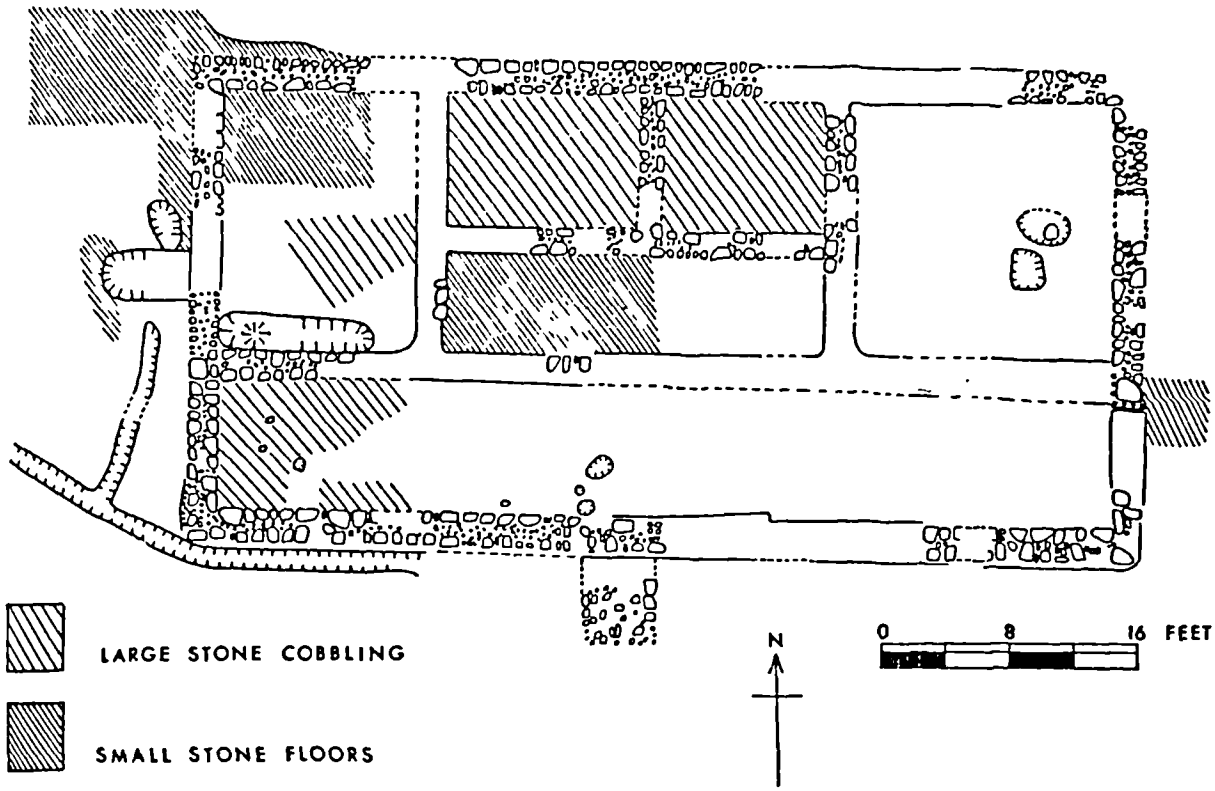
LOCKLEYS, PARK STREET, DITCHLEY,
LULLINGSTONE, COBHAM AND
FAVERSHAM. (Source: Philp, B., 1968, fig. 22).

Fig. 48



FAVERSHAM. (Source: Philp. B., 1968, fig. 21).

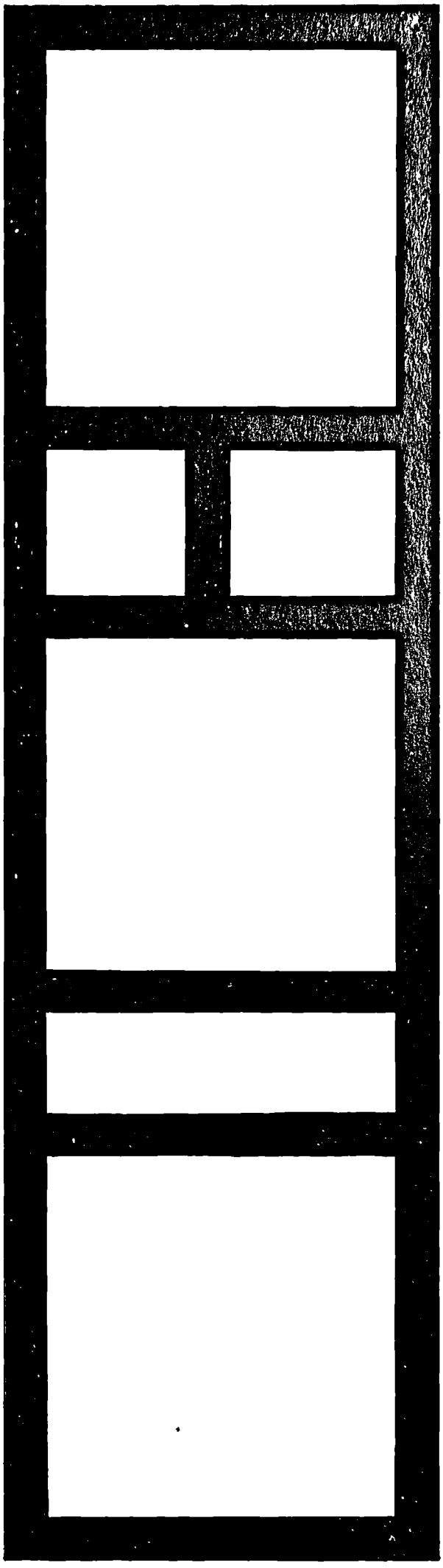
Fig. 49



HUNTSHAM, HEREFORDS.: PLAN OF FOURTH-CENTURY 'COTTAGE-HOUSE' WITH SECONDARY CORRIDOR, IN VICINITY OF VILLA

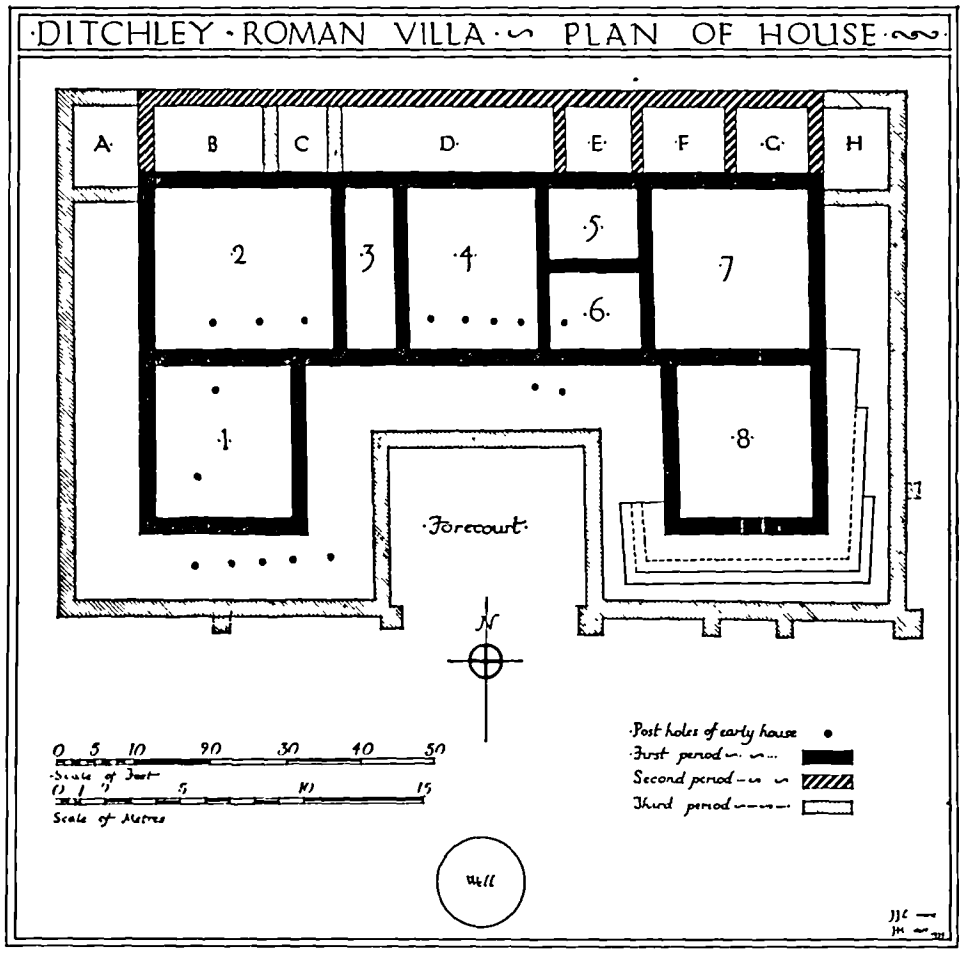
HUNTSHAM. (Source: Journal of Roman Studies, 55, 1965, fig. 13, p. 208).

Fig. 50



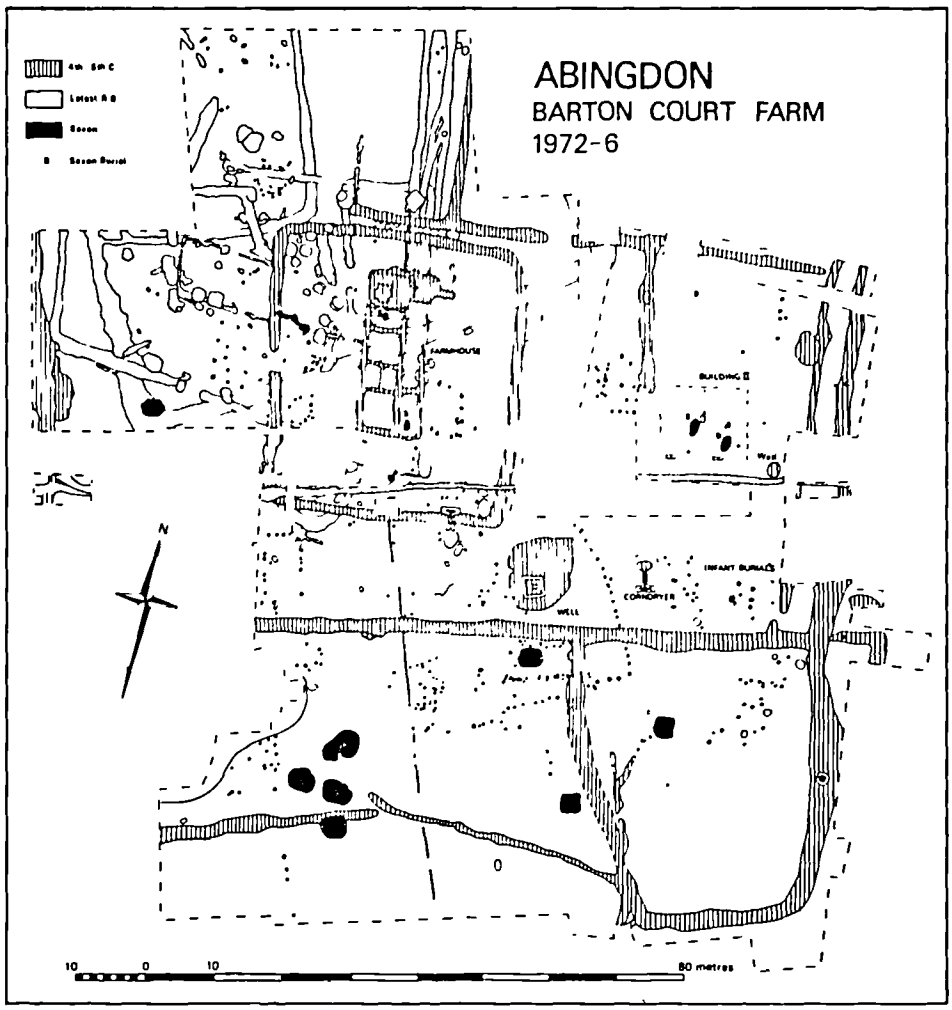
A COMMON PERMUTATION OF ROOMS FOUND IN VILLAS IN BRITAIN.

Fig. 51



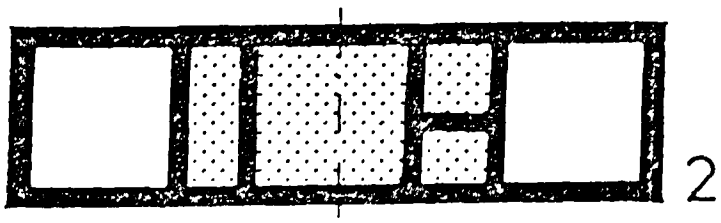
DITCHLEY. (Source: Oxoniensia, 1, 1936).

Fig. 52



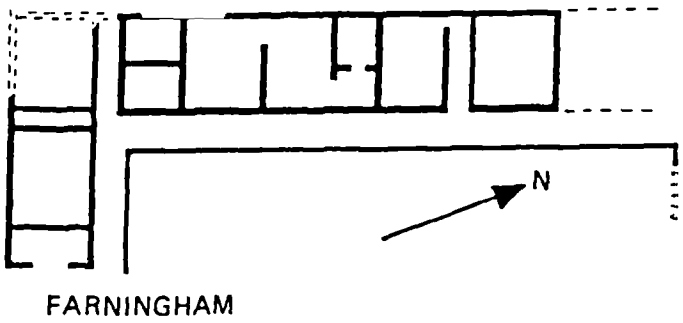
BARTON COURT FARM. (Source: Britannia, 8, 1977, p. 420).

Fig. 53



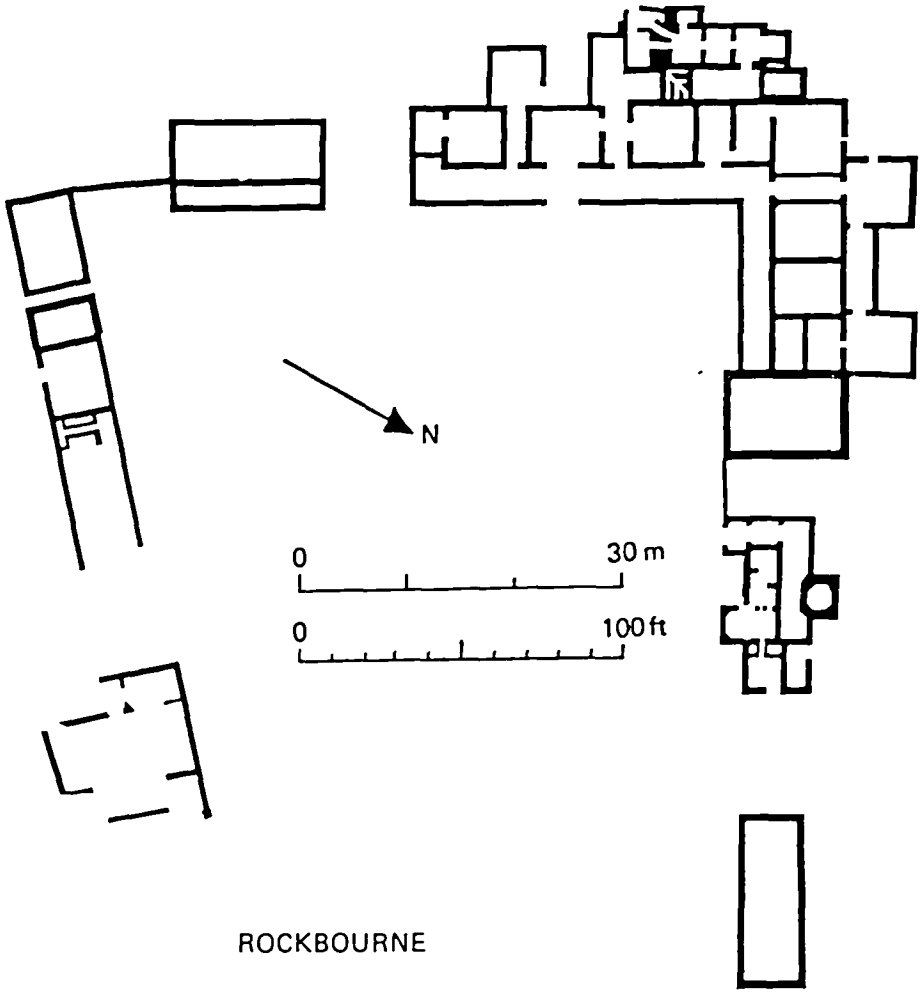
LITTLE MILTON. (Source: Drury, P.J., 1982b, fig. 14.5.2).

Fig. 54



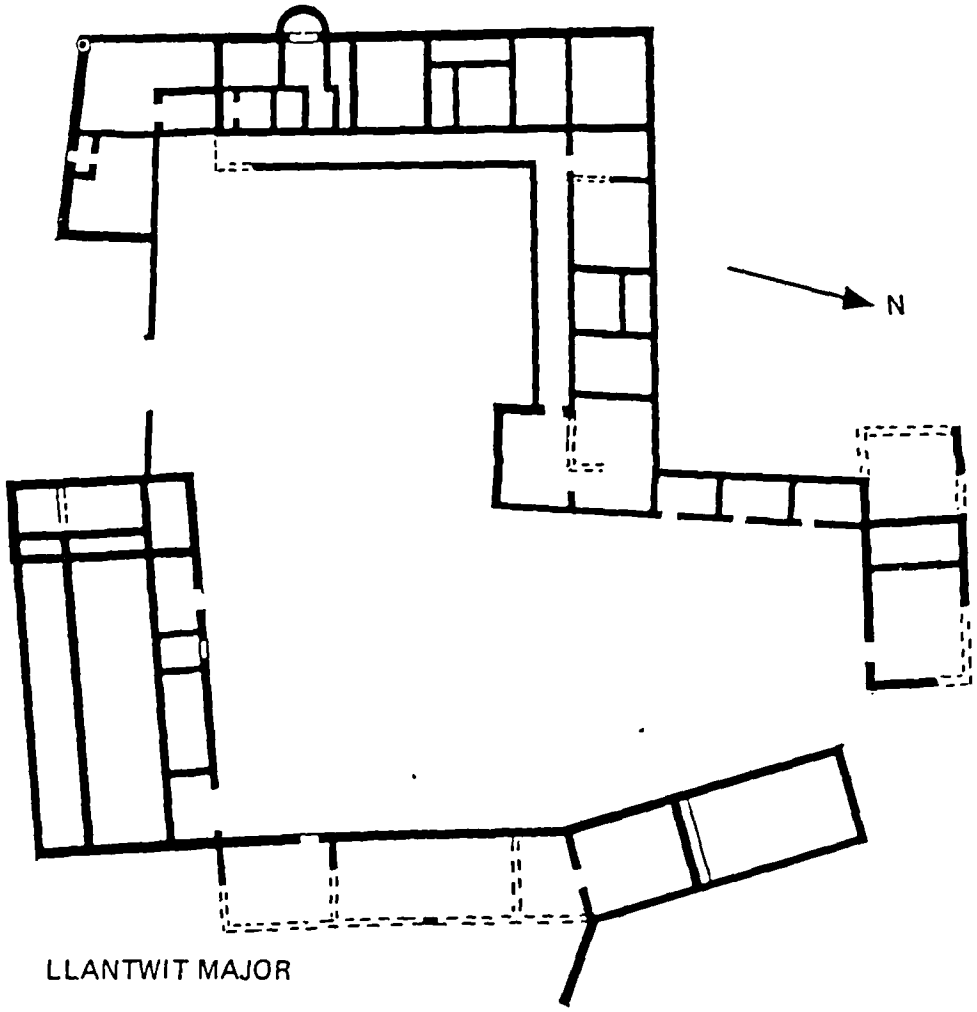
FARNINGHAM. (Source: Smith, J.T., 1978, fig. 53).

Fig. 55



ROCKBOURNE. (Source: Smith, J.T., 1978, fig. 56).

Fig. 56



LLANTWIT MAJOR. (Source: Smith, J.T., 1978, fig. 52).

Fig. 57

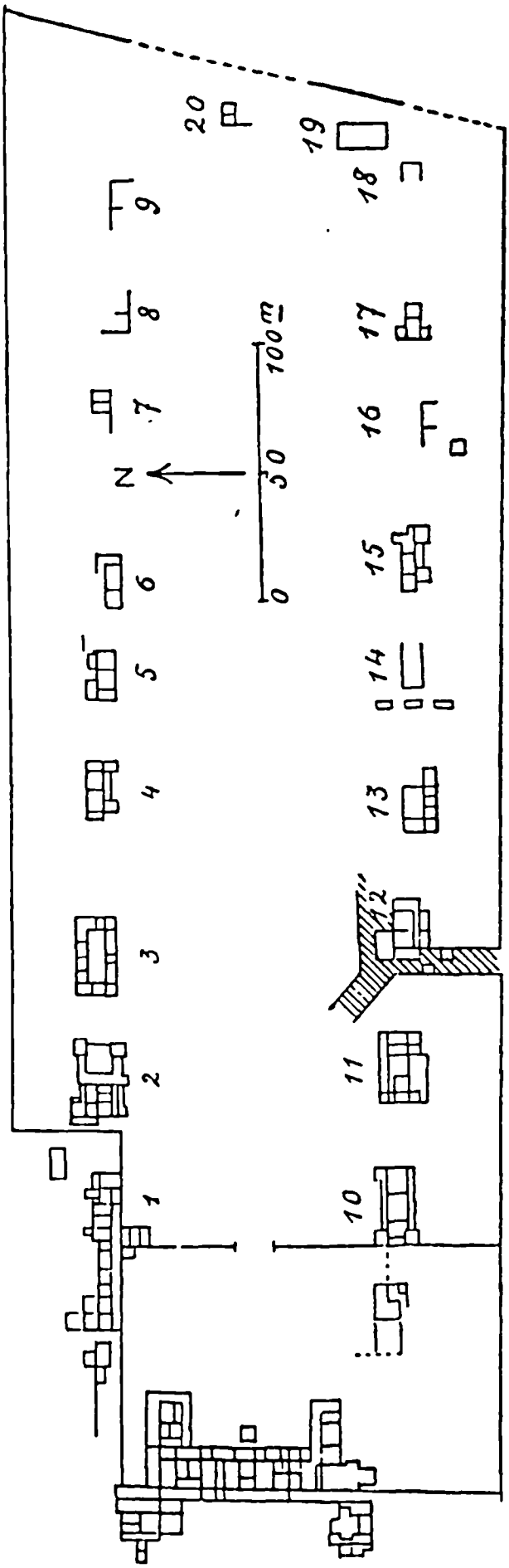


FIG. 311. — La villa d'Anthée (Namur).

ANTHÉE, Belgium. (Source: Grenier, A., 1934, Manuel, VI, 2, fig. 311).

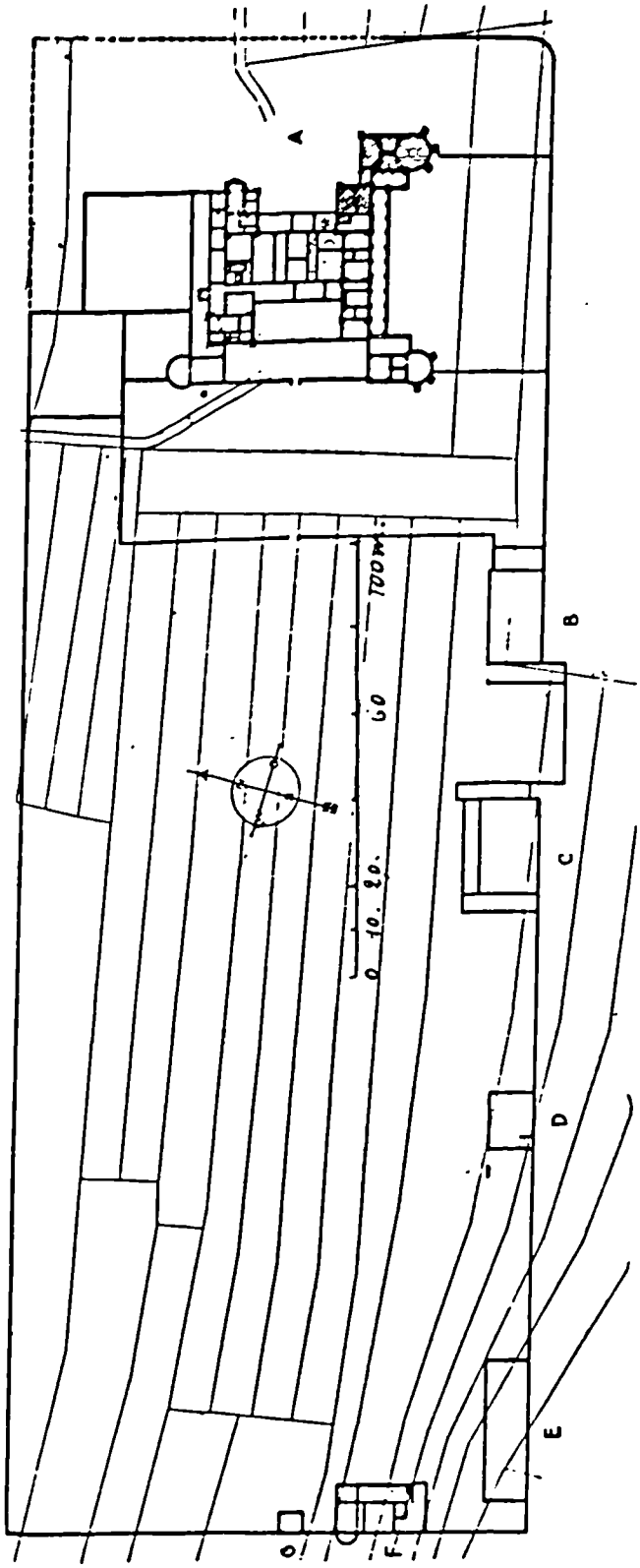
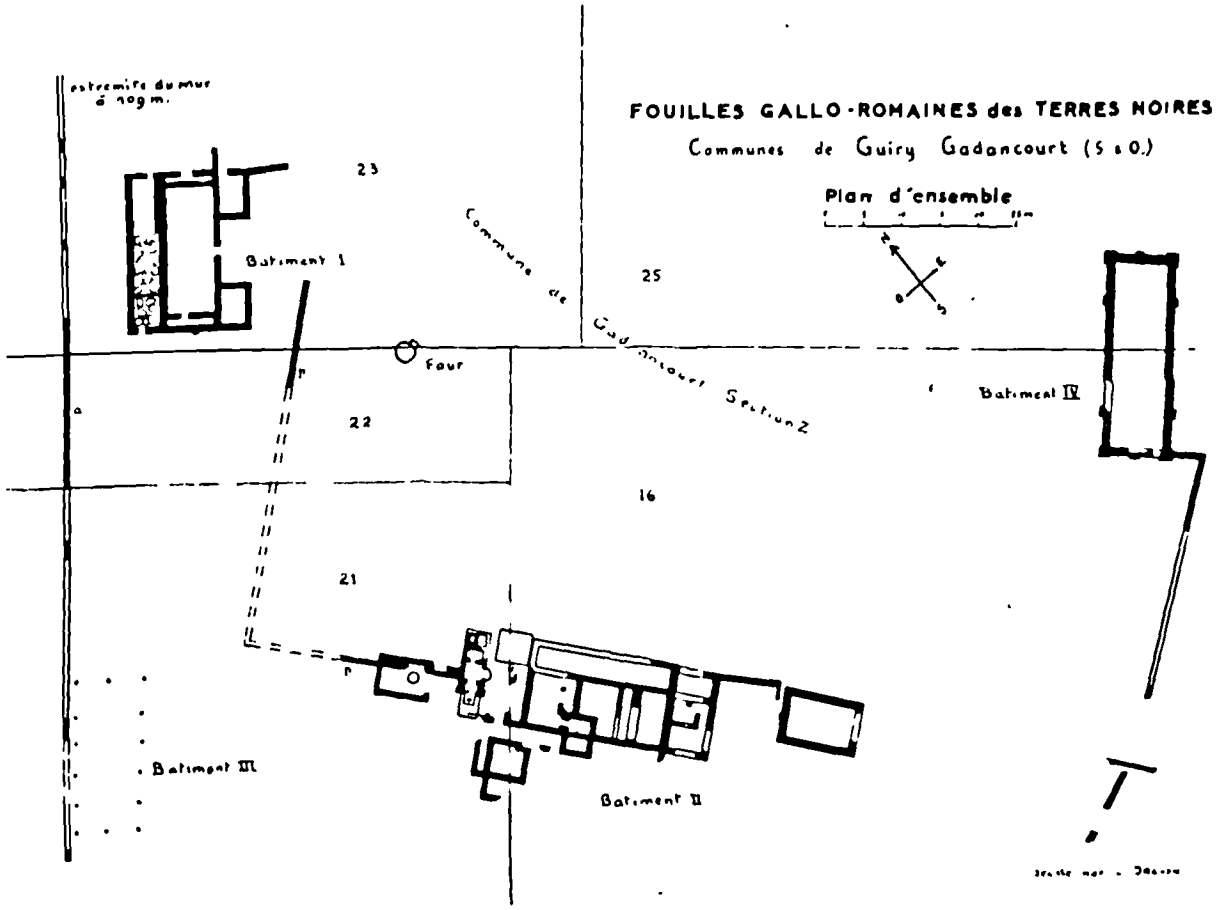


Fig. 310. — La villa d'Odrang. Ensemble. (Voir *ci-dessus, fig.* 298, p. 825.) (*Germania Romana*, fasc. 2, pl. XX, fig. 2.)

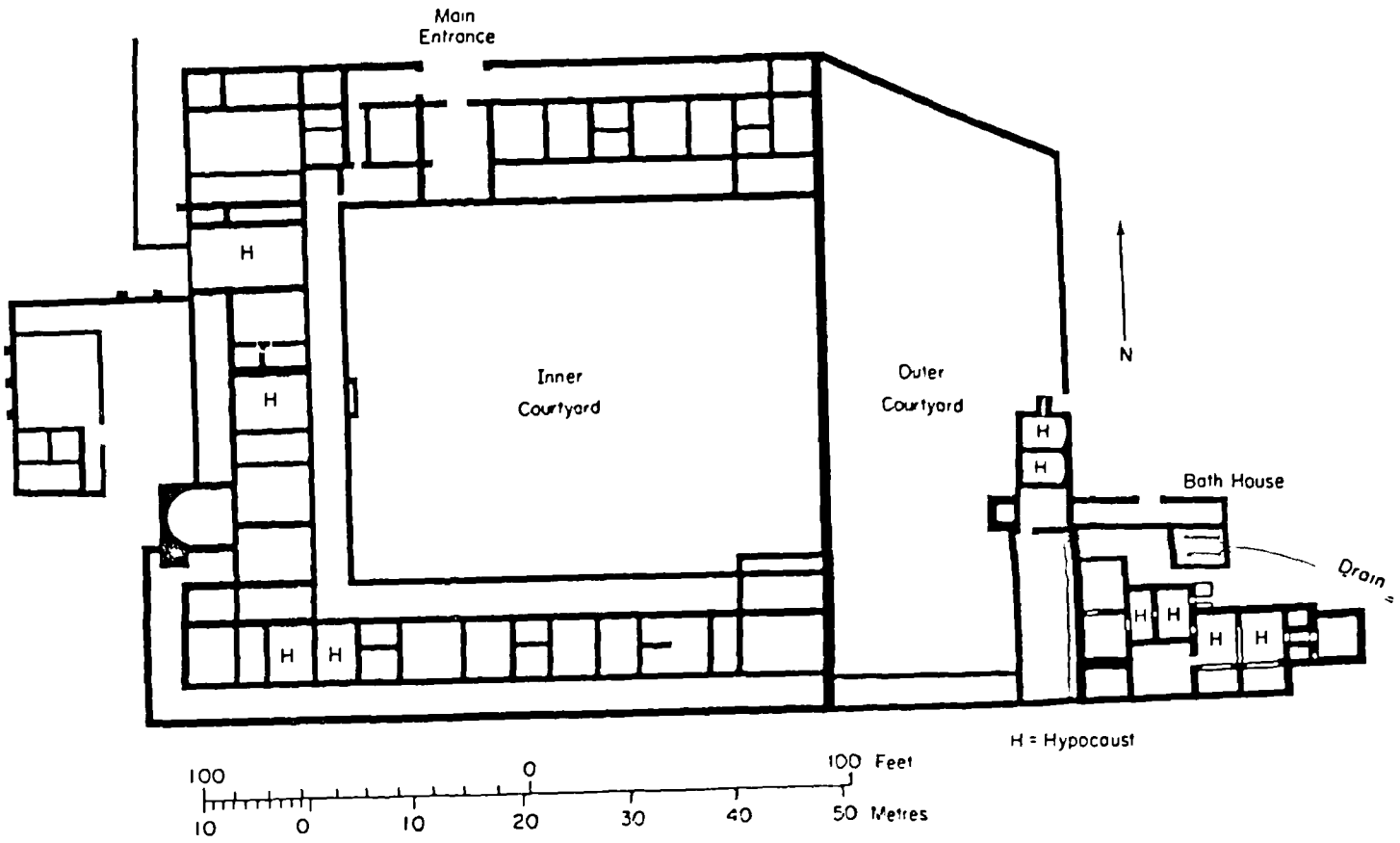
ODRANG, Fliessem, Germany. (Source: Grenier, A., 1934, Manuel, VI, 2, fig. 310).

Fig. 59



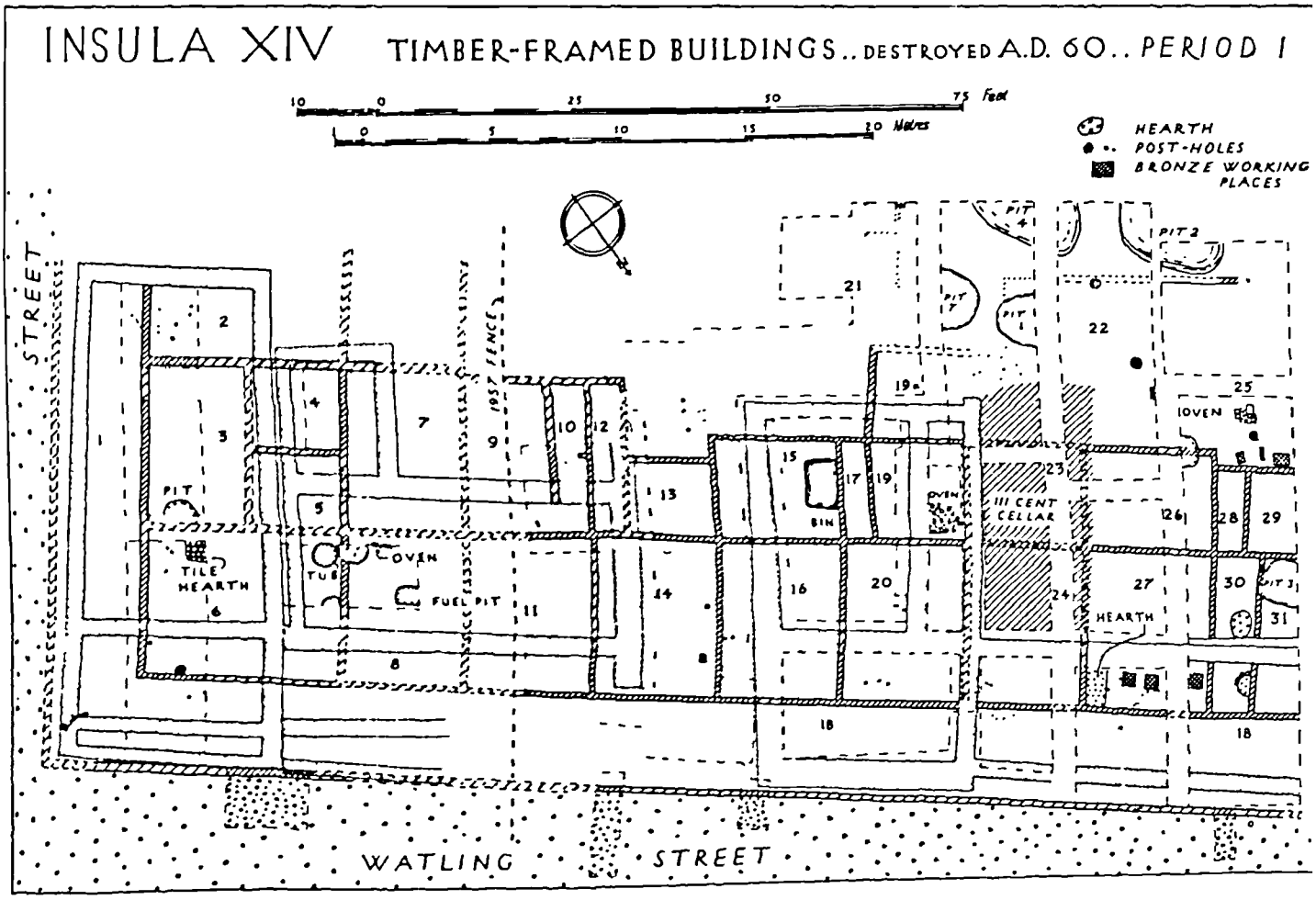
GUIRY, Seine-et-Oise, France. (Source: Percival, J., 1976, fig. 18).

Fig. 60



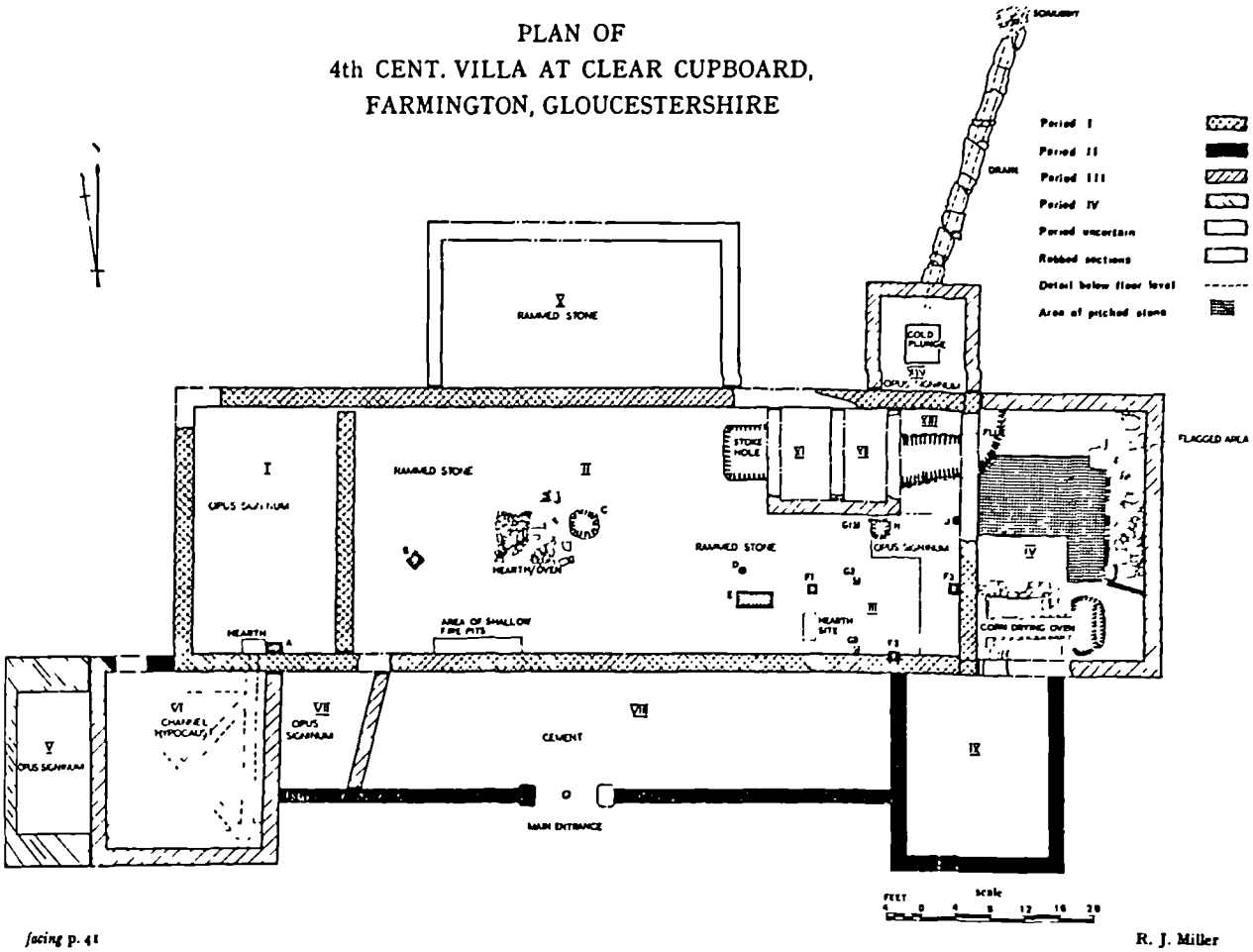
THE MANSIO, SILCHESTER. (Source: Wacher, J., 1976, fig. 62).

Fig. 61



A STRIP OF TIMBER-FRAMED BUILDINGS ('CLAUDIAN SHOPS') IN INSULA XIV, VERULAMIUM, OF C. A.D. 50. (Source: Wacher, J., 1976, fig. 49).

Fig. 62



CLEAR CUPBOARD, FARMINGTON. (Source: T.B.G.A.S., 88, 1969, facing p. 41).

Fig. 63

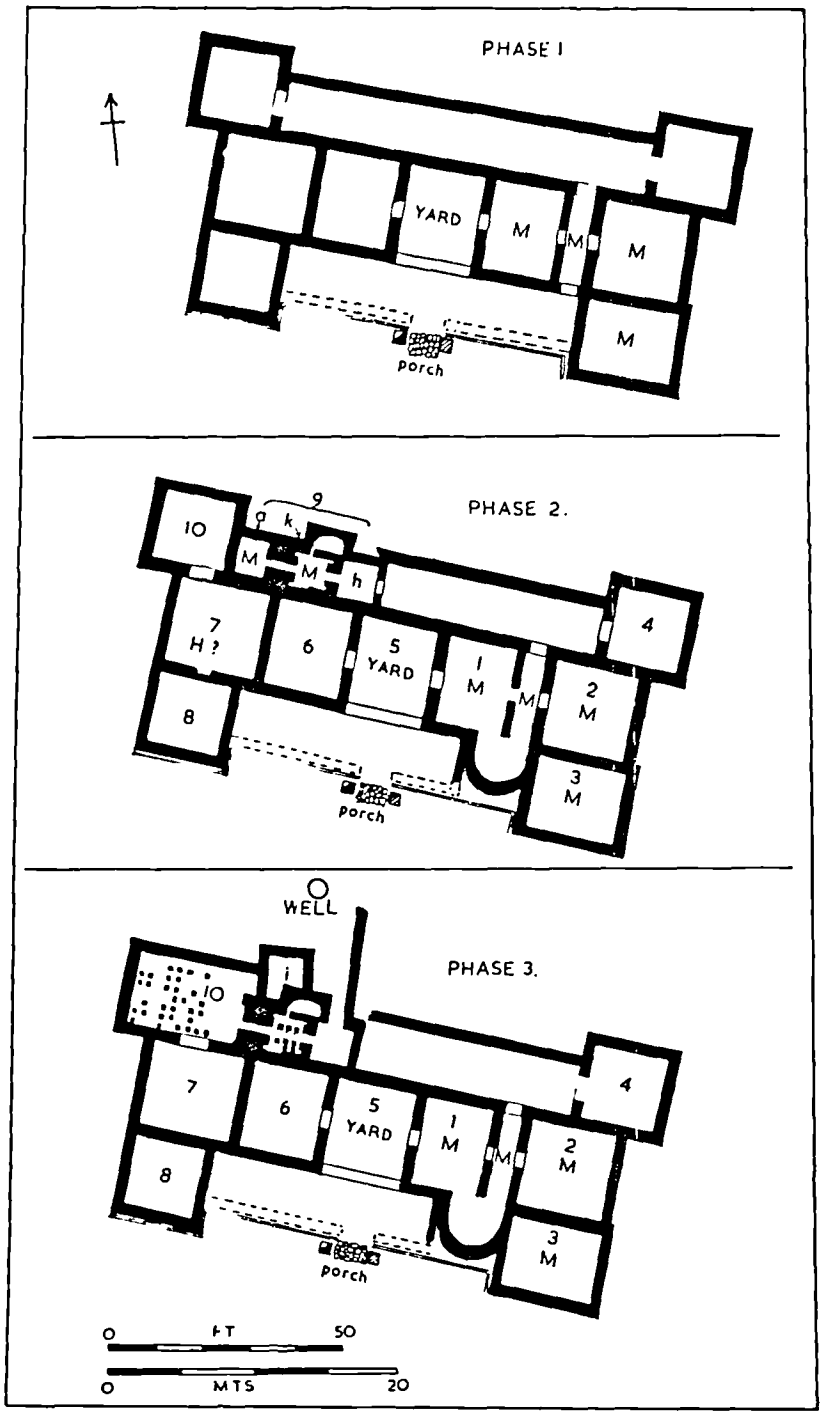
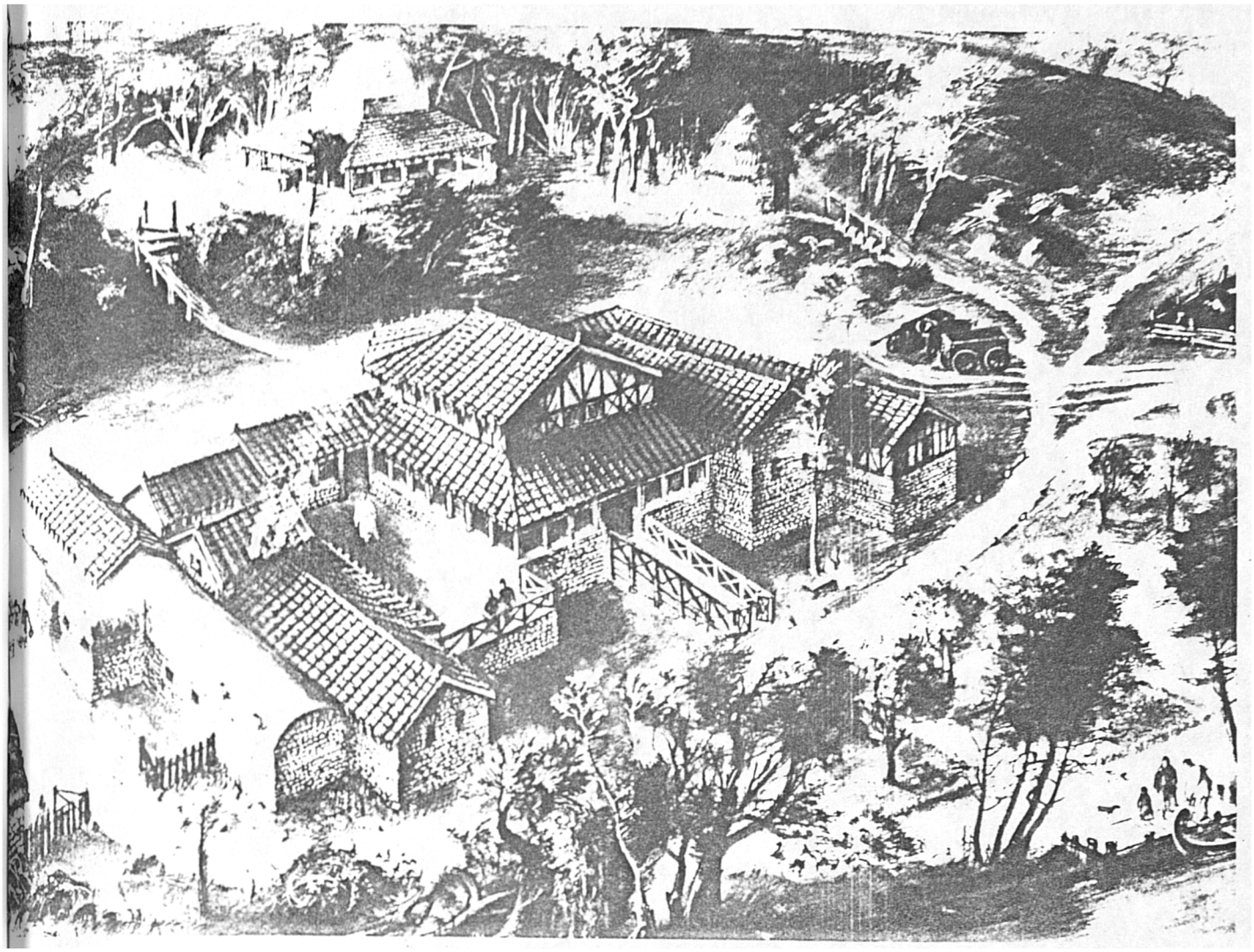


Fig. 2: The suggested architectural history of the Brislington villa.

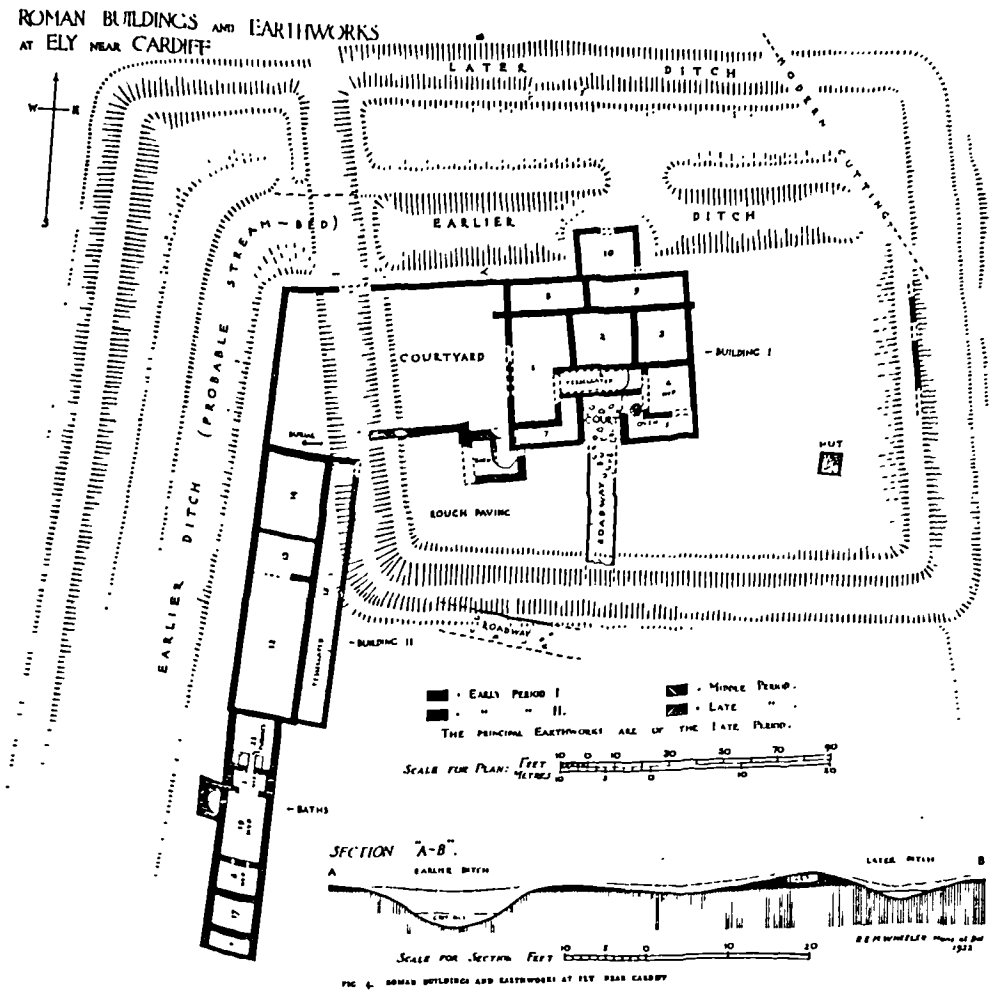
BRISLINGTON. (Source: Branigan, K., 1972, p. 79).

Fig. 64



LULLINGSTONE: A RECONSTRUCTION. (Source: Meates, G.W., 1979, pl. XXX, Drawn by Alan Sorrell).

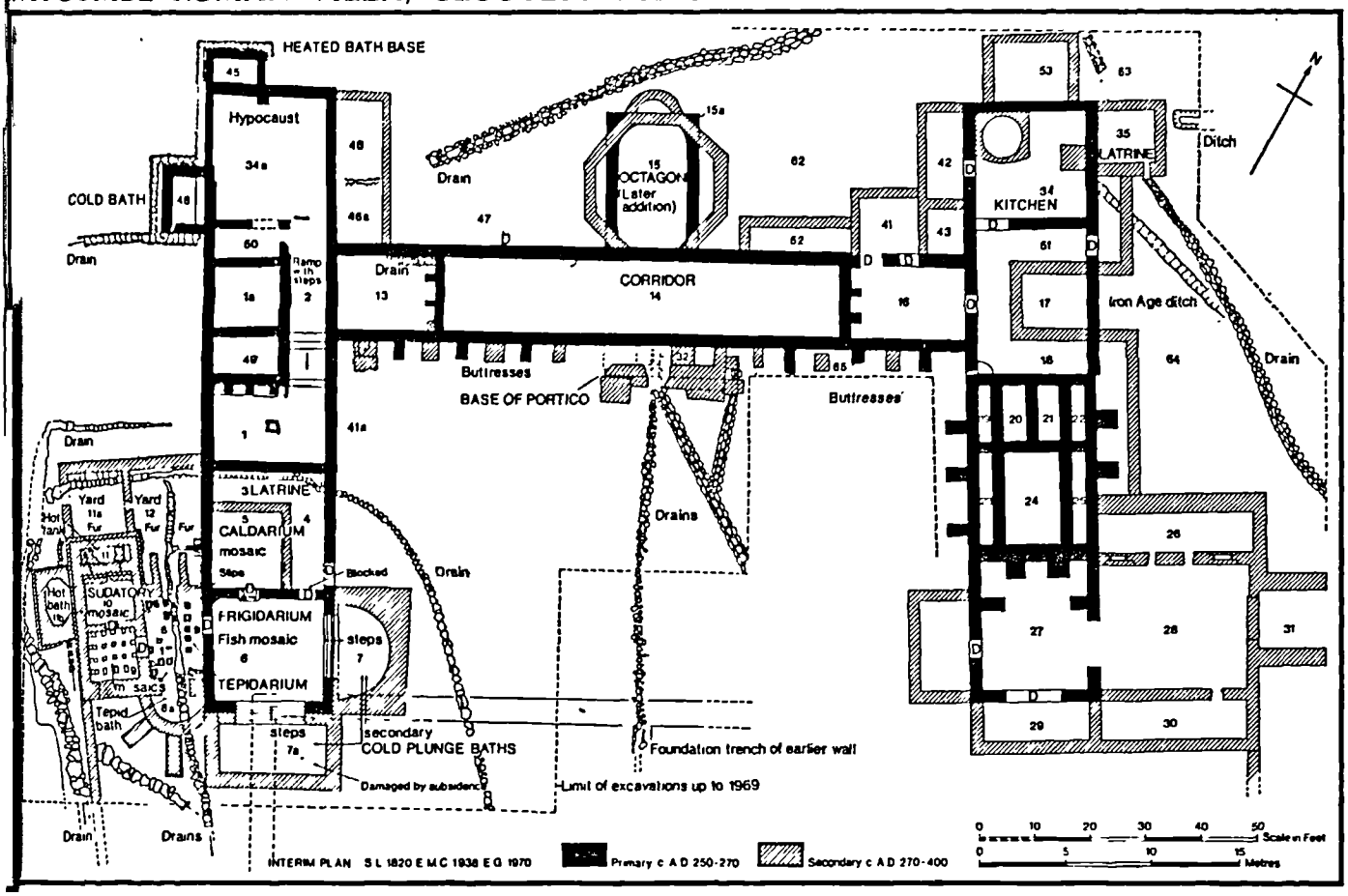
Fig. 65



ELY, CARDIFF. (Source: Journal of Roman Studies, 11, 1921, p.70, fig. 4).

Fig. 66

WITCOMBE ROMAN VILLA, GLOUCESTERSHIRE



WITCOMBE. (Source: Britannia, 1, 1970, fig. 9, p. 294).

Fig. 67

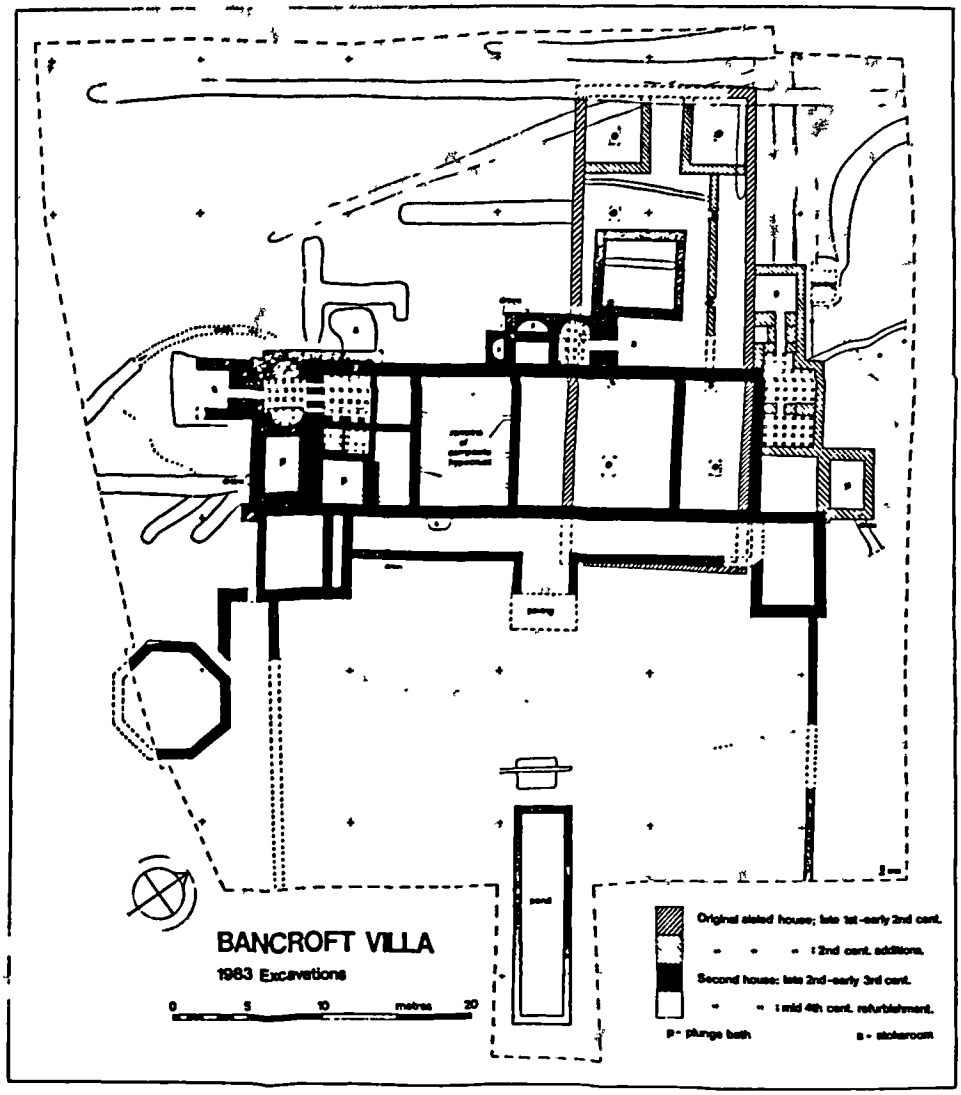
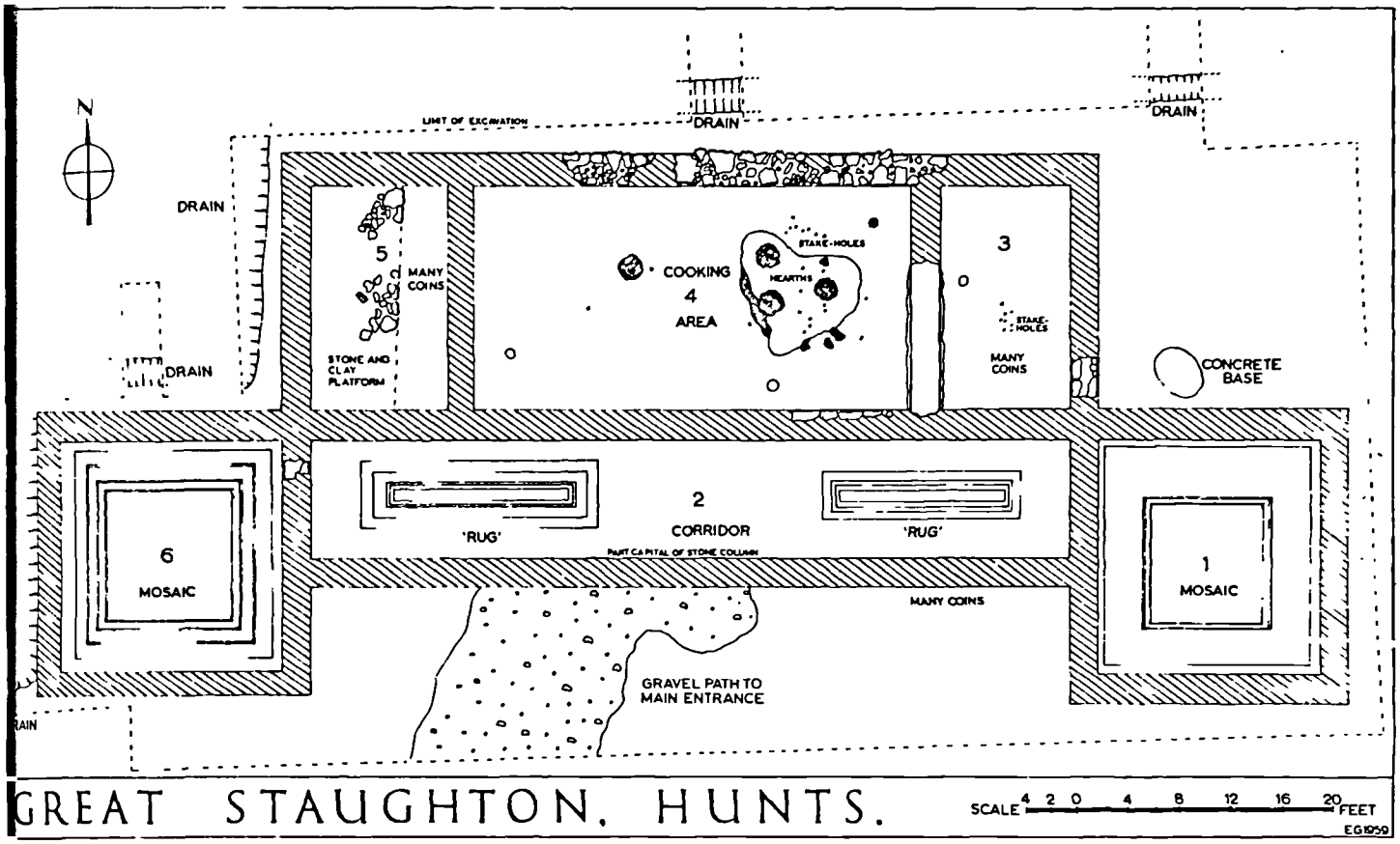


FIG. 19. Bancroft: general plan of villa. Scale 1:400.
(Drawn by R. J. Williams)

BANCROFT. (Source: Britannia, 15, 1984, fig. 19, p. 306).

Fig. 68



GREAT STAUGHTON. (Source: Journal of Roman Studies, 49, 1959, fig. 15, p. 118).

Fig. 69

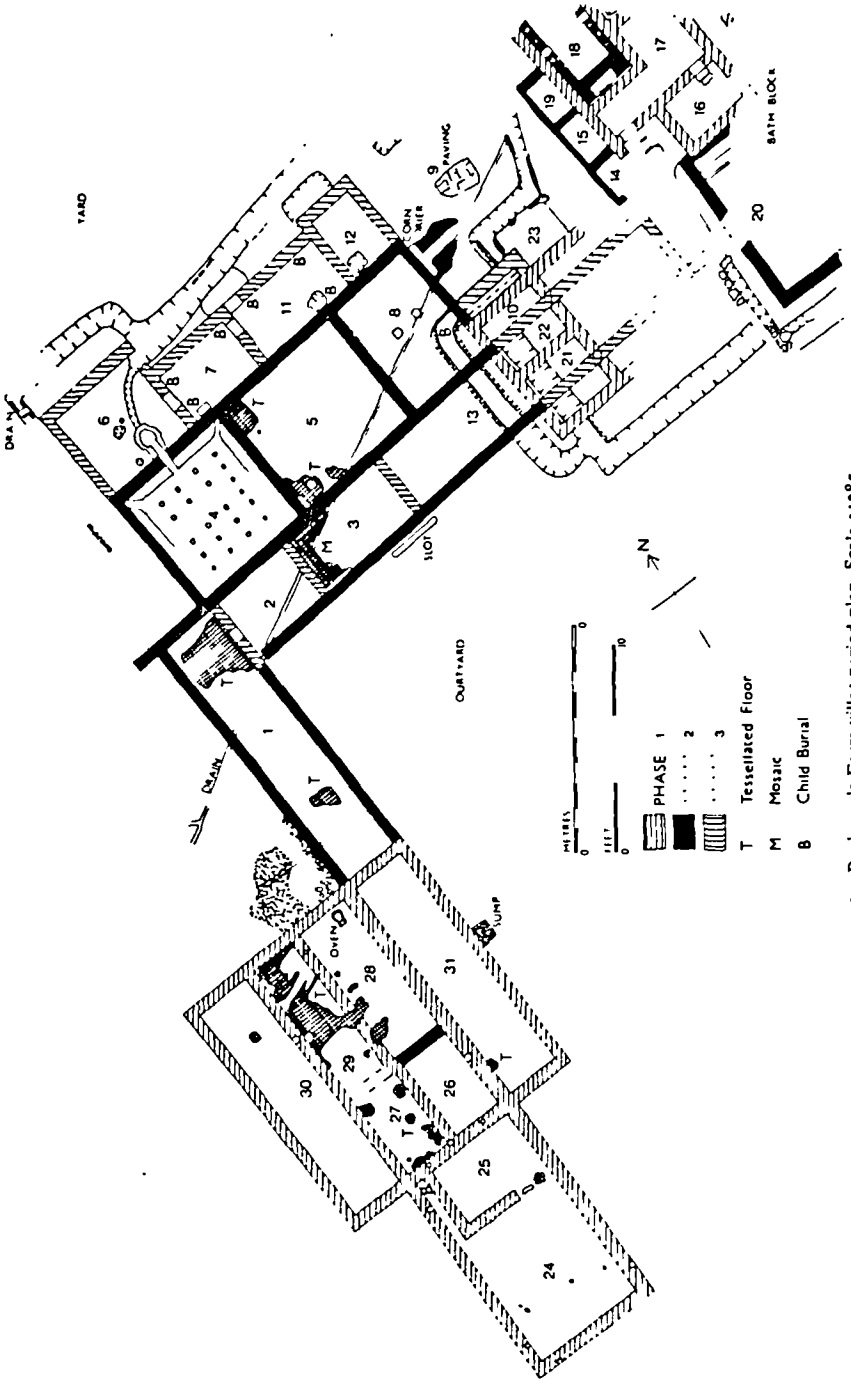


FIG. 25. Bucknowle Farm villa: period plan. Scale 1:285. (*Drawn by A. Light*)

BUCKNOWLE. (Source: Britannia, 15, 1984, fig. 25, p. 321).

Fig. 70

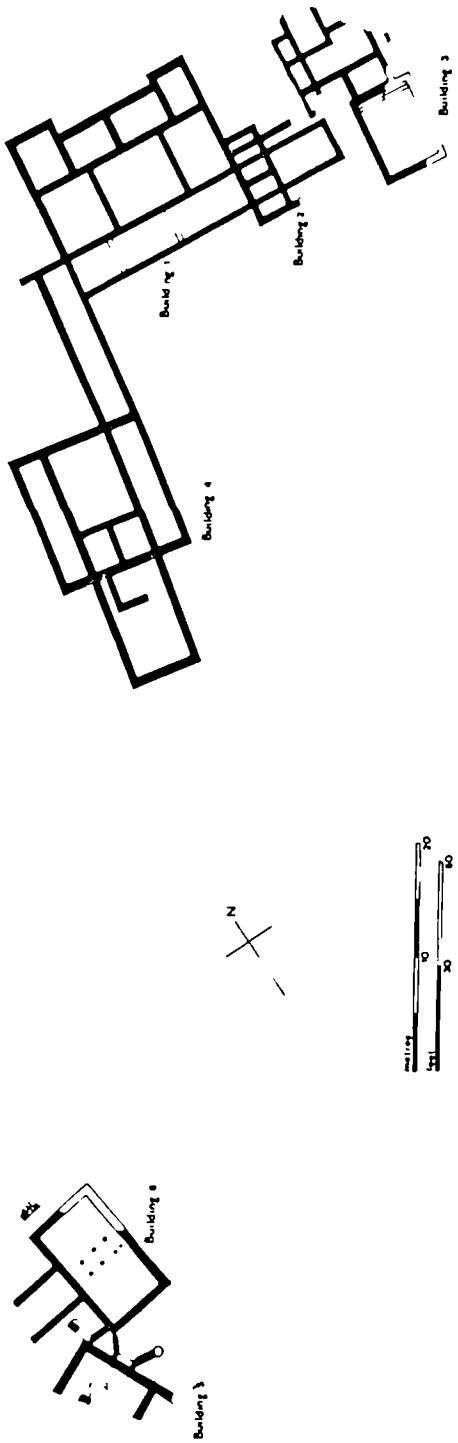
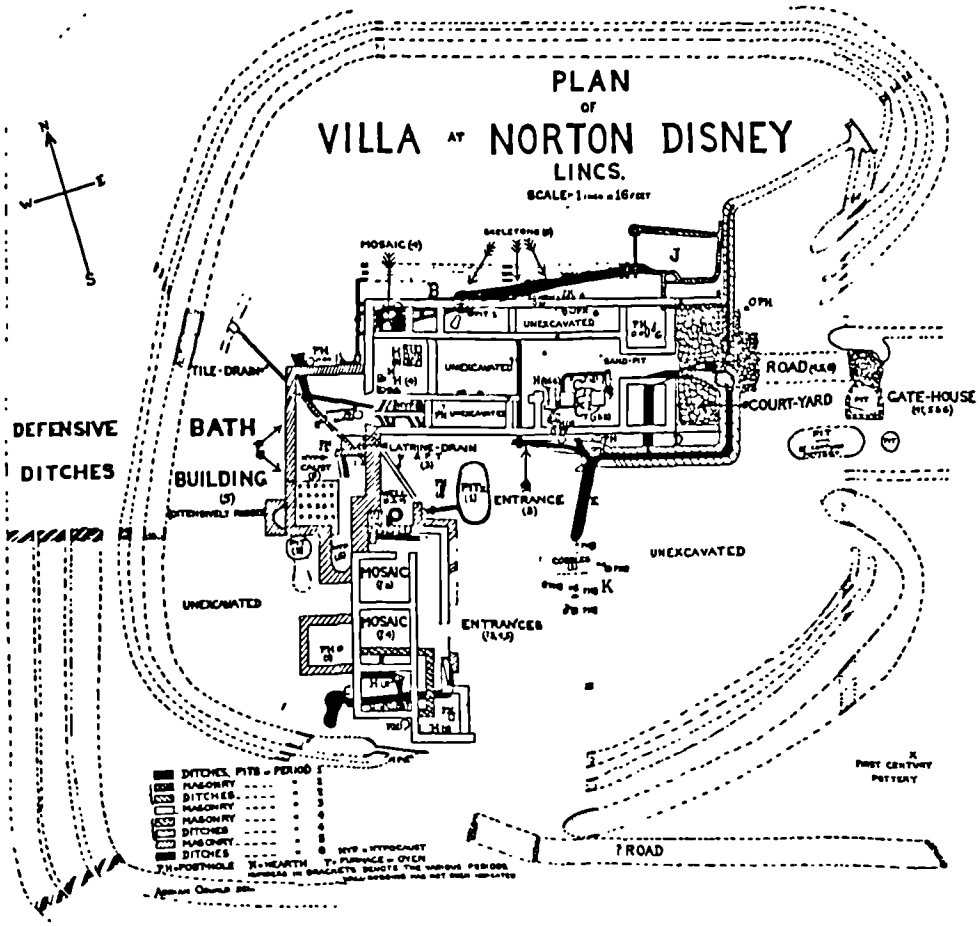


FIG. 24. Bucknowle Farm villa: general plan. Scale 1:816.
(*Drawn by A. Light*)

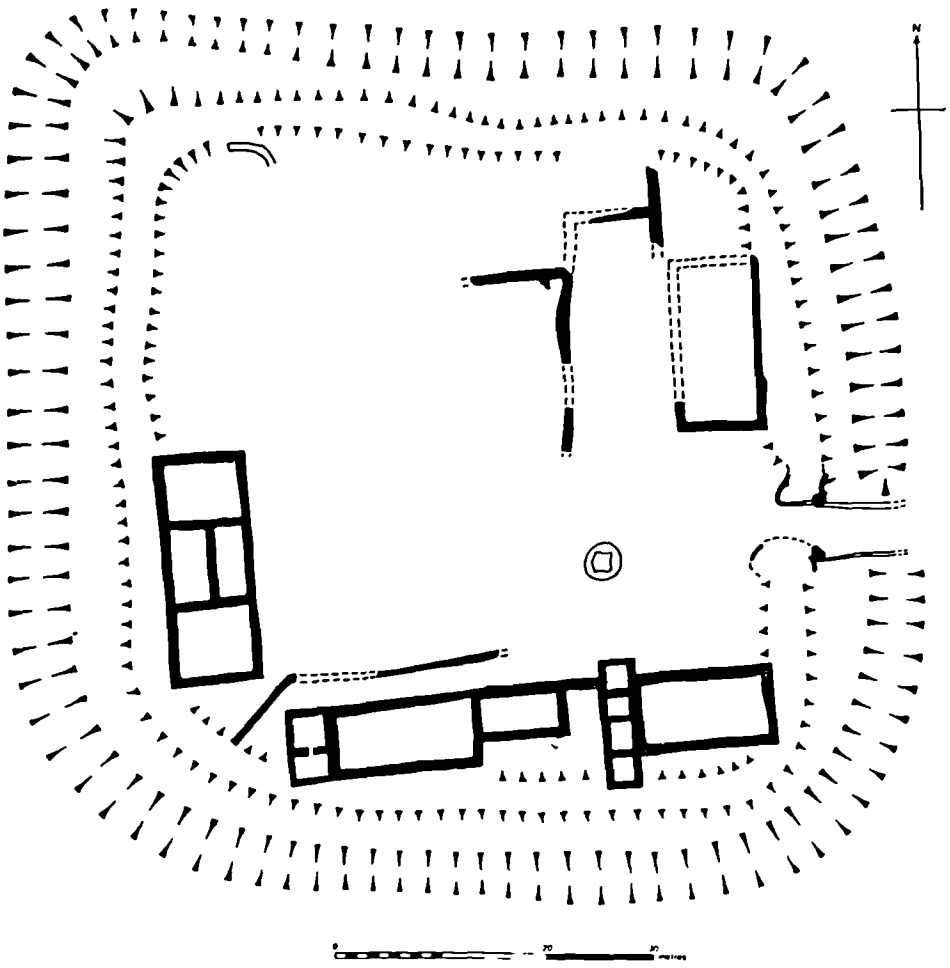
BUCKNOWLE. (Source: Britannia, 15, 1984, fig. 24, p. 320).

Fig. 71



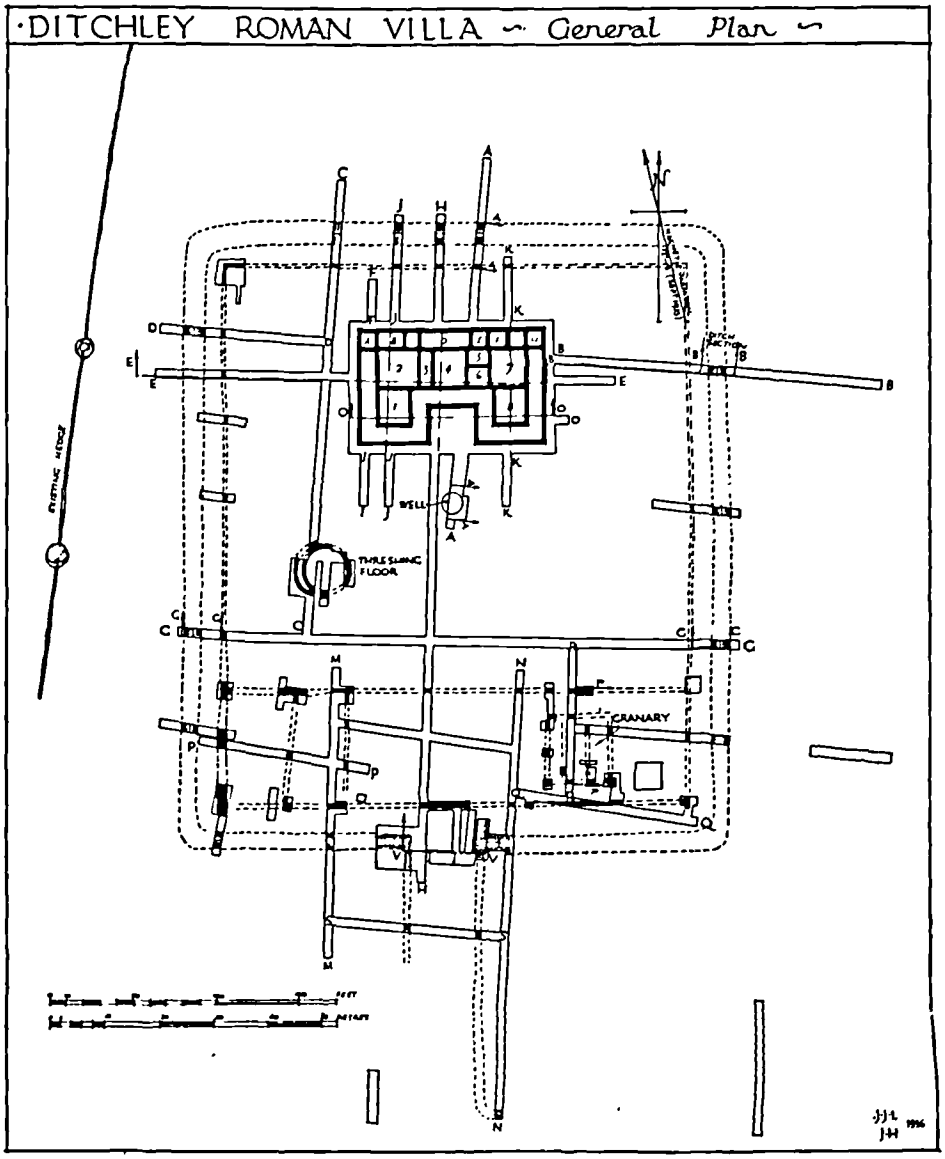
PLAN OF THE VILLA BUILDINGS AND EARTHWORKS AT NORTON DISNEY. (Source: Oswald, A., 1937, pl. XLV).

Fig. 72



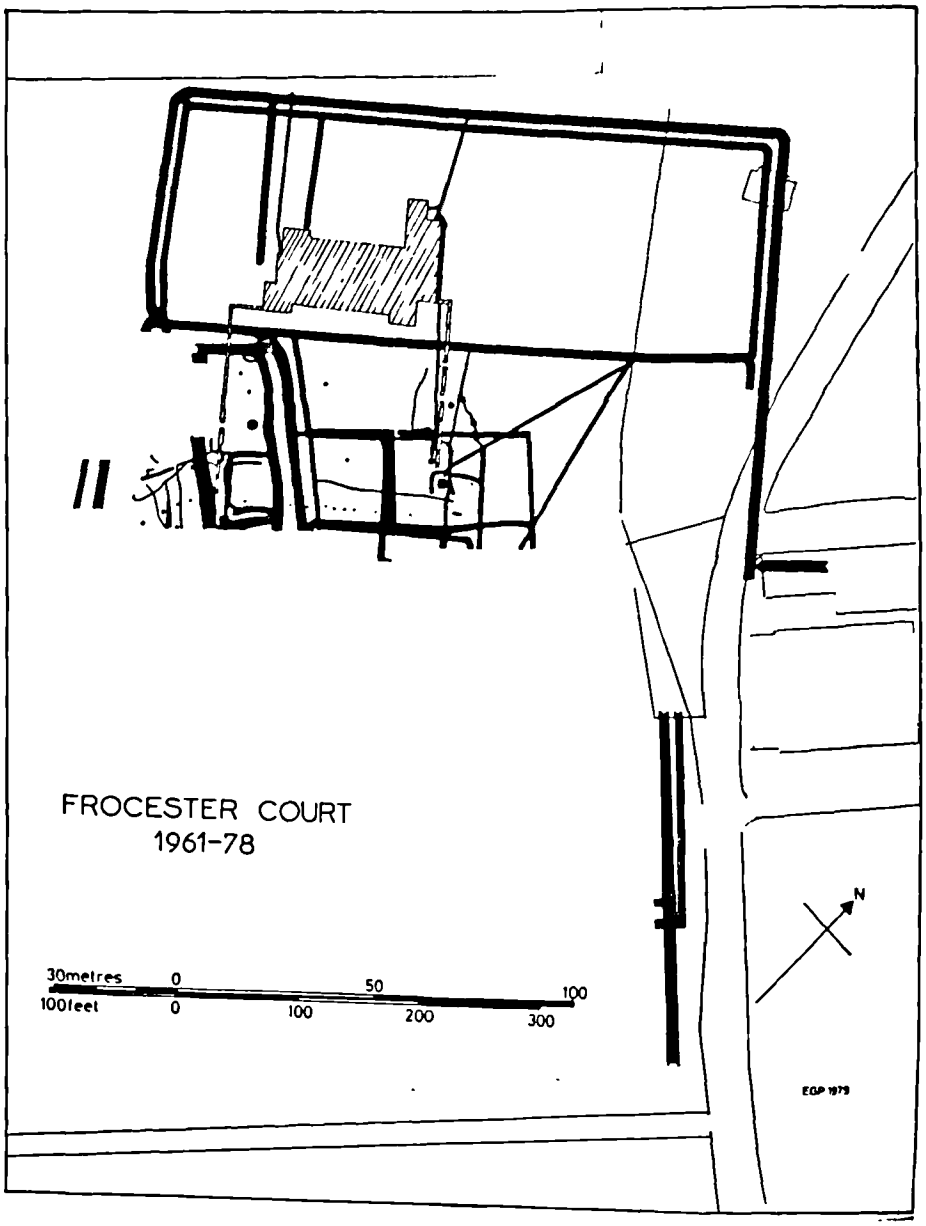
WHITTON. (Source: Jarrett, M.G. and Wrathmell, S., 1981, fig. 4.6).

Fig. 73



DITCHLEY VILLA AND ENCLOSURE. (Source: Oxoniensia, 1, 1936).

Fig. 74



FROCESTER COURT AND ITS ENCLOSURES. (Source: Britannia, 10, 1979, p. 320, fig. 14).

Fig. 75

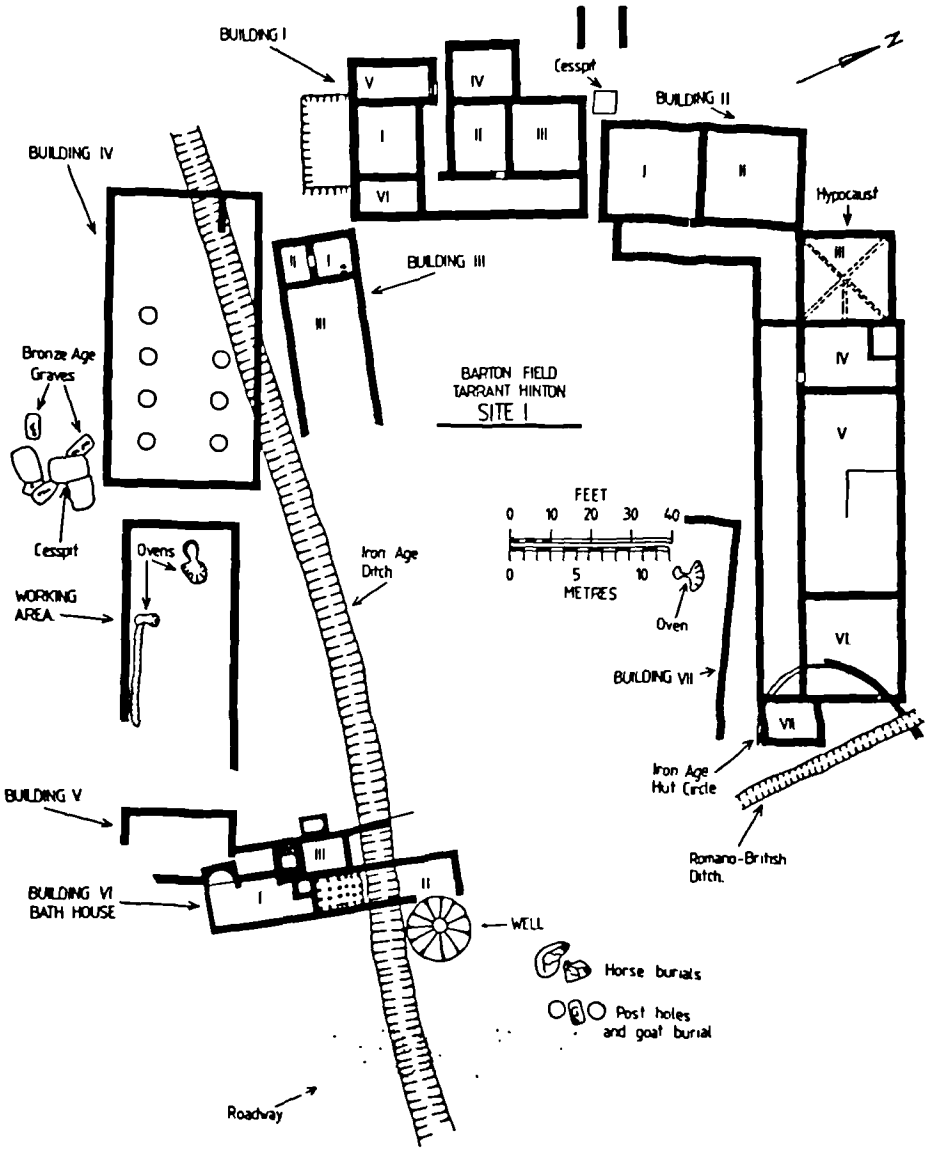
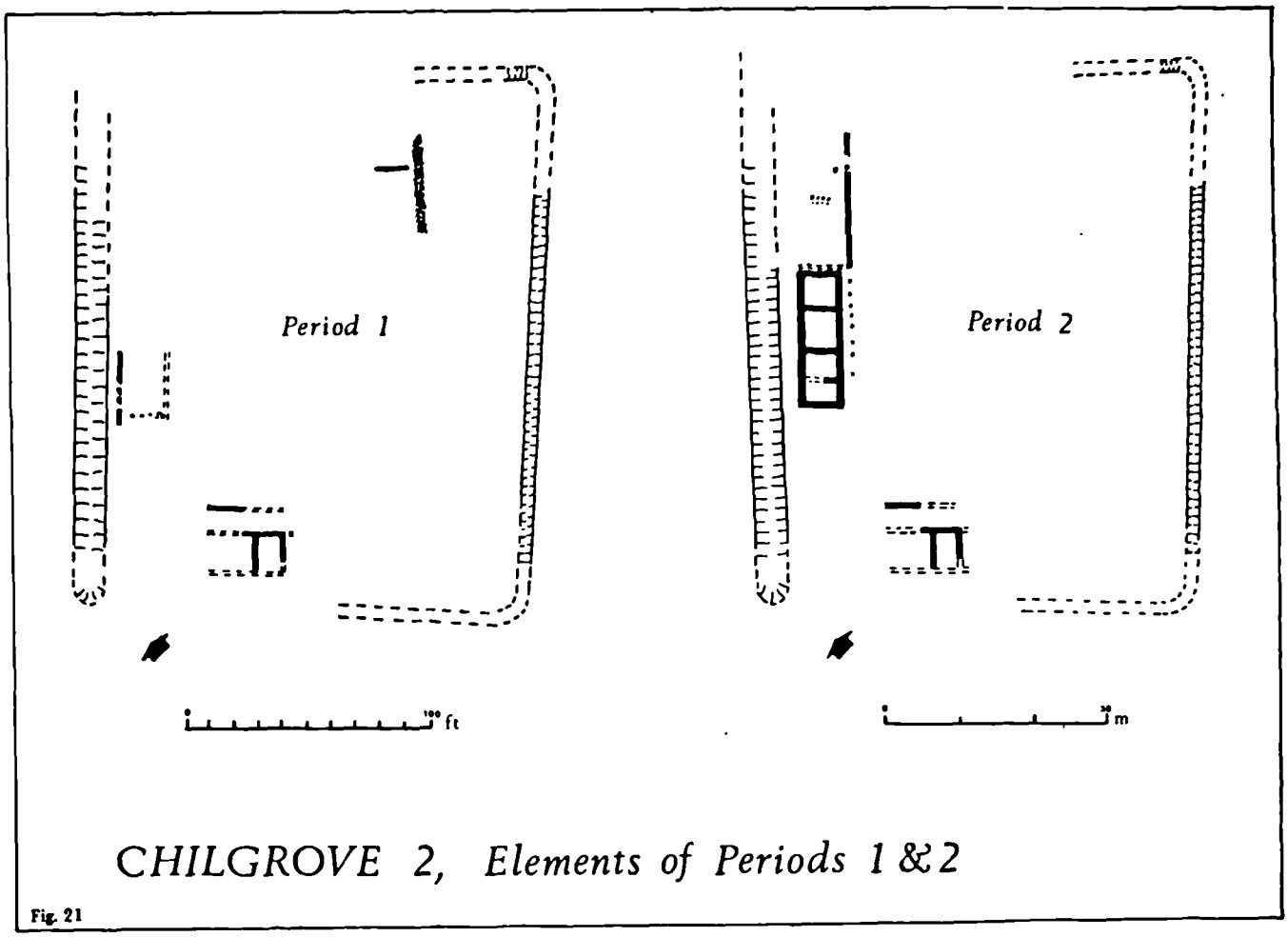


FIG. 23. Tarrant Hinton villa: general site plan.

TARRANT HINTON. (Source: Britannia, 11, 1980, fig. 20, pp 391-2).

Fig. 76



CHILGROVE 2, Elements of Periods 1 & 2

Fig. 21

CHILGROVE 2. (Source: Chichester Excavations, 4, 1979, fig. 21).

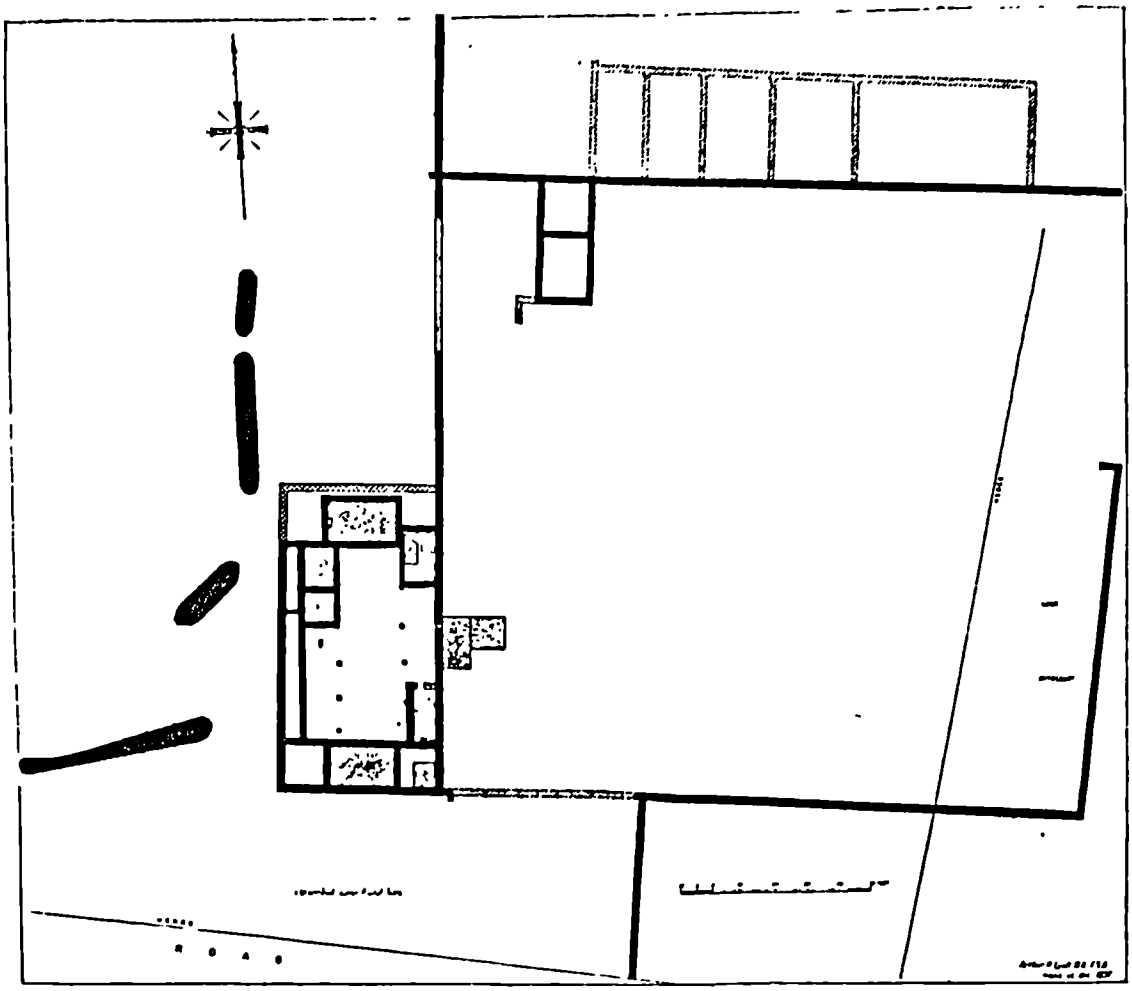
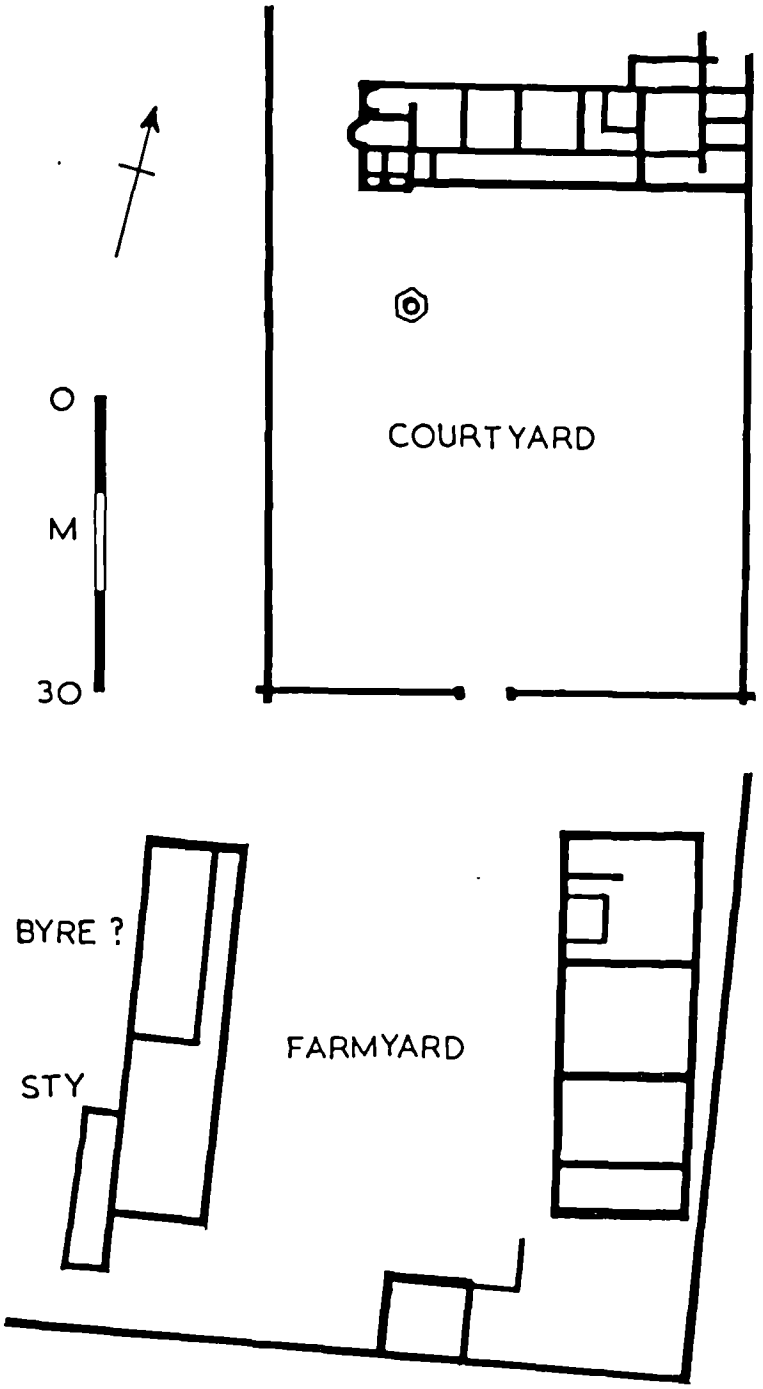


FIG. 13. PLAN OF A ROMAN HOUSE AT CLANVILLE, ANDOVER.

CLANVILLE. (Source: VCH Hants., 1, 1900, fig. 13, pp 295-7).

Fig. 78



31 North Wraxall villa

NORTH WRAXALL. (Source: Branigan, K., 1976, fig. 31).

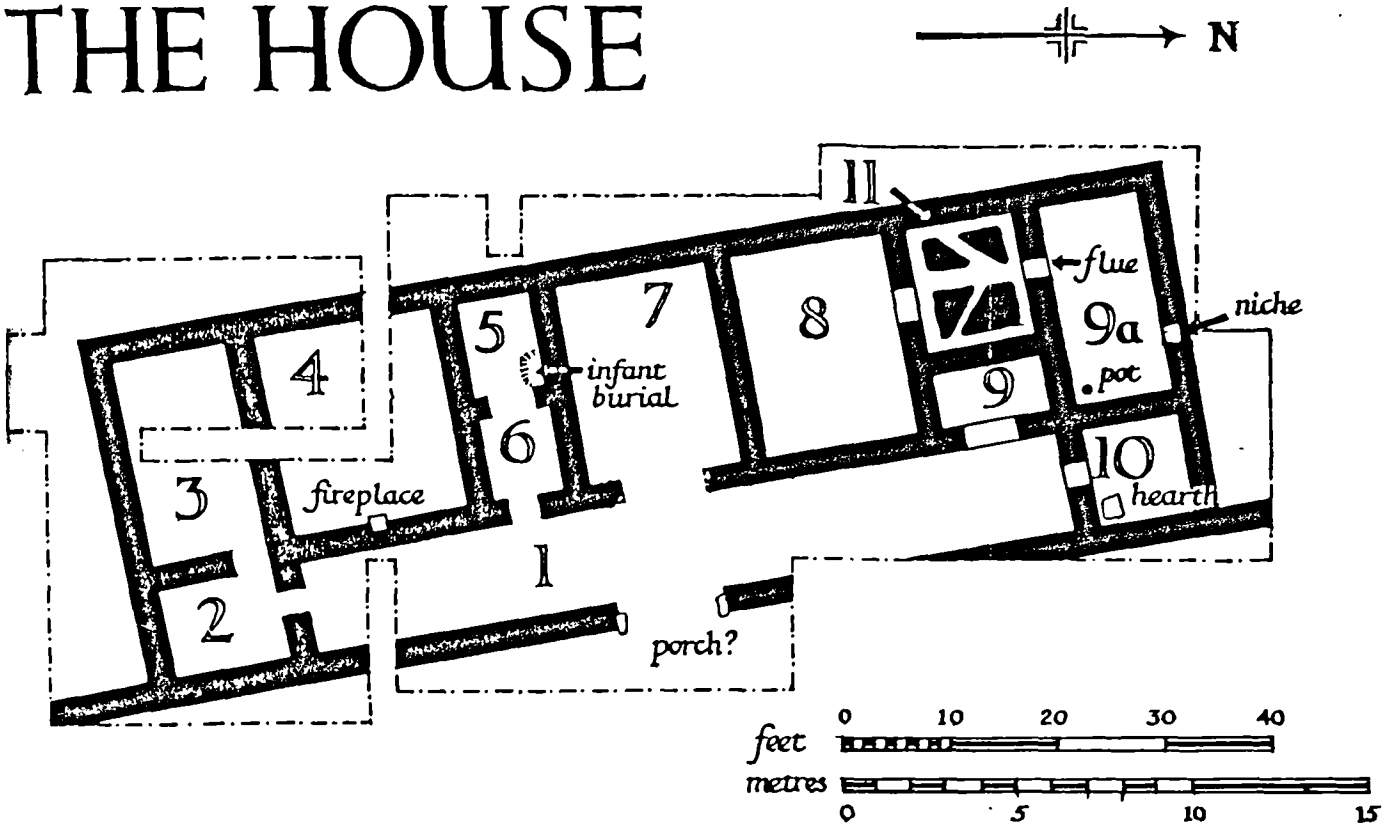
Fig. 79

Comparative Numbers of Known Infant and Adult Burials From Seven Romano-British Settlements

Site Name	Type	No.s of Infants	Total no. of Adults	Males	Females
Winterton	Villa	?26	6		
Bradley Hill	?Villa	34	20	10	10
Rudston	Villa	19	6	4	?2
Barton Court Farm	Villa	47			
Catsgore	?Villa	20+	3		
Old Winteringham	Settlement	?22	4		
Baldock	Settlement	43	17	6+	3+

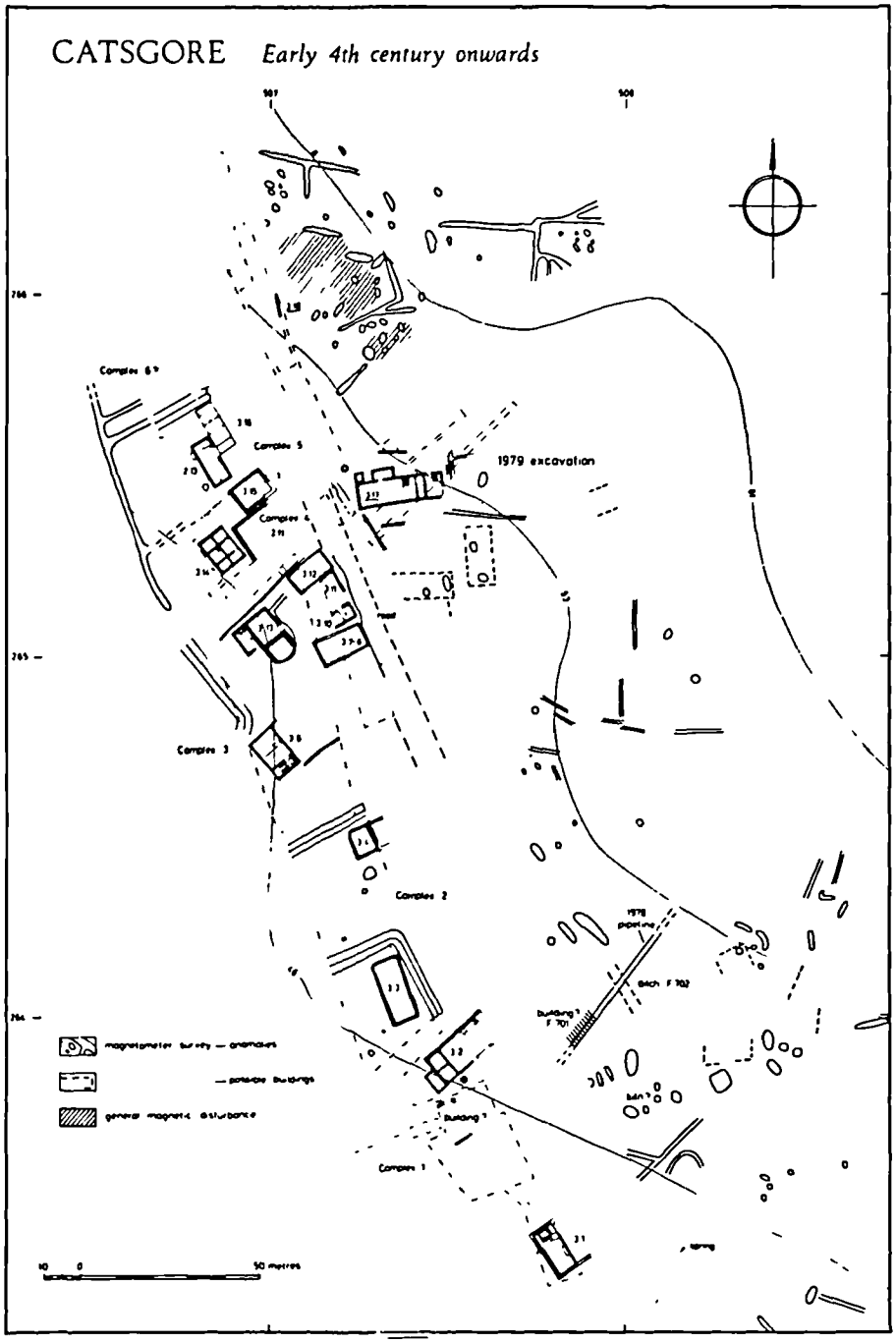
Fig. 80

THE HOUSE



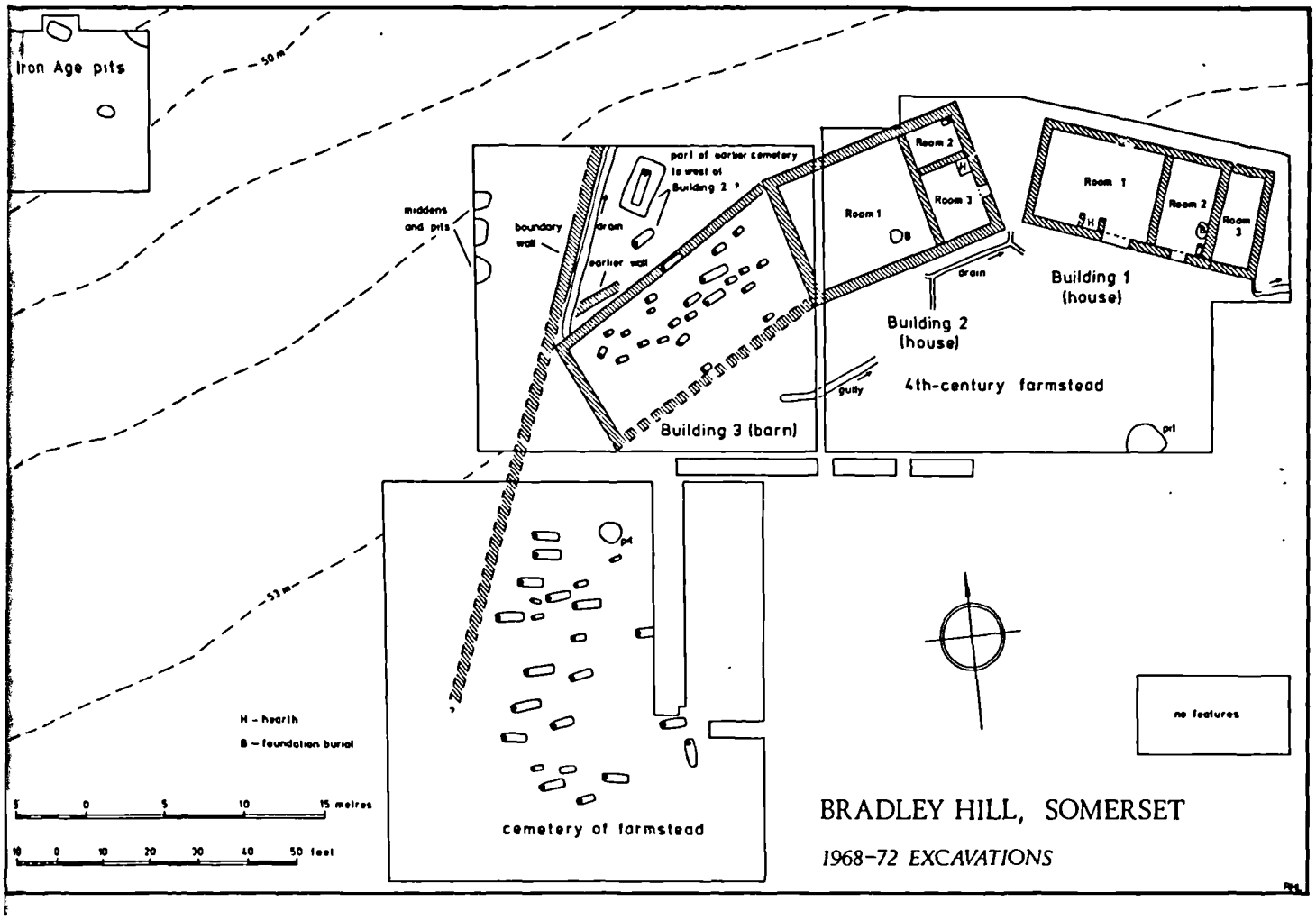
SPARSHOLT: THE MAIN HOUSE. (Source: Johnston, D.E., 1972, fig. 3).

Fig. 81



CATSGORE. (Source:Britannia, 15, 1984, fig. 22, p. 317).

Fig. 82



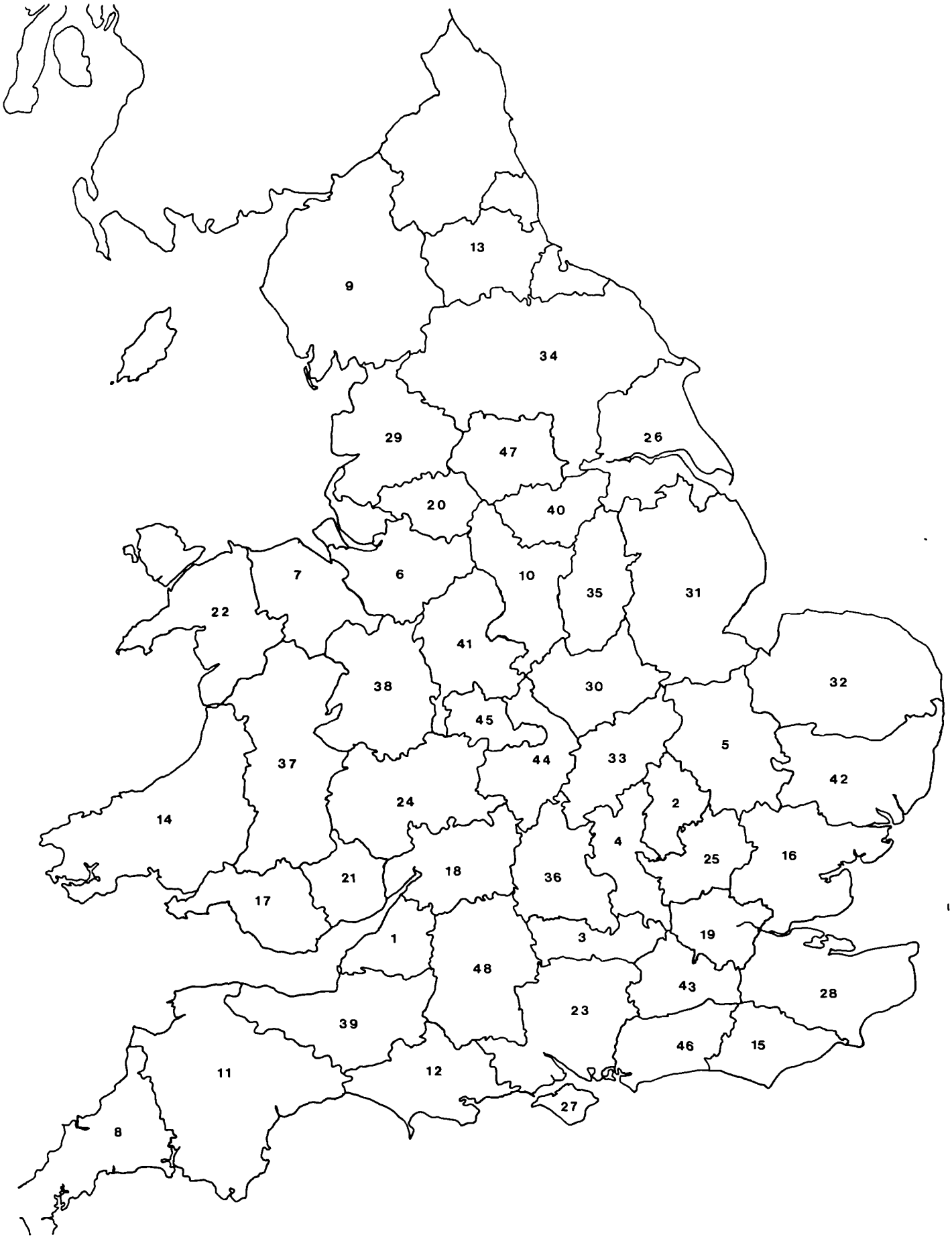
BRADLEY HILL. (Source: Leech, R., 1981, fig. 2, p. 179).

Fig. 83

KEY TO FIG. 84

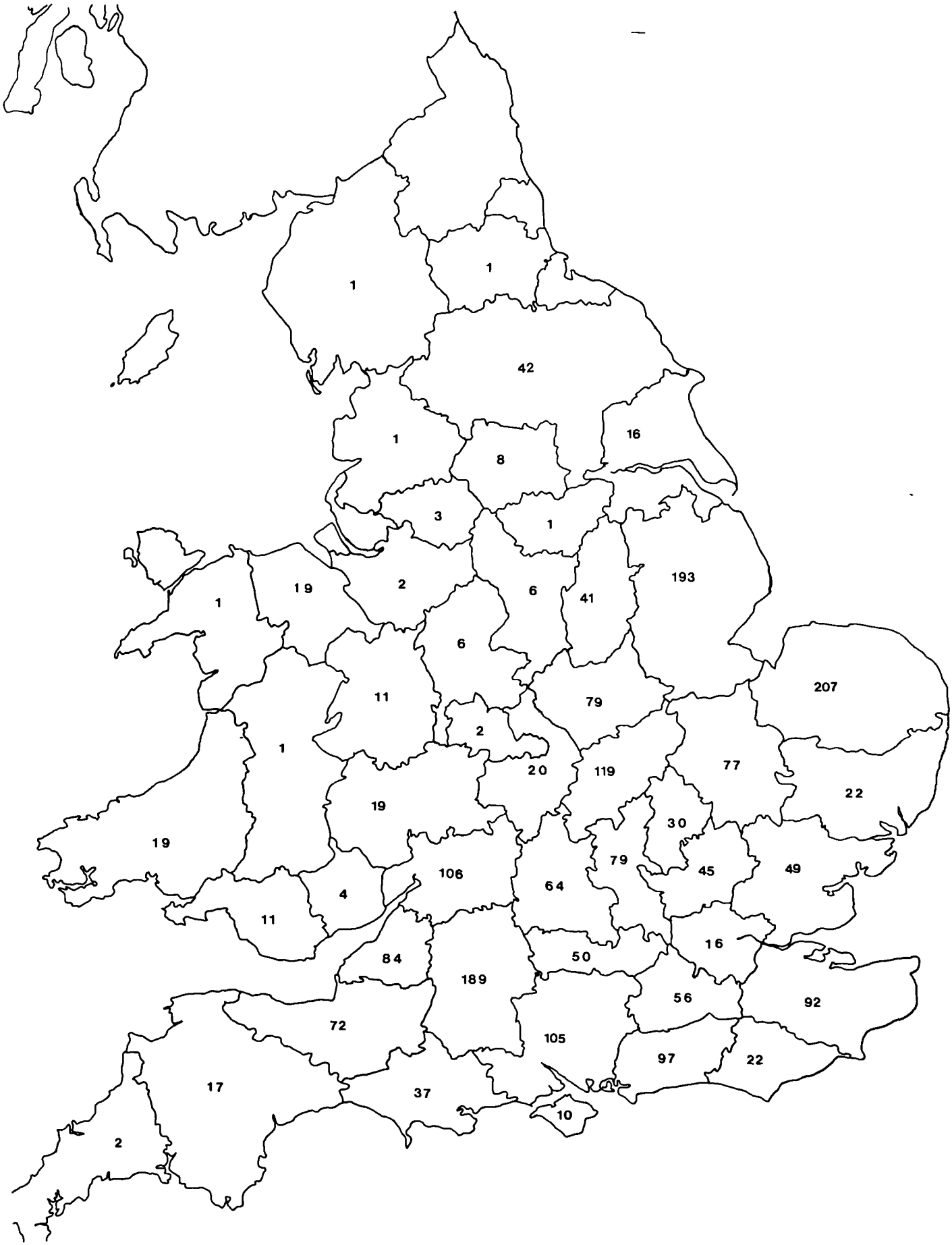
1 Avon
2 Beds.
3 Berks.
4 Bucks.
5 Cambs.
6 Cheshire
7 Clwyd
8 Cornwall
9 Cumbria
10 Derbys.
11 Devon
12 Dorset
13 Durham
14 Dyfed
15 East Sussex
16 Essex
17 Glamorgan
18 Glos.
19 Gtr. London
20 Gtr. Manchester
21 Gwent
22 Gwynnedd
23 Hants.
24 Hereford and Worcester
25 Herts.
26 Humberside
27 Isle of Wight
28 Kent
29 Lancs.
30 Leics.
31 Lincs.
32 Norfolk
33 Northants.
34 North Yorks.
35 Notts.
36 Oxfordshire
37 Powys
38 Shropshire
39 Somerset
40 South Yorks.
41 Staffs.
42 Suffolk
43 Surrey
44 Warwicks.
45 West Midlands
46 West Sussex
47 West Yorks.
48 Wilts.

cont. over/



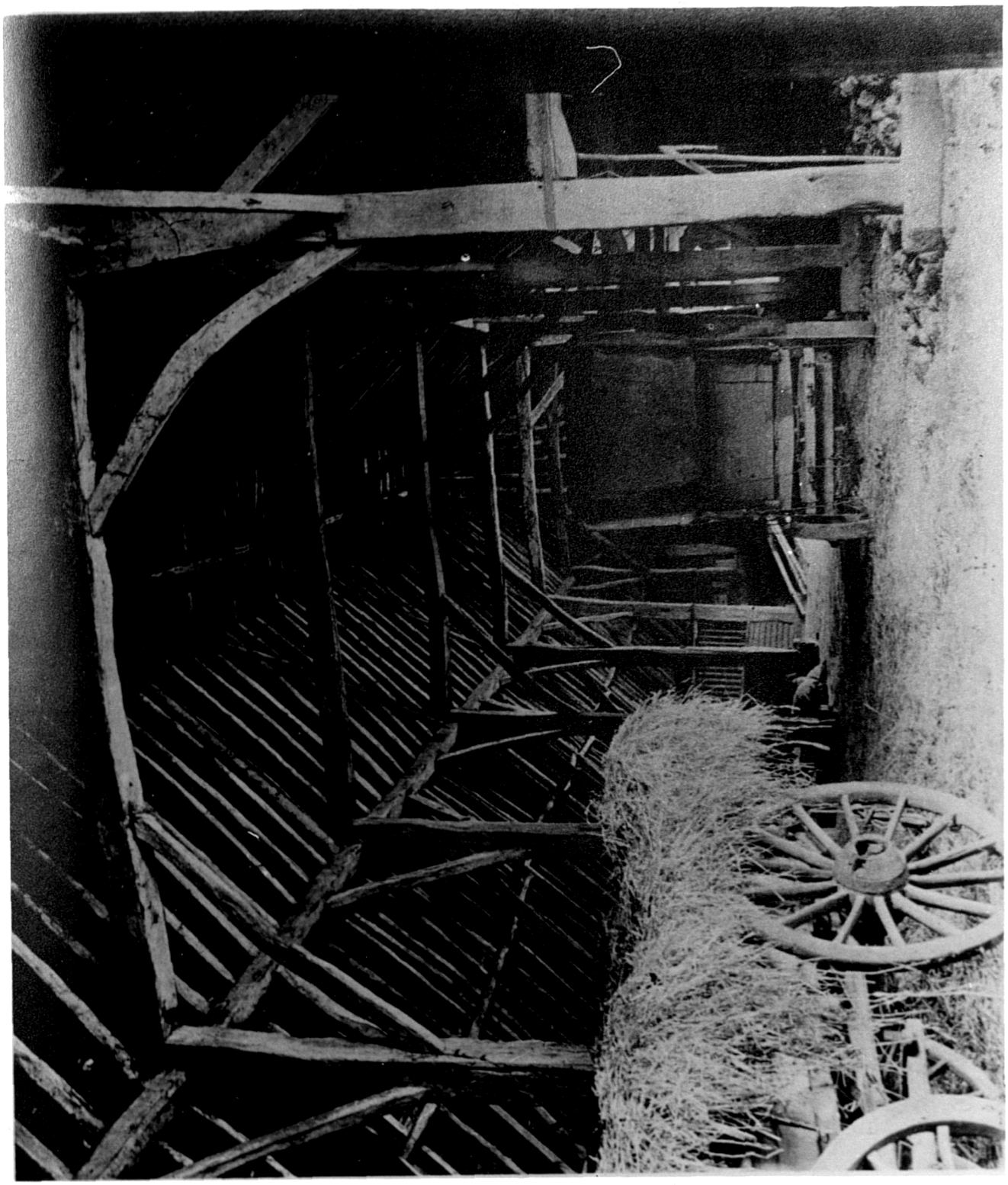
GUIDE TO MODERN COUNTIES

Fig. 84



NO. OF SITES PER COUNTY MENTIONED IN CATALOGUE
(APPENDIX 1)

Fig. 85



AN AISLED BARN. (Source: Fowler, P.J., 1983, pl. 60).

Plate I

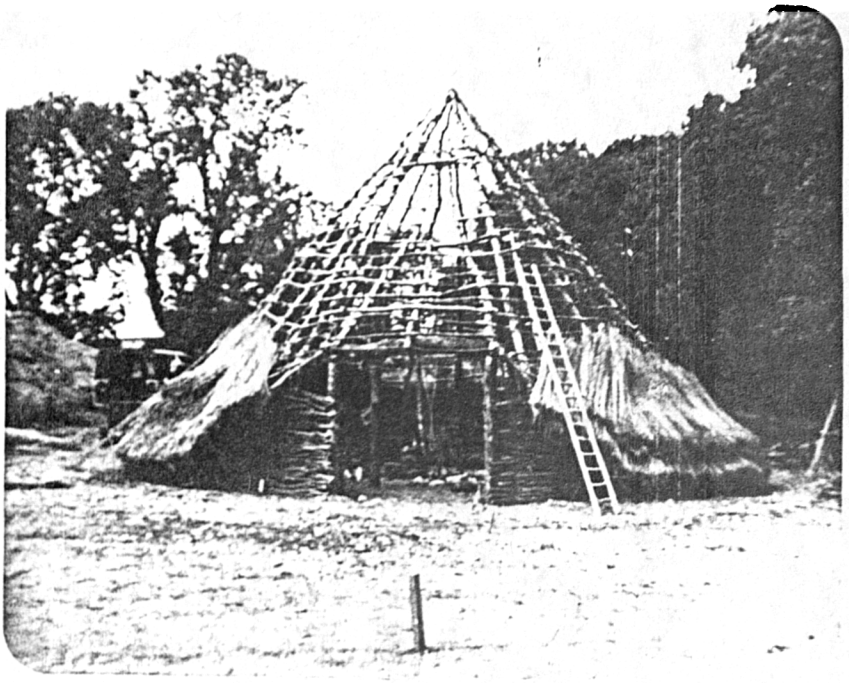


Plate II

RECONSTRUCTED ROUNDHOUSES AT CASTELL HENLLYS, DYFED.

Plates II - VIII



Plate III



Plate IV



Plate V

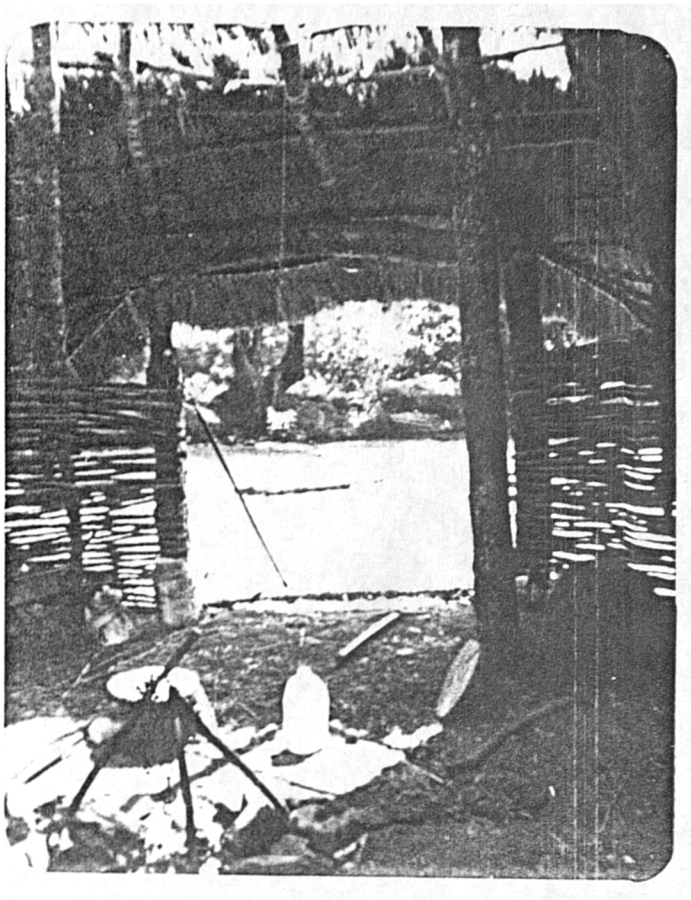


Plate VI



Plate VII



Plate VIII



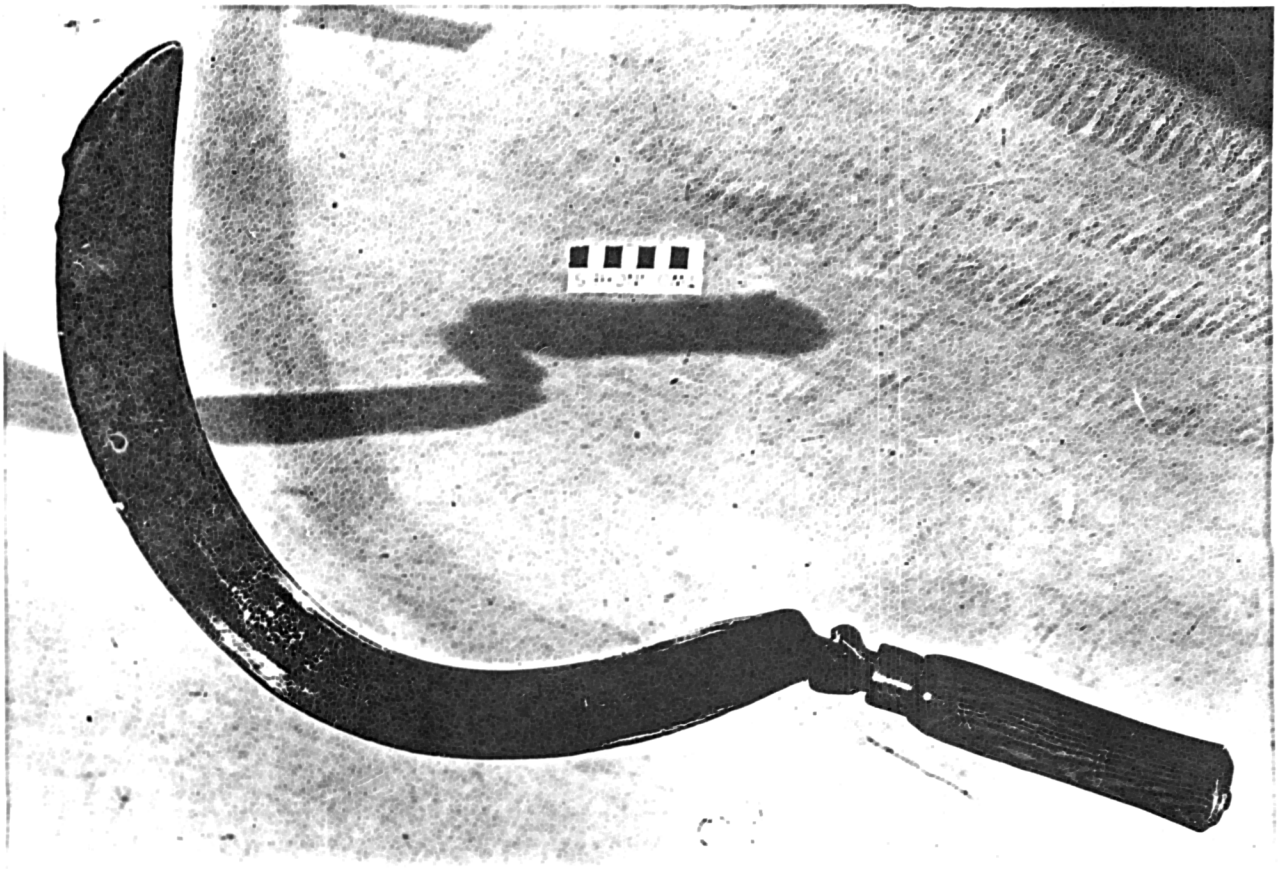
FARMYARD MIDDEN C. 1949 (Source: Fowler, P.J., 1983, pl. 27).

Plate IX



EXPERIMENTAL CROP OF EMMER WHEAT AT CASTELL HENLLYS, DYFED.

Plate X



THATCHING HOOK. (Source: Photographic Collection, Reading Museum of Rural Life).

Plate XI



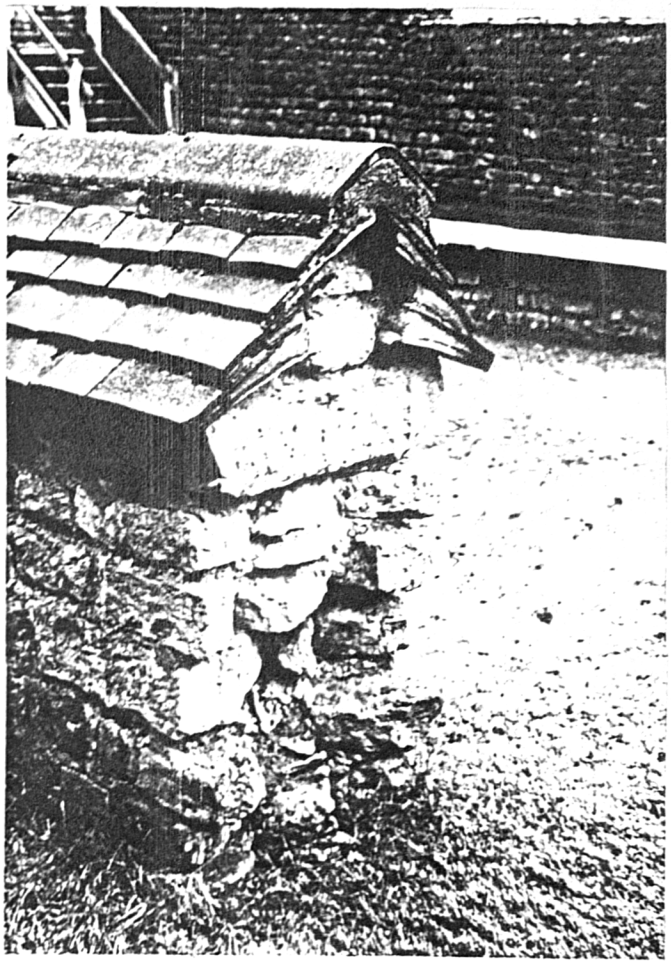


Plate XII

Plate XIII

CHEDWORTH: THE JAGGED WALL. EVIDENCE OF A SOUTH WING?

Plates XII - XV

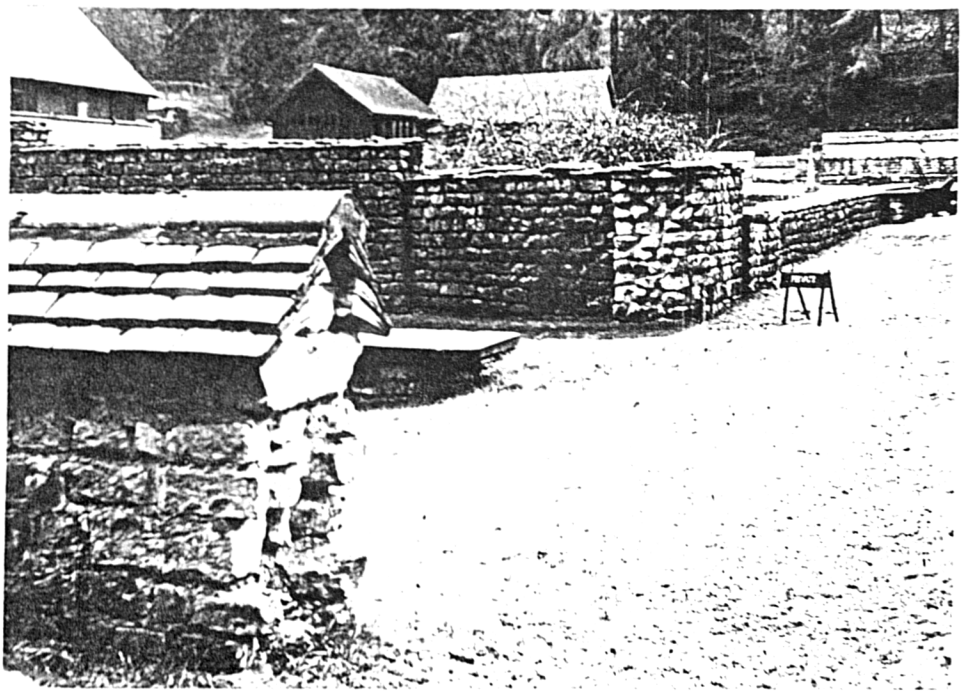
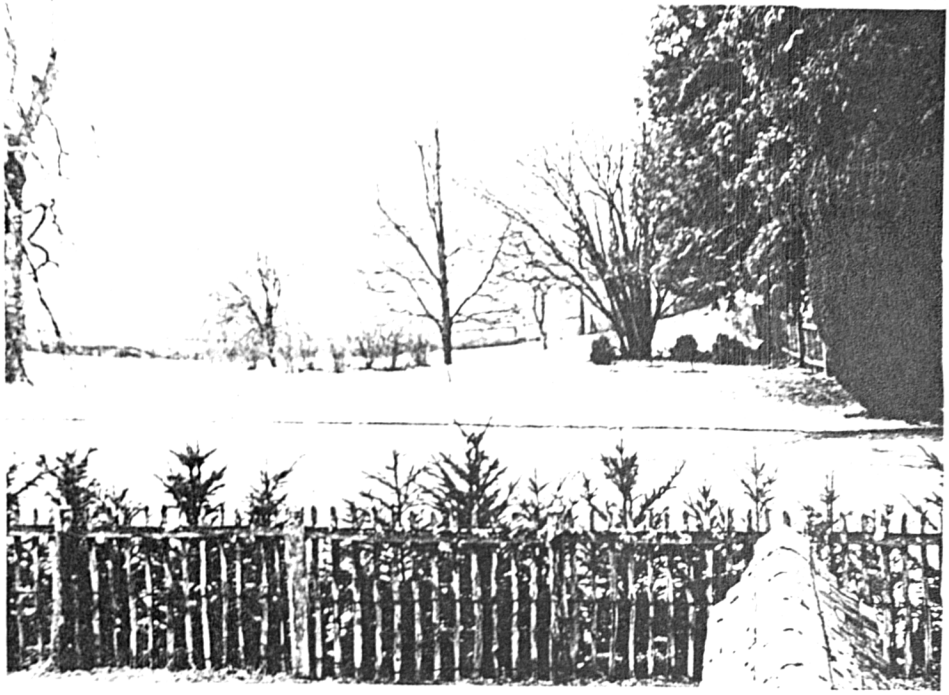


Plate XIV



CHEDWORTH cont. Looking East.

Plate XV

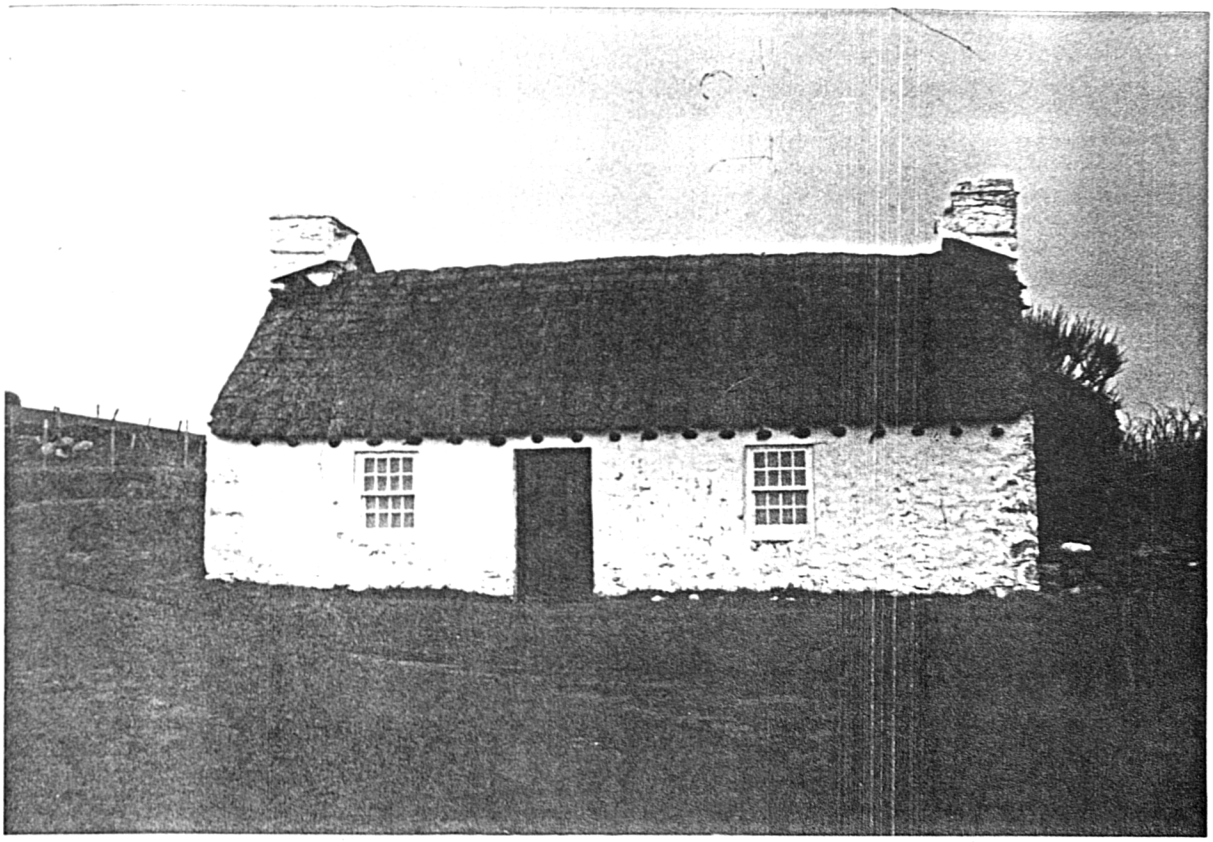


Plate XVI

CREGNEISH, Isle of Man.

Plates XVI - XX

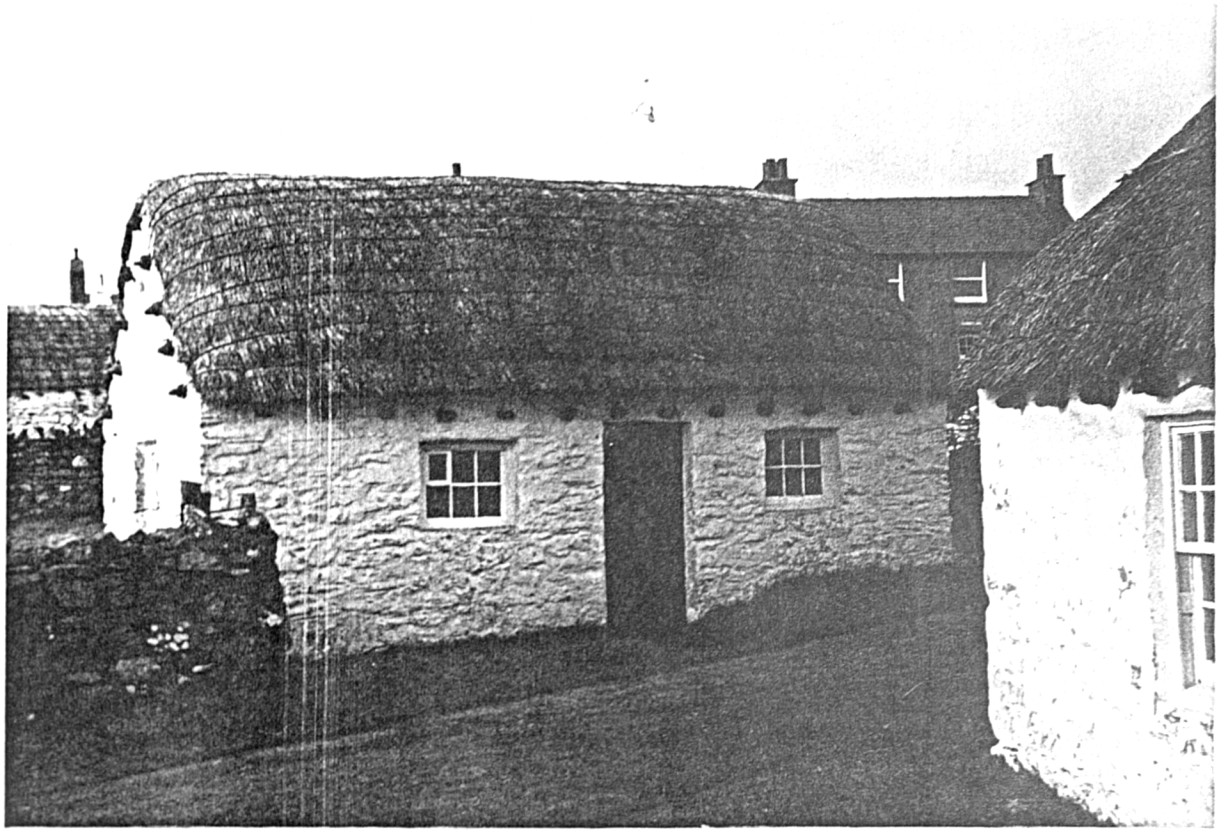


Plate XVII



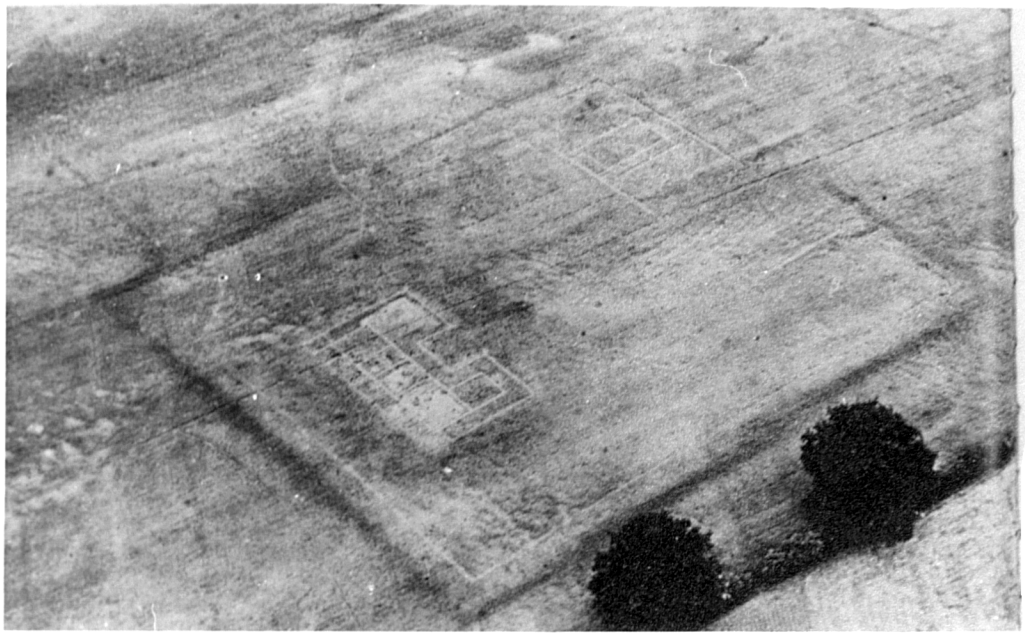
Plate XVIII



Plate XIX



Plate XX



DITCHLEY FROM THE AIR. (Source: Wacher, J., 1978, pl. 37).

Plate XXI



CALF BURIAL AT LATIMER. (Source: Branigan, K., 1971, pl. XVI).

Plate XXII



SHEEP BURIAL AT LATIMER. (Source: Branigan, K., 1971, pl. XV).

Plate XXIII



PIG BURIAL AT LATIMER. (Source: Branigan, K., 1971, pl. XIV).

Plate XXIV



EXCAVATION OF THE WELL AT RUDSTON. (Source: Stead, I.M., 1980, pl. IVb).

Plate XXV



THE VENUS MOSAIC FROM RUDSTON. (Source: Stead, I.M., 1980, pl. XII. Drawing by D.S. Neal).

Plate XXVI



THE AQUATIC MOSAIC FROM RUDSTON. (Source: Stead, I.M., 1980, pl. XIV. Drawing by D.S. Neal).

Plate XXVII